



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

Edited by  
Helen Cavanagh, William  
Cavanagh and James Roy

CSPS Online Publication 2

prepared by  
Sam Farnham



## Table of Contents

	<b>Abstracts</b>	v
	<b>Preface</b>	xxv
1	<i>Emilia Banou and Louise Hitchcock</i> The 'Lord of Vapheio': the social identity of the dead and its implications for Laconia in the Late Helladic II–III A period.	1
2	<i>Diana Burton</i> God and hero: the iconography and cult of Apollo at the Amyklaion.	25
3	<i>Nikolaos Dimakis</i> The display of individual status in the burials of Classical and Hellenistic Argos.	33
4	<i>Eleni Drakaki</i> Late Bronze Age female burials with hard stone seals from the Peloponnese: a contextual approach.	51
5	<i>Rachel Fox</i> Vessels and the body in Early Mycenaean funerary contexts.	71
6	<i>Florentia Fragkopoulou</i> Sanctuary dedications and the treatment of the dead in Laconia (800–600 BC): the case of Artemis Orthia.	83
7	<i>Stamatis Fritzilas</i> Grave stelai and burials in Megalopolis.	99
8	<i>Pepi Gavala</i> The sculpted monuments in Laconian cemeteries (late 19 <sup>th</sup> – early 20 <sup>th</sup> century).	129
9	<i>Oliver Gengler</i> Leonidas and the heroes of Thermopylae: memory of the dead and identity in Roman Sparta.	151
10	<i>Mercourios Georgiadis</i> Honouring the dead in Mesolithic and Neolithic Peloponnese: a few general observations.	163
11	<i>Grigoris Grigorakakis</i> 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.	183
12	<i>Georgia Kakourou-Chroni</i> Nikiforos Vrettakos: “Let us depart ascending ...”	201
13	<i>Konstantinos Kalogeropoulos</i> The social and religious significance of palatial jars as grave offerings.	207
14	<i>Dimitrios Katsoulakos</i> The moirolōi (dirge) of the southern Laconian basin and the historical troubles of the area.	237
15	<i>Theodoros Katsoulakos</i> The relationship of the moirolōi singer with the deceased as a source of inspiration.	253

16	<i>Georgia Kokkorou-Aletras</i> Funerary statuary of the Archaic period in the Peloponnese.	269
17	<i>Eleni Konstantintidi-Syvidi and Konstantinos Paschalidis</i> Honouring the dead behind the scenes: the case of the chamber tomb to the south of Grave Circle B at Mycenae.	289
18	<i>Angeliki Kossyva</i> The invisible dead of Delpriza, Kranidi.	329
19	<i>Sokrates S. Koursoumis and Anna-Vassiliki Karapanagiotou</i> Anthropomorphic stele from Levidi, Arcadia: A typological and interpretative study	371
20	<i>Sotiris Lambropoulos, Panagiotis Moutzouridis and Kostas Nikolentzos</i> Hybrid burial monuments of the Late Bronze Age in two recently excavated sites in Elis (Strephi and Arvaniti).	391
21	<i>Marioanna Louka</i> Votive jewellery in the Archaic Peloponnese.	401
22	<i>Jean-Marc Luce</i> Iron Age burial customs in the Peloponnese and their place in the funerary geography of the Greek world.	415
23	<i>Christina Marabea</i> The tholos tomb at Kambos, Avia: excavation by Christos Tsountas, 1891.	427
24	<i>Eleni Marantou</i> Ancestor worship and hero cult in the central and southern Peloponnese: the evidence from Pausanias	441
25	<i>Iro Mathioudaki</i> Honouring the dead with polychrome pots: the case of mainland polychrome pottery in Peloponnesian funerary contexts (an interpretative approach).	459
26	<i>Nikolas Papadimitriou</i> “Passing away” or “passing through”? Changing funerary attitudes in the Peloponnese at the MBA/LBA transition.	467
27	<i>Metaxia Papapostolou</i> ‘Honourable death’: the honours paid in ancient Sparta to dead war-heroes and mothers dying in child-birth.	493
28	<i>Lena Papazoglou-Manioudaki</i> 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 Achaia.	501
29	<i>Annalisa Paradiso</i> Did Herodotus ever see the list of the Three Hundred?	521
30	<i>George Paraskeviotis</i> Agamemnon’s death in Seneca.	537
31	<i>Nicolette Pavlides</i> Worshipping heroes: civic identity and the veneration of the communal dead in Archaic Sparta.	551
32	<i>Leonidas Petrakis</i> A child’s remembrance of living through the Nazi atrocity against the ‘118 Spartans’ in autumn 1943.	577

33	<i>Angeliki Petropoulou</i>	
	The Spartan royal funeral in comparative perspective.	583
34	<i>Eleni Psychogiou</i>	
	Mycenaean and modern rituals of death and resurrection: comparative data based on a krater from Hagia Triada, Elis.	613
35	<i>James Roy</i>	
	Anyte of Tegea and the other dead.	643
36	<i>Yanis Saitas</i>	
		657
	Cemeteries and settlements of Mani in Medieval and later periods: a second contribution.	
37	<i>Nicholas Sekunda</i>	
	IG V.1 1124: the dead of Geronthrai fallen at Mantinea.	719
38	<i>Nadia Seremetakis</i>	
	Antiphony, ritual and the construction of truth.	725
39	<i>Naya Sgouritsa</i>	
	Remarks on the use of plaster in tholos tombs at Mycenae: hypotheses on the origin of the painted decoration of tombs in Mainland Greece.	737
40	<i>Georgios Steiris</i>	
	Exemplary deaths in the Peloponnese: Plutarch's study of death and its revision by Georgius Trapezuntius Cretensis.	755
41	<i>Anthi Theodorou-Mavrommatidi</i>	
	A composite pendant in an EH I burial at the Apollo Maleatas site in Epidauros: an attempt at a biography.	773
42	<i>Erika Weiberg</i>	
		781
	The invisible dead. The case of the Argolid and Corinthia during the Early Bronze Age.	
43	<i>Theodora Zampaki</i>	
	The burial customs for Alexander the Great in Arabic historiography and the Alexander Romance.	797

## Abstracts

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Η έρευνα που αφορά στη θέση και την κοινωνική οργάνωση των ιερών, ειδικότερα από τον 8<sup>ο</sup> αι. κ.εξ., έχει μελετήσει με λεπτομέρεια το ρόλο τους στο θέμα των επικρατειών της πρώιμης δημιουργίας κρατών. Η οργάνωση των ιερών κατά τη διάρκεια της δημιουργίας του σπαρτιατικού κράτους, αποτελεί μια ξεχωριστή περίπτωση στη Λακωνία καθώς φαίνεται να συνδέεται στενά με τον τρόπο θεραπείας των νεκρών. Το σπαρτιατικό κράτος δημιουργήθηκε μέσω της κατάληψης ή/και της ενσωμάτωσης διαφόρων εδαφικών περιοχών. Ταυτόχρονα με αυτή τη διαδικασία, διαφορετικές κοινωνικές ομάδες κατέληξαν να συμπεριληφθούν (ή και επισήμως να αποκλειστούν από) στη Σπαρτιατική πολιτική κοινότητα. Θα περίμενε, 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 φύγουμε ανεβαίνοντας ...»**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Οι αφανείς νεκροί της Δέλπριζας Κρανιδίου**

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

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

The anthropomorphic stele of Levidi is one of the earliest colossal statues of Arcadian monumental sculpture, dated in the late 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 ανοσιουργημάτων 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 φαίνονται 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 περιάπτο από Πρωτοελλαδική I ταφή στο χώρο του Ιερού του Απόλλωνα Μαλεάτα στην Επίδαυρο: μία απόπειρα βιογραφίας**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Preface

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

WGC

JR

## CHAPTER 39

# REMARKS ON THE USE OF PLASTER IN THOLOS TOMBS AT MYCENAE: HYPOTHESES ON THE ORIGIN OF THE PAINTED DECORATION OF TOMBS IN MAINLAND GREECE

NAYA SGOURITSA

Prehistoric Aegean societies expressed their feelings and thoughts regarding death through a variety of mortuary practices, simple or complex, according to the social identity and status of the departed, but also of the living relatives. The number and kind of offerings, the care of the tomb and especially the effort to make a tomb monumental are the most important archaeological data which provide evidence about the honours accorded to the dead.<sup>1</sup> Differentiation concerns the quality of the offerings and the labour invested in the construction of a tomb. The elaborate construction, the size, and the decoration (in a few examples) are the main factors determining the hierarchy among the diverse types of the tombs. The first two are elements contributing to the monumentality of a tomb. The third, the decoration, appears only rarely. Still, there are variations in the type, number and quality of the decorative motifs: relief decoration, usually simple, was the most common kind, made by the arrangement of the architectural members of the tholoi, among which only three had elaborate patterns. Incised decoration was also simple, sometimes combined with painted decoration, and in only two tombs were the designs complex. Painting, used almost at the same time as relief, appeared in two tholoi and in a few chamber tombs, located in the Argolid and later also in Boeotia. Painted decoration was usually applied on the façade and was mostly simple; the greater number of the decorated examples presented simple plastered surfaces, sometimes coloured, whereas elaborate frescoes are observed in only a few cases.

Plaster is a kind of mortar with wide applications even in prehistoric times. It served various requirements, structural at the beginning and mainly decorative later, such as pointing joints, coating walls, floors and ceilings, and

---

<sup>1</sup> Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 124, 125–7.

as a foundation for frescoes. It is composed of lime and other additives, the type of which depends on the use.<sup>2</sup>

From the Neolithic era plaster was applied, in parallel with the more common mud mortar, as a binding and coating material, aimed at waterproofing but also at aesthetically more pleasing results.<sup>3</sup> Even at these remote times coloured and frescoed stuccos were used on the walls,<sup>4</sup> whilst plaster floors have also been found.<sup>5</sup> Later, during the Early Bronze Age, examples of plaster appeared in the Aegean in larger numbers, and in some cases the plaster was coloured.<sup>6</sup> Interestingly, it was used in buildings of careful construction and special character, on Crete<sup>7</sup> and mainland Greece.<sup>8</sup>

During the period of the Old Palaces plaster was used more frequently on the walls, floors and ceilings in palatial and ordinary buildings on Crete, and in several cases it was painted.<sup>9</sup>

#### THE USE OF PLASTER IN BUILT TOMBS: THOLOI AND TOMB RHO

Plaster was applied to the joints of walls and slab floors of LM/LH rooms, in palaces and ordinary buildings, creating a surface suitable for painting; it was also used for coating the walls, floors and ceilings inside and outside.<sup>10</sup> Apart from such uses, plaster was also used, as early as the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century BC, in Mycenaean tombs. On the walls of the doorway of the monumental LH IIA tholos tomb A (1) at Peristeria there was plaster in the

---

<sup>2</sup> For plaster in general, see Papagiani & Stefanidou 2006, 151. Küpper 1996, 4, 5. For Minoan plasters, see Shaw 2009, 144–7 (for the preparation and technique of applying, 146–7).

<sup>3</sup> Cameron 1972, 310.

<sup>4</sup> *Idem*, 311. Cameron 1974, pl. 1A (EN IB period, roof plasters from Knossos), pl. IB (MN period, plaster on inner wall face, from Knossos) Also, Altan Çilinreğlü *et al.* 2004, 32, with references. Todd *et al.* 1985, 76–7. Todd *et al.* 2005, 378.

<sup>5</sup> For example in the Neolithic settlement at Nea Makri, Attika, Pantelidou-Gofa 1993, 156–7, with references, and on Saliagos, Evans & Renfrew 1968, 15–6. For coloured plastered floor of sub-neolithic period on Crete, see Hirsch 1977, 14–5. Cf. Todd *et al.* 1985, 185.

<sup>6</sup> Cameron 1972, 305–9, 310, 314. For examples, see Cameron 1974, pl. C, D, E, F (EM I–II (or III) period. Soles 1979, 155. Tsipopoulou 1999, 84.

<sup>7</sup> See *supra* no. 6. Shaw 2009, 148.

<sup>8</sup> As for example in some Corridor Houses, Walter & Felten 1981, III,1, 12 (Haus am Felsrand, Stadt II), 16, 17–8 (Weisses Haus, Stadt III). Wiencke 2000, 275–9 (Lerna). See also Immerwahr 1990, 24.

<sup>9</sup> See Immerwahr 1990, 11, 22. For the coloured and painted floors on Crete and mainland Greece, Hirsch 1977. Shaw 2009, 148.

<sup>10</sup> Immerwahr 1990, 13–5. See also Hirsch 1977. Darcque 2005–6, 101, 103–5, 133–4, 165–6, 332. For examples, cf. Shaw & Betacourt 2009, 113–9 (mainly 113–7). Mylonas–Shear 1987, 11–12, 136 ff. Shaw 2009, 149 ff.

## *Origin of painted decoration in tombs*

joints and, to a lesser degree, on the surface of the limestone blocks.<sup>11</sup> Plaster was also laid over the joints and clefts of the stones of the jambs in the contemporary tholos at Vapheio.<sup>12</sup> In some LHIIA and later tholoi at Mycenae and in neighbouring regions plaster sealed the joints of poros and conglomerate blocks. According to Wace, it appeared mainly in the tombs of the second group of tholoi, which already had a simple relief decoration on their façades.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, plaster was used in the tholos of Aegisthus,<sup>14</sup> the last tomb of the first group, as well as in the LH II/IIIA tholos of the Genii, also provided with a simple relief decoration on the façade.<sup>15</sup> The first excavators of these tombs, Chr. Tsountas and A. J. B. Wace, reported the presence of plaster, whereas Ol. Pelon who collected and noted in detail all the data concerning tholoi, believed that the use of plaster was of decorative character.<sup>16</sup>

The joints of the poros blocks which faced a part of the limestone wall of the dromos of the Panagia tholos, at a distance of 1.13 m from the façade, were pointed with plaster, as well as the joints of the conglomerate masonry of the doorway (**FIG. 1**).<sup>17</sup> In the second tomb of this group, the tholos of Kato Phournos, the use of plaster was more extensive. It sealed the joints of the poros blocks of the dromos and of the conglomerate blocks of the façade and the doorway<sup>18</sup>. In the Lion tomb, the last of this group, the joints of the carefully dressed poros blocks which faced the limestone wall of the dromos,<sup>19</sup> *in situ* only in the eastern part, were pointed with a thick layer of plaster (**FIG. 2**). During the cleaning of the poros masonry in the summer of 2008, it was noticed that between the poros and the limestone blocks there was clay (plessia) mortar, obviously intended as protection against damp.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, the joints of the poros masonry that faced the conglomerate walling of the façade and of the doorway were also pointed with plaster (**FIG. 3**). It was reported that the floor of the doorway and the tholos were coated with

---

<sup>11</sup> Pelon 1976, 208. See also Immerwahr 1990, 11, where it is stated that plaster coated the whole surface of exterior walls, usually of ashlar masonry. For an opposite view concerning Crete, Shaw 2009, 76. During the historical era plaster coated the surface of walls made of poros blocks in several examples, Orlandos 1994, 52–3.

<sup>12</sup> Pelon 1976, 184.

<sup>13</sup> *Idem*, 162–6.

<sup>14</sup> *Idem*, 162.

<sup>15</sup> *Idem*, 167.

<sup>16</sup> *Idem*, 292, 305.

<sup>17</sup> *Idem*, 163.

<sup>18</sup> *Idem*, 164. Furthermore, another kind of plaster covered the floor of the doorway and the chamber.

<sup>19</sup> Wace 1949, 40, 41; it is stated that the investment with poros masonry was made “for the sake of appearance”. For the use of poros blocks, Küpper 1996, 3–4.

<sup>20</sup> This native clay was used in several constructions at Mycenae for protection against humidity, already in LHI, for example see Mylonas 1973, 244–5. In the dromos of the Lion tholos plaster prevented also the drying-out of the clay mortar, cf. Shaw 2009, 73.

## *Naya Sgouritsa*

plaster, which still retained the red colour when Tsountas excavated it in 1892.<sup>21</sup>



FIG. 1. Panagia tholos. Part of the dromos and the façade (photo by the author).

---

<sup>21</sup> Pelon 1976, 165. For other examples, *idem*, 361–2.



*Origin of painted decoration in tombs*



FIG. 2. Lion tholos. Poros Blocks in the dromos (detail of the stucco in the joints, photo by the author).



FIG. 3. Lion tholos. Conglomerate masonry in the doorway (detail of the stucco in the joints, photo by the author).

Though limited, there was also plaster, as well as clay (plessia) mortar, in the joints of the poros facing of the rubble masonry of the doorjambs of the tholos of Aegisthus.<sup>22</sup>

The practice of pointing the joints with plaster was also used in the LH IIB/IIIA tholos of the Genii, in the joints of the conglomerate masonry of the jambs and the doorway.<sup>23</sup>

An analogous use was practised in a tomb of a different type, the LHIIA built chamber tomb Rho in Circle B; it was built of poros blocks; plaster and plessia mortar were applied to the joints of the walls of the chamber, the façade and the dromos, whilst plessia was also used in the joints of the slabs of the vault of the chamber. In this tomb plaster was laid over plessia, it was painted alternately black and red in the chamber, and it covered the whole surface of the façade and that part of the dromos on either side of the entrance which was painted red.<sup>24</sup> In the chamber and the façade plaster does not seem to play only the practical role of protection against humidity; it is likely that the coloured plaster in this tomb contributed to the visual impact, although the decorated parts of the tomb were visible during a limited time span.

Plaster, as suggested for the five tholoi at Mycenae mentioned above, seems to have been used initially for waterproofing constructions made of poros and, in a few cases, of conglomerate blocks; whereas its use for the sake of appearance can only be inferred. By contrast, the masons of the built chamber tomb Rho may have pointed the joints of the poros blocks with coloured plaster also in order to improve the whole appearance of the tomb.

In addition to the tombs at Mycenae, plaster sealed the joints of the poros facing of the façade of the LHIIA tholos at Berbati,<sup>25</sup> as well as the joints of the poros facing of the dromos, the limestone and the conglomerate masonry of the jambs and the doorway of the contemporary tholos tomb at Prosymna, where the exterior conglomerate block, of the three which composed the lintel, was coated with plaster.<sup>26</sup> On the rock-cut façade of the LHIIB/IIIA1 tholos tomb at Kokla there was a thick layer of plaster. On the off-white ground a band of blue and red discs, imitations of the wooden beams of a roof, was depicted.<sup>27</sup> Spirals were painted on the plastered doorjambs of the

---

<sup>22</sup> *Idem*, 161.

<sup>23</sup> *Idem*, 16., see also *supra* no. 18.

<sup>24</sup> Mylonas 1973, 218, 219. Papadimitriou 2001, 26–28, 159. Cf. the colored plaster in the interstices between the slabs of the floors of the New Palace at Phaistos, Hirsch 1977, 18–20. For analogous earlier examples of coloured plaster in the interstices of slabs see Tsipopoulou 1999, 651 ( Petras, Old Palace period). Driessen & Farnoux 1992, 739 (MMII Batiment X, 8 in Quartier NU at Malia).

<sup>25</sup> Pelon 1976, 178.

<sup>26</sup> *Idem*, 176–7.

<sup>27</sup> Demakopoulou 1990, 113. For the pottery of the tomb, imported from Crete or ‘minoanized’, see Demakopoulou 1997, 104–8.

## *Origin of painted decoration in tombs*

contemporary tholos tomb at Tiryns, whilst traces of red colour were also preserved on its lintel.<sup>28</sup>

### DECORATED CHAMBER TOMBS

The largest number of chamber tombs with a simply plastered or frescoed entrance or, rarely, chamber has been found in the LH Argolid. Several such tombs were discovered at Mycenae, three at Argos, and one at Prosymna, Asine and, probably, Dendra. The decorative motifs included patterns<sup>29</sup> which are also known from later frescoes in the Mycenaean palaces and a few ordinary buildings, as well as from the relief decoration in the Treasures of Atreus and Minyas and the tholos of Klytemnestra.

The façade of the chamber tombs was usually simple. Still, in several examples the surface of the entrance was very carefully cut, a practice aiming at an elaborate appearance.<sup>30</sup> In a few cases the lintel was triangular, which may be an effort to imitate the relieving triangle of a tholos tomb.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, in some instances there were other features which are usually characteristic of tholoi.<sup>32</sup>

Chamber tombs with painted decoration on their façade were discovered at Mycenae at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by Christos Tsountas. Tomb 52 was the first one to be found; its doorjambs were plastered and probably painted red.<sup>33</sup> In 1890 tombs 53 and 54, according to Tsountas' diary, were excavated nearby, on the hill of Panagia.<sup>34</sup> A fragment of the wall painting of the façade of tomb 53 was preserved; it consisted of a narrow red band and another wider band with a series of rosettes and triangles in the

---

<sup>28</sup> Pelon 1976, 181.

<sup>29</sup> Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1987, 152–3. Gallou 2005, 67–9.

<sup>30</sup> For examples, see Papadimitriou 1952, 469 (Mycenae). Demakopoulou 1998, 23, (tomb 10 at Aidonia, Corinthia), 31 (tomb 9 at Aidonia, Corinthia). Blegen 1937, 181. Papademetriou 1954, 75 fig. 2 (Alyki Glyfadas, Attika). A few LM chamber tombs, of Mycenaean type, were also provided with an elaborately cut facade, see below n. 32.

<sup>31</sup> For examples, see Papademetriou 1954, 84 fig. 10 (Alyki Glyfadas, Attika). Daniilidou 2000, 167 (Messenia), 170–1 and 172 (Arcadia).

<sup>32</sup> For example see the tomb 530 at Kalkani, Mycenae, with an incised fascia on the façade and the doorway, imitating the relief decoration of tholoi, ChT, 106, 132. See also French 2002, 44. Cf. for Minoan chamber tombs of Mycenaean type, Hood & Coldstream 1968, 206, pl. 51c, with references. Alexiou 1953, 301, 302 fig. 1. Chatzidakis 1918, 65 fig. 10. Small stone walls were constructed in a few chamber tombs at Kalkani; still, this practice aimed at strengthening the soil, ChT, 133, 143. For analogous examples see, Deshayes 1966, 238 and also Vollgraff 1904, 368–9. Blegen 1937, 239–40.

<sup>33</sup> Tsountas 1891, 1–4 and Sakellariou-Xenaki 1985, 131–2.

<sup>34</sup> Sakellariou-Xenaki 1985, 31–5. Apart from the three aforementioned chamber tombs, the richest tombs at Mycenae came to light on this hill, among them the monumental tomb 81 and five out of the nine tholoi, *eadem.*, 313–4, 320 and Wace 1949, 33.

intermediate space, in red, yellow and black on white plaster, which covered not only the façade, but also the doorway and the walls of the chamber on either side of the entrance. Tsountas reported that pure lime was used in this plaster, which was still wet when the doorway was blocked and the dromos filled with earth.<sup>35</sup> The decoration of chamber tomb 54 was not preserved; however, Tsountas wrote that, in addition to the façade, the doorway was also plastered and decorated.<sup>36</sup> Although the existing offerings deposited in tombs 53 and 54 are not safe evidence for dating, it is possible that these tombs belonged to the LH IIIA/B period.<sup>37</sup> In 1894 Tsountas excavated the monumental and rich tomb 81, also situated on the hill of Panagia. The jambs were plastered and painted red, bordered by a white band. Their bases were painted blue, with large bands, as were the capitals, which were separated from the rest of the decoration by an incised line. Above the lintel and the capitals the decoration was composed of three horizontal bands: the first one was red, the second consisted of a series of red discs with an incised circumference, on the white ground of the plaster, and the third was also red. The sides and the ceiling of the doorway were plastered. Along the four sides of the almost rectangular chamber there was a built bench. Above the bench, the rock-cut walls were plastered to a height of 1.35 m with three bands in red, yellow and blue.<sup>38</sup> Unfortunately, no vases were found among the offerings which would safely date the construction and the use of the tomb. Nevertheless, its construction may belong to the end of the LHII period.<sup>39</sup> To the four tombs excavated by Tsountas, tomb 78, another rich tomb, located at Kalkani, should be added, as its façade was coated with a greenish clay.<sup>40</sup> Wace stated that in this region other chamber tombs with plastered or frescoed jambs and lintels had been discovered.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, Papadimitriou excavated a chamber tomb near Circle B with plastered and frescoed façade

---

<sup>35</sup> Sakellariou-Xenaki 1985, 165–6.

<sup>36</sup> *Eadem*, 167.

<sup>37</sup> Apart from a fragment of the fresco of tomb 53, which was recorded, a few small remains from gold items, beads of faïence, pieces from ivory objects with nautilus designs and a bronze bowl, which was discovered upside down, covering a skull, were referred to in the diary, but never found: Sakellariou-Xenaki 1985, 166. From tomb 54 three seals were recorded, *eadem*, 167–68, pl. 67, nos. 2572, 2573, 2574, belonging to the Mainland Popular Group. Though a dating supported by finds of this kind is not safe, *eadem*, 317–8, it is probable that these tombs belonged to the LH IIIA/B period, see *eadem*, 319.

<sup>38</sup> Sakellariou-Xenaki 1985, 224–31.

<sup>39</sup> *Eadem*, 319.

<sup>40</sup> *Eadem*, 216, 321. In Gallou 2005, 68 it is stated that on the façade of tomb 78 there was greenish stucco; however, Tsountas noticed the presence of greenish clay, which appears in several cases in the Argolid, cf. tomb XII at Deiras, Argos, where decorative plaster was applied onto a layer of greenish clay, Deshayes 1966, 33, 239. Cf. Keramopoulos 1917, 129 (tomb 4 at Kolonaki, Thebes).

<sup>41</sup> Wace 1949, 33.

## *Origin of painted decoration in tombs*

and doorway; the decoration was linear, in red, blue and black.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, Sakellariou noted that another chamber tomb had been found to the south of the Cyclopean Tholos, with plaster and decoration not only on the façade but also in the chamber.<sup>43</sup>

In the cemetery at Prosymna, Blegen excavated one of the largest tombs, tomb II, with decoration on the jambs and the lintel; its use, according to the pottery found, covered a long time span, from the LHIIA until the LHIIIA2 period. The plaster was thick and the decoration consisted of running spirals (in orange, red, blue and black) and bands. Blegen believed that the decoration did not belong to the time of the construction of the tomb, but had been carried out later, at an unknown time.<sup>44</sup> According to Blegen, chamber tomb III would have been decorated, as indicated by the preparation of the surface of its façade.<sup>45</sup>

During the excavations by Vollgraff at Deiras two decorated tombs were unearthed, tombs V and VI. On the façade of the first running spirals were painted, with a floral or palm-tree motif in the corners, in yellow, blue, red and dark red.<sup>46</sup> The façade of the second tomb was plastered and painted red.<sup>47</sup> The pottery of tomb V is not known. On the other hand, the rich tomb VI yielded two LHIIA palace style amphorae. One of them, decorated with birds, had been imported from Crete or was the product of a craftsman trained in Minoan art.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, a motif was depicted, which could belong to a stirrup jar of the early 12<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>49</sup> According to this evidence, the use of the tomb covered the period from the 15<sup>th</sup> until the early 12<sup>th</sup> century BC. During the later excavations at Deiras, another tomb, the largest in the cemetery, chamber tomb XII, came to light, with decoration on the façade and the doorway. Though plundered, small pieces of gold were found in its chamber and to judge from the remaining pottery its construction belonged to the LH IIIA2 period.<sup>50</sup> In the cemetery at Asine, the façade and the chamber of the large, rich tomb 2, the use of which covered the period between LH IIA

---

<sup>42</sup> Papadimitriou 1952, 468–70 (mainly 469).

<sup>43</sup> Sakellariou-Xenaki 1985, 320.

<sup>44</sup> Blegen based his view on the fact that the fresco was careless in comparison with the decoration of the two LH IIA palace style amphorae; still, one must bear in mind that wall-paintings were usually of low quality.

<sup>45</sup> Blegen 1937, 174 (tomb II), 181 (tomb III), 238.

<sup>46</sup> Vollgraff 1904, 369–70. Tomb V was among the largest in the cemetery, with a dromos of 19 m., *idem*, 368.

<sup>47</sup> *Idem*, 370.

<sup>48</sup> *Idem*, 377 ff. See also Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, 73–4, 209 (VII.H). For the finds of tomb VI, Vollgraff 1904, 375–87.

<sup>49</sup> Vollgraff 1904, 376 fig. 2.

<sup>50</sup> Deshayes 1966, 33, 34, 37, 238. For the decoration of rectangles cf. the triangular motif between the rosettes of tomb 53 at Mycenae, Tsountas 1891, 4 and colour plate.



and the LH IIIC middle phase, were also plastered.<sup>51</sup> Among the tombs in the necropolis at Dendra, chamber tomb 16, dated to the LH IIIA period (still unpublished),<sup>52</sup> is reported to have been provided with a plastered chamber.

Three or four more chamber tombs should be added to the above group of plastered or decorated examples. They were located at Thebes and were monumental. Tomb 15 at Kolonaki was excavated by Keramopoulos, who reported that the jambs and the walls of the doorway were decorated with multicoloured designs. The chamber had a bench along three sides and was in use from LH IIIA2 until the LH IIIC early/middle period – according to the pottery depicted – and the offerings included gold, bronze and lead artefacts.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, Keramopoulos referred to another tomb (tomb 24) with remains of plaster on the walls and the floor of the chamber.<sup>54</sup> Some decades later Spyropoulos excavated at the hill of Megalo Kastelli two more decorated chamber tombs, one of which was stated to be royal.<sup>55</sup> Its chamber was rectangular (11.50 m x 7 m) and provided with a built bench along the long sides,<sup>56</sup> which was plastered and frescoed; on the horizontal surface red bands were painted, whilst on the vertical there were multicoloured papyrus motifs and spirals.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, the second entrance to the tomb and the chamber were decorated with frescoes representing spirals, bands and rows of discs, scenes with women and a palanquin, as well as a rocky landscape with traces of a red circle above it.<sup>58</sup> Although the information is still limited, it seems that there were common features between these tombs at Thebes and those in the Argolid, a fact that may indicate another case of masons working in both these regions during the era of the great development.<sup>59</sup>

The evidence collected by Tsountas concerning the tombs at Mycenae,<sup>60</sup> indicates that the plastering and decoration of the façade and the doorway took place just before the interment and the closing of the tomb. Papadimitriou referred also to this practice for the decoration of the façade of

---

<sup>51</sup> Frödin & Persson 1938, 162, 163. The excavators stated that the plastering of the walls and probably of the roof of the chamber aimed at the appearance of the tomb.

<sup>52</sup> Deilaki 1990, 91. In the explanatory text on the tablet erected at the archaeological site at Dendra it is reported that the chamber of tomb 16 was plastered.

<sup>53</sup> Keramopoulos 1917, 159–60.

<sup>54</sup> *Idem*, 185–7; still he hypothesized that the fragments of plaster came from the cover of a wooden larnax, made from or coated with plaster.

<sup>55</sup> Spyropoulos 1972, 310–11. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 68. Gallou 2005, 69, 127. Spyropoulos 1973, 253, where it is noted that the plastered façade was painted red.

<sup>56</sup> It has to be stressed that the larger percentage of the decorated tombs had a built or rock-cut bench in the chamber, Demakopoulou 1990, 119, 122. Gallou 2005, 72–3.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. the decoration of the façade of chamber tomb V at Deiras. Vollgraff 1904, 369 « ... corolles de fleur ou palmettes ».

<sup>58</sup> Spyropoulos 1971, 161–4. See also Spyropoulos 1972, 310 and Gallou 2005, 69. For the date of the tomb to LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB period, see Spyropoulos 1972, 311.

<sup>59</sup> Pelon 1976, 414–5. See also *idem*, 289, 290, 329, 330–31, 333, 341.

<sup>60</sup> Sakellariou-Xenaki 1985, 166.

## *Origin of painted decoration in tombs*

the built chamber tomb R.<sup>61</sup> Unfortunately, there is no evidence for the exact time of decoration at the different stages of the use of a tomb.<sup>62</sup>

Only two chamber tombs had incised decoration.<sup>63</sup> The large tomb 13 at Antheia in Messenia, with a rock-cut bench along one of the sides of the rectangular chamber, was provided with a series of incised discs above the lintel.<sup>64</sup> The façade and the chamber of the large chamber tomb at Pellana in Laconia were also decorated with an incised lion and a griffin, as well as a palm tree, respectively.<sup>65</sup>

### CONCLUSIONS

It has become evident that the plastered and frescoed Mycenaean tholoi and chamber tombs were a minority and were mostly located in the Argolid. A few such tombs appeared also in Boeotia, Messenia and Laconia. Undoubtedly, they belonged to the ruling class and the elite of the above regions, which were important Mycenaean centres. Interestingly, the decorated chamber tombs shared some common features: they were the largest (or among the larger) tombs in the cemeteries, carefully constructed and, apart from the tomb at Prosymna, of a rectangular plan; most of them had benches, rock-cut or built, some of them were provided with saddle-shaped roofs and two with grooves in the entrance.<sup>66</sup> The presence of rich offerings, even though most of these tombs were looted, should be pointed out, as well as that some of the grave goods were of Cretan origin or highly inspired by Minoan tradition.<sup>67</sup>

From the existing evidence it can be surmised that plaster was originally used in the tholoi for the purpose of waterproofing, especially in the

---

<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless, Mylonas rejected this statement, Mylonas 1973, 219.

<sup>62</sup> According to French, the decoration of the chamber tombs does not belong to the earliest phases of their construction, French 2002, 44.

<sup>63</sup> About the incised depictions of ships on a block supposed to have been a doorjamb of a LHIIA tholos tomb at Drameši Boeotia, see Gallou 2005, 48. For an incised ship in the Temple Tomb at Knossos, *eadem*, 48. Besides the incised elaborate designs of the two LH chamber tombs, it would be worth mentioning that in some tombs, such as tomb 81 at Mycenae and the tomb at Kokla, the painted decoration was combined with incisions.

<sup>64</sup> Xatzi-Spiliopoulou 1998, 235–6. Although the tomb was looted, the few gold pieces that were collected indicate that it would have contained valuable offerings. According to the excavator (personal communication), it would have been constructed during the LH IIIA1 and was used until the LH IIIB period.

<sup>65</sup> Spyropoulos 1982–1983, 113–128.

<sup>66</sup> Gallou 2005, 70 ff..

<sup>67</sup> For example the tomb at Kokla (Demakopoulou 1997, 104–108) and tomb VI at Deiras (*supra* no. 48).

constructions made of poros blocks, which were preferred as a refinement for the tombs.

It seems that the use of plaster on the walls of houses followed the same evolution. From Minoan architecture it is known that the pointing of joints with plaster (in the composition of which clay prevailed originally) was mainly connected with the protection of the walls and the wood set inside them against humidity.<sup>68</sup> Possessing long experience, Minoan masons during the Old Palace period used plaster where lime was a major constituent, and succeeded in creating the hard pure plaster of the New Palace period.<sup>69</sup>

From the initial practical use of plaster in the entrance of a few early tholoi at Mycenae its decorative use can, plausibly, have developed as early as the 15<sup>th</sup> century BC. It must be emphasized that the earliest Mycenaean wall-paintings are those in the tombs.<sup>70</sup> In addition to the examples at Mycenae, where plaster may have played both roles, the decorative plastering of the façades of the tholoi at Kokla and Tiryns was definitely ornamental.<sup>71</sup> However, painted decoration remained extremely rare in tholoi, where relief was preferred, simple at the beginning and elaborate later, such as in the Treasury of Atreus, the tholos of Klytemnestra and the Treasury of Minyas.<sup>72</sup>

On Crete the practice of decorating tombs was not common. The only known examples of Minoan tombs up to now which include painted decoration are the Temple Tomb, with the blue ceiling of the burial chamber,<sup>73</sup> the pillar crypt in tholos tomb B at Archanes, from which came fragments of wall paintings,<sup>74</sup> and some other rooms in the same complex at Archanes, where pieces of white and coloured plaster were discovered;<sup>75</sup> still, apart from the Temple Tomb, the frescoed rooms of Complex B at Archanes did not have a burial character<sup>76</sup> and belonged to the upper floor. Furthermore, a part of the floor in the LM IIIA1/2 chamber tomb H at Katsabas, of Mycenaean type, was painted blue, without an intervening coat of plaster,<sup>77</sup> whereas the walls of the rectangular chamber of the LHIIIA2/B1 chamber tomb 1 at Sellopoulo (still unpublished) were decorated with two

---

<sup>68</sup> Shaw 2009, 79.

<sup>69</sup> Immerwahr 1990, 11. It is worth mentioning that the first pure lime plaster on Crete belonged to floors and not walls, Shaw 2009, 144.

<sup>70</sup> Demakopoulou 1990, 113.

<sup>71</sup> Although at Kokla it also supported the soil.

<sup>72</sup> For similarities between the tholoi at Mycenae and Boeotia, especially between the Treasures of Atreus and Minyas, see Pelon 1976, 289, 290, 329, 330–331, 340, 341, 414–415.

<sup>73</sup> Evans 1935, IV, 967–8, 1074–5.

<sup>74</sup> Sakellarakis 1997, 177. These fragments must be dated, according to the excavator (personal communication), to the LMIB period.

<sup>75</sup> *Idem*, 178, 491. These pieces can be dated earlier than the fragments from the pillar crypt.

<sup>76</sup> For the Temple Tomb and Complex B, see Driessen & Macdonald 1997, 167.

<sup>77</sup> Alexiou 1967, 35. Cf. *supra* no. 21. For the attribution of the tombs at Katsaba to the Mycenaean conquerors, see Demakopoulou 1997, 102.

## *Origin of painted decoration in tombs*

incised bands imitating veined stones.<sup>78</sup> It has to be stressed that the LM tholoi were not decorated.

Among the decorative designs used in LH tombs were patterns already known from Minoan frescoes, such as simple bands, running spirals,<sup>79</sup> rosettes, discs, papyrus or palm-tree motifs and triangles, in blue, yellow, red and black, whilst in some cases orange and dark red were also used.<sup>80</sup>

Pictorial decoration, painted and incised, was used in only two chamber tombs, at Thebes and Pellana, respectively. In the Mycenaean chamber tombs the decoration involved mostly the façade, sometimes the doorway and, in a few cases only, the chamber.

To the present day, the finds are limited and many questions remain without an answer. After all, it is clear that the LH decorated tombs had no possible Minoan prototypes and the idea of this decoration could well have evolved as a special Helladic initiative, arising from the need for ostentation and a claim for status, as well as a manifestation of specific ritual practices. Still, the process whereby it developed remains obscure. Nevertheless, research continues and will provide clues for verifying or overturning hypotheses or for creating new ones. Decoding symbols in burial archaeology is a difficult task and this study should be taken only as a starting point for further suggestions.

---

<sup>78</sup> *KrChron*, IA 1957, 332–3.

<sup>79</sup> For this motif, see Hiller 2009, 295–6.

<sup>80</sup> For the colours, see Mylonas-Shear 1987, 11–12, 136–7.

## References

- Alexiou, St., 1953. 'Ανασκαφαί εν Κατσαμπά' *Praktika tes en Athenais Archaialogikes Etaireias*: 299–308.
- Alexiou, St., 1967. *Υστερομινωικοί τάφοι Λιμένος Κνωσού Κατσαμπά*. Athens: Vivliotheke tes en Athenais Archaialogikes Etaireias 56.
- Altan Çilingireğlu et al. 2004. *Ulucak Höyük, Excavations conducted between 1995 and 2002* (Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Suppl. 15). Louvain-Paris-Dubley, Ma.: Peeters.
- Belli, P., 2003. 'Aspects of Monumental Funerary Architecture in LBA Crete' in N. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis (eds) *Πλόες: Interconnections in the Mediterranean 16<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC* (Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Rethymnon, Crete 2002): 325 – 36. Athens: University of Crete and the A. G. Leventes Foundation.
- Blegen, C., 1937. *Prosymna. The Helladic settlement preceding the Argive Heraeum*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cameron, M. A. S., 1972. 'Appendix IV. The Plasters' in P. Warren (ed.) *Myrtos. An early Bronze Age Settlement in Crete*, (BSA Suppl. vol. no.7): 305–14.
- Cameron, M. A. S., 1974. A General Study of Minoan Frescoes (unpublished PhD thesis). Newcastle: University of Newcastle.
- Cavanagh, W. and C. Mee, 1998. *A Private Place. Death in Prehistoric Greece*. (SIMA CXXV). Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Chatzi-Spiliopoulou, G., 1998. 'Ελληνικά Ανθείας' *Archaialogikon Deltion* 53, *Chronika*: 235–6.
- Chatzidakis I., 1918. 'Μινωικοί τάφοι εν Κρήτη' *Archaialogikon Deltion* 4, *Chronika*: 44 – 87.
- Darcque, P., 2005–6. *L' Habitat Mycénien. Formes et fonctions de l'espace bâti en Grèce continentale à la fin du IIe millénaire avant J.-C.* Athens: École Française d' Athènes.
- Deilaki-Protonotariou, E., 1990. 'The tumuli of Mycenae and Dendra' in R. Hägg and G. Nordquist (eds) *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid* (1988): 87–106. Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Daniilidou, D., 2000. 'Ο θαλαμωτός τάφος 84 των Μυκηνών' *Archaialogike Ephemeris* 139: 161–78.
- Demakopoulou, K., 1990. 'The burial ritual in the tholos tomb at Kokla, Argolis' in R. Hägg and G. Nordquist (eds) *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid* (1988): 113–23. Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Demakopoulou, K., 1997. 'Crete and the Argolid in the LMII/LHIIB to LHIIIA1 periods. Evidence from Kokla' in J. Driessen, and A. Farnoux (eds) *La Crète Mycénienne* (BCH Suppl. 30): 101–112.
- Demakopoulou, K. (ed.), 1998. *Ο Θησαυρός των Αηδονιών*. Athens: TAPA.

## *Origin of painted decoration in tombs*

- Deshayes, J., 1966. *Argos. Les Fouilles de la Deiras* (Études Péloponnésienes IV). Paris: École Française d' Athènes.
- Driessen, J. and A. Farnoux, 1992. 'Travaux de l' École Française en Crète en 1991. Malia 2. Quartier NU' *BCH* 116: 733–742.
- Driessen, J. and C. F. Macdonald, 1997. *The Troubled Island. Minoan Crete before and after the Santorini eruption*, *Aegaeum* 17. Liège and Austin.
- Evans, Sir Arthur, 1935. *The Palace of Minos, Vol. IV: Part II*. London: Macmillan.
- Evans, J. D. and C. Renfrew, 1968. *Excavations at Saliagos near Antiparos* (BSA Suppl. vol. no. 5). London: Thames and Hudson.
- French, E., 2002. *Mycenae. Agamemnon's Capital*. Stroud: Tempus.
- Frödin, O., and A. Persson, 1938. *Asine. Results of the Swedish Excavation 1922 – 1938*. Stockholm: Generalstabens litografiska anstalts förlag i distribution.
- Gallou, Chr., 2005. *The Mycenaean Cult of the Dead* (BAR International Series 1372). Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Hiller, St., 2009. 'The Façade of the so-called "Treasury of Atreus" at Mycenae. Reflections on the iconography of the ornamental and figural reliefs' in D. Daniilidou (ed.) *ΔΩΡΟΝ, Τιμητικός τόμος για τον Καθηγητή Σπ. Ιακωβίδη*: 291–308. Athens: Akademia Athenon.
- Hirsch, E., 1977. *Painted decoration on the floors of Bronze Age Structures on Crete and the Greek mainland* (SIMA LIII). Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Hood, M. S., and J. N. Coldstream, 1958. 'A Late Minoan Tomb at Ay. Ioannis near Knossos' *BSA* 23: 205–18.
- Immerwahr, S., 1990. *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age*. University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Keramopoulos, A., 1917. 'Θηβαϊκά', *Archaiologikon Deltion* 3: 1-503.
- Kontorli-Papadopoulou, L., 1987. 'Local Peculiarities of the Mycenaean Chamber Tombs' in Robert Laffineur (ed.) *Thanatos: les coutumes funéraires en Egée à l'age du bronze : actes colloque de Liège, 21-23 avril 1986* (*Aegaeum* 1): 145–159. Liège: Université de l'Etat, Histoire de l'art et archéologie de la Grèce antique.
- Küpper, M., 1996. *Mykenische Architektur. Material, Bearbeitungstechnik, Konstruktion und Erscheinungsbild*. München: Internationale Archaeologie 25.
- Mylonas, G., 1973. *Ο Ταφικός Κύκλος Β των Μυκηνών* (Vivliotheke tes en Athenais Archaiologikes Etaireias 73). Athens: Archaiologike Etaireia.
- Mylonas-Shear, I., 1987. *The Panagia Houses at Mycenae* (University Museum Monograph 68). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- Orlandos, A., 1994. *Τα υλικά δομής των αρχαίων Ελλήνων* (Library of the Archaeological Society at Athens 37) (2<sup>nd</sup> edition). Athens: Archaiologike Etaireia.

- Pantelidou-Gofa, M., 1993. *Η Νεολιθική Νέα Μάκρη. Τα Οικοδομικά* (Vivliotheke tes en Athenais Archaialogikes Etaireias 119). Athens: Archaialogike Etaireia.
- Pagianni, I. and M. Stefanidou, 2006. 'Μελέτη δομής υδραυλικών κονιαμάτων αρχαίας τεχνολογίας' in Th. Tassios (ed.) *Αρχαία Ελληνική Τεχνολογία. Proceedings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> International Conference*: 151–157. Athens: TEE.
- Papadimitriou, I., 1952. 'Ανασκαφαί εν Μυκήναις' *Praktika tes en Athenais Archaialogikes Etaireias*: 427 – 472.
- Papadimitriou, I., 1954. 'Μυκηναϊκοί τάφοι Αλυκής Γλυφάδας' *Praktika tes en Athenais Archaialogikes Etaireias*: 72 – 88.
- Papadimitriou, N., 2001. *Built Chamber Tombs of Middle and Late Bronze Age Date in Mainland Greece and the Islands* (BAR International Series 925). Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Pelon, O., 1976. *Tholoi, Tumuli et Cercles Funéraires*. Paris.
- Sakellarakis, I. and E. Sakellarakis, 1997. *ΑΡΧΑΝΕΣ. Μια νέα ματιά στη Μινωική Κρήτη*. Athens: Ammos.
- Sakellariou-Xenaki, A., 1985. *Οι θαλαμωτοί τάφοι των Μυκηνών. Ανασκαφή Χρ. Τσουντα (1887 – 1898)*. Paris.
- Shaw, M. and Ph. Betancourt, 2009. 'Plaster from Block AF' in Ph. Betancourt and C. Davaras (eds) *Pseira X. The excavation of Block AF*: 113–119. Philadelphia: The Institute for Aegean Prehistory Academic Press.
- Shaw, J., 2009. *Minoan Architecture: Materials and Techniques* (Studi di Archeologia Cretese). Padova: Istituto Poligrafico Dello Stato.
- Soles, J., 1979. 'The Early Gournia Town' *AJA* 83: 149–67.
- Spyropoulos, Th., 1971. 'Μυκηναϊκός βασιλικός θαλαμωτός τάφος εν Θήβαις' *AAA* 4: 161–4.
- Spyropoulos, Th., 1972. *Archaialogikon Deltion* 27, *Chronika*: 309–11.
- Spyropoulos, Th., 1973. *Archaialogikon Deltion* 28, *Chronika*: 252–8.
- Spyropoulos, Th., 1982–83. 'Τοπογραφικά μυκηναϊκής Πελλάνας' in *Proceedings of the 1<sup>st</sup> local Conference of Laconian Studies, Molaoi 5–7 June 1982*: 113–128. Athens.
- Spyropoulos, Th., 1998. 'Pellana, the administrative centre of prehistoric Laconia' in W. G. Cavanagh and, S. E. C. Walker (eds) *Sparta in Laconia* (British School at Athens, Studies 4): 28–38. London: British School at Athens.
- Todd, I. et al., 1987. *Vasilikos Valley Project 6: Excavations at Kalavassos– Tenta*, vol. I. (SIMA LXXI: 6). Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Todd, I. et al., 2005. *Vasilikos Valley Project 7: Excavations at Kalavassos– Tenta*, vol. II. (SIMA LXXI: 7). Sävedalen: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Tsipopoulou, M., 1999. 'Before, during , after: The architectural phases of the palatial building at Petras, Siteia' in Philip P. Betancourt, Vassos Karageorghis, Robert Laffineur, Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier (eds) *Meletemata*:



## *Origin of painted decoration in tombs*

- Studies in Aegean Archaeology presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as he enters his 65th year* III: 847–855 (Aegaeum 20). Liège and Austin.
- Tsountas, Chr., 1891. 'Εκ Μυκηνῶν' *Archaiologike Ephemeris*: 1–44.
- Vermeule, E. V. and Karageorghis, 1982. *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Vollgraff, W., 1904. 'Fouilles d' Argos' *BCH* 28: 264 – 399.
- Wace, A. J. B., 1932. *The Chamber tombs at Mycenae*. Oxford: Society of Antiquaries.
- Wace, A. J. B., 1949. *Mycenae. An Archaeological History and Guide*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Walter, H. and F. Felten, 1981. *Alt-Ägina III,1. Die vorgeschichtliche Stadt. Befestigungen – Häuser - Funde*. Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern.
- Wiencke-Heath, M., 2000. *Lerna. A preclassical site in the Argolid. The Architecture, Stratification and Pottery of Lerna III* (Vol. IV). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

N. Sgouritsa  
Department of archaeology and history of art  
University of Athens

**List of illustrations**

FIG. 1. Panagia tholos. Part of the dromos and the façade (photo by the author).

FIG. 2. Lion tholos. Poros Blocks in the dromos (detail of the stucco in the joints, photo by the author).

FIG. 3. Lion tholos. Conglomerate masonry in the doorway (detail of the stucco in the joints, photo by the author).