



The University of Nottingham

Centre for Spartan and  
Peloponnesian Studies

# Honouring the Dead in the Peloponnese

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

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

## **7 Stamatis Fritzilas. Grave stelai and burials in Megalopolis**

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

### **Επιτύμβιες στήλες στη Μεγαλόπολη**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Ο θάνατος του Αγαμέμνονα στον Σενέκα**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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## CHAPTER 43

# THE BURIAL CUSTOMS FOR ALEXANDER THE GREAT IN ARABIC HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THE ALEXANDER ROMANCE

THEODORA ZAMPAKI

The aim of this paper is to offer 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 of the early and middle period of Arabic historiography.

Funerary practices have two interrelated components. The first of these is ritual – the activities sanctioned by tradition that occur before, during, and after the burial and are considered essential to the transfer to the other world of deceased members of the community, both those forming its nucleus and others related by blood. The second characterizes the social position for the departed. It consists of the collection of material elements – the burial structure, the assemblage of grave goods, and the position of the deceased – required for a person of a particular age and sex to be transported to the other world. The combination of these two components of the burial rites makes up the standard (traditional) funerary customs. These two fundamental components must not be considered in isolation one from the other.<sup>1</sup>

Textual evidence for burial traditions in the Achaemenid period is limited to the Classical sources, and from them it is clear that there were different traditions. Herodotus and Strabo recorded burial rites for the *magi*, who were mainly Median priests, and for the Persians. Later in the Sassanian period, Zoroastrian priests also followed the tradition of the *magi*. There is no doubt, however, that the majority of people did not follow this tradition because there were not many ossuaries or other evidence to testify to such a practice.<sup>2</sup> On the contrary, there were many burials indicating that burial was a common practice.

The Achaemenid Kings (550–330 BC) followed another burial tradition, which was quite similar to that of Alexander the Great (356–323 BC).<sup>3</sup> The Achaemenids believed in burying their dead, but they attempted to insulate the body from the natural elements. Thus they made their burials in the

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<sup>1</sup> Alekshin 1983, 137–8. Also Bendann 1930; Binford 1971, 6–29; Saxe 1970.

<sup>2</sup> Grenet, 559–61.

<sup>3</sup> Curtis, Tallis 2005, 154–6.

mountains and rocks, or they protected their graves by using stone slabs and other materials. They also used coffins to keep soil away from the body. They do not appear to have followed the Zoroastrian (*magi*) tradition of exposing bodies. In the case of royal burials, the bodies were covered with wax, put into metal coffins and buried in stone monuments or mountains. The burials also contained offerings and personal effects.<sup>4</sup>

The medieval Arab historians dealt with the episode of Alexander the Great (al-Iskandar) as part of the history of the ancient Near East before Islam. In their Universal Histories, the story of Alexander and his conquests falls chronologically between the end of the Persian Achaemenid dynasty and the rise of the Sassanid dynasty.

The Arab historians selected for the present discussion are: [1] Dīnawarī's (d. AD 894), *Kitāb al-akhbār al-ṭiwāl* (*Book of Long Narratives*), [2] Ya'qūbī's (d. AD 897), *Ta'rīkh* (*History*), [3] Ṭabarī's (d. AD 923), *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk* (*The Chronicle of Prophets and Kings*), [4] Sa'īd b. al-Biṭrīq's (d. AD 940), *Naẓm al-jawhar* (*Chain of pearls*), [5] Mas'ūdī's (d. AD 955), *Murūj al-dhahab wa ma'ādin al-jawhar* (*Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems*), [6] Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī's (AD d. 961), *Ta'rīkh sinī mulūk al-arḍ wa-l-anbiyā* (*Chronicle of the Kings of the Earth and the Prophets*), [7] Miskawayh's (d. AD 1030) *Tajārib al-Umam* (*Experiences of Nations*) and [8] Tha'ālībī's (d. AD 1038), *Ghurar akhbār mulūk al-Furs wa-siyarīhim* (*Illustrious Biographies of Persian Kings*). They are recognized as the best representative historians of the early and middle period of Arabic historiography.

The account of the Arab historians is compared with that in the Greek Alexander Romance and its translations in Syriac, Ethiopic and Armenian. The ceremony for Alexander is also compared to that of Darius III Codomannus (336–331 BC) - a ceremony that Alexander himself is said to have organized. The conclusions that are drawn from this analysis emphasize the ethnographic as well as the political elements behind the descriptions of the authors of our sources.<sup>5</sup> The burial ritual offers us no more than an opportunity to study past social changes.

The so-called Alexander Romance (3<sup>rd</sup> century AD), wrongly ascribed in antiquity to Callisthenes (the historian of Alexander the Great) is extant in various Greek versions, whose complicated textual relationships have been unraveled by Merkelbach. Merkelbach has analyzed the form of the Alexander Romance as an amalgam of several kinds of text: 1. an Alexander's vita, 2. an "epistolary" Romance based on Alexander's correspondence with various kings and others, and 3. some other letters that Alexander exchanged with his mother Olympias and his teacher Aristotle. These letters narrated the miraculous adventures of Alexander in India. The work belongs to the genre

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<sup>4</sup> L'vov-Basirov 2001, 101–7.

<sup>5</sup> See Ucko 1969–70, 270.

## *Burial customs for Alexander the Great*

“fabulous historiography” which, as E. Schwartz has made clear,<sup>6</sup> developed in Alexandrian times.<sup>7</sup>

It was in the midst of his preparations for his expedition to Arabia – an expedition that, at least in part, was undertaken for the sake of having his divinity recognized by a recalcitrant people (or so it was reported) – that Alexander suddenly fell ill. He had been the most powerful man in the world, the master of an empire that extended from Greece to India. It was believed that he was descended from the gods and some even viewed him as divine. In the person of Alexander history and myth merged.

On 10 June 323 Alexander died. The date of Alexander’s death is also known from Babylonian records to have been 10 June 323.<sup>8</sup> Alexander died prematurely and unexpectedly. The nature of his fatal illness has inevitably excited speculation: poisoning at the instigation of Antipater was suggested almost at once, in the course of the propaganda war among the Successors, and it still finds defenders. Moreover, the independent composition which was known as “Alexander’s Last Days” has generated elaborate hypotheses about Alexander’s death and its treatment as a matter of propaganda in the years immediately after the king’s death.<sup>9</sup> Rumours of poisoning by an enemy arose in antiquity when an eminent man died before his time, and they were certainly readily used in political propaganda. However, the rumours of poison played an important part in the subsequent dynastic conflict and were consistently used to harass the family of Antipater. It seems clear that the list of those present at the party, who took part in the conspiracy against Alexander the Great, is independent of the story of the poisoning plot and separate from the narrative.<sup>10</sup> In another version it is stated that Alexander the Great died of disease that can never be diagnosed from those descriptions with any degree of confidence.<sup>11</sup>

Arab historians did not know exactly the place where Alexander the Great died. They refer to the controversy over the place in which Alexander died and give different traditions which locate his death either in Jerusalem (Dīnawarī), Iraq (Mas‘ūdī), Sawād (Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, Miskawayh), Shahrāzūr (Ṭabarī, Sa‘īd b. al-Biṭrīq, Mas‘ūdī, Tha‘ālibī, Miskawayh), or Nišībīn (Mas‘ūdī). While they cite that Alexander was sick in Iraq, only two authors, Sa‘īd b. al-Biṭrīq and Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī mention that Alexander was poisoned, as stated in the Romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes.

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<sup>6</sup> Schwartz 1896; *idem* 1957.

<sup>7</sup> Giangrande 2003, 894.

<sup>8</sup> Samuel 1965, 8. For the date see Sachs 1955, nr. 209.

<sup>9</sup> Bosworth 1971, 112–36; *idem* 1988, 171–3. Ausfeld 1907, 199–210; Merkelbach <sup>2</sup>1977, 167–89; Fox 1975.

<sup>10</sup> Samuel 1986, 435–6.

<sup>11</sup> Gershevitch 1985, 489–90.

Funeral rites are but two components of the several that could define the customary Greek (Athenian) funeral including the form of the burial structure and some ritual activities at the time of burial: preparation of the body (anointing, clothing), *πρόθεσις* (the laying out of the body), *ἐκφορά* (the procession to the grave), lamentation (at various stages), burial (tomb construction), *περίδειπνον* (funeral meal), and conclusion of mourning (twelve-day rites).<sup>12</sup> Some of these ritual activities underline the description of the Arab historians we examine. The method of burial chosen for Alexander, according to Arabic historiography and the Alexander Romance, was inhumation and the type of burial was solitary. It is characteristic that social stratification of a society is reflected first and foremost in the wealth of burials of men such as Alexander the Great.

As far as the preparation and the laying out of the body are concerned, the Arab historian Dīnawarī does not give details about the burial customs.<sup>13</sup> He only narrates that Alexander was placed in a gold sarcophagus.<sup>14</sup> A gold sarcophagus is mentioned in the Syriac and Ethiopic version of the Alexander Romance. On the contrary, the Greek Pseudo-Callisthenes mentions that Alexander was buried in a leaden coffin.<sup>15</sup> The epic of the Persian poet Firdawsī, the Syriac version of Alexander Romance (6<sup>th</sup> century) and the Latin version called *Historia Alexandri Magni regis Macedoniae, de proeliis* (11<sup>th</sup> century) of Leo the Archipresbyter mention that the body of Alexander the Great was covered with honey. The detail of the filling of the sarcophagus with honey is found also in the *recensio vetusta* (a recension 3<sup>rd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> century AD) of Pseudo-Callisthenes,<sup>16</sup> the Armenian version of the Alexander Romance (5<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>17</sup> the Ethiopic version of the Alexander Romance (14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>18</sup> and in the work of the Arab historian Saʿīd b. al-Bīrīq. The use of honey was probably a custom of that area, and was thought to act as a preservative. Yaʿqūbī narrates that, after the death of Alexander, his associates clothed him, embalmed him and put his body in a gold sarcophagus.<sup>19</sup> According to the Armenian version of Pseudo-Callisthenes, Ptolemy took Alexander to Egypt and made a leaden coffin for him and poured upon him honey and hepatic aloe. The body was embalmed with incense and oil and put upon a mule cart and taken to Egypt.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>12</sup> This is a generic list of funeral rites. See Stears 1998, 113–17; Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 142–8 and Garland 2001, 21–41.

<sup>13</sup> On royal burials, see Kriiger 1971; Miiller-Wille 1982, 350–411; Anderson 1987, 159–73.

<sup>14</sup> Dīnawarī, 35.

<sup>15</sup> See Wallis Budge 1976, III, 141; Idem 1896, 427. Chugg 2002, 19–20; Erskine 2002, 168–9. Also, Stewart 1993, 215–21.

<sup>16</sup> For the burial customs of Alexander the Great, see Kroll 1958, III, 145 ‘ἔλαβε δὲ λάρνακα μολυβδίνην καὶ ἐνέθηκεν αὐτῇ μέλι νησιωτικὸν καὶ ἀλόην καὶ μύρραν Τρωγοδυτικήν...’.

<sup>17</sup> Wolohojian 1969, para 283, 158.

<sup>18</sup> Wallis Budge 1896, 349.

<sup>19</sup> Yaʿqūbī 1969, vol. I, 162.

<sup>20</sup> Wolohojian, para 283, 158.



## *Burial customs for Alexander the Great*

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, whose opinion is quoted by Ṭabarī, Alexander's body was transported to Alexandria in a gold sarcophagus.<sup>21</sup> The same narrative is described by the Arab historian Miskawayh.<sup>22</sup> This shows the close relationship of the two writers. Sa'īd b. al-Biṭrīq accomplishes his narration about the death of Alexander the Great with another element. He reports that Philemon, a consultant of Alexander, put his body into a gold coffin to honour him. Furthermore, Sa'īd b. al-Biṭrīq mentions that in other manuscripts it is stated that the sarcophagus was filled with honey by Philemon (not Ptolemy as we read in *Alexander Romance*) Alexander's consultant and that the death of Alexander was concealed. Alexander's troops and his treasures were transferred to Alexandria. Alexander is also said to have expressed his strong desire to be buried in Alexandria according the γ recension (9<sup>th</sup> century AD).<sup>23</sup> When the dead Alexander was transferred to Alexandria, his death was announced to the people. His sarcophagus was placed in the middle of the palace.<sup>24</sup>

Mas'ūdī in his work *Murūj al-dhahab wa ma'ādin al-jawhar* also describes the manner in which Alexander's body was prepared for burial. This narration about the last days of Alexander says that the body of Alexander was coated by substances that protected the body from decay. The body was then put into a gold coffin which was decorated with precious stones.<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, the Ethiopian version of *Alexander Romance* contains a unique reference, that is Alexander's last wishes: "Alexander commanded that a coffin of red gold be made for him, and that they placed his body therein ... Then Alexander ... commanded Chronos (?), the prince of blacksmiths, to make a leaden coffin, and to fill it with honey, and myrrh, and rose water, and he said, "Lay ye my body therein that it may be kept from corruption," and thus saying, he gave up the ghost".<sup>26</sup> These substances recall the burial rites related to Christ. The fact that Mas'ūdī gives the same information as the Ethiopian version perhaps shows that he drew this narrative from an Arabic translation of the *Romance*, from which came the Ethiopian version, as Budge has shown.

Mas'ūdī also says that Alexander commissioned his successor to send his coffin to his mother in Alexandria, when he should die. The queen, as we read in Mas'ūdī's description about the death of Alexander the Great, put the remains of Alexander into a marble sarcophagus. It is noticeable that Alexander's mother first coated the dead body with myrrh and substances that protected the body from instant corruption. Olympias had the body taken

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<sup>21</sup> Ṭabarī 1879–1901, vol. I, 694.

<sup>22</sup> Miskawayh 1366/1987, vol. I, 35.

<sup>23</sup> Parthe 1969, ch. 33, 452.

<sup>24</sup> Sa'īd b. al-Biṭrīq 1906–9, vol. I, 82–3 and Migne 1857–66, vol. 111, 972.

<sup>25</sup> Mas'ūdī 1968–74, ch. 25, para 675, 252. See Nöldeke 1890, 47.

<sup>26</sup> For the coffin of Alexander see Wallis Budge 1896, 348–9.

out of the gold coffin and dipped in pitch, and afterwards laid in a marble sarcophagus for she knew that greed would draw kings from afar to steal the gold coffin. The sarcophagus was then placed upon blocks of white and coloured marbles, each of them placed beside the other. This marble pedestal, according to the narrative of Mas'ūdī, was to be seen up to his time, that is the era when he lived (AH 332/AD 943), at Alexandria in Egypt. This place was known by the name of the "Tomb of Alexander". Mas'ūdī speaks of a marble tomb which still existed in his day and was thought to be Alexander's.<sup>27</sup>

The Zoroastrian Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī briefly records that a tomb was manufactured for Alexander the Great.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand the historian Tha'ālibī describes with many details the death of Alexander the Great. Emphasis is given to the fact that Nature lamented Alexander's death. His body was put in a gold sarcophagus and was transferred to Alexandria. Because Alexander was such a glorious person, his body was placed, for burial, on a scaffold. People mourned for him and were moved to tears, due to his glory and his virtues.<sup>29</sup> Our sources do not give information about the grave goods in the tomb of Alexander the Great.

The Ethiopian version reports that, after Alexander's death, they made him ready for burial, and they put him in the coffin and conveyed it on a chariot-hearse drawn by mules. They brought him to the city of Babylon in Egypt. Alexander was brought to the old Egyptian capital of Memphis in obedience to the words of the oracle which said: 'ἔστι πόλις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τ'οὔνομα Μέμφις, κ'ἀκεῖ δεῖ ἐνθρονίσαι τοῦτον',<sup>30</sup> (i.e. there is a city in Egypt named Memphis where he must be enthroned). As they were journeying there, they arrived at the town called Baremān, and the people of Memphis and many of the people of the government of that city went out to receive the body of Alexander. It is often said that Alexander's embalmed body was on public display.<sup>31</sup> Then, they sang divine praises unto him.

According to the description of the Armenian version, when they reached Pellas, the Memnians came forth with trumpeters and all kinds of music to meet at the altars in their accustomed way. And they took him to Memphis near Sesonchosis, the world-conquering demi-god.<sup>32</sup> The Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes reports that all the Macedonians in Babylon began to make a mourning and outcry with bitter weeping and sore lamentation. The gender of the mourners and the manner of their lamentation are not clarified. Nothing is said about the manner of mourning and their role

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<sup>27</sup> Mas'ūdī 1968–74, ch. 25, para. 679, 254–5. The description of the tomb of Alexander is a testimony that Mas'ūdī saw the tomb. See also Nöldeke 1890, 48.

<sup>28</sup> Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī 1340, 33.

<sup>29</sup> Tha'ālibī 1900, 448–50.

<sup>30</sup> Müller 1846, 151, col. 1; Wolohojian 1969, para 282–3, 157–8.

<sup>31</sup> For public display: Stewart 1993, 252; Green 1996, 17; Errington 1976, 145; Ellis 1994, 35.

<sup>32</sup> Kroll 1958, III, 145; Wolohojian 1969, para 283, 158

## *Burial customs for Alexander the Great*

in the given death ritual.<sup>33</sup> In addition, people praised the body of Alexander with doleful voices, saying that he was welcome as ruler of the world. They kept the body of Alexander in that place twelve days, and each day they made elegies and lamentations and weeping over him afresh. They also wished to retain his body there.<sup>34</sup>

In another story, while they were bringing Alexander's body into Egypt and were carrying him hither and thither from place to place and from district to district in the country, two governors, Šikīses and Ƙestes, said to Kīnōs, the prophet of the oracle of Memphis, not to bury him there, but in the city which he himself founded. They gave reasons for this that his body should lie in that city that has no cease from war and from turmoil. This is the Egyptian town called Rhakotis. Rhakotis had incorporated a major pharaonic necropolis.<sup>35</sup> So Ptolemy decided to build a tomb for him in Alexandria and laid the body of Alexander the king in it.<sup>36</sup>

Something analogous we read in Müller's edition of Alexander's Romance: When Alexander died the Persians and Macedonians fought over his body, for the former people wished to take him to their country and to honour him under the form of the god Mithras, 'βουλόμενοι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀνακομίσασθαι καὶ Μίθραν ἀναγορεῦσαι'.<sup>37</sup> The Macedonians wanted to convey him in Macedonia.<sup>38</sup>

The move to Alexandria<sup>39</sup> was but another way of emphasizing the bond between Alexander and Ptolemy. This was the city founded by Alexander and named after him, and now thanks to the abilities of Ptolemy, it contained even his body. As the founder of the city his burial within the city would have been appropriate. The worship of a founder as a hero and his burial within the city-walls had long been a common practice.<sup>40</sup>

So at that time, Ptolemy made a grave for Alexander in Alexandria, which is still called "Alexander's Body". The city of Alexandria in which Ptolemy buried Alexander served a vital role. Ptolemy I, the founder of the dynasty, was still establishing his power, asserting himself both over Egypt and over his rivals. Alexandria was more likely to have resembled a gigantic building site than a prestigious capital city. Moreover, he put him there with splendid honour, since Alexander had requested that this be done.<sup>41</sup> Kroll's

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<sup>33</sup> For discussions of male grief and mourning, see, e.g., van Wees 1998, 10–53.

<sup>34</sup> Wallis Budge 1976, III, 142.

<sup>35</sup> Kroll 1958, III, 145; Müller 1846, 151. See also Chugg 2002, 14.

<sup>36</sup> Wallis Budge 1896, 350–1.

<sup>37</sup> Müller 1846, 150, col. 2, at the foot.

<sup>38</sup> Kroll 1958, III, 145. See also Schmidt-Colinet 1996, 87–90, who refers to the tomb of Alexander in Memphis in relation to the temple of Nectanebus II. Cf. Chugg 2002, 14–20 (The Memphite Tomb of Alexander); Thompson 1988, 121; Clarke 1805; Wilcken 1917, 149–203; Lauer, Picard 1955; Matz 1957, 84–93; Fraser 1972, part 2 from n. 86 to ch. 1, n. 512 to ch. 5; Idem 1967, 23 ff.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Chinnock 1893, 245–6.

<sup>40</sup> Malkin 1987, 189–203; Erskine 2002, 174–5.

<sup>41</sup> Wolohojian 1969, para 283, 158.

edition of Alexander's Romance (version α) narrates that the tomb that Ptolemy built in Alexandria, it is called "Alexander's 'Sema'" / (Σῆμα) or 'Soma'. 'Soma' means body and that is a strange name for what appears to have been a substantial dynastic burial complex.<sup>42</sup> In the minds of Alexandrians the tomb of Alexander is closely associated with those of the Ptolemaic dynasty, an association that had been deliberately fostered by the Ptolemies themselves. The geographer Strabo notes firstly that the tomb was within the royal grounds and secondly that the burial place of the Ptolemaic dynasty was part of the same complex as Alexander's tomb. Ptolemy, however, wanted the body of Alexander for different reasons. Although there is no sign that he sought the whole empire, Ptolemy had his own interests to look after Alexander's burial: the possession of Alexander's body served to legitimize his own rule in Egypt.<sup>43</sup>

It should also be noted that males were most probably responsible for conducting the act of burial itself (i.e. inhumation). The responsibility for and management of the performance of funeral rites of the dead Alexander fell to a male, Ptolemy. This narrative is found only in Alexander Romance.

In addition to the story of a pact between Ptolemy and Perdicas, another section of the Romance can be traced back to some Alexandrian novel. This concerns Alexander's burial in Egypt, first at Memphis, then in Alexandria, according to the instructions of oracle and prophecy. This scene is prefigured in the episode of the founding of Alexandria, in which the oracle of Serapis prophesies that Alexandria will contain the tomb of Alexander (I, 33). It is with good reason that the Alexandrian story should have continued up to Alexander's death, and these two episodes show the same concern with legitimacy and oracles. Alexander's death is truly part of the Alexandrian story.<sup>44</sup> Besides, Memphis was the capital of Pharaohs and only an Egyptian writer would suggest this as a burial place.

With respect to lamentation, the Arab historians dwell, with particular interest, on the wise sayings supposed to have been delivered at Alexander's funeral. It is said that many philosophers and sages had gathered among the mass of people surging round Alexander's coffin. They delivered short speeches concerned with the meaning of life on the occasion of Alexander's death. Four Arab historians (Ya'qūbī,<sup>45</sup> Mas'ūdī,<sup>46</sup> Tha'ālibī<sup>47</sup> and Sa'īd b. al-

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<sup>42</sup> Kroll 1958, III, 145, where Σῶμα is also emended to Σῆμα by its editor. Cf. Wallis Budge 1976, III, 142. Nonetheless, Sema is not the only name on record for this burial complex. The manuscripts of Strabo actually read 'Soma', not 'Sema', but scholars tend to feel that 'Sema' makes much better sense, so 'Soma' is usually emended to 'Sema' in the text of Strabo. Cf. Erskine 2002, 166–7 and n. 17.

<sup>43</sup> Erskine 2002, 164–5, 172; Errington, 1969, 233–42; Roisman 1984, 373–85. Alexander's tomb has never been discovered, though many have sought it: Fraser 1972, 16–7; Chugg 2002, 8–26; Schwartz 1983.

<sup>44</sup> Berg 1973, 386–7; Pfister 1976, 48–9.

<sup>45</sup> Ya'qūbī 1969, vol. I, 162–3 refers the names of eight speakers.

<sup>46</sup> Mas'ūdī 1968–74, ch. 25, para 676, 252–4 quotes the sayings of thirty sages (included the sayings of Rushanak and Olympias), which enumerates. Cf. Shboul 1979, 119.

<sup>47</sup> Tha'ālibī 1900, 450–5 mentions twenty six aphorisms of the philosophers.

## *Burial customs for Alexander the Great*

Biṭrīq<sup>48</sup>) and the Ethiopian version<sup>49</sup> of the Alexander Romance complete the episode of Alexander's death with short speeches or aphorisms that philosophers of the day uttered.<sup>50</sup> It is perhaps an indication of the Arab authors' awareness of the literary, as distinct from the historical, value of this tradition, that in their accounts the words, put into the mouths of the speakers, are frequently at variance one from another. It is very interesting that the number of the names of the philosophers differs considerably between Arab writers and the Ethiopian version. The forms of the names are sometimes uncertain. The speakers expressed their feelings in words of wisdom through short speeches or sayings. It appears that these sayings or aphorisms served to admonish and console the élite, and at the same time to offer a moral lesson for the common people.

In content these aphorisms refer to the significance of life and death. They, of course, are not so much funeral orations or eulogies, but rather aphorisms on the lessons of death. These aphorisms or apophthegms form a short literary work.<sup>51</sup> Its background is Greek or Syriac or, it can even be said, the Arab authors made use of Arabic or Persian sources too. The aphorisms of the philosophers played a fundamental role for the image of Alexander the Great as "philosopher". Man's helplessness before death and the futility of all things are recurrent motifs in Persian Alexander Romances even though they celebrate ambition, power, and grandeur. At the height of his success Alexander learns that not much is left of his life. The philosophers lamenting over Alexander's coffin contrast his helplessness in death with his past power and grandeur. They also refer to fate, to the fragility of the human being and the vanity of his acts in this base world.<sup>52</sup>

Some of these aphorisms were incorporated into later versions of Alexander Romance, for example the version *Historia de Proeliis*, and in other European traditions. They were also spread in Persian tradition, but they did not form part of the Syriac version of Alexander Romance, though they are extant in separate versions.<sup>53</sup> Before the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, Syrian-Arab translators translated a collection of sayings or thoughts that philosophers are said to have pronounced during the burial of Alexander. This collection of sayings is very important because it seems to represent the negative point of view that Cynics adopted about the Macedonian king's wars of conquest.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Sa'īd b. al-Biṭrīq 1906–9, vol. I, 83–5 and Migne 1857–66, vol. 111, 972–3 mentions the speeches of thirty two sages as well as the sayings of the wife and mother of Alexander.

<sup>49</sup> Wallis Budge 1896, 377–9, 398–400, 432–4. The speeches are enumerated in the Ethiopian text.

<sup>50</sup> For further discussion see: Brock 1970, 205–18; Goodman 1990, 482–3; Strohmaier 1991, 167; Buhler 1941; Zajaczkowski 1965, 13–57; Nöldeke 1890, 47–8 n. 1–2.

<sup>51</sup> Nöldeke 1890, 47–8 and n. 1–2; Buhler, 1941. For further reading about wisdom literature: Gutas 1975; *Idem* 1981, 49–86. For some general remarks on the source situation in Arabic gnomology, see Rosenthal 1958, 29–54, 150–83.

<sup>52</sup> See Southgate 1977, 281.

<sup>53</sup> Doufikar-Aerts 2003, 30; Aerts, Hermans & Visser 1978; Jonxis-Henkemans 1978, 142–69.

<sup>54</sup> Grignaschi 1993, 205; Latham 1983, 162. See also Tarn 1939, 41–70.



Apart from the extensive report in Ibn Abī d-Dunyā's *Kitāb al-ʿIṭbār*, Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (d. A.D. 873) appears to have preserved the longest version of this famous story. His version and others, such as those in al-Mubashshir or the Istanbul MS Fatih 5323, however, all differ considerably from one another and from that of the Arab historians.<sup>55</sup> Al-Mubashshir points out that there exist many other aphorisms coined on this occasion. All this testifies to the immense popularity of this famously edifying tale. It remains to be investigated whether all the preserved material goes back to a single source or to several sources.<sup>56</sup>

Besides the various aspects of the funeral rites, scholarly attention has also focused on women's involvement in mourning rituals such as lament. This attention is explicable, because the mother of Alexander the Great, Olympias, and his wife, Rushanak, illustrate two examples of funerary lament found in Arabic historical sources.<sup>57</sup> The role of these two women here differs from the role which women played in Greek tragedy. Olympias and Rushanak appear as performers of lament, and mourning in general, and not as prominent players in and managers of death ritual.<sup>58</sup> Rushanak, Alexander's wife and the daughter of Darius, is said to have spoken the following words in front of the coffin of Alexander: "King, you who vanquished Darius and humbled him to the dust, I never thought that death could conquer you". Again, addressing the Macedonian leaders and all those present, Olympias, Alexander's mother, is said to have delivered the following short speech: "You have brought to an end your words of consolation to me for Alexander whom I feared, and now it has happened that we have no victorious king left unto us. He conquered the world before he conquered you, therefore ascribe righteousness to yourselves; now, I have accepted your words of consolation". Then Olympias commanded them to bury him.<sup>59</sup>

It is noticeable that the speech of Rushanak stands in close connection with Ethiopian Romance and the Arab historians Saʿīd b. al-Biṭrīq<sup>60</sup> and Masʿūdī.<sup>61</sup> The exact narrative preserved in the work of Saʿīd b. al-Biṭrīq about the speech of Olympias has similarities with the Ethiopian text.

With respect to the funeral meal, the versions of the Arab historians Yaʿqūbī, Saʿīd b. al-Biṭrīq and Masʿūdī and in the β recension of Alexander

<sup>55</sup> For further reading: Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq 1896; Strohmaier 1960–2002, vol. III, 578; *idem* 1991, 163–70; Merkle 1921. Cf. Hertz 1905, 139–41; Cary 1956, 22–3; Plessner 1955, 60–72 (English translation: "Analecta to Hunain Ibn Ishaq's Apophthegms of the Philosophers and its Hebrew Translation," vi–vii).

<sup>56</sup> Rosenthal 1975, 120–4.

<sup>57</sup> Hame 2008, 1 ff. n. 1.

<sup>58</sup> Goff 2004, 31 writes that the process of death, like birth, was "particularly suitable for women's management". See also Lefkowitz, Fant 1992 and Blundell 1995, 72–3, 162–3.

<sup>59</sup> Wallis Budge 1896, 379–80, 400–1, 434–5. Cf. Loraux 1998.

<sup>60</sup> Saʿīd b. al-Biṭrīq 1906–9, vol. I, 84–5 and Migne 1857–66, vol. 111, 973–4. Cf. Thaʿālibī 1900, 454.

<sup>61</sup> Masʿūdī 1968–74, ch. 25, para 676, 254.

## *Burial customs for Alexander the Great*

Romance refer to the preparation of a dinner that Olympias had to organize. The funeral meal seems to be part of the ceremonies for the dead. The way our narrators present this rite appears that it aims at mitigating the sorrow that the mother of Alexander felt. In contrast to the other two writers Ya'qūbī narrates that the dinner was open only to women. According to the historian Mas'ūdī, the dinner was organized by Olympias, when she realized that her son was dead.<sup>62</sup>

Regarding women's role in the Greek funeral activities, Margaret Alexiou writes: "It remains to explain why women were so hard hit by the restrictive legislation. From earliest times the main responsibility for funeral ritual and lamentation had rested with them: they were therefore in control of something which in the archaic period had played a vital part in the religious and social life of *génos*...."<sup>63</sup> Funeral legislation cited by Alexiou indicates that it was, in fact, the male members of the society who exerted control over funeral rites, at least at the state level and, in turn, at the domestic level.<sup>64</sup> No extant historical evidence documents the role of women or female relatives as the traditional controllers or managers of funeral rites. In addition, female relatives may not have automatically participated in any preparatory rites for a relative, but in certain circumstances had to ask permission of a male-in-charge.<sup>65</sup>

It should be noted here that in the Arabic historical tradition Alexander's funeral has some similarities to that of Darius the King of Persia as presented in the Alexander Romance. In the Armenian version of Alexander Romance, we read that Alexander wrote to Darius' mother and wife a letter in which he stated that he had ordered that Darius be put in a heroic tomb (in a casket) among his heroic ancestors. He also added that he had sent his body to be prepared for burial according to Persian custom. Alexander ordered the noblest of the Macedonians and Persians, in panoply, to go first. He, the king himself, lifted upon his shoulder and alone bore through the midst of the satraps the body of Darius. The people following along were moved not so much at seeing Darius as by the fact that Alexander was carrying him. Alexander placed him in the grave of the Persian kings. Subsequently, by sacrificing many oxen and sheep, Alexander carried out the funeral ceremonies.<sup>66</sup> In the *a* recension of Pseudo-Callisthenis Romance, Alexander seems to bury Darius's body and he orders first the Persians and then the Macedonians to parade fully armed.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Zampaki 2008, 299–308.

<sup>63</sup> Alexiou 2002, 21.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibidem* 14–23.

<sup>65</sup> Hame 2008, 4.

<sup>66</sup> Wolohojian 1969, para 198, 105, para. 204, 109–10.

<sup>67</sup> Kroll 1958, II, 92; Engelmann 1963, ch. 21, 204.

The Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes reports the burial customs for Darius' funeral: washing the body of the dead, arraying him in royal apparel, parading all the officers of the Macedonian and Persian armies in full armour before the dead body of Darius. Alexander together with the Persian nobles bore the bier of Darius, and he went on foot to the grave, and the bier of Darius was carried to the grave upon their shoulders.<sup>68</sup>

According to the Ethiopian version of the Alexander Romance, Alexander appears to have ordered people to bring a splendid bier meet for a king, which was perfumed with all manner of sweet scents, and to make for Darius a coffin, wrought with gold and studded with precious stones, such as was suitable for a king. He also ordered a herald to go round about through the camp, and proclaim that the soldiers should gather together, bearing their weapons of war on their shoulders, and that they should march before the bier containing the dead body of Darius. Furthermore, he ordered the chiefs and generals of his army should march by the side of it on the right hand and on the left. Alexander came down from his horse and went on foot by the side of the bier to the grave, together with his bodyguard, and with the Persian soldiers, and with all the people in their various grades. Then he commanded his soldiers to lay him in the grave, but he did not himself bury him.<sup>69</sup>

The similarity between the burial customs for Alexander the Great and Darius III Codomannus can also be seen in the magnificent tomb prepared for the two kings. Although Darius's burial is said to follow Persian custom, in fact we meet the customary Greek activities of preparation of the body (bathing, scenting, clothing), *πρόθεσις* (the laying out of the body), *ἐκφορά* (the procession to the grave), burial (tomb construction), post-funeral customs (sacrifice). It may be said that the Arab historians did not dwell on the differences of the rites for the funeral of Alexander the Great from those of Darius's burial. It is noteworthy that the duty of responsibility and management of the performance of funeral rites for Darius fell to a male person, i.e. Alexander the Great.

In conclusion, it should be said that the narratives of the Arab historians reflect the infiltration of Greek ideas, beliefs and symbols in the world of the East. It was not Alexander's historical reality, but his significance as a symbol and as a paradigm of world rule and gentile glory and victory which was used by Arab historians, mainly in its legendary form. In a sense, Alexander was taken over by Arab writers, in that they made him confront not only his own limitations, his mortality and his consequent wisdom, but also death. The ethical or moral element is surely one of the most important features of the Arabic traditions concerning Alexander the Great.<sup>70</sup> Alexander, very soon

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<sup>68</sup> Wallis Budge 1976, II, 81.

<sup>69</sup> Wallis Budge 1896, 95–6.

<sup>70</sup> van Bekkum 1986, 226 n. 3.

## *Burial customs for Alexander the Great*

after his death, became an important “bearer of meaning” for the preoccupations of the cultures in which the legends originated. Whether it was hero cult or divine cult that Alexander received is not so important as the indisputable fact that he was no ordinary mortal.

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