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Edited by
Helen Cavanagh, William
Cavanagh and James Roy

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prepared by

Sam Farnham

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#### **Abstracts**

## 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 «Άοχοντας του Βαφειού»: η κοινωνική ταυτότητα του νεκοού και η σημασία της για την Λακωνία κατά την ΥΕΙΙ-ΙΙΙΑ περίοδο

Αυτή η ανακοίνωση εξετάζει την κοινωνική ταυτότητα του νεκοού 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 ΙΙΒ περίοδο, η παραπάνω εικόνα είναι ιδανική για τη μελέτη των κοινωνικοπολιτικών εξελίξεων στην ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα κατά την Υστεροελλαδική ΙΙ περίοδο, οι οποίες δημιούργησαν το ανακτορικό σύστημα της ΥΕ ΙΙΙ περίόδου, όπως υποδεικνύεται από την ξεχωριστή ταφή και αρχιτεκτονική του Βαφειού, ενός από τους πρωιμότερους μνημειώδεις θολωτούς τάφους. Επιπλέον, συνδυάζοντας τα στοιχεία από το Βαφειό με τα αντίστοιχα από την κοιλάδα του Ευρώτα κατά την ΥΕ ΙΙ-ΙΙΙ 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 λατοεία 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 Μειλίχιου, 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 Μειλίχιου, 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 sociopolitical 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 παφουσίασης 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 σφραγιδες απο σκληρους λιθους: 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 ανθοώπινο σώμα στα ταφικά σύνολα της ποώιμης μυκηναϊκής περιόδου

Λόγω έλλειψης στοιχείων, η Ποώιμη 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 μετάλλινων 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, ειδικώτερα από τον 8ο αι. κ.εξ., έχει μελετήσει με λεπτομέρεια το ρόλο τους στο θέμα των επικρατειών της ποώιμης 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 σπαφτιατικό 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 Σπαρτατική πολιτική κοινότητα. Θα περίμενε, λοιπόν, κανείς να ανακαλύψει την επίσημη έκφραση αυτών των σχέσεων στα τελετουργικά δρώμενα. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, συγκεκοιμένα αναθήματα όπως σκηνές πρόθεσης που βρίσκονται ανάμεσα σε ποοσφορές 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 επιχεισεί να διαφωτίσει το σόλο που έπαιξε η θεραπεία των νεκρών στη

διαμόςφωση κοινωνικής συνοχής εντός της Λακωνίας κατά τη διάςκεια μιας καθοςιστικής για κοινωνικο-πολιτικές αλλαγές πεςιόδου, με ιδιαίτες αναφοςά: α) στην εξέλιξη των τελετουργικών πρακτικών αυτή την πεςίοδο, και β) στις διαφοςετικές ομάδες που εμπλέκονται: τι επέλεγαν να θυμούνται/τιμούν, τι επέλεγαν (ή ήταν υποχρεωμένες) να ξεχνούν, και ποιοι επέβαλαν το κυςίαςχο πλαίσιο που όφειλαν να ακολουθούν;

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

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

### Επιτύμβιες στήλες στη Μεγαλόπολη

Στην ανακοίνωση αυτή εξετάζονται ορισμένα αντιπροσωπευτικά παραδείγματα ταφικών στηλών που βρέθηκαν στην επικράτεια της ομοσπονδιακής πρωτεύουσας της αρχαίας Αρκαδίας. Πρόκειται για μικρή αλλά χαρακτηριστική σειρά επιτύμβιων στηλών, κυρίως της ελληνιστικής και ρωμαϊκής εποχής, που φυλάσσονται στην Αρχαιολογική Συλλογή της Μεγαλόπολης. Σχολιάζονται και απεικονίζονται, ορισμένα για πρώτη φορά, χαρακτηριστικά ταφικά μνημεία που μαρτυρούν όχι μόνο την ιδιαίτερη φροντίδα να σημανθεί ο τάφος του νεκοού 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 πληφοφοφούν 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 Υπηφεσία τα τελευταία χρόνια στα εδάφη της Μεγαλόπολης, αποτέλεσμα της σύγχοονης 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 18th and 19th centuries, which greatly influenced Greek art and architecture in the 19th century. The identification and recording of those monuments helps their preservation through the ages, since they are constantly at risk of being damaged. The types of monument and their decoration as well as their inscriptions and epigrams are also recorded. The main

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

### Τα μνημεία των κοιμητηρίων της Λακωνίας

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Τιμώντας τους νεκοούς 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 έφευνες της $\Lambda\Theta'$ Εφοφείας Ποοϊστοφικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων στο Ελληνικό βόφειας Κυνουφίας. 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 Τειχιό, καταδεικνύει και τη σπουδαιότητα της θέσης αυτής της Θυρεάτιδος.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Είναι γενικά αποδεκτό ότι οι μνημειώδεις και περικαλείς αμφορείς - οι λεγόμενοι «ανακτορικοί αμφορείς» - που έχουν βρεθεί σε πλούσιους πελοποννησιακούς τάφους της ΥΕ ΙΙ περιόδου είναι αντικείμενα κύρους συνδεδεμένα με την ανώτερη κοινωνική τάξη στην Πελόπόννησο 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 Moiroloï 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 μοιφολόι της νότιας 'κοίλης Λακεδαίμονος' και οι ιστοφικές πεφιπέτειες της χώφας

Το μοιοολόι 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 moiroloï singer with the deceased as a source of inspiration

Vital data for research into the Moiroloï 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 Moiroloï, as a discrete artistic creation, must, for this reason, be accompanied by as much information as possible.

### Η σχέση της μοιφολογίστρας με το νεκρό ως πηγή έμπνευσης

Κοίσιμα στοιχεία της έφευνας της σχετικής με το μοιφολόι αποτελούν ο χρόνος καταγραφής αυτού και η γνώση της σχέσης της μοιφολογίστρας 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 μοιφολόι, 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, σπανιώτερα 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 reenacted, 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 εθμήνευσε ο ανασκαφέας τα πλούσια κατάλοιπα της ύστεθης Γεωμετθικής πεθιόδου μέσα και πάνω από το θάλαμο. Σχολιάζεται επίσης η γειτνίαση των σημαντικών ταφικών μνημείων (Κύκλος Β, θολωτός Κλυταιμνήστθας, θαλαμωτός τάφος) με το ελληνιστικό θέατθο της πόλης, όπου αναβίωναν τα πάθη των Ατθειδών. Τέλος, αποτίεται φόθος τιμής στον ανασκαφέα, τα ημεθολόγια του οποίου αποκαλύπτουν τις σκέψεις ενός μεγάλου αθχαιολόγου και τις ανησυχίες ενός καθημεθινού ανθθώπου.

#### 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 Κοιλάδας, 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.

## Ανθοωπόμοοφη στήλη από το Λεβίδι Αφκαδίας: τυπολογική και εφμηνευτική προσέγγιση

Η ανθοωπόμος στήλη του Λεβιδίου αποτελεί ένα από τα πρωιμότερα, κολοσσικά έργα της αρκαδικής μεγάλης πλαστικής, χρονολογούμενη περί τα τέλη του  $7^{\rm ov}$  - αρχές του  $6^{\rm ov}$  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 Σιδήφου στην Πελοπόννησο και η θέση τους στην ταφική γεωγραφία του ελληνικού κόσμου

Όπως προκύπτει από μία ευρύτερη έρευνα περισσοτέρων 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 ταφών 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 Εspace 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 Τσούντα, 1891

Το παρόν άρθοο 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 Τσούντα το 1891, βρέθηκε συλημένος. Ωστόσο, απέδωσε αριθμό μικροαντικειμένων, μεταξύ των οποίων τα δύο γνωστά μολύβδινα ειδώλια Μινωικού τύπου. Ιδιαίτερη σημασία έχουν οι αναφορές και τα άλλα έγγραφα, σήμερα στο Αρχείο της Εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, όπου ο Χρήστος Τσούντας αποκαλύπτει πλευρές της έρευνάς του. Δίδονται πρώτες εκτιμήσεις για τη χρονολόγηση του μνημείου και διαγράφονται ιστορικές προεκτάσεις.

## 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 Παυσανία

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 περίβλεπτα σημεία αποτελούσε σύνηθες φαινόμενο, ενώ συχνά αφιερώνονταν θρησκευτικές τελετουργίες προς τιμήν τους. Στην Περιήγησή του ο Παυσανίας περιγράφει, εκτός άλλων, τα ταφικά μνημεία που συναντά. Συγκεντρώνοντας τα στοιχεία για όλα τα ταφικά μνημεία που αναφέρει ο Παυσανίας 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 κεραμεικής στα ταφικά σύνολα της Πελοποννήσου (ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση)

Το θέμα μου είναι η λεπτή κεραμεική της Πρώιμης Ύστεροελλαδικής περιόδου, γνωστή ως «ηπειρωτική πολύχρωμη κεραμεική», η οποία εκπροσωπείται στους Κάθετους Λακκοειδείς Τάφους των Μυκηνών και είναι συχνά διακοσμημένη με εικονιστικά μοτίβα όπως πουλιά και γρύπες. Η κεραμεική 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 κεραμεική 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.

## Υβοιδικά ταφικά μνημεία της Ύστεοης Εποχής του Χαλκού σε δύο νέες θέσεις του νομού Ηλείας (Στοεφι 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 νοοτοοπίας στην Πελοπόννησο κατά τη μετάβαση από τη Μέση στην Ύστερη Εποχή του Χαλκού

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

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

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

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

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

Ανάλογες με την ομοιομοφφία 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 επιτρεπόταν 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 μποφούσε 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 γοαμμή, 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 Σπαοτιατικούς. Στην εισήγησή μας θα αναφερθούμε διεξοδικά στις τιμές που απέδιδαν οι Σπαοτιάτες στους νεκρούς της μάχης και παράλληλα θα εξετάσουμε ποιες ήταν οι γυναίκες που μπορούσαν να κερδίσουν το προνόμιο αυτών των τιμών. Άραγε 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 IIIIA. 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 νεκφούς. Η λεηλασία των θολωτών τάφων στην Ποώιμη 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 πρέπουσα επαναχρησιμοποίησή τους. Η πρόωρη καταστροφή των μυκηναϊκών οικισμών κατά την ίδια περίοδο, η οποία βεβαιώνεται επίσης στο Αίγιο στην Αχαΐα, έρχεται να προσθέσει στην εικόνα των διαταραχών που σηματοδοτούν την έναρξη της περιόδου αυτής.

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

"In that travail - says Herodotus - fell Leonidas, fighting most gallantly, and with him other famous Spartans, whose names I have learnt for their great worth and desert, as I have learnt besides the names of all the three hundred" [Hdt.7.224]. In this emphatic and very dense sentence, Herodotus expresses his judgement about Leonidas, when he tells us of his death, and about the warriors who died with him. Leonidas was *aristos*; to a lesser degree, the others were *onomastoi*. He claims to have gathered information about these *axioi* men, about all the Three Hundred. The emphasis here covers a logical contraction of his thought: he declares that he has gained information; however this information apparently concerns only their names and even all the names, not their deeds. Herodotus perhaps knows all these warriors' names, but evidently he does not quote them all. On the other hand, he evidently knows something else, not simply their names but also the last exploits of some of them, the positive or negative last deeds or sayings of six of them: Dienekes, Alpheios, Maron, 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;

«καὶ Λεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτω τῷ πόνω πίπτει ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄριστος καὶ ἔτεροι μετ' αὐτοῦ ονομαστοί Σπαρτιητέων, των έγω ως ανδρων αξίων γενομένων επυθόμην τα οὐνόματα, ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων» (Hooð. 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 πληφοφορίες αυτές; Από επίσημο κατάλογο ή από προφορικές πηγές; Μήπως είδε τον επίσημο κατάλογο που αναγραφόταν στη στήλη και περιγράφεται από τον Παυσανία (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 λατοεία τοπικών ηρώων: η εκ νέου ανακάλυψη της ταφής και η ταυτότητα στη Σπάοτη

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 Αμύκλες. 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.

# 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

Ποστείνω να συγκοιθούν οι Σπαστιατικές βασιλικές ταφές στα χωρία 6.58 του Ηροδότου, Λακ. 15.9 του Ξενοφώντα και Άγης. 40.3 του Πλουτάρχου με αντίστοιχες επιβεβαιωμένες πρακτικές που παρατηρούνται σε σχέση με ταφές Αχαιμενιδών και ομηρικών βασιλέων ή μελών της βασιλικής οικογένειας. Θα 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 magicoreligious 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 'νεκφούς': αφχαίες και σύγχφονες θρησκευτικές τελετουργίες αναγέννησης με αφετηρία μία παφάσταση σε μυκηναϊκό κφατήφα

Στα τέλη της δεκαετίας του 1990 αποκαλύφθηκε μυκηναϊκό νεκοοταφείο στην Αγία Τοιάδα του νομού Ηλείας, στη θέση «Παλιομπουκουβίνα». Στο δοόμο ενός από τους θαλαμωτούς τάφους βοέθηκε 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 έφευνας 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 Mantineia

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

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

### ΙG. V.1 1124. Ο νεκφός των Γεφονθρών στη Μαντίνεια

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

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

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

### Αντιφώνηση, τελετουργία και η κατασκευή της αλήθειας

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Υποδειγματικός θάνατος στην Πελοπόννησο

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

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

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

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

Σε ΠΕ Ι ταφή νεαφής γυναίκας από το χώφο του Ιεφού του Απόλλωνα Μαλεάτα στην Επίδαυφο ήφθε στο φως πεφίαπτο κόσμημα. Πφόκειται για σύνθεση αποτελούμενη από ωθειδές πλακίδιο από σχιστόλιθο, δόντια ιχθύων πφοσαφμοσμένα στην επιφάνειά του και δυο θφαύσματα οστφέων που πλαισίωναν συμμετφικά το πλακίδιο. Το εύφημα εγείφει πληθώφα νέων ζητημάτων πφος έφευνα, από τα πιο απλά και πφακτικά, όπως τη χφήση και την πφοέλευση των οδόντων ιχθύων, και την τεχνική κατασκευής του, ως τα πιο πεφίπλοκα όπως τη σημασία του ως ταφικό κόσμημα και την αισθητική του αξία στο πλαίσιο του Πφωτοελλαδικού 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 Αλεξάνδοου στην αφαβική ιστοφιογφαφία και το Αλεξανδοινό Μυθιστόφημα

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 Sparti, who showed unstinting support and generous backing; the J. F. Costopoulos Foundation and the British Academy also provided generous support and other participating organisations were the Pnevmatiki Estia of the Dimos Spartis and the University of the Peloponnese. We wish to thank the Public Library of Sparti and Mrs Eleni Tzinieri-Tzannetakou and the University of the Peloponnese for generously placing their lecture halls at our disposal. We were particularly pleased that a number of exhibitions and other cultural events were timed to coincide with the conference: 'Studies on Laconia'. Book exhibition organised by the Central Public Library of Sparti; 'The Naval Battle of Navarino: Multiple Readings. The Antonis Tantoulos Collection' presented by the National Gallery of Greece - Annexe at Sparti and the General National Archives for the Prefecture of Lakonia; 'In Memory of Pericles Panteleakis' art exhibition organised by the Pnevmatiki Estia of Sparti; 'Heroes of my Town' competition open to the primary school pupils of Sparti. Particular thanks are due to the individuals who helped organise the Conference, Dr Chrysanthi Gallou and Dr Metaxia Papapostolou.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Other papers focus more closely on the Classical period, the celebration of the heroic dead. How typical were the Spartans in their reactions to mortality? Were their attitudes to death and their burial customs really as 'other', if not unique, as Xenophon, Plutarch - and 'The 300' - make them out to be? Paradiso, Gengler and Petropoulou analyse closely the sources and the presentation of exemplary death in Sparta. Again identity and self-image are pictured in investigations of the insiders' and outsiders' views. Spartan royal funerals were exceptionally extravagant, their conduct uniquely embedded in Spartan tradition. The war dead were also commemorated exceptionally in Sparta. The 300 heroes of Thermopylae have been invented and reinvented time and again. Paradiso looks to Herodotus, who was fascinated by their celebrity and conducted his own ίστορίη 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 moirologia, 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 moirologia, picking out, in particular, the historical and political context, on the one hand, and the kin relationship between deceased and singer on the other. Psychogiou takes the remarkable find of vase scenes depicting lamentation of the dead which have recently been recovered from Mycenaean tombs in Elis, to bridge the gap between remote past and present by confronting the similarities in the representation of ritual in past and present. The laying out of the corpse (prothesis) is treated by Fragkopoulou in the unexpected context of votives at Lakedaimonian sanctuaries. These popular themes are confronted with poetry of a more consciously literary conceit: Roy sketches poems by the Hellenistic poetess Anyte of Tegea including not only funerary epigrams for young maidens but extending also to the commemoration of animals. Kakourou-Chroni turns to the modern poet Nikiforos Vrettakos, tracing the development of his reflections on death from an early phase where he is 'immersed in death' to his late poetry transformed by his experiences of World War II where 'death murders God' but also 'shines on the suffering world'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

WGC JR

### **CHAPTER 18**

### THE INVISIBLE DEAD OF DELPRIZA, KRANIDI

### ANGELIKI KOSSYVA

### Introduction

During a rescue excavation conducted by the 4<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities<sup>1</sup> in the area of Delpriza Kranidi (FIG. 1) east of the village of Koilada, part of a cemetery was revealed. The cemetery extends on the eastern slope of a low hill, 700 m south of Koilada Bay and about 2500 m SSE of the Franchthi cave (FIG. 2).



FIG. 1. Satellite image of the Koilada region in the southern Argolid, on which the position of Delpriza is marked in relation to the fishing village of Koilada and the Franchthi cave (After Google, 2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I would like to thank the Director of the 4<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities Mrs. Anna Banaka and the archaeologist Dr. Olga Psychogyiou who entrusted me with the excavation of the site and the study of the finds. Also, I express my warm thanks to the organizers of this conference for the opportunity to present this material.

Excavation began in November 2006 and it continues to this day with the author as supervisor archaeologist, Mrs Kalliopi Nikolakopoulou as draughtswoman and with the assistance of four craftsmen, George Argyris, Harilaos Argyris, Markos Kaplatzis and Elias Kostopoulos.

### Angeliki Kossyva

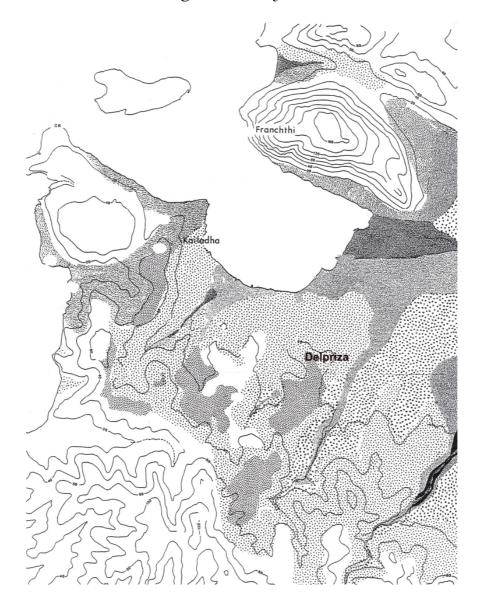


FIG. 2. Topographical map of the Koilada area in the southern Argolid.

During the same excavation a rural building of industrial character was revealed situated further north on the same hill. The use of the building is indicated by the presence of a stone oil press. It is dated, according to the preliminary study of the finds, to the  $4^{th}$ – $3^{rd}$  century BC (FIG. 3a, b).

In fact, the area had been surveyed by the American School of Classical Studies,<sup>2</sup> but no evidence of either of the above sites had been found at the time. The hill had been cultivated for garden produce in recent years until the excavation began, and this is why the site is known as 'Bostani'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Jameson, Runnels, & van Andel 1994, 466–7, pocket map 2.

## The invisible dead



FIG. 3. a. View of the excavated farmstead at the top of the hill.



 $3.\ b.$  The location of the cemetery in relation to the farmstead.

### Angeliki Kossyva

### THE CEMETERY

### Types of graves

So far 43 graves have been excavated, most of which (25 graves) belonged to the type of the simple elliptical pit (FIG. 4); 23 of those were covered with soil and 2 with rough stones (FIG. 5). The largest pit had dimensions  $2.10 \, \text{m} \times 0.85 \, \text{m}$  and the smallest  $0.85 \, \text{m} \times 0.40 \, \text{m}$  (a child's grave). Their depths ranged from  $0.10 \, \text{m}$  to  $0.50 \, \text{m}$  below the current ground surface.





FIG. 4 (left). Pit grave 20.

FIG. 5. (above) Pit grave 29 covered with rough stones.

Also quite common were graves with roof tiles (11 graves) (FIGS 6a, b, 7a, b). They were elliptical pits in which the body was surrounded by and covered with tiles of Laconian type. Moreover, in the child's grave 4 (FIG. 8) tiles formed the floor of the pit. The dimensions of the graves with tiles ranged from  $2.16 \times 0.70$  m to  $0.65 \times 0.20$  m (children's graves) (FIG. 9) and depths from 0.30–0.66 m below the current ground surface.

In the N part of the excavated area four cist graves were located, the only cist graves discovered so far in this cemetery (FIG. 10 a, b). Three of them were lined with worked or rough local limestone along their four sides (FIG. 11a, b) while the fourth was lined with tiles (FIG. 12) placed vertically along its long sides and with worked limestone along its narrow sides. The cist graves were also covered with soil except for grave 1, which was covered with stone slabs. Their size ranged from  $2 \times 0.55$  to  $1.75 \times 0.40$  m and their depth from 0.43 m to 0.55 m below the current ground surface.

Two simple burials (FIG. 13) were also found, in which the dead person was deposited on the natural ground (without digging a pit) and covered by a thin layer of soil.

## The invisible dead



FIG. 6. a. Grave 14 covered with tiles.



 $FIG.\ 6.\ b.$  The interior of grave 14 after the removal of the human skeleton.

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FIG. 7. a. Grave 22 covered with tiles.



FIG. 7. b. The interior of the grave 22 after the removal of the human skeleton.



FIG. 8. Child's grave 4 paved with tiles.

### The invisible dead



FIG. 9. Child's grave 17 with roof tiles.



FIG. 10. a. Built tomb 1 covered with rough stones.



FIG. 10. b. The interior of tomb 1 after the removal of the skeleton.

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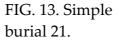
FIG. 11. a. The interior of tomb 38 after the removal of the skeleton.



FIG. 11. b. The interior of tomb 39 after the removal of the skeleton.



FIG. 12. The interior of tomb 42 after the removal of the skeleton.





Finally, in the s part of the cemetery an elliptical pit had been dug in the bedrock and its side walls lined with rough limestone. This tomb contained multiple burials and had maximum dimensions of 2 m  $\times$  1.85 m and a depth of 0.60 m.

### Layout of the cemetery

The graves in the section of the cemetery excavated so far (FIG. 14) extended in at least three rows over two artificial terraces in the soft clay bedrock with a general N–S orientation.



FIG. 14. Arrangement of the graves.

Most of the graves (30) were oriented north–south, regardless of their type. Only six graves had a NW–SE orientation, while five faced east–west.

It was further established that while the pits, the tiled graves and the cist graves formed a whole, the grave in the S part of the cemetery was an individual find, with which we will deal separately later.

In general, the pits, the tiled graves and the cist graves contained one burial, apart from two tile graves containing two (FIG. 15a, b) and cist grave 39 containing two superimposed burials and the bones of a third at the feet of the other two (FIG. 16a, b, c).



FIG. 15. a. The two bodies *in situ* in grave 30.

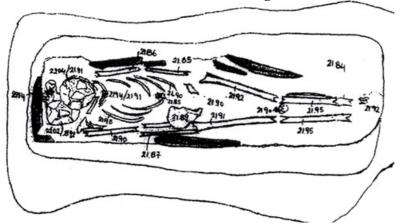


FIG. 15. b. Drawing of the bodies in the interior of grave 30.



FIG. 16. a. Body 1 and the removed bones of a third in tomb 39.



FIG. 16. b. Body 2 and the removed bones of a third in tomb 39.

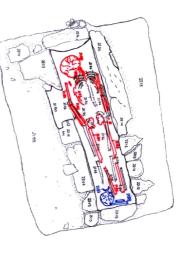


FIG. 16. c. Drawing of the bodies in the interior of tomb 39.

Skeletal remains had not survived in four of the graves, although in one of them the grave goods did. Three of these graves were identified as infant graves due to their small dimensions; here nothing was preserved from the skeletal material except for parts of the skulls.



FIG. 17. a. Parts of a human skeleton in grave 11.



FIG. 17. b. Human skeleton in grave 6.

In order to determine the gender, age and pathology of the dead an osteological study<sup>3</sup> has begun, although the state of preservation of the bones is often very fragmentary (**FIG. 17 a, b**). For the time being we can identify at least 38 adults and four infants buried in the graves.



FIG. 18. Supine extended position of the body of the deceased in grave 15.



FIG. 20. Supine contracted position of the deceased in grave 22.



FIG. 19. Supine extended position of the body of the deceased in grave 35.



FIG. 21. Supine position with squatting legs of the deceased

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The study of the osteological material is carried out by Professor Terry Brown at the University of Manchester, Faculty of Life Sciences.

All the dead were deposited directly on top of the earthen floor of the grave. Sixteen were in a supine, usually extended posture with the arms parallel to the body (FIG. 18). Four of the dead were buried in an extended supine position with one or both hands on the abdomen (FIG. 19). One body was lying in a supine position with slightly contracted legs (FIG. 20) with one hand on the abdomen, while another was lying in a supine position with squatting legs (FIG. 21).

One exception was the body in grave 12, as it had been laid on its left side, in a contracted position. This may not be its original burial place, since it appears that it had been moved to the edge of the pit so that a smaller tile grave with an infant burial could be included in the same pit. This is possibly a successive or contemporaneous burial of a child and his/her mother (FIG. 22a, b).



FIG. 22. a. The position of the deceased in tomb 12.



FIG. 22. b. Grave 12A after the removal of the skeleton in grave 12.

We also realized that in 22 cases the head of the deceased was located at the S narrow end of the grave, whereas six bodies were deposited with their heads at the N end, two on the E side, one on the W side and one at the NW narrow end of the grave (FIG. 23).

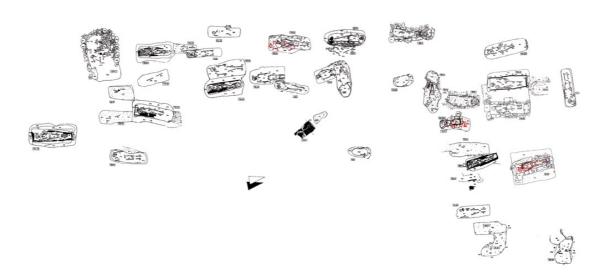


FIG. 23. Ground plan of the cemetery with human skeletons in situ.

## Grave goods

Only 8 out of 42 graves were found to contain grave goods. Built grave 1 contained two iron pins at the level of the right shoulder of the deceased and a bronze ring at the height of the abdomen, where one of the hands probably rested (FIG. 24a, b).

Built grave 39 also included an iron pin, which cannot be attributed with precision to any one of the three dead.

Tiled grave 9 contained a silver Aeginetan obol<sup>4</sup> positioned below the head of the deceased (FIG. 25a, b).

The child's tile grave 17 contained a small black-glazed skyphos of Corinthian type, dated to the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. The skyphos was located west of the skull and was an import from Attica(FIG. 26a, b).<sup>5</sup>

Grave 8 contained two inverted kylikes at the feet of the body together with a lekythos, dating to 480–470 BC. The first kylix is a local imitation of the Attic Droop-type kylix,<sup>6</sup> while the second is an import from Attica<sup>7</sup> (FIG. 27a,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum vol. VII, no.1008.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See Parlama & Stampolidis, 2000, 301, no. 296 and Sparkes & Talcott, 1970, 81–3, pl. 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See Sparkes & Talcott, 1970, 91, pl. 19 No. 397 & pl. 20 no. 440.

b, c). The lekythos (FIG. 28 a, b), which bears a Dionysiac scene, is also Attic and belongs to group 581, I of Athens.<sup>8</sup>

FIG. 24. a. Bronze ring of tomb 1.





FIG. 24. b. Detail of the bronze ring in tomb 1.



FIG. 25. a. Obverse of the silver obol of grave 9.



FIG. 25. b. Reverse of the silver obol of grave 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Moore & Philippides, 1986, 58–61, pl. 103.

<sup>8</sup> See Parlama & Stampolidis, 2000, 293; also Moore & Philippides, 1986, 46–7.



FIG. 26. a. The skyphos of grave 17 in situ.



FIG. 26. b. The skyphos of grave 17.



FIG. 27. a. Two inverted kylikes of grave 8 in situ.





FIG. 27. b. Local kylix which is an Attic imitation.

FIG. 27. c. Attic kylix.

FIG. 28. b. Attic lekythos.

FIG. 28. a. The lekythos of grave 8 in situ.





In grave 26 a fragmentary iron fibula was found near the left arm of the deceased. Also in pit 23 (which possibly included an infant burial, although no skeletal remains survived), two miniature Corinthian kotylai<sup>9</sup> of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and a spoon were discovered (FIG. 29 a , b). Burial 10 included a small Corinthian jug of the 5<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> century BC (FIG. 30) and an iron pin beside one of the legs of the deceased.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Payne, 1962, 295–6, pl. 119.



FIG. 29. a. The spoon and kotylai of pit 23 in situ.



FIG. 29. b. Two miniature kotylai and a spoon.





FIG. 31. The small skyphos of grave 17 or 18.

FIG. 30. The oenochoe of grave 10.

Finally, a small, locally produced skyphos of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (FIG. 31) was connected with the child's tile grave 17 or grave 18; because of recent cultivation activity the skyphos cannot be attributed more precisely to either of the two graves.

From the study of the archaeological data we concluded that these 42 graves form a homogeneous group dating to the Classical period, on the basis of their organization, method of burial and paucity of types of offerings. In particular, the finds date the graves to the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. The tiles that covered the graves are dated to the late 5<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC<sup>10</sup> (FIG. 32 a, b, c, d, e). They are of Laconian type, unpainted or painted in red, brown or

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The dating of the graves' tiles was carried out by Dr. M.-F. Billiot, whom I thank for my initiation into the unexplored world of these generally neglected objects.

black colour (FIG. 33 a, b). Several have grooves made by the fingers of the potters, while two tiles have impressed the mark of the workshop which produced them (FIG. 34 a, b).

The arrangement of the graves and the position of the dead in them show the organization of groups within the cemetery: namely, some pits were very close to each other (FIG. 35 a, b) and one pit contained two graves or depositions which partially overlapped (FIG. 36 a, b), although there was no shortage of space to open up new pits. There were even graves in which the heads of the dead were turned to face each other (FIG. 37 a, b). We possibly, therefore, have members of the same family buried in adjacent graves. This is an issue which we hope to clarify through osteological study.

FIG. 32. a. The convex side of a tile from grave 30.





FIG. 32. b. The hollow side of the above tile from grave 30.

FIG. 32. c. The hollow side of a tile from grave 30.





FIG. 32. d. The hollow side of a tile from grave 30.

FIG. 32. e. The hollow side of a tile from grave 30.





FIG. 33. a. The convex side of a tile from grave 30.

FIG. 33. b. The hollow side of the above tile from grave 30.





FIG. 34. a. The hollow side of a tile with ceramic sign from grave 30.

FIG. 34. b. The hollow side of a tile with ceramic sign from grave 30.



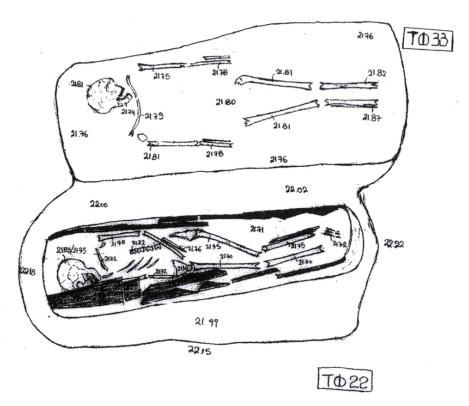


FIG. 35. a. Drawing of graves 22 and 33.

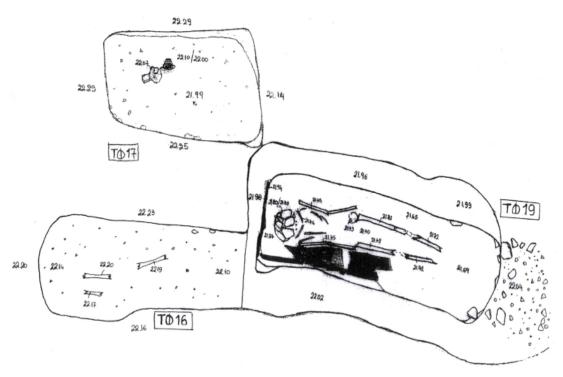


FIG. 35. b. Drawing of graves 16, 17 and 19.

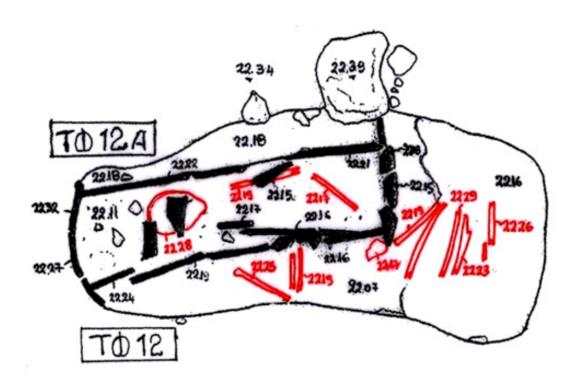


FIG. 36. a. Drawing of graves 12 and 12A.

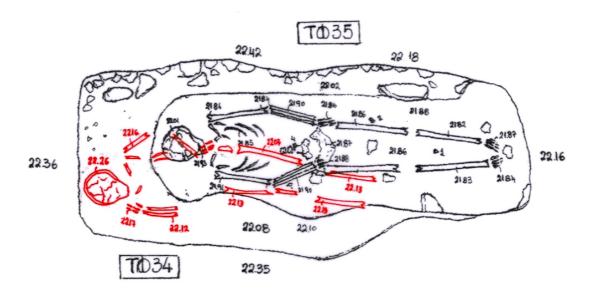


FIG. 36. b. Drawing of graves 34 and 35.

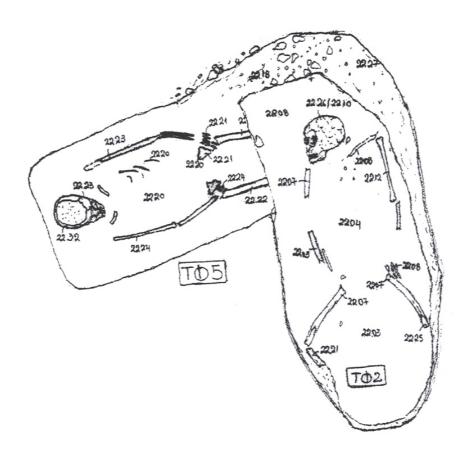


FIG. 37. a. Drawing of graves 2 and 5.

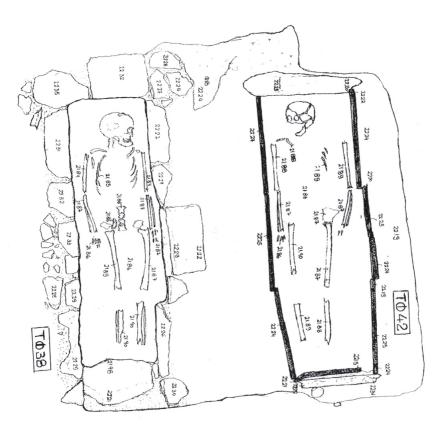


FIG. 37. b. Drawing of graves 38 and 42.

Although the graves with goods were very few (only 8 out of 42, i.e. 19%), the offerings were not related to just one type of grave, but appeared in simple pits, tile and cist graves, of both adults and infants. Therefore, it is not easy to distinguish the social class of the dead from the type of grave and its burial offerings. On the other hand, the difference in the types of graves (most of them were pits compared with 11 tile and only 3 built cist graves) suggests differences in the social stratification of the community members who are buried in Delpriza.

Grave goods (pottery, a little jewellery, a single coin) were more or less everyday utilitarian objects, whereas offerings like weapons, figurines, objects characteristic of craftsmen or athletes, were lacking. In particular luxury items were absent, which might indicate a high social standing or a marked economic diversification among the dead.

But in terms of work and the investment of time required for the construction of the graves, the most 'expensive' may be regarded the built cist graves and the tile graves. Therefore, economic distinction was based on whether or not the relatives of the dead were able to finance the construction of a simple pit, a tile grave or a built cist grave (FIG. 38) and whether or not they could afford to possess imported vases from Attica or Corinth.



FIG. 38. View of the northern part of the cemetery with built- cist tombs.

Finally, we noted that special care had been taken over the graves of infants, which had grave goods, and at least were not simple pits. Child grave 4 (FIG. 39) was unique in the cemetery for its construction, its floor being paved with tiles, as well as pit 23 (FIG. 29a) with offerings of miniature vases.

On the other hand, there was no evidence of any markings over the graves or of ceremonial rituals during and after the burial. Of course, we cannot exclude the possibility that these kinds of data have perished, due to soil erosion and the cultivation of recent years, as the graves were buried only 30–60 cm below the modern surface.



FIG. 39. Child's grave 4.

#### THE OCCUPATION OF THE REGION OF DELPRIZA

In general, those buried in these graves plainly represent a rural community of the Classical period in a very fertile area near the town of Mases (FIG. 40), which lies near the coast and flourished during the Classical era. Thanks to the region's abundant produce, the more prosperous community members had the wherewithal to distinguish themselves from the rest of the population through the type of grave they built or the objects which would accompany them in their graves.

Moreover, as we surmise from the (admittedly very few) imports from Attica and Corinth, the Delpriza community was not a closed and isolated village but had contacts with large, rich cities, perhaps through trade in its agricultural products, although its purchasing capacity may have been limited. The main product of the region was probably olive oil, as suggested by the close proximity to the cemetery of a workshop for oil production.

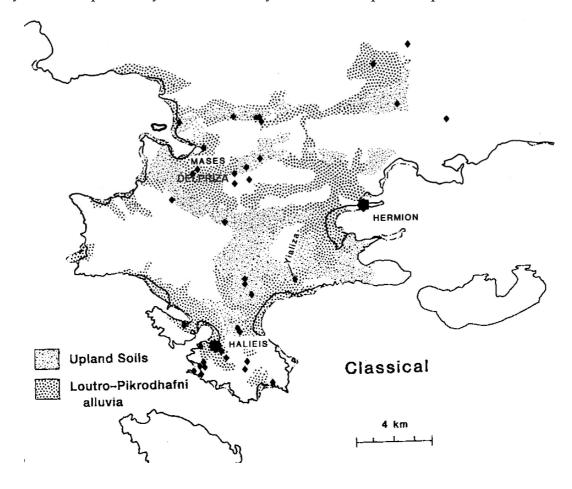


FIG. 40. Topographical map of the Delpriza area in relation to the Classical sites in the region (based on the survey of Jameson, Runnels & van Andel).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Jameson, Runnels & van Andel, 1994, 375–8, fig. 6.16.

#### THE EARLY HELLADIC GRAVE

The curvilinear quadrangular grave (FIG. 41 a, b, c, d), which was discovered in the S part of the cemetery, differed immediately from all the other excavated graves because of its construction. It consisted of an elliptical pit dug in the bedrock, its three sides lined with at least three courses of medium-sized unworked limestone boulders. The grave's entrance is on the east side and had a large stone, as a kind of jamb, at its S end. Clearly, an equivalent stone would have been placed at its N end too. The external dimensions of the grave were 2 m (E–W) x 1.85 m (N–S) and internally 1.60 x 1.40 m respectively. Immediately to the east of the door opening, which had a width of 0.90 m, a kind of *prothyron*, or porch, was indicated by a shallow formation in the bedrock (its dimensions being 1.10 x 0.65 m); this was located approximately 0.09 m above the lowest point of the grave's floor. We have no evidence for the grave's superstructure because it was found only 0.30 m below the present surface, in an intensively cultivated area.





FIG. 41. a. View from the east of the Early Helladic tomb.

FIG. 41. b. View from the south of the Early Helladic tomb.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The floor plan of the grave shows a general similarity with graves of Chalandriani in Syros (see Doumas, 1977, 47–9, pl. XIII, XXIV f & a, b, f) and the built grave 14 of Agios Kosmas in Attica (see Mylonas, 1959, 93–4, fig. 81, drawing 32)



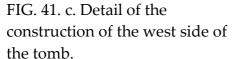




FIG. 41. d. Detail of the construction of the south-west corner of the tomb.

Moreover, this grave was distinguished from the rest of the cemetery because of its contents. Piles of human bones and skulls in successive layers (FIG. 42 a, b, c, d) were discovered inside the tomb. The upper layers of bones covered the whole grave while the lower ones were confined to its W part, opposite the entrance. The preserved bones showed the dead in a contracted position, whom we can estimate to have been at least 30 people, to judge from the number of skulls. We noted that the skulls were placed around the periphery of the tomb and the remaining bones piled in the centre. The dead were accompanied by obsidian blades, stone beads of various shapes, 10 clay vases and a marble figurine<sup>13</sup> of Cycladic type (FIG. 43 a, b, c, d).



FIG. 42. a. Layer B of bones and skulls in the tomb's interior.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The figurine was restored in the laboratories of the 1<sup>st</sup> Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Athens by the conservator Konstantinos Vassiliadis.



FIG. 42. b. Layer C of bones and skulls in the tomb's interior.



FIG. 42. c. Layer D of bones and skulls in the tomb's interior.



FIG. 42. d. Layer F of bones and skulls in the tomb's interior.

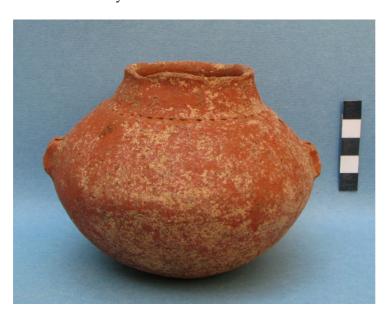


FIG. 43. a. Clay pyxis.



FIG. 43. b. Clay pyxis.



FIG. 43. c. Stone beads of various shapes.

The vases (some of which survived intact while others were in a fragmentary state) consisted mainly of spherical pyxides with a cylindrical neck, small lugs or cylindrical, pierced handles and incised decoration. Most of them were hand-made and had dark burnish or red paint. Also found were a pyxis lid and a fragmentary double vase with red paint (FIG. 44a, b, c, d). The vases date to the Early Helladic I period and have many similarities with Early Cycladic I pottery, mainly with vases of the so-called



FIG. 43. d. Obsidian blades.

Kampos group.<sup>14</sup> Their clay is characterized by many quartz inclusions, indicating that they did not originate from the Argolid.



FIG. 44. a. Clay pyxis with incised decoration.



FIG. 44. b. Clay pyxis with incised decoration.



FIG. 44. c. Lid of pyxis.



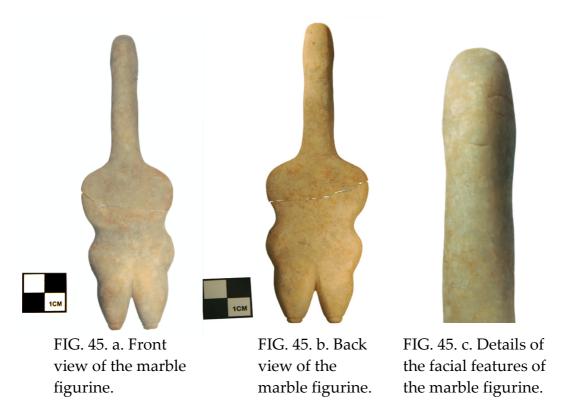
FIG. 44. d. Part of a double vase.

The Early Cycladic I period (3200–2700 BC) is also the date of the marble figurine (FIG. 45 a, b, c). It has affinities with figurines of the Plastiras group<sup>15</sup> and it conveys the human form with some anatomical details: on the vertical head at the end of a long neck, the mouth and eyes are indicated by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Rambach 2000, 143–6, 153–61. I thank Professor J. Maran for his comments as well as Dr. R. Barber and Dr. Olga Filaniotou for their generous response to my invitation to them to see the finds in the stores of Nafplion museum and for their comments.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Although the figurine does not have exact similarities with other published Cycladic figurines, it roughly matches a figurine from grave D at Capros, Amorgos. See Sherratt 2000, 31, 33–4, pls. 5–7.

incision. The nose is in low relief, as are the forearms which rest on the abdomen. The legs are separated but feet are not indicated. The whole figure is very flat in appearance.



This tomb contained multiple burials. The skulls seem to have received particular care and respect, while the remaining bones did not show similar attention<sup>16</sup> (FIG. 46 a, b). The offerings were few and poor compared to the number of those buried, a phenomenon which is common in Early Cycladic burials, where there is no correlation between the number of the deceased and the quantity of offerings.<sup>17</sup> Also the kinds of offering in the grave (pottery, marble figurine, obsidian blades and stone beads) are those commonly found in Early Cycladic graves.<sup>18</sup> A pyxis lid was found without the vase it covered, and this suggests that the objects were used by the graves' occupants during their daily lives before being placed in the graves.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore the small number of objects and the poor quality of most vessels indicate the financial position of their owners. The blades of obsidian are of Cycladic origin, and the pottery and marble figurine are of Cycladic type.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> The situation is similar in Cycladic graves with multiple burials. See Doumas, 1977, 56–7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Doumas, 1977, 58–60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Doumas, 1977, 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Doumas, 1977, 62.

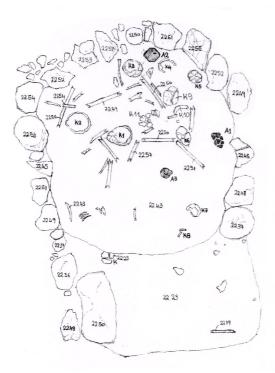


FIG. 46. a. Drawing of layer A of bones and skulls in the tomb's interior.

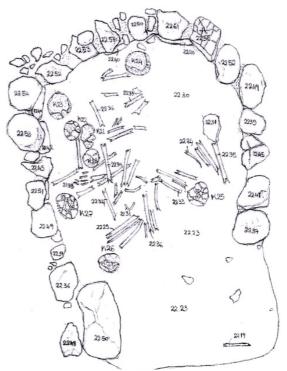


FIG. 46. b. Drawing of layer D of bones and skulls in the tomb's interior.

Of course, the typological classification of the finds without any relevant laboratory studies (such as clay and marble analyses or osteological study) forms insufficient evidence for concluding that this tomb contained people of Cycladic origin. However, it is not unlikely that a small community of islanders settled in the region of the Franchthi cave during the Early Helladic period, as it had been a region familiar to travellers of the Aegean for a long time. Similar communities are known on the coasts of Attica and Euboea from the same period. It is also reasonable to wonder why a local community would chose to have only objects of another culture, perhaps products of trade, as grave goods, and not wish its dead to have any local object with familiar symbolisms in their last residence.

This tomb provides the only excavated evidence from the S Argolid of how a group of people buried its dead during the Early Helladic I period,<sup>23</sup> despite the extensive evidence of early human habitation in the region.<sup>24</sup> Its

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Renfrew & Aspinall, 1990, 257-270.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Pantelidou-Gofa 2005, Sampson 1988, 115–117, Theodoraki 1980, 82–3 and Doumas 1977, 65–69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Unlike the cemeteries in Attica and Euboea (as for example at Marathon and Manika respectively), where the objects of Cycladic type are found in graves together with local Early Helladic pottery. Pantelidou-Gofa, 2005, 338–339 & Sampson, 1988, 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> The only known Early Helladic burials from the Argolid are at Argos, Lerna, Tiryns, Asine and Epidaurus. General presentation of these finds in Alram-Stern, 2004, 586–633

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Jameson, Runnels & van Andel, 1994, 348–60, fig. 6.10

existence raises further questions as to whether this is an isolated find or part of an organized Early Helladic cemetery. Moreover, the discovery of 30 people buried in the tomb gives rise to the question, where did these people live and how close was this to their burial place?

Continuing excavation in the immediate area of the tomb has provided strong evidence of human presence in this early period over an area measuring 30 x 23 m (690 m²). Unfortunately we have not yet been able to confirm whether it was only a burial site or also had residential use. However, the hill's location at a short distance from the protected Koilada Bay and the availability of enough land for cultivation are important preconditions for the permanent habitation and multiple activities of its inhabitants: agriculture, fishing and trade, which also benefitted from the proximity of Franchthi cave.

Another remarkable element was the respect shown by the people of the Classical period for a much earlier tomb (FIG. 47). The location of this tomb near the – often deeper – Classical graves (e.g. grave 30, which was located only 1 m away from the Early Helladic tomb) indicates that the people of the 5th century BC were aware of the Helladic tomb's existence but did not destroy it – they did not even disturb it. On the other hand, there was no evidence for honours being paid by posterity to the earlier dead buried here. However, this lack of evidence may be accidental and due to the fact that no superstructure of the tomb, where ceremonies could have taken place, survives.



FIG. 47. Location of the Early Helladic tomb in relation to the Classical graves.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EXCAVATION AND URGENT MEASURES TAKEN FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE AREA OF THE CEMETERY

During the excavation it became clear that aspects of the daily life of ordinary people had been revealed, which usually remain invisible forever, because of the poor quality of materials used during their life and in death; in this case, also because of the continuous cultivation of the area.

For these reasons, the information gathered about the social organisation, economic potential and external contacts of this population is very important, as are the data to be collected during the ongoing excavation and the further study of the finds.

As part of the overall protection of the antiquities (FIG. 48), which includes this rescue excavation, and after detailed photographic documentation and planning, we took immediate steps to protect the graves from the weather and disturbance by animals. In particular, the interiors of the graves were covered with geotextile and pumice stones in order to protect them against collapse, while their contours remain visible on site and can be linked to the topography and the graves to be excavated in future. Furthermore, the graves' finds have now been transferred to the stores<sup>25</sup> of the 4<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Nafplio and some of them have been conserved<sup>26</sup> in the laboratories of the Ephorate.



FIG. 48. General view of the cemetery and its protective measures from the north.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Appropriate storage of the excavation finds on a daily basis is conducted by Maria Palaiodimou, who is responsible for the inventory of the finds.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Conservation was carried out by the conservators of the 4<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Margarita Sofou, Maria Spyropoulou and Penelope Taratori.

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