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Honouring the Dead in the Peloponnese

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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

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

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

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

Ο «Άρχοντας του Βαφειού»: η κοινωνική ταυτότητα του νεκρού και η σημασία της για την Λακωνία κατά την ΥΕΙΙ-IIIα περίοδο

Αυτή η ανακοίνωση εξετάζει την κοινωνική ταυτότητα του νεκρού στον κιβωτιόσχημο τάφο του θολωτού τάφου του Βαφειού, επί τη βάσει των ταφικών κτερισμάτων τα οποία τον συνόδευαν, και του συμβολισμού της αρχιτεκτονικής του τάφου. Έμφαση δίδεται στις θρησκευτικές και οικονομικές πτυχές της ταυτότητάς του, οι οποίες συγκρίνονται με την εικόνα που έχουμε για τα θρησκευτικά θέματα μέσα από τη μελέτη των πινακίδων Γραμμικής Β. Αν και μεταγενέστερη της ταφής, η οποία θα μπορούσε να χρονολογηθεί στην ΥΕ 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 περιόδου, 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 λατρεία και την τέχνη υπάρχει μια διφορούμενη στάση μεταξύ των Ολύμπιων και χθόνιων θεοτήτων, η οποία όμως δεν εμφανίζεται γενικά στις γραπτές πηγές. Στην

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

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

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

Η επίδειξη ατομικής κοινωνικής ταυτότητας στις ταφές του Άργους των κλασικών και ελληνοιστικών χρόνων

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Επιτύμβιες στήλες στη Μεγαλόπολη

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

8 **Pepi Gavala. The sculpted monuments in Laconian cemeteries (late 19th – early 20th 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 νεκρούς στη μεσολιθική και νεολιθική Πελοπόννησο: μερικές γενικές παρατηρήσεις

Η αλλαγή από τον Μεσολιθικό τρόπο ζωής και η εισαγωγή της γεωργίας στην νεολιθική περίοδο υπήρξε ουσιώδης για τις τοπικές κοινωνίες. Εμφανίστηκαν νέες οικονομικές και κοινωνικές συνθήκες, μετασχηματίζοντας την ίδια στιγμή τον τοπικό τρόπο σκέψης και την καθημερινή ζωή. Αυτή η παρουσίαση θα δείξει πώς αυτές οι αλλαγές μπορούν να εμφανιστούν μέσα από το ταφικό περιεχόμενο, που 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 39th 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-4th century BC was investigated. The large number of offerings categorizes it as a 'wealthy'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Νικηφόρος Βρεττάκος: «ας φεύγουμε ανεβαίνοντας ...»

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The 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 μοιρολόι της νότιας 'κοίλης Λακεδαιμόνος' και οι ιστορικές περιπέτειες της χώρας

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

15 Theodoros Katsoulakos. The relationship of the 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 μοιρολογίστρας με το νεκρό ως πηγή έμπνευσης

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

16 Georgia Kokkorou-Aletras. Funerary statuary of the Archaic period in the Peloponnese

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

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

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

Ταφική λιθογλυπτική της αρχαϊκής περιόδου στην Πελοπόννησο

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

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

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

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

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

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

18 Angeliki Kossyva. The invisible dead of Delpriza, Kranidi

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

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

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

Οι αφανείς νεκροί της Δέλπριζας Κρανιδίου

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

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

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

Ανθρωπόμορφη στήλη από το Λεβίδι Αρκαδίας: τυπολογική και ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση

Η ανθρωπόμορφη στήλη του Λεβιδίου αποτελεί ένα από τα πρωιμότερα, κολοσσιακά έργα της αρκαδικής μεγάλης πλαστικής, χρονολογούμενη περί τα τέλη του 7^{ου} - αρχές του 6^{ου} 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 ανοοιουρημάτων του.

20 Marioanna Louka. Votive jewellery in the Archaic Peloponnese

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

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

Η κοινωνική προέκταση των κτερισματικών και αναθηματικών κοσμημάτων στην αρχαϊκή Πελοπόννησο

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

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

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

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

Όπως προκύπτει από μία ευρύτερη έρευνα περισσότερων των 6000 τάφων της Εποχής του Σιδήρου στον Ελλαδικό κόσμο, οι ταφικές πρακτικές στην Πελοπόννησο παρουσιάζουν ομοιότητες με αυτές της Ακαρνανίας, Αιτωλίας και Λοκρίδας. Με βάση τα παραπάνω στοιχεία η σύγκριση στον χάρτη των ταφικών τύπων με το χάρτη των διαλέκτων προσφέρει εκπληκτικά και απροσδόκητα αποτελέσματα. Πρέπει να σημειωθεί η εντυπωσιακή διαφορά μεταξύ των πρακτικών στην Πελοπόννησο και αυτών που περιγράφονται στον Όμηρο. Θα συζητηθεί επίσης ο ρόλος των 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 *Espace géographique* 4 (1981) 249-62.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Οι θολωτοί τάφοι της Αχαΐας στο λόφο Μυγδαλιά, Καλλιθέα και Φαραί είναι κτισμένοι στην ΥΕ ΙΙ και η κύρια χρήση τους τεραματίζεται 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 πρόεπουσα επαναχρησιμοποίησή τους. Η πρόωρη καταστροφή των μυκηναϊκών οικισμών κατά την ίδια περίοδο, η οποία βεβαιώνεται επίσης στο Αίγιο στην Αχαΐα, έρχεται να προσθέσει στην εικόνα των διαταραχών που σηματοδοτούν την έναρξη της περιόδου αυτής.

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

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

Είδε άραγε ποτέ ο Ηρόδοτος τον κατάλογο των Τριακοσίων;

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

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

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

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

Ο Θάνατος του Αγαμέμνονα στον Σενέκα

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

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

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

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

Η ανακοίνωση αυτή θα εξετάσει τους χώρους ταφής της Ύστερης Γεωμετρικής / πρώιμης Αρχαϊκής εποχής στη Σπάρτη, όπου εμφανίζεται η μεταθανάτιος λατρεία των νεκρών από την Αρχαϊκή στην Ελληνιστική Περίοδο. Θα επικεντρωθώ σε τρεις θέσεις: στο «Ηρώων» 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.

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

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

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

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

33 Angeliki Petropoulou. The Spartan royal funeral in comparative perspective

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

Η σπαρτιάτικη βασιλική ταφή μέσω συγκριτικής προοπτικής

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

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

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

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

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

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

35 James Roy. Anyte of Tegea and the other dead

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

Η Ανύτη της Τεγέας και οι άλλοι νεκροί

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Αντιφώνηση, τελετουργία και η κατασκευή της αλήθειας

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This paper seeks first to explore the way Plutarch of Chaeronea (46-119 AD), the eminent historian and philosopher of Middle Platonism, discussed exemplary deaths in the Peloponnese in his *Moralia*. Plutarch's references are indicative of his theory on death, which is based on Greek philosophy. Secondly, this paper aims to present the attempt by Georgius Trapezuntius Cretensis, the Greek scholar of the 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 περιάπτο από Πρωτοελλαδική I ταφή στο χώρο του Ιερού του Απόλλωνα Μαλεάτα στην Επίδαυρο: μία απόπειρα βιογραφίας

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

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

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

Οι άορατοι νεκροί. Η περίπτωση της Αργολίδας και της Κορινθίας κατά την Πρώιμη Εποχή του Χαλκού

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

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

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

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

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

Preface

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

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

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

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

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

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

Heroization, Politics and Heroic Death ranges from the Bronze Age to the Late Byzantine period. The term 'hero' can convey slightly different things, but touches on the semi-divine, ancestors of a legendary past, doers of great deeds as well as having the modern connotations of courage and daring. The prominence of heroes and their symbolic power can be traced through the creation and manipulation of cultural icon, national ideal and political emblem. Banou and Hitchcock explore this phenomenon through the 'Lord of Vapheio' on the basis of the spectacular funerary gifts which mark the identity of the dynasty buried in the tomb as closely linked with Minoan Crete. Konstantinidi-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 *ιστορίη* into their names and actions. Gengler places the festival of the Leonidea in the broader context of the transformation of Spartan traditions during the Imperial period and in relation to the image of Spartan history in the literature of that time. The war dead of Perioikic Geronthrai form the theme of Sekunda's paper, while honourable death as perhaps seen through the distorting glass of Roman revisionism is the theme of Papapostolou's article. Seneca's version of Agamemnon's death, as reported by Paraskeviotis, also reveals subtle changes of emphasis from Classical Greek to Roman Imperial perceptions. Later still, as Steiris explains, Plutarch's treatment of exemplary deaths in the *Moralia*, was interpreted and reinterpreted in the light of Middle Platonism, and later Greek thought as exemplified in the writings of Georgios Trapezuntius and Gemistos Plethon. Zampaki illustrates how traditions in the Arab historians about the funeral of Alexander the Great relay on the one hand the narrative of events, but on the other put an emphasis on the ethical and moral lessons.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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CHAPTER 36

CEMETERIES AND SETTLEMENTS OF MANI IN MIEVEAL AND LATER PERIODS: A SECONO CONTRIBUTION

YANIS SAITAS

INTRODUCTION

The network of hundreds of cemeteries of diverse periods is part of and corresponds to the densely populated network of inhabited locations on the peninsula of the Mani, which from the 16th century on numbered 125–250 scattered patriloal settlements. To date, 130 cemeteries have been recorded, 111 of which are in the south and 19 in the northern part (**FIG. 1**). Hundreds of grave structures have been mapped, planned and studied, as a result of which certain fundamental conclusions have been reached, which will appear below.¹

This research has been undertaken in the framework of the project 'Manmade Environment and Society in Mani', conducted since the 1980s at the Centre of Neohellenic Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation. The present contribution examines on the one hand certain general data on the subject, and on the other select examples. A poster accompanied this paper in the framework of the Sparta conference of April 2009.

¹ The first contribution to the subject matter was presented at the International Conference 'Sparta and Laconia from Pre-history to Pre-modern' which took place at Sparta in March 2005. Saitas 2009*a*.

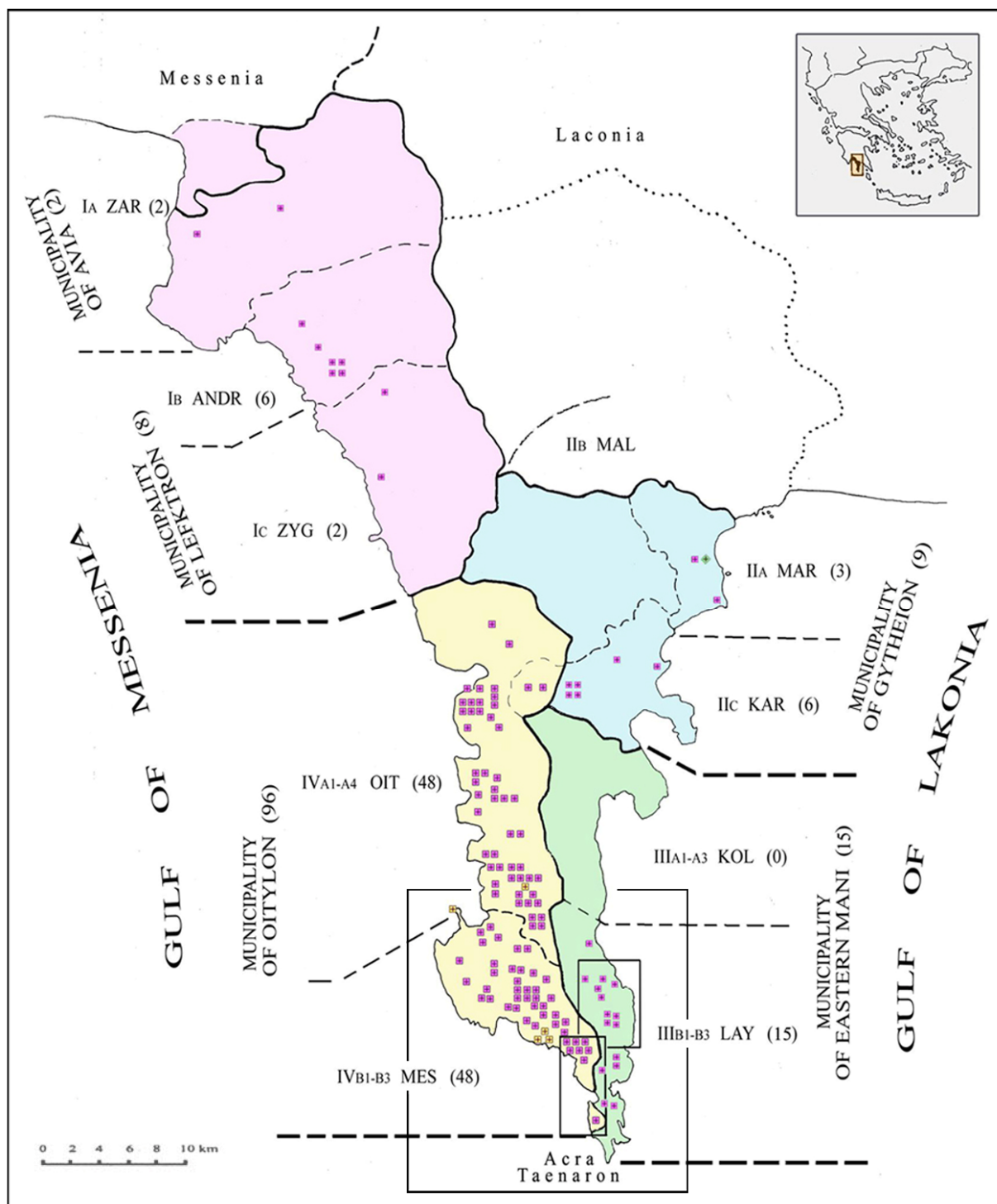


FIG. 1. The distribution of the 130 cemeteries that have been examined up to 2009, in the 10 former local districts of Mani.

SETTLEMENTS, POPULATION AND GENEALOGICAL GROUPS, THEIR LONG DURATION.

CEMETERIES IN USE OR ABANDONED AT THE START OF THE 20TH CENTURY

In the Middle Ages, the population lived dispersed among numerous inland rural settlements, some of which have long been deserted, now constituting the Mani's

The Medieval and later Mani

dilapidated 'old villages' (*palichores*),² whilst others were the nucleus for more recent villages.

At the beginning of the 17th century, the dense local population, grouped patrilineally, numbered 20,000 inhabitants; it reached 29,000 in the decade 1821–1830 in the War of Independence and grew thereafter, until the peak period of the early 20th century, with 45,000–50,000 inhabitants.³ A gradual diminution followed after that, and in the second half of the 20th century there ensued a dramatic post-war decline (FIG. 2). Today 20,000–25,000 inhabitants are recorded, a multiple of which have emigrated, mainly to the Greek urban centres and abroad.



FIG. 2. Leaving the house for the last time (photo: C. Manos , *A Greek Portfolio*, 1972).

² Kalamara and Roumeliotis (eds) 2004; Saitas 1983 and 1987; Moschos and Moschou 1981; Argyriades *et al* 1972.

³ Komis 1995; Panayiotopoulos 1985; Saitas 1983 and 1987.

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From the 17th century and up to the end of the 19th, the network of 125–250 inhabited locations was made up of 5–15 main settlements, with a populations of over 500, with more than 100 buildings per village, and 125–235 villages, minor settlements and hamlets with from 2–3 up to 100 buildings.⁴ There were at least 100 privately-owned monasteries and 1500 churches of all Christian periods.⁵

Here will be examined in greater detail the peninsula's southernmost section of 9 communities (1912–1998) which, between 1840 and 1912, constituted the former municipalities (*demoi*) of Messi and Layia.⁶ **FIG. 3** shows the megalithic settlements at over 80 sites, as well as their correlation with the 87 settlements which existed there in the 16th–20th century. Mapping is based both on our *in situ* research in the 70s⁷ and on the comparison with the maps of ruined agricultural settlements by T. Moschos and L. Moschou, published in 1981 and subsequently and more recently in 2004 and 2005, incorporated into the programme of digital mapping and the Ministry of Culture's publications on the Mani.⁸

⁴ Saitas 2009*b*; Saitas 1994; Saitas 1987; Saitas 1973.

⁵ Roumeliotis & Mexia (eds) 2005.

⁶ Saitas 2009*b*; Saitas 1994.

⁷ Saitas 1987; Argyriades *et al* 1972.

⁸ Kalamara & Roumeliotis (eds) 2004; Moschou 1981.

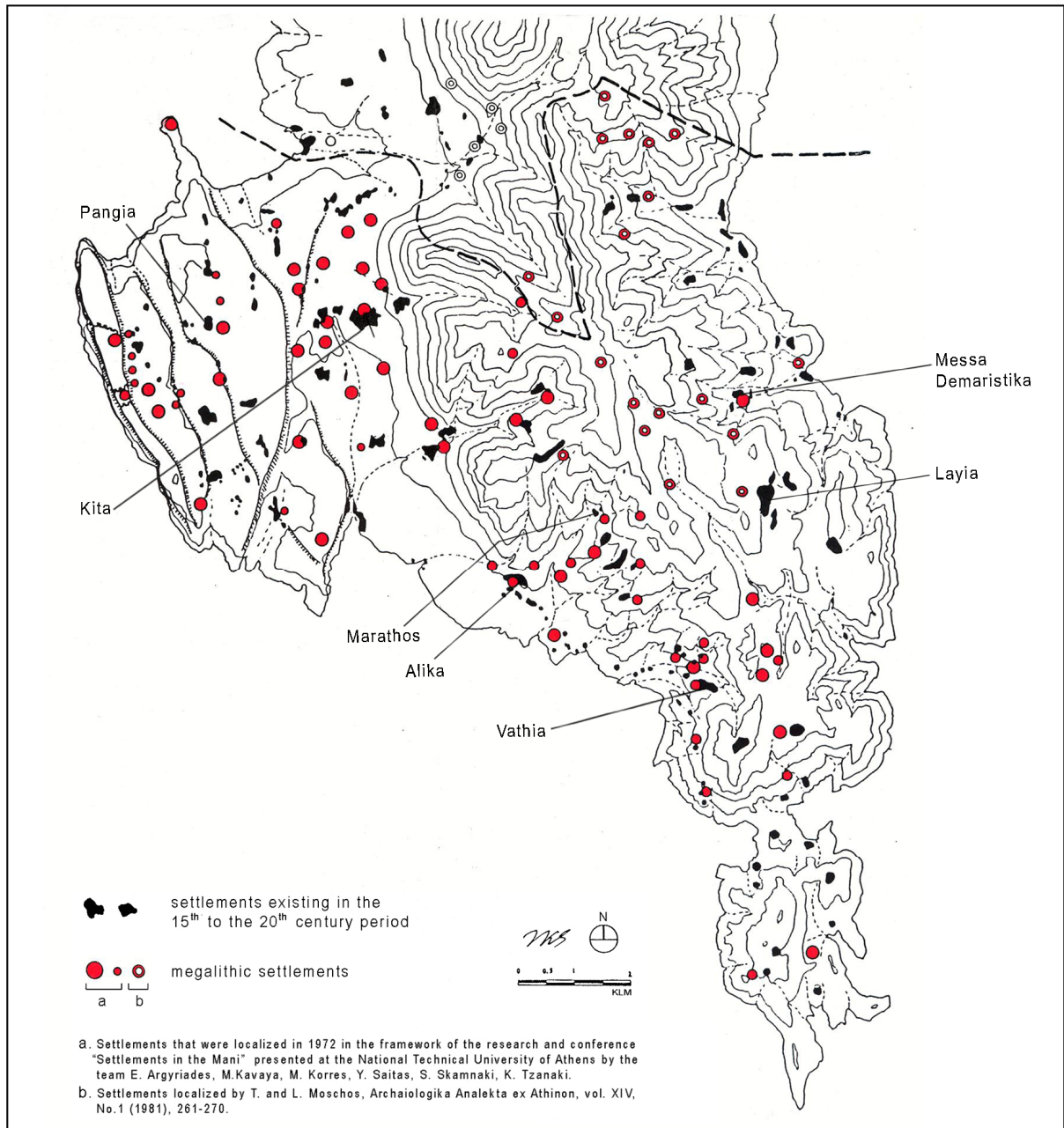


FIG. 3. The local entities of the Demoi (former municipalities) of Messi and Layia (1840–1912): The 87 settlements existing during the period between the 15th and 20th centuries, in correlation with more than 80 megalithic settlements.

In the course of socio-economic developments in and restructuring of the local system, over the last three centuries some settlements were abandoned, others continued in operation with smaller or greater extensions, while numerous others again sprang up in new sites. FIG. 4 depicts the classes of size of the 'built up area' of 87 settlements in the 19th and 20th centuries, in the former municipalities of Messi and Layia. This area extends over 110 km² and the population fluctuated from 2500 inhabitants in the 17th century to 4000 in 1821, 7000 at the end of the 19th century, 1240 in 1971 while today the census records 2600 inhabitants. On the map the separate local units of Vathia and Layia are shown.

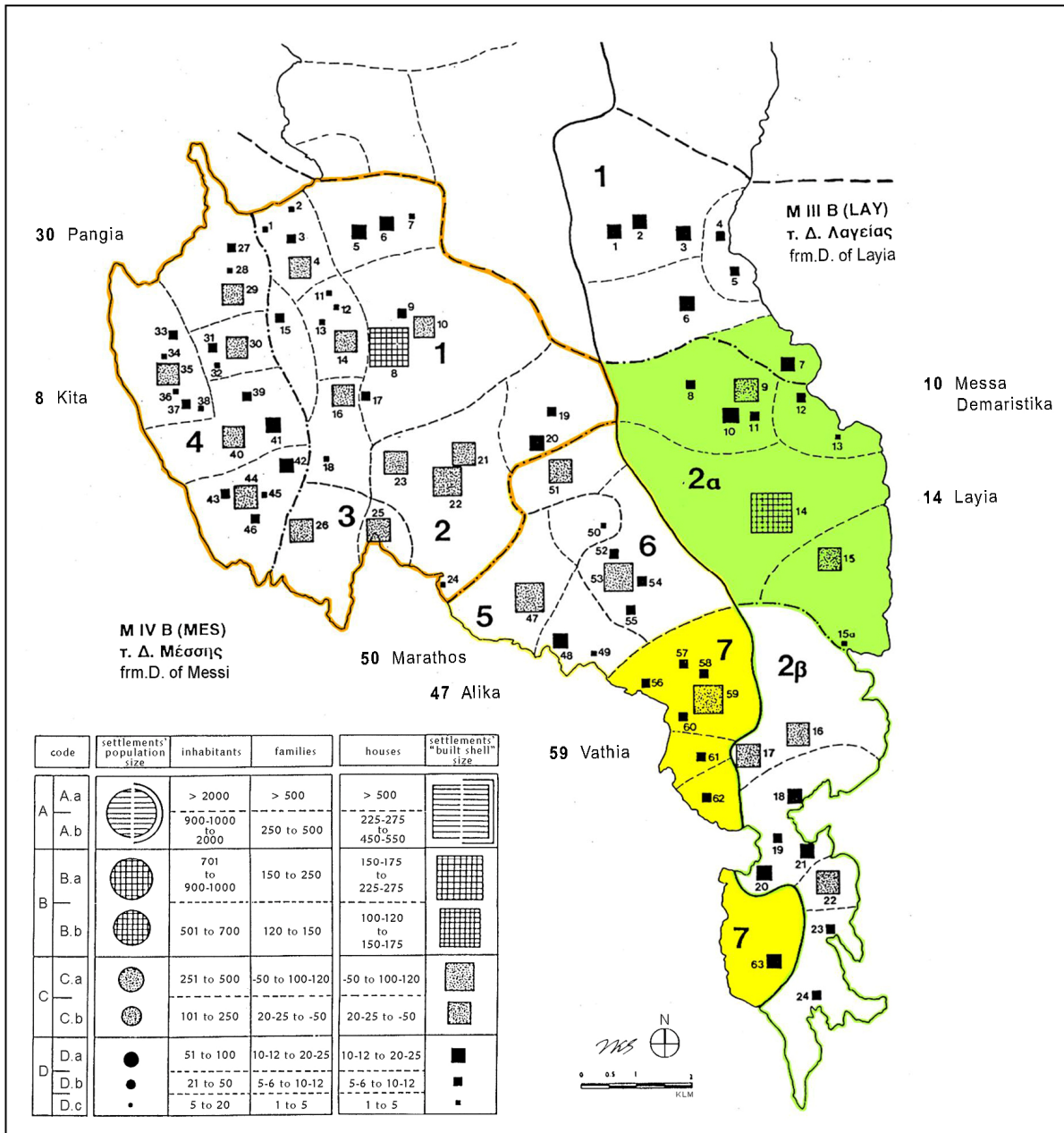


FIG. 4. The local entities of the Demoi (former municipalities) of Messi and Layia (1840–1912): Classification and arrangement of the 87 settlements into 9 communities (1912–1998) in accordance with the size of the 'built shell' in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Nowadays the peninsula's network of cemeteries, either in use or abandoned, contains cemeteries of various sizes, from smaller ones with 2 – 3 burial structures, to larger ones with up to 120 constructions. These numbers are of course far and away exceeded by the largest municipal cemetery dating from the 19th century onwards, with several hundred graves, in the only semi-urban centre, Gytheion, with a population of 2000–5000 inhabitants.

The Medieval and later Mani

Some examples are given of hamlets, minor and larger villages of the south, where the close connection of the habitation of the living with that of the dead – ancestors and contemporaries – is evident (FIG. 5).⁹



FIG. 5. Tower-house and, in the cemetery next to it, the funerary monument of the Ladis family at Diporo.

⁹ Saitas 2009a; Alexakis 1980.

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In the hamlet of Marathos (**FIG. 6**) (seat of the genealogical group of the Papadodemas family, with 10 houses and a war-tower) at the pass ('threshold') of the sites 'Panougi' – 'Katougi', lies the group's church of Ayia Kyriaki. The cemetery contains 7 plain family graves – ossuaries of the lineage.

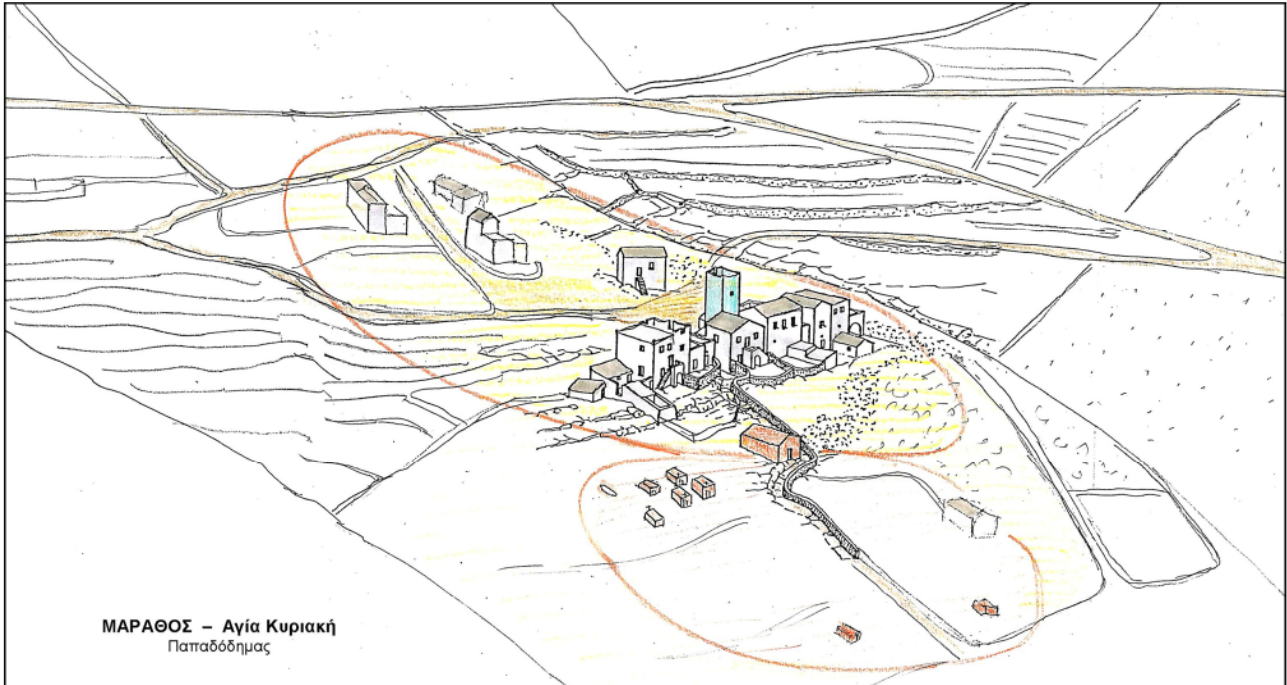


FIG. 6. The hamlet of Marathos, seat of the Papadodemas family with the lineage's church and cemetery.

Pangia, a boat-owners' village with a population of 100–250, distributed among the wards of 4 lineages, is served by the adjacent cemetery of Koimisi tis Theotokou (**FIG. 7**). It holds 23 older and newer ossuaries and 13 burial shafts grouped according to blood kinship. Some of the tombs express the social distinction of the families, displaying sculptured stelai of the 19th–20th centuries with depictions of marine subjects such as boats and anchors.

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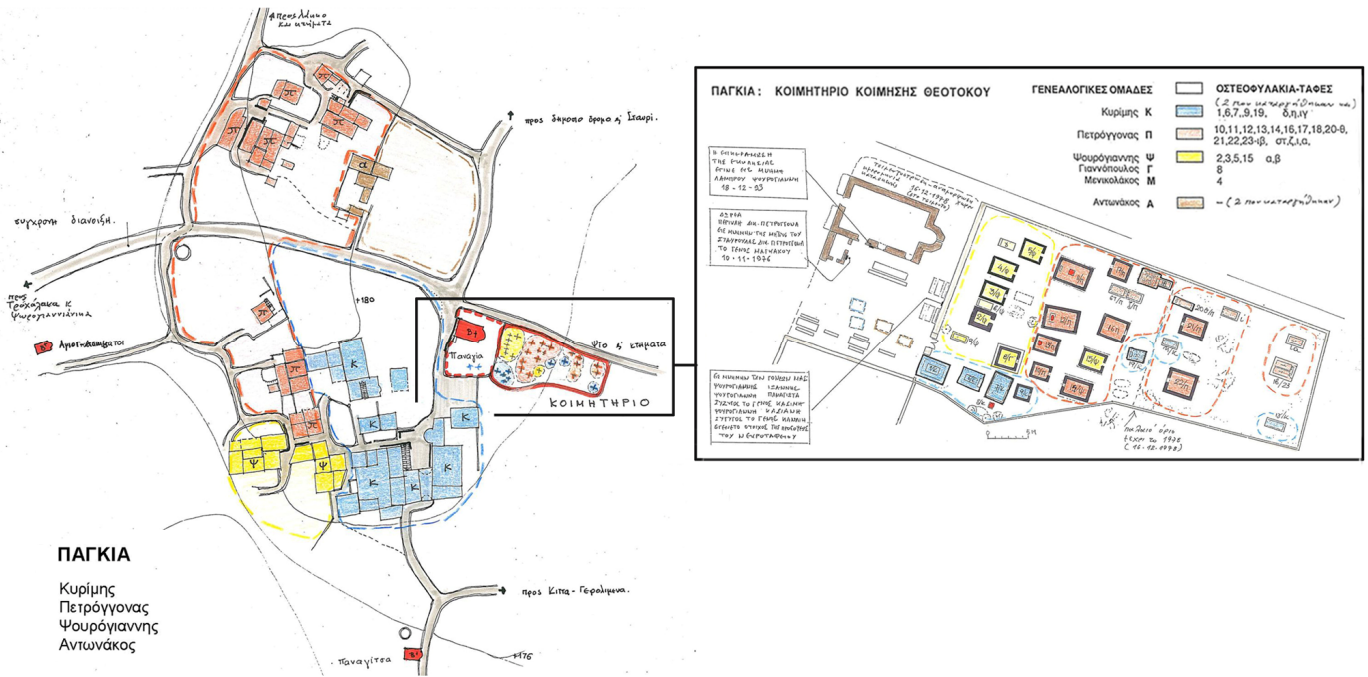


FIG. 7. The cemetery of Koimisi tis Theotokou, Pangia. The buildings of the village as well as the funerary structures of the cemetery are in clusters according to the patrilocal genealogical groups.

The main village of Kita, with 500–700 inhabitants, has six major and three lesser genealogical groups.¹⁰ There used to exist at least four or five cemeteries in the village, next to the churches belonging to their equivalent lineages, as well as at least two in the nearby fields (FIG. 8). In the neighbouring medium-sized village of Kaloni an old graveyard was situated at the megalithic site of Ayios Georgios, while at the adjacent small settlement of Ayios Soufis, seat of the Boukouvaliani lineage, there was the church of Phaneromeni with its small cemetery. Nowadays these three interconnected villages, which in total had 8 small old cemeteries, are served by the newer cemetery of Grammatiki and its adjacent annex at Ayios Haralambos, south of Kita. Grammatiki has about 100 grave-ossuary structures and Ayios Haralambos 8 ossuaries dating from the mid-19th century to our day.

¹⁰ Saitas 1987; Korres & Tzanaki 1972; Andromedas 1962.

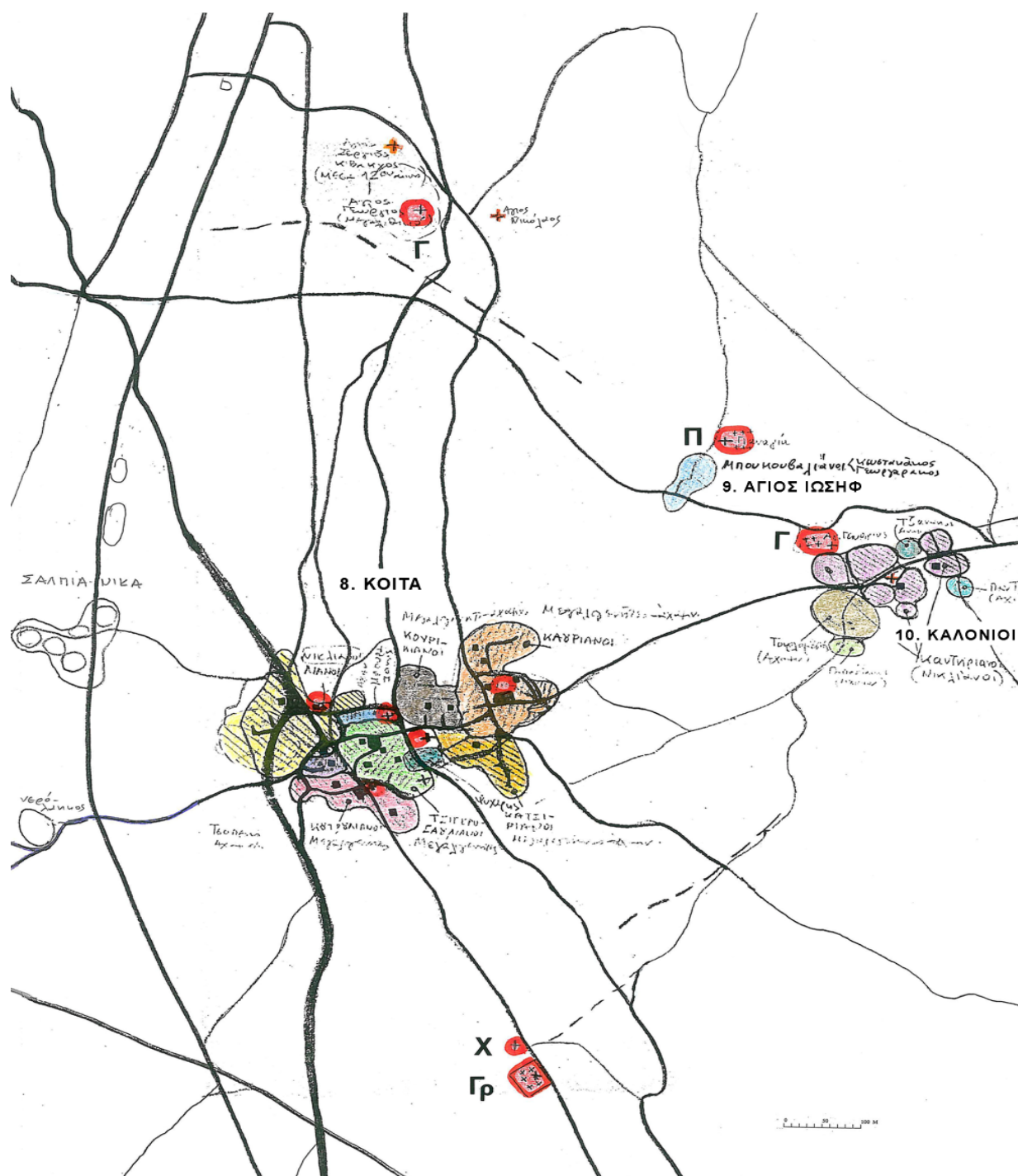


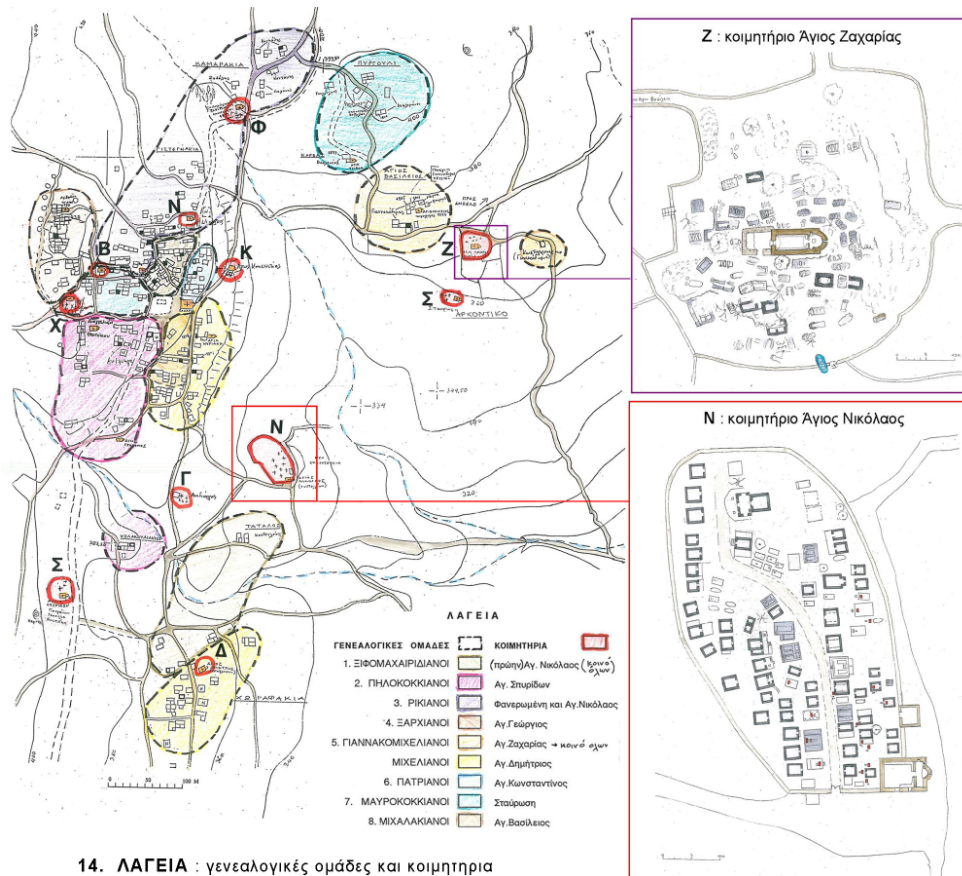
FIG. 8. The main village of Kitta with the sites of 4 or 5 old cemeteries next to the lineage's churches and two additional outlying cemeteries Γ and Χ; the village of Kaloni and the hamlet of Ayios Iossif with the corresponding old cemeteries Γ and Π; the newer communal cemetery (Γο) Grammatiki.

The main village of Layia, with 500–700 inhabitants, had 8 genealogical groups.¹¹ In the patrilocal wards there was a total of 9 old cemeteries (FIG. 9): Ayios Zacharias was sited adjacent to the interconnected neighbourhood of Yannakomicheliani, Ayios Spyridon of Pilokokkiani, Phaneromeni and Ayios Nikolaos of Rikiani, Ayios Georgios of Xarchiani, Ayios Demetrios of Micheliani,

¹¹ Saitas 2009b; Koutsilieris 1978 .

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Ayios Konstantinos of Patriani, Stavrossi of Mavrokokkiani and Ayios Vassilios of Michalakiani. Some of these cemeteries have disappeared while others are still partially preserved. An abandoned cemetery serving several genealogical groups is preserved round the 13th century church of Ayios Zacharias: untouched, with 50–60 graves covered with stone slabs (*makronia*) and 8–10 ossuaries above ground, it lies next to the ward of the Yannakomicheliani (FIG. 9, Z). Another new ‘collective’ cemetery used by all was founded beside Ayios Nikolaos, a church with devotional frescoes of the 19th century. It holds about 20 low-standing graves and 72 built ossuaries (FIG. 9, N).



14. ΛΑΓΕΙΑ : γενεαλογικές ομάδες και κοιμητήρια



FIG. 9. The main village of Layia with the wards of 8 genealogical groups and the 9 ‘partial’ old cemeteries. Z: the abandoned cemetery next to the 13th-century church of Ayios Zacharias. N: the ‘collective’ newer cemetery next to the church of Ayios Nikolaos; it includes 16 elaborate marble stelai, most of them works of Antonis Vouyouklakis.

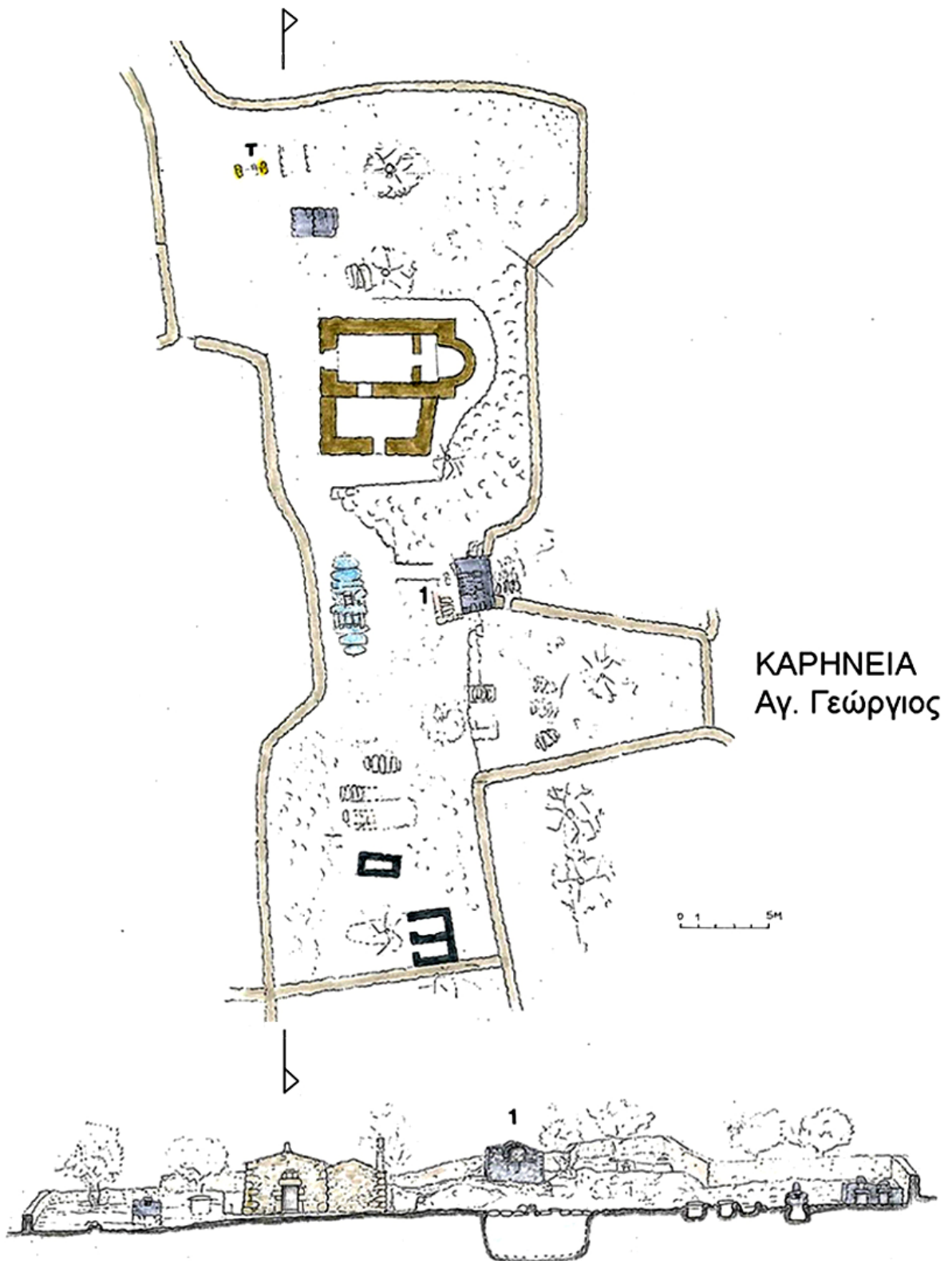


FIG. 10. The old cemetery next to the 13th-century church of Ayios Georgios, Karinia with the tomb-ossuary T1.

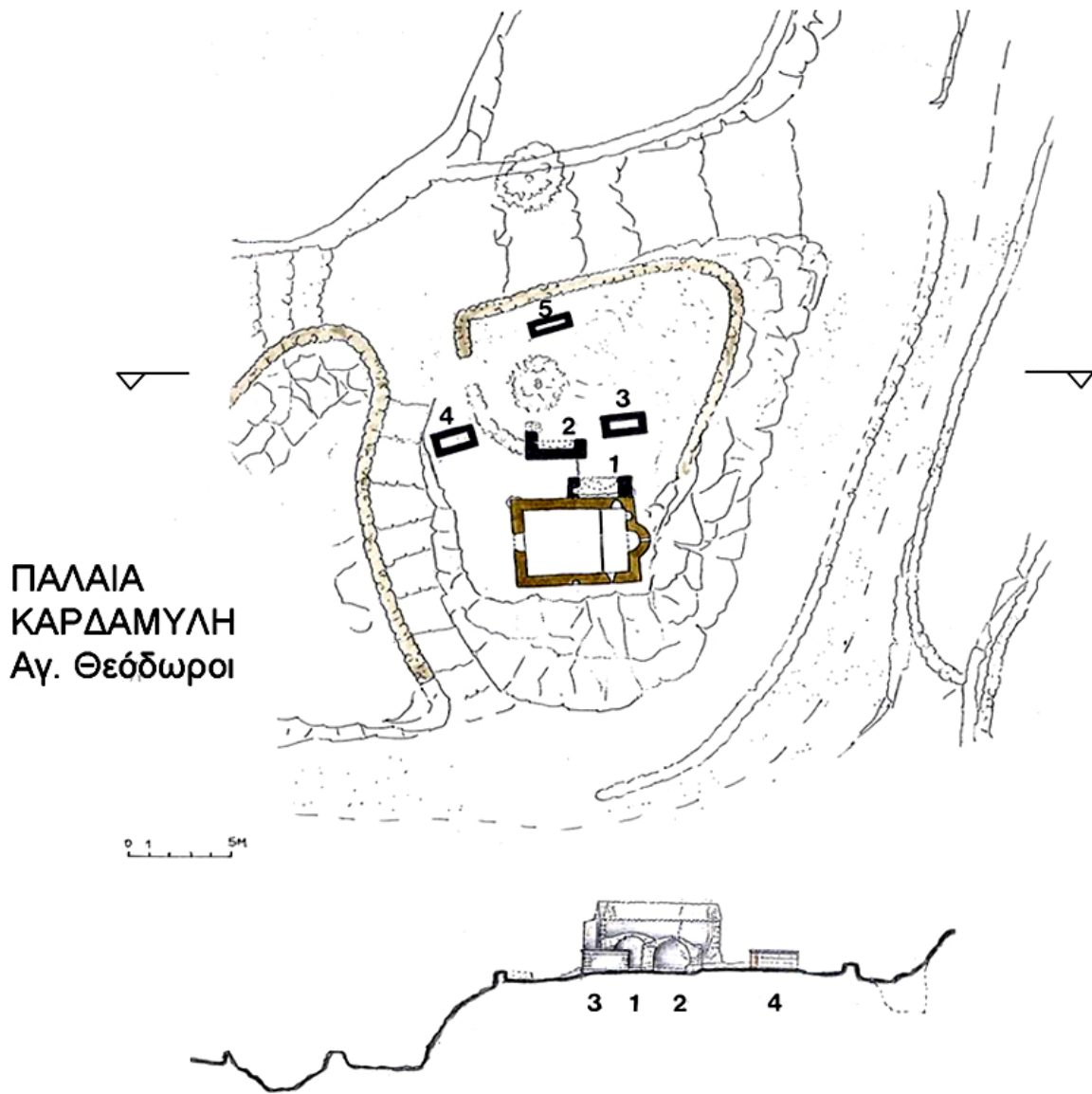


FIG. 11. The old cemetery of Ayioi Theodoroi at Palaia Kardamyli with the two arcosolium type structures (T1, T2) and the three stone built sarcophagi – ossuaries (T3, T4, T5).

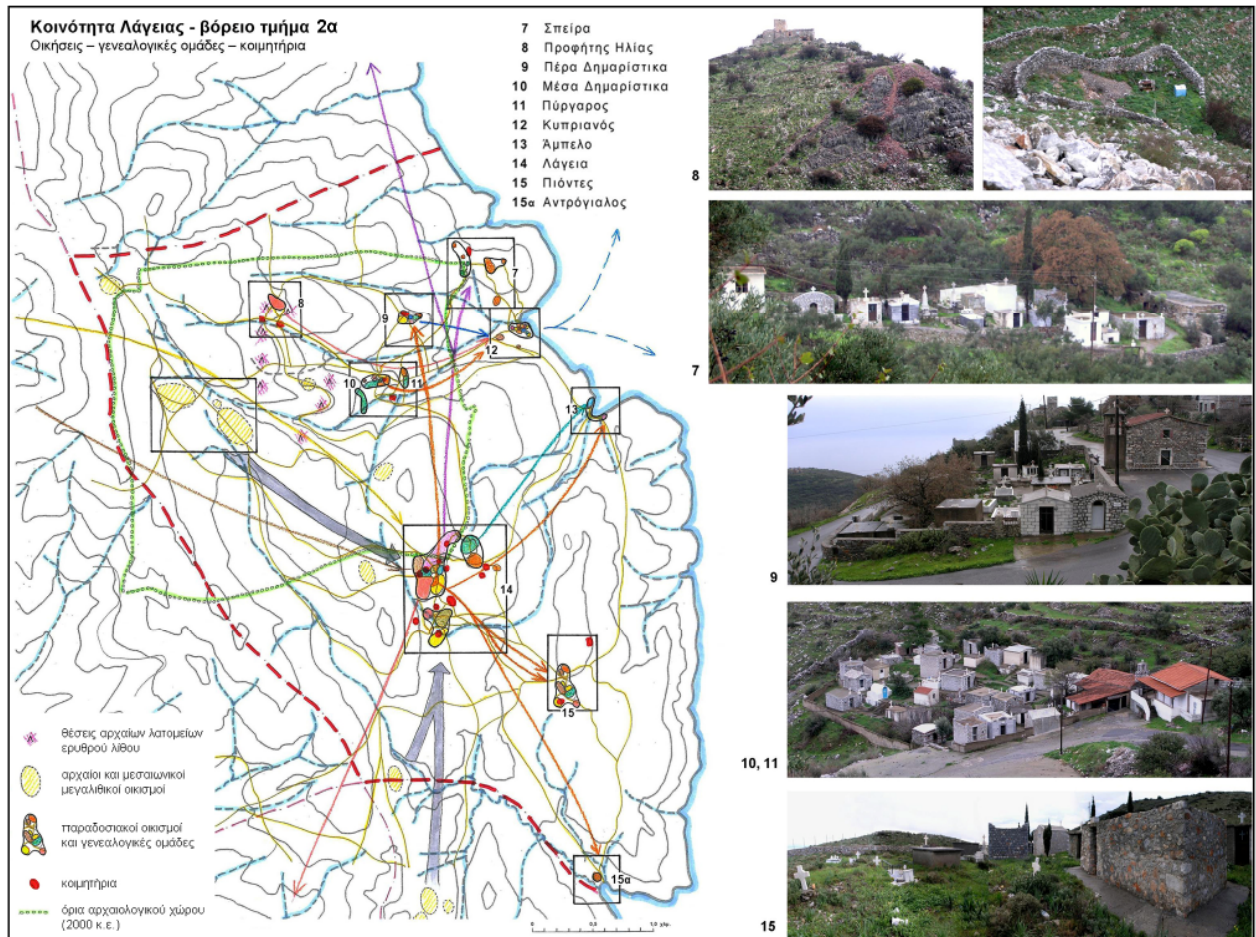


FIG. 12. The northern part (district 2a) of Layia’s community: ancient quarries, ancient and mediaeval megalithic settlements, the ten traditional settlements (7–15a) and the corresponding eight old and newer cemeteries.

In the local district with Layia as principal village, several megalithic sites are to be found and 9 more traditional settlements with 1–4 genealogical groups (FIG. 12). Eight older and newer cemeteries have been found in the area, of which five are in use, with 20 – 40 grave-ossuaries.

Some of Mani’s cemeteries, no longer in use since the early 20th century, have grave-ossuary structures in a good state of preservation. Some typical examples are:

The cemetery round Ayios Philippos, a double-apsed church of the 10th century, with 100 pit graves covered with stone slabs as well as 16 raised family ossuaries (*sikota kivouria*)¹². The E section of the cemetery served the neighbouring village of Korogonianika and the W section served Kainouria Chora.

The cemetery round Ayios Georgios, a 13th century church at Karynia (FIG. 10) contains a large medieval grave structure with an arch, ten shaft graves, four subterranean built graves, an old cistern and one *tylighi* apparatus.¹³

The abandoned cemetery next to Ayios Panteleimon, a double-apsed 10th century church at Pano Boularii (FIG. 19a) contains 25 older and newer shaft graves, a

¹² Saitas 2009a, fig. 40.5.

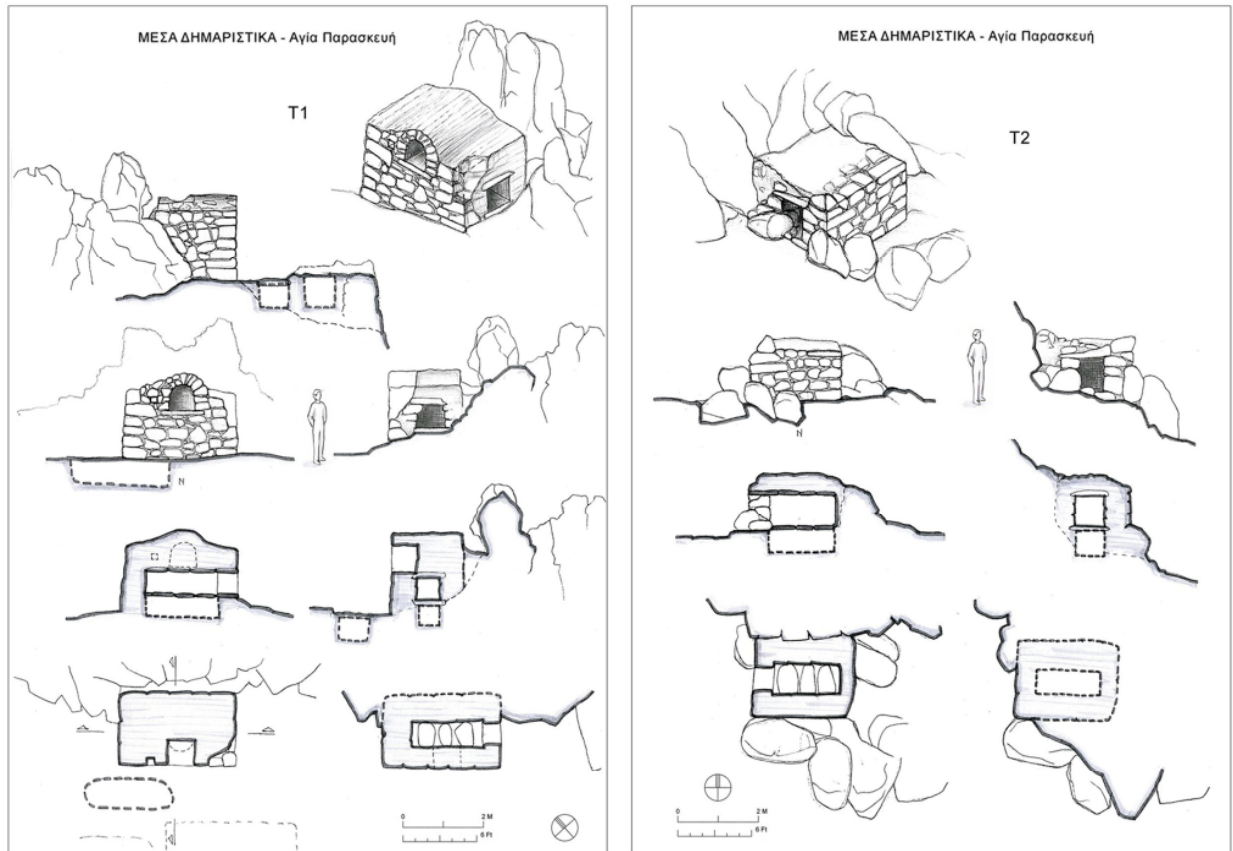
¹³ Simple stone structure used for “winding” the wool, Saitas 2009a, fig. 40,28.

The Medieval and later Mani

cluster with 3 typical 'sikota kivouria' of the late 19th–early 20th century and one newer grave. This cemetery served the lineages of Prayatis, Thomopoulos and Lykourezos.



FIG. 13. The central part of the village Messa Demaristika , location Rizopyrgi: the megalithic ruins, the more recent vernacular buildings and the old cemetery next to the half-ruined double-apsidal 13th-century church of Ayia Paraskevi (1) with the surrounding shaft graves α–ζ, the semi-subterrenian graves 6-7 and the built graves – ossuaries 1-5.



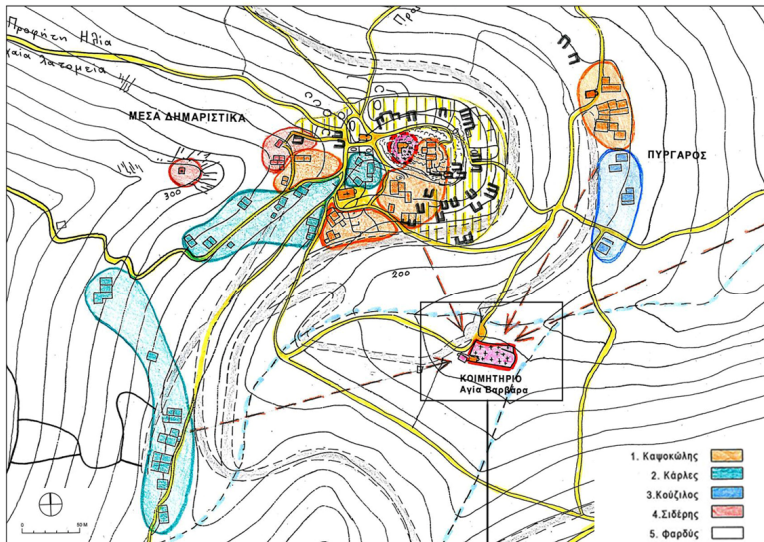
T1



T2

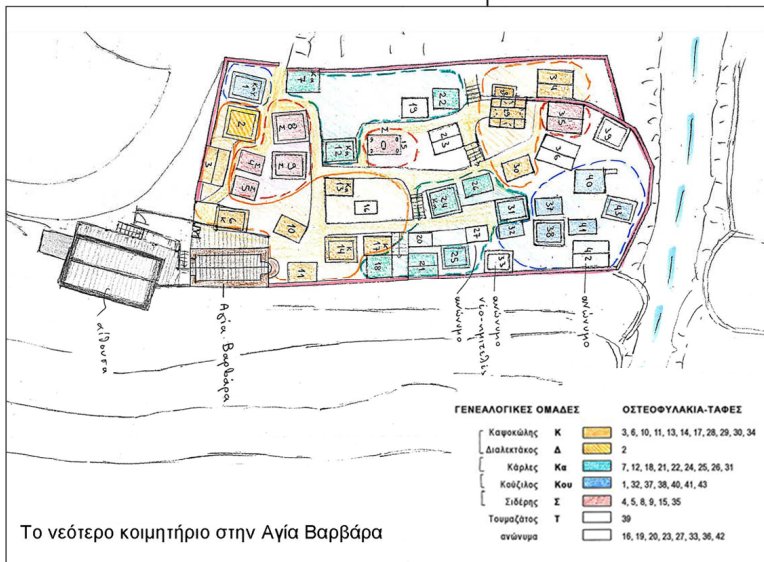
FIG. 14. Structure T1 (left) and structure T2 (right) at Ayia Paraskevi, Messa Demaristika.

The Medieval and later Mani



ΜΕΣΑ ΔΗΜΑΡΙΣΤΙΚΑ και ΠΥΡΓΑΡΟΣ

οικήσεις και γενεαλογικές ομάδες



Το νεότερο κοιμητήριο στην Αγία Βαρβάρα



FIG. 15. The village and the genealogical groups of Mesa Demaristika with the wards of Rizopyrgi, Karlianika, Pyrgaros and the outlying 20th-century cemetery of Ayia Varvara with the corresponding clusters of the 43 funerary structures.

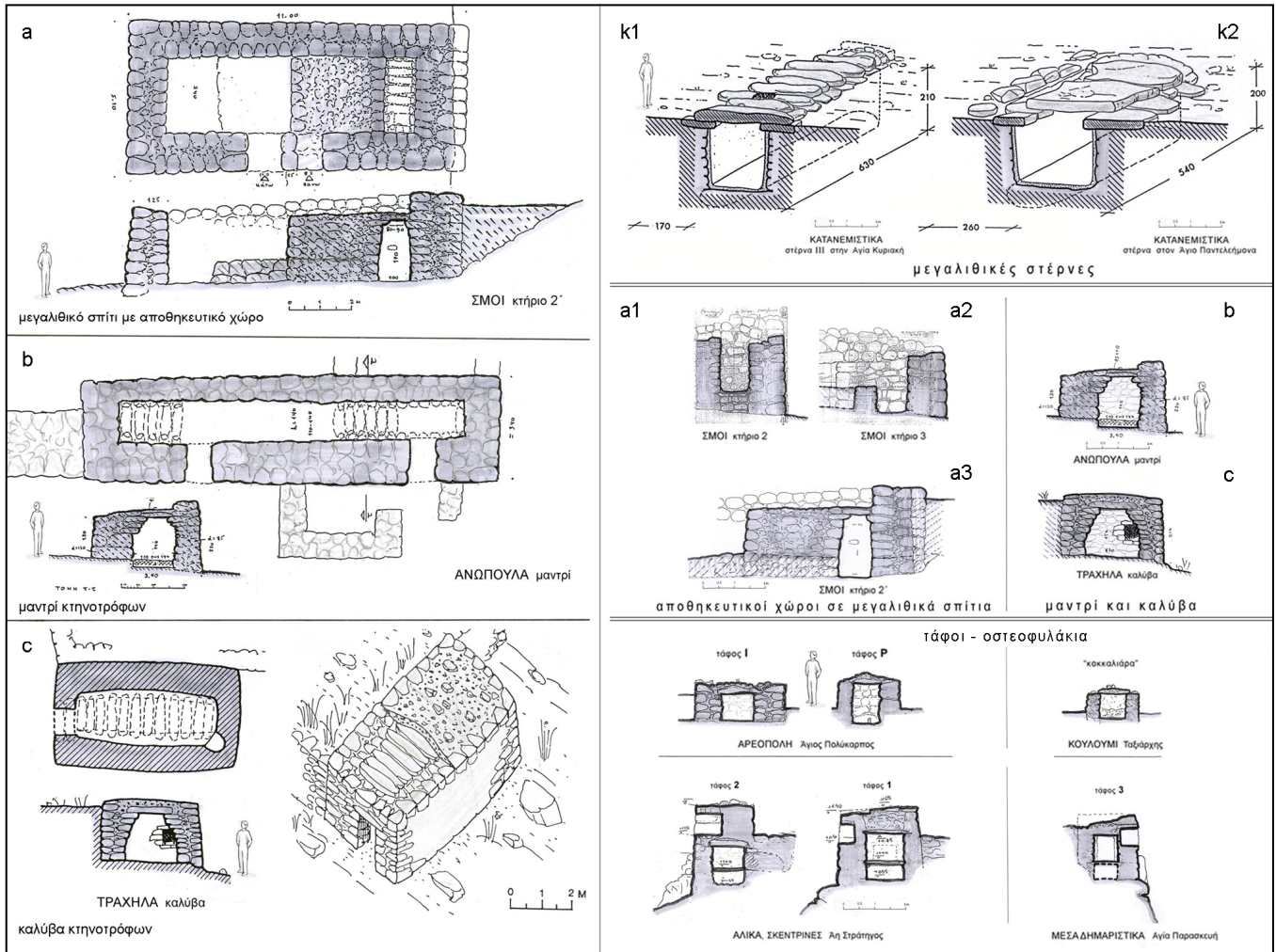


FIG. 16. Storage spaces of megalithic houses (a, a1, a2, a3), sheepfolds (b), shepherds' stone huts (c) and underground megalithic cisterns (k1 ,k2) in comparison with mediaeval and post-mediaeval grave-ossuary structures.

The Medieval and later Mani

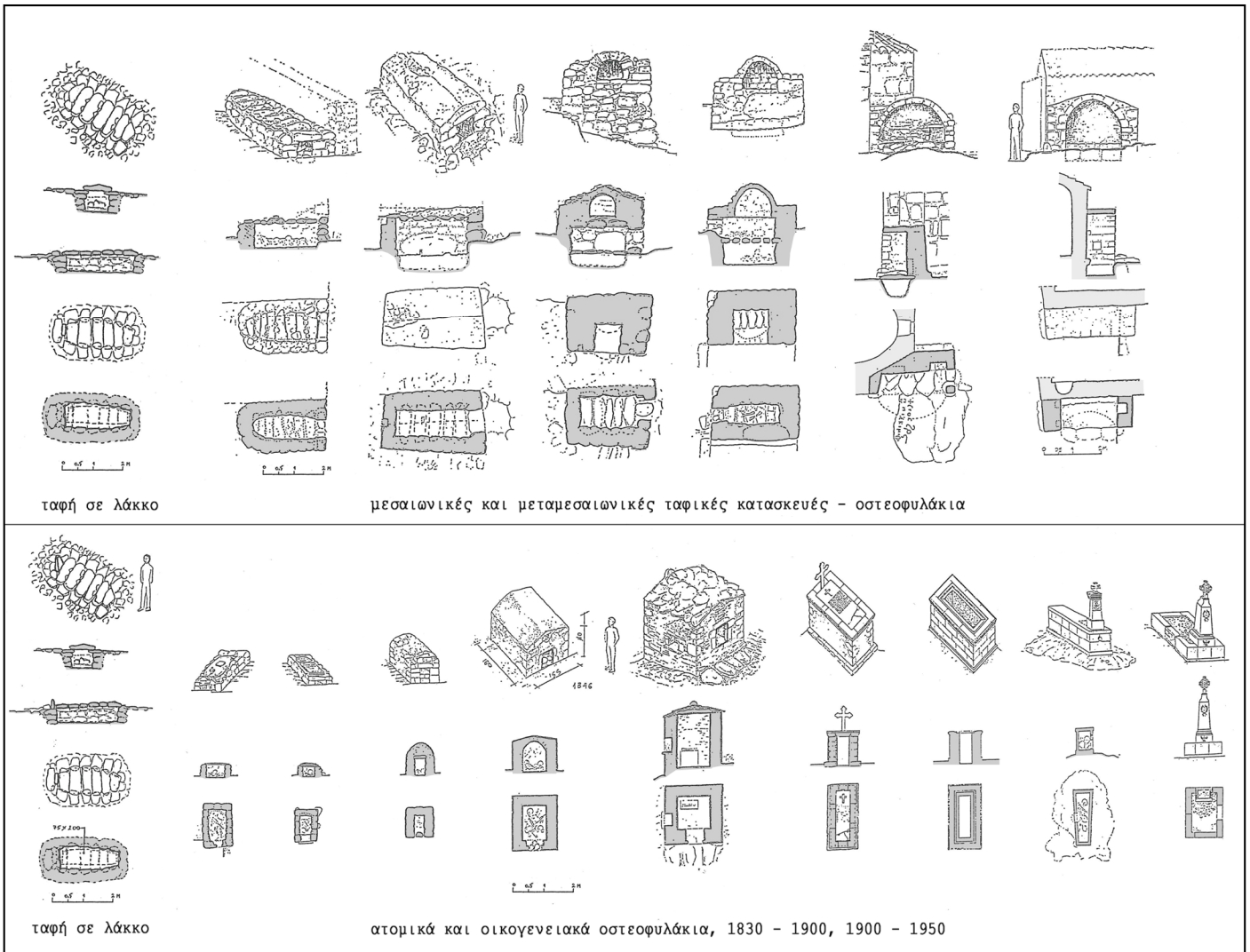


FIG. 17. Above: mediaeval and post-mediaeval burial - ossuary structures; below: individual and family built ossuaries 1830–1900, 1900–1950.

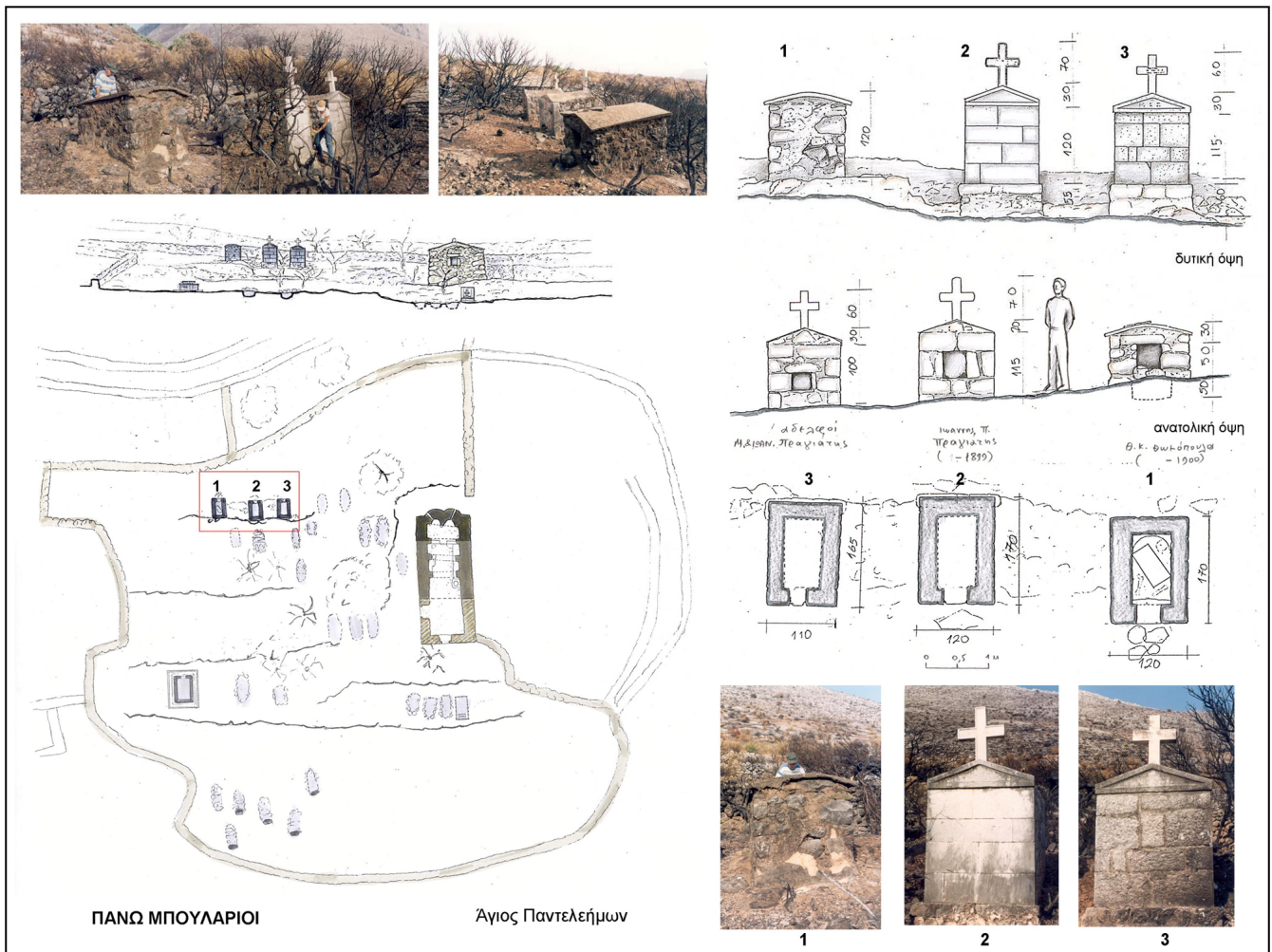


FIG. 19. The cemetery next to the megalithic 10th-century church of Ayios Panteleimon at Pano Boularii with a cluster of three family ossuaries (1, 2, 3), late 19th –start of 20th century.

The small cemetery of Petreas next to Ayioi Theodoroi of Palaia Kardamyli comprises 2 graves of the *arcosolium* type and 3 stone-built sarcophagos-ossuaries (FIGS 11 and 21 a1, a2).¹⁴

¹⁴ Saitas 2009a, fig. 40,34.

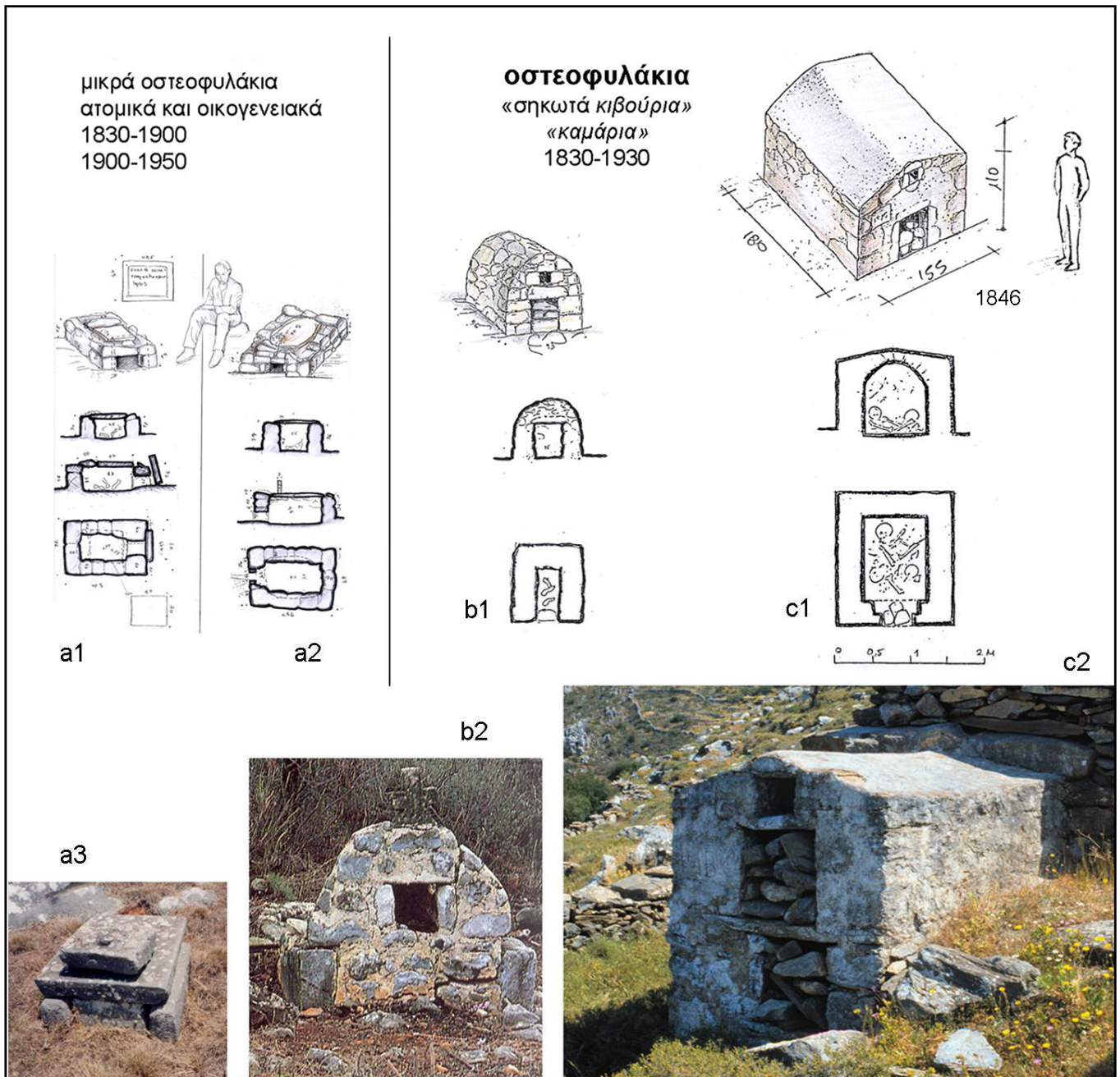


FIG. 20. a1, a2, a3: minimal-size individual built chests-ossuaries. b1, b2, c1, c2: medium-sized raised family ossuaries 'sikota kivouria'-'kamaria'.

The Medieval and later Mani

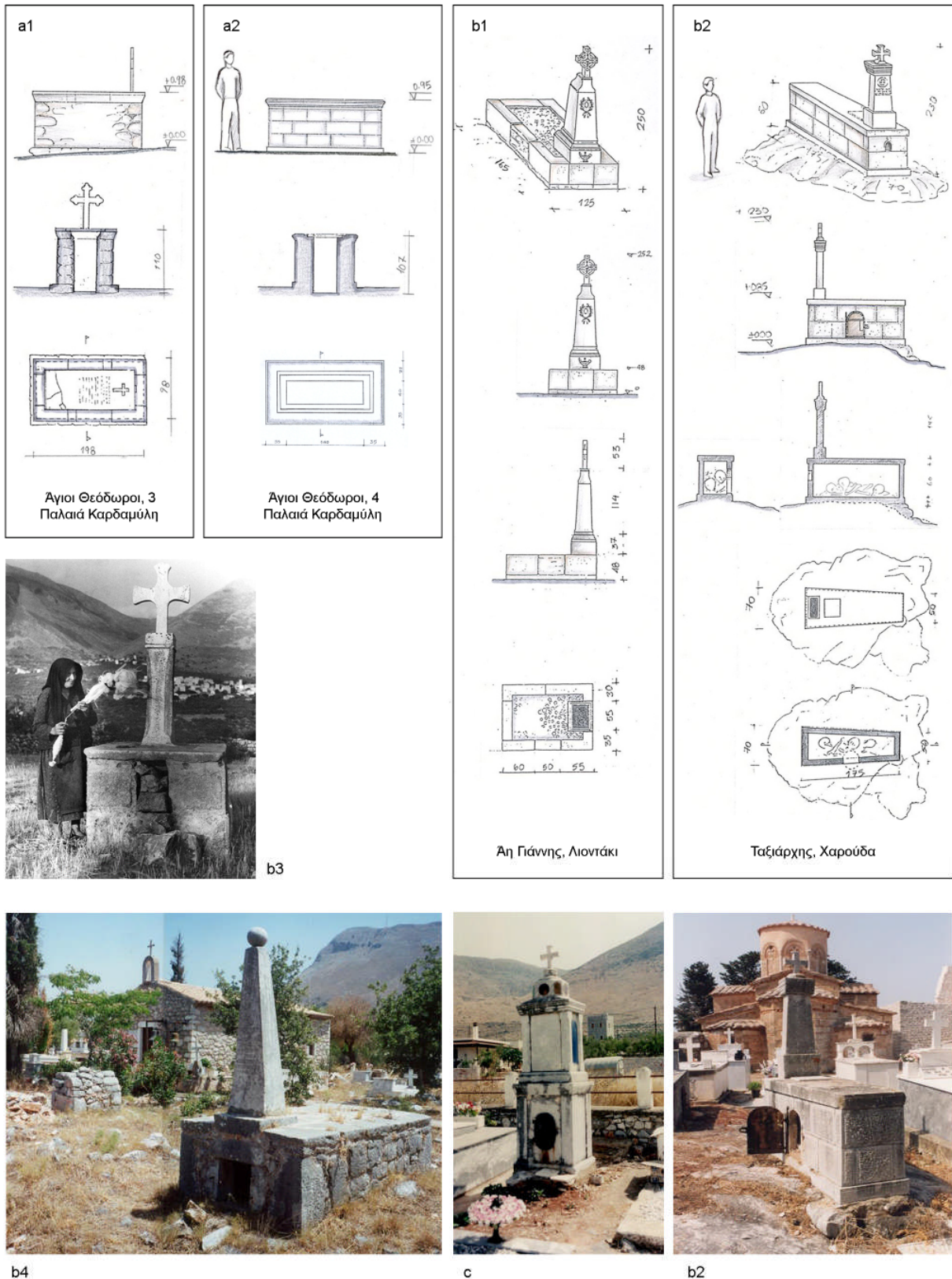


FIG. 21. Elaborate ossuaries (early 20th century): a1, a2: built chests-sarcophagi; bi, b2, b3, b4: ossuaries with marble stele and cross; c: tower-like ossuary behind a shaft grave.

Old, abandoned, small cemeteries for the monks as well as the patrons are to be found in scattered minor monasteries such as at Vlacherna, a 13th century church at Mezapos. Small cemeteries continue in use round privately-owned chapels such as the Metamorphossi tou Sotira at Dryalos.

In the market town of Tsimova-Areopolis, capital of Inner Mani with 700–1200 inhabitants, 320 grave structures were constructed during the 19th and 20th centuries in three recent municipal cemeteries, with 90–120 grave structures in each, there still being some grave sites in private monasteries nearby. Up to the beginning of the 20th century there were at least two old cemeteries inside Areopolis, which have been closed: one at Panagia Georgianiki, converted into the churchyard with a playground and the other by the recently laid-out Athanaton Square.

MEDIEVAL CEMETERIES: AYIA PARASKEVI AT MESSA DEMARISTIKA

One more medieval cemetery site, at Ayia Paraskevi, Messa Demaristika of Layia, is presented in summary here. For reasons of comparison I shall first mention three other typical medieval locations that were published in 1983 and 2005.

In the broader area of Tsimova/Areopolis, near Paleremo, there is a highly interesting medieval cemetery on the hill of Ayios Polykarpos, found in sources from the 13th century, while a much smaller one lies next to Panagia Kontarianiki at Paliochora. In the cemetery of Ayios Polykarpos there are 120 single-spaced cist graves built partially below and partially above ground.¹⁵

Two further medieval sites are to be found in the environs of ancient Kainipolis: at Skentrines and at Katanemistika. The first cemetery, which has four large graves – ossuaries on two levels topped by a blind arch – is situated next to the megalithic settlement of Skentrines of Alika, round the 10th century church of Ayios Stratigos. These structures are combined with eleven old shaft graves, a cistern and other ruins.¹⁶

The other site is on the saddle of Katanemistika, where there are ancient quarries, megalithic settlements with churches, dwellings and subterranean structures/cisterns. Next to the 13th century church of Ayioi Panteleimon kai Sozon is alignment A of nine monoliths standing to heights of 1.20–2.10 m and close by, next to the 13th century church of Ayia Kyriaki, alignment B of nine monoliths standing to heights of 0.95 to 1.50 m. Are these monoliths identifiable as rudimentary burial markers?¹⁷

Significant megalithic installations from ancient and medieval times are to be found at the N part (district 2a) of the community of Layia, where the ancient quarries of the renowned Laconian red stone (*Rosso Antico*) are situated, such as the

¹⁵ Saitas 2009a, Figs 40.16–40.18.

¹⁶ Saitas 2009a, Figs 40.19–40.22.

¹⁷ Saitas 2009a and 1983.

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installations at Panoros, with houses, churches, huts and cisterns.¹⁸ Ten traditional settlements occupy this area, as shown in **FIG 12**.

At the site of Rizopyrgi, on the hill of Messa Demaristika, where there is a megalithic settlement which continued to be inhabited into the 20th century, there lies a cemetery next to the 13th century, half-ruined church (double-apsed with a side nave) of Ayia Paraskevi.¹⁹ It has 7–10 shaft graves, two of them semi-subterranean and 5 built grave-ossuaries above ground (**FIG. 13**). Four of the built grave-ossuaries (T1, T2, T3, T5) are on two levels, whilst two (T1, T3,) have a small arch under the roof (**FIG. 14**). These structures, whose external dimensions are 2.20–3.00 m long, 1.80–2.00 m wide and 1.20–2.00 m high, correspond in size, arrangement and construction to the large tombs T1 and T2 at Skentrines, Alikia²⁰. The two semi-subterranean graves T6, T7 parallel the graves of Ayios Polykarpos at Tsimova/Areopolis.²¹

The cemetery at Ayia Paraskevi is no longer in use, a post-Byzantine cemetery having been founded at site 3 (**FIG. 13**), round an old church, replaced in 1900 by the present parish church of Koimissi tis Theotokou. This cemetery, within Messa Demaristika, fell out of use and during the decade 1920–1930 and was transferred 150 m ‘down the road’, outside the village, to the site of the church of Ayia Varvara (**FIG. 15**). The new cemetery serves 4–5 lineages grouped together in clusters of 6–12 grave structures. It contains an old tomb (from before 1935) with a decorated marble stele (the work of Antonis Vouyiouklakis from Layia) as well as 42 more recent tombs, 9 of which are semi-subterranean and 32 new ground-floor family sepulchres (*oikoi*). These ‘houses’ give this 20th-century cemetery in southern Mani the marked character of a ‘settlement of the dead’.

REMARKS ON THE TYPOLOGY OF GRAVE AND OSSUARY STRUCTURES

The Medieval and post-Medieval grave structures have many structural devices in common with the storage spaces in the megalithic houses, sheepfolds and stone huts of peasants and shepherds (**FIG. 16**). The similarities include the type of stone masonry, the roofing of spaces with stone slabs and coated with gravel and/or mortar.²² A difference of scale is noticeable from the underground megalithic cisterns (*kologisternes*), with internal spans of 2.00–2.50 m, which, according to Moutsopoulos and Dimitrokallis could be regarded as prehistoric tombs belonging to the megalithic civilization of the West Mediterranean.²³

Shaft graves dug into the ground survive from all periods. They housed the body for at least three years until disinterment, and could be used for subsequent burials or as charnel-pits.²⁴ As a rule they were a temporary resting place for the body

¹⁸ Moschou, Raftopoulou & Hatzitheodorou 1998.

¹⁹ Drandakis 1978.

²⁰ Saitas 2009a, Figs 40.20–40.22.

²¹ Saitas 2009a, Figs 40.17–40.18.

²² Saitas 2009a.

²³ Moutsopoulos & Dimitrokallis 1976–78 and 1980.

²⁴ Seremetakis 1991; Dimitrakos 1975; Vayakakos 1968; Zafeirakopoulos 1911

and were usually covered with the characteristic stone slabs called '*makronia*'. They were marked in older times with a plain or carved headstone and later with a wooden, marble or metal cross or a simpler or more elaborate stele, which was subsequently placed in the final ossuary, at the same spot or nearby, according to the family.

The summary typological plate (FIG. 17) shows in its upper part typical medieval and post-medieval burial-ossuary structures. The lower part shows for comparison the basic categories of individual or family ossuaries found in cemeteries 1830–1900 and 1900–1950. Some examples are illustrated in the subsequent plates.

The summarizing plate of FIG. 18a, b examines the interior spaces within the sepulchres, housing the body on the one hand, the bones on the other, in earlier and later periods. The medieval and post-medieval grave structures are shown on the left of FIG. 18a. The basic underground or semi-subterranean stone-built *thiki* (container) for the body (with or without a coffin) is suitable for multiple interments, accessible through an opening of about 60 x 80 cm on its narrow side. The necessary interior dimensions are 60–90 cm wide, 180–200 cm long, and 45–70 cm high, with an equivalent interior volume of 600 dm³ up to 1 m³. If the interior space is arranged either on one level, with a greater height, or on two successive levels, the interior volume can be doubled, whereupon it reaches or exceeds 2 m³. The second separate level is used to store the bones from a number of individuals. The (smaller or larger) blind arches on the wide side and at the height of the roof adds a further useful space of volume 150–400 dm³.

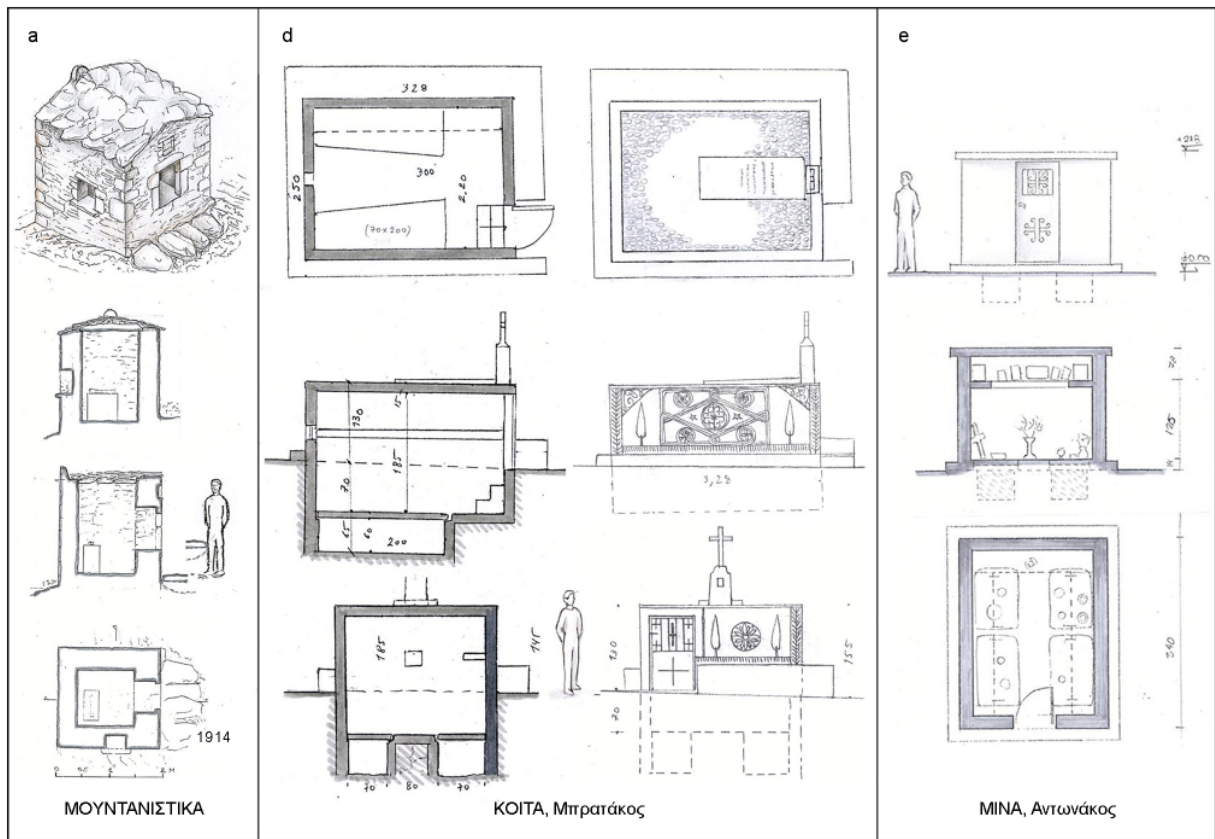
The right of FIG.18b on the top row shows the charnel-chests, smaller, medium and larger. The minimum space required for storing the bones of one individual after disinterment, removal and purification, corresponded to the capacity of content of a pillow-case (*demela*) of a volume of 25–30 dm³. This type of chest, of volume up to 90 dm³, could store the bones of several family members, of two, three or more generations.

The stone-built 'raised ossuaries' ('*sikota kivouria*' or '*kamaria*'), predominating up to the end of the 19th century in the villages, were used exclusively as family ossuaries or bone-repositories (FIG. 19). The external dimensions range from ~ 1 x 1 x 1 m to ~ 1.50 x 1.80 x 1.20 m, while the effective interior space was 100 dm³–1 m³. The bones were inserted through an opening 40 x 50–60 x 80 cm closed with a slab or several stones. A small external niche was for the oil-lamp and incense-burner (FIG. 20).

The middle row of FIG.18b shows the larger, better crafted ossuaries, frequent from the early 20th century on. The interior volume increases to 1–2 m³ (FIGS 18b, 21).

The bottom row shows a later type of semi-subterranean/ground-level, small roofed tomb, taller and of larger dimensions, i.e. with an internal volume of 5–13 m³, in which the living family members could move more easily (FIG. 22). After 1950, the walls of these constructions were built of masonry, bricks or concrete bricks, covered with a reinforced concrete slab.

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b



f



c



g

FIG. 22. a, b, c: older (early 20th century) small stone built chambers-ossuaries. d, e, f, g: newer (1930 onward) semi-subterranean or ground level graves-ossuaries.

The raised '*kivouria*' or '*kamaria*' were roofed either with a shallow vault with a horizontal, saddle or pedimental facade, or with slabs and with a vaulted or double-sided stone coating applied with mortar (FIGS 19, 20, 21). These constructions, built in the old days by family members themselves and with the minimum necessary dimensions and materials, solved at little cost the question of housing the bones/relics of the ancestors, a fundamental requirement of the local system. In some cases small stone cists (*thikes*) were intended for the bones of only one, two or three.

From the early 20th century local professionals (*petrofaoi* – '*stone-eaters*')²⁵ constructed variations of better crafted ossuaries such as built chests shaped like sarcophagi, in isodomic or other styles of masonry. Some are lower and some higher, with a metal door in one long side, forming the base for a marble grave stele or decorated cross. Some are tall tower-like forms, of a more monumental aspect (FIG. 21).

Because those who attended a funeral or memorial service in the graveyard must not carry the 'curse' back home, they stopped at certain stone heaps that were attributed with the power of liberation and relief from grief. At Kounos, near the cemetery at Pentakia, such a spot called '*dynia*' (from the Greek word *odynē* for grief) stands close to the shrine of Ayios Haralambos.

Burial and disinterment can take place with security and ease in the more modern semi-subterranean or above-ground single-roomed chamber-'houses' (FIG. 22). The interior dimensions of the space range from 1.30 x 2.50 x 1.70 m (min.)–2.70 x 3.00 x 2.00 m (max.), corresponding to 5–13 m³. Following the purification of the bones and their transformation into a 'new body',²⁶ relics were stored in their small chests, placed on the cement shelves of the building, possibly with some selected items. This 'home', furnished with mementos, photographs, inscriptions, grave 'markers', now ensured a well organized new 'household' and 'sacred spot' for the family (FIGS 23, 24). It is a substantial investment and serves successive generations of relatives. It is a 'home' where the dead meet again, as do their living descendants, who conduct the traditional ceremonies for preserving their 'eternal memory'. In this way the indissoluble bonds between the relatives are underscored, their crucial obligations continue to be performed and the living familiarize themselves and prepare themselves and future generations to cross in 'good order' and 'as is proper' the threshold of death, in order to be ready for the eventual Day of Judgement and resurrection.

²⁵ Kassis 1980; Petronotis 1980.

²⁶ Seremetakis 1991.

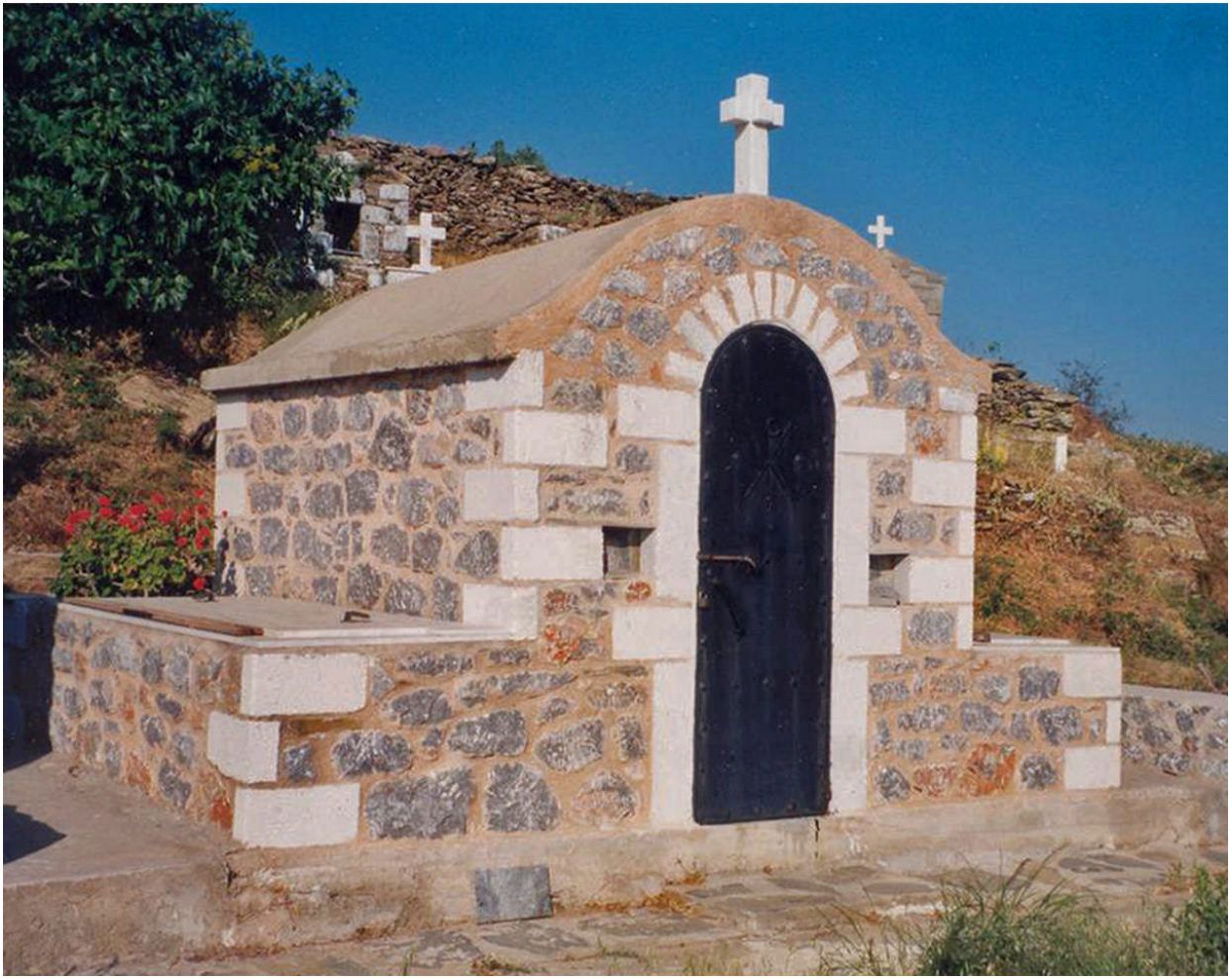


FIG. 23. Modern stone built family ossuary, of the chamber 'house' type, with two external lateral graves.



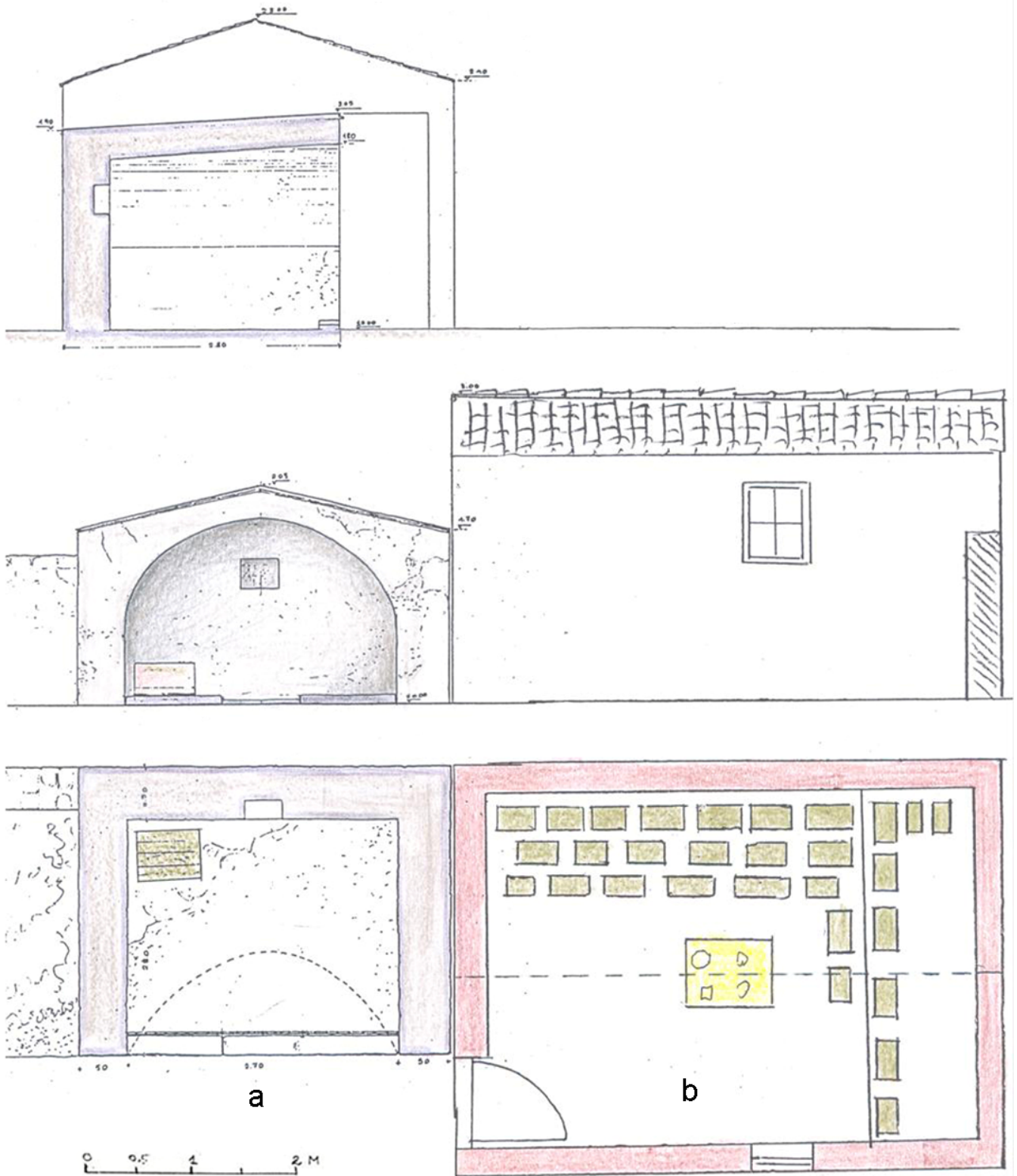
FIG. 24. The interior of modern semi-subterranean or above ground family grave-ossuary chambers with the relics in the chests, furnished with photographs, mementos, oil lamps, incense burners, flowers, also cleaning materials.

Many older and more recent cemeteries also have a collective charnel house. It may be an older, abandoned or half-ruined church (FIG 25), a cave arranged for the purpose,²⁷ a separate domed construction (FIG. 26), or a smaller or larger chamber (FIG. 27).

²⁷ Saitas 2009a, fig 40.35.



FIG. 25. Skulls on a wooden shelf and in chests in an abandoned church next to the village of Kipoula.



Κοιμητήριο Μεγάλης Μαντίνειας

Συλλογικά οστεοφυλάκεια α και β

FIG. 26. Collective charnel-house at the cemetery of Megali Mantineia, comprising the older stone built domed structure (a) and the newer wood-roofed tiled chamber (b). From bottom to top: plan, elevation, section.



FIG. 27. The interior of the newer 'collective' charnel-house of the cemetery Ayia Paraskevi at Areopolis.

The study of burial markers (steles, busts, carved crosses, etc.) as well as of the inscriptions is of great interest and will be presented on another occasion. A variety of types, subjects and techniques are distinguishable, referring to some local workshops and a number of named craftsmen who often sign their work. Works by the sculptors and marble workers of Kalamata, Gytheion as well as from Athens are also found. Subjects displaying prestige and rivalry also infiltrate the composition of a built cemetery area. The cemetery of Ayios Nikolaos at Layia (**FIG. 9**) contains the most of well-crafted marble steles from the first half of the twentieth century. Many of them are the work of the craftsman Antonis Vouyiouklakis,²⁸ who was at work 1920–1950 and erected his family burial monument there (**FIG. 29**).

²⁸ Kassis 1980; Petronotis 1980.

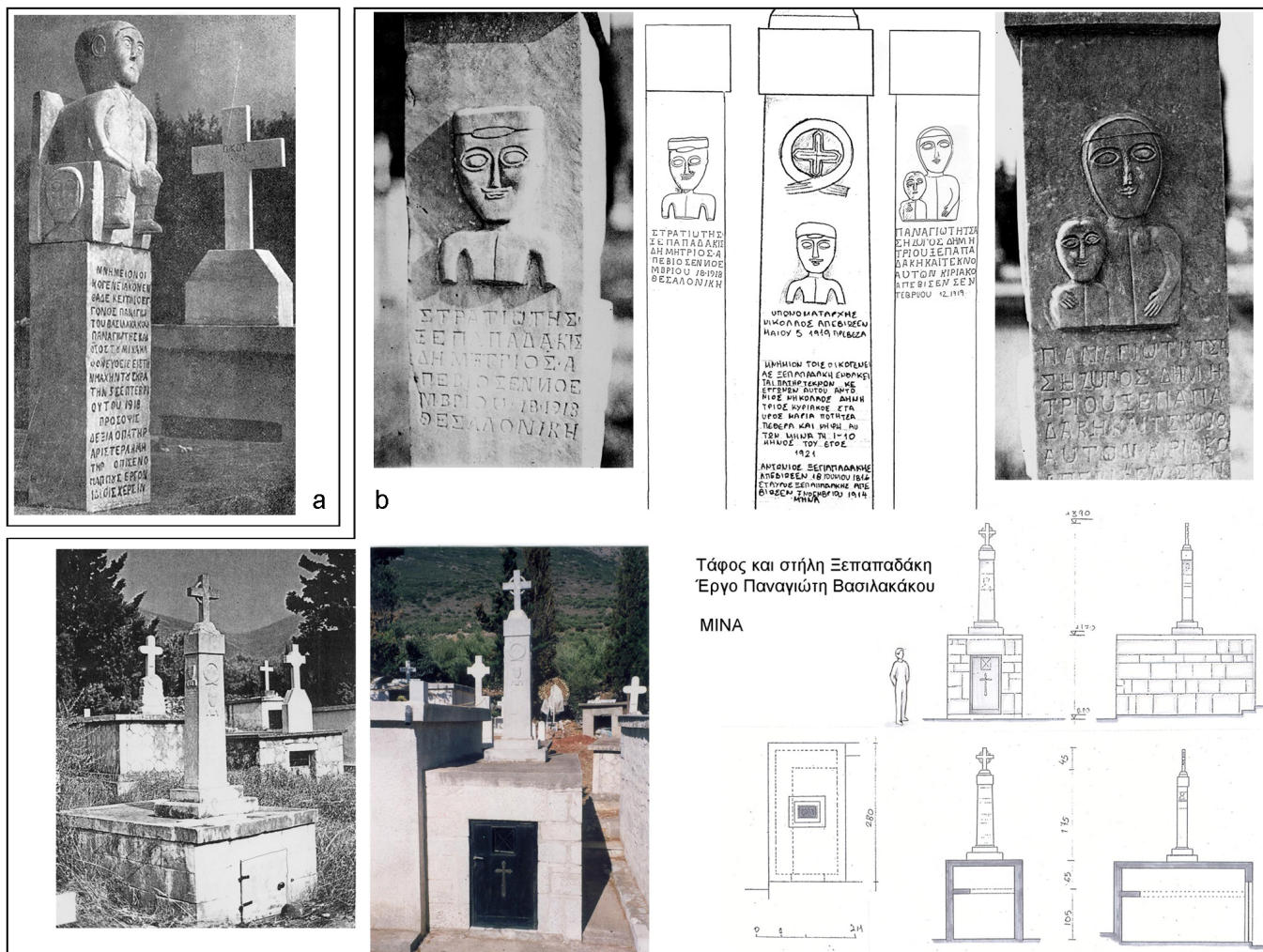


FIG. 28. Two funerary stelai, works of the local craftsman Panayiotis Vassilakakos from Kafiona. Upper left: at the cemetery of Kafiona stele (a) depicts four figures of three generations of the Vassilakakos family (one child, two parents and the craftsman grandfather). At the Mina cemetery, stele (b) depicts four members of the Xepapadakis family; this stele was first erected on a low ossuary and then placed at the newer, more spacious one.



Οίκος Αντωνίου κε Σταματίνας Βουγιυκλάκη

FIG. 29. The funerary monument that the local craftsman Antonis Vouyiouklakis erected for his family at the cemetery of Ayios Nikolaos at Layia.

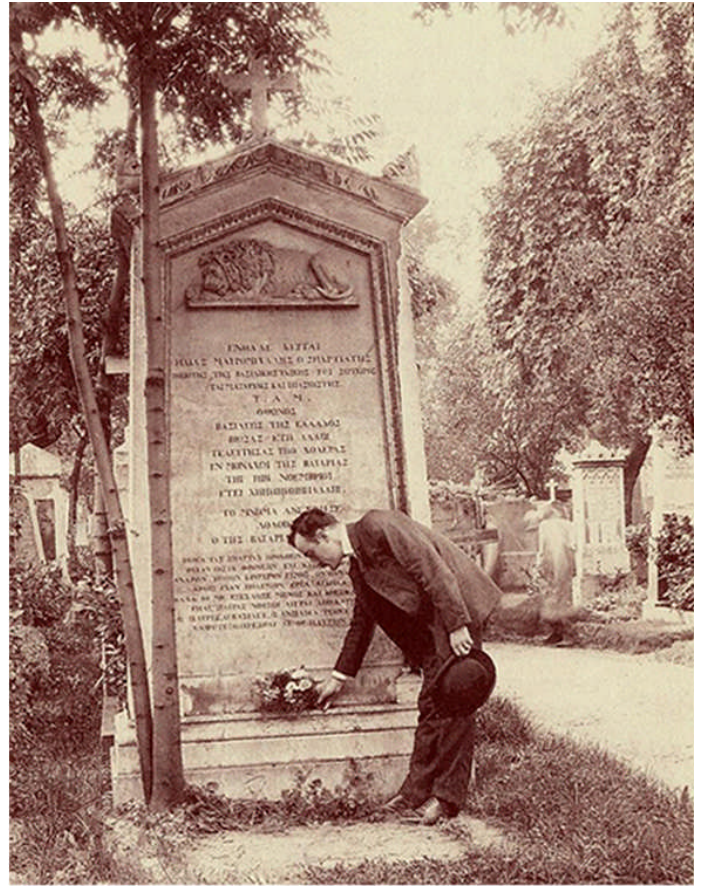
The two grave steles at Kafiona, made between 1925 and 1935 by Panayiotis Vassilakakos,²⁹ are particularly good examples of the local mentality and popular sculpture. Each depicts portraits of four people, from two or three generations of the family memorialized, and has informative inscriptions (FIG. 28a–b).

In some recent elaborate works, the same stele depicts members of two generations. In the Pano Boularii cemetery, a father and son are combined in a sculpture by D. Pissas from Piraeus (FIG. 30). In other cases the grave marker has separate stelai/busts for each member of the family, for example two spouses or a child and both parents.

²⁹ Kassis 1980; Petronotis 1980.



FIG. 30. Stele showing father and son, work of the sculptor D. Pissas from Piraeus, standing in the cemetery of Pano Boularii, erected for his family at the cemetery of Ayios Nikolaos at Layia.



MONAXO - νότιο (παλαιό) κοιμητήριο

FIG. 31. Funerary ornamented stele with inscription erected in memory of Elias Katsis Mavromichalis who died in Munich in 1836. Old cemetery of Munich, design of the architect Leo von Klenze.

The bust of Petrobey Mavromichalis (1765–1848) is the work of the Athenian sculptor Georgios Bonanos, standing on top of the burial monument, with a total height of 5.60 m, crafted in the Athenian marble workshop of Ioannis G. Haldoupis. The stele with the bust stands on a stepped pedestal 1.10 m high covering the underground crypt-ossuary, whose dimensions are 1.20 x 1.20 x 1.55 m a volume of 2.1 m³ (FIG. 33). The monument was erected in the early 20th century in the cemetery of Ai Sostis at Limeni, dominating the simpler graves and markers.

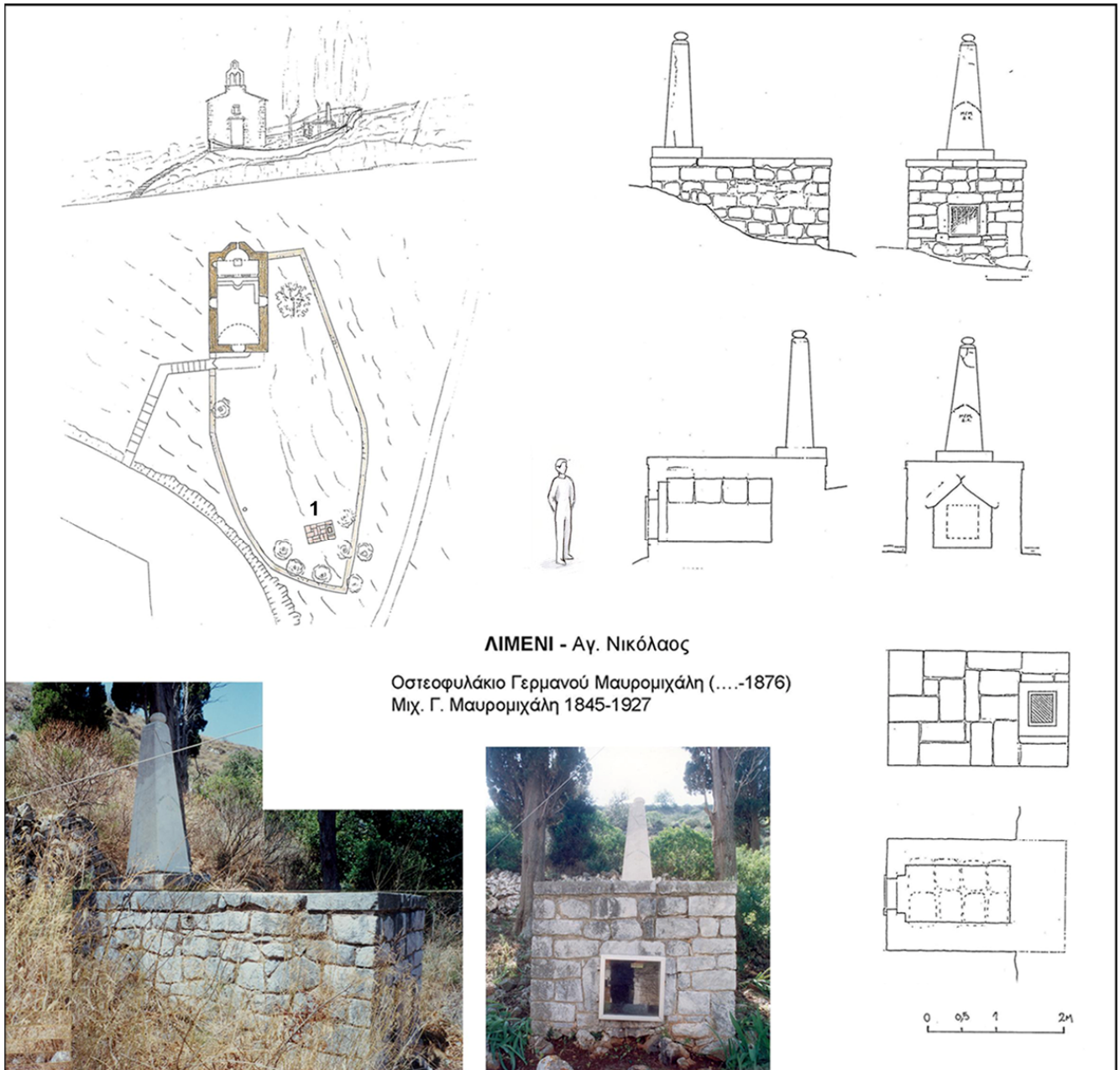


FIG. 32. The old cemetery next to the church of Ayios Nikolaos at Limeni with the well-built ossuary with a plain marble stele of the Germanos Mavromichalis family.

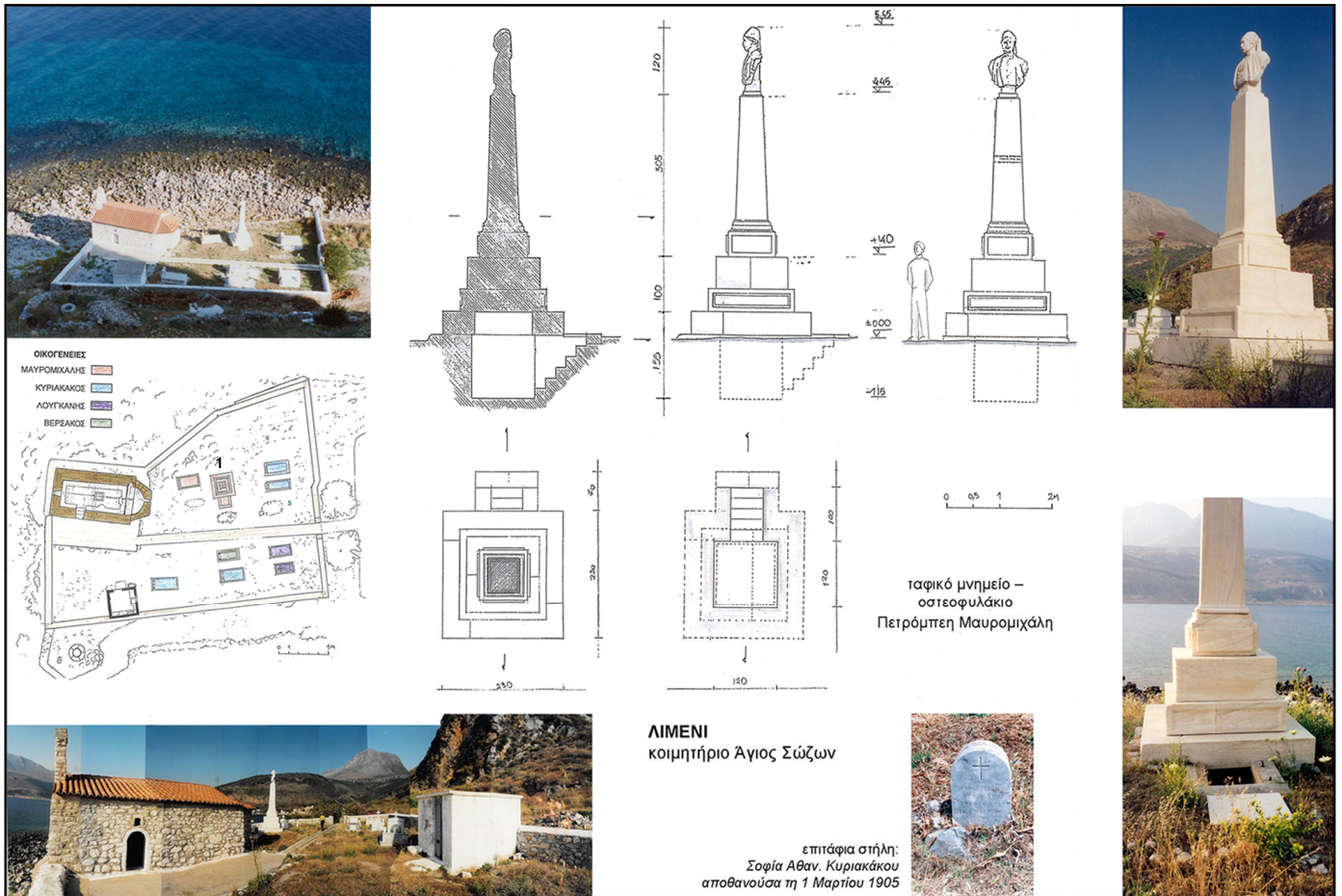


FIG. 33. In the cemetery on the shore next to the village of Limeni, the imposing funerary monument of Petrobey Mavromichalis dominates among the simpler graves and markers.

A typical individual/personal tomb marker for an eminent Maniot of the first half of the 19th century is represented by an decorated limestone stele 3.00 m high, over the grave of the ADC to King Otto Elias Katsis Mavromichalis (1803–1836), who died in Munich. The Bavarian King Ludwig had it erected in Munich’s old cemetery and it was designed by the architect Leo von Klenze (FIG. 31).³⁰

The family ossuary of Germanos Katsis Mavromichalis (?–1876) brother of Elias mentioned above, has a plain stele; it is to be found in the cemetery of Ayios Nikolaos at Limeni. It was constructed in the 1920s (FIG. 32).

Monuments erected at selected sites also commemorate local history, honouring the dead and marking the memories and the landscape, thus forming a fresh mental map.³¹ Memorials and monuments of those who died in wars *pro patria* (FIG. 34), stand at historic sites or particular spots in the countryside or in the squares of villages, or with busts of illustrious men, combined with symbolic towers or other structures (FIG. 35), or memorials for victims at the site of fatal accidents (FIG. 36).

³⁰ Kougeas 1936.

³¹ Kenna 2009 and 1989.



FIG. 34. Memorial monument erected in 1935 at the historic site of Verga Almiros, commemorating the victory of Maniot groups against the attacking army of Imbrahim Pasha, 21–24 June 1826.



FIG. 35. Memorial monument comprising the bust of an eminent person and a symbolic tower at the outskirts of Layia.



FIG. 36. Memorial monument of a victim at the site of a fatal car accident in the vicinity of Areopolis.

THE CEMETERIES OF THE COMMUNITY OF VATHIA

In the example from the District of Vathia we examine the relation of the cemeteries to the patrilocal settlements and their districts. Eight old megalithic settlements are to be found here, 23 more recent, inhabited sites and 27 churches of the medieval and recent years. From the 18th and 19th centuries the population was divided between eight genealogical groups (FIG. 37).³² The four larger (Michalakiani, Karabatiani, Kalidoniani, Koutrigari) had settled in the central village (FIGS 38, 39) and at 15

³² Saitas2009b, 1994 and 1987.

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other places nearby ('xemonia'). The four minor groups had settled in seven other sites in the area. The total population amounted to 250–450 in the 19th and 20th century. Eight cemeteries corresponded to this system, with a total of 60–65 graves and 110 ossuaries. Of the 110, 70 are old ossuaries (1830–1950) and 40 more recent (1950–1970 and 1970–). **TABLE 1** details the distribution of the eight genealogical groups among the four sub-districts and the eight inhabited clusters of the community. The corresponding 28 churches with their eight cemeteries have been recorded together with their old and modern graves and their older and more recent ossuaries.

ΚΟΙΝΟΤΗΤΑ ΒΑΘΕΙΑΣ : ΚΟΙΜΗΤΗΡΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΦΙΚΕΣ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΕΣ

ΜΙΚΡΟ-ΠΕΡΙΟΧΕΣ	παραδοσιακές ΟΙΚΗΣΕΙΣ (16 ^{ος} αι. κ.ε.)	ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΕΣ	ΚΟΙΜΗΤΗΡΙΑ	ΓΕΝΕΑΛΟΓΙΚΕΣ ΟΜΑΔΕΣ	ΤΑΦΕΣ		ΟΣΤΕΟΦΥΛΑΚΙΑ							
					ΠΑΛΑΙΕΣ	ΣΥΓΧΡΟΝΕΣ	ΠΑΛΑΙΑ	έως 1950	Π	ΣΥΓΧΡΟΝΑ	1950 κ.ε.	Σ	ΣΥΝΟΛΟ Π+Σ	
					έως 1950	1950 κ.ε.	1830-1900	1901-1950	1830-1950	1951-1970	1971-2000	1951-2000	1830-2000	
A Λεκάνη Βάθειας 124 κτήρια	56. 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9 / (Δβ) Κάπιοι (Κάτω Βάθεια) κλπ. 18 κτήρια	5 έως 6	1α. Άγιος Φούκας	(?)			2	0	2	0	0	0	2	
			(1β. Αγία Τριάδα ?)	Καραμπατιάνοι / Λαγούδης			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
			(1γ.)	(Καραμπατιάνοι) [Μιχελόγγονας]			(1)	0	(1)	0	0	0	(1)	
	57. 1,2 / (Δβ) Γουλάς 14 κτήρια	4	2. Αη Γιάννης *	Καραμπατιάνοι / Λαγούδης										
				Καραμπατιάνοι / Ευπόλητος Αθανασάκος Μιχελόγγονας σύνολο Αη Γιάννης ≈23 ταφικές κατασκευές										
	58. 1,2 / (Δβ) Ρόγκια 11 κτήρια	1	3. Αη Γκίτας	Κουτριγάροι Καληδωνιάνοι										
σύνολο Αη Γκίτας							5	5	10	0	0	0	10	
59. 1 / (Γα) Βάθεια 70 κτήρια	7	4. Άγιος Ηλίας 5. Παναγίτσα * καθολικό (μαζικό) κοιμητήριο κατά τον 20 ^ο αι.	Καληδωνιάνοι			(1)	0	(1)	0	0	0	0	(1)	
			Μιχαλακιάνοι			12	3	15	0	18	18	33		
			Καραμπατιάνοι			0	3	3	0	3	3	6		
			Καληδωνιάνοι			1	2	3	0	3	3	6		
			Κουτριγάροι			0	2	2	0	1	1	3		
Μιχελόγγονες			0	0	0	0	1	1	1					
Στραβοκέφαλοι			0	1	1	0	4	4	5					
ανώνυμα οστεοφυλάκια			1	5	6	0	3	3	9					
σύνολο Παναγίτσα ≈108 ταφικές κατασκευές														
60. 1,2 / (Δβ) Τσι 11 κτήρια	0	-	Μιχαλακιάνοι											
B Βισκίνα 6 κτήρια	61. 1,2 / (Δβ) Ποράκια – Βισκίνα 6 κτήρια	7	6. Ταξιάρχης	(Αραβουχοί) Στραβοκέφαλοι			2	0	2	0	0	0	2	
Γ Καστρί 10 κτήρια	62. 1,2,3 / (Δβ) Καστρί 10 κτήρια	2	7. Αγ. Νικόλαος *	Φιδοτιάστης & Μπαλίνης ≈10 ταφικές κατασκευές			2	2	4	0	3	3	7	
Δ Μιανές 25 κτήρια	63. 1,2 / (Δα) Μιανές 25 κτήρια	1	8. Αγ. Θεόδωροι *	Καραμπατιάνοι			6	2	8	0	1	1	9	
4 ΜΙΚΡΟ-ΠΕΡΙΟΧΕΣ (7.100 στρεμ.) με 165 κτήρια	8 οικίες που κατανέμονται σε 23 θέσεις	28 εκκλησίες	8 κοιμητήρια * (4 σε λειτουργία) + 2 θέσεις με μεμονωμένες ταφές	4 μεγάλες γενεαλ. ομάδες και 4 μικρές γενεαλ. ομάδες			42	27	69	0	39	39	108	
			ΓΕΝΙΚΟ ΣΥΝΟΛΟ						1 (Κάπιο)		1 (Γουλάς)	2		
												40	110 οστεοφυλάκια	

TABLE 1. Traditional settlements, churches and cemeteries in the four sub-districts of the Vathia community. Older and newer graves and ossuaries are recorded per genealogical group.

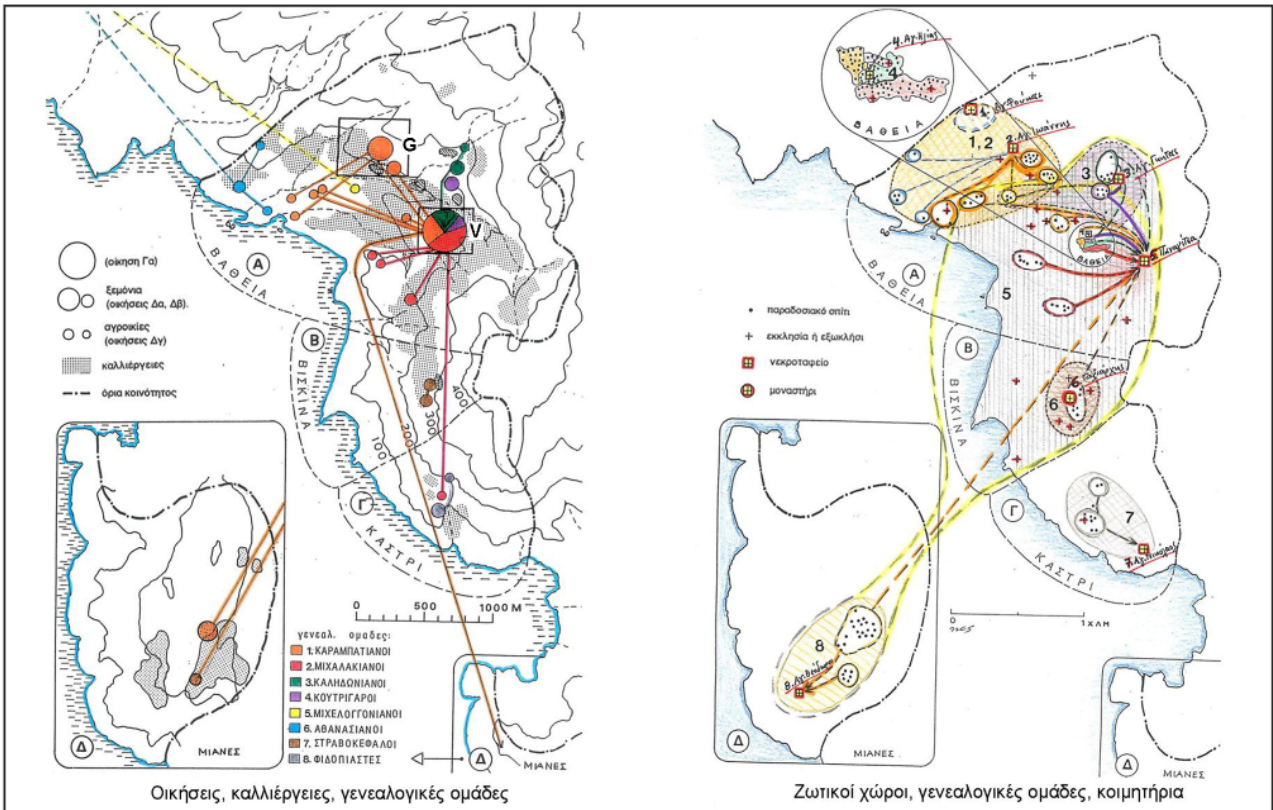


FIG. 37. Distribution of settlements, cultivations, genealogical groups, 28 churches and 8 cemeteries within the four sub-districts of the Vathia community.

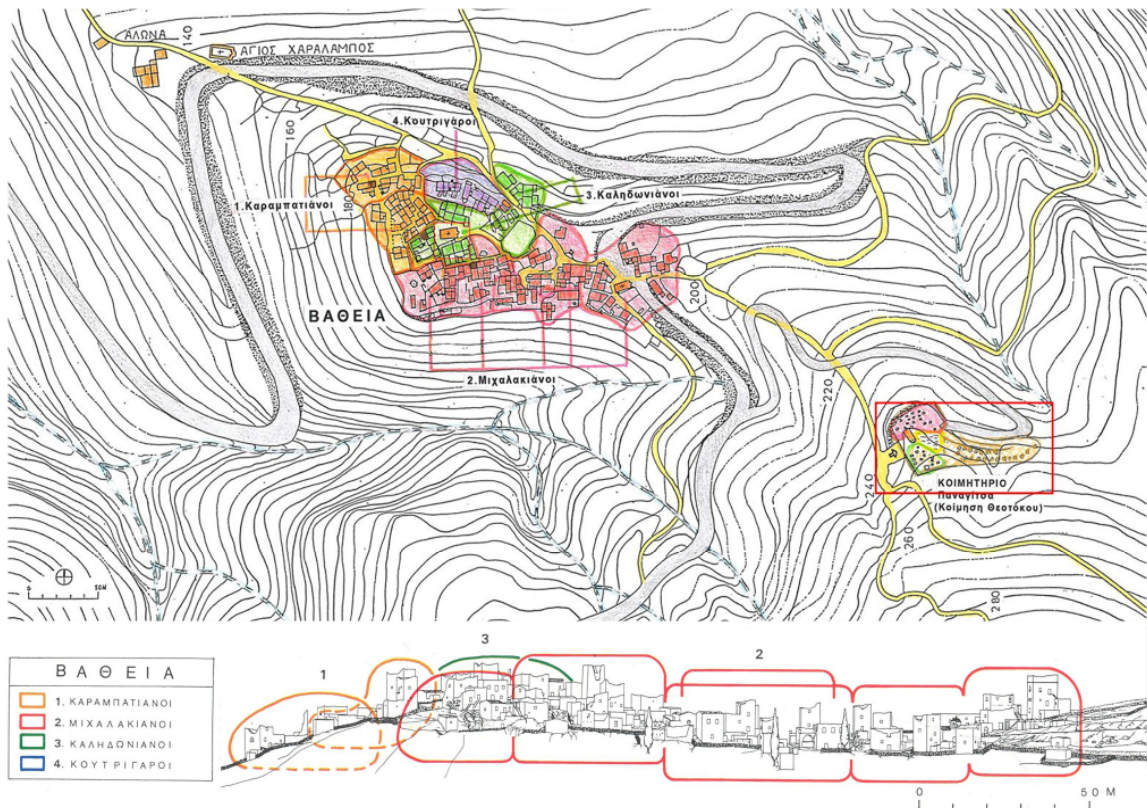


FIG. 38. The central village of Vathia (plan and southern elevation) with the quarters of the four larger genealogical groups and the above-lying central cemetery of Panagitsa (Koimisi tis Theotokou).



FIG. 39. The village of Vathia as seen from the cemetery area.

The cemetery with the double-apsed church of Ai Yannis (FIG. 40), dating to the 14th century, lies at a distance of 100 m from the hamlet of Goulas,³³ abandoned before 1950, with 8 houses and the war tower of the Lagoudiani. Some allied families are also buried there: Xypolitos, Athanasakos, Michelogonas. The church has a side-nave which contains the collective ossuary in a separate section. The eight old, family 'raised cists' (*sikota kivouria*) or vaulted cists (*kamaria*) are aligned in two grouped rows with grave marker stones upon which the initials of the dead are engraved as well as dates from 1865 to 1916. The plot for burials stands between these rows. Two more recent ossuaries/small 'houses' complement the whole.

³³ Saitas2009b, 1994 and 1987.

Yanis Saitas

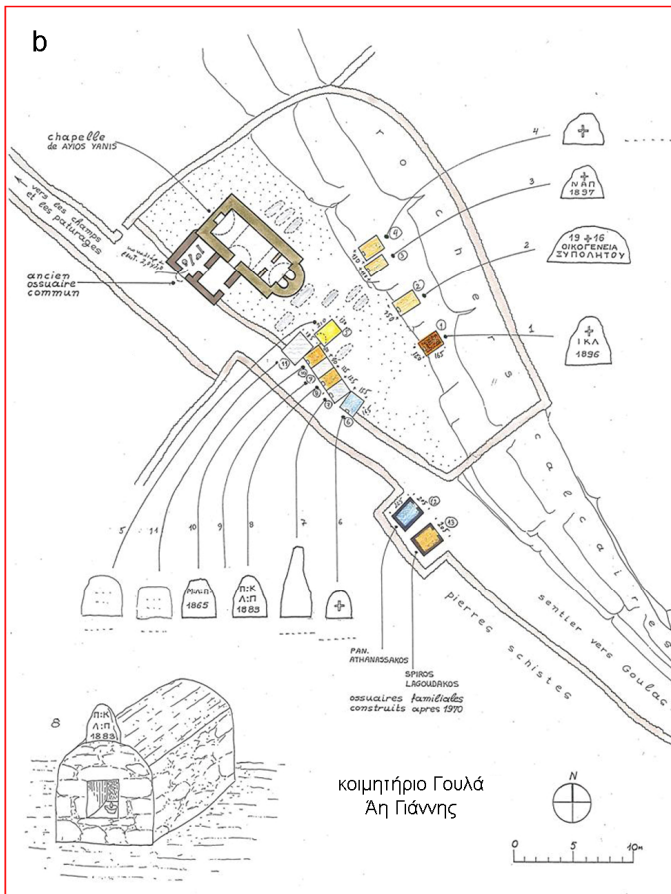
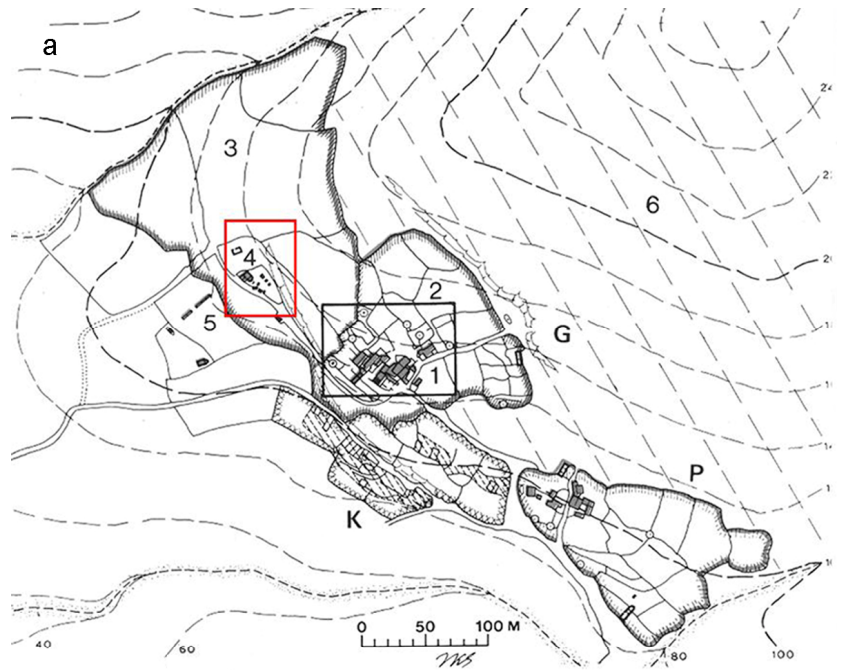


FIG. 40. a: the hamlet of Goulas (G), seat of the Lagoudiani family: 1: the building complex, 2, 3: the adjacent stone-walled fields, 4: the cemetery, 5: the beehives, 6: grazing and hunting- grounds. The megalithic hamlet of Kalyvia (K) and the more recent 'xemoni' of Petomoniastika (P), seat of the Xipolitiani, are further down the hill.

b: the Goulas cemetery (Vathia cemetery #2) with the 14th-century church of Ai-Yannis, the shaft graves, the 'raised chests' (sikota kivouria) with their marker plaques and the two more recent ossuaries- small 'homes'.

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The cemetery corresponding to the *xemoni* of Rogia, abandoned before 1950, with the 11 houses of the Koutrigari and Kalidoniani, is situated by the old church of Ai Ghitas, no longer in use since the beginning of the twentieth century (FIG. 41). It contains ten old raised chests with engraved inscriptions and dates 1875–1916. An ossuary has two plaques and a cross with inscriptions corresponding to the five brothers, all craftsmen, of the Gligorogonas family. They were the last male members of the family, which, after them, died out in 1910. This raised chest is the only material monument mentioning and preserving their name.

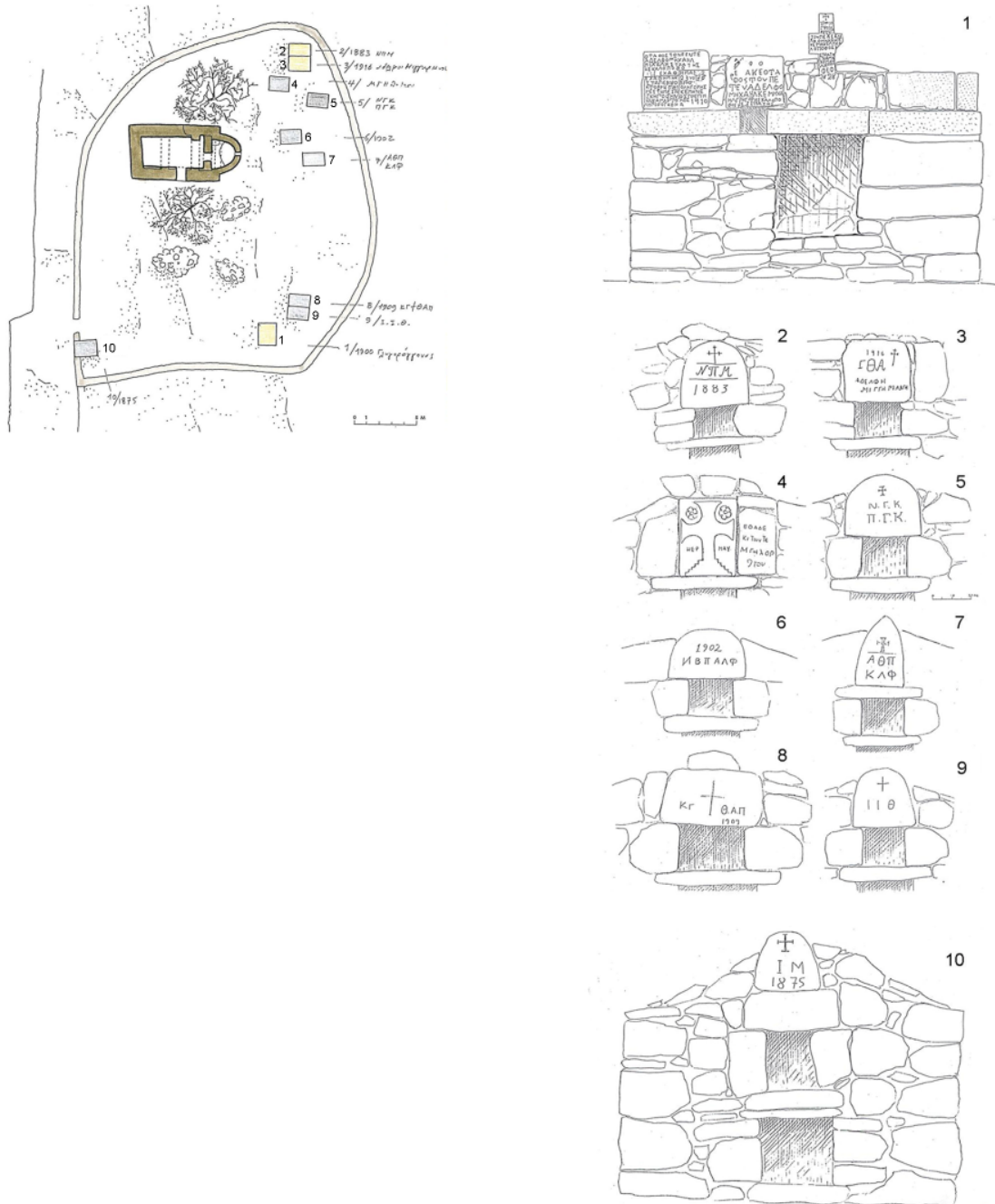


FIG. 41. The Rogia cemetery (Vathia cemetery #3) with the half-ruined church of Ai-Ghitas and the ten built chests. Details of the ossuaries' engraved plaques with inscriptions dating from 1875 up to 1916.

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The unfinished church of Ayios Elias (1891) of the Kalidoniani is at the centre of the village of Vathia, probably on the site of an old cemetery (FIG. 42). The bones of the clan founder Mavroidis, who was descended from the Micheliani of Layia and had settled in Vathia later than the mid-18th century, were kept in a niche to the left of the altar. In the Koutrigari family church of Ayios Nikolaos there is an ancient marble sarcophagus in secondary use. (FIG. 43).

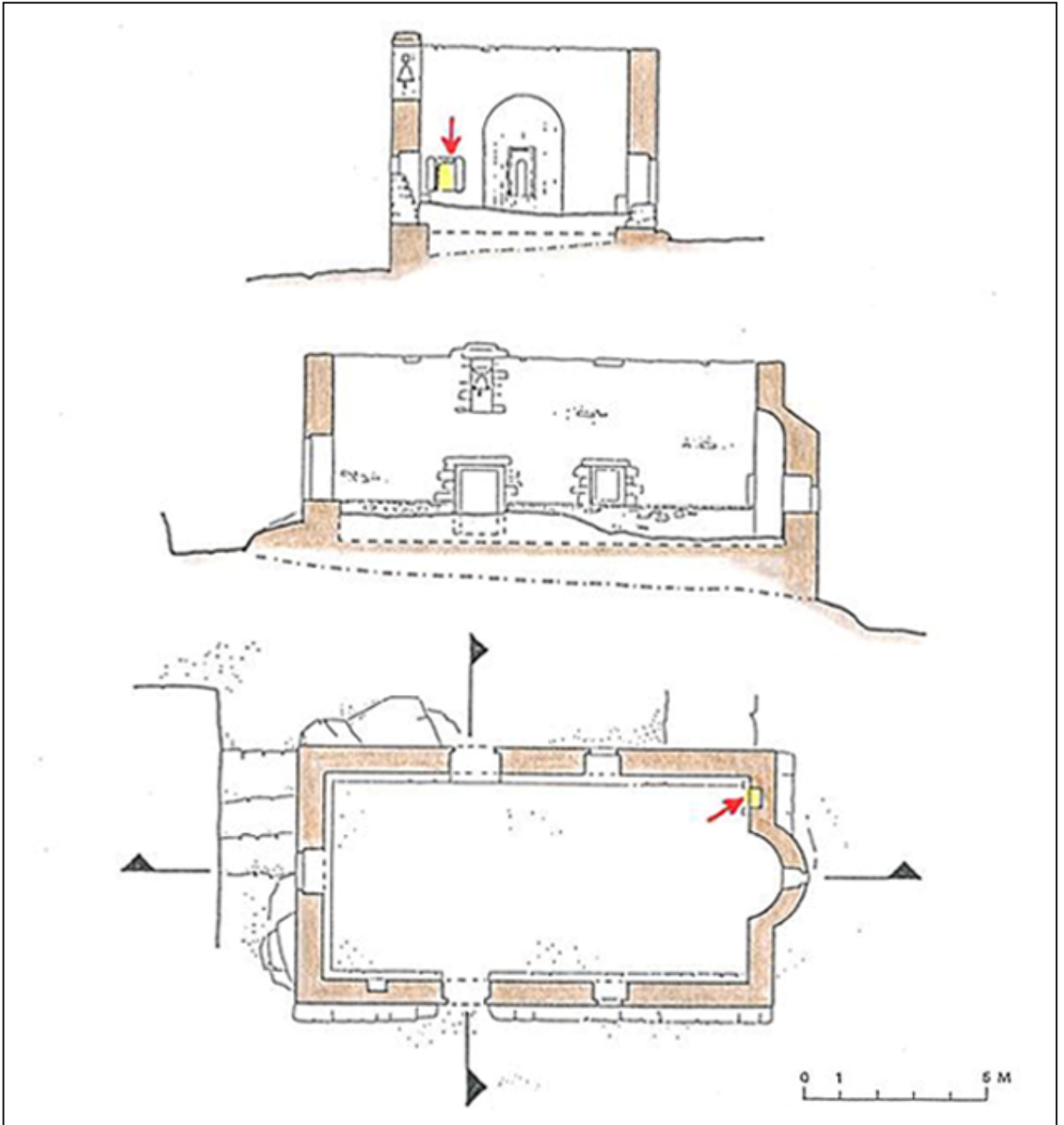


FIG. 42. The unfinished church of Ayios Elias (1891) of the Kalidoniani family at the centre of Vathia. The bones of the clan founder Mavroidis were kept in a niche of the sanctuary.



FIG. 43. The church of Ayios Nikolaos (frescoes of 1870) of the Koutrigari family in the village of Vathia with an ancient marble sarcophagus.

The small monastery with the church of the Taxiarches lies at the old site of Porrachia-Viskina, where there is a megalithic settlement with six buildings and one more recent, with six traditional houses. It is the site of a small abandoned cemetery with the two raised chests of the Stravokefali, descendants of the Aravouchi group which, it is said, were butchered by members of a rival clan inside the church of the Taxiarches (FIG. 44). An ancient marble grave plaque with an inscription is part of the church's altar, with mention of the priest Aristoteles Pryeos. The inscription was recorded by Ciriaco of Ancona when he travelled to Mani in October 1447.³⁴

³⁴ Sebbadini 1910.

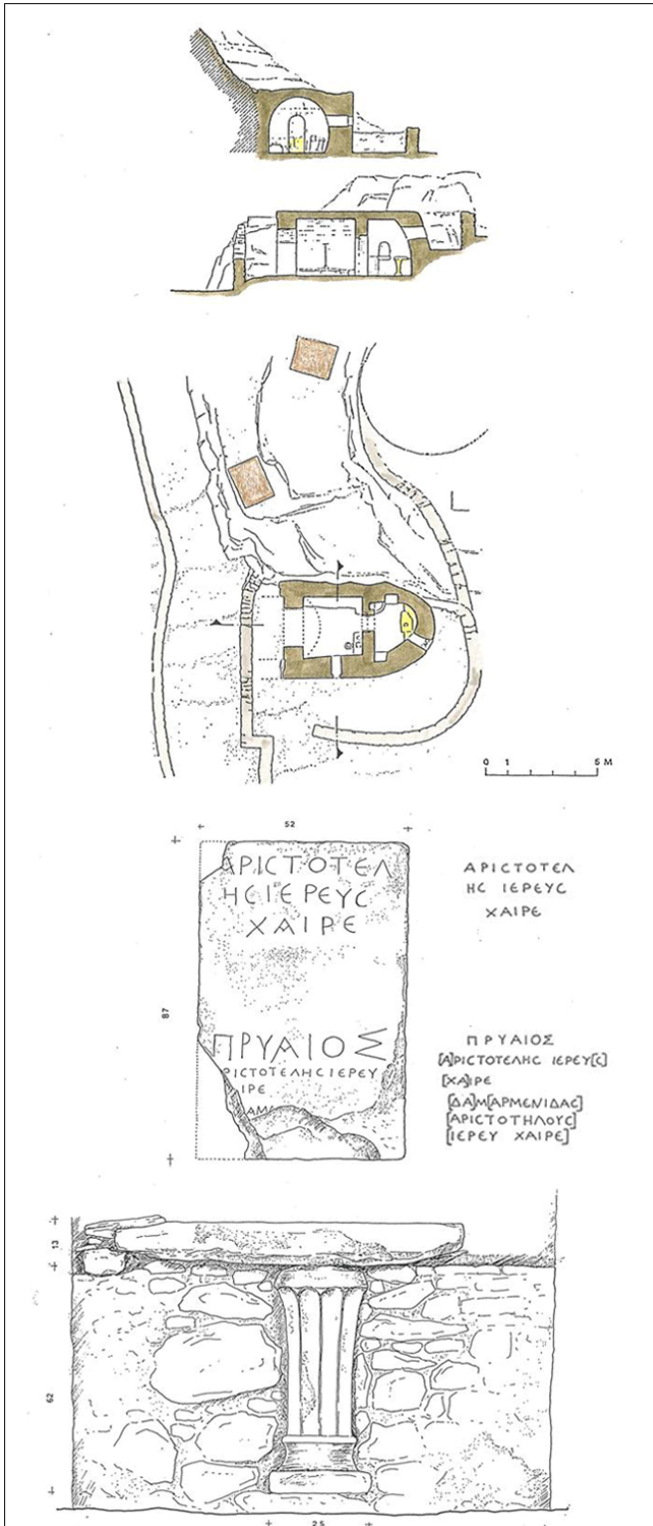


FIG. 44. The Porrachia-Viskina cemetery of the Aravouchi-Stravokefali family at Taxiarches (Vathia cemetery #6). The inscribed ancient marble grave plaque on the church's altar.

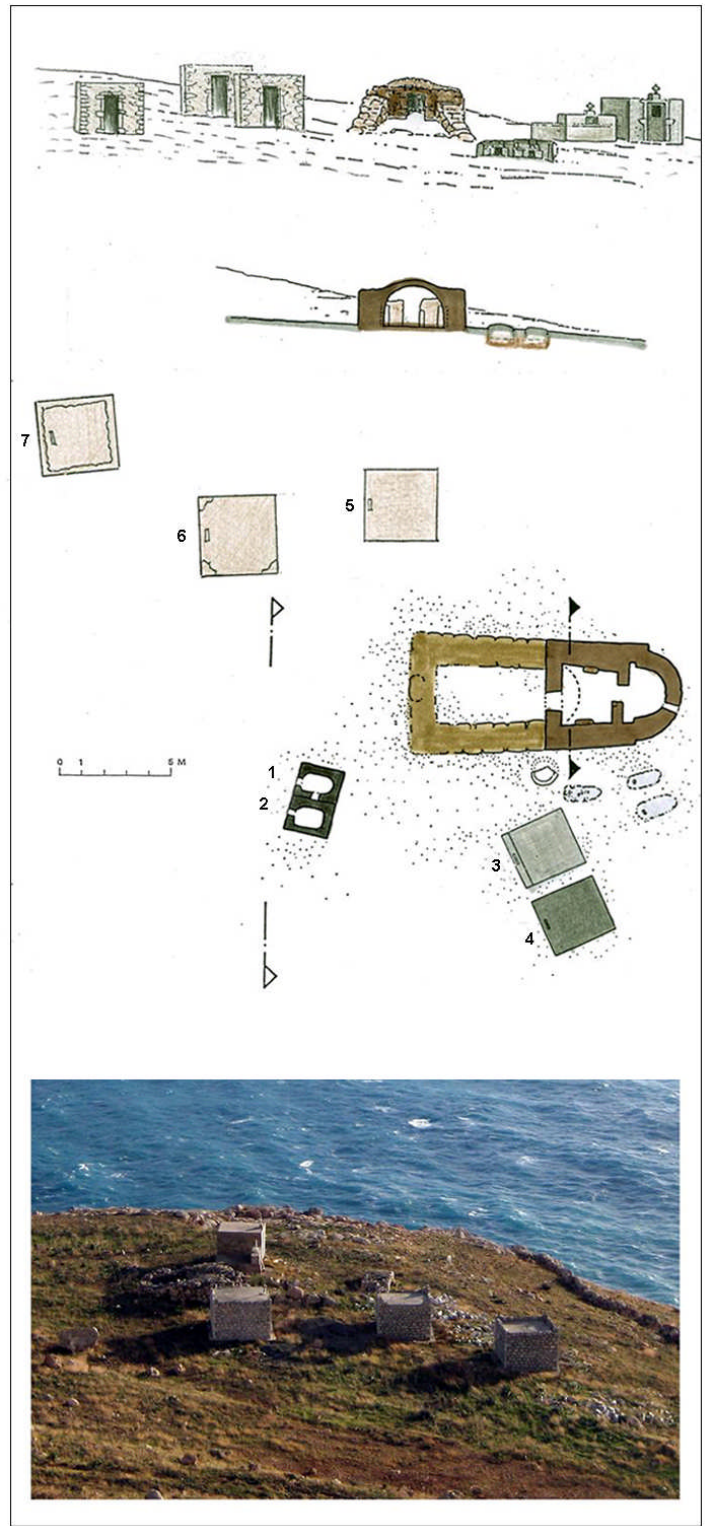


FIG. 45. The Kastri cemetery of the Fidopiasti and Balini families (Vathia cemetery #7) next to the ruined church of Ayios Nikolaos with seven older and newer ossuaries.

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At Kastri, with the 10 houses of the Fidopiasti and Balini families, lies the small cemetery nearby, at the site of the ruined church of Ayios Nikolaos. It contains two old, two recent and three modern ossuaries (**FIG. 45**).

The church of Ayioi Theodoroi stands at a site 300 m from the settlement of Mianes, which has 25 buildings of the Karabatiani clan. A cemetery with eight older and one more recent ossuary lies near it, among the ruins of an old megalithic settlement with 7 buildings (**FIG. 46**).

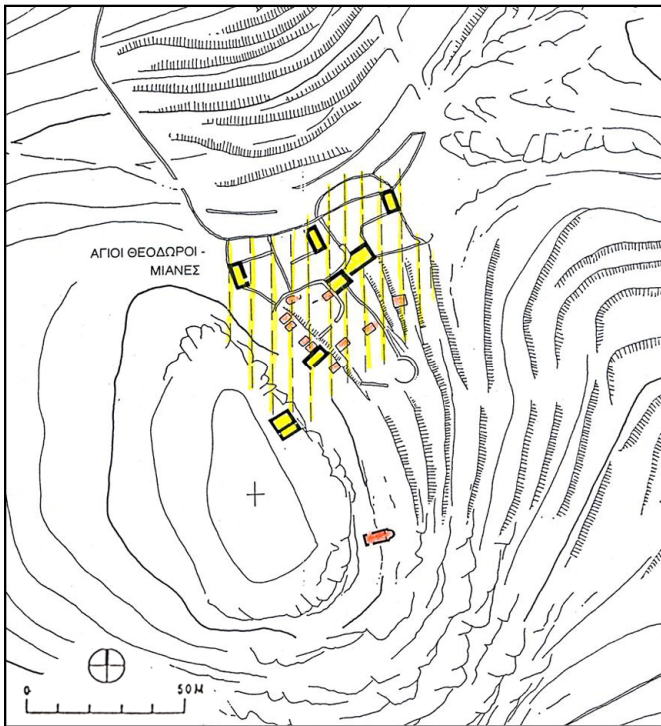


FIG. 46. The Mianes cemetery of the Karabatiani family (Vathia cemetery #8) with the church of Ayioi Theodoroi and eight older ossuaries and a more recent one.

Vathia's central cemetery is 300 m on the 'high road' attached to the church of Panagitsa (Koimissi tis Theotokou) (**FIG. 47**). As in the 1930s four of the eight small peripheral cemeteries ceased to be used, it now serves all the inhabitants of Vathia. It contains 63 ossuaries, 14 of which date to the second half of the 19th, 16 to the first half of the 20th and 33 to the second half of the 20th century. The 24 old and recent ossuaries of the Michalakiani are concentrated at the north-western (lower) older section of the cemetery, while the corresponding 14 of the other genealogical groups lie at the south-eastern (upper) older section. The plot for burials is in the central more level ground behind the church.

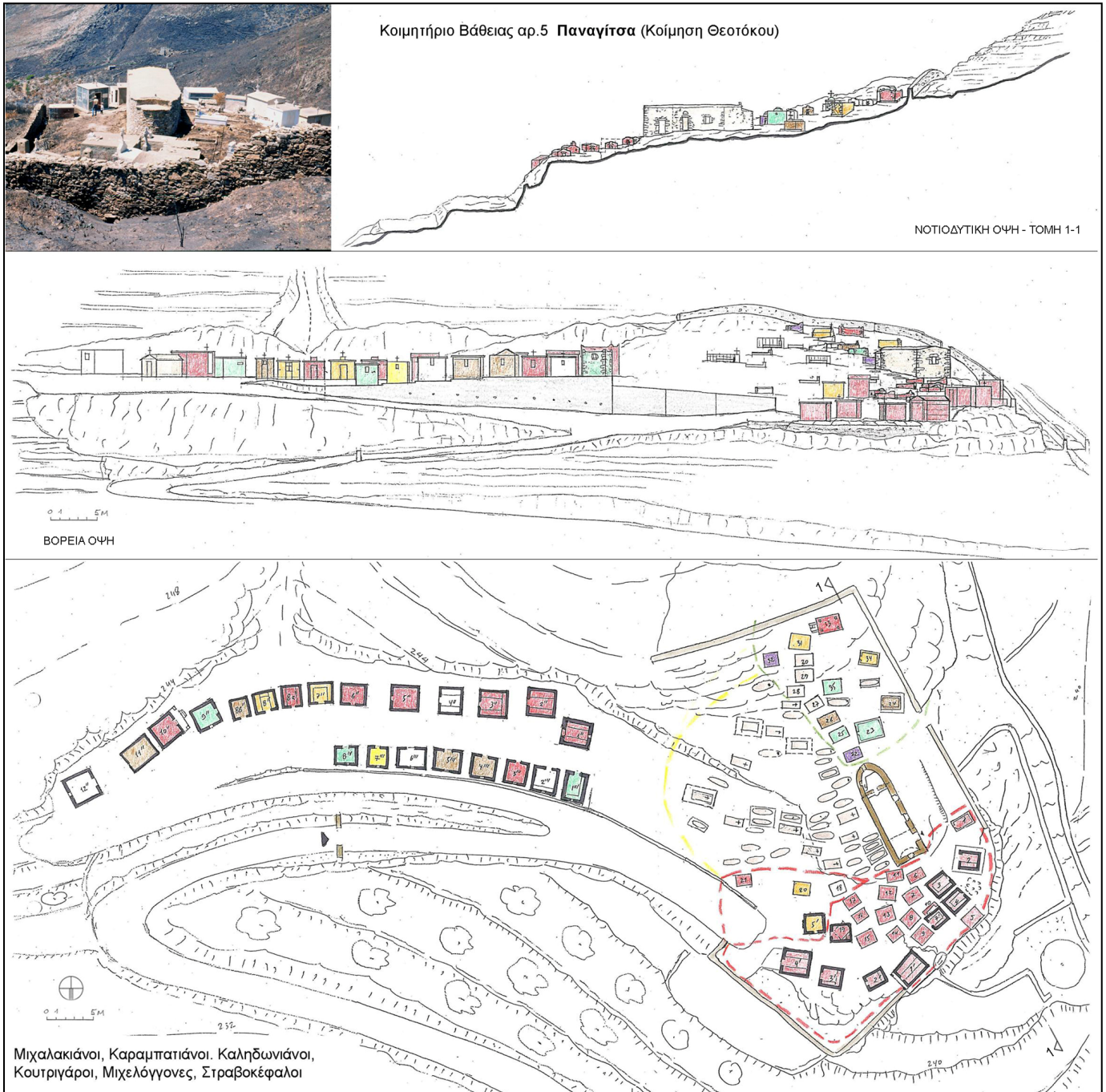


FIG. 47. The central cemetery of Panagitsa-Koimisi tis Theotokou (Vathia cemetery #5) with the grave shafts, the 41 old and recent ossuaries at the older western section and the 22 newer 'homes' ossuaries built from 1980 onward at the eastern modern extension. The distribution per genealogical group is depicted/indicated.



FIG. 48. The eastern modern extension of the Panagitsa cemetery, 1980 onward.

Certain stone-built ossuaries from the second half of the 19th century have grave marker plaques with an engraved cross and the name or names and the date of death (FIG. 49). Some other more recent ossuaries (1900–1950) have a decorated marble cross with an engraved inscription (FIG. 49).

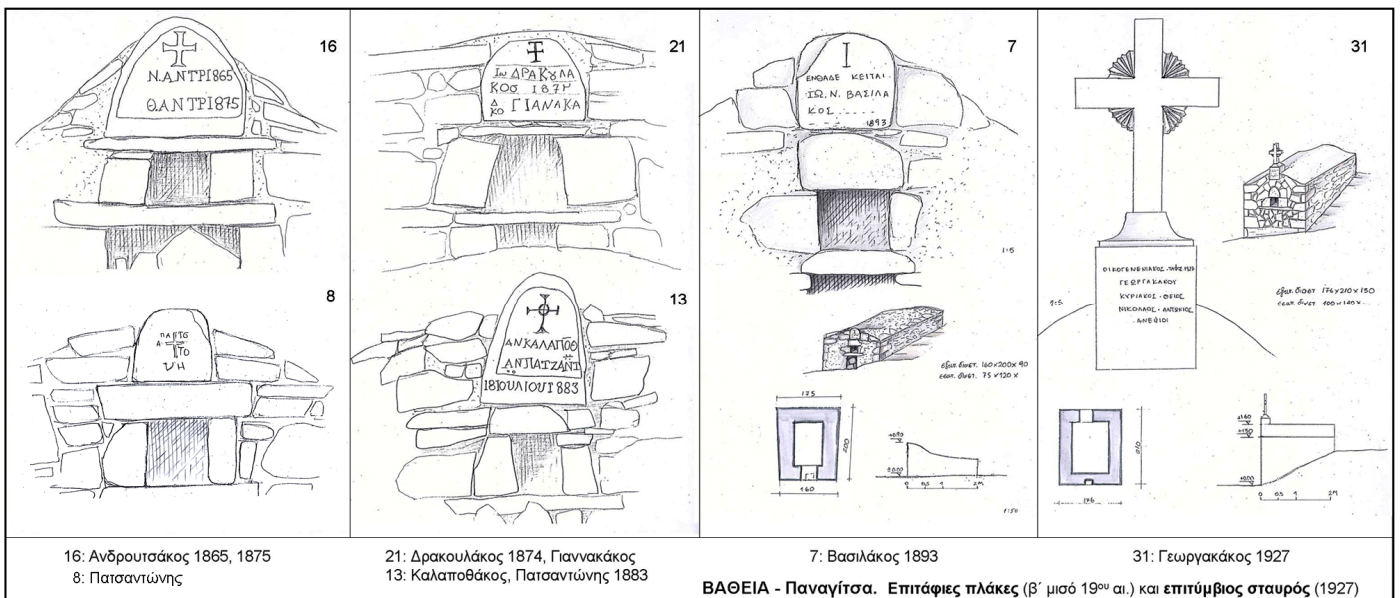


FIG. 49. Five engraved plaques from the second half of the 19th century and a decorated marble cross with an inscription from 1927 at the ossuaries of Panagitsa.

From the mid-1970s, in parallel with the realization of the Greek National Tourist Office's programme for the preservation and development of the village of Vathia,³⁵ some old ossuaries were renovated and some modern 'houses' were constructed. A marble plaque with engraved diagram showing the genealogical tree of the Kalidoniani, with eight successive generations, 1750–1970, was incorporated in 1975 into one of the modern 'houses' (FIG. 50).

³⁵ Saitas & Papantoniou 1992.

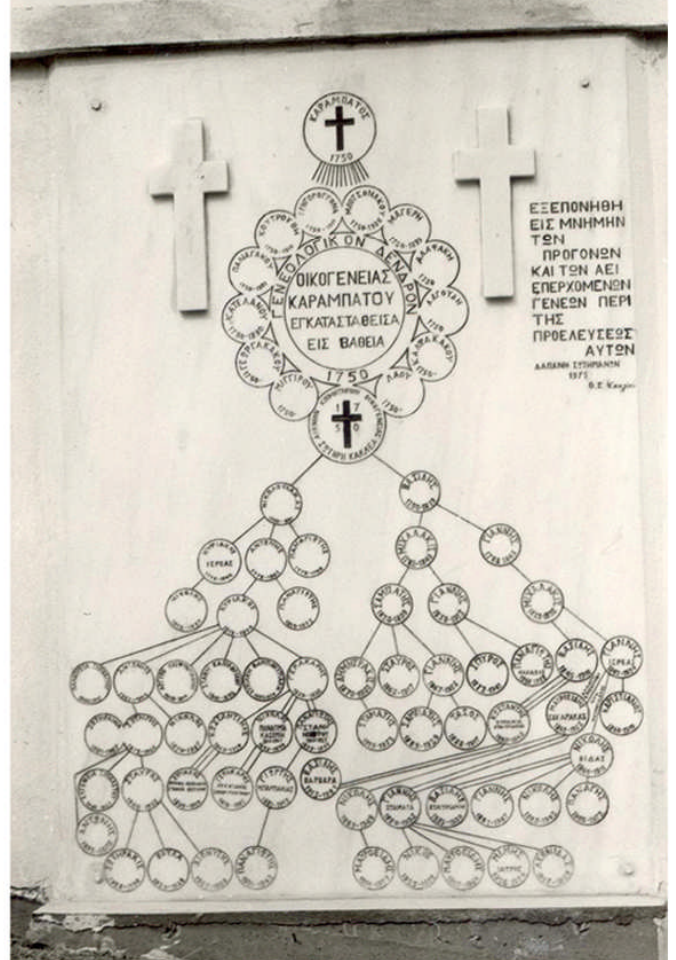


FIG. 50. Modern ossuaries-‘houses’ constructed from 1975 onward in the older western section of the cemetery of Panagitsa. A marble plaque (1975) with the genealogical tree of the Kalidoniani family has been incorporated into one of them.

From 1980 onward, after the donation of the land abutting it, a new linear extension of the cemetery was constructed in two phases, with 22 new ‘houses’. A first row was initially constructed by those concerned and later, on the initiative of the Vathiots’ Association of Athens a reinforced concrete wall was built, securing the space for a parallel new row so that the 22 new family ‘houses’ line either side of a central road (FIGS 47, 48). The cemetery’s 63 ossuaries, dated and not, are recorded by genealogical groups in TABLE 2.

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ΚΟΙΜΗΤΗΡΙΟ ΒΑΘΕΙΑΣ Αρ 5 : ΠΑΝΑΓΙΤΣΑ : ΟΣΤΕΟΦΥΛΑΚΙΑ / ΧΡΟΝΟΛΟΓΗΣΗ

ΓΕΝΕΑΛΟΓΙΚΕΣ ΟΜΑΔΕΣ	ΠΑΛΑΙΑ		Π	ΣΥΓΧΡΟΝΑ		Σ	Π+Σ
1. ΚΑΡΑΜΠΛΙΑΝΟΙ (ΚΑΡ. 1-14)	1830-1900	1901-1950		1951-1970	1971-2000		
1. ΑΛΔΑΦΗΣ			3			3	6
2. ΑΝΔΡΕΑΚΟΣ		20/1919, 1922					
3. ΓΕΩΡΓΑΚΑΚΟΣ		31/1927			8"/1980-90		
4. ΓΛΗΓΟΡΟΓΓΟΝΑΣ							
5. ΚΑΚΛΕΑΣ (ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΑΚΟΣ)					5'/1970-80		
6. ΚΑΛΦΑΚΑΚΟΣ		34/19.....					
7. ΚΑΤΕΛΑΝΟΣ							
8. ΚΟΥΤΡΟΥΒΗΣ							
9. ΛΑΓΟΥΔΗΣ							
10. ΛΑΟΣ							
11. ΜΑΓΕΡΗΣ							
12. ΜΙΓΓΗΡΟΣ					7"/1980-90		
13. ΞΥΠΟΛΗΤΟΣ							
14. ΠΑΝΑΓΑΚΟΣ							
2. ΜΙΧΑΛΑΚΙΑΝΟΙ (ΜΙΚΗ. 1-16)	1830-1900	1901-1950		1951-1970	1971-2000		
1. ΑΓΓΕΛΑΚΟΣ			15		6"/1980-90	18	33
2. ΑΝΔΡΟΥΤΣΑΚΟΣ		16/1875			1"/1980-90		
3. ΓΕΡΑΚΑΡΑΚΟΣ (ΒΑΔΙΑΚΟΣ)		7/1893			2"/1980-90		
4. ΓΙΑΝΝΑΚΑΚΟΣ					5"/1980-90		
5. ΓΙΑΝΝΟΥΚΑΚΟΣ (ΠΙΚΡΟΛΙΟΣ)		9/.....					
6. ΔΡΑΚΟΥΛΑΡΑΚΟΣ		12/1875 21/1874			3/1970-80 3"/1980-90 10"/1980-90		
7. ΕΞΑΡΧΑΚΟΣ (ΑΡΘΑΝΑΚΟΣ)		6/.....			1/1970-80 6"/1980-90 3"/1980-90		
8. ΖΕΚΑΚΟΣ		17/.....			3'/1980-90		
9. ΚΑΛΑΠΟΘΑΚΟΣ		13/1883			8α"/1980-90		
10. ΚΕΡΑΜΙΔΑΣ		[10/.....]			1'/1970-80 7/1980-90 2'/1970-80		
11. ΚΛΕΟΤΟΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ		11/1885					
12. ΜΗΤΣΑΚΟΣ (ΦΙΚΑΡΔΟΣ)		5/.....			2/1970-80 4/1970-80		
13. ΞΑΝΘΑΚΟΣ					4'/1970-80		
14. ΠΑΤΣΑΝΤΩΝΗΣ		8/.....					
15. ΣΜΠΑΡΑΣ							
16. ΣΥΓΓΙΚΟΣ (ΑΝΤΩΝΑΚΟΣ)		33/1937-38					

ΓΕΝΕΑΛΟΓΙΚΕΣ ΟΜΑΔΕΣ	ΠΑΛΑΙΑ		Π	ΣΥΓΧΡΟΝΑ		Σ	Π+Σ
3. ΚΑΛΗΔΩΝΙΑΝΟΙ (ΚΑΛ.)	1830-1900	1901-1950		1951-1970	1971-2000		
1. ΚΑΛΗΔΩΝΗΣ (ΚΑΡΑΚΙΤΣΑΚΟΣ/ΜΗΤΣΑΚΟΣ)	25/.....	35/1930 23/19....	3		9"/1980-90 1"/1990-00 8"/1990-00	3	6
4. ΚΟΥΤΡΙΓΑΡΟΙ (ΚΟΥΤΡ.)							
1. ΚΟΥΤΡΙΓΑΡΟΣ		22/1913 32/1928	2		2"/1990-00	1	3
5. ΜΙΧΕΛΟΓΓΟΝΕΣ (Μ.ΛΟΓ.)							
1. ΜΙΧΕΛΟΓΓΟΝΑΣ (ΜΙΧΕΛΑΚΗΣ)			0		7"/1990-00	1	1
6. ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΑΝΟΙ (ΑΘΑΝ.)							
1. ΑΘΑΝΑΣΑΚΟΣ			0			0	0
7. ΣΤΡΑΒΟΚΕΦΑΛΟΙ (STRAV.)							
1. ΣΤΡΑΒΟΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ (ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΟΣ)		24/19....	1		88"/1980-90 11"/1980-90 4"/1980-90 5"/1980-90	4	5
8. ΦΙΔΟΠΙΑΣΤΕΣ (ΦΙΔΟ.)							
1. ΦΙΔΟΠΙΑΣΤΗΣ (ΚΟΚΚΙΝΑΚΟΣ)						0	0
2. ΜΠΑΛΙΝΗΣ							
ΣΥΝΟΛΟ 1 έως 8	13	11	24	0	30	30	54

Άγνωστοι (ανώνυμοι) με χρονολόγηση	25/1897-1917 27/1906		2		4"/1980-90 12"/1980-90 6"/1988-90.	3	5
Άγνωστοι (ανώνυμοι) χωρίς χρονολόγηση	28/..... 29/..... 30/.....	18/.....	4			0	4
ΓΕΝΙΚΟ ΣΥΝΟΛΟ	14	16	30	0	33	33	63

TABLE 2. List of the families of Vathia constituting the four larger and four lesser genealogical groups and the corresponding older (1830–1900, 1901–1950) and modern (1951–1970, 1971–2009) ossuaries standing at the central cemetery of Panagitsa.

In the village proper of Vathia the war memorial in the church of Ayios Spyridon's forecourt bears the names of those fallen in the wars 1912–1948. The monument, erected in 1961, was initially a free-standing stele with a plaque in bas-relief showing an antique symbolic female figure. The original site and aspect were modified in 2000. Another monument with the bust of a Vathiot who was president of the community has been erected by his descendants next to the family homes, in a spot on the central road traversing the village.

CONCLUSIONS

In several cemeteries of the central and northern sections of the Mani new modes of organization have appeared and the types of the simple graves found in other regions of Greece have prevailed (FIG. 51), but in the southern and more archaic sections of the peninsula particular adjustments prevail. In these new cemeteries, the clusters of built grave/ossuary structures and markers bring about a reconstruction of the neighbourhoods, reproducing the ancestral village in present circumstances (FIG. 52).

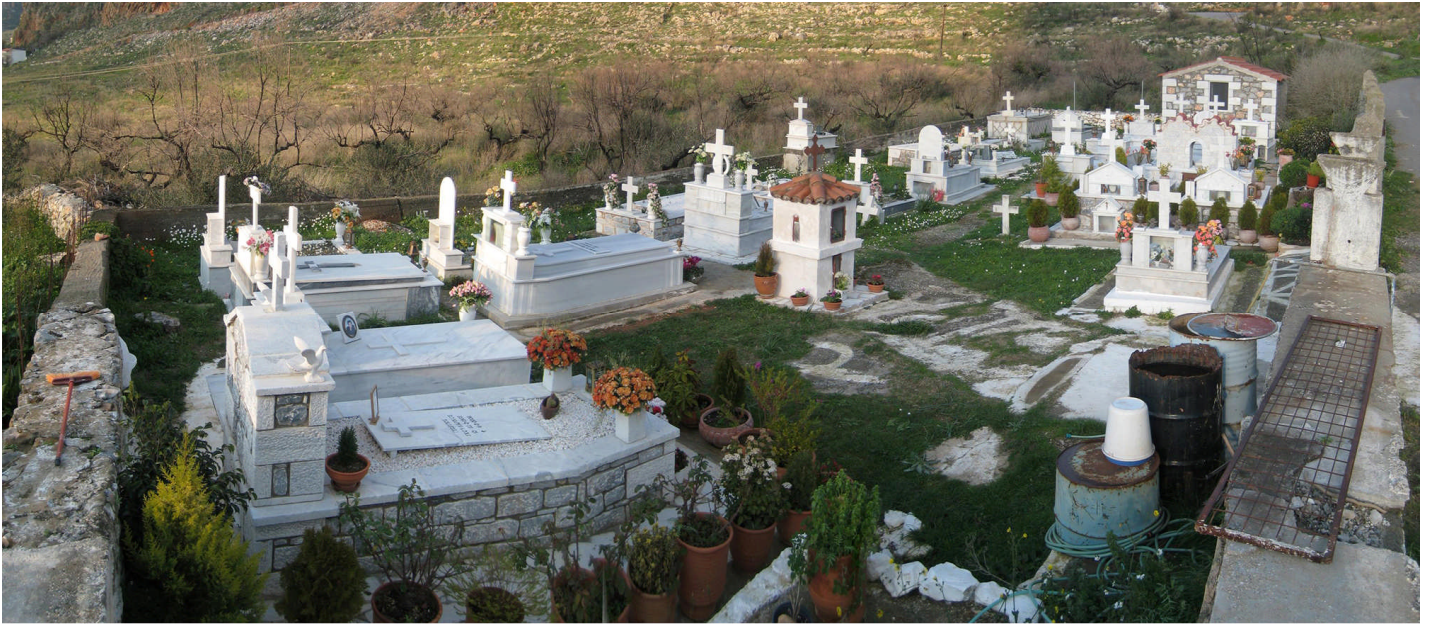


FIG. 51. The cemetery with modern-type graves at Neo Oitylo in the central section of Mani.



FIG. 52. The cemetery with built ossuaries-‘houses’ at Soloteri-Kokkala in the southwestern section of Mani.

They are the visible reconfirmation – reconstruction (‘resurrection of the dead’) of the old patrilocal groups, whose members have usually migrated far away but in this fashion are reconnected to the ancestral land. Physical distance does not present an insurmountable obstacle. The lower simpler grave monuments may be equated to the dwellings in the village. Their standing markers as well as the newer above-ground ‘houses’ stress the dimension of height, forming the new ‘tower-house’-like structures. The protection offered by the ‘collective’ war tower is ensured, symbolically, by the cemetery church of the patron saint – guide for the souls of the dead.

The graveyards of the Mani, with their structures providing for the cohabitation of kin after death, set their seal on the landscape as did the patrilocal settlements for centuries, dealing with the issue of memory and continuity in their traditional ways, expressed by an epitaph of a tomb in Layia: “the dead die only when we forget them”.

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List of illustrations

FIG. 1. The distribution of the 130 cemeteries that have been examined up to 2009, in the 10 former local districts of Mani.

FIG. 2. Leaving the house for the last time (photo: C. Manos, *A Greek Portfolio*, 1972).

FIG. 3. The local entities of the Demoi (former municipalities) of Messi and Layia (1840–1912): The 87 settlements existing during the period between the 15th and 20th centuries, in correlation with more than 80 megalithic settlements.

FIG. 4. The local entities of the Demoi (former municipalities) of Messi and Layia (1840–1912): Classification and arrangement of the 87 settlements into 9 communities (1912–1998) in accordance with the size of the 'built shell' in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

FIG. 5. Tower-house and, in the cemetery next to it, the funerary monument of the Ladis family at Diporo.

FIG. 6. The hamlet of Marathos, seat of the Papadodemas family with the lineage's church and cemetery.

FIG. 7. The cemetery of Koimisi tis Theotokou, Pangia. The buildings of the village as well as the funerary structures of the cemetery are in clusters according to the patrilocal genealogical groups.

FIG. 8. The main village of Kitta with the sites of 4 or 5 old cemeteries next to the lineage's churches and two additional outlying cemeteries Γ and X; the village of Kaloni and the hamlet of Ayios Iossif with the corresponding old cemeteries Γ and Π; the newer communal cemetery (ΓQ) Grammatiki.

FIG. 9. The main village of Layia with the wards of 8 genealogical groups and the 9 'partial' old cemeteries. Z: the abandoned cemetery next to the 13th-century church of Ayios Zacharias. N: the 'collective' newer cemetery next to the church of Ayios Nikolaos; it includes 16 elaborate marble stelai, most of them works of Antonis Vouyouklakis.

FIG. 10. The old cemetery next to the 13th-century church of Ayios Georgios, Karinia with the tomb-ossuary T1.

FIG. 11. The old cemetery of Ayioi Theodoroi at Palaia Kardamyli with the two arcosolium type structures (T1, T2) and the three stone built sarcophagi – ossuaries (T3, T4, T5).

FIG. 12. The northern part (district 2a) of Layia's community: ancient quarries, ancient and mediaeval megalithic settlements, the ten traditional settlements (7–15a) and the corresponding eight old and newer cemeteries.

FIG. 13. The central part of the village Messa Demaristika, location Rizopyrgi: the megalithic ruins, the more recent vernacular buildings and the old cemetery next to the half-ruined double-apsed 13th-century church of Ayia Paraskevi (1) with the surrounding shaft graves α–ζ, the semi-subterranean graves 6-7 and the built graves – ossuaries 1–5.

FIG. 14. Structure T1 (left) and structure T2 (right) at Ayia Paraskevi, Messa Demaristika.

FIG. 15. The village and the genealogical groups of Messa Demaristika with the wards of Rizopyrgi, Karlianika, Pyrgaros and the outlying 20th-century cemetery of Ayia Varvara with the corresponding clusters of the 43 funerary structures.

FIG. 16. Storage spaces of megalithic houses (a, a1, a2, a3), sheepfolds (b), shepherds' stone huts (c) and underground megalithic cisterns (k1, k2) in comparison with mediaeval and post-mediaeval grave-ossuary structures.

FIG. 17. Above: mediaeval and post-mediaeval burial - ossuary structures; below: individual and family built ossuaries 1830–1900, 1900–1950.

FIG. 18. The interior spaces of burial-ossuaries shells; (left): mediaeval and post-mediaeval structures; (right): bone chests and ossuaries, 1830–1900, 1900–1950, 1950 onward; upper row: inset with chests for the bones; raised 'kivouria' or 'kamaria'; middle row: elaborate ossuaries (early 20th century onward); lower row: newer semi-subterranean or ground level chamber 'homes' (oikoi).

FIG. 19. The cemetery next to the megalithic 10th-century church of Ayios Panteleimon at Pano Boularii with a cluster of three family ossuaries (1, 2, 3), late 19th –start of 20th century.

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FIG. 20. a1, a2, a3: minimal-size individual built chests-ossuaries. b1, b2, c1, c2: medium-sized raised family ossuaries 'sikota kivouria'-'kamaria'.

FIG. 21. Elaborate ossuaries (early 20th century): a1, a2: built chests-sarcophagi; b1, b2, b3, b4: ossuaries with marble stele and cross; c: tower-like ossuary behind a shaft grave.

FIG. 22. a, b, c: older (early 20th century) small stone built chambers-ossuaries. d, e, f, g: newer (1930 onward) semi-subterranean or ground level graves-ossuaries.

FIG. 23. Modern stone built family ossuary, of the chamber 'house' type, with two external lateral graves.

FIG. 24. The interior of modern semi-subterranean or above ground family grave-ossuary chambers with the relics in the chests, furnished with photographs, mementos, oil lamps, incense burners, flowers, also cleaning materials.

FIG. 25. Skulls on a wooden shelf and in chests in an abandoned church next to the village of Kipoula.

FIG. 26. Collective charnel-house at the cemetery of Megali Mantinea, comprising the older stone built domed structure (a) and the newer wood-roofed tiled chamber (b). From bottom to top: plan, elevation, section.

FIG. 27. The interior of the newer 'collective' charnel-house of the cemetery Ayia Paraskevi at Areopolis.

FIG. 28. Two funerary stelai, works of the local craftsman Panayiotis Vassilakakos from Kafiona. Upper left: at the cemetery of Kafiona stele (a) depicts four figures of three generations of the Vassilakakos family (one child, two parents and the craftsman grandfather). At the Mina cemetery, stele (b) depicts four members of the Xepapadakis family; this stele was first erected on a low ossuary and then placed at the newer, more spacious one.

FIG. 29. The funerary monument that the local craftsman Antonis Vouyiouklakis erected for his family at the cemetery of Ayios Nikolaos at Layia.

FIG. 30. Stele showing father and son, work of the sculptor D. Pissas from Piraeus, standing in the cemetery of Pano Boularii.

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FIG. 31. Funerary ornamented stele with inscription erected in memory of Elias Katsis Mavromichalis who died in Munich in 1836. Old cemetery of Munich, design of the architect Leo von Klenze.

FIG. 32. The old cemetery next to the church of Ayios Nikolaos at Limeni with the well-built ossuary with a plain marble stele of the Germanos Mavromichalis family.

FIG. 33. In the cemetery on the shore next to the village of Limeni, the imposing funerary monument of Petrobey Mavromichalis dominates among the simpler graves and markers.

FIG. 34. Memorial monument erected in 1935 at the historic site of Verga Almiros, commemorating the victory of Maniot groups against the attacking army of Imbrahim Pasha, 21–24 June 1826.

FIG. 35. Memorial monument comprising the bust of an eminent person and a symbolic tower at the outskirts of Layia.

FIG. 36. Memorial monument of a victim at the site of a fatal car accident in the vicinity of Areopolis.

FIG. 37. Distribution of settlements, cultivations, genealogical groups, 28 churches and 8 cemeteries within the four sub-districts of the Vathia community.

FIG. 38. The central village of Vathia (plan and southern elevation) with the quarters of the four larger genealogical groups and the above-lying central cemetery of Panagitsa (Koimisi tis Theotokou).

FIG. 39. The village of Vathia as seen from the cemetery area.

FIG. 40. a: the hamlet of Goulas (G), seat of the Lagoudiani family: 1: the building complex, 2, 3: the adjacent stone-walled fields, 4: the cemetery, 5: the beehives, 6: grazing and hunting- grounds. The megalithic hamlet of Kalyvia (K) and the more recent 'xemoni' of Petomoniastika (P), seat of the Xipolitiani, are further down the hill.

b: the Goulas cemetery (Vathia cemetery #2) with the 14th-century church of Ai-Yannis, the shaft graves, the 'raised chests' (sikota kivouria) with their marker plaques and the two more recent ossuaries- small 'homes'.

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FIG. 41. The Rogia cemetery (Vathia cemetery #3) with the half-ruined church of Ai-Ghitas and the ten built chests. Details of the ossuaries' engraved plaques with inscriptions dating from 1875 up to 1916.

FIG. 42. The unfinished church of Ayios Elias (1891) of the Kalidoniani family at the centre of Vathia. The bones of the clan founder Mavroidis were kept in a niche of the sanctuary.

FIG. 43. The church of Ayios Nikolaos (frescoes of 1870) of the Koutrigari family in the village of Vathia with an ancient marble sarcophagus.

FIG. 44. The Porrachia-Viskina cemetery of the Aravouchi-Stravokefali family at Taxiarches (Vathia cemetery #6). The inscribed ancient marble grave plaque on the church's altar.

FIG. 45. The Kastri cemetery of the Fidopiasti and Balini families (Vathia cemetery #7) next to the ruined church of Ayios Nikolaos with seven older and newer ossuaries.

FIG. 46. The Mianes cemetery of the Karabatiani family (Vathia cemetery #8) with the church of Ayioi Theodoroi and eight older ossuaries and a more recent one.

FIG. 47. The central cemetery of Panagitsa-Koimisi tis Theotokou (Vathia cemetery #5) with the grave shafts, the 41 old and recent ossuaries at the older western section and the 22 newer 'homes' ossuaries built from 1980 onward at the eastern modern extension. The distribution per genealogical group is depicted/indicated.

FIG. 48. The eastern modern extension of the Panagitsa cemetery, 1980 onward.

FIG. 49. Five engraved plaques from the second half of the 19th century and a decorated marble cross with an inscription from 1927 at the ossuaries of Panagitsa.

FIG. 50. Modern ossuaries-'houses' constructed from 1975 onward in the older western section of the cemetery of Panagitsa. A marble plaque (1975) with the genealogical tree of the Kalidoniani family has been incorporated into one of them.

FIG. 51. The cemetery with modern-type graves at Neo Oitylo in the central section of Mani.

FIG. 52. The cemetery with built ossuaries-'houses' at Soloteri-Kokkala in the southwestern section of Mani.

List of tables

TABLE 1. Traditional settlements, churches and cemeteries in the four sub-districts of the Vathia community. Older and newer graves and ossuaries are recorded per genealogical group.

TABLE 2. List of the families of Vathia constituting the four larger and four lesser genealogical groups and the corresponding older (1830–1900, 1901–1950) and modern (1951–1970, 1971–2009) ossuaries standing at the central cemetery of Panagitsa.