Supplementary material: The Typology and Topography of Spartan Burials from the Protogeometric through Hellenistic Periods: Re-thinking Spartan Exceptionalism and the Ostensible Cessation of Adult Intramural Burials in the Greek World

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Appendix 1: Protogeometric Burials in Sparta and Amyklai

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| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Location | Date | Tomb  Type | Construction | Covering | Orientation | Length |  | Width | Depth | Burial  Type | Remains | Age | Sex | Secondary burial? | Grave  Goods | Notes | References |
| BB 17[[1]](#footnote-1)  Chatzakou plot | PG[[2]](#footnote-2) | cist | schist plaques | ? | ? | 1.20 |  | .8 | ? | inhumation | skull | child | ? | none | • 2 trefoil-lipped oinochoai  • wide-mouthed skyphos | T2 in site report | Eustathiou 1997  Eustathiou 1999  Zavvou and Themos 2009, 111  Themos and Zavvou 2010, 229 |
| BB 98  in Odos Artemis Orthia | PG | ? | ?  small stones laid in arc around body | ? | ? | ? |  | ? | ? | inhumation | contracted with body lying on left side  stone under head | ? | ? | ? | none | ‘must have formed a small family cemetery, for between them stray bones were found as well, belonging presumably to a secondary burial’ Raftopoulou 1998, 133  dead must have been deposited directly in soil, wrapped only in a shroud and buried in soil  covered in layers of PG pottery | Raftopoulou 1996-7, 273 and figs. 2-3  Raftopoulou 1998, 127, 133 and fig. 12.14 |
| BB 98  in Odos Artemis Orthia | PG | ? | ?  small stones laid in arc around body | ? | ? | ? |  | ? | ? | inhumation | contracted with body lying on left side  stone under head | ? | ? | ? | none | this and the preceding skeleton buried so close together that might be a common grave, or perhaps two burials covered with shared small tumulus (no traces thereof)  covered in layers of PG pottery | Raftopoulou 1996-7, 273 and figs. 2-3  Raftopoulou 1998, 127, 133 and fig. 12.14 |
| BB 98  in Odos Artemis Orthia  about 20m east of other two | PG | ? | ?  small stones laid in arc around body | ? | ? | ? |  | ? | ? | inhumation | contracted with body lying on left side  stone under head | ? | ? | none | none | dated by typology and proximity to other 2 graves | Raftopoulou 1996-7, 273 and figs. 2-3  Raftopoulou 1998, 127, 133 and fig. 12.14 |
| BB 98  Dimitrakopoulou plot | PG | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |  | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | 4 vessels (SM 15341-3), no further details given, that belonged to grave destroyed in antiquity | dated stratigraphically, lies below pit grave of PG-G date | Zavvou 2006b  Zavvou and Themos 2009, 119  Themos and Zavvou 2010: 229 n. 12 |
| BB 102  Bouchali plot | PG | body covered with large fragments of broken jars or pithoi | ? | ? | ? | ? |  | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | child | ? | none | • 7 small lekythoi  •handmade spherical cup  • bronze ring |  | Zavvou and Themos 1999  Themos 2000  Themos 2002b  Themos and Zavvou 2010: 228 n. 10, 229 |
| BB 130  4th Gymnasion/3rd Lykeion plot | PG | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |  | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | yes but unspecified |  | Papagiotopoulou and Themos 2006 |
| BB 130  OSK plot | PG | pit | ? | ? | ? | ? |  | ? | ? | ? | ? | child | ? | none | ? | T1 in site report | Tsouli, Tsiangouris, and Papadopoulos 2010 |
| BB 130  OSK plot | PG | cist | ? | ? | ? | ? |  | ? | ? | ? | ? | child | ? | none | • 2 skyphoi  • cup | T2 in site report | Tsouli, Tsiangouris, and Papadopoulos 2010 |
| BB 131  Koutsari-Theophilakou-Papadopoulou plots | PG | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |  | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | yes but unspecified |  | Kakourou 2011 |
| BB 148  Dimitriakopoulou-Zachariadi plot | PG | pit | ? | ? | ? | ? |  | ? | ? | inhumation | slightly contracted with head to N | ? | ? | none | 2 iron pins with bronze knobs (SM 14461-2) | sits underneath T2  T4 in site report  Zavvou 1998 dates pins to PG | Zavvou 1998b  Whitley 2005, 28  Zavvou and Themos 2009, 111-12 |
| Magoula  Georgopoulou plot | PG | cist | schist plaques | schist plaques | ? | ? |  | ? | ? | inhumation | only fragments of skull remain | child | ? | ? | at least 4 vases  • carinated skyphos  • miniature skyphos  • 2 lekythoi  • bronze ring  • bronze spindle |  | Tsiangouris 2010a |

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| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Location | Date | Tomb  Type | Construction | Covering | Orientation | Length | Width | Depth | Burial  Type | Remains | Age | Sex | Secondary burial? | Grave  Goods | Notes | References |
| group of 12 burials at Konidhari plot to SW of sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai  seems to be small cemetery of defined extent located on periphery of settlement | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Zavvou 1996b  Zavvou 1998a  Themos and Zavvou 2010, 229-30 |
| T1 | What was labelled T1 at the start of the excavations, a handmade vessel found on top of the belly of pithos-burial in T2, turned out not to be a grave but a grave offering positioned on the exterior of the large pithos | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |  |
| T2 | PG | pithos | large pithos with rope decorations below rim | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | 2 skeletons with heads together in centre of vessel  remaining bones disturbed  both bodies in contracted position, 1 supine with knees bent | ? | ? | yes | on the outside was found a conical stone loom weight and a few PG sherds |  |  |
| T3 | PG | pot | large handmade, spherical cooking vessel secured with stones on the N and S sides | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | no bones in interior | infant (?) | ? | none | 1 rock crystal bead |  |  |
| T4 | PG | cist | lined with stones and damaged on N and E sides | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | slightly contracted | child | ? | none | 2 bronze hair coils beneath head |  | fig. 2 in Themos and Zavvou 2010, 229-30 |
| T5 | PG | pit | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | strongly contracted | ? | ? | none | none | remains very well preserved and transferred to Sparta museum |  |
| T6 | What was originally labelled T6 turned out to be a later intervention in the form of a layer of small stones on top of which was found burned soil and animal bones (not a tomb) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |  |
| T7 | PG | cist | small stones | limestone plaques | ? | 1.44 | .82 | ? | inhumation | bones disturbed | ? | ? | none | • black-glazed oinochoe  • PG kantharos with conical foot  • in the area of the chest there were found remains of an iron pin (?) with bone and bronze parts  • under the head of the corpse were two bronze coils with double wire |  |  |
| T8 | • turned out to be a later intervention in the form of a layer of small stones on the NE corner of the trench  • when excavated revealed part of a figurine, enthroned, missing its head (SM 12842a) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |  |
| T9 | PG | pit | delimited by large rough stones on S side | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | strongly contracted with head resting on stones on W side and facing N | ? | ? | none | none | • during the excavation and before the discovery of the tomb were found fragments of terracotta votive plaques, a miniature vessel, and fragments of anthropomorphic figurines of Classical date |  |
| T10 | PG | cist | small stones | small stones | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | slightly contracted with head toward the N | child | ? | none | • at the feet were found large trefoil lipped black-glazed oinochoe with conical foot of PG date as well as a black-glazed skyphos  • three bronze rings on the hands  • also from the interior was found part of some sort of bronze object | located a little to the N of T9  while cleaning and before opening the tomb were found on top of covering stones 5 beads of gold foil, 4 of which had incised decoration |  |
| T11 | PG | pit | ? | ? | N-S | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | strongly contracted with head on S side, facing N | ? | ? | none | • bronze ring on left hand  • under the head was found a gold spiral and next to it a part of a corroded iron pin with bronze knob |  |  |
| T12 | PG | pithos | ? | mouth facing S and sealed with fragment of another pithos; stones secured it in place | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | ? | ? | none | bronze spiral | outside the pithos and next to its covering were two parts of a bronze pin of PG date |  |
| T13 | What was labelled T13 turned to be a small layer of stones and fragments of ceramics of the same era as the trench, upon cleaning it revealed part of a bronze pin of Archaic date (SM 12754) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |  |
| T14 | PG | cist | stone plaques | ? | N-S | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | infant | ? | none | • 2 black-glazed skyphoi  • handmade cup with a round base  • handmade feeder with hemispherical handle  •lekythos / oinochoe with painted decoration  • bronze ring | • on the exterior, on the W side of the grave was found a black-glazed PG oinochoe and the conical base of a drinking vessel  • feeders: probably used to give infants water or other liquids but not milk, though some dispute about that | fig. 1 in Themos and Zavvou 2010, 229-30 |
| T15 | PG | pit | delimited by stones | ? | NE-SW | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | strongly contracted with head on SW side of tomb | ? | ? | none | • across the length of the NE side were two large bronze PG pins and pieces of a bronze ring | • to N of T10  • on the exterior on the E side was found in situ a black-glazed oinochoe of PG date |  |
| T16 | PG | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | on one of the stones that delimited T15 was found an inverted head apparently deriving from a damaged burial |  |

Appendix 2: Geometric Burials in Sparta

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Location | Date | Tomb  Type | Construction | Covering | Orientation | Length | Width | Depth | Burial  Type | Remains | Age | Sex | Secondary burial? | Grave  Goods | Notes | References |
| BG O12 | G (?) | pithos | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? (pithos destroyed in course of excavation) | ? | ? | ? | none | part of small sub-Geometric bronze pin  Geometric sherds from fill around the pithos; one of the sherds is from a cup, which Margreiter dates to late Geometric/ mC7 | traces of stone soros or tumulus detected in area, which probably covered this tomb | Steinhauer 1972a  Catling 1977-8, 30  Margreiter 1988, 74, 159 Kat. 515 pl. 44  Schörner 2007, 114, 292-3 A6 |
| BG O16 | G (?) | pithos | pithos laid on side | mouth closed by large plaque | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation (?)  Bosanquet thought this and nearby burial were cremations | ? | ? | ? | none | ? | dated typologically | Bosanquet 1905/6, 281-2 and plate VIII 1  Schörner 2007, 114, 293 A7 and fig. 193 |
| BG P13 | G (?) | pithos | pithos laid on side | mouth closed by 2 large plaques | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation (?) | calcined bones | ? | ? | none | interior half full of earth  • black-glazed mug  • two-handled cup with black spots on white slip  ◊ British excavators said they could not date the vessels beyond saying that they belonged to the ‘Greek period’  ◊ Papaefthumiou (n. 71 on pp. 92-3) tentatively suggests a date of lC6/eC5 based on comparison with finds from the Athenian agora  ◊ that date supported by Schörner | many cult offerings nearby, unclear if they are connected to burial  typologically seems to belong to Geometric period and dating of pottery is problematic so assigned to Geometric period here | Bosanquet 1905-6, 281  Wace 1905-6, 289, 292-3 and pl. IX  Lauter-Bufé 1974, 214  Nafissi 1991, 328  Papaefthumiou 1992, 11, 92-3  Schörner 2007, 112, 290-1 A3  Salapata 2014, 330-1 |
| BG P14 | G | cist | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | bronze ring | in same area were found an EH2 tomb and a Roman tomb | Vlachakos 2010 |
| BG P14 | G | cist | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | None |  | Vlachakos 2010 |
| BB 7  Dimitropoulou plot | G (?) | pithos | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | no bones | infant (?) | ? | none | ? | dated by typology of burial  Zavvou suggests infant burial  large number of figurines from this area | Zavvou 1998c |
| BB 9 | G | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none | ? | burial and date reported but no details given | Kourinou 2000, 216  Tsouli 2013, 152 n. 6 |
| BB 16 | G | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none | ? | burial and date reported but no details given | Kourinou 2000, 216  Tsouli 2013, 152 n. 6 |
| BB 93  Sourli plot | G | pithos | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | infant | ? | none | • bronze pin  • bronze cylindrical object (spiral?)  • clay cup  • miniature vase | excavated in 2009, publication promised | Tsouli 2013, 152 n. 6  Tsouli, Giannakaki, and Tsouktakos 2010 |
| BB 97  Karela  plot | G | pit | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | contracted | ? | ? | none | none | Pavlides, citing unpublished dissertation by Flouris, states that finds from this site include Geometric burial marked with cairn of stones (not mentioned in the AD reports)  T3 in site report | Zavvou 1996a  Zavvou 1997a  Raftopoulou 1998, 133  Zavvou and Themos 2009, 113  Pavlides 2011, 181 |
| BB 97  Karela  plot | G | cist | stone plaques | ? | N-S | 1.15 | .725 |  | inhumation | contracted, supine with hands on abdomen and knees bent | ? | ? | none | • 2 pyxides (SM 13719-20)  • two corroded EG bronze pins (SM 12507a-b) | T4 in site report | Zavvou 1996a  Zavvou 1997a  Raftopoulou 1998, 133  Zavvou and Themos 2009, 113  Pavlides 2011, 181 |
| BB 97  Karela  plot | G | pit | delimited by small stones | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | contracted | ? | ? | none | next to left hand were 2 iron pins with globular bronze swellings (SM 12508a-b) | situated under T6 so must be prior to that burial  T5 in site report | Zavvou 1996a  Zavvou 1997a  Raftopoulou 1998, 133  Zavvou and Themos 2009, 113  Pavlides 2011, 181 |
| BB 97  Karela  plot | G | pit | ? | ? | N-S | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | contracted | ? | ? | none | none | dated by proximity to other graves with grave goods  T6 in site report | Zavvou 1996a  Zavvou 1997a  Raftopoulou 1998, 133  Zavvou and Themos 2009, 113  Pavlides 2011, 181 |
| BB 97  Karela  plot | G | pit | delimited on E side by stones | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | contracted | ? | ? | none | none | dated by proximity to other graves with grave goods  T7 in site report | Zavvou 1996a  Zavvou 1997a  Raftopoulou 1998, 133  Zavvou and Themos 2009, 113  Pavlides 2011, 181 |
| BB 97A  Sotirou plot | G | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | ? | ? | none | ? | burial and date reported but no details given | Themos 2004  Themos and Zavvou 2010, 229 n. 12 |
| BB 98  Dimitrakopoulos plot | G | pit | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | ? | ? | ? | none | dated stratigraphically | Zavvou 2006b  Zavvou and Themos 2009, 119  Themos and Zavvou 2010, 229 n. 12 |
| BB 98  Kionstantaki plot | G | cist | lined with single row of stones | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none | Themos and Zavvou see possible an infant grave based on absence of bones | ? | none | • 7 black-glazed skyphoi (SM 13890-6)  • stone axe  • stone pestle |  | Themos and Zavvou 2001b  Themos and Zavvou 2010, 229 n. 14 |
| BB 98  Odos Stauffert | G | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | contracted with left hand on chest, right alongside chest; head to N | ? | ? | ? | bronze ring on right hand | burial covered by trapezoidal stone plaque with cairn on top  site of cultic activity starting in Archaic period and running through Hellenistic | Flouris 1996  Pavlides 2010, 565-8  Pavlides 2011, 148-51 |
| BB 99  on Artemis Orthia Street between BB 99 and 102 | G | pithos | 1.60m high, maximum diameter 1m | mouth facing east, with several stones arranged around it | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation (?) | decayed bones | ? | male | ? | • iron sword (SM 12469) with preserved length of 45cm  • 3 broken and oxidized iron knives (Sm 12470)  • disc-like object of unknown use  • triple-wound bronze ring (SM 12472)  • fragment of bronze pin (SM 12473)  • bronze ring (SM 12474)  • group of cylinders made from bronze foil (SM 12475) | sex based on grave goods  no signs of fire so probably inhumation, though Hodkinson says cremation | Raftopoulou 1996-7, 275-6 with fig. 5  Raftopoulou 1998, 133 with figure 12.15  Hodkinson 2000, 238 |
| BB 125  Leonidou St. between BB 125 and 135 | G | pithos | original height c. 2m, original maximum diameter c. 1.4m, coarse clay with embossed decoration of triangles on belly and shoulder | mouth of pithos facing S, filled with several stones, probably rubble used to block mouth | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation (?) | none | ? | presumably female due to grave goods | none | • offerings fall into two groups  • group of 6 intact bronze rings formed by triple winding, with two coils as decoration (SM 12477), oxidized surface, found with remains that could form at least 4 other similar rings  • group of at least 12 bronze spirals made from bronze foil (SM 12478), found together with many small fragments, oxidized surface, not preserved in good condition | Raftopoulou says inhumation due to lack of signs of fire, Hodkinson says cremation | Raftopoulou 1994a  Raftopoulou 1996-7, 276-8 with fig. 4  Raftopoulou 1998, 133, 136 with fig. 12.16  Hodkinson 2000, 238 |
| BB 148  Dimitrakopoulou-Zachariadi plot | G | cist | floor made from schist plaques  delimited by small stones | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | contracted with right hand in genital area, left hand on stomach,  head to S | adult | ? | yes | some sherds of non-diagnostic pottery | dated by proximity to other grave  in this grave were also skull and limb bones from another, destroyed burial (T3 in site report)  T2 in site report | Zavvou 1998b  Whitley 2005, 28  Zavvou and Themos 2009, 111-12 |
| Amyklai  to E of village | G | cist | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | slightly contracted with legs bent | sub-adult | ? |  | bronze ring on last finger of hand, which was placed on chest |  | Raftopoulou 1992a  Raftopoulou 1996-7, 278 |

Appendix 3: Intracommunal Archaic Burials in Sparta

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| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Location | Date | Tomb  Type | Construction | Covering | Orientation | Length | Width | Depth | Burial  Type | Remains | Age | Sex | Secondary burial? | Grave  Goods | Notes | References |
| BG N12 | A | cist | stone plaques | ? | ? | .75 | .60 | ? | inhumation | traces of bones | ? | ? | none | 2 Laconian II miniature lakainai (SM 6371/1)  Stibbe dates the vessels to q2C6, Margreiter to 600-590 | became part of long, narrow Hellenistic structure with Roman structure on top of it, collection of offerings found in same room as grave | Steinhauer 1972b  Catling 1977-8, 30  Margreiter 1988, 97ff- 164 #667 and pl. 58, abb. 25 #87  Stibbe 1989a, 92 and fig. 28  Stibbe 1992, 98 Kat. E24 with fig. 88 and plate VIIIc  Stibbe 1996, 32-3 and fig. 10  Schörner 2007, 111-12, 289 A1 and figs. 185-6  Salapata 2014, 331 |
| BG O12 | A (?) | pit | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | contracted with arms folded over belly and neck | ? | ? | none | none | dated by stratigraphy, under late Archaic structure, and by similarity to graves in BB 98/Orthia Street | Steinhauer 1972a and fig. 179γ  Catling 1977-8, 30  Schörner 2007, 114, 292-3 A6 |
| BB 29  Georgane plot | A | pit | ? | ? | E-W | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | supine extended with hands alongside chest, head on W side of tomb | ? | ? | none | on N side of grave was nearly intact Archaic black-glazed hydria with a lid (SM 15149-50), which Zavvou says was probably used as grave marker | T3 in site report | Zavvou 2001a  Zavvou 2004a  Zavvou and Themos 2009, 116 |
| BB 53  Valioti plot | A | cist | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | site report lists 8 cist graves of A-C date, for catalogue purposes listed here as 4 Archaic and 4 Classical, with walls built from schist plaques or rough stones and covering slabs of clay plaques, stone plaques, or rough stones  date based on typology and pottery found in and around graves  T5 in site report | Maltezou 2011e |
| BB 53  Valioti plot | A | cist | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | ? | ? | yes, pile of bones found underneath skeleton | ? | site report lists 8 cist graves of A-C date, for catalogue purposes listed here as 4 Archaic and 4 Classical, with walls built from schist plaques or rough stones and covering slabs of clay plaques, stone plaques, or rough stones  date based on typology and pottery found in and around graves  date based on typology and pottery found in and around graves  T6 in site report | Maltezou 2011e |
| BB 53  Valioti plot | A | cist | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | supine extended with head to E | ? | ? | ? | ? | site report lists 8 cist graves of A-C date, for catalogue purposes listed here as 4 Archaic and 4 Classical, with walls built from schist plaques or rough stones and covering slabs of clay plaques, stone plaques, or rough stones  date based on typology and pottery found in and around graves  date based on typology and pottery found in and around graves  T7 in site report | Maltezou 2011e |
| BB 53  Valioti plot | A | cist | schist plaques  clay plaque inside tomb divided space into 2 unequal parts | large schist plaques | E/NE-W/SW | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | in E (larger) part was supine extended adult burial with head to E, no grave goods  minimal remains in W part but stone for supporting head | 1 adult, 1 child | ? | yes  underneath corpse on E side was clay plaque with anakomides underneath | ? | site report lists 8 cist graves of A-C date, for catalogue purposes listed here as 4 Archaic and 4 Classical, with walls built from schist plaques or rough stones and covering slabs of clay plaques, stone plaques, or rough stones  date based on typology and pottery found in and around graves  lower level than other graves, extends underneath T2 and 3  T8 in site report | Maltezou 2011e |
| BB58  Oikonomopoulou plot | A | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none  dating of grave based on stratigraphy | forms part of group of 24 tombs ranging from Archaic through Roman period; no breakdown given in site report so they are catalogued here as follows: 4 Archaic, 4 Classical, 4 Hellenistic, 12 Roman  excavator reports existence of pit, tile (καλυβίτης), and cist graves here but does not give specific numbers | Maltezou 2010a  Vasilogambrou and Tsouli forthcoming |
| BB58  Oikonomopoulou plot | A | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none  dating of grave based on stratigraphy | forms part of group of 24 tombs ranging from Archaic through Roman period; no breakdown given in site report so they are catalogued here as follows: 4 Archaic, 4 Classical, 4 Hellenistic, 12 Roman  excavator reports existence of pit, tile (καλυβίτης), and cist graves here but does not give specific numbers | Maltezou 2010a  Vasilogambrou and Tsouli forthcoming |
| BB58  Oikonomopoulou plot | A | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none  dating of grave based on stratigraphy | forms part of group of 24 tombs ranging from Archaic through Roman period; no breakdown given in site report so they are catalogued here as follows: 4 Archaic, 4 Classical, 4 Hellenistic, 12 Roman  excavator reports existence of pit, tile (καλυβίτης), and cist graves here but does not give specific numbers | Maltezou 2010a  Vasilogambrou and Tsouli forthcoming |
| BB58  Oikonomopoulou plot | A | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none  dating of grave based on stratigraphy | forms part of group of 24 tombs ranging from Archaic through Roman period; no breakdown given in site report so they are catalogued here as follows: 4 Archaic, 4 Classical, 4 Hellenistic, 12 Roman  excavator reports existence of pit, tile (καλυβίτης), and cist graves here but does not give specific numbers | Maltezou 2010a  Vasilogambrou and Tsouli forthcoming |
| BB 117A  Zaimi plot | A | built monument in form of simple two-level, above-ground tomb  on lower slopes of Gerokomeiou hill with opening uphill, on S side  main burial in lower, underground compartment and secondary burials and offerings in upper one | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | yes | grave goods not listed but Tsouli (2016, 361 n. 36) says that ‘date of the main burial to the second quarter of the 6th century BC is certain, based on the pottery types with characteristic black-figured decoration’  on one of the tiles, 22 vases, all pierced: 1 oinochoe, 5 lakainai, 2 deep cups, 1 skyphos, 7 deep plates, 1 shallow dish, 1 baby-feeder, 4 salt bowls  presumably contents of pottery used at feast with 7 people in attendance | • series of channels around the tomb collected rainwater  • those channels made from roof tiles and evidently constructed at the same time as the tomb itself  • in the late Classical period, a conduit was built to control the flow of water in the area | Raftopoulou 1998, 127, 134-5, figs. 12.18-19  Raftopoulou 2006    Tsouli 2016, 361-2 |
| BB 123b  Linardi plot | A | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | Archaic cup (SM 14289) |  | Zavvou 2001b  Zavvou and Themos 2009, 113, 116 and fig. 11.19 |
| BB 123b  Linardi plot | A (?) | pit | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | supine extended with head on W | ? | ? | none | None | in different spot on same plot, no way to provide firm date but stratigraphy suggests Archaic  T2 in site report | Zavvou 2001b  Zavvou and Themos 2009, 113, 116 |
| BB 123b  Pristouri plot | A | pit | ? | pieces of pithoi | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | contracted | adult | ? | none | None | dated by surrounding fill  T1 in site report | Tsiangouris 2010c |
| BB 123b  Pristouri plot | A | pit | ? | pieces of pithoi | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | contracted | adult | ? | none | None | dated by surrounding fill  T2 in site report | Tsiangouris 2010c |
| BB 123b  Pristouri plot | A | cist | rubble walls  floor made from tiles | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | tile as headrest | ? | ? | ? | None | dated by surrounding fill  T3 in site report | Tsiangouris 2010c |
| BB 123b  Pristouri plot | A | cist | monolithic schist plaques | monolithic schist plaques | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | supine extended | adult | ? | ? | None | dated by surrounding fill  T6 in site report | Tsiangouris 2010c |
| BB 123b  Pristouri plot | A | cist | monolithic schist plaques | monolithic schist plaques | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | supine extended | adult | ? | ? | None | dated by surrounding fill  T7 in site report | Tsiangouris 2010c |
| BB 123b  Pristouri plot | A | pit | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | supine extended | adult | ? | ? | None | dated by surrounding fill  T8 in site report | Tsiangouris 2010c |
| BB 123b  Pristouri plot | A | ? | ? | schist plaques | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | adult | ? | ? | None | dated by surrounding fill  T9 in site report | Tsiangouris 2010c |
| BB 123b  Pristouri plot | A | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none | dated by surrounding fill | Tsiangouris 2010c |
| BB 123b  Pristouri plot | A | pit | ? | ? | E-W | ? | ? | ? | tomb empty | ? | ? | ? | ? | None | dated by proximity to tombs dug in 2010 | Rammou 1997b  Tsiangouris 2010c |
| BB 147  Stavropoulou plot | A | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | Vasilogambrou and Tsouli 2015 |
| Magoula  Vakou-Samailidou plot | A | tile (κεραμοσκεπής) | tiles  earthen floor | tiles | N/NW-S/SE | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | supine extended with hands on pelvis, head to S | adult | ? | none | 2 vessels on either side of head: bowl (SM 14157) and canister (14158) | AD report says this grave is Classical, but Zavvou and Themos article on child burials says both this and T3 are Archaic and sees them as a pair; Tsouli follows excavation report and says it’s Classical  T2 in site report | Zavvou 1997b  Zavvou and Themos 2009, 116  Themos and Zavvou 2010, 230  Tsouli 2013, 152 n. 7 |
| Magoula  Vakou-Samailidou plot | A | cist | stone plaques | stone plaque | N-S | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | child (clear from skull fragments) | ? | none | 8 Archaic pots (SM 14149-56); all Laconian II such as decorated feeders, cups, mugs; some of the vases were particularly elaborate and must have never been used; include very impressive feeder imitating metallic prototype, and very unusual askos-feeder with grotesque figure holding walls of the vase; high quality pottery | ‘best tableware of the household seems to have been chosen as offerings to the infant’ Themos and Zavvou 2010, 230  T3 in site report | Zavvou 1997b  Zavvou and Themos 2009, 116  Themos and Zavvou 2010, 230  Tsouli 2013, 152 n. 7 |
| Magoula  Vakou-Samailidou plot | A | tile (κεραμοσκεπής) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | child (remains of skull) | ? | ? | skyphos (SM 14162) | dated by stratigraphy and typology  unnumbered in site report | Zavvou 1997b  Zavvou and Themos 2009, 116  Themos and Zavvou 2010, 230  Tsouli 2013, 152 n. 7 |
| Magoula  Panagaki-Patsari plot | A (?) | cist | stone plaques | ? | E-W | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | head to E | adult | ? | none | none | dated by stratigraphy and proximity to other graves  T1 in site report | Tsiangouris 2010b |
| Magoula  Panagaki-Patsari plot | A (?) | pit | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | supine extended with hands on pubic area, head to E | adult | ? | none | None | dated by stratigraphy and proximity to other graves  T2 in site report | Tsiangouris 2010b |
| Magoula  Panagaki-Patsari plot | A (?) | cist | rough medium and large stones with packing of smaller stones  floor of limestone plaques  short dromos to SE | ? | 2 | 1.15 | .50 | ? | ? | ? | adult (based on length of cist) | ? | none | mouth and handle from Archaic aryballos | excavator argues that morphology of grave suggests PG date  T3 in site report | Tsiangouris 2010b |
| Magoula  Panagaki-Patsari plot | A (?) | pit | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | ? | ? | ? | None | T4 in site report | Tsiangouris 2010b |

Appendix 4: Intracommunal Classical Burials in Sparta

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Location | Date | Tomb  Type | Construction | Covering | Orientation | Length | Width | Depth | Burial  Type | Remains | Age | Sex | Secondary burial? | Grave  Goods | Notes | References |
| BB 53  Valioti plot | C | cist | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | ? | ? | earlier grave found underneath | ? | site report lists 8 cist graves of A-C date, for catalogue purposes listed here as 4 Archaic and 4 Classical, with walls built from schist plaques or rough stones and covering slabs of clay plaques, stone plaques, or rough stones  date based on typology and pottery found in and around graves  T1 in site report | Maltezou 2011e |
| BB 53  Valioti plot | C | cist | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | site report lists 8 cist graves of A-C date, for catalogue purposes listed here as 4 Archaic and 4 Classical, with walls built from schist plaques or rough stones and covering slabs of clay plaques, stone plaques, or rough stones  date based on typology and pottery found in and around graves  T2 in site report | Maltezou 2011e |
| BB 53  Valioti plot | C | cist | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | site report lists 8 cist graves of A-C date, for catalogue purposes listed here as 4 Archaic and 4 Classical, with walls built from schist plaques or rough stones and covering slabs of clay plaques, stone plaques, or rough stones  date based on typology and pottery found in and around graves  T3 in site report | Maltezou 2011e |
| BB 53  Valioti plot | C | cist | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | site report lists 8 cist graves of A-C date, for catalogue purposes listed here as 4 Archaic and 4 Classical, with walls built from schist plaques or rough stones and covering slabs of clay plaques, stone plaques, or rough stones  date based on typology and pottery found in and around graves  T4 in site report | Maltezou 2011e |
| BB58  Oikonomopoulou plot | C | cist | clay plaques | 3 stone plaques | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none  dating of grave based on stratigraphy | forms part of group of 24 tombs ranging from Archaic through Roman period; no breakdown given in site report so they are catalogued here as follows: 4 Archaic, 4 Classical, 4 Hellenistic, 12 Roman  excavator reports existence of pit, tile (καλυβίτης), and cist graves here but does not give specific numbers  T8 in site report | Maltezou 2010a |
| BB58  Oikonomopoulou plot | C | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none  dating of grave based on stratigraphy | forms part of group of 24 tombs ranging from Archaic through Roman period; no breakdown given in site report so they are catalogued here as follows: 4 Archaic, 4 Classical, 4 Hellenistic, 12 Roman  excavator reports existence of pit, tile (καλυβίτης), and cist graves here but does not give specific numbers | Maltezou 2010a |
| BB58  Oikonomopoulou plot | C | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none  dating of grave based on stratigraphy | forms part of group of 24 tombs ranging from Archaic through Roman period; no breakdown given in site report so they are catalogued here as follows: 4 Archaic, 4 Classical, 4 Hellenistic, 12 Roman  excavator reports existence of pit, tile (καλυβίτης), and cist graves here but does not give specific numbers | Maltezou 2010a |
| BB58  Oikonomopoulou plot | C | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none  dating of grave based on stratigraphy | forms part of group of 24 tombs ranging from Archaic through Roman period; no breakdown given in site report so they are catalogued here as follows: 4 Archaic, 4 Classical, 4 Hellenistic, 12 Roman  excavator reports existence of pit, tile (καλυβίτης), and cist graves here but does not give specific numbers | Maltezou 2010a |
| BB 113  Mazi plot | C (?) | cist | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none  dated by stratigraphy |  | Themos 1997 |
| BB 117A  Zaimi plot | C (?) | cist | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none | described as group of simple cist and pit graves with no grave goods, located under fill with pottery from lC5/eC4  no further details given  for analytical purposes they are catalogued as 6 graves in total, 3 cists and 3 pits, all Classical in date | Raftopoulou 1998, 127, 134-5, figs. 12.18-19    Tsouli 2016, 361-2 |
| BB 117A  Zaimi plot | C (?) | cist | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none | described as group of simple cist and pit graves with no grave goods, located under fill with pottery from lC5/eC4  no further details given  for analytical purposes they are catalogued as 6 graves in total, 3 cists and 3 pits, all Classical in date | Raftopoulou 1998, 127, 134-5, figs. 12.18-19    Tsouli 2016, 361-2 |
| BB 117A  Zaimi plot | C (?) | cist | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none | described as group of simple cist and pit graves with no grave goods, located under fill with pottery from lC5/eC4  no further details given  for analytical purposes they are catalogued as 6 graves in total, 3 cists and 3 pits, all Classical in date | Raftopoulou 1998, 127, 134-5, figs. 12.18-19    Tsouli 2016, 361-2 |
| BB 117A  Zaimi plot | C (?) | pit | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none | described as group of simple cist and pit graves with no grave goods, located under fill with pottery from lC5/eC4  no further details given  for analytical purposes they are catalogued as 6 graves in total, 3 cists and 3 pits, all Classical in date | Raftopoulou 1998, 127, 134-5, figs. 12.18-19    Tsouli 2016, 361-2 |
| BB 117A  Zaimi plot | C (?) | pit | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none | described as group of simple cist and pit graves with no grave goods, located under fill with pottery from lC5/eC4  no further details given  for analytical purposes they are catalogued as 6 graves in total, 3 cists and 3 pits, all Classical in date | Raftopoulou 1998, 127, 134-5, figs. 12.18-19    Tsouli 2016, 361-2 |
| BB 117A  Zaimi plot | C (?) | pit | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none | described as group of simple cist and pit graves with no grave goods, located under fill with pottery from lC5/eC4  no further details given  for analytical purposes they are catalogued as 6 graves in total, 3 cists and 3 pits, all Classical in date | Raftopoulou 1998, 127, 134-5, figs. 12.18-19    Tsouli 2016, 361-2 |
| BB 123b  Linardi plot | C (?) | pit | ? | stone plaques | N-S | 1.90 | .55 | ? | inhumation | supine extended with head on S resting on a stone | adult (based on cist length) | ? | none | none | destroyed an Archaic tomb when built, stratigraphy suggests two tombs are relatively close in date  T1 in site report | Zavvou 2001b  Zavvou and Themos 2009, 113, 116 with fig. 11.19 |
| Sparta-Kastoreio road at .940-1km  former Karkoula plot | C (?) | cist | stone plaques | stone plaques | NW-SE | 2.54 | ? | ? | inhumation | supine extended with hands along length of body, head on E side of grave | adult (based on cist length) | ? | none | 1 black-glazed lakaina | likely located in an extramural cemetery  the 2009 article refers to a tomb of late Archaic-early Classical date and cites the excavation report from 2000, which lists three graves without assigning any dates; this is the most likely candidate for the grave mentioned in the 2009 article  T1 in site report | Zavvou and Themos 2000  Themos and Zavvou 2001a  Zavvou and Themos 2009 |
| Sparta-Kastoreio road at .940-1km  former Karkoula plot | C (?) | ? (found in ruined state) | ? | ? | E-W | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | likely located in an extramural cemetery  no date given in excavation report but proximity suggests that it is of same date as T1  T2 in site report | Zavvou and Themos 2000  Themos and Zavvou 2001a  Zavvou and Themos 2009 |
| Sparta-Kastoreio road at .940-1km  former Karkoula plot | C (?) | cist | stone plaques | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | a few bones found inside grave | ? | ? | ? | none | likely located in an extramural cemetery  no date given in excavation report but proximity suggests that it is of same date as T1  T3 in site report | Zavvou and Themos 2000  Themos and Zavvou 2001a  Zavvou and Themos 2009 |

Appendix 5: Intracommunal Hellenistic Burials in Sparta

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Location | Date | Tomb  Type | Construction | Covering | Orientation | Length | Width | Depth | Burial  Type | Remains | Age | Sex | Secondary burial? | Grave  Goods | Notes | References |
| BG O12 | H | cist | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | ? | ? | none | handmade lamp dated to C2 BCE | located 2m N of road that runs through area | Steinhauer 1972a  Catling 1977-8, 30 |
| BG O12 | H | cist | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | ? | ? | none | none | located 2m N of road that runs through area | Steinhauer 1972a  Catling 1977-8, 30 |
| BG O12 | H | cist | stones | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | three burials | ? | ? | yes | none | located 2m N of road that runs through area | Steinhauer 1972a  Catling 1977-8, 30 |
| BG O12 | H | cist | stones | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | ? | ? | none | none | located 2m N of road that runs through area | Steinhauer 1972a  Catling 1977-8, 30 |
| BG O12 | H | cist | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation (?) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | located. c. 10 S of road that runs through area  Steinhauer does not give specific number of graves—states that there were 2 rows of simple cist and pit graves probably surrounded by circle of stones  8 graves, 4 pits and 4 cists, are catalogued here as an approximation | Steinhauer 1972a  Catling 1977-8, 30 |
| BG O12 | H | cist | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation (?) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | located. c. 10 S of road that runs through area  Steinhauer does not give specific number of graves—states that there were 2 rows of simple cist and pit graves probably surrounded by circle of stones  8 graves, 4 pits and 4 cists, are catalogued here as an approximation | Steinhauer 1972a  Catling 1977-8, 30 |
| BG O12 | H | cist | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation (?) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | located. c. 10 S of road that runs through area  Steinhauer does not give specific number of graves—states that there were 2 rows of simple cist and pit graves probably surrounded by circle of stones  8 graves, 4 pits and 4 cists, are catalogued here as an approximation | Steinhauer 1972a  Catling 1977-8, 30 |
| BG O12 | H | cist | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation (?) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | located. c. 10 S of road that runs through area  Steinhauer does not give specific number of graves—states that there were 2 rows of simple cist and pit graves probably surrounded by circle of stones  8 graves, 4 pits and 4 cists, are catalogued here as an approximation | Steinhauer 1972a  Catling 1977-8, 30 |
| BG O12 | H | pit | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation (?) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | located. c. 10 S of road that runs through area  Steinhauer does not give specific number of graves—states that there were 2 rows of simple cist and pit graves probably surrounded by circle of stones  8 graves, 4 pits and 4 cists, are catalogued here as an approximation | Steinhauer 1972a  Catling 1977-8, 30 |
| BG O12 | H | pit | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation (?) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | located. c. 10 S of road that runs through area  Steinhauer does not give specific number of graves—states that there were 2 rows of simple cist and pit graves probably surrounded by circle of stones  8 graves, 4 pits and 4 cists, are catalogued here as an approximation | Steinhauer 1972a  Catling 1977-8, 30 |
| BG O12 | H | pit | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation (?) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | located. c. 10 S of road that runs through area  Steinhauer does not give specific number of graves—states that there were 2 rows of simple cist and pit graves probably surrounded by circle of stones  8 graves, 4 pits and 4 cists, are catalogued here as an approximation | Steinhauer 1972a  Catling 1977-8, 30 |
| BG O12 | H | pit | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation (?) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | located. c. 10 S of road that runs through area  Steinhauer does not give specific number of graves—states that there were 2 rows of simple cist and pit graves probably surrounded by circle of stones  8 graves, 4 pits and 4 cists, are catalogued here as an approximation | Steinhauer 1972a  Catling 1977-8, 30 |
| BG O12  Chymofix | H (?) | cist | rough stones | clay plaques | NW-SW | ? | ? | ? | inhumation (?) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | T1 in site report | Maltezou 2011d |
| BG O12  Chymofix | H (?) | cist | ? | pieces of broken tiles | E-W | ? | ? | ? | inhumation (?) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | T2 in site report | Maltezou 2011d |
| BG O12  Chymofix | H (?) | cist | ? | stone plaques | NE-SW | ? | ? | ? | inhumation (?) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | T3 in site report | Maltezou 2011d |
| BG O12  Chymofix | H (?) | ? | ? | ? | E-W | ? | ? | ? | inhumation (?) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | T4 in site report | Maltezou 2011d |
| BG O12  Chymofix | H (?) | ? | ? | ? | E-W | ? | ? | ? | inhumation (?) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | T5 in site report | Maltezou 2011d |
| BG O12  Chymofix | H (?) | ? | ? | ? | N/NE-S/SW | ? | ? | ? | inhumation (?) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | T6 in site report | Maltezou 2011d |
| BG O12  Chymofix | H (?) | cist | rough stones | ? | E-W | ? | ? | ? | inhumation (?) | supine extended with right hand on chest and head to W | child (from dimensions) | ? | none | ? | T7 in site report | Maltezou 2011d |
| BG O12  Chymofix | H (?) | cist | rough stones | stone plaques | E-W | ? | ? | ? | inhumation (?) | ? | child (from dimensions) | ? | ? | ? | T8 in site report | Maltezou 2011d |
| BG O12  Chymofix | H (?) | cist | rough stones | stone plaques | E-W | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | child (from skeletal remains) | ? | ? | none but iron nail found in tomb suggests coffin or bier | T9 in site report | Maltezou 2011d |
| BG P14 | H | two-level tomb | brick-built floor  entrance on N | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | yes, 3 burial compartments plus later ossuary with 2 burials and 2 later pit graves | 130+ vessels as grave goods |  | Vlachakos 2010 |
| BB 7  Dimitropoulou plot | H | cist | stone plaques | part of an inscribed stele of Archaic date (SM 12854) | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | supine extended with head to N | child | ? | none | plate with rosette (SM 13058) at feet |  | Zavvou 1998c |
| BB 16  Zeppou plot | H | tile  (καλυβίτης) | tiles | tiles | N-S | .94 | .40 | ? | inhumation | ? | child (?) | ? | none | none | dated by stratigraphy | Tsouli 2012 |
| BB 29  Hancock-Panagopoulou plot | H (?) | pot (εγχυτρισμός) | amphora | ? | ? |  |  |  | cremation | bones and signs of burning | ? | ? | ? | none | date provided by typology of burial (cremation) | Maltezou 2012 |
| BB 39  Kretikou plot | H | built tomb | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | architectural remains in form of blocks and finds typically forming part of funerary assemblage: lamps of late Hellenistic period (SM 15008-9, 15011-14), large number of myrrodochoeia, leading to conclusion that blocks are remains of Hellenistic built tomb | located alongside road running to S gate of city | Zavvou 1999b |
| BB 55  Chalkiadaki and Sourli plots | H | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | the excavation report mentions 24 tombs ranging in date from late C2 BCE through C2 CE  for analytical purposes, 4 of the 24 are catalogued as Hellenistic and 20 as Roman  insufficient information is provided to specify tomb types | Vlachachakos and Maltezou 2011  Tsouli and Maltezou forthcoming |
| BB 55  Chalkiadaki and Sourli plots | H | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | the excavation report mentions 24 tombs ranging in date from late C2 BCE through C2 CE  for analytical purposes, 4 of the 24 are catalogued as Hellenistic and 20 as Roman  insufficient information is provided to specify tomb types | Vlachachakos and Maltezou 2011  Tsouli and Maltezou forthcoming |
| BB 55  Chalkiadaki and Sourli plots | H | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | the excavation report mentions 24 tombs ranging in date from late C2 BCE through C2 CE  for analytical purposes, 4 of the 24 are catalogued as Hellenistic and 20 as Roman  insufficient information is provided to specify tomb types | Vlachachakos and Maltezou 2011  Tsouli and Maltezou forthcoming |
| BB 55  Chalkiadaki and Sourli plots | H | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | the excavation report mentions 24 tombs ranging in date from late C2 BCE through C2 CE  for analytical purposes, 4 of the 24 are catalogued as Hellenistic and 20 as Roman  insufficient information is provided to specify tomb types | Vlachachakos and Maltezou 2011  Tsouli and Maltezou forthcoming |
| BB 57  Zavra plot | H | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | dated by proximity to Hellenistic amphora | Raftopoulou 1992b |
| BB 57  Vlita plot | H | tile (κεραμοσκεπής) | ? | tiles | N/NW-S/SE | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | supine extended with head to S/SE | adult | ? | none | none | dated by stratigraphy and proximity to other graves  T1 in site report | Maltezou 2011f |
| BB 57  Vlita plot | H | tile (κεραμοσκεπής) | ? | tiles | N/NW-S/SE | ? | ? | ? | cremation | traces of bones with signs of burning | ? | ? | none | late Hellenistic lamp | dated by stratigraphy and proximity to other graves  T2 in site report | Maltezou 2011f |
| BB 57  Vlita plot | H | cist | ? | stone plaque | N/NW-S/SE | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | supine extended with hand on pelvis, head to S/SE | ? | ? | none | bone pin | dated by stratigraphy and proximity to other graves  T3 in site report | Maltezou 2011f |
| BB 57  Vlita plot | H | cist | bricks | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none | none | dated by stratigraphy and proximity to other graves  T4 in site report | Maltezou 2011f |
| BB58  Oikonomopoulou plot | H | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none  dating of grave based on stratigraphy | forms part of group of 24 tombs ranging from Archaic through Roman period; no breakdown given in site report so they are catalogued here as follows: 4 Archaic, 4 Classical, 4 Hellenistic, 12 Roman  excavator reports existence of pit, tile (καλυβίτης), and cist graves here but does not give specific numbers | Maltezou 2010a |
| BB58  Oikonomopoulou plot | H | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none  dating of grave based on stratigraphy | forms part of group of 24 tombs ranging from Archaic through Roman period; no breakdown given in site report so they are catalogued here as follows: 4 Archaic, 4 Classical, 4 Hellenistic, 12 Roman  excavator reports existence of pit, tile (καλυβίτης), and cist graves here but does not give specific numbers | Maltezou 2010a |
| BB58  Oikonomopoulou plot | H | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none  dating of grave based on stratigraphy | forms part of group of 24 tombs ranging from Archaic through Roman period; no breakdown given in site report so they are catalogued here as follows: 4 Archaic, 4 Classical, 4 Hellenistic, 12 Roman  excavator reports existence of pit, tile (καλυβίτης), and cist graves here but does not give specific numbers | Maltezou 2010a |
| BB58  Oikonomopoulou plot | H | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none  dating of grave based on stratigraphy | forms part of group of 24 tombs ranging from Archaic through Roman period; no breakdown given in site report so they are catalogued here as follows: 4 Archaic, 4 Classical, 4 Hellenistic, 12 Roman  excavator reports existence of pit, tile (καλυβίτης), and cist graves here but does not give specific numbers | Maltezou 2010a |
| BB 72  Apostolou-Tsolakidou plot | H | built | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | forms part of a group of built tombs of unspecified number, some of which are two-level so they are catalogued here as 2 built and 2 two-level | Vasilogambrou, Tsouli, and Maltezou 2018, 334-5 |
| BB 72  Apostolou-Tsolakidou plot | H | built | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | forms part of a group of built tombs of unspecified number, some of which are two-level so they are catalogued here as 2 built and 2 two-level | Vasilogambrou, Tsouli, and Maltezou 2018, 334-5 |
| BB 72  Apostolou-Tsolakidou plot | H | two-level | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | forms part of a group of built tombs of unspecified number, some of which are two-level so they are catalogued here as 2 built and 2 two-level | Vasilogambrou, Tsouli, and Maltezou 2018, 334-5 |
| BB 72  Apostolou-Tsolakidou plot | H | two-level | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | forms part of a group of built tombs of unspecified number, some of which are two-level so they are catalogued here as 2 built and 2 two-level | Vasilogambrou, Tsouli, and Maltezou 2018, 334-5 |
| BB 89  Theodoropoulou plot | H | cist | ? | ? | Ε-W | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | extended supine with head to E, right hand on chest | adult | ? | yes  bone remains underneath skeleton show that tomb had multiple burials  anakomidi on W side of tomb | skyphidion of Hellenistic period (SM 17261) | lays within a funerary building constructed from large limestone block, small rough stones, a few tiles, mud as binder  one inscribed block re-used as building material (SM 17299)  5 graves in total inside the monument  T1 in site report | Maltezou 2010c |
| BB 89  Theodoropoulou plot | H | cist | on S side of T1, with which it shares a long wall | stone plaques | E-W | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | extended supine with head to E, hands parallel to body | ? | ? | yes  bones probably from anakomidi on S side of grave  also, below uppermost burial was anakomidi with 3 vases | hand-made lamp  lower burial: oinochoe, lekanis, thelastro | lays within a funerary building constructed from large limestone block, small rough stones, a few tiles, mud as binder  one inscribed block re-used as building material (SM 17299)  5 graves in total inside the monument  T2 in site report | Maltezou 2010c |
| BB 89  Theodoropoulou plot | H | cist | ? | stone plaques | N-S | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | disturbed bones in upper layer  in lower layer, skeleton in supine extended position with head to N, right hand o chest | lower burial is adult | ? | yes | some Hellenistic sherds associated with uppermost burial | lays within a funerary building constructed from large limestone block, small rough stones, a few tiles, mud as binder  one inscribed block re-used as building material (SM 17299)  5 graves in total inside the monument  T3 in site report | Maltezou 2010c |
| BB 89  Theodoropoulou plot | H | cist | floor made of stone plaques and tiles | stone plaques | E-W | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | • 3 myrrodochoeia  • pieces of a lead object  • 2 cups  • skyphidion  • skyphos  • lekythos  • flask | lays within a funerary building constructed from large limestone block, small rough stones, a few tiles, mud as binder  one inscribed block re-used as building material (SM 17299)  5 graves in total inside the monument  T4 in site report | Maltezou 2010c |
| BB 89  Theodoropoulou plot | H | cist | tile | tiles | N-S | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | ? | ? | ? | • black-glazed skyphidion  • ‘salt-shaker’ | lays within a funerary building constructed from large limestone block, small rough stones, a few tiles, mud as binder  one inscribed block re-used as building material (SM 17299)  5 graves in total inside the monument | Maltezou 2010c |
| BB 93  Sourli plot | H | cist | tiles | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | adult | ? | none | clay myrrhodocheio of C1 BCE |  | Tsouli, Giannakaki, and Tsouktakos 2010 |
| BB 97  Karela  plot | H | marble urn (SM 12720b), .44m high with maximum diameter of .37m | ? | covered with terracotta lekanis (SM 14014) supported by stones, on top of which the marble lid rested (SM 12720a) | ? | ? | ? | ? | cremation | incinerated bones | ? | ? | ? | • head of a bone pin (SM 14016a)  • glass myrrhodocheio (SM 14016b)  • gold danaki (SM 14015) | square stone stele (SM 12720γ) found above grave might be marker  date by grave goods including marble urn  T1 in site report | Zavvou 1996a  Zavvou 1997a  Raftopoulou 1998, 133  Zavvou and Themos 2009, 113  Pavlides 2011, 181  Poupaki 2009, 248-9 and fig. 25.13 |
| BB 98  Dimitrakopoulos plot | H | pot (εγχυτρισμός) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |  | inhumation | ? | child | ? | none | myrrhodocheio (SM 15270)  black-glaze skyphos (SM 15271)  both datable to late Hellenistic period |  | Zavvou 2006b |
| BB 101  Stavropoulou plot | H | cist | clay plaques | clay plaques | NE-SW | ? | ? | ? | cremation | a few burnt bones | ? | ? | ? | fragments of gold leaf | site of cult activity and building remains that are probably shrine of some sort  possibly overlays earlier grave | Dawkins 1908/9, 3  Christou 1964a, 136  Delivorrias 1968b  Delivorrias 1968a  Delivorrias 1969b  Spyropoulos 1980a  Stibbe 1989a, 89-92 and figs. 21-6  Stibbe 1996, 29-31  Schörner 2007, 113, 291-2 A5  Salapata 2014, 331 n. 12 |
| BB 102  Bouchali plot | H, R | unspecified number of Hellenistic and Roman tombs |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Zavvou and Themos 1999  Themos 2000  Themos 2002b  Themos and Zavvou 2010: 228 n. 10, 229 |
| BB 114  Koulogeorgiou plot | H (?) | tile (καλυβίτης) | tiles | tiles | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | supine extended with head to W | ? | ? | ? | none | undated but probably Hellenistic or Roman based on proximity and level of other grave | Themos 2006  Zavvou and Themos 2009, 111 |
| BB 114  Koulogeorgiou plot | H (?) | cist | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | small gold leaf | undated but probably Hellenistic or Roman based on grave good | Themos 2006  Zavvou and Themos 2009, 111 |
| BB 117  Koutsogeorga plot | H | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | • 3 lamps  • unguentaria  • 2 Megarian skyphoi  • figurine  • iron strigil | tomb largely destroyed by Roman building constructed on top of it  cone-shaped grave marker |  |
| BB 122  Katsichti plot | H | tile (καλυβίτης) | tiles | tiles | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | child | ? | ? | none |  | Rammou 1997a |
| BB 123  Papadakou plot | H | two-level tomb | removal of bones and grave goods from destroyed upper level revealed schist plaques serving as cover stones of lower part, resting on wall of small stones and some large blocks | ? | NE-SW | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ossuary in upper level with anakomides | ? | ? | ? | array of vessels including myrrhodocheia, lagynoi, lamps, pinakia and cups as well as gold danakes | the excavation report mentions 10 burials of Hellenistic-Roman date, 3 of which (2 tile, 1 two-level) are specified as being of Hellenistic date and 2 of which (both tile) seem to be of Roman date  for analytical purposes, 6 are catalogued as Hellenistic  T1 in site report | Maltezou 2011c |
| BB 123  Papadakou plot | H | tile (κεραμοσκεπής) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none | the excavation report mentions 10 burials of Hellenistic-Roman date, 3 of which (2 tile, 1 two-level) are specified as being of Hellenistic date and 2 of which (both tile) seem to be of Roman date  for analytical purposes, 6 are catalogued as Hellenistic | Maltezou 2011c |
| BB 123  Papadakou plot | H | tile (κεραμοσκεπής) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | none | the excavation report mentions 10 burials of Hellenistic-Roman date, 3 of which (2 tile, 1 two-level) are specified as being of Hellenistic date and 2 of which (both tile) seem to be of Roman date  for analytical purposes, 6 are catalogued as Hellenistic | Maltezou 2011c |
| BB 123  Papadakou plot | H | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | the excavation report mentions 10 burials of Hellenistic-Roman date, 3 of which (2 tile, 1 two-level) are specified as being of Hellenistic date and 2 of which (both tile) seem to be of Roman date  for analytical purposes, 6 are catalogued as Hellenistic | Maltezou 2011c |
| BB 123  Papadakou plot | H | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | the excavation report mentions 10 burials of Hellenistic-Roman date, 3 of which (2 tile, 1 two-level) are specified as being of Hellenistic date and 2 of which (both tile) seem to be of Roman date  for analytical purposes, 6 are catalogued as Hellenistic | Maltezou 2011c |
| BB 123  Papadakou plot | H | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | the excavation report mentions 10 burials of Hellenistic-Roman date, 3 of which (2 tile, 1 two-level) are specified as being of Hellenistic date and 2 of which (both tile) seem to be of Roman date  for analytical purposes, 6 are catalogued as Hellenistic | Maltezou 2011c |
| BB 124 | H | two-level tomb | large blocks of stone  in lower chamber, corpse rests on virgin soil  tile roof  likely had akroteria  built into bank of earth so that only W side (with entrance) was visible | tile roof | E/NE-W/SW | 3.2 | 1.6 | ? | inhumation | head on E end | ? | ? | yes, 1 skeleton in lower level and at least 2 in upper | 140+ vases, gold leaves (from at least 2 different wreaths), 2 silver coins, 2 silver earrings, 2 loomweights, 1 amber bead, 2 glass beads, | forms part of a group of 4 Hellenistic tombs, all with same basic design  Tomb A in British report | Wace and Dickins 1906-7 with plates VI-VII  Nafissi 1991, 328 nn. 237-8  Papaefthumiou 1992, 11-13  Steinhauer 1992, 239-45  Raftopoulou 1998, 127-36  Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, 222 #45  Schörner 2007, 113, 291 A4 and fig. 189 |
| BB 124 | H | two-level tomb | entrance on E side  floor of large plaques  probably free-standing  inside stuccoed | ? | E/SE-W/NW | 3.4 | 2.1 | ? | found empty, British excavators suggest tomb was never used | n/a | ? | ? | n/a | tomb found empty | forms part of a group of 4 Hellenistic tombs, all with same basic design  Tomb B in British report | Wace and Dickins 1906-7 with plates VI-VII  Nafissi 1991, 328 nn. 237-8  Papaefthumiou 1992, 11-13  Steinhauer 1992, 239-45  Raftopoulou 1998, 127-36  Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, 222 #45  Schörner 2007, 113, 291 A4 and fig. 189 |
| BB 124 |  | two-level tomb | large blocks of stone  same basic design as Tomb A (but a double tomb, only half of which was intact)  entrance on E side  inside stuccoed | tile roof | E/NE-W/SW | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | ? | ? | yes, 1 skeleton in lower chamber, at least 4 skeletons in upper chamber (which is divided into 2 parts) | 100+ vases, gold leaves (from at least 2 different wreaths), terracotta male figurine, 2 loomweights, bronze coin | forms part of a group of 4 Hellenistic tombs, all with same basic design  Tomb C in British report | Wace and Dickins 1906-7 with plates VI-VII  Nafissi 1991, 328 nn. 237-8  Papaefthumiou 1992, 11-13  Steinhauer 1992, 239-45  Raftopoulou 1998, 127-36  Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, 222 #45  Schörner 2007, 113, 291 A4 and fig. 189 |
| BB 124 |  | built tomb | remnants found in pit near other 3 tombs | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation (?) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | forms part of a group of 4 Hellenistic tombs, all with same basic design | Wace and Dickins 1906-7 with plates VI-VII  Nafissi 1991, 328 nn. 237-8  Papaefthumiou 1992, 11-13  Steinhauer 1992, 239-45  Raftopoulou 1998, 127-36  Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, 222 #45  Schörner 2007, 113, 291 A4 and fig. 189 |
| BB 125  Barbargianni plot | H | built tomb | rough stones and ceramic fragments with mortar as binder | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | fragments of bones, probably from anakomides | ? | ? | yes | 4 coins  9 lamps (SM 15971-8) |  | Themos 2001a |
| BB 125  corner of Triakosion and Agidos (S side of BB 125) | H | two-level tomb | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | ? | ? | yes | upper part full of bone and rich group of plain Hellenistic pottery, lower part empty | ceramics date from C3-1 but specific vases cannot be associated with specific burials | Raftopoulou 1994a  Raftopoulou 1998, 136 |
| BB 125  corner of Triakosion and Agidos (S side of BB 125) | H | two-level tomb | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | ? | ? | ? | yes | ? | ? | Raftopoulou 1994a  Raftopoulou 1998, 136 |
| BB 135 | H | two-level tomb | ? | ? | NW-SE | 2.20 | 1.60 |  | inhumation | ? | ? | ? | yes | 100+ intact or largely intact vases | finds in tomb date from mC2 BCE | Raftopoulou 2000 |
| BB 147A  Zaimi plot | H (?) | gamma shaped pit | ? | ? | ? | 1.90 | 1.10 | horiz. part of gamma is .52m | inhumation | head on E side of tomb | ? | ? | none | gold leaves that originally came from gold crown |  | Zavvou 1997c |
| BB 147A  Zaimi plot | H (?) | pit | ? | ? | E-W | 1.80 |  |  | cremation | head on E side of tomb | ? | ? | none | strigil (SM 14113)  myrrodocheio (14112)  gold leaves | pyre remains found in grave  iron nails from bier found in tomb | Zavvou 1997c |

Appendix 6: Intracommunal Roman Burials in Sparta

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Location | Date | Tomb  Type | Construction | Covering | Orientation | Length | Width | Depth | Burial  Type | Remains | Age | Sex | Secondary burial? | Grave  Goods | Notes | References |
| BB 12  Karela plot | R | 1 tomb |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Kountouri 1995 |
| BB 15 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 EC tombs on Sourli plot, 1 Roman tomb on E side of the BB | Themos 2001b  Themos and Pantou 1997 |
| BB 29  Georgane plot | R | tile (καλυβίτης) | tiles  delimited by rough stones | tiles | NW-SE | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | multiple burials  uppermost: extended with left hand on chest, head on N | ? | ? | yes  bones from a previous burial underneath that skeleton (T4)  underneath this burial is another burial (T5) | lower burial has bronze earring (SM 15151) | date provided in Zavvou 2004  T1 in site report | Zavvou 2001a  Zavvou 2004a  Zavvou and Themos 2009, 116 |
| BB 29  Georgane plot | R | cist | stone plaques | stone plaques | NW-SE | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | remains of at least 4 burials inside  one in extended position with hands on stomach | ? | ? | yes | none | date provided by Zavvou 2004  T6 in site report | Zavvou 2001a  Zavvou 2004a  Zavvou and Themos 2009, 116 |
| BB 30  Koumoundourou-Kirkela plot | R |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | • clusters of tombs (at least 14 tombs) from Roman and late Roman period,  • forms part of cemetery found in public market and adjacent plot at 13 Kleombrotos  • plotted on map as 14 tombs | Zavvou 2000  public market: Delivorrias 1969a  13 Kleombrotou: Steinhauer 1973a  general area of Tomb of Leonidas:  Spyropoulos 1980b |
| BB 39  Kolyvira plot | R |  | tiles | tiles | E-W | 1.80 | .53 | ? | inhumation | extended with right hand along body, left hand on abdomen, head on W | ? | ? | none | unpainted, non-diagnostic vases (no details given) | forms part of a cluster of 8 Roman tombs    dated by proximity to dated grave and stratigraphy  T1 in site report | Themos 1996a |
| BB 41  Katsari plot | R |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 6 tombs (1 εγχυτρισμός, 1 cist, 2 κεραμοσκεπής, 2 καλυβίτης) | Maltezou 2011a |
| BB 49A  Koulogeorgiou and SIA EE plots | R |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Roman cemetery with unspecified number of graves of various types (1 built funerary monument, cists in clusters, κεραμοσκεπείς tombs, καλυβίτης tombs, and shallow pits)  plotted on map as 20 Roman tombs  same basic types of graves as those found in SW cemetery | Maltezou 2011g |
| BB 55  Chalkdiadaki and Sourli plots | R |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | the excavation report mentions 24 tombs ranging in date from late C2 BCE through C2 CE  for analytical purposes, 4 of the 24 are catalogued as Hellenistic and 20 as Roman  insufficient information is provided to specify tomb types | Vlachachakos and Maltezou 2011  Tsouli and Maltezou forthcoming |
| BB 56/56A  Katsaris Georgios and SIA OE plots | R |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 5 Roman graves | Maltezou 2010b |
| BB 93  Choudi plot | R |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 graves | Tsiangouris 2010d |
| BB 97  Karela  plot | R | pit | clay plaques with mortar on S side of pit  floor of clay plaques and mortar  delimited on E side by a small number of large stones |  |  |  |  |  | inhumation | head on S side of tomb |  |  |  | • small unpainted pinakion (SM 13700)  • early Roman lamp (SM 13699)  • 2 pieces of bone stirrers (SM 14017a-b)  • 2 ostrea (SM 14017γ)  • parts of an iron pin (SM 14017d) | T2 in site report | Zavvou 1996a  Zavvou 1997a  Raftopoulou 1998, 133  Zavvou and Themos 2009, 113  Pavlides 2011, 181 |
| BB 97A  Sotirou plot | R |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 6 tombs | Themos 2004  Themos and Zavvou 2010: 229 n. 12 |
| BB 102  Bouchali plot | H, R |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | unspecified number of Hellenistic and Roman tombs  plotted on map as 2 Roman tombs | Zavvou and Themos 1999  Themos 2000  Themos 2002b  Themos and Zavvou 2010: 228 n. 10, 229 |
| BB 104  Andriopoulou plot | R | cist | bricks and mortar | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | no remains found | ? | ? | ? | none | traces of gold leaf |  | Themos 2001d |
| BB 113  Georganta-Petrakou plot | R | ? | bricks and mortar | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |  | Themos 2001c  Zavvou 2004c |
| BB 113  Nikolopoulou plot | R |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 3 Roman tombs | Themos 1999 |
| BB 116  Petropoulou plot | R | cist | bricks and mortar  brick floor | ? | NE-SW | ? | ? | ? | no bones preserved | ? | ? | ? | ? | clay lamp decorated with mask dated to h2C2 CE |  | Kakourou 2010 |
| BB 120 A  Kechagaia-Oikonomou and Vlachou-Sousani plots | R |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 4 Roman tombs | Themos 2003  Themos 2002c |
| BB 121  Katsi plot | R | funerary structure |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Pikoula-Kourinou 1985 |
| BB 122  Katsichti plot | R | brick-built tomb |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Rammou 1997a |
| BB 123  Papadakou plot | H-R |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | the excavation report mentions 10 burials of Hellenistic-Roman date, 3 of which (2 tile, 1 two-level) are specified as being of Hellenistic date and 2 of which (both tile) seem to be of Roman date  for analytical purposes, 6 are catalogued as Hellenistic and 4 as Roman | Maltezou 2011c |
| BB 124  Matsoukopetrou plot | R |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 Roman tombs | Themos 1996b |
| BB 124  Rapata plot | R |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 4 tombs: 1 cist and 3 εγχυτρισμός burials | Maltezou 2011b |
| BB 126  Leopoulo plot | R |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 3 Roman tombs | Zavvou 2004b |
| BB 130  OSK plot | R | cist | tiles | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | inhumation | extended | adult | ? | ? | ? | ? | Tsouli, Tsiangouris, and Papadopoulos 2010 |
| BB 146 | R |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Roman cemetery/SW Cemetery  Tsouli 2010 lists 75 more graves that formed part of this cemetery, in Γ470 | Tsouli and Papagiannis 2010 |
| BB 175  Students’ studio | R |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 52 graves, dated C-4 CE | Maltezou and Giannakaki 2010 |

Appendix 7: A Group of Ostensibly Archaic Graves

As mentioned in the discussion of the typology of Archaic burials in Sparta, there is a problematic cluster of four inhumations in cist graves that were found in 1960 just to the south of Palaiokastro hill. These graves were distributed around a relief amphora (laid flat on the ground) and were situated next to a kiln. A stone plaque covering one of the graves extended over one of the handles of the amphora, so the amphora was probably put in place when the graves were built. The mouth of the amphora, which had been laid on its side when it was put in place among the graves, was sealed with a stone slab, but nothing was found inside, so it was not likely functioning as a burial container.[[3]](#footnote-3)

These graves were initially dated by the excavator, Christou, to the seventh century.[[4]](#footnote-4) There is, however, good reason to believe that Christou erred badly in dating the graves, which should be placed not in the Archaic but in the Byzantine period.[[5]](#footnote-5) Christou founded his date for the graves on two categories of evidence: the relief amphora and the finds from the graves.[[6]](#footnote-6) Christou dated the relief amphora to the end of the seventh century and argued that it was placed with the graves, as a marker of the type known from the Dipylon cemetery in Athens, shortly after it was made. The first of these claims is almost certainly correct. More than two dozen relief amphoras, mostly in a fragmentary state, have been found in Sparta; they have been the subject of careful study (Christou himself published an important work on these vessels),[[7]](#footnote-7) and there is little doubt that they were produced between 625 and 575.

It is, however, far from certain that the relief amphora in question was placed with the graves shortly after it was made. Relief amphorae were relatively large and quite durable creations that lasted for centuries, and two examples from Sparta show that they were in at least some instances re-used long after they were produced. The most obvious example is the relief amphora that was discovered in the theatre during the British excavations in the 1920s. This amphora was serving as a water receptacle, with a hole for a pipe cut into its neck, in a building that did not exist before the Augustan period – well over five centuries after the amphora was produced. Furthermore, an excavation in 1983 uncovered a building dated to the third or fourth century CE that included a room with a floor made from fragments of tiles and vases from different periods set into mortar; one of the vase fragments came from a relief amphora.[[8]](#footnote-8)

It would, therefore, not be particularly disconcerting to find a relief amphora re-used, long after it was produced, in a burial. The fact that the amphora was laid on its side when it was put in place (i.e. it did not fall over at some later period) meant that its highest point was no more than 10 cm above the covering slabs of the graves (Hodkinson 2000, 240). That is difficult to reconcile with the idea that it was meant to serve as a grave marker in the same way as the Dipylon vases. Moreover, a small but potentially significant detail suggests that the amphora excavated by Christou was in secondary usage. Christou noted that one small piece of the neck of the amphora was missing and evidently was lost before the amphora was deposited among the graves (Christou 1964c, 133). This would be surprising if the amphora was put in place to serve as an expensive and impressive marker shortly after it was produced, but would not be surprising if it was centuries old by the time it was placed among the graves.

The other basis of dating was the limited number of finds from the graves, only two of which had any grave goods. The finds from Grave B included the handle of a small, black-glazed vessel and two fragments of similar vessels that Christou dated to the Archaic period.[[9]](#footnote-9) Steinhauer, however, points out that the covering slab on this grave had been broken (the foundation of a Byzantine wall ran across the top of it), and he is of the opinion that the vessels in question were intrusions that dropped into the grave from the surrounding fill. The area in which the graves were located was in continuous use starting in the Geometric period, and the excavation necessary to build the Byzantine wall and the kiln would have churned up that fill. It could, therefore, easily have been the case that a handle of an Archaic black-glazed vessel found its way into Grave B once the covering slab had broken.[[10]](#footnote-10)

Grave C had just one item in it beyond the remains of the deceased – a small horse figurine made from bone. In the English summary of the excavation report Christou dates this figurine to the Archaic period, but in the more detailed Greek version, no date is given (Christou 1964b, 283, 142, respectively). Christou supplies neither a photo of the figurine nor the criteria he used in dating it, so it is impossible to assess the accuracy of his conclusions. Moreover, the covering stones on this grave had crumbled, in part because its sides were not reinforced with stone slabs; it is, therefore, possible that here too we have a post-depositional intrusion.

Above and beyond these concerns, the construction of and position of the kiln – which went out of use before the graves were built – strongly suggests that it was built in the Byzantine period. As Steinhauer observes, the kiln was constructed from fired bricks and included a small fluted column that was clearly in secondary usage.[[11]](#footnote-11) Furthermore, the kiln is located just to the south of Palaiokastro hill, and it seems unlikely that such an intrusive installation would have been located in the heart of the urban area of Sparta in the Archaic period. On the other hand, in the Byzantine period, a series of kilns were constructed around the edges of Sparta’s acropolis.[[12]](#footnote-12) (They were quite possibly intended at least in part to turn marble from the acropolis into lime.) Hence the construction materials of the kiln, its location, and the dating of other kilns in the area together leave little doubt that the kiln was built sometime in the Byzantine period.

The sum total of this evidence is such as to weigh decisively against Christou’s dating arguments for this cluster of tombs; these burials instead should be placed in the Byzantine period. They remain an important source of information about burial practices in Sparta, but are not relevant to the time periods under consideration here.

Appendix 8: Bringing the Textual and Archaeological Sources into Dialogue

We are, for the first time, in a position to put archaeological evidence for the typology and topography of Spartan burial practice into dialogue with the relevant textual evidence. It is, therefore, worthwhile to summarise, briefly, the latter. The literary sources that directly pertain to burial practice in Sparta are relatively few in number;[[13]](#footnote-13) the earliest among those sources are two fragments from Tyrtaios:

δεσπότᾶς οἰμώζοντες ὁμῶς

ἄλοχοί τε καὶ αὐτοί,

εὖτε τιν᾽ οὐλομένη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου.

They [Messenian helots] bewail their masters, they and their wives,

when the mournful fate of death strikes one of them.

(F7 West, trans. Hodkinson 2000, 237)

τὸν δ᾽ ὀλοφύρονται μὲν ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες,

ἀργαλέῳ δὲ πόθῳ πᾶσα κέκηδε πόλις:

καὶ τύμβος καὶ παῖδες ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀρίσημοι

καὶ παίδων παῖδες καὶ γένος ἐξοπίσω:

οὐδέποτε κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπόλλυται οὐδ᾽ ὄνομ᾽ αὐτοῦ,

ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ γῆς περ ἐὼν γίγνεται ἀθάνατος,

ὅντιν᾽ ἀριστεύοντα μένοντά τε μαρνάμενόν τε

γῆς πέρι καὶ παίδων θοῦρος Ἄρης ὀλέσῃ:

The young and old alike lament his [a Spartiate soldier killed in battle] death

and all the people mourn his grievous loss.

His tomb is greatly honoured among men, as are his sons

and sons’ sons and his lineage evermore.

Neither his glorious reputation nor his name ever die,

he still lives on, though laid beneath the ground

if he stood firm and fought courageously

for land and children till furious Ares struck him down.

(F12 West, ll. 26-34 trans. Hodkinson 2000, 238)

Next, in chronological order, comes the simple statement of Herakleides Lembos (371.13 Dilts), derived from the Aristotelian *Politeia of the Lakedaimonians*, that in Sparta ‘graves are modest and the same for all’ (εὐτελεῖς δὲ ταφαὶ καὶ ἴσαι πᾶσίν εἰσι) (trans. S. Hodkinson).

Finally, there are two, related passages found in Plutarch’s corpus. The first comes from the *Moralia* (238d):

Τῶν δὲ ταφῶν ἀνεῖλε τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν ἅπασαν ὁ Λυκοῦργος, ἐν τῇ πόλει θάπτειν τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ πλησίον ἔχειν τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν ἱερῶν συγχωρήσας. περιεῖλε δὲ καὶ τοὺς μιασμούς, συνθάπτειν δ’ οὐδὲν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ’ ἐν φοινικίδι καὶ φύλλοις ἐλαίας θέντας τὸ σῶμαπεριστέλλειν κατ’ ἴσον ἅπαντας. ἀνεῖλε καὶ τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν μνημείων, πλὴν τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτησάντων, καὶ τὰ πένθη καὶ τοὺς ὀδυρμούς.

Lycurgus removed absolutely all superstition concerning burials, granting the right to bury the dead in the *polis* and to have the *mnemeia* near the sacred places. He also abolished pollutions. He permitted them to bury nothing with the body; but, all treating it exactly alike, to enfold it in a *phoinikis* and olive leaves. He did away with inscriptions on *mnemeia*, except for those who had died in war, and also with mourning and lamentations. (trans. Hodkinson 2000, 244; slightly modified)

The second comes from Plutarch’s *Life of Lycurgus* (27.1-2)

Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἄριστα διεκόσμησεν αὐτοῖς. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀνελὼν δεισιδαιμονίαν ἅπασαν ἐν τῇ πόλει θάπτειν τοὺς νεκρούς, καὶ πλησίον ἔχειν τὰ μνήματα τῶν ἱερῶν οὐκ ἐκώλυσε, συντρόφους ποιῶν ταῖς τοιαύταις ὄψεσι καὶ συνήθεις τοὺς νέους, ὥστε μὴ ταράττεσθαι μηδ’ ὀρρωδεῖν τὸν θάνατον ὡς μιαίνοντα τοὺς ἁψαμένους νεκροῦ σώματος ἢ διὰ τάφων διελθόντας. ἔπειτα συνθάπτειν οὐδὲν εἴασεν, ἀλλὰ ἐν φοινικίδι καὶ φύλλοις ἐλαίαςθέντες τὸ σῶμα περιέστελλον. ἐπιγράψαι δὲ τοὔνομα θάψαντας οὐκ ἐξῆν τοῦ νεκροῦ, πλὴν ἀνδρὸς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ γυναικὸς τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποθανόντων. χρόνον δὲ πένθους ὀλίγον προσώρισεν, ἡμέρας ἕνδεκα· τῇ δὲ δωδεκάτῃ θύσαντας ἔδειΔήμητρι λύειν τὸ πάθος.

Furthermore, Lycurgus made excellent arrangements for their burials. First, removing absolutely all superstition, he did not prevent them from burying the dead within the *polis* and having the *mnemata* near the sacred places, thus making the youth familiar with such sights and accustomed to them, so that they were not disturbed by them and had no horror of deaths as polluting those who touched a corpse or walked among graves. Next, he allowed them to bury nothing with the body; instead they enfolded it in a *phoinikis* and olive leaves when they laid it away. When they buried it, it was not permitted to inscribe the name of the deceased, except for a man who died in war καὶ γυναικὸς τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποθανόντων.[[14]](#footnote-14) He fixed a short period of mourning, 11 days; on the 12th day they had to sacrifice to Demeter and end their grieving. (trans. Hodkinson 2000, 244-5; slightly modified)

There is, in addition, epigraphic evidence in the form of 28 inscriptions that have been found both in Sparta and in Lakedaimon more generally and that run in date from the fifth century through the Roman period (see Appendix 9 for a complete listing). These inscriptions are notable for their brevity and for the simplicity of the stones on which they are engraved. The text of these inscriptions almost invariably consists only of a name, given in the nominative, followed by the phrase ἐν πολέμοι.[[15]](#footnote-15) The stones are typically simple, unembellished stelaiof local marble, frequently with a top in the shape of a pediment, that measure on average about .50 m high and .25 m wide.

Past discussions of Spartan funerary practice have subjected the relevant literary texts to careful source criticism, and with good reason.[[16]](#footnote-16) One obvious difficulty is that the texts in question range in date from the seventh century BC through the secondcentury CE; they cannot be read synchronically without the clearly unwarranted assumption that Spartan burial practice did not change significantly for nearly a millennium. Furthermore, whereas Herakleides Lembos drew on a source, the Aristotelian *Politeia of the Lakedaimonians*, that likely did offer at least some reliable information about Sparta in the fourth century, Plutarch’s descriptions of Spartan burial practice may present a composite of customs from different periods and cannot necessarily be taken as completely accurate.

With that in mind, we can begin with Tyrtaios F12, which includes the claim that the tombs of Spartiates who fell in battle received special honours. It is clear that in the middle of the sixthcentury and thereafter Lakedaimonian soldiers were interred on the battlefields where they fell (Pritchett 1974-91, vol. 4: 241-6). It is, however, not clear precisely when that practice started, and there has been some discussion as to whether the tombs imagined by Tyrtaios were located on battlefields or in Sparta itself; the tendency has been to see them as having been located in Sparta.[[17]](#footnote-17)

One might, therefore, draw a (distinctly tentative) connection between the two-level tomb in BB 117A in Sparta that dates to the second quarter of the sixth century and the type of burial mentioned by Tyrtaios.[[18]](#footnote-18) That tomb seems to have been exceptional with respect to its design and grave goods, and it is possible that its original occupant was a Spartiate who was killed in battle. One might note in that regard that some scholars have read Tyrtaios F12 as evidence that Spartiates who were killed in battle received heroic honours,[[19]](#footnote-19) which calls to mind the (unsubstantiated) claim of the excavator of the two-level tomb that it was the site of some sort of cultic activity (Raftopoulou 1998, 134). Its location (in BB 117A), on the northern slopes of Gerokomeiou hill and hence just to the south of Palaiokastro hill puts it quite close to the acropolis of Sparta, which would seem to be an appropriate site for such a burial. Indeed, Pausanias (3.14.1) informs us that near the theatre there was a cenotaph for Brasidas and tombs for Pausanias the Regent and Leonidas, which suggests that honoured war dead from the Persian and Peloponnesian wars were buried on the south side of the acropolis.[[20]](#footnote-20)

The Classical-period tombs in Sparta, both extramural and intramural, are relatively simple (the majority are humble pits), and grave goods are notable by their paucity. That of course calls to mind the statement of Herakleides Lembos that ‘graves are modest and the same for all’, particularly since Herakleides was probably summarising the Aristotelian *Politeia of the Lakedaimonians*, which was produced in the late Classical period.

With Plutarch we enter into more complicated territory. We begin with the passage from the *Moralia*, which forms part of the *Apopthegmata Lakonika*, which itself consists of three parts: the *Apopthegmata Lakonika* proper (a collection of aphorisms uttered by and anecdotes about specific Spartan men, 208a-236e); the *Instituta Laconica* (an episodic description of certain Lakedaimonian institutions and practices, 236f-240b); and the *Lakainon Apophthegmata* (a collection of sayings attributed to Spartan women, 240c-242d).[[21]](#footnote-21)

The passage on Spartan burial practice in the *Moralia* thus comes from the *Instituta Laconica*, which is now widely understood to consist of working notes that Plutarch used in writing biographies such as that of Lycurgus. Those notes drew heavily on a Hellenistic compilation of material on Lakedaimon, a compilation that was in turn based upon an earlier, unknown treatise on the Lakedaimonian *politeia*. The similarity between the passages on Spartan burial practice in the *Moralia* and the *Lycurgus* leaves little doubt that Plutarch reworked the passage from the *Instituta* in writing his biography of Lycurgus.

Given the textual history of the *Instituta Laconica*, the passage quoted above presumably purports to describe Spartan burial practice in either the Classical or Hellenistic period. That passage makes five basic claims: (1) there was no ban on intramural burial, (2) inscribed *mnemeia* were forbidden except for soldiers who died in war, (3) *mnemeia* could be erected near sacred places, (4) grave goods were prohibited, and (presumably adult male) corpses were buried only with military cloaks and olive leaves, (5) mourning and lamentations were forbidden. The last claim cannot be easily tested on the basis of the extant archaeological evidence, but the other four are worth examining in light of the newly available archaeological material.

The first claim corresponds neatly with the fact that intramural burials took place in Sparta straight through the Roman period. The second claim holds true for the Classical period but not the Hellenistic period. For the Classical period, the only certain inscribed memorials known from Sparta are the ἐν πολέμοι *stelai*, which date from the fifth century BC through the Roman period.

The precise function of the ἐν πολέμοι markers continues to be a subject of discussion. Given that, in the period when the ἐν πολέμοι *stelai* were being made, the Lakedaimonian army buried its war dead on or near the battlefield on which they perished, these *stelai* are unlikely to have stood over the burial sites of the persons named in the inscriptions.[[22]](#footnote-22) Jacoby suggested that these markers might have stood over the graves of men who died in Lakedaimon after having been wounded in battle, something which Hodkinson characterised, almost certainly correctly, as special pleading.[[23]](#footnote-23) Roberts raised the possibility that they marked cenotaphs for men who died and were buried on battlefields outside of Lakedaimon,[[24]](#footnote-24) but insofar as none of the 28 examples from Lakedaimon have been found in close association with a grave, and in view of the fact that one was found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (*IG* V.1.710) and three were found on the acropolis of Sparta (*IG* V.1.703, 705-6), that seems unlikely. The most likely explanation is that proposed by Roehl in 1876, namely that they were memorials set up by families in remembrance of men who died in battle and were buried abroad (Roehl 1876, 230). Hodkinson, in endorsing Roehl’s interpretation, makes the important observation that *mnemeia*, the term used in the *Instituta Lakonika* to describe the monuments erected in Sparta for Spartiates who died in battle, could refer to a grave, a grave marker, or a commemorative monument erected for a person buried elsewhere (Hodkinson 2000, 249-50). The first of those meanings appeared rather later than the other two, and in the *Instituta Lakonika* the term *mnemeia* seems to have one of the two latter meanings.

There are no other clear examples of inscribed epitaphs of any kind in Sparta prior to the Hellenistic period. There are 11 inscriptions from Lakedaimon, including a small number from Sparta, that might fall within the temporal parameters of this study and that have been interpreted as epitaphs. However, none of these inscriptions was found in situ, and the texts are sufficiently fragmentary or ambiguous as to permit a number of different interpretations. Insofar as none of those 11 inscriptions is self-evidently an epitaph from Sparta, they are not discussed here.[[25]](#footnote-25)

A major change with respect to grave markers is noticeable after the middle of the Hellenistic period, when the earliest certain examples of sculpted grave monuments appear in Sparta. Those monuments typically take the form of either naiskoior pedimental stelai; more than half of them include inscribed epitaphs. The most common depiction on these stelaiis a standing, cloaked male, but females and children also appear, as do warriors and individuals in the act of sacrificing.[[26]](#footnote-26)

It is also possible that some of the so-called ‘hero reliefs’ should be added to the list of Hellenistic grave markers. These reliefs have been found in small numbers (c. 50 in total) in stone and very large numbers in terracotta in Lakedaimon in general and Sparta in particular. The first examples of the stone reliefs date to the middle of the sixth century, the last to the late Hellenistic or early Roman period. The earlier stone reliefs typically depict a seated male-female couple with the male holding a kantharos; a snake frequently appears alongside the human figure(s). In a handful of instances these reliefs also show what seem to be adorants (on a much smaller scale than the seated figures). There is an iconographic shift starting in the early decades of the fifth century, with a movement toward depictions of a single seated male, sometimes accompanied by a standing figure who is an attendant or companion. Inscribed names are rare in the earlier examples but become more common with the passage of time.[[27]](#footnote-27)

The terracotta hero-reliefs, which almost certainly took their inspiration from the stone reliefs, begin slightly later, in the late sixth century, and then continued to be produced in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Their iconography is, as one might expect given their sheer numbers, somewhat more varied than that found on their stone counterparts and includes seated figures, standing figures, riders, warriors, and banqueters.[[28]](#footnote-28)

The current scholarly consensus is that in the Archaic and Classical periods the hero reliefs served as offerings at hero shrines. However, at least some examples from later periods are now believed to have been associated with graves of recently deceased individuals who were heroes only in the sense that they were understood to have some sort of continued existence after their death and were not the object of continuing cult activity (Hibler 1993, 201-3; Salapata 2014, 157-75). Hence, the claim found in the *Instituta Laconica* that inscribed *mnemeia* were forbidden except for soldiers who died in war seems to hold true for the Classical and early Hellenistic periods.

The third claim, that *mnemeia* (in the sense of grave markers) could be erected near sacred places, is more difficult to assess. It is important to note that the claim pertains to *mnemeia* in general (and not specifically inscribed *mnemeia*) and that the prohibition on inscribed *mnemeia* did not necessarily exclude the provision of grave markers without inscriptions. Based on the newly available archaeological evidence, it is apparent that, starting in the Protogeometric period and continuing at least through the Classical period, at least some Spartan graves were delimited on one or more sides by lines of stones placed directly on the earth, at the contemporary ground level. The periboloi in the Olive Oil Cemetery also served to mark and bound graves. In a few instances from earlier periods, there are traces of what might have been earth mounds or stone cairns. And of course it remains possible that Spartan graves were regularly marked in ways that were ephemeral or archaeologically invisible (e.g. with small mounds of earth or simple stone slabs that were subject to robbing and re-use). However, the absence of any traces of such markers in the Olive Oil Cemetery strongly suggests that the minimal evidence for grave markers in Sparta accurately reflects a lack of investment in that part of funerary practice.

It has been argued that at least some of the roughly two dozen large, terracotta vessels with relief decoration produced in Lakedaimon between c. 625 and c. 575 BC and found in or near Sparta were used as grave markers.[[29]](#footnote-29) None of them, however, have been found on or near a grave dating earlier than the Byzantine period (see Appendix 7); they are instead associated with sanctuaries. It seems unlikely, therefore, that they served as grave markers, and it has been plausibly argued that they were kraters that served as mixing bowls for banqueting that took place in sanctuaries (Stibbe 1989b, 65-7; Pavlides 2011, 90 n. 39, 147 n. 26). One might in the same vein mention a series of roughly 20 *stelai* decorated with anthemia that date to the fourth and third centuries and that have been found in and around Sparta; these might have served as grave markers, but here again none have been found in situ or in close association with burials.[[30]](#footnote-30)

There is, therefore, no clear evidence from Sparta for *mnemeia* other than the ἐν πολέμοι *stelai*, most of which were found in secondary contexts. One of those *stelai* (*IG* V.1.710, dating to the third or second century) was found at Artemis Orthia, which conforms to the claim that *mnemeia* were permitted near sacred places. However, there are obvious difficulties in extrapolating from a single *stele* dating to the Hellenistic period.

The fourth claim about Spartan burial practice in the *Instituta Laconica*, namely that there was a prohibition on grave goods other than military cloaks and olive leaves, is largely but not entirely validated by the archaeological evidence. 12 of the 16 intramural burials in Sparta dated to the Classical period contained no grave goods, and no information is supplied about the other four. However, one burial, dated to the late Archaic or Classical period, discovered in what appears to be an extramural cemetery located on the northern side of Sparta, did contain a single pot. The situation with the burials in the Olive Oil Cemetery is less than entirely clear because only one of the 18 burials in that cemetery that contained grave goods is assigned an explicit date in the preliminary excavation report. That burial was found in Tomb 21, which included a miniature black-glazed lakaina that dates to the sixth century. In addition, six of the 18 burials with grave goods contained complex kantharoid vessels, which the excavator dates to the Hellenistic period (Tsouli 2013, 162). Three burials contained coins, one of which dates to the Hellenistic period and two of which are too corroded to date; all three burials (one of which also contains a complex kantharoid vessel) are almost certainly Hellenistic in date. We are, therefore, left with one Archaic and eight Hellenistic burials with grave goods; it is impossible at present to provide a date for the other nine burials. There is some possible significance in the fact that none of the dated burials with grave goods can be assigned to the Classical period.

The question of whether or not the bodies of adult males were wrapped in their military cloaks cannot, at present, be answered with respect to any burial in Sparta itself. However, the 23 skeletons buried in the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians in Athens have been carefully studied, and they all seem to have been wrapped tightly in cloth – quite possibly in their military cloaks – at the time of burial (Stroszeck 2006, 104). Insofar as all of the individuals interred in that grave were Lakedaimonian soldiers and insofar as the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians can be firmly dated to 403,[[31]](#footnote-31) it is certainly possible that at least some of the adult males buried in Sparta received the same treatment.[[32]](#footnote-32)

Here again a major change is apparent in the Hellenistic period, when grave goods, especially in two-level tombs, become quite elaborate. It is difficult to supply a precise date when costly grave goods became acceptable because some of the relevant tombs are described in excavation reports simply as Hellenistic.[[33]](#footnote-33) However, the appearance of sculpted and inscribed grave monuments in the middle of the Hellenistic period may provide insight on that front.

The *Instituta Laconica* thus seems to provide a generally accurate picture of Spartan burial practice in the Classical and early Hellenistic periods. The claims that there was no ban on intramural burial and that inscribed *mnemeia* were forbidden except for soldiers who died in war are validated by the epigraphic and archaeological evidence. The claim that grave goods were prohibited and that (presumably adult male) corpses were buried only with military cloaks and olive leaves seems to have been true in most if perhaps not quite all instances. The claims that *mnemeia* could be erected near sacred places and that mourning and lamentations were forbidden cannot be tested on the basis of the archaeological or epigraphic evidence. The divergence between the description of Spartan burial practice in the *Instituta Laconica* and the realities of life in Sparta after the middle of the Hellenistic period suggest that the *Instituta Laconica* was produced sometime in the late fourth or third century.

As we have seen, the description of Spartan burial customs in the *Lycurgus* represents Plutarch’s own elaboration of the source material preserved in the *Instituta Laconica*. In the *Lycurgus* Plutarch makes a direct connection between the ἐν πολέμοι *stelai* and actual graves in Sparta, he adds the claim that, in addition to men dying in war, γυναικὸς τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποθανόντων also had the right to inscribed epitaphs, and he elaborates on limitations on mourning. With respect to the first of these, Plutarch seems to have misunderstood the accurate description he found in the *Instituta Laconica*. The claim about women receiving inscribed epitaphs has been the subject of ongoing scholarly debate that need not be reviewed in detail here, simply because the new archaeological evidence adds nothing to it.[[34]](#footnote-34) The same can be said about ostensible limitations on mourning.

In sum, the limited number of literary sources for Spartan burial practice, other than the passage from the *Lycurgus*, seem, on the whole, to correspond surprisingly well with the archaeological and epigraphic evidence. Where they can be tested, they appear to describe correctly Spartan burial practice in the specific temporal context to which they apply.

Appendix 9: Catalogue of Known Examples of ἐν πολέμοι *Stelai*

Notes:

1-The following table lists all of the ἐν πολέμοι *stelai* known to this author. This table is based on Hodkinson 2000, 250-6 and Tsouli 2013, 152 and n. 10, but includes examples not referenced in either of those works.

2-It is impossible to produce a useful distribution map of these *stelai*, primarily because most of them have been found in secondary contexts.

3-Wherever possible, inventory number from the Sparta museum (=SM) have been supplied.

4-For discussion of the function of these *stelai*, see Appendix 8.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| # | | reference | text | find site | description | date | bibliography |
| 1 | | *IG* V 1.701  SM (=Sparta Museum) 386 | Αἴνετος | ἐν πολέμο̅ι | Magoula | stele of grey marble, complete  .46 x .24 x .12 m  circular hole near the top | C5 BCE | Tod and Wace 1906, 60 #386  Zavvou and Themos 2006, 21 |
| 2 | | *IG* V.1.707 | Βαστίας | ἐμ πολέμο̅<ι> | Amkylai | copied by Fourmount | C5 BCE (?) |  |
| 3 | | *IG* V.1.1124  *SEG* XI.915 | Εὐάλκε̅ς | ἐν πολέμο̅ι | ἐν Μαντινέαι | Geronthrai | white marble base that supported some kind of cippus, largely intact  .40 x .35 x. 15 | 418 BCE? | Jeffery 1990, 202 #60  Bresson 2002, 29-34  Low 2006, 88-9  Zavvou and Themos 2006, 21  Sekunda 2010 |
| 4 | | *IG* V.1.702  SM 387  *SEG* XI.862 | ℎαιρήℎ[ιππος] | ἐν πολ̣[έμωι] | unknown | stele of grey marble, complete except on right  .29 x .16 x .09 m | lC5 or eC4 BCE | Tod and Wace 1906, 60 #387  Jeffery 1990, 201 #59  Zavvou and Themos 2006, 21 |
| 5 | | *IG* V.1.1125  *SEG* XI.916 | Τελεφάνε̅ς | ἐμ πολέμο̅ι | Geronthrai | stele of white marble, state of preservation not given but dimensions suggest it is largely or entirely intact  .52 x .25 x .15 | lC5 or eC4 BCE | Jeffery 1990, 201 #58 |
| 6 | | *IG* V.1.703  SM 377 | Αἰνηℎίας | ἐν πολέμωι | Sparta acropolis | stele of bluish marble, broken but complete  .40 x .22 x .08 m  circular hole near the top | eC4 BCE | Tod and Wace 1906, 58 #377 |
| 7 | | *SEG* XLVI.390  Astros Museum | Ὀνάηιμος | ἐν πολέμοι | Mari | stele of white marble with rough central anthemion flanked by half-anthemia at corners  .48 x. 25m x .09 m  circular hole on upper surface of central anthemion for attachment of crowning member, tenon at bottom  text inscribed almost stoichedon, about halfway up shaft of stele  found built into wall of courtyard of modern house at Τσιγκαραίϊκα Μαρίου | h2C4 BCE | Zavvou 1992-8, 297-8 #1 |
| 8 | | *IG* V.1.704  SM 954 | Νικαℎικλῆς | ἐν πολέμωι | Kefala, a few miles east of Sparta | stele of bluish marble with pediment  .34 x .17 x .06 | later C4 BCE | Woodward 1907-8, 139-40 #69 |
| 9 | | *IG* V.1.705 | ․․․․․ή̣μων | [ἐμ πολέ]μ̣ω̣ι | built into late Roman wall, on NE side of Acropolis (M12 on British plan) | stele of grey marble with pediment, fragmentary  .135 x .135 x .07 | C4 BCE | Woodward 1908-9, 75-6 #74 |
| 10 | *IG* V.1.1591  SM 1000 | | Ὀλβιάδας | ἐν πολέμ̣ω̣[ι] | Pellana | stele of limestone with pediment, fragmentary  .22 x .39 x .13 | C4 BCE |  |
| 11 | *SEG* XXXII.397  SM 6596 | | Γοργώπας | ἐν πολέμωι | Koutsoyourgas plot in Sparta | stele of grey marble with pediment, complete except for left edge of pediment  .475 x .24 x .115 | lC4 BCE | Papanikolaou 1976-7, 204 n. 2  Zavvou 2006a, 299 #181 |
| 12 |  | | Ὀναhίων | ἐν πολέμωι | Pellana (in secondary use in fill of road) | stele, broken on bottom  .25 x. 28 | late C4-h1C3 BCE | Soukleris 2012 with fig. 43 |
| 13 | *SEG* XLIX.390  SM 11721 | | Ἀινήhιππος | ἐν πολέμoι | Pellana | low, rectangular plinth of grey marble from base of grave monument with clamp cutting on top left side indicating presence of at least one adjoining block and indications on top surface that it originally supported superimposed block  .132 x .735 x. 715 m  found on ancient site of Palaikastro Pellana in Hellenistic level | c. 300 BCE | Zavvou 1999a, 66-7#6 |
| 14 | | *IG* V.1.708  SM 509 | col. I  Εὐρυάδης | ὀλυμπιονίκας | ἐμ πολέμωι  col. II  Τάσκος | ἐμ πο[λ]έ̣μωι  text added subsequently:  ⟦Ξένε πα[ροδεῖτα? …c. 7….]ΟΝ.⟧ | ⟦Ξ̣ΕΝ - - - Ε̣Σ⟧ | ⟦. Ο̣ …c. 7….ẠΜ̣Ε̣ ….c. 4 - - - ΟΣ⟧ | unknown | stele of bluish marble, broken but complete  .90 x .73 x .30  Zavvou shows that another inscription was added to this base in the second or first century BCE and subsequently cut away, leaving the original inscription intact | C3 BCE | Wilhelm 1892, 121  Tod and Wace 1906, 68 #509  Moretti 1957: 565  Zavvou 2004-9, 300 #5 |
| 15 | | *IG* V.1.918  SM 435 | Εὐδαίμων̣ | ἐμ πολέμ̣ω̣[ι] | Pellana | stele of white marble with pediment, complete except at foot  .25 x .32 x .05 m  found between Γεωγριτσιάνα Καλύβια and Χανί near road to Leonidaion | C3 BCE | Tod and Wace 1906, 64 #435 |
| 16 | | *SEG* XXXII.397 | Ἐχεμήδης | ἐν πολέμωι | Vresthena near Sellasia | rectangular block of white marble, apparently complete  .245 x .31 x .645 m  tentatively connected to Battle of Sellasia  IG V.1.921 found in same area | C3 BCE | Papanikolaou 1976/7 |
| 17 | | *IG* V.1.706 | Δειναγόρας | [ἐ]μ <πολ>έμ̣[ωι?] | built into late Roman wall on N side of Acropolis | copied by Fourmont | C3/2 BCE (?) |  |
| 18 | | *IG* V.1.710 | [- - -]π̣ος | [ἐμ πολ]έ̣μω[ι] | Artemis Orthia | stele of red marble, fragmentary  .17 x .10 x .042 | C3/2 BCE | Woodward 1907-8, 105-6 #4 |
| 19 | | *IG* V.2.251 | [- - -]ης ἐμ πολέμωι | Alea at Tegea | stele of dark marble, broken on left  .21 x .20 x .08  includes representation of a hoplite | C2 BCE |  |
| 20 | | *IG* V.1.709  SM 617 | [Ἱπ]π̣όνικος | [ἐμ πολέ]μωι | unknown | stele of reddish marble with pediment, state of preservation not given  .15 x .25 x .06 | C2 BCE (?) |  |
| 21 | | *IG* V.1.921 | Τελέστωρ | ἐν πολέμωι | Sellasia | no information supplied in *IG* | 221 BCE? |  |
| 22 | | *IG* V.1.1320 | Ὀναἱτέλης | ἐν πολέμωι· | χαῖρε | Thalamai | stele with pediment  .68m high  inscription on shield under which a sword and spear are represented | Roman (?) |  |
| 23 | | *SEG* XLVI.402  SM 11661 | [Κ]αλοκλ̣ῆ̣[ς] | ἐμ πολέμ[ωι] | Sparta | stele of red marble, broken on all sides  .225 x .184 x .056  found re-used as building material in demolition of old house at 74 Menelaos Street in Sparta | c. 100 BCE | Zavvou 1992-8, 297-8 #2 |
| 24 | | *SEG* XLII.330  SM 6665 | Πρατίων | ἐν πολέμωι | ? | includes representation of a hoplite  briefly noted in Steinhauer 241 n. 8 | C1 BCE | Steinhauer 1992, 241 n. 8  Zavvou 1992-8, 297-8 n. 2 |
| 25 | | *SEG* LIX.434 | Γ̣ο[…c. 6…]ς | ἐν [πολέμ]ωι |  χα[ῖρε] | Trachela in Messenia  (Thalamai?) | stele of grey marble with pediment, complete  .74 x .345-.385 x .595  below the tympanon in relief is a large round shield with crossed sword and spear behind it  at bottom of front panel is sculpted scene of two heraldic animals—added much later | C1-2 CE | Koursoumi 2009 |
| 26 | | *SEG* LX.404  SM 14435 | described by an excavator as an ἐν πολέμωι inscription but text not given | Sparta, to SW of theater | fragmentary base found in secondary usage | ? | Themos 2002a |
| 27 | | SM 6737 |  |  | unpublished |  | Zavvou 1992-8, 297-8 n. 2 |
| 28 | | Sulloge Mistra 466 |  |  | unpublished |  | Zavvou 1992-8, 297-8 n. 2 |

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1. Modern-day Sparta is divided into numbered building blocks, and the Greek excavation reports typically locate excavations by the building block number and the name of the owner of the plot (within that building block). That system was not in place when the British excavators worked in Sparta in the early part of the twentieth century, and they created a plan of the city with a grid system (see Fig. 4). Some of the areas plotted on the British grid are outside the numbered building blocks, and sites located in those areas have, where possible, traditionally been referenced on the basis of the British grid square. The same approach is adopted here, with the location of graves specified with a prefix starting with BB (building block) or BG (British grid). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Chronological periods are abbreviated as follows: PG (Protogeometric), G (Geometric), A (Archaic), C (Classical), H (Hellenistic), R (Roman). SM = Sparta Museum. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. It is possible that it contained an infant burial with no surviving osteological remains. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. That dating was accepted by a number of scholars. See, for example, Kurtz and Boardman 1985, 214-15; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 438 n. 47; Paraskevopoulou 2017, 24-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. The discussion that follows is strongly indebted to comments provided by Giorgos Steinhauer, the ephor responsible for Sparta in the 1970s, via personal communication in an email of November, 2016. In that email Steinhauer emphasises the dating information provided by the construction materials used in the kiln, the possibility that the vessels found in Tomb B are later intrusions rather than grave goods, and the absence of other reliable dating criteria. (He also points to the absence of information about the bone figurine of a horse from Grave C, and the fact that cist graves made from stone slabs were built in Sparta in a wide variety of different time periods – hence the form of the graves cannot be used for dating purposes.) [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. The constant process of building and rebuilding that took place in that part of Sparta makes it nearly impossible to rely on stratigraphy to date the graves. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Christou 1964b. See now Hodkinson 2000, 240-3 and the sources cited therein. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. On the amphora from the theatre, see Woodward 1925/6, 199-201 and fig. 7 and Christou 1964b, 172 #I and pl. 80-1, 97-8. On the amphora fragment cemented into the Roman-era floor, see Spyropoulos 1983. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Christou 1964c, 141. Christou also mentions finding three fragments of small vessels, which he neither illustrates nor dates, a small pile of bones not belonging to the corpse, and two pieces of small animal bones. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. One might also note in this regard that the dating of Lakonian black-glazed vessels remains to this day a less than entirely straightforward proposition. See, for example, Bonias 1998, 55. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Hasaki, in her comprehensive listing of ancient Greek kilns, dates this kiln to the late Antique period but provides no information on the criteria employed to arrive at that date (Hasaki 2002, 424 # 393). [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Byzantine-era kilns have been found at the following sites: (1) Groumpou plot in BB 104 (Raftopoulou 1994b), (2) the Loumou plot in BB 117 (Steinhauer 1973b), and (3) the site of the 4th Gymnasion/3rd Lykeion in BB 130 (Papagiotopoulou and Themos 2006). [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Sources that describe the burial of Spartiates on battlefields (e.g. Herodotus 9.85, Aelian *Varia Historia* 6.6) are excluded from consideration. On burials of Spartan war dead, see Pritchett 1974-91, vol. 4: 241-6 and Christesen forthcoming and the bibliography cited therein. Also excluded are sources of dubious evidentiary value that have been cited in past treatments of Spartan burial practice. There is an abundance of pithy sayings and striking anecdotes about Spartiate bravery in Greek and Roman literary texts. Their roots stretch back to laudatory accounts of Spartiate heroism in authors such as Herodotus, but they do not seem to have existed in any quantity before the fourth century and then to have multiplied rapidly thereafter. Collections of such sayings began to be assembled in the middle of the third century. (See Tigerstedt 1965-78, vol. 2: 24-30 and Hammond 1979-80.) There are, as a result, a number of later authors who have something to say, typically in passing, about Spartan burial practice. The passages in question include two epigrams of Dioskorides, who was active in the late third century, that are ostensibly funerary epitaphs for Spartiate soldiers buried in Sparta after having been killed in battle performing heroic deeds (*Greek Anthology* 7.229, 434). Those epigrams, and other Hellenistic epigrams bearing on Spartiate bravery, eventually found their way, in somewhat modified form, into Plutarch’s *Apophthegmata Lakonika* and *Lakainon Apophthegmata*. Those works include mention of Spartiate mothers burying their sons, who had been killed in battle, in Sparta and a Spartiate mother’s admonition to her son to come home with his shield or on it (in the latter case the presumption is that the body would be buried in Sparta) (*Apophthegmata Lakonika* Anonymous #51 = *Moralia* 235a; *Lakainon Apophthegmata* Anonymous #2, 8, 16 = *Moralia* 241a, c, f). The two epigrams by Dioskorides have minimal value as historical sources because they are purely literary products that were never inscribed on actual tombs in Sparta. As Pritchett argues, ‘it would be a mistake to regard these epigrams, particularly those of Dioskorides, as marking Spartan tombs and revealing Spartan burial customs...’ (Pritchett 1974-91, vol. 4: 243 n. 427). The pithy sayings of Spartan women about the burials of their sons are also of minimal value as historical sources. Spartiate bravery was a favourite theme of Hellenistic epigrammists, who freely reworked raw material from pre-existing sources. In the same category can be placed Aelian’s claim (*Varia Historia* 12.21) that Spartan mothers inspected the wounds of their sons who were killed in battle and that only those with frontal wounds were buried in families’ ancestral tombs. Nafissi used many of these sources to argue that in the fifth through third centuries, Spartiates who died in battle and who had greatly distinguished themselves for bravery were brought home for burial (Nafissi 1991, 294-306); Nafissi’s argument is decisively refuted in Hodkinson 2000, 253-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. The phrase ‘καὶ γυναικὸς τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποθανόντων’ is left untranslated because it has been the subject of long-running scholarly discussion. See, for example, Brulé and Piolot 2004. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. There is a shift over time toward replacing the second omicron in πολέμοι with an omega and to replacing ἐν with ἐμ. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. See, for example, Nafissi 1991, 277-341 and Hodkinson 2000, 237-70. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. See, for example, Nafissi 1991, 281. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Such a connection is suggested in Hodkinson 2000, 239. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. See, for example, Fuqua 1981. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. A shrine of some sort for Maron and Alpheios, two of the soldiers killed at Thermopylai, seems to have been located in the southern part of the city (Pausanias 3.12.9). [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. This and the following paragraph are based directly on the discussion in Hodkinson 2000, 37-43, 249-55. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. The passage from the *Lycurgus* makes a direct connection between *en polemoi* inscriptions and burials in Sparta, but this seems to be a speculative conclusion reached by Plutarch himself. See below for further discussion. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Jacoby 1944, 44 n. 28 (see also Pritchett 1974-91, vol. 4: 245); Hodkinson 2000, 253. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Roberts 1887, 267-8; cf. Papaefthumiou 1992, 8; Dillon 2007, 157. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. For a brief summary, see Pavlides 2011, 92. For further detail, see Christesen forthcoming-1. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. These grave monuments are discussed in detail in Papaefthumiou 1992. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Hibler 1993; Förtsch 2001, 178-80, 218-19; Salapata 2014, 105-24, 345-56. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. By far the most carefully studied group of terracotta hero-reliefs from Lakedaimon is that found at Amyklai; that group includes over 1,200 plaques and has been thoroughly published by Salapata. On the date of the terracotta plaques, see Salapata 2014, 46-62. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Hodkinson 2000, 240-3, who is more willing than I am to entertain the possibility that the relief amphora served as grave markers. Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 210-11, 276-8; Kennell 2010, 98. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Delivorrias 1993 is by far the most detailed publication of these *stelai*. See also Wace 1906-7, 11-12; Bakalakis 1958-9; Bakalakis 1965; Möbius 1968, 74-9, 119; Steinhauer 1975, 14. It is impossible to produce a useful distribution map of these *stelai*, primarily because all of them have been found in secondary contexts. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. The inscription on the tomb (along with Xenophon *Hellenika* 2.4.33) leaves little doubt about the occupants, all of whom were adult males, some of whom were found with weapons embedded in their bodies. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. See, however, the cautionary comments in van Wees 2018, 221. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. See, for example, Vlachakos 2010, 495. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. See Brulé and Piolot 2004 and the sources cited therein. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)