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Hero-Cult in Archaic and Classical Sparta: a Study of Local Religion

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PhD Thesis

The University of Edinburgh
Classics
2011

For my father

Signed Declaration

This thesis has been composed by the candidate, the work is the candidate’s own and the work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except as specified.

Signed:

Abstract

Hero-Cult in Archaic and Classical Sparta: a Study of Local Religion

This dissertation examines the hero-cults in Sparta in the Archaic and Classical periods on the basis of the archaeological and literary sources. The aim is to explore the local idiosyncrasies of a pan-Hellenic phenomenon, which itself can help us understand the place and function of heroes in Greek religion. Although it has long been noted that hero-cult was especially popular in Sparta, there is little known about the cults, both in terms of material evidence and the historical context for their popularity. The first, second and third chapters query the origin and development of hero-cults and challenge the traditional assumption that Helen, Menelaos and Hyakinthos were 'faded gods'. They also question the Dorian Spartan adaptation of Achaian heroes for political propaganda. Instead, the evidence at the Menelaion and the worship of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra, Orestes and others who remain anonymous to us, are viewed as a local phenomenon reflective of the developing communal and social consciousness in Archaic and Classical Sparta. The fourth chapter deals with the heroisation of the recently dead in the context of the possible posthumous heroisation of the Spartan kings and other important communal personalities. Thus, hero-cults are explained and interpreted as a changing phenomenon, which are influenced and shaped by societal dynamics at any given time. It is concluded that in Sparta the boundaries of the divine/heroic/mortal were fluid, which allowed a great variation in the expression of cults. The fifth and sixth chapters study the more intimate relationship of the individual to the hero through a survey of the votive deposits dedicated to heroes and an iconographical analysis of the votives, such as the stone and terracotta reliefs. The study of the archaeological record permits an analysis of the kinds of offerings to hero cults and an evaluation of the architecture that housed such cults. Because of the material and spatial distribution of the votive deposits, I conclude that Sparta had a large number of hero shrines scattered throughout the polis which attests to an enthusiastic and long-lasting local votive practice at a popular level.

Acknowledgments

The writing of this thesis has been a long journey of knowledge and inspiration that would not have been possible if it was not for a number of wonderful people.

First of all I would like to thank my supervisor Prof. Judith Barringer for her support, encouragement, advice and time spent reading, correcting and discussing the thesis with me. My thanks also go to Prof. Cavanagh, Prof. Hodkinson, Dr. Salapata and Richard Catling for taking the time to discuss with me various parts of my work, Dr. Flouris for sending me his PhD thesis, and Prof. Parker for giving me a copy of an unpublished article. I would like to thank the staff of the British School at Athens for an excellent space to work and creating a home away from home. The Baldwin Brown fellowship gave me the chance to study and research in Greece.

I would also like to thank my sisters, Rebecca, Ariana, Sharon and Naomi for their support, love and friendship, so needed and received, my mother for the endless amount of chocolate sent through the years and wonderful diners shared together. I would like to thank Christina, Britt, Adam and Jenny, my friends at the Classics department in Edinburgh and my friends at the British School at Athens. I would also like to express my gratitude to Shane for taking the time to help me with my written English and for his encouragement, love, support and friendship.

Maya taught me how to relax and smile and Loukoumas and Matilda always gave me their affection.

Lastly, but most importantly, I would like thank my father and grandmother who through their endless devotion, love and encouragement have kept me strong.

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Abbreviations

Journal abbreviations are those of *L'Année philologique*. For internal references within the thesis I use the form: chapter 1, section 2=§1.2.

AAA	*Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών.*
ABV	Beazley, J. D. 1978. *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters.* New York.
Add^{2}	Carpenter, Th. H., *et al.* 1989^{2}. *Beazley Addenda. Additional references to ABV, ARV*^{2} *and Paralipomena* Oxford.
ArchDelt	*Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*
ARV^{2}	Beazley, J. D. 1963^{2}. *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters.* Oxford.
CVA	*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum.*
Davies, *PMGF*	Davies, M. (ed). 1991. *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta.* Oxford.
Dawkins, *Orthia*	Dawkins, R. M. (ed.). 1929. *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (The Society of the Promotion of Hellenic Studies London, suppl. 5). London.
DK	Diels, H. 1985. *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker,* revised by W. Kranz. Zürich.
EGF	Davies, M. (ed.). 1988. *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta.* Göttingen.
FGrH	Jacoby, F. (ed.). 1923-. *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker.* Berlin; Leiden.
Gerber	Gerber, D. E. (ed). 1999. *Greek Iambic Poetry from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC.* Cambridge MA.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae.*
IGA	Roehl, H. 1882. *Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae.* Berlin.
LGS	Prott, de J. and L. Ziehen (eds.). 1896. *Leges Graecorum Sacrae.* Leipzig.
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* I-VIII.
LSAG^{2}	Jeffery, L.H. 1990. *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*. Oxford.
M/W	Merkelbach, R and M. L. West. 1967. *Fragmenta Hesiodea.* London.
Neue Pauly	*Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antik.* Vols. 1-16. Stuttgart.
New Pauly	*Brill's New Pauly. Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World.* Vols. 1-15. Leiden.
PCG	Kassel, R. and C. Austin (eds.). 1991. *Poetae Comici Graeci*, vol. II. Berlin.
Page, *PMG*	Page, D. L. (ed.). 1962. *Poetae Melici Graeci.* Oxford.
Para	Beazley, J. D. 1971. *Paralipomena, Additions to the Attic Black-figure Vase-Painters and to Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters.* Oxford.

POxy	Grenfell, B. P, Hunt, A. S., *et al.* 1898-. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri.* London.
Praktika	*Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν ‘Αθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας.*
P-W	*Pauly's Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumwissenschaft,* edited by A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, *et al.* Stuttgart.
Rose	Rose, D. 1966. (ed.). *Aristotle. Fragmenta.* Stuttgard.
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.*
SGDI	Collotz, H., Bechtel, F., *et al.* 1884-1915. *Sammlung der Griechischen Dialektinschriften* I-IV. Göttingen.
SIG^{3}	Dittenberger, W. 1982^{3}. *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.* Zurich.
Snell	Snell, B. (ed.). 1964. *Pindai Carmina cum Fragmentis.* Lipsiae.
ThesCRA	*Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum.*
West	West, M. L. 1972, 1991. *Iambi et Elegi Graeci,* vol. I-II. Oxford.

Ancient Authors

I keep with the Greek spelling of ancient authors through the thesis. For some authors I use the anglicised version, such as Plutarch or Aristotle. Abbreviations are those of *ThesCRA* with the exception of the following:

Arist. *Lak. Pol.*	Aristotle *Lakedaimonion Politeia*.
Dem. *Epit.*	Demosthenes *Epitaphios*
Isokr. *Arch.*	Isokrates *Archidamos*
Isokr. *Panath.*	Isokrates *Panathenaikos*
Lykurg. *Leocr.*	Lykurgos *Against Leocrates*
Philod. *de mus.*	Philodemos *de musica*
Philostr. *Gymn*.	Philostratos *Gymnastika*
Plut. *Mor.*	Plutarch *Moralia*
Procl. Aeth. En.	*Procli Aethiopidos Enarratio* (*EGF*)
Procl. Cyp. En.	*Procli Cypriorum Enarratio* (*EGF*)
Procl. Il. Par. En.	*Procli Iliadis Parvae Enarratio (EGF)*
Procl. Tel. En.	*Procli Telegoniae Enarrato (EGF)*
Stob. *Flor.*	Stobaios *Anthologies*

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Lakonian Chronology

Lakonian chronology has been thus far based on the early excavations from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia and the Menelaion. As the proper publication of the material of the Menelaion in pending a more detailed report was available to me for the lead figurines from which it can be can be concluded that the chronology results from the early excavations have been significantly rethought and revised.1 This chronology is based on Cavanagh's draft for which Lead I=Lakonian I; Lead II=Lakonian II and so forth.

Lakonian 0: 700-600 B.C.

Lakonian I: 650-600 B.C.

Lakonian II: 610-575 B.C.

Lakonian III: 575-550 B.C.

Lakonian IIIB-IV: 575-525 B.C.

Lakonian V-VI: 450-300 B.C.

Lakonian VI: 300-250 B.C.

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1 I thank Prof. Cavanagh for giving me a draft of the forthcoming publication of the lead figurines from the Menelaion.

Introduction

Problem and Previous Research

Hero-cults are found all over the Greek world. Many are dedicated to pan-Hellenic heroes, such as Herakles, or Asklepios, but other heroes mattered only to their own polis, such as Theseus. Some were even unattested outside the polis that worshipped them, such as Astrabakos, a hero of Sparta. Different types of cults dedicated to heroes existed within the Greek poleis, some resembled more divine cults and were accompanied by large temples, such as that of Asklepios, while others had more humble precincts consisting merely of an enclosure. The way the heroes were worshipped also varied. Some heroes would receive annual lamentation, others were offered sacrifice in the same manner as divinities and other would be given festivals. In general, there were many types of heroes whose cults varied across a large spectrum of religious expression. In Sparta, hero-cult was a heterogeneous phenomenon. The cult to Menelaos and Helen resembled divine cults more closely than heroic ones. Others were centred around the hero's grave, such as that of Orestes, while still others focused on the worship of heroes who were not typically Lakonian, such as Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra. Regardless of how hero-cult was expressed, it was an integral part of the religion of a polis. What is more, cults to heroes often expressed the identity of the polis, because heroes were usually, though not exclusively, place specific. The study of hero-cult, therefore, offers an insight into the local customs and beliefs of a particular polis.

The aim of this thesis is to explore the local idiosyncrasies of a pan-Hellenic phenomenon which can help us understand the place and function of heroes in Greek religion. The approach to this aim is twofold. Firstly, this thesis focuses on the heroes who were worshipped in Sparta in the Archaic and Classical periods and the reasons behind the commencement of their cults. It places these cults in the context of hero-cult in the wider Greek world but emphasises the need for a local reading in order to achieve a clearer understanding of their position in Spartan society. Secondly, this thesis concentrates on the more intimate relationship between worshipper and hero through the study of the votives and shrines of heroes in Archaic and Classical Sparta.

There are two basic problems with our understanding of hero-cults in Sparta. First, scholarly focus on Greek religion tends to disregard local variations in cults and beliefs. Many of the conclusions drawn regarding hero-cults in Sparta are based on a general understanding of Greek religion which often disregards local peculiarities. Second, our view of hero-cult is affected by a 'polis-centric' approach, also known as 'Polis Religion',[2] whereby one viewing the religion of a polis usually focuses on the large sanctuaries and cults, thus regarding the polis itself as the basic unit of Greek social and religious life. However, this approach ignores the more personal aspect of religion, such as the relationship of the individual to the divine or heroic and does not take into account smaller cult sites and shrines, many of which dedicated to heroes.

---

[2] Sourvinou-Inwood 2000.

Local Variations in Cults and Beliefs

It is important to note that inasmuch as Greek religion has some uniformity in terms of who the divinities were, such as Apollo, Athena and Artemis (as Herodotos famously states, 8.144.2) there is no consistency in Greek religion as no dogma or religious book existed in the Christian sense. Because of this, Greek religious customs varied from polis to polis, even if pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, such as at Delphi or Olympia offered religious unity. Local idiosyncrasies can be evident in an otherwise, but not exclusively,[3] local epithet designated to a divinity, such as Artemis Brauronia, together with local rituals, festivals and customs associated with a cult site.[4] However, general works on Greek religion often focus on the more universal aspects of deities and their cults.[5] For example, Aphrodite is generally a divinity of beauty and sexuality but the idea and way of worshipping Aphrodite varied from polis to polis. By approaching Greek religion as a uniform model we risk generalising and making assumptions without taking into consideration local customs. This is by far the biggest problem when it comes to understanding peculiar local customs that do not ‘fit’ with our generalisations concerning Greek religion. As Kindt most recently explains: ‘many general introductions to Greek religion show an intrinsic and ultimately resolvable tension between local religious beliefs and practices and Greek religion more broadly’.[6] Regarding Greek myths and local variations, Price similarly concludes that Greek myths were not rigid and that it is important to take into account the individual telling or representations of myths.[7] The way to understand the religious customs of a polis is to take into account local variation as well as external influences.[8]

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[3] For example, Artemis Limnatis was worshipped in many areas in Lakonia and Messenia (Luraghi 2008, 24, n. 35, 123).

[4] For cult epithets see Parker (2003). He argues that epithets highlight the divinity’s functions and sphere of activity, which can be in accordance with mortal needs. In other instances the epithet can reflect the location of the cult site. See also Wallensten (2008, 83-95) for the cult epithets of Isis Aphrodite on Hellenistic Delos.

[5] Burkert 1985, 119-89. However, the recent series of publications by Routledge on ‘Gods and Heroes of the Ancient Greek World’, including Graf (2009) on Apollo, take on individual deities and explore their nature and cults in different poleis.

[6] Kindt 2009, 20.

[7] Price 1999, 15; cf. Kindt 2009, 21.

[8] Cole 1994, 317; Kindt 2009, 23. See for example two works by Parker (1996 and 2005a) which focus specifically on Athenian religion. The recent volume edited by Ogden (2007) also includes polis-specific studies on the religious systems at Athens, Sparta Alexandria and Arcadia. Other works that deal with the religion of particular regions include Schachter (1981-94) on the cults of Boiotia, Graf (1985), Jost (1985) on the cult of Arkadia, and Bruneau (1970) on the cults of Delos during the Hellenistic and Imperial times.

When it comes to Sparta, we know that Spartans participated in pan-Hellenic competitions and dedicated votives in Olympia and Delphi, thus indicating that they adhered to a homogenised Greek religious expression. Nonetheless, they had their own religious customs at home.[9] Sparta's particular religiosity is well known by her delaying of military action before the battle of Marathon (Hdt. 6.106) and her refusal to send a larger force to Thermopylai because of a festival (Hdt. 7.206) among other examples. The peculiar local religious customs of the Spartans have recently been highlighted by Flower who emphasises the military attributes of many Spartan divinities, such as Apollo (Paus. 3.19.2-3; 3.10.8), Aphrodite (Paus. 3.15.10), Artemis Orthia and Athena (*Mor.* 239a and 232d).[10] Other Spartan religious peculiarities are the *dokana*, a symbol of the Dioskouroi (Plut. *Mor.* 478a-b) also depicted on a Lakonian Classical relief.[11] Further, the large numbers of hero-shrines dedicated to historical personalities, such as Kyniska, the sister of king Agesilaus (Paus. 3.51.1), and Maron and Alpeios, who died at the battle of Thermopylai (Paus. 3.12.8), may provide evidence for another local practice of heroising the recently dead.[12] All in all, Sparta had its own religious customs just as other poleis likewise had their own.

The absence of a systematic study that takes into consideration Spartan local habits means that the interpretation of Spartan hero-cults has been influenced by generalisations regarding Greek religion and hero-cult. For example, studies of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries often viewed heroes as 'faded gods'.[13] Usener believed that heroes who were not historical figures (such as the *oikistes* or the heroised recently dead) were in fact originally gods; he interpreted Asklepios, the Dioskouroi and Helen as deities who acquired a mortal character later.[14] Harrison regarded heroes as pre-Olympian *daimones* and likewise interpreted heroes as faded deities who were connected with fertility and regeneration.[15] This view has many opponents who have seen as flawed the origin of heroes as faded gods. [16] And yet, even if modern scholarly consensus has moved away from seeking the origins of heroes in previous deities,[17] some heroes in Sparta are still viewed as having been faded gods. A 'victim' of this scholarly interpretation is Helen who has been repeatedly regarded as deity, in particular a fertility goddess, who was demoted to a heroine in the historical period.[18] Likewise, scholars have rushed to interpret Hyakinthos as a pre-Dorian deity whose cult was taken over by Apollo at Amyklai; Hyakinthos is also seen as an old fertility god reduced to a hero.[19]

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[9] Flower 2009, 197.

[10] Flower 2009, 202-3. The cult statue of Artemis Orthia is depicted as armed on third-century A.D. coins (Grunaer-von Hoerschelmann 1978, 103-4, 196, pls. 28, LVI, 6; 29, LVII, 1-3.

[11] Sanders 1992b, fig. 70.

[12] It is, however, dangerous to rely on Plutarch and Pausanias for Spartan religious customs because by the Roman period Sparta had become a major tourist attraction which played on its own glorious past (Tigerstedt 1965). Rather, later literary sources should not be used to interpret Spartan religious customs in the Archaic and Classical periods – a view that has already been stressed by historians studying Spartan civic institutions.

[13] Pfister 1909, 377-97; Harrison 1912, 260-318; Usener 1948 (first edition in 1896), 252-73.

[14] Usener 1948, 255.

[15] Harrison 1912, 260-3, 271,

[16] Foucart 1918, 1-15; Farnell 1921, 280-5; Rohde 2000, 117, n. 23.

[17] Burkert 1985, 205-8; Ekroth 2002, 21.

The problem with understanding Spartan hero-cults is not purely theological. Given its unique societal organisation system, its hegemonic prospects in the Archaic Peloponnese, and its Dorian background Sparta has for most of its scholarly history been seen as different and therefore segregated.[20] Scholars relying on literary sources focused on the militarisation of Sparta's societal organisation driven by an aggressive attitude towards its neighbours.[21] Sparta's Dorian 'other' has also been stressed in view of its hero cults. Because Sparta worshipped heroes who were Achaian, such as Menelaos, Agamemnon and Orestes, scholars correlate the worship of Achaian heroes in Sparta with the polis' hegemonic prospects in the Peloponnese during the Archaic period.[22] In general, the commencement of many hero-cults in Sparta is viewed as the outcome of a conscious ethnic ideology applied to heroes and it is assumed that Sparta worshipped a number of heroes to cater to its political propaganda. There is, however, little common opinion on when these cults commenced, how local legends perhaps current in Sparta may have the influenced the choice of heroes, or how these cults would have been received in Sparta.

The stress on Sparta's peculiarities has not only affected the scholarly perception of the cults of mythical heroes but also the cults of the recently dead. Because Sparta focused on the militarisation of its citizens, scholars have seen the heroisation of those who died fighting in battle especially appealing.[23] The heroisation of the Spartan kings has also been a controversial subject that has found little agreement among scholars.[24] Inasmuch as scholars have disagreed over the heroisation of the recently dead, there has never been an examination of the heroisation of the recently dead Spartans that took into consideration local Spartan burial customs and its attitude towards its dead.

In regards to local religion, the study of a polis' hero-cults is important because heroes are by nature place-specific and linked to a locality by myth, as for example were Theseus in Athens, Orestes at Sparta or Agamemnon at Mycenae. The localised nature of heroes is even more obvious because heroes do not receive epithets indicating their locality, such as Poseidon Tainaros or Artemis Mounichia, because there is no need for them.[25] Other pan-Hellenic heroes, such as Herakles, Asklepios and the Dioskouroi, were traditionally seen as heroes but were often called divine.[26] Therefore, by studying the hero-cults of a polis, and in this study those of Sparta, one can achieve a unique perspective of the local religious customs of the polis itself.

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[18] Bowra 1960, 52; West 1975, 8-10, Clader 1976, 44-62; Skutsch 1987; Larson 1995, 78-9, Jackson 2006, 56-72; *contra* Farnell 1921, 323-5.

[19] Dietrich 1975, 134, 137-40; Burkert 1985, 351; Cartledge 2002, 80; Vlizos 2009, 22.

[20] Dickins 1912, 17-9; Huxley 1967.

[21] Huxley 1967.

[22] Kardara 1975; Antonaccio 1992, 103; Hall 2000, 87; Salapata 2002a, 141; Phillips 2003.

[23] Bowra 1933; 2201, 345; Fuqua 1981; Boedeker 1998b; 2001.

[24] Cartledge (1987, 339-41; 1988) and Nafissi (1991, 290) argue for heroisation of the Spartan kings, *contra* Parker 1988. Lipka (2002, 248-51) thinks that Spartan kings were heroised only in exceptional circumstances.

The 'Polis-Centric' Approach

The second problem facing our knowledge of hero-cults in Sparta is reflective of the scholarly focus on the large sanctuaries and cults of a polis. Greek religion is most commonly examined in the context of civic religion whereby a city's large sanctuaries and cults as seen to form the focus of the religious life of its citizens.[27] As Sourvinou-Inwood states 'The polis was the institutional authority that structured the universe and the divine world in a religious system, articulated the pantheon with certain particular configurations of divine personalities, and established a system of cults, particular rituals and sanctuaries and a sacred calendar'.[28] However this view both ignores the smaller shrines and cults in a polis that may not have been of state importance and disregards the smaller cult sites located near houses and in neighbourhoods that often formed a personal aspect of Greek religion.[29] It also does not take into consideration aspects of cult and ritual that are not part of large state organised cults.[30] It is not, however, the case that absolutely no scholarly interest has been taken in the smaller shrines. Some studies are devoted to the smaller sanctuaries and cults in Greek cities, especially in Athens and Corinth.[31] Two recent studies have raised this issue, in particular Faraone and Boedeker who deal with domestic cults in a volume of essays focusing on household religion.[32] Still, general books on Greek religion have chosen to ignore this aspect of Greek religion.[33] Part of the problem is that smaller cult sites do not always survive archaeologically, even less so for cults located in houses.[34] The choice to overlook smaller shrines and cult sites disregards an vital aspect of Greek religion that must have been of importance to the inhabitants of a polis, as the location of many shrines near houses reveals. Accordingly, many of the smaller cult sites would have been dedicated to heroes, a conclusion supported by the literary evidence.[35]

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[25] Kearns 1989, 3. Parker (2003, 175) compares the use of epithets for divinities with that of heroes who do not usually have one. In contrast, divinities would be named with an epithet signifying their locality but this was not necessary at their sanctuary. For example Artemis Brauronia would not receive dedications as Brauronia at her sanctuary but only as 'Artemis' (idem, 177 n. 32).

[26] For example Herakles is called a hero-god in Pindar (*N.* 3. 22) and sources also call him a god (Xen. *An.* 6.2.15). For the nature of Herakles see Lévêque and Verbanck-Piérard (1992, 85-106) and Georgoudi (1998b) who regard him as being closer to a divinity. Stafford (2005) argues for a double nature of Herakles, sometimes as a hero and other times as a divinity. For Asklepios see Verbanck-Piérard (2000, esp. 301-28) and *LIMC* I. II, 863-6. For the Dioskouroi see Farnell 1921, 175-228; West 1974; Hermary 1978; *LIMC* III. I, 567-93.

[27] Burkert 1985, 276; Sourvinou-Inwood 2000.

[28] Sourvinou-Inwood 2000, 19

[29] Rusten 1983; Kearns 2010,152-61.

[30] Problems have been highlighted within Sourvinou-Inwood's model of 'polis religion'. See Cole (1994, 297-306) on identifying the patron gods of the polis and on the Atheno-centric view of polis religion, Burkert (1995) on definitions of polis religion and the occurrence of religion beyond the polis, such as at pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, and Morgan (2003) on Greek religion and ethne.

[31] Athens: Wycherley 1970. Corinth: Williams 1981.

[32] Boedeker 2008; Faraone 2008.

[33] See for example some general books on Greek religion, such as Burkert 1985; Zaidman and Pantel 1992; Bremmer

Moreover, the polis model of religion ignores the individual's experience with the supernatural and the question of how a person would perceive his/her local divinities or heroes. This is a personal aspect of Greek religion that is difficult to detect in the archaeological and literary record, but we know that it exists.[36] An individual's concern for their sick child resulting in a dedication to a deity is hardly a concern of the polis, even if the sanctuary in which the offering was made belonged to a major deity. Mikalson recently raises the issue of religion in the Greek family and village but he only focuses on Athens and he approaches the subject in terms of the individual members of the family and their role in civic cults.[37] Kearns examines the relationship of the individual and the hero in Attika.[38] Van Straten addresses the issue of votive reliefs as private dedications and how the iconography reflects the image of the worshippers giving offerings to a deity or hero;[39] his study, however, is based largely on fourth-century Athenian votives.

In Sparta the archaeological record offers evidence of hero-cult as a popular part of the religious habits of the Spartans,[40] but scholarly attention is likewise focused on the larger sanctuaries and cults. The Menelaion, for example, is often cited as the one of the earliest known cults to epic heroes.[41] The many stone reliefs found in Sparta and Lakonia, and interpreted as votives to heroes, have been the object of study of many scholars since the late nineteenth century.[42] The reliefs dedicated to the Dioskouroi have also received attention by scholars.[43] Lastly, a votive deposit consisting of terracotta reliefs, among other objects, confirms the cults of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra and has been the object of various articles by Salapata.[44]

1994; Buxton 2000 and Mikalson 2005 in which references to smaller shrines in a polis are absent. Kearns (2010), however, provides a section regarding literary attestations of smaller shrines.

[34] Faraone 2008, 210.

[35] The evidence is mostly collected in Rusten 1983.

[36] See recently Instone (2009) who collects the literary evidence concerning the individual's contact with the divine and Aleshire (1989) on the evidence from the Athenian Asklepion.

[37] Mikalson 2005, 133-57.

[38] Kearns 1989, 10-43.

[39] Van Straten 2000, 216-23.

[40] Parker 1989, 147-8; Richer 2007, 249-52; Jones, C.P. 2010, 14-5.

[41] Antonaccio 1994, 390; 1999, 120; Currie 2005, 100.

[42] Dressel and Milchhöfer 1877; Fürtwangler 1883-7; Andronikos 1956; Stibbe 1991; Salapata 1992; 1993.

[43] Sanders 1992.

[44] Salapata 1992, 1993; 1997; 2006; 2009.

However, apart from these cults, studies on Spartan society and religion focus on the large sanctuaries and cults, such as the sanctuary of (Artemis) Orthia,[45] the cults of Apollo at Sparta,[46] and the temple of Athena Chalkioikos.[47] The hero-cults of Sparta are examined only in terms of the iconography and style of the reliefs which the heroes received.[48]

Nonetheless, the archaeological evidence from Sparta shows that many smaller shrines existed throughout the city.[49] The archaeological record from various rescue excavations is rich in Archaic and Classical period terracotta reliefs dedicated to heroes. It shows that a plethora of shrines were scattered all over the city thus indicating that hero-cult in the Archaic and Classical periods was a popular part of Spartan religious customs. However, the existence of such smaller shrines has been altogether ignored with scholars choosing instead to focus on Pausanias' Sparta when they comment on the many hero shrines that existed in the city.[50] Therefore, even though it is recognised that hero-cult was especially popular in Sparta in the Archaic and Classical periods, there is little known about how the heroes were perceived by the Spartan themselves, what kind of shrines housed the cults, and what votives the heroes received. In general, their function and position in the religious sphere of Sparta have been left relatively untouched. This is in part because there is little surviving evidence of these shrines, but it is also the case that some have focused on the heroic temples of the Hellenistic and Roman periods which have survived better.[51]

Methodology

In order to establish the local customs of hero-cults in Sparta I highlight the different kinds of heroes that existed in Sparta and emphasise the heterogeneity of the hero-cults themselves. I investigate the cults of heroes who are usually interpreted as former divinities, the cults of heroes who are not thought to belong in Sparta because of their Achaian background, such as Agamemnon and Orestes, and the cults of the recently heroised dead. I also take into consideration a class of heroes whose identity is unknown to the modern audience: the receivers of the numerous deposits consisting of terracotta reliefs found around Sparta. I investigate the position of these cults in the religious lives of the Spartans and also try to analyse how the Spartans would have perceived these heroes. For evidence for the aforementioned cults, I concentrate on the archaeological remains when available but I also take into consideration the relevant literary and epigraphic material.

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[45] Dawkins, *Orthia*; Carter 1987; Parker 1989, 148, 151; Kennel 1995, 136-8; Richer 2007, 237-8; Kopanias 2009.

[46] Pettersson 1992; Parker 1989, 144, 146, 149; Richer 2007, 238.

[47] Dickins 1906-7, 142-56; Stibbe 2006, 127-33.

[48] Salapata 1992, 1993, 1997, 2006, 2009. Salapata 2002a offers one of the only studies of hero-cult in Sparta, that of Alexandra/Kassandra. See Sanders 1992b for the Dioskouroi.

[49] This is the subject of chapter six of this dissertation.

[50] Pausanias' preference for describing Archaic and fifth century monuments and his depreciation of Hellenistic and Roman artefacts has been noted (Arafat 1996, 36-42, 44-5; Bowie 1996, 210-11, 229; Porter 2001, 67; Hutton 2005, 64) as has his attraction to the religious rather than secular aspects of the polis (Bowie 1996, 210). His interest in religion resulted in one the greatest sources of religion for modern scholarship, particularly pertaining to local cults (Pirenne-Delforge 2004, 5-7, 10; 2008, 349-50). Regarding ancient Spartan religion, Cartledge remarks that Pausanias' evidence is 'simply indispensable' (Cartledge 2001b, 170; cf. Hutton 2005, 19-20). For a more careful reading of Pausanias see *infra* p. 8.

[51] See Stibbe (1989a, 83-94) for two examples.

It is important to make a note on the use of the literary material as evidence regarding hero-cult practices in Sparta and for local Spartan customs in general. The use of literary sources in order to understand Archaic and Classical Sparta is not without controversy because many authors are not Spartan, such as Herodotus and Thucydides, or others are later, such as Pausanias.[52] When possible I try to keep to the local sources, such as Tyrtaios and Alkman, or others who may have visited Sparta, such as Stesichoros. However, due to the lack of Lakonian literary sources after the sixth-century B.C. one cannot avoid using other authors. Nevertheless, I attempt to take into consideration their chronology: for example, Plutarch's writings are questionable for Archaic and Classical Sparta, unless other earlier evidence can support his claims. Likewise, Pausanias visiting Roman Sparta can be consulted for evidence that is contemporary to him but his writings should be read carefully when applied to earlier periods.[53] This is especially argued by Pirenne-Delforge who demonstrates many of the religious customs in Pausanias date from the Roman period and not earlier.[54] Therefore, as with other authors, Pausanias' claims are always discussed, questioned, placed against other evidence and sometimes rejected for the Archaic and Classical periods.

Chapter One deals with the use of the term 'hero' and the evidence for hero-cult in early Greek thought and practice. It order to examine the cult of heroes in Sparta it is necessary to establish a firm basis for the use and understanding of the terms in the Greek world. I will use the interpretation established in this chapter as a point of reference for Sparta. Since the use of the term 'hero' in the Homeric epics to describe the central protagonists is different to the use of the term 'hero' in later times I therefore begin by examining its use in early literature, especially in Homer and Hesiod. Moving away from the use of the word 'hero' I then search for evidence of hero-cult in early Greek literature even when the term 'hero' is absent. I focus on the works of Homer, Hesiod and the *Epic Cycle* for incidents of mortals who gain immortality. Having examined the literary sources I turn to the evidence for early hero-cult in the archaeological record. The large body of evidence spanning the tenth century Lefkandi burial to the Archaic cults over

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[52] The use of non-Spartan and later literary sources to understand Spartan practices has been widely discussed see *infra* p. 86, n. 20.

[53] Ekroth 1999, 157-8.

[54] Pirenne-Delforge 2006, 112-4, 127; 2008, 97, 284, 286-7. For the use of the past in Pausanias see idem, 2008, 41-3.

Geometric graves provides the reader with a view of the complexity of the subject matter. It is concluded that possible references to the cult of heroes seen in the early literary sources as well as the veneration of the dead at Bronze Age tombs or over Geometric burials are probably early forms of honouring beings from the distant past even though the recipients of cults were not called heroes at first. The chapter highlights the heterogeneity of the types of heroes and the changes that occur over time.

Chapter Two examines two cult sites whose recipients have been interpreted as deities who became heroes: the cult of Helen and Menelaos at the Menelaion and the cult of Hyakinthos at the sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai. I provide for each cult site an overview of the literary and the archaeological evidence. Since neither site is properly published I attempt to reconstruct the stages of the sanctuary life from the known evidence and information provided to me by the excavators. I challenge the view that Helen was a divinity who was demoted to a heroine in the historical period but instead argue that the archaeological evidence demonstrates that both Helen and Menelaos were local Spartan heroes whose importance in Sparta's legendary history deemed them worthy to become immortals. Their cult commenced in the early seventh-century, as did other hero-cults in Sparta, but their nature did not remain strictly heroic. The status of Helen and Menelaos in Sparta resembles more closely that of mortals who become immortals, such as Herakles and Asklepios. For Hyakinthos I re-evaluate the evidence that sees Hyakinthos as a surviving native deity whose cult was superseded by Apollo. Based primarily on literary sources and the evidence of the Hyakinthia in Sparta I conclude that it is only in the Archaic period that we can securely identify the presence of Hyakinthos at the cult site. His cult also resembles those of heroes who become immortals.

Chapter Three questions the use of ethnicity as a motivating factor behind the choice of heroes in Archaic Sparta. Since the Spartans saw themselves as Dorians who with the help of the Herakleidai came into the Peloponnese, it is generally accepted that the cults of Agamemnon and Orestes in Sparta were a conscious attempt by the polis to acquire Achaian heroes for its hegemonic interests in the Peloponnese. In order to establish whether ethnicity was a motivating factor behind the establishment of hero-cults, I analyse the extent to which the ethnic term 'Dorian' is applied and used in early Archaic Sparta and ask whether its application to this period is a fabrication of modern scholarship. The chapter then proceeds to examine the evidence for the cults of Agamemnon, Orestes and Tisamenos. The foundation of each cult is placed in the wider Spartan historical context of the time while the literary sources are also analysed and implications drawn for these cults. For the case of Agamemnon I stress both the alternate mythical traditions that place his kingdom not in Mycenae but in Lakonia and the fact that his cult at Amyklai in Lakonia dates from the seventh-century B.C. For Orestes and Tisamenos the evidence is only literary. I analyse the circumstances of the foundations of their cults particularly in relation to Sparta's foreign policy in the Archaic period. I question ethnicity as a motivating factor behind the establishment of the cults and argue instead that the traditionally legendary kings of Sparta (local heroes) would have been especially appealing for Sparta's aggressive attitude in the Peloponnese during the Archaic period, particularly since Sparta sought strength from its legendary kings.

Chapter Four examines the extent to which we can trace the Spartan heroisation of the recently deceased from the seventh to the fifth-centuries B.C. It analyses whether such heroisation is contemporary with the death of the individual or whether it was perhaps instituted later, either in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Focus is placed on the Spartan kings, recently dead prominent personalities, such as Chilon, and the war-dead. To fully understand the reason behind the heroisation of certain individuals it is necessary to look at both Spartan social organisation and burial customs. Therefore, this chapter begins with an overview of Spartan social structure in the Archaic and Classical periods before then offering a synopsis of the evidence for the treatment of the dead. I then examine the question of the kings and Chilon and try to understand what, in regards burial and social structure, may have prompted their heroisation. Lastly, the chapter evaluates the evidence for cults of the Persian War dead of Thermopylai and Plataia. For each battle I study the literal and metaphorical interpretations of texts with references to immortality, altars, precincts and offerings to the war dead. Since the evidence of heroic honours for the war dead is later I argue against an early date for such customs.

Chapter Five explores the iconography of heroes as rendered on stone and terracotta reliefs dating from the mid-sixth to the third centuries B.C. Although the third century is not within the scope of this thesis, I will include post-forth century reliefs in order to gain a more complete view of the iconographical rendition of heroes. This chapter focuses on how the Spartans chose to portray their heroes, why the heroes were rendered in a specific way and what does the homogeneity and anonymity of the heroes on the reliefs reveal about the cults of the heroes in Sparta. The first part of the chapter examines the depiction on the stone and terracotta reliefs of the enthroned seated male offered gifts by the adorants before then discussing the imagery found only on the terracotta reliefs: standing couples, the warrior, the rider, the standing triads and the banqueter. The second part of the chapter tries, based on the iconography of the reliefs and the reasons behind their homogenous imagery, to understand the type of hero who received these dedications. It is stressed that the heroes who received these votives remain largely unknown to us.

The homogeneity of the imagery on the reliefs and anonymity of the heroes places them in a different category of heroes to that of the Dioskouroi and the cult at the Menelaion. I argue that the receivers of the stone and terracotta reliefs form a group of local heroes and that the dedications to the heroes express the close nature of the worshipper to the hero.

Chapter Six examines the contexts in which the terracotta reliefs were found in Sparta in order to established what kind of other votives were dedicated to heroes and if any architectural evidence is known for the buildings that housed the hero-cults. In other words this chapter searches for the identification of hero-cult places in Sparta. It is important to explain what is meant by some of these terms:

For the definition of *cult* I follow Zaitman and Pantel who define it as ‘a complex of religious activities concentrated on one or more deities or heroes and including prayer, ritual sacrifice and dedication’.[55] For the archaeological identification of a cult place I follow Renfrew,[56] with my own alterations. I define a *cult place* as that of a natural spot, built structure or sacred zone which creates a boundary zone between the mortal and the ‘supernatural’ world, includes the presence of a deity/hero and involves the participation or offering by an individual or a group. It is not that identifying a cult place can always be straightforward. Naturally, large temples with inscribed dedications and statues would deem the designation of a cult place relatively clear. However, other times, especially for smaller shrines, the identification of a cult place is based on the concentration of items, such as terracotta figurines, miniature vases and, in the case of Sparta, lead figurines and terracotta reliefs.[57] This material can be used as an identification marker for votive ritual.[58]

The first part of the sixth chapter offers a survey of the sites and the material evidence in terms of votives, e.g. terracotta reliefs, terracotta-figurines, lead-figurines, pottery, and architectural evidence, if known. Unfortunately, the material from the deposits remains largely unpublished. My repeated applications to the E’ Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical antiquities in Greece for a permit to access these unpublished finds have been unsuccessful because the material is not published. As a result of this, the chronology of some of the deposits is not always clear. Due to the incomplete publication of the excavation reports, the relationship of the votives to any architectural remains, which also for the most part remain undated, is also vague. Nevertheless some provisional results help illuminate the types of votives that heroes received, the lifespan of the cults and especially their comparison with the larger sanctuaries of Sparta.

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[55] Zaitman and Pantel 1994, 9. See Christensen (2009, 20-1) for a discussion of the use of ‘cult’ in Classical studies. Christensen criticises its use by Classicists who do not usually define its meaning and fail to make clear that it is not used in antiquity.

[56] Renfrew 1994, 51.

[57] See Renfrew (1985, 24).

[58] As a definition for ritual I use Zaitman and Pantel 1992, 27: ‘A ritual is a complex of actions effected by, or in the name of, an individual or a community. These actions serve to organise space and time, to define relations between men and gods, and to set in their proper place the different categories of mankind and the links that bind them together’.

The second part of the chapter offers a discussion based on the results of this survey. It introduces comparative material from hero shrines located elsewhere in the Greek world, in particular Athens and Corinth, in order to understand not only the types of shrines that may have received this kind of votives but also the position of these shrines in the religious life of the polis.

It is important to note that cults at Bronze Age tombs are not attested in Lakonia, which is a great contrast to neighbouring Messenia where such cults were prominent. Only a few Spartan examples may reveal later activity but they are infrequent when compared to other regions.[59] Because of this the thesis will not concentrate on any of the evidence of depositions at Bronze Age tombs in Lakonia.

It is also important to emphasise that this thesis does not treat of hero-cults outside of Sparta, i.e. in Lakonia. This is largely due to our sparse knowledge of Lakonian topography in terms of both settlements and cult sites. Apart from the cult of Teimagenes shared with a female deity, possibly Artemis, at Aigies near Gytheio[60] or the possible shrine at Angelona[61] there is little archaeological knowledge of other hero-shrines in Lakonia. A significant number of small, rural shrines attested in the *Laconia Survey*[62] and the many cult sites present in the catalogue of Lakonian sites[63] may in fact provide evidence of hero-cult but no excavation has been carried out. Moreover, the problem with Lakonian topography is one of land ownership. Studies have been conducted in northern Lakonia but because this territory was a source of dispute between Sparta and Arcadia, or Argos, it does not provide the most accurate representation of Spartan presence.[64] At other times it is not clear where the Spartan estates were located, although scholars believe that they must have been at the most fertile areas of the land.[65] Since, however, Spartan social structure required the men to live in the Spartan *komai* it would be more reasonable to believe that the land in Lakonia was either tended by *helots* or was *perioikic*.[66] Therefore the thesis will concentrate on the five *komai* of Sparta (Limnai, Pitane, Kynosoura, Mesoa and Amyklai) and will refer to sites or artefacts in Lakonia only in certain cases.

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[59] Antonaccio 1995, 69-70.

[60] Bonias 1998.

[61] Wace and Husluck 1904-5.

[62] Catling R. 2002, 218-24.

[63] Shipley 1996.

[64] Phaklaris 1990; Pikoulas 1988.

[65] For the extend and change in settlement patterns in rural Laconia, see Catling, R. 2002, 237.

[66] Bölte (P-W III, 1321-40) suggests a rigid demarcation between Spartan and perioikic land, but Shipley (1992, 217) and Hodkinson (2000, 139) do not believe there were strict areas occupied by Spartan and perioikic farms.

Chapter One

Early Heroes and Hero-Cult

In a critique of religious practices, Herakleitos commented that people do not recognize what gods and heroes are like (οὔ τι γιγνώσκων θεοὺ οὐδ᾽ἥρωας οἵτινες εἲσι, B 5 DK).[1] His observation, directed towards people's ignorance of the true nature of divinities and heroes, would be relevant today as studies in hero-cult tend not agree on the meaning of the term 'hero', what defines 'hero-cult' or where the origins of such cults should be sought. Some heroes existed only in myth while others only in cult and some both. There are heroes whose cults were pan-Hellenic, others who were worshipped only by their respective *poleis*, and others who were important to particular groups within a *polis*, such as the gene in Attica[2] or groups in a region, such as Messenia.[3] The chapter begins by providing the reader with a brief overview of the views and definitions of 'hero' and hero-cult in scholarly thinking. The discussion examines the use of the word 'hero' or any evidence of hero-cult in literary sources in Homer, Hesiod, and the *Epic Cycle*. It then gives an overview of the archaeological evidence from the Lefkandi burial, cults at Bronze Age tombs, cults over Geometric burials and cults of epic heroes. The section concludes with a definition of the term 'hero' as used in this study, which will aid our interpretation of hero-cult in Sparta.

1.1. Heroes and hero-cult in the literary sources.

1.1.1. *Definitions of 'hero'*

In the earlier studies of the fascinating but complicated topic of hero-cult, one of the first scholars to have investigated this area, Coulanges, interpreted heroes as survivals of old Indo-European institutions and thought of heroes as souls of ancestors.[4] Similarly Rohde viewed heroes as an aspect of ancient beliefs seen in the term *daimones* as forgotten beings closely related to chthonic deities and dead mortal men.[5] He called them 'spirits of the dead', cults of souls or ancestors.[6] The older views clearly reflected the extraordinary qualities of heroes, which set them apart from ordinary humans, and sought to understand the origins of heroes. When in 1921 Farnell wrote his famous work *Hero-cults and Ideas of Immortality* he confronted the views of previous scholars with scepticism.[7] He provided subsequent generations with greater clarity by creating categories of heroes, such as: a) heroes and heroines of divine origin or hieratic type, with ritual legends or associated with vegetation ritual; b) sacral heroes and heroines; c) heroes of epic and saga; d) cults of mythic ancestors, eponymous heroes, and mythic *oikistes* (city-founders); e) functional and culture-heroes; and f) cults of real and historic persons. Even if scholars today do not agree with all these categories Farnell's most important contribution still rests with illuminating the heterogeneity of the concept. Building on Farnell's diversity of heroes Brelich's study went a step further to suggest that it is unfruitful to categorize heroes and instead focused on identifying the common elements that heroes have but in variable patterns.[8] Broadly speaking scholars see two kinds of heroes: one a character of epic and one 'a deceased person who exerts from his grave a power for good and evil and demands appropriate honour'.[9] The latter definition can be seen in a broad spectrum of beings, such as *oikistes*, mythological beings, such as the Dioskouroi or Theseus, and the historically or recently dead, such as Brasidas.

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[1] Herakleitos here attacks the false understanding of gods and heroes that people have because they pray to statues (Kahn 1979, 266-7, no. cxvii with commentary).

[2] Kron 1976, 22, 28, 54; Kearns, 1989, 64ff.

[3] Boehringer 2001, 360ff.

[4] Coulanges (1991, 227-8; first edition 1864) thought of heroes to be in the same category as the Lares, Genii, Penates and Daimones.

[5] Rohde 2000, 118 (first edition 1894).

[6] Rohde 2000, 118-20.

The hero, as a person who was once alive and is now dead, prompted scholars, since the time of Nilsson to conceive that the original heroes were humans who had died and thus hero-cult originated from the cult of the dead,[10] – an idea that has remained even recently with Burkert's study of Greek religion who places hero-cult with sections of burial and the cult of the dead.[11] More recently the derivation of hero-cult from the cult of the dead has been rejected by Ekroth who demonstrates the rituals do not support this evolutionary model but are, in fact, closer to divine rituals.[12] The word ἐναγίζειν was used for both hero-cult and offerings to the dead but the offerings were different. The word θύειν is used for divine and heroic sacrifice. Thus, only heroes receive both ἐναγίζειν and θύειν. This conclusion has led Boehringer to argue that since a hero is a being between deity and man, the rituals that he receives can reflect both his qualities because he receives sacrifices in the same way a deity does but also those suited to a mortal. In general, cult to the dead was not a community event but a family one which constitutes one of the greater differences between hero-cult and rituals for the dead.[13]

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[7] Farnell 1921, 280-83.

[8] Brelich 1958.

[9] Burkert 1985, 203.

[10] Nilsson (1967, 715) argued for an evolutionary model.

[11] Burkert 1985, 190-99. See also Seaford 1994, 114-23 and Parker 1996, 34-35 who follows Seaford.

[12] Ekroth 1999 151-4; 2002, 140-69; 2009, 131 n.68; This is unlike earlier theories regarding sacrifice at hero-cults which relied on Roman and Byzantine literary sources and claimed that there was a holocaust sacrifice of the victim without dining afterwards. This theory supported a clear difference between Chthonian and Olympic sacrifice. Parker (2005b, 43) and Sourvinou-Inwood (2005, 330, n.5) agree that there was similarities with divine cults which may have differentiated over the course of time but there was still differentiation. For example a distinction of sacrifice between that for a hero and a god is evident in the fifth-century *lex Sacra* from Selinous (Jameson, et *al.* 1993, A 10, A 17; Scullion 2000). For an opinion that differentiates between Olympian and Chthonian sacrifice see Scullion 1994; 2000.

Attempts to find the linguistic origin of the word 'hero' in order to clarify its use has resulted in wide disagreement among scholars who cannot even concur over an Indo-European or a pre-Hellenic origin. The similarities with the word 'Hera' have been noted which prompted the pairing of the linguistic origin of the two words. The word 'Hera' has been proposed to derive from the word *iêr*, meaning 'year' or 'spring', making Hera a goddess of seasons and the yearly cycle and 'hero' her consort.[14] Others find the word *ieE-* as the stem which means youth and thus explain the later use of the word 'hero' in Homer.[15] Lastly, those who argue for a pre-Hellenic origin note the similarities of ἥρως and Μίνως and therefore see *Hera* and *hero* meaning mistress and lord.[16] These discussions, however, do not give much evidence regarding the later use of the word and therefore are not particularly fruitful for our discussion.

1.1.2. *The term 'hero' in Homer*[17]

The confusion over what constitutes a hero lies primarily with the changing meaning of the term hero from its earliest appearance as an adjective in the Homeric epics to the Hellenistic period when 'hero' could be used as a term for the recently deceased.[18] While the use of the term 'hero' in the epics merely meant 'lord' or 'noble' its use was not exclusively applied to personalities, such as Agamemnon and Achilles, but was used for everyone including the lower ranks, as well as entire armies.[19] In general, scholars, nonetheless, agree that the use of the word 'hero' in Homer is not religious and the characters of the epics are not regarded as objects of worship.[20] The reason why the characters of the epics are not religious has been a subject of debate in which it is stressed that since 'hero' is used in Mycenaean Greek, sometimes as an epithet as *δεσπότης, πότνια,* and *ἄναξ* and is used for both religious and non religious occasions,[21] the non-religious connotations survived in the epics. West thought that the local origins of the epics played a crucial role: in Ionia were the epics were developed the concept of a hero was secular in contrast to the mainland where the concept of the hero developed independently of the epic and was associated with the honoured dead.[22] Nagy also uses geography as a distinguishing feature and argues that since hero-cult is local and the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are pan-Hellenic poems then any allusions to the cult of heroes must be shed.[23] Other scholars seek to find explanations within the epics: Hatzisteliou-Price argued that the characters of epic cannot be objects of worship because they are part of the living.[24] Currie rather believes that hero-cult is absent from the epics because it is suppressed and he blames this on the literary aims, in that for the purpose of the epics death must be tragic and final.[25] In any case, the above explanations are not sufficient because the hero is not worhipped and therefore the term 'hero' does not have religious meaning in works even after the Homeric epics, such as those of Theognis (711), Hesiod (see below), Stesichoros (S137.3; S148.3 Davies, *PMGF*) Ibykos (S151.16, 19 Davies, *PMGF*) and Bakchylides (5.71; 9.56; 11.81; 13.104)[26] which cannot follow the same guidelines as the epics. The most reasonable explanation is probably that the word 'hero' simply was not used as a religious concept until later.[27]

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[13] See Boehringer (2001, 39ff) on the Anthesteria as a cult for the collective, anonymous dead and not the family dead as there was no visit to the grave. For a difference between hero-cult and that to the ordinary dead see Ekroth 2002, 21.

[14] O' Brien 1993, 114-5, n.1.

[15] Adams 1987, 177.

[16] O' Brien 1993, 114 for further discussion.

[17] There is a problem regarding the date of the Homeric epics over which not all scholars agree to have been composed in the mid-eighth-century but some see them reaching their final form in the seventh-century and even the sixth. For an eighth-century date see Rutherford 1996, 17-8; Powell, B.B.1991, 219-20; van Wees 1992, 22-3, 53-8, 158-62, 262-3; Morris 2001, 64-8. For a seventh-century date see Burkert 1992, 204, n.32; Taplin 1992, 33; Crielaard 1995, 274, n.285.

[18] Kearns 1989, 5, 132-3; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 199-216, 205-6; Parker 1996, 276. A practice which may have started early in Boiotia; see Plato Comicos fr. 77 (Lyons 1997, 23, n.84).

[19] Used for leaders: *Il.* 1.102; 6.61; 2.708; 15.121; 23.824. For armies: *Il.* 15.219, 230, 261, 702; 20. 326; *Od.* 1.100-1.Kearns 1989, 2; Barrigón 2000, 2; Van Wees 2006, 368 n.15.

[20] Kearns 1989, 2; Barrigón 2000, 2; *contra* Van Wees 2006, 366-70.

[21] There are two Linear B tablets from Pylos that feature the figure *ti-ri-se-ro-e*, who is the receiver of an offering from the central palace. On one of the tablets, PY Tn316, which mentions the records of offerings to various deities whose shrines seem to be in the district of *pa-ki-ja-ne*, *ti-ri-se-ro-e* receives a gold vessel in his shrine which also appears to

An author who may help clarify the status of heroes in Homer is Hesiod who uses the term as does Homer both for individuals and collectively. The occurrence is most noteworthy in the narrative of the five races of men in *Works and Days.* After the Gold, Silver, and Bronze races, Zeus creates a 'divine race of men who were heroes' (159-60).[28] The men of this race are called ἡμίθεοι and encompassed all the men who fought in the Theban and Trojan wars. The word 'ἡμίθεοι', as West explains, reflects the divine descent and parentage of the heroes rather than the semi-divine status that would imply worship.[29] Van Wees, however, argues that the word ἡμίθεοι is only used in the plural and that it refers to characters who surely do not have a divine parent and interprets ἡμίθεοι as a category of superhuman beings somewhere between mortals and gods that

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be in the district. On the other tablet, PY Fr1204, is recorded the sending of rose-oil to *ti-ri-se-ro-e;* the reading of the name is not certain (Bennett and Olivier 1973, 155; Van Wees, 2006, 367-8.). *ti-ri-se-ro-e* has been interpreted as *trisheros* meaning thrice hero (Antonaccio 2006, 383). Recently Antonaccio (2006) notes a similarity between the *trisheros* and the Tritopatores whose cult is attested in Athens and elsewhere in the historical period and who represent the collective ancestors.

[22] West 1978, 370-3.

[23] Nagy 1979, 116.

[24] Hatzisteliou-Price 1973a, 134.

[25] Currie 2005, 56-57.

[26] Bremmer 2006, 18 and n.30, 31.

[27] cf. Parker 1996, 33-9.

[28] The races of men were probably adapted from a Near Eastern model during the eighth-century, West 1978, 173-4; 176-7. Morris (2000, 231-2) dates the transmission to the eleventh-century.

[29] West 1978, 191.

existed at some point in the distant past.[30] This definition in turn can be paired with Nagy's claim who says that when Homer narrates the future events of the Trojan War, including the fallen and those yet to fall, in *Iliad* 12, he refers to the characters of the epics as the race of men who are ἡμίθεοι (12.33).[31] Here, Nagy stresses that Homer steps outside the narrative to talk about these events and only then, when the perspective of the audience is distanced, do the ἡμίθεοι appear because they are viewed as men who died in the distance past. Here then, Homer has called his heroes ἡμίθεοι in the same sense as Hesiod has, as a generation of great men who lived in the distant past and are now dead.[32]

1.1.3. *Hero-cult in early literature?*

Recently, Bremmer argues that since the word 'hero' does not appear in a religious context until Herakleitos it is not possible to talk about hero-cult earlier if we cannot be certain that there was a category of heroes named and conceptualized as distinct from the gods.[33] In general, Bremmer joins a long debate over the existence of hero-cult as a religious act within Homer's epics.[34] Rohde perceived that the funeral of Patroklos in the *Iliad* has many features of hero-cult, such as the games, the wine libation (*Il.* 23.218-221) and the offering of honey with oil (*Il.* 23.170).[35] Other possible evidence comes from the sacrifices to Erechtheus (*Il.* 2.547-51, *Od*. 7.80-1) the treatment of Sarpedon's corpse (*Il.* 16.674-5) and allusions to the tombs of Aipytos (*Il.* 2.604) Aisytes (*Il.* 2.796-7) and Ilos (*Il.* 10.414-15, 11.166-8).[36] Another incident that has been seen to depict a ritual associated with hero-cult is when Odysseus offers libations and pours the blood of a black sheep into a pit in order to summon the dead and enable them to speak (*Od.* 11.23-36; 10. 516-29). Even more peculiar is the vow that Odysseus makes to the dead that when he goes back to Ithaka he will sacrifice a barren heifer and pile the altar with gifts for them and for Teiresias he would sacrifice a black ram (*Od.*11.30-35).[37] I believe that although the term hero-cult was not used in Homer there existed partly the concept of veneration of *beings* of the past. In general, in the epics there are a few instances where immortality is implicated because not all characters go to Hades-some go to Olympus, the Isles of the Blessed or Elysium.[38]

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[30] Van Wees 2006, 364-6. Bravo (2009, 26, n.27) thinks Van Wees takes the meaning of ἡμίθεοι too literally. For ἡμίθεοι see also Bremmer 2006, 24-5.There is no evidence of ἡμίθεοι as having one divine parent before Isokrates (3.42; 9.39) (Bremmer 2006, 25).

[31] Nagy 1979, 159-61.

[32] Bravo 2009, 15.

[33] Bremmer (2006, 18) cites Herakleitos as the source for the earliest religious use of hero but it actually is Mimnermos in Athenaios (174A) (see p. 19).

[34] Bremmer 2006 *contra* Van Wees 2006, 367-8.

[35] Rohde 2000, 116-7; Hatzisteliou-Price 1973a, 143.

[36] For hero-cult in Homer see Hatzisteliou-Price 1973; Kearns 1989, 131; Burgess 2001, 168; Currie 2005, 48-57.

[37] Ekroth (1998, 218-21) thoroughly rejects this as an act of hero-cult.

It is also worth looking at possible allusions to hero-cult in the *Epic Cycle*. Proklos who has left a summary of the works gives a number of occasions where characters have gained immortality. In the *Cypria*, Polydeukes (F6 *EGF)* and Iphegenia (*Procl. Cyp. En.*) become immortal. In the *Aithiopis* Eos gives immortality to her son Memnon (*Procl. Aeth. En.*) and Thetis takes Achilles away from the pyre to the White Island (*Prolc. Aeth. En.*).[39] In the *Telegony* Kirke gives immortality to Telegonos (her son by Odysseus), Telemachos, and Penelope (*Procl. Tel. En.*).[40] These occurrences of immortality have led scholars to contemplate the possible references to hero-cult in the *Epic Cycle*.[41] Nevertheless, the mythical allusions to immortality do not necessarily imply hero-cult.[42]

In Hesiod too there is evidence of immortality of men after death. In the *Works and Days* the men of the Gold race become δαίμονες after their death (122) a term that West and Nagy both observe is used in relation to figures, such as Ganymede and Phaethon, who achieved immortality in the *Theogony.*[43] The Gold race is called φύλακες θνητῶν (guardians of mortals) and live on the earth (ἐπιχθόνιοι, 123) in opposition to the Silver generation who are ὑποχθόνιοι and dwell under the earth. The ὑποχθόνιοι receive sacrifice upon holy altars and are called μακάριοι. The Bronze race goes to Hades after their death but the Age of Heroes is diverse: some live on the Isles of the Blessed (171) and are called ὄλβιοι ἥρωες (172). The status of the Age of Heroes has prompted Nagy to suggest that Hesiod implies an immortal existence analogous to the one enjoyed by Achilles on the White Island or Menelaos at Elysium (*Od.* 4.561-9).[44] Thus, in the Gold and the Age of the Heroes in Hesiod we can perceive some kind of immortality as the former live on the earth and some of the latter live on the Island of the Blessed. Posthumous veneration may underlie the sacrifice on altars that is enjoyed by the Silver generation.

The earliest secure reference to 'hero' as a religious term comes from Mimnermos (630-600 B.C.) preserved from Athenaios (*Deipnosophistae* 174A), who mentions that the hero Daites is worshipped by the Trojans.[45] Some, consider that the earliest instance of the word 'hero' in a religious reference is to be found in Draco's law (ca. 620 B.C.) which states that the heroes should be honoured according to the ancestral customs (Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 4.22.7).[46] However, not everyone agrees on the date of this law and some scholars date its occurrence to the Hellenistic period.[47] In any case, the term ‘hero’ acquired a religious meaning by the sixth-century and became widespread in the fifth as is evident from examples of Herakleitos (B 5 DK), Pindar (*P.* 5.95), Aischylos (*Ag.* 516), and others.[48]

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[38] Hatzisteliou-Price 1973, 133-5; Nagy 1979, 190-7; Van Wees 2006, 372.
[39] For the cults of Achilles see Burgess 2009, 111-31.
[40] Burgess 2001, 164-5; Nagy 2005, 81.
[41] Burgess (2001, 168) is not certain. Nagy (1979, 152-4) is convinced that these references indicate hero-cult.
[42] Burgess 2009, 114.
[43] West 1978, 182-3; Nagy 1979, 154.
[44] Nagy 1979, 167-8; 189-90.
[45] In West 1972, no. 18. See Barrigón 2000, 4.

Of course the word ‘hero’ in its religious sense or even the cults of heroes must have occurred earlier than the proposed date of the early late seventh/early sixth-century. This is because by then the religious sense of the word was already fully pronounced in the text of Mimnermos[49] and therefore hero-cults must have been around for some time. The possible references to the cult of heroes seen in the early literary sources, for example the cult of Erechtheus on the Acropolis (*Il.* 2.549; *Od.* 7.81) may perhaps allude to early forms of honouring beings of the distant past although the recipients of cult were not called heroes at first.

It is important to add a few words about the term *heroine*.[50] The earliest attested occurrence comes from Pindar (*P.* 11.2) where the ἡρωΐδων στρατὸν (host of heroines) is called together at the temple of Apollo. This group includes the daughters of Kadmos, Semele and Ino, Alkmene, and Melia the consort of Apollo Ismenios.[51] In Corinna (Page, *PMG* 664b) we find a proclamation of the virtues of the heroines (χεἰρωάδων).[52] Inscriptions from Attica include the word heroine; the earliest is a fragment of a ritual calendar from the first half of the fifth-century B.C. prescribing sacrifice for the heroine (*IG* I^2 840).[53] As with the word ‘hero’ one can assume that cults to heroines predate their earliest written attestation in the fifth-century. Also, as it has been mentioned above, there are instances in the *Epic Cycle* where Iphigenia and Penelope gain immortality, which may mean that women who lived in the past achieved special status after their death.[54]

1.2. Hero-cult in the archaeological record.

1.2.1. *Definition of terms*

Considering the problematic evidence in the literary sources, scholars have scrutinized the archaeological record for evidence of early hero-cult elsewhere. However, the task of finding traces of early hero-cult has proven equally challenging and has generated conflicting scholarly opinions. Before our discussion of the early archaeological evidence of hero-cult we should add a word about the nomenclature of hero-cult places (locations) in ancient literature.

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[46] Burkert 1985, 205.
[47] Ekroth 2002, 179 n.212.
[48] Barrigón 2000, 1-14; Bremmer 2006, 18.
[49] Boehringer 2001, 30.
[50] For a fuller discussion see Larson 1995, 21-5; Lyons 1997, 13-6; Barrigón 2000, 12-3.
[51] Larson 1995, 21.
[52] Lyons 1997, 14; Barrigón 2000, 13. The date for Corinna is disputed: although it is traditionally taken to be the fifth-century (Davies (1988b). West (1970; 1990) supports a third- century date.
[53] Larson 1995, 22; Barrigón 2000, 13.
[54] Bravo 2009, 17.

In literature the term *heroon* appears for the first time in Herodotos (5.47; 67) to indicate a shrine for a hero. However, the literary terminology for hero-cult places is diverse with terms, such as *sema, mnema, theke,* and *taphos*.[55] In some cases a cenotaph could be a place of heroic-cult and other times the terms used for divine cults, such as *temenos, naos, alsos* and *hieron* are used. Thus, a *heroon* can be anything from a temple type building to a stele. Because in general a hero is a mortal who now dead exercises some sort of power over the living and is given cult, often a cult of a hero would be centred around a grave but not always. Usually when a grave is present, it is located in the city, sometimes in the agora which would be a prominent and central place of daily life. The location of a grave in a polis is unlike Greek customs where the dead were considered impure and were buried outside the city walls. The existence of hero-cult shrines in the form of graves in a polis demonstrates the special and elevated status of the hero and differentiates him/her from the ordinary mortals. Other times heroic-cults would be located within divine sanctuaries, such as Pelops at Olympia.[56] In general, hero shrines are diverse and there is no one model on which we can relay to identify a cult site of a hero. Archaeologists rely instead on votive and epigraphic evidence to identify a hero-cult site.

1.2.2. *Early archaeological evidence of hero-cult*

The earliest possible evidence of hero-cult in the archaeological record is the Toumba burial at Lefkandi on Euboea. Excavations unearthed an apsidal building of about 50m in length that dates to the tenth-century B.C. Within the central room were found two burials, one of a cremated male in a bronze amphora and an inhumed female. Next to them were the remains of four inhumed horses. The burial included rich gifts of weapons, and the female was adorned with jewellery of gold, electrum and bronze; the bronze amphora, which held the remains of the male, was made in Cyprus in the twelfth-century B.C. The building shortly afterwards seems to have been demolished and a mound covered the area. For the next hundred years the area in front of the building (covered by a mound) served as a cemetery. [57]

Because of the elaborate nature of this burial, the excavators interpreted this as a site of heroic-cult and considered that some features, such as the cremation in a bronze vessel, the horses, and the mound, recall Homeric funerals, (*Il.* 16.457; 671-5; 23.44-7; 243; 24.795; *Od.* 1.239-40;

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[55] Abramson 1978, 168; Kearns 1992, 65-7; Larson 1995, 9-13; Mikkola 2008, 17; Ekroth 2009, 122-4.

[56] Kearns 1992, 77-93.

[57] Popham et al. 1993; Antonaccio 1995, 236-40; Morris 2000, 218-19.

14.366-71; 24.73-5) such as that of Patroklos in the *Iliad.*[58] Similarly, Morris, not only points out the epic similarities but he also sees evidence that the burials were part of the elite who connected with the glorious past of the Hesiodic race of heroes.[59] A few scholars have disagreed with this interpretation particularly because there is no evidence of cult after the construction of the mound above the burials[60] but also because other evidence suggests that rich sub-Mycenaean burials in Cyprus, Knossos,[61] Perati on Crete[62] and Achaia[63] existed before the Lefkandi burial demonstrating a tradition of elaborate burials. These are interpreted as the final stages of the LH IIIC which reached its pinnacle and the transition to the early Iron Age with the Toumba cemetery at Lefkandi.[64] As our knowledge regarding Iron Age Greece and the transition from the Late Helladic period widens, it appears that the Toumba burial probably follows earlier burial traditions and is less likely to be heroic; rather it demonstrates honours for the deceased because of his elevated social status.[65]

Another type of cult over which scholars have debated for years is that focused at Bronze Age tombs. Particularly popular in Messenia, the Argolid, and Attica, these cults are evidenced by placing artefacts at Bronze Age tombs, reuse of the area for burials and in some occasions (especially in Messenia) sacrifice and feasting.[66] Activity starts around 750 B.C. and spreads in other places in Greece by 725 B.C.[67] but, in general, it is short lived (with a few exceptions, such as at Menidi in Attica).[68] Because of the commencement date of the eighth-century B.C., up until the 1970s the predominant view was that the Homeric epics had an impact on the religious practices of the Greeks who venerated the dead in the Bronze Age tombs as those of the Homeric heroes, [69] but this claim is now widely disputed.[70] Instead, the two phenomena seem to have been parallel rather than inter-related.[71] In any case, the Late-Geometric cults that developed at Bronze Age tombs have prompted scholars to suggest that it is a clear indication that for the 'first time, they [the Greeks] began to think of great men of the past as heroes deserving of worship'. [72]

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[58] Popham et al. 1993, 100. However see possible parallels for such burials at Thermon, Nichoria, Eleusis and Eretria (Mazarakis-Ainian 1999, 25-33; Morris 2000, 222-8).

[59] Morris dates the races of men to the eleventh-century; see *supra* n.27.

[60] Antonaccio 2006, 393; Bravo 2009, 19.

[61] Antonaccio 2002; Whitley 2002; Crielaard 2002.

[62] Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 154-7; Antonaccio 2006, 389-94.

[63] Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 157-60.

[64] Kilian-Dirlmeier 1998, 328-9.

[65] Antonaccio (2006, 393) proposes that he was seen as an *archegetes.*

[66] Boehringer 2001, 301-311, tables 13-14.

[67] It is important to note that there is no evidence of continuation of either tomb-cult or hero-cult from the Late Helladic to the historical times (Hatzisteliou-Price 1973a, 131). In contradiction to previous claims by Nilsson (1967, 378 ff.). See examples of chamber-tomb deposits in the Argive Heraion (Blegen 1937, 377-90). For other discussions regarding deposits at Mycenaean burials see Antonaccio 1995; Boehringer (2001) who studies the social function of the cults in Attica, Argos and Messenia and Deoudi (1999). In general, the quality of offerings at Mycenaean tombs is poor, and metal is very rare.

[68] Antonaccio 1995, 245-6. For other examples of continuation of cults at Bronze Age tombs, such as that at Thorikos see Devillers (1988) and Alcock who discusses a selection of examples from several areas of the Greek world (1991, 451-67).

[69] Farnell (1921) and Coldstream (1976, 14-5; 1977, 341-56) saw influences from the Homeric epics, e.g. art motifs, such as battle scenes or chariot scenes, e.g. Paris, Musée du Louvre A 519; Agora P 4885 (Coldstream 2003, 352-6,

The view that the recipients of cult at Bronze Age tombs are heroes however, has not found uniform acceptance.[73] Snodgrass suggested that the Bronze Age tombs were connected with those that Homer referred to as *ἡμίθεοι* or *δαίμονες*[74] Similarly, Morris believes that the Iron Age Greeks deemed the impressive Mycenaean remains as those belonging to the *ἡμίθεοι* and Whitley identifies them as Hesiod's Silver race of men called *ὑποχθόνιοι*.[75] Antonaccio's important survey of these cults concludes that due to the short duration of the cults, the absence of metal and stone dedications and the lack of inscriptions activity at the Bronze Age tombs should be designated as tomb-cult and not as hero-cult.[76] Because of the evidence of Iron Age burials at some Bronze Age tombs she believes that the cults at the Bronze Age tombs were comparable with burial practices that took place in the eighth-century and thus should be interpreted as ancestor cults.[77] Parker disagrees and instead argues that literary evidence connecting tombs and heroes should be taken into account as proof of the connection between a hero and his tomb.[78] Ekroth finds the categorization of the cult at the Menidi tomb as simply tomb-cult problematic. She argues that due to the rich material and its long duration it is better understood as tomb-cult which developed into

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figs. a-c.) which are interpreted as narratives from the epic or myths, or burials in Salamis on Cyprus which are seen as inspirations by the heroic funerals described in the epics.

[70] Nagy, 1979, 114; Bérard 1982, 91-4; Calligas 1988, 233; Morris 1988, 754-5; Whitley 1988, 174; Kearns 1989, 129-31; Crielaard 1995, 268-73; de Polignac 1995, 138-9; Antonaccio 1995, 5-6; Parker 1996, 36-42. Snodgrass (1988) saw problems in the matter of burial practices in Homer as opposed to the Mycenaean tholos and chamber tombs. Snodgrass (1998) and Ahlberg-Cornell (1992, 179-88) have demonstrated that vase-painting scenes seldom depict incidents from the Homeric epics but instead the artists favor a non-Homeric version of an episode, specifically from the *Epic Cycle*. Seaford (1994, 145-6), Snodgrass (1998, 164) and Taplin (2000, 34) do not see a demonstrable influence of the epics over Greek poetry and art before 600 B.C. Moreover, another problem, as discussed earlier, is that there might be some references of hero-cult in the epics which means that 'the poet cannot cause a phenomenon which he also reflects' (Parker 1996, 36).

The heroic burials in the epics have altogether been under a different view since the discovery of the Lefkandi burial discussed above and burials in Cyprus, Crete and Achaia (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 154-60). Thus, the epics could have actually been influenced by these and other elaborate burials of local elites, or 'big men', as Whitley (1991, 349) calls them. In general, the heroic burials of the eighth and seventh-century are now though to have followed a centuries old practice, and both the funerals of the epics and those attested in the material record are possibly parallel traditions (Crielaard 2002, 245).

[71] Crielaard 2002, 245.

[72] Van Wees (2006, 376) whom he actually calls epic heroes.

[73] Antonaccio 1995; Whitley 1995; Bremmer 2006.

[74] Snodgrass 1979, 123-4; 1982: 114-6. For ἡμίθεοι see Van Wees 2006, 354-66.

[75] Whitley 1995, 58.

[76] Antonaccio (1995, 246) who cites the exception of the Menidi Tholos and the Thorikos tomb I in Attica. See Boehringer (2001, 37) on the definition of cult and the occurrence of one-time dedications at Bronze Age tombs.

[77] Antonaccio 1995, 248ff.

[78] Parker 1996, 34-35; Seaford (1994, 114-23) uses literary evidence as proof of hero-cult from funerary ritual.

a hero-cult.[79] In addition, Boehringer thoroughly rejects the claim of ancestor cult, which Antonaccio's defined as the recipients of cult at Bronze Age tombs, on the basis that in Greek religion there is no evidence of ancestor cult, such as the *Lares* in Roman religion, and adopts a wide definition of hero which includes the cults at Bronze Age sites as places of heroic-cult.[80]

Antonaccio recognized the problem in designating these cults as hero-cults because of the lack of inscriptions indicating that the individuals honoured were heroes.[81] One possible exception is a black-glazed sherd discovered by Schliemann in the areas of Grave Circle A and B in Mycenae with an inscription το hεροος εμ[ι] 'I am of the hero'.[82] However, since this sherd has no context it is difficult to accept that it originated from one of the grave circles. A more reasonable suggestion is that it may have originally been placed at the fountain-house of Perseus situated outside the Lion-gate.[83] Another possible example comes from a seventh or sixth century fragmentary inscription on a Lakonian roof-tile found under a pile of stones outside a Late Helladic tholos tomb located at Georgikon-Xinoneri in Thessaly.[84] The fragmentary inscription may read 'Aiatos', the name of the first legendary king of Thessaly and father of Thessalos. In any case, the argument stipulating written evidence as a chief criterion to reject the Bronze Age tombs as hero-cults is not all together valid since the archaeology precedes in time our earliest written evidence. However, even the Menidi tholos tomb in Attica, whose lifespan continued until the fifth-century, yielded one example of an inscription but of much later date, the sixth-century, and gives no information regarding the recipient of the cult.[85]

As we have seen in the literary evidence, although hero-cult was not named and expressed in the same way from the eighth-century period there are indications of beliefs in the influential dead. The fact that there was cult activity, even for a short duration (although for some it spanned for centuries), in some Bronze Age tombs it demonstrates some early beliefs of the powerful dead.[86] Whitley, who has argued for the ὑποχθόνιοι of the Silver Age as the recipients at the

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[79] Parker 1996, 34-35; Ekroth 1997-8, 162.

[80] See Boehringer (2001, 42-45) for a definition and discussion of ancestor cult whose primary location should be the domestic area of the social life and the focus of the dead by his descendants and not by the entire community. See, however, the case of Grotta at Naxos where a number of enclosures of Late proto-Geometric graves with pyres above and among them were discovered. This continued until the late-Geometric period when the area was buried under a tumulus and offerings continued until the sixth-century B.C. (Lambrinoudakis 1986). This has been taken by Bravo (2009, 22) to suggest an ancestor cult that turned into hero-cult because of changing circumstances.

[81] Antonaccio 1995, 247.

[82] *IG* IV 495; *IGA* 29; Jefferey (*LSAG*^{2}, 173, no. 6.pl. 31.6) dates it to 475 B.C.

[83] *LSAG*^{2}, 173, no. 6.

[84] Intzesiloglou 2002, 289-295.

[85] *ABV* 40.21, 42.36; *Para* 18; *Add*^{2} 11. The inscription was by the painter Sophilos (Kilmer and Develin 2001, 23-5).

[86] There are many opinions regarding the reason behind the phenomenon of cults at Mycenaean tombs. Land competition and population growth have been taken into for the explanation by Snodgrass (1988). He argues that cult at local tombs may have helped the communities establish themselves in the area; in other words gave them the right

Bronze Age tombs, concludes his essay with the possibility: ‘in time these races may have come to be thought of as heroes, but generic, anonymous heroes, attached to particular localities who were treated very differently from heroes of epic poetry’.[87] The early archaeological evidence produces a similar problem as the early literary sources as appellation for these cults is absent, there are traces, of what later in the Archaic and Classical period would be interpreted as hero-cult.[88]

1.2.3. *Evidence of cult over older (Geometric) tombs*

A somewhat similar situation can be perceived in cult activity that exists over Geometric graves. A number of burials which that date from the early Iron Age have been the object of cult in various parts of the Greek world from the seventh-century onwards, e.g. the Underground shrine in Corinth[89] or the Heroon at the Crossroads, also in Corinth, which appear to have been built over Geometric graves.[90] These shrines were not contemporary with the burials but at some later point, the graves were discovered and a shrine was built over them.[91] In Athens, the Triangular shrine in the Agora was located in an area where a significant number of Geometric graves have been discovered within the radius of some thirty metres from the shrine.[92] The Athenian Agora also has other examples, such as a stone pit north of the altar of Ares amidst Mycenaean burials with

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to the place by claiming the tombs as those of their ancestors. However scholars do not accept a universal explanation for the popularity but rather different stimuli in each region and even within regions: De Polignac (1995, 138-45) sees the Argolid as a place where cult at Bronze Age tombs was a result of competing early poleis and politics in cult, while Boehringer (2001, 132-241) saw a change of focus of the cults, such as those near the Argive Heraion which he interprets to be of interest to the aristocracy of the eighth-century in order to display wealth the same way they used the nearby Heraion. In the seventh-century however the cults at Tiryns and Mycenae were a concern for the whole community as we see now the polis ideology taking place. Whitley (1988) saw the cults at the Athenian countryside not as claims to the land by new settlers, but as reactions of the pre-existing communities to new settlers, thus a claim to their land. Boehringer (2001, 47-131) points out the differences between the various cults within Attica and argues that at the Menidi tholos the aristocratic families worshipped a common ancestor while the Thorikos tomb is linked with agricultural cult and was of interest to the rural populations. Lastly, Messenia has been viewed usually in the context of the Spartan occupation. There was eighth-century activity at tombs at Volimidia (Boehringer 2001, 249-58), Kopanaki (id. 284-6), Karpophora (Antonaccio 1995, 89 and Boehringer 2001, 269-70) and Koukounara tomb 6 (Boehringer 2001, 265-6, 310-11, n.4) which ceased to exist after the Spartan domination possibly around the end of the eighth or early seventh-century (Alcock 2002, 142ff). This, argued by Morris (1988, 756) would be expected if the cults ‘were simply as expression of the Messenians now extinct claims to the land’. However, during the period of Spartan conquest, until 371 B.C., there were new cults that sprang up at Papoulia (Boehringer 2001, 259-60) Koukounara (idem 261-5), Vasiliko (id. 267-70, 282-6) and Voilimidia (idem 268-9) which may have been a way of perpetuating traditions in the face of Spartan occupation. Boehringer (2001, 242-371) again links the eighth-century cults with local elites and blames the short cult duration to the Spartan occupation. He finds the fifth-century cults as a reawakening of the Messenian self-identity. In all we can conclude that each area where cult at Bronze Age tombs exists had different stimuli and reasons behind their popularity and not one uniform answer can explain their establishment.

[87] Whitley 1995, 60.

[88] Boehringer 2001, 33.

[89] Williams and Fisher 1973, 10-12, no. 12; Williams, MacIntosh and Fisher 1974, 3-4, no.1 pl.1; Pfaff 2003, 127.

[90] Williams and Fisher (1973, 6-12, fig. 2, 3, pl. 1-5; 1974, 1-6, fig. 1, pl. 1) commends that the shrine could have been built to propitiate the person found at the grave who may have been seen as a hero or ancestor. See also Pfaff 2003, 128.

[91] Broneer 1942, 141-4.

[92] Wycherley 1970, 289, 291; 1978, 192-4; Lalonde 1980, 97-8.

votives from the seventh-century,[93] the shrine near Mycenaean and proto-Geometric graves at the Northeast corner of the Agora, [94] and the rectangular shrine also amidst Mycenaean graves below the Middle Stoa.[95] Another well-known example is the shrine at the West Gate at Eretria where a triangular construction was built over a cluster of late eighth and early seventh centuries B.C. graves.[96] Like the cults placed at the Bronze Age tombs these shrines yielded no inscriptions although they are widely accepted as places of hero-cult because of their proximity to burials.[97] Of course the cults mentioned above should not be taken as an interpretative whole as each was formed due to local and various needs. Some of the sites, such as the Heroon at the Crossroads in Corinth and the rectangular shrine below the Middle Stoa at Athens continued to be used as cult sites in the Classical period and later, when hero-cult is widely attested but the anonymity (at least to us) of the recipient remains throughout their use.[98] Whoever these individuals were who received honour at Eretria, Corinth and Athens must have been of a different character than some heroes who were honoured contemporaneously in the same places, such as Theseus, Herakles and others.

1.2.4. *Evidence of cult of epic figures*

So far we have looked at the early evidence of cults whose recipient is unknown to the modern scholars. There are, however, some examples where inscriptions provide the name of the hero worshipped at the site and thus, have been the focus for discourse as evidence for early hero-cult. Much discussed are the Agamemnoneion at Mycenae, the cave to Odysseus at Polis Bay on Ithaka, the cult of Phrontis at Sounion, and the Menelaion at Sparta but most of these examples are very controversial. The road-site shrine known as the “Agamemnoneion” was active during the Geometric period up to the early fifth-century B.C. Its activity appears to drop in the fifth-century and possibly altogether stops after the destruction of Mycenae. Activity resumes in the Hellenistic period during when identifiable dedications to Agamemnon appear in the fourth-century B.C.[99] By contrast, the earlier phase, dating from the Geometric to the early fifth-century, has about fifty specimens of terracotta figurines of seated goddesses and some enthroned goddesses among much pottery.[100] This fact is not stressed by the excavator, Cook, who takes the large number of craters and crateriskoi, as well as three terracotta horse figurines as indicative of a male recipient of the cult and interprets the site at that of a shrine of Agamemnon dating from the eighth-century B.C.[101] Assuming the recipient is male because of the horse figurines and the craters is however problematic. Scholars emphasize the findings of such items in female sanctuaries.[102] Therefore, the late date (fourth century B.C) of the appearance of Agamemnon in inscriptions has lead scholars to propose that the earliest activity at the site was not directed towards Agamemnon but to Hera whose Heraion on the citadel of Mycenae was nearby.[103] The Hellenistic site dedicated to Agamemnon was rather part of a romanticism of the past, quite common during the period.[104] Similarly, the cave at Polis on Ithaka was active from the ninth-century B.C., yielding dedications of tripods, but only reveals dedications to Odysseus from the second-century B.C. In fact, the earlier dedications with a sixth-century inscription to Athena Polias and Hera Teleia,[105] masks showing Artemis with a bow and quiver, many female figurines,[106] Nymph reliefs and dedications to Nymphs demonstrate a female presence at the site.[107] There are those who would like to see an initial use of the cave as a cult site to Odysseus[108] but the latest full publication of the material by Deoudi clearly demonstrates that there is no evidence of Odysseus' early worship.[109]

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[93] Thompson 1958, 148-53, esp. 152-3; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 119.

[94] Shear 1973, 360-69; Camp 1986, 78-82. Proposed as the Leokorion but so is the small enclosure in front of the stoa Basileus (Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 123; Wycherley 1978, 63-4). See Wycherley (1957, 109-12) for ancient testimonia and Kron (1999, 80-81, fig. 10) with bibliography on the location and function of the Leokorion.

[95] Thompson 1966, 48-9; Lalonde 1980, 98-105, fig.1, pls. 15-6.

[96] Bérard 1970, 31, 69-71; 1982; Blandin 1998; Ducrey *et. al.* 2004, 172-6. In the area was found a pit filled with ritual debris, the remains of two buildings associated with ritual dining and a possible altar. The rituals continued for about two hundred years.

[97] Lalonde 1980, 104; Kearns 1989, 11; Bookidis 2003, 252; Papadopoulos 2003, 275.

[98] Many heroes were anonymous in antiquity and they would just be referred to as *heroes*; see §5.3. for discussion.

[99] Cook 1953; Hägg 1987, 97-8; Antonaccio 1995, 147-52; Boehringer 2001, 173-8; 200-3.

The cult of Phrontis, Menelaos' helmsman, at Sounion is another cult whose early date is a subject of debate. The early excavator Picard interpreted proto-Attic plaque depicting a ship of hoplites and a spearman of ca. 700 B.C. as evidence of the cult of Phrontis.[110] Considering however, that the plaque was found in a pit by the temple of Athena, the dedication probably belongs to the temple of the goddess.[111] There are others who argue that a cult of Phrontis is demonstrated by the small rectangular structure near the temple of Athena but the evidence is inconclusive and no inscription identifies a recipient of cult. Some scholars nonetheless believe that there must have been a Phrontis cult site,[112] but even if we accept this premise there is no concrete evidence for the Late Geometric date proposed by Picard.

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[100] Cook 1953, 62-3, fig. 36.

[101] Cook 1953, 33.

[102] Morgan and Whitelaw 1991, 89, n. 50; Hall 1995a, 603.

[103] Whitley 1995, 54; Hall 1995a; 1999, 58-9; Ratinaud-Lachkar 2000, 254-7. This is further supported by another shrine dedicated to Hera on the road to the Argive Heraion; both shrines are on the road to a major Hera temple (Hall 1995a, 603).

[104] Hall 1995a, 601-3.

[105] *IG* IX 1.653; *SDGI* 1669; Jefferey (*LSAG*^{2} 231, n.3) dates it to ca. 550-525 B.C.

[106] Benton 1938-39, 39-43, nos. 62-64, 56.

[107] Benton 1938-9, 45.

[108] Coldstream 1976, 17; Malkin 1998, 94-109; Mazarakis-Ainian 1999, 12. Upon his arrival at Ithaka, Odysseus has to hide a treasure in a cave in order that he can travel incognito and keep it safe from the suitors (*Od.* 13.364). See Currie (2005, 53) who proposes that the poet may have known of a cave which was rich in tripods at Ithaka and may have been inspired by it.

[109] Deoudi 2008.

[110] Picard (1940, 19-24) had then identified the bastion near the temple of Poseidon as the hero-cult shrine. He was influenced by the *Odyssey* 3.278-283, which narrates the death of Phrontis by Apollo at Sounion. Currie (2005, 54) interprets the lines in the *Odyssey* as an aetiological myth. For the plaque, see Abramson 1979, pl. I. I.

[111] Abramson (1979, 9-12) bases his argument on the type of votives found in the pit together with the plaque, but these votives (swords, tripods, shields, painted plaques and horses) mostly dating from the late eighth and early seventh-century to the mid-fifth-century have been found in various areas of Attica and elsewhere and cannot be used as

A detailed discussion of the cult at the Menelaion in Sparta will be treated in the following chapter. It is fitting here to note that the cult, which commenced in the late eighth/early seventh-century, has often been cited as the earliest evidence for cults of Epic heroes. In the next chapter, I will demonstrate that a study of the Menelaion in the religious framework of Sparta indicates that it may have commenced as a hero-cult, but its recipients were regarded as closer to the divine sphere as they were considered immortal.

1.2.5. *Oikistes*

Lastly, it is important to mention the cults of the *oikistes* (polis-founders) which Malkin argues provide the impetus for similar cults in the Greek world.[113] As tempting as this theory is these cults, in fact, do not exist archaeologically when Greeks started colonization.[114] The earliest archaeologically attested cult of an *oikist* is that of Battos in Kyrene[115] which dates from the sixth-century B.C.[116] which is also the earliest literary reference of a cult of an *oikist* (Hdt. 5.150). Morgan has pointed out that in the Classical and Hellenistic periods there was a tendency to find a *protos heuretes* in everything that may have led to colonies' formation of founding cults.[117] Because of the importance of a polis' identity in the face of an *oikist* other scholars have highlighted that the ritual function of a founder's cult is more important than the historical fact; many of the *oikist* cults then can be seen as a development of the Classical and the Hellenistic periods.[118]

1.2.6. *Hero-cult*

As we have seen above it is particularly difficult to identify a locus of hero-cult without

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evidence for hero-cult.

[112] Kearns (1989, 41-2) argues for an early date and claims that the epic reflects on a pre-existing cult but admits that the evidence is scarce. Antonaccio (1995, 169) doubts a cult altogether and argues that if a cult existed it would have began during the Archaic or Classical periods. Mazarakis-Ainian (1999, 13, n.23) supports a date of ca. 700 B.C. for the Phrontis cult, which he places in the temenos of Athena based on the votive material, but he does not discuss the material; see also Parker 2005a, 410. Goette (2000, 36-7, 40) interprets the small Classical naiskos as belonging to the cult of Phrontis.

[113] Malkin 1987, 263. See the discovery of an archaic grave with a peribolos wall found in the agora at Selinous as a possible example of a burial of an *oikist* (Mertens 2006, 178).

[114] Antonaccio (1999, 119-21) for the discussion regarding the tomb of the *oikist* of Megara Heblaia.

[115] Malkin (1987, 212) over the confusion over the real name of the founder.

[116] Antonaccio 1999, 120.

[117] Morgan 1990, 173; see also Malkin 1987, 256ff.

[118] Dougherty 1993, 26; a possibility that Antonaccio (1999, 119-20) and Malkin (1987, 201) also speculate.

inscriptions. As a consequence, this has led to wide disagreement regarding the earliest evidence, which spans from the tenth-century Toumba burial to the Archaic cults over Geometric tombs. Not until the sixth-century when inscriptions become more commonly used does the earliest concrete evidence of heroic-cult appear: a post with an inscription ΕΡΟΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΘΗΒΑΙΜ dating to the mid-sixth century from Argos (*SEG* XIV 565). This post was one of a series, which were connected with wooden bars to form a fenced enclosure[119] and has led the excavator to conclude that the inscription was a marker of the temenos of a *heroon* dedicated to the heroes of Thebes. [120] However, early *heroa* are confirmed from other cases even if they are not called as such: one of the earliest is the one in the agora of Thasos, where an inscription ca. 600 B.C. reads: 'I am the monument (*mnema*) of Glaukos, Leptinos' son. The sons of Brentis dedicated me'.[121] Glaukos, a friend of the poet Archilochos,[122] was a Parian who colonized Thasos in the late seventh-century B.C.[123] As noted above, the terminology used for hero-cult locations varied, and the word *heroon* is not necessary to identify a cult site. The cult of Menelaos and Helen in Sparta commenced at least by the early seventh-century but it is confirmed by inscriptions only the sixth. Likewise the cult of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra in Sparta commenced in the early seventh-century but it is only in the sixth that it can be confirmed because of the inscriptions.[124] There are probably other cults to heroes from the seventh-century but due to lack of inscriptions cannot be identified.[125] As with literary sources, the occurrence of hero shrines was probably not a spontaneous phenomenon but a gradual one which only in the sixth-century becomes obvious due to the epigraphical evidence.

1.3. Discussion

In general, there is no concrete evidence that known, epic or pan-Hellenic heroes receive cult at early times.[126] Even for heroes in pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, such as Pelops at Olympia, whose *heroon* was formed over an Early Bronze Age mound, the earliest evidence of cult is not until the sixth-century B.C.[127] The cult of Opheltes at Nemea also commenced in the early sixth-century B.C. around an artificial mound.[128] Rather, the early evidence of cult at Bronze Age tombs and Geometric burials suggests that some sort of veneration took place directed to the long dead probably perceived as powerful figures of the distant past. These figures which were possibly anonymous, (to us anyway) often received cults by earlier graves making them of localized nature and mattered only to the local community. It is not until the seventh and sixth centuries that there is evidence of cults to known individuals, such as those to Pelops, or the Seven against Thebes but other cults probably date earlier, such as that at the Menelaion. The earliest evidence of veneration of powerful beings of the distant past was a local phenomenon which in turn may explain the diversity of the evidence, the anonymity (to us) of the individuals worshipped, and the lack of it in certain areas.

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[119] Pariente 1992. In the fourth-century A.D. these posts were reused to surround a large pit filled with ashes and calcinated logs which must have been a cult, possibly a hero-cult which Pausanias (2.19.2) called the 'Fire of Phoroneus', id. 196. Stone posts are also used for the monument of the Eponymous heroes in the Athenian Agora (Camp 1986, 98-99).

[120] Pariente (1992, 204) states that the inscription could not be for a group of statues because it is too early for that. In the sixth-century an inscription for a statue would be placed individually for each statue and in the nominative and not for a group.

[121] Picard 1921, 95-7; Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 69.

[122] Pouilloux (1955, 78-9) quotes Archilochos (fr. 15, 48 Gerber 1999a) in which Glaukos the son of Leptinos is mentioned as the poet's friend. See also Martin 1978, 189.

[123] Graham 2001, 228. The monument, which was not a tomb, consisted of a two-step construction made of poros stone, gneiss and marble block. Its importance is noted because it was preserved even after the surroundings changed including the building of a stoa which encompassed the monument (Pouilloux 1955, 82; 1979, 136 fig. 7; Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 69-70). This has prompted scholars to see him as an *oikist* who received cult after this death (Ekroth 2009, 127). Malkin (1987, 262) does not consider Glaukos an *oikist.*

[124] See §6.1

[125] For the cult of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra see §6.1.

Labelling earlier cult sites as heroic comes from the generalization of the term hero to include any individual who died and later was given honours. The wide application of the term has led to disagreement over the earliest evidence, either archaeological or literary, because the contemporary terminology used in the Archaic and Classical periods was applied for the past. As demonstrated above, cults of dead powerful humans of the distant past were probably not called heroic by their worshippers and had different characteristics from those of later bona fide hero-cults.[129] It is important to note that the worship of heroes even in the later Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods, was not static: changes included the veneration of the war-dead and the heroisation of the recently deceased. It would be reasonable then to suggest that hero-cult (or some form of it) also experienced changes in the Geometric and early Archaic period. What seems to have existed is a general perception that powerful humans of the past deserve acknowledgement and possibly even veneration, as suggested from the cults at Bronze Age tombs, the cult at the West Gate at Eretria, and possibly from passages from Homer and Hesiod.[130]

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[126] See Mazarakis-Ainian (1999, 14) who would still like to see an early date for the cults of eponymous heroes and interprets it as a ‘conscious act of the rising polis’ but gives no concrete evidence for an early date.

[127] Pelops: Kyrieleis 2002, 219-18; 2006, 55-7; Pache 2004, 91-3; Ekroth 2010, 4-7.

[128] Opheltes: Bravo 2006; Ekroth *forthcoming*; See also Ptoios: Antonaccio 1995, 177-8 with references; Melikertes-Palaimon at the Isthmian sanctuary where the earliest archaeological evidence for his cult dates to the Roman times (Gebhard and Dickie 1999, 159, n.1; Pache 2004, 135 ff.). However, Gebhard and Dickie 1999 argue for an earlier date due to the evidence in a fragment from Pindar (fr. 6.5 (1) Snell). The site of the ‘Seven against Thebes’ in Eleusis is again only speculatively associated with those heroes as it consists of only a number of LH graves encircled by a wall in the eighth-century B.C. (Mylonas 1961, 62-3). It possibly signifies appropriation of the area (Antonaccio 1995, 112-17).

[129] Hatzisteliou-Price 1973a, 133.

[130] Boehringer (2001, 30) following Rohde argues that the *naming* of cult beings ‘heroes’ is due to the popularity of

The problem might lie in part with the scholarly need to create categories of cult beings, such as divinities and heroes. Scholars however, have repeatedly stressed that Archaic literature does not group beings into categories. Even the mention of the twelve Olympian gods is not attested until the last decades of the sixth-century B.C. with the altar of Peisistratus the Younger in 522/1 B.C (Thuk. 6.54.5).[131] The distinction between gods and heroes is evidenced soon after that: in Pindar (*O.* 2) we learn of a tripartite grouping: of divinities, heroes and men. He is not the only one to do so, the same scheme is to be found in Antiphon (1.27), Antiphanes (F 204 *PCG*), and Aristotle (*mund.* 400b.22).[132] Plato articulates four groups: divinities, *daimones*, heroes and men (*pol.* 3.392A; 4.427B). Thus, the first testimony of gods and heroes together occurs around 500 B.C. and thus distinctly separate beings but the ‘anthropology’ of Greek religion is not set: in Plato we have four groups including *daimon* to designate a being between god and man. However, this word is sometimes used for divinities, e.g. in Homer.[133] What the above literary evidence shows is the lack of a systematization of Greek religion, even in the fifth-century B.C.[134] In his fundamental study on hero-cult, Nock commented that heroes often were ‘small gods’ which for him were ‘little deities who never rose to a wider regional or universal greatness, or again supernatural beings subordinate or subordinate to gods’.[135] His apt statement reflects the variety of beings that could be called hero since, as Boehringer stresses, religious systematization is a modern dogmatic religious concept that we should not apply to Greek religion, which is malleable in its belief systems.[136]

Burkert called the organisation of divinities, heroes and men the ‘restructuring of spiritual life’ which divided the world of divine and semi-mortal. However, the above argument demonstrates this was not always the case.[137] Generally speaking it is perceived that whoever has not died is a god and is part of an exclusive Olympian group and whoever is left behind is placed under the category of demigods.[138] The large non-divine group helps explain the confusion over the term hero as well as the various *kinds* of heroes. Consequently, some heroes were ‘more

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the Homeric epics because one would conceive the heroes of the epics as men of an earlier time.

[131] Parker 2005a, 73; Georgoudi 1998b, 73-83; Bremmer 2006, 19-21, n.48.

[132] Bremmer 2006, 19. Isokrates’ (9.39) tripartite scheme does not mention heroes but men, demi-gods and gods.

[133] Boehringer (2001, 31) for a discussion on δαίμων and its occurrence in literature.

[134] The fluidity of some concepts and terms is seen in the cult-song of women from Elis to Dionysus (sixth-century B.C.) where the word hero is used in ἥρω Διόνυσε, (Plut. *Mor.* 299B) (Bremmer 2006, 18). For this cult see Mitsopoulos-Leon 1984, 278-80, n.25.

[135] Nock 1944, 593.

[136] Boehringer 2001, 31. See also Kindt 2009, 12.

[137] Burkert (1985, 205) saw the influence of the Homeric epics as the catalyst of this restructuring. I agree with Bremmer 2006, 19 that Burkert may have dated this ‘restructuring’ slightly early (provided we date the Homeric epics sometime in the eighth-century) and would like to see it, following Bremmer’s suggestion, to have taken place in the sixth-century B.C.

[138] Burkert 1985, 205.

divine' than others, e.g. Herakles,[139] Asklepios and Amphiaraos who are in the category of heroes who become immortals.[140] It also helps explain the confusion over many beings, such as the recipients of cult at Bronze Age tombs. It shows that the kaleidoscope of supernatural beings during the time before the Archaic and Classical periods consisted of many figures who were worshipped in order to cater to the local needs and need not be named *hero*, or *semi-divine*.[141] The term hero in antiquity trespasses the boundaries set by modern scholars who have tried to propose various definitions. The best example of this fluidity perhaps are the sacrificial rituals of heroes and gods, which Ekroth has shown to be very similar.[142] As Fonterose states 'the further back one goes into the early Aegean religion, the more one wonders whether the distinction can be maintained for the earliest period, and whether god and hero alike are not derived from a *daimon* who was closely related to ghosts on the one hand, and who was a superhuman power on the other'.[143] Fonterose's statement may not be true in its entirety, but he is right to suggest that there were less strict types of beings in earlier Greek religion, which resulted in several types of heroes in later times.

In conclusion, a hero in the historical period was a mortal of the distant or recent past who, after his/her death, was believed to exert power over the living and was therefore venerated.[144] When using the term hero for cults of the Geometric period one should be aware of the diverse and changing nature of hero-cult which catered to regional and social needs. We will never know with certainty what the recipients of cults at the Bronze Age tombs were called during the eighth-century B.C., but the evidence of the cults demonstrates awareness, respect and veneration of beings of the distant past – activities that later constitute what we refer to as 'heroes' who receive hero-cult. From the Archaic period onwards, when 'hero' is a religious term, the figures who receive this epithet are diverse and include Epic characters, *oikistes*, mythological beings and local heroes. Some cults, such as those to Herakles and the Dioskouroi, demonstrate how a hero can even be pan-Hellenic and godlike thus highlighting the fluidity of the term in Greek religion.

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[139] See *supra* p. 5, n. 26.

[140] For the kind of heroes who were mortals and became immortals see Pausanias (8.2.4), Currie (2005, 41-6) and Sourvinou-Inwood (2005, 329-45). Sourvinou-Inwood (2005, 340) explaines that although many of these heroes were of pan-Hellenic importance, e.g. Herakles, and Asklepios others were in fact local, such as Hylas or Lampsake; see also pp .4-5, n.26.

[141] See the Classical and Hellenistic shrine of Glaukos at Knossos whose cult was insinuated into an existing house. The excavators assume that if there was hero-cult before 500 B.C. the cult requirements would have been different in the Archaic period, see Callaghan 1978, 3.

[142] Ekroth 2002; see also Parker 2005b, 37-45.

[143] Fontenrose 1960, 211 n.32.

[144] Boehringer 2001, 29-36; Ekroth 2007, 101-6; Bravo 2009, 9-17.

Chapter Two

Early Hero-Cult in Sparta

The following chapter examines two sanctuaries in Sparta, those of the temple of Helen and Menelaos (the Menelaion) and the temple of Apollo and Hyakinthos (the Amyklaion). These two sanctuaries present special cases for the study of hero-cult. The Menelaion, where cult commences in the late eighth/early seventh-century B.C., is often cited as the earliest example of cult for epic heroes.[1] The Amyklaion is an unusual sanctuary because there is possible evidence of continuity of cult from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. The chapter begins with an overview of the religious space in Sparta in order to provide the reader with a general background of the sanctuaries of Sparta and the location of the Menelaion and the Amyklaion. Then the two sanctuaries will be studied in the context of localized religion. As noted above, one of the problems of the study of hero-cult is the categorization and organization of beings in the pan-Hellenic religious scheme, which is anachronistic and misguided since uniformity does not exist even in a given time. Heroes in Sparta are better understood in the context of their own polis, which created them.

2.1. Religious space in Sparta

Sparta was composed of five *komai*: Limnai, Kynosoura, Mesoa, Pitane and Amyklai, of which the first four are concentrated in close physical proximity while Amyklai is about 6 kilometres away (FIGS.1-2). The unification of the five *komai* happened gradually and concluded with the takeover of Amyklai by the Aigeidai (Pind. *I.* 7.12-15; *P.* 1.65), or king Teleklos.[2] The five villages retained their separate identities; Thukydides remarks that Sparta was never 'synoecized' (1.10.2). Even after the four central *komai* of Sparta were walled together in the third-century B.C., they were still separately defined and Amyklai existed outside the walled area.[3] This oddity of Spartan topography is reflected in the double kingship, which probably arose out of the amalgamation of two communities.[4] While the five *komai* were not unified, cult activities signify a unification of the five communities which commonly worshipped in the major sanctuaries, such as those of Athena Chalkioikos, Orthia and Apollo Amyklaios.

The major sanctuaries in the four central *komai* show the earliest activity and growth in the tenth-century B.C.[5] The temple of Athena Poliachos (Chalkioikos)[6] and the sanctuary of (Artemis) Orthia[7] were established with the beginning of settlement in the tenth-century, and in the late eighth/early seventh-century there was activity in terms of votives at the area of the Menelaion[8] and at the sanctuary of Zeus at Tsakona.[9] The two, apparently earlier, settlements in Sparta, that of Limnai and Pitane, each had a major sanctuary in their territory: Pitane encompassed the acropolis where the temple of Athena Poliachos (Chalkioikos) was located,[10] while Limnai included the important temple of (Artemis) Orthia. The two temples were a major part of Spartan religious life as is shown from the numerous votives and inscriptions found at the sites. Athena Poliachos situated on the acropolis served as a protectress of the settlement and was worshipped by all five *komai* (Paus. 3.16.9).[11] The significance of Orthia's cult lay in its initiatory ritual in which young men stole cheeses from the altar and were whipped (Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 2.9) while later, during the Roman period, the ordeal became an attraction, which led to the building of a theatre for the spectators.[12] This ritual in Sparta was shared by only the four central *komai,* and not the fifth *kome* Amyklai, which may be explained by Amyklai's absorption into Sparta at a later date than the other four *komai* (Paus. 3.16.9).[13] Amyklai housed another major sanctuary, that of Apollo and Hyakinthos, which is discussed below. The Hyankinthia festival was held annually during which the procession from Sparta to Amyklai possibly symbolised the unification of Amyklai with the other four Spartan *komai*.[14] As time passed, Sparta, of course, had many other temples: archaeological evidence for the worship of Demeter,[15] Dionysos[16] and others is revealed through excavations while by the time Pausanias visited Lakonia many more sanctuaries in and outside of the *komai* are mentioned, e.g. Aphrodite Morpho (3.15.10) and Apollo Pythaios at Thornax

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[1] Catling 1976-7, 34; Antonaccio 1995, 155-66; 2005, 102; Mazarakis-Ainian 1999, 11; Bravo 2009, 23.

[2] See Malkin (1994, 111-13, n.211) for the conquest of Amyklai and Spartan colonization, and Cartledge (2002, 92) for discussion and debate on the historicity of the conquest of Amyklai. Pausanias (3.2.6) gives us the story of king Teleklos who was responsible for the conquest.

[3] Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, 71-2; Zavvou and Themos 2009, 119.

[4] Cartledge 2002, 106. For the history of the earlier settling of Sparta see idem (106-8) and Moggi (1976, 16-26).

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[5] Coulson 1985, 63-6; Eder 1998, 99-113; Cartledge 2002, 83-90; Catling, R. 2002, 153.

[6] The temple had its interior decorated with bronze sheets hence the name 'Chalkioikos' (Paus. 3.17.2). Thukydides is the earliest writer who uses the name Chalkioikos (1.134.). On the Damonon stele (*IG* V 1.213) dated to ca. 430-420 B.C. Athena is called Polioachos. This name is given by Pausanias (3.17. 2) as an alternative name.

[7] The name Artemis does not appear until late, ca. 50 A.D. in inscriptions (Woodward 1929, 308-74; Hodkinson 2000, 300, n.3).

[8] For the Menelaion see *infra* §2.2.

[9] Catling 1990, 15-35.

[10] The archaeological remains reveal that the sanctuary was in use from the Geometric period onwards: there was an early Geometric stratum and a 'classical' stratum with black figure pottery sherds, a few remains of the Orientalising period and bronze statuettes that cannot be later than the middle of the sixth-century. It appears that the peak of the sanctuary's activity was around the mid-sixth-century B.C. to the mid-fifth-century (Wace 1906-7, 139; Stibbe 1996, 24-5; Waywell 1999, 6, n.17).

[11] Richer 2007, 239.

[12] Kennell 1995, 127-9; Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, 212, 208.

[13] Cartledge 2002, 106.

[14] For the worship of Hyakinthos and the history of the sanctuary see *infra* §2.3.

[15] Stibbe 1993, 71-105; Parker 1986, 101-103; Cook 1950, 261-81.

[16] See Stibbe (1991, 2-3) and Kourinou (2000, 210-12) on the debate regarding the location of the temple.

(3.10.8).[17] Liminal sanctuaries were devoted to Artemis: at Karyai on the north, which was on the border with Arkadia,[18] and at Limnai (this was another Limnai independent of the Spartan *kome*)[19] on the west, which was positioned on the border with the Messenians.[20]

2.2. The Menelaion

2.2.1. *The literary evidence*

The Spartan literary record concerning the Menelaion is early: Tyrtaios does not mention the cult but Alkman (last quarter of the seventh-century B.C.)[21] talks of a ναὸς ἁγνὸς εὐπύργω Σεράπνας (fr.14 Page, *PMG*) and of Menelaos, Helen and the Dioskouroi receiving immortal rites there (ἀσανάτας τελε[τάς]), fr.7 Page, *PMG*).[22] A fuller reference to Therapne comes later in Herodotos (6.58-61) who tells the story of an ugly girl who was transformed into a beauty when brought to the temple of Helen, where the *goddess* appeared before the girl and changed her into the most beautiful girl in the town. In his *Enkomion to Helen* 66, Isokrates (436-338 B.C.) states that:

Ὡς οὖν καὶ δίκην λαβεῖν καὶ χάριν ἀποδοῦναι δυναμένην, τοὺς μὲν τοῖς χρήμασιν προέχοντας ἀναθήμασιν καὶ θυσίαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις προσόδοις ἱλάσκεσθαι καὶ
τιμᾶν αὐτὴν χρὴ, τοὺς δὲ φιλοσόφους πειρᾶσθαί τι λέγειν περὶ αὐτῆς ἄξιον τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκείνῃ· τοῖς γὰρ πεπαιδευμένοις πρέπει τοιαύτας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀπαρχάς.

‘Since, then, Helen has the power to punish as well as to reward, it is the duty of those who have wealth to propitiate and to honour her with thank-offerings, sacrifices, and processions, and philosophers should endeavour to speak of her in a manner worthy of her merits; for such are the first fruits it is fitting that men of cultivation should offer’. (Trans. van Hook 1944).[23]

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[17] This sanctuary has been tentatively identified by the Lakonia Survey with the large site of Geladari situated north of Sparta, see Catling, R. (2002, 220) for a discussion.

[18] Calame 2001, 153, n.188.

[19] Paus. 3.10.7; 24.9; 23.10; 4.4.2; 31.3.

[20] *IG* V 1.1373-8, 1431. On the identification of the site, see Leekley and Noyes 1976, 119ff. For commentary on the inscriptions see Ager 1996, 26, 74; Magnetto 1997, 20. For the dispute with the Messenians over the border and sanctuary, see Luraghi 2008, 16-27. For the myth and the meaning of ritual in the sanctuary, see Calame 2001, 142-8.

[21] see Cambell 1988, 268.

[22] Σεράπνα is also mentioned in Alkman fr.8 Page, *PMG*. No other evidence suggests that the Dioskouroi received cult at the Menelaion. Pindar (*P.* 11.61-2), and Polybios (5.18.21) say that Therapne was the burial place of the Dioskouroi. However Herodotos (6.61.3) mentions that the shrine of Helen (i.e. the Menelaion) at Therapne was above the Phoibaion and Pausanias (3.20.2) says that ‘not far from Therapne is the so-called Phoibaion, and in it a temple of the Dioskouroi’ (3.20.2). So perhaps what Alkman in fr.7 Page, *PMG* refers to is perhaps the area of Therapne and so do Pindar and Polybios when they mention the burial place.

[23] There are other literary sources that recount Helen’s extraordinary powers: in the *Odyssey* Helen slips a potion into the drinks of Menelaos and Telemachos in order to bring forgetfulness (4.219-30). In Plato’s *Phaidros* (243A) she

The two passages, although not by Spartan authors, are set in Sparta and so reflect its cultic perceptions. Herodotos talks of a *goddess* with powers to influence someone's life while Isokrates provides possible evidence for sacrifices, processions and thank offerings offered to Helen. In both passages, Helen appears to be the dominant recipient of cult.

Modern scholars have devoted much study to Helen and her position in the Spartan pantheon and the prevalent view is that Helen was an older fertility goddess.[24] Larson thinks that Helen and Menelaos exemplify a heroic couple worshipped in the Peloponnese, such as Alexandra and Agamemnon. She finds the cult relationship of husband and wife to be a characteristic of Chthonian cults rather than Olympian and sees Helen as an example of a 'faded goddess,' who is connected with fertility.[25] Because Helen led a chorus of young girls in honour of local Spartan festivals in Euripides *Helen* (1465-78) and Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (1296ff), other scholars associate Helen with young girls. Much later, Theokritos' in his *Epithalamion of Helen* talks of Helen as formerly an adolescent who participated in races with girls but now is a wife who no longer does so, and girls pour libations for her at a Plane-tree. Calame associates the Plane-tree in Theokritos with another cult of Helen at Platanistas, in Sparta, which is also mentioned in Pausanias (3.15.3).[26] Calame regards Helen's cults as belonging to two aspects of Helen: Helen as an adolescent at Platanistas and Helen as a wife at the Menelaion, where she is worshipped together with her husband. Because of the two cults (the adolescent and the wife) she is associated with initiation rituals,[27] marriage and fertility.[28] Others have even tried to link her cult to the etymology of her name, which derives from *elane*, a torch, bundle of reeds or wickers.[29] If this is

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deprives the poet Stesichoros of his sight when he composed a poem in which he spoke negatively of her. After he realised the cause of his misfortune, he wrote the *Palinodia,* of which we have a small fragment preserved in the *Phaidros*, and Helen restored his sight. Isokrates also claims that Helen appeared in front of Homer at night and asked him to compose a poem on the topic of those who went to Troy 'because she wished to make the death more to be envied than the life of the rest of mankind, because of her the poem has such charm and it became so famous' (*Enkomion to Helen* 65; Trans. Van Hook 1944).

[24] Scholars trace Helen's origin and background in Indo-European mythology and regard Helen as the daughter of the Vedic sky god Dyaus, and therefore the Dawn goddess (West 1975, 8-10; Jackson 2006, 56-72). This point is also stressed in Bowra (2001, 52) who sees Αώτις (from Doric dawn) in Alkman's *Partheneion* as a reference to Helen. For a discussion and further references regarding the *Partheneion*, see Jackson 2006, 48-56.

[25] Larson 1995, 78-9. The opposition of Olympian vs. Chthonian is now disputed see Schlesier 1991; van Straten 1995, 165-7; Verbank-Piérard 2000, 283-4; Ekroth 2002, 310-25 *contra* Scullion 1994; 2000.

[26] Calame 2001, 191-202, esp. 193-4. No archaeological evidence is known for this cult.

[27] Calame 2001, 193-4. The term 'initiation ritual' has come under a fair amount of criticism because it is not attested in Greek literature in relation to rites of transition to puberty and because the festivals that deal with 'initiation' have a high level of local variation; see Graf (2003, 8-15) and *ThesCRA* II (91-2) for discussion.

[28] Helen is also viewed as a fertility symbol because of her amorous liaisons: she was abducted by Theseus, then by Paris (although she may have gone with him of her own will; *Il.* 3.174). Helen also was paired with Enarphoros, son of Hippokoon; Idas and Lynkeus; Deiphobos; Achilles; and even the son of Proteus, Theoklymenos; see Clader (1976, 71) who provides the references.

[29] Skutsch 1987, 188-93.

correct then 'Helene' could be a form of *elane* linking the essential meaning of Helen to vegetation, and in effect, to a vegetation-fertility type goddess. As tempting as these interpretations are, they rely on literary sources and not archaeological evidence.

2.2.2. *The archaeological evidence*

Pausanias indicates that the temple in which Helen was worshipped was called the Menelaion (3.19.9-11) which stood, according to Herodotos, on the hills of Therapne (6.62).[30] The hills of Therapne, east of the Eurotas River were explored in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when the site of the Menelaion was discovered and underwent successive excavations.[31] This enabled scholars to establish a chronology: the life of the shrine was a long one spanning the late-Geometric to the Hellenistic periods.[32] The excavations also revealed part of a Mycenaean building about 100 meters away from the site, which had been destroyed by fire, as well as parts of Mycenaean debris down the hill on the south slope (FIG. 3).[33] In 1973, the site was explored again. In his subsequent archaeological report, Catling states that due to the large chronological gap in the finds there had been an interval of about 500 years between the disappearance of Mycenaean activity on the hill and the founding of the later cult.[34] He also isolated three successive stages for the Menelaion: a late-Geometric shrine of which no physical remains exist but perhaps consisting of no more than a temenos and a simple altar; a poros Archaic shrine (the Old Menelaion) of uncertain design,[35] dated to ca. 630 B.C.,[36] and the existing mid-sixth-century B.C. structure.[37] The existing building is described by the excavator as a monument on a rectangular foundation surrounded by a broad terrace held in place by a retaining wall creating a structure of 22 x 16 meters on ground plan (FIG. 4-5).[38] A triglyph frieze in marble may have crowned the retaining wall, which in turn, may have carried statues.[39] The structure had a ramp on the south-west side in order to reach the top of the building which was either an altar[40] or housed the statues of Helen and Menelaos. Although the zenith of the shrine's activity appears to have been during the Archaic period, votives continued until the third-century B.C. but the importance of the shrine must have been known and visited even later: a second-century A.D. fibula was found in the fill[41] and of course Pausanias was well aware of the monument (3.19.9-11).

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[30] For the location see also Alkman fr.7.1 Page, *PMG*.

[31] The first identification of the site goes back in the nineteenth century when Ross in 1833 (Ross 1855, 6; 1861, 342; Moustaka 2005, 246) explored the hills, on the east side of the Eurotas river. There he identified a large building as the Menelaion and conducted a small excavation at the site. Later in the nineteenth century, the classical shrine was completely cleared by Kastriotis (*Praktika* 1900, 74-87) where he exposed a platform surrounding a high foundation for a naiskos.

[32] The British School under the direction of Wace, Droop and Thompson (1908-1909, 108-157) excavated the monument and its immediate vicinity and established the chronology.

[33] See Catling (1976-7, 24-34) and Catling R. (1986, 208-10, fig. 215) for the south slope remains.

[34] Catling 1976-7, 34.

[35] Catling (1976-7, 36, fig. 22) gave an approximate date of late seventh/early sixth-century B.C. Further studies on the architectural fragments have since then revised the date to 630 B.C. (personal communication with Prof. Cavanagh).

[36] Cavanagh and Laxton (1984, 34) believe that the innermost foundation within the conglomerate platform was the oldest part of the building.

[37] Catling (1976-7, 37) had dated the monument then to the fifth-century B.C. Now the date has been revised to the mid-sixth-century B.C. (personal communication with Mr. R. Catling).

[38] Catling 1976-7, 37.

[39] A fragmentary terracotta model found at the site may indicate the architecture of the building surmounted by

Among other artefacts unearthed during the excavations of 1973-6 were two remarkable finds that validated the identification of the classical structure as indeed the temple dedicated to Helen and Menelaos. At the north-east of the monument in a complex of artificial terraces were discovered two bronzes with inscribed dedications to Helen and Menelaos: an aryballos and an unusual object identified by Catling as an *harpax* or *kreagra* (FIGS. 6-7).[42] The excavators date the *harpax* to the sixth-century B.C. and the aryballos to the second quarter of the seventh-century but Jeffery thinks that the inscription on the aryballos is later, ca. 600 B.C.[43] Written on the mouth of the vessel in boustrophedon are the words, 'Δεῖνι[ς] τάδ ἀνέθεκε Χαϱι[·] Fελέναι ΜενελάFο,' 'Deinis has dedicated this in honour of Helen of Menelaos' (*SEG* XXVI 457).[44] On the *harpax* the inscription reads: 'Τᾶι Fελέναι,' 'to Helen' (*SEG* XXVI 458).[45] Another inscription of the early sixth-century on the rim of a bronze phiale was dedicated to Menelaos (*SEG* XXXV 321)[46] and lastly a stele dating to the fifth-century B.C. (designed to carry a bronze statuette), was dedicated solely to Menelaos (*SEG* XXVI 459).[47] These artefacts secure the site as that of the temple of Helen and Menelaos.[48]

2.2.2.a. *The Votives*

The Menelaion has not yet been properly published so our knowledge regarding the site is based on general reports. A proper publication of the architecture, bronzes, figurines and pottery is

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triglyphs (Tomlison 1992, 249 n.13).

[40] Catling 1976-7, 37, figs. 21, 30-1. The total height of the monument is estimated at 8 meters; the standing monument today is at 6 meters, op. cit.

[41] Catling 1976-7, 41, fig. 52.

[42] Catling 1976-7, 37, figs. 26-7; Catling and Cavanagh 1976, figs. 1-3, pls. I-II. The *harpax* is identified as a meat hook. For a discussion regarding the function and other examples, including an Attic stamnos (ca. 500-450 B.C.) depicting Medea using such an instrument (Berlin, Antikensammlung 2188; *ARV*^{2} 297, no. 1), see idem, 153.

[43] Catling and Cavanagh 1976, 148-156, figs. 1-2, pl. I-II; *LSAG*^{2}, 446, n.3a, pl. 75.2.Bronze aryballoi are not very common but we know of examples at Delphi and the Argive Heraion. The date is based on a comparison with Corinthian aryballoi that were imitated by Lakonian potters. Catling claims that bronze-smiths did the same; thus the date of the bronze aryballos relies on the chronology of Corinthian vase painting, i.e. MPC (675-650 B.C.).

[44] Catling and Cavanagh 1976, 151.

[45] Catling and Cavanagh 1976, 153. For bronze dedications in Spartan sanctuaries, see Hodkinson (1998a) and infra pp. 85, n.15; 87, n.23.

[46] Catling, R. 1986, 212.

[47] Catling 1976-7, 36, fig. 28. For another unpublished dedication to Menelaos, ca. sixth-century, see Catling, R. (1986, 212).

[48] There are other as yet unpublished inscriptions, including some on pottery and an inscribed rim on a marble perirrhanterion (Catling, R. 1986, 212, n.1).

pending. The conclusions for most of the votives thus can only be based on the data and chronology of the excavations from the early twentieth century. A more detailed report was available to me for the lead figurines where the results are summarised in table I.[49]

From what we know thus far, it is clear that the shrine was of particular importance to the Spartans not only because of its use over a considerable time, but also due to the many expensive dedications found there, including bronze:

- rings[50]
- pins[51]
- disks [52]
- sheets of bronze[53]
- miniature vases[54]
- animals, including a crouching mouse and a lion[55]
- bronze masks (one female head; one lion head)[56]
- a female statuette[57]
- dice[58]
- pendants in the shape of pomegranate, poppy seeds, or ox heads[59]
- model double axes [60]
- fibulae[61]
- bowl handles (two with snake heads) [62]
- statuettes (at least two were male) [63]
- rosettes[64]
- a sickle[65]
- bronze vessels[66]

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[49] I would like to thank Prof. Cavanagh for giving me a copy of his forthcoming chapter on the lead figurines from the Menelaion.
[50] Droop 1908-9, 144, 146, 148.
[51] Droop 1908-9, 144, 146, 148.
[52] Droop 1908-9, 144.
[53] Droop 1908-9, 144, 148; Catling 1976-7, 38; Catling R. 1986, 211.
[54] Droop 1908-9, 146.
[55] Droop 1908-9, 146; Catling 1976-7, 38.
[56] Droop 1908-9, 146, 148.
[57] Droop 1908-9, 146.
[58] Droop 1908-9, 146.
[59] Droop 1908-9, 147, 150; Catling 1976-7, 38; Catling R. 1986, 211.
[60] Droop 1908-9, 147.
[61] Droop 1908-9, 147.
[62] Droop 1908-9, 147-8.
[63] Droop 1908-9, 147; Catling 1976-7, 38.
[64] Droop 1908-9, 148.
[65] Droop 1908-9, 148

- an arrow-head[67]
- an unidentified object[68]

One hundred and sixty-nine bronzes alone were found on the slope south of the Menelaion by some of the Mycenaean debris.[69] Other expensive objects include items in silver, or gilt silver, such as rings, a bud, and a lion-head. Ivory, bone[70] and even a fragment of a sandcore glass bottle were also recovered.[71]

Some votives are of military character especially in bronze, such as remains of shields, and others are iron objects, such as swords and spearheads.[72] Additionally, fragments of a bronze strip preserving the upper parts of four warriors in combat[73] and a Lakonian III (575-550 B.C.) cup fragment with a warrior head on the tondo were also found.[74]

Apart from the expensive items, less costly items were also abundant. A large number of terracotta figurines (over three-hundred) such as daedalic plaques, lions, female figurines, horse and rider (FIG. 8), riders seated side-saddle, an ithyphallic figurine, protomai, hydrophoroi, and 'bread maker' figurines were discovered.[75] Also, loom-weights and a large quantity of pottery from the early seventh-century B.C. onwards was found, including a large number of drinking shapes, such as lakainai, kraters, kantharoi, skyphoi, mugs, as well as tripod cooking pots.[76] Lastly, from the site were unearthed fragments of panathenaic amphorae (see below).[77]

Lead figurines (approximately 10,000), which are abundant in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, were also discovered at the Menelaion (table I) (FIGS. 9-10). These are cheap, small items that were found in larger numbers than any of the more expensive objects. The iconography of the lead figurines varies according to the time period.[78] Very few date to the seventh-century, and these take the form of jewellery, but it is not until the end of the seventh-century that lead votives become common at the Menelaion. In the period of Lakonian II (610-575 B.C.) we see mostly wreaths and twenty-eight figures of other varieties including warriors and women. From Lakonian

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[66] Droop 1908-9, 148; Catling 1976-7, 38; Catling R. 1986, 211.
[67] Droop 1908-9, 148.
[68] Droop 1908-9, 148-50.
[69] Catling, R. 1986, 211.
[70] Silver: Thomson, M. S. 1908-9, 142, fig, 12, pl. viii 5-9. Ivory and bone: idem 143-4, pl. viii 11-21.
[71] Catling 1976-7, 38.
[72] Catling 1976-7, 38. See parallels at Olympia, Bol 1989, 21-3, pls. 20-1.
[73] Catling R. 1986, 211, fig. 5.
[74] Catling 1976-7, 41, fig. 48; 1977, 415, fig. 15.
[75] Wace and Thomson 1908, 116-26, figs. 2-5, pl. vi.
[76] Droop 1908-9, 150-7, pls. iii-iv; Catling 1976-7, 38-41, figs. 44-51; Catling, R. 1992, 58-64.
[77] Wace, Thompson and Droop 1908-9, 114; Catling 1976-7, 41; Bentz 1998, 129, no. 6.067.
[78] The same series of lead figurines is found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, see Dawkins, *Orthia*, 249-284; Boardman 1963, 1-7.

III (575-550 B.C.) there are mostly wreaths and a hundred and forty-nine of other varieties with warriors and females dominating the assemblage; we also see the introduction of the deer. From Lakonian IIIB-IV (575-525 B.C.) we have most varieties seen in Lakonian III, but also the beginning of others, particularly deities, such as Poseidon, Hermes, Herakles and the armed goddess (presumably Athena). Horses and deer dominate the numbers of animal figures. From Lakonian V-VI (450-300 B.C.) and VI we see the lead types of Lakonian III but with an increase of animal varieties. Cavanagh speculates that the moulds of the lead figurines after 500 B.C. were in circulation for a while and thus not many new varieties of lead figurines are attested since the same moulds were still in use. Some lead figurines possibly date later, but as these were found in plough soil, it is uncertain that these were made at a later date, i.e. after 200 B.C.[79]

The trenches where the above votives were found were all around the Menelaion. The most important was the ‘Great Pit’, ca. 20 meters from the north-east corner of the temple. The pit, 15 m in diameter and 2 meters deep, was created to provide fill for a terrace for the Menelaion. It was refilled in the sixth-century and again in the fourth-century B.C. Plentiful material was also found in the 1985 excavations on the south terrace, by some Mycenaean debris where in fact, was discovered some of the earliest material: sub-Geometric and Lakonian I, some proto-Corinthian and early Corinthian, among them were Daedalic and Archaic figurines,[80] bronzes and three inscriptions, including the early sixth-century dedication to Menelaos (*SEG* XXXV 319-21). Because this material was located by Mycenaean debris Catling suggested that votives were placed there because of the location’s connection with the heroic past and that they cease because of the erection of the ‘Old Menelaion’.[81]

2.2.3. *Interpretation*

Catling argues that the shrine’s foundation was inspired by a sense of nostalgia for a heroic past – an attitude characteristic of the eighth-century – which the excavator correlates to examples of cult at Mycenaean tombs.[82] He speculates that the structures of the Mycenaean occupation on the Therapne Hill were visible in the eighth-century, and that the remains possibly were perceived as a hero’s home. The argument is based primarily on the speculation that the existence of the nearby Mycenaean structures was the impetus for the creation of the cult and that Homeric heroes were recipients of the cult. There is a problem with this scenario: the majority of the votives were not in fact found by the Mycenaean constructions, which one would expect if the cult was destined for them. Rather a number of the votives were located by the Mycenaean debris on the south terrace of the Menelaion hill. It is impossible to understand why this happened, but it is not unique in Sparta as another deposit of similar character was found nearby on the North Hill together with Bronze Age remains (FIG. 3).[83]

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[79] The material is discussed in Cavanagh (*forthcoming*).

[80] For the Daedalic figurines from Lakonia see Jenkins 1932-3.

[81] Catling 1986, 210. Antonaccio (1995, 164) is sceptical about the interpretation and speculates that the votives there may have been present as a result of erosion from the Menelaion.

[82] Catling 1976-7, 34.

It is difficult to ascertain why the cult at the Menelaion commenced. In order to accept that the cult commenced as a result of the influence of the Homeric Epics one would have to prove that Homeric heroes were an object of cult in the late eighth/early seventh-century (when the cult at the Menelaion commenced); a view that is debatable.[84] However, it is not to say that other stories did not influence local beliefs which lead to the veneration of local powerful kings who lived in the region in the distant past. We know that local myths existed, such as the works of the Lakonian poet Kinaithon who gave Helen and Menelaos a son, Nikostratos, a tradition not attested in Homer.[85] Moreover, it is altogether uncertain that the Homeric Epics had a demonstrable influence on early Greek cult and iconography. In fact, Ahlberg-Cornell demonstrates that Greek iconography from the early and mid-seventh-century frequently represents episodes of the *Epic Cycle* and not the Homeric Epics.[86] The same is demonstrable in Sparta: seventh-century ivories from the sanctuary of Orthia in Sparta depict different scenes from the *Epic Cycle*, such as an ivory comb (ca. 625-600 B.C.) which illustrates the judgement of Paris as told in the *Cypria* (*Procl. Cyp. En.*; FIG. 11)[87] and one (ca. 600 B.C.) that shows the suicide of Ajax known from the *Little Ilias* (*Procl. Il. Par. En.*; FIG. 12).[88] Another ivory (a plaque) from the sanctuary of Orthia may illustrate Paris abducting Helen (ca. 625; FIG. 13).[89]

It is noteworthy to mention that Helen is largely absent from the iconographic repertoire of sixth-century Lakonian vase painting.[90] However, Helen may be on a double sided pyramid stele

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[83] Catling 1976, 90; 1976-7, 35.

[84] Moreover, there is debate over the date of the epics; see *supra* p. 15, n.17. If we take a later date then the impact of the Homeric epics on the Menelaion is altogether impossible because the cult commenced at least by the early seventh-century.

[85] For Kinaithon as a Lakonian poet, see *Little Ilias* (F6 *EGF)*; Tzetzes *chil.* (Huxley 1969, 87; Burkert 1987, 46). For Kinaithon see also *infra* pp. 65, n.22; 75, n.85.

[86] Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 183, 198, table 55. Especially popular are scenes from the *Cypria*, the *Aithiopis*, the *Little Ilias* and the *Ilioupersis*.

[87] Athens National Museum 15368; Marangou 1969, 97-8, 107-9, no. 47, fig. 78a, c; Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 50, no. 21, fig. 70.

[88] Athens National Museum 15222; Marangou 1969, 94, 101, no. 40, fig. 69a; Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 74, no. 56, fig. 114.

[89] Athens National Museum 15362; Dawkins *Orthia*, 214, pls. 109-10; *LIMC* IV. I. 320-1; Floren 1987, 219 supports a Helen and Paris scene and so does *LIMC* I. I. 509-10. Marangou (1969, 83-90) thinks that it is Menelaos leaving for Krete while Fittschen (1969, 52-3, 58-9) argues for a generic scene of abduction because of the ‘hand on wrist’ motif.

[90] Helen is attested early elsewhere. See, for example two early sixth-century bronze reliefs from Olympia (Olympia Museum B. 1897; Kunze 1950, 8, no. II 6, pl. 11; *LIMC* IV. I. 514, no. 96b), the inscribed relief (Olympia Museum B 4475; Bol 1989, 49, 153-4, no. H44; *LIMC* IV. I. 514, no. 96a) and an Attic vase by Sophilos (ca. 580-70 B.C.; *ABV* 40. 20; Kahil 1955, 114, no. 106, pl. 87. 1). For Helen’s iconography, see Kahil (1955). See also *infra* n.89. That Helen

(ca. 600-570 B.C.) found in Sparta (FIG.14 A-B).[91] On side A of the stele a man puts his arm around a woman in an embrace while the two figures hold a wreath. On side B the scene changes and the man threatens the woman with a sword. The most generally accepted interpretation, especially for side B, is that it depicts Menelaos recovering Helen and threatening her with a sword as is told in the *Ilioupersis* (*EGF*) and the *Little Ilias* (F 19 *EGF*). For side A Paris and Helen has been suggested, or Zeus and Alkmene among other couples.[92] I am inclined to think it is Helen and Menelaos for side B because the relief is from Sparta and the scene is already attested and interpreted as such on a number of seventh-century Cycladic relief amphorae.[93] For side A, it would be possible to interpret any couple, but considering that Helen is probably on side B it would be logical to portray another incident from her life on side A. In the mid-sixth-century Helen is also portrayed in Sparta, in this case being abducted by Theseus, on the sculptural program of the throne of Apollo at Amyklai (Paus. 3.18.15).[94] By examining the aforementioned examples, it is safe to say that although the Homeric epics may not have been influential in Archaic Lakonian art, other stories, particularly from the *Epic Cycle*, appear to have had some impact in Lakonian iconography. The cult at the Menelaion may then have been inspired by such stories.

The cult at the Menelaion starts in the late eighth or early seventh-century B.C., as is demonstrated by the votives found there. There is very little evidence of cult before 700 B.C. apart from a few EPC sherds and Lakonian late-Geometric, but a great deal of evidence in the seventh-century B.C.[95] In the seventh-century there are large numbers of pottery, such as lakainai, skyphoi, mugs, pyxides, aryballoi, hydriai and a small number of kantharoi and kraters.[96] Other popular votives are terracotta figurines and bronzes. It appears that the cult may have commenced by the side of the hill where the Mycenaean debris was found together with the earliest votives of sub-Geometric and Lakonian I.

In general, an increase of dedications is observed by the end of the seventh-century[97] which may be linked with the first phase of construction of the monument (the ‘Old Menelaion’) ca. 630

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is absent from sixth-century vase painting may have little to do with local tastes, because Lakonian figurative vases were by and large discovered abroad (Samos, Cyrene, Tocra) and not in Sparta, a fact which may imply that the iconographical selection may not reflect the local choices; see §5.2.2.

[91] The findspot of the stele is uncertain. It is thought to having been found either in the area of Magoula or in a house whose owner claimes to have found it S-W of the acropolis and near the ancient theatre (Pipili 1987, 30.n. 274).

[92] See Pipili (1987, 30-1) for a discussion.

[93] Mykonos Museum 2240; Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 78, figs. 120-121.

[94] Pipili (1987, 83) concludes that ‘heroic subjects of the Trojan Epic are almost totally ignored by sixth-century Lakonian artists’.

[95] Personal communication with Mr. R. Catling.

[96] Catling, R. 1992, 58-70.

[97] Catling R. 1986, 211.

B.C., a point at which we may assume that the cult received state importance.[98] The state importance of the cult can be further supported by a sixth-century unpublished inscription of a roof tile inscribed ‘public property’.[99]

The figurines are largely female, with Daedalic or female figurines predominating within the assemblage in Lakonian 0, Lakonian I and Lakonian II.[100] A hoard of horse-and-rider figurines were found during the early excavations, many of unidentified gender, though Thompson states that the majority are female and reports that they were found with pottery of the later Lakonian style, so possibly Lakonian III.[101] Of special interest is the female bronze statuette also found with Lakonian 0 and Lakonian I pottery.[102] The terracotta figurines of females standing or as riders have parallels at the Orthia sanctuary. Some of them wear poloi which may mean that they represent Helen although this is uncertain. For the riders seated side-saddle Voyatzis suggests that the Helen would be depicted.[103] It is possible that women may have dedicated such items but men may have also dedicated such artefacts for a female recipient of cult. Loom-weights and spindle-whorls may also have been appropriate dedications to Helen.

The Archaic period is the time when most of the bronzes are reported, including a significant number of military type dedications. It would be tempting to interpret these votives as offering to Menelaos but given that Orthia also receives military type dedications at her sanctuary[104] there is no reason to suppose that they were destined for the male figure in the cult. In fact, scholars indicate that armour dedications in goddess sanctuaries are relatively common[105] and therefore some of those found at the Menelaion could also have been destined for Helen.

The second phase of construction takes place ca. mid-sixth-century B.C.[106] at a time when other major building programs took place in Sparta, such as the temple of Apollo at Amyklai and Athena Chalkioikos. It appears that the Menelaion was part of a general building program with a focus of sanctuaries in Sparta during the mid-sixth-century.[107]

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[98] Alkman mentions a temple at Therapne in fr.14 Page, *PMG*. It is possible that the poet would praise the patronage (by Spartan royalty) of the temple, a not uncommon poetic feature. See also West 1992a, 3-5 (for *POx*y 2390) and Hinge (2009, 219-21) on the possible patronage as well as references to members of the Spartan royal family in Alkman’s fr.5 Page, *PMG*.

[99] No. B3 of the *forthcoming* Menelaion publication. The information is based on Parker (*forthcoming*) who cites Spawforth’s forthcoming publication on the inscriptions of the Menelaion.

[100] This is based on the 1908-9 report so the dating is tentative.

[101] Thompson M.S. 1908-9, 124 fig. 3.35-6, 41-2, 46-7. The female gender of the figurines was also observed by Catling (1976-7, 38, fig. 42).

[102] Wace 1908-9, 146, pl. x.

[103] Voyatzis 1992, 275. She bases her argument on female deities and horses because a mortal woman would not normally ride a horse but a donkey. Furthermore, horses and female deities are connected in ‘mistress of animals’ iconography and Voyatzis claims that Artemis would be the most common deity depicted with a horse. Riders seated side-saddle are found in a few sanctuaries, especially in the Peloponnese; in each sanctuary the role would be taken by a different deity, e.g. Orthia, Alea or Helen (eadem, 275-6).

[104] Dawkins *Orthia*, LXXXo, LXXXVIIh, LXXXVIIId, i.

[105] Larson 2009.

[106] Personal communication with Mr. R. Catling.

After the mid-sixth-century the bronzes decrease in number but we see an increase in lead figurines, in the number of thousands, thus indicating that the cult was greatly popular.

For the Classical period, the Menelaion appears to continue receiving large numbers of lead figurines while the bronzes decline. Based on a new Simonides text[108] there is some evidence that the Spartans may have attributed an important role to Menelaos, together with the Dioskouroi, in the victory of Plataia.[109] Unfortunately, because of the nature of the publication of the finds it is not possible to deduce the numbers of dedications during this time apart from the lead figurines which continue to be popular. Nonetheless, an early fifth-century stele (on top of which would have been mounted a bronze statuette) with a dedication to Menelaos (ΕΥΘΥΚΡΕΝΕΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ ΤΟΙ ΜΕΝΕΛΑΙ, *SEG* XXXV 321) was found in the cistern.[110] The date could signify a dedication to Menelaos after the Persian wars. Lastly, a fragmentary inscription, on a small doric capital, which reads ΚΥΝΙΣΚΑ […]ΝΑΙ is of importance because the name may allude to the well known Spartan princess Kyniska who won the Olympic chariot games in 396 and 392 B.C.[111] If this is the case, the dedication indicates that the Menelaion was a place of high importance where members of the royal family would give offerings and its popularity continued into the Classical period.

The material from the Menelaion belongs in the general repertoire of votives from the large sanctuaries of Sparta, especially Orthia and the Amyklaion. The rich votive dedications, such as the large quantity of bronzes, are typical of dedications to deities in Sparta.[112] Additionally, the panathenaic amphorae, themselves significant prized objects, demonstrate how the sanctuary was a central cult place for wealthy individuals to dedicate objects. The only other location in Sparta where such items were found is the temple of Athena Chalkioikos.[113] The large numbers of dedications of pottery, figurines and lead figurines indicate a widely spread worship in which the figures receiving cult at the Menelaion were important enough to acquire a large number of items from different socio-economic strata. In fact, the type and quantity of the material dedicated at the Menelaion places the sanctuary among the most important in Sparta, such as that of Orthia, the Amyklaion and the temple of Athena Chalkioikos.

The similarity of the material culture from the Menelaion and that of the sanctuary of

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[107] For the Amyklaion see *infra* §2.3. For Athena Chalkioikos see p. 86, n.22.
[108] See §4.3.3.b.
[109] Cartledge 2002, 120-1.
[110] Catling 1976-7, 36; 1977, 514, fig. 16.
[111] For the inscription see Woodward 1908-9, 87. For Kyniska see pp. 95, n.76; 115.
[112] Lamb 1926-7a; 1926-7b.
[113] At least seven vases identified, mostly in fragments (Dickins 1906-7, 150-3, pls. iv-v; Bentz 1998, 132, 6.097, 6.098; 6.099; 6.100, 6. 101, 6.102, 6.106, pl. 32).

Artemis Orthia has long been noted by scholars with Pomeroy stating that 'the finds from the Menelaion are a microcosm of the Orthia material'.[114] Similarities exist from the lead figurines to the terracotta votives as well as the bronzes.[115] Even a bronze sickle of the type usually associated with the prize for the ephebic competition at Orthia was found at the Menelaion.[116] The resemblance of votives demonstrates that the two cults had some similarities in the perception of the worshippers. A connection has been stressed with the Orthia sanctuary because it was the place where Helen was abducted by Theseus when dancing as a young maiden (Alkman fr. 21 *PMG*; Plut. *Thes.* 31). [117]

The material from the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos is unfortunately scarce but the Amyklaion (see below) has yielded a large number of weapons which correspond to the military character of the cult of Apollo in Sparta. The Menelaion also received a significant number of military type dedications indicating that it was also one of the prominent sanctuaries for such offerings.

The votive material from the Menelaion was part of the general Spartan votive repertoire common to large Spartan sanctuaries but not hero shrines (see chapter six). In particular, the votive assemblage from the Menelaion lacks typical Spartan heroic stone and terracotta reliefs, most famously known from the deposit dedicated to Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra. These reliefs, which will be discussed in detail in chapter five, have been identified as typically heroic and are not found in any of the divine cult places in Sparta.[118] As we will see in chapter six, the votive deposits associated with heroes in Sparta generally consist of inexpensive items, such as vases and terracottas, while bronzes are rare. The contrast between the votive assemblage of the two heroic couples is indeed illuminating. Both the cults at the Menelaion and that of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra commenced in the early seventh-century B.C.[119] However, it appears that they followed a different route: while the cult at the Menelaion was expressed in the same way as the divine cults of Sparta, the cult of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra had a different character which was according to the customs of heroic cult. This is even attested in Herodotos (6.61.3) where Helen has an ἄγαλμα (cult statue), indicative of divine rather than heroic cult.[120] It is not of course necessary to think that Helen and Menelaos ever lost their heroic identities in Sparta, however, whatever the cult at the Menelaion was, the votives, architecture and reference to the cult statue show that it more closely resembled a divine rather than a hero cult.

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[114] Pomeroy 2002, 115.

[115] There are also significant differences from the Orthia material, such as the grotesque masks (Dawkins, *Orthia*, 163-86; Carter 1987) and ivory votives (Dawkins *Orthia*, 203-48; Marangou 1969, 50-8, 65-7, 83-90, 94-5, 101; Pipili 1987, 120) which are absent from the Menelaion.

[116] Dawkins *Orthia*, 285ff; Scanlon 1988, 194, 196; Kron 1998, 206-7.

[117] The myth of her abduction by Theseus must have been circulating for a while as it is first attested in the *Epic Cycle* (Adespota fr.8 *EGF)*.

[118] These votives will be discussed in detail in chapter five.

[119] For the cult of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra see *infra* pp. §6.1.

[120] Ekroth 2002, 149, n.108; 2009, 125. Cult statues are, however, found in some hero-cult sites but these are major

2.2.3.a. *Ritual*

The archaeological and literary evidence can furthermore provide some information regarding rituals and festivities at the site. Like many sanctuaries, the Menelaion yielded a large quantity of ceramic drinking vessels, such as kraters, skyphoi and Spartan Lakainai, as well as tripod cooking pots.[121] However, the majority of the drinking vessels are nearly all miniaturized versions of the regular shape. We have very few kraters, relatively few regular size cups and almost no pouring vessels – jugs, oinochoai. Likewise, there is very little cooking ware, and most of that is from the later Classical and Hellenistic levels. These, and the inscribed bronze *harpax* provide little evidence of dining. So it appears that there was little if any ritual drinking and dining on site – at most it was restricted to a small group.[122]

The presence of large numbers of lead votives may provide evidence for festivities associated with the Menelaion. Cavanagh speculates that the lead votives were made for a festival as a votive occasion, which explains their large numbers at Orthia and the Menelaion and their low occurrence elsewhere.[123] Moreover, some of the lead figurines, such as the dancers[124] and flutists tempt one to suggest that these represent such performances at the site. Since such votives were also found in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia the same is perhaps true there.

Literary evidence may also provide some information regarding festivities at the site. Isokrates in his *Epithalamion to Helen* (66) talks of processions, sacrifices and festivals in honour of Helen.[125] Hesychios, writing in the fifth-century AD, reports that maidens were carried to Helen’s place in *kannathra* (wicker carriages), some of which are decorated with images of deer and vultures. Admittedly Hesychios is late but earlier sources, such as Xenophon (*Ages.* 8.7), also mention that *kannathra* were used for festivals in Sparta to transport maidens to Amyklai for the Hyakinthia.[126] Plutarch also mentions *kannathra* and specifies that young girls’ ride in them during processions (*Ages.* 19). Hesychios also talks of the Lakonian festival the *Eleneia* which may refer

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heroes who had large precincts, such as Amphiaraos at Oropos or Heros Ptoios at Akraphiai (ead.)

[121] Catling, R. 1992, 71.

[122] Personal communication with Mr. R. Catling. This is against Antonaccio (2005, 103, 107) who argues for dining and drinking at the site. Also, the excavator reports of a cistern (Catling 1976-7, 37) which could be linked with feasting at the site. For water in Greek sanctuaries see Cole (1988). See Tomlison (1988) for use of water in ritual at the Heraion at Perachora.

[123] Cavanagh *forthcoming*; *contra* Boss (2000, 197), who argues that they were made in workshops away from the sanctuaries and that anyone could buy them for a private occasion.

[124] Smith (2010, 143-5, fig. 3) interprets some of the dancers from the lead-figurines from the Menelaion as komasts.

[125] See *supra* p. 35.

[126] s.v. κάνναθρα

to a festival at Therapne.[127] The Menelaion, then, probably enjoyed a festival with a possible sacrifice and processions but perhaps not in the Archaic period. The cooking ware and drinking vessels mostly date to the late Classical and Hellenistic period and suggest that such rituals may have began then, a fact further supported by Isokrates.

2.2.4. *The position of Helen and Menelaos in Spartan society: heroes or divinities?*

A few points should be raised regarding Spartan perceptions of the cult at the Menelaion: first of all, there is no evidence that when the cult at the Menelaion began Helen was a goddess downgraded to the status of a heroine. The archaeological evidence demonstrates that the cult began ca. 700 B.C. in accordance with other heroic cults in Sparta, e.g. the cult of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra and the heroic cults which will be discussed in chapter six. The cult of Helen and Menelaos must therefore have become divine at a later period, possibly by the time of Herodotos since he mentions a cult statue (6.61.3). Isokrates confirms that the cult at the Menelaion was divine by the fourth-century B.C. (*Epithalamion to Helen* 66).

In order to accept that Helen was an older faded fertility goddess one would have to prove that she had been connected with fertility in Sparta. However, if anything, Helen was possibly associated with marriage, as the earliest inscription attests (*SEG* XXVI 457) ‘Deinis dedicated to Helen of Menelaos’, i.e. the wife of Menelaos. Moreover, in Herodotos (3.61 6) Helen makes a girl the most beautiful in Sparta and so desirable for marriage that when she grows up king Ariston steals her from her husband and married her himself. We can speculate that some of the votives were given to the temple by girls who were about to marry, but because Pausanias (3.13.9) says that it was to ‘Aphrodite Hera’ that Spartan women made offerings at the time of their daughters’ marriage this must remain hypothetical. Naturally, Pausanias’ Roman Sparta may have had different customs than Archaic and Classical Sparta when Helen may have assumed that role. Parker importantly stresses that to interpret the cult of Helen as that of a fertility goddess who is recurrently ‘raped’, i.e. carried off – it is her nature to disappear recurrently – one should examine her mythology.[128] However, unlike Kore, who is linked with the dying and the rebirth of the earth and seasons, Helen’s abductions have no such effects.[129]

Therefore, rather than perceiving Helen as a ‘faded fertility goddess’, she and Menelaos should be viewed as belonging to the class of mortals who do not die but became immortals, such as Herakles, the Dioskouroi, Asklepios, and Amphiaraos.[130] The reasons why the cult turned from heroic to divine is open to speculation.[131] It is important to note that Helen is a different heroine than others because she is the only mortal daughter of Zeus.[132] The other daughters of Zeus, such as Athena, Aphrodite, and Persephone, had two parents who were immortal and so were themselves were divine.[133] Accordingly, it is possible that Helen would have assumed her divine position as a goddess, particularly since her immortality is implied early (*Od.* 4.561-9).

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[127] s.v. Ἑλένεια

[128] Parker *forthcoming.* I would like to thank Prof. Parker for giving me a copy of his forthcoming article on the cult of Helen.

[129] Parker *forthcoming.*

[130] See *supra* pp.5, n.26; 30, n.135. In the Homeric epics Helen is considered mortal but it is noteworthy that Helen’s

It is not certain how Menelaos acquired cult. Perhaps it was bestowed because of his prestige as Helen's husband; it is after all because of her that he received immortality. The *Odyssey* tells how, while still a mortal, Menelaos received a prophecy from Proteus, the old man of the sea that he would not die in Argos but will be sent by the gods to the Elysian plain 'because you have Helen as wife and in their eyes Zeus is your father-in-law' (4.569). In Euripides' *Helen* (697ff.) she has the power to make Menelaos immortal and he will be her consort.

2.2.5. Conclusion

The large votive assemblage, elaborate architectural program and the longevity of activity reveal the Menelaion to be one of the most important religious sites in Sparta. The cult must have started as one to heroes in the late eighth/early seventh-century, just as other heroic cults in Sparta commenced then, such as that of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra. However, the popularity of the couple, and possibly their importance in Sparta's legendary history, must have gradually turned the Menelaion into a divine cult. The material evidence shows that the Menelaion received similar kinds of votives as those at Orthia and the Amyklaion and that these are distinctly different from those dedicated to heroes. The status of the cult is also supported by the literary evidence which attests that Helen and Menelaos were worshipped as gods. Epigraphical evidence from the sixth-century refers to them both together and separately and so shows that both Helen and Menelaos were worshipped there from the beginning. However, it is possible that Helen was the 'dominant' recipient of cult as both the large number of female figurines and the literary testimonia highlight Helen's importance.

Chapter one demonstrated that the term hero was fluid and that there were many figures, either legendary or real, who acquired heroic cult. The Menelaion exhibits just how flexible Greek

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character has epithets, such as κούϱη Διός, commonly used for Hera and Aphrodite. Clader (1976, 41-4) lists Helen's epithets and their occurrence in Homer.

[131] Helen and Menelaos may not be the only heroes whose cult started as heroic and then turned divine. Herakles dies in the *Odyssey* (11. 602-4) but in later stories becomes immortal (*Theogony* 950-5; *Catalogue of Women* F 25. 26-33) (West 1985, 112, 130; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 85-7; Stafford 2005, 393). Sourvinou-Inwood (1983, 36, 45) argues that the reason for the apotheosis of some heroes is due to changing attitudes towards death in the Archaic period.

[132] Her mother was the mortal Leda and her father was Zeus (Eur. *Helen* 16-23). Alternatively, in the *Cypria* (fr.7, in Athenaios 8.334B), she was the daughter of Nemesis and Zeus (Shapiro-Lapatin 1992, 117).

[133] Parker (*forthcoming*) argues that Helen should be compared to the sons of Zeus, who were born of mortal women, rather than his daughters.

religious thought was: Helen and Menelaos were considered heroes elsewhere, but their cult in Sparta was expressed in a similar manner as those cults that belonged to divinities.[134] It is not to say that Helen and Menelaos were not regarded as heroes in Sparta: their cult demonstrates how flexible Greek religion was and how the boundaries of heroic/divine could be crossed. Also, their cult was not static. It probably began as heroic but due to local needs its character changed and its expression became divine. By the time Pausanias visited the area the Menelaion was the place where Helen and Menelaos were allegedly buried (3.19.9). Since heroic cults were by then more commonly associated with graves, as is evident from the Hellenistic and Roman *heroa*,[135] Helen and Menelaos also acquired a 'grave' at the place of their temple.[136]

2.3. The Amyklaion

The sanctuary of Apollo and Hyakinthos located at the fifth *kome* of Sparta, that of Amyklai, was considered one of the most important sanctuaries in Sparta and possibly Lakonia.[137] The Hyakinthia festival, celebrated at the sanctuary in honour of the dead Hyakinthos who was accidentally killed by his lover Apollo,[138] was a joyful community affair where Spartans, perioikoi and slaves were entertained (Polykrates *FGrH* 588 F1). The sanctuary was famous for the architectural construction of the 'throne of Apollo,' whose base was the grave of Hyakinthos (Paus. 3.19.2). For our purposes, the cult at the Amyklaion is important because archaeological excavations demonstrate that cult existed at the site during the thirteenth to the eleventh centuries B.C., possibly continuing into the Iron Age. Because of this perceived continuity, the hero

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[134] Elsewhere, Helen was considered to be a mortal heroine and worshipped as such, specifically in association with her brothers the Dioskouroi. In Athenian vase painting beginning from the last third of the fifth-century she is depicted as born from the egg of Leda (*LIMC* IV. I. 503-4), and in the aftermath of the Persian Wars she is depicted on the base of the statue of Nemesis at Rhamnous (Shapiro-Lapatin 1992, 107, 111-19). For Helen's cult in Attica, shared by her and her brothers the Dioskouroi, see Euripides' *Helen* (1666-9) and *Orestes (*1625-40) and the calendar at Thorikos, where she is worshipped together with her brothers (*SEG* XXXIII 147). Pindar begins a victory ode (*Ol*. 3.39-40) for Theron of Acragas and his kin, whom he says 'receive the Dioskouroi with hospitable tables more than any other mortals…in honouring famous Acragas I pray to please the hospitable Tyndaridai and Helen of the lovely locks'. At the end of Euripides' *Helen*, the Dioskouroi tell Helen that when she dies 'you will be called a goddess, and you will share in libations along with the Dioskouroi. And you will receive entertainment (*xenia*) from men with us. Such is the wish of Zeus (1666-9).' *Xenia* here refers to the rite of *theoxenia*; see *infra* p. 136, n.140.

It is not until the Roman period that there is evidence outside of Sparta for the cult of Helen herself, without the Dioskouroi. A cult of Helen Denditis existed at Rhodes (Paus. 3.19.9-10) and a miniature gold cup from Egypt bears a dedication, dated 9 January 58 A..D. to 'Helen the sister of Aphrodite' (Perdrizet 1936, 5-10), which perhaps alludes to the legend in Euripides *Helen* that she was never at Troy but went instead to Egypt (Parker *forthcoming*). For the cults of Helen outside Sparta, see Wide (1893, 340-6), Clader (1976, 63ff.) and Edmunds (2007, 26-9).

[135] When Pausanias visits Lakonia most of the hero shrines he describes were also tombs (3.11.9; 11.11; 12.7; 12.11; 13.1; 14.1-3; 14.6; 15.2; 15.6; 16.6).

[136] Note that there is no earlier reference to the Menelaion as the burial place of Helen and Menelaos.

[137] Amyklai was united or conquered by Sparta and after 950-900 B.C. there is nothing to indicate that Sparta and Amyklai are culturally distinct (Cartledge 2002, 107; Vlizos 2009, 12).

[138] For the myth, see Eur. *Hel.* 1469-75; ps-Apollod. *bibl.* 1.3.3; 3.10.3; Lukian *d. deor.* 14.2; 15.2; 16.2 (Richer 2004, 89 n.12). Also, a possible reference may be found in fr.171 M/W) but it is too fragmentary to tell with certainty.

Hyakinthos has been viewed as a Mycenaean deity who was demoted in status in the historical period.[139] However, the evidence for Hyakinthos' presence at the sanctuary from the Mycenaean period onwards is late and literary. Moreover, the Hyakinthia has not received careful attention as a festival that may illuminate aspects of Hyakinthos' perception in Sparta.

2.3.1. *The archaeological evidence*

The area of the Agia Kyriaki hill at Amyklai was explored in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries[140] when it was established that Early and Middle Helladic settlements were present on the hillside. It was concluded that a late Helladic cult (LH III B-C) existed at the site of the later Amyklaion on the hill, as is indicated by the large number of wheel-made animal terracotta figurines, two fragments of large terracotta statuettes,[141] Ψ figurines, two riders figurines, pottery and metal objects (see below).[142] Atop the Mycenaean material, a large amount of proto-Geometric finds were unearthed together with three Mycenaean sherds, one Mycenaean terracotta figurine and a fragment of a large Mycenaean terracotta animal statuette. A layer above these finds contained Geometric material and above that was material from the Archaic to the Hellenistic times.[143]

Because of the Mycenaean material found in the proto-Geometric level, and the dispute over the dating of the wheel-made terracotta animal figurines and metals, there has been discussion over the possibility of continuity at the site from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. Regarding the terracotta animals, Buschor and Massow detected various differences in style and paint and assigned some to the Geometric period.[144] Nicholls dates one wheel-made animal figurine as proto-Geometric because of the crosshatching.[145] Recently, however, Demakopoulou used comparative material from Tiryns, Kalapodi and elsewhere to argue that the terracotta wheel-made animals from Amyklai are all Mycenaean and should not be taken as evidence of continuity to the Iron Age.[146]

The metal objects reveal a different image: since the early excavations there has been debate over some tripod legs, a sword and spearheads which could be either sub-Mycenaean or Proto-Geometric.[147] Demakopoulou has re-evaluated her previous opinion regarding the dating of the metal objects. An iron sword previously dated later is now considered to be of the eleventh century B.C.[148] Moreover, she argues that during the tenth and ninth-centuries B.C. there was some activity at the site and the cult must have carried on, even sporadically, because other metal objects such as the spear-heads and a pin have been dated to the proto-Geometric or early Geometric period.

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[139] Dietrich 1975, 134, 137-40; Burkert 1985, 351; Cartledge 2002, 80; Vlizos 2009, 22.

[140] See Vlizos (2009, 12-3) and Demakopoulou (2009a, 95) for the history of the excavations, with bibliography.

[141] The fragments constitute a terracotta group of a hand holding a kylix and a snake approaching to drink from it (Demakopoulou 1982, 55-56, pl. 26, no. 68a-b; Pettersson 1982, 95-6, fig. 14). For the drinking snake see *infra* p. 119, n.10.

[142] For the terracottas see Demakopoulou (1982, 43ff.) and for the metal objects see (eadem 73-8; 2009a, 103). No architectural remains were found. Demakopoulou (2009a, 102) suggests that it was an open air shrine, such as the one at Kalapodi, and the Mycenaean cults at Epidaurus and at Aigina by the later Aphaia temple; she cites Whittaker 1997, 269.

[143] Buschor and von Massow 1927, 32-33; Cartledge 2002, 81-82.

[144] Buschor and Massow 1927, 39.

[145] Nicholls 1970, 10. For the fragment see Buschor and Massow (1927, pl. vi. 5). Nicholls' argument is questioned by Coulson (1985, 64) and Cartledge (2002, 84-5).

[146] Demakopoulou 2009a, 102. She previously dated them up to the tenth century B.C. (eadem 1982, 62).

In any case, there was change at the site between the Mycenaean and the Iron Age as the LH III B-C material consisted mostly of small or large terracotta statuettes but during the early Iron Age the artefacts, apart from some proto-Geometric pottery, are mostly metal, such as jewellery and weapons.[149] Those who do not see continuity propose a break of about a hundred years between the last Mycenaean activity and the Iron Age cult.[150] Others, such as Pettersson do not see a break from LH III C to proto-Geometric but only a change of social conditions which explains the change in material culture.[151] In general, even if a break is acknowledged, the gap must have been short and the tradition of the site as sacred must have been strong enough for it to become the cult site from the Geometric period onwards; Polybius said that the sanctuary of Apollo and Hyakinthos was the ἐπιφανέστατον sanctuary for the Lakonians (5.19.3).[152]

What we know about the sanctuary at Amyklai in the historical period comes primarily from architectural fragments, votives found at the site and the description of Pausanias (3.18.9ff). Without having reached a consensus, scholars have proposed different reconstructions regarding the design of the temple (i.e. the throne) aided by the literary and archaeological evidence.[153] Nonetheless, it is generally accepted that the temple was planned as a large throne on which stood a pillar-like image of an armed Apollo; the pedestal was designed as an altar within which Hyakinthos was purportedly buried (Paus. 3.19.2-3). Pausanias tells us that the temple was designed by Bathykles of Magnesia and a date of the mid-sixth-century B.C. is given for its architectural program (3.18.9).[154] Excavators assume that the cult-site before the mid-sixth-century must have been in an open air temenos surrounded by a Late Geometric/Early Archaic wall, which has been discovered in the recent excavations.[155] Buschor and Massow identified the site as the place where the old church of Agia Kyriaki stood (FIG. 15).[156] New explorations at the site of the Amyklaion have yielded a date after the Peloponnesian War for the construction of a second peribolos wall.[157]

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[147] Calligas 1992, 34-5.

[148] Demakopoulou 1982, 74; 2009, 103.

[149] Tsountas 1892, 10; Calligas 1992, 34, fig. 13a-d; Demakopoulou 2009a, 103.

[150] Brelich 1969, 177-9; Snodgrass 1971, 131; Demakopoulou 1982, 95; Coulson, 1985, 64; Cartledge 2002, 84-5

[151] Pettersson 1992, 97. The material culture change is also stressed by Demakopoulou (1982, 93; 2009a, 103) and Calligas (1992, 42).

[152] The identification of the site has been confirmed by stamped tiles, inscribed pottery and inscribed metal finds (*IG* V 1.145, 511; Tsountas 1892, 3, 19-31; Buschor and Massow 1927, 61-4; *SEG* XI. 689-697).

[153] For the throne, see Fiechter 1918, 166-245; Bushor and Massow 1927, 15-23; *AAA* 1 (1968), 42-5; Delivorias 2009. Reconstructions in Fiechter 1918, 169-71, figs. 40-2, 245, fig. 39; Martin 1976, 215, 217; Faustoferri 1996, figs.1-4, 6, 9-15.

[154] The date is based on the architectural fragments (Faustoferri 1996, 227; Tomlison 2008, 324). For an Ionian

2.3.1.a. *The votives*

The votives date from the Geometric period onwards and are rich in bronzes. Unfortunately, most of these remain unpublished but a general description is provided by Calligas.[158] East of the throne of Apollo were found:

- pottery from the Geometric period
- bronze animal figurines, including a Geometric deer[159]
- a bronze lyre dated to the Geometric or Archaic period[160]
- the iron sword discussed above.

By the sanctuary's retaining wall the archaeologists discovered:

- an inscribed bronze discus[161]
- a fragment of an inscribed bronze tablet[162]
- fragments of a Geometric tripod cauldron[163]
- a couple of lead wreaths.

In a section outside the retaining wall there was an area of charcoal and burning in which were found clay tiles of the Hellenistic period, bronze animal figurines, small bronze double axes and ten bracelets.[164] Lastly on the north-west end of the retaining wall the excavators discovered a

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influence see Svenson-Evers (1996, 460) and Ohnesorg (2005, 248). Not much is known about Bathykles as our only source is Pausanias but it is possible that Samos provided a link between Sparta and Ionian artists. See Herodotos (3.47) and Cartledge (1982, 243-265) on the relations of Sparta and Samos. The large number of Lakonian vases found on Samos at the Heraion and Artemision demonstrate the closeness of the two areas (Pipili 1998, 85-6; 2000; 2001; Coudin 2009, 236-7).

[155] The excavation results from 2006-2009 remain unpublished but the summaries can be found at the website of the Amykles Research Project. For the Late Geometric/ Early Archaic peribolos wall (http://amykles-research-project-en.wikidot.com/periboloi) (date accessed: 18/8/2010).

[156] The church was dismantled and built on a different part of the hill (Fiechter 1918, 110-11). I would like to thank Dr. Vlizos for providing me with the map and Prof. Delivorrias for giving me persmission to reproduce it here. The architect of the project is Themis Mpilis.

[157] I thank Prof. Olga Palagia for this information. cf. http://amykles-research-project-en.wikidot.com/periboloi (date accessed: 18/8/2010).

[158] Calligas 1992, 34-8, fig. 13.

[159] Unpublished; Calligas 1992, 35 n.29 gives the inventory no. X. 7659.

[160] See Demakopoulou (1982, 77), who dates it based on iconographical similarities with lyres on a Geometric pot from the Amyklaion, published in Tsountas 1892, pl. 4. 2. See Calligas 1992, 35, n.32 for the Archaic date.

[161] Athens National Museum 8618; *SEG* XI.697; Lazzarini 1976, 296 no. 834.

[162] Unpublished; Calligas 1992, 35, n.35 gives the inventory no. X. 8120.

[163] Calligas 1992, 35, n.34 with bibliography.

[164] Unpublished; Calligas 1992, 35, n.39 gives in the inventory no. X. 17543.

number of tiles, a Daedalic hammered female protome, three iron spear heads, a lead winged figurine and a bronze Archaic figurine of a youth wearing a wreath.[165]

Another structure of semi-circular design, originally identified by Tsountas as the throne of Apollo, has now been recognized to be an altar (FIG. 15).[166] This construction had a layer of black soil which indicated burning and included charcoal, ash, animal bones, sheep horns and ox teeth.[167] Among these were:[168]

- fragments of Geometric vases
- miniature clay skyphoi
- bronze objects, such as spear heads
- an Archaic handle of a bronze cauldron
- a stamped fragment of a clay roof tile of Hellenistic date.

The animal remains and burned earth indicate sacrifice and meals and demonstrate that the circular structure is an altar.[169] The meals are possibly to be taken in connection with the ritual meal during the Hyakinthia (see below).

In the area north and east of the altar were found many of the best-known dedications from Amyklai:

- some sheets of bronze[170]
- a leg of a Geometric tripod[171]
- a bronze earring[172]
- engraved ivory bands[173]
- a statuette of a nude girl playing cymbals that formed the handle of a mirror[174]
- pendants in the form of double axes[175]
- bronze pins,[176] bronze rings

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[165] Calligas 1992, 36 n.40-44. For the bronze youth see Tsountas (1892, 18, pl. 2), Herfort-Koch (1986, 107, no. K 92, pl. 13, 5) and Pipili (1987, 78, fig. 113, no. 222) who also gives other examples from Olympia: Athens, National Museum X 6174, figs 112, no. 221, and Olympia Museum B 2400, fig. 114, no 224.

[166] Fiechter 1918, 162-5, fig. 36; Calligas 1992, 35; Vlizos 2009, 21, fig. 11.

[167] Calligas 1992, 34, n.15.

[168] Calligas 1992, 34.

[169] Calligas 1992, 34-5, n.16. For a reconstruction, see Fiechter (1918, 162-5, fig. 36).

[170] Some used for the border of bronze shields (Calligas 1992, 34, n.17). These are also found also at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (Dawkins, *Orthia*, pls. 87 i-k, 88 b, h).

[171] Unpublished; Calligas 1992, 34, n.18 gives the uncertain inventory no. X. 17555.

[172] Unpublished; Calligas 1992, 34, n.19 gives the inventory no. X. 8219.

[173] Marangou 1969, 14, figs. 11-13.

[174] Tsountas 1892, 10-11, pl. 1; Herfort-Koch 1986, 97, no. K 56, pl. 7, 5-6; Pipili 1987, 77, no. 219. Pipili (eadem) cites other examples of such mirrors: figs. 110-11, nos. 216 d-g, 217-20. See more recently Stibbe (2007, 42, 46, 48, 53, 20, nos. 8, 12, 15, 18, 20).

[175] Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979, 248-52, nos. 1595-6, 1617, 1645, 1671-2; Demakopoulou 1982, 77-8, pl. 54.

[176] For the pins from the Amyklaion see Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, 71, no. 207 (proto-Geometric); 110, 119, 120, 151 nos.

- a fragment of a bronze helmet with an inscription which reads: [Ἀ]μυκλαίο(ι) (*SEG* XI. 690)
- a bronze figurine of a youth[177]
- clay aryballoi
- an engraved precious stone[178]
- two heads of Geometric terracotta statuettes

To conclude the description of the finds it is pertinent to mention the disc related dedications at the sanctuary: the earliest are the inscribed bronze disc dated to about the sixth-century B.C. which reads ‘ἄε<θ>λον Ἀμυκ{ι}αίοι’ [179] and a bronze figurine of a discus thrower ca. 520-500 B.C.[180] Most impressive, however, is the famous fragmentary inscribed and sculpted stone stele dated to ca. 475B.C. bearing a life-size frontal relief of a discus thrower.[181] The inscription reads: ---ας δέκα κα(ὶ) . hένατον | --κε --. Massow has identified this stele with that of Ainetos, an Olympic victor whose stele is attested by Pausanias (3.18.7).[182] The many disc related dedications probably reflect the myth which surrounded the cult in which Apollo kills Hyakinthos with a discus.[183] Moreover, it is possible that these discs were dedications of the athletic events taking place during the festival (see below).

The material presented above demonstrates how votives of metal became popular in the Geometric period and remained so into the Archaic period; indeed they are the most common type of find in the sanctuary.[184] The large number of drinking vessels is surely related to the meal of the Hyakinthia.[185] It is important to note the small number of figurines, which were quite popular at the Menelaion and the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.

2.3.2. *Discussion*

Since Apollo is not attested in Linear B tablets, it is commonly accepted that he must have ‘arrived’ in Greece at some point in the early Iron Age.[186] Therefore, the change in the nature of finds from the LHIIIC terracotta figurines to the metal dedications in the early Iron Age (which

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989, 1003, 1139, 1259, 1920 (Geometric); 222, 284 nos. 3612, 4905-4909 (Archaic).

[177] Herfort-Koch 1986, 108, no. K 95, pl. 13.6.

[178] Calligas 1992, 35, n.27.

[179] *supra* n. 160.

[180] Paris, Musée du Louvre B 118; Herfort-Kock 1986, K 122, pl. 16.7.

[181] *SEG* XI. 696; Fiechter 1918, 220, 222, figs. 74, 78; *LSAG*^{2}, 195 and 201 no. 51.

[182] Massow 1926, 41ff. fig. 1.

[183] *supra* n.135.

[184] Buschor and Massow 1927, 15.

[185] Vlizos 2009, 14.

[186] Burkert (1975 7-12) supports a ‘Dorian’ import of Apollo which he finds derives from the Dorian word *apellon* – the Dorian institution of the assembly (1975, 16-20); *contra* Beeks (2003, 3-8), who does not agree with the etymology and supports a Near Eastern derivation (2003, 12-9), and Brown (2004, 245-9) who also argues for a Near Easter origin, in particular from the Hittite *Apaliuna*. See also Graf (2009, 134-6, 137-42) who discusses two hypotheses, one of ‘Dorian’ derivation (which he deems more likely) and the other a Near Eastern influence.

show a change in the social conditions), together with the epigraphic and literary evidence for a cult of Apollo,[187] has lead scholars to believe that there were newcomers in the area.[188] It is also argued that during the LHIIIB-C period the sanctuary was then dedicated to a different native deity, that of Hyakinthos, who was then superseded by Apollo.[189] It is difficult, however, to establish with certainty that the Mycenaean cult was dedicated to a divinity called Hyakinthos whose cult was then taken over by Apollo. Nonetheless, the Mycenaean wheel-made terracotta animal figurines leave no doubt that the site of the later Amyklaion was previously a Mycenaean cult place.[190]

If Hyakinthos was present at the site in the form of a divinity or hero in the Iron Age he is impossible to detect.[191] This is in part because the Geometric dedications, such as tripod cauldrons, or vases reveal nothing that could be addressed to him with certainty. Moreover, at the Amyklaion, unlike other sanctuaries in which the divinity shared the sanctuary with a hero, e.g. Pelops at Olympia, there was never a shrine that was dedicated to Hyakinthos separately. So, unlike Pelops, it is impossible to determine a date of foundation of the cult. If Hyakinthos was worshipped in the same sanctuary in the Iron Age his cult is altogether vague.

The earliest evidence at Amyklai in which Hyakinthos and the myth in which he is killed by Apollo with a discus may be ‘detected’ are the many disc dedications which presumably reflect the myth. We can deduce then that the earliest inscribed bronze discus of the sixth-century B.C. demonstrates that the myth and belief were probably known and celebrated in Sparta at least by that time.[192] Such a date for the cult of Hyakinthos would not be unreasonable since hero-cult became a lot more widespread by the sixth-century B.C., as is evident from the cults of Pelops at Olympia and Opheltes at Nemea.[193] If the cult of Hyakinthos, based on the myth in which he is killed by Apollo with a discus,[194] started in the sixth-century, Hyakinthos’ cult may have served to explain the local festival, which may have included games and feasting and even the knowledge of an earlier Mycenaean cult.

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[187] *supra* n.149.

[188] Cartledge (1992, 49-55; 2002, 79-94) makes the connection between Apollo and the coming of the Dorians. On the abandonment of many Lakonian sites and the proof of ‘Dorian’ newcomers, see Demakopoulou (1982, 131) and Cartledge (2002, 75-100). The view of newcomers has been challenged and a more complex picture is drawn now which sees various population movements, destruction and resettlement in the late Bronze age; see *infra* p. 62, n.11. Demakopoulou (1982, 128-30; 2009b) gives a very good overview on the habitation and movement of population in Lakonia during the LHIIIB-C periods.

[189] The name of the hero Hyakinthos with the suffix -νθ indicates a pre-Greek origin (Cartledge 2002, 80; Burkert 1985, 351 n.27 with references; Vlizos 2009, 22).

[190] This is in comparison to other Mycenaean cult centres (Demakopoulou 2009a, 95-6, 102).

[191] Kennell (2010, 31) even suggests that the Bronze Age recipient of cult at the Amyklaion would be a female rather than a male, making Hyakinthos’ role as a Bronze Age deity even less possible.

[192] For the discus, see *supra* n.176.

[193] See *supra* p. 29.

[194] See *supra* n.138 for the literary sources attesting to the myth.

It is worth mentioning that a section of the Hyakinthia festival consisted of the display to those participating in the festival of the breastplate of Timomachos, the Aegeid who was supposed to have conquered Amyklai for the Lakedaimonians (Pindar *I.* 7.13-15; Aristotle *Lac. Pol.* fr.532 Rose; Schol. Pind. *I.* 7.18a).[195] Such a tradition may reveal the origins and foundations of the festival in the Spartan dominance over Amyklai. The cult of Hyakinthos, and the myth, may have began later in order to explain a pre-existing festival which signified Sparta's conquest of Amyklai.

However, if Hyakinthos was a Mycenaean deity then the myth in which he is killed by Apollo with a discus[196] may function as an allegory for the establishment of the new cult of Apollo superseding the older 'pre-Dorian' religion.[197]

Regardless of the origin of the cult of Hyakinthos, it is difficult to understand how Hyakinthos would have been perceived during the Archaic and Classical periods since no literary or iconographic evidence of him is known from Sparta.[198] The only exception within our lack of information of Hyakinthos is the description of Pausanias regarding the sculptured altar of Apollo (mid-sixth-century B.C.):

> 'on the altar are also Demeter, the Maid, Pluto, next to them Fates and Seasons, and with them Aphrodite, Athena, Artemis. They carry Hyakinthos and Polyboea, the sister, they say, of Hyakinthos who died a maid, to Olympus. Now this statue of Hyacinthus represents him as bearded but Nicias,[199] son of Nicomedes, has painted him in the very prime of youthful beauty, hinting at the love of Apollo for Hyakinthos of which legend tells. Wrought on the altar is also Herakles; he too is being led to Olympus by Athena and the other gods.' (3.19.3-5; Trans. Jones and Ormerod 1926).[200]

The iconography of Hyakinthos on the altar raises two issues regarding his perception in Sparta: first, Hyakinthos is not dead but becomes immortal. His status is in fact juxtaposed with that of Herakles (3.19.5) and Dionysos (3.18.11) who are also shown on the altar on their way to

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[195] Pritchett 1985, 42.

[196] For the myth, see *supra* n.134.

[197] Hatzisteliou-Price 1979, 226-7; Demakopoulolou 1982, 94; 2009, 103; Vlizos 2009, 22.

[198] Richer (2004, 86-7) argues that the Taranto cup (Museo Nationale di Taranto 20909) shows Hyakinthos.

[199] Nicias is dated to ca. 332-29 B.C. since Pliny (35.133) informs that that he collaborated on Praxiteles statues (Corso 2007, 22).

[200] See Pausanias (3.18.10-19.5) for the description of the entire iconographical program. The iconographical material is most closely studied by Faustoferri (1993), who concludes that the motifs derive from various mythological and historical events relating to Sparta.

Olympus.[201] Second, Hyakinthos is bearded (thus a mature man)[202] which is in unlike the Attic tradition of his iconography in which Hyakinthos is depicted from 500 B.C. as an un-bearded youth.[203] The two aforementioned issues are important in understanding the local perception of Hyakinthos. In the earliest literary evidence (Eur. *Hel.* 1465-75) Hyakinthos is a young man, who is loved by Apollo and is accidentally killed by him with a discus. The god then orders commemorations of the death of Hyakinthos with sacrifices; he does not get an apotheosis. This myth has some essential differences with Hyakinthos in Sparta who is a mature man and is not perceived as dead but, as with Herakles and Dionysus, ascends to Olympus. Spartan local tradition must have therefore conceived of Hyakinthos in a somewhat different light and it is possible that in at least the mid-sixth-century when the reliefs were made Hyakinthos was not thought of as having died.[204] Like Herakles, his status is closer to the divine than to a dead mortal hero.[205]

Further information about Hyakinthos comes from the festival of the Hyakinthia, first attested in Euripides (*Hel.* 1470). The celebrants of the Hyakinthia enjoy a night-long dance and a sacrifice of oxen (βούθυτος), as prescribed by Apollo. A more elaborate description is given by Polykrates (*FGrH* 588 F1).[206] The festival lasted for three days,[207] the first of which was devoted to Hyakinthos' death. Certain prohibitions existed, such as wearing wreaths, eating bread and singing the paean. The second day was of great spectacle and included a series of competitions in athletics as well as dancing performed by adolescent boys and girls. The festival concluded on the third day with a sacrifice of many victims and a ritual meal in which everyone participated, including the servants (Athen. 4.138f). The myth of Apollo and Hyakinthos, together with the description of the Hyakinthia, has led some to interpret Hyakinthos as a dying vegetation god and his festival as an occasion concerned with renewal and initiation rituals.[208] For our purposes, the festival most importantly reflects the myth of Hyakinthos: on the first day there was the mourning period of his death during which there were certain prohibitions, but by the second day we see the joyous time of games and singing followed by the third day of sacrifice and dining in celebration of his ascent to Olympus. The Hyakinthia festival echoes the iconographical program on the temple of Apollo with Hyakinthos in which Hyakinthos has died but later receives apotheosis.

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[201] Sourvinou-Inwood (2005, 123-4) makes the same observation about the introduction of Herakles to Olympus. For Dionysus and Hermes on the throne at Amyklai see Pipili (1991) who doubts that the scene is that of Dionysus being given to Zeus but argues that Hermes gives Dionysus to Ino and Athamas. Schefold (1992, 46) believes there was another scene of apotheosis (Paus. 3.19.3) where Dionysus leads Semele to Olympus.

[202] Calame (2001, 180) regards it a reference to a 'first youthful beard'. Richer (2004, 78) takes it to symbolise the endangered adolescent who enters adulthood.

[203] Mellink 1943, 106; Pettersson 1992, 30; *LIMC* V. I. 547, nos. 3-11. In Taranto Hyakinthos is presented in fourth and third-century terracotta figurines as a youth with a lyre and a cock (Rossi 1982, 563-7, pl. 161-2). His personality in Taranto may have fused with Apollo by the Hellenistic period as is evident also from Polybios (8.30) who attests to a tomb of Hyakinthos which some call the tomb of Apollo (Picirilli 1967, 115).

[204] Pettersson (1992, 40) thinks that Hyakinthos died and was then resurrected in the eyes of the Spartans. Moreover, he argues that the myth of the revival was a Hellenistic addition in accordance to Oriental influence. This argument is unconvincing because on the Archaic period altar in Sparta Hyakinthos was shown during his *apotheosis*; nothing is evident concerning his death.

[205] There were other versions of the myth in which Hyakinthos is not killed by Apollo but by the west wind Zephyros (Paus. 3.19.3; Philostr. *im.* 1.24; Ov. *fast.* 5.223; Nonn.*Dion.*10.253; Mellink 1943, 170-2). Sourvinou-Inwood (2005, 122-4) places Hyakinthos in the category of heroes who die young and receive public lamentation, such as Adonis.

[206] Polykrates is quoted by Didymos the Grammarian (ca. first-century B.C.) and comes down to us from Athenaios (4. 139d-f.); he may have been a local historian of Lakonian origin (Pettersson 1992, 10, n.10).

[207] See Richer (2004, 80) for a discussion of the evidence and the possibility that in the earlier days the festival may have lasted for ten days.

Lastly, Pausanias also provides information about the Hyakinthia. He says that 'at the Hyakinthia, before the sacrifices (θυσίας) to Apollo, they devote offerings to Hyakinthos as to a hero (ἐναγίζουσιν) into the altar [in which Hyakinthos is buried] through a bronze door' (Trans. Jones and Ormerod 1926). This is noteworthy, because it seems that by the time of Pausanias Hyakinthos' heroic attributes were accentuated: while Apollo receives a θυσία, the worshippers ἐναγίζουσιν to Hyakinthos; this verb is reserved for heroes and the dead.[209] Here then there is a clear differentiation in status between the two recipients of cult at Amyklai; one is a god, and the other a hero.[210] A fact that may be further supported by the belief current at the time of Pausanias that Hyakinthos was buried inside the altar. This belief could hardly have been around in the Archaic period when the altar was constructed because the reliefs show Hyakinthos' apotheosis and not death and therefore it would be unreasonable to think that he can be both buried and be at Olympus. Thus, the cult which emphasises the funerary side of Hyakinthos must have been a later development, probably not unlike other cults of heroes in the Roman period as we saw at the Menelaion.

In as much as the cult as the Amyklaion dealt with the death and apotheosis of Hyakinthos, it is important to emphasise that the major divinity of the sanctuary was Apollo. The throne of Apollo carried an armed statue of the divinity alone, thus signifying his military attributes.[211] The same focus is seen in the votives: many weapons dedicated in the sanctuary, including swords, spearheads, the inscribed helmet and bronze sheets belonging to shield decorations. The military importance of the cult is also reflected in the rites of the Hyakinthia when those taking part at the festival were shown the breastplate of Timomachos.[212] Apollo is the dominant deity at the Amyklaion and although we do not know precisely when Hyakinthos became part of the cult it is unlikely to have happened before the Archaic period.

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[208] For the Hyakinthia, see Jeanmaire (1939, 526-31) who interprets the Hyakinthia, together with the Karneia and the Gymnopaideia, as initiation rituals and Hyakinthos as a symbol of excellence for the adolescents. Brelich (1969, 141-8, 171-9) interprets the festival as part of the Spartan *agoge* and initiation. Calame (2001, 317) also sees it as a tribal initiation festival. Sergent (1984, 107) views Hyakinthos as the *eromenos* of Apollo whose death expresses the death of adolescence and the step into adulthood. Pettersson (1992, 14-29) suggests that the Hyakinthia was a Mycenaean cult of the dead that continued in later times. Moreover, he believes that the festival of the Hyakinthia, together with those of the Karneia and the Gymnopaideia, maintained group cohesion in the five villages of Sparta and Amyklai. Richer (2004, 84-89) views the Hyakinthia as a festival with Dionysiac elements together with the worship of Apollo and Hyakinthos.

[209] See *supra* p. 14.

[210] Note how in Euripides' *Hel.* (1470) and Athenaios (4.139c) there is no such rite attested but only θυσίαι. The ἐναγισμός in Pausanias probably reflects a later development of the cult.

[211] For example, the Karneia and the Gymnopaideia, were also Apollo festivals and had military character; see *infra* p. 103. For the festivals in general see Pettersson 1992.

Hyakinthos then should also probably be seen in the category of heroes who is a mortal and becomes immortal, i.e. he receives apotheosis. There is no clear indication that Hyakinthos was a divinity at the cult at the Amyklaion in the Bronze Age or during the Iron Age. It would be safer to conclude that his cult commenced probably at some point in the Archaic period possibly to explain a pre-existing festival that symbolised the Spartan conquest of Amyklai.

2.4. Conclusion

From the discussion of early hero-cult in Sparta, we see that both the Menelaion and the Amyklaion carry evidence of idiosyncratic, local treatment of heroes which reflect differing religious needs of the polis. The expression of cult at the Menelaion resembles that of divinities but elsewhere Helen and Menelaos have acquired pan-Hellenic heroic standing. In the context of Spartan religion, the Menelaion hosted a cult to heroes who received treatment as divinities; this is expressed both in the votive, as well as the literary, evidence. The Amyklaion is a complex case in which Hyakinthos shows how diversified a hero’s development could be: a hero is introduced and probably the tradition of Apollo and his killed lover is created in order to accommodate the cult. Hyakinthos’ status in the Iron Age is debatable and he may not be detectable before the sixth-century B.C.

The above examples from the Menelaion and the Amyklaion demonstrate the ways in which the local religious requirements of the polis create not only different kinds of heroes, but how the nature of those heroes depend on and respond to the community as it changes over time. The Menelaion should probably not be taken to imply divine cult during the late eighth/early seventh-century B.C. because it formed one of several heroic cults that appeared around Sparta during the seventh-century, as will be demonstrated in chapter six. However, the votives at the Menelaion indicate that the local heroes (Helen and Menelaos) could be treated as gods. By the time Pausanias visited the Menelaion local tradition had made Therapne the burial place of

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[212] Moreover, according to Thukydides, when the Athenians and the Spartans signed the Peace of Nikias the stele upon which the agreement was engraved was placed at the sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai while the festival of the Hyakinthia provided the occasion when the Athenian deputies would come to renew the alliance (5.18, 23). Also, the most ancient tripods in the sanctuary were those that were deposited as tithe from the Messenian wars (Paus. 3.18.7). Lastly, we see construction (the peribolos wall) taking place at the sanctuary after the Peloponnesian war, a work which may be regarded as a thanks offering to Apollo and his military qualities during the war.

Menelaos and Helen. For Hyakinthos, it seems that he was initially ‘more divine’ because his iconographical representation was that of apotheosis not death. In time however, Hyakinthos acquires a burial inside the base of the statue of Apollo in accordance with the pronouncement of the funerary aspects of hero-cult in later periods. The two cults – that of the Menelaion and the Amyklaion – are therefore distinct Spartan peculiarities; their standing in terms of Greek hero-cult in general remains difficult to define, but they reflect the heterogeneity of hero-cult itself.

Chapter Three

The Heroes of Sparta: Tradition and Invention

From the early seventh-century B.C. onwards Sparta witnessed the popularity of hero-cult as evidenced by the Menelaion, the worship of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra[1] and from the sixth-century B.C. on, the cults of the Dioskouroi and Orestes. Because of Sparta's aggressive attitude towards her neighbours during the Archaic period it has been suggested that Sparta's popularity of Achaian heroes was a calculated attempt to introduce Achaian heroes for political purposes[2]; the so called ‘Achaian Policy’.[3] For example, the Menelaion has been interpreted as politically motivated because of seventh-century competition with Argos which sought to legitimize Sparta’s presence in the area through the promotion of Achaian heroes.[4] Likewise, the cult of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra has been regarded as an attempt to claim a foreign hero as Sparta’s own in order to show its dominance in the Peloponnese,[5] and the transfer of the bones of Orestes in an effort to form alliances in the Peloponnese[6] or as a reflection of internal political upheaval.[7] In general, scholars have emphasized how the Spartan consciousness of its Dorian identity influenced its need for Achaian heroes to demonstrate hegemony in the Peloponnese.[8] As tempting as these interpretations are, there are a few problems: first, the archaeological and literary evidence relating to Achaian heroes in Sparta derives from a time before Sparta had an aggressive policy in the Peloponnese, and second, the evidence used for the Achaian heroes is based usually on sources that relate to the Argive-Mycenaean mythological repertoire, disregarding other traditions that might have circulated at the time. The Dorian identity of early Archaic Sparta, so prominently placed in juxtaposition with the Achaian, needs to be questioned for such an early period and so its effect as a motivating factor behind the establishment of hero-cults.

This chapter examines the validity of ethnic identity as an inspiration behind the so called ‘Achaian’ hero cults in Archaic Sparta. Since Sparta was traditionally Dorian it is pertinent to examine the evidence of Dorian ethnic identity[9] in Archaic Sparta and its effect on hero cult. Therefore, the study begins with an analysis of Herakles, the Herakleidai and the Dorians, whose myths form an important component of the self-ascribed origins of the Spartans. If a Dorian ethnic sentiment was strong in Archaic Sparta it could possibly explain the use and 'need' of Achaian heroes for propaganda in order to cater to Sparta's policy in the Peloponnese. If the Dorian ethnic sentiment, however, is not demonstrable for the Archaic period then the heroic-cults need to be explained by using a different view of possible local legends. The chapter proceeds to analyse Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra, two heroes who are more popularly associated with the Argolid, and to seek an explanation for the establishment of the cult in the seventh-century B.C. in Sparta. Lastly, the cults of the Achaian heroes, Orestes and Tisamenos, whose bone transfers signify a state act, will be challenged against the traditional view that seeks to explain their cults as motivated by ethnic sentiments. By examining these cults I will contest some of the traditional views associated with hero-cult in Sparta and in turn argue that Sparta worshiped these heroes because they were traditionally local and their foundation was not driven by ethnic sentiment.

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[1] See *infra* §6.1.

[2] Herodotos (1.68) states that Sparta’s behaviour in the Peloponnese during the mid-sixth-century was aggressive: by the sixth-century the Messenians were reduced to helots, Sparta waged two wars with Tegea and had engaged in war with Argos over possession of Thyrea (the ‘Battle of the Champions’). The later may have resulted to Sparta’s acquisition of Argive territory from Thyrea, Malea and Kythera (ca. 546 B.C.; Hdt. 1.82). Hall (2007a, 171) believes it was impossible for Argos to have controlled the territories mentioned in Herodotos and argues that the claim was based on propaganda from Argos.

[3] Kardara 1975.

[4] Antonaccio 1992, 103; Hall 2000, 87. According to Pausanias (2.24.7) Sparta and Argos fought the battle of Hysiae (ca. 669 B.C.) but the date is disputed and a fifth-century date has also been proposed (Shaw 2003, 273-309).

[5] Salapata 2002a, 141.

[6] See *infra* §3.3.

[7] Boedeker 1998a.

[8] Phillips 2003.

3.1. Herakles and the Herakleidai

An important component of Spartan self-identity, which is observable at least from the second Messenian War (635/625-610/600B.C.)[10] (at a time when Tyrtaios writes; see below) is the belief that the Spartans were not autochthonous but were newcomers whose conquest of the Peloponnese was tightly connected with the Herakleidai (the descendants of Herakles) who returned to their ancestral land in the Peloponnese. The earliest reference for the Herakleidai comes from Sparta in the seventh-century B.C. (Tyrt. fr.2 West) and other references to the story are attested in Pindar, Herodotos and Thukydides (see below). The myth attesting to the return of the Herakleidai, however, was not an isolated event but part of a long process of mythic interconnections tightly linked with the coming of the Dorians.[11] Although Herodotos (9.26.2-

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[9] I follow Hall's (1997, 36) definition of ethnic group 'defined as a social collectivity whose members are united by their subscription to a putative belief in shared descent and to an association with a primordial homeland' cf. idem 2002b, 9-10). For a discussion of the study of Greek ethnicity see Hall (1997, 1-16) and McInerney (2001, 52-3). For a rejection of the material culture as an indication of ethnic groups see Morgan (2001, 86-91) and Hall (2009, 610-11).

[10] For the date of the Messenian wars see *infra* p. 81, n.4.

[11] The historicity of the myth and the 'coming of the Dorians' is a controversial subject which has been debated in terms of archaeology based primarily on the destruction of Mycenaean citadels, the abandonment of sites, ceramic evidence, iron tools, and burial customs as well as linguist evidence (Desborough 1964, 37-40, 56; Musti 1985a, ix; Jacob-Felsch 1988, 196-8; Hall 1997, 114-28; 2002b, 75-78; Eder 1998, 11- 18; 20-1; Cartledge 2002, 80-1; Deger-Jalkotzy 2009, 99; Kennell 2010, 24-9). Pindar (*P.* 1.65-66) sketches a Dorian conquest as having come from the North in the Pindos mountains into Amyklai. On Lakonia in particular see Cartledge (2002, 80-1) who suggests a north-west origin of Dorians as well as a western route of migration due to ceramic evidence, the so called 'Barbarian Ware'. Kennell (2010, 24-39) constructs a more complex picture of what happened in Lakonia during the late Bronze Age. He acknowledges the existence of 'Barbarian Ware' but he explains that such pottery was found in non-

27.2) and Thukydides (1.9.2.) mention certain components of the myth of the Herakleidai and the Dorians is not until Diodoros that we receive a fuller account (4.57-8). In order for the myth to be narrated as clearly as possible I use Diodoros' version. When components of the story are attested earlier I will mention the sources in a parenthesis:

After Herakles' ejection from the Argolid by Eurystheus and his apotheosis, his descendants, under the command of Herakles' son Hyllos, sought refuge with king Ceyx at Trachis. However, Eurystheus forced them to leave Trachis; after they received hospitality from the Athenians, who settled them at Trikorythos, Eurystheus waged war on them and was killed (Thuk. 1.9.2). Following the death of Eurystheus, the Herakleidai tried to return to the Peloponnese but were met at the Isthmus by an army led by Atreas. They decided to have a single combat between Hyllos and Echemos, the king of Tegea (Hdt. 6.52.1; 9.27.1). It was agreed that if Hyllos won, the Herakleidai would regain their ancestral land in the Argolid but if Hyllos lost, the Herakleidai would retire for fifty years.[12] Hyllos was killed in the battle, and the Herakleidai retreated.

It is during the time of the retreat that the Herakleidai meet the Dorians: the Herakleidai made their homes with the Dorian Aigimios (son of Doros) at Hestiaiotis (Diod. 4. 58.6; Isokr. *Arch*. 17).[13] Following that, the great-grandson of Hyllos, Temenos, together with the Herakleidai, Aristodemos and Kresephontes, organized a large army and navy in order to invade the Peloponnese. However the Herakleid Aristodemos was killed by a thunderbolt and instead the Herakleidai selected the Aitolian Oxylos and invaded the Peloponnese in which the sons of Aigimios, Pamphylos and Dymas, were killed. After the successful invasion, Argos was assigned to Temenos, Messene to Kresephontes, and Sparta to Aristodemos' sons, Prokles and Eurysthenes (whose descendants were the Spartan kings) (ps-Apollod. *bibl.* 2.8.2-4).

The Herakleid/ Dorian myth is by and large interpreted as a story that seeks to explain various population movements in the Peloponnese and to legitimize the acquisition of territory.[14] However, because the earliest traditions do not talk of the Herakleidai and the Dorians together, the story of the Herakleidai and the Dorians is not viewed as one but two different traditions that

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Mycenaean sites, such as in the Levant, Cyprus and Anatolia and also in pre-destruction levels at Mycenaean centres. Evidence shows population movements and warfare through burned layers and that weapons increased as grave goods but the changes do not appear to have been of large scale. Some places show reoccupation and areas, such as the Amyklaion show a very small gap, if at all in activity at the site (Kennell 2010, 26-7). Modern scholarship portrays the archaeology of the Dorians as a ‘flawed modern construct'' (Morgan 2003, 188).

[12] Hdt. 9.26.4; ps-Apollod. *bibl.* 2.8.2 say a hundred.

[13] Herakles, having helped Aigimios with the Lapiths, told Aigimios to keep the land for the Herakleidai, (Diod. 4.37.3-4; ps-Apollod. *bibl.* 2.7.7) much like he also told Tyndareos in Sparta to keep the land for the Herakleidai; see *infra* p. 66.

[14] Malkin 1994, 34-43; Hall 2002a, 33-43; 2002b, 82.

appear to have merged. The first evidence for the Dorians comes from the *Odyssey* where they live on Krete (19.172-77),[15] and there is no mention of the Herakleidai here. In the *Catalogue of Women* we learn of the genealogy of Aigimios but no connection to the Dorians (fr.9 M/W). The evidence from Tyrtaios (fr.1 West) is not altogether clear because the subject of 'we' is unspecified ('Zeus, son of Kronos and husband of fair crowned Hera, has given this city to the Herakleidai, with whom *we* left windy Erineos and arrived in the broad island of Pelops'; see below). Not until Pindar (*P.* 1; 5) is there evidence of the two groups together but even then there is clear distinction between them.[16] Herodotos tells the stories of the Herakleidai and the Dorians in completely independent narratives: through Pindos they make their way to Dryopis into the Peloponnese, where they acquire the name 'Dorians' (1.56; 8.31). Herodotos mentions elsewhere the return of the Herakleidai but no connection to the Dorians (9.26.2-4). Even later sources, when the story is told together, the Dorian Aigimios has to adopt Hyllos (Herakles' son) after the Herakleidai seek refuge at Aigimios' place (Ephorus 70 *FGrH* 15). But as mentioned earlier in Herodotos (9.26) and Diodoros (4.58.4) Hyllos dies before the Herakleidai meet the Dorians. This strange addition to the Dorian Aigimios' sons together with Dymas and Pamphilios may indicate a later fabrication of the traditional story served to link the Herakleidai with the Dorians.[17] It has also been suggested that the original myth dealt only with the Argolid, with which Herakles is tightly associated in his genealogy, and consisted of only the return of the Herakleidai, and not the Dorians, who are less closely associated with Argos.[18] In fact, Ulf suggests that there was no connection of the Dorians with the Herakleidai in the Archaic period and argues that such a connection does not occur until the later sixth-century as a reaction to the growing importance of Athens.[19] Malkin even argues that in Sparta the Herakleid/Dorian saga existed independently in the pre-Leuktra sources and only merged when Sparta lost Messenia (371 B.C.) at a time when it sought to legitimise its claims to the land.[20] In general, the different versions have led scholars to believe that the coming of the Dorians and the Herakleidai together are an amalgamation of two different traditions.[21]

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[15] Ulf (2009, 223) warns that it is problematic to assume the antiquity of a tribe based on its name.

[16] Malkin 1994, 41-2.

[17] Hall 1997, 63.

[18] Hall (1997, 61) argues for a centre of the myth as the Argolid where Herakles' genealogy is traced because it is the only place where the ruling family the Temenidai took their name from Temenos (idem 2002, 81).

[19] Ulf 1996, 262-3.

[20] Malkin 1994, 42. This is based on the argument of Isokrates' *Archidamos* 18 written after Sparta lost Messenia as a consequence of their loss in the battle of Leuktra in 371 B.C.

[21] Musti 1985b, 38; Malkin 1994, 38-43; Hall 1997, 59-72; 2002a; 2002b, 80; Kennell 2010, 23. Earlier accounts refer to the land of the Dorians as the area of Erineos, Boion, Pindos, Kytenion or in the region of Oita (Tyrtaios fr.2 West; Ephorus 70 *FGrH* 15) which are included in or abut the territory of Doris (Strabo 10. 427, Hall 2002b, 81, n.129). By contrast ps-Apollod. places them at Hestiaiotis which is a hundred km to the north (*bibl.* 2.8.2-4) meaning that it may have been added later. Moreover, Pindar mentions the conquest of Aigina by the Dorian army of Hyllos and Aigimos. (*P.* 1.62-5) which may imply a later addition to the story to include Aigina. Hall (2002b, 80) suggests that some

3.1.1. *The Herakleidai and the Dorians in Sparta*

As is evident above, the different versions of the Herakleid/Dorian myth make it impossible to reconstruct the earliest version of the story (and there were probably more than one) or when it began but for the purpose of Sparta's 'historical' self origins we know from Tyrtaios that by at least the seventh-century B.C. the Herakleid myth was an important component of their history: the Spartans were 'the stock of unconquered Herakles' (fr.11 West) and they thought that the land was given to the descendants of Herakles (fr.1 West).[22] Additionally, one tale offered a means to legitimise the Herakleid right to Sparta: Herakles had helped king Tyndareos to the throne by killing Hippokoon and his sons (Isokr. *Arch;* ps-Apollod. 2.7.3; Paus. 3.15.4-5).[23] Tyndareos' descendents were to keep the throne until those of Herakles (the Herakleidai) returned to claim the throne, which they did together with the Dorian tribes. Therefore, Tyndareos and his descendants (Helen-Menelaos, Dioskouroi, Orestes-Hermione and Tisamenos) were on the throne until the Dorians came with the help of the Herakleidai and conquered the land.

The importance of Herakles and the Herakleidai in Sparta is probably better demonstrated by the fact that the Spartan kings were descendants of the Herakleidai and were considered to have a direct unbroken link to the Herakleidai, Prokles and Eurystheus. Spartan king lists in Herodotos emphasize a consistent Herakleid continuity (Hdt. 7.204; 8.131).[24] However, the two royal families, the Agidai and the Eurypontidai, took their names not from the first Herkaleidai who settled in Sparta (Prokles and Eurystheus) but from their sons Agis and Eurypon, a fact that may imply a later fabrication in order to fit with the legend of the Herakleid return in the Peloponnese.[25] Even if this is true, the importance of the Herakleidai is undeniably deeply rooted in Spartan consciousness from the seventh-century onwards as is demonstrated by Tyrtaios (see above).

Scholars have also argued that Sparta's tradition that deals with colonization and conquest in the myth of the return of the Herakleidai did not only aim to legitimize the kingship but also was important in order to justify the Spartan domination in the region of Messenia.[26] Considering

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sections of ps-Apollodorus were added later so that other Peloponnesian cities are included in the Herakleid/Dorian myth, such as Elis and Corinth with the introduction Aitolian Oixylos and Heraklid Aletes.

[22] The importance of Herakles in Sparta may be attested by the work *Herakleia* possibly composed by Kinaithon, a Lakonian epic poet (ca. late seventh/early sixth-century B.C.) according to Apollonios Rhodios (1.1355-1357c; Huxley 1969, 86). For Kinaithon see also pp. 42, n.85; 75, n.85.

[23] The first fully elaborated connection between the deeds of Herakles and the title to Lakedaimon comes from Isokrates' *Archidamos* dated to 366 B.C., but an earlier connection of Herakles and the sons of Hippokoon is attested in Alkman fr.1 Page, *PMG*. After Isokrates' account the myth is attested in ps-Apollod. (*bibl.* 2.7.3) Diod. (4.33.5) and Paus. (3.10.6; 15.3-6; 19.7; 8.53.9).

[24] Cartledge 2002, 293-8. For the Spartan king lists see also Kennell 2010, 94.

[25] Hall 1997, 61; 2002b, 81.

[26] Malkin 1994, 34-5.

the context of Tyrtaios' writings during the second Messenian War (635/625-610/600B.C.) it is self evident that the language used by Tyrtaios was in order to support the war and justify the aggression by claiming that it was by divine gift that they (the Spartans) lived in Lakonia (Tyrtaios fr.1 West). Similar language was used even three centuries later with Isokrates' *Archidamos* 18 written after Sparta lost Messenia following the battle of Leuktra (371 B.C.). Here Archidamos emphasizes that the land was given to Herakles and his descendants. The myth of the Herakleidai and their use in the territorial claim of Sparta appears to have been a recurrent theme in Spartan history.

It is important to mention that despite the emphasis on Herakles and the Herakleidai the Dorian aspect of Spartan identity is little stressed: when king Kleomenes (ca. 506) was denied entrance to the Acropolis because he was Dorian, he responded that he was not Dorian but Achaian (Hdt. 5.72.3-4). Presumably Kleomenes was playing upon his Herakleid ancestry i.e., because he was a descendant of Herakles he was Achaian. But could he be referring to a wider spread sentiment in Sparta? In other words, could it be that the Dorian ethnicity was not so important in Sparta in the Archaic period?

In fact neither Tyrtaios nor Alkman ever mention the Dorians directly in their poetry. This is strange because the myth, as described by Diodoros and pseudo-Apollodoros, explains how the Herakleidai came together with the Dorians in the Peloponnese. By contrast, the Herakleid element of Sparta is undeniably emphasized: Tyrtaios (fr.2 West) tells us that ‘Zeus, son of Kronos and husband of fair crowned Hera, has given this city to the Herakleidai, with whom we left windy Erineos and arrived in the broad island of Pelops’. The Herakleidai is clear but the ‘we’ is less certain.[27] Are we not to assume that the word refers to the Dorians? Ulf argues against a Dorian identification because according to him there is no evidence that in the seventh-century there are ethnic Dorian sentiments in Sparta (see below).[28] As tempting as this hypothesis is Tyrtaios, in another fragment (fr.19 West), mentions the three Dorian tribes (the Hylleis, Pamphylioi and Dymanes). Here Ulf questions their Dorian affiliation for the seventh-century.[29] This is possible, because Roussel, in his study of the occurrence of the three tribal names in Dorian cities, concludes that the Dorian tribes of the Hylles, Dymanes and Pamphylioi are attested in Argos, Corinth, Megara and Krete late in inscriptions (at the end of the fourth-century B.C.).[30] Also it is only at Sparta and Megara that they are found on their own but elsewhere, such as at Corinth,

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[27] Hall (2002b, 85) argues that it should mean the Dorians.

[28] Ulf 1996, 262-3. *Contra* Hall 2002b, 85-7.

[29] Ulf 1996, 265.

[30] Roussel 1976, 221-29; Ulf 1996, 273. On the tribes see Jones, N.F. 1980; Hall 2007b, 54ff.

Argos and Krete as well as on several Aegean islands, they occur alongside other tribes.[31] Because of this, it is possible that the tribal names were 'borrowed and not inherited' meaning that Dorian speakers took these tribal names later from other Dorian speaking poleis and therefore these tribal names did not have a connection with ethnicity initially.[32] Because of this the occurrence of the three tribes in Tyrtaios fr. 19 West may not necessarily imply Dorian ethnicity.

For Sparta, the distancing from Dorian identity in the Archaic period is better demonstrated in another fragment of Tyrtaios (fr.11 West) where the ancestors of the Spartans are not the Dorians but the Herakleidai 'you are the stock of unconquered Herakles'. Although Pindar specifies a Lakedaimonian connection with the Dorians (*P.* 1.61-6; 5.69-72; *I.* 7.14; 9), it is not until Thukydides that the Dorians and their alleged metropolis Doris[33] are linked to Sparta (1.107.2-3; 3.91-2).

The Dorians are also absent from the surviving Lakonian Archaic art, literature and mythological repertoire. In terms of heroes, the cults of Helen and Menelaos, and Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra were prominent from the early seventh-century onwards. Tyrtaios (fr.23 West) mentions the Dioskouroi who were worshipped from at least the sixth-century B.C. onwards.[34] Alkman broadens our knowledge of the pre-Dorian repertoire with his discussions of Kastor and Polydeukes (frs.1; 7; 21 Page, *PMG*) and Helen (frs.7; 23 Page, *PMG*) as well as the Leukippides, Phoebe and Hilaira, the brides of the Dioskouroi (fr.8 Page, *PMG*). In fact, the Dorians did not seem to be such a great importance: they are not prominently in the poetry of Tyrtaios and they are absent from Alkman. The same can be said about the art and iconography of Sparta in the Archaic period: there is no evidence of Doros, the eponymous ancestor of the Dorians, or of Aigimios the father of the three Dorian tribes (the Hylleis, Dymanes, and Pamphyloi).[35] Rather, the popularity of topics of the Theban-Boiotian cycle in sixth-century Lakonian vase-painting could be linked with the belief that the Herakleidai were associated in myth with the area and thus contributed to the popularity of the myths.[36] In all, Sparta shows no link to Dorian ethnic sentiment in an early period.

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[31] Jones, N.F. 1987, 96. At Sikyon the tribes appear in the sixth-century but along another tribe; at Megara in the fifth-century B.C.; in Argos in the fifth-century but also along other tribes. At the rest of the Dorian places the Dorian tribes appear in the fourth, third and second-centuries B.C. (Hall 2007b 54-5, table 2).

[32] Hall 2002a, 77; 2007b, 54. Other opinions consider that the reference in the *Odyssey* of the Δωριέες τριχάικες (19.177) on Krete alludes to the three Dorian tribes (Musti 1985b, 39-40). See also a possible similar reference for Rhodes in fr.191 M/W (Oliva 1971, 20).

[33] Doris is a territory located between Mt. Oeta and Parnassos where apparently the Dorians took their name from. It is however possible that the place took its name from the Dorians who allegedly derived from the area (Hall 2002b, 75). If that is the case then the name Dorians may allude to *doron* 'a gift' because the land taken by the Dorians was given to them by divine gift (Tyrt. fr.1 West; Hall 2002b 88).

[34] For the Dioskouroi reliefs see *infra* §5.2.3.

[35] See *infra* §5.2.

[36] See *infra* §5.2.2.

It is also altogether uncertain that Dorian identity had ethnic meaning in the early Archaic period. In fact scholars emphasize how late Greek ethnic identities emerged: 'Ethne often were late constructs, emerging in specific political constellations and supported ideologically by 'myths' and genealogies retrojected into the distant past'.[37] In the Homeric epics one does not define himself as Achaian or Dorian but which city he comes from, as in the example of Odysseus, who, when he visits the Phaiakans, says that he is from Ithaka (*Od.* 9.19-21). It is not that ethnic names were not encountered in Homer, but these are not in the context of ethnic animosities.[38] For example, in Homer although we have single references to the Dorians (*Od.* 19.177) and Ionians (*Il.* 13.685) the term Achaian is used generally to mean 'Greeks' (*Il.* 9.49).[39] While Dorian vs. Ionian distinctions are found in Herodotos[40] they most clearly attested in Thukydides (2.40.1). In fact scholars have often argued for a Peloponnesian War propaganda as the cause for strong ethnic Dorian/Ionian sentiments.[41] The Ionian/Dorian ethnic identities must have reached their peak during the Peloponnesian War which brought racial distinctions and tribal animosities to a head.[42] This can perhaps be even demonstrated in that after Thukydides, no traces of Dorian links with Sparta are found in Xenophon and Strabo[43] meaning that the ethnic sentiments were not always so important unless needed for propaganda.[44] Therefore, I think we should be careful not to trace back strong ethnic considerations in the early Archaic period.[45] While there were differences in language and religious customs (e.g. the Dorian Karneia[46] and the Ionian Anthesteria) which may have resulted in certain political advantages, the hostility between Dorians and Ionians is exaggerated for the time before the fifth century B.C.[47]

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[37] Raaflaub 1997b, 14; cf. Gehrke 2000; Morgan 2001, 90-2; Walter-Karydi 2006, 82-4.

[38] For the Homeric examples see Hall 2009, 608.

[39] Hall 2009, 608; Ulf 2009, 98. For the Dorian ethnic sentiment in the Archaic period see Andrews 1956, ch. 5 but the sources used are later.

[40] It is important to note that Herodotos is not writing during the time of the Persian Wars but later, during the time before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War which by then the ethnic sentiments may have been flared up by the Athenian hegemony in the Greek world. Konstan (2001, 33-4) argues that Herodotos' passage (8.144.2-3) expressing Greek unity against the Persians was an outcome of the tensions building before the Peloponnesian War and an attempt from Herodotos' behalf to unify the Greeks.

[41] Will 1956; Tigerstedt (1965, 130 n.237) considers Thukydides' 'racial clash' between Dorian and Ionians a Peloponnesian War 'propaganda slogan'; Alty (1982, 11-4) supports this idea but warns that there were sentiments before with Herodotos and Pindar.

[42] Ulf (2009, 232) argues for a tight bond with Dorian ethnicity in Sparta only in the second half of the fifth-century B.C.

[43] Polybius also mentions nothing about the Spartans and the Dorians; Aristophanes mentions the Spartans as Lakonians not Dorians (Harvey 1994, 34ff.). See Isokrates on Sparta being Dorian in the *Panethenaicos* (177; 253.4) and the *Archidamos* (16.3).

[44] Ulf 2009, 232. This is in line with Bentley's (1987, 26) definition of the primordial mode of ethnicity in that in times of changing social contexts (in this case the Peloponnesian War) people seek refuge in those aspects that most fundamentally define who they are and Konstan's (2001, 30) view that ethnic self awareness is a reactive phenomenon, meaning that it is used when needed to define one self against the 'other'; a factor prominently observed in the Greek communality as opposed to the Persians (Hdt. 8.144.2-3) during the Persian wars. For Herodotos' and Greek ethnicity see Konstan (2001, 32-4) and Thomas (2001).

[45] See Alty 1982; Morgan 2003, 188; Hall 2007b, 55.

Turning to the subject of hero cult, since Greek ethnicity is defined by the eponymous ancestor, e.g. Ion for the Ionians or Doros for the Dorians one would expect that these heroes would receive worship early on if heroes were used in defining ethnic identities.[48] However, there is no such evidence. It is not that these eponymous ancestors were not constructed in the Archaic period—in the *Catalogue of Women* (fr.9 M/W) we hear of Doros.[49] Knowing that there is no evidence of connecting ethnic identities and hero cult in the Archaic period and that ethnic identities were not widely used for propaganda purposes before the fifth century B.C., it is also altogether doubtful that the choice of heroes worshipped in Greek cities in the Archaic period was based on the hero's Achaian vs. Dorian origins. It is also noteworthy that when the Spartans raised the issue of origins in the Archaic period it is not the Dorians who they emphasised but the Herakleidai; a further aspect of the relative unimportance of the Dorian vs. Achaian origins of the local population in the Archaic period.[50] It is doubtful then that in Sparta the introduction of the worship of the Dioskouroi, Helen and Menelaos and Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra who are all Achaian was based on a propaganda claim. Rather, the heroes worshipped were chosen as in other poleis based on local legends which affiliated the heroes with Sparta.

3.1.2. *Herakles in Sparta*

Because of the significance of Herakles and the Herakleidai in the literary evidence, one would expect the cult of Herakles to hold a prominent position in Sparta. A cult site, however, has not been identified archaeologically. Instead, our knowledge of Herakles in Sparta comes from Pausanias, the reliefs from the temple of Apollo at Amyklai and the depiction of Herakles in a number of other media, such as bronze figurines and vase-painting. Nevertheless, the little that is available to us is worthy of consideration because the manner in which the Spartans chose to depict Herakles can provide a glimpse into the perception of him.

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[46] The cult of Apollo Karneios is not altogether taken to have an ethnic affiliation with the Dorians but it is also viewed to be celebrated by those whose territory was dominated within the Peloponnese by Sparta (Burkert 1985, 234-6).

[47] Tigerstedt 1956, 153.

[48] It is rare to find cults of ethnic heroes. Eponymous heroes usually are tribal or in connection with *gene* demes or groups, such as the *orgeones* Attica (Kearns 1989, 65ff.) or in connection with land genealogies (Calame 1987, 153-4, 162, 164; Malkin 1994, 19-22). In Attica in the Marathonian Tetrapolis there may have been a cult of Xouthos (one of the sons of Hellen) because he is mentioned in an inscription there (*IG* I ^{3} 255.13; ca. 430 B.C.); he was allegedly its founder (Strabo 383; Kearns 1989, 189). Ion is attested in a private dedication of ca. 429/8 B.C. (*IG* I^{3} 383.147-9) in Attica possibly in connection with the Boedromia because he helped Erechtheus in the Eleusinian War (Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F; Kearns 1989, 174) and in another dedication of the first-century B.C. (*IG* II^{2} 4711).

[49] Doros appears in fragment 9 M/W alongside Xouthos and Aiolos as one of the three sons of Hellen.

[50] We can conclude that the Spartans had a Dorian sense of identity but this was not an exclusive one; they also had a Herakleid past. Thus the sense of identity would not be static and different emphasis would be given depending on the social needs.

Pausanias reports that there was a temple of Herakles in Sparta, at Platanistas, near the temple of Helen and the tomb of Alkman (3.15.3). Inside the temple was a statue of Herakles armed in the manner in which he fought Hippokoon and his sons. By the temple was also the tomb of Oion (who was a catalyst in the myth that lead to the killing of the sons of Hippokoon), the hero shrines of Dorkeus and Sebrus, the sons of Hippokoon, together with a fountain nearby called Dorkea (3.15.3). Before reaching the area Pausanias was at the Dromos (which must have been close to the area of the temple of Herakles), which was the location of a number of heroa of other sons of Hippokoon (Eumedes and Alcon, Paus. 3.14.6-7).[51] The area by the temple of Herakles seems to have become part of the sacred landscape of Sparta whose significance lies with a group of monuments that commemorate the personalities of the myth of Herakles and Hippokoon.[52] This myth explains how Herakles installed to the throne of Sparta king Tyndareos; a first step to a series of events that resulted to the return of the Herakleidai. Subsequently, the temple of Herakles and the hero-shrines around it--- and it important to note that Platanistas had no other divine cults (only hero cults)---must have had contributed to the civic identity of the Spartans. Since no physical remains associated with the cult have been discovered we can only speculate about its foundation, life span and nature. Considering the significance of Herakles and the Herakleidai in the self-described origins of the Spartans in the seventh-century B.C. it would be surprising if this cult were a late development.[53]

Herakles' importance in Spartan art is attested at least from the seventh-century onwards by his depiction on ivory reliefs[54] and from the sixth-century on vase painting, bronze statuettes and sculpture (see below).[55] Herakles' presence in Archaic Spartan art provides nothing out of the ordinary because he was a popular subject all over the Greek world then.[56] Depictions of the hero are found in different regions with often an emphasis of one particular deed over another. From his mythological repertoire, however, Herakles' introduction to Olympus is absent from most Greek regions with the exception of Attic art.[57] In Sparta however there are some examples of Lakonian vase-panting, such as on a cup by the Boreads Painter dated around 570-565B.C. (FIG. 16.).[58] The scene consists of Zeus and Hera on the right while Athena leads Herakles by the hand towards Zeus.[59] The choice of myth is noteworthy because it shows Herakles not as a mortal but during his apotheosis. This myth must have been of some importance to the Spartans because it was not restricted to vase painting but also formed part of the sculptural program on the throne of Apollo at Amyklai, perhaps the most famous Lakonian work. [60]

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[51] This complex of shrines may serve as a ‘ritual antagonism’ where in myth there was animosity but in cult there was created a symbiosis (Nagy 1979, 121). Lyons 1997, 71-72 explains that such a phenomenon can be found where a hero cult site will be near that of the divinity who caused her/his death. For other examples in Sparta see Klytaimnestra’s image near the sanctuary of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra (Paus. 3.19.6) and Hyakinthos’ burial inside the altar of Apollo at Amyklai (Paus. 3.19.3).

[52] For the myth see *supra* p. 65.

[53] For the significance of the cult group in the second-century A.D. see Gengler 2005.

[54] See *infra* §5.2.1.

[55] For the imagery of Herakles in Lakonian art see *infra* §§5.2.1-2.

[56] Pipili 1987, 11.

The throne of Apollo, constructed in the mid-sixth-century B.C., was an architectural complex which housed the statue of Apollo and the altar (used as a base for the statue of Apollo and the grave of Hyakinthos).[61] Unfortunately little survives of the rich sculptural decoration of various mythological scenes which covered the throne and the altar and so our only source of information is Pausanias (3.1.8.9-19.5). Among other sculptures Herakles is depicted on his way to Olympus twice (Paus. 3.18.11; 3.19.5). On the throne of the statue, which, decorated with different mythological scenes including Herakles' undergoing different labours, was a scene illustrating Hermes bearing the infant Dionysus to Olympus. Next to this was Herakles in his introduction to Olympus where Athena takes Herakles to ‘dwell among the gods’ (Paus. 3.18.11). On the altar, which was also covered in reliefs, Hyakinthos and his sister Polybia were represented as they were carried to heaven in company of divine figures.[62] From Pausanias’ description it appears that next to the scene Herakles is presented as he is lead to Olympus by Athena and the other gods.

Two points about the appearance of Herakles apotheosis on the throne of Apollo in Amyklai require comment: first, some of the illustrations on the throne are rare and elsewhere undocumented myths, such as Theseus leading the Minotaur bound and alive, and many are of local Spartan significance such as the rape of Taygete by Zeus, a union which produced the child Lakedaimon. As Faustoferri notes the scenes representing precise and generally well-defined moments of otherwise undocumented myths which show that their selection was not accidental.[63] Second, Herakles' introduction to Olympus was spatially coordinated with other scenes of apotheosis (Dionysos taken to Olympus by Hermes, and Hyakinthos and Polybia led to Olympus by divinities).

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[57] For other non-Attic examples see Pipili (1987, 11) where she lists only an Ionian hydria from Cerveteri and Stafford (2005, 393, n.9) for an Archaic Corinthian aryballos and a Parian amphora from Melos.

[58] New York Metropolitan Museum 50.11.7; Lane 1933, 163-4; Schefton 1954, 300, pl 50a (who attributes this cup to the Arkesilas Painter); Pelagatti 1958, 493, fig. 9; Stibbe 1972, 98; Pipili 1987, 11-12.

[59] In this representation Athena is not armed and wears a polos which has raised some questioning as to her identity (Lane 1933, 163; Shefton 1954, 300). Pipili (1987, 12) states that this should not make a difference in the identification of the figure since in this period it is rare to see armed Athenas.

[60] See *supra* §2.3.

[61] See supra p. 65.

[62] Pipili 1987, 81ff.

[63] Faustoferri 1993, 159.

The first point presupposes that the choice of the images, among them Herakles' apotheosis, were carefully selected for the throne. As mentioned above, the introduction of Herakles to Olympus was not widely rendered outside of Attic art in the sixth-century B.C.[64] The most popular depictions of Herakles are usually his labours which emphasize his heroic character and super-human strength. These myths reveal nothing that would differentiate him from other heroes, such as Theseus and Perseus that have undertaken labours/deeds. It is not until Herakles dies that he becomes different from the others because he is immortalized. This fact is pertinent in the interpretation of the selection of Herakles' imagery on the throne and the prominence of the scene of his introduction to Olympus. By portraying Herakles on his way to becoming a deity (an attribute which is emphasized on the throne and altar by the positioning of Herakles' apotheosis next to that of Dionysos' and Hyakinthos') could only strengthen his importance, and as a divinity, his and his descendants' ownership of the land of Lakonia would have greater validity. The Spartans emphasized the introduction of Herakles to Olympus because Herakles was an important hero for them; after all, it was because of Herakles and his descendants that the Spartans acquired the land. Subsequently, Herakles' elevated position would strengthen the Spartan belief as the true owners of Lacedaimonia.

The importance of the iconography lies not only on the representation of Herakles during his introduction to Olympus but also on the fact that the iconography is rendered on the throne and altar of Apollo. We know that private funding or patronage in Sparta was prohibited during the Archaic and Classical periods,[65] therefore, monuments of this size and importance would be commissioned by the state perhaps even by king Anaxandridas.[66] The monument is important enough so one can only come to the conclusion that calling attention to Herakles' divinity was an official act in Sparta. This then may possibly be an outcome of Herakles' position as a forefather of the Spartan kings but also by the fact that Herakles and the Herakleidai were a central aspect of Sparta's understanding of the reasons that the state existed.[67]

Herakles and the Herakleidai therefore become central components of Sparta's self identity in the region. The myths of colonisation and dominance are so prominent that they were central to Tyrtaios' poetry in the seventh-century. The sixth-century saw the portrayal of myths pertinent in the celebration of Herakles in different mediums of bronze-work and vase-painting--with the ultimate commemoration of Herakles' apotheosis as depicted on the throne and altar at Amyklai.

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[64] *LIMC* V. I. 131-2.

[65] The Spartans participated in communal life with the *agoge*, the *syssitia* and festivals, which discouraged personal promotion (§4.1). It appears that in Sparta funding was acquired by public finances (Finley 1985, 35; Hodkinson 2000, 210-113).

[66] Faustoferri 1993, 161 n.19.

[67] For the kings' religious position in Sparta and cult rites see *infra* §4.3.1.

3.2. Agamemnon

We know from the Homeric epics and from Aischylos' *Agamemnon* that the Mycenaean king Agamemnon was the leader of the Achaians against Troy and was thought of as the most powerful of all the kings.[68] As will discussed in chapter six Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra enjoyed cult in Sparta (Amyklai) from the seventh-century B.C. onwards. Because, however, the Homeric view places Agamemnon's seat in Mycenae, and thus traditionally affiliated with Argos, while his brother Menelaos was king of Sparta (*Il.*1.30; 2.108; 2.581; *Od.* 1.285; 11.460), scholars interpret the appropriation of the powerful Mycenaean king to have been promoted by Sparta in a calculated way when the state aspired to gain hegemony in the Peloponnese in the sixth-century.[69] Cartledge called 'the introduction' of an Achaian hero, such as Agamemnon, in the religious world of Sparta to have been 'politically expedient' at this time.[70] This view however is problematic, first because some early literary traditions (see below) place Agamemnon in Lakedaimon, and second the cult of Agamemnon at Mycenae may have commenced later than the Lakonian one.[71] The cult of Agamemnon in Lakonia may instead reflect the appropriation of a local hero independently of the Achaian background of the hero. In the following section I will discuss this hypothesis and place it against the literary and archaeological evidence.

Not all literary traditions place Agamemnon in Mycenae or follow the Homeric genealogy of Agamemnon as son of Atreus---two elements that would make him a 'foreign' hero for Sparta. Some ancient texts connect Agamemnon with Lakonia: in the *Odyssey* (4.514ff.) Agamemnon tells Odysseus the story of how he ran into a storm at Cape Malea. The place is not actually en route to Mycenae but rather in Lakonia near the perioikoic town of Boeae.[72] Some deduce that Cape Malea could reflect an unclear knowledge of Peloponnesian topography in Homer referenced perhaps because it is a place that is well known for its storms.[73] However, the passage has prompted other scholars to suggest an alternative early tradition whereby Agamemnon goes to Lakonia on his return from Troy[74] and that the passage may even be linked to a section in the *Iliad* (9.149-56) where Agamemnon rules cities in Messenia.[75] While this can only remain a hypothesis, such an early tradition could explain other ancient sources where Agamemnon was specifically localized in Sparta or Amyklai. Simonides and Stesichoros, for example, place him in Sparta (Stesich. 216 Davies, *PMGF*; Simon. 549 Page, *PMG*) while Pindar locates his kingdom at Amyklai (*P.* 11.32; *N.* 11.34). Moreover, Stesichoros names the nurse of Orestes Laodameia, after the daughter of Amyklas king of Lakedaimon,[76] and gives Agamemnon a different genealogy: the father of Agamemnon was not Atreus, who was associated with the Argolid, but Pleisthenes.[77]

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[68] In the *Il.*1.122 Agamemnon is called κύδιστος (most glorious) and ἄναξ ἀνδϱῶν (king of men) *Il.*19.146.
[69] Malkin 1994, 28; Cartledge 2002, 112; Salapata 2002a, 141; Phillips 2003, 313-14.
[70] Cartledge 2002, 112.
[71] Antonaccio 1995, 147-55; Hall 1995a, 580, n.19, 602 and *supra* pp. 25-6..
[72] Robertson 1996, 459.
[73] Kunst 1924-5, 22-3; Ferrari 1938, 8, n.1; Podlecki 1971, 315; Malkin 1994, 82.
[74] Podlecki 1971, 315.

The alternative tradition that places Agamemnon at Lakonia has prompted scholars to argue that Stesichoros invented the tradition in order to cater to Lakonian propaganda.[78] Unfortunately, we do not know if the poetry of Stesichoros was performed in competitions or if the state was involved, i.e., the kings or ephors or any other state figure in these competitions.[79] Some evidence suggests that Stesichoros composed poetry for the public. According to the scholiast of Aristophanes' *Peace*, lines 797 and 800 were actually taken from the *Oresteia* of Stesichoros where the poet must sing δαμώματα (public songs) when the spring comes.[80] It is possible then that the *Oresteia* of Stesichoros was composed to be performed in Sparta since he mentions that the legend takes place in Lakonia (see above).[81] Stesichoros is also famous for his *Helen* (Athen. 3.81d; 10. 451d; Theokr. *Hel. Ep.;* Sch. Eur. *Or.* 249) as well as his *Palinodia* to retract his ill spoken words of Helen (Plat. *Phaidros* 243A).[82] The Spartan character of the poems may indicate that the poems were performance in Sparta which in turn may give a reason for the poet to manipulate the tradition in order to please his audience.[83] However, Burkert suggests that Stesichorian composition was not place specific because it lacked names attached to areas, for example Hagesichora at Sparta (Alkman's *Partheneion*), Hieron at Syracuse (Pindar's *P.* 3), meaning that, like the Homeric epics his songs could be performed anywhere.[84] The pan-Hellenic appeal of the poems is important because it implies a non-Spartan specific audience. Stesichoros may have performed in Sparta in some occasions but his songs could have been executed also elsewhere.

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[75] Robertson 1996, 459.This may also explain how in the *Catalogue of Women* fr.197 M/W, in the listing of Helen's suitors, Agamemnon is among those seeking the hand of Helen on behalf of his brother (West 1985, 118; Hall 1997, 92, n.123). For the seven Messenian cities see Shipley 2004, 549.

[76] Schol. Aischyl. *Choeph.* 733 (Bowra 2001, 114).

[77] Bowra 2001, 254. The same tradition is observed in the *Catalogue of Women* fr.194 M/W (Hall 1997, 90-91). Other authors also show knowledge of this tradition: Bakchylides *Dithyramb* 1.48; Ibykos fr.1.21 Page, *PMG*; Aischyl. *Ag.* 1569, 1602. It would not be a sole instance where genealogies varied, especially in Lakonia (Huxley 1969, 87).

[78] Bowra 2001, 114; Salapata 2002a, 141; Phillips 2003, 313.

[79] Whether Stesichoros' works were performed by a chorus or as a monody is a debatable subject. Because poems such as the *Oresteia* and *Geryoneis* were extremely long (e.g. the *Oresteia* consisted of two books and the *Geryoneis* had 1300 lines) scholars such as West (1971, 312ff) and Davies (1988a, 53) have argued that they are meant to be sang by one person only regardless of the composition of the poems of a strophe, antistrophe and epode. West (1971, 302) calls them 'epic poems'. Burkert (1987, 51) however thinks they were a choral production for festivals. Haslam (1978, 29) talks about Stesichoros' mediating role between 'epic and choral lyric', a view supported by D' Alfonso (1994, 125).

[80] D' Alfonso 1994, 107-8, 112-7.

[81] Bowra (2001, 112-14) argues that it may have been performed at some Spartan festival as Sparta was widely known for its musical festivals. Ancient sources inform us of foreign competitors taking part in the Karneia, for example see Hellanikos' work on the Karneian victors *FGrH* 4 F 85 (West 1992b, 330 n.8, 334-5).

[82] Davidson 1968, 197-9.

[83] Bowra 2001, 115.

Despite his supposed audience it is, however, unlikely that Stesichoros invented the tradition that placed Agamemnon in Lakonia in a politically motivated climate, and instead Agamemnon should be viewed as a local hero honoured at his death place for three reasons: first, because as discussed earlier there is evidence of other oral traditions, local legends and lost works in which Agamemnon may have been more tightly connected with Lakonia.[85] As mentioned above, according to one tradition Agamemno died at Amyklai (Pind. *P.* 11.32). In fact it has been proposed that the tradition which ties Agamemnon with Lakonia may have been created by a Lakonian epic poet, Kinaithon who wrote a *Little Ilias* and a *Telegonia* according to Eusebios (*Chronikon* 4.2).[86] Some scholars even propose that the tradition of Agamemnon and the Achaians in the Argolid was fabricated later while the original mythological repertoire of the area belonged to the Proitid and Perseid mythology.[87] Second, the politically motivated Achaian vs. Dorian ethnic sentiments that would make Agamemnon a propaganda tool in the Archaic period have been challenged above. Third, and most importantly, while Stesichoros wrote in the sixth-century B.C. the cult of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra in Lakonia had already commenced in the early seventh-century. This then can exclude the propaganda claims that like to see Stesichoros initiating the myth of Agamemnon in Lakonia. Taken together with the fact that the cult of Agamemnon at Mycenae probably does not commence until the fourth-century B.C.[88] and the earliest inscribed sherd from votive deposit of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra at Amyklai dates to 525 B.C.,[89] I think the cult of Agamemnon in Lakonia should be viewed as part of an older tradition which locates the hero there. We then can securely conclude that neither the literary evidence nor the archaeological remains can demonstrate that Agamemnon was a hero used for an Achaian policy of Sparta. In all probability, his cult was created because the local legend had him die there. Therefore, the worship of Agamemnon should be viewed as that of a local hero honoured at his death place. His popularity however, may have risen during the time when Sparta attempted domination over the Peloponnese in the sixth-century and when Sparta sought the leadership during the Persian wars: when Gelon challenged Sparta's leadership the Spartan ambassador said that Agamemnon would wail greatly if he learned that Sparta was not given the command (Hdt. 7.157-9).

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[84] Burkert 1987, 52.
[85] Hall 1995a, 580, n.19; Hutchinson 2001, 114, n.1.
[86] Bowra 2001, 114, n.5. See Huxley 1969, 85-9 and *supra* p. 41, n.85.
[87] Piérart 1992, 129; 2000, 29-32; Hall 1995a, 580; Hall 1995b, 14-15; Kowalzig 2007, 307. West (1985, 159-60) proposes that the genealogy of the eastern part of the Argolid was modified.
[88] See *supra* pp. 25-6.
[89] See *infra* §6.1.

3.3. Orestes

Among the most memorable incidents that Herodotos mentions about Archaic Sparta is the transfer of the bones of Orestes, the events that led to it, and the formation of the treaty between Sparta and Tegea (ca. 550 B.C.; 1.67.1-68.6).[90] The incident happened in the mid- sixth-century after an unsuccessful attempt from Sparta to subjugate Tegea.[91] The Spartans had consulted the Delphic oracle for a way to help them conquer all of Arcadia. The response was that they could only conquer Tegea, not the entire region. This lead to the ‘Battle of the Fetters’ between Sparta and Tegea (mid- sixth-century B.C.) in which the Spartans suffered a humiliating defeat and resulted in the capture of many Spartans. The Spartans consulted the oracle a second time. The oracle pronounced that in order for Sparta to become an ἐπιτάρροθος (helper/ ally or master/ lord)[92] of Tegea the Spartans had to find the bones of Orestes in Tegea, and take them to Sparta. Subsequently, the Spartan Lichas retrieved them and the bones were buried in the agora of Sparta near the sanctuary of the *Moirai*.[93] Herodotos attributes Sparta’s later success in war to the acquisition of the bones (1.68).

Not surprisingly, scholars interpret the transfer of bones in Herodotos’ account as a politically motivated religious act. In the following section I will examine this account both in terms of Sparta's foreign relations and in regards to its internal significance.

With regards to Sparta’s foreign relations, the incident described by Herodotos can be perceived either as an act of aggression or reconciliation.[94] In support of the former, scholars view the action as a Spartan attempt to express dominance in the Peloponnese, particularly to Tegea.[95] According to this line of thinking the Delphic oracle provided divine approval that ‘may have represented the right [of Sparta] to Peloponnesian hegemony'.[96]

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[90] The conditions of the treaty with Tegea are given by Plutarch (*Mor.* 277c; 292b) and explained by Aristotle (fr.592 Rose). The treaty dictates that the Messenians must be expelled from the country and they shall not be allowed to be made ‘good’. ‘Good’ is interpreted as either ‘dead or ‘citizens’ (Phillips 2003, 305, n.17 with bibliography).

[91] The incident took place during the reign of kings Anaxandridas and Ariston, ca. 560 B.C. (Hdt. 1.67). For the Spartan king lists see Forrest 1980, 21-2; Parker V. 1991; Cartledge 2002, 293-8.

[92] McCauley 1999, 86, n.2; Phillips 2003, 302, n.4.

[93] Paus. 3.11.10; Hdt 4.67-8; 3.10; on the significance of tombs in the agora see Martin 1951 ch.2; Malkin 1987, 200-3.

[94] Aptly, Pausanias compares the incident with the transfer of the bones of Theseus to Athens. For the bone transfer of Theseus see Moreaux (1990, 212-5) and MacCauley (1999, 93-6). The difference between the cases as Welwei (2004b, 219-30) stresses in that Athens was already a dominant power whereas Sparta was not and Theseus was a symbol of the supremacy cf. Ungern-Sternberg 1985, 324.

[95] McCauley (1999, 95) compares this incident with other bone transferrals and concludes that it is a ‘validation of the territorial claims of the city’. See also Phillips 2003 303, 310-12.

A different view, however, sees the appropriation of Orestes' bones as a Spartan attempt to connect with the Achaian past: because the Spartans considered themselves Dorians, the acquisition of Orestes' bones established a link between themselves and the Peloponnese.[97] Malkin argues that because the Herakleidai entered the Peloponnese and overpowered Achaian cities, the descendants of Herakles represented a conquering behaviour.[98] According to Malkin a contrast to the Herakleidai would be an Achaian hero who merged the Dorian 'other' with the Achaian neighbours into an alliance.[99] The bone transfer then is perceived as a conciliatory gesture to emphasize a unity of Sparta with the Argolid. This kind of unity was known from the legendary past: after the kingship of Menelaos and Agamemnon there was not a separate king of Sparta and a separate king of Mycenae. Succeeding them was Orestes, who having married Hermione (the daughter of Menelaos and Helen), inherited the kingship of Mycenae but also of Sparta (*Il.* 149-53).[100] His son Tisamenos (see below) followed in his footsteps and ruled both Sparta and Mycenae. Many scholars insist that by appropriating Orestes instead of a Herakleid hero was a representation of the new policy of Sparta.[101] Malkin stresses the relationship that Sparta had with her neighbors at the time: 'no more wars of annexation resulting in helotage but a hegemonial policy of alliances based on Sparta's common heritage through the house of Pelops'.[102]

However, a problem with the above hypothesis is that it is based on the assumption that Sparta formed alliances in the fifty years following the transfer of the bones of Orestes at Sparta; a fact that is debatable.[103] It is clear that before the transfer of the bones of Orestes Sparta was aggressive and it is possible that the same attitude continued after the bone relocation.[104] The problem is better expressed by the fact that Sparta sought the advice of the Delphic oracle on how to become a ἐπιτάρροθος (helper/ ally or master/ lord)[105] of Tegea. The conflicting translation of the word ἐπιτάρροθος demonstrates the vagueness of Sparta's aims. Considering, however, that Sparta was aggressive towards Tegea, as it had already fought the 'Battle of the Fetters' and lost, and consulted the Delphic oracle twice on how to deal with her neighbour, I strongly doubt that Sparta attempted a peaceful relationship with Tegea. Besides, even if Sparta formed alliances after the transfer of the bones of Orestes the alliances may not have been the initial aim but the result of a failed aggressive attempt. Therefore, it is highly doubtful that Sparta intended to form alliances and therefore used Orestes as a peaceful tool. Orestes' bones, I believe, should be interpreted in the context of aggression; Orestes was part of Sparta's hegemonial prospects.[106]

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[96] Malkin, 1994, 29.

[97] Dickins 1912, 22; Leahy 1958; Forrest 1980, 73-6, 79-83; Hooker 1980, 130-1; McCauley 1999, 88- 93.For general views for an Achaian policy see Huxley 1962, 68-71; Forrest 1980, 74-6; Calame 1987, 177; Cartledge 2002, 137-9, 247-8; Ste Croix 2002, 219.

[98] Malkin 1994, 29.

[99] Malkin 1994, 29.

[100] In Euripides' *Andr.* (1170-60, 1240-4) Orestes murders Neoptolemos and carries off Hermione who he will marry. He has a son with her, Tisamenos (Paus. 2.18.6).

[101] Forrest 1980, 75-7; Murray 1980, 247-8; Cartledge 2002, 138-9.

[102] Malkin 1994, 29. Some are so certain that Orestes' bone transfer was an act to promote alliance that they even speculate that the ephor Chilon was behind the Delphic decision as a peaceful way of gaining influence over the Peloponnese (Leahy 1955; Boedeker 1998a; Cartledge 2002, 139). However, none of the sources actually name any individual in Sparta who may have influenced Delphi to select Orestes. A papyrus dating to the second-century B.C. (*FGrH* 105F1) mentions that Chilon was acting as a military capacity with King Anaxandridas (Dickins 1912, 1-42). Dickins (1912) believes that the ephors have used Orestes' cult in order to gain power against the kings.

[103] Not every one accepts that there was unity in the Peloponnese after the transfer of bones (Yates 2005, 66-9). After the mid-sixth-century Sparta followed the expedition to Sikyon to deposit of the tyrant Aeschines, the last of the Orthagorid tyrants. This happened during the time of Chilon (ca. 556 B.C.) or soon after that. (*FGrH* 105 F 1; Phillips 2003, 306). In 525 B.C. Sparta took an expedition with Corinth against the tyrant of Samos (Hdt. 3.48.1) which Cartledge (2002, 120) interprets as evidence of an alliance (*contra* Welwei 2004b, 224). It is not until 506 B.C. where the first great expedition with many Peloponnesian cities took place when king Kleomenes I attempted to bring Hippias back to Athens (Welwei 2004b, 224). Immerwahr (1966, 226) argues that even during the Persian Wars there remained an 'antagonistic cooperation' between Sparta and Tegea; a view supported by Boedeker (1998a, 172).

A second problem with the hypothesis that the bones of Orestes catered to an 'Achaian policy' of Sparta is that it presupposes first, that Sparta *needed* Orestes to connect to her Achaian past and second, that there was a strong sentiment of Dorian 'other' in Sparta in the Archaic period However, already by the early seventh-century archaeological evidence attests to the cults of Achaian heroes at the Menelaion and that of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra at Amyklai that would 'cater' to such sentiments, if they existed at all. The Dioskouroi reliefs which appear in the sixth-century compliment the picture.[107] Literary evidence from Homer connects Agamemnon to Lakonia and Messenia and the same is demonstrated in poetry of Simonides, Pindar and Stesichoros.[108] Orestes himself is connected to Sparta (Lakedaimon) by a number of authors, such as Stesichoros, Simonides and Pindar.[109] Interpreting the transfer of the bones of Orestes as part of an Achaian policy in order to form alliances presupposes a need for Achaian heroes of which Sparta had plenty already. More importantly, the ethnic consciousness of the Dorian 'other', as it has been argued previously, is doubtful for the sixth-century.[110] In short, the emphasis of Orestes' Achaian ethnicity as a motivating factor for the bone transfer is unlikely.

The importance of Orestes to Sparta's military prospects in the Peloponnese would benefit more from an explanation of how the Tegeans would perceive the transfer of the bones. Boedeker addresses this question and doubts that the Arcadians would have recognized the right of the Spartans to hegemony because of possession of Orestes' bones.[111] Boedeker is surely correct to emphasize that the cult may have meant little to Tegea or any other Arcadian city.[112] After all, Tegea was not aware that the bones of Orestes were in its own soil and, most importantly there was no cult of Orestes in Tegea. So in essence Orestes' bones were not 'taken' away from Tegea because Tegea was unaware that they were there to begin with.[113] Furthermore, it is doubtful that the alliance which followed with Tegea was because Sparta had acquired some sort of power after transferring the bones of the hero. Rather, the alliance probably occurred because that was the practical and safe option against the military capacity of Sparta.

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[104] See *supra* n.2.

[105] See *supra* p. 76.

[106] Welwei (2004b, 222-3) does not see a reason for Sparta to have been aggressive towards Tegea in the sixth-century and finds Herodotos' report false. He believes that Sparta's hostile relations with Tegea were due to helots finding refuge there and interprets the conflict with Tegea as a 'small scale defeat; (idem, 225) This view is highly problematic considering the great effort to consult the oracle twice in order to defeat Tegea.

[107] See *infra* §5.2.3.

[108] See *supra* pp. 73-4.

[109] Stesichoros: fr.39 Page, *PMG*; Simonides: Schol. Eur. *Or.* 46; Pindar: *P.* 11.16, 31-7; *N.*11.34 (Boedeker 1998a, 174, n.21).

[110] Boedeker (1998a, 166-7) comes to a similar conclusion.

Having examined the external importance of the bone transfer, the incident also should be viewed with regard to its internal significance. The acquisition of the bones in essence meant that Sparta now 'possessed' Orestes in the physical sense, i.e. Orestes was *in* Sparta,[114] and by transferring Orestes' bones to Sparta, Sparta created a local hero. His 'burial' in the agora, then, in a central place, highlights his importance as a hero who belonged to the city. Since in Sparta, as elsewhere, the agora would house civic and religious buildings among them the Χορὸs, the area where the festival of the Gymnopaideia took place, (Paus. 3 11.9),[115] Orestes' presence in the agora would then be both of religious but also of civic significance.[116] The appropriation of a new local hero then would result in the protection and empowerment of the city against the enemy land from where hero's bones were removed.[117]

The internal religious importance of the transfer of the bones of Orestes' has not been accepted by everyone. It has been suggested that that there was little religious significance in this move because Orestes never acquired a status similar to that of Menelaos or Agamemnon.[118] However, it is irrelevant how the cult developed because no one knew at the time of the transfer of the bones how the cult would grow.[119] Moreover, Orestes was 'buried' in the agora which remains to be identified and excavated, therefore, his cult site has not been found; if it does the site may show a different picture regarding the chronology and votive assemblage relating to the cult.[120] After all, the religiosity of Sparta is well known and so was the popularity of hero cults so Orestes' cult would be a welcome addition.[121] In any case, his cult was important enough to have lasted through time and be seen by Pausanias almost seven-hundred years later.

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[111] Boedeker 1998a, 167.

[112] Boedeker 1998a, 167.

[113] Some believe that Orestes' bones were located in Arcadia because of the confusion with Orestheus, the eponymous hero of Oresthasion. Pausanias (8.3.2) says that the Oresthasion in time changed its name to Orestion in honour of Orestes (McCauley 1999, 86, n.2).

[114] Of course there were many examples were heroes were worshiped in cenotaphs, temples or shrines. There is no need for the actual bones to have cult.

[115] The location of hero-shrines in agoras was common in the Greek world. Pausanias in particular, demonstrates that numerous Greek poleis (Athens, Megara, Argos, Thebes, Phigalia, and Troizen) honoured their heroes in their agoras (Martin 1951, 194-7; Kenzler 1999, 191-5 who provide examples of hero cults in the agorai of several poleis).

[116] For hero-cults by civic buildings see Megara where the council chamber was built to incorporate the tombs of the heroes (Paus. 1.43.3) (Boehringer 1980, 5-22). At Pella the Classical Tholos was built over a possible Archaic shrine of Herakles-Phylakos (Hatzisteliou-Price 1973b, 66-71).

[117] McCauley 1999, 95. Acquiring the good will of a particular local hero of a territory one wished to conquer is not unfamiliar in Greek religion. We know of other examples of such events: Solon sacrificed to the heroes of Salamis before its conquest (Plut. *Sol.* 9.1) (Nilsson 1972, 29-30) and before the conquest of Aigina there was a precinct set up for Aiakos in Athens (Hdt. 4.89; Pind. *I.* 8.21; Paus 2.29.7) (Malkin 1994, 27).

3.3.1. *Tisamenos*

It is possible that after the relocation of the bones of Orestes, the bones of another Achaian hero Tisamenos (Orestes' son) were transferred to Sparta. Pausanias (7.1.7-8) tells us that the Dorians expelled the Achaians (with Tisamenos as their king) from Sparta and claims that Tisamenos and the Achaians went to Helike asking to settle there.[122] The Ionians living in Helike refused and fought with the Achaians and were defeated. Tisamenos fell in battle and was buried at Helike. Pausanias continues the narrative and says that the Spartans later, according to the Delphic oracle, brought his bones to Sparta where Pausanias saw the grave located where the Spartans eat their *phitidia* (7.1.9). In another version of the story by pseudo-Apollodorus Tisamenos instead died at defending his kingdom against the Herakleidai and Dorians (*bibl.* 2.8.3).

Considering that our only source of Sparta's appropriation of Tisamenos' bones is Pausanias it is difficult to come to a confident understanding of this incident in Sparta's earlier history. A date of *terminus ante quem* is 373 B.C.[123] when Helike was destroyed by an earthquake and disappeared under the sea (Diod. 15.48.1-3; Strabo 8.7.2; Paus. 7.25.4) so the bone transfer must have happened before that.[124] Leahy is probably right to date the event soon after the transfer of the bones of Orestes.[125] This is not only because the stories are similar in that they both followed Delphic commands but also Orestes was Tisamenos' father, and so Tisamenos’ bone relocation may have been inspired by the earlier bone transfer.

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[118] Leahy 1955. Another view is that Orestes reflects a unifying solution to the internal problems between kings and Ephors at the time and emphasized the *homoioi* (Boedeker 1998a).

[119] Malkin 1994, 27.

[120] See Kourinou (2000, 99-114) for the scholarly debate and various propositions for the location of the Spartan agora.

[121] Hdt. 6.67, 9.10.3; Thuk. 5.54.1, 55.3, 116.1, 3.89.1, 6.95.1, 8.6.5; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.24. For the religiosity of Sparta see *infra* p. 94, n.67.

[122] In another version of the story Polybius (2.41.4-5) says that Tisamenos and the Achaians from Sparta formed a kingdom at Achaia.

[123] The date of the destruction of Helike is known because Strabo (8.7.2) tells us that it happened two years before the battle of Leuktra (371 B.C.).

[124] Leahy 1955, 26-7; Phillips 2003, 311, n.50. The city according to ancient authors (Pausanias, 7.24.5; Strabo 8.7.2; Diod.15.48) was destroyed from an earthquake and a tsunami in 373 B.C. Resent excavations by the Helike Project were able to locate the city southwest of the Gulf of Corinth (Gitwitz 2004).

[125] Leahy 1955, 31.

Unlike Orestes’ bone transfer, however, which was conducted in order to defeat Tegea, we are given no reason by Pausanias for Tisamenos’ appropriation. Therefore Sparta’s motivation behind the incident is open to speculation. Interpretations follow those given for Orestes, such as in order for Sparta to reconnect with its pre-Herakleid Achaian past through the cult of Tisamenos,[126] as a way to attract an alliance in Helike and win over the rest of the Achaian cities (as proposed with Tegea in Arcadia),[127] or as part of the aggressive policy of Sparta in the Peloponnese.[128] Since Tisamenos was the son of Orestes, then the adoption of another hero, particularly one related so closely to Orestes, I deduce, follows Sparta’s previous actions as both a political and a religious act. By the sixth-century Sparta housed cults of other traditionally Spartan kings: Agamemnon, Menelaos, and perhaps Tyndareos although our only source for the latter is late (Paus. 3.17.4). Sparta also had specific burial grounds for the contemporary kings, the Agidai and the Euripondiai at Pitane and Mesoa, respectively.[129] Orestes' and Tisamenos’ burials in Sparta then would be a natural choice for the city whose last two kings from the legendary past (Orestes and Tisamenos) were not buried in Sparta. By bringing Orestes and Tisamenos’ bones to Sparta, the city now had all the great kings in that line who according to one tradition had their kingdom in Lakedaimon not Mycenae (Stesich. 216 Davies, *PMGF*; Simon. 549 Page, *PMG*). Sparta in both cases appropriated local heroes who would provide protection and ‘strength’ from the bones of the hero. It is doubtful that they were chosen because they were Achaian.

3.4. Conclusion

Because the Spartans were Dorians, and thus foreigners in the region which they came to dominate, scholars interpret the popularity of hero-cult in Sparta, which started in the early seventh-century, as a claim to an Achaian past. However, this chapter demonstrates that the application of the ethnic terminology ‘Dorian’ in an early date presupposes later sentiments of intense rivalry among Greek states when ethnic terminology was widely used during the Peloponnesian war. Rather, Archaic Sparta seems to have placed a grater emphasis on Herakles and the Herakleidai rather than its Dorian identity. This fact should have us look at the formation of the hero cults in Archaic Sparta in a different view rather than based on the Achaian policy of Sparta. Variations of popular legends discredit the argument that Sparta invented stories in the sixth-century B.C. as a propaganda tool in order to claim Achaian heroes. Instead the polis probably followed trends of hero-cult as elsewhere in worshipping beings of the distant past who were thought to be local personalities who once lived in the area. This may have prompted the worship of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra, and others (who possibly remain unidentified to us). It is not to say that Sparta did not later use heroes as political or hegemonic tools: the transfer of Orestes' and Tisamenos' bones signified Sparta's emphasis of her local heroes from which the city would be empowered in order to gain hegemony in the Peloponnese. The ideologies behind such bone transferrals nonetheless are not ethnic; there is no explanation in Herodotos that Sparta sought to take an Achaian hero because of his ethnic identity.

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[126] Malkin (1994, 30) suggests that if Tisamenos died by the Herakleidai and the Dorians, i.e. the ancestors of the Spartans, then the transfer of bones could be seen as an act of atonement.

[127] Leahy 1955. Such an alliance never happened which Leahy (1955, 34-5) interprets as a reversal of Sparta's foreign policy to an aggressive once again which lead to the expulsion of Aeschines of Sikyon. *Contra* Hammond (1982, 354) who dates the expulsion of Aeschines before the transfer of the bones of Tisamenos. Phillips (2003, 307-8) argues that the fact that an alliance never happened proves that transfer of the bones of Tisamenos was in line with Sparta's aggressive policy. Helike situated in Achaia did not offer any geographical advantage over the rest of the cities in the area but it had the important Achaian sanctuaries of Zeus Homoarios (Strabo 8.387) (*Neue Pauly* 5: 683) and one of Poseidon Heliconios (Diod. 15.49; Strabo 8.384-385). It was probably the centre of an Achaian federation *(Neue Pauly* 5: 286).

[128] Phillips 2003, 312.

[129] For heroic honours to Spartan kings see *infra* §4.3.1.

Inasmuch as the Spartans sought to legitimise their presence by connecting with the Herakleidai it is noteworthy that they never developed a genealogy which would link them with a pre-Dorian Atreid family. This may mean that such ethnic divisions were not as strong in an early date and ethnic connotations with heroes were not linked. What seems to have mattered is the association of the hero with a specific polis, most prominently demonstrated by the popularity of local personalities, such as the Dioskouroi, and Helen and Menelaos.

Chapter Four

The Heroisation of the Recently Deceased Until the Fifth-century B.C.

This chapter examines the heroisation of the recently dead in the Archaic period and the fifth-century B.C. Sparta's rich evidence of hero-cults has prompted scholars to view it as a fertile ground for the first instances of heroisation of the recently deceased, not only because of Xenophon’s famous remark that Spartan kings were honoured as heroes after death (*Lak. Pol.* 15.9), but because archaeological evidence points to the heroisation of public figures, such as the ephor Chilon, or literary evidence highlights the commemoration of public personalities, such as the war-dead.[1] This chapter analyses the extent to which we can trace heroisation of the recently deceased in the seventh to the fifth-centuries and evaluates whether the heroisation is contemporary to the death of the individual or whether it was instituted perhaps later, either in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It focuses on the evidence of heroisation of the Spartan kings, prominent personalities, such as Chilon, and the war-dead.

Before discussing the heroisation of the recently deceased, this chapter will address the evidence relating to the organization of Spartan society and its burial customs from the seventh to the fifth-centuries B.C. The examination of the burial customs is necessary in order to establish a basis for the treatment the dead. The reason for analysing the organization of the Spartan society may not be as clear but considering that burial customs and the treatment of the dead are only part of the general societal behaviour, a more in-depth treatment of the societal organisation is pertinent in order to comprehend the reasons behind the heroisation of certain individuals. Since the scope of the chapter is not a thorough analysis of the political and social institutions of Archaic Sparta, I will only offer a brief but necessary overview.

4.1. Communal Identity in Archaic Sparta

Evidence for the organisation of Archaic Spartan society comes primarily from the poetry of Tyrtaios and Alkman, dedications at the major Lakonian sanctuaries, and a few archaeological remains from burials. The literary evidence provides a glimpse of Spartan life with the poetry of Tyrtaios describing a bellicose society whose hoplites were inspired for war by Tyrtaios’ songs.[2] Alkman’s choral poetry presents a picture of a people who take great interest in festivals that incorporate music and dance. By the time of Herodotos (1.65.2; 7.234) and Xenophon (*Lak. Pol.*

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[1] Currie 2005, 100.

[2] Ancient sources (Plat. *nom.* 1.629a-b; Schol. Plat. *nom;* Lykurg. *Leocr.* 106; Philod. *de mus.* 17; Diod. 8.27.1-2; Paus. 4.15.6; Plut. *apophth. Lac.* 230d) tell us that Tyrtaios was taken to Sparta possibly from Athens. This claim, however, may be an Athenian propaganda of later times (Fisher 1994, 362-64). The issue of hoplite warfare and polis identity is much discussed (Snodgrass 1980, 100-4; Cartledge 1977; Raaflaub 1997a, 28-30; Hansen 2006, 116-7).

10.7), Classical Sparta's social system was designed to produce an equal social class – the *homoioi* – achieved by a common educational system, the *syssitia*, and participation in the hoplite phalanx. Although the chronology of the organisation of this system is uncertain it probably took place gradually between the seventh and the fifth-centuries B.C. This is because, as most scholars agree to some extent, Sparta gradually formed a military and economic system that depended on the vigorous training of men and the exploitation of the helot population during the Archaic period. It seems likely that Sparta, as Tyrtaios claims (fr.1 West) experienced some kind of social unrest which demanded the redistribution of land in the seventh-century.[3] After two Messenian wars, one in ca. 700 B.C., the second c. 635/625-610/600 B.C.,[4] and possible hostilities with Argos,[5] Sparta appears to have focused on the military training of its men as is evident from Tyrtaios writing urging men to fight (Tyrtaios frs.10, 11, 12 West). The formation of the *homoioi* was likely a slow process, which saw the reduction of the Messenians to the status of helots and the creation of a danger of helot revolt.[6] The control of Messenia and the redistribution of land, therefore, led to the re-organisation of Sparta into a community of militarily equal leisure-class warriors who controlled the helots.[7] The re-organisation of Sparta also led to the formation of the Great Rhetra, which is attributed to the legendary statesman Lykourgos, which saw the creation of the Gerousia and the Apellai and defined the role of the kings who enjoyed certain privileges.[8]

Considering the scarcity of ancient sources for the early history of Sparta, the archaeological material, deriving primarily from burials and dedications in sanctuaries, is important in understanding Spartan socio-economic practices in the Archaic period.[9] For example, although Tyrtaios (fr.12 West; §4.2) mentions the community's post-mortem honours for the individual who died in war and his family,[10] archaeological evidence offers nothing of the riches of the eighth-century burials.[11] Rather, the material evidence demonstrates that display of wealth shifted in the seventh century from burials to the sanctuaries of (Artemis) Orthia, the Amyklaion, and the Menelaion, which were enriched with offerings.[12] In fact, the late eighth and early seventh-centuries saw the commencement of cult at the Menelaion and the building of the first temple at the sanctuary of Orthia. This has led scholars to believe that Sparta in the late eighth and seventh-centuries B.C. carries changes that occurred in other Greek poleis:[13] display of wealth in burial (which expressed a family and kin oriented society) diminishes, while with the rise of the polis the elite portray wealth in sanctuaries (a move which emphasises the community).

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[3] Van Wees 1999, 1-14; Kennell 2010, 42-3.

[4] There is little agreement on the chronology of the Messenian wars: some place the first war in the eighth-century and the second, ca. 685-668 B.C. Others favour later dates, which according to Rhianus (*FGrH* 265 F43 *ap.* Paus. 4.15.2) place the second war during the reign of Latychidas I (ca. 625 B.C.) (Nafissi 2009, 121). These chronologies, however, are derived from Spartan king lists composed in the fifth-century B.C. Luraghi (2003, 112-13) believes that Homer was aware of the first Messenian war, but this argument cannot help us with the chronology because the date of Homer is itself disputed. I follow V. Parker's dating of the wars (1991, 25ff.) who gives a thorough discussion of the sources, scholarship and problems.

[5] Pausanias (2.24.7) mentions the battle of Hysiae between Sparta and Argos in which Sparta was defeated (Kelly 1970; Cartledge 2002, 126; Kennell 2010, 52). Shaw (2003, 273-309) dates the battle of Hysiae to the early fifth-century B.C. See Hall (2007a, 148, 157) for problems concerning the date.

[6] Meier 2006, 123-4. Others believe that the real threat from the helots did not arise until after the earthquake of 464 B.C. which followed a helot revolt (Whitby 1994, 71, 111; Link 2000, 57; Cartledge, 2003, 20-23).

[7] See Hodkinson 2000, 127-28; 2003, 262-3; Figueira (2003, 221-22) and Welwei (2004a, 55-7) believe it was a collective dependence. Most recent studies demonstrate that the Spartan treatment of the helots as dependent labour was not the result of mass enslavement resulting from the wars, but rather a gradual regulation and homogenisation of different groups in the sixth-century B.C. (Luraghi 2002, 237-8). Ducat (1990, 54-5) argues that helots were also privately owned. The same view has been raised also recently by Kennell (2010, 81-2).

[8] The Great Rhetra was an oracle received by Lykourgos and cited in Plutarch (Plut. *Lyc.* 6) who derived the text from the Aristotle's lost *Lakedaimonion Politeia*. The Great Rhetra is possibly attested in Tyrtaios' fr.4 West (Whitby 2002, 22; Dreher, 2006, 46; Kennell 2010, 45-6). The authenticity and chronology of the text is much debated (Welwei 2004a, 59- 69; Nafissi 2009, 126-7, n.46, 52; Kennell 2010, 45-9). For the privileges of the Spartan kings, see Hdt. 6.56-7. For the government of Sparta see Kennell 2010, 103-114.

It is difficult to comprehend Sparta's social organisation after the seventh-century B.C., because it is not until the fifth-century with the work of Herodotos that we hear about Sparta's social practices. By then we learn that communal institutions in the men's daily life, such as the sworn divisions, the bands of thirty, the common meals, the ephors and the council of elders, were established by Lykourgos (1.65.4). In general, scholars agree that stress on collective enterprise was achieved by the age class system and the public way of life of the *homoioi*.[14] Admittedly, there is a large chronological gap between Tyrtaios and Herodotos, when this organization is first attested. So, to fill it we must turn elsewhere, and for Sparta our only source is the archaeological record. Is the gradual turn towards communal institutions and subsequently towards communal consciousness reflected in the archaeological record?

In the mid-seventh to the mid-sixth-century B.C., the growth of Spartan artistic production peaked as the Lakonian sanctuaries were enriched with ivories, bronzes and other votives.[15] Spartan pottery was exported abroad as the finds from Etruria, Cyrene, Naukratis, Satura, Sicily and Samos indicate,[16] and Spartan bronzes were dedicated at Olympia, Delphi, Dodona and even on the Athenian Acropolis.[17] At some point in the first quarter of the sixth-century B.C., the second temple of (Artemis) Orthia was built.[18] In all, Sparta seems to have flourished.

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[9] Almost nothing is known regarding houses in Sparta at this time as heavy building during the Roman period destroyed much of the earlier levels. Moreover, the modern city, formed in the nineteenth century, was built on top of the ancient city (Kennell and Luraghi 2009, 239).

[10] For further discussion on burial practices in Sparta see *infra* §4.2.

[11] See *infra* n.36.

[12] For Orthia, see Dawkins, *Orthia*, 203-48. For the Menelaion see §2.2; for the Amyklaion see §2.3.

[13] Morris (1987) studies the shift in quantity and quality of items deposited from burials to sanctuaries during the eighth-century B.C. and emphasises the role of sanctuaries in the creation of the polis during that time.

[14] Thukydides (1.6) talks about the attempt to minimise the impact in differences in wealth; see also Kritias *Polity of the Lakedaimonians* from which some fragments survive (Hodkinson 1994, 198-90). On the restrictions on wealth, see Hodkinson (2000, 214-30). On the institutions of Sparta, see Hodkinson (1997; 2002 105ff. n.5-6; 2005, 223-38). On the *homoioi*, see Cartledge (2001a, 68-75) and Powell (2002, 90ff.) on the promotion of social harmony through dining groups, educating the young communally by the state and weak family bonds in the first years of marriage.

[15] Hodkinson 1998b, 93-118; 2000, 271-301; Förtsch 2001, 34-7.

However, by the mid-sixth-century B.C. Spartan artistic production appears to decline. Metal dedications become fewer (particularly at the sanctuary of Orthia and the Menelaion),[19] and distinctive pottery styles disappear. This change led earlier scholars to believe that Sparta had abandoned most artistic production because of the citizens' preoccupation with military training. [20] More recent studies, however, have shown that many new styles and kinds of artefacts continued to be made and that whatever decline took place was more gradual and probably did not take effect until the fifth-century.[21] Major building programs also took place: the temple of Athena Chalkioikos by Gitiadas in the mid-sixth-century and so was the throne of Apollo at Amyklai and the second phase of the Menelaion also in the mid- sixth-century.[22]

The claim of the decline of artistic production is also challenged by Hodkinson's study of the four major Spartan sanctuaries (although the sanctuaries are badly published), which demonstrates that there was a change in the place of bronze dedications from Orthia[23] and the Menelaion to Amyklai and the Acropolis and that the bronze votives continued until the mid-fifth-century.[24] Moreover, Hodkinson concludes that it is not that artefacts ceased to be made, but rather that types of dedications shifted from more expensive bronze dedications to cheaper lead and terracotta votives.[25] This is important because it demonstrates two points: firstly, that religious interest moved gradually to more centralized spaces. For example, Athena Poliachos (Chalkioikos) is the goddess of the polis, whose temple was situated on the acropolis of Sparta, the central part of the polis.[26] The throne of Apollo at Amyklai is built at the fifth *kome* of Sparta, making Amyklai a centralized religious place and integrating it religiously with the other four komai; there was also probably a procession from Sparta to Amyklai during the Hyakinthia festival (Athen. 4.173f).[27] Secondly, expensive votives that ostentatiously display wealth were replaced by cheaper dedications.[28] This is not unlike the information pertaining to Spartan discouragement of personal display in promoting a society of *homoioi* (Thuk. 1.6).[29]

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[16] Pipili 1987, 111-19; 1998, 86.

[17] Herfort-Koch 1986, 43ff; Mattusch 1988, 62-3; Stibbe 2006, 278-80; 284-6; 2008, 37, n.66.

[18] For Orthia, see Dawkins, *Orthia*, 163; Boardman 1963, 2-3, 6.

[19] The decline of metal dedications in the mid-sixth-century was not only a Spartan phenomenon but also is seen more widely (Hodkinson 1998a, 58-62).

[20] Earlier authors (e.g. Dickins 1912, 1, 17-9) argued for a complete abandonment of artistic production in Sparta by the mid-sixth-century due to the preoccupation of the citizens with military training. Dickins' conclusion derived from the excavation results of the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, where the number of bronze dedications drops severely about 550 B.C. This perception was strengthened when Huxley (1962) relied mostly on literary sources, many later and non-Spartan, to demonstrate that the change came with the Lykourgan reforms and the Great-Rhetra in the Archaic period (Plut. *Lys*. 17.3; *Lyc*. 9.1-2; Diod. 7.12.8). However, Starr (1965) challenged the later and non-Spartan sources used by scholars of early Spartan history. Cartledge's groundbreaking work on Spartan history (1979; second ed. 2002) takes into consideration the archaeological sources for early Sparta, while Murray (1990, 9), based on the literary material, argues that although sources are late and mostly non-Spartan for Sparta, one can identify the essential social structures of Archaic Sparta. Hodkinson (1997) agrees with Murray and demonstrates that the change was more gradual: 'The society and its historical institutions were the product not of conservatism or of primitive survivals, but of continual change and adaptation throughout the Archaic period in response to new historical circumstances' (idem, 98). Since then, various studies have challenged several traditional views about Sparta's development: see Hodkinson (2000) on attitudes towards wealth and Sparta as more than just a military society (2006); and Ducat (2006), who argues against state-centred education (*contra*: Cartledge 2007). More recently, Dreher (2006, 46ff.) emphasises the traditional nature of Spartan political institutions, the formation of which he dates to the period from 750 to 650 B.C. This view, however, can only remain speculative since the gradual introduction of institutions seems more realistic (Hodkinson 1997; Nafissi 2009, 124; Raaflaub 2009, 78). A good discussion of the scholarly history on Sparta can be found in Whitby (2002, 6-17), and Hodkinson (2009, xi-xix).

[21] Förtsch 1998, 48ff., particularly table 4.1 and 2001, app. 1-3. For example, Stibbe (1989b, 14, 22, 91) demonstrates the popularity of stirrup craters into the fifth-century. Some ivories continue into the fifth-century B.C. (Marangou 1969, 168ff.). The offering of bronze statuettes of wreathed kouroi probably commenced a little before 550 B.C., as do bronze statuettes of hoplites and athletes, which also continue into the fifth-century (Herfort-Koch 1986, 53ff; Stibbe 1995, 68-80, on bronze hoplite statuettes). A number of bronze bells from the temple of Athena Chalkiokos are difficult to date but some carry inscriptions of the second quarter of the fifth and the end of the fifth/beginning of the fourth-century (Villing 2002, 245, nos. Br. 1, 8, 9). Moreover, the heroic stone reliefs start the mid-sixth-century and continue into the Roman period as do the Dioskouroi reliefs (§§5.1; 5.2.3). The terracotta reliefs continue into the fourth and third centuries B.C. (§5.1.2).

[22] Athena Chalkioikos: Dickins 1906-7, 145, ca. 550 B.C.; Stibbe 2006, 128 ca. 570-60 B.C.

Other evidence that may allude to the reorganisation of the Spartan society into a communal system comes from the iconography on Spartan vases and lead figurines. The depiction of hoplites on lead figurines increases in the later sixth-century.[30] The appearance of battle scenes on vases increases in the beginning of the sixth-century and continuing into the second half of the sixth.[31] I deduce that the hoplite iconography reflects the growing importance of warfare, military training and the celebration of *arete*.

By reviewing the Spartan archaeological record some preliminary conclusions can be made. The communal elements that are present in the literary sources are also reflected in the concentration of Spartan wealth in sanctuaries. The shift to more ‘equal’ votives, highlighted by the popularity of the central cults of Athena Chalkioikos and Apollo Amyklaios, was essential for

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[23] However, the rich dedications coming from the Orthia sanctuary from the mid-sixth-century B.C. may reflect the fact that they were found sealed in a layer of sand spread over the area, while the later dedications were subjected to the flooding of the Eurotas River (Hodkinson 1998a, 56; 1998b, 93ff.).

[24] Hodkinson 1998a, 58.

[25] That there was an increase of the cheap votives may have less to do with the equality in wealth in Sparta but rather reflected the discouragement of the display of wealth. Spartan wealth remained evident in dowries, gifts and dedications in sanctuaries abroad (Hodkinson 2000, 151-86, 199-201).

[26] For the Poliachos/Chalkioikos distinction, see *supra* p. 33, n.6. The centrality of the cult is attested in later sources, see Polybios (4.35.2-5): ‘It was an ancestral custom that, at a certain sacrifice, all citizens of military age should join fully armed in a procession to the temple of Athena Chalkioikos, while the Ephors remained in the sacred precinct and completed the sacrifice’. cf. Villing 2002, 276.

[27] Athenaios (4.173f) mentions a road called Ὑακινθις ὁδος’. Pettersson (1992, 10) regards this as evidence for a road used in a procession during the Hyakinthia from Sparta to Amyklai. For processions as a way to connect and communicate between two areas see Mylonopoulos (2006, 103-8) with previous bibliography.

[28] Hodkinson 1998a, 199-201.

[29] See *supra* n.21.

[30] Cavanagh *forthcoming*.

[31] Förtsch 2001, 99-104; 106-9; 115-29; 222-4.

Spartan civic consciousness, while the prevalence of hoplite iconography celebrated the collective Spartan military ethos. Further, it can be concluded that societal organisation seems to have been increasingly focused around those elements that brought the community together: the *agoge*, warfare training, and the religious focus of the community.

Having briefly examined Archaic Sparta let us evaluate how the aforementioned would reflect the commemoration of the individual, so crucial for the heroisation of the recently deceased. It goes without saying that Sparta's heroisation of the recently deceased would be a major anomaly for a society that took so much interest in communal institutions, discouraged the personal display of wealth and consisted of equal class warriors, the *homoioi*. We know that in Classical Sparta someone could be called 'θείος ανέϱ′ (god-like man) to express their great virtue (Plato *Min.* 99d8-9; Aristot. *eth. Nic.* 1145a18-30),[32] and that Sparta gave honours to men who excelled, such as Themistokles, who (τιμηθῆναι, Hdt. 8.124.2-3) and Brasidas (ἐπῃνέθη, Thuk. 2.25.2).[33] Other individuals who showed valour, such as Euripiades the commander at Salamis (Hdt. 9.81.2), also received official honours. It appears that the pre-eminence of, and honours to, the individual were compatible with Spartan communal identity because the individual's victories and achievements did not belong to him alone but collectively to Sparta.[34] A perfect example is Pausanias, who added his name to the tripod dedicated collectively by the Greeks at Delphi and on which were inscribed the names of all Greek states that fought the war against the Persians (Thuk. 1.32.2). Such personal glorification would go against Spartan customs and so the Spartans had Pausanias' epigram erased (Thuk. 1.132.3).

Sparta did, however, have one venue for of personal display: athletic victory lists which consisted of the inscription on a stele of a victor's achievements commemorating victories in local festivals in Lakonia and Messenia. As a number of these stelai have been discovered in Spartan sanctuaries, it is evident that the Spartan custom of dedicating inscribed victory lists may have started as early as the late sixth-century and was certainly popular in the fifth.[35] Naturally, the stelai indicate pubic recognition of athletic success and their existence shows that as much as the collective and communal elements were valued in Sparta, so was personal excellence.

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[32] Currie 2005, 172-5.Currie (2005, 175-8) argues that the term implies religious honours. However, his examples all date to the fourth-century and later. His example of praying to living people from Aischylos' *Suppliant Women* may not be taken literally as it is a dramatic passage that is not applicable to a cultural context (Currie idem, 180).

[33] For the heroisation of Brasidas at Amphipolis see Hoffmann (2000) who argues that Brasidas was heroised not because of his military bravery but because it was the outcome for someone who excelled (Thuk. 4.81.3).

[34] Cartledge 1987, 84.

[35] *LSAG*^{2} 201, nos. 41-2, 44-8, 50-2; Whitley 1997, 647; Hodkinson 1999, 152-3, 156-7.

4.2. Burial commemoration of the individual in Archaic and Classical Sparta

Much of the evidence relating to the heroisation of the recently dead in Sparta comes from the posthumous treatment of communal personalities, such as the kings or lawgivers, and men who died in war. But before reviewing the evidence in connection with the aforementioned groups, it is essential to examine the position the dead had in Spartan society, i.e., the evidence dealing with the way that Spartans commemorated their dead. Burial customs for Archaic and Classical Sparta are elusive as there are few excavated burials that have been dated with certainty.[36] Because of this, when literary sources are available they will also be consulted and compared against the archaeological evidence

Evidence for the commemoration of the individual after death in the Archaic period comes to us primarily from Tyrtaios who recounts the honours given to a man who had died fighting in battle (fr.12 West 27-34):

αὐτὸς δ′ ἐν προμάχοισι πεσὼν φίλον ὤλεσε θυμόν,
ἄστυ τε καὶ λαοὺς καὶ πατέρ′ εὐκλεΐσας,
πολλὰ διὰ στέρνοιο καὶ ἀσπίδος ὀμφαλοέσσης
καὶ διὰ θώρηκος πρόσθεν ἐληλάμενος.
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·
οὐδέ ποτε κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπόλλυται οὐδ′ ὄνομ′ αὐτοῦ,
ἀλλ′ ὑπὸ γῆς περ ἐὼν γίνεται ἀθάνατος,
ὅντιν′ ἀριστεύοντα μένοντά τε μαρνάμενόν τε
γῆς πέρι καὶ παίδων θοῦρος Ἄρης ὀλέσηι.

‘And if he falls among the front ranks, pierced many times through his breast and bossed shield and corselet from the front, he loses his own dear life but brings glory to his city, to his people and his father. Young and old alike morn him, all the city is distressed by the painful loss, and his tomb and children are pointed out among the people, and his children’s children and his line after them. Never does his name perish, but even though he is beneath the earth he is immortal, whoever it is that furious Ares slays as he displays his prowess by standing fast and fighting for land and children’. (Trans. Gerber 1999).

The fragment discusses the death of a Spartan during the second Messenian war and demonstrates the community's posthumous regard for the individual and his family. With this in mind we would expect Spartan burials from Tyrtaios' time to reveal the honouring of the dead, probably with rich burial goods or weapons. From the archaeological evidence however, we have nothing comparable to the richer burials of the eighth-century B.C. which show evidence of deposition of valuable gifts for the dead.[37] Our examples are few: one securely dated burial of the seventh-century consists of a cist grave containing two lakainai (drinking cups) but no metal goods. Other evidence for the treatment of the dead may be found on two ivory fibulae, from the third quarter of the seventh-century found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, depicting *prothesis* scenes.[38] Lastly, some have interpreted a number of terracotta relief krateres which commence ca. 625 B.C., and found primarily in sanctuaries in Sparta, as funerary monuments but there is no concrete evidence for this.[39] If the death of a warrior in battle was a communal event, as is suggested by Tyrtaios' account of the entire polis' mourning, the archaeological record does not reflect this.[40]

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[36] Those burials that are known and dated from the Geometric period are noted in n. 37 and appendix II; those from the Archaic and Classical periods are noted in n.41 and appendix II.

The aforementioned fragment of Tyrtaios is the last reference to Spartan burial practices until Aristotle's *Lakedaimonian Constitution*, which claims that 'graves are modest and the same for all' (*Lak. Pol.* 611.13 Rose). In fact graves from the Archaic and Classical periods only have some plain pottery as burial gifts.[41] Aristotle's comment and the virtual disappearance of any kind of commemoration of individuals after the mid-eighth-century B.C. from the archaeological record brings to mind Plutarch's statements that the Spartan statesman Lykourgos abolished the pollutions associated with death and burial (*Lyc*. 27.2; *Mor.* 238b). He permitted the people to bury nothing with their dead, but only to enfold the body in a red robe and olive leaves and to treat all their dead alike. He also abolished inscriptions on memorials, except for those who had died in war and priestesses, and he also did away with mourning and lamentation. Considering Plutarch's late date it would be difficult to accept such customs for the Archaic and Classical period, but the archaeological evidence confirms his account.

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[37] The deposition of valuable gifts for the dead is a trend seen elsewhere in the Greek world in the eighth-century B.C. (Morris 1987). From Sparta we have a number of late-Geometric cremations, 760-700 B.C. Three of these are rich in burial offerings, such as a male burial with iron weapons (a sword and daggers) and bronze ornaments. A female burial south of the Acropolis bears a large number of bronze cylinders and spiral rings (Raftopoulou 1998, 133, fig. 12.14-16). More recently, another Geometric burial was discovered in the western part of the city with offerings of two iron pins and a bronze knob (Zavvou and Themos, 2009, 111, fig. 11.11). For the Geometric burials in Sparta, see Raftopoulou, (1996-7, 272-82), *ArchDelt* 27 (B1), 244-5 and *ArchDelt* 52 (B1), 167-9.

[38] Dawkins *Orthia*, 210, pl. cii 2-3.

[39] *ArchDelt* 19 (A), 123-93; Fitzhardinge 1980, 52; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 210-1; 276-8; Kennell 2010, 98 mistakenly consider these vessels as funerary. Hodkinson (2000, 242) has his reservations since none have been found by burials but only by cult sites and sanctuaries, as emphasised by Steinhauer (*ArchDelt* 27 (B1), 244 n.15). They were probably mixing kraters; see *infra* 147, n.26.

[40] Naturally we should bear in mind that many rites for the dead do not survive in the archaeological record, such as the offerings of perishable goods or lamentation.

[41] An Archaic period grave was found at Magoula at the Vakos and Samailidou plot. The date is given by eight vases of the Archaic period deposited in the burial (Sparta Museum 14149-14156; *ArchDelt* 52 (B1) 1997, 191). In the same plot was a Classical burial as is indicated by two vases (Sparta Museum 14157 and S.M. 1458 op. cit). Another Archaic burial at the Linardhes plot, which included a cup, is reported by Zavvou and Themos (2009, 113, 116, fig. 11.19). Nearby, at the Georgane's plot (t.s. 29), was found another burial, which had a black-glazed hydria. A late Archaic/early Classical period burial was found to the north of the acropolis along the ancient road leading from Sparta to Megalopolis (idem, 116, n.60). In the summer of 2009, a number of Archaic and Classical graves were discovered in Sparta in the area that was the Mesoa in antiquity. These burials had pottery as gifts, including *kantharoi*. I owe this information to Dr. Nigel Kennell, who kindly shared it with me. The most common kind of *kantharoi* in Sparta were not those shaped as the *kantharoi* on the hero-reliefs of which there are only four examples (one ca. 570 B.C. from Tocra and three from Amyklai, dated to the second half of the sixth-century B.C.; Stibbe 1994a, 39, nos. D1-4). Because of this the *kantharoi* found in the burials probably carry no resemblance to those on the reliefs but belong to other more common types (for which see Stibbe 1994a, 37-40).

Approximately twenty-four stelai from the mid-fifth-century B.C. through to the first century B.C. commemorate men who died in war (ἐν πολέμωι or ἐν πολέμοι). The stelai were made of local stone and were modest plain memorials without any decoration except a plain inscription. The inscriptions provide no patronymic or ethnic and only record the name of the individual and the fact that he died in war.[42] Because about half of the inscriptions were found in the vicinity of Sparta, Hodkinson suggests that they must refer to Spartan hoplites, not perioikoi.[43] The meaning of the inscriptions is uncertain, however, because none were found in situ. Because Spartans who fell in war were buried on the battlefield, some scholars suggest that these stelai were cenotaphs for the dead hoplite who was buried elsewhere, or that they represent the actual graves of hoplites who were wounded in war and died in Sparta.[44] In either case, the stelai remain the largest body of evidence for the posthumous commemoration of anyone in Sparta.[45] There were no ostentatious monuments, such as sphinxes, kouroi or stelai to mark burials as in other areas, and when stelai appear, they are quite modest.[46]

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[42] Pritchett 1985, 243-46, Hodkinson 2000, 251; Low 2006, 85ff. Compare this practice with Athenian fifth-century public memorials, where the name of the dead is listed under the headings of the ten tribes. There is no patronymic but rather a tribal affiliation. As Low (2006, 99) states 'What is highlighted by the method of identification ….is not the connection of the individual to his ancestral linage, but his tie to the democratic structures of the *polis*'. On the same subject, see the classic work by Loraux (1986, esp. 15-56) who states 'on these lists, fallen citizens had no status other than Athenians' (eadem, 23).

[43] Hodkinson 2000, 251.

[44] Dillon 2007, 157.

[45] Sparta was not the only place where restrictions on burial took place in the Archaic and Classical periods but was part of a wider Greek phenomenon: Solon's legislation in Athens (Demosth. 43.62; Cic. *leg.* 2.2.63; Plut. *Sol.* 21; 12.8) and three inscriptions at Gortyn dating from Archaic period carry rules about burials (*LSAG*^{2}, 315, nos. 2, 4, 8; *IG* IV 22, 46b, 76). Toher (1991, 169, n.40) discusses these texts. In Katane, Charondas in the sixth-century B.C. put forth a law forbidding the lamentation of the dead and tears (Stob. *Flor.* 44.40; Alexiou 2002, 17). Gelon in the first quarter of the fifth-century B.C. kept the pre-existing law forbidding great expense on the dead (Diod. 11.38; Alexiou 2002, 17). An inscription, of the second half of the fifth-century B.C. at Ioulis on Keos also shows restrictions on lamentation, on the items brought to the tomb and the monthly rites (*LGS* 93A, p. 261-2; Alexiou 2002, 15, n.76). At Delphi, a law from the end of the fifth-century B.C. also has regulations regarding funerals and the treatment of the dead (*LGS* C74; Alexiou 2002, 16). For funeral restrictions in general see Seaford (1994, 77), Alexiou (2002, 14-18) and Dillon (2007, 150, n.6).

[46] Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 140-47. Richer (2007, 250) argues for a hierarchy of burial honours according to the bravery demonstrated in battle. Monumental tombs do not occur in Sparta until 200 B.C. (Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, 132-33).

Another body of evidence relating to the commemoration of the dead in Sparta comes from a number of plain inscribed stelai referring to Spartan men. *IG* V 1.720-722 date from fifth-century B.C. and are included in Pfohl and Wallace's studies on early Greek epitaphs.[47] *IG* V 1.721-22 are too fragmentary to be accepted as epigrams,[48] but *IG* V 1.720 mentions a 'μνᾶμα Κάλας' which may indeed refer to a person's tomb.[49] *IG* V 1.1337-8 also date from the fifth-century and while 1337 includes only a name, 1338 mentions the term *h*ιαρός, which possibly belonged to a priest's tomb.[50] Another example, *IG* V 1.1329, of the fifth or sixth B.C. mentions an *h*ιαρεύς and preserves the fragmentary name of a man.[51] Similar is *IG* V 1.711, an allegedly second-century AD copy of an earlier epitaph bears the title *h*ιαρεύς.[52] These inscriptions remind us of Herodotos' statement that there were three graves for the dead after the battle of Plataia: one for the ἱρέες, a second for the other Spartiates and the third for the helots (9.85). The word ἱρέες has been emended to eirenes (younger hoplites after their twentieth year) [53] but the emendation has received criticism;[54] without emending the text, ἱρέες has also been translated as 'priests'.[55] The latter interpretation would appear to be the correct one, not only because there are other inscriptions that attest to burials of priests but also because Herodotos mentions Spartan priests who fought and died in battle on a number of occasions (9.53-7; 71, 72).[56]

Having examined the evidence pertaining to male posthumous commemoration let us turn to that concerning female burials. Plutarch tells us that women received inscriptions on memorials only if they had held sacred office, i.e., as priestesses (*Lyc.* 27.2). This translation has not always been the accepted one because an emendation to the text, based on inscriptions from Lakonia, had the text changed to 'women who died in childbirth'.[57] The inscribed memorials of women who died in childbirth reveal that Spartan women were valued for childbirth, particularly for producing men whose duty it would be to become warriors (Aristoph. *Lys.* 77-82; Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 1.3-4; Plut. *Lyc.* 14.1-4; 16.1-2),[58] a fact that matches the Spartan ethos of military value expressed in Xenophon (*Apoph. Lak.*).[59] Death in childbirth was viewed as a contribution to the state, a sentiment reflected in other poleis, such as Athens (Aristoph. *Lys.* 651).[60] However, the Lakonian inscriptions used to emend Plutarch's text are all Hellenistic or later and some come from perioikoic poleis (*IG* V 1.713, 714, 1128, 1177).[61] Their late date and place of origin can be an argument against the decision to emend Plutarch's text and would, therefore, make it more difficult to consider this emendation as evidence for Spartan burial customs of the Archaic and Classical periods. Rather more recent studies reject the emendation and instead defend Plutarch's original text. Such a conclusion is supported by Richer's discussion of five epitaphs from Lakonia describing women as ἱεραί (*IG* V 1.1221; 1283; 1127; 1129; *SEG* XXII 306).[62] Considering that male priests who died in war were commemorated, it is more likely that Plutarch's text refers to female priestesses, as is supported by the epigraphic evidence, and should not be emended.

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[47] Pfohl 1961; Wallace 1970.

[48] Andronikos (1956, 276-79) accepts *IG* V 1.721 as funerary, but Wallace (1970, 100 n.13) rejects it. Wallace (idem) believes that *IG* V 1.722 could possibly be funerary but Andronikos (idem) does not.

[49] Both Andronikos (1956, 276-79) and Wallace (1970, 99-100 n.13) reject *IG* V 720 as funerary but neither of them discusses the term 'μνᾶμα Κάλας'.

[50] Valmin 1929, 147, no. 20. For [*h*]ιαροί, see Le Roy 1961, 228-34.

[51] Wallace (1970 99, n.1) gives it a fifth-century date. Dillon (2007, 161) argues for an Archaic date due to the letter forms.

[52] Brulé and Piolot 2004, 168, n.20. The authors give no explanation for the proposed date of this inscription nor why they claim that it is a later copy of an earlier text nor do they include any references; an *SEG* entry for this inscription in also not available. Unfortunately, the inscription is too fragmentary (it consists of only the word *iereus*) so it is impossible to explain its significance. If it is a copy of an epitaph of an earlier inscription one has to think of the importance of the deceased.

[53] For the *eirenes*, see Kennell 1995, 32-7.

[54] Dillon 2007, 158.

[55] For the discussion of the translation priests versus *eirenes*, see Brulé and Piolot (2004, 156-7) with previous bibliography.

[56] Dillon 2007, 159.

[57] This has yielded a fair amount of the debate as the texts γυναικὸς τῶν ἱερῶς ἀποθανόντων (codex Laurentianus) or γυναικὸς τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποθανόντων (codex Seitenstettensis) were amended in 1926 by Latte to γυναικὸς [τῶν]

An evaluation of Sparta's burial customs leads to the conclusion that there is little evidence to support the view that the average Spartan individual was commemorated after death in the Archaic or Classical periods. When evidence appears from the fifth-century onwards, those honoured were the war-dead, priests, and priestesses. The identity of these individuals is crucial to our understanding of who was worthy of commemoration. For example, the war-dead, as Tyrtaios wrote, were lamented by the entire polis, thus making them of collective interest (fr.12.32 West).[63] Because they died fighting for the polis they were honoured by it, a fact that should not come as a surprise since Spartan social organization was largely dependent upon the training of its men for war. The polis' collective concern for the war-dead is better demonstrated by the treatment of those who died at the Persian wars which will be examined below (§4.3.3).

λεχοῦς ἀποθανόντων (Brulé and Piolot 2004, 153-4). This changed the meaning from female priests to women who died in childbirth and became the dominant translation. Recently the emendation of the text has been criticised by Richer (1994, 53-4), Brulé and Piolot (2004, 152-8) and Dillon (2007), who suggest a return to the original text to mean female priestesses. See below for the inscriptions of ἱεραὶ.

[58] Pomeroy 2002, 57-8.

[59] It is doubtful that Xenophon's work expresses real Spartan quotes, see Tigerstedt 1974, 23-30.

[60] Dillon 2007, 154.

[61] Guarducci 1974, 173; *LSAG*^{2}, 197. In fact, *IG* V 1.1128 is Roman and comes not from Sparta but Geronthrai. *IG* V 1.1277 is also not Spartan and comes from Tainaron. The latter is noteworthy because it gives a list of women's names. Of the women's name on the lists only two have the λεχοῦς after their name. See Hodkinson (2000, 261) who argues that, based on this stele, women who did not die in childbirth could also be commemorated.

[62] These vary in date (including the imperial period) and some are undated (Richer 1994, 53-4; Brulé and Piolot 2004, 158-9, n.47-9). Evidence for priestesses also appears in Messenia although it is of later date (Brulé and Piolot 2004, 159-60).

[63] For comparative evidence of the collective importance of the Athenian war-dead see *supra* p. 91, n.42.

When it comes to comprehending why priests and priestesses were given inscribed stelai, it is important to understand the role played by religious personnel in Archaic and Classical Sparta, even if the evidence for this is scarce. Given the rich attestations for priests in the Roman period, it is likely that important cults of Apollo, Orthia, Athena Chalkioikos and the Dioskouroi had their own priests in the Archaic and Classical periods.[64] The kings themselves were priests (§4.3.1) and the ephors also had religious responsibilities.[65] There is also evidence for *manteis*, hereditary positions of heralds (the Talthybiadai, descended from Agamemnon's herald Talthybios (Hdt. 7.134.1) and the hereditary caste of the *mageiroi* who were present at both public sacrifices and those offered by the king on campaign (Hdt. 6.60).[66] Indeed, Sparta was known for its piety and religiosity, as attested in sources that frequently mention Sparta's delays in going to battle because of festivals or the Spartan tendency to attribute misfortune to the divine (Hdt. 5.63; 6.106, 120; 7.206, 220; 9.33-5; Thuk. 5.54.2; 7.18.2).[67] The religious mentality and piety of Sparta can, therefore, be offered as an explanation for the posthumous commemoration of priests and priestesses.

The previous remarks sketch a society in which religious tradition, piety and military ethos were significant factors within its social structure. Such characteristics, nonetheless, reflect a deeper system of societal inter-relationships. The lamentation of the dead and the erection of a memorial, such as an inscribed stele, contribute toward the preservation of memory and to remind relatives and whoever sees the burial about the identity of the deceased and his/her role in the community.[68] This tradition is especially important in kinship ties where a family keeps memory alive by visiting a grave and giving burial gifts in their honour. Since death rituals are the ways in which society responds to the trauma of death,[69] the prohibition of lamentation for the dead takes away the family's basic right to mourn their relatives. In Sparta it does not appear to have been the case, and one can assume that the prohibition of lamentation and a marked burial reflect a movement away from family ties and instead promote the state's looser kinship ties.[70] Because

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[64] Parker 1989, 143. Many inscriptions in the Roman period attest to priests (Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, 137, 164-5, 178-9).

[65] Dillon (2007, 160, n.46) collects the evidence but note that it is Hellenistic and Roman.

[66] Dillon 2007, 160.

[67] See Parker (1989, 159-60), Richer (2007, 237-8), and Flower (2009, 198, 214-6) for the argument that Spartan internal stability is due to its religiosity.

[68] Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 141-2, 146-7.

[69] Alexiou 2002, 55.

[70] Hodkinson (2000, ch. 13) conducted significant work on family and kin relationships in Sparta during the Archaic and Classical period and concludes that marriage was a significant way for families to become affiliated with royal families. Prosopographical studies show that some families, e.g. the descendants of Chilon, Alkidas (a friend of king Ariston), Lichas, and others, had important power, and their families' activities can be traced over the centuries (Hodkinson idem).

Spartan men enjoyed a communal life through the *agoge*, military training, the syssitia and their living away from their wives until the age of thirty, scholars generally assume that such customs were generated in order to discourage strong family ties.[71] It can be concluded, therefore, that as these customs reveal the encouragement of a communal life, burial customs reveal the promotion of a communal death and afterlife that reflect the importance of the state over the family. The only dead that were important enough for their memory to be preserved were those who had polis ties rather than family or kinship ties: kings (§4.3.1) priests, priestesses and those who died in war.

Apart from the loose family ties, the prohibition of lamentation and memorials reflects the discouragement of the individualization of a citizen and the self-representation of an individual.[72] Are we to think of this as a consequence of a possible drive to create an 'egalitarian' society, as Thukydides claims (1.6). The falseness of such assumptions has been demonstrated by Hodkinson who argues that the issue is not that there was equality in wealth but rather that there was a promotion of communal life and a discouragement of displays of wealth.[73] This is evident in the other opportunities available for the promotion of the individual. For example, privileges and special treatment for athletes are absent from Sparta in contrast to other poleis, and when Spartan Olympic victors received privileges, they were simply given the right to serve the kings in a special way, sometimes as bodyguards.[74] For local festivals, public recognition is evident through the inscribed stelai that were set up in Spartan sanctuaries and listed individual victories, but there is nothing ostentatious about them.[75] It is not until the late-fifth and the fourth-century B.C. that the wealthy elite set up personal statues;[76] Spartan socio-economic relations by then had changed.[77]

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[71] Powell (2002, 92) claims that by educating the young communally and fostering weak family bonds, particularly in the first years of marriage, the Spartan state 'expected to unify the fighting men and their seniors by diverting attention and affection from the family'.

[72] Morris (1992, 8) argues that burials are to be treated as the material remains of self-representations of social structure.

[73] Hodkinson 2000, 294-8; 2002b, 106ff.

[74] The privilege was to become the king's bodyguard although the evidence is late (Plut. *Lyc.* 22.4). See Hodkinson 1999, 167-9. See also an example of an inscribed stele for two men who died in war, one of whom was also an Olympic athlete as the inscription states. However, he is commemorated not because he was an athlete but because he died at war (*IG* V 1.708; idem 170, n.50).

[75] Hodkinson 1999, 152-6; Kyle 2007, 188.

[76] See for example Kyniska who had a statue group at Delphi commemorating her Olympic victories in 396 and 392 B.C. (Paus. 5.12; 6.1.6; *IG* V 1.1564a) (Pomeroy 2002, 21-4; Kyle 2007, 189-91; Millander 2009, 23-6) and Lysander, a celebrated Spartan general during the Peloponnesian War, who had a statue group at Delphi celebrating his victories (Plut. *Lys.* 18.1; Paus.10.9.7-10) (Habicht 1970, 4; Cartledge 1987, 83-4; Flower 1988, 131-3).

[77] Hodkinson 2000, 432ff. During this time we see the introduction of currency, the decline of Sparta's public institutions, the engaging of Spartan mercenaries abroad and the *oliganthropia* (decline in numbers). Hodkinson blames this on the fact that although the system of land-holding and inheritance operated without serious problems in the late seventh and early sixth-centuries, problems developed in the fifth-century. The concentration of wealth seems to have moved into the hands of a few, and thus the numbers of Spartan citizens fell (because for one to be a citizen and an *homoios* one had to contribute to the Spartan state in funds). Because of the concentration of wealth in the

This review of the burial customs of Archaic and Classical Sparta reveals that the memorialisation of the individual was highly discouraged. This has important implications for our understanding of the heroisation of the recently dead since the commemoration of the dead is correlated with Sparta' religious and military preoccupation. As a consequence since it is hardly likely that an individual would be commemorated it would be quite unusual for someone to be heroised.

4.3. Heroisation of the recently dead

4.3.1. *The Spartan kings*

In a passage from Xenophon's *Constitution of the Lakedaimonians* the author controversially states that the kings' funeral rites revealed that they were honoured 'not as men but as heroes' (15.9, οὐχ ὥς ἀνθρώπους ἀλλ᾽ ὥς ἥρωας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς προτετιμήκασι).[78] This text has been the subject of debate as its interpretation is taken either literary or metaphorically depending on the scholar. For example, Cartledge and Nafissi read a literal meaning of the text and cite it as proof of the heroisation of the Spartan kings.[79] Parker interprets the text metaphorically and argues that Spartan kings simply enjoyed great funeral rites, but not heroisation with continuous cult,[80] while Lipka likes to see only exceptional kings, such as Leonidas, heroised.[81] In the following section, I examine the religious position of the kings in Sparta and the evidence for their heroisation.

As the previous section demonstrates, Sparta's religiosity was important for the commemoration of certain individuals (priests and priestesses). In order to accept Xenophon's statement as accurate, it is necessary then to examine the role of the Spartan kings in Sparta and any evidence that may deem them of religious importance. It is undeniable that the Spartan kings enjoyed significant privileges--social, military, and indeed religious (Hdt. 6.56-7).[82] From Tyrtaios we learn that the kings were divinely honoured, θεοτιμήτους βασιλῆας (fr.4 West). The kings also held priesthoods of Zeus Ouranios and Zeus Lakedaimon, and they could sacrifice as many

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hands of few there was the personal promotion of historical figures, such as Kyniska and Lysander; see *supra* n. 76.

[78] See also Xenophon's account of the funeral of king Agis (*Hell.* 3.3.1).

[79] Cartledge (1987, 339-41) bases his argument on the heroisation of historical persons, such as Chilon, and the cult of mythical heroes, such as Orestes whose bones were transferred to Sparta. Cartledge believes that because the bones of the kings who died abroad were brought to Sparta it means that they were heroised. See also Cartledge (1988) and Nafissi (1991, 290), who follows Cartledge's argument.

[80] Parker 1988, 9-10; 1989, 169, n.51.

[81] Lipka (2002, 248-51) argues that the heroisation occurred because of the person, not the office, and that kings could be removed from office, as was the case with Pausanias.

[82] Kennell (2010, 95-9) points out that the kings were not considered *homoioi.* See also Carlier (1984, 249-72) on the position of the Spartan kings within the different institutions of Sparta and particularly on the vocabulary used by ancient authors in association with the kings..

sheep and goats as they wished at the start of their expeditions (Hdt. 6.56). Moreover, the kings also held the oracular Delphic responses and could use them when needed (Hdt. 6.56)[83] and had messengers (called Pythians), whom they chose, and with whom they ate at public expense (Hdt. 6.57; Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 15.5).[84] Aristotle claims that the kings were hereditary military commanders who also had been assigned the matters relating to the gods (*Pol.* 3.1285a3-10). Lastly, Xenophon says that Lykourgos granted to the king rights to all the public sacrifices on behalf of the city, since he was descended from a god, and to lead an army whenever the city sends him (Xen. *Lak. Pol.*15.2; 13.11).

The religious position of the Spartan kings is more noticeable when kings are thought to have divine descent.[85] In a poem written by the fifth-century poet Ion of Chios (fr.27 West) for a Spartan symposium, the poet calls for libations to be poured to the kings' ancestors, who include Herakles, Alkmene, and Prokles after a first offering to Zeus.[86] On another occasion during the Peloponnesian War, the Pythia told the Spartans to restore the exiled king Pleistoanax by calling him 'the semi-divine son of Zeus' (Thuk. 5.16.2).[87] Furthermore, when Pleistoanax was restored to the throne the Spartans, they received him with dances and sacrifices as those which occurred when the kings were first were enthroned at the foundation of Lakedaimon (Thuk. 5.16.2). Xenophon brings forth three examples where the divine descent of the Spartan kings is noted (*Kyr.* 4.1.24; 7.2.24; *Lak. Pol.* 15.2). The kings' divine descent was also used and emphasised when needed by the kings themselves, such as in Isokrates' *Archidamos* (366 B.C.)[88] where Archidamos III states that he is descended from Herakles, thus asserting the apparent belief that Spartan kings were descended from that line (8ff.). As Malkin emphasises the Herakleidai were regarded not only as having brought the Spartans to their land but also were thought to rule Sparta.[89]

We even learn from Pausanias about the sacred topography related to the kings in Sparta: not only do they have their assigned burial places (3.12.8, 14.1) but also the Agidai reserve an area of land for monuments devoted to their predecessors. In the area near the Theomelida (where the Agidai kings were buried), Pausanias came upon a building called the Ποικίλη λέσχη, (Painted

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[83] Carlier 1984, 267-9; see the recent article by Powell (2009) who argues that the need for the Spartan kings to control the oracles was reflection to the threat to their position.
[84] Carlier 1984, 267; Parker 1989, 154-5.
[85] Kennell 2010, 29.
[86] West 1985, 74.
[87] Parker 1989, 143.
[88] The speech is set in the assembly where the Spartan allies led by Corinth met to discuss the demand by the Thebans to recognize the newly colonized city of Messene. In the discussion of whether to wage war with Thebes, Archidamos III makes this speech to urge the Spartans to fight and die for Messenia, which is their rightful possession.
[89] Malkin 1994, 19.It is also worth mentioning the descent of king Demaratos from the hero Astrabakos; here the hero had an offspring on the throne (Hdt. 6.64-9). For the Herakleidai and the Spartan royal line see *supra* §3.1.1.

‘Lounge’).[90] By this ‘lounge’ were the hero-shrines of Cadmus the son of Agenor, and of his descendants Oeolykos, son of Theras, and Oeolykos’ son, Aigeus.[91] The importance of this genealogy goes can be traced in Herodotos (4.149) who narrates the story of Oeolykos: his son Aigeus is the eponymous ancestor from whom the Spartan royal family of the Agidai took its name.[92] Therefore, the Theomelida, together with the Painted Lounge, constituted part of the ‘Agiad’ topography of Sparta. We even learn about a temple of Asklepios near the Theomelida called the ἐν Ἀγιαδῶν (Paus. 3.14.2).

The divine descent and the sacred space in Sparta demonstrate the closeness of the king to the divine even while alive (without supposing a cult of the living).[93] As Greek custom saw heroes as dead and did not heroise the living during the Archaic and Classical periods, the burial of the king would be a prerequisite for the institution of the cult.[94] This then should explain why it was only after death that the descendants of Herakles enjoyed cult.

And, of course, when it came time for royal funerals, Spartans displayed none of the modesty and piety described earlier. The burial was a grand event, as we learn from Herodotos (6.58):

Ταῦτα μὲν ζώουσι τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι δέδοται ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, ἀποθανοῦσι δὲ τάδε. Ἱππέες περιαγγέλλουσι τὸ γεγονὸς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Λακωνικήν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν γυναῖκες περιιοῦσαι λέβητας κροτέουσι.Ἐπεὰν ὦν τοῦτο γίνηται τοιοῦτο, ἀνάγκη ἐξ οἰκίης ἑκάστης ἐλευθέρους δύο καταμιαίνεσθαι, ἄνδρα τε καὶγυναῖκα· μὴ ποιήσασι δὲ τοῦτο ζημίαι μεγάλαι ἐπικέαται. Νόμος δὲ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι κατὰ τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς θανάτους ἐστὶ ὡυτὸς καὶ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ· τῶν γὰρ ὦν βαρβάρων οἱ πλέονες τῷ αὐτῷ νόμῳ χρέωνται κατὰ τοὺς θανάτους τῶν βασιλέων. Ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἀποθάνῃ βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκ πάσης δεῖ Λακεδαίμονος, χωρὶς Σπαρτιητέων, ἀριθμῷ τῶν περιοίκων ἀναγκαστοὺς ἐς τὸ κῆδος ἰέναι· τούτων ὦν καὶ τῶν εἱλωτέων καὶ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐπεὰν συλλεχθέωσι ἐς τὠυτὸ πολλαὶ χιλιάδες, σύμμιγα τῇσι γυναιξὶ κόπτονταί τε τὰ μέτωπα προθύμως καὶ οἰμωγῇ διαχρέωνται ἀπλέτῳ, φάμενοι τὸν ὕστατον αἰεὶ ἀπογενόμενον τῶν βασιλέων, τοῦτον δὴ γενέσθαι ἄριστον. Ὃς δ᾽ ἂν ἐν πολέμῳτῶν βασιλέων ἀποθάνῃ, τούτῳ δὲ εἴδωλον σκευάσαντες ἐν κλίνῃ εὖ ἐστρωμένῃ ἐκφέρουσι. Ἐπεὰν δὲ θάψωσι, ἀγορὴ δέκα ἡμερέων οὐκ ἵσταταί σφι οὐδ᾽ ἀρχαιρεσίη συνίζει, ἀλλὰ πενθέουσι ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας.

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[90] Inasmuch as the shrines are linked by the Agiad genealogy, the function of the λέσχη and its relationship to the Agiad kings is unclear. Such buildings in Sparta must have existed at least by the Classical period because they are mentioned by the fifth-century comic writer Cratinus (fr.175=Athen.4.138e). A later source, Plutarch, refers to them as the place where tribal leaders were presented with the newborn infants (*Lyc.*16.1). Considering that Pausanias encountered another λέσχη of the Crotani who according to the author formed part of the people of Pitane (3.14.2), it appears that these buildings may have had some significance for groups within the polis, possibly those with common genealogies. This possibility is strengthened by Plutarch's reference to *tribal leaders.* If so, the ancestral tombs placed around the Ποικίλη λέσχη would be appropriately positioned by a building of genealogical significance. Because this λέσχη dealt with the Agiad royal line it must have been impressive enough for it to have been elaborately decorated and thus called Ποικίλη. It is possible, though not demonstrable with our current knowledge, that the Agidai would perform sacrifices or other rituals in honour of their ancestors by these hero shrines. The significance of a hero for a group is best known from Athens’ eponymous heroes, but is also demonstrated by a hero's connection with the other citizen groups in Athens, such as the orgeones (Kearns 1989, 64-100). See also the tomb of Hyrnetho in Argos and its connection with the tribe Hyrnathioi (Kearns 1992, 75-6).

[91] The genealogy of Aigeus is also mentioned by Pausanias (4.7.8).

[92] Pindar *P.* 5.101; *I.* 7.18.

[93] Flower (2009, 213) interprets the religious-political power of the Spartan kings as closer to that of Near-Eastern monarchs.

[94] *Contra* Currie 2005, 164-71, who argues for cultic honours for the living in the fifth-century. His evidence regarding the lifetime heroisation of Hagnon (the oikist of Amphipolis) based on Thuk. 5.11.1 is vague. Thukydides mentions the buildings of Hagnon which Curries interprets as buildings that have to do with the lifetime cult of Hagnon but it is not necessary that the buildings were religious. The same goes for the honours (τιμάς) for Hagnon which are also not necessarily religious. The honours for the athlete Euthymos at Lokroi (early-fifth century) are altogether uncertain because the date of our evidence is Callimachos (in Pliny *nat.* 7.152) who dates from the third-century B.C. Curries’ argument for the lifetime honours for Brasidas is again uncertain because the evidence given only refers to public praise not cult (idem, 169). The earliest possible attestation of cult during someone’s lifetime is that of Lysander who received divine honours while alive as we are told by Duris *FGrH* 76 F71 (fourth-century B.C.) quoted by Plutarch (*Lys.* 18.2-4). Apparently Samos bestowed such honours to Lysander in 404/3 B.C. by setting up altars and making sacrifices for Lysander as well as singing the paean for him.

‘The kings are granted these rights from the Spartan commonwealth while they live; when they die, their rights are as follows: horsemen proclaim their death in all parts of Lakonia, and in the city women go about beating on cauldrons. When this happens, two free persons from each house, a man and a woman, are required to wear mourning, or incur heavy penalties if they fail to do so. The Lakedaimonians have the same custom at the deaths of their kings as the foreigners in Asia; most foreigners use the same custom at their kings' deaths. When a king of the Lakedaimonians dies, a fixed number of their subject neighbours must come to the funeral from all of Lakedaimon, besides the Spartans. When these and the helots and the Spartans themselves have assembled in one place to the number of many thousands, together with the women, they zealously beat their foreheads and make long and loud lamentation, calling that king that is most recently dead the best of all their kings. Whenever a king dies in war, they make an image of him and carry it out on a well-spread bier. For ten days after the burial there are no assemblies or elections, and they mourn during these days’. (Trans. Godley 1920)

From this passage we learn that the special treatment of the dead kings was a pan-Lakonian consideration, not just a Spartan one, as perioikoi and helots – two from each household – also had to attend. In fact, it was such an ostentatious event that Herodotos compares it to the burials of the barbarian kings.[95] Other sources (Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.19; 5.3.19; 6.4.13; Diod. 15.93.6; Plut. *Ages.* 40; Paus. 9.13.10) attest that among the privileges for the kings was the transfer back to Sparta of the body of the king who died abroad (preserved in honey or wax), an action that also protected it from falling into enemy hands.[96] In contrast, Spartan men who died abroad in battle were buried in the battlefield.[97] For Leonidas, whose body was mutilated and head impaled after the battle of Thermopylai in 480 B.C., an effigy took his place until such time as his body was transferred to Sparta, some forty years later (see below). The necessity for the body of the kings to be returned to Sparta is important because it shows how the body of the king became a relic which, as with other bone transferrals (Orestes), required transport to Sparta. [98] The funeral then becomes a public rite to institute cult and support belief in the divine descent of the kings from the Herakleidai and Herakles (and subsequently from Zeus).[99] Further, it also reinforces support for the Spartan state because the Herakleidai were founders of the community. In a way, the rites for Spartan kings are comparable to those for *oikistes*, who enjoyed public burial in the city, as well as heroic post-mortem rites (Pind. *P.* 5.99-100; Thuk. 5.11.1).[100]

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[95] For a full discussion of the burial of Spartan kings, see Cartledge (1987, 331-43); Carlier (1984, 272-3).

[96] Pritchett 1985, 241; Hodkinson 2000, 262-3; Scott 2005, 246-51.

Before concluding this section it is important to examine the views that oppose that Spartan kings were heroised. The first argument concerns Xenophon's *Lak. Pol.* 15.9 ὡς ἥρωας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς προτετιμήκασι, which is taken by Lipka to mean that Spartan kings were honoured not *as* heroes but *like* heroes.[101] Lipka bases his argument on the use of ὡς in Hellenistic inscriptions, which I do not think should be applied in the current text. Lipka even concludes that Thukydides's use of the same expression (ὡς ἧρωι ἐντεμνουσι, Thuk. 5.11.1) for the honours for Brasidas do not indicate heroic honours and instead interprets the sacrifices and honours for Brasidas to be *like* those given to a hero and oikist. I think that Lipka is wrong for two reasons: first, unlike the evidence regarding the Spartan kings, Brasidas was clearly heroised because other authors attest to sacrifices given in his honour (Aristot. *eth. Nic.* 1134b).[102] Second, recent studies, based on contemporary literary sources, demonstrate that the expression ὣς ἥρωας indicates the religious status of the recipient, who should be considered a hero.[103] Scholars also illustrate that ὣς ἥρωας is often used in order to clarify the status of the recipient and at times to denote the institution of their cult.[104] Therefore, the use of ὣς ἥρωας as a description of the burial of the Spartan king is suitable because it is during the burial that heroisation would have taken place.[105]

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[97] Pritchett 1985, 243-6; Hodkinson 2000, 249-59.

[98] Schafer (1957, 228-9) argues that an effigy would be present only if the body of the king could not be recovered after dying in battle. *Contra* Toher (1999, 180) who claims that the effigy would always be present if the king died in battle because his body would probably be disfigured and not in position to be displayed for public view.

[99] Cartledge 1987, 340 'the funeral played the same sort of role as the preservation and presentation of king-lists'. Loraux (1986, 46-7) sees this as a community event that would unite the populace.

[100] Schaefer 1957, 230.

[101] Lipka 2002, 251, n.72.

[102] Malkin 1987, 229. See also Rhodes (1998, 323). For the rituals connected with Brasidas and his heroisation, see Ekroth (2002, 185-6).

[103] Ekroth 2002, 206-12, esp. 208-9 with previous bibliography.

[104] Ekroth 2002, 211.

The second argument against the heroisation of the Spartan kings is based on the fact that Xenophon does not refer to cultic honours post-burial.[106] It is true that evidence concerning the kings' treatment after burial is limited since neither Xenophon nor Herodotos mention anything. Our only knowledge comes from Pausanias who, during his visit to Sparta, viewed the designated burial areas, one for each of the royal houses, of the Agidai and the Euripontidai.[107] Denying the existence of heroic cult based on the absence of literary references, however, is an argument *ex silentio*. In fact, apart from Menelaos and Helen, Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra, the Dioskouroi, Orestes and Astrabakos, we know very little regarding the identification of those who received cultic honours before Pausanias visited Sparta. The archaeological evidence, however, attests to numerous cults through the large number of stone and terracotta reliefs found all over Sparta and beyond, whose recipients remain unknown to us.[108] Although they are taken as heroic reliefs for mythical heroes, given the religious importance of the kings, together with the heroisation of other important personalities, such as the ephor Chilon (§4.3.2) there is some grounds for thinking that some may have been destined for them.[109]

4.3.2. *Chilon*

Of the heroic cults in Sparta none is more problematic than that of the sixth-century ephor Chilon, who is credited with the institution of the ephorship (Diog. Laert. 1.68).[110] Based on Pausanias’ mention of a hero-shrine of Chilon near the Spartan acropolis (3.16.4), scholars believe that an inscribed Archaic hero relief, which reads [X]IΛON in retrograde was a votive or grave relief for him (FIGS. 16-17) (*IG* V 1.244),[111] and that Chilon was heroised after his death.[112] This argument is problematic for a variety of reasons: first, no author earlier than Pausanias refers to the heroisation of Chilon, although sources attest to his wisdom and fame outside of Sparta (Hdt. 1.59, 7.235; Plat. *Prot.* 343 A; Paus. 10.24; Diog. Laert. 1.68-73). The second problem lies with the relief itself: Jeffery dates the [X]IΛON inscription to around 525 B.C. on the basis of the letter forms although she is uncertain.[113] Stibbe pushes the date back to 550-30 B.C. based on style,[114] while Salapata dates it to 500 B.C. again based on the style of the relief.[115] Chilon's time as ephor is dated ca. 556/5 B.C., during the fifty-fifth or fifty-sixth Olympiad (Diog. Laert. 1.68)[116] and scholars estimate his death to the latter half of the sixth-century[117] or soon after his time as ephor.[118] His time of death is generally uncertain because Diogenes Laertius says that Chilon was an old man by the fifty-second Olympiad (1.72)[119], ca 572 B.C.[120] Because of the uncertainty of the date of Chilon's death and the problematic date of the relief, it is difficult to conclude that it was made in honour of his posthumous heroisation.

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[105] Ekroth 2002, 211.

[106] Parker 1988, 10.

[107] For the royal burial areas see *supra* §4.3.1.

[108] See *infra* §5.1.

[109] Cartledge 1987, 339. For the lion-footed throne depicted on the reliefs as possibly reflecting royal furniture, see Kyrieleis 1969, 182.

[110] Although Herodotos says it was Lykourgos (1.65.4).

[111] The relief was found reused as a cover of a Christian grave (Wace 1937; Stibbe 1991, 12).

[112] Wace 1937, 220; Salapata 1993, 190; Stibbe 1996, 224-5; Cartledge 2001a, 120.

[113] *LSAG*^{2}, 200, n.26.

[114] Stibbe (1991, 9, fig. 7) reconstructs adorants in front of the seated couple, a feature seen only in the earliest reliefs, see *infra* §5.1.

The third problem is more complex: the relief itself is unique because it carries an Archaic inscription, unprecedented on other Archaic hero reliefs in Lakonia. Although other hero reliefs have inscriptions, they are invariably later in date, either Hellenistic or Roman.[121] On first thought, it would be wise to question the Archaic date of the ‘Chilon relief’, but considering the letter forms and the fact that it is written in retrograde, an Archaic date seems likely.[122] Since no other example is found among the Archaic hero-reliefs, I believe that it would be beneficial to compare the inscription with other types of Archaic inscriptions. To begin with, the inscription is a single name in the nominative. A number of dedications from Archaic Sparta, especially from the Orthia sanctuary but also from elsewhere, carry single names in the nominative which refer not to the name of the deity but to the dedicant's name.[123] If the dedication were *to* Chilon, then the inscription should have been in the dative case as is the usual for the recipient of cult,[124] as we see in dedications to Athena, Apollo and the Dioskouroi (*IG* V 1.919; *SEG* XI 652).[125] Nonetheless, since it is grammatically possible that the name of the cult recipient be in the nominative case, our analysis of the inscription can only remain inconclusive.[126]

Another sixth-century relief may also be of value to the Chilon discussion. The so-called ‘Thiokles relief’ ca. 510-500 B.C. was found at Magoula in Sparta and depicts a standing youth, who is nude save for a cloak on his right shoulder, and holds a spear in one hand and some sort of fruit in the other; in front of him is a snake (FIG. 20).[127] An inscription, reads [τοί] Κόϱοι Θιοκλε Ναμ[..ανέθεσαν] ‘the Koroi dedicated this (image of?) Thiokles son of Nam[…]’.[128] (*SEG* XI 772a). Because this relief is unique, it is difficult to assess whether it is grave relief or a votive dedication to a dead individual. Considering, however, as discussed earlier, that it would be highly unusual to find grave stelai for the deceased in sixth-century in Sparta it might be safe to view it as a dedication. That Thiokles is not an otherwise to us unknown local hero may be indicated by the fact that there is a patronymic (Ναμ[…]).[129] Thiokles then may be a recently deceased who receives dedication by the Koroi. The dedication together with the iconography, makes the Thiokles relief the closest existing parallel to the ‘Chilon relief’.

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[115] Salapata 1992, 398, 549.
[116] Stibbe 1985, 7; Shaw 2003, 225. For the Olympic chronology see Christesen (2007, 1-14).
[117] Shaw 2003, 225.
[118] Stibbe 1985, 19.
[119] Cartledge 2001a, 120; Luther 2002, 5; Shaw 2003, 225.
[120] Stibbe 1985, 7; Shaw 2003, 225.
[121] For the inscriptions on the reliefs, see *infra* p. 119.
[122] For Archaic Lakonian letter forms, see *LSAG*^{2} (183). In order to date the inscription on the ‘Chilon Relief’, one can use the forms of the letters ‘Λ’ and ‘N’ . For retrograde script as a common feature in Archaic inscriptions, see eadem (43-4).
[123] See, for example, *IG* V 1.215; *SEG* II 64-80; *LSAG*^{2}, 198, no. 6, 199, n.7.
[124] Lazzarini 1976, 58-9; Woodhead 1981, 43; Guarducci 2008, 305-6. For Archaic Spartan examples of votives inscriptions in the dative to Athena, Apollo or the Dioskouroi, see *LSAG*^{2} (199-200).
[125] See *LSAG*^{2}, 199-200 for more examples.
[126] Lazzarini (1976, 58-9) notes that the dative is most usual but that the deity's name can also appear in the nominative.

Our understanding of Chilon's status as a lawgiver would benefit from a brief comparison with the most famous Spartan lawgiver, Lykourgos, who had a temple and received sacrifices in Sparta.[130] His importance is clearly attested in Herodotos who says that when Lykourgos visited Delphi the priestess said:

‘You have come to my rich temple, Lykourgos, a man dear to Zeus and to all who have Olympian homes. I am in doubt whether to pronounce you man or god. But I think rather you are a god, Lykourgos’(Hdt. 1.65.3) (Trans. Godley 1920). [131]

While Lykourgos and Chilon were both lawgivers, the former may or may not have been a historical person and even if he was his worship dates much later than his death.[132] This is important because Lykourgos' cult probably did not happen immediately after his death but instead grew out of later legends and the reputation that he had for reforming the laws and bringing *eunomia* to Sparta (Hdt. 1.65.2; Aristot. *Ath. pol.*1313a 26f; Plut. *Lyc.* 8.3).[133] It is also important to note that even though Lykourgos achieved deification, even as a mortal, in order for the cult to be accepted by the religious Spartans, it had to be validated by the Delphic oracle (Hdt. 1.65). The example of the great, even divine honours to Lykourgos, indicates that such honours could perhaps have been awarded to similar historical figures, such as Chilon.

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[127] Antikensammlung Berlin, 732; Tod and Wace 1906, 104, fig. 4; Johansen 1951, 86, fig. 39; *LSAG*^{2} 200, no. 29; Kennell 1995, 140.

[128] The ‘Koroi’ were considered a section of the youth who were *hippeis* (Kennell 1995, 139-40; Cartledge 2003, 47).

[129] There is no way of knowing who Thiokles was, when he died and why he was honoured by the Koroi. Nonetheless, he must have been someone of communal importance because the dedication was conducted by a group of the youth (the Koroi) who were part of the state organised *agoge* (*supra* n. 127). In any case, the relief may offer another example of the heroisation of the recently dead. cf. a relief from Charuda in Lakonia where a nude male stands with a shield on his arm and his helmet at his feet before a snake (Paton 1904, 360; Tod and Wace 1906, 111, n. 4; Herfort-Koch 1986 no. a.O.134 KS 35)

[130] Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F 118 on a *hieron* for Lykourgos and annual sacrifices. Aristotle (fr.534, Rose after Plutarch *Lyc.* 31) is quoted to have said that Lykourgos had a shrine and that they sacrifice to him as a god (cf. Strabo 8.5.5; Paus. 16.6). For the Roman period cult of Lykourgos see Hupfloher 2000, 178-82.

[131] The above text of Herodotos should probably not to be taken to imply heroisation or deification of Lykourgos when he was alive but probably just of honours. In fact, we may doubt their occurrence at all during Lykourgos’ lifetime since Herodotos’ words may be part of the exaggerated later legend surrounding the personality of Lykourgos.

[132] Lykourgos is dated anytime between the twelfth and seventh centuries B.C. (Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 10.8; Aristot. fr.533 Rose; *Ath. pol.* 1313a 26f, Cartledge 2001a, 113-5). Dillon (2007, 150) argues for a date of 620 B.C. for the Lykourgan legislation.

[133] Lykourgos is attributed to have received the Great Rhetra; see *supra* n. 8.

Both Lykourgos and Chilon were statesmen, who contributed to the laws and civic institutions (either historically or legendarily) that subsequently formed part of the distinct Spartan social structure.[134] Such achievements can only be paralleled by those of the Spartan kings who were descendents of the Herakleidai and Herakles who allegedly reclaimed the Spartan land and formed the Spartan state. The aforementioned individuals therefore represent elements that contribute to the formation and identity of Sparta. It is of no surprise then that Lykourgos and the kings were given religious honours. Chilon's status in Sparta should consequently be viewed as that of another communal individual who also received heroisation immediately or soon after his death.

4.3.3. *Heroisation of the war-dead*

In her discussion of the honours for the Athenian war-dead, Loraux stresses that ‘between the funeral and the cult there is…both a tight link and a gap, and there is no doubt that the Athens of the fifth and fourth centuries had nothing comparable to the beautiful, coherent ceremonial of the Hellenistic Epitaphia. So it is hardly surprising that the question of the status conferred on the dead by the official ceremony has been the object of endless dispute…How are we to resist the temptation to confuse heroisation and immortal glory?’[135]

The above excerpt expresses the problem confronted by scholars faced with the evidence of heroisation of the war-dead in the Classical period. The topic has proven particularly elusive because of two issues: first, the relationship between literal vs. metaphorical interpretations of texts with references to immortality, altars, precincts and offerings to the war dead (see below) and second, the possible early date of such customs when evidence of heroic honours for the war dead is later, particularly Hellenistic. In the case of Sparta, Tyrtaios (fr.12 West) and Simonides, writing for the dead of the second Messenian War and those of the Persian wars, respectively, are important parts of this discussion because of the language they used to honour the war-dead in song. Some of the poems have prompted certain scholars to interpret their composition as evidence of heroic honours.[136] Others, however, have taken them as metaphorical allusions, not literal ones, and have denied that Sparta sacrificed to its war-dead.[137] The dispute over the interpretation of the honours given to the Spartan war-dead reminds us very much of Loraux's aforementioned comments relating to the Athenian war-dead, in that it can be difficult to differentiate between heroic honours and the immortal glory bestowed upon the war-dead. In the following section I will examine the chronology, circumstances and evidence for the possible heroisation of the Spartan war dead in the Archaic and Classical periods.

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[134] For Chilon as ephor and his involvement in Spartan military matters, see Stibbe (1995; 1996, 204-21) and Welwei (2004a, 127).

[135] Loraux (1986, 39) who argues for immortal glory rather than heroisation for the Athenian war-dead (eadem, 39-42).

[136] Bowra 1933, 277-8, 281; Boedeker 1998a; 1998b, 234, 242; Stehle 2001, 117-8.

When it comes to the honouring of the Spartan war-dead, little is known before the fifth-century. Our only source, as discussed above, is Tyrtaios (fr.12 West), whose writings attest to the special status of those who died in war. This has led Fuqua to interpret the words γίνεται ἀθάνατος (line 31) as evidence for Spartan heroisation of the war dead as early as the seventh-century B.C.[138] The problem with this interpretation is that it does not take into consideration the traditional poetic language of praise (see below) and so has led some to criticise Fuqua and argue that Tyrtaios does not speak of immortality literally but only metaphorically.[139] It is also important to note that the stanzas (31-4) used as evidence for heroic honours for the Messenian War dead may not belong to the original seventh-century composition of Tyrtaios, but may have been added later in the fifth-century.[140] Tyrtaios' poem, should probably be viewed as a celebration of *kleos* which is acquired by death in war.[141]

Other evidence regarding the pre-fifth-century war-dead comes indirectly from festivals celebrating battles: for example, there was the festival of the Parparonia[142] which celebrated the battle of Thyrea with Argos (ca. 550 B.C).[143] Although there is no evidence that the Parparonia festival dealt with the war-dead its celebration demonstrates a commemoration of those who died at the battle. At another festival, the Gymnopaideia, garlands were worn and choruses sang songs of Thaletas and Alkman and paeans of Dionysodotos in celebration of the Spartan victory over the

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[137] Pritchett 1985, 246; Bremmer 2006, 21-2.

[138] Fuqua 1981, 221, 221-4. Boedeker (1998b, 232) Stehle (2001, 116) and (Currie 2005, 98) do not argue for seventh-century heroisation but perceive that the ideology was there since the seventh-century and expressed by Simonides as heroisation for the Persian War dead (see below).

[139] Meier 1998, 285; Currie 2005, 98, with previous bibliography.

[140] This view has been most recently expressed by Faraone (2006, 43-4) but this opinion is older, see idem (43, n.47) for bibliography. Faraone (2006, 40) explains that Tyrtaios' 12 West is composed of two stanzas constructed of a *protasis* and an *apodosis* (lines 21-30: first stanza and lines 35-45: second stanza). The middle part (lines 31-34) does not fit the general composition, has high flown rhetoric and may have been added later in a re-performance.

[141] Tarkow 1983, 62.

[142] The Parparonia festival is attested also in the Damonon stele (ca. 440-30 B.C., *IG* V 1.213 lines 44-9, 62-4). For the Damonon stele, see *infra* p. 134. For a discussion of the Parparonia, see Robertson (1992, 179-203) and Shaw (2003, 178-80). See also a dedication of a bronze bull with an inscription ΠΑΡΠΑΟ in Phaklaris (1985, 226-7) and Shipley (1996, 279, no. AA16).

[143] Hesychios s.v. Παρπαρόνια; Plin. *nat.* 4.17.

Argives (Sosibios *FGrH* 595 fr.5=Athen. 15.678b-c).[144] Sosibios talks of a celebration of the victory and of paeans, presumably connected with Apollo, which would not be out of context with the god's military character in Lakonia.[145] Because later sources refer to the festival as one in honour of those who *fell in the battle of Thyrea,*[146] the Gymnopaideia festival has been taken to imply hero-cult for the war-dead.[147] Considering the late date of the evidence I would suggest that the festival in its earliest form probably celebrated the battle with particular emphasis on Apollo and not the war-dead, who assumed prominence later on. As will be demonstrated below it is not unusual for festivals for the war-dead to occur much later than the actual event, particularly from the fourth-century onwards.

The treatment of the Spartan war-dead in later periods has been discussed above and it was established that the war-dead were among the few who received posthumous commemoration in the erection of a simple inscribed stele. In the following sections I will examine the evidence for the treatment of the Spartan war-dead of the Persian wars, and in particular those who fell at Thermopylai and Plataia who, as with all Spartan war-dead, were buried in the battlefield (Hdt. 7.228; 9.85; Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.33; Paus. 9.2.5).[148] The glorification of the war-dead attested in particular in the works of Simonides is a contested topic which may imply evidence of heroic-honours.

4.3.3.a. ***Thermopylai***

Our evidence for the possible heroisation of the war-dead of Thermopylai comes from a fragment of Simonides 531 Page, *PMG*=Diod. 11.11.6:149

τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων
ἐυκλεὴς μὲν ἅ τύχα, καλὸς δ᾽ ὅ πότμος,
βομὸς δ᾽ ὅ τάφος, πρὸ γόων δὲ μνᾶστις,ὅ δ᾽ οἶκτος ἔ̓παινος
ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον οὔτ᾽ εὒρώς

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[144] For the festival, see also Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.16 and Plat. *nom.* 1.633. This battle may be that of Hysiae (669 B.C., Paus. 2.24.7) or the battle of Thyrea (550 B.C., Hdt. 1.82; Paus. 2.38.5), cf. Robertson 1992, 161. If Athenaios is correct that Thaletas and Alkman performed at the festivals, then the 669 B.C. date is more possible. Wade-Gery (1949, 79-80), Parker (1989, 167, n.39) and Shaw (2003, 176-7) speculate that this association arose after 370/69 by an amalgamation with the Parparonia. *Contra* Robertson (1992, 163).

[145] The military character of Apollo in Lakonia is attested by the celebration of the Karneia (Pettersson 1992, 57, 62-6). For the Gymnopaideia as a festival of Apollo in which young and adult men competed, see idem (74) and Robertson (1992, 147-9).

[146] *Etym Magn.* s.v. Gymnopaidia; Suda s.v. Gymnopaidia (Currie 2005, 99, n.56).

[147] Fuqua 1981, 225, n.33. Currie (2005, 100) remains cautious.

[148] The examples given in the ancient texts are for the dead of the battle of Thermopylai and Plataia and those Spartans buried in the Polyandreion burial in Athens killed in 403 B.C. (*IG* II^2 11678). The Spartan custom was earlier: during the battle of the Champions (ca. 550 B.C.) the Spartans were buried where they fell (Hdt. 1.82; Paus. 2.38.5; Pritchett 1985, 243; Dillon 2007, 156). For further examples, see Pritchett 1985, 243-4.

[149] For this fragment in general, see Page 1971, 317-8; Molyneaux 1992, 185-7; Palmisciano 1996; Steiner 1999; Poltera 2008, 467-78.

οὔθ᾽ ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἀμαυρώσει χρόνος.
ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅδε σηκὸς οἰκέταν εὐδοξίαν
Ἐλλάδος εἵλετο μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Λεωνίδας,
Σπάρτας βασιλεύς, ἀρετᾶς μέγαν λελοιπὼς
κόσμον ἀεναόν τε κλέος.

Of those who died at Thermopylai
renown is the fortune, noble the fate:
Their grave's an altar, their memorial our mourning,
their fate our praise.
Such a shroud neither decay
nor all-conquering time shall destroy.
This sepulchre of great men has taken the high
renown for Hellas for its fellow occupant, as witness
Leonidas, Sparta's king who left behind a great
memorial of valour, everlasting renown. (Trans. Green 2006)

The language of the above fragment has caused a great deal of discussion in regards the occasion and the meaning of its composition. For Bowra, it was a song sung as part of cult enacted on behalf of the fallen warriors.[150] Indeed, as has been pointed out, the language used by the poet reminds us of that used for hero cult, particularly expressions such as ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν alluding to the cult of the war dead[151] and βωμός δ᾽ὁ τάφος.[152] Such expressions, however, need not be taken literally because as is the case with Tyrtaios' writings, Simonides' poetry derives from a long tradition traced back to Homer (and the Homeric elements in Simonides have been noted)[153] in which the metaphorical use of words to praise and elevate someone's status is common. For example, one can cite the undying renown (*kleos*) that a person having died in war achieves metaphorical immortality through song (Pind. *P.* 3.115; *P.* 11.55-61; Isokr. *Panath.* 260).[154] I think this is the context in which Simonides writes for the those who died in the battle of Thermopylai.

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[150] Bowra 1933; 2001, 345. *Contra* Podlecki 1968, 258-62.Molyneaux (1992, 186-7) suggests that the poem may have been sung at Thermopylai and commemorated all of the Thermopylai dead, not just the Spartans. For Simonides and the Persian Wars, see Bravi (2006, 42-7) with bibliography.

[151] Goldhill 1991, 125. See also the fourth-century inscription from Thassos which mentions the war-dead as ἀγαθοί (Poullioux 1954, 271-2, no. 141, lines 3, 8, pl. 39.6).

[152] Aischyl. *Choeph.* 106 (Currie 2005, 13, n.15); Duris *FGrH* 76 F 34 (Poltera 2008, 474, n.2).

[153] Stehle 2001.

[154] Young 1967, 62-3; Nagy 1979, 118-9. This is seen in much Archaic lyric poetry, such as the works of Sappho and Theognis, where immortality is metaphorical. Faraone (2002) analyses Pindar's use of *kleos* as a way to conquer death and see the discussion in Currie 2005, 71-4. Wiater (2005) argues for the metaphorical use of the word σηκός (precinct) in the Simonides 531 Page, *PMG* text above.

He probably implies that their achievements will be forever immortalized, not that they themselves are immortal heroes.

There are also other interpretations offered for the composition of this poem. Some scholars suggest that the fragment was written not as a celebration of the war dead of Thermopylai but rather as a commemoration of Leonidas, whose name is withheld until the end.[155] This is possible, especially considering Leonidas' heroic honours after his death (see below) but the language of the poem states clearly that this is for all the dead of Thermopylai, not Leonidas alone. Podlecki proposes that the song was commissioned by Sparta to be sung at private occasions, such as the messes (which in fact are public occasions).[156] However, there is no concrete evidence for this suggestion, and in particular that it was sung *only* for the Spartan war dead but instead the language of poem points to its being in honour for *those who fell at Thermopylai*. This can be further expressed by the fact that it may have been commissioned by the Amphiktyons who commissioned the epigrams at the site of Thermopylai (Hdt. 7.228).[157]

Later information comes from Pausanias who, while visiting Sparta near the acropolis, saw an area commemorating the battle of Thermopylai: there was the tomb of Leonidas (next to that of Pausanias, the general at the battle of Plataia) where 'every year they deliver speeches over them, and hold a contest in which none may compete except Spartans' and a stele inscribed with the names of those who died at Thermopylai (3.14.1). There are also inscriptions from Sparta attesting to a festival but they are Roman: *IG* V 1.19 dates from the reign of Trajan and mentions the festival, while *IG* V 1.659 dates from sometime before Nerva, mentions the Leonidea and adds that it included the athletic events of the *pankration* and wrestling.[158] The early fifth-century antiquity of such a practice is obviously unclear and the festival may have only occurred in the Hellenistic period, as is obvious for the honouring of the dead at Marathon.[159]

Even if the antiquity of the festival is earlier (which is unlikely) it is pertinent to emphasize that the evidence of the Leonidea is exclusively for Leonidas and not the other dead of

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[155] Kegel 1962, 28-37; *contra* Podlecki 1968, 261; Molyneaux 1992, 185.

[156] Podlecki 1968, 258-62; *contra* Molyneaux 1992, 186. Pelliccia (2009, 245) looks at a variety of occasions for Simonides' work both for festivals and private occasions.

[157] Stehle 2001, 118; Molyneaux 1992, 186. For Simonides and Sparta, see Hutchinson 2001, 286.Simonides may have been commissioned by Sparta to write for the dead of Plataia (see below). For Simonides as the writer of the epigram placed at the site of Thermopylai mentioned in Hdt. 7.228, see Lykourg. *Leocr.* 109; Cic. *Tusc.* 1.101 (Kowerski 2005, 152, no. B.6). See also Molyneaux (1992, 6-7, n.6, 12-13, nos. 38, 41, 43; 175ff.) and Petrovic (2007, 245-9) for a discussion of the epigram at the site of Thermopylai.

[158] For the Roman period Leonidea see Hupfloher 2000, 190-3; Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, 192-3.

[159] The earliest evidence for the cult of the war-dead of Marathon is a second-century B.C. inscription (*IG* II^2 1006.26-7) and Pausanias (1.32.4). For an early cult, see Kearns (1989, 55) and Garland (1992, 95). Against this opinion, see Welwei (1991, 62), Parker (1996, 137 n.5) and Bremmer (2006, 21) who argues that Marathon acquired its pre-eminent position in Athenian cultural memory only gradually in the course of the fifth-century.

Thermopylai. In other words the festival as it is known from the Roman inscriptions is not called Thermopylaia but Leonidea. From Pausanias' visit in Sparta we learn that the commemoration of the Thermopylai war-dead is one of public honours but there is no evidence for heroisation, even during the Roman times. The only attestation of the heroisation of other Thermopylai dead is Pausanias' later record of the existence of shrines of Maron and Alpheios (3.12.8).[160] Their creation, therefore, was probably Hellenistic or Roman as with the many other cults of the 'recently' dead in Sparta as attested in Pausanias.[161]

The setting of the tomb of Leonidas and the stele with the inscribed names of those who died at Thermopylai, by the acropolis is important. The Spartan acropolis is not only the place where central cults were housed but it was also an area for athletic commemorations, such as the Damonon stele (*IG* V 1.213), as well as inscriptions for public display, such as a list of contributions to the Spartan war fund (*IG* V 1.1, ca. 427 B.C.).[162] By placing the tombs of Leonidas and Pausanias and the list of the Spartan dead at Thermopylai near the acropolis, atop which stood the temple of Athena Poliachos, the protectress of the city, these hero-shrines received a communal importance for Sparta. They were located within an area of state religion and at a place where civic documents would be set up.[163]

The evidence, therefore, does not allow us to argue for the heroisation of the Spartan Thermopylai war dead. It is important to note that since the dead before the fifth-century were hardly given any burial commemoration it is doubtful that Sparta would heroise the war-dead. It is also uncertain that the war dead received any kind of commemoration at all before the Persian Wars because the inscribed stelai for those who died ἐν πολέμωι or ἐν πολέμοι do not start until the fifth-century B.C. In fact, it is possible that the creation of the inscribed stelai may have been prompted by the Persian wars. In any case, there is nothing ostentatious about them and they would hardly point to heroisaion. In general Sparta in regards to its dead was quite austere, and this situation applied to its war-dead, too. Leonidas received heroisation, but the rest of the dead only received a form of posthumous honours. The dead who were buried in the battlefield had their names inscribed in a list in public view near the Spartan acropolis for all to see.[164] Simonides wrote a song either commissioned by Sparta or another city to honour the dead with undying renown. But there was no heroisation.

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[160] Herodotos (7.227) attests to their bravery during battle.

[161] Flower 2009, 212; see also *supra* p. 49, n.135.

[162] Meiggs and Lewis 1969, 181-4, no. 67.

[163] Note the similar setting around the Athenian acropolis (Wycherley 1970). Lists of the war-dead in prominent places are known from an inscription from Megara cited by Low (2006, 102-103).

[164] Lists with the achievements of Spartan athletes set up in public spaces (such as sanctuaries) were a tradition in Sparta, as was the case of the Damonon stele; the Thermopylai list of the war-dead may follow this tradition.

If the cult of Leonidas is to be dated right after his death then it may have been instituted after the transfer of his bones to Sparta by Pausanias, which occurred forty years after the battle of Thermopylai in 480 B.C.[165] By then, the legend of the battle and the subsequent Greek victory over the Persians had been glorified in the perceptions of the Greeks. Spartan kings, as discussed above, were considered to be descendants of Herakles and were thought of in Sparta as being close to the divine. Because of the position of the Spartan kings and his achievement in battle, Leonidas was a perfect candidate for heroisation.

4.3.3.b. *Plataia*

Having looked at the evidence for the heroisation of those who died in the battle of Thermopylai, let us turn to another battle that has yielded a fair amount of debate over the post-mortem status of dead: that of Plataia in 479 B.C. The primary evidence for the possible heroisation of the fallen is based on a text of Thukydides (3.58.4) and on the so called 'New Simonides' (see below); as with the evidence from the battle of Thermopylai, the language used is elusive.

Thukydides recounts that, while pleading with the Spartans not to destroy their city, the Plataians emphasise the existence in Plataia of the graves of the Spartans who died during the Persian Wars there: 'Look at the tombs of your fathers[166] who were killed by the Persians and are buried in our country: every year we have done honour to them at the public expense, presenting garments[167] and all the proper offerings, bringing to them the first fruits of everything which at the various seasons our land has produced' (3.58.4) (Trans. Warner 1972). [168]

Because of the annual honours mentioned in Thukydides, the text has been interpreted to refer to local hero-cult of the war-dead at Plataia.[169] However, the evidence is not as straightforward as it may at first seem. The Plataians only mention the tombs of the fallen Spartans in the speech recorded by Thukydides consisting of those of the priests,[170] the Spartans and the helots – Hdt. 9.85.1) but of course, they were not the only ones buried there. We can surmise that if heroic cult existed for the war dead at Plataia, it would have been for all those Hellenes who died in this great fray. In addition and perhaps more importantly, the offerings mentioned in Thukydides do not necessarily imply hero-cult because such gifts also were deposited on tombs for the dead as a normal part of burial practice.[171] Therefore, it is uncertain whether the annual offerings allude to heroisation or just commemoration of the war dead.[172] In any case, the text mentions nothing about the Spartans granting honours to their war dead but only refers to Plataians honouring the Spartan war-dead; in fact, the Spartans seem to care little about the Plataian custom and proceeded with the destruction of Plataia (Thuk. 2.75-8).

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[165] It is impossible that Pausanias, the general of Plataia, transferred the bones of Leonidas in 440 B.C. because he would have been dead by then. For alternative interpretations of the text, see Connor (1979) with bibliography and discussion.

[166] For the expression, see Gomme (1956, 344) and Hornblower (1991, 453).

[167] For an example of garments being offered to the dead, see Soph. *El.* 452. See also the offerings by women to Artemis at Brauron *IG* II^2 1514-6, 1517B, 1518B, 1521B, 1522-3, 1524B 1525, 1528-30 (King 1983, 114; Cleland 2005).

[168] There is other evidence for the possible heroisation of the Plataian war-dead: Amandry (1972 612-26) interprets three inscribed vases with similar dedications (one found in the Marathon plain: Ἀθεναῖοι ἆθλα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τοι πολέμοι – *IG* II^3 523, 525; *SEG* XXVIII 26; all published by Vanderpool in *ArchDelt* 24 (A), 1-5) as dedications from games in honour of the war dead of either Plataia or Marathon. Evidence of honouring the Megarian dead at the battle of Plataia is also found in a fifth-century epigram attributed to Simonides, which was inscribed in the fourth-century A.D. by the high-priest Helladios (*IG* VII 53; *SEG* XXXI 384). The text has an introduction by Helladios in which the war dead are called heroes before then going into Simonides' text, which ends with the word *enagizein*. Ekroth 2002, 78 rejects the *enagizein* as a continuous tradition but may have been added later. As for the term 'heroes' at the start, the word is not part of Simonides' epigram but is the choice of Helladios. Wade-Grey (1933, 96) is sceptical about the attribution to Simonides, cf. Page 1981 213-5.

[169] Boedeker 1998b; 2001; Currie 2005, 92.

A poem by Simonides, however, may demonstrate Sparta's involvement in the commemoration of the war-dead at Plataia (*POxy* 2327 frs. 6 and 27 i, and 3965 frs. 1 and 2); also known as the 'New Simonides'.[173] The poem begins with an address to Achilles[174] and then follows Sparta's march from the Eurotas to the Isthmus to Plataia; the name of the general Pausanias appears clearly in the text. Although it is in fragmentary condition, Menelaos and the Dioskouroi are attested beyond doubt, and their presence emphasises Sparta' role in the battle. These references to Sparta have prompted the suggestion that the poem was commissioned by the Spartans or even by Pausanias himself.[175] However, this must remain in the realm of speculation because of the fragmentary condition of the poem and the mention of other poleis, such as Corinth and local heroes, such as Pelops, Nisos (Megara) and Pandion (Athens).[176].

Boedeker views the fragments in *POxy* 2327 (frs. 6 and 27 i) and *POxy* 3965 (frs. 1 and 2) as proof of hero-cult for the war dead of Plataia.[177] Her argument is based on the relationship of the heroes of Troy in the *proimion* of the text to the Greeks fighting at Plataia, which is the focus of the rest of the text. She suggests that because the *proimion* refers to the undying *kleos* of the Trojan war dead, Achilles is therefore paralleled with the Plataia dead, suggesting that they, too, will have undying *kleos* and will acquire hero cult as do Homeric heroes.[178] Bremmer, however, uses comparative material to argue that Simonides' language is that of metaphorical immortality bestowed by the poet, a common motif in contemporary and earlier sources.[179] In sum, the poem, should be viewed as either a Spartan or Greek commissioned work for a public event to commemorate the Plataia victory either in Sparta, Plataia or another pan-Hellenic venue.

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[170] On the topic, see Gilula 2003, 82-5.

[171] See Ekroth (2002, 278) for the offerings and rituals at the grave. The offerings of the text resemble also those given for *theoxenia* (eadem, 179). For fruit as an offering to heroes during *theoxenia*, see eadem (130, 139).

[172] It is not until the third-century B.C. that there is concrete evidence for a festival (the Eleutheria) for the Plataia war-dead with the Glaukon decree (*SEG* XXVII 65). See also Strabo 9.2.31; Plut. *Arist.* 21.1-5; Paus. 9.2.5-6; Philostr. *Gymn.*8 (Bremmer 2006, 22, n.72). Raaflaub (2004, 63-5) argues that the games were founded in the late fourth-century B.C. in connection with the wars against the Persians pursued by Philip and Alexander.

[173] For the text in general, see Sider 2001; Parsons 2001; Rutherford 2001; Kowerski 2005, 50-2. For the text as evidence of heroisation, see Boedeker 1998b; 2001.

[174] For Achilles in the poem, see Shaw 2001.

[175] Aloni 1997, 8-28; 2001, 102-4. He bases his argument on the Doric from of a word in the text, the mention of the punishment of Paris and the references to mythical Spartan heroes, such as Menelaos and the Dioskouroi.

[176] Stehle (2001, 106-119) and Shaw (2001, 180-1) agree that the poem focuses on Spartans and Plataia but was not necessarily commissioned by Sparta. C*ontra* Boedeker (1998b, 224-5; 2001b, 158) who sees it as pan-Hellenic or poly-Hellenic. Kowerski (2005, 76-80) argues for pan-Hellenic unity in contemporary epigraphic commemorations so he argues that the poem should be read in the context of pan-Hellenic unity. Kowerski (idem, 76) also stresses that the poem is not complete and may have mentioned other poleis in other parts. Rutherford (2001, 38-9) sees Sparta emphasised but argues that it is not the only focus. The idea of pan-Hellenic unity has been challenged recently by Mitchell (2007) who concludes that in the sixth-century the Greeks formed themselves as a community, as is evident from the pan-Hellenic sanctuaries (eadem, 40), but pan-Hellenism in the Archaic and Classical periods is fluid and Greek unity is not always demonstrated (eadem, 204-7).

Boedeker also sees evidence of heroic cult for the Plataia war-dead in Isokrates' *Plataikos* (14.61).[180] In this text the Plataians attempt to gain Athens' support against the impending destruction of Plataia by Thebes advising that if Plataia is destroyed, then the dead of the battle of Plataia will not receive the νομιζόμενα (customary funeral offerings), which Boedeker interprets as heroic cult. However, the νομιζόμενα, are usually connected with funeral offerings in general and not necessarily hero cult.[181] The language, therefore, may imply honouring of the dead with funeral offerings but again, it is not indicative of cult.

Evaluating the evidence above, it seems likely that the Plataian war-dead did not receive cult after the battle. Rather, like the Spartan dead at Thermopylai in Sparta, they received great honours. The language used in the texts of Thukydides and Simonides emphasises the posthumous glory of the dead and that their immortality was metaphorical not literally.[182] It is possible that Sparta, because of the losses at Plataia *may* have commissioned the Plataia poem by Simonides (*POxy.* 2327 frs. 6 and 27 i, and 3965 frs. 1 and 2) due to the emphasis of Sparta in the text, but this is uncertain because of references to other poleis in the poem. In any case, the purpose of the poem was not to heroise the war-dead but to honour them, possibly reflecting a tradition of public commemoration of the war-dead since the time of Tyrtaios.

4.3.3.c. *Discussion*

The scholarly confusion over the honouring of the war-dead of the Persian Wars as heroes can thus be explained through the similarities of rituals for fallen heroes and the ordinary dead.[183] Currie argues for the heroisation of the Persian War dead and other individuals by claiming that all those who receive public burials and praise are thus given heroic honours; this, however, is to confuse two distinct types of honour: cultic honours for the heroic dead and those honours bestowed upon the un-heroised individual after his death, sometimes in public areas.[184] Rather, it is possible that the treatment of extraordinary dead individuals may have resembled that of heroes because this was the way the Greeks customary treated the special dead, and this may explain the annual offerings described by the Plataians in Simonides and Thukydides. As Parker states 'What could be readily done, of course, was to pay the war-dead honours indistinguishable from those of heroes, since no sharp divide separated funerary from heroic cult. They might then grow fully into the heroic mould; and later ages at a greater cultural remove duly applied the term 'hero' to the dead of the Persian wars'.[185] Parker expresses a view of gradual heroisation of the war-dead. In the beginning, they were probably rightfully treated with great honours because of the way they died. In this context, were composed the works of Simonides praising those who died in war. However, they were not called heroes. It is not until the Roman period that the war dead are referred to as such (Paus. 2.32.4; 1.43.3; 8.41.1; Heliod. *Aith.* 1.17; *SEG* XIII 312.2),[186] which probably reflects the hesitation of administering such honours even to the dead of the Peloponnesian war who were clearly given heroic honours (see below). In fact, Ekroth argues that the very language used for the Athenian war dead as τιμάς plays down the religious aspect of the war dead and instead emphasises the honours bestowed upon them.[187] What the Persian War dead received were public burials which were the collective concern of the city, resulting in the bestowal of greater honours than those given to the ordinary dead but do not equate to heroisation.[188] Because they received public burials nonetheless, and often because the rituals of annual offerings e.g. the first fruits, or the νομιζόμενα (customary offerings) the treatment of the war-dead resembles the honours given to heroes. In time, the *kleos* of those Hellenes killed in the Persian Wars grew and when heroisation of the war dead became more common toward the end of the fifth-century (see below), the Persian War dead, received heroic honours, but only later, perhaps in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

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[177] Boedeker 1998b; 2001.

[178] Boedeker 1998b, 234, 242. Boedeker also argues that the word χαῖρε or χαίρετε attested in the transition from the *proimion* to the main body is not used for the ordinary dead before the fourth-century B.C., but only the divinized or the heroised dead (based on Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 180-216). In opposition, Bremmer (2006, 25) notes that Sourvinou-Inwood's examples start only in the late fifth-century B.C.

[179] Bremmer 2006, 23-6.

[180] Boedeker 1998b, 240.

[181] Ekroth 2002, 87, 106. This is different for the Peloponnesian War dead, who received τά νομιζόμενα but also heroic cult, see eadem (197). For hero-cult for the Peloponnesian War dead, see below.

[182] For the language of praise in Archaic and Classical literature, see Gagarin (2006, 178-83).

Heroes were honoured after the Persian Wars but they were not the war dead. Instead they were the heroes of myth. It is clear in the 'New Simonides' in which Achilles is praised in the *proimion*, that emphasis is placed upon legendary warriors. The same can plausibly be said about the Spartan heroes Menelaos, the Dioskouroi, and heroes of other poleis, e.g. Pelops, Nisos and Pandion, who are mentioned in the poem although the text is too fragmentary to interpret the context. Agamemnon, too, may have become more popular during the aftermath of the Persian wars in Sparta as is demonstrated by the large number of dedications (in the thousands) in the form of terracotta reliefs that appear at the sanctuary in Amyklai from the fifth-century onwards.[189] Evidence of the popularity of male heroes may also be attested in the iconographical change on the stone reliefs in Lakonia: in the sixth-century and early fifth an enthroned, seated couple is depicted (FIG. 21) but by the beginning of the fifth-century this motif changes to a seated lone hero (FIG. 22); a scheme also used by the makers of the terracotta plaques (§5.1.) (FIG. 23). This shift to focus on the male hero may be attributed to the popularity after the Persian Wars of male heroes of the legendary past. Likewise, in the second half of the fifth-century the terracotta plaques appear with a depiction of a warrior, possibly because of the popularity of hero warriors (§5.1.2b) (FIG. 24).[190] It was not uncommon in the Greek world to attribute victories to heroes who were often present in battle in the form of an epiphany.[191] In this regard Sparta was no exception, and the attribution of victories to heroes during the Persian wars may have inspired the makers of the stone and terracotta reliefs to focus on the iconography of the male hero.

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[183] Ekroth (2002, 330-1) notes the overlap of status between the dead and heroes expressed in sacrificial rituals.

[184] Currie 2005, 104-5.All the examples Currie cites to argue his point, except that of Brasidas, talk of honours or public burials not cult for the individual.

[185] Parker 1996, 137.

[186] Currie 2004, 114, n.163.

[187] Ekroth 2002, 204; even applied to the Peloponnesian War dead.

[188] *Contra* Currie 2005, 112-3.

It appears that it is not until the Peloponnesian War that heroic honours were bestowed upon the war dead.[192] Fourth century texts, such as those of Plato (*Mx.* 244a, 249b) and Demosthenes (*Epit.* 36), give a different impression for the treatment of the Peloponnesian War dead than the fifth-century texts which dealt with the Persian War dead; the polis would give the customary rites, sacrifices, and games for those who died in the Peloponnesian War.[193] In the case of Sparta, our evidence is scarce for the Peloponnesian War dead. The Spartan Brasidas was heroised after his death--but in Amphipolis, where he was honoured as the city founder (Thuk. 5.11.1).[194] In Sparta, by contrast, he received praise (Thuk. 2.25.2), but not cultic honours.[195] His praise was in accord with the Spartan military valour. Our idea of the '*belle mort Spartiate*' in war, which heroised the individual, is based simply on the romantic notion of the Spartan hoplite. [196] The Spartan war dead were glorified but there is no evidence that they were heroised.

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[189] See also Herodotos (7.157-9) where the Spartan envoy Syagros says that Agamemnon would disapprove if Sparta was denied the leadership during the Persian wars.

[190] Hibler (1993, 202) attributes the iconographical change from a couple to a lone hero to the heroisation of those of their own generation, such as the war-dead. As has been demonstrated above, I do not think that the Spartan war-dead were heroised at this time.

[191] See *infra* p. 130.

[192] Bremmer 2006, 26.

[193] Loraux 1986, 39-42.

[194] Malkin 1987, 230.

[195] In my view, Currie (2005, 174-89) exaggerates when he argues for religious attitudes towards living people in the fifth-century.

4.4. Conclusion

From the above evidence, it becomes clear that Sparta may have been different to other poleis when it came to the heroisation of its recently dead and appears to have had looser categorizations of dead/heroes/gods.[197] This can be perceived in the case of the Menelaion and the cult of Hyakinthos[198] where, as it has been argued in chapter two, the boundaries of god and hero are not strict.[199] The mortal and hero categories may also have been fluid: this cannot be more evident than the assumption that the people who ruled Sparta were descendants of Herakles, a belief that lead to the heroisation of the kings after death. Thus, such an approach may also have contributed to the easier trespassing of boundaries separating the mortal and the heroic, as is evident from the heroisation of Chilon and possibly Thiokles.

Inasmuch as Sparta heroised certain individuals, it was nonetheless a state of *homoioi* that promoted an equal treatment of its citizens. This is why special honours were offered to people of importance to the state as a whole: the kings, descendants of the Herakleidai, were tightly connected with the religious functions of the poleis and heroised after their death. The same is true for the lawgiver Chilon, who was heroised. The heroisation of the war-dead, however, is not demonstrable for the Archaic period and the fifth-century: the war dead, though greatly honoured, were not treated as heroised individuals because this is for what Spartan men trained for after all.

Pausanias' description of Roman Sparta makes clear the large number of hero shrines of historical figures in Sparta. The problem, however, is to what extent the shrines dedicated to the recently dead, such as Dorieus (ca. 510 B.C.) or Kyniska (who won the Olympic chariot race 396 B.C. and 392 B.C.), were instituted immediately after their death (Paus. 6.1.6).[200] In some instances, such as the seventh-century athlete Hipposthenes who was given honours like those for Poseidon (Paus. 3.15.7; 5.8.9), it is assumed by Hodkinson that the cult was instituted in the fifth-century B.C.[201] Sparta commissioned Myron (470-440 B.C.)[202] to make a statue for the seventh-century athlete Chionis and was set up at Olympia, together with a stele recording his victories (6.13.2).[203] The aforementioned examples are only known from Pausanias, so with our current knowledge, it is impossible to date the institution of the cults of many of the shrines and tombs of the historical dead, found in second-century A.D. Sparta.

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[196] Loraux (1977, 19-20) in reference to Spartan grooming before battle (Hdt. 7.208-9).

[197] Flower 2009, 214.

[198] See *supra* §§2.2-3.

[199] This is not unusual. See ch. 1.

[200] For Kyniska, see *supra* p. 95.

[201] Hodkinson (1999, 165-6) views the heroisation of Hipposthenes is accordance to a wider Greek phenomenon of heroization of athletes in the fifth-century B.C.

[202] Boardman 1985, 80; Stewart (1990, 255-6). There is a dispute over the date of Myron due to the uncertainty of the activity of his son Lykios who is also a sculptor. Although Lykios usually dates in the mid-fifth century (Stewart 1990, 255-7) Kunze (1956, 153) thinks that Lykios could be early fifth-century B.C. due to the letter forms of the Apollonian

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Monument at Olympia, attributed to Lykios by Pausanias (5.22.2-4) (Barringer 2009, 235). If this is correct then Myron should also date earlier.

[203] Christesen (2010) argues for fifth-century heroisation due to the political motives of the Agiad kings with Cyrene, where Chionis was an oikist. So the heroisation of Chionis would be beneficial for the relationship between Sparta and Cyrene. A stele listing Chionis' victories was also set up in Sparta (Paus. 3.14.3). Hodkinson (1999, 165) views the setting up of the statue of Chionis at Delphi next to that of Astylos of Syracuse to be related to the dispute in 480 B.C. between Sparta and Syrace over the leadership against the Persians (Hdt. 7.157-9). Pausanias (6.15.8) also mentions a statue of a seventh-century youth, Eutelidas (Hodkinson 1999, 180, n.39 with bibliography). A statue, of course, does not indicate heroisation, as Larson (2007-8, 202) notes.

Chapter Five

Heroic Iconography

This chapter examines a group of Lakonian heroes whose identity by and large remains unknown to the modern audience. These heroes were the recipients of distinctive dedications of stone and terracotta reliefs, whose chronology spanned from the Archaic to the Roman periods. Unlike pan-Hellenic heroes, such as the Dioskouroi and Herakles, the recipients of the stone and terracotta reliefs received votives that were part of a homogenous group with a separate iconographic tradition. In this chapter, I present the iconography of these reliefs, which falls into five groups: the seated male, the standing couple, the warrior, the standing triads and the banqueter in order to construct the way these heroes were perceived. Although the fourth-century is not included in this dissertation I will also present evidence from that period in order to have a complete view of the iconography of the votives. By widening the chronology we can observe the changes that occurred in the perception of heroes in Sparta according to the societal needs of the time. In order to comprehend the imagery, I use comparative material from elsewhere in the Greek world and explore why the Spartans chose to portray their heroes in the way that they did. Next, I discuss the iconography of other media from Sparta, such as the ivories, Lakonian vase-painting and the Dioskouroi reliefs. By placing the stone and terracotta reliefs against this context, I contend that differences are noticeable in the way that heroes are portrayed on the reliefs, as opposed to their depictions in other media. I argue that the explanation for this lies in the fact that the imagery on the reliefs often portrays ritual and in turn reflects the intended use of the reliefs as votive objects. I conclude that the heroes to whom the stone and terracotta reliefs were dedicated are local, whose nature as close and familiar to their worshippers is emphasised by the iconographic homogeneity and anonymity of the recipients of the stone and terracotta reliefs.

Work on the iconography of the reliefs has been primarily conducted by Salapata who conducts an art historical analysis.[1] The focus of the chapter is not to give an extensive analysis of the style and iconography of the reliefs but to examine how the Spartans chose to portray the recipients of cult and how this reflects the perceptions the Spartans had about their heroes.

5.1. The Stone and Terracotta Reliefs

5.1.1. *The seated couple and the seated male*

Among the discussion of Lakonian artefacts one in particular is most frequently referenced: the Chrysapha relief now housed in Berlin (FIG. 21).[2] This relief is one of a series of forty stone reliefs dedicated to heroes that have been discovered in the area of Sparta but also in other Lakonian sites, such as Chrysapha, Gytheion, Geraki and Areopolis.[3] They appeared in Lakonia during the second half of the sixth-century and lasted through the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[4] Unfortunately, only one them, the one from Chrysapha, was found *in situ*, but about half of them were found in Sparta itself.[5]

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[1] Salapata 1992; 1993; 1997; 2006; 2009.

The earliest reliefs from the mid-sixth to the early fifth-century depict a seated couple.[6] The one from Chrysapha is the earliest[7] and shows a male and female figure seated on the left side by side on a throne (FIG. 21). The throne is elaborate with lion feet and anthemion, and under it is a bearded snake that coils upwards behind the seated figures.[8] The male wears a chiton, mantle and sandals, and he holds a kantharos in his hand. He is placed closer to the viewer toward whom he turns his head. The female figure is seated completely in profile and mostly covered by the male. She draws her veil forward, in an *anakalypteria* gesture and holds a fruit, probably a pomegranate, in her other hand. Smaller figures of a man and a woman with offerings of a cock, an egg, a flower and pomegranate approach them. Variations of this composition are found on other reliefs, where the couple sits on the other side of the relief which results in the man holding both the kantharos and the pomegranate. The smaller figures appear only on the two earliest reliefs (see also FIG. 25) so in other examples the reliefs only depict the seated couple (FIG. 26).[9]

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[2] Berlin, Pergamonmuseum 731; Stibbe 1991, fig. 5; Salapata 2006, fig. 3.

[3] Salapata 1993, 189.

[4] Salapata 1993, 189.

[5] In some cases, reliefs are reported to have been discovered in a general area, such as three at the Bougadis plot (site **D** in chapter six), three near Chrysapha and two at Geraki (Salapata 1992, 382-3).

[6] About twenty reliefs, almost all of them of the sixth-century, depict a seated couple; three or four date to the early fifth-century (Salapata 1993, 189).

[7] Salapata 1993, 189.

[8] The Greek perception of the closeness of snakes with the earth and with death is attested in ancient literature and iconography (Hdt. 1.78.3; Pliny *nat.* 16.85). On snakes in a funerary context see Wide (1909, 221-23) who discusses Geometric vases; and Küster (1913, 47-49) for the archaic Klazomenai sarcophagi. Snakes were also considered guardians of houses in Mycenaean but also in later times (Molero 1992). Seiffert (1911, 120-26) interprets the snake as a *daimon* serving the Earth divinity who originally had a snake form, e.g., Python, whose cult was taken over by Apollo. It has been suggested that the snake is closely associated with the dead, because it lives close to the ground, and with fertility because of its closeness to earth (Harrison 1912, 268; Küster 1913, 62) and its ability to shed its skin, an act linked with rebirth and immortality (Harrison 1912, 269-70). The snake has also been associated with chthonic cults, which are by definition associated with the earth (Seiffert 1911, 122) and because Herodotos (1.78.3) called it a 'child of the earth'. Asklepios, Zeus Philios, Zeus Ktesios, Agathos Daimon and Zeus Melichios often take the form of snakes (idem, 116). Some heroes have a half-snake forms especially those who are considered to be connected with the origin of tribes and founder kings, such as Erechthonios, Erechtheus and Kekrops, (Küster 1913, 97-100; Bevan 1986, 262-64; Dentzer 1982, 497; *New Pauly* s.v. 'snake': 13, 556). Its close connection with heroes is attested in Plutarch (*Cleo.* 39) and by the scholiast of Aristophanes' *Ploutos* 733. In Lakonia, the snake was closely linked with heroic iconography and accentuated the heroic nature of the figure (Salapata 1997, 250; 2006, 552). See the Lakonian slim reliefs of isolated snakes (Tod and Wace 1906, 113, 135, 170, nos. 5, 355; Mitropoulou 1977, 221-22 nos. 29, 31, 33-35, figs. 138, 140-43; Stibbe 1991, 42). For the meaning and iconography of the bearded snake, see Guralnick (1974, 184-85) and Salapata (1992, 468-69) who demonstrate how this motif was borrowed from Egypt and how the beard symbolizes the snake's divine nature.

By the early fifth-century, the woman is absent and the male sits alone on the reliefs. Other elements, such as a dog or a horse protome, are added to the scene, (FIG. 22). The man holds a kantharos or phiale, from which the snake sometimes drinks, such as on a fourth-century example (FIG. 27). [10] Other reliefs depict the man with an attendant, a woman or boy, carrying an oinochoe (FIGS. 28-30).[11]

Eight of these reliefs bear some kind of inscription although it is possible that others had painted texts. Of the inscribed reliefs, only one dates to the Archaic period and has its inscription in retrograde [XI]ΛON.[12] The remaining seven have inscriptions of the fourth-century or later or are earlier reliefs on which inscriptions were added later.[13]

The identification of the figures and the interpretation of the scenes as well as their function have been debated since the time of the reliefs' first publication in 1877.[14] Because of the similarities with the Lokroi and the Harpy tomb reliefs, Furtwängler, in one of the earliest studies on these reliefs, interpreted the iconography as an abstract idea of a couple that was known by different names in various places, such as Zeus Chthonios and Ge Chthonia, Zeus Melichios and Meliche, Pluto and Persephone, Trophonios and Herkyra, Neleus and Basile.[15] Others thought of them as grave monuments, a view now disproved but which was at one point supported by many scholars.[16] When Tod and Wace published the *Sparta Museum Catalogue* in 1906, they used the terms 'hero' or 'heroised dead' to describe the figures on the reliefs.[17] Following their interpretation, Andronikos also argued that the reliefs were dedicated to heroes.[18] Since then the figures have been interpreted as ordinary or heroised dead, as underworld divinities or as heroes of an established cult.[19] On the rare inscribed relief, the word [X]IΛON is written in retrograde under the throne of the seated figure; Chilon, a sixth-century Spartan ephor, was heroised after his death so it is possible that the relief refers to him.[20]

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[9] Stibbe 1991, 11; Hibler 1993, 201.

[10] For the meaning and iconographical tradition of the drinking snake, see Salapata (1992, 470-77; 2006, 541ff, esp. 546-47), who demonstrates that initially the snake was an isolated element until the area in front of the seated man was cleared by removing offering bearers. However, the snake did not approach the kantharos because it had its head turned away or was above the rim. Some years later the snake was brought in direct contact with the vessel (eadem, 542, figs. 3-5). For the association of a drinking snake with banquet imagery, see eadem (1992, 475 n.270; 2006, 555, fig. 11).

[11] Salapata 1993, 191. There is only one example of a Lakonian stone relief where a woman holds an oinochoe and pours in the kantharos. All the other examples are found on terracotta reliefs (eadem, 191).

[12] For the heroisation of Chilon, see § 4.3.2.

[13] Salapata 1992, 385.

[14] Dressel and Milchhöfer 1877.

[15] Furtwängler 1883-7, 23-5.

[16] Dressel and Milchhöfer 1877, 460, 473; Johansen 1951, 82; Neumann 1979, 17, 21.

[17] Todd and Wace 1906, 101.

[18] Andronikos 1956, 296-8.

[19] Salapata 1993, 189, n.6-9 for references. Stibbe (1991) argues that the hero on the reliefs should be identified with Dionysos because he holds a kantharos. However, one should be cautious in making such an assumption with the Spartan material. Salapata (1993, 189) points out that in other Greek cities, such as Athens, the kantharos is indeed a

In order to comprehend the imagery of the Lakonian reliefs, a number of scholars have linked the iconographical motifs with those of votives reliefs elsewhere in the Greek world. For example, Rhomaios, compared the Lakonian reliefs with the sixth-century Tegea banquet reliefs which represent a cult scene that involved gods or heroes honoured with a meal.[21] As we will see, Dentzer's thorough iconographical study of banqueting scenes demonstrates that the iconographical motif of the banqueting hero was specifically created for founder-heroes, *archegetai* and ancestors.[22] In her study on the iconography of the Lakonian reliefs, Salapata concludes that the imagery shows the hero during feasting only not at the banquet, where a hero normally would be reclining, but after the banquet during the second phase of festivities which was devoted to drinking.[23]

Clearer evidence that these stone reliefs are dedications to heroes comes from their iconographical similarities to the Lakonian terracotta reliefs which date from the seventh to the third-century B.C.[24] That the terracotta reliefs were dedicated to heroes is certain because although the reliefs are found in many areas throughout Sparta only one complete and seven fragmentary examples have been discovered in a sanctuary of a deity, that of Orthia.[25] The largest deposit comes from Amyklai and is dedicated to Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra. Furthermore, the

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symbol of Dionysus as we see it depicted with the god on Attic vase paintings. If, however, the kantharos is an attribute of Dionysus in Attic vase paintings, this does not automatically signify that any figure holding a kantharos is Dionysus. Several other gods and heroes hold it, e.g., Hephaistos and Herakles on vase painting, Hades and the Dioskouroi on Lokrian terracotta pinakes (Salapata 1992, 458-68). For a thorough discussion on the kantharos on the reliefs, see Salapata (1992, 458-68), where she interprets it as having the same purpose as on the Dionysos scenes, namely as a container for drinking wine.

[20] Wace 1937; Stibbe 1991, 12, fig. 6, no. A3.

[21] Rhomaios 1914, 225-6. See *infra* 5.2.1.e for the banquet reliefs.

[22] See *infra* §5.1.2.e.

[23] Salapata (1993, 194, n.67) argues that drinking was part of a 'noble and heroic essence' in the Homeric description of Alkinoos drinking wine like an immortal in his megaron (*Od.* 7.167-69).

[24] Terracotta reliefs or, as otherwise called, terracotta plaques were common offerings in Greek sanctuaries but they were particularly popular in Magna Graecia, especially at Lokroi and Taranto. The custom of offering terracotta reliefs in Greek sanctuaries was introduced from the East around 700 B.C. (Salapata 2002b, 24-5). Most terracotta reliefs are found as votives in sanctuaries and many in deposits, whereas very few were discovered in graves or in domestic contexts. Their function is also confirmed by their depictions in a cultic context on vase paintings shown hanging on walls or trees and even inside caves. See van Straten (2000, 206-8) and Salapata (2002b, 26-7) for examples. Some terracotta reliefs have holes in them for hanging. See examples from Sparta in Salapata 2000b, 28-9.

[25] Dawkins, *Orthia,* 154-55. The report cites eight fragments, one of which is described as a piece of relief vase (pl. XXXIX 4). These are dated c. 740 B.C., with four fragments from c. 700 B.C. and one from the fifth-century B.C. Their iconography consists of a standing couple holding a wreath (see infra 5.2.1.a) a man mounting a chariot; sphinxes; and a helmeted man holding a spear (see infra 5.2.1.b) (pl. XXXIX, 1-6). The subject matter of the terracotta reliefs from the Menelaion (see 2.2.2.a, FIG. 8) has no resemblance to that of the subject matter of the numerous deposits found around Sparta. One example shows three standing draped females. Its date is early Archaic and recalls the style of many female figurines found at the site. Although this relief should not be seen in the same context as the later ones – they are removed both chronologically and contextually – it may provide some information on the decoration, in the drapery and use of paint on the figures (Thompson, M.S. 1908-9, 121 fig. 3.32).

iconography of the reliefs resembles that of votives to cults of heroes from other sites throughout the Greek world.[26]

The subject matter of the terracotta reliefs is identified as typically heroic: an enthroned male is the most commonly depicted individual on the stone reliefs. He appears alone holding a kantharos, a phiale, or another item instead, such as a staff, a pomegranate or a cock (FIG. 23).[27] Other times, he is accompanied by a standing figure: a woman carrying an oinochoe or a tray of offerings (FIG. 30) or holding a wreath, or a boy carrying an oinochoe.[28] On a rare example from Amyklai, a seated lone woman holds a phiale (FIG. 31).[29]

As stated earlier the seated couple ceased to exist on Lakonian stone reliefs by the early fifth-century B.C. However, they reappear in the later fifth-century on some terracotta reliefs, particularly those from the Amyklai deposit (FIG. 32) and the Philippopoulos plot (site **Q**).[30]

The subject matter of other terracotta reliefs does not appear on stone reliefs: standing dyads and triads, the rider, the warrior, and a depiction of a reclining man in a banquet. These will be discussed in the following section.

Today, the Lakonian reliefs are most commonly interpreted as dedications to heroes but it is also important not to exclude the possibility that some may have honoured the recently heroised dead in exceptional circumstances, as may be demonstrated by the 'Chilon Relief'.[31] The following section offers a brief overview of the iconography of the Lakonian stone and terracotta reliefs with the aim to use the imagery in order to comprehend the way the Spartans perceived their heroes.

It is important to mention that scholars have warned against using votives to identify the recipient of cult.[32] For example, Hägg argues that there is little difference in the type of votives found in Olympian, chthonian or heroic sanctuaries.[33] He may be correct to a large extent but what his study fails to consider is the need for a systematic study of sanctuaries within individual poleis or areas where local practices should be borne in mind. In other words, individual poleis may have dedicatory practices that may reflect the nature of the recipient of cult.[34]

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[26] Salapata 1992. For similar deposits at a hero shrine in Corinth, see Salapata 1997. For deposits in Messene, see Themelis (1988, 157-86) and for the Hellenistic deposits at Messenia where such terracotta relief reliefs were dedicated at Mycenaean tombs according the Messenian custom, see Korres (1981-2; 1988), and Luraghi (2008, 239-45). For deposits from Troy and Krete, see *infra* n.115. Such deposits of Archaic date were also found in Messenian tombs (Luraghi 2008, 125-6, with bibliography).

[27] These examples are unpublished. See Salapata (1992, 363, nos. a. 1.2.2-4).

[28] Salapata 1992, 359 ff.

[29] Sparta Museum 6233/1+6149/1; Salapata 1992, 379, no c.1.1; 1993,192, n.46.

[30] See some examples where we have a seated couple and in front of them a woman leading a ram (Salapata 1992, 378, no. b.1.1.pl. 80 b-d) and others where a woman carrying a tray with offerings approaches the seated couple (Salapata 1992, 378, no. b.1.2.pl. 80 f-h.j).

[31] See Boardman (1978, 165) and Ridgway (1993, 243; 2004, 59) for the funerary and heroic connotations. Apart from the Chilon relief, others such Sparta Museum no. 3 (Tod and Wace 1906, 103, fig. 3, ca. 550-30 B.C.) and Sparta Museum no. 505 (Tod and Wace 1906, 107, fig. 10) of the early fifth-century depict a dog accompanying the hero. The depiction of a dog may suggest a funerary character because it is common on grave reliefs (Ridgway 2004, 45-70).

[32] Morgan and Whitelaw 1991, 89.

[33] Hägg 1987, 99.

5.1.1.a. *The seated figure*

When the rendering of heroes in Lakonia appeared on stone reliefs in the middle of the sixth-century B.C. their representation was quite distinct. As discussed earlier, the stone reliefs portray the hero seated on a throne, holding a kantharos, and accompanied by a female while attendants bring gifts to the couple. However, the seated pose of the hero on a throne, and the attendants are uncommon in mid-sixth-century sculptural iconography. The choice of depicting the hero in such a manner must have had some specific meaning and its study may help us understand the perception of these heroes. In the following section I briefly examine the rendering of seated figures in Archaic Greek art in order to help understand the status and iconography of the Lakonian recipients of the reliefs.

The depiction of seated individuals is unusual in early Greek art with the rendering of seated male divinities particularly uncommon. The earliest examples of seated figures first appear on Krete with the female figures from Prinias, which have been dated from the late-seventh to the mid-sixth-centuries B.C.[35] From the Peloponnese comes the earliest enthroned figure found at Frankovrysis at ancient Asea, and dating around 640 B.C.[36] This female figure is inscribed 'Ἀγεμώ' but it is uncertain if the identity of the figure is a mortal or a goddess.[37] Since there is a crouching animal near the armrest, scholars suggest that she depicts the Great Mother or perhaps Artemis.[38] Another problematic example is the votive statue of c. 540B.C. from the Samian Heraion, which represents either the dedicator, Aiakes or Hera herself.[39] A well known example of a seated figure of c. 530 B.C. from the Athenian Acropolis is probably the only Archaic female seated figure whose identity can be confirmed (due to the aegis) and shows Athena seated;[40] Cybele, too, is often represented seated and holding a lion.[41] In all, early female seated statues appear to often represent goddesses but this can only remain speculative.

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[34] The specialization of votives among sanctuaries in Sparta is noticeable, primarily with the terracotta and stone reliefs, but also other items, such as disc-related votives (at the sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai), the lead figurines (at the sanctuary of Orthia and the Menelaion), and the terracotta masks (at the sanctuary of Orthia).

[35] Nagy, H. 1988, 185, fig. 20.7-8.

[36] Athens, National Museum no. 8; Ridgway, 1993, 183; Nagy, H. 1998, 187, fig. 10.10. Jeffery (*LSAG*^{2}, 215, no. 6) dates it to the end of the sixth-century based on epigraphic evidence. Ridgway (1993, 184) dates the statue to the middle of the sixth-century. More recently Kaltsas (2002, 36, no. 8) gives a 640 B.C. date.

[37] Kaltsas (2002, 36) identifies the statue as Artemis or the Mother of the gods and considers the inscription to be an epithet as an abbreviated version on *Hegemo.*

[38] See Nagy, H. 1998, 191, n.58 for references.

[39] Ridgway (1993, 123, 205) interprets it as Hera due to the long shoulder locks, the lion supports of the throne arms and the inscription. Nagy, H. (1998 189) believes that this is a high status mortal.

[40] Athens, National Museum. no. 625.

[41] See Nagy, H. (1998, 182) for a mid- sixth-century example from Kyme.

Early male free-standing statues present an even more confusing picture than their female counterparts: a sculpture of a seated male of the last quarter of the seventh-century B.C. from Arcadia, Harghiorgitika, is male but it is not possible to establish if he is supposed to be a mortal or divinity.[42] An example from Ikaria, dated to the late sixth-century B.C., of a seated figure holding a kantharos is Dionysus who had a sanctuary there.[43] Most important for our purposes is an early sixth-century B.C. seated statue from Sparta with poorly preserved detail and appears to be male due to the lack of breasts and the long garments, customary on Archaic male figures in Lakonian art (see below) (FIG. 33). The seat has lion paws much like the throne on the Lakonian hero reliefs,[44] but the identity of the figure depicted is impossible to guess since no attributes or inscriptions are preserved. A seated male statue (ca. 570 B.C.) whose identity is known, however, comes from Didyma with an inscription explaining that he is Chares the ruler of Teichioussa and that the statue belongs to Apollo (thus it is a votive).[45] This identification has prompted scholars to view other seated statues found at Didyma as representing mortals giving dedications to Apollo.[46] A terracotta enthroned sculpture seated on a backless throne from Paestum (ca. 530-20 B.C) is interpreted as a cult image of Zeus.[47] A final example is a relief stele from Prinias (ca. 650B.C.), which depicts an enthroned male figure holding a sceptre and flower while a dog crouches beneath the throne. Since the aforementioned reliefs from Prinias have been interpreted as funerary, it has been suggested by Lembessi that this relief stele is a funerary stele for a figure who may have held special office.[48]

From the above analysis it is evident that it is not possible to establish the identity of the figure of most seated or enthroned sculpture. It is important nonetheless to stress that the figures, either mortal or divine, were elevated in status: in Greek iconography Zeus is often depicted enthroned[49] and we learn the same from the *Iliad* (1.533; 8.443). Lords and leaders of people are also enthroned as is evident from Alkinoos offering a throne to Odysseus (*Od.* 7.167-9) and Alkinoos himself sits on a throne (*Od.* 6.308-9). The same can be observed from the statue of Chares, the ruler of Teichioussa who chose to depict himself in a seated manner for his offering at the sanctuary of Apollo Didyma (see above). Thus, the enthroned figures on the Lakonian reliefs, which first appear ca. 540 B.C., have more in common with the sculptures of elevated figures, either divinities or mortals and subsequently the posture signifies their prestige.[50]

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[42] Athens, National Museum no. 57; Ridgway 1993, 182; Nagy, H. 1998, 187, 20.9; Kaltsas 2002, 36, no. 9.
[43] Athens, National Museum no. 3897; Floren 1987, 260-1; Kaltsas 2002, 66, no. 93.
[44] Sparta Museum 576; Kranz 1972, 27, pl. 17; Floren 1987, 217, pl. 17.2.
[45] London, British Museum B 278; Ridgway 1993, 185, fig. 76.
[46] Ridgway 1993,185.
[47] Museo Archeologico Nationale di Paestum 13314; Bennett *et al.* 2002, 131, no. H90.
[48] Lembessi (1976, 84, 86, pl. 28-29) who interprets these relief stelai as funerary (eadem 62-70).
[49] *LIMC* VIII. I. 321, nos. 43-5; 327, nos. 89-92.

The high status of the enthroned figures on these early reliefs is demonstrated not only by the throne but also by the attendants bringing offerings. This motif is found only on the two earliest stone reliefs, the one from Chrysapha and the other found on the east side of the acropolis wall, both dated ca. 540B.C. with the Chrysapha relief perhaps a bit earlier.[51] Examples of such depictions appear again on terracotta reliefs of the fourth-century B.C.[52] By viewing the imagery of these reliefs it is clear that the portrayal of adorants bringing gifts to a deity in Greek art at such an early date is not common. In particular, on Archaic reliefs, the depictions of adorants and the divine are separated.[53] Mortals usually bring offerings or make a sacrifice without the depiction of the honoured figure.[54] It is only in the Classical period that depictions of adorants and divinities are shown together, as in an Attic relief with Athena (ca. 490-480 B.C.).[55] However, the scale of the adorants, although smaller than the divinity, is not as significantly reduced as on the Lakonian reliefs.[56] Adorants in smaller scale do not appear until around 410 B.C. on Attic votive reliefs and last through the fourth-century B.C.[57] There is therefore, little comparative material from the Archaic Greek world which depicts adorants and dedicatee in the same plane as shown on the Lakonian reliefs.

However, earlier evidence of dedicatee and worshippers on the same plane comes from Lakonian vase panting, starting with works of the Boreads Painter, ca. 570-565 B.C.[58] One of these, a fragmentary vase from Olympia, is painted with a seated figure approached by adorants,[59] and on a better preserved piece from Naukratis a seated, bearded male wrapped in an himation is approached by a youth offering him a pomegranate (FIG. 34).[60] A fragment of a late sixth-century date from the sanctuary of Demeter at Cyrene and attributed to the Naukratis Painter depicts a seated female holding a wreath.[61] One of the better preserved examples is a cup from Olympia depicting two figures seated side by side and a small figure standing in front of them (FIG. 35).[62] It is probable that the imagery of the Lakonian vase-painting examples follows a similar rendition of worshipper and dedicatee as on the reliefs but the figures on the vases should not be interpreted as heroes. This is primarily because heroic iconographical elements, such as the snake and the kantharos are absent.[63] The enthroned female depicted on the vase from the sanctuary of Demeter at Cyrene should probably be seen as Demeter and the enthroned couple, from the example from Olympia (FIG. 35), is probably Zeus and Hera since there is an eagle behind the throne. [64]

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[50] The same observation can be made about Roman sculpture (Davies, G. 2005, 216-20).

[51] Salapata 1992, 623-24, nos. R1, R2. On one Archaic Lakonian relief (Sparta Museum 1828) a single figure (presumably a dedicator) holds a flower similar to that held by the figure depicted on the Chrysapha relief (Stibbe 1991, H4; Förtsch 2001, fig.166).

[52] Salapata 1992, 448.

[53] Adorants bringing an animal for sacrifice in the presence of a deity or a cult statue, especially Athena or Apollo, are shown, however, on sixth-century Attic vase-paintings (Mylonopoulos 2006, 73-6; Patton 2009, nos. C29-35). The scale of the adorants on these vases is not as small as the worshippers on the Lakonian reliefs.

[54] See Berger (1970, 104) and Neumann (1979, 27, fig. 12a) for the example of the famous pinax from Pitsa, ca. 530 B.C. For a general discussion on the iconography of the donors see *ThesCRA*, I 284-7; van Straten 2000, 216-23). There is only one known example that dates earlier than the Lakonian reliefs, a stele from Prinias (Lembessi 1976, 93-94, A5 pl. 6-7; Neumann 1979: 19, pl. 5A; Edelmann 1999, 14, A1, fig.1) on which a small figure stands next to a warrior, gesturing and offering him a flower. Since the Prinias reliefs are funerary, this relief is sometimes seen to be a predecessor of the Classical grave reliefs. In contrast, however, the Lakonian reliefs are votive and not funerary and therefore should be examined in a cultic context.

[55] Berger 1970, 109, fig. 129; Comella 2002, 19, fig. 11.

[56] Neumann 1979, 95.

[57] Kontoleon 1970, 29; 1985, 385; van Straten 2000, 216-23.

[58] For a discussion and complete catalogue of these examples see Pipili 1987, 60-3.

[59] Olympia Museum K 2111; Stibbe 1972, no. 155.

Because of the lack of evidence from the Greek world scholars have looked elsewhere to find inspiration for the Lakonian iconographical scheme of positioning the adorants and the hero in the same plane. In particular, parallels in Egyptian painting and reliefs depict rulers or divinities larger than their servants, relatives or warriors.[65] Moreover, the procession of people towards an enthroned divinity or a dead ruler who often holds a drinking vessel was commonly illustrated in both Mesopotamian and Egyptian art from the third millennium.[66] Sometimes, particularly in Egyptian art, a table with food is placed in front of the seated figure suggesting that the seated figure is represented at a banquet.[67] This scheme has been found in many places in the East, as demonstrated by Dentzer, from the Neo-Hittite funerary stelai to monumental reliefs of the Neo-Assyrian period and North Syrian ivory pyxides of the eighth-century B.C., as well as on Phoenician bowls found at Olympia.[68] Etruscan stamped bucchero vases of the sixth-century B.C.

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[60] London, British Museum B 6; Stibbe 1972, no. 154; Pipili 1987, 60, no 158, fig. 87.

[61] Cyrene, Archaeological Museum 71-659; Pipili 1987, 61, no. 161; 1998, 94, fig. 8.17. The inscription is too poorly preserved to be read.

[62] Olympia Museum K 1293; Stibbe 1972, no. 101; Pipili 1987, 61, no. 163, fig. 88.

[63] By contrast, fifth-century examples of vases depicting the seated figure with a kantharos and a snake in the field are found in Sparta in the deposit of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra at Amyklai; see *infra* §6.1.
It is important to stress that most Lakonian vases with figural iconography were not found in Sparta. Large quantities of Lakonian pottery has been unearthed at the Samian Heraion and Artemision, at Etruria, Cyrene, Naukratis, Satura, Sicily and Tocra. Thus, the intended purpose was may not have been for local consumption but foreign export. The iconographic repertoire therefore may reflect foreign rather than local tastes. If so, then even if the cups by the Boreads Painter resembled the terracotta reliefs, the artists may not have found the motifs of kantharos and snake imagery suitable for markets abroad (Pipili 1998, 86, 95). This information is also based on an as yet unpublished paper entitled ‘Lakonian black-figure: exploring the special character of a local school of pottery’ given by Dr. Pipili in May 2009 at the British School at Athens).

[64] Pipili 1987, 61. It is uncertain however if the scenes on the vases found in sanctuaries correspond to the deities of each cult place, such as an example from the Samian Heraion where a female figure is seated listening to a lyre player (Pipili 1987, 62-3, no. 164, fig. 89).

[65] See Salapata (1992, 451, n.195) for references.

[66] Kontoleon 1970, 33.

[67] Salapata 1992, 496, n.349.

[68] Dentzer 1982, 30-34.

also show influence of Eastern iconography: on one example a man seated on a stool holds a kantharos and is faced by a standing woman.[69] Because of the depiction of the seated man with a kantharos it is possible that the Etruscan imagery may have been the inspiration for the Lakonian reliefs. How this scheme was diffused into Lakonian art may not be possible to trace but the composition was nevertheless borrowed and used in Lakonia to emphasise its own needs of honouring important males.[70]

Placing mortals and heroes together in the same plane creates an image of closeness in which the depicted heroes are presented as approachable. This scheme contrasts with the depiction of deities who are never shown in processions and at sacrifices in Archaic reliefs. There is communication with the hero.[71] An additional element that suggests the closeness of the hero with the people is the gesture that the male hero makes with his free-hand (the other hand holds the kantharos) on both the Chrysapha relief (FIG. 21) and another sixth-century Lakonian relief (FIG. 25).[72] This gesture may have formed a connection with the approaching adorants.[73] A similar gesture is made also by the adorant advancing towards a seated figure as depicted on a Lakonian cup (FIG. 34). The raised hand gesture is different from that of the figure on the relief from Angelona [74] (FIG. 36) which should be interpreted as a gesture of prayer-and thus in communication with the hero or divinity whose altar he approaches. Therefore, this early composition of heroes, portrays the mortal character of heroes as important but accessible to humans.

This iconography, however, does not seem to have persisted since after the aforementioned early examples, the adorants cease to be depicted. Scholarly opinion sees this change as a result of a rejection of the depiction of the hero – as an eastern ruler which may have been too elaborate for

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[69] Salapata, 1992, 503-4, n.378.

[70] Comparative material points to influence from Ionia, such as the drapery and the anthemion on the throne of the Lakonian reliefs (Salapata 1992, 489-90). The pointed shoes of the seated woman on the Chrysapha relief are found in monuments of Ionia and Etruria. See, for example, the figures on the west side of the Harpy tomb and that of Dionysus on a Lokrian relief which have similar shoes (Dressel and Milchhöfer 1877, 460, n.1; Prückner 1968, pl. 29.5). During the sixth-century B.C., Sparta had an alliance with king Kroisos, and Ionian artists, such as Theodoros of Samos, worked in Sparta, where he built the Skias (the assembly place – Paus. 3.12.10). Sparta had commercial relationships with Samos and other Ionian cities, which may explain the diffusion of the iconography during the sixth-century in Lakonian art (see *supra* n.63). Reliefs depicting a dog with the deceased also originated in Ionia, and were possibly an inspiration for some of the Lakonian reliefs depicting a dog, see *supra* n.31.

[71] The same observation is made my Mylonopoulos (2006, 74) for the procession of worshippers in front of a statue of a divinity on Attic vases of the Archaic period.

[72] Tod and Wace 1906, 104, fig. 2; Kyrieleis 1969, pl. 23.1.

[73] For the left or right arm raised in a forty-five degree angle as a gesture on Attic vase-painting see McNiven (1982, 80-2; 123-5). It occurs in scenes of address (conversation, departure, prayer), encouragement, attention and alarm (idem).

[74] Athens, National Museum 3120; Wace and Hasluck 1904-5, 86, pl. 3; Stibbe 1991, 23, fig. 26, no. H9.

Greek taste.[75] In any case, the composition of the reliefs becomes simpler because the imagery consists of only the seated couple (FIG. 26) Nonetheless, there is one example of a terracotta relief from the deposit on Stauffert Street (site **C**) where a male is approached by adorants. He is enthroned and in front of him are three diminutive figures; the one to the left is steps forward with one arm bent and raised (FIG. 37).[76] On a relief from the Amyklai deposit (site **A**) and dated after the fourth-century, a seated man holding a staff and touching an altar is approached by a line of five adorants.[77]

By the early fifth-century very few stone reliefs depict a seated couple as the female figure seated next to the male is dropped from the composition. Instead a lone seated male holding a kantharos is rendered while either a female attendant stands in an *anakalypteria* gesture or a woman holds a tray with offerings or pours an oinochoe in front of the seated man (FIG. 28).[78] The composition was copied by the terracotta relief makers, and became very popular (FIGS. 30, 38).[79] Scholars see an Attic inspiration for this iconography, particularly from vase painting where a female such as Nike or Hebe would pour liquid into the vessel of a standing or seated god or hero.[80] This iconographical composition later depicted a boy as an oinochoos. Again, this was probably inspired by Attic art which often depicted a boy filling Dionysos' kantharos.[81]

The reason for the omission of the female figure seated next to the male is difficult to discern. Hibler proposes that the iconography changed because by the early fifth-century the subject of heroisation in Sparta changed because Sparta developed cults for individuals who died in recent battles.[82] But, as argued in chapter four, evidence for the heroisation of the Persian-war dead is not demonstrable. Moreover, although the seated couple ceases to appear on extant stone reliefs after the first half of the fifth-century B.C., the motif reappears in the latter half of the fifth-century, this time on a few terracotta reliefs from Amyklai (site **A**, chapter six) (FIG. 32) and from the 'Heroon by the Eurotas' (site **B**, chapter six).[83] It is more probable that the sixth-century stone reliefs with the seated couple probably follow an iconographical formula of a hero with his consort but by the fifth-century, as with other types of Greek art, the motif may have become ‘free’ from the Archaic formulas of Greek sculpture.[84] The sculptors then chose to represent the gender of the dedicatees in Sparta. In other words, the recipients of cult were mostly males and not females, which is why we only see males in other votive terracotta reliefs of the fifth, fourth and third centuries e.g., the warrior, the rider, and the banqueter. The hero then was depicted alone because the cult was dedicated to him alone. The reason why we see the seated couple reappearing on terracotta reliefs from the deposit of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra is because the cult there was centred around a couple. In the same deposit we see the rare example of the lone female probably depicting Alexandra/Kassandra (FIG. 31).

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[75] Salapata 1992, 449-50.

[76] Sparta Museum 13469 (Flouris 2000, 55, 105, pl. 86). See also an example from Messenia in Salapata 1992, 394, no. R31; Themelis 2000, 21, fig. 17L 70. Another relief with two worshippers of the fourth-century or later is reported in Tod and Wace (1906, fig. 9) and Andronikos (1956, 298).

[77] *ArchDelt* 17 (B1), 85, pl. 94γ.

[78] Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Museum no. 423; Fürtwangler 1883, 364-71; Tod and Wace 1906, 111-12, fig. 13; Fitzhardinge 1980, 85, fig. 99; Andronikos 1956, 286-87; Stibbe 1991, fig. 15.

[79] Salapata 1992, 456.

[80] Salapata 1992, 455, n.206 for references and examples. This representation became particularly popular and was used for scenes of warrior departure and also appeared later on votive and grave reliefs.

[81] Salapata 1992, 456-57, n.212 for examples.

[82] Hibler 1993, 202.

[83] Salapata 1992, 378-79.

From this discussion of the iconographical elements of the heroic reliefs, we can trace the changes in iconography over time and glean the attitudes towards the heroes. During the sixth-century, stone reliefs bore elements, such as the enthroned male and the approaching adorants; a representation of the hero, borrowed from Near-Eastern ruler motifs, as a ‘grand-lord of the past’. The early reliefs also demonstrate the familiarity and intimacy of the heroes to the worshippers by the unusual depiction of adorants bringing offering to the heroic couple; the presence of the hero in the same plane as the adorants illustrates a direct communication between them. The adorants were dropped from the composition but the closeness of the hero to the worshipers reappears nonetheless with the terracotta reliefs that depict worshippers in triads, many with offerings to the hero FIGS. 41, 44) (see below).

The figure on the reliefs seated on his own has the status that suits a powerful figure from the past – a hero. The adorants may be dropped from the imagery but the grand nature of the figure remains: he is enthroned, sometimes with a staff, a horse protome or a dog, sometimes an attendant pours liquid into his kantharos, or he himself holds a phiale. The snake in the background completes the composition.

5.1.2. ***Terracotta reliefs with subjects absent from stone reliefs.***

Apart from the terracotta reliefs, whose iconography resembles that of the stone reliefs, other reliefs carrying different iconography were discovered in the same deposits. These reliefs were also dedicated to heroes because none were found in any divine sanctuary and most were discovered at the deposit dedicated to Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra. Their examination will provide us with information regarding their imagery and possibly the way the worshippers perceived their heroes.

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[84] The rigidy, stylization, and frontality of Archaic Greek sculpture and the gradual change to a freer style have been noted (Boardman 1978, 111; Stewart 1992, 112, 127; Donohue 2005, 106). On the freedom of expression of narrative and composition by the end of the sixth-century see Stewart 1992, 113.

5.1.2.a. *Standing Couples*

Terracotta reliefs, of the late-sixth and fifth-century B.C., depicting standing couples have been discovered predominantly at Amyklai. Salapata divides their depictions into three categories:[85] 1) females with a raised hand holding a painted wreath, (now missing) towards a male. 2) the same composition with a wreath rendered in relief (FIG. 39). 3) a male and female holding either wreaths or fruit stand side by side frontally (FIG. 47).[86]

The interpretation of the figures relies largely on their find-spot at the deposit at Amyklai. Since the deposit found at Amyklai is dedicated to Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra, the two figures of the reliefs of categories 1 and 2 may represent the couple worshipped in the sanctuary.[87] The male is possibly an honoured figure (Agamemnon), with the female being his consort (Alexandra/Kassandra) or an attendant offering him a wreath. Alternatively, the frontally standing couple may also represent worshippers bringing gifts to the hero. Similar imagery is evident on the early stone reliefs that render a procession of worshippers (FIGS. 21, 25) and on later terracotta reliefs that depict triads of worshippers (FIGS. 41-44) (see section 5.1.2.c).

5.1.2.b. *The Warrior*

During the second half of the fifth-century B.C., terracotta reliefs bearing depictions of warriors became popular as votives in Sparta. These reliefs depict an attacking warrior with a snake in the field or a standing warrior with a spear or a shield or both, sometimes with a shield hanging in the background (FIG. 24). Reliefs of this type have been found at the Amyklai deposit (site **A**), the Chatzis plot (site **I**), and at Corinth, where the single example has the same mould as those from the Chatzis plot. Other examples may exist but since the publication of most deposits is pending, we do not know.[88] The iconography on the Lakonian reliefs may have been influenced by the striding warrior motif, which became common for the depiction of heroes in Attic art in both vase painting and sculpture in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.[89] By the end of the fifth-century Lakonian art depicting warriors on the terracotta reliefs, was probably influenced by Attic art.

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[85] Salapata (1992, 272-5) includes a forth category of reliefs, two Daedalic reliefs from the sanctuary of Orthia. These depict a couple facing each other with their outer hands jointly holding a wreath and their inner hands probably clasped. Both wear *poloi* while the woman has a long dress and the man a loin cloth (Dawkins, *Orthia,* 207-8, pls. XCVIV, XCVIII). I do not include these in the discussion both because of their find-spot and their much earlier (Daedalic) date. This iconography is not unusual at the Orhia sanctuary because it is already seen on seventh-century ivory reliefs (Dawkins, *Orthia*, 208, pl. XCVII.2; Marangou 1969, 27, no. 10; Carter 1987, 381-2; 1988, 94-5).

[86] Salapata 1992, 272-5, pls. 16d-h, 17a-f.

[87] From the same deposit comes a black-figure sherd, dated to the fifth-century, showing two standing figures facing each other. The male wears an ankle-long chiton and himation; the female also wears an ankle-long garment. She extends her left hand in which she holds a wreath; in her right hand she holds a ribbon to which is tied the wreath (Sparta Museum 6114; Salapata 1992, 276, pl. 17i).

[88] Salapata 1992, 283; 1997.

[89] This became a popular around 470-460 B.C. and soon was adapted by vase painters. See Barron 1972, 35-40.

However, an important difference from the depiction of Attic heroes was the presence of a snake on the Lakonian terracotta reliefs depicting warriors.[90] The snake appears on other Lakonian heroic reliefs, such as those depicting the seated hero. Its presence on the warrior reliefs, as on others is interpreted to 'specify and accentuate the heroic character of the figure'.[91]

The image of the hero as a warrior was certainly common in Greek thought and many examples are attested in both vase painting and written descriptions of epiphanies of heroes at battles.[92] In Lakonian art we have depictions of heroes as warriors such as a fully armed Achilles in two vase paintings of the ambush of Troilos.[93] Even Herakles is usually shown as a warrior in sixth-century Lakonian art (FIG. 40).[94] Literary sources attests of Theseus fighting at Marathon with the Athenians while Echetlaios, a local Athenian hero, also fought there with a plough (Plut. *Thes.* 35.5). In another example Phylakos and Autonoos, two local heroes of Delphi, fought against the Persian invasion to protect Delphi (Hdt. 8.38-9), and Achilles and the heroes of the Trojan War are evoked in Simonides' Hymn to the fallen of Plataia.[95] The Locrians reserved a position in their ranks for Aias to fight with them (Paus. 3.19.12), while both Telamon and Aias were invoked before the battle of Salamis (Hdt. 8.64). More importantly for our purposes, the Dioskouroi and Helen appeared as ghosts in order to defend Sparta against Aristomenes of Messene (Paus. 4.16.9). The Dioskouroi also allegedly helped Lysander during the naval battle at Aigospotami by shining like stars on the ship (Plut. *Lys.* 12.1). Lastly, the Dioskouroi may have appeared during the battle of Salamis because three golden stars were dedicated by the Aiginitans at Delphi on a bronze mast (Hdt. 8.122).[96] We can speculate then, that in the fifth-century the perception of the hero-warrior was probably influenced by the Persian Wars which must have accentuated the heroic ideals of the battlefield and consequently the military aspects of heroes. The warrior-hero would have been especially appealing for post-Persian War Sparta and this may explain the commencement of the warrior imagery on the terracotta reliefs which began in the second half of the fifth-century B.C.

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[90] Salapata 1992, 288. See one example of a Lakonian vase of Theseus and ambush of Troilos where a snake is depicted in the foreground (Samos, Archaeological Museum 1600, Pipili 1987, 28, fig. 43, no. 85). The snake in combination with armour as a heroic votive is found at Corinth on the so called 'snake stele,' which is crowned with a helmet on top (dating from the Classical and Hellenistic periods – Salapata 1997, 253, n.63-4). It also appears at the Spartan colony of Taras where terracotta votive reliefs appear with a stele topped with a frontal helmet (these date from the fourth-century B.C. – Bartoccini 1936, 167, fig. 79). See also examples in Hurwit (2006, 122-6) where on a number of vases the lizard is present in the field of battle, fight or hunt and is interpreted sometimes as an omen for disaster or has an apotropaic function (idem, 128, 130).

[91] Salapata 1992, 289.

[92] Pritchett 1979, 11-46.

[93] Pipili 1987, 27-8, nos. 82-6, figs. 42-3. Warrior lead figurines were already seen in the period of Lakonian II (610-575 B.C.) but there is nothing 'heroic' in their iconography, i.e., they lack the attributes that would identify them as heroes (see *supra* p. 43).

[94] Pipili 1987, 1, 13, nos. 1, 7, 24, 25.

[95] Hedreen 2009, 39. See also §4.3.3.b.

[96] For the epiphany of the Dioskouroi see Pritchett 1979, 25.

5.1.2.c. *Standing Triads*

The standing triads on terracotta reliefs that appear in the fourth-century B.C. are rendered in several variations: some show figures standing side by side (FIG. 41) or raising one arm, while others dancing while hold hands (FIG. 42) or wreaths (FIG. 43). A few examples depict standing frontal figures flanked by snakes (FIG. 44).[97] The interpretation and identification of the figures is difficult because the rendering on the reliefs is quite schematic, and any attributes that may have been painted in do not survive.[98] The identification of the figures has been studied by identifying triads in Greek art and myth, usually associated with semi-divine characters, such as the Horai, Charites and Hesperides.[99] Since, however, we know that the Lakonians worshipped only two Horai and two Charites, these possibilities have to be excluded (Paus. 3.18.6, 14.6).[100] Salapata proposes that they depict worshippers on the basis of comparisons with fourth-century reliefs found by the tholos tomb at Voidokilia (Messenia). Here, among other typical heroic reliefs (enthroned figures, riders, warriors and banqueters) was one example relief depicting three female figures, walking and carrying offerings, and another where their right hands are raised in a gesture of adoration.[101] The figures on the Lakonian reliefs should therefore be looked at in that light: figures bring wreaths or other gifts to the hero, probably for a festive occasion. Salapata proposed that the reliefs decorated with the triads should be interpreted in the same way as the worshippers portrayed on the early stone reliefs (FIGS. 21, 25) and suggests that they could have even been displayed next to the reliefs of the seated hero in order to achieve the same effect. The dancing triads on some of the reliefs may also be worshippers performing a ritual dance.[102] Although Salapata's reading of the figures is possible, I am puzzled by her interpretation that the triads are composed entirely of females. Long garments are worn by males, such as Zeus, in Lakonian vase painting (FIG. 45),[103] and beards could have been added in paint. We have also seen long garments worn by the heroes themselves on a number of the reliefs (FIGS. 21, 22, 25, 26, 37). On those reliefs depicting a standing couple (above, 2.3.1), the figures also wear long garments but one figure is clearly male (FIG. 39). Moreover, if we analyse the standing triads in parallel with the worshippers on the early stone reliefs (FIGS. 21, 25) then it is clear that there is no reason why we cannot have both male and female worshippers wearing long garments.

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[97] Salapata 1992, 235-72; 2009, 325-8.

[98] Salapata 2002b, 21-2. For standing triads from the Menelaion see *supra* n.25.

[99] Salapata 2009.

[100] Salapata 2009, 332.

[101] Korres 1988, 319, fig. 14.

[102] Alkman's *Patheneion* demonstrates that dancing and singing were important activities in Sparta (Constantinidou 1998, 15-23; Calame 2001, 2, 227-34; Flower 2009, 207-10). Three females hold hands and probably dance in front of a seated woman, most likely Persephone, on a Lokrian relief (Prückner 1968, 65-6, pl. 11.1; Salapata 2009, n.20).

[103] See also the male figure from a sherd from the deposit of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra, *supra* n.86. Also of note are four examples of a seated Zeus on Lakonian vases depicting him enthroned and wearing a long garment: 1) Paris, Musée du Louvre E 668; Stibbe 1972, 31, pl. 15.3; 2) Tocra Museum 932; Pipili 1987, 46, no. 131, fig. 70; 3) Kassel, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung T 354; Pipili 1987, 47, no. 132, fig. 71; 4) Munich, Antikensammlungen 384; Pipili 1987, 48, no. 133, fig. 72.

Lastly, some fragmentary examples, from the deposit of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra in Amyklai show a triad flanked by snakes. Salapata interprets the figures as the Erinyes who, as ministers of divine justice, were present at the sanctuary to avenge the murders of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra.[104] Lakonian art and particularly objects from the Orthia sanctuary, offer examples of a female figure flanked by snakes.[105] Salapata regards these figures as representing the chthonic aspect of Orthia and considers the Erinyes in a similar light as chthonic divinities who are avenging agents of the dead.[106] However, the snake in Lakonian stone and terracotta relief reliefs recurs repeatedly as a heroic attribute and should be read as such on these reliefs from Amyklai. In addition, one terracotta relief from the Chatzis plot (site **I**) depicts standing figures with snakes on each side and a second fragmentary relief, from the same deposit, shows a standing figure (with perhaps a second adjacent to it) next to a snake (FIG. 47).[107] Moreover, snakes may have been rendered in paint on other reliefs of standing figures elsewhere, so this scheme is not only associated with the Amyklai deposit. Since the standing figures are seen to be worshippers by Salapata it is likely that the use of snakes denotes that the figures are standing in the realm of the hero.

5.1.2.d. *The Rider*

Solitary riders appear on Lakonian terracotta reliefs from the second half of the fourth-century B.C.[108] In her study of votive reliefs Salapata categorizes them by composition: 1) an armed or unarmed rider on a galloping or prancing horse (FIG. 46); 2) an unarmed rider on a moving or standing horse; 3) a rider dismounting from a horse.[109] A snake also appears on these reliefs, thus confirming the identity of the rider as a hero. Our purpose here is not to trace and discuss the iconography, which has been done by Salapata, but to make a few observations that are relevant to our discussion of heroic imagery in Lakonia.

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[104] Salapata's (2009, 336) argument is based on comparative iconography of the Erinyes from a group of Hellenistic stone reliefs from Argos. These depict three standing females holding a snake or snakes and poppies in each hand. Dedicatory inscriptions to the Eumenides are inscribed on three of these.

[105] Dawkins, *Orthia* pl. 93.2.

[106] Salapata 2009, 335-6. See also Burr (1933, 637-9) and D' Onofrio (2001, 306, fig. 26) for an example of a female figure flanked by snakes, on a seventh-century terracotta from the Athenian Agora.

[107] *ArchDelt* 29 (B2), pl. 185γ.

[108] Some sixth-century Lakonian kylikes depict riders, who have been interpreted as representing heroised dead (Stibbe 1974, 31) but others see them as generic riders, possibly celebrating a festival, such as the Hyakinthia, or mythical heroes (Pipili 1987, 76).

[109] Salapata 1992, 295-327.

The motif of the rider in Greek art dates back to the Geometric period,[110] and in general, the depiction of a horse in Greek iconography has been understood as a representation of aristocratic status and power.[111] The connection of a rider with heroic iconography is evident from Aineias Taktikos (31.15) who describes the conveyance of a secret message on a wooden votive tablet painted with a horseman that was destined for a hero shrine (πινάκιον ἡρωϊκὸν). Examples of terracotta reliefs dedicated to heroes and depicting riders first appear in Corinth in the sixth-century B.C.[112] From the Classical period onwards the rider is found depicted on heroic votive reliefs of a banquet[113] and by the fourth-century the rider reliefs became common votives to heroes[114] particularly at Krete and Troy.[115] As with the banquet reliefs, other attributes are sometimes present, such as a female and the depiction of the hero or heroine performing a libation.[116] Often the rider is armed with a spear, a helmet and a corselet, which reflect his military role, as was the case with the warrior reliefs.[117] By the third-century B.C. a horse was represented on the grave stelai of the heroised dead in order to define them as heroes.[118]

The popularity and importance of rider reliefs in fourth-century Sparta may be explained by the fact that already by the fifth-century horse breeding for the military and competitions seems to have become popular in Sparta.[119] In particular, the strong association of horses and the military in Sparta comes from the period after the Persian wars, when, according to Pausanias, the Lakedaimonians became the most ambitious of all Greeks in the breeding of horses (6.1.7).[120]

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[110] There also earlier examples from the Bronze Age. See Voyatzis 1992, 259.

[111] Dentzer 1982, 492.

[112] Broneer 1942, 148, fig. 7; Stillwell 1952, 140-41.

[113] Mitropoulou 1975, 11-30; Langefass-Vuduroglu 1973, 67-79; Dentzer 1982, 492-93; Salapata 1992, 314, n.211.

[114] Robinson 1906, 166, pl. XII. 17.

[115] Rider reliefs at the shrine of Glaukos at Knossos: Callaghan 1978, 21-22, pl. 9. At Troy: Barr 1996; Lawall 2003, 97-9.

[116] van Straten 1995, 93.

[117] Salapata 1992, 315

[118] Dentzer 1982, 429-52; Larson 1995, 43-53; Palagia 2003, 144, 146.

[119] On a few of the Lakonian reliefs, particularly from Amyklai (site **A**, chapter six) and the Heroon (site **B**, chapter six), the rider appears to be hunting a small animal, a hare or a small deer (Salapata 1992, 318, pl. 25). Hunting on horseback is first seen on sixth-century vases (Anderson 1961, 100 pl. 30b; Barringer 2001, 17-8, figs.1-2) but soon stopped. It resumed again on fourth-century vase painting (Anderson 1961, 100-101; Langerfass-Vuduroglu, 1973, 37). The connection of the rider and the hunt is given to us by Xenophon who explains that the hunt was good training for warriors (*hipp*. 8.10; *Kyr*. 1.18) and the association of the two activities in especially noticeable in Attic iconography (Barringer 2001, 15-32, 42-3). The Spartan aristocracy was particularly keen on hunting and owning horses (see below), and these activities were enjoyed by Spartan kings (Xen.*Hell.* 5.30. 20; Plut. *Ages.* 25) but also by Greek aristocrats in general (Barringer 2001, 43-6).

Votive reliefs dedicated to heroes from the fifth-century B.C. depict heroes as hunters, a scheme that became particularly popular in the end of the fourth-century B.C. (Salapata 1992, 319). Because the rider reliefs appeared in Sparta in the fourth-century, it is reasonable to assume that the artists followed the iconography for heroes from elsewhere as with the reliefs depicting riders.

[120] It is important to stress a number of panathenaic vases of the sixth-century B.C. won at equestrian events were dedicated at the Menelaion and the temple of Athena Chalkioikos (*supra* p. 44, n.77) so the equestrian competition must have been earlier than the late-fifth or early fourth-century B.C.

Hodkinson proposes that this interest was stimulated by the distribution of captured Persian horses among the army after the battle of Plataia (Hdt. 9.8.1).[121] Further evidence of horse breeding comes from the Damonon stele (ca. 440-430 B.C.) dedicated to Athena where Damonon records forty-seven four-horse race and twenty-one horse race victories by himself and his son in Lakonia and Messenia over a period of at least twelve years (*IG* V 1.213).[122] Because Jeffery dates the stele to the early fourth-century, under king Agesilaos II, the alternative date may reflect the growing popularity of horse breeding by aristocrats in the fourth-century:[123] Xenophon tells us that Agesilaos criticised chariot racing, arguing that such victories were a matter of wealth and not of manly virtue (*Ages.* 9.6).[124] Hodkinson believes that behind Agesilaos' disapproval of chariot-horse breeding and personal promotion was the threat to his own prestige by other aristocrats.[125] To this threat he responded not by rearing horses himself but by rearing horses for the army which resulted in a cavalry, some six-hundred strong, which was a regular part of the army and the horses were provided by rich aristocrats.[126] The image, therefore, of the rich aristocrat owning horses either for fighting or competition, which is demonstrable in fourth-century Sparta, would be suitable for the young heroes depicted on the reliefs whose imagery also became popular in Sparta in the fourth-century.[127]

The category of the rider-dismounting reliefs appear so far only at the deposit of Amyklai (site **A**) and at the Spartan colony of Taras.[128] Salapata associates these reliefs with games of the *anabatai* or *apobatai* attested in different areas of the Greek world.[129] It is possible, although not demonstrable, that the iconography of the rider/dismounter is connected with games conducted in honour of heroes in Sparta. Moreover, since these reliefs were found at the deposit at Amyklai, they may be in association with games in honour of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra.

5.1.2.e. *The Banqueter*

The Lakonian terracotta reliefs that depict a banqueter begin in the second half of the fourth-century B.C. and continue into the third-century B.C. The composition is comprised of a male depicted frontally reclining alone on a couch, leaning with his left arm and holding a phiale with his right hand. He is un-bearded, and his lower body is wrapped in a himation, leaving his upper torso bare. In front of the couch is a table supplied with drinking cups and food (FIG. 48). With one possible exception there are no snakes present in this type of relief.[130]

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[121] Hodkinson 1999, 97.

[122] Sweet 1987, 145-6; Hodkinson 2000, 302-307.

[123] *LSAG*^{2}, 191 bases this date on the style of the relief and the letter forms.

[124] *LSAG*^{2}, 191.

[125] Thuk. 4.55; Xen.*Ages.*9.6; Hodkinson 1999, 99. Agesilaos urged his sister Kyniska to compete in order to prove that winning in chariot competitions was a matter of wealth. Kyniska, famously won at Olympia in 396 and 392 B.C. (Paus. 5.12.5; 6.1.6). She then had a bronze horse and statue group with an inscription declaring that she was the first female to win the wreath in the chariot events at the Olympic Games (*IG* V 1.1564a).

[126] Hodkinson 1999, 99.

[127] For equestrian events during the Hyakinthia and the participation of the elite *paides*, see Ducat 2006, 263-4.

[128] Salapata 1992, 320.

[129] Salapata 1992, 320-26.

The motif of a man reclining at a banquet was imported to the Greek mainland during the sixth-century from the East where it was a common element in dynastic iconography.[131] One difference between the eastern and Greek banquet depictions is the number of banqueters: the Greek examples have several banqueters while the eastern reliefs have a solitary diner.[132] Lone reclining figures accompanied by one or more attendants begin to appear on Greek banqueting reliefs at the end of the sixth-century, and this figure may, as some scholars argue, signify a hero or divinity.[133] It has been suggested that the Greeks have adopted and adapted Eastern royal iconography to express the power of their gods and heroes[134] and we see the first stone relief with a banqueter motif appearing in Tegea around 520 B.C.: a male reclines on a couch while a woman sits on a throne; she holds a flower in one hand as she draws her veil in an *anakalypteria* gesture with the other. A youth with an oinochoe in his hand stands between them.[135] A relief from Paros (ca. 500 B.C.) depicts a seated woman with on the couch nearby a reclining man and an attendant standing behind him,[136] while another from Thasos (ca. 460 B.C.) has a similar composition.[137] During the late fifth-century horizontally elongated reliefs that depict a reclining banqueter holding a phiale or a rhython while a seated woman accompanies the banqueter on the couch appeared in Attica. Here we also see adorants, a snake, a horse protome and weapons, but never inscriptions.[138] This 'Typus für Heroendarstellungen' became especially popular in fourth-century Attic iconography from which it spread throughout the Greek world.[139] The iconography, which often included a table (τϱάπεζα) with food offerings, depicts the hero at the *theoxenia*, a meal in honour of the hero (FIG. 49).[140]

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[130] Salapata 1992, 328-9.
[131] Dentzer 1982, 51-60, figs. 89-91.
[132] Dentzer (1982, 79-80) speculates that the iconographical scheme may have been conditioned by the circular shape of the vases. The first sculpture representing a group of banqueters appears during the second half of the sixth-century. See the terracotta frieze from Larissa on the Hermos (idem 232-5, fig. 320) and the stone frieze from Assos of around 530 B.C. (idem, 235-37, fig. 130).
[133] Carpenter 1986, 115-6.
[134] Effenberger 1972, 143-4; Dentzer 1982, 153.
[135] Athens, National Museum no. 55, Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 97-98; Dentzer 1982, 252-62, fig. 512 with references; 6.1; Salapata 1992, 336 n.286.
[136] Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 73, pls. 3-4, no. 33; Dentzer 1982, 253-54, figs. 536-39.
[137] Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 73, pl. 5, no. 34. Dentzer (1982, 253-54, 260-1, figs. 536-39) argues that the figures on the Paros and Thasos reliefs refer to mortals, not heroes, due to the absence of the snake and the horse.
[138] Dentzer 1982, 17; van Straten 1995, 94; *ThesCRA* I, 143-4. When ordinary dead were heroised during the Hellenistic period, they were mentioned as heroes in inscriptions (Salapata 1992, 353, 551-2; *ThesCRA* I, 143).
[139] *ThesCRA* I, 143. During the fourth-century, funerary stelai with a banqueter also appear. The difference between the votive and the funerary stelai however, lies in the design of the stele. The funerary ones were long and slim as opposed to the votive ones which were longer horizontally. Moreover, there are no adorants, snake or horse protome on the funerary stelai and inscriptions are always provided (Rhomaios 1914, 211; Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 58-62; Dentzer 1982, 529-40; Salapata 1992, 339-41).

The dedication of terracotta reliefs depicting a banqueter which commences in Sparta in the fourth-century reflects the custom of dedicating such reliefs in many areas of the Greek world; a custom which existed from the end of the sixth-century. It is true that the banqueter does not appear among the Lakonian motifs until the fourth-century but, as Salapata argues, this may be because the scene of the seated man with a kantharos, although different, may have assumed a comparable function for the Lakonians.[141]

5.2. The Iconography of heroes in Lakonia

The terracotta and stone reliefs form a body of material dedicated to heroes in Lakonia. It is evident that the iconography of these reliefs, by and large, makes it impossible to identify the recipients of cult since attributes, inscriptions or mythological scenes from a heroic repertoire are absent. This is not because Lakonians were unfamiliar with heroic imagery: seventh-century ivories from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia portray some heroic imagery while sixth-century Lakonian vases demonstrate that scenes from heroic legends were familiar in Lakonia. The following section briefly examines heroic iconography on ivories, vase painting, and the Dioskouroi reliefs and compares it with that of the terracotta reliefs.

5.2.1.*The Lakonian Ivories*[142]

The ivories from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia demonstrate that Sparta, was one of the primary schools of ivory carving in the Greek world during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.[143] By and large, the early ivories offer few identifiable figures; instead, the most common depictions are of Potnia,[144] winged goddesses, and two figures standing between the ‘tree of life’.[145] However, a number of ivories from the late seventh and early sixth-centuries depict scenes from the Greek mythological repertoire: Herakles fights the centaur Nessos on one and the Hydra on the other.[146] Other Spartan ivory reliefs depict Perseus, Prometheus, Ajax and the Judgment of

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[140] The *theoxenia* were not, however, exclusively for heroes; a number of divinities also enjoyed this offering (Verbanck-Piérard 1992, 91-2, 96; Jameson 1994, 38, 42; van Straten 1995, 94; Ekroth 2002, 177-9, 280-6).

[141] Salapata 1992, 353.

[142] For Lakonian ivories see Dawkins, *Orthia* 203- 48; Marangou 1969; Carter 1984, 118-57; Kopanias 2009, 123-31.

[143] Carter 1984, 287. It is important to mention that not all scholars accept that the Lakonian ivories were locally made (Pipili 1987, 84; Boardman 1992, 25). This is because the subject matter of the ivories differs greatly from sixth-century Lakonian vase painting (§5.2.2).

[144] Potnia is not commonly considered one particular deity but an epithet applied to many, such as Aphrodite, Demeter and even mortal women but most commonly associated with Artemis. The iconographic representation of Pontia is that of a female between two animals, either real or fantastic or with one animal (*LIMC* VIII. I. 1021-7).

[145] Dawkins, *Orthia*, 205-8, pls. XCI 1-2, XCII 1-2, XVCIII 1-3; Marangou 1969, 9-13, nos. 1-4, figs. 1-3, 6-7; Carter 1984, pls. 23-5, 32.

[146] Nessos: Dawkins, *Orthia*, 210, pl. 101; Marangou 1969, 54-8, no. 25, fig. 41; Pipili 1987, 120, no. 2. Hydra: Dawkins, *Orthia*, 210, pl. 103.1; Marangou 1969, 63-7, no. 31, figs. 46-7; Pipili 1987, 120, no. 1. Herakles' popularity

Paris.[147] Some ivories may show mythological subjects but their identification is uncertain, such as the abduction of Helen (FIG. 13) or Achilles dragging the body of Hector.[148] Nothing from the iconographical rendition of these heroic subjects alludes to the imagery of the heroes depicted on the Archaic and Classical stone and terracotta reliefs.[149]

Ivory sculpture in the round may be more promising: a large number of enthroned figures, both solitary and in pairs, were discovered at the sanctuary of Orthia.[150] Most of them remain unpublished. Of single seated figures in one published example, we can see an elaborate throne and a Daedalic type figure with a long dress, presumably a female.[151] The enthroned pairs are allusive: one example has two Daedalic-style figures seated side by side on an elaborate throne underneath which are two animals.[152] The figures wear long embroidered dresses, rest their inner hands on their knees and clasp their outer hands (FIG. 50). Dawkins identifies them as two males without explanation.[153] Poulsen sees all the ivory seated pairs as representations of Orthia and Eileithyia because of the Archaic votives dedicated to Eileithyia found at the sanctuary and therefore, argues that Eileithyia would be worshipped together with Orthia.[154] No interpretation provides a satisfactory answer, but considering the long garments worn by both figures it is probable that the two figures are female and Orthia and Eileithyia are possible candidates.[155] In any case, the enthroned pair is far removed from the iconographical scheme of the stone and terracotta reliefs.

5.2.2. *Lakonian vase painting*

The sixth-century saw the peak of Lakonian vase production. After relief sculpture it is vase painting which constitutes the next largest body of evidence for heroic iconography. Lakonian vases paintings depict a large number of mythological scenes and a rich array of heroes. Herakles

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is evident also in vase painting (see *infra* §5.2.2).

[147] Perseus: Dawkins, *Orthia,* 213, pl. 106.1; Marangou 1969, 72-6, no. 34, figs. 55-6; Pipili 1987, 120, no. 3-4. Prometheus: Dawkins, *Orthia,* 209-10, pl. 100. 1; Marangou 1969, 54-8, no. 26, fig. 43; Pipili 1987, 120, no. 5. Judgment of Paris: Dawkins, *Orthia,* 233, pl. 127; Marangou 1969, 97-8, no. 47; Pipili 1987, 120, no. 6. Ajax: Dawkins, *Orthia,* 223, pl. 130. 1; Marangou 1969, 94, 101, no. 40, fig. 69A; Pipili 1987, 120, no. 7.

[148] Dawkins, *Orthia*, pls. 104.1, 102, 109-10. Achilles dragging the body of Hector: Dawkins, *Orthia*, 223, pl. 130. 2; Marangou 1969, 94-5, fig. 73b. The abduction of Helen: Dawkins, *Orthia,* 214, pl. 110; Marangou 1969, 83-90, no. 38, fig. 68; *LIMC* I. I. 509-10, no. 57.

[149] There are nonetheless a few examples of dyads and triads on ivory reliefs which are also found on the terracotta reliefs. See Dawkins, *Orthia,* 207-8, pl. XCV; XCVI 1. The figures on these terracotta reliefs are commonly interpreted as worshippers (Salapata 2009, 332-5), so I assume that the figures depicted on the ivory reliefs follow the same interpretation.

[150] Dawkins, *Orthia,* 220, pl. CXXIII 6; Marangou 1969, 136-7, fig. 112 a-c.

[151] For the long dress as indication of females in Daedalic figurines see Harrison, E. (1977, 37) and more recently Donohue (2005, 207-8) with references.

[152] Marangou 1969, 136.

[153] Dawkins, *Orthia*, 221.

[154] Dawkins, *Orthia*, 50-1.

[155] See *supra* n.151.

is especially common, and he is usually depicted as a warrior (FIG. 40).[156] His popularity is to be expected considering that the Spartan kings were thought to be descendants of the Herakleidai.[157] Other frequent sixth-century subjects are Perseus, the Boreads and Harpies, Bellerophon and the Chimera, the Calydonian Boar Hunt, the Seven against Thebes, Admetos capturing the lion, and the Ambush of Troilos.[158] Pipili comes to the conclusion that the subject matter of most Lakonian sixth-century vase painting was based on the Boiotian-Thessalian epic cycle.[159]

There is little evidence that the iconography found on vase painting bears any resemblance to that of votive reliefs, except from the examples of enthrones figures and worshippers discussed above (§5.1.). Some vases depict a rider surrounded by winged 'daimons' (FIG. 51). The imagery of the rider has prompted scholars to argue that the figure represents a hero.[160] This view is rejected by Pipili because the riders are not named and have no attributes. Apart from the Dioskouroi, who usually are presented as a pair and not individually, no other hero has a horse as his attribute in Lakonian iconography.[161] Moreover, in Lakonian vase painting, the winged 'daimons' are seen surrounding Orthia.[162] Therefore, Pipili proposes that the rider is a mortal in a religious setting, such as a procession for the Hyakinthia.[163]

5.2.3. *The Dioskouroi Reliefs*

It is important here to talk about another type of votive relief from Sparta dedicated to heroes whose attributes help the viewer identify the recipient: the reliefs dedicated to the Dioskouroi. The twin heroes were closely linked to Sparta: they were legendary princes of the land, brothers of Helen and sons of the king Tyndareos.[164] Their cult was probably of state importance because as we know their images were carried into battle and accompanied the king (Hdt. 5.75). In his description of Sparta, Pausanias recorded six places where the Dioskouroi were worshipped (3.13.1, 13.6, 14.6, 20.1-2) but unfortunately no remains have been found to confirm any of these sanctuaries or shrines.[165] Rather, their importance is clearly revealed to us in about fifty reliefs dedicated to the twins ten of which date to the Archaic and Classical periods.[166] The identification of these reliefs as dedications to the Dioskouroi is confirmed by inscriptions and/or iconography. The twins are usually represented on the reliefs together, often holding spears (FIG. 52). Two amphorae sometimes stand between them (FIG. 53); sometimes the amphorae stand alone and so represent the twins *in absentia* (FIG. 54).[167] On other occasions, the peculiar *dokana* (two wooden beams connected together at the top) are present in the iconography of the twins (FIG. 55) but other times, as with the amphorae, twins are absent and the *dokana* represent the twins (FIG. 55).[168] Two snakes also appear on some of these reliefs (FIGS. 52, 53, 55). The imagery described above is rendered only for the Dioskouroi and only on reliefs, never in vase painting. The less costly terracotta relief are also never used for this imagery. It appears, therefore, that we have a distinct imagery used to symbolise the Dioskouroi, just as is the case with the heroic reliefs. However, unlike the heroic stone and terracotta reliefs on which we have little or no individual attributes of specific heroes, the Dioskouroi reliefs have specific iconography which by the Hellenistic period includes the Dioskouroi riding horses. Clearly, the iconography is created for the heroes: a series of motifs – two men with spears, a pair of amphorae, a *dokana*, and even horses – direct the viewer to the Dioskouroi. Because the Dioskouroi had altogether their own iconographic repertoire, their cult should be viewed differently from the heroes who received the stone and terracotta reliefs (see below).

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[156] Herakles is often depicted nude or as a warrior in sixth-century Lakonian art. Only on a bronze statuette does he wear a lion-skin under a corselet (Kassel, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung Br. 17 in Pipili, 1987, 12, fig. 17, no. 24). For the iconography of Herakles in Lakonia, see Pipili (1987, 1-13, figs. 1-18) and Boardman (1992, 25-9, figs. 11-12).

[157] See *supra* §4.3.1.

[158] See Pipili 1987, 14-40.

[159] Pipili 1987, 83. The reason for this dependency is not clear but Pipili (1987, 83) proposes that sixth-century competition with Argos may have been a factor behind the avoidance of Homeric epic mythological subjects---since the mythological repertoire is closely linked with Agamemnon at Mycenae. However, I do not see why competition with Argos would be a justifiable reason for Sparta to suppress its own rendition of the iconography of the characters of the epics. We have seen how alternative traditions located Agamemnon in Lakonia and his cult was already established there (§3.2). An alternative explanation is that the Spartans had a connection with Thessaly and Boiotia, as this is the legendary area from where the Herakleidai came into the Peloponnese (Farnell 1907, 42-3; Kiechle 1963, 22-5, 29-36; see also *supra* §3.11. This link may explain the choice of mythological repertoire as well as cults, such as that of Achilles, tentatively identified with that of a sanctuary outside of Sparta on the road to Megalopolis (Dickins 1906-7, 169-73; Stibbe 2002, 207-219).

[160] See Stibbe (1974, 20, n.12-5) with bibliography.

[161] A Lakonian cup depicting the Dioskouroi comes from Cerveteri. See Pipili 1987, 57, no. 150.

[162] London, British Museum B4; Pipili 1992, 88, fig. 8.5.

[163] Pipili 1987, 76, figs. 108-9, nos. 214-5; 1992, 92-4, figs. 8.14-5.

[164] The close connection of the Dioskouroi with Sparta is attested already in the Homeric poems. *Iliad* 3.238 reports that they come from Lakedaimon, while Pindar (*P.* 11.61-2) tells us that they dwell on alternating days beneath the earth at Therapne (where archaeological excavations have unearthed the temple of Menelaos and Helen) and in

5.2.4. ***Other Iconography***

Other media in Archaic Lakonia depict mythological heroic scenes, both well-known and rare. Monumental temple decoration, such as the bronze work on the temple of Athena

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Olympos. For the Dioskouroi at Therapne, see also Alkman fr.3.14 Page, *PMG*.

[165] Kourinou (2000, 199-211) identifies a Π shaped structure at Psychico, about 1.5 km from Sparta as the Phoibaion in which the Dioskouroi were worshipped.

[166] Sanders 1992b, 206.

[167] The meaning of the amphorae in the cult of the Dioskouroi is unknown. Their peaked lids resemble panathenaic amphorae, and may suggest an association of the Dioskouroi with athletics (Sanders 1992b, 206, n.7) as is attested in literary sources (*Il.* 3.238; *Od.* 11.278; *Catalogue of Women* 198-199 M/W; Pindar *N.*10.50; *O.* 3.36; *P.* 5.9; Paus. 3.14.7).

[168] Sanders 1992, 206. For the dokana as two wooden beams connected at the top and thus symbolising the unity of the Dioskouroi see Plut. *Mor.* 478B. There are many examples where the Dioskouroi are presented with the dokana. See for example the fourth-century 'Verona Relief' from Taras which depicts the Dioskouroi and the two amphorae on an altar (Verona, Museo Maffeiano 555). A man with a boat and two dokana are also present in the imagery (*LIMC* III. I. 577, no. 122). A number of fourth and third-century terracotta reliefs from Taras dedicated to the Dioskouroi also depict the dokana, and amphorae (*LIMC* III. I. 574, nos. 66-70).

Chalkioikos and the sculptural program on the throne of Apollo at Amyklai, both of whose subjects are described by Pausanias, reveal a choice of scenes including heroic subjects, such as Herakles, the Dioskouroi, Perseus, Achilles, Bellerophon and Theseus (Paus. 3.17.3, 18.9ff.). Here we have a list of popular pan-Hellenic heroes who were depicted on vase painting or sculptural programs. This shows that when the Lakonians wanted to depict such well-known heroes, they had the iconographical knowledge to depict them with attributes according to their local and traditional imagery.

5.3. The anonymous hero

As will be evident in the next chapter, most of the recipients of cult to whom the votive terracotta reliefs were dedicated remain unknown to us. The lack of inscriptions makes the identification of the recipients of the stone and terracotta impossible, with the exceptions of the stone relief dedicated to Chilon and the deposit to Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra. From the above iconographical study, it is clear that there is little variation in the way that a hero is rendered.[169] He is depicted seated, as a warrior, a rider or a banqueter. However, we should assume that the different deposits were dedicated to different heroes.[170]

There are nonetheless some exceptions: on one relief from the votives to Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra, a seated male holds a staff, possibly an attribute of Agamemnon as king and possibly representing him.[171] On another from the same deposit, a female sits alone, and this figure is probably Alexandra/Kassandra (FIG. 31).[172] On certain terracotta reliefs, from other deposits, the figure may be bearded, youthful, nude or depicted with armour which may imply heroic traits, but again this does not help the modern viewer identify him.[173] It is then logical to ask why the figures on the reliefs are not depicted with those individualistic attributes that appear on vases or why the reliefs themselves do not carry inscriptions.

Here we should emphasise that the rendition of heroes on votive reliefs as opposed to their depictions in vase painting or other media is not unique to Lakonia; Lakonian votive relief iconography was by and large influenced by trends elsewhere as has been demonstrated above. While vase painting may have shown the hero in a narrative context, e.g. a scene from the mythological adventures of the hero, the votive reliefs by contrast depict a more ‘religious’ picture, such as scenes of a hero at the *theoxenia*, performing a libation, sometimes approached by worshippers, or bringing animals for sacrifice. These are images of rituals and it is not always easy to identify the receiver of the votive who could be any hero or Asklepios or even Zeus.[174] Even in reliefs dedicated to Herakles from elsewhere in the Greek world, the hero is not always represented fighting but rather in cult: on an early fourth-century relief the hero stands while a group of worshipers approaches him to offer sacrifice (FIG. 56).[175] By and large, the votive reliefs to heroes emphasise the cult of the hero and the rituals associated with him, that is, they reflect their function. On the Chrysapha relief the worshippers bring gifts, while in other examples, the hero makes a libation. The reliefs then which depict the worshipper bringing gifts, animals for sacrifice or setting up a banquet for the hero demonstrate how the worshippers connect with the supernatural and communicate with the hero.[176] Subsequently, the choice of imagery on the votive reliefs functions as a display of the close relationship of the heroes to the worshippers.

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[169] For the application of inscriptions and attributes for the identification of Greek figures and myths see Woodford 2003, 15-27.

[170] Apart from the 'pan-Hellenic' heroic iconography some local heroic votives also have a repetitive and non-individualistic iconography such as the so called 'snake stelai' (FIG. 80) at Corinth which are crowned with a helmet; see *supra* n.89.

[171] Salapata 1993, 194.

[172] Salapata 1992, 379, pls. 81a. c-d, 82a-b.

[173] Lembessi 1976, 106; Salapata 1992, 295.

Likewise the lack of inscriptions on the stone and terracotta reliefs should not come as a surprise since heroic reliefs from elsewhere in the Greek world are frequently un-inscribed or simply dedicated ‘to the hero’ with the name of the hero omitted.[177] There are some examples from around the Greek world where the hero receives only an epithet, such as *epikoos*[178], *eukolos*[179], *euergetes,* or *heros iatros*[180], indicating his friendly and helpful nature but remains unnamed.[181] Moreover, the anonymity of heroes is not unique to reliefs of the Archaic and Classical periods, but is in fact common within Greek religion in general. We have already seen it in cults at Bronze-Age tombs, where the first appearance of heroic cult may not have been directed to named individuals but possibly to anonymous beings of interest only to the local community.[182] Even at the cult-site at Menidi, which continued in use until the fifth-century, the recipient of this cult remained unnamed and perhaps unknown. Anonymity is similarly noticeable at the cults over Geometric tombs at Eretria, Corinth and Athens.[183] Thus, the Spartan stone and terracotta reliefs follow a tradition in Greek religion where the hero, known only in the local community may not have to be named because his identity is immediately understood.

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[174] Hamilton 2009, 29.

[175] Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1404. Edelmann 1999, 235, no. U66; Comella 2002, 122, 199, no. Atene iii, fig. 122. For Herakles at a banquet on votive reliefs see Verbanck-Pierard (1992).

[176] van Straten 2000, 223; Stavrianopoulou 2006, 7; Mylonopoulos 2006, 70.

[177] Dentzer 1982, 453-4; van Straten 1995, 96.

[178] van Straten 1995, 95, n.289. The inscription is from Olbia.

[179] For example there is a fourth century inscription from Attica where the hero is called *eukolos* (Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 81, no. 92) and another also of the fourth-century (Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 95, no. 174) and Asklepios is called *eukolos* on a first or second-century A.D. inscription from Epidauros (*IG* IV^2 I. 469; van Straten 1995, 95, n.291).

[180] This inscription is from Athens, van Straten 1995, 96, n.296.

[181] See Thönges-Stringaris (1965, 56-8) and van Straten (1995, 95) with references and other examples.

[182] See *supra* §1.2.2.

[183] See *supra* §1.2.3.

Because most votive reliefs to heroes were private offerings, and as a group are far more numerous than dedications to any single deity, we can speculate on the level of importance heroes held in private religion.[184] Literary sources give examples of small shrines dedicated to heroes near houses and in neighbourhoods, thus demonstrating that a hero is never far away.[185] Due to their mortal nature, heroes were regarded as closer to humans and their worries and therefore, possibly more approachable.[186] Perhaps then the absence of inscriptions and lack of individualistic features of the figures depicted in the reliefs may reflect the hero's familiarity.[187]

Other explanations may exist to explain why the characters on the reliefs were not awarded distinct attributes: for the terracotta reliefs it is important to take into consideration their inexpensive nature. Created from moulds, like terracotta figurines, these votives were not produced as individual commissions.[188] Anyone who wanted a terracotta relief for a hero shrine could easily purchase one, and considering the numbers found in Sparta we can assume that workshops made large quantities of them.[189] The inexpensive nature of the terracotta reliefs deemed any inscription improbable before firing because it would have had to have been commissioned before it was fired and no Lakonian examples carry inscriptions made after firing. Moreover, it may be that identifying attributes, now lost, were painted onto the relief to make the identification of the figure easier. However, because of their inexpensive mass-produced nature and the use of repetitive moulds,[190] we can speculate that most terracotta reliefs were not created with a particular hero in mind meaning that no individual features of a hero needed to be depicted at all.[191]

This observation brings us to the distinct iconography of the Dioskouroi reliefs. The Dioskouroi were depicted together or represented by symbols, such as the amphorae or the *dokana* in Spartan iconography. The Dioskouroi reliefs also carry inscriptions, unlike the stone and terracotta reliefs which are rarely inscribed. It is important to note that the Dioskouroi, although Spartan by birth were pan-Hellenic heroes and then were worshipped in many areas of the Greek world. Their nature, as with other pan-Hellenic heroes, such as Herakles and Asklepios, was not strictly heroic, and they were also considered divine (Pind. *P.* 11.61-2).[192] This fact may indicate that in Sparta the twins may not have been viewed in the same light as the recipients of the terracotta reliefs but Kastor and Polydeukes were deemed closer to the divine.

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[184] van Straten 1995, 95.
[185] Rusten 1983, 289-97.
[186] *New Pauly* 4, 248 s.v. 'Hero Cult'.
[187] van Straten 1995, 95.
[188] Salapata 2002b, 22-3.
[189] See the deposits in §6.1.
[190] Salapata 2002b, 22-4,
[191] For examples of mass produced and inexpensive votives see *infra* pp. 162-3, 164-5.

5.4. Conclusion

The iconography of the Lakonian terracotta and stone reliefs borrows elements from both Near Eastern and Greek heroic iconography and adapts them to local needs. While the early depiction of the seated couple referenced the image of the Near Eastern ruler, changes, such as the removal of the adorants and the female, occur over time. Influence from elsewhere in the Greek world leads to the rendition in Sparta of the warrior, rider, and banqueter figures, all popular Greek images for Greek heroes. These depictions sometimes reflect the fluid nature of heroes in Greek religion, which may have been influenced by political and social developments of the time. For example, while the archaic Lakonian concept of heroes emphasised their grand nature, the fifth-century imagery also highlighted the iconography of the warrior, a development possibly arising out of the Persian wars. The fourth-century rider imagery in turn manifests changing Spartan attitudes towards wealth and emphasises the aristocratic nature of the hero.

The uniformity of the iconography and the anonymity of the recipients, moreover, provide information on the perception of the heroes. Although the different deposits found around Sparta may belong to different heroes, they must have been regarded in a similar vein, i.e., local heroes who received mostly votives of quite modest nature.[193] By contrast, the Dioskouroi reliefs were made of stone or marble and had their own distinct iconography. The diverse nature of heroes in Sparta is an effect, as discussed in chapter one, of the diversity of heroes and their cults.

The uniform iconography, anonymity and inexpensive nature of the terracotta reliefs permit us to deduce that they were probably dedicated to local heroes some of whom may have been unknown outside Sparta. Even Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra may have been seen as local heroes (§3.2). The shrines of these heroes, as I hope to demonstrate in the next chapter, were small and scattered throughout the polis. They provided a more personal aspect of cult than the great sanctuaries, such as those to Helen and Menelaos or Orthia and Apollo. Local Lakonian heroes, like those elsewhere in Greece, had a more familiar nature and were more approachable than the great divinities.

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[192] Ekroth 2007, 101; Larson 2007, 189.

[193] See §6.2 on the nature of the votive deposits to heroes.

Chapter 6

Heroic sites in Sparta

The current chapter aims to provide a context of deposition for the terracotta reliefs discussed in the previous chapter. The stone reliefs are omitted because none of them have been found *in situ* in Sparta.[1] By studying the material, such as terracotta figurines, pottery, lead figurines, and architectural remains, found together with the terracotta reliefs, I hope to provide a better understanding of the cult sites associated with the heroes of Sparta. Most of the sites in the modern city are identified as heroic on the basis of the terracotta reliefs which carry the iconography discussed in chapter five[2] while other locations, which have been proposed as sites of heroic cult, contain burials which show signs of later veneration but have no terracotta reliefs. It will become evident that apart from the deposit dedicated to Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra, the other sites remain little studied. In the following section I survey some of the better known sites.[3]

The chapter is accompanied by table II and the map (FIG.1). The chart will give the reader a clear overview and summary of the material found in each of the sites and presented in the chapter: terracotta reliefs, pottery, terracotta figurines, lead figurines, metal finds and architectural finds, together with the chronology of each site when known. The map gives the location of the sites discussed below in order to place the sites in the context of Sparta's topography. My primary source of evidence is the excavation reports published in the *Archaiologikon Deltion* or *Praktika*. However, other sites – as yet unpublished – came to my attention through contacting the E' Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Greece.[4]

6.1. A survey of the sites and deposits

A. *Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra*

The location of the site of worship of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra is noted by Pausanias (3.19.6). In his description of Lakonia, he mentions that there is a temple at Amyklai dedicated to Alexandra, whom the locals call Kassandra, the daughter of Priam,[5] and that nearby is the tomb of Agamemnon and a statue of Clytemnestra.[6]

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[1] The only one found *in situ* is the Chrysapha relief from Lakonia; see *supra* p. 18.

[2] Deposits in Sparta and elsewhere yield a variety of objects, both votive and material from the architecture of buildings. They usually accumulate from the process of clearing a temple of older dedications in order to yield space for new ones. The discarded votives usually are placed near the temple (Simon 1986, 172).

[3] The locations where only one two terracotta reliefs are found are reported in Appendix I.

[4] Because many of the deposits are known from rescue excavations, the finds are as yet mostly unpublished. Moreover, because the *Archaiologikon Deltion* has not published the reports after 2001 I presume that there are other deposits that have not been reported yet.

[5] In literature, the identification of Alexandra with Kassandra appears first in Lykophron's *Alexandra,* written in the early third-century B.C. (Momigliano 1945, 49). In this poem Kassandra, bearing the name of Alexandra, prophesies

A votive deposit associated with this cult was excavated near the church of Ayia Paraskevi in modern Amyklai. The offerings have been securely identified with the sanctuary of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra because of the dedicatory vase inscriptions mentioning the names of Alexandra and Agamemnon, the earliest of which dates to 525 B.C.[7] Further evidence for the identification of the recipient of the deposit comes from the discovery nearby of two late Hellenistic works: a marble throne dedicated by the Gerousia to Alexandra and an stele inscribed with an honorary decree which included a provision that the stele should be set up at her sanctuary.[8]

The deposit produced more than 10,000 objects, ranging in date from the seventh-century B.C.[9] to the early Hellenistic period, including vases of standard (forty-two lakainai; one kylix)[10] and miniature size (such as a large number of krateriskoi), terracotta figurines, a few metal objects and hundreds of terracotta reliefs.[11] Among the offerings were some vases[12] and figurines,[13] which conform to the iconographical formula of the terracotta reliefs that depict a seated male holding a drinking kantharos (FIGS. 23-4, 30, 32, 38, 39, 41-4, 46, 48). Recently, another deposit, containing material from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods, was found nearby.[14] The second deposit contained large quantities of pottery, including spherical aryballoi, kylikes, figurines and miniature vases, as well as lead figurines including lead wreaths.[15] Under there were the foundations of two walls for which we are not given any information in terms of size, date or material.[16]

Although the sanctuary reported by Pausanias at Amyklai (3.19.6) has not been discovered, the two aforementioned deposits, with dedications of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra make it likely that it was located near them. Furthermore, the more recent discovery of the two walls

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her own death, together with that of her consort Agamemnon (lines 1099-1125). She also foretells that she will be worshiped by the Daunians in Apulia after her death and she will provide a special refuge for maidens who reject marriage (lines 1126-1140).

[6] For the literary evidence of Agamemnon in Lakonia see §3.2.

[7] *Praktika* 1960 230, pl. 171β- γ; *LSAG*^{2}, 447, n.21b.

[8] Honorary decree: Sparta Museum 441; *IG* V 1.26; *SIG*^{3} 932; Tod and Wace 1906, 5, 65-66, 177, fig. 54, no. 441; Salapata 2002a, 131-3. Marble throne: *SEG* XXIV 281; *AAA* (1), 44-5, fig. 8; Salapata 2002a, 143, fig. 159.

[9] The earliest pottery dates to the first quarter of the seventh-century B.C. (Margreiter 1988, 17, 57).

[10] Stibbe 1994, 19.

[11] For a thorough study of the terracotta relief reliefs from the deposit of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra at Amyklai see Salapata (1992). For the cups from the votive deposit, see Stibbe (1972, pl. 132, 7). On one example of a cup (Sparta Museum 6106), a warrior stands before a seated male. For the kraters and krateriskoi, see Stibbe (1989b, 48-50, nos. F28-30, G21, G23, H1-2, H6, I1-13, I17-18, I20-25, L14).

[12] Sparta Museum 6116; Stibbe 1976 13, 16 n.58, pl. 5.1.

[13] Salapata 1992, pl. 91g.

[14] *ArchDelt* 53 (B1), 173; Whitley 2004-5, 30. The identification of the second deposit with the cult of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra is based on a shard inscribed to Agamemnon (Sparta Museum 14662; *ArchDelt* 53 (B1), 173).

[15] An unidentified large iron object is also reported (*ArchDelt* 53 (B1), 173).

[16] *ArchDelt* 53 (B1), 173.

under the second deposit[17] may, in fact, belong to a structure associated with the cult site of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra; further study of the site may help identify the relationship of the two walls, if any, to the two deposits.

The heroic cult of Alexandra/Kassandra has been studied by Salapata, who concludes from the dedications at the sanctuary that both Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra were worshipped at Amyklai as early as the early seventh-century B.C.[18] Although Alexandra/Kassandra was a consort of Agamemnon she was by no means subordinate in their worship as indicated by a number of terracotta reliefs from the later fifth-century B.C. that show a seated couple, as on the stone reliefs, and while an attendant holds a tray of offerings before them (FIG. 32).[19] On other reliefs, Kassandra appears by herself, which shows that she is also worshipped alone.[20] She is seated, holding a mushroom-shaped sceptre and a phiale, not unlike the male in some of the reliefs (FIG. 31).[21] In as much as some terracotta reliefs depict a seated couple or a single female figure, it is important to stress that most of the terracotta reliefs from the fifth-century onwards, depict a seated male and not a female. The predominantly male iconography on the reliefs may indicate that Agamemnon was a stronger figure in the cult at least in the beginning. Agamemnon's popularity in the early fifth-century is not only demonstrated by the votives but it is also testified by Sparta' response to Gelon (who wanted to lead the expedition against the Persians) that Agamemnon would lament if he heard that Sparta did not command the Hellene troops during the Persian Wars (Hdt. 7.159). By the Hellenistic period, however, Alexandra/Kassandra may have taken a more prominent role in the cult since the Hellenistic decree dedicated by the Gerousia and inscribed throne found near the two deposits only mention the temple of Alexandra. Furthermore, Pausanias says that the temple was dedicated to Alexandra/Kassandra and omits Agamemnon. Instead, Agamemnon in the Roman period is connected with the area only by the existence of his tomb (Paus. 3.19.6).[22]

6.1.1. ***Sites and deposits at Limnai***

B. *The 'Heroon by the Eurotas River': the Heroon of 'Astrabakos'*

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[17] *ArchDelt* 53 (B1), 173.

[18] See Salapata (2002a) for the cult of Alexandra/Kassandra.

[19] Sparta Museum 6231/2; Salapata 1993, 190.

[20] Sparta Museum 6233/1+6149/1; Salapata 1993, 192; 2002a, 142, fig. 4.

[21] Salapata (2002a, 142-3 n.65) considers the sceptre as an emblem of Alexandra/Kassandra's prophetic qualities because prophets carry a sceptre and Kassandra herself carries one in Aischyl. *Agamemnon* (1265). She is also depicted carrying a sceptre in fourth-century B.C. South-Italian vase-paintings (eadem 143, n.66 for examples).

[22] For the reasons for this shift, see Salapata (2002a, 150), who suggests that Sparta's territorial and political claims, which Salapata argues were expressed through heroes, such as Agamemnon and Menelaos, were reduced after 371 B.C. when Sparta lost Messene after the Battle of Leuktra. Because of the focus away from the male king heroes, who reflected the territorial claims of Sparta, the popularity of the cult of the female consort may have risen.

An area inside the city walls of Sparta was excavated in 1905.[23] The excavators report that the most typical finds are terracotta hero-reliefs of which there are about a hundred specimens and conclude, on the basis of the iconography, that the reliefs belong to the ‘well known class of Spartan hero-reliefs’.[24] The seated male with a kantharos is the most common depiction of the reliefs but other types also exist, including a warrior standing before a snake, a rider on horseback and a banqueter (FIGS. 57-58). In addition to the terracotta reliefs, there were found a number of terracotta statuettes, miniature kantharoi, kraters, three-handled vases, four lakainai and one kylix.[25] The terracotta figurines are comprised mostly of females wearing *poloi*, while many are male nude figurines. Among the vases is a relief krater with a fighting scene that Wace dates to the sixth-century on the basis of style (FIG. 17).[26] The excavators conclude, on the basis of the finds, that the site was that of a hero-shrine and date the site from the Geometric period to ‘late Greek times’,[27] that is, before the Hellenistic period.[28]

Several walls and a number of architectural terracottas, such as two ‘late’ antefixes, two fragments of a geison with an acanthus scroll in relief above a painted maeander, and a fragment of what the excavators perceived as a black glazed metope or large relief, were discovered, which suggest that a structure was there although no building could be identified. It is probable nonetheless, that the architectural fragments belonged to a *heroon* associated with the votive material.[29]

During the excavation was also discovered a *pithos* that lay near a concentration of vase fragments exceeding in number those found anywhere else at this particular site. The *pithos* was situated near one of the walls that may have belonged to the *heroon* or to another building around it. The *pithos* lay on its side and was enclosed by two large slabs. It was half full of earth, in which were found calcinated bones, and two mugs. The skeletal remains in the *pithos* prompted the excavators to identify it as a burial and date it to the 'Greek period'.[30] Today *pithos* burials in Sparta are dated to the Late Geometric period.[31]

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[23] Wace 1905-6, 288.
[24] Wace 1905-6, 288-9.
[25] Stibbe 1994, 19.
[26] The relief vessels have been called *pithoi*, amphorae and kraters (*ArchDelt* 19 (A), 170-1, 241, 243-44, 246, 259; *ArchDelt* 27 (B1), 244; Hodkinson 2000, 240-3). I accept Stibbe's (1989b, 65-7; 2004, 240, n.7) designation as kraters because they have wide mouths, wide bellies and, in some cases, volute handles and a narrow foot. Their profile is similar to that of the kraters depicted in sixth-century Lakonian vase paintings. Stibbe (1989b, 67) interprets the relief kraters as predecessors of the Lakonian bronze kraters because of the volute handles, double-stepped rimes and neck decoration.

The shape and decoration of these vessels derive from seventh-century relief kraters from Krete and the Boiotia-Tenos group which were made ca. 700-570 B.C. (Stibbe (1989b), 65-67. Christou (*ArchDelt* 19 (A), 170-1, 241, 243-44, 246, 259) believes that the shape has been influenced through the Cyclades, possibly Thera and the decoration is also similar to that of Attic, Boiotian and Cycladic pottery particularly of Melos. Stibbe (1989b, 65-67) discusses how they are relatively late in comparison to other areas. There is no evidence of the use of colour on these pithoi although a recent study on the relief ceramics from Krete has revealed the use of colour in the Kretan examples, see Simantoni-Bournia (2004), 481-94.
[27] See Coldstream (1968, 213) and Coulson (1985, 30) for the proto-Geometric pottery.
[28] In order to express his chronology Wace in 1905-6, 294 specifies that objects are Greek or Hellenistic indicating that this is the general chronology which he uses sometimes to express dates. Stibbe (2002, 207) also speculates the same regarding Wace’s chronology.
[29] Wace 1905-6, 288-9. For the definition of a *heroon* see §1.2.1.

The scantiness of the excavation report makes the association of the *pithos* burial with the *heroon* uncertain. A clearer picture could be ascertained if one could know if the pottery around the burial were contemporary with it or continuous over a long period of time. By comparing this burial to other Geometric burials in Sparta we can probably assume that the pottery around the *pithos* was Geometric.[32] It would also be useful to establish at what point in its history the walls were constructed and if they were built because of the burial. Lastly, it is unclear if the later votive material, consisting of terracotta reliefs, figurines and vases was directed towards the burial because the archaeological report does not state if any later votives were placed above the *pithos.* In other words, it remains to be seen if the cult site was constructed in reaction to the burial.[33]

As for the identification of the cult's recipient, the excavator has suggested that this shrine may be the *heroon* of Astrabakos because of a rather great long structure found nearby that has been identified by the early excavators as the altar of Lykourgos.[34] According to the description provided by Pausanias a shrine to Astrabakos was located near the altar dedicated to Lykourgos (Paus. 3.16.6; 3.16.), and therefore, Wace interpreted this structure as being the *heroon* of Astrabakos.[35] But no inscriptions were found during the excavation to confirm this identification, and further excavations have caused scholars to reject the identification of the long structure as an altar.[36] Therefore, the identification of the 'Heroon near the Eurotas' with that of Astrabakos remains speculative and may in fact it may belong to a number of *heroa* seen by Pausanias in the area of Limnai.[37]

C. *The cult site on Stauffert Street*[38]

In 1996 a rescue excavation in Limnai at Sparta (town-square 98) unearthed a Geometric burial that shows signs of having been honoured with cult at a later period.[39] The burial was covered with a stone slab upon which was heaped a pile of stones, which covered Geometric pottery, which dates the burial (FIGS. 64-66).[40] Over the cairn of stones and penetrating it through a circular opening was a votive deposit of the early Archaic to the Hellenistic periods, including over 2500 fragments of terracotta reliefs with images – standing figures, the seated male, warriors, riders and banqueters (FIGS. 59-62)[41] – that correspond to those on the votive reliefs from the deposits dedicated to Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra at Amyklai and those from the 'Heroon at the Eurotas', as well as 800 terracotta figurines, both male and female shown standing, enthroned or reclining, were among the votives (FIG. 63).[42] In addition, a fragment of an archaic terracotta acroterion, many lead figurines, including wreaths, hoplites, female winged figures, a lead snake,[43] and around 1500 miniature vases were also recovered from the votive deposit.[44] Lastly, the excavator reports the find of a fragmentary stone relief, whose imagery resembles that of the famous Chrysapha relief,[45] which carries the inscription […]ΚΕΟΣ, perhaps the ending of a name.[46]

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[30] Wace 1905-6, 288-9.

[31] See Raftopoulou (1998, 133) for two Geometric *pithoi* burials with rich metal offerings: one from Limnai in Sparta and the other from the acropolis. Another Geometric *pithos* burial is located near the bank of the Eurotas River (*ArchDelt* 27 (B1), 244). For other examples of Geometric burials in Sparta see *infra* n.40.

[32] See the Geometric grave on Stauffert Street (site **C**).

[33] See Appendix II which addresses the existence of burials and heroic cults in the area of Limnai.

[34] For the excavation of the 'altar', see Dickins (1905-6, 295-302).

[35] Wace 1905-6, 288-9.

[36] For other long buildings found in Sparta see *infra* n.74.

[37] Appendix II.

[38] I am grateful to Dr. Christos Flouris for giving me access to his unpublished dissertation on the terracotta reliefs found at the site.

Beyond the quantity and variety of votives, the site is significant for two further reasons: first, there is evidence of a burned area and second there are reported three distinct architectural phases. The burned area, located near the burial and at the same level as the top of the stone cairn, contained fragments of animal bones and material that is of the same kind as that of the deposit over the burial (fragmentary terracotta reliefs, figurines and vases).

Three distinct architectural phases are apparent at the site: the earliest consists of a row of stones parallel to the burial that marked off the area.[47] Then a second phase is identifiable by a room next to the burial that included pottery of the Archaic and Classical periods (FIG. 64, room A) (the walls are estimated to over 4m[48] and 3.20m). A third phase dates slightly later[49] and encompasses the Geometric burial and the later deposit (FIG. 64, room B) (the walls are estimated to over 5.50m[50] and 3.75m).

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[39] *ArchDelt* 51(B1), 123-5.
[40] For Geometric burials in Sparta marked with a pile of stones, see *ArchDelt* 27 (B1), 242, 244-5) and Flouris (2000, 4-5.). This practice is common in many areas of Geometric Greece (Coldstream 2003, 87, 180). The pile of stones over the Spartan Geometric grave on Stauffert street has no resemblance to the one at Pikromygdalia, near Chrysapha on top of which the famous Chrysapha relief (Berlin, Pergamonmuseum 731) was reportedly found (Stibbe 1991, 7). The picture of the mount at Pikromygladia taken by Stibbe (1991, fig. 2) shows a much larger construction of stones similar to the three mounts found at Phonemenoi, near Agios Petros, at the borders of Sparta, Tegea and Argos, and identified with the Hermai mentioned by Pausanias 2.38.7 (Stibbe 1991, 8-9, fig. 4).
[41] *ArchDelt* 51(B1), 123-5; Flouris 2000, 33-129. See also a possible example of a standing woman holding a kantharos (idem 130, no. 13465, pl. 120).
[42] Flouris 2000, 17.
[43] Flouris 2000, 18.
[44] Flouris 2000, 17.
[45] Flouris 2000, 18.
[46] Flouris 2000, 69, n.146. The inscription is too fragmentary to be able to make out a name.
[47] Flouris 2000, 16.
[48] The excavation did not reach the whole length of the wall.

The evidence presented above suggests that the deposit, located over the burial, belonged to a cult site that was active from the seventh-century B.C. to at least the Hellenistic period. That the worship was for a hero can be deduced from the many fragments of terracotta reliefs found at the site and their typically heroic iconography. This cult may, in fact, have belonged to one of the hero-shrines seen by Pausanias in the area of Limnai.

Further information concerning this heroic cult can be gleaned from the burned area (FIG. 66). Because the burned earth included similar material as that of the deposit, as well as animal bones, we may have evidence of animal sacrifice as part of the religious activity. In fact, among the votive terracotta reliefs, one unusual fragmentary example depicts a woman leading a ram,[51] perhaps illustrative of part of the religious ritual. Moreover, the significant number of drinking cups found within the deposit, such as lakainai[52] and kantharoi, also suggest a meal in honour of the hero.[53] It is unfortunate that the size of the cups is not reported; if they are miniature, they are not functional drinking vessels.[54] Rituals of animal sacrifice accompanied by feasting are seen throughout the Greek world, with specific examples relating to hero-cults.[55] Sacrifice and feasting have also been observed in limited cases in the Mycenaean tomb cults[56] and especially in Messenia where the tombs feature this custom most prominently.[57] In general, recent scholarship has demonstrated that sacrifice and feasting were activities at hero-shrines and were similar to the sacrificial rituals for divine figures.[58] Lastly, in regards to ritual at the site, it is also tempting to speculate that the cairn of stones, with its circular opening in which were deposited votives of the same type found on top, may have been a place where libations were poured.[59]

The burial under the deposit is also significant. As discussed in chapter one, it is not unusual for later cult to form around earlier graves, whether the dead were considered heroes, ancestors or both. In the example at Limnai, we should emphasize that the deposit which lay

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[49] *ArchDelt* 51(B1), 123-5. No further information regarding the date of the second room is reported.

[50] The excavation did not reach the whole length of the wall.

[51] Flouris 2000, 130, no. 13470, pl. 120.

[52] For examples, see Coldstream (2003, 158-159 fig. 52c).

[53] Flouris 2000, 17, pls. 12-16. For another possible example of drinking over a grave in Sparta, see the Zaimis plot in town plot 5 in Sparta (Raftopoulou 1998, 134) and infra site **1.**

[54] For example, most of the votives drinking shapes found at the Menelaion were miniature; see *supra* pp. 21, 46.

[55] For further examples and types of altars at hero-shrines, see Ekroth (1999, 117-27). For feasting at hero-cults at Eretria, see Bérard (1970); and for some evidence of feasting at the ‘Heroon at the Crossroads’ in Corinth *supra* p. 24, n.90.

[56] Antonaccio 1995, 249.

[57] See Boehringer 2001, 311-18.

[58] See *supra* p. 14.

[59] Burkert 1985, 158.

directly over the burial and continued through the opening into the cairn of stones, was placed there only in the Hellenistic period. The Hellenistic period then may in fact have been the time when the burial was discovered. It is also possible nonetheless, that the knowledge of the old burial was there from the early Archaic period when the first votives date, and the discovery of the burial may have prompted the cult.[60] A fuller publication of the site may yield a detailed chronology of the architectural phases, burned area and their relationship to the burial.[61]

D. *The Bougadis Plot*

The site is located to the north of the Tympanon Hill in Sparta, where two fragments of terracotta reliefs were found,[62] together with other objects, including three bronze snakes and a spindle whorl. Three stone reliefs found in the area suggest the significance of the site.[63] Two, which are Archaic in date, depict a seated couple, with a male holding a kantharos (FIG. 26, 68). The third which depicts a solitary seated male who holds a phiale from which a snake drinks dates to the Classical period (FIG. 67). A fragment of an Archaic Doric capital made of poros was also discovered suggesting that a building was nearby.[64]

E. *Gitiada st.*

A deposit, on the south side of t.s. 104, of some fifty terracotta reliefs, several figurines and miniature pottery was found under the foundations of a three-room building of the late Hellenistic and Roman times near the Bougadis plot. In the central room of the structure, were found fragments of statuettes and some lead figurines. In the south-eastern corner of the central room was discovered a small rectangular construction (1x1m) in which was found a small marble figurine of an enthroned male, miniature vases and terracotta figurines.[65] It is possible that the Hellenistic and Roman building, which may have been a cult site, due to the statuettes and lead figurines found in it, was preceded by an earlier building whose remains consist of the small rectangular structure. Considering, that in it were found miniature vases, and terracotta figurines in greater quantities than anywhere else on the site we can deduce that this was the central part of the cult building. It is my supposition, therefore, that the late Hellenistic and Roman building replaced an earlier cult building, which possibly consisted of the small rectangular structure. The terracotta relief deposit, discovered under the Hellenistic and Roman building may have been associated with the earlier rectangular building. Its study and its precise relationship to the long building would make the use of this structure clearer.[66] In the Bougadis plot, (site **D**) were found three stone reliefs so due to the proximity of the two deposits it is likely that the votives at the two plots belong to the same cult site.

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[60] See Appendix II.

[61] It is unfortunate that the site was built over and no longer survives, according to a personal communication with Chr. Flouis.

[62] Sparta Museum 6398.

[63] *ArchDelt* 28 (B1), 166-7, pls.145-6.

[64] *ArchDelt* 28 (B1), 166.

[65] The excavation report is not fully published. See Flouris (2000, 133-4) and *ArchDelt* 52 (B1), 177 for a general description.

F. *The Niarchos Plot*

A votive deposit of large dimensions (3x4 meters) containing hundreds of terracotta reliefs, fragments of pottery of the sixth and the fifth centuries B.C. and lead votive figurines was found near the remains of a Hellenistic and Roman structure. Below the deposit was a stratum with a large quantity of Geometric pottery.[67]

Just north of the deposit the ruins of a Roman structure and a circular construction made of slabs (1.72 m diameter and 4.5 m depth) were discovered. An entrance leading by staircase to the interior of the circular structure was found on its eastern side. According to the excavator, Spyropoulos, this circular structure was the deposit area for some form of cult, perhaps contemporary with the aforementioned deposit containing terracotta reliefs found to the south. Furthermore, Spyropoulos speculates that because the circular construction was found under the earth, it perhaps indicates chthonic worship and connects the finds with the cult and sanctuary of Eileithyia, which, according to Pausanias, was located near the sanctuary of Orthia (3.14.6).[68] Spyropoulos argument can only be an assumption since no finds are reported from the interior of the circular structure. The connection with the heroic votive deposit nearby is tempting but since no publication or further study has been conducted on this site, such an association remains speculative. Its interpretation as cultic nonetheless, reminds us of a *bothros*.[69]

As an alternative suggestion Flouris proposes that the construction might have functioned as a well.[70] It is unfortunate that at this point there is no information on the circular structure's construction, for example, if there was waterproofing or what, if any, finds may have been collected from its interior. In any case, the staircase in the interior of the circular structure probably indicates a water cistern and its location near a Roman structure may possibly indicate it is associated with that.[71]

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[66] Unfortunately the site has been built over (*ArchDelt* 52 (B1), 177).

[67] The site and finds remain unpublished. I owe this information to Flouris (2000, 14), who reports having heard this from the excavator Spyropoulos.

[68] Flouris 2000, 14.

[69] Riethmüller 1999, 131-43, figs.5-8. For the use of the term *bothros* in epigraphic and literary sources, see Ekroth (2002, 60-73), who demonstrates that the *bothros* is used for sacrifices for recipients who are connected to the underworld, either as deities linked to the realm of the dead or heroes. However, a connection between the term and heroes cannot be established before the Roman period (eadem 72).

[70] Flouris 2000, 14, n.38.

[71] The steps may have been there in order to clean the interior of a water cistern. See examples of such water cisterns

G. *O 13*

A rich votive deposit was discovered during excavations in the area of square O 13 located near the so-called *heroon* of Astrabakos (site **B**). The finds, which remain mostly unpublished, include three fragmentary terracotta reliefs, miniature vases and lead figurines.[72] The deposit also contained pottery from the Geometric to the Roman periods, especially black-glazed pottery of the sixth-century B.C., including two lakainai and one kylix.[73]

H. *The Stavropoulos Plot, (N 13) t.s. 101*

A long narrow building atop a marble *krepis* was discovered near the Eurotas River.[74] The length of the building was not established although the excavation exposed a distance of 17.70 m but did not reach the end; the width is 5.15m (FIG. 69). Built into the walls of the building was a reused late Archaic 'heroic' stone relief of which only the bottom right corner survives; it depicts part of a throne and the legs of a seated couple.[75]

While the building exhibits construction from the first-century B.C., the excavators report of a south-western side, constructed with a polygonal Lesbian technique dated to the late sixth /early fifth-century B.C. that survived from an early phase of the building (FIG. 70).[76] A deposit dating to the first century B.C. was found in front of the south-western wall of the structure.[77] Under the deposit was a burial with burned remains and a few gold leaves.[78] The excavators report that the deposit and grave were surrounded by a peribolos wall of the first century B.C. Delivorrias believes that the deposit was placed over the burial after the discovery of the grave during the first century B.C. and the dead was given dedication for some time.[79] Subsequently, the long building should be interpreted as a temple of Late Hellenistic date and the cult was formed because of the rediscovery of the burial; a custom not unlike the habits of the time.[80]

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in Mays (2010, 14, fig. 1.9).

[72] Stibbe 1989a, 87, n.115.

[73] Stibbe 1989a 87, n.115; 1994, 19. The kraters from this deposit have been published by Stibbe (1989b, 91, fig. 2, no A2), and a fragment from a stamnos is published in Stibbe 1984, 10 no. 17.

[74] *ArchDelt* 23 (B1), 151-2; *ArchDelt* 24 (B1), 134-5; *AAA* 1, 41-2, pl. 103. Other long buildings of Hellenistic/Roman date have been discovered in Sparta: one was found in the field of G. Laskaris in Sparta (*ArchDelt* 21 (B1), 154-5; *ArchDelt* 22 (B1), 197-203; *ArchDelt* 24 (B1), 137) and the other is the so called 'Altar of Lykourgos' by the Eurotas River discussed in Wace (1905-6, 295-302). A third is unpublished and is mentioned in the Gitiada street site (site **E**). A fourth one is discussed as the Ergatikies Katikies site (site **2)** below. All these buildings are interpreted as temples (Stibbe 1989a, 84-93).

[75] *ArchDelt* 24 (B1), 134-135, pl. 132a.

[76] *ArchDelt* 24 (B1), 134-135.

[77] *ArchDelt* 24 (B1), 134-5.

[78] As is true elsewhere in Greece, gold leaves as grave goods are rare and indicative of wealth. Other examples were discovered in Sparta: in town-square 147A, where two graves were found, either Hellenistic or Roman, one of which was an inhumation, there was a gold crown included in the burial. At town-square 39, were unearthed several Hellenistic and Roman graves; two of these had gold leaves in them (Whitley 2002-3, 29).

[79] See *ArchDelt* 23 (B1), 152 for a further description of the deposit.

[80] See for example another late Hellenistic cult which formed around an earlier burial (*infra* site **2**).

The earlier material is of primary importance for our purposes. A 'few small terracotta hero-reliefs...like those from the Heroon on the bank of the river'[81] were recovered from a few pits near this building.[82] Stibbe reports the find of a Doric capital (ca. 500 B.C.) near the long building and a fragment of an Archaic relief krater like the one found at the 'Heroon by the Eurotas'.[83] Because of these finds as well as the Archaic stone relief found reused in the later building we can assume that there was some cult activity in the area during the Archaic period.

Reading the evidence together, we can reconstruct a history along these lines: we know that the site was in use during the late sixth/ early fifth centuries B.C. because of the one surviving side made with the Lesbian technique, the late Archaic stone relief, the Doric capital, the Archaic relief krater and the few terracotta reliefs found nearby. Because of the iconography of the stone relief (depicting an enthroned couple) together with the terracotta reliefs, the earlier building may have been a hero-shrine. The Doric capital may also be part of the architecture. As for the relief krater, it is one of a few found in Limnai, such as the one from the 'Heroon by the Eurotas' and is commonly found in cult sites in Sparta.[84] The site therefore must have two phases: the first was a hero-shrine of the late Archaic and Classical periods and the second was a hero-shrine where the cult, surrounding a rediscovered burial, commenced in the Late Hellenistic period.

6.2. Sites and deposits at Kynosoura, Pitane and Mesoa

I. *The Chatzis Plot (t.s. 91)*

A rescue excavation in Kynosoura unearthed a deposit that resembled those found at the Amyklai (site **A**) and at the 'Heroon by the Eurotas' River (site **B**). The deposit consists of terracotta statuettes, sixteen of which are female (and twelve of these wear a *polos),* and thirty male (most of them nude), twenty-two terracotta reliefs and some miniature vases.[85] Of the terracotta reliefs, the most common composition is a seated male, while some represent a banqueter or a rider. A wall is also reported (4.80 cm), which the excavator interprets as a peribolos wall, and some tiles.[86]

Further excavation of square 91 revealed[87] two walls of unknown date, but their differing constructions indicate that they probably were not contemporary. The excavators report that they found miniature vessels, Megarian bowls, loom weights, black-glazed sherds, and fragments of terracotta statuettes and reliefs.[88] The many terracotta sherds are of the Archaic and Classical times, although most of the deposit, such as the Megarian bowls, is of Hellenistic and Roman date. This disparate information does not provide us with an adequate understanding of the chronology of the site, nor of its use.

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[81] Dawkins 1908-9, 3.

[82] Dawkins 1908-9, 3.

[83] Stibbe 1989a, 92, figs. 25-6.

[84] Förtsch 2001, 100. The fragments of reliefs kraters from Sparta with known provenance are: six fragments from the 'Heroon of by the Eurotas', five fragments from of the area of a the 'Altar of Lykourgos', three fragments from the area of the theatre, two fragments for the sanctuary of Orthia, one fragment from t.s. 113 and two fragments from t.s. 112-4 (Andersen 1977, 66ff.; Förtsch 2001, 100, n.879).

[85] *ArchDelt* 29 (B2), 291-92, pl. 188a-b.

[86] *ArchDelt* 29 (B2), 291-2.

[87] *ArchDelt* 51 (B1), 118-120.

Because of the deposit of terracotta reliefs, figurines and miniature vases we can assume that the deposit was linked to a cult site; and due to terracotta reliefs that the cult was dedicated to a hero. Since we know the date of many of the terracotta shards it can be concluded that there was activity in the Archaic and Classical periods. However, the development of the site afterwards remains shrouded. We do not know, for example, if its function remained the same throughout its entire period of use in the Hellenistic and Roman times.

J. *The Kalatzis Plot (t.s. 125)*

At this site, Steinhauer, in 1973, excavated a shallow pit containing pottery, terracotta reliefs and statuettes (including a Daedalic figurine), [89] fragments of glass and a small marble head of a lion. The finds date from the seventh-century B.C. to the Hellenistic period.[90] The terracotta reliefs were not as numerous as in other deposits described above but their iconography was the same as those of the reliefs found in the ‘Heroon by the Eurotas’, the Chatzis plot and the Amyklaian deposit, that is, a standing couple, and a seated male.[91] Because of the nature of the finds, e.g. the terracotta reliefs we can discern that the deposit was linked to a heroic cult. However, since the finds have not been published, it is not possible to establish the quantity of the votives in each time period or whether there was a change in activity at the site from the seventh-century to the Hellenistic period.

Several architectural fragments were discovered that enable us to posit a building.[92] The excavation produced some walls, remains of an Archaic architectural fragment with incised designs and parts of several Hellenistic architectural fragments decorated with gorgoneia, riders, and eagles in relief. The excavators have identified these as acroteria,[93] but Salapata recognizes them as antefixes.[94] There were also parts of a capital, a column base and a part of a Corinthian capital. It is possible that an Archaic building, demonstrated by the Archaic architectural fragment, housed the votives described above but this can only remain speculative. A second phase of construction (Hellenistic) consisted probably of a small temple because of the size of the architectural elements.[95]

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[88] In addition, fragments of glass vessels, metal pieces, and coins of the first and third centuries B.C. were also recovered. See *ArchDelt* 51 (B1), 120.

[89] *ArchDelt* 29 (B2), pl. 185γ.

[90] *ArchDelt* 29 (B2), 286-7, pl. 185.

[91] *ArchDelt* 29 (B2), pl. 185β.

[92] *ArchDelt* 29 (B2), 286-7.

[93] Catling 1979-80, 32.

[94] Salapata 1992, 166, no. 27.

K. *The P. Valiotis Plot and the Menakakes Plot (town square 35)*

Because the plots are located next to each other they will be examined together: included within the material found under the remains of a Roman villa were Archaic sherds, fragments of Archaic, Hellenistic and Roman figurines, miniature pottery and terracotta reliefs with heroic iconography, some dating to the Archaic period. Some terracotta reliefs depict a seated male with kantharos and banqueters.[96]

L. *The Tseliou Plot (t.s. 119)*

Two deposits with material ranging in date from the Archaic to late Hellenistic periods were uncovered among some Hellenistic and Roman walls. Among other items were a large quantity of votive terracotta reliefs, figurines and pottery including cups, kantharoi, skyphoi, and miniature pottery, such as lakainai. Most of the terracotta figurines depict a seated female or a standing female wearing a *polos* and date to the Classical and Hellenistic periods.[97] Because of the gender of the figurines, the excavator suggests that perhaps a female (deity or heroine) may have been worshiped at the site.[98]

M. *The Karmiris Plot (t.s. 113)*

A votive deposit with terracotta reliefs, miniature vases and normal size pottery was recovered from the Karmiris plot. Along with the votives was found a terracotta lion-head, dated to the fifth-century B.C. which formed part of an acroterion, indicating that architecture once stood at the site.[99]

N. *The Stathopoulos plot (t.s. 120)*

A deposit found at this plot consisted of roof tiles, lead votive wreaths, miniature vases, pottery from the Archaic and Classical Periods, terracotta reliefs and votive figurines. Among the figurines is one that depicts an enthroned figure, one of a kourotrophic type and a head of the

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[95] *ArchDelt* 29 (B2), 287.The description of the so-called rider acroteria enables us to speculate about the decoration of the building. The motif of riders is typical of the Dioskouroi iconography in Sparta, from the Classical period onwards (Sanders 1992, 205ff). Moreover, acroteria depicting the Dioskouroi as riders are not uncommon, especially in South Italy (in Taras and Lokroi) and Sicily (in Akragas, Gela and Syracuse) (Szeliga 1981; Eaverly 1995, 59-61). I do not wish to suggest that this deposit is associated with a temple of the Dioskouroi but the decoration possibly reflects an influence from South Italy, possibly Taras, which was a Spartan colony and can give us some understanding of building decoration in Sparta in the Hellenistic period.

[96] *ArchDelt* 51 (B1), 183, 185, pl. 81α.

[97] *ArchDelt* 52 (B1), 179, pl. 79β-γ.

[98] *ArchDelt* 52 (B1), 179.

[99] The terracotta lion-head is published by Kourinou-Pikoula (1987-8, 477-8, pl. ΞΗ, 2).

Daedalic type. A fragmentary terracotta plaque bears a representation of a Gorgon.[100] Considering the nature of the deposit, i.e. the terracotta reliefs and figurines, the material probably comes from a shrine in the area.

O. *Thermopylae st. (t.s. 122)*

The excavators report of a number of terracotta figurines, miniature vases, and terracotta reliefs. The terracotta reliefs dated from the Archaic and Classical periods; one relief depicts a seated male with another figure standing. Among the finds were some dating from the Roman and Hellenistic period. Because of the nature and the date of the finds the deposit then, probably belongs to a cult place.[101]

P. *The drainage ditch by the Eurotas Bridge (t.s. 012)*

Two deposits were discovered about 50 meters south of the Eurotas Bridge: one with pottery and figurines dating to the Archaic and Classical period and the other containing six large (fragmentary) Archaic terracotta reliefs, together with Lakonian roof tiles and a fragment of a marble plaque with a partial inscription.[102] The terracotta reliefs, of which only four are published, are large, ca. 54 cm height, and carry traces of paint. Although none survives intact, one depicts pairs of hoplites, two show pairs of riders, while another shows part of a female head turned to her right (FIGS. 71-4).[103] Steinhauer interprets the terracotta reliefs as metopes for a hero-shrine or a grave monument.[104] He explains that each of the reliefs is rendered within a border, leaving some blank space where it would be secured onto a wooden building. His reasoning may be correct considering that Lakonian roof tiles were also discovered in the deposit and probably belonged to the same building.

Ridgway challenges the interpretation of the reliefs as metopes and instead sees them as individual votive reliefs because of their relative thinness,[105] purity of clay, the absence of triglyphs and the lack of decorated metopes in the Peloponnese at that time.[106] The problem with Ridgway' interpretation, however, is that these reliefs do not resemble contemporary terracotta votive reliefs that are common in Lakonia. Apart from having a much larger size than the votive reliefs, the reliefs from the drainage ditch deposit show better quality of work. Moreover, pairs of hoplites or riders are never seen on Archaic Lakonian votive reliefs, which instead usually depict a seated pair of figures. As for the lack of triglyphs, Steinhauer argues that there are examples of other buildings without terracotta triglyphs which had terracotta metopes, such as temple B at Himera.[107] Although objections have been raised by Ridgway, the reliefs are more commonly viewed as metopes[108] which belonged on a building in the area.[109]

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[100] *ArchDelt* 54 (B1), 159-60, fig.4; Zavvou and Themos 2009, 116, fig. 11.22; kourotrophic figurine: Sparta Museum 13430-13449; Daedalic figurine: Sparta Museum 13406; terracotta relief: Sparta Museum 13397.

[101] *ArchDelt* 51 (B1), 185.

[102] *ArchDelt* 27 (B1), 242. The inscription, discovered amidst the reliefs, reads 'HE' which makes it impossible to attribute any meaning to it, but perhaps it could be ΗΕΡΟΣ. The material of this plaque is marble and its width is the same as that of the reliefs prompting the excavators to suggest that the inscriptions and the reliefs may be part of a funeral monument.

[103] *ArchDelt* 27 (B1), 240. It is difficult to identify who the figures are on the metopes. Steinhauer (1982, 340) suggests that this is the return of Helen and compares the scene with that on a proto-Corinthian aryballos (Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA617; *CVA* III 13, pl. (483) 14.1-4.14). However, the metopes are too fragmentary to be able to accept this interpretation nor are there any identifiable features on any of the figures. It is noteworthy to point out that one of the metopes (FIG. 71) shows two male figures, one bearded and the other without a beard. Such distinction of facial hair is known in Lakonian art from two sixth-century Lakonian reliefs that depict the Dioskouroi (Sparta Museum 575, FIG. 53; Sparta Museum 5380, FIG. 52). It is possible, although not demonstrable, that the reliefs show a scene from the adventures of the Dioskouroi who were popular heroes in Sparta.

[104] Steinhauer 1982, 329-41. A fragment of a terracotta relief krater from Sparta, published in *ArchDelt* 19 (A), 174, pl. 85a is interpreted by Steinhauer (idem 330, 10) as part of a metope but he gives no explanation for his interpretation. He may be correct because the particular fragment is rendered in much higher relief than the terracotta relief kraters and has traces of red slip, which is never seen on the Lakonian relief kraters; see *supra* p. 147, n.26.

It is not clear if the metopes were part of the decoration of a cult building or a grave monument. If they belonged to the latter, then the deceased would have had to be prominent, perhaps even a Spartan king, because discovered Archaic graves in Sparta are poor in gifts which consist of only pottery and no elaborate built structure (§4.2). The best candidate for the identification of the building bearing the metopes is probably a shrine because of the second deposit found at the site with pottery and figurines, dating to the Archaic and Classical periods and which are presumably votive.[110] In the second deposit were a large number of drinking shapes, such as kraters, cups, oinochoai, and lekythoi and fragments of amphorae, a hydria and *pithoi*.[111] The chronology and spatial relationship of the second deposit demonstrate that the votives must have belonged to the monument which bore the terracotta metopes.[112]

6.3. Other possible *heroa*

1. *Zaimis plot (town square 117)*

An Archaic tomb of the first decades of the sixth-century B.C., as indicated by the goods accompanying the burial, was found in town square 117.[113] According to the excavator the burial was constructed in two-storeys, a practice in Sparta from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods.[114] A large channel of Lakonian roof tiles was built immediately around the tomb for the removal of rainwater in late Classical times (FIG. 75). On top of one of the tiles composing the channel system was a deposit of twenty-two complete Lakonian vases, which had been pierced, perhaps to prevent them from being used again and which were deposited on the tiles by the tomb.[115] The vases were comprised of one oinochoe, five lakainai, two cups, seven deep plates, one shallow dish, one baby feeder and four salt bowls.[116] The excavators interpret the deposit as part of a symposium held by seven persons in honour of the dead whereby after the symposium the material was then deposited next to the tomb.[117]

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[105] See, however, Barletta (2001, 68) who explains that terracotta metopes are relatively thin and require an addition of backer blocks to support the upper structure of the temple. Therefore, the thinness of the Lakonian reliefs should not prevent their interpretation as metopes.

[106] Ridgway 1990, 504-5.

[107] Steinhauer 1982, 329, n.2. See also *ArchDelt* 27 (B1) 246 for other examples of terracotta metopes on grave monuments which have been discovered e.g. at the Kerameikos cemetery there are terracotta metopes depicting riders and hunters.

[108] Förtsch (2001, 123-4) also refers to the reliefs as metopes.

[109] In fact, the building may have been discovered since 7 meters north from the deposit and at the same level were found the foundations of a 6 meter wall, which was embedded in a late seventh-century stratum. A 2 m opening in the middle of the wall may be an entrance. It is not certain that this building is connected with the metopes and deposit but its worthy to speculate that the metopes belonged on this structure. See Steinhauer 1982, 329.

[110] The pottery begins in the Lakonian III period (575-550 B.C.) and ends in the fourth-century B.C. (Steinhauer 1982, 340).

[111] *ArchDelt* 27 (B1), 245, pl. 181α-στ.

[112] Steinhauer 1982, 340.

Examples of funerary meals are discussed by Hägg, who provides examples from Asine in the Argolid, Troy, Miletus and Mycenae.[118] According to him, the areas where feasting takes place are situated either near a cemetery, or by a Bronze Age site, and therefore, he interprets the meals to be in honour of ancestors.[119] We cannot know how the Spartans perceived the burial in the Zaimis plot burial i.e., if they thought this was a burial of an ancestor or simply a burial that demanded respect. But it is important to note that the channel built during the late Classical period was constructed so as not to disturb the burial.[120] When the grave was found (presumably during the construction of the channel in the late Classical times) there was a funerary feast in honour of the dead as the late Classical date of the pottery demonstrates.[121] The feast over an earlier grave indicates that the Spartans may have thought that the deceased had some sort of impact on their lives so that a banquet in honour for this dead was necessary. However, there is no evidence that dedications or other sign of veneration took place at the site after the one time feast in the late Classical period.

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[113] Raftopoulou 1998, 134-5, fig. 12.18.

[114] See Raftopoulou (1998, 136) who claims that the two story kind of burial was usual in Sparta but gives no other examples. The lower part of two-storey tombs was used for the primary burial, while the upper housed the bones of earlier burials, together with offerings (eadem, 136). For Archaic period graves in Sparta see *supra* p. 90, n.41. See Kourinou (2000, 215-219) for the location of cemeteries in Sparta.

[115] See another example of a discovery of a pierced jug in area II of the acropolis of Geraki in Lakonia, which was found in a room that may have been for domestic use. The date of the room is late Classical to early Hellenistic, according to Crowel et al. (2001, 9-10).

[116] Raftopoulou 1998, 135, fig. 12.19.

[117] Raftopoulou, 1998, 135.Note Alkman's fr.19 Page, *PMG*, which mentions an arrangement of seven couches as canonical for a Lakonian symposium (Rabinowitz 2009, 121).

[118] Hägg 1983, 198-193.

[119] Hägg 1983, 198-193; Antonaccio 1995, 199-207 for a discussion of such funerary meals.

[120] Raftopoulou (1998, 134) notes that extensive works were made around the burial in the late Classical period in an attempt to control water that went down the hill towards the ravine.

[121] Evidence from the Geometric period indicates that such meals took place after the burial of the dead but later the meal, *perideipnon*, was celebrated at the house (Burkert 1985, 193; Boardman 1966, 2-4; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 40, 66, 75ff; Ekroth 2002, 278).

2. *west of town square 101-Ergatikes Katoikies*

A Hellenistic building was discovered on the eastern foot of the Acropolis hill, which appears to have housed a cult that formed around an Archaic burial.[122] The Hellenistic structure was comprised of three rooms;[123] in the middle of one of them was an Archaic grave as is indicated by the two small lakainai of the second Lakonian style (610-575 B.C.) found together with the skeletal remains (FIG. 76).[124] The grave was constructed of upright slabs which formed a box-shaped construction that rose upright on the floor of the Hellenistic building. It is unclear whether the upright slabs were contemporary with the burial or if they were placed there later in order to mark the burial. The whole expanse of the room around the grave area was covered with terracotta female and animal figurines (about 150) mostly of Hellenistic date. Further finds included miniature pottery, lamps, bone knife handles, and a statuette of a 'barbarian'.[125] Some of the finds are Archaic in date, such as a bronze protome[126] and a terracotta horse; it is uncertain if these are connected with the burial.

The site has been studied very little but both Steinhauer and Stibbe propose that this may be a family shrine because of its small dimensions.[127] The following scenario is possible: upon finding the Archaic burial in the Hellenistic period, the ancient inhabitants venerated the deceased and constructed the building to house the burial. The construction of the Hellenistic building in order to house the burial is obvious since the burial was located in the middle room, of the three room building, and the construction of the grave with upright slabs rose over the floor of the Hellenistic building. Moreover, the floor around the building had many figurines, presumably votive and destined as gifts for the dead. The construction of the rooms during the Hellenistic period over an early Archaic burial together with the votives possibly corresponds with a revival and interest in the past during the Hellenistic period in Sparta.[128] It is possible that the deceased was thought of as a hero, perhaps even a heroine, judging by the predominately female figurines, or ancestor, as Steinhauer proposes.[129]

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[122] Stibbe 1989a, 92-93; Alcock 1991, 463.

[123] *ArchDelt* 27 (B1), 246-8.

[124] *ArchDelt* 27 (B1), 248, pl. 184β.

[125] *ArchDelt* 27 (B1), pls. 184α, γ, δ; 185α-δ; 186α.

[126] Similar bronze protomai have been discovered at the acropolis, the Menelaion and Artemis Orthia. See Lamb 1926-7, 92-3, pl. X.

[127] *ArchDelt* 27 (B1), 248; Stibbe 1989a, 92.

[128] For the influence of the older Spartan tradition, particularly on religion, during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Cartledge and Spawforth (2002, 190ff.).

[129] *ArchDelt* 27 (B1), 248.

6.2. Discussion

The above survey has presented the depositional evidence of the terracotta reliefs and other possible areas of hero-cult activity. Because of the incomplete state of publication of the sites and deposits, the results of the above survey can only provide provisional conclusions about the heroic-cult sites and Sparta.

From the evidence discussed above, it is clear that the earliest activity commemorating local heroes in Sparta commences in the seventh-century B.C. with sites, such as those of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra (**A**), the Kalatzis plot (**J**) the site of Stauffert street (**C**) and possibly the 'Heroon by the Eurotas' (**B**). The earliest material is in the form of pottery and figurines but because such votives also occur in divine sanctuaries at this time, the sites' heroic character only receives confirmation when the terracotta reliefs appear in the material during the sixth-century and especially in the fifth. The majority of the sites, such as **D, F, G, H, I, L, N,** and **Q,** show activity during the Archaic period that continues into the Classical period indicating that many generations would visit the shrine. Others, such as **A, C, J,** and possibly **K,** have even longer lives, with cults commencing in the Archaic period and continuing into the Hellenistic times. A few sites, such as **Q, W** and perhaps **M, O, X,** have activity of short duration, maybe only a generation or two. This data suggests that the peak of popularity of such cults was the Archaic and Classical periods which is also the time when the stone and terracotta reliefs take on new imagery in the seated male warrior, rier and eventually the banqueter by the end of the fourth-century B.C. The information also demonstrates that the cults were of long duration.

The longevity of these cults is noteworthy because shrines receiving votives of one or two generations are usually interpreted as having a family or local importance: typical examples are dedications at Bronze Age tombs or the stele shrines located over abandoned houses at the Potters' Quarter in Corinth.[130] By contrast shrines which last longer have been interpreted as having acquired state importance as Williams, argues for one of the stele shrines in Corinth, that of the South Stoa stele shrine, where the shrine received votives from the sixth-century until 146 B.C. [131] Some of the heroic cults at Sparta may be viewed in the same light. While a few received votives for a few generations, others, such as that of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra, whose cult lasted from the early Archaic to the Late Hellenistic period, became important enough to be known even in Pausanias' time and acquired state importance since the Gerousia dedicated a marble throne here.[132] Others heroic shrines in Sparta, which had a long life may have enjoyed popularity both as local cults as well as having acquired state importance.

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[130] For the Bronze Age tombs see §1.2.2. For the stele shrines see *infra* p. 168, n.175.

[131] Williams 1981, 418.

[132] See *supra* p. 145, n.8.

As noted earlier the identification of most sites or deposits as heroic relies primarily on the discovery of terracotta reliefs. Some sites, such as those of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra (**A**), the deposit on Stauffert Street (**C**), the 'Heroon by the Eurotas' (**B**) and the deposit at the Niarchos plot (**F**), received hundreds of such votives which makes such items the most common votive, compared to the terracotta figurines, pottery or lead figurines. It is unfortunate that for most other deposits the numbers of the terracotta reliefs are unknown but they may indicate a similar trend although this can only remain speculative.

Apart from the terracotta reliefs other commonly found votives are pottery and terracotta figurines. Because of the incomplete state of publication of the deposits, information regarding the figurines is largely absent. However, the currently available evidence indicates a certain differentiation in sex and in some cases segregation in sex and types of figurines among the deposits. For example, at the 'Heroon by the Eurotas' (**B**) and the Chatzis plot deposit (**I**), the figurines are male nudes and females many of the latter wearing poloi. At the deposit at Tseliou plot **(L**), the figurines were all female, either seated or standing.

Female figurines have been found in significant numbers at the sanctuary of Orthia and at the Menelaion but to my knowledge, male nudes only occur at the sanctuary of Orthia.[133] It is uncertain if the figurines dedicated at the heroic cult sites are supposed to represent a hero or a mortal but unlike some of the male figurines from the sanctuary of Orthia, and the sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus at Tsakona, none are reported to be ithyphallic.[134] Regardless of the way the male nude figurine was supposed to be viewed, he is depicted young and nude. These two traits were often used in Greek art to signify heroic, divine, athletic and youthful qualities.[135] Therefore, we may see the male nude figurines as either representing a hero's qualities or those of the dedicators themselves or if their parents, or relatives dedicated them, the qualities of their children or whoever else they dedicated for.

As was true of the figurines, the pottery recovered from these sites lacks detailed publication. From the material published, we see that miniature vases, especially of drinking shapes (**C, G, I, K, L, M, N**), predominate in several deposits.[136] The same is true at other cult sites in Sparta, such as the Menelaion and the so-called 'Achilleion'[137], and miniature votives are common in many Peloponnesian sanctuaries, such as that of Athena Alea at Tegea[138], and at sanctuaries at Corinth[139] and Phlius[140] and even at Mycenaean sanctuaries.[141] The popularity of the miniature votives may be explained by their cheap nature and portability.[142] However it has also been suggested that the choice to dedicate a small item, may have been a way to create a private bond between the dedicator and the dedicatee and may have expressed a more personal dedication rather than display of wealth.[143] The small and personal gift to the hero would fit well for a dedication from the worshippers in Sparta who chose to give a votive to their hero. As has been argued in chapter five the intimate connection between the people and their local heroes is demonstrated by the iconography on the hero reliefs where the hero and the worshippers are in the same plane, the anonymity of the hero but also the many terracotta reliefs which depict worshippers.

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[133] Dawkins, *Orthia* 152, pl. XXXVII 1-6.

[134] Orthia: Dawkins, *Orthia* pls. XL 1-7, 8-12, LXIII 7, LXIV 9. Zeus Messapeus: Catling 1990, 21, pl. 6d.

[135] Bonfante 1989, 549.

[136] Miniature vessels are often an indicator of cult activity (Hammond 2009, 143).

[137] Dickins 1906-7b, 173.

Only very limited evidence exists for drinking and dining at the heroic sites discussed in this chapter. Only the cult of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra is reported to have any significant quantity of regular-size drinking shapes (forty-two lakainai and one kylix). In two deposits were also found relief kraters (**B, H**), which were probably drinking vessels.[144] Further evidence is given by the Zaimis plot (site **1**) where a symposium took place after the rediscovery of a grave, as is demonstrated by the dining-ware there, and at the site on Stauffert Street (site **C**) there is evidence of sacrifice as the burned area with bones indicates. Because of the limited nature of publication of the pottery from the rest of the sites the number of drinking vessels and the custom of drinking at hero-shrines in Sparta has to remain inconclusive.

Nevertheless the limited information that is available shows how drinking in sanctuaries was according to Lakonian customs. Drinking in Lakonian sanctuaries is evidenced by the drinking shapes found in major sanctuaries, such as that of Orthia, the Amyklaion[145] the Eleusinion and the sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus.[146] Furthermore, ritual drinking in sanctuaries is supported by iconographical motifs on sixth-century Lakonian vase painting. On a number of vases with images depicting communal drinking in a symposium, small winged figures bearing wreaths float above the symposiasts (FIG. 77).[147] The same winged figures are also seen around riders or divinities on Lakonian vases;[148] their presence at a symposium creates a religious setting and has led scholars to propose that the figures are drinking in a sanctuary.[149] Komast scenes may also suggest a religious setting: on one Archaic vase we see a komast dancing in front of a building, which is probably a temple or a shrine because of the presence of a snake. The dancer holds a cup with one hand and slaps his buttock with the other (FIG. 78).[150] The drinking shapes have been interpreted as not 'static' votives,[151] i.e. they were for actual use at the sanctuary, not just dedications. Although the use of the vessels at the sanctuary cannot be proven a number of them may have been involved in actual drinking.[152] Therefore, the drinking shapes at the heroic sites and deposits demonstrate that such practices may have occurred at hero-shrines in Sparta, but considering the small numbers that were found drinking may have been for small groups as was the case at the Menelaion.[153]

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[138] Voyatzis 1990, 80-1; Hammond 1998.
[139] Williams 1989, 65; Bookidis 1993, 54.
[140] Biers 1971, 397-8, 414-5.
[141] Hammond 2009, 141-4.
[142] The miniature vases could be a substitute for more expensive offerings (Hammond 2009, 144).
[143] Ekroth 2003, 36.
[144] See *supra* p. 147, n.26.
[145] For the Amyklaion we know of the meal of the Hyakinthia see *supra* p. 56.
[146] See Stibbe (1989b; 1994), who provides a catalogue of the Lakonian kraters and other drinking vessels from the sanctuaries of Sparta and abroad. The absence of such forms from residential contexts in Sparta can be explained by the fact that there is little archaeological evidence surviving from houses of Archaic and Classical Sparta. For drinking in Sparta in general, see Nafissi 1991, 175-7, 215-24; Powell 1998; Hodkinson 2000, 216-7; and Rabinowitz 2009.

Lead figurines also appear among the votives in some deposits (**A, C, F, N, G, S**). The iconography, chronology and quantities remain speculative as none of the lead votives are published. As Cavanagh argues, the iconography of the lead-figurines sheds little light on Spartan cults and therefore the lead-figurines should be viewed as an inexpensive and common Spartan votive.[154]

Finally, metal objects provide a very different view for the votives from those found at large sanctuaries. In only two deposits were any metals found (**A, D**) which leads to the conclusion that such objects were not commonly dedicated to heroes in Sparta. Compared to the sanctuaries of the Menelaion, Orthia, and the Amyklaion where bronze vessels, figurines or weapons were dedicated in significant quantities, the dedications we see a great difference in the choice of dedications to heroes.[155] The same can be said about the seventh-century ivories, which are also expensive items found at the sanctuary of Orthia. Therefore, from an analysis of the deposits dedicated to heroes we can conclude that heroes in Sparta most commonly received inexpensive votives, such as terracotta reliefs, terracotta figurines, pottery or lead figurines.

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[147] Paris, Musée du Louvre E 667 by the Naukratis Painter: Pipili 1987, 71, fig. 103, no. 194; Stibbe 1972, no 13, pl. 6.1. Samos Archaeological Museum K 1445: Stibbe 1972, no. 19; Pipili 1987, no. 202. Samos Archaeological Museum K 1203, K 1541, K 2404: Stibbe 1972, no. 191, pl. 58; Pipili 1989, 72-3, nos. 196, 204b. Samos Archaeological Museum K 2073: Stibbe 1972 no. 215, pl. 71. Museo Nationale di Taranto 20909: Stibbe 1972, no. 312, pl. 110.

[148] Pipili 1987, 76. The rider has been interpreted as part of a religious procession for a festival (eadem). For the winged creatures around a divinity, see Pipili (1987, 41; 1998, 87-9, figs. 8.5-8) and for the winged creatures in general, see Pipili (1998, 89).

[149] Pipili 1987, 75; 1998, 83; Smith 1998, 78; Powell 1998, 126; Rabinowitz 2009, 123.

[150] Bonn, once in London market; Pipili 1987, fig. 107, no. 208; Smith 1998, 76, fig. 7.1; Smith 2010, 130, pl. 26C.

[151] Rabinowitz 2009, 170, n.25.

[152] Rabinowitz 2009, 170, n.25.

[153] See *supra* p. 46.

[154] Cavanagh *forthcoming*

[155] For the Menelaion bronzes see *supra* pp. 38-9; for the Amyklaion bronzes see *supra* pp. 52-4.

The inexpensive votives can be explained by three possibilities: a) that the recipients of such gifts were of minor, local importance in Sparta, which implies that there was no large state-organized temple or sanctuary and this would deem them less likely to receive expensive gifts; b) gifts made of precious materials, such as bronze were often melted down and re-used and therefore, this might explain the absence of more valuable material, or c) a combination of the above reasons, which would indicate that these sites were of local importance and therefore received fewer expensive votives, making it even less possible that such items would survive.

Equally humble are the architectural remains found together with the votives. A number of sites (**A, B, C, D, E, H, I, J, M, N, P, X**) have some architectural fragments, such as tiles, terracotta acroteria, walls and even a poros capital (**D**). In the few cases where the date of the architectural fragments is known, it is demonstrable that construction took place at an early stage of the life of the shrine, i.e. in the sixth-century. In some sites, there is evidence of more than one architectural phases (**C, J**). A couple of sites offer some idea of the size of the structures. At site **C,** the first architectural phase consists of a small room, A, approximately 4x3.20 meters. Next to the deposit, while room B, approximately 5.50x3.75 meters, was added in the second architectural phase. The size of the rooms (even though the excavation did not reach the full length) was not very large. At site **E,** a small rectangular structure (1x1m) inside a later building, possibly connected with an earlier phase of the cult site, may be an example of a small shrine dedicated to heroes.

Because of the incomplete knowledge of the architecture of the shrines in Sparta, material of possible hero-shrines can be sought from Lakonia. In 1962 a small rectangular naiskos (13x 8.50m) was uncovered in Kalogonia, located at the periphery of Sparta (FIG. 79). The excavation generated considerable archaic material, among which were a large number of miniature vases.[156] Although this structure does not indicate evidence of a hero-shrine, its dimensions can perhaps give a clue for similar structures in Sparta.

There are no findings to imply that hero-shrines in Sparta had the grand scale architecture of the Amyklaion, the sanctuary of Orthia or the Menelaion until the Hellenistic period when we see the construction of the long temples, such as those at Ergatikes Katoikies and the Stavropoulos plot constructed around an earlier burial. As has been stressed in the second chapter, some construction work took place at the Menelaion, the Amyklaion and the temple of Athena

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[156] *Praktika* 1962, 115-16; *ArchDelt* 18 (B1), 86; Megaw 1962-3, 18; Cavanagh *et al.* 1996, 289, 78.

Chalkioikos in the middle of the sixth-century B.C. From the architectural fragments collected in the deposits to heroes we do not see such large state-organized construction projects as we see at the major sanctuaries. The humble votives, together with the modest architecture, suggest that most of these cults operated probably at a local level and were not of state importance.[157]

From the survey of sites and the iconographical evidence of the terracotta reliefs it becomes evident that the votive deposits belonged to local heroes. The evidence points to a group of heroes, who may not have been celebrated with large festivals, constructions of large-scale buildings or expensive dedications but with humble votives of terracotta reliefs, figurines, pottery and lead figurines. Their presence, nonetheless, must have been of significance for the inhabitants of Sparta, because of the abundance of sites, quantity of the terracotta reliefs and the longevity of some cults. This evidence directs itself to a kind of shrine that existed in many Greek poleis throughout antiquity: the local shrine.[158]

6.3. Conclusion: the local shrine

The study of Greek religion usually focuses on large sanctuaries and cults. However, amidst the large temples, civic spaces and houses of a Greek polis, many other shrines existed. Some of these were small, marked only by a stele, while others took the form of a small temple or even an open area surrounded by a wall.[159]

Rusten has collected the literary evidence of such shrines, which he perceives as evidence of Greek popular religion,[160] a topic that tends to be omitted from general studies on Greek religion.[161] Rusten adduces examples from Pindar, who provides us with some of the earliest evidence for shrines set among houses. In *N.* 7.93-94 written for Sogenes, a boy victor from Aigina, who won the boys' pentathlon, a simile likens the locality of the boy's home, between two precincts dedicated to Herakles, to the yokes of a four-horse chariot. In another ode, an epinician for Hieron of Syracuse, Pindar prays to the Mother and to Pan who 'often sing before my door at night' (*P.* 3.78-79). In fact, Pausanias claims that Pindar had a shrine to Mother and Pan by his house (9.25.3).[162] Inscriptions also provide evidence for such shrines. One of the marble stele recording the sale of the property of Alkibiades in 414 B.C., connected perhaps with the mutilation of the Herms in 415 B.C., specifies that his house was in Kydathenaion, adjacent to the shrine of Artemis Amarysia from Anthomon (*IG* I^3 426).[163] Another inscription, this one of the fourth-century B.C., mentions a shrine of Herakles Alexikakos in an area where there was a sale of a confiscated property.[164] Inscriptions attest to shrines in the western part of Athens in the residential district of the demes Melitre and Kollytos on the Hill of the Nymphs, one of which was sacred to the Nymphs.[165] A rupestral inscription on the Hill of the Nymphs reads *horos Dios*, (sixth-century B.C.), while another reads *horos* only. It has been presumed that part of the hill was sacred to Zeus. [166]

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[157] This fact may not be true for all cults, as for example that of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra.

[158] See *infra* § 6.3.

[159] Zaitman and Pantel 1992, 55.

[160] Rusten 1983. Kearns (2010, 152-61) also collects and comments on some texts that deal with shrines in households and in neighbourhoods.

[161] Burkert 1985, 276 wrote that 'Greek religion, bound to the polis, is public religion to an extreme degree'. The omission of small shrines and the personal relationship of people and the divine is evident in recent scholarship, e.g. Buxton 2000 and Ogden 2007 although van Straten (2000, 216-22) discusses the relationship between the worshippers and the recipients of cult. More recently, Instone 2009 collects literary sources that deal with the way gods and individuals interacted and the ways that individuals thought they could make 'contact' with the divine.

[162] See also Pindar's *P.* 8.56-60; and Sophocles' *Oid. t.* 919 (Rusten 1983). There are other many examples of small shrines, such as Herms, or shrines to Hekate at crossroads, near houses or by streets.

Small shrines are not limited to cults to divinities, but literary sources attest to shrines dedicated to heroes in neighbourhoods and near houses. Herodotus recounts that the hero-shrine of Astrabakos in Sparta was near the house of king Ariston (6.69.3).[167] In an another example in Aristophanes' *Wasps*, Philokleon prays to Lycus whom he calls γείτων ἥρως, a neighbour hero which indicated that there was a shrine of the hero in the neighbourhood (389-394). In Euripides' *Helen* a hero-shrine was established in front of the palace (1165-68).[168] In Andokides' defence regarding the profanation of the Eleusinan Mysteries, he appears to have been living near the shrine of the hero Phorbas (*On the Mysteries*, 62). [169] In Barbios' fable 63, a man found a hero's grave in his courtyard; he poured libations at the altar and asked the hero for riches and good things.[170] The profusion of the literary sources regarding hero-shrines in poleis demonstrates the importance and abundance of such cults.[171]

The material evidence of such shrines is reported in archaeological reports of various poleis. It would be impossible and beyond the scoped of this thesis to talk about every kind of such shrine in the Greek world but a brief overview of some examples may provide comparable material for the heroic shrines in Sparta. This will be especially beneficial for comparing the types of votives of such shrines with the heroic shrines in Sparta, their life-span and if any are dedicated to heroes. For example, a type of shrine in Corinth along the roadway or in an open-air temenos marked sacred areas using statues raised on tall shafts.[172] A well-known one is the Kokkynovrysi shrine where a shaft for a statue base was found together with a pit from which were recovered terracotta votives of a particular kind: dancers around a syrinx player.[173] On the basis of the iconography, Bookidis suggests that a shrine of Pan and the Nymphs may have stood on the spot.[174] Another example is the 'Underground Shrine' in Corinth was built over Geometric graves. Here, the votives include pottery and lamps.[175] The 'Heroon of the Crossroads' in Corinth which similarly lay over four Geometric graves, had modest votives consisting of terracotta figurines of reclining banqueters, horses and riders, and relief snake stelai capped by helmets (FIG. 80)[176] There are many examples of such shrines in the Greek world, such as the road-shrine of Hera near the Argive Heraion[177] and the shrine of Zeus on the hill of the Muses in Athens with inexpensive dedications.[178] In general, such shrines were small and contained modest dedications of terracotta, such as pottery and reliefs like the shrines in Sparta.

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[163] Pritchett 1953, 272 (stele 6, lines 78-79); Wycherley 1970, 286.

[164] Meritt 1936, 400; Wycherley 1970, 286.

[165] Wycherley, 1970, 287, n.12.

[166] Wycherley 1959, 67.

[167] Astrabakos was also close to the temple of Artemis Orthia (Paus. 3.16.6). The location of his shrine may also reflect his relationship with the divinity. According to myth, he and his brother Alopekos lost their sanity when they found the xoanon of Artemis Orthia, which had been brought to Sparta by Orestes (Paus. 3.16.9). Such examples are common in Greek cult where the divinity responsible for the cause of the hero's destruction is spatially close, e.g. Hippolytus at Troizen near the temple of Aphrodite or Kallisto near Artemis in Arcadia (Kearns 1992, 84, 86; Larson 1995, 116). See also *supra* p.70, n.51.

[168] See Rusten (1983, 293-5); and Rohde (2000, 155, n.136) for a discussion of shrines in front of gates, e.g. Euripides' *Heraclid* 609.

[169] Wycherley 1970, 286.

[170] This fable may be an example of a discovery of one of many graves, which was given heroic honours by later generations. For another case explaining the reason for setting up a shrine, see Theophrastos *char.* 16.4 in which we are told that if anyone sees a red snake in his house, he should call on Sabazius but if he sees a snake of the sacred kind, he should build a shrine then and there (Rusten 1983, 294; Kearns 2010, 153).

[171] Other examples include Aesop's fab. 112 where a hero's shrine near the house did not help the man with his offerings. In Artemidoros' *Oneirocrites* 4.78 he advises that the appearance of a dejected hero in a dream means that the hero's shrine has been neglected.

The dedications of valuable votives in sanctuaries can also reflect the status of the cult place. As central cult places provided the opportunity for the elite and rich to display their wealth,[179] small shrines, by contrast, had a more limited sphere of activity and would probably be frequented by the people who lived nearby, as the literary sources attest of neighbourhood shrines (Aristoph. *Wasps* 389-394). This would matter little to the average person whose daily life took place in his village (*kome*) or neighbourhood.[180] The existence of a shrine in close physical proximity to dwellings could be visited more frequently, if not constantly passed and traversed which created a sacred space close to the operations of the everyday life of the citizens. The intimate placement of the cult site in turn, generated a connection between the individual and the cult.

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[172] Depictions of such shrines are commonly depicted on Hellenistic reliefs (Williams 1981, 408 n.4 with references).

[173] Williams 1981, 409ff.; Bookidis 2003, 253; Merker 2003, 237, fig. 14.8.

[174] Bookidis 2003, 253.

[175] Broneer 1942, 144; Williams and Fisher 1972, 149; Pfaff 2003, 128. For other Corinthian examples, see the stele-shrines built over earlier houses (Stillwell 1952, 22-28; 31-32; 41-42; 49-53; Williams 1978, 2-12; 1981, 411-12). One particular example is the South Stoa Stele-shrine, which was given numerous terracotta figurines of horses and riders, standing korai, birds and banqueters, as well as votive pottery (Williams 1978, 5-12; 1981; Pfaff 2003, 128). See also a third-century B.C. deposit, which contained a number of terracotta figurines, lamps, terracotta miniature shields, discovered at the eastern end of the South Stoa in Corinth. Broneer interpreted the material as heroic offerings.

[176] Williams and Fisher 1973, 10-12, no. 12; Williams, MacIntosh and Fisher 1974, 3-4, no.1 pl.1.

[177] Hall 1995, 601-3.

[178] Lalonde 2006, 23, 67.

[179] Pedley 2005, 121.

[180] Dodds 1973, 150.

The importance of these sanctuaries is therefore usually of a local level. While large sanctuaries are often a unifying part of the citizen body particularly with the celebration of festivals and competitions, small shrines may have demonstrated a more personal aspect of Greek religion.[181]

For Spartan hero-cults, the connection of the hero and worshipper may have been accentuated by the nature of the recipient of cult. The hero, having once been a living person among mortals, was more approachable than divinities. Having already examined the iconography of the familiar and approachable hero who on many occasions remained unnamed it was concluded in chapter five that the recipients of the stone and terracotta reliefs were local heroes. Therefore, the modest gifts that were found in the different deposits around Sparta were expressions of gratitude for help and protection to the local hero.

Because of the lack of written sources for Sparta we have no evidence that any of the shrines were dedicated to heroes who were important for a particular group, such as the Attic orgeones, or demes. In this respect there is no indication that in Sparta there are ‘middle’ level cults as opposed to local/private vs. state/public. It is however, logical to assume that some of the shrines must have been of a particular importance to the respective inhabitants of the komai (Kynosoura, Mesoa, Pitane and Limnai) because of the proximity to the houses.

Unfortunately, Sparta was built over extensively during the Hellenistic and Roman periods and therefore domestic architecture from the Archaic and Classical periods is scarce in the archaeological record. Because of that, there is little evidence in regards of the spatial relationship of the hero-shrines to the domestic sphere of the inhabitants of Sparta. Apart from the shrine of Astrabakos, located near the house of king Ariston, we can speculate little regarding their proximity to houses. Because of the material and spatial distribution of the votive deposits, it is likely that Sparta had a large number of hero-shrines scattered throughout domestic areas that attest to an enthusiastic and long-lasting local votive practice of votive offerings at a popular level.

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[181] Dodds 1973, 153; Rusten 1983, 295; Zaidman and Pantel 1992, 80-1. Of course, not all small sanctuaries were located in habitation areas; many, were located near religious centres, such as the Athenian Acropolis. See Wycherley 1970.

Conclusion

Hero cults in Sparta had a long tradition, beginning in the late eighth/early seventh centuries B.C. with the cult at the Menelaion, the cults of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra and other cults to heroes who remain unknown to us. The hero-cults of Sparta were an important constituent of the city's and its people's religious habits. So much so in fact that Helen and Menelaos acquired divine standing. Other cults, although not lavished with the architecture and the expensive votives of the Menelaion, were a popular aspect of the religious life of the Spartan *komai*. The votive deposits discovered all over the modern city attest to a longstanding tradition at a popular level.

The offerings dedicated to heroes, namely the stone and terracotta reliefs, show that there existed a group of heroes who received dedications consisting of a particular kind of iconography. This iconographical tradition, starting with the stone reliefs, emphasises particular aspects of the relationship of the Spartans to their heroes but also the way the Spartans perceived their heroes. The depiction of both the hero with the worshippers on the same plane reflects the proximity and communication of the hero to the people, a fact further confirmed by the hand gesture that the hero makes towards the worshippers. The most common kind of terracotta relief – the seated hero with a kantharos, or at a banquet – reflects the actual action of the offering of the people to the hero and depicts the ritual setting where the hero receives the wine or *theoxenia*. From the uniformity of the iconography of the reliefs, the anonymity of the receiver of the cults, and the inexpensive nature of the terracotta reliefs and other votives, it can be concluded that many of the heroes to whom votives were offered were probably local heroes, some of whom may have been unknown outside Sparta.

The iconography of the stone and terracotta reliefs indicates that heroes in Sparta were seen through a blend of both local peculiarities and external influences. The heroes were initially portrayed seated on a throne with adorants brining offerings, all probably in accordance of the Eastern ruler imagery. Gradually the depiction of the hero changed to that of a lone hero with a kantharos, an image more appropriate to Greek tastes. During the fifth-century the hero was also depicted as a warrior, possibly as a consequence of the Persian Wars and the accentuation of the heroic ideals of the battlefield. By the fourth-century, the Spartan aristocratic values of raising horses for the army and for competitions may have lead to the depiction of the hero as a rider. Finally, the hero at banquet, a common heroic image elsewhere in the Greek world, becomes popular in Sparta by the third-century B.C. and illustrates the hero at a *theoxenia*.

The nature of heroes in Sparta reflects pan-Hellenic notions of heroes but it also echoes local idiosyncrasies. The cult of Hyakinthos should probably be viewed in the same way as certain other hero-cults in the Greek world, namely a hero who is worshipped in a sanctuary whose deity, in this case Apollo, caused the destruction of the hero. Moreover, the cult of Hyakinthos and the myth associated with it are probably later Archaic additions to a pre-existing festival held at Amyklai which itself was possibly an outcome of the Spartan tradition of the conquest of Amyklai. The hero-cult of Hyakinthos at Amyklai is not, therefore, that different from other hero-cults which started elsewhere in the sixth-century, such as that of Pelops.

The popularity of hero-cults in Sparta is evident from the large number of cults which received votives from the early Archaic period onwards. The recipients of the cults remain mostly anonymous to us but those heroes whose names we know of were linked to Sparta by tradition, such as Menelaos and Helen, Agamemnon, Orestes and the Dioskouroi. These heroes were, however, Achaian, a fact that has led scholars to interpret some of the cults as politically motivated by ethnic sentiments. However, I hope to have shown that there is no reason to presume that for the Archaic period, and especially the seventh-century, ethnicity was a motivating factor behind hero-cult. In this regard Sparta was not so different than other poleis that instituted cults for their own local heroes.

In the same light, the heroisation of the war-dead follows the Greek norm whereby such dead received great honours from the state. However, there is no evidence of hero-cult for the Spartan war-dead in the Archaic period or the fifth-century B.C. Such cult, especially for those who died during the Persian Wars, seems to have been instituted later, perhaps in the Hellenistic or even Roman periods. As with other cults of the Persian War dead, the reputation and fame of the battles appears to have increased during late time periods.

In other regards, Sparta had its own local peculiarities. As the descendants of the Herakleidai the kings enjoyed posthumous heroic status. Because of this, it appears than in certain aspects Sparta' boundaries of the heroic and mortal were quite fluid. This has led to the heroisation of certain other individuals who were important to the state, such as Chilon, who was also granted heroic honours after their death. The fluidity between the heroic and the mortal can be further perceived in Sparta's spatial configuration whereby some hero shrines were located near burial places, such as at Limnai (Appendix II).

This study agrees with the suggestion that there are many kinds of heroes whose level of mortality or immortality varies.[1] The heroes worshipped at the Menelaion were regarded as immortal, closer to nature to divinities but nevertheless heroes. The same is demonstrable for others whose cult resembled the divine, such as the Dioskouroi and Herakles. But others who were heroes from the legendary past were considered more mortal and often their cult was connected to a grave, e.g. Orestes. The variation in the degree of mortality/immortality is clearer in the post-mortal treatment of the Spartan kings, who, like the oikistes were mortal men who acquired cult after their death. Here, the mortal-human is elevated to a heroic status but his mortal nature is indisputable. This exercise in the hero-cults of Sparta demonstrates how both local peculiarities can help understand “pan-Hellenic” religious customs.

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[1] Ekroth 1999.

By examining the heroic-cults of Sparta and emphasising the need for a local perspective on the religious habits of the polis, I hope to have demonstrated that many of common ideas concerning Spartan religion are in fact misinterpretations. Furthermore, I hope to have emphasised that although we may not have much of the surviving archaeological evidence of this more ‘popular’ aspect of Greek religion, namely the smaller sanctuaries and shrines, their inclusion in the religious habits of a polis or a region offers another neglected but essential view of Greek religion.

Table I: Lead Figurines from the Menelaion

Lakonian 0[*] **700-600 B.C.**	**Lakonian I* 650-600 B.C.**	**Lakonian II 610-575 B.C.**	**Lakonian III 575-550 B.C.**	**Lakonian IIIB-IV 575-525 B.C.**	**Lakonian V-VI 450-300 B.C.**	**Lakonian VI 300-250 B.C.**	**Later than 200 B.C.**
plain ring	6 rings			ring	ring		ring
	2 wreaths	56 wreaths	158 wreaths	1569 wreaths	305 wreaths	225 wreaths	
pierced disc							
		grille	7 grilles	24 grilles	grille	grille	
		pomegranate bud	pomegranate bud	2 pomegranate buds	pomegranate bud		
		rosette					
			pairs of pins	pair of pins; orientalising pin	pairs of pins	pair of pins	
	grid					grid	
		palm branch	palm branch	palm branch	palm branch		
	tasseled pendant			tasseled pendant			
	volute and palmette			volute and palmette	volute and palmette		
				knobbed ornament			
	mirror			mirror			
				framed amphora			
	two warriors ?	warriors with various patterns on their shields	8 warriors with various patterns on their shields	99 warriors with various patterns on their shields	warriors with various patterns on their shields	warriors with various patterns on their shields	warriors with various patterns on their shields
	1 rider						rider
				2 archers			
2 females		females with a variety of patterns on their dress	8 females with a variety of patterns on their dress	64 females with a variety of patterns on their dress	females with a variety of patterns on their dress	females with a variety of patterns on their dress	females with a variety of patterns on their dress

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[*] The deposits that date stratigraphically in the seventh century yielded no lead votives. It appears that lead votives were dedicated at the Menelaion rarely in the seventh century. The leads in Lakonian 0 and I are reported from Wace in the 1908-9 excavations but their date is questionable by Cavanagh (*forthcoming*).

Lakonian 0[†] 700-600 B.C.	**Lakonian I† 650-600 B.C.**	**Lakonian II 610-575 B.C.**	**Lakonian III 575-550 B.C.**	**Lakonian IIIB-IV 575-525 B.C.**	**Lakonian V-VI 450-300 B.C.**	**Lakonian VI 300-250 B.C.**	**Later than 200 B.C.**
		beaked figure	beaked figure	beaked figure			
		padded dancer	padded dancers; skirted dancers	padded dancer; 3 naked dancers	dancers	dancers	
	flautists		flautists	flautists	flautists	flautists	flautists
			lyre player	lyre player	lyre player	lyre player	
	1 winged goddess	winged goddesses	winged goddess	winged goddesses	winged goddesses	winged goddesses	winged goddesses
				god with rod			
		‘armed goddess/ goddess with aegis’		armed goddess/goddess with aegis	armed goddesses/goddess with aegis	armed goddesses/goddess with aegis	armed goddess/goddess with aegis
				Poseidon	Poseidon	Poseidon	Poseidon
				Hermes	Hermes	Hermes	Hermes
				Herakles			
			griffin				
		horse	horses; horse-head ornament	horse; horse-head ornament	horses	horses	horses
			sphinx				
	goat			goat	goat	goat	
					cock	cock	
				1 deer	deer	deer	deer
					panther	panther	
	lion		lions		lions	lions	
				centaur			
	1pegasus						

[†] The deposits that date stratigraphically in the seventh century yielded no lead votives. It appears that lead votives were dedicated at the Menelaion rarely in the seventh century. The leads in Lakonian 0 and I are reported from Wace in the 1908-9 excavations but their date is questionable by Cavanagh (*forthcoming*).

Table II: Heroic sites and Deposits

Site	Terracotta Reliefs	Pottery	Terracotta Figurines	Lead figurines	Metal	Architecture	Other	Dates
A. Deposit of Agamemnon Alexandra/ Kassandra	Hundreds	miniature vases, regular size, kilykes, aryballoi	Yes	wreaths and figurines	some metal objects, a large iron object	tiles, disc acroterion, 2 walls	Hellenistic inscribed throne, honorary decree	7th century to Hellenistic
B. Heroon by the Eurotas	about 100 specimens	miniature kantharoi, kraters, three-handle vases	mostly female with *poloi*,and nude males			terracotta antefixes, fragments of geison with acanthus, black glazed metope (?)	relief krater	Geometric to late Classical (?)
C. Votive deposit: Stauffert st. (t.s. 98)	about 2500 fragments	1500 miniature vases	800 rendered enthroned, standing or reclining	Yes		Archaic terracotta acroterion, 2 architectural phases	atone relief, burned area with animal bones	Early Archaic to Hellenistic
D. Bougadis plot	2 fragments				3 bronze snakes	Archaic poros capital	3 stone reliefs, spindle whorl	Archaic, Classical
E. Deposit at Gitiada st.	50 reliefs	miniature vases	Yes	Yes		rectangular structure	Marble figurine	
F. Deposit at Niarchos plot	hundreds	Yes		Yes			Circular structure	Archaic, Classical
G. Deposit at O 13	3 frag. of reliefs	miniature vases, black glazed pottery		Yes				Geometric, Archaic to Roman
H. Stavropoulos plot (t.s. 101)	1					late 6th/early 5th wall, doric capital	Archaic stone relief, relief pithos	Archaic, Classical
I. deposit at Chatzis plot (t.s. 91)	22 reliefs (at least)	miniature vases, megarian bowls, black-glazed sherds	At least 16 female (some with *polos)* 30 male (many nude)			2 walls reported	96 pyramid loom weights	Archaic, Classical. Possible Hellenistic and Roman

Site	**Terracotta Reliefs**	**Pottery**	**Terracotta Figurines**	**Lead figurines**	**Metal**	**Architecture**	**Other**	**Dates**
J. deposit at Kalatzis plot (t.s. 125)	Yes	Yes	Yes			walls, Archaic architectural frag., Hellenistic acroteria or antefixes	small marble head of a lion	7th century to Hellenistic period.
K. Valiotis and Menakes plots (t.s. 35)	Yes (Archaic)	miniature pottery, Archaic sherds	Yes (Archaic, Hellenistic and Roman)					Archaic, Hellenistic Roman
L. deposits at Tseliou plot (t.s. 119)	Yes	cups, kantharoi, skyphoi miniature pottery	seated females, standing females many with *poloi*					Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic
M. deposit at Karmiris plot (t.s. 113)	Yes	miniature pottery, regular size				frag. of terracotta acroterion of lion head (5th c.)		Archaic (?) Classical
N. deposit at Stathopoulos plot (t.s. 120)	Yes	miniature vases, regular size	among others 1 enthroned, 1 kourotrophic, 1 daedalic	wreaths		tiles		Early Archaic to Classical
O. Thermopylae st.	Yes	minature vases	Yes					Archaic, Classical (?)
P. Drainage ditch (t.s. 012)		various drinking shapes	Yes			tiles, 6 metopes		Archaic to 4th century BC
Q. Philipoloulos plot (t.s. 116)	Yes		Yes					Classical
R. Georgantas-Petrakos plot (t.s. 113)	Yes		Yes					Archaic, Classical
S. on the Tripoli rd.	35 intact and fragmentary			Yes				Archaic, Classical?
T. Nikolopoulos plot	Yes							?
U. deposit at Panagopoulos plot (t.s. 112)	Yes							?

Site	**Terracotta Reliefs**	**Pottery**	**Terracotta Figurines**	**Lead figurines**	**Metal**	**Architecture**	**Other**	**Dates**
V. deposit at Bilidas plot	Yes							Late Classical, early Hellenistic
W. Lafoyianni plot (t.s. 126)	Yes							Hellenistic
X. Nikolaros plot (t.s. 113)	Yes					terracotta acroterion with gorgon head		Archaic ?

Appendix I

Other locations in Sparta where terracotta reliefs were discovered

Q. Philippopoulos plot (t.s. 116)
On the road towards Tripoli was discovered a votive deposit dated to the Classical period in which were a large amount of terracotta reliefs and figurines.[1]

R. Georgantas-Petrakos plot (t.s. 113)
Terracotta votive figurines and terracotta reliefs were unearthed here, dating from the Archaic and Classical periods. [2]

S. On the Tripoli road
Here are reported some finds from 1968 presented to the Sparta Museum. Among those found were thirty-five intact and fragmentary terracotta reliefs and a few lead-figurines. [3]

T. Nikolopoulos plot (t.s. 113)
Here were discovered in 1988 a few small fragments of terracotta reliefs and figurines. It is not clear if these were part of a deposit or if they were discovered alone.[4]

U. Panagopoulos plot (t.s. 112)
A number of terracotta reliefs were unearthed here in a votive deposit.[5]

V. Bilidas plot
South of the Acropolis Hill was discovered a deposit with many objects dating from the late Classical and early Hellenistic. Among the finds were some terracotta reliefs.[6]

W. The Lafoyianni plot (t.s. 126)
A few terracotta reliefs are reported from here in a Hellenistic context.[7]

X. The Nikolaros plot (t.s. 113)
A few fragments of terracotta reliefs were found here together with a terracotta acroterion decorated with a gorgon head.[8]

Locations where one or two terracotta reliefs were discovered

a. Ancient Bridge
During the excavations conducted by the British School at Athens in 1906 near an ancient bridge at Sparta, was discovered one terracotta relief of a rider.[9]

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[1] Korres 1988, 322, n. 45.
[2] Zavvou and Themos 2009, 116.
[3] One relief is published in Stibbe (1991, 38, 43, fig. 39, no. a12).
[4] These are unpublished. Information from Flouris 2000, 135.
[5] These are unpublished. The Sparta Museum numbers are 7266, 7270-7281, 7338-7347, 7357-7390-7404-7439, 7624-7625, 7627, given in Flouris (2000, 132, n. 411).
[6] *ArchDelt* 37 (B1) 112, pl. 59γ.
[7] Flouris 2000, 137.
[8] Flouris 2000, 136, reliefs: Sparta Museum 7496-7497, 7508; acroterion: Sparta Museum 7520.
[9] Dickins 1905-6, 438.

b. The Karras plot (t.s. 102)

One fragment of a terracotta relief is reported from here.[10]

c. The Loumos plot (t.s. 117)

Two terracotta reliefs are reported from this plot.[11]

d. The Polichronakos plot (t.s. 124)

One terracotta relief is reported from this location.[12]

e. The Rigos plot (t.s. 127)

One terracotta relief is reported here but from the same plot is also reported a terracotta statuette of a gorgon.[13]

f. The Kokonos plot (t.s. 137)

Two reliefs have been discovered at this location embedded in a wall.[14]

g. The Boti-Vhristodoulou plot (t.s. 9)

Two terracotta reliefs were discovered here.[15]

h. The Franzis plot (t.s. 141)

Two terracotta reliefs were unearthed here.[16]

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[10] Sparta Museum 7296; *ArchDelt* 36 (B1), 121,

[11] Salapata (1992, 170, fig. 3.15) who gives the Sparta Museum no. 6404; Flouris 2000, 137.

[12] Flouris 2000, 137.

[13] Flouris 2000, 137; Sparta Museum 7551.

[14] Flouris 2000, 137.

[15] Flouris 2000, 137, Sparta Museum 7583, 7600.

[16] Flouris 2000, 137.

Appendix II

The fluid boundaries between mortuary and cult practices in Sparta

Because the post-Homeric hero is by and large considered to be a mortal who, now dead, exercises a certain amount of influence over the living and is deemed worthy of veneration, his cult was often (but not exclusively) concentrated around a tomb, thus contributing to his localised nature. It is therefore not unusual that certain of the deposits containing terracotta reliefs found in Sparta are associated with burials, thus indicating the mortuary nature of a hero. This may be further confirmed by the appearance of a large number of hero-cults in the burial-rich area of Limnai. In the following section I will examine the correlation between burial and hero-cult in Sparta.

One of the Spartan *komai* which appears to have been especially rich in hero-cults was that of Limnai. Apart from the numerous terracotta reliefs discovered in different areas there, the *kome* is also known from Pausanias' account of its hero-cults (3.16.6).

Of special importance was the sanctuary of Lykourgos, behind which was the grave of Eukosmos, Lykourgos' son. Across from the sanctuary were situated two tombs: one was that of king Theopompos, a Eurypontid, and the other belonged to Eurybiades, the general who commanded the Lakedaimonian ships at Artemision and Salamis. Pausanias mentions that the grave of Lathria and Anaxandra, descendants of Herakles, was located by the altar of the temple of Lykourgos. Lastly, the *heroon* of Astrabakos was also located nearby.

Although Pausanias' visit to Sparta is much later than the period examined here, archaeological evidence shows that Limnai was full of hero cults from an early date. A number of votive deposits which included terracotta reliefs were found in the area, such as **B**, **C**, **D**, **E**, **F**, and **P**, thus indicating a wealth of heroic cults from at least the seventh-century B.C. onwards. This tradition continued into the Roman period when we find temples centred around an earlier grave, such as at the Stavropoulos plot (**H**) and the Ergatikes Katoikies (**1**). Limnai, as shown by both the archaeological and literary evidence, was an area where prominent figures from the Spartan past were honoured and venerated.

The reasons behind the popularity of Limnai as a 'host' to heroic cults from the seventh-century BC onwards are difficult to determine. The area had long been of particular importance because of the cult of Orthia located there. As has been argued for the commemoration of the Thermopylae dead and the tomb of Leonidas by the acropolis, a centralised divine cult place often becomes an attraction for heroic cults. By positioning

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[1] *ArchDelt* 27 (B1), 245-51.

heroa near the sanctuary of Orthia, as a state cult, they become part of the sacred landscape of the polis.

But the Orthia sanctuary may only be part of the reason for Limnai's large number of hero cults. In Greek antiquity an area was often deemed sacred because of the existence of an older structure, such as Mycenaean remains. This was probably the case with the Menelaion.[2] Further, older burials, such as Bronze Age tombs or Geometric graves, were also places of later cults, as has been discussed in chapter one (§§1.2.2-3).

Excavations at Limnai have shown that the area was in fact partly a Geometric necropolis. A Geometric *pithos* burial was unearthed at the 'Heroon by the Eurotas' (site **B)**,[3] a Geometric burial with a cairn of stones over it was discovered at the drainage ditch,[4] a similar Geometric grave was also excavated by some late Archaic walls,[5] and at the Karellas plot (t.s. 97A) another Geometric burial was found marked with a cairn of stones.[6] Other Geometric burials are reported at Konstantakis (t.s. 98), Dimitrakopoulos (t.s. 98), Sotiriou (t.s. 97A) and Bouchalis (t.s. 102).[7] Moreover, various excavations report of Archaic burials, such as that by the Ergatikes Katoikies,[8] Hellenistic burials, such as that by the drainage ditch,[9] and Roman burials, such as the one at the Stavropoulos plot (**H**).

It becomes clear then that Limnai had a long tradition as a burial area. As the discussion of the Bronze age tombs and the Geometric cults in chapter one showed, burial areas were often deemed sacred and frequently gave rise to later cults. In Sparta the early Archaic burial at the Zaimis plot (site **1)** was protected and some sort of drinking ritual followed upon is rediscovery in the fifth-century. It is therefore of particular importance that the area of Limnai, rich in hero-cults, is also rich in earlier burials, some of them located in the cult site, e.g. **B** and **C** in which both Geometric burials were found. Often, when burials were found in an inhabited area, such as the examples in Corinth, we know that this area was protected and incorporated into the urban context out of fear and respect for the dead; that the dead will be outraged if you disturb their graves is evident in Euripides' *Medea*. Medea says to Jason that she will bury their children with her own hand 'taking them to the sanctuary of Hera Akraia, so that none of my enemies may outrage them by tearing up their graves' (1378-

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[2] See Kearns (1992, 71-2) for the location of hero shrines.
[3] Wace 1905-6, 293.
[4] *ArchDelt* 27 (B1), 242, 245-51.
[5] *ArchDelt* 27 (B1), 244-5.
[6] Flouris 2000, 4-5.
[7] Zavvou and Themos 2009, 111-12, fig. 11. 10.
[8] *ArchDelt* 27 (B1), 247-8.
[9] *ArchDelt* 27 (B1), 244-5.

81; Transl. Kovacs 1994). Limnai's use and tradition as an old burial ground may then have contributed a certain 'sacredness' to the area and this may have given rise to a number of shrines.

The close association in Sparta of mortuary practice and cult may not have been confined only to older burials. In fact, evidence is also known from contemporary graves. The area south of Toumpanon hill has yielded finds that are not from the heroic deposits but are well worth commenting on. Specifically, at t.s. 113 and 117 a number of graves belonging to the Archaic, Classical and the Hellenistic period were discovered.[10] In particular, a group of late-fifth and early fourth-century graves was found at t.s. 117A.[11] The Zaimis plot (site **1**), where the two story Archaic tomb was unearthed, was also located in this area. These finds should not go unnoticed because the deposits of terracotta plaques found nearby at **M**, **X**, **T**, **R** (t. s. 113) were contemporary with some of the graves. It is worth emphasising that none of the burials contained any terracotta plaques, thus eliminating the possibility that the deposits were destined for any of the graves. The discovery of contemporary burials near the hero-cult sites is nevertheless noteworthy because it is unusual to find the dead buried either near cult sites or in the city because of fear of pollution.[12] The close proximity of hero-shrines and burials at t.s. 113 and 117 may reflect Plutarch's comment on Sparta's burial practices that Lykourgos permitted the burial of the dead within the city and the location of the tombs near the shrines (*Lyc.* 27.1).[13] Due to its late date Plutarch's testimony could only questionably be applied to the Archaic and Classical periods, but the archaeological association of the burials and the deposits may confirm his statement by demonstrating that the spatial boundaries of the sacred and the mortuary do here appear to cross. [14]

The fluid spatial boundaries between mortuary and cultic practice in Sparta may in turn reflect the nature of Spartan hero-cult itself. Spartan kings were heroised after their death, as were other important communal personalities like Chilon. The concept of a hero was therefore less strict and so funerary and cultic rites may have overlapped spatially. Xenophon’s (*Lak. Pol.* 15.9) famous, though often misunderstood, passage regarding the burial of Spartan kings is of importance here: ‘οὐχ ὥς ἀνθρώπους ἀλλ᾽ ὥς ἥρωας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς προτετιμήκασι’. As has been shown in chapter four, this passage probably signifies post-mortem heroic honours for the Spartan kings. However, the passage has only been taken as evidence for royal honours; it has not been interpreted within the context of Spartan (and Greek) hero-cult. Since the passage concerns the funerals of Spartan kings then the honours mentioned can be interpreted as honours for the recently dead. Xenophon is therefore juxtaposing the honours offered to dead kings with the honours offered to heroes and suggesting that both parties, as dead mortals, were honoured in similar ways. Xenophon’s comment is of particular importance because it is reflective of the nature of hero cult in Sparta and reveals the importance of heroes as dead mortals. This observation should be connected with the large number of burials located near, and in some cases at, cult sites the cult sites. In turn, the realisation that heroes were understood to be dead mortals and honoured as such helps explain the reason behind the heroisation of not only the Spartan kings, but also the ephor Chilon and other Spartan heroes unknown to the modern audience.

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[10] *ArchDelt* 19 (A), 132-3.

[11] Kourinou 2000, 216.

[12] Parker 1983, 71-2.

[13] A similar story is attested by Polybios for the Spartan colony of Taras (8.30) where the dead are buried within the city.

[14] *Contra* Kourinou (2000, 218) who argues that before the Hellenistic walls were built, Spartan burials were located at the boundaries of each *kome*, a custom which continued even after the walls were constructed, thus giving the impression that they were inside the inhabited area. However, although some boundaries are obvious, such as the Magoulitsa stream on the south or the hills on the north of Sparta, and even the Eurotas on the east, the boundaries in the inner areas are blurred which makes this only a hypothesis (Kourinou 2000, 94-5).
What we know about burial location in Sparta before the late Hellenistic and Roman periods is based on graves discovered in certain areas of the polis; so far no organized Archaic or Classical cemetery has been found. There are two large organised late Hellenistic and Roman period cemeteries in Sparta. One is located north of the Acropolis by the Mousga stream between Moudina Rache and Kalimeri hill; the other one at the south-west part of Sparta by the western slopes of the Evaggelistria hill (Kourinou 2000, 215, n. 735, 736 with the relevant bibliography).

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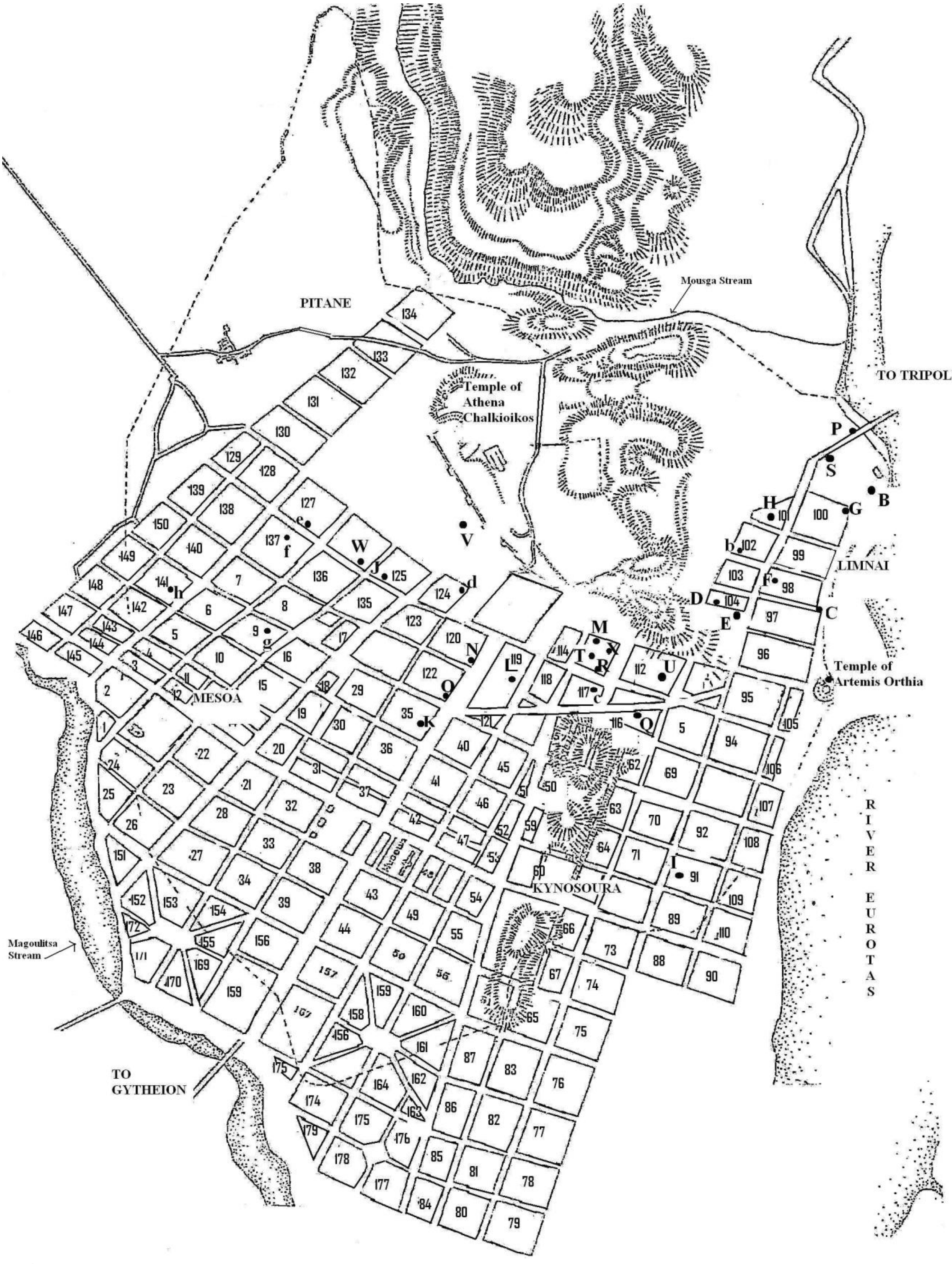
FIGURES


Mousga Stream
PITANE
Temple of Athena Chalkioikos
TO TRIPOLI
LIMNAI
Temple of Artemis Orthia
MESOA
KYNOSOURA
RIVER EUROTAS
Magoulitsa Stream
TO GYTHEION
P
S
B
H
G
b
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E
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FIG.1.

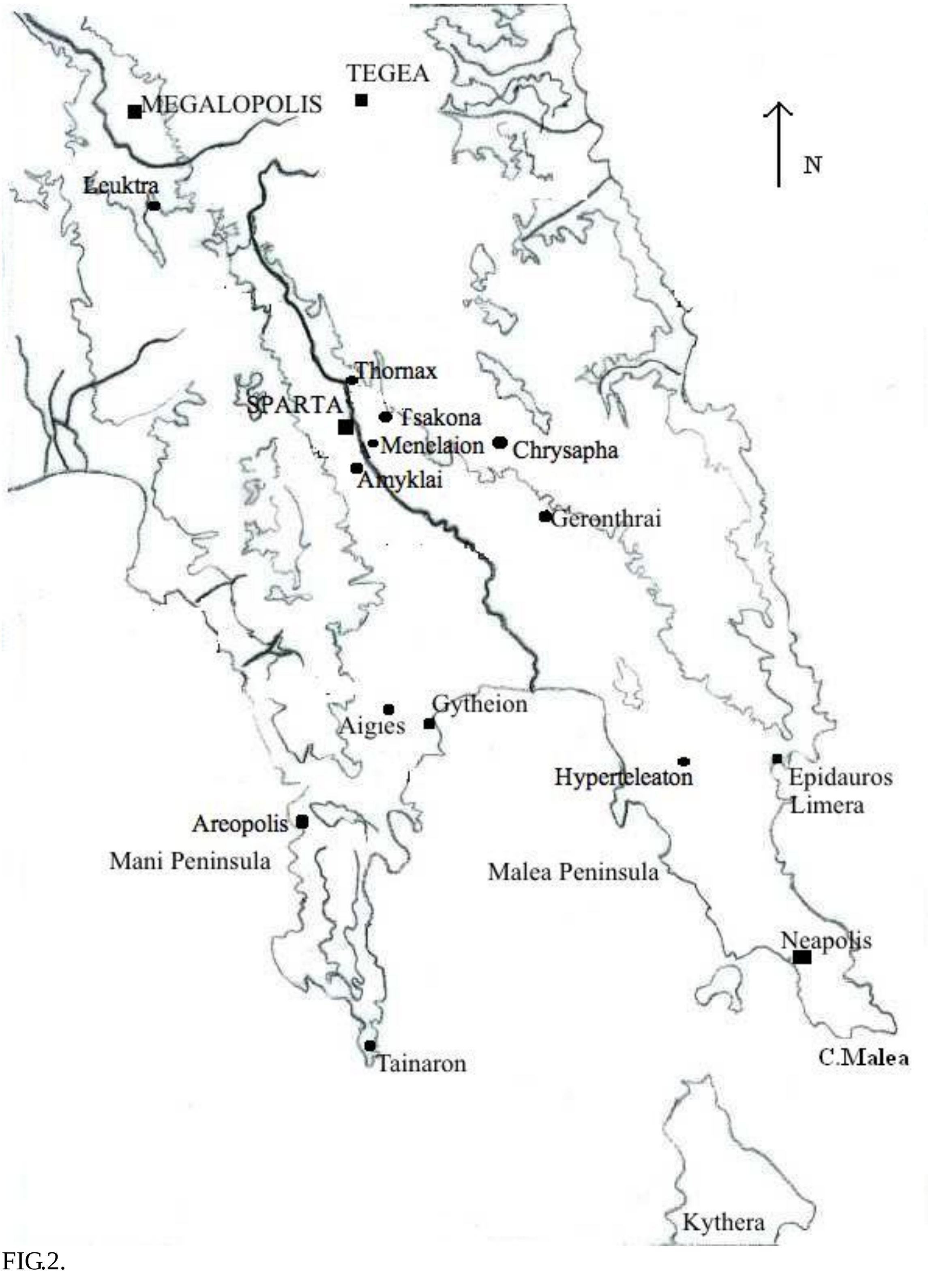
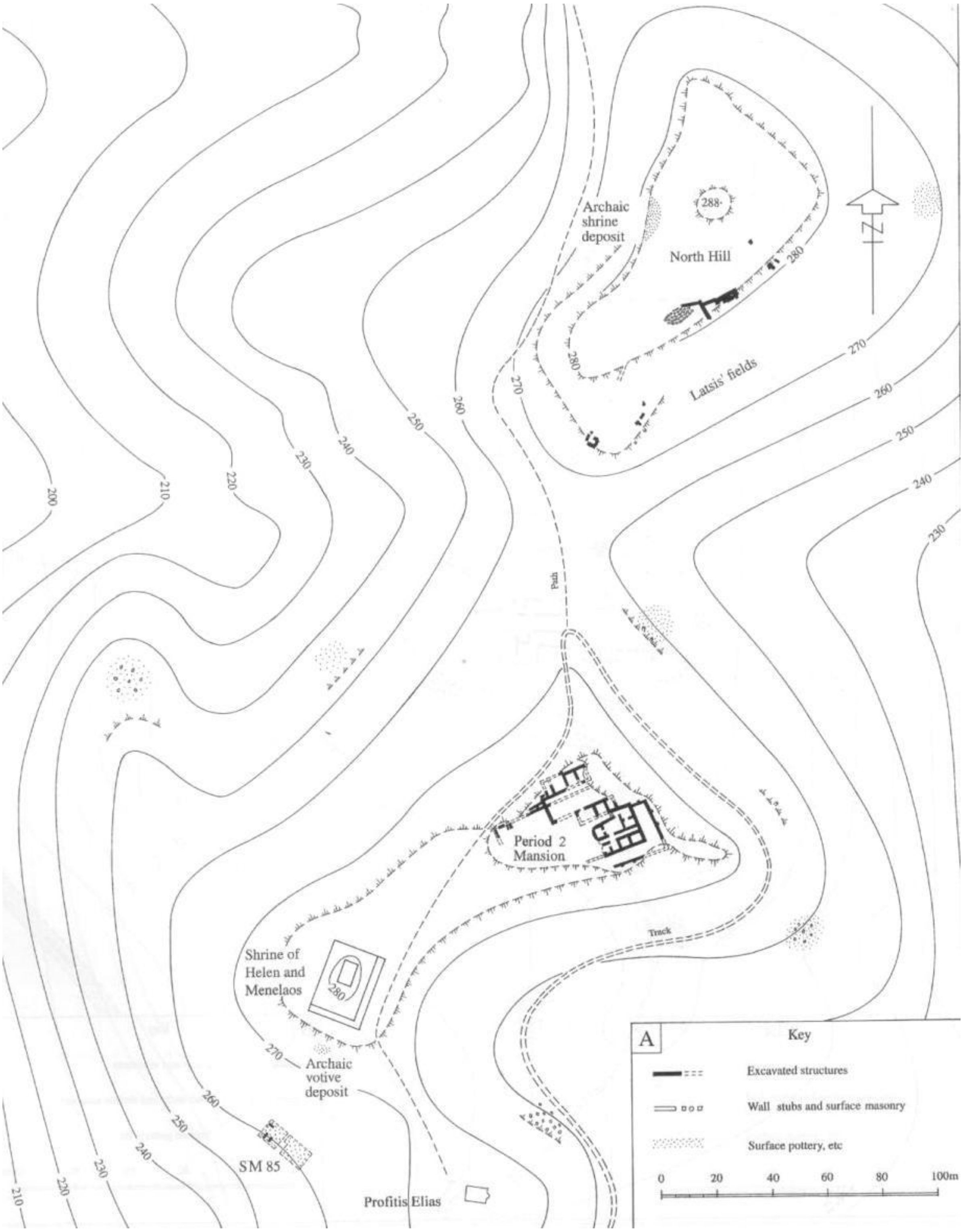

TEGEA
MEGALOPOLIS
N
Leuktra
Thornax
SPARTA
Tsakona
Menelaion
Chrysapha
Amyklai
Geronthrai
Gytheion
Aigies
Hyperteleaton
Epidauros Limera
Areopolis
Mani Peninsula
Malea Peninsula
Neapolis
Tainaron
C.Malea
Kythera

FIG.2.


Archaic
shrine
deposit
288
North Hill
280
270
Latsis' fields
280
260
250
240
230
270
260
250
240
230
220
210
200
Path
Period 2
Mansion
Track
Shrine of
Helen and
Menelaos
280
270
Archaic
votive
deposit
260
250
240
230
220
210
SM 85
Profitis Elias
N
A
Key
Excavated structures
Wall stubs and surface masonry
Surface pottery, etc
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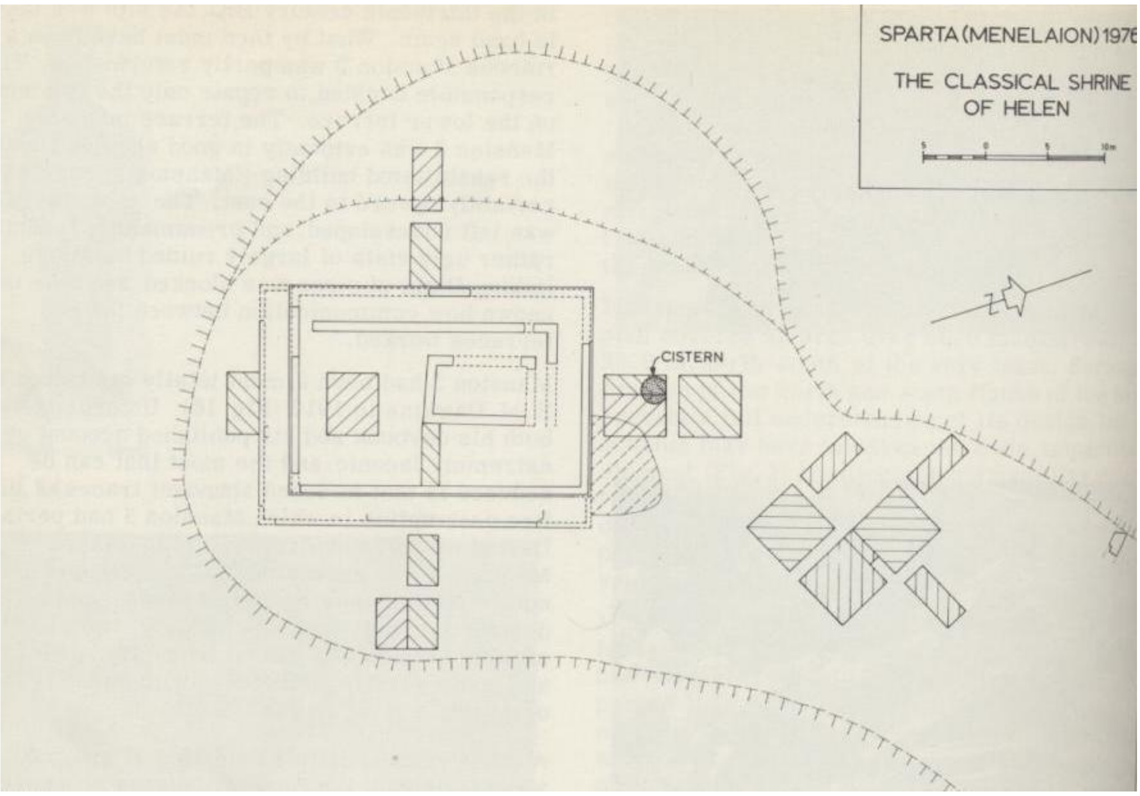
40
60
80
100m

FIG.3.


SPARTA (MENELAION) 1976
THE CLASSICAL SHRINE OF HELEN
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5
10m
CISTERN

FIG.4.

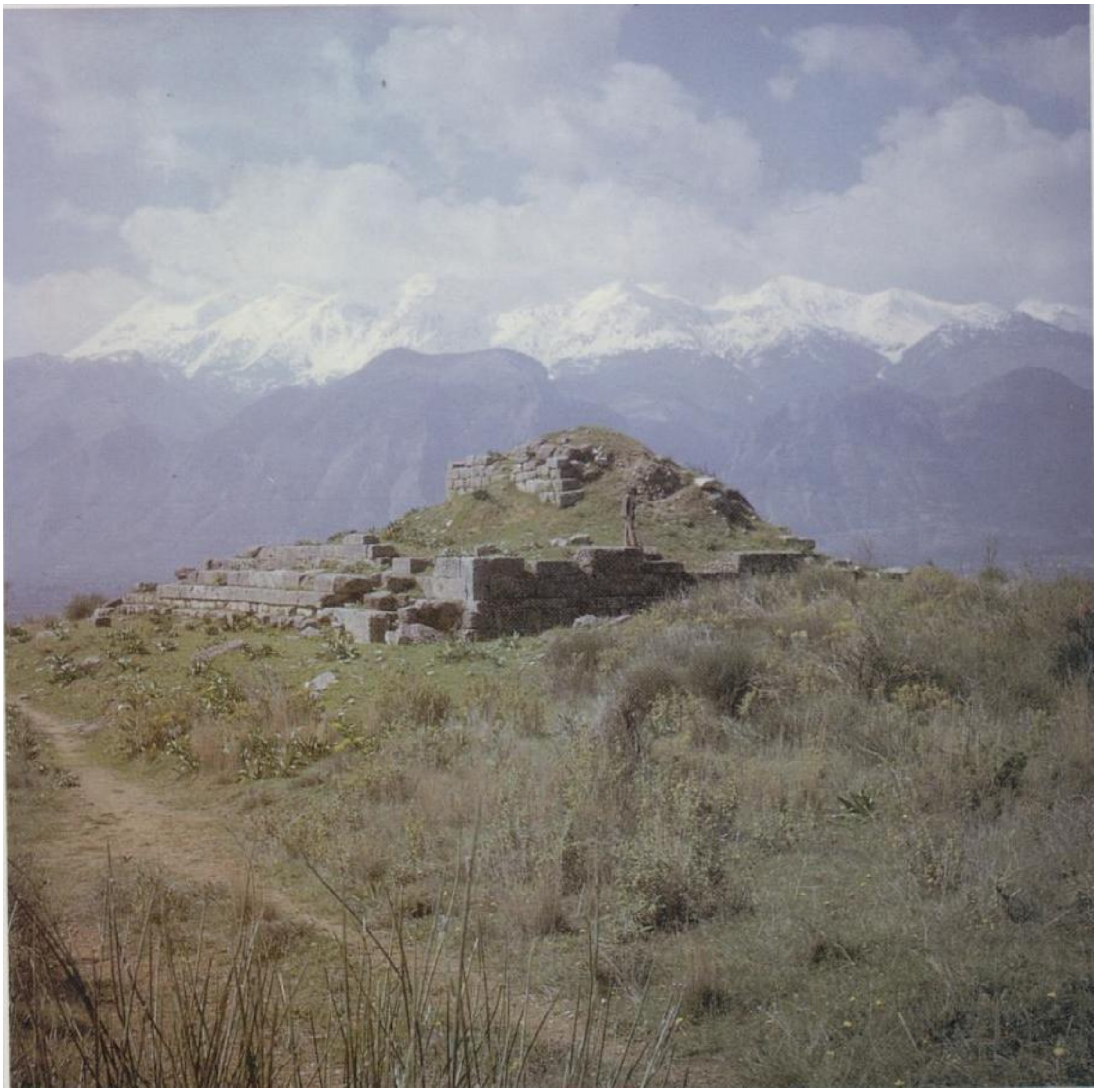

FIG.5.

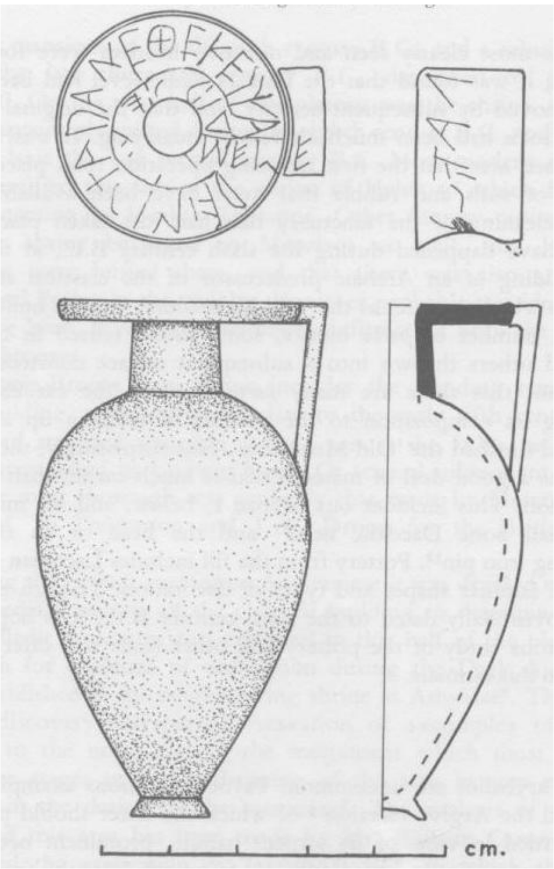

FIG.6.

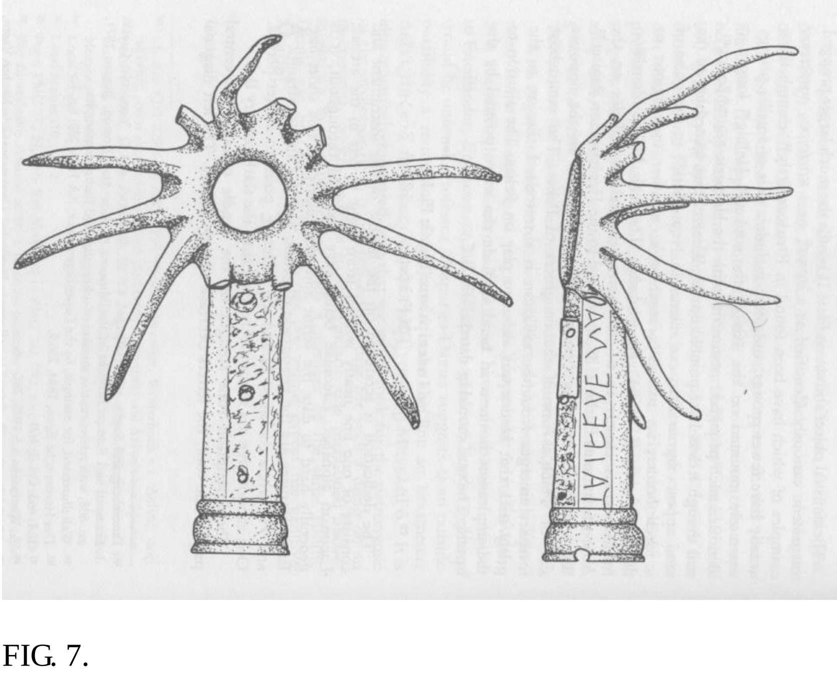

FIG. 7.

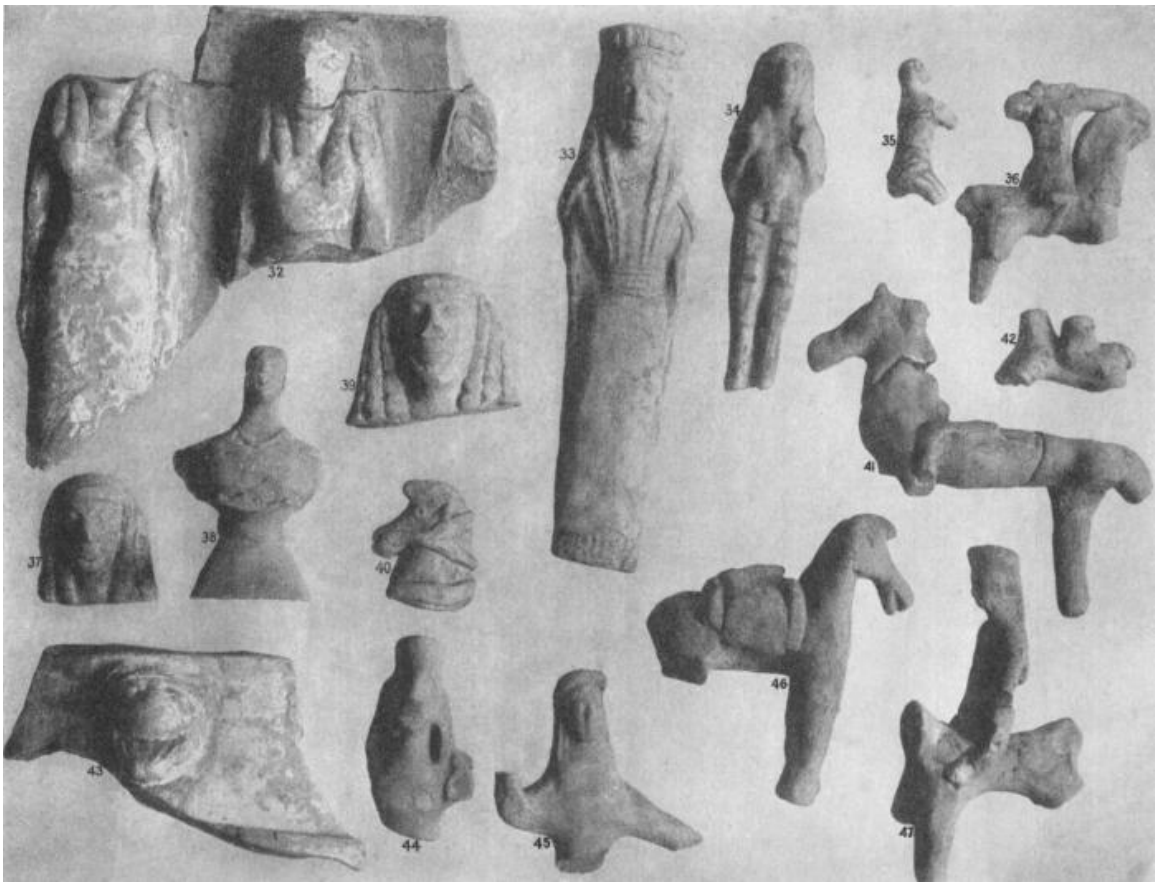
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FIG. 8.

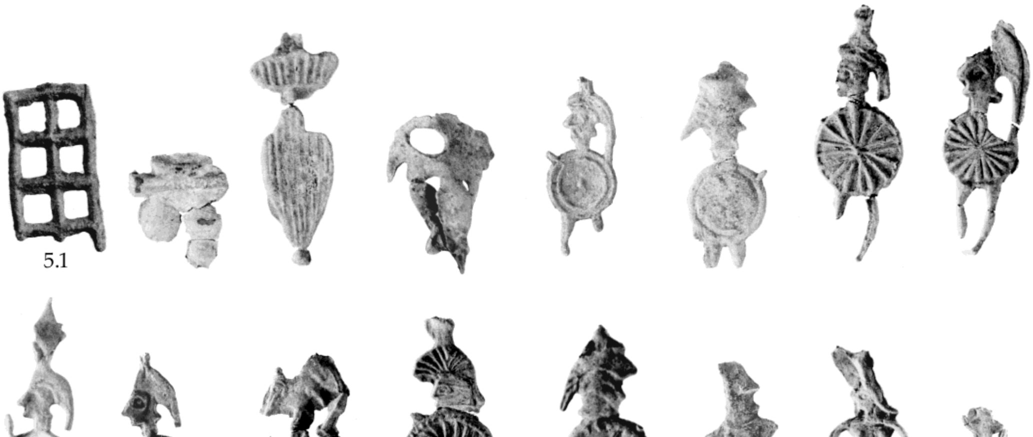


FIG. 9.

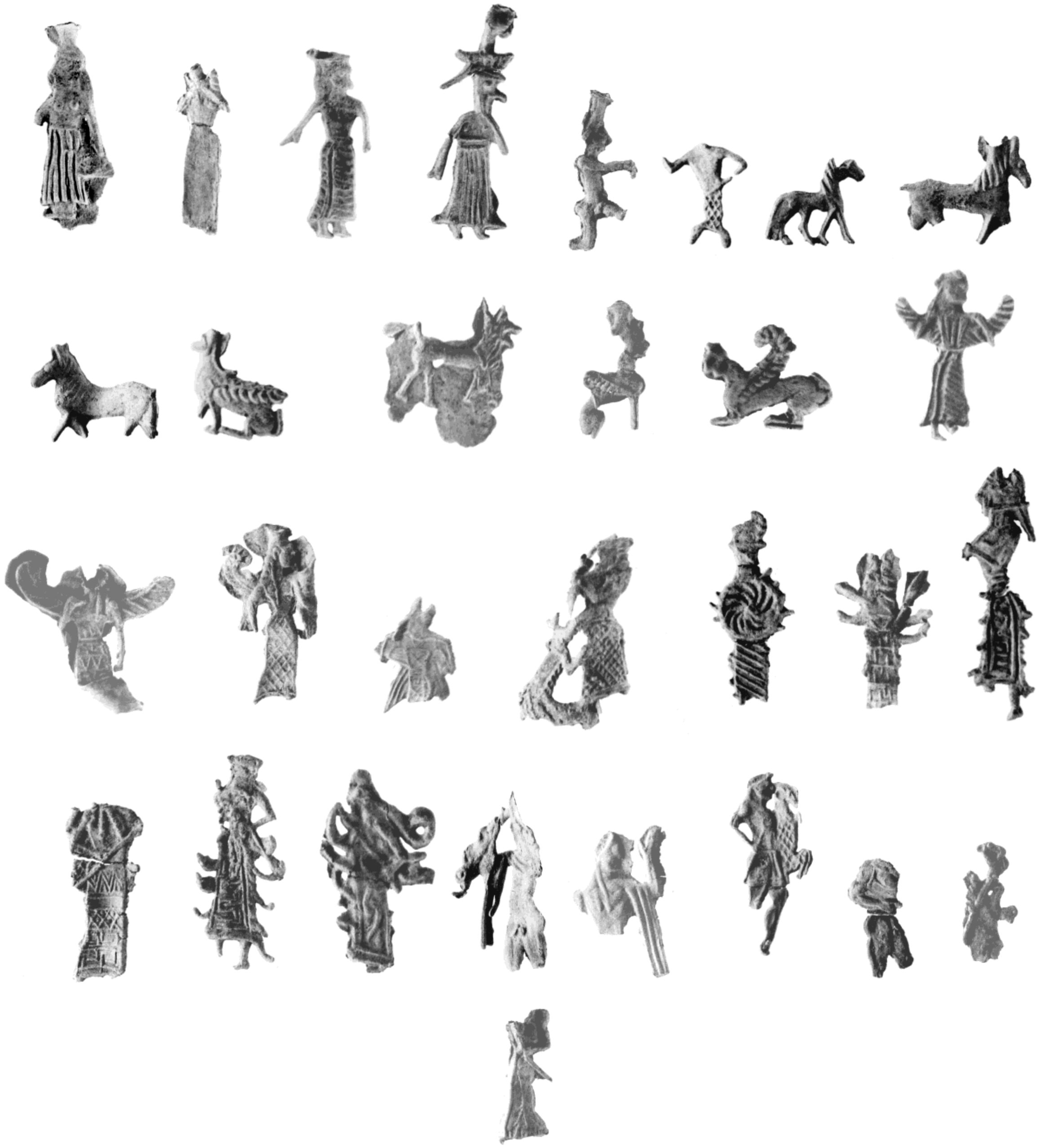


FIG. 10.

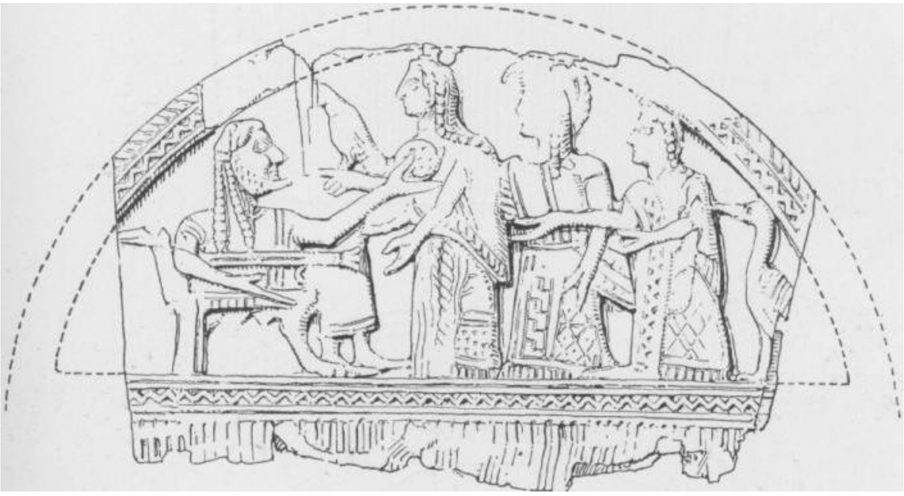


FIG. 11.

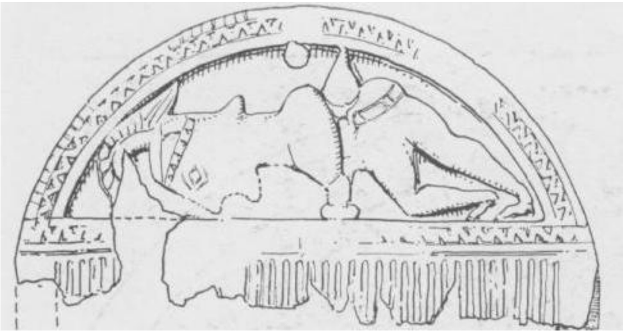


FIG. 12.

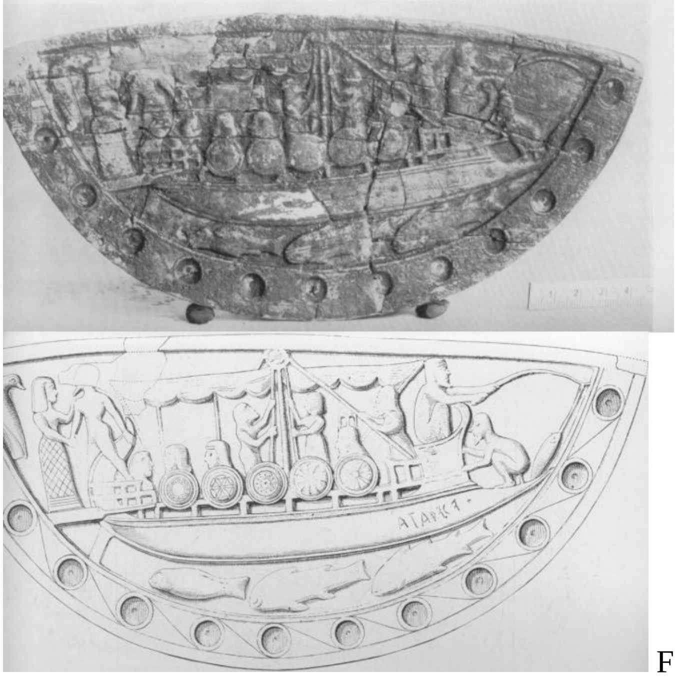


FIG. 13

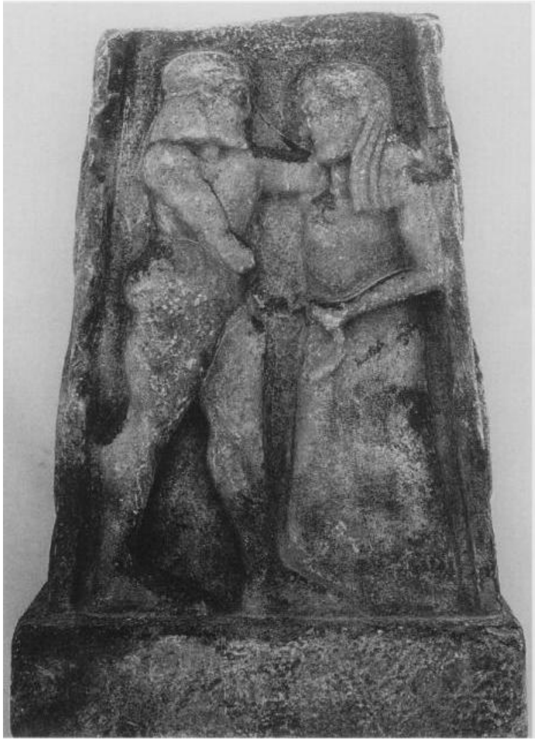


FIG. 14. A.

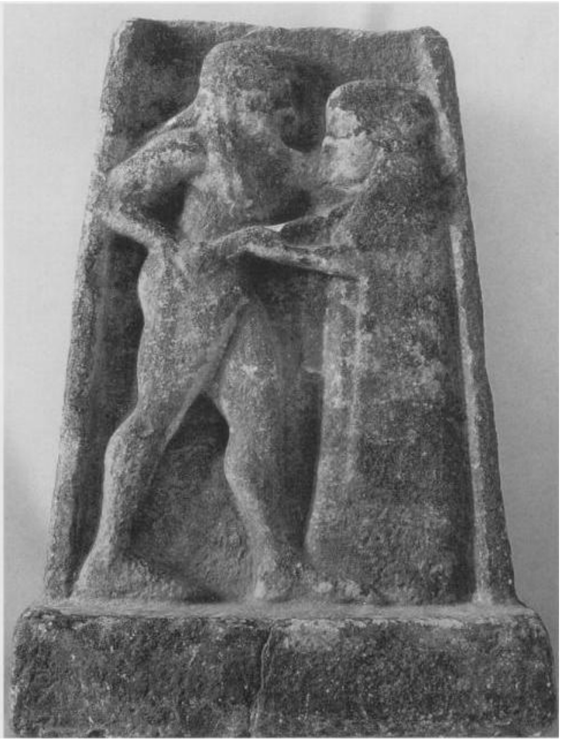
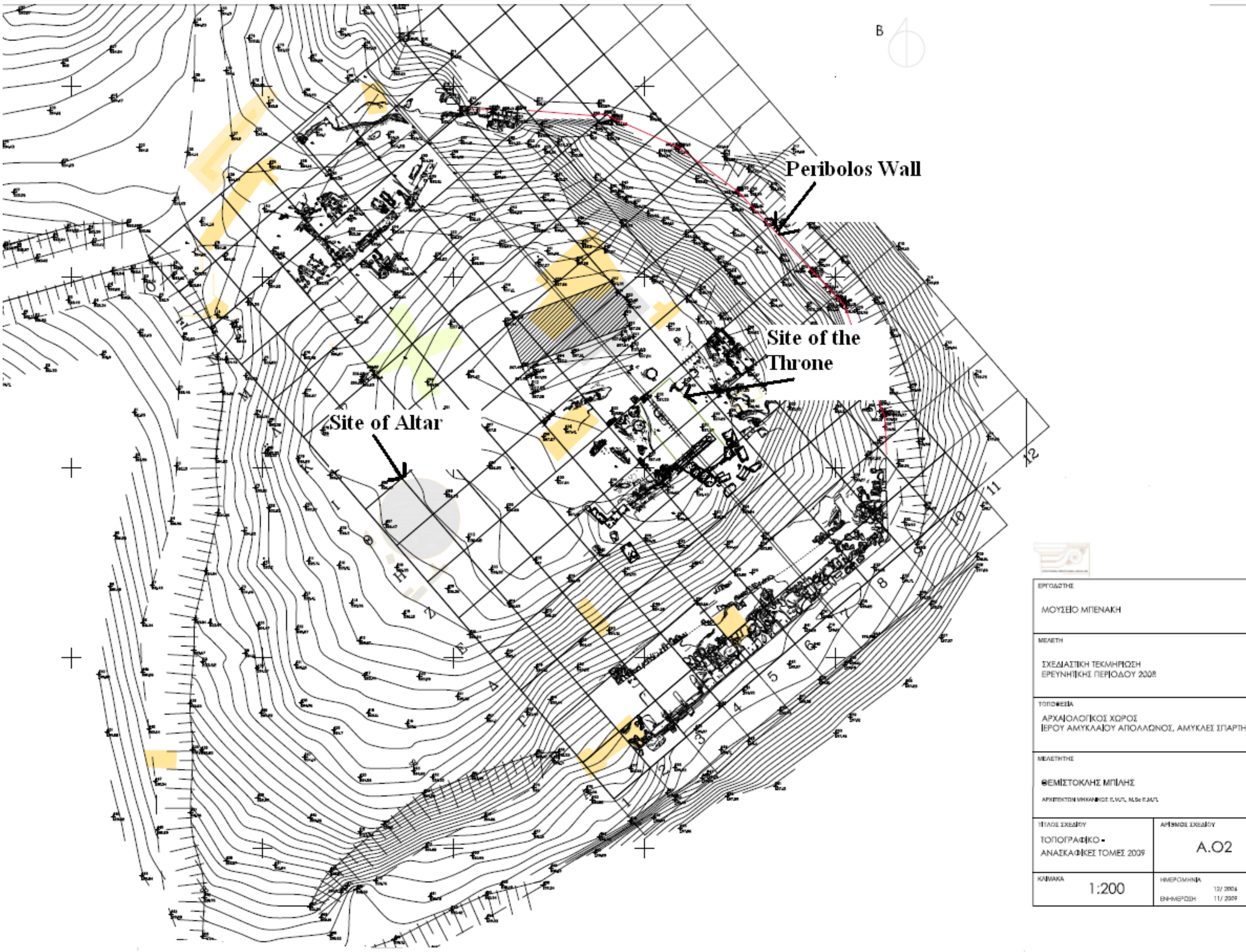


FIG. 14. B.


Β
Peribolos Wall
Site of the Throne
Site of Altar
ΕΡΓΟΔΟΤΗΣ
ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟ ΜΠΕΝΑΚΗ
ΜΕΛΕΤΗ
ΣΧΕΔΙΑΣΤΙΚΗ ΤΕΚΜΗΡΙΩΣΗ
ΕΡΕΥΝΗΤΙΚΗΣ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΥ 2008
ΤΟΠΟΘΕΣΙΑ
ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΣ ΧΩΡΟΣ
ΙΕΡΟΥ ΑΜΥΚΛΑΙΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ, ΑΜΥΚΛΕΣ ΣΠΑΡΤΗ
ΜΕΛΕΤΗΤΗΣ
ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ ΜΠΙΛΗΣ
ΑΡΧΙΤΕΚΤΩΝ ΜΗΧΑΝΙΚΟΣ Ε.Μ.Π., M.Sc Ε.Μ.Π.
ΤΙΤΛΟΣ ΣΧΕΔΙΟΥ
ΤΟΠΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΟ -
ΑΝΑΣΚΑΦΙΚΕΣ ΤΟΜΕΣ 2009
ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΣΧΕΔΙΟΥ
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ΚΛΙΜΑΚΑ
1:200
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FIG. 15.

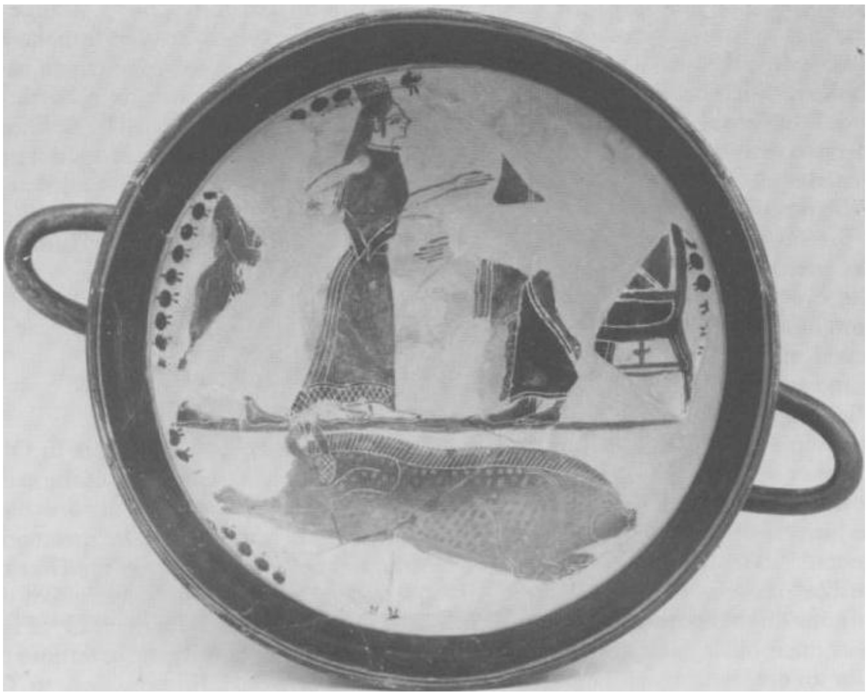
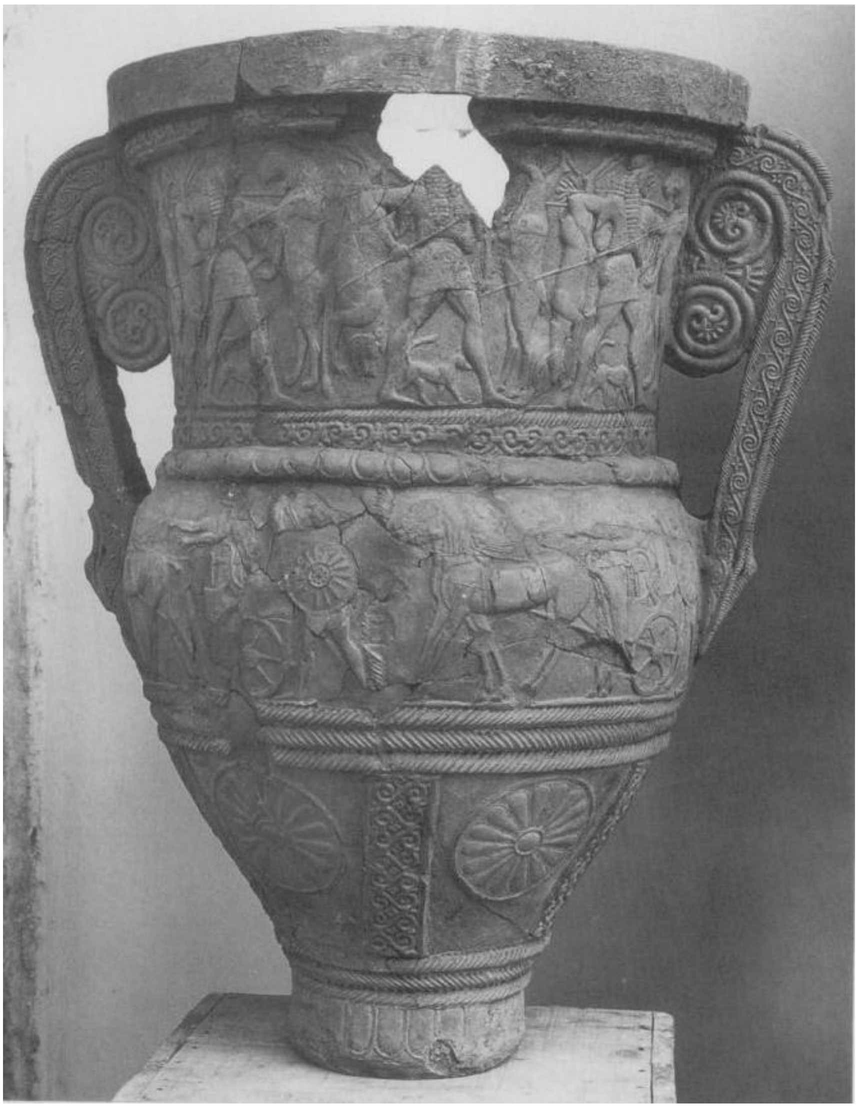


FIG. 16.



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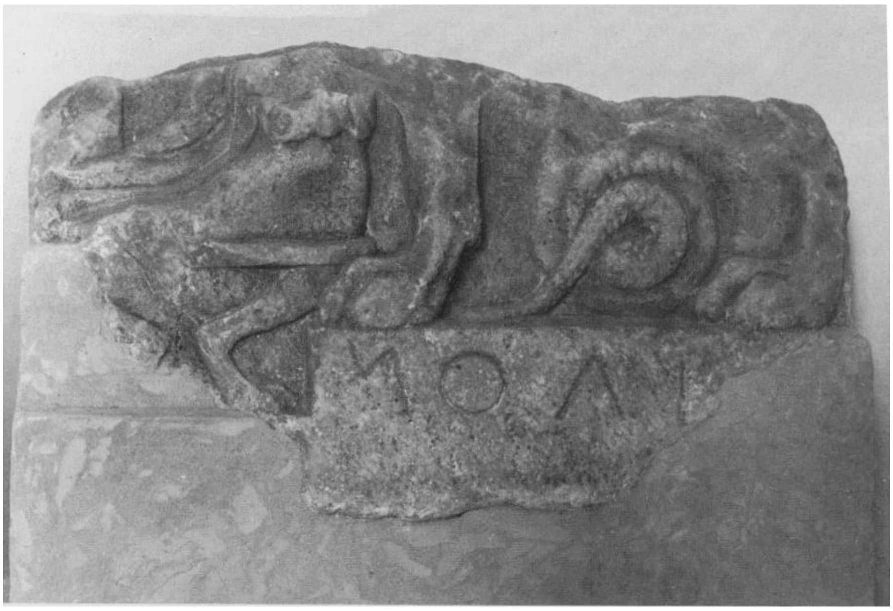
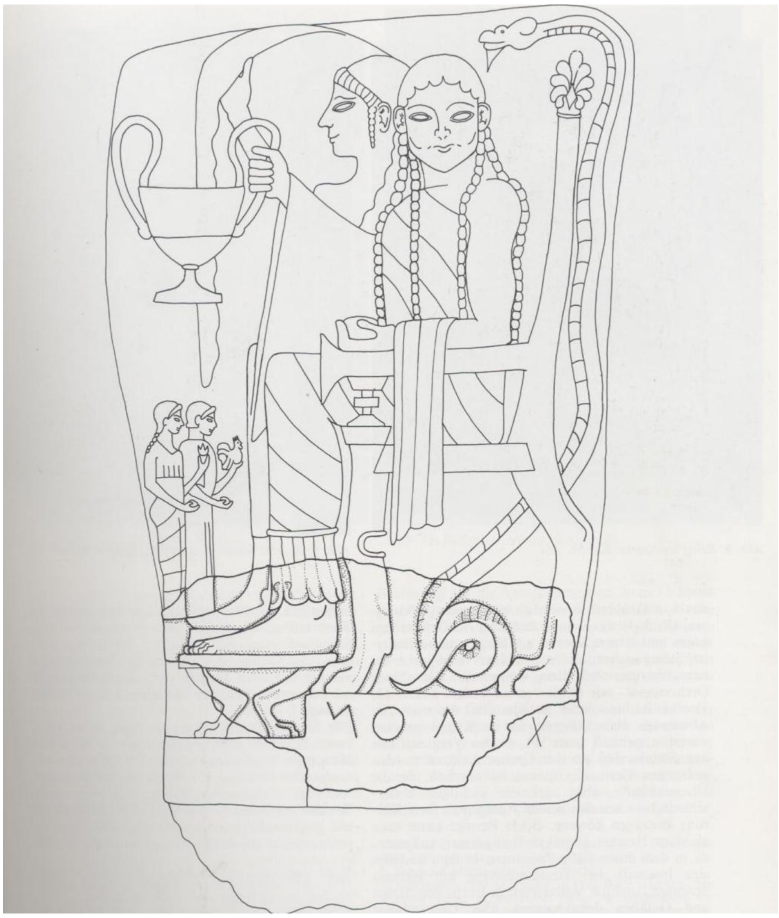


FIG. 18.



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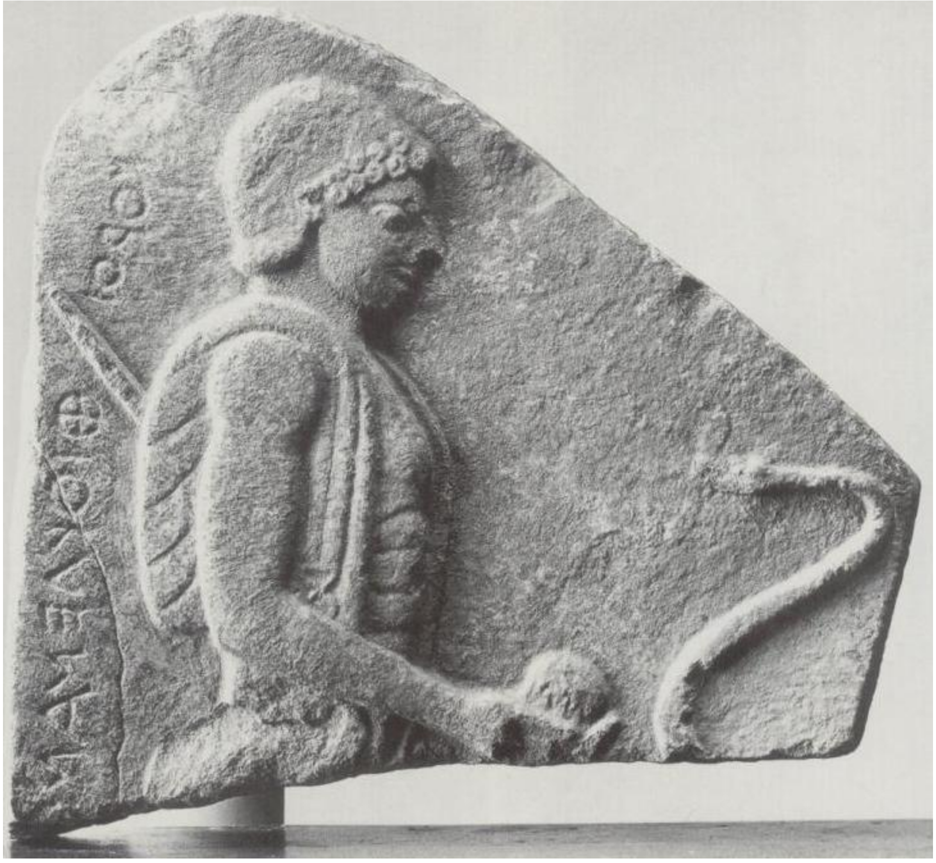

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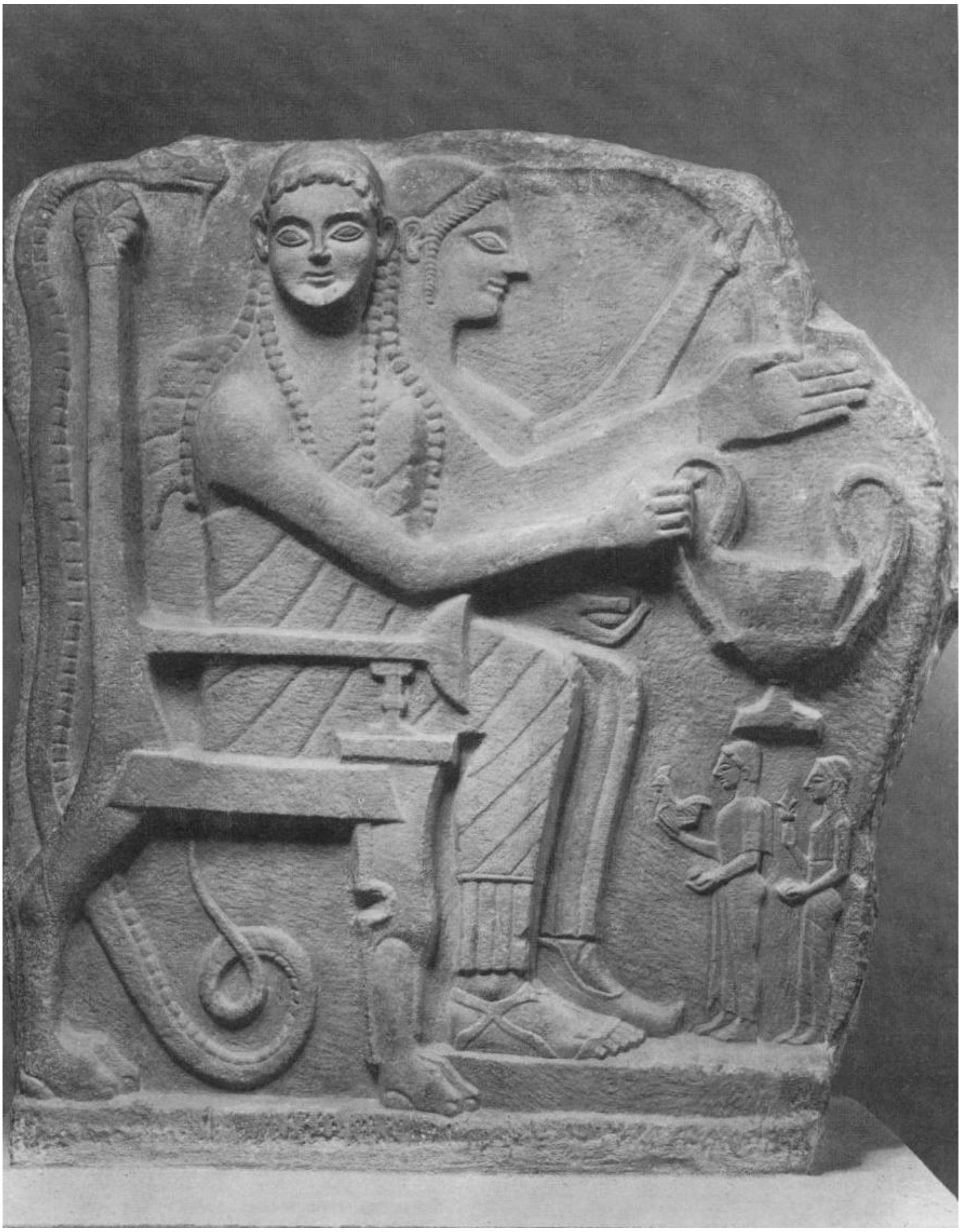

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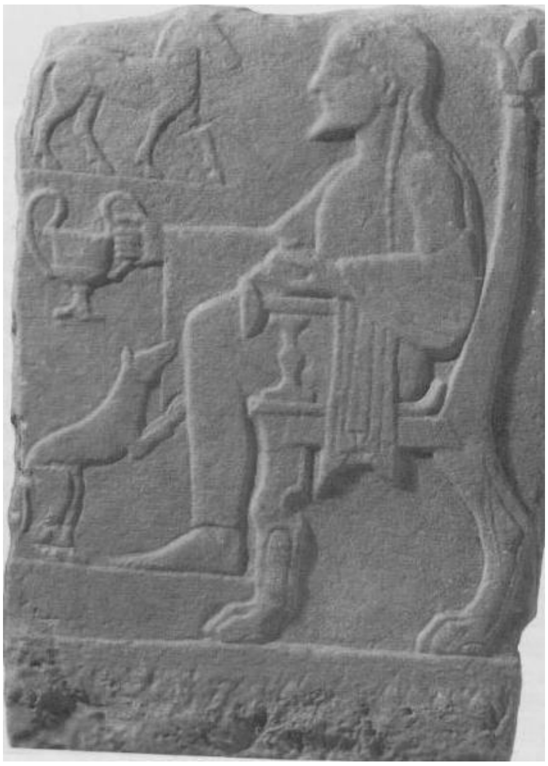

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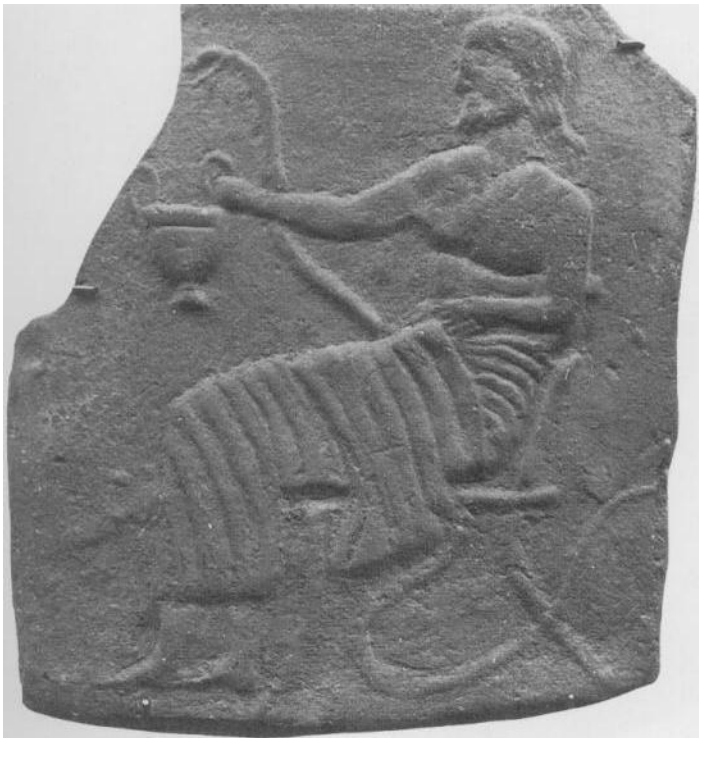

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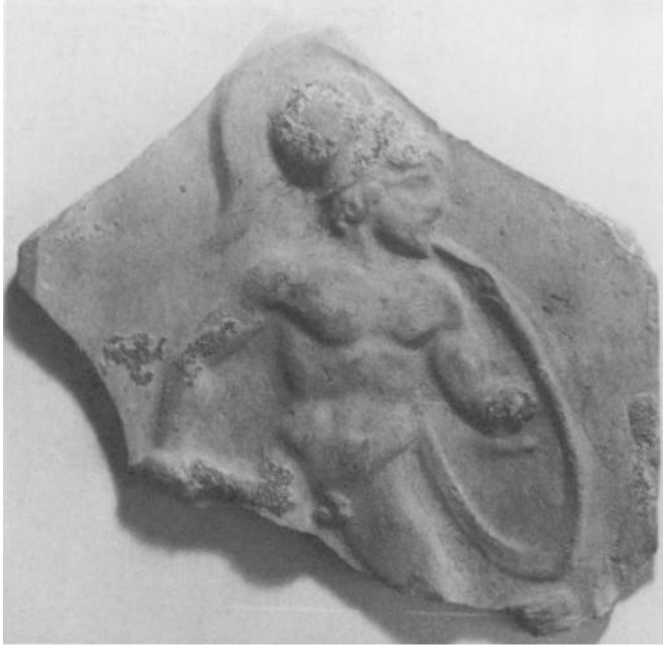


FIG. 24.

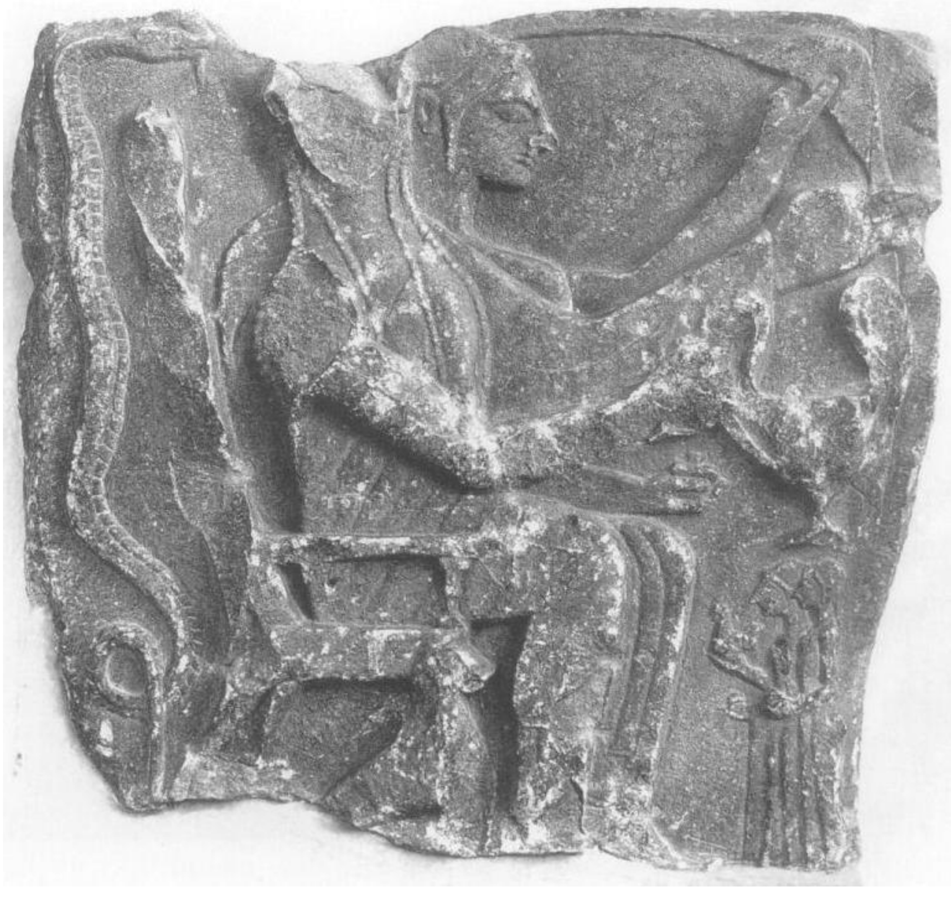
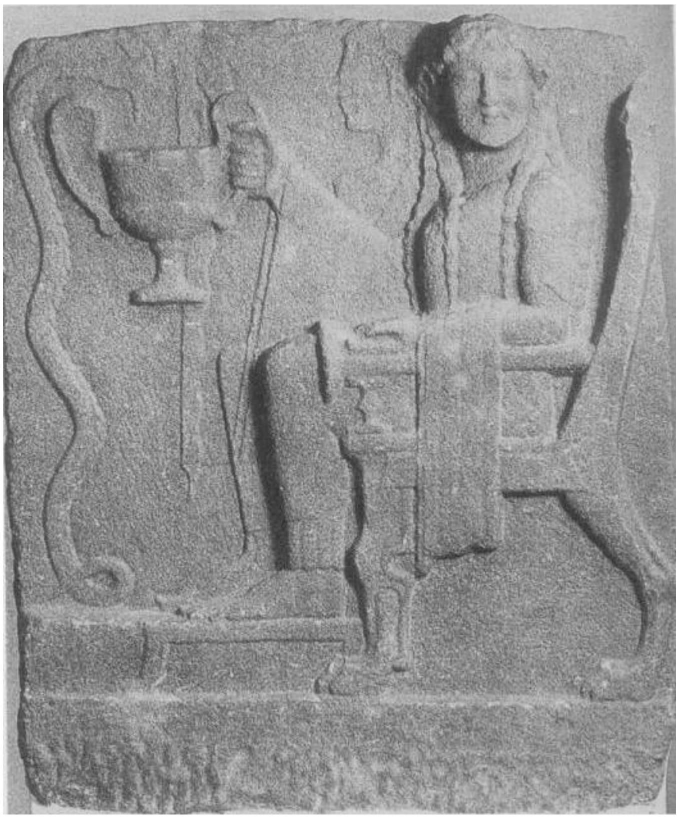


FIG 25.



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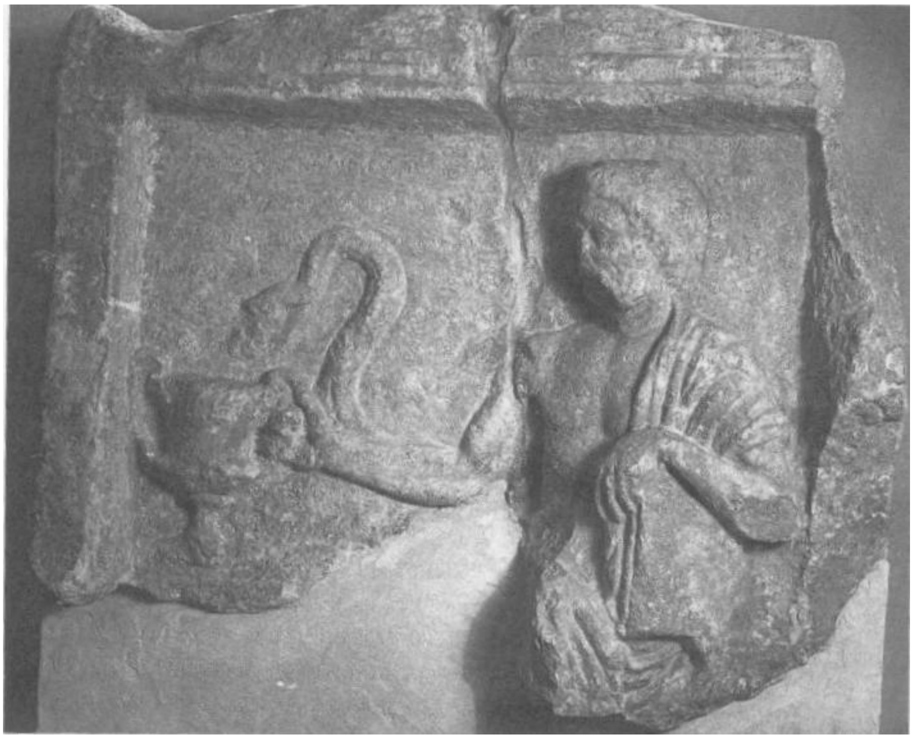

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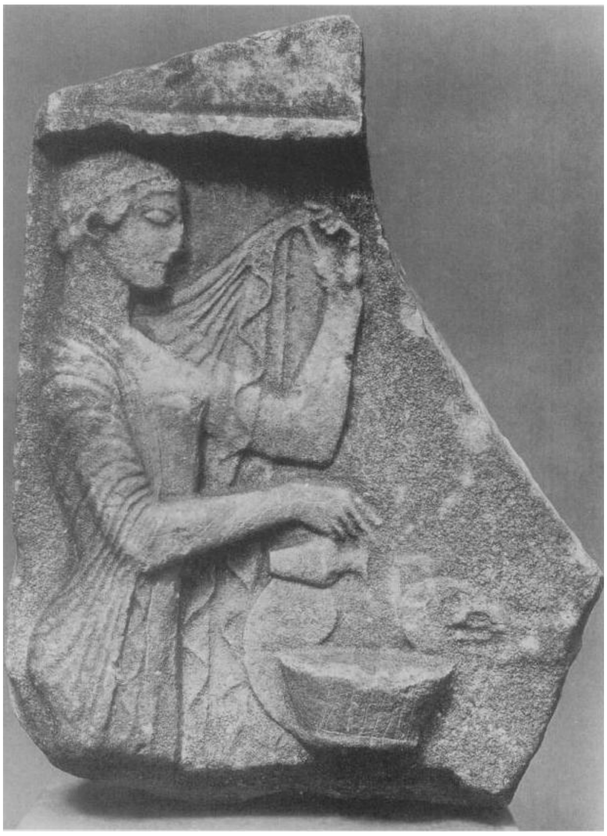
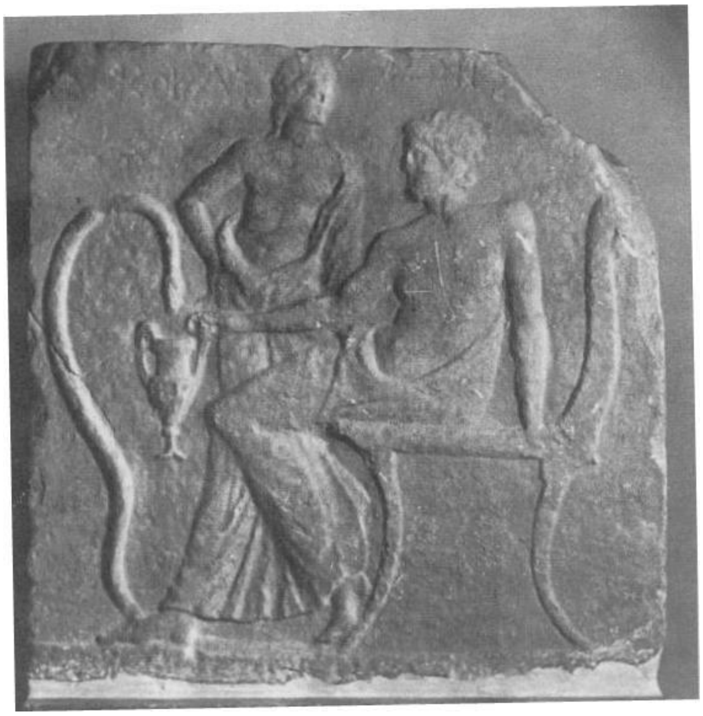


FIG. 28.



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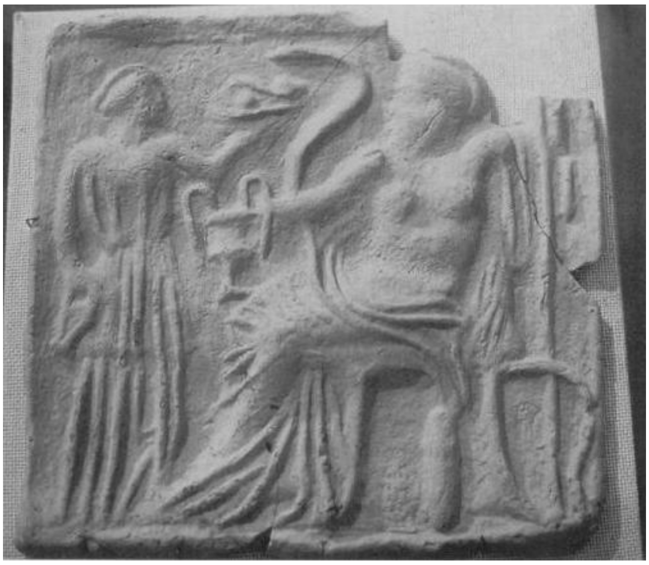


FIG. 30.

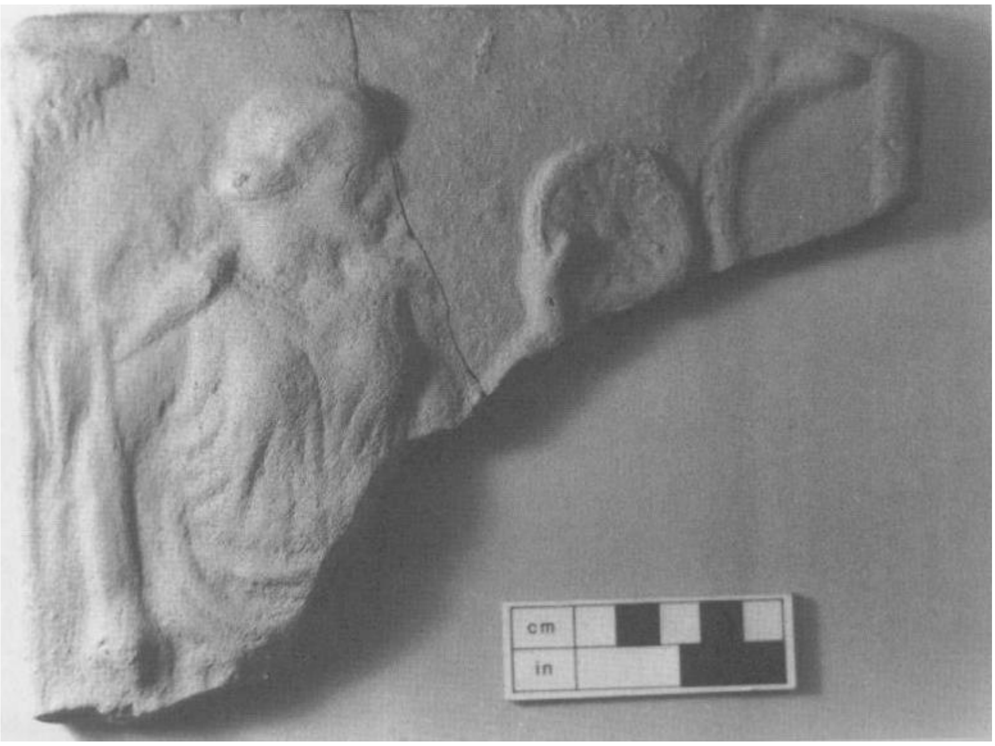
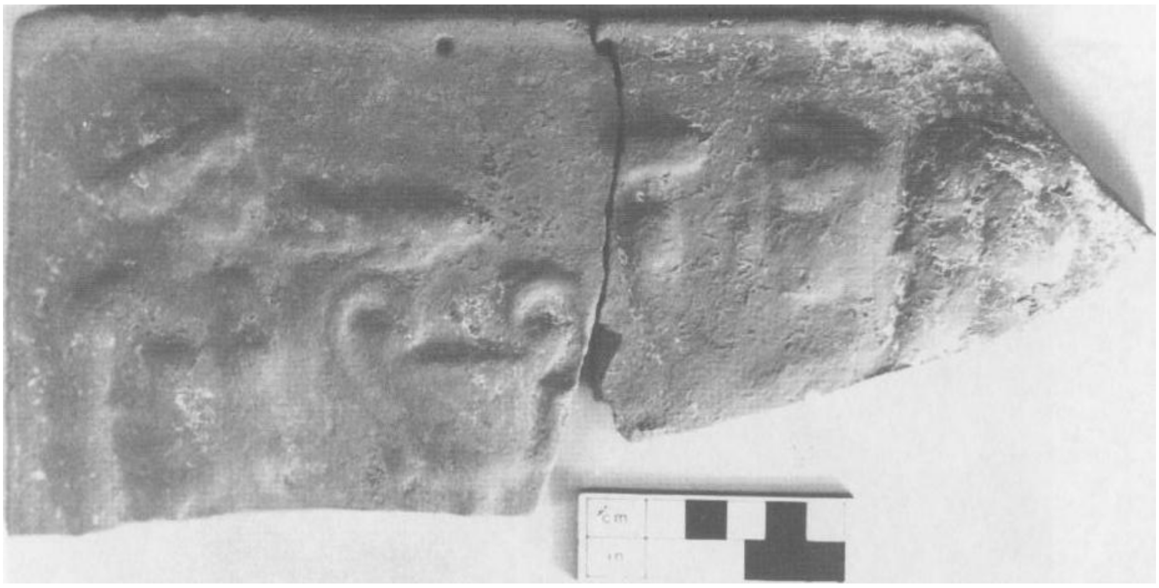


FIG. 31.



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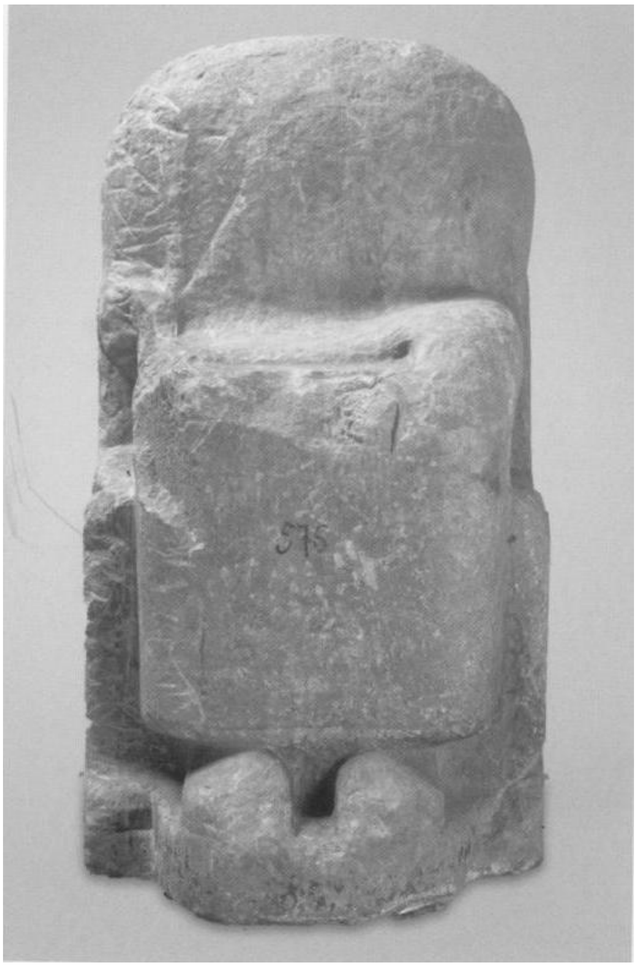


FIG. 33.

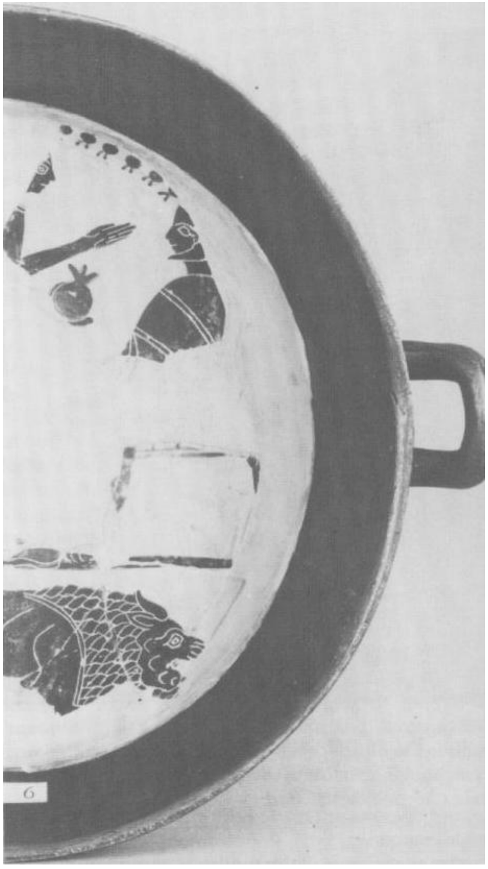
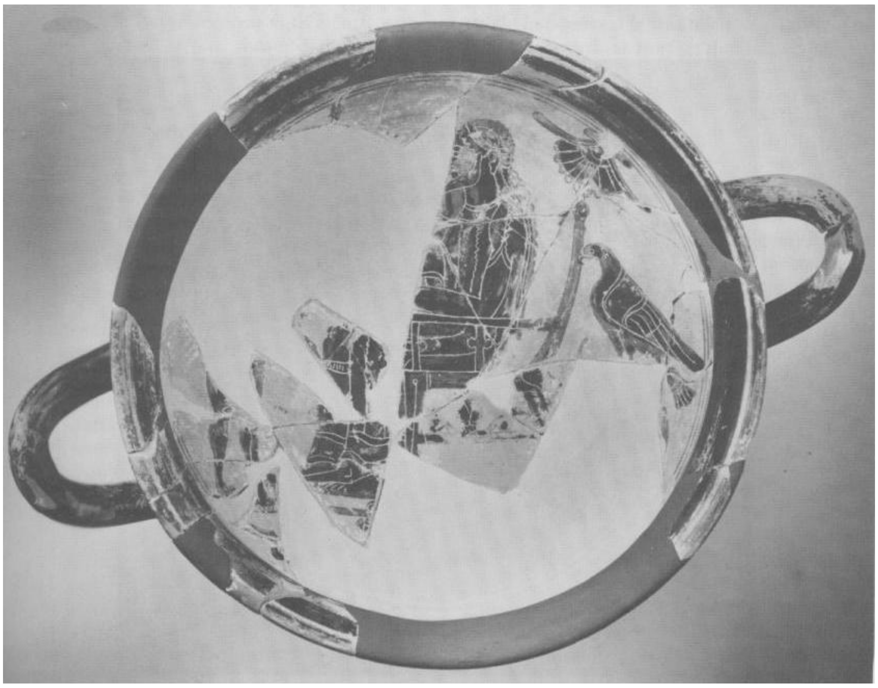


FIG. 34.



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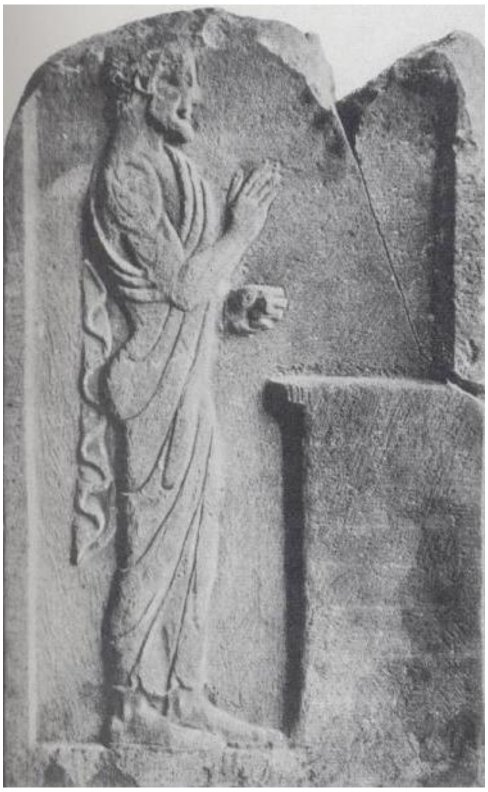
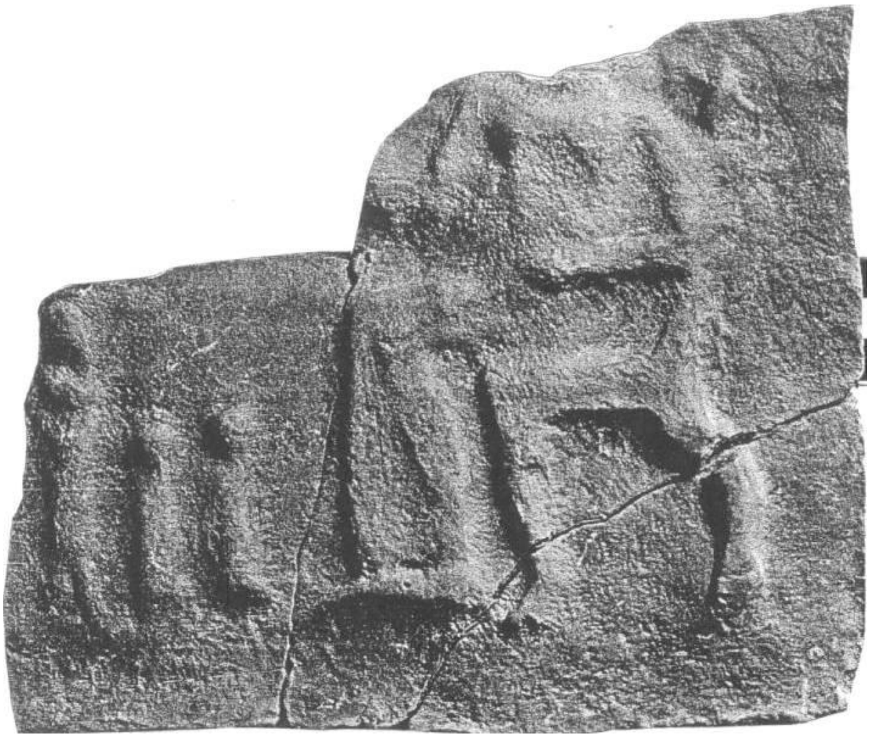


FIG. 36.



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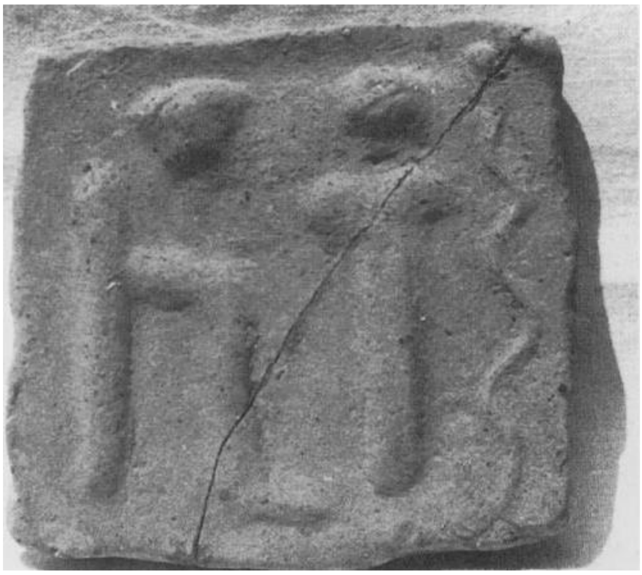

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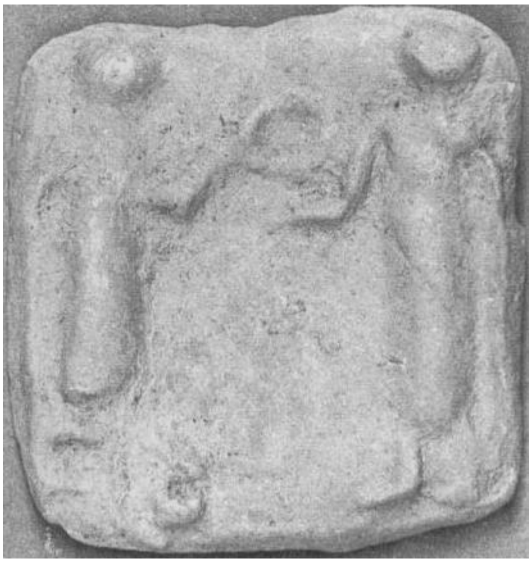


FIG. 39.

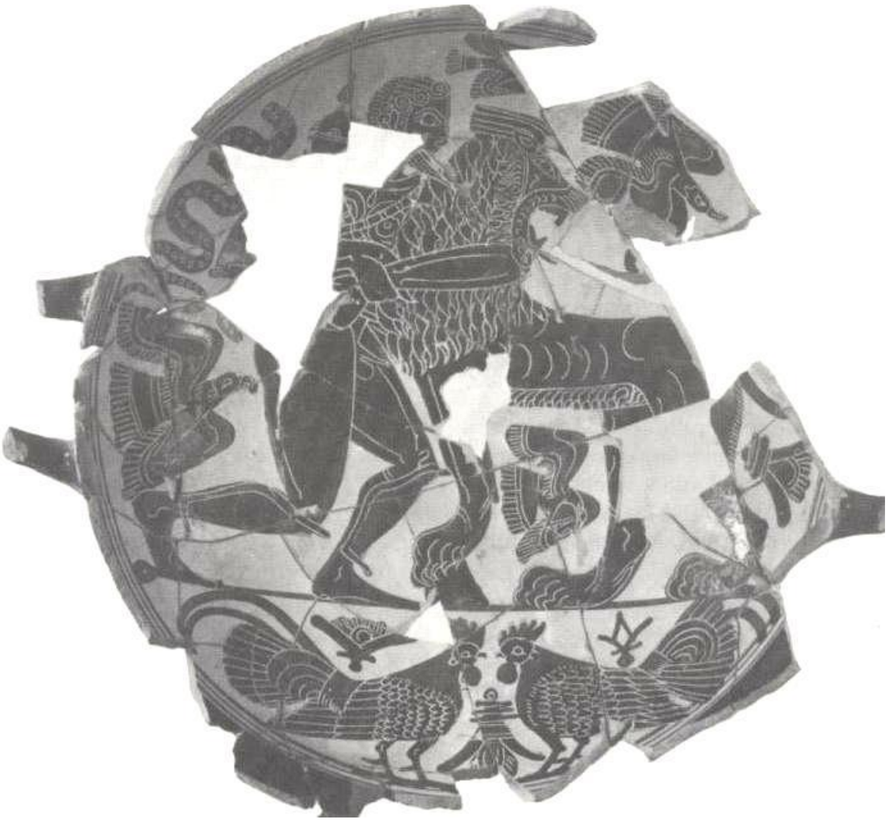


FIG. 40.

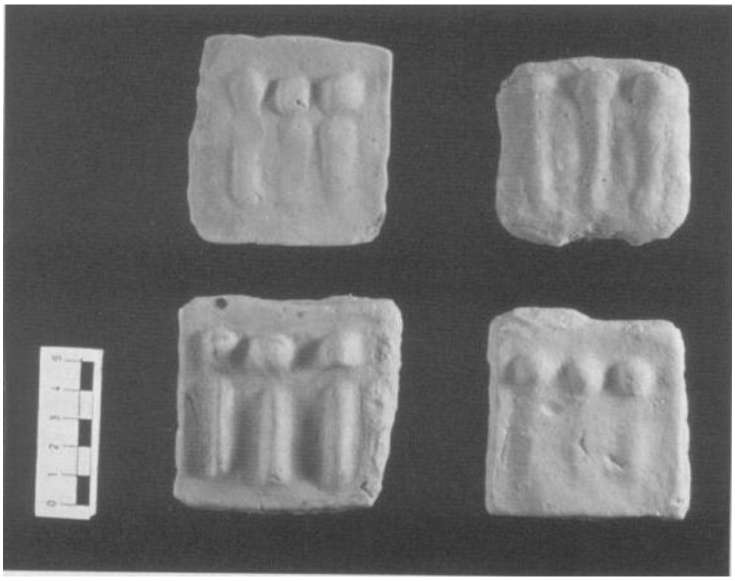


FIG. 41.

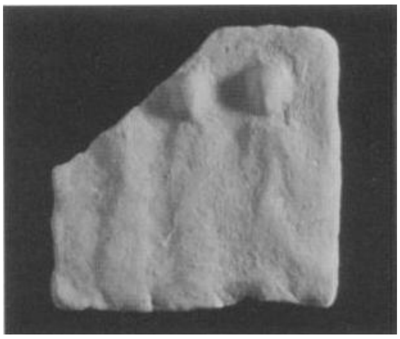


FIG. 42.

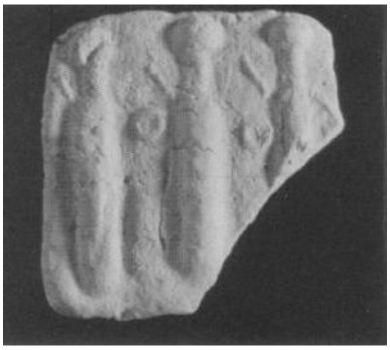
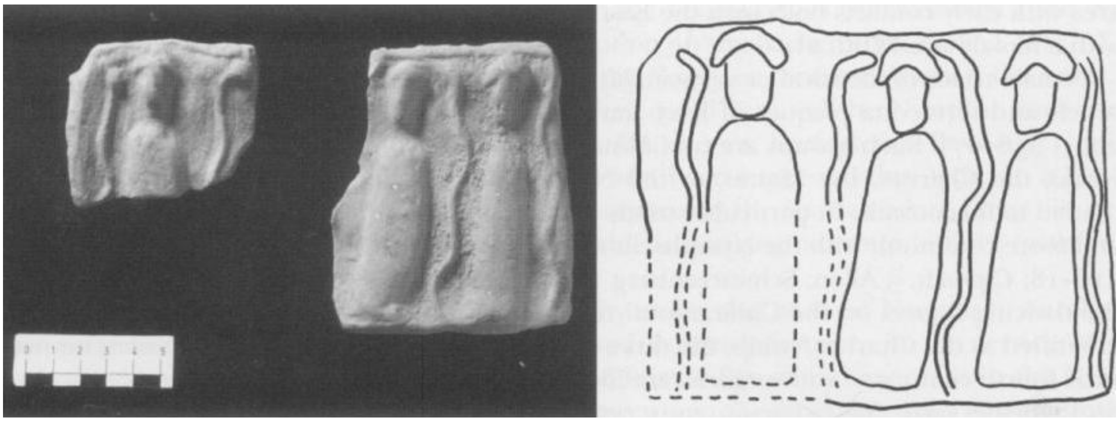


FIG. 43



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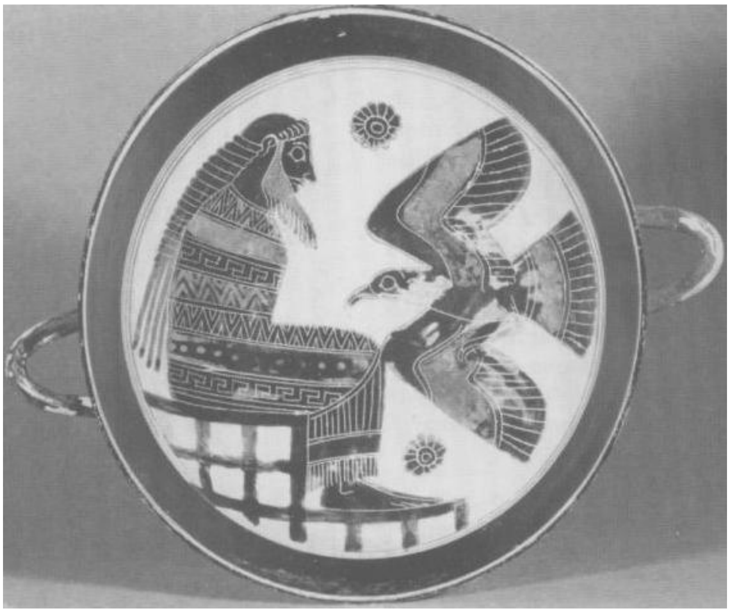

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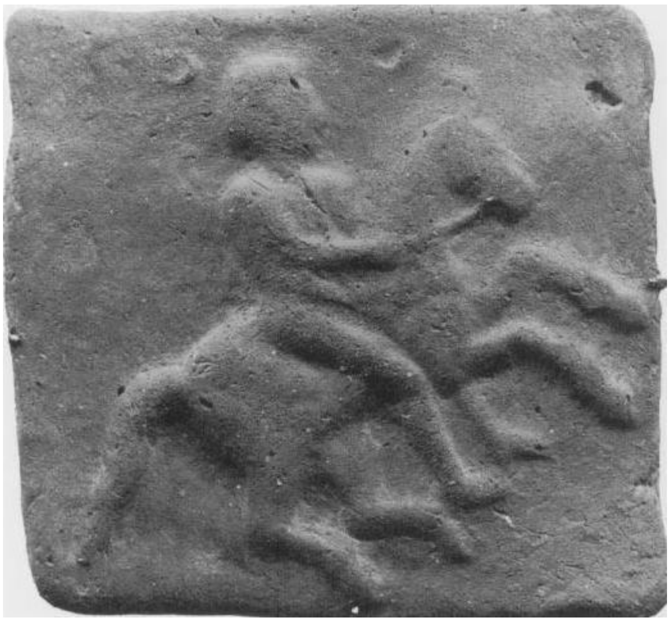


FIG. 46

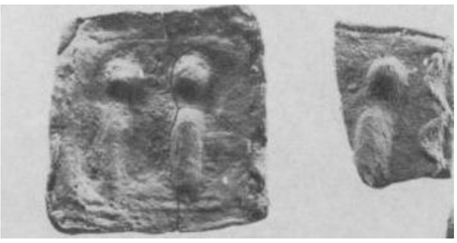
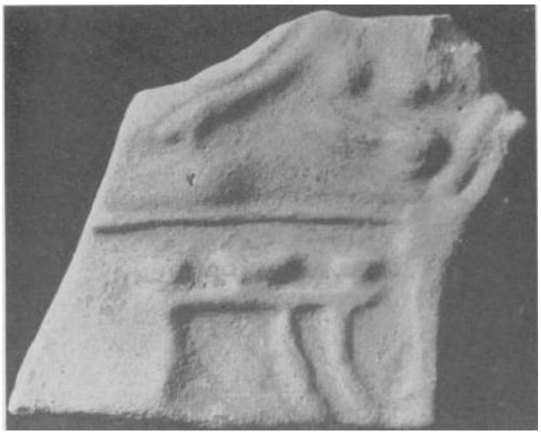


FIG. 47.



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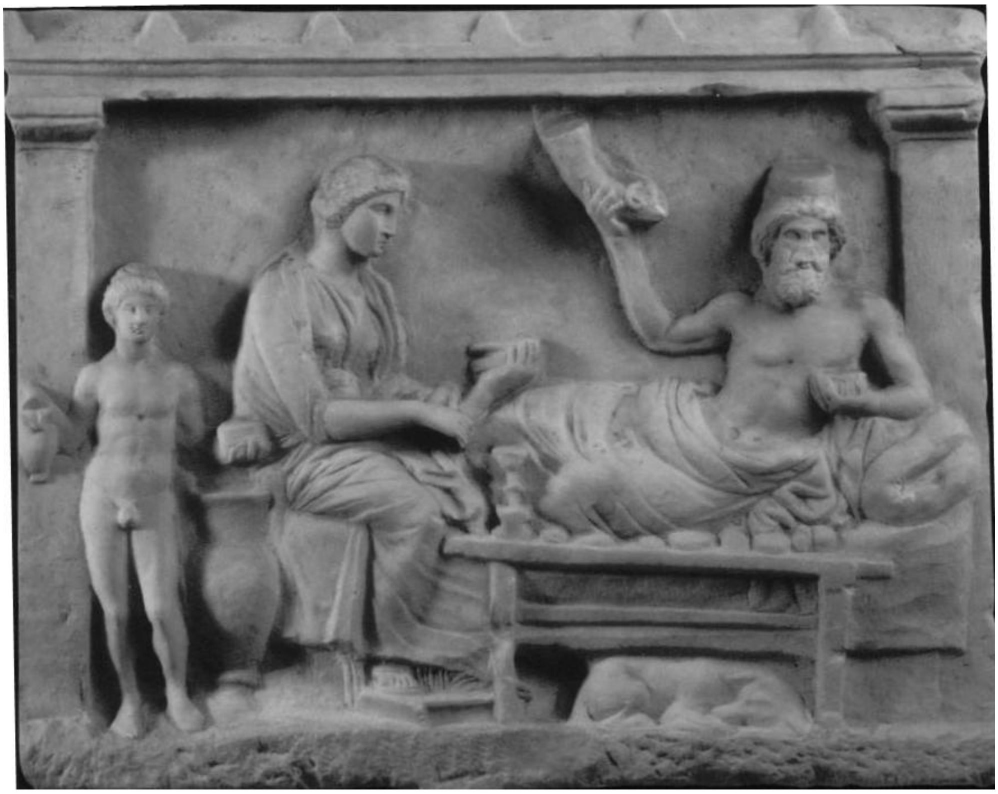


FIG. 49.

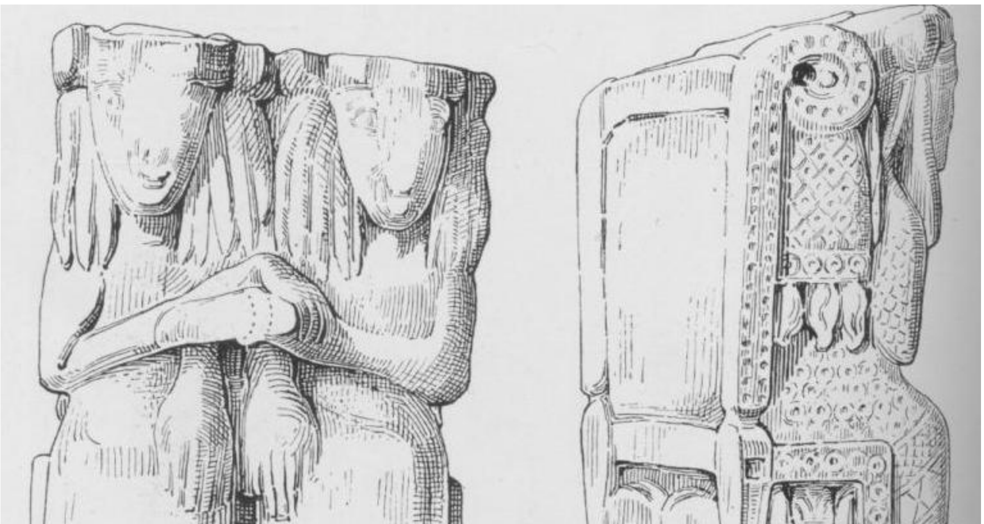
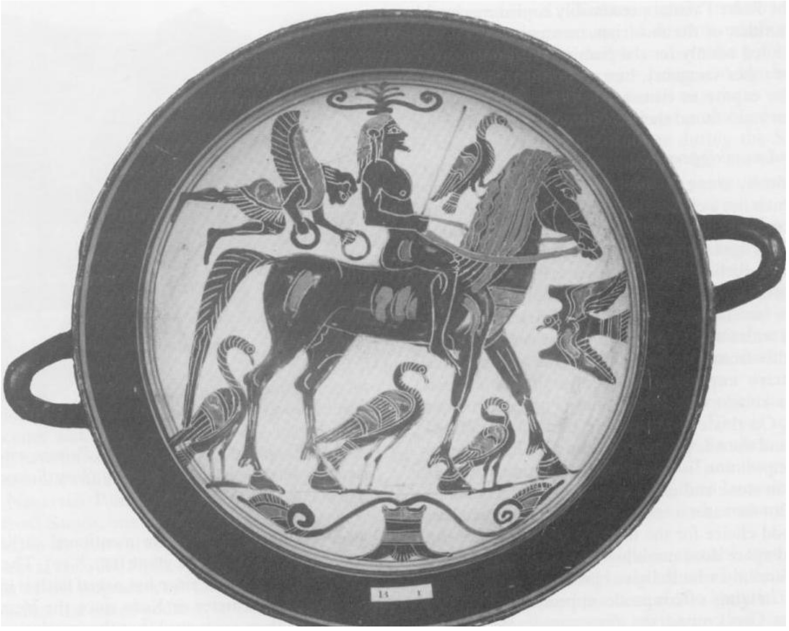


FIG. 50.



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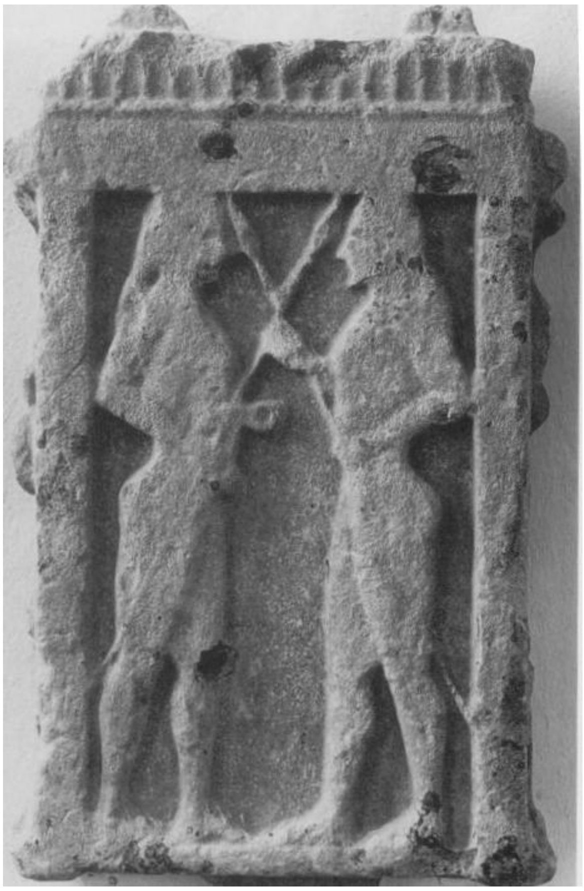
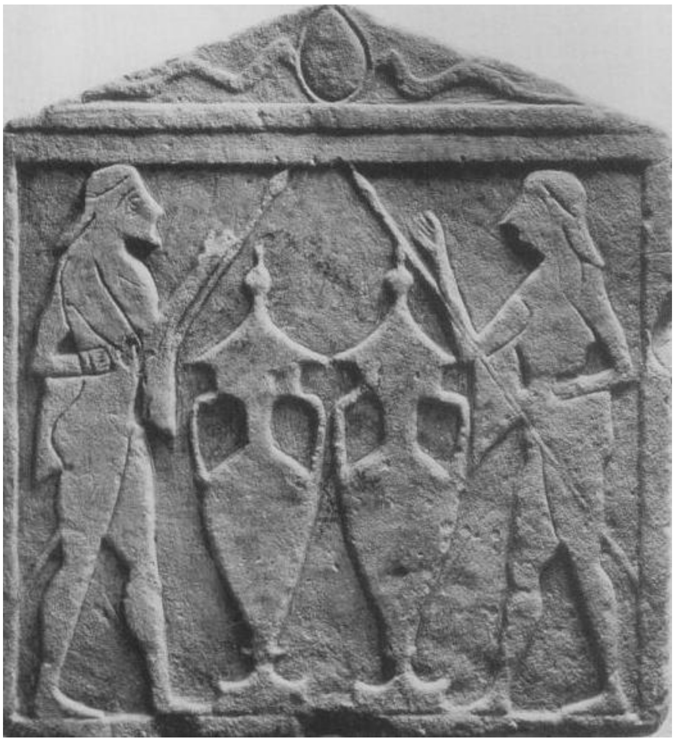


FIG. 52.



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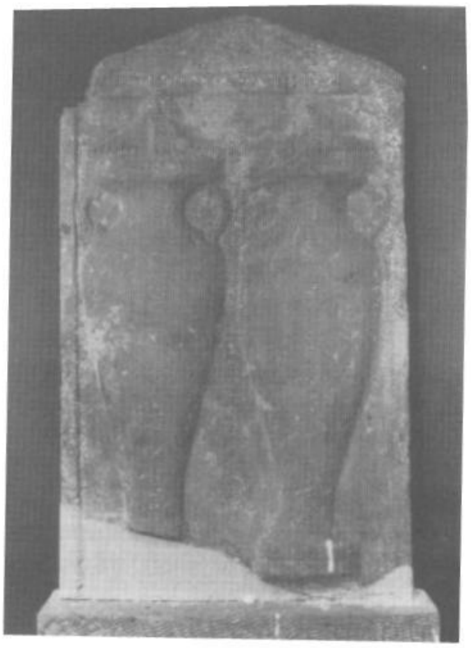


FIG. 54.

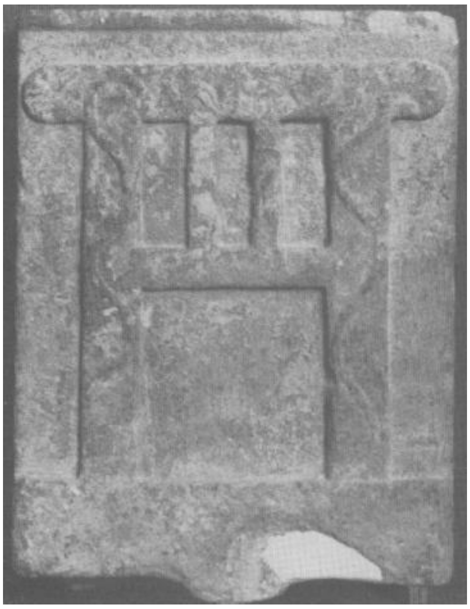


FIG. 55.

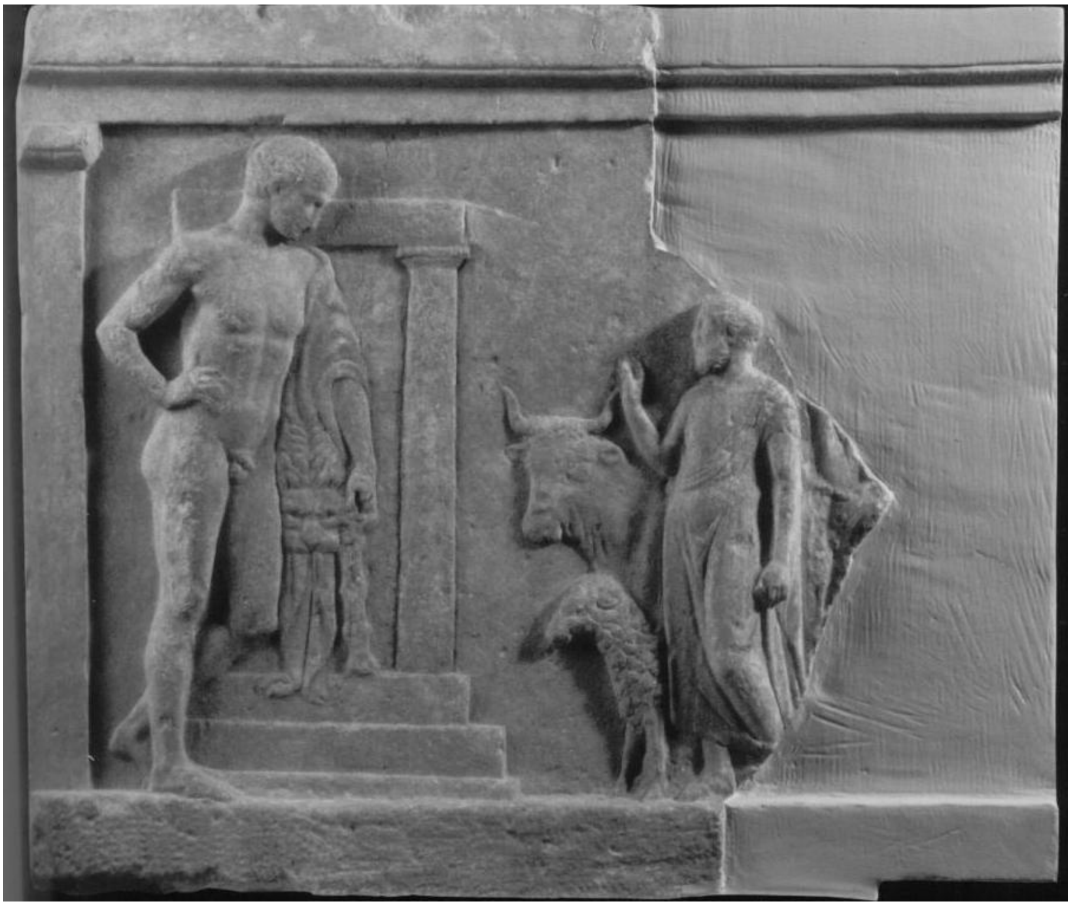


FIG. 56.

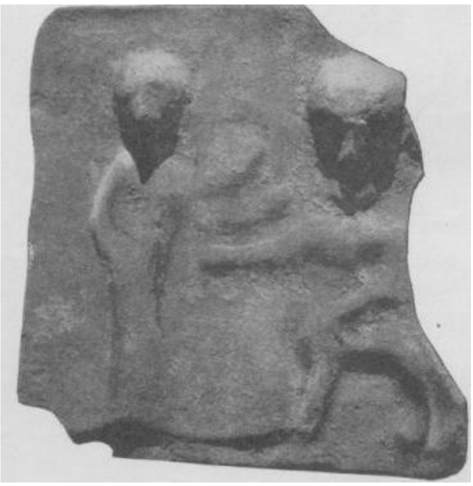
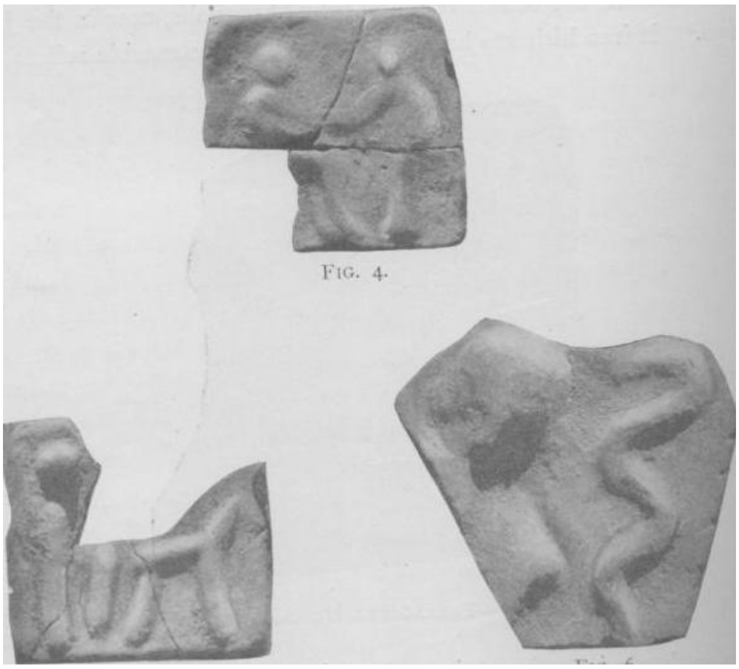


FIG. 57.



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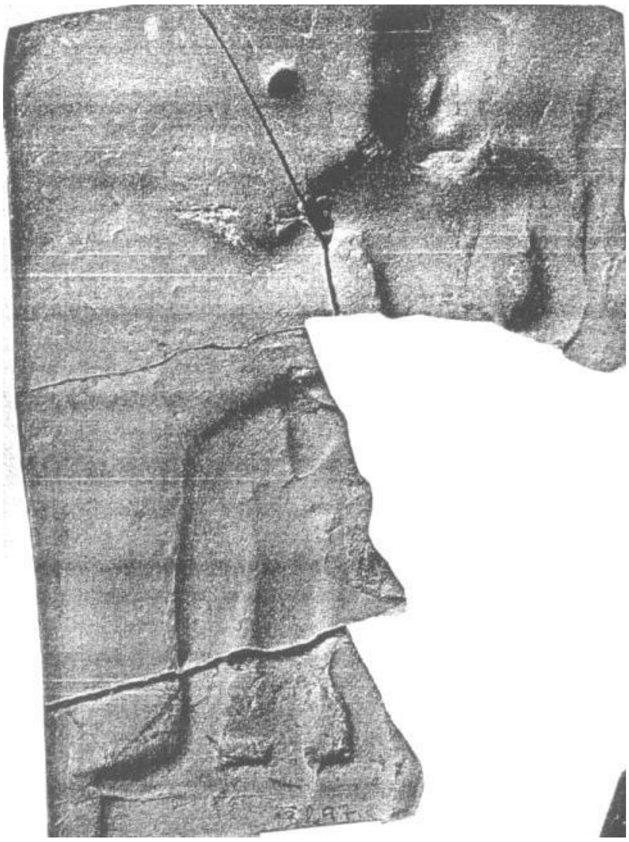

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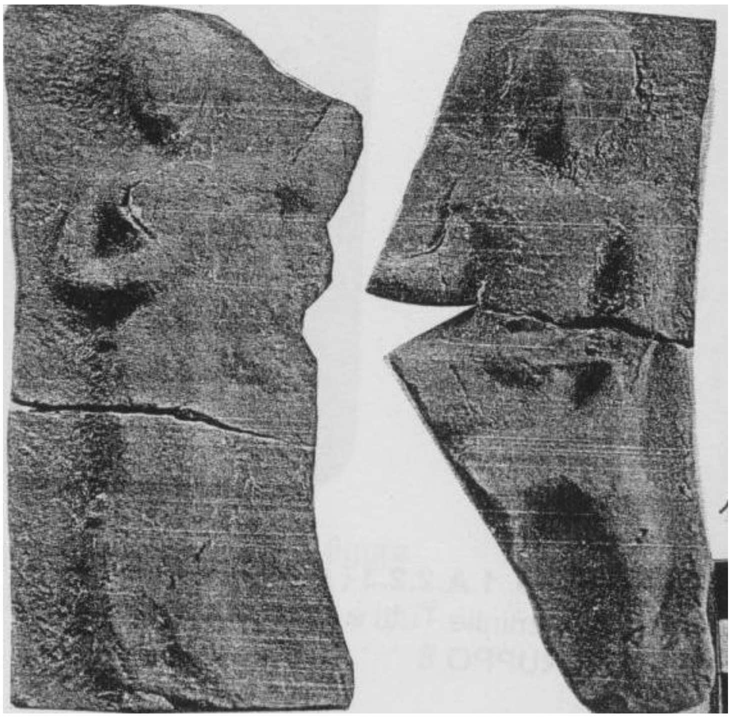

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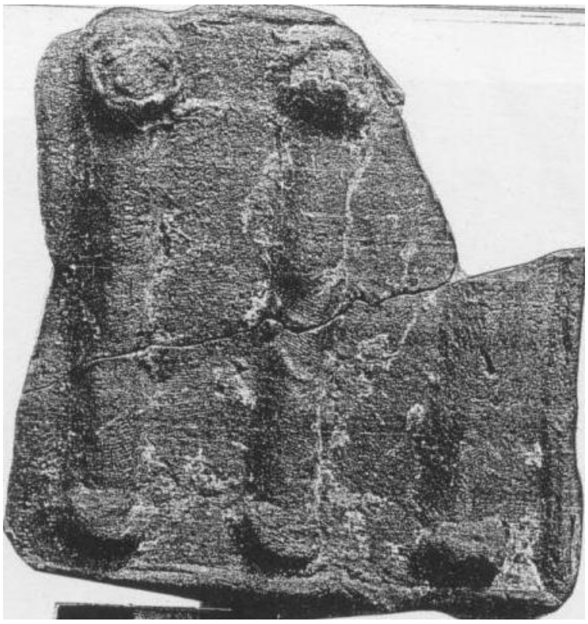


FIG. 61.

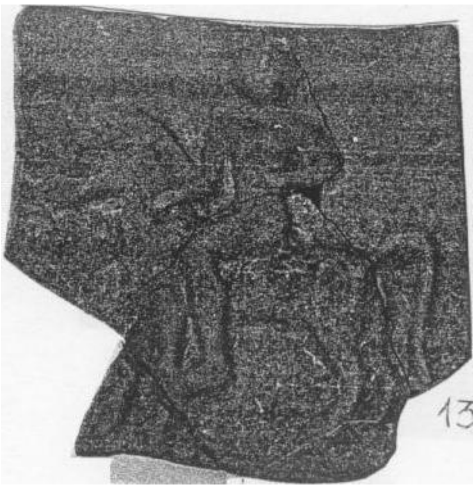


FIG. 62.

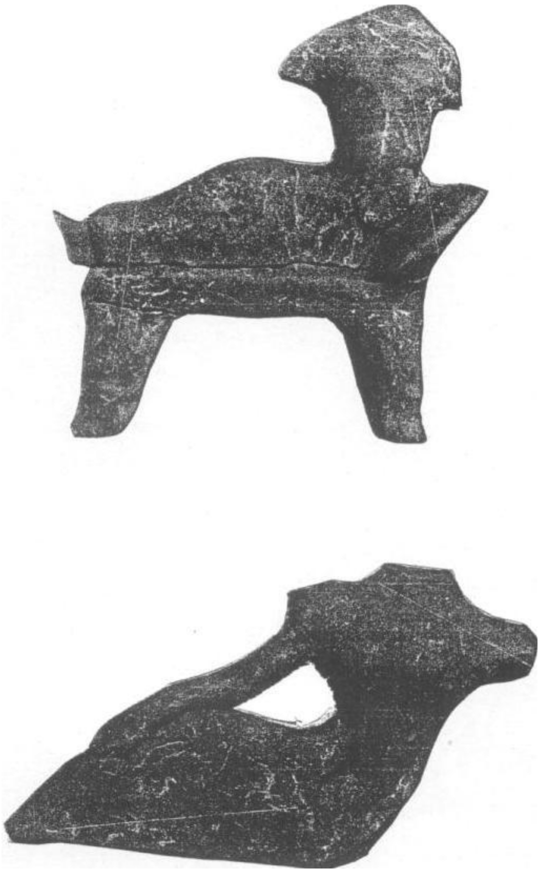
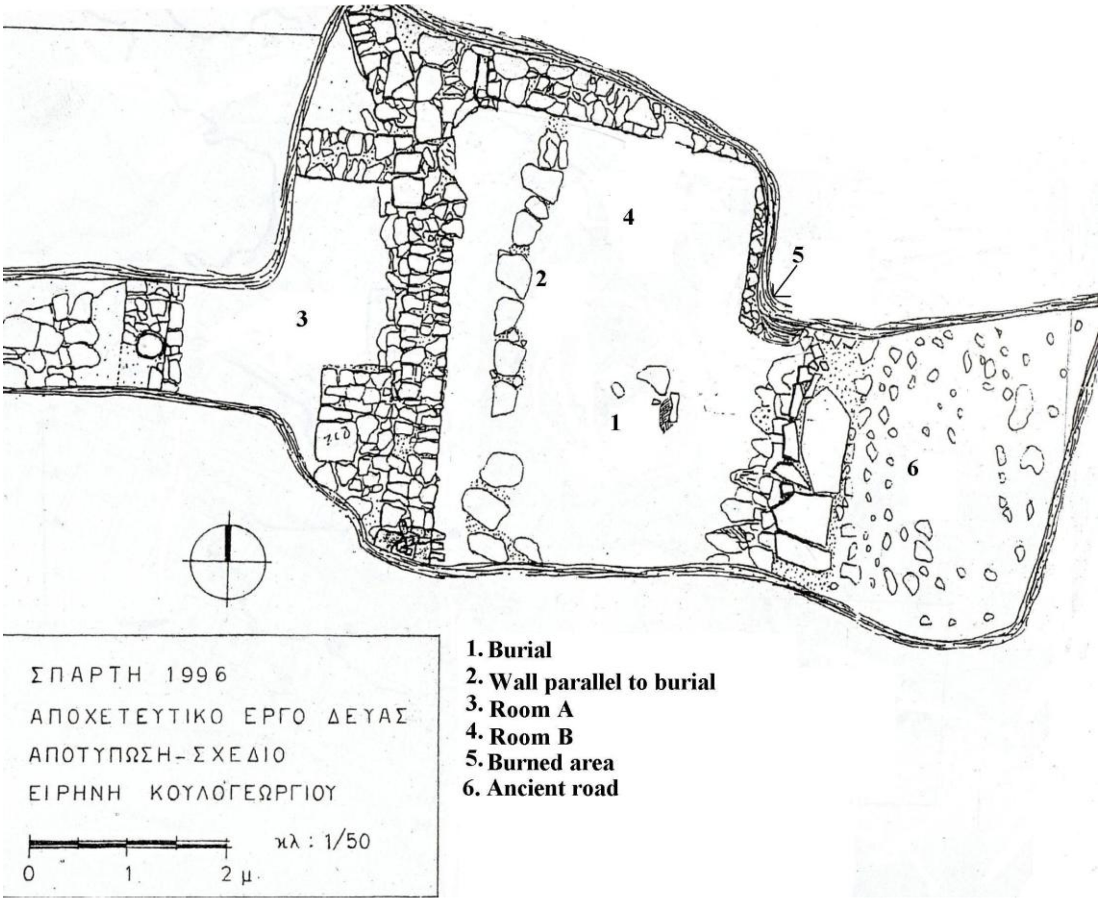


FIG. 63.


1
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ΑΠΟΤΥΠΩΣΗ-ΣΧΕΔΙΟ
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κλ : 1/50
0
1
2 μ
1. Burial
2. Wall parallel to burial
3. Room A
4. Room B
5. Burned area
6. Ancient road

FIG. 64.

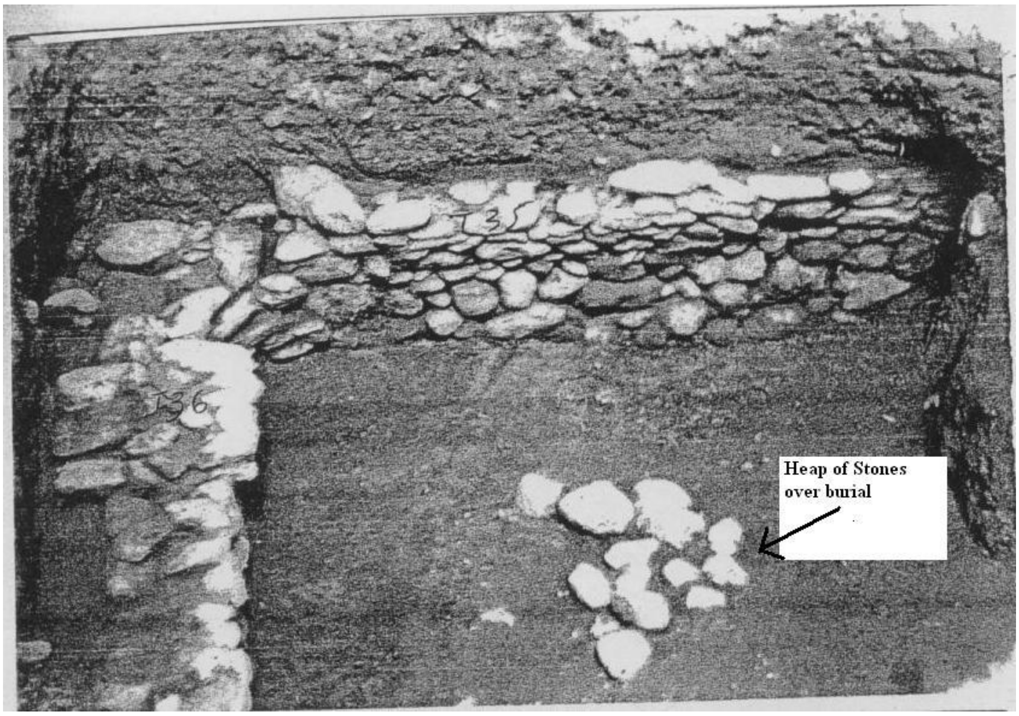
T3
T36
Heap of Stones over burial

FIG. 65.

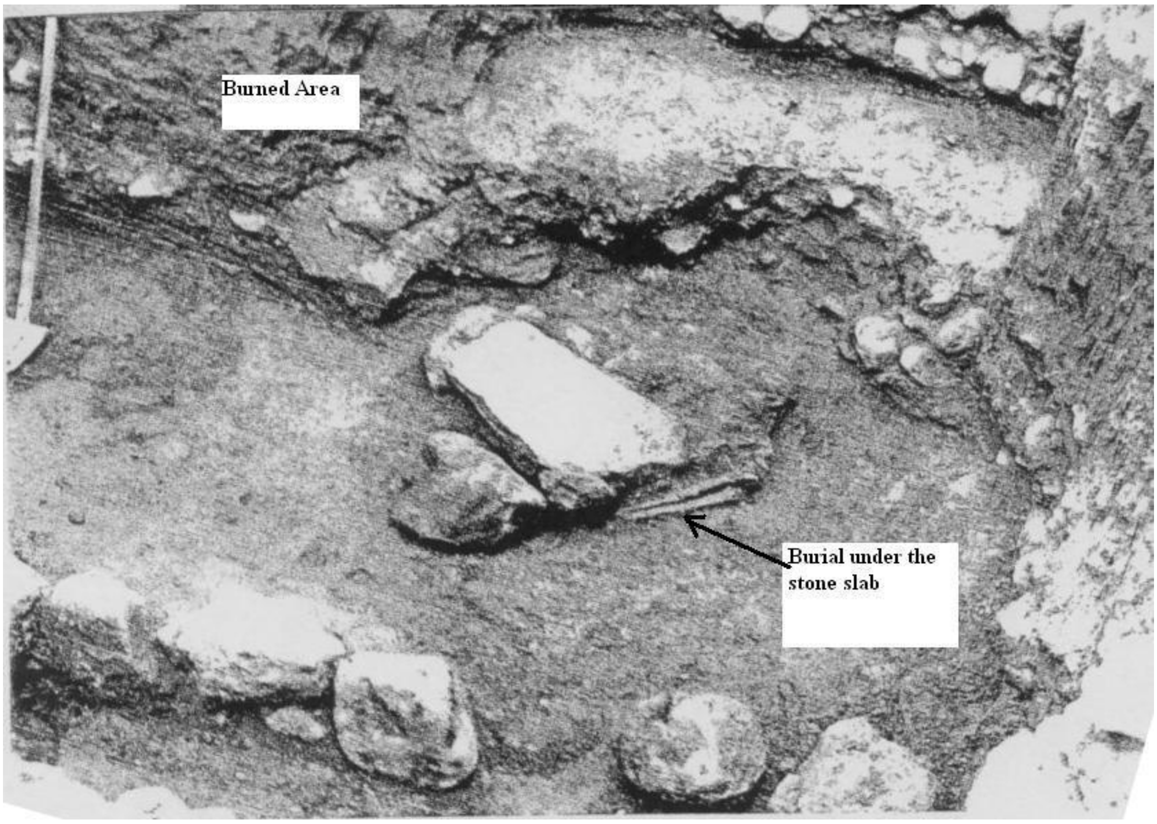
Burned Area
Burial under the stone slab

FIG. 66.

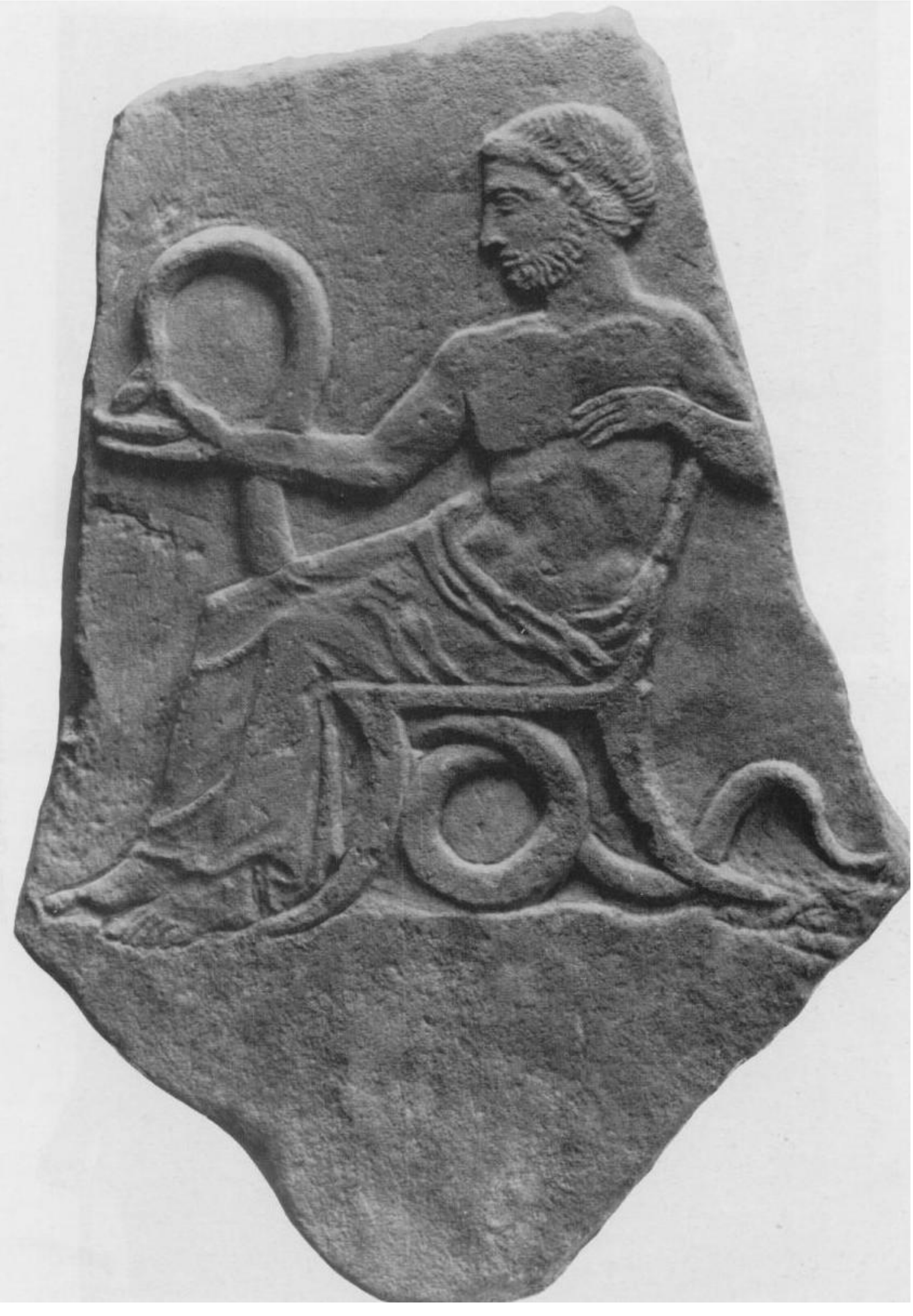

FIG. 67.

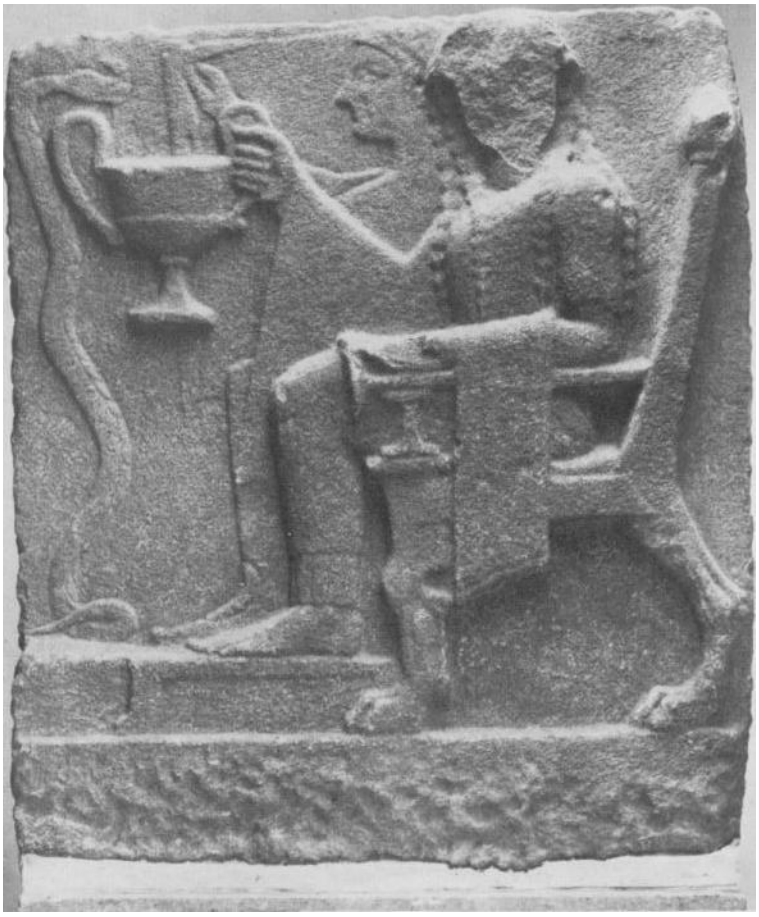

FIG. 68.

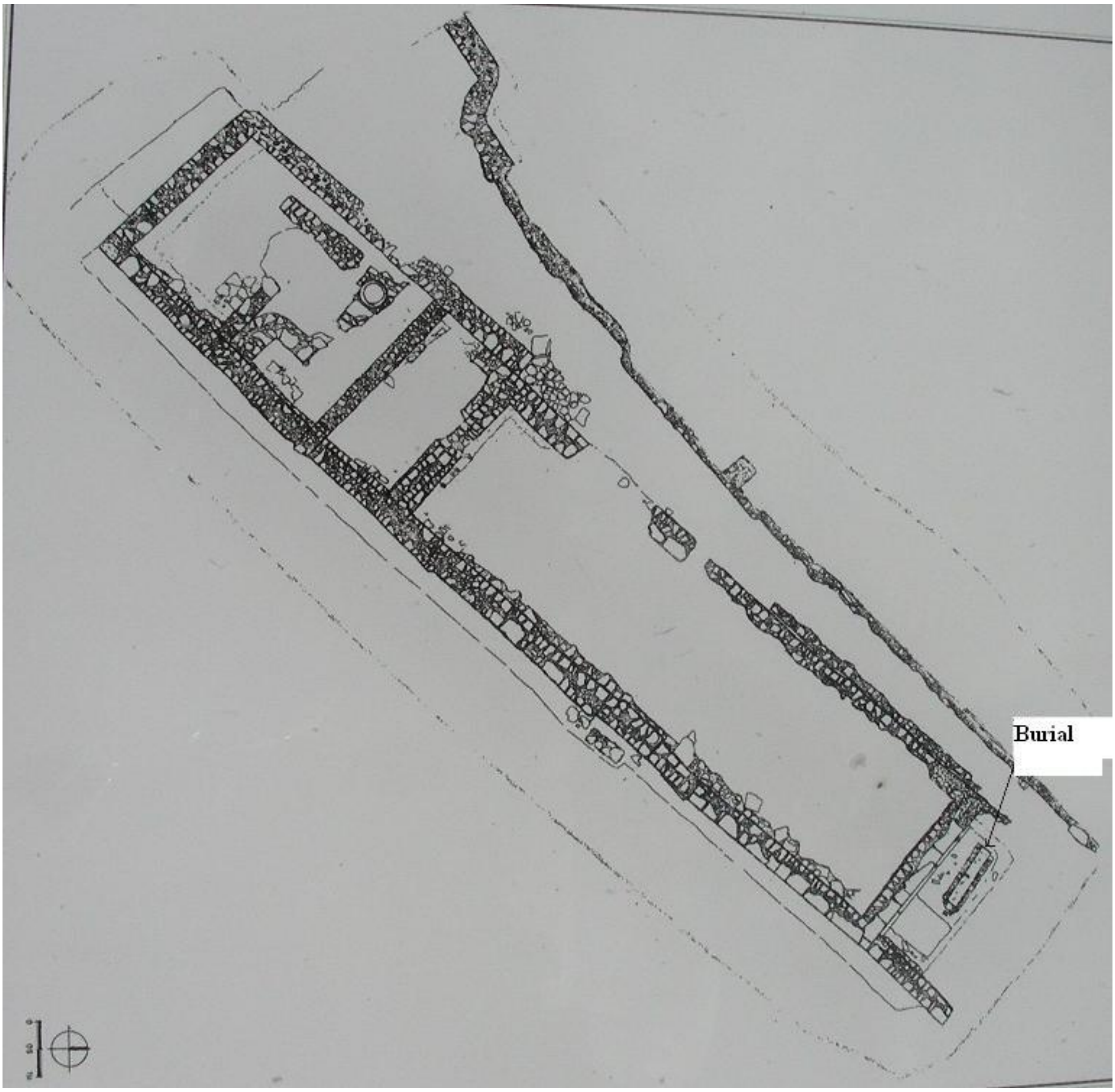

FIG. 69.

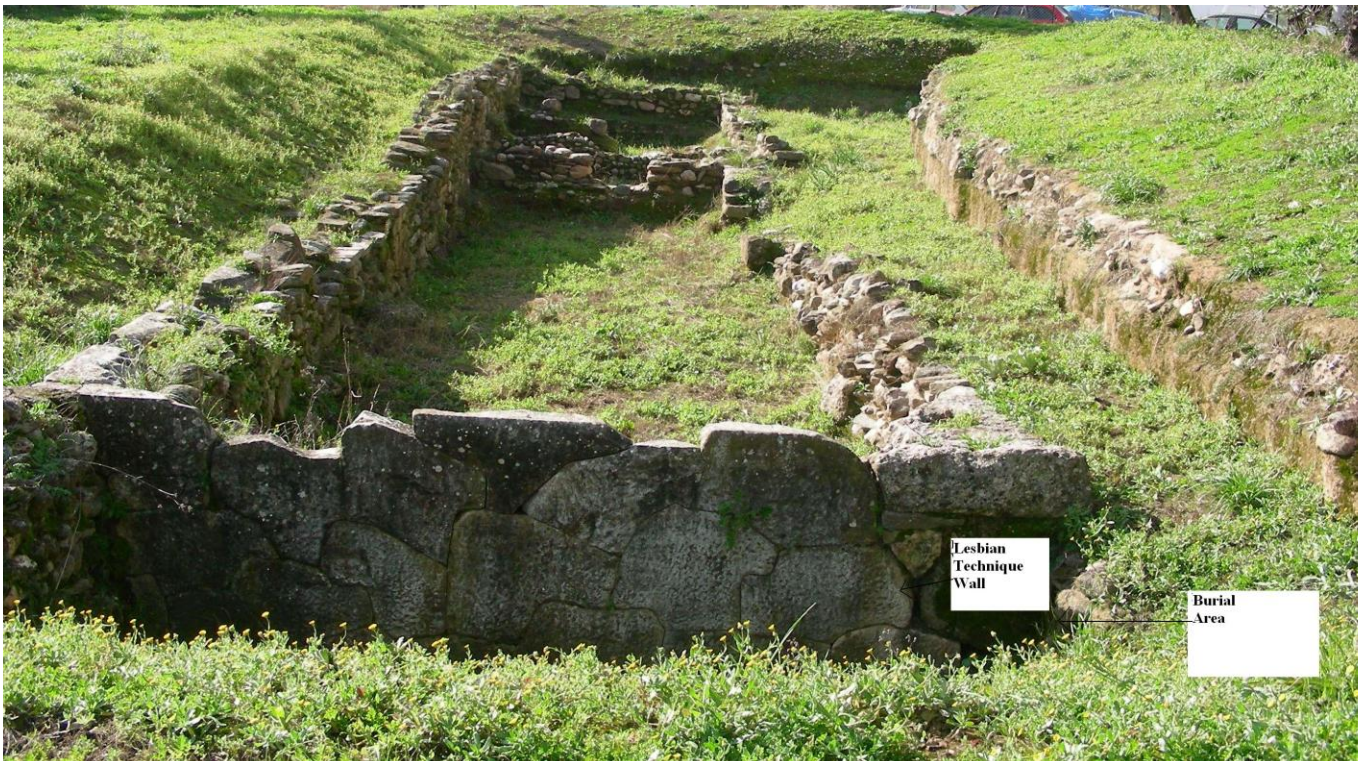
Lesbian
Technique
Wall
Burial
Area

FIG. 70.

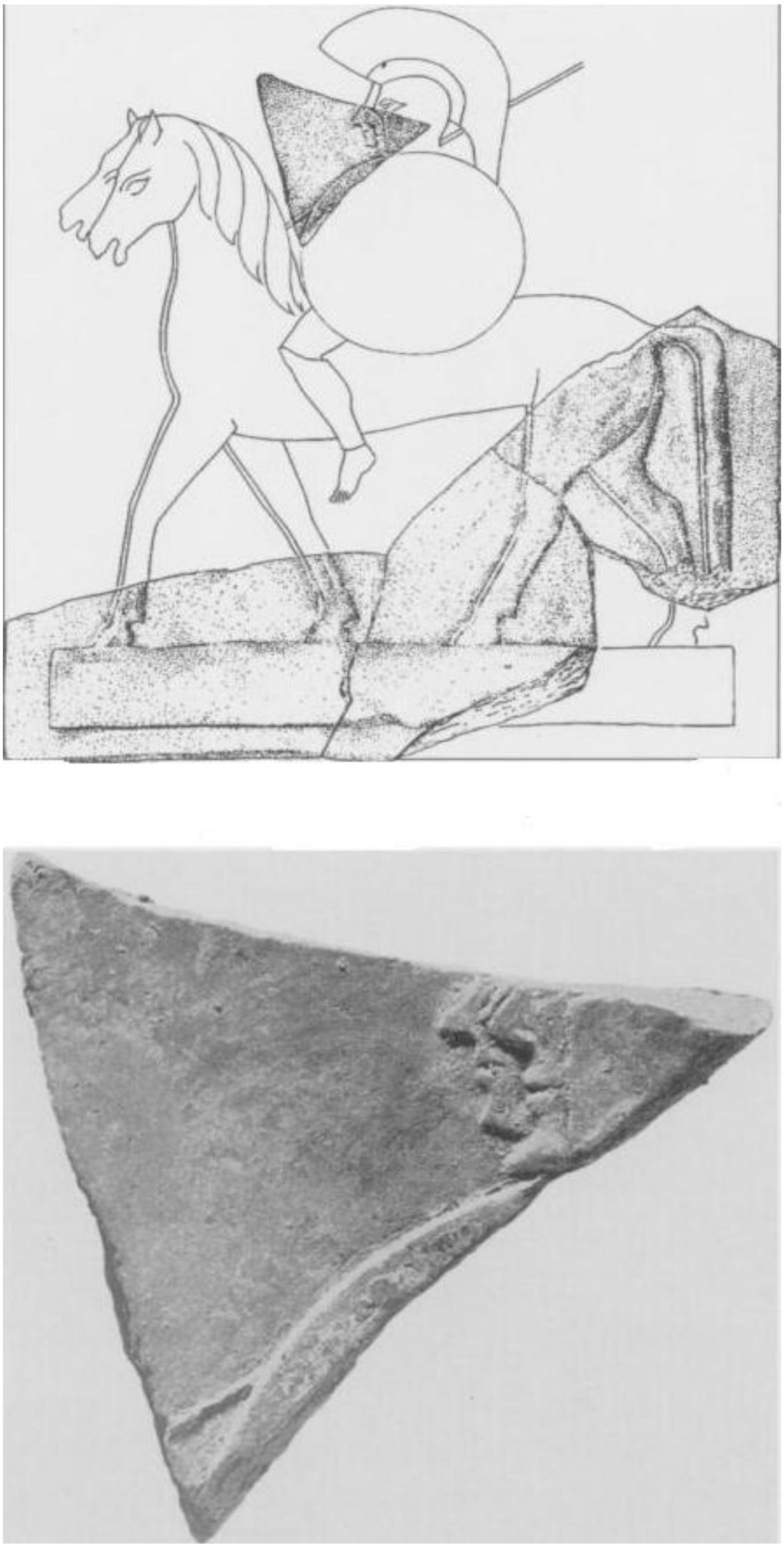

FIG. 71.

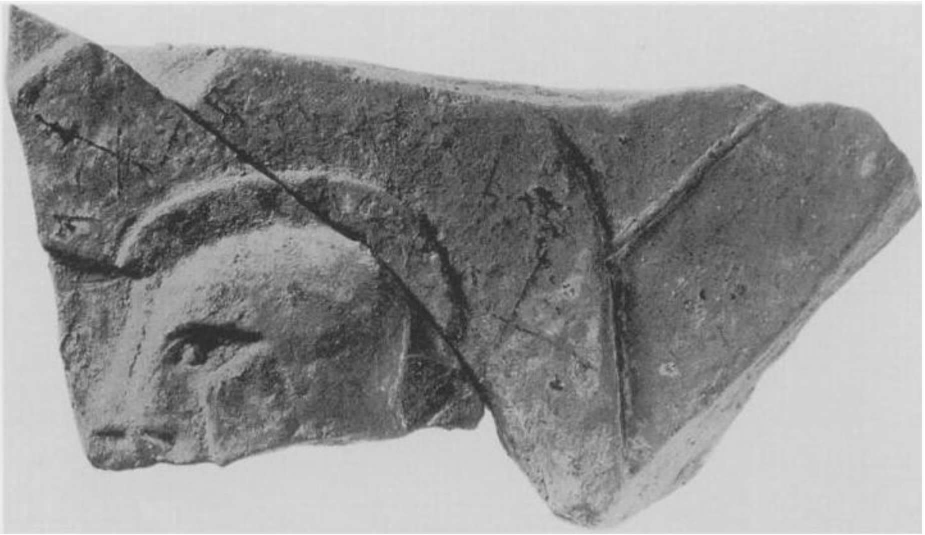

FIG. 72.

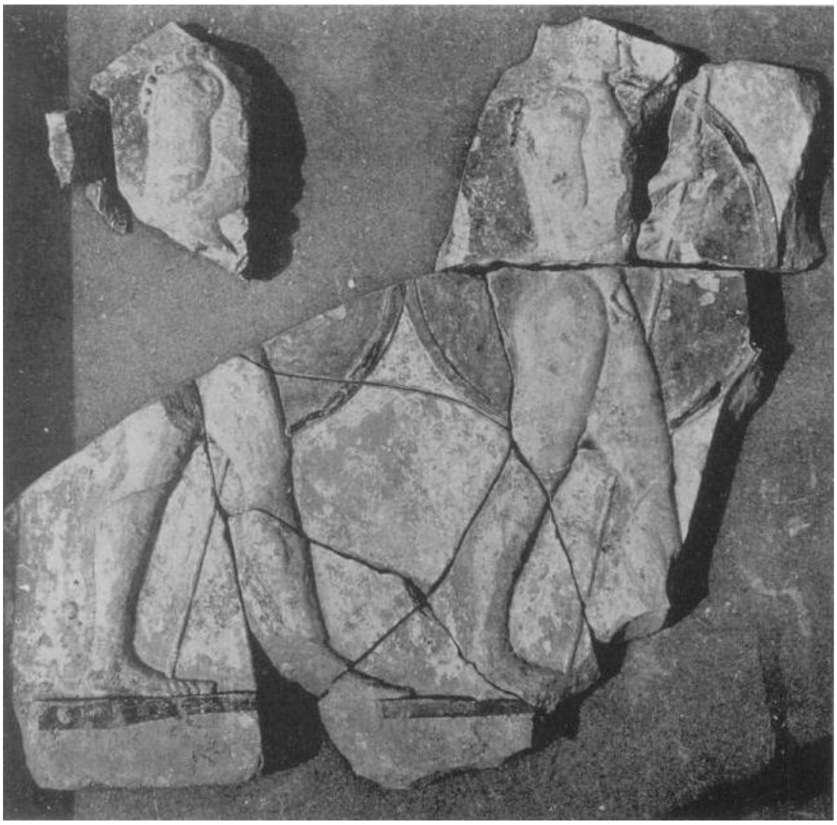

FIG. 73.

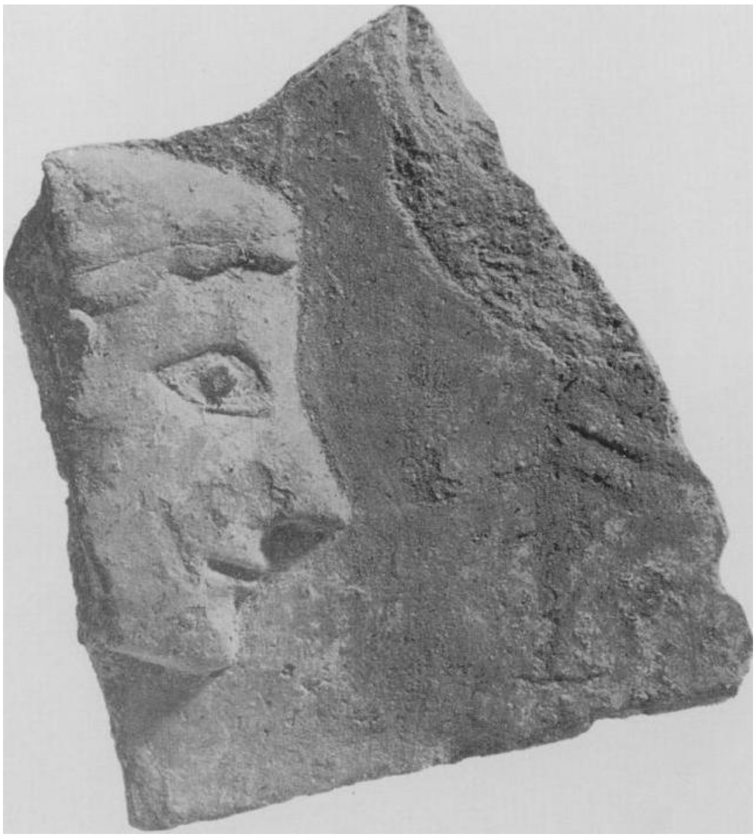

FIG. 74.

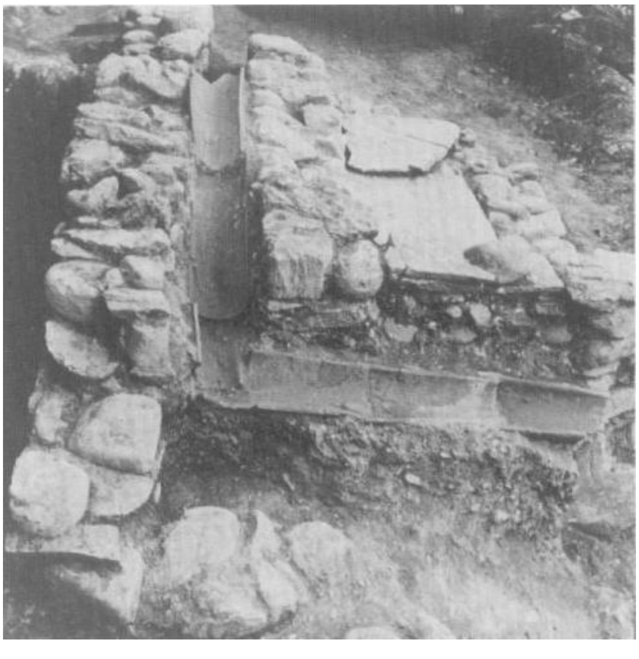

FIG. 75.

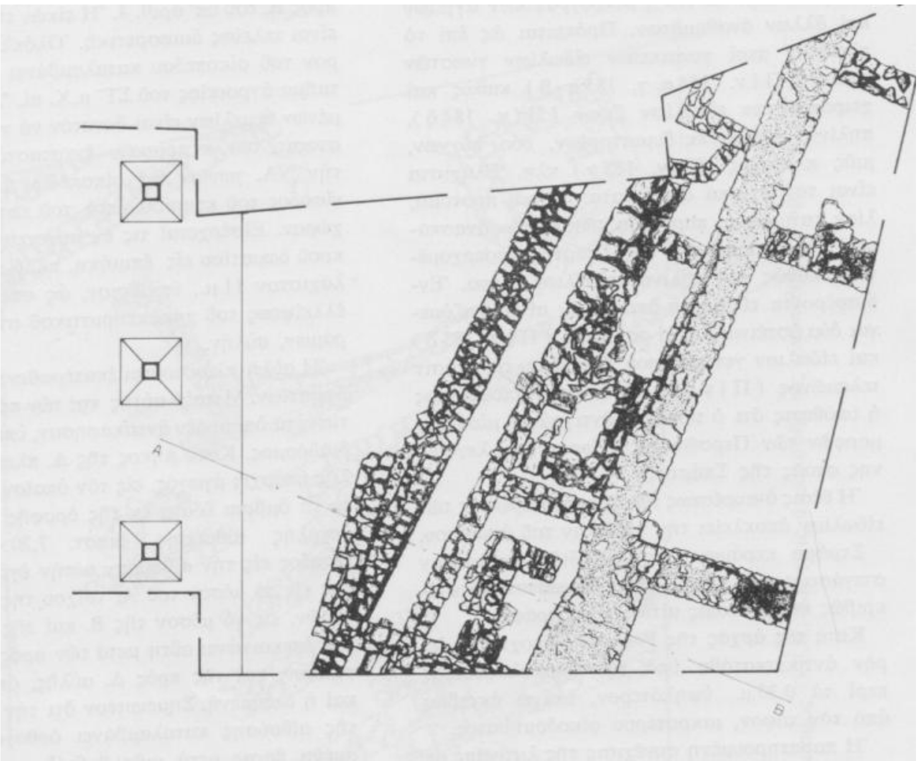

FIG. 76.

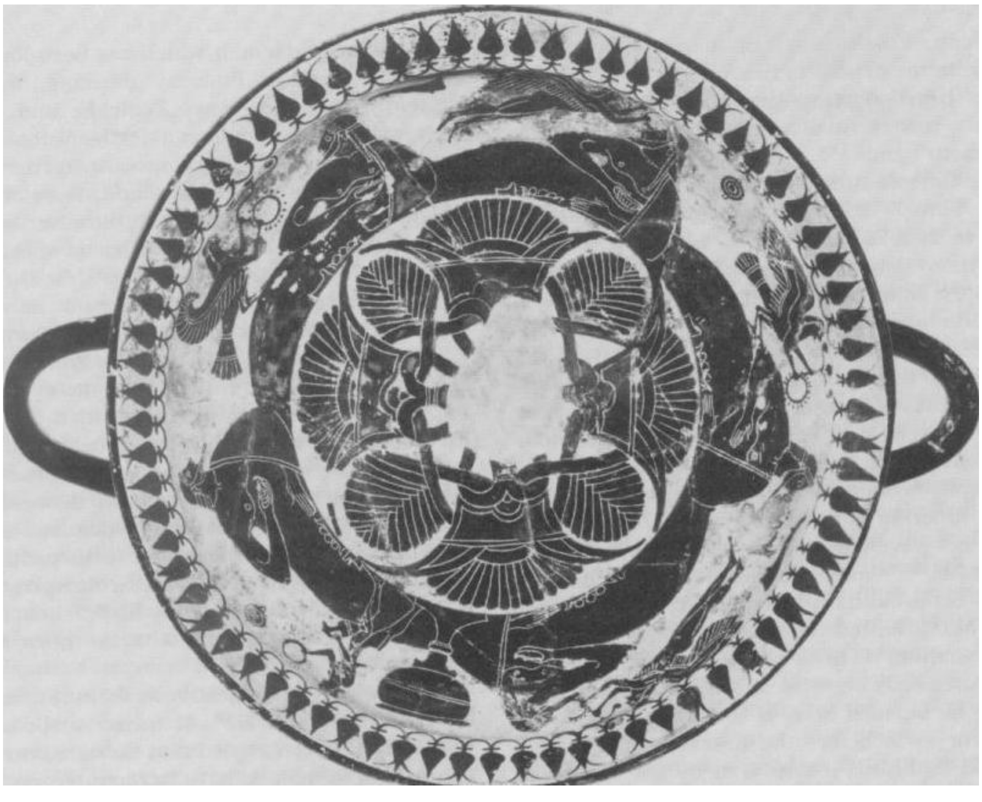

FIG. 77.

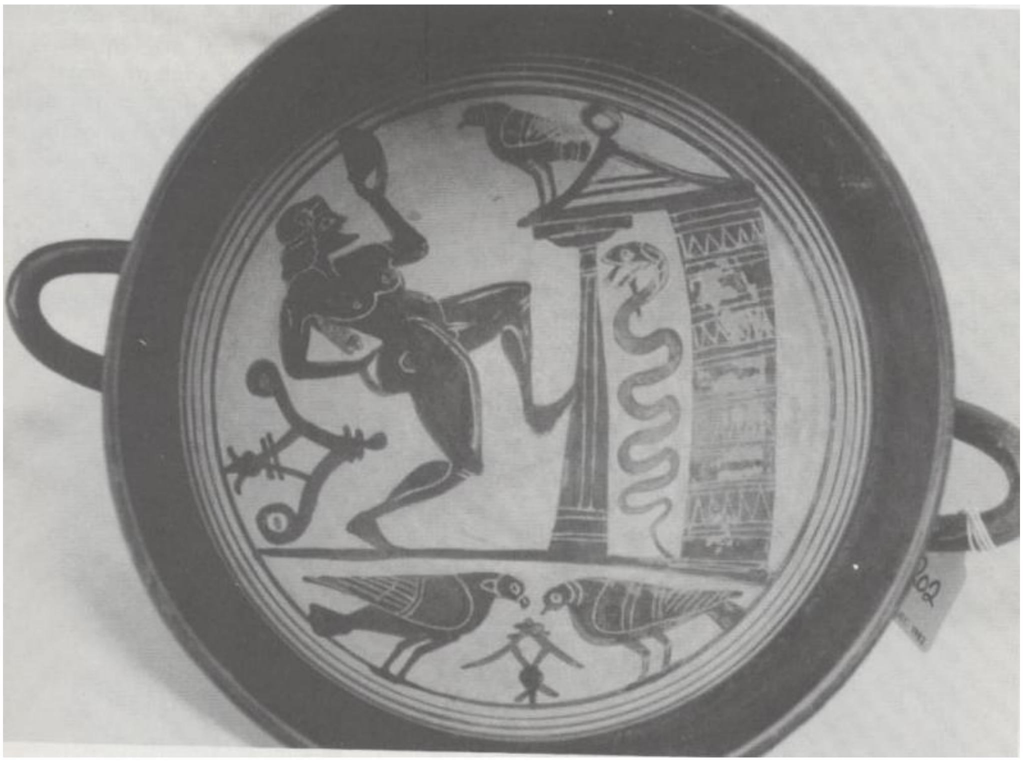

FIG. 78.

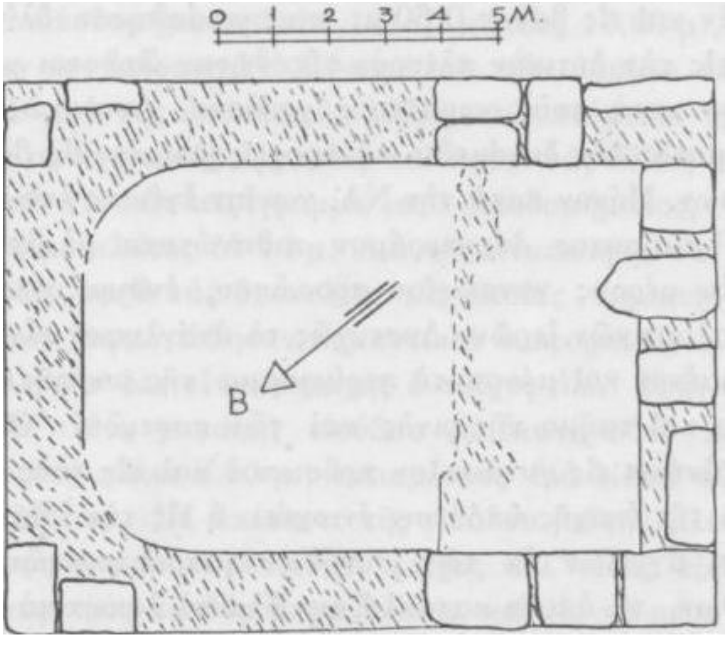

FIG. 79.

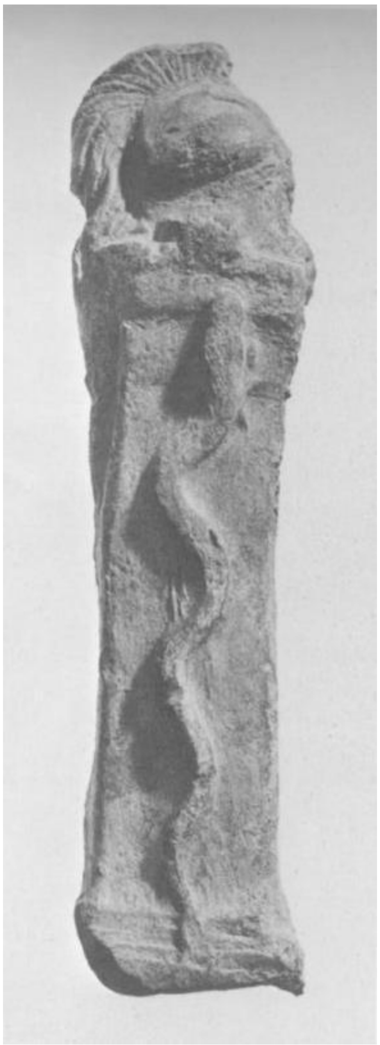

FIG. 80.