In search of the Dioskouroi: image, myth and cult

Thesis submitted in support of an application to supplicate for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the
Division of Social Sciences (Classical Archaeology)
at the
University of Oxford

Volume I

Sarah Graham
Wolfson College
Hilary Term, 2015

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Abstract

This study explores the Greeks' experience of the Dioskouroi before the arrival of the Romans, stimulated by Cicero's assertion[1] that by his time they were worshipped widely in Greece, possibly more than the Olympians: from the archaeological evidence, a surprising claim. The task is complicated by the brothers' different incarnations in different places and at different times, and the variability and patchiness of the evidence for the period, from Homeric times to *c.* 146 BC. To address this (explained in Chapter 1), the study is designed around examining the evidence in selected locations over time, with an underlying theme of comparing the archaeological with the literary evidence, much of which is Roman. An overview of the evidence from literature, images and buildings sets the stage (Chapter 2). The association of Kastor and Polydeukes with 'Lakedaimon' in the literature, from Homer onwards, led the study to focus primarily on Sparta and the Peloponnese (Chapter 3), looking closely also at Sparta's near neighbours, Messene and Argos. It then looks at evidence from Thera, Kyrene and Naukratis (Chapter 4), in order to include some of the earliest material evidence we have of cult of the Dioskouroi in Greek settlements, which also have associations with

[1] Cic. *Nat.D.* 3.15(39).

Sparta and Lakonia; evidence from Thasos is included too. The final chapter considers the findings and assesses the usefulness of the methodology. The paucity of architectural evidence for major monuments and buildings specifically dedicated to the Dioskouroi, except in centres where Greeks gathered from different places for trade or religious reasons, may be explained if the primary location of their cult was the individual household, buildings only being needed for dedications to the brothers by Greeks away from home. It could also explain the seeming mismatch between Cicero's statement and the archaeological record.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Context and aims of the research

"Perhaps the most complex among the Greek gods"[2]: Martin Nilsson's view of the Dioskouroi was elaborated half a century later in Walter Burkert's comprehensive review of Greek religion, where he talks about "two of the most memorable figures in Greek mythology".[3] Despite this, the brothers Kastor and Polydeukes are better known to modern readers in their Roman incarnation, as Castor and Pollux, protectors of the city of Rome. The columns from their own temple are still visible there in the forum[4] **(Fig.1)** as are their colossal cavalier statues on the Quirinale[5] **(Figs.2a,b)** and Capitoline[6] **(Figs.3a,b)** hills. Their Roman identity is manifest in the constellation that takes their name, the twin peaks in the Southern Alps, and their appearance in the title role of Rameau's eighteenth-century French opera that was instrumental in winning victory for the French genre over its Italian rival.[7] Their Greek antecedents as Kastor and Polydeukes are more elusive, although their legacy lives on in Lakonia, still visible in the frescoed Byzantine churches of Mystras and of the Mani, and emerging as *Agioi Theodoroi* in Mystras, Athens and even a remote monastery on the craggy coast of western Ikaria.

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[2] M.P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean religion and its survival in Greek religion* (Lund 1927), hereafter Nilsson *Minoan-Mycenaean*, 469; M.P. Nilsson, *The Mycenaean origin of Greek mythology* (Los Angeles 1972) 76.

[3] W. Burkert, *Greek religion: archaic and classical*, translated by J. Raffan (Oxford 1985), hereafter Burkert *Greek religion*, 212.

[4] I. Nielsen, and B. Poulsen (eds.), *The temple of Castor and Pollux* (Rome 1992), hereafter Nielsen/Poulsen *Temple*, 31, Figs. 19 and 20.

[5] Early fourth century AD, possibly copies of Greek originals: F. Haskell, and N. Penny, *Taste and the antique* (London 1981), hereafter Haskell/Penny *Taste*, 136; *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* Volume 3 (Munich/Zurich 1986), hereafter *LIMC* 3, *s.v.* Dioskouroi no.77.

[6] Second century AD, originally erected outside the earlier (*c*.100 BC) temple of Castor and Pollux in the Circus Flaminius. M. Conticello de' Spagnolis, *Il tempio dei Dioscuri nel Circo Flaminio* (Rome 1984) 59; *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi no.57.

[7] J.-P. Rameau, *Castor et Pollux*. First performed at the Paris Opéra in 1737.

Who, what and where were the Greek Dioskouroi? Kastor and Polydeukes first appear in the ancient Greek literary sources as Homeric heroes[8] and brothers, as quasi immortals in the *Kypria*[9] and in some of the early lyric poets.[10] By the fifth century BC they were clearly endowed with immortal traits,[11] and are attested in many different regions of Greece and its world. Over the same period, they change their usual names. Before the fifth century BC, in the literary texts they were almost invariably named individually or called Tyndaridai, sons of the mortal Tyndareos, legendary king of Sparta. By the fifth century BC they are also called the Dioskouroi, a term already known from inscriptions.[12]

The Dioskouroi remain ambivalent figures in myth, and the nature of their cult status is mysterious. Unlike their Roman and Etruscan counterparts,[13] in Greece the brothers have no simple iconic image. Their rather stiff portrayals on archaic Lakonian reliefs[14] **(Figs.4,5)** seem hardly to do justice to their complex nature and the variety of their attributes: sometimes heroes, sometimes deities; sometimes part of the Olympian pantheon, but venerated too as local or household gods through theoxenia.[15] Nearly always skilled horsemen and champions alike in battle and in the games, they are associated with victory and are also saviours of men in peril, particularly at sea, and guardians of travellers. The Lakonian reliefs illustrate how the brothers emerge with

[8] Hom. *Il.* 3.235-244 and *Od.* 11.300-304. Some have suggested that the Mycenaean term 'ra-ke-da-mi-ni-jo,' (Lakedemonian) in the Linear B tablets from Thebes may refer to the brothers: V.L. Aravantinos, L. Godart and A. Sacconi, *Thèbes: Fouilles de la Cadmée* 3 vols. (Pisa/ Rome 2001, 2002) 2, 215-215.
[9] *Kypria* fr.3: M.L. West, *Greek Epic Fragments* (Cambridge Massachusetts 2003), hereafter *GEF*, 71.
[10] Alkman, Sappho, Alkaios and Ibykos are discussed in Chapter 2.2, with references.
[11] Pind. *Nem.*10, 49-51; Eur. *Hel.* suggests deified status for the Dioskouroi in the final scene (lines 1664-9), though there is ambivalence elsewhere (lines 137-140).
[12] The earliest evidence for use of the term 'Dioskouroi' is discussed in Chapter 2.1.
[13] In both Roman and Etruscan (as Tinas Cliniar) iconography they came to be recognised by their piloi and stars; Lucian *Dial. mort.* 25 (Apollo and Hermes).
[14] Marble reliefs in the Sparta Archaeological Museum, the earliest dated to 600 BC. Discussed with references in Chapter 3.2.4.
[15] Burkert *Greek religion* 107 and 203 defines theoxenia as a banquet honouring a deity in which he or she shares in some sense.

differing personae in different places and at different times, donning the mantle of local gods and cults, and identified with local priorities. Thus they appear as emblems of the dual kingship[16] at Sparta, but are also heroes for the Athenians[17] by whom they were known locally as Anakes.[18] They are also seeming protectors of cities as geographically diverse as Sparta, Taras,[19] Rome, Kyrene[20] and the Milesian settlement of Dioskourias[21] on the Black Sea.

Marshalling the evidence. A number of studies have drawn together the various attributes and functions[22] of the Dioskouroi, but there has been little attempt to examine the evidence over time and by location, [23] or to place it in the context of current archaeological knowledge. This may be partly because of the relative paucity and patchiness of the evidence. It is the contention of this study that to try nonetheless to cross-examine the evidence in this way could be useful. One aim of the research is to test the viability of this premiss by focusing on the evidence over time in selected locations, as case studies. It is hoped in this way to help elucidate notions of cult and myth in Greece before the coming of the Romans and how far they may have been

[16] Hdt. 5.75.2 recounts the custom of the Spartan kings being accompanied by the Tyndaridai - in what form is unclear - into battle. See also Chapter 3.2.1, n.358.
[17] H.A. Shapiro, "Cult Warfare" in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Hero Cult* (Stockholm 1995), hereafter Shapiro "Cult warfare", 99-107.
[18] Plutarch offers some ingenious but probably spurious etymological explanations: Plut. *Thes.* 33; Cicero suggests it was applied to others of Zeus' children, Tritopatreos, Eubeleos and Dionysos: Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.53.
[19] Founded from Sparta in the seventh century BC, or earlier, and in myth by Menelaos: I. Malkin, *Myth and territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge 1994), hereafter *Myth and territory,* 8.
[20] Pind. *Pyth.* 5. 5-11.
[21] Founded possibly as early as the sixth century BC: G.R. Tsetskhladze, "Greek penetration of the Black Sea" in G.R. Tsetskhladze and F. De Angelis (eds.), *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation* (Oxford 1994), hereafter Tsetskhladze/De Angelis *Colonisation*, 121. Coins were minted here in the time of Mithridates VI Eupator (*c.*120-63 BC) with the caps of the Dioskouroi: B.V. Head, *Historia Numorum* (Oxford 1911), hereafter Head *HN*, 495.
[22] See n. 47 and 48.
[23] The entries in *LIMC* 3,1 *s.v.* Dioskouroi offer some analysis of the relationship between image, iconography and place, dividing them between Greece and the near Orient (Dioskouroi), Rome, Southern Italy and its empire (Castores) and Etruria (Tinas Cliniar).

embroidered, possibly even invented, to serve Greek and Roman political and religious needs.[24]

1.2 Scope of the research: timeframe, geographical boundaries, methodology and definitions

Cicero,[25] writing around 45 BC after a recent trip to Greece, groups the Dioskouroi with Asklepios and Herakles as deified human beings worshipped widely in that country, sometimes more than the Olympians. He clearly distinguishes them from more local heroes, such as Tenes[26] on Tenedos. From the perspective of current archaeological knowledge, Cicero's statement in relation to the Dioskouroi seems surprising. Several major sanctuaries and smaller shrines in honour of Asklepios have survived in many parts of Greece;[27] Epidauros, Messene, Corinth, Athens and Delos are among the most prominent, and numerous votives and inscriptions, as well as the textual evidence, support Cicero's statement with regard to Asklepios. There is considerable evidence too for a widely spread recognition of Herakles,[28] particularly from the fourth century BC, promoted by his identification with Alexander. In contrast, the preserved material evidence for a widespread cult of the Dioskouroi is poor, prompting questions about Cicero's statement. Was it true when he was writing? If so, how far might this practice have been influenced by Roman rather than indigenous Greek habits and traditions?

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[24] Possibly inseparable, as argued by C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "What is Polis religion?" in O. Murray and S. Price (eds.), *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander* (Oxford 1990), hereafter Sourvinou-Inwood "Polis religion," 295-327; for subsequent scholarship and a 'critical evaluation': J. Kindt *Rethinking Greek religion* (Cambridge 2012)13-35.

[25] Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.15 (39).

[26] E. Kearns, *OCD*[4] *s.v.* Tenes,1440; *LIMC* 7,1 *s.v.* Ten(n)es, 892.

[27] M. Melfi, *I santuari di Asclepio in Grecia* (Oxford 2000), hereafter Melfi *Santuari di Asclepio*, 507. Table V.3 shows the distribution of sanctuaries by time and region. With the exception of Epidauros and Athens, and possibly Corinth, the main concentration of building and activity at the majority of these sites was between 400 and 200 BC.

[28] A. Schachter, *OCD*[4] *s.v.* Heracles, 663-664; T. Gantz, *Early Greek myth: a guide to literary and artistic sources* (Baltimore/London 1993), hereafter Gantz *Early Greek Myth*, (13) Herakles, 374-463; E. Stafford, *Herakles* (London 2012), hereafter Stafford *Herakles*, 175-194, and on the association with Alexander, 142-163; *LIMC* 5 *s.v.* Herakles.

Was this a recent phenomenon or did it have deeper roots, as in the case of Asklepios? Could there have been a widespread cult of the Dioskouroi without much material evidence? Finally, the fundamental question: what do we know of the Greeks' experience of the Dioskouroi before Roman domination after 146 BC? It is to this last question that the present research is addressed.

One reason why Cicero might single out the Dioskouroi as exemplars of this Greek deification habit was that they were already well established at Rome in both myth and cult and immediately recognisable to a Roman audience. Two centuries later, Pausanias was to use the Dioskouroi as examples of legitimate deification, as opposed to the then more widespread practice of turning emperors into gods.[29] Their legendary appearance at the battle of Lake Regillus in the early 490s BC, in support of the victorious Roman general Postumius, became a fundamental element in Roman foundation mythography.[30] This in turn was reflected in the fifth-century BC dedication[31] of a temple of Castor and Pollux in the Roman Forum - still prominent in its first-century AD reincarnation **(Fig.1)** and the oldest known temple or sacred space to be certainly erected in their honour. The foundation of their temple in Rome as a thank-offering certainly seems the single most dramatic signal of a claim on their patronage. It is possible that this public cult associated with the Roman Dioscuri was established earlier than any equivalent found in Greece, albeit based on Greek antecedents: a bronze disk dedicated to the youths Castor and Pollux in partly transliterated Greek,[32] dated to the sixth century BC, was found in the sanctuary of the thirteen altars at Lavinium;

[29] Paus., 8.2.5.
[30] Liv. 2.20.12.
[31] Vowed by Postumius on the battlefield, following his death it was dedicated in 484-3 BC by his son, along with another *duumvir* appointed for this purpose: Liv. 2.42.5; Nielsen/Poulsen *Temple* 31.
[32] '*Castorei Podlouqueique || qurois' ILLRP* 127.1a = 1.7b: F. Castagnoli *et al.*, *Lavinium* II. *Le tredici are* (Rome 1963), hereafter *Lavinium* II, Cat. no. L.1, 441-443, Fig. 507; R. Holloway, *Archaeology of early Rome and Latium* (London 1994) 130-134, Figs. 10. 2-4 and 10.6; 193 n. 6 and 7.

Lakonian pottery was also found there, including a mid sixth-century BC cup[33] which may depict theoxenia with the brothers. There are indications of cult practice in Sparta and her settlements, Thera and Kyrene, and in Sicily from the seventh century BC, but these seem more personal in nature, although there are claims for sixth-century BC Dioskoureia celebrated at Delphi and Delos.[34] Even if Cicero was gathering evidence of deification only to criticise it, he would have been reflecting the habits of his time if he was claiming the authority of Greek cult tradition to support and add authenticity to Roman practice, just as Graeco-Roman élite families living in Greece were at the same time claiming descent from Greek hero deities, particularly from Herakles and the Dioskouroi.[35] By the time Cicero was writing, the scope for interplay of Roman and Greek cultures on Greek soil had been present for around a hundred years, making it difficult to disentangle indigenous Greek from Roman traditions.

The most extensive surviving evidence for veneration of the Dioskouroi in Greece is provided by Pausanias, though even this does not suggest a cult as widespread as that claimed earlier by Cicero. Pausanias records many instances of the brothers' cult, represented by altars, buildings and customs, mostly for the brothers together but sometimes separately. Without archaeological or other supporting evidence, however, it is difficult to verify or date these instances, even if Pausanias himself sometimes distinguishes a cult, statue or shrine as 'ancient.'[36]

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[33] Black-figure cup *c.*560-550 BC attributed to the Naukratis Painter: Pomezia, Museo Archeologico Lavinium, E 1986; *Lavinium* II Cat. no. G.1, 364-8 and Figs. 434 and 435.

[34] References for the Dioskoureia at Delphi are in n.1183, at Delos and Kyrene, in n.116, and at Thasos in n.1251.

[35] See n.667 and 668; G. Bowersock, "Eurykles of Sparta" *JRS* 51 (1961) 112-118; P. Cartledge and A.J.S. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta. A tale of two cities* (London 1989, revised 2002), hereafter Cartledge/Spawforth *Sparta*^{2}, 164.

[36] Paus.1.18.1.

To assess what Cicero said requires a programme of research to investigate the nature of the Greeks' experience of the Dioskouroi before and after the arrival of the Romans. Ideally, such a project would cover all known surviving evidence associated with what might be termed 'veneration' of the Dioskouroi in the territories inhabited by Greeks at the time, the latter in itself a shifting backdrop. This would encompass the earliest evidence through to the time that Cicero was writing. In other words, gathering the literary, archaeological, epigraphic, sculptural and numismatic evidence over a period beginning with the Homeric texts through to the end of the first century BC, and in some cases beyond, and cross-examining it over time, by place, and by type of evidence. The problem posed by this approach is not just its size but that the evidence we have is fragmentary: there is little continuity over time in a single place, or there is only a single type of evidence available from a particular place or for a particular time. Archaeological reports which relate to the Dioskouroi and their cult have been incidental to other larger investigations. If looked at together, however, they may provide more substantial evidence for the practice of cult of the Dioskouroi, and any relationships between mainland Greece, the wider Mediterranean and beyond. A combined approach might also help establish whether there are any common or distinctive practices or approaches to cult associated with the brothers, for example around the use of sacred space.

This thesis will focus on those places where some of the earliest and most significant evidence for a cult of the Dioskouroi has been preserved, paying attention to the following preliminary observations:

- the relative richness of the written compared with material evidence for their cult;

- re-examination of the literature and other evidence in a chronological framework may yield fresh insights about the nature of their cult in different places and at different times: for example, the early Greek texts and epigraphy suggest that before the fifth century BC Kastor and Polydeukes were presented as brothers rather than twins, and were usually named individually or as Tyndaridai; this prompts questions about the use and meaning of the term 'Dioskouroi' and when, where and why it became associated with Kastor and Polydeukes;

- there is a lack of coherence in available evidence: generally, where the texts suggest a cult of the brothers in a particular place, this has not been substantiated by the known archaeological evidence; and where there is a putative archaeological basis for cult in a particular place, this is not supported clearly by the texts. This suggests different approaches to fit the available evidence. Thus the treatment of Sparta and Lakonia, where the weight of the literary evidence falls, will be different from that of Messene, where there is archaeological evidence for veneration of the Dioskouroi from the third century BC (and possibly earlier) but little in the literary record other than Pausanias. Equally, there are strands of evidence such as the putative archaeological support for sacred buildings associated with the Dioskouroi (broadly dated to a period no earlier than the fourth century BC, the temple at Naukratis being the exception) that may benefit from a functional rather than location-based approach;

- the widely-spread territorial locations for the evidence cross a range of different areas of scholarship, both geographically and functionally: for example, the earliest evidence of the term 'Dioskouroi' comes on inscriptions, not from the Greek mainland but from Thera and Kyrene, and also has a particular presence in Greek trading places on the North African coast. Several of the poets who refer to the brothers, such as Sappho and Alkaios, are associated with the eastern Mediterranean. One of the earliest preserved dedications[37] from Megara Hyblaea, from the seventh century BC, is addressed to *ἔροισι θεοῖ[ς - -]* and may mean the Spartan brothers, prompting questions about their role in new settlements;

- there is no known, indisputable archaeological evidence for sacred space specifically dedicated to the Dioskouroi before the fourth century BC preserved on the Greek mainland: the earliest such evidence comes from Messene rather than Sparta, their traditional home, and cannot be substantiated there until the late fourth/early third century BC;[38] other claims for architectural space associated with the Dioskouroi on the mainland can similarly be dated no earlier than the fourth century BC, such as at Epidauros, and are mostly surmised from nearby or later inscriptions; claims for the earliest architectural space associated with the Dioskouroi come from Greek settlements outside mainland Greece: Naukratis, Kyrene and possibly Sicily;

[37] *SEG* 26, 1097 (4), 38, 947; M. Guarducci, "Epigrafi arcaiche di Siracusa e di Megara Iblea" *Arch. Class.* 38-40 (1986-88) 1-26, 7-12 argues for a restoration to read these hero deities as Tyndaridai.
[38] Bronze shield dedicated to Polydeukes, *c*.300 BC, found in a sanctuary putatively dedicated to Demeter and dated to around the fourth century BC, where the Dioskouroi may also have been venerated: P. Themelis, "The Sanctuary of Demeter and the Dioscouri at Messene" R. Hägg, *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Archaeological Evidence* (Stockholm 1998) 157-186, hereafter Themelis "Dioscouri", 160-1; *SEG* 45, 302. See also Chapter 3.3.4.

- much of the preserved evidence is provided by votive reliefs, sculptural temple decoration and vase paintings, which in turn require an analysis of iconography; this is a subject relatively well-studied for the Dioskouroi, both generally and in relation to particular finds in particular locations.

With these points in mind:

- at the heart of the research will be a comparison between the written and material evidence;

- the research is aimed at reviewing the evidence from a chronological perspective, distinguishing wherever possible between primary and secondary sources - a distinction aimed at bringing fresh perspectives to our understanding of myth and cult associated with the Dioskouroi in Greece, and its transmission between different generations and peoples. It is also intended to draw out a comparison between the literary texts and the archaeological evidence (including epigraphy) where possible; and to distinguish between textual evidence that relates to the period it purports to discuss, and later texts. This is particularly important because much of the surviving evidence comes filtered through the eyes of Pausanias' second-century AD travelogue, with its particular focus on religious stories and traditions;[39]

- the lengthy timeframe for this research, from Homeric times to the death of Cicero, can usefully be further divided into periods before and after 146 BC,

[39] C. Habicht, *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1998), hereafter Habicht *Pausanias*, 23 n.91.

when the Romans and their culture in effect overlaid that of Greece; I have focused on the earlier period. The nature of the available evidence, however, argues against setting rigid start and end dates. In some places an end date earlier than 146 BC seems more logical - for example in Magna Graecia, where the Romans' gradual subjugation of its cities culminated in the annexation of Sicily in 241 BC. For Sparta, however, where much of the sparse surviving material evidence of cult dates from a later period but may reflect an earlier tradition, to impose a cut-off point with the arrival of the Romans could be artificial;

- over the period, there is a wide and changing geographical spread of evidence requiring some selection. The range spans from Taras, Lokroi Epizephyrioi and Magna Graecia in the west,[40] to Macedonia in the north and locations around the Black Sea, where many vases with dedications to the Dioskouroi have been found, several dated to the fifth century BC,[41] and to Bactria in the East where there are wall paintings[42] depicting them, possibly from the second century BC. Athens and Attica, building on work already done,[43] provide an important counterpoint to the Spartan experience and new evidence is emerging from

[40] Notable evidence includes late fourth-century BC votive plaques from Lokroi and Taras, some in Taranto, Museo Nazionale 4130 and 6091, *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi nos. 209-10; for others, now in the Museo Nazionale della Magna Grecia at Reggio, and their excavation see P. Orsi, *Locri Epizefiri: resoconto sulla terza campagna di scavi locresi, aprile-guignio 1908* (Rome 1909) Pl. 31 and 32. R.S. Pileggi, *I pinakes di Locri Epizefiri* (Reggio Calabria 2011) gives an overview of the Lokrian plaques and their publication, including references.

[41] For example, three black-glazed vases from Olbia with graffiti dedications to the Dioskouroi, *c*. 500-475 BC: *SEG* 54,703.

[42] From Dilberdjin, in a temple possibly related to them: I. Kruglikova, "Les fouilles de la mission archéologique soviéto-afghane sur le site gréco-kushan de Dilberdjin en Bactriane" *CRAI* (1977) 407-427, 410-416; J. Boardman, *The diffusion of classical art in antiquity* (London 1994) 103, Fig.4.34.

[43] Shapiro "Cult warfare" and E. Kearns, *The heroes of Attica* (Oxford 1989), hereafter Kearns *Heroes*, cover much of the evidence from vase-painting and epigraphy; see also Chapter 2.4.

excavations in Thessaly.[44] Given that the earliest and consistent association of Kastor and Polydeukes is with 'Lakedaimon' in the literature, from the time of Homer onwards, the Peloponnese seems the logical place to start. The study will focus first on the evidence from Sparta alongside that of its near neighbours, Messene and Argos. It will also look at evidence from Thera, Kyrene and Naukratis, so as to be able to include some of the earliest material evidence we have of cult of the Dioskouroi in Greek settlements, which also have associations with Sparta and Lakonia; it will also include Thasos;

- the research will apply a generous definition of 'cult', perhaps nearer the English word 'veneration', so as to be able to embrace the myth and legend surrounding the Dioskouroi that is represented in the literature and the sculpture, as well as the religious rituals and practice more usually implied by the English term. At the same time, a focus on 'cult' places some useful restriction on the examination of the corpus of vases and sculptures that depict the brothers, providing a criterion for selection and avoiding duplication of recent scholarship on the iconography of the Dioskouroi.[45]

Against this backdrop, for the period up to 146 BC, this study will:

(a) examine the literary and archaeological evidence for the veneration of the Dioskouroi in its chronological and geographical context;

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[44] M. Mili, *Religion and society in ancient Thessaly* (Oxford 2014) Appendix 1 nos. 252-5; M. Stamatopoulou "Thessaly (Prehistoric to Roman)" *AR* 59 (2013) 35-55, 48 reports a Dioskouroi relief from ancient Pherai, to be published shortly, that may be related to a Dioskourion mentioned by Demosthenes, *Or.*19.158.

[45] E. Köhne, *Die Dioskuren in der griechischen Kunst von der Archaik bis zum Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Hamburg 1998), hereafter Köhne *Dioskuren.*

(b) review the evidence for the association of the Dioskouroi with Sparta and other Peloponnesian *polei*s;

(c) consider the evidence for cults of the Dioskouroi at Thera, Kyrene, Naukratis and Thasos;

(d) assess the usefulness of this chronological and location-based research to help elucidate the acknowledged complexity surrounding cult of the Dioskouroi.

Methodology. There are well-recognised difficulties presented by writing about past events with the necessarily different frames of reference of the present time, in particular how these events might have been perceived by the people who experienced them, by those who reported them (and what they chose to report) either at the time or later.[46] An object created in 500 BC will have a different meaning for the creator and its audience than for someone like Pausanias viewing and writing about it six hundred years later. Without seeking to propose a definitive solution, this study will take a simple approach of trying to establish what is known from primary evidence at any given time, and what is known from later reports.

Definitions. I have defined 'literary evidence' to mean the written sources that have been preserved in manuscripts and papyri, however they may be derived - intact, in

[46] Jonas Grethlein, *The Greeks and their past. Poetry, oratory and history in the fifth century BCE* (Cambridge 2010) 1-15 reviews the scholarship on this subject.

fragments or quotations, and indirectly through ancient scholarship.[47] These sources are identified where it may affect the strength of the evidence. Inscriptions are treated separately. Archaeological finds are generally specified, for example as architectural (buildings, monuments and other structures) or as vases, sculpture, reliefs, inscriptions and coins. Occasionally the term 'archaeological evidence' is used collectively to distinguish it from the literary evidence.

Nomenclature. I have used the Greek term Dioskouroi to apply to the Spartan brothers Kastor and Polydeukes although, as explained below, there is some possibly significant differentiation in the ancient texts and inscriptions between this, the individual names and their family name, Tyndaridai. The term Dioscuri is used to describe the brothers in their Roman incarnation, Castor and Pollux.

1.3 The context of past scholarship

There have been few works devoted specifically to the Dioskouroi,[48] though a good deal can be assembled from more broadly-based studies,[49] particularly in relation to iconography, religion and (local) cult. There is also a strand of anthropological study sparked by their twinship.[50] Similarly, archaeological reports relating to the Dioskouroi and their veneration have been incidental to other, larger investigations at the sites

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[47] E. Dickey, *Ancient Greek scholarship* (New York 2007), hereafter Dickey *Scholarship*, 4.
[48] J. Rendel Harris, *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* (Cambridge 1906), hereafter Harris *Heavenly Twins*, and L.R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford 1921), hereafter Farnell *Hero Cults*, provide the fullest dedicated research and discussion. Köhne's study devoted to their iconography has been mentioned already.
[49] The most useful to this study include: Burkert *Greek religion* 212-4; T. Scheer (religion) and A. Ley (iconography) in H. Cancik and H. Schneider (eds.), Brill's *New Pauly Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World: Antiquity* vol.4 (Leiden 2004) *s.v* Dioscuri 518-521; Gantz *Early Greek Myth*, *s.v*. Leda 319, and *s.v*. Dioskouroi 323-8; and, with some archaeological focus, J.L. Larson, *Ancient Greek Cults* (New York 2007) 189-192. The relevant entries in S. Albersmeier *et al.* (eds.), *Heroes, mortals and myths in ancient Greece* (Baltimore 2009), written to accompany the opening exhibition of that name at the Walters Art Museum in 2010, further updates the scholarship on these issues in relation to the Dioskouroi.
[50] J. Lash, *Twins and the Double* (London 1993).

concerned. Increasing attention to the Greeks overseas in the past fifty years, new excavations in the Greek East and re-examination of old ones, such as the current projects at Sparta's Amyklaion[51] and at Naukratis,[52] and the consequent growing body of scholarship, together open up more possibilities for tracking the different personae of the Dioskouroi, ranging from essentially local Spartan heroes to the victor symbols they became for the Roman state around the Mediterranean. The seminars on ancient Greek cult organised jointly by the Swedish Institute at Athens and the Department of Classical Archaeology at Göteborg University in the 1990s[53] provided a focus for an holistic approach, drawing together the archaeology and epigraphy of cult as well as its history and iconography - the latter well established through the study of individual collectors' items, particularly vases, and museum collections - and have fostered an interdisciplinary[54] approach to exploring the subject.

[51] Amykles Research Project, http.//amykles-research-project-en.wikidot.com
[52] British Museum Naukratis project. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_projects/all_current_projects/naukratis_the_greeks_in_egypt.
[53] Published proceedings of International Symposia held at Athens include: *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Archaeological Evidence* 1993 (Stockholm 1998), and *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults* 1994 (Stockholm 2002). Others are listed in the bibliography.
[54] R. Hägg (ed.), "Preface" to *The role of religion in the early Greek polis* (Stockholm 1996).

Chapter 2. Setting the stage: early signs of the Dioskouroi in Greece from the time of Homer

2.1 Who were the Dioskouroi?

For the Romans of the second century AD,[55] Castor and Pollux, the Dioscuri, were by their nature twins, characterised as spending alternate days on Olympus and in the Underworld, whose main function was to protect sailors. In image, they appear in piloi, the travellers' hats also allocated to Odysseus, carry lances and are accompanied by white horses. How far do these Roman ideas of their nature, function and image tally with earlier Greek perceptions of the brothers?

'What's in a name...'?

Starting with Homer, Kastor and Polydeukes are identified individually by name and as Tyndaridai, sons of the legendary king of Sparta in the earliest known literary texts. These are discussed in what follows. The brothers' identification as Dioskouroi is less clearcut before the fifth century BC. Before that date too, the evidence for the term Dioskouroi is mainly from inscriptions.

The earliest known recorded use of *Διόσκουροι*, young men of Zeus, is found in the form of a graffito[56] **(Fig.6)** scratched into rock in the akropolis sanctuary of the ancient settlement of Mesa Vouni that lies above the south east coast of Thera. This has been dated from its script to the late eighth or early seventh century BC,[57] and may pre-date

[55] The view is set out succinctly by Lucian, so that he can poke fun at it: Lucian *Dial.D* 25 (Hermes and Apollo) 281-288.

[56] *IG* XII 3, 359 is among a number of graffiti inscriptions (*IG* XII 3, 422/1333) found in an area called 'the agora of the gods' by the original excavator, F. Hiller von Gaertringen; discussed in Chapter 4.1, with references, see n.1064 and 1076.

[57] G. Restelli, "La forma ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΟΙ nelle più importanti epigrafi greche" *Rivista di filologia* (1951) 246-257, hereafter Restelli "La forma ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΟΙ"; A. Inglese, *Thera Arcaica. Le iscrizioni rupestri dell'agora degli dei* (Rome 2008), hereafter Inglese *Thera Arcaica*, 84.

the island's settlement from Sparta. It is the only known use of the word at this early date, and until recently had no near competitors other than possible examples in texts attributed to Alkman and from the *Homeric Hymns*, depending on their dating, as discussed in what follows.[58] Now the term has been identified at Kyrene on fragments of a Chian kylix **(Figs.7a,b)** dated to the late seventh century BC from its typology which has a graffito dedication to the Dioskouroi scratched upon it.[59] There are a few more uses of the word preserved in inscriptions dated to the early sixth century BC. At Naukratis, a number of pottery fragments have been unearthed with scratched dedications to the Dioskouroi, some of which are dated to this period.[60] **(Figs.8a,b)** From Knidos, the plinth and feet survive of a limestone kouros statuette dated from its style to the early sixth century BC,[61] along with a dedication by a certain Euarchos[62] **(Fig.9)** to the Dioskouroi in an archaic script not inconsistent with such dating.[63] The statuette itself is probably of Cypriote manufacture,[64] but the dedication may be local: the similarity of some of the letters with those of the Melian alphabet has been noted,[65] but Knidian script of this period has generally been observed to share characteristics with Melos and also with Rhodes.[66] A mid- to late sixth-century BC dedication **(Fig.10)**

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[58] References at n. 74,75 and 76.
[59] M. Luni and S.M. Marengo, "Le Dioskourion de Battos découvert à Cyrène dans le quartier de L'Agora" *CRAI* (2008) 1, 23-36, hereafter Luni/Marengo "Dioskourion," 18-19, 26-33 and Figs. 7 and 8.
[60] References at n. 1209.
[61] London, British Museum, hereafter BM, B 32; F.N. Pryce and H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman antiquities of the British Museum* I (London 1928) 151 Fig. 90. Dated to *c.*590-570 BC from the miniature feet**,** and of probable Milesian or Samian style**:** G.M.A. Richter, *Kouroi* [3] (London 1970) 61, 72-3 Cat. no.56, Figs. 200-201.
[62] P.M. Fraser *et al., A Lexicon of Greek personal names* 6 vols. (Oxford 1987 -) hereafter *LGPN,* V B, 158 *s.v.* Εὔαρχος (3); the name is found later elsewhere in Caria in the second century BC, and from the Peloponnese, Athens and as far North as Pella from the fourth century BC; the earliest example of the name, possibly from the eighth century BC, is from Chalkis in Euboia: *LGPN* 1, 171 *s.v.* Εὔαρχος (5).
[63] L.H. Jeffery, *Local scripts of Archaic Greece* (second edition, revised A.W. Johnston, Oxford 1990), hereafter *LSAG*[2], 357 Cat. no.31 and Pl. 68; 351 links all Knidian script of this period with Melos and also with Rhodes, chiming with Richter's view of the statue's style: see n. 60.
[64] N. Kourou and V. Karageorghis, *Limestone statuettes of Cypriote type found in the Aegean* (Nicosia 2002) 26, no.4.
[65] London, British Museum on-line catalogue B.32.
[66] *LSAG*[2], 350-1.

from the Ionian island of Kephallenia[67] is also addressed to the Dioskouroi. The use of the term also appears at around this time on an Athenian vase,[68] a rare departure from the more usual practice found in vase-painting of naming the brothers individually. A late sixth-century BC dedication to the Etruscan equivalent of the Dioskouroi 'tinas cliniiaras', sons of Tinia (Zeus), was found in Tarquinia on the base of a vase.[69] From Sellasia near Sparta, at a similar date, the stele dedicated by Pleistiades[70] **(Fig.11)** to the Tyndaridai, the name for Kastor and Polydeukes in their Spartan family, also addresses them as Dioskouroi, for the first time relating the two terms in a dedication, though not necessarily as synonymous. A dedication from the late sixth, possibly early fifth, century BC also from the Peloponnese,[71] refers only to the Tyndaridai. A votive aryballos[72] found at Sparta and dated tentatively from its shape possibly as early as the seventh century BC from Sparta, bears an Argive inscription *θιοῖν*[73] that may have been intended for Kastor and Polydeukes, as may have been the possible dedication to 'hero gods' scratched on a protocorinthian vase fragment also dated to the seventh century BC

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[67] *IG* IX 1, 649; *SEG* 14, 470. *Εὐσοίδα μ' ἀνέθεκε Διϝὸς ϟοΐ̈ροιν μεγάλοιο || χάλκεον, Ἥοῖ νίκασε Κεφαλ(λ)ᾶνας μεγαθύμοϛ.* Bronze disk dedicated to the Dioskouroi by Exoides: C.T. Newton *et al*., *The collection of ancient Greek inscriptions in the British Museum* 4 vols. (Oxford 1874-1916), hereafter *BM Inscr.*,1, 952; H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of the bronzes, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan, in the Department of Greek and Roman antiquities, British Museum* (London 1899), hereafter *BMC Bronzes*, 3207; A. Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets*[4] (Gütersloh 1887) 167; *LSAG*[2] 231 n.4 reports that Kirchhoff saw the disk in its early career on the market and was clear it came from Kephallenia, also 234, Cat. no.5 and Pl. 45.

[68] Athenian black-figure hydria *c.* 575-525 BC, attributed to the Archippe Painter, of unknown provenance in Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS 1401; Beazley Archive 4422.

[69] Athenian red-figure kylix *c.*525-500 BC, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale RC 6848; *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dionysos 449.

[70] Sparta, Archaeological Museum, hereafter SM, 447, M.N. Tod and A.J.B. Wace, *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* (Oxford 1906), hereafter Tod/Wace, 178; *LIMC* 3.1 and 2 *s.v.* Dioskouroi, no.65; *IG* V 1, 919; *CEG* 1 no.373, Tod/Wace 66.

[71] *SEG* 11, 1045; *LSAG*[2] 210, 215, Cat.no.11 and Pl. 40; bronze spear-butt from Olympia dated to *c.*500-480 BC, now in New York, MMA Acqu. no. 38.11.7, from a victory at Heraia, possibly dedicated by a Mantinean (*LSAG*[2] 210) or someone from Kleitor (G.M.A. Richter " Greek bronzes recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art" *AJA* 43/2 (1939) 194, Figs. 4-6) where there was a sanctuary to the Dioskouroi (Paus. 8.21.4) and whose citizens were reported to have made a communal victory dedication to Zeus at Olympia (Paus. 5.32.7).

[72] Paris, Musée du Louvre MNC 614 [Br. 2918].

[73] *IG* V 1, 231; *SEG* 11, 678; *LSAG*[2] 156 and 168, Cat.no. 3.

found at Megara Hyblaea.[74] From the early fifth century BC the term Dioskouroi becomes more widespread in the texts both in conjunction with the term Tyndaridai and on its own.

The name's earliest appearance in literature is putatively in a fragment attributed to the seventh-century BC poet Alkman. The relevant passage is, however, a paraphrase of what he was supposed to have written;[75] we do not know what term he actually used. The word appears in two of the *Homeric Hymns,*[76] where Kastor and Polydeukes are also named and are clearly identified with the term Dioskouroi. Although the dating of these hymns remains somewhat insecure,[77] they can probably be dated to the sixth century BC. The early sixth-century BC lyric poet Alkaios invokes them as 'sons of Zeus and Leda, Kastor and Polydeukes'.[78] The Kephallenian inscription just discussed has also been used to argue for a sixth-century BC dating for the *Hymns,*[79] on the grounds that the inscription appears to mimic some of its phraseology,[80] but it is equally possible that both draw on an earlier spoken tradition or written record now lost.

It is difficult to draw confident conclusions from this sparse number of surviving uses of the term Dioskouroi before the fifth century BC. But it does seem that its earliest use is found predominantly around the Aegean Mediterranean shores or in coastal and island settings that could be in touch through trade with this area, for example through

[74] References at n. 36.
[75] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, hereafter *POxy*, 2389 fr.1 from a papyrus dated *c*.50-100 AD, reproduced in D.A. Campbell (ed.) *Greek Lyric Poetry* 2 (Cambridge Massachusetts 1988), hereafter *GLP*, 2 *s.v.* Alcman (7), 396-7.
[76] M. L. West *Homeric hymns. Homeric apocrypha. Lives of Homer* (Cambridge, Mass. 2003), hereafter *Homeric Hymns*, no. 33,1.
[77] West suggests the hymns could comprise parts of earlier poems, ranging in date from the mid-seventh to the fifth centuries BC, or later, *Homeric Hymns*, 5.
[78] *POxy.* 2166(b), *GLP* 1, *s.v.* Alcaeus (34), 246-7.
[79] T.W. Allen, W.R. Halliday and E.E. Sikes (eds.), *The Homeric Hymns* (second edition, Oxford 1936), hereafter *Hymns*^{2}, 436, 471.
[80] *Homeric Hymns* 33, 9.

Cyprus,[81] to an extent mirroring the few surviving references in the literature to the Dioskouroi before the fifth century BC. The term does not appear applied unequivocally to Kastor and Polydeukes in the Peloponnese, until the early fifth century BC. Before that, the brothers are usually named individually or as Tyndaridai – as they continue to be in the literature, from Pindar to Apollonios Rhodios, as is discussed in what follows. This could in part be attributed to the different metrical demands of the two words. There is also arguably a differentiation in the use of the two terms, the one focusing on the brothers in their Spartan role, as found in Euripidean drama for example, the latter perhaps denoting a more specific divine and cult meaning. On vases, they are usually named individually as Kastor and Polydeukes in pictures; the term Dioskouroi seems reserved for dedications.

2.2 The Dioskouroi in Greek literature, from Homer to the Alexandrian poets: myth and cult

"To the Greeks heroic mythology was their early history" [82]

Kastor and Polydeukes are established as part of the Greek mythic landscape from the earliest extant written sources, where they are firmly located in the Peloponnese as were many of the Greek protagonists of the *Iliad.* The first certain knowledge of them derives from ancient literature rather than image or other material evidence. In Homer's *Iliad* they are mentioned, albeit very briefly,[83] and only for their absence: Helen searches for them on the plain of Troy, although we are told they are already buried in

[81] H.W. Catling gives an overview of trading links in the Mediterranean from around 900BC in N.H. Gale (ed.), *Bronze Age trade in the Mediterranean* (Jonsared 1991) 1-13.
[82] M.P. Nilsson, *Cults, myths, oracles and politics in ancient Greece* (New York 1972), hereafter Nilsson *Cults* , 87.
[83] Hom. *Il.* 3. 235-244.

Lakedaimon, their native land.[84] The brevity of the reference suggests an assumed familiarity with their background, but also emphasises their status as under the ground. Helen talks of them both as her own brothers, sharing a mother. Their father is not mentioned. They are both described primarily as *κοσμήτορε λαῶν*,[85] men who were effective in marshalling troops, in other words effective leaders in battle, but they also have separate identities: Kastor, as *ἱππόδαμος* tamer of horses, also applied to Hector in the closing epithet of the whole poem[86] and elsewhere too,[87] and Polydeukes, more individually, as *πὺξ ἀγαθὸς*, good with his fists, or at boxing. The latter appears one of the rare occasions where an epithet adds real meaning.[88] The brothers' later nomenclature as Tyndaridai (sons of Tyndareos, their mother Leda's mortal husband and legendary King of Sparta) or Dioskouroi (young men of Zeus)[89] is not used here. They also appear briefly in the *Odyssey*[90] where, by contrast, they are called sons of Tyndareos and are established as enjoying alternate days of immortality without further explanation,[91] suggesting not only a status beyond what was normal for other Homeric heroes[92] but also, as with the brief reference in the *Iliad*, that the story behind this

[84] Hom. *Il.* 3. 244.
[85] An epithet that appears only twice elsewhere in the *Iliad*: H. van Effenterre, "Laos, laoi et lawagatas" *Kadmos* 16/1 (2009) 36-55, 44, applied to Menelaos and Agamemnon, Hom. *Il.*1.16 and 1.375 respectively, perhaps making a connection between the Dioskouroi and the legendary royal house of the Peloponnese, discussed later in this Chapter.
[86] Hom. *Il.* 24. 804, suggesting the term be understood as 'noble'.
[87] *Cf*. Hom. *Od.* 3.181. Diomedes of Argos, one of the returning Trojan heroes, is similarly described. But the term is also applied indiscriminately and frequently to both Trojans and Achaeans, in one section to differentiate the Trojans from the 'bronze-clad' Achaeans: Hom. *Il.* 3.127 and 131.
[88] M. Parry, *L'épithète traditionelle dans Homère* (Paris 1928) 151-2, 153-7 demonstrates that the Homeric epithet rarely adds fundamental meaning.
[89] Others of Zeus' children do not attract this name. When Alexander allegedly sought to elevate himself to this position, Plutarch *Alex.* 27.5 uses the more natural *παῖς* to make a play on words: J.R. Hamilton, *Plutarch. A commentary* (Oxford 1969) 71-2. An early fifth-century BC poetic fragment attributed to Simonides alludes to the brothers as *παῖδες* of Zeus, *P.Oxy.* 2327 fr.5+6+27 col.i +3965 fr.1+2, l. 30.
[90] Hom. *Od.* 11.300-304.
[91] A different version, the two brothers spending alternate days in Hades and on Olympos, and an explanation is provided later by Pindar: *Nem.*10, 49-91.
[92] J.J. Bravo III, "Recovering the Past" in *Heroes: Mortals and Myths in Ancient Greece* (New Haven and London 2009) 24-25.

phenomenon is already known to the audience,[93] although its detail has not survived in the known written record until Pindar. While the reference in the *Iliad* is accepted as original,[94] the account in the *Odyssey* may be open to the possibility of a later adjustment.[95]

References to the two brothers also appear in the *Kypria,*[96] a poem attributed in antiquity to Homer but probably substantially later. The text has come down to us in fragments of paraphrased versions from later compilations and has been re-dated from its language for the most part to the second half of the sixth century BC.[97] It supplements the *Iliad,* and explains that when 'Alexandros'[98] (the name used for Paris) first arrives in Lakedaimon, he is entertained by the Tyndaridai. When he and Helen have left Sparta together, Kastor and Polydeukes are caught stealing the cattle of two other brothers, Idas and Lynkeus, their traditional enemies as sons of a legendary king of Messene, Aphareus; Kastor is killed by Idas, Idas and Lynkeus both, by Polydeukes. The text then states tersely that Zeus gave Kastor and Polydeukes immortality every other day[99] without explanation. As in the *Odyssey*, the brevity of the reference suggests an assumed wider knowledge of the story.

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[93] Kirk *Iliad* 1, 299-300, argues there were several versions of the story already in existence; those used in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* represent a deliberate selection.
[94] *Ibid.,* 3.301; A. Parry, "Have we Homer's Iliad ?" *YCS* 20 (1966) 177-216, 197-8.
[95] Hom. *Od.* 11.300-304. A. Heubeck *et al., A commentary on Homer's Odyssey* 3 vols. (Oxford 1988-1992), hereafter Heubeck *Odyssey,* 2 (Books 9-16) points out the very similar material here to that of Hom. *Il.* 3.237 and 243.
[96] The *Kypria* text is compiled from Proclus' *Chrestomathia,* with additions and variants from Apollodoros' *Library* 3.1-33, and reproduced in *GEF*, 69-81.
[97] West says the language shows signs of lateness and can hardly be earlier than the second half of the sixth century BC: *GEF* 13, although the stories could be older: the Judgement of Paris appears on a Protocorinthian vase dated *c* .640-630 BC, the Chigi olpe found at Veii just north of Rome and now in the Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 22679, Beazley Archive 9004217; W. Burkert, *The orientalising revolution* (Cambridge Massachusetts, 1992) 103.
[98] *Kypria* fr.2, *GEF* 69. There was a comparable transmutation for Kassandra: G. Salapata, "Myth into Cult: Alexandra/Kassandra in Lakonia" in V.B. Gorman and E. Robinson (eds.), *Oikistes: Studies in Constitution, Colonies and Military Power in honour of A.J. Graham* (Leiden 2002) 131-159.
[99] *Kypria* fr.3, *GEF* 71.

Two of the *Homeric Hymns*[100] are devoted to the brothers. The dates of the *Hymns* are difficult to establish, but thought to lie between 700 and 500BC.[101] Individual hymns may have been created as early as the seventh century BC (such as the Hymn to Dionysos) and some may be linked to specific festivals (for example, the hymn to Demeter with Eleusis).[102] Those dedicated to the Dioskouroi have been dated to the sixth century BC.[103] In these hymns, the brothers are already established as heroic figures invoked by ordinary mortals for protection and recipients of cult. They are addressed as Tyndaridai, named individually as Kastor and Poludeukes and in one are also clearly designated *Διὸς κούρους*,[104] possibly for the first time in a literary source.[105] It is also clear that their birthplace is established under Mount Taygetos, confirming the clear geographical link with Sparta. The longer of the two hymns establishes the brothers' joint role as protectors of seafarers and generally as *σωτῆρες*, saviours of men on earth.[106] The hymn continues with what appears to be a specific description of what sailors do to invoke the help of the Dioskouroi: going to the ship's stern, they sacrifice white lambs and offer prayers. Suddenly the brothers will appear flying through the air on 'tawny' wings,[107] bringing calm to the sea and relief to the sailors, which some commentators[108] have associated with a phenomenon called St Elmo's fire. Their separate nature, brought out in later stories, is limited here to identifying Kastor again

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[100] *Homeric Hymns* 17 and 33. The shorter hymn, 17, may have been a summary of the fuller version.
[101] N. Richardson (ed.), *Three Homeric Hymns: to Apollo, Hermes and Aphrodite* (Cambridge 2010), hereafter Richardson *Hymns*, 1.
[102] R.C. Parker "The *Hymn to Demeter* and the *Homeric Hymns*" *GR* 38 (1991) 1-17.
[103] Allen *Hymns*[2], 436, 471.
[104] *Homeric Hymns* 33, 1 and 9.
[105] Earlier examples come from inscriptions, as already discussed.
[106] '*σωτῆρας τέκε παῖδας ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων* ||SEP *ὠκυπόρων τε νεῶν*'...: *Homeric Hymns* 33, 6-7. Allen *Hymns*[2] 441 comments that the term 'saviour' is applied not only to a number of deities including several with whom the Dioskouroi were to be particularly associated - Apollo, Demeter and Kore - but also to other heroes worshipped as gods - Asklepios and Herakles.
[107] *Homeric Hymns* 33, 12-13, '....*οἳ δ' ἐξαπίνης ἐφάνησαν* ||SEP*ξουθῇσι πτερύγεσσι δι' αἰθέρος ἀίξαντες*'.
[108] Alle *Griechische Grabbezirke klassischer Zeit - Normen und Regionalismen Hymns*[2] 438-9.

with horsemanship and Polydeukes as blameless.[109] They are, however, both described as 'riders on swift horses',[110] an epithet they share. As yet they are not presented as twins.[111]

As well as being possibly the earliest preserved literary (as distinct from epigraphic) reference to the Dioskouroi, it may also be the first that links the term explicitly with the Tyndaridai. In addition, it makes the first known reference to a specific offering, presumably a sacrifice, to the Dioskouroi. Other surviving references to cult meals for the Dioskouroi suggest barley cakes and wine,[112] also shown on vases and reliefs depicting theoxenia.[113] **(Figs.12a,b,13)** The Attic Anakes, however, in the company of Helen, were receiving full-grown sheep as sacrifice at Thorikos, by the late fifth century BC.[114] Since the *Homeric Hymns* are thought to be a collection of *προοίμια*, it is possible the brothers were receiving cult in conjunction with a public festival celebration. In that case, and if the sixth century BC date is correct, then the hymns provide the earliest evidence we have for a public cult celebration of the Dioskouroi. Surviving inscriptions from the early sixth century BC or before, such as those

[109] This is a frequent Homeric epithet, widely used in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*: A.A. Parry, *Blameless Aegisthus. A study of ΑΜΥΜΩΝ and other Homeric epithets* (Leiden 1973) 10, and Appendix 1. J. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the history of Greek religion* (Cambridge 1903) 334 has argued this epithet may be used particularly for the heroised dead, not appropriate here, since Polydeukes is already divine.
[110] *Homeric Hymns.*17,5; 33,18.
[111] The early fifth-century BC inscription already mentioned on a stele from Vourlia (Sellasia) near Sparta has been restored to read *Τινδαριδᾶν δ[ιδύμον]***:** *IG* V 1, 919; Tod/Wace 447; *CEG* 1 no.373.
[112] The fifth-century BC poet Bacchylides refers to a seemingly liquid meal to which the Dioskouroi are invited, although this is likely a differentiation between a private and a public affair where 'whole oxen', gold and crimson rugs might be in order: Ath.11. 500ab, *GLP* 4, 286-7; Kearns *Heroes* 148 cites a morning meal of barley cakes, cheese, olives and leeks prepared for the Dioskouroi in the prytaneion at Athens; Ath. 4, 137e, Chionides fr. 7 in C. Austin and R. Kassel, *Poetae comici Graeci* 8 vols. (Berlin 1983-) vol. 4.
[113] Examples with references at n. 32, 168, 268-270.
[114] Sacrificial calendar of the deme of Thorikos: R. C. Parker "Festivals of the Athenian demes" in T. Linders and C. Nordquist (eds.) *Gifts to the Gods: proceedings of the Uppsala symposium 1985* (Stockholm 1987), hereafter Linders/Nordquist *Gifts to the Gods*, 137-147, 145; *SEG* 33, 147 *cf. SEG* 37, 105.

discussed earlier,[115] do not necessarily imply more than private cult. Other evidence for a communal cult associated with the brothers dating back to the sixth century BC, for example at Delphi,[116] is either indirect or, as with claims for Dioskoureia at Kyrene and Delos, comes from accounts written later.[117]

There is some suggestion of earlier communal cult involving the brothers in seventh-century BC Sparta, mainly derived from poems attributed to Alkman: references to them in a number of fragments,[118] and testimonia, provide a possible connection with ritual practices at Sparta.[119] One commentary[120] on his poetry appears to link Kastor and Polydeukes, along with the Leukippides, with a festival at the Phoibaion just outside Sparta; another,[121] specifically with Menelaos and the practice of 'immortal rites' at nearby Therapne[122], said to delight their hearts. Helen too, and possibly also the Apharetidai, are mentioned as being honoured there. The surviving portion of a longer piece,[123] part of a so-called *Partheneion* composed for one of the well-reputed Spartan girls' choirs,[124] opens with the name Polydeukes.[125] The lost preceding lines may have told a myth in which the hero featured.

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[115] Chapter 2.1.
[116] See n.1183.
[117] At Kyrene, from a possibly third-century BC source: A.B. Drachmann (ed.), *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina.* 3 vols. (Leipzig 1903-1927) 2, *Scholia in Pythionicas***,** hereafter Drachmann *Scholia* 2, scholiast on *Pythian* V line 10(a), 15-16; Dickey *Scholarship* 39. At Delos, records also related to the third century BC have survived in hieropoioi accounts preserved on stelai now in the Delos Museum, including Γ503 A-Γ ; *IG* XI^2,144 and 161A, 97, and *ID* 461 (a-b), *ID* 2548: P. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique* (Paris 1970), hereafter Bruneau *Cultes*, 391 gives a table showing dates and references in the accounts ; for later Dioskoureia at Thasos, see n.1251.
[118] The fragments are from a second-century AD papyrus, reproduced in *GLP* 2.
[119] E. Krummen, "Alcman, Stesichoros and Ibycus" in F. Budelmann, *The Cambridge companion to Greek Lyric Poetry* (Cambridge 2009)189-203, 190-2.
[120] *P.Oxy.* 2390 fr.1(a) and (c), *GLP* 2 *s.v.* Alcman (5), 388-9.
[121] *P.Oxy.* 2389 fr.1, *GLP* 2, *s.v.* Alcman (7), 397.
[122] Therapne may have comprised an area rather than a particular settlement and may have embraced the Phoibaion. The topographical and archaeological evidence is discussed in Chapter 3.2.3.
[123] *Louvre Papyrus*, hereafter *PLouvr*., E3320 known as the 'Louvre Partheneion', *GLP* 2, *s.v.* Alcman (1).
[124]Ar.*Lys.*1302-1315 describes the energetic dancing that evidently characterised the performance of the Spartan women's choir; for an interpretation of the main female protagonists in the performance of the

Tyrtaios' poetry was of a different genre from Alkman's. From what has survived[126] and what is reported by others in antiquity,[127] his work was focussed on inciting the Spartan youth to selfless bravery, to prefer death on the battlefield to the comforts of domestic life. References to the Tyndaridai are largely absent from any of the fragments discovered so far, well-suited as they might seem to have been to serve as inspirational models for an élite Spartan warrior group. There is one tantalising reference in a fragment that may refer to a Spartan assault on the walls of a Messenian stronghold, which appears to invoke the Tyndaridai in close conjunction with Hera as Spartan protecting deities.[128]

The names Kastor and Polydeukes have survived, however, in other fragments of Greek poetry from the late seventh/ early sixth century BC onwards, attributed to writers associated with the Eastern Mediterranean, Lesbos in particular, as well as with Sparta. Sappho and Alkaios are familiar with the brothers' mythic personalities:[129] for Alkaios they are a source of succour in times of unexpected danger,[130] specifically at sea, echoing the lines and sentiments from the *Homeric Hymns.*[131] An anonymous lyric

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Partheneion as speedy, like horses: C. Calame, *Les choeurs des jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque* (Rome 1977), hereafter Calame *Choeurs*, 67-72; for the role of women in Spartan religion generally: S. Pomeroy, *Spartan Women* (Oxford/New York 2002), hereafter Pomeroy *Spartan women*, 106 and on the Partheneion, 144-5; R. Parker, "Spartan Religion" in A. Powell (ed.), *Classical Sparta: Techniques behind her Success* (London 1989) 142-172, hereafter Parker "Spartan religion", 151.

[125] *PLouvr.* E3320; *GLP* 2 *s.v.* Alcman (1), 360-1.

[126] The richest single source for his surviving poetry is an anthology assembled by Stobaeus, probably in the fifth century AD: M.L. West, *Iambi et elegi graeci ante Alexandrum cantati* 2 vols,(second edition, Oxford 1992), hereafter West *Iambi*², 2 *s.v. Tyrtaeus* nos.10,11,12.

[127] Specific passages are quoted by Plutarch, Pausanias and Strabo**.**

[128] *Berlin Papyri*, hereafter *P Berol.*,11675 fr. C col.ii 17-18, West *Iambi* ² 2 *s.v.* Tyrtaeus. West suggests in this context Hera may be introduced as a proxy for Zeus; *GEP*, 70-1.

[129] *POxy.* 1787, *GLP* 1 *s.v.* Sappho (68a), 106-7; *POxy* 1233 fr.4 + 2166 (b) 3,9 and10, *GLP* 1 *s.v.* Alkaios (34) (34a), 246-9.

[130] Three of the surviving stanzas suggest an association of the Dioskouroi with St. Elmo's fire – the electrical charge that can create a glow around the mast-head and may be the origin of the stars that later appear near or on the caps of the Dioskouroi in depictions from the fifth century BC onwards.

[131] *Homeric Hymns* 33, 12.

fragment sometimes attributed to the late seventh-century poet Terpandros, also treats them as saviour figures.[132] By the early sixth century BC, the brothers featured in poetry [133] attributed to Stesichoros of Himera in northern Sicily. They are mentioned too in one of the poems attributed to Theognis of Megara,[134] some of which are thought to have been written as early as 650BC, others as late as 479BC from the internal references. These sparse fragments suggest the brothers were not only widely established from the earliest surviving literary sources with recognisable epithets, but also that their presence in early texts associated with the Eastern Mediterranean and with Sicily may denote a particular local cult there.

The legendary military associations of the brothers in Spartan warfare have been authenticated in the literary record from the early fifth century BC with a recently-discovered piece attributed to the poet Simonides,[135] thought to have been composed to celebrate the battle of Plataia and the role of the Spartan general Pausanias, possibly for a specific venue or festival.[136] The brothers, named here as Tyndaridai, are both described as Zeus' children and both as skilled with horses.[137] They are not differentiated, and are bracketed with Menelaos, as in the earlier fragmentary allusion to rites practised at Therapne attributed to Alkman.[138] Simonides' poem represents both brothers starting out with the Spartan army in 479BC, although the practice was said to

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[132] Dionysios of Halicarnassos cites a line alluding to the sons of Zeus and Leda as '*κάλλιστοι σωτῆρες'*: *GLP* 2, *s.v.* Terpander (5), 316-7; A. Gostoli, *Terpander* (Rome 1990).
[133] A fragment alluding to Pelias' funeral games: *Et.Mag.* 544. 54, *GLP* 3, 178.
[134] Theogn. *Elegies* 1087-8. Their names are given, not their parentage.
[135] *P.Oxy*. 3965, published by P.J. Parsons in 1992, with *POxy*. 2327 in West *Iambi²* 2, reproduced and translated with further commentary by D. Sider, "Fragments 1-22 W²", hereafter Sider "Fragments 1-22 W²", in D. Boedeker and D. Sider, *The new Simonides. Contexts of praise and desire* (Oxford 1992), hereafter Boedeker/Sider *The new Simonides*, 13-29.
[136] I. Rutherford, "The new Simonides. Towards a commentary" in Boedeker/Sider *The new Simonides*, hereafter Rutherford "Simonides commentary" 33-54, 38-41.
[137] Sider "Fragments 1-22 W²", Appendix. *POxy.* 2327 fr. 5+ 6+27 col.i +3965 fr.1+2, as restored by M.L. West, lines 30-31, Boedeker/Sider *The new Simonides* 27-29.
[138] *P.Oxy*. 2389 fr.1, *GLP* 2 *s.v*. Alcman (7), 396-7.

have been modified in 506BC,[139]after which only one Spartan king accompanied by one of the Tyndaridai statues was allowed to leave Sparta at the same time. Perhaps this is a deliberately archaised account, framed in a way to appeal to a festival audience drawn from a wide range of Greek-speaking peoples.[140] The appearance of Kastor and Polydeukes in the company of Menelaos would be familiar from their family history in the Trojan wars, and invite reference to a connection already suggested in the shared epithets applied to them in the *Iliad* and in a Hesiodic fragment.[141]

The role of the brothers as protectors and dispensers of justice can be seen in the allegedly well-known tale told of the early fifth-century BC poet Simonides, repeated by Cicero and Quintilian.[142] Simonides had apparently composed a victory song for a boxer, commissioned by a certain Thessalian nobleman, Skopas, in which he had overdone the allusions to Kastor and Polydeukes at the expense of the victor himself. Skopas refused to pay more than half the payment due, telling Simonides to claim the other half from the Tyndaridai with whom the praise had been shared. At a banquet following the recital of the poem, Simonides was summoned outside by two young men on horseback. As soon as he had left, the roof fell in on the banqeting hall killing Skopas and a number of the guests. Quintilian is dubious about the role of the Tyndaridai, not least that in the texts he has seen, nowhere does Simonides mention it; but he does seem to suggest that there was an epinician of the kind in the story. As Simonides' near contemporary Pindar said of the brothers, they look after just men.[143]

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[139] Hdt. 5.75. Discussed in Chapter 3.2.1.
[140] Rutherford "Simonides commentary" 46; S. Hornblower, "Epic and Epiphanies. Herodotus and the 'New Simonides'" in Boedeker/Sider *The new Simonides* 135-147, 146.
[141] Hesiod**,** *P.Berol.*, 9379 col.ii, 3-5 (13-15), reproduced in R. Merkelbach and M.L. West (eds.), *Fragmenta Hesiodea* (Oxford 1967), hereafter Merkelbach/West *Fr. Hes.*, no.197, Table IV.
[142] Cic. *De Orat.* 2, 86; Quint. *Inst.* 11.2; *GLP* 3 *s.v.* Simonides (510) 374-379.
[143] Pind. *Nem.* 10.54.

Pindar refers to Kastor and Polydeukes in a number of his victory odes.[144] These include the first references we have to the brothers as twins,[145] though there may be a slightly earlier use on a dedicated relief from Sparta.[146] By the end of the century, Euripides also assumes their twinship.[147] In the Homeric context, the phrase *διδυμάονε παῖδε* appears in the *Iliad* [148] to mean twins, applied to Krethon and Orsilochos, sons of Diokles, and also to Aesepos and Pedasos, the sons of the fountain nymph Abarborea by the illegitimate Bucolion;[149] the sons of Aktor are also described as *διδυμάονε...παῖδε*.[150] Two of these sets of twins are described in this way when engaged in markedly unheroic activity: Krethon and Orsilochos when attempting to seize lands through violence, the Aktoriones, when wresting victory from Nestor in a chariot race by cheating. Twins are not here presented in a favourable light. As already noted,[151] the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* do not refer to Kastor and Polydeukes as twins which, although negative evidence, would support the case not only for a later adoption of this epithet but a change in the way this relationship was perceived.

Pindar was also the first to make a formal association of the brothers with the Games, [152] suggesting they were accorded the joint presidency and oversight of the boxing and chariot-racing contests at the Olympian Games by Herakles. He seems to have sought

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[144] Primarily Pind. *Nem.*10, 30-90 and *Ol.* 3, 34-41; also *Isthm.* 5, 33, *Pyth.*1, 66, 4, 173 (with the Argonauts), 5, 9-11 (Kastor) and 11, 59-64: B. Snell and H. Maehler (eds.), *Pindari carmina cum fragmenti* (Leipzig 1987-8); L.R. Farnell, *The works of Pindar* 2 vols. (London 1932) text, translation and commentary, hereafter Farnell *Pindar*.
[145] *LSJ s.v. διδυμογενής* and *δίδυμος*: Pind. *Nem.*1.36, *Ol.* 3.35.
[146] SM 447 and Fig.11.
[147] Eur. *Hel.* 206, 220, *Orest.* 1401.
[148] Hom. *Il.* 5.548; Kirk *Iliad* 2 (Books 5-8) 115.
[149] Hom. *Il.* 6. 26.
[150] *Ibid.* 23. 641; *Od.* 19. 227 uses the phrase *αὐλοῖσιν διδύμοισι* to describe the double grooves in a buckle, *LSJ* s.*v. αὐλός* (2); Aristarchos (of Samothrace), the Homeric scholar active in the second century BC, held that this meant that the *δίδυμοι* sons of Aktor were joined together, whereas the *διδυμάονε παῖδε* of other brothers in the *Iliad* meant simply twins: Kirk *Iliad* 6 (Books 21-24) N. Richardson (ed.), 239.
[151] Chapter 2.1.
[152] Pind. *Ol.* 3.36-8: the Dioskouroi are specifically assigned the oversight of the chariot-racing and of the contest in 'prowess'- perhaps an allusion to Polydeukes' boxing skills.

locally relevant heroic figures or gods with whom to compare and enhance the triumphs of his subjects.[153] The brothers appear primarily in this role. It is significant that he selects them as suitable figures to laud a victor from Argos,[154] at this time no friend of Sparta.[155] He fills out the story of the brothers' cattle rustling incident and gives the first preserved explanation of their different claims to immortality.[156] Polydeukes is established as son of Zeus by Leda and thus potentially immortal, while Kastor's father is named as Tyndareos, legendary ruler of Sparta, and mortal. The days of alternate immortality are explained as the offer made by Zeus, and accepted by Polydeukes, if he wished to save his brother. This version of the story emphasises sibling loyalty, later to be lauded by Plutarch,[157] but also the loyalty between brothers in arms, and confirms both their Homeric status as warriors and their Peloponnesian base. It is also an early example of the possibility of apotheosis from man/hero to god, similar to that of Herakles, also of legendary Peloponnesian origin, with whom Pindar groups Kastor and Polydeukes in a number of contexts.[158] Elsewhere, Pindar cites the brothers as examples of heroes honoured locally in the valley of the Eurotas, in the same way that Perseus was in Argos.[159] He does not allude to the brothers as Dioskouroi, but always by their individual names or as Tyndaridai, choosing it seems to emphasise their mortality and their locality. Even Polydeukes, the brother fathered by Zeus, is named individually as

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[153] B. Currie, *Pindar and the cult of heroes* (Oxford 2005), hereafter Currie *Pindar,* 8. By the fifth century BC, there appears to have been some 'gradation' between athletes, the living hero and the dead, the athletes themselves both expecting and promoting their own heroisation.
[154] Pind. *Nem.*10, *c.*465 BC, for Theaios victor in the wrestling; W.B. Henry, *Pindar's Nemeans* (Munich 2005), hereafter Henry *Nemeans*, 91. The Dioskouroi and Argos are discussed in Chapter 3.3.
[155] There are no known surviving Pindarian epinikia to celebrate Spartan victories at the Games: C. Morgan, "Debating patronage: Argos and Corinth" in S. Hornblower and C. Morgan (eds.), *Pindar's poetry, patrons and festivals* (Oxford 2007) 213-263, 215-216. Paus. 3.7.2 suggests that the Spartans may not have a developed tradition of epinician poetry, remarking that there was none to commemorate the deeds of their royal rulers. The veracity of this statement and its underlying premiss is questioned by S. Hornblower, *Thucydides and Pindar* (Oxford 2004) 235-243.
[156] Pind. *Nem.*10, 54-90.
[157] Plutarch dedicates his essay "On Brotherly Love" to the Dioskouroi. He mentions the Molione, mythical Siamese twins, in the same piece.
[158] As sponsors of the Olympian Games, Pind. *Ol.* 3, 34-41; as warrior sons of Zeus, Pind. *Pyth.* 4, 171-3.
[159] Pind. *Isthm.* 5, 33.

Τυνδαρίδας.[160] Despite their Spartan nomenclature, the brothers are used to enhance the victories of athletes from Thebes, Aegina and Sicily,[161] as well as Argos. It may be relevant that the context is one primarily of heroic emulation.

Pindar does allude to the brothers' association with ritual dining, perhaps indicating theoxenia, a practice which has been loosely defined as a banquet not only in honour of a deity but in which in some sense he or she shares.[162] Such practices are particularly associated with the Dioskouroi both from the texts and from surviving images on vases. [163] **(Figs.12a,13)** Pindar repeats an Argive story of the brothers receiving hospitality at the home of Pamphaës.[164] A similar story,[165] but in a Spartan setting, is told by Pausanias about a certain Phormion from Kyrene, where there is some evidence[166] of a cult of the Dioskouroi from as early as the seventh century BC. In his ode to Theron of Akragas, winner of the chariot race at Olympia in 476 BC, Pindar alludes more explicitly to the Tyndaridai as *φιλοξείνοι*[167] and implies the practice of theoxenia in the athlete's home town. References to the Dioskouroi in other poets with Sicilian connections, from Stesichoros to Theokritos, suggest a recognised cult of the brothers there.

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[160] Pind. *Nem.* 10, 73.
[161] Pind. *Pyth.*11, for Thrasydaios of Thebes; *Isthm.* 5, for Phylakeidas of Aegina; *Pyth.*1 for Hieron of Aitna as well as *Nem.*10 already quoted.
[162] Burkert *Greek religion* 107 and 203; M.H. Jameson, "Theoxenia" in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek cult practice from the epigraphical evidence* (Stockholm 1994), hereafter Hägg *Cult* (*Epig.*), 35-57; R. C. Parker, *On Greek religion* (Cornell 2011), hereafter Parker *Greek religion*, 142-4 and 241-2; G. Ekroth, *The sacrificial rituals of Greek hero-cults in the archaic to the early hellenistic periods* (Liège 2002), hereafter Ekroth *Sacrificial rituals*, 282-286.
[163] Examples with references are at n.32 (267), 268 and 269, discussed below.
[164] Pind. *Nem.* 10.50.
[165] Paus. 3.16.2-3. Here, the symbols associated with the Dioskouroi are described as a table and silphion, a precious condiment grown in Kyrene, which some have surmised was served as part of the Dioskoureia at Kyrene.
[166] Discussed in Chapter 4.2.
[167] Pind. *Ol.* 3.1; *Nem.*10.52 also refers, Henry *Nemeans*, 109.

Pindar's references provide some insights into dining ritual in fifth-century BC Sicily, which seem to have been family-based. He attributes Theron's success in part to his family's having won the support of the Dioskouroi through punctilious and generous provision of many tables for feasting and for the pious spirit in which they observed the due rites,[168] a practice perhaps illustrated on a later terracotta plaque found not far away at Taranto.[169]**(Fig.14)** Pindar's near contemporary, the poet Bakkhylides from Keos off the Attic coast (near Laurion), is also credited with a poem inviting the Dioskouroi to a possibly private feast in their honour,[170] suggesting at the least some sort of dining ritual. Such practices may have been mirrored in Spartan custom, given the political and practical relationship with Taranto, but there is no known evidence for them in Sparta before the first century BC.[171] While there is growing archaeological evidence for the more widespread custom of ritual dining,[172] the specific depiction of the Dioskouroi riding over a laden table remains special to them.

By the fifth century BC, contemporary drama performed in Athens assumes familiarity with the brothers. In Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*[173] the brothers are sufficiently well known to Athenian audiences to be identified indirectly in a repeated oath, *ναὶ τὼ σιώ*,[174] used to characterise the Spartans and perhaps representing an Athenian expression of difference between the cultures of the two cities. In Euripides' version of the Iphigenia

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[168] Pind. *Ol.* 3.38-41.
[169] Taranto, Museo Nazionale 4118 from a votive deposit at Messaria near ancient Taras dated to the fourth century BC.
[170] Athenaios (of Naukratis) writing *c.*200 AD, quotes lines from the late sixth-/early fifth-century BC poet, reputedly nephew or relation of Simonides: Ath. 11 500ab, *GLP* 4, 286-7.
[171] *IG* V 1, 206-9; these inscriptions are discussed further in Chapter 3.2.4.
[172] For example at Corinth the earliest buildings uncovered at the sanctuary of Demeter on the lower slopes of the Akropolis, dated to the second half of the sixth century BC, comprised a group of dining rooms: N. Bookidis and J.E. Fisher, "The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth. Preliminary report V (1971-3)" *Hesperia* 43 (1974) 267-307, 272.
[173] First performed 411 BC.
[174] Ar. *Lys*, for example 90, 1095, 1170.

tale, when Orestes arrives[175] with Pylades in the land of the Taurians, the two are able to be mistaken by local swineherds as the Dioskouroi. By this time too, they seem to have a recognised divine nature,[176] underscored in one of Euripides' plays from the same period, *Helen*, set in Egypt,[177] in which the brothers intervene to prevent the Egyptian ruler from an avenging murder in the final scene.[178] Earlier,[179] the Chorus invoke the Dioskouroi to protect Helen on her projected sea-journey back to Greece. Helen is presented in the play as the junior partner to the Dioskouroi, only at the end being accorded the same honours that they already enjoy.[180] This differs from the account in the *Odyssey* where it seems acknowledged she already had divine blood,[181] while her brothers as Tyndaridai by implication did not.

Euripides selected the Dioskouroi not only to mete out judgement at the end of *Helen*[182] but also to give the concluding judgement of the gods on the events that took place in *Elektra*,[183] principally the murder of their acknowledged mortal sister Klytemnestra. Kinship is clearly a primary reason for this, and possibly also their role as saviour deities,[184] but may also suggest a more important role for the brothers in the ancient Greek shared mythography than might be adduced from the surviving Homeric and

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[175] Eur. *Iph.*, first performed *c.*414-412 BC, 267-274.
[176] M. Wright, *Euripides' escape tragedies* (Oxford 2005), hereafter Wright *Escape tragedies*, 216 remarks on the brothers' ability to travel magically, riding horses in the sky; Farnell *Greek hero cult* 185.
[177] Stesichoros was credited with a poem denying Helen was at Troy but had remained in Egypt: Dio Chrys. *Or.* 11.40 s; Ath. 4.172 de; *GLP* 3, 62-3. A legendary connection between Egypt and the Peloponnese is also suggested by Herodotos, who claimed it was attested in a number of other writers: Hdt. 6.55-58.
[178] Eur. *Hel.*, 1642-1679.
[179] *Ibid.* 1495-1500.
[180] *Ibid.* 1666-1669.
[181] Hom. *Od.* 4.563-9. Menelaos is thus accorded the right as her husband to enter the Elysian fields on death, which was in itself unusual compared with the prospects of a shadowy afterlife in Hades more often offered, and makes a link with Cretan and possibly Minoan beliefs: Heubeck *Odyssey* 1, 227.
[182] Eur. *Hel.* 1642 -79.
[183] Eur. *El.* 1233-1330, probably first performed *c.*416 BC; M.J. Cropp, *Euripides' Electra* (Warminster 1988) 181-2.
[184] Other examples in *Elektra:* 1241-2, 1347-53; and in early Greek Lyric: Alkaios, *GLP* 5 *s.v.* (34) fr. 5; Callim. Fr. 64, 11-14: R.H. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* (Oxford 1949-53); Theocr. 22.5-23.

early Greek epic texts on which many of the plays were based, or at least as it was as interpreted in fifth-century BC Athens. By then, the brothers appear to have acquired an epiphanic personality which make them well suited for the 'deus ex machina' function characteristic of many endings of Euripides' plays.[185] In *Elektra*, Euripides chooses Kastor as the spokesman for the brothers,[186] perhaps as the one who stands between mortality and deity. At this time too, Pindar[187] is according Kastor a special and seemingly separate status at Kyrene and mentions examples[188] where special hymns were sung in Kastor's honour after equestrian events at the Games. Alternatively, the apparent pre-eminence accorded to Kastor may be random in this Euripidean setting, given that there seems to have been a convention that only one of two brothers speaks for both in Euripidean tragedy.[189]

Some texts from the third century BC suggest a burgeoning of interest in the Dioskouroi, in particular those associated with the Ptolemaic court at Alexandria.[190] In the *Argonautica* of Apollonios Rhodios, Kastor and Polydeukes play a significant part in interceding with 'the immortal gods' to protect the Argonauts from the wrath of Zeus.[191] Both the *Argonautica* and the *Idylls* of Theokritos[192] feature lengthy accounts

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[185] F.M. Dunn, *Tragedy's end* (Oxford 1996) 26-44 and 278: "Nine plays of Euripides end with the entry of a god who issues a command, explains what has happened, resolves an impasse or foretells the future."
[186] Eur. *El.* 1233.
[187] Pind. *Pyth.* 5, 5-11, discussed further in Chapter 4.2.
[188] See n. 1143.
[189] Eur. *Hel.* ed. W. Allan (Cambridge 2008) 340-1. Although both Dioskouroi appear, their speech is designed for only one speaker. In Euripides' *Herakleidai*, Damophon speaks for both himself and his half-brother Akamas: Eur. *Heracl.* 115-120 and *passim.*
[190] There is evidence of a cult of the Dioskouroi at Alexandria in the third century BC related to the sovereign rulers: P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 3 vols (Oxford 1972 repr. 1986) 1, 207; the Dioskouroi are assigned a central role in Kallimachos' account of the death and apotheosis of Queen Arsinoe *c.*270 BC: *Ibid.* 1, 668-9.
[191] Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4. 576-591.
[192]Theoc. *Id.* 22, 'Hymn to the Dioskouroi', translated A.S.F. Gow, *Theocritus* vol.1 (Cambridge 1988), hereafter Gow *Theocritus* 1. Some of the *Idylls* seem to have been composed specifically for an Egyptian audience, including this one: Gow *Theocritus* 1 xvii; A. Sens, *Theocritus: Dioscuri (Idyll 22)*: *introduction, text and commentary* (Göttingen 1997), 24-29.

of a boxing match[193] between Polydeukes and the arrogant Amykos, king of the Bebrycians, over his refusal to allow the Argonauts access to drinking water on his territory. Theokritos' *Idyll* uses the story to praise Polydeukes; he chooses as an equivalent with which to honour Kastor, the story of the fight with Idas and Lynkeus, here attributed to a quarrel over their betrothed brides, Hilaeira and Phoebe, the Leukippides,[194] rather than over the cattle mentioned in the *Kypria*. The boxing match is not known from earlier surviving literature. These texts, however, may reflect earlier ones now lost, which could explain why stories that appear for the first time in both poems are well represented in some earlier vase painting and in other media.[195] Examples include the fourth-century BC Talos Painter's name vase,[196] **(Fig.15)** where the Dioskouroi are pictured subduing Talos on Crete, and the several depictions of the boxing match between Polydeukes and Amykos illustrated on South Italian vases[197] and Etruscan mirrors, cistae and scarabs from the fifth century BC.[198] **(Fig.16)**

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[193] Ap.Rhod. *Argon.* 2.1-97; F. Vian and E. Delage (ed. and commentary), *Apollonios de Rhodes. Argonautiques*[3] 3 vols (Paris 2002 -) 1, 176-179, 267-268; Theocr. *Id.* 22, 34-134.
[194] Theoc. *Id.* 22, 137-211; Gow *Theocritus* 1, 169-174; *New Pauly* 7 *s.v.* Leukippides, 105.
[195] N.T. de Grummond, *Etruscan myth, sacred history and legend* (Philadelphia 2006) 180, 189-193. Depictions of Tinas Cliniar are found in Etruscan art from the seventh century BC. R. D. de Puma, *LIMC* III *s.v.* Dioskouroi (Tinas Cliniar) 606-608.
[196] Athenian red-figure volute krater *c.*425-375 BC, Ruvo, Museo Jatta 1501, Beazley Archive 217518. The Dioskouroi are not mentioned in the literature: Ap.Rhod. *Argon.*1638-1692 provides the fullest account.
[197] Red-figure Lucanian hydria *c.*425-400 BC, Paris, Cabinet de Médailles 442.
[198] Incised cartoon on fourth-century BC bronze cista, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 24787. On the image of Amykos and Polydeukes more generally in Etruscan iconography: A Weis "The motif of the *Adligatus* and the tree: a study in the sources of pre-Roman iconography" *AJA* 86/1 (1982) 21-38, catalogue, 33-34 nos.1-9, includes a late fifth-/early fourth-century BC Etruscan sardonyx scarab from Tarquinia depicting Polydeukes and Amykos (33 no.1, Pl.1.1; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum Inv. no. 1953.37; J. Boardman and M.L. Vollenweider, *Catalogue of the engraved gems and finger rings in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford 1978) 52 no.219) and a bronze mirror, also from Tarquinia, inscribed AMUKE and POLTUKE, now in the Tarquinia Museum (34, no.9); I. Krauskopf, *Heroen, Götter und Dämonen auf etruskischen Skarabäen* (Mannheim 1995), hereafter Krauskopf *Etruskischen Skarabäen*, 52, 110 no.658.

Tracking the Dioskouroi over time

It seems that the brotherhood rather than the twinship of Kastor and Polydeukes was emphasised in the earliest surviving literature and their status as heroes rather than divinities established. Usually differentiated by their individual names, almost invariably so in vase-painting, in the Peloponnese they are also known as Tyndaridai - a customary way of emphasising all-important ancestry, as with the Apharetidai. The first known uses of the term Dioskouroi, in the late eighth-/early seventh-century BC rock-cut inscription from Thera and the graffito dedicated cup from Kyrene, were found in sanctuary areas and may be associated with Ionian as well as Spartan culture.[199] The term is first known certainly in the literature from the *Homeric Hymns*, in poems that, as discussed, may suggest a cult context. The early texts also suggest a cult at Sparta which links the brothers with Menelaos as much as Helen, and a clear role for the brothers as saviours to whom it was appropriate to offer animal sacrifice. By the fifth century BC, the term Dioskouroi is more often used in the Peloponnese and the brothers seem to have developed a fuller range of attributes; they emerge as significant mythic heroic role models for the Peloponnesians - Argives as well as Spartans - in the context of the Games, perhaps also enjoying theoxenia in Sicily.[200] The evidence of Diodorus Siculus' compendium suggests that the brothers were part of a transition shared by other heroic figures, from early beginnings as heroes in myth to their subsequent treatment as semi-gods.[201]

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[199] Restelli**, "**La forma ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΟΙ" 257.
[200] Evidence for possible theoxenia associated with the brothers also comes from Rhodes, where a lekythos depicting such a scene dated to *c.*470-460 BC was found in a grave at Kamiros. BM B633, *ARV*²1615.
[201] Diod. Sic. 3, 6.5.6. Diodoros' Sicilian roots could mean his account reflects tradition there, rather than in mainland Greece.

2.3 Other sources for myths of the Dioskouroi: literature, vases and temple decoration

Many of the stories in the literary record were also communicated through images on vases and in sculptural decoration, sometimes at an earlier date than they have survived in the literary record. The earliest known depiction of the brothers in temple decoration is found on the sixth-century BC metopes[202] **(Figs.17,18)** of the so-called Sikyonian Treasury at Delphi. One metope depicts the brothers' dispute with the Apharetidai, known from the *Kypria* and from Pindar, as discussed, which could be seen as a myth reflecting the actual struggle of their respective peoples, the Spartans and the Messenians, from the late eighth century BC onwards; another shows the first known representation of the *Argo***.** Also depicted is a story not known certainly to us from the literary record before that date: Kastor and Polydeukes participating in the Kalydonian Boar Hunt. This event seems to have been adopted particularly in the Peloponnese to depict locally important heroic figures. Depictions from the sixth century BC are reported on prominent objects, including the base of the throne of Apollo at Amyklai,[203] suggesting either an earlier account now lost or a natural development for a hunting society of a myth about defeating the wild, or actual enemies, and which could be used to encompass a number of local and mythic heroes such as the Dioskouroi, Herakles and Theseus.

The quarrel of the Dioskouroi with the Apharetidai was elaborated,[204] at least by the early third century BC, to extend to the abduction of the Messenian brothers' fiancées, the Leukippides, daughters of another legendary Messenian king, Leukippos. This scene

[202] Delphi, Archaeological Museum nos. 1322-4.
[203] Paus. 3.18. 9-16, 19.1-5.
[204] See n.193; also Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.11.2.

may be included in the earlier sixth-century BC decoration of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi on the south frieze.[205] By the fifth century BC, the story is appearing frequently on Athenian vases.[206] **(Figs.19,20)** Pausanias cites the *Kypria* as the source of this story,[207] although it has not survived in the fragments of this poem that have come down to us which focus rather on the dispute over cattle. It was also attributed in antiquity to Hesiod.[208]

Other stories too about the Dioskouroi are known to us first from vase-painting and sculpture. One is their rescue of Helen from Theseus,[209] who had carried her off to Aphidna in Attica, in the company of his friend Peirithous. When the Dioskouroi rescued Helen, they also abducted Theseus' mother, Aithra, who was forced to act as Helen's personal servant and appears in the *Iliad*[210] at Troy in this role. This tale became disseminated through Athenian vase decoration from the fifth century BC, and is recorded most fully by Diodoros Siculus.[211] Pausanias avers that this story was included in one of Alkman's poems,[212] and is almost certainly older.[213] He says[214] it was depicted on the Kypselos chest and records its accompanying inscription. Theseus

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[205] Delphi, Archaeological Museum, *c.* 525BC; *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi no. 207.
[206] Athenian red-figure kalyx krater *c.*475-425 BC from Spina, Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina no.44893; Beazley Archive 275447. Late fifth-century BC Athenian red-figure hydria made by the potter Meidias, probably from Etruria, London, BM E224; *ARV*^{2}, 1313.5; Beazley Archive 220947.
[207] Paus. 3.16.1, but describes the girls as the daughters of Apollo.
[208] The scholiast on Hesiod's *Theogony* credits him with a "Catalogue of the Daughters of Leukippos": *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homerica* introduced and translated by H.G. Evelyn-White (Cambridge**,** Massachusetts 1982) 190-1.
[209] For vase-paintings depicting Theseus' abduction of Helen and rescue by the Dioskouroi, see *LIMC* 7, 1 *s.v. Theseus* nos. 286-7; with Kastor, no. 302.
[210] Hom. *Il.* 3.144.
[211] Diod. Sic. 4.63.1-3; also Plut. *Thes.* 31-34.
[212] Paus. 1.41.4 attributes the story to Alkman. Scholiast on the *Iliad* 3.242, *GLP* 2, *s.v.* Alcman (21), also attributes the story in part to Alkman; it appears again in more elaborate form in Plutarch's life of *Theseu*s, 32.3.
[213] Hom. *Il.* 3.143-4 states that Aithra was at Troy as a servant, which suggests the story leading up to this was assumed: Gantz *Early Greek myth* 288.
[214] Paus. 5.19.2-3. The scene depicts the Dioskouroi rescuing Helen from Theseus and dragging off his mother Aithra, a story more associated with Attica than Lakonia: Paus.1.19.3. H.S. Jones, "The chest of Kypselos" *JHS* 14 (1896) 30-80 reconstructs the design, Pl. 1.

and Helen may have been depicted together on a vase as early as the seventh century BC.[215]

The Dioskouroi also feature in scenes that are among the first to have been preserved on vases, including Pelias' funeral games[216] in which the brothers competed individually. Their involvement in this event may have survived in the literature in a fragment of poetry which mentions Kastor, attributed in antiquity to Stesichoros.[217] It is repeated elsewhere in Peloponnesian images of the period[218] along with the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, most notably on the Kypselos Chest [219] where Polydeukes is named as a participant in the chariot race (but not included among the boxers) establishing the brothers' sporting credentials. The earliest preserved[220] substantive account of Pelias' funeral games, and of the brothers' involvement, is given in Hyginus' *Fabulae,*[221] where Kastor participates in the stadion and Polydeukes, in the boxing.

Kastor and Polydeukes are also named on the early sixth-century BC François vase,[222] **(Fig.21a)** made in Athens, where they appear again as protagonists in the Kalydonian Boar Hunt.[223]**(Fig.20b)** The brothers' inclusion in the decoration of "perhaps the most

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[215] *LIMC* 7 *s.v. Theseus* no.28.
[216] Depicted on the Corinthian Amphiaraos krater *c.*560 BC, now lost, formerly in the Berlin Antikenmuseen, F 1655; K. Schefold, *Myth and legend in early Greek art* transl. A. Hicks (London 1966), hereafter Schefold *Myth and legend*, 72, Fig. 26; D. Amyx, *Corinthian vase-painting of the archaic period* 2 vols. (Berkeley 1988) 1, 263.
[217] *GLP* 3 *s.v.* Stesichoros (178) 60-61.
[218] K. Schefold and L. Guilliani, *Gods and heroes in late archaic Greek art* (Cambridge 1992) 194.
[219] Paus. 5.17.9.
[220] Gantz *Early Greek Myth* 193 notes in particular that Apollodoros tells us nothing.
[221] Hyg. *Fab.* 27.3.
[222] Athenian black-figure volute krater *c.*570 BC, signed Ergotimos as potter and Kleitias as painter, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 4209; Beazley Archive 300000.
[223] For the relationship with the chest: H. Payne *Necrocorinthia: a study of Corinthian art in the archaic period* (Oxford 1931), hereafter Payne *NC*, 139-141; Schefold *Myth and legend* 80.

famous of all painted Greek vases"[224] signals their strong place in the Greek mythic tradition beyond their traditional Peloponnesian base. They are a widespread and consistent choice for depiction on some of the most well-known surviving vases attributed to some of the most skilled painters, including Exekias, [225] **(Fig.22)** and the Amasis, [226] Niobid[227] and Meidias[228] Painters. Vase-painters seem to have drawn their subjects from what was around them[229] which suggests there might have been some tangible sculptural exemplars that inspired them.

2.4 Images of the Dioskouroi from Greece

A survey of the Dioskouroi in Greek art before 400BC is now available.[230] For the purpose of this study, a brief overview may help complement the textual material. Establishing common forms, and diversions from them, can provide insights into the way perceptions were shared, persisted or changed over time or between locations.[231] Local images, such as the distinctive early Spartan Dioskouroi reliefs[232] or the Lokrian plaques,[233] may indicate a specifically local perception of cult figures and stories, although the direct association of these stories with cult is often difficult to find.

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[224] J. Boardman, "Review of *Materiale per servire alla storia del vaso François* (Rome 1981)" *CR* n.s.32/2 (1982) 291-2, hereafter Boardman "Review *vaso François*", 291.
[225] Athenian black-figure type A amphora signed by the potter Exekias *c.*540 BC: Rome, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano 344; *ABV* 14.5.13; Beazley Archive 310395.
[226] D. von Bothmer *The Amasis Painter and his world* (New York 1985) 99-100 offers examples, including an Athenian black-figure type B panel-amphora, c. 550-500 BC, Copenhagen, Danish National Museum 14347, Beazley Archive 350466.
[227] Mid fifth-century BC kalyx krater from Orvieto: Paris, Musée du Louvre G431; *ARV*^{2} 601.22; Beazley Archive 206954.
[228] See n.205.
[229] J. Boardman, "Exekias" *AJA* 82/1 (1978) 11- 25, 11.
[230] Köhne, *Dioskuren.*
[231] C. Marconi, *Temple decoration and cultural identity in the ancient Greek world: the metopes of Selinus* (Cambridge 2007) makes the general argument in relation to the positioning as well as subject-matter of temple adornment in Southern Italy.
[232] See n. 523.
[233] References at n.39, 255 and 256.

Votive images of the brothers, either on reliefs or as statues, have survived from the sixth century BC at Sparta, as will be discussed,[234] and Athens. From the start of the sixth century BC, the brothers appear named on painted vases.[235] There are claimed depictions of the brothers that are earlier, but these cannot be associated unequivocally with Kastor and Polydeukes. There is a possibly seventh-century BC depiction of the brothers on the base of a lead figurine[236] **(Fig.23)** where two outline figures can be deciphered holding hands across an object that might be an altar in an arrangement that has been interpreted[237] as a cryptograph for the early grid city of Zagora, where it was found.[238] The figures are suggested to be the Dioskouroi in the astronomical role with which they were associated in later texts and images of them found largely in the Eastern Mediterranean.[239] Other possible seventh-century BC depictions[240] have been identified on two Protocorinthian aryballoi[241] found in Boeotia. These lack the benefit of inscribed names and remain conjectural, but suggest a cult association. Both portray horsemen with female figures that may be Athena, Aphrodite or Helen. The Oxford

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[234] Chapter 3.2.4.

[235] Visual depictions of the Dioskouroi in Greece, or as Castores in Italy and Tinas Cliniar in Etruria in statuary, on vases, reliefs and other media, are collected in *LIMC* 3, 1 567-635 and 2 (Plates), 456-503, published in 1986; A. Hermary, the main editor for this topic, has provided an update in the Supplement published in 2009, *s.v.* Dioskouroi 189-192. A more up to date list of depictions on Athenian vases is provided by the Beazley Archive: 75 as at March 2015; some further examples are listed there with other subjects. Some pieces are as yet unpublished, such as the important red-figure Athenian kalyx krater from Pelasgia *c.*475-450 BC, in the Lamia Archeological Museum no.Π10691.

[236] Andros Archaeological Museum1238. A. Cambitoglou *et al., Guide to the finds from the excavations of the Geometric town at Zagora* (Athens 1981). I am grateful to Professor Paul Cartledge for bringing this object to my attention.

[237] A. Coucouzeli, "The Zagora cryptograph" *Mediterranean archaeology and archaeometry* 6/3 (2006) 33-52.

[238] A. Cambitoglou *et al., Zagora 2. Excavation of a Geometric town on the island of Andros* 2 vols. (Athens 1988) 1, 233, and 2, Pl. 281 (a)-(c).

[239] Alexandrian writers placed them among the stars: Allen[2] 438; for depictions of the Dioskouroi with stars and the moon : F. Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse* (Paris 1935), hereafter Chapouthier *Dioscures*, 268-280, nos. 26-36, 44-67.

[240] There is one possibly earlier image: a depiction of two warriors, hands clasped, on a mother of pearl intaglio from the Black Sea area has been dated to the eighth century BC, although this has subsequently been disputed and a radical re-dating to a paleochristian period substituted. St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum 525; O. Neverov, *Antique Intaglios in the Hermitage Collections* (Leningrad 1976) no.4; J. Boardman (orally): *LIMC* 3 no.88.

[241] Protocorinthian black-figure ovoid aryballos from Thebes attributed to the Ajax Painter, Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 617, Beazley Archive 1007181; early protocorinthian ovoid aryballos *c.*700-650 BC, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G146; Beazley Archive 525001.

aryballos depicts one female figure that may be a very early depiction of a cult goddess and also a female figure with the 'basket' or stephanos headdress found in early votive figurines from Cyprus, Crete and Sparta.[242]

The earliest known certain depiction of the brothers is on a painted fragment of Corinthian pottery[243] **(Figs.24a,b)** found at the sanctuary of Hera at Perachora. On this fragment, the brothers are inscribed individually as Kastor and [P]oly[deukes], as in the Homeric accounts, and are pictured as mounted horsemen. They provide some of the very earliest examples of named figures to be depicted in surviving Greek vase decoration, along with Herakles whose name also appears on a fragment found at the Heraion at Perachora.[244] Their provenance suggests votive intention. From the very early sixth century BC, the brothers also appear, named, on Athenian vases, as on a painted fragment[245] **(Figs.25a,b)** from an early sixth-century BC Athenian lebes now in Izmir which depicts them with Helen and perhaps Menelaos, both in chariots. This could endorse an association with Menelaos and Helen in cult practice, suggested by one of the fragments of poetry attributed to Alkman already mentioned. Their appearance on a lebes may also suggest an association with marriage. There are other

[242] K. Friis Johansen, *Les Vases Sikyoniens* (Paris 1923) 141-143, Pl.20.1 and 22.1; G.W. Elderkin, "The Dioscuri on an early protocorinthian aryballos" *AJA* 38 (1934) 543-46, hereafter Elderkin "Aryballos".
[243] Kotyle fragment inscribed in middle Corinthian alphabet with ΚΛΜΜΤΟΡ and another few letters, seemingly of Polydeukes' name – ΟΛU – to right under the horse's head, Athens Archaeological Museum: H. Payne and T.J. Dunbabin, *Perachora* 2 vols (Oxford 1962), hereafter Payne/Dunbabin *Perachora*, 2, 254 no. 2469, Pl. 100 and 163; dated to the middle Corinthian period, but could be earlier from the colour of the 'dirty green' clay: *Ibid.* 240. Other finds, including relief plaques, from this site suggest Egyptian, Syrian and Cretan models: *Perachora* 1, 230-1; *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi no.1.
[244] Middle-Corinthian cup fragment *c.*600-575 BC, showing some of the labours of Herakles, includes his name inscribed in the Corinthian alphabet: *Perachora* 2, 262 no.2542.
[245] Athenian black-figure lebes fragments *c.*600-550 BC from Smyrna, attributed to the Sophilos Painter, Izmir, Archaeological Museum 3332: G. Bakir, *Sophilos: ein Beitrag zu seinem Stil* (Mainz 1981) 33-38, 69 Cat. no.A.21, Pl. 39-45; Beazley Archive 305079.

possible appearances on vases dated to the very early sixth century BC[246] which may carry similar cult associations, but these do not name the brothers specifically.

Images of the Dioskouroi: myth and cult

By the mid-sixth century BC, there is stronger material evidence from a range of different sources for the identification of the Dioskouroi as recipients of cult in Greece – as already noted, dedications on vases at Kyrene and Naukratis, votive reliefs from Sparta, and a victory inscription from Kephallenia,[247] - but there were also temple reliefs from Delphi,[248] and possible votive statues from the Athenian Akropolis[249] and from Delos.[250] At this time, the Dioskouroi are said[251] to be appearing at Sparta on statue bases of Athena Chalkioikos and Apollo Amyklaios, on both in the company of the Leukippides, but with no clear cult connection. Although associated in myth with Sparta and Lakonia, there are few surviving depictions of them on vases from this area.[252] It is on Athenian vases that from the sixth century BC their representation has most frequently survived. This may be for more general reasons: the trade in Attic vases and perhaps a particular market in Southern Italy, where many such vases have been found. Additionally it has been suggested that in the sixth century BC, the Dioskouroi

[246] Athenian black-figure fragment of unknown provenance, showing two draped and wreathed young men *c.*600-550 BC, attributed to the Gorgon Painter, Louvain University, Beazley Archive 300082.
[247] *IG* IX 1, 649.
[248] See n.201.
[249] Discussed further in Chapter 3.4. At Athens, the Rampin Rider statue, possibly votive in function, has been associated with the Dioskouroi: B.S. Ridgway, *The Archaic style in Greek sculpture* (second edition, Chicago 1993), hereafter Ridgway *Archaic style* [2] 199-201.
[250] Ph. Jockey, "Les Dioscures, Pisistrate et les Pisistratides: à propos de deux cavaliers montés archaiques du musée de Délos" *Revue des études anciennes* 95 (1993), hereafter Jockey "Dioscures cavaliers", also discussed in Chapter 3.4.
[251] Paus. 3.17.3; 3.18.11 and 14.
[252] M. Pipili, *Laconian iconography of the sixth century BC* (Oxford 1987), hereafter Pipili *Laconian iconography*, 54. By contrast, Herakles is frequently depicted: *Ibid.* 83.

could be seen as part of a symbolic repertoire for the Peisistratid family,[253] reflected in votive sculpture[254] as well as in vase-painting and its sculptural models.

By the mid-fifth century BC, under Periclean democracy, images of the Dioskouroi appear to be proliferating at Athens, possibly even on the inside of Athena's shield on Pheidias' statue.[255] A preference also seems to emerge for certain groupings. The brothers' abduction of the Leukippides is found on several Athenian vases found in Southern Italy**,** where the story was also deployed on several of a series of mainly fourth-century BC, local Tarantine and Lokrian terracotta plaques[256] thought to relate[257] to a special marriage cult of Persephone, in whose sanctuary at Taranto several were found. The inclusion of the subject on seemingly important vases, such as the Meidias Painter's name vase, has been noted already.[258] The episode also appeared in the paintings by Polygnotos in the Athenian shrine to the Anakes.[259] Pausanias mentions statuary of this subject[260] at Messene and Argos.

By the end of the century and into the next, the brothers appear in scenes that may be associated more directly with cult: depictions of the Dioskouroi with Helen appear on

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[253] J. Boardman, "Herakles, Peisistratos and sons" *RA* (1972 N.S. Fasc.1) 57-72**;** "Herakles, Peisistratos and Eleusis" *JHS* 95 (1975) 1-12; A. Hermary, "Images des l'Apothéose des Dioscures" *BCH* 102 (1978) 51-76.
[254] Ridgway, *Archaic style* [2] 199.
[255] The design may be represented on an Athenian red-figure neck amphora attributed to the Suessula Painter, *c.*425-375 BC, Paris, Louvre MNB810 (S1667); Boardman *Red figure: Classical* Pl. 329; Beazley Archive 217568.
[256] Taranto, Museo Nazionale 4130 and 6091; *LIMC* 3, nos. 209-10; for the Lokrian plaques see references at n.39.
[257] C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *'Reading' Greek culture* (Oxford 1991) 153 places the Tarantine plaques in the context of a special marriage cult of Persephone, in whose sanctuary they were found; J.M. Redfield, *The Locrian Maidens. Love and Death in Greek Italy* (Princeton 2003) 346, 412-3 makes the case for the Lokrian plaques denoting some kind of ritual prostitution; Currie *Pindar* 275.
[258] BM E224.
[259] Paus. 1.18.1. Another painting by Mikon in the same building featured their journey to Kolchoi with Jason and the Argonauts: see n.301.
[260] Paus. 2.22.5 and 4.21.9, discuused in Chapters 3.3 and 3.4.

Athenian vases[261] often also in the company of an altar and an egg [262] **(Fig.26)**; it is now they appear with Nemesis on a statue base from the Athenian sanctuary at Rhamnous.[263] Several vase-paintings depict them with Herakles and other deities and heroes in an Eleusinian setting:[264] the brothers, with Herakles, were said to be the first to be initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries by Triptolemos.[265] The story of the arrogant Amykos' perhaps inevitable defeat in a boxing match with Polydeukes over access to fresh water, first found in the literature in Apollonios Rhodios' *Argonautica and* Theokritos' *Idylls*, seems to have been particularly frequently depicted for Etruscan use,[266] **(Fig.15)** and may also reflect a wider association of the brothers in Greece as guardian of water sources.[267]

One of the clearest indications of the brothers' association with cult is provided by vases and reliefs that illustrate them participating in theoxenia. The recurring format includes a laden table, the Dioskouroi usually riding above it on horseback in the upper register, which may denote deity. The earliest known depiction may be on a sixth-century BC cup[268] of Lakonian manufacture attributed to the Naukratis Painter, found in a sanctuary at Lavinium. A clearer example is on a black-figure, white-ground lekythos[269] **(Fig.13)**

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[261] Shapiro "Cult warfare", 99-107.
[262] Athenian red-figure bell krater from Egnatia attributed to the painter Polion depicting Helen's birth from an egg: her mother Leda and mortal father look on, as do her brothers the Dioskouroi from beside a statue of their father Zeus: Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 78.
[263] Fragments of the marble base *c.*430-420 BC, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, hereafter NM, 4932; K.D.S. Lapatin, "A family gathering at Rhamnous? Who's who on the Nemesis base" *Hesperia* 61 (1992) 107-119.
[264] Athenian red-figure krater *c.*400-300 BC attributed to the Pourtalès Painter, BM F68, Beazley Archive 218148.
[265] Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.6.
[266] *Argonautica* 2.1.The subject is depicted on precious objects from Etruria from the fourth century BC, particularly bronze mirrors, *cistae* and earlier on a red-figure Lucanian hydria: Paris, Cabinet de Médailles 442.
[267] For example at Sparta and Argos, and on a sixth-century BC Athenian vase found at Vulci: see n. 414.
[268] For references, see n.32.
[269] BM B633, inscribed *καλή Μνία*: C.T. Newton**,** "The Dioscouroi on a Rhodian vase" *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* 10 (London 1869).

dated around 500 BC from a burial ground at Kamiros, Rhodes, possibly made at Naukratis. Another is found on an early fifth-century BC Athenian hydria.[270] Of a similar design, is a marble votive stele[271] **(Fig.27)** from Larisa dedicated to the Great Gods. The dedications associated with these images are difficult to interpret - it is unclear whether they suggest a family celebration such as that described by Pindar and much later by Horace,[272] or whether there is an association with a funerary banquet. The meal depicted could represent the barley cakes and libations suggested by the fragment[273] attributed to Bakkhylides.

2.5 Buildings and sacred space

The scholarly focus on the Dioskouroi has depended mostly on evidence from literature and vase-painting, with some from sculpture, votive reliefs and inscriptions. There is little architectural evidence for their cult presence and few major archaeological finds. Most evidence for this in Greece has been taken from Pausanias. There are some earlier references in the literature to sacred places, which may be buildings, specifically associated with the Dioskouroi in Herodotos, Thucydides, Xenophon and Demosthenes, as will be discussed below. There are no preserved buildings, however, from mainland Greece that can be said unequivocally to have been built to be dedicated to the Dioskouroi. The strongest candidate we have is not from the mainland; it is the small, probably late sixth- or early fifth-century BC temple and temenos at Naukratis, identified from the extensive pottery finds but for which there is no supporting literary

[270] Red-figure Athenian kalyx krater from Pelasgia *c.*475-450 BC, Lamia, Archeological Museum Π10691, unpublished.
[271] Second-century BC, Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 746; L. Heuzey, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine* (Paris 1876), hereafter Heuzey *Macédoine*, 419 and Pl. 25.
[272] Hor. *Odes* 4. 5, 31-36.
[273] Discussed already, n.169.

or other evidence; another is the part seventh-century BC building at Kyrene, recently re-identified from nearby pottery finds as the Dioskourion mentioned in some texts.

Broadly, the kinds of evidence we have for buildings and shrines in Greece associated with the Dioskouroi fall into three main groups:

- those where inscriptions or votive pottery suggest an association with the Dioskouroi and where there is little or no other supporting evidence; examples include the sanctuary Ω-Ω at Messene (Chapter 3.3.5) and, importantly, the temple at Naukratis (Chapter 4.3);
- those mentioned in the texts or inscriptions for which some claims are made to identify them with preserved structures; examples are explored at Sparta (Chapter 3.3.3), Argos (Chapter 3.4.3), and Kyrene (Chapter 4.2); also at Epidauros (Chapter 3.1); the Dioskourion at Delos is another case in point;
- those mentioned in the texts or inscriptions for which no material evidence has yet been found: this is the largest group, and examples provided by Pausanias and other literary sources are discussed in what follows.

The evidence from Pausanias

Pausanias' travelogue provides the major source for seeking an archaeological basis for the practice of a cult of the Dioskouroi.[274] His interest in religious customs provides essential information about the Greek mainland where he travelled. While his record is the starting point, it needs to be approached critically.[275] The adoption of the Dioskouroi

[274] *Pausaniae Graeciae descriptio* 3 vols. ed. M.H. Rocha-Pereira (Leipzig 1973-81); D. Musti, M. Torelli *et al.* provide a commentary: *Pausanias. Guida della Grecia* 10 vols. (Milan 1982-2011), hereafter Musti/Torelli.
[275] M. Torelli, "Reflections on context" in S.E. Alcock, J.F. Cherry and J. Elsner (eds.), *Pausanias: travel and memory in Roman Greece* (Oxford 2001), hereafter *Pausanias: travel and memory*, 53-56.

in Rome as symbols of that city's victorious record may be important in assessing the information Pausanias gives of their sanctuaries and cult places. By the time he was writing, the Dioskouroi were well established as political symbols in both Republican and Imperial Rome,[276] appearing in different guises on coins to support different Roman regimes at different times.[277] They were also used to enhance the image of Roman governors in mainland Greece, in Macedonia[278] and possibly Sparta.[279] The symbolic use of the Dioskouroi was favoured by the Emperor Augustus and his grandchildren, Gaius and Lucius.[280] Horace urged he should be honoured within the household, like the Dioskouroi and Herakles in Greece. [281] A second-century AD inscription from Epidauros[282] suggests a, possibly revived, cult of the Dioskouroi there, contemporary with Pausanias' travelogue. His account may have been coloured by the interests of his own day and what he judged would have engaged a contemporary philhellene Roman and Graeco-Roman audience, as well as by the actual or past importance of the sanctuaries and shrines he reported. There is also some evidence he saw himself as the deliberate conservator of ancient customs and practices.[283]

Pausanias cites several places in mainland Greece associated with the Dioskouroi. The majority are in the Peloponnese, as the earlier written sources would suggest. He

[276] See Chapter 1.1.
[277] For examples from 211 BC, see M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican coinage* 2 vols (revised edition, London/New York 2001), hereafter Crawford *Roman Republican*, 1, 44-56.
[278] Heuzey, *Macédoine* 273.
[279] *IG* V 1, 447 seems to refer to M. Aurelius and L.Verus, who ruled jointly 161-169 AD, as the new Dioskouroi.
[280] For example, Gaius and Lucius appeared dressed as the Dioskouroi riding on white horses in the *transvectio equitum* procession, as part of the annual celebration of the battle of Regillus: B. Poulsen, "The Dioscuri and ruler ideology" *Symbolae Osloenses* 66 (1991) 119-146, hereafter Poulsen "Ruler ideology", 123.
[281] Hor. *Odes* 4. 5, 31-6.
[282] *IG* IV², 511.
[283] Paus. 8.32.3; J.I. Porter, "Ideals and ruins" in *Pausanias: travel and memory* 63-92, 70.

reported sanctuaries, altars and statues of the Dioskouroi in Sparta[284] and in other Peloponnesian cities[285] - Mantinea, Argos, Messene - all of which at one time had been either subject to or vying with Spartan rule. There may have been a parallel struggle to claim ownership of the protecting powers and deities.[286] Pausanias also reported a sanctuary at Sikyon.[287] On the river islet of Pellana on the borders of Lakonia, supposed birthplace, childhood home and potential cult place of the Dioskouroi,[288] he reports two small bronze statues of the brothers, where they may have been venerated as children.[289] He talks about a *ναός*, a temple, for the Dioskouroi at both Sparta and Argos, but elsewhere notes only a *ἱερόν*, implying a lesser or at least different kind of shrine.

Few of Pausanias' references to the Dioskouroi have been substantiated by subsequent archaeological investigation although some are strengthened by epigraphic evidence.[290] Few can be dated from other sources and may have been relatively modern at the time Pausanias was writing, particularly because he often specifies when he thinks a building or statue is ancient. At Athens, for example, Pausanias emphasises that the sanctuary of the Dioskouroi, which can be dated no later than the first half of the fifth century BC from the paintings by Polygnotos that decorated it, was *ἀρχαῖον*.[291] While the legends he loved to relate may have been longstanding, many of the shrines could have been introduced as the influence of Rome spread around the Mediterranean, with its

[284] Paus.3.11.1-3.20.8 describes Sparta; see Chapter 3.2.2.
[285] *Ibid.* 8.9.2; 2.22.5; 4.31.9.
[286] Kimon's concern to consolidate his military victories in northern Greece by bringing Theseus' bones to Athens from Skyros is anticipated by a similar story of the Spartans' efforts to repatriate Orestes' relics from Tegea, claimed to be necessary to achieve victory.
[287] Paus. 2.7.5.
[288] Paus. 3.26.2-3.
[289] Nilsson *Minoan-Mycenaean religion* 470 draws parallels with the *Ἄνακτες παῖδες* worshipped at Amphissa: Paus.10.38.7;
[290] S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte* (Leipzig 1893) 305-325 provides a catalogue of ancient written sources for the Dioskouroi in Lakonia, including inscriptions.
[291] Paus.1.18.1.

deliberate accompanying policy of religious and cultural syncretism.[292] The new Roman rulers, and the local families they favoured, may have been particularly comfortable with promoting those local cult figures with which they were already familiar. The Dioskouroi would have been well known from the prominent temple of Castor and Pollux in the Roman forum[293] and from their important role in that city's history through their support at the legendary Battle of Regillus,[294] commemorated each year on the Ides of July particularly from the time of Augustus.[295]

Other literary sources

In addition to Pausanias' record, the literary sources mention the veneration of the Dioskouroi in a number of places in mainland Greece, some beyond the Peloponnese. The earliest mention of a sanctuary space specifically dedicated to the Dioskouroi relates to the second half of the fifth century BC, to the time of the Peloponnesian wars: Thucydides reports[296] potential conscripts seeking refuge at their shrine (*ἱερόν*), on Kerkyra in 427BC,. He also refers to some kind of unspecified place associated with them[297] just outside Torone on Chalkidiki, which was well enough known for him to use to locate one of Brasidas' troop deployments there in 424/3BC. Later, Xenophon mentions[298] a place associated with the Dioskouroi in or near the temenos of Poseidon Gaiaochos at Sparta, where in 370BC troops were able to hide sufficiently well to effect an ambush, so very possibly comprising a building of some sort. As discussed in relation to Pausanias' record, the use of the term *ἱερόν* or the even more elusive 'of the

[292] E.M. Orlin, *Foreign cults in Rome: creating a Roman empire* (Oxford 2010) 321.
[293] The columns standing today date from the first century AD: see n.3.
[294] Liv. 2. 20.14 and 42.5.
[295] Poulsen "Ruler ideology" 122.
[296] Thuc. 3.75.
[297] *Ibid.* 4.110, not yet located: A. Cambitoglou, J.K. Papadopoulos, O.T. Jones, *Torone I. The excavations of 1975, 1976 and 1978* (Athens 2001).
[298] Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.28.

Dioskouroi' to describe a location, make it difficult to establish what might have been meant. What seems clear is that the places associated with the Dioskouroi did not necessarily take the form of buildings, monuments or other identifiable architectural structures. Demosthenes, however, refers to a well-known Dioskourion near Pherai,[299] to locate events on Philip II of Macedon's progress towards Athens, as Polybius did also to describe a military route through Phlius.[300] It may be that these sacred places associated specifically with the Dioskouroi, whether buildings, sanctuaries, shrines or some other kind of sacred space, emerge as useful map directions because they lay at the boundaries of a polis.

The Anakeion at Athens- from literary source to identified building?

At Athens, as has been noted, Pausanias recorded[301] an 'ancient' sanctuary of the Dioskouroi, where there were also statues of them, standing, their sons on horses. This building was decorated in Kimon's time with paintings by Polygnotos of Thasos and Mikon,[302] seen by Pausanias, thus dating it no later than around 460 BC. These depicted the marriage of the Leukippides and scenes of the Argonauts. Initially thought to be on the north slope of the Acropolis, it might have been expected to be located in the course of the extensive excavations in the agora and that area in the early 1900s.[303] A recent study of the Akropolis area,[304] however, undertaken with the benefit of Manolis Korres'

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[299] '*...ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ πανδοκείῳ τῷ πρὸ τοῦ Διοσκορείου (εἴ τις ὑμῶν εἰς Φερὰς ἀφῖκται, οἶδ' ὃ λέγω)...*' Dem. *Or.*19.158.
[300] See n. 325.
[301] Paus. 1.18.1.
[302] J.J. Pollitt, *The art of ancient Greece: sources and documents* (Cambridge 1990), hereafter Pollitt *Sources, s.v.* Polygnotos and Mikon, 126-7 and 141-2.
[303] O. Broneer, "Excavations on the north slope of the Acropolis" *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 329-417, and 4 (1935)
109-188.
[304] G.C.R. Schmalz, "The Athenian Prytanaion discovered?" *Hesperia* 75 (2006) 33-81, 35-36 and Figs. 1 and 2; also T.L. Shear, Jr., " Ἰσονόμους τ᾽ Ἀθήνας ἐποιησάτην: The Agora and the Democracy" in Coulson, W.D.E. *et al.* (eds.), *The archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy* (Oxford 1994) 225-248, 227.

investigations of the *Οδός Θέσπιδος* area in the 1980s, confirms the case for identifying the Anakeion with building remains on the eastern slope of the Akropolis hill just below the Aglaurion cave, as described by Pausanias, to the north east of the Odeion and above the ancient agora and the Prytaneion Gate, the latter perhaps associated with a dining ceremony for the Dioskouroi.[305] This would be a possible place to bring slaves to be hired, as suggested by Demosthenes[306] although it would not seem an obvious assembly point for a large number of people, such as the soldiers suggested in one text.[307]

[305] See n.111, but questioned: N. Robertson, "The city center in archaic Athens" *Hesperia* 67 (1998) 283-302, 296.
[306] Demosth. *Or.* 45. 8.
[307] Thuc. 8.93.1-2.

Chapter 3

3.1.The Dioskouroi in the Peloponnese

The preserved literary texts suggest that evidence for cult and veneration of the Dioskouroi would be predominant in Lakedaimon. As noted in the previous Chapter, the majority of references to the Dioskouroi in Pausanias' account of his travels in Greece relate to the Peloponnese. Archaeological evidence has substantiated some of his account. Excavations in Sparta were undertaken in the nineteenth century by Ludwig Ross in 1833 and 1841[308] in the area of Therapne, arguably the most important place the literature associates with the Dioskouroi as their reputed burial place,[309] and possible location for the shrine of Menelaos and Helen. These excavations were followed up by both the British and American Schools at Athens and yielded some minor evidence to support the Dioskouroi to be among cult figures venerated in the area,[310] but little to substantiate the position that the mythic canon might have suggested. Another of the most important early excavations at Sparta was of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia,[311] uncovering some evidence for veneration of the Dioskouroi there too, including relief fragments depicting them or votives with their emblems.[312] Similar finds had already been published in the catalogue of the new archaeological museum at Sparta,[313] founded in 1875.

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[308] L. Ross, *Archäologische Aufsätze* 2 vols. (Leipzig 1855, 1861) 2, 341; R.M. Dawkins, "Laconia I. Excavations at Sparta, 1909. The Menelaion" *ABSA* 15 (1909) 108-122.
[309] While the Homeric texts refer more broadly to the brothers' being under the ground in Lakedaimon, from the poetry of Alkman onwards, the location is commonly identified as Therapne.
[310] H.W. Catling, "Excavations at the Menelaion Sparta 1973-6" *AR* 23 (1976-7) 24-42.
[311] R.M. Dawkins, *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (London 1929), hereafter Dawkins *Orthia*.
[312] Discussed below, see n.466 and 469.
[313] Tod/Wace 113, 271, 295, 365.

Elsewhere in Lakonia, sanctuaries dedicated to the Dioskouroi have been identified with varying confidence at Kalyvia (near Sparta)[314] and Skala (in southern Lakonia). Recent excavations led by Joost Crouwel at Geraki, ancient Geronthrai a perioikic settlement, have revealed some Hellenistic tiles[315] **(Fig.28)** stamped with symbols of the Dioskouroi that may suggest they were intended for a sanctuary building, but their implications are uncertain.

Other sites in the Peloponnese associated with a cult of the Dioskouroi are at Messene[316] and Argos,[317] both cities at times vying with Sparta for power (and perhaps gods) in the Peloponnese and discussed below. Possible sites for sanctuaries have also been explored at Sikyon[318] and Phlius, [319] both associated in the literature with the Dioskouroi. At Mantinea, the site of the sanctuary of the Dioskouroi that Pausanias reported[320] has not yet been found; their possible depiction on a fourth-century BC Mantinean coin[321] may suggest a pre-Roman public cult there.

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[314] R.M. Dawkins, "Excavations at Sparta 1910. The Eleusinion at Kalyvia tes Sochas" *ABSA* 16 (1909-10) 12-14.

[315] M. Gourdouba *et al*, *Geraki - an excavation displayed* (Amsterdam/Athens 2006), hereafter Gourdouba *Geraki displayed*, discussed below in relation to the dokana and amphorae appearing as symbols of the Dioskouroi on votive reliefs; L. van Dijk-Schram, "Stamped tiles from Geraki" in J.H. Crouwel *et al.*, "Geraki. An acropolis site in Lakonia" *Pharos* 10 (2002) 2-81, 68-75 figure 23. Inv. nos. 407/SF2, 593/SF1, 4482/SF1, 4450/SF1, 4500/SF1. On 4 of the 5 tiles, the letter Φ also appears prominently - perhaps the maker.

[316] P. Themelis, "The Sanctuary of Demeter and the Dioscouri at Messene" in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Archaeological Evidence* (Göteborg 1998), hereafter Hägg *Cult (Archaeol.)*, 156-186, hereafter Themelis "Dioscouri".

[317] J.-C. Moretti, "L'implantation du théâtre d'Argos dans un lieu plein de sanctuaires" in A. Pariente and G. Touchais (eds.), *Argos et l'Argolide. Topographie et urbanisme* (Paris 1998), hereafter Pariente/Touchais *Argos*, 233-259, hereafter Moretti "Argos sanctuaires", 233.

[318] Early excavations at Sikyon: M.L. Earle *AJA* 5/3 (September 1889) 286-292, were extended by the American School at Athens, *AJA* (2009) and results published: Y.A. Lolos, *Land of Sikyon: archaeology and history of a Greek city-state* (Princeton 2011), hereafter Lolos *Sikyon*.

[319] W.R. Biers, "Excavations at Phlius, 1924. The prehistoric deposits" *Hesperia* 38/4 (1969) 443-458 provides a brief history of the earlier excavations there.

[320] Paus. 8.9.2.

[321] The coin depicts two busts, one behind the other facing left, wearing piloi and carrying a lance, atop an altar: P. Gardner, *Catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum*, 10, *Peloponnesus* (London 1887), hereafter *BMC* (10), Pl. xxxiv no.23; G. Fougères, *Mantinée et l"Arcadie orientale* (Lille 1898), hereafter Fougères *Mantinée*, 299-301; B.Hemberg, "Anax, Anassa und Anakes als Götternamen unter besonderer

Sikyon

Pausanias records[322] a sanctuary of the Dioskouroi, just below that of Tyche on the akropolis at Sikyon, and wooden statues at both. A cult of the Dioskouroi at the site seems attested by a number of votive finds, including a worn relief of the brothers in a familiar pose, standing in front of their horses, nude, wearing piloi and with and altar between them, of a type no earlier than the first century BC[323] and more likely Roman. Neither sanctuary has yet been found, though they are tentatively placed on the slopes of the Hellenistic rather then the older akropolis, although the cult may have been older.[324] Without the benefit of new excavations, the recent survey of the site[325] has been able to do little more than confirm the existing possibilities.

Phlius

According to Polybius [326] there was a sanctuary and temple of the Dioskouroi at Phlius that was in existence at least by Philip II of Macedon's day because he used it as a geographical reference point. Phlius lies between Sikyon, Stymphalos and Nemea. Since Polybius was born at Megalopolis and spent his early life in Arkadia, his knowledge of the area can be expected to be accurate. Excavations at Phlius have not so far identified the sanctuary. The site was first excavated in 1892,[327] and then more extensively in 1924.[328] The finds from this excavation were not catalogued and

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Berücksichtigung der attischen Kulte" *Acta Universitatis Uppsaliensis* 10 (Uppsala 1955), hereafter Hemberg "Anakes", 29-30.
[322] Paus. 2.7.5.
[323] *Cf.* similar illustrated in *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi nos. 134-139.
[324] C.H. Skalet, *Ancient Sikyon* (Baltimore 1928) 134.
[325] Lolos *Sikyon* 378-9.
[326] Polyb. 4.67-8.
[327] H. Washington, "Excavations at Phlius in 1892" *AJA* 27 (1923) 438-446.
[328] C.W. Blegen, "Excavations at Phlius 1924" *Art and Archaeology* 20 (1925) 23-33.

assessed until nearly half a century later,[329] and some fresh excavations were undertaken in 1970.[330] Just below the highest point of the site, at the east end of its akropolis, a votive deposit had been uncovered in 1924.[331] Along with pottery, some seven hundred terracotta figurines were found, nearly 70% of which comprised horse and rider votives.[332] The dating of these objects would suggest votive activity at the site between the seventh and the fifth centuries BC and associations with Argive and then later, Corinthian, production. A similar pattern of votive material is repeated at Messene,[333] as will be discussed in what follows. Blegen thought the character of the votives might suggest an association with a male deity, possibly a hero. He mentions Pausanias' references to several shrines to male deities in the city. Pausanias also mentions a shrine to Demeter on the hill of the citadel. There could be an association with the Dioskouroi, as perhaps also at Messene.

Olympia

Pausanias mentions specific altars to the Dioskouroi by the race-courses at Olympia[334] and Sparta,[335] where by his time there were statues to the Dioskouroi 'starters'[336] in the stadium. Pindar's association[337] of the brothers with the Olympic Games has been noted already, specifically the chariot-racing. Their continuing role at Olympia is confirmed by Pausanias, who reports an altar to them placed at the turning point in the

[329] W.R. Biers, "Excavations at Phlius 1924. The prehistoric deposits" *Hesperia* 38/4 (1969) 443-458, and "The votive deposits" *Hesperia* 40/4 (1971) 397-423, hereafter Biers "Phlius votives".
[330] W.R. Biers, "Excavations at Phlius 1970" *Hesperia* 40/4 (1971) 424-447.
[331] Biers "Phlius votives" 397 and Fig. 1.
[332] *Ibid.* 401.
[333] See n. 799 and 801.
[334] Paus. 5.15.5.
[335] *Ibid.* 3.14.6.
[336] *Ibid.* 3.14.7.
[337] Pind. *Ol.* 3, 34-38.

hippodrome,[338] while Poseidon Hippios and Hera Hippia both had altars at the starting place. The possible cult link between the positioning of altars near the turning-post, and the frequent death of the contestants at this dangerous point, has received some scholarly attention,[339] primarily in the context of Roman stadia but also of the earlier Greek. The hippodrome at Olympia is thought to date from the first quarter of the sixth century BC,[340] although the starting gates and stoa at the western end are later, around 380BC. A late sixth-/early fifth-century BC bronze spear-butt dedicated at Olympia to the Tyndaridai has been noted earlier;[341] this was associated with victory in battle rather than in the Games.

Epidauros

There is some evidence of a sanctuary dedicated to the Dioskouroi at Epidauros, also dating from no earlier than the fourth century BC. A rectangular stele, uncovered in the late nineteenth century,[342] was the first indication that these deities were venerated here and that there was an associated building: it bears a dedication [343] dated to the fourth-century BC to Asklepios and *τοῖς ἐν τῷ Ἀνακείῳ θεοῖς,* 'the other gods of the Anakeion'. Pausanias', admittedly sketchy account of Asklepios' sanctuary at Epidauros, does not mention the brothers, although inscriptions dated to the second century AD, roughly contemporary with his journeys, do refer to the Dioskouroi. One[344] carries engraved piloi and stars to the right of the letters *Διοσχούροιν.* These may

[338] Paus. 5.15.5. By the time Pausanias was writing, the association of the Dioskouroi with chariot-racing at Rome had become established.
[339] T.F. Scanlon, *Eros and Greek Athletics* (Oxford 2002) 313 notes: E.P. McGowan, "Tomb Marker and Turning Post" *AJA* 99 (1995) 615-32 and J.H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing* (Berkeley 1986) 255-9.
[340] N. Yalouris, *The Olympic games* (Athens 1977) 100-101, Fig.40.
[341] *SEG* 11,1045; *LSAG*^{2} 210, 215, Cat.no.11 and Pl. 40; see also n.70.
[342] P. Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, 1 (Athens 1891) 47-8 no.57.
[343] *IG* IV^2, 480; Melfi *Santuari di Asclepio* 92 and Table 7, 189-197.
[344] *IG* IV^2, 511, possibly 140-130 AD *cf.* Kolbe *IG* V1, 131.

suggest a new or reintroduced cult of the Dioskouroi. No building has been associated with them until recently. The rectangular structure **(Fig.29)** attached to the north side of the so-called Roman House, lying just outside the actual Asklepieion, was previously thought to be a Roman temple to the Egyptian Asklepios and Apollo mentioned by Pausanias, but is now suggested to be the Anakeion mentioned in the fourth-century BC inscription.[345] The foundations remain of a portico with four Doric columns, fronting a walled court. The portico faces west, looking towards the tholos and the temple of Asklepios. The building has been able to be dated to the mid fourth century BC, thus of the same date as the inscription, not only from its architectural style and use of particular clamps, but also potentially from some sketchy building accounts.[346] The identification of the building[347] as the Anakeion, however, remains circumstantial, as also its link with the later evidence for cult of the Dioskouroi here.

[345] A. Burford, *The Greek temple builders at Epidauros* (Liverpool 1969), hereafter Burford *Temple builders*, 63.
[346] Burford *Temple builders* 63, 82.
[347] G. Roux, *L'architecture de l'Argolide aux IV^e et III^e siècles* (Paris 1961) 252, 276-279 and Fig.79.

3.2 Sparta.

"Alma città laconica spartana, ...

Dove è 'l tuo bon Lycurgo, dove Dioscori,

diri gemelli, Castore e Polluce?" [348]

Where indeed are the Dioskouroi to be found at Sparta? From the literary texts, it is clear that Kastor and Polydeukes were linked in Greek-speaking antiquity with Sparta and Lakonia from Homeric times, yet the material evidence that has survived would hardly suggest this. This study seeks to explore what we might expect to see from the texts, what has survived and what may be deduced from the material record, looking particularly for what can be learned about the period before the establishment of political Roman influence.

3.2.1 The literary evidence for cult

From the literature, Sparta seems the natural home for cults of the Dioskouroi in mainland Greece. The Homeric stories emphasise the burial of both brothers, Kastor and Polydeukes, under the 'life-giving' ground [349] in Lakedaimon, from where in later fifth-century BC myth they emerge on alternate days to take their place as Olympian deities, sons of Zeus.[350] A fragment of poetry attributed to Alkman seems to suggest

[348] Cyriaco d'Ancona, *Later Travels*, E.W. Bodnar (ed.) (Cambridge, Mass. 2003) I Tatti Renaissance Library, 332.
[349] Hom. *Il*. 3.235-244; *Od.* 11.300-304. Kirk *Iliad I,* 300 argues that 'life-giving' *Φυσιζοος αια*, Hom. *Il.* 3.243, in this context is a deliberate and meaningful choice in association with the brothers, as it is also in *Od*.11.301; Milman-Parry prefers that it is a standard Homeric epithet and has no particular significance in relation to the Dioskouroi. Heubeck *Odyssey*, 2 remarks the addition of '*ζωοὺς*' in *Od.* 11.301 and translates it as as 'bringing forth grain' rather than 'life-giving'.
[350] Pind. *Nem.*10, 49-91.

that Kastor and Polydeukes are to be held in reverence by both gods and men.[351] Some kind of cult practice to acknowledge this might therefore not unreasonably be inferred.

Another fragment from Alkman provides the earliest known reference to ritual associated with the brothers. This relates to their Homeric underground dwelling-place, now identified as Therapne,[352] where they are said to be honoured with Menelaos. They may also possibly be linked in some way with the Leukippides at the Phoibaion,[353] also in the Therapne area.[354] Polydeukes' name appears along with some of the Hippokoöntidai,[355] local heroes and models for young Spartan warriors in Alkman's *Partheneion,*[356] but this was apparently in a mythical narrative: he is not the honorand of the poem. All that can be inferred safely from the literary texts is that the brothers were venerated possibly as demi-gods, that Therapne was the location for this and that Menelaos and possibly Helen were also involved as the recipients of these rites. There is little substantive that can be gleaned about what sort of rituals may have taken place, or the role played in them by a specific veneration for Kastor and Polydeukes.

There is one Spartan rite, however, about which there is specific information in the literature, supplied by Herodotos and Xenophon. The Dioskouroi emerge as both talismans for the dual Spartan kingship and arbiters for the final decision about whether to wage war beyond the Spartan boundaries which was the prerogative of the

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[351] *POxy.* 2389 fr.3(a), *GLP* 2 *s.v.* Alcman (2), 376-7.
[352] *POxy.* 2389 fr.1,, *GLP s.v.* Alcman (7), 396-7.
[353] *POxy.* 2390 fr.1(a), *GLP* 2 *s.v.* Alcman (5), 388-9.
[354] For the topography, see discussions below.
[355] The association of the Dioskouroi with the Hippokoöntidai appears in Ovid's account of the Kalydonian boar hunt, (Ovid *Met.* 8, 300 and 314) a story which was illustrated in Greece in vase-painting by the sixth century BC, as discussed in Chapter 2.4.
[356] *PLouvr.* E 3320, *GLP* 2 *s.v.* Alcman (1), 360-9.

kings to decide. We are told the Spartan kings took images of the Tyndaridai with them[357] as they left Sparta on a military mission, and offered a libation[358] before the final decision to leave Spartan territory. According to Herodotos, this practice was altered in 506 BC[359] so that both kings did not leave Sparta at the same time and similarly one of the Tyndaridai stayed behind too. This relationship of the legendary brothers with the dual kingship is hard to find from earlier sources than Herodotos and Xenophon,[360] but recently has been strengthened by the publication of an early fifth-century BC poetic fragment[361] attributed to Simonides, wherein the 'horse-taming sons of Zeus', this time in the company of Menelaos too, accompany the general Pausanias as he leaves Sparta on the journey that led to the battle of Plateia. Whether they continue to accompany the march on its way to Corinth and eventually Eleusis is unclear.[362] The link with Menelaos may reflect the cult association between the three implied by the fragment attributed to Alkman, just discussed.[363] The close link of the kings with divinity is well documented in the ancient texts.[364] Tyrtaios talked of divinely-honoured kings[365] in whose care is the lovely city of Sparta and in another text explains that their authority derives from Zeus' gift of the Spartan state to the

[357] Hdt. 5.75.
[358] Xen. *Lac.*13.2.
[359] Hdt. 5.75 tells us that in that year, the two kings, Demaratos and Kleisthenes, fell out after a disastrous campaign, leading to this change in practice. A parallel has been drawn with the Eastern Judaic story in *Samuel* IV.7: How/Wells *Herodotus* 2, 41.
[360] P. Carlier, "La vie politique à Sparte sous le règne de Cléomène I°" *Ktema* 2 (1977) 65-84, hereafter Carlier "Vie politique".
[361] *POxy.* 2327 fr.5+6+27 col.1 + 3965 fr.1=2, restored by West *Iambi² s.v.* Simonides (11), 30-40. See n.134.
[362] Rutherford "Simonides commentary" 35-40.
[363] *POxy.* 2389 fr.1; *GLP* 2 *s.v.* Alcman (7) 396-7.
[364] For example, *POxy.* 2824, ed. Turner; West *Iambi²* *s.v.* Tyrtaeus (2). On the Spartan king lists set down in Herodotos and Pausanias, and their relative authenticity: P. Cartledge *Sparta and Lakonia, a regional history 1300-362 BC* (London 1979, revised edition 2002), hereafter Cartledge *Sparta and Lakonia*[2], 293-298. M. Sahlins, "Twin-born with greatness. The dual kingship of Sparta" *Journal of ethnographic theory* 1/1 (2011) 63-101, explores the wider implications of dual kingship but also its operation and relationship with the Dioskouroi at Sparta; with thanks to Professor Paul Cartledge for this reference. Malkin *Myth and territory* 14-45.
[365] In a text compiled from quotes in Plut. *Lyc.* 6 and Diod. Sic. 7.12.6: West *Iambi² s.v.* Tyrtaeus (4), 3-4.

descendants of Herakles.[366] Herodotos says that the Spartan kings held the priesthood of Zeus in two incarnations, *Διός τε Λακεδαίμονος* and *Διὸς οὐρανίου*.[367] Aristotle uses the Spartan model to exemplify one of his four models of kingship, the only one that involved religious as well as military responsibilities.[368] Xenophon describes the kings' powers and prescribed rituals passed down by Lykourgos.[369] The kings were required, before leaving the city on a military campaign, to perform a major sacrifice to Zeus and '*τοῖς συν αὐτῷ*,' the gods associated with him, interpreted putatively as his sons, the Dioskouroi.[370] Herodotos and Xenophon both suggest that the brothers were invoked in preparation for battle, either through the presence of their cult image, or more conventionally through preparatory libations for Zeus and his associates which it seems were the province of the king to perform. If performing the preparatory libations on departure, however, was indeed part of the royal role, the assumption of similar responsibilities would arguably enhance the status of any other person or family that performed them. This might have contributed to the known interest of the family of Eurykles in the first century BC[371] to attest publicly through records inscribed in stone to their claims to be descended from the Dioskouroi and their hereditary claims to their priesthood. The little evidence we have suggests an élite rather than more widespread practice in Sparta.

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[366] *POxy* 2824 ed. Turner, West *Iambi² s.v.* Tyrtaeus (2), 12-15.
[367] Hdt. 6.56.1; 6.56-7 adds further priestly attributes and actions associated with the Spartan kings.
[368] Arist. *Pol.* 3.9.5 -10.
[369] Xen. *Lac.*13. 2-5. N. Richer, "The religious system at Sparta" in D. Ogden (ed.), *A companion to Greek religion* (Malden MA 2007), 236-52.
[370] Xen. *Lac.*13.2; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.11.2, asserts the Dioskouroi as legendary ancestors of the Spartan kings.
[371] *IG* V 1, 971, *c.*20 BC around the time Augustus visited Sparta, from Asopos in south-east Lakonia, in which claims descendency from the Dioskouroi: A.J.B. Wace and J. Hasluck "Laconia: II. Topography" *ABSA* 14 (1908) 158-176,164; Cartledge/Spawforth *Sparta*[2] 98-9., 164 and 195.

Athenian fifth-century BC drama would suggest that the Dioskouroi are well understood as the characteristic deities of the city of Sparta.[372] Later literary evidence also points to the Dioskouroi as the 'patron deities' of Sparta. Himerios,[373] a rhetorician writing an account of Alkman in the fourth century AD, suggests that the poet on his way to the temple of Zeus Lykaios in Arcadia[374] with suitably commissioned songs, could not pass Sparta without "greeting both the city itself and the Dioskouroi". It is difficult to know whether this is an account which accurately reflects earlier custom or a much later archaised view. But it is likely to have been based on an earlier text, possibly a poem attributed to Alkman himself.[375] It may also reflect a geographical distinction, that to visit the Dioskouroi - perhaps a reference to a shrine, physical building or statue - required a detour. But if the Dioskouroi were special to Sparta, it was Herakles who was claimed as its founder.[376] Nearly a quarter of surviving sixth-century BC Lakonian vases that depict mythic scenes feature him,[377] whereas those showing the Dioskouroi are hard to find: only three putative depictions have been identified.[378] When Spartan coinage emerged in the third century BC, Herakles again holds prime position, his image appearing on the obverse, the symbols of the Dioskouroi on the reverse.[379] The

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[372] Ar. *Lys.* 82, 86, 90 etc., discussed in Chapter 2. 2.
[373] Himer. *Or.* 39.2: A. Colonna, *Himerii declamationes et orationes cum deperditarum fragmentis* (Rome 1951); *GLP* 2 *s.v.* Alcman (24), 414.
[374] Activity at this sanctuary dates from the Late Minoan period, and artefacts suggest a relationship with Minoan Cretan culture. The altar to Zeus appears to have been in use from 700 BC and could feasibly have been visited by Alkman: D.G. Romano and M.E. Voyatzis, *The Mount Lykaion survey project* (Pennsylvania University); http:/lykaionexcavation.org.
[375] *GLP* 2, 268-9. Alkman's poems were already being collated and studied from 300 BC, one such study by the Spartan Sosibius running to three books. It is likely from the testimonia that Himerios had access to a richer supply of Alkman's poetry than has survived today: Dickey *Scholarship* 43.
[376] Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.6.
[377] Pipili *Laconian iconography* 83.
[378] *Ibid.,* 57 and Cat. nos. 69 and 150: two cups, one illustrating the Kalydonian Boar Hunt (Paris, Musée du Louvre E 670 attributed to the Hunt Painter) the other found at Cerveteri, executed in the manner of the Naukratis Painter, C.M. Stibbe *PDI Rome* 3 (1976) 7-10, Pl. 1.1. A third cup, attributed to the Naukratis Painter himself, may depict the Dioskouroi and a theoxenia: for references, see n. 32.
[379] S. Grunauer-Von Hoerschelmann, *Die Münzprägung der Lakedaimonier* (Berlin 1978), hereafter Grunauer *Lakedaimonier,* 1-34.

closing scene of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*[380] may well correctly express the Spartan hierarchy of deities, albeit as understood in fifth-century Athens: the list of gods to whom a hymn of thanks is to be sung starts with Apollo at Amyklai, then Athena *Χαλκίοικος* and finally the Tyndaridai who 'sport' beside the Eurotas. This may be a reference to their general association with Therapne, or perhaps more specifically with the dromos,[381] but it may also imply they had no specific or enclosed cult place. A similar phrase[382] is attributed to Theognis.

3.2.2 Pausanias at Sparta:

In and around the agora and the akropolis

By far the largest number of Dioskouroi shrines in any one locality recorded by Pausanias lay in or around Sparta.[383] Even in his account, however, they do not predominate among the plethora of sanctuaries and monuments that apparently jostled each other in the agora, on or approaching the Akropolis and along the length of that part of the Aphetaid road[384] that ran between them. **(Fig.29)** Nor does other topographical evidence suggest that they were among the main deities of Sparta in the fifth century BC.[385] Pausanias conjures a town[386] with an agora filled with statues of gods, ancestral figures and, most strikingly, a monument allegedly built with the spoils of the Persian War called the Persian Colonnade[387] also mentioned by Vitruvius,[388]

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[380] Ar. *Lys.* 1296 - 1301.
[381] A.H. Sommerstein, *Lysistrata, a commentary* (Warminster 1990), hereafter Sommerstein *Lys.*, on line 1301; see also n. 426.
[382] Theog. *Elegies* 1087-8.
[383] Pausanias 3.10.6 - 3.22.8 covers his tour of Sparta and Southern Lakonia.
[384] Paus. 3.12.1; H.C. Kourinou, *ΣΠΑΡΤΗ A contribution to its monumental topography* (Athens 2000), hereafter Kourinou *Sparta*, 280.
[385] Parker "Spartan religion", 151 n.44 suggests what such a list might look like, drawing on the epigraphical evidence.
[386] Paus. 3.11.2-11.
[387] Kourinou *Sparta* 280-1. Current evidence suggests the Persian stoa lies alongside the North Western side of the agora, which lay between the two most important of the four demes whose amalgamation into Sparta had been completed in the eighth century BC.

which incorporated statues of the defeated Persians supporting its roof including the queen Artemisia of Halikarnassos.[389] Both legendary and real Spartan generals were also represented there, such as Agias, grandson of the celebrated Teisamenos of Elis,[390] alongside statues of the emperor Augustus, Pythian Apollo, Artemis and their mother Leto, and Hermes holding the baby Dionysos.[391] There was also a sanctuary of the Fates, with the grave of Agamemnon's son Orestes beside it, the bones having been brought from Tegea.[392] Other statues were of more recent subjects, including one of Julius Caesar, the whole suggesting a series of visual records of major victories in Spartan history, the men who achieved them and the gods whose specific help, or at least not hindrance, may have been needed. The Dioskouroi do not feature, however, in this part of Pausanias' narrative, perhaps reflecting their ambivalent nature - no longer local heroes, but perhaps not authentic Olympian deities either.

From Pausanias' account, monuments to the gods seemed to be more in evidence on and around the Akropolis, lying to the north east of the Agora, while the road between appears to have been bordered with a medley of heroic figures. He made similar observations of the monumental sites of Athens, where Theseus has a strong presence but does not predominate among the forest of shrines and statuary competing for attention on and around its Akropolis.[393] Like Theseus, the Dioskouroi emerge from

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[388] Vitr. *De arch.*1.1.6.
[389] Hdt. 7.99 and 8.87.
[390] Following a Delphic prediction of several victories, Teisamenos had been persuaded to fight for Sparta, thus securing for them the victories they needed: Paus. 3.11.5-8.
[391] Paus. 3.11.9.
[392] Hdt. 1.67 recounts how the Pythian oracle at Delphi had declared the Spartans must bring back Orestes' bones from Tegea, if they were to be victorious in battle.
[393] Theseus is represented alongside both Zeus and Hadrian near the Kerameikos gate; elsewhere, near Evagoras king of Salamis who had helped defeat the Spartan fleet at Knidos in 394 BC; elsewhere again, with Herakles, Apollo, Pindar and a certain Kalades: Paus. 1.3.1-3 and 1.8.4. However, these may not have been their original positions; there is some evidence for later deliberate grouping of statues, by family or an appropriate deity. C.M. Keesling, *The votive statues of the Athenian Acropolis* (Cambridge 2003), hereafter Keesling *Votive statues*, 14-16.

Pausanias' account as local legendary heroes with some divine pretensions but not predominant among the profusion of local sanctuaries, shrines and statues, where the major Olympian deities, Athena and Poseidon[394], Artemis and Apollo have the largest number and apparently the grandest sanctuaries and temples, with a wide variety of functions.[395] Athena Chalkioikos has the commanding temple on the Akropolis,[396] presumably designed to be seen from afar across the Eurotas plain (although, as Pausanias noted, it is not notably prominent) and also, with Poseidon and Apollo, has a major sanctuary in the agora for more everyday use.[397]

Nonetheless, the Tyndaridai or Dioskouroi (used interchangeably) do keep cropping up in Pausanias' Spartan record, often in an attendant role. Near to the Akropolis, at the start of the Aphetaid road, they may have shared an altar[398] with Zeus and Athena, here all denoted 'Councillor', a function which might relate to the mercantile activities in the area and would imply a later cult.[399] The Dioskouroi also feature, in a literally supporting role, on the two major monuments of the city, the bronze statue of Athena Chalkioikos on the Akropolis and the throne of Apollo at Amyklai. On the base of the statue to Athena[400] they, along with Herakles, were said to be represented in a number of (unspecified) scenes demonstrating their achievements, including the capture of the Leukippides. The choice of subject would bear out the pattern on major cult statues elsewhere, for example Poseidon at Isthmia, Artemis at Rhamnous, where the Dioskouroi may feature also as a

[394] J. Mylonopoulos, *Heiligtümer und Kulte des Poseidon auf der Peloponnes* (Liège 2003), hereafter Mylonopoulos *Poseidon*, catalogues shrines and sanctuaries dedicated to Poseidon in and around Sparta.
[395] Zeus, Athena, Poseidon and Apollo all had sanctuaries in the agora: Paus. 3.11.9-10.
[396] Paus. 3.17.2; the site was excavated in the very early 1900s by the British School at Athens: G. Dickins, "Laconia I. Excavations at Sparta 1907" *ABSA* 13 (1906-7) 137-54, hereafter Dickins " Sparta excavations 1907"; Kourinou *Sparta* 98, 280.
[397] Here, she was simply *'Αγοραία*, as was Zeus in this location.
[398] Paus. 3.13.6 '*πρὸς τούτω Διὸς 'Αμβουλίου καὶ 'Αθην**ᾶς** ἐστιν 'Αμβουλίας βωμὸς καὶ Διοσκούρων καὶ τούτων 'Αμβουλίων'* refers to only one altar, that of Athena, which in the context seems to imply was shared with Zeus, and possibly with the Dioskouroi too.
[399] Musti/Torelli *Laconia* 208.
[400] Paus. 3.17.2-3.

symbol of the possibility of the bridge between heroic mortals and the divine, and sharing their position with others who enjoyed miraculous births.[401] The Leukippides incident could also be seen as a symbol for the Spartans' subjugation of Messenia. Pausanias attributes the building of the temple of Athena Chalkioikos to Gitidias,[402] pointing to a late sixth -century BC date. If the statue he described was the one that the temple could plausibly have been built to house, it could also share a sixth-century BC date, roughly contemporary with the base of Apollo's throne[403] at nearby Amyklai, which also reportedly featured scenes of the Dioskouroi and Herakles.[404] The importance of the brothers in Sparta's public architecture can be dated to at least the sixth century BC, contemporary with the earliest preserved votive stelai[405] from Sparta associated with them.

On the outskirts of Sparta

While the Dioskouroi featured in supporting roles on some of the main religious landmarks of the city centre, more often they are recorded in locations on the outskirts of the city, **(Figs.30,31)** or beyond, which might suggest their role as 'local' deities or heroes: temples and sanctuaries in central city locations tended to be reserved for the Homeric Olympian gods.[406]

Pausanias mentions five such places dedicated to the Dioskouroi. The first, **Kastor's tomb**, on the road leading from the agora, also had a sanctuary over it.[407] This was

[401] A. Kosmopoulou, *The iconography of sculptured statue bases in the archaic and classical periods* (Madison 2002), hereafter Kosmopoulou *Statue bases*, 137.
[402] Dickins "Sparta excavations 1907"; Pollitt *Sources*, 26, 241.
[403] *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi, no.3.
[404] Paus. 3.18.10-16.
[405] SM 5380, 575, 27, discussed later in this Chapter.
[406] S. Price, *Religions of the Ancient Greeks* (Cambridge 1999) 51-53 surveys the evidence.
[407] Paus. 3.13.1

within what was to become the walled town[408] near another heroic tomb, that of Kynortas son of Amyklas. Polydeukes presumably did not have a tomb because he was immortal. However, this is by no means clear either from the early legendary accounts, where both brothers are said to be 'under the ground'[409] at nearby Therapne, or from Pausanias' commentary which suggests that by this time they were both accepted as gods.[410] At Argos too, Kastor had a tomb while Polydeukes did not.[411]

On the road running south from Sparta to Therapne, Pausanias reports a **sanctuary of Polydeukes**, on the right hand, west, side, but no tomb.[412] Modern travellers attempting to follow his trail have noted a low hill known as Polyxene, not far from modern Chrysapha,[413] as a possible site. Here there is a fresh spring, as mentioned in Pausanias' account. At Argos too, Pausanias reported[414] a sanctuary of the Dioskouroi placed near a spring, and there is some evidence that the brothers were sometimes seen as guardians of water sources.[415] No substantive evidence has yet been found, however, to support the siting of the sanctuary on the Polyxene hill.

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[408] Sparta had no city walls until the third century BC and they may not have been completed until the first century BC: Kourinou *Sparta* 286.
[409] Hom. *Il.* 3.244.
[410] Paus. 3.13.1.
[411] Plut. *Mor. Quaest. Graec.* (21) 23.
[412] Paus. 3.20.1.
[413] J.J.E. Hondius and M.A. Hondius-van Haeften, "Laconia II. Notes on topography" *ABSA* 24 (1919-20 and 1920-21)144-5.
[414] Paus. 2.36.6, discussed in Chapter 3.4.1.
[415] P. de la Coste Messelière, *Au musée de Delphes* (Paris 1936) 182 and Fig. XII cites an Athenian black-figure hydria from Vulci *c.*550-500 BC, attributed to the ?Priam Painter, BM B329, Beazley Archive 301814**,** where two riders he identifies as the Dioskouroi are poised over the water sources of a fountain house; G.N.Szeliga " The composition of the Argo metopes from the monopteros at Delphi" *AJA* 90 (1986) 295-305, hereafter Szeliga, "Argo metopes", 301. Also from Etruria, a late fifth-century BC cornelian scarab depicts Kastor by a fountain: Paris, Cabinet de Médailles 267, Krauskopf *Etruskischen Skarabäen* 114, no.763, *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi/Tinas Cliniar 94, with further references. An early first-century BC coin minted at Rome depicts Apollo on the reverse and, on the obverse, the Dioskouroi watering their horses at the fountain of Juturna after their legendary intervention in the battle of Regillus: Denarius *c.*96 BC, Crawford *Roman Republican* 1, no.335/10a.

Further to the south east, along the Aphetaid road, Pausanias locates a third, and possibly the most important, space dedicated to the Dioskouroi in Sparta, which he designates as a *ναός*, a **temple** (as opposed to the more usual *ἱερόν*) **inside the temenos of the sanctuary called the Phoibaion**.[416] The lack of any mention of a building in those fragmentary texts from Alkman,[417] discussed earlier, that allude to the Dioskouroi and Therapne, could suggest this building was more recent. It is near here that Pausanias said the Spartan youth trained and undertook certain rituals, perhaps associated with military initiation not unfitting to be associated with the Dioskouroi, in some ways the military champions and paradigms for the Spartan army's royal leaders.[418] However, the sources for details of these rituals are almost entirely Roman so that it is difficult to know how far their traditional practice was exaggerated or newly reinvented, as it seems were the flagellation rituals for Artemis Orthia.[419]

Not far away must have been the **dromos** or running course for young men. [420] Pausanias mentions the Dioskouroi in a number of places nearby, suggesting a function in keeping wth the role Pindar allocates to them as patrons of the Olympian games.[421] Just outside the dromos area, he records a shrine of the Dioskouroi shared with the Kharites[422] two of whom also feature with the Dioskouroi on the base of the throne at Amyklai.[423] Near to the course was a **trophy set up to mark Polydeukes' victory over**

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[416] Hdt. 6. 61.3; Livy 34.38.5; Paus. 3.14.9-10, 20.2; Kourinou *Sparta* 283.
[417] *P Oxy*., 2389 fr.1, *GLP* 2 *s.v.* Alcman (7), 397.
[418] Carlier "Vie politique" 84 concludes that the Spartans had come to see the Dioskouroi as symbols of the hereditary dual kingship on which their city depended.
[419] Parker "Spartan religion" 148 and n.33.
[420] Paus. 3.14.6; Musti/Torelli *Laconia* 211-12.
[421] Pind. *Ol.* 3.35-8; *Nem.*10.50-4 calls them patrons of the games, along with Herakles and Hermes.
[422] The Kharites are mentioned by Hesiod 907-11: M.L. West, *Hesiod. Theogony* (Oxford 1966) 408. Pindar links them specifically with the Dioskouroi as instrumental in the success of an Argive athlete, Theiaos, *Nem.*10, 37-8. Their most famous cult was at Orchomenos, Paus. 9.38.1, but they were also worshipped at Athens, Sparta, Paros, Thasos and in Elis, as the Dioskouroi were to be too.
[423] Paus. 3.18.9. Two rather than three Kharites are often found in Lakonian cult: E.Harrison, *LIMC* 3, 1 *s.v.* Charites, 193-203, 202.

Lynkeus.[424] At the beginning of the course itself, Pausanias reports that the Dioskouroi *Ἀφετήριοι,* starters[425] were to be found: he does not say whether these were statues or a shrine, but it would be not be unreasonable to posit an altar, giving them a similar presence to that at Olympia,[426] discussed earlier. Aristophanes says that the brothers *ψιάδδοντι* by the Eurotas, which could suggest 'sporting'[427] and be an oblique reference to their association with the dromos[428] as much as their acknowledged cult association with the Phoibaion in this area. Despite the strength of the literary accounts, excavations to date have failed to identify the position of the dromos.[429]

Both Xenophon[430] and Pausanias concur that there was **a shrine dedicated to the Dioskouroi**, described as being nearby or possibly inside the temenos of the sanctuary of Poseidon *Γαιαόχος*, earth-holder, in turn said to be near the Phoibaion and on the other (west) side of the Eurotas from Amyklai, as the road goes south to Gythion and thus not far from or even within the sacred area of Therapne. This shrine features as a shelter in Xenophon's account of the long Spartan struggle with the Messenians in the fourth century BC[431] when a group of young Spartan hoplites were able to hide there in preparation for an ambush, and may be older.[432] There is some later epigraphic evidence[433] for an association with the temple of Poseidon *Ἀσφάλιος* in the agora,[434]

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[424] Paus. 3.14.7.
[425] *Ibid.*
[426] Paus. 5.15.5.
[427] Ar. *Lys* 1301. *LSJ* 2023 cites this instance of the word as unique before reference in Hesychius' fifth-century AD lexicon and suggests it may be an abbreviation from *ἐψιάομα.*
[428] Sommerstein *Lys.* 223.
[429] Kourinou *Sparta* 145.
[430] Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.30-1; Paus. 3. 20.2.
[431] Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.27-32.
[432] *IG* V 1, 213 records several victories of a certain Damonon in his own four-horse chariot at the ground of the 'earth-holder'; possibly dated before 431 BC.
[433] *IG*V 1, 559, an extensive commemorative inscription on a headless herm found in a field near the Amyklaion dated to the second/third century AD, now in the Sparta Museum, SM544, mentions Herakles, the Dioskouroi and the Spartan temples of Poseidon Asphalios and Athena Chalkioikos: Mylanopoulos *Poseidon* 219.

where the Dioskouroi too were seen as protectors. Elsewhere in the Peloponnese, they featured on the base of Poseidon's cult statue at Isthmia.[435] This is possibly a natural connection given their shared horse-taming [436] and seafaring roles; [437] and while Poseidon is frequently the cause of storms, the Dioskouroi are in a sense the antidote. More generally, however, the evidence does not suggest a frequent association and they are rarely depicted together in vase-painting,[438]

Further afield, on the road to the ancient Spartan port at Gytheion, Pausanias mentions [439] ancient **bronze statues of the Dioskouroi** at the porphyry quarries at **Krokeai**. The ancient statues have not been found, but a dedicated Roman relief[440] found nearby, built in to the village fountain of the modern village, may suggest a revived cult there.

3.2.3 The archaeological evidence for sacred space at Sparta

The literary texts clearly associate the Dioskouroi with Therapne, the Phoibaion and the dromos. Yet material evidence for cult of the brothers from excavated sites is scant. What there is, is explored below.

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[434] Paus. 3.11.9-10; Mylonopoulos *Poseidon* 219.
[435] Paus. 2.9.6.
[436] Poseidon was credited with being the first deity to introduce the art of horsemanship: Diod. Sic. 5.69.4. For depictions of Poseidon in this role, see *LIMC* 7 *s.v.* Poseidon nos.164 -169.
[437] One of the Homeric Hymns invokes Poseidon as 'earth-shaker', as at one of his temples in Sparta, but also indicates his primary gifts to be 'horse-tamer' and saviour of ships: *Homeric Hymns* 22.
[438] E.Simon, *LIMC* 7,1, *s.v.* Poseidon 446-479, 477-479. Notable exceptions include an Athenian red-figure krater *c.*425-375 BC from Olynthos: D.M. Robinson, *Olynthos* 5 (Baltimore 1933),107 no.130, Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum 272, Beazley Archive 3905; and another, similarly dated, the name vase of the Talos Painter from Southern Italy: Ruvo, Museo di Jatta 36933=1501, Beazley Archive 217518.
[439] Paus. 3.21.4.
[440] Noted by Ludwig Ross in the 1830s: *IG* V 1, 1569; *SEG* 31, 336; E.S. Forster, "South Western Laconia. Inscriptions" *ABSA* 10 (1903/4)179-188 , hereafter Forster "Laconia Inscriptions", 187-8; *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi no. 63; B. Poulsen (with J. Carlsen), "A relief from Croceae: Dioscouri in Roman Laconia" in T. Fischer- Hansen (ed.), *Recent Danish research in Classical Archaeology: tradition and renewal. Acta Hyperborea* 3 (Copenhagen 1991) 235-248, hereafter Poulsen "Croceae relief." The relief is dated by its inscription to the reign of Domitian.

Therapne

In the Homeric tradition, the Dioskouroi were buried in Lakedaimon, if that is the meaning of *'....τοὺς δ' ἤδη κάτεχεν φυσίζοος αἶα||ἐν Λακεδαίμονι αὖθι φίλῃ ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ'*.[441] In the literature, from the time of Alkman,[442] their specific burial place is identified with Therapne, also a potential location for cult given the funerary associations of much of the brothers' surviving Lakonian iconography.

Therapne has been demonstrated to embrace the location of the Menelaion, **(Fig.31)** a site utilised since the Bronze Age[443] and thus likely known both to those who composed and recited the Homeric stories and those who heard them, given the habit of trade around the Mediterranean already in evidence from around 900BC[444] and possibly earlier. From the literature and recent topographical research,[445] it seems Therapne encompassed a wide area stretching about five miles from the south east of what was to become the Spartan city wall to Amyklai, which also enfolded the Phoibaion and the spring and sanctuary dedicated to Polydeukes mentioned by Pausanias.[446] The area around Therapne in effect embraced many of the locations most closely associated with the Dioskouroi in the literature: the Phoibaion, the Polydeukan sanctuary and, at the area's southernmost tip, the Amyklaion. It was also not far from here, to the west, that there was, at least by Xenophon's time, a space dedicated to the Dioskouroi near the temple of Poseidon Gaiochos[447] and the dromos. It is here too that the Eurotas winds its

[441] Hom. *Il.* 3.243. See n.347.
[442] *P Oxy.*, 2389 fr.1, *GLP* 2 *s.v.* Alcman (7), and associated scholia, 397.
[443] Some signs of activity between the fifteenth and the thirteenth centuries BC have been detected at the site, but not so far at the Archaic sanctuary. H.W. Catling and H. Hughes-Brock, *Sparta. Menelaion I. The Bronze Age* (London 2009), hereafter Catling *Menelaion I*, 21.
[444] See n.80.
[445] Kourinou *Sparta.*
[446] Paus. 3.20.1.
[447] References at n. 429.

way southward to Gythion running through the plain below a string of hilltop sites[448] and where it seems Theognis[449] and Aristophanes[450] pictured the Dioskouroi disporting themselves. Its junction with the Magoula river also lies within the Therapne area.

At the village of Magoula to the west of Sparta several seventh century BC reliefs have been found, including one said to depict the Dioskouroi,[451] and one of an ephebe Thiokles[452] probably dated to the second half of the sixth century BC which may too be dedicated to the Dioskouroi.[453] From Magoula also may come a relief depicting fighting cocks, a symbol of sparring.[454] These images could be associated with sporting and military achievement. At Magoula too there is archaeological evidence of a gymnasion, some parts of which may date back to the third century BC.[455]

The Menelaion

Early excavations by Ludwig Ross in 1833,[456] three kilometres to the south east of the centre of modern Sparta on a high plateau **(Fig.32)** above the east bank of the Eurotas and opposite the Psychiko area to its west, identified the site with a shrine to Menelaos and Helen mentioned in the literary sources.[457] Further excavations led by the British School in the early 1900s, confirmed that this site had been in use since the Bronze

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[448] This pattern of sanctuaries placed at regular intervals along the river, all built at roughly the same time and with similar cult functions, is also found at Metaponto in the early sixth century BC: J.C. Carter, "Sanctuaries in the *chora* of Metaponto" in S. Alcock and R. Osborne (eds.), *Placing the gods* (Oxford 1994) 161-198, 176-7 and 180-1.
[449] Theog. *Elegies* 1087-8.
[450] Ar. *Lys.* 1300-1. See also discussion of the dromos below.
[451] SM 5380.
[452] Berlin, Antikensammlung Staatliche Museen A13, 752; Tod/Wace 104 Fig.4.
[453] N. Lanérès, "L'éphèbe au serpent de Magoula: propositions pour la relecture d'une inscription archaïque laconienne" *REG* 121 (2008) 1-15.
[454] P. Bruneau, "Le motif des coqs affrontés dans l'imagerie antique" *BCH* 89/1(1965) 90-121, hereafter Bruneau "Coqs affrontés", 105, no.55, Fig. 15.
[455] Mosaic floor, now in the Sparta Museum, uncovered here has a central panel depicting Triton dated to 300 BC: G. Steinhauer, *The Museum of Sparta* (Athens 1976), hereafter Steinhauer *Sparta Museum*.
[456] L. Ross, *Archäologische Aufsätze* (Leipzig 1855, 61) 2, 341; J.P. Droop, M.S. Thompson, A.J.B. Wace, "Laconia. Excavations at Sparta 1909. The Menelaion" *ABSA* 15 (1908-9) 108-157, hereafter Droop *et al* "Menelaion", 108-116.
[457] Hdt. 6.61; Isoc. 10.63; *GLP* 3 *s.v.* Alcman (14).

Age,[458] continuously so from Geometric to Hellenistic times.[459] The site's identification was dramatically confirmed by the finding of a fifth-century BC stele dedication to Menelaos,[460] giving epigraphic substance to Ross' hypothesis. More recently, the architectural remains of the naiskos[461] on the knoll of the hill have been dated to the seventh century BC. A bronze pyriform aryballos, **(Figs.33a,b)** also dated to the seventh century BC, with a dedication to Helen and Menalaos scratched on the lip,[462] has been found at the sanctuary. It is thought to have been made in Corinth, pointing to relations between it and Sparta at this period. The earliest named depiction of the Dioskouroi on a vase also comes from a Corinthian fragment from Perachora,[463] similarly in contact with its Corinthian neighbour across the gulf.[464] Some signs of a connection with the Dioskouroi at the Menelaion might not be unexpected in view of the links made in poetry from the seventh and sixth centuries BC between the Dioskouroi and Menelaos, and the possibility of a shared ritual as implied by one[465] of the fragments attributed to Alkman. While no substantive evidence has yet emerged, some tenuous connections are explored below.

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[458] H.W. Catling, "Excavations at the Menelaion Sparta 1973-6" *AR* 23 (1976-7) 24-42, 24.
[459] Droop *et al* "Menelaion". A date of the fifth century BC was suggested for the standing monumental altar. but this has recently been re-dated to the seventh century BC.
[460] H.W. Catling, "Excavations at the Menelaion 1976-7" *Lakōnikai spoudai* 3 (Athens 1977) 408-416, 415 and Fig.16; *SEG* 26, 459, *c*.500 BC.
[461] *AR* 52 (2005-6) 37.
[462] *Menelaion* I 36 figs 25-6; N. Kaltsas, *Athens-Sparta* (Athens 2006), 177 no.80 (E. Zavvou), SM 14742; *SEG* 26, 459.
[463] Sixth-century BC kotyle fragment, see n. 242.
[464] R.A. Tomlinson, "Perachora" in A. Schachter (ed.), *Le sanctuaire grec* (Geneva 1992) 321-351, hereafter Tomlinson "Perachora", 322-3 argues from the preponderance of Corinthian pottery material and lettering surviving from the seventh and eighth centuries BC that the shrine was mainly used by local worshippers.
[465] *POxy.* 2389 fr.1; *GLP* 2 *s.v.* Alcman (7) 396-7.

The Dioskouroi, the Menelaion and the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia

There is some evidence of cult offerings associated with the Dioskouroi at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia,[466] which lies to the south west of the agora and akropolis and nearer the outskirts of the ancient city. Among the votives that have been found, there are some small lead plaques[467] **(Fig.34)** dated to around 700 BC from the accompanying pottery finds, that show an amphora set in a frame which appears similar[468] to those depicted on the Dioskouroi reliefs in the Sparta Museum and elsewhere. Similar plaques[469] have also been found at the Menelaion. A fragment of a relief[470] from Orthia with two heads facing front, a snake rearing its head over the left one, perhaps represents the Dioskouroi. Other finds from the temple of Artemis Orthia suggest links with the sanctuary at Perachora [471] (where the earliest known vase fragment depicting the Dioskouroi was found) and the Heraion on Samos, and with the eastern Mediterranean. Some ivory plaques and artefacts dated to around 700BC, including some depicting seated double figures,[472] suggest a connection with Assyria. Similar votive objects have been found at the Menelaion.[473] The presence of these objects in two of Sparta's major sanctuaries reinforces the plausibility of an eastern connection for other archaic artefacts, including the early fifth-century BC[474] relief images of the Spartan Dioskouroi and their contemporary stone 'hero' reliefs.[475]

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[466] Dawkins *Orthia*, 271.
[467] *Ibid.* 271, pl CXCIV no.41. About 2-3 inches high.
[468] SM 7, 27, 291, 356, 575, 613 and 844; also Verona, Museo Lapidario 555, Tod/Wace 113 Fig.14.
[469] A.J.B. Wace, "Laconia. Sparta. The lead figurines" *ABSA* 15 (1908-9)127-141, Figs.7 and 11.
[470] Part of an unpublished white marble relief fragment, no known recorded find-place: A.M. Woodward, "Inscriptions" in Dawkins *Orthia* 365.
[471] M. Pipili, "Archaic Laconian vase-painting: some iconographic considerations" in *Sparta in Laconia* 82-96, 85; Tomlinson "Perachora" 323. An analysis by J. Kilian-Dirlmeyer of the seventh- and eighth-century BC bronzes found 80% were of eastern origin, of which 74% were Phoenician and only 6% from Greek Ionia.
[472] Dawkins *Orthia* 207, Pl. XCIV.
[473] Dawkins *Orthia* 221.
[474] The earliest relief, is dated *c.*600 BC.
[475] E. Guralnik, "The Chrysapha relief and its connections with Egyptian art" *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 60 (1974) 175-188, hereafter Guralnik, "Chrysapha relief", 176-7.

The Phoibaion

The Phoibaion is the Spartan location most specifically linked in the texts to cult of the Dioskouroi. It is here that Pausanias locates the only temple (as opposed to a shrine or altar) he mentions as dedicated to the Dioskouroi at Sparta, but tells us nothing of special rites. The Phoibaion has, however, been linked through some first-century BC Roman inscriptions[476] found in the area with a dining ceremony associated with the Dioskouroi and Helen, suggesting a sanctuary there, and involving priests and civic dignitaries.[477] It is difficult to know whether this was a recently introduced practice, and whether the interest in the Dioskouroi reflected an established local or revived, possibly even imported, Roman interest. A commentary on Alkman which has earlier mentioned the Dioskouroi has been tentatively supplemented to give a reference to the 'festival of the Phoibaia'; this is very uncertain.[478] Ritual dancing and singing by a Spartan girls' chorus, like that described by Aristophanes,[479] may have been performed here in Alkman's lifetime but whether the performance was linked specifically to the Dioskouroi and the Leukippides, or with Helen, as may be suggested by Aristophanes, remains unsubstantiated. Pausanias is silent on this, dwelling instead on stories of a nearby shrine, where the Spartan youth were said to sacrifice to Enyalios before an initiatory fighting contest, [480] likely to appeal to an audience which by then was savouring the spectacle of flagellation rituals at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.[481]

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[476] *IG* V 1, 207, 206, 209**,** relate to the stelai in the Sparta Archaeological Museum, SM 201, 202, 203 in that order; Tod/Wace 33, 158-9.
[477] A.J.S. Spawforth, "Spartan cults under the Roman empire" in J.M. Sanders (ed.), *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ: studies in honour of Hector Catling* (Athens 1992), hereafter *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ*, 227-238.
[478] *POxy.* 2390 fr.1 (c), *GLP* 2 *s.v.* Alcman (5), 388-9; see n.119 and 416 and related text above; O. Bölte *RE* 20/1 (1941) *Phoibaion* 323-6, 324.
[479] Arist. *Lys.* 1296-1315. Sommerstein *Lys.* 223 suggests metre here recalls Alkman, perhaps the content too, referring to the girls' 'bobbing hair', *P.Oxy.* 2387 fr.1, 8-9, *GLP* 2 *s.v.* Alcman (3), 378-9.
[480] Paus. 3.14.10
[481] Parker "Spartan religion" 148 and n.33.

The site of the Phoibaion has not yet been firmly located[482] although it is identified by some with a monumental altar[483] discovered near to the west bank of the Eurotas river to the south-east of the city in the modern Psychiko district.[484] This area would have been on the route for the procession for the Hyakinthia to Amyklai.[485] Identification of the Psychiko area and its altar with the Phoibaion has rested on the reading of Pausanias[486] and on other earlier, and therefore possibly more reliable, accounts from Herodotos,[487] Xenophon[488] with first-hand knowledge, and Livy.[489] They all endorse the view that the Phoibaion was near Amyklai. Whether it lay on the same, west side of the Eurotas, or on the east, is less clear. Herodotos alludes to the shrine of Helen at Therapne. If he means the shrine at the Menelaion hill, to the east of the Eurotas, **(Fig.31)** that could imply that the shrine of the Phoibaion lay south of, or below, it and thus perhaps in the valley or on the lower slopes of the hills that run south from there to Amyklai and thus on the east bank of the Eurotas**.** Xenophon's account of the Arkadian and Theban armies marching south to Sparta from Sellasia, makes it clear that the sanctuary of Poseidon Gaiochos and the dromos were west of the Eurotas: the army crossed the river towards them at Amyklai. Kourinou[490] seems to suggest that any ambivalence in the literary evidence should be outweighed by the evident importance of the altar at Psychiko, and the absence of any better candidate for the location of the Phoibaion.

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[482] Cartledge/Spawforth *Sparta* [2] 218.
[483] G. Daux, "Chronique des feuilles 1962. Péloponnese: Psychiko " *BCH* 1963, 760-4, hereafter Daux "Psychiko".
[484] Kourinou *Sparta* 199-210, 283.
[485] Paus. 3.19.7.
[486] *Ibid.* 3.14. 9-10, 20.2.
[487] Hdt. 6.61.3.
[488] Xen. *Hell.* 6.27-30.
[489] Reporting Titus Quinctius' campaign against the Spartans in 195 BC, he describes plans to attack Sparta from three different sides, one from the Phoibaion: Liv. 34.38.5.
[490] Kourinou *Sparta* 199-201.

The Psychiko site has still not been fully excavated. Initially it was reported by the French traveller and scholar Buchon[491] in the nineteenth century, near where the Eurotas and Magoula rivers meet. He identified it as the tomb of the hero Agias mentioned by Pausanias.[492] The above-ground remains may have been similar to those still visible today. Since Buchon's visit, some excavation at the site[493] has revealed the foundations of a building that could well have housed ritual space. Walls follow a rectangular shape measuring 17.6 by 14.10 metres, with an entrance to the north east. Opposite the entrance is a bench and a krepis which would have supported an altar of monumental proportions. These foundations are Roman, possibly therefore of the same date as the several first-century BC stelai and inscriptions[494] just discussed that may relate to ritual here. The building remains, although Roman, have some similarities with the Ionian style[495] which could suggest that they were partly influenced by a pre-existing building on the site, in the same way that the nearby tomb of Lykourgos is thought to have been:[496] lying further up the Eurotas to the north, a Roman structure has been built over an earlier one, possibly dating from the fifth century BC. There is evidence elsewhere in the area of earlier settlement. A number of both adult and child burials have been uncovered with domestic pottery finds that may suggest a nearby settlement dating back to the mid-Helladic period.[497] There is thus some archaeological evidence for an ancient site here at least old enough to be equated with the Phoibaion of Alkman's seventh-

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[491] J.A. Buchon, *La Grèce continentale et la Morée; voyage, séjour et études historiques en 1840 et 1841* (Paris 1843) 428.
[492] Paus. 3.11.5-8, and above.
[493] Daux "Psychiko."
[494] *IG* V 1, 206-9, relating to votive stelai SM 201-203.
[495] Daux "Psychiko."
[496] G. Dickins, "The great altar near the Eurotas" *ABSA* 12 (1905-6) 295-307: the surviving structure appears to have been specially circumvented by Nabis' new fortification wall *c.*200 BC, which in turn may have disturbed and been built over an earlier structure - some inscriptions found there have been dated from the writing to the fifth century BC: H.J.W. Tillyard, "Inscriptions from the Great Altar" *ABSA* 12 (1905-6) 440-1.
[497] E. Zavvou, "Ευρήματα της μεσοελλαδκής και της πρώιμες μυκηναϊκής ἐποχής από τη Σπάρτη και τη Λακωνια" in A. Philippa-Touchais *et al.* (eds.), *Mesohelladika*, *BCH* Suppl.52 (Athens 2010) 87-99; *AR* 52 (2005-6) 37.

century BC poetic fragments, and for a structure, the Psychiko altar, that might also be older than its Roman face.

The Amyklaion and the statue of Apollo

From the literature, the temple of Apollo Hyakinthos at Amyklai was the most ancient, widely known and revered cult site at Sparta.[498] Built on one of the series of hillocks which mark the southward path of the Eurotas river from Sparta, the sanctuary of Apollo Hyakinthos itself, first excavated in 1890 by Christos Tsountas,[499] is currently the subject of an extensive research project, [500] both to assemble and review all existing known finds, but also to re-excavate the area. The Spartan festival of Hyakinthia[501] was celebrated here, seemingly merging a local Amyklaian cult of Hyakinthos[502] with that of Spartan Apollo in a successful act of synoecism of the different communities[503] as the deme of Amyklai became part of the Spartan core at the end of the eighth century BC.[504] From the archaeological evidence,[505] it competes for ancient use with the cult sites at Artemis Orthia and the Menelaion, all sharing not only a Mycenaean, but also an earlier Helladic past.

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[498] Polyb. 5.19.2.
[499] Chr. Tsountas,"Ek tou Amyklaiou" *AE* (1892) 1-27. Later excavations were carried out by A. Furtwängler and E. Fiechter (1904) and by E. Buschor and W. von Massow: "Vom Amyklaion" *AM* 52 (1927) 1-85; Tafel XVII suggests the Amyklaion capital to be similar to those used for the Heraia at Paestum and Metaponto.
[500] The Amykles Research Project under the direction of Angelos Delivorrias, supported by the Benaki Foundation as well as the Greek Archaeological Service and private funds, has been running a major annual programme of excavation, collation and reassessment since 2005. Results are reported electronically at http.//amykles-research-project-en.wikidot.com.
[501] M. Petersson, *Cults of Apollo at Sparta* (Stockholm 1992), hereafter Petersson *Apollo cults*, 10, 14, 122.
[502] A similar festival has been recorded in Crete: R.F. Willetts, *Cretan cults and festivals* (London 1962), hereafter Willetts *Cretan cults*, 222-3.
[503] Illustrated in a later period at Megalopolis and Patras: Nilsson *Cults* 16, 18-25.
[504] Cartledge *Sparta and Lakonia* 92-3 discusses the date and nature of the Amyklaian incorporation into an enlarged Sparta *c.*750 BC; Kourinou *Sparta* 279-80.
[505] http.//amykles-research-project-en.wikidot.com. The 2013 archaeological report by V. Vlachou on works done in 2011 showed more evidence for early cult from the painted pieces, and a bronze warrior figurine was discovered in a layer with Geometric pottery.

Although the Amyklaion is not specifically associated with veneration of the Dioskouroi in the literature, there are reasons to look for signs of their cult here: their appearance on the base of the revered cult statue of Apollo Hyakinthos, and their association elsewhere[506] with Apollo, including celebration of the Karneia, which in Sparta followed the route to Amyklai. Pausanias attributed[507] the throne on which the aniconic cult statue stood, to the sixth-century BC sculptor Bathykles of Magnesia.[508] It featured the Dioskouroi and also their sons along with Herakles in a prominent position on its base, among other local heroes and deities. This combination of legendary local figures and their deeds is known from other statues and sculptures in Sparta and the Peloponnese, as already discussed in relation to the statue of Athena Chalkioikos and of Isthmian Poseidon, and on the earlier Kypselos chest. The Dioskouroi seem to have been given a particularly prominent position around Apollo's statue, not only appearing in relief on its base with the Leukippides but also as sculptured cavaliers at two of the corners of the upper edges of the throne, one on each side, with sphinxes[509] beneath and a lioness running up to Polydeukes from one side and a leopard, presumably to Kastor, on the other. These cavaliers have been variously reconstructed, some interpreting Pausanias' account of the sculptured Dioskouroi as part of the relief carvings on a monumental base.[510] The older interpretation[511] which sees them as akroteria statues would allow a striking analogy with a early fifth-century BC clay statue of a young man

[506] Petersson *Apollo cults* 57, 60.
[507] Paus. 3.18.10- 3.19.5. Various reconstructions of the statue are discussed in R. Martin, "Bathykles de Magnésie at le trône d'Apollon à Amyklae" *RA* (1976/2) 205-218, hereafter Martin "Bathykles"; now being further reassessed, following recent discoveries of some new stones from the base and the reassembly of others by the Amykles Research Project.
[508] Paus. 3.18.9; Pollitt *Sources* 23-6.
[509] This iconography is also found on one of the earliest putative depictions of the brothers , on an early Protocorinthian ovoid aryballos from Thebes (or possibly Boeotia) *c.*700-650 BC, now in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G146: Payne *NC* 8, no.1; Elderkin "Aryballos" 546; Beazley Archive 525001.
[510] Martin "Bathykles", 205-18.
[511] E. Fichter, "Amyklae, der Thron des Apollon" *JdI* 33 (1918) 107-245.

on a horse,[512] **(Fig.34)** also with a sphinx beneath, found at the Doric temple to Zeus at Lokri Marafioti, which may be a Dioskouros. It is not known whether these embellishments were part of the original Apollo statue's construction or added later, but their appearance suggests an intention to emphasise the local dimension of the cult of Apollo practised here. There may also be more widespread associations between cults of Apollo and the Dioskouroi. The fifth-century BC temple associated with the Dioskouroi at Naukratis[513] is adjacent to that of Apollo, and there are potential cult connections too at Thera, Kyrene, Delos and Thasos, as will be discussed.[514] The recent excavations at the Amyklaion site have revealed a Geometric amphora[515] with two nude male figures, carrying lances, running right.

The inclusion of the Dioskouroi on the bases of two of the most revered statues at Sparta and alongside an altar of arguably the major Olympian deities, Zeus and Athena in their role as Counsellors, reinforces the brothers' role as visible personifications of the Spartan obeisance to these great deities but also establishes their local presence, just as in later Greek Orthodox Christian practice, icons of local saints are hung alongside those of God Pantokrator and the Virgin on the rood screen.

The Eleusinion at Kalyvia Sokhas

Part of a late fifth/ early fourth-century BC marble stele associated with the Dioskouroi has been found[516] **(Fig.35)** three to four miles south of modern Sparta, not far from the

[512] Found in fragments and now reconstructed. Reggio di Calabria, Museo Nazionale di Magna Graecia; *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi no.23.
[513] *Naukratis* I, 16 and Pl. VI.6 and XIII.7 and 12; see also Chapter 4.3.
[514] See Chapter 4.
[515] http.//amykles-research-project-en.wikidot.com, excavation report for 2011, no.3.
[516] SM 9711: J.M. Cook, "Archaeology in Greece, 1947-1948" *JHS* 67 (1947) 34-45, 39-40 Fig. 4, and "Laconia. Kalyvia Sokhas" *ABSA* 45 (1950) 261-281, 271.

Spartan sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter.[517] Three adjoining fragments were brought to the Sparta Museum after the serious flood of the area in 1947. The exact provenance is unknown, but is assumed to be from the sanctuary. Carved with two lidded amphorae similar to those found on other reliefs[518] from Sparta depicting the Dioskouroi, it is thought to support their connection with the two goddesses, Demeter and Kore, worshipped there.

Conclusion

The buildings and monuments at Sparta that the written records connect with the Dioskouroi remain largely in the province of literature. This is perhaps unsurprising in a context where, as has been justly remarked,[519] our knowledge of the ancient Greek topography of that city has advanced little since the major excavations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century: the uncovering of the Artemis Orthia sanctuary by Dawkins,[520] the location of the Akropolis[521] and the temple of Athena Chalkioikos (though still largely unexcavated), and the identification and excavation of the Menelaion and Amyklaion sanctuaries.[522] There are many contributing factors. Modern Sparta has been built directly over the ancient city so that excavations have tended to focus on extra-urban areas. Recent excavations have often been undertaken in 'rescue'

[517] R.M. Dawkins, "Excavations at Sparta 1910. The Eleusinion at Kalyvia tes Sochas" *ABSA* 16 (1909-10) 12-14; M.N. Tod, "Notes on some inscriptions from Kalyvia Sokhas" *ABSA* 47 (1952) 118-122.
[518] Fifth-century BC blue marble stele, from Sparta, SM 613; *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi no. 246. Further discussed Chapter 3.2.4.
[519] C.M. Antonaccio, "Review of E. Kourinou Σπαρτη (Athens 2000)" *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2001.08.11, http://bmer.brynmawr.edu/2001/2001-08-11.html.
[520] R.M. Dawkins, "Laconia I. Excavations at Sparta The sanctuary of Artmis Orthia. 1907-1910." *ABSA* 13-16 (1906-7) - (1909-10).
[521] A.M. Woodward, "Excavations at Sparta 1924-5: The Akropolis" *ABSA* 26 (1924-5, 1925-6) 253-276.
[522] The position on known and potential sites and finds at the turn of this century is set out and discussed in W. Cavanagh, *et al*., *The Laconia Survey* 2 vols (London 1996, 2002), hereafter Cavanagh *Laconia Survey*, 1, 218-224 deals with the religious landscape up to the classical period.

conditions,[523] so that opportunities have been limited to dig to below or around the initial, often Roman, finds to establish the earliest settlement at any given site. A positive point for this study is that many of those places that Pausanias, and the earlier sources too, single out for association with the Dioskouroi were away from the centre of the ancient city and so in theory might be more likely to remain accessible to the excavator than those in the city centre. On the other hand, archaeological investigations in the Eurotas valley have been dogged by the ravages inflicted by the stormy and wet weather on the soft geology of the area, exempified by the experience at Kalyvia, where storms quite literally washed many of the finds away.[524] These difficulties make it unsafe to draw definite conclusions from the lack of evidence for physical structures associated with the Dioskouroi at Sparta, particularly against a general background where the preserved architectural evidence does not suggest the erection of temples in the conventional sense of the 'developed peripteral form of classical temple'[525] found elsewhere. However, it may become more significant when considered alongside similar evidence elsewhere. There may be a case to be tested that the Dioskouroi were not usually associated with buildings dedicated specifically to them before the arrival of Roman influence.

3.2.4 Votive reliefs and inscriptions

Some of the most tangible evidence for cult of the Dioskouroi at Sparta is provided by the series of votive reliefs[526] which, along with a number of hero reliefs[527] with some

[523] S. Raftopoulou, "New finds from Sparta" in W.G. Cavanagh and S.E.C. Walker (eds.), *Sparta in Laconia* (London 1998), hereafter *Sparta in Laconia*, 125-140, 125.
[524] H.W. Catling, "The work of the British School at Athens in Sparta and Laconia" in *Sparta in Laconia* 19-27, 20.
[525] R.A. Tomlinson, "The Menelaion and Spartan architecture" in *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ*, 247-255, 253; 248 emphasises the poor state of much that does remain.
[526] The majority are lodged in the Sparta Archaeological Museum and appear in the Tod/Wace catalogue.

similar iconography,[528] have been found in or around the town.[529] Their number has now reached around fifty,[530] the majority of which date to the late second BC and later, the period of Roman hegemony in the city. There seems to have been a burgeoning of such reliefs in the second century AD**,** probably reflecting the interest in the Dioskouroi at Rome as symbolic representations of successive rulers and their families, [531] also reflected in Spartan coinage from the time of Claudius, [532] when the piloi of the Dioskouroi re-appear on the reverse of coinage depicting him on the obverse. The Dioskouroi continue to appear on the coinage minted under Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius, Commodus and Septimius Severus, sometimes appearing in full frontal or in jugate form, as on earlier Spartan coins, but also as cavaliers, a type first introduced by Eurykles between 31 and 7BC.[533] An inscription from a marble altar at Sparta may suggest that Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius were the 'new Dioskouroi': *[θ]<ε>οῖς Ὀλυμ- ||[π]ίοις νέοις ||Διοσκούροις*.[534]

It is the few reliefs that relate to pre-Roman Sparta that are of primary interest for this study,[535] for what they may tell us of the way the Dioskouroi were perceived by the

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[527] G. Salapata, "The Lakonian hero reliefs in the light of the terracotta plaques (from Amyklai)" in O. Palagia and W. Coulson, *Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia* (Oxford 1993), hereafter Palagia/Coulson *Laconia Sculpture*, 189-19, includes a bibliography of the main published sources, 195 n.1-3: also, her book *Heroic offerings. The terracotta plaques from the Spartan sanctuary of Agamemnon and Kassandra* (Ann Arbor 2014), hereafter Salapata *Heroic offerings*, Appendix 2 lists the Lakonian stone reliefs with seated figures.
[528] SM 10567, a warrior relief found at Charouda and dated to the early fifth century BC.
[529] A.J.B. Wace, "Excavations at Sparta II 1906" *ABSA* 12 (1907) 284-294.
[530] J.M. Sanders, "The Dioscuri in post-classical Sparta" in Palagia/Coulson *Laconia Sculpture* 217- 224, hereafter Sanders "Post-classical", 217.
[531] See Chapter 2.
[532] Grunauer *Lakedaimonier*, Gruppe XXXV1, 79, Katalog. 176-8 and Tafel 23, 1-27.
[533] Grunauer *Lakedaimonier*, Gruppe XXV, 65-66, Katalog. 162-163 and Tafel 19, 1-31. A table showing the distribution of various depictions of the Dioskouroi on Lakonian coins from Claudius to Salonina is at 105, Abb. 15.
[534] *IG* V 1, 447 *c.*161-169 AD.
[535] SM 27, 575, 1991, 5380 (sixth-century BC), 447, 588, 613 (fifth-century BC); SM 319, classified by Tod as fifth-century BC, has been reclassified in the Museum to the second-century BC.

Spartans before the arrival of the Romans, with the cultural and political influences that brought.

Most of the reliefs are carved on stelai of the local bluish grey marble from the Taygetos mountains and typically feature two male figures, symmetrically arranged on either side of the block. They appear with a variety of objects often with funerary and cult associations - serpents,[536] cocks[537] and most characteristically, two identical and unusual lidded amphorae which may suggest the funerary urns used in cremation burials[538] and which were sometimes used on their own to represent the Dioskouroi; also a unique symbol known from Plutarch as the dokana. From the fourth century BC onwards, these figures usually appear in chlamys and pilos - attributes which had already become associated, though not exclusively,[539] with the Dioskouroi in Athenian vase-painting, and also in Etruscan art and Roman sculpture. From the second century BC they are commonly depicted on these reliefs with horses. A sub-series dated to the first century BC features a central female figure too,[540] identified as Helen. This group does not appear to have any earlier precedents in Sparta, although one stele dated, possibly questionably, to the fifth century BC could tenuously be interpreted as such,[541] while an earlier stele dated to the sixth century BC depicting a generic kneeling mother goddess

[536] The serpent is featured on numerous contemporary Lakonian hero reliefs, and in some cases appears alone: Salapata *Heroic offerings* 136-138. It became a significant symbol of heroisation of the dead: J. Fabricius *Die hellenistischen Totenmahlreliefs* (Munich 1999) 63-68.
[537] Bruneau "Coqs affrontés".
[538] J. Boardman and D.C. Kurtz, *Greek Burial Customs* (London 1971) 37, 71. Urn burial in mainland Greece stretches back at least into the Iron Age, but the evidence suggests that vessels were stopped with a sherd, slab or another vessel, rather than a lid.
[539] See n. 734.
[540] SM 201-3, and *IG* V 1, 206-209; Tod/Wace 127, 157; Wace dated these stelai no earlier than the second century BC on stylistic grounds; analysis of the inscriptions has placed them in the next century.
[541] SM 319, Tod/Wace 166.

protected on both sides by smaller daemon figures,[542] has been considered as a forerunner of the type.

The Dioskouroi reliefs have received considerable scholarly attention,[543] perhaps because of their relative abundance amongst the general paucity of artefacts to have survived from Sparta – a journey round the museum tells its own story**.** Alan Wace in the still largely unreplaced catalogue[544] of the new Sparta Museum founded in 1875,[545] gives a special prominence to the reliefs in his introductory essay on Spartan sculpture, presenting them as a coherent corpus.[546] In chronological, historical and stylistic terms, the reliefs seem to fall naturally into three main groups: those created during the period of Roman hegemony, also called 'post-Classical' for convenience by one scholar;[547] those dated to the sixth and fifth century BC, which can clearly be related to Sparta as an independent power; and those that lie somewhere in-between. Each has a distinct iconography which may carry the mark of Sparta's changing trading and political connections. For example, there is a view that while the Dioskouroi could be seen as symbols of Sparta under its dual monarchy, Herakles became the more favoured figurehead from around 300BC, with the advent of single rulers of Sparta and

[542] Blueish marble fragment found at Magoula, depicting a naked female figure, probably a goddess, kneeling in a possible position of childbirth, with two smaller male figures to each side, SM 364; Tod/Wace 13, 14, 172; W.H.D. Rouse, *Greek votive offerings* (Cambridge 1902) 254, 257.
[543] Since the initial careful study in the Tod/Wace catalogue, 113-118, they have been re-examined in M. Andronikos "Λακωνικα ἀναγλυφα" *Peloponnesiaka* (1956) 253-314 and, more recently, in articles by Jan Sanders including J.M. Sanders, "The early Lakonian Dioskouroi reliefs", hereafter Sanders "Early reliefs," in *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ*, 205-210. Pipili *Laconian iconography* covers material drawn from these reliefs as well as vases, Köhne *Dioskuren* likewise in some detail; G. Steinhauer examines their iconography at Roman Sparta in Palagia/Coulson *Sculpture* 225-237, including several not in the Tod/Wace catalogue.
[544] Tod/Wace 113-118; Steinhauer *Sparta Museum*, though helpful for those objects it features, with good photographs, is highly selective; some of the bibliographic material has been superseded.
[545] The new Museum was founded by Stamatakes, Ephor General of Antiquities, to replace the collection brought together by Ludwig Ross in 1834 and shortly thereafter destroyed by fire: Tod/Wace Preface, iii.
[546] Tod/Wace 113-118.
[547] See n.529.

elsewhere.[548] The most obvious contrast is in the composition of the early reliefs dated to the sixth and fifth centuries BC and those preserved from later dates. The preserved reliefs from the fourth century BC onwards can be readily identified iconographically with depictions of the Dioskouroi from a number of other locations, including several from Taras and Magna Graecia, from Attica and Thessaly. An examination of these 'post-Classical' reliefs[549] endorses the case for a revival of interest in earlier tradition and cult of the Dioskouroi, but how far this was based on a genuine or fabricated past is unclear. This study will look again at the early reliefs to see what can be gleaned about their possible meaning in the context of cult.

The earliest reliefs: 600-400BC

The reliefs that can be dated before 400BC are those most likely to reflect an indigenous and confident Spartan culture, before the military defeats and loss of territory the city suffered in the century that followed. In practice, however, there are so few reliefs that have survived from this period that it is difficult to draw conclusions. Additionally, few have any certain specific provenance or other contextual information. The main focus will be on the seven reliefs[550] (one part) dated on stylistic grounds to the sixth and fifth centuries BC from which some cult aspect may be deduced.

The two earliest wholly preserved reliefs[551] show two similar male figures standing upright in profile, partly nude, each holding a single lance in hand, bare-headed and

[548] O. Palagia, "Art and royalty in Sparta in the third century BC" *Hesperia* 75 (2006) 205-217, hereafter Palagia "Art and royalty".
[549] Sanders "Post-classical" 221-2.
[550] SM 5380, 1991, 575, 27, 447, 319, and 588; SM 613 that Wace placed in the fifth century BC has now been redated to the second century BC.
[551] SM 5380 and 575. SM 5380, *c*. 575-550 BC from Sparta has been found subsequent to the publication of the Tod/Wace catalogue and published by Ch. Christou, "'Αρχαϊκον ἀναγλυφον Διοσκουρων ἐκ Σπαρτης" *AE* (1955) 91-113 Fig. 1.

facing each other. This image fits with the poet Tyrtaios' description of a Spartan warrior in the previous century, with their long spears,[552] and with representations on the seventh-century BC Chigi olpe, although here the warriors carry two lances.[553] The earlier of the two reliefs[554] **(Fig.4)** has been dated to around 575-550 BC but could be later given the conservative tendency of Spartan craftsmanship.[555] The other,[556] the better preserved, **(Fig.5)** dated loosely to the sixth century BC, could be a significantly later 'archaised' piece[557] and displays additional features. With their long hair[558] seemingly plaited and hanging down their backs, the figures face one another[559] across two shoulder-high lidded amphorae. One appears bearded, the other not. In the centre of the pediment overhead is an oval egg-like object, between two snakes. It has been seen as typical of the Lakonian style of the period, where the outline of figures is first incised and then the background gouged out to leave a shallow relief, rather in the manner of making a wood cut: **(Fig.37)** the use of incision to delineate facial details is found also on a limestone warrior stele[560] from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia for which an early sixth-century BC date seems undisputed. The incision on this Orthia stele is, however,

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[552] Tyrtaios, quoted in Stobaios' anthology, reproduced in *GEP s.v. Tyrtaius* no.11, 33-4.
[553] Protocorinthian olpe from an Etruscan tomb at Monte Aguzzo on the Chigi estate, *c.*675-625 BC, Rome Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia no.22679, Beazley Archive 9004217; J.M. Hurwit, "Reading the Chigi vase" *Hesperia* 71 (2002) 1-22, 12; M. D'Acunto *Il mondo del vaso Chigi* (Berlin/Boston 2013) 82-84 reviews the scholarship on seventh-century BC hoplite arms and 94-99, on lances; he suggests two lances may not be typical.
[554] Grey marble stele dated to the the third quarter of the sixth century BC, SM 5380: references at n.564; *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi no.58.
[555]A later date could be possible, given the conservative tendency of Spartan craftsmanship.
[556] Local blue marble relief from Sparta dated to the sixth century BC, SM 575.
[557] P. Perdrizet, "Archaistic reliefs" *ABSA* 3(1896), 156-159, 156 cites a third century BC example from nearby Epidauros; T. Lorenz, "Lakonisches Relief aus der Werkstatt des Bathykles" in M. Gnade (ed.), *Stips Votiva: Papers Presented to C. M. Stibbe* (Amsterdam 1991) 103–9, 106 dates it in the third century BC; Köhne *Dioskuren* 54-5.
[558] Associated with the Achaeans in the *Iliad*: 2, 11; and shaving it off for mourning: 23, 46 135 and 141.
[559] A somewhat similar image is depicted on a Lakonian cup (BM B3) dated to the sixth century BC: C.M. Stibbe *Lakonische Vasenmaler des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Amsterdam 1972) 154 and Tafel 109 (308), although here, one of the two male figures is markedly larger than the other, the smaller playing pipes, the larger carrying a horn and facing each other across a table on which stands a single amphora, in turn topped with a smaller vase.
[560] Dawkins *Orthia* 189, Pl. LXIV, 16.

much cruder. On the other hand, another part-stele[561] from Orthia of a similar date showing two warriors facing each other carrying spears, **(Fig.38)** possibly on the Dioskouroi model, is very simple but the work more careful. A certain 'carelessness in execution'[562] of the Spartan relief makes it difficult to date and the presence of the egg (if that is what it is) could suggest it is later.[563]

Another part relief dated from its style to the sixth century BC may also depict the Dioskouroi. Again of local bluish marble, [564] on the remaining section can be seen the torso of a male figure facing to his right, the right arm stretched out with the forearm pointing up (as in the previous relief, and so may originally have held a lance), and the hand and lower part of a symmetrically placed forearm which clearly belonged to another figure probably facing to his left.

None of these reliefs carries a specific dedication to the Dioskouroi by any name, or is attached to a provenance that would reinforce such an association, although the earliest was found at Magoula, the site of a later Roman gymnasium. Nor is their function clear, although there has been much debate about the meaning of the iconography – for example, the presence of snakes (Zeus could appear as a snake,[565] which would thus provide a suitable symbol for his sons; equally, snakes are frequently found in Lakonian sculpture associated with the heroisation of the dead[566]), and of the curious giant.

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[561] SM 1991; Dawkins *Orthia* Pl.LXIV, 13.
[562] Steinhauer *Sparta Museum* 52.
[563] Eggs were associated with cult offerings at Sparta from the sixth century BC, as depicted on the Chrysapha hero relief *c*.550-540 BC: Berlin, Antikenmuseen no.731. The representation of Helen's birth from an egg is associated with later fourth-century BC Athenian vase-painting, as above. Pausanias 3.16.1 reports that, in his day, eggs on ribands were hung in the sanctuary of Phoebe and Hilaeria, the Leukippides and consorts of the Dioskouroi.
[564] SM 27; Tod/Wace 138.
[565] M.P. Nilsson, *Greek folk religion* (Philadelphia 1972) 72.
[566] See n.535.

In the fifth century BC, or early in the next, two amphorae appear alone on a relief, presumably as sufficient symbols to represent the brothers.[567] Fragments of another similar found near the Eleusinion at Kalyvia Sokhas have been noted already. Images of two amphorae have also been found within dokana on some stamped tiles[568] **(Fig. 28)** not far away at perioikic Geronthrai. Their wide acceptance as symbols of the Dioskouroi and of Sparta is suggested by their use on Spartan coinage[569] from the time of Nabis, although similar amphorae appear on a later stele from Pergamon associated with the Korybantes.[570] These twin amphorae also appear consistently in the company of the Dioskouroi on a number of later stelai,[571] through to Imperial times, albeit sometimes in a different form.[572] Their presence has been taken variously to suggest a funerary connection or a reference to the prize amphorae that might have been associated with games, whether at Sparta itself or at Olympia where by the fifth century BC the Dioskouroi were reputedly the patrons.[573] The shapes of these vases do not resemble any known surviving ceramic or bronze vase shapes from the period or earlier. Recent excavations,[574] however, near the outskirts of the city have uncovered some unusual lidded elongated kantharoi, with holes for an iron rod to ensure the lid stays in place even if subjected to energetic movement, in a cemetery in continuous use from archaic through to Roman times. These are being studied for what they can tell us about

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[567] Late fifth-/early fourth-century BC marble stele from Sparta, SM 613; Tod/Wace; *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi no.226; on amphorae and the Dioskouroi: *RE* X, 2, 1419.
[568] References at n.314.
[569] Two lidded amphorae are depicted on successive coinages minted at Sparta, appearing on the reverse with either Herakles or Athena on the obverse, *c.*196-192 BC: Grunauer *Lakedaimonier*, 32-4, Katalog X 1-15, XII 1-2, 126 -7 and Tafel 7.
[570] Bergamo, Museo Archeologico, marble votive relief from Pergamon; *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi no.227.
[571] SM 9, 291; also, on a second-century BC stele possibly from Pephnos:6, Museo Lapidario Scipione Maffei, 555.
[572] SM 356, late first-century BC gable-topped stele in local marble where the amphorae appear smaller and squatter and are placed in a separated lower register.
[573] Pind. *Ol.* 3.36.
[574] M. Tsouli and A. Papayiannis, "Testimonia on funerary banquets in Ancient Sparta," paper delivered at a conference *Dining and Death* held at Oxford University September 2010; see also M. Tsouli, "Ανασκαφή κλασικού νεκροταφείου στην πόλη της Σπάρτης" ζαωοοθωοοθin K.Sporn *et al.* (eds.), *Griechische Grabbezirke klassischer Zeit: Normen und Regionalismen* (Munich 2013) 151-166.

local burial practices and may throw light on the meaning of the Dioskouroi amphorae. The cemetery lies just east of the Magoula river. As mentioned, there may also have been a gymnasion at Magoula dated at least to the early third century BC and this area may have been associated with the Dioskouroi.

The identification of the figures on the early reliefs

In the absence of an inscription or other contextual evidence, their identification as Kastor and Polydeukes cannot be certain. Images of two warriors are also depicted on a number of contemporary Lakonian vase paintings where their identity is similarly difficult to confirm.[575] If the same caution is applied to these reliefs as is applied to vase paintings depicting two warriors or cavaliers[576] the case is hard to hold as more than circumstantial. At this date the figures' near nudity would not necessarily suggest a deified or quasi-deified status, and may reflect kingship, particularly if an Assyrian or Egyptian influence on the iconography can be detected here as in other Spartan pieces of this date.[577] In the iconography of Egyptian tomb reliefs and paintings, for example, snakes and amphorae endorse not only a funerary tradition but also a royal one, the serpent and the cock being insignia of the pharaohs. The representation of one figure with a beard and one without is also found in Egyptian tomb painting to represent the living and dead states of the deceased. There are also echoes of motifs found on some of the first Syro-Hittite funerary banqueting reliefs from the first millennium BC[578] and in

[575] Pipili *Laconian iconography* 57 cites two vases depicting hunters, one bearded, one not, as examples: a cup attributed to the Hunt Painter, Paris, Musée du Louvre E670 and another painted in his manner now in Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 62h.
[576] In Athenian vase-painting, the portrayal of the Dioskouroi as horsemen in the sixth century BC is conflated with the theme of the departing warrior and is difficult to identify unless named: P. J. Connor "Twin riders (Dioskouroi?)" *AA* (1988) 27-39.
[577] Guralnik "Chrysapha relief."
[578] J.M. Dentzer, *Le motif du banquet couché dans le proche-orient et le monde grec du VII au IV siècle avant J-C* (Paris 1982) 36-39.

later Assyrian royal reliefs.[579] **(Fig.39)** If the two figures with lances represent the Tyndaridai, heroic figures rather than deities, Homer's *κοσμήτορε* λαῶν, marshallers of armies and relatives of Agamemnon and Menelaos, with whom uniquely they shared this epithet,[580] in that incarnation they are the legendary and the real ancestors, and even embodiment of, the Spartan dual kingship with its hereditary religious responsibilities and privileges.[581] Allusions to real figures, political leaders specifically, in the guise of mythic heroic models were already found in Athens from the sixth century BC in vase painting, [582] and perhaps also in some statuary: the Peisistratid family may have favoured depictions of Herakles on public buildings for this reason, and possibly also the Dioskouroi to represent Peisistratos' sons Hippias and Hipparchos. It is not impossible that images of heroic figures were used in a similar way in Sparta too, although the depiction of actual portrait figures[583] is a later development. Perhaps more attractive, therefore, might be an interpretation based on a general veneration for the duality of leadership in both the military and the religious spheres and the appropriateness therefore of images of duality whether on vases or votive stelai. Specificity was perhaps not the desired iconographic intention for the Spartans, a view which could be supported by the, admittedly meagre, evidence of vase-painting where generic types, including cavaliers,[584] seem to have enjoyed considerable prominence. The image of dual warriors on these early Spartan reliefs could similarly combine a number of meanings, albeit including representation of Kastor and Polydeukes.

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[579] BM ME 124583, gypsum panel from the north west palace of Ashurnasirpal II at Nimrud *c.*865-860 BC, which shows two eagle-headed magical figures guarding the sacred tree; and similarly, two royal near-mirror images either side of the tree of life; M. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its remains* (London 1966), hereafter Mallowan (1966), vol. 1 Figure 25. A similar image is found on a ninth-century BC cylinder seal from Northern Iraq, BM ME 89135.

[580] H. van Effenterre, "Laos, laoi et lawagetas" in *Kadmos* 16/1 (2009) 36-55.

[581] Hdt. 6.56-59; also Xen. *Lac*. 13. 2-5 and Hdt. 5.75, 39-40 ; Carlier "Vie politique" 76-8.

[582] A. Hermary, "Images de l'apothéose des Dioscures" *BCH* 102 (1978) 51-76, hereafter Hermary "Images".

[583] O. Palagia "Art and royalty".

[584] Lakonian vases attributed to the so-called Rider Painter are a case in point: Pipili *Laconian iconography* 76.

The fifth century BC

The relief depicting giant amphorae dated to the fifth century BC has been discussed already. New elements emerge in the other reliefs that are known from this period. One part relief showing the lower half of two nude male figures **(Fig.11)** displays some differences in style and iconography from its predecessors but, most importantly, it is inscribed and clearly dedicated to the Dioskouroi, allowing us a glimpse of their role as recipients of cult at this date. Another represents the dokana, symbol of the Dioskouroi, for the first time.

The substantial lower part of a stele [585] of local bluish marble has survived. The complete original would have been around two metres tall, roughly lifesize. Found broken in four pieces, the surviving parts depict the elegant long-calfed legs of two male figures, again facing each other, one of them holding a wreath or garland between them. Between their legs, a metrical inscription[586] **(Fig.40)** has been chiselled which has been restored to read:

Πλεῑστιάδας μ' ἀ[νέθεῑκε]

Διοσκόροισιν ἄ[γαλμα] |

Τινδαριδᾶν δ[ιδύμοῑν]

μᾶνιν ὀπιδόμ[ενος].

[Pleistiades dedicated me, a statue to the Dioskouroi

To avoid the wrath of the twin sons of the Tyndareos]

[585] SM 447; Tod/Wace 178.; *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi no.65.
[586] *IG* V 1, 919; *CEG* 1 no.373, Tod/Wace 66.

The virtually total restoration of the word *δ[ιδύμοῦ]* is significant, the term being unknown earlier in the literary record applied to Kastor and Polydeukes**,** although around this time it is used by Pindar to describe the brothers and by Euripides also.[587] In the context of this dedication, however, the word *δ[ιδύμοῦ]* could be restored instead[588] as *δ[ίδυμον]* to agree with *μᾶνιν*, rather than with the Tyndaridai themselves.

This is the oldest surviving inscription associated with a relief depiction of the Dioskouroi. Here, they are described as Tyndaridai, typical in the fifth century BC and in earlier literature, but also as Dioskouroi. This is among the earliest certain recorded uses of the latter term.[589] It seems that by the fifth century BC in Sparta, Kastor and Polydeukes had added the name Dioskouroi to their established Homeric one, Tyndaridai which continues to be used most frequently in the literature to denote the Spartan brothers. The use of both epithets stresses the paradox of their double parentage. It could imply a recognition of their different roles, both as heroic mortals and as deities, and a deliberate intention to recognise and appeal to both. As noted already, the two brothers are not always differentiated in their parentage or their potential divinity.

The restored dedication and stele can be interpreted in a number of ways. There are few similar reliefs or dedicatory formulae on the later surviving pieces with which to draw comparisons. The nearest stylistic models may be the statuesque stelai found in Attica, Crete and Thera that appear to be monuments to the dead, if not actual tomb markers.[590]

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[587] References at n.144 and 146.
[588] P.J. Parsons in *CEG* 1 no.373.
[589] Earlier uses are discussed with references in Chapter 2.1.
[590] Wace noted a similarity with the Athenian 'Aristion' marble stele *c*.510 BC from Velanideza: AM 29; N. Kaltsas *Sculpture in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens* (Athens/ Los Angeles 2002), hereafter Kaltsas *NM sculpture*, no.100; possibly there are clearer analogies with the less well-worked

The non-Lakonian, more Attic style of the workmanship has been noted, not least because of the difficulty of working accurately with the local marble.[591] The inscription on this stele, a dedication to the brothers, would suggest a votive purpose and an original placement within a sanctuary space. Its actual find-place at Vourlia, in antiquity the perioikic Sellasia, lay on or near the route the Spartan army would seem to have used in the Peloponnesian Wars to march towards Megalopolis and thereafter to Isthmia.[592] The route was possibly also the one that the images of the Dioskouroi would have travelled with the army's royal heads.[593] The size of the relief could suggest an intention to be seen, as with its visually similar funerary counterparts. Another of the reliefs[594] was found at Riviotissa, also on a main route out of Sparta, and may reinforce the intention to be visible – perhaps even to be 'seen' by the Dioskouroi themselves as they journeyed in image (or in epiphany)[595] with the departing Spartan army. From Pausanias' reports,[596] it would seem that Sellasia lay not far from the sanctuary of Artemis at Karyai where in his day the Spartan girls held annual chorus-dances[597] and performed what he terms a native dance which may have had more ancient roots: the Spartan girls were famed for dancing at religious festivals at least from the time Alkman was writing.[598] Sellasia, while perioikic, may have been well within the sphere of Spartan religious influence and requirements.[599] This could be a perioikic dedication.

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stele erected on the grave of Agathon and Aristokrates, found at Thespiai in Boeotia: NM 32, Kaltsas *NM sculpture* no.89.

[591] L.F. Fitzhardinge, *The Spartans* (London 1980) 70.

[592] Cartledge *Sparta and Lakonia* 161 and Fig.17.

[593] This practice was followed until at least the beginning of the sixth century BC, maybe longer: see n. 358.

[594] SM 588, also dated to the fifth century, depicting the dokana and discussed below; *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi no.224.

[595] S. Hornblower, "Epic and epiphanies" in Boedeker/Simonides *The new Simonides* 135-147.

[596] Paus. 3.10.7

[597] Pomeroy *Spartan women* 107-108 lists some other sources, none earlier than the Romans' hegemony in Sparta however: the earliest is Statius in the first century AD.

[598] See n.123 for references.

[599] Parker "Spartan religion" 145.

Cult of the Dioskouroi is attested at other perioikic settlements,[600] albeit at a later date, but may reflect an established tradition.

The meaning of the inscription itself is obscure. The wrath of major deities[601] and the need for mortals to avert it, is evident in the *Iliad* for example in relation to Apollo. The Dioskouroi, however, are noted in some of the earliest texts for their 'saving' qualities, for example in the *Homeric Hymns* and poems attributed to Alkaios and Terpandros,[602] and their legendary deeds are often concerned with riding to the rescue in battle. Their race-course shrines may have been set up to avert danger at the turning-post.[603] Pausanias explains,[604] however, that the Messenians' had incurred the 'wrath' of the Dioskouroi, and that it was only when this had been appeased that Epaminondas was free to re-establish Messenia. That example suggests the brothers' displeasure could not only be incurred, but also averted; and that success in battle could not be achieved without the brothers' acquiescance. A similar case may be implied here. The meaning of the garland on the relief could be key, but it is difficult to interpret without the rest of the relief: on the remaining fragment, only one of the figures appears to be holding it. Wreaths and garlands have a wide variety of meanings, including funerary. It may represent a victory wreath from the Games,[605] as claimed[606] for the Rampin horseman. The ritual arrangements for battle preparation, attributed to Lykourgos by Xenophon,[607] required all Lakedaemonians to wear a wreath.

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[600] At Geronthrai, see n. 314.
[601] Parker *Greek religion* 7.
[602] Discussed with references in Chapter 2.2
[603] See n. 338.
[604] Paus. 4.26.6 and 27.1.
[605] The dedicator may have cheated at the Games: I. Malkin, *Religion and colonisation in ancient Greece* (Leiden 1987), hereafter Malkin *Religion and colonisation*, 104-6.
[606] Ridgway *Archaic style*^{2} 200-1.
[607] Xen. *Lac.*13.8.

Another Lakonian relief dated by its style to the early fifth century BC made from a grey-blue local marble-like stone (not the more usual Taygetos marble) is the first to depict the brothers with their horses.[608] **(Fig.41)** Two young men stand by the side of their horses facing each other. The image is found frequently in later Lakonian reliefs from the second century BC onwards and at Taranto from the fourth century BC. A further feature of this relief is distinctive. Between the hind legs of one of the horses there are traces of another figure, wearing some draped clothing. In view of the evidence of some later reliefs[609] from the first century BC, the figure could be interpreted as female (rather than elderly), possibly Helen. Alternatively, given its relatively discreet position, it might well represent a less important figure, such as the dedicator**:** a similar ambiguity is found on another votive relief dedicated to the Dioskouroi, from Thasos,[610] where this time the central female figure is pouring a libation. Either way, the iconography of this relief is unusual for such an early date. It is possible that this much-damaged relief belongs properly to a later period.

The dokana relief

A fifth-century BC relief[611] **(Fig.42)** found at Riviotissa, roughly half way between the the town and Amyklai, just over the river from the Menelaion and well within the Therapne area, is the first to represent the Dioskouroi with an H-shaped image, named for us by Plutarch as the dokana[612] and variously interpreted.[613] It may have a cult meaning. Like the giant amphorae, the dokana appear to be a symbol sufficient to represent the Dioskouroi. There is one possible earlier appearance - scratched alongside

[608] SM 319. Tod/Wace 166.
[609] SM 201-3, discussed below. The 'archaistic'design of SM 201 has been noted: Tod/Wace 158.
[610] See n. 1265 for references.
[611] SM 588; Tod/Wace 193; *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi no.58.
[612] Plutarch, in his essay on brotherly love, *περὶ φιλαδελφίας*: Plut *Mor.* 6, 246-7.
[613] M.J. Waites "The meaning of the *dokana*" *AJA* 23 (1919) 1-18, hereafter Waites "Dokana".

a late eighth/ early seventh century BC rock-cut dedication to Zeus on Thera; but this is questionable.[614] The term itself, derived from the word *dokós*, does not appear in any earlier surviving written record,[615] which could suggest that Plutarch coined it himself or that it was of recent derivation. He explains the motif in terms of brotherly love, describing the two horizontal pillars as representing the two brothers, the cross-bar as symbolising their joined and joint affection. He does not claim that this explanation is anything more than a symbolic interpretation; it may reflect the sentiments of his own time at the turn and into the second century AD, by then well accustomed to deities as personifications of human traits - Tyche, Nemesis and, in Rome, Liber - rather than those of a more ancient Spartan tradition. Elsewhere he gives inventive etymological explanations for names – for the derivation of the word *Anakes*,[616] for example. Moreover, Plutarch's explanation may be based on later depictions, one of which, from the second century BC, is described below, the simplified H shape which emphasises duality and a 'mirror' image, since he ignores some of the features found on this earlier fifth century BC stele. It is also curious that Pausanias, who has a penchant for old tales and superstitions, does not mention the dokana.

The arguments for the dokana as a representation of an actual, immediately recognisable and meaningful object for its audience, seem more compelling: its depiction on this fifth-century BC stele is the most careful and detailed that has survived. It comprises not only two side bars and a joining cross-bar, but a further cross bar joining the two side bars across the top and in the upper register of the H two additional vertical bars further divide the upper space into three. Two serpents wind up each side bar, a feature not

[614] *IG* XII 3, 350, discussed in Chapter 4.1.
[615] *LSJ* ***s.v.*** *δόκανα.*
[616] Plut. *Thes.* 33.2; 32.4 explains the naming of the Academy at Athens after a certain Echedemos.

replicated in other surviving images of the dokana, but present on an earlier sixth-century BC pyramidal Spartan stele thought to depict Menelaos and Helen on two of its four sides, the winding serpents appearing on the dividing two. Here, the serpents have been thought to represent the Dioskouroi themselves[617] and a similar argument could be applied to those that appear on the dokana relief. In the centre of the gable is an ornament likened to a lotus bud.

Later surviving representations are more schematic, sometimes reduced to barely more than a simple H-shape, such as the second-century BC example on a relief now in Verona.[618] It has been suggested the dokana represent an aniconic symbol[619] in the same way that a simple stone block or pillar was sometimes used to represent a deity: Apollo's statue at Amyklai was said[620] to comprise largely a tall bronze column. There are two main suggestions for what it might represent. First, that it depicts a temple or similar structure,[621] the subdivisions of its upper half representing pillars - in the manner of a number of simple Doric fifth-century BC rectangular temples in antis - and the lacunae in between leaving room for three figures: the brothers either side of a central deity is suggested, reflecting the more explicit triad of figures found on some of the later reliefs from Sparta and elsewhere.[622] In the Spartan context, there might be a connection to the temple of Artemis Orthia, depicted on a second-century BC stele[623] as Doric with

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[617] SM 1763; Steinhauer *Sparta Museum* 50 and Fig. 17; J.E.A. Anderson, "Two sides to every story: a tale of love and hate on a Lakonian *stele*" *ΣPAPTH* 3/2 (2007) 23-28.
[618] Verona, Museo Lapidario Scipione Maffei, 555.
[619] M. Gaifman, *Aniconism in Greek antiquity* (Oxford 2012) 289-304.
[620] Paus. 3.19.2.
[621] This was based initially on the depiction of the temple of Aphrodite on some Cypriot coins; an early example on Athenian coins introduced by the kings of Marion in north-west Cyprus is displayed in the Paphos Archaeological Museum; a later example is on a bronze coin minted under Vespasian: Waites "Dokana" 5 and Fig. 5; *BMC Cyprus* Pl XV, 4.
[622] Listed in Chapouthier *Dioscures.*
[623] Second-century BC stele of Xenokles with prize sickles from the sanctuary of Orthia: SM 1505**;** Steinhauer *Sparta Museum* Fig. 47; U. Kron, "Sickles in Greek sanctuaries" in Hägg *Cult (Archaeol.)* 187-215, 202 Fig.12.

two columns between the antae and where, as discussed, some votives possibly connected to the Dioskouroi have been found; or with some as yet undiscovered building associated specifically with the Dioskouroi at Sparta. The temple built at Naukratis, which probably dates from the same period as the stele around 500BC, presents a similar model.[624] The suitability of this kind of building for heroic figures with divine associations in the Peloponnese, such as the Spartan Tyndaridai, is suggested by a temple of Herakles at Kleonai near Argos, [625] also built on a Doric plan. This would throw new light on the nature of the brothers' cult at Sparta, associating it with a specific building, but would be surprising in the wider context of the sparse number of buildings that can be associated with the Dioskouroi before the second half of the fourth century BC.

Another theory is that the dokana represent a throne.[626] This would help make sense of those later depictions of the Dioskouroi, each with his own image of the dokana,[627] as also with his own amphora. It would also fit with a representation of the throne of Apollo at Amyklai, on which the Dioskouroi featured and which some scholars have argued was designed[628] with the architectural features of furniture, rather than buildings, in mind. Similarity of the dokana to an altar is also a possibility: the seventh-century BC altar unearthed at the Menelaion may also be seen as a thronos[629] and seems particularly suggestive, given the possible links made in the poets to cult of the Dioskouroi celebrated there. Alternatively, the literature also supports private cult in the home. An

[624] Discussed in Chapter 4.3.
[625] G. Karo *AA* 28 (1913) 114-116.
[626] Köhne *Dioskuren* 50; *RE* VI A (1936) *s.v.* Θρόνος 613- 618.
[627] Terracotta votive plaque, late fourth-/early third-century BC, showing each Dioskouros leaning on his own image of the dokana: Taranto Museo Archeologico S 45; Verona, Museo Lapidario Scipione Maffei 555; *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi nos.70 and 122.
[628] http://www.amyklaion.gr.
[629] R. Tomlinson in a recorded discussion, in A. Schachter *et al*., *Le sanctuaire grec* (1992) 314.

altar of this sort has recently been identified[630] in a house at Hermione, which may be associated with the Dioskouroi. The iconography of the fourth-century BC pinakes from Spartan-settled areas of Magna Graecia, some of which depict the Dioskouroi, also frequently features altars: their manner of representation has a strong visual correlation with images of the dokana.[631] Etruscan tomb altars, one dated as early as 700BC, have also been noted for similarity in shape and structure to the dokana,[632] a relevance strengthened by the depiction of the Dioskouroi or their symbols detected in some tomb wall decoration, in turn interpreted as an indication of their status as household gods.

A further set of hypotheses can be drawn from interpreting the dokana as an image of a gate. There are later Graeco-Roman depictions of the Dioskouroi guarding two of the gates at Thessalonike[633] and at Perge.[634] A visual parallel with the dokana is provided by the false doors to Egyptian tombs; [635] **(Fig.43)** the presence of Egyptian style in sixth-century BC sculptural work in Sparta has already been noted. There are also iconographic and mythic similarities between the Spartan brothers and Assyrian and Babylonian mythology, which by the seventh century may have infiltrated Lakonia if ideas followed a similar pattern to gift and craft exchange. In the Gilgamesh legends

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[630] M.H. Jameson "A hero cult at Halieis" in S. Böhm and K.-V. von Eickstedt (eds.), *IθAKH. Festschrift für Jörg Schäfer* (Würzburg 2001) 197.
[631] Terracotta plaque from Lokroi Epizephyrioi, Reggio di Calabria, Museo Tipo 1/19, R.S. Pileggi, *I Pinakes de Locri Epizefiri* (Reggio Calabria 2011) 33.
[632] G. Colonna, "Il dokanon, il culto dei Dioscuri e gli aspetti ellenizzanti delle religione dei morti nell'Etruria tardo-arcaica" in L. Bacchielli *et al.* (eds.), *Scritti di antichità in memoria do Sandro Stucchi. Studi Miscellanei* 29, 2 vols. (Rome 1996) 2, 165-184, hereafter Colonna "Dioscuri", 173-174 notes one from Campania and another c.700BC from Benvenuti di Este, Figs.12 and13; the piloi of the Dioskouroi have been identified on a painted wall of the'tomb of the funeral bed' from Tarquinia, now preserved at Rome in the Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia; Colonna "Dioscuri" 175-177 posits their status as Etruscan household gods and explores their role in Etruscan funerary settings.
[633] The Vardar gate, Heuzey *Macédoine* 272-3 and Pl. 22 (b); dated to the second century AD, the Incontadas gate also depicts the Dioskouroi, one with Nike (as on the second-century BC Larisa stele, Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 1392): D**.** Blackman, "Archaeology in Greece, 1998-99" *AR* 45 (1998), 77.
[634] See n. 1114.
[635] For example, the two doors carved into the lintel of the limestone false door from the tomb of Tjetji and his wife at Giza *c.*2686-2181 BC, BM EA157.

from Mesopotamia,[636] for example, Tammuz,[637] a Sumerian god of the underworld who died and revived each year, was paired with (Nin) Ghishzida ('trusty timber' in Sumerian[638]) as guardians of the gate to Anu,[639] representative of the gateway to heaven. In Assyrian commerce, the gate of the god was used as the place to swear an oath.[640] If a real entrance guarded by the Dioskouroi is the explanation of the dokana, the carved stone 'frames' to the two earliest surviving reliefs could also be seen as a simple depiction of a gateway, possibly associated with a local sacred building such as the Amyklaion. When the current reconstruction work is complete, it may be possible to assess whether there might be an architectural similarity to the dokana symbol to substantiate this. Its sixth-century BC architect, Bathykles was from Magnesia, making it possible that its design not only displayed Ionian charactersitics but other eastern connections.

Whatever the meaning of the dokana, the symbol was sufficiently well-known to preclude the necessity to depict the Dioskouroi themselves. It offers a number of possible cult associations. This motif appears rarely on any other objects that have survived before the second century BC, and is then represented more schematically perhaps because it was a reference to a better known symbol. The late fourth-/early third-century BC terracotta plaque from Taranto[641] is a seeming exception. Its double

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[636] S. Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia* (Oxford 1989), hereafter Dalley *Mesopotamia myths*, 149: Gilgamesh bewails the death of his friend Enkidu and searches for eternal life, the domain of the gods.
[637] T. Jacobsen, *Toward the image of Tammuz* (Cambridge Massachusetts 1970) 29; M. Roaf, *Cultural Atlas of Mesopotamia and the Ancient Near East* (Oxford 1990), hereafter Roaf (1990), 83. Tammuz has more usually been seen as the possible model for the Adonis cult practised in the fifth century BC by the women of Athens, illustrated for example on a late fifth-century BC red-figure 'squat' lekythos attributed to the Meidias Painter, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B39 (278); Beazley Archive 361; *LIMC* 1 *s.v.* Adonis no.47.
[638] Dalley *Mesopotamia myths* 320.
[639] *Ibid.* 80.
[640] M. Silver, *Taking ancient mythology commercially* (Leiden 1992) 99.
[641] See n. 626 above.

representation is repeated on the second-century BC stele,[642] **(Fig.44)** dedicated by Argenidas, found in the Veneto but suggested to be from the Lakonian port of Pephnos, one of the legendary birthplaces of the Dioskouroi.[643] The dokana are represented twice, as if one for each Dioskouros, as were also the lidded amphorae similar to those first appearing on the early sixth-century and fifth- century BC stelai[644] described above. The word ANAKEION, usually connected with the Dioskouroi in Attica, also appears**.** Also in the second century BC, the dokana appear on possibly re-used tile stamps found at Geraki[645] **(26)** perhaps signifying use in a sanctuary of the Dioskouroi**.** These stamps show two amphorae without lids either side of the H, with the letter Θ in the enclosed upper register. Two other different examples are provided by some amphorae stamps dated to the late second or early first century BC, perhaps used in Thasos, [646] one found in the Athenian agora and showing a 'broken' representation of the dokana, with a female figure with stephanos (Helen)[647] in front, and two piloi; and one from Delos with the inscription *Απο Διοσκόρων*.[648] A much later stele,[649] **(Fig.45)** dated from its script to the early second century AD, links the dokana symbol explicitly with the Dioskouroi, each brother leaning either side of it with his lance. In front is a single lidded amphora. In the pediment is a round object identified as a sphairos ball;[650] in this context the amphora may have sporting or initiatory connections.

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[642] Verona, Museo Maffeiano 555; Tod/Wace 113; T. Ritti, *Iscrizione e rilievi greci nel museo maffeiano di Verona* (Rome 1981) no. 23; *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi no.122.
[643] Paus. 3.26.2-3.
[644] SM 575 and 613.
[645] J.H. Crouwel *et al., Geraki. An akropolis in Lakonia. Preliminary report on the eighth season. Pharos* 10 (2002) 70 and 71, Figs. 4 and 5;
[646] F. Salviat, "Religion populaire et timbres amphoriques; [Hermès;] Hélène et les Δokana" *BCH* 88 (1964) 491-5, Figs. 8-11; *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi no.156.
[647] Athens, Agora Museum SS 4974.
[648] Delos Museum TD 6821.
[649] SM 844**.**
[650] M.N. Tod, "Three New *ΣΦΑΙΡΕΙΣ*-Inscriptions" *BSA* 13 (1907) 212–18.

400-146 BC

After the fifth century BC, there is a lacuna in the evidence for Lakonian dedicated reliefs associated with the Dioskouroi until the second century BC, and inscriptions too are sparse. This may reflect the political upheavals and economic problems which surely assailed the Spartans with the loss of Messenia in 370/69BC and the estates from which the Spartans drew their wealth.[651] There is a relative lack of major votive or funerary objects to survive from this period, which has been noted in the wider debate over the seeming demise of Spartan art from the fourth century BC.[652] An inscribed relief associated with the Dioskouroi from early in the century has survived from Kythera.[653] This somewhat clumsy representation shows two stocky figures facing front, each in a short exomis[654] tied at the waist, holding a spear in his right upraised hand and looking to his left. Above this relief, perhaps broken off at the knee, is cut a clear dedication from its Lakonian governor Menandros to the Tyndaridai**.** The image could be intended to represent the Dioskouroi themselves, although the dress would not suggest a deified status and dedications do not invariably reflect the image on the stele.[655] A marble relief[656] **(Fig.46)** found at Aigeira not far to the west of Sikyon on the Achaean coast, dated to 400-350BC, is the first known from the northern Peloponnese to represent the Dioskouroi wearing piloi.[657] They are accompanied by cocks, well-established as symbols of combat, sometimes athletic, but by now possibly carrying a

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[651] Cavanagh *Laconia Survey* I, 250.
[652] R. Förtsch, "Spartan art: its many different deaths" in *Sparta in Laconia*, 48-54 summarises and reviews the arguments; S. Hodkinson, "Patterns of bronze dedications at Spartan sanctuaries" in the same volume, 55-63 demonstrates the case for a particular type of votive.
[653] NM 1437; *IG* V 1, 937.
[654] The exomis replaced the chitoniskos as the main dress of a Greek hoplite from the late fifth century BC, confirming a later date for this stele. N. Sekunda, *Greek hoplite,* 480-323 BC (Oxford 2000), 58.
[655] Keesling *Votive statues* 16-21 discusses "disjunctive representation".
[656] NM 1439. Gable topped limestone stele with akroterion, *c.*400-350 BC from Aigeira in Achaia: J.N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum* (Athens 1908) Textband 2, 440 no.138, Tafelband 1, Pl. LXX1; Kaltsas *NM Sculpture*, 211, no.430.
[657] Piloi are sometimes used to depict the Dioskouroi on Athenian vases from the mid-fifth century BC: see n.734.

symbolic funerary association too.[658] The iconography could suggest the presence of a separate northern Peloponnesian tradition, perhaps rooted in the mythic associations of the Dioskouroi in Argos and Corinth, or with the cult of the Dioskouroi attested later at Sikyon, or possibly reflecting directly the influence of Athens and Attica. The latter possibility would be strengthened by the graceful stances of the figures, unusual by comparison with the rather stiffer or cruder representations found on the majority of surviving Lakonian pieces, although the piece has been attributed to a local workshop.[659]

The later reliefs 146BC - 300AD

The lack of evidence from inscribed or relief stelai is sustained in the second century BC, and seems to reflect a similar position for other major cult figures in Sparta for which evidence of cult might be expected, Apollo[660] or Herakles, for example. In the first century BC, however, the situation changes. Three very similar inscribed stelai[661] have survived depicting the Dioskouroi flanking a woman wearing a stephanos on her head, **(Fig.47)** an image found on another first-century BC relief[662] from Sparta. In this context, the central figure can be interpreted as Helen, although the image reflects a longer tradition: a woman with some kind of a headdress - stephanos, pilos or a balanced amphora - is a typical model for many of the distinctive lead and terracotta, presumably votive, figurines found at the Menelaion.[663] On one relief,[664] the inscription

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[658] Bruneau "Coqs affrontés" traces this image from orientalising motif to Christian symbol. He also suggests this stele might be from Magoula: 105, no.55, Fig. 15.
[659] Kaltsas *NM Sculpture* 211, no.430.
[660] *LIMC* 2 *s.v.* Apollon; *ibid.* 4 *s.v.* Herakles.
[661] *IG* V 1, 207, 206 and 209, on SM 201, 202 and 203 respectively. Dated from their historical context to the first century BC, Wace had placed the stelai stylistically in the century before.
[662] SM 467, rosso antico Dioskouros relief; *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi no.63.
[663] SM 553, found in Kastriotes' excavations 1889 and 1890: Tod/Wace 228-230, Fig. 81, and 237-8, Figs. 83-85.
[664] *IG* V 1, 209.

has survived substantially and is concerned with the exercise of a dining ceremony associated with Helen and the Dioskouroi, providing tangible evidence of a communal civic rather than private cult associated with the Dioskouroi. A number of such ceremonies are attested.[665] In this case, a sacrificial meal may have been involved, since the names of those recorded included a butcher and garland-maker. The circumstance was of such importance that commemorative decorated stelai with the names of those involved were considered worthwhile. These names included senior civic postholders as well as holders of the priesthood, which fell to the family of Publius Memmius, who enjoyed particular status under the Romans[666] and shared with the Pomponii and Pompeii families the priesthood at the Phoibaion under the principate. All three families claimed the Dioskouroi as well as Herakles as ancestors.[667] Perhaps the most prominent of those making these claims was the Spartan senator Eurykles,[668] whose enjoyment of Roman support for his leading role at Sparta seems endorsed on Augustus' visit to Sparta in 21 BC. If descent from the Dioskouroi with Herakles played an important role in reinforcing the status of élite families in Sparta from the first century BC,[669] the revival of certain cults at that time and into the first and second centuries AD could as much suggest a reassertion of family positions as a more widely experienced interest in a particular cult.[670] It would also suggest that the interest in Herakles as a symbol of the

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[665] A.J.S. Spawforth, "Spartan cults under the Roman empire" in *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ*, 227-238, 229 n.17 cites in addition *IG* V 1, 210, 211 and 212 as "Augustan catalogues of annual groups of sacred diners calling themselves *σιτηθέντες* or *Ταινάριοι*."
[666] Cartledge/Spawforth *Sparta*[2] 164.
[667] *Ibid.*
[668] Cartledge/Spawforth *Sparta*[2] 98-9; Eurykles took the name Herkulanos. The family tree has been assembled by G. Bowersock in "Eurykles of Sparta" *JRS* 51 (1961) 112-118, 118.
[669] *IG* V 1, 971, *c.*20 BC around the time Augustus visited Sparta, found at Plytra in Southern Lakonia, possibly ancient Asopos, records that Eurykles claims descendency from the Dioskouroi: A.J.B. Wace and J. Hasluck, *ABSA* 14 (1908) 164, Cartledge *Hellenistic Sparta* 98-9.
[670] Cartledge/Spawforth *Sparta*[2] 163-5 discusses the evidence for 'clan cults' at Sparta, their invention or revival from the first century BC though aristocratic, priestly families, recalling an equivalent situation in Athens at Eleusis in the same period.

ruling power in Sparta in the third century BC[671] was being reassessed again in favour of the Dioskouroi, possibly because of their Roman credentials. The evidence from coins could support this. By the end of the first century BC, the Dioskouroi were being depicted in full frontal pose, with lance, pilos and chlamys, on the reverse of bronze Spartan coinage,[672] with helmeted Athena on the obverse, also in jugate form on the obverse.[673] As noted, the Dioskouroi were represented on Spartan coinage with Herakles almost from its first issue, but up till now they were represented through their symbols – amphorae, piloi often within an encircling wreath – rather than in human form.

On the 'diners' lists, others present were identified by function as well as name which suggests not only detailed and formal arrangements but an honour to be derived from performing these very possibly hereditary functions,[674] perhaps also echoing the kind of honorary positions that traditionally royalty and ruling élites have used as part of a programme of patronage to assert and support their authority. But, like the interest in claiming ancient pedigrees, this is no argument that any of these customs were of genuinely ancient origin.

The cult intentions of the early reliefs 600-146BC

While the 'post-classical' inscribed reliefs can be ascribed a communally recognised purpose, the votive intention of the earlier reliefs is more difficult to interpret. Some find-places could endorse an association of cult of the Dioskouroi with sites broadly

[671] Palagia "Art and royalty"
[672] Bronze coinage *c.*35-31 BC: Grunauer *Lakedaimonier*, Gruppe XVIII, 155 and Tafel 14, 1-15;
[673] *Ibid.* Gruppe XX and XXI, 159-160, Tafel 16, 1-9 and 17, 1-21.
[674] Hdt. 6.60 criticises the Spartan custom, which he says resembles that of the Egyptians, of making certain callings hereditary, such as the job of town-crier, irrespective of merit.

within the Therapne area or with border sites. The funerary iconography of some reliefs is puzzling in a votive context. The iconography of the amphorae and the meaning of the dokana continue to elude us, although some later depictions suggest they represented libations and altar.

3.2.5. Characteristics of the Dioskouroi at Sparta

In the earliest surviving literary texts, Kastor and Polydeukes have a legendary identity with Lakedaimon. This connection is recognised by poets working in Sparta and by other Greek, particularly lyric, poets. Usually identified separately by name or as Tyndaridai in the early literature, the term Dioskouroi is not characteristic before the fifth century BC, when it appears also in a votive inscription from Sparta.[675] Arguably it is an alternative name which carries a distinct meaning.

The presence of the brothers in seventh-century BC poetic fragments ascribed to Alkman provides some evidence for cult practice in Sparta associated with them before the coming of the Romans, in this case in partnership with Menelaos and possibly Helen at Therapne, or with the Leukippides at the Phoibaion. There is evidence from the early fifth-century BC poet Simonides too that helps substantiate the later accounts of the brothers' association with the dual Spartan kingship in military ritual. Other evidence for their cult before the first century BC is minimal and often circumstantial. While the importance of the brothers is substantiated by their appearance, along with Herakles, on the bases of at least two of the most important cult statues at Sparta - those of Amyklaean Apollo and Athena Chalkioikos - their presence there may serve to

[675] *IG* V 1, 919.

emphasise the local claims to these important cults, rather than conferring any special cult status on the brothers themselves in these locations.

The evidence from reliefs and inscriptions suggests there was, however, a recognised communal cult of the Dioskouroi at Sparta from the mid-first century BC, associated with élite local families, continuing possibly continuously into the second or even third century AD.[676] This may reflect Roman preferences. The few earlier reliefs and inscriptions that have survived suggest personal dedications and cult, rather than the more communal customs celebrated in the later dedications, and also a possible association with the kind of military rituals described in the literature. The early reliefs that can be dated to the sixth and fifth centuries BC seem to represent a Spartan iconography and culture that is not yet exposed to the influences from Athens and from Spartan settlements in Magna Graecia that are seen in the later reliefs. It is possible they have a different meaning. The gap in examples of reliefs or inscriptions concerning the Dioskouroi from Sparta itself in the fourth or third centuries BC may seem odd, given the heavy military engagement of Sparta at that time. The find-places, where preserved, suggest that several of the early reliefs were erected for display along the main arterial roads of the city and other prominent positions.

The relative strength of the literary evidence, despite the paucity of preserved material remains, suggests a number of explanations. First, that Spartan religious practice before the Roman period was largely non-monumental, bearing out Thucydides' famous view[677] of Spartan architectural poverty compared with Athens. The Spartans were by

[676] Cartledge/Spawforth *Sparta*[2] 163-5.
[677] Thuc. 1.10.2.

reputation religious people[678], the representatives of the state frequently consulting oracles before embarking on action and placing religious duty before military considerations.[679] Yet there is scant tangible evidence of cult and religious activity at Sparta before the arrival of the Romans. It may also be true that cult of the Dioskouroi was particularly non-monumental: perhaps reliefs and inscriptions recording cult practice were not particularly relevant to cult of the Dioskouroi as practised in Sparta and their absence does not imply absence of cult, merely that those signs of cult that are associated with other locations or other periods in ancient Greece did not necessarily apply here. There seems a similar dearth of surviving reliefs and dedicatory inscriptions for Herakles, for example, another heroic Spartan figure, claimed as the city's founder and ancestor of élite Spartan families, or for other locally important cult figures such as Apollo at Amyklai, where there is strong evidence of his cult. It does seem that those areas of Magna Graecia associated with settlement from Sparta did produce votive reliefs relating to the Dioskouroi in considerable surviving numbers, certainly from the fourth century BC; while these may well relate to a distinct and local cult, there are enough iconographic similarities with the few surviving Lakonian reliefs to suggest some common factors.

Pausanias' account of the buildings and monuments seen at and around Sparta arguably not only reflects second-century AD religious interests and expectations, but also the building habits by then associated with religious practice. It has already been recognised

[678] Hdt. 5.63.2 says the Spartans esteemed the things of heaven more highly than those of men: N. Richer "The religious system of Sparta" in D. Ogden (ed.), *A companion to Greek religion* (Malden Ma 2007) 236-252, 241-242 and 248-249.
[679] Parker "Spartan religion"160 suggests that seeming religious reasons for military decisions may have masked more practical ones, noting the frequent deferral of plans to invade Argos because of the unpropitious omens from border-crossing sacrifices.

that sacred space in Mycenaean settlements included open-air settings[680]and in archaic Greece may amount to little more than an altar. It is possible that cult practice may not have involved any tangible marker or evidence capable of surviving down the years. The dining ceremonies recorded by the Romanised Spartan élite of the first century BC onwards, may after all have been based on some earlier albeit unrecorded practice.

From the archaeological evidence, the most ancient sites at Sparta inhabited since the Bronze Age were centred on the area to the southeast of modern Sparta, taking in Artemis Orthia to the north and stretching over the hills to the east of the Eurotas. These sites also broadly encompass the area most closely associated in the texts and in the minimal archaeological evidence with the Dioskouroi: Therapne, the Menelaion, the Phoibaion, the dromos and to the south, the Amyklaion. This could suggest that there might be Mycenaean cult associations with the brothers. The earliest sparse finds that might relate to the Dioskouroi from the Menelaion and the sanctuary of Artmeis Orthia date only from around 700 BC. Generally, there is very little evidence to relate the brothers to any of those excavated locations where the literature might point to a cult of the Dioskouroi. As Helen's brothers, and given their association in the texts with rites for Menelaos, it is surprising that so little substantial that can be directly associated with them has yet emerged from the excavations at the Menelaion. This, taken with the later preserved evidence from votives, could suggest that their cult before the arrival of the Romans, was primarily personal rather than communal except in the military context, and that the rites suggested in the Alkman fragment may have been of a less tangible nature. Perhaps it is not until the Phoibaion and its reported temple of the Dioskouroi has been located and excavated that the truth of this can be established.

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[680] J.C. Wright, "The spatial configuration of belief: the archaeology of Mycenaean religion" in *Placing the gods*, 37-75.

3.3. The Dioskouroi at Messene

3.3.1 The archaeological and literary context

The earliest known archaeological evidence[681] for a building associated with a cult of the Dioskouroi in the Peloponnese comes from Messene. In 1992, Petros Themelis uncovered the remains of a building near the Asklepieion, known as Ω-Ω. He identified this as a sanctuary dedicated to Demeter and Kore, but where local legendary kings and foundation figures also received offerings,[682] and where the Dioskouroi too may have been venerated. Pausanias recounts[683] that a cult of the Dioskouroi was practised in Messene from the time of Epaminondas' founding of the city of that name in 369BC, following the defeat of the Spartans at the battle of Leuktra in 371BC and the breaking of their three hundred years or so of hegemony over the area. The substantial remains of building Ω-Ω are dated to the second half of the fourth century BC so a cult of the Dioskouroi there would be supported by Pausanias' account. What is more debatable is whether there are any grounds for believing there was an earlier cult of the Dioskouroi in the area. Pausanias reports[684] that at some point the Messenians had claimed the birthplace of the Dioskouroi to be in Messenia rivalling the claims of the Spartans. There is evidence of some older archaic construction and votives below the more substantive Hellenistic remains of building Ω-Ω that could suggest possible pre-Epaminondeian cult.

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[681] P.G. Themelis, "Ιερὸ Ω-Ω" *Praktika* 148 (1993) 49-55; and "The Sanctuary of Demeter and the Dioscouri at Messene" in R Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Archaeological Evidence* (Stockholm 1998) 157-186, hereafter Themelis "Dioscouri".
[682] Themelis "Dioscouri" 182-3.
[683] Paus. 3.27.6.
[684] Paus. 3.26.3 and 4.31.9; n.856.

The archaeological context

The city of Messene founded by Epaminondas was built in the shadow of Mount Ithome[685] **(Fig.48)** and its seventh century BC sanctuary,[686] near and partly under the modern village of Mavromati. The site **(Fig.49)** has been excavated from the nineteenth century, with notable expeditions reported by Ernst Curtius in the mid-nineteenth century,[687] M. Natan Valmin in the early twentieth,[688] and Anastasios Orlandos in its second half,[689] uncovering parts of the massive walls remarked by Pausanias as stronger than any others he knew in Greece, including Rhodes;[690] also the sanctuary area centred on what was thought to be the agora but is now known to be the Asklepieion[691] where the legendary queen from whom the new city took its name may also have been worshipped.[692] From 1986 onwards, Petros Themelis has led a series of campaigns of new excavations and has written extensively[693] on the architecture, epigraphy,[694] statuary, religion and history of his discoveries. Several building remains have been identified underneath the Hellenistic site that are of a similar date to the sanctuary on

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[685] Thuc. 1.101.
[686] S. Müth, *Eigene Wege. Topographie und Stadtplan von Messene in spätklassisch-hellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin 2007), hereafter Müth *Topographie Messene*, 5-7 summarises the archaeology to date, while A. Lo Monaco, *Il crepuscolo degli dei d'Achaia: religione e culti in Arcadia, Elide, Laconia e Messenia dalla conquista*, hereafter Lo Monaco *Dei d'Achaia*, provides a catalogue which covers the textual and epigraphic evidence too: 787-792 for the Mavromarti site, 792-6 for the sanctuary of Zeus Ithomatas.
[687] E. Curtius, *Peloponnesus. Eine historische-geographische Beschreibung der Halbinsel* 2 vols (Gotha 1852), hereafter Curtius *Peloponnesus*, 2, 136-148; Mt. Ithome, 136-9, and its sanctuary of Zeus, 148; on the excavations at Messene, 139-147, particularly the stadium, 144, the Artemision, 147 and Taf. V: Messenia, Taf. VI : Messene.
[688] M.N. Valmin, *The Swedish Messenian expedition* (Lund/London/Paris/Oxford/Leipzig 1938), hereafter Valmin *Messenian expedition*, 2-6 outlines the scope of the expedition.
[689] A.K. Orlandos, "Νεωτεραι ερευναι εν Μεσσηνη 1957-73" in U. Jantzen (ed.), *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern* (Tübingen 1976) 9-38, summarises the excavations over this period; also he gives annual reports in *Praktika* for each of the following years: 1957-1960, 1962-1964, 1969-1975.
[690] Paus. 4.31.5.
[691] Müth *Topographie Messene* 141.
[692] Paus. 4.1.9 and 4.31.11; P. Themelis, *Heroes at ancient Messene* (Athens 2003), hereafter Themelis *Heroes*, 9-13.
[693] Themelis has summarised much of his work in English in *Ancient Messene* (Athens 2003), hereafter Themelis *Messene*; 19-35 gives a useful overview of the history, 42-119 of the excavations.
[694] A helpful catalogue-cum-concordance of his and others' publications of Messenian inscriptions is provided in *SEG* 50, 133

Mount Ithome, reputedly the older settlement.[695] This has led Themelis to surmise[696] that the site may have been sacred before Epaminondas' new city took shape, and may even have prompted his choice of site.

The literary evidence for cult of the Dioskouroi at Messene: Pausanias

There is scant literary or epigraphical evidence to support a significant cult of the Dioskouroi at Messene, nor is there a rich backcloth of myth and legend to suggest it. The literary evidence for a cult of the Dioskouroi, and for religious practice at Messene generally, relies almost entirely[697] on Pausanias' record.[698] It tells us that the local Messenians in Epaminondas' army sacrificed to Zeus Ithomatas and to the Dioskouroi when he was building the new city, while he himself and his fellow Thebans sacrificed to Dionysos and Ismenian Apollo;[699] that there was a legend involving the Dioskouroi that lay at the heart of the long enmity between Sparta and Messenia;[700] that there were one or two examples of epiphanic interventions by the Dioskouroi to warn against a particular course of military action;[701] and that Pausanias saw a statue of the Dioskouroi carrying the Leukippides, seemingly near the entrance to the sacred area of the city.[702] He does not mention any specific area devoted to the Dioskouroi or any sustained local cult practice, other than that associated with the city's foundation. His account of the sacrifices that took place at the founding of the Epaminondean city suggests it was the local heroic figure Aristomenes whose cult may have been more prominent, while the

[695] Themelis *Messene*, 15.
[696] Themelis *Heroes.*
[697] M.L. Zunino, *Hiera Messeniaka. Lo storia religiosa della Messenia dall'età micenea all'età ellenistica* (Udine 1997), hereafter Zunino *Messeniaka,* surveys the surviving epigraphical and textual sources.
[698] Paus. Book 4; Musti/Torelli *Messenia*; also M. Casevitz *et al. Pausanias. Description de la Grèce*. 8 vols. (Paris 1992-), *Livre IV. La Messénie* texte établi par M. Casevitz, commenté par J. Auberger (Paris 2005), hereafter Auberger/Casevitz *La Messénie*, 192.
[699] Paus. 4.27.5. The Argives sacrificed to Hera of Argos and Nemean Zeus.
[700] *Ibid.* 4.27.1-3.
[701] *Ibid.* 4.16.5 and 4.16.9.
[702] *Ibid.* 4.31.9.

Messenian priests sacrificed not to the Dioskouroi but to the Great Goddesses venerated specially at Andania[703] and to Kaukon.[704] He records the Messenians' claim that the Dioskouroi belonged to them rather than the Spartans, arguing that the land at Pephnos where the Dioskouroi were reputedly born[705] was part of Messenia. Elsewhere, however, he emphasises the impossibility of verifying one such claim over another,[706] for example over where the Apharetidai were buried, on Spartan or Messenian soil. What may be deduced, however, is that in Pausanias' eyes it would have been natural for the Messenians to want to make such a claim, if the Dioskouroi by that time had become part of their local foundation pantheon. If there were no actual bones to bring,[707] as with a foundation hero, at least there was a story.

3.3.2 Sources for history and cult at Messene before Epaminondas: interpreting Pausanias

If Pausanias is a main source for evidence of cult of the Dioskouroi at Messene, how reliable is he? Apart from the usual caveats already discussed,[708] it seems he drew heavily on written sources for his account: only seven of the thirty-six Messenian

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[703] The identity of the major deities honoured at Andania and the relationship between the Great Goddesses, the Great Gods and Demeter and Kore is explored in M. Guarducci, "I Culti di Andania" *SMSR* 10 (1934) 174-204, hereafter Guarducci "Culti", and Zunino *Messeniaka* 317-333, among others; the debate is summarised in Luraghi *Ancient Messenians* 92-3, and updated in N. Deshours, *Les mystères d'Andanie: étude d'épigraphie et d'histoire réligieuse* (Bordeaux 2006), hereafter Deshours *Mystères*, and in L. Gawlinski, The *Sacred Law of Andania* (Berlin 2011), hereafter Gawlinski *Sacred Law*, 17-22.
[704] Paus. 4.27.5 is alone in referring to the 'Great Goddesses' as opposed to the 'Great Gods' as the major deities of the mysteries of Andania. He also refers to the mysteries in his introduction to Messenia, 4.1.5, being clear that they were associated with Demeter and Kore, having been brought there from Eleusis. Pausanias' Great Goddesses and their relationship to the Dioskouroi are discussed below.
[705] Paus. 3.26.3 and 4.31.9.
[706] Paus. 3.13.1-2.
[707] Sparta was said to have 'repatriated' Orestes' bones from Tegea in the sixth century BC (Hdt. 1.67-8; Paus. 3.3.6, 3.11.9), as Kimon brought Theseus' bones to Athens from Skyros in 476 BC **(**Plut. *Thes*. 36.2, *Cim*. 8. 5-7; Paus. 1.17.6, 3.3.7): A.J. Podlecki, "Cimon, Skyros and 'Theseus' bones'"*JHS* 91 (1971) 141-3.
[708] Chapter 2.2.

chapters are devoted to his tour of the site.[709] These sources lacked direct knowledge of events before the time Epaminondas established the city,[710] calling into question the basis for any claims Pausanias may make about earlier traditions and cults. He himself seems to suggest that sources for Messenian history were unreliable.[711] For his account of the Messenian Wars, he acknowledges the debt he owes to the third-century BC Cretan poet Rhianos, to whom he refers directly and whom he even quotes,[712] and to the historian Myron of Priene. Both of these texts are now mostly lost,[713] and anyway seem to have lacked access to earlier first-hand accounts of the events.[714] Pausanias' account of the First Messenian War also refers to the poetry of Tyrtaios, not a direct historical source but at least contemporary with the events, and gaining some authority from the credence given to his record by writers such as Plato and Cicero.[715] From the fragments attributed to Tyrtaios that survive, however, there is no reason to link the Dioskouroi with Messene - or indeed little with Sparta.[716] From what we know of the texts, there seems no corroboration for Pausanias' legendary association of the Dioskouroi with Messene before the fourth century BC.

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[709] C. Habicht, *Pausanias' guide to ancient Greece* (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1985), hereafter Habicht *Pausanias*, 37.
[710] L. Pearson, "The pseudo-history of Messenia and its authors" *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 11/4 (1962) 397-426, hereafter Pearson "Pseudo-history"; Luraghi *Ancient Messenians* 4-5.
[711] Paus. 3.13.2.
[712] Paus. 4.1.6, 6.1-4, 15.2 and 17.10. Rhianos appears to have written a number of epic-historical poems incuding the so–called *Messeniaka.* None of the original survives so that it is difficult to know how much Pausanias reproduced or embellished his work. The issues are discussed in Musti/Torelli *Messenia* xv-xvi; P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 3 vols (Oxford 1972) 1, 625, and 3, notes to Chapter 10 (iv) n.63; C. Castelli, "Riano e Omero: I *Messeniaca* tra imitazione e innovazione" *Acme* 49/3 (1994) 5-24, hereafter Castelli "Riano", 8.
[713] For published fragments of Rhianos' poetry, see: J.U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford 1925); *FGrH* 3a no.265; Castelli "Riano" 5 n.4.
[714] Luraghi *Ancient Messenians* 97.
[715] A.W. Verrall, "Tyrtaeus: a Graeco-Roman tradition" *CR* 10/6 (1896) 269-277, hereafter Verrall "Tyrtaeus", 270. For a review of the literature, see Pearson "Pseudo-history" 397 n.1.
[716] See n.125-127.

Pausanias was not alone in relying on second-hand accounts for activity in Messenia before the time of Epaminondas. There are few clues from the literature and only a smattering of epigraphical evidence.[717] This has engendered a sceptical approach to the later accounts of its history and culture before 369BC [718] and has led one historian to suggest that Messenia's early identity was shaped through its conquest by Sparta,[719] the occupied land in effect becoming the territory that later became branded as an ethnic entity with its release from the Spartan yoke in 369 BC.

The mythic and religious past of Messene, as conveyed to us by Pausanias, may well reflect the creative lens of a city newly independent of Sparta and concerned to establish its legitimate claim to an ancestry related to the Herakleidai and the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnese,[720] and a royal line descended from them - as in Argos and Sparta - with myths and legends to match. The fresco seen by Pausanias[721] behind the temple housing the cult statue of Messene[722] features the family tree of the Messenian kings, beginning with Aphareus, father of Idas and Lynkeus - the Apharetidai, friends and then legendary enemies of the Dioskouroi. Aphareus' brother Leukippos also featured, along with his daughters Hilaeria and Phoebe, the Leukippides,[723] who were in many accounts the cause of contention between the Dioskouroi and the Apharetidai; and then the Herakleid Kresphontes and his relations, including Nestor of Pylos and other Trojan heroes. The Dioskouroi do not feature, despite their close relationship in legend with

[717] Zunino *Messeniaka* 191-7.
[718] Verrall "Tyrtaeus" 269, written in the 1890s, makes a spirited case, likening Pausanias' sources other than Tyrtaios to the novels of Sir Walter Scott.
[719] Luraghi *Ancient Messenians* weighs the archaeological and other evidence "from the Dark Ages to the Peloponnesian war", 132-146.
[720] Hdt. 9. 26. 3-7; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2, 8. 2-4. The mythic conquest and division of the Peloponnese by Herakles' descendants into three kingdoms centred on Argos, Sparta and Messene seems to be known to Tyrtaios and certainly to fifth-century BC Athenian dramatists: Aeschylus and Euripides both wrote plays on the subject, the former preserved only in putative fragments.
[721] Paus. 4.31.11-12; Themelis *Heroes* Fig. 12.
[722] Probably just next to the Asklepieion: P.Themelis "'Ανασκαφη Μεσσήνης" *Prakt.* (2005) 39-65 Fig.1.
[723] *New Pauly* 7 *s.v.* Leukippides, 105; see also n.193.

this family, through on the one hand their struggles with the Apharetidai, and on the other, their victorious marriage with the daughters of Leukippos. This could be explained if their status as gods rather than mortals, even heroic ones, was already established by the time the painting was made[724] - not before the fourth century BC but possibly as late as the third century BC to be consistent with the date of the building.[725]

The viewpoint of the newly established Messenian independence from the Spartans would also chime with the interests of the Roman city of Pausanias' time, in its tendency to re-emphasise and reinforce a Dorian past[726] and its associated religious traditions - an approach also suggested by the behaviour of the ruling families of Roman Sparta,[727] one at least of whom seemed to have interests in Messene.[728] The influence at Messene of the Euryklid family, reputedly hereditary priests of the Dioskouroi at Sparta by the first century BC,[729] is attested by an inscription on the architrave of the propylon of the gymnasium, recording a donation in their honour to the imperial cult.[730] Such a reading would be supported by Pausanias' references to the Dioskouroi. The mythic

[724] Paus. 4.31.12 attributes the painting to Omphalios, a pupil of the Athenian painter Nikias, placed by Pliny in the 112th Olympiad, 332 BC. Themelis "Dioscouri" 183 n.70 notes that this date is earlier than the third-century BC building on whose wall the painting was done and suggests that either Pliny or Pausanias may be mistaken in their dating. Alternatively Omphalios' so-called pupillage may mean simply that he used the 'encaustic' method that Pliny associates with Nikias and for which it seems he was well-known at Rome as well as in Greece: Pliny *NH* 35.27 and 130-3; Pollitt *Sources* 169-171. In that case, the date of the painting could be later.

[725] Themelis "Dioscouri"183 n.70.

[726] Y. Lafond, "Le mythe, référence identitaire pour les cités grecques d'époque impériale. L'exemple du Péloponnèse" *Kernos* 18 (2005) 329-46, hereafter Lafond *Cités grecques*, 345 discusses the epigraphic basis for the deliberate preservation of a Dorian identity in the Roman cities of Messene, Sparta and Argos; 334 cites the Dioskouroi on honorific inscriptions at Sparta and Messene.

[727] Lafond *Cités grecques* 343**.**

[728] *IG* V 1, 1399 on a white marble herm found near the village of Petalidiki, Korone on the Messenian coast but probably originally set up at Messene - the opening lines refer to 'this walled' Messene by the sanctuary of Mt. Ithome and does not mention Korone at all; dated to the second century AD, it commemorates a man with a Messenian father, Ariston, and a Spartan mother, Ageta, who claimed descent from both the Dioskouroi and Herakles: M.N. Tod, "Notes and inscriptions from south-western Messenia" *JHS* 25 (1905) 32-86, 53-4 no.11.

[729] *IG* V 1, 209 on SM 203 dated to the first century BC. See Chapter 3.2.4.

[730] *SEG* 50, 426; Themelis *Heroes* Fig.39; Themelis "Dioscouri" 62-3; Luraghi *Ancient Messenians* 22 n.30. The links between these Roman Spartan families and ruling families in Anatolia and the Roman Near East, opens up possibilities of cult relations too: A.J.S. Spawforth, "Balbilla, the Euryclids and memorials for a Greek magnate" *ABSA* 73 (1978) 249-260, 259-260.

past of Greek Messenia, if not of Messene itself, may have been largely a case of an invented tradition.[731]

3.3.3 A Messenian mythography of the Dioskouroi

Pausanias' introduction of the Dioskouroi into his account of the history of Messenia's struggle with Sparta seems mainly to authenticate or explain specific events or decisions. The legends he recounts relate to the traditional enmity between the Spartans and the Messenians. One seeks to explain the root of the hostility for which Pausanias otherise has no explanation.[732] This story involves a couple of young men from Messene who rode daringly into the Spartan camp when a feast of the Dioskouroi was being celebrated. The Spartans, mistaking the interlopers for an epiphany of the brothers themselves, did not attack them; many Spartan soldiers were killed as a result. From that time, the Spartans were at war with the Messenians, spurred by the *μήνιμα* 'wrath'[733] of their patron deities, the Dioskouroi themselves, presumably angered by the sacrilegious attack.

Features of this story would confirm that it is not earlier than the time of Epaminondas. The reason Pausanias gives for the mistaken identity of the two young men is that both were wearing the flying chlamys and pilos associated with depictions of the Dioskouroi. This iconography is not found in surviving images of the brothers from the Peloponnese

[731] Luraghi *Ancient Messenians* 3 borrows the concept from E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The invention of tradition* (Cambridge 1983); S.E. Alcock 'The pseudo-history of Messenia" *TAPA* 129 (1999) 333-41 reviews the case for a continuity of Messenian identity pre- and post- 369 BC.
[732] Paus. 4.27.1-3.
[733] Paus. 4.26.6 and 27.1; Parker *Greek religion* 7 cites a similar case of 'wrath' incurred for wrong behaviour in relation to Spartan treatment of heralds from the Persians, Hdt. 7.133-137; and 13, discusses the need to assuage the random anger of deities as a source of religious belief.

until the fourth century BC,[734] and arguably this combination was associated with the brothers more in Athenian,[735] South Italian and then Roman images and texts. Another feature was the nature of the festival that the young Messenians reportedly disrupted. Pausanias suggests it was a public feast held in the camp. Polyainos,[736] writing at roughly the same time, places the camp on the outskirts of Sparta. This could connect such a story with the tradition recounted by Herodotos and Xenophon of the customary sacrifice to the Dioskouroi by the Spartan kings before they ventured beyond Spartan territory on a military expedition.[737] On the other hand, evidence for an association between the Dioskouroi and ritual feasting at this time seems to have centred on family rather than civic or military ritual. Pindar refers to such family ritual in Sicily,[738] and the first known records of a more communal dining ceremony associated with the Dioskouroi at Sparta relate to a particular family's role in performing the rites.[739] There are possible records of Dioskoureia being celebrated at Delphi and Delos as early as the sixth century BC and at Thasos in the fourth century BC,[740] but these are associated with the festival calendar at sanctuary sites. The celebration of the soldiers in their camp near Sparta seems a very different affair. Both these aspects of the story suggest it was embellished if not invented nearer Pausanias' own time. Its repetition by Polyainos also suggests the dissemination of stories to emphasise the change in fortune of Messenia since those earlier times when the influence of the Dioskouroi was exercised in favour of the Spartans: Pausanias introduces the story by explaining that Epaminondas was

[734] NM 1437, marble relief from Kythera dedicated to the Dioskouroi, depicts two young men wearing piloi.
[735] Piloi are used to depict the Dioskouroi in Athenian vase-painting from the mid fifth century BC. The brothers' depiction as cavaliers with a flying chlamys is found from the early fifth century on Athenian vases , but bare-headed or wearing a wide-brimmed petasos , for example on an Athenian red-figure bell krater attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter c.460-450 BC, Karlsruhe Badisches Landesmuseum 209.
[736] Polyainos *Stratagems* 8 bks, 2. 31(3) transl. P. Krentz and E.L. Wheeler 2 vols (Chicago 1994) 1, 209; Casevitz/Auberger *La Messénie* 192.
[737] Discussed in Chapter 3.2.1.
[738] Pind. *Ol.* 3 for Theron of Akragas, 38-41; see Chapter 2.1.
[739] *IG* V 1, 209, first-century BC inscription on a stele from Sparta, SM 203, see Chapter 3.2.4.
[740] References for Dioskoureia are at n. 33.

able to be successful in overcoming the Spartans because the 'wrath' of the Dioskouroi had at long last been appeased - though why is left unexplained.[741]

Epiphanic appearances of the Dioskouroi

A notable element of the camp raid story is the epiphanic nature of the appearance of the Dioskouroi.[742] Elsewhere in Pausanias' Messenian history, the Dioskouroi appear on the eve or during battles to influence events**.** On two occasions they warn Aristomenes against advancing further against the Spartans,[743] in one appearing with Helen in a dream to deflect him from a direct attack on Sparta. This kind of tale explains tactical decisions that in retrospect were not to Aristomenes' and the Messenians' advantage. They are also close in kind to those recounted by Pliny about the role of the Dioskouroi at the battle of Lake Regillus and by Strabo about the battle of Sagra, where the Dioskouroi appear in epiphany[744] to play a role in the outcome of the battle. Such stories might therefore be readily injected into Messenian histories to create a sense of involvement of the Dioskouroi to authenticate Messenian affairs, just as Aristomenes too was said to have participated in the crucial battle of Leuktra and to have been instrumental in Epaminondas' success there.

Generic or local stories?

The legendary associations of the Dioskouroi with Messene recounted by Pausanias may be generic stories applied to them, adapted to suit different places. In the Peloponnese, Rome and Magna Graecia the brothers are consistently associated with the

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[741] Paus. 4.26.6-8.
[742] On heroic epiphanies, with a particular focus on the Dioskouroi: S. Hornblower, "Epic and epiphanies" in Boedeker/Sider *The new Simonides*, 135-147.
[743] Paus. 4.16.5 and 9.
[744] An epiphanic appearance in itself may have implied a particular relationship with the deity concerned: V. Platt, *Facing the gods: epiphany and representation in Graeco-Roman art, literature and religion* (Cambridge 2011) 33.

outcome of battle from at least the early fifth century BC,[745] and are also associated with epiphanic appearances,[746] both public and private. The iconography of the story of the camp raid suggests an origin nearer Pausanias' time than that of the first Messenian War. It also suggests a habit of annexing the deities that had hitherto supported the enemy. This could be applied[747]to the Athenian interest in the Dioskouroi too. Against this backdrop, the allocation of a dedicated space to the Dioskouroi at Messene at such a time would not be unexpected.

Other aspects of Pausanias' Messenian legendary history may also reflect a Spartan legacy, and the cultural interchange that accompanies war, trade and, in the case of Messenia, settlement.[748] His account of the origin of the Second Messenian War is in effect a story about a dispute over the ownership of cattle. The story of the fight between the Apharetidai and the Dioskouroi that resulted in Kastor's death, also centres on a dispute over their rightful share of stolen cattle[749] and was already sufficiently well-known in the sixth century BC to be selected for the sculptural decoration of the so-called 'Sikyonian' treasury at Delphi. These stories seem to represent a way of talking about territorial and ownership disputes, where the cattle stand as proxy for the land they graze as well as property in their own right. In the same way, a Messenian bid to annex the Dioskouroi to their own cause could represent the ultimate symbolic victory over the Spartans, whose close association with the Dioskouroi in battle emerges in the contemporary accounts,[750] as much as a real desire to have these important figures

[745] Simonides associates them with the Spartan general Pausanias' victory at the battle of Plataea: n.134.
[746] See n. 741.
[747] Shapiro "Cult warfare" 101-2, 107.
[748] Nilsson, *Cults* 15, makes the case for the use of myth to establish the dominance of one group or people over another.
[749] See Chapter 2.2.
[750] Textual evidence of pre-battle libations to the Dioskouroi were extant from the fourth century BC: Xen. *Lac.* 13.2-5.

on their side. A habit of annexing the deities that had hitherto supported the enemy may play out in the Athenian interest in the Dioskouroi too. Against this backdrop, the allocation of a dedicated space to the Dioskouroi at Messene at such a time would not be unexpected.

The Dioskouroi and the Andanian mysteries

About sixteen kilometres to the north west[751] of Epaminondas' Messene, Andania appears to have been the ancient capital of the area when the sanctuary on Mount Ithome was also active. The town itself seems to have fallen into disuse. The role played by Andania and its mysteries, seemingly one of the most important in post-liberation Messenia,[752] may have been similar in relation to Messene as that of Eleusis and its mysteries to Athens - a similarity that may have underpinned Pausanias' claim that the Andanian mysteries were actually brought from Eleusis.[753] This claim would also chime with a wish to authenticate the antiquity of the cult.

The Dioskouroi have been claimed to be among the deities honoured during the Andanian celebrations.[754] An account of the Andanian mysteries, or at least the reformed version of much of the ceremony associated with them, has survived in a remarkable inscribed stele dated to 92/91BC, discovered in the late nineteenth century.[755] It relates to a period when Roman hegemony was firmly established there, following the defeat of the Messenians as part of the Achaian League in 146BC, around

[751] Gawlinski *Sacred law* 50-51.
[752] Luraghi *Messenians* 92.
[753] Paus. 4.1.5 refers to the cult of the Great Goddesses of Andania in his introduction to Messenia.
[754] Deshours *Mystères* 207-210.
[755] *IG* V 1, 1390, 92/91 BC, a lengthy and careful 194-line inscription describes the remodelling of the cult, recently published in a new text and translation: Gawlinski, *Sacred law*, 66-95; for earlier versions of the text and commentaries, see Guarducci, "Culti" 174-204 and Zunino *Messeniaka* 331-2; Deshours *Mystères* 27-46 reproduces the text and provides a detailed commentary and discussion.

one hundred and fifty years before Pausanias was writing. The inscription of nearly two hundred lines prescribes the governance and practice to be followed in the re-modelled or reintroduced annual ceremonies in revealing detail, including rules for the size and furnishings permitted on the tents of the priests, early examples of sumptuary laws, and punishments for disorderly behaviour. Critically, the inscription states that the deities to be honoured in the rituals with sacrifices are Demeter, Hermes, Apollo Karneios, a certain 'Hagna' (possibly related to a similarly-named water fountain at the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios in Arkadia) and the Megaloi Theoi.[756] These Great Gods were associated with the Kabeiroi but, by Pausanias' time, also with the Dioskouroi[757] in one Attic location and another in Arcadia. No more precise identity has yet emerged for them at Andania. The importance of Demeter is suggested by the prominent position accorded to priestesses from her sanctuaries in the rituals.[758] The location of the ceremony in the Karneision grove[759] could imply a leading role for Apollo Karneios too, with whom the Dioskouroi were by this time said to be closely associated at Sparta.[760] The order of the procession[761] would suggest that several deities were the main focus of the rituals, their identity remaining appropriately mysterious.

Pausanias' account of the cult is alone in claiming the Great Goddesses as opposed to the Great Gods as the major deities of the mysteries and most scholars believe he has conflated Demeter, the Great Goddess, with the Great Gods. One scholar has suggested

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[756] *IG* V 1, 1390, 33-4 and 67-69.
[757] At Kephale in Attica: Paus. 1. 31.1 and Kleitor in Arcadia: Paus. 8.21.1. Earlier the Dioskouroi appear to be addressed as *μεγάλοι θεοί* on a second-century BC stele from Larissa, see n. 270.
[758] For example, priestesses from three of her sanctuaries are given a special mention in the procession: *IG* V 1, 1390, 30-31.
[759] *IG* V 1, 1390, 7 and 53-63 describe respectively a ceremony, and arrangements for funding the events, in the Karneision.
[760] Pettersson *Apollo cults* 57-72.
[761] The procession was to be led by Mnasistratos, the promoter of the new arrangements, himself but after him, the priest and priestess of the gods for whom the mysteries are celebrated *IG* V 1, 1390, 28-31.

there is no confusion but that Pausanias' version can be explained by a change in practice by his time.[762] It seems odd that Pausanias would not have mentioned the older practice, which from the evidence of the stele was still current at least into late first century BC, given his self-professed interest in recording old practices.[763] It seems more likely that his Great Goddesses may have been a reference to Demeter and Kore as the key recipients of the cult, as seems borne out by the arrangements practised in the first century BC, and that he simply overlooked the *Megaloi Theoi* recorded in Mnasistratos' reforming inscription. Perhaps the key point is that, in the years between the erection of the stele and the time Pausanias was writing, the identity of the main recipient deities seems to have been lost or had become unimportant. Given Pausanias' interest elsewhere in attaching the Dioskouroi to the history and customs of Messenia, and his general interest in ancient traditions, it seems odd he would not have mentioned their association with the mysteries of Andania if they were known. The inference seems to be that, given that they were not named in the Mnasistratos stele either, that they were not – and are not to be identified[764] with the ' Great Gods' of Mnasistratos' inscription.

3.3.4 The archaeological evidence for cult of the Dioskouroi.

The archaeological context for religious practice at Messene before the time of Epaminondas

Archaeological evidence for activity in Messenia before the Spartan expansion suggests a focus on two main areas: Pylos[765] on the western coast, mentioned in Homer; and an

[762] Deshours *Mystères*, 207.
[763] Habicht *Pausanias* 22-3.
[764] For a contrary view: Deshours *Mystères* 209.
[765] S.E. Alcock *et al*., "Pylos Regional Archaeological Project Part VII: historical Messenia, Geometric through Late Roman" *Hesperia* 74 (2005) 147-209.

area towards the mouth of the Pamisos river,[766] which opens into the sea to the south east of Messenia at the western end of the bay now dominated by modern Kalamata. Archaeological finds suggest Homer's Pharis may have been located here.[767] Finds from the various sanctuaries of Artemis Limnatis[768] and Apollo[769] in the region include objects imported or copied from Lakonia[770] and suggest the influence and possible adoption of Spartan deities and practices. Terracotta figurines dated to between 700 and 500BC from the Messenian 'boundary' sanctuary of Pamisos are similar to some found at the Spartan shrine of Artemis Orthia, in particular some female figures wearing a stephanos headdress,[771] which in turn were found in a number of sanctuaries in the Peloponnese.[772] Although Homer does not mention Mount Ithome or its sanctuary, the archaeological evidence does confirm a sanctuary here: a cast-bronze tripod dated to the eighth century BC has been found on its summit,[773] where architectural remains of a sanctuary have also survived. This sanctuary of Zeus features in a number of Pausanias' tales of the Messenian Wars and it is to Zeus Ithomatas (not Zeus Soter whose cult was established in the agora[774]) and to Ismenian Apollo that the Messenians (though not their

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[766] A sanctuary dedicated to the river god Pamisos dated to the ninth/eighth century BC was uncovered in 1929 by Valmin near the village of Ayios Florios: Valmin *Messenian expedition* 419-465; Lo Monaco *Dei d'Achaia* 797-800 (catalogue of testimonia for the temple of Pamisos).

[767] Luraghi *Ancient Messenians* 132.

[768] Including one at Messene: Müth *Topographie Messene* 211; for others: Zunino *Messeniaka* 61-5 and Tav.1 illustrates the relationship with Artemis Orthia; Luraghi *Ancient Messenians* 23 points out that several of the sanctuaries dedicated to Artemis Limnatis in the area are not in fact marshy, suggesting they were deliberately referencing the marshy site of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.

[769] For example Apollo Karneios at Pharai (Paus. 4.31.1) as well as at Andania: Zunino *Messeniaka* 147.

[770] Valmin *Messenian expedition* 449-50 and Pl. XXV no.6, draws out the similarity of the votive finds, notably some leaden wreaths or crowns, from the temple of Pamisos at Ayios Floros to those from Artemis Orthia and at the Menelaion, *ABSA* 15 (1908-9) 134 Fig.8.

[771] Dawkins *Orthia* 146, type 1c, 148, terracotta figurines of Orthia with polos dated variously between 700 and 500 BC, one from a mould; Pl. XXX nos. 1-7, Pl. XXXI nos. 1-4; Valmin *Messenian expedition* 452-3.

[772] M.Voyatzis "Votive offerings and other finds " in E.Østby *et al* "The sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea" *Op.Ath.* 20 (1994) 89-141, hereafter Voyatzis "Votives Tegea", 124 illustrates the similarity of artefacts from the seventh century BC found at sanctuaries at Tegea, Sparta's Artemis Orthia and Perachora, for example otherwise unusual reclining rams.

[773] Themelis *Messene* 15.

[774] A Doric temple with metope reliefs suggesting a third century BC date was uncovered in 1995, Themelis "'Ανασκαφη Μεσσήνης" *Prakt.* 153 (1998) 89-126, 90-94, but cult there is not attested until the

priests) were said to sacrifice before embarking on his refashioning of Messene.[775] The ancient site on Mount Ithome seems also to have included a sanctuary to the Mycenaean-derived Eileithuia[776] and the Kouretes,[777] deities who have also been associated with the Dioskouroi both elsewhere in Messenia and more generally in the Peloponnese.[778] The find-places of various stone-inscribed dedications to Eileithuia suggest there was also a sanctuary for her in or near the agora, at least from the fourth/third century BC,[779] suggesting an earlier cult practice may have been transported to the lower site when it was re-settled by Epaminondas. This would support a theoretical case for a cult of the Dioskouroi, seemingly acknowledged by the Messenians as their customary protecting deities in the late fourth century BC, being either transported from Mount Ithome where their father's sanctuary was long established or simply melded with some other pre-existing cult tradition in the new settlement.

Archeological evidence for cult of the Dioskouroi at Messene within a dedicated sacred space: the sanctuary Ω-Ω

Archaeological evidence of a cult of the Dioskouroi at Messene would be significant, not just in itself but as an indication of how to read Pausanias' account of his visit to Messene more generally. The uncovering of a building that might comprise such evidence has the possibility of dramatically changing and authenticating Pausanias' claims for a legendary association of the Dioskouroi with Messene. Some claims for this

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first century AD: *IG*V 1, 1440; Müth *Topographie Messene* 58-9. A cult of Zeus Soter in the Athenian Agora closely associated with the role of the Boule in Athenian government is attested in the third century BC: *IG* II^2, 689 *c.*272/1 BC, *SEG* 16, 64: J.D. Mikalson, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens* (Los Angeles/London 1998), hereafter Mikalson *Hellenistic Athens*, 111.

[775] Paus. 4.27.6.

[776] Eileithuia = Eilethya = Mycenaean e-re-u-ti-ja: Zunino *Messeniaka* 195 n.18; Themelis *Messene* 116-7.

[777] Müth *Topographie Messene* 129; Zanino *Messeniaka* 194-7; Paus. 4.33.1-2.

[778] The Dioskouroi in company with Eileithuia: Paus. 2.22.5-6 and n. 968 (Argos); with the Kouretes: Paus. 10.38.7 (Amphissa), n. 1124 (Livadia).

[779] Müth *Topographie Messene* 128.

have been made for the building known as Ω-Ω **(Fig.50)** by the excavator[780] who, as already noted, has identified it primarily with the sanctuary of Demeter recorded by Pausanias but as one where other local heroic figures and deities may have been worshipped as well. The remains of this building lie just west of the precinct of Artemis Orthia, and are dated mainly to the late fourth or early third century BC. Some remains of an older structure have been found below, of a similar date to the sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Ithome, reputedly the older settlement.[781] Their date is consistent with some of the votive finds from the site which could be as early as 700BC. The central building is surrounded by annexes, possibly suggesting dining rituals.[782] In some respects it resembles the design of a Mycenaean structure uncovered at Therapne[783] and thus might suggest a Spartan influence. It has also been compared to that of the sanctuary at Santa Venera[784] near Paestum, although the similarities seem to lie with that part of the structure rebuilt in the first century AD, and so seem less compelling. Against the north wall,[785] an L shaped statue base and some remains of marble horse legs have been found[786] which, if the statues of the Dioskouroi that Pausanias saw[787] were equestrian - Pausanias does not say so - could suggest that they stood here or nearby.

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[780] Themelis "Ιερὸ Ω-Ω" 50; Lo Monaco *Dei d'Achaia* 787-792 Cat. no. 1 lists the testimonia.
[781] Themelis *Messene*, 15.
[782] B. Bergquist, *The archaic Greek temenos: a study of structure and function* (Uppsala 1967), hereafter Bergquist *Archaic temenos*, 58-61 and 125; B. Bergquist, *Herakles on Thasos* (Uppsala 1973), hereafter Bergquist *Herakles*, 42-50 posits the likelihood of a hestiatorion role for the several small adjoining buildings within the temenos and n.102 cites a number of such examples elsewhere dated to the fourth century BC.
[783] C.M. Stibbe, *Das andere Sparte* (Mainz 1996) 45 and Abb. 17.
[784] Themelis "Dioscouri" 186; J.G. Pedley and M Torelli *et al.*, *The sanctuary of Santa Venera at Paestum* 2 vols (Rome 1989) Fig.1 and J.G. Pedley, *Sanctuaries and the sacred in the ancient world* (Cambridge 2006) 184-5.
[785] P.G. Themelis "'Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης" *Prakt.* 147 (1992) 60-87,78 Fig. 9.
[786] Themelis "Dioscouri" 158.
[787] Paus. 4.31.9.

Sanctuary Ω-Ω

The identification of the building with Demeter and Kore is based on a particular interpretation of Pausanias' description of his visit to the site[788] and the route he may have taken. After discussing the perimeter walls, he records what he saw in the market-place. This would suggest he was approaching the city from the North. Then, before he describes the Asklepieion, he mentions a temple and statue of Eileithuia and a sacrificial building for the Kouretes, a shrine or sanctuary of Demeter - but not a temple, if his usual distinction between *ἱερόν* (used here) and *ναος* pertains - and, in the same sentence, statues of the Dioskouroi carrying the daughters of Leukippos.[789] The position of building Ω-Ω, with the square base for erection of a statue in front of it, could fit with this account, whereby the statue of the Dioskouroi is juxtaposed with the sanctuary of Demeter and both lie on an indirect route between the agora and the Asklepieion. As discussed, a temple of Eileithuia has now been located in the agora, but some way away from building Ω-Ω. If this and the building for the Kouretes were juxtaposed to the shrine of Demeter as closely on the ground as they were in Pausanias' text, the identification of sanctuary Ω-Ω with that of Demeter does not seem so obvious. The excavator has pointed[790] to other factors too to support his identification of building Ω-Ω. The older foundations and finds suggest a long-standing sacred site which may reflect Pausanias' description of Demeter's sanctuary as *ἅγιον*:[791] the references to repairs[792] to Demeter's temple in Augustus' time would fit with the evidence of some of

[788] Themelis "Dioscouri" 184; Paus. 4.31.5 - 4.33.3, 4.31.9 describes the sanctuary of Demeter. Habicht *Pausanias* 39, suggests that, if Pausanias followed the same route on the ground as the order he gave to the places he saw in the script, he walked from the perimeter wall to the Asklepieion via the sanctuary of Demeter and the statues of the Dioskouroi; if he started from a gate to the north of the city this would fit with the location of building Ω-Ω.
[789] Paus. 4.21.9.
[790] Themelis "Dioscouri" 184-6.
[791] Paus. 4.31.9: Burkert *Greek religion* 270.
[792] *SEG* 23, 207 line 28. Dated to the Augustan Imperial period.

the architectural remains; and a significant number of the bones of sacrificed animals found at the site were from pigs, animals associated with sacrifices to Demeter.

Others have ventured different possibilities, both for the location of the Demeter and Kore sanctuary and for the main deity that may have been venerated at the Ω-Ω building.[793] As Müth has reminded us,[794] juxtaposition in Pausanias' textual record does not necessarily translate into precise equivalent locations on the ground. While there is often a central starting point for his various exegeses,[795] he does not tell us when he is returning to 'base' for a fresh sortie. Thus it is possible that, while the sanctuary to Demeter and the Dioskouroi statues seen by Pausanias were placed near each other in his text, they need not necessarily have been so close to each other on the ground. Additionally, the Augustan accounts mention a 'naos' of Demeter, which, if used in a similar way that Pausanias was to do later, would denote a temple, which is not suggested by the architectural remains.

There are additional reasons to question the firm attribution of the area Ω-Ω to Demeter:[796] the lack of votive or epigraphic evidence for a specific cult of Demeter in this location; the few preserved dedications to her have no provenance[797] or were found elsewhere on the site; the generic nature of the votives that were found here, which could be associated with many female deities; the ambivalent evidence of the sacrificial bones, most of which were from other animals than pigs. Müth has suggested that the

[793] Müth *Topographie Messene* 129-132 and 138-40.
[794] *Ibid.* 129.
[795] Habicht *Pausanias* 19-20.
[796] Müth *Topographie Messene* 138-40 offers a critique of Themelis' evidence and arguments.
[797] *IG* V 1, 1444a, dated to the third century BC.

main deity venerated at the sanctuary Ω-Ω might more likely be Athena Kyparissia[798] who also received cult at Messene in the third century BC,[799] but the main conclusion seems to be to diminish certainty of the identification of the site with Demeter rather than to establish a clear case for an alternative.

The votive finds from building Ω-Ω

The votive material found in and around the sanctuary included figurines, plaques and pottery fragments,[800] which suggest a number of deities and cult figures were important here. Most of the votive finds have been retrieved from two dumps. The vast majority depict a single horse and rider on terracotta plaques.[801] The earliest is dated to the third quarter of the seventh century BC,[802] **(Fig.51)** but most have been dated to a period later than 300BC. Several of the horse and rider votive plaques, including some of the very earliest, have been uncovered near the archaic building remains.[803] There is also evidence of animal sacrifice and possible feasting, which has now been established as associated with hero-cult[804] as well as with deities.

The earliest of these plaques appear to have been made from a mould since several are similar. A process thought to have reached the Greek mainland from Cyprus, they were probably crafted in Corinth where some similar plaques with hanging holes, suggesting

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[798] Müth *Topographie Messene* 129-141.
[799] *SEG* 23, 209, 210; *SEG* 39, 381, records priests of Athena Kyparissia for the fourth and third centuries BC: Zunino *Messeniaka* 143-144.
[800] Themelis "Dioscouri" 160, 161.
[801] For a discussion of the horse and rider image on terracotta plaques from the sanctuary of Agamemnon and Kassandra at Sparta, and more widely, see Salapata *Heroic offerings* 186-203.
[802] Messene Archaeological Museum, hereafter MM, 2188; P.G.Themelis " 'Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης" *Prakt.* 147 (1992) 60-87, 75 and Fig 25a; "ΜΕΣΣΗΝΗ" *Ergon* 1992, 37 Fig. 43a; Themelis "Dioscouri" 162, Fig. 3.
[803] For example on the north side of compartment 5: Themelis "Dioscouri" 160.
[804] Ekroth *Sacrificial rituals* 215-6 suggests that the nature of the ritual, including sacrifice, may have been linked to its purpose rather than the recipient; and, 282-6, that sacrifices to heroes, as well as to gods, were followed by a feast.

similar usage, have survived. Most of the terracotta plaques and figurines from the sanctuary appear to have been of local craftsmanship,[805] suggesting the earlier mould-made plaques were special. In Crete, similar plaques with similar horse and rider images have also been found,[806] but dated probably no earlier than the second century BC. Similar plaques and images have been found in Taras, too, the earliest dated to the fifth century BC. Despite the widely differing dates, the similarity of image, fabric and function is suggestive of a common tradition.

These terracotta votives are among the most significant finds at the sanctuary. Their age suggests cult practice dating back to seventh century BC, thus possibly at the cusp of Spartan incursions into the area. Their putative place of manufacture suggests a relationship between Messenian and Corinthian activities and, by extension, contacts of culture perhaps with the eastern Mediterranean. The early plaques are of a generic type, possibly associated with a local hero, as are similar examples from the sanctuary of Agamemnon and Kassandra at Sparta, or, as elsewhere in the Peloponnese, with a deity, such as Poseidon at Isthmia. They probably reflect the preponderance of horse and rider votives in the Peloponnese from the seventh century BC and earlier - the large number of horse and rider votives at Phlius has already been noted - and do not in themselves indicate the identity of the heroes venerated here. It is unlikely that they should be identified with one of the Dioskouroi at this early date. An iconography of the brothers as cavaliers does not seem significant anywhere in Greece before the fifth century BC, although there are some sixth-century BC, mostly Athenian, examples.[807] Cavalier

[805] Themelis "Dioscouri"161.
[806] E. Homann-Wedeking, "A kiln near Knossos" *ABSA* 45 (1950) 165-192, 189; Themelis "Dioscouri" 163.
[807] The earliest known and certain depiction of the Dioskouroi on horseback is on a vase fragment dated to *c.*600 BC found in the Heraion at Perachora, see n. 242. There are some examples on Athenian vases from the sixth-century BC. In sculpture, if the case is accepted for identifying the Dioskouroi with the

images are found on the relatively few surviving examples of Lakonian painted pottery from the sixth century BC, but with no direct link with the Dioskouroi or other identifiable warrior horsemen.[808] At Sparta, however, this image has also been associated with the cultic processions of the Hyakinthia or of their equivalent associated with Artemis Orthia.[809] If this is right, the propinquity of the remains of the archaic building and horse and rider votives to the ancient sanctuary of Artemis Orthia next door may be relevant, as discussed below.

More likely might be an association with local Messenian horsemen heroes; the excavator has hazarded that an early cult involving the local royal house of Leukippos was practised here[810] and possibly the legendary sons of Aphareus, Lynkeus and Idas, whose portraits were seen by Pausanias painted on a wall of the Asklepieion,[811] as part of the Messenian family tree stretching back to Nestor of Pylos.

In the same area that the earliest horse and rider terracotta plaque was found, a curious triad terracotta group[812] **(Fig.52)** emerged. It has been suggested to represent the three daughters of Leukippos: the two sisters Phoebe and Hilaeira most usually known as the Leukippides and captured as brides by the Dioskouroi, are here joined by Arsinoe, a third daughter also depicted in the family fresco that Pausanias saw on the wall of the

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cavalier statues at Delos, see n. 924, a mid-sixth century BC date can be applied: A. Hermary, *LIMC* 3, 1 *s.v.* Dioskouroi, 1, 590-2 and no. 22.

[808] Vase-painting that can be distinguished as indigenously Lakonian is limited to a period roughly between 600 and 500 BC: Pipili *Laconian iconography* 84; on the possible relationship between horse and rider images and the Dioskouroi: Salapata *Heroic offerings* 202.

[809] Pipili *Laconian iconography* 76.

[810] Themelis "Dioscouri" 183-4.

[811] Paus. 4. 31.11.

[812] Themelis "Dioscouri" 182; Salapata *Heroic offerings* 181 discusses also some Spartan examples, perhaps depicting ritual dancing.

temple of Messene.[813] This might suggest they too were venerated here, amd would strengthen the case for an ancient pre-Epaminondean cult here related to local ancestral heroes.[814]

3.3.5 Sanctuary Ω-Ω and the Dioskouroi

If the building was associated with an earlier hero horseman cult, it would be an attractive choice for the establishment of a later cult of the Dioskouroi. The excavator has suggested that finds from the sanctuary could support its specific association with the Dioskouroi from the fourth century BC, resting the case particularly on a bronze shield dedicated to Polydeukes found within its bounds,[815] the remains of a putative marker stone[816] for the sanctuary with the word Dioskouroi carved on it found nearby, and a couple of fragmentary votive reliefs depicting them, one[817] of which was found in two parts **(52 a-c)** not far away in the Roman theatre, the other[818] **(53)** in an unrecorded location.

There is also a possibility that there was an earlier cult of the Dioskouroi here. The building is very close to the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. The foundations of both buildings are among the earliest architectural remains[819] at the site, of a similar date to the foundations under the Asklepeion and the sanctuaries on Mount Ithome, and thus of a period that could reflect the Spartan influences found elsewhere in the region. The

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[813] Paus. 4.31.11-12.
[814] Themelis "Dioscouri"183-4.
[815] *Ibid.*160-1; *SEG* 45, 302.
[816] Inv. no. AEM 8716; *SEG* 47, 389. Fragment of limestone from the base of a larger block, found opposite the entrance to the Asklepieion: P.G. Themelis "'Ανασκαφὴ Μεσσήνης" *Prakt.* 152 (1997) 79-113, 91.
[817] P.G.Themelis "' Ανασκαφὴ Μεσσήνης" *Prakt.* 157 (2002) 30 and *Ergon* "ΜΕΣΣΗΝΗ" 53 (2006) 39-41 Pl. 35.
[818] MM 267; Themelis *Heroes* Fig.7.
[819] Müth *Topographie Messene* 321 has a useful table showing the dates of the various structures uncovered at the Mavromati site to date.

proximity of the two buildings might also suggest an area associated with Spartan cults within the wider sanctuary space and could add weight to the significance of the few finds related to the Dioskouroi. It could even suggest a deliberate relationship between the two buildings and their functions. Artemis in her Orthic persona was associated with child-rearing and female initiation into adulthood, and at Sparta carried a military role.[820] She has also been described as standing 'at the boundaries' between one physical place and another, but also between boundaries of behaviour.[821] The Dioskouroi, with their military associations and their reported cult locations often situated in places away from the centre, might appropriately be associated with her at Messene as much as in Sparta. However, the linking of any of these female deities with the Dioskouroi at Messene is conjecture on present knowledge.

The earliest material evidence for a cult of the Dioskouroi at this site is provided by two pieces of a relief stele depicting the brothers dated from its style to the fifth century BC, **(Figs.53a,b,c)** but found[822] in the nearby Roman theatre suggesting that it might have been moved there for re-use in Roman times.[823] The stele, if dated correctly, would provide evidence of veneration of the Dioskouroi at the Messenian site before it was redesigned by Epaminondas. Other possibilities too need to be examined, however, because it stands alone in providing such evidence. The style of the carving could suggest Attic workmanship. It would have been brought to Messene as a special offering and may not indicate a cult practice at this site that dated back to the time it was made. If it was a later import, its presence at the site would fit more comfortably with

[820] J.-P. Vernant, "Artemis et le sacrifice préliminaire au combat" *REG* 10 (1988) 221-239; N. Richer, "La recherche des appuis surnaturels par les Spartiates en guerre" in J. Renard (ed.), *Le Péloponnese. Archéologie et histoire* (Rennes 1999) 135-148, 143.
[821] R. C. Parker, *On Greek religion* (Ithaca/London 2011) 90-91.
[822] References at n. 816.
[823] A relief putatively of the Dioskouroi has also been found at Argos in one of the entrances to the theatre: Chapter 3.4.6.

the dating of other finds associating the Dioskouroi found there and might be related to the interest of ruling Roman Messenian and Spartan families to establish a local geneaology tracing back their ancestry to the Herakleidai, Herakles and the Dioskouroi.[824] An inscribed stele found at Korone[825] which sets out the claims of one such family seems to have been initially erected at Messene, since it mentions both the city and its walls. Another part relief very likely depicting the Dioskouroi,[826] **(Fig.54)** possibly dated to around the first century BC, was found at an unrecorded location at the site.

The Dioskouroi and Polydeukes

The main evidence for relating a cult of the Dioskouroi specifically to this building is provided by a late fourth-/early third-century BC bronze shield dedicated to Polydeukes.[827]**(Fig.55)** The shield is one of two found in a compartment to the north end of the structure,[828] one of the two largest in the complex, **(Fig.50, area 9)** and thus not far from the place where the statue base and horse legs were found. It has been dated from the dotted lettering and from its dedication by a certain Kallippidas who has been identified with an ephebe of that name from Thouria,[829] a major Messenian settlement. Its placement here might be explained if Kallippidas was among the Thourians helping the Messenians against the city's siege by Demetrios Poliorketes in 295BC.[830]

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[824] For Messene: *IG* V 1, 1399; for the Euryklid family at Sparta and Lakonia: *IG* V 1, 209 and 971; and for an Argive example, *IG* IV, 940.
[825] *IG* V 1, 1399.
[826] MM 267; Themelis *Heroes* Fig. 7; *cf.* a similar from Tegea: Chapouthier *Dioscures,* 55-56, 131; *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi no.139. The site record made in 1969 gives no find-place, but the entry is made below one marked as found in Stoa B. I am grateful to Professor Petros Themelis for showing me the excavation records kept by Anastasios Orlandos.
[827] Themelis "Dioscouri" 160-1;. *SEG* 45, 302. [Under repair in Summer 2013.]
[828] Compartment 9, Themelis "Dioscouri" 158 and 159 Fig.1.
[829] *IG* V 1, 1385, line 32.
[830] Themelis "Dioscouri" 161.

As the excavator has said, the dedication to Polydeukes conjures up an association with the Dioskouroi. On the other hand, it is unusual amongst surviving dedications from Greece for only one of the brothers to be singled out in this way. In Italy and Etruria, the image of Kastor without Polydeukes, and vice versa, is sometimes found.[831] At Argos and Kyrene, Kastor was singled out for a special role.[832] In parts of what is now Turkey, Lycia and Caria for example, Polydeukes enjoyed individual dedications.[833] The dedication of a shield to him at Messene might suggest a specific reason and not necessarily one that would link a cult of the Dioskouroi to this place. Reasons for a personal dedication to Polydeukes might include that in myth, he was originally the immortal brother, being the son of Zeus, Kastor's share in immortality only being conferred at his request.[834] From Homeric tradition, Polydeukes was also associated with skill in boxing and perhaps in this context with hand-to-hand fighting; from the third century BC the skill of Polydeukes' artful boxing, pitting skill against brute strength, had been celebrated in the tales coming out of the Ptolemaic Alexandrian court - Apollonios Rhodios' *Argonautica* and most particularly Theokritos' *Idyll* 22.[835] It is possible the donor may have chosen this location as suitable for dedicating the shield because it already had a special association with the Dioskouroi. The large number of horse and rider votives found here, however, might suggest that this building was more generally associated with hero warriors and thus suitable for a variety of dedications, including this one.

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[831] For example, Side B of a late sixth-century BC Athenian black-figure amphora attributed to the Lysippides Painter depicts Kastor alone, probably with Leda and Tyndareos, Rome, Villa Giulia 24998; *ABV* 255, 9; *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi no. 251; for depictions of Polydeukes alone with Amykos, see n.197.
[832] Plut. *Mor. Quaest. Graec.* (21)23; Pind. *Pyth.* 5, 5-11.
[833] A fourth-century BC medal from Rhodes, found in Caria, *BMC* Caria no.335, and a similar one dated to the mid-first century BC, from Lydia, depict a symbolic wreathed pilos beside two serpents, with the name 'Polydeukes' embossed beneath.
[834] Pind. *Nem.*10, 54-90.
[835] Chapter 2.2.

Sanctuary Ω-Ω and the Andanian procession

Another possibility is that the horse and rider plaques might be associated with the religious procession from Messene to Andania that took place annually, preparatory to the celebration of the Andanian mysteries.[836] The building Ω-Ω, if dedicated to Demeter - one of the main deities honoured in the procession[837] - may have played some part in this. The procession may have been similar to those which took place between Athens and Eleusis or, at Sparta, from the centre to the Amyklaion in celebration of the Hyakinthia.[838] One scholar[839] has linked the depictions on sixth-century BC Lakonian cups of the horse and rider, through their frequent appearance alongside waterbirds and the inclusion too of palm or reed wreaths, with a ceremony in a marshy location such as the Artemis Orthia sanctuary at Sparta. At Athens, horses and riders are thought to have been part of the Panathenaic procession..[840] The proximity of the building Ω-Ω to the route into the sanctuary area from the Arkadian gate, situated to the north west of the site, beyond the theatre, as well as to Artemis Orthia, might well support the notion that it was in some way a significant location on the annual procession to the Karneision grove near Andania preparatory to the celebration there of the mysteries and that this procession might be accompanied by a cavalcade of horses and riders. A procession was certainly included when the arrangements were re-modelled by Mnasistratos in the first

[836] For the epigraphic base for the Andanian mysteries, as reformed by Mnasistratos: *IG* V 1, 1390 dated to 92/1 BC and *SEG* 41, 359; Guarducci "Culti" 195 discusses Andania and Eleusis; Zunino *Messeniaka* 315-334 discusses the sources; further notes on commentaries at n. 754.
[837] See n. 757.
[838] Pettersson *Apollo cults* 10, 14, 122.
[839] Pipili *Laconian iconography* 76; Strabo 8.5.1; Liv. 36.31.
[840] The horses and riders that appear on the Parthenon frieze have sometimes been interpreted in this way: B.F.Cook, *The Elgin Marbles* (London 1997) 40, while others have suggested different meanings: J. Boardman, "The Parthenon frieze: another look" in U. Höckmann and A. Krug, *Festschrift für Frank Brommer* (Mainz 1977) 39-49; J.J. Pollitt, "The meaning of the Parthenon frieze" in D. Buitron-Oliver (ed.), *The interpretation of architectural sculpture in Greece and Rome* (1997).

century BC,[841] and it is possible that they were modelled on an older tradition. In addition, if the statues of the Dioskouroi seen by Pausanias were erected in such a place it might suggest their protecting role as 'gatekeepers' of the city, a role to be established by the first century AD with their symbolic appearance on the gates of Roman Thessaloniki.[842] A similar protecting function was reputedly fulfilled at Thebes by another set of twin brothers Amphion and Zethos.[843] On the other hand, their depiction 'carrying' the Leukippides might rather suggest a straightforward patronal role, associating them clearly through marriage with the legendary ancestry of the Messenians. Either role would be appropriate to mark a procession route.

The possible role of the building Ω-Ω as the starting – or other significant - point of the procession has recently been strengthened by linking the date of the remodelled Andanian Mysteries with the archaeological evidence for a major reconstruction of the building also in the first century BC.[844] However, the evidence is circumstantial and the arguments circular: that the Great Gods of the Andanian mysteries might be the Dioskouroi because of their seeming cult at the sanctuary Ω-Ω at Messene from the fourth century BC, and that the case for their special veneration at this sanctuary is strengthened by the link with the Andanian mysteries. A safer position is to endorse the connection between a cult of Demeter at both sites with possibly earlier predecessor cults based on a female deity, with local attendant cult figures also venerated alongside. Of these, some were clearly suitable to receive votives displaying a horse and rider.

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[841] Zunino *Messeniaka* 331-3; N. Deshours, "Cultes de Déméter, d'Artémis Ortheia et culte impériale à Messène" *ZPE* 146 (2004) 115-127, 117 interprets this procession by analogy with the Spartan Karneia; Müth *Topographie Messene* 132.
[842] The Vardar gate. Heuzey *Macédoine* 272-3, Pl. 22(b).
[843] Gantz *Early Greek myth* 486.
[844] Lo Monaco *Dei d'Achaia* 55-62.

Cult of the Dioskouroi at sanctuary Ω-Ω

It seems that the archaic sanctuary under building Ω-Ω at Messene was of no certain dedication though likely to be associated with horse and rider cult found elsewhere in the Peloponnese from Mycenaean times and possibly with a veneration of local ancestral heroes; that any specific association with the Dioskouroi can most likely be dated no earlier than the fourth century BC, and may well coincide with the refounding of the city by Epaminondas as recounted by Pausanias[845] in a deliberate attempt to seek their protection and placate or divert their 'wrath',[846] and as an assertion of the Messenians' ability to wrest from the Spartans not only their military power but even their patron deities. There may even be some relationship between the placing of dedications and votives to the Dioskouroi in the sanctuary Ω-Ω, to whichever goddess it was dedicated, with the annual procession from Messene to Andania for the mysteries. The paucity of tangible evidence for a specifically dedicated space to the Dioskouroi, however, makes such claims hypothetical.

If it is accepted nonetheless that a specific cult of the Dioskouroi was associated with this place, then it may follow that the dedication of a single horse and rider plaque may also be associated with them, or perhaps specifically with Polydeukes - as suggested by the fourth/third-century BC dedication of the shield already discussed. Another more forceful implication, however, may be that, as in Sparta, whatever rituals may have been associated with the brothers did not require a dedicated building. Where there is sacred

[845] Paus. 4.14.5.
[846] *Ibid.* 4.26.6, includes the information that Epaminondas was first told of the Messenians' release from the 'wrath' of the Dioskouroi by a man resembling a priest of Demeter; the phraseology is similar to that found on an earlier fifth-century BC stele from Sellasia (Sparta) discussed above, *IG* V 1, 919**:** n. 604.

space associated with offerings to them, it is usually alongside and in a sense in support of a more major deity, at Messene possibly Demeter[847] or Artemis.

Against this background, a fourth-century BC cult of the Dioskouroi at Messene looks not unexpected. An earlier one too could fit with the adoption of Spartan deities and cults found during the four hundred years or so of Spartan hegemony. The evidence from the adjacent sanctuary of Artemis Orthia,[848] as well as at other sites in what came to be Messenia, suggests an affinity with Spartan religious practice. There is, however, no known substantive primary evidence for an earlier cult of the Dioskouroi at Messene.

3.4 The Dioskouroi at Argos

[847] Chapouthier *Dioscures* explores the evidence for this triad. However, indications from several locations – Sparta, Thera, Kyrene, Delos, Naukratis – might suggest an association with Apollo.
[848] P.G.Themelis, "Artemis Orthia at Messene: the epigraphical and archaeological evidence' in Hägg *Cult (Epig.)* 101-122**,** 102-5.

3.4.1 The literary record

The literature from Homer onwards treats Sparta as the traditional home of the Dioskouroi, but some texts also give Argos a strong association with the brothers. They were after all the brothers of 'Argive' Helen.[849]

By the mid fifth century BC Pindar can choose to enhance the qualities of an Argive victor at the Nemean games, Theaios, by associating him and his family with the Dioskouroi - or more accurately, with the Tyndaridai.[850] This does not necessarily imply a public cult of the brothers at Argos, but does suggest that an association with them would be welcomed and would not be associated with Sparta alone. In the context of the games, the brothers seem by then to have acquired a certain recognition as supervisors of some aspects of the games at Olympia.[851] Closer to home, their role at the Nemean games and their Argive connections seem to have been jointly acknowledged on coinage issued after supervision of the games had been transferred to Argos around 271BC[852] and may reflect an earlier special relationship for the brothers with Argos. As Pindar explains elsewhere, the deeds of a victorious athlete represent the pinnacle of possible mortal achievement,[853] as near to divinity as a mortal might achieve. In this context, the position of Herakles and the Dioskouroi as arbiters of the Olympian Games

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[849] Hom. *Od.* 23, 218.
[850] Pind. *Nem.*10, 37-8 and 49-90**,** *c.*444 BC.
[851] Pind. *Ol.* 3, 34-41. Although this tradition is not mentioned elsewhere in the texts, it may be endorsed by the presence of an altar to the the Dioskouroi in the hippodrome at Olympia, Paus. 5.15.5-6. A possible dedication to the Dioskouroi by the athlete Timokrates from Eretria *c.*550-530 BC may also link them to the Olympian Games, at an earlier date than Pindar, *SEG* 31, 806.
[852] R.C. Knapp and J.D. Mac Isaac, *Excavations at Nemea III. The Coins* (Los Angeles 2005), hereafter Knapp/Isaac *Nemea III*, 50 note the number of coins from this time showing the Argive wolf's forepart on the obverse with the A for Argos in an incuse square on the reverse with secondary symbols that refer to the Games: (victory) wreaths of wild celery, (Herakles') club and the piloi of the Dioskouroi: Cat. no. 1801 Pl. 22b; *BMC* (10) *s.v.* Argos 145-6 228-146 BC, 146 Cat. no.124 and pl 28**.**
[853] Pind. *Isth.* 6, 10-13; G.B. D'Alessio, "Argo e l'Argolide nei canti cultuali di Pindaro" in P.A. Bernardini (ed.), *La città di Argo. Mito, storio, tradizioni poetiche* (Rome 2004) 106-125, 111-3.

is suggestive: both Herakles and Kastor acquired rather than were born with divine status.

Pindar also specifically associates Theaios' family ancestry with a certain Pamphaës,[854] an Argive from whom the Dioskouroi received hospitality. This theme - the Dioskouroi being associated with personal or family hospitality in a reciprocal arrangement that could bring reward or punishment - is repeated in a story Pausanias tells five hundred years later about a Phormion of Sparta[855] which could suggest a generic root. Pausanias knew Pindar's work and occasionally refers to the poems,[856] so the story may be a reworking of the Pindarian tale. Pindar also emphasises the importance of a family association with the Dioskouroi in achieving athletic victory in his ode to celebrate Theron of Akragas' win at Olympia.[857] It seems that by the first half of the fifth century BC the cult of the Dioskouroi as a family affair was widely recognised, from Argos to Sicily; there was probably a more communal cult too in Sicily,[858] possibly in Argos as well.

Kastor and the Dioskouroi as foundation figures at Argos

At Argos, by the first century AD Kastor has acquired a separate and special status according to Plutarch,[859] as the city's associate founder, *μιξαρχαγέτας*. Kastor had already been accorded some seeming pre-eminence in Euripidean drama[860] and

[854] Pind. *Nem.*10, 49-50.
[855] Paus. 3.16.2-3.
[856] Paus. 5.1.10, 1-2 refers to Pind. *Ol.*10.55.
[857] Pind. *Ol.* 3, 38-41.
[858] Szeliga "Argo metopes", 301 n.43 argues that the prominent dispay of equestrian akroteria statues of the Dioskouroi on temples in Southern Italy and Sicily must suggest a cult meaning for the wider religious community.
[859] Plut. *Mor. Quaest. Graec.* (21) 23.
[860] See Chapter 2. 2, n.185 and 188.

Pindar[861] had identified Kastor individually in his role bringing prosperity to Arkesilas' family at Kyrene, where he may have been venerated separately.[862] Plutarch says that the Argives believed Kastor was buried in their territory, while they honoured Polydeukes as an Olympian - a distinction perhaps also drawn in Messene where a late fourth/early-third--century BC bronze shield was dedicated to Polydeukes alone.[863]. It is unclear how Plutarch's account of Kastor as the co-founder of Argos links to Perseus' role as founder of the city, or to that of Argos[864] its customary founder:[865] Plutarch does not tell us who Kastor's co-founder was but, by that time, the Argives appear to wish to assert a relationship with Kastor and possibly with both brothers. An inscription from Argos dated to the second century AD on a stele set up to honour one Titus Statilius Timocrates (II) Memmianus,[866] claims his family's descent from the Dioskouroi as well as Perseus. This could suggest that by Roman times these foundation figures were seen as equally valid, in the same way that the Euryklid family in Sparta claimed descent from both Herakles and the Dioskouroi[867] from the first century BC. An inscription from Epidauros dated around one hundred years earlier[868] shows a member of this Argive/Epidaurian Memmianus family claiming descent from Perseus and Phoroneos,[869] Argive founding figure and grandfather of Argos, suggesting that the family's later interest in the Dioskouroi may have been stimulated by other factors.

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[861] Pind. *Pyth.* 5, 5-11.
[862] Discussed in Chapter 4.2.
[863] References at n.37. Pind. *Ol.* 7, 83 suggests a bronze shield was among the customary prizes at the Argive local games, possibly those held for the Argive Heraia (or Hekatombaia); Pind. *Nem.*10, 22: W.B. Henry (ed. and commentary), *Pindar's Nemeans. A selection* (Munich 2005), 99-100.
[864] *RE* 2 *s.v.* Argos (18), 790-1; R.A. Tomlinson and A.J.S. Spawforth, *OCD*[4] *s.v.* Argos (1), 149 ; *LIMC* V *s.v.* Io nos. 22-30, 34-38 and 44-61, gives depictions of Argos, mostly Roman.
[865] Paus. 2.16.1.
[866] *IG* IV, 590 lines 4-5; Verona, Museo Lapidario Scipione Maffei 63; A.J.S. Spawforth, "Corinth, Argos and the Imperial cult: pseudo-Julian letters 198" *Hesperia* 63.2 (1994) 211-232.
[867] *IG* V 1, 209 and 971.
[868] *IG* IV, 940, 6-7; the inscription also claims relationship with the Lakedaimonian Herakles and Lysander.
[869] *RE* 21 *s.v.* Phoroneus, 645; Gantz *Early Greek myth* 198-9; J.M. March, *OCD*[4] *s.v.* Phoroneus, 1141.

There is evidence elsewhere in Greece[870] to suggest a burgeoning of interest in the Dioskouroi in the second and first centuries BC, possibly stimulated by their increasingly close association with Roman Imperial rulers, as exemplified by Augustus and his two grandchildren, and subsequently adopted sons, Gaius and Lucius[871] and then again more widely in the second century AD,[872] the latter seemingly re-kindled by the joint rule of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. As already noted, an inscription from Sparta to 'the new Dioskouroi'[873] may be alluding to them; and the Dioskouroi appear on a number of coins around the Roman empire[874] during their rule reviving an earlier Roman pattern.[875] One such coin from Argos[876] **(Fig.56)** depicts two cavaliers astride prancing horses, the left with its head raised higher than the other, an image which could suggest a deliberate distinction between the senior and junior Roman imperial brothers as much as the Dioskouroi in their Argive incarnation.

If there was a fresh focus on the symbolic value of the Dioskouroi in the political environment of the second century AD, there were antecedents which could help reinforce Plutarch's earlier claim for Kastor's special role in the city's foundation. The symbols of the Dioskouroi had featured on coins minted at Argos from the late third

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[870] The evidence of surviving inscriptions suggests significant interest in the Dioskouroi not only as claimed heroic ancestors of various élite Graeco-Roman families from the Peloponnese, but also as the recipients of dedications at some of the major Greek sanctuaries, including Delos and Epidauros..

[871] Poulsen *Ruler ideology* 123; also n. 279.

[872] At Thessaloniki equestrian images appeared on either side of the Roman Vardar gate and are thought to represent Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus or possibly Vespasian and Titus: Heuzey *Macédoine* 272-3, Pl. 22 (b).

[873] *IG* V 1, 447, 161-169 AD.

[874] On their appearance on Roman coins in the Orient: F. Gury, *LIMC* 3, 1 *s.v.* Dioskouroi (in peripheria orientali) 632-3.

[875] The Roman Dioscuri appeared as cavaliers, along with their symbols of piloi and stars on their heads, on the reverse of many denominations of Roman coins minted at Rome from 225 BC (with Jupiter or Mars on the obverse) and were standard for the reverse of the denarius between 209 and 158 BC; from 179 BC this image was sometimes replaced with galloping horses and different supporting symbols such as a moon, a prow of a ship or victory: Crawford *Roman Republican* 1, 44-56 and 2, 715 and 720. For coins minted at Taras, see n. 1047, 1048.

[876] Dupondius minted under Marcus Aurelius, ruled 161-180 AD, jointly with Lucius Verus 161-169AD. C. Flament and P. Marchietti, *Le monnayage argien d'époque romaine* (*d'Hadrien à Gallien)* (Paris/Athens 2011), hereafter Flament *Monnayage argien*, 86 Fig. 53.

century BC, probably to assert their close association with the Nemean Games: their piloi, some with crowning stars, appear in various combinations on the reverse of coins[877] (as they did also at Sparta at the same period)[878] and continued to do so, albeit with some breaks, throughout the changing political environment, into the second century AD.

Sacred space

As at Sparta, Pausanias is the main source[879] we have for reports of sacred buildings, shrines and customs relating to the Dioskouroi at Argos. He reports two shrines, one in Argos itself, the other just ouside to the South not far from the Erasinos river. At both he saw statues of the brothers, those in Argos as part of a family group with their wives and sons. The Erasinos shrine he describes as a sanctuary (*ἱερὸν*)[880] lying about a kilometre (eight stades) off the main route between Argos and Lerna, where it crossed the river. There were wooden statues of the Dioskouroi, whom Pausanias calls also Anakes, similar he says to those he saw in the city of Argos itself. This suggests a deliberate relationship between the two cult locations - a link perhaps acknowledged by the chorus in Aeschylus who refers to gods who protect the city of Argos and others who are worshipped near the Erasinos.[881] This position on the route between Argos and Lerna**,** **(Fig.57)** not only an ancient port under Argive rule but legendarily one of the entrances

[877] *BMC* (10), *s.v.* Argos 145-6, 228-146 BC, Cat. nos. 121 and 122. At broadly the same period, piloi are known to have been used elewhere as symbols of the Dioskouroi: *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi nos. 238-249, including on Thera and Delos and at Pergamon*; s.v.* Dioskouroi/Castores nos.134-141; see n. 1041.
[878] *BMC* (10) *s.v.* Laconia Cat. nos. 6-13, and Pl. xxiv 4 and 5; Grunauer *Lakedaimonier* 100-102 lists the various types, the earliest *c.*223-222 BC on the obverse of bronze coins, 20 (Gruppe VII) Katalog S.116 and Tafel 41-3, continuing to appear into the third century AD under Gallienus and his wife Salonina: *Ibid.* 105, Abb.15.
[879] Paus. 2.15-25 deals with Argos, its history and near territories.
[880] *Ibid.* 2.36.6.
[881] Aesch. *Supp.*1019.

to the underworld,[882] could also suggest a natural location for saviour deities. A similar position for a shrine and statues of the Dioskouroi is reported by Pausanias[883] at ancient Krokeai, on the road between Sparta and its port at Gythion. The Erasinos site has not yet been identified, although modern Kephalari, [884] where the river still gushes out of the rock overlooked now by an Orthodox sanctuary, could be a possible location. This too could provide a reason for locating a shrine to the Dioskouroi here, since the brothers have been associated elsewhere with guarding water sources[885] and may also have been assigned this role at Krokeai.[886]

The shrine to the Dioskouroi in Argos itself, Pausanias describes as a temple (*ναός*)[887] located, as at Sparta, away from the central position accorded to the most important, usually Olympian, deities of the city and near the grave of Argos who, like Polydeukes, was also reputed to be a son of Zeus.[888] If Pausanias' distinction between a *ναός* and a *ἱερόν* is used here as elsewhere,[889] it would suggest a temple built to house a cult statue or, perhaps in this case, statues, possibly therefore the ones Pausanias says he saw of the Dioskouroi with their horses.[890] Certainly the order of Pausanias' text suggests the statues relate to the *ναός*, but on the other hand he also describes them as part of a group with their wives, Hilaeira and Phoebe, and sons Anaxis and Mnasinous. He says more

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[882] Paus. 2.37.5-6 recounts Nero's attempts to find the supposed entrance in the depths of the inland Alkyonian Lake, since then dwindled into marsh and drained in the nineteenth century. As noted earlier, by the second century AD the Roman Dioscuri are designated by Lucian as Apollo's guides to the Underworld.
[883] Paus. 3.21.5
[884] See n. 973.
[885] References at n. 414.
[886] A relief dedicated to the Dioskouroi in Roman times was recovered from the fountain at Krokeai; *CIL* iii 493; Forster "Laconia Inscriptions" 187-8; Poulsen "Croceae relief".
[887] Paus. 2.22.5.
[888] By Argive Niobe, daughter of Phoroneos: Paus. 2.34.4-5; *RE* 2 *s.v.* Argos (18), 790.
[889] The distinction between the two terms is found elsewhere than in Pausanias: W. Burkert, "Greek temple-builders; who, where and why?" in R. Hägg (ed.), *The role of religion in the early Greek polis* (Stockholm 1996) 21-29, 22-3. posits that *ἱερὸν* is an older term, deriving from the Mycenaean, and denoting a sacred space.
[890] Paus. 2.22.5.

about these statues than the few others of the brothers he mentions,[891] making it likely that he may have actually seen them. He attributes all of the statues to the sculptors Dipoinos and Skyllis, examples of whose work were said to be found elsewhere in the region.[892] Pliny describes them as Cretan, primarily sculptors in wood, brought to Sikyon before Kroisos came to the throne of Lydia (in 560BC) in what he calls the 50th Olympiad.[893] If Pausanias' attribution is correct and Pliny's dating also, these statues of the Dioskouroi can be dated to around the mid-sixth century BC. If they were the statues the *ναός* was built to house, it could suggest that the foundation date of the sanctuary of the Dioskouroi that Pausanias saw, if not the building itself, may also date from as early as the sixth century BC. That would make the sanctuary of Argos one of the earliest of those associated with the Dioskouroi recorded on the Greek mainland.[894] This date would, however, be an outlier in terms of any other known sacred building even putatively dedicated to the Dioskouroi in mainland Greece. As has been explored already in relation to Sparta and Messene,[895] there is no known unequivocal archaeological evidence in Greece itself before the fourth century BC of any sacred building dedicated specifically to the brothers. Such claims as there are mostly relate to the second century BC or later. In the literature, the earliest contemporary references relate to the Peloponnesian war, as discussed,[896] and may not denote actual buildings. It seems more

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[891] Pausanias' comments are mostly limited to their existence, sometimes their material and very occasionally their subject: Sikyon (2.7.5), Kleitor (8.21.4), Krokeai (3.24.4-5), Messene (4.31.9), Pephnos (3.26.3), Troizen (2.31.9) and possibly at Athens (1.18.1).

[892] For example, a statue of Athena at Kleonai, between Argos and Corinth: Paus. 2.15.1; Pollitt *Sources*, 19-20 *s.v.* Dipoinos and Skyllis, 20 cites Clement of Alexandria *Protrepticus* 4.42, who attributes to them statues of Herakles at Tiryns and Artemis at Sikyon, as well as those of the Dioskouroi at Argos.

[893] Pliny *NH* 36.9; Paus. 2.15.1 also suggests they might have been pupils, or even children, of the, possibly apocryphal, Cretan sculptor Daidalos: Pollitt *Sources* 19, n.1. The dating of the early Olympiads is uncertain: P-J. Shaw, *Discrepancies in Olympiad dating and chronological problems of archaic Peloponnesian history* (2003) 62-63.

[894] Recent excavations and pottery finds at Kyrene have suggested the presence of a seventh-century BC sanctuary and building, discussed in Chapter 4.2 below: *SEG* 58 (2012) 1839; Luni/Marengo "Dioskourion."

[895] See above Chapters. 3.2 (Sparta) and 3.3 (Messene).

[896] Chapter 2.5.

likely therefore that, while the statues may date from the sixth century BC and may all have been placed together within a sacred temenos, the temple Pausanias says was dedicated to the Dioskouroi would have been erected later.

In addition to these two locations Pausanias reports, recent excavations in the city have suggested another possible shrine or space dedicated to the Dioskouroi near the theatre, which may pre-date its construction at the end of the fourth century BC.

3.4.2 The equestrian images of the Dioskouroi at Argos

Pausanias' description of the statues of the Dioskouroi[897] leaves much unclear. He tells us that he saw statues of the Dioskouroi, of their sons Anaxis and Mnasinous and with them, their mothers Hilaeira and Phoibe, the Leukippides;[898] that all the statues were made of ebony but that those of the horses also included some ivory. It is not clear how many horses there were, whether they were associated with the Dioskouroi alone or with their sons, or both, and whether or not they were mounted. Pausanias reports a similar family grouping of statues in Athens at the 'ancient' shrine of the Dioskouroi,[899] where he says explicitly the children ride the two horses while their fathers are standing. The Dioskouroi and the Leukippides are reported in sculptural representations elsewhere in the sixth century BC, although mostly depicting the scene of their pursuit - at Sparta, as mentioned already, on the base of the throne of Apollo at Amyklai, where the children again appear, mounted,[900] and on the statue base of Athena Chalkioikos. This image is possibly also represented on the sixth-century BC Siphnian

[897] Paus. 2.22.5.
[898] Honoured at Messene as the daughters of the legendary royal house (see Chapter 3.3, n.812) and, in some texts, the wives of the Dioskouroi: Gantz *Early Greek Myth s.v.* Dioskouroi 323-328, 324-6; A.H. Griffiths, *OCD*[4] *s.v.* Leucippides, 824.
[899] Paus.1.18.1.
[900] *Ibid.* 3.18.13.

treasury at Delphi and on two of the surviving metopes from the Heraion at Foce del Sele (ancient Silaris) near Paestum,[901] also dated to the sixth century BC albeit near its end. It seems that the representation of this subject in sculpture, if not free-standing statuary, was well established in the sixth century BC and could support a similar dating for the statues at Argos. Statues of the Dioskouroi with the Leukippides were also set up at Messene,[902] but probably after Epaminondas' re-founding of the city and arguably as part of its creation of its mythic past. The Argive statues of the Dioskouroi may have been conceived individually rather than as part of a group, since Pausanias singles out these alone as similar to the ones at their sanctuary on the way to Lerna.

Pausanias reports that all these Argive images were made of ebony, perhaps denoting greater status than those statues of the Dioskouroi carved from an unidentified wood that he reports at Sikyon and Lerna.[903] Certainly ebony would have been relatively rare, imported for example from Ethiopia via Egypt and the Levant.[904] The additional ivory added to the horses' statues suggests not only their value and thus possibly an élite commissioner,[905] but also the importance of the horses within the grouping. The addition of ivory may additionally denote a Near Eastern connection in the craftsmanship[906] as well as its source. Pausanias seems to attach a particular importance to surviving wooden statues for their antiquity,[907] for example in his discussion of the

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[901] Dated to the third quarter of the sixth century BC, now in Paestum Archaeological Museum: *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi no. 206.
[902] Paus. 4.31.9; Chapter 3.3 (Messene)
[903] Paus. 2.7.5 and 2.36.6.
[904] R. Meiggs, *Trees and timber in the ancient Mediterranean world* (Oxford 1982) 61, 65**;** K.D.S. Lapatin, *Chryselephantine statuary in the ancient Mediterranean world* (Oxford 2001), hereafter Lapatin *Chryselephantine statuary*, 44 n.66.
[905] Lapatin *Chryselephantine statuary* 135.
[906] *Ibid.*
[907] Paus. 2.19.3 suggests that all 'ancient' images, and particularly those which he calls 'Egyptian', were made of wood, although at Phlius, 2.13.5, he sees a bronze statue of Artemis he thinks might also be 'ancient'. He cites a number of examples of wooden statues from the Argolid, suggesting they may have been more prevalent in the area, perhaps because of the lack of local marble

various statues of Hera he saw at the Argive Heraion.[908] It seems difficult to believe, however, that such wooden statues of the Dioskouroi and their horses, if they were standing outside, would have survived intact the six to seven hundred years or so that spanned their putative creation in the mid-sixth century BC until Pausanias' day, although there are examples of some small wooden figures that have survived[909] even to this day given the right climatic conditions.[910] Their survival would strengthen the argument for a protecting *ναος* built sometime between their creation and Pausanias' arrival in the city.

The materials of which the statues were made, ebony and ivory, are associated with archaic statuary[911] and would support a mid sixth-century BC date. On the other hand, their attribution to the possibly fabulous sculptors Dipoinos and Skyllis could suggest a deliberate attempt to create an ancient pedigree for the statues, which conceivably could have been constructed later: archaising sculpture in antiquity has been claimed[912] to be at its height in the fourth century BC and there is a specific example of a gilded wooden statue of Athena attested in the fifth century BC, set up at Plataia.[913] An equestrian pose for the Dioskouroi could be unusual much before 500BC from what we know of both recorded and surviving images of the brothers on vases as well as in sculpture or on coins, although there is some evidence of equestrian statues per se from the mid-sixth

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[908] Paus. 2.17.4-5.
[909] Intricately carved wooden statuette of a richly dressed woman, H. 29cm, ? *c*.600 BC, possibly a model for a larger statue; once in Samos Museum, H 41: O. Palagia (ed.), *Greek sculpture: functions, materials and techniques in the archaic and classical periods* (Cambridge 2006 repr. 2008), hereafter Palagia *Greek sculpture*, 10 and Fig.6.
[910] Lapatin *Chryselephantine statuary* 43 remarks the dry climate of Egypt as conducive to wood preservation; also the marshlands of Samos, albeit destructive to paint or metal decoration; n.58 gives bibliography.
[911] G. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* (New Haven 1970) 139; J. Boardman, "Sources and Models" in Palagia *Greek sculpture* 1-31, 12.
[912] Ridgway *Archaic style* [2] 454 and 468 n.11. 23 gives bibliography.
[913] Lapatin *Chryselephantine statuary* 61. The statue was said to be set up with the spoils from either Marathon (Paus. 9.4.1-2) or Plataia (Plut. *Vit.Arist.* 20.3).

century BC.[914] A tradition of equestrian statuettes worked in bronze appears to have been established in Argos, Corinth and Sikyon in the sixth century BC,[915] and bronze horse and rider votives made in this area have been found not only around Peloponnesian shrines but as far afield as Dodona.[916] The earliest substantive equestrian statues with mounted riders to have survived in Greece are from Attica and Athenian-controlled Delos,[917] dated to the second half of the sixth century BC - roughly contemporaneous with the supposed sculptors of the Argive statues, Dipoinos and Skyllis. Fashioned from marble, however, they are not directly comparable with the wooden sculptures Pausanias saw. Examples are also few. They have been claimed as an Attic innovation,[918] possibly not replicated widely elsewhere because of the practical difficulty of balancing a relatively heavy body on four comparatively weak supports and often requiring additional props.[919] Their appearance in the second half of the sixth century BC in Athens may reflect the political environment of the Peisistratos regime[920] as well as technical advance. One scholar has suggested these Attic examples are both votive and funerary.[921] Two of these surviving statues have been identified with the Dioskouroi. One, the so-called Rampin Rider[922] dated to around 550BC was suggested to have been one of a couple[923] and possibly intended as symbolic representations of

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[914] M.A. Eaverly, *Archaic Greek equestrian sculpture* (Michigan 1995), hereafter Eaverly *Equestrian sculpture*, 3, 73-126, identifies eighteen: fourteen from Attica and three from Delos.
[915] W. Lamb *Ancient Greek and Roman bronzes* (first published 1929, revised L.K. Congdon, Chicago 1969) 87.
[916] Dodona, Ethnic Museum: S. Karouzou, "'Ιππεις της Δωδωνης" in F. Eckstein (ed.), *ΘΕΩΡΙΑ: Festschrift für W.-H. Schuchhardt* (Baden-Baden 1960) 231-250, 238-41.
[917] Hdt. 1.61.3 and 64; Thuc. 3.104 record Peisistratos' control of the island.
[918] Ridgway *Archaic style* [2] 199.
[919] B.S. Ridgway, "Birds, '*meniskoi*' and head attributes in Archaic Greece" *AJA* 94/4 (1990) 583-612.
[920] J. Boardman, "Herakles, Peisistratos and sons" *RA* 1(1972) 57-72; Hermary **"**Images" 51-76; H.A. Shapiro, *Art and cult under the tyrants in Athens* (Mainz 1989**)** 149-53.
[921] Ridgway *Archaic style* [2] 199.
[922] In two parts, Athens, Acropolis Museum no.590 (torso) and Paris, Musée du Louvre no.3104 (head) first recognised as belonging together by Humfry Payne: H. Payne and G.M. Young, *Archaic marble sculpture from the Acropolis* (London n.d.) 8 and Pl.11a-c.
[923] Ridgway *Archaic style*[2] 200-1.

Peisistratos' sons. This interpretation is now discredited,[924] however: further analysis of the fragments has shown the horse and rider to be a single piece, probably representing a victor in a race, garlanded with a celery wreath (associated with the games at Isthmia and Nemea), the head turned not, as was surmised, to look at a companion rider but towards the crowd. The other sixth-century BC statue associated with the Dioskouroi is a legless and headless marble horse and rider from Delos that has been paired with a similar rider torso and other fragmentary finds; together, these are suggested to represent the Dioskouroi themselves and to have been dedicated during the time of the the Peisistratid ritual cleansing of the island between 540 and 528BC.[925] Claims for the Dioskouroi as the subjects of other sixth-century BC statues have also been made, such as the two kouroi statues at Delphi and those at Sounion.[926] As with vase paintings, images of two cavaliers can be claimed as depicting the Dioskouroi or alternatively it may be that the dual warrior image is a generic type that can be used to depict the Dioskouroi in a specific setting,[927] but not invariably. What can reasonably be claimed, however, is that the existence of double equestrian statues in the sixth century BC means that a mounted pose would be conceivable for the Argive Dioskouroi statues that Pausanias saw.

A further consideration is how far the Dioskouroi were customarily depicted on horseback at the mid-sixth century date when the statues were supposed to have been carved. As just discussed, a number of the few preserved equestrian statues from the

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[924] Some of the marble fragments attributed to the putative second symmetrical horse have now been shown to belong to the fragmentary statue partly reassembled as the so-called "Persian Rider" (Athens, Acropolis Museum 606), others to a larger horse: I.Trianti *Το μουσεο ακροπόλεως* (1998)183; *LIMC* Suppl. 2009 *s.v.* Dioskouroi no.22.
[925] Jockey "Dioscures cavaliers", 45-60, 56.
[926] The so-called Kleobis and Biton statues, Delphi Archaeological Museum 467 and 1534**;** P. Faure, "Les Dioscures à Delphes" *Ant Cl* 54 (1985) 56-65; for the identification and function of the Sounion kouroi: Ridgway *Archaic style*[2] 69-70 and 101-2 n. 3.21 - 3.24.
[927] P.J. Connor, "Twin riders (Dioskouroi?)" *AA* (1988) 27-39.

sixth century BC have been suggested to portray the Dioskouroi. They also appeared on horses **(Fig.18)** in the fragmentary sculptural reliefs that adorn the limestone metopes[928] of the monopteros of the so-called Sikyonian treasury at Delphi, dated to around 570-550 BC: one brother appears mounted to the side of the Argo, traces of the other can be seen on the opposite side. It is generally agreed to be the work of Sikyonian craftsmen, although their commissioning is debated between Sikyon and a city of Magna Graecia, possibly Lokroi Epizephyrioi.[929] On vases, some of the the earliest depictions of the brothers in Greece show them mounted,[930] including the first certain depiction of them on a vase fragment **(Fig. 24a)** dated to the early sixth century BC, where they are named.[931] It may be significant that this fragment was made at Corinth: there are some observable links between Corinth and Argos in both the creation[932] and the find-places of vases.[933] Images of horses being led by the reins by a male figure are among the main distinctive elements of Geometric Argive vase-painting[934] and over two hundred examples have survived.[935] This could support an Argive prediliction for horse-taming heroes such as Kastor or, conversely, for portraying their heroes in equestrian mode, or simply reflecting the presence of horses in the Argive plain.[936] One late Geometric vase **(Fig.58),**[937] dated to the late seventh century BC, shows two such figures facing each

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[928] Delphi, Archaeological Museum 1324.
[929] Szeliga "Argo metopes" 301 argues they may have been modelled on protomes and other architectural examples from Sicily.
[930] *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi nos.1-4. Hermary **"**Images" discusses many of the earliest known depictions of the brothers on Athenian black-figure vases, including one on horseback from a hydria dated *c.* 575-525 BC, related to the Tyrrhenian Group and attributed to the Archippe Painter: *op. cit.* 52 Fig 1; Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig: BS 1401; Beazley Archive 4422.
[931] References at n. 242.
[932] R.M. Cook, *Greek painted pottery*[3] (Third edition, New York 1997) 23-4; P. Courbin, *La céramique géométrique de l''Argolide* 2 vols (Paris 1966), hereafter Courbin *La céramique*, 1, 182 and n.8 on similarity of Argive and Corinthian clay.
[933] Payne *Perachora* 1, 230-1**.**
[934] Courbin *La céramique* 1, 404-5 and 418-20; 446 suggests this is the most characteristic subject of Argive painted vases.
[935] *Ibid.*1, 403 n.5 and 6.
[936] Hom. *Od*, 3.263, 4.561 gives Argos the epithet 'horse-pasturing.'
[937] Large krater, Argos, Archaeological Museum 201, H.47.3; Courbin *La céramique* 2, Pl. 43-5, 113.

other, one with a beard and one without, as found on some depictions of the Dioskouroi including the earliest known relief depicting the brothers from Sparta.[938] These figures are, however, most usually depicted on Argive vases leading their horses rather than mounted. [939] A seventh-century BC bronze votive plaquette from Argos portrays a horse and mounted warrior.[940]

In the literature, the earliest recorded statues of the Dioskouroi are probably those Pausanias saw at Argos, but there is another important example which may have served as a model for some statues of the brothers that have survived: those said to have adorned the base of Apollo's statue at Amyklai. [941] Attributed to Bathykles of Magnesia,[942] they may have a similar mid sixth-century BC date both to the wooden statues at Argos but also the earliest of the marble freestanding statues associated with Attica. They may also have been replicated or at least be similar to the akroteria statues that have survived from the Ionic temple of Marasà at Lokroi Epizephyrioi (modern Locri Epizefiri) dated to the fifth century BC. [943] The Marasà statues show the Dioskouroi as either mounting or descending from their horses. Another smaller equestrian statue from Lokroi does, however, depict a fully-mounted figure,[944] possibly a Dioskouros and originally one of a pair. **(Fig.34)** This was recovered from the nearby Casa Marafioti, built over a Doric temple of Olympian Zeus.

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[938] SM 575.
[939] Courbin *La céramique* 405 n.1-9.
[940] Miniature bronze votive plaque from the Larissa hill: W. Vollgraff, "Une offrande à Enyalios" *BCH* 63 (1934) 138-156, Figs 1 and 2; *LSAG*^{2} 168 Cat.no.2.
[941] Paus. 3.18.9-10, 14. For the various reconstructions of the statue and its base, including the current reassessment by the Amykles Research Project, see n. 506.
[942] Pollitt *Sources* 23-6.
[943] Parian marble akroteria statues, Reggio di Calabria, Museo Nazionale 89538; G.N. Szeliga, *The Dioskouroi on the roof: archaic and classical equestrian akroteria from south Italy and Sicily* (Diss. Bryn Mawr College 1981); *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi no. 24; Palagia *Greek Sculpture* 92 and Fig.32.
[944] Equestrian akroterion statue found in pieces and now reconstructed, dated to the end of the fifth century BC, Reggio di Calabria, Museo Nazionale 10475; *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi no.23; Palagia *Greek Sculpture*, 85 and Fig.39.

In Argos itself, the earliest surviving claimed depiction of the Dioskouroi on horseback is on a relief which has been dated to around 300BC **(Figs.59a-c)** [945] though this may be too early, as will be discussed below. There are Argive coins depicting the Dioskouroi, mounted and facing each other, but these are later, towards the end of the second or very early third century AD. One minted under Marcus Aurelius, already discussed,[946] depicts them on prancing horses. **(Fig.56)** The other, minted under Septimius Severus depicts them in a staider mode.[947] **(Fig.60)** Could these coins have depicted actual statues?[948] And if so, were they statues from Argos or from the home of the Emperors, Rome?[949] And if they were from Argos, were they likely to be the statues Pausanias describes?

If both Pausanias' description and attribution of these statues is correct, their mid sixth-century BC date would make them among the earliest recorded sculptural images of the brothers with their horses. This would be in keeping with the equestrian tradition of Argos remarked in the Homeric literature, the plethora of Argive horse and rider votives dating from the Late Bronze Age found scattered generously in a number of Argive sanctuaries and settlements[950] and bronze figurines found particularly at the Argive

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[945] Argos, inset into the south parodos of the Hellenistic theatre, G. Roux, "Chroniques des fouilles en 1955. Travaux de l'école française. Argos IV. Le théâtre" *BCH* 80 **(**1956) 376-395, hereafter Roux "Argos: théâtre", 389 Figs. 50 and 51.
[946] See n.875.
[947] F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, "Numismatic commentary on Pausanias: Corinthiaca" *JHS* 6 (1885) 59-101, *s.v.* Argos 87, no.18 *A*E S. Severus, 193-211 AD; *SNG* (Copenhagen) 'Argolis' 100 ; *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi no.14.
[948] L. Lacroix, *Les r**é**productions de statues sur les monnaies grecques* (Liège 1949) 195 concludes that the first certain copy of a statue on a coin is from the first half of the fourth century BC, that copies of statues on coins became more prevalent and faithful over the Hellenistic period, but that it was under the Roman emperors that statues on Greek coins abounded, their style showing a penchant for archaism.
[949] The colossal cavalier statues of the Dioscuri still standing in Rome today could represent the type. **(Figs.2, 3)**Those on the Quirinale have been dated to the early second century AD, those on the Capitoline, though dated to the fourth century AD, may be copies of earlier Greek originals. See n. 4 and 5.
[950] Argos, Asine, Tiryns, where Argive inscriptions are also found: A. Foley, *The Argolid 800-600 BC* (Göteborg 1988), hereafter Foley *Argolid*, 107-8, 139-142.

Heraion,[951] and the predilection shown for depicting horses and their handlers on locally made vases from as early as 700 BC.

3.4.3 The archaeological evidence

Excavations at Argos[952] have not so far identified the possible temple, the *ναος*, of the Dioskouroi mentioned by Pausanias although they have confirmed other buildings he recorded and their whereabouts.[953] As with Sparta, excavating the ancient city is complicated by the presence of the modern town built over it..[954] **(Figs.61, 62)** Some of the earliest excavations, undertaken by Wilhelm Vollgraff in the last century, focussed on the Larissa hill which overlooks the city and has not been overbuilt. Evidence of major sanctuaries[955] dedicated to Zeus and Athena was found, along with a large votive hoard mainly associated with Athena. The other major sanctuary area so far uncovered is known as the Aspis, another hill site to the north east of the Larissa, where a major sanctuary to Apollo Pythaieus dated to the sixth century BC has been uncovered.[956] A temple to Apollo Lykeios near the agora seen by Pausanias has also been excavated[957] and an altar found dated to the fifth century BC.[958] A wolf's forepart was selected to

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[951] *Ibid.* 90.
[952] These are summarised by period in A. Pariente and G. Touchais (eds.), *Argos et l'Argolide. Topographie et urbanisme* (Paris 1998), hereafter Pariente/Touchais *Argos*; see particularly 9-23, Touchais/Divan-Valakou for the neolithic to geometric period; and 165-176, Barakari-Gléni/Pariente for the seventh to second centuries BC.
[953] M. Piérart, "L'itinéraire de Pausanias à Argos" in Pariente/Touchais *Argos*, 337-356, hereafter Piérart "L'itinéraire",
[954] R.A. Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid* (London 1972), hereafter Tomlinson *Argos*, 15-17; Pariente/Touchais *Argos* Pl.V.
[955] Foley *Argolid* summarises the archaeological evidence for sanctuaries in Argos 800-600 BC.
[956] C.W. Vollgraff, *Le sanctuaire d'Apollon Pythéen à Argos* (Paris 1956), hereafter Vollgraff *Sanctuaire d'Apollon*, 11-12, Fig.5. Temples to Apollo Pythaieus have also been identified at Asine and Tiryns, suggesting the special place of this cult across the Argolid.
[957] Vollgraff *Sanctuaire d'Apollon* 9.
[958] G. Roux, "Deux études d'archéologie péloponnèsienne: 1.Autel *à triglyphes bas* trouvé sur l'Agora d'Argos" *BCH* 77 (1953) 116-123. It was this temple where in 420 BC the major treaty between Athens, Argos, Mantinea and Elis was to be inscribed for public view, the equivalent of a stone pillar to be set up on the Akropolis in Athens, again indicating a preeminent role for Apollo at the heart of the city's civic activities: Thuc. 5.47.11; Foley *Argolid* 189.

represent Argos on many of its coins from the fifth century BC[959] on the reverse of which appeared symbols some of which represented the Dioskouroi.[960] The importance of Apollo in Argos could also be indicative of the role of the Dioskouroi in the city's cultic life. Evidence of the brothers' association with Apollo is found elsewhere in the Peloponnese from the sixth century BC, perhaps particularly in his military role[961] and in relation to the Karneia;[962] their presence has already been noted on the legendary decoration of the chest commissioned for the tyrant Kypselos of Corinth,[963] and on the throne that supported Apollo's statue at Spartan Amyklai. Coins were minted at Sparta in the early second century BC displaying an Apollo bust and diadem on the obverse, with the Dioskouroi caps on the reverse.[964] Their association is also found further afield. At Naukratis, votive vases dedicated to them were found in sacred space near Apollo's temple there,[965] and at Kyrene their cult may have been associated with the Karneia.[966] Excavations at the sanctuaries of Apollo Pythaieus and Apollo Lykeios, however, have not yet yielded material to suggest an association with the Dioskouroi.

Although excavations have not identified the *ναός* of the Dioskouroi, there is an inscription that may allude to it.[967] This refers to a temenos of the *Fάνακες* whom many

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[959] *BMC* (10) *s.v.* Argos, before 421 BC, 36-7 Cat. nos.1-26, Pl. xxvii (1) and (2); silver drachma *c.*490-470 BC: A.S.Walker *Coins of the Peloponnesos. The BCD collection* (Zurich 2006) 251.
[960] *BMC* (10) *s.v.* Argos 145-6, Cat. nos. 121 and 122.
[961] N. Fields, "Apollo: god of war, protector of mercenaries" in. K.A. Sheedy (ed.), *Archaeology in the Peloponnese: new excavations and research* (Oxford 1994) 95-115.
[962]Petersson *Apollo cults* 57-72.
[963] See n.213.
[964] Coins minted in the time of Nabis, 196-192 BC, Grunauer *Lakedaimonier*, 32-33 (Group XI), Kat. S.127 Tafel 7 nos. 1-6; Knapp/Mac Isaac *Nemea III* Cat. no. 1582.
[965] *Naukratis* I,16 and Pl.VI.6 and XIII.7 and 12; E.A. Gardner *Naukratis* II (London 1888), hereafter *Naukratis* II, 30-2; discussed further in Chapter 4.3.
[966] Pettersson *Apollo cults* 60.
[967] *SEG* 26 428, 32 373; C.B. Kritsas, "ΑΡΓΟΛΟΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΑ" *AD* 27 (1972) 204-5, 192-219; M. Piérart, " Deux notes sur l'itinéraire de Pausanias" *BCH* 106 (1982) 139-152, hereafter Piérart " Deux notes", 146. The inscription reads:
[- - -]ιμος άνέθηκε
[- - -]Ο τέμενος
[τοῖ]ν Γανάκοιν

scholars hold to be synonymous with the Dioskouroi at Argos.[968] Dated to around 400BC but re-used in a wall dated to the 'High Imperial' period, the inscription was found at Odos Ant. Chatzi 18 , which lies roughly 400 metres to the north-east of the agora, so could fit with Pausanias' description[969] although lying nearer to the agora than his text might suggest. Recent work on the routes that Pausanias took has suggested that the temple of the Dioskouroi within the city, positioned according to Pausanias somewhere near both the tomb of Argos and the sanctuary of Eileithuia, lay at the far end of the road that led from the agora to the Eileithuian gate, on the north east side of the city and presumably the exit for the way to the Heraion and to Mycenae.[970] The sanctuary of Eileithuia at Argos was reputedly dedicated by, or at least associated with, Helen,[971] so that it would be fitting for her brothers to be venerated nearby.[972]

The shrine of the Dioskouroi 'Anakes' Pausanias mentions on the way to Lerna[973] has also not yet been located. It seems Pausanias' route may have taken him near modern Kephalari[974] about five kilometres south of Argos on the west side of the modern Argos-Tripolis road and not far from the springs of the Erasinos that Pausanias saw and can still be seen. Excavations in the area have uncovered some evidence of a Mycenaean settlement.[975] The nature of the finds does not itself suggest a sanctuary at that spot but, from the evidence of numerous other surviving sacred buildings at Argos and more generally in the Peloponnese built over earlier Mycenaean structures or near tombs,[976] it would not be unlikely if a later sanctuary was founded in an area already known to be

[968] *LSAG*[2] 156.
[969] Paus. 2.22.5-6; M. Piérart, "Deux notes"146.
[970] Piérart "L'itinéraire" 347 and 353.
[971] Paus. 2.22.6.
[972] C. Calame, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque* (Rome 1977) 342-3 n.332;
[973] Paus. 2.36.6.
[974] Tomlinson *Argos* 34-5.
[975] R. Hope Simpson, *A gazetteer and atlas of Mycenaean sites* (London 1965) 17 no.15.
[976] Antonaccio *Ancestors* 246-247.

ancient. A stele[977] dedicated to the *Fάνακες* dated from its script[978] to the late fifth/early fourth century BC has been found not far from here at Xeropigadi. If the sanctuary that Pausanias links by name to both the Dioskouroi and the Anakes was indeed in this area, it would strengthen the case for a relationship between the Argive *Fάνακες* and the Dioskouroi by this date.

While Pausanias' record of the structures and places he saw associated with the Dioskouroi remains untraced, excavations of the Hellenistic theatre at Argos have revealed evidence that may suggest a sanctuary or shrine associated with them on its edge.[979] A shallow relief depicting two cavaliers **(Fig.59a**),[980] thought to represent the Dioskouroi, has been carved on one of the orthostat blocks in the wall of the theatre's southern parodos.[981] **(Fig.59b)** This suggests the block itself was placed there at the same time that the theatre was built and can be given a similar date, around 300BC [982] - or one no later, if it was a re-used piece. The slightly unusual shapes of both the south and north parodoi[983] **(Fig.63)** have been explained by a wish to preserve elements of an earlier cult building or place.[984] A recent reassessment of the site has confirmed that the theatre area was previously home to a number of cults and shrines, some of which may

[977] *SEG* 51 424, 54 436, 55 2125; M. Piérart, "Argos, Philippe II et la Cynourie (Thyréatide): les frontières du partage des Héraclides" in R. Frei-Stolba and K. Gex (eds.), *Recherches récentes sur le monde hellénistique. Actes du colloque organisé à l''occasion du 60º anniversaire de P. Ducrey. Lausanne 20-21 novembre 1998* (Bern 2001) 27-43, 29.
[978] C.B. Kritsas, "Nouvelles inscriptions d'Argos: les archives des comptes du Trésor sacré (IVe s. av. J.-C.)" *CRAI* 150/1 (2006) 427 n.117.
[979] Moretti "Argos sanctuaires", 233.
[980] Roux "Argos théâtre" 388-391, 390 and Figs. 50 and 51: the parodoi are discussed and the relief described.
[981] The parodoi were first excavated in 1954 by the French Archaeological School: J. Bingen, "Chroniques des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1954. Argos, III. Le parodos sud du théâtre" *BCH* 79 (1955) 314-7. That report does not mention the relief.
[982] Moretti "Argos sanctuaires" 233. The excavator dated the parodos wall a little earlier, in the second half of the fourth century BC, based on the pottery finds: *BCH* 79 (1955) 316-7.
[983] In an equivalent position on the north parodies, a bothros has been found probably created at the same time the theatre was built: Roux "Argos: théâtre" 388; Moretti "Argos sanctuaires" 235-6, 251 Fig. 3.
[984] Roux "Argos: théâtre" 388; Moretti "Argos sanctuaires" 245-6.

have terminated with the advent of the theatre, while others may have been moved and their original position marked.[985] One may have been associated with the Wanakes, *Fάνακες* in local script,[986] whose cult in Argos is attested from the early sixth century BC, as discussed in what follows,[987] and for whom a dedication was found in the rubble of the wall at the back of the theatre skene, along with many other pieces of re-used stone: on a limestone block the letters "*F*ANAKOIN" have been inscribed in an Argive script dated to the fifth century BC.[988] A similar dedication has been attributed to what remains of a very rough inscription found in the border stone above the 'parodos' cavalier relief,[989] and has been used to claim the presence of a cult place of the Dioskouroi near the theatre.[990] There are some uncertainties (to be discussed below), however, around the dating of the relief, the inscription and the identification of the cavaliers.

3.4.4 Cult of the *Fάνακες* and the Dioskouroi at Argos

As just noted, there is epigraphic evidence for cult of the *Fάνακες* at Argos from the sixth century BC, while there is none for the Dioskouroi. The term *Fάνακες* may be derived from the Mycenaean term for priest-king, wanax,[991] and is the same as the term Anakes found in Athens and Attica.[992] Pausanias suggests that here at Argos,[993] as at

[985] Moretti "Argos sanctuaires" reviews and updates the evidence, makes the case and cites examples.
[986] *LSAG*^{2}, 151-171 discusses Argive scripts. The *F* or di-gamma of Argive script is sometimes expressed as a 'w' or dropped altogether in modern texts. I have preserved the *F* style in this context of discussing inscriptions.
[987] *IG* IV, 564.
[988] Roux "Argos: théâtre" 388; Argos, Inv.no. E.44; *SEG* 49 355; Moretti "Argos sanctuaires" 238, 258 Figs. 19 and 20.
[989] Roux, *ibid*; *SEG* 16 (1959) 245, *SEG* 49 (1999) 356.
[990] Moretti "Argos sanctuaires" 238-9.
[991] *RE* 1 *s.v.* Anakeion, 2033; *Der Neue Pauly* 1. *s.v.* Anakes, 646.
[992] Hemberg "Anakes" 31-44; *SEG* 33 147 attests their cult in Thorikos and dates it to 380-375 BC; *SEG* 50 (2000) 55 redates it to 430-420 BC.
[993] Paus. 2.36.6.

Athens and possibly also Mantinea,[994] the Anakes are conflated with the Dioskouroi: he alludes to the Dioskouroi by both names in describing their cult at the shrine between Argos and Lerna. Pausanias' naming one of their sons as simply 'Anaxis' when appearing in sculptural groups with their parents at Argos, Athens and Sparta, would bear this out. He also seems to use the term interchangeably for the Dioskouroi in describing their temple near Argos' sanctuary of Eileithuia.[995] Before Pausanias' record, however, there is no known evidence for the association of the word 'anakes', kings or lords, expressly with the Dioskouroi at Argos.[996] In Homer, the term 'anax' is frequently attached to heroes and deities alike, including Apollo.[997] Nor is there any explicit epigraphic evidence from Argos to link the local *Fάνακες* directly with the Dioskouroi before the link made by Pausanias - although equally, there is sparse positive evidence either for their separate cults. There is an Argive inscription *θιοῖν*[998] on a votive aryballos[999] found at Sparta and dated tentatively from its shape possibly as early as the seventh century BC.[1000] Given the dual term, the Dioskouroi could be the intended deities, indicating another mode of address.

Since the nineteenth century, scholars have associated the local cult of the '*Fάνακες'* at Argos with that of the Dioskouroi.[1001] Pausanias' possibly Roman conflation of the two cults – of the *Fάνακες* and of the Dioskouroi - has been extrapolated to earlier periods and the argument made that the ancient derivation of the term 'anakes' used for Bronze

[994] Fougères *Mantinée* 299-301; a fourth-century BC Mantinean coin depicts two busts, one behind the other facing left, wearing *piloi* and carrying a lance, atop an altar, *BMC* (10) Pl. xxxiv no.23; Hemberg "Anakes" 29-30.
[995] Paus. 2.22.5-6.
[996] Hemberg "Anakes" 30-31 includes inscriptions to the *Fάνακες* (*IG* IV (1902) 564, 561 and 566) in the testimonia to support identification of the term 'anakes' with the Dioskouroi at Argos.
[997] *Iliad* 7.23 and 7.27. Hemberg "Anakes" 7-9 lists the different heroes and deities to which the term is applied in Homer and analyses its meaning.
[998] *IG* V 1, 231; *SEG* 11, 678; *LSAG*[2] 156 and 168, Cat.no. 3.
[999] Paris, Muséé du Louvre, MNC 614 [Br. 2918].
[1000] Dated by its shape as suggested by Dunbabin to L.H. Jeffery, *LSAG*[2] 156 n.3.
[1001] *BM Inscr.* 2, 3 no.138; *LSAG* [2] 156 updates and presents the arguments.

Age kings may denote the survival of an older cult transmogrified into those of later periods.[1002] The propinquity of the find-place of the *'skene'* dedication to these '*Φάνακες*' to that of the 'parodos' cavalier relief identified with the Dioskouroi has been used to strengthen the argument not only that the two cults were related, if not conflated, but that the presence of a cult of the Dioskouroi at Argos may be adduced from evidence there of a cult of the *Φάνακες*.[1003]

The epigraphic record[1004] for cult of the *Φάνακες* at Argos suggests it was attested from the early sixth century BC when their name appears in a dedication by the sons of Niarchos on a votive statue base[1005] which has been dated in part by its script. Nearly a century later, the term is found again, this time in an inscription scratched onto a small votive bronze wheel found near Argos[1006] and tentatively dated to the first half of the fifth century BC.[1007] This piece has been associated with the Nemean Games[1008] and its chariot-racing [1009] and, given the dual form of the dedication, with the Dioskouroi, associated as they both were with the games by the fifth century BC,[1010] generally with victory. Dated also to the fifth century BC is the dedication on the re-used skene block already discussed.[1011] At the end of the fifth century, an inscription on a black limestone

[1002] Tomlinson *Argos* 213.
[1003] Moretti "Argos sanctuaires" 239.
[1004] Moretti "Argos sanctuaires" 238 n.29 identifies 6 epigraphic records, all discussed here.
[1005] Dedication on the base of part of a bronze statuette *IG* IV, 564; *LSAG*^{2} 168 Cat.no.6 tentatively dates it to *c*.590-570 BC; Berlin Museum 7837.
[1006] BM 1880, 1211.1; *BMC Bronzes* 253; *IG* IV, 566.
[1007] *LSAG*^{2} 156, 169 Cat.no.28 confirms dating to *c*.475-450 BC.
[1008] *BM Inscr*. 2, 3 no.138
[1009] *LSAG*^{2} 156 n.4 suggests this as a suitable offering for 'horse-taming' Kastor; at Messene a bronze wheel was dedicated to Polydeukes, see n. 826; a bronze wheel was dedicated to Aphrodite at Dodona: B. Alroth "Visiting Gods" in Linders/Nordquist *Gifts to the Gods*, 9-19, hereafter Alroth " Visiting Gods", 13, n. 23.
[1010] Pind. *Ol*. 3, 34-41.
[1011] *SEG* 49, 355.

block[1012] seems almost certainly to refer to these local deities. A further reference to them in a dedicatory hymn[1013] has been suggested.

The bronze statue base dedicated by Niarchos' sons and on which the other fifth-century BC dedication to the *Fάνακες* was carved has been noted as supporting two figures.[1014]These were not necessarily the Dioskouroi, Kastor and Poludeukes, any more than the kouroi at Delphi can be claimed definitely as representations of them, or of Kleobis and Biton or of any other Argive legendary heroes, on the grounds that they were known to have been sculpted by an Argive: there are too few pieces in this jigsaw to make certain connections.[1015] What can be said more safely is that several cities included dual warrior or heroic figures as part of their mythic heritage: Argos also had Kleobis and Biton, Thebes had Amphion and Zethos; Athens, Demophon and Akamas.[1016]

It is possible that a cult of the *Fάνακες* at Argos developed independently of, and earlier than, any later association with the Dioskouroi that may have been made in the texts or as part of a wider assimilation of local with imported cults that was characteristic of the ancient Greek as well as later Roman religious experience. Argos may have appropriated the Dioskouroi more explicitly as an assertion of their leadership of the Nemean Games, in a similar way that the Messenians may have done after Epaminondas' defeat of the Spartans. The presence of cults of the 'Anakes' in Argos and elsewhere may, however, reinforce an argument for a more generic meaning of the

[1012] *SEG* 26, 428.
[1013] *IG* IV, 561; C. Vatin, "Couroi argiens à Delphes" in *Études Delphiques BCH* Suppl. 4 (1977)13-22, hereafter Vatin "Couroi", 22 n.3.
[1014] References at n.1004.
[1015] Vatin "Couroi" 22.
[1016] Gantz *Early Greek Myth* 298; Paus. 2.37.1; on the Dioskouroi, Demophon and Akamas, Eaverly *Equestrian sculpture* 59-67.

term, able to embrace, assimilate or partner similar cult figures. A number of second-century BC inscriptions from Delos[1017] which associate several such deities - Megaloi Theoi, the Kabeiroi and the Dioskouroi - exemplifies these kinds of possibilities. Visiting Amphissa, Pausanias later records some local confusion between the Dioskouroi, the Kouretes and the Kabeiroi.[1018] Iconographical, if not actual, assimilation of the Dioskouroi with other local deities is found elsewhere, for example on a coin dated to 200BC from Syros,[1019] where an iconography associated with the Dioskouroi is used to depict the clearly-labelled Kabeiroi.

3.4.5 The cavalier relief

This relief [1020] **(Fig.59a)** has been suggested[1021] as a key element in linking the cult of the *Φάνακες* in Argos to the Dioskouroi. When found, it was inset within a frame provided by three blocks of stone placed there later, which have since been removed. Above it is an indistinct inscription.[1022] **(Fig.59c)** The relief carving [1023] itself depicts two riders mounted on standing horses, facing each other. The horse on the left has its back left leg slightly raised, while the horse on the right hand side raises its front right foot. Each mounted figure wears a petasos, a short chiton, chlamys and boots and appears to be holding the reins, a feature of earlier images of horses and men appearing on Argive vases from 700BC. [1024] The costume is associated with images of the

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[1017] These include*: ID* 2605, *c.*159/8 BC; *ID* 2605 in the following year, *ID* 1562 and several similar, where these three groups of deities fall under the care of a single priest: S.G. Cole, *Theoi Megaloi: the cult of the Great Gods at Samothrace* (Leiden 1984), hereafter Cole *Theoi Megaloi*, 77-80 n.635-7; J.D. Mikalson *Hellenistic Athens* 208, 216-7.
[1018] Paus.10.38.7.
[1019] *LIMC* 8 Suppl. *s.v.* Megaloi Theoi no.21. *Tetradrachm* inscribed with the words ΘΕΩΝ ΚΑΒΕΙΡΩΝ ΣΥΡΙΩΝ in a wreath and surrounding two naked front-facing male figures, leaning on lances in hand and with stars on their heads.
[1020] Roux "Argos théâtre" 390 and Figs 50 and 51.
[1021] Moretti "Argos sanctuaires" 237-9.
[1022] *SEG* 16, 245; Roux "Argos théatre" 388; Moretti "Argos sanctuaires" Figs.17 and 18.
[1023] Roux "Argos théâtre" 390.
[1024] Courbin *La céramique* 405, 419.

Dioskouroi but it is also the outfit often given to departing warriors on sixth-century BC Attic vases,[1025] and to huntsmen.[1026] The two figures are not identical, however, one of them being noticeably larger. Differentiation is not unusual on Argive vases depicting horsemen,[1027] and can also be associated with representations of the Dioskouroi, where for example one brother is depicted with a beard the other beardless.[1028] But the marked difference in the size of the figures and their horses is not usual for the Dioskouroi or for Argive equestrian iconography, and suggests a purpose other than simple differentiation between the two riders. For example, on Roman coins minted under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, the horses of the Dioskouroi appear to represent them, but one in a clearly superior position over the other, perhaps to reflect Marcus Aurelius' relatively greater authority.[1029]

While the differentiation in size of the horses cannot be taken to imply a trait of Argive iconography, the carving style could reinforce its local provenance: its very low relief, with little or no moulding, a flattened surface, and probable reliance on paint for perspective effect, is a characteristic noted in Argive relief work[1030] surviving on a number of Roman reliefs from the city. **(Fig.64)** At an earlier date, this style is most usually found in Egyptian relief carving although there are some rare examples from mainland Greece and its settlements, notably on the earliest relief of the Dioskouroi

[1025] Including one depicting Polydeukes and Kastor (both named) in this role, or possibly returning: Athenian black-figure type A amphora signed by Exekias as both potter and painter *c.*540 BC; Rome, Vatican Museum 344; *ABV* 14.5.13: Beazley Archive 310395.
[1026] Examples on fifth-century BC Athenian vases include Beazley Archive nos: 202854, 204500, 206361 and 206388.
[1027] See n.936.
[1028] *Cf.* on a sixth-century BC relief from Sparta, SM 575.
[1029] See n.875.
[1030] H.G. Beyen and C.W. Vollgraff, *Argos et Sicyone*: *études relatives à la sculpture grecque de style sévère* (The Hague 1947) 9.

from Sparta dated to the sixth century BC[1031] and a warrior relief from Naukratis of a similar date.[1032] This style has been associated particularly with those peripheral Greek settlements in touch with the eastern Mediterranean where techniques from bronze work may have been familiar[1033] and may suggest imported influences on the Argive relief techniques, as has also been suggested at Sparta.[1034]

The relief has been seen as depicting the Dioskouroi, but this attribution is not straightforward. The particular image appears peculiar to Argos: the majority of depictions of the Dioskoroi as cavaliers, whatever the period and in whatever medium, show the Dioskouroi either dismounted from their horses [1035] (most usual in the admittedly small sample of surviving sculptural reliefs) or, if mounted, facing in the same direction.[1036] Those that depict the brothers mounted and facing towards each other, as does this Argive relief, are in fact facing towards a central object or figure, usually a female.[1037] These are most commonly found in Asia Minor (Lycia, Pisidia and Pamphylia) and are for the most part dated to the Imperial period.[1038] The Argive image appears therefore somewhat unusual. It could be explained by a local preference,

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[1031] Sparta, Archaeological Mueum, SM 575.
[1032] BM B437, limestone relief; C. Blümel, *Greek sculptors at work* transl. L. Holland (London 1955, first German edition 1927) 71-2 and Fig.56.
[1033] A.K. Lembessi, *Oi steles tou Prinia* (Athens 1976) 170 and Pl. 42, 43 and 47.
[1034] Guralnik "Chrysapha relief" 176-7.
[1035] *LIMC* 3. *s.v.* Dioskouroi**,** 'mounted' nos. 1-23, 'jumping on or off horses' nos. 24-25; 'beside their horses' nos. 26-49.
[1036] This ranges from early depictions as travellers on sixth-century BC Athenian vases, for example *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi nos. 2 and 3, through similar depictions in the fifth century BC on Athenian red-figure vases, eg. on a neck amphora from Gela in Sicily dated *c.*475-425 BC, in the manner of the Sabouroff Painter, Oxford Ashmolean Museum V 279/1890 22, Beazley Archive 2940, to representations of the brothers involved in theoxenia, as in its earliest appearance *c.*500 BC on a black-figure lekythos from Kamiros (Rhodes), London BM B633; on Spartan coins minted under Eurykles and later Hadrian, they appear mounted but galloping right: *BMC* (10) 127 Cat. nos. 62-5, 129 Cat. nos. 73-4; Grunauer *Lakedaimonier* 65- 66 (Group XXV) Kat. S.162, Tafel 19 nos. 1-31.
[1037] *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi nos. 123-132.
[1038] *Ibid.* Some 27 are catalogued by L. Robert, "Documents d'Asie Mineure: XXXII. Reliefs votifs" *BCH* 107 (1983) 553-580.

although another relief of similar design discovered in the town[1039] depicts the cavaliers facing towards a central object, an altar, in the more usual way. One possibility may be that this preference was itself the result of the presence of some local statuary which invited representation, possibly even the very statues described by Pausanias.[1040] The depiction of petasoi rather than piloi for headgear would be in keeping with copying a model from an earlier date – petasoi are found in depictions of the Dioskouroi on Attic vases from the sixth century BC,[1041] whereas piloi do not become traditional for them until the mid-fifth century BC.[1042] Moreover, if the example of Athenian vase-painting was followed, the petasoi positioned squarely on the top of the head, as in this relief, may suggest a date for its iconographic model no later than the early part of the fifth century[1043] and possibly earlier, thus not impossibly inconsistent with the mid sixth-century BC date Pausanias attributed to the statues he saw. Alternatively, it is possible the relief depicts other heroic or cult figures venerated locally.

Another and simpler explanation for this unusual depiction is that the relief was carved at a later date, by which time both the design and the very low-relief technique are more widely attested. The relief appears at the right hand side of the orthostat, the rest being left plain, and occupies a position near a corner **(Fig.59b)** which could suggest it was

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[1039] Uncovered near the OTE building in Odos Seferis in 1988/9, Touchais/Pariente *Argos* 496, Ap.no 637, Feuille no.24; mentioned in Moretti "Sanctuaires" 239, but unpublished at that time.
[1040] Paus. 2.22.5.
[1041] As on Beazley Archive vases 4422 and 2940.
[1042] The Dioskouroi appear in piloi, for example, on a red-figure kalyx krater from Orvieto (Etruscan Volsinii) depicting the Argonauts attributed to the Niobid Painter dated *c.*460-450 BC. In the third century BC, the use of piloi as symbols for the brothers appears widespread: at sanctuaries; on coins of the Peloponnese *eg.* on Spartan bronze coins from 223 BC issued under Kleomenes III, and widely on triobols issued under Nabis *c.*219-196 BC (Grunauer *Lakedaimonier* 20-21 (Group VII) Kat.S.116, Tafel 4 nos. 1-3; 21-6, (Group VIII) Kat. S. 117 Tafeln 4-5 nos.1-125)**;** and as lucky signs, sometimes on private buildings at Delos: P. Bruneau, "Apotropaia déliens. La massue d'Héraclès" *BCH* 88 (1964) 159-168, 166, 168 Figs. 6.7 and 12, and at Pergamon: W. Radt, *Pergamon: Geschichte und Bauten, Funde und Erforschung einer antiken Metropole* (Cologne 1988) 279-285.
[1043] T. Mannack, *The late Mannerists in Athenian vase-painting* (Oxford 2001) 88.

added later. A similar occurrence has been observed[1044] in the late Hellenistic theatre at Sparta where the retaining wall of the eastern parodos of the theatre, which has been dated from architectural style and pottery finds to the late first century BC, came to be inscribed with names of Spartan officials in the later first to second centuries AD. While inscriptions are clearly not the same as relief carving, nonetheless the parallel demonstrates the possibility of later additions and also perhaps a particular relevance of placement within the parodos, a very public area of the building. Later carving would also explain the low relief. This would not rule out the possibility that an earlier cult of the *Φάνακες* or Dioskouroi – if that is what the carving was meant to represent - was present at this place, only that the stone to mark it was decorated or even erected later, perhaps at a time when their cult was being rekindled under the influence of Roman leadership. A coin minted at Argos in the time of Septimius Severus depicts on its reverse a very similar image of the Dioskouroi mounted on their standing horses, facing each other.[1045] **(Fig.60)** This coin provides the only exactly parallel image identified so far, and could support a similar dating for the relief. The coin image itself could be based on a pair of statues, a practice not unusual on Greek and Roman coin faces, although possibly not local: a statue of Herakles by Lysippos from Taras may have been the model[1046] for his image on Spartan coins at the end of the third century BC. The image on this Argive coin might also have a South Italian origin:[1047] the Dioskouroi on

[1044] G.B. Waywell, J.J. Wilkes and S.E.C.Walker, "The ancient theatre at Sparta" in W.G. Cavanagh and S.E.C. Walker (eds.), *Sparta in Laconia* (London 1998) 97-111, 99. I am grateful to Dr Susan Walker for this reference.
[1045] Grunauer *Lakedaimonier* Tafel 26 presents a similar from Sparta.
[1046] On triobol coins *c.*219-196 BC: Grunauer *Lakedemonier* 22, 24 (Gruppe VIII) and Tafel 4, 5; Poulsen "Croceae relief" 238.
[1047] A similar cultural 'reverse takeover' may explain the iconography of a first century AD relief found at Krokeai near Sparta, dedicated by a Roman official, probably a former slave, Eudoxus, which is similar to an earlier Tarantine plaque: Poulsen "Croceae relief" 239.

facing horses appear on coinage from Taras dated between 281-272BC,[1048] coinciding with the Roman conquest of that city, but later than the theatre at Argos and its parodoi walls are thought to have been built. There are earlier Tarantine coins featuring the mounted Dioskouroi, for example a gold stater minted in the late fourth century BC[1049] but here, as on the later first century BC Spartan coinage,[1050] the horses are riding as usual in the same direction.

The relief appears to have been dedicated. Above it, some lettering is chiselled into the top border of the orthostat, **(Fig.58c)** but it is difficult to see because of the grain and rough texture of the stone. It has been restored to read [*'Ανάκ*]*οιν ἐκ*, or [*ἀνάκ*]*οιν ἐκ*:[1051] if the letters *-οιν* have been correctly read to give the dual form. The script has been placed in the 'High' Hellenistic period (*c.*250-150 BC) and thus between fifty and an one hundred and fifty years later than the wall into which it was built. This suggests that the inscription represents a fresh dedication made after the theatre was built, even if marking an earlier shrine or space.

Another curious aspect is the presence of three circular holes in which the remains of three metal dowels can still be seen, set into the slab above the relief carving, but below

[1048] Silver didrachm from Taras. Reverse: Taras astride dolphim, holding shield and 2 spears, waves below. Obverse: Dioskouroi on horseback, prancing. G.C. Brauer, *Taras: its history and coinage* (New Rochelle, N.Y. 1986), hereafter Brauer *Taras*, 162, Pl. 44 and 47; possibly revival of an earlier type.
[1049] Minted at Taras *c.*315-314 BC. Obverse: Head of Goddess, Reverse: Dioskouroi mounted, riding left, above ΔΙΟΣΚΟΡΟΙ: Brauer *Taras* 76 and Pl. 31 and 32. Possibly associated with Tarantine employment of the Spartan mercenary Akrotatos in that same year against Agathokles of Syracuse: Diod. Sic.19.4.1-2, 19.70.4-71.7; M.P. Fronda, *Between Rome and Carthage: Southern Italy during the Second Punic War* (Cambridge 2010) 196.
[1050] See n. 1035.
[1051] *SEG* 16, 245, *SEG* 49, 356; Moretti "Argos sanctuaires" 238 suggests that earlier restorations have depended on reading an A at the beginning of the lettering that is no more than a vein in the stone, while ignoring two oblique strokes now identified after the Σ, suggesting a kappa, the extant whole to read simply ΟΙΝΣΚ.

the inscribed border stone.[1052] They are much worn, making it difficult to identify what they comprised or what their function was, though it seems likely they were supports for something reasonably weighty. The original archaeological report surmised they might have carried images of the piloi that were sometimes used as symbols of the Dioskouroi in sacred settings in Greece by the third century BC.[1053] The third and central symbol was suggested to be associated with a female deity, so that together the three would represent the triad of the Dioskouroi and a female figure represented for example on some Spartan reliefs. This seems speculative. While the use of piloi as symbols could fit with the date the wall was built or later, this kind of triad model is not usual until the first century BC or later.[1054] A schema that involved piloi and, say, Herakles' club might be more feasible, given their appearance on Argive coins from the last quarter of the fifth century BC onwards:[1055] The addition of these symbols that appear to have been associated at Argos with the Nemean games could make sense of the otherwise odd decision[1056] to supplement the depiction of the Dioskouroi wearing travelling hats, petasoi, in the main relief with alternative headgear above, and could suggest the relief was associated with competitions in the theatre itself, rather than with an earlier and displaced sanctuary. A relief of the Dioskouroi was also found, perhaps re-used, in the ruins of the Roman theatre at Messene.[1057] The presence of water channels at either end of the orthostat on which the relief is carved could also be significant.

3.4.6 Cult of the Dioskouroi at Argos and in the Argolid

[1052] Roux "Argos théâtre" 388 and Fig.51.
[1053] *Ibid.*
[1054] See n.1036, 1037.
[1055] *BMC* (10) *s.v.* Argos 136 Cat. Nos.1-28 dated to pre-421 BC, shows the Argive wolf on the obverse, a club on the reverse.
[1056] Moretti "Argos Sanctuaires" 238.
[1057] See Chapter 3.3.4.

The evidence of the literature and the city's coinage would support a special veneration of the Dioskouroi at Argos in association with the Nemean games, from as early as the fifth century BC when their responsibility for the games was still disputed with neighbouring Kleonai, but more particularly from the time Argos formally took on responsibility for their organisation in 291 BC. In this role, the Dioskouroi seem to have been adopted as part of the city's recognisable and representative pantheon, along with Apollo and Hera, although this does not seem to have been reflected in corresponding building or votive activity. There is little unequivocal evidence for any other cult of the Dioskouroi at Argos before the first century BC, although Pausanias' record of their putatively sixth-century BC wooden statues and those of their family could suggest this. The *ναος* he also reported that was dedicated to them might similarly have a pre-Roman date, but with no archaoelogical evidence for its existence it may be safer to suppose that, as elsewhere in the Peloponnese, buildings dedicated to or associated with the Dioskouroi were a later innovation. The evidence put forward for a pre-existing sanctuary of the Dioskouroi near or below the Hellenistic theatre rests on the presence of a single relief, itself arguably carved at a later date than the 300 BC date given to the wall in which it was embedded, and on the conflation of the cult of the Dioskouroi before that with that of the local deities the *Φάνακες*. This assumption must remain conjectural before Roman times on the basis of current evidence, but does invite the exploration of similar associations elsewhere between the Dioskouroi and local cult figures - for example, the Kabeiroi in Samothraki and in Thrace, the Anakes and the Megaloi Theoi at Kephale in Attica[1058] and Kleitor in Arkadia, [1059]and possibly the dedication to the two gods, *θιοῖν* found at Sparta.[1060] The dating of these associations

[1058] Paus. 1.31.1.
[1059] *Ibid.* 8.21.4.
[1060] References at n. 72.

may be signficant in charting the exposure of these cities to influences either from the Greek East or the Roman West**.** The name Dioskouroi itself, not generally attached specifically to Kastor and Polydeukes, the Tyndaridai until the fifth century BC,[1061] may suggest a generic typology for these royal brothers, lords and deities, coupled with a local serendipity in matching up and adopting conveniently similar figures for veneration.

[1061] See Chapter 2.1

Chapter 4. The Dioskouroi abroad: some early appearances in the eastern Mediterranean

The evidence from Lakedaimon, the traditional resting place of Kastor and Polydeukes, and from around the Peloponnese suggests a focus in these regions on the brothers' role in supporting victory, either in battle or in the Games. By the fifth century BC, the brothers appear almost as role models for aspirant warriors and athletes, as represented in Pindar. There is also an emphasis on private and personal cult involving hospitality and ritual dining, a custom that by the first century BC may have transmuted into more public or larger-scale events, as at Sparta.

4.1 Thera

According to Herodotos, the island was settled by a disaffected member of the Spartan ruling dynasty called Theras[1062] after whom it was named. Theras was said to be the ousted uncle regent for his nephews Eurysthenes and Prokles who assumed the Spartan throne around 900BC, which would provide a similar date for Theras' arrival on the island. It seems likely that the island was settled by Dorian Greeks from Lakonia[1063] in the general upheavals of population between the collapse of the Mycenaean hegemony and the eighth century BC.[1064] There is archaeological evidence that the island was inhabited continuously from at least the ninth century BC[1065] and, from pottery finds,[1066]

[1062] Hdt. 4. 147-9. The question of whether Theras' own name was fictitious or whether, like the island's other name Kalliste, it was descriptive of the place he legendarily settled, is discussed in I. Malkin, *Myth and territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge 1994), hereafter Malkin *Myth and territory*, 96-7.
[1063] *Ibid.* 89-111.
[1064] J.W. Sperling, *Thera and Therasia* (Athens 1974), hereafter Sperling *Thera*, 62.
[1065] F.Hiller von Gaertringen *et al., Thera: Untersuchungen, Vermessungen und Ausgrabungen in den Jahren* 1895-[1902], 4 vols. (Berlin 1899-1909), hereafter *Thera* I-IV, I: *Die Insel Thera in altertum und gegenwart...*, hereafter *Thera* I, 149 and 283; Farnell *Hero cults* 197; A. Inglese, *Thera Arcaica. Le iscrizioni rupestri dell'agora degli dei* (Rome 2008), hereafter Inglese *Thera Arcaica*, 84, 157; *RE s.v.*

of earlier Minoan connections with Crete [1067] which pre-date the major volcanic eruptions around 1500BC that brought an abrupt stop to that chapter of the island's human history. There is evidence too of cultural links with Crete in Mycenaean times,[1068] and there were also similarities of script between the two communities from the eighth century BC (although this seemed to disappear by the fifth century BC),[1069] and possibly also some shared cult inheritance.[1070]

The main settlement and sanctuary, situated on the mountain promontory called Mesa Vouno (369m) to the south east of the island and spilling down the hill to what is now the modern port of Kamira, was first systematically excavated in the late nineteenth century/early 1900s.[1071] **(Fig.65)** As well as the evidence from pottery of settlement from the ninth century BC, there are some recognizable buildings to survive from at least 600BC, but the majority to survive date from the third century BC and later, when the town and sanctuary appear to have been significantly rebuilt to house a Ptolemaic garrison.[1072]

Thera**;** *IACP*, 782-4; Sperling *Thera*, 62 and 65-6, figs 12a-b, shows the dates of the various settlements on Thera**.**

[1066] Hiller found pottery at the Mesa Vouno site that dated from the eighth, and possibly the ninth or even tenth century BC: *Thera* I, 17; Sperling, *Thera* 62.

[1067] The excavations at Akrotiri in the north of the island by Spyridon Marinatos from the 1960s have been key in establishing these links: F. Hiller von Gaertringen and P. Wilski, *Thera* III: *Stadtgeschichte von Thera* (Berlin 1904), hereafter *Thera* III, 44; *RE s.v.* Thera, 2277; T. Cullen (ed.), *Aegean prehistory* (Boston 2001**)** 52-9, outlines the current evidence for pre-historical links between Thera, Therasia and Crete.

[1068] S. Marinatos and M. Hirmer, *Kreta, Thera und das mykenische Hellas* (Munich 1973) 53-62.

[1069] *LSAG*[2] 316-9; M. Guarducci, *L'epigrafia greca dalle origine al tardo impero* 2 vols. (Rome 1987), hereafter Guarducci *L'epigrafia*, 1, 78-9.

[1070] For example, the cult of Hyakinthos on Crete, likely of Minoan origin from the name, and later absorbed at Sparta in the cult of Amyklaion Apollo, may also have been present on Thera: the name appears in the calendar of all three places, as also at Kalymnos, Kos, Rhodes and Knidos: Willetts *Cretan cults* 222**.** For the month of Hyakinthos on Thera: *IG* XII 3, 452 and 436.

[1071] *Thera* I reports on the nature and topography of the island, as well as archaeological finds from the 1896 excavations.

[1072] R. Bagnall, *The administration of the Ptolemaic possessions outside Egypt* (Leiden 1976) 123-4. The first commandant is attested in *c.* 265BC.

Rock-carved inscriptions dating to the late eighth century BC have been found in a number of locations around the island.[1073] Among these is the oldest known inscribed dedication to the Dioskouroi,[1074] **(Fig.6)** found on the Mesa Vouno acropolis in the near company of a dozen others,[1075] in turn part of a wider group of rock-cut inscriptions.[1076] Hiller named the area the 'agora of the gods',[1077] a hypothesis which would fit with other places of group worship where dedications to the Dioskouroi have been found,[1078] but its real purpose is not known.[1079] One theory is that the area could be interpreted as a banqueting space.[1080] Another is that the site was an ancient sanctuary dedicated to Zeus,[1081] whose name appears in four of the surviving graffiti[1082] found in or around this area and which, along with two accompanying graffiti mentioning some ambiguous figures named *κο(υ)ρεζ*,[1083] and the one to the Dioskouroi, are dated to the late eighth/early seventh century BC and are the oldest found there.[1084] The datings originally suggested by Hiller von Gaertringen[1085] have recently been reaffirmed,[1086] although to date these graffiti confidently is extremely difficult.[1087] One analyst of the particular form of the Dioskouroi graffito lettering has concluded it might indicate a pre-Homeric origin of the term, despite lack of evidence for diffusion until later.[1088] A recent suggestion has also been made that some marks above the main graffito

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[1073] *LSAG*[2] 323, Cat. nos.1-17.
[1074] *IG* XII 3, 359; Inglese *Thera arcaica* 84, 157-159.
[1075] *Thera* I, 149 and 283; *IG* XII 3, 350-363. Originally found and recorded by Hiller in 1896, all were reassessed in 2003, along with a number of others in the area: Inglese *Thera Arcaica* 125- 172.
[1076] *IG* XII 3, 350-83, 399-406, Suppl. 1312-13.
[1077] *Thera* I 283; on examples and characteristics of such places, Ch. Picard "Les 'Agoras des dieux' en Grèce" *BSA* 46 (1951)132-142, (Thera)136-7.
[1078] For example at Naukratis, discussed below, and at the Samothrakion on Delos.
[1079] Inglese *Thera Arcaica* 126.
[1080] H. Hoepfner and M. Antkowiak, *Das dorische Thera*. *Thera* V (Berlin 1997) 31.
[1081] Guarducci *L'epigrafia* 1, 79.
[1082] *IG* XII 3, 350-353; possibly also *IG* XII 3, 363, which may refer to one of his epithets, *πολιεύς*.
[1083] Transcribed thus in Inglese *Thera Arcaica* 84; *IG* XII 3, 354 and 345. On the various interpretations, and links to Apollo cult: Inglese *Thera Arcaica* 132-4.
[1084] Inglese *Thera Arcaica* 84 includes a table setting out the dates of all the graffiti found in the area.
[1085] Introduction and notes to *IG* XII 3, 350-383.
[1086] Inglese *Thera Arcaica* 157 Cat. no.10.
[1087] *LSAG*[2] 317.
[1088] Restelli, "La forma ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΟΙ" 257.

inscription to Zeus[1089] nearby in fact represent the dokana**. (Fig.66)** Differently from the Spartan example however, this symbol has five instead of two vertical bars in its upper rectangle. If it is to be interpreted as the Dioskouroi dokana, it would be a much earlier example of this symbol, by at least two centuries, than any known so far, and would link the Dioskouroi directly with a cult of Zeus: counter-intuitively, there are very rare examples in art or cult of any direct juxtaposition of the two.[1090] It could also suggest that the symbol, if linked to the Dioskouroi as opposed to the Tyndaridai, might not have a Spartan origin. The five bars in the upper register would also change the debate about the meaning of the dokana. As discussed earlier,[1091] the current balance of opinion is that it represents a throne. The five bars could weight the evidence towards interpreting the dokana as a representation of a temple[1092] with its pillars instead, or another option altogether. The five rather than two bars in the upper register of the symbol, however, suggest that its direct relation to the Spartan dokana, and by extension the Dioskouroi, is uncertain.

Apollo's name also appears[1093] among the dedications, not far from the name of the Dioskouroi. His graffito has been dated to the early seventh century BC. It may be significant that the area lies just to the west of the temple of Apollo Karneios, erected at the highest point of the main sacred area, and attested from around 600BC.[1094] The Spartan heritage may be a reason for the foundation of a prominent cult of Apollo

[1089] *IG* XII 3, 350, Inglese *Thera Arcaica* 127-8.
[1090] In Sparta, Pausanias later reports an altar apparently shared between Zeus, Athena and the Dioskouroi all in roles of 'Counsellor': Paus. 3.13.6. In vase painting, Zeus is very rarely depicted; the Dioskouroi/Kastor and Poludeukes are usually depicted with their mortal father Tyndareos.
[1091] Chapter 3.2.4.
[1092] See n. 620.
[1093] *IG* XII 3, 356, Suppl. 1307; Inglese *Thera arcaica* 149-50.
[1094] *Thera* I 275-83, and III 63-70; Sperling *Thera* 82-4.

Karneios[1095] on the island. It would not be unexpected to find links in religious practice between the two communities, either brought directly by the settlers, or introduced later as a way of marking the relationship.[1096] The very earliest of the preserved votive inscriptions on the island include some - the late eighth century BC dedications to Zeus discussed above[1097] - which display characteristics of lettering found also in Lakonia, although admittedly in other locations too.[1098] A cult of the Dioskouroi may similarly have been practised on the island, although the first evidence for this is dated no earlier than the third century BC, when they are among the several deities – including Zeus, Artemis, Apollo, Poseidon, Hekate, Priapus, the Kabeiroi, as well as the personifications Tyche and Homonoia - honoured within a temenos created by a certain Artemidoros, probably towards the end of the century.[1099] This temenos, reported by Hiller in recording his 1876 excavations,[1100] lies at the foot of the hill on which the main settlement and sanctuary were built,[1101] and which by that time included an area dedicated to the Egyptian gods as well as those for indigenous Greek deities, such as Hermes and Herakles.[1102] Within Artemidoros' temenos were a number of altars hewn out of the rock-face, statues and reliefs, each with an accompanying metrical inscription.[1103] The altars include one dedicated to the Dioskouroi,[1104] **(Fig.67)** with identifying star-topped piloi carved in relief above. Other deities allocated altars are the Great Gods of Samothrake - definitely separate from the Dioskouroi in this context -

[1095] Petersson *Apollo cults* 57-72 surveys the cult of Apollo Karneios at Sparta; 60, lists its practice elsewhere**;** priests at Thera are not recorded earlier than the first century BC.
[1096] *Cf.* Lokroi and Krotone in Magna Graecia, who may similarly have wished to claim a relationship with Sparta as their 'mother-city': Malkin *Myth and territory* 63.
[1097] *IG* XII 3, 350-353.
[1098] Inglese *Thera Arcaica* 337.
[1099] *IG* XII 3, 464 is a dedication by Artemidoros to Ptolemy III, who acceded in 246 BC, thus providing a *terminus ante quem*: Cole *Megaloi Theoi* 62 and n.499.
[1100] *Thera* I 198-200,
[1101] *Thera* III 89-103.
[1102] *Thera* I 247.
[1103] *IG* XII 3, 1334-1350; *Thera* III 89-102.
[1104] *IG* XII 3, 422/1333; Thera III 91, Fig.75 provides a drawing of the altar of the Dioskouroi; Cole *Megaloi Theoi* 63 and n.503.

Homonoia personifying concord, Priapus and Hekate.[1105] The Olympian deities honoured here have no identifiable altars, but instead an identifying relief[1106] cut in the rock and an accompanying inscription. Statues of Hekate, Priapos and Tyche also were accompanied by inscriptions.

It has been suggested that the inclusion of the Dioskouroi in this panoply of deities was a deliberate reinforcement or even reestablishment of a tradition of cult that already existed on Thera.[1107] No evidence, however, has yet emerged to suggest a continuity of cult of the Dioskouroi on the island, or that the presence of the eighth-century BC rock-carved graffito implies the same kind of cult as does a dedicated altar. These kinds of rock-cut graffiti, known particularly from mariners' and other seafaring travellers' prayers found scattered around the Mediterranean shorelines, persist well beyond antiquity into the Christian and modern eras, suggesting a trajectory independent of specific religious or social practice, or indeed of the local community religious priorities. It is much more likely that the choice of deities found in the temenos reflected a personal and eclectic choice of the individual who commissioned the ensemble, Artemidoros. His name appears in nearly all the inscriptions as the dedicator, including the information that he was from Perge in Pamphylia.[1108] He may have been an officer in the army of Ptolemy III Euergetes;[1109] at that time, the Ptolemaic fleet was based on Thera. The soldiers were important agents in diffusing Egyptian and Ptolemaic cults in Thera.[1110] If Artemidoros had a military background, this may have influenced his choice of deities: the Great Gods of Samothrake, for example, were known to be particular recipients of

[1105] *Thera* I 198.
[1106] Poseidon is represented by a dolphin, Zeus by an eagle, Apollo by a lion. *Thera* III 12-13, Figs. 79 and 81.
[1107] Inglese *Thera Arcaica* 158.
[1108] *IG* XII 3, 421(a) and (c) /1345.
[1109] 246-221 BC: O.Palagia "Cult and allegory: the life story of Artemidoros" in *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ* 171-7.
[1110] A. Chaniotis, *War in the Hellenistic world* (Malden MA 2005) 152-3.

Roman military officials' dedications[1111] albeit at a later date, and the Dioskouroi and Kabeiroi, grouped together administratively with the Samothrakian Great Gods in some contexts, may have shared this attribute too. More certain is that a number of the deities Artemidoros chose to venerate are known to have been worshipped at Perge. In one inscription, Artemidoros specifically attributes his long life to the beneficence of Artemis Pergaia.[1112] The cult of Artemis (or Wanassa) at Perge dates to at least the fifth century BC[1113] and coins with her image were circulating in the mid-third century BC,[1114] while a century later statues of the Dioskouroi and Hekate were among those to adorn the city's monumental gate.[1115]

Artemidoros' choice of deities may reflect his provenance, but arguably also a more general interest of his time in intercessionary deities. The Dioskouroi are described in their dedication as *σωτῆρες* and *βοηθοι*,[1116] while the Samothrakian gods are called *ἐπήκοοι*, listening to those who pray,[1117] an epithet that has been associated with deities from the eastern Mediterranean[1118] and with non-Greek worshippers of Apollo.[1119] Homonoia is by definition about seeking concord, a practical function for this life rather

[1111] *Ibid.* 154; Cole *Megaloi Theoi* 92-3 cites examples at Samothraki of Roman officials from nearby Makedonia as initiates, possibly from the first century BC but certainly from the first and into the second centuries AD.
[1112] *IG* XII 3, 1350.
[1113] H. Abbasoğlu, "The founding of Perge and its development" in D. Parrish (ed.), *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor* (Portsmouth, Rhode Island 2001), hereafter Abbasoğlu "Perge", 176.
[1114] G.F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia* (London 1897) 122 nos.15-20; Head *HN* 702, Fig. 318.
[1115] Abbasoğlu "Perge" 178.
[1116] *IG* XII 3, 422/1333.
[1117] *IG* XII 3, 1337; Cole *Megaloi Theoi* 63 and n.504, Appendix1 no.32; O. Weinreich "Θεοὶ ἐπήκοοι" *AM* (A) 37 (1912) 1-68, quotes 138 examples apparently imported from the East.
[1118] Usually regarded as of Egyptian origin, this epithet may be typical of Near Eastern popular religions in the fifth and fourth centuries BC: J. Teixidor, *The pagan god* (Princeton 1977) 7-10, cites an earlier ninth-century BC Aramaic example and a Phoenician inscription from Cyprus; other examples he cites from Syria and Palmyra are later.
[1119] Bruneau *Cultes* 167-8.

than the next, and is first attested in Greece in the fourth century BC.[1120] The positioning of the altars and the accompanying placing of the metrical inscriptions on the walls of the temenos have been suggested to represent a deliberate schema, with an emphasis on their 'saving' functions, with the altar of the Dioskouroi among those at the entrance of the temenos, in effect welcoming travellers. Artemidoros' deities also feature in significant helping roles in Apollonios' *Argonautica*[1121] where Kastor and Polydeukes play a significant part in interceding with 'the immortal gods' to protect the Argonauts from the wrath of Zeus.[1122]

All of this strengthens the argument that the presence of the Dioskouroi among the deities selected by Artemidoros for his temenos reflects the religious influences of his personal background and the Ptolemaic environment of the time. Only the location points to a cult of the Dioskouroi that might have hailed from Thera's founding parent city, Sparta, even in the company of Apollo Karneios.[1123] Rather, it seems to exemplify the kind of melding of contemporary and traditional, local and inter-Mediterranean religious priorities already noted in the third century BC texts such as the *Argonautica*, where myth, real recent events and geography are all 'mixed.'[1124] Similarly, a little earlier, a late fourth-century BC votive relief from Livadia[1125] **(Fig.68)** shows the Dioskouroi, along with the Korybantes and the Kouretes in the company of Hekate as

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[1120] A.J.S. Spawforth, *OCD*[4] *s.v.* Homonoia, 700; R. Étienne and M. Piérart, "Un décret du Koinon des Hellènes à Platées en l'honneur de Glaucon" *BCH* 99/1 (1975) 51-75, 72. The first temple of Concordia is recorded in Rome in 304 BC.
[1121] R. Hunter, "The divine and human map of the Argonautica" *Syllecta Classica* 6 (Iowa 1996) 13-28, hereafter Hunter "Argonautica," 19-21.
[1122] *Argonautica* 4. 576-591.
[1123] Petersson *Apollo cults* 60 suggests that a cult of the Dioskouroi was linked to that of Apollo Karneois at Sparta. However, the evidence he cites - their presence on his statue base at Amyklai - does not seem in itself a conclusive argument.
[1124] Hunter "Argonautica" 14.
[1125] NM 3942, local stone relief from Livadia, Boeotia, dedicated to Trophoinos; *NM sculpture* 216-7, no.448.

well as Pan, Persephone and Dionysos, all thronging to attend an initiation into the cult of Kybele who appears enthroned.

4.2 Kyrene

In the literary texts, Kyrene was founded by Battos from Spartan-settled Thera, in the first half of the seventh century BC around 630BC,[1126] a date confirmed by the archaeology.[1127] The city could thus be expected to enjoy commercial and cultural links with Sparta. A cult of the Dioskouroi at Kyrene is established in the literature from at least the fifth century BC through the odes of Pindar[1128] and has been authenticated by recent archaeological discoveries.[1129]

The literary evidence for cult of the Dioskouroi

Pindar's fourth and fifth *Pythian Odes* celebrate the victory of Arkesilas IV, ruler of Kyrene and descendant of its legendary founder Battos, in the chariot race at the Pythian Games of 462 or 466BC[1130] at Delphi. There has been considerable discussion around the reason for the two odes, with their very different styles,[1131] to mark the same event; the Fourth Ode, which is longer than is usual for Pindar's epinician poems, may have been composed for a private event, at which Pindar himself may even have been present.[1132] The Fifth Ode displays a wealth of topographical detail about the victor's parent city[1133] which suggests that Pindar visited Kyrene.[1134] If he did, his account

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[1126] F. Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades* (Paris 1953), hereafter Chamoux *Cyrène*, 120-124; Malkin, *Religion and colonisation* 60-69.
[1127] J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*[4] (London 1999) 153-159.
[1128] Pind. *Pyth.* 4 and 5; H. Maehler and B. Snell (eds.), *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis* I. *Epinecia* (Leipzig 1987), hereafter Maehler/Snell *Pindari*, 65-83.
[1129] Luni/Marengo "Dioskourion"
[1130] Arkesilas is recorded as victorious in the chariot race at Olympia in 460 BC. Since this is not mentioned by Pindar it is assumed that the Pythian victory predates it. On this, and the difficulties around dating the Pythian games generally, see Currie *Pindar* 24-6, 226.
[1131] Chamoux *Cyrène* 187-9.
[1132] *Ibid.*176-9.
[1133] For example, describing the ridge of cliffs along the top of the hill behind the city, the road that led to Battos' tomb and the agora: *Pyth*. 4.8, *Pyth*. 5, 93 and *Pyth*. 5, 89-100; S. Hornblower and C. Morgan, "Introduction" in Hornblower/Morgan *Pindar's poetry*, 14-16.
[1134] Some have argued that the use of the first person of the poem is intended to apply to the choir rather than Pindar himself, but this does not invalidate a first-hand knowledge of Kyrene. For the arguments: Currie *Pindar* 227 n.13.

would be particularly valuable in helping establish both the religious practices and the lay-out of the city at that time.

The opening lines of the Fifth Ode relate Arkesilas' victory to the favour bestowed on him and his home by Kastor,[1135] who appears as a distinct and separate presence from his brother, with his golden chariot bringing wellbeing (and by extension wealth) to the land after the winter-time. His solo appearance is attributed by a scholiast on Pindar[1136] to his horse-taming characteristics in the Homeric texts[1137] which would suit him to a chariot-racing context, while Polydeukes is distinguished as a pugilist, even though elsewhere Pindar alludes to both brothers as the 'horsemen' sons of Tyndareus.[1138] This raises questions about the reception of Homeric epithets in antiquity. The horse-taming epithet is applied to a number of heroes in the Homeric texts, most notably to Hector,[1139] and does not necessarily have the very pointed meaning that the scholiast takes from it. By the time Pindar was writing, however, whatever the original meaning of the epithet, Kastor had taken on a special role in equestrian expertise. There are other explanations too.[1140] Both brothers were associated with Herakles in presiding over some aspects of the Olympian Games, as mentioned elsewhere by Pindar, [1141] specifically the chariot-racing; their continuing role at Olympia is confirmed by Pausanias' report of an altar to them placed at the turning point in the hippodrome.[1142]

[1135] *Pyth.* 5. 5-11.
[1136] Scholia first collected in ms. dated to the second century AD but from third-century BC sources: Dickey *Scholarship* 39; Drachmann *Scholia* 2, scholiast on *Pythian* V lines 10 (a) and (b) and 12(a); L. Vitali, *Fonti per la storia della religione cirenaica* (Padua 1932), hereafter Vitali *Fonti*, *s.v.* Dioscuri, 72-3, no.192.
[1137] Hom. *Il.* 3. 237; *Od.* 11. 300; Merkelbach/West *Fr. Hes*. 198.8, 199.1.
[1138] Pind. *Ol.* 3.39.
[1139] Including in the final line of the *Iliad:* see discussion in Chapter 2.2.
[1140] B. Gentili (ed.), *Le Pitiche* (Verona 1995), hereafter Gentili *Pitiche*, 513.
[1141] Pind. *Ol.* 3. 34-38.
[1142] Paus. 5.15.5.

By Pausanias' time, there were statues to the Dioskouroi 'starters'[1143] in the stadium at Sparta. A special hymn to Kastor may have been sung on the occasion of an equestrian victory at the Games: Pindar mentions two such examples.[1144] Two centuries later, Kallimachos pairs Kastor with Herakles to provide manly sporting models for Athena.[1145] Kastor appears more than once in fifth-century BC Greek drama as the spokesman for the two brothers,[1146] possibly for reasons of dramatic convention. The notion of Kastor giving special blessings to the family 'hearth' of Arkesilas is a function Pindar allocates elsewhere to both brothers, seemingly together enjoying and rewarding private family cult.[1147] The association of Kastor with bringing wealth and prosperity is also accorded to both brothers in a later Delian inscription from the second century AD.[1148] Pindar's singling out of Kastor in the Fifth Ode could suggest a special role for Kastor in Kyrene.

Later in this Ode, Pindar attributes to the city's founder Battos, here named Aristoteles, the creation of several large sanctuaries and the building of a stone (*σκυρωτὰν*) road seemingly intended to facilitate major celebratory processions in honour of Apollo, at the far end of which lay Battos' own tomb.[1149] The scholiast on Pindar suggests a sanctuary (*ἱερόν*) to the Dioskouroi lay along this road.[1150]

[1143] Paus. 3.14.7.
[1144] Pind. *Pyth.* 2.69-70; *Isthm.*1.15-18**.**
[1145] Kallimachos *Hymn* V (*On the bath of Pallas*) line 30, where Athena is credited with covering herself with olive oil in the manner of Kastor and Herakles.
[1146] For examples from Euripides, see n. 185-188.
[1147] Pind. *Ol*. 3. 39-41.
[1148] *ID* 2548, 9-10.
[1149] Pind. *Pyth.* 5. 89-93.
[1150] Drachmann *Scholia* 2 *s.v.* Pyth. 5 no.124 (a), Vitali *Fonti* no.193.

The archaeological evidence for a sanctuary of the Dioskouroi at Kyrene

Kyrene was built on a hill looking towards the coast, extending at its height to an akropolis ridge; just below, at its east end lay the sanctuary of Zeus and at its western, the sanctuary of Apollo**. (Fig.69)** From the latter ran Battos' *σκυρωτὰ* road, which led to the agora area lower down the slope roughly mid-way between the two major hilltop sanctuaries. Here **(Fig.70)** were the gymnasion and other sanctuaries, including a temple of Aphrodite where a number of Roman statues were found which might include some of the Dioskouroi, discussed below, and, in the southwest corner, a fourth-century BC temple of Apollo Archegetes.[1151] According to an early fourth century BC inscription[1152] on the foundation of the city, it was reputedly on the orders of Apollo Archegetes that it was settled from Thera. To the south of the agora and the main settlement lay the recently excavated extra-urban sanctuary of Demeter.

Until recently, there was no specific evidence to help place the scholiast's sanctuary of the Dioskouroi, although a map of the site by Charles Hyslop published just after the Second World War, confidently names a structure, a small *ναός* on a podium abutting the northern end of the altar of Artemis, as the Dioskourion.[1153] By that time, the late 1940s, excavations had yielded some material evidence of cult of the Dioskouroi, but it was not found near this particular location, was of mostly Roman date, and not of an age that would endorse the antiquity of their cult at Kyrene implied by Pindar.[1154] The only two known inscriptions dedicated here to the Dioskouroi have been dated to the first

[1151] Originally thought to be a 'hypethral' temple of Demeter: S. Stucchi, *Architettura cirenaica* (Rome 1975), hereafter Stucchi *Architettura*, 50-51.
[1152] *SEG* 9, 3**.**
[1153] C.G.C. Hyslop. *Cyrene and ancient Cyrenaica* (Tripoli 1945) 28, Plan no.1, Sanctuary of Apollo no.18, repr. Chamoux *Cyrène* Pl. XXVI; Luni/Marengo "Dioskourion" 21 n.19.
[1154] Chamoux *Cyrène* 272 n.(6).

century AD.[1155] One is a clear dedication to the brothers on a marble slab by *M[ᾶρκος] Ἰούλιος Κοκκηϊανός* the other on a statue base dedicated by the same person, which has been restored to read as similarly dedicated to the Dioskouroi and may have supported a statue representing them. Other potential material indicators of cult of the Dioskouroi at Kyrene include the Roman head of a fine-grained marble male figure wearing a conical cap,[1156] dated to the late second/early third century AD from the 'dramatic' [1157] use of the chisel, perhaps one of the Dioskouroi but possibly Atys;[1158] this was uncovered in the course of some of the earliest excavations of the site undertaken in the nineteenth century by a British team at Kyrene who, building on earlier expeditions, [1159] reported what they surmised to be a temple of Aphrodite in the agora area.[1160] A further head with a conical cap, **(Fig.71)** of a finer-grained marble and less than half the size of the first,[1161] was also documented from this same expedition, but from an unspecified location. It has been dated similarly to the late second/ third century AD from the chisel work.[1162] The cap from this second statue head was originally topped with an ornament of some kind.[1163] This may have been a star, associated with the Dioskouroi in representations on vases made in Greece from the fourth century BC,[1164] but more

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[1155] *SEG* 9,121 and 122; L. Pernier *Africa Ital.* 3 (1930) 210 - 211, nos. 31and 32, Figs. 69 and 70
[1156] R.M. Smith and E.A. Porcher, *History of the recent discoveries at Cyrene made during an expedition to Cyrenaica in 1860-1, under the auspices of Her Majesty's government* (London 1864), hereafter Smith/Porcher *Cyrene*, Appendix III no.62; BM 1861,127.59; J. Huskinson, *Roman sculpture from Cyrenaica in the British Museum* (London 1975), hereafter Huskinson *Cyrenaica*, 20 no.39, Pl.15**.** Subsequently some marble legs from Kyrene also excavated by R.M. Smith have been tentatively linked to this head: BM 1973, 0302.7**.**
[1157] Huskinson *Cyrenaica* 21, no.39.
[1158] *Ibid.*
[1159] F.W and H.W. Beechey, W. Clowes and J. Murray *Proceedings of the expedition to explore the northern coast of Africa, from Tripoly eastward; in MDCCCXXI and MDCCCXXII*: *Comprehending an account of the Greater Syrtis and Cyrenaica; and of the ancient cities composing the pentapolis* (London 1828).
[1160] Smith/Porcher *Cyrene* 76-7, Plan at Pl.57. From here they brought back fifty-eight statues, now in the British Museum.
[1161] Smith/Porcher *Cyrene* Appendix III no.134; BM 1861,1127.142.
[1162] Huskinson *Cyrenaica* 20, no.38.
[1163] *Ibid.*
[1164] By the late fifth century BC, there are a few examples of the Dioskouroi appearing in vase-paintings in the company of stars eg. on an Athenian red-figure bell krater dated to *c.*430-420 BC, attributed to the

usually in Roman representations, often on coins and gems[1165] where the stars are actually attached to their caps. Examples have been found particularly in Eastern Mediterranean locations from the first century BC where the association was already established in the texts from two centuries earlier.[1166] Some claims have been made for their appearance in sixth-century BC Attic sculpture that may depict the Dioskouroi. The case for this head from Kyrene being so adorned is strengthened by the existence of a similar head from Kyrene with a star carved into the cap.[1167] The similarity of the head with the missing adornment to the one found near the temple of Aphrodite would suggest that the latter too is likely to have depicted a Dioskouros rather than Atys or other contenders. An earlier relief stele[1168] from nearby Apollonia, dated from the script of its inscription to the second half of the first century BC, is thought to depict the birth of Helen being witnessed by a single child Dioskouros, suggested to be Kastor in his role as guardian of the Battiads attributed to him by Pindar.[1169] The sculpture in the museum at Kyrene includes several Roman statues, reliefs and fragments that may represent the Dioskouroi, [1170] or again possibly simply Kastor, recalling the Battiad preference signalled by Pindar. One architectural relief, [1171] **(Fig.72)** probably Roman, carries their symbols, two piloi.

Polion Painter, from Egnatia, Italy, Bonn Akedemisches Kuntsmuseum 78, Beazley Archive 215502; *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi, no.186, but their representation with stars attached to their heads is not usual before the fourth century BC. A. Hermary suggests this iconography is linked with Euripides' treatment of the Dioskouroi: *LIMC* 3, 1 592.

[1165] *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi nos.10, 89.

[1166] Kallimachos *c.*310-245/35 BC, Callim. *Hymn* V (Athena), 24 alludes to the brothers as the stars of Lakedaimon beside the Eurotas.

[1167] E. Paribeni, *Catalogo delle sculture di Cirene. Statue e rilievi di carattere religioso* (1959), hereafter Paribeni *Catalogo,* 133, no.377 and 170, includes the head of a youth wearing a cap with stars incised upon it, then in the city museum.

[1168] Fragment of a marble relief uncovered in 1981 excavations: *SEG* 61, 2024; C. Dobias Lalou, "Le héros Dioscure à Apollonia de Cyrenaïque" in E. Fabbricotti and O. Menozzi (eds.), *Cirenaica: studi, scavi e scoperte* (Oxford 2006) 85-96 and Fig.1-5, hereafter Dobias Lalou "Dioscure", 85-7 and Fig.1, 89.

[1169] *Pyth.* 5. 9-11.

[1170] Paribeni *Catalogo* includes 21 items that he designates as representing the Dioskouroi, or a Dioskouros, undated, but from the parallels he draws, probably Roman: nos. 374-380 and 382-395.

[1171] Luni/Marengo "Dioskourion" 20 n.17, 21 and Fig. 19; Stucchi *Architettura* 22 n.8.

While the literature suggests a special place for Kastor, if not the Dioskouroi, in the religious traditions of Kyrene possibly from its seventh-century BC foundation, the surviving artefacts that might suggest a specific cult are mainly Roman. The first reference to a building associated with the Dioskouroi may, however, be as early as the third century BC,[1172] if we accept that the surviving Pindaric scholia go back to commentaries of that date. The same goes for claims that King Battos established Dioskoureia at Kyrene,[1173] and that this is explained by the Theran and Spartan connection. The scholiast here provides almost identical wording - and rhythm - to Kallimachos' poetic account of that connection.[1174]

A Dioskourion at Kyrene?

A sceptical approach to the reality of a cult and building of the Dioskouroi at Kyrene that pre-dates the third century BC seems justified. In 2006, however, the discovery at the site of fragments of a seventh-century BC votive vase dedicated to the Dioskouroi,[1175] led to a fresh identification of an archaic temple building of that date already excavated as a sanctuary associated with their cult.

Under the auspices of the Italian Archaeological School, an archaic temple building had been uncovered in the agora area **(Fig.73a)** which was initially denoted as the Tempio 'Ipetrale', and then from 2003 as that of 'La Fecundità.' Some of the building remains **(Fig.73b)** are dated to the seventh century BC from pottery finds. The oldest parts indicate a rectangular building ten by fourteen metres, with a raised altar and a second altar and adyton, this last dated to the second half of the seventh century BC from the

[1172] Dickey *Scholarship* 39.
[1173] Drachmann *Scholia* 2, scholiast on *Pythian* V line 10 (a), lines 15-16.
[1174] Callim. *Hymn* 2 (Apollo) 74-5.
[1175] Luni/Marengo Marengo "Dioskourion", 18-19, 26-33 and Figs.7 and 8.

date of the material found under it. There were two further phases of the building, one in the second half of the sixth century BC to the same plan, and another in the first half of the following century. From 2006, this building was re-named the Temple of the Dioskouroi,[1176] following further excavations that year just south of the Hellenistic gymnasium and Battos' tomb.[1177] These revealed substantial pottery finds, including fragments of a Chian kylix[1178] dated to the late seventh century BC from its typology. It has a graffito dedication to the Dioskouroi scratched upon it **(Fig.7a,b)** and is one of the two earliest preserved uses of the word Dioskouroi known to us in any medium, as noted in Chapter 2.1. Its presence on a votive cup, as distinct from the word carved earlier in a rocky sanctuary on Thera,[1179] potentially links both textual and architectural evidence at Kyrene, to make one of the strongest as well as one of the earliest cases we have anywhere for a cult of the Dioskouroi. Some further pottery fragments also suggest dedications to the Dioskouroi.[1180]

The Dioskouroi, Dioskoureia and dining

Following this discovery and the resulting relocation of the sanctuary of the Dioskouroi, the part Hellenistic building which abuts it to the north, **(Figs.74a,b)** previously known as the 'tempio de due ali', has now been suggested to be a hestiatorion[1181] used for the communal dining ceremonies with which a cult of the Dioskouroi is attested in inscriptions at other locations – at Delphi and, by the first century BC, at Sparta. The

[1176] M. Luni (ed.), *Cirene nell'antichità* (Rome 2010), hereafter Luni *Cirene*, 56.
[1177] Luni/Marengo "Dioskourion" 13, Fig.1 showing the agora with newly-identified sanctuary of the Dioskouroi.
[1178] Twenty-six fragments: Inv. no. CA 06S3US3; for further references: Luni/Marengo "Dioskourion" 17.
[1179] *IG* XII 3, 359 dated to the late eighth/first half of the seventh century BC**,** discussed in Chapter 4.1.
[1180] Nine fragments in all were published: Luni/Marengo "Dioskourion" 25 nos.1-9 and fig 14; and 34-6, Annex, no.7.
[1181] M. Montanari, "Un hestiatorion nel santuario dei Dioscuri a Cirene" in Luni *Cirene nell' antichità* (Rome 2010) 207-220.

existence of similar hestiatoria associated with the Dioskouroi has also been suggested at Athens[1182] and Delos.[1183] The celebration of Dioskoureia was recorded at Delphi around the mid-fourth century BC as one of the obligatory religious banquets of the Labyadai,[1184] a 'gentilicial' group who appear to have Attic connections. The text of the inscription refers not only to specific celebrations of festivals associated with deities - Apollo, Hera, Artemis, Demeter and Herakles as well as the Dioskouroi - but other more generic references, to *Θεοξένια* for example, making it difficult to interpret exactly what was intended. It repeats what remains of a similar set of requirements inscribed on an earlier stone, dated from its script to the late sixth/ early fifth century BC,[1185] which opens up the possibility that Dioskoureia and theoxenia were already celebrated at Delphi at this earlier date. In that case, the Delphic celebrations of Dioskoureia would be the earliest specifically recorded anywhere, outside the realms of what can be deduced about Spartan customs from the fragments of Alkman discussed earlier.

The building at Kyrene, with its two wings, resembles some other hestiatoria.[1186] The double structure should not in itself be interpreted as indicating a special association with the Dioskouroi. The paucity of any preserved buildings in ancient Greece that are definitely associated with the Dioskouroi makes it difficult to establish any particular

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[1182] S.G. Miller, *The Prytaneion* (Los Angeles/London 1978) 25-37 concludes that prytaneia would normally comprise two main rooms (a dining-room and separate 'room of the hearth'), a courtyard and subsidiary rooms**;** B. Bergquist, "Sympotic space" in O. Murray (ed.), *Sympotica*: *a symposium on the Symposium* (Oxford 1990), hereafter Bergquist "Sympotic space," 44; Bergquist *Archaic temenos* 58-61, 125.
[1183] G. Roux, "Salles de banquets à Delos" *Études Déliennes. BCH* Suppl. I (Paris 1973) 525-554.
[1184] Text inscribed on a four-sided cippus now in the Delphi Museum. *CID* 1:9; *SEG* 47, 526; 48, 587; 53, 485; 54, 1874: T. Homolle, "Règlements de la phratrie des Labyadai" *BCH* 19 (1895) 5-69, Pl. xxi-xxiv; P.J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, *Greek historical inscriptions* 404-323 BC (Oxford 2003), hereafter Rhodes/Osborne *Inscriptions*, no.1. Side D, line 10.
[1185] The older stone inscription replicates lines 10-23 of the newer one; while lines 31-8 are repeated on a further stone inscription discovered in 1993 by John Camp, and students from the American School of Classical Studies, at Panopeus, the settlement to which some of the lines refer as a source for the required sacrificial animals: Rhodes/Osborne *Inscriptions* 8.
[1186] B. Bergquist, "Sympotic space" 37-65.

characteristics, but what evidence there is does not suggest that a double structure would be expected, and there are some examples of 'double' hestiatoria associated with other deities than the Dioskouroi.[1187]

Kyrene, Sparta and Thera

In the literature, Kyrene was founded from Spartan-settled Thera, and could be expected to enjoy commercial and cultural links with Sparta. Both of Pindar's Pythian Odes to Arkesilas place much emphasis on the legendary founding of Kyrene by King Battos from Thera in the first half of the seventh century BC. Herodotos gives a similar account of the city's foundation history,[1188] but suggests an extended process of settlement at first unsuccessful but later, with the guidance of the Delphic oracle, the addition of Lakonian settlers and the relocation of the settlement site to the higher ground inland from the coast, successful. From his account, this later settlement took place around 580BC.

Pindar's fourth *Pythian Ode* also draws the link between Kyrene, via Thera, with the Peloponnesian Lakedaimon, Argos and Pylos[1189] through a shared Dorian descent from Herakles, and the Aegidai family from Sparta.[1190] Pindar seemed to claim a relationship with this family through his Boeotian ancestors. He also claims that the ritual communal banquet celebrated for the Karneia and its accompanying sacrifices came to Kyrene from Sparta,[1191] an account repeated in Kallimachos' *Hymn to Apollo.*[1192] The latter explains

[1187] N. Bookidis, "Ritual dining at Corinth" in N. Marinatos (ed.), *Greek sanctuaries: new approaches* (London 1993) 45-61, 50 cites examples of widespread dining in association with cult of Demeter and Kore; see also n.171.
[1188] Hdt. 4. 149-163; How/Wells *Herodotus* 1 (Books 1-4) 350.
[1189] Pind. *Pyth.* 5, 68-76.
[1190] Pindar, from Thebes himself, *Pyth.*2.3, claims to be from the Theban Aegidaiü family who in turn came with the Heraklidai from Thebes to Sparta, *Isth.* 7.14.
[1191] Pind. *Pyth.*5, 77-9.

the choice of this cult of Apollo over any other kind, as a Spartan legacy and states unequivocally that the establishment of the festival and cult came to Kyrene from Sparta through Thera.

Traditional connections with both Thera and Lakonia have been borne out by the archaeological finds. The presence of Lakonian pottery and other artefacts from the late seventh/ early sixth century BC in Kyrenaika and along the North African coast, suggesting associated links, has long been established[1193] and has now been catalogued and further analysed.[1194] Pottery of this date found at Tocra (ancient Taucheira),[1195] Apollonia and Kyrene is of a similar date to the foundation of Kyrene and suggests Greeks were settling elsewhere in the region too.[1196] It has also been suggested that the earliest sculpture to have survived from the area shows signs of possible Theran, or alternatively Delian, influence.[1197] There are sufficiently significant finds in the area from the late seventh century BC to allow the possibility that the Lakonians themselves, rather then the Therans alone, were among the first settlers at Kyrene[1198] as opposed to Herodotos' version that puts them in the second wave of arrivals.[1199]

At Kyrene, excavations at the newly-located sanctuary of the Dioskouroi yielded a considerable amount of late seventh-century/ early sixth-century BC pottery, much of

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[1192] Callim. *Hymn* 2 (Apollo) 71-3.
[1193] J. Boardman, "Evidence for the dating of Greek settlements in Cyrenaica" *ABSA* 61(1966) 149-156, hereafter Boardman *Cyrenaica*; J. Boardman and J. Hayes, *Excavations at Tocra 1963- 1965* 2 vols. (Oxford 1966 and 1973) 1. *The Archaic deposits I*, 89; 2. *The Archaic deposits II and later deposits* 3, 4-5 and 39-41, includes calculations that *c*.7% of the archaic pottery excavated there was Lakonian and, of that, the earliest could be dated between 620 and 590 BC.
[1194] O. Mei, *Cirene e la ceramica laconica* (Urbino 2013), hereafter Mei *Ceramica laconika*.
[1195] Hdt. 4.171.
[1196] Boardman *Cyrenaica* 152-3 and 156.
[1197] Grey marble (probably Naxian), fragmentary kouros dated the the sixth century BC found in the area of the temple of Artemis: Kyrene Museum 14.003, Paribeni *Catologo* no.1 Tav. 1.
[1198] G. Schaus, "The evidence for Laconians in Cyrenaica in the Archaic period" in G. Barker, J. Lloyd and J. Reynolds (eds.), *Cyrenaica in antiquity* (Oxford 1985) 395-403.
[1199] Hdt. 4.159.

Lakonian manufacture.[1200] These included a number of fragments with votive inscriptions, some of which may have been intended to address the Dioskouroi.[1201] The presence of such a considerable number of Lakonian pieces within the area of the sanctuary of the Dioskouroi, could suggest cultic links too. Nonetheless, it was a Chian cup that carried the clear dedication to the Dioskouroi, which could suggest an East Greek connection for this cult interest. There is little material evidence to support the direct link in cult practice between Lakonia and Kyrene before the fifth century BC suggested in the literary texts**.**

The provenance of cults of the Dioskouroi at Kyrene

The epigraphic evidence for cult of the Dioskouroi at Kyrene in the seventh century BC raises questions about a possible relationship with a similar cult at Thera, and by extension Sparta. A single vase fragment from the seventh century BC dedicated at Kyrene, coupled with a similarly early graffito dedication to the Dioskouroi on Thera, are hardly sufficient to support such a link. There is evidence for shared cult between the two settlements related to Apollo Karneios, however, so that the sharing of other cult habits too would not be surprising. The absence of any surviving evidence for an earlier or parallel cult of the brothers in the seventh or eighth centuries BC from Sparta leaves open a number of different hypotheses. First, that there was a pre-existing cult at Sparta that spawned cults first at Thera, then at Kyrene and that not too much weight should be placed on the lack of surviving archaeological evidence for this, given the little surviving evidence of religious buildings and cult activity at Sparta generally for this period[1202] and the abundance of literary evidence for veneration of the Tyndaridai at Sparta.

[1200] Mei *Ceramica laconika* 43-50, Cat. nos.1-17.
[1201] Luni/Marengo "Dioskourion" 25 nos.1-9 and Fig. 14; and 34-6, Annex, no.7.
[1202] Discussed above, Chapter 3.2.5.

Alternatively, the settlers may have chosen to honour the brothers Kastor and Polydeukes, associated in legend with their home, with a cult that confirmed this link and may also have combined with an existing East Greek tradition involving Dioskouroi. This would be in keeping with what has been called 'the fundamental importance' for new settlements 'of demonstrating the dominant culture by establishing appropriate sanctuaries and shrines for appropriate gods'.[1203] Pindar's emphasis on Apollo as the founding and protecting deity for Kyrene may also be significant in relation to cult of the Dioskouroi, in whose company the brothers are found both at Sparta and in other Spartan settlements.

[1203]A.J. Graham, *Collected papers on Greek colonization* (Leiden 2001) 345. The importance of religious aspects of settlement foundation is emphasised from Homer onwards: *Od.* 6. 711; Plato *Laws* 759 a-c.

4.3 Naukratis

Moving East from Kyrene along the north African coast, Naukratis at the mouth of the Nile delta, has been associated with a cult of the Dioskouroi from pottery finds, though one not attested in written sources. According to Herodotos, in the mid-sixth century BC the Greeks were given special trading privileges by Amasis, [1204]and twelve Greek poleis, most from around the eastern Mediterranean, were involved in setting up sanctuaries. He names nine groups involved in building the Hellenion: Ionians from Chios, Teos, Phokaia and Klazomenai; Dorians from Rhodos, Knidos, Halikarnassos and Phaselis, and Aetolians from Mytilene. Separate sanctuaries were set up respectively by the Aeginetans for Zeus, the Samians for Hera and the Milesians for Apollo. The evidence from pottery finds confirms their presence at this period.[1205] It also suggests that Naukratis developed at least a century earlier as a hub for Greek trade in the Eastern Mediterranean and that many poleis other than Herodotos' 'twelve' traded here. From the seventh century BC, it provided a nexus for the interchange of Greek and Egyptian art and culture, stimulated by its position alongside the Egyptian settlement there.[1206]

Cult of the Dioskouroi

Excavations were undertaken at the site from the mid-nineteenth century by Sir William Flinders Petrie,[1207] who had already concluded from the literature that there were established trading links with Cyprus from at least the first quarter of the seventh century

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[1204] Hdt. 2.178.
[1205] A. Möller, *Naukratis. Trade in archaic Greece* (Oxford 2000), hereafter Möller *Naukratis*, 167-181.
[1206] The current Naukratis Project sponsored by the British Museum has uncovered evidence of stronger links and co-habitation of Greeks and Egyptians at the site than previously understood, R.I.Thomas and A. Villing, "Naukratis revisited 2012: integrating new fieldwork and old research" *BMSAES* 20 (2013) 81-125, www.britishmuseum.org › Research › Research projects.
[1207] For a history and overview of the excavations, see Leonard *Ancient Naukratis.*

BC.[1208] This expedition in 1884/5 identified a temenos dedicated to the Dioskouroi in the North Western corner of the site,[1209] **(Fig.75)** part of the northern complex that included sanctuaries of Apollo and Hera and the Hellenion discussed by Herodotos. **(Fig.76)** There are no references in the literature to a sanctuary or temple of the Dioskouroi at Naukratis. Its identification was based on the many fragments of painted and dedicated pottery found together, which "by their number conclusively show the purpose of this temenos".[1210] More pottery fragments with dedications to the Dioskouroi were found in this area in subsequent campaigns, but dismissed by Ernest Gardner, Petrie's successor, as "of interest only to confirm the identity of the site."[1211] He does, however, select two pieces for special mention. First, a dedicated fragment dated to the sixth century BC that depicts a horse and rider already illustrated in Petrie's report,[1212] an appropriate subject for a votive intended for the brothers in their cavalier role. Second, a red-figure fragment showing men seated in a boat with a sea of white waves, the subject of which Gardner interprets as depicting the sirens singing to Odysseus. Given the find-place, it was possibly intended as an appropriate votive for the Dioskouroi in their marine role.

The number of vase fragments dedicated to the Dioskouroi provides the largest amount of votive pottery associated with them to have survived from any Greek settlement or sanctuary. They are also here addressed as Dioskouroi, not by their individual names or as Tyndaridai. **(Figs. 8a,b)** The majority of these inscriptions have been dated to the late sixth/early fifth century BC from the style of pottery on which they were, for the most

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[1208] W.M. Flinders Petrie**,** *et al., Naukratis* I (London 1886), hereafter *Naukratis* I, 4 cites Athenaios' report of a Cypriot merchant trading in Naukratis in the 23rd Olympiad (688 BC) and dedicating a statue of Aphrodite there: Ath.15.18.
[1209] *Naukratis* I, 16 and map, Pl. XLI**.**
[1210] *Naukratis* I, 16, 18 and Pl. VI, 6 and XXXV, 665-682, also possibly 690 ('[*το]is θeois'*); *ibid.* Pl. XXV, 677 = London, British Museum, hereafter BM 1886, 0401.936, Villing *et al.* 2013-15 PV. 1429.
[1211] *Naukratis* II 67, nos. 833-840.
[1212] *Naukratis* I Pl. VI, 6; *Naukratis* II, 31.

part, incised[1213] and were found at several feet deeper than finds dated to the fifth or fourth centuries BC. Many come from Attic black-figure vases, but several of the inscribed kylikes have been classified more generally as 'Ionic,' [1214] or more recently 'East Greek,' and one cup specifically Samian.[1215] This is in keeping with the general distribution of the pottery of late seventh-/early sixth-century BC date found at the site.[1216] No Corinthian fragments with dedications to the Dioskouroi have yet been identified, although a Corinthian fragment dedicated by the Phocaians (not necessarily to the Dioskouroi) was found in the temenos area. A sanctuary lamp handle **(Fig.77)** unearthed by Hogarth in the 1898 excavations[1217] may have been made on site and is discussed further below.

A temple of the Dioskouroi

Flinders Petrie described the temenos walls of the Dioskouroi sanctuary as built of unfired mud bricks which were difficult to distinguish from natural Nile mud, and which made it virtually impossible to establish its architectural plan.[1218] In the north-west corner he identified a small temple building which he dated as contemporary with the second phase of the Apollo temple next door[1219] but provided little more description.

[1213] A. Bernand, *La Delta Égyptien d'après les textes grecs* 4 vols (Cairo 1970-), hereafter Bernand *Delta* I (2) *s.v.* Naucratis, 575-862, includes a catalogue of inscriptions from all the campaigns, cross-referenced where relevant to Gardner's and others' records.

[1214] The third campaign in 1899, led by David Hogarth, found several dedications to the Dioskouroi on Ionian kylikes: D.G. Hogarth, C.C. Edgar and C. Gutch, "Excavations at Naucratis" *ABSA* 5 (1898/9) 26-97, hereafter *Naukratis* III, 55 nos. 35, 36, 38, 45 and 49, and Pl. IV no.49, also Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G.141 (1899) 49.

[1215] *Naukratis* III 54, no.24 and Pl.IV; Bernand *Delta* 697, no. 564; the cup is similar to those from Samos found at Naukratis dedicated to Hera, eg. *Naukratis* II nos. 847-8.

[1216] Möller *Naukratis* Fig.8. The preponderance of early pottery styles found here are Athenian, Corinthian, Chian and Ionian 'Wild Goat'.

[1217] C.C. Edgar, "The inscribed and painted pottery" in *Naukratis* III, no.57, describes the lamp as 'of the coarsest clay', and 'had seen service' suggesting it was intended for use in the sanctuary, rather than as a votive gift.

[1218] *Naukratis* I 16; *Naukratis* II 30-2, Pl. 1-4.

[1219] *Naukratis* I 16; Möller *Naukratis* 94-99 summarises subsequent arguments around the dating of the two building phases of the Temple of Apollo.

Gardner, in his follow-up excavation,[1220] described the temple as "in antis," comprising a single rectangular chamber with a western portico of which three of the original four pillars remained.[1221] The end of the cella wall projects in front of these pillars. The north wall was virtually intact, except where a later well had been sunk; and a small section of the east wall was also distinguished. The rest of the walls were difficult to make out, mainly because of their mud brick composition. Gardner provided some new details too: the mud bricks were covered with painted stucco in blue, red and yellow in what looked like a meander design around stars. He endorsed Petrie's surmise that the temple dated from around 500BC, or possibly a little later,[1222] largely on the grounds that a pottery fragment dedicated to Apollo[1223] was discovered in the temenos at a lower stratum than any of the dedications to the Dioskouroi. This could suggest that the temenos and first temple of Milesian Apollo [1224] next door (from which the fragment may have 'wandered') pre-dated that of the Dioskouroi. The first temple of Apollo is thought to date from around 550BC, seemingly linked with a Samian architectural style and workmanship. [1225] Its successor, from the sparse architectural remains (a part Ionic column and various marble and limestone fragments) has been dated around half a century later[1226] and is said to display a Chian influence. It is likely that the temple of the Dioskouroi, which seems to lie on the same level as this second temple, might have been built at the same time and may, along with the building of the Hellenion, have signalled

[1220] *Naukratis* II 30-2.
[1221] *Ibid.* and Pl. IV.
[1222] *Ibid.* 32.
[1223] *Ibid.* 31; Möller *Naukratis* 100.
[1224] Securely identified from the "hundreds" of bowls Petrie had found there dedicated to Apollo: *Naukratis* I, 16; endorsed by Herodotos' reference to a temple to Milesian Apollo at Naukratis: Hdt. 2.178.
[1225] Möller *Naukratis* 96-8.
[1226] J. Boardman, "Chian and early Ionic architecture" *AntJ* 39/2 (1959), hereafter Boardman "Chian architecture", 170-218, 203; Möller *Naukratis* 98-9.

an upturn in the fortunes of the settlement.[1227] What seems certain, however, is that this is the best-attested building to be associated with the Dioskouroi in any Greek settlement. Its four-pillared portico, with two of its pillars aligned with its north and south walls, could provide a model for the dokana image.[1228]

In keeping with the archaeological focus of the time, there was often greater interest in examining artefacts than structures, but Petrie's analysis of the architectural finds from the Apollo sanctuary has subsequently been vindicated.[1229] Part of the site is now underwater and could not be included in the American review of the site and its structures in the early 1980s.[1230] It would be reasonable to be doubtful about the identification of the building, given the lack of evidence from mainland Greece of other buildings associated with a cult of the Dioskouroi at this date and the known practice elsewhere of dedicating to a variety of deities within a single temenos.[1231] Hogarth, reporting on the third campaign of excavations at Naukratis in 1899, which included revisiting this area of the site, lamented the incursions of local farming and its effects which meant that it was already impossible to identify exactly the structures that Petrie had described as the sanctuaries of the Dioskouroi and of Aphrodite; nor was Petrie himself able to offer enlightenment as he was by then too ill to visit.[1232] Hogarth surmised, however, that the way votive dedications to particular deities - the Dioskouroi, Aphrodite - had been found in separate 'pockets' by both himself and Petrie, might

[1227] Möller *Naukratis* 107.
[1228] The meaning of the dokana is discussed in Chapter 3.2.. The possibility it was based on the image of a temple is also raised by a rock carving at Thera: see n.1088.
[1229] Möller *Naukratis* 96; Boardman "Chian architecture" 203; 203; B. Wesenberg, *Kapitelle und Basen*: *Beobachtungen zur Entstehung der griechen Säulenformen* (Düsseldorf 1971) 118.
[1230] For the scope of the review and its relationship to the area of the so-called Dioskourion: Leonard, *Ancient Naukratis:* 55 ix-x.
[1231] Alroth "Visiting Gods" 17, table 6 lists a variety of votive figurines depicting different deities offered at a number of Greek sanctuaries where they were not the primary cult recipient.
[1232] *Naukratis* III 27 and 28, n.1.

suggest that there were individual shrines within a larger, more generic sacred area: hence the need to identify clearly the deity for whom the votive was intended.[1233] This kind of arrangement recalls the 'agora of the gods' found in other sanctuary settings[1234] where evidence of cult of the Dioskouroi has been preserved**.** The depth of the 'pockets' and the dating of some of the pottery finds to the sixth century BC would seem to suggest that this site was already specially associated with dedications to the Dioskouroi before any building was erected. The very early fragment dedicated to Apollo,[1235] found at an even deeper level in the temenos, could mean that originally the whole area was primarily dedicated to Apollo.

Interpreting the finds

The presence of dedicated pottery from more than one source could suggest not only that those who offered them were likewise from around the Mediterranean but that here was a place recognised as particularly appropriate to make such dedications. What is unclear is the nature of that custom which could as likely be in the tradition of the mariners' and travellers' prayers noted elsewhere,[1236] as a more formalised cult, attached to a building. There are no literary references to help us. The function and purpose of the building in which the dedications were found remains elusive. The evidence from Kyrene could suggest that buildings associated specifically with a cult of the Dioskouroi may have grown up in conjunction with settlements or trading points to meet the needs of travelling Greeks who wanted to mark their homeland and customs.

[1233] *Ibid.* 38.
[1234] See n.1076.
[1235] See n.1222.
[1236] Examples of rock-cut graffiti prayers to the Dioskouroi include: Prote, *IG* V 1, 1548-51; Syros (Grammata), *IG* XII 5, 712; Epirus (Grama), *SEG* 49, 653 and 56, 684.

Whether or not the building can be justly described as dedicated to the Dioskouroi, the evidence for cult of the Dioskouroi at Greek Naukratis is clear from the early sixth- and fifth-century BC dedicated pottery found there. The numerous inscribed pottery fragments with the term Dioskouroi scratched on them, more than in any other place at this early date, imply clear votive intent. The current condition of the site makes it virtually impossible to reinvestigate the original excavations. Nevertheless, of the sites excavated to date, the pottery evidence provides the strongest archaeological evidence anywhere for Greek cult of the Dioskouroi before the advent of the Roman hegemony. It may also be significant that the temenos was near or had even previously been part of the area sacred to Apollo - an association that has been noted already at Sparta, Thera and Kyrene.

Cult of the Dioskouroi on Chios?

The majority of these dedicated vases are of East Greek manufacture,[1237] but some were Chian as was the seventh-century BC dedicated vase found at Kyrene.[1238] It is possible that this shared provenance reveals not only the trading relationships between Chios and the settlements of the North African coast: it might also suggest religious preferences and habits. The question remains whether the notably large amount of Chian-style pottery found at Naukratis was actually manufactured on Chios or made on site.[1239] There is some evidence for pottery being both made and dedicated to the Dioskouroi at Naukratis: a mid sixth-century BC sanctuary lamp dedicated to them, unearthed in the

[1237] These classifications follow those of Bernand's survey, see n. 1212. The current project sponsored by the British Museum to identify all the pottery from Naukratis from around the world will introduce fresh classifications as well as advancing our knowledge and understanding of the whole corpus.
[1238] References at n. 1177.
[1239] J. Boardman, "Archaic Chian pottery at Naucratis" in J. Boardman and C.E. Vaphopoulou-Richardson (eds.), *Chios. A conference at the Homereion in Chios, 1984* (Oxford 1986) 251-8.

course of the Hogarth excavations in 1903,[1240] is of fabric consistent with local Nile delta silt, and its graffito dedication was made before firing.[1241] **(76)** Even if the Chian-style pottery was manufactured on Chios, there is a question whether the dedications were marked at source for offerings to be made by Chians or added later by people dedicating them at Naukratis. One Chian fragment has been inscribed after manufacture.[1242] If both the vases and the dedications were made on Chios for Chians travelling to Naukratis, it is arguable that the Dioskouroi were deities venerated by Chian traders and that it is they who may be responsible for the presence of dedicated pottery at Naukratis and Kyrene also. It is thought that the nearby sanctuary of Aphrodite may have been founded by Chian traders, as suggested by Herodotos. Evidence of a specific cult of the Dioskouroi on Chios itself at this early date has not however been authenticated, although by the fourth century BC their name along with Herakles' is being used in local tribal names[1243] and several modern place names around the island - 'Diskoria' or similar - may reflect their earlier influence.[1244] A funerary stele of uncertain date but probably no earlier than the fourth century BC,[1245] is decorated with a picture of the Dioskouroi with a ship, confirming their marine role in a personal context

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[1240] Leonard *Ancient Naukratis* 1, 15 Fig.1.8.
[1241] BM 1900, 0214.18, East Greek pottery lamp from Naukratis *c.*550-500 BC; *Naukratis* III 55, no.57; A.W. Johnston, "Some fictile biographies from Naukratis" in D.C. Kurtz (ed.), *Essays in classical archaeology for Eleni Hatzivassiliou (1977-2007)* (Oxford 2008) 115-117, hereafter Johnston "Naukratis fictile biographies", 116 no.3; also n.1216.
[1242] BM 1888, 0601.355. Fragment of the conical foot of a heavy Chian chalice *c.*610-570 BC.
[1243] Chios Archaeological Museum 26, five fragments of a blue-grey Chian marble stele from Daphnonas, decree of the phratry of the Totteidai with a list of names inscribed on three of the surviving faces, dated to *c.*330-320 BC from the lettering; fragment A. Col.1 lines 64 and 5 refers to Dioskouridai: *SEG* 19 (1963) 580; W.G. Forrest, "The tribal organisation of Chios" *ABSA* 55 (1960)172-189, 187. Individual names too may reflect local importance of the Dioskouroi: D.F. McCabe and J.V. Brownson, *Chios Inscriptions* (Princeton 1986), hereafter *Chios Inscriptions*, no.9; *LGPN* I, 140 *s.v. Διοσκουρίδης.*
[1244] W.G. Forrest, "The inscriptions of South-east Chios. I" *ABSA* 58 (1963) 53-67, hereafter Forrest "South-east Chios inscriptions," 62.
[1245] Chios Archaeological Museum 215. Blue marble stele inscribed *[Ἀνδρό]νικος*, briefly described by A.P. Stephanou, 'Ο Χιακὸς Λαός' 29.12.56 as of uncertain date and provenance, and by Forrest "South-east Chios inscriptions" 62 simply as "Hellenistic": *SEG* 16 (1959) 498; *Chios Inscriptions* no.305.

here. A later inscription now lost,[1246] but dated from its lettering to the first century BC, suggested that the Dioskouroi may have been seen as protectors of other deities or affording some kind of overarching protection.[1247] By the first century AD, they appear on Chian coins.[1248] However, by this date, the local use of the Dioskouroi as symbols on coinage cannot easily be disentangled from the wider Roman usage.[1249] Excavations of the archaic sanctuary around the harbour,[1250] a likely point of veneration for marine deities, have yielded no such evidence: the earliest pottery dedications found there, dated to the seventh century BC, focus on Hera, Artemis (or an equivalent goddess) and Apollo as well as Dionysos. Apollo is here 'Agretes',[1251] the meaning of which is unclear. Alongside the tangible products traded around this part of the Mediterranean, also travelled less transparently the personal religious practices important to the sailors who brought them.

[1246] Dedication to *Θεῶν πάντων καὶ* πασῶν on a black marble block built into the church of Ag. Paraskevi; above the letters were incised two caps, each surmounted by an eight-pointed star and surrounded by a garland of bay leaves: Forrest "South-east Chios inscriptions" 61-2, no.14.
[1247] *Ibid.* 62 n.50 cites Chapouthier *Dioscures* 313 for other examples of this practice.
[1248] J. Mavrogordato, *A chronological arrangement of the coins of Chios* (Oxford 1918) 253-321 (period XI); Pl.VIII no 11, 68-117 AD, Pl. IX no.9, *c.*150-268AD.
[1249] See n. 532 and related text.
[1250] J. Boardman, *Excavations in Chios 1952-55: Greek Emporio* (Oxford 1967) 52-64.
[1251] *Ibid.* 62; Forrest "South-east Chios inscriptions"

4.4 Thasos

One of the earliest records of a public cult of the Dioskouroi has been found on Thasos. An inscribed stele dated from its script to the late fourth century BC,[1252] found near the main town's agora,[1253] includes a reference to Dioskoureia. Its primary intention is to identify those days when for religious reasons legal cases cannot be progressed, but effectively it records an annual programme of religious festivals celebrated on the island.[1254] No other specific evidence about these Dioskoureia has yet come to light.[1255] It has been suggested[1256] they were held in the Autumn around the same time as the Karneia, reflecting the association between the Dioskouroi and Apollo noted elsewhere, [1257] and might reflect the presence of a Spartan garrison on the island from 411 BC. The Thasian religious calendar itself was similar to that of Paros, the mother island of the early settlers on Thasos in the seventh century BC.[1258] A public banquet hosted there in honour of the Dioskouroi in the second century BC by a certain polemarchos Killos[1259] has been suggested could signify an earlier cult tradition.[1260] This is hard to substantiate, however, particularly when there are other factors to explain an interest in cult of the Dioskouroi by this time: the environment of religious practice and favoured deities in the

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[1252] *SEG* 19, 45; F. Salviat, "Une nouvelle loi thasienne: institutions judiciaires et fêtes religieuses à la fin du IV[e] siècle av. J.-C." *BCH* 82 (1958) 193-267, Pl.VIII and IX, hereafter Salviat "Fêtes religieuses", 193-201.

[1253] Thasos Archaeological Museum 1451: the text, carved on a grey marble slab uncovered in 1954, was not spotted until a couple of years later. The slab is similar to others already unearthed nearby in earlier excavations, and is thought to be part of a judicial building.The dating of this structure accords with the late fourth-century BC text of the script: Salviat "Fêtes religieuses" 193-5.

[1254] Salviat "Fêtes religieuses" 216-8.

[1255] *Ibid.* 259-261 discusses the possibilities.

[1256] *Ibid.*

[1257] Pettersson *Apollo cults* 60.

[1258] Y. Grandjean and F. Salviat, *Guide de Thasos* (Paris 2000), hereafter Grandjean/Salviat *Thasos Guide*, 24, 69; a monument to one of the settlers, Glaukos, has been dated from its script to c.600 BC: J. Pouilloux " Glaucos, fils de Leptine, Parien" *BCH* 79 (1955) 75-86, 77.

[1259] *IG* XII 5, 129. The role of polemarchos in Athens by this time carried legal responsibilities; it also involved the conduct of some sacrifices and arrangements for military funerals: D.M. MacDowall, *OCD*[4] *s.v.* Polemarchos, This may have been the role on Paros also.

[1260] Salviat "Fêtes religieuses" 261. Two other undated inscriptions reading *Διοσκούρων* have also been noted, *IG* XII 5, 230 and 231 found in 1876 in fields near the church at Therispna; also from near the castle at Parikia, dedications to *Θ[ε]οῖς Μεγάλοις*. *IG* XII 5, 236, dated to the second century BC, and *θεοῖς Σωτῆρσι*, *IG* XII 5, 237, dated to the third century BC.

Eastern Mediterranean, with the advent of Ptolemaic rule at Alexandria in the East and the encroaching Roman hegemony on the Greek mainland. In addition, this banquet was held in the gymnasium, likely to mark a specific sporting event as much as an established local cult.

As discussed already, other early references to a public cult of the Dioskouroi in Greece are from Delphi, recorded in conjunction with rituals laid down by the Labyadai,[1261] which date from the fourth century BC, but possibly reiterate earlier practices laid down in the sixth century BC. Claims made for a similar early date for public cult of the Dioskouroi at Delos [1262] are questionable; and, as already noted, celebration of Dioskoureia at Kyrene claimed to originate with its founder King Battos,[1263] is difficult to confirm before the third century BC. Thus the evidence from Thasos is, with that at Delphi, the earliest we have for celebration of Dioskoureia.

There is some other archaeological evidence at Thasos for the presence of the Dioskouroi in the religious life of the island. Near the ancient town of Thasos (above the modern port of Limenas) two reliefs[1264] of similar design have been found which almost certainly depict the brothers and may have been associated with a specific sanctuary or shrine. One of these reliefs[1265] was discovered at the church of Patarghia, near the site of an ancient necropolis to the west of the modern town and the site of the ancient settlement. A number of funerary reliefs have also been found, the earliest dating to the

[1261] *CID* 9; Rhodes/Osborne *Inscriptions* no.1.
[1262] References at n. 33.
[1263] See n. 116 and 1172.
[1264] Grandjean/Salviat *Thasos Guide,* 231 refers to three reliefs, but documents only two. Only two are listed in the museum catalogue.
[1265] Thasos Archaeological Museum 22; B. Holtzmann. *La sculpture de Thasos. Corpus des reliefs. I: reliefs à thème divin* (*Études Thasiennes* XV, Athens/Paris 1994), hereafter Holtzmann *Thasos reliefs,* no.80 and Pl. XLVIII**;** Grandjean/Salviat *Thasos Guide* 267 no.46, and Fig. 215.

sixth century BC.[1266] The votive relief, dedicated by a certain Pola, **(Fig.78)** describing herself as descended from the Heraklidai,[1267] depicts two cavaliers facing each other either side of a female figure in a pattern familiar from some depictions of the Dioskouroi on Spartan reliefs,[1268] but more often preserved in East Greece.[1269] Some have interpreted the central figure as Helen. Others have pointed out that the pose of the central figure pouring a libation suggests it might depict the dedicant herself. This relief has been dated to the second century AD.[1270] The other relief,[1271] **(Fig.79)** of a similar iconographic scheme and design, is dated significantly earlier, maybe by two or three hundred years. Discovered in some of the earliest excavations of the town in 1913, it is in a relatively poor condition so that the central figure is less clear. The very close resemblance of its two equestrian figures, however, to those of the later 'Pola' relief suggests that the central figure too might be similar, in turn suggesting some continuity of votive habit associated with the Dioskouroi on Thasos from Hellenistic times. It is possible the Dioskouroi appear on bronze Thasian coins around the late third century BC,[1272] where busts of two young men are depicted, both wearing piloi and facing right, framed within a wreath. These heads have usually been interpreted as representing the Kabeiroi.[1273] Some earlier coins, however, dated to c. 400-350BC,[1274] depict on the

[1266] Part funerary relief depicting a seated woman dated *c.*550-525 BC, Thasos, Archaeological Museum 8; Grandjean/Salviat *Thasos Guide* 252, no.15 and Fig. 185; similar, better-preserved, dated 520-510 BC, now in Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 3103, Grandjean/Salviat *Thasos Guide* 241 and Fig. 167, Ch. Picard "Stèle archaïque thasienne" *Mon. Piot* 32 (1932) 21-32, 26 Pl.II.
[1267] *Ibid.* Thasos Archaeological Museum 15.
[1268] SM 201-203; see also discussion of SM 319: Chapter 3.2.4.
[1269] See n. 1034 and 1035.
[1270] Holtzmann *Thasos reliefs* no. 80.
[1271]Thasos Archaeological Museum 145; Chapouthier *Dioscures* 30-31, no.8; Holtzmann *Thasos reliefs* no.79.
[1272] Grandjean/Salviat *Thasos Guide* 309; Head *HN* [2] 265, dated after 280BC.
[1273] *Ibid.*; also, R.S. Poole, B.V. Head and P. Gardner, *Catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum: the Tauric Chersonese, Sarmatia, Dacia, Moesia, Thrace etc* (London 1877), hereafter *BMC Thrace, s.v.* Thasos, nos.102-4.
[1274] *BMC Thrace s.v.* Thasos, nos. 51 and 52.

reverse two amphorae, already found at Sparta as symbols of the Dioskouroi[1275] and possibly again reflecting the presence of a Spartan garrison on the island at that time. From this period too their name appears in Thasian onomastics: [1276] a herald, Dioskourides, is included in an inscription giving a list of archons drawn from local élite families, found at the sanctuary at Aliki. [1277] Somewhat later, the dokana with a xoanon image, most likely Helen, was used as an identifying stamp on Thasian transport amphorae found in the agora at Athens [1278] **(Fig.80)** and on Delos respectively, [1279] suggesting the recognisable association of the brothers in this triad form with the island, but also that the image might be being used to identify a manufacturing location or merchant family associated with the trading of these amphorae.

Other evidence for cult of the Dioskouroi on the island is marginal. At the sanctuary by the southern ancient port of Aliki[1280] that served the adjacent marble quarries, a number of graffiti have been found which appear to be mariners' or travellers' prayers, [1281] some seemingly seeking blessings for their boats, others perhaps as elsewhere giving thanks for journeys safely made. Where these have been dated, they are no earlier than the second century AD.[1282] Among them is a prayer,[1283] it seems for the safety of a boat

[1275] SM 575 and 27 (dated to the sixth century BC), and on their own, SM 613 (dated to the fifth century BC). See Chapter 3.2.4.
[1276] Salviat "Fêtes religieuses" 259.
[1277] *CIG* 2161
[1278] Dated loosely to the 'Hellenistic' period, it was first published as a stamp depicting Hermes with a throne or doorway: A.-M. Bon *et al.*, *Les timbres amphoriques de Thasos* (Paris 1957), hereafter Bon *Timbres amphoriques*, no. 2143; additionally marked with two piloi, it was reassessed by F. Salviat, "Religion populaire et timbres amphoriques: Hermès; Hélène et les Δokana" *BCH* 88/2 (1964) 486-495, 491-495 and Figs. 8 and 9.
[1279] Delos Museum, TD 6821 (C.62-C.3161) Inscribed *ἀπὸ Διοσκόρων*.
[1280] J. Servais, *Aliki I: les deux sanctuaires. Études thasiennes* IX (Athens/Paris 1980), hereafter Servais *Aliki* I.
[1281] E.L. Hicks and J.T. Bent, *Inscriptions from Thasos* (London 1887), hereafter Hicks/Bent *Inscriptions*, includes some of these: nos. 12 and 14-17, none earlier than second century AD; *IG* XII 8, 581-586.
[1282] Hicks/Bent *Inscriptions* nos. 14, 15 and 16; Servais *Aliki* I, 49.
[1283] Marble block found in the sanctuary at Aliki in 1962, inscribed with a prayer and now in the Thasos Archaeological Museum; a similar found in 1961, *IG* XII 8, 582: P. Bernard and F. Salviat, "Inscriptions

called Asklepios, addressed to the saviour gods. It has been dated from its lettering to the third or fourth century AD. The identity of these saviour gods in this context is uncertain. Some have suggested it might refer to the Dioskouroi,[1284] but there is no evidence of any earlier prayers to them here and there is arguably an equal case to be made for the Anatolian deity Men Tyrannos-Dionysos to whom another prayer from the Roman period has been found nearby.[1285] Moreover, this is a single nomination among many, several of which address deities who are not traditionally thought of as specifically marine-orientated, such as Herakles,[1286] and cannot on its own reasonably be taken to signify any special cult of the brothers here.

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de Thasos: voeu d'*εὔπλοια* à Aliki" *BCH* 86/2 (1962) 609-11, hereafter Bernard/Salviat "Aliki Inscriptions", no.24 and Fig. 28; Servais *Aliki* I, 73.

[1284] Grandjean/Salviat *Thasos* 161-5, 267.

[1285] *IG* XII 8, 587 now lost: Bernard/Salviat "Aliki inscriptions" 611.

[1286] *IG* XII 8, 581.

Chapter 5. Conclusions

This study set out to discover more about the Greeks' experience of the Dioskouroi before the arrival of the Romans, stimulated by Cicero's assertion that by his time they were worshipped widely in Greece, possibly more than the Olympians. The task is complicated by the complexity of the brothers' natures, their different incarnations in different places and at different times, and the variability and patchiness of available evidence. To help address this, the study was designed around an examination of the evidence in selected locations over time, almost as case studies, with an underlying theme of comparing the archaeological with the literary evidence, much of which is Roman. So what have the results yielded? And how successful has this approach proved?

Who were the Dioskouroi?

Greek literature and epigraphy suggest that the term 'Dioskouroi' may not always have been synonymous with Kastor and Polydeukes. Thanks to the later application of the term Dioscuri to Castor and Pollux in the Roman texts, and the name of Dioskouroi similarly applied increasingly to Kastor and Polydeukes in some Greek contexts from the sixth century BC onwards, it is usual in modern scholarship to treat the terms as synonymous. More frequently in the written record, however, up to and including the fifth century BC, the brothers were either named individually as Kastor and Polydeukes, whether in the literature or on the oldest known piece of pottery from mainland Greece inscribed with their names, or called the Tyndaridai, sons of Tyndareos, legendary king of Sparta and their mortal father, although the term 'Dioskouroi' does appear specifically associated with them in the *Homeric Hymns.* The term 'Dioskouroi' could thus be seen in the nature of an additional name, and may confer a distinct and separate

imeaning. The use of the term in seventh-century BC dedications from Greek settlements around the eastern Mediterranean or by people known to be in touch with these places, and on the trading routes used by the Phoenicians from Mycenaean times, prompts further questions about how the name came to be related to the Spartan brothers.

The Dioskouroi in Greek myth

Kastor and Polydeukes lie at the heart of ancient Greek mythology, as part of the Olympian family. They are linked through their legendary sibling Helen with the Greeks' emblematic history of Troy, and also with the other great Greek saga, the journey of the Argonauts. They are among the first figures to be depicted on painted vases, participating in legendary heroic events – the funeral games for Pelias and the Kalydonian boar hunt. Initially presented as brothers, rather than twins, they share a mother, Leda, but in some texts importantly, Polydeukes is the son of Zeus, Kastor of the mortal Tyndareos. Like Herakles they stand as heroes, half man half god, between the mortal Greeks and the Olympians, and the trajectory of their cults may be similar. While their legendary roots should place them firmly in Sparta and Lakonia, it appears from the vase-painting, sculptural temple decoration, reliefs and dedications that they were known in some form and worshipped widely in Greece: by the sixth and into the fifth centuries BC in Athens and Attica, but also in Greek settlements in the east and west Mediterranean, and at Rome as early as the fifth century BC. Until the fifth century BC, however, the literary texts refer to the brothers mainly in a mythic or heroic context. They are associated with epiphanic appearances (as some other heroes) and victory, and are recipients of libations but not necessarily as deities. The emphasis is on myth as history.

The Dioskouroi in the Peloponnese

The literature from Homeric times suggests that the Dioskouroi were primarily associated with Sparta, their ancestral home and where they were said to be buried. Other cities in the Peloponnese may also have tried to claim them as protecting figures, particularly those which were competing with Sparta for power in the area – Messene, when it finally established itself independent of Sparta in 369BC, and Argos possibly from as early as the fifth century BC and in conjunction with its control of the Nemean Games. The lack of any epigraphic evidence for their separate cult at Argos suggests it may have been conflated there with that of the *Fάνακες*, as Pausanias was to assume in his record. At Messene, the evidence suggests the adoption of the Dioskouroi as part of a created mythography to match their new status with the ending of Spartan hegemony and Epaminondas' re-founding of the city. At Sparta, the few so-called Dioskouroi reliefs are the best tangible evidence we have for their cult before the arrival of the Romans, but are difficult to interpret confidently without much useful information about where they were found. The number associated with perioikic settlements may suggest a conscious reflection of perceived Spartan custom. The smattering of other material evidence from some of the city's major sanctuaries – Artemis Orthia and Amyklai – could support an older cult, also hinted in some seventh-century BC fragmentary texts. Perhaps the most important conclusion, however, is that the nature of their cult in Sparta was not one that involved major monuments or buildings dedicated specifically to them, with the associated expenditure and civic involvement. In that way, the cult of the Dioskouroi lay largely outside the realm of polis religion and the public control that implies, and it was perhaps there that lay its widespread, albeit now largely invisible, appeal.

The Dioskouroi in the eastern Mediterranean

The earliest certain evidence of cult of the Dioskouroi comes from around the shores of the eastern Mediterranean, at Greek settlements and trading centres: the seventh-century BC dedicated vases at Naukratis and Kyrene, and the possibly earlier rock-cut dedication from Thera. Likewise, the earliest surviving buildings associated with the Dioskouroi come from Kyrene and Naukratis. Both have strong associations with the Peloponnese and Lakonia in particular. At Kyrene, there is evidence of cult of the Dioskouroi as part of its foundation mythography, asserting its links with Sparta, and of Dioskoureia there possibly from the third century BC. There were Dioskoureia too attested on Thasos from the fourth century BC, and on Delos from the third century BC, where a Dioskourion is also attested in the hieropoioi accounts. Apart from these records, we do not know what form these Dioskoureia may have taken. It seems, however, that by the third century BC these kinds of celebrations took place in Greek settlements, not only where there might be a traditional link with Sparta, but where there might be a natural interest in saviour deties and particularly those helping sailors and their ships. It may also reflect the more general interest of the time in intercessionary deities.

The Dioskouroi and sacred space

There is little archaeological evidence for separate buildings dedicated to the Dioskouroi in Greece before the fourth century BC. At Sparta, it is possible that this is no accident of survival, but a deliberate choice that the Dioskouroi had no 'home' above ground but should instead 'gallop ' by the Eurotas. Where there is some archaeological evidence for such buildings or structures, it is often associated with another more important deity, such as Apollo or, later, Demeter with Kore. Within Greece, the

exception appears to be the Anakeion at Athens which, although it has not yet been indisputably identified, can be dated to no later than the fifth century BC from the Polygnotos paintings it was known to have contained. The references in texts of Herodotos and Xenophon to sanctuaries or simply places associated with the Dioskouroi on Corfu and near Torone may be a loosely applied term, but does denote some kind of sacred area specifically allocated to them. These and others are used as map directions by Thucydides, Polybius and Xenophon and could suggest they were often placed on polis boundaries or ancient routes – as on the road from Argos to its port at Lerna, or that of Sparta to Gytheion. Outside Greece, the exception seems to be the temple and temenos at Naukratis, thought to date from around 500 BC, with earlier dedications placed within its temenos from the sixth or even seventh century BC, and the recently posited temple at Kyrene, with some parts of its architecture dated to the seventh century BC and similarly-dated dedicated vase fragments. Evidence for other buildings that can be associated with the Dioskouroi before the arrival of the Romans, at Epidauros and Delos, are found in sanctuaries to which people travelled from all around the Mediterranean and in this sense were providing a location for making dedications when away from home.

Pre-Roman cult of the Dioskouroi in Greece

The primary evidence for cult practice is sparse and scattered before the arrival of the Romans and difficult to interpret. Overall, it does not bear out the richness of the literary record. It may be the paucity is due to the accident of survival, and that new archaeological discoveries could dramatically change the poor picture the current jigsaw puzzle yields. On present evidence, there seems an emphasis on personal and family rather than communal cult, a tradition maintained in Roman times. At Sparta, the

brothers' legendary home, it looks as if the brothers' civic role was acknowledged primarily in their relationship with decisions about waging war beyond the state's boundaries. They may also have been celebrated at public festivals, albeit not in a primary role, in the time of Alkman, when they may have been cult recipients alongside Menalaos and Helen, not necessarily as deities. The lack of preserved major monuments or special buildings dedicated to them may not simply reflect Sparta's comparative poverty in this respect compared with Athens, at least in Thucydides' time, or the generally poor archaeological evidence for the architectural structures of ancient Sparta, but may suggest that cult of the Dioskouroi was a more personal affair, without major sacred buildings, lying outside the usual civic involvement.

In the late seventh/early sixth century BC there is evidence for cult of the Dioskouroi around the eastern Mediterranean, on dedicated vases from Naukratis and Kyrene. There is some evidence too for Dioskoureia celebrated possibly as early as the sixth century BC at the major sanctuaries of Delphi and Delos, a hub for the peoples around the eastern Mediterranean and north Africa; and that these may have been associated with cult of Apollo, particularly Karneios. From the fourth century BC, Dioskoureia were part of the religious calendar on Thasos. As at Sparta, the evidence from elsewhere suggests that, in the context of the polis, their cult did not necessarily involve major buildings or monuments, at least before the third century BC. The temple identified at Naukratis, and now possibly Kyrene also, could be explained as the need to create a communal sacred place for travelling Greeks at which to leave dedications, in the absence of the accustomed personal places at home. A similar situation could apply to the buildings putatively associated with the Dioskouroi at Epidauros and Delos. It may

be that the temples and other buildings erected specially for them within the polis that we know about from Pausanias, for example at Sikyon, were an imported Roman habit.

Methodology

The location-based approach of this research has been a useful tool to cross-examine evidence in those places where there is both a mix of archaeological and textual evidence, and some measure of continuity in the evidence too. It has also provided a means of re-examining some of the well-established evidence through a slightly different lens, paying attention to the chronological context of the written as well as the archaeological and material evidence, and has also helped highlight those areas where there is common ground, calling for a cross-cutting, functional approach for example around buildings and sacred space. To complete the picture, further study is needed in locations where there is similar literary and material evidence for the period before the arrival of the Romans. Results have, however, confirmed the limits of this approach that can be overly painstaking where the evidence is thin, or where there is only one kind of evidence. It is hoped, however, that what has been presented here may provide some useful paving stones on the path to a better understanding of the nature of the Greeks' experience of the Dioskouroi before the establishment of Roman hegemony in Greece.

In search of the Dioskouroi: image, myth and cult

Thesis submitted in support of an application to supplicate

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Volumes II & III

Sarah Graham

Hilary Term, 2015

In Search of the Dioskouroi: image, myth and cult

Volume II: Bibliography

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ARV²
Beazley, J.D., *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* (Second edition, Oxford 1963).

Beazley Archive
The Beazley Archive, www.beazley.ox.ac.uk

BMC
Catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum (London 1887 -).

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BM Inscr.
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CAH²
Cambridge Ancient History (Second edition) 19 volumes.

CEG
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CIL
Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (1863 -).

CVA
Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum (1927-).

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IG
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ILLRP
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LGPN
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LIMC
Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (Zurich and Munich 1981 -).

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SEG
Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum (Amsterdam 1923 -).

SNG
Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum.

ThesCRA
Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum (Los Angeles 2004 -).

Journals and abbreviations

AA
Archäologischer Anzeiger (until 1961 with *JdI*).

ABSA
Annual of the British School at Athens.

AD
Archaiologikon deltion Ἀρχαιολογικὸν δελτίον.

AE
Archaiologikē ephēmeris (earlier *Ephēmeris Archaiologikē*).

AJA
American Journal of Archaeology.

AM
Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (A) *(Athenische Abteilung).*

Ann. Inst.
Annali del Istituto di Correspondenza Archaeologica (1829-).

Ant Cl
L'Antiquité classique.

AntJ
Antiquaries Journal.

Arch. Class.
Archaeologia Classica.

AR
Archaeological Reports from the British School at Athens (supplement to JHS).

BaBesch
Bulletin antieke Beschaving.

BCH
Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.

CQ
Classical Quarterly.

CR
Classical Review.

CRAI
Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.

Ergon
Τὸ 'Εργον της 'Αρχαιολογικης 'Εταιρείας.

EAD
Explorations archéologiques de Délos (1909 -).

GR
Greece and Rome.

JdI
Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archaölogischen Instituts.

JHS
Journal of Hellenic Studies.

JRS
Journal of Roman Studies.

Kadmos

Mon. Piot
Monuments Piot.

Num. Chron.
Numismatic Chronicle.

Op. Ath.
Opuscula Atheniensia.

PDIA
Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens.

PDI Rome
Papers of the Dutch Institute in Rome.

Prakt.
Praktika tis en Athenais Archaiologikis Hetaireias.

RA
Revue Archéologique.

REA
Revue des études anciennes.

REG
Revue des études grecques.

SMSR
Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni.

TAPA
Transactions of the American Philological Association.

YCS
Yale Classical Studies.

ZPE
Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.

Websites and abbreviations

ARP
Amykles Research Project, http.//amykles-research-project-en.wikidot.com

BA
Beazley Archive, www.beazley.ox.ac.uk

MLSP
Mount Lykaion Survey Project, http:/lykaionexcavation.org

NP
Naukratis Project,
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_projects/all_current_projects/naukratis_the_greeks_in_egypt

Museum references

Where there are frequent references to the same Museum collections, these have been abbreviated for easier reading:

BM
London, British Museum

MM
Messene, Archaeological Museum

NM
Athens, National Archaeological Museum

SM
Sparta, Archaeological Museum

Ancient Sources: a note on the use of abbreviations, translations, editions and commentaries

For the ancient sources, abbreviations follow the usage given in S.Hornblower, A.J.S.Spawforth and E. Eidinow (eds.) *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*[4] (Oxford 2012) and are not specified in the text. Papyri abbreviations follow a similar approach.

Generally, quotations from the Greek or translations into English used in the text have been taken from the most recent Loeb editions unless more recent translations are available or commentaries suggest otherwise. Editions and commentaries to which specific reference is made in the text are listed in the general bibliography.

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Pausanias' travelogue is a major source for this study and appears frequently in the text. Several editions and commentaries have been used, but are mentioned specifically only where they support a particular point. As elsewhere, the Loeb edition has been used primarily for references. The defintive text used has been M. H. Rocha-Pereira (ed.) *Pausaniae Graeciae Descriptio* 3 vols. (Leipzig 1973-81).The main commentaries consulted have been: D. Musti and M. Torelli (eds.) *Pausanias. Guida della Grecia* 10 vols. (Milan 1982-2011), and J. Auberger, M. Casevitz, J. Pouilloux, and F. Chamoux (eds.) *Pausanias. Description de la Grèce* 8 vols. (Paris 1992-). The commentaries by J.G. Frazer have also been consulted. The Peter Levi paperback translated edition with useful notes has been a constant travelling companion.

***LIMC* citations**

Where particular objects are concerned, the reference will give the *LIMC* volume number, the subject identity and object number, thus:

LIMC 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi no.1.

Where a commentary, rather than an object is cited, the reference will mention first the author, then the *LIMC* volume and subject, and relevant page numbers, thus:

A. Hermary, *LIMC* 3 *s.v.* Dioskouroi 550-600.

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In search of the Dioskouroi: image, myth and cult

Volume III

Illustrations



Figure 1. Temple of Castor and Pollux, Rome: columns from the first century AD, built on the fifth-century BC temple site, rise above the Sacred Way in the forum. Photo: author.



Figure 2a. Statues of the Dioskouroi, possibly copies of the Greek originals from the fourth century AD, outside the Quirinale, Rome. Photo: author.

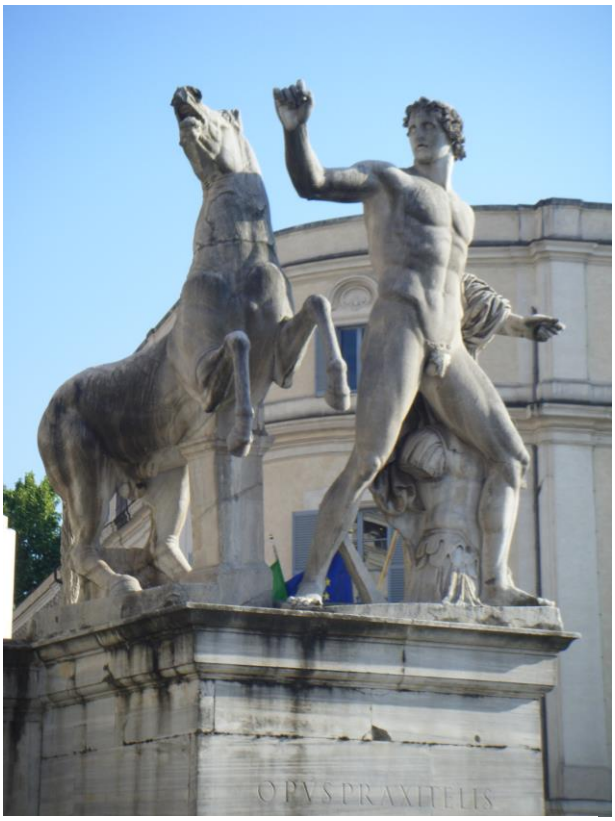


Figure 2b. A Dioskouros from the Quirinale group. Photo: author.



Figure 3a. Statues of the Dioskouroi, depicted as cavaliers and wearing piloi, on the Capitoline Hill, Rome, originally erected outside the temple of Castor and Pollux in the Circus Flaminius, from the second century AD. Photo:



Figure 3b. As above.



Figure 4. Relief on grey marble from Sparta, *c.*575-550 BC. Sparta, Archaeological Museum SM 5380. Photo: author.



Figure 5. Relief on blue local marble from Sparta, early sixth-century BC. Sparta, Archaeological Museum SM 575. Photo: author.

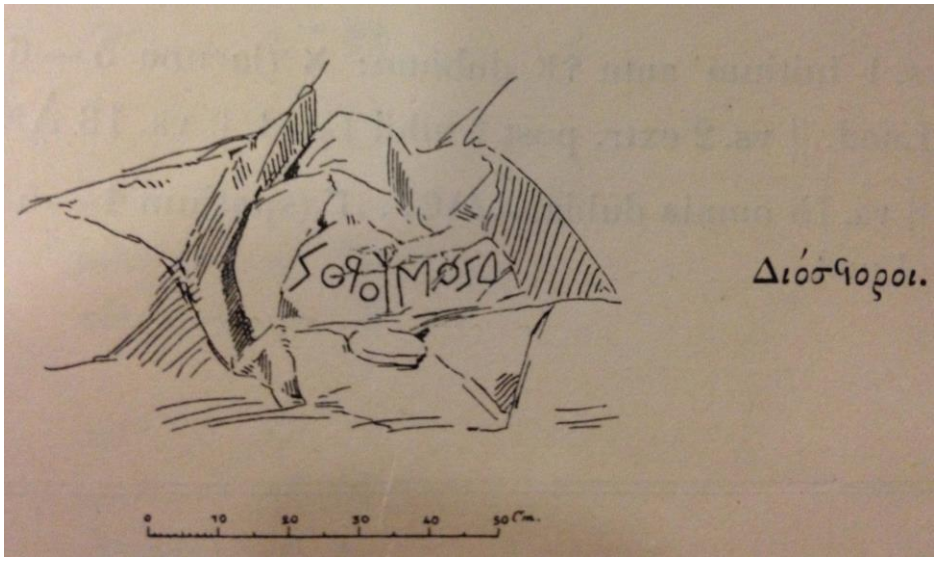


Figure 6. Graffito from Thera, late eighth/early seventh-century BC. Photo: after *IG* V 3, 359.

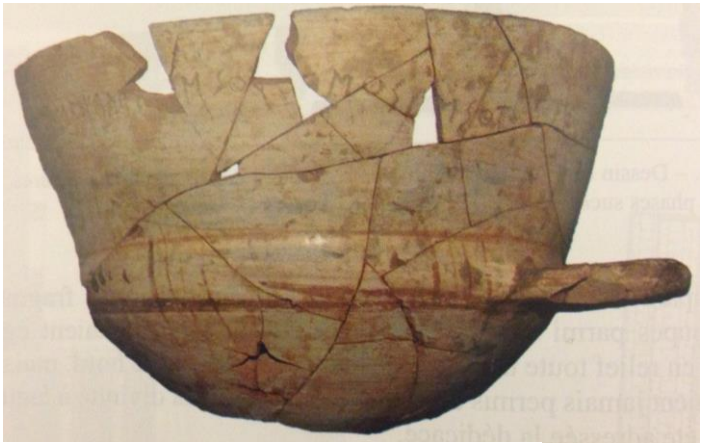


Figure 7a. Chian kalyx (26 fragments) from Kyrene, late seventh-century BC. Kyrene, inv. no. CA 06S3US3. Photo: after Luni/Marengo, "Dioskourion" Fig. 7.

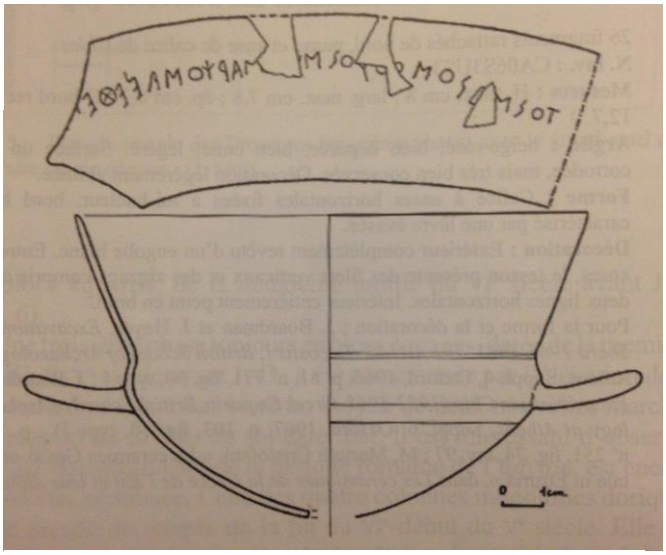


Figure 7b. As above. Photo: after Luni/Marengo, "Dioskourion" Fig. 8.



Figure 8a. Inscribed body sherd of Chian chalice from Naukratis, *c.* 630-600 BC. London, British Museum 1886,0401.936. Photo: British Museum Services.



Figure 8b. Inscribed Ionian cup fragment (possibly made in Miletos) from Naukratis, *c.* 570-530 BC. London, British Museum 1886, 0401.926. Photo: British Museum Services.



Figure 9. Plinth and feet of limestone statuette from Knidos, early sixth-century BC. London, British Museum B32. Photo: British Museum Services.



Figure 10. Bronze disk from Kephallenia dedicated to the Dioskouroi, late sixth-century BC. London, British Museum Bronzes 3207. Photo: British Museum Services.



Figure 11. Marble stele dedicated by Pleistiades from Sellasia near Sparta, c. 500 BC. Sparta, Archaeological Museum SM 447. Photo: author.

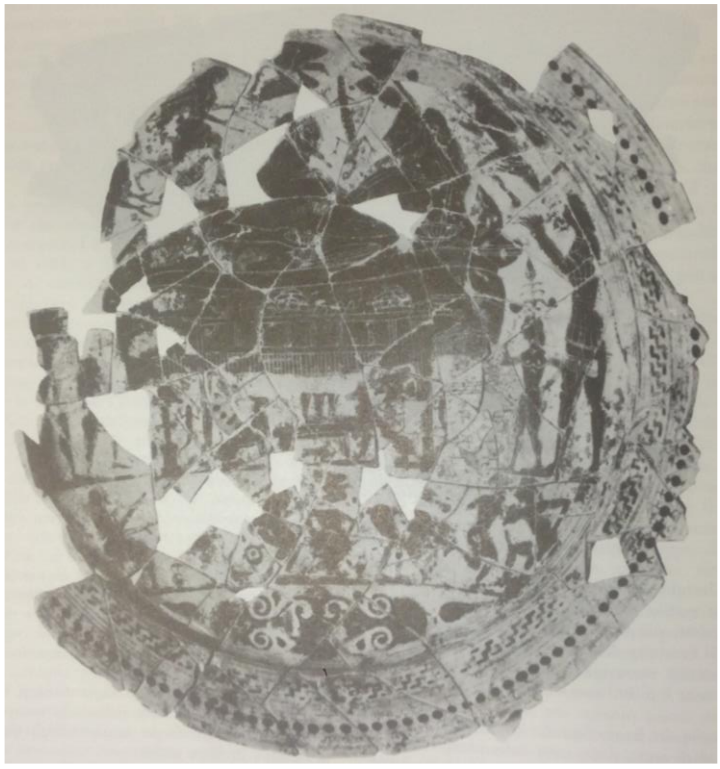


Figure 12a. Black-figure cup attributed to the Naukratis Painter from Lavinium *c.* 560-550 BC. Pomezia, Museo Archeologico Lavinium E 1986. Photo: after *Lavinium* II Fig. 434.



Figure 12b. As above, facsimile drawing. Photo: after *Lavinium* II Fig. 435.



Figure 13. Black-figure white ground lekythos from Kamiros, Rhodes, *c*. 500 BC. London, British Museum B 633. Photo: British Museum Services.



Figure 14. Terracotta plaque depicting the Dioskouroi and a theoxenia from Messania near ancient Taras, late fourth-century BC. Taranto, Museo Nazionale 4118. Photo: after *CAH*^{2}: Plates to volumes V and VI no. 157.



Figure 15. Athenian red-figure volute krater *c.* 425-375 BC. Ruvo, Museo Jatta 1501. Photo: author.

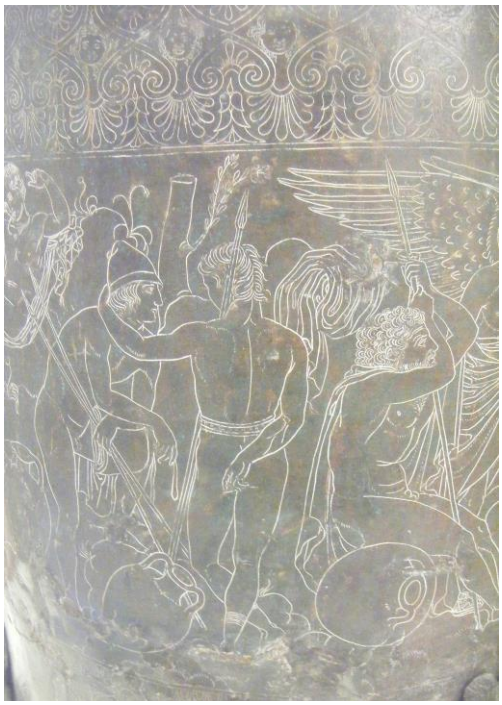


Figure 16. Incised cartoon on bronze cista from Palestrina, *c.* 340-320 BC. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 24787. Photo: author.

Figure 17. Limestone metope relief depicting the cattle-rustling escapade of Kastor and Polydeukes with Idas and Lynkeus (missing), the Apharetidai, from the Sikyonian treasury at Delphi, sixth-century BC. Delphi, Archaeological Museum 1322. Photo: author.



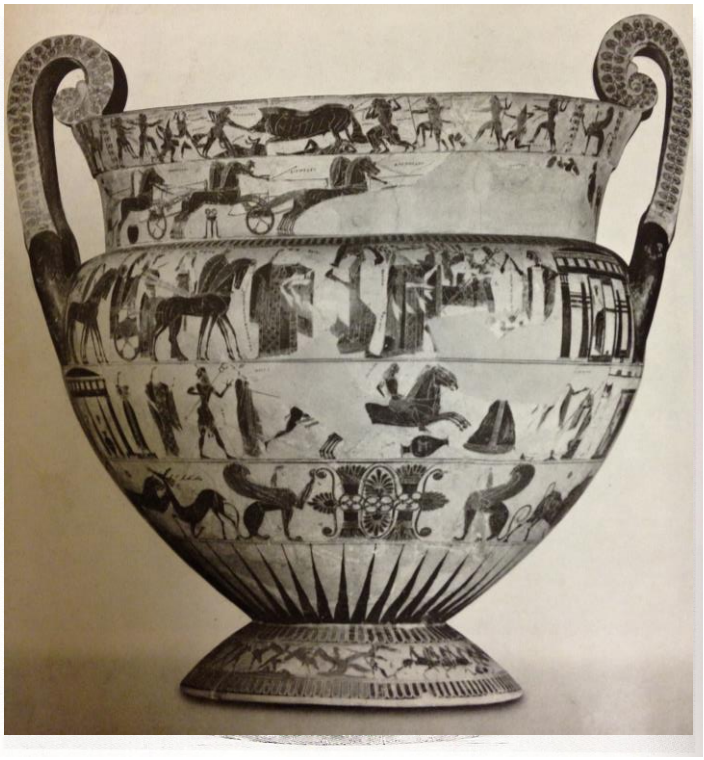


Figure 19. Athenian red-figure kalyx krater depicting the Dioskouroi abducting the Leukippides, from Spina, *c.* 475-425 BC. Ferrara, Museo Archeologico 44893. Photo: Beazley Archive

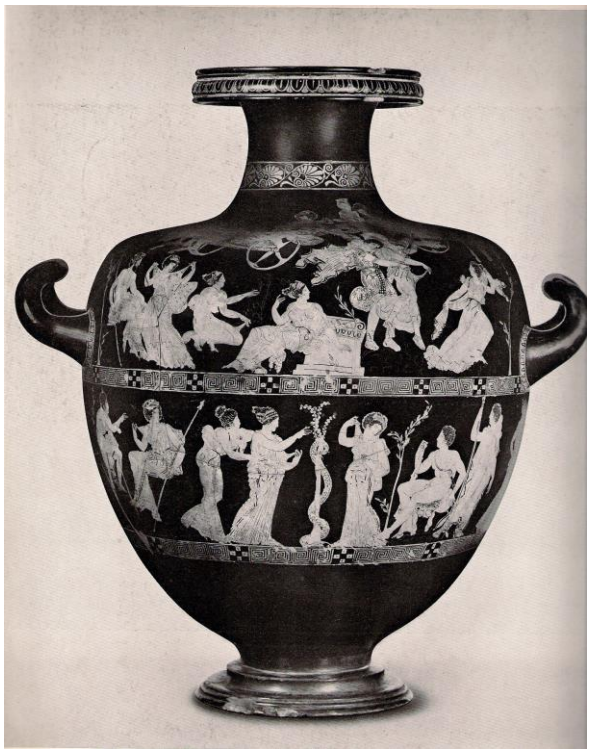


Figure 20. Athenian red-figure hydria signed by the potter Meidias, depicting the rape of the Leukippides in the upper register, from Tarquinia, *c.* 410-400 BC London, British Museum E224. Photo: British Museum

Figure 18. Limestone me of the Tyndaridai mounted left from the Sil haeological Museum 1324.

Figure 21a. Athenian black-figure volute krater from Fonte Rotella near Chiusi, *c.* 570 BC. Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 4209. Photo: after P. E. Arias and M. Hirmer, *A history of Greek vase painting* (London 1962) Fig. 40.



Figure 21b. As above. Detail showing Kalydonian boar hunt. Photo: Beazley Archive 300000.



Figure 22. Athenian black-figure amphora signed by Exekias as both potter and painter from Vulci *c.* 540 BC. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano 16757. Photo: Beazley Archive 310395.

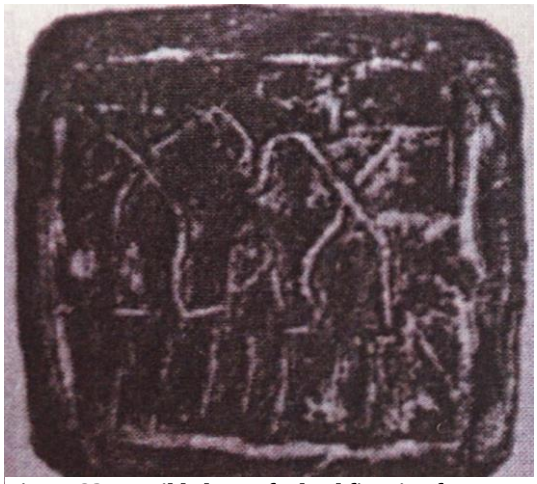


Figure 23. Possible base of a lead figurine from Zagora, *c.* seventh-century BC. Andros, Archaeological Museum 1238. Photo: after A. Cambitoglou *et al*, *Zagora* 2 (Athens 1988) Pl. 281(c).

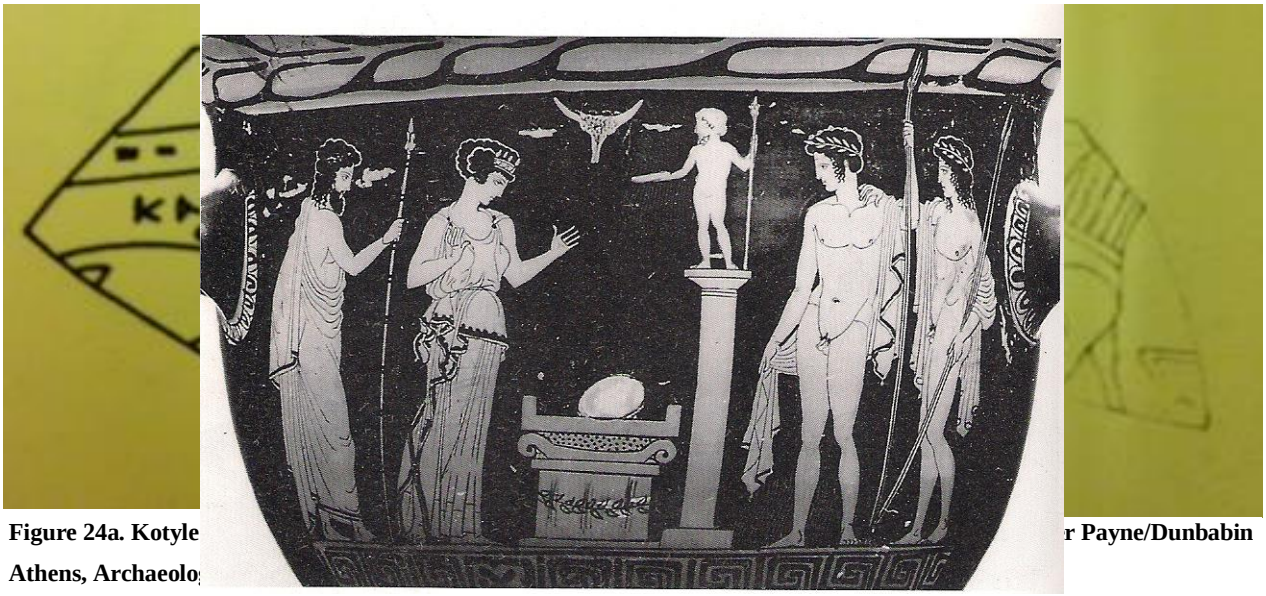


Figure 24a. Kotyle r Payne/Dunbabin Athens, Archaeolo; Payne/Dunbabin *Perachora* 2 no. 2469 Pl. 100.



Figure 25a. Athenian black-figure lebes fragments from Smyrna, attributed to the Sophilos Painter, *c.* 600-550 BC. Izmir, Archaeological Museum 3332. Photo: after G. Bakir, *Sophilos: ein Beitrag zu seinem Stil* (Mainz 1981) Pl. 39.

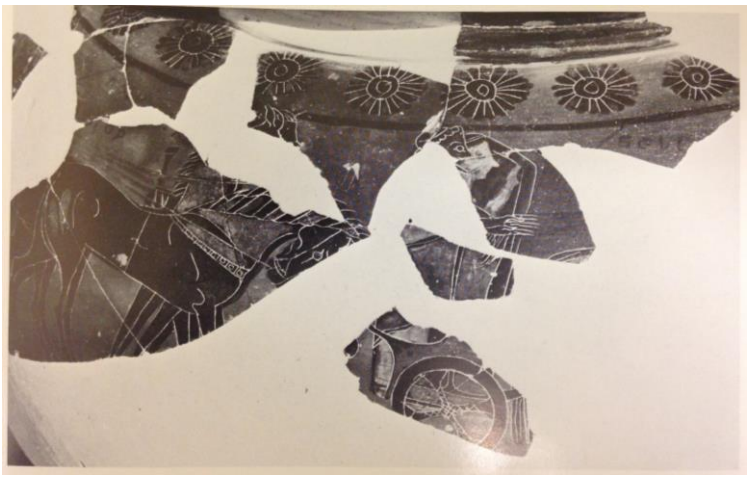


Figure 25b. Detail of 25a. Photo: G. Bakir, *Sophilos: ein Beitrag zu seinem Stil* (Mainz 1981) Pl. 40.

Figure 26. Athenian red-figure bell krater attributed to the painter Polion depicting the birth of Helen from an egg, while her mother Leda and her mortal husband look on, as do her brothers the Dioskouroi from beside the statue of their father Zeus, from Egnatia, fourth-century BC. Bonn, Akademisches Kuntsmuseum 78. Photo: after S. Albersmeier *et al* (eds.), *Heroes, mortals and myths in ancient Greece* (Baltimore 2009), 50 Fig. 18 (A).



Figure 27. Marble votive stele from Larisa, second-century BC. Paris, Musée du Louvre MA746. Photo: Musée du Louvre/ P. Lebaube.

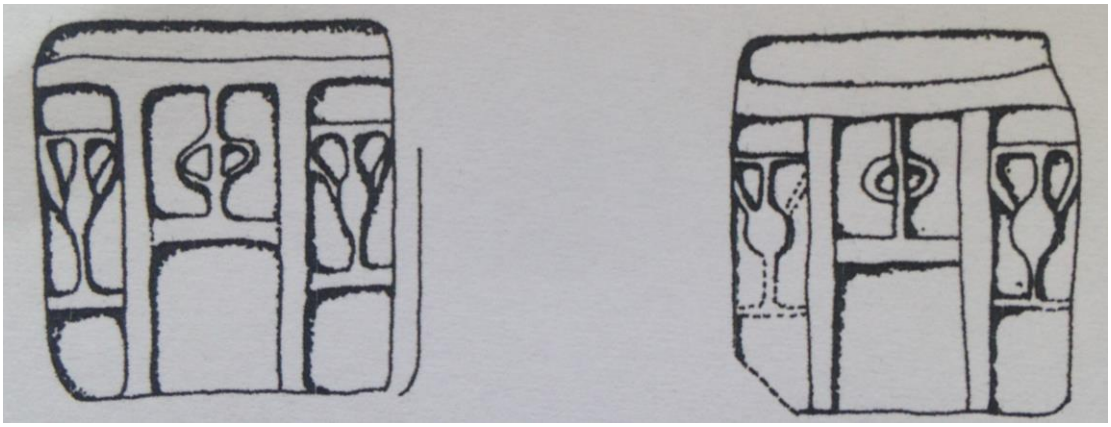


Figure 28. Tile stamps from Geraki dated no later than the second century BC. Excavation inventory nos. 4450/SF1 and 4500/SF1. Photo: after Crouwel *et al, Geraki. An acropolis in Lakonia. Preliminary report on the eighth season. Pharos* 10 (2002) Fig. 23, nos. 4 and 5.

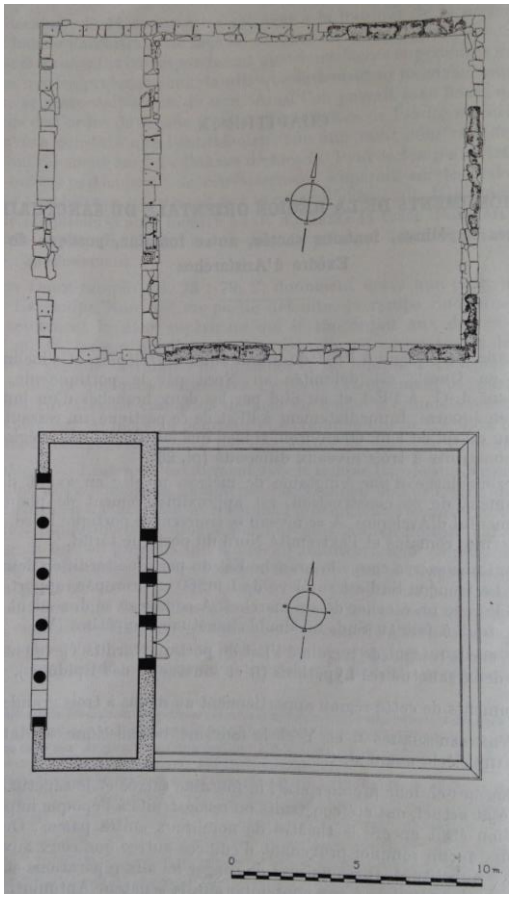


Figure 29. Plan of the rectangular structure associated with the Dioskouroi at Epidauros, *c.* mid-fourth century BC. Photo: after G. Roux, *L'architecture de l'Argolide aux IV^e^ et III^e^ siècles avant J-C* (Paris 1961) 276 Fig. 79.

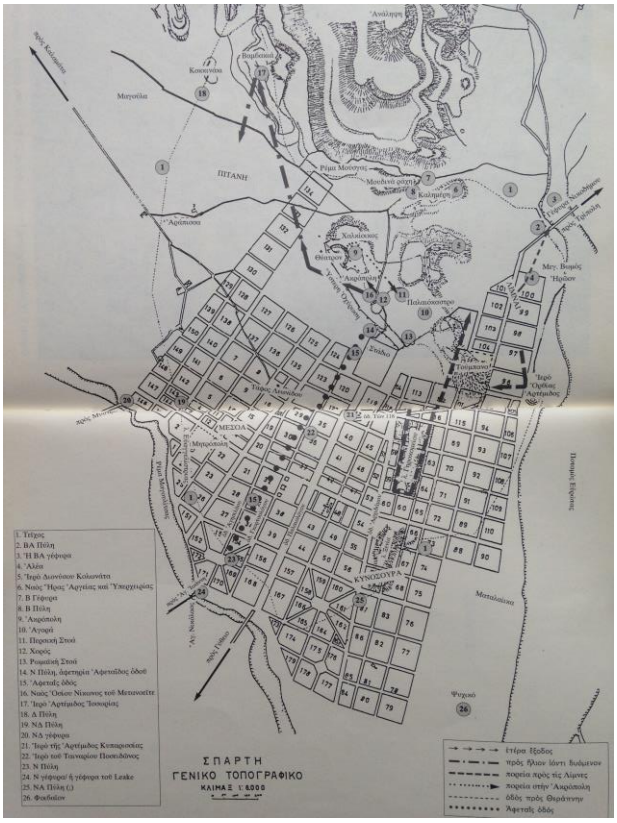


Figure 30. Plan of ancient Sparta. Photo: after Kourinou *Sparta* 290-291 Map 2.

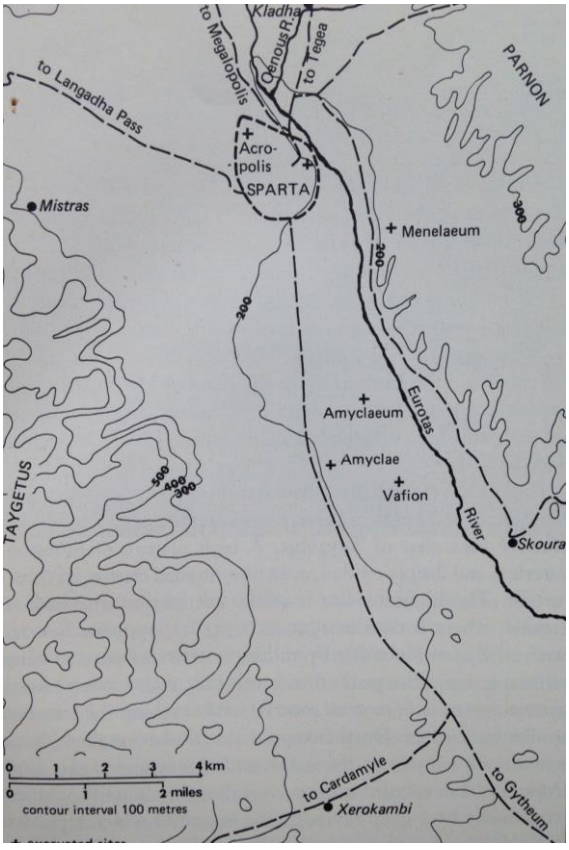


Figure 31. Map of ancient Sparta and environs, showing main excavated sites. Photo: after L. F. Fitzhardinge, *The Spartans* (London 1980) 17 Fig. 2.

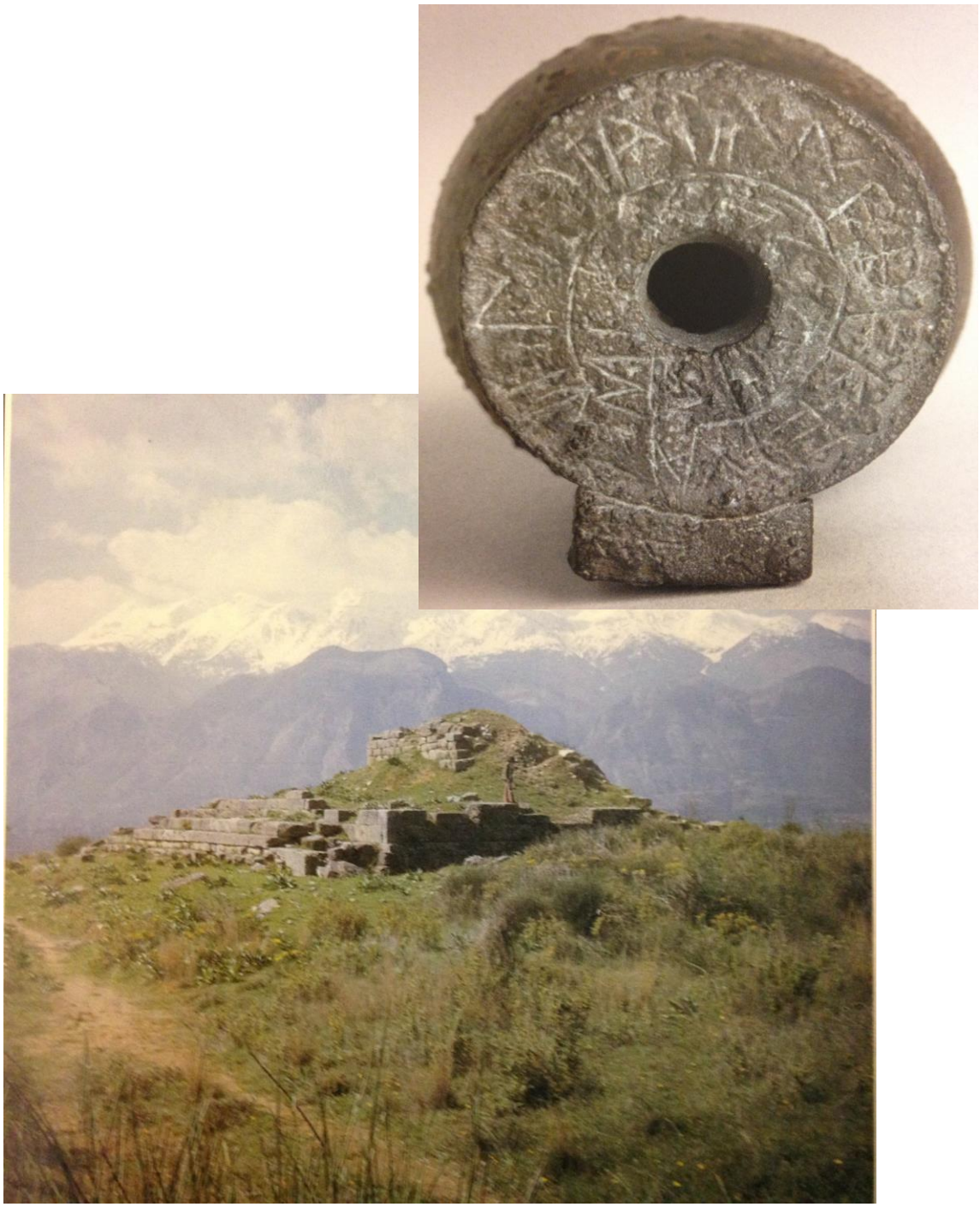
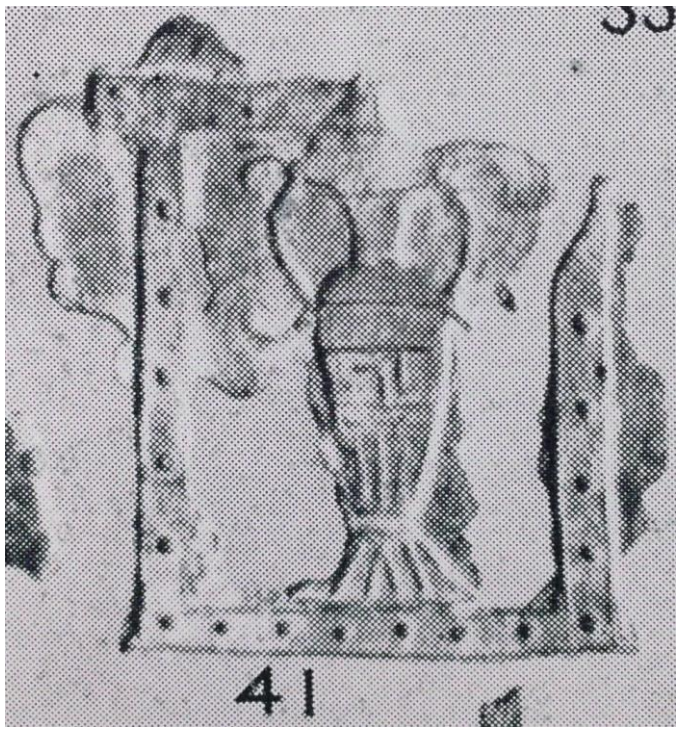


Figure 32. The Menelaion looking towards the Taygetos range. Photo: after *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ*, front cover (photo: Richard Catling).



Figure 33a. Bronze pyriform aryballos from the Menelaion, first half of the seventh-century BC. Sparta, Archaeological Museum SM 14742. Photo: after N. Kaltsas, *Athens-Sparta* (Athens 2006) 177 no. 80.

Figure 33b. Lip of 33a.



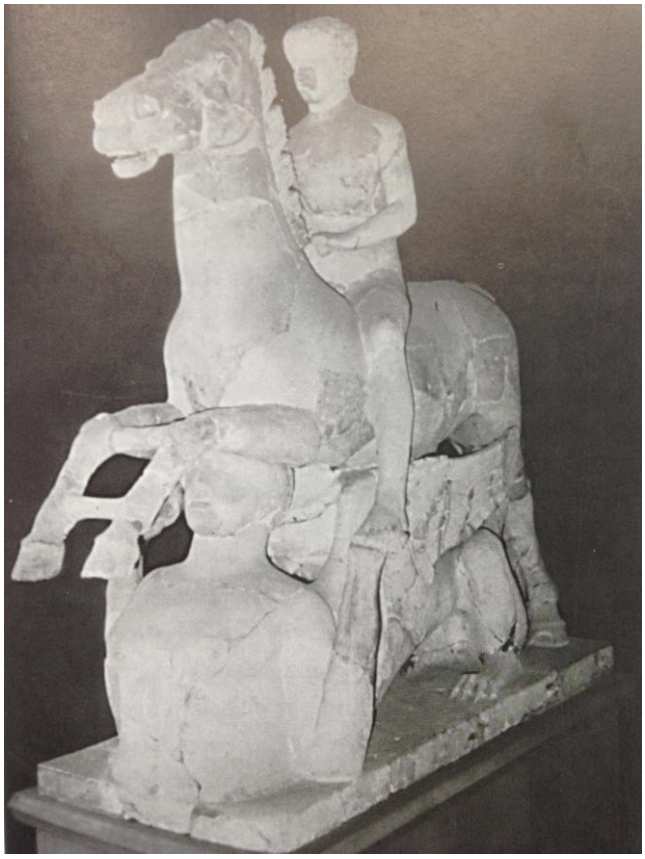


Figure 35. Reconstructed clay akroterion statue from the temple of Zeus at Lokri Marafioti, early fifth-century BC. Reggio di Calabria, Museo Nazionale di Magna Graecia 10475. Photo: after Palagia *Greek Sculpture* 85 Fig. 39.



Figure 36. Reconstructed marble relief from Kalyvia Sokhas near Sparta, late fifth/early fourth-century BC. Sparta, Archaeological Museum SM 9711. Photo: author.



Figure 37. Relief on blue local marble from Sparta, early-sixth century BC. Sparta, Archaeological Museum SM 575. Photo: author



Figure 38. Part of a limestone votive relief from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, early sixth-century BC. Sparta, Archaeological Museum SM 1991. Photo: author



Figure 39. Detail of the gypsum panel, depicting a near-mirror image of the king either side of a sacred tree, from the north-west palace of Ashurnasirpal II at Nimrud *c.* 865-860 BC. London, British Museum ME124531. Photo: British Museum Services.

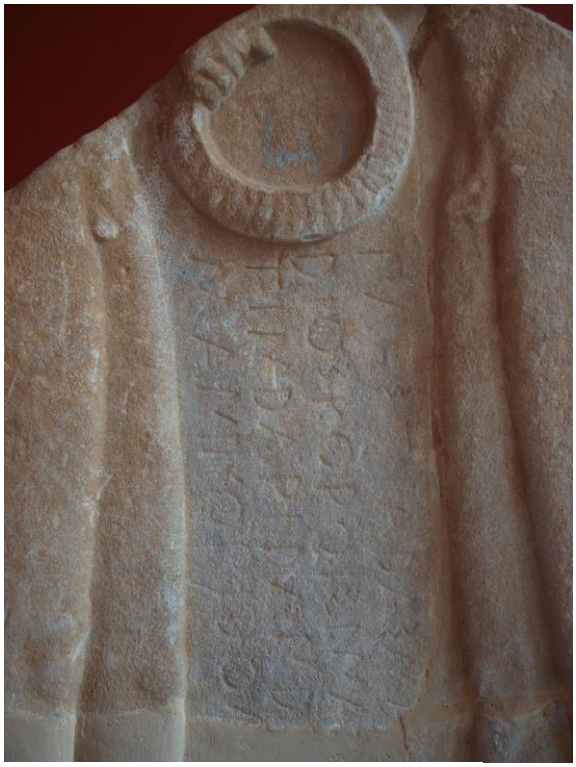


Figure 40. Detail of Fig. 11, showing inscription *IG* V 1, 919. Photo: author.



Figure 41. Local stone relief stele from Sparta, fifth-century BC. Sparta, Archaeological Museum SM 319. Photo: author.



Figure 42. Bluish marble relief stele from Riviotissa, Sparta, fifth-century BC. Sparta, Arcaheological Museum SM 588. Photo: author.



Figure 43. Detail from Egyptian limestone false doors from the tomb of Tjetji, Giza, fourth dynasty. London, British Museum EA157. Photo: author.

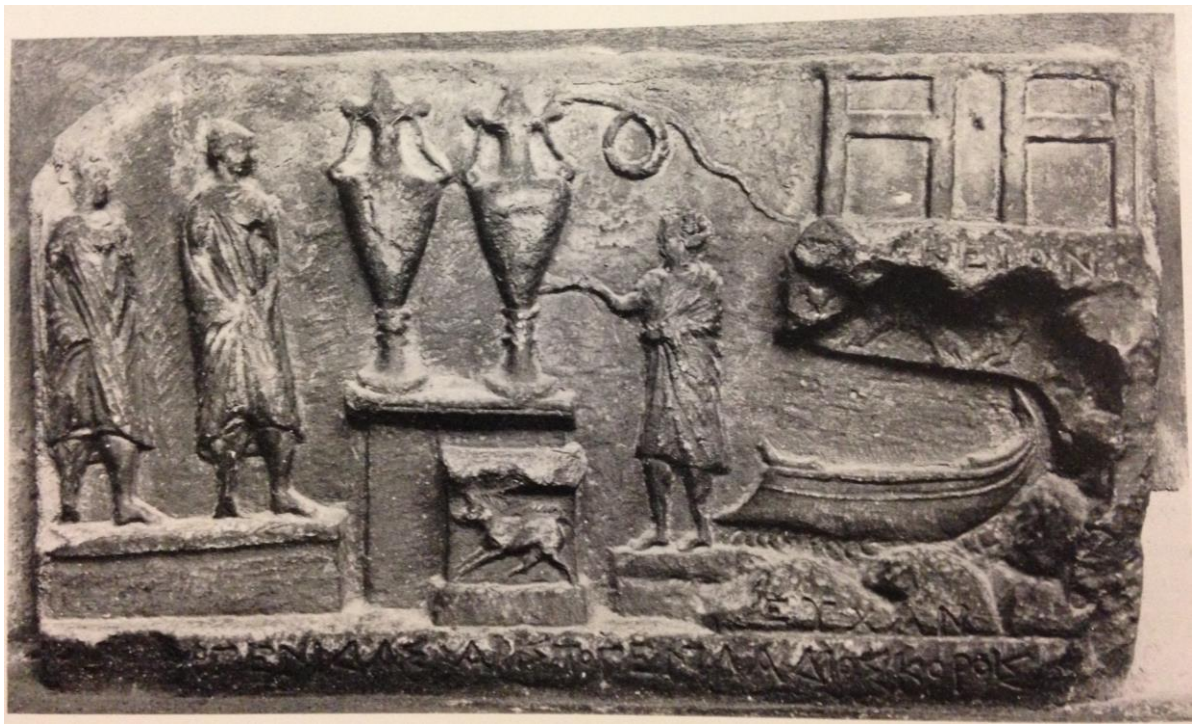


Figure 44. Marble relief stele possibly from Pephnos, second-century BC. Verona, Museo Maffeiano 555. Photo: after T. Ritti, *Iscrizioni e rilievi greci nel Museo Maffeiano di Verona* (Rome 1981) 58 Cat. no. 23.

Figure 45. Inscribed marble relief stele from Sparta, second-century AD. Sparta, Archaeological Museum SM 844. Photo: after Palagia/Coulson *Laconian Sculpture*

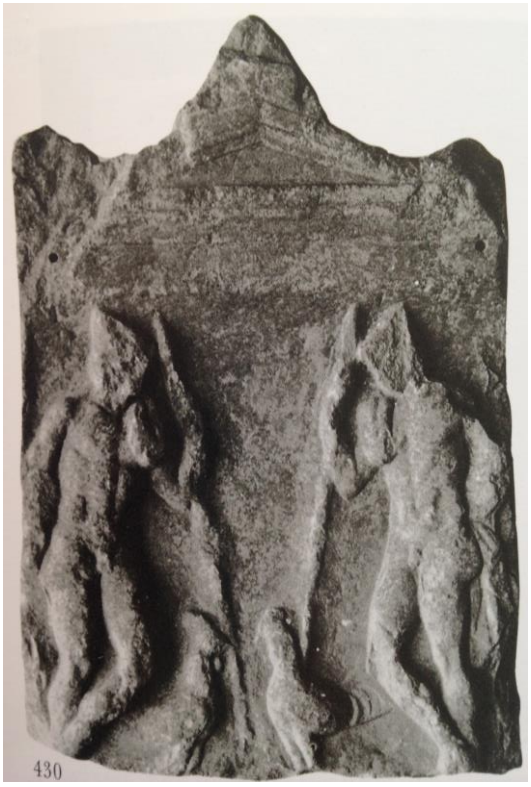


Figure 46. Gable topped limestone relief stele from Aigeira, Achaia, *c.* 400-350 BC. Athens, National Museum. Photo: after Kaltsas *NM Sculpture* 211 no. 430.



Figure 47. Inscribed bluish marble relief stele from southern Sparta, first-century BC. Sparta, Archaeological Museum SM 201. Photo: author.



Figure 48. View of ancient Messene from the temple of Eileithuia on mount Ithome. Photo: author.

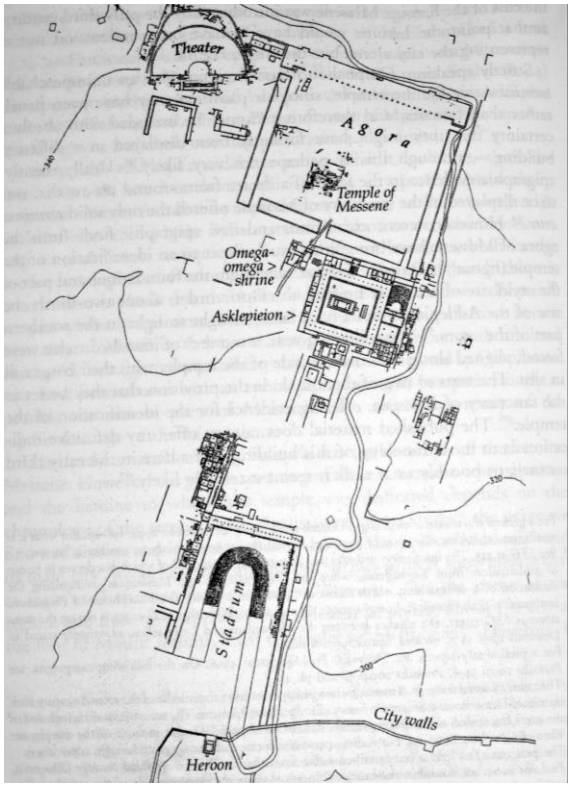


Figure 49. Site plan of ancient Messene, showing the position of building Ω-Ω. Photo: after Luraghi *Ancient Messenians* 274 Fig. 7.

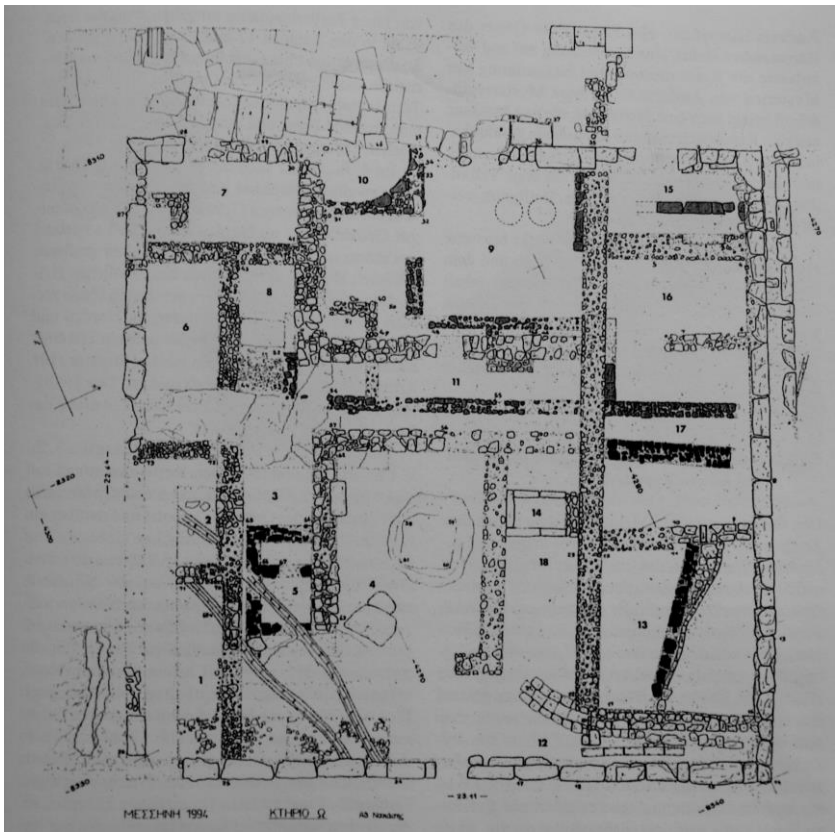


Figure 50. Plan of building Ω-Ω, ancient Messene. The find places of two bronze shields, one dedicated to Polydeukes (Fig. 51), are marked in compartment 9. Photo: after Themelis "Dioscouri" 159 Fig. 1.

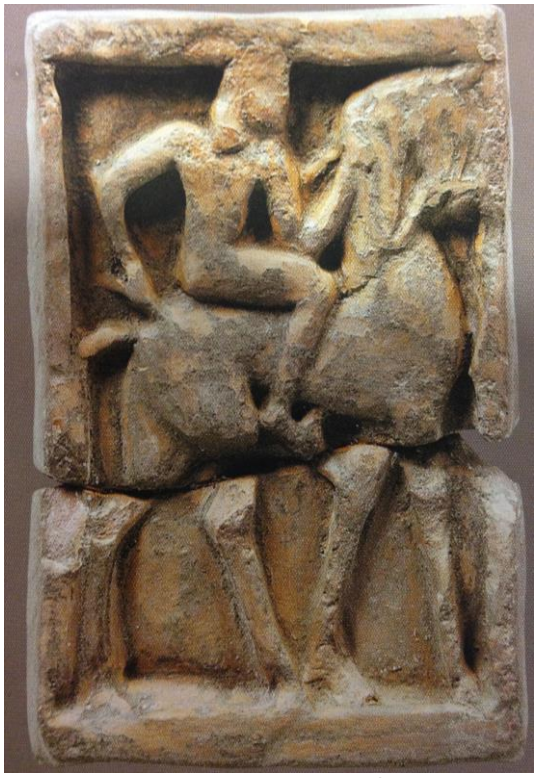


Figure 51. Terracotta votive plaque from building Ω-Ω at Messene, late seventh-century BC. Messene, Archaeological Museum 2188. Photo: after Themelis *Messene* Fig. 79.



Figure 52. Terracotta votive triad statuette from building Ω Ω at Messene, late seventh-century BC. Messene, Archaeological Museum. Photo: after Themelis *Messene* Fig. 78.



Figure 53a. Parts of a relief from the Roman theatre at Messene, fifth-century BC. Messene, Archaeological Museum 12272 and 15271. Photo: author.



Figure 53b. Part of a relief from the Roman theatre at Messene, fifth-century BC. Messene, Archaeological Museum 12272. Photo: author.



Figure 53c. Part of a relief from the Roman theatre at Messene, fifth-century BC. Messene, Archaeological Museum 15272. Photo: author.



Figure 54. Marble votive relief from ancient Messene, unrecorded location, third-century BC. Messene, Archaeological Museum 267. Photo: author.



Figure 55. Bronze shield, with inscription *IG* V 1, 1426, dedicated to Polydeukes from building Ω-Ω at Messene, late fourth/early third-century BC. Messene, Archaeological Museum (in repair). Photo: after Themelis "Dioscouri" 161 Fig. 2.



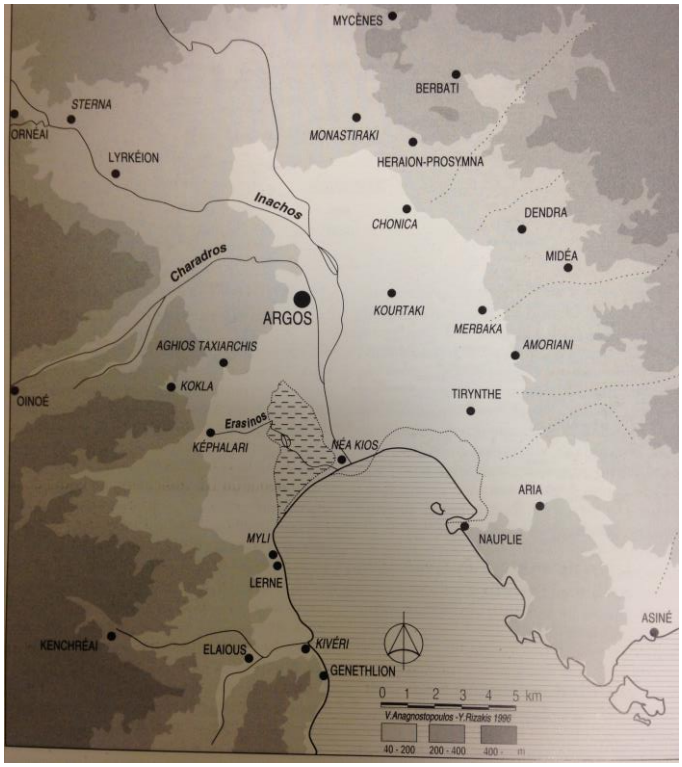


Figure 57. The Argolid plain with main ancient and modern sites, showing the original shoreline *c.* 2500 BC. Photo: after M. Piérart and G. Touchais, *Argos: une ville greque de 6000 ans* (Paris 1996) 10.

Figure 58. Argive krater from Argos, seventh-century BC. Argos, Archaeological Museum 201. Photo: author.



Figure 59a. Cavalier relief on orthostat inset in south parodos wall of part-Hellenistic theatre at Argos, third-century BC or later. Photo: author.



Figure 59b. As 59a showing the position of the orthostat. Photo: author.



Figure 59c. As 59a showing location of inscription above: *SEG* 16, 245. Photo: author.



Figure 60. Copper coin minted under Septimius Severus *c.* 193-211 AD. The Danish royal collection of coins and medals *SNG (Copenhagen) s.v.* Laconia. Argolis: Argos no. 99, plate 2 no. 100 (*sic*). Photo: after *LIMC* 3, 2 *s.v.* Dioskouroi no. 14.



Figure 61. View of Argos from the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaieus, the Larissa hill rising on the right. Photo: author's own.

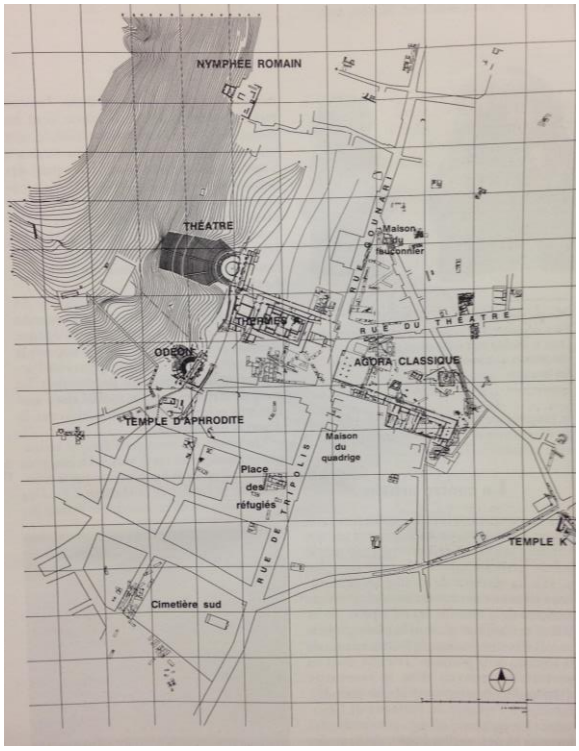


Figure 62. Plan of Argos town centre, showing main excavated sites including the theatre. Photo: after M. Piérart and G. Touchais, *Argos: une ville grecque de 6000 ans* (Paris 1996) 45.

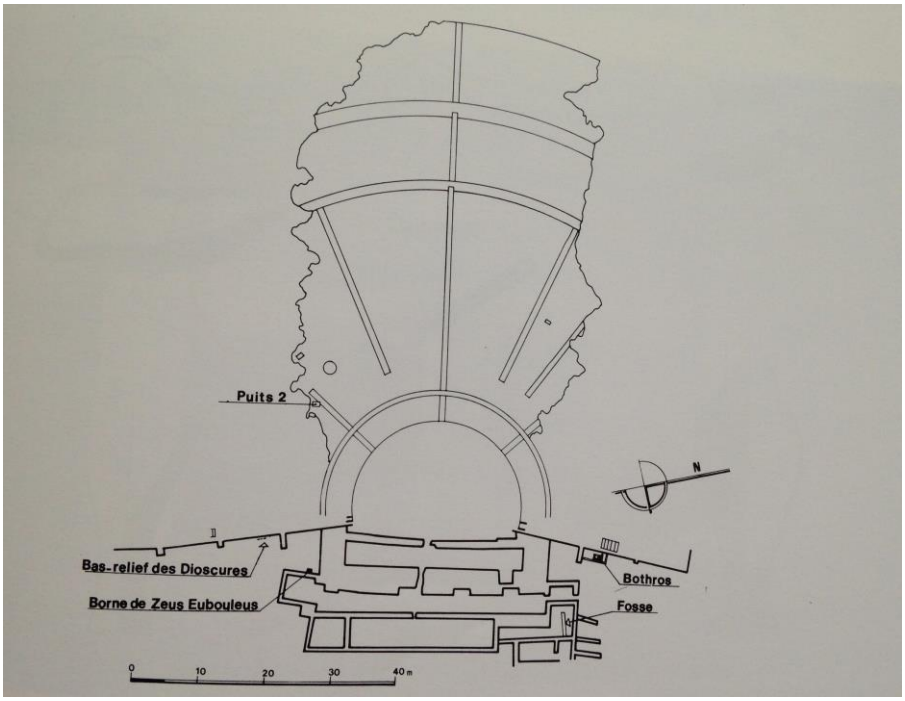


Figure 63. Plan of excavated theatre at Argos. Photo: after Morelli "Argos Sanctuaries" 251 Fig. 3.



Figure 64. Roman relief in the flat style from Argos. Argos, Archaeological Museum E192. Photo: author.

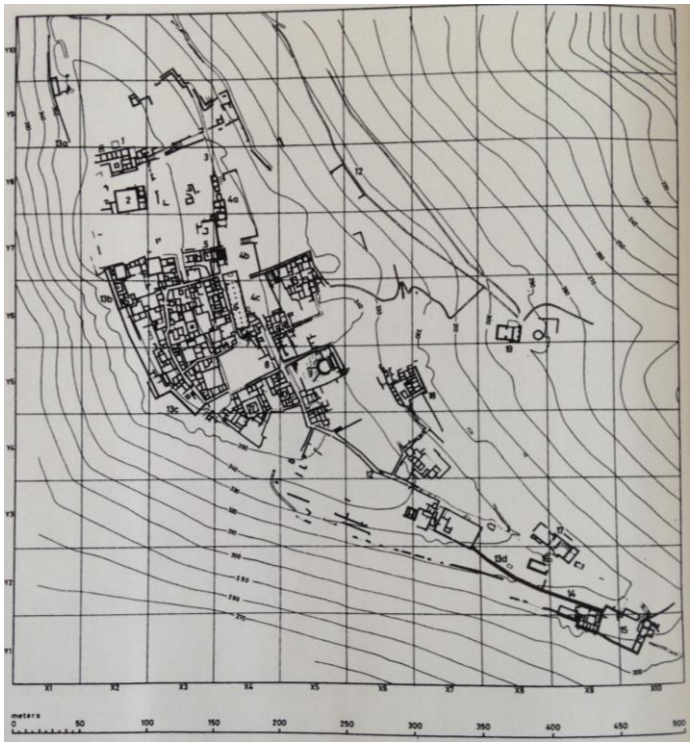


Figure 65. Plan of the excavated site at Mesa Vouni, Thera, showing the Agora of the gods. Photo: after Sperling *Thera* Fig. 24 (adapted from *Thera* III plans 1 and 2).

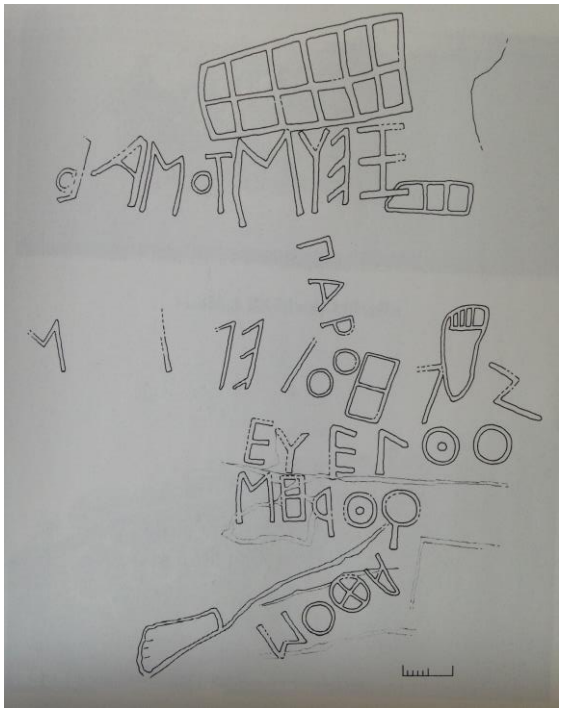


Figure 66. Transcription of graffito dedication to Zeus from Thera: *IG* XII 3, 350. Photo: after Inglese *Thera Arcaica* 455.

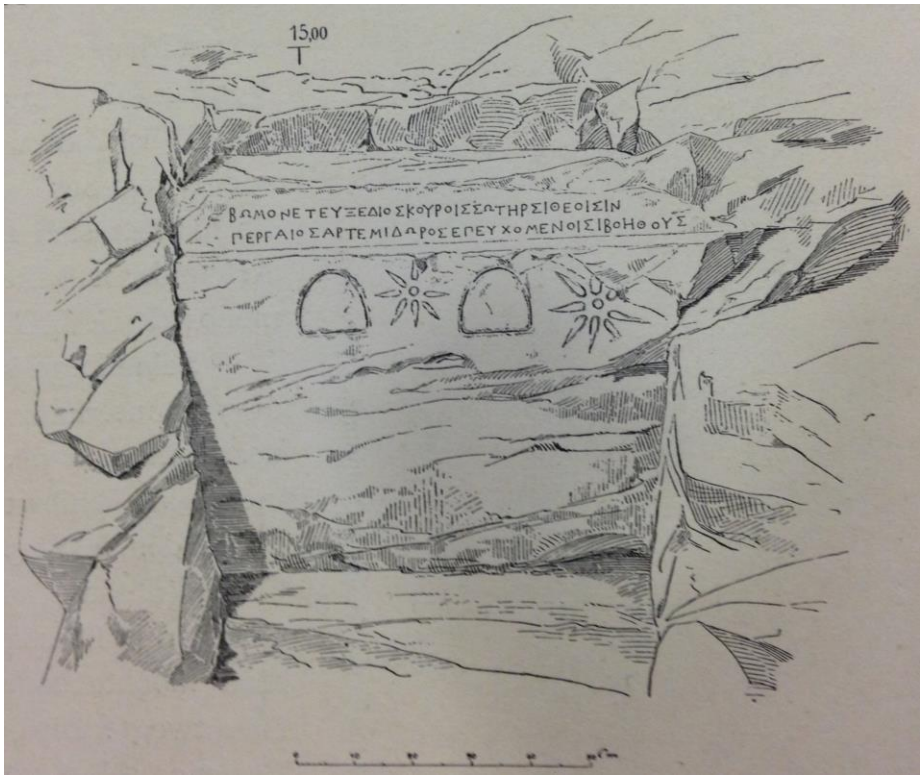


Figure 67. Drawing of the altar of the Dioskouroi in the temenos of Artemidoros, late third-century BC, *IG* XII, 3 422/1333. Photo: after *Thera* III 91 Fig. 75.



Figure 68. Local stone votive relief dedicated to Trophonios from Livadia, Boeotia, fourth-century BC. Athens, Archaeological Museum 3942. Photo: after Kaltsas *NM Sculpture* no. 448.



Figure 69. View from the sanctuary of Apollo to the western end of the acropolis ridge at Kyrene, looking towards the sea. Photo: after M. Luni, *Cirene "Atene d'Africa"* (Rome 2006) 33 Fig. 28.

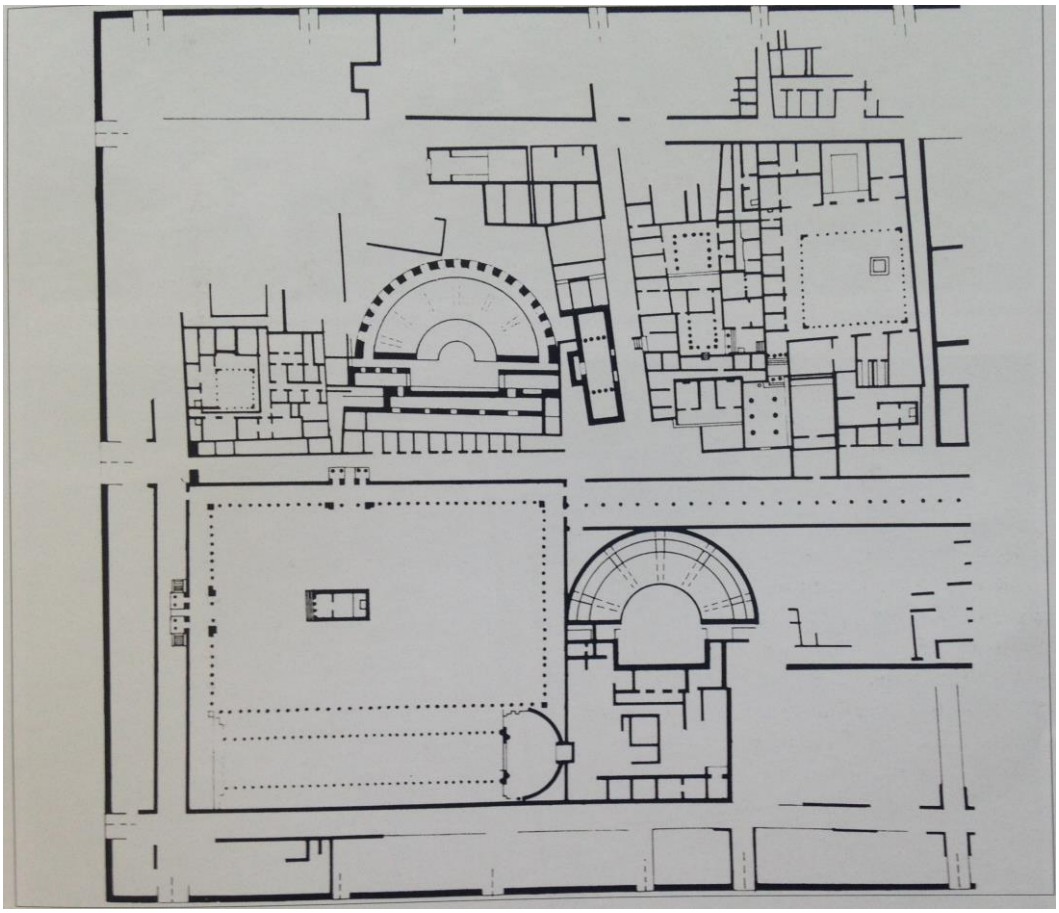


Figure 70. Plan of the agora area at Kyrene. Photo: after M. Luni, *Cirene "Atene d'Africa"* (Rome 2006) 57 Fig. 1.



Figure 71. Roman marble head from the agora area at Kyrene, late second/early third-century AD. London. British Museum BM 1861, 1127.59. Photo: British Museum Services.

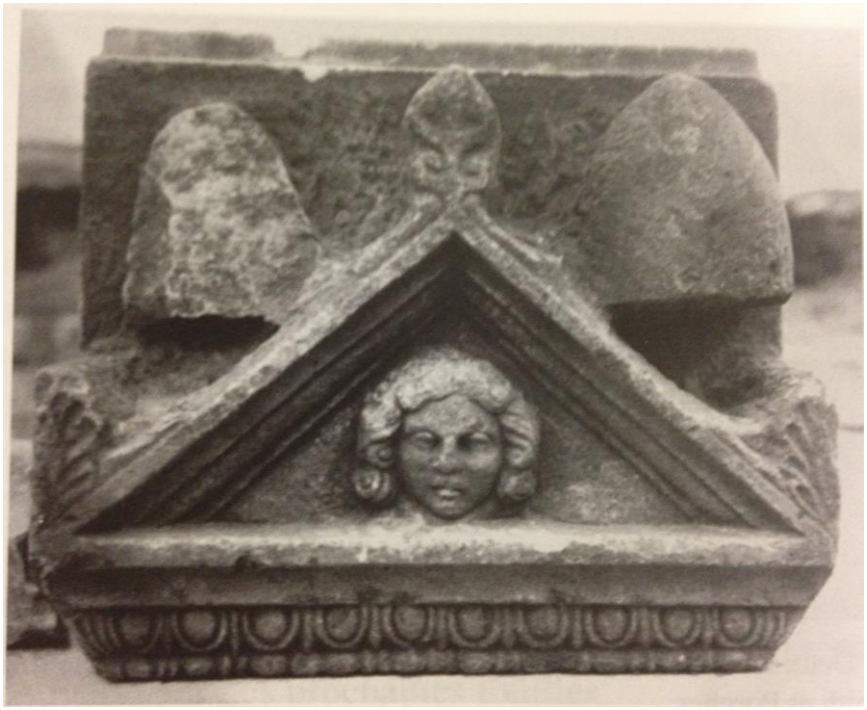


Figure 72. Marble architectural sculpture from Kyrene, unrecorded location, probably Roman. Photo: after Luni/Marengo "Dioskourion" Fig. 19.

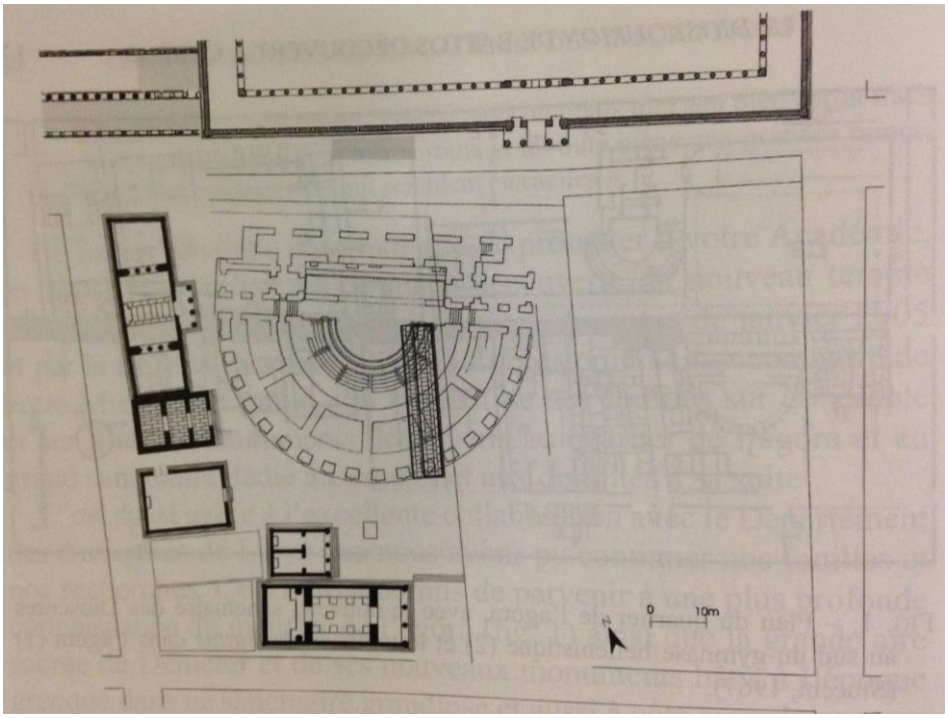


Figure 73a. Plan of the excavated temple building, putatively identified as a Dioskourion, abutting a further building identified as a hestiatorion (Fig. 73a) in the agora at Kyrene, part seventh-century BC. Photo: after Luni/Marengo "Dioskourion" Fig. 2.

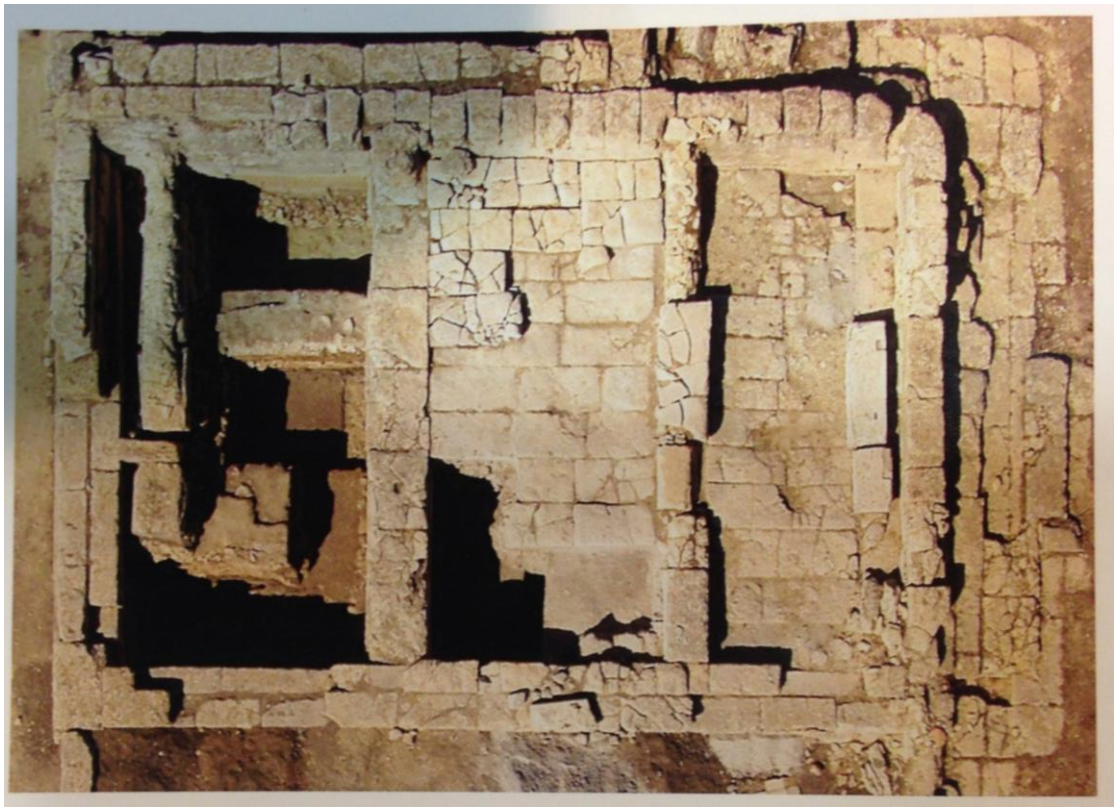


Figure 73b. Photo of the excavated Dioskourion building. Photo: after Luni/Marengo "Dioskourion" Fig. 4.

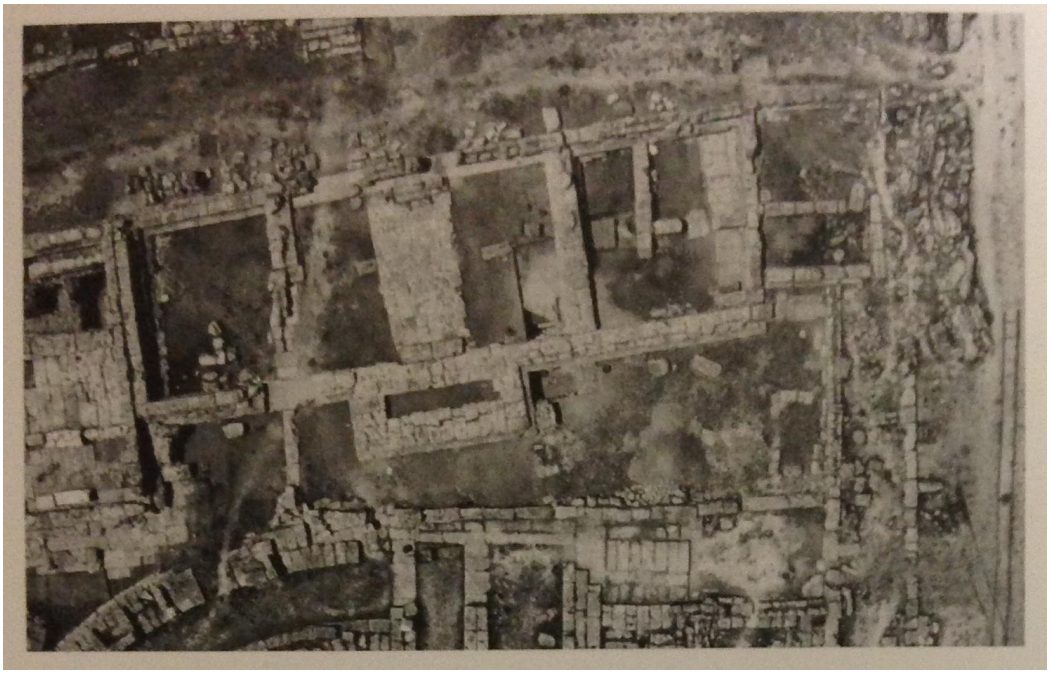


Figure 74a. Excavated buildings to the west of the theatre at Kyrene, showing the putative hestiatorion with the Dioskourion at the left. Photo: after M. Montanari, "Un hestiatorion nel santuario dei Dioscuri a Cirene" in Luni *Cirene* 208 Fig. 4.

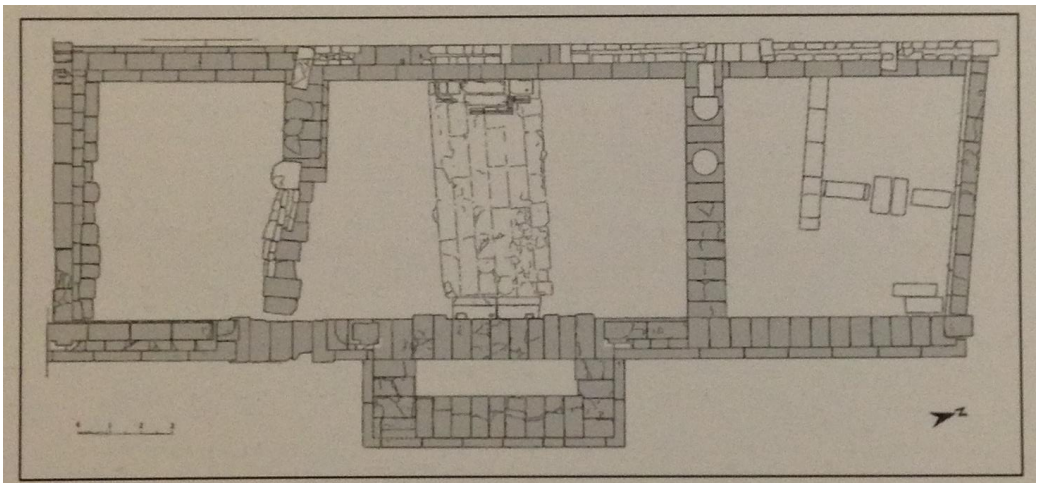


Figure 74b. Plan of the above. Photo: as above.

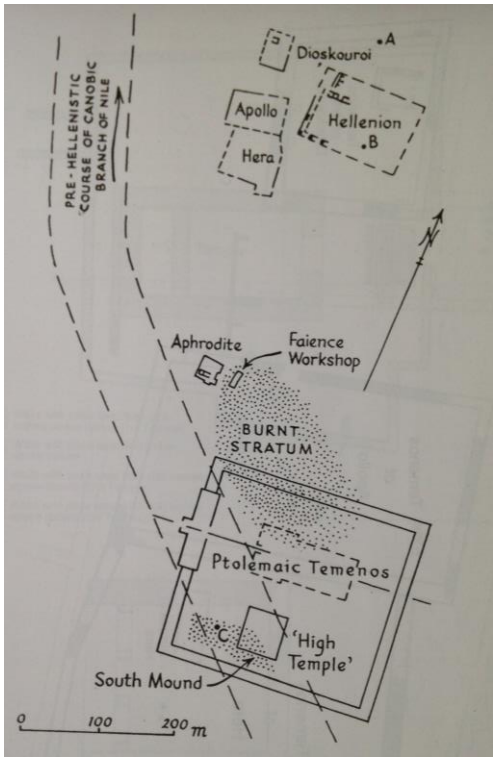


Figure 75. Plan of excavated site at Naukratis from the seventh to the third-centuries BC. Photo: after Möller *Naukratis* Fig. 1.

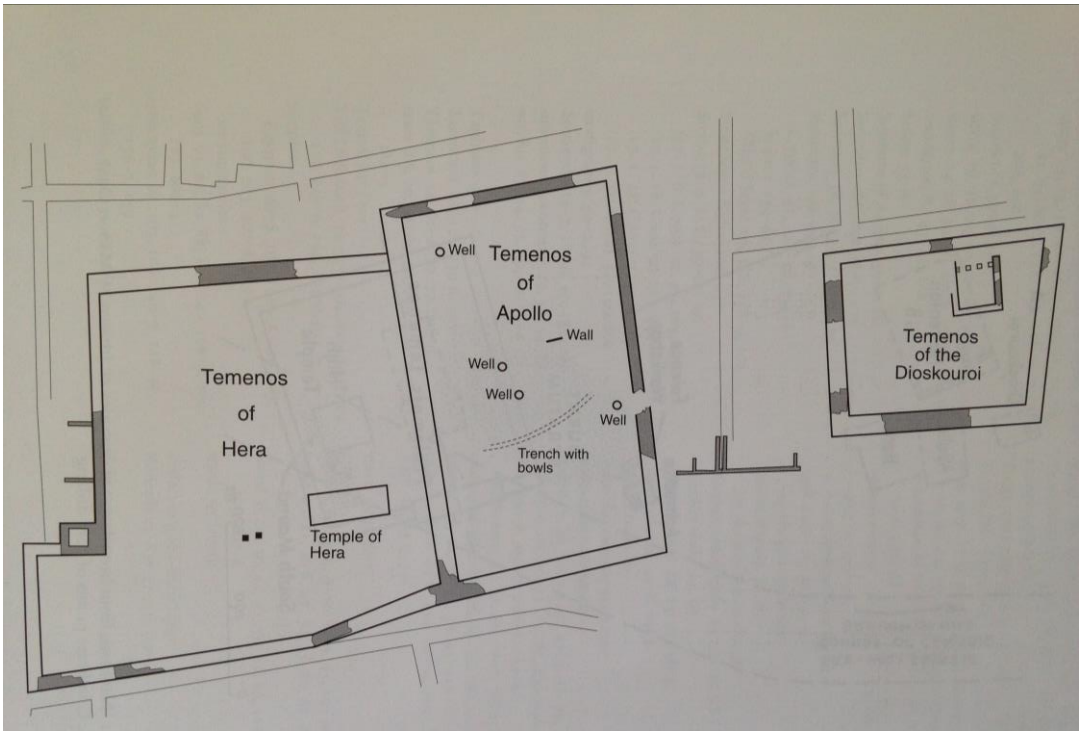


Figure 76. Plan of a portion of the north-west area of the excavated site at Naukratis, 600-400 BC, showing the temenos of the Dioskouroi, including the temple '*in antis*'. Photo: after *Naukratis* II, Pl. 4.

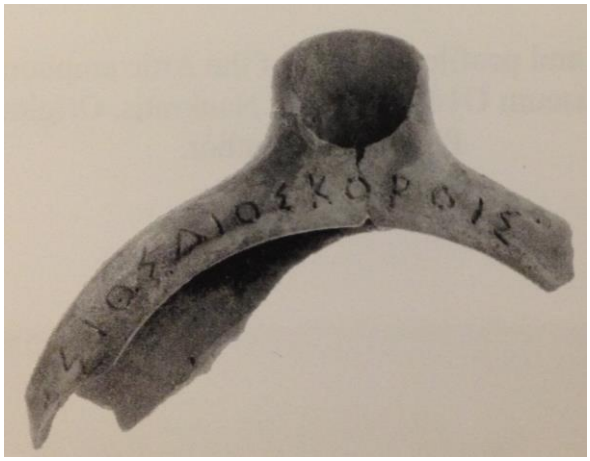


Figure 77. Pottery lamp with dedication to Dioskouroi from Naukratis, locally made, *c*. 525-475 BC. London, British Museum 1900.2-14.18. Photo: after Johnston "Naukratis fictile biographies" 120 Fig. 3.



Figure 78. Relief dedicated by Pola to the Dioskouroi, second-century AD. Thasos, Archaeological Museum 22. Photo: after Grandjean/Salviat *Thasos Guide* 268 Fig. 215.



Figure 79. Part relief of the Dioskouroi with Helen or a dedicant, possibly first-century BC. Thasos, Archaeological Museum 145. Photo: after Grandjean/Salviat *Thasos Guide* 231 Fig. 160.



Figure 80. Thasian amphora stamp from the agora in Athens (SS4974), Hellenistic. Photo: after F. Salviat, "Religion populaire et timbres amphoriques" *BCH* 88/2 (1964) Fig. 8.