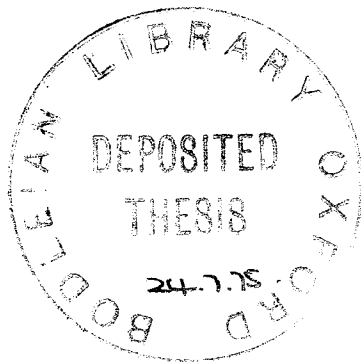


EARLY SPARTA c.950-650: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL STUDY

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EARLY SPARTA c.950 - 650 B.C.: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
AND HISTORICAL STUDY (ABSTRACT)

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The aim of this study is twofold: primarily, to classify and analyse the artefacts found or (arguably) produced in Lakonia between c.950 and 650; secondarily, to see whether the results obtained for the material evidence can illuminate the obscurity in which the surviving literary sources shroud early Spartan history. Part I is devoted to the natural and man-made environment from which Lakonians produced their livelihood and hence the material artefacts that particularly concern us. Part II concentrates on the period c.950 to 750, Part III on that from c.750 to 650.

PART I GEOGRAPHY AND TOPOGRAPHY OF LAKONIA

This Part begins by defining Lakonia as the Spartans' nuclear territory as it stood in c.545 after their victory over the Argives in the Thyreatis. Messenia is excluded, apart from an area in the north-east angle of the Messenian gulf (Outer Mani today, roughly ancient Dentheliatis) in which the Spartans took a lively, if not controlling, interest before their annexation of Messenia as a whole. In so far as the evidence permits (topographical and geographical as well as literary and epigraphical), the frontiers of this region are established (I.ii, ILL.I.1).

Lakonia is then scrutinised from four viewpoints:

(a) Relief and Geology (I.iii, ILL.I.2-3, with Appendices on communications, useful rocks and minerals, earthquakes and soils): the dominant features are, on the one hand, the marble and limestone massifs of Parnon (1937m.) and Taygetos (2407m.) acting as weathersheds and barriers to communication; and, on the other hand, the relatively fertile alluvial plains of the Eurotas furrow. To ensure water-supply, settlements today as in antiquity are generally located on or near the alluvium and the out-crops of mica-schist.

(b) Climate of Sparta (I.iv): this is generically a sub-tropical version of the Mediterranean type and specifically a compromise between the climates of eastern and western Greece. It is broadly shared by Gythion, Kythera and Leonidhion, but not by Kalamata on the rainier, western side of Greece (evidence from meteorological recordings).

(c) Resources (I.v, ILL.I.4): as climate and technique have not altered significantly since antiquity, the scattered and unsystematic ancient references to agricultural products, forestation, livestock, fishing and

harbours are supplemented by recent authoritative statistical data (1961) to give an idea of the ecological potentialities.

(d) Archaeological Survey (I.vi, Appendix V, ILL.I.5): here are surveyed some 130 sites whose occupation is attested archaeologically between c.1300 and 400 (27 LH III, 39 LH III B, 15 LH III C, 11 PG, 14 Geometric, 41 Archaic, 81 Classical). The literary and epigraphical evidence is also fully considered.

## PART II THE PROTOGEOMETRIC PERIOD c.950-750

The period is dubbed "Protogeometric" out of deference to the characteristic style of pottery (PG). The historical paradox is that in an epoch which appears extremely "dark" to us there emerged a state sufficiently organised and self-confident to conquer enormous tracts of the surrounding territory (at first in Lakonia, then Messenia).

The bulk of the surviving contemporary evidence is comprised by PG pottery, found on eleven sites embracing all the major areas of Lakonia except South Mani. After a brief exposition of the available material and the state of research, the pottery is minutely analysed on the basis of a fresh examination of the trays in the recently reorganised apotheke of the Sparta Museum (II.iii, Appendix VI). The main conclusions (whose force is sensibly diminished by the lack of stratified settlement- or grave-material: cf. II.ii) are as follows. There was a local Lakonian PG style which accepted, mediately and esoterically, the diagnostic technical advances of Attika to effect simple geometric ornament on a restricted range of (mainly open) shapes. The ware was produced with variations at Amyklai and Sparta and distributed elsewhere in Lakonia, perhaps also to other parts of the Peloponnese. Owing to its unique qualities, it is impossible to say with certainty when or how the style originated and how long it lasted. But the lower terminus should be fixed at c.750 by its "stratification" below LG at Amyklai (II.ii, ILL.II.3) and a span of 150-200 years is compatible with both the few imitations of Attic and Argive PG and the severe simplicity of the decoration. The impression of isolation and relative cultural deprivation is strongly reinforced by the handful of metalwork that can reasonably be dated before 750 (II.iv)

In II.v an attempt is made to provide a skeletal historical account of the period c.1300 to 750 in Lakonia and to set the artefactual evidence within the general context of (where relevant) Spartan social development. First, the situation during the III B (c.1300-1200) and III C (c.1200-1100/1050) phases of Mycenaean civilisation is examined, using the archaeological evidence collected in I.vi (II.v(b)). The region was heavily populated and apparently at the height of its considerable Bronze Age prosperity during III B (39 sites max.,

especially and predictably in the Eurotas furrow). In stark contrast the quantity and pattern of IIIC settlement (15 sites max.) seemingly attests a drastic decline in both prosperity and population. This phenomenon is paralleled in other regions and a land-invasion from north of the Isthmus of Corinth is favoured to explain the widespread destructions and depopulation in the old centres and influx of settlers to hitherto underpopulated regions.

So far archaeological evidence can take us, but no further. The spade may not be able to lie, but it owes this merit in part to the fact that it cannot speak! To provide the indispensable backdrop to the sections of "Historical Conclusions" (in both Parts II and III), a lengthy discussion of the ways in which information about the past was retrieved and stored in Greece between c.1200 and 450 (Herodotus, the first "historian") is conducted: the conclusion is drawn that down to 550/500 Greece as a whole is in the "prehistoric" or at best "protohistoric" era (II.v(c), Appendix VIII). In the case of Sparta the uncertainties and obscurities are merely magnified by the "mirage Spartiate" (the idealised picture of what Spartans and especially non-Spartans wanted Sparta to stand for and to have achieved).

A very cautious approach to Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Lakonian history is then made, utilising the archaeological conclusions reached in II.v(b) together with Homer (especially the "Catalogue of Ships") and other ultimately oral evidence (II.v(d)). The PG pottery is taken as showing that Dorians did not occupy the site of classical Sparta before c.950 and so necessitating the revision or rejection of much of the literary "tradition" about the Dorian migration (e.g. the upper reaches of the Spartan king-lists, which are further discussed in Appendix IX, must be pruned). The tentative reconstruction is as follows. The migration followed a westerly route in the Peloponnese (ILL.II.6). The Spartans quickly assumed control of the Eurotas furrow, reducing the inhabitants of the Helos plain to "serfs" (Helots) and dominating Amyklai. They remained, however, isolated by their small numbers, low level of political, economic and military technique and by their relationship to hostile, non-Dorian peoples. But by 750 a pattern of stability and ambition had begun to emerge, including the "synoecism" of Sparta and incorporation of Amyklai as the fifth village, the securing of the northern frontier of Lakonia and the first signs of aggression in Messenia.

### PART III THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD c.750-650

The main purpose of the concluding Part is to establish Sparta's role in what C. G. Starr has aptly termed the "Age of Revolution", with particular reference to those aspects of the Age that could have left traces in the material record. As indispensable background to the classification and analysis of the various classes of artefact, the stratigraphy of the richest

and most informative Lakonian site, the sanctuary of (Artemis) Orthia in Sparta - again, there are no stratified habitation-sites or cemeteries - is re-examined (III.ii, ILL.III.3). The sequential history of the site down to c.700 is determined (the cult is further discussed in Appendix X) and it is concluded that, so long as it is not pressed too hard in its details, the stratigraphy is a safe general guide to the dating of artefacts.

Next, the artefacts themselves are successively investigated according to their material composition: pottery, bronze, gold, silver, lead, iron, ivory, bone, terracotta, stone, glass, amber - the bare list is eloquent of the radical transformation that occurs after the static and archaeologically sterile PG period.

The pottery (III.iii) is divided into Late Geometric (LG) and Transitional phases. These share the following features that differentiate them from the preceding PG phase of the Lakonian Geometric style: general use of slip, increased range of shapes, figured decoration and a wider distribution (as far as Taras in the west, Samos in the east). LG was created under overwhelming influence from the Argolid, experienced perhaps indirectly through the Argive imports at Tegea, perhaps directly from visits to Argive workshops, but not through Argive imports to Lakonia. Argive influence is most visible in the (relatively simple) decoration of the larger, cruder shapes and in the unsophisticated figure-style. At a later stage Lakonian potters and painters were heavily influenced by Corinthian ideas, probably encountered mainly on imports of Protocorinthian ware (from c.720). Corinthian influence is expressed chiefly in the smaller, fine-walled shapes and "half-tone" linear ornament, as well as the bird-files drawn with the multiple-brush. "Transitional" is my term for the unsettled phase in which two broad currents are discernible, one conservative and derived from LG, the other experimenting with the rudiments of an early orientalisising style. They share the use of a thicker, white slip and a predilection for broken, angular contours. Figure-drawing is still infrequent and rarely impressive. Painted pottery, in short, is rather backward.

The metalwork of the period (III.iv) presents a sharp contrast both with the contemporary pottery and with preceding "PG" metalwork. Especially noteworthy are the cast bronze figurines, and among these the horses are outstanding for both quality and quantity. A distinctive regional type of horse on rectangular, openwork stand was developed in Lakonia, widely distributed in the Peloponnese and even produced, probably on a semi-permanent basis, at Olympia, where the largest number of the class has been found. After the horses the figurines of birds are the most numerous, but those found in Lakonia are mostly crude and there is only one stylistic type with a claim to be "Lakonian"

regardless of findspot. This was fairly widely distributed in the Peloponnese. By contrast with horses and birds, humans are (as in the pottery) comparatively scarce. A handful of dismembered tripod-cauldrons attests commerce with the Near East. Apart from the figured bronzes the richest bronze category is fibulae, which include apparently Mycenaean heirlooms alongside contemporary imports from as far afield as Macedonia and Phrygia. Gold, silver and lead objects that can be securely dated before 650 are few; iron is still surprisingly scarce (the enigmatic spits are discussed in Appendix VII).

Leaving metalwork we come to ivory and bone (III.v), the former especially interesting for disclosing the importation of luxury raw materials as early as the late eighth century. As with the pottery, the examples that fall within our chronological horizon betray a transitional stage preparatory to the luxuriant flowering in the second half of the seventh century, when finished products found their way as far as Samos, Sicily and Cyrenaica. Outstanding among the early finds is the series of ivory couchant animals, most bearing a device in relief or intaglio under their rectangular or rounded base. These raise in microcosm all the problems of the orientalising phase of Greek art.

Last of the major classes of artefact discussed are the terracottas (III.vi), especially the "Dedalic"-style protomes and figurines. Of the latter the Lakonian series (represented in all the main Spartan sanctuaries, but not at Amyklai) is among the richest in Greek lands, though not the most technically competent or aesthetically pleasing. Significantly, in Lakonia Dedalic terracotta modelling did not lead to monumental sculpture in stone as it seems to have done in e.g. Crete (the area with which Lakonia has most in common stylistically).

Finally, a miscellaneous section embraces objects in stone, glass, faience and amber (III.vii). The stonework is conspicuous by its rarity, but the other classes are interesting for being imported. The amber, ultimately from the "Baltic" region, was worked in Sparta itself; the rest are finished goods.

In III.viii an attempt is made to tie together into a coherent historical picture all the conclusions reached after close examination of the material objects, taking account also of the relevant literary evidence (against the background of II.v(c) above, but with a "mirage Messénienne" to be added to the "mirage Spartiate"). The cardinal historical event is the war of conquest and retrenchment in Messenia, which determined the course of Spartan social development thereafter, in that the Messenian helots became the principal contributors to the Lakonian GNP and Spartan insecurity.

The period is looked at first from the standpoint of external relations. The reasons why the Spartan ruling class decided upon the extraordinary step of annexing neighbouring, but not easily accessible, agricultural land are

fully canvassed and the consequences of the decision are more briefly surveyed. On the archaeological side the seizure of the Stenyklaros plain is accounted the main explanation of the construction of a temple to Orthia c.700 and the substantially increased flow of dedications, now often in precious and perishable materials.

Attention is then focussed on the internal situation in Sparta and it is argued that the key to understanding the momentous political and social developments (symbolised by the "Great Rhetra", which is further considered in Appendix XI) is the class struggle between rich (i.e. mainly aristocratic) and poor Spartans. Full weight is given to the part played in this process by the hoplite reform (its mechanics are more fully probed in Appendix XII).

The general conclusion is that in the "Age of Revolution" Sparta was very much a leader not a follower and that the main tendencies observable in the more advanced parts of the Greek world (overpopulation leading to a shift from stock- to arable-farming and overseas emigration, increased foreign trade, clashes over questions of political power and civil rights) are all present in Lakonia, but that the solutions to the problems differed significantly as a consequence of the Spartan decision to annex and "helotise" Messenia.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TEXT-VOLUME

Preface	<u>page</u>	i
Acknowledgements		i
References		ii

PART I

GEOGRAPHY AND TOPOGRAPHY OF LAKONIA

i. Introduction	1
ii. Frontiers	2
iii. Relief and Geology	6
iv. The Climate of Sparta	14
v. Agricultural Products, Vegetation and other resources	18
vi. Archaeological Survey	28

PART II

THE PROTOGEOMETRIC PERIOD c. 950-750

i. Introduction	84
ii. Stratification	85
iii. The Pottery	87
iv. Iron and Other Metals	99
v. Historical Conclusions	106

PART III

THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD c. 750-650

i. Introduction	130
ii. Artemis Orthia	130
iii. The Pottery	139
iv. The Metal Objects	167
(a) Introduction	167
(b) Bronze	167
(c) Gold and Silver (Orthia)	215
(d) Lead	217
(e) Iron	218
v. Ivory and Bone	219
vi. Terracotta	225

vii. Varia	<u>page</u>	231
viii. Historical Conclusions		234

#### APPENDICES

I. Communications		251
II. Useful Rocks and Minerals		255
III. Earthquakes		260
IV. The Soils of Lakonia		262
V. Chronological Table		264
VI. Trays in the Sparta Museum with PG, LG, Trans. & PC		269
VII. Iron Spits and the Origins of Coinage		272
VIII. Oral Tradition and Spartan Historiography		275
IX. The Spartan King-lists and Chronology		287
X. The Cult of Orthia		291
XI. The "Great" Rhetra		294
XII. The Hoplite Reform and Spartan History		298

#### NOTE-VOLUME

Notes

Bibliography

#### ILLUSTRATION-VOLUME

Table of Illustrations and Figures

Illustrations

Figures

## PREFACE

My interest in archaeology and in particular the archaeology of the Greek Dark Age was first kindled by an Oxford undergraduate course, "Homeric Archaeology", taught by Miss D. H. F. Gray. My supervisor, Mr. John Boardman, suggested I remedy the conspicuous scholarly neglect of the archaeology of Dark Age Sparta. My own inclinations led me to embark on a more ambitious project: a social history, based mainly on the material evidence, of Sparta and Lakonia from the Dorian settlement to the Persian Wars. With time and detailed study, however, it became clear that I had cast my net too wide. Meshed in the snares of a D.Phil. thesis, I had to choose between abbreviating the period to be microscopically examined or narrowing the scope of the work. I decided on the former course, the compromise terminal date of 650 B.C. being selected as marking the approximate end of the "Geometric" style of Lakonian art and of the war of conquest and retrenchment in Messenia.

In Parts II and III I have aimed to present a complete account (in some cases almost a catalogue) of the material remains either found in Lakonia or (arguably) made by Lakonian craftsmen between c.950 and 650. I have deliberately been more summary in the "Historical Conclusions" appended to the archaeological accounts: this is partly due to considerations of space, but more especially to my agreement with C. G. Starr that, in respect of early Spartan history, "the desire to know may be fabricating its own substantiation". For my general approach to the explanation of social change, the reader is referred to my "Toward the Spartan Revolution", forthcoming in the Spring 1975 issue of Arethusa.

One aspect of the present study calls for further clarification here. Part I was written as the introduction and overall background to the work as initially conceived. It has been retained in its original format on the grounds that the choice of any "period" is arbitrary and does violence to the flow of the past and that the years reserved for special consideration are now neatly - indeed mathematically - enveloped within the broader period (c.1300 - 400) from which the evidence used in Part I is very largely drawn.

The research for the thesis as a whole was completed in the summer of 1973. I have occasionally inserted references to work that reached me after that date, but rarely was I able to give it adequate attention.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have incurred numerous debts over the last five years, but three overshadow the rest. The expertise and practical guidance of John Boardman, who maintained a general surveillance over the whole project, were invaluable. Geoffrey de Ste. Croix has been a constant inspiration, both through his publications and in our frequent discussions of the theory and practice of ancient history. Thirdly Giorgos Steinhauer, Epimelete of Lakonia, among countless other acts of generosity gave up a Sunday - and food! - to enable me to take essential photographs.

My work in Greece was made possible first by awards from the Craven and Meyerstein Committees in Oxford and then by the Managing Committee and staff of the British School at Athens (I am particularly grateful to the Secretary, Mrs. Jane Rabnett, and the then Assistant Director, Peter Warren). At the National Museum in Athens Mrs. E. Touloupa went out of her way to ease restrictions on my study, while all the staff of the Sparta Museum were friendly

and helpful. I also owe a special debt of gratitude to Lila Marangou, who has remained steadfastly outside the Archaeological Service, for her many personal and professional kindnesses in difficult political conditions. In England Professor R. M. Cook, Dr. R. V. Nicholls, Dr. A. Birchall and Michael Vickers allowed me free access to the Lakonian material in their care.

Several colleagues were good enough to read those parts of the thesis in which they are expert and baled me out many times over (none of course is responsible for the errors that remain): J. K. Anderson, Robert Beckinsale, David Bell, Nicolas Coldstream, Katie Demakopoulou, Vincent Desborough, George Forrest, Anne Jeffery, Anthony Snodgrass, and Michael Vickers. For help with the illustrations I owe thanks to David Smith, Bob Wilkins, Roger Wilson and, above all, John Younger.

Finally, a special and separate word of tribute must go to Paulene Hendley and Pamela Isaacson for (in their words) "giving up their valued time, energy and typing". Without them none of this would have been possible....

Dublin, February 14, 1975.

## REFERENCES

The following system of cross-reference has been employed:

e.g. I.v(a)6 = Part I, section v, sub-section (a), item 6  
in the Text-volume.

III.n.686 = Part III, footnote 686 in the Note-volume.

ILL. and FIG. (in capitals) refer to the maps, plans,  
drawings and photographs in the Illustration-volume.

Abbreviations are listed in the Bibliography at the end of the note-volume; further abbreviations are employed in some sections and sub-sections (as III.n.539, 595, 604, 665, 669, 746, 777, 862, 955).

EARLY SPARTA c. 950-650 B.C. : an archaeological and historical study.

I GEOGRAPHY AND TOPOGRAPHY OF LAKONIA

"The earth is the great workshop, the arsenal which furnishes both means and material of labour, as well as the seat, the base of the community" (K. MARX, Grundrisse)

What happens to us

Is irrelevant to the world's geology

But what happens to the world's geology

Is not irrelevant to us

(HUGH McDIARMID, from On a Raised Beach)

i. Introduction

The subject of Part I and the physical background against which Spartan history and culture should be viewed<sup>1</sup> is the area of south-east Peloponnese hemmed in on the west by the Taygetos mountain range, on the south and east by the Mediterranean and on the north by a line, less clear-cut geographically, running from Astros on the Gulf of Argolis approximately due west as far as Mt. Hellenitsa (1264m. above sea-level) at the north of Taygetos. This area, together with a belt of territory to the west of North and Central Taygetos,<sup>2</sup> will be referred to hereafter as Lakonia - a name which for two reasons requires further explanation: first, the modern nome<sup>3</sup> or political department of Lakonia is considerably smaller than the area outlined above, simply because the modern boundary is a product of altogether different historical conditions; secondly, Lakonia is a late Roman or medieval name, which superseded the Lakonikē (sc. gē)<sup>4</sup> or Lakedaimon<sup>5</sup> of classical times.

Hitherto Lakonia has been of interest to ancient historians chiefly because at its heart, in the relatively fertile valley of the River Eurotas, lay the community of Dorian Sparta. Since Sparta has caught the imagination of more recent thinkers and propagandists<sup>6</sup> quite as much as she did that of their ancient counterparts,<sup>7</sup> the territory surrounding her has been correspondingly neglected, at least by historians. It is fortunate that, concurrently with their fruitful excavations in Sparta itself, archaeologists of the British School at Athens conducted topographical surveys of Lakonia as a whole and obtained much invaluable information which would otherwise have been permanently

lost.<sup>8</sup> More recently further topographical study has been completed, with particular emphasis on the prehistoric period,<sup>9</sup> and it is now possible to present a reasonably detailed account.

Strictly topographical investigation, however, needs to be complemented by studies of the geology, climate and resources of a region. In this respect Greece has been outstandingly well served by Dr. A. Philippon and this chapter draws heavily on his findings.<sup>10</sup> In what follows an attempt has been made to present in some detail the varied factors influencing successful settlement and achievement of subsistence in Lakonia; the diverse nature of the terrain encompassed within this region; the relation of the site of Sparta to the surrounding landmass; and, finally, a list of the material remains, together with a description of their findspots, which fall within or close to the chronological limits of this study.

## ii. Frontiers (ILL. I.1)

### (a) Sources

In c. 546/5 B.C. the Spartans marched north-east and defeated the Argives in the Thyreatis,<sup>11</sup> thereby gaining control both of the coastal strip east of the Parnon mountain range and, if they did not effectively control them already (as I believe they did), the Malea peninsula, together with the island of Kythera.<sup>12</sup> As the Spartans had already brought the whole of Messenia under their control by the end of the seventh century B.C., the year 546/5 marks the point of their greatest territorial expansion, from which they did not recede for nearly 200 years. This is also the point at which it is convenient, for both historical and geographical reasons, to attempt to determine the boundaries of Lakonia.

Our sources consist partly of scattered notices in ancient writers,<sup>13</sup> partly of inscriptions and partly of "the unchanging physical features of the country".<sup>14</sup> It goes without saying that none of our literary sources made a consistent attempt to define the extent of territory under Spartan control at any given point in time. They do, however, at least allow us to infer the oscillation of boundary lines which resulted from the defeat of Sparta by Thebes at Leuktra in 371<sup>15</sup> and their comparative stability in the preceding era, when, as Philippon remarks,<sup>16</sup> Sparta was powerful enough to extend her control beyond its natural geographical limits.

The creation of Megalopolis in c. 366 B.C. was but the first act in a series of disputes over the northern boundary. One of these was arbitrated in

favour of the Arkadians by Philip of Macedon after the battle of Chaironeia in 338 B.C.<sup>17</sup> In 195 Sparta, led by the tyrant Nabis, was defeated by the Achaean League and lost most of her dependent territories on the coastal margins, as well as the plain of Helos.<sup>18</sup> The former perioikoi ("dwellers-around") formed themselves into a league, which, by the time of Augustus, had become known as "the commonwealth of the Free Lakonians".<sup>19</sup> In 146 B.C. Greece became a Roman protectorate, later the province of Achaëa; there is no evidence, however, that the Senatorial frontier-commission altered Sparta's boundaries.<sup>20</sup> In 31 B.C. Augustus punished the Messenians for helping Antony at Actium by assigning some of their towns to Sparta.<sup>21</sup> Further adjustments were made in A.D. 25<sup>22</sup> and 78.<sup>23</sup> The example of Sparta thus serves to remind us that geographical features have no innate power to constitute themselves the political boundaries of particular states. The size of Lakonia always varied in direct proportion to the power of the ruling class in Sparta, the political and geographical centre of the region.

The epigraphical evidence is unfortunately restricted to the western frontier with Messenia and belongs therefore to the period of Spartan decline following the liberation of Messenia from the Spartan yoke.<sup>24</sup> It has, however, been considered worthy of mention on the grounds that for the purpose of this study Lakonia has been taken to include Outer Mañi (the north-western portion of the Tainaron peninsula) as far north as Alagonia.<sup>25</sup> The most up-to-date examination is that of N. A. Giannokopoulos, who himself found some ancient boundary-markers on the western slopes of Taygetos.<sup>26</sup>

It was perhaps F. Bölte who first appreciated the contribution that could be made to the study of ancient history by the use of clear and detailed modern geological maps.<sup>27</sup> Basing his work on that of Philippson and using Philippson's<sup>28</sup> maps at the enlarged scale of 1:50000, Bölte was able to define somewhat closely regions for which our literary sources gave us little more information than their names, but which are crucial to the delimitation of the northern and western frontiers (e.g. Skiritis and Belminatis). His method received its fullest exposition in the article he wrote for RE on Sparta; the section in which he deals with the frontiers of Lakonia has not been superseded.<sup>29</sup>

#### (b) The Northern Frontier

Only in the north are the geographical limits of Lakonia blurred. Yet even here the lack of clarity is only in detail, for the main outlines can be simply described. Once the Thyreatis had fallen to Sparta the frontier ran from a point on the coast just north of Astros along a range of hills above

the River Tanos east of Mt. Parthenion (1093m.).<sup>30</sup> West of here the border was formed by the watershed of the Eurotas and the tributaries of the east Arkadian plain. In the extreme west, northern Taygetos was an obvious barrier, dividing Lakonia from Messenia.

The details are more complicated, but the Thyreatis at any rate can be quite simply defined.<sup>31</sup> It is bounded on the north by Mt. Zavitsa, on the west by Parnon and in the south by the River of Ay. Andreas. In the time of Pausanias (ii.38.7) the frontiers of the Lakedaimonians (Spartans), Argives and Tegeans met on the ridges of Parnon. There is some dispute over the location of the common frontier-markers, but, if three heaps of stones at Phonememoi are indeed the Hermai,<sup>32</sup> then the frontier will have made the expected abrupt turn south of Mt. Parthenion and followed Parnon in a south-easterly direction for about 10km.<sup>33</sup> However, if Bölte is correct in thinking the frontier passed further north-west nearer the source of the River of Analipsis, then our next evidence consists in the identification of ancient Karyai, which lay on the border.<sup>34</sup> Bölte<sup>35</sup> has shown that there is no textual support for the location of Karyai in the Skiritis (below) and we are free to site it further east. Loring<sup>36</sup> placed Karyai at Analipsis, but recent excavations have lent support to a different identification of Analipsis (no. 72), and Karyai almost certainly lay in the neighbourhood of Arakhova, a short distance south-east of Analipsis. It seems likely, therefore, that from Ay. Petros on Parnon the frontier ran south-west to Karyai and thence to Analipsis, which remains a border-village to this day.<sup>37</sup>

Our next guide is the frequent mention in our sources of the region of Skiritis. Control of Skiritis was vital to Sparta, as the routes from Arkadia to Lakonia and Messenia passed through it.<sup>38</sup> It is made up of the crystalline schist area lying between the River Kelephina and the upper Eurotas, to west of what is known as the "saddle" of Lakonia.<sup>39</sup> Its northern boundary - the boundary of Lakonia - is a line extending in an arc from the valley of the River Tanos as far west as the chapel of Ay. Marina on the Eurotas. The single settlement in Skiritis which receives independent mention in our sources is the frontier-town of Oion, which has been located in a small ruined area north of Arvanito-Kerasia.<sup>40</sup> In other words, at Analipsis the ancient frontier deviated sharply from its modern counterpart and moved north-westwards to make considerable inroads into the present-day nome of Arkadia.

West of the headwaters of the Eurotas, Mt. Khelmos rises to 776m. The region at its foot has been identified securely with Belmina or Belminatis, a frontier area disputed by the Spartans and Megalopolitans after 366 B.C., both because of its strategic position and because of its abundance of water.<sup>41</sup>

At the height of Spartan power, Belmina belonged firmly to Lakonia.

In the extreme north-west angle of Lakonia lay Aigyti<sup>s</sup>,<sup>42</sup> to whose understanding Bölte has again made the greatest contribution.<sup>43</sup> North of the Langadha pass, which connects Lakonia with Messenia, Taygetos is composed of a broad, self-contained limestone zone in the west and a similar, but narrower, zone in the east. Between the limestone zones are two areas suitable for settlement, of which the more northerly - the large trough drained to the north-west by the River Xerillos (ancient Karnion) is Aigyti<sup>s</sup>. The proof that this identification is correct lies in the statement of Pausanias (viii.27.4; 34.5) that Aigyti<sup>s</sup> lay where the Karnion rises. Our evidence for ancient settlements in Aigyti<sup>s</sup> is scanty and unhelpful.<sup>44</sup> It is, however, probable that Sparta would have seen to it that there were perioikic communities dividing the dissident Messenian helots from the independent (and, at least before 546 B.C., hostile) Arkadians.<sup>45</sup> The loyalty to Sparta of the inhabitants of Aigyti<sup>s</sup>, like that of the Skiritai,<sup>46</sup> will have been most strenuously tested in the Messenian Wars.

### (c) The Western Frontier

From one point of view it is otiose to discuss the western frontier of Lakonia, for after c. 600 B.C. Messenia was in effect part of Lakonia. It has, however, been felt valuable to include in our definition of Lakonia those territories which had fallen into Spartan hands prior to the full conquest of Messenia. These include Aigyti<sup>s</sup> in the north-west (above) and Dentheliatis in the central-west.<sup>47</sup> By including the latter, we preserve the historical and geographical unity of the Mani,<sup>48</sup> since part of Dentheliatis falls within Outer Mani.

As we have already seen, the liberation of Messenia gave rise to a long series of boundary disputes and it is in connection with these that we learn from our sources of the existence of Dentheliatis,<sup>49</sup> although they do not make it clear to what extent of territory they are applying the term. Bölte has identified it, geologically, with the schist ridges south of Mt. Malevos (1612m.) on Taygetos.<sup>50</sup> Its southern boundary should be fixed by the identification of the Choireios Napē with the Sandava Gorge.<sup>51</sup> The settlements in Dentheliatis are separated from the coastal plain at Kalamata and the Pamisos valley by an impassable limestone zone, but, since Kalamata was perhaps connected by a difficult road round the north-east corner of the Messenian Gulf with the settlements on the west coast of the Tainaron peninsula,<sup>52</sup> the road from Kalamata to Alagonia has been arbitrarily taken to be the western limit of Lakonia. The advantage of drawing the frontier this way is that it enables us to include a discussion of the settlements in the east Nedon valley. These are

of considerable historical importance, for traditionally it was the colonising activity of King Teleklos in this area which led to the First Messenian War and thence to the full conquest of Messenia.<sup>53</sup>

iii. Relief and Geology (ILL. I.3; FIG. A )<sup>54</sup>

The separation of Peloponnese from the mainland and its upheaval to its present altitudes can be shown to be geologically recent from the strong resemblances in structure and relief between the mountains of Peloponnese and those of central Greece both east and west of the Isthmus of Corinth.<sup>55</sup> At the end of the Pliocene<sup>56</sup> much of Peloponnese was still covered by shallow sea or lakes, while the remainder consisted of subdued mountains or hills. When the crust eventually began to break irregularly, the bottoms of new gulfs sank as bordering land was thrust up.<sup>57</sup> This new land around the margins consisted of clays, marls,<sup>58</sup> sands and conglomerates, the old inland region being composed mainly of limestone. Four stages can be traced in the history of the central furrow of Lakonia: the oldest and largest fractures produced the wall of Taygetos, straight, high, facing east, and the bold edge of the east Arkadian mountains looking west to the basin of Megalopolis; as these mountains became elevated, so torrents from them gradually filled what was later to be the Eurotas furrow - at this time the bed of a lake - with sands and gravels; when the lake dried up, the River Alpheios took over the work of drainage in the north from the ancestor of the Eurotas, and the "saddle" of Lakonia,<sup>59</sup> together with the high terraces on the margins of the Lakonian basin, were formed; a final upheaval and much faulting led to the subsidence of the Spartan plain.

Tectonically<sup>60</sup> Lakonia, as we have defined it, falls into six sections. From east to west they are: Kynouria or the east Parnon foreland; Parnon; the west Parnon foreland, including the Malea peninsula; the Eurotas furrow; Taygetos, including Aigytis and Dentheliatis; and the west Taygetos foreland. The principal features of their relief and geology can now be described in this same order (from east to west).

Modern Kynouria, an eparchy of the nome of Arkadia,<sup>61</sup> terminates in the south on a line running almost due west to Parnon from the bay of Suriza. Kynouria is taken here, however, to refer to the whole of the east Parnon foreland as far south as Cape Ieraka where the Parnon range sheers off obliquely and runs out into the sea. It takes the form of an inverted triangle whose base is formed by the Parthenion mountains and their continuation eastwards as far as the pass of Anigraia. The region subdivides naturally into a northern section (the ancient Thyreatis)<sup>62</sup> and a southern section south of the

River of Ay. Andreas, which differ from each other especially in geological composition. The Thyreatis is a high upland plateau, made up principally of Olonos limestone<sup>63</sup> but overlain sporadically by "flysch".<sup>64</sup> Settlements are located on the "flysch" because it is impervious and spring water is available there. The cultural centre of ancient Thyreatis was the deltaic alluvial plain of Astros, formed by the action of the rivers Tanos and Ay. Andreas which flow into the sea just 6 km. apart. Southern Kynouria by contrast is principally Tripolis limestone.<sup>65</sup> So far as is known, schist occurs only on the margins of Parnon. The Kynourian coastline is the steep edge of a typical karstic plateau broken by a fault.<sup>66</sup> Inland the broad, high plateaux for the most part reach 800m. close to Parnon, fall away to 600m. further east only to rise once more, this time to 1200m., at the coast. The disappearance of the eastern portion of Kynouria by foundering has caused the underground water of the remainder to flow steeply to the sea and has made the surface more waterless than ever. Settlements are, therefore, few in number and relatively large.<sup>67</sup> Communications both within Kynouria and between Kynouria and the outside world are extremely poor. It is true that the main route in antiquity from Sparta to Argos via Tegea crossed Thyreatis,<sup>68</sup> but north-south landward travel was (and is) hindered by the deep, narrow and steep gulleys created by rivers flowing from Parnon, and there are no low passes over Parnon to connect Kynouria with the Eurotas valley. Communication continues to be by sea from coastal settlement to coastal settlement.<sup>69</sup> These physiographical features militated against the political unification of the area, which, especially because it contained the most important land route in south-east Peloponnese, soon became a bone of contention between Argos and Sparta.<sup>70</sup>

The Parnon mountain range is a residual ridge rising quite gently from the plateau.<sup>71</sup> Beginning in the hills north of Doliana it runs for 90 km. in a south-easterly direction, its outermost spurs reaching the sea north of Monemvasia. Its northern section, about 30 km. long, is on average between 1600 and 1800 m. Here the summit, Mt. Malevos, clad on both flanks with fir and black pine, rises to 1937 m. Despite Bölte's claim that the northernmost ridges are nowhere difficult to cross (although they are 1100 - 1300 m.),<sup>72</sup> communication is desultory. Central Parnon occupies the 22 km. between Platanaki Pass and Kounouphia; like south Parnon it is lower than the northern section. Geographically and geologically Parnon is but the continuation of the inner Arkadian chain, to which it is connected by the broad threshold of Skiritis. The blue-grey, coarse-grained marble,<sup>73</sup> crystalline limestone and schist of the north give way to Tripolis limestone south of Kosmas. Above the fir-woods, which in places grow at 1750 m., "alpine" grasses provide pasturage for the numerous sheep, which apart from sporadic charcoal-or lime-burning.<sup>74</sup>

constitute the chief means of livelihood in this inhospitable region.

The west foreland of Parnon may be divided into two.<sup>75</sup> The northern section to Goritsa expands southwards from about 6 to 15 km. in breadth.<sup>76</sup> It is joined to Skiritis, and thereby to the Eurotas furrow, on the west and borders on the Spartan plain further south. Though predominantly a limestone plateau, thinly veiled by Kermes oak and phrygana, mica-schists crop out in places, providing sites for fairly large settlements. Skiritis geologically is a continuation of the central Arkadian highlands, but like Parnon is distinguished from them by its substrate of schist. The schist subdivides naturally at Kaltezai into a northern and southern section, the whole taking the form of an inverted triangle, 13 km. wide at the base and only 4 km. at the apex where it disappears into the basin of Sparta.<sup>77</sup> South of the latitude of Sparta outcrops of mica-schist become rarer, necessitating settlements on the limestone outcrops of Parnon itself.<sup>78</sup> The southern section of the foreland is for the most part a mere 3 km. wide but it broadens out to 9 km. where it abuts on the north-eastern perimeter of the Lakonian Gulf at Mt. Kourkoula (916m.). Generally it does not rise above 500m. and is often hard to distinguish from Parnon itself. Worthy of note is a series of basin plains extending south from Geraki to the northern end of the Molai plain and thence towards the bay of Monemvasia- their surface is composed of a relatively fertile alluvial soil and contrasts with the surrounding area where life-facilitating springs occur only on the impervious schist.<sup>79</sup> The foreland has clearly never played any very important role: in 1889 its population (including Doliana) was 18,002; in 1928, 19,142; but by 1961 it had fallen drastically to c. 11,000. In 1928 8 settlements had more than a thousand inhabitants; in 1961 only 2.<sup>80</sup> In those 33 years population density fell from 19 to 11 per sq. km. Bearing in mind the dangers involved in interpreting census figures, I would imagine the ancient figures would have been nearer to those of 1928 than those of 1961.<sup>81</sup>

The Malea peninsula continues the west foreland and not Parnon itself.<sup>82</sup> It is bounded on the north by a line running N 55° W from Epidauros Limerá to the northern end of the plain of Molai and thence around Mt. Kourkoula to the Lakonian gulf. From Molai to Cape Malea is a distance of 50 km.; below Neapolis the peninsula is only 5 km. wide. Apart from a few depressions filled with Pliocene deposit and alluvium, the upland is composed of strongly folded schists, overlain by massive black (or grey) Tripolis limestone. On the east the highland descends abruptly to the sea, while on the west groups of flat-topped hills fall steeply to the gulf of Lakonia. Settlements are located on the edges of plains or at the junction of schist and limestone.<sup>83</sup> Between 1889 and 1928 population increased from 16,368 to 22,485, but sank

back to 19,569 in 1961.<sup>84</sup> The region is noted today for its onion-production, part of which is exported. But by far the most important natural resource in antiquity was iron.<sup>85</sup> Attempts in the last century to re-open the workings failed for lack of water, adequate transport and enthusiasm on the part of the workers!

Three offshore adjuncts of the Malea peninsula - Elaphonisos, Kythera and Antikythera - deserve separate mention. In the time of Pausanias (iii.22.10) Elaphonisos (or Onougnathos as it was known) was joined to the mainland; but it had become separated by 1677.<sup>86</sup> In the process of separation at least one ancient settlement - a very large late Mycenaean site<sup>87</sup> - found its way below the surface of the sea. The cause of the separation is to be sought in crustal movements caused by earthquakes or in the compaction of sediments rather than in a eustatic rise in sea-level.<sup>88</sup> The area has been strongly affected, since records have been kept, by seismic activity - for example on August 30th, 1926.<sup>89</sup> Further up the east coast of the Lakonian gulf at Plytra submarine remains, if indeed they are from buildings and walls, indicate a land-shift of at least 2m.<sup>90</sup> Elaphonisos is now a roughly triangular slab of soft dark limestone rising to 277m. Its light and sandy topsoil is liable to erosion and unsuitable for cultivation. For its water-supply the population (673 in 1961) relies on a few deep wells.

Kythera belongs today to the nome of Attika and has always been somewhat distinct, historically, from Lakonia.<sup>91</sup> The separation of Kythera from the mainland is geologically recent and the island, consisting largely of Tripolis limestone, displays a similar structure to that of the Malea peninsula.<sup>92</sup> South of the limestone hills around Cape Spathi a belt of schist stretches from coast to coast as far south as Potamos, in whose vicinity a fine-grained marble occurs. Despite the lack of fertile or cultivable land, the economy remains primarily agricultural, supplemented by the plentiful supply of seafood. The settlement pattern is dictated by considerations of security rather than accessibility to natural resources. The period 1889-1961 has witnessed a steady decline from 10,920 to 5,518 inhabitants on Kythera and Antikythera (below) combined. Large-scale emigration by men has led to an imbalance of population in favour of women - an unhealthy state of affairs in a land such as Greece.

Antikythera lies equidistant from Kythera and Crete.<sup>93</sup> It resembles an oval with extended points, having a longitudinal axis of 10 km. and a maximum width of almost 4 km. Its plains and terraces rise to 364m. and are composed of marl up to 60m. Although the island is poor in water and trees and mainly provides only fodder for goats, it also yields barley in the valleys and is self-supporting. Population has declined from 396 (1889) to 322 (1928) and

178 (1961, when population density was 8 per sq. km.).

The Eurotas furrow is, and must always have been, the heartland of Lakonia. It occupies an area of approximately 800 sq. km. between the basin of Megalopolis and the Lakonian gulf. From a width of only 6 km. in the north it broadens to 25 km. around the gulf. Its relationship with the Megalopolis basin is not clearly defined, for the upper reaches of the basin spill over into the furrow at 500m. without a break, and the tributaries of the Alpheios and Eurotas are linked by a valley watershed at 483m. The furrow takes its name from the Eurotas, the second largest river in Peloponnese, which flows for the most part along its eastern margin but is diverted below Goritsa to the western side. Almost exactly in the centre of the furrow, on the Eurotas itself, lies Sparta, the ancient and modern capital of Lakonia. For convenience of description, the furrow may be divided into four: a northern section stretching as far south as the Langadha gorge on the west and the confluence of the Rivers Kelephina (ancient Oinous) and Eurotas on the east; the Spartan basin; a section comprising the hill-country of Vardhounia on the west and the Pliocene table of Vron dama on the east; and finally the Helos plain.<sup>94</sup>

The northernmost section lies between north Taygetos and Skiritis, whence flow the upper course and most important tributaries of the Eurotas. Geologically, the upper part of this section is Olonos limestone and "flysch", the lower part schists. Population in 1928 was 8,194 - an increase of 244 over the 1889 figure. There has been a slight drop between 1928 and 1961, but nothing comparable to that experienced by west Par non. Georgitsi, however, has suffered appreciable depopulation, from 1,646 (1928) to 984 (1961).<sup>95</sup>

The basin of Sparta lies between the sharply defined central portion of Taygetos and Par non. It is 22 km. long, between 8 and 12 km. wide and runs in a south-south-east direction.<sup>96</sup> It was, as we have seen, originally filled with the Pliocene deposits of an inland sea, but these have been partly removed by erosion, partly overlain with alluvium. There are three cultivated areas: the well-watered piedmont of Taygetos, which is thickly forested with orange, olive and mulberry trees and produces good vegetables; the centre of the Spartan plain, which yields olives, wheat, barley and maize, the peculiarity of its soil being that it can produce two crops in a single year - for example, maize after wheat or barley; finally, the hills along the Eurotas, which bear wheat or barley. Population has remained fairly constant in the basin between 1928 and 1961; Sparta and its environs have apparently been as attractive as Athens to dwellers in less favoured areas.<sup>97</sup> Sparta itself has grown from 5,799 in 1928 to 10,412 in 1961, although it has remained very largely in the pre-industrial phase of production. In the same period, nearby Magoula has increased from 1,415 to 1,497.

In the south the basin of Sparta is blocked by the 18 km. wide hill-country of Vardhounia, whose western portion merges with Taygetos and is composed largely of schist and whose eastern limit is marked by the stream west of Krokeai (the Kourtaki). Vardhounia rises to 516m. at Mt. Lykovouni and is geologically very similar to south Taygetos. Krokeai, the geographical centre of the region, had a population of 1,997 in 1961. East of Vardhounia lies the flat Vron dama plateau, composed of Pliocene conglomerates and marl and named after its most important village. The plateau is separated from the Spartan basin by a limestone ridge south-west of Goritsa. It declines gradually from 300m. in the north to 150m. at Myrtia in the south, along a bed of conglomerate overlaying the marl. West of Grammoussa the Eurotas buries itself in the Tripolis limestone, causing routes of communication to deviate from the river and either pass over the Vron dama plateau south-eastwards to the Malea Peninsula or through Vardhounia to Gythion.<sup>98</sup>

The Helos plain and adjoining territory is bounded on the west by the Vardhounia hills and on the east by Mt. Kourkoula, whose spurs, in the form of a Pliocene table-land, reach to the marshy coast.<sup>99</sup> Apart from this narrow strip of marl on the east, the soil is alluvium brought down by the Eurotas and the Mæriorhevmá.<sup>100</sup> The most important settlement is Skala (2,343 in 1961) which, in accordance with the prevailing settlement pattern, is located on the edge of the plain. The attractions of the area were until recently somewhat diminished by swarms of malarial mosquitoes,<sup>101</sup> but so great is the pressure on fertile soil that ownership of property in the plain extends to several nearby villages in Parnon, whose inhabitants, owners and day-labourers alike, congregate in the plain at harvest-time and retreat to the mountains when it is over.

The population of the whole southern part of the Eurotas furrow (Vardhounia, Vron dama plateau, Helos) was 24,720 in 1928; of the furrow as a whole 58,874 - a population density of 68 per sq. km.<sup>102</sup> In 1961 the eparchy of Lakedaimon (this includes the whole furrow and its mountainous fringes, except the district of Malevri; the environs of Gythion; and the south-eastern edge around Helos) counted 60,929 inhabitants, which suggests that the perennial fertility of the furrow has been able to counteract the national demographic trend.<sup>103</sup>

Taygetos,<sup>104</sup> which is known locally as Pendedaktylo (five-fingered) or Makrynas (far-off one),<sup>105</sup> runs for about 110 km. from the Megalopolis basin to Cape Matapan (ancient Tainaron). In structure, the range is an upfold of several rock-types of Peloponnese. Crystalline schists and marble are overlain by various slates and limestones. With the last upheaval great faults formed along both sides of the range, the western fault marking the shores of

the Messenian gulf and the high eastern edge of the plains of Messenia. Transverse faults split up the range into several sections, of which the central section was elevated more than the rest.<sup>106</sup>

Northern Taygetos extends south as far as the Langadha and the north-east angle of the Messenian gulf.<sup>107</sup> Its 21-24 km. breadth falls into three longitudinal divisions. The eastern ridge is narrow and straight, rising gently southwards to 1610m. above the Langadha, and is composed of dark limestones, schists and shales. The western ridge is fairly broad, but never exceeds 1300m. in height; it is uniformly composed of massive limestones. Between the two ridges lies much lower country worn out of the sandstones and fissured limestones by the southward flowing Nedon and the northward draining Xerillos.<sup>108</sup> The inhabitants of this intermediate zone were the most backward encountered by Philippson.<sup>109</sup>

Central Taygetos extends for 36 km. from the Langadha to the valleys of Xirokabi and Kardamyle.<sup>110</sup> It is the highest part of the range, its limestone peaks culminating in Proph. Elias at 2407m. The magnificence of the eastern aspect derives from the sharp contrast between the craggy walls of Taygetos and the flatness of the Spartan plain. To the west the lower crests are of marble and mica-schist; the eastern terrace is made up of bold limestone bluffs interrupted by deeply etched ravines. Central Taygetos seems to have been largely uninhabited in antiquity and used by the Spartans as a hunting ground.<sup>111</sup> Now the schist country has been extensively planted to wheat, barley, rye and maize (the latter up to 1300m.).<sup>112</sup> In a marble zone 6 km. wide, to the west of the Sandava gorge, is a group of settlements (19 in 1928, only 14 in 1961) which may be taken as a fair sample of population trends in this hostile environment.<sup>113</sup> In 1889 the area was inhabited by 3,654 people; in 1928, 3,410; but in 1961 only 1,562. The largest single settlement, Selitsa, has shrunk from 646 in 1928 to 473 in 1961.

Southern Taygetos comprises the block between the Xirokabi-Kardamyle pass and the gap between Karyoupolis and Areopolis, which carried the main road from Gythion.<sup>114</sup> This section is considerably larger than the preceding one and less sharply defined from its surroundings. The eastern limestone chain sinks abruptly from the summit to 1500m., but rises again to 1700m. at Mt. Anina. On the west the marble is not so rigid and inflexible as it becomes further south and is broken up by valleys. The region as a whole is more favourable to vegetation and habitation than the regions to north and south of it. The whole eastern side is rich in settlements, which often perch picturesquely on ridges and slopes amidst dense tree growth. Panitsa, for example, at 253m. had a population of 405 in 1961, Gorani 605 and Arna 474. These were among the largest. In 1928, the fifty-one settlements in this region totalled 8,512 or

about 167 per settlement.

South Mani is a continuation of Taygetos.<sup>115</sup> Its main summits, which are of marble, decline southwards from 1100 to 310m. 3km. north of Cape Matapan. In only a few places is the marble overlain by mica-schist, where the 4 springs known to Philippson take their rise.<sup>116</sup> Unusually little soil results from the weathering of the hard marble and this is quickly swept away by rain-storms. Where it does stay put, it is mixed with coarse blocks and small stones and is of little agricultural value. Hunger is never far away, since only the pods of white lupine can be relied upon to feed men and animals. Wheat-yields are poor; the vine has been introduced only recently and does not thrive; the olive fares no better; the fig is the chief fruit. In such a context the annual migration of the quails acquires considerable importance.<sup>117</sup> Mani is a continuation of the eparchy of Oitylon with part of the eparchy of Gythion, south of Karyoupolis. The demographic picture, which slightly resembles that of west Parnon, is surprising only in that the earlier over-population (1889: eparchy of Oitylon 28,632; 1928: 25,842) has been corrected so drastically (1961: 5,788). The number of settlements has been halved between 1928 and 1961. The same position, but softened at the edges, appears from the eparchy of Gythion, where Kittá, once a village of about 1,000, numbered 112 in 1961.

This brings us to the final tectonic division of Lakonia. The western foreland of Taygetos runs from Kalamata to Cape Grosso (not far north-west of Cape Matapan);<sup>118</sup> it is a coastal terrace and a remarkable erosion feature, originally cut level by the waves but unequally raised thereafter by earth-movements.<sup>119</sup> Subsequently, rivers have cut deep ravines into it and a certain amount of sinking has produced inlets at the mouths of these ravines. This latter process has probably been aided by the solution of the marble through weathering.<sup>120</sup> In the north at Cape Kitries the terrace is 400m. above sea-level at its inner edge and 8 km. wide. It narrows to its smallest width at Trakhilas Bay and sinks to 98m. at Cape Grosso. From Kardamyle to the estuary of the River of Milia the foreland is chiefly composed of Tripolis limestone, overlain in patches by marl. In the Milia valley a zone of mica-schist permits the exceedingly rare spring-water to make an appearance.<sup>121</sup> Further south, marble is ever present, covered only by a shapeless mass of loam produced by weathering. Despite the forbidding nature of the terrain there were 136 settlements with a total population of 24,300 in 1928. As Philippson remarks: "It is a striking, if also doubtless purely coincidental, phenomenon that a city, Messe, lay in this region in antiquity".<sup>122</sup> The last 40 years have righted the balance.

iv. The Climate of Sparta<sup>123</sup>

The ancient Greek equivalent of our word "climate" was not klīma<sup>124</sup> but something like krasis aëros<sup>125</sup> or simply hōrai.<sup>126</sup> By these terms they understood primarily changes in temperature, relative humidity and prevailing winds, but it must be remembered that even for these they devised no instruments to record their fluctuations.<sup>127</sup> Our concept of climate is necessarily rather broader, and modern instrumentation permits it to be considerably more sophisticated.<sup>128</sup>

Climate rivals relief in its importance as a geographical factor.<sup>129</sup> Since it determines the crops that cannot be grown in a particular region, it sets limits to the range of ecological adaptations available to man.<sup>130</sup> How far the influence of climate extends into the spheres of personal character<sup>131</sup> or political organisation is not clear, but its effects on health, patterns of settlement and life-styles are less obscure.<sup>132</sup> In this section, only the climate of Sparta will be discussed, since it is not so very different from that recorded for other centres in Lakonia<sup>133</sup> and because it is with the lives of the Spartans that we are primarily concerned.

Rhys Carpenter has recently raised once more the question of whether the climate of Greece has undergone any significant change in historical times.<sup>134</sup> Expert opinion on this issue has been divided in the past,<sup>135</sup> and will continue to be divided until more conclusive scientific evidence is available.<sup>136</sup> Fortunately, even if Carpenter's hypothesis of an extended drought from the thirteenth to the ninth centuries is correct, the Spartan climate for much of our period need not have been very different from that of today, although within this period there will undoubtedly have been fluctuations from time to time.<sup>137</sup> Our scanty literary sources tend to confirm this assumption, apart from their evidence of apparently heavier forestation, which can be explained more satisfactorily on historical than on climatological grounds.<sup>138</sup> The overall picture of classical Greece that the sources present is of a generally rocky,<sup>139</sup> infertile and poor country,<sup>140</sup> blessed with a few fertile plains, notably those of Messenia and Lakonia:<sup>141</sup> nothing has changed here. The relative prosperity enjoyed by Greece in the Archaic and Classical periods was due to a combination of historical factors and not to the fact that her climate was in important respects better than it is today.<sup>142</sup> For example, the cult of rain and the worship of water in various forms was no less developed in antiquity<sup>143</sup> than it is today.<sup>144</sup> We may, therefore, feel confident that what is said about the present climate of Sparta holds good, in its main outlines at least, for the climate of ancient Sparta in the period with which we are concerned.

Lakonia belongs to the climatic sub-group which includes Attika, Corinthia, Argolis and the Cyclades. This is not, of course, to say that there are no divergences within the sub-group (e.g. in temperature: Sparta, for example, is more continental, Athens more maritime); indeed there are divergences within Lakonia itself. Yet the region as a whole is characterised by slight rainfall and marked, prolonged summer drought, thereby possessing to the fullest degree the differentiating qualities of the Greek climate and landscape.<sup>145</sup>

The most important climatic factor is warmth. The formula adopted in Greece for calculating mean daily temperatures is to divide by 4 the sum of the recorded temperatures at 08.00 hours and 14.00 hours plus twice the recorded temperature at 21.00 hours.<sup>146</sup> The mean temperature of Sparta in July is  $27^{\circ}$ , which, when adjusted to allow for the height of the meteorological station above sea-level,<sup>147</sup> is the hottest recorded in Greece. The (unadjusted) mean for January is  $8.8^{\circ}$ , the range of  $18.2^{\circ}$  between January and July being higher than that of Athens ( $17.8^{\circ}$ ). The absolute minimum temperature recorded at Sparta is  $-6.3^{\circ}$ , the absolute maximum  $43.5^{\circ}$  - again there is an enormous range here, comparable to that recorded for Athens.<sup>148</sup> As regards the effect of temperature on crops, J. Papadakis has correctly observed that mean monthly temperatures are of little analytical value.<sup>149</sup> What ought to be recorded are the daily maxima and minima, from which the mean monthly maxima and minima can be computed.<sup>150</sup> A freak recording like the  $-6.3^{\circ}$  (or the  $-11^{\circ}$  at Athens) will lose much of its merely apparent significance when it is thrown into the scales with all the other daily minima for that month. In general, temperatures do not begin to drop appreciably until December, when the Spartan winter properly speaking begins, and even then there are considerable day-to-day fluctuations. In March the transition to spring is completed and by June summer has arrived. The hottest days occur towards the end of July and beginning of August ("days of the Dog") - in other words in the close season between the cereal-harvest and planting, when many Greeks depart for their kalyvia or summer villages in the mountains.<sup>151</sup>

Next after warmth in order of importance is rainfall. To state merely the average annual rainfall at Sparta, as is usually done, is to disguise the essential characteristic of all Mediterranean rainfall, its seasonal distribution.<sup>152</sup> What we need to know is how long and how much rain falls on the days that it does fall,<sup>153</sup> on how many days it falls and in what months of the year. On Kythera, for example, one-fifth of the annual rainfall in one year fell in a few hours!<sup>154</sup> The highest recorded rainfall for a twenty-four hour period at Kalamata is over 200mm.<sup>155</sup> Rainfall of this type causes severe flooding and extensive soil-removal. The average annual number of rain-days at Sparta is 87. In discussing Nice, whose rainfall pattern is similar to that of Sparta,

W. Kendrew points out that, although the south of England receives a comparable amount of rain per annum, it receives it on more than twice the number of rain-days.<sup>157</sup> The annual "drought" at Sparta lasts two months: less than 40mm. of rain fall on average in July and August together.<sup>158</sup> As in most other places in Greece, the mean monthly rainfall values show their sharpest rise between September and October, and one-third of the total annual rainfall occurs in November and December. However, this seasonal distribution does have its compensations. Concentrated during the growth period of wheat and barley and ceasing before the harvest, it makes a harvest possible everywhere in Greece. But Sparta does not, of course, receive the same amount of rainfall each year: the lowest recorded annual figure is less than half the annual mean.<sup>159</sup> What makes the average as high as it is, bearing in mind how far south Sparta lies, is her proximity to the Taygetos mountains, which increases the uplift effect on moist airmasses in late autumn and winter.<sup>160</sup>

According to Philippson, the key to understanding the Greek climate lies in the study of atmospheric circulation and airflow.<sup>161</sup> Especially to be considered are the nature of the prevailing airmasses and the weather they bring in relation to upper air conditions and the general circulation of this part of the northern hemisphere. We do not possess direct evidence for Sparta, but the picture obtained by H. Lehmann for the plain of Argolis is true of the east Greek mainland in general.<sup>162</sup> From April to June, southerly winds prevail, while in all other months winds are mainly northerly, reaching a maximum frequency of 70.9% in July and August. Sparta is exceptional in that it receives northerly winds throughout the year - an important fact, because it provides confirmation of the view that it is not the prevailing northerlies which cause the summer drought; for the duration of the drought in Sparta is shorter than in many other places.<sup>163</sup> The summer Etesian winds often reach Force 7 or 8, blow hard until 17.00 hours and slow down the rise of air-temperature.<sup>164</sup> On summer evenings katabatic winds gravitate down the slopes of Taygetos to Sparta and combine with land-breezes to blow off the coast of Kynouria;<sup>165</sup> they accelerate the cooling of the air, which begins in earnest when the sun sinks behind Taygetos and swathes the town in shadow. In winter, stormy rain-bearing southerly winds alternate with gusty northerlies which bring rain to the eastern side of the peninsula and cause snowfalls on the lowlands in December.<sup>166</sup>

In the matter of thunderstorms Parnon acts as a weathershed.<sup>167</sup> Philippson observed repeated heavy thunderstorms on the west side of Parnon in May, while in Kynouria there was either no rainfall or only an insignificant amount.<sup>168</sup> His observations are confirmed by the meteorological data.<sup>169</sup> In May and June together Sparta has on average 119 thunderstorm days per thousand, over twice as many as Leonidhion. The picture repeats itself in the mean annual figures:

35 per mille at Sparta, only 13 at Leonidhion. The cause of these storms lies partly in the contrast between the hot air rising from the valley floor and the cold air resting on the snow which still partially overlies the higher mountains. In July the frequency of thunderstorms declines to 23 per thousand at Sparta; they are considerably less frequent in this month at Kalamata (14 per mille) and unknown on Kythera.

Hail is not particularly common in Greece. It is caused by the rapid ascent of moist air, which transforms itself into frozen pellets that increase in size as more water vapour freezes on to their surface until they are heavy enough to overcome the resistance of the ascending air and fall.<sup>170</sup> A severe hail-storm can do immense damage to growing crops and it is fortunate for Sparta that the beginning of the growth period coincides with the lowest average number of hail-days (in November). The highest figure is recorded for May - 12.9% - before and during the harvest, but even this is insignificant. In July it declines into non-existence once more. The annual average of 4.8% compares favourably with the 7% of Athens. Athens' higher figure is accounted for by the amount it receives on average in October, November and December (4.8%, 8.0% and 10.0%).<sup>171</sup>

Snow is a climatic factor of considerable importance to the organisation of daily life. It was much valued in antiquity for its favourable effects on cultivation and irrigation. In summer it was preserved, where desired, by covering it with brushwood, leaves and ferns and used to cool drinks.<sup>172</sup> On the debit side, it was, and continues to be, a most effective obstacle to communication via mountain passes: in some places on Taygetos snow remains in considerable quantities until the end of June.<sup>173</sup> When the snow melts, however, it refills the mountain streams, which have a particularly beneficial effect on the piedmont at the western edge of the Spartan plain.<sup>174</sup> Snow is brought by north-east winds and falls, especially in February, on the north and east flanks of mountains. Sparta itself receives snow very infrequently - of the more important states in ancient Greece, Athens and Sparta fall at either end of the scale in this respect.<sup>175</sup>

The deleterious effect of frost on growing crops is too well-known to need special emphasis.<sup>176</sup> It is perhaps significant that between November and April Sparta has on average over twice as many frost days per thousand as Athens: 40 as against 18.<sup>177</sup> Although white frost is not uncommon in Greece, we have no information from Sparta. Data collected from the Botanical Gardens in Athens between 1934 and 1936 indicated an average of 24 nights per thousand between November and April, the maximum of 10 per thousand falling in February.<sup>178</sup> The figure for Sparta would presumably be about 50 per thousand.

Fog<sup>179</sup> and cloud<sup>180</sup> are negligible climatic factors in Greece and neither occurs with sufficient frequency to detract from the famed blueness of the Greek sky.<sup>181</sup> Attempts have been made to classify visibility in terms of distance, but these really tell us little more than that for a variety of reasons objects are ordinarily visible at a much greater distance in Greece than in England! Nor is there any foundation for claims that there is a correlation between blueness of sky or clarity of air and traits of character.<sup>182</sup> Sunshine, however, the inverse of cloud and fog, does have therapeutic qualities: insolation at Sparta is among the highest recorded in Greece.<sup>183</sup> As for relative humidity, it is not especially low in Greece in winter.<sup>184</sup> At Sparta it reaches its peak in December, then declines gradually to a minimum in July, remaining throughout the year higher than the humidity of Athens.<sup>185</sup>

Finally, dew deserves a special mention, for a form of condensation which lies directly on the vegetation is extremely important in a relatively rainless land such as Greece.<sup>186</sup> A specialised instrument for measuring dewfalls only came into use in Greece in 1930 and even then only in Athens, where it registered twice as many "dew nights" as the observatory! The importance of dew is reflected in ancient cult,<sup>187</sup> although the evidence from Greece is admittedly almost entirely confined to Attika.<sup>188</sup>

In conclusion, the climate of Sparta represents, what one might expect from its geographical location, a compromise between eastern and western Greece.<sup>189</sup> In relation to its nearest neighbours for which we have figures - Kalamata, Leonidhion, Gythion and Kythera - Sparta has a rough winter climate, comparable in some respects to that of Athens. In summer, the differences are much slighter. If we make allowances for height, Sparta is somewhat hotter, as we might expect from its inland position. In our survey, aspects of the climates of Athens and Sparta have from time to time been compared; if such a comparison has any historical value, the climate of Sparta is harsher, more oppressive and less comfortable than that of Athens.<sup>190</sup>

#### v. Agricultural Products, Vegetation and other Resources (ILL. I.4)

The influence of climatic factors finds its most obvious expression in the plant-cover or vegetation and it therefore seems appropriate to deal with these next. First-hand evidence for the period of Spartan history we are considering is almost entirely absent.<sup>191</sup> Our earliest detailed literary source with any claim to be regarded as scientific is Theophrastos, who wrote in the late fourth century B.C.<sup>192</sup> Our picture of the Lakonian natural resources and economy in our period must necessarily be a hypothetical construction based largely on modern statistical data.<sup>193</sup> There are, however, reasons for feeling

confidence in the accuracy of this picture: as we have argued above, the climate of today does not appear to differ in any significant respect from that of the first half of the first millennium B.C.; furthermore, ways of securing subsistence have not altered basically during the last 2,500 years.<sup>194</sup> Indeed, the most "revolutionary" economic change in all probability occurred in the eighth century B.C. with the beginnings of a thorough-going change from stock- to arable-farming.<sup>195</sup>

(a) Agricultural Products

1. Cultivated Area

Thanks partly to altitude, but more especially to slope,<sup>196</sup> a mere 29.5% of the surface area of Greece was classed as arable in 1961.<sup>197</sup> Even this figure is misleadingly high, since it includes land which is of low fertility and produces exceedingly poor yields and land which has to be left fallow for four in every five years. A truer figure would be closer to 20%. Of the so-called arable area only just over half (16.6% of the surface area) is made up of plains. Lakonia as a whole approximates closely to the national average, 23-29% of its total surface being accounted cultivable in 1961; the exception is Kynouria, where the proportion is smaller. In antiquity the picture was complicated by the (presumably quite rigid) division of land between that owned by Spartan citizens, but farmed for them by Helots, and that owned and farmed by perioikoi. Needless to say, the Spartans owned the most productive land - the Spartan plain, Vardhounia and the Helos plain at least. In Messenia too they had a direct and controlling interest in the Stenyklaros plain and perhaps part of Makaria (the region around the Messenian gulf).<sup>198</sup>

2. Wheat<sup>199</sup>

In Greece, as in other bread-eating countries, wheat (represented by the naked species triticum vulgare) is today far and away the most important cereal crop.<sup>200</sup> In 1961 it occupied 31% of the total cultivated area of Greece. In Lakonia the eastern sections of Kynouria, the east Helos plain and the Malea peninsula devote the largest proportion of their respective cultivated areas to wheat.<sup>201</sup> It was not until the fourth century B.C., however, that wheat began to assert its superiority over barley.<sup>202</sup> According to Theophrastos (HP viii.4.5), the Lakonian variety was feeble in weight, which strongly suggests that the Spartans, who after all did not themselves farm the land, had failed to use a suitable variety; for climatic conditions<sup>203</sup> favour the production of wheat in the Eurotas valley and in Messenia.<sup>204</sup>

### 3. Barley

In antiquity barley was used both as animal fodder and as human food.<sup>205</sup> Today it is merely a major feed grain and ingested by humans only indirectly.<sup>206</sup> It is grown widely in Lakonia, especially in the Malea peninsula and the east Helos plain, but we must assume that in our period it occupied considerable amounts of land now planted to wheat.<sup>207</sup> It was eaten as a "kneaded thing"<sup>208</sup> rather than in the form of bread.

### 4. Other Grain Crops

Generally speaking, barley and wheat were not just the main, but the only grain crops available to the inhabitants of Lakonia in our period. Maize was not introduced to the Peloponnese until the seventeenth century A.D. and is imperfectly adapted to the Greek climate.<sup>209</sup> Oats are primarily a crop of the humid, temperate regions; Lakonia may be in places humid by Greek standards, but it is certainly not temperate and oats are not grown extensively here.<sup>210</sup> Rye, essentially a cool-weather crop, did not penetrate south of the Alps until late in the Classical period, and then only in small amounts.<sup>211</sup> Pliny (NH xviii.40.141) considered it to be unpalatable, even when mixed with wheat, but a useful soil-improver; it requires a good deal of moisture. Sorghum appeared briefly in Italy in the second century A.D.<sup>212</sup> Rice was expensive and not much eaten; its introduction and intensive cultivation date only from 1933.<sup>213</sup> Millets alone,<sup>214</sup> although they were only a standby crop (Strabo v.1.12), could possibly have been known in early Lakonia.<sup>215</sup>

### 5. Edible Legumes

Legumes are of two kinds: the pulse crops, which are sown annually, and the artificial grasses, which stand for several seasons. Winter legumes such as pea, lentil, lupine, horse bean, vetch, tare, chickpea, berseen clover, crimson clover, will grow in the Spartan type of winter.<sup>216</sup> The broad bean (a pulse) was approved by Theophrastos (CP viii.9.1) as a soil-improver. Similarly, a summer legume such as sesame will restore the nitrogen consumed by wheat, barley or oats.<sup>217</sup> Sesame is grown for its seeds and will produce up to 6% of its weight in oil. The crushed residue provides a nourishing cattle-fodder.

### 6. Other Vegetables

Vegetables, fresh or dried, form part of the staple diet of the modern Greek.<sup>218</sup> Cucumbers abound in the Spartan plain,<sup>219</sup> while French beans and watermelons, and to a lesser extent artichokes, are particularly well adapted to the Spartan climate.<sup>220</sup> The low position occupied in 1961 by the eparchy of Lakedaimon in respect of percentage of cultivated area devoted to vege-

tables (73<sup>rd</sup> out of 144) may be misleading, for climate and situation make for higher yields per unit area. Onions are, as we have noted, a primary product of the Neapolis area in the Malea peninsula.

#### 7. Cotton and Flax

The variety grown in Lakonia - Akala III - was introduced from the United States and production has only achieved importance since the Second World War - a pity, because cotton generates twice as much income and is five times as labour-intensive as wheat!<sup>221</sup> The Helos plain is not one of the major centres of production in Greece, but it does make a substantial contribution to the Lakonian economy.<sup>222</sup>

Flax, however, was grown for its fibre in the Pylos region during the Mycenaean period,<sup>223</sup> and the linseed mentioned by Alkman (fr. 55D) and Thucydides (iv. 26.8)<sup>224</sup> was perhaps also grown locally.<sup>225</sup>

#### 8. Dried Fruit and Nuts

As these will grow without irrigation in most areas of Greece, their concentration, or lack of it, is as much the result of historical accident as of any other factor. All are well-established crops and several have been cultivated in Greece since classical times.<sup>226</sup> The special variety of vine which produces currants is grown in Messenia and its fruit serves primarily as a valuable article of export.<sup>227</sup> Figs are pre-eminently adapted to conditions prevailing in Lakonia and Messenia: the first harvest in June/July is mostly eaten fresh, the second in August to October is used for drying.<sup>228</sup> The almond, not being exposed to late frosts, does well in the Spartan type of climate,<sup>229</sup> while the walnut, typically a central European tree, grows at higher altitudes.

#### 9. Other Fruit Trees

Pears may be grown in the Spartan climate<sup>230</sup> and peaches of high quality can be obtained with irrigation.<sup>231</sup> Apricots have similar climatic requirements to those of peaches, but they are mainly grown in north-east Peloponnese. Cherries are more drought-resistant than apples, the latter occurring more widely on the Peloponnesian uplands. The morus nigra species of mulberry is ancient;<sup>232</sup> it was grown for its fruit before the Chinese secret of silk-production became known in Greece in the sixth century A.D.<sup>233</sup> Citrus trees - orange, lemon, mandarin, citron, bergamot, pomelo - all do well in the Eurotas valley,<sup>234</sup> but it must be remembered that they, together with fruits like the apricot, peach and cherry, were introduced from the Orient well after our period<sup>235</sup> and are, besides, of secondary importance even in the modern Greek diet.<sup>236</sup>

10. Vine<sup>237</sup>

Two fruiting plants deserve special and separate mention: the vine and the olive. Together with corn (wheat or barley) they form the "Mediterranean triad" of dietary staples, established as such in the third millennium B.C.<sup>238</sup> The Mediterranean type of climate normally provides sufficient moisture for the vine during its spring vegetative phase and the dry, sunny weather necessary for ripening.<sup>239</sup> It can flourish on droughty, rocky and highly calcareous soils, on both level and sloping ground and at considerable altitudes (up to 1219m. in Peloponnese). It would be fair to say that it is the care of the grape-vine which gives the Greek peasant his character of gardener rather than farmer.<sup>240</sup> Viticulture occupies between 160 and 200 days in the year of a typical grower,<sup>241</sup> and the product of his labour, wine, is highly valued as a necessary adjunct to his daily fare of bread, beans, salad and oil.<sup>242</sup> Oitylon in North-West Mani is noted for a potent aretsinoto (unresinated),<sup>243</sup> though the grapes are grown elsewhere. The ancients rarely drank wine without mixing it with water<sup>244</sup> (the usual proportion being perhaps 3 parts water to 1 part wine,<sup>245</sup> though we hear of a wine so strong that the desirable proportion was 20 to 1)<sup>246</sup> and the modern Greek krasi and kernō preserve the memory of this practice. Spartans were expected to contribute 8 choes of wine per month to their syssition.<sup>247</sup>

11. Olive<sup>248</sup>

Greece is today the third or fourth largest producer of olives in the world. More perhaps is known about the proper care of the olive than about any other Greek plant; the soils and climatic conditions of southern Greece in particular are ideally suited to its growth. Lakonia is among the leading producers, the eparchy of Oitylon devoting 18.09% of its cultivated area to the olive in 1961 and so coming second in Greece as a whole.<sup>249</sup> In antiquity, the importance of the olive was if anything greater than it is today, since it provided unguent and light as well as food and fuel.<sup>250</sup> Towards the beginning of our period, c. 1000 - 600 B.C., during the awkward transition from stock-farming to the production of cereals, the olive may even have been the dietary staple.<sup>251</sup> At Kaltezai in northern Skiritis, the olive grows remarkably well at 678m.<sup>252</sup>

## (b) Vegetation

Under natural conditions Greece would be mostly forest and tall brushwood. But now much of the area not under cultivation is covered by open communities dominated by low scrubby and herbaceous plants. This is primarily the work of

man, who has cut down shrubs and trees for his own uses and allowed his sheep and goats to prevent their regeneration. However, a rich herb flora maintains itself at the margins of woods and in situations too steep or rocky for full tree-growth; other herbs have survived by growing in amongst prickly plants, away from the sun and animals; yet others because they are poisonous or unpalatable. The uncultivated portion of Lakonia falls into three distinct sections, if we ignore land that is totally unproductive (while remembering that this occupies about one-third of the total surface area): the remaining forest, the brushwood communities and the pasture-land.

### 1. Forest<sup>253</sup>

There is some evidence that Lakonia was more densely forested in antiquity than it is today.<sup>254</sup> We must not, however, exaggerate the difference, since there are in any case relatively few social species of tree and, in spite of adaptations to minimise loss of water, only in favoured sites can they hope to maintain themselves in any quantity in the Lakonian climate.<sup>255</sup> The evergreen Valonia oak forms extensive forests on the lower slopes of hills, usually below 300m.; one of the two great forests in Peloponnese lies north-east of Gythion on the north-west shore of the Lakonian gulf.<sup>256</sup> These trees have been protected because the acorn cups are used in tanning.<sup>257</sup> The evergreen holm-oak, whose wood is used for charcoal-burning and will therefore have been indispensable in metallurgy, grows in quantity at the northern extremity of Taygetos.<sup>258</sup> Other summer-green varieties of oak grow in various parts of Lakonia.<sup>259</sup> The Spanish chestnut (*castanea sativa*) forms extensive forests on the crystalline rocks of Taygetos and Parnon; particularly noteworthy is the large forest which gave its name to the Tsakonian village of Kastanitsa on the east slopes of Parnon.<sup>260</sup> Fir (*abies cephalonica*) replaces the deciduous trees in the limestone areas of the Mediterranean climate at about 600m.<sup>261</sup> Forests occur on Mts. Anina, Mavrovouni and Kubenova in South Taygetos,<sup>262</sup> while the dense population covering the peak of Parnon from Malevos to Kosmas reaches as far as Vamvakou and Agriani on the west.<sup>263</sup> On both Parnon and Taygetos the fir is intermingled with a smaller quantity of coniferous black pine (*pinus nigra*), which grows on outcrops of crystalline schist between 700 and 1700m.<sup>264</sup> Planes grow along watercourses, by springs and in moist places up to 1300m.<sup>265</sup>

### 2. Brushwood Communities<sup>266</sup>

It is significant that, while most flowers are known merely by the generic louloudhi ("wild flower"), the dominant plants of the brushwood communities each have their own common names in modern Greek.<sup>267</sup> Brushwood, of which maquis is the type with the widest distribution,<sup>268</sup> springs up on land

formerly occupied by forest. It replaces chiefly forest of the Mediterranean type and so is found above all on the lower slopes and near the coast; but it can also extend some way inland and rise to 800m. The east Parnon region is particularly characterised by maquis, whose typical plants are the myrtle, laurel, arbutus, cistus, juniper, evergreen oak and oleander. Beyond the climatic limits of the maquis grows the hardier pseudomaquis, but even this reverts to phrygana ("dry stuff") if men and animals are able to reach it. Phrygana consists of thorny woody plants, with thick and spiny leaves, which are grey-green in colour and contain resinous, often aromatic, sap. Bushes are low and interspersed with patches of rock. Characteristic of phrygana are broom, gorse, rock-roses, poisonous spurges and the prickly pear.<sup>269</sup> The remaining community, known as shiblyak,<sup>270</sup> grows only at high altitudes in southern Greece. It is made up of deciduous, woody plants amongst which Christ's thorn generally predominates.

### 3. Pasture

In these islands only a small proportion of pastureland is moors and downs; most of it lies in amongst the cultivable land, rotating with it continuously, and nearly all of it is grass. The contrast with Greece could not be more stark.<sup>271</sup> Since cultivable land is so restricted, Greek livestock are allowed to graze only among the stubble, in order to manure the soil for the next planting.<sup>272</sup> Otherwise they must make do with what is described, euphemistically, as "meadow".<sup>273</sup> Grasses as we know them cannot grow naturally in Greece for lack of moisture. Pasture, therefore, is that broad category of land which falls between the cultivable and the totally barren. In 1961 41.32% of the surface area of Greece was classed as pastureland.<sup>274</sup> Somewhat surprisingly, a relatively high proportion of the land of the eparchy of Lakedaimon fell into this category. More understandably, Kythera had the fourth highest proportion (75.5%) in all of Greece. Greek pasture, then, consists of such shrubs and herbs which can find a living in amongst the bushes of the maquis and the phrygana. One of the commonest of these is the asphodel, which grows in considerable abundance between January and May; of its two varieties, one is a fine tall white flower, the other shorter and flesh-coloured.<sup>275</sup> When summer comes, flocks and herds are moved to the highlands;<sup>276</sup> but mountain pasture is exceedingly rare in southern Greece, one small exception being a part of the Parnon range.<sup>277</sup>

#### (c) Livestock

In so far as the Homeric poems present a coherent picture of a particular

"world", the primary use of the land by the rulers of that world was in pasturage.<sup>279</sup> But by the time of Hesiod, as we mentioned earlier, the change to the cultivation of cereal crops and to the rigid division between stock- and arable-farming was in its early stages. Today animal husbandry remains a significant, though subordinate, element in the Greek economy.<sup>280</sup> Sheep and goats are the primary small-stock animals: in 1961 the eparchy of Lakedaimon had the seventh largest number of goats in Greece (78,304). These animals provide hair, wool, animal-fat and milk (for butter, cheese and yoghurt). Cattle are rarely kept and then mainly as work-animals not for their edible produce. Meat is still considered a luxury food in Greece, but every Greek, unless he is too poor, will have lamb at Easter and possibly on other festive occasions. Domesticated pigs are less common than either sheep or goats, but a few may be kept for food, the pork being cured and stored in oil for the winter. Wild pigs were hunted by the Spartans on Taygetos and it may be that the ancient name for the Sandava gorge in south Taygetos (Choireios Napē) has some connection with boar-hunting.<sup>281</sup> Horses are kept sporadically, but they are expensive to maintain, when an ass will act with equal efficiency as a short-distance pack-animal.<sup>282</sup> Colonel Leake, it is true, rode around Lakonia on a horse, but where the gradient is too steep or the going underfoot too rough the horse yields place to the mule, which is preferred for long journeys.<sup>283</sup> The modern Greek dog is almost certain to be a mongrel, whose function in life is to scare off and, if necessary, bite strangers; in antiquity, by contrast, a selected hound known as "Lakonian" was bred for hunting and much used by the Spartans on Taygetos and in Messenia.<sup>284</sup> Rabbits and poultry are kept everywhere today, but usually on a domestic scale. The hen was possibly not known in Greece before the seventh or even the sixth century B.C.<sup>285</sup> Bees, on the other hand, have been in Greece from time immemorial. Their honey was a necessity, not a luxury, to the ancients, who lacked any other form of sweetening material; wax too had numerous uses.<sup>286</sup> Finally, quails in their own way make an important contribution to the modern Lakonian economy. They are netted, as they alight unwarily during their annual southward migration, and preserved in salt or oil, either for consumption in the winter or, in case of a surplus, export.<sup>287</sup> The principal centre for quail-catching is Porto Kayio in South Mani, which owes its name to the practice, but it occurs also in the southern tip of the Malea peninsula and on Kythera.<sup>289</sup>

#### (d) Fishing

Fishing has been an important part of the Greek economy since classical times,<sup>289</sup> but was never particularly developed in Lakonia.<sup>290</sup> Gythion must

always have been the most important centre, in the sense that it possesses a good harbour ((e), below) and was the point of distribution inland up the Eurotas valley both for fish, probably dried, and for murex molluscs from whose crushed shells purple dye was obtained.<sup>291</sup> The latter were caught in quantity off Kythera in antiquity and fish too are still plentiful today around the island.<sup>292</sup>

(e) Harbours<sup>293</sup>

Lakonia has been correctly characterised as a "binnenländisches Gebiet".<sup>294</sup> Although its shores are washed on the east and south by the waters of the Mediterranean, communications inland are generally poor,<sup>295</sup> and the number of harbours that offer both protection from winds and heavy seas and a holding anchorage is small in proportion to the extent of coastal frontage.

The Gulf of Argolis is exposed to winds from the northern and eastern quarters and its coast is irregular, rugged and inhospitable. Fifteen km. north of the infamous Cape Malea<sup>296</sup> lies Monemvasia, important in Venetian times but rarely visited today by trading vessels.<sup>297</sup> North of the iron bridge connecting the rocky akropolis with the mainland, temporary anchorage is available in summer in 27 - 33m. Further north at Palaia Monemvasia (ancient Epidauros Limera) there is anchorage in 7m., sheltered from northerly and westerly winds, but demanding an intimate personal knowledge of the coast.<sup>298</sup> Ieraka has been described as the finest port on the coast,<sup>299</sup> but communications with the interior are practically non-existent.<sup>300</sup> The fine bay of Kyparissi (ancient Kyphanta)<sup>301</sup> is protected except on the east and south-east; anchorage may be found in 11 - 27m.<sup>302</sup> Further north, the slightly irregular and lofty coastline is broken only at Skala (the harbour town of Leonidhion),<sup>303</sup> Tyros and Astros, where a vessel may anchor temporarily under offshore winds.<sup>304</sup>

The Lakonian gulf is in general more southerly than the Messenian, but in other respects closely resembles it.<sup>305</sup> The east coast trends roughly north-west from Cape Malea, at first high and irregular but receding north to form the large bight of Vatika. Here anchorage may be found off Neapolis in c. 27m. or at the head of the bight in 18 or 22m.; the holding-ground consists of sand.<sup>306</sup> North of Vatika bay there is anchorage in 15 - 27m. in the bay of Sarakiniko, sheltered from northerly or north-easterly winds but with uncertain holding-ground.<sup>307</sup> Sarakiniko is one of a series of inlets along this coast which culminates in the Bay of Xyli, at whose head Plytra (ancient Asopos) provides sheltered anchorage in 22 - 33m. with sand for holding-ground.<sup>308</sup> Between Plytra and the head of the Lakonian gulf the only notable harbour is Elea, close northward of Cape Moláí, but even this is exposed, small and of irregular depth. The head of the gulf fronts the deltaic plain of the

Eurotas, whose depositions have led to silting and probably encroachment of the shoreline.<sup>309</sup> The coast is 15 km. long and without harbours; offshore depths are less than 5.5m. for more than 300m. seawards. In the north-west angle of the gulf lies Gythion, which has remained the port of Sparta since antiquity. Its harbour is sheltered from southerly winds by the island of Kranaë and the hill Kumaro (186m.), but easterly winds cause an unpleasant sea in the roadstead. The best anchorage is in about 3lm.<sup>310</sup> Between Capes Paganía and Stavri and sheltered by them from all but south-easterly winds lies the best anchorage in the gulf - Skoutari bay; the bottom is of mud and holding is firm; alone of harbours on the west coast of the gulf it offers some protection from the squalls which make their way down the mountain slopes and jeopardise shipping here.<sup>311</sup> Kolokythia bay, partially enclosed by Cape Stavri, deserves a mention, though it is not a very safe harbour and is ignored by traders; best anchorage is in the north-east bight. The safest harbour to the south is that of Porto Kayio; anchorage sheltered from easterly winds may be found in the southern bight in 3lm.<sup>312</sup> On the Tainaron promontory itself, which terminates in Cape Matapan, are the harbours of Vathi and Porto ton Asomaton,<sup>313</sup> the latter being preferable because it is broader, less squally and shallower.

South of Cape Matapan the water reaches a depth of 1893m. at 11 km. from the shore.<sup>314</sup> This great depth is reflected in the bays of the rock-fringed and much indented east coast of the Messenian gulf. It is possible to moor at **Marimari**, but the best anchorage on the stretch of coast between Matapan and Limeni bay is Mezapos, where the harbour is up to 55m. deep.<sup>315</sup> Limeni bay is the best natural harbour in the whole gulf;<sup>316</sup> its entrance is 700 - 800m. wide and open to the west; there is anchorage off Limeni in 5 - 18m.<sup>317</sup> To the north the coast is rugged, barren, but less indented; strong south-westerly winds cause the sea to break heavily as far as Kalamata. There are small ports at Trakhilas,<sup>318</sup> Selinitza and Kardamyle.<sup>319</sup> Kitries bay is rarely used because it is too deep and too exposed, but there is good holding-ground in suitable conditions on the south side. Almyro bay was used as a refuge port before Kalamata harbour was formed. The latter is enclosed by a breakwater and offers depths of 2 - 11m. Outside the breakwater temporary anchorage is available in about 22m.

This brief picture of but a part of the Messenian gulf would be grossly misleading, if it were not pointed out that the gulf as a whole is subject to sudden changes of wind-direction and strong squalls, usually attended by heavy rain, thunder and lightning, especially during autumn and winter; the wind has been known to shift from the south-east to the north-east in a matter of minutes. The overall conditions are highly unfavourable to shipping.<sup>320</sup>

vi. Archaeological Survey (ILL.I.5; Appendix V)

Reff: Lakonia: BSA x (1903-4) 158ff.; xiii (1906-7) 219ff.; xiv. 161ff.; xv. 158ff.; xvi. 62ff.; xxiv. 144ff.; lv (1960) 67ff.; lvi. 114ff.

Messenia: BSA lii (1957) 231ff.; lxi (1966) 113ff. (R. Hope Simpson); AJA lxv (1961) 221ff.; lxviii (1964) 229ff.; lxxiii (1969) 123ff. (W. A. McDonald - R. Hope Simpson); McDonald-Rapp, MME.

On the theory and practice of surface exploration, see McDonald, Archaeology xvii (1964) 112ff.; *ibid.*, Hesperia xxxv (1966) 413ff.; and in McDonald -Rapp, MME ch. 1.

In this section an attempt will be made to present a complete account of the archaeological evidence from Lakonia which falls within the period from LH IIIB to the Classical era inclusive. Naturally, there will be a certain amount of flexibility at either end. Where there is confusion in our literary sources over the identification or nature of a site, the possible bearing of the relevant archaeological evidence on the problem will be fully considered. Those sites for whose existence or location the only evidence is literary will be ignored. Most of the material has been collected in surface exploration; the amount of controlled and scientific excavation in Lakonia has been lamentably slight.

## 1. THE SPARTAN PLAIN

### 1. CLASSICAL SPARTA

Reff: BSA xiii. 137ff.; xiv. 142ff.; xxvi. 240ff.; xxviii. 37ff. (Athena Chalkioikos); R. Dawkins, ed., Artemis Orthia (JHS Supp. v, 1929); Chr. Christou, AD xix.i (1964) 123ff.

Exceedingly few prehistoric remains are known from Sparta.<sup>321</sup> These all belong to the end of the Mycenaean period,<sup>322</sup> but their quantity and nature leave it unclear whether they are evidence of settlement.<sup>323</sup> The site was occupied, presumably by Dorians,<sup>324</sup> from the PG period onwards,<sup>325</sup> but finds remain few and problematical until the late eighth century B.C., when the rich series of votives in the sanctuary of Orthia begins.<sup>326</sup> Lakonian artistic production flourished until the sixth century, but thereafter fell off markedly in quantity as well as quality.

Thucydides (i.10.2) had stated explicitly that the inhabitants of Sparta conserved an older Greek tradition by living in villages and not in a walled town;<sup>327</sup> in the first decade of this century considerable progress was made towards defining the perimeter of the settlement-area.<sup>328</sup> Ironically, this work had to be done on the basis of finds of stamped tiles of various periods, which had been used in the construction and repair of the later (Hellenistic

onwards) city-wall.<sup>329</sup> The latter was a symptom of Spartan decline: it had been her proud boast that the strong right arms of her male inhabitants were her sole protection.<sup>330</sup>

Of the four Spartan villages the location of two is known with certainty, that of the other two with probability.<sup>331</sup> Pausanias (iii.16.7) tells us that Limnaion was another name for the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. The Limnaion naturally enough lay in the village of Limnai, which would have occupied the area north of the rocky tongue (on whose northern foot the sanctuary lay)<sup>332</sup> stretching from the mill of Matallas<sup>333</sup> to the river Mousga west of the Akropolis hill.<sup>334</sup> Within this area several structures have been excavated, whose identification is in all cases uncertain.<sup>335</sup> About 100m. east of the modern bridge over the Eurotas is what seems to be a very large altar, 23.60m. L. X 6.60 W. X 1.90 H.<sup>336</sup> About 200m. south of the bridge is a small, but archaeologically important, shrine, probably a heroon.<sup>327</sup> The most important of the recent finds include an Archaic well 250m. W of Artemis Orthia on the Sparta - Tripolis road, which contained a sherd from a relief-pithos, and b.f. and r.f. sherds;<sup>338</sup> a large building, probably a temple, built in the Archaic period, 500m. N of the sanctuary;<sup>339</sup> and a sanctuary just beyond the bridge over the Eurotas whose walling belongs to the late Archaic period.<sup>340</sup>

One kilometre west of the ruined theatre, in the region of the small hill Kokkinaki, two tiles stamped Pitanatan were found directly above the line followed by the city-wall.<sup>341</sup> This find confirmed the inference from Pausanias (iii.14.1-2) that Pitana lay in the region occupied by modern Magoula west and south-west of the Akropolis hill.<sup>342</sup> It did not, however, stretch as far as the hill Klaraki, which should probably be identified with ancient Issorion.<sup>343</sup> Pitana was clearly one of the smarter quarters of Sparta;<sup>344</sup> within it, but probably in a distinct enclosure, were the tombs of the Agiad royal house (Paus. iii.14.2),<sup>345</sup> whose members doubtless had their homes nearby. Pausanias (iii.14.6) saw a house here which was legendarily supposed once to have belonged to Menelaos! Artemis was well provided with two shrines, in which she was worshipped as Aiginaia and Issoria/Limnaia respectively. A number of important objects has come to light in Magoula and especially in the hills NE of the village.<sup>346</sup>

The locations of Mesoa and Kynosoura are not so certainly known. The name Mesoa would naturally suggest that it occupied an intermediate position, an impression apparently confirmed by Pausanias' location of all public buildings in this quarter. We should, therefore, probably identify Mesoa with the area of the modern town south of the Akropolis. One of Mesoa's most famous inhabitants was Alkman, as we learn from the Suda lexicon; his monument was seen

by Pausanias (iii.15.2). The most important surviving building from Mesoa is the so-called tomb of Leonidas, dated to the third century B.C. and considered to be a temple by Wace,<sup>347</sup> but dated to the fifth century and regarded as a cross between a temple and a tomb by Christou.<sup>348</sup> Its dimensions are 12.50m. L. x 8.30 W. x (in places) 3.60 H.; one of its component stones is a massive 4.80m. L. x 0.75 W. x 0.98 H.

If this identification of Mesoa is correct, Kynosoura<sup>349</sup> will have lain on the hills which stretch from the Metropolis (Cathedral) to the two gymnasia of the modern town.<sup>350</sup> It is probable that it extended further south too beyond the Magoulitsa river, which has been variously identified with the ancient Tiasa or Knakiōn.<sup>351</sup> Between Kynosoura and Limnai lay what was probably the Spartan Kerameikos; traces of ancient potteries have been found here and clay for pots and tiles was being extracted at the beginning of this century.<sup>352</sup>

The identification of the Akropolis with the hill above the theatre was first proposed on the grounds that it alone was large enough to accommodate all the buildings described by Pausanias (iii.17-18.1).<sup>353</sup> The identification was put beyond doubt by the excavation of the temple of Athena Chalkioikos. Unfortunately, Byzantine and Roman builders had used the Akropolis as a quarry, with the result that, although a crude stratigraphy was obtained, it was impossible to establish the history and appearance of the temple in detail. The fragment of the stele of Damonon<sup>354</sup> found in the excavations suggests that not Chalkioikos but Poliachos was the regular epithet of Athena down to the late fifth century B.C.<sup>355</sup> Clearly, then, the epithet "of the Brazen House" applied to the house in which the goddess resided and not to the goddess herself. The excavators found bronze plates, some with nails still in place, which they suggest were used to face the temple.<sup>356</sup> The building was small and, as we learn from literary sources, contained a cult-image and an altar.<sup>357</sup> But it was set within an enclosure large enough to be used for parades or as a rallying-ground.<sup>358</sup> Excavation revealed a lower ("Geometric") layer of black carbonised earth, which was full of "Geometric" pottery and occasional pieces of bronze, and an upper ("Classical") layer of brownish or reddish earth, which extended all over the area contained by a large retaining-wall but reached a considerable depth only in the pocket immediately inside it. The excavators explain the form of deposition by reference to the statement of Pausanias (iii.17.2) that, although the temple was begun by the Tyndarids, it was not completed until the time of Gitiadas. Now Gitiadas is also said by Pausanias (iii.18.7-8; iv. 14.2) to have fashioned two elaborate tripods, which were dedicated at Amyklai after the capture of Ithome in the first Messenian War. Pausanias' information is mutually inconsistent and various attempts have been made to explain this away.<sup>359</sup> The best solution seems to

be to abandon Pausanias and date Gitiadas c. 550 B.C.<sup>360</sup> This agrees well with the scarcity of "Orientalising" remains found; the rest were presumably thrown out at the time of the renewal of construction.<sup>361</sup> Besides, the method of construction is similar to that of the sixth-century temple of Artemis Orthia.<sup>362</sup> Structural remains of the older "Geometric" temple were very few, but the excavators believe they have found part of the earliest altar of Athena.<sup>363</sup> Many important objects were recovered in the course of the excavations, including PG pottery, Panathenaic amphorai, bronze and lead figurines and the stele of Damonon already mentioned.

According to Plutarch, Lykurgos did not prohibit burial within the town area;<sup>364</sup> yet graves from our period are almost unknown.<sup>365</sup> In the region of the ancient agora<sup>366</sup> traces of a tomb have been found, between and above the blocks of which were vases from the Geometric to Hellenistic periods.<sup>367</sup> More recently Christou found four Archaic graves between the modern stadium and the road to Tripolis (BSA xiii, pl.1(L 15));<sup>368</sup> they belonged, it seems, to a potter and his family, for there was a kiln nearby.<sup>369</sup> In amongst the tombs was buried a fine terracotta relief-amphora, which roughly dates the graves to the turn of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.<sup>370</sup> This important find raises once more, in a powerful way, the question of when, if ever, full Spartan citizens were permitted or had the leisure to practise a craft prior to the fourth century B.C., when it is clear from Plutarch (Life of Agesilaos xxvi.5) that no Spartan of military age did so (cf. III. viii(c)).

It is not clear what reasons the Dorians had for selecting Sparta as their first and chief settlement in Lakonia. Philippson suggests three:<sup>371</sup> the location of Sparta at the convergence of the roads from Tegea and the Megalopolis basin; the presence of the Magoula pliocene-table, enabling the land to be used at once for both settlement and some sort of cultivation; and the distance of Sparta from the mountain-plateaux, which were occupied by potentially hostile peoples.<sup>372</sup> To these we may add a fourth: a short distance south of Sparta lay Amyklai (below), a formidable settlement with a strong pre-Dorian tradition.<sup>373</sup>

## 2. PSYCHIKO and KALOGONIA

Reff: Christou, Praktika for 1962, 115ff.; BCH lxxxvii (1963) 759-60.

Psychiko is a hill 1500m. from the centre of Sparta, which juts into the angle formed by the rivers Eurotas and Magoula; it was probably part of Kynosoura.<sup>374</sup> Excavation has revealed a large construction of conglomerate blocks 17.60m. L. x 4m. W. Roman and Hellenistic remains were unearthed before olive trees halted work. The excavator suggests this may have been a monumental altar belonging to a sanctuary on the road either to the Amyklaion or Therapne

(below). At Kalogonia, a short distance south, a small rectangular structure 13m. L. x 8.50 W. has been found. A fragment from an antefix (in the form of a female figure in relief) and two miniature vases - all three from the SE angle - date the erection of the structure to the Archaic period. It was re-used in the Classical and Roman periods.

### 3. MEGALOPOLIS ROAD SANCTUARY

Reff: BSA xiii.169ff.; AO 106.

The ancient road to Megalopolis probably left Sparta between a shoulder of the hill Analipsis and the vineyards on the right bank of the Eurotas. About fifty metres east of the road (BSA xiii, pl.1(N8)) an unidentifiable sanctuary was excavated at the beginning of this century. It was found to contain about 4,000 whole and 8,000 damaged miniature vases;<sup>375</sup> 8 terracotta figurines of very poor quality; 49 lead figurines, of which 44 were wreaths; pottery fragments ranging in date from "Orientalising" to Hellenistic; part of a Doric column; bone fragments, tiles and miscellaneous objects, including what may be 3 iron obeloi.<sup>376</sup> In the words of the excavator, these offerings reveal "the piety and the poverty of the Spartan wayfarer".

### 4. ANCIENT THORNAX

Reff: Frazer iii.322; BSA lv.82, no.1.

Our literary evidence,<sup>377</sup> with one exception,<sup>378</sup> points to a location for Thornax just north of Sparta on the level plain on the east bank of the Eurotas. The only archaeological evidence for settlement here is "a considerable amount of ancient pottery, including classical", and an unidentified temple of Roman date, which the local farmer kindly showed me. On the other hand, a bronze disk dedicated to Pythaieus,<sup>379</sup> dated c. 600-550 (?),<sup>380</sup> has been found near Kosmas on Parnon at Proph. Elias, where bronze figurines and ancient graves have been reported (cf. I. vi.99, no. 86). As Pausanias (iii.10.8) tells us that the epithet of Thornakian Apollo was Pythaieus, some have been tempted to identify Proph.Elias with Thornax. Proph.Elias, however, is too far from Sparta to fit the literary evidence; either the bronze disk was subsequently moved from Thornax, perhaps on the death of the dedicator, or, what seems more likely, there was a sanctuary of Apollo Pythaieus at Proph.Elias.<sup>381</sup>

### 5. ANCIENT THERAPNE and THE MENELAION

Reff: BSA lv.72, 82, no.1; RE, s.v. "Therapne".

Pausanias (iii.19.9) informs us that there was a temple of Menelaos in Therapne, but he does not make it clear whether he thought of Therapne as a

particular place or a region; nor do our other literary sources resolve the problem.<sup>382</sup> Since a similar place/region confusion exists over Lakedaimon in Homer (I.ii.581; iii.239,244,387,343; Od.iii.326; iv.1,702; v.20; xiii.414,440; xv.1; xvii.121; xxi.13),<sup>383</sup> the identification of Therapne with Lakedaimon and of both with the Mycenaean settlement on the Menelaion hill cannot be regarded as established. The hill in question lies opposite Psychiko on the far side of the Eurotas and is one of a group easily distinguished from afar by their reddish appearance.<sup>384</sup>

The Mycenaean settlement<sup>385</sup> was discovered in the course of a re-excavation<sup>386</sup> of what had been provisionally identified as the sanctuary of Menelaos and Helen.<sup>387</sup> Apparently the settlement was destroyed by fire in the LHIII B period, whereafter there is a gap in the record until the Geometric period, which is presumably the date of the establishment of the hero-cult of Menelaos and the building of a cult-place.<sup>388</sup> The structure excavated by the British School, however, belongs to the fifth century; it is supported on a pyramidal step 23.80m. x 16.60, around which is a revetment-wall composed of large, well-dressed blocks, some as big as 2.40m. L. x 0.55 W. x 0.60 H. The entrance or ascent to the structure (temple?), whose foundations measure 5.45m. x 8.60, was on the west, where the platform is preserved in many fragments to a height of 2m. Several large blocks of well-cut poros, discovered in the course of the excavation, suggest the presence of an earlier structure, which may go back to the eighth century. Pottery of the Geometric to Hellenistic periods was found, together with a fair quantity of terracotta and lead figurines, important bronzes and a few objects in other materials. The extant structure, it has been suggested, represents a rebuilding necessitated by the earthquake of c.465 B.C.<sup>389</sup>

Evidence for post-Mycenaean settlement is forthcoming from the region between the foot of the Menelaion hill and the hamlet of Aphissou. Excavation by Christou at Plesia yielded a tomb similar in its slab-construction to the "potter's burial" at Sparta (which was dated c. 600 B.C.), but it had been robbed of all its contents.<sup>390</sup> At Kteraki, c. 800m. W of Plesia, sherds of all periods, including Classical, led Christou to excavate a building whose construction, in the dry-stone technique, resembles that of the tomb of Leonidas and the semi-circular building on the Spartan Akropolis; the finds, however, were all from the Roman or Byzantine periods.<sup>391</sup>

## 6. MELATHRIA (SKOURA)

Reff: K. Demakopoulou, AD xxii.2 (1967) 197-9; ibid., AAA i (1968) 32ff.

Still on the east or left bank of the Eurotas, but 10 km.S of Sparta, a necropolis of chamber-tombs used in the LHIIIA and B periods has been excavated. The design of some of the chambers is interesting for their elliptical shape.<sup>392</sup> Finds included 20 vases, 3 phi-type figurines, 1 iron finger-ring, beads, buttons

of clay and steatite and a mass of sherds from many shapes of vase. The iron ring is the second to be found in Lakonia in a Mycenaean context, the other coming from the well-known Vaphio tholos just 4 km. west of Melathria on the right bank of the Eurotas.<sup>393</sup>

#### 7. PALAIOPYRGI and VAPHIO

Reff: BSA lv.76ff., fig.4, pl.16a-b; Gazetteer, no.98; Hope Simpson - Lazenby, CSHI 74.

Palaiopyrgi is the highest point in the chain of hills which runs NW-SE in the centre of the Spartan plain and lies just across the Eurotas from Melathria. It was the site of the largest LH III settlement so far discovered in Lakonia, measuring c. 200,000 sq. m. in area. Despite Hope Simpson's volte-face I am still inclined to identify Palaiopyrgi with Homeric Pharis (Il.ii.582)<sup>394</sup> and connect it with the LH II A tholos at Vaphio, which lies 270m. NW.<sup>395</sup> To judge from the irregularity with which the grain grows on the ridge connecting the tholos to the hill, excavation here might reveal further evidence of tombs or settlement. The latest pottery from Palaiopyrgi, which includes kylix-feet, is LH III B; the site was not apparently re-occupied, but excavation is urgently needed.

#### 8. AMYKLAI

Reff: Gazetteer, no.97; Chr.Tsountas, AE 1892, 1ff.; A. Furtwängler-E. Fiechter, Jdl xxxiii (1918) 107ff.; W. Klein, AA xxxvii (1922) 6ff.; E. Buschor-W. von Massow, AM lii (1927) 1ff.; BSA lv. 74ff., 82, no.3; lvi.164, 170, 173-4; V. Desborough, "Amyklai and Dark Age Lakonia" (unpublished paper).

The classical Amyklaion (temenos of Apollo) occupied the hill of Ayia Kyriaki, the northernmost of the chain mentioned above, about 5 km. S of Sparta. The Bronze Age settlement which preceded it continued (possibly with an interruption at the end of the MH period) into LH III C, but was small and confined to the south-east slopes of the hill. The establishment of a cult-place, probably in LH III, is strongly suggested by the find of 75 terracotta figurines of the psi-type and many handmade and wheelmade animal-statuettes; the cult was possibly a response to the uncertain conditions prevailing in the later stages of LH III B and C.<sup>396</sup> What happened at the end of III C (c. 1100 B.C.) is unclear, for, although there was a form of stratification and PG pottery was found in a distinct stratum above the Mycenaean, the PG layer contained intrusive Mycenaean material. It is not, therefore, possible to demonstrate continuity of occupation or cult, although it has been suggested that the decoration on a fragment from a wheelmade statuette is characteristically PG.<sup>397</sup> The Amyklaian PG style is distinguished by its fondness for cross-hatched decoration, applied characteristically in black, metallic paint, and for open shapes; it apparently owes little to either Attic or

Argive PG, its tenuous connections being rather with the "West Greek" area. The introduction of this style, which seems to have begun no earlier than c. 950 B.C.,<sup>398</sup> is a mystery on our present evidence.<sup>399</sup> The gap in the archaeological record between c. 1100 (or a little later) and 950 B.C. may perhaps be explained by the hypothesis that the inhabitants were too impoverished to make durable dedications and were reduced to pouring a simple libation to their god.

At some point in the Geometric period, a sanctuary of Apollo was laid out, and in c. 550-25 B.C. Bathykles of Magnesia was commissioned by the Spartans to design a "throne" for the deity. The happy fusion of the Doric and Ionic architectural orders, which the surviving fragments reveal, was perhaps related in some way to the architect's Asiatic background.<sup>400</sup> Like the Menelaion, the Amyklaion has yielded many important dedications in various materials from the Geometric period onwards.

The site of the Classical obe of Amyklai, with which the temenos was associated, is not absolutely certain.<sup>401</sup> There are several pieces of evidence, in particular an inscription of the second or first century B.C. (IG v.1.26 = SMC 441), which suggest it lay at Sklavochori (now renamed Amyklai),<sup>402</sup> but this location tallies neither with the distance of Amyklai from Sparta as given by Polybios (v.19.2)<sup>403</sup> nor with the historian's description of the temenos as lying on the seaward side of the settlement. One solution might be that Amyklai extended in an arc from the range of hills north and north-west of the Amyklaion to the site of modern Amyklai.

#### 9. AYIOS VASILIOS

Reff: AE 1936, Chron. 1-2; Gazetteer, no.99; BSA lv. 79ff., fig.5, pl.17a; lvi.164, 169ff.; Hope Simpson-Lazenby, CSHI 74,77.

From modern Amyklai the main road runs south to Gythion. SE of the junction between the main road and the road to Xirokabi, about 11 km. S of Sparta, lies the hill of Ayios Vasilios, another belonging to the central chain. The latest prehistoric pottery is LH III B, whereafter there is a gap until the Archaic period, which is represented by a marble Doric capital. The late fifth-century inscription built into the chapel wall must originally have been set up either in the temenos of Athena Chalkioikos or in the Amyklaion;<sup>404</sup> it records contributions to Sparta (probably for the conduct of the Peloponnesian War) from, amongst others, Melos.<sup>405</sup> Hope Simpson has abandoned his earlier suggestion that Ay. Vasilios should be identified with Bryseiai (below); there is no other obvious candidate.

#### 10. ARKHASADES and XIROKABI

Reff: BSA lv.81 and fig.1; 82, no.6.

The tiny "suburb" of Arkhasades is situated just before Xirokabi on the road

from Ayios Vasilios. Ancient sherds, including a few Classical, have been reported from the vicinity of the chapel c. 500m. N of the village. I failed to find either these or the Doric capital in hard grey limestone, which Hope Simpson describes as lying beside the chapel wall. Perhaps the capital has been removed to join the already rich collection of Archaic capitals in the Sparta Museum. The only ancient monuments at Xirokabi are a polygonal bridge and an aqueduct, both probably of Roman date.<sup>406</sup> It may still be Pausanias' (iii.20.7) Harpleia, however, if we assume that he was not describing a settlement, for the distance of 20 stades from Dereion accords well with the distance between Anoyia and Xirokabi.

#### 11. ANOYIA and the LAPITHAION

Reff: BSA xvi. 65-6, 70-1; BSA lv. 82, no.5.

We shall complete this survey of the Spartan plain by skirting the foot of Taygetos as far N as Mistra. Our confusing guide is Pausanias and the only fixed point is the Eleusinion at Kalyvia tis Sokhas. According to Pausanias (iii.20.7), the Lapithaion (shrine of the hero Lapithes) was 15 stades from the Eleusinion and not far from Dereion.<sup>407</sup> Stephanos (s.v. "Lapithē") describes it as a mountain in Lakonia. Collating this information we arrive at the peak of Sto Molyvi, which rises above Anoyia. Here, according to Ormerod, was where von Prott made some of his finds of coins, bronzes and terracottas of the Archaic and Classical periods: Ormerod<sup>408</sup> saw an Aeginetan stater, some half dozen lead figurines<sup>409</sup> and a chalcedony scaraboid seal.<sup>410</sup> He was informed that Sto Molyvi took its name from the lead clamps used to unite the squared blocks of an enclosure, which had since been dismantled; its date is unknown. Bölte, presumably on the evidence of the stater and the walls, suggests that there was a perioikic community here,<sup>411</sup> but this would be surprising in view of its proximity to Sparta and its situation in Spartiate land.

#### 12. THE ELEUSINION

Reff: BSA xvi.12ff.; BSA xlv.261ff.; BSA lv.82, no.4, fig.1.

Finds of inscriptions honouring Demeter and Kore in the decayed church of Ay. Sophia at Kalyvia tis Sokhas first prompted the identification of this village with the site of the Eleusinion mentioned by Pausanias (iii.20.5).<sup>412</sup> A British excavation conducted by J. M. Cook confirmed the identification. The village is about 6 km. S of Sparta, bounded by two rivers which flow down from Taygetos in deep clefts; the southern of these broke its banks and caused much destruction in 1947.<sup>413</sup> Directly above the village the mountain side rises sharply to a summit estimated to be not less than 1220m.<sup>414</sup> The pyrgo perched on this hill is a medieval installation, not a Hellenic settlement.

The excavation yielded vases (mainly miniatures), lead figurines, two fragmentary bronze vessels, ten fragmentary terracotta figurines and numerous

inscriptions.<sup>415</sup> With one doubtful exception,<sup>416</sup> nothing antedated the fifth century B.C.; most of the material belonged to the fourth century or later.

#### 12A.ANCIENT BRYSEIAI

Reff: Bölte, RE, s.v. "Sparta" 1330-1; Hope Simpson-Lazenby, CSHI 77.

Pausanias (iii.20.3ff.) tells us that from the ancient polis of Bryseiai only a temple and outdoor statue of Dionysos remained in his day; above the site rose a peak of Taygetos known as Taleton, said to be sacred to the sun-god; not far from Taleton was Euoras, the home of wild beasts, and between the two a region known as Therai. At this point there is a lacuna in the text.

Homer (Il.ii.583) was almost certainly the only evidence for the prior existence of a polis at Bryseiai; at least there cannot have been one here in our period. The correct identification of Taleton is clearly crucial for the location of Bryseiai and the answer depends on whether we identify it with one of the "Randhöhe" or with one of the peaks of Taygetos, possibly even the 2407m. summit Proph. Elias. Those who believe Taleton to be Proph. Elias cite the worship of the sun-god, which they say could only take place on the highest peak, and support their belief by reference to the cult of Zeus Taletitas (SMC 222) and a notice in Hesychios (s.v. "Talōs"); they further assert that a cult of the sun-god must have been considerably removed geographically from the Eleusinion.<sup>417</sup> However, it is not clear how Proph. Elias can be said to rise above any particular place in the plain nor is it easy to visualise the Spartans hunting at such great altitudes.<sup>418</sup> I find convincing Bölte's arguments for identifying Taleton with the lofty crag above the chapel of Ay. Ioannis Riganas, between Ay. Ioannis and Katsarou. The area is rich in springs, as the name Bryseiai suggests it ought to be, and extensive ancient remains, including blocks in the fields, have been found here.<sup>419</sup> If this identification is correct, then the crag above Kalyvia tis Sokhas will be Euoras. The distance between the Eleusinion and Taleton is compatible with the existence of the two diametrically opposed cults.

#### 13A.ANCIENT ALESIAI

Reff: Frazer iii.361ff.; RE, s.v. "Sparta" 1330; BSA lv.82,no.2.

After leaving Therapne (no.5, above) Pausanias gives most haphazard directions. Among a string of places on the other (right) bank of the Eurotas (a fact he omits to mention!) he cites Alesiai. The name means simply "mill-town" and it is possible that this was where the grain brought in from the Messenian, Spartan and Helos plains was prepared for consumption. Since rock suitable for mill-stones occurs only in the region of Mistra, where the French Expedition found many examples at the foot of the hill,<sup>420</sup> Alesiai should not be too far from here. Hope Simpson has found plentiful Classical black-

glazed sherds near the hamlet of Tseramio, slightly south-east of Ay. Ioannis, and this is a possible site. The naming of the modern village of Alesiai, a short distance east of Ay. Ioannis, was no more than a hopeful guess.

#### 14. KOUPHOVOUNO

Reff: BSA lv. 74 and fig.1; Gazetteer, no.96.

The site lies a short distance E of Ay. Ioannis. No trace of settlement later than III B (kylikes, deep bowls) has yet been found and it seems to have been at its most important in Neolithic times.

### 2. EAST VARDHOUNIA

#### 15. ANCIENT KROKEAI

Reff: BSA xvi.68-9; lv.103ff., fig.19; C. Le Roy, BCH lxxxv (1961) 206ff.; Gazetteer, no.121.

A plundered slab-covered shaft-grave of Mycenaean date has been excavated on a hill called Karneas about ten minutes S of modern Krokeai (formerly Levetsova); the pottery was LH II - III C. The associated settlement seems to have been a small one, centred on the hill. It probably had some connection with the antico verde quarries at Psephi some fifty minutes further SE, for this stone has been found in Bronze Age contexts both at Knossos and Mycenae.<sup>421</sup> The site of Classical Krokeai has for long been established at Alaï-Bey, a fertile and well-watered region about twenty minutes SE of Levetsova. South of Alaï-Bey, at Krikela, ancient blocks were re-used in a now ruined church.

#### 16. LAGIO

Reff: BSA lv. 105; Gazetteer, no.122; P. E. Giannokopoulos, To Gytheion (1966) 26.

Eleven LH III sherds have been found on a small, isolated hill about 1 km. ESE of Lagio, in the valley which leads down to the shore near Trinasa. The settlement, if so few sherds justify the title, lies E of a track from Krokeai to Trinasa.

#### 17. PAIZOULIA

Reff: BSA lv. 105; Gazetteer, no.123; Giannokopoulos, loc.cit.

This is the name given to a small hill in the district of Valtaki slightly north of the coast road from Gythion to Trinasa. Seven LH sherds were found here, including one from a Vaphio-type cup and some LH III B. The fields to S and E of this hill are reported to be full of Classical sherds.

#### 18. ANCIENT TRINASOS

Reff: Frazer iii.380; BSA xiii.230-1; N. C. Flemming et al., Colston Papers

xxiii (1973) 12-13, figs. 12-13.

The ruins of ancient Trinasos lie on the shore NE of Gythion near the village of Trinasa, which takes its name from three rocky offshore islets. The remains indicate a circuit of 400-500m., a size which agrees well with Pausanias' information (iii.22.3) that Trinasos was a fort and not a town. From its position on the western fringe of the Helos plain it seems likely that in our period it served as an arsenal or defensive garrison to control the Helots.

### 3. W. PARNON and the LOWER EUROTAS VALLEY

#### 19. CHRYSAPHA

Reff: BSA xvi.65; xxiv.145; lv.82ff; Gazetteer, no.102.

Chrysapha lies 20 km. E of Sparta on the road to Kynouria (ILL.I.2). 2.5 km. S of the village is the hill Palaiokastro or Ay. Nikolaos, which is probably to be identified with Pikromygdalia, the reported provenience of the fine sixth-century B.C. stone relief now in Berlin.<sup>422</sup> The hill is about 150m. wide and covered with some obsidian and a good deal of Classical pottery. Finds of scoriae (iron slag) may mean that Chrysapha was a subsidiary metal-working centre in our period; taken together the evidence seems sufficient to support the hypothesis that there was a perioikic centre here.

#### 20. LAINA (GORITSA)

Reff: BSA lv.83, fig.7a; Gazetteer, no.103.

A short way south of the main road from Sparta to Geraki, about 2 km. SE of Goritsa, a moderately large prehistoric settlement c. 200m. x 180 occupies a hillock. The latest pottery found here is LH III B.<sup>423</sup>

#### 21. ANCIENT GERONTHRAI

Reff: BSA xi.91ff.; xvi.72-5; lv.85-6, pl.17b; Gazetteer, no.105; RE, s.v. "Geronthrai".

Ancient Geronthrai has been positively identified with modern Geraki. Settlement at the site is attested possibly from the Neolithic period onwards. The akropolis, a low and bare limestone hill c. 240m. x 160, preserves the remains of a "Cyclopean" wall,<sup>424</sup> probably LH III, and excavations have yielded important MH, LH III (including perhaps III C) and later material.<sup>425</sup> Several of the well-known class of reliefs of the sixth and fifth centuries came from Geraki.<sup>426</sup> Two lists of names, dated c. 500 B.C. and thought to be victor-lists,<sup>427</sup> indicate a measure of individual prosperity in the late Archaic period, while two gravestones of the late fifth century B.C. bear eloquent witness to the increasing reliance which Sparta was forced to place on her perioikic allies

during the Peloponnesian War and after.<sup>428</sup>

## 22. ANCIENT SELINOUS(?)

Reff: BSA xv.164-5, fig.11; xxiv.145, fig.1.

At Nerotrivi, 4 km. NW of Geraki on the road to Kallithea, Wace and Hasluck found many Greek walls of large cut limestone blocks laid in rough courses, some of them still standing to a height of c. 2m. The ruins occupied a considerable area, over which black-glazed pottery was common. The site has been identified, probably correctly, with Selinous, which according to Pausanias (iii.22.8) was twenty stades from Geronthrai.

## 23. VRONDAMA

Reff: BSA lv.83, 85, fig.8; Gazetteer, no.104.

A small hill of soft, porous limestone rises c. 8m. above the plain less than 2 km. W of Vron dama. Abundant Classical sherds, scattered over the c. 120m. x 90 summit-area, are evidence of the occupation to be expected at a site which dominated the important route between Sparta and the Helos plain.<sup>429</sup> A few fragments of LH III kylikes and LH pithoi were also found.

## 24. GOUVES

Reff: BSA xv.163; xxiv.146; lv.87 n.101.

The small village of Gouves lies in the plain 1½ hours SW of Alepokhori. Midway between Gouves and Apidia, and south of the trackway between them is a small elevated plateau c. 300m. x 200. A fine spring rises to the E and flows into an artificial basin hewn out of the rock. The whole area is littered with dressed stones, Classical black-glazed sherds and purple tiles. A tomb near Gouves, which may be associated with the settlement,<sup>430</sup> produced single-handled plain aryballoi of a type described as "orientalising"; they may possibly be Archaic.<sup>431</sup> The site probably lay on the ancient road from Geraki to Apidia.<sup>432</sup>

## 25. APIDIA

Reff: BSA xv.162, fig.1; xxiv.146; lv.86-7, pl.22b.10; Gazetteer, no.106.

The fertile loam of the plain of Apidia is suitable for wheat and barley. The modern village lies on the southern slope of the mountain, 273m. above sea-level. To the W is a hill from which sherds ranging from the Neolithic to Classical periods have been recovered. Of the greatest importance for our purposes are a few LH III C sherds and a single fragment from the rim (D. 0.32m.) of a PG krater. (On the latter a zone of cross-hatching applied in micaceous paint falls directly below the lip<sup>433</sup> and is apparently supported by the

characteristic Lakonian groove).<sup>434</sup> Apidia has been generally identified with Palaia, the village mentioned by Pausanias (iii.22.6) en route between Akriai (modern Kokkinia)<sup>435</sup> and Geronthrai.

#### 26. AYIOS IOANNIS

Reff: BCH lxxxv (1961) 691.

The excavation of a small sanctuary here, a short distance SW of Apidia, has yielded a number of small fifth-century B.C. vases. The foundations were greatly ruined and the superstructure was almost certainly of sun-dried brick.

#### 26A. GRAMMOUSA

Reff: Leake, Morea i.194ff.; BSA xv.162; lv.85n.73, pl.18c.

Traces of an ancient carriage road, a section of the main Sparta-Helos route, have been found at intervals for almost the whole distance between Grammoussa and Tsasi, the latter probably being the point at which a road forked SW to Skala, Trinasos and Gythion.

### 4. THE HELOS PLAIN

#### 27. TSASI

Reff: BSA lv.92ff., fig.11a; Gazetteer, no.115.

A chamber-tomb, dug into the side of a hill half a kilometre E of Tsasi, proved on excavation to contain fine pottery of the LH III A-B periods. The associated settlement lay on the top of the hill overlooking the plain. A sprinkling of Classical pottery in this area is complemented by finds of Classical tiles and sherds on a hill named Romaïka, 200m. W of Tsasi.

#### 28. AYIOS NIKOLAOS (SKALA)

Reff: BSA lv.94-5, fig.19 (no.1); Gazetteer, no.116.

Among the low hills W of Skala rise the six springs of Vasilopotamos, which issue forth into canalised streams. Between two of these the ruined chapel of Ay. Nikolaos stands on a low hillock, where LH III B pottery has been found.

#### 29. AYIOS IOANNIS and 30. XERONISI (SKALA)

Reff: BSA lv.95, fig.19 (nos.2-3); Gazetteer, no.117.

Both lie close to the River Vasilopotamos on either side of the road from Skala to Krokeai. Ay. Ioannis is a small wayside shrine, to N of which a low terrace yielded a few LH III and Classical sherds. Xeronisi is a low mound S of the road, which produced LH III A-C1,<sup>436</sup> but nothing later.

## 31. PANAYIOTIS (LEKAS)

Reff: BSA lv.95ff., fig.13; Gazetteer, no.118.

Panayiotis is a ruined farmhouse which crowns an isolated hillock in the Lekas district, about 400m. S of the Skala-Krokeai road. The hillock stands some 15m. above the level of the surrounding fields, on the edge of a marsh. There was a considerable scatter of LH sherds, datable to III A-B, especially to N and NE, where there were also a few Classical sherds to be seen. About 200m. to the SW, Hope Simpson found three large pits lined with the remains of mud-brick and stone walling. Nearby was LH III and Classical pottery.

## 32. LEKAS (SOUTH)

Reff: BSA lv.97, fig.19 (no.4); Gazetteer, no.119.

The site is a low mound S of Panayiotis rising about 6m. above the marsh. The settlement area, measuring about 150m. x 120, produced LH III B sherds and some interesting stone fragments, including obsidian and eleven pieces of antico verde.<sup>437</sup>

## 33. AYIOS STEPHANOS

Reff: BSA lv.97ff., fig.14; AR 1959-60, 9-10, fig.10; 1960-61, 32ff.; 1963-4, 9ff., fig.10; Desborough, LMTS 88; Hope Simpson-Lazenby, CSHI 78; W. D. Taylour et al., BSA lxvii. 205ff.

The site is a conspicuous, rocky limestone hill between Souli and Trinasa, well supplied with water and excellently situated to control the western side of the Helos plain and the sea-approaches to the main route inland (via the Eurotas valley) to the Spartan plain. The presence of numerous Bronze Age surface sherds (including III C) and traces of ancient walling led to three seasons of excavations, whose results have recently been published. A further season of cleaning and checking was conducted in 1973. A group of whole Mycenaean vases from the crest of the hill may be from single burials; one vase (HS 56) was assigned tentatively to LH III C. Intensive settlement was attested for the LH III B period in various places, particularly in Area B on the southern edge of the hill-top. A trial trench (vi) on the E slope revealed what seems to be the foundation of a fortification wall; associated pottery fragments showed that the settlement was fortified in LH III B, though possibly not for the first time. This impressive array of evidence has led Hope Simpson and Lazenby to suggest that Ayios Stephanos may be Homeric Helos, which is described in the Catalogue (I.ii.584) as a "city on the sea".<sup>438</sup> If Ayios Stephanos is indeed Homeric Helos and was once on or close to the sea, then the shoreline has encroached on the sea to a distance of c. 5 km. over the last 3,000 years.

After LH III C there is a break until the Classical period, when some form of

human activity is attested by a few surface sherds of low quality black-glazed ware and a three-handled jar of orange fabric.<sup>439</sup> Just over 1 km. SW of Ayios Stephanos wheel-tracks have been found worn in the rocky slopes bordering the plain; their gauge is the same as those between Grammoussa and Tsasi. Classical tiles and sherds are scattered nearby.

34. KARAOSI (ASTERI)

Reff: BSA lv.89ff., fig.10; AR 1959-60, 9; Gazetteer, no.112; E. French ap. Taylour, BSA lxvii.262-3.

The hill Karaousi rises prominently on the edge of the plain 200m. from the outskirts of Asteri village, to right of the road from Asteri to Vlakhioti. Its top surface, which measures 160m. x 100, is much denuded and trial excavations proved disappointing. LH III B pottery (and possibly some early III C)<sup>440</sup> was recovered. Its location on the eastern side of the plain certainly suits the indications of Pausanias for the site of Helos better than Ayios Stephanos, but there is practically no archaeological support for its identification with either a Mycenaean or a Dark Age Homeric Helos. A short distance E of Karaousi Hope Simpson found bases of jugs and kraters, painted in a shiny metallic glaze suggestive of PG or G,<sup>441</sup> together with some Classical black-glazed ware.

35. DRAGATSOULA (ASTERI)

Reff: BSA lv.89; Gazetteer, no.111.

Dragatsoula is a flat-topped hillock, 0.5 km. ESE of Asteri and a short distance S of the road to Vezani. Two LH III kylix-fragments of unspecified phase, but nothing later, were found here.

36. SITE NORTH OF KARAOSI

Reff: BSA lv.92; Gazetteer, no.113.

On one of a group of hills 2 km. due N of Karaousi is a small Mycenaean site, which produced LH III B and Classical sherds. This site, together with Dragatsoula and Karaousi, present a picture of intensive Mycenaean settlement in the area.

37. VLAKHIOTI AREA

Reff: BSA xv.162; xxiv.150; lv.92; Gazetteer, no.114.

The low hill 100m. N of Vlakhioti is covered with Classical pottery. To SE of the village, on the left of the road to Asteri, LH III and Classical sherds have been found near a farmhouse. Early this century "architectural remains of a late period" were discovered somewhere in the general area.

Just over 1 km. NW of Vlaxhioti, 200m. beyond the red hill appropriately named Kokkinadha, Classical sherds have turned up on a hill.

38. ANCIENT HELOS (REGION of AY. IOANNIS, VEZANI and AY. STRATEGOS)

Reff: BSA xv.161-2; lv.87ff., fig.9; Gazetteer, nos.109-110; Hope Simpson-Lazenby, CSHI 78, n.22; Bölte, RE, s.v. "Sparta" 1335ff.

Pausanias (iii.22.3) described the then ruined Helos as a polis; Strabo (viii,p.363) had called it a kome. Bölte has discussed the ancient evidence fully and concluded that in the Classical period there was no village, let alone city, of Helos, in the sense of a group of contiguous dwellings united in a single settlement, but rather a loose centre for the purposes of cult.<sup>442</sup> For once, archaeology is able to confirm what we ought on other grounds to have suspected. There are widespread Classical remains between Vlaxhioti and Vezani, especially at Manolaki and Ay. Ioannis slightly north of Vezani, but nowhere in sufficient quantity to suggest the existence of a city or even a large town.

Hope Simpson appositely compares the ancient with the existing mode of production in the Helos plain, which is still generally based on the old types of farming. Bölte paints an imaginative, but almost wholly hypothetical, picture of life on a Helot farm; if the Lakonian Helots were apparently more docile than their Messenian confrères, despite the unpleasantness of the marshy conditions (especially in summer), we must not forget the presence of the fort at Trinasa (no.18) and the periodic expeditions of Spartiate youths undertaken with the express purpose of murdering them (Plut., Lyk.xxviii).

5. WEST VARDHOUNIA<sup>443</sup>

39. ANTHOCHORION

Reff: Christou, Praktika for 1962, 113ff.; Gazetteer, no.100; Hope Simpson-Lazenby, CSHI 77.

Anthochorion (formerly Katsouleika) lies about 2 km. from Xirokabi on the road to Goranoi (below), just south of the river Rasina, which is the southern boundary of the Spartan plain. Soundings round the small church of the Analipsis produced a reasonable stratification: at a depth of 0.80 - 1.20m. was a layer of Hellenistic and Classical material; from 2.00 - 2.40m. a disturbed Geometric layer, permeated by Mycenaean material; finally, from 2.40 - 3.50m. a LH layer including LH III high-footed kylix-stems. The explanation for the confusion in the strata is probably to be found in the traces of subsequent building activity, which made any extension of the excavation unprofitable. The site has not apparently yielded the much-sought evidence for continuity of occupation or cult from the Mycenaean

period to the Dark Age. LH I, II and III (possibly one or two III C sherds) are represented, but there is no sub-Mycenaean; sherds which look PG but differ from the paradigmatic Amyklaian PG appear to be far from contemporary with the earliest PG in Attika or the Argolid.<sup>444</sup> In addition to the Archaic lead figurines,<sup>445</sup> iron sword-handles and bronze rings in a poor state of preservation were found.<sup>446</sup> In suggesting that Anthochorion may be Homeric Bryseiai, Hope Simpson and Lazenby have still failed to "take account of all the clues".<sup>447</sup> All we have from Anthochorion so far is an isolated votive deposit.

#### 40. GORANOI and ARKINES

Reff: AE 1889, 132-6; BSA xvi.67; Philippson, GL 434; BSA lvi.128ff.; Gazetteer, no.101.

Goranoi lies at 626m., on the N slope of a deep transverse valley through which flows a powerful stream; the surrounding vegetation is unusually luxuriant. An ancient marble quarry lies half an hour to the W,<sup>448</sup> but there are no ancient remains from the village itself. From the source region of the powerful stream comes evidence of Mycenaean penetration into this high country. At Arkines Tsountas and Sotiriades discovered two poorly-constructed tholos tombs, which can be dated by their contents no more closely than LH III. The associated settlement lay E of Tsountas' tholos (A); judging by the sherd-scatter it covered an area c. 200m. NW-SE x 80 NE-SW on the middle terraces of a hill called Paizoulia. Tsountas reported "post-Mycenaean" sherds at Spartias W of Arkines, where Hope Simpson found pyramidal loom-weights which may be of Classical date. From the same area come fragments of a poor quality Classical relief. Arkines lies on a route across Taygetos which is much used by the inhabitants of south-central Lakonia;<sup>449</sup> Tsountas thought that this might have been the home of the Minyans in Taygetos described by Herodotus (iv.145ff.).

#### 40A.ARNA

Reff: AE 1889, 132-3; BSA xvi. 67.

"Hellenic" graves (date unknown) and coins are reported from Arna (name ancient?). In a nearby ravine rises the River Vardhounia, which may be the ancient Smenos mentioned by Pausanias (iii.24.9); it flows by way of Ay. Nikolaos, Archontiko and Liberdon to the sea south of Gythion.

#### 41. STRO TSA

Reff: BSA xiii.226-7; xvi.67-8.

Strotsa lies on one of the upper tributaries of the Vardhounia, SE of Arna. Ormerod saw here the head, bust and right thigh of what seems from

the description to have been a late Archaic Kouros. Just below Strotsa there begins what has been interpreted as an aqueduct designed to serve Gythion; although the remains of a reservoir are of Roman date, it is thought that the aqueduct itself must go back to Greek times.

#### 41A. LIBERDON

Reff: BSA xiii.231; BSA xvi.63, fig.1.

Two fine Ionic columns have been incorporated into the Byzantine church of Ay. Demetrios at Liberdon; they are both unfluted, highly polished and 1.95m. H. It is possible that they were originally fashioned for the Temple of Poseidon mentioned by Pausanias (iii.21.5).<sup>450</sup>

#### 42. ANCIENT AIGIAI

Reff: BSA xiii.231-2; lvi.114, 173ff., fig.27; Hope Simpson-Lazenby, CSHI 77-8.

The Aigiai of Pausanias' day (iii.21.5) was thirty stades from Gythion, to right of the ancient Sparta-Gythion road; Strabo had earlier thought that Aigiai (presumably the one Pausanias refers to) was the same as the Augeiai of the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (I.ii.583). For lack of evidence, we cannot confirm or disprove the identification, but the possibility of the Lakonian Augeiai being merely a doublet of the Lokrian cannot be ruled out. Classical Aigiai was important from the Archaic period onwards if, as seems probable, the identification of Aigiai with the region of Palaiochora is correct. Local farmers have found two Archaic terracottas and several bronzes, including a bowl, dated by its inscription c. 550-475, and a figurine possibly of Zeus of c. 500 B.C.<sup>451</sup> About eleven Classical sherds were picked up here at the beginning of the century.

Pausanias describes Aigiai as a polisma and Bölte presumes it was a perioikic community in our period.<sup>452</sup> If Bölte is right, then the inscription on a bronze lebes at Delphi<sup>453</sup> is an instance of the rare practice whereby a perioikos gave his home town as his ethnic.<sup>454</sup>

#### 43. ANCIENT GYTHION

Reff: RE, s.v.; BSA xiii.220-9; Giannokopoulos, To Gytheion (1966); N.C. Flemming et al., Colston Papers xxiii (1973) 14, fig.14.

Ancient Gythion lay in the plain of Palaiopolis N of the prominent hill known as Kumaro (ancient Larysion); it is still possible today to identify many of the places and buildings mentioned by Pausanias (iii.21.4ff.). Gythion owed its prominence in antiquity to its situation towards the head of the Lakonian gulf, in easy communication with Sparta, and to its possession of a good harbour.<sup>455</sup> Very few prehistoric remains have so far been discovered

(these include LH III B and possibly III C sherds: see no. 44) and this accords well with our evidence, already discussed, that Helos was the chief Lakonian port in the earliest times. As the harbour of Helos silted up and the town became separated from the coast, so Gythion grew in importance, for both strategic and commercial reasons. On our present evidence the date at which Gythion fell into Dorian hands cannot be precisely established, but it must have been after the conquest of the Helos plain, at the latest by c. 750 B.C. Several objects found in Gythion can be attributed to the sixth century,<sup>456</sup> but the fifth century appears to have been the floruit of the town. About 450 B.C.<sup>457</sup> an inner harbour was artificially formed by the construction of a breakwater and fortified,<sup>458</sup> but the remains are now submerged.<sup>459</sup> A team of archaeologically-minded divers has recently re-examined the vestiges of a rubble mole, which stretched out into the bay to a distance of about 300m., and discovered additionally a considerable construction extending along the present shoreline and beach for about 500m.<sup>460</sup> It is thought that the sea-level has risen here by 2 - 3m.<sup>461</sup> The most interesting recent discovery in a limited excavation is that of a considerable quantity of Attic amphora-fragments of the fifth century B.C.<sup>462</sup> Since it was through Gythion that the Spartans maintained trading contacts with the outside world, it was perhaps to be expected that the dominant fabric in the Greek world at this time should find its way here. The purple-dye industry was probably located at Gythion in our period; the Spartans were said to have banned its production from Sparta and used stain from the bark of the Kermes-oak for their own clothes.<sup>463</sup> The perioikoi, however, were not subject to the ban and they must have found a ready domestic and external market for their product.

#### 44. ANCIENT KRANAË

Reff: BSA xiii.223; lvi.114; Gazetteer, no.124; Giannokopoulos, op.cit. 25, 185, fig.2.

This tiny islet (c. 300m. E-W x 100 N-S) is joined to the mainland by a mole. In the right light it has a sufficiently fairy-like aspect to justify the tale that Paris slept here with Helen immediately after he had abducted her from Sparta.<sup>464</sup> Ancient remains, however, are few and there does not appear to be anything later than LH III, when occupation is attested by kylix-stems and obsidian. The modern chapel, however, may stand on the foundations of an ancient temple.

#### 45. MAVROVOUNI

Reff: BSA lvi.114ff.; Gazetteer, no.125.

5 km. from Gythion, N of the road to Areopolis and about 1 km. E of the

Vardhounia river, seven chamber-tombs have been discovered carved out of the upper terraces of a prominent sandy hill; the pottery found on the hill was LH III B-C1.<sup>465</sup> The associated Mycenaean settlement probably lay on a lower hill c. 300m. NE, quite close to Stena (below). South of the 5 km. marker on the Gythion-Areopolis road stands an isolated house belonging to Nikolopoulos, which is thought to rest on a tholos tomb. In digging a well c. 30m. E of the house, EH and LH III sherds were found at a depth of 2-3m. in association with walls of small stones.

Stena is a narrow defile between two hills about 3 km. SW of Gythion. Quite recently boys found two PG vases here, together with a very fragmentary iron weapon (L.O.32m.). The state of preservation of the vases and their association with a weapon suggest they come from a tomb-group.

#### 46. ANCIENT LAS

Reff: BSA xii. 274-5; xiii.232ff.; lvi.118, 165, 173-4, pl.19a; Gazetteer, no.127.

Pausanias (iii.24.6ff.) speaks of both an "ancient" Las and the Las of his day. By the former he clearly means the Laas of the Homeric Catalogue (I1.ii.585). The directions from Gythion to Las given by Pausanias lead one to the prominent hill of Passava (from "Passez. ~~ant~~"), which is situated near the sea, possesses a good water-supply and dominates a fertile plain. Passava used to be identified automatically with Homeric Laas, but, despite its obvious suitability for a Mycenaean citadel, there is no firm evidence that it was occupied in the Mycenaean period. However, abundant Classical sherds on the hill and Archaic and Classical remains from the plain below (the site of modern Chosiario) make it certain that this was Classical Las. Particularly deserving of mention are an Archaic pyramidal "herm" of a ram-headed deity (probably Apollo Karneios)<sup>466</sup> and a fragment of a seated draped statue, possibly also Archaic.<sup>467</sup> The harbour near Las could still serve as a muster-station for a fleet in 411 B.C. (Thuc. viii.91.2; 92.3).<sup>468</sup>

#### 47. DIKHOVA

Reff: BSA xiii.233-4; AD xxiii.2 (1968) 153, pl.106a.

Between the headland of Ageranos (probably ancient Arainos: Paus. iii.24.10) and Skoutari (ancient Asine, below) lies the bay of Giorganos, into which flows the River Dikhova (ancient Skyrras). At a place known as Kamares remains of Roman houses are still to be seen, and until recently it was thought that there was nothing here of an earlier date. But in 1967 the then Ephor A. Delivvorias discovered a late Archaic marble capital of excellent quality in what Forster had taken to be "the villa of a wealthy Roman". Similar capitals were reported by the locals to have been removed

or destroyed; in other words, there had been a late Archaic Greek temple at Kamares or nearby. To this temple belongs a stone slab from Kamares bearing the remains of a metrical inscription (sixth-century lettering), which was probably a dedication to the goddess (Aphrodite).

## 6. SOUTH MANI<sup>469</sup>

### 47A. ANCIENT ASINE

Reff: BSA xiii.235; E. S. Forster, CR xxiii (1909) 221-2.

Forster has argued convincingly<sup>470</sup> that there was an Asine in Lakonia and that it should be placed at or near Skoutari, whose bay is reputedly the best harbour in the entire Lakonian gulf. The date of its foundation should be the last quarter of the eighth century B.C.,<sup>471</sup> but almost all traces of Greek settlement have been obliterated by the Roman occupation.<sup>472</sup> Forster could only find a number of ancient blocks and columns built into the modern village.

### 47B. ANCIENT PYRRHIKHOS

Reff: BSA x.160; C. Le Roy, BCH lxxxix (1965) 378ff., fig.21.

Modern Pyrrhikhos has long been identified with its ancient namesake. It lies in a transverse valley about 5 km. W of Skoutari, roughly equidistant from the Lakonian and Messenian gulfs, and commands the passage from Kotronas to Areopolis. Le Roy was able to find many traces of ancient occupation, but he says that much of the evidence has disappeared since the last century. The ancient settlement or cemetery lay at a place in the modern village known as Philiatros. We do not know how long Pyrrhikhos had been in existence before Pausanias (iii.25.2) visited it, but it purportedly took its name from the son of Achilles, following a local legend concerning his marriage to Hermione.

### 48. ANCIENT TEUTHRONE

Reff: BSA xiii.256-7; lvi.119; Le Roy, BCH lxxxv (1961) 215ff., fig.4; *ibid.*, BCH lxxxix (1965) 358ff.; Gazetteer, no.128; N. C. Flemming *et al.*, Colston Papers xxiii (1973)16, fig.15.

As the crow flies, Kotronas is 17km. S of Gythion; but the distance by road is 43-5km., for there is no direct coastal route and one has to make a détour via Areopolis. Kotronas lies in the north-east corner of the gulf of Kolokythia, protected on the W by Skopa, a promontory connected to the mainland by a 20m. long sandbar; the prehistoric and later settlement occupied Skopa. There are no certainly Mycenaean remains,<sup>473</sup> but EH and MH sherds have been found. Hope Simpson discovered many fragments of "late Classical" (?) black-glazed ware. The position of the site agrees well with the directions given by Pausanias (iii.25.4) to Teuthrone, which does not seem ever to have been important.<sup>474</sup>

## 48A. PHLOMOKHORI

Ref: Le Roy, BCH lxxxix (1965) 366, 371ff., figs.10, 13-14.

The village of Phlomokhori lies 2km. E of Kotronas at the top of a steep slope. Le Roy found an Archaic ram-headed pyramid, remarkably like the one from Chosiario,<sup>475</sup> on the roof of a chapel. As there are no traces of ancient habitation, the pyramid, like the Artemis relief built into a house,<sup>476</sup> may have been transferred from elsewhere.

## 48B. KOURNO

Reff: JOAI (1899) 11ff., nos. 6-7, figs. 11-14; BSA xiii.253ff.

A powerful stream gushes forth immediately below the ruined monastery of Kourno. Nearby are the remains of two small Doric temples, which may have owed their existence to the presence of the water.<sup>477</sup> There can never have been a large settlement in so inaccessible a location, but Kourno might just be the site of the Aigila mentioned by Pausanias (iv.17.1).<sup>478</sup>

## 49. KYPRIANON

Reff: C. Bursian, Abhandl. der kön. bayr. Akademie vii (1855) 789ff.; BSA lvi.119ff., fig.5; Gazetteer, no.129; BSA lxiii (1968) 333-5, fig.2.

From the small harbour of Kyprianon a road winds up to the antico rosso (red marble) quarries on the hill of Proph. Elias.<sup>479</sup> Stone won from here was used at Mycenae for the facing of the (probably LH III B) Treasury of Atreus and in Bronze Age Crete.<sup>480</sup> There was Bronze Age (possibly Mycenaean) habitation at Spira slightly N of Kyprianon, but it cannot have been extensive. It is not clear when the quarries were first re-worked after the prehistoric period. Two sherds from Classical black-glazed kylikes have been found on a hillock 400m. E of Proph. Elias; Bursian saw clear traces of a rock-cut road high up on the hill near the quarries. Hope Simpson believes that the lowest of the five quarries was probably the one that was worked in antiquity.

## 50. ANCIENT TAINARON

Reff: Bursian, op.cit. 791ff.; P. Wolters, AM xl(1915) 100ff.; BSA xiii.249ff.; Bölte, RE, s.v. "Tainaron"; BSA lvi.123-4.

Pausanias (iii.25.9) makes absolutely clear the relationship between Kainēpolis ("New City") and Tainaron: the latter was the ancient name of the former. Kainēpolis, founded by 100 B.C., has been certainly identified with Kyparissi, which lies about 5km. N of Marīnari Bay NW of Cape Matapan;<sup>481</sup> Classical Tainaron, however, lay at Porto tōn Asōmatōn, 1.5km. N of Matapan on the Lakonian gulf.<sup>482</sup> Along the sides of Asōmatōn bay, and extending as much as 300m. to the SW, are traces of the ancient settlement. The houses were hewn

out of rock, but, as no stone masonry has been preserved, they may have been constructed of mud brick - unless, of course, the original stonework was dismantled and re-used to build Kainēpolis.

The raison d'être of the settlement was to service the important temple of Poseidon, whose foundations have been plausibly identified in a rock-cutting (19m. x 16) discovered by Bursian. The date of original construction is unknown and the small bronze figurine reportedly dedicated by Arion (c. 600: Hdt. i.23; 24.6,8) has unfortunately not been found. However, the belief that the large cave NW of the rock-cutting was an entrance to Hades may have been current in the sixth century,<sup>483</sup> and by the early fifth the temple was a recognised place of refuge for Helots (Thuc.i.128). Particularly interesting in the light of Thucydides' information are three manumission-stelai (of the third quarter of the fifth and first quarter of the fourth centuries) recording the dedication of the manumittedes to Poseidon, here spelt Pohoidan.<sup>484</sup> It would be satisfying to know whether the manumittedes were Helots or other slaves, and whether the manumitters were Spartiates or perioikoi. A case could be made, at any rate, for a connection between the establishment of the sanctuary and the Spartan conquest of the Helos plain.

In the reign of Alexander Tainaron rather surprisingly served as a muster-station and, after the death of Agis III, mercenary-mart.<sup>485</sup>

#### 50A. PORTO KAYIO and MARMARI BAY

Reff: Frazer iii.396-7; Bölte, RE ivA.2034ff.; BSA xiii.247ff.

Skylax (Periplus xlvi) makes it certain that Porto Kayio should be identified with ancient Psamathous and Marmari Bay with Achilleion. Porto Kayio derives its name and livelihood from the happy chance that it is the last halt in mainland Greece for quails migrating to Crete and Africa.<sup>486</sup> Stephanos, quoting Artemidoros, says there was a polis at Psamathous, which should have been in existence by 100 B.C.<sup>487</sup> Broken columns and other ancient remains have been found on the south side of the bay, and there is an ancient marble slab at a spring near the solitary monastery, which stands on a rocky height on the north side. The use of polis by Artemidoros, though inexact, suggests the existence of a (perioikic?) settlement here in our period.

According to Stephanos (s.v. "Achilleios Dromos"), there was a village and harbour at Achilleion. The village must have lain at modern Charakes, but no ancient remains have so far come to light there.

#### 51. ANCIENT HIPPOLA

Reff: BSA xiii.244-5; IG v.1, p.237; BSA lvi.123, fig.7, pl.20d; Gazetteer, no.130.

Pausanias (iii.25.9) saw the ruins of Hippōla thirty stades from Kainēpolis.

Hippola has been securely located almost due W of Kipoula on the narrow rocky ridge above the cliffs (known to antiquity as Thyrides) which terminate to the south in Cape Grosso. Woodward found a large number of crude walls of local stone, containing many roughly squared blocks. These could be ancient, although no trace of ancient foundations was discovered. More important were the finds of "orientalising" and b.f. Lakonian sherds, which the locals claimed to turn up in large numbers when they dug on the spot. More Classical pottery was found here in 1956.<sup>488</sup> As Hippola was a member of the Eleutherolakonian league, it was almost certainly a perioikic town in our period.

## 52. ANCIENT MESSE/MESSA

Reff: BSA xiii.243-4; lvi.122-3, fig.6, pl.20 a-c; Gazetteer, no.131; Hope Simpson-Lazenby, CSHI 76-7, pl.6b; Praktika for 1964, pls. 119-127; N. C. Flemming et al., Colston Papers xxiii (1973)16.

It seems reasonable to identify Homeric Messe (Il.ii.582) with Pausanias' Messa (iii.25.9-10), which the latter describes as a city and harbour slightly north of Hippola. If Hippola has been correctly identified, then Messe/Messa should lie on the bay south of Mezapos, which is protected on the west by the Tigani ("frying-pan") promontory. It is thought that some of the walling still to be seen in the ruins of the recently excavated medieval castle at the end of the promontory may be Mycenaean, but intense weathering has prevented the discovery of unquestionably ancient sherds. The Classical (?) town presumably lay on the shore E of the promontory; the excellence of the harbour must have been the main attraction of this otherwise bleak and unfriendly site.<sup>489</sup>

## 52A.CHAROUDA

Reff: AM i (1876) 162-3; xxix (1904)44-6; Fermor, Mani 71ff.; Giannokopoulos, op.cit. 45-6, fig.5.

The small village of Charouda lies 2km. SW of Pyrgos, roughly equidistant from Mezapos and Oitylon (below). A fine marble relief 0.49m. H. was found above the north doors of the church of Ay. Taxiarches;<sup>490</sup> it depicts a standing nude male figure with shield, sword and helmet (on the ground in front of him) facing an erect snake.<sup>491</sup> As water is extremely scarce in Charouda and only the prickly pear grows abundantly, it seems probable that the relief has been removed from elsewhere.<sup>492</sup> Pausanias is of no help to us here, as he seems to have travelled by sea from Messa to Oitylos.<sup>493</sup>

## 53. ANCIENT OITYLOS

Reff: BSA x.160-1; lvi.121, pl.19d; Gazetteer, no.132; Hope Simpson-Lazenby, CSHI 79.

Limni bay is c. 800m. wide at the entrance, penetrates 2km. inland and offers anchorage in 18 - 7m. inshore; it has been described as the best natural harbour in the Messenian gulf. Oitylon enjoys another geographical asset: it lies at the western end of the low pass from Gythion to Areopolis, the chief route connecting the Lakonian to the Messenian gulf. It would not, therefore, be surprising if, as the continuity of name may suggest, the site had been occupied continuously from Homeric (Il.ii.585) times onwards.<sup>494</sup> As yet, however, there is no evidence for Mycenaean or early Iron Age occupation. Classical and later Oitylos lay on the seaward slopes of the hill at the NE end of the bay, with its akropolis on the summit.<sup>495</sup> Christou has noted in the north wall of the church of Ay. Marina four courses of carefully squared blocks, laid without mortar, which must have belonged either to a temple or to the defence wall of the ancient city.<sup>496</sup> Hellenic masonry, ten courses high, of blocks measuring about 1 x 1.50m. had previously been noticed in the ruined church of Ay. Demetrios halfway up the hill. There are other traces of ancient workmanship in the churches of the Falling Asleep of the Virgin, Ay. Taxiarches, Ay. Soter and Niarmitsa.

#### 7. NORTH-WEST MANI

##### 54. ANCIENT THALAMAI

Reff: BSA x.161-2; xi.124ff.; lii.232-3, fig.1; AJA lxxv.251, no.84; Gazetteer, no.173; McDonald-Rapp, MME, no.150.

According to Pausanias (iii.26.1-2), Thalamai was eighty stades from Oitylos. This agrees well with the distance from Oitylon to Svina, where excavations undertaken early this century confirmed the identification with Thalamai. The attraction of the site was the presence of two natural springs, which no doubt contributed in antiquity, as they do today, to the fertile appearance of the area. The ancient settlement probably began on the higher ground above Svina and later spread down to the sea. A few rather worn Mycenaean sherds from the higher terraces appear to be LH III (possibly including III C) and a terracotta head from Koutiphari (now re-named Thalamai), west of Svina, falls somewhere towards the seventh century.<sup>497</sup> A fine sixth-century B.C. Doric capital was found on the hillside, while another of similar appearance but smaller dimensions is built into the church of Ay. Athanasios between Svina and Koutiphari. Systematic excavations a little N of a disused well-house revealed a poros wall, built of blocks on average 1.20 x 0.50 x 0.40m.; between this wall and the well-house were remains of other walls, amongst which at a depth of 3m. was an elliptical kiln or oven, probably for pottery-making.<sup>498</sup> In a field further to the north of the well-house, a little black-glazed ware was found. Hope Simpson found traces of ancient

wheel-ruts worn into the hard limestone about 2km. N of Svina; they are probably to be associated with the remains of extensive ancient quarries close beside them to the east. More recent finds include an Archaic male head in marble (H. 0.10m.) and the handle of a bronze hydria, composed of the intertwined bodies of two snakes which terminate in spirals around a floral device.

There was certainly a perioikic community at Thalamai, which perhaps derived some of its importance<sup>499</sup> from the cult of Ino-Pasiphaë.<sup>500</sup> In 338/7 B.C. Philip of Macedon drew the southern boundary of Messenia at the Little Pamisos river (modern Milia), thereby leaving Thalamai in Spartan territory.

#### 55. ANCIENT PEPHNOS

Reff: BSA x.162; Bölte, RE, s.v.; AJA lxv.255(o); lxviii.237, no.83A; Gazetteer, no.172; BSA lxi.113; McDonald-Rapp, MME no.149; N. C. Flemming et al., Colston Papers xxiii (1973)16.

The rocky islet of Pephnos lay at the mouth of the ancient Pamisos. Pausanias (iii.26.2) tells us that there was a town of the same name on the mainland, which served as the harbour of Thalamai. Rival claims were put forward by Pephnos and Pellana (no.69) to be the true birthplace of the Dioskouroi; a poem of Alkman's cited by Pausanias (iii.26.2 = fr. 23 Page) represents an obvious attempt at compromise. No ancient remains have been found on Pephnos itself, but there was a prehistoric settlement c. 200m. N-S x 100 E-W at Vigla, a small hill overlooking the fishing village of Ay. Demetrios, which lies a short distance S of Selinitza. There was habitation in LH III, but apparently not later. The site of Strabo's (viii, p.360) Charadra, said to have been founded by Pelops, must lie in the general area between Thalamai and Leftro, but it remains undiscovered.

#### 56. ANCIENT LEUKTRA

Reff: BSA x.162; l.iii.233-4, fig.2, pl.47a; lvi.118n.16; AJA lxv. 251, no.83; Gazetteer, no. 171; McDonald-Rapp, MME no.148; Flemming et al., Colston Papers xxiii.17.

The ancient akropolis hill of Leuktra, 250m. x 200 in area, rises out of the plain at Leftro 4km. N of the mouth of the River Milia and 1km. inland. It is surmounted by a ruined Venetian castle, which occupies the former site of a Temple of Athena (Paus. iii.26.5). The hill makes a fine natural fortress site, since it rises 25-30m. above the surrounding land and commands all of it as far S as Selinitza. The soil in this area, however, is barren, owing to the extremely limited water-supply.<sup>501</sup> Most of the surface pottery dates from the Classical to Roman periods, but some LH III was found; the remains of a

Mycenaean chamber-tomb lie at the northern foot of the hill. There are large cuttings for ancient quarries on the SW side of the hill and to S of it some remains of ancient masonry. An unusual feature of Leftro is a freshwater spring, which bubbles up in the sea close to the shore.<sup>502</sup> As Leuktra was a member of the Eleutherolakonian league, it was doubtless a perioikic community in our period.

#### 57. ANCIENT KARDAMYLE

Reff: BSA x.163; lii.234-6, fig.3, pl.47b; AJA lxxv. 251, no.82; Gazetteer, no.170; AD xx.2 (1965) 208, pl.222β; BSA lxi. 114, fig.1; AJA lxxiii.161, no.82; McDonald-Rapp, MME, no.147; Flemming et al., Colston Papers xxiii. 18-19.

7km. N of Leftro is the modern harbour-village of Kardamyle. The ancient akropolis is about 1km. N of the village and 1.5km. inland. The continuity of name from Homeric (Il. ix.150 = 292) to modern times bears witness, as it did in the case of Oitylon, to the perennial attractions of a site with a good harbour lying at the end of a much-frequented route across Taygetos from the Spartan plain.<sup>503</sup> Another natural advantage was the presence of lead in sufficient quantity and of sufficient quality for it to be mined.<sup>504</sup> Ancient walling is visible on the E and SE slopes of the akropolis; the limestone blocks (presumably from the convenient quarry near Ay. Sophia) are well-sawn and fitted, and, to judge from the good black-glazed pottery in the vicinity, are work of the fifth or fourth centuries B.C. Other important surface-finds include LH III B pottery, sub-Mycenaean (?) sherds (from which two skyphoi have been restored) and an Archaic bronze statuette of a bull. Kardamyle was important enough at the close of our period to receive a mention in Herodotus (viii.73); the existence of a perioikic community here is a safe inference.

#### 58. ZARNATA (KAMBOS)

Reff: AE 1891, 189-91; BSA x.163-4; lii.236ff., fig.4, pl.48d; AJA lxxv.251, no.81; Gazetteer, no.169; BSA lxi.114, pl.23; McDonald-Rapp, MME, no.146.

About 1km. W of Kambos village and 100m. to the left of the road from Kardamyle is a LH II-III tholos built into the side of a low hill, below a small medieval tower known as Garbelea. The latest diagnostic sherd, from the dump outside the dromos, may be LH III B. The associated settlement probably lay 250m. to the SW on the imposing hill of Zarnata, which commands an overall view of the Kambos plateau. No certainly Mycenaean sherds have yet been found here, but the ruined Venetian castle overlies foundations of earlier periods, including the Classical. Classical pottery and other ancient remains (columns, blocks and inscriptions) from this same area prove

the existence of a settlement from at least the Classical period onwards.

It is far less clear how the archaeologically attested settlement is to be identified from our literary sources. Pausanias (iii.26.11) merely tells us that Alagonia was 30 stades further into the interior (ano) from Gerenia. A good case has been made for identifying Gerenia with Kitries, a small coastal settlement on the headland of Cape Kephali. If this is correct, then a distance of thirty stades brings us conveniently to Zarnata, which may then be identified with Alagonia. But this identification has been disputed, for example by Valmin, who is unwilling to identify Kitries with Gerenia, on the grounds that there is no evidence of ancient settlement there. He prefers to identify Zarnata with Gerenia and look for Alagonia in the region of Brinda Gaïtson.<sup>505</sup> Valmin's view derives some support from the fact that in the time of Pausanias (iii.26.8) Gerenia was identified with Homeric Enope (Il.ix.150 = 292), which may be linked with the tholos at Kambos; but other "savants" had identified Enope with Pellana (Strabo viii. 4.4., p.360)!<sup>506</sup>

#### 59. SOTIRIANIKA and PEGADHIA

Reff: BSA lii.239-40, fig.4; AJA lxxv. 251, no.80; Gazetteer, nos. 167-8; McDonald-Rapp, MME, no.145.

The road to Kalamata crosses the Sandava gorge (ancient Choireios Nape)<sup>507</sup> about 3km. N of Kambos. 2.5km. further on, just to right of the road, is the findspot of 3 LH I gold cups, 3 gold ingots and (it is reported)<sup>508</sup> other gold objects, which appear to have been removed from their original resting-place (Kambos?). About 1km. S of their findspot there is a side-turning to the village of Sotirianika; about 2 hours W of Sotirianika is the upland village of Pegadhia (885m.), formerly the home of brigands but now inhabited by a few shepherd families. At Kokkinochomata half an hour further W, Mycenaean and possibly later pottery has been found in a cave; fragments in monochrome red on buff fabric may be LH III B-C, a kylix-stem may be sub-Mycenaean and a two-handled vessel reportedly has PG parallels.

#### 60. ANCIENT ABIA

Reff: BSA x.164-5; lii.240; AJA lxxv.255, no.(n); lxxiii.160-1, no.80A, Ill.2; McDonald-Rapp, MME, no.144.

The Abia of Pausanias (iv.30.1) has been identified with the site at Palaiochora (now called Abia) on the coast about 11km. S of Kalamata. Classical sherds have been found in the vicinity of the small Byzantine kastro and slightly further N. Further up the coast, about 500m. NW of the ruined village of Mikra Mandinia and 1km. WSW of the findspot of the Sotirianika gold cups, is a fairly isolated hill crowned by the chapel of Ay. Georgios. An area of

c. 120m. E-W x 60 N-S is scattered with sherds and tiles, including unquestionably Classical black-glazed ware on the main hill. Since there is a spring 500m. to the SE, just below Mikra Mandinia, this hill is thought to be the most likely site for a LH settlement. Huxley, interpreting Pausanias too literally, wonders whether there was an early Heraklid (Dorian) settlement at Abia before the sacking of the Mycenaean palace at Ano Englianos;<sup>509</sup> he does not, however, suggest how we might set about distinguishing a pre-LH III C "Dorian" settlement from a Mycenaean one nor is there yet, in any case, any certain evidence for prehistoric settlement of any kind at Abia.

#### 61. KASTRAKI (VERGA)

Reff: BSA lxi.116, fig.1; AJA lxxiii.160, no.79D; McDonald-Rapp, MME, no.143.

At Almyro, 4km. N of Palaiochora, are the salt-springs mentioned by Pausanias (iv.30.2). NE of Almyro the village of Verga (formerly Selitsa) perches about 250m. up the steep west slope of Mt. Kalathion, which overhangs the main road to Kalamata. Probably LH sherds have been found here which seem to attest not a settlement but a fort, useful as a look-out and base for a flanking attack against an enemy approaching Kalamata by the coastal road.<sup>510</sup>

#### 62. ANCIENT PHERAI

Reff: BSA lii.242-3, fig.5; BCH lxxxiii (1959) 632, 636; BCH lxxxv (1961) 697; AJA lxv.251, no.79; lxviii.237; lxxiii.160, no.79A; Gazetteer, no.166; BSA lxi.116-7, fig.3, pl.24a; McDonald-Rapp, MME, nos.141-2.

Kalamata today is one of the largest cities in Greece, owing its importance to its favourable geographical position on the rainier western side of the peninsula at the mouth of the River Nedon and to its good harbour. The evidence of occupation in LH III B and from the Geometric<sup>511</sup> to Classical periods is proof that it was of equivalent importance in antiquity. We should, therefore, have no hesitation in identifying it with Homeric (Od.xv.186 = iii.488) and later (C.Nepos, Conon i.1 etc.)<sup>512</sup> Pherai.

The Mycenaean and post-Mycenaean akropolis was situated on the hill which now bears the impressive remains of a Frankish castle. The cutting of a water-channel in the old quarter on its south slopes revealed fragments of LH III B bowls and kylikes, together with a few Archaic and Classical sherds. Some of the ancient walling incorporated in the castle may date back to the Mycenaean period. In the town itself an Archaic bronze figurine of a bull and a sherd from a b.f. krater have been found. NE of the town near Ay. Pantōn a pithos-burial was found to contain a small Geometric bronze horse (III.iv.(b)1.A.13) and bronze pins of types found also at Artemis Orthia.

Recently more evidence from the hill of Tourles c. 500m. ENE of Kalamata

has necessitated a revision of the view that this was only the cemetery of the Mycenaean settlement on the castle hill. Ploughing has revealed pottery more naturally associated with a settlement, over an area c. 200m. NE-SW x 100 including the rounded summit. On the fourth terrace from the top are the remains of what is confidently believed to be a prehistoric house wall. The castle hill, which measures c. 250m. N-S x 120 E-W, had already been identified with Pherai and it is now uncertain whether Tourles is a part of this (very large) settlement or forms a distinct habitation. Certainly in the Classical period Pherai spread for a considerable distance S and E, as is fitting for a town which, according to the tradition, was colonised by the Lakedaimonians prior to the conquest of Messenia (see no.65).

#### 63. GIANNITSA

Reff: E. Pernice, AA 1893, 139-40; *ibid.*, AM xix (1894) 365ff.; BSA lii.242, pl.50c; lxi.119ff., fig.4.

Pernice placed ancient Pherai at Giannitsa, partly because he took the walling on the hill to be Mycenaean, partly because the distance of eighty stades from Thouria (Paus.iv.31.1) agreed better with Giannitsa than Kalamata, partly because he found traces of an ancient trackway, which he took to be the one followed by Telemachos,<sup>513</sup> and partly because he thought Giannitsa might have been only six stades (Paus. loc.cit.) from the sea in antiquity. Of these arguments only that based on the distance from Thouria<sup>514</sup> still stands. The walling is Classical or later<sup>515</sup> and no Mycenaean remains have been found; the site, c. 150m. x 80, is too small for Pherai; the trackway almost certainly continued on to Kalamata from Giannitsa; the discovery of objects dating from the Geometric to Hellenistic periods at Akovitika on the right bank of the Nedon about 800m. from the present coast shows that the ancient shoreline cannot have been much further north.<sup>516</sup> Other identifications of Giannitsa are possible - with the Kalamai of Pausanias (iv.31.3)<sup>517</sup> or the Mesola of Strabo (viii, p.360)<sup>518</sup> - but cannot be proved.

#### 64. SOLA (PERIVOLAKIA)

Reff: BSA lxi. 118-9, fig.4, pl.24b; AJA lxxiii.160, no.79C; McDonald-Rapp, MME, no.140.

The village of Perivolakia lies just over 1km. N of Giannitsa, across a glen. The chapel of Ay. Vasilios is partly constructed of ancient material and two ancient inscriptions are built into the modern terrace-walls immediately below it.<sup>519</sup> Just above the chapel a fine perennial spring issues from a small grotto, with a force sufficient to turn a mill.<sup>520</sup> In a locality called Marmara, a spur about 500m. WNW of the spring, two squared limestone blocks, apparently in position, and some fragments of plain column-drums have been found.

Higher up the spur in a NNE direction an ancient settlement, c. 100m. NNE-SSW x 80 in area, was inhabited in LH III.

#### 65. THE NEDON VALLEY

Reff: Valmin, Études 46, 48ff., 207ff.; RE xxi.1185ff.; Jeffery, LSAG 203, 206, no.5.

Strabo (viii,p.360), but strangely not Pausanias, tells us that the Nedon debouched into the sea near Pherai; this important river retains its ancient name today. On its left bank lies part of the region known in antiquity as Dentheliatis.<sup>521</sup> In this area lay Nedon (Strabo viii, p.360), with its temple to Athena Nedousia, from which King Teleklos (760-40?) is supposed to have founded Poieëssa, Echeiai and Tragion (none of these places can be certainly identified).<sup>522</sup>

Archaeological remains from the area are scanty. In the bed of the Nedon, at a place called Lithomeno Phidi, a series of short graffiti, dated about the end of the sixth or the early fifth century, has been cut on a smoothed surface of rock. There are remains of what may be tombs (undatable) nearby. Further up river at Karvouni a first-century A.D. inscription and other ancient remains (now lost) were discovered.

#### 66. VOLIMNOS (ARTEMIS LIMNATIS)

Reff: BCH lxxxiii (1959) 640-1, figs.21-22; AJA lxxv.255, no.(m); lxxiii.160, no.79E; BSA lxi.121; Levi, Pausanias ii.112n.27; McDonald-Rapp, MME, no.138.

Pausanias places Limnai "in the interior" in relation to Thouria (modern Ellenika)<sup>523</sup> and couples it with Kalamai. In the chorion (Paus.iv.31.3) of Limnai lay the temple of Artemis, surnamed Limnatis, which was traditionally the site of the initial conflict between the Spartans and the Messenians in the middle of the eighth century B.C. In Pausanias' day the temple still lay on the boundary between Lakonia and Messenia.

The archaeological remains confirm the literary evidence. The site of the temple is almost certainly Volimnos (and not Ay. Elias at Brinda Gait̄son): surface pottery and other finds from the PG to Hellenistic periods<sup>524</sup> support the evidence of inscriptions<sup>525</sup> with regard to this identification. The site is remote and inaccessible, lying about 5km. NW of modern Artemisia; it was occupied over an area c. 200m. N-S x 100 E-W on terraces W of the chapel of the Panayia.<sup>526</sup>

A possible interpretation of its history, based on the archaeological and literary evidence, is that it was valued for its remoteness as a place of refuge in the uncertain conditions of the early Iron Age and only later became an important sanctuary and a natural focus of political antagonisms.<sup>527</sup>

## 8. N. LAKONIA and THE THYREATIS

## 67. ANCIENT SELLASIA

Reff: RE iiA. 1316ff.; Praktika for 1910, 277-8; Jeffery, LSAG 192 and n.3, 200, no.24; W. K. Pritchett, Studies in Ancient Greek Topography i (1965) ch.4, esp.63-5, pls. 58-64.

The village of Vourlia has been recently renamed Sellasia, but ancient Sellasia lay much further east, most probably on the hill of Palaiogulas, about 11 or 12km. north of Sparta and close to the west bank of the river Kelephina (ancient Oinous). Excavation on the hill revealed a rubble circuit-wall, which can still be followed in many places (especially on the northern side), and sherds from the fifth to second centuries B.C. Slightly south of Palaiogulas is a much higher mountain crowned by the chapel of Ayios Konstantinos; the ancient remains are probably those of a fortress. It appears from Xenophon (HG ii.2.13) that Sellasia was the nearest perioikic community to the north of Sparta and lay on the edge of the territory owned directly by Spartan citizens.<sup>528</sup> An inscribed stele, which was dedicated to the Tyndaridai by a certain Pleistiadas, has been found at modern Sellasia; it is dated c. 525 B.C. Further evidence of ancient activity in this area comes from Riza, where a collection of Classical miniature vases and tile-fragments suggests the presence of a heroon.<sup>529</sup> The importance of Sellasia in antiquity was increased by the fact that the ancient road from Sparta to Tegea ran from the Khan of Krevata along the west bank of the Kelephina up the valley known as Kourmeki at the northern foot of Palaiogulas. On the western side of this road, about 1km. north of Palaiogulas, are the remains of ancient houses, which should be dated by the nearby sherds and tiles to the Classical period. The date of the houses, if correct, is useful evidence for the date of the ancient road.<sup>530</sup>

## 68. ANCIENT OINOUS

Reff: Bölte, RE, s.v. "Oinous"; P. Charneux, BCH lxxvii (1953) 395-7, fig.3; Forrest, CQ n.s. x (1960) 221-41, at 226; Jeffery, LSAG 162, 169, no.22.

There is no evidence, archaeological or literary, which enables us to make a positive identification of Oinous. Like Nedon in North-West Mani it probably takes its name from the river which flowed by it. Bölte suggested Oinous lay at Palaiogulas, but this would be precluded by the identification of the latter with Sellasia. Oinous demands inclusion in our list because a certain Gnosstas of Oinous was honoured by the Argives with a proxeny-decree, which was inscribed on bronze and set up in the Argive agora about 475 B.C. - a period of tension between Argos and Sparta.<sup>531</sup> Forrest has plausibly suggested that the absence of the ethnic "Lakedaimonios", though not unparalleled, might

in this instance represent a deliberate affront to Sparta; what is perhaps still more remarkable is that Argos should have felt it desirable or necessary to make a proxenos of an inhabitant of this otherwise scarcely known settlement. This inscription serves to remind us how incomplete is the archaeological and literary record.

#### 69. ANCIENT PELLANA

Reff. Bölte, RE, s.v. "Pellana (1)"; BSA lvi (1961) 125ff., 166, 171-2, 174; Gazetteer, no.133.

Ancient Pellana lay at Kastania (formerly Kalyvia Georgitsi), ENE of Georgitsi and 27km. by road from Sparta. The settlement was probably centred on the hill of Palaiokastro, where Classical black-glazed sherds have been found; the walling of a small ruined medieval fort on the hill is thought to incorporate earlier Greek work. Trial excavations yielded a small black-glazed trefoil-lipped oinochoe and an iron spearhead; other surface finds include two LH III kylix-fragments. A short distance N of Palaiokastro is a hill known as Spilies, where two well-constructed chamber-tombs<sup>532</sup> have produced LH III A, B and C pottery,<sup>533</sup> together with some small finds. These may be thought to support the ancient identification of Pellana with Homeric Enope.<sup>534</sup>

The site of Pellana is a favourable one, for it lies on the edge of a fertile plain and there is a perennial spring in the middle of the nearby modern village of Pellana. It lay on a route of entry into Lakonia and was taken by storm in 369 B.C. by Lykomedes.<sup>535</sup> Polybios (iv.81.7) with Livy (xxxv.27.9) tell us that Pellana belonged to the Lakonian Tripolis, but it was presumably an ordinary perioikic town.<sup>536</sup>

There seems to have been no ancient habitation in the higher country above Pellana, although this is well-watered and abounds in trees today.

#### 70. ANCIENT BELMINA

Reff: W. Loring, JHS xv (1895) 25-89, at 36-41, 71-4, p1.1; BSA lvi.125, p1.21a; BCH lxxxv (1961) 686; R. Howell, BSA lxxv (1970) 101, no.53.

Ancient Belmina (variously spelt)<sup>537</sup> lay somewhere W of the mouth of the deep Eurotas gorge, at the foot of Mt. Khelmos and close to the frontier between Lakonia and Arkadia. Through this gorge the stream which Pausanias (viii.44.3-4) regarded as the main stream of the Eurotas enters the valley proper from the NE. The importance of Belmina was twofold: Khelmos overlooks the whole of the upper Eurotas valley, commanding the route into Lakonia from the N; secondly, as Pausanias (iii.21.3) says, the Belmina region is naturally one of the best-watered in Lakonia.<sup>538</sup> On the summit of Khelmos are preserved extensive remains of fortification walls, some of which go back to the

Hellenistic or Classical period.<sup>539</sup> Mycenaean and Classical sherds have been found on the southern slopes and the remains of house-walls composed of small stones, together with Classical black-glazed pottery, a kilometre further S. Part of a small Doric capital in grey limestone lies beside the small ruined chapel of Ay. Nikolaos about 200m. to the E, and at Ioannakas, ten minutes to the W, fragments of LH kylikes and deep bowls occur on the surface. From the region of the village of Petrina, about 4km. NW of Khelmos,<sup>540</sup> comes a fine relief, dated provisionally c. 500-475, representing a naked youth and a snake rising in front of him. This must belong to the series of stone reliefs of which examples have been found especially in Sparta (no.1), Chrysapha (no.19) and Geronthrai (no.21).

#### 71. ANCIENT OION

Reff: Loring, op.cit. 61-2, pl.1; Andrewes in Gomme, HCT iv.33.

Oion is the only place explicitly ascribed (Xenophon, HG vi.5.24-6) to the Skiritis. In 369 B.C. it housed a garrison which guarded a route into Lakonia. Loring placed Oion in the area of Kerasia for topographical reasons and was pleased to find ancient remains on the crown of a hill a very short distance N of Arvanito (Albanian) - Kerasia. These consisted of a ruined masonry wall, slightly polygonal in character, which formed part of a large and partially rock-cut building; other rock-cuttings; and a profusion of pottery, including Classical black-glazed. As the Skiritis consists of rough and unproductive mountain terrain, we should not expect there to have been settlements of any size or importance. The inhabitants must have been in antiquity, as they are today, mostly shepherds living in small and scattered groupings. The importance of the area to the Spartans resided in its situation on the frontiers of Lakonia and it was probably incorporated in the Spartan sphere of influence at an early date. The men seem to have made good soldiers and the Skirite contingent occupied a special, if not precisely understood, position in the Spartan army of the fifth and fourth centuries (and perhaps earlier).<sup>541</sup>

#### 72. ANALIPSIS (VOURVOURA)

Reff: K. Rhomaios, AE 1904, 139-51, figs. 1-2 (bucket); Praktika for 1950, 234-5; 1954, 270ff.; 1955, 241-2; 1956, 185-6; 1957, 110-1; 1958, 165-6; 1961, 167-8; BSA lvi.130; Gazetteer, no.135; R. Howell, BSA lxx (1970) 95-6, no.36.

Rhomaios first undertook excavations in the area of Vourvoura in an attempt to locate the famous sanctuary of Artemis at Karyai (below). The best results were obtained at Analipsis, a hill about 4km. W of Vourvoura close to the junction of the routes from Sparta to Tegea and the Thyreatis.<sup>542</sup> This

was where Loring had thought ancient Karyai might lie, but Rhomaios' excavations led him to propose the identification of Analipsis with Iasos (Paus. vii.13.7 = ? Iasaia : Paus. viii.27.3), which was seized by the Achaeans in 148 B.C., but destroyed by the Spartan Menalkidas in 147.<sup>543</sup>

Analipsis is over 300m. in diameter and was the site of an extensive Classical and Hellenistic settlement, encircled by a wall of polygonal style. A few finds of the Archaic period, which include terracotta figurines and lead wreaths, presumably come from the hill; a series of fine vases of c. 450 B.C. onwards certainly does. They provide evidence of the existence of one or more local schools of r.f. vase-painters, whose repertoire of scenes included the Birth of Helen and the Judgement of Paris. The potters used local clay and their work is of high quality, but the fine interior glaze of contemporary Attic ware is absent from these Lakonian products.<sup>544</sup>

A few LH III kylix-fragments and obsidian chips have been collected from Analipsis, but the chief Mycenaean remains come from one large (D.8.65m.) and eight miniature (D.3m.) tholoi, which were constructed on a lower hill adjoining the site on the W. Apart from the pottery, which ranged in date from LH I-III B, finds included fragmentary boar's tusks (from a helmet), bronze swords, steatite spindle-whorls, stone and bronze arrowheads, three terracotta figurines and a jasper sealstone. The miniature tholoi closely resemble those excavated at Synoikismos about 10km. N of Analipsis and 5.5km. SSE of Tegea, which yielded LH II-III pottery and a tiny lekythos that may be PG (now in the Tegea Museum); the latter is decorated with hatched triangles in the shoulder zone, below which the surface is coated with matt black paint. In the Sarandapotamos river E of Vourvoura a tiny bronze "bucket" was found, inscribed "Alphios" in Archaic lettering.<sup>545</sup> Wade-Gery took this as support for the view that the stone bearing the treaty concluded by Sparta and Tegea c. 550 was set up on the banks of the Sarandapotamos not the famous Alpheios.<sup>546</sup>

#### 72A. ANCIENT KARYAI

Reff: Loring, op.cit. 54-8, 61; von Geisau, RE x. 2245-6; Kolbe, IG v.1,p.172; Rhomaios, Peloponnesiaka iii (1958-9) 376-95, esp. 376-8, 394.<sup>547</sup>

There are many indications in our sources that Karyai lay on the border between the Lakonian and Tegeate territories.<sup>548</sup> As Sparta grew weaker after 369 B.C., she was unable to maintain a firm hold on her northernmost possessions and in 338 B.C. Philip II of Macedon probably did no more than legalise a de facto situation, when he assigned Karyai to Arkadia.<sup>549</sup> In our period, however, Karyai, like Belmina and Skiritis, was Lakonian.

The settlement seems to have lain somewhere between Kryavrysi and Arakhova (officially renamed Karyai) and not far from the river of Vourvoura. The

identification with a palaiokastro about 3km. west of modern Karyai is made doubtful by the absence of any ancient remains.<sup>550</sup> The most likely, although not yet proved,<sup>551</sup> identification is with a locality known, coincidentally, as Karyai, which lies a short distance N of Arakhova and has given the latter its official name.<sup>552</sup>

The fame of ancient Karyai, such as it was,<sup>553</sup> rested squarely on the presence of an important temple of Artemis, which has been conjecturally identified with the chapel of the Panayia in the same locality. The temple was connected legendarily with an exploit of the Messenian hero Aristomenes in the Second Messenian War, but all we know for certain is that Spartan girls in the Classical period participated actively in this naturally perioikic cult by performing a ritual dance.<sup>554</sup> This unusual Spartan religious involvement outside the land owned directly by citizens is probably to be explained by the strategic position of Karyai on the border with Arkadia.<sup>555</sup>

#### 72B. ANCIENT SKOTITAS

Reff: Bölte, RE, s.v.; Rhomaios, Peloponnesiaka i (1956) 1-22, at 6-7; iii.377.

Like Therai,<sup>556</sup> Skotitas was the name of a region; it lay east of Karyai on the western flank of Parnon and is densely forested today as in the time of Pausanias (iii.10.6) with a coppice of oak.<sup>557</sup> A small temple in antis, 5 x 7m., has been found near the Hermai (below) and identified with the temple of Zeus Skotitas; it was constructed of wood and mudbrick on a stone foundation.

#### 73. THE HERMAI

Reff: Rhomaios, BSA xi (1904-5) 137-8; Athena xx (1908) 383-403; Praktika for 1950, 235-6; Peloponnesiaka iii.377.

The pass over Parnon leading to the Thyreatis continues NE from Arakhova to Ay. Petros (below). Just before the crest of the ridge which forms the watershed of water flowing to the Thyreatic Gulf, Tegea and Sparta there are to right of the track three large heaps of stones, each about 5m. in diameter, the whole forming a triangle. The place is known as Phonemenoi or Stous Phonemenous.

Rhomaios' first excavation produced a slab of schist bearing a (probably late) sixth-century B.C. inscription, a small fragment of an Archaic terracotta gorgoneion, a spherical aryballos lacking its neck and some insignificant fragments of small black-glazed vases and roof-tiles. Rhomaios thought he might have discovered pre-480 B.C. tombs, but a second season of excavation led him to identify the heaps of stones with the boundary-markers mentioned by Pausanias (ii.38.7).

Beneath one of the heaps Rhomaios had uncovered the remains of a wall; in 1950 he found another, 6.50m. L. and 0.90 W. - they were presumably designed to support the cairns, for they were not contiguous but independently constructed. The 1950 excavation also yielded fragments of "late" terra-cotta figurines, Lakonian aryballoi and plaques. These seem to support the excavator's latest view that the cairns are miniature sanctuaries and not tombs;<sup>558</sup> they could, I suppose, have also served the secular purpose of marking the common boundary of the Spartans, Tegeans and Argives, at least in the second century A.D.

#### 74. AY. PETROS

Reff: Frazer iii.310; G. Karo, AM xxx (1905) 415-6; Rhomaios, AM xxxiii (1908) 177-84.

Modern Ay. Petros (887m; pop.in 1961 : 986) lies scattered among trees and fields on the western side of the deep valley of the R. Tanos, in a rough and infertile region. Half an hour to the S, Rhomaios excavated a kiln (probably fourth-century B.C.),<sup>559</sup> which is worth describing in detail in view of the rarity of such finds.

The kiln was perfectly round, 1.80m. in diameter, with walls preserved to a height of 0.80 - 0.90m., of which the greater part was sunk below ground.<sup>560</sup> Thick mudbrick slabs (D. 0.30m.) were bonded together with mud to form a firing-platform, which was supported by a central pillar, also of mudbrick (H. preserved 0.45m., D. 0.65; its original height must have been at least 0.90).<sup>561</sup> The firing-platform was pierced with funnel-shaped apertures to allow the heat to pass to the pots. This method of construction would explain the scorch-marks visible on some Greek pots.<sup>562</sup> The exterior of the kiln was formed into a "tholos" or dome containing two openings: a stoking-tunnel at the side and a chimney at the apex.

#### 75. XIROKABI

Reff: Wrede, AA 1927, 365; BSA lvi.131; Gazetteer, no.136.

Xirokabi lies between Ay. Petros and Ay. Ioannis on the same route from Karyai to the Thyreatis. Two hilltops - one at the entrance, one at the exit of the village - were inhabited in the prehistoric and Classical periods respectively. Besides sherds (presumably), Wrede found stone chopper-tools.

#### 76. HELLENIKO and 77. MELIGOU

Reff: Frazer iii.306, 308; Wrede, loc.cit.; U. Kahrstedt, Rh.Mus. n.f. xciii (1950) 227-32, at 230; C. Leon, AM lxxxiii (1968) 182-3.

Still on the same route, NE of Meligou and 8km. from Astros (below), a rocky hill to right of the road overlooks the Thyreatic plain. The summit is

flat and occupied by ancient ruins, which consist of walls 2-3m. thick provided with a great many round and square towers. The stones are small, irregularly laid and almost "polygonal".<sup>563</sup> Within the walls are remains of houses and a number of cisterns. According to Wrede, the summit was occupied from at least the Geometric period, but he does not state the nature of his evidence.

A marble head of the sixth century B.C.<sup>564</sup> was found at Meligou at the end of the last century.<sup>565</sup> Leon has recently compared it to two bronze figurines, which he thinks may have been made in a local Thyreatic workshop.

#### 77A. MONI LOUKOU

Reff: Frazer iii.306, 308; Kahrstedt, op.cit. 230ff.; Rhomaios, Praktika for 1950, 236ff.; Peloponnesiaka i (1956) 1-22, at 10ff.; T. Gritsopoulos, Peloponnesiaka vi (1963-8) 129ff., figs.1-2.

The monastery of St. Luke lies on the route from Helleniko to Mt. Zavitsa about one and a half hours' walk from the River Loukou (ancient Tanos) on the southern side of the valley.<sup>566</sup> A tributary of the Tanos flows down a gorge behind the monastery, which can be recognised from a distance by its surround of tall cypresses. Considerable ancient remains have been found in the vicinity but none, so far as I know, certainly antedates the second century B.C. Inscriptions from the main centre of ancient settlement NE of the monastery suggest this may be the site of the heroon of the doctor Polemokrates, which, according to Pausanias (ii.38.6-7) was erected in Eua, the largest of the Thyreatic villages in his day.<sup>567</sup>

#### 78. ASTROS

Reff: Frazer iii.307; Wrede, AA 1927, 365; Kahrstedt, op.cit. 227ff.; BSA lvi.131; Gazetteer, no.137.

The Thyreatic or Astros plain, which is about 8km. long and nowhere more than 4km. wide, is for the most part fertile alluvium and produces grain, olives, cotton and rice. It was the scene of the "Battle of the Champions", fought between Sparta and Argos in c. 545 B.C. for the possession of the Thyreatis, and, possibly, the whole eastern coastal strip, including the Malea peninsula, to the south.<sup>568</sup>

On the coast a small isolated hill rises on the edge of the plain and projects into the sea as Cape Astros, bearing a ruined medieval fortress. On the western side of the hill Wrede found what he described as a "certainly MH and PG necropolis" and on the southern slope a scatter of Mycenaean sherds. Classical remains have been discovered in the vicinity of the hill, notably the ruins of a crude wall, built of undressed blocks whose interstices were filled up with smaller stones. This wall has been identified with the one mentioned by Thucydides (iv.57.1ff.) as being under construction by the Aeginetans when the

Athenians attacked in 424 B.C.<sup>569</sup> Thucydides is careful to distinguish between the wall, which was by the sea, and the site of Thyrea, which lay 10 stades inland and was put to the torch by the Athenians.

Many attempts have been made to identify Thyrea (with Moni Loukou, Helleniko, Ay. Andreas (below) and Ay. Triada), but only Ay. Triada suits Thucydides' indications, since it lies some 3km. inland, SW of Cape Astros. Of the "ancient remains" at Ay. Triada, which included masonry, nothing further is known to me. Although Pausanias makes frequent reference to Thyrea (ii.29.5; 38.5; iii.7.5; viii.3.3; x.9.12), he nowhere describes it, which probably means that it was not rebuilt after 424 B.C. The site of ~~A~~thene, which is mentioned with Thyrea by Thucydides (v.41.2), is likewise uncertain.<sup>570</sup>

#### 79. CHERSONISI

Reff: Wrede, loc.cit.; BCH lxxxvii (1963) 759; Gazetteer, no.138.

In the middle of the bay of Astros is a small promontory called Chersonisi, close to the rising of salt-water springs, which are thought to be the southernmost sources of the River Erasinos. Wrede noted evidence of habitation in the EH and Geometric periods. Recent excavation on the southern slope produced fragments of two MH pithoi. Surface finds, especially from this same slope, included obsidian blades, stone tools and EH sherds. There were also a few Geometric remains and one or two sherds from sixth-century B.C. (?) kylikes. Hope Simpson records additional finds, presumably sherds, which he assigns to the LH III period.

#### 80. AY. ANDREAS

Reff: Frazer iii.307-8; Wrede, loc.cit.; Kahrstedt, Rh. Mus. 1950, 227-32, at 229; BCH, loc.cit.

The remains of a fairly extensive fortress (the circuit takes twenty minutes on foot) lie on a rocky hill beside the sea at the extreme SE corner of the Thyreatic plain; the hill is now crowned by a chapel of Ay. Andreas.

The walls are c. 3m. thick and were provided at intervals with towers projecting just over 4m.; the masonry is irregular, almost polygonal. Within the walls are many foundations, thought to be the remains of a "Hippodamian" street system of the grid-type.<sup>571</sup> Kahrstedt dates the foundation of the settlement to 404 B.C., but others, including Wrede, think it is Hellenistic. A recent excavation yielded only late Roman and Byzantine material.

#### 9. KYNOURIA<sup>572</sup>

#### 81. ANCIENT TYROS

Reff: Rhomaios, Praktika for 1911, 253-279; for 1953, 251-4; C. Weickert,

Typen der archaischen Architektur in Griechenland und Kleinasien (1929)

27-8, no.16; BSA lvi.131, pl.22a; Gazetteer, no.139.

Tyros is a Tsakonian village lying close to a small deep bay at whose southern end the Greek akropolis rises steeply from the sea.<sup>573</sup> In view of its isolation from the main routes of immigration and communication, it is a pleasant surprise to find such clear evidence of ancient habitation.<sup>574</sup> The akropolis is girdled with 400m. of fairly well preserved walls (including a tower), some of which may be of Mycenaean date. Surface finds include EH, or Classical, black-glazed sherds.

South of Tyros, on the way to Melana, Rhomaios excavated the sanctuary of Apollo Tyritas on the flat summit of Ay. Elias (800m.), a natural site for a Greek temple since it gave a view as far S as the island of Parapola off Cape Malea and N over the Argolid to the commanding peaks of Mt. Kyllene. Non-scientific digging operations, which had produced a bronze handle,<sup>575</sup> iron spearheads, pottery and two bronze figurines (one inscribed)<sup>576</sup> led to the systematic excavation of the structure. Nothing of the foundations was discovered, but a fragment of a poros architrave,<sup>577</sup> fragments of marble Doric capitals with a very flat echinus,<sup>578</sup> roof-tiles and fragments of a discakroterion with dentellated edge probably all belong to the earliest version of the building.<sup>579</sup> These architectural fragments, especially the discakroterion,<sup>580</sup> suggest a date around 600, probably early in the sixth century.<sup>581</sup> Some terracottas and sherds may just fall within the seventh century,<sup>582</sup> but the great majority of the small finds belongs to the sixth and fifth centuries.

Rhomaios also unearthed the foundations of a fourth-century B.C. altar, whose northern axis measured 8.42m.

82. KOTRONI (VASKINA)

Reff: BSA lvi.132-3, pl.22d; Gazetteer, no.141.

In high and poorly watered country about forty minutes NW of Vaskina peasant cultivators uncovered a LH III A2-III B tomb, built of fairly large and roughly coursed field-stones; in shape it is elliptical<sup>583</sup> and, when first discovered, was covered by a large capstone. Since it was considered unsafe to clear it completely, excavation reached a depth of only 1.5m.; no entrance had yet appeared. The significance of this find is unclear, since the site is well off any normal route of communication and no associated settlement has come to light.

83. ANCIENT PRASIAI

Reff: BSA xv (1907-8), 167, 174-5; Bölte, RE, s.v. "Prasiai"; BSA lvi.131; Gazetteer, no.140.

Ancient Prasiai, an independent member of the Kalaurian Amphictyony

before it came under the sway of Sparta,<sup>584</sup> lay at the Skala of Leonidhion, at the foot of the hill of Ay. Athanasios. On the slope of a hill slightly to the rear is a tower built of large roughly squared blocks laid in irregular courses.<sup>585</sup> From here a wall runs down to the north, incorporating three or four more towers each about 4m. square. Among the olive trees are traces of foundation- and terrace-walls, with black-glazed sherds visible on the surface. On the south slope of the hill of Ay. Athanasios rich tombs are said to have yielded terracottas, coins and a fine Archaic bronze mirror.<sup>586</sup>

The importance of Prasiai, in Mycenaean and later times, lay in its strategic position at the end of a route across Parnon and in its possession of a harbour. It is of the greatest significance that in 369 B.C., when the Corinthians, Phliasians, Sikyonians, Troizenians, Epidaurians and other allies wanted to help Sparta after the Battle of Leuktra, they reached Sparta by way of Prasiai (Xen., HG vii.2.2).

#### 84. LYMBIADA<sup>587</sup>

Reff: BSA xv.165; lvi.135; Gazetteer, no.143.

The site of the Hellenic fort at Lymbiada, about three quarters of an hour WNW of Palaiokhori (below) at the upper end of the river of Leonidhion, has been described as "eminently habitable." The ground between this rocky akropolis and the decayed monastery of the Palaiopanayia is covered with sherds, mostly black-glazed but including the handle of a LH III jug. Many have thought this to be Glympeis (? = Glyppia),<sup>588</sup> but Kosmas (below) is perhaps a preferable identification.

#### 85. PALAIOKHORI

Reff: BSA lvi.132 ff., pl.22b; Gazetteer, no.142.

Palaiokhori village lies at the head of the valley running inland from Leonidhion athwart two ancient routes, one leading across the spine of Parnon to Tsitsina and the Eurotas valley,<sup>589</sup> the other to Kosmas and thence across Parnon to Geraki. The Mycenaean settlement lay on the hill of Kotroni, a rocky excrescence with a flattish top on the NE outskirts of the village. The associated cemetery occupied the hill of Mikri Tourla to the S of the village. Oval tholoi and built tombs are disposed in various groups here and on the property of P. Sykokis to the E. Pottery ranged in date from LH I/II A-III B.

#### 86. KOSMAS

Reff: BSA xv.165; Rhomaios, Praktika for 1911, 277-8; Bölte, RE s.v.

"Glympeis", "Glyppia"; BSA lvi.135; BCH lxxxvii (1963) 759; Gazetteer, no.144.

Bronze statuettes have been and continue to be found at Kosmas, perhaps the most notable being the hoplite<sup>590</sup> dedicated by Charillos<sup>591</sup> to Apollo

Maleatas, dated by its inscription c. 525.<sup>592</sup> A considerable scatter of black-glazed sherds on the hill of Proph. Elias prompted Christou to excavate here, with most interesting results. One of the trial pits on the western edge of the hill, 1.50m. N of the chapel, revealed the foundations of a rudimentary wall running in a N-S direction. The quantity of heavily glazed Lakonian tiles found near the wall shows that the foundations belong to a building whose superstructure was made of brick roofed with tiles.<sup>593</sup> The military character of the edifice seems to be confirmed by finds of numerous iron spearheads (L. from 0.18 to 0.28m.), iron arrowheads, small knives and pointed bronze objects, apparently from missiles.

This was in other words a fort, strategically placed to guard the principal pass across Parnon from Chrysapha or Geraki to Leonidhion.<sup>594</sup> Its situation has inclined many to identify Kosmas with Glympeis and by extension, on grounds of verbal similarity, with Glyppia, but Bölte correctly pointed out that neither identification is any more than possible.

#### 87. ANCIENT MARIOS

Reff: BSA xv.166-7; Bölte, RE s.v.; BSA lvi.136; Gazetteer, no.145.

Modern Mari lies in a narrow but well-watered and fertile valley about 16km. ENE of Geraki and within easy reach of it.<sup>595</sup> Ancient Marios was centred on the Kastelli, an akropolis hill c. 110 N-S x 60m. E-W, which lies about 2km. S of Mari. Remains of rough walls are visible, whose individual blocks seldom exceed 0.80 x 0.60m.; they possibly go back to the first half of the fifth century B.C.<sup>596</sup> The summit and slopes are scattered with Classical black-glazed sherds.

NNW of the akropolis there are fine springs (Paus.iii.22.8), and a small bronze horse and a stone inscribed with a retrograde dedication<sup>597</sup> have been found in the vicinity. There are more black-glazed sherds, together with tile-fragments, in the valley.

As Marios was a member of the Eleutherolakonian league in the time of Pausanias (iii.21.7), it was probably a perioikic community in our period.

#### 87A. ANCIENT POLICHNA

Reff: BSA xv.176; Rhomaios, Praktika for 1911, 276-7; Kirsten, RE s.v.

Returning once more from Parnon to the coast, we find evidence for ancient Greek occupation (walling) on the hill Vigla by the village of Poulithra, which is situated on the south side of the bay of Leonidhion.

As Rhomaios has pointed out, in the Tsakonian dialect Poulithra is known as Poulichra, Xp being a colloquial dialectal shift from Xv. In dialect, therefore, the settlement has preserved its ancient name. Polybios (iv.36.5)

includes it in a list of towns recaptured by Lykurgos from the Argives in 219 B.C.

#### 88. ANCIENT KYPHANTA

Reff: BSA xv.173-4; Pieske, RE s.v.; BSA lvi.136 and n.147.

About 20km. N of Zarax (below) the sheltered harbour of Kyparissi nestles enchantingly between two limestone crags.<sup>598</sup> In the hinterland is a small plain planted with olives and cereals and surrounded in a semicircle by immense cliffs rising to 800m. On the southern shore of the bay are two hills, one a Byzantine, the other a Greek, akropolis, the latter surrounded by a wall standing five or six courses high and built in a polygonal style reminiscent of Zarax (below). This is almost certainly the harbour of ancient Kyphanta.

In Pausanias' day (iii.24.2) the town, which had lain ten stades (c. 2km.) inland, was already in ruins.<sup>599</sup> The way to the town probably led through a small glen on the northern shore of the bay, because after about 2km., when the glen has turned into a steep and narrow ravine hemmed in by huge precipices, there is a fine spring gushing from the rocks.

A proxeny-list from Keos, dated by the original editor to the early fourth century B.C., has been restored to include a mention of a citizen of Kyphanta.<sup>600</sup>

#### 89. ANCIENT ZARAX

Reff: BSA xv.167ff.; Bölte, RE s.v. "Zarax" (1); BSA lvi.136n.147; N.C. Flemming et al., Colston Papers xxiii (1973)7-8, fig.6.

Although Zarax possessed an excellent harbour, its usefulness was limited by its near exclusion from the interior by mountains.<sup>601</sup> There is a strong possibility that Zarax was a perioikic community in our period, since it was a member of the Eleutherolakonian league (Paus.iii.21.7), but the literary evidence and archaeological remains provide no solid support for its existence before the third century B.C.<sup>602</sup>

The inner harbour is approached from the open sea through a 350m. wide entrance and down an ever-narrowing passage between steep cliffs. The ancient settlement lay about 1km. inland to N of the passage. An outer ring-wall enclosed what approximates to an equilateral triangle with sides of 260m. The akropolis was tiny and originally quadrangular, but only the two 40-50m. landward walls, constructed in both polygonal and squared masonry, have stood the test of time. The akropolis entrance was a 1m. wide vaulted passage through the NW tower. The roof of the passage was made of pairs of large squared stones laid horizontally, the opposed ends being cut away so as to touch only at the top. Wace and Hasluck saw no reason to suppose that

any of the stonework was Mycenaean (it could scarcely be earlier), but they have failed to make their arguments convincing to the local inhabitants, part of whose income is derived from gullible tourists who call in at Ieraka on their way either to or from points further west!<sup>603</sup>

## 10. MALEA PENINSULA

### 90. ANCIENT EPIDAUROS LIMERA

Reff: Philippson, RE s.v. "Epidauros (2)"; BSA xiv.176ff.; BSA lvi.136-7, fig.10; K. Demakopoulou, AD xxiii.1 (1968) 145ff., pls.68-82.

Reputedly a foundation from Argive Epidauros, this ancient settlement may have derived its epithet either from its harbour, whose special asset is that alone of harbours on the eastern coast of Lakonia it has an easy route of communication inland,<sup>604</sup> or from the infertility of its soil, which threatened hunger for its inhabitants.<sup>605</sup> The settlement, which was centred on the akropolis hill overlooking the bay, appears to have reached its zenith in the latest Mycenaean period, for thereafter it plays no great role in history.

The surviving akropolis walls (probably of Hellenistic date) enclosed an irregular area, including two peaks of the hill and beyond it a section of gently sloping land to S and W. Although almost their whole extent can be traced, they are only well preserved on the seaward side, where there is a tower with seven courses standing to a height of 4m.; on average they stand to 2m. The blocks are of moderate size and laid in fairly regular courses. Building foundations are visible within the walls at three different levels.

To SW of the akropolis several groups of chamber tombs of unusual shape have been excavated and were found to contain LH II A-III C2 pottery, two bronze weapons and a few buttons and beads. Miss Demakopoulou rightly emphasises the importance of a fragment of a "Close"-style stirrup-vase, which may be by the same hand as an example from Argive Asine.<sup>606</sup> The continued use of the cemetery into the final ceramic phase of the Late Helladic period must be due to the geographical situation of Epidauros Limera, away from the inland centres of destruction and in close contact with other settlements on the east coast of the mainland (Asine, Perati, Salamis, Chalkis) and with the Aegean.<sup>607</sup>

After the Mycenaean period archaeological evidence from Epidauros Limera dwindles almost to nothing. The settlement is reputedly the provenience of an island gem,<sup>608</sup> which is likely enough in view of their Mycenaean antecedents.<sup>609</sup> The area suffered ravaging attacks in the Peloponnesian War from the Athenians in 424 (Thuc.iv.56.2), the Argives in 414 (Thuc.vi.105.2) and the Athenians again in 413 (Thuc. vii.18.3; 26.2).

A short way south is Monemvasia, the "Gibraltar" of Greece, which attained

a position of importance in the Middle Ages as an entrepôt for the shipment of Malmsey wine ("vin de Malvoisie", grown on Tenos) to the west. In our period it may not have been inhabited, but it is the reported provenience of a fine sixth-century B.C. bronze hydria-handle;<sup>610</sup> and a draped female statue of the Classical period (recently cleaned) was found in the sea nearby.<sup>611</sup>

91. AY. IOANNIS

Reff: BSA xiv.179; lvi.137, fig.10; Gazetteer, no.147.

The formerly Albanian village of Ay. Ioannis lies SW of Epidaurus L., higher up the valley which runs inland from the coast, and is well provided with springs. About 1km. N of the village and 2km. W of Epidaurus L. is a small akropolis hill, 60 x 50m. in area, which yielded a few LH III sherds. This was probably only an outlier of the much larger and more important settlement on the coast.

92. ANGELONA

Reff: BSA xi.81-90; lvi.138, pl.25c; Gazetteer, no.148.

Angelona lies among the hills surrounding the plain of Molaï, midway between the plain and Monemvasia, a short distance NW of Ay. Ioannis. About a quarter of an hour E of Angelona is a small plateau called Kollyri and, adjoining it on the S and W, a small rocky hill, oval in shape and 80m. E-W x 45 N-S in area, whose slopes are reported to be covered with Bronze Age sherds, including possible LH III. Kollyri is bounded on the E by a rhevma, at whose head is a perpetual spring of good water. Near the spring were found roof-tiles, of slightly convex section coated with rough red-to-black glaze, together with black-glazed and coarse red ware. A poros anta-capital (L. 0.82 x W. 0.80 x thick 0.23m.) was discovered a few hundred metres west of and above the spring.

200m. NE of the spring, on rising ground at the edge of the plateau, Ioannis Lekakis (the owner) accidentally uncovered an earthen mound, which proved on excavation to be the remains of a heroon. Surface finds included an upright marble relief, a terracotta relief, a poros pedestal still containing the feet and base of a marble statue, a terracotta figurine and a bronze snake - all dating between c. 550 and 475 B.C. The excavation reached bare rock at 0.40m; although squared blocks of poros lay nearby, no traces of walls or foundations were uncovered. A large number of small finds was unearthed, including miniature votive kantharoi, a few terracotta figurines, two loom-weights, fragments of ribbed black-glazed ware, the spout of a filler(?) in yellowish clay, an iron rod (spit?) and several iron clamps or hooks. Most of the objects antedated 450 B.C., but later finds demonstrate the continued

existence of the heroon in the fourth and perhaps also the third century.

93. ANEMOMYLO (SIKEA)

Reff: BSA lvi. 138, pl.25d; Gazetteer, no.149.

A ruined windmill ("anemomylo") lies on a gentle rise about 300m. NE of the Sikea-Molaï road, 1.5km. from Sikea. In the vicinity is a fair quantity of coarse Bronze Age pottery, including LH III, and over 40 fragments of obsidian.

94. GANGANIA

Reff: BSA lvi.139, pl.26a; Gazetteer, no.107.

The only trace of ancient settlement at Molaï earlier than medieval is a single obsidian core found in the gorge to W of the town near a small medieval fort.<sup>612</sup> One hour N of Molaï, however, along the road to Apidia (I.vi.ξ3(no.25)) a rocky hill below the monastery of Gangania commands the approach to the Molaï plain. A stream runs at its foot at least until mid-summer. Among a fair quantity of prehistoric pottery on the upper slopes there was evidence of habitation in LH III B.

95. ANCIENT KORYPHASION (?)

Reff: BSA xiv.163; lvi.138.

Kourkoula is a mountain with twin peaks, between which runs the old high road from Helos to Molaï. On the southern of the two peaks is a medieval refuge-castle known as Palaiokastro, whose walls are constructed of small stones put together without mortar. The walls enclose an area of 150 x 50m., in which some black-glazed sherds have been found. Below the medieval (or later) walls on the S side is a stretch of earlier walling, built of large stones with small stones in the interstices.

The site commands an excellent view over a wide stretch of coastline on the E of the Lakonian gulf and is, additionally, well situated to control the route from Helos to Molaï. Local antiquarians identify it with (Pliny's?)<sup>613</sup> Koryphasion.

96. ANCIENT AKRIAI

Reff: BSA xiv.162; lvi.138-9; Gazetteer, no.108.

The distance given by Pausanias (iii.22.3) from Trinasos (I.vi.ξ2 (no.18)) to Helos (I.vi.ξ4 (no.38)) actually brings one (by land)<sup>614</sup> to Kokkinia;<sup>615</sup> the latter has been securely identified with ancient Akriai, described by Pausanias (iii.22.4) as thirty stades from Helos. The ruins of a medieval watch-tower on a high bluff to S of the fishing-village of Kokkinia are surrounded by Greek tiles and sherds.<sup>616</sup> To the E, where a narrow saddle

connects the bluff to the hills behind, cut limestone blocks indicate the existence of a Greek wall, of which there are at one point two courses preserved. The area of the Classical settlement as marked by the sherd-scatter is about 1km. N-S x 250m. E-W. More black-glazed sherds have been found on a hill 1km. S of Kokkinia between the village and the bluff mentioned above. Prehistoric occupation is perhaps indicated by a flat-topped mound (unexcavated) 1.5km. NNW of Kokkinia across a ravine; it is 3.50m. high and 25m. N-S x 20m. E-W.<sup>617</sup>

The most famous inhabitant of Akriai known to us is Nikokles, son of Nikatas, who won five Olympic victories in a variety of events probably in 100 and 96 B.C.<sup>618</sup> and was commemorated not as a Lakedaimonios but as an Akriatas (Paus.iii.22.5).<sup>619</sup> Akriai was a member of the Eleutherolakonian league (Paus.iii.21.7).

#### 97. ANCIENT BIANDINA (?)

Reff: BSA xiv.162; xxiv.149; lvi.139, fig.11; Gazetteer, no.150.

Classical sherds have come to light S of Kokkinia, 1.5km. N of Elea. Immediately S of Elea village a medieval tower crowns a steep hill, on whose eastern slopes LH III sherds have been found. The hill is easily defensible, since it is especially steep and rocky on the seaward side, and it overlooks a harbour which serves as the "port" of Molai.<sup>620</sup> About 1km. S of Elea, on the track to Kondevianika, erosion has revealed a large quantity of sherds, including Classical.

The area as a whole is probably to be identified with the Biandina mentioned only by Ptolemy (iii.16.9), which lay between Akriai and Asopos (below).

#### 98. ANCIENT ASŌPOS

Reff: Frazer iii.382-3; BSA xiv.163ff.; lvi.139ff.; Gazetteer, no.151; F. J. Frost, Archeologia: Trésors des Ages (Nov.-Dec.,1968) 42-3, pl.1 (right); N.C. Flemming et al., Colston Papers xxiii (1973) 10, figs. 9-10.

According to Pausanias (iii.22.9), Asopos was sixty stades from Akriai. About 12km. S of Kokkinia the high rocky peninsula of Xyli runs out southwards into the Lakonian gulf, forming with the mainland on its eastern side a deep bay and good harbour.<sup>621</sup> The modern village of Plytra lies just to N of the bay and its site has been correctly identified with Asopos.

Just S of Plytra the walls of ancient Asopos emerge from the low escarpment and extend into the bay for about 100m. They range in date from the ashlar masonry of the Classical period to the tile and mortar of the Roman. From the E to the SE stretch breakwaters of broken rocks, whose foundations have a (preserved) depth of 5m., where ships were able to unload their cargoes.<sup>622</sup> The akropolis of Asopos lay on the hill Goulas 2km. N of Plytra. Among the

Bronze Age sherds found on the summit were some from LH III kylikes and low-stemmed bowls, while Classical pottery was fairly abundant on the N and E slopes for about 300m. in that direction. An occupation deposit 1.50m. thick has been revealed by erosion about 50m. from the akropolis.

Bronzes are reported to have been found nearby in the vicinity of the hill Kataphygi or Palaiokastro, where there is a small abandoned monastery, and black-glazed sherds continue to turn up here. Kataphygi is connected to the higher hills on the N by a ridge along whose western slopes Classical pottery occurs below a wall built of large blocks in a rough polygonal style.<sup>623</sup>

#### 99. HYPERTELEATON, TEMPLE OF APOLLO

Reff: Praktika for 1885, 31ff.; BSA xiv.165-6; IG v.1, pp.187ff.; BSA xxiv.147-8; AD xxiv.2 (1969) 138-9, pls.134-5.

From ancient Asopos a road must have run NE to Phoiniki, whence a branch road will have continued to the Apollonion twenty minutes further S. Inscriptions mentioning Apollo Hyperteleatas ("super-achieving?") had been found in the ravine of Chasanaga, but the initial Greek excavation failed to locate the temple precisely,<sup>624</sup> although it revealed some important Archaic bronzes.<sup>625</sup> In 1968 a long, narrow building, 29.90 x 7.40m., was uncovered, whose contents demonstrate that it was a temple.<sup>626</sup> The west and part of the south sides of the structure were well preserved, but the rest had sunk into a deep pit, which may be the result of moving earth to terrace up the site. A terracotta antefix of c. 600 B.C., bought in Athens and now in Bonn, is said to have come from the sanctuary.<sup>627</sup>

The site was apparently occupied since MH times, but we cannot know with certainty at what date it was first used for religious purposes; the find of regular Lakonian PG or G is exciting but tantalising evidence.<sup>628</sup>

Most of the inscriptions cited above belong to the second or first centuries B.C., but a bronze statuette of a goat was inscribed in the second half of the sixth century B.C.<sup>629</sup> and a fragment from the round pedestal of a perirrhanterion, or perhaps the pedestal-base of a statue, records a dedication of c. 500-480 B.C.<sup>630</sup> The dedicator of the latter was probably a Damaratos and the work must have been of high quality, for it was signed by a sculptor with the suggestive name of Kyranaios.<sup>631</sup>

#### 100. PAPPAGENIES DAPHNI

Ref: BSA lvi.141 n.181.

The ravine in which the temple of Apollo lay opens out further E into the plain of Phloka. In the plain at Pappagenies Daphni, on either side of the track to, and less than 2km. from, Velies, ancient coarse sherds are spread

over an area at least 500 x 300m.; some of these are Classical black-glazed.

#### 101. ANCIENT KOTYRTA

Reff: BSA xiv.166; xxiv.148-9; lvi.141, pl.26d; Gazetteer, no.152.

The village of Daimonia lies in a small plain on the coast S. of Plytra. A rocky hill called Kastelli, which rises from the plain to W of the village, has produced abundant evidence of ancient Greek occupation. It is covered with sherds, including LH IIIB and Classical black-glazed, and tiles, and there are many foundations of ancient buildings to be seen. Isolated, though important, finds include a bronze dagger (possibly Mycenaean), an iron sword, 1 FG<sup>632</sup> and 1 b.f.<sup>633</sup> sherd, probably all from tombs. From near the village of Daimonia itself comes a mid-fifth century B.C. clay relief-plaque of Artemis with a hound,<sup>634</sup> which was in company with fragments of terracotta figurines and Classical sherds. Daimonia was almost certainly the site of ancient Kotyrta, the scene of a skirmish in 424 B.C. (Thuc. iv.56.1) between the Spartan coastal watch and an Athenian squadron then based on Kythera (below).<sup>635</sup> The site commands the southern end of the route from Epidauros Limerá via the Molaï plain to Neapolis (Ancient Boiai: below).

#### 102. STENA

Reff: BSA lvi.141-2, figs.12 and 14; Gazetteer, no.153.

Stena is the appropriate name of the high narrow pass through which the main road runs to Neapolis. In the centre of the gap, at the watershed, a steep conical hill commands both the pass and the Vatika plain (below) to the SE. LH IIIB sherds have been found on the upper southern terraces, together with EH and other LH sherds, over an area c. 120 x 80m. Just W of the hill there are ancient quarries and ancient wheel-ruts have been seen in the rock.<sup>636</sup> Further W still, on the coast at the pyrgo of Gardia Kulendiani, the French Expedition found a deep seam of iron ore,<sup>637</sup> which Philipsson has described in detail.<sup>638</sup>

#### 103. ANCIENT BOIAI

Reff: Oberhummer, RE s.v.; BSA xiv. 168ff.; lvi.142ff., figs.13-14; Gazetteer, no.154; T. Arvanitis, Ta Vatika (1971); N. C. Flemming et al., Colston Papers xxiii (1973)9.

According to the tradition (Paus. iii.22.11), the Heraklid Boios founded Boiai by combining the inhabitants of Ētis, Aphrodisias and Sidē. Such a "synoecism" is unlikely to have occurred before the eighth century B.C., but we cannot test this assumption, since the sites of these settlements are, archaeologically, completely unknown.<sup>639</sup> The ancient name of Boiai has been preserved to this day in Vatika (a Turkish corruption of Boiatikos) bay. In

the process of constructing modern Neapolis (1833) Classical Boiai was brought to light.

The remains were rather meagre - foundations of a wall traceable for about 50m. (perhaps constructed during the Peloponnesian War), foundations of a temple c. 15 x 8m., tile-fragments and a few grave-chambers - but there is hope that current excavations will provide fresh evidence. In the meantime we may mention an early fifth-century funerary relief in local stone, which probably comes from the area of the ancient cemetery about 1km. NW of Neapolis to right of the Neapolis-Molai road.<sup>640</sup> At this point there is a group of three spurs, the southernmost of which produced iron slag and Classical sherds, together with traces of tombs cut into the limestone plateau. Extremely fertile and well-watered valleys extend inland between the spurs and numerous Classical sherds have been found in them, which may mean that part of the Classical town spread this far N. Mycenaean occupation, on the other hand, was centred on a very low hill, small in area (it may have suffered erosion by the sea), close to the shore on the opposite (left) side of the road to Molai. Among the plentiful LH III sherds found here there are some of the LH IIIB period. The associated Mycenaean cemetery lay on the two northernmost of the spurs in the group mentioned above.

The "sort of isthmus" (Thuc. vii.26.2), which the Athenians fortified in 414 B.C. to serve both as a reception-point for deserting Helots and as a base for raids on Lakonian farms, may have been the neck of land which then joined the mainland to what is now the island of Elaphonisos (below).<sup>641</sup>

#### 104. THE VATIKA PLAIN

Ref: BSA lvi.145-6, fig.14.

Recent exploration (BCH lxxxii.714) at Ay. Georgios, about 6km. NW of modern Neapolis, has revealed plundered chamber-tombs (probably Mycenaean), most notably a group with stepped dromoi<sup>642</sup> near the school-house, and fragments of an Archaic (Lakonian?) kylix. To W of Ay. Georgios the hamlet of Megali Spilia perches on white cliffs; in the fields below on the SE some black-glazed sherds have been found. Latomion lies on the mainland opposite Elaphonisos. As its name would suggest, there are ancient quarries here, near which black-glazed sherds have been discovered. Bronze Age sherds and obsidian chips are abundant over the whole of the sandy shore as far as the village and an EH (and possibly LH) cemetery has recently been revealed, lying both on the shore and underwater (see also I.vi.§11, s.v. "Pavlopetri" (no.105)).

#### 104A. ANCIENT NYMPHAION

Reff: Frazer iii. 386; BSA xiv.172; Philippon, GL 498.

Pausanias (iii.23.2) mentions a harbour<sup>643</sup> Nymphaion on the way to Cape

Malea from Boiai, distinguished by a cave close to the shore in which a "sweet" (freshwater?) spring rose. At Ay. Marina, which suits Pausanias' description, there are traces of ancient cuttings for the extraction of porous limestone, and sponge-fishers have reportedly seen an "underwater town" lying close to the shore in 7 - 8m.

We cannot, say, however, whether Nymphaion was an old perioikic community or a post-369 B.C. foundation.

#### 104B.CAPE MALEA

Reff: Frazer, Pausanias and other Greek Sketches (1900) 279ff.; BSA xiv.172ff.; Bölte, RE s.v. "Malea(1)"; T. Arvanitis, Ta Vatika (1971) 67-83.

There is a very large number of ancient references to Malea, beginning with Homer (Od.iii.287; iv.514; ix.80; xix.187), and it is only fair to admit that its awesome reputation was deserved.<sup>644</sup> To the Greek sailor Malea represented not only an extreme navigational hazard<sup>645</sup> but also the end of "mare nostrum" and the entry from the E into the waters of Okeanos.<sup>646</sup>

The headland as a whole is 12km. N-S and on average 600m. high, reaching a peak in Mt.Krithina (793m.). The shoreline at the Cape is composed of dizzy crags, about 300m. high, of dark bare rock seamed and scarred by cracks and fissures. Even modern craft, which no longer rely on sails or oars for propulsion, find the customary storms and katabatic winds<sup>647</sup> difficult to overcome.

It is not possible to establish with certainty the site of the sanctuary of Apollo Lithēsios, but it may have lain nearer Boiai than the SE extremity of the headland.<sup>648</sup>

#### 104C.ANCIENT EPIDELION

Reff: BSA xiv. 175-6; xxiv.146; lvi.137 and n.155; Levi, Pausanias ii. 85n.235, 86 n.237.

Traces of antiquity between Cape Malea and Epidauros Limera on the E coast of the Malea peninsula are few and far between. Somewhere along this coastline lay the Χωρίον of Epidelion, but the directions give by Pausanias (iii.23.2ff.) are no help in locating it.

The most likely site is that of Voutama, which is joined by road both to Monemvasia to the N and to Pharaklo (near ancient Boiai) on the S and possesses the only good anchorage on this long stretch of coast. About 2km. N of Voutama columns can be seen underwater when the sea is calm. Prehistoric occupation is suspected, but not proved: the "Pelasgian" wall does not appear to be Mycenaean. The date of the foundation of Epidelion is unknown.

#### 104D.LIMNES

Reff: BSA xiv.176; xxiv.147; lvi.137.

The Temple of Artemis Limnatis (Paus.iii.23.10) has been placed, probably correctly, near the church of Ay. Thekla at Chatsalaga about 1½ hours N of Voutama. The district to the N, Limnes, apparently preserves the ancient name.

Many ancient blocks and some marble columns have been re-used in field walls, and some marble columns were found a few hundred metres E towards the sea. The date of construction is unknown.

#### 11. ELAPHONISOS, KYTHERA and ANTIKYTHERA

##### 105. PAVLOPETRI

Reff: A. Harding et al., BSA lxiv (1969) 113-142, fig.1; A. Harding, Archaeology xxiii (1970) 242-50; N. C. Flemming, Cities in the Sea (1971) 1-11, ch.3, figs.4,6-8, pls.A.1-6,B.4.

An expertly conducted (and promptly published) underwater "excavation" off the islet of Pavlopetri in the narrow strait between Elaphonisos and the mainland has brought to light a large Bronze Age settlement, c. 300 x 100m. in area, which lasted until LH IIIB. In the time of Pausanias (iii.22.10) Elaphonisos (then known as Onougnathos or "Ass-Jaw")<sup>649</sup> was still joined to the mainland, but by 1677 at the latest crustal movements (e.g. the earthquake of A.D. 375) had effected a separation, although the strait was then still easily fordable; today the channel is 2-3m. deep.

On the mainland side of the strait a cemetery of about 60 tombs (probably EH, but a few may be LH) has been revealed. A rock-cut channel leads past the eastern end of the cemetery; it was presumably designed to draw salt-water for evaporation into the lake now known as Strongylo.<sup>650</sup>

Within the settlement, which may have originally occupied twice its preserved area, 15 separate buildings have been identified, with 5 streets, 2 chamber-tombs and at least 37 cist-graves. Almost all the finds were LH IIIB or earlier, but a black-glazed amphora-rim was collected from the sea-bed and a black-glazed sherd from Pavlopetri island.

There appears to have been a brief but small-scale re-occupation in the sixth or seventh century A.D.<sup>651</sup> At the beginning of this century Negris claimed that he had seen the submerged remains of early Christian churches, Venetian monuments, and even those of a still more recent church, which were just breaking the surface of the strait at that time.<sup>652</sup>

##### 106. ELAPHONISOS

Reff: Bölte, RE s.v. "Ὀνοῦ γνάθος(1)"; BSA lvi.145ff., fig.14; Gazetteer, nos.157-8; BSA lxiv.113-42 passim, esp.114n.7; T. Arvanitis, Ta Vatika (1971) 55-59; N. C. Flemming et al., Colston Papers xxiii (1973)9,fig.8.

By the beginning of this century the scattered kalyvia on the infertile

and relatively waterless island (see no.105) of Elaphonisos ("Stag Island") had amalgamated into a single settlement on the strait, which numbered 530 inhabitants in 1961. A surprising number of EH sites has been found, but LH settlement was apparently less dense. In the latter period, the only certain site is in the area of the church of the Panayia (marked H. on BSA lvi, fig.14), where some LH III sherds of reasonable quality have been found, although LH III sherds have also been discovered on a slope a little to S of Elaphonisos village (B. on fig. cit). Arvanitis (p.57) claims that "Ancient graves of the classical and greco-roman periods are found everywhere", but the claim needs to be further investigated!

#### 107. KYTHERA

Reff: Maull-Bürchner, RE s.v.; BSA lvi.148ff., fig.23; Gazetteer, nos.159-165; J. N. Coldstream - G. L. Huxley, edd., Kythera: excavations and studies (1973).

Kythera is not noted for its fertility of soil or mildness of climate. It owed its (sometimes embarrassing) importance in antiquity to its geographical location on the sea lanes running E to W and S to N, where it acted both as a commercial and cultural intermediary and as a convenient place of rest or refuge before or after rounding the awesome Cape Malea (see I.vi. § 10, no.104B). Esoteric early finds include a marble vase, inscribed in hieroglyphs with the name of an Egyptian Fifth Dynasty solar temple,<sup>653</sup> an eighteenth-century B.C. Babylonian inscription of Naram-Sin, King of Eshnunna<sup>654</sup> and a prism seal with a variety of conventionalised pictographic symbols.<sup>655</sup> The people who received these imports were members of a Minoan "colony" (the earliest so far known) established in the EM III period in the Kastri-Palaiopolis region on the E coast. A recent series of British excavations (1964-6, published 1973) has been able to establish the existence of the settlement - or at least that part of it which occupied the west slope of the Kastri promontory - from as early as c. 2600. About 1450 there was a movement away from here, apparently unaccompanied by destruction or violence of any kind and possibly in the face of a growing Mycenaean threat from the mainland.<sup>656</sup> In the latest phase of the settlement a series of LH IIA vases, decorated with representations of double-axes, is characteristic. Surface finds enable the history of the prehistoric site to be followed to the LH IIIB period, which is also represented in a chamber-tomb (J) further inland.<sup>657</sup>

Our next excavated evidence belongs to the late fifth century - Attic r.f., Attic and Lakonian black-glazed and some Corinthian found to N of the main excavated area; murex shells were said to be common.<sup>658</sup> Surface finds include some sherds which may belong earlier in the fifth century and a limestone block inscribed in quasi-Lakonian lettering of c. 525-400 B.C.<sup>659</sup> The

gap of about 700 years can be filled, partially and most unsatisfactorily, by a few Geometric and Archaic pots, mostly from Palaiopolis (now in the Khora Museum),<sup>660</sup> a mid-seventh century bronze female figurine (III.iv(b)5.A.5), a late sixth-century bronze female figurine dedicated by Klearisia, a marble lion and a bronze malé head.<sup>661</sup> Other notable finds include metal slag, sandstone carvings, column drums, ancient walling and tombs.<sup>662</sup>

It is not easy to make the archaeological and literary evidence match each other. Kastri-Palaiopolis is almost certainly ancient Skandeia (Homer, *Il*.x.268), the port of Kythera, which, according to Pausanias (*iii*.23.1), lay a further 10 stades inland. The town of Kythera has accordingly been identified with the mountain of Palaiokastro, on which there are remains of walls enclosing an area c. 900m. N-S x 500 E-W and graves. The site of the church of Ay. Kosmas has been identified with that of the famous temple of Aphrodite (*Hdt*.i.105.3; *Paus*.i.14.7; *iii*.23.1), since it incorporates limestone capitals and other members of an Archaic Doric building of c. 500 B.C.; in fact, the temple seems to have been situated about 400m. further W at a spot called Kolones.<sup>663</sup>

The history of Kythera in the Dark Age is unclear. Herodotus records that the Temple of Aphrodite was a Phoenician foundation<sup>664</sup> and we might reasonably expect Phoenician traders to have been active here between the eleventh and eighth centuries.<sup>665</sup> Until recently it had been assumed that by the sixth century B.C. Kythera was controlled by the Argives, but the implausibility of this on both political and logistic grounds has been correctly pointed out.<sup>666</sup> It is certain, however, that the Spartans took a more direct interest in the island, at least after their acquisition of what might loosely be called a "league" from c. 500 onwards.<sup>667</sup> The full implications of the geographical position of Kythera were made explicit by the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War.<sup>668</sup>

Beside the Kastri/Palaiopolis/Palaiokastro complex the other Kytheran sites pale into insignificance. At Vithoulas near Ay. Pelayia on the NE coast there is a small akropolis where a few LH III sherds, together with Classical black-glazed and iron slag, have been found. The harbour at Ay. Pelayia may always have been in fairly close contact with Neapolis (Ancient Boiai). Classical tombs reported from the neighbourhood of Potamos to the W are perhaps to be associated with the sherds on Vithoulas hill. Near Elleniko in central Kythera, NW of Palaiokastro, an abundance of Classical sherds has been found near the chapel of Ay. Nikolaos, and some more have turned up a little further S at Galati. Those from Ay. Nikolaos may be in fact remains of a conduit leading from the plentiful springs at Gonies (the findspot of IG v.1.945) to Skandeia. At Ay. Demetrios near Pourko a small settlement of the LH III and Classical periods has been located on a spur in broken country on

the edge of the central plateau. At Lioni a small cemetery of chamber-tombs on a terrace above the upper part of Khora village proved on excavation to contain LH II - IIIA pottery;<sup>669</sup> there are sporadic traces of a settlement on lower slopes below the tombs.

#### 108. ANTIKYTHERA

Ref: BSA lvi.160ff., fig.23 (inset).

Antikythera was known by a variety of names in antiquity (Philippson; GL518-9), as is perhaps to be expected in the case of a small island rather off the beaten Greek track. A scholiast on Theokritos calls it a  $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$   $\Lambda\alpha\kappa\omega\nu\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu$  but today it belongs, like its larger neighbour Kythera, to the nome of Attika.

The town of Aigilia was fortified and occupied the small akropolis (c. 175 x 75m.) of Palaiokastro on the NE promontory of the island. The extant walling is polygonal (quarry face) and probably belongs to the fifth century B.C. At some date between about 400 and 350 B.C. the akropolis walls were reconstructed and an outer enceinte-wall added, enclosing an area of c. 300,000 sq.m., comprising the whole of the upper part of the promontory. Many black-glazed sherds have been found here.

The presence of walls of such quality demands an explanation, in view of the absence of evidence for ancient occupation from the rest of the island. It has been suggested that at least the second phase of wall-building was the work of the Athenians, but they may have been responsible for the first wall too. They could have used the island in the Ten Years War (431-421 B.C.) as a base for attacks on Lakonia or as a way-station en route for the west. A function the island performs today - as it no doubt did in antiquity - is to act as a refuge, when sailing is impossible in the area of Kythera and Malea, for ships on their way from Crete, Egypt or the west.

The famous wreck discovered off Antikythera in 1900,<sup>670</sup> whose valuable cargo included fine bronze statuary going back to the fourth century,<sup>671</sup> has been dated by a re-examination of the associated glass and pottery to c. 80 - 50 B.C.<sup>672</sup> The source of the cargo remains an open question.

## II THE PROTOGEOMETRIC PERIOD (c. 950-750)

Man lives for the day. What is he?

What is he not? A shadow in a dream

Is man

(PINDAR, Pyth.viii.95-6)

### i. Introduction

#### (a) Prefatory Remarks

The prehistoric material from the site of classical Sparta (I.vi, no.1) does not seem to me indicative of a settlement, or at least not of one meriting inclusion in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships nor certainly a political and economic centre on the scale of Pylos or Knossos. Habitation properly commenced with the arrival from outside Lakonia of post-Mycenaean newcomers whose presence is attested archaeologically only by sanctuary-deposits and whose origins, despite decades of patient and impatient research, remain obscure.<sup>1</sup> A recent major work has confirmed the correctness of the term "Dark Age" to describe the three or so centuries succeeding the Mycenaean era in Greece,<sup>2</sup> and there can be few regions to equal Lakonia in depth of gloom.<sup>3</sup> Yet during this period there emerged a people sufficiently organised and self-confident to undertake and complete the conquest of enormous tracts of the surrounding territory. This is but the first of the long series of paradoxes<sup>4</sup> awaiting the student of early Iron Age Lakonia as a whole or Sparta in particular. The frailty of the structure that passes for a recreation of early Sparta, including the material component, cannot be over-emphasised.

I have called the earliest phase of settlement in Sparta the "Proto-geometric" (PG) Period out of deference to the style of pottery by which, so far as our limited evidence shows, it was characterised. I do not mean to imply that the name corresponds to an entity resembling for example our own Tudor period. Many parts of Greece have not yielded pottery of this general stylistic type and the producing regions exhibit relatively small congruence in the quantity, quality and duration of the ware. Indeed, on present evidence very few places even in Lakonia knew PG, and of these - another paradox - the site with the largest horizon is Amyklai (I. vi, no.8) not Sparta.

#### (b) State of the Question (ILL.II.1)<sup>5</sup>

The volume of known PG material has grown unevenly, over the last eighty years or so and remains jejune. It was first uncovered by Chr. Tsountas at Amyklai in 1890<sup>6</sup> and again on the same site in 1904 by A. Furtwängler,<sup>7</sup> in 1907 by Furtwängler<sup>8</sup> and E. Fiechter<sup>9</sup> with Greek assistance,<sup>10</sup> and by E. Buschor and W. von Massow in 1925.<sup>11</sup> Thanks to a form of stratification obtained in the last excavation (see ii, below), it became possible to distinguish PG from

Geometric(LG)pottery, so enabling Buschor to recognise PG among the material from the British excavations on the Spartan Akropolis.<sup>12</sup> In 1948 Desborough cited as PG a piece from the so-called Heroon by the Eurotas, excavated in 1906;<sup>13</sup> a few others with the same provenience might also have been mentioned.<sup>14</sup> In 1950 the presence of PG in the Orthia deposits was eventually confidently signalled,<sup>15</sup> but among the "Geometric" material from the Menelaion (I.vi,no.5) I have seen only one piece that could conceivably be so classified (Tray 2431). Surface finds in Lakonia have been made at Stena (no.45), Apidia (no.25), Daimonia (no.101), Volimnos (no.66) and possibly Phoiniki (Temple of Apollo Hyperteleatas, no.99).<sup>16</sup> Outside Lakonia there are excavated examples from Tegea<sup>17</sup> and possibly the Argive Heraion,<sup>18</sup> and sporadic sherds of Lakoniantype at Kaphirio<sup>19</sup> and perhaps Thouria<sup>20</sup> in Messenia.

The study of Lakonian PG was first put on an adequate footing by the pioneering work of Desborough.<sup>21</sup> The earliest excavators had simply classified it under the general heading of "Geometric", although Wace and Droop in 1906<sup>22</sup> and Fiechter in 1918<sup>23</sup> rightly laid stress on the esoteric glaze coating many of these sherds. Von Massow, premising himself on the observed stratification at Amyklai, enunciated the diagnostic features of PG, as he saw them,<sup>24</sup> and Droop used these findings incidentally in his relative chronological classification of the Orthia, Akropolis and Amyklai material.<sup>25</sup> In 1930 Miss W. Lamb, influenced by the firing technique (iii. (a) below), suggested tentatively that one sherd from the Orthia sanctuary in Cambridge might be PG,<sup>26</sup> but in 1948 Desborough was still not clear how far "Amyklaian" PG was coterminous with "Lakonian".<sup>27</sup> In his major synthetic work of 1952 he seems not to have altered his position substantially, although he produced more parallel material from Sparta itself. The subsequent accumulation of evidence has effected a certain limited modification.<sup>28</sup> Summary accounts, both treating the material on a regional basis, have recently been published by J. N. Coldstream<sup>29</sup> and Snodgrass.<sup>30</sup> Detailed publications of sherds from Amyklai in German Museums appeared in 1959<sup>31</sup> and 1966.<sup>32</sup> The special merit of the latter is that it is the first to give some visual idea of a selection from the multiplicity of open rim-profiles (ILL.II.2). Clearly, the time has arrived for a comprehensive synthesis which does justice to the excavated and surface finds, published and unpublished,<sup>33</sup> from both Lakonia and stylistically related areas. About 1300 available pieces scarcely represent a glut of material, but I believe it to be adequate for purposes of analysis.

#### ii. Stratification (ILL.II.3)<sup>34</sup>

Any discussion must start from the material excavated at Amyklai, not only because it is the most voluminous but because in 1925 it was found below

and physically separated from an identifiably Geometric layer and above a certainly earlier deposit.<sup>35</sup> We must, however, proceed with extreme caution, for this "stratification" is not that of a settlement with recognisable and successive floors of occupation but of an isolated votive deposit (no sanctuary building was recovered). It is the result of a discontinuous process of discarding accumulated votives that found their way down the hill of Ayia Kyriaki to their place of discovery outside and below a terrace-wall.<sup>36</sup> We should not, therefore, be surprised that the PG "layer" was contaminated by earlier material, nor unduly impressed by the excavator's observation that where PG was found sporadically it was generally in close association with this same earlier material.<sup>37</sup> Above all, the presence among this intrusive matter of figurines and pottery belonging to the latest (IIIC) phase of the Mycenaean style must not be allowed to prejudice our notions as to the sequence and continuity of cult-practice.

Briefly, the excavation of 1925 gave the following results. At one point immediately outside and below the terrace-wall, which wholly or partially enclosed the sacred area, there was found a layered deposit a few metres long and 1.5-2 metres deep. The uppermost layer contained a little Byzantine and other material; below came a stratum permeated by charred earth (the "Aschenschicht") with objects ranging from Hellenistic back to Archaic times; underneath this was the layer of clay, one metre deep, which is the crucial one for our purposes. The top 12 centimetres or so held Geometric pottery and the bottom few centimetres pre-fourteenth century B.C. wares; in between fell the "Protogeometrische Schicht", characterised by PG pottery but contaminated at varying heights by three small Mycenaean sherds, one Mycenaean terracotta "goddess" - figurine and a fragment of a large Mycenaean terracotta animal-statue. The layer contained also a number of bronze artefacts of post-Mycenaean date. This deposit, it should be noted, is reflected palely in the PG and Geometric material found in the backfill of the terrace-wall and at one point in the "Steinpackung" (used to consolidate the wall).<sup>38</sup>

The problem of interpretation is this: are we to suppose that votives were continuously washed or thrown down the same part of the hill? For with this type of deposition it is possible to conceive that, for example, after the PG material had reached its final resting place, an interval ensued before the Geometric objects came down onto it, during which unwanted votives were distributed elsewhere in the site. The same theory could of course be applied to all the "layers" (this may indeed be the true explanation of the relation between the Byzantine layer and the "Aschenschicht"), but, if the enquiry is confined to the crucial layer of clay, some interesting questions arise. First, the Geometric pottery above the PG layer is "entwickelte" or, as we would now

call it, Late Geometric (LG): the supposition of continuous deposition entails the view that Lakonian PG pottery continued to be made or dedicated roughly down to the middle of the eighth century B.C.<sup>39</sup> Secondly, although there was no purely Mycenaean level below the PG stratum (as the excavator stressed), the Mycenaean material found in it or closely associated with PG pottery on the surface includes IIIC sherds, animal-statuettes and "goddess"-figurines.<sup>40</sup> What does the "stratificational" and surface association imply? If the answer is continuity of cult, then Lakonian PG should begin not later than 1050 B.C. and last for approximately 300 years. But since this is for several reasons (to be discussed in iii (d) below) impossible, one or both of the terminal dates are wrong. Finding the correct or best possible answers involves what could be reasonably described as the fundamental historical problem of early Spartan archaeology - the relationship between the Mycenaean inhabitants of Lakonia and their successors, and the nature and direction of Spartan internal development prior to the wars of expansion in the eighth century.

### iii. The Pottery

#### (a) Clay, Slip, Glaze, and other Technical Aspects<sup>41</sup>

The fullest and most accurate description of the fired clay from Amyklai is given by Canciani: in colour it ranges from a medium-red through red-brown to brown; in composition it can be slightly micaceous and have lime inclusions. This type of clay does occur among the PG wares from Sparta too, but there the clay is generally brown (darkish on the Akropolis, buff at Orthia), although grey and very friable orange varieties exist alongside. Amyklaian PG is almost wholly unslipped, but the proportions of slipless in Sparta correspond crudely to the proportions found in Geometric ware as a whole (65% on the Akropolis, 7% at Orthia).

Presence or absence of slip and firing-temperature are interrelated phenomena and they have their effect on the nature of the glaze.<sup>42</sup> Every commentator since Wace has remarked on its metallic ("auffallend metallisch glänzend") quality; in colour, it fires black to black-brown and sometimes red (if applied too thinly, an insipid brown).<sup>43</sup> In 1927 the metallic lustre to the varnish was found to be due to firing at high temperatures,<sup>44</sup> a practice which was presumably adopted to ensure that the glaze did not crack or rub off.<sup>45</sup> Even today the unslipped PG pottery has a clean, sharp appearance and brittle texture that contrast greatly with the murky and messy quality of much of the slipped ware. It should, however, be stressed that not all Lakonian PG glaze is black and metallic. This is partly due to the occasional use of slip, over which the varnish was fired generally black-brown and matt; but there are also sherds, including a few from Amyklai, which are both slipless and lack the

metallic gleam.

As we have seen, PG was initially isolated from Geometric in Lakonia on broadly stratigraphical grounds. Thanks to the work of Desborough, we are now able to say that the PG style in Greece as a whole is not merely an amalgam of certain shapes and decorative motifs antedating the Geometric but comprises such shapes and decorations as would have been impracticable but for two technical innovations of the eleventh century B.C. in Attika: the faster wheel and the use in conjunction of a multiple-brush and dividers.<sup>46</sup> It is impossible, as will emerge from (b), to say much about Lakonian PG shapes, but to judge from their Geometric successors the faster wheel did not have as much impact in Lakonia as it did elsewhere; equally, the multiple-brush and dividers were used here in an individualistic manner. Nonetheless, the substantive point remains that Lakonian PG shares, after its own fashion, the two fundamental technical ideas of the more progressive areas.

I still feel that in some ways the original description of the fabric by the German excavators - "Early Geometric"<sup>47</sup> - is more appropriate. Alternatively, a case could be made for adopting the neologism "Sub-protogeometric", which was coined to describe a local PG style not contemporary with Attic.<sup>48</sup> For the sake of clarity and simplicity, however, I have retained the by now conventional terminology and I agree with Snodgrass that all refer to "'Geometric' pottery in its broadest sense".<sup>49</sup>

#### (b) Shapes

E. A. Lane dismissed the "Protogeometric and Early Geometric" pottery at Sparta as a "mass of characterless fragments".<sup>50</sup> With two undistinguished exceptions no vase does more than "liess sich nur einigermassen zusammenfügen"<sup>51</sup> and developmental hypotheses on the basis of shape are thereby precluded. Yet we can isolate in a generalised way at least ten different shapes and perhaps by approaching them from a different angle extract new and interesting information. The shapes will be treated in order of the frequency with which they can be observed to occur in the trays of the Sparta Museum.<sup>52</sup> The overwhelming proportion of extant sherds - perhaps as high as 95% - belong to open shapes.<sup>53</sup>

#### 1. OPEN

(1) Deep bellied Skyphos (ILL. II.2d,j; FIG.8):<sup>54</sup> articulated by two and sometimes three grooves into tall, vertical lip (often with everted rim), shoulder and belly; the handle falls at the point of widest diameter immediately below the second (or third) groove. In sherd-format it is not always possible to distinguish this from the krater (3), since they share a common decorative scheme, but size should be a significant criterion.<sup>55</sup> The eagerness to note profiles and draw from them chronological and stylistic

inferences has tended to obscure the fact that beyond a certain point (the dividing-line is naturally somewhat arbitrary) a different profile indicates a different kind of pot, a pot with a different function or use.<sup>56</sup> The skyphos was a drinking-goblet and/or libation-pourer.<sup>57</sup> A high-stemmed variety had achieved considerable popularity in the thirteenth century B.C.,<sup>58</sup> but this variant of the Lakonian PG skyphos appears to have a shorter ancestry.<sup>59</sup> No whole profile is preserved, but the deepness of the bowl would have necessitated a conical or a ring-foot or simply a flat base (see NOTE, below).

(2) Shallow flaring Skyphos (ILL.II.2c, e, f, g, h, i, k; FIG.9):<sup>60</sup> shallower than its bellied relative, but with a similarly everted rim, it too is articulated by grooves coinciding characteristically with the handle-attachment and, if there are two, marking off the lip. The handles are, so far as we can see, horizontal (see NOTE, below).

(3) Krater (or Krateriskos):<sup>61</sup> often difficult to distinguish from skyphos (1), this must, in view of the context,<sup>62</sup> have been a fairly common shape. It will have been used either for mixing with water the wine from which libations were poured or as a container for offerings both liquid (primarily no doubt olive oil, but perhaps milk too)<sup>63</sup> and dry (grain, for example as a tithe).

(4) Bellied Cup or Kantharos<sup>63a</sup> (VA pl.2.10-11): these wholly glazed pieces are important for preserving a rim profile complete with handle; pl.2.11 (FIG.10d), with a bipartite handle<sup>64</sup> that springs diagonally from the body and returns at a slight slant to the level of the rim, is perhaps the more likely to be from a kantharos. So far as can be ascertained, Dark Age Lakonians much preferred to drink from, or at least to dedicate skyphoi, but the presence of kantharoi or cups at all is perhaps significant in view of their popularity in Ithaka, Achaia and Aitolia, areas with which Lakonian PG shows other signs of contact.<sup>65</sup> In Ithaka at least the shapes have a secure Mycenaean ancestry.

(5) Miniature Saucer and Kalathos: these are the two shapes representing a class of inexpensive handmade votives, the kalathos being the commoner.<sup>66</sup> The saucers have horizontal handles (set above/below/flush with the rim) and either a flat base or a crude foot;<sup>67</sup> like the kalathoi they are usually glazed only in part, the glaze firing red. The favourite decoration (not dealt with in (c), below) is a thick and coarse cross, normally painted inside. Their occurrence in equal quantities in the PG and Geometric layers at Amyklai and the use of a white slip on one or two examples may indicate that they occupy a transitional position between the two periods. The fact that they are hand-

made may signify the relative poverty of the dedicator, who will have no doubt attempted to compensate by placing inside them the choicest produce of his land.<sup>68</sup>

## 2. CLOSED

(6) Amphora:<sup>69</sup> Desborough's tentative attribution of an amphora-sherd from the Akropolis (FIG.16b) can be confidently supported following the discovery at Stena of a fragmentary but unquestionably PG neck-handled amphora (FIG.2a).<sup>70</sup> The reasonable state of preservation and its context make it almost certain that it formed part of a grave-group.<sup>71</sup> If this is correct, it is tempting to go further and see in it an imitation (conscious or otherwise) of the Attic practice of placing the ashes of dead males in vases of this type.<sup>72</sup> In only one of the other sherds - again a neck-handled amphora - was it possible to determine the placement of the handles. Its function in the sanctuaries will have been to store or carry the consecrated oil, wine or water.

(7) Hydria: Lakonian PG knows both a miniature<sup>73</sup> and a full-sized (FIG.2b)<sup>74</sup> version of this shape, which represents the combination of the belly-handled amphora and the jug. Its antecedents go back to the Middle Helladic period and, as the name suggests, it became the standard type of water-carrier.<sup>75</sup>

(8) Trefoil-lipped Oinochoe: the shape is represented by only one certain example,<sup>76</sup> which was excavated in the Heroon and is complete in profile apart from a section of the handle (FIG.1).<sup>77</sup> The lip is well-marked and disproportionately large, there are two prominent ridges at the junction of neck and shoulder and the foot is highish conical and conical inside. Desborough's doubts as to whether this is PG<sup>78</sup> can, I believe, be laid to rest: absence of slip, shape of neck and foot (see NOTE, below) and the upper-belly decoration prove the attribution. In Attika the shape became popular late in the Mycenaean series.<sup>79</sup> The name is a translation of its function ("wine-pourer"), although in the specialist literature it tends to be restricted to those jugs which have trefoil-lips (these were better adapted to pouring than simple rounded mouths).<sup>80</sup>

(9) Lekythos: the illustrated example from Amyklai consists only of a long slender neck topped by a trefoil-lip.<sup>81</sup> It may be the case that all oinochoai definitionally possess trefoil-lips, but not all trefoil-lips serve their turn on oinochoai. The shape and size of our example unmistakably mark it out as an unguent-container, for which the term lekythos is alone suitable.<sup>82</sup>

The PG lekythos goes back no further than IIIC, when it began to replace the stirrup-jar, and was subsequently very popular.<sup>83</sup> The characteristic horizontal banding on the neck (shared by the Amyklai example? the photograph is unclear) may be meant to represent its organic binding.<sup>84</sup>

### 3. NOTE: Handles and Bases

Our evidence for these elements is, with but two exceptions, restricted to the finds from Amyklai, which recapitulate the problem of the "stratification" outlined above (ii). The kantharos or cup (4) handles are noteworthy in that they are not high-swung above the level of the rim;<sup>85</sup> the bipartite form of one of these is paralleled on the neck-handled amphora (6) from Stena. The four known examples of twisted (not rope) handles probably go with closed shapes<sup>86</sup> and may reflect external contact with Desborough's "Northern Crescent".<sup>87</sup> Of the others none deserves special comment.

The bases are generally more interesting. The highish hollowed conical feet of the Heroon oinochoe and the Amyklai miniature hydria are surpassed in quality by an unpublished (and unattached) specimen from Amyklai in the sherd collection of the British School at Athens.<sup>88</sup> These all fit into a recognisably PG tradition of known origin but less certain transmission.<sup>89</sup> More problematic are the flat bases and strongly moulded ring feet, of which many "must belong"<sup>90</sup> to skyphoi. Most difficult of all are the smooth-stemmed and ridged flaring feet, which may have supported something like a kylix.<sup>91</sup> Since they could be in either the Mycenaean or PG tradition, they may be thought to express in concentrated form the problem of the origins of the Lakonian PG style, to which we will return after a description of the decorative schemes and their component motifs.

#### (c) Decoration

There are two facets of Lakonian PG decoration which, in the present state of our knowledge, singly or in combination serve to mark off the style from that of all other regions of Greece: the peculiarly total predilection for cross-hatched ornamentation (normally effected in black metallic paint) and the use of horizontal grooving. Furthermore, this is fundamentally a dark-ground style; barely one quarter of the more than one thousand sherds excavated at Amyklai carry any other decoration than black glaze.<sup>92</sup>

Let us consider first the grooving, which can be employed to achieve either a tectonic or a purely decorative effect. In the former case it articulates the profile of open shapes into lip, shoulder and body or marks the junction between neck and shoulder on closed vases.<sup>93</sup> Desborough has suggested that its function was the same as that of the ridges found, for

example, at Aetos on Ithaka,<sup>94</sup> but, since there are nine examples of genuine ridges in the Sparta Museum<sup>95</sup> (two in combination with a groove)<sup>96</sup> it is perhaps more correct to say that the groove supplemented or alternated with the ridge rather than replaced it. Besides, in two cases the raised ridge is incised with roughly triangular indentations, suggesting to me the elaboration of a completely domesticated idea.<sup>97</sup> As a decorative element the groove either appears on wholly-glazed ware<sup>98</sup> or, less excitingly, fulfils the role of the (reserved or painted) band supporting a zone of ornamentation that is found in other fabrics. In brief, although parallels in function can be cited, the usage and above all its frequency remain remarkable.<sup>99</sup>

The same is true of the cross-hatching, whose monotonously regular occurrence, diverse forms and peculiar treatment are unique. The idea was popular elsewhere about the same time (Achaia, Ithaka, Aitolia and Cyprus) but not so totally dominant. Under some guise or other it appears in 18 out of the 29 trays which contain certainly PG sherds. If such statistics have any value, it was proportionately more common on the Akropolis than at Orthia. There was a sprinkling of examples at the Heroon. In the great majority of instances the motif adopts the form of a horizontal zone falling immediately below the rim<sup>100</sup> and (in one or two cases) coming up onto it in disregard of the contour of the vase;<sup>101</sup> there are occasionally two such zones, separated by a groove.<sup>102</sup> Secondarily, it is shaped into triangles<sup>103</sup> (sometimes outlined by a further triangle)<sup>104</sup> or lozenges. About half of the instances of triangles are flanked by short vertical or slanting strokes ranging in number from one to as many as six, while the lozenges are ordered in chains<sup>105</sup> or - a hallmark of Lakonian PG - individually surmount a cross-hatched triangle.<sup>106</sup> Cross-hatching can assume two further configurations: that of a lattice, flanked either by concentric circles<sup>107</sup> (on some amphora-necks the lattice is actually painted over the circles)<sup>108</sup> or by cross-hatched triangles and verticals;<sup>109</sup> and that of a background filling to concentric circles, evidence perhaps of an urge to cover the whole surface of the vase with decoration, a kind of incipient "horror vacui".<sup>110</sup> Finally, a word must be said about the manner of treatment. The heaviness of the mesh, due to the use of thick brush-points, is a peculiarity of the Lakonian painters; so too is the slapdash execution - by no means a rarity - perhaps attributable to the contempt bred of familiarity with the motif.<sup>111</sup>

Concentric circles have been mentioned earlier, but they deserve separate consideration here. The fact that they are drawn with a multiple-brush attached to a compass or dividers has been given due weight in connection with the question of the PG style as a whole (iii (a) above), but it is noteworthy that the brush never has more than six arms<sup>112</sup> and only exceptionally more than three.

This is the result of the extreme compression of the zones and, as with the cross-hatching, the thickness of the brush-points. The known shapes on which they occur are the skyphos (both types),<sup>113</sup> krater<sup>114</sup> and amphora.<sup>115</sup> There are no examples, incidentally, of pendent or upright semicircles.

This brief description covers adequately the basic decorative schemes and individual motifs, whose range is exceedingly limited, and it remains only to take account of a few exceptions which are remarkable partly for their individuality and partly for the external influences or contact they seem to betray. There is first of all the wavy line or scribble, in effect a degenerate zigzag. This can occur singly or in a group, knows both a horizontal and vertical version and is set between retaining bands or in a panel. The horizontal version occurs on the upper belly of both open<sup>116</sup> and closed<sup>117</sup> shapes and on the lip of a sherd from Amyklai.<sup>118</sup> In the last case it seems to replace the canonical cross-hatching of the deep bellied skyphos, but the significance of the usage is ambiguous.<sup>119</sup> I think we are on surer ground with the other examples. The decoration of the Heroon skyphos in particular, as Desborough has pointed out, has Peloponnesian (especially north Peloponnesian) connections.<sup>120</sup> It is deep-bellied with everted lip and horizontal handles springing from the point of widest diameter; between the handles a simple reserved zone is decorated with a wavy line enclosed between two bands, with a further band below; otherwise the pot, so far as it is preserved, is wholly black-glazed but for a narrow reserved band inside the lip.<sup>121</sup> The ultimate ancestor is probably the Argive Granary Class deep bowl<sup>122</sup> and to the PG parallels from the Corinthia, the Argolid and Messenia<sup>123</sup> we may now add a further skyphos from Asine.<sup>124</sup> Two newly published pieces from Derveni in Achaia are perhaps also relevant.<sup>125</sup> I feel less confident in treating the vertical version of the zigzag or wavy line, which can occupy as a group a whole zone<sup>126</sup> or be framed individually within a narrow panel.<sup>127</sup> The former may also be intended to perform the function of cross-hatching, but the latter is a motif in its own right with parallels in several local styles.<sup>128</sup>

A second noteworthy peculiarity is "the checked lozenge with cross-hatching in alternate compartments".<sup>129</sup> Desborough thought the usage implied "a remarkable identity of ideas" with those of a painter on Ithaka,<sup>130</sup> but the fragment from Aetos,<sup>131</sup> to which he compares the two published examples from Amyklai,<sup>132</sup> probably shows part of a complex triangular, not lozenge-shaped, motif. There is, however, a closely similar checked lozenge from Anthochorion,<sup>133</sup> which, like one of the Amyklai sherds, is apparently outlined by a further lozenge. In other words, so far as is known, this is a uniquely Lakonian motif. The identity of ideas is instantiated elsewhere, as the comparison between an unpublished flaring skyphos-rim from Orthia,<sup>134</sup> an oinochoe and amphora from Medeon in Phokis<sup>135</sup> and an oinochoe from Derveni<sup>136</sup>

will reveal. All have the identical triangular scheme, although the Orthia fragment lacks the characteristic "West Greek" fringe.<sup>137</sup>

In conclusion, it should be noted that not all triangles and lozenges are cross-hatched. Simple hatched triangles occur rarely,<sup>138</sup> but unhatched triangles - always arranged in groups with from two to six tiers<sup>139</sup> - are commoner. The two examples of unhatched or "blind" lozenges<sup>140</sup> are interesting and perhaps important for being ordered in chains.<sup>141</sup>

#### (d) Origins, Development and Chronology

The certain conclusions of Desborough that there existed a local pre-Geometric PG style at Amyklai and "related" or comparably "early" wares at Sparta<sup>142</sup> can now be expanded to comprise the assertion, based on the evidence from distribution, that a PG style was common to some concept of Lakonia as a whole.<sup>143</sup> But the problems of origin, development and chronological limits remain, and I must stress that they will continue to remain in their present acute form until stratified occupation-levels have been excavated in an early Iron Age Lakonian settlement. What follows can be no more than a "Vorarbeit" intended to encapsulate the present state of our ignorance.

Three sites in Lakonia have produced material of both the latest Mycenaean and the PG styles: Amyklai, Anthochorion and Apidia. The latter can be safely discounted, since the number of relevant sherds is minute and the finds were sporadic.<sup>144</sup> The other two have at least revealed some form of stratification in controlled excavations, but so far as we can see they are sanctuary-deposits<sup>145</sup> and show disturbance in the levels in which we are interested. The Amyklaian stratigraphy has been set out already and some of the interpretative issues raised (ii, above); a comparison with the picture from Anthochorion (I.vi, no.39) reveals both discrepancies and a curious similarity. There was no pure post-Mycenaean and pre-Geometric level at Anthochorion, but on the other hand there was a Mycenaean layer 1.10 metres deep, characterised by fragments of high-footed vessels (kylikes?). The level succeeding the Mycenaean (labelled "Geometric" by the excavator, but containing PG sherds)<sup>146</sup> was, like the PG stratum at Amyklai, contaminated by intrusive Mycenaean sherds. Can we be sure from the stratification alone that there was continuity of occupation or cult? Certainly, the presence of a significant quantity of Mycenaean pottery, especially of the later phases and including a little IIIC, at a site near the Arkines "tholoi"<sup>147</sup> is suggestive of a sizeable Bronze Age settlement. Certainly, the additional presence of PG somewhat off the (probably) beaten tracks seems to demand a special explanation. Yet I believe that the scantiness of the finds, which have still

to be published in full, and the evidence of disturbance forbid us to proceed further on the basis of the stratigraphy alone.

As with Amyklai, the test of continuity resolves itself into the question of the stylistic relation between the latest Mycenaean and PG: can the latter be held to grow out of, derive from or throw back to the former? Since we are dealing with levels in which undoubtedly Mycenaean and undoubtedly PG material were found in association, we cannot, without recourse to a petitio principii, answer the question with reference to objects that could belong to either style or period. We can, therefore, banish from the discussion a sherd from Amyklai decorated with pendent and standing concentric loops, which is "in the (Mycenaean) tradition",<sup>148</sup> and also the kylix-feet.<sup>149</sup> A special problem, however, is posed by the wheelmade animal-statuettes from Amyklai and they deserve more detailed consideration here. These bulls etc. were first made sometime in the late thirteenth century, but they certainly continued into the twelfth<sup>150</sup> and one example may be from the early eleventh.<sup>151</sup> In a recent masterly survey of Greek votive statuettes from c. 1200 to c. 700 B.C. R. V. Nicholls has stated that there are fragments of this type with PG ornament from the PG level.<sup>152</sup> In fact, the example he cites (the only one illustrated) is not beyond a doubt PG<sup>153</sup> and to the best of my knowledge there are no others from the PG level.<sup>154</sup> There is, however, a sherd excavated by Tsountas that is certainly PG and may just possibly be from a wheelmade animal-statulette.<sup>155</sup> More than this we cannot say, and I do not think it justifiable to use this as evidence of continuity except to corroborate such a finding based on other evidence.

To this we must now turn. The criterion of shape<sup>156</sup> is barely considerable, for there are only two that are wholly preserved: the hydria is known in sub-Mycenaean but represented by a mere three examples from the Athenian Agora;<sup>157</sup> the trefoil-lipped oinochoe makes its first appearance in early IIIC,<sup>158</sup> but the fully developed conical foot is perhaps a PG innovation. For the rest, the deep skyphos probably derives from the Granary Class IIIC deep bowl, but the best preserved example (from the Heroon) is somewhat isolated by its decoration from the Lakonian series. The neck-handled amphora is "plainly an adaptation of a Mycenaean type",<sup>159</sup> but the adaptation took place in Attika. If we move from shape to decoration, the signals are equally indistinct. The use of grooving, whether tectonic or decorative in function, is unambiguously not Mycenaean, although we might note the examples in "Grey Minyan" ware from Troy VII B1. On the other hand, the system of panelling and cross-hatched triangles do have forbears in the latest local variants on the Mycenaean style.<sup>160</sup> But formal similarity is no guarantee of derivation. The treatment of the panelling in a rigidly compacted way contrasts with the more relaxed Mycenaean approach; the triangle, as we have seen in iii(c) above,

is greatly outnumbered by the horizontal or vertical (not Mycenaean) lattice as a configuration for cross-hatched ornament; the overwhelming predilection for cross-hatching per se is foreign to Mycenaean. Finally, and perhaps most important of all, there is the question of the approach to the pot as a whole: Lakonian PG is "an entirely dark-ground system... not to be found in Mycenaean".<sup>161</sup> If these arguments are considered inconclusive, then a comparison between the Lakonian and Ithakan PG styles should settle the matter.<sup>162</sup> Despite significant points of mutual contact (to be discussed below), both in approach and in individual motifs, the Ithakan relates to its Mycenaean predecessor in a way that the Lakonian does not.

In sum, the origins of Lakonian PG are not to be found in IIIC or sub-Mycenaean; the absence of anything later than IIIC at Epidauros Limera may tell its own tale.<sup>163</sup> Are they then to be recognised in the leading PG styles of Thessaly, Attika or the Argolid, for each of which an originating or inspirationally independent role has been claimed?<sup>164</sup> Thessaly could, I think, be ruled out on grounds of geography alone, but there are in fact no reasons for suggesting a link in any case. The influence and often inspiration of Attic PG has been demonstrated for many areas of Greece, but in Lakonia the trefoil-lipped oinochoe and perhaps neck-handled amphora shapes, together with the scheme of concentric circles flanking a cross-hatched rectangle, can hardly be said to demonstrate either. The shape and scheme of the Heroon skyphos and the conical foot may well be derived from the Argolid, but otherwise evidence of such contact, so rich in the LG period, is conspicuous by its absence, even if we allow that the Attic influences were transmitted indirectly through the Argolid.<sup>165</sup> The negative answer to the question posed above should not perhaps surprise us, for in each of these areas continuity or virtual continuity in settlement from the Late Bronze to the early Iron Age is assured and there is a corresponding congruence between the relevant pottery styles.<sup>166</sup> Lack of such congruence in Lakonia should suggest the possibility of a break in occupation or at least external communication and the supervision of a society either at a different level of material development or with a different type of cultural assemblage - a society, broadly speaking, at a certain remove from the sample of cultures with a more settled ancestry discussed above.

If the possibility of a break is admitted, whatever form it may have taken, then we have grounds for looking outside the mainstream styles to discover the source or sources of the PG elements in the Lakonian style, either to those styles which stand in some demonstrable relation to the mainstream<sup>167</sup> or those whose individuality argues some degree of independence of it.<sup>168</sup> Crete apart, geography tends to rule out the members of the "related" group as potential inspirers or influences; and Cretan artistic development

appears somewhat esoteric at this point.<sup>169</sup> Yet within this group there is one site - Medeon in Phokis - where a stylistic link with Lakonia has been noted already.<sup>170</sup> However, the vases in question are oddities in their own context - significantly, I believe, they have more readily ascertainable links with two areas with "independent" styles<sup>171</sup> - and it is to the "independent" group that we must now direct our attention. It is gratifying to find immediately satisfied here two a priori criteria of inspiration: geographical proximity and stylistic affinities. The latter are worth recapitulating: the kantharos shape, especially prevalent in Achaia but common also on Ithaka and in Aitolia; a skyphos from Tragana in Messenia; (perhaps) twisted handles and ribbed kylix-feet on Ithaka; grooving at Nichoria; a fondness for cross-hatching in Achaia, Ithaka (and perhaps Aitolia); a singular triangular motif from Derveni and Medeon (and perhaps Aetos); the enclosing of cross-hatched triangles in metopes in Achaia; concentric circles with few arcs and a suggestively similar total decorative approach at Aetos. The exports, if they are exports, to Thouria and Kaphirio in Messenia are also of course relevant. Yet for all these points of contact, Lakonian PG remains a law unto itself. Admittedly we still have regrettably scanty evidence of PG from western Peloponnese, the northern shore of the Corinthian Gulf or the Ionian islands,<sup>172</sup> but there is perhaps enough to justify their categorisation as a "West Greek" group in a stylistic sense<sup>173</sup> and enough to see that Lakonia cannot be neatly fitted into it.

The outcome of this extended discussion is that Lakonian PG cannot be simply derived either from an antecedent Mycenaean style in Lakonia or from a contemporary PG style. Contact with the "West Greek" group may have been a necessary, but it was not a sufficient, condition of its origin. Some further factor(s) must be postulated and it is not wholly frivolous to suggest that, had we not known from other sources that newcomers made their way to Sparta sometime in the Dark Ages, we would have had to invent them to explain their pottery. Granted that the style could not have originated within Lakonia in total isolation, the most satisfactory and economical hypothesis (from the archaeological side) is one that links the newcomers closely with the new style in such a way as to explain both the PG and "West Greek" elements, most naturally by supposing that this "West Greek" area was where they became acquainted with the techniques of the PG style in general and with particular local shapes and decorative motifs.<sup>174</sup> I am aware that it can be "highly simplistic and misleading" to explain ceramic change in terms of invasion, "in view of the range of factors (excluding invasion) which are known to precipitate"<sup>175</sup> such change - for example, excellence of the potters and painters, local fashion or utility - and that the stylistic range is more likely to have a geographical than a tribal or ethnic significance. But the

hypothesis outlined above seems to account best for the stylistic anomalies already discussed in detail and, as we shall see, can be accommodated within a larger historical scheme.<sup>176</sup>

But before the ceramic evidence can become fodder for the historian a further ingredient must be added to the farrago: chronology. In this connection the student of early Iron Age Lakonia faces yet another of the disappointing paradoxes I referred to in i(a) above. The contexts which have produced apparent links with the more securely dated mainstream styles (the Heroon in Sparta and Stena near Gythion) are unstratified and have no chronological anchors, whereas the "stratified" Amyklai deposit exhibits no obvious and unambiguous signs of chronologically significant external relations.<sup>177</sup> To take the unstratified material first, I find it on balance unlikely that such knowledge of Aegean styles could have been displayed in quite this way very long after PG in Attika and the Argolid had given way to Early Geometric c. 900 B.C. It is worthy of emphasis that these examples stand apart from the main Lakonian PG series. The Heroon vases, seemingly earlier than any others in Sparta, perhaps represent an unrepeated attempt at the translation of mainstream styles into a Lakonian idiom, while the Stena group may show the fruits of maritime contact with the Aegean through the nearby port of Gythion.<sup>178</sup>

For the main series we are forced to rely on the stratification at Amyklai and it is salutary to reflect that with this isolated votive deposit we have no means of ascertaining whether it contains the earliest PG material or how long a period of cult-activity and what proportion of the total dedications it represents. The only control available lies in the contents of the overlying stratum (LG), coupled with the absence of a settled Middle Geometric phase in Sparta,<sup>179</sup> which allow us to be fairly sure that the PG and Geometric layers represent a continuous deposition. We thereby arrive at a terminal date for PG of c. 750, confirmed perhaps by the use of the blind lozenge-chain in a PG context at Amyklai and by the indiscriminate mixture of PG and Geometric in the "Geometric" levels on the Akropolis and at Orthia. For the upper limit we have a terminus post quem of c. 900 + 50 B.C. to allow for the non-derivation from Mycenaean and the presumed imitations of Attic or Argive from the Heroon and Stena. Beyond this we enter the realm of subjective judgements of the relative chronology.<sup>180</sup> The question is: can we conceive the style lasting upwards of 100 years? There is a number of arguments, individually weak but reasonably strong in conjunction, to suggest that we can.<sup>181</sup> Droop thought that he could trace a chronological development from Amyklai (no slip, few concentric circles) through the Spartan Akropolis (some slip, more concentric circles) to the Orthia sanctuary (mainly slip, many concentric circles) and explained this in terms of the order in which the cults were founded.<sup>182</sup> A second argument is based on the

natural inference from the character of Lakonian PG that the potters and painters were considerably isolated from their fellow-craftsmen in other regions. In conditions of cultural isolation or deprivation there is an inbuilt tendency to conservatism or at least an absence of stimulation to innovate.<sup>183</sup> Finally, we are entitled to argue from the simplicity and monotony of the system and motifs of decoration (the evidence from shapes cannot be pressed) that the style could have lasted a relatively long time, for as a rule it is where decoration is complex that there is a propensity to variation and innovation and style changes relatively rapidly.<sup>184</sup> To sum up, I would say that PG began in the second half of the tenth century and ended around the middle of the eighth, occupying a period of between 150 and 200 years.

(e) Summary

The quantity of material available for the study of Lakonian PG is small. Further survey-work and excavation, especially of graves and stratified settlements, is essential. Amyklai is the only certain (cf. Anthochorion) site with a stratified PG layer, but the stratification is that of unwanted votive débris not occupation-floors and the relevant level is contaminated by earlier material. Nonetheless, it is possible to isolate a local PG style which accepted, however mediately and esoterically, the diagnostic technical advances of Attika; it was produced with variations at Amyklai, Sparta and (perhaps) Gythion, and distributed elsewhere in Lakonia and (perhaps) to other areas of the Peloponnese. The style refuses, however, to be categorised either with reference to a Mycenaean predecessor or to a contemporary PG style and occupies a unique position in the Peloponnese as a result. Owing to the insufficiency of evidence for internal development or external connections, it is impossible to say with certainty when or how the style originated and how long it lasted. The lower terminus is fixed about 750 B.C. by the LG stratified above PG at Amyklai. If the severely simple character of the decoration and the finds from Sparta and Stena of probably near-contemporary imitations of Attic and Argive PG are taken into account, a span of 150-200 years and a starting date between 950 and 900 B.C. seem not impossible.

iv. Iron and Other Metals<sup>185</sup>

(a) The Arrival of an "Iron Age"<sup>185a</sup>

The immediately post-Mycenaean era in Lakonia has hitherto been described, without explanation or justification, as the "early Iron Age". It should be stressed, above all in connection with the relevant metal finds, just how far this equation is a mere matter of convention. The fact may be an accurate reflection of reality or simply due to the accident of discovery (or rather the

lack of it), but it is a fact that not before the seventh century does the quantity of known iron artefacts from Lakonia become considerable and that even thereafter it remains surprisingly slight in view of the literary testimony.<sup>186</sup> I have, however, retained the conventional terminology, for any other would be perhaps still more misleading<sup>187</sup> and I incline to the second of the alternative explanations of the blank archaeological record suggested above.

The supersession of bronze by iron is not in any case a straightforward and obvious process. True, iron in its various natural states<sup>188</sup> is distributed more plentifully than copper<sup>189</sup> or, more especially, tin<sup>190</sup> both in Greece and elsewhere.<sup>191</sup> But on the other hand the techniques of iron-working are more intricate and differ in kind from those relevant to the production of serviceable bronze.<sup>192</sup> So while the superiorities of adequately worked iron are easy to state - larger and local available supplies potentially cheapened the productive process; increased rigidity, lightness and ability to take an edge maximised efficiency in use and permitted a longer efficacious life - it is more difficult to enunciate by what steps and over how lengthy a timespan these superiorities were realised in finished goods. The case of Lakonia must regrettably be dismissed for lack of evidence, but there is perhaps enough to attempt to interpret the overall Greek experience; and this has been done (to put it schematically) on two mutually incompatible hypotheses, which envisage either a "long drawn out, piecemeal process"<sup>193</sup> extending over several centuries or a relatively sudden great leap forward. The divergence stems partly from disagreement over the definition of an Iron Age, partly from the inchoate and uneven character of the evidence. Since the question is of enormous technological and historical significance, it is worth setting out the arguments in some detail.

R. Pleiner is a leading recent exponent of the "Piecemeal" hypothesis.<sup>194</sup> He distinguishes three facets of iron (its use, extraction and working), which are not necessarily linked by spatio-temporal position, and three periods of its actual use in Greece that involve these facets in different ways at different times (and presumably, although he does not say this, in different places). His "pre-Iron Age" is none other than the fully developed Bronze Age masquerading under a title that takes account of the few isolated finds of perhaps non-Greek provenience in Mycenaean and Minoan contexts.<sup>195</sup> His "proto-Iron Age"<sup>196</sup> is equally part of the late Bronze (but post-Mycenaean/Minoan) Age, although he admits the possibility of local Greek working of imported unfinished material to fashion weapons and other implements. Finally, his "full-fledged Iron Age" supervenes, further subdivided into an "Early" stage, in which iron is becoming de rigueur in the equipment of the farmer, soldier and

craftsman while retaining the status of a precious metal,<sup>197</sup> and a "fully developed" stage, where iron loses its esoteric cachet, productive techniques gain in sophistication and the range of possible uses diversifies. In terms of absolute chronology, his Iron Age proper does not begin until somewhere in the eighth or possibly ninth century;<sup>198</sup> the factor he takes to be of overriding significance for classification is diversity in usage. The opposed hypothesis is argued most persuasively by Snodgrass.<sup>199</sup> He concentrates unswervingly on the archaeological evidence, ignoring those species of artefact which "must have been" produced but have not actually been discovered. Among the surviving artefacts he isolates what he describes as "certain fundamental classes of object" (swords, spearheads, daggers, knives and axe-heads),<sup>200</sup> for which the superiority of iron ideally so asserts itself that, *ceteris paribus*, it would always be preferred to bronze. In categorising the progress of iron-working or iron-usage his overriding principle is not the diversity of (known and postulated) iron implements but the changing proportion of iron to bronze examples of the members of his "fundamental classes" of edged implements. His findings are that it is the full PG period, at least in the ceramically advanced areas, which first witnesses the decisive preponderance of iron over bronze. It follows, on his view, that "the Protogeometric period... brings in the true Iron Age in Greece" in the second half of the eleventh century.<sup>201</sup>

I am not wholly persuaded by either hypothesis. That of Pleiner goes beyond the archaeological evidence and, in my opinion, rests on a false distinguishing principle of diversity. In fact, Greek blacksmiths never learned to cast iron; bronze was retained for almost all large objects of beaten metal and was used besides for other functional and decorative purposes even after the beginning of the Iron Age (on any definition of it). The major defects of Snodgrass' hypothesis are its limited geographical and conceptual applicability. Until scientific methods of analysis are developed to determine the provenience of Greek metals with accuracy, it will be impossible to say, except very approximately, when the Greeks first produced objects in native iron; and until we have archaeological evidence of the implements used by farmers and craftsmen, we will remain unable to judge the changing proportions of bronze and iron in the overall assemblage. Without this further knowledge I do not feel it is possible to pinpoint the beginning of the Iron Age either in any particular region of Greece or in Greece as a whole. It may, however, be thought that Hesiod, writing towards the end of the eighth century, provides a feasible terminus ante quem.<sup>202</sup>

(b) "PG" Metalwork

To return to Lakonia and darkness from the confused light of the outside world, we find that the post-Mycenaean metallurgy poses fundamentally a

problem of chronology and raises thereby a difficulty of organisation for a study which, like the present one, operates on a synchronic basis. The answers turn on the relative weight to be assigned to stratigraphical and typological considerations in the attribution of objects to a particular period. "PG", as we have seen, is a nomenclature derived from a mode of painted ornamentation applied to pottery; it does not, therefore, transplant easily or naturally to non-ceramic objects. What is worse, Lakonian PG was found to be a highly individual style not related clearly or consistently to any other, whose chronological limits were not precisely ascertainable. How then are we to treat either those metal artefacts from Amyklai which were not stratified with PG pottery but seem to show typological links with independently datable contemporaries from other areas,<sup>203</sup> or analogous metal finds from elsewhere in Lakonia which come either from stratified levels of uncertain chronological determination<sup>204</sup> or are sporadic? In this Part I have proceeded on the general principle that in areas of doubt it is safest to consider as a chronological unity only those objects which are physically associated in the earth - in other words, to prefer the stratigraphical to the typological criterion. If this procedure tends to create the impression (misleading in the case of Lakonia) of a rigid separation between "PG" and "Geometric" metalwork, the distortion is more than corrected both by the quantitative emphasis laid, where it surely belongs, on the later period and by the shift in the focus of attention from Amyklai to Sparta.

(c) Bronze<sup>205</sup>

(1) Strips of sheet bronze (number not stated) decorated with three vertical rows of unevenly spaced repoussé dots (one example illustrated by drawing: VA 35, fig. 17.5; length not given).

It is impossible to say much about what the excavator took to be a small fragment of the leg of a tripod-cauldron managed in a simple way.<sup>206</sup> The dating of early clay and metal tripods found in sanctuary-deposits is highly controversial,<sup>207</sup> but our example need not antedate the eighth century.<sup>208</sup> The context of the dedication may have been a specific event such as a victory in the Hyakinthia, although it is not known either when the festival was first organised or whether tripods were offered as prizes;<sup>209</sup> on the other hand, tripods in early times were a symbol and store of wealth, acceptable gifts for gods and men alike.<sup>210</sup>

(2) Spearhead (VA, fig. 17.2; FIG. 25a): length unknown.

In his comprehensive study of arms and armour from the latest Bronze Age to c. 600 B.C. Snodgrass placed this example in a class of small and very crude bronze spearheads, whose socket was produced not by casting but by

beating the lower end of the flat-cast blade round a cylindrical bar or mandril.<sup>211</sup> If our dating of the associated pottery is correct, the spearhead will be doubly remarkable, first because it is made of bronze when the use of iron for spearheads had become almost standard practice<sup>212</sup> and secondly because the technique of casting hollow cylinders for sockets had been perfectly familiar in the full Bronze Age. In the case of the material, we should certainly make allowance for the fact that this is not a grave-offering but a dedication, which may never have seen the front line;<sup>213</sup> and the same factor may have governed its size. But the primitive technique cannot be explained along the same lines. By this time - perhaps c. 800 B.C.<sup>214</sup> - any self-respecting craftsman producing, however mediately, for a god should have progressed beyond casting in only the simplest two-piece moulds.<sup>215</sup> The explanation lies, I believe, not in lack of individual skill but in the ignorance that arises from isolation.

(3) Spearhead (VA, fig.17.1; FIG. 25b): length unknown.

Snodgrass classified **this** with only one other, which comes from a Middle Geometric grave at Argos.<sup>216</sup> The blade is leaf-shaped and inordinately wide, with a midrib and a short, offset socket like an inverted golf-tee. It is more sophisticated in technique than (2), but the material occasions the same surprise and the shape and size of the socket raise a similar doubt as to its practicality.<sup>217</sup> The width of the blade is a striking rarity, seldom to be found again.<sup>218</sup>

(4) 5 Rings of rolled sheet bronze with midrib (as VA, fig. 17.4,6): W.1.1 - 3.5.

The type is found also in the "Aschenschicht" and "Steinpackung" (see ii, above), as we should expect of an object whose simplicity of design would not admit of much variation or sophistication with the passage of time. There are further comparable specimens in the "Geometric" levels at Orthia<sup>219</sup> and from the Argive Heraion;<sup>220</sup> their function will be discussed in conjunction with (5) - (6).

(5) Sheet bronze fragment (VA, fig. 17.3): W. 4.5.

This is more solidly constructed than the examples discussed in (4) and (to judge from the drawing alone) not obviously from a ring.

(6) 7 Ringlets of tightly rolled sheet bronze, some with repoussé dots (as VA, fig. 17.7-8): H. "a few millimetres".

"A vast quantity" of the same type was found in the "Geometric" levels at Orthia.<sup>221</sup> Droop, I am sure mistakenly, thought they were "doubtless once

strung as necklaces",<sup>222</sup> but in doing so he raised the question of whether the purpose to which these small, crude and not intrinsically pleasing objects were put was purely ornamental or more strictly practical. Von Massow came down on the side of practicality and suggested they were designed to hold locks of hair that had been dedicated to the deity for one reason or another.<sup>223</sup> This is an attractive suggestion, since the magical significance of hair is well attested in ancient<sup>224</sup> (as in modern)<sup>225</sup> Greece and in many societies throughout the world on differing levels of political and technological attainment.<sup>226</sup> The dedications were occasioned by the prospect of dangerous undertakings like a long journey, a war or a "rite de passage" (marriage or initiation into adult status), and the choice of hair was due partly to its availability and partly to the belief that it was "soul-substance, the seat of personality and energy".<sup>227</sup> The transfer of so essential a part of the human equipment, with the deprivation that this involved, was expected to provoke a comparable or greater prestation (in the form of the successful accomplishment of the project in hand) from the deity.

(d) Iron

(1) Sword: length unknown.<sup>228</sup>

Furtwängler described it as a better preserved version of an example from Olympia<sup>229</sup> and Buschor, following the presumed stratigraphical evidence of chronology at Olympia, assigned it and other votive weapons to the PG period.<sup>230</sup> The blade of the Olympia comparandum is insufficiently preserved for it to be classified with precision, but Snodgrass thought it might belong with a group of swords "which preserve most purely the blade-shape of the Bronze Age type".<sup>231</sup> If this is correct, it provides some (and indeed the only) evidence for classifying the Amyklai sword as PG; for the stratigraphy at Olympia, as we have noticed in connection with the putative tripod-leg (c)1, is not so clearcut as Buschor and Furtwängler thought.<sup>232</sup>

The typology may indicate that our sword was used for cutting as well as thrusting, but, since its length is unknown, it is not possible to say for certain whether it should not rather be described as a dirk.<sup>233</sup> The material is in conformity with that of the majority of PG swords;<sup>234</sup> its function as a dedication is remarkable only in so far as it is one of the exceedingly few surviving examples from a Lakonian sanctuary of any period. It can certainly not be used to support the hypothesis that there existed a specialist warrior-corps at this time; apart from general probability based on the probably small size of the community in question, one swallow does not make a summer.<sup>235</sup> Indeed, the object has to be regarded with the utmost circumspection since it has never even been illustrated.

(2) Spearhead (?) (from Stena):<sup>236</sup> L. (preserved in fragments) 32cm.

Little can be said in view of its extremely poor state of preservation, but the material and known context are further confirmation of the preferred use of iron in the PG period, at least for weapons designed for active service.

(e) Summary

The impression of isolation and relative cultural deprivation conveyed by the pottery is amply corroborated by the metalwork. As Snodgrass has well put it:<sup>237</sup> "the bronzes would have looked very old-fashioned even at the earliest possible date suggested by their associations;<sup>238</sup> and this... suggests such a period of restricted and somewhat primitive metallurgy, with partial dependence on Bronze Age heirlooms, as we have inferred elsewhere".<sup>239</sup> The social historian can perhaps draw a little more comfort from the range of functions exhibited (not of course without ambiguity) by the metalwork than he can from that of the pottery<sup>240</sup> (evidence of warfare certainly, perhaps also of peaceful competition and initiatory practices); but he is still like the prisoner in Plato's Cave, who sees only the shadows "of figures of men and animals of wood and stone and other materials". Not before he studies material of the late eighth century in Lakonia could his mind possibly be "dazzled by the stronger light of the clearer world to which it has escaped from its previous ignorance".<sup>241</sup>

v. Historical Conclusions

(a) Introduction

This section is intended to provide a skeletal historical account of the period from c. 1300 to 750 B.C. in Lakonia, with special reference to Sparta. The archaeological evidence for the latest Mycenaean and PG periods will thus be placed within a broader framework and, it is hoped, the different types of source-material will set each other in relief.<sup>242</sup> The reason for going back to the Mycenaean era is the obvious one, that no historical situation or period is wholly comprehensible in isolation from what went before.<sup>243</sup> The absolute date of 1300 was chosen because I take it to mark approximately the apogee of the Bronze Age civilisations centring on the east Mediterranean basin, of which the Mycenaean with its Lakonian component was but one. 750 B.C. is the date at which aggressive Spartans began to conceive their plans of extra-Lakonian territorial annexations and, more parochially, the lower terminus of Lakonian PG; but it is also the beginning of the end of the Greek Dark Age, whether this is defined by the re-adoption of writing or some other criterion.<sup>244</sup>

(b) Myceaneans (ILLS. II. 4-5)

"Mycenaean" conventionally describes the culture common to most of mainland Greece and a few areas outside between c. 1550 and 1100/1050 B.C.<sup>245</sup> The designation derives from the combined testimony of Homer and archaeology: Mycenae, "rich in gold" (Il. vii.180; xi. 46; Od. iii.304) and the seat of King Agamemnon, sceptred "lord of Argos and many islands" (Il.ii.108), has yielded its treasures to the spade on a scale that only an optimist like Schliemann could have anticipated.<sup>246</sup> For some scholars the epithet remains no more than a convention, but others would assent more or less enthusiastically to the following recent judgement: "There is no solid proof that Greece and the Aegean formed a union of kingdoms under one overlord, but I think that the balance of probability is that such was the case. And if there was a High King, he would have had his seat at Mycenae".<sup>247</sup> In principle Lakonia should provide a fair test both of how far and in what sense(s) the "type-site" typifies the whole culture and of the nature of the overall political and economic relationship between the component areas. The practice, as will emerge, is less straightforward.

Twenty years ago the Mycenaean period was fully prehistoric in the sense that it was text-free,<sup>248</sup> but thanks to a combination of detective-work and scholarship it is now possible to read some of its documents. These consist of baked clay tablets of varying shapes and sizes inscribed in a syllabary ("Linear B") devised to transcribe an early form of the Greek language.<sup>249</sup> The findspots are significant but few,<sup>250</sup> although they can be supplemented by

sites which have produced inscribed vases.<sup>251</sup> The total number of symbols (signs and ideograms) is about 200<sup>252</sup> and in Knossos at least there were about 75 scribes, to judge from the only available criterion of handwriting.<sup>253</sup> The contexts in which the tablets were found may be spread over up to 200 years, but little or no stylistic development is discernible.<sup>254</sup> The decipherment, still contested by some,<sup>255</sup> has made available an important new source of information and provoked a staggering volume of research.<sup>256</sup> Yet the scope of the advance is restricted in terms both of geographical applicability and of the type of information conveyed. Lakonia is only one of the no doubt important areas that have yet to produce Linear B inscriptions, but the reason is not far to seek. All known tablets come from complex, strong and wealthy structures that might reasonably be called palaces or castles on purely archaeological grounds<sup>257</sup> or from buildings in some way connected with them,<sup>258</sup> while no such structure has been so far located in Lakonia. It is uncertain how far this negative evidence should be pressed,<sup>259</sup> but it is clear that the finds and their findspots are necessarily connected: "the palaces fostered literacy, literacy served the palaces".<sup>260</sup> The tablets are simply the everyday administrative mnemonics of centralised and bureaucratic monarchies; they were used for the collection of raw facts, primarily of a narrowly economic nature, and not for final digests or permanent records;<sup>261</sup> "... there is not a scrap of poetry, law, religious text, oratory, history or anything whatever except accounts, lists, prices, allotments, totals, requisitions, assignments".<sup>262</sup> They enable us to differentiate generally between the Pylian and Knossian economies,<sup>263</sup> to assert the existence of a multiplicity of social statuses and factors of production<sup>264</sup> and to postulate the existence of a Mycenaean koine dialect with affinities closest to the classical Arkado-Cypriot group;<sup>265</sup> but thereafter we are forced back on the pre-decipherment sources. There is perhaps a case for redefining the Mycenaean period as "protohistoric", but for our purposes the lack of Lakonian Linear B tablets is not yet disastrous.<sup>266</sup>

The use of tablets does, however, suggest at least a prima facie comparability with the contemporary civilisations of Egypt, Anatolia and the Levant and provides a convenient transition to the (in my opinion) proper context for studying late Mycenaean Greece.<sup>267</sup> The documentary "evidence" for contact or conflict between the Greeks and their eastern neighbours in the political, diplomatic or military spheres<sup>268</sup> is perhaps in many cases merely the spurious product of "a sort of philological game of hopscotch",<sup>269</sup> but the intercourse in articles of trade (actual finds and inferences from the Linear B tablets)<sup>270</sup> and the artistic interconnections<sup>271</sup> are not so easily disposed of. It is unlikely to be simply coincidental that the Mycenaean time of troubles marched in step with a series of destructive

upheavals which engulfed the whole east Mediterranean basin, even though it is as yet unclear, as we shall discover, precisely what the nature of the connection was. Underlying tensions were given an ominously concrete expression c. 1300,<sup>272</sup> when Egypt and Hatti (the Hittites) fought a major but inconclusive battle at Qadesh in Syria.<sup>273</sup> Sixteen years later Pharaoh Rameses II and Hattusilis III concluded peace on terms that included guarantees of mutual aid in case either power was attacked<sup>274</sup> - a sign of war-weariness or internal exhaustion? - and sealed the treaty with a marriage-alliance. The practical effect was relatively shortlived, for c. 1232 Pharaoh Merneptah was obliged to repulse an invasion mounted by Libyans from Cyrenaica and "Northerners from all lands"<sup>275</sup> and c. 1191 Rameses III defeated insurgents who came by land and sea from the north-east to settle in the Nile delta.<sup>276</sup> In the interval between these difficult defences of Egypt the Hittite capital was destroyed and the empire disintegrated;<sup>277</sup> the kingdoms of Ugarit,<sup>278</sup> Alalakh<sup>279</sup> and Alasia<sup>280</sup> met a similar fate and there were other disasters further south.<sup>281</sup> In the space of about a century the balance of power in the middle East had been forcibly and irretrievably altered.

1300 B.C. can therefore be legitimately regarded as a pivotal point. In Greek terms this is probably the (now most widely accepted) date of the transition from the Late Helladic (LH) or Mycenaean IIIA pottery-style to IIIB.<sup>282</sup> This may seem an improbable way of making a historical assertion, but history is nothing without chronology and the chronology of the Aegean Bronze Age is a matter of the typology of its pottery. The three main ceramic phases of the Mycenaean period are not incompatible with the few available excavated stratigraphies,<sup>283</sup> but their subdivisions - seven for the third phase alone and ten in all, according to the generally useful scheme of A. Furumark<sup>284</sup> - have no stratigraphical correlates whatever; they are based on subjective judgements of the direction and pace of stylistic change and on arbitrary decisions as to where one begins and another ends.<sup>285</sup> Absolute dates can be derived only from the association of Mycenaean pottery in datable Egyptian contexts or with objects that can be cross-referenced with the Egyptian series.<sup>286</sup> Both the initial and terminal dates of LH IIIB are controversial<sup>287</sup> and the nature and pace of change within the style are detectable with assurance only at Mycenae<sup>288</sup> - no trivial matters, for the "historiography" of the period depends on them. It is not disputed that pottery can and must be used as evidence for chronology. Problems, however, arise when attempts are made to extract from the various facets of pottery manufacture (quality, quantity, distribution, provenience, usage and so on) inferences of other kinds.<sup>289</sup> Particular caution must be exercised when pottery, because of its fitness to survive, constitutes the bulk of the artefactual (or, as so often in prehistoric contexts, of the total) evidence. This applies to both Late

Mycenaean and, as we have seen already, PG Lakonia; indeed, it applies especially here in view of the slight quantity of excavated material.

LH IIIB pottery was diffused very widely.<sup>290</sup> On the mainland it was produced at several local centres and enjoyed common currency as far north as Thessaly;<sup>291</sup> there are isolated pockets even in the mountainous interior of Epirus.<sup>292</sup> Overseas it was used in the east<sup>293</sup> and the west<sup>294</sup> both by foreigners and by Mycenaean Greeks in temporary or permanent exile; but the mechanisms by which it reached its eventual findspots are largely conjectural.<sup>295</sup> The concentration of exports, which begin to gather momentum in the fourteenth century, may be somehow connected with the fall of Knossos (if the earlier dating is accepted) or with the establishment of Mycenaean traders in semi-permanent emporia, for example at Scoglio del Tonno in the instep of Italy, Ugarit in Syria and various sites in Cyprus. At any rate, along with the increasing weight of production and breadth of distribution there develops a homogeneity of fabric and style that makes it difficult to discover the provenience of particular pots or sherds.<sup>296</sup> The hope that it would one day be possible to differentiate for example Lakonian and Corinthian LH IIIB in the same routine way as their Archaic counterparts<sup>297</sup> has proved vain, although some progress has been made - and more is to be expected - by applying the technique of spectrographic analysis.<sup>298</sup> Indeed, until kilns are excavated, it is to some extent an article of faith that the LH IIIB pottery so widely distributed in Lakonia, which provides the chief body of evidence for the nature and density of settlement, was made locally and not, say, in some central manufactory in the Mycenaean heartland, the Argolid.<sup>299</sup> There is, however, a certain amount of regional differentiation, most obviously seen in the clay and paint, and it is in this area that much future research should be conducted.<sup>300</sup> For what is unclear, as I said earlier, is how far the typology being worked out for the rich and stratigraphically determined ceramic series of Mycenae is applicable to other local series. An automatic transference of hypotheses derived from the one area to the evidence of the other can raise large problems.

Considerable light would of course be shed on this question by the excavation of settlements with clearly stratified floors of occupation. As it is, Lakonia has been strangely neglected in this department, although the neglect is partly compensated for by surface surveys.<sup>301</sup> Unfortunately these were not entirely complementary, for while the earlier surveyors covered much ground but largely ignored the prehistoric period, their successors concentrated mainly on the prehistoric material but covered only about half of Lakonia.<sup>302</sup> Besides, evidence from survey is subject to a number of limitations that can be surmounted only by (or at least not without) excavation: for example, erosion, subsequent settlement, deep ploughing and maquis can singly

or in combination obliterate or temporarily obscure traces of habitation; different patterns of settlement and different cultural assemblages paint surface pictures of differential perceptibility.<sup>303</sup> The list of limiting factors could be extended<sup>304</sup> and most, perhaps all, have been operative in Lakonia. Corresponding caution should, therefore, be applied here as to evidence from pottery-manufacture. Indeed, in most cases the two categories overlap and, what is more disturbing, they do so in a particular way; for not all types of pot have the same or even comparable potentialities of survival; or, to be more precise, they do not all have an equal tendency to survive obviously or diagnostically. The overwhelming proportion of Lakonian LH IIIB sites identified by surface survey alone made their presence known through kylikes, deep bowls or stemmed bowls and often by a combination of sherds from all three shapes.<sup>305</sup> Thus the apparently high relative density of population in LH IIIB, insofar as it is revealed only by surface sherds of these types, may be a mirage arising from an accident of cultural choice in the ceramic sphere. Fortunately this inference can be checked against ~~evidence of other types~~ and from other areas and is unlikely to be correct; but it is not beyond a doubt incorrect and the possibility reinforces the urgency of the need for more excavation.

So far 35 sites in Lakonia have yielded certainly IIIB pottery and another 4 should perhaps be added; if sites west of Taygetos are excluded, to avoid confusion with statistics for Messenia, the numbers are respectively 32 and 2. Of the maximum possible (39) sites only one, Ayios Stephanos (no.33), is both certainly a settlement (as opposed to sanctuary or tomb) and scientifically excavated. Pavlopetri (no.105) would be the second were it not now underwater, where natural conditions made it ~~im~~possible to recover more than a bare outline of the site. To take them in reverse order, Pavlopetri is remarkable in several ways despite its situation. The divers were able to plot the extent of the settlement (at least c. 45,000 sq.m.) and recover something of its plan, including streets with their frontages of houses. Perhaps most striking of all are the burial customs: only two chamber-tombs, usually considered the customary receptacles for dead Mycenaeans,<sup>306</sup> as against 37 cist-graves,<sup>307</sup> which had been well-attested in the Middle Helladic period but infrequent thereafter. It is, however, perhaps wise to await fresh evidence before the question of what was normal burial practice is decided.<sup>308</sup> As far as could be ascertained, the settlement came to an end in IIIB, but the cause is unknown; at a much later period the area was used as a place of refuge from the Slavs.<sup>308a</sup>

Ayios Stephanos on the other hand outlived the IIIB style. IIIC sherds were found sporadically and one excavated IIIC pot, from a grave on the top of the hill, has been illustrated.<sup>309</sup> The akropolis was fortified, in the thirteenth century to judge from the associated pottery, and perhaps more than once; it

thereby takes its place with Mouriatadha, which lay not far from the unfortified "Palace of Nestor".<sup>310</sup> The identification of Ayios Stephanos with the Helos of the Homeric Catalogue of Ships is possible (see (d), below) and certainly the site is strategically placed to guard both the western side of the Helos plain and the approach by sea from the Lakonian gulf.

The major focus of interest, however, is the Mycenaean settlement (no.5) on the hill across the Eurotas from Sparta, which in Geometric times and later was the site of a sanctuary of Menelaos and Helen. The siting may have been prompted by actual Mycenaean remains or memories preserved by word of mouth,<sup>310a</sup> but it is not likely to be a coincidence that the Spartans sanctified an originally secular area at a time when there is considerable parallel evidence from other regions of an interest in the heroic past.<sup>311</sup> The settlement, however, was not properly, let alone totally, excavated in 1910; so until the results of the latest excavations are known it is a case of using one house to interpret a site. Several scholars believe that a palace fit for Menelaos to inhabit awaits discovery here, but there is as yet not a particle of corroborative evidence.<sup>312</sup> The house, together with its store of wine,<sup>313</sup> was apparently destroyed by fire during the currency of LH IIIB, but the agents and motive of destruction are alike unknown. On the basis of the published pottery and cross-reference with the Mycenae sequence, Mrs. French has suggested that the destruction occurred in LH IIIB1 (c. 1250),<sup>314</sup> but I understand that LH IIIB in Lakonia cannot yet be subdivided into two phases.<sup>315</sup> The destruction could then have been later, especially if we postulate a time-lag between the Argolid and Lakonia in stylistic development, but it is not safe to be too precise.<sup>316</sup> The evidence is altogether unsatisfactory and it would be incautious as yet to link the destruction of a single house with the destructions that a number of the most important centres suffered during IIIB or C,<sup>317</sup> let alone think of the settlement as a whole in terms of Mycenae, Tiryns or Pylos. An additional find (by Tsountas) further complicates the issue: a fibula of the type ("violin-bow") which Chr. Blinkenberg in his synoptic study considered to be the earliest and which originated in the IIIB/C period.<sup>318</sup> Our example may have come from a tomb, or alternatively it may be a dedication of the Geometric period, surviving the interval perhaps as an heirloom.<sup>319</sup> Further speculation would not be profitable.

These three are the sum of the excavated IIIB settlements. The latest Mycenaean material excavated at the site of the classical temenos of Apollo at Amyklai (no.8) almost certainly represents cultic activity.<sup>320</sup> There was a Bronze Age settlement here, but it seems to have ended in the Middle Helladic period; the site of the subsequent Mycenaean (and indeed classical) settlement is not certainly known. Our picture of Mycenaean religious practices and beliefs is a combination of inferences from archaeological material,<sup>321</sup> later

literary testimony<sup>322</sup> and the fragmentary Linear B tablets.<sup>323</sup> But recent discovery at Mycenae has necessitated a revision of ideas about the connection between palace and cult;<sup>324</sup> extrapolations from later practice involve the prior problem of the correct interpretation of that practice and the dangers of arguing in a circle; finally, a brief and convincing article has thrown doubt on a number of readings and interpretations of central Linear B tablets.<sup>325</sup> It is, therefore, hazardous to conjecture the identity of Mycenaean deities and their possible powers and attributes.

Amyklai, however, provides evidence that has been thought to justify bolder hypotheses. In the classical period the chief god was Apollo,<sup>326</sup> worshipped under a military guise,<sup>327</sup> but his cult coexisted happily,<sup>328</sup> though to us somewhat obscurely,<sup>329</sup> with that of Hyakinthos,<sup>330</sup> whose name ends in a suffix which many philologists consider to be not merely pre-Dorian but pre-Greek.<sup>331</sup> It is contemplated that Hyakinthos is the Ur-divinity of Amyklai, taken over by the Greeks whenever they "arrived" in Lakonia and surviving the Dark Ages intact until his cult was somehow amalgamated<sup>332</sup> with that of the "Dorian" Apollo.<sup>333</sup> This is a plausible and economical hypothesis - different divinities might explain, for example, the change from purely terracotta Mycenaean offerings to the terracotta and metal ex-votos of the PG period - but, as we have seen, not so certain as some believe.<sup>334</sup> By themselves of course the material objects cannot indicate the identity of the divinities, and the distribution of the month Hyakinthios suggests on the face of it a more exclusively Dorian than broadly Mycenaean attachment.<sup>335</sup> On the other hand, there is additional evidence of Bronze Age cultic survivals in the area.<sup>336</sup> The motive for establishing such a cult in the IIIB period may have been fear arising out of the prevailing conditions of uncertainty<sup>337</sup> and, to judge from the excavated material, it gained in adherents in IIIC, who continued their worship into the eleventh century. What happened thereafter is something of a mystery, but if Hyakinthos "survived" until we have sure material evidence of a resumption of cult-activity (c. 950 at the earliest) then his worship in the interim was expressed in perishable media.<sup>338</sup>

The remainder of the excavated IIIB evidence comes from tombs and nearly all were of the chamber-type (Melathria, Krokeai, Tsasi, Mavrovouni, Pellana, Kotroni, Epidauros Limera and Kythera);<sup>339</sup> Krokeai has also produced a slab-covered shaft-grave. The tholoi at Analipsis (no.72) and Kambos (no.58) were built considerably earlier, but remained in use until the IIIB period;<sup>340</sup> they are usually taken to be evidence of a local nobility.<sup>341</sup> The cists of Pavlopetri and perhaps Ayios Stephanos may represent the other side of the social coin.

This leaves 21 sites where habitation is attested only by surface-finds<sup>342</sup> and one site, Sparta (no.1), where IIIB has turned up in excavation but

desultorily and in tiny quantities. The resulting settlement-pattern suggests a relatively high density of population, concentrated not surprisingly in the comparatively fertile Eurotas valley but extending into upland and sometimes mountainous country too.<sup>343</sup> If we include those sites whose pottery is not more precisely categorisable than LH III,<sup>344</sup> the total (63) approaches more closely the figure obtained for south-western Peloponnese after several seasons of co-ordinated and intensive survey work.<sup>345</sup> This area too shows a maximum density of settlement in the IIIB period,<sup>346</sup> but the evidence is richer and more variegated: the "Palace of Nestor" has its mortuary correlates in the finely constructed tholoi and chamber-tombs for which the only Lakonian parallel, the Vaphio tholos (no.7), belongs to an earlier epoch. The correspondence, such as it is, is only of a very general nature.<sup>347</sup>

There is, however, one aspect of this correspondence which, despite the insufficiency of the Lakonian evidence, has been heavily stressed in some recent "historical" accounts of the Late Bronze Age: the exponential decline in the number of inhabited sites attested for the IIIC period (7 certain<sup>348</sup> and another 8 possible,<sup>349</sup> or 6 and 7 if sites west of Taygetos are excluded)<sup>350</sup> in contrast to the IIIB peak.<sup>351</sup> At Amyklai, as described above, there is actually an observable increase either in population or simply in cultic activity; Ayios Stephanos is the only site to have produced evidence of more than one kind in IIIC (tomb and settlement). Geraki (no.21), Karaousi (no.34) and Anthochorion (no.39)<sup>352</sup> are the only other excavated IIIC sites and they do not inspire confident inferences. Geraki yielded three psi-type "goddess"-figurines (Class D in Mrs. French's classification);<sup>353</sup> the excavation at Karaousi had disappointing results, but some IIIC sherds were found; Anthochorion aroused great hopes of demonstrating continuity from the Bronze Age to the Classical period, but the finds have not been published in detail and the character of the deposit - at least its Bronze Age component - is unclear. The excavated tomb-sites are more promising. A kernos of unique form from a chamber-tomb at Krokeai (no.15) shows that life was still supportable in eastern Vardhounia,<sup>354</sup> as do the seven IIIC vases from two well-constructed chamber-tombs at Pellana (no.69).<sup>355</sup>

However, most impressive of all in their richness and chronological range, together with the evidence of external contacts, are the finds from tombs at Epidauros Limera (no.90). The area undoubtedly received an influx of settlers during IIIC, although we cannot of course be sure whether their Aegean connections were established before or after their arrival. In view of the evidence for depopulation elsewhere in Lakonia, it is reasonable to suggest that the newcomers were displaced Lakonians; the most obvious point

of origin is the Spartan plain, which has easy routes of communication with Epidauros Limera<sup>356</sup> and suffered the greatest depopulation. It is at least highly suggestive that this was precisely the place of refuge selected by the inhabitants of the Sparta area in face of the Slav invasions of the late sixth century A.D.<sup>357</sup> When established at Epidauros Limera, these Mycenaean formed part of an Aegean koine that embraced sites like Perati (probably another refugee-settlement), Asine and Naxos; their pottery in the earlier phases of IIIC shows contact even with Crete.<sup>358</sup> Furthermore, the cemetery remained in use into sub-Mycenaean times (to c. 1050). When the other members of the koine dropped away, the potters may have turned to the communities of central Greece for their continuing inspiration.<sup>359</sup> But the latest finds fail to bridge the transition from sub-Mycenaean to PG and the subsequent fate of the settlement is unknown.<sup>360</sup>

The only other Lakonian site that maintained external links is Amyklai, where one sherd (FIG.7a) and one wheelmade terracotta statuette are decorated in the Argive-inspired "Close Style", and it too may have survived into sub-Mycenaean times. Certainly inhabited in IIIC, but attested only by a few surface sherds of an early phase of the style, is Apidia (no.25) in the valley between Geraki and Epidauros Limera.<sup>361</sup> Finally, there is evidence of "sub-Mycenaean" habitation at Kardamyle (no.57).

To sum up, the IIIC settlement-pattern in Lakonia is radically altered, showing a reduction in the number of inhabited sites, particularly in the Eurotas valley, by about 62.5% overall. Some habitation, it is true, is attested in almost all the main geographical divisions of Lakonia, but it is on an enormously reduced scale. Conversely, Amyklai possibly and Epidauros Limera certainly increased in size; they and Kardamyle continued to be inhabited until some time in the eleventh century. The phenomenon of decline, if correctly analysed, is by no means peculiar to Lakonia; the parallel situation in south-western Peloponnese has already been noted and it extends to all the major regions of IIIB settlement.<sup>362</sup> Equally, the internal redistribution of population inferred for Epidauros Limera (and perhaps Amyklai) is writ large in the influx of settlers, notably into Achaia and the Ionian islands of Ithaka and Kephallenia but also further afield, in IIIC.<sup>363</sup> These parallels should not perhaps be pressed, for the Lakonian evidence is provisional and in particular there is nothing but the destruction of a single house at the Menelaion hill to compare to the disasters which overtook Thebes, Gla, Iolkos, Mycenae, Tiryns and Pylos (to name only the most prominent) in the IIIB or C periods.<sup>364</sup> Nonetheless, the mainland Greek disequilibrium coincides broadly with the upheavals that affected the entire east Mediterranean basin and it would be anomalous if the Lakonian development were wholly unconnected.

At first sight a hypothesis that accounted for all these geographically disparate yet superficially similar and roughly contemporary phenomena would appear to have the merits of simplicity and economy, but in the present state of our knowledge it is perhaps preferable to suspend judgement.<sup>365</sup> The hypothesis of Rhys Carpenter,<sup>366</sup> for example, which postulates a shift in the trade winds to a more westerly track bringing on an extended drought and consequential famine, disease and perhaps riots, seems unsupported and possibly falsified by what relevant evidence there is from Greece;<sup>367</sup> nor does the documentary evidence of famine at Hattusas and Ugarit c. 1200<sup>368</sup> prove there was a climatic change either in the central Anatolian plateau or anywhere else in the near East, let alone Greece. Similarly, the theory of a widespread epidemic of bubonic plague cannot be evaluated for lack of evidence.<sup>369</sup> The alternative sweeping hypothesis generally invokes the activities of the peoples who confronted the Egyptian Pharaohs in the late thirteenth and early twelfth centuries,<sup>370</sup> but it cannot be shown that they were responsible for the downfall of the Hittite empire or the destructions of Ugarit and other sites in the Levant<sup>371</sup> and Greece.<sup>372</sup>

It is, therefore, permissible to look for more localised and specifically Greek explanations. From the purely archaeological side it could be argued that intensification of settlement, largescale pasturage and expansion of overseas trade in IIIB had led to extensive forest-clearance<sup>373</sup> and that the resulting deforestation and erosion had had a deleterious effect on the vegetational climax.<sup>374</sup> The depopulation in IIIC would then have been the result both of flight to less heavily settled areas in search of food and of the death by famine and disease of those who remained behind. Deforestation is not, however, a sufficient explanation of the material record, because it leaves the destructions out of account. Since these were inflicted by people who have left no other mark of their presence and since the Mycenaean way of life continued, albeit on a reduced scale, the attackers were either themselves Mycenaeans<sup>375</sup> or outsiders whose material accoutrements were either Mycenaean or perishable or hitherto unrecognised or not left behind.<sup>376</sup> The wall across the Isthmus<sup>377</sup> (if it is a fortification-wall and spanned the entire Isthmus)<sup>378</sup> most naturally suggests that an attack was expected by land from the north; the associated sherds belonging to the LH IIIB/C transition make it clear that the wall was built by users of Mycenaean pottery, though not necessarily by Mycenaeans, but the dispute over relative chronology at this critical point<sup>379</sup> leaves open the possibilities that it was constructed after some, most or even all of the (IIIB) destructions in the Peloponnese.<sup>380</sup> The hypothesis of land invaders from north of the Isthmus (but how far north?) suits the IIIC picture of relative prosperity in the Aegean and influxes of

population into Achaia and the Ionian islands,<sup>381</sup> but it does not explain, for example, why they confined their attention in western Peloponnese to the "Palace of Nestor" or why they did not settle (unless they were Mycenaeans). Further speculation could be—and of course generally is! — conducted on the basis of the material remains alone, but it is unlikely to clarify the problems substantially.<sup>382</sup> The Linear B tablets, for the reasons outlined earlier, have not yet made any fresh contribution, despite the interpretative ingenuities of Palmer and others,<sup>383</sup> and are unlikely to do so in the future. There remains, however, a mine of information that deserves to be exploited: Greek oral tradition, including the Homeric poems.

(c) The Homeric Poems<sup>384</sup> and other Greek Oral Tradition as History:  
Problems of Method and Interpretation

Let us hope, then, that I shall succeed in purifying fable, and make her submit to reason and take on the appearance of history. But when she obstinately defies probability and refuses to admit any element of the credible, I shall throw myself on the indulgence of my readers and of those who can listen with forbearance to the tales of antiquity

(PLUTARCH, Theseus)

It can never be demonstrated, but it has proved a highly fruitful working hypothesis that in c. 1200 B.C. the restricted literacy embodied in the use of the Linear B script shared the fate of the palace-economies it had exclusively served and that subsequently there was felt neither the need nor the inclination to transmit the technique of writing to the rising generation.<sup>385</sup> In other words, in the 400 or so years that intervened before the creation of an alphabet out of the Phoenician sign-system<sup>386</sup> the Greeks communicated amongst themselves solely through oral discourse, whether in poetry or in prose, and normally in face-to-face contact. The fact of illiteracy is not in itself remarkable, given the nature of Linear B and the other forms of script that had been in use for so infinitesimal a fraction of the total earthly span of all hitherto existing human societies. But for the historian of the period it raises crucial problems of method.<sup>387</sup>

Before discussing these, however, I should perhaps point out that, although "historian", "historiography" and kindred expressions have a classical Greek etymology, their respective spheres of reference in ancient and modern ("western")<sup>388</sup> cultures do not wholly overlap either in the activities they describe or in the aims to which the activities are directed.<sup>389</sup> It is, therefore, at first sight somewhat anomalous that Herodotus is now described,

in the phrase of Cicero (De Legibus i.1.5), as the "Father of History" and that Thucydides (admittedly with qualifications and serious reservations) is considered Klio's Favourite Son.<sup>390</sup> But it was long ago recognised, by among others F. Creuzer,<sup>391</sup> that Herodotus was a very different kind of historian from Thucydides and that both differed again from the "ideal type" of the modern historian.<sup>392</sup> Where then do the differences lie? Not surely in the matter of objectives narrowly conceived - "wir sollen erkennen, nicht nur wie es eigentlich gewesen ist (the dictum of Ranke),<sup>393</sup> sondern warum es so gekommen ist und so hat kommen müssen", as J. Beloch put it<sup>394</sup> - but rather in general outlook and technical methods, and above all in the treatment of source material. From the second half of the seventeenth century onwards the idea had become accepted that a modern scholar had as much justification in writing "ancient" history as the ancients themselves, even if the methods adopted were, strictly speaking, as often those of the antiquarian as of the historian proper.<sup>395</sup> But the nineteenth century witnessed a remarkable development,<sup>396</sup> sometimes dismissed (unfairly) as "Hyperkritik", whose fruits can be seen in a work such as that by E. Bernheim.<sup>397</sup> The essence of the approach, if it can be shortly summarised, was its canonical insistence that the only utilisable evidence should be securely dated, contemporary, documentary and of known provenience. When applied to the ancient world,<sup>398</sup> it could lead to excesses and Beloch himself was rightly castigated<sup>399</sup> for confusing the methods of the historian with those of the various kinds of natural scientist.<sup>400</sup> However, in what follows I hope to show that the reaction in some quarters has been too sharp.

As Miss Gray has written, "the question how far tradition may be legitimately called in evidence is a living problem and a chief cause of irreconcilable disagreement among historians and critics".<sup>401</sup> She was thinking primarily of the Homeric epics, whose peculiar qualities require somewhat specialised treatment,<sup>402</sup> but the remark applies to all the preserved literary evidence that relates to the period from c. 1200 to 480, or, roughly, the Dark and Archaic Ages. The following rather more than summary account is designed to serve both as a preface and as a permanent backdrop to the "historical" sections of this work. The discussion cannot be entirely confined to Sparta, but there the problems are seen in particularly sharp relief, since the state never produced a historian of her own<sup>403</sup> and the course of her extraordinary development occasioned with time the phenomenon (by no means confined to the ancient world) aptly named "le mirage spartiate", the distorted image of what non-Spartans for various - and often mutually inconsistent - reasons wanted Sparta to be, to stand for and to have accomplished.<sup>404</sup> The reasons why Sparta produced no historian have been repeatedly canvassed and the conventional solutions are given in terms appropriate to differing views of

Spartan eccentricity. But to my mind what is remarkable is not that Sparta produced none but that any state ever produced one.<sup>405</sup> If this seems paradoxical, in view both of known historical traditions of long standing in other civilisations<sup>406</sup> and of the fifth-century achievement in Greece, then a glance first at the ways in which Greek writers (from Homer to Herodotus) represented their past and then at the means of reconstructing it at their disposal should render it less so.<sup>407</sup>

There is some dispute whether Greek historiography experienced a long period of gestation or sprang fully formed from the head of Herodotus,<sup>408</sup> but there should be no doubt that Homer, particularly the *Odyssey*, "ist kein Geschichtsbuch".<sup>409</sup> The fact can be established from a number of different points of view - aetiology,<sup>410</sup> chronology,<sup>411</sup> delineation of character and motivation,<sup>412</sup> overall purpose<sup>413</sup> and so on - but it remains a fact, in spite of attempts at interpretation which seem "zwischen den Berichten der epischen Dichter über Kriege und Heldentaten der Vorzeit und der Darstellung etwa des peloponnesischen Krieges durch Thukydides keinen prinzipiellen Unterschied mehr zu machen" (my emphasis).<sup>413a</sup> Again, some have seen in Hesiod (c. 700 B.C.) the first stirrings of a historical consciousness,<sup>414</sup> but the most immediately relevant passages - the invocation to the Muses and their ambiguous response in the preface to the *Theogony*<sup>415</sup> and the myth of the Five Races in the *Works and Days*<sup>416</sup> - seem to me to indicate the reverse. A concept of truth that includes more (but not much) than simply not-forgetting ( $\alpha\text{-}\lambda\eta\theta\eta$ ) is outlined, but there is no hint of methods of verification; truth is guaranteed by memory, but memory is sacralised as the goddess Mnemosyne, mother of the Muses, and thereby removed from the human, empirical sphere;<sup>417</sup> the time-factor is taken into account, but mutually incompatible ways of regarding it are hopelessly confused; the aetiological perspective of history is implicit in the attempt to account for present ills by a description of the past, but the mortal races of Bronze and Iron receive no connected narrative and are separated by the Race of semi-divine Heroes (taken over from Homer), a notoriously inorganic interpolation.<sup>418</sup> In short, the historical achievement of Hesiod was no more (but from a religious viewpoint, no less) than to provide the Greeks with a mythical past from the Creation of the Gods to the (unexplained) end of the Race of Heroes.<sup>419</sup> Lesser poets than he, inside and outside the "Cycle", who were partly at least utilising an inherited stock of traditional oral poetical language, merely "completed" the stories of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* by providing their events and characters with antecedents and issue.<sup>419a</sup> A large portion of their work consisted in doing for contemporary humans, especially the blue-blooded variety, what Hesiod had done for the timeless gods: elaborating respectable (but equally mythical) family-trees. The only Spartan

poet of this genre, whose name, a few lines and a handful of doubtfully attributed works are known, is Kinaithon (probably seventh century).<sup>420</sup> The suggestion that his subjects included the deeds of Herakles and Orestes may not inspire confidence in his impartial striving after veracity, but makes sense in view of the known later attempts of the Spartan royal families to connect themselves with these "Achaeans".<sup>421</sup> Indeed, Kinaithon may owe his rather dim remembrance to precisely this sort of religious para-political activity.<sup>421a</sup>

By about the middle of the seventh century "original" epic poetry was beginning to lose its fascination for singers and audiences alike and was being challenged by the more personal elegiac and lyric genres,<sup>422</sup> in which Sparta was excellently represented by Tyrtaios (c. 650)<sup>423</sup> and Alkman<sup>424</sup> respectively. Apart from citing a few acceptable mythological precedents, Tyrtaios, who was certainly a Spartan by birth, devoted himself to the present in a pragmatic way. By a skilful fusion of old and new, both in language and ideas, he advocated a moral and political ideal to which future generations of military-minded Spartans gave more than lip-service.<sup>425</sup> Alkman was proud of his pedagogic inventiveness (fr.26),<sup>426</sup> but he too was largely content to draw on an inherited mythological stock for his themes and may have had the same kind of anti-historical outlook and effect as Tyrtaios and Kinaithon.<sup>427</sup> His death c. 600 meant also, so far as we know, the death of the local poetic tradition. Half a century later the Sicilian Stesichoros visited Sparta,<sup>428</sup> but it is significant of the intellectual climate that he lent his voice to an interpretation of a myth-historical tradition (Orestes again) designed to validate the Spartan claim to sovereignty in Arkadia.<sup>429</sup>

By this time, however, the intellectual epicentre had shifted (for ever) from the Peloponnese to East Greece, especially Miletus.<sup>430</sup> The prime movers in this inchoate Aufklärung were natural philosophers (φυσιολόγοι or σοφισταί) - although their explanations of natural phenomena have sometimes wrongly been called "scientific" or "materialist" - and their advance was premised on "deux grandes transformations mentales: une pensée positive, excluant toute forme de surnaturel et rejetant l'assimilation implicite établie par le mythe entre phénomènes physiques et agents divins; une pensée abstraite, dépouillant la réalité de cette puissance de changement que lui prêtait le mythe...".<sup>431</sup> These "mental transformations" were accompanied by or presupposed corresponding changes in language,<sup>432</sup> which, if B. L. Whorf is correct, is not merely "a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas, but rather is itself the shape of ideas, the program and guide for the individual's mental activity".<sup>433</sup> Together they made possible history as we understand it. Yet initially the spirit of secular critical enquiry they expressed<sup>434</sup> led to no search for new sources of information about the past and no development of historical consciousness beyond a tendency, exemplified by Hekataios (not coincidentally from Miletus),

to use personal experience as a crude yardstick to measure the intrinsic plausibility of the plethora of tales about the past he heard on his travels.<sup>435</sup> These tales, whose content was often ultimately religious, were pruned of their fantastic accretions as a result, but the historicity of the residue was not questioned and, as Finley puts it, "the atmosphere in which the Fathers of History set to work was saturated with myth".<sup>436</sup>

Not all myths are of course narrowly speaking historical. But in one application of their function (as it has been defined by Cohen), when they are usually called legends, they can present themselves to the historian as evidence about the past and he must decide on what criteria he is to assess it. The strict application of nineteenth-century "hyper"-critical methods is clearly inappropriate, but how far and in what direction can or should we today improve on the rationalising of a Hekataios or the limited but devastating scepticism of an Eratosthenes? The answer to this question depends on the evaluation of several factors: among others, the nature of an oral tradition in an illiterate or semiliterate society, or in a society that did not keep records of a detailed, historical kind; the distinction between accurate or exaggerated matter of fact on the one hand and variously plausible fiction on the other, and the psychological and sociological circumstances affecting the relation between them; the ultimately religious content of much Greek legend; and the effects of political and social change on traditional material. It is only when the implications of all these factors, taken together, are squarely faced that the vastness of Herodotus' achievement - "there was no Herodotus before Herodotus"<sup>437</sup> - can be viewed in proper perspective.<sup>437a</sup>

It will always be easier to say what Herodotus' achievement amounts to than how it was effected,<sup>438</sup> for he was "one of the great innovating geniuses of the fifth century".<sup>439</sup> The three aspects of his achievement which perhaps most commend him to modern scholars are: his hierarchical ordering of types of evidence and the methods of obtaining it according to their intrinsic reliability;<sup>440</sup> his unobtrusive creation of an acceptable, though inevitably lacunose chronological framework;<sup>441</sup> and his generally temperate exercise of that *γνώμη* ("judgement") whose indispensability is primarily responsible for keeping the methods of the historian and the natural scientist conceptually distinct.<sup>442</sup> We must not, however, exaggerate the discontinuity that his work represents. Among his predecessors must be counted Homer as well as Hekataios (see esp. Dionys. Hal., *Ep. ad Cn. Pompeium* iii).<sup>442a</sup> Longinus (xiii.3) hit the mark when he characterised Herodotus as *Ὁμηρικώτατος*, for style is an essential ingredient of the historian's make-up. Besides, his critical principles fall short of the rigidity of Thucydides,<sup>443</sup> that "most politic historiographer that ever writ",<sup>444</sup> for whom "getting the facts right

was all-important".<sup>445</sup> Thucydides, however, in striving after higher standards of veracity, set up a contradiction never resolved by his successors, even when altered conditions would have made its resolution possible. He believed that only contemporary history (especially political history) could be written properly, but that the basis of historical documentation should remain oral.<sup>446</sup> That this was not unreasonable in his day<sup>447</sup> (and a fortiori at all earlier periods) may be judged from the fact that not before the end of the fifth century did his own democratic Athens, for all its energy in publishing documents that involved the common weal,<sup>448</sup> established a central archive in the Metroon.<sup>449</sup> This fact needs emphasis, since the historical methods described and practised by Bernheim and others paradigmatically presuppose the existence of "objective" documentary records, securely dated and incapable of distortion with the passage of time.<sup>449a</sup> So powerful, however, was the example of Thucydides that the habit of personal inspection of documents was never acquired by historians in antiquity,<sup>450</sup> the supreme irony being that from his day onwards the quantity and quality of documentary material was being steadily increased by the efforts of men like Hippias,<sup>451</sup> Kritias<sup>451a</sup> and Hellanikos.<sup>452</sup> The result was that, to the detriment of the respective practitioners, "political history and learned research on the past tended to be kept in two separate compartments".<sup>453</sup>

The intellectual development begun by the East Greek philosophers and embraced by all leading Greek thinkers has been described as "the emancipation of thought from myth".<sup>454</sup> But the most fervent admirers of the "rationalist" par excellence, Thucydides, are obliged to admit that his acceptance as fact of certain beliefs about the very distant (even pre-Trojan War) past fits uneasily with his rigorous inspection of contemporary testimony and that in this respect he went further even than the "credulous" Herodotus. Ephorus, it is true, declined to treat of the period before the Return of the Heraklidae after the Trojan War, but it is not clear whether this reflects a sceptical outlook or a view that the earlier period was irrelevant or had been adequately described already.<sup>455</sup> In any case, neither he nor any other surviving author before Eratosthenes, head of the Library at Alexandria in the late third century (and he was the exception that proved many rules),<sup>456</sup> impugned the historicity not merely of the variously fantastic accretions but also of the supposedly true basis of the traditional tales.<sup>457</sup>

The proper question to ask is not why it took so long, but how far it would be possible - for historians in antiquity and for us alike - to distinguish historical fact among the mass of traditional material, which consisted partly of knowledge about the past embedded in poetical or prose narratives handed down over the generations, partly of sheer fiction handed down in the same way and partly of the "learned" speculations of over-fertile

imaginations.<sup>458</sup> For it seems certain that between c. 1200 and 800 Greece was illiterate and that between c. 800 and 450 there was no recitation or writing of history (as we understand it) and very little retrieval and storage of the stuff from which history can be made. Indeed, an apocryphal (and of course "Lykurgan") rhetra expressly forbade the inscribing of laws on stone in Sparta,<sup>459</sup> where (as elsewhere) the only records kept were lists of names (athletic victors at the great religious festivals,<sup>460</sup> eponymous magistrates,<sup>461</sup> and kings)<sup>462</sup> and oracles;<sup>463</sup> and the authenticity of their earliest sections and their properly historical value have both been disputed. Faced with this situation, Grote correctly asked: "With what consistency can you require that a community which either does not command the means, or has not learned the necessity, of registering the phenomena of its present, should possess any knowledge of the phenomena of its past?"<sup>464</sup>

But Grote himself, as we have seen, was too cautious to deny outright that traditional material contained a factual element. He insisted only on withholding his belief until the tradition could itself be independently verified. The advantage we hold over Grote today is not so much a greater sophistication in methods as a vastly increased knowledge of the contemporary material remains, which are authentic, though not self-explanatory, records of the times that they represent.<sup>465</sup> Although I agree with Starr that these are the only sure basis on which to reconstruct the history of this period,<sup>466</sup> I do not share his implicit confidence that they constitute a sufficient basis; in particular, archaeology rarely warrants narrowly political inferences.<sup>467</sup> True, an explanation that takes account of both the traditional literary evidence and the material remains may be preferable to one that ignores one or the other.<sup>468</sup> But this by itself does not increase its likelihood of being correct. I remain extremely doubtful that it will ever be possible to write a narrative or systematic account of pre-fifth century Greek history, but in the following section I shall attempt a tentative and incomplete reconstruction of the late Mycenaean and Dark Age periods in Lakonia.

(d) Achaeans and Dorians (ILL. II.1,6)

Concerning Homer everything, including the name, has been subject to longstanding and ongoing debate,<sup>469</sup> but for my limited purposes I shall accept without discussion that the epics are traditional oral formulaic poems,<sup>470</sup> which reached approximately the form in which we have them, probably with the aid of writing,<sup>471</sup> somewhere in the eighth or early seventh centuries.<sup>472</sup> Their formulaic diction is characterised by the mixture of scope and economy diagnostic of the epic genre<sup>473</sup> and their language is a "Kunstsprache",<sup>474</sup> an artificial amalgam of dialectal forms of diverse origin and date, never spoken outside the context of an epic recital.<sup>475</sup> The crucial period for the

formation of the tradition was probably the early Dark Age,<sup>476</sup> not the tail-end of the Mycenaean era,<sup>477</sup> and the process took place among the Ionian and Aeolian Greeks of the diaspora.<sup>478</sup> The events they purport to describe are almost without exception<sup>479</sup> represented as taking place at some unspecified time in the past<sup>480</sup> and the great advance in our knowledge of the relevant archaeological data<sup>481</sup> makes it necessary to pose the overall historical problem<sup>482</sup> in the following terms: "is the Homeric world Mycenaean with a few anachronisms, or eighth century with a few garbled survivals, or something intermediary, or a synthesis of them all, or a fictional world of the imagination?"<sup>483</sup> I shall concentrate on two facets of the problem: the historicity of the Trojan War, as it is described in the Iliad,<sup>484</sup> and the historical status of the "Catalogue of Ships" (Il. ii. 484-760),<sup>485</sup> with special reference to the kingdom of Menelaos (ii.581-7).

In the absence of contemporary and relevant written documentation,<sup>486</sup> the suggested solutions must depend on an appreciation of Homer as traditional oral poetry and an evaluation of the archaeological evidence. It is generally agreed today that there is a profound discontinuity between the world in which "Homer" lived and thought and the only context in which the events described in the Iliad could have taken place (the Mycenaean era) and that this discontinuity has left its mark on the content and presentation of these events.<sup>487</sup> But thereafter scholars divide between those who believe that there is a historical basis to the poem, overlaid and distorted in the course of transmission but still recoverable;<sup>488</sup> those who believe that there is a historical basis but one that is no longer recoverable, at least with any certainty;<sup>489</sup> and those who believe that there is no historical basis.<sup>490</sup> The first category disagree amongst themselves as to the content of the historical basis, while the members of the other two groups have very different and sometimes incompatible reasons for holding their views.<sup>491</sup> In relation to the two problems isolated for discussion here, I belong with the intermediary group.<sup>492</sup> Considerations of space forbid me to give much more than a skeletal justification of this point of view.

Comparative studies of heroic poetry, of which the Iliad is in several ways an exceptional representative,<sup>493</sup> indicate that it takes its origin from an historical event but that in the final version historical matter can be scanty or entirely absent - it is even possible, for example, for a defeat to become a victory.<sup>494</sup> The likeliest occasion for the creation of such poetry is an impoverished era which stands consciously in the shadow of a more expansive and self-confident predecessor; to simplify, "Sage setzt Ruinen voraus."<sup>495</sup> Too much reliance should not be placed on comparative evidence,<sup>496</sup> but it is reasonable to suggest that the Trojan War may have

taken place during LH IIIB and that the epic commemorating it originated in the course of the ensuing centuries.<sup>497</sup> The evidence from the excavations at Hissarlik, if - as it surely is - this is Homeric Troy,<sup>498</sup> suggests there were two destructions at about this time, the first due to natural agencies (probably an earthquake), the second to man.<sup>499</sup> The dispute about the chronology of IIIB and a controversy over the stylistic identification of the sherds associated with the second destruction have led to confusion over both its relative and absolute dating.<sup>500</sup> What is undisputed (or should be!) is that archaeological excavation has not disclosed the identity of the destroyers. If we suppose they were Greeks - and Homer is the sole support for this hypothesis - it is still an open question whether they were organised and fought in the manner described by Homer. For many scholars, the "Catalogue" has seemed to offer a certain answer.

Any satisfactory explanation of the "Catalogue" as a whole has to account for (at least) four facts:<sup>501</sup> it contains elements which descend ultimately from the Mycenaean period; it contains elements which could only have been incorporated after the Mycenaean era; it was not sung originally for the place in which we now (and ex hypothesi Greeks from the eighth century onwards) read it; there are discrepancies between it and the rest of the *Iliad*.<sup>502</sup> My own view is that it is basically a composition of either the latest (IIIC) phase of Mycenaean civilisation,<sup>503</sup> or of the early Dark Age, which has undergone subsequently a process of amplification, omission and conflation,<sup>504</sup> and that it is in no sense a historical document.<sup>505</sup> Specifically, the kingdom of Menelaos has resisted more successfully than most all attempts to prove, on archaeological grounds, the hypothesis that it corresponds to the political geography of a particular epoch.<sup>506</sup> Of the ten place-names listed, one probably applies to the region as a whole, although this is disputed;<sup>507</sup> of the remaining nine, only four can be identified with certainty,<sup>508</sup> and this only if the hypotheses are correct that the names remained unchanged from the time in which they were first incorporated in the "Catalogue" to the time of their first mention by a literary source and that the remains identified on the ground have been correctly so identified from the indications of the written sources.<sup>509</sup> Of the four certainly identified only Amyklai has so far yielded material remains earlier than the Archaic period. Of the rest Sparte may either be classical Sparta or an earlier counterpart of that name, for which the site on the Menelaion hill is the most likely candidate; Pharis may be Palaiopyrgi, Helos may be Ayios Stephanos, while Brysiai is wholly unidentifiable.<sup>510</sup> It is not, therefore, possible to say either when the section was composed or to what period (if any) it ostensibly refers. The only clues are the certainly post-Mycenaean  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  in line 588<sup>511</sup> and the possibly post-Mycenaean  $\pi\rho\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\upsilon$  in the following line (if this was composed with the pre-

ceding seven).<sup>512</sup> As for the problems of the role of Menelaos and his relation to the position of Agamemnon and the plot of the Iliad as a whole, I have nothing new to offer, although I believe that the overall command held by Agamemnon is due to the exigencies of the plot (and may even be a true picture of what happened at Troy) and tells us nothing about the organisation of Mycenaean Greece under more normal conditions.<sup>513</sup>

In other words, I do not believe it is sound method to use the evidence of the Iliad as part of an explanation of the last centuries of the Mycenaean era. I cannot, for example, accept that an enterprise of this (Homeric) magnitude weakened Mycenaean Greece and acted as a prelude to the destructions and desertion evident in the material record for the latter part of the thirteenth and for the twelfth centuries;<sup>514</sup> or that it was the prolonged absence of Mycenaean rulers which encouraged factional strife and internecine war on their return.<sup>515</sup> For me the hypothesis of a land invasion (or a series of them), incomplete and unsatisfying though it is, best fits the archaeological facts (if they are facts) of destruction and dispersal of population discussed in v(b).<sup>516</sup> The hypothesis has the further claims to acceptance that it might account for a number of intrusive artefacts of generally "northern" type whose appearance in Greece at about this time was first noted by V. Milošević,<sup>517</sup> and - although I do not find this wholly convincing - for the increase in cist-burials that becomes marked after c. 1150.<sup>518</sup>

What the hypothesis cannot be made to do, however, is explain the evidence for the so-called "Dorian Invasion" in Lakonia or indeed anywhere else in southern Greece.<sup>519</sup> There is a very long list of attempts to explain the archaeological "facts" in terms of the Dorians and their movements,<sup>520</sup> but most of them have failed to perceive that the "tradition" must first be evaluated on its own merits before it is appropriate to apply external tests.<sup>521</sup> In fact, the "tradition" for the migration is so far removed from it in time, so distorted according to the bias of the individual speaker or writer and so hopelessly confused that some scholars have doubted that the "Invasion" ever took place.<sup>522</sup> Its occurrence, however, is proved by a comparison of the distribution of dialects in Mycenaean and historical times.<sup>523</sup> I do not mean to suggest that a fully-formed Doric dialect was at some time after c. 1200 brought southwards, where it entirely displaced the earlier Mycenaean ("Achaean") dialect.<sup>524</sup> But the latest research suggests that Doric, unlike Ionic or Aeolic, could not have developed out of the Mycenaean ancestor preserved in the Linear B tablets and that proto-Doric speakers will have been somewhat isolated - culturally at least - in the Mycenaean period.<sup>525</sup> However, dialectal evidence by itself can give only a terminus post quem for the date of the migration and will not tell us where and how the new comers originated or amalgamated,<sup>526</sup> what routes they took, how long they were on the move or where

and how they eventually settled. The answers to these questions offered by the surviving literary evidence are disparate and often mutually contradictory.

The reason for this was that, in the light of the subsequent development of the Dorian settlements, these matters became areas of sensitivity and controversy. The history of Sparta was particular badly mauled, not at all without Spartan connivance, by a process made possible by the prevailing attitudes to the preservation of knowledge about the past described in v(c).<sup>527</sup> The power and territory acquired by Spartan arms was justified, in the language of myth<sup>528</sup> and with the aid of the Delphic Apollo,<sup>529</sup> as merely the taking of what anyway belonged to the Spartans by right. When Sparta emerged into the historical period as the most powerful Dorian state, she possessed customs and institutions that seemed alien and antiquated to those who took an interest in recording them. As a result, she came to be regarded as archetypally Dorian, and it is the "Dorianising" aspect of the Spartan mirage (ancient and modern) which is perhaps the hardest of all to penetrate.<sup>530</sup> In principle, the most hopeful method is, I believe, a sober statement of the archaeological evidence. Yet the material record, as we have seen, is sadly fragmentary, especially for the earliest period, and incapable of yielding narrowly political conclusions.<sup>531</sup> But it tells a tale that on the face of it can be reconciled with pitifully little of the ancient literary "evidence".<sup>532</sup>

The four most salient facts to emerge from our survey of the Late Mycenaean period in Lakonia were these: (1) the height of prosperity, reflected in density of settlement, was reached in the thirteenth century, as elsewhere in Greece; (2) there was an exponential decline in habitation in the twelfth and eleventh centuries, although the only evidence of prior destruction is confined to one house on the Menelaion hill (I.vi, no.5); (3) only three sites have so far provided evidence of occupation in both the latest Mycenaean (IIIC) and earliest Iron Age (PG) phases; (4) of these three Amyklai is the most significant (see further below), but even here there is strictly no evidence of continuity but rather an archaeological gap of some 150 years. It will be immediately obvious, therefore, that there can be no possibility of an easy fitting of the archaeological into the literary evidence or vice versa. The following summary account is necessarily provisional and insecurely founded, but claims to have utilised all the available evidence.<sup>533</sup>

The three Dorian tribes, whose existence in Sparta is first (and only) attested by Tyrtaios (fr.19.8 West), almost certainly joined forces before they reached Sparta and one of them at least (the Pamphyloi) had amalgamated before the long march south. Their most likely point of immediate origin is the Illyrian-Epirote region of north-west Greece, but the Dorians may have been impelled and even joined by peoples from further north.<sup>534</sup> The etymology

of their name is unclear and their connection with Doris in central Greece enhanced or invented by later (Tyrtaios fr.2.14 West, etc.) propaganda.<sup>535</sup> The route(s) they took are not certainly ascertainable, but, as I have pointed out in iii(d), the suggestion that those Dorians who became Spartans followed a westerly course (ILL.II.8)<sup>536</sup> may derive some support from the ceramic evidence.<sup>537</sup> If the suggestion is correct, they will have proceeded south through Aitolia, crossed the Corinthian Gulf from Antirhion to Rhion, continued down the western Peloponnese to the Alpheios valley, across to the headwaters of the Eurotas and finally along the Eurotas valley to Sparta. The reasons for the choice of this not naturally defensible, lowhill-site are somewhat obscure, but the relevant considerations will probably have been fourfold: good communications; adequate arable land and pasturage; distance from potentially hostile mountain-dwellers; and the existence of the settlement at Amyklai a few kilometres to the south.<sup>538</sup> The date of the settlement is an open question. The earliest archaeological evidence we possess is the PG pottery excavated at the Heroon and in the "Geometric" deposits of the sanctuaries later devoted to Athena Chalkioikos and Artemis Orthia. The upper limit for this pottery, as I have argued in iii(d), is c.950. If this is in fact the earliest evidence and the hazard of archaeological discovery is not operating to mislead us, the historical consequences are striking.

The ancient "tradition", which agreed in placing the "Dorian Invasion" and "Return of the Heraklidai" soon after the Trojan War, must be disregarded, at least in the case of Sparta.<sup>539</sup> From here it is a small step to pruning the upper reaches of the Spartan king-lists, which were in any case suspect on other grounds, and ignoring the putative exploits of the relevant kings.<sup>540</sup> The other major grounds for suspicion include the following: the Agiad and Eurypontid royal houses were most naturally (though not of course necessarily) descended from Agis I and Eurypon, not Eurysthenes and Prokles - as indeed was felt in antiquity; the Eurypontid list contains two or three blatantly fictitious names (Soos, Prytanis and Eunomos); the lists, when they were systematised for publication in the fifth century, were probably based on a roughly forty-year generation and were liable to distortion in the light of the twin belief that son succeeded father without a break and that each Agiad had his one Eurypontid counterpart.<sup>541</sup>

It is not, however, so easy to say how far this exercise of excision and oblivion should be carried or where a lapse into credulity is permissible. Indeed, I find it very difficult to conjure up any sort of picture of what was happening in Sparta and Lakonia between the date of settlement (c.950) and what I take to be the next certifiable event in Spartan history, the conquest and/or assimilation of neighbouring Amyklai towards the middle of the eighth century. Certainly, there can be no question of describing per-

sonalities, even in the broadest outline;<sup>542</sup> but it is harder to have to admit our ignorance of certain fundamentals. We do not know whether the settlers were predominantly agriculturalists or pastoralists, though their suggested place of origin and the length of time taken to reach Lakonia may be indications of a primarily pastoral orientation. This might also explain the relative alacrity with which they seized Lakonia and forced their newly-acquired "serfs" (Helots) to be the sole producers of subsistence; the historical technical term for the age-sets into which the youth was organised (agelai = "herds") may also be thought indicative.<sup>543</sup> Knowledge, however is impossible of attainment. Nor do we know the size and nature of the original settlement or the number of settlers,<sup>544</sup> although it is fairly certain that the constituent villages, participating in the cult of (Artemis) Orthia, had "synoecised" by c.800 B.C. (see below). We do not know the extent of surrounding land that was utilised directly or indirectly by the Spartans (and other Dorian immigrants?) nor on what conditions it was distributed and held;<sup>545</sup> as F. W. Walbank has written, "the problem of Spartan land tenure is one of the most vexed in the obscure field of Spartan institutions",<sup>546</sup> and the solution is not facilitated by the handling of land-tenure in the mirage.<sup>547</sup> And so the basic problems continue. Not that our ignorance is greatly diminished for the period after c.750, but here it is total.

If I were to spin some "gossamer.... out of legend and the weakest of tradition"<sup>548</sup> and make an attempt at a narrative account of the first two hundred years of Sparta's existence, it would run something like this. The first century and a half were years of quiescent isolation from the rest of Greece, enjoined upon the inhabitants by their small numbers, low level of political, economic and military technique and their relationship with hostile pre-Dorian peoples. The existence of the latter has to be taken on trust from the literary tradition and cannot be demonstrated either from the lacunose material record<sup>549</sup> or (if I understand Risch right)<sup>550</sup> from the dialectal evidence. Amyklai is the ideal test-case, for here both the literary "tradition" and the archaeological information are at their richest. As far as the archaeology goes, there is an uncomfortable gap of about 150 years (c.1100-950) between the latest Mycenaean and the earliest PG remains, and on the evidence of the pottery there is nothing to differentiate the supposedly "Achaean" (pre-Dorian) Amyklai from Dorian Sparta.<sup>551</sup> The literary evidence either speaks of a centuries-long resistance by Amyklai until she fell to Sparta by treachery and armed attack in the reign of King Teleklos (towards the middle of the eighth century) or assumes immediate conquest.<sup>552</sup> I prefer, as usual, to abandon the literary tradition and think of an early

"Dorising" or rather "Spartanising" of Amyklai, perhaps including political subjection, before a total political incorporation in the eighth century.<sup>553</sup> My chief reason, however, for believing in the survival of the earlier population is that this seems to be the most plausible explanation of the historical status of the Lakonian helots, which could have been instituted soon after the settlement of Sparta.<sup>554</sup> The status of the perioikoi is not so simply explained away and their origins must therefore remain more obscure,<sup>555</sup> although I would be content to think of them as the product of intermingling between settlers and natives, with the settlers (or some of them) perhaps establishing themselves as the "kaloi kagathoi" or hereditary ruling class.<sup>556</sup> The archaeological evidence bearing on Spartan activity in Lakonia, with the exception of that from Amyklai (itself ambiguous) is practically negligible. The one hard fact is that PG pottery (and in one case - Mavrovouni (no. 45) - an associated iron weapon) has been found on at least five sites outside the Sparta-Amyklai complex, recognisable as PG by its affinities with the characteristic "Amyklaian" ware (ILL.II.1). This should probably be dated before 750 B.C. but no greater precision is possible. None of these sites sheds further light on the relationship between pre-Dorian and Dorian Lakonia, but the geographical distribution (embracing the Malea peninsula and south-east Messenia,<sup>557</sup> as well as the Eurotas valley) is surprisingly wide. Until a PG settlement is excavated, archaeology cannot elucidate the process whereby Spartan influence and control was established in southern Lakonia; and unless and until PG habitation-levels are unearthed in Sparta and/or Amyklai, archaeology can make no contribution to answering the question of what it meant to be "Dorian" or "Achaean" in the Dark Age between the tenth and eighth centuries.

But by 800 B.C. a pattern had, I suggest, begun to emerge from the previous uncertainty.<sup>557a</sup> The peculiar dual monarchy had been established;<sup>558</sup> stratification by economic class had been sanctified by the claims of birth and firmly based on the Lakonian helotry;<sup>559</sup> the unity of the constituent villages had been achieved (although their separate identity was never wholly reduced);<sup>560</sup> Lakonian Doric had evolved and become the lingua franca of the region.<sup>560a</sup> From this pivotal date or thereabouts the leaders of thought and action began to cast a long look outside the Eurotas valley and its margins, initially to the north where the Skiritai were somehow accommodated<sup>561</sup> and the inhabitants of Aigys annihilated;<sup>562</sup> and then southwards where the incorporation of Amyklai into the polis of Sparta<sup>563</sup> was the springboard for more ambitious designs in Messenia.<sup>564</sup>

## II THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD (c. 750-650)

Naturally it is the wealthy, with the ample funds at their command, who make frequent sacrifices to the Gods and dedicate votive offerings and pay honours, while the poor are less active in the matter, partly through lack of means and in a secondary degree through their resentment against the Gods for not endowing them with worldly goods.

(HIPPOKRATES, Airs, Waters, Places xxii)

### i. Introduction

The peg on which the account of the PG period was hung was Amyklai not Sparta; the major interpretative tool for the history of that period was a study of its pottery, which constitutes almost the whole of the surviving contemporary evidence. In this final Part of the present work the focus of attention shifts naturally to Sparta itself, where under the stimulus of an enterprising foreign policy prosperity increases exponentially (at first only for the few) and craftsmanship flourishes.

The name chosen to describe the period certainly originates in the description of its characteristic style of pottery, but it has a considerably wider application, for the evidence is so much richer and more variegated.<sup>1</sup> This increase in the material available for study is in part due to the hazards of survival, but, since it is paralleled throughout the Greek world, it is reasonable to look for other causes as well. Only in the Geometric period does it become possible to place Sparta, in her political and cultural aspects, firmly within a wider Greek context.<sup>2</sup> But at the same time the greater bulk of the evidence imposes the need for a degree of selectivity. For reasons which should become apparent I have taken the sanctuary of Orthia as the type-site.

### ii. Artemis Orthia

#### (a) The Excavations, 1906-10, 1928 (ILL. III.1)

By the beginning of this century the British School of Archaeology at Athens could look back on striking successes in excavating prehistoric sites, notably Phylakopi on Melos,<sup>3</sup> but lacked for a classical counterpart to Delphi and Olympia, secured respectively by the French and the Germans.<sup>4</sup> Rather boldly, in view of the weight of ancient evidence suggesting artefactual sterility (e.g. Thuc.i.10.2), the School selected Sparta, but spread the risks by simultaneously conducting smaller excavations in other parts of Lakonia (on both prehistoric and classical sites)<sup>5</sup> and by undertaking topographical surveys of Lakonia as a whole.<sup>6</sup> The ground work had been laid by M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace in their still valuable Catalogue of the Sparta Museum (1906), published in the year in which the School began excavations in Sparta itself.

The most significant ancient landmark at that time was a Roman theatre on the right (west) bank of the Eurotas, but even this had been extensively looted and largely denuded since the establishment of the modern town in 1834 and was being slowly encroached upon by the river.<sup>7</sup> It was, however, precisely the Greek remains dislocated by the ingress of the water<sup>8</sup> that gave hope of significant early finds, a hope to be fulfilled far beyond the expectations even of those responsible for the decision to dig. As R. M. Dawkins later wrote: "The Roman theatre had done its work thoroughly in preserving untouched... the great wealth of archaic objects which by their fresh light on early Sparta have given this excavation its chief importance."<sup>9</sup>

The stone theatre, it emerged, had been constructed in the third century A.D.,<sup>10</sup> expressly to enable bloodthirsty spectators (including tourists) to watch youths being flogged, preferably to death, in a painful simulacrum of what had once been an initiation-rite integral to the Spartan social system.<sup>11</sup> The deity in whose honour this performance was staged was then known as Artemis Orthia, but her original title, attested by inscriptions from the late seventh century B.C. onwards,<sup>12</sup> had been simply Orthia.<sup>13</sup> The literary evidence for her cult was such that it was "one of the most puzzling and most vehemently discussed in the Greek world,"<sup>14</sup> but, since it appeared to have been more intimately linked to the routine of Spartan life than that of the state's patron deity Athena,<sup>15</sup> the excavation of Orthia's sanctuary was thought more likely to illuminate the nature and development of Spartan cultural taste and religious observance.

So indeed it proved, and such was the richness of the deposits that the School initially devoted five seasons to unearthing them. Dawkins, reporting in 1910 that no further excavation was contemplated, stitched together the results into a "History of the Sanctuary" and this was reprinted almost unchanged in the supposedly definitive publication of the site nineteen years later.<sup>16</sup> Yet in the interim the School had devoted another five seasons (1924-8) to excavations in Sparta and it is regrettable that the results of cleaning at Orthia in 1928 made no impression on the 1929 publication.<sup>17</sup> These results have consequently been almost entirely neglected hitherto, but the neglect has been more than compensated by the attention given to the reports of the main series of excavations. To some extent the participants in the latter were pioneers in their attempt to apply consistently the stratigraphical method to a classical site,<sup>18</sup> and like all pioneers they quickly excited somewhat acrimonious disparagement or warm approval. It has, therefore, seemed valuable to recapitulate both the excavators' view of their objectives, methods and achievements and the course of subsequent evaluations, with special reference to the stratigraphy of Orthia.<sup>19</sup>

## (b) Theory: stratigraphy and stratigraphy

Archaeology borrowed the concept and terminology of stratification from the scarcely older discipline of geology<sup>20</sup> and added the notion of technological evolution.<sup>21</sup> Excavation by levels, identification of strata and observation of the relative position of artefacts within them offered the most satisfying solution to the problem of the relative chronology both of a particular site and the culture to which it belonged.<sup>22</sup> The method also had the side-benefit of imposing an increased duty of care on excavators, for it is everywhere difficult and time-consuming to apply. Yet the seemingly obvious advantages were not quickly appreciated either by classical Greek archaeologists or by the archaeological world in general. Appropriately it was left to the British School at Athens to take the first decisive steps, and subsequent generations of scholars will be forever indebted to the members concerned for the frankness with which they described their principles and procedures and the success or failure of their application.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, it is this frankness alone which makes it possible to attempt a critique and revaluation at this distance in time,<sup>24</sup> although the systematic uncertainty of this enforced reliance on the excavators' own statements should nonetheless be kept in mind throughout.<sup>25</sup>

We may begin with a paradoxical but illuminating remark, applicable only to the first season's work: "To have disregarded levels and divided the deposit longitudinally would have given better results".<sup>26</sup> The stratigraphical method is peculiarly suited to a habitation-site that has preserved undisturbed its successive floors of occupation, but the Orthia deposit was an irregular cone formed initially by the spasmodic human activity of discarding and sweeping away accumulated votive débris and later by human and natural agencies acting on the mound so formed. Thus the concept of strata, applied to a deposit of this type, is necessarily something of a metaphor, as the "three of the excavators most concerned" were at pains to point out in their reply<sup>27</sup> to a critical review of AO.<sup>28</sup> To clarify their meaning, they distinguished two senses of "stratification" - a narrower, according to which "one earlier thing is covered up by, and in the simplest case of all, sealed up under a later thing", and a broader sense, according to which a stratum is not a mechanically observed level but an (at least in part) hypothetical entity reconstructed "by careful study of the position of the deposits and of their relations one to another and to the original contours of the ground." By way of illustration they remarked that the deposit below the sand at Orthia was "stratified" in the narrower sense, that above it in the broader.<sup>29</sup>

## (c) Practice: the stratigraphical features uncovered (ILL. III.2)

But before we further examine the concept and its application the discussion should be given a more precise location in space. The site was

originally a low-lying hollow, surrounded by rising ground except on the north towards the river, where it was susceptible to the flooding already noted; the dampness of the area was probably aggravated by the seepage of surplus moisture from the nearby Akropolis.<sup>30</sup> At first little effort was made to alter the natural contours of the ground, but within the span of about a millennium the sanctuary-area underwent four remodellings, whose physical remains constitute the main stratigraphical features: a "Geometric" cobble pavement, an "Archaic" layer of river-sand, a Hellenistic drain and the Roman amphitheatre.<sup>31</sup> The archaeological function of the latter has already been noticed, and for our purposes the only interest of the Hellenistic remodelling lies in an omission (the sand), which has resulted in the loss of no doubt appreciable amounts of the fifth- and fourth-century deposit.<sup>32</sup> It is, however, the laying of about 1.5m. of sand in the first half of the sixth century which directly concerns this enquiry, for it is this layer which has made it possible to draw reasonably firm conclusions about the "Geometric" deposit that it sealed in.<sup>33</sup>

The excavators' chosen method of digging by levels favoured the discovery and accurate notation of these features.<sup>34</sup> The cobble pavement, owing to its rather flimsy construction, was particularly susceptible to disintegration and displacement,<sup>35</sup> but, so far as the digging was conducted, great care was taken to record its existence before it was destroyed. The proviso is crucial, for the excavators originally uncovered nothing like its full extent. In clearing fallen rubble in 1928 it was accidentally discovered that "the early votive deposit continued southwards under the foundations of the Roman amphitheatre beyond the point where the work was abandoned in 1910, both above and below the cobble pavement of Geometric date" (my emphasis).<sup>36</sup> According to the final plan of the sanctuary, published in 1910 and reproduced without change in 1929, the edge of the cobbles on the south falls well short of the limit of the sand.<sup>37</sup> Yet a natural interpretation of the Director's statement in 1928 suggests that the converse was in fact the case.<sup>38</sup> One wonders, indeed, just how much important material was left unexcavated on the periphery.<sup>39</sup>

Bearing in mind, therefore, the excavators' self-imposed limitations in the choice of how and where they dug, we can now consider in detail the techniques employed and the results achieved.<sup>40</sup> After the false start of 1906 the area to be excavated was divided into small plots and dug, mostly with small knives, by levels, whose component strata were distinguished by the kind of earth or sand of which they consisted. The shape and position of the strata were regularly checked by drawing plans of the excavated area at every metre of depth. The surface of the whole space was always kept level, enabling the excavators to draw a section along any chosen line at the close of the work.<sup>41</sup>

Each level of each separately dug plot was allocated a tray in which the washed pottery and other artefacts were kept until a record had been made. Only then was the pottery that had been adjudged superfluous thrown away. Sometimes the quantity or quality of the deposit made it desirable for the earth itself to be washed as well as the pottery.<sup>42</sup>

(d) Interpretation: the pre-sand deposit, its history and chronology

The progress of the excavations was charted in several publications and need not be recapitulated here.<sup>43</sup> Instead, I shall confine myself to a summary of the excavators' main conclusions as they were expounded by Dawkins in relation to the pre-sand deposit. Within this earliest period, which is represented by two strata ("Geometric" and "Laconian") with the cobble pavement as the main stratigraphical feature, the excavators distinguished three main sub-phases punctuated by renewed building activity.

The evidence for the first sub-phase<sup>44</sup> consists of a charred deposit of votive débris ("Geometric" pottery, corroded bronze, animal bones) lying in a natural hollow west of the later altars. The only structural remains belong to walling found at the same level: this may or may not have been part of an enclosure-wall. The deposit measured c. 30m. square and was 0.5m. deep at its centre, but there was no way of determining the extent of the sacred area as a whole. Cult-activity was judged to have begun before 900 B.C.<sup>45</sup>

In the second sub-phase<sup>45</sup> the sacred area was certainly enclosed to an extent of c. 30m. E-W by considerably more N-S; the circuit-wall, composed of small, undressed stones from the bed of the Eurotas, was preserved partially on the east and west. The enclosed area was paved with cobbles (also from the Eurotas) to provide a roughly level surface, but the pavement was in a poor state of preservation and a patch of finer cobbles at a somewhat higher level in the centre may represent a repair. On this pavement was built the first ("Earliest") altar, invisible apart from a layer of undressed stones passing below the foundation of its "Archaic" successor to the west and forming a corner with it at a distance of c. 1.70m. A 0.10m. layer of blackened earth under the core of the "Archaic" altar, which contained "Geometric" sherds and fragments of bronze, was thought to be associated with the "Earliest" altar. No contemporary temple could be located, but four arguments in favour of its existence were brought forward.<sup>47</sup> The whereabouts of the entrance to the now enclosed sanctuary was also not ascertainable, but was thought to have been on the south. The initial date of the second sub-phase was put at c. 900, or shortly after the first use of the area for cult.<sup>48</sup>

In the third sub-phase<sup>49</sup> the "Earliest" (certain) altar and the earliest (hypothetical) temple were replaced by the "Archaic" altar and "Early" temple. The altar was large and well-preserved: the facing of crudely dressed stones

was laid irregularly and small stones were used casually with earth as infilling. Sacrificial débris was associated with it above the cobble pavement. The temple, however, was small and poorly preserved,<sup>50</sup> although the associated votive deposit was rich, particularly around the south-east corner of the subsequent ("Later") temple.<sup>51</sup> The sacred area was once more unenclosed.<sup>52</sup> The third sub-phase was gauged to have begun before 800.<sup>53</sup>

In their stratigraphical treatment of the pre-sand material decisive weight was given to the pottery,<sup>54</sup> out of deference to its acknowledged qualities as a chronometer.<sup>55</sup> Since I shall deal with Lakonian Geometric pottery at length in (iii), I need say no more here than that the pre-sand fabric as a whole was adjudged to have formed a consecutive sequence of four (stratigraphically indistinguishable) styles - "Geometric", "Subgeometric", "Laconian I - II"<sup>56</sup> - whose duration was calculated by a combination of internal and external criteria.<sup>57</sup> Pottery was not, however, the sole dating criterion applied, partly because it was not evenly distributed amongst the strata,<sup>58</sup> but also because it proved possible to supplement it with various types of figurine (lead, above all) that corresponded to it in development.<sup>59</sup>

(e) Revisions and Revaluations (ILL.III.3)

So much, then, for the excavators' viewpoint. The publication of A0 quickly attracted the attention it merited,<sup>60</sup> although this was not always the sort of attention the excavators had hoped for! The review by Mrs. Wade-Gery and the reply it provoked have already been cited for the clarification brought to the concept(s) of stratification and to the relationship between stratification and style.<sup>61</sup> The other major reviewers, G. Lippold<sup>62</sup> and E. Kunze,<sup>63</sup> in contrast both accepted that the sequential history of the site had been firmly established and warmly praised the excavators for their skill in addressing themselves to the technical problems that the site had presented. Kunze, however, who was able to take account of the clarificatory note as well, acutely observed that as a rule it was not possible to form a clear picture of the precise composition of a particular stratum.<sup>64</sup> This high level of generality - expressed naturally in the terminology (e.g. "Geometric") - was due, I suggest, to the quasi-metaphorical concept of a stratum in a votive deposit of this nature.

In the interval between the appearance of these reviews there appeared in print a sharp controversy between Droop and Miss M. Hartley<sup>65</sup> regarding the date and provenience of a pyxis-fragment from the Spartan Akropolis.<sup>66</sup> Droop seized the opportunity to reiterate his credo about "stratification" vis-à-vis "style", but he went beyond the evidence in stating that "the positions and characteristics (of the six Lakonian pottery periods) were clearly marked out by undisturbed stratification". Hartley with greater

sobriety seems to have taken well the point made by Dawkins himself about the danger of pressing the stratigraphy of Orthia too closely in its details.<sup>67</sup> After praising the excavators for their care and efficiency in an important excavation, she ends with this qualification: "But there are some points upon which, though other voices speak to those who will hear, Orthia herself was silent; and since the goddess herself chose this course, it is perhaps injudicious for the devotee to attempt to force her utterance." A fitting epilogue!

In 1934 the "preliminary"<sup>68</sup> character of Droop's publication of the pottery (AO ch.2) was remedied by E. A. Lane,<sup>69</sup> but he made no important alterations in the matters that most concern us here, the development and chronology of "Geometric" and "Subgeometric".<sup>70</sup> He recognised "Protogeometric" and "Early Geometric" at Sparta<sup>71</sup> but, lacking stratigraphical corroboration for this essentially stylistic judgement<sup>72</sup> and considering the relevant fragments "characterless", he omitted to give them independent attention - an omission repaired in 1952 by Desborough, whose work I took as the basis of my study of Lakonian PG in Part II.<sup>73</sup>

In his study of the origins and development of altars and their role in Greek religion C. G. Yavis correctly took full account of the evidence from Orthia.<sup>74</sup> Sensibly replacing the excavators' names with Roman numerals for the successive altars, he made a point of everywhere giving precise (sometimes overprecise) measurements for the structural features. Yet apart from the suggestion, already made by Rodenwalt,<sup>75</sup> that it is unnecessary to postulate the existence of a temple to accompany the "Earliest" altar in the excavators' second sub-phase, Yavis left untouched their picture of the development and chronology of the site.

The first real advance was made in 1950 by Miss S. Benton.<sup>76</sup> Concerned to date "spectacle" - fibulae and horses on stands, she vigorously attacked the method employed to determine the duration of the stratum characterised by "Geometric" pottery, pointing out that the mechanical translation of depth of deposit into an absolute quantity of years was "a dangerous argument and difficult to check."<sup>77</sup> In fact, the excavators were aware of the possibility of irregular deposition in a votive context (despite some of their more oracular pronouncements on the stratification)<sup>78</sup> and the charge should not perhaps be pressed.<sup>79</sup> Far more serious was Benton's questioning of the entire stratigraphical system on the basis of a single sherd, which, though orientalising in style, was found "almost on virgin soil".<sup>80</sup> It is doubtful whether this one sherd will stand the weight thus placed on it,<sup>81</sup> but Benton was certainly correct to expose the excavators' implicit assumption that every object was discarded in chronological order of dedication.<sup>82</sup> Finally, in an appended note, she cited two PG sherds found in an uncertain context at Orthia

and asked: "are we to conclude that they date the shrine or that the shrine dates them?"<sup>83</sup>

These few terse remarks had raised the larger problems to which E. Kirsten returned in 1954, with fresh evidence as well as ideas.<sup>84</sup> Discovering pottery in the Sparta Museum earlier than the total "Geometric" deposit published in A0,<sup>85</sup> he proposed some major modifications of the excavators' scheme for the history of the sanctuary in its earliest phases. There was, he averred, a stylistic hiatus between the earliest pottery and the later Geometric material associated with the cobble pavement and its altar and the temple; this hiatus was created by the laying of the pavement in which all the deposit except what lay in the natural hollows was removed.<sup>86</sup> The wall-course of the excavators' first sub-phase was probably not part of a circuit-wall,<sup>87</sup> because it did not delimit the stratum in which it was found. The altar built on the pavement was probably not the first on the site;<sup>88</sup> its predecessor had a life of some hundred years (c. 900-800). The early temple and the second and third altars on the pavement did not antedate 800 and were probably built c. 750.<sup>89</sup>

This downdating certainly represents an advance in our understanding, based as it is on firsthand study of the evidence. But the loss of material when the pavement was laid is an inference, and an unnecessary inference at that. In fact, in spite of or because of the contributions of Kirsten and the rest, the stratigraphy of Orthia was still in need of a thorough overhaul that would both re-examine the excavators' methods and revalue their conclusions in the light of subsequent advances in the understanding of early Greek art as a whole. A major contribution to such an overhaul was made in 1963 by J. Boardman in an article whose richness is inadequately conveyed by the following summary of his main conclusions.<sup>90</sup>

After questioning (with Benton) the assumption of a regular role of deposition and remarking on the difficulties in reading a votive accumulation without clearly defined pits or floors,<sup>91</sup> he began by examining the chronology of the four pre-sand pottery styles. Since none was distinguishable from another stratigraphically, he laid more stress on stylistic factors and compared the Lakonian series with other more securely dated Greek fabrics.<sup>92</sup> A grave-group in Taranto supported the lowering of the end of Lakonian II to c. 580;<sup>93</sup> comparison with other orientalisising wares made likely an initial date of c. 650 for Lakonian I; while the break between them was placed at c. 620 on the grounds of the probable duration of their respective shapes and motifs and the relative quantities of the two styles found. He considered "Subgeometric" an unfortunate description, since it was applied to a composite of styles consequent on the full Geometric of the eighth century:<sup>94</sup> both "Geometric" and "Subgeometric" could easily continue to c. 650 if not

beyond. Boardman then tested this chronology by examining the pottery-associations of those artefacts (especially figural ivories)<sup>95</sup> whose style and preservation permitted comparison with similar and more securely dated objects outside Lakonia. In almost every case it was found that the associations were a safe general guide to date.<sup>96</sup> Finally, having established the lower terminus of the "Geometric" stratum at c. 650, he further reduced Kirsten's chronology for the earliest structures by suggesting that the cobble pavement and its altar need not antedate c. 700.<sup>97</sup>

Boardman did not, however, subject the excavators' interpretation of the structural features to the same scrutiny as their chronological system and its underpinning. This last remaining gap was closed in 1967 by B. Bergquist,<sup>98</sup> whose skill in interpreting excavation — reports probably exceeds her understanding of the relationship between Greek architecture (in the widest sense) and religion.<sup>99</sup> She accepted Boardman's dating of the cobble pavement,<sup>100</sup> but argued further that this took with it the excavators' "Archaic" altar and "Early" temple, as well as — or rather instead of — just their "Earliest" altar<sup>101</sup> and circuit-wall.<sup>102</sup> In other words, she telescoped the excavators' second and third sub-phases into a single period lasting from c. 700 to 580/60.<sup>103</sup> I find her arguments neat and convincing, thus providing an admirable conclusion to the successive reviews and revisions of the Orthia stratigraphy.

#### (f) Summary of Conclusions<sup>104</sup>

It is time to attempt answers to the two major questions that arise from a study of the Orthia stratigraphy: what is the most likely reconstruction of the history of the sanctuary before the laying of the sand? in what way and how far can we use the stratigraphical evidence to establish the sequence and absolute dates of the various classes of Lakonian artefacts fashioned and dedicated in our period?

First, the history of the sanctuary.<sup>105</sup> The construction of the cobble pavement c. 700 provides the stratigraphical terminus ante quem for the beginnings of cult in this natural hollow by the Eurotas. The earliest portion of the deposit contained PG, which does not allow of a closer dating than between c. 950/00 and 750. Since the depth of the deposit is no guide to the length of time required for its formation, the beginnings of cult may be placed (on grounds of general probability alone) in the ninth century, perhaps in the first half. Worship, consisting of animal-sacrifices and presumably libation-pouring, took place initially on and around an earthen altar in the centre of what later became the eastern rectangle of the enclosed *temenos*. About 700 the sanctuary-area was enclosed and paved with cobbles, on which were superimposed a part-stone altar and temple, the former on the east close to the wall, the latter at an angle of about 90° on the west and

also hard by the wall. The sanctuary retained this format until the second quarter of the sixth century, when (perhaps following a devastating Eurotas flood) the whole area was raised and levelled with a layer of river-sand, on which were erected an all-stone altar and temple with the same general orientations and a new enclosure-wall.

The second question is considerably more complex, the answer more tentative. First, the excavators' chronology must be scrapped, for it was based on an untestable assumption of regular deposition (involving the unreasonably mechanical translation of depth of deposit into an absolute number of years) and on a now superseded dating of PC pottery. Secondly, although four pre-sand pottery styles were distinguished, only two pre-sand strata were eventually recognised. Thirdly, the earlier "Geometric" stratum was not sealed by a floor or a pit, for the cobble pavement was built in it, towards its close. Since, therefore, there is no clearcut stratigraphical evidence to assist in the dating of the pottery-styles and since the pottery cannot be used to date the pavement precisely, there must be an element of subjectivity in the interpretation of the pottery associations and/or findspots of particular artefacts. Besides, as Dawkins stressed, the strata were thin and in part disturbed by subsequent building or natural agencies, circumstances in which objects can easily be displaced from their original place in the earth. Finally, their original position can never, in a votive deposit, indicate more than the relative date at which they were discarded.

Thus caution is always in order when using the Orthia stratigraphy, but so long as it is treated as no more than a general guide it seems reasonable to make the fullest possible use of it. As for the pottery, *if* its subdivision into styles is somewhat arbitrary, then so too is the absolute dating in terms both of its association with PC and its possible developmental relationship with other Greek fabrics. But again, so long as the subjective factor is borne in mind, a workable chronological framework can be (and has been) devised. The degree to which these results obtained for the Orthia sanctuary hold good for other sites in Sparta or elsewhere in Lakonia is problematic, but in Sparta at least, where the evidence is fullest, it seems that there is scarcely any aspect of the material record that does not have some correlate on all the sites. For most purposes, therefore, Orthia can be taken as a typical, if generally more informative, sample.

### iii. The Pottery

#### (a) State of the Question (ILL.III.4)

In contrast to PG, Lakonian "Geometric" pottery has long been recognised as a distinct and distinctive regional type. In Lakonia itself the progress of its excavation mirrors that of the PG described in II.i(b), with the

addition of material from other sites in Sparta,<sup>106</sup> from Ay. Paraskevi (no.8),<sup>107</sup> and possibly from Geraki (no.21),<sup>108</sup> Hippola (no.51),<sup>109</sup> Analipsis (no.72),<sup>110</sup> and Kastri on Kythera (no.107);<sup>111</sup> sporadic finds not associated with PG have come to light at Helleniko (no.76),<sup>112</sup> Chersonisi (no.79),<sup>113</sup> and Palaiopolis on Kythera (no.107).<sup>114</sup> Outside Lakonia samples have been excavated at Tegea,<sup>115</sup> Asea<sup>116</sup> and perhaps Mantinea in Arkadia;<sup>117</sup> possibly Delphi in Phokis<sup>118</sup> and Olympia;<sup>119</sup> and at Volimidhia in Messenia.<sup>120</sup> Important findspots outside mainland Greece include Scoglio del Tonno<sup>121</sup> and Satyrion<sup>122</sup> in the heel of Italy and the Samian Heraion.<sup>123</sup> An isolated (and doubtfully Lakonian) sporadic find from "Cyrene" should also be mentioned.<sup>124</sup>

The study of Lakonian Geometric has been fitful but generally illuminating.<sup>125</sup> Once Tsountas' excavations at Amyklai had established the existence of a local style,<sup>126</sup> the argument revolved around the degree of its complexity in comparison with that of other fabrics.<sup>127</sup> Excavations in Sparta put this hitherto sterile debate on a sounder footing and reasonable hypotheses could now - in theory at least - be advanced to account for its origins and development. Yet Droop's handling of the Orthia deposit<sup>128</sup> was heavily and justly criticised for its lack of thoroughness and even commonsense.<sup>129</sup> His treatment of the richer deposit from the Akropolis (Chalkioikos) was not a great improvement.<sup>130</sup> The major defects were a failure to publish and fully illustrate the whole corpus; a lamentably arbitrary approach to the reconstruction of shapes; a misleadingly simplistic view of "Subgeometric" and an absolute chronology vitiated by a (pardonable) failure to understand PG and by reliance on a highly questionable interpretation of the Orthia stratification.<sup>131</sup> To his credit, on the other hand, must be laid his scheme for the relative chronology (cf. II.iii, end).

Much, therefore, remained to be done, especially in the matters of shapes, the more precise determination of "Geometric" and its relation to what came before and after. E. A. Lane in an exemplary article remedied the "preliminary" character of Droop's work in many respects, and his identifications of shapes and motifs can hardly be bettered in the present state of our knowledge.<sup>132</sup> His concept of a "Transitional" stage following the full Geometric - though insufficiently nuancé and flawed by his acceptance of the excavators' absolute chronology - is, as I hope to show, fruitful. Lane, however, specifically refused to consider "pregeometric" ware and was not well placed to make extensive comparisons with other fabrics. These defects have been in part repaired by Boardman, Desborough and Courbin. I have discussed the contributions of Boardman and Desborough elsewhere (III.i(f); II.i(b) and passim). Courbin attempted in a few dense pages to situate Lakonian Geometric in relation to other Peloponnesian fabrics, especially of course Argive.<sup>133</sup> Though generally successful, some of his suggested parallels and borrowings are not

convincing. Finally, Lakonian Geometric was viewed in its proper chronological, geographical and broadly historical context by Coldstream in his outstanding (though not final) synthetic study.<sup>134</sup> The brief summaries of Schweitzer<sup>135</sup> and Snodgrass<sup>136</sup> have added little or nothing.<sup>137</sup>

It would, however, be patently misleading to suggest that the current state of the question is even vaguely rosy. It does not inspire confidence to know that the vast majority of the evidence comes from sanctuary-sites which are either unstratified or so stratified that the stratigraphy throws no light on the pottery's development. External influences can now be isolated fairly automatically, but they are not so easily explained. Absolute chronology is little more than guesswork. Nonetheless, since the continuous pottery series from "Geometric" onwards is the indispensable basis for understanding the contribution to be made by archaeology to the elucidation of the Spartan past,<sup>138</sup> it is essential to reconsider the roughly 3000 to 4000 available sherds<sup>139</sup> and whole shapes and to indicate their salient features. I have little that is by itself wholly original to offer, but the overall picture should represent a fresh and more solid basis for future research.

(b) Clay, Slip, Glaze and other Technical Aspects<sup>140</sup>

The colours of clay found in PG (II.iii(a)) are all reproduced in the Geometric fabric,<sup>141</sup> but they are now subordinated numerically, especially at Orthia, to the "typical orange-red clay of Lakonia".<sup>142</sup> The increasing use of slip, as was suggested in II.III(d), is one of the simplest and surest

indices of relative date, for it only becomes a standard feature in the full or Late Geometric (LG) period<sup>143</sup> - though even then it was omitted for the distinctive and relatively late class of "unslipped linear" ware, some of which found its way to S. Italy.<sup>144</sup> This change in the use of slip should probably be connected with the change in clay-colour,<sup>145</sup> since slip occurs on about 93% of the "Geometric" (i.e. including PG) pottery from Orthia but only about 35% of that from the Akropolis.<sup>146</sup> In the LG period the slip was usually applied thinly,<sup>147</sup> and varied in hue from a rather rare brightish white through a yellowish to a murky grey-brown white. In the Transitional phase the slip is generally thicker and whiter. Slip was also used as "added white" for some simple subsidiary ornaments. LG and Transitional glaze has the same range of colours and modes of application as PG, but the characteristic PG metallic sheen largely dies out<sup>148</sup> in favour of the matt finish that accorded better with the painters' taste for subdued effects, at least in the LG period. The multiple-brush, adopted to effect concentric circles in PG times, increased its range of functions to embrace banding, lozenge-chains and bird-files. The majority of Geometric ware is thrown on the wheel, but the class of handmade votives continues alongside. The LG shapes' "baggy

profiles with a low centre of gravity"<sup>149</sup> are descended from PG and suggest a continuing preference for a relatively slow wheel. But tauter, angular contours are one of the diagnostic traits of Transitional ware.

(c) LG Shapes (ILL.III.5)

Coldstream valiantly attempted to isolate a Middle Geometric (MG) phase in Lakonia,<sup>150</sup> but was forced to conclude that, although a few sherds betrayed the inspiration of Attic<sup>151</sup> or Argive<sup>152</sup> MG models (probably in the shape of imports),<sup>153</sup> MG could not be considered a settled phase distinct from PG and LG. I myself doubt whether it is helpful to think in terms of a Lakonian MG at all,<sup>154</sup> and shall therefore pass directly to the LG phase, which, as elsewhere, seems to have followed straight on from its rather backward PG antecedents.<sup>155</sup>

Lane eschewed what I have described as PG, but his analysis (if not his terminology: in this I follow Coldstream) of LG shapes and decorative motifs still forms the solid core of our understanding of the style<sup>156</sup> - an understanding, however, rendered precarious by the highly fragmented condition of the surviving and accessible remains.<sup>157</sup>

1. OPEN<sup>158</sup>

(1) Bellied Skyphos (ILL.III.5g, l, o):<sup>159</sup> this descends effortlessly from its PG ancestor,<sup>160</sup> but in common with most LG pots loses the formerly characteristic articulation by horizontal grooving. The lip can be short and near-vertical<sup>161</sup> or more conspicuously everted; the base is either flat or a very unpronounced ring-foot.

(2) Skyphos with flaring rim (ILL.III.5m, n): the shape is much like (1), except for the heavily accentuated flare of the rim and the rather shallower, less bulbous body.<sup>162</sup>

(3) Hemispherical Skyphos (ILL.III.5h): this is a new variation somewhat along the lines of (1) but with a severely reduced offset lip and a lower body that incurves much more steeply to the flat base.<sup>163</sup>

(4) Krater: no wholly preserved example is known (as so often) and it would be rash to attempt to reconstruct it in view of the multiplicity of shapes and sizes of krater-feet that occur. But it is a fair inference from the quantity of open sherds bearing some form of concentric circle decoration that this shape was in common use in the sanctuaries.<sup>164</sup> A latish version from Amyklai (to which we will recur in several connections) gives an idea of the kind of figure-decoration that its size enabled it to accommodate.<sup>165</sup>

Lane's "standed bowl" is a striking but fairly common related shape (ILL.III.5u).<sup>166</sup>

(5) Bellied Cup or Kantharos (ILL.III.5f): this evolves from its PG predecessor in an unremarkable way.<sup>167</sup>

(6) Deep Cup or Tankard (ILL.III.5x): this is how I would describe the Lakonian pot found in a chamber-tomb at Volimidhia in Messenia.<sup>168</sup> I take it that this is also the shape referred to by Droop as a "small high cup with brim rather outplayed, and a small ring handle at the lip",<sup>169</sup> whose active life is prolonged as far as Lakonian II.<sup>170</sup>

(7) Lakaina (ILL.III.5c, d, e): the origins of this shape are not entirely clear,<sup>171</sup> but it is easy to see that the result is in effect a bellied skyphos with a tall, straight and gently flaring lip. The nomenclature is not beyond dispute either,<sup>172</sup> but this is a shape which Lakonian potters may have developed independently<sup>173</sup> and certainly made peculiarly their own during the ensuing centuries.<sup>174</sup> Like the lakaina of literary tradition (Athenaios xi.484F), it could have been used as a drinking-vessel, possibly reserved for occasions requiring special ceremony and ritual.<sup>175</sup>

(8) Pyxis (ILL.III.6):<sup>176</sup> another problem of nomenclature presents itself here, since one version has been described as a "skyphos".<sup>177</sup> But "pyxis" is surely preferable for any shape with a deep, roughly cylindrical profile that could be (but was not necessarily) closed by a lid. The idea was probably borrowed from the Argolid, to judge from the usual forms of decoration,<sup>178</sup> but the treatment of the shape was Lakonian: a bucket-shaped variety with inset rim (exemplified by two well-known pots from Amyklai)<sup>179</sup> and a variety with doubly-curved walls are known. Both are considerably taller than anything found in the Argolid.<sup>180</sup> The everyday domestic pyxis was usually an item of female equipment, designed to hold cosmetics, toilet-articles, sewing-gear and the like,<sup>181</sup> but it was probably dedicated empty.

(9) Open Miniatures: all the shapes so far described were also offered in miniature form to the various deities. But there are also shapes like the one-handled "teacup"<sup>182</sup> and the kalathos<sup>183</sup> whose full-size version could not be securely restored from the available fragments and which can be seen writ small in the generally crude and probably "mass"-produced<sup>184</sup> simulacra.<sup>185</sup>

(10) Plate (ILL.III.7i):<sup>186</sup> Lane believed there were no purely LG plates,<sup>187</sup> but even so it is hard to see why he failed so much as to mention A0 fig.34<sup>188</sup> and he ought perhaps to have included one or both of the fragments excavated at

Scoglio del Tonno in 1900.<sup>189</sup> AO fig.34 exemplifies the deeper version with flat base (slightly hollowed underneath), gently flaring sides and a flat rim. The reflex handles are of a type found also in Attic plates at this time.<sup>190</sup> The Scoglio del Tonno fragments both come from the flatter kind - one with almost straight profile on a ring base, the other gently curving upwards to the edge (base lost). The inspiration probably came from Corinth.<sup>191</sup>

(11) Tray (ILL.III.5p, q, r): I have nothing to add to Lane's account of this enormous shape,<sup>192</sup> which appears to have been destined for use in the observance of some public rite.

2. CLOSED<sup>193</sup>

(12) Amphora: there are several sherds with large thick walls, unpainted inside, which should probably be assigned to amphorai, although Lane (followed by Coldstream) makes no reference to this shape. The relevant handles cannot unfortunately be used to identify the various types,<sup>194</sup> but it would have been reasonable to infer the existence of the neck-handled amphora in view of its inclusion in the preceding PG and subsequent Transitional repertoires,<sup>195</sup> even if we had not had an actual example from Amyklai.<sup>196</sup>

(13) Hydria: the shape descends from PG, but only the miniature version is represented among the finds.<sup>197</sup>

(14) Oinochoe:<sup>198</sup> the usual Lakonian LG form is known from the fragments of tall (and sometimes strutted)<sup>199</sup> necks and massive handles, but it is not possible to restore the complete profile. An unpainted fragment of another variety, with the canonical trefoil-lip but short neck and more globular body, was found in the theatre among the débris from the Akropolis (Tray 3066).

(15) Lekythos:<sup>200</sup> we have a clear instance of external influence on the Lakonian fabric in the shape of the lekythos or what Lane and others prefer to call a "conical oinochoe" - inappropriately, for the vase clearly served as an unguent-container.<sup>201</sup> The ancestry and development of its Early Proto-corinthian (EPC) prototype are adequately understood.<sup>202</sup> The slender neck was often topped by a trefoil mouth for functional and, it should be said, aesthetic reasons.

(16) Globular Aryballos:<sup>203</sup> this is another shape of indubitably

Corinthian inspiration. Indeed, one example is a blatant attempt to reproduce the model exactly, but the technique and execution betray the clumsy hand of the plagiarist.<sup>204</sup> The aryballos was the portable counterpart of the lekythos and was suspended from the wrist by several means for convenience of carriage.<sup>205</sup>

(17) Ring-vase: this shape, ultimately of oriental inspiration, is rare in Lakonian as in other LG fabrics. One of our examples is doubly unusual for being horizontal but square in section;<sup>206</sup> the others are less exceptional, being vertical and round in section.<sup>207</sup> They may have been used as lamps.<sup>208</sup>

(18) Pomegranate:<sup>209</sup> Droop's wilful restoration (as a high-necked jug) is precluded by the small handle and the size of the upper aperture.<sup>210</sup> Something of the sort is known in the Argolid, towards the very end of LG.<sup>211</sup>

(19) Closed Miniatures: to the miniature hydria already noted we should add a tripod container (an actual-size incense-burner?),<sup>212</sup> jugs<sup>213</sup> and a series of variations on the theme of a doubly-curved body with one or more handles.<sup>214</sup>

### 3. NOTE: Handles and other Attachments

All the types of handle found in Lakonia can be paralleled in other fabrics, but the twisted handle at least, which is quite frequent at Orthia,<sup>215</sup> descends from PG without outside interference. Of the other types the most common is the vertical - thin and flat for the Corinthianising lekythos (15),<sup>216</sup> thick and slightly convex for the amphora (12)<sup>217</sup> and oinochoe (14).<sup>218</sup> Excluding the plain sausages of indeterminate usage, the remaining types are the reflex for the deep plate (10),<sup>219</sup> stirrup for the krater (4),<sup>220</sup> "wish-bone"<sup>221</sup> and ring.<sup>222</sup>

The handle-substitutes or lugs are perhaps yet another Argive loan. Pierced with string-holes for carriage or suspension and hemispherical in shape, they were commonly applied to open vases (as ILL. III. 5t).<sup>223</sup>

Two examples of "mastoi" are known to me: one from the rim of a krater that apes Argive work in all other respects too,<sup>224</sup> the other (FIG.14f) at the root of a twisted handle perhaps in imitation of a metal rivet.<sup>225</sup>

#### (d) LG Decoration (ILLS.III.5-9)

There has been a regrettable tendency for students of Geometric pottery to compile tables of linear motifs and treat them, from the viewpoint of origin and development, in isolation both from each other and from the shapes they were used to decorate. Coldstream, however, rightly points out that

"the choice of linear motifs is often far less diagnostic than the composition in which they were deployed"<sup>226</sup> - "often", not "always", because there are of course instances where the fact and not the manner of the use of a particular motif can throw light on the (art-) historical relationships of the style as a whole. Yet clearly the "compositional" approach to Geometric pottery is the more fruitful, for here is a style common to almost all areas of Greek settlement<sup>227</sup> that depends for its artistic success on the harmonious and rhythmical disposition of essentially simple linear motifs and on their felicitous accommodation to the surface of the vase.<sup>228</sup> However, in assessing Lakonian LG from the compositional viewpoint, we are very severely handicapped by the fragmented condition of the remains. There are as yet in Lakonia no known tomb-groups of whole pots to compare with those of, for example, Argos or Athens. For the most part we are forced back on possibilities and probabilities - not just in respect of the wider interpretative issues but even in the basic matter of the components of the style. This is what has made it so tempting simply to compile tables of motifs in use without paying much attention to the manner of that use.<sup>229</sup> Coldstream, aided by an enlarged understanding of other fabrics, was proof against the temptation and it is his preliminary sketch which has made possible the more detailed examination to be conducted here. It must, however, be stressed again that the nature of the evidence makes even the fullest study less detailed and more provisional than one could wish.

#### 1. LINEAR DECORATION

We have already noted that, while one or two shapes were carried over from PG into LG, a considerable number of new shapes (especially open ones) was added to the potter's repertoire. In decoration the discontinuity is still more apparent. Some motifs do survive, if not for long, but the artistic conception as a whole, not to mention the introduction of a rudimentary figure-style, represents a fresh start and by itself suggests that after some two centuries Lakonian vasepainters were once again open (and receptive) to external influences. The latter were as decisive in their own way as those which, as I have argued, led to the PG style. But their source was different. It is a measure of our increased understanding that we can confidently assert that the immediate inspiration came from the Argolid, especially Argos itself, and Corinth. Sometimes the twin influences are discernible on a single pot or fragment, but usually, as we would hope and expect, the borrowing was selective and demarcations were sensibly respected. Broadly speaking, Argive motifs and compositions were deployed on the larger, cruder shapes (krater, amphora),<sup>230</sup> Corinthian on the smaller and finer (skyphos,

lakaina). The details are of course more complex, as we shall see. In addition, one or two ideas appear to have reached Lakonia from other sources and a few more are due to wholly domestic processes. Significantly, though, the last two categories account together for only a small portion of the total decorative range.

Lakonian borrowings from Argive are the most numerous and will be treated first. Pride of place must be given to the meander,<sup>231</sup> the Geometric motif par excellence<sup>232</sup> and the one most frequently attested among the surviving remains of Lakonian Geometric.<sup>233</sup> The meander is in essence a symmetrical combination of straight lines capable of indefinite horizontal and vertical extension. Several variants were developed in the local schools,<sup>234</sup> but the "Greek key" or "orthodox" (other names are used) is probably correctly recognised as the basic theme everywhere.<sup>235</sup> In the Argolid the key-meander can be doubled or tripled in the vertical plane, but the Lakonian knows only the simple, one-tiered version.<sup>236</sup> Probably following the Argive exemplar,<sup>237</sup> this is normally hatched obliquely,<sup>238</sup> although outlined examples<sup>239</sup> and pieces with perpendicular<sup>240</sup> and even a combination of perpendicular and oblique hatching<sup>241</sup> occur.<sup>242</sup> For covering larger areas in a harmonious "all-over" manner the Lakonians borrowed the typically Argive step-meander.<sup>243</sup> Yet the rarity of this form, coupled with the absence of the multiple key-meander, suggest that even the larger Lakonian shapes were small by comparison with the Argive equivalents - unless of course this is merely a reflection of the one-dimensional (sanctuary-site) nature of the findspots. The only real exception known to me is a sherd from the Akropolis (Tray 2951) from an amphora with walls 1.5cm. thick (H.10).<sup>244</sup> The form of its meander (unique in attested Lakonian) consigns it to Himmelmann-Wildschütz's "concentric" type, which he opposed to the true "Geometric" meander.<sup>245</sup>

If a lighter, more "openwork" effect was desired, then the L-shaped meander-hook, derived typologically from the step-meander, was available (ILLS.III.7m, 8e); the version with perpendicular hatching was probably borrowed from the Argolid, like its full-blown parent.<sup>246</sup> However, although the motif and most of its variants represent a one-way transference of ideas from the Argolid to Lakonia, even here there are signs of Lakonian independence. Gridded meanders and meander-hooks may be a local peculiarity;<sup>247</sup> and the cross-hatched examples may be an indication that PG tastes had survived.<sup>248</sup> More tantalisingly, they may alternatively represent contact with East Greece, especially Rhodes and Samos.<sup>249</sup> It is impossible to say much about the compositional deployment of the meander (and hook) in Lakonian LG, except to note its occurrence on two pieces with metopal schemes of clearly Argive stamp,<sup>250</sup> in the handle zone of a skyphos<sup>251</sup> and on the neck of a trefoil-lipped oinochoe or jug.<sup>252</sup> Before leaving the motif it is worth calling attention

to the type of "meander-hook" (a courtesy title) so far removed from the original meander that it consists merely of two straight lines of unequal length joined at their ends to form an L-shaped figure (ILL.III.8f). It occurs on both the outside and inside of the lips of open shapes, probably towards the end of LG.<sup>253</sup>

Next after the meander in order of frequency comes the lozenge, nearly always disposed in chains and drawn with the multiple-brush. Of the varieties illustrated in ILL.III.9<sup>254</sup> the blind (b)<sup>255</sup> and the dotted (c)<sup>256</sup> are the most common. As we noticed at the end of II.iii(c), the blind lozenge-chain occurred twice on otherwise all-black PG sherds from Amyklai. These are probably the harbingers of that Argive influence on Lakonian pottery which, I believe, stimulated the transformation of ideas implicit in the abrupt change from PG to LG.<sup>257</sup> The other certain borrowing from Argive is the lozenge with extended apices<sup>258</sup> or "leaf-lozenge", as Coldstream picturesquely describes it.<sup>259</sup> We can say little more about the compositional treatment of the lozenge-chain than we could about the meander: it is used as a band of continuous ornament on both open and closed shapes<sup>260</sup> or as subsidiary decoration in interrupted, panelled bands.<sup>261</sup> Vertical examples are rare,<sup>262</sup> one of them exemplifying the extravagant use of the dotted lozenge-chain as filling ornament.<sup>263</sup>

The third method of encircling the vase with continuous ornament was some variation of the zigzag or wavy line. The most disciplined and most frequent was the hatched zigzag (ILL.III.9m),<sup>264</sup> very probably borrowed from Argive.<sup>265</sup> Towards the end of LG fresh contact and inspiration from the same quarter<sup>266</sup> appears to have been responsible for a fondness for massed wavy and zigzag lines (ILL.III.9p)<sup>267</sup> and for what Lane called the "unslipped linear" vases found, for example, in S. Italy.<sup>268</sup>

Zigzags, lozenges and meander - these are the three essential categories of Geometric linear motifs, in Lakonia as elsewhere. Though susceptible of considerable manipulation to suit a painter's compositional schemes, the Lakonians seem to have been content to take over directly from the Argolid not only the basic ideas but many of their refinements too, with only the modification due to inferior brushwork. Nor does the indebtedness end here, for the Lakonians borrowed two further kinds of motif: the individual metopal pattern, whose use on certain shapes and position thereon were fairly rigidly predetermined; and the individual subsidiary ornament, equally revealing in its own way of art-historical relationships. To the first kind belong the rosette (circle with elaborate filling) (ILL.III.8s, t, w)<sup>269</sup> and the quatrefoil (ILL.III. 8x, y).<sup>270</sup> We can do little more than affirm the occurrence of the rosette, but the quatrefoil seems to have been mainly used on open shapes like the pyxis (ILL.III.6) and krater, in one case associated

with the concentric circles of PG ancestry.<sup>271</sup> To the second borrowed kind (the individual subsidiary motif) belong especially the outlined cross (ILL. III.8u), ubiquitous in Argive<sup>272</sup> but more selectively employed in Lakonia,<sup>273</sup> and the "window" motif accompanying concentric circles.<sup>274</sup> Several other candidates for the role of derivatives have been or could be proposed,<sup>275</sup> but their dependence cannot yet be argued with confidence.<sup>276</sup> The evidence for the derivation of the Lakonian LG figure-style from the Argolid is hard, but this will be dealt with in the second part of this subsection.

Meanwhile it is time to consider the specifically Corinthian contribution. As is by now familiar, Corinthian LG was highly competent but somewhat pedestrian and did not command the wealth of imaginative resources at the disposal of Argive potters and painters.<sup>277</sup> Indeed, it seems that the Corinthian craftsmen themselves were made aware of their inferiority and, not wishing to be second best to such near neighbours (or from some higher aesthetic motives),<sup>278</sup> eschewed a "Geometric" figure-style. Some of them struck out on a new tack (in shapes as well as decoration), anticipating the generally ("orientalising") trend in Greek vasepainting by a quarter of a century or more.<sup>279</sup> Others, as Coldstream has interestingly suggested, may have been stimulated by their bolder colleagues and competitors to turn out linear Geometric vases, which "in quality of fabric, elegance of shape, and dexterity of ornament, ... surpass anything that Corinth had previously produced".<sup>280</sup> I suspect - though it cannot be demonstrated in the present state of our knowledge - that it was only after this decisive change in Corinth that Lakonian vasepainters were significantly sundered from their Argive allegiance. At any rate, the majority of Lakonian figure-painters continued cheerfully in their "Argivising" ways throughout LG.<sup>281</sup>

Several new, Corinthian-inspired shapes in the Lakonian repertoire (globular aryballos, lekythos) have already been discussed, and I mentioned in the introduction to this subsection that the Corinthian influence in LG decoration was generally confined to the finer, thin-walled vases like skyphoi and lakainai. The most pervasive influence is represented by the panelled scheme (usually placed in the handle-zone) where verticals frame a free-floating motif executed with a multiple-brush (e.g. wavy lines and horizontal chevrons: ILL. III.8l, m, q; cf. n).<sup>282</sup> After this in order of frequency comes the rough diagonal scribbling used to decorate the outer edge of the flat variety of plate, which was evidently a popular shape (ILL. III.7j).<sup>283</sup> From Corinth too the Lakonian painters learned the system of fine banding,<sup>284</sup> but they usually preferred their own local modification (below). Of individual motifs the Lakonians seem to have taken over the "running-dog" (ILL. III.6; 8z),<sup>285</sup> sigmas (ILL. III.8g), chevron (ILL. III.8h) and dotted "serpent" (ILL. III. 7t).<sup>286</sup> With regard to technique it is interesting to note sporadic examples of incision,<sup>287</sup>

one of which is an unambiguous imitation of its model in most other respects too.<sup>288</sup> But these relatively adventurous painters apparently failed both to master the technique themselves<sup>289</sup> and to convince their competitors and patrons that it ought to be mastered. For it is not before the end of the seventh century that Lakonian painters are as committed to the black-figure style as the Corinthians were at the beginning of it.<sup>290</sup> Finally, as with Argive, there are other items in the Lakonian repertoire that could have been borrowed from Corinth, but these do not merit extensive discussion here.<sup>291</sup>

Instead, we should now turn to look at the nature and extent of the PG heritage and any other mannerisms or ideas that are arguably of wholly local creation or development. From PG Lakonian LG inherited most obviously and abundantly the triangle, concentric circle and cross-hatching, though with significant differences of treatment in each case. As LG progressed, so cross-hatching declined in frequency,<sup>292</sup> but at its height it was used for a bewildering multiplicity of effects: triangles (pendent or upright; singly, in pairs or in a chain; sometimes as wolftooth),<sup>293</sup> lozenges (individually or in a chain),<sup>294</sup> meander<sup>295</sup> and lattices;<sup>296</sup> as background to reserved quatrefoils (ILL.III.8x)<sup>297</sup> and to concentric circles;<sup>298</sup> and even under a flat base!<sup>299</sup> LG cross-hatching typically differs from its PG predecessor in its tighter mesh, achieved by the use of finer brush-points and less concentrated glaze, and in its more careful execution. The concentric circles, adorning amphorai in particular, could be freed somewhat from the cramped quarters they had occupied on PG vases.<sup>301</sup> We find examples with as many as eleven arcs<sup>301</sup> (six is now normal, not the greatest number attested), as well as compositions of two superimposed rows.<sup>302</sup> That concentric circles were employed until the later part of LG is proved by their association with a quatrefoil metope and the "window" subsidiary ornament,<sup>303</sup> but they may have been especially popular immediately after the effective end of PG.<sup>304</sup> The only other inheritance from PG is the hatched triangle, which becomes marginally more common, especially as a filling ornament for painters experiencing "horror vacui".<sup>305</sup> So far as I am aware, there is no important LG decorative motif that is even likely - let alone certain - to be of wholly native inspiration.<sup>306</sup> It only remains, therefore, to conclude the discussion of Lakonian peculiarities by citing their characteristic system of banding. As we have seen, the idea of banding was probably lifted from Corinth,<sup>307</sup> but, instead of laying on bands of uniform spacing and thickness, they quickly decided in most cases to interrupt the somewhat monotonous rhythm at regular intervals with an alternating band of greater thickness (ILLS.III.5o; 6; 7e; 8a).<sup>308</sup>

So far we have considered probable borrowings from Argive LG and Corinthian LG and EPC, the relatively small inheritance from the local PG and the absolute

dearth of native inventiveness in decoration. When we attempt to locate signs of influence from, or contact with, other areas, the signals are very indistinct indeed. Particularly noteworthy is the lack of correlation between Lakonian shapes and decoration and those current in "West Greek" LG.<sup>309</sup> The rosettes (circles with elaborate filling) are reminiscent of the Cyclades, especially Thera, and Crete.<sup>310</sup> The cross-hatched and gridded meander are found in East Greek LG.<sup>311</sup> The outlined cross occurs on Crete and Thera<sup>312</sup> as well as in the Argolid.<sup>313</sup> The gridded, not hatched, diagonal (FIG.14c) is paralleled only on Crete, so far as I know.<sup>314</sup> The treatment of a cross-hatched lozenge with T-shaped crosses springing from the four points (FIG.29a) appears closest to Rhodian or Samian.<sup>315</sup> Finally, the regular use of slip recalls Samos and to a lesser extent Chios.<sup>316</sup> These possible parallels are, I believe, suggestive. Oriental curios and luxuries were brought to Sparta and dedicated there during the currency of LG and each of these islands could have served as an entrepôt or stop-over point for "traders" (Lakonian or not) voyaging between Sparta and the East.<sup>317</sup> However, since the earliest imports of pottery made in these islands are the probably Rhodian "bird-bowls",<sup>318</sup> it is unwise to speculate along these lines any further. Instead, we shall now turn to consider the introduction of a figure-style.

## 2. FIGURED DECORATION

If the major obstacle to a correct understanding of the LG style of linear decoration was the fragmented condition of the remains, then the problem is compounded manifold here by the scarcity of fragments bearing figured representations.<sup>319</sup> In the circumstances we are fortunate to have one almost whole pot<sup>320</sup> and another that is quite well preserved.<sup>321</sup> But these are both pyxides (P.H. of the larger 22cm), which is a relatively small shape, and we are therefore ignorant of the larger, more elaborate Lakonian compositions (if such were indeed produced). Nonetheless, as with the linear motifs, it is possible to identify the stylistic affinities, which again prove to be with Corinth and (especially) the Argolid. Apart from a couple of fishes,<sup>322</sup> a hare<sup>323</sup> and a schematic lizard(?),<sup>324</sup> which are not without interest or significance, the three categories of animate object represented are the bird, the horse and the man. They will be discussed in that order.<sup>324a</sup>

There is a very wide range of types of bird,<sup>325</sup> usually disposed in the characteristic files or acting as filling ornaments. Rarely do they appear to have achieved independent status as motifs in their own right. The idea of the file of silhouette birds drawn with the multiple-brush seems to have been derived from Corinth, as do most treatments of the idea.<sup>326</sup> But at least one type ("head-in-air flamingoes") has Argive antecedents.<sup>327</sup> There is no

agreed and consistent method of drawing the individual birds. They can be done entirely in silhouette; or the wings and/or body can be hatched and the eye reserved and dotted.<sup>328</sup> Only one is depicted in flight,<sup>329</sup> while another seems to be struggling to take off - from between a horse's legs!<sup>330</sup> Three sherds are especially noteworthy for their probable connections: two show birds with hatched bodies placed antithetically beneath the stirrup-handle of a krater;<sup>331</sup> the third has plump-bodied, long-necked birds with reserved, dotted eyes glaring at each other above a motif whose East Greek affinities I have already discussed (FIG.29a).<sup>332</sup>

The horses are more easily disposed of, for their Argive inspiration is undeniable.<sup>333</sup> In one example (already cited several times in other contexts) the similarity to Argive work extends to the composition as a whole.<sup>334</sup> The horse is set in a lateral square metope with characteristically Argive filling ornaments, alongside a step-meander of Argive LG II type. The weight of the horse is supported on rather spindly hindlegs whose fetlocks are not distinctly marked. The forelegs are well splayed apart. These are all characteristics of Coldstream's "Fence Workshop", without knowledge of which our krater could "hardly have been painted".<sup>335</sup> In other cases the comparison in a detail like the fetlock<sup>336</sup> or horizontal muzzle<sup>337</sup> is particularly revealing. There is a far greater unity of style exhibited by the horses than by the birds, but it is not a purely derivative uniformity, for we can distinguish between the Lakonian and Argive styles of drawing.<sup>338</sup>

The absolute paucity of studies of the human figure in Lakonian LG vasepainting corresponds to the situation in contemporary bronzework, but they outnumber the representations of horses. The reasons why and the process whereby the human figure was ~~one more dead end~~ a fit subject for vasepainting following the hiatus since LH IIIC are complex matters. They fall outside the scope of this discussion, because clearly the innovation was neither independently conceived nor widely adopted in Lakonia.<sup>339</sup> It does, however, seem possible to distinguish two types of drawing that probably corresponded initially to different stages of chronological development.<sup>340</sup> The first - and presumably earlier - type deals in angular, silhouetted masses (pointed head, triangular thorax, broad thighs, finely tapering calves) with sharply accentuated hair and hands.<sup>341</sup> A later phase of the type is exemplified by the outline heads, which allow representation of the eye but are combined with similarly wooden bodily poses.<sup>342</sup> The second type occurs on a few sherds from Orthia, where a miniaturist style is used successfully to express some suppleness and agility.<sup>343</sup> In one case the torso is reserved.<sup>344</sup> Again, as with the horses, details like the placing of the male genitals and the trailing belts of the women betray the Argive inspiration,<sup>345</sup> while the positioning of the man behind his horse indicates Lakonian independence.<sup>346</sup>

Sadly, it is difficult to dilate on the iconography. So far as can be judged, the themes are almost entirely restricted to dancing and horse-taming.<sup>347</sup> I share the view that as a rule scenes in LG art are generic and that gods and heroes, let alone humans, are not individually represented on vases.<sup>348</sup> However, there seems to be no reason why this generality in iconographical types, which are common to several areas, should not be as indicative of local historical situations as of art-historical relationships. In a poor land like Greece ownership of a horse was always a prestigious symbol of aristocratic birth and/or of great wealth<sup>349</sup> and as such will always have been an attractive subject for a vase to be dedicated in a sanctuary.<sup>350</sup> On a more humdrum level there is an increasing body of evidence to suggest that in the LG period the mounted warrior was a figure of greater military importance than in later, hoplite times (though I do not believe there was ever an era of true cavalry warfare);<sup>351</sup> and the horse will have been an efficient and relatively comfortable means of transport for the Spartan landowner making a progress of his allotted holding.<sup>352</sup> The subject will also have been attractive to the painter, both for the artistic problems it set him, and, I would guess, for the pleasure to be gained by harnessing the "divine speed and power in this mighty animal" to the surface of a vase.<sup>353</sup>

The scenes of men and women dancing in files<sup>354</sup> are clearly to be explained as cult-acts in honour of Orthia and Apollo, but we cannot of course say just which dances are being performed.<sup>355</sup> Four-stringed lyres on the pyxis from Amyklai<sup>356</sup> and the three-stringed example from Orthia, apparently held by a woman and played by a man,<sup>357</sup> are the earliest evidence of the interest in music which the Spartans sustained throughout their history.<sup>358</sup> The vase-paintings have their counterpart in a bronze votive from Amyklai,<sup>359</sup> which probably had eight strings and is to be assigned to the LG period on the grounds of its material.<sup>360</sup>

#### (e) Origins, Development and Chronology

The causes of change in ceramic style are complex and hard to discover, even where documentation, both literary and archaeological is rich.<sup>361</sup> Broadly speaking, the causes are social. No artist is an island. His thought-patterns, potentialities and techniques alike reflect and reveal the level of development attained by the society of which he is a part.<sup>362</sup> Indeed, we are entitled to assume that the Greek Dark Age artist - whatever his medium - was more firmly linked to his cultural matrix by direct social, economic and psychological ties than is his modern Western counterpart.<sup>363</sup> Thus a change in style so profound as that from PG to LG pottery in Lakonia presupposes equally radical changes in Lakonian society affecting the relationship between Lakonia and the world outside.<sup>364</sup>

In Part II I considered a comparable if not more profound discontinuity in style between the latest Mycenaean and PG pottery. There I suggested that even the most economical hypothesis had to allow a change of personnel (patrons or craftsmen or, as I believe, both) to have been one of the decisive factors. No such allowance need be made to explain the origins of LG. Within a relatively short period the native tradition, by now of some antiquity, was swamped beneath a deluge of external influences, especially from Argive LG<sup>365</sup> and Corinthian LG and EPC.<sup>366</sup> Only a few items from the old stock managed to keep their heads above water, and then only at the cost of varying degrees of transformation.<sup>367</sup> The new synthesis, the local Lakonian LG style, was generally colourless and insipid, enlivened only by a few sparks of native ingenuity. In the rest of this subsection I shall attempt to provide answers (necessarily provisional, in view of the evidence) to the following questions: how was contact with the Argolid and Corinth established? why did these foreign styles prove irresistible? in what way did the local fabric develop? and on what timescale should the development be placed?

For some 150 years Lakonian PG had gone its own distinctive if unimpressive way. After the basic ideas of a PG style had been absorbed, indirectly from Attika, the only signs of significant external contact were with an area (extending from Ithaka and the adjoining coast to Messenia) which is schematically called "West Greece". Following the creation of LG, such community of ideas as had existed between Lakonia and the West Greek group was no longer in evidence. In itself this is not puzzling, for the West Greek style had long since forfeited any claims to influence by its originality and was stuck in a rut no less deep than the Lakonian.<sup>368</sup> What is at first sight remarkable is that West Greek and Lakonian PG show hardly any signs of development or contact with more progressive styles throughout their seemingly lengthy spans. The explanation is probably to be found in a break in land and sea communications which allowed free rein to a resistance to change bred of insecurity and a low level of technology. Conversely, the re-establishment of normal communications and the rising standard of technology should be at least part of the explanation of the change that put an end to PG.

As Starr and Snodgrass have argued, the tenth and ninth centuries B.C. were a time of consolidation after the upheavals of the eleventh, preparing the way for the rapid changes of the eighth, when people and ideas were once more generally on the move in an ever expanding psychological and geographical framework. Into this context should be fitted the interest in the world outside their immediate purview displayed by the Spartan ruling class during the first half of the eighth century.<sup>369</sup> "Governmental" action, however, is unlikely to have preceded the activities of individuals and small groups, who in going about their daily business established peaceful, stable and

routine channels of intercourse - at first on an intraregional, than on an interregional basis.<sup>370</sup> Towards the middle of the eighth century Attic and Argive potters and painters made the decisive advance represented by the distance between the MG and LG phases of the Geometric style.<sup>371</sup> The Lakonians were quick to follow, because they were socially prepared and technologically equipped for the change.

On present evidence the medium of Argive influence was not imported ware. The quantity of certain eighth-century imports of Argive pottery into Lakonia was absolutely and relatively minute,<sup>372</sup> unless yet again our lack of evidence from graves and settlements is seriously misleading us.<sup>373</sup> If pots were not travelling, then people were and I find no difficulty in visualising Lakonian potters and painters visiting the Argive workshops and sanctuaries<sup>374</sup> or, if the Argolid is thought to be too far, Tegea, where Argive pottery was imported and dedicated in some quantity.<sup>375</sup> I have called Lakonian LG "generally colourless and insipid", but at least the craftsmen responsible for its production were not mere hacks and slavish imitators. Several technical and stylistic features are unthinkable in the Argolid<sup>376</sup> and there are even a few instances where the Argives may have paid their "pupils" the compliment of borrowing from them in turn.<sup>377</sup> This kind of reciprocal arrangement would suggest close contact and familiarity with each other's work over a considerable period; and this is borne out by the evidence of Argive influence continuing until the very end of LG,<sup>378</sup> well after the Lakonians had felt the hot breath of the inspired Corinthian EPC linear and orientalisising styles. To the latter we must now turn.

The Corinthians did not follow the Argives in the development of a Geometric figure-style, perhaps because they felt it to be a contradiction,<sup>379</sup> or perhaps because their general artistic bent was more "malerisch" than "tektonisch", to use Schweitzer's helpful terminology.<sup>380</sup> Their LG was, however, exceedingly competent and may have influenced Lakonian LG by its system of fine banding at least.<sup>381</sup> But it was the revolution implied by the EPC linear and orientalisising styles that was most keenly felt. This time the medium was, I believe, imported ware.<sup>382</sup> A few bolder spirits made brief forays into the proto-b.f. field in blatant imitation of Corinthian work, but the majority decided reasonably enough that the time was not yet ripe for moving into a full-blown b.f. style. Instead, they turned to Corinth for the fine "half-tone" ornament<sup>383</sup> which they applied to the smaller, thin-walled shapes.

Between them the Argives and Corinthians provided the necessary range of shapes and decorative motifs from which the Lakonians could produce their own regional LG style. Other areas may have made one or two contributions, but these explain neither its origin nor its development. Their significance lies

rather in indicating the turbulence and intermingling of artistic currents in this remarkable epoch. Yet, as Starr has so ably stressed, not even the most progressive regions could slough off without trace the heritage of the past in this "Age of Revolution". Still less, then, could the more backward ones like Lakonia. The arguments in the controversy concerning the relative simplicity or complexity of Lakonian LG are now all on the side of simplicity. The Lakonians revealed their individuality not so much in what they did, as in what they did not, choose to borrow both in shapes and decoration. In unconscious obedience to the injunction of the Delphic Apollo they did not overreach themselves. They were fortunate here in their relative geographical isolation. "Small, bleak and thrifty" are epithets perhaps more particularly suited to the art of Lakonian LG than to the general run of Greek Geometric pottery.<sup>384</sup>

So much for the origins. Development can be treated more summarily in the absence of significant grave-groups. The most useful general index of relative date would appear to be the presence or absence of slip: PG was almost uniformly unslipped and the majority of LG from Orthia slipped, while the other excavated sites display proportions that fall between these extremes; after LG slip is a regular feature on all Lakonian pottery. Argive influence seems to have been expressed most extensively at the beginning and end of LG, Corinthian after the rise (and importation) of EPC. The local concentric circles and cross-hatching continue from PG throughout LG, but in ever decreasing frequency.

Finally, the timescale. The internal evidence from stratification is worthless for the absolute dating of LG, but relatively the style should have lasted longer than the subsequent Transitional phase. For absolute dates we must look to those obtained from the Argive and PC sequences, and here we come hard up against the absolute chronology of almost all LG artefacts. For the dating of Argive depends on that of PC, which in turn depends on that of the Western colonial foundations. The shakiness of the Argive chronology may be judged from the fact that it is based ultimately on three imported PC kotylai, found in three Argos grave-groups!<sup>385</sup> The relative chronology of PC, founded initially by Johansen on the development in the shape of the aryballos,<sup>386</sup> is generally agreed upon by the experts, but the correlation of the finds of PC with the absolute dates given by the ancient sources for the foundation of the particular colonies is still a matter for dispute. Indeed, there is every reason why this should be so, because, regardless of R. M. Cook's arguments that the absolute chronology of the LG period is "fixed" correctly within a margin of error of no more than fifteen years,<sup>388</sup> there is an irreducible circularity in arguing from foundation-dates to PC finds and vice versa. In view of this, it is perhaps

all the more impressive that the chronological system long ago established by Payne, itself based on the work of Johansen, has proved to be a fruitful working hypothesis in all but a few cases.<sup>389</sup> To cut a very long story short, EPC should run from about 720-690 B.C., Argive LG from c.760/50 to 700/690.

Utilising our understanding of the relationship between Lakonian LG on the one hand, and Argive LG and Corinthian LG and EPC on the other, we might justifiably hold that Lakonian LG began c.750 and ended c.690. These dates do not conflict with the only two finds of Lakonian LG in chronologically significant contexts. The deep cup or tankard from Volimidhia was part of a votive deposit in a Mycenaean chamber-tomb that otherwise consisted of two local Messenian pots and seven of an early phase of Corinthian LG I (to be dated c.750).<sup>390</sup> The late "unslipped linear" plate-fragments found in S. Italy come from Scoglio del Tonno (a former Mycenaean entrepôt) and Satyrion, close by the site of the Spartan colony of Taras, where the earliest datable evidence is a grave-group containing an EPC aryballos.<sup>391</sup> According to the literary evidence, the colony was founded in 706.<sup>392</sup> Thus we arrive at a total span of between 50 and 30 years for Lakonian LG, a figure not incompatible with the quantity of ware found and the few signs of development that the remains betray.<sup>393</sup>

(f) Transitional: problems of definition and terminology

Following ~~this~~ "Geometric", within which the only discernible differences were of execution not style,<sup>394</sup> Droop envisaged a bifurcation of the Lakonian fabric into a partly conservative, partly experimental "Sub-Geometric" stream<sup>395</sup> and a progressive "Laconian I" ("orientalising") stream,<sup>396</sup> which flowed alongside each other for some 25 years (c.700-675)<sup>397</sup> before the Geometric residue was finally submerged. He defined "Sub-Geometric" ware as "pottery with in general Geometric technique . . . . and designs generally Geometric in nature, but differentiated by the addition of some element akin to the Orientalising style . . . and rarely of purple paint."<sup>398</sup> Sherds of this type were found principally in the stratum characterised by "Laconian, Proto-Corinthian and slipped Geometric ware"<sup>399</sup> and they came from shapes as a rule larger than were usual in "Laconian I".

Lane's interpretation differed from Droop's in several particulars. He eschewed the term "Sub-Geometric", preferring instead "Transitional" to describe a fluid (in date and style) class of hybrid vases, which combined "late Geometric" and "Orientalising" features and was produced from c.725 to the early seventh century.<sup>400</sup> He subdivided his Lakonian I into "Lakonian I Fine Ware" and "Lakonian I Orientalising Ware", the former corresponding roughly to Droop's "Laconian I", the latter to some of his "Sub-Geometric". The superiority of

Lane, therefore, is revealed both in his understanding of the development of the fabric as a whole and in his analysis and classification of individual pieces.

The major defect of his treatment was his retention of the excavators' chronology for the pottery, which thereby ensured the continued acceptance of their dates for the associated artefacts too. In 1963 Boardman succinctly reviewed the published findings of the Orthia excavations with the object of re-examining the conventional chronology and found that in almost all cases a downdating of the start of Lakonian I ("Fine Ware") to c.650 produced acceptable dates for the associated artefacts without fundamentally undermining the excavators' interpretation of the stratification.<sup>401</sup> His revised lower chronology is now, rightly, the new orthodoxy, but one of its consequences is to pose afresh the question of what was being produced in the Lakonian pottery-shops during the first half of the seventh century.

R. M. Cook has recently summed up the situation neatly: "The so-called Transitional style is an assortment of Subgeometric and Early Orientalizing, not yet understood."<sup>402</sup> Indeed, this is one of the many instances where a full understanding will only come after the further excavation of stratified sites in Lakonia. Meanwhile, however, I believe it is possible to set the matter on a sounder basis than heretofore. Droop's "Sub-Geometric" was ill-conceived, as Lane implied and Kunze<sup>403</sup> and Boardman<sup>404</sup> have pointed out, both because it embraced a variety of styles and because it is impossible to determine its chronological limits. This does not, however, entail the disutility of all concepts of Subgeometric for analysing the Lakonian Geometric fabric. If it did, then Lakonian would be on its own in this regard; and besides, as Boardman has outlined, there is no difficulty in envisaging the Geometric impulse in Lakonia lasting well after the end of LG proper and even as late as c.650. Where then are we to locate the surmised Lakonian Subgeometric? Precisely in Lane's "Transitional", which, so far as I can judge, is far less fluid than Lane suggested. For the change in approach to decoration (the "malerisch" contrast between dark and light is now sought after)<sup>405</sup> coincides regularly with the change in approach to shape (contours are now preferably angular and broken). There is no difficulty in conceiving this unpretentious and comparatively restrained style as giving way c.650 to the equally modest, though competent and pregnant with future development, Lakonian I. The real problem is how to approach the early Orientalising experiments in the use of motifs ultimately based on plant-life and in the drawing of animals and human beings. Although some of these experiments undoubtedly antedate the introduction of Lakonian I, others equally, as Boardman remarked, could represent the contemporary antecedents of a "canonic (black-) figure style" (i.e. Lakonian II, established c.620). It is not

clear, therefore, how much of either Droop's "Sub-Geometric" or Lane's "Lakonian I Orientalising" should legitimately fall within the compass of this study, whose lower terminus is 650. In the circumstances, I have decided to follow Lane's example and mention only a few individual orientalisising pieces that should belong around 650 and may throw light on other contemporary classes of artefact.<sup>406</sup>

I have labelled both my "Subgeometric" and "Early Orientalising" ware with the collective tag "Transitional" (not to be confused with that of Lane), because the period between the end of LG and the establishment of Lakonian I/II appears to have been an unsettled phase, during which the Lakonian potters and painters, separated from their Argive/Corinthian matrix, were searching for a new idiom without quite knowing what they were after.<sup>407</sup> The situation here corresponds, I believe, to that obtaining in the field of political ideas and practice. By c.650 the seeds of the future had found a suitable bed and were beginning to germinate.

(g) Subgeometric Shapes and Decoration (ILL.III.10)<sup>408</sup>

1. OPEN

(1) Skyphos (ILL.III.10a, b, c): a exemplifies the commonest variety, with gently incurving bowl, slight rim and horizontal handles.<sup>409</sup> Its Subgeometric character is indicated not so much by shape as by the frieze of solid triangles that now replace their cross-hatched predecessors in consequence of the search for unbroken light/dark tonal contrasts.<sup>410</sup> b (FIG.29c) is rather larger with thickened rim and a carination that seems to have been developed from a LG exemplar (ILL.III.5i). The band of "running-dog" on the lip is an ornament which appeared at the end of LG (ILL.III.6) but comes into its own as a subsidiary motif in the Transitional phase. The dotted serpents with intertwined head and tail in the main handle-zone are a bold and successful experiment, paralleled in the singular, as we shall see, on a well-preserved oinochoe (FIG.38). The filling ornament around the serpents recalls that used on the sherd with the Early Orientalising warrior's head (FIG.44). The idea of the true serpent with reserved head (to be distinguished from the conventional dotted wavy line)<sup>411</sup> was perhaps also borrowed from Corinth.<sup>412</sup> c belongs to a small class distinguished by its "hurdle" decoration but akin to the LG "unslipped linear" ware in its technique.<sup>413</sup>

(2) Krater: it is once again hard to differentiate the krater in sherd-form from other deep open shapes (esp. ILL.III.10dd).<sup>414</sup> One example, however, is sufficiently well preserved with its strap-handle to make the identification secure.<sup>415</sup> The high rim with slightly flanged lip springs from a quite sharply articulated belly. Slip is not used, but the decoration

of the rim (large triangulated squares)<sup>416</sup> and upper belly (frieze of inverted solid triangles treated as rays)<sup>417</sup> is carefully executed. The development of this local type into the larger and widely exported sixth-century stirrup-krater<sup>418</sup> can, I believe, be traced in the still unpublished deposit from Ay. Paraskevi.<sup>419</sup>

(3) Kantharos (ILL.III.10g):<sup>420</sup> only the conventional dotted serpent in the handle-zone distinguishes it from the LG predecessor.

(4) Lakaina (ILL.III.10f; 5e): in shape the Subgeometric lakaina differs from its ancestor in the incipient curve of its tall lip,<sup>421</sup> in decoration in the application of the diagnostic chequer pattern to both lip and bowl.<sup>422</sup> One particularly fine example with long graceful handles<sup>423</sup> is decorated under the bowl with a star-medallion<sup>424</sup> (filled triangles treated as rays with crosses between the points).<sup>425</sup>

(5) Pyxis (ILL.III.10d, e, gg): d is a low variety with fine and slightly concave walls; though otherwise unknown in Lakonia, this type is characteristic of MPC, a valuable chronological indication.<sup>426</sup> The chequer pattern here, as Dunbabin remarks, is "very appropriate to the comparatively plain surface and the horizontal emphasis."<sup>427</sup> e, also chequered, but with "running-dog" friezes above and below, is a natural successor to the taller LG pyxides like ILL.III.6.<sup>428</sup> gg is "unslipped linear" but for its thick purple stripe, apparently an isolated forerunner of a regular Lakonian I device.<sup>429</sup>

(6) Plate (ILL.III.11): Lane's judgement that there were no "purely Geometric" plates was too narrow. It is, however, true that a firm chronological determination can rarely be made, and so I have listed together here all the plate-fragments known to me, published and unpublished.<sup>430</sup> The examples in the line-drawing range from one with no obtrusively Transitional features (b) to one that bears the orientalising tongue-pattern (e). A star-medallion like the example already noted beneath the bowl of a lakaina is a fairly common centrepiece; other motifs include solid triangles, wavy lines, chevrons, lozenge-chain and step-pattern,<sup>431</sup> all disposed in uninterrupted bands.<sup>432</sup> The profile is sometimes articulated, the handles are usually simple loops.<sup>433</sup>

(7) Tray (ILL.III.10cc): this descendant of the LG tray is c.38cm. in diameter, slipped inside and entirely coated with black paint except for a reserved band underneath the base containing the "running-dog" pattern.<sup>434</sup>

(8) Kalathos (ILL.III.10w, x, y, z, aa, ff):<sup>435</sup> only the miniature version could be securely identified among the LG fragments, perhaps because it only became fully established in the Lakonian repertoire during the Transitional phase. The illustrated examples show patterns ranging from thick black bands (inside or out), through the characteristically Transitional chequers, "running-dog" and step-pattern to the LG outline meander-hooks.<sup>436</sup> They also neatly demonstrate the increasing passion for articulated profiles, which reaches a climax in the larger aa.

(9) Chalice (ILL.III.10m):<sup>437</sup> this high-footed drinking-vessel, with typically Lakonian cylindrical bowl, is the progenitor of a long-running series.<sup>438</sup> Though superficially reminiscent of the Chian or North Ionian chalice,<sup>439</sup> the Lakonian version was, if not earlier, probably independently conceived.

(10) Bird-bowl: examples of this widely distributed East Greek class<sup>440</sup> may have found their way to Sparta, to judge from the two certain local imitations.<sup>441</sup> The sherd claimed as an import by Droop may in fact have been locally produced.<sup>442</sup>

## 2. CLOSED

(11) Amphora: once more the neck-handled amphora is the only variety that can be securely identified. ILL.III.10r is a large example (D. of mouth c. 35cm.), whose rim is decorated with elongated outline meander-hooks and neck with chequers. The bosses on the neck on either side of the handle probably reflect influence from metalwork. The joining fragments from Samos come from the shoulder of another large amphora with solid sigmas or enlarged "running-dog" and inverted triangles.<sup>443</sup> The latter are unusual for consisting of sets of solid triangles framed by superimposed outlined triangles so linked as to form an asymmetrical zigzag pattern.<sup>444</sup> Also probably to be assigned to this phase is a group of amphora-like pots, noteworthy for being the only reasonably well preserved coarse shapes.<sup>445</sup> The profiles of three of them are typically angular; the frieze of inverted solid triangles on the fourth is placed like those on several other vases of the Transitional phase.

(12) Hydria (ILL.III.10l): lack of handles makes the identification provisional, but the shape of the mouth is probably enough to guarantee that this is a hydria-fragment.<sup>446</sup> The angular profile is Subgeometric, but the decoration (effected with a multiple-brush) is pure LG. Another neck-fragment, with the Subgeometric chequers, is perhaps also from a hydria.<sup>447</sup>

(13) Oinochoe (ILL.III.10k, bb(?); FIG.38): k and bb are in no way remarkable, so far as their fragmented condition permits us to judge.<sup>448</sup> FIG. 38, by contrast, is probably the single most impressive representative of Lakonian Subgeometric, both in shape and decoration. It is, therefore, all the more regrettable that the foot and lower body are lost.<sup>449</sup> Droop called it an "amphora", but the trefoil-lip and asymmetrical handles (the smaller of the two is purely ornamental) disprove this.<sup>450</sup> The inside of the mouth is painted to the junction between neck and shoulder. Around the neck there coils a true serpent, whose sinuous form is accentuated by the vertical thrust of the arrowstrains on it from above and below.<sup>451</sup> The body bears a rhythmical composition of panels, separated by horizontal bands, containing LG (lattice, blind lozenge-chain interrupted by groups of verticals), Subgeometric (inverted solid triangles, chequers, step-pattern) and intermediate (opaque circles) motifs. Although the placing of the motifs is well adapted to the shape of the vase,<sup>452</sup> the painter's primary concern is not with shape but tonal contrasts. In his striving after counterpoint he has achieved also a rhythmical harmony conspicuous by its absence from Lakonian Geometric (PG to Subgeometric inclusive) painting as a whole. A secondary concern may have been cultic, for the painted serpent on the neck is picked up by the plastic snake on the ornamental handle. The chthonic symbol par excellence, the snake is naturally associated with funerary rites, but there may also have been an intimate (though to us obscure) connection with Orthia in one of her nature hypostases.<sup>453</sup> The plastic snake does occur in LG, but it most strongly recalls Early Protoattic work.<sup>454</sup>

(14) Lekythos (ILL.III.10h, i, j, ee): h, i and j derive from the local LG copy of the original EPC "conical oinochoe", but have the Transitional features of broken contours, "running-dog" pattern and inverted solid triangles. ee (FIG.13b) is decorated with the LG version of horizontal banding,<sup>455</sup> but its unique biconical shape is Transitional.<sup>456</sup>

(15) Aryballos: EPC globular aryballoi gave way in Corinth to the ovoid variety. Lane fig. 4, with a careless attempt to reproduce the conventional dotted serpent around the shoulder,<sup>457</sup> appears to be aping Corinthian examples transitional between globular and ovoid (c.700-690).<sup>458</sup> BSA xxviii.54, fig.2 shows a small, handleless black-glazed flask, described by Droop as an "aryballos", by Lane as a "krateriskos". Despite the lack of a handle and the (relatively) wide mouth, I follow Droop. It could have been stoppered with material and suspended by a thong tied round its neck, if need be;<sup>459</sup> but it might not have been intended for any except ritual use. The body represents a further stage along the road to the LPC or Transitional (between

LPC and Early Corinthian) piriform aryballos, of which a good example was excavated at Orthia.<sup>460</sup>

(16) Ring-Vase: BSA xxviii.56, fig.3i, k is a small fragment with pairs of pendent solid triangles treated as rays on the interior, cable on the exterior and meander on the side of the ring.<sup>461</sup> It forms the tenuous link between the LG and later<sup>462</sup> examples.

(17) Miniature Vases: the rich series of tiny votive vases illustrating the "piety and poverty" of their dedicators probably begins in earnest before the mid-seventh century,<sup>463</sup> but stratigraphical indications are lacking except for the type already discussed with the LG shapes.<sup>464</sup> The most common varieties are the skyphos, lakaina and aryballos.

It emerges from this brief survey that the repertoire of Subgeometric shapes closely repeats the LG pattern, with the sole addition of the chalice and the apparent loss of the pomegranate.<sup>465</sup> Several LG motifs survive, used either on their own but on Subgeometric shapes or in company with Subgeometric motifs. Among the latter a few originated at the end of LG and only became frequent later ("running-dog", step-pattern, solid triangles).<sup>466</sup> The handful of new motifs seems to have been developed as a by-product of the weakening of the rectilinear Geometric impulse. In addition to those discussed in connection with particular shapes, it is worth noticing the occurrence of the swastika,<sup>467</sup> concentric circles linked by tangents,<sup>468</sup> rows of dots, T-shaped cross,<sup>469</sup> wheel-pattern<sup>470</sup> and added white rays.<sup>471</sup> So far as I know, there is only one truly Subgeometric representation of the human figure.<sup>472</sup>

#### (h) Early Orientalising Shapes and Decoration to c.650

In this subsection we are dealing with a limited range of larger, cruder shapes (mainly oinochoai and open bowls, as ILL.III.10k, o, p, q, s, t), which do not merit detailed examination, and decorative motifs that derive however distantly and mediately from the world of nature. The representations of animate beings before 650 are few but correspondingly important and will receive closer attention in an attempt to detect similarities to or differences from contemporary figured work in other areas and materials.

We shall begin with the pomegranate-frieze, which is the decorative counterpart to the lakaina-shape in the sense that, even if it was not a Lakonian invention,<sup>473</sup> it became a Lakonian hallmark. The naturalistic version of the pomegranate first appears in the Transitional phase, where it is associated with typically Subgeometric decoration.<sup>474</sup> It may even have been developed from a stylised Subgeometric motif by a purely internal process, for the usual seventh-century form is not naturalistic but rather a stylised

"bud" between "stalks" (ILL.III.7r).<sup>475</sup> Not before the sixth century does the naturalistic pomegranate-frieze become firmly established, in an amazing richness and variety of treatments.<sup>476</sup> In Lakonia as elsewhere the pomegranate with its blood-red juice and myriad seeds had an undoubted cultic connection with fertility.<sup>477</sup>

The tongue-pattern (as it is conventionally called) is perhaps a stylised approximation to a bouquet of leaves. In vasepainting the earliest occurrence seems to have been in Cretan MG (first half of the eighth century)<sup>478</sup> and it maintained the Cretan connection in the seventh,<sup>479</sup> but a more probable medium of inspiration for the Lakonian painter was metalwork.<sup>480</sup> Yet the Lakonians demonstrated their individuality, somewhat perversely to be sure, by placing the tongue-pattern on the inside and outside of the lip of an oinochoe<sup>481</sup> and in the centre of a plate (ILL.III.11e), not, as in other regions, on the shoulder or lowest part of the vase. The earliest version consists of black tongues only, but soon after the beginning of Lakonian I we find purple and black tongues alternating.<sup>482</sup>

Floral motifs comprise only the rosette and palmette. The dot-rosette may have ~~made~~ its first tentative appearance in LG, as in other local fabrics.<sup>483</sup> The floral rosette has at first pointed leaves,<sup>484</sup> later rounded ones;<sup>485</sup> the latter form can also be reserved in silhouette<sup>486</sup> or outline<sup>487</sup> against a dark background. The palmette at this stage is rudimentary<sup>488</sup> and gives no hint of its future development in metal and clay.<sup>489</sup> One example, however, is more complex and perhaps reflects Melian influence or contact.<sup>490</sup>

A striking curiosity is the sole instance of the oriental "sacred tree" or "tree of life" motif, here flanked by a "flamingo".<sup>491</sup>

Turning to the figured scenes, we find once more how reluctant the painters were to abandon their purely linear decorative schemes.<sup>492</sup> An oinochoe already noticed<sup>493</sup> bears a procession of winged horses with slender silhouette bodies and outline heads and wings.<sup>494</sup> Poor preservation makes stylistic analysis and chronological determination difficult, but the technique suggests a date in the second quarter of the seventh century.<sup>495</sup> Iconographically, the piece is extremely interesting as the earliest representation in Lakonian art of one of the first oriental motifs to be adopted in Greece as a whole;<sup>496</sup> it occurs later in Lakonia on both ivory and lead plaques and on a terracotta relief-amphora, the horses sometimes being depicted pulling a chariot.<sup>497</sup> Interpretation of our oinochoe in mythological terms is extremely hazardous, particularly as there are no associated heroic or divine figures.<sup>498</sup>

A later fragmentary pyxis, however, does show a procession of riders and horse-drawn chariots and deserves inclusion here, even though it may strictly fall outside our lower chronological terminus.<sup>499</sup> The ribbed under-

side recalls a Lakonian I trait,<sup>500</sup> but the boldness of the drawing implies Early Orientalising affinities. Its technique of outline and silhouette is the same as that of the oinochoe just considered, but the details of the charioteers' heads and the treatment of the horses' manes and suppler bodies argue a later date.<sup>501</sup> Lane compared the scene to the limestone rider-frieze from Temple A at Prinias on Crete<sup>502</sup> and, if we allow for differences of material and regional style, the parallel is useful. For, despite its somewhat crude and stiff carving and lack of proportion, the Prinias frieze should probably belong in the third quarter of the seventh century, as Matz has argued.<sup>503</sup> The Akropolis pyxis should then fall at c.650 or shortly thereafter. This accords with the accepted dating of comparable Cycladic vasepaintings,<sup>504</sup> which at this time seem to have been part of an artistic circle that included Crete.<sup>505</sup> There are probably no earlier chariots in Lakonian art,<sup>506</sup> but a horseman on an ivory plaque is a near contemporary.<sup>507</sup> It is uncertain whether the scene is one of daily life or taken from a Lakonian myth.

The only other animals with a claim to have entered the repertoire before 650 are that orientalisising favourite, the lion,<sup>508</sup> and the less popular goat (with reserved and stippled head).<sup>509</sup> The lion with its oversized shoulders, reduced hindquarters and crude, outline toes is probably the later of the two, for both Kunze<sup>510</sup> and Lane<sup>511</sup> have drawn comparisons with the lions on the Attic Burgon krater in the British Museum,<sup>512</sup> which belongs to the black-and-white style of the second quarter of the seventh century.<sup>513</sup> These comparisons with Attic are probably not fortuitous,<sup>514</sup> because neither miniaturist Corinth nor the Argolid had anything to offer in this area and Attic painters of the first half of the seventh century were prepared, like the Lakonians, to experiment on larger shapes, indulging "a grandiose imagination that was not troubled about scale or balance."<sup>515</sup>

Two joining sherds from an open shape found on the Akropolis depict an outline male head in profile to the right wearing a peaked and plumed cap (FIG.44).<sup>516</sup> A very low brow slopes almost horizontally into a dominant, bulbous nose; the firm mouth with protruding upper lip contrasts with the weak, receding chin and goatee beard; an outside oval eye occupies an unnaturally central position. A "dumbbell" filling ornament in the field<sup>517</sup> is grotesquely out of proportion to the size of the head, which may be no more than a protome.<sup>518</sup> A Subgeometric panel of chequers is just visible to the right; the curved lines behind the head are decoration for a handle-attachment and not part of a wing.<sup>519</sup> The cap is probably meant for a helmet,<sup>520</sup> so this may be the earliest surviving Lakonian vasepainting of a figure who for many has symbolised the quintessence of the Spartan way of life - the warrior.<sup>521</sup> Stylistically, the managing of the head finds a close parallel

in a series of ivory fibula-plaques dated by Marangou to c.675.<sup>522</sup> Matz<sup>523</sup> rightly considered it to be close to the later work of the Analatos Painter, whose career is currently estimated to have lasted from c.710-675.<sup>524</sup> The oriental features (especially the almost "Syrian" nose) and a comparison with the certainly later horsemen of the pyxis discussed above support a date in the 670's.

A thick-walled, slipped sherd from the Heroon presents a remarkable aspect in Droop's line-drawing, which unfortunately remains the only available illustration.<sup>525</sup> Nothing can be made of the upper register and I hesitate to be specific about the lower, but it too may represent a chariot scene.<sup>526</sup> The two figures face in opposite directions and are separated by a curious filling ornament(?) vaguely reminiscent of the device on the wall of the Argive Heraion house- or temple-model.<sup>527</sup> The figure on the left, wearing a patterned tunic(?), is of indeterminate sex, but the other appears to be bearded and wears a cloak with a patterned border. It is hard to speak of style when dealing with a drawing of this kind,<sup>528</sup> but the better proportioned eye, the less rounded nose and the fairly elaborate hairstyle argue that he is later than the warrior. It is not, however, safe to press the comparison that has been made<sup>529</sup> with an outstanding ivory dated by Marangou to c.650.<sup>530</sup> The only usable point of contact is the hairstyle (long locks falling over the shoulder and caught up by a headband behind the ears),<sup>531</sup> but this does not help much with the date, which is perhaps before rather than after 650.

Finally, it seems fitting to end with a vase which, though probably Lakonian I and after 650, is perhaps the most impressive product of the earliest phase of Lakonian orientalisising vasepainting (FIG.47). It is a well-potted lakaina, whose lip and figured decoration are wholly preserved.<sup>532</sup> The lip is divided into vertical panels consisting alternately of outline female heads<sup>533</sup> and diagonal cross with solid triangles in the segments. The bowl carries alternating black and purple tongues and, below these, outline triangles or rays with crosses between them as filling ornament. Lane rightly felt that the heads had a very "Melian" appearance and this is valuable evidence of contact between Lakonia and the Cyclades somewhere in the third quarter of the seventh century.<sup>534</sup>

#### (i) Transitional Painted Pottery: Summary of Results

"Third rate and unpretentious" (Cook) is probably a fair description of Lakonian vasepainting in this unsettled and confusing epoch. Broadly speaking, two artistic currents were flowing side by side, the one conservative and fearing freedom from its LG bonds, the other innovating but generally crude. Stratigraphical evidence is of no help in understanding them nor in establishing

a relative or absolute chronology; more useful are the (regrettably few) contacts noticed with Attika, Crete, East Greece and the Cyclades. Fortunately, enough is now known about the generality of Greek fabrics to see that the LG impulse could persist in Subgeometric ware down to the mid-seventh century, and enough about the subsequent development towards a full-blown orientalising b.f. style to suggest that Lakonian vasepainters felt the orientalising breeze late and faintly. Subgeometric shapes follow LG in the range of types but differ sharply in their angular treatment; decoration, developing LG hints, is an exercise in tonal contrasts. Early Orientalising vegetable or vegetable-inspired motifs are few and immature; figure-scenes are equally thin on the ground, but here and there display sparks of originality that provide some anticipation of the future. For it is only in the sixth century that there arises in Lakonia a style of vasepainting to match the achievements of ivory- and bronzeworkers well over a century earlier. To the latter it is now time to turn.

#### iv. The Metal Objects

##### (a) Introduction

The low lie of the site of Orthia and its proximity to the River Eurotas rendered the soil damp and inhospitable to metal objects incarcerated therein for some two and a half millennia.<sup>535</sup> Their treatment at the hands of their excavators and most of their subsequent guardians has been scarcely less unkind. When the apotheke of the Sparta Museum was thoroughly inspected and reorganised in Spring 1972, tray after tray of little more than corrosion-products, representing the remains of iron and bronze artefacts, was removed for long-overdue conservation. There was no profit in the minute examination of these shapeless masses. Yet the need for such an examination exists, created by among other things the generally inadequate publication of the metal objects (especially the bronzes) in A0.<sup>536</sup> Indeed, a far superior, though disappointingly selective, examination of bronzes from both the Orthia and Akropolis sites appeared actually before that "definitive" publication.<sup>537</sup>

Something, however, can be salvaged, for it is in the study of early bronzes that perhaps the greatest advances have been made on the work of forty and more years ago. At least, this is true of the bronzes which fall within my period of c.750-650, and above all of the "Geometric" bronze figurines of horses, other quadrupeds, birds and men with which I shall begin this section.

##### (b) Bronze<sup>538</sup>

##### 1. Horse figurines<sup>539</sup>

The measure of the gulf between the Forschungsstand of 1929 and that of

today can be simply indicated. By 1929 ten horse figurines from Orthia had been published (or rather illustrated), two by inaccurate line-drawings and barely serviceable photographs, one by line-drawing alone and the rest by photographs alone; not one was described in detail or even quoted in the text of A0; it was, I suppose, assumed that they had been locally produced; they were not deemed worthy of an entry in the Index. Today a generally recognised and easily recognisable "Lakonian" stylistic type has been isolated on the basis of (the majority of) the finds from Orthia (A.1-8); the same type has been identified (admittedly with widely varying degrees of plausibility) on various sites in mainland Greece and elsewhere and in museums and private collections in Europe and the U.S.A. (B, below). These stylistic determinations, where they can be solidly supported, provide the only basis for answering questions about the nature and social significance of their manufacture by "Geometric" Lakonian craftsmen.

The advances in scholarship have not of course been confined to the study of the Lakonian examples, for their stylistic traits were isolated and defined by comparison and contrast with those of other regions. The crucial insight, due to the present Director of the Olympia excavations, was to formulate the hypothesis that Geometric bronze figurines could be interpreted in terms of regional style in precisely the same way as Geometric pottery. Herrmann himself, however, perhaps did not go far enough; he failed to see that stylistic analysis should start from technique and seek confirmation in Formgefühl rather than the other way round.<sup>540</sup> So I shall begin with a brief description of the way in which the Lakonian craftsman (to be no more specific at this stage) set about making a bronze horse figurine - the description, suitably modified, applies of course to other quadrupeds, birds and men as well. It is a hypothetical description, based not on first-hand written evidence such as we possess for masters like Cellini, Mariette or Sprengel,<sup>541</sup> but on direct observation of the finished (and sometimes revealingly unfinished) products and on successful modern attempts to reproduce them by using putatively "ancient" methods.<sup>542</sup> The method described here - necessarily somewhat dogmatically - is known as direct lost-wax casting.

Our craftsman first modelled a lump of "hard" wax (say, thirty parts beeswax to one part turpentine and other, negligible, substances)<sup>543</sup> to roughly the size he required; he then carved the lump to the precise shape and appearance that he wished to be translated into bronze and joined it to the stand.<sup>544</sup> He (or a specialist mouldmaker - we have no means of guessing the extent of the division of labour)<sup>545</sup> then made a refractory mould of grog and plaster around the wax model, thereby tackling the "central problem" in bronze-casting.<sup>546</sup> Next, the mould was pierced and baked, and the wax was allowed to drain away ("lost"); into the fired mould the foundryman (if

he was a separate individual) poured the **molten** bronze through casting-jets, so that the future figurine was reproduced upside down inside the mould and the gas escaped through vents.<sup>547</sup> When the metal had cooled and hardened sufficiently, the mould was cracked away, **leaving** the figurine with a fuzzy, almost spongy surface and unsightly remains of the casting-vents and jets. These accretions were then chipped away, the surface was smoothed and (in some cases) a minimum of cold hammering was employed.<sup>548</sup> The end-product had a gleaming, light golden appearance, a far cry from the corroded and/or patinated examples in our museums and private collections.<sup>549</sup>

The techniques of contemporary science cannot yet aid the archaeologist in his quest for objective criteria of stylistic determination.<sup>550</sup> Something can be said about mechanical as opposed to metallurgical joins<sup>551</sup> and about the use and composition of cores,<sup>552</sup> but there is as yet, to my knowledge, not one shred of supporting evidence from analysis of the chemical composition of figurines that have been already subjectively assigned to the same regional style. Since, therefore, this is a field in which there is room for considerable dispute, I have thought it advisable to set out the available evidence in full, partly to corroborate or correct the hypotheses and conclusions reached by others, partly to provide what I consider to be a more solid basis for further advances in our understanding.

A. Horses on Stand found in Lakonia<sup>553</sup> and Taras

1. LONDON, B.M. 1923. 2-12. 506: H.c.5 L.5 (FIG.48)<sup>554</sup>

Reff: AO pl.76q; Gehrig 47; Herrmann 21 and nn.14, 15.

Ears broken, stand solid, flanged below with relief wavy lines in two compartments (as Stag B.8). The overall treatment recalls A.3, but the stand is exceptional.

2. OXFORD 1923. 186: H.78L.6 (FIG.49)

Reff: AO pl. 79 left; Gehrig 47; Herrmann 21 and n.14; Weber 91 and n.10

Tail broken away from projection of the stand; left hindleg waxed onto stand.

3. SPARTA 2216: H.7 (FIGS.50, 51b, 52b)

Reff: BSA xiii.111, fig.2f; S. Casson, Antiquaries Journal i (1921) 206n.1; Gehrig 47-8; Rolley 74n.4, 75, figs. 22-3.

4. SPARTA 2216: H.8 L.5 (FIG.53)

Reff: AO pl. 76l; Gehrig 46-7; Herrmann 21 and n.14  
Kneecap preserved only on right hindleg; both ears broken.

5. SPARTA 2216: H. c.7 (FIG.54)  
 Reff: AO pl.77b; H. Walter - K. Vierneisel, AM lxxiv (1959) 17; von Bothmer 33 (no.127); Gehrig 47; Herrmann 21 and nn.14,15; Marwitz 361.
6. SPARTA 2216: H. c.8 (FIG.55)  
 Reff: AO pl.78 left; Gehrig 47; Herrmann 21 and nn.14, 15; Weber 92 and n.18; M. Weber, Städel-Jahrbuch n.f. i (1967) 13, 17 n.28.
7. SPARTA 2216: H.7.5 L.5.5(FIG.56)  
 Reff: AO pl.79 right; Gehrig 47; Herrmann 21 and n.14  
 Part of head and all of tail missing.
8. SPARTA 2216: H.6 L.5 (FIGS. 51a, 52a)  
 Unpublished  
 Disproportionately long, drooping head;<sup>555</sup> upright, separated ears (broken) with mane coming through between them; tall neck; angular breast; short cylindrical body; plano-convex legs; raised croup; rectangular stand with large, alternately reversed triangular perforations; long tail attached to projection from stand.
9. SPARTA Inv?: H.10 L.6 (FIG.57)  
 Reff: BSA xiii.111, fig. 2e, 112; AO 197, pl.78 right; Boardman, I Gems 114 n.6; Gehrig 47-8; Herrmann 21n.14, 25n.39  
 According to Droop, the swastika is seen on the base of a figurine "once or twice", but this is the only example known to me.
10. SPARTA 2216: H.11 L.7.5 (FIG.59b)  
 Reff: BSA xiii.111, fig.2g; Casson, Antiquaries Journal i (1921) 203, fig.1; ibid, Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria (1926) 150, fig.56.1; AO pl.77c; Neugebauer 26 and n.2; Gehrig 47, 52; Herrmann 25n.39.
11. SPARTA 2216: H.6 (FIG.58)  
 Reff: AO pl.78 centre; Gehrig 38 and n.6,47; Herrmann 25-6n.39  
 Elliptical stand.
12. SPARTA Inv?: H.7.5 L.6 (FIGS. 59a, 60a)  
 Unpublished (but see Marwitz 365n.18)  
 Short head with pierced eye; short, flattened neck; angular breast; raised croup; arched body; short legs; near-vertical tail; solid rectangular stand with horizontal and vertical grooving below.

## 13. KALAMATA Inv? (from Kalamata): H.c. 10 (FIG.61)

Reff: BCH lxxxv (1961) 697; Gehrig 49-50, pl.23.4; AD xx.2 (1965) 207, pl.213 β; Snodgrass, DAG 290 n.33; McDonald-Rapp, MME 316, no.540.

## 14. TARANTO 20465 (from Taranto): H.6.2 L.6.7 (FIG.62)

Reff: S. Benton, JHS lxx (1950) 21, pl.4d; K. Kübler, Kerameikos v.1 (1954) 112; D. Kent Hill, AJA lix (1955) 42; \* F. G. Lo Porto, Annuario xxxvii-viii (1959-60) 10-12, fig. 2b; <sup>556</sup> Gehrig 38 and m.5, 6; Herrmann 21 and n.15; 22; Weber 90 and n.7; Rolley 8n.2,73 and n.1, 75n.1; Gervy 51, 53.

These fourteen afford an excellent basis for reappraising the main issues of chronological and stylistic determination that this class of object raises. Herrmann identified A.1-2, 4-7 and 14 as "Lakonian" or (to use his preferred terminology) "of Orthia-type", but A.9-11 he considered to be Argive (imports). He may have understressed technique, but his eye was good and I and those scholars whose work I respect believe there is a "Lakonian" type of horse on stand.<sup>557</sup> In my view, the Lakonian horse is individuated by at least the following characteristics in combination: large, powerful head; upright, separated ears with raised mane coming between them onto the forehead; short, flattened and mildly arched neck; prominent, angular breast; short, cylindrical body; raised croup; tall plano-convex legs, slender but sturdy; long straight tail.<sup>558</sup> The Lakonian stand is rectangular with a projection at the rear to carry the tail; the upper surface reveals a pattern of alternately reversed triangular perforations;<sup>559</sup> the underside is divided into at least two rectangular compartments, one or more of which may be embellished with a wavy "snake" in relief.<sup>560</sup> These are characteristics extrapolated solely from the finds at Orthia and I further believe that they should be regarded almost as minimum conditions which any horse on stand, wherever found, should satisfy to be classified as "Lakonian".

Thus of the examples not known to or included by Herrmann A.3 and (probably) 8 are Lakonian, while A.12 and 13 are not; on the other hand, A.14 (attributed to Lakonia by Herrmann) does not conform to our ideal Lakonian type, above all in respect of its stand. Between them these five expose most of the flaws in Herrmann's inevitably somewhat crude analysis.

A.3, as Rolley's frontal photograph (whence FIG.50) clearly shows, is exceptional among Lakonian examples for the fineness of its forms. Rolley explains this as the result of an attempt by the Lakonian craftsman to copy the modulation of Hermann's "Corinthian" group, whose effect he believed to have been produced by cold-hammering (whereas Lakonian horses were barely touched after casting beyond essential finishing). I agree with Rolley's stylistic analysis, although I doubt whether the Corinthian group was extensively

hammered.<sup>561</sup> A.8, a discovery of mine, differs somewhat from the rest mainly in the treatment of the stand: the perforations are larger than customary and applied to the projection as well as the main support; there are no relief "snakes" underneath. It is possible that here we have another case of Corinthian influence.<sup>562</sup> A.12 is clearly not Lakonian, but its positive identification is problematic. The closest parallels are in Herrmann's "Argive" group, but, since the latter seems to me to lack both the stylistic homogeneity and locational basis of the Lakonian and Corinthian groups, it is unsafe to conclude that it is an Argive import, as Herrmann believes A.9-11 to be.<sup>563</sup> A.13, found in a funerary pithos, is less controversial: it belongs fairly clearly to the Corinthian group isolated by Herrmann and accepted as such by most scholars.<sup>563a</sup> A.14 is more exciting, for it comes from a roughly datable grave excavated in Taranto, the site of Sparta's only colonial foundation, and Lakonian LG has been found at nearby Scoglio del Tonno.<sup>564</sup> Presumably Herrmann was beguiled by the provenience into adjudging it Lakonian, because despite some Lakonian forms the overall effect and the unique base argue strongly against a Lakonian manufacture. As Rolley has suggested, it is most likely to be a local product under heavy Lakonian influence and is therefore particularly helpful for the chronology and external relations of the Lakonian series.

To sum up the positive results so far: there was a Lakonian type of Geometric bronze horse on stand exemplified by A.1-7 (and probably 8), i.e. two-thirds of the total found at Orthia. Within this type there was room for individual enterprise, as displayed by the creator of A.3, who was aware of Corinthian work. At the same time the type was sufficiently distinctive and impressive to find an echo in A.14. We cannot of course stop here. Herrmann used his initial analysis of the Orthia finds to identify Lakonian horses from other sites and in various collections; Weber attempted a relative chronology of the examples she took to be Lakonian. Since then more pieces have been classified as "Lakonian" and further sophistication of approach has been achieved. In order to make use of the results to date, we must now turn to consider the wider body of putatively Lakonian horses on stand whose stylistic determination is not supported directly by evidence from provenience.

#### B. Horses on Stand attributed to "Lakonia"

1. AMSTERDAM, Allard Pierson Mus.1344 (from "Greece"): H. 12 L. 6.3 W. 5 (FIG.63)

Reff: C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer, AA 1922, 228; Neugebauer 29 (no.44);\*H. C. van Gulik, Catalogue of the Bronzes in the Allard Pierson Museum at Amsterdam i (1940) 58, no.82, pl.19; Kunze, Ol.Ber. iv (1944) 106n.3; F. Willemsen, Ol.Forsch. iii (1957) 154, pl.91; Herrmann 24 and n.28; 32, fig.16; Weber 93 and n.24; Rolley 74n.4

I agree with Rolley (but for different reasons) that this is not at all a manneristic Lakonian product (Herrmann, followed by Weber) but Corinthian under Lakonian influence. It is, in other words, the reverse of A.3.

2. ATHENS, N. M. 6185 (ex-Olympia Inv.14025): H. 9.5 L. 7 W. 5.5

Reff: \*Furtwängler 36, no.218, pl.14.218, 218a (base); Kunze, AM 1 (1930) 146n.4; Matz, GGK 83, pl.33b; Gehrig 40; Herrmann 22 and n.20; Mitten - Doeringer 36 (no.15); Heilmeyer 2

Mare and two foals, one almost entirely broken off. The eyes of the mare are represented by holes, her mouth by a horizontal nick in the muzzle. Stand divided into three compartments below; cf. B.14, 31.

3. ATHENS, N. M. 6224 (ex-Olympia Inv.10536): H.12

Reff: Furtwängler 35, no.197, pl.14; E. von Mercklin, AA 1928, 431; Neugebauer 28 and n.3; \*Markman 23, no.4; Heilmeyer 2; Höckmann, loc.cit. (see B.19)

4. ATHENS, N.M.6244 (ex-Olympia Inv.2556): H. 6.5 L. 3.5 W. 3.5

Reff: \*Furtwängler 35, no.199, pl.13.199, 199a (base); Gehrig 44; Herrmann 21 and n.17; Marwitz 361; Heilmeyer 2

5. ATHENS, N.M.6555 (from Athenian Akropolis): dimensions?

Reff: \*A. de Ridder, Catalogue des Bronzes de l'Acropole (1896) 175, no.482, fig.141; Neugebauer 22 and n.4; G. M. A. Hanfmann, AJA lviii (1954) 226; D. K. Hill, AJA lix (1955) 39n.9; Gehrig 51; Herrmann 22 and n.21; Gervy 57

Gehrig pointed out that this figurine differs from the others found on the Akropolis, which in his view (p.58) form a homogeneous group.<sup>565</sup>

6. ATHENS, N.M. 15309<sup>566</sup> (from Lousoi): H.4

Reff: W. Reichel - A. Wilhelm, "Das Heiligthum der Artemis zu Lusoi", JOAI iv (1901) 48, fig.63; S. Reinach, Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine iii (1904) 218, no.3; M. Bieber, op.cit.(B.19); Lamb, GRB 37 and n.4; Gehrig 36n.3, 50; von Bothmer 32 (no.125); Herrmann 22 and n.19; 24n.24; Weber, Städel-Jahrbuch n.f. i (1967) 10, 11, 16n. 17, 18n.43

This small team is perhaps more likely to be Arkadian under Lakonian influence (Weber).<sup>567</sup> Note especially the treatment of the ears.

7. ATHENS, N. M. Inv? (from Prosymna, Argive Heraion): H. 5.1 L. 5.5 W. 3.5

Reff: C. W. Blegen, AJA xliii (1939) 431-2, fig.18; Gehrig 49; Herrmann 24n.29; Marwitz 361n.10

Despite similarities to more certainly Lakonian products, a final stylistic attribution is made difficult by the state of preservation.

8. BASEL, Raccolta R. H. (UP): H. 6.5 L. 7  
 Ref: R. Hess, Raccolta R. H. Aus einer privaten Antikensammlung (Basel, 1963) no.6; Weber 92 and n.16

9. BERKELEY, R. H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology 8-74 (UP): H. 8.7 L. 8  
 Ref: D. A. Amyx, "Geometric Platform Bronzes", AJA liii (1949) 147-8 (summary); \*Mitten - Doeringer 37, no.18 ("Lakonian or western Peloponnesian")

It shows certain deviations from the canonical Lakonian type.

10. BERLIN, Antiquarium Inv. 01.1348 (from Olympia): H. 4.6 L. 6.8  
 Ref: \*Neugebauer 29, no.44; 35 (no.67), pl.7; Gehrig 42-3; Herrmann 21 and n.17

Perhaps one of a team. The stand is lost.

11. BERLIN, Antiquarium Inv. 01.5166 (from Olympia): H. 7.3 L. 6.5  
 Ref: Furtwängler 35; \*Neugebauer 24, no.35; 46 (no.115), pl.6; Hanfmann, AJA lviii (1954) 226; Hill, AJA lix (1955) 39n.8; Herrmann 21n.17

The lack of angularity differentiates it from the canonical Lakonian type. Herrmann explains this by its relative earliness, but I would rather question the attribution. However, the close similarity between the stand and that of a bronze bird also considered Lakonian (4.B.1, below) may be a further argument in its support.

12. BERLIN, Antiquarium Inv. 01.9245 (from Olympia): H. 7.9 L. 9.4  
 Ref: Furtwängler 35; \*Neugebauer 22, no.32, fig.13 (base), pl.6; D. K. Hill, AJA lix (1955) 42n.35; Herrmann 22 and n.17

Not certainly Lakonian, though it has the characteristic angular breast. Stand divided into four underneath.

13. BONN, Akademische Kunstmuseum C.75 (probably from Achaia): H. 7.5  
 Ref: Gehrig 40; Weber 91, pl.9.3; H. Hoffmann, Ten Centuries that Shaped the West (1970) 146 (no.67); \*H. Kyrieleis, Antiken aus dem Akad. Kunstmus. Bonn (1971) 27, no.20, Ill.15

14. COPENHAGEN, National Mus. 6340 (probably from Boeotia): H. 9.6  
 Ref: Weber 91, 92, pl.9.5

A seam along its back may indicate that it was cast in a two-piece mould, unless it is a forgery.<sup>568</sup>

15. DELPHI, Mus. 7176 (from Roman Agora, Delphi): H. 6.7 L. 4.8 W. 3-3.2  
 Ref: BCH lxxiv (1950) 330; Gehrig 52, pl.23.5; Weber 91 and n.10; Rolley, Monumenta Graeca et Romana. Les Bronzes Grecs (1967) no.13; \*Rolley 61-2, no.61; 70, 72, 73n.1<sup>569</sup> and n.4, 75n.1, 101, pl.14; Gervy 58, 66, figs. 5, 12-15

16. ERLANGEN, Universitätssammlung I.311 (from "Greece"): H. 6.3 L. 5.6 W.2.8  
 Reff: W. Grünhagen, Antike Originalarbeiten der Kunstsammlung des Instituts Erlangen (1948) 22; \*Marwitz 359ff., figs.1-6; Weber 91; pl.9.2; Weber, Städel-Jahrbuch n.f. i (1967) 10n.16; 14, fig.14  
 Perhaps the earliest horse on stand.
17. ISTANBUL, Archaeological Mus. 401 (from Olympia): H.10  
 Reff: Gehrig 42; \*Weber 89 and n.1, 90, 91, 92, 94 and n.33, pls.9.4, 10.1; Rolley 74n.4  
 See note to B.32.
18. KARLSRUHE, Badische Landesmus. F 1912 (UP): P.H. 8  
 Reff: Bieber, op.cit. (see B.19); Weber 93 and n.19
19. KASSEL, Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Br. 616 (bought in Athens): H. 7 L. 3.9 W. 3.7  
 Reff: M. Bieber, Die antike Skulpturen und Bronzen des Königlichen Museum Fridericianum in Cassel (1915) 76, no.269, pl.47; Neugebauer 29 (no.44); Herrmann 24 and n.28; Weber 91, 92, pl.10.3; \*U. Höckmann, Antike Bronzen (Kataloge der Staatlichen Kunstsamml. Kassel iv, 1973) no.4
20. LONDON, B. M. 1905. 10-24.5 (from near Phigaleia): H. 9.8 L. 6.7 W.4.8 (FIG.64)  
 Select Reff: J. D. Beazley - B. Ashmole, Greek Sculpture and Painting (1932, 1966) 4, fig.4; Hampe, FGS 48, 49, fig.23, pl.34; F. Willemsen, Ol. Forsch. iii (1957) 153-4; H. Walter - K. Vierneisel, AM lxxiv (1959) 17, Beil.26.4; N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, Bemerkungen zur geometrischen Plastik (1964) n.76, figs. 57-8; Gehrig 29n.4, 41-2, 49; Herrmann 22 and n.23; Marwitz 361n.7, 365; Weber 92 and n.13; Weber, Städel-Jahrbuch n.f. i (1967) 17n.27; Boardman, JHS lxxxviii (1968) 7n.23; Gervy 55, figs.1-2, 57, 67; Boardman, GGFR 110, fig. 157; 400  
 Weber believes that this well-known piece, with the Siamese twins ("Aktorione-Molione" - most; "Dioskouroi" - Herrmann) in intaglio under the stand, is by the same hand as a stag in Munich (B.5, below), which has two birds in intaglio.
21. LONDON, Trade (UP): H. 8.9  
 Reff: Sotheby Auction Catalogue (16 November, 1959) 36, no.176; Weber 92 and n.16
22. MUNICH, Mus. für antiken Kleinkunst 3733 (UP): H. 8.5 L. 6.5<sup>570</sup>  
 Reff: Willemsen, Ol. Forsch. iii (1957) 154, pl.91; Walter - Vierneisel, AM lxxiv (1959) 17; Gehrig 40; Herrmann 24 and n.25; Marwitz 362, 365, figs. 7-9; Weber 91 and n.10
23. MUNICH, Mus. für ant. Kleinkunst 3734 (UP): H. 6.5 L. 4.1  
 Reff: Gehrig 40, 49; Marwitz 361ff., figs.10-12; Weber 91 and n.10

## 24. NEW YORK, Baker Collection (UP): H. 6.3

Reff: \*von Bothmer 32, no.125, pl.42; Gehrig 40; Herrmann 22 and n.19; Weber, Städel-Jahrbuch n.f. i (1967) 11n.20

As Herrmann observes, this team (two on a single stand) is even less close to the Orthia circle than B.6. Weber assigns it to her "Arkadian" group.

## 25. NEW YORK, Bastis Collection (UP): H.6.3

Reff: Hanfmann, Ancient Art in American Private Collections (1954) 30, no.189, pl.57; \*von Bothmer 33, no.127, pl.43; Gehrig 40; Herrmann 24 and n.26; Weber 91 and n.10

## 26. NEW YORK, J. Lipchitz Collection (ex-Olympia 11198): P.H. 6.7

Reff: Furtwängler 37, no.230, pl.14; \*Hanfmann, op.cit. (B.25) 30, no.190, pl.58; Hanfmann, AJA lviii (1954) 226n.23; F. Eckstein, Gnomon xxxi (1959) 645; Gehrig 35n.2; Herrmann 41 and n.114; Heilmeyer 2

"Möglicherweise" Lakonian, but perhaps rather Elean under Lakonian influence (Herrmann). It is hard to be sure when dealing with a miscasting.

## 27. NEW YORK, Metropolitan Mus. of Art 17.190.2072 (from Olympia?): H. 11.3 (FIG.65)

Select Reff: \*G. B. Washburn, ed., Master Bronzes selected from Museums and Collections in America (1937) no.62; Kunze, GGA cxcix (1937) 292; Matz, GGK 83, pl.27a; Richter, Handbook of the Greek Collection (1953) 22, fig.; Alscher, GP i.17, 125n.37, figs.22-3; Willemssen, AM lxxix-xx (1954-5) 26, Beil.14; Gehrig 27ff., 41; Himmelmann-Wildschütz, Bemerkungen figs. 37-8; K. Schefold, Myth and Legend in Early Greek Art (1964) 21, 22, 28, 29-30, pl.4a; Herrmann 42n. 115, fig.21; Weber 92 and n.13; Rolley 9, 20n.2, 23-4, 24n.3; \*Fittschen, UBSG 111-2 (SB 1), 124-5; Schweitzer, GKG 158-9, pl.185

This famous group (variously interpreted as "Herakles and Nessos", "Herakles and Pholos", "Zeus and Typhon") straddles the classes of "horse on stand" and "human figures". The attribution to Lakonia (Herrmann) rests mainly on the modulation of the horse-body of the centaur and is far from secure (see 5.B.5, below).

## 28. OLYMPIA, Br.3012 (from "Pelopiongraben"): L. 5.7

Reff: \*Heilmeyer 2 and nn.7, 8, fig.2; Rolley, "Bronzes Géométriques et Orientaux à Délos", Etudes Déliennes (BCH Supp. i, 1973) 524n.101

This miscast head "de style purement Laconien" is "la preuve de l'installation, à l'Olympie même, de succursales des ateliers laconiens" (Rolley).<sup>571</sup> Had the cast been successful, this would have been "the most astonishing plastic Geometric animal-statulette" (Heilmeyer). It is certainly the largest example, of any style, hitherto known and would presumably have required a stand.

## 29. OLYMPIA, Br.3112 (found in Sikyonian Treasury): dimensions?

Reff: Furtwängler 35, no.198, pl.13; Neugebauer 23 and nn.1, 10; 24 (nos.33-35); Markman 21; Alscher, GP i.17, fig.8; Gehrig 42; Herrmann 21 and n.17; 23, fig.1; Rolley 9; Bouzek, HG fig.74.4; Herrmann, Olympia. Heiligtum und Wettkampfstätte (1972) 72-3, fig.39; 232n.265

## 30. OLYMPIA, K 872 (findspot?): H.9.3

Ref: 100 Jahre deutsche Ausgrabung in Olympia (Munich, 1972) 84, no.1 ("Spartan")<sup>572</sup>

## 31. OXFORD, Ashmolean Mus. G.395 (from Olympia): H. 7.8 L. 7 W. 4.5

Ref: Weber 93, pl.10.4

Heavily corroded; ears and tip of muzzle lost through fatigue; original appearance of head unrecoverable; barrel body rather longer and thighs rather narrower than many "Lakonian" examples; stand decorated underneath with three rows (cf. B.2, 14) of alternately reversed triangular perforations separated by raised sections.

## 32. OXFORD, Ashmolean Mus. G.397 (from Tegea): H. 10.4 L. 6.8 W. 4 (FIG.66)

Reff: Weber 92, pls. 9.6, 10.2; Gervy 58

Reasonably well preserved; surface patinated, but main details visible; shin of left hindleg lost, left foreleg mended; muzzle ringed, eyes bulbous.<sup>573</sup>

As Weber has observed, this agrees with B.17 even down to the details of the stand and is probably by the same hand. Perhaps, as the seam of B. 14 suggests, the Lakonian craftsman was occasionally tempted to experiment with indirect lost-wax casting from piece-moulds.

## 33. PARIS, Comte de Nanteuil Collection (from Olympia): H.9.6

Reff: C. T. Seltman, Approach to Greek Art (1948) 124, pl.12a; Gehrig 41; Weber 91 and n.12; 93 and n.21

Seltman suggested the eye-sockets might have been inlaid with amber. The circles on the neck (representing skin?) were engraved with a burin after casting.<sup>574</sup>

## 34. PARIS, Louvre MND 795 (from Olympia): H. 8.9 L. 6.7 W. 3.4

Reff: \*A. de Ridder, Les Bronzes Antiques du Louvre i (1913) 19, no.86, pl.10; Neugebauer 29 (no.44); von Bothmer (no.125); Herrmann 22 and n.17; 23, fig.2; Weber 92 and n.16; Gervy 59, fig.6; 65, 66

Gervy assigns this to a group of "Linear" style, for which she suggests no regional home. It is perhaps, like A.3, under Corinthian influence.

35. PARIS, Louvre Br.86<sup>575</sup> (from Olympia): H. 8.5

Reff: M. Chevallier-Vérel, Encyclopédie Photographique de l'Art, Louvre iii (Editions "TEL", 1938) 75E; J. Charbonneaux, Les Bronzes Grecs (1958) 61; Gehrig 42 and n.1; Herrmann 22 and n.17; Gervy 65

Unusually, traces of the rasp are visible on the neck and top of the thighs. These defects and the casting-accretions between the hindlegs suggest that the work was not properly finished off. The stand is solid (as A.1), but without the intaglio decoration of B.20.

36. SAMOS, Mus. B. 1080 (from Heraion "overflow layer"): H. 8 L. 6.4  
W. 5.9

Select Reff: \* Gehrig 4, no.4; 13, 35ff., 56, pl.4.1-6;  
Herrmann 22 and n.19; Weber, Städels-Jahrbuch n.f. i (1967)  
11n.18

The findspot of this fine pair on a unique form of stand does not automatically exclude (though it does not favour) a Lakonian provenience or the possibility of a Lakonian craftsman working on Samos. Weber's "Arkadian" is hardly likely to be nearer the truth.

37. VIENNA, Kunsthistorische Mus. 3064 (UP): H. 7

Reff: Antikensammlung Nachlass F. Trau, Wien, III. Teil  
(Galerie Fischer, Luzern 29.11.1954) 22, no.281, pl.6;  
Gehrig 42; Weber 93 and n.19

Of these thirty-seven examples attributed to "Lakonia", ten (B.1,6,7,9,11, 12,24,26,27,36) must be excluded from any historical treatment in view of the uncertainty of attribution; probably others ought to be too. Significantly, I think, the exclusion involves all teams of horses (except perhaps B.10), for which there is no analogy as yet from Sparta or elsewhere in Lakonia.

There remain two groups which demand inclusion: horses on stand that have been closely compared (or are comparable) to examples attributed to "Lakonia" (C) and freestanding horses (D).

- C. Horses on stand closely compared or comparable to those attributed to "Lakonia"

1. ATHENS, N.M. 7629 (from Kleitoria): H. 6.5 L. 4.5 W. c.3

Reff: \*A. de Ridder, Catalogue des Bronzes de la Société Archéologique d'Athènes (1894) 182-3, no.987; Neugebauer 24 (no.35)

de Ridder compares B.29 and, for the base, B.2; Neugebauer compares the base of B.11. I would adjudge this to be certainly Lakonian (cf. A.5).

2. HAMBURG, Mus. für Kunst und Gewerbe 1928.100 (probably from Olympia): H. 7.3

Reff: E. von Mercklin, AA 1928, 430-1, no.118, fig.144; Amyx,

AJA liii (1949) 147; H. Hoffmann, MfKG Kunst des Altertums in Hamburg (1961) 13, pl.39 right; Hoffmann, Griechische Kleinkunst (Bilderhefte des MfKG Hamburg, 1963) 9, pl.34b; Gehrig 42

Amyx compares B.9 and Gehrig places it - with B.17 and 37 - in a group of Olympia horses to which he compares most closely the majority of horses from Orthia (Gehrig 47: Group 2b - for the rest of the group, see C.6,7,9). I do not feel, however, that we can go further than Hoffmann's "Peloponnesian".

3. HOUSTON, Mus. of Fine Arts, Annette Finnegan Collection (UP): H. 7.5  
L. 7.6 W. 3.3

Reff: H. Hoffmann, Ten Centuries that Shaped the West (1970) 146, no.67; Gervy 72; Höckmann, op.cit. (B.19)

Hoffmann compares Herrmann's "Orthia-type" animals and B.13; Höckmann compares B.19. I should say it was Lakonian.

4. LONDON, B. M. 1951.6-6.1 (said to be from Asklepieion, Athens):  
dimensions?

Unpublished.

Has Lakonian affinities (e.g. angular breast).

5. NEW YORK, Metropolitan Mus. 69.61.2 (UP): H.10.2 L.6 W.2.5

Reff: H. Cahn, Early Art in Greece 3000-700 B.C. (1965) no.89; N. Yialouris, AK xvii (1974) 21-2, pl.3.2

Cahn compares B.1, 3, 34. This could be Lakonian.

6. OLYMPIA, Mus. B 860 (findspot?): dimensions?

Ref: Gehrig 42

7. OLYMPIA, Mus. B2301 (findspot?): H. 10.2 L. 8.5

Ref: Gehrig 42

8. OLYMPIA, Mus. B3003 (findspot?): H. 9.4 L. 7

Ref: Gehrig 41-2

Tremolo line around the upper surface of the stand.<sup>576</sup> Gehrig builds round this a group including among others B.20 and 33.

9. OLYMPIA, Mus. B5058 (findspot?): H. 10 L. c.10

Ref: Gehrig 42

10. OXFORD, Ashmolean Mus. G. 396 (from Tegea): P.H. c. 7 L. 5.7 (FIGS.67-68)

Unpublished.

Has some affinities with more certainly Lakonian examples. Chemical

analysis: Cu. 90.5 Pb.1.75 Sn.6.0 Ag.0.08 Fe.0.02 Sb.0.2.

11. OXFORD, Ashmolean Mus. 1894.120 = G. 399 (from Argos): P.H. 8.6 L. 6  
D. 3.5 (FIGS. 69-70)

Unpublished.

As C. 10 in style, but the provenience is interesting (cf.B.7).

D. Freestanding Horses<sup>577</sup>

1. BASEL, Bernoulli Collection (UP): H.5.7

Reff: K. Schefold, Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst (1960)  
126, no.56; 130; Herrmann 24 and n.27

2. BERLIN, Antiquarium Inv. 01.6386 (from Olympia): H.5.5 L. 6.3

Reff: \*Neugebauer 34, no.62; D. K. Hill, AJA lix (1955)  
41n.26; Gehrig 43 and n.1; Herrmann 22 and n.18; Chr. Leon,  
AM lxxxiii (1968) 175n.2

3. BERLIN, Antiquarium Inv. 01.8091 (from under Heraion, Olympia):<sup>578</sup>  
H. 5.7 L. 5.5

Reff: Furtwängler 28n.1; \*Neugebauer 35, no.67, fig.20, pl.10;  
H. Walter - K. Vierneisel, AM lxxiv (1959) 17; Gehrig 40;  
Herrmann 22 and n.18; 23, fig.4; Rolley 74n.4

4. HOUSTON, D. and J. de Menil Collection (UP): H. 5.1 L. 6.5

Ref: \*H. Hoffmann, Ten Centuries that Shaped the West (1970)  
120, no.38

Hoffmann's caption reads "Perhaps Laconian", but in the text he toys with Thessaly. There is room for reasonable doubt.

5. KALAMATA, Mus. 7 (from Akovitika): L. 7.9

Reff: Leon, AM lxxxiii (1968) 175n.2; McDonald - Rapp,  
MME 290, no.151

Leon compares especially D.2 and I would argue from this that it is probably Lakonian or at least under Lakonian influence.

6. KIEL, Universitätssammlung B 381 (UP): H. 3.8

Ref: Weber 92, pl.9.1, 93

7. OLYMPIA, Mus. Inv? (findspot?): dimensions?

Reff: Furtwängler 33, no.157, pl.11; Neugebauer 34 (no.62);  
Markman 21; Kunze, Ol. Ber. iv (1944) 108n.2; D. K. Hill,  
AJA lix (1955) 41n.26; Gehrig 43; Herrmann 22 and n.18

8. OLYMPIA, Mus. 2892 (found near Pelopion): dimensions?  
 Reff: Furtwängler 33, no.158, pl.11; Neugebauer 35 (no.67);  
 Markman 21; Kunze, Ol. Ber. iv. 108n.2; Gehrig 40; Herrmann  
 22nn.18, 23
9. OLYMPIA, Mus. 4882 (found by SW corner of Zeus temple): dimensions?  
 Reff: Furtwängler 37, no.223, pl.14; S. Casson, Antiquaries  
 Journal i (1921) 203, fig.1.4; \*Markman 22-3; Beazley Gifts  
 1912-1966 (Ashmolean Mus., 1967) 155 (D.19); Herrmann 29n.51;  
 Heilmeyer 2

Heilmeyer compares the general shape of the head to B.28, hence its inclusion in our list. Otherwise I see little or nothing Lakonian about it and Herrmann's "Corinthian" is certainly nearer the mark.

10. OLYMPIA, Mus. Br. 5159 (findspot?): dimensions?  
 Reff: Furtwängler 37, no.231, pl.14; Heilmeyer 2, fig.1;  
 Rolley, Etudes Déliennes 524n.101  
 The attribution is no more than probable, partly because it is miscast.
11. OLYMPIA, Mus. 6944 (found at site of altar SW of Metroon): dimensions?  
 Reff: Furtwängler 32, no.154, pl.11; D. K. Hill, AJA lix  
 (1955) 41n.26; Heilmeyer 2  
 Heilmeyer compares the treatment of the ears and mane to B.28, but the same remark applies here as to D.9.
12. OLYMPIA, Mus. Br. 13956 (findspot?): H. 6.7  
 Ref: 100 Jahre deutsche Ausgrabung in Olympia (Munich, 1972)  
 84, no.2<sup>572</sup>

13. OLYMPIA, Mus. B. 21 (found immediately above S8): H. 5.4  
 Reff: R. Hampe - U. Jantzen, Ol. Ber. i (1937) 42, 48, fig.18;  
 Markman 20-1, fig.6; Kunze, Neue Meisterwerke griechischer  
 Kunst aus Olympia (1948) 7; Gehrig 40; Herrmann 22 and n.18;  
 Weber 92 and n.14; Zervos, CH 306, fig.197; 100 Jahre... no.3
14. OLYMPIA, Mus. B 754 (findspot?): H. 6.6  
 Reff: Kunze, Neue Meisterwerke 7, no.8, fig.8; H. Walter -  
 K. Vierneisel, AM lxxiv (1959) 17; Gehrig 40; Herrmann 22 and  
 no.18; Weber 92 and n.14; Rolley 74n.4

15. OLYMPIA, Mus. B 881 (findspot?): H. 7  
 Ref: 100 Jahre ... no.8

Described as "Spartan-Olympian", <sup>572</sup> presumably because it lacks the angular breast, the legs are shorter and stumper and the workmanship falls below the customarily high Lakonian standard. But the attribution raises important problems of interpretation.

16. OLYMPIA, Mus. B 1310 (from S Wall): H. 7.1 L. 6.5

Reff: Kunze, Ol. Ber. iv (1944) 108 and n.2, pl.33.5; Kunze, Neue Meisterwerke 7 (no.8); Gehrig 40; Herrmann 22 and n.19; Zervos, CH 306, fig.192

One of a team, but more certainly Lakonian than any of the teams on stands. Nonetheless it is eliminated from the discussion below.

17. OLYMPIA, Mus. B 5035 (findspot?): H. 12.5

Ref: 100 Jahre... no.4

The largest known complete example of Lakonian horses of all classes.

18. OLYMPIA, Mus. K 860 (findspot?): H. 11 L. 7.5

Ref: \*Zervos, CH 306, fig. 199

Elongated muzzle and legs and heavily accentuated thighs on forelegs, but otherwise "canonically" Lakonian.

19. OXFORD 1966.603 (from near Olympia): H. 10.3 L. 7.2 (FIG.71)

Ref: J. D. Beazley, in Beazley Gifts 1912-1966 (1967) 155, no.586, pl.77

Replica of D.9. Chemical composition (P. Craddock): Cu.96 Pb.0.2

Sn. 3.2

#### E. Origins, Development and Chronology

I have now listed the sum total of potentially "Lakonian" horse figurines known to me (summer 1974).<sup>579</sup> Space forbids the necessary detailed argumentation, but I believe the view can be defended that those examples which have not been already eliminated are indeed in some sense Lakonian.<sup>580</sup> I trust that the following brief discussion of their origin, development, chronology and significance will be thought to support - or at least not contradict - that view.

The evidence of findspots in Lakonia, or rather Orthia,<sup>581</sup> is of little help: nearly fifty<sup>582</sup> "Geometric" bronze figurines of animals and birds were found, (some with "Lakonian I" only, a few with "Geometric" only, the great majority in mixed strata containing PC), but we are not told the context of any particular figurine. It would be unwise to infer that they were evenly distributed through the strata: it may be the case, for example, that no horse was found with "Lakonian I" only or indeed in any level containing "Lakonian I". All we can safely say is that the greatest concentration of dedications (and so perhaps of production) occurred after the middle of LG; but 12 pieces representing some 25 percent of the total will not bear a heavy superstructure of hypothesis. Some stylistic development is observable from the relatively crude A.1 to the mature and "canonical" A.5 and 6. A.3

certainly and A.8 possibly reveal Corinthian influences. In general the artificial anti-naturalistic quality of Lakonian horses is remarkable,<sup>583</sup> their social significance was to symbolise aristocratic wealth and they perhaps also mark an increase in the utilitarian value of the horse to the Spartan warrior and the landowner.<sup>584</sup> That is all.

If we are to progress further, we must turn outside Lakonia, first to Taras and then to Olympia. A.14 was found in a tomb at Taras together with a PC globular aryballos of not earlier than c.690-80. Assuming that the aryballos was interred shortly after its manufacture, we have a terminus ante quem for the horse of c.680. Assuming further that it is a colonial imitation of the type of horse figurine current in the metropolis, then it cannot have been made before c.706, a plausible date for the foundation of Taras by Spartan émigrés. In other words, the Lakonian type of bronze horse figurine was established by the early seventh century. The terminus post quem is far more problematic, but two kinds of evidence from Olympia may be of help. First, the great majority of freestanding Lakonian horses has been found there, including those which stylistically appear to be at or near the beginning of the series (D.7,8). Secondly, there is clear proof that at least one Lakonian craftsman - and he a man of soaring ambition - was attempting to produce horses at Olympia itself (B.28). From this I would argue that it was the development of Olympia as an "international" sanctuary in the eighth century which gave the main impulse to Lakonian bronzeworkers to produce horse figurines. The archaeological evidence - about half of the Lakonian horses found outside Lakonia come from Olympia and some (perhaps all freestanding examples) were made there - is in complete harmony with the literary evidence for Spartan politico-religious interest in the site from an early period.<sup>585</sup> The "stratigraphy" of Olympia is notoriously insecure,<sup>586</sup> but the traditional date for the foundation of the quadriennial Games (776) provides a rough yardstick. Lakonian workshops, whether in Sparta or Olympia, should then have been in production by c.750.

So much for absolute chronology. As I do not believe we are yet in a position to distinguish workshops or hands with any certainty,<sup>587</sup> the relative chronology based on developmental stylistic criteria is to me highly dubious; but this is where most work has been done.<sup>588</sup> The problem is to decide what criteria are appropriate: vasepainting, it should now be admitted, is worse than useless.<sup>589</sup> Weber's sketch is perhaps as logical as any: first the free-standing horses (D.6, 13, 14) which are rather loosely constructed and rounded in their forms; then the earliest horse on stand (B.16) leading to the canonical taut, angular type (as A.6; B.8, 14, 17, 21, 32, 34), which in turn gives way to slackening, simplified forms (B. 18, 19, 37) and finally to mannerism (B.20, 33) and the break-up of Geometric forms.<sup>590</sup> Since A.14 from Taras apparently derives

from the stage of slackening, simplified forms, the Lakonian series may have had a long run from c.750 to perhaps as late as c.650. The terminal date can be explained, I believe, by reference to the introduction of hoplite warfare. How far the development was influenced by contact with other regional styles is unclear, but the precision and tautness of the "canonical" type may owe something to Corinth.<sup>591</sup>

Findspots outside Lakonia apart from Olympia include Athens (B.5, C.4), perhaps the Argolid (B.7, D.11), probably Achaia (B.13), probably Boeotia (B.14), Delphi (B.15), near Phigaleia (B.20), Tegea (B.32, C.10), Kleitoria (C.1) and Akovitika (D.5). This distribution certainly does not imply anything approaching a trade: the piety of the Spartan abroad, mingled perhaps with political overtones in Olympia and Delphi, is an entirely sufficient explanation.<sup>592</sup> In short, although the establishment of subsidiary workshops at Olympia may not be "preuve d'une organisation évoluée de l'artisanat et du commerce",<sup>593</sup> it is pleasant to be able to rehabilitate the Lakonian (and, as I would hold, in some cases Spartan) craftsman in yet another sphere of early Greek art.<sup>594</sup>

## 2. Cervidae

Figurines of this genus of fauna have attracted far less attention than their equine counterparts. Herrmann confined his discussion to a bare listing of cervidae "related to" the Orthia-type horses, while the one full study known to me is devoted to early Greek (and Minoan) representations as a whole, not specifically to Geometric bronze figurines, and appears to be more concerned to elucidate (often dubiously) their symbolism than to consider concretely their historical or art-historical status.<sup>595</sup> In general I am less confident in talking about a "Lakonian" type of cervidae.

### A. Cervidae found in Lakonia (Orthia)

#### 1. SPARTA, Mus. 2161: H. 6.5 (FIG. 72)

Reff: W. Lamb, BSA xxviii (1926/7) 99, no. 11, fig.3; Droop, AO 202, pl.90c; Herrmann, BJ clxxiii (1973) 528

The find-context of this stag ("fifth-century") should not be taken as evidence for the date of its manufacture. Herrmann tentatively (and questionably) assigns it to Argos.

#### 2. SPARTA, Mus. 2163: H. 5.5 (FIGS. 51c, 52c)

Reff: Lamb, BSA xxviii.99, no.10, fig.3; AO pl.76m; D. K. Hill, AJA lix (1955) 40n.12; Herrmann 21n.14; Höckmann, op.cit.  
(horse B.19)

Probably a fawn.

3. SPARTA, Mus. 2187: H. c.3 L. c.6 (FIG. 73a)Ref: AO 197, pl.76f

Fawn? (dog, according to Droop).

A.2, the most polished product of this rather undistinguished group, corresponds stylistically and typologically to the canonical Lakonian type of horse. The other fawn (?) A.3 should probably be later, if its relaxed and stretched forms are an indication of relative date. The stag A.1 is moderately managed, but interesting for its semi-animated pose, which presumably announces the end of the Geometric impulse.<sup>596</sup>

B. Cervidae assigned to "Lakonia" or closely compared or comparable to cervidae so assigned.

## 1. BALTIMORE, Walters Art Gallery 54.2382 (UP): H. 6.8 L. 3.5

Reff: \*D. K. Hill, AJA lix (1955) 40, no.2, pl.29, figs.4-5; Herrmann 2ln.14; Mitten - Doeringer (no.22)

Compared by Herrmann to Orthia-type horses, but really "of somewhat different style" (Hill).

## 2. BERLIN, Antiquarium Inv. 01. 9998 (from S of Heraion, Olympia):

H. 6.9 L. 5.7

Reff: Furtwängler 36, no.207, pl.13; \*Neugebauer 45, no.112, fig.22, pl.12; Herrmann 2ln.14

This fawn on a circular openwork stand is too "styleless" for confident attribution.

## 3. BOSTON, Mus. of Fine Arts 98.650 (from Kabeirion, Thebes): H. 7.2 L. 4.2

Select Reff: Herrmann 29 and n.52; Weber, Städel-Jahrbuch n.f. i (1967) 13-14, 17n.33, fig.15; D. G. Mitten, BMFA lxx (1967) 12ff., figs.12-15; Brein 153-4 and nn.23-5, fig.97; \*M. B. Comstock - C. C. Vermeule, Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the MFA Boston (1971) 5, no.3 (full bibliography)

The attribution of this group (hind with fawn on solid stand) to "Sparta" (Weber) is astonishing and, despite the ringed muzzle, certainly incorrect.

## 4. DELPHI, Mus. 3892 (foot of stylobate of Temple of Apollo): H. 6 L. 4.5

Reff: P. Perdrizet, FD v<sup>1</sup> (1908) 48, no.126, fig.151; Herrmann 2ln.14, 29n.52; \*Rolley 82, no.123, pl.21; Brein 149 and n.6

Rather inconsistently Herrmann closely compared this stag-pendent to both Orthia-type and "Corinthian" horses. Its state of preservation (to look no further) precludes precise stylistic determination.

5. MUNICH, Mus. für antiken Kleinkunst 3695 (from Greece): H. 8 (FIG. 74)

Reff: J. Sieveking, Münchener Jahrbuch 1913, 73, fig. = AA 1913, 434, fig.1; Herrmann 21n.14; Marwitz 365, figs.13-15; Weber 92 and n.13; Mitten - Doeringer (no.24); Weber, Städel-Jahrbuch n.f. i (1967) 17n.27; Boardman, JHS lxxxviii (1968) 7n.23; Brein 151 and nn.17, 18; Herrmann, BJ clxxiii.528

This magnificent stag evokes the mannerist approach to the taut and angular Lakonian horse-type. This and the intaglio device of a pair of waterbirds under the solid stand link it to horse B.20 and suggest that they may be by the same hand (Weber).

6. OLYMPIA, Mus. 2233 (by SW angle of Temple of Zeus): dimensions?

Reff: Furtwängler 36, no.205, pl.13; Neugebauer 48n.8; Herrmann 21n.14; Brein 151 and n.16, fig.95; Herrmann, Olympia. Heiligtum und Wettkampfstätte (1972) 72, fig.40; BJ clxxiii.528

Probably Lakonian stag.

7. OLYMPIA, Mus. 6912 (S of Metroon): dimensions?

Reff: Furtwängler 36, no.206, pl.13; Neugebauer 45n.7, 47n.4; Brein 150-1 and n.15, fig.94; Herrmann, BJ clxxiii.528

The distorted stance of this stag complicates attribution, but it is not obviously Lakonian and has not been so attributed to date (Herrmann believes it to be Corinthian). I have included it here for the form of its openwork circular base which is of a type used to support more certainly Lakonian bronzes (birds A.2; B.6,7).<sup>596a</sup>

8. OLYMPIA, Mus. 9200 (from Pelopion): dimensions?

Reff: Furtwängler 36, no.207a, pl.13; Herrmann 21n.14; Brein 150 and n.14, fig.93; Herrmann, BJ clxxiii.528

Standfree stag akin to the stumpy (and perhaps earliest) exemplars of the equine variety.

9. TEGEA, Mus. 338 (Athena Alea): L. 4.5

Reff: BCH xlv (1921) 347, no.13, figs.2,7; Herrmann 21n.14; BJ clxxiii.527-8

Probably Lakonian stag; for the stand, cf. horse A.1 (solid with serpentine lines in two compartments underneath).

Only four or five (B.5,6,8,9 and perhaps 7) can be attributed to Lakonia with any confidence. The sum total of possibly Lakonian cervidae (8 max.), representing about one-seventh of the total of possible horses, perhaps reflects a situation where ownership of a horse conferred the greatest prestige and hunting was not yet a highly developed pastime for Spartans.<sup>597</sup> The distribution outside Lakonia (Olympia and Tegea) is not remarkable.

## 3. Other Quadrupeds found in or attributed to Lakonia

A. Bovidae

1. ATHENS, Coll. H. Stathatos 820 (from Peloponnese): H. 3 L. 4.8

Ref: C. Rolley, Collection H. Stathatos iv (1971) 26, pl. IIIter

Rolley dates in the second half of the eighth century and attributes to either Tegea or Lakonia. I have an open mind.

2. OLYMPIA, Mus. B 1760 (findspot?): H. 6.3

Ref: 100 Jahre deutsche Ausgrabung in Olympia (Munich, 1972) 84, no.6

Freestanding bull with heavy lunate dewlap; circular eye in relief; pointed horns; short, thick, cylindrical body; tall legs and long tail.

3. OLYMPIA, Mus. B 5616 (findspot?): H. 10.3

Reff: \*E. Kunze, AD xix.2 (1964) 170, pl.173d; 100 Jahre... no.5

Freestanding bull, similar to A.2 but stockier and with a (relatively) short tail. Kunze would date it to the first half of the eighth century - too early for me.

The attribution of A.2-3 to "Sparta" must remain doubtful until comparable examples are found in Lakonia itself.<sup>598</sup>

4. SPARTA, Mus. 2163 (Orthia): H. c.3 L. c.3.3

Reff: Lamb, BSA xxviii.103; AO 197, pl.80i; Neugebauer 86 and n.11; J. M. Stubbings in Dunbabin, Perachora ii.408n.5

5. SPARTA, Mus. 2163 (Orthia): H. c.2 L. c.2

Reff: Lamb, BSA xxviii.103, no.21, fig.4; AO 197, pl.80k; Neugebauer and Stubbings, loc.citt.

These two couchant bulls (vase-attachments, according to Lamb) are isolated copies in bronze of the richer ivory series of couchant animals, which begins in the late eighth century.<sup>599</sup> They cannot be dated precisely, but probably belong before 650.<sup>600</sup>

The scarcity of bull-representations contrasts markedly with the situation in, for example, Boeotia and may have objective significance.

## B. Tortoise

1. SPARTA, Mus. 2163 (Orthia): L. 3.7 (FIG.75b)

Reff: Lamb, BSA xxviii.103, no.19, fig.4; AO 197, pl.80a; Marangou, LEB 177-8 and n.976 (wrong ref.); J. Bouzek, Graeco-Macedonian Bronzes (1974) 100, 178, with fig.45.12

This perhaps early seventh-century (Marangou) pendent is the earliest representation of the tortoise in any material in Lakonia.<sup>601</sup> The shell is divided into two sections by three raised ridges; each section contains two engraved circular motifs. The rear of the shell (tail?) is formed into a suspension-hole. The significance of the find is unclear.<sup>602</sup>

#### C. Frog

##### 1. SPARTA, Mus. 2163 (Orthia): L. 4 (FIG.75c)

Reff: Lamb, BSA xxviii.91n.1, 103, no.20, fig.4; 197, pl.80b;  
Jacobsthal, GP 58; Marangou, LEB 179-80 and n.993; Bouzek,  
Graeco-Macedonian Bronzes 100, 178, with fig.45.15

Despite Droop's uncertainty, the animal represented can only be a frog; the identification is supported by the two bone examples dedicated to Orthia, a bronze from the Akropolis and a terracotta from the Menelaion.<sup>603</sup> Like the tortoises, the frogs should probably be regarded as representatives of the animal world over which Orthia (Artemis) exercised general sway; their nocturnal croaking in the Eurotas valley may have impressed itself indelibly on the craftsmen's consciousness!

#### 4. Birds

Bouzek has attempted to do for Geometric bronze figurines of birds what Herrmann and others attempted for horses and humans.<sup>604</sup> He claimed for his conclusions "nur eine vorläufige Gültigkeit", but close scrutiny suggests that in many cases even this modest claim is excessive. The latitude for divergent interpretations is due to the intractability of the material: many examples are so crude or simple that they defy stylistic classification. There is only one type that can arguably be accounted "Lakonian" irrespective of findspot.

##### A. Birds found in Lakonia<sup>605</sup>

##### 1. ATHENS, N.M. 7861 (from Amyklai): dimensions?

Ref: Bouzek 117n.4

"Lakonian primitive". I have not seen even a photograph of this piece.

##### 2. LONDON, B.M. 1923.2-12.507 (Orthia): H. c.4.5 D. (of stand) 2.5

Unpublished.

Bird on circular openwork stand. Tail missing; stand mended. Heavy green patina. Legs represented as stump with plane surfaces and drop-like hole (for suspension?). Base of same type as birds B.6-7 (cf. B.3) and stag B.7.

3. OXFORD, Ashmolean Mus. 1923.126 (Orthia): H. c.4 D. (of stand) c.3  
 Reff: AO pl.76b; Bouzek 117 and n.4, fig.1.4; 133; Bouzek, HG 186, fig.75.4

Badly corroded. Tail flattened; legs separated. Stand circular with round hole placed centrally underneath and four others disposed symmetrically around the edge. "Primitive Lakonian" type representing sun-symbolism (Bouzek).

4. SPARTA, Mus. 1696 (Menelaion): H. c.6 (FIG.76)

Reff: BSA xv. 146, pl.8.22; Rolley 92n.1

Typologically related to A.17 (q.v.), but somewhat different in style. Ten alternately reversed triangular perforations in stand.

5. SPARTA, Mus. 2163 (Orthia): H. c. 7.5

Reff: AO pl.76g; Bouzek 117n.4, fig.1.2; 125; Bouzek, HG 186, fig.75.2

"Primitive Lakonian" probably, but might eventually prove to be from the Argolid (Bouzek). More likely to be local in my view.

6. SPARTA, Mus. 2163 (Orthia): L. 7.5

Reff: Lamb, BSA xxviii. 99, no.9, fig.3; AOpl.76k; Bouzek 127 and n.47; 134, fig.10.7 (inaccurate drawing); Rolley 90; Bouzek, Graeco-Macedonian Bronzes (1974) 19

This "peacock" or "cock" was hollowcast and so differs from all other contemporary (eighth-century) bronzes from Lakonia.<sup>606</sup> Circles were engraved in the comb (or crest) and tail after casting. The type is of Peloponnesian origin (no further precision is possible yet) and was diffused thence to central and northern Greece. Bouzek thinks our example may have been made in Lakonia, but the technique makes this highly improbable.

7. SPARTA, Mus. 2165 (Orthia): H. c.6.75 (FIG.75d)

Reff: Lamb, BSA xxviii.99; AO 197, pl.80h; Bouzek 118, fig.2.3; 119 and n.7; 133; Rolley 84 and n.2, 92 and n.3; O. Picard, Collection H. Stathatos iv (1971) 28 and n.16

8. SPARTA, Mus. 2165 (Orthia): H. 7.6 (FIG.75a)

Reff: Lamb, BSA xxviii.99, no.8, fig.3; AO 197, pl.80n; Bouzek 118, fig.2.4; 119 and n.7; 133; Rolley 84 and n.2, 92 and n.3; Picard, loc.cit.; Bouzek, HG 188, fig.76.6

A.7-8 belong to a widespread class of waterbirds perched above a disc.<sup>607</sup> The arguments in favour of an ultimately Corinthian origin for the type seem cogent to me, but the suggestions that they served as mirrors (Droop) or represent sun-symbolism (Bouzek) do not.

9. SPARTA, Mus. 2187 (Orthia): H. c.4 (FIG.73b)

Reff: BSA xiii.111, fig.2d; Wace, BSA xvi.75; AO pl.76p;  
Bouzek 116, fig.1.13; 117-8n.6; 133; Bouzek, HG 186, fig.75.7

Legs represented as a stump attached to a circular openwork stand. Body not differentiated from "legs". Later than "primitive", but still simply stylised Lakonian type (Bouzek).

10. SPARTA, Mus. 2204 (Akropolis): L. c.3.75

Reff: BSA xiii.111-2, fig.2c; Wace, BSA xvi.75; AO pl.76e;  
Bouzek 116, fig.1.5; Rolley 92 and n.2

Made from a piece of sheet-metal, cold-twisted, with flattened tail and (separate) stump inserted for "legs". Too crude for stylistic classification.

11. SPARTA, Mus. 2211/2 (Orthia): L. c.7.5

Reff: AO pl.79 centre; Bouzek 116, fig.1.7; 117n.4; Boardman, GGFR 133 (fig.153); Rolley, Collection Stathatos iv (1971) 27 (St. 749) and n.11

"Primitive Lakonian" in style, according to Bouzek, who does not comment on the remarkable form of this object of indeterminate function (three water-birds perched on a thick solid rectangular bar). Boardman compares a bone stamp-seal with three peg-handles from an eighth-century grave in Athens.<sup>608</sup> Rolley more appositely cites a typologically closer bronze object from Anavra in Lokris.<sup>609</sup>

12. SPARTA, Mus. 2216 (Orthia): L. c.6.75

Reff: AO pl.76c; Bouzek 116, fig.1.8; Rolley 92n.2; Bouzek, HG 186, fig.75.8

Bouzek's comparandum for this "duck" (his fig.1.11, from Bavaria) is not illuminating.

13. SPARTA, Mus. 2216 (Orthia): H. c.4.5

Reff: AO pl.76n; Bouzek 116, fig.1.3; 117n.4; Rolley 92;  
Bouzek, HG 186, fig.75.3

The moulded stump apparently belies Bouzek's "primitive Lakonian" classification and should place it in his "Corinthian" group.

## 14. SPARTA, Mus. 2216 (Akropolis): dimensions?

Reff: BSA xxvi (1923-5) 247, 274, fig.5.11; AO pl.76l; Bouzek 117n. 4

"Lakonian primitive" (Bouzek).

15. SPARTA, Mus. 2216 (Orthia): H. c.10.5

Reff: AO pl.76h; Bouzek 116, fig.1.1; 117n.4; Bouzek, HG 186, fig.75.1

"Primitive Lakonian". The "~~t~~enon" perhaps indicates that it was originally inserted into a stand of another material (wood?).

16. SPARTA, Mus. 2216 (Orthia): H. c.2

Reff: AO pl.76i; Bouzek 116, fig.1.6; Bouzek, HG 186, fig.75.5

"Primitive Lakonian".

17. SPARTA, Mus. Inv? (Orthia): H. c.6 (FIG.77)

Reff: Droop, BSA xiii.111, fig.2b; Wace, BSA xvi.75; Müller, Tiryns 132; Neugebauer 46 and n.2 (no.114), 47 and n.6 (no.118); Marwitz 361 and n.10; Bouzek 121 and n.16; 133; Rolley 90 and n.3, 92; Bouzek, Eirene ix (1971) 92-3

Bouzek initially classified this as a late example of his "Argive" type, but now regards it as a Lakonian copy of that type. Rolley, more cogently, has argued that the type of bird with separated feet on a square or circular openwork stand is Lakonian. Marwitz compares the stand of this bird to those of the horses B.4,7 and 26.

Of these seventeen only A.4 and 17 conform to a settled type that has a claim to be described as "Lakonian". A.6 and 7-8 are representatives of two widespread classes whose origin is not to be sought in Lakonia; they may well be imports. For the rest I agree with Rolley that "il est peu probable qu'un sanctuaire en livre jamais assez, ni d'assez cohérents, pour qu'une attribution s'impose". This remark applies particularly to B.10-14 below.

## B. Birds attributed to "Lakonia"

## 1. BERLIN, Antiquarium Inv. Ol.2716 (from E of Temple of Zeus, Olympia): H. 6.4

Reff: Furtwängler 36 (no.210); \*Neugebauer 46, no.115, fig.23  
Doublet of B.8; type of A.17. Stand like horse B.11.

## 2. BERLIN, Antiquarium 31315 (UP): H. 6.1

Reff: \*Neugebauer 46, no.114, pl.13; Bouzek 120, fig.3.11; 121n.16; Rolley 90

Type of A.17.

3. BONN, Akademische Kunstmus. C.57 (from Lousoi): H. 5.1  
 Ref: Neugebauer 47n.3; \*H. Kyrieleis, Antiken aus dem Akad. Kunstmus. Bonn<sup>2</sup> (1971) 27-8, no.21, III.14  
 Type of A.17, but on circular openwork stand somewhat as A.2.
4. ERLANGEN, Universitätssammlung I.319 (from Greece): H. 5.5  
 Ref: W. Grünhagen, Antike Originalarbeiten der Kunstsammlung des Instituts Erlangen (1948) 23; Marwitz 361 and n.10  
 Type of A.17.
5. HAMBURG, Mus. für Kunst und Gewerbe 1930.217 (probably from Olympia):  
 H.7  
 Ref: Neugebauer 46 and n.6 (no.115); E. von Mercklin, AA 1935, 95-6, fig. 22; D. K. Hill, AJA lix (1955) 40n.16;  
 H. Hoffmann, Kunst des Altertums in Hamburg (1961) 13, no. 39, pl.39A; Hoffmann, Griechische Kleinkunst (Bilderhefte des MfKG vi, 1963) 9, 58, pl.34a; Bouzek 120, fig.3.16; 121n.16; Rolley 90; Bouzek, HG 188, fig.76.2  
 Type of A.17. Neugebauer compares the stand to that of horse B.11.
6. OLYMPIA, Mus. 3014 (from "Pelopiongraben"): D. (of stand) 5.2  
 Ref: Heilmeyer 3 and n.10, fig.3; Rolley, Etudes Déliennes 524n.101  
 Type of A.17, but on circular openwork stand like that of A.2 and stag
- B.7. Miscast.
7. OLYMPIA, Mus. 3204 (from E front of Heraion): dimensions?  
 Ref: Furtwängler 36, no.210<sub>b</sub>, pl.13; Bouzek 120, fig.3.6; 121n.16; Rolley 90; Bouzek, HG 188, fig.76.3  
 Type of A.17, but with stand like A.2.
8. OLYMPIA, Mus. 4285 (from in front of SW corner of Prytaneion): dimensions?  
 Ref: Furtwängler 36, no.210, pl.13; BSA xii.321n.4; Neugebauer 46 (no.115); Bouzek 121n.16; Herrmann, Olympia. Heiligtum und Wettkampfstätte (1972) 73, fig.41 below  
 Doublet of B.1, but stand less carefully managed.
9. OLYMPIA, Mus. B 880 (findspot?): H. 4.6  
 Ref: Zervos, CH fig.205; 100 Jahre... 84, no.7  
 Type of A.17, but stand decorated with only two openwork triangles placed to front and rear of feet with apices <sup>610</sup>opposed.

10. TEGEA, Mus. 346 (Athena Alea): L. 2.6  
 Reff: Ch. Dugas, BCH xlv (1921) 351, no.33, fig.6; Bouzek 117n.4  
 "Lakonian primitive" (Bouzek).
11. TEGEA, Mus. 349 (Athena Alea): H.6  
 Reff: BCH xlv.351, no.36, fig.6; Bouzek 119n.6, 123 and n.31, 128, fig.6.11; 135; Rolley, Monumenta Graeca et Romana no.21; Bouzek, "Openwork 'bird-cage' bronzes", Fest. C.F.C. Hawkes 101, List VI.50 (BlaII according to the classification of fig.7 on p.79); *ibid.*, Graeco-Macedonian Bronzes (1974) 18, 72, 74, with fig.19.5  
 "Probably Lakonian" (Bouzek), but no bird-cage has been found in Lakonia.
12. TEGEA, Mus. 352 (Athena Alea): L. 4  
 Reff: BCH xlv.351, no.32, fig.6; Bouzek 116, fig.1.12 (inaccurate drawing); 119n.6  
 "Lakonian developed" (Bouzek).
13. TEGEA, Mus. 371 (Athena Alea): L. 10.7  
 Reff: BCH xlv.393, no.200, fig.40; Bouzek 116, fig.1.14; 123; Rolley, Monumenta Graeca et Romana no.30  
 "Lakonian developed" (Bouzek). Pendent of unusual form not yet paralleled in Lakonia.
14. TEGEA, Mus. 375 (Athena Alea): D. (of hollow disc)2.6  
 Reff: BCH xlv.393, no.201, fig.20; Bouzek 119n.6, 123, 125n.40, 131, fig.8.9; Bouzek, HG 157, fig.59.9  
 "Probably Lakonian developed", but type not paralleled in Lakonia.

Like Rolley (quoted above), I have little confidence in Bouzek's attributions of B.10-14.

15. TEGEA, Mus.Inv? (from Asea): H. 6.3 D. (of stand) 2.7  
 Ref: Rolley 92n.2<sup>611</sup>  
 Type of A.17 but on circular openwork stand.
16. (PRESENT WHEREABOUTS?) (from Tiryns): H.3  
 Reff: Müller, Tiryns 132, fig.6; Boardman, I Gems 156n.1; Marwitz 361; Bouzek 121n.16  
 Compared by Müller to A.17 (presumably for treatment of bird), this example uniquely bears an erotic scene in relief under its "massive" rectangular stand. The choice of such an offering for a child's pithos-burial seems a trifle incongruous, unless the parents hoped that the fruit

of subsequent intercourse might thereby live longer!

### C. Summary

The evidence from Lakonia confirms the general rule that it is not yet possible to distinguish local styles of Geometric bronze bird figurines. The only alleged exception is represented by thirteen examples (A.4, 17; B.1-9,15,16) distributed to Asea, Lousoi, Tiryns and Olympia. Lakonian bronzeworkers shared the general contemporary penchant for depicting water-birds. A.7-8 (Corinth) and probably 6 (Peloponnese) are the only imports.

### 5. Humans

#### A. Humans found in Lakonia

##### 1. SPARTA 2155 (Orthia): H.c.7

Reff: \*W. Lamb, BSA xxviii (1926-7) 99, no.12, pl.11; AO 197, pl.77a; S. Benton, BSA xxxv (1934-5) 116 and n.1; D. K. Hill, Catalogue of the Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Waiters Art Gallery (1949)77 (no.167); B. Aign, Die Geschichte der Musikinstrumente (Diss. Frankfurt, 1963) V/6A, 88, fig.52; Gehrig 33n.1; N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, Bemerkungen zur geometrischen Plastik (1964) figs.54-6; J. L. Keith - G. M. A. Hanfmann - D. G. Mitten, The Pomerance Collection of Ancient Art (1966) (no.89); Mitten - Doeringer (no.9); Rolley, Monumenta Graeca et Romana no.26; Rolley 43n.4; Schweitzer, GKG 170, pl.197; Zervos, CH 305, fig.168; J. Bouzek, Graeco-Macedonian Bronzes (1974) 79, B.1:2, with fig.22.10

Nude seated man on circular openwork stand. The bronze between his hands and head looks unintentional and cannot, therefore, represent a flask (Schweitzer) or musical instrument (Aign). He is usually compared to the few known seated Geometric individuals<sup>612</sup> or to the man (or monkeys?) squatting atop "bottle-stoppers",<sup>613</sup> but these rarely offer close parallels. In fact, our "thinker"<sup>614</sup> is remarkable both for the attempt to represent the three dimensions and for his pyramidal Vielsichtigkeit, which, as Schweitzer observes, anticipates the achievement of a similar effect in large-scale sculpture by several centuries. Found among the "earlier strata", it may - though I doubt it - be as early as the first half of the eighth century (Rolley, tentatively).

##### 2. SPARTA 3244 (Akropolis): H.6 (FIG.78)

Reff: \*Lamb, BSA xxviii.82-3, no.1, pl.8; Kunze, Ol.Ber. iv (1944) 107; Rolley 23, 48n.3

Undoubtedly locally produced male figure (nude but for a belt),<sup>615</sup> not precisely paralleled elsewhere. The horizontal placing of the arms somewhat recalls the "Epiphany" gesture so frequent at Olympia, associated there by Kunze and others with Zeus.<sup>616</sup> The treatment of the hands as jagged fins is

comparable to a LG terracotta charioteer(?)<sup>617</sup> and bronze warrior from Olympia<sup>618</sup> and to a bronze worshipper(?) from Delphi.<sup>619</sup> The closest overall resemblance, however, is to an unpublished figurine in the Patras Museum (Inv.538).

3. SPARTA Inv? (Menelaion): H. c.5.6

Ref: Wace, BSA xv.147-8; pl.9.20

Compared by Wace to an Olympia terracotta, which could be eighth or seventh century.<sup>620</sup> "Styleless".

4. SPARTA 1691 (Menelaion): H.13

Select Reff: \*Wace, BSA xv.146, pl.10; Lamb, BSA xxviii.101 and n.1; Lamb, GRB 76, 90, pl.22a; Müller, FPGV pls.28.325; 33.352; Kunze, AM lv (1930) 160-1; Jenkins, Dedolica pl.3.1; Hampe, FGS 38; Homann-Wedeking, Anfänge 29ff.; Matz, GCK i. 155, pl.62; Alscher, GP i.46, fig. 40; 130-1 nn. 9, 10; J. Charbonneaux, Les Bronzes Grecs (1958) 65, pl.7.4; Christou, AE 110-1, fig.32; Häfner, KLAZ 39-40, 171-2 (Kat.23); Rolley, Monumenta Graeca et Romana no.33; Kunze, Ol.Ber. viii.230 and n.41, figs. 81-2; Marangou, LEB 12 and n.35; 13, 143-4 and n.813; Rolley 115 and n.1

This engaging draped female has been cited in all the more illuminating discussions of the development of LG and early Archaic plastic and glyptic art. The associated pottery ("Geometric, Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I"), if we assume (as we must) that she was dedicated soon after manufacture, places her somewhere within the span 725-625; internal evidence of style and typology suggests a date after the developed LG period but before the "Dedalic", i.e. perhaps somewhere in the first third of the seventh century. I agree with those who see the hard, dry modelling and features like the bulging eyes as specifically Lakonian traits already in evidence in the LG period<sup>621</sup> and continuing down into the sixth century. Remarkably, however, the Menelaion figurine has few if any immediate successors in bronze and so should perhaps be regarded as an isolated experiment. A possible explanation is the rise of monumental stone sculpture in the islands and e.g. Argos from c.650, which stirred no spirit of emulation in Lakonia (where humbler terracottas, lead figurines and often first-rate ivories represent the consuming interests)<sup>622</sup> and may have contributed to discourage the bronzeworkers further. The tradition revives towards 550 after a practically uninterrupted interval of about a century.<sup>623</sup>

Often referred to casually as the "Menelaion goddess", the figurine may be modelled on a xoanon-type cult-statue, presumably of Helen.<sup>623a</sup>

## 5. LONDON, B.M. 204 (said to be from Kythera): H.8.9

Reff: F. Lenormant, RA n.s. xviii (1868) 124-5; S. Reinach, Répertoire ii.652.3; H.B. Walters, Catalogue of Bronzes in the British Museum (1899)19, no.204; Kunze, Ol.Ber. vii.168n.55; \*Coldstream - Huxley, Kythera 271, R4, pl.88

"About 630 B.C.; possibly Cretan or more probably local" (Coldstream).

I agree with the attribution, but the comparison with a Late Dedalic Cretan terracotta is not compelling. A home in the Middle or even Early Dedalic phase is plausible. The treatment of the lower half of the body strongly recalls A.4.

## B. Humans attributed to "Lakonia"

## 1. ATHENS, N.M. 6182 (ex-Olympia Br.2914): H. c.11

Reff: \*Furtwängler 39, no.243, pl.16, Müller, FPGV pl.23.295; Chr. Zervos, L'Art en Grèce (1934) fig.62; Kunze, Ol.Ber. iv.114; Homann-Wedeking, Anfänge 15, fig.3; Alscher, GP i.25-6, fig.19; Herrmann 42-3 and nn.116-7, figs. 22-4; Kunze, Ol.Ber. viii.226 and n.30, 227 and n.36, 230; Zervos, CH 305, fig.167

The attribution of this LG warrior to Lakonia (Herrmann, followed tentatively by Kunze) rests on the prior, uncertain, attribution of B.5. The case for the latter would in turn be greatly strengthened if 6.B.2 were indeed Lakonian.

## 2. ATHENS, N.M. 6501 (from Athenian Akropolis): H.5.7

Reff: \*A. de Ridder, Catalogues des Bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole de Athènes (1896) 295-6, no.775, fig.283; Chr. Zervos, L'Art en Grèce (1934) fig.66; Jenkins, Dedalica 31, pl.32, Kunze, Ol.Ber. vii (1961) 168n.55; G. Kaulen, Daidalika (1967) 13, 199 (B.13)

Jenkins assigns this draped female figurine to a Peloponnesian and possibly Lakonian shop operating in his "Early Dedalic" phase, but Kunze correctly notes that the quality is too poor to allow of certain stylistic (and chronological) determination. Kaulen's views - Sikyonian, 675-60 - are characteristically unhelpful.

## 3. BALTIMORE, Walters Art Gallery 54.789 (said to be from Alpheios Valley):

H.7.2

Select Reff: \*D. K. Hill, Catalogue of the Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery (1949) 77, no.167, pl.136; Mitten-Doeringer 32, no.9; Schweitzer, GKG 170, pl.199; further reff., see A.1

Another of the small group of seated figures that we have already seen exemplified by A.1. "Lakonian or Elian", according to Mitten, but I do not think we can be more definite than "Peloponnesian".

## 4. LYON, Mus. A. 2018 (UP): H.15.5

Reff: S. Reinach, Répertoire iv<sup>2</sup>(1913) 42, no.10; U. Jantzen, Bronzwerkstätten in Grossgriechenland und Sizilien (1937) 71, App.7, no.17, pl.39.159; \*St. Boucher, "Un Apollon Dédalique au Musée des Beaux-Arts à Lyon", RA 1965(1), 133-9, fig.1; Kaulen, Daidalika 84-5, 203 (B9); Rolley 109-10, \* Boucher, Bronzes antiques des Musées de Lyon (1970) 17, no.1

This remarkable figurine (not strictly a Kouros) belongs to the small group of male Dedalic bronzes. Not least remarkable is the profound discontinuity of treatment between the reasonably proportioned upper half and the grossly elongated and enlarged lower portion.

Despite the slab-like hands (which somewhat recall 5.A.4) and the array of parallels for the treatment of the head drawn by Boucher (1965) with Lakonian terracottas, I agree with Rolley that this is not a Lakonian work. The date is of course uncertain, but I suspect that Boucher is wrong to put it before 650.

5. NEW YORK, Metropolitan Mus. Art 17.190.2072 (perhaps from Olympia):  
H.11.3 (FIG.65)

Reff: see horse B.27

Herrmann argued from the horse-type that this well-known group of a god or hero fighting a centaur could only be Lakonian. The difficulty in evaluating this judgement is primarily that none of the five human figurines actually found in Lakonia offers any kind of parallel to the human part of the centaur or his assailant.<sup>624</sup> However, as Rolley has observed, the treatment of the croup and the marked articulations of the bodily forms in any case serve to distinguish the horse-part from the canonical Lakonian type. This by implication casts more than reasonable doubt on the attribution of the group as a whole and on that of the individual figurines (B.1,6) based on it.

## 6. OLYMPIA, Mus. 12607 (from behind Prytaneion): dimensions?

Reff: \*Furtwängler 42, no.266, pl.15; F. Poulsen, JdI xxi (1906) 180-1; Müller, FPGV 72, pl.24.300-1; Jenkins, BSA xxxiii.72n.2; Herrmann 43 n.118

Added by Herrmann "tentatively" to his Lakonian group, this clothed female may have been part of a vessel rather than a freestanding figure inserted in a separate base. Herrmann dates it soon after B.5 in the third quarter of the eighth century. The decoration of the dress is somewhat reminiscent of B.2, a terracotta from the Menelaion and the allegedly Lakonian late seventh-century bronze from Olympia already cited.<sup>625</sup>

## 7. OLYMPIA, Mus. B4850 (from W end of N wall): P.H.10.4

Reff: \*Kunze, Ol.Ber. vii (1961) 156-7, pl.68.1; ibid.,  
Ol.Ber. viii (1967) 231

Perhaps miscast nude male figure of c.700 on the threshold between the LG and later styles. Influenced by Herrmann's regional classifications, Kunze is now inclined to link it to 6.B.2 and attribute both to Lakonia. I find this unlikely.

Our discussion of the human bronzes from or attributed to Lakonia that fall between c.750 and 650 has shown that, even if all twelve are Lakonian (extremely doubtful), the human figure exercised as little fascination over the bronze workers as it did over the vasepainters of Lakonia.<sup>626</sup>

## 6. Tripod-cauldrons and attachments

"From all we know it is hard to reckon Sparta as one of the decisive centres of tripod-production."<sup>627</sup> I agree, and so it would be wholly inappropriate to enter at all deeply here into the controversies raging around the origins, development and chronology of the tripod-cauldron in Greece<sup>628</sup> or the proveniences of the oriental and orientalising products that were dedicated mainly in the great Panhellenic sanctuaries of Olympia (over 500!) and Delphi.<sup>629</sup>

## A. Tripod-components found in Lakonia

## 1. ATHENS, N.M.7657 (Amyklai): H.7.4 L.11.6 (Base: L.9 W.3.5)

Reff: Tsountas, AE 1892, 12; \*A. de Ridder, Catalogue des Bronzes de la Société Archéologique d'Athènes (1894) 187, no.1017; Kunze, Ol.Ber. ii (1937-8) 115-7, at 116; ibid., Fest. P. Reinecke (1950) 96-101, at 99, pl.18.1; Jacobsthal, GP 8ln.2; Herrmann, Ol.Forsch. vi (1966) 153ff., no.22; Boardman, GO<sup>2</sup> 64

This buck, standing with lowered head on a solid stand, belongs to a class of oriental cast bronze cauldron-attachments first identified by Kunze. Our example is rather unusual in that the feet are fixed to one stand, not two, and it must therefore have been attached to a cauldron with a smooth incurving rim. The place of manufacture is not precisely known, but a "neo-Hittite" centre seems probable. The date is late eighth-seventh century.

## 2. ATHENS, N.M. 7763 (Amyklai): H.6

Reff: Herrmann, JdI lxxxix (1966) 129n.159, fig.42;  
 O. W. Muscarella, "Winged Bull Cauldron Attachments from  
 Iran", Metropolitan Museum Journal i (1968)9 and n.4,  
 figs. 6-7; 14 and n.20; *ibid.* in Doeringer-Mitten-  
 Steinberg (n.542)11-2; Boardman, GO<sup>2</sup> 64

Muscarella has collected all finds of bull cauldron-attachments in Greece and reconsidered the problem of provenience.<sup>630</sup> Our example is not well preserved and it is unclear whether the backing for the head is meant to represent wings. A ring, cast in one piece with the head and backing, was clearly designed to hold a loop-handle (now lost). The rivets are still visible in the tips of the "wings".

Presumably because of a typological feature like the forelocks Muscarella is inclined to believe this to be an oriental import rather than a Greek imitation, but he is commendably cautious in refusing to give a more specific provenience than the "Near East" - Phrygia, N. Syria, Assyria and perhaps other centres are candidates - or a more specific date than late eighth-seventh century.

## 3. SPARTA 516 (from Riviotissa near Amyklai): H.9 L.8

Reff: Tod-Wace, SMC 516; Buschor-von Massow, VA 37, Beil.  
 8.14; Jantzen, Griechische Greifenkessel (1955) 55-6, no.41,  
 pl.14.4

All the neck and part of left ear missing. Jantzen placed it among the earliest of all cast griffins, somewhere in the first half of the seventh century or about half a century earlier than the terracotta and ivory griffins in the round from Sparta.<sup>631</sup> Its isolation suggests that it was not locally produced.<sup>632</sup> The ultimate inspiration for the fabulous beast is agreed to be oriental, but scholars divide on whether the bronze attachments were ever manufactured in the orient or are of wholly Greek and, as Jantzen believes, Samian origin.<sup>633</sup> The griffin may well have originally been apotropaic in the orient,<sup>634</sup> but its application to bronze cauldrons in Greece could have been inspired by more general religious and aesthetic considerations. The story of Kolaios, the lucky Samian captain c.630 (Hdt.iv.152), is interesting literary testimony for the possible circumstances of dedication.

## 4. SPARTA, Mus. Inv? (Akropolis): H.(horse) c.2.5

Reff: Benton, BSA xxxv. 128-9, fig. 17d; F. Willemsen,  
Ol. Forsch. iii (1957) 48; Herrmann 34 and n.77

The tripod-lebes, definitionally, "is characterised by two round vertical handles cast with a plate behind and a strap in front, both of which are riveted to the cauldron, and by three legs, each cast with a plate, also

riveted to the cauldron and supported by struts".<sup>635</sup> This handle-fragment with probably a horse attached above<sup>636</sup> belongs to Willemsen's class of "Massive Formulation." The outer surface of the outermost section bears two "notched" grooves.<sup>637</sup> Benton and Willemsen compare examples from Ithaka; Willemsen adds others from Olympia and Delphi.<sup>638</sup> Herrmann believes the horses attached to cast tripod-handles conform to his "Argive-type" individual horses and Weber agrees,<sup>639</sup> but, as we have seen in connection with horses A.9-12, the "Argive" group is not so self-evident or internally coherent as Herrmann's "Lakonian" or "Corinthian". The date is probably somewhere in the second half of the eighth century.<sup>640</sup>

5. SPARTA, Mus. Inv? (Amyklai): W.3.8

Ref: Buschor-von Massow, VA 15, 36, Beil.7.3

Fragment of tripod-leg with decoration of incised tangential circles bounded by grooves and zigzag lines. Though found in the "Aschenschicht" its decoration links it with Geometric examples from Olympia, esp. B.1 below.<sup>641</sup> If the similarly shaped bronze fragment from the PG layer is correctly interpreted as a tripod-leg,<sup>642</sup> our example may be tenuous evidence of a local "tradition" of tripod-making.<sup>643</sup> On balance, however, I should say that the craftsmen were probably itinerant foreigners.<sup>644</sup>

B. Tripod-components attributed to "Lakonia"

1. OLYMPIA, Mus. Br.9694 (from S of Heraion): H.9.5 W.(handle) 5.8

D.(handle)30.7

Reff: Furtwängler 85-6, no.607, pl.33; Willemsen, Ol.Forsch. iii.60, 135, 137-8, 139, 144, 148, 151-2, 163, 172, pls. 78, 86; Herrmann 36, 37, fig.20; Weber, Städel-Jahrbuch n.f. i (1967) 13 n.32, 14n.41; Weber, AM lxxxvi (1971) 28 and n.83

We are asked to choose between Argive horse on Corinthian hammered handle (Herrmann) and Spartan horse on Attic handle (Weber)! On either interpretation this would be a suggestive example of cultural exchange in an "international" sanctuary, for which B.2(below) may afford a parallel. In my view, the Lakonian characteristics are not sufficiently "ausgeprägt" for the attribution to be anything like sure. The closest Lakonian comparison known to me is horse B.30, also from Olympia. The date is around 700.

2. OLYMPIA, Mus. B5600 (E of S half of Mosaic Room): H.(with attachment)23.3

Reff: Kunze, AD xix.2 (1964) 166, pl.169a; \*Kunze, Ol.Ber. viii.224-31, pls. 108-9; Rolley 34-5; 100 Jahre deutsche Ausgrabung in Olympia (1972) 87, no.21; M. Weber, AM lxxxix (1974)30, pl.12.1-2

This warrior, nude but for his crested helmet, originally brandished a spear in his right hand, held the reins of a horse in his left and was attached to the ring-handle of a tripod-lebes. Even as a shadow of his former self he is impressive. The type of the "Lanzenschwinger", borrowed from Syro-Phoenician bronzework, was a particular favourite in LG Greece. No bronze example of the type has yet been found in Lakonia, but Kunze believes that stylistic comparison with contemporary and later Lakonian bronze-, ivory- and terracotta-work<sup>645</sup> indicates a Lakonian origin in this case.<sup>646</sup> His discussion is characteristically and impressively wide-ranging and the parallels adduced (e.g. for the bulging eyes and "hard accents" of the bodily contours) are often convincing. But, as Rolley has pointed out, there are important differences in the profiles of certainly Lakonian seventh-century work; and Weber suggests an Argive origin. We must, I think, keep an open mind until more closely comparable pieces are discovered in Lakonia itself.

### C. Summary

It is not, I believe, accidental that no tripod-cauldrons, whether made in Greece or imported from outside, were dedicated to Orthia. Indeed, the single dedication to Athena on the Akropolis occasions some surprise, for otherwise all the finds in Lakonia are from Amyklai, where the grateful recipient was the male Apollo-Hyakinthos. It was to the latter, we recall, that the Spartans felt it appropriate to dedicate the tripods commemorating their famous victory over the Messenians (Paus.iii.18.7-8).

### 7. Fibulae

In the preliminary report of the finds of the first two seasons at Orthia Droop illustrated and commented briefly upon fifteen bronze fibulae ranging in date from the "Geometric" period to the sixth century.<sup>647</sup> Two of the types were represented by "several" and "frequent" examples, so an actual total of 30+ finds at that stage is plausible.<sup>648</sup> Blinkenberg dealt with these in his major (and now classic) work on Greek, Italian and oriental fibulae and added two more finds from Lakonia in the National Museum, Athens.<sup>649</sup> With the publication of AO the number of illustrated fibulae rose to 58<sup>650</sup> (or 64, if pins now separated from plaques are included);<sup>651</sup> allowing for doublets<sup>652</sup> and examples not illustrated a second time,<sup>653</sup> a grand total of upwards of 80 fibulae is at our disposal.<sup>654</sup>

All the types were found with "Geometric" pottery, but my discussion is deliberately restricted to those which raise important chronological problems and/or are significant for questions of usage and external contacts. In many cases it is possible to be more than usually dogmatic, for it is an

irony of scholarship that the "humble" fibula has hitherto attracted more attention than the early figured bronzes.<sup>655</sup>

A. Blinkenberg Type I

1. ATHENS, N.M. 8210 (not far from Menelaion): L.11.7 W.(max.)3.5  
 Ref: Praktika for 1889, 64; Tsountas, AE 1891, 26; \*A. de Ridder, Catalogue des Bronzes de la Société Archéologique d'Athènes (1894)57, no.222; Blinkenberg, FGO 50, Type I. 7a, fig.16
2. SPARTA, Mus. 2219/2 (Orthia): L.c.6  
 Ref: BSA xiii.113, fig.3a; Blinkenberg, FGO 47, Type I.2d; AO 198, pl.83 b; Desborough, LMTS 55; Snodgrass, DAG 245-6n.33
3. SPARTA, Mus. 2219/6 (Orthia): L. c.7.5  
 Ref: AO pl.841

This "violin-bow" type was "frequent" at Orthia. A.2 and 3 are of the simpler variety, A.1 is (slightly) more advanced. Since the type was invented in, or (more probably) introduced to, mainland Greece during the currency of LH III B, and since no other example is in a context later than PG,<sup>656</sup> its occurrence at Orthia, where very little certainly antedated 750, is prima facie something of a chronological conundrum.<sup>657</sup> As such it should probably be linked with the Mycenaean gems at Orthia and explained as a (perhaps heirloom?) survival.<sup>658</sup>

B. Blinkenberg Type II

1. ATHENS, N.M. 10675 (from Amyklai): L.7  
 Ref: Blinkenberg, FGO 71, Type II.14d
2. SPARTA, Mus. 2200/2 (Orthia): L.c.6  
 Ref: BSA xiii.112, fig.3k; Blinkenberg, FGO 65, Type II. 5c, fig.37; AO 198, pl.84o; Snodgrass, DAG 294 n.62
3. SPARTA, Mus. Inv? (Orthia): L.c.6  
 Ref: AO pl.83g; Bouzek, Graeco-Macedonian Bronzes (1974) 132, E.7
4. SPARTA, Mus. Inv? (Orthia): L.c.5  
 Ref: AO pl.83h; Bouzek, loc.cit., E.8
5. SPARTA, Mus. Inv? (Orthia): L.?  
 Ref: AO pl.831

These are examples of the "arched" type of fibula, which was invented during the currenty of LH III C - no doubt as a logical improvement on the "violin-bow" type, since it could hold more material. Its first appearance in Greece and Italy is closely contemporary, so perhaps this is a case of independent invention. It began to supersede its predecessor about 1100 and became the characteristic PG fibula.<sup>659</sup> The find context of B.1 at Amyklai is unknown, but B.3 and 4 were found with "Geometric" pottery and could be heirlooms, as presumably B.2 (found above the sand) must be.

#### C. Blinkenberg Type IV

1. SPARTA, Mus. 2200/4 (Orthia): L.(pres.) c.3

Reff: BSA xiii.112, fig.3i; Blinkenberg, FGO 94, Type IV.  
5d; AO pl.83n;<sup>660</sup> Bouzek 122 n.21; 124, fig.4.8

This type of arched fibula with bow surmounted by a bird is very probably of Rhodian origin; it does not antedate the eighth century. Our example is probably imported.

2. SPARTA, Mus. 2219/16 (Orthia): L.?

Reff: AO pl.84h; Boardman, Greek Emporio (BSA Supp.vi, 1967)  
 208 n.2

3. SPARTA, Mus. Inv? (from Amyklai): L.?

Ref: VA36, Beil.8.2

C.2-3 are as Blinkenberg Type IV.9, whose distribution (islands, Crete, western Anatolia) indicates an ultimately insular origin. Our examples are perhaps imports.

#### D. Blinkenberg Type V

1. SPARTA, Mus. 2167 (Orthia): L.7.3

Reff: \*W. Lamb, BSA xxviii (1926-7) 96, no.1; AO pl.84m

As Blinkenberg Type V.3, an "Epirote" type otherwise found only in the Corinthia,<sup>661</sup> central and north Greece.

#### E. Blinkenberg Types VII and VIII

1. SPARTA, Mus. 2167 (Orthia): L.(pres.) 6.7 (FIG.75e)

Reff: \* Lamb, BSA xxviii. 96, no.2; AO pl.83a

2. SPARTA, Mus. 2219/9 (Orthia): L. (pres.) c.8 (original) c.10

Reff: BSA xiii.112, fig.3h; Blinkenberg, FGO 145, Type VII.  
12k; AO 198, pl.84c

3. SPARTA, Mus. 2219/8 (orthia): L.c.12

Ref: AO 198, pl.84k

4. SPARTA, Mus. Inv? (Orthia): L.(pres.) c.9

Reff: BSA xiii.112, fig.3m; Blinkenberg, FGO 184, Type VIII.12h

Blinkenberg's Type VIII ("Attico-Boeotian")<sup>662</sup> is but a special category of his Type VII ("advanced geometric style with a large, roughly square catch-plate"), but present evidence indicates that the former was developed by c.850 or about half a century earlier than the latter. It is on the catch-plates of Type VIII fibulae that some of the earliest Greek mythological or other narrative scenes were engraved,<sup>663</sup> but our examples apparently attempt no more than linear decoration of circles or zigzag, the latter executed by a scorper.

F. Blinkenberg Type XI

1. SPARTA, Mus. Inv? (Orthia): L.(pres.)6

Reff: BSA xiii.112, fig.3c (inaccurate restoration); Blinkenberg, FGO 203, Type XI. 9m, fig.227; AO 198, pl.82k

2. SPARTA, Mus. Inv? (Orthia): L.(pres.) c.3.7

Reff: BSA xiii.112, fig.3 f (inaccurate restoration); Blinkenberg, FGO 203-4, Type XI. 9n; AO198, pl.82e.

3. SPARTA, Mus. Inv? (Orthia): L.(pres.) c.4.5

Ref: AO 198, pl.82a

4. SPARTA, Mus. Inv? (Orthia): L.(pres.) c.3

Ref: AO 198, pl.82b

5. SPARTA, Mus. Inv? (Orthia): L.(pres.)c.4.5

Ref: AO 198, pl.82f

6. SPARTA, Mus. Inv? (Orthia): L.(pres.)c.4

Ref: AO 198, pl.82i

7. SPARTA, Mus. 2219/7(Orthia): L.c.6

Reff: AO pl.83f; Payne, Perachora i.170

The bows of F.1-6 are decorated with alternating pieces of bone and amber. (F.6 is particularly elaborate, with cavities drilled out of the

bone segments to receive small insertions of amber). Blinkenberg believed such decoration to be foreign to Greek practice and assigned all the examples of this type to Italy, but there are now too many finds known from all over Greece for the import-hypothesis to be the only plausible one.<sup>664</sup>

F.7 is a variant not recorded by Blinkenberg and paralleled only at Perachora, so far as I am aware.

G. Blinkenberg Type XII<sup>665</sup>

1. SPARTA, Mus. 2167 (Orthia): L.c.6

Reff: \*Lamb, BSA xxviii.97, no.3, fig.1; AO 198-9, pl.84b; Muscarella 15-16 and n.10; 37, 38, 48, 81 (App.C)

Blinkenberg Type XII.5. Cast in a closed mould.<sup>666</sup> Perhaps repaired in antiquity.

2. SPARTA, Mus. Inv? (Orthia): L.c.8 (FIG.80b)<sup>667</sup>

Reff: AO199 and n.9, pl.83c; U. Jantzen, Fest.F.Matz (1962) 41 and n.9; Muscarella 20 and n.28; 37, 39, 81 (App.C)

Blinkenberg Type XII.10, but unique for its double arc (both plain).

3. SPARTA, Mus. Inv? (Orthia): L.c.3

Reff: AO 198-9, pl.84d; Boardman, Greek Emporio 21On.4; Muscarella 22 and n.35 (where pl.83 should read 84), 37, 38, 39-40, 42, 48, 81 (App.C)

4. SPARTA, Mus. 2200 (Orthia): L.c.6

Reff: AO198-9, pl.84e; Boardman, loc.cit.; Muscarella (as G.3)

5. SPARTA, Mus. 2200/1 (Orthia): L.c.4.5

Reff: AO 198-9, pl.84f; Boardman and Muscarella (as G.3)

G.3-5 are Blinkenberg Type XII.13, which Muscarella considers to be of Phrygian origin perhaps under Cypriot influence. Cast in a closed mould.

6. SPARTA, Mus. 2219/7 (Orthia): L.c.4.5

Reff: AO 198-9, pl.84g; Muscarella 25 and n.45 (for pl.83 read 84), 37, 38, 39-40, 48, 81 (App.C)

Blinkenberg Type XII.14, a development (two additional mouldings on arc, making five in all) of Type XII.13.

Muscarella's analysis and classification of the fibulae found at Gordion and his examination of the distribution of the variants have led him to the conclusions that Type XII.13 and 14 are undoubtedly of Phrygian origin and that Type XII.5 and 10, though manufactured in Phrygia, may have been originally developed elsewhere, in East Greece. G.1, he suggests, may have been made, not in Phrygia but some other part of Asia Minor; G.3 perhaps in East Greece and G.2 in Phrygia (to judge from its horned catch). He makes no explicit attributions for G.4-6, but Phrygia or East Greece are candidates.

Thus the most probable actual Phrygian import is G.2, which in Muscarella's view could (like the other objects of Phrygian manufacture from Greek sanctuaries) have been dedicated by a pious itinerant Phrygian.<sup>668</sup> The date of arrival in most cases would have been late eighth-seventh century, at any rate certainly not before 750. No other Phrygian artefacts have yet come to light in Lakonia.

H. Blinkenberg Type XIV<sup>669</sup>

1. SPARTA, Mus.Inv? (Orthia): L.c.4.5

Reff: BSA xiii.84, fig.20a = 112, fig.3b; Blinkenberg, FGO 258, Type XIV, 2q; AO 224, pl.133a; Alexander 9 (Ill.2), 10,21

2-9. SPARTA, Mus. 2180 (Orthia): L. from c.7.5 to c.3

Reff: AO pl.81, third row first from right and far right; bottom right; pl.82c, d, h, m; one unpublished (FIG.80a)

H. 1-9 are as Blinkenberg Type XIV.2 = Alexander Type Ib: double spiral "spectacle"-fibulae with the pin formed by one end of the wire and the catch-plate by the other; between the two spirals the wire describes two interlacings in the shape of a figure-of-eight.

10. LONDON, B.M. Inv? (from Amyklai): dimensions?

Ref: Alexander 22

Probably Alexander's Type IIIa (i.e. his Type Ib mounted on a flat bowed fibula).

11-17. LONDON, B.M. 1923.2-12. 541-5, 633-4 (Orthia): L. from 3 to 6

Reff: AO pl.81; Blinkenberg, FGO 260, (Type XIV.6b)<sup>670</sup>

18. SPARTA, Mus. 2180 (Orthia): L.c.4

Reff: BSA xiii.112, fig.3e; Blinkenberg, FGO 260, Type XIV.6b, fig.306; AO pl.81, top right;<sup>671</sup> Alexander 16 (ILL.7), 18 (ILL.10), 22; K. Kilian, Archäologische Forschungen in Lukanien iii (1970) 166n.836

19. SPARTA, Mus. 2180 (Orthia): L.c.3.75  
 Ref: AO pl.81, top row first from left
20. SPARTA, Mus. 2180 (Orthia): L.c.2.5  
 Ref: AO pl.81, second row right
21. SPARTA, Mus. 2180 (Orthia): L.c.4.5  
 Ref: AO pl.81, third row second from left
22. SPARTA, Mus. 2217/1-34 (Orthia): L.c.9  
 Ref: AO pl.82n (and many similar)

H.11-22 are as Blinkenberg Type XIV.6 = Alexander Type IV ai. The brooch has four coils, composed of two double spirals of Alexander's Type IIa riveted on top of each other, their centre point being covered by a thin disc boss; the pin and catch-plate are formed by the ends of the wire of one of the double spirals.

23. SPARTA, Mus. 2180 (Orthia): L.c.3  
 Ref: BSA xiii.112, fig.3d; Blinkenberg, FGO 262, Type XIV, 11a; AO pl.81, second row first from left; Alexander 17 (I11.9), 18 (I11.10), 23

- 24-28. SPARTA, Mus. 2180 (Orthia): L. from c.4.5 to c.3.5  
 Ref: AO pl.81, second row left; third row: left and first from left; bottom row: left and first from left

H.23-28 are Blinkenberg Type XIV.11 = Alexander Type V: a six-spiralled (i.e. three-wired) version of variant H.11-22. A fragment of an eight-spiralled version (apparently unique in Greece) was also found at Orthia (AO 198), but has not been illustrated.

Alexander's discussion of "spectacle"-fibulae (as H.1-10) and their derivatives (as H.11-28) is lacunose - at least in the case of Lakonia - but deserves consideration in virtue of the author's familiarity with the north Balkan and other European material.<sup>672</sup> The "spectacle"-fibulae are found outside Greece in Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, Romania and Yugoslavia,<sup>673</sup> while in Greek lands the largest and earliest concentration known is at Vergina in Macedonia.<sup>674</sup> Further south finds have been made in all of the more important regions from Thessaly to Lakonia; in the latter instance they are probably Macedonian imports.<sup>675</sup> In Sparta and elsewhere the type was later

copied in ivory and bone,<sup>676</sup> and in Sparta also in lead.<sup>677</sup>

The Spartan examples of the four-spiralled fibula (H.11-22) are apparently the earliest known in Greece, where the distribution is otherwise limited to Tegea, the Argive Heraion and Rhodian Lindos; outside Greece it occurs in Austria, Czechoslovakia and Italy.<sup>678</sup> The six-spiralled fibula has so far been located only at Chauchitza in Macedonia and Olympia apart from Sparta (H.23-8);<sup>679</sup> the single eight-spiralled fibula at Orthia is, as I have said, apparently a unique example.

All three variants were found in equal numbers "among almost the lowest strata" at Orthia (AO198) and so the series should begin somewhere in the eighth century, probably in the second half.<sup>680</sup> The floruit of the ivory and bone copies is "the seventh and not the eighth century".<sup>681</sup>

#### I. Blinkenberg Type XV

##### 1. SPARTA, Mus. Inv? (Orthia): L.(pres.)5.2

Reff: BSA xiii.83-4, fig.20b = 113, fig. 3g; Blinkenberg, FGO 271, Type XV. 7a; AO 199, pls. 82s, 133b; Boardman, Greek Emporio 21ln.4

A remarkable (and unique) attempt to reproduce the bone and ivory copies of the "spectacle"-fibula in bronze, decorated with four knobs to mark the centre points of the coils of the bronze prototype and with a traced six-pointed star on each of the large roundels. The star-motif is paralleled in the Transitional pottery (on a lakaina and plates) and helps to confirm the dating of the bone and ivory copies to the seventh century.

#### J. Summary

To sum up this discussion of the fibula, the evidence - including that from Geometric Lakonia - conspires to suggest that this basically simple idea could acquire quite complex associations. While no longer claiming it as either a national hallmark or an accurate chronometer, we can still assert that it was (surprisingly) highly prized for both its practical and its symbolic value.<sup>682</sup> Introduced to the Greek world at the end of the Mycenaean period to fasten the newly fashionable, heavier draped clothing,<sup>683</sup> it may at the height of its utility have even functioned as a form of money.<sup>684</sup> Its symbolic connotations are amply attested by the finds at Orthia, where relatively humble and unostentatious examples were consecrated permanently to the goddess, in some cases perhaps after an active secular life of some centuries. The fibulae also constitute extraordinarily fruitful evidence for Lakonian foreign relations in the late eighth-seventh centuries: undoubted imports from Phrygia, East Greece and Macedonia jostle possible examples from Italy, central Greece and the north-east Peloponnese. The mechanisms of importation are of course opaque to us,

but those from the east could be somehow linked to the importation of ivory that begins about the same time. It may even be the case that Phrygians made the long journey by land and sea to Sparta.

When the Orthia fibula-assemblage is compared as a whole to the other two major Peloponnesian concentrations at Perachora and the Argive Heraion, it is seen to resemble the latter more closely than the former. But all three emerge as distinctively Peloponnesian in comparison with, say, Thessalian or East Greek coaches.<sup>685</sup>

## 8. Pins

The major work of synthesis on Greek pins is that of Jacobsthal, now rather out of date and comparatively unhelpful for the Lakonian Geometric finds.<sup>686</sup> These are fewer than the fibulae, of uncontroversial types for the most part and shed little light on Lakonian foreign or internal relations. For these reasons my treatment has been deliberately kept brief.

The problems surrounding the origins of the long straight dress-pin in Greece need not detain us (important though they are), for on present evidence they are irrelevant to the history of early Iron Age Lakonia.<sup>687</sup>

### A. Jacobsthal's "Geometric"<sup>688</sup>

A few of the pins from the "Geometric" layers at Orthia belong to Jacobsthal's Group 2, i.e. they have a moulded shaft (apart from the plain section below), with a thick projecting disc that is slightly further down the shank than in his Group 1 and cast in one piece with the pin.<sup>689</sup> The type disappears before the close of the "Geometric" period (A0197), so somewhere before c.650. In some cases their size prompted Jacobsthal to apply the description of "spit", but this is misleading.<sup>690</sup>

The shaft of Geometric pins was quite commonly of iron.<sup>691</sup>

### B. Jacobsthal's "Sub-Geometric" (= "Geometric" Group 3)<sup>692</sup>

The tiny "Geometric" disc-head is enlarged into a flat, projecting plaque;<sup>693</sup> the shank can still be of the square "Geometric" section, but is now encased in a row of beads of varying numbers and shapes; the moulded part of the shank often ends in a cube.<sup>694</sup> With two exceptions (Aigina and Delphi) finds of this class are known only from the Peloponnese, especially the Argolid.

From Amyklai comes an "aberrant" Sub-Geometric pinhead (high "kalathos" rising from disc), paralleled so precisely at Delphi that they should be from the same (as yet unlocated) workshop.<sup>695</sup>

The bead-and-reef decoration of both "Geometric" and "Sub-Geometric" Lakonian pins occurs elsewhere in the Peloponnese, on Crete and at Ephesus.<sup>696</sup>

### C. Miscellaneous

Two other types of pin deserve separate mention. First, there is the one ending in a double spiral, whose origins go back to the third millennium, although it is otherwise attested only at Aigina in historical Greece.<sup>697</sup>

Jacobsthal dates the illustrated example to the seventh century; it must fall in the first half, if the stratigraphy (A0197) is considered decisive.

Secondly, there are the ring-ended pins from Amyklai. The published examples come from the "Aschenschicht", but the type could antedate 650.<sup>698</sup>

### D. Summary

In sum, apart from two oddities ("Miscellaneous"),<sup>699</sup> the Lakonian assemblage of pins is in conformity with general Peloponnesian usage, even if their execution is often inferior to those found in other centres (notably the Argolid). In general Greek pins alternated with or supplemented fibulae as clothes-fasteners<sup>700</sup> and it was not felt incongruous to dedicate them on their own.<sup>701</sup> The Amyklai pins have the added interest that they were among the rare examples dedicated to a male deity. Jacobsthal appropriately cites the annual offering of a chiton to Apollo recorded by Pausanias (iii.16.2), but I am doubtful whether this "reflects Mycenaean custom."<sup>702</sup>

The dating of our pins is problematic, but none should be before c.735, the date at which the harbour-sanctuary of Hera Akraia at Perachora went out of use.<sup>703</sup> The pins from the Kalamata pithos-burial are useful confirmatory evidence both of date and cultural contact.

## 9. Rings

A comprehensive account of pre-Archaic Greek rings has yet to be written. The evidence from Lakonia is meagre and uninspiring.

### A. Finger-Rings (mostly Inv. 2217)

Apart from the simple bands (round, oblong or lozenge-shaped in section)<sup>704</sup> the only type of finger-ring found in Geometric Lakonia is the one with double-spiral terminals.<sup>705</sup> This has a clear northern ancestry,<sup>706</sup> but it is uncertain what relationship these Lakonian examples bear to the earliest finds in Greece.<sup>707</sup>

### B. Hair-Rings (mostly Inv.2217)

Two annular classes of object were probably designed to hold hair, either as items of secular adornment or as receptacles for shorn and dedicated locks or both. One class consists of oblong strips of all sizes rolled into beads;<sup>708</sup> the variety with a midrib is already found in the PG layer at Amyklai.<sup>709</sup> The other class is composed of coils of wire, mostly of lozenge section.<sup>710</sup>

## 10. Miscellaneous Bronzes

## A. Found in Lakonia

## 1. Miniature Double Axes

Reff: (a) Orthia: BSA xiii.117, fig.6e; AO 199, pl.85  $\beta$ - $\mu$ ;  
 (b) Akropolis: Lamb, BSA xxviii.93; (c) Menelaion: Wace, BSA  
 xv.147;<sup>711</sup> (d) Amyklai: Tsountas, AE 1892, 12, pl.3.2;  
 Bouzek, HG 157, fig.62.1;<sup>712</sup> ibid; Graeco-Macedonian Bronzes  
 (1974) 150-2

There are two blade-shapes (triangular and lunate) and two techniques for producing them (solid casting or the clamping together of two hammered sheets); a hole through the end of the shaft permitted suspension. Some of the larger specimens are simply decorated with engraved concentric circles.<sup>713</sup>

The type was popular and copied in ivory, bone, gold, silver, lead and terracotta at Orthia.<sup>714</sup> In bronze it continued to be dedicated at the Menelaion down into the sixth century. Contemporary bronze parallels are known at Tegea and Lousoi in Arkadia, but for the ultimate Bronze Age exemplars we must look to the Diktaian Cave and other Cretan sites.<sup>715</sup> In Crete their significance was predominantly symbolic; the same is probably true of the Geometric and Archaic finds in Lakonian sanctuaries.<sup>716</sup>

## 2. Miniature Jug with cut-away neck (Orthia): H.4

Reff: Lamb, BSA xxviii.98-9, no.5, fig.2; AO 199, pl.80q;  
 P. Amandry, Collection H. Stathatos i (1953) 65-6 (no.177);<sup>717</sup>  
 J. Bouzek, Graeco-Macedonian Bronzes (1974) 40, fig.11.5; 41,178

With this one exception the "Geometric" bronze miniature vases from Orthia are of the lekythos-type, probably imitating the full-size clay or bronze versions used in the cult of Orthia.<sup>718</sup> Our vase, however, with its diagnostic cut-away neck, belongs to a class alien to the Lakonian repertoire whose home was almost certainly in Macedonia.<sup>719</sup> South of here its representatives have otherwise turned up only at Pherai and Perachora and on Ithaka.

The Orthia find was associated with pottery "of the end of the Geometric Age" (i.e. probably seventh-century), but the date of its manufacture or importation cannot be closely determined.

## 3. Comb (Orthia, Sparta 2206/2): L.c.4.5

Ref: AO 199, pl.85  $\alpha$

Strongly recalling in its shape the fine ivory series with figured relief decoration,<sup>720</sup> this bronze comb was probably also designed expressly for dedication to the goddess.<sup>721</sup> All remind us of the Spartan preoccupation with capillary matters.<sup>722</sup>

## 4. Lamp(?) (Orthia): W.c.10

Ref: AO 201, pl.80o

The fitting scarcity of lamps in the Dark Age is often noted, rarely explained. Our example, if it is indeed a lamp, is perhaps unique in being of bronze.<sup>723</sup>

## 5. Seals(?) (Orthia; Sparta 2188)

Reff: Lamb, BSA xxviii.98, no.4, fig.3 (H.3.4); 104, nos. 28a-b, fig.4 (H.5.5 and 5); AO 199, pl.80m, p; Jacobsthal, GP 43, fig.190

These three curious objects seem to be united by their common function: unlike the animal figurines on openwork stands, they could well have been carried suspended round the neck and used as stamp-seals. The example whose main member is pyramidal bears an intaglio device underneath; the other two (called "weights" by Miss Lamb) have main members consisting of three and four "lobes" respectively and handles decorated with mouldings.<sup>724</sup> All find exact or very close parallels at Tegea and this is also a possible place of manufacture;<sup>725</sup> but the ultimate origins of the type should perhaps be sought further north.<sup>726</sup>

## 6. Miniature Lyre (Amyklai): L.8 W.4.1

Reff: Tsountas, AE 1892, 14, pl.3.5; L. Deubner, AM liv (1929) 195-6; M. Guillemin-J. Duchesne, AC iv (1935) 122, pl.7.28; M. Wegner, Das Musikleben der Griechen (1949) 130; ibid., Die Musikinstrumente des Alten Orients (1950) 46-7, 53, 70(no.51); Lorimer, HM 455-6; \*Aign 84, V/3, fig.47; 379; Vermeule, GBA 311-2, fig.49a

This probably eight-stringed votive lyre has already been cited in connection with the scenes of music and dancing on LG vases from Sparta and Amyklai.<sup>727</sup> As I pointed out there, it has been universally assigned to the Late Bronze Age, but seems to me to belong more easily with the metal dedications to Apollo that begin only in the PG period. If this interpretation is correct, then the vase scenes suggest a LG date and bring it into relation with the fine bronze lyre-player from Crete.<sup>728</sup> Guessing is hazardous, but it may have been dedicated as a votive simulacrum of an instrument used in Apolline cult or possibly in hope of (or gratitude for) a victory in some unknown musical context at the Hyakinthia.<sup>729</sup>

The number of strings, if they are correctly restored, suggests that it antedates the canonical seven-stringed lyre introduced (legendarily or actually) by Terpander of Lesbos in the early seventh century.<sup>730</sup>

## 7. Head with plumed helmet (Orthia): H.(pres.) c.9

Ref: BSA xiii. 115, fig.5c<sup>731</sup>

This curious object "is certainly quite foreign to the style of the Geometric ware among which it lay" and it is difficult to tell from the drawing whether it was freestanding or attached to a vessel or support of some kind.<sup>732</sup> Droop suggested Egypt as a possible origin, but the treatment of the face and hair (if the drawing may be trusted) recalls rather the "Assurattaschen" most recently discussed by Herrmann.<sup>733</sup>

## 8. Bowl (probably from Sparta, now Louvre AO 4702): D. 19.5

Reff: \*R. Dussaud, BSA xxxvii (1936-7) 92-5, fig. ; E. Gjerstad, Op.Ath. iv (1946) 3, pl.2; P. Demargne, La Crète Dédalique (1947) 228n.2; Gjerstad, Swedish Cyprus Expedition iv.2 (1948) 410 and n.9, 418; D. Levi, Kretika Chronika iv (1950) 176n.70 (doubts provenience); Aign 66-7, III/7, fig.31; L. Bonfante Warren, Fest. L.Banti (1965) 83, 85n.20, 86, 87, pl.21a; F. Canciani, Bronzi Orientali e Orientalizzanti a Creta nell' VIII e VII Sec. a.C. (1970) 30, no.95, pls.6-7; 54, 60, 90, 113, 117, 123ff., 141, 145, 171ff., 190; I. Strøm, Problems Concerning the Origin and Early Development of the Etruscan Orientalizing Style i (1971) 116-9 and n.199; J. Carter, BSA lxvii (1972) 47 and n.125

Our example, bearing a cultic scene in repoussé inside, belongs to a well attested series of oriental imports to Greece that begins by at the latest c.850.<sup>734</sup> Dussaud argued for a Cypriot origin, but, although it certainly finds its closest parallel at Idalion,<sup>735</sup> it is now thought that bowls of this general type were manufactured on the Asiatic mainland, probably in North Syria<sup>736</sup> - unless, of course, this is a Cypriot imitation.<sup>737</sup>

If the Spartan provenience is correctly given, our bowl goes to swell the still small number of oriental imports to Lakonia before 650. (The date of its manufacture cannot be precisely ascertained).

## 9. Protomes

Reff: Lamb, BSA xxviii.92-3 (Akropolis), 100, 104 (Sparta 2159, 2207, from Orthia), pl.10; AO 201, pl.89f, g, k, l; R. J. H. Jenkins, BSA xxxiii (1932-3) 69, 79; ibid., Dedalica 2 and n.7; P. Amandry, BCH lxii (1938) 324, fig.12(Sparta 3248, from Akropolis); Kunze, Ol.Ber. iv (1944) 126n.1; Häfner, KLAZ 175-6

The find-context of the Orthia examples ("Laconian I and Sub-Geometric") supports the usual dating to the decades around 650, contemporary with their Early and Middle Dedalic terracotta counterparts.<sup>738</sup> Produced by hammering sheet bronze into a mould, their subsequent use is uncertain.

B. Attributed to "Lakonia"<sup>739</sup>

1. Relief (Olympia, Mus. B 1645): P.H. 31.8 W. (max.) 19.5

Reff: H.-V. Herrmann, Ol.Ber. v (1956) 84-6,  
pls.44-5; Marangou, LEB 63 and n.371

This relief was originally at least 55-60cm. high, but, since only a fragment from the lower left corner is preserved, it is impossible to be sure just what scene was represented. All we have are the legs of two male figures, one of whom is clad in a short, close-fitting chiton, and an eagle (apparently flying at their ankles) perhaps used just as a filling ornament. Herrmann tentatively assigned it to Lakonia and Marangou has supported the attribution by showing that it is in a sense a "forerunner" of an ivory plaque from Orthia.<sup>740</sup> If it is indeed Lakonian, it is perhaps the earliest foray into a field in which Lakonian craftsmen distinguished themselves in the seventh century.<sup>741</sup> The date should be somewhere in the second quarter.

2. Fragments (from near Asea: Athens, N.M. 16514)

Reff: S. Karousou, AD xvi.1(1960) 63ff., pls.29-33; Häfner, KLAZ 126; J. Boardman, Fest. C.F.C. Hawkes (1971) 123-40, at 124-7, with fig.21 and pl.11

Two fragments decorated with a scene of chariots and (probably heroic) duels. The metal was first hammered on one or more prepared matrices and then the contours of the design were emphasised and clarified by incision.

Mrs. Karousou believed they formed part of a belt of the second quarter of the seventh century made perhaps by a Lakonian or Argive craftsman. Boardman disagrees radically: the fragments, he suggests, are part of "the sheathing from a broad conoid part of an object of uncertain purpose"; the object was not manufactured in Greece, its stylistic affinities being with northeast Italian work.

3. Disc-Protome (from Tegea or more probably Olympia: Berlin 7102) D.35

Select Reff: Kunze, Ol.Ber. iv (1944) 126 and n.1, figs.95-6;  
A. Greifenhagen, Antike Kunstwerke<sup>2</sup> (1966) 6, no. 4;43  
(further reff.)

Kunze suggested a Lakonian origin for this remarkable object of uncertain function,<sup>742</sup> but neither type nor quality is exactly matched among certainly Lakonian work. The date should be a little before 650.<sup>743</sup>

11. Summary of Lakonian Geometric Bronzework

Since the bronzes represent the richest portion of the metalwork of our period from Lakonia, it may be helpful to summarise here the historical results of our lengthy enquiry.<sup>744</sup> Some of the fibulae and other items of

personal adornment - and perhaps also the "Thinker" (5.A.1) - were made before 750, but the great bulk of the surviving material falls in the second half of the eighth century, most of it probably around 700. The explanation for this should be sought in the success of Sparta in imposing her will on much of Lakonia and Messenia and in the building of a permanent roofed structure to house the increased volume of costly perishable dedications.<sup>745</sup> Perhaps the most remarkable of these are the horses, not so much because of their intrinsic importance in Sparta but because of the flood of light they throw on a wide spectrum of social and economic matters: for not only were they taken individually (probably by pious Spartans) as far north as central Greece, but bronzeworkers trained in Sparta (and perhaps actually Spartan citizens) established themselves in temporary or semi-permanent subsidiary workshops at Olympia. This suggests some degree of sophistication in the relations of artistic production at an early date and confounds, of course, those who, despite the unavoidable evidence from the years c.650 to 525, have clung to the old notions of an artistically sterile and economically "primitive" Sparta. These impressions are confirmed by the imports, which though few betray evidence of contact with many areas of mainland Greece, with central Europe and the East (Greek and barbarian).

(c) Gold and Silver (Orthia)<sup>746</sup>

Pre-sand finds of gold and silver at Orthia (of which a selection only is considered here) amounted to "not a few pieces" (A0381), but they represent a tiny proportion of the metal objects as a whole.<sup>747</sup> Only a handful can be securely dated before 650.

1. Silver leech fibula: L.c.5

Reff: A0 381, 382, pl.204, A1; Boardman, AOC7

Blinkenberg Type XI ("sanguisuga"), but without the characteristic elongated catch-plate.<sup>748</sup> No other silver example is known from Greece, but the ancient practice of melting down precious metals for re-use explains why silver fibulae are rarely found in sanctuaries.<sup>749</sup> This is the only item of silver (or gold) found with "Geometric" pottery alone,<sup>750</sup> but, as Dawkins correctly observes (A0382), "jewellery is apt to be worn for some time before being dedicated, and therefore the level at which such an object is found represents not so much the date of its being made, as of the dedication of an article which may have been very far from new".

2. Pair of silver-gilt Pins joined by loop-in-loop gold chain: L. of pins (originally) c.8.5

Reff: AO 383, pl.202.1; Jacobsthal, GP 96;<sup>751</sup> Higgins 103; Boardman, AOC 7

Found with "Protocorinthian", but in bronze the pin-type only becomes established with Lakonian I. Pairs of miniature pins in lead were dedicated at both Orthia and the Menelaion.<sup>752</sup>

3. Double Axes

Reff: AO 383, pl.202.2(gold); 384, pl.202.4(silver)

Three gold examples with bone shafts were found with "Protocorinthian"; one silver example with the end of the shaft pierced (for suspension?) was probably dedicated or thrown out later.<sup>753</sup>

4. Bud-Pendants

Ref: AO 383, pl.202.5

Three silver (one illustrated) and one gold, found with "Protocorinthian." These are worth noticing for the interest in vegetable ornament which they share with Early Orientalising pottery.<sup>754</sup> There is a similar example in gilt from the Menelaion and several in lead from Orthia.<sup>755</sup>

5. Wreath

Reff: AO 383, pl.203.14; Higgins 101-2

Made of twisted silver wire strung with tubular beads, between which are set pairs of gold leaves and berries. This is probably the earliest Greek wreath known, though it is perhaps not as early as Higgins thought (early seventh century), because it "was definitely with Laconian **I** pottery".<sup>756</sup> From literary, epigraphical and archaeological evidence we know that, in addition to being dedicated, wreaths were awarded as prizes, worn in processions and interred with the dead.<sup>757</sup>

6. Siren Pendant: W.c.2.5

Ref: AO 384, pl.203.7

Silver, heavily corroded. The date is uncertain, but we know that by the early seventh century the fabulous siren had entered the repertoire of at least one Lakonian ivory seal-carver.<sup>758</sup>

#### Appendix

Stag (from Amyklai, now in the Louvre): H.8 L. 6

Reff: G. Perrot-Ch. Chipiez, Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité v (1890) 881, fig.534; S. Reinach, BCH xxi (1897) 1-15, pl.1; Brein 223 nn.218-22

Electrum (60% gold, 34% silver); head only survives. Reinach dated it to the Late Bronze Age, but, as with the miniature bronze lyre (10.A.6 in this subsection), I would argue against this on grounds of its material. Brein also argues a later dating (640 or after - but this seems overprecise). The granulation may indicate an insular origin (Melos or Rhodes?).

(d) Lead

The more than 100,000 small, mouldmade lead votives from the Orthia sanctuary represent the richest and longest series of this class of artefact yet known from any Greek site.<sup>759</sup> Together with the far smaller quantities of identical votives (mainly wreaths) that have been found on several other Lakonian sites<sup>760</sup> - and in Arkadia, the Argolid and the Corinthia besides<sup>761</sup> - they provide an invaluable mine of information for the historian<sup>762</sup> and art-historian<sup>763</sup> alike. The exemplary publications by Wace are now more than ever invaluable, for a sojourn of more than half a century in the storeroom of the Sparta Museum has taken a heavy toll.

The very richness of the finds argues a local source of the metal,<sup>764</sup> while the fact that the heavy concentration of dedications to Orthia only begins after c.650 suggests that either the supply or the demand (or both) were absent before that date.<sup>765</sup> Wace separated Lead 0 from Lead I, not stratigraphically but on grounds of fabric and types; Jacobsthal's (GP190) objection (on grounds of date) dissolves in face of Boardman's revised chronology. Thus Lead 0 votives take their place naturally alongside the Early Orientalising pottery and the gold and silver jewellery already discussed.

Only twenty-three examples were found, at the same level as "Protocorinthian," between the "Early Temple" and the "Archaic Altar" (ILL.III.1). Fifteen (AO pl.179.6-17, 19-21) are earrings in varying states of preservation, which bear a range of simple Geometric (circles, dots) and orientalisising (star, rosette) patterns; some have pendent buds attached to the discs,<sup>766</sup> and one with an unusual rosette (AO pl.179.12) is an obvious imitation of jewellery.<sup>767</sup> Four are imitation pendants: one crescentic (AO pl.179.22), one basket-shaped (AO pl.179.3) and two testudinous (AO pl.179.4-5).<sup>768</sup> There is one double axe (AO pl.179.18) to add to those in other materials. Most interesting of all, however, are the sphinxes (AO pl.179.1-2), which are among the earliest representations of the beast in Lakonian art;<sup>769</sup> they could be imitations either of pendants or of the ivory furniture-inlays so well known from Nimrud.<sup>770</sup>

The plaque from the Argive Heraion, showing a male and a female figure in profile confronting each other, finds its closest parallels in "Middle Dedalic I" terracottas and so should belong around 650.<sup>771</sup>

(e) Iron<sup>772</sup>

The entire period with which the present work is specifically concerned (c. 950-650) falls within the "Iron" Age, for the reasons given in II.iv(a). Yet, as I pointed out there, this is little more than a courtesy title as far as actual finds of iron objects in Lakonia during this period are concerned. An iron sword and spearhead(?) were all that could be certainly mustered for the years c.950-750, although a number of other iron votive weapons from Amyklai is perhaps contemporary. We are hardly in a better case for the Geometric era of c.750-650: indeed, apart from the six exceptions noted below, iron remains conspicuous by its absence.

First, there are the pins with iron shafts, which were mentioned in (b) 8 and call for no special comment; then there are an ivory eagle-fibula with an iron pin (v(a)2); at least one circular bone seal with a central attachment of iron (v(d)); an iron knife from the Menelaion found with "Geometric" alone (BSA xv.143); a "killed" iron sword wrapped around the neck of a funerary pithos at Nichoria interred c.725 (n.992); and finally the notorious iron spits whose function I have considered at greater length in Appendix VII. The latter were found at Orthia with pottery of all phases from "Geometric" to "Laconian VI", but rarely with "Geometric" alone (i.e. before the importation of PC);<sup>773</sup> they may have been manufactured on the Akropolis.<sup>774</sup> Apart from those from the two major Spartan sanctuaries, spits have also been identified at the Megalopolis Road sanctuary (no.3) and Geraki (no.21).<sup>775</sup>

## (f) Summary of Lakonian Geometric Metalwork

Our survey has, I hope, established beyond challenge that the great majority of metal artefacts dedicated in Lakonian sanctuaries in this period was locally produced. It has made a strong case for the existence of a school or schools of Lakonian bronzeworkers, who excelled above all in producing, for domestic and external consumption, horse figurines of confident style and highly competent technique. It has shown that some at least of the denizens of Lakonia also had the taste - and the ability to pay - for high quality articles imported both from elsewhere in the Greek world and from barbarian (especially Near Eastern) parts. Set beside the comparable Peloponnesian votive assemblages (Perachora, Argive Heraion, Tegea), the Lakonian deposits at Sparta and Amyklai do not, I believe, betray any truly significant discrepancies.

In conclusion, I can do no better than repeat the excellent remarks of Snodgrass: "Metalwork is a difficult subject, especially so in the case of an iron-using culture; as a result, it is one which for most periods of Greek antiquity has received only a tiny part of the attention bestowed on pottery. Yet metal finds, because of their closer connection with wealth, with technology, with war and even with social structure, should be potentially

the more fruitful source of historical evidence; they are the product, too, of factors almost universally applicable, unlike those which shape the work of the potter and painter. The advent of iron-working in Greece, even if its significance has been exaggerated or misunderstood, and even if it is still wrapped in obscurity for us, was still one of the most influential technological changes in four thousand years of Greek history."<sup>776</sup>

v. Ivory and Bone<sup>777</sup>

Happily for us the Spartans did not share the inhibitions of Plato (Laws 956A) about dedicating ivory, and the rich deposit of ivory (and bone) artefacts sealed in by the sand at Orthia<sup>778</sup> is possibly the most important yet found in Greek lands, historically and art-historically.<sup>779</sup> Dawkins devoted a long and fairly well illustrated chapter of AO (ch.8) to their publication, but his work was flawed in several vital respects, especially chronology<sup>780</sup> and incompleteness.<sup>781</sup>

Worked bone and ivory have turned up on other sites in Sparta<sup>782</sup> and elsewhere in Lakonia,<sup>783</sup> but the lion's share is from Orthia. The bone was no doubt of local origin, but the ivory was equally clearly imported - proximately from East Greece<sup>784</sup> or the Middle East,<sup>785</sup> ultimately from an as yet undetermined source.<sup>786</sup> The new craft had taken root in Sparta before 700, but the full flowering was not achieved until the second half of the seventh century. Thus the items considered here - found with "Geometric" or "Geometric and PC"<sup>787</sup> - represent the period in which the foundations of a recognisable regional style and competent technique were laid.

(a) Fibulae

1. Ivory Fibula-Plaques<sup>788</sup>

Seven plaques with figural relief decoration are recorded as found with "Geometric" alone (Marangou nos.1-4, 6, 14 and 15).<sup>789</sup> Dawkins lumped all plaques together, dividing them only into chronologically successive but analytically useless "styles". Marangou properly differentiated the rectangular fibula-plaques from plaques of other types and functions and analysed them into four "groups" of varying degrees of stylistic homogeneity (only A, B and D concern us here).

Group A (nos.1-4) incorporates four of the six in Dawkins' "First Style"<sup>790</sup> and represents the work of two or three hands: nos.1 and 2 go together closely, no.3 is by a different hand, while no.4 could be either by a third hand or a later work of the master of the first two.<sup>791</sup> The shared characteristics are explained as due to common "workshop principles" and the general qualities of the period (first quarter of the seventh century),<sup>792</sup> not

necessarily to their manufacture in a single studio. The particular interest of these plaques is that they reveal how soon obviously oriental ideas (especially the "Flechtbandrahme", wings, "potnia theron" motif and "sacred tree")<sup>793</sup> were domesticated to suit the tastes and aptitudes of Lakonian patrons and craftsmen.<sup>794</sup>

Group B (nos.5-8) is subtracted from the seventeen works assembled in Dawkins' heterogeneous "Second Style".<sup>795</sup> Nos. 5 and 7, and 6 and 8, respectively are ascribed to two craftsmen dependent on Group A and perhaps working in one studio in the 660's and 650's.<sup>796</sup> The single female figures may be meant for Orthia, while the second female figure on no.8 is perhaps Eileithyia.<sup>797</sup> The fish-net decoration of the hair on nos. 5 and 8 is of Syrian origin,<sup>798</sup> but the snake on no.6 recalls the motif familiar on LG and Subgeometric vases.<sup>799</sup>

Group D (nos.14-16) is also plucked from Dawkins' "Second Style".<sup>800</sup> Marangou assigns them to a single workshop, perhaps even a single hand, and to the late 660's (no.14) and 650's. No.14 repeats the motif of a winged female figure with profile head, (though both hairstyle and posture of the wings are unique in Greek art), but her hands are empty and the head is now crowned with the earliest instance of the type of floral ornament regularly found with sphinxes in sixth-century Lakonian vasepainting.<sup>801</sup> The sphinx of no.15 - one of only five pre-650 Lakonian sphinxes<sup>802</sup> - has no exact parallels in either Greek or oriental art,<sup>803</sup> although the bone structure and managing of the frame of both nos. 15 and 16 recall an ivory from Perachora.<sup>804</sup>

## 2. Ivory Eagle-Fibulae<sup>805</sup>

These three (two almost complete, one fragmentary) are probably the earliest representations of the eagle in Lakonian art;<sup>806</sup> the fibula-type has no known successors. The double-headed forerunner of the emblem of Byzantium (AO pl.134.1: L. 6.1) had its eyes inlaid with amber;<sup>807</sup> AO pl.134.2 (L.6.8) is decorated with two motifs (gear-pattern and dotted circles) that link it to pre-700 vasepainting and bronzework.<sup>808</sup>

## 3. "Spectacle"-Fibulae<sup>809</sup>

Some forty ivory and bone copies of the bronze originals<sup>810</sup> were found with pottery ranging from "Geometric" alone (a very few, one small one lying on the cobble pavement) to "Laconian III and IV"; the majority is seventh-century.<sup>811</sup> The larger, more elaborate specimens are of ivory, some (perhaps all) decorated with inlaid amber<sup>807</sup> discs (as AO pl.132.4, which, like pl.132.9, has guilloche pattern incised round the perimeter of the "lenses"). The smaller bone plaques often have incised concentric circles (AO pl.132.1-3, 6-8), but AO pl.133 d is exceptional for its triangles, zigzags and battlement meander.

## (b) Other Ivory Relief-Plaques

Four other plaques were found with "Geometric" and they constitute Dawkins' "Third and Fourth Styles", which he rather incongruously regarded as having "no place in the development of Spartan ivory reliefs" (AO 209). Marangou divides them between two Groups on grounds of style and treatment.

Group G (nos.23-4) is the rather delayed Lakonian answer to the prothesis-scenes on larger Attic LG vases.<sup>812</sup> They are by the same hand, who operated within the artistic circle that produced the masterly Marangou no.18 (see (h) below) but was something of a lone spirit.<sup>813</sup> Marangou explicitly belittles the chronological significance of the associated pottery, but the curly beards and bulging eyes place these ahead of the main series of plaques that begins after 650.<sup>814</sup>

Group H (nos.25-7) includes two other plaques of the "Third Style": one is too fragmentary for the scene to be identified, the other (no.26) shows Prometheus (unusually, reclining) having his liver torn by an eagle.<sup>815</sup> To these Marangou adds a third (no.25), carved in comparably deep relief and (unless the state of preservation is misleading) in a similarly wooden style, depicting a male figure grappling with a centaur and behind them a third, female, figure (now broken off).<sup>816</sup> Nos. 25 and 26 may be by the same hand; all three (no.27 is linked on grounds of its linear decoration) are assigned to the same workshop. Again Marangou does not regard the find-context as chronologically decisive.<sup>817</sup> and puts the group as a whole in the third quarter of the seventh century.<sup>818</sup> They are the earliest certain representations of specific mythological scenes in Lakonian art.<sup>819</sup>

(c) Ivory Couchant Animals<sup>820</sup>

No less than 160 ivory couchant animals, carved in the round and supported on a low base, were unearthed at Orthia: the animals concerned, in descending order of frequency, are rams (58%), dogs, lions, bulls, a goat and a sphinx. With ten (rounded) exceptions, the base was rectangular: 76 bore intaglio devices underneath, 22 reliefs; 39 were undecorated, 23 of uncertain status. This is the largest collection of the class from any Greek site.<sup>821</sup> They constitute a treasure-house of stylistic and thematic information.

Yet Dawkins' publication was more than usually inadequate: the hoard was treated statistically, not piece by piece; the intagli and reliefs were discussed and illustrated, if at all, in splendid isolation from their "host" animals; only twenty-five animals (and no intagli or reliefs) were published in photographs; little or no attempt was made to relate the Orthia finds stylistically either to each other or to finds from other Greek sites nor to consider the ultimate or proximate origins of the class. On the positive side we can salvage little more than the bare facts that forty-eight were found

with "Geometric" alone, eighty with "Geometric and PC" (3 under the stratigraphically decisive cobble pavement),<sup>822</sup> and that plain bases and relief-bases were found mainly at the beginning of the series, intagli not with "Lakonian I" or later.

Some of these defects have been remedied in a small way by Barnett, Stubbings and Boardman,<sup>823</sup> while Marangou has shown in her deliberately restricted investigation what fullscale publication might achieve.<sup>824</sup> Briefly, the Orthia series begins around 700 and, apart from a few stragglers, ends by 650.<sup>825</sup> The idea of the stylistic type was borrowed from the east, where such couchant animals had been used as seals in the Bronze Age;<sup>826</sup> but the borrowing did not take place directly in Lakonia and the treatment was from the start Lakonian.<sup>827</sup> With one exception, "the reflections of the East ... are ... curiously confused and distant as if seen through a glass darkly"<sup>828</sup> and their original function as seals was generally lost. The preference for rams over lions is another sign of the gap between Lakonian and oriental practice and perhaps also reflects current economic and religious preoccupations.<sup>829</sup> The devices chosen for intagli and reliefs are mainly drawn from animate and real-life nature and can be paralleled in other branches of Lakonian art.<sup>830</sup>

(d) Seals<sup>831</sup>

Examples of circular, trapezoidal and multifaced seals in ivory and bone were found with "Geometric". The commonest shape is the disc, either with a central attachment let into the upper surface<sup>832</sup> or pierced from side to side like a lentoid; the disc can either have simple plane surfaces or be stepped ("chamfered").<sup>833</sup> 30 simple discs of bone<sup>834</sup> with central attachment were found, mainly with "Geometric" and/or "PC"; the upper surface is usually decorated with some form of rosette, while griffins,<sup>835</sup> eagles and bucrania dominate the intaglio-types. 39 stepped discs, also of bone, were discovered, 4 with "Geometric" alone, 30 with "Geometric and PC". Fewest were the simple discs pierced from side to side.

One trapezoidal ivory seal with a Dedalic male protome on one side, intaglio pelican on the other, was associated with "Geometric" alone.<sup>836</sup> Marangou regards the associated pottery as providing a terminus post quem and dates the seal c.640-30.<sup>837</sup>

One three-sided seal was found in the "Geometric deposit" in front of the "Archaic" temple.<sup>838</sup> The intaglio devices are revealing and unusual: A. siren and pomegranate bud; B. standing female figure holding branch(?); C. bee.<sup>839</sup>

One four-sided seal was with "Geometric" alone, but we are not told which one this was of the 26 ivory and bone examples found (18 complete).<sup>840</sup> The

shape can be regarded as "four scarabs or scaraboids pressed back to back" (Boardman); the models are apparently Egyptian.<sup>841</sup>

It is not known whether any of these seals was actually used for sealing, but it seems likely that, as with the couchant animals, the decorative intention was paramount throughout.<sup>842</sup>

(e) Combs<sup>843</sup>

The series of about 27 ivory and bone combs commences at "the beginning of Proto-Corinthian pottery", but, as the earliest of the "finer examples" (only these are described and illustrated in AO) come from contexts including "Laconian I", the earliest found were presumably of poor quality or preservation. Alternatively, they may have been plain, like the bronze comb already discussed (iv(b)10.A.3), whose find-context of "Geometric" pottery apparently supports a date before 650 for the beginning of the series in ivory and bone.

(f) Statuettes

Three enthroned couples in ivory were found at Orthia, one with "Geometric" alone (Marangou no.86), one with "Geometric, PC and Laconian I" (AO pl.125.2) and one without known context (Marangou no.85). No.85, according to Marangou, is the earliest and finest, dated on the basis of terracotta comparanda in the early 650's. No.86 should be at least as early, if the context is a reliable guide,<sup>844</sup> and AO pl.125.2 perhaps later, despite its seeming crudity. The identification with particular deities (if they are such) is complicated by the difficulty of determining gender, but, if Marangou is correct in thinking the figures of no.86 are of different sex, then Artemis with, say, Dionysos is a possibility. For the sexually indistinguishable and probably female figures of the other two pieces Orthia and Eileithyia come to mind.<sup>845</sup>

21 bone figures in the round, two with "Geometric" alone, were unearthed.<sup>846</sup> They too are seated on thrones and generally correspond in style to the figures on the fibula-plaques considered in (a)1. The one singled out by Marangou (no.87) and considered together with her nos. 85-6 is regarded as a later (630-20) representation of the "Zopffassen" gesture first naturalised in Greek art by the carver of her no. 110 (third quarter of the seventh century).<sup>847</sup>

(g) Drawings on Ivory and Bone

In the present state of our evidence the ivory example found with "Geometric" alone (AO pl.168.5) is an isolated forerunner of the series of seven bone plaques with incised drawings found in contexts from the early sixth to the early fifth centuries.<sup>848</sup> The lion-type ("Neo-Hittite") conforms to that of the couchant ivories with which it is contemporary.

## (h) Miscellaneous

Pride of place must go to one of the masterpieces of Lakonian ivory-carving, the silhouette head of a bearded man. It has been fully discussed by Marangou (no.18), who places it in her rather oddly chosen Group E and dates it c.660.<sup>849</sup> The managing of head and hair have no predecessors or contemporaries in Lakonian art,<sup>850</sup> but the hairstyle may be of Samian inspiration. On the other hand, the omission of the moustache, if significant, is quintessentially Lakonian.<sup>851</sup>

Next in importance is a square, stepped seal/pendent with intaglio branches on the upper surface and two figures in relief on the larger underside.<sup>852</sup> The gesture of familiarity does not aid us to distinguish them sexually, but the closest parallel for the setting as a whole is to be found in Marangou no.8 (Group D).

Five ivory stilī, of which two were under the cobble pavement, were "the very earliest ivories found".<sup>853</sup>

Finally, there is a number of small and unremarkable bone objects found with "Geometric": pin-heads, pendants, beads, knuckle-bones, double-axes, a plectrum(?) and articles of uncertain use.<sup>854</sup>

## (i) Summary

After a gap of some two hundred years ivory made its first reappearance in Greece in the late tenth century.<sup>855</sup> A century and a half or rather more later Greek craftsmen could produce highly competent statuettes in the round clearly indebted to oriental prototypes but equally unmistakably Greek in conception and execution:<sup>856</sup> the "orientalising" element in Greek art had arrived.<sup>857</sup> Lakonian craftsmen were experimenting with ivory before 700, but the earliest figured work in the Peloponnese was probably executed in Corinthian and Argive studios. Precisely how and when this tradition first established itself in Lakonia is unclear, but there are at any rate no traces of oriental craftsmen and oriental finished products, and the stylistic gap between Lakonia and the orient is palpable throughout. The moving spirits may, then, have been the sort of (Greek) itinerant craftsmen referred to in Philostratos (Vit.Apoll. v.20). When the native tradition was well established by 650,<sup>858</sup> Lakonian ivories found their way - no doubt haphazardly - as far afield as Samos in the east,<sup>859</sup> Tocrā in the south, and Ithaka (perhaps even Sicily) in the west. The gradual disappearance of ivory from the Orthia deposit in the first half of the sixth century may be due to the fall of Tyre to Nebuchadrezzar in 573 and the interruption of the supply of the raw material.<sup>860</sup> It is not necessarily a sign of impending Spartan cultural sterility.<sup>861</sup>

vi. Terracotta<sup>862</sup>

## (a) Introduction

It is fitting that this survey of the main classes of Lakonian artefacts produced between c.750 and 650 should end with plastike (Pliny, N.H.xxxv. 151), that "humble, often delightful and generally overwhelmingly abundant field of Greek art."<sup>863</sup> For Lakonia occupies an important though not yet wholly clear position in its development in this period, and terracottas are a particularly revealing vehicle for the general character of a regional style.<sup>864</sup>

The study of terracottas has a pedigree almost as long and distinguished as that of the study of vasepainting,<sup>865</sup> but recent work demonstrates that in this area there is still room for considerable disagreement even over fundamentals.<sup>866</sup> This is partly due to the nature of the evidence, but more particularly in our present case to the critical importance of the "orientalising" epoch of Greek art. What is at stake is the invention of monumental sculpture in stone and the part played in that by the humbler terracottas, especially those of the "Dedalic" style.

The main problems, as I see it, are these: the nature of "Geometric" plastic art and its relationship to Subgeometric and "Dedalic" modelling of the first half of the seventh century; the meaning and explanatory power of the term "Dedalic"; the relationship between "Dedalic" and contemporary non-Dedalic work in terracotta and other materials in the major centres of "Dedalic" production; the relationship between the "Dedalic" and other Greek centres; and finally the connection between smallscale modelling in clay and the rise of monumental sculpture in stone. Within the framework of this study I cannot go into these problems in anything like the requisite depth,<sup>867</sup> so instead I shall outline what I take to be the development of Lakonian plastic art in terracotta in the late eighth and early seventh centuries and see whether this affords a basis for any reasonably firm hypotheses.<sup>868</sup>

## (b) Origins, Development and Chronology

The first noteworthy point is that, despite the kinship between the techniques of modelling wax and clay,<sup>869</sup> there are very few terracotta parallels for the fine Lakonian bronzes of the second half of the eighth century. Possible exceptions include only a horse from Orthia (unillustrated),<sup>870</sup> four birds (two freestanding,<sup>871</sup> two attached to vases<sup>872</sup>), a small head from the Menelaion (FIGS. 84b, 85b)<sup>873</sup> and a "Lanzenschwinger" from Amyklai.<sup>874</sup> Indeed, very few terracottas from Orthia are recorded as found with "Geometric" or "Geometric and PC" and many of these demonstrably do not antedate 700.<sup>875</sup> So it may very well be that - in Sparta at least - the greater prestige and patronage accorded to bronzeworkers discouraged the more ambitious craftsmen

from experimenting in the new representational idiom with clay.<sup>876</sup>

The situation could, however, have been different at Amyklai. We have already noted the contrast between the figure-scenes on LG vases from this site and the more cautious, miniaturist ventures at Orthia.<sup>877</sup> Still more relevant is the (admittedly faint) possibility that the art of working in terracotta survived here from the Mycenaean period into the Dark Age without a break.<sup>878</sup> At any rate, an impression of greater enterprise and sureness of touch is certainly conveyed by two heads from Amyklai that find a place in many general works on early Greek art and most studies devoted to the origins of sculpture.

They are of slightly different technique but otherwise closely similar in style, perhaps even by the same hand.<sup>880</sup> The female head with earrings and stephane (Athens 4382) is, however, inferior in execution to the male warrior (Athens 4381),<sup>881</sup> which is of high quality<sup>882</sup> and in all respects an admirable representative of the LG traits discernible in works in other media: the head is tilted marginally upwards, the brow is low, the nose sharp-pointed and protruding, the eyes wide open, the jaw clearly defined. But there is nothing stereotyped here either. The conception is individual, the inspiration - paradoxically, perhaps, to the eye accustomed to LG figure-drawing on vases - naturalistic:<sup>883</sup> notice in particular the straining of the neck muscles, a brilliant touch reinforcing the martial quality. The similarity of the facial features to those of the well-known bronze "Lanzenschwinger" from the Athenian Akropolis<sup>884</sup> is a striking witness to "internationalism" in LG Greek art,<sup>885</sup> but does not by itself justify inferences as to the overall pose of the terracotta. Equally, the identification with warrior Apollo, whose cult-statue was probably already (last quarter of the eighth century) in existence, is tempting but speculative.<sup>886</sup>

I have dwelt on this head partly because of its intrinsic significance, but also because Amyklai plays no further part in our story. Terracottas were doubtless dedicated to Apollo throughout the seventh century, but no example of the "Dedalic" style has come to light. Nor indeed is there anything which might be labelled "Subgeometric", and for this we return to Sparta. Not much later than the Amyklai heads is an impressive head-vase (head made into a vase) from Orthia (Sparta 1238; FIG.86).<sup>887</sup> Jenkins considered it to be "of pure Geometric style", but the slightly hooked nose and heavy-lidded eyes indicate a later date<sup>888</sup> and a style more appropriately described as "Subgeometric" or "orientalising".<sup>889</sup> To the same style belongs a minor masterpiece of Lakonian (and Greek) art, which encapsulates the main problems of the origins of the "Dedalic" style and so can serve as a convenient introduction.

The object in question is the well-known female head from the Spartan

Akropolis.<sup>890</sup> It is mouldmade and decorated with the kind of motifs that I have called "Transitional" - in fact with an interesting and significant combination of my "Subgeometric" (hook spiral, "running-dog") and "Early Orientalising" (dot-rosette, "tongue") patterns. It is therefore, in my view, seventh-century and certainly antedates 650, but, apart from the slight upward tilt of the head, there seems to be no compelling argument for putting it in the first rather than the second quarter of the century.<sup>891</sup> Jenkins and I agree in calling it "Subgeometric" (or perhaps better "Early Orientalising"), but where we differ is that he had to date it in the first quarter of the seventh century and indeed before c.680, because for him it represents the last gasp of the Geometric tradition before its sudden demise and the equally abrupt birth of a new, quite unrelated "Dedalic" conception.

Yet, as B. Ashmole pointed out in his useful review of Dedalica,<sup>892</sup> the Akropolis head is already tinged with "Dedalic" dye. To look no further, the incipient triangular head is framed by a horizontally divided mass of hair<sup>893</sup> and the abbreviated forehead is adorned with a fringe of spiral curls.<sup>894</sup> Since these are both diagnostic typological features of "Dedalic" proper, Jenkins is wrong to describe the head simply as "Prededalic". Even if the "Dedalic" style is the result of parthenogenesis in other centres, the Akropolis head clearly documents a transitional stage in Sparta.<sup>895</sup> This is hardly shocking, but it does cast serious doubt on one of Jenkins most important working hypotheses, that his four major "Dedalic" centres (Sparta, Corinth, Crete and Rhodes) advanced always along the same lines and at the same speed. At any rate, Jenkins' view of the origins of the style in Lakonia will have to be modified.<sup>896</sup>

But ought we to silence our doubts at this stage, or should we reject the notion of "Dedalic" outright? The nomenclature is of course conventional and (as so often) misleading to the extent that, if there was an Archaic Cretan master-craftsman called Daidalos, he lived at the end of the style to which he has bequeathed his name.<sup>897</sup> More damagingly, the definition of "Dedalic" as "mathematical two-dimensional plasticity" relates only or mainly to the head of a figure and even so takes no account of modelled or even profile heads. It is suited, in other words, peculiarly to small, mouldmade,<sup>898</sup> "mass-produced" terracottas and does not transfer easily to works in other media and techniques.<sup>899</sup> On the other side, the following facts can be urged in favour of the concept: there is nothing uniquely or especially "Dorian" about the style;<sup>900</sup> the majority of seventh-century terracottas can be usefully interpreted according to "Dedalic" canons;<sup>901</sup> and the earliest monumental stone sculptures in Greece did apparently draw their inspiration (for both the head and to a lesser extent the block-like body) from the humbler "Dedalic" terracottas.<sup>902</sup> On balance, therefore, the concept seems to be helpful; Jenkins' work is not fundamentally

misconceived and the inverted commas can be dropped.

So much for general criticisms. In detail Jenkins envisaged a development of four main stylistic phases (Protodedalic and Early, Middle and Late Dedalic), with Middle Dedalic further subdivided into three.<sup>903</sup> Any scheme of this kind does violence to what was doubtless a process of irregular development resulting from an uneven spread of talent and susceptibility to innovation; and Jenkins appears to have faithfully mirrored the allegedly mathematical approach of the Dedalic craftsmen to their archetypes in his approach to their work. In particular, his chronology is unnecessarily precise.<sup>904</sup> But if "stop-go" is built into the model, I believe it can be made to work to provide illuminating explanations of the course of seventh-century Lakonian plastic art. (We shall as usual be principally concerned with works produced up to 650 - or, as we shall see, nothing later than early Middle Dedalic). Indeed, the validity of its arrangement is nowhere seen more clearly than in Sparta, whose three sites (Orthia, Akropolis and Menelaion) between them yield an unbroken series that for over half the style's duration is quantitatively, though not usually qualitatively, the most impressive of any region.<sup>905</sup>

The series begins with Protodedalic which, if we exclude the transitional Akropolis head does indeed mark a sharp departure from the style of the Amyklaion heads or the Orthia head-vase, even though it may well be contemporary with the latter. The phase is identified in six rather crude protomes with disproportionately long necks<sup>906</sup> cast from the same mould<sup>907</sup> and a seventh of superior workmanship and perhaps later date.<sup>908</sup> The long, pointed, triangular face and heavy nose link these seven to the succeeding phases.<sup>909</sup>

Early Dedalic is characterised by a softening of the point of the chin to give the face a U-shaped outline.<sup>910</sup> Towards the end of the phase the upper part of the head begins to broaden out at the temples in anticipation of Middle Dedalic and right at the end Jenkins places a well-made female figurine with leaf-crown and arms pressed tightly to her side.<sup>911</sup> Marangou also assigns to this phase, on the grounds of hairstyle and somatic details, a plaque depicting in relief a couple holding a crown, the earliest in a series of such Lakonian scenes.<sup>912</sup> Finally, if the state of preservation allows any precise classification, it is to terracottas of the Early Dedalic phase that the remarkable limestone relief from Mistra(?) shows greatest affinity.<sup>913</sup>

At the transition from Early to Middle Dedalic Jenkins places two eccentric pieces. The first belongs to a "group" of 15 from Orthia, nearly all of which were found with "Geometric" pottery.<sup>914</sup> Jenkins omitted the "group" altogether from Dedolica - partly, I am sure, because none fitted smoothly into his watertight compartments.<sup>915</sup> Indeed, I would go further and say that not even the single example regarded as transitional between Early and Middle Dedalic in the earlier publication is truly Dedalic.<sup>916</sup> Whatever their true nature - and it is hard

to reach firm conclusions - the members of the "group" expose one of the main weaknesses of Jenkins' model. The second eccentricity is a hermaphrodite from the Menelaion,<sup>917</sup> sporting a beard and male reproductive organs but female breasts apparently grasped in a familiar oriental fashion.<sup>918</sup> What links both to the next phase is the rendition of the mouth in an incipient smile. To these two Higgins adds a third somewhat recalling the latest of Jenkins' Early Dedalic.<sup>919</sup>

The zenith of the style in Lakonia (as elsewhere) is reached in the Middle Dedalic phase. Most of it, as we shall see, falls beyond our terminus of 650, but all three of Jenkins' sub-phases are considered here for the sake of completeness and clarity. In the first sub-phase the modifications of early Dedalic are relatively small - a slight rounding of the chin to bring it into line with the generally oval shape of the head as a whole and a further broadening of the head at the temples.<sup>920</sup> Yet now for the first time it becomes possible to differentiate clearly what is specific to the various regional schools. Typically, the Spartan lower head is more slender, the nose broader, heavier and longer, the lips fuller and more curved (as if smiling), the eyes (oval blobs painted with a black wash) less widely open and set more obliquely; the hair is rendered in "Perlenlocken". In some cases, no doubt, these features are due to technical deficiencies (though Spartan work is generally superior to that of Crete and Rhodes), but they give to Spartan products a liveliness sometimes absent from their more polished counterparts elsewhere. All this can be seen most clearly expressed in a head-vase from the Akropolis, perhaps the finest of all Spartan Middle Dedalic works.<sup>921</sup>

The second sub-phase is that of the Cretan "Lady of Auxerre", which is among the earliest well-preserved "monumental" sculptures in stone.<sup>922</sup> The face is still long, but the outline is squarer, the jawline tighter, the chin more jutting. Sparta is particularly well represented by both protomes (FIG.88) and vase-attachments (FIG.89),<sup>923</sup> and this allows us to see that once again the closest affinities are with Crete.<sup>924</sup> They are indeed so close that there must surely have been a regular exchange of ideas if not of casts<sup>925</sup> or moulds<sup>926</sup> to explain what I take to be mutual dependence.<sup>927</sup> To the examples from Sparta Jenkins adds a plaque from Tegea, but I prefer to see in this a local work no doubt heavily influenced by Lakonia.<sup>928</sup>

The third and final sub-phase of Middle Dedalic is that of the Mycenae limestone metope.<sup>929</sup> The face is shorter but otherwise simply the logical fulfilment of the tendencies noticed in the second sub-phase, culminating in "complete squat angularity."<sup>930</sup> As far as Sparta is concerned, the most important development is the move towards the elimination of those "provincial" characteristics (e.g. curved mouth) noted in our discussion of the first sub-phase and towards the standardisation between regions that is achieved in

Late Dedalic.<sup>931</sup> It is to this sub-phase that Jenkins assigns the plastic attachments of a vase whose shape and decoration are otherwise Transitional Subgeometric (FIGS. 45-6).<sup>932</sup> This is much too late: in the first place, the stylistic attribution is not cogent - the heads are more at home in the second, if not the first, sub-phase; secondly, the cavalier rejection of the evidence of the fabric, shape and style of the vase stems from the excessive rigidity of both Jenkins' classification and his application of his classificatory criteria. I would, therefore, date it some ten to twenty years earlier than Jenkins.

This leads us naturally (and lastly) to the question of absolute chronology.<sup>933</sup> Jenkins, as we have seen, rejected the evidence from stratigraphy, not just because it was too imprecise for a scheme that involved stylistic phases and sub-phases of as little as five and ten years' duration, but even in a case where the pottery and the terracotta were as closely associated as possible, viz. a vase with plastic attachments.<sup>934</sup> This is to go too far, but it is true that the stratigraphical evidence is very rarely of help for precise absolute chronology, and once more we are faced with the problem we encountered first in dating LG pottery: the nature of the relationship between the dates given by literary sources for western colonial foundations and the relative chronology worked out by Payne (based on Johansen) for PC. I can only repeat here that Payne's system has proved to be a fruitful working hypothesis in all but a few cases.<sup>935</sup> The significance of this for the dating of Dedalic terracottas is made the more apparent by the practice of attaching moulded plastic heads to PC vases, the most important of which is a MPC II aryballos in the Louvre, the veritable lynchpin of Dedalic chronology.<sup>936</sup> Payne dated it c. 650 and Jenkins assigned it to Middle Dedalic I. With this as a baseline we can then calibrate our judgements of the speed of stylistic change and check these judgements against the development of PC figure-drawing. We thus arrive at the following, very rough, scheme: Subgeometric 700-650; Protodedalic 680/75 - 670/65; Early Dedalic ~~670/65-655/50~~; Middle Dedalic 655/50 - 625/20; Late Dedalic 625/20 - 615/10.<sup>937</sup>

(c) Summary

The following answers to the questions posed in (a) may be tentatively suggested on the basis of our survey. In the second half of the eighth century Lakonian coroplasts were few and, with notable exceptions, undistinguished; Amyklai may have been a more advanced centre than Sparta. In the first quarter of the seventh century the wind of Dedalic change blew on Sparta, either directly from Crete or via Corinth, and the incipient naturalistic LG tendencies were frozen into an "intellectual", mathematical conception that did violence to the

human body, especially the head. Oriental influence was relatively of far less importance even than in ivorywork and was restricted to technique (use of the mould) and external traits (e.g. the infrequent "Etagenperücke"). For some reason the Dedalic movement in Lakonia was confined to Sparta, but less surprisingly Spartan products rarely (perhaps only once) travelled far from their place of manufacture. The richness of the series from the three main sanctuaries serving Sparta enables us to trace with some precision the development in style and to make comparisons both with other schools of Dedalic coroplasts and with Lakonian works in other materials. These comparisons indicate that the closest parallels are to be found in Crete, but that, unlike the Cretans, the Spartans did not use the experience gained in terracotta to experiment with monumental sculpture in stone. Indeed, "Dedalic" is a sobriquet perhaps more closely tied in Sparta than in any other region to terracottas, of which the Spartan series is the most strongly individual of all.

#### Appendix

The foregoing discussion was necessarily confined almost entirely to the human figure. It would, however, be misleading to omit two items depicting the typically orientalisising King of Beasts.

The first is a broken relief-plaque found probably with "Geometric" alone, on which a winged lion(?) regardant strides purposefully to the left.<sup>938</sup> The wings recall Mycenaean work but are not unambiguous evidence of contact with Mycenaean art. The date should be c.650.

The second is a plastic vase in the form of a lion from the Menelaion, found with "Geometric, PC and Laconian I".<sup>939</sup> It is indebted to "Neo-Hittite" models, but of local (not Corinthian) manufacture. The date is about the same as that of the plaque.

#### vii. Varia

##### (a) Stone<sup>940</sup>

1. Limestone Relief (Sparta 3362:UP):<sup>941</sup> H.c. 45 W. c. 20 (FIG.92)

Reff: \*R. J. H. Jenkins, BSA xxxiii (1932-3) 69-71, pl.8.6; ibid., Dedolica (1936) 31-2, pl. 2.11; Häfner, KLAZ 146-7; A. Delivorrias, AAA ii (1969)8, figs.4-5; F. W. Hamdorf, "Lakonische Perirrhanterien", AM lxxxix (1974) 57-8, no.10, pl.29. 2-3.

On the periphery of a cylindrical column a female figure is carved in high relief. The top of the column is scooped out to form a basin and a groove let into the rim to serve as an outlet, presumably for libations of holy water or wine.

The face is too badly disfigured to permit close stylistic analysis, but what remains of it, together with the proportioning and pose of the

figure as a whole (so far as it is preserved), suggest comparison with Spartan terracottas of the Early Dedalic phase. A date of c.660 is not unreasonable, making it the earliest Lakonian stone sculpture preserved and one of the earliest in Greece.

Jenkins thought it might be a semi-iconic altar, but it is more likely to be a very early - perhaps even the earliest - example of a perirrhanterion.<sup>942</sup> Not much later is the probably Lakonian marble "Karyatid" from Olympia, which was one of three such figures standing on lions and so representing the more developed variety of perirrhanterion.<sup>943</sup> There are similar examples of certainly or plausibly Lakonian origin.<sup>944</sup>

It seems justifiable, therefore, to infer that leading Lakonian sculptors did not aim to emulate the monumental stone sculptures being produced in Crete and the islands from the second quarter of the seventh century,<sup>945</sup> but devoted themselves instead to the humbler, though in their own way no less effective, perirrhanteria, which besides served a more directly practical purpose.

## 2. Serpentine Scaraboid Seals (Orthia)

Reff: AO 379-80, fig.144a - c; Chr. Blinkenberg, Lindos i (1931) 163, fig. 19 S - U; E. Porada, Fest. H. Goldman (1956) 210, figs.27, 28, 41; J. Boardman, JdI lxxxii (1966) 28, nos. 60-2; 54, 57, 60; ibid., GGFR 110.

The three illustrated examples belong to the oriental "Lyre-Player" group of seals so abundantly attested on the island at Pithekoussai<sup>946</sup> - indeed, like tridacna-shell carvings and cast cauldron-attachments,<sup>947</sup> there are more known from Greek sites than in their place of origin (Cilicia or North Syria). The subjects represented are stags (two: one with two birds as filling ornament, one with just a blob) and the relatively infrequent Egyptian falcon with outspread wings and well-marked talons. The group as a whole went out of production not much, if at all, after 700.

## 3. Hemispherical Serpentine Seal (Orthia)

Reff: AO 378, pl.204. C,1; Boardman, I Gems 110 n.1, 117, B 17; GGFR 112.

This is not Mycenaean, as the excavators thought, but Early Archaic. The largest cache of this type of seal has been found at the Argive Heraion and, since the figure-devices recall somewhat Argive Subgeometric vasepainting, our example may be an Argive import. The device appears to be purely linear, but may be meant for a stylised figure. The stone will have been worn as a pendent and perhaps used as an amulet rather than for sealing.

## (b) Glass

## 1. Seals

Reff: AO 381, pl.206.15-16; Boardman, AOC 6; *ibid.*,  
Archaic Greek Gems (1968)21, no.11

Near Eastern (one Syrian, one a Phoenician(?) imitation of Egyptian) imports found with "Geometric" pottery; the latter at least is seventh-century.

## 2. Beads

Ref: AO 386, pl.206.9

The sole illustrated example is barrel-shaped and decorated with tricolour rosettes, but the rest fall into two groups according to their spherical or three-cornered shape. The latter (in paste as well as glass) has been found in Archaic contexts on several Greek sites;<sup>948</sup> the former is paralleled at e.g. Perachora.<sup>949</sup>

(c) Faience<sup>950</sup>

## 1. Scarabs

Reff: AO 384-5, figs.143, 144 d, pl.205. 1-3, 6-8, 10; JHS 1 (1930) 299, no.10; J. D. S. Pendlebury, Aegyptiaca (1930) 45-6, nos. 75-6; 109, nos.297-300, 302-4. One unpublished (Akropolis?).<sup>951</sup>

The majority of those from Orthia lay deep in the "Geometric" deposit, but some from the Menelaion were with "Laconian II".<sup>952</sup> The context is not of course decisive evidence for date of manufacture, nor (more important) can the scarabs be used, as was once believed possible, to date the context.<sup>953</sup> Quite apart from the stratigraphical uncertainties, these are not "genuine antiques" (Pendlebury), but imitations (of sometimes very much earlier originals) produced outside Egypt, probably by Phoenicians and perhaps on Rhodes.<sup>954</sup>

Their composition is too fragile for them to have been used as seals and it is certain that no Spartan had any notion of precisely what the devices represented - if, that is, they were meant to represent anything: our FIG.96 is purely decorative apart from what may be a poor attempt to reproduce the Egyptian uraeus.

(d) Amber<sup>955</sup>

Amber (ēlektros, ēlektron)<sup>956</sup> is the product of the action of the sea on the exuded resin of coniferous trees some 60 million years B.P. The three areas producing true amber (succinite) within convenient trading range of Greece are the "Baltic" region, Romania and Sicily;<sup>957</sup> it is now generally agreed that the first of these was the source of at least the great majority

of Greek finds.<sup>958</sup> The trade begins in the Shaft Grave era and continued without a break until the eleventh century.<sup>959</sup> Then there occurs the familiar hiatus in contact between Greece and barbarian Europe until we get a stray find in a ninth-century context on Tenos, a little more in the first half of the eighth century on Crete and the final resumption of the trade on a large scale in the second half of the eighth century.<sup>960</sup> The zenith is reached about the middle of the seventh.

The finds from Orthia, therefore, accurately reflect the process as it affected Greece as a whole.<sup>961</sup> About 40-50 beads and studs were found, nearly all with "Geometric" pottery (AO 386). Among the rare late occurrences are the inlays on the well-known ivory warship-plaque (Marangou no.38: c.625) and a somewhat earlier comb (Marangou no.43: third quarter of the seventh century). We have already met the practice of inlaying amber in the case of the ivory "spectacle"-fibulae and an ivory eagle-fibula.<sup>962</sup>

Along similar lines are the beads of amber alternating with pieces of bone on the bows of bronze fibulae.<sup>963</sup> There are few independent carvings: a small couchant sheep (a copy, like the terracotta sheep and the bronze bulls, of the ivory originals); three pierced, plain bead-seals and the remains of an intaglio.<sup>963a</sup>

Apart from its obvious visual attractiveness amber had other desirable properties: it was literally attractive if rubbed and gave off a pleasant odour when held in the hand for any length of time; the electro-magnetic quality suggested magical potency and it may have been believed to have medicinal qualities.<sup>964</sup>

#### viii. Historical Conclusions

##### (a) Introduction: the Problem of Evidence

"It is not our intention either to divert the reader with a continued narration of these fictions at the expense of truth, or fatigue him by a detailed criticism of them, but merely to lay before him the chief circumstances as they are known with historical certainty"

(K. O. MÜLLER)

The degree of conviction with which a historian expresses his judgments depends ultimately on his evaluation of the sources at his disposal. As I have tried to demonstrate in II.v(c), the degree appropriate for the student of early Greek history is minimal: strictly, indeed, Greece before c.550/500 belongs in the realm of "proto-history". Sparta, therefore, in this respect, is - as so often - merely an extreme example of a general phenomenon, and the peculiarity of what is compendiously entitled the "mirage Spartiate" should not be exaggerated.<sup>965</sup>

The period with which we are specifically concerned here (c.750-650) introduces a new and enduring facet of the mirage: the Spartan annexation of Messenia, which forms the central topic of subsection (b) and the essential background of (c). The chief causes of distortion were these: (1) as the Greek expression "Messenian War(s)" implies,<sup>966</sup> the conflict has usually been viewed from the Spartan side of the barricades. The main - or, as some would say, the only - reliable literary source is the Spartan Tyrtaios, whose poetry was designed not to explain its origins and development but rather to shame, cajole, exhort and inspire his fellow-citizens to victory.<sup>967</sup> (2) The eventual victory was consolidated and maintained by force majeure, and, like the Turkokratia, the harshness of the occupation stimulated among the vanquished (including those of the Diaspora) a flourishing Resistance folklore, of which the exploits of Aristomenes (the Messenian Digenes) are but the most conspicuous product.<sup>968</sup> (3) The liberation of Messenia and the foundation of the polis of Messene in 370/69 transferred the war from the physical to the verbal plane: every aspect of the post-Mycenaean past of Messenia was treated as raw material for political propaganda and "creative" historiography in a fiery debate whose strength can be estimated from the embers preserved for us in Pausanias' guidebook.<sup>969</sup>

In short, our only contemporary literary source is one-sided and tells us little of what we most want to know, while our most extensive source was writing anything up to 900 years after the events he described, using polluted evidence and addressing himself to an uncritical audience. Some of these defects could never be made good by archaeological evidence, were it never so plentiful - in fact, as we shall see, it is in crucial respects thin and inconclusive. My intention, therefore, in what follows coincides with that of Müller (see epigraph).

(b) External Relations: the Messenian War<sup>970</sup>

"a vitally important event in the age of Greek expansion, and one destined, indeed, to distort tragically the whole course of classical Greek history"

(A. R. BURN)

Archaeological and credible literary evidence together suggest, as we saw in II.v(d), that for the first two centuries of Sparta's existence the political and economic horizons of the Spartan ruling class were confined to the Eurotas valley and its immediate environs. After c.775, however, the outward picture alters, swiftly and dramatically. Amyklai is incorporated, Aigytiis conquered; and in both there intervened, so the traditions said, the Delphic Oracle, an institution then in its infancy but soon to rise to a position of "national" importance. Here

perhaps lie the seeds of that special relationship with the oracle so sedulously maintained by Sparta throughout her history.<sup>971</sup> At about the same time Sparta may have first become involved in that other Panhellenic religio-political enterprise, the Olympic Games.<sup>972</sup>

Archaeology throws no light on these particular transactions, but it does show that c.750 Lakonian potters and painters, for so long ingrown and stagnating, were once more put in touch with the most progressive ceramic craftsmanship in the Peloponnese. Precisely how the transition - or rather, abrupt change - from the PG to the LG style of pottery was effected is unclear, but the source of inspiration was indisputably the workshops of the Argolid; it was perhaps soon after this too that the first Lakonian bronze figurines were dedicated at Olympia.<sup>973</sup>

These humble signs of artistic revival, however, pale beside the Spartan decision to mount a campaign of annexation in neighbouring Messenia. We have already noted in Part II the evidence for Spartan activity in S.E. Messenia before 750, involving the settlement, as I believe, of "colonies" (later with perioikic status), if not the actual conquest of the area.<sup>974</sup> It is time now to consider what may have motivated this foreign intervention in the light of the outright aggression a generation or so later. The available evidence is singularly unimpressive: apart from a few scraps of Ephoros, we are chiefly dependent on Pausanias (iv.4-13), who utilised (directly or indirectly) the prose Messenika of the third-century Myron of Priene, correcting or supplementing him from Tyrtaios - a reversal of the proper method hardly calculated to inspire confidence.<sup>975</sup> From these "authorities" we hear of a variety of inconsistent aitiai es to phaneron legoumenai but nothing that might convincingly be proposed as the alēth-estatē prophasis of the war.<sup>976</sup>

We are forced, therefore, to look elsewhere and the most fruitful line of approach is undoubtedly to view the Spartan action in the context of Greek, and especially Peloponnesian, development as a whole.<sup>977</sup> The sudden increase in direct and indirect external contacts around 750 suggests that at that stage Sparta was in some sense among the more advanced Greek communities. Some fifteen years later Corinth, then perhaps the most advanced of all, followed the lead given by the Euboeans and despatched settlers to the west.<sup>978</sup> Since this was just about the time, according to a plausible chronology, that the Spartans invaded Messenia, there is a case for asking whether these events had anything in common.<sup>979</sup> Despite large differences of geographical situation and political organisation, the answer, I believe, is that the common factor was overpopulation, or to be more precise relative overpopulation.<sup>980</sup> Hypothetically, the causal

nexus was roughly as follows: the fertile Eurotas valley had been somehow distributed among the Spartans, but inequality of ownership allied to an increase in population had created an unacceptable level of social discontent and physical hardship; the settlement of more marginal areas of Lakonia and of the fertile (but politically more sensitive) S.E. Messenia had proved to be ephemeral palliatives; a more drastic solution was called for and the conquest of Messenia (i.e. the Pamisos valley) filled the bill.

Several objections to this hypothesis - for which the ancient evidence gives barely a whisper of support<sup>981</sup> - might be raised, but they can all be met satisfactorily so long as it is remembered that the overpopulation in Lakonia was relative and that it was in any case a necessary not a sufficient condition of such a giant undertaking. The case in favour can be put negatively like this: if we grant for the sake of argument that there was critical overpopulation, what other remedies were available in practice to the Spartans? "Internal colonisation", of the kind successfully practised (we may infer) in comparably spacious Attika, Boeotia and the Argolid in this period, had already been tried and found wanting and was ruled out for the future by economic and political considerations: the bait of land in exchange for the loss of citizen rights (however ill-defined) was not so attractive to the poor Spartan as it was later to the poor Roman of the Early Republic, because the land available was less agriculturally desirable and the divide between Spartan and perioikic status was in decisive respects absolute.<sup>982</sup> Overseas colonisation, on the other hand, was not a natural choice for an inland state like Sparta, as is amply demonstrated by the circumstances in which her only apoikia was later established (see below). The importation of essential food stuffs to offset any shortfall there may have been in domestic production was not then a practical proposition, partly because the conditions for the existence of such a trade had not been established at the potential sources of supply,<sup>983</sup> partly because dependence on such importation - as the example of fifth- and fourth-century Athens implies - would have presupposed military adjustments precluded by geographical and social factors.<sup>984</sup>

Negatively, therefore, the acquisition of new land was the only feasible solution, and there were positive arguments in favour of it too. The Spartans had already demonstrated skill both in war and its aftermath. They had proved in Lakonia that they could force a subjected population to yield up the surplus they were unwilling or unable to extract by other means.<sup>985</sup> Furthermore, the potential source of new land was one of the most fertile areas of all Greece, Messenia "good for ploughing, good for growing", and thinly populated and politically heterogeneous into the bargain.<sup>986</sup> But the final

and, for me, incontrovertible proof of the kind of pressing need created by overpopulation lies in two further considerations: between Sparta and Messenia runs the Taygetos massif, a formidable deterrent to communication, let alone conquest;<sup>987</sup> secondly, the treatment meted out to the Messenians was a unique phenomenon in the whole of Greek antiquity.<sup>988</sup> I conclude, therefore, that the "First" Messenian War was triggered by relative overpopulation in the Eurotas valley.

The course of the war is barely recoverable from our sources, but their few topographical indications suggest that the invasion was launched through the desolate "bridgehead" of Aigytiis and that the Spartans limited the aim of their aggression to the capture of the Stenyklaros plain in the upper Pamisos valley.<sup>989</sup> If the fighting was spread over twenty years, as Tyrtaios (fr.5.7) states,<sup>990</sup> this was presumably due to the Messenians' adoption of guerilla tactics and their unwillingness to risk a pitched battle, coupled with the Spartans' general ineptitude in such a war of attrition, above all in sieges.<sup>991</sup> The eventual capitulation and flight from the low mountain bastion of Ithome could have been the result of several factors (e.g. treachery, heavy casualties or famine); the generalship of the victorious Eurypontid King Theopompos is an unknown quantity. The sole piece of archaeological evidence directly connected (I assume) with the war is a warrior-grave recently excavated at Nichoria in S.E. Messenia, but we cannot tell which side its occupant had fought on!<sup>992</sup>

For the moment, then, the snake had triumphed over the fox.<sup>993</sup> The consequences were dramatic, even if it is impossible to establish a relative timescale. The Stenyklaros plain and perhaps the western half of the lower Pamisos valley were seized by the Spartan state and some of the former owners were compelled "like asses exhausted under great loads to bring to their masters full half the fruit their ploughed land produced" (Tyrtaios fr.6).<sup>994</sup> Others were more fortunate and escaped either to neighbouring Arkadia or perhaps even overseas.<sup>995</sup> Precisely how the new land was allocated and held by the conquerors we shall never know, but anachronistic notions of 9000 "Homoioi" receiving equal allotments and an army of occupation must be rejected outright.<sup>996</sup> Undoubtedly, though, the conquest made the Spartan state - or rather certain Spartans - the wealthiest in Greece at that time and we could ask for no clearer indication of the influx of riches than the finds from the sanctuary of Orthia (cf. epigraph to Part III).

Dickins (AO 163) convincingly linked the building of the second, all-stone, temple of (Artemis) Orthia to a notice in Herodotus (i.65.1) concerning Spartan military success in the joint reign of Leon and Agasikles.<sup>997</sup> Precisely the same connection can be posited for the construction of the first temple on the site, especially since it has been recently redated on

archaeological grounds to c.700.<sup>998</sup> The building of a temple was always a public enterprise in Greece, but the spirit in which it was carried out was often far from "religious". It provided an opportunity for the rich to demonstrate their wealth in a gesture of apparent piety and goodwill towards the community as a whole.<sup>999</sup> The early temples, in fact, were among the earliest examples of the system of liturgies that became so highly developed and sometimes centrally regulated in the Athenian democracy.<sup>1000</sup> They also had important side-effects. The existence of a permanent roofed structure was an inducement to dedicate objects in precious perishable materials.<sup>1001</sup> The desire to make such dedications created a demand for skilled labour which could not always be satisfied by local sources.<sup>1002</sup> The introduction of foreign artisans to carry out specific commissions provided a tremendous stimulus in ideas and expertise to the native tradition. This, I believe, explains how in the last quarter of the eighth century Lakonia was for the first time brought within the orbit of trade in luxury goods and raw materials and introduced to the most progressive artistic currents of the day.<sup>1003</sup>

In other words, it is the conquest of Messenia that accounts for the presence at Orthia of expensive and exotic ex-votos in gold, silver, ivory, glass, faience and amber,<sup>1004</sup> as well as a variety of bronze manufactures from within and outside the Greek world.<sup>1005</sup> Taken as a whole, the finds stand comparison with those at (Corinthian) Perachora and the Argive Heraion. Amyklai has been less meticulously excavated and there was of course no protective layer of sand to seal in the earliest finds, but the oriental and East Greek cauldron-attachements from the area indicate tastes and wealth comparable to those displayed in Sparta.<sup>1006</sup> A less obvious but equally significant consequence of the conquest was the beginning of the long run of Spartan successes in the Olympic Games,<sup>1007</sup> and these victories in their turn at least partly explain the establishment of Lakonian workshops in the Altis to produce high-quality bronze figurines<sup>1008</sup> - a neat example of what Renfrew calls the "multiplier effect".<sup>1009</sup> Similar bronzes have been found on several other Peloponnesian sites and in central Greece, dedicated perhaps by Spartan pilgrims or even, like the sole example from Delphi, by more official visitors.<sup>1010</sup> These "exports" imply both a greatly increased volume of production and an enlarged range of external contacts, while their quality provides the earliest evidence of the skill characteristic of Lakonian bronzeworking down into the fifth century.

About the same time as the first Orthia temple the Spartans established a new sanctuary whose implications for external relations are no less significant but involve a different area of experience. This was the Menelaion, dedicated to Menelaos and Helen at Therapne (no.5) just across the

Eurotas from Sparta.<sup>1011</sup> Helen is arguably a faded version of the "Great Mother" or, less grandly, a tree-goddess, while her brothers the Dioskouroi, who supposedly lived under the earth at Therapne (Aikman fr. 7 Page) and generally played a major role in Lakonian cult and politics, may have been house-spirits before they became heroes.<sup>1012</sup> Menelaos, however, can claim no such ancestry. His only previous existence had been in the world of Homer.<sup>1013</sup> On one level, therefore, the establishment of a sanctuary to the Homeric King of Lakadaimon was a matter of political convenience for Dorians attempting to bolster their claim to rule the S.E. Peloponnese by right.<sup>1014</sup> On another level, however, this was simply one variation on a theme being played in widely separated parts of the Greek world at this time, the paying of cult to heroes of the past.<sup>1015</sup> In some cases, as here, the identity of the hero is not in doubt and the occasion of the religious manifestation was probably the dissemination of the Homeric poems in some form to a wider audience<sup>1016</sup> and/or the discovery of Mycenaean remains of suitably heroic proportions.<sup>1017</sup> But in other cases, above all LG offerings in Mycenaean tombs situated in areas without specific mythological associations, the explanation seems to be a more broad-based interest in, or perhaps need for, continuity. The hero provided both an anchor in the past and an example for the future.<sup>1018</sup> This greater catholicity of appeal may explain why the dedications at the Menelaion are from the start less grandiose and exotic than those in the sanctuaries at Sparta.

So far the picture I have painted of the consequences of victory in Messenia has been fairly rosy. It was in reality rosy only for some, as the circumstances of the foundation of Taras adequately reveal. Taras, Sparta's only true apoikia,<sup>1019</sup> was traditionally founded in 706, a date which the scanty relevant archaeological evidence does nothing to contradict.<sup>1020</sup> The other ancient evidence, however, is almost entirely worthless and my tentative reconstruction of the process departs from it in many particulars.<sup>1021</sup> A war of twenty years' duration is almost bound to exacerbate, if not create, internal social tensions and the origins of the colony certainly lie in social discontent, whose focus may have been a group enigmatically known as the Partheniai.<sup>1022</sup> Plato (Laws 735-6) observed that one solution to such discontent is to export the discontented and this traditionally is what occurred. My own view, however, is that Taras was originally not sanctioned by the Spartan state, but a foundation as it were "from below" effected by a few enterprising families, whose success was only later given the official seal of approval by the metropolis. The evidence concerning the supposed oikist Phalanthos may be thought to support this interpretation.<sup>1023</sup> The choice of site was topographically unexceptionable: the best harbour in Italy,

protection by the sea on three sides and good communications inland are just a few of its natural advantages.<sup>1024</sup> There was, however, one slight obstacle. The site was already occupied by native "Iapygians".<sup>1025</sup> The first settlers may, therefore, have planted themselves at Scoglio(or Punta) del Tonno on the other side of the lagoon<sup>1026</sup> or more probably, as a Delphic Oracle is supposed to have advised, at Satyrion further south-east.<sup>1027</sup> There is some suggestion that the move to Taras was not accomplished painlessly, but, when the dust had settled, relations with the mother-city (if not always with the natives!) were exceptionally close and cordial - the archaeological and literary evidence concur on this point.<sup>1028</sup> The conquest of Messenia is presumably the main reason why Taras remained Sparta's only colony, but it would be wrong to follow the sensational bent of our sources and so isolate Taras from the general wave of agrarian colonisation in S. Italy and Sicily initiated a quarter of a century or so earlier.<sup>1029</sup> Messenia after all was still unfinished business in 706.

Indeed, if we can trust Pausanias etc., the Spartan search for new land in the Peloponnese - and perhaps now also for political power - was still on, and the next target was the Thyreatis.<sup>1030</sup> As I have stated elsewhere, I do not believe in the pretended Argive control of the eastern seaboard of Lakonia and Kythera<sup>1031</sup> at any time; nor can I accept that Sparta and Argos had come to blows before the "First" Messenian War.<sup>1032</sup> It does, however, seem feasible that after her initial success in Messenia Sparta would have attempted to seal off her frontier in the north-east against a power whose might is amply attested in both the literary and the archaeological record.<sup>1033</sup> The Thyreatis, because of its relative fertility and more especially its location, was the appointed scene of physical conflict.<sup>1034</sup> Whatever the true antecedents may have been,<sup>1035</sup> antagonism is plausibly supposed to have come to a head in the Battle of Hysiai (trad. 669) won by Argos.<sup>1036</sup> Sparta, as the site of the battle clearly shows, had been the aggressor and the reasons for her defeat can only be surmised,<sup>1037</sup> but that the defeat was severe may be inferred both from the institution of the Gymnopaïdiai (trad. 668) to commemorate it and from Sparta's avoidance of another military showdown with Argos for over a century.<sup>1038</sup>

Argive power was now at a peak, Sparta's fortunes in a correspondingly low trough. The assassination of King Polydoros and the demand for the redistribution of land - the political expressions of grave social conflicts - seem to fit most naturally into this post-defeat context (see (c)). The effect on Messenian morale can be easily imagined and it was this combination of circumstances, according to a plausible modern theory, which stimulated the Messenians to revolt.<sup>1039</sup> The silence of the ancient sources is far from

being a serious objection to this theory, for with few exceptions they are much more interested in the web of myth and fantasy that surrounded the supposed leader of the revolt, the Messenian folk-hero Aristomenes.<sup>1040</sup> Thus the "chief circumstances" of the revolt (or "Second" Messenian War) that can be "known with historical certainty" are very few and the evidence is if anything worse than for the "First" War.<sup>1041</sup>

Our one anchor is Tyrtaios, a contemporary and a participant. His floruit, the third quarter of the seventh century, makes it almost certain that the war began considerably later than Pausanias' source believed (685),<sup>1042</sup> but there his direct utility more or less ends. He probably mentioned, if not described, a battle at or near a trench (Paus.iv.17.2-9),<sup>1043</sup> which may have marked a turning-point in a hit-and-run struggle for which the Spartans, by now certainly hoplites, were ill-equipped.<sup>1044</sup> The names of those who are supposed to have fought on the Messenian side (with the exception of Elis) are plausible enough - the others are the Pisatans, Arkadians, Sikyon and Argos.<sup>1045</sup> On the Spartan side Corinth (pre-Kypselid?) is an obvious choice, but Lepreon in Triphylia and Samos (individual Samians?) seem progressively more unlikely.<sup>1046</sup> On the other hand, there is nothing intrinsically improbable in the story that the main focus of resistance was Andania in the north-east towards Arkadia and that the last stand was made, not on Ithome this time, but on Hira not far from Andania.<sup>1047</sup> The Spartan victory should perhaps be interpreted as a gradual process of pacification, including the spread of control to the west coast of Messenia south of the Neda, which may not have been completed much before the end of the century.<sup>1048</sup> Indeed, the loose ends of the conquest can only be said to have been properly tied up with the treaty of c.550 between Sparta and Tegea, whose one known clause neatly symbolises the nervewracking consequence of the Messenian Wars: Sparta had "a wolf by the throat".<sup>1049</sup>

Sparta's cultural development in the seventh century, however, was apparently as little affected by the almost uninterrupted fighting as that of Athens in the fifth.<sup>1050</sup> Terpander of Lesbos, traditionally the first victor in the musical contest at the reorganised Karneia of 676, initiated a succession of visits by poets who found Sparta a congenial field for the display of their talents.<sup>1051</sup> In the first half of the century Spartan vasepainters under Aegean influence made their first forays into an orientalising style, while the bronzeworkers reveal an increasing interest in human subjects. Following a generation or more of preparation Lakonian ivorywork reached its apogee after 650 with high-quality articles de luxe achieving a surprisingly wide distribution. No less technically competent, if more parochial in flavour, was the output of the coroplasts, which had strong Cretan affinities.

Indeed, the one area of decided backwardness was architectural and independent stone sculpture. The picture, in short, has no features in common with the image of cultural sterility beloved by the ancient and, more reprehensibly, the modern mirage.<sup>1052</sup>

(c) The Internal Situation: Revolution or Reform?<sup>1053</sup>

The study of the economic, social and political institutions (politeia) of early Sparta has been aptly described (by a former leading participant in the sport) as "intellectual gymnastics."<sup>1054</sup> An outsider might be pardoned for using a less friendly metaphor after wading through the voluminous modern literature on Sparta's "constitutional antiquities", much of it scarcely more than free invention, the rest at best intelligent speculation.<sup>1055</sup> It could, however, have hardly been otherwise: two overlapping aspects of the mirage saw to that. The first, chronologically and in point of importance, is the "Lykurgos-legend"; the other is the theory of the "mixed" constitution.

Several Greek states were pleased to ascribe the origin of their laws to the activity of one man at some indeterminate point in what may fairly be termed their "prehistory".<sup>1056</sup> In general these early lawgivers were apparently not so much, if at all, concerned with "constitutional" law as with other kinds - a fact which the blanket-term nomoi, applied indiscriminately to constitutional, criminal, civil or sacred laws, tends to disguise from us.<sup>1057</sup> Sparta, however, came to be regarded as the paradigm of a state which owed all its economic, social and political institutions to the legislative enactments of a single lawgiver, the farsighted Lykurgos. Thus it was held that for an exceedingly long time (or, in the more adulatory version, always) the Spartan state had been free from internal discord, its citizens abiding dutifully by the laws of Lykurgos, and that these laws, which differed in important and noticeable respects from those of the vast majority of Greek states, affected the whole Spartan way of life (kosmos, diaita), not just their method of doing politics. Thereafter, however, all was disagreement as to who or what (and even how many!) Lykurgos was, when he lived and precisely what he did and why.<sup>1058</sup> The controversy still rages, but for my purposes Lykurgos is a side-issue, no matter how much colour he may add to the picture.<sup>1059</sup>

The relevance of the theory of the "mixed" constitution is second-order by comparison. To be schematic, political theory was invented in Greece in the first half of the fifth century; the Greek talent for generalisation was then applied to the phenomena of politics, from which it extracted the essence of the basic types of "constitution" (monarchy, oligarchy, democracy).<sup>1060</sup> The theory of the "mixed" constitution (miktē) held that the "best" form of

state was either one which combined in a harmonious whole ingredients from each of the basic constitutional types (the "pudding" version) or one in which the different elements acted as checks and balances to each other (the "seesaw" version).<sup>1061</sup> Precisely where, when and by whom the theory was invented is uncertain,<sup>1062</sup> but in both of its forms it was used at various times to explain the longevity and power of the Spartan politeia, most conspicuously perhaps (and somewhat confusingly) by Polybios, more recently by Machiavelli.<sup>1063</sup> Where the "mixed constitution" theory overlaps and reinforces the "Lykurgos-legend" most crucially for our purposes is in its stress on the supposed absence of stasis in Sparta after Lykurgos, an absence whose attractiveness to "Lakonisers" was enhanced as the class struggle on the political plane progressively intensified from the fifth century until the Roman conquest.<sup>1064</sup>

Happily for us, however, not all of our sources were equally persuaded of every aspect of the mirage and Xenophon's view that there had never been stasis among Spartan citizens was eccentric.<sup>1065</sup> Herodotus (i.65.2) describes the Spartans as suffering the worst kakonomia of any Greek state before Lykurgos' reforms. Thucydides (i.18.1) agrees that there had been stasis followed by eunomia, although he does not mention Lykurgos by name.<sup>1066</sup> Even Plutarch (Lyk.v.4-5) was unable to keep stasis out of his hagiographic biography of the lawgiver.<sup>1067</sup> But perhaps the most impressive testimony is that of Aristotle (Pol. 1306<sup>b</sup> 29-1307<sup>a</sup>4), who knew of no less than five potentially revolutionary situations in Sparta between (in our terms) the late eighth and the early fourth centuries. It is no coincidence that two of these fell in the turbulent period under discussion here, for in what follows I have attempted to show that the key to understanding the internal conflict and compromise in Lakonia in this period is the developing class struggle. By c.650 there existed in embryo all those institutions whose totality (the system as a whole) served to set Sparta apart from the rest of the Greek world.<sup>1068</sup>

To recapitulate, Sparta was initially isolated and unprogressive, but by c.800 had achieved a sufficiently dynamic equilibrium in her internal affairs to encourage external enterprises in the first half of the eighth century. The single most significant event in this phase was the conquest and/or assimilation of Amyklai, which raised fundamental questions of military and political organisation. We cannot know the details of this take-over or merger, but the effect appears to have been a fructifying dualism: on the one hand, Amyklai retained a separate identity to some extent (as did the four nuclear villages), but at the same time the men of Amyklai were now for political - and therefore economic, military and most religious - purposes

Spartans.<sup>1069</sup> It would be wholly understandable if (as I believe was in fact the case) this advent of fresh power and cohesion gave the impetus to the invasion of Messenia, but the ancient tradition characteristically postulated a more personal connection: the involvement in both affairs of the Aegeid genos, which allegedly hailed from Thebes.

Large claims were made on the clan's behalf in antiquity, which have been echoed and even improved upon in the modern literature; but few facts can be rescued from the morass of propaganda.<sup>1070</sup> One antiquarian detail, however, catches the eye (Aristotle fr. 532 Rose): by the fourth century the bronze breastplate supposedly worn by Timomachos, the Aegeid conqueror of Amyklai, was carried in procession annually at the Hyakinthia. Whatever the historical basis of the ritual may have been, the carrying of a breastplate not a shield betokens the age of individual aristocratic ("Homeric") prowess in battle that preceded the hoplite era.<sup>1071</sup> Half a century later nothing had changed in this respect. There may have been more Spartans with conspicuous metal breastplates, but the "First" Messenian War was undoubtedly an individualistic, "heroic" affair without set-piece battles. The conquerors of Messenia were the aristocratic few - or so they claimed.<sup>1072</sup>

Naturally enough, aristocratic prowess demanded aristocratic reward - not simply spiritual timē but concrete possessions, above all land. In the second half of the eighth century there was, I believe, in Greece as a whole an increasing stress on cereal-production, and a corresponding reduction in emphasis on pasturage, in response to the rising population.<sup>1073</sup> The Spartan "barons", however, had made sure that they were not faced with a choice between cereals and livestock. The conquest of Messenia meant that they not only had a superabundance of land but the necessary unfree labour to work it for them. The conquered Messenians of the Pamisos valley were, in my view, turned into Helots at the end of the "First" War,<sup>1074</sup> but neither they nor the land were distributed fairly (if they were distributed at all) among the Spartan population as a whole. The winners, the aristocrats, took all.<sup>1075</sup>

This was a part - perhaps the major part - of the grievance of groups like that labelled "Partheniai". We shall never know exactly who the Partheniai were, but the communis opinio of the ancient sources that they were in some sense impure in birth deserves respect.<sup>1076</sup> The shake-up of the last half century or so could well have led to a questioning of fundamental values: why should a family-tree (and pre-eminently descent from Herakles) give a man the right to cheat, oppress, dominate and impoverish his fellows?<sup>1077</sup> It is no accident that the Partheniai and Hesiod were contemporaries.<sup>1078</sup> Land, however, was only one - even if the most important - aspect of a broader

political discontent, "political" precisely in the sense that the birth of the concept of citizenship and the full development of the polis, together with their military implications, were phenomena of the decades around 700.<sup>1079</sup> This is why, as Aristotle saw, the Partheniai represented potential revolution.

The emigration of the Partheniai to Taras, however, was almost literally a drop in the ocean, for several anecdotes indicate that if anything the internal disequilibrium intensified. This anecdotal evidence deserves a measure of credence for once, because it centres on the first two individuals known to us as distinct personalities in Spartan history, the Eurypontid King Theopompos and the Agiad King Polydoros, who reigned together in the first quarter of the seventh century.<sup>1080</sup> We need not accept the elaborated details, but it was remembered in Sparta that they had played active and decisive roles and the general tenor of their reigns has probably been accurately enough conveyed.

Abroad Theopompos was commemorated as the man who led the Spartans to victory in the "First" Messenian War (Tyrtaios fr. 5.1-2), at home as the creator of the ephorate.<sup>1081</sup> The latter innovation was represented as a major concession to non- or anti-monarchical sentiment and allegedly justified by its author as a pragmatic device to ensure the perpetuation of the **kingship**. The main obstacle to a correct understanding of this development - if indeed Theopompos had anything to do with it - is that the ephorate was, and is, probably the single most controversial element in the Spartan constitution.<sup>1082</sup> As is well known, it finds no place in the Great Rhetra and ancient political theorists of the "mixed constitution" were unclear whether it stood for democracy, monarchy or tyranny. Modern opinion varies along a spectrum from regarding the ephors in their **heyday** as virtual monarchs to seeing them as relatively humble men with important powers in defined areas of government.<sup>1083</sup> For our purposes the major disputes are those concerning the date and purpose of the institution of the office. The literal meaning of the title ("overseer") is of little help and it is of course dangerous to extrapolate backwards from their known functions in better documented times. If I were to hazard a guess, I would agree with those who see them as originally religious officials.<sup>1084</sup> The problem then is to decide how, why and when they entered the political arena. It is not reassuring to discover that the association with Theopompos may simply be due to chronographers who synchronised the beginning of a supposed list of eponymous ephors (755/4) with his reign.<sup>1085</sup> On the other hand, the association receives some support from a general tendency in the Greek world at Theopompos' true date, the tendency for hereditary monarchies to disappear.<sup>1086</sup> It is not impossible that Theopompos granted the ephorate limited powers to intervene on behalf of the damos, individually or collectively, against the

nobility (which of course included the royal families).<sup>1087</sup> I do not, however, believe that the ephorate received much if any executive, judicial or administrative power before the mid-sixth century.<sup>1088</sup>

The evidence concerning Polydoros is more unambiguously inflammatory, perhaps because he was used as a prototype by would-be revolutionary monarchs in the Hellenistic period.<sup>1089</sup> He was supposed to have espoused the cause of the ordinary Spartan and to have initiated some form of gēs anadamos,<sup>1090</sup> only to be murdered for his reformist pains by a noble called Polemarchos (Paus. iii.3.3). In fact, the name of the assassin looks far more like the title of a military officer and recalls the revolutionary activities of near-contemporary polemarchs in other Dorian states.<sup>1091</sup> Polydoros' populist politics, in other words, may not have been wholly altruistic, though it is open to argument how far they were dictated by considerations of state (the Argos crisis) or concern for his personal position as King. If it is felt necessary to find a prototype for Polypompan manoeuvring, then Pheidon of Argos (whether mid-eighth or early seventh-century) is at hand.<sup>1092</sup> This should not, however, be allowed to detract from the originality of the royal policy and above all its success in the long run.

For whatever the correct explanation may have been, the monarchy survived the defeat at Hysiai, the assassination of Polydoros and what I take to be their consequence, the Messenian revolt. Indeed, it was surely the Messenian War which ensured its permanent survival. As Cicero was fond of observing, a crisis engendered by an external threat tends to "glue together" internal and often conflicting forces. But the glue took some time to harden, for at the time of the ("Second") Messenian War, as we learn from Aristotle (Pol. 1306<sup>b</sup>37 - 1307<sup>a</sup>2: the second of his five potentially revolutionary situations), there was a demand from the poor for gēs anadamos. Either Polydoros' redistribution had not been implemented or it had failed to solve the problem. This, I believe, is the situation in which the Great Rhetra was produced - a clarion call for the return to traditional loyalties, but with the guarantee of a certain collective power for ordinary Spartans in exchange for **absolute** obedience.<sup>1093</sup> The carrot of land-allotments and the stick of threatened defeat together ensured that there was a will to fight. Extraordinary "state" expenditure created the first (and only) Greek all-hoplite citizen army (truly a "new model") and victory was eventually secured.<sup>1094</sup>

When the war was over, the land distributed and the army-reform consolidated, the exceptional position of the Spartans vis-à-vis the Helots (quot servi, tot hostes) was maintained by a variety of devices. This is not the place to discuss the system as a whole in any detail, mainly because it was not (pace the Lykurgos-legend) introduced at a stroke and anyway did not reach its full

development until the sixth century.<sup>1095</sup> But the decisive structural elements were, in my view, in existence not long after 650:

(a) Social: the agōgē, a comprehensive system of education embracing old and new customs, emphasised discipline and a communal, public approach to the problems of social existence.<sup>1096</sup>

(b) Economic: Klēroi worked by helots, inalienable and held in trust from the state, enabled the Spartans to maintain themselves as citizens and full-time hoplites.<sup>1097</sup>

(c) Political: sovereignty lay technically with the assembly of warriors, but this amounted to little more than the power to settle disputes, (especially on questions of war and peace) within the governing class of kings and aristocrats.<sup>1098</sup>

(d) Ideological: among the creations of the exceptionally fertile propaganda machine those inspired by considerations of religion, or simply superstition, stand out.<sup>1099</sup>

In short, the three slogans of the French Revolution could have been (though they were not in fact)<sup>1100</sup> taken from Sparta - or rather from the idealised Sparta: the reality was starkly different.<sup>1101</sup> As Finley has neatly put it, "the Equals turned out, in the end, to be meshed in a complex of inequalities".<sup>1102</sup>

I want to conclude by considering two related facets of Sparta's internal situation on which archaeological evidence might be thought capable of shedding light: the degree of complexity or otherwise attained by the Spartan economy c.650<sup>1103</sup> and the social and juridical status of craftsmen in Spartan society. If my study has achieved nothing else, I hope it has at least demonstrated that, archaeologically, Sparta presents a picture of normal (in the overall Greek context) development throughout the period c.750-650. Indeed, in certain areas, above all bronzeworking, Lakonian craftsmen are well above average. In other words, if we had no literary evidence to the effect that austerity was a prime Spartan virtue and that trade and industry were absent or severely restricted, then we would have assumed that at least down to c.650 Sparta was in no way economically abnormal or underdeveloped. Unfortunately, the strength of the mirage is such that modern scholars cannot resist pushing the undoubted economic peculiarity of Sparta in the fifth and subsequent centuries as far back as possible.<sup>1104</sup> For example, the view of Oliva that "the danger of tyranny threatened only economically advanced cities and could not have found any real support in Sparta" seems to me to have the probabilities precisely the wrong way round.

Related to this is the question of the status of craftsmen in Sparta:

above all, were they ever Spartan citizens? An anecdote attached to Agesilaos reveals that by the early fourth century no Spartan was allowed to practise a technē.<sup>1106</sup> Half a century or so earlier, we learn from Herodotus (ii.167.2), the Spartans were the strongest proponents of the general Greek view that cheirotechnia was degrading.<sup>1107</sup> From these two pieces of information and a variety of anecdotes indicating conscious contempt for banausic activities in Sparta many scholars have inferred that for a long time before the fifth century trade and manufacture had been in the hands of perioikoi. The literary evidence, however, is not so decisive. I agree with those who believe the attitude described by Herodotus was of relatively recent formation.<sup>1108</sup> It is also from Herodotus (vi.60) that we learn of some at first sight surprising hereditary technai practised by Spartan citizens - herald, cook, and flautist, all of particular military significance. From Plutarch and other sources we learn that a wide variety of humble, everyday articles, which would not require any great specialisation of labour, were manufactured competently at Sparta.<sup>1109</sup> In other words, so far from confirming the idealised picture of the mirage, there are pieces of literary evidence which tell against it.

The archaeological evidence is naturally harder to interpret. Miss Jeffery has most interestingly suggested that the craft of stonemason may have been on a par with the three hereditary crafts mentioned by Herodotus.<sup>1110</sup> But the only piece of evidence known to me which apparently bears directly on the question whether Spartan citizens had ever been allowed to practise a craft is a remarkable group of burials (already noticed in other connections) recently discovered in what was the village of Mesoa.<sup>1111</sup> The circumstances of the burial are obscure, but the rites were elaborate. The four cist-graves (two adult males, one adult female and a child) were covered with a mound of earth retained by a low stone wall. In the earth were found the bones of a large number of animals, sacrificed and/or eaten in the funeral feast, and a fine late seventh-century terracotta relief-amphora, which had served as a grave-marker. The only grave goods were a small bone horse (amulet?) found in the female grave and a few black-glazed sherds from one of the male burials. Near the tumulus were the remains of a house-wall and - the point of the whole story - a potter's kiln. Speculation about the cause of death and circumstances of burial is unprofitable, but the obvious inference from the location of the graves is that the occupants were citizens, who had owned or, as I believe, operated the kiln. If I am correct in believing that Spartan citizens were allowed to practice (or at least be directly involved in) a technē down to c.600, then I would put the ban cited in the Agesilaos anecdote sometime in the fifth century, probably after the Persian Wars,<sup>1112</sup> and link

it to the oliganthropia which had repercussions on so many aspects of Spartan life.<sup>1113</sup> Fittingly, therefore, our study ends with another example which reminds us that, despite the Lykurgos-legend, Sparta was no less subject than other states to the processes of change.

## APPENDIX 1

COMMUNICATIONS (ILL.I.2)

The configuration and morphology of south-eastern Peloponnese made of Lakonia a compact, almost self-contained unit that was hard to penetrate from the outside.<sup>1</sup> Yet by an odd paradox it was of the utmost importance to the Spartans of the historical period to be able to communicate freely outside Lakonia, especially with Messenia. For here lay one of the principal sources of their wealth and chief causes of their problems: the fertile alluvial plains farmed for them by the potentially rebellious Helots; the Spartan citizen required the produce of his land to be brought swiftly to Sparta when harvested, for his citizenship was in part conditional on his ability to contribute to the common table. In the same measure it was strategically and economically important for the Spartans to be able to communicate freely within Lakonia, in particular with the frontier-land of Kynouria, which was coveted by Argos, and the Helos plain. Nor must the importance of communications between Sparta and her perioikic dependencies be overlooked, for each depended on the other for the satisfaction of needs which they either could not or would not satisfy themselves. To strategic and material considerations must be added those of commerce and religion, which could of course be combined on many routes designed to serve the needs of both God and Mammon.<sup>2</sup>

It may be true that in classical times mainland centres in Greece as a whole were linked by sea; but inland sites like Sparta (and, for example, Thebes, Mantinea and Messene), which were heavily populated, must have owed their existence and certainly their prosperity to overland communication.<sup>3</sup> Herodotus (vi.57.4) tells us that it was the task of the Spartan Kings to "give judgement in all matters concerning public highways", but he does not specify what kind of judgement this involved nor whether the highways in question were those within or near Sparta or in Lakonia generally. We have little evidence for the quality of roads in ancient Greece, but this suggests, what we would in any case have suspected, that they were with few exceptions<sup>4</sup> "hardly more than footpaths or bridlepaths, mostly hardly suitable for pack-animals".<sup>5</sup> Carriages were not much used, although carts<sup>6</sup> were employed, roads or trackways permitting, for the transport of grain, marble, military supplies and the like.

A. Sparta-Belminatis:<sup>7</sup> the most convenient route linking Sparta with central Peloponnese followed the Eurotas furrow north-westwards as far as the small plain at the foot of Mt. Khelmos. Here it split into two and continued either to the plain of Asea or the Megalopolis basin. This route was used by Spartan armies and was probably that by which the Dorians entered Lakonia. Only once did an enemy succeed in forcing this passage.<sup>8</sup>

B. Sparta-Tegea and the Thyreatis:<sup>9</sup> a route bypassing Sellasia led through the Klissoura pass and the bed of the Sarandapotamos to Tegea; it was used by Epameinondas in 370/69 B.C.<sup>10</sup> At the old Khan of Krevata<sup>11</sup> it meets up with the routes which lead to the villages of north Parnon and the Thyreatis.<sup>12</sup> Since drinking-water is not available in the Klissoura, the muletrack via Arakhova (now Karyai) was sometimes preferred for journeying to Tegea. Yet another route to Tegea - up the Eurotas valley - was taken by King Agis in 418 B.C. Although this is longer and Agis was in a great hurry, it is also less steep and more suitable for an army accompanied by wagons.<sup>13</sup> The route to Thyreatis from Arakhova leads via Ay. Petros, Xirokabi and Ay. Ioannis to Astros.<sup>14</sup>

C. Routes over Parnon

i. Vamvakou - Kastanitsa - Ay. Andreas:<sup>15</sup> the Kastanitsa pass is 1521 metres above sea-level; Philippson thought it one of the worst routes he had travelled, the scorching sun merely compounding the difficulties of the terrain.

ii. Agriani - Platanaki Pass (1416 m.) - Palaiokhori - Leonidhion:<sup>16</sup> Philippson saw traces of ancient wagon-ruts between Chrysapha and Agriani. Another ancient route runs by Palaiokhori to Kosmas and Geraki.<sup>17</sup>

iii. Chrysapha - Kosmas - Leonidhion:<sup>18</sup> Kosmas is 1346 m. above sea-level. The pass was guarded by a fort in our period.

iv. Geraki - Apidia - Monemvasia:<sup>19</sup> this ancient muletrack, now followed by the bus, skirts the south-western edge of Parnon. Philippson noted ancient wheel-ruts between Goritsa and Geraki.

D. Sparta - Amyklai:<sup>20</sup> this route, known as the Hyakinthian Way (Athenaios iv.173F), followed the right bank of the Eurotas, crossed the river Knakiōn(?) between Psychiko and Kalogonia and continued via Riviotissa to Amyklai. From here it ran on a short distance south to Vaphio.

E. Sparta - Helos plain:<sup>21</sup> a little south of Vaphio the road divides, the left fork continuing along the Eurotas to Mt. Lykovouni, crossing the Eurotas by the ruined settlement of Vasilo-Perama and thence following the left bank to the coastal plain. There is another fork in the vicinity of Tsasi: one branch goes eastwards to Vlakhioti, Priniko and Helos, the other southwestwards to Skala, Trinasos and Gythion. Below Vron dama the route can be followed in sections for practically the whole distance between Grammoussa and Tsasi.

F. Helos - Malea peninsula:<sup>22</sup> from Helos (region of Vezani) the road continues to Molai and thence either through the pass of Mt. Kourkoula to Monemvasia or via Asopos (modern Plytra) to Boiai (modern Neapolis).

G. Sparta - Gythion<sup>23</sup>

i. The direct route follows that from Sparta to the Helos plain (E above) as far as the fork below Vaphio, where the Gythion road branches right, through the Levetsova (now Krokeai) depression and past Trinasos.

ii. An alternative route,<sup>24</sup> useful in the summer heat and less open to ambush, forks westwards at the church of Ayios Nikolaos in Sparta to Ay. Ioannis and then skirts the foot of Taygetos via Bryseiai, the Eleusinion and Xirokabi. The polygonal bridge at Xirokabi, which probably replaced an earlier wooden structure in the Hellenistic or Roman period, will have carried this highway.

H. Routes over Taygetos<sup>25</sup>

i. To Aigyti s:

(a)<sup>26</sup> at Kastania (474m.) there is an abrupt, 3-4 km. wide breach in the eastern limestone chain; from here the pass climbs to Georgitsi (974m.), crosses the broad ridge of mica-schist north of Malevos to Neochori and Dyr rhachi, finally entering Aigyti s. An easy route leads from Dyr rhachi to Akovos and northwards to Turkoleka, where to the west a gorge leads into the northern Messenian plain - the gorge used, in all probability, by the Spartans to invade Messenia.

(b)<sup>27</sup> a route which obviates the problem of crossing Taygetos involves going considerably further north to the headwaters of the Eurotas and following the Leondari defile, until it reaches the Derveni pass leading from Arkadia into Messenia. Some writers believe this would have been the usual route into Messenia, at least for an army with wagons; it would join the more direct and southerly route at the fort of Gardiki (possibly ancient

Ampheia (Paus.iv.5.9: but see III.n.989).

(c) Valmin<sup>28</sup> describes a third route from Dyrrhachi to Poliani<sup>29</sup> and Ayios Floros,<sup>30</sup> which lies at the eastern edge of the Pamisos valley.

ii. To Dentheliatis:

(a) the quickest route today - the Langada pass<sup>31</sup> - was probably not in regular use in antiquity and was in any case impassable in winter. The traveller from Sparta may have cut back south-west from Kastania to Alagonia to join the modern route via Ladha and Chanaki to Kalamata, but it is more likely that he would have gone south.

(b) Mistra/Anavryti - Giannitsa:<sup>32</sup> the torrent bed above Mistra leads to the pass via Portes above Tikli east of Giannitsa, where wheel-ruts have been discovered. Traces of an ancient road lead up from the Spartan plain to another possible point of entry into the pass, Anavryti, whence Giannitsa can be reached via Bergandeïka, or Kambos via Pehhadia and Brinda; the former is the simpler route.

(c) Xirokabi/Gorani - Kardamyle:<sup>33</sup> perhaps worse than the Langada, this passage too is unusable in winter. The route (once much used by villagers from south of Sparta, despite the lack of drinking water) leads from Arkines, which is accessible from either Xirokabi or Gorani, over the 1500m. high col between Proph. Elias (2407m.) and Anina.

I. Aigytiis - Dentheliatis:<sup>34</sup> in Mycenaean times at any rate and almost certainly later, a main highway must have led from central Peloponnese, through the Leondari pass and past the site of classical Thouria, along the eastern side of the Pamisos valley to Kalamata.

J. Kalamata - Oitylos:<sup>35</sup> although the connection between Oitylos and Gythion has always been comparatively straightforward, along the 246m. high pass now followed by the main road to Areopolis, Bölte doubted whether there had been much, if any, communication in antiquity along the coast between the important settlements of Kalamata (ancient Pherai) and Oitylos. But wheel-tracks have been found between Thalamai and Platsa, near Leuktro and north of Kardamyle. These are perhaps an argument in favour of the prior existence of an ancient road, which cannot in any case have been much inferior to its modern counterpart! However, "the ruined coastal mule-track which looks like an ancient road was built only in the early nineteenth century by the Mavromichalis family".<sup>36</sup>

## APPENDIX II

USEFUL ROCKS AND MINERALS

The purpose of this note is to catalogue the proveniences of those resources which may be considered to lie within, rather than above, the soil of Lakonia and to indicate, where possible, whether the Spartans made use of them in our period.

A. Marbles<sup>1</sup>

## 1. Vamvakou

A short distance south of Vamvakou a white marble of rather poor quality is found.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. Vresthena

Up valley from here, in northern Lakonia, are two large ancient quarries with cuttings up to 20m. deep. The marble is coarse-grained, blue-grey in colour and was used in Sparta from the Archaic period onwards for both buildings and sculpture.<sup>3</sup>

## 3. Doliana

There are extensive quarries about half an hour NW of here. In its uppermost surface the marble resembles Pentelic, but for the most part it is not white but blue-grey and not very translucent. The stone was used in Tegea, Mantinea (buildings), Bassai and Olympia (temples), but probably not, so far as we can tell,<sup>4</sup> in Sparta, although Doliana lay close to Spartan territory.<sup>5</sup> The explanation for this perhaps lies in the difficulties of land-transportation.<sup>6</sup>

## 4. Malevos-Ay. Petros Area

Malevos, the summit of Parnon, is a marble mountain, mostly dark-grey to black in colour, but with light blue-grey to white portions occurring irregularly within it. It is not known whether the few modern quarries were used in antiquity.<sup>7</sup>

## 5. Chrysapha (no.19)

Still in the Parnon region, but further south this time, there are quarries behind Chrysapha which produce a marble similar to that from Doliana. This stone appears to have been worked into sculpture in antiquity, but rarely.<sup>8</sup>

## 6. Mt. Platyvouni

Almost invariably the material for the sculpture now in the Sparta Museum was won from Taygetos on Mt. Platyvouni south of Kalyvia tis Sokhas.<sup>9</sup> The quarry is difficult of access<sup>10</sup>, but the marble obtained therefrom is white and fine-grained, much like Pentelic.

## 7. Goranoi (s.v. no.40)

A white marble of poor quality exists here.<sup>11</sup>

8. Kyprianon (no.49)<sup>12</sup>

Here on the west coast of the Lakonian gulf in South Mani the famous red marble known as antico rosso was quarried in antiquity. The quarries do not, however, appear to have been worked between the Minoan/Mycenaean period and the second century B.C.<sup>13</sup>

## 9. Marmari Bay (no.50A)

In the last century multicoloured marble was being quarried north of here (ancient Achilleios Limēn).<sup>14</sup>

## 10. Tainaron Promontory

Although black marble has been found here, the ancient quarries, whose existence we should infer from Pliny (NH xxxvi.135, 168), have yet to be located.<sup>15</sup> Marble used to be shipped from Porto tōn Asōmatōn.<sup>16</sup>

## 11. Thalamai, Leuktra, Kardamyle (nos.54, 56, 57)

In antiquity limestone was obtained from these sites (respectively ancient Thalamai, Leuktra and Kardamyle) on the west foreland of Taygetos, probably during our period.<sup>17</sup> Limestone is so common throughout Lakonia that it must have been in regular use, especially as building-material, at all times. For the most part it takes the form of Tripolis limestone, but carvings in a softer limestone, presumably local, have been found at Sparta.<sup>18</sup>

## 12. Krokeai (no.15)

At Alai Bey (ancient Krokeai) are situated the famous Lapis Lacedaemonius (green porphyry) quarries. They were not, so far as we know, used during our period, but the stone, like antico rosso, was worked both before and after it.<sup>19</sup>

## 13. Gythion

At the foot of Mt. Koumaro (ancient Larysion) an enigmatic prohibition is inscribed on the living rock. It has been interpreted both as a secular and as a religious document, the dispute arising from the obscurity of the crucial verb. If it is correctly translated as "to quarry", and the lettering is rightly assigned to the fifth century B.C.<sup>20</sup>, then this is a most interesting document forbidding anyone, whether slave or free, to quarry here, on pain of death. Was this merely an ancient equivalent of "Trespassers will be prosecuted" or an act of state?

## B. Iron

Lakonian iron, which is of the soft, non-chromium type,<sup>21</sup> is widely distributed throughout the territory, but is restricted to land which was settled by the *perioikoi*. It is, therefore, a matter of the first importance to determine the initial date of iron-working in Lakonia.<sup>22</sup>

Iron rings found in Mycenaean contexts at Vaphio and Melathria have been considered, no doubt correctly, to be imports, probably from Anatolia.<sup>23</sup> For the historical period it has been inferred from Herodotus (i.68) that ironworking in Lakonia cannot have begun before the fifth century B.C.<sup>24</sup> This would be remarkable, if true, but a priori considerations (scientific analysis does not seem to be applicable) make it extremely doubtful. Any Greek state to whom the maintenance of first-rate offensive weapons was as important as it was to Sparta might be expected to be watching for ways of ensuring a constant supply of the crucial iron. If iron actually occurred naturally within the territory of that state, then we should expect it to have made the earliest possible use of it. After allowance is made for the need to have grasped the required technological principles, it seems reasonable for iron-working to have begun in possibly backward<sup>25</sup> Lakonia by the sixth century at the latest.

### 1. Kollinae

Micaceous iron ore, a form of haematite, has been found here in Skiritis, but there is no trace of ancient workings.<sup>26</sup>

### 2. Parnon

Veins of micaceous iron ore commonly occur in the schists, but they are described as unimportant.<sup>27</sup>

### 3. Chrysapha (no.19)

Iron slag has been reported from the hill Palaikastro, 2.5km. south of Chrysapha.<sup>28</sup>

### 4. Neapolis (ancient Boiai, no.103)

Philippon has suggested that ore was extracted in antiquity east of Gardia Kulendiani, where it occurs in fairly massive veins (up to 20cm. thick) at the point of contact between the limestone and the mica-schist.<sup>29</sup> An unsuccessful attempt to reopen the workings was made in the last century.<sup>30</sup>

Fragments of both ore and slag have been found 10 minutes west of the ruins of ancient Boiai and on a spur about 1 km. to the north.

### 5. Lakhi

Again, micaceous iron ore occurs here 2km. south-east of Boiai.<sup>31</sup>

6. Vithoulas (Kythera) (no.107)

Iron slag of the same type as that found at Neapolis has come to light at Vithoulas. The connection between the ports of Neapolis and Ay. Pelayia must always have been close.<sup>32</sup>

7. Porto Kayio (no.50A)

West of here in the southern tip of the Tainaron peninsula Curtius found iron ore and evidence (presumably slag) of ancient working.<sup>33</sup>

C. Lead<sup>34</sup>

A huge quantity of lead figurines, dating from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods, has been found in various parts of Lakonia<sup>35</sup> and elsewhere in Peloponnese;<sup>36</sup> over 100,000 came from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta alone. In Greece as a whole lead is scarce, but such a large amount seems to indicate a ready supply within Lakonia, for lead figurines were clearly relatively inexpensive votive offerings.<sup>37</sup>

1. Synarhevmá

At this site east of Kardamyle (no.57) Davies saw what seemed to him to be an old opencast and shaft to the south, and to the north what may have been an opencast with caves running off it.<sup>38</sup>

2. Arakhova

Davies thought that the crucibles and slag which he found here, south of Synarhevmá, were probably connected with lead-working.<sup>39</sup>

3. Mavriki

Philippon mentions the existence of lead ore (galena?) near the Sarandapotamos west of Doliana, but he does not say whether there was any evidence of its having been worked.<sup>40</sup>

4. Bala

Philippon again merely records the occurrence of lead ore here south of Turkoleka (in ancient Aigyti).<sup>41</sup>

D. Copper

Davies makes a tantalising reference in passing to the "known" location of copper ore at Alagonia, which is situated at the western end of the Langada Pass over Taygetos, but he does not name the source of his information.<sup>42</sup>

E. Dolomite<sup>47</sup>

This occurs in several places in Lakonia, but a variety which probably has quartz inclusions is obtained from the summit of Taygetos and used for hones.<sup>44</sup>

F. Plastic Clay

**Potters'** clay is the product of the weathering of crystalline rocks; its colour depends on the amount of iron oxide accumulated in the limestone soils.<sup>45</sup> Traces of ancient potteries were discovered by members of the British School (BSA xiii.6, pl.1 (L.18,19)) in the south-east of Sparta, where clay for pots and tiles was still being dug at that time.<sup>46</sup>

## APPENDIX III

EARTHQUAKES

As Strabo (viii, p.367) correctly remarked, Lakonia is prone to seismic activity;<sup>1</sup> it lies within a belt of earthquake disturbance that runs across Southern Europe.<sup>2</sup> The central subsidence zone of Peloponnese begins in the Megalopolis basin, continues southwards down the Eurotas furrow and runs out into the Lakonian gulf. The base of Taygetos on the east is marked by a fault which defines the edge of the furrow. Chasms caused by earthquakes are common in Lakonia; one served as the equivalent of a prison for the Spartans.<sup>3</sup> Seismic activity is not, however, confined to the central furrow: we have already noted evidence of upheavals in the Malea peninsula, but, since records have been kept, the Mani has suggested greater damage even than this; and Kythera too is liable to particularly lively earthquakes.<sup>4</sup>

Within our period there is evidence for a disastrous earthquake which affected Sparta itself. According to Cicero (De Div. i.112), it was predicted by Anaximander,<sup>5</sup> the Milesian natural philosopher who died soon after 547 B.C.<sup>6</sup> He urged the Spartans to sleep out of doors under arms - rightly, as it turned out, because the whole settlement collapsed and a large chunk of Taygetos was torn away.<sup>7</sup> If the tradition is correct and not merely a fanciful doublet of the earthquake which shook Sparta in c.465 B.C.<sup>8</sup>, then there may even be a connection between the earlier earthquake and the alteration in Spartan foreign policy about 550 B.C.<sup>9</sup>

Even if such a direct political connection is denied, it does seem certain that the situation of Sparta in a seismic zone affected the nature of their religious beliefs and practices. Poseidon Asphalios<sup>10</sup> and Poseidon Domatites<sup>11</sup> were worshipped in Sparta, and Poseidon Gaiachos<sup>12</sup> near Therapne, in the time of Pausanias. For a god who was primarily associated with the sea, these epithets are peculiarly revealing. Their explanation must lie in the fact that in Sparta, and elsewhere in Lakonia,<sup>13</sup> Poseidon was believed to be responsible for earthquakes:<sup>14</sup> he certainly took the rap for the disaster in 465 B.C.<sup>15</sup> The epithet Asphalios is especially interesting; Macrobius (Sat. i.17.22) is probably right to interpret it to mean terram stabiliens, for it is a first principle of primitive magic that he who causes harm can alone heal it.<sup>16</sup>

Destruction by earthquake was of course not a constant threat to Sparta, for of the c.100,000 to 1,000,000 shocks which occur each year throughout the world only a hundred or so cause damage. But tremors are not infrequent and it is sufficient to support our point if the Spartans believed they lived in the shadow of danger from this quarter. There is considerable evidence that the Spartans were a superstitious people, disposed to believe in portents and the like,<sup>17</sup> and a nagging fear of earthquakes may well have reinforced their feelings of nervousness and insecurity. Seismic activity, I suggest, is a relevant factor in an appraisal of Spartan society and history.<sup>18</sup>

## APPENDIX IV

THE SOILS OF LAKONIA<sup>1</sup>

It is outside my competence to delve at all deeply into the finer points of pedology,<sup>2</sup> but the relationship between soil and civilisation is palpable and well-known.<sup>3</sup> The purpose of this Appendix is to present a few general remarks about Greek soil, its formation and conservation (or lack of it), and to relate these remarks to the history of Lakonia.

Greece is a dry land, i.e. one where loss of moisture through evaporation and transpiration exceeds the inputs of moisture into the soil:<sup>4</sup> the main consequences are that plant-life cannot be abundant and the chemical decomposition of rocks is a slow process. Furthermore, owing to the absence of intense cold of sufficient duration, the mechanical disintegration of the strata is comparably retarded.<sup>5</sup> Soil-accumulation is, therefore, very gradual, the plant-cover very thin, and the Greek farmer runs the constant risk of exhausting the fertility of his soil (such as it is) by overworking it.<sup>6</sup> To counteract loss of soil from wind- or water-erosion he must actively seek to promote vegetation, especially tree-growth, and/or so lay out his land - by terracing it, for example - that erosion has the minimum deleterious effect.<sup>7</sup> Today, despite its predominant mountain relief Greece has a relatively low density of forest-cover.<sup>8</sup> We must ask, therefore, at what point in time the thinning of vegetation (especially forest) began to have its inevitable effect - inevitable, because, once the cover is thinned, erosion tends to increase, and when erosion begins to eat away the cultivable soil the farmer fights back by reclaiming forest-land for agriculture; thus the cover is thinned still further, and so the cycle continues.<sup>9</sup>

Our most explicit evidence for the progress of denudation and soil-impoverishment relates to SE Attika in the fourth century B.C., though it can hardly of course be called "scientific" evidence.<sup>10</sup> As for Lakonia, we know that Pausanias in c. 150 A.D. found north Parnon (iii.10.6)<sup>11</sup> and east Taygetos (iii.20.4)<sup>12</sup> more heavily wooded than they are today.<sup>13</sup> A number of explanations for the present low forestation has been proposed, above all climatic change<sup>14</sup> and human carelessness (both Greek and Turkish).<sup>15</sup> Alternatively, it has been argued that the higher density of forestation in antiquity was due to the less intense pressure of population and (more cogently, in my view) different patterns of land-use.<sup>16</sup> The truth probably lies in a combination of these suggested factors, but it is important not to exaggerate the gap between ancient and modern conditions - a gap which appears to be negligible for our present purposes.

The somewhat dismal picture we have painted of Greece as a whole has its brighter aspects. The two relatively fertile alluvial plains of Lakonia have always marked the region out as prosperous (e.g. Euripides fr. 1083 Nauck), and by a happy chance (Polybius' tyche perhaps) another fertile area is the central riverine valley of Messenia (Tyrtaios fr. 5.3), which the Spartans were quick to seize for their own uses.<sup>17</sup> Thus under normal conditions the Spartans should not have been troubled by a dearth of fertile soil.<sup>18</sup> But it was quite otherwise with the *perioikoi*, who as a result of an unfair division farmed generally more marginal land whose quality far more nearly approximated to the Greek norm.<sup>19</sup> Land of this type, in the Greek climate, makes mere subsistence often a matter of continuous struggle (Herodotus vii.102.1), and any increase in population encourages emigration.<sup>20</sup>

## APPENDIX V

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (see end for key to abbreviations and symbols)

I. SPARTAN PLAIN	LHIII	LHIII B	LHIII C	PG	G	ARCHAIC	CLASSICAL
1. <u>Classical Sparta</u>		?Se		+Sa	*Sa	*Sa, T	*Sa
2. <u>Kalogonia</u>						+Sa	
3. <u>Megalopolis Road</u>						*Sa	*Sa
4. Ancient Thornax						?Sa	?Se
5. <u>Ancient Therapne and the Menelaion</u>		*Se	?T(?)		*Sa	*Sa, ?T	*Sa, Se
6. <u>Melathria (Skoura)</u>		*T					
7. <u>Palaiopyrgi and Vaphio</u>		*Se					
8. <u>Amyklai</u>		*Sa	*Sa	*Sa	*Sa	*Sa	*Sa
9. Ayios Vasilios		+Se				+Sa	+Sa(?)
10. Arkasades and Xirokabi							?(?)
11. Anoyia and the Lapithaion						+Sa(?)	+Sa(?)
12. <u>The Eleusinion</u>						?Sa	*Sa
13. Ancient Alesiai							+Se(?)
14. Kouphovouno		+Se					
<hr/>							
II. E. VARDHOUNIA							
15. Ancient Krokeai		+T	+T				*Se
16. Lagio	+Se						
17. Paizoulia		+Se					*Se
18. Ancient Trinasos							?Se
<hr/>							
III. W. PARNON AND LR. EUROTAS VALLEY							
19. Chrysapha						?Sa(?), T(?)	+Se
20. Laina (Goritsa)		+Se					
21. <u>Ancient Geronthrai</u>	*Se		?Sa(?)			?T(?), Sa(?), +T, Se	
22. Ancient Selinous(?)							+Se
23. Vrondama		?Se					*Se

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	LHIII	LHIII B	LHIII C	PG	G	ARCHAIC	CLASSICAL
24. Gouves						?T	*Se
25. Apidia		+Se	+Se	?Se			(+Se)
26. <u>Ayios Ioannis</u>							+Sa

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## IV. HELOS PLAIN

27. Tsasi		*T					+Se
28. Ayios Nikolaos (Skala)		+(?)					
29. Ayios Ioannis	+(?)						?Se(?)
30. Xeronisi		+Se(?)	?Se(?)				
31. Panayiotis (Lekas)		*Se					+Se
32. Lekas (South)		+Se					
33. <u>Ayios Stephanos</u>		*Se, T	+Se, T				+Se
34. <u>Karaousi (Asteri)</u>		+Se	?Se	?Se	?Se		+Se
35. Dragatsoula (Asteri)	+Se						
36. Site north of Karaousi		+Se					+Se
37. Vlaxhioti Area	+Se						+Se
38. Ancient Helos							*Se

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## V. W.VARDHOUNIA

39. <u>Anthochorion</u>		+Se(?)	?Se(?)	?Sa(?)	+Sa	+Sa	+Sa
40. <u>Arkines</u>	+Se, T						?Sa(?)
41. Strotsa						?Sa(?)	
42. Ancient Aigiiai						+Sa	+Se
43. <u>Ancient Gythion</u>						+Sa, Se	*Se
44. Ancient Kranaë		+Se	?Se				
45. <u>Mavrovouni</u>		*Se, T	?T	+T			
46. Ancient Las						+Sa(?)	*Se
47. Dikhova						+Sa	

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## VI. SOUTH MANI

48. Ancient Teuthrone							+Se
49. Kyprianon							+Se

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	LHIII	LHIII B	LHIII C	PG	G	ARCHAIC	CLASSICAL
50. Ancient Tainaron							+Se, Sa
51. Ancient Hippola					?Se	*Se	+Se
52. Ancient Messe/Messa	?Se						
53. Ancient Oitylos							*Se, ?Sa

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## VII. NW MANI

54. <u>Ancient Thalamai</u>	?Se	?Se	?Se		?Sa	*Sa	+Se
55. Ancient Pephnos	?Se						
56. Ancient Leuktra	+Se						+Se
57. Ancient Kardamyle		+Se	+Se			+Se, Sa	*Se
58. Zarnata ( <u>Kambos</u> )		?T					+Se
59. Pegadhia		?Se		??Se			
60. Ancient Abia							+Se
61. Kastraki (Verga)	?Se						+Se
62. Ancient Pherai		*Se			+Se, T	+Se	*Se
63. Giannitsa							?Se
64. Sola (Perivolakia)	+Se						
65. Nedon Valley						+Sa, Se(?)	
66. Volimnos				+Sa(?)	+Sa	+Sa	+Sa

---

VIII. N LAKONIA AND  
THYREATIS

67. <u>Ancient Sellasia</u>						+Sa	*Se, Sa
68. Ancient Oinous							+Se
69. <u>Ancient Pellana</u>		+T	+T				+Se
70. Ancient Belmina	+Se					+Sa(?)	+Se
71. Ancient Oion							*Se
72. <u>Analipsis (Vourvoura)</u>		+Se, T			*Se, T(?)	*Sa	*Se, Sa
73. <u>The Hermai</u>						*Sa(?)	
74. <u>Ayios Petros</u>							+Se
75. Xirokabi							+Se
76. Helleniko					?Se(?)		
77. Meligou						+Sa(?)	
78. Astros				??T			+Se

	LHIII	LHIII B	LHIII C	PG	G	ARCHAIC	CLASSICAL
79. Chersonisi	+Se				+Se	+Se	
80. Ayios Andreas							?Se
<hr/>							
IX. KYNOURIA							
81. <u>Ancient Tyros</u>						*Sa	*Sa
82. <u>Kotroni (Vaskina)</u>		+T					
83. Ancient Prasiai	+Se					*T(?)	+Se
84. Lymbiada	+Se						*Se
85. <u>Palaiokhori</u>		*Se, T					
86. <u>Kosmas</u>						*Se, Sa	*Se, Sa
87. Ancient Marios							+Se
88. Ancient Kyphanta							+Se
89. Ancient Zarax							?Se
<hr/>							
X. MALEA PENINSULA							
90. <u>Ancient Epidauros</u> <u>Limera</u>	+Se	*T	*T			+Se	+Se
91. Ayios Ioannis	+Se						
92. <u>Angelona</u>	?Se					*Sa	*Sa
93. Anemomylo	+Se						
94. Gangania		+Se					
95. Ancient Koryphasion(?)							+Se
96. Ancient Akriai							+Se
97. Ancient Biandina(?)	+Se						*Se
98. Ancient Asopos	+Se						+Se
99. <u>Hyperteleton</u>				?(?)	?(?)	*Sa	*Sa
100. Pappagenies Daphni							+Se(?)
101. Ancient Kotyrta		*Se, T		+T(?)		+T(?)	+Sa(?), Se
102. Stena		+Se					
103. Ancient Boiai		+Se, T				+Sa(?)	*Se, T
104. Vatika Plain	?T					+Se(?)	+Se

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	LHIII	LHIIIB	LHIIIÇ	PG	G	ARCHAIC	CLASSICAL
XI. ELAPHONISOS, KYTHERA AND ANTIKYTHERA							
105. <u>Pavlopetri</u>		*Se					?Se
106. Elaphonisos	+Se(?)						
107. Kythera							
<u>Kastri-Palaiopolis</u>		+Se			+Se	+Se, Sa, T(?)	+Se
Vithoulas	+Se						+Se, T
Ay. Demetrios	+Se						+Se
Elleniko							*Se
Gonies						?T(?)	+Se
<u>Lioni</u>	+T						
108. Antikythera							*Se

---

SYMBOLS:       ? = Inconclusive Evidence  
                   + = Definite but limited Evidence  
                   \* = Abundant Evidence

ABBREVIATIONS: Se = Settlement  
                   Sa = Sanctuary  
                   T = Tomb

EXCAVATED SITES underlined       (?) = Site of unknown nature

## APPENDIX VI

TRAYS IN THE SPARTA MUSEUM WITH PG, LG, TRANS. & PC

(F) = FIGS.

<u>SITE</u>	<u>TRAY NO.</u>	<u>LABELS OR OTHER DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>CONTENTS</u>
A. ORTHIA	2348(F)	1. Orthia G immediately above ) the καλτερίμι (sic) ) 2. Arena pavement 1909 ) 3. Arena E of Altar below ) pavement ) 4. (unintelligible apart from ) date:10/5/24) )	PG, LG, TRANS., PC
	2349(F)	Geometric Pottery select. 1907 ) AO Temple and arena )	PG, LG, TRANS., LAK. I (?), PC
	2350	Orthia Γεωμετρικά(sic)1909	PG, LG, TRANS.
	2351	Orthia Geometric 1909	PG, LG, TRANS.
	2352	Orthia Geometric	PG(1), LG(?), TRANS.
	2353(F)	Temple and Arena select. G	PG, LG, TRANS.
	2354	Below καλτερίμι 1909	PG, LG, TRANS.
	2355(F)	Select Orientalising Pottery ) AO 1907 Style B Temple and ) Arena )	LG(?), TRANS., LAK. I-III, PC
	2356	AO Geometric	PG, LG, TRANS.
	2357(F)	Arena Pavement 1909	PG, LG
	2358	Early Below Sand G	PG, LG, TRANS., PC
	2359	1. Outside wall east of altar ) 2. Under Altar north )	PG(1), LG
	2360(F)	1. Geometric Pottery A 1906 ) 2. Below Arena pavement east ) of altar )	PG, LG, TRANS., PC
	2366	Early Below Sand 1908	TRANS., PC
	2402(F)	Latest Below Sand SubG G PC	LG, TRANS., PC
	2409(F)	1. Arena East of Altar 194.38 ) and above lowest layer ) 2. Archaic Altar below pave- ) ment below... ) 3. Arena west of Altar 194.54.) 136 North End ) 4. Below Altar South )	LG, TRANS. PG, LG PG, LG, TRANS. LG
	2411(F)	Temple and Arena SubG	TRANS., PC

<u>SITE</u>	<u>TRAY NO.</u>	<u>LABELS OR OTHER DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>CONTENTS</u>
	2465	Orthia 1910 (Heroon?)	LG,TRANS.,HELLEN.
	3036	1. May 1928 Centre below Cobbles ) 2. Orthia 5/5/28 West lowest ) level below cobbles and in ) cobbles )	PG(?),LG PG,LG,PC
	3037(F)	5/5/28 East end mostly in cobbles	PG(1),LG,TRANS.
	3038	Orthia	LG,TRANS.
B.AKROPOLIS	2448	Chalkioikos 1909	PG,LG,TRANS.,PC
	2453(F)	Chalkioikos May 7 - June 10, 1908	PG,LG,TRANS.
	2455	Chalkioikos 1908	PG,LG,TRANS.
	2457(F)	Geometric Above and Below Temenos Wall with Slip	LG,TRANS.
	2458	Geometric Slipless Above and	PG(?),LG,TRANS.
	2459	(1908?) Below Temenos Wall	PG(?),LG,TRANS.
	2460	(1908?)	PG(?),LG,TRANS(?)
	2461	Chalkioikos 1908	PG,LG,PC
	2462	Chalkioikos Geometric	PG,LG(?),TRANS., PC
	2932	(not identified)	PC,CORINTHIAN
	2943	1924 No Slip	LG
	2944	1924 No Slip	PG,LG,TRANS.
	2945	1924 Slip	LG,TRANS.
	2946(F)	1925 No Slip	PG,LG,TRANS.
	2947	1926 No Slip	PG,LG
	2948	1926	PG(?),LG
	2949	1926 Slip	PG(?),LG,TRANS.
	2950	1925 Slip	LG
	2951(F)	1926 Slip	LG,TRANS.
	2952	1926 Slip	PG(?),LG,TRANS.
	2953	(not identified)	LG
	2954(F)	SubG 1924,1926-7	LG,TRANS.,LAK. I

<u>SITE</u>	<u>TRAY NO.</u>	<u>LABELS OR OTHER DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>CONTENTS</u>
	2955	1927	LG(?),LAK.II
	2956(F)	1927 Slip and No Slip Red Paint	LG,TRANS.
	2957(F)	1927 Slip and No Slip	PG,LG,TRANS.
	2958	Slip and No Slip 1927	LG
	3032	(not identified)	LG
C. MENELAION	2431	(not identified)	PG(?),LG,TRANS.,PC
	2432	(not identified)	LG,TRANS.,PC
D.HEROON	2577(F)		PG,LG
E.AGORA	2575		LG,TRANS.,HELLEN.
F.THEATRE	3066		PG,LG
G.AMYKLAION	798(F)		PG,LG
	2640(F)		PG,LG
H.ANTHOCHORION	(no number)		MYCENAEAN,PG,LG, ARCHAIC

## APPENDIX VII

IRON SPITS AND THE ORIGINS OF COINAGE

It is notorious that the Spartan state did not mint coins until the early third century B.C., about 300 years (see below) after the practice began to become regular in Greek lands.<sup>1</sup> It is also well-known that iron in some shape or form played an important monetary role in Sparta. Thereafter all is speculation: when did iron first come to be used as money? what form(s) did the iron so used take? why did Sparta refuse to coin silver for so long? what economic consequences, if any, did the refusal entail? and so on. At the centre of the speculation are the familiar but little understood spits (obeloi)<sup>2</sup> attested in both the literary and archaeological record: were they used as a form of pre-coinage currency? if so, why? and what were the standard weights and/or lengths, if any? what was their value in relation to the various Greek silver currencies? and so on. The problems are not peculiar to Sparta, for spits have been found, or are attested by literary sources, in other places.<sup>3</sup> But the circumstance described in the first sentence makes her a special case. The evidence rarely permits unequivocal or exact solutions, but recent research and attention to general principles (especially the avoidance of anachronism) enable us to view the problems through less distorting lenses than hitherto.

First, general principles. Living as we do in the era of global monopoly capitalism, whose highly sophisticated systems of investment, credit and exchange involve inter alia a fiduciary currency of paper or coined metal, it is easy for us to forget that in precapitalist economic formations the functions of money<sup>4</sup> can be performed adequately by a broad spectrum of artificial or natural goods besides paper and coin<sup>5</sup> and that the range of transactions calling for the use of money is in any case much narrower. We must also rid ourselves of modern notions of economic rationalism: in the ancient Greek world there was no "economy" disembedded from the total nexus of interpersonal transactions; and by the same token decisions and activities that we might label "economic" appeared to the Greeks as merely social or political.<sup>6</sup>

Now for the particular questions raised in the first paragraph. It is likely that iron first became used as money when it was still relatively precious. This suggests a terminus ante quem of c.1000 B.C., when, if Snodgrass is correct,<sup>7</sup> a shortage of bronze led to an increased reliance on iron as a utilitarian material, at least in the more advanced areas - in Sparta iron may have retained its scarcity value considerably longer. The information that spits became the preferred form of iron money may be no more

than an etymological inference, but for once modern scholarship supports the ancient.<sup>8</sup> Certainly, iron spits satisfied the conditions of a good becoming used as money (easily storable and hidden, rather undamageable)<sup>9</sup> and their use in cooking, which was always a "magical" process and never more so than in sacrifice,<sup>10</sup> may have provided an auspicious context from both the ideological and pragmatic points of view.<sup>11</sup>

Problems arise, however, when we examine the data from Sparta in particular. The literary sources are neither many nor full and their evidence, even when it is not tainted by moralising, is not always mutually consistent.<sup>12</sup> It is not often realised, I think, that only one passage (Plut., Lysander xvii.2-3) suggests that the iron used for nomismata in Sparta was in the shape of spits (here obeliskoi), while the rest simply refer to iron without further specification.<sup>13</sup> None says anything about weight or length. Archaeology, regrettably, can take us little further. In religious find-contexts it is impossible without further corroboration to determine whether the examples in question had been used for monetary or utilitarian/religious purposes or both.<sup>15</sup> The fact that the greatest number at Orthia was found with "Geometric" pottery is inconclusive: it may, for example, mean no more than that sacrifices were for some reason less frequent thereafter. Even if we suppose that they were all monetary spits, the degree of corrosion makes it impossible to establish with precision what their original weight or length was and a fortiori whether or not there was a weight or length standard. This uncertainty in turn renders it useless either to compare the standards putatively used elsewhere or to attempt to fix the ratio of iron to silver at any time or place.<sup>16</sup>

This brings us to the other half of our topic: the introduction of coined money in Greece and the presumably purposeful refusal of the Spartans to countenance the novelty. It used simply to be assumed that the reasons for the introduction were "economic" and in particular commercial. The view received some support from ancient practice, it is true, but it was largely due to conceptual anachronism. For it is now appreciated that other than narrowly economic motives had their place and were perhaps even more important. To summarise the main conclusions of recent research,<sup>17</sup> coinage (electrum at first, then silver and rarely gold) was introduced in Greece between c.625 and 575;<sup>18</sup> the invention - or adoption of a Lydian invention<sup>19</sup> - was stimulated by demands for objective standards of justice and reciprocity<sup>20</sup> and by the increasing complexity of state affairs (payment of mercenaries,<sup>21</sup> public works, fines, taxes, distribution of the revenue from mines, perhaps even compensation of expropriated owners of redistributed land);<sup>22</sup> its wide

acceptance was due not least to considerations of national prestige.<sup>23</sup>

We can see at once, therefore, why pragmatic considerations did not induce Sparta to follow the crowd. Distributive justice had in some measure been built into the social order long before the use of coinage was widely accepted. Spartan public finance was always something of a makeshift affair:<sup>24</sup> the system of personal taxation was rudimentary; harbour- and market-dues were presumably levied by perioikic middlemen at the port of trade;<sup>25</sup> public works were few and far between and executed without lavish expenditure; mercenaries were as yet unnecessary. Besides, whereas Sparta had no silver in her territory, she did possess ample deposits of iron (on perioikic land, but perhaps supervised by Spartans).<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, by the time coinage became regularly used in trade Sparta, insulated by her economic near-autarky,<sup>27</sup> was no longer interested. In either case the moralising explanations of later Lakonisers are beside the point.<sup>28</sup> Nonetheless, the initial refusal to coin is still highly significant, for it indicates that already by the joint reign of Leon and Agasikles the Spartan state had become proudly introverted.<sup>29</sup>

We should not, therefore, infer that austerity and insularity were the necessary consequences of the retention of an outmoded spit currency.<sup>30</sup> Rather, the retention was symptomatic of an already established tendency. In any case (unless we believe Plutarch's statement that the iron was deliberately rendered unusable)<sup>31</sup> the spits could have been exchanged as bullion and there was of course nothing to stop the Spartan authorities utilising coins struck by other states.<sup>32</sup> The main points, however, are that there continued to be rich and poor Spartans and that wealth continued to have its uses in Sparta.<sup>33</sup> In short, chrēmata and keimēlion<sup>34</sup> mattered more than nomismata, regardless of the fascination the latter might hold for the venal - and usually already wealthy - Spartan abroad.<sup>35</sup>

## APPENDIX VIII

ORAL TRADITION AND SPARTAN HISTORIOGRAPHY<sup>1</sup>

The subject of this Appendix has application to Greek history as a whole, but I shall approach it from the Spartan angle. In the first section the nature of the problem and possible ways of tackling it are outlined. The second section contains an annotated bibliography, three items of which are discussed more fully in the third section. In the fourth section some answers are proposed to the questions raised in the first.

## I

When the art of writing and an alphabet were respectively re-introduced and invented in Greek lands c. 775, the new technique of communication was (it seems) mainly neglected in its entirety in Sparta and practised only selectively elsewhere. There was no great rush to transcribe in permanent form the documentary material that constitutes the stuff of history. Information about the past, no matter why it was preserved, for long continued to be handed down orally and in face-to-face contact.

Gradually, however, alongside the purely oral methods of preserving knowledge of the past, the custom developed in some poleis of consigning useful or essential records (e.g. laws) to durable stone or bronze.<sup>2</sup> Sparta, however, remained even then an essentially verbal or semi-literate society. A cursory survey of the Lakonian epigraphical evidence antedating 400 reveals at once a dearth of official state documents - or indeed of public documents of any kind - and suggests that writing was not much in vogue for private transactions either. These impressions are confirmed by the (admittedly mostly late and often tendentious) literary sources, which indicate that only senior public functionaries - kings and commanders, members of the Gerousia and the Ephorate, perhaps the Pythioi - would be called upon to perform routine acts of literacy on an everyday basis, and that these acts would not normally be enshrined in durable form. If ordinary Spartans were in fact taught as much reading and writing as was needful (Plut., Lyk.xvi.6), then clearly the needs were usually neither many nor pressing.

The reverse side of Spartan restricted literacy is the premium placed on the ability to converse in a succinct and stimulating manner, using the terse and economical form of expression immortalised as "Laconic" in their honour. We know a little about the range of conversational topics in high and low Spartan society, although again the evidence should not be pressed.

In an intentionally humorous passage in a Platonic dialogue (Hipp. Ma. 285D) we learn that the (presumably ordinary) Spartans "listen most readily to tales about the generations of heroes and men, the ancient foundations of cities, and in general to the whole range of stories about the past (archaiologia)". As for the Spartan aristocracy, here represented by its most blue-blooded members, the no doubt well-informed Xenophon (HG v.3.20) tells us that "(King) Agesipolis was well suited to share with (King) Agesilaos in conversation about youthful exploits, hunting, riding and homosexual love-affairs." Neither of these passages indicates even the potential for the development of that critical attitude to the past which characterises "history" in our sense. It is no accident that Sparta never produced a historian.

We can now pose the problem of the relationship between oral tradition and historiography, as it applies to Sparta, in the following terms: with what degree of probability can we assert that the oral traditions of the Spartans and others preserved the true facts of Spartan history? what relationship did the oral testimony bear to the accounts of early Spartan history contained in the surviving work of historians from Herodotus onwards? I do not pretend to be able to answer these questions with any precision, but I do suggest that the fieldwork of social anthropologists among illiterate and semi-literate communities is relevant - not necessarily in its particular findings, but because it has laid bare the kinds of complexities and obstacles to which those wishing to use oral evidence are prey, and above all because it proves that "oral tradition" is by no means the one-dimensional concept it is sometimes naïvely assumed to be. Too often ignorance of the nuances involved has led modern historians of Greek antiquity to produce little more than glosses on that apology for thinking, the "Greek genius".

## II

- (1) F. C. Bartlett, Remembering (1932, repr. 1964) esp. ch.15: brilliant pioneer study of the social and psychological determinants of memory, concluding that recalled content is determined by cultural experience within a group.
- (2) E. J. Bickerman, "Origines Gentium", CPhil xlvii (1952) 65-81: uses the important distinction between "learned conjecture" and "legend floating in the popular memory" to bring out the significance of the rationalisation of myth initiated by Hekataios.
- (3) R. R. Bolgar, "The training of Elites in Greek education" in R. Wilkinson, ed., Governing Elites (1969) 23-49, esp.30-5: relates the origin of formal Greek education to the rise of

- the polis and the need to provide the skills and loyalties necessary for its survival; in Sparta the original need was transcended and education became primarily directed towards inculcating and perpetuating a simple way of life.
- (4) P. S. Cohen, "Theories of Myth", Man n.s. iv (1969) 337-53: succinct summary of anthropologists' attitudes towards the meaning and functions of myth, concluding that it "anchors the present in the past"; cf. (19), (20) and (23).
  - (5) R. C. Culley, "Oral Tradition and Historicity" in J. W. Wevers - D. B. Redford, edd., Studies on the Ancient Palestinian World (1972) 102-16: briefly surveys studies of Icelandic, African, Indian, Eskimo and Anglo-Scottish oral traditions.
  - (6) E. Evans-Pritchard, "Anthropology and History" (1961) in Essays in Social Anthropology (1962) 46-65: polemic against the then prevalent inattention to the past of the peoples anthropologists studied; cf. (21).
  - (7) M. I. Finley, "Myth, Memory and History", HT iv (1965) 281-302: wide-ranging survey of attitudes to history and myth from Homer to Eratosthenes, but adding little to Grote (14).
  - (8) R. Finnegan, "Attitudes to the Study of Oral Literature in British Social Anthropology", Man n.s. iv (1969) 59-69: plea for a more broadminded approach than the "myth = charter vel sim." syndrome; cf. (18).
  - (9) \_\_\_\_\_, "A Note on Oral Tradition and Historical Evidence", HT ix (1970) 195-201: intelligent, concise summary of Vansina (28).
  - (10) J. Forsdyke, Greece before Homer: Ancient Chronology and Mythology (1957): the best account of its kind, but would have benefited from the work of Vansina et al.
  - (11) J. Goody - I. Watt, "The Consequences of Literacy", Comparative Studies in Society and History v (1962-3) 304-45, reprinted in (12) ch.1: see below.
  - (12) J. Goody, ed., "Introduction" to Literacy in Traditional Societies (1968): modifies (11) in light of (13).
  - (13) K. Gough, "Literacy in Traditional China and India" and "Literacy in Kērala" in (12) pp. 70-84, 133-60: correctly points out that (11) should have been entitled the "implications" of literacy, since literacy is an enabling not a determining factor in social organisation and is itself affected by the latter.

- (14) G. Grote, "Grecian Legends and Early Greek History" in his Minor Works (ed. A. Bain, 1873) 73-134: discussion below.
- (15) F. D. Harvey, "Literacy in the Athenian Democracy", REG lxxix (1966) 585-635: systematically examines the aspects of the democracy that depended on literacy for their efficient functioning and concludes that the majority of adult male citizens at least were literate; the contrast with Sparta is explicitly drawn (623-7).
- (16) E. A. Havelock, Preface to Plato i (1963) esp. ch.7: good on oral tradition, poor on history.
- (17) F. Jacoby, Atthis (1949): far wider in scope than the title suggests, full of incomparable erudition.
- (18) H. Jason, "A multidimensional approach to Oral Literature", Current Anthropology x (1969) 413-36: rather clumsy attempt to answer the plea of (8).
- (19) G. S. Kirk, Myth: its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and other Cultures (1970) esp. chs.1,5,6: isolates the common factor of all myths as "traditional tales" and refreshingly treats them as such.
- (20) \_\_\_\_\_, "Greek Mythology: some new perspectives", JHS xcii (1972) 74-85: essentially a summary of (19).
- (21) A. L. Kroeber, An Anthropologist Looks at History (1963) esp. 152-9: earlier, shorter version of the argument of (6).
- (22) I. M. Lewis, ed., "Introduction" to History and Social Anthropology (1968): helpful brief critique of the kind of structural-functional theory that holds that the only significant function of institutions lies in their contribution to perpetuating the status quo.
- (23) P. Maranda, ed., Mythology (Penguin, 1972) esp. "Introduction" and readings in Part 2: according to Maranda, "the life of myths consists in reorganizing traditional components in the face of new circumstances, or, correlatively, in reorganizing new, imported components in the light of tradition"; cf. (4), (11), (19), (20).
- (24) H. I. Marrou, Histoire de l'Education dans l'Antiquité<sup>6</sup> (1965): the standard work.
- (25) A. D. Momigliano, "Historiography on Written Tradition and Historiography on Oral Tradition" (1962) in SIH 211-20: summarises his view of the origins of Greek historiography and emphasises the difference between the fundamentally oral historiography of the

Greeks and our own fundamentally documentary variety.

- (26) E. Posner, Archives in the Ancient World (1972) esp. ch.3: mainly on Athens.
- (27) C. G. Starr, "La Storia Greca Arcaica: saggio sul metodò di ricostruzione," Riv. fil. xcii (1964) 5-23: adopts a Grotean stance, but wrongly believes that archaeology can replace "tradition" as a basis for reconstruction.
- (28) J. Vansina, Oral Tradition: a study in historical methodology (1961, Eng. trans. 1965, reissued with "Additional Preface" in Penguin, 1973): see below.
- (29) H. Verdin, "Notes sur les attitudes des historiens grecs à l'égard de la tradition locale", Ancient Society i (1970) 183-200: preliminary sketch of the problems in evaluating passages where ancient historians claim to be drawing on local sources.

### III

Of the 29 items listed in II I have selected for more detailed discussion the three contributions which seem to me to have been the most fruitful.

#### (i)

(14). George Grote was a banker and M.P. as well as a historian and the experience he gained outside the study was consistently applied to good effect within it.<sup>3</sup> No doubt he was a child of his times - an early Victorian liberal imbued with the then radical ideas of rationalism and progress - and this has distorted his vision of (to take the familiar example) the Athenian democracy. But living when he did gave him at least one inestimable advantage over the contemporary ancient historian: his was not yet a pre-eminently urban world characterised by mass audio-visual communications. There was no telephone before 1876, no television until 1934-8; the steam-driven machine press (first used in 1814), the railway (1825), the camera (1825) and the electric telegraph (1837) were in their infancy; literacy was still at a low level. In short Grote and his contemporaries were far closer in this vital respect to the conditions of the Greek world of c. 1000-500 (the period that most nearly concerns us) than we are today. It is easy, and fashionable, to dismiss Grote as a nineteenth-century historian and therefore outmoded: I suggest that in the present context this is the reverse of the truth.

Grote's observances of the "law respecting sufficiency of evidence" led

him to a radical restatement of the division of the Greek past into a mythical/legendary and a historical segment - a division that goes back to Eratosthenes, but which Grote modestly called "Niebuhrian".<sup>4</sup> The view Grote was attacking held that legends consist of a core of factual matter surrounded by a tissue of amplification, poetic ornament and/or sheer error. He began by discussing the socio-psychological circumstances of the "genesis of specious and plausible fiction"; he cited the common phenomena of the desire to know and unwillingness to face up to ignorance, together with the corresponding inclination to believe as true anything which accords with the prevalent religious, political or aesthetic feelings of the group.<sup>5</sup> The result of these socio-psychological leanings, he argued, is an easy acceptance of sheer fiction, an element in legends that must be rigorously distinguished by the modern scholar from either accurate or exaggerated matter of fact.<sup>6</sup> Fictitious anecdotes are "radically distinct from half-truths or mis-reported matter of fact".

Grote next discussed the ways in which information about the past was transmitted through the generations in the surviving literary evidence from Homer to Thales and asked pointedly: "With what consistency can you require that a community which either does not command the means, or has not learned the necessity, of registering the phenomena of **its** present, should possess any knowledge of the phenomena of the past?" The use of "knowledge" here reflects Grote's familiarity with the contemporary trend of German historiography: a fact is only "known" if it is "traceable to some competent and trustworthy source, and deducible by some reasonable chain of collateral evidence". In these two statements lies the burden of the whole attack. From his view of the Greeks' attitude to their past it followed that the legends constituted a "pseudo-historical past suited to the non-historical mind".

Grote then went on to consider what we would call the origins and development of historiography, isolating three processes whereby "the ancient legends, during the interval between Homer and Thucydides, came to lose that easy sway and unsuspecting assent upon which their original authors had counted". First, the rationalising away of the absurdities (as they now appeared) and inconsistencies that had mushroomed as the legends multiplied over time; secondly, the increasing sense of inconsistency between the morality of the legends and that of the real world of political change; and **thirdly**, the development of a historical consciousness demanding positive evidence and establishing criteria of verification. Yet, despite these ongoing processes, the legends were not outmoded - far from it: they contained a great deal of matter that remained contemporary and relevant,

above all in virtue of their ultimately religious nature. Critical historians, therefore, like Thucydides, were forced to attempt to distinguish the kernel from the poetical embellishments. But this, Grote argued, was an impossible task, for there was "not a tittle of evidence" available in support. Hence Grote's cautious scepticism towards "Grecian legends", although he was most emphatic that he did not wish to deny outright the existence of "fragments of historical matter of fact" therein. His point was rather that he refused to accept that there was "some assured criterion by which to verify them and detach them from the rest".<sup>7</sup>

Grote concluded by stressing the religious factor in the creation and transmission of legends. If we are to adopt a proper perspective on them, "we should place ourselves at the point of view of Greek religious faith" - a salutary warning for historians living in a secular age.<sup>8</sup>

(ii)

(11). Professor Goody is an eminent social anthropologist, whose areas of specialisation are kinship and Africa; Professor Watt is a Professor of English. It is significant - and disappointing - that they and not ancient historians made the first attempt to synthesise the results of modern anthropological, sociological and psychological research and apply them to one of the key problems of Greek history: the creation of the alphabet, its circumstances and consequences.<sup>9</sup> Since their study was a pioneering effort, it has several rough edges and the argumentation is in places simplistic and overemphatic: for example, as one critic (13) pointed out and Goody now recognises, the title of the paper is overconfident and misleading. Nonetheless, this is a fruitful framework for future investigations.<sup>10</sup>

The authors first acknowledge the role of language in the creation of human society and then set out to examine the effects on its development of the ability to communicate by the written as well as the spoken word. In particular, they aim to illustrate from the example of ancient Greece the thesis that written language may be considered the watershed between "primitive" and "intermediary" societies (in Parsonian vocabulary). In the process they construct a (Weberian) "ideal-typical" model designed to illustrate and explain the contrast between these two types of society; and they approach the problem from the standpoint of literacy.

They begin with an abstract sketch of the methods of cultural transmission in illiterate societies, where "all beliefs and values, all forms of knowledge, are communicated between individuals in face-to-face contact". The preservation of the whole content of the social tradition depends, in the absence of written records, on memory; and the processes of memory, as Bartlett (1) has

shown, are themselves conditioned by social and psychological factors outside the control of any one individual. Thus "what continues to be of social relevance is stored in the memory while the rest is usually forgotten: and language - primarily vocabulary - is the effective medium of this crucial process of social digestion and elimination which may be regarded as analogous to the homoeostatic organization of the human body by means of which it attempts to maintain its present condition of life". In other words, they are proposing a functionalist view of oral traditions that embody cultural elements as "charters" (Malinowski's term) for present social arrangements.<sup>11</sup> As an example they cite the conscious and unconscious manipulation of genealogies, which must occur "if they are to continue to carry out their function as mnemonics of social relationships".<sup>12</sup> All societies have an inbuilt tendency towards disequilibrium and change, but such change can be more easily accommodated and, as it were, defused within an oral tradition, whose "homoeostatic" quality makes it very hard for the individual to perceive the past except in terms of the present.

This argument has tremendous implications for the student of the Greek Dark Age, as is seen when the authors turn to consider the various writing-systems employed in the ancient world as a whole (Egyptian, Sumerian, Assyrian, Hittite and Chinese) before focussing their attention on Greece, where for the first time in human history a fully phonetic alphabet was developed. They stress the enormity of the advance: "the alphabet makes it possible to write easily and read unambiguously about anything which the society can talk about"; and they explain the restricted literacy of the other ancient societies in terms of their clumsy and difficult scripts. By contrast "it was in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. in the city-states of Greece and Ionia that there arose first a society which as a whole could justly be characterised as literate" - a sweeping generalisation really only supported by (15). This brings them back to their starting-point: is there a radical difference between the mental attributes of literate and illiterate peoples?

They answer in the affirmative, and as a test-case they select the attitude of literate and illiterate peoples to their past and to history. They find it significant that it was "only in the days of the first widespread alphabetic culture ... that the sense of the human past as an objective reality was formally developed, a process in which the distinction between 'myth' and 'history' took on decisive importance". The reason for the development of this process, they argue, lies in the crucial difference between the "homoeostatic" tendency of oral cultural transmission and the disequilibrating tendency of a literate culture, in which the habit of keeping

records and their very existence make the gap between the present and the past more visible and less easy to forget or ignore.<sup>13</sup>

Despite its occasional crudity and flirtation with an unhelpful form of functionalism, I find this argument stimulating theoretically. How well it stands up in practice can be better appreciated after considering (28).

(iii)

(28). Like Goody, Vansina has conducted his specialised fieldwork in Africa. The work under discussion is a synthesis that admirably answers the call of (6) and (21) for anthropologists to study the past of a people and not only its present, even in the absence of written documentation. I cannot hope in a few lines to give even an adequate impression of the wealth of detail that the book contains, so I have concentrated on what I take to be the essentials of its argument. Perhaps its most important contribution is in the direction of precision and discrimination - never again should it be possible for anyone who has read it to use the expression "oral tradition" glibly as a portmanteau for what is in reality a series of complex processes.<sup>14</sup>

In the first few pages there appears a discouraging but salutary truth: "Those writers who have discussed the value of the traditions of classical antiquity have worked with defective sources which lacked the essential features of oral tradition, for they were not transmitted to them by live informants; and there is a paucity of information, not to say complete ignorance, about the way in which they were originally transmitted". Still more discouragingly, Vansina makes a special point of stating that he has based his discussions primarily "on traditions still alive among peoples without writing, since sources of this kind preserve the essential nature of oral tradition better than traditions found in literate societies". The temptation to read no further should be resisted! In the first place, there can be no question of using his findings as a substitute for the evidence we do not possess; secondly, their chief value for the historian of classical antiquity resides in their revelation of the multidimensional complexity of the whole topic.

Vansina now (1973) defines oral traditions as "verbal testimony transmitted from one generation to the next one or a later one", preferring this formulation to "all verbal testimonies which are reported statements concerning the past".<sup>15</sup> The nature of the testimony is determined in various ways, primarily by the informant's manner of testifying and the method of transmission of the tradition as a whole. Different social institutions entail different methods, with an ensuing variety in the kinds

of relationship between the final testimony and the eyewitness account. The degree of distortion of the original testimony can be accurately measured by the historian; if the distortion is due to lapse of memory, variant versions of a tradition can be compared (provided of course the testimonies all have the same reference).<sup>16</sup> It thus emerges that "a tradition must be defined as including all the statements of an informant concerning a single determinant, which in this case consists of traditions".

Oral traditions may be classified in schemes of varying complexity. Vansina's revised typology is as follows:

A <u>Category</u>	B <u>Sub-Category</u>	C <u>Types</u>
I. Formulae		Titles Slogans Didactic Formulae Ritual Formulae
II. Poetry	Official  Private	Historical Panegyric Liturgical Religious Personal
III. Lists		Place-names Personal names
IV. Tales	Historical  Didactic Artistic Personal	General Local Family Aetiological Myths Artistic Personal memories
V. Commentaries	Legal Auxiliary Sporadic	Precedents Explanatory Occasional Comments
VI. Epic		Epic

His purpose in proposing such a typology was "to draw attention to the diversity of types which exists, and to show that each type has its own usefulness, and provides one kind of information only". It is interesting and suggestive to run through Vansina's list and see what general remarks

he makes about their relative historical reliability, attempting to illustrate each type from the ancient evidence for Sparta - interesting and suggestive, but very dangerous and potentially seriously misleading, because, as Vansina is at pains to point out (esp. in ch.4), "The whole emphasis of this study lies on the importance of the influence of culture and society on every aspect of tradition". In other words, before you start to evaluate oral traditions you must acquire some understanding of the way in which the society that has generated them works.<sup>17</sup> In all cases it will be found that the social context has engendered distortion and that a testimony can never be more than a "mirage" of reality. But this should not cause alarm, for distortions can be measured and in any case history as a whole can never be more than an approximation to the truth of what actually happened. Even a distortion is itself a fact and may be a significant fact of history.<sup>18</sup>

Vansina concludes the main body of his work by discussing the auxiliary disciplines (archaeology, cultural history, linguistics and physical anthropology) and assessing their potential contributions to the evaluation of oral traditions as historical evidence; for various reasons he finds archaeology to be the most helpful.<sup>19</sup> An informative Appendix ("In search of Oral Traditions") would have greatly benefited Herodotus and those historians, who, as Momigliano (25) points out, inherited his essential reliance on oral testimony!

#### IV

We can now attempt to answer the two questions posed in I, bearing in mind that the ancient historian is in no way comparably situated to the historian of living societies in respect of oral traditions and that the effects of the Spartan "mirage" are all-pervasive. In some crucial aspects of Spartan history and society our ignorance is and always will be total.

We can, I think, fairly assert that the "homoeostatic" effects of oral traditions will have constantly increased the gap between the content of traditional Spartan beliefs about their past and the facts of that past. The quality of our evidence notwithstanding, we are also entitled to assert that Sparta was a society characterised by restricted literacy, in which the habit of keeping documentary records was not greatly developed. Thus even after the return to literacy, with the adoption of the alphabet, there will have been no radical alteration in the means of storing and retrieving information about the past, and the answer to the first question is that it is highly improbable that the oral traditions of the Spartans preserved the

true facts of Spartan history. Therefore by the time Hekataios and Herodotus began to travel and search out traditions it was impossible for them, no matter how carefully they picked their informants or weighed the variant testimonies, to discover the truth, except by accident. The answer to our second question is that only in Herodotus is there any likelihood of any of our sources containing anything like a genuine tradition, however far removed from the truth of the matters purportedly described, and that in our other sources we cannot hope to disentangle the skeins of "learned" speculation, imaginative fancy and other distortions produced by a series of antihistorical and self-interested processes.

By way of a footnote it is perhaps worth noting that Vansina found traditions about Völkerwanderungen and traditions based on genealogies to be the least reliable of all: if there is any value in such comparative material - and cumulatively it is impressively homogeneous - then we must admit that our literary "evidence" for Dark Age Sparta (and the rest of Greek history, insofar as it is pegged chronologically to the Spartan king-lists: see Appendix IX) is suspect in the extreme. Omne ignotum pro magnifico!

## APPENDIX IX

THE SPARTAN KING-LISTS AND CHRONOLOGY<sup>1</sup>

The purposes of this Appendix are to discuss the origins and significance of the Agiad and Eurypontid lists recorded by Herodotus (vii.204; viii.131) and to illustrate briefly the cardinal role that the upper reaches of these and comparable lists appear to have played in Greek chronography.<sup>2</sup>

## I

The Spartan "constitution" of the Classical and part of the Hellenistic periods contained several notorious anomalies, two of which concern us particularly here: the continued existence of a by no means titular hereditary monarchy and the collegiate nature of that institution.<sup>3</sup> The fact of monarchy in Dark Age Sparta calls for no special comment;<sup>4</sup> its survival thereafter was due, as I have suggested in III.viii(c), to the exigencies of the Messenian War and its aftermath. But the origin of the dual kingship, by reason of its singularity and the poverty of the evidence, is and will continue to be a vexed question.<sup>5</sup> From the welter of speculation I would distinguish only two hypotheses as more than merely plausible: that the founders of the royal lines were the eponymous Agis and Eurypon (which seems guaranteed by the names of the royal houses,<sup>6</sup> by chronology<sup>7</sup> and by the blatantly propagandistic purpose of the retrojection of the lines, via the all too convenient device of twins, to Herakles<sup>8</sup>); and that succession was from the start hereditary within each genos (cf. the roughly contemporary royal settlements of the Kodridai etc. in Ionia, and - as corroboration of its feasibility - the later Battiads of Cyrene).

What then do the lists in Herodotus represent? Are they king-lists? or simply the pedigrees or genealogies of the Agiad Leonidas and the Eurypontid Latychidas (Leotychides)? The manner in which Herodotus introduces the lists suggests the latter, a view apparently confirmed both by the omission of recognised kings (Kleomenes I from the Agiads; Agasikles (Hegesikles), Ariston and Damaratos from the Eurypontids) and by the cross-reference (Hdt. ix.64.2)<sup>9</sup> to the list of Leonidas' progonoi. Yet, on the other hand, Herodotus explicitly states (viii.131.3) that "all (the listed Eurypontids) except the two named immediately after Latychidas (viz. his father and grandfather) became kings of Sparta" - which suggests he believed all Leonidas' progonoi did so too. A neat solution to the difficulty has been proposed, namely that the omission of otherwise recognised kings from both lists is due to Herodotus' adaptation of existing lists compiled in

the generation of, and ending with, the joint kings Kleomenes I and Damaratos, neither of whom was succeeded by a son.<sup>10</sup>

Granted that we have access to Spartan king-lists as early as Herodotus, what relation are they likely to bear to the true facts of Spartan history? Or, to put the same question differently, what role(s) might the king-lists have played in the formation of the Spartans' view of their past and the way in which that past was presented to outsiders who concerned themselves with Spartan history? The passage of Tyrtaios already cited (n.8) discloses that the Heraklid connection had been established by c.650 at the latest, but we shall surely not be mistaken in pushing this date back to the dissemination of the Homeric (or similar) poems in Sparta, and the foundation of the Menelaion,<sup>11</sup> if not to the time of the subjugation and/or incorporation of "Achaean" Amyklai. The assertion of the connection can then be traced downwards in an almost unbroken chain of poetical references from Kinaithon, Tyrtaios and Alkman in the seventh century, through Stesichoros and the Delphic Oracle in the sixth<sup>12</sup> to Pindar, who was the coeval of Leonidas and Latschidas.<sup>13</sup> Yet few, if any, modern scholars believe that the connection is historical, mainly because the propagandistic political intention is blatant.<sup>14</sup> In other words, the parts of the king-lists that precede Agis and Eurypon are performing the well attested function of genealogies as "charters" or "mnemonics of social relationships" in an obvious and detectable way.<sup>15</sup> But the case is quite otherwise for the names from Agis and Eurypon onwards, because here we are moving in a sea of unknowns: at what point in time, if any, after the introduction of writing were the lists committed to script at Sparta?<sup>16</sup> if and when the transmission was purely oral, how was that transmission effected?<sup>17</sup> how much circumstantial detail was passed on in association with any particular name?<sup>18</sup> And these questions demand answers far more urgently than do those connected with the predecessors of Agis and Eurypon and their presumed or postulated activities in relation to the Dorian "invasion", for they are more intimately bound up with the concrete situation in historical Lakonia and Messenia. Answers can be, and naturally have been, supplied, but it should be admitted that they are almost entirely hypothetical. For example, if there were mnēmōnes and hieromnēmōnes in Dark Age and Archaic Greece and if such functionaries acted something like "remembrancers" in contemporary and near-contemporary illiterate societies,<sup>19</sup> then the Pythioi, two of whom were chosen on a hereditary basis by each of the kings, were the obvious candidates for the role in Sparta.<sup>20</sup> We cannot, however, know the amount of truth in these hypotheses.

So when we try to answer our original questions concerning the historicity of the king-lists and their role in forming views of the Spartan past, we are, as so often, forced back on little more than informed guesswork. My own guesses would be: (1) by the time the systematisers - beginning probably with Hekataios - came to assess and utilise the lists for "scholarly" purposes, they already stood at some considerable remove from the truth,<sup>21</sup> although the omission of Lykurgos from Herodotus' lists is slightly reassuring; (2) the genealogies were used partly to affirm the especial blue-bloodedness of the Agiads and Eurypontids against the claims of other aristocratic families,<sup>22</sup> and partly to give the Spartan past a spurious concreteness, coherence and moral justification by interpreting it according to the canons of royal and royalist thinking.<sup>23</sup>

## II

By a less obvious process the Spartan king-lists transcended their local significance to occupy a unique position in the chronography of early Greek history as a whole.<sup>24</sup> The first attempts at "scientific" chronography were one of the by-products of the shift in emphasis of Ionian *επιστορία* from the world of nature to the world of man; the first exponent was probably Hekataios.<sup>25</sup> As we have seen, it could have been his work that lay behind Herodotus' king-lists and, if Ed. Meyer is right,<sup>26</sup> he who interpreted the sixteen Spartan kings from Herakles' time to 500 B.C. as sixteen generations and gave to each generation the notional value of forty years.<sup>27</sup> Subsequently, to answer the demand for greater precision, either Charon of Lampsakos (fifth-century)<sup>28</sup> or more probably Timaios of Tauromenium (fourth/third century)<sup>29</sup> ascribed exact lengths to the reigns at least down to those of the Agiad Alkamenos and the Eurypontid Theopompos.<sup>30</sup> It was the achievement of "Beta" (Eratosthenes of Cyrene) in the third century to bring the lists into an acceptable relation with the First Olympiad (776/5), which was for him the dividing-line between "mythical" and "historical" Greece.<sup>31</sup> From Eratosthenes descends the "vulgate" chronology of early Greek history through Apollodoros (c.100) and Diodoros (first-century) to Eusebius (A.D. 263-339), Bishop of Caesarea and chronographer extraordinary.<sup>32</sup>

It goes without saying that the absolute dates arrived at by these erudite men have no truly scientific foundation, and that discrepancies between rival ancient chronologies and between their dates and ours are to be expected; on the other hand, to tamper with their relative chronology is an undertaking fraught with uncomfortable and far-reaching implications.<sup>33</sup>

In general, the absolute dates for the Spartan Kings are too high, a distortion deriving systematically from the linking of Agis and Eurypon to the "Heroic" Age of Herakles and the Trojan War. The remedy of substituting for the "Hekataian" model generation of forty years the more plausible allowance of 33½<sup>34</sup> (or less, in view of shorter life-expectancy<sup>35</sup>) results in a (perhaps deceptively) gratifying accommodation between the "data" of archaeology and genealogy: Agis I, according to a recent rationalised stemma, reigned c.930-900.<sup>36</sup> The Eurypontid stemma, however, needs more drastic surgery.<sup>37</sup>

## APPENDIX X

THE CULT OF ORTHIA

End your secret Apollo's sharp cry  
 O Orthia,  
 You who assist -  
 untouched and virginal -  
 the embrace's struggle  
 and the sacred moment of birth

(A. SIKELIANOS from Hymn to Artemis Orthia)<sup>1</sup>

The identity of the deity or deities to whom cult was paid for some 1500 years on a rocky tongue of land by the Eurotas<sup>2</sup> is still a matter for vehement discussion; the nature and significance of the cult-acts are no less controversial. In this Appendix, however, I shall enter into the debate only in so far as the material evidence from the beginnings to c. 650 may be thought to throw light on it. My main purpose is to describe rather than explain those aspects of the cult that have left their mark in the physical record; special attention has been given to architecture, partly because it is the only accessible Spartan architecture of the period,<sup>3</sup> partly because architecture is a particularly clear index of the nature and level of social attainment<sup>4</sup> and partly because the other artefacts form the subject of Parts II and III.

The site of historical Sparta had been barely used and probably not permanently settled in the prehistoric period.<sup>5</sup> It was in any case uninhabited when Dorians arrived some time around the middle of the tenth century and there were no historical associations to guide their choice of locations for the worship of their gods. Topography, therefore, will have been an overriding consideration and provides an important clue to the functions and powers of the deities concerned.<sup>6</sup> Thus, even if we had had no literary evidence, we might reasonably have inferred from the low-lying position (the lowest point in the valley) by a river that the powers were broadly chthonic and vegetational.<sup>7</sup> The problems really begin when we learn from our in fact fairly copious literary and epigraphical sources that the powers were Orthia, Artemis and Eileithyia - conceived now independently, now in various permutations.<sup>8</sup> The etymology of all these names is uncertain and only that of Orthia seems to be agreed to be Indo-European; their dates and places of origin are doubtful; in fact, all that is undisputed is that they are female and associated with animal (including human) fertility.<sup>9</sup> My own view - to cut a long story short - is that the ground was originally con-

secreted to Orthia, a Greek name for a pre-Greek goddess whose superficial similarities to the far better known and universally worshipped Artemis led to the two being identified, at the latest in the Roman period.<sup>10</sup>

The date at which the cult was established cannot be precisely determined: none of the finds (apart from a few prehistoric heirlooms)<sup>11</sup> need antedate the eighth century, but I would put the initial date not long after the original settlement, somewhere between 950 and 900. Architecturally, the first phase of the temenos lasted until c.700 without any marked developments within it.<sup>12</sup> If the temenos was artificially delimited at all, the fence will have been of wicker or sticks.<sup>13</sup> Within the perimeter there were probably trees on and around which dedications could be placed,<sup>14</sup> but the centre of activity (probably geographically as well as symbolically) was a low altar of beaten earth. Here libations were poured, vessels containing various natural substances deposited and prayers offered up; here too were sacrificed those animals whose charred bones were found in a hollow mixed with the earliest pottery from the site.<sup>15</sup>

About 700 the temenos was transformed, partly as an expression of a general Greek tendency at that time,<sup>16</sup> partly as a result of the conquest of Messenia.<sup>17</sup> The temenos was paved with river-stones and delimited by a stone peribolos wall enclosing an irregular area c.40 by 32m. entered from the south-east; on the pavement were built a stone-faced altar with rubble core (L. 9m. W. 1.5 H. 1.2) and, at right angles to it, a temple on an intercardinal axis.<sup>18</sup> The temple - a "primitive shanty", as it has been unkindly described<sup>19</sup> - barely survives underneath its more ample successors, but there is enough to be reasonably sure of the essentials.<sup>20</sup> It measured at least 12.5m. in length by 4.5 in width. The foundations were of stone, the walls of mud-brick resting on a stone socle,<sup>21</sup> the roof (steeply-pitched and ridged) of timber and perhaps also thatch.<sup>22</sup> The interior was divided into two (or, less likely, three)<sup>23</sup> naves by wooden columns resting on stone flags whose function was to support the wooden ceiling and roof.<sup>24</sup> Corresponding to the column-flags were stones set into the side walls to support vertical timbers designed to strengthen the mud-brick;<sup>25</sup> there may also have been horizontal timbers set in the walls.<sup>26</sup> At the western end a recess (adyton) 1m. deep was partitioned off from the main cella by a cross-wall<sup>27</sup> (or perhaps two spur-walls).<sup>28</sup> In this recess against the western wall was set a cult-bench on which there presumably stood the wooden idol (xoanon) of Orthia<sup>29</sup> and perhaps other offerings too.<sup>30</sup> The external aspect was hardly imposing, although the reconstruction of the east front is uncertain (anta-walls sheathed in wood

with a column between have been plausibly suggested);<sup>31</sup> nor was there much attempt at colourful decorative effect until the late seventh century (fragments of polychrome disc-akroteria).<sup>32</sup> A number of architectural terracottas spanning the life of the temple was found,<sup>33</sup> but that life was never likely to be long - death will have been hastened by the addition of roof-tiles - and the mortal blow was delivered probably by a flood c.570/60.<sup>34</sup>

The construction of the temple, as I have noted in III.viii(b), greatly stimulated the dedication of objects in precious, perishable metals by the rich. The conquest of Messenia and the redistribution of land encouraged poorer Spartans to follow suit (above all, lead figurines). Thus the volume of dedications greatly increased over the seventh century and this probably accounts for the construction of another building (oikos) towards 600, of which a few blocks survived below the sand.<sup>35</sup> The most important seventh-century development, however, was the imposition from c.650 onwards of the agōgē, whose religious manifestations occurred in the temenos of Orthia.<sup>36</sup> It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the pavement required repair,<sup>37</sup> but the reason why terracotta masks began to be dedicated is less clear; the earliest were with "Geometric and Laconian I" and they are the most important addition to the material record.<sup>38</sup>

## APPENDIX XI

THE "GREAT" RHETRA<sup>1</sup>

This document of some fifty words (including the "Rider"), preserved for us by Plutarch (Lyk. vi), has occasioned the spilling of more scholarly ink than any other Greek text of comparable length.<sup>2</sup> In this Appendix, which is designed to be read in close conjunction with the next, my main purpose is to underline how insecure a foundation it is on which to build far-reaching conclusions about Spartan state or society. I therefore set little store by the personal opinions expressed dogmatically and with a minimum of supporting argument in section vi below.

## i. Nature

Etymologically, "rhetra" denotes essentially a form of words, written or unwritten.<sup>3</sup> Attested usage in Greece as a whole indicates a range of meanings from treaty or bargain to proposal/enactment, pronouncement and (if Plutarch is to be taken at face-value) oracle.<sup>4</sup> In Sparta specifically only the last three senses are found in the literary and epigraphical sources.<sup>5</sup> By itself this evidence is inadequate to determine the nature of the Great Rhetra and we must turn to the text.

## ii. Authenticity

First, however, it is necessary to rebut the view, most forcibly expressed by Ed. Meyer, that it is a forgery of the first half of the fourth century B.C. Irrespective of the strengths and weaknesses of Meyer's case,<sup>6</sup> there seem to me to be three main arguments in favour of its being substantially authentic, i.e. at least pre-fifth century: the identity of the cults cited in the first clause; the ambiguity and imprecision of the formulations; and (though this is more disputable) the cross-reference to the document in preserved fragments of Tyrtaios.<sup>7</sup> These arguments do not, however, exclude the possibility that the text as we have it in Plutarch is an amalgam of substantially authentic original and later accretions or alterations. Indeed, if the text was not at first inscribed, then we would expect textual alterations to have occurred in the process of oral transmission.

## iii. Text

At all events, it is certain that there were alterations in dialectal forms. Further, Plutarch's citation of Aristotle's explanation of two toponyms strongly suggests that he derived the text itself from the same

source (or whoever was responsible for the Constitution of the Spartans).<sup>8</sup> But (a) we do not know what relation the version known to "Aristotle" bore to the (unwritten?) original and (b) Plutarch's MSS. are corrupt at several points. The most that can be safely attempted is to restore Plutarch's text to its Aristotelian form. ἰδρυσάμενον for ἰδρυσάμενος is inevitable grammatically; Ionic forms - as γερούσιαν - should perhaps be Doricised (to γερωσίαν).<sup>9</sup> Other emendations depend on interpretation of the meaning and purpose of the document as a whole.

#### iv. Meaning

Almost every word has been or could be disputed, but the chief problems are these:

##### (a) Verbal

- the cult-title of Zeus and Athena
- the subject of the aorist participles and the significance of this tense
- the nature of the φύλας and ὄβας and the meaning of the verbs governing them
- the poetical flavour of ἀρχαγέταις ("kings", but which in particular, if any?)
- the poetical flavour, case and precise reference of ὥρας ἕξ ὥρας ("from time to time"?)
- the meaning of ἀπελλάζειν
- the subject and meaning of εἰσφέρειν and ἀφιστάσθαι (cf. ἀποστατήρας below)
- the correct reading and force of † γαμωσανχοριανημην †
- the significance and reference of κράτος
- the meaning of σκολίαν (what noun, if any, is it to be understood to agree with?)
- the meaning of † ἔροιτο † (if this is the correct reading)
- the meaning of ἀποστατήρας (cf. ἀφιστάσθαι above)

##### (b) Structural

- the relationship between the "Rider" (amendment) and the main body of the text

Any attempt to solve these problems runs the risk of petitio principii and circular argumentation. Plutarch, it is true, proffers exegesis in a general way, but this only puts the difficulties at a further remove from reality, for it is not always clear exactly what he understood the text to mean and we must in any case ask what his sources of information were.<sup>10</sup> If his main source was Aristotle, as seems likely, then it is legitimate to introduce into the discussion the information on Spartan

institutions provided by the Politics. It is not, however, legitimate simply to use this information, which is itself not indisputable, to elucidate the controversial points of the Great Rhetra.<sup>11</sup> For many changes - whether de iure or de facto - could have occurred between the original promulgation of the text and the second half of the fourth century. But changes in what?

#### v. Purpose and Date

Plutarch's fundamentalist approach to the person and works of Lykurgos casts suspicion prima facie on every statement in his "biography" of the lawgiver.<sup>12</sup> There does, however, seem to be some justification for his citing the Great Rhetra in connection with "Lykurgos'" creation of the Gerousia as the masterpiece of "his" constitution. At any rate, the Gerousia occupies a central place in the document: it appears twice and on both occasions the Kings are seemingly treated simply as ex officio members, while in the Rider it is given some controlling or restraining power over the damos (people as opposed to the Gerousia and Kings).<sup>13</sup> How then are we to explain the apparent contradiction between the Rider and the sixth clause, whose effect is to give the damos the kratos?<sup>14</sup> Various answers have been proposed,<sup>15</sup> but the most economical hypothesis is to avoid interpreting kratos too technically.<sup>16</sup> This would be in keeping with the spirit both of the document as a whole, which is riddled with ambiguities,<sup>17</sup> and of the age (see below) in which damou kratos can hardly have connoted demokratia.<sup>18</sup> For similar reasons I do not follow Wade-Gery in his views that the Great Rhetra is an "act of Parliament":<sup>19</sup> this seems to me to contradict all we know of the informal, customary way of doing politics favoured by the Spartans.<sup>20</sup>

The next question to decide is how far the provisions of the Great Rhetra, inasmuch as we understand them aright, represent innovations or confirmation of the political status quo. I do not believe it is possible to decide either way in the case of the cults, phylai and obai.<sup>21</sup> As for the other provisions, the answers depend on the date of the original document and this is as controversial as anything else. For me prescription of regular Apellai together with kratos for the damos presuppose the formation, however rudimentary, of the hoplite phalanx and therefore give a terminus post quem of the first half of the seventh century.<sup>22</sup> This date does not conflict with the treatment of the archagetai merely as gerontes and the specification of the size of the Gerousia, both of which in my view would have been impossible before c.750 at the earliest. A precise date, however, cannot be given, despite the claims of those who uphold the

statements of ancient authors<sup>23</sup> or point to the association of Kings Theopompos and Polydoros with the Rider.<sup>24</sup>

#### vi. Conclusions

The Great Rhetra was originally an oracle that was acted upon,<sup>25</sup> produced by a reformer or reformers with a nice feeling for compromise between innovation and tradition.<sup>26</sup> Not a genuine Delphic oracle then, but a proposal for reform couched in oracular terms, surely a neat device for ensuring that its provisions were adhered to and at the same time leaving a margin of ambiguity.<sup>27</sup> I am confident that the document would have been in crucial respects ambiguous even to those for whose ears it was originally designed: poetic language, linguistic oddities and hapax legomena are not the hallmarks of precise legal enactments intended to serve as the basis of political practice,<sup>28</sup> and Tyrtaios, as I argue below, illustrates the scope for contradictory interpretations.

The Great Rhetra is a product of internal and external crisis. Internally, the crisis had economic and political dimensions: poorer members of the damos wanted land, richer members (who were hoplites) political recognition. The ruling aristocracy was split both on these questions and on the future role of the monarchy.<sup>29</sup> Externally, there was a Messenian revolt to crush. The red light was the establishment of tyrannies in Corinth and Sikyon coming so soon after the defeat at Hysiai.<sup>30</sup> At this supreme crisis unity was essential and the Great Rhetra provided something for everyone. The authority of Apollo and the prestige of Theopompos and Polydoros were invoked to provide the necessary cement.<sup>31</sup> The distribution of land, of which the Great Rhetra says nothing, must have been provided for in a separate initiative, perhaps on condition of success against the Messenians. The extraordinary step was taken of transforming all Spartan citizens into hoplites.<sup>32</sup>

The Great Rhetra was successful because it made concessions to all interest-groups without substantially altering the structure of Spartan society. The monarchy survived but with diminished power;<sup>33</sup> the Gerousia became the supreme political organ in effect, but its membership was numerically restricted;<sup>34</sup> the damos was given formal political recognition but only token "sovereignty".<sup>35</sup> Indeed, so cautiously was the document phrased that it was susceptible of a variety of "conservative" and "radical" interpretations: Tyrtaios' "paraphrase", for example, is really a denial of the experience of the previous century or so and a call for a return to the "Homeric" situation.<sup>36</sup>

## APPENDIX XII

THE HOPLITE REFORM AND SPARTAN HISTORY<sup>1</sup>

## I

At the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 431 it was generally believed that, if Sparta led her allies by land into Attika, Athens would hold out for at the most three years.<sup>2</sup> In the event the prediction was wildly awry,<sup>3</sup> but Sparta remained the acknowledged doyen of hoplite warfare until her disastrous defeat at Leuktra in 371, a position she had occupied for some two centuries.<sup>4</sup> In the nineteenth century it was simply assumed that the military art of which classical Sparta was pastmaster must also have been invented by her; recent studies of hoplite origins, by contrast, which rely heavily on archaeological evidence, either ignore Sparta for the most part or credit her with only a derivative role.<sup>5</sup> In this Appendix I want to reopen the questions of why, when, where and how hoplite warfare was introduced in Greece and to re-examine the part played in the process by Sparta.

The evidence, however, is lamentably thin and unreliable, and any conclusions based on it can only be provisional. The reasons for this are threefold: firstly, warfare in general was regarded as firmly embedded in polis-society, as indeed it was,<sup>6</sup> and therefore rarely receives greater independent attention than, say, the landscape;<sup>7</sup> secondly, the archaeological record is lacunose and insecure, partly owing to the hazards of excavation and survival, but also because armour and weapons by their very nature tend not to be lightly discarded<sup>8</sup> and because artists generally had no professional interest in representing them accurately;<sup>9</sup> thirdly, the literary evidence for any aspect of late eighth- or seventh-century history (the crucial formative period) is scanty and, in the case of the Messenian War, further devalued both by the "mirage Spartiate" and by what might be called the "mirage Messénienne". It is, therefore, necessary to take account of literary and archaeological evidence that originates in and relates to other periods - for still more obvious reasons caution is appropriate here too. On the credit side, however, successive attacks on the problems have led to some new insights and there is a sounder appreciation of the total corpus of available material.<sup>10</sup>

## II

In this section I have listed the elements of hoplite warfare as they were constituted c.500<sup>11</sup> and in so doing have taken the opportunity of making

a reasonably full collection of the literary evidence relating to Spartan practice before and after that date.<sup>12</sup>

i. Armour

(a) Shield (aspis)<sup>13</sup>

The cardinal item of equipment was the round shield, from which, according to Diodoros (xv.44.3), the heavy-armed infantryman (hoplitēs) took his name.<sup>14</sup> Its distinguishing characteristics were a flat, offset rim (itus),<sup>15</sup> gently convex section and two interior handles (porpax and antilabē). The basic material was usually wood, only the rim being wholly of bronze; Spartan shields, however, at least during the Peloponnesian War and later, were entirely faced with bronze, thereby neatly illustrating the attention to detail characteristic of all Spartan military practice.<sup>16</sup> The porpax was a detachable,<sup>17</sup> central armband running down part or more often the whole of the interior- the left forearm was thrust through it up to the elbow and the left fist gripped the antilabē, usually a leather thong, at the rim.<sup>18</sup> The size of the shield was effectively determined by the size of the bearer's forearm and by his strength: in practice its diameter may have ranged between 80cm. and 1m.<sup>19</sup> Its relative lack of manoeuvrability<sup>20</sup> and the only partial coverage it afforded greatly favoured its use in close formation,<sup>21</sup> preferably as close as convenience and safety would permit,<sup>22</sup> and encouraged a tendency for the line to edge to the right as each man sought to place his more vulnerable right flank under the protection of his neighbour's shield.<sup>23</sup> It was essential in this type of fighting to know at a glance who stood on either side of you in the line and to be able to distinguish friend from foe almost automatically. Thus another distinguishing mark of the hoplite shield was the attached bronze blazon,<sup>24</sup> which was initially a decorative or personal emblem,<sup>25</sup> later a badge of state<sup>26</sup> or perhaps a combination of all these. The practical and symbolic value of the shield is neatly encapsulated in the official Spartan attitude to men who abandoned or lost theirs (rhipsaspides).<sup>27</sup>

(b) Breastplate (thōrax)<sup>28</sup>

The "bell"-breastplate consisted of two bronze plates fastened together at the shoulders, modelled and decorated to reproduce schematically the anatomy of the torso. Just above the hips the plates were swung outwards in a flange designed to facilitate movement and perhaps also to give added protection against a spear thrust at the vulnerable abdomen.<sup>29</sup> Weighty and desperately hot, it was nevertheless effective and held the field for about two centuries until considerations of mobility dictated its replacement

by c.500 with composite versions.<sup>30</sup>

(c) Helmet (kranos, kunēē)<sup>31</sup>

The earliest and most widespread hoplite type ("Corinthian") was usually raised from a single sheet of bronze - a process demanding a high level of skill - and had a felt or leather cap sewn into it.<sup>32</sup> Its function was to cover the largest possible area of the head or neck without restricting sight or breathing,<sup>33</sup> but concession was made to purely aesthetic considerations in the shape of a horsehair crest<sup>34</sup> and incised, relief or inlaid decoration.<sup>35</sup> In the fifth century the Spartans (and others) may have brought their helmets into line with their lighter breastplates by adopting a simple stiffened felt cap (pilos).<sup>36</sup>

(d) Other Body-Armour

Greaves (knēmides) were commonly worn;<sup>37</sup> the developed form was shaped to the musculature of the leg and so gripped it merely by the elasticity of the bronze.<sup>38</sup> Abdominal guards were, surprisingly, optional;<sup>39</sup> so too were foot-, ankle-, knee-, thigh- and arm-guards.<sup>40</sup>

ii. Weapons

(a) Spear (doru, aikhmē, enkhos)<sup>41</sup>

The spear was to offence what the shield was to defence: Aischylos (Persai 813) represented the Persian Wars as a victory of the spear over the bow and Tyrtaios (fr.5.6) could refer to the Spartan army simply as "spearmen".<sup>42</sup> The spear was probably about 2m. long,<sup>43</sup> the shaft being fitted with a heavy iron head and a dual-purpose (stabbing and fixing in the ground) butt (sturax, saurōtēr).<sup>44</sup>

(b) Sword (xiphos, makhaira)<sup>45</sup>

Since the spearshaft might break<sup>46</sup> and was difficult to manoeuvre at close quarters after the initial thrust,<sup>47</sup> the sword was an indispensable support weapon. It was normally a straight-edged rapier,<sup>48</sup> but sabres were also known. The shortness of the Spartan sword - strictly, perhaps, a dirk - was proverbial.<sup>49</sup>

iii. Uniform

Underneath the breastplate the hoplite wore a tunic (chitōn) probably of linen. All members of the Spartan army had red tunics,<sup>50</sup> probably because of the availability of the dye<sup>51</sup> and not because the colour was manly and/or disguised bloodstains!<sup>52</sup>

#### iv. Tactics and Training

Warfare between massed phalanxes (phalanges) was not a graceful or imaginative affair, but required above all disciplined cohesion and unyielding strength. A limited number of set manoeuvres had special names (e.g. the "Lakonian exeligmos"),<sup>53</sup> but fighting consisted chiefly of shoving (ōthismos),<sup>54</sup> perhaps something like the tight scrummaging of modern rugby. One area of demonstrable Spartan superiority was their careful observance of rhythm: in contrast to their enemies' undisciplined charge the Spartans advanced to the fray with measured step regulated by flutes.<sup>55</sup>

The battle itself was of course but the culmination of a process of preparation. Although Xenophon's description of the Spartans as technitai tōn polemikōn (Lak.Pol. xiii.5) was provoked by the religious aspects of their military régime, the phrase has a wider application, for the Spartans practised the craft (technē) of war not as a spare-time relaxation nor as a painful interruption of ordinary life but as a full-time occupation. This professionalism was made possible by the fact that they were not autourgoi: their Helots freed them from the burden of procuring subsistence and they certainly used their freedom to the utmost.<sup>56</sup> From the age of seven the Spartan male underwent a system of state education (agōgē) designed to inculcate discipline and endurance.<sup>57</sup> He was herded in a pack consisting of all members of his age-class<sup>58</sup> and compelled to participate in a series of competitions known collectively as the paidikos agōn,<sup>59</sup> success in which required three of the qualities essential to success in hoplite warfare - a sense of rhythm, physical fitness and unflinching toughness.<sup>60</sup> The stress on individual emulation was tempered by a sense of collective enterprise and responsibility engendered by the age-class system and the public (and homosexual) way of life.<sup>61</sup> At 20 or 21 the now adult male entered a common mess (andreion, pheidition) and so became a full-fledged warrior.<sup>62</sup> Centrifugal tendencies were still officially combated - he was forced to live simply and forbidden to live with his wife before he was 30.<sup>63</sup> But the diet of drill and weapon-training might now be varied by the recreational but kindred discipline of hunting.<sup>64</sup> His sense of rhythm was fostered by marching-songs and by the energetic dances performed at various religious festivals.<sup>66</sup> Thus when the time for warfare was deemed to have arrived,<sup>67</sup> it would have been surprising to find the Spartans unprepared.<sup>68</sup>

Spartan professionalism, however, was not restricted to what counted when battle was joined. As we have seen, Xenophon noted the meticulous attention paid to the religious factor. Before embarking on a campaign

the favour of the gods, especially Delphic Apollo, was solicited.<sup>69</sup> Further checks were made at the Lakonian frontier (sacrifices called diabatēria)<sup>70</sup> and on the battlefield immediately before the engagement.<sup>71</sup> Then there were the questions of communications and commissariat: the kings were responsible for public highways (Hdt. vi.57.4),<sup>72</sup> while the ephors decided the number of wagons and amount of supplies (Xen., Lak.Pol. xi.2). Since an army marches on its stomach, the profession of cook was hereditary and highly esteemed<sup>73</sup> and a type of cup was designed (or at least especially suitable) for campaigns!<sup>74</sup> If there was one chink in the Spartan armour, it was their consistent failure to solve the problem of siege-war,<sup>75</sup> symbolic to some extent of that lack of flexibility which, despite all their professionalism, led eventually to their eclipse in the second quarter of the fourth century. Yet it must in fairness be added that inflexibility was by no means a Spartan prerogative: indeed, one could almost say that it was endemic to hoplite warfare.

### III

We are now in a position to tackle the questions raised in I. The first - why was hoplite warfare introduced in Greece? - is not as straightforward as seems to be usually assumed, for it was not the ultimate solution to a puzzling military problem. If a hoplite is to keep in step and maintain his position in the phalanx, he needs a plain that is both level and not conducive to ambush. Yet Greece is not rich in plains of any kind, let alone this ideal type, and is of predominantly mountain relief - in short, "a land one would have thought made for mountain-fighting by quick-moving and light-armed infantrymen".<sup>76</sup> This seeming paradox suggests prima facie that the hoplite "reform" was not dictated by purely or even primarily military (in the narrow sense) reasons - an impression confirmed by the fact that there was no strictly military reason why, once one state had adopted the hoplite style of fighting, its neighbours should follow suit.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, hoplite warfare was both extremely prodigal of lives<sup>78</sup> and, if not fatal, physically most unpleasant.<sup>79</sup> The most that could be said in favour of it militarily is that the battle would rarely last more than a few hours and one battle would normally be decisive.<sup>80</sup> In sum, the hoplite reform was military only in the sense that the technological and social developments occurred in the military sphere.<sup>81</sup>

With this paradox in mind, we turn to the question of date. The evidence for Greek military practice is generally poor, for the reasons given in I, but the situation is further complicated here because we are dealing with the tail-end of the Dark Age and Homer. Our knowledge of immediately pre-hoplite warfare is derived largely from scenes on Attic LG vases combined

with those passages in Homer which seem to describe conditions of the late Dark Age.<sup>82</sup> Fighting is loosely organised, ranging the breadth as well as the length of the field. It is conducted above all by individual champions, wealthy aristocrats who can afford to use horse-drawn chariots as a means of transportation to and from the battle.<sup>83</sup> Their equipment consists of a helmet with stilted ridge-crest that leaves most of the face exposed;<sup>84</sup> breastplate of linen or leather;<sup>85</sup> shield of the Assyrian single-grip type slung round the neck on a leather strap;<sup>86</sup> a pair of javelins<sup>87</sup> and sometimes also a sword.

The first signs of change are visible in the last quarter of the eighth century. A magnificent warrior-grave of c.725 from Argos contained a "bell"-breastplate associated with a pre-hoplite helmet.<sup>88</sup> Shortly before 700 a mounted warrior on an Attic LG vase is represented with the "bell"-breastplate.<sup>89</sup> About the same time the hoplite shield with blazon appears on another Attic vase, the Benaki amphora,<sup>90</sup> while terracotta models with the characteristically hoplite offset rim were being produced not very much later on Samos and Siphnos.<sup>91</sup> Rudimentary hoplite helmets from Olympia have been dated to the late eighth century.<sup>92</sup> By 650 all the other items of hoplite equipment are attested, either by actual finds or artistic representations,<sup>93</sup> and c.650 or a little later we have the first wholly successful picture of the massed phalanx in action on the Protocorinthian Chigi vase.<sup>94</sup> Thus the chronological framework is c.725-650; but can we date the reform more precisely within it?

To be schematic, there are two opposing theories, the "piecemeal" and the "sudden". The first of these, which is currently more influential, holds that the adoption of hoplite warfare was a "long drawn out, piecemeal process".<sup>95</sup> Hoplite equipment was expensive and qualification for hoplite service - the ability to provide your own panoply - depended on the ownership of landed property. Thus the first hoplites will have been those who had earlier been the stalwarts of the individual, long-range style of warfare. There will have been no rush on the part of non-aristocrats to enlist. The archaeological evidence reveals what we would anyway have anticipated - individual items of the panoply in various places from c.725, but no phalanx before c.650. Tyrtaios illustrates the transitional phase of confused semi-hoplite tactics.

The alternative theory, to which I subscribe, holds that the change was relatively sudden and associated with the adoption of the hoplite shield, the hoplite accoutrement par excellence. This cumbersome article, almost a liability in isolation, encouraged the adoption of phalanx tactics, although it did not have to - and probably did not in fact - precede the adoption of other hoplite equipment. This was not, however, simply a case of technological

determinism,<sup>96</sup> for the adoption of such a shield implies (what is usually overlooked) that a change in tactics was already in progress. It was clearly designed for use in more orderly, hand-to-hand fighting than we imagine to have seen customary in the earlier "Homeric" style of fighting.<sup>97</sup> The hoplite shield was invented by c.700;<sup>98</sup> hoplite tactics followed some time in the first quarter of the seventh century.

Arguments from visual and literary art are too insecure to tell either way, but the economic and social aspects of the "piecemeal" hypothesis need to be rebutted and this can best be done when we consider how the hoplite reform may have occurred. First, however, let us dispose of the question of geographical priority. I do not believe it is possible to state with any confidence that any one polis was responsible for the entire process. The archaeological evidence indicates only that by c.650 nearly all the most important states had entrusted their defence to the phalanx, the colonies perhaps rather later than the motherland. The literary evidence is of even less help. A few states were associated with technological developments - Corinth (helmet), Argos (shield), Chalkis ("Bronze-town") - but these may have been responsible not for the invention of particular items but rather for the production of fully serviceable and generally copied versions.<sup>99</sup> An enigmatic statement in Aristotle (Pol. 1310<sup>b</sup>26-8), to the effect that Pheidon of Argos began as a (hereditary) king and ended as a tyrant, has been interpreted to mean that Pheidon created the first phalanx,<sup>100</sup> but this would be ruled out if Pheidon is dated (as I believe he should be) to the mid-eighth century.<sup>101</sup>

The problem of the origin of tyranny, however, is closely allied to the problem of how - and why - hoplite warfare was introduced, for, according to the "piecemeal" hypothesis, it was the tyrants who produced the phalanx, according to the "sudden" hypothesis, the phalanx which "produced" the tyrants. It is, therefore, time to turn from the purely military sphere to the whole gamut of economic, social and political developments in what has been aptly called the "Age of Revolution" (c.750-650).<sup>102</sup> In III.viii I have argued that, if due allowance is made for the peculiarity of the decision to invade Messenia, Sparta reflects the dominant trends in at least the more advanced areas of Greece: overpopulation, leading to settlement abroad and a switch from pasturage to arable farming at home; the growth of overseas trade (especially in metals and luxury goods and materials); the decline of monarchy;<sup>103</sup> the full development of the polis and the questioning of social and political values. How then does the hoplite reform fit into this general picture of upheaval? Or, to return to our original paradox, why did the Greeks invent a form of warfare so apparently

unsuited to Greek terrain?

Land-hunger (overpopulation) had military repercussions in two ways: first, warfare became more frequent - throughout Greek antiquity the ownership of land was the most important cause of interstate wars;<sup>104</sup> secondly, the shift from stock- to arable farming determined thereafter the general pattern of wars on land, for the basic objectives everywhere became the destruction of the enemy's crops and the protection of one's own.<sup>105</sup> There is, however, no outstanding military reason why hand-to-hand fighting, let alone the hoplite variety, should have been regarded as the best method of securing these objectives.<sup>106</sup> Yet as we have seen, the adoption of the hoplite shield implies both that long-range fighting was being superseded and that hand-to-hand fighting was the preferred replacement. The explanation must, therefore, lie outside the military sphere.

Another feature of the "Age of Revolution" was the development of the polis. The idea of a community of citizens was born and the institutional framework devised for the waging of more frequent wars. Hand-to-hand warfare, with its desiderata of increased discipline, orderliness and organisation, could be easily accommodated within this framework. But then so could other kinds of warfare: the development of the polis cannot by itself be the explanation. The decline of monarchy takes us a little further. The "Age of Revolution" was generally (Sparta being in a sense an exception) presided over by governing aristocracies.<sup>107</sup> Their period of rule, however, was brief. It is perhaps dangerous to generalise from Hesiod, but he was surely not alone of his generation (c.700) in complaining of aristocratic venality, greed and misrule - in short, of their injustice.<sup>108</sup> One effect of the upheavals involved in mass emigration and increased travel was the psychological independence created by experience of alternative modes of organising social existence.<sup>109</sup> Most discontented of all will have been the more substantial farmers, who by an accident of birth lacked the appropriate family-tree, but who felt that their economic status deserved political recognition. Since warfare was a fundamental political act and these potential or actual malcontents could afford the new armour, the aristocrats (no doubt unwillingly) invited them to join them in forming the phalanx.<sup>111</sup>

It was apparently a brilliant compromise. The richer non-aristocrats were enabled to defend both their own property and the polis of which they were citizens.<sup>112</sup> At the same time the devolution of military power was prevented from travelling too far down the social scale, the fighting unit became more effective and yet warfare remained a "gentlemanly", amateur

affair confined to a "campaigning season".<sup>113</sup> Hoplite equipment was always expensive and, even though there was strength in numbers alone, rarely was more than one-third of a state's citizen body able to turn out as hoplites.<sup>114</sup> Hoplite ideology retained the birthmark of its aristocratic origin: contempt for arrows<sup>115</sup> was a continuing expression of the original refusal to adopt the light-armed guerilla style of fighting for which the Greek terrain was more naturally suited.<sup>116</sup> Unwittingly, however, the aristocrats had dug the grave of their monopoly of political rule. Dissident members of the aristocracy, exploiting economic, political or "racial" grievances, found themselves with a trained force of hoplites to take them to power. Hence the military factor in the origin of tyranny c.650, about a generation after the hoplite reform.<sup>117</sup>

Sparta's role in all this is unclear, but her peculiarities should not be divorced from the wider Greek context. True, the monarchy survived (though it had always been unusual for its collegiality); only one somewhat abnormal colony was sent out; there was no tyranny; and the whole damos became hoplites.<sup>118</sup> But on the other hand there was a land-problem, a civil rights problem and a political power problem. In short, what differed were the solutions, and these all flowed from the decision taken by the aristocracy (including the kings) to establish Sparta as a rentier state living almost entirely off helot surplus labour. The lengthy campaigning in Messenia in the late eighth century, which had been preceded by considerable military activity in Lakonia, might have encouraged a belief in the old ways and hence resistance to the novel hoplite tactics<sup>119</sup> - this may be the explanation of Sparta's defeat at Hysiai (trad. 669) by the Argives, who may have been among the first to achieve hoplite proficiency<sup>120</sup> - and economic mobility may have been less easy in Sparta than elsewhere. At any rate, the decision to "go hoplite", no less than the decision to redistribute land in Messenia, was an act of state and both decisions were taken at the time of the "Second" Messenian War.

Tyrtaios, as I have said, is no evidence for anything. Like the vase-painter etc., he was an artist working within a tradition<sup>121</sup> and in his case the tradition was epic and Homeric, singularly inappropriate for describing the new hoplite context. His language may best be understood as a pouring of new spiritual wine into old linguistic bottles rather than the attempt to represent the juxtaposition of old and new realities - certainly, Spartan armies found nothing incongruous in singing Tyrtaian songs before battle!<sup>122</sup> Archaeological evidence is slight but corroborative in a general way: an unpublished ivory seal from Orthia shows three hoplites in line shortly before 650<sup>123</sup> and lead figurines of hoplites begin to be dedicated not much

later.<sup>125</sup> And so we are left with the final paradox that the state which was "la plus hoplitique"<sup>126</sup> was in important respects (all citizens hoplites, professionalism etc.) not hoplite at all!