

# Cults of Apollo at Sparta

## The Hyakinthia, the Gymnopaïdiai and the Karneia

by

Michael Pettersson

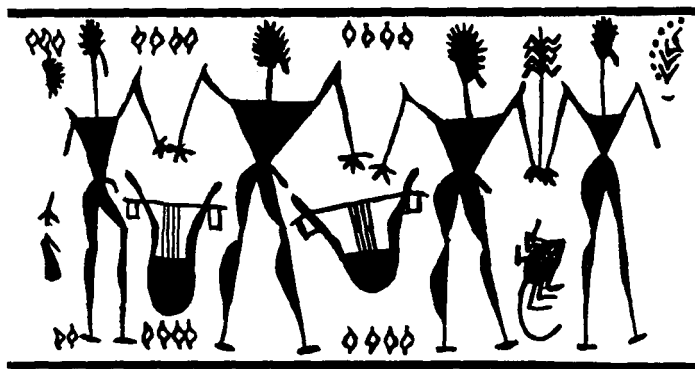


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*Michael Pettersson*

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#### Abstract

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In this study, the three cults of Apollo are regarded as a rite of passage. In the first three chapters, the evidence concerning each cult is reviewed and discussed. The two-part structure of the Hyakinthia is investigated as an expression of the cult as a rite of passage. The identity of Hyakinthos is analyzed, starting with Pausanias' description of the altar at the Amyklaion from the sixth century BC. It is argued that the bearded Hyakinthos, depicted on one relief, indicated a mature man and not the youth who was loved by Apollo, while the scene with Hyakinthos and Polyboia was associated with female initiation. Hyakinthos is interpreted as an ancestral figure, whose death was commemorated as part of a rite of initiation.

The Gymnopaïdai was chiefly connected with the performances of choruses. The role of *choreia* in Spartan culture and religion is examined. The nakedness of the participants in this cult is viewed as a symbolic expression of the liminal stage which the initiands went through.

The Karneia is regarded as the post-liminal phase of the rite of passage. Order and structure are emphasized, for example through the use of nine tents with representatives of the *phylai*. The enigmatic race of the *staphylodromoi* is interpreted as a restorative ritual, recreating the bonds between men and gods, with the pursued man impersonating a seer.

In the fourth chapter, the symbolism of the three cults as a rite of passage is further investigated. The age class system of Spartan society and its relation to the cults are dealt with.

The fifth chapter places the cults within a historical framework. The origin of the Hyakinthia is connected with the collapse of the Mycenaean palace civilization. This cult is regarded as one of the dead Hyakinthos, its function being to create group cohesion in a turbulent period.

It is suggested that the three cults came to function as a ritual cycle during the emergence of the Spartan polis towards the middle of the eighth century BC. The annually celebrated rituals established a common identity for the Spartan citizens. The Dorian character of the Spartan polis is considered as an ideological rather than ethnic identity, expressing the hegemony of the polis and its citizens over the subdued population of Lakonia.

**Key words:** Greek religion, Sparta, Amyklaion, Apollo, Artemis Orthia, Hyakinthos, rite of passage, liminality, age class system, peer polity interaction, big-man society, polis formation, Dorian identity.

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## Introduction

This study is an attempt to understand Spartan religion as it was expressed in three of its most important cults, the Hyakinthia, the Gymnopaïdai and the Karneia. Several testimonia concern the celebration of these cults either during or in expectation of wars. Thus it was due to participation in the Karneia that Leonidas came with an insufficient contingent to Thermopylai. These examples show how imperative the veneration of Apollo was for the Spartans.

The Spartan attitude towards religion has often been treated as a curious expression of awkward irrationality, and efforts have been made to find logical explanations for such a mentality. The anthropologist Clifford Geertz has given a famous definition of religion as 'a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.'<sup>1</sup> By this definition religious ritual, as symbolic action, becomes a medium for creating and maintaining the world view of a culture, and much of what seems peculiar to Spartan religious behaviour can be understood as ways of creating meaning. Thucydides (1.10.2), saying that if one were to judge Sparta from her buildings one would never have grasped her greatness, indicated the importance of immaterial elements in Spartan culture.

The identity of the city was expressed through religious ritual.

This work is intended to proceed from the study of each cult to a demonstration that the three cults constituted a unitary ritual cycle. The three first chapters examine each cult in the light of the literary and archaeological material, and in comparison with previous interpretations of the cults. Among other things, every study of cult has to ask what the religious experience was like for the participants. In the chapter on the Gymnopaïdai, emphasis has been laid on the meaning of *choreia*, the art of song and dance. I will argue that *choreia* was a medium for the actual experience of the divinity, perhaps as a flashing light.

In Chapter Four, I will try to show how the three cults formed a ritual cycle through the structuring of symbols and symbolic acts. Walter Burkert's *Homo Necans* has been my foremost inspiration for discovering how several cults could constitute a unity. A structuralistic perspective has been a guiding principle in this search for the architecture behind the ritual cycle. Adapting the scheme proposed by A. van Gennep, the cults have been regarded as rites of separation, marginality and aggregation.<sup>2</sup> Victor Turner's studies of ritual, focusing on the period of liminality in rites of passage,

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<sup>1</sup> Geertz 1969, 4.

<sup>2</sup> van Gennep 1960.



when the participants seem to be 'betwixt and between' the order of ordinary life, have also been a source of concepts for analyzing the symbolism acted out in the three cults.

Many references will be made to the cults as initiation rituals, and in this respect my study leans to a high degree on the work of Jeanmaire and Brelich. Initiation rituals concern the most vital interest of a society: how to integrate the young generations into the structures of an ordered society. In contrast to these scholars, however, I have tried to understand initiation not as a primitive survival from earlier stages of Greek history, but as an instrument in the emergence of the Spartan polis in the eighth century, closely related to the age class system which came to characterize Sparta.

'Alle Rekonstruktion von Geschichte und Zuständen der spartanischen Frühzeit muß hypothetisch bleiben.' Thus Victor Ehrenberg.<sup>3</sup> In spite of the scarcity of evidence, attempts made by British scholars in adapting new theories of state formation to the study of the Early Iron Age of Greece, such as peer polity interaction and big-man society, have encouraged me to try to place the three cults within a historical framework.<sup>4</sup>

Most scholars prefer to regard the emergence of the Spartan polis and its social system as the result of a prolonged development. The astonishing political changes in Europe today might suggest, however, that behind the idea of gradual development lies a human wish to live in a controlled world, rather than a correct description of historical events. In the second part of the fifth chapter I will indeed consider the

Spartan polis as an outcome of sudden changes, including the Lykourgan reforms, the establishment of the organization described in the Rhetra, and the age class system. This system, functioning from c. 700 BC, should be viewed as an invention rather than a primitive survival, and as an instrument in the creation of the class of *homoioi* which made up the body of Spartan citizens.

It was through the performance of religious rituals that the 'powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations' were created in the Spartans, generation by generation from the rise of the polis in the eighth century BC down to Roman times, an impressively long period. Travelling in the second century AD, Pausanias could report that the Gymnopaediai was still a cult which the Spartans celebrated most seriously. Several centuries earlier, at the battle at Plataia, the will of the gods constrained the Spartan contingent of the Greek army beyond the instincts of self-preservation. Prevented from taking action, the Spartans fell to the arrows of the Persians, many being slain or wounded, because the signs from the gods were not favourable.<sup>5</sup> In this scene we feel the force of an earlier remark by Herodotos: for the Spartans, 'the will of the gods weighed more than the will of men'.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Ehrenberg 1965, 161.

<sup>4</sup> Renfrew 1986; Morgan 1990; Whitley 1991a; 1991b.

<sup>5</sup> Hdt. 9.61.

<sup>6</sup> Hdt. 5.63. Translation A.D. Godley (Loeb Classical Library).

## Chapter one

# The Hyakinthia

### 1.1 The cult

#### *Introduction and literary testimonia*

At first sight the evidence concerning the Hyakinthia may seem abundant compared to that of other Greek cults. In addition to the literary and epigraphical testimonia, there is rich archaeological material from the excavations of the Amyklaion sanctuary at the hill of Ayia Kyriaki.<sup>7</sup> However, the literary testimonia mainly consist of short notices dating from the Archaic age down to the late Roman period. As the aim of this study is to give an overall interpretation of the cult and, consequently, every piece of information has to be taken into consideration, the chronologically varied literary testimonia pose a methodological problem.

Was the Hyakinthia mentioned by Herodotos and Thucydides in the fifth century BC organized in a different way from the cult described by Polykrates c. 300 years later? Are the details concerning the cult mentioned by lexicographers in late Roman and Byzantine times valid for the cult of the Geometric, Proto-geometric or even Mycenaean period? Were there any alterations in the organization of the cult over the centuries? Well aware of this methodological problem, I will still maintain that the basic structure of the cult, with two diametrically opposed parts, remained unaltered from the eighth century to late Roman times.<sup>8</sup> A dual structure was probably developed even earlier and, as I will argue in Chapter Five, the polarity between the two parts of the cult be-

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<sup>7</sup> Tsountas 1892, 1–26; Fiechter 1918, 107–245; Buschor & von Massow 1927, 1–85. Results from the first excavation at the Amyklaion under the direction of C. Tsountas, were published in 1892, 1–26. Inscriptions on sherds with the expression 'Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Ἀμυκλαίοις confirmed the location of the sanctuary (Tsountas 1892, 3). Tsountas interpreted the remnants of a semi-circular structure as the foundation of the sanctuary. In 1904 the site became the subject of a new excavation, under the direction of the German archaeologist A. Furtwängler. Part of his report was published in 1918, as a section in Fiechter's article on the Amyklaion (Fiechter 1918, 114–117). Furtwängler noticed architectural fragments of friezes with palmette and lotus ornaments built into the wall of the church, and assumed that they originated from the major reconstruction of the sanctuary taking place in the sixth century BC, and attributed to Bathykles from Magnesia. According to Furtwängler, the semicircular foundation, which Tsountas had interpreted as the base of the sanctuary, was the remnant of an altar, since Tsountas had found a layer of ashes with animal bones and bronze votives close to it (Fiechter 1918, 117). Furtwängler also came to the conclusion that the sanctuary must have been situated where the church was located. In 1907 he had planned to carry out a second expedition, but he died and the direction was taken over by E. Fiechter. The Greek government had given permission to dismantle the church, and this work led to discoveries of architectural elements such as friezes, balks, fragments of columns and console capitals. These elements were dated by Fiechter to the end of the sixth century BC.

The third expedition to the Amyklaion was carried out in 1925 under the direction of E. Buschor. The oldest evidence of human presence on the hill was found in the shape of Early and Middle Helladic pottery: grey and black Minyan ware (Buschor 1927, 5–10). The most important event was the excavation of a layered deposit outside and below the terrace-wall which enclosed the sanctuary. This layer provided a stratigraphy consisting of layers with objects datable from the Late Mycenaean to the Byzantine period (Buschor & von Massow 1927, 28, 32f.).

<sup>8</sup> Calame 1977, 313.

came further emphasized with the creation of the Spartan polis during the eighth century.

Though the Hyakinthia was also celebrated in Gythion, Byzantion, Kalymna, Kos, Knidos, Rhodes and Thera, as well as at Lato and Malia in Crete, the literary testimonia are solely concerned with the Spartan cult, which was celebrated at the sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai, the Amyklaion, c. five kilometres southeast of Sparta.<sup>9</sup>

The two most important testimonia are found in Athenaios (4.139 d–f) and Pausanias (3.19.1–5). In the *Deipnosophistai* by Athenaios there is a survey of customs associated with Lakonian *symposia*. The survey contains a quotation from Didymos, who quotes a historian called Polykrates.<sup>10</sup>

According to Polykrates, the Lakonians celebrated the Hyakinthia for three days.<sup>11</sup> Because of the mourning of Hyakinthos, certain prohibitions were imposed on the participants concerning the wearing of wreaths, the eating of bread and cakes and singing the paean. A sacrifice of a chthonic character, ἐναγισμός, was made to Hyakinthos within the altar of the sanctuary. In the middle of the celebration of the cult, its gloomy character changed and the cult developed into a great spectacle with the participation of adolescents of both sexes. Choirs of boys, παῖδες, and young men, νεανίσκοι, sang and played the flute and the kithara. There were performances of dances of an archaic style, κίνησις ἀρχαϊκή, and some boys were riding horses. Girls, παρθέναι, were carried in specific chariots, κάρναθρα, and they also took part in horse-races. The whole city, i.e. Sparta, was empty during the celebration and apart from the citizens, πολῖται, their acquaintances, γνῶριμοι, and slaves, δοῦλοι, were entertained at the meals.<sup>12</sup> A great number of sacrifices, θυσίαι, were made during this part of the cult. So far Polykrates.

Another notice in Athenaios (4.173f) of interest for the Hyakinthia is the mention of a road called Ὑακινθίς ὁδός. This road was probably used during the Hyakinthia for processions going from Sparta to Amyklai.<sup>13</sup>

The second testimonium is Pausanias' de-

scription of the sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai, the Amyklaion, where the Hyakinthia was celebrated.<sup>14</sup> Though he gives a very

<sup>9</sup> The month name Hyakinthios has been attested at Gythion, Byzantion (doubtful), Kalymna, Knidos, Kos, Rhodes, Sparta, Thera, Lato and Malia in Crete; testimonia in Samuel 1972, s.v. 'Hyakinthios', 'Hyakinthos', 'Bakinthos', 'Wakinthios' in Index of Months, 284–297. This has led scholars to believe in the presence of the cult in these places since it is generally believed that the names of the months are derived from the most important cult of the month; see Burkert 1985, 225–227.

It has not been possible to establish the order of the months in the Spartan calendar. However, the equation of the 25th of Hyakinthios with the 18th of July in the year 149 AD, in an inscription from Thera, confirms that the Hyakinthia was a summer month; see IG XII 3, 325. On the Spartan calendar see Samuel 1972, 92–94. Pareti (1961, 228) has suggested that the Hyakinthios and the Karneia were the last two months of the Spartan calendar.

<sup>10</sup> Polykrates, *FGrHist* 588 F 1. Didymos from Alexandria lived in the first century BC; see Cohn 1905, 445–472. Polykrates' testimonium is thus not later than the first century BC. According to Jacoby he could have been a local historian of Lakonian origin; see Jacoby's comment to *FGrHist* 588 F 1. It is thus possible that Polykrates was an eye-witness to the cult. See also Mette 1952, 1752.

<sup>11</sup> Some scholars have found a duration of three days too short a period for a cult of such importance; see Wide 1893, 290f. However, no evidence supports the idea that there was a relation in Greek religion between the status of a cult and its extension in time. On the basis of Herodotos 9.8 and 9.11, Unger (1877, 31) came to the conclusion that the Hyakinthia lasted for at least eleven days. Also Piccirilli (1967, 110f.) has proposed this number of days. For a discussion of this topic see Mellink 1943, 24f.

<sup>12</sup> Polykrates mentions three groups who took part in the second part of the cult: citizens, *politai*, their acquaintances, *hoi gnorimoi*, and their slaves, *douloi*. The expression *hoi gnorimoi* could signify either people from outside Lakonia or non-citizens from Lakonia, i.e. the perioikoi. However, I think that the *gnorimoi* in this connection are people from outside Lakonia and that the celebration of important cults, such as the Hyakinthia and the Gymnopaideiai, was considered an appropriate occasion for the invitation of friends and acquaintances from outside Lakonia.

<sup>13</sup> Bölle 1914, 4.

<sup>14</sup> This sanctuary was the most famous in Lakonia, ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἱερῶν, according to Polybios, 5.19.3.



diction in the testimonia concerning the singing of the paean during the Hyakinthia, since Polykrates, in the above-mentioned passage in Athenaios, states that the paean was forbidden during the cult. A contradiction of a similar nature concerns the wearing of wreaths. According to Macrobius (*Sat.* 1.18.2) the Spartans wore wreaths of ivy during the Hyakinthia. These contradictions in the testimonia are due to the structure of the cult, as I will argue in the following.

A fragment by Aristotle, preserved by a scholiast on Pindar, says that the cuirass of Timomachos was put on display during the Hyakinthia. This Timomachos is said to be of the Aigeidan clan, originally from Thebes, who came to help the Spartans in their ambition to conquer Amyklai.<sup>20</sup>

In Euripides' *Helen* (1465–1475) there is a reference to nocturnal rituals performed by women during the Hyakinthia. This notice confirms the active participation of women during the cult, something which is also expressed in the account by Polykrates. Furthermore, inscriptions of Roman date mention a woman as the leader, ἀρχὴν καὶ θεωρός, of an agon during the Hyakinthia.<sup>21</sup>

### Previous research

The earliest discussions of the Hyakinthia treat the cult in the light of the myth about how the young Hyakinthos was killed by a discus-throw. The myth is explained by Schoemann in his *Griechische Alterthümer*, whose third edition was published in 1873, as a nature allegory in which Hyakinthos impersonates the sprouting vegetation in spring, which is 'killed' by the heat of the summer.<sup>22</sup> Apollo is the sender of this heat and the discus symbolizes the sun.<sup>23</sup> The rituals of sorrow during the first part of the Hyakinthia are interpreted as the sorrow felt for Hyakinthos as a symbol of the 'dying' vegetation.

This pattern of interpretation is repeated in Unger's treatment of the cult, the first fairly detailed one, appearing in 1877.<sup>24</sup> In Unger's view Apollo was a sun-god, the god of daylight

and the strong heat of the summer. Hyakinthos was a weakened aspect of Apollo, 'ein Theil-apollo', and his death symbolized the end of spring and the beginning of summer.<sup>25</sup> The cult is also thought of as an illustration of the events in nature, and the myth connected with the cult is treated as a nature allegory. The Hyakinthia was considered as 'Leichenspiele' in analogy with the Panhellenic games.

E. Rohde, whose work *Psyche* was published in 1894, deals with the problem of how to interpret the relation between Apollo and Hyakinthos. In his view Hyakinthos was 'ein alter, unter der Erde hausender Localgott der Amykläischen Landschaft, sein Dienst in Amykläe älter als der des Apollo'.<sup>26</sup> Rohde considers the cult as consisting of two parts, the older one devoted to Hyakinthos and the younger one honouring Apollo. Rohde thus tried to detect a historical dimension in the cult, an approach which reflected the archaeological discoveries by Schliemann, and the fact that the Bronze Age of Greece no longer was a pure fiction. On the basis of linguistic studies, the *-nth-* suffix now became associated with a pre-Greek

<sup>20</sup> Arist. fr. 532 (Rose) = Schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 7.18b.

<sup>21</sup> *IG* V 1, 586, 587. To these inscriptions can be added the graffito on a Lakonian roof tile found at the Amyklaion. The graffito consists of a list of women's names and the publisher suggests that it should be associated with the Hyakinthia: Edmonson 1959, 162–164. The writing of the graffito is dated to the second half of the third century BC.

Evidence of female participation also comes from a relief of the third century BC from the Amyklaion. It consists of two registers, the upper one depicting an animal being dragged towards an altar. To the left of the altar a figure is represented which could be the cult statue of Apollo at Amyklai. The lower register represents five women, probably dancing. The relief is published in Schröder 1904, fig. 2.

<sup>22</sup> Schoemann 1873, 457f.

<sup>23</sup> Welcker 1857, 472.

<sup>24</sup> Unger 1877, 1–42.

<sup>25</sup> Unger 1877, 22.

<sup>26</sup> Rohde 1894, 131. In the second edition of *Psyche* (1898), the discussion on Hyakinthos is on page 137–141. Nothing new is added in this edition compared to the first one.

language, pointing to a period before the arrival of the Greeks.<sup>27</sup>

Rohde's work attracted immediate attention, and S. Wide in his treatment of the Hyakinthia in *Lakonische Kulte*, published in 1893, refers to Rohde instead of giving an interpretation of his own. However, he discusses aspects of the cult such as its duration and the above-mentioned inscriptions mentioning a woman as the leader of an agon during the Hyakinthia.

Nilsson discussed the Hyakinthia at some length in *Griechische Feste*, published in 1906.<sup>28</sup> He based the interpretation of the Hyakinthia as a cult of fertility on the evidence of a ritual meal, a *panspermia*, and nocturnal dances performed by women.<sup>29</sup> Hyakinthos was considered an 'in der Erdtiefe wohnenden Fruchtbarkeitsgott'.<sup>30</sup>

In his *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion* published in 1927, Nilsson treated Hyakinthos as an exponent of the Divine Child, who belonged to 'the one great cycle of religious ideas, the annual coming to life and decaying of the Life of Nature'.<sup>31</sup> The notion of a mythological figure symbolizing the power of nature, especially vegetation, had received its first major expression in W. Mannhardt's work on European peasant customs.<sup>32</sup> Mannhardt called this figure a 'Korn-dämon'. This view was taken over by J. E. Harrison, who created the concept 'Eniautos daimon', a spirit who symbolized '...not only vegetation, but the whole world-process of decay, death, renewal'.<sup>33</sup> Nilsson's idea of a Divine Child was based on evidence concerning the Cretan Zeus, who was thought of as being abandoned by his mother, nursed by nymphs, living in the wilderness and, at the end, dying. This Zeus was a god of fertility who died and was reborn annually.<sup>34</sup>

Mellink in her thesis on Hyakinthos, published in 1943, walks in the footsteps of Nilsson, as far as the interpretation of the cult is concerned. It is the most thorough study of the problems concerned with both the Hyakinthia and Hyakinthos.<sup>35</sup> Hyakinthos is considered 'a manifestation of the once widely venerated god of vegetation'<sup>36</sup> whose 'sphere of influence is young nature beginning to flower again in

spring'.<sup>37</sup> The nucleus of the cult 'seems to be the cycle of vegetation. The annual revival of the vegetable world in spring and its rapid decline in autumn and summer, when the season is wearing itself out, finds its religious expression in the worship of a vegetation-god annually reborn in spring and dying in autumn...'<sup>38</sup>

A recent discussion of the Hyakinthia by Dietrich, published in 1975, repeats the interpretation by Nilsson that Hyakinthos was a Divine Child.<sup>39</sup> In Dietrich's view, the Hyakinthia was an apotropaic cult of the dead, a 'Sühnefest' connected with Apollo in his aspect of Apotropaos and Alexikakos, averter of evils.<sup>40</sup> Dietrich discerns three stages in the development of the cult, a pre-Dorian Minoan-Myce-

<sup>27</sup> Kretschmer 1896, 404; Chantraine 1933, 370; Deroy 1956, 185–189; Quattordio Moreschini 1984, 92–95. However, in W. Merlingen's opinion (1962, 16) neither words nor names containing the *-nth-* element can be considered as non-Greek. Some scholars have associated the name with Sanskrit, e.g. Brugmann (1967, 261) who considers the name related to Sanskrit *yuvaca-*, meaning youth. For a discussion of the literature on etymological problems concerning the name Hyakinthos, see Mellink 1943, 102–107. Mellink thinks that the name is of 'pre-Hellenic and non-Indo-European origin', p. 107. Discussion of problems concerning the identification of the flower hyacinth is in Stadler (1914, 4–7) and Irwin (1990, 205–218).

<sup>28</sup> Nilsson 1906, 129–140.

<sup>29</sup> A *panspermia* is generally considered a type of offering consisting of fruits: Ziehen 1949, 680–683.

<sup>30</sup> Nilsson 1906, 140.

<sup>31</sup> Nilsson 1950, 555. Nothing new concerning Hyakinthos is added in the second edition.

<sup>32</sup> Mannhardt 1904–1905. This second edition is a reprint of the first one, published in 1875–1877, with some minor technical adjustments.

<sup>33</sup> Harrison 1912, XIII.

<sup>34</sup> According to Nilsson (1950, 573), the notion that the vegetation was born and nursed by nature daemons 'is so simple that neither explanation nor comments are needed; it corresponds perfectly to a plain and simple vegetation cult'.

<sup>35</sup> Mellink 1943.

<sup>36</sup> Mellink 1943, 161.

<sup>37</sup> Mellink 1943, 94.

<sup>38</sup> Mellink 1943, 78.

<sup>39</sup> Dietrich 1975, 133–142.

<sup>40</sup> Dietrich 1975, 141f.

naean stage, a Dorian, and an Apolline stage.<sup>41</sup> The most important aspect of Dietrich's article is that he points out the occurrence of the month Hyakinthios in specifically Dorian regions of Greece, and thus indicates that Hyakinthos must have been a Dorian god whose cult began in Amyklai and was spread by the Dorians before the end of the Bronze Age.<sup>42</sup> Dietrich moreover characterizes the cult as a 'juxtaposition of incongruous elements', due to the intrusion of Apollo in an older cult devoted solely to Hyakinthos.<sup>43</sup>

A different line of interpretation is represented by Jeanmaire. In his work *Couroi et Courètes*, published in 1939, the three Spartan cults Hyakinthia, Gymnopaïdai and Karneia are interpreted as rites of initiation.<sup>44</sup> The Hyakinthia was, in Jeanmaire's view, the final phase in a cycle of initiations of Spartan adolescents, and the young Hyakinthos was 'le courous par excellence', a symbol for every male initiand, whose death in the myth very well suited the theme of death and rebirth associated with rites of initiation.<sup>45</sup>

The theme of initiation in Greek religion earned its second major treatment in Brelich's study *Paides e parthenoi*, published in 1969.<sup>46</sup> Brelich, like Jeanmaire before him, considers the three cults Hyakinthia, Gymnopaïdai and Karneia as parts of the educational system in Sparta, the *agoge*.<sup>47</sup> In Brelich's opinion, the Hyakinthia was a New Year's festival, symbolized by the presentation of a new chiton for Apollo.

Chirassi discusses the Hyakinthia in her work *Elementi di culture precereali nei miti e riti greci*, published in 1968.<sup>48</sup> She considers the Hyakinthia as originally a proto-agrarian cult, which is still expressed through the prohibitions against bread during the first part of the cult. These prohibitions, according to Chirassi, point to a cultural level where the use of fire and thus baking and cooking were unknown skills. With the taboos, the participants created a primitive level of culture, preceding that of an agrarian society.<sup>49</sup> The participation of adolescents, both boys and girls, indicates the role of initiation. Hyakinthos was the symbolic my-

thologem for all male adolescents, and his death and resurrection symbolized the change of status of the initiands.<sup>50</sup>

In his work *Les chœurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque*, published in 1977, Calame has dealt with the female participation in Greek cult.<sup>51</sup> Calame regards the Hyakinthia as the final stage in a tribal initiation. The destruction of the old order is expressed by a period with symbols of death and sorrow, followed by the revival of order, a kind of resurrection.<sup>52</sup> In Calame's opinion this ritual pattern is reflected in the myth about Hyakinthos. He dies, killed by Apollo, and enters heaven where he puts on the status of hero. After a while he is reborn and, together with his sister Polyboia, starts a new life. The cult is regarded as an enactment of the myth, a ritual drama.<sup>53</sup>

### *Elements of the cult*

#### FOOD

The information about the Hyakinthia in Athenaios' *Deipnosophistai* is a part of a section devoted to customs connected with Spartan symposia (4.138b–143a). The section consists of a collection of quotations from different sources. The account starts with a quotation from Herodotos (9.82), an anecdote which contrasts the luxurious life-style of the Persians with the frugal one of the Spartans.<sup>54</sup>

There follows a series of excerpts, quoted from Polemon, mentioning a meal at Sparta

<sup>41</sup> Dietrich 1975, 137.

<sup>42</sup> Dietrich 1975, 140f.

<sup>43</sup> Dietrich 1975, 134.

<sup>44</sup> Jeanmaire 1939, 524–540.

<sup>45</sup> Jeanmaire 1939, 529.

<sup>46</sup> Brelich 1969.

<sup>47</sup> Brelich 1969, 139–154; 171–191.

<sup>48</sup> Chirassi 1968, 157–177.

<sup>49</sup> Chirassi 1968, 171.

<sup>50</sup> Chirassi 1968, 164f.

<sup>51</sup> Calame 1977.

<sup>52</sup> Calame 1977, 317.

<sup>53</sup> Calame 1977, 318.

<sup>54</sup> Ath. 4.138b–d = Hdt. 9.82

called κοπίς.<sup>55</sup> A passage from Kratinos (4.138e) says that strangers, ξένοι, were entertained during the *kopis*. It also says that sausages, φύσκα, hung on the walls in the public lounges, λέσχαί.

From a work on the helots by Eupolis (4.138f) it next appears that the *kopis* was celebrated in honour of some men, though without more specific information on who they were.

Athenaios continues quoting Polemon on matters concerning two sorts of meal, the above mentioned *kopis* and the αἰκλον. Polemon says that when the *kopis* is celebrated, tents, σκηναί, are set up at the temple of the god.<sup>56</sup> The tents were furnished with couches of straw, σπιβάδες, on which rugs were spread.<sup>57</sup> Not only people from the neighbourhood but also strangers, *xenoi*, were entertained in these tents.

Goats were the only animals allowed to be sacrificed during the *kopis*. The meat was distributed to all participants. The meal also consisted of a cake called φυσίκιλλος, a sort of sweet cake which is compared with a cake called ἐγκρίς, made of oil and honey. Green cheese, χλωρός τυρός, paunch, γαστήρ, sausage, φύσκη, dried figs, σῦκα, dried beans, κύαμοι, and green beans, φάσηλοι χλωροί, were also served.

The quotation from Polemon continues by describing the occurrence of the *kopis* in a cult devoted to Artemis, called Tithenidia, in which the male children were brought by their nurses to the image of Artemis Korythalia, whose temple was situated close to the fountain of Tiassos. At this spot the *kopis* was eaten as a part of the cult, though the prescribed sacrifices also included piglets, ὀρθαγορίσκοι.

After these notices about the *kopis*, Polemon continues with a description of the second type of meal, the *aiklon*. A quotation from Epicharmos provides the information that the *aiklon* was served after the dinner, and to those who had admittance to the mess, φιδίτιον. The *aiklon* consisted of bread loaves, ἄρτοι, and a piece of meat. The name of the donor of the food was announced during the *aiklon*.

The quotation from Polemon now ends, and

Athenaios goes on to cite a text from Didymos quoting a historian named Polykrates (4.139c–f). In a work called *History of Sparta*, Polykrates gives a description of the Hyakinthia. This description is inserted in the section on Spartan *symposia* as a contrast to what had been said by Polemon. Before quoting Polykrates, Athenaios explicitly says that Polemon is contradicted by Didymos. It is obvious that the reason for inserting Polykrates is that his description of the meal during the Hyakinthia contradicts what has been told by Polemon. On what points, then, are there contradictions between the texts?

Polemon says that bread, *artos*, was served during the *kopis* in connection with the cult of

<sup>55</sup> Athenaios says that the quotations from Polemon are taken from a comment on the specific carriage, κάνναθρον, mentioned in Xenophon, *Ages.* 8.7; Περὶ τοῦ παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι καννάθρου. As this type of carriage was also used in the Hyakinthia, it is probable that some of the information concerning the *kopis* is valid for the Hyakinthia. Moreover, Xenophon says that Agesilaos' daughter was carried in a *kannathron* to Amyklai. He does not explicitly mention the Hyakinthia but it is assumed that a procession took place from Sparta to Amyklai during the Hyakinthia. See also Bölle 1929a, 134f. and Mellink 1943, 6f. On the *kopis* in general see Kroll 1922, 1362f.

<sup>56</sup> It is generally agreed that the expression τὸν θεόν here refers to Apollo. As I mentioned above in note 55, Polemon's comment on the *kannathron* also contains information about the Hyakinthia, in which the carriages were used. The construction of tents and the participation of strangers confirm that this passage in Polemon concerns a public festival and a cult in which the *kopis* was a part.

<sup>57</sup> According to Verpoorten (1962, 147–160) the *stibas* was used in cults of an agrarian society and it symbolized 'la nature sauvage'. The celebration of a festival outside the confines of a city, using the *stibades*, reflected the wish to recreate a more simple life-style of the past. Verpoorten mentions three cults in which *stibades* were used, the Hyakinthia, the Tithenidia and the Thesmophoria, and he thinks that the *stibas* was a characteristic of rites of initiation. Also Jeanmaire (1939, 416f.) has interpreted the use of *stibades* as an element in rites of initiation. See also Poland 1929, 2482–2484; Gernet 1928, 316f., 325–327; Goldstein 1978, 26–32; Burkert 1985, 107; Kron 1988, 138.



Artemis Korythalia, the Tithenidia. Bread was also served during the *aiklon*. Polykrates, however, explicitly states that during the Hyakinthia bread was forbidden. Furthermore, the taboos concerning the Hyakinthia included sweet cakes, which Polemon says were a part of the *kopis*.

The reason for bringing Polykrates' narrative of the Hyakinthia into the description of Spartan *symposia* must have been that a part of the quotation from Polemon concerning the *kopis* was related to the Hyakinthia and that the *kopis* thus, according to Polemon, was a part of the Hyakinthia. The prohibitions mentioned by Polykrates concerning bread and sweets thus contradict the earlier account by Polemon. The solution to this problem is to be found in the structure of the Hyakinthia. From Polykrates' account it is clear that the cult was built of two parts opposed in character. The prohibitions against eating bread, sweet cakes, wearing wreaths and singing the paeon were valid for the first part of the cult, commemorating the death of Hyakinthos. The second part of the cult, however, included the eating of the *kopis* and the entertainment not only of strangers but also of slaves.

After Polykrates, Athenaios turns back to Polemon, who cites Epilykos saying that the *kopis* was served at the sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai (4.140a). This quotation is a further proof that the previous information by Polemon about the *kopis* was valid for the Hyakinthia, and that the meal was a part of the cult.

A quotation from Molpis (4.140b) states that the *kopis* was a meal, δείπνον, consisting of barley-cake, μᾶζα, bread of wheat, ἄρτος, meat, κρέας, uncooked greens, λάχανον ὠμόν, broth, ζωμός, fig, σῦκον, dried fruit, τράγημα, and lupine, θέρμος.<sup>58</sup>

The section on Spartan symposia is further supplied with information on the *aiklon*.<sup>59</sup> After the *aiklon* had been served, there was an additional meal called ἐπαϊκλον. There were two types of *epaikla*. A frugal one was served to the boys, *paides*, consisting of barley-meal soaked in oil and served on leaves of laurel. The sec-

ond type of *epaiklon* was served in the mess after the ordinary dinner. According to Molpis, the *epaikla* were sponsored by wealthy members of the mess and the μάγειροι announced the names of those who had brought food with them.

Molpis supplies the information that the *epaiklon* consisted of animals either caught in hunt or taken from the herds, and it was not allowed to bring purchased food to the common mess.

What conclusions can be drawn from the section on Spartan *symposia*? Table 1 summarizes the information.

The section on Spartan symposia in Athenaios concerns three types of meal, the *kopis*, the *aiklon* and the *epaiklon*. The *kopis* was a sacred meal served in connection with cults, for example the cult of Tithenidia devoted to Artemis Korythalia.<sup>60</sup> The only meat allowed during this meal was goat meat, though this was obviously not a strict rule, as the above-mentioned cult of Tithenidia demonstrates. It is, however, important to bear in mind that the meat eaten during a *kopis* came from the sacrificial animals, as the *kopis* was a part of a cult. The sacred context of the *kopis* thus separates it from the *aiklon* and the *epaiklon*.

The *aiklon* was associated with the collective life-style of the Spartans. Both the *aiklon* and the *epaiklon* were served in the messes, *syssitia* or *phiditia*. Cooked pork was served during the *aiklon*, according to one testimony, and the meat served at the *epaiklon* could consist of meat from animals either caught in hunt or from herds of cattle. The meat served during the *aiklon* did not come from sacrificial animals, and accordingly did not have the same

<sup>58</sup> Molpis, *FGrHist* 590 F 1. Lupine, *thermos*, was a plant which, according to Theophrastos (*Hist. Pl.* 1.3.6; 8.11.8), was sown not in cultivated soil but in unploughed land.

<sup>59</sup> According to Bruit (1990, 163) there was little difference in the food consumed during the *kopis* and the *phidition*.

<sup>60</sup> Ath. 4.139a–b.

Table 1

<p><i>KOPIS</i>: The sacred meal</p> <p>Bread: barley-cake, <i>maza</i></p> <p>Wheaten bread, <i>artos</i></p> <p>Vegetables: fresh beans, <i>kyamoi</i></p> <p>dried beans, <i>kyamoi xeroi</i></p> <p>lupine, <i>thermos</i></p> <p>Cheese: green cheese, <i>tyros chloros</i></p> <p>Fruit: fig, <i>sykon</i>, both dried and fresh</p> <p>Meat: goat, <i>aix</i></p> <p>Soup: <i>zomos</i></p> <p>Sweets: <i>physikillos</i>, probably sweet as it is compared with <i>enkris</i>, made with oil and honey.</p>	<p><i>AIKLON</i>:</p> <p>Bread and meat distributed in equal portions among the members of the mess.</p> <p><i>EPAIKLON</i>:</p> <p>Two categories of <i>epaikla</i>: one consisting of barley-cake, <i>maza</i>, mixed with oil, the other consisting of <i>maza</i> and meat from the quarry of a hunt or from herds.</p>
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sacred quality as the goat meat served during the *kopis*.

The *epaiklon* was divided in two categories, one served to boys, *paides*, the other to the members of the mess. The two types of *epaikla* thus separated the adolescents from the citizens. This illustrates how the meals were associated with the educational system, the *agoge*, of the Spartan society. The individual was adapted to the group, the solidarity of which was expressed through one of the most fundamental of human communities: the sharing of food in a meal.<sup>61</sup>

The *kopis* was moreover distinguished from the *aiklon* in that not only strangers, *xenoi*, but also slaves, *douloi*, were allowed to take part in the meal. The *aiklon*, as a part of the collective life-style of the Spartans and served in the *sysitia*, must have been restricted to the citizens. Furthermore women, as participants in the cult, could have participated in the *kopis* while they were excluded from the *sysitia*.

While the *aiklon* seems to have been a rather frugal meal, distributed in equal portions among the members of the mess, the *kopis* was characterized by an abundance of food including meat, bread, vegetables and sweets. The *kopis* dissolved the categories of the society: man-woman, citizen-adolescent, citizen-stranger. The section on Spartan symposia in Athenaios thus gives clear evidence of the role of meals as a structural device in Spartan culture.

However, the meal served during the first part of the Hyakinthia was not an ordinary *kopis*. Among the sacral meals in Spartan religion, this meal stood out as an exception to the ordinary *kopis* type and it was characterized by certain prohibitions. This meal has to be considered in the light of the other prohibitions valid for the first part of the cult. The second part of the Hyakinthia, however, was an ordinary *kopis*, as Polemon's account in Athenaios testifies. The dual structure of the cult was thus expressed in the two different meals served.

#### WREATHS

The prohibition against wearing wreaths during the first part of the Hyakinthia, as Polykrates says (Ath. 4.139d), and the notice by Macrobius (*Sat.* 1.18.2) that wreaths made of ivy were worn in connection with the Hyakinthia, is a contradiction which can be solved only by taking the structure of the cult into consideration. The first part of the Hyakinthia was a commemoration of the death of Hyakinthos, and to this part belonged the prohibitions against wearing wreaths and against singing the paean as well as the eating of a meal which deviated from the ordinary sacred meal, due to prohibitions against bread and sweets.

An issue here is which specific values were attached to the wearing of a wreath in Greek re-

<sup>61</sup> Bruit 1990, 171f.

ligion.<sup>62</sup> A wreath, or a circular garland, *στéφανος*, could be made of a wide range of plants or flowers: oak, palmtree, pinetree, ivy, celery, hyacinth, laurel, myrtle, olive.<sup>63</sup> Wreaths were used in ceremonies connected with the family, such as birth, marriage and death.<sup>64</sup> They were also used in the official cult and worn by the sacrificial priests.<sup>65</sup> The sacrificial animals were adorned with wreaths or garlands.<sup>66</sup>

The death of a person seems to have created a period in which it was forbidden to wear wreaths, but this period ended in connection with the meal eaten after the burial.<sup>67</sup> The wearing of wreaths after a burial thus expressed the reintegration of the group after the burial of the dead.

The myths associated with the Attic festival *Oschophoria* confirm the custom of not wearing wreaths in a time of mourning and sorrow. Plutarch tells (*Thes.* 22.2–3) how the herald, sent out by Theseus to announce the safe return from Crete, hears about the death of Aigeus; he does not put a wreath on his head. The prohibition against wearing wreaths during the first part of the *Hyakinthia*, due to the mourning of *Hyakinthos*, supports the idea that the custom of not wearing wreaths in association with death and mourning was valid for several parts of Greece.

For the victors in the Panhellenic games, the crowning with a wreath could be regarded as the ultimate sign of triumph.<sup>68</sup> The wreath was not only a sign of the victory: it also indicated contact with the gods. The wreath was made of leaves from sacred trees which stood under the protection of the gods, and the crowning was an event which marked communication with the divine sphere.<sup>69</sup>

The ivy was usually a part of the cults associated with *Dionysos* and, from the sixth century BC, ivy and the wine became the standard attributes of the god.<sup>70</sup> In the Homeric Hymn to *Dionysos* (34–45) the epiphany of the god is connected with the sudden appearance of ivy and wine, a scene which has found its iconographical expression in the famous cup by *Exekias*.<sup>71</sup>

In cultic contexts, ivy appears as decoration of columns depicted on the so-called ‘*Lenäenvasen*’. The columns have been interpreted as idols of *Dionysos*.<sup>72</sup> The presence of ivy thus symbolized the presence of the god.

The appearance of ivy on pottery from the *Kabeirion* at Thebes gives a hint at the character of the cult to which the ivy could be associated. Though very little is known about the rituals, the finds from the *Kabeirion* have been interpreted by Burkert as part of initiation rituals.<sup>73</sup> The vessels found at the sanctuary depict beings of a grotesque appearance. The cult was thought of as a mystery, instituted by *Demeter*. The votive dedications to *Kabeiros* represent a reclining, bearded *Dionysos* and a boy, to whom playthings were dedicated. The ivy could thus have been associated with a cult containing rites of initiation. The wreath could, in this connection, have been worn as a sign of reaching a new stage.

In Blech’s view, as mentioned above, the ivy as an attribute specifically related to *Dionysos* and his cult does not appear before the sixth century BC.<sup>74</sup> The use of ivy, though, has a long history in Greek culture, going back to the Bronze Age both on the mainland and in Crete. According to Warren, garlands or wreaths were worn at ritual dances and ceremonies in Minoan times.<sup>75</sup> Garlands and wreaths became symbols associated with cere-

<sup>62</sup> According to Nilsson (1967, 148), ‘*der Kranz verleiht Segen, erhöhte Kraft: daher bedeutet er eine Huldigung und wird bei allen heiligen Handlungen getragen.*’

<sup>63</sup> Ganszyniec 1922, 1592f.

<sup>64</sup> Ganszyniec 1922, 1594f. with testimonia.

<sup>65</sup> Ganszyniec 1922, 1600 with testimonia.

<sup>66</sup> Blech 1982, 303f.

<sup>67</sup> Testimonia in Blech 1982, 82f.

<sup>68</sup> Blech 1982, 127–153.

<sup>69</sup> Blech 1982, 147.

<sup>70</sup> Blech 1982, 185–216.

<sup>71</sup> For a reproduction of the *Exekias* cup see Arias & Hirmer 1962, pl. XVI.

<sup>72</sup> Blech 1982, 202–204.

<sup>73</sup> Burkert 1985, 281f.

<sup>74</sup> Blech 1982, 185.

<sup>75</sup> Warren 1985, 187–208.

monies of death as well as ceremonies of fertility and renewal. In historical times, goddesses such as Eileithyia and Diktyнна are connected with garlands. Warren believes in a Cretan tradition upheld from the Bronze Age to historical times.<sup>76</sup> The ivy appears as a sign on the Linear B tablets.<sup>77</sup> To Evans the religious associations of ivy were apparently so evident that he labeled it 'sacral ivy'.<sup>78</sup>

In the cult of Apollo, the laurel plays the most important role as material for the wreath.<sup>79</sup> The earliest connection between the laurel and Apollo is expressed in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo (396), dated to the second part of the seventh century BC.<sup>80</sup> According to the hymn, the god prophesized through the laurel tree and the first temple at Delphi was said to have been made of laurel.<sup>81</sup> In a fragment by Aischylos, however, there is one piece of evidence for the connection between the ivy and Apollo. In this fragment Apollo is invoked as the ivy-crowned, ὁ κισσεὺς Ἀπόλλων.<sup>82</sup> It is probable that the connections of Apollo with laurel, and of Dionysos with ivy, were spread through the influence of poetry in Archaic times; the use of ivy during the Hyakinthia would thus point to a time when the different attributes of the gods were not yet fixed.

The examples discussed above indicate that the wearing of wreaths was connected with rites of passage, such as birth, marriage and death. It was also associated with sacrifices and could be regarded as a general symbol of divine presence. The prohibition against wreaths during the first part of the Hyakinthia should therefore be interpreted in the light of the structure of the Hyakinthia in two different parts. The lack of wreaths during the first part of the cult was, together with the other prohibitions, a symbol for a negative state connected with the mourning of Hyakinthos.<sup>83</sup> Accordingly, the use of wreaths during the second part of the cult was a positive symbol of the presence of the divinity and was associated with the sacrifices, *thysiai*, to Apollo and the singing of the paean.

## THE PAEAN

The importance of the paean in the celebration of the Hyakinthia is demonstrated by Xenophon (*Hell.* 4.5.11), who says that the Amyklaians went home for the Hyakinthia to sing the paean.<sup>84</sup> As with the wearing of wreaths, however, the singing of the paean was forbidden during the Hyakinthia, according to Polykrates. To understand the meaning of this contradiction it is necessary to take a closer look at the nature of the paean.

In his study of 1900, Fairbanks comes to the conclusion that the paean, more than other choruses, was associated with religion.<sup>85</sup> The general term for a chorus in connection with a cult was ὕμνος, and ὑπόρχημα was the term for a chorus associated with dances. In course of time, specific choruses became connected with special gods, e.g. the dithyramb with Dionysos and the paean with Apollo.<sup>86</sup> The dithyramb was accompanied by flutes and it was danced by the choir, as was characteristic of choruses in Greek culture. Song and dance formed a unity, χορεία, the importance of which I will review in the next chapter.

The paean was a chorus associated either with processions or with songs sung at the altar.<sup>87</sup> It was sung before and after battles, in

<sup>76</sup> Warren 1985, 207.

<sup>77</sup> Blech 1982, 184.

<sup>78</sup> Evans 1928, 478–489.

<sup>79</sup> Blech 1982, 216–245; Steier 1927, 1439–1442.

<sup>80</sup> Blech 1982, 222.

<sup>81</sup> On the myth about the first temples at Delphi see Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, 192–216.

<sup>82</sup> Fr. 341 (Nauck).

<sup>83</sup> Blech 1982, 361.

<sup>84</sup> This has led scholars to believe that the celebration of the Hyakinthia was limited to the Amyklaians: Cartledge 1979, 80f. In the biography of Agesilaos, Xenophon (2.17) states that the king went home to celebrate the Hyakinthia.

<sup>85</sup> Fairbanks 1900, 1.

<sup>86</sup> Fairbanks 1900, 66.

<sup>87</sup> Concerning the origin of the paean, different suggestions have been put forward. According to Fairbanks (1900, 67) the original paean was an invocation of Paian, the god of healing in Homer and dis-

connection with weddings, at the symposia, and in association with victories.<sup>88</sup> However, it seems as if the paean was consciously avoided in connection with death and mourning.<sup>89</sup> It was usually accompanied by the kithara or the phorminx, and was generally associated with the cult of Apollo.<sup>90</sup> Since Paian appears as an independent divinity in Linear B and in the *Iliad*, the paean has been considered to have originally been a hymn invoking Paian as the god of healing.<sup>91</sup> However, it cannot be ruled out that Paian is used in Homer as another name of Apollo, in analogy with the use of the name Smintheus in the first book of the *Iliad* (1.39), where the priest Chryses invokes Apollo as the god of pestilence, calling him Smintheus.<sup>92</sup>

In the first book of the *Iliad* (1.472–474) the association between the paean and Apollo is fully developed. The Achaeans sing and dance the paean in order to placate the wrath of Apollo, who has sent the pestilence to the Greek camps.

In the beginning of Sophokles' *King Oedipus* (5), the paean is associated with sacrifices made to avert pestilence. The scholion on Euripides' *Phoinissai* explicitly states that the paean was sung to Apollo in order to ward off all evil.<sup>93</sup>

The paean was thus performed in association with a crisis. Probably it was considered to have the power of healing, and the singing and dancing of the paean restored the order which had been disturbed.<sup>94</sup> In this respect, the performance of the paean can be viewed as a rite of passage, the marking of the change from defilement to purity.

In the Homeric Hymn to Apollo (500, 514–519), the establishment of the sanctuary of Apollo is associated with the performance of the paean. The god leads the procession to Delphi, playing the kithara and singing the paean.<sup>95</sup> Here the paean can be understood as a processional hymn.

At Delphi, moreover, the performance of the paean was regarded as the original type of contest in the Pythian games, and the hymn visualized the combat between Apollo and the

tinct from Apollo. Deubner (1919, 401) considers the god as an eponymic invention of the cultic cry *ie ie paian*, while von Blumenthal (1942, 2340–2344) thinks that the cultic cry presupposes and proves the existence of the god Paian. In Privitera's view (1972, 41) the last theory is confirmed by the existence of the name Paiawon on a Linear B tablet from Knossos: Gérard-Rousseau 1968, 164f. According to Diehl (1940, 109–112) the word paean can be derived from *paio*, to beat or stamp. In Diehl's view, beating the ground was a characteristic of the performance of a paean.

<sup>88</sup> von Blumenthal 1942, 2346–2350.

<sup>89</sup> However, the paean is mentioned in connection with death and mourning in Aischylos and Euripides. Deubner (1919, 406) explains this as an ironic use by the tragedians.

Fraenkel (1955, 321), in his commentary on *Agamemnon*, says that the use of the paean in association with the Erinyes must be 'a blasphemous paradox'.

In his commentary to Euripides' *Helen*, Kannicht (1969, 70) states that 'da der heitere Paian, als die äusserste Antithese zu dem düsteren Threnos, den Unteren eigentlich gerade fremd ist, ist er zur Bildung ironischer Oxymora besonders gut geeignet'.

Dale, in his commentary on Euripides' *Alkestis* (1954, 86) explains the mentioning of the paean in connection with death and mourning as an ironic means: 'paean in connexion with suffering and the powers of death has probably always the force of oxymoron. It is sometimes expressly distinguished from ὀρθῆνος and rejected from the worship of the infernal powers...it is used in bitter irony.'

Fragment 82 by Aischylos in Smyth's translation:

'For, alone of gods, Death loves not gifts; no, not by sacrifice, nor by libation, canst thou aught avail with him; he hath no altar nor hath the hymn of praise, οὐδὲ παῖωνί ζεται, from him, alone of gods, Persuasion stands aloof.' See Aeschylus. With an English translation by H.W. Smyth, 2nd ed. by H. Lloyd-Jones (Loeb Classical Library), London & Cambridge, Mass. 1957 (1926), 434.

<sup>90</sup> The paean was not totally restricted to the cult of Apollo, but appeared in association with cults of other gods as well: Fairbanks 1900, 35–40; von Blumenthal 1942, 2343, 2353.

<sup>91</sup> Fairbanks 1900, 67.

<sup>92</sup> In a fragment by Hesiod, Apollo and Paian still appear as two distinct figures: fr. 307 (Merkelbach & West). However, a process of amalgamation between Apollo and Paian probably had its beginning already in the eighth century.

<sup>93</sup> Schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 1102.

<sup>94</sup> Plutarch gives examples of how music can avert pestilence. *Plut. Mor.* 1146b–d.

<sup>95</sup> Also Euripides describes Apollo as playing the kithara and singing the paean, Eur. *Ion* 909–910. It is interesting to notice that the establishment of the

dragon.<sup>96</sup> The paean was also a part of the cult at Delphi called Theoxenia.<sup>97</sup> This was a cult where gods and men shared food from the same table, and thus expressed the communication between the divine and human spheres.<sup>98</sup>

To sum up, the paean was a chorus particularly, but not solely, connected with the cult of Apollo. It could be regarded as a means of invoking the god and calling on his presence. The paean restored a broken order, as the examples from the *Iliad* and *King Oedipus* indicate; and in a cult like the Theoxenia, it was a sign of the presence of the gods.

Turning to the Spartan evidence concerning the paean, we find a clear association between the paean and warfare.<sup>99</sup> It was considered a battle-hymn. Before a battle, according to Plutarch (*Lyk.* 22.3), the Spartans made a preliminary sacrifice to the Muses; when the army of the enemy came in sight, the king sacrificed a goat and ordered the soldiers to put on their wreaths and to sing the paean.<sup>100</sup>

According to Polykrates, the paean was forbidden during the Hyakinthia. This prohibition, like the other, was valid for the first part of the cult. Xenophon (*Hell.* 4.5.11; *Ages.* 2.17) provides the information that the paean belonged to the cult. It was performed during the second part of the cult, probably in connection with the sacrifices, the *thysiai*. Polykrates says that *paides* sang and played the praises of the god in anapaestic rhythm. It is presumable that this notice concerns the paean. The anapaestic rhythm was suited to processional hymns, and there was a processional type of paean.<sup>101</sup>

The prohibition against singing the paean during the first part of the cult was a means of giving that part the character of something negative, a condition of defilement, *miasma*. The prohibitions against bread and the wearing of wreaths were also expressions of this negative condition. The paean sung during the second part of the Hyakinthia expressed the opposite condition. In this part of the cult, the sacred meal, *kopis*, the wreaths, the sacrifices and the paean symbolized the complete reversal from the condition of the first part. As I have remarked above, the paean can be regarded as a

rite of passage, marking the restoration of a shattered order. Not only was a communication with the god created by the performance of the paean, but it also seems that the song and dance were associated with the very presence of the god. The polluted character of the first part of the cult was swept away in choral performances calling on the presence of the god.

### THE SACRIFICIAL PRACTICE

Two different types of animal sacrifice were made during the Hyakinthia.<sup>102</sup> According to Pausanias a sacrifice, ἐναγισμός, was made to Hyakinthos during the Hyakinthia before the sacrifice to Apollo.<sup>103</sup> The sacrifice was done through a bronze door at the left side of the altar.<sup>104</sup> In Polykrates' description of the cult it is

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Delphic sanctuary was made by Cretans, according to the hymn. The presence of the name Παίawan on a Linear B tablet from Knossos (Gérard-Rousseau 1968, 164f.) and the testimonium which states that the paean was originally a Cretan chorus (Strab. 10.4.18) together point to Crete as an important place for the development of the paean. See also Swindler 1913, 59–64.

<sup>96</sup> Strab. 9.3.10; Fairbanks 1900, 26f.

<sup>97</sup> Fairbanks 1900, 29; Pfister 1934, 2256–2258.

<sup>98</sup> Bruit 1990, 170–172.

<sup>99</sup> It seems to have been a general custom among the Greeks to sing the paean before a battle: von Blumenthal 1942, 2346–2348 with testimonia.

<sup>100</sup> In this context the marching paean, ἐμβατήριος παῖάν, is combined with the wearing of wreaths.

<sup>101</sup> Fairbanks 1900, 32f. Furthermore, Cicero (*Tusc.* 2.16.37) says that the Spartans marched accompanied by flutes in an anapaestic rhythm.

<sup>102</sup> As far as the evidence is concerned, the sacrificial practice during the Hyakinthia was restricted to animal sacrifices.

<sup>103</sup> For a collection of testimonia concerning the *enagismos* sacrifice see Pfister 1912, 466–474.

<sup>104</sup> This means that the altar was built over some kind of construction which was thought of as the tomb of Hyakinthos: Paus. 3.19.3. The specification that the door was on the left side of the altar further points to the chthonic character of the sacrifice to Hyakinthos. The left side had a negative connotation in Greek and Roman thought: Eitrem 1915, 29–43. On the polarity of right and left see Hertz 1960, 89–113.

said that sacrifices, θυσίαι, were made to the god, i.e. Apollo. The *enagismos* belonged to the first part of the cult and the *thysia* to the second part, thus expressing the two-part structure of the cult. As the animal sacrifice was a central act in Greek religion, a more close study of the values and attitudes associated with it could be worthwhile. Moreover, etymological analyses of words connected with the sacrifices have proved valuable in trying to understand the nature of the different types of sacrifices. I will refer to two analyses of words connected with the sacrificial practice, by J. Casabona and by P. Chantraine and O. Masson.<sup>105</sup>

The word ἱερά was originally the term for the participants in a sacrifice, as well as for the rites and sacrifices connected with the religious ceremonies.<sup>106</sup> In Homer the verb ἱερεύω is used, which Casabona translates as 'immoler', to extinguish.<sup>107</sup> This word disappears after Homer, and its significance is taken over by σφάζω and θύω.<sup>108</sup>

Words connected with the verb *sphazo*, which means 'to cut the throat of', signify sacrifices in which the blood played the most important role, while the earliest use of the word *thyo* rather signifies, in Casabona's view, to throw something in the fire.<sup>109</sup> The noun θυσία appears for the first time in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, where it replaces the older word *hiera*.<sup>110</sup> *Thysia* could denote either a big sacrifice made during a religious festival, or sacrifice in general, whereas *sphagion* meant blood-sacrifice.

Accordingly *thysia* and *sphagia* could be interpreted as general terms for the two main types of animal sacrifices in Greek cult, *thysia* denoting sacrifices including the burning of the meat on the altar while *sphagia* signified sacrifices where the handling of the blood constituted the main action.<sup>111</sup>

The first part of the Hyakinthia included an *enagismos* sacrifice. Pausanias uses the verb *enagizo*, which is translated by Casabona as follows: 'Le mot signifie rendre les honneurs funèbres à des héros morts, en particulier par l'offrande de victimes sur leurs tombeaux, en faisant couler le sang dans le bothros.'<sup>112</sup> The

sacrifice could thus be considered a αἱμακούρῳ, a blood sacrifice.<sup>113</sup>

The *enagismos* to Hyakinthos was made through a door at the left of the altar, at the spot where Hyakinthos was assumed to have been buried. The sacrifice thus had a chthonic character and there was probably a pit, βόθρος, inside the altar, where the blood was poured.<sup>114</sup>

The noun *enagismos* and the verb *enagizo* are related to the word ἄγος. Liddell-Scott-Jones give the general translation of this word as 'any matter of religious awe' with the following three specifications:

1. 'pollution, guilt; in concrete sense, the person or thing accursed'
2. 'expiation, sacrifice'
3. 'sanctuary'

The translation by LSJ indicates the problem connected with the word. How shall we understand a concept which signifies guilt and pollution as well as something consecrated and belonging to the sacred sphere?

In analyses of the words *agos* and *hagios*, which are both associated with the sacral sphere, it has been assumed that the two groups of words connected with the roots *ag-* and *hag-* were separate, the one expressing defilement,

<sup>105</sup> Casabona 1966; Chantraine & Masson 1954, 85–107. See also the discussion in Rudhardt 1958, 38–46.

<sup>106</sup> Casabona 1966, 5–18.

<sup>107</sup> Casabona 1966, 328f.

<sup>108</sup> Casabona 1966, 328f. See also the comments by Vernant 1989, 25f.

<sup>109</sup> Casabona 1966, 330. In Ziehen's view (1942, 597) *thyein* should be translated as 'rauchen machen'. The original action, described with the word *thyo*, would be 'to create smoke'.

<sup>110</sup> Casabona 1966, 330.

<sup>111</sup> The second type of action connected with sacrifices, the libations, can also be divided in two groups. Σπένδω meant libation in general, while χέω signified libations of a chthonic character: Casabona 1966, 331.

<sup>112</sup> Casabona 1966, 337.

<sup>113</sup> Nilsson 1967, 186; Burkert 1985, 60, 194.

<sup>114</sup> A parallel use was the Phokian custom of pouring the blood through a hole in the grave of the hero-founder at Tronis: Paus. 10.4.10.

the other purity. The idea of defilement was connected with *agos* and its derivatives ἐναγής and ἐναγίζω. The concept of the sacred as something pure was associated with ἄγνός and ἄγιος and their derivatives ἀγίζω, καθαγίζω and ἐξαγίζω. According to Vernant, however, the words derived from *agos* and *hagnos* do not make up two independent groups, but constitute one semantic group expressing the notion of the sacred as something both pure and impure.<sup>115</sup> The words thus express the ambiguous nature of the sacred as something at the same time positive, associated with purity, and something negative: the sacred as something impure and terrifying.<sup>116</sup>

In Casabona's view, *enagizo* always signifies to sacrifice to the dead and it also denotes the specific libations, χοαί, made to the dead in pits, *bothroi*. The sacrifice was thus directed downward to the dead.

To the verb *enagizo* belongs the adjective *enages* which, according to Casabona, means 'qui a un agos en soi',<sup>117</sup> or 'afflicted by agos',<sup>118</sup> to be compared with ἐνθεος, 'qui a un dieu en soi'.<sup>119</sup> The word *enages* signified the negative domain of the sacred, its aspect of something terrifying which had to be avoided.<sup>120</sup>

A second analysis of words connected with the sacrificial practice is an article by P. Chantraine and O. Masson, published in 1954. They start by pointing out that words connected with *agos*, in French translated as 'souillure', such as *enages* and *enagizo*, all have religious connotations. As a working hypothesis Chantraine and Masson translate *agos* with 'le redoutable domaine du divin'.<sup>121</sup>

The adjective ἐναγής, which LSJ translates as 'free from pollution, pure', is translated by Chantraine and Masson as describing someone who 'se trouve dans de bonnes conditions par rapport à l'*agos*'.<sup>122</sup> They come to the conclusion that *euages* 'exprime l'accord avec le domaine de la volonté divine'.<sup>123</sup> This condition was reached through proper conduct in relation to the divinities.

The adjective *enages*, on the contrary, signifies the opposite condition. It is translated by

LSJ as 'under a curse or pollution', and in Chantraine and Masson's view *enages* is 'celui qui tombe sous l'*agos*'.<sup>124</sup> The prefix *en-* emphasizes the condition of being in the power of something, in analogy with ἐνθεος, to be in contact with the divine sphere. In everyday life one could fall into *agos* by committing perjury, and Herodotos (6.56) gives the information that in Sparta a citizen would fall into *agos* if he objected to the kings' wish to start a war.

The adjectives *euages* and *enages* express, in Chantraine and Masson's view, the ambivalent nature of the sacred, and could be interpreted both in a positive sense as being in accordance with the sacral sphere, and in a negative sense as something terrifying and dangerous.<sup>125</sup>

In the translation of *enagizo*, Chantraine and Masson adopt that by Stengel: 'tabu facere', 'mettre dans le sacré'.<sup>126</sup> In their view the word denotes chthonic sacrifices to the dead. It is used by Herodotos (2.44) and Pausanias (2.10.1) to mark a difference from the sacrifices made to the gods. Those who made a sacrifice of *enagismos* type came into contact with *agos*, the negative aspect of the sacred. This type of sacrifice also contained libations, *choai*, and the blood from the animal was poured into a pit, *bothros*.

The conclusion of the analysis by Chantraine and Masson concerning *agos* is that the

<sup>115</sup> Vernant 1988, 137.

<sup>116</sup> Chantraine & Masson 1954, 107; Burkert 1985, 270f.

<sup>117</sup> Casabona 1966, 207.

<sup>118</sup> Burkert 1985, 270.

<sup>119</sup> Casabona 1966, 207.

<sup>120</sup> For example, a murderer was described as *enages* and was set free from this condition only by the proper observation of cleansing rituals: Burkert 1985, 81.

<sup>121</sup> Chantraine & Masson 1954, 86.

<sup>122</sup> Chantraine & Masson 1954, 86f.

<sup>123</sup> Chantraine & Masson 1954, 87.

<sup>124</sup> Chantraine & Masson 1954, 88.

<sup>125</sup> Chantraine & Masson 1954, 97.

<sup>126</sup> Chantraine & Masson 1954, 100; Stengel 1920, 143.



word signifies the negative aspect of the holy, the sacred as something dangerous. *Agos* definitely puts a man outside the order of the society and, from this condition of religious defilement, only purificatory rites helped.<sup>127</sup>

Taking the above analyses of the word *agos* and its derivations into consideration, the *enagismos* to Hyakinthos during the first part of the Hyakinthia was a sacrifice connected with the sacred as something negative and impure. The sacrifice seems to have been instrumental in that it actually created a negative condition, a ritual defilement of which the prohibitions concerning wreaths and the paean were symbols. A condition of this kind was expressed in Greek with words derived from the stem *mia-*, which were associated with impurity and defilement. These words have recently been studied by R. Parker, who claims that the basic significance of words with the stem *mia-* is 'defilement, the impairment of a thing's form or integrity'.<sup>128</sup>

A defilement of this kind is not only a physical quality, but could be associated with, for example, a man's reputation, justice, law, and religious veneration. The noun *μίασμα* and the adjective *μιαρός* imply a condition characterized by a defilement which made a person ritually impure, and thus forbidden to enter a sacred area. Corpses and murderers created and spread *miasma*.<sup>129</sup> There is, however, an important distinction between the *miasma* and *agos*. The words *agos* and *enages* were often constructed with the name of a god in genitive, which implies a direct contact between the gods and *agos*.<sup>130</sup> This is not the case with *miasma*, according to Parker. A corpse created and spread *miasma*, but *agos* was created only if the body was not treated according to the customs. When Kreon refuses to bury Polyneikes, in Sophokles' *Antigone*, a condition of *agos* is created, in which the very order of the cosmos is threatened.

The difference between *miasma* and *agos* is expressed by Parker in this way: 'To *miasma* gods seem irrelevant; it is a dangerous dirtiness that individuals rub off on one another like a physical taint. *Agos* by contrast has its source

in a sacrilegious act, and the *enages*, as the attached genitive suggests, is in the grip of an avenging power'.<sup>131</sup>

In Parker's view, the condition expressed by the word *miasma* functioned as a buffer between the profane and sacral spheres. To be *miaros* meant that one should avoid all contact with the sacral sphere; otherwise one would be caught up by *agos*. There was a set of rules to be strictly observed if one happened to become *miaros*. Parker regards these rules, in the light of the research by Mary Douglas,<sup>132</sup> as a means of structuring reality. They demarcate the sacred from the profane, and in imposing a set of rules they create group solidarity. In some cults, such as the Attic Thargelia, the cleansing rituals were a part of the ritual performance and thus a regularly occurring event.<sup>133</sup>

To return to the Hyakinthia, Pausanias uses the verb *enagizo* to describe the sacrifice made to Hyakinthos during the first part of the cult. He further says that the sacrifice was made through a door in the altar where Hyakinthos was assumed to be buried. The *enagismos* was directed towards the dead and created a state of *agos*, the negative aspect of the sacred. It is in the light of this negative condition that the prohibitions concerning the first part of the cult should be considered. The food prescriptions, and the prohibition against wearing wreaths and singing the paean, were symbols of the state of *agos* which the sacrifice had created. An emotional condition of sorrow and mourning, *penthos*, was created, opposed to the joyful festivities of the second part of the cult.

To sum up, within the structure of the Hyakinthia the two types of sacrifice formed a pair of opposites. The negative condition, created by the *enagismos*, was expressed by the prohibition against wearing wreaths and singing the

<sup>127</sup> Burkert 1985, 270.

<sup>128</sup> Parker 1983, 3.

<sup>129</sup> Parker 1983, 4.

<sup>130</sup> Parker 1983, 7.

<sup>131</sup> Parker 1983, 8f.

<sup>132</sup> Douglas 1966; 1975.

<sup>133</sup> Parker 1983, 23f.

paean. The meal was characterized by the prohibition against bread and sweets and it was eaten in great restraint and order, εὐταξίᾳ. During the second part of the cult, a relation was created with the divine sphere through the *thysia* sacrifice. The wearing of wreaths was a sign of divine presence, and in the singing of the paean an actual experience of the divine power was felt. The two parts of the cult were thus diametrically opposed to each other, the one expressing the sacred as a defilement, the other as a positive experience of the divine power.

How is this perception of the sacred, as consisting of two radically opposed dimensions, to be understood? In my opinion, the concept of the sacred as both negative and positive was associated with the polis formation during the eighth century, and with a parallel process of reorganizing the way in which reality was perceived. I will return to this issue in Chapter Five.

## THE STRUCTURE OF THE CULT

The emphasis laid on structure in this overall analysis of the Hyakinthia is due to my belief that the meaning of the cult and the elements it contains is embedded in its structure. I have stated above that the primary meaning of a cult was linked to the performance of it. The meaning obtained in a scientific analysis, chronologically and mentally far from the original setting, should be regarded as secondary. However, this is not to say that it is impossible to obtain knowledge about the primary meaning of a cult. For example, when putting the stress on structure, the aim of the analysis is to uncover a certain rhythm in the way the elements of the ritual, i.e. the symbols and symbolic acts, appeared. This rhythm was experienced and dramatized by the participants, and the primary meaning of the cult was thus connected with its actual performance.

It was A. van Gennep who emphasized the structural aspect of rituals which marked the transition from one status to another.<sup>134</sup> He termed these rituals 'rites de passage', and divided them into rites of separation, rites of tran-

sition and rites of incorporation.<sup>135</sup> Van Gennep also noticed the frequent occurrence of symbols of death and rebirth in association with rites of passage.<sup>136</sup> The reason for the frequency of this kind of symbolism was, in van Gennep's view, an expression of the seriousness with which many societies regarded transitional events like birth, initiation, marriage and death.<sup>137</sup>

Eliade has paid much attention to the symbolism of death and rebirth connected with rites of initiation, and Brelich, in his work on initiation in Greek cult, deals with the presence of this type of symbolism.<sup>138</sup>

The food prescriptions, and the taboos concerning the wearing of wreaths and singing of the paean, as well as the sacrificial practice with the *enagismos* for Hyakinthos and the *thysia* for Apollo, make up a two-part structure. This was noticed already in the earliest research on the Hyakinthia and explained as the result of two different historical strata, the older one connected with Hyakinthos and the younger one associated with Apollo. For the understanding of the cult, however, that interpretation fails to explain what in my view was central to the cult: its structure built up by polarities. Table 2 points out some of the differences between the two parts.

Following the scheme proposed by van Gennep, the first part could be regarded as a rite of separation. It was a day of defilement, a *miara hemera*, created by the *enagismos* sacrifice to Hyakinthos. The negative sacral condition was opposed both to the mundane life preceding the celebration of the cult and to the following part with its positive sacral connotations. It transferred the participants in the cult from everyday life to sacral reality.

It is interesting to see how the concept of the

<sup>134</sup> van Gennep 1960. It was originally published in French in 1909.

<sup>135</sup> van Gennep 1960, 20f.

<sup>136</sup> van Gennep 1960, 182–184.

<sup>137</sup> van Gennep 1960, 184.

<sup>138</sup> Eliade 1976, 44–47, 79–86; 1977, 13–23; 1987, 226; Brelich 1969, 33f., 36f.

Table 2

Structure of the Hyakinthia	
Part One	Part Two
Prohibitions against wearing wreaths and singing the paean.	Prohibitions against wearing wreaths and singing the paean lifted.
Sacrifice: <i>engismos</i> for Hyakinthos.	Sacrifice: <i>thysia</i> for Apollo.
Sacred meal: a meal deviating from an ordinary sacred meal, <i>kopis</i> : prohibitions against bread and other unspecified elements.	Sacred meal: an ordinary <i>kopis</i> with the participation of <i>xenoi</i> and <i>douloi</i> .
The meal eaten under strict order and gravity: <i>eutaxia</i> .	This part was a <i>panegyris</i> with a procession from Sparta to Amyklai and the presentation of a new chiton for Apollo.
General emotional character: <i>penthos</i> , grief over the dead Hyakinthos.	<i>Choreia</i> : songs and dances in honour of Apollo.
A <i>miara hemera</i> , a day of defilement.	General emotional character: <i>chara</i> , a joyful celebration.

sacred as two opposed parts is at work in the Hyakinthia. The lack of wreaths and the ban against singing the paean could be interpreted as indicating the absence of the god. It is, however, important to point out that this negative condition was no less sacred than the positive sacral character of the second part of the cult.

The second part can be regarded as a transitional period, the symbols and symbolic acts of which point to rites of initiation. The procession from Sparta to Amyklai marked a spatial transition from everyday life in the city to a temporary stay in tents in the vicinity of the Amyklaion sanctuary. The active part played by children, *paides*, and adolescents, both male, *neaniskoi*, and female, *parthenoi*, is a strong indication of the initiatory character of this part of the Hyakinthia. The display of the cuirass of Timomachos, pointing to the future life of the male adolescents as warriors, further enhances this aspect of the cult. The wearing of wreaths and the singing of the paean not only point to the positive dimension of the sacred, but can be seen as signs of the actual presence of the god. As I will argue in the chapter on the Gymnopaïdai, the paean was not only a sacral song, but an instrument for the experience of the epiphany of the god.

The transitional aspect is also apparent in

the dissolution of social stratification during the meal. Not only strangers, *xenoi*, but also slaves, *douloi*, were present, something quite exceptional considering the strict social hierarchy displayed in the Spartan communal meals, the *syssitia*. I will argue in Chapter Four that the Hyakinthia was the first cult in a ritual cycle, and that the transitional period of the second part of the Hyakinthia continued with the celebration of the Gymnopaïdai.

For the sake of comparison, I shall now bring into the discussion the interpretation of some cults whose structure could be considered as dependent on their character as rites of initiation.

Jeanmaire, for example, discusses the cults to which the myths about the departure and arrival of Theseus were associated.<sup>139</sup> On the sixth day of Mounichion, the tenth month in the Athenian calendar, there was a procession of girls to the Delphinion, a sanctuary near Ilissos, where both Apollo and Artemis were worshipped. The girls carried boughs of olive bound with white wool. This ritual was connected with the myth about the departure of

<sup>139</sup> Jeanmaire 1939, 344–375.

Theseus to Crete, as a member of the tribute paid to Minos. Six months later, on the 7th of Pyanopsion, the fourth month in the Athenian calendar, the return of Theseus was celebrated. This day was the occasion for the celebration of the cult of Pyanopsia, the name of which was associated with a special dish consisting of a mixture of vegetables and cereals. The dish was explained as a part of the vows made by Theseus to Apollo before starting the voyage to Crete. If Theseus and his companions returned safe from Crete, they would make offerings of this dish.

According to the myth, as it is told by Plutarch (*Thes.* 21–22), Theseus, on his return to Athens, forgot to change the sail of the ship from a black one to a white one. This was a promise he had made to his father, Aigeus. Seeing the black sail, Aigeus threw himself down from a rock and died. At the shore, Theseus made the sacrifices which he had promised the gods, and sent a herald to the city to announce his safe return. In the city people mourned the dead king, and the herald refused to put on the wreath that people offered him when they heard of the safe return of Theseus. The herald went back to the shore and told Theseus the news about the death of Aigeus. These events were said to be the action for the cult called Oschophoria, which was also celebrated on the 7th of Pyanopsion.

A special cry was uttered during the libations at the Oschophoria, a cry which was explained as the mixture of sorrow and joy at the return of Theseus. The Oschophoria was thus a cult which enacted two opposite feelings, mourning for the dead king and rejoicing at the return of Theseus. The experience of these opposed feelings in association with a rite of initiation confirms the general pattern of such a ritual: the participants had to live through a period of mourning and contact with the dead before they could enter their new status.

Apart from cults belonging to the different poleis, the Panhellenic games have also been brought into the discussion concerning rites of initiation. It has been noticed that the display of athletic strength and vigour during the games

had the character of trials belonging to rites of initiation.<sup>140</sup> It is also interesting to note that for the ancient Greeks, the four Panhellenic games were all considered as funeral games.<sup>141</sup> It is thus possible to discern a similar structure in the Panhellenic games and cults connected with initiation. This pattern describes a movement from the experience of death, displayed by symbols, to the celebration of the regeneration of the group with contests, songs and dances: a manifestation of life that endures.<sup>142</sup> For the participants in the Olympic games, for example, the preparatory period could be interpreted as a period of seclusion, a marginal period preceding the final acceptance as full members of the society, symbolized by the participation in the athletic contests.

At the sanctuary of Poseidon near Corinth, the Isthmian games were held every fourth year.<sup>143</sup> The cult legend associated with the rituals has an initiatory character. Leukothea, originally the daughter of Kadmos and a mortal woman, leapt into the sea with her son Melikertes/Palaïmon. The corpse of the boy was brought by a dolphin to the shore at the Isthmos and was buried by Sisyphos, the founder of Corinth, and the games were established in honour of the boy, now called Palaïmon. Poseidon shared the cult with Palaïmon, to whom a black bull was sacrificed at night. The cult was thus shared between a god and a hero, and the ritual pattern developed from a preliminary, nocturnal sacrifice to the hero into the celebrations of the athletic contests. The myth supplies the cultic drama with the narration of a leap into the sea, where both mother and child die. In the commemorative celebration at the grave of Palaïmon, the continuity of life was enacted as a manifestation of athletic strength.

Walter Burkert has moreover detected a basic structural pattern of dissolution and renewal

<sup>140</sup> Burkert 1985, 105–107; Jeanmaire 1939, 341.

<sup>141</sup> The testimonia are collected by Rohde, 1894, 142 n. 1.

<sup>142</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood 1983, 41f.

<sup>143</sup> Burkert 1983, 196–198.

in a series of festivals, *inter alia* those which were celebrated at the turn of the year in the Attic calendar.<sup>144</sup> In Burkert's view, this structure emanates from the sacrificial ritual with its rhythm of preparation, central act and restitution. Within the framework of the polis, this structure was elaborated into ritual and mythical patterns of great complexity.<sup>145</sup> In the testimonia from Athens, Burkert discerns a ritual cycle starting at the beginning of the last month of the year, the Skirophorion, with the cult of Arrephoria, and ending with the celebration of the Panathenaia at the end of the first month of the year, the Hekatombaion.

The first cult in this cycle at Athens, the Arrephoria, was concerned with girls' initiation. Two girls, chosen by the *archon basileus*, lived for a year on the Acropolis, where they were busy with sacral duties such as weaving the peplos of Athena. The very end of their service consisted of the performance of the cult of Arrephoria. They carried baskets, containing unknown objects, from the Acropolis down to the precinct of Aphrodite, which was reached through an underground passage. In this precinct they left what they had brought with them, got something new to carry and went up to the Acropolis. After this act their service ended and they were dismissed.

In Burkert's view this ritual has an initiatory character and, for the girls, the walk from Athena to Aphrodite symbolized the encounter with sexuality and death. The existence of rites of initiation in the celebration of a New Year implies that the social order was renewed through the acceptance of the rising generations. It is also obvious that the Arrephoria worked with symbols; the two girls symbolized all girls in this specific period of their lives.

At Argos the main festival, called either Heraia or Hekatombaia, presents us with a ritual pattern almost identical to that of the Hyakinthia. There was a procession from Argos, headed by the priestess of Hera, to the sanctuary of Hera, the Heraion, where the goddess was given a new peplos. There was an *agon* associated with the cult, and the display of a specific, sacred shield which was carried around.

The shield seems to have been a part of a rite of initiation. A myth was associated with the shield, in which it was transferred from the old king to his son, thus reflecting, in Burkert's view, the dissolution and renewal of order and the marking of the New Year.<sup>146</sup> The display of a shield during the Heraia had its counterpart in the Hyakinthia with the display of the cuirass of Timomachos. The initiation thus consisted of contact with objects associated with the future role of the men as warriors.

What was the connection between Hyakinthos and the cult as a rite of initiation?

Burkert has put forward the hypothesis that the cult of common heroes was a part of the evolution of the Greek polis and a means of expressing group solidarity.<sup>147</sup> Heroes were often worshipped in connection with cults of the gods, not seldom in association with a preliminary sacrifice, *enagismos*, before the celebration of the god. The relation god–hero sometimes developed to the point of near-identity, and the name of the hero became an epithet of the god: for example Poseidon-Erechtheus, Artemis-Iphigeneia and Apollo-Hyakinthos.<sup>148</sup>

At the end of the eighth century BC, a cult of Menelaos and Helen was established in Sparta, and it is possible that Hyakinthos was also considered a hero, a kind of ancestral figure. The important fact is that the whole population of Sparta gathered in a cult focused on Hyakinthos as a hero and Apollo as a god.

Hero and god represented a fundamental opposition. Though many details in their respective cults could be similar, there were some important differences, the most significant of which was the sacrificial practice. For the god there was an altar from which the smoke rose to the sky. For the hero there was a hearth, *eschara*, or a pit, *bothros*, through which the

<sup>144</sup> Burkert 1966, 1–25; 1983, 135–161;

<sup>145</sup> Burkert 1983, 135, 212; 1985, 57.

<sup>146</sup> Burkert 1983, 161–168.

<sup>147</sup> Burkert 1985, 204.

<sup>148</sup> Burkert 1985, 202f.

blood was poured, thus creating a link with the underworld.<sup>149</sup>

Eliade has noticed the frequent occurrence of ancestor worship in connection with rites of initiation.<sup>150</sup> The preparation for becoming a full member of the society included the communication with the ancestral spirits, and without this contact the initiation could not take place. In some cultures, the contact with ancestors was combined with the access to specific knowledge, often of a sacral kind: e.g. learning the origin myths of a tribe, explaining the creation of the world. The relation with ancestors also symbolizes a state of death, and a stage which precedes the 'rebirth' into a new existence.

I would like to suggest that Hyakinthos played the part of ancestor in the Hyakinthia. The first part of the cult was devoted to him and he was venerated by a specific sacrifice, *enagismos*, which, as I have discussed above, created a condition dominated by *agos*, the sacred as something dangerous and terrifying, a ritual defilement that put the participants outside the limits of ordinary society. The sacrifice was directed downward, with the blood of the animal poured into a *bothros* in the altar. It created a link with the dead and this was expressed by the taboos concerning food, wearing of wreaths and singing of the paean. This contact with the dead should be regarded as a prerequisite for the initiands, and was a part of the cult as a rite of passage.

The second part of the cult marked a complete change in attitude. The initiands now participated in the sacrifices for Apollo, wore wreaths of ivy and sang the paean: activities which symbolized not only contact with the divinity, but his actual appearance. Through the contact with the divine sphere, the rites of initiation acquired a religious legitimacy and a character of eternal and commanding principles.

pressed through the meals served, the wearing of wreaths, the singing of the paean, and the sacrificial practice. The *enagismos* sacrifice created a condition of *agos*, a ritual defilement. The second part can be regarded as a liberation from this negative sacral condition. The singing of the paean and the *thysia* sacrifice connoted communication with the sacred as something positive and beneficial to man. The dual structure can be explained in terms of a rite of passage, the first part marking the departure from mundane life, and the second part as the beginning of a liminal period characterized by the active participation of adolescents of both sexes. Their activity can be interpreted as belonging to an initiatory ritual.

## 1.2 The hero and the heroine: Hyakinthos and Polyboia

### Introduction

The reason for discussing Hyakinthos in a separate section of this chapter is that hitherto no discussion of Hyakinthos has given full consideration to the fact that Hyakinthos appears as two figures in the mythology, one as a mature man and one as a youth. According to Pausanias, one of the reliefs covering the altar in the Amyklaion represented Hyakinthos as a bearded man in company with his sister Polyboia. The reliefs were a work of Bathykles of Magnesia at Meander, and they are usually dated to the sixth century BC.<sup>151</sup> The scene is said by Pausanias to represent Hyakinthos and Polyboia brought to heaven by an assembly of gods. Pausanias (3.19.4–5) makes the remark that Hyakinthos on the altar was depicted as a bearded man, but that the painter Nikias represented him as a youth of great beauty and thus hinted at the love of Apollo for Hyakinthos. Pausanias furthermore expresses some scepti-

### Summary

The Hyakinthia was composed of two essentially opposite parts. This structure was ex-

<sup>149</sup> For the polarity between Zeus and Pelops in Olympia see Burkert 1983, 96–98.

<sup>150</sup> Eliade 1976, 85f.; 1987, 225f.

<sup>151</sup> On Bathykles see Woodward 1932, 25–41.

cism against the legends of how either the West Wind, Zephyros, or Apollo killed Hyakinthos. He is also sceptical about the myth describing how the flower hyacinth grew up from the blood of the dead Hyakinthos.

These remarks by Pausanias highlight the problems concerning the identity of Hyakinthos. The task here will be to try to elucidate the problems concerning the two identities of Hyakinthos: Hyakinthos as a mature man and Hyakinthos as a youth, and their respective relation to the cult. Since the reliefs on the altar at the Amyklaion were executed in the sixth century BC, comparisons will be made with the iconography of contemporary Lakonian vase painting. The relation of Hyakinthos and Polyboia will also be discussed. Previous interpretations concerning Hyakinthos are given above.

### *The young Hyakinthos*

The remark by Pausanias, that Hyakinthos was depicted with a beard on the altar in the Amyklaion sanctuary while Nikias,<sup>152</sup> the artist, represented him as a youth, is in my view an indication of the existence of two identities of Hyakinthos.<sup>153</sup> In the literary testimonia, beginning with Euripides' *Helen* (1465–1475), Hyakinthos is conceived of as a youth who was loved by Apollo. The version of the myth given by Euripides, which is the oldest literary testimonium, tells that Apollo killed Hyakinthos with a discus-throw, and that the god ordered the commemoration of the death of Hyakinthos with sacrifices. In Hellenistic times the myth was further elaborated, and it was told how a flower grew up from the blood of the dead Hyakinthos.<sup>154</sup>

At the time of Euripides, the Athenian public must already have been familiar with the myth telling the love-story of Apollo and Hyakinthos. Modern scholars have studied representations of Hyakinthos in Attic iconography, and found that Hyakinthos as a youth appears in vase paintings from around 500 BC.<sup>155</sup> In these vase paintings, Hyakinthos is represented either riding on a swan or chased by divine fig-

ures as Zephyros/Eros. The pictures of Hyakinthos riding on a swan seem to flourish in the period 500–480, to judge from the preserved vase paintings (Fig 2).<sup>156</sup> In these scenes the swan has been interpreted as indicating the connection with Apollo. The swan in Archaic times was considered a bird sacred to Apollo, as fragments by Sappho and Alkaios attest.<sup>157</sup> The association of Hyakinthos with the swan lingered on, and the younger Philostratos (*Imag.* 14) describes Hyakinthos driving in a chariot drawn by swans.

The swan was also associated with Aphro-

<sup>152</sup> Nikias, a fourth-century BC painter: see Lippold 1936, 338–341.

<sup>153</sup> The μέν...δέ particles oppose the two clauses in the sentence. With the adverb ἤδη Pausanias further stresses the difference between the bearded Hyakinthos on the altar and the representation by Nikias. According to Hitzig (1899, 833) the bearded Hyakinthos belonged to an older version of the myth, in which he was not yet the *eromenos* of Apollo.

<sup>154</sup> For a collection of testimonia see Eitrem 1914b, 9f. For a discussion of the different versions of the Hyakinthos myth see Mellink 1943, 161–176. Mellink regards the death of Hyakinthos as 'the drama of the abruptly dying vegetation-god', p. 161.

<sup>155</sup> Hauser 1893, 209–218; Mellink 1943, 168–171; Sichtermann 1956, 97–123. The article on Hyakinthos in *LIMC* enumerates seventeen representations of Hyakinthos in Attic vase painting, dated between 515 and the second quarter of the fifth century BC; one representation on an Apulian krater, dated to c. 320 BC; and five representations on Etruscan vases, dated to the last quarter of the fourth century BC; see Villard & Villard 1991, 546–550.

<sup>156</sup> Sichtermann 1956, 104. Sichtermann's investigation of Hyakinthos was brought about by the occurrence of a fragment of a red-figured plate, originally found at Brauron and belonging to the National Museum in Athens (1956, 98, pl. 1). The sherd represents a youth riding on a swan, interpreted by Sichtermann in the following way: 'Ein mythischer Knabe auf einem Schwan: das kann in dieser Zeit nur Hyakinthos sein', p. 99. Apollo would, in Sichtermann's view, not have been represented that young. The sherd has been attributed to Euphronios and is considered by Sichtermann a work of high quality with unusual traits in the rendering of hair and the feathers of the bird.

<sup>157</sup> Sappho fr. 147 (Bergk); Alkaios fr. 2 (Bergk); Pl. *Phd.* 84e–85b. Further testimonia in Gossen 1921, 788f.



Fig. 2. Lekythos depicting Hyakinthos riding on a swan, c. 500 BC. Berlin inv. no. 30852.

dite, albeit from a later time than Apollo.<sup>158</sup> The goddess appears riding on swans in vase paintings from the fifth and fourth centuries BC.<sup>159</sup> In connection with Aphrodite the swan takes on an erotic dimension, and it is possible that the swan in pictures with Hyakinthos is meant to give an association both to Apollo and to the

love that the god felt for the youth.<sup>160</sup> However, Apollo is seldom or never depicted together with Hyakinthos.<sup>161</sup>

In the fourth century BC, the rider on a bird becomes a very popular motif in South Italian vase painting. The riders in these vase paintings are seldom identifiable and the swan seems to have a more varied field of associations, for example with figures such as Ganymedes and Eros.<sup>162</sup>

In my view, the group of scenes depicting Hyakinthos riding on a swan should be connected with Attic vase paintings, which represent courtship scenes including a mature, bearded man and a youth. These vase paintings with pederastic scenes start in the second quarter of the sixth century. Their existence and popularity have been explained as a reflection of the changes in the aristocratic life-style taking place in the late Archaic age. With the hoplite tactics, the aristocratic agonistic spirit turned from war to sport and to homosexual relations of *erastes-eromenos* type.<sup>163</sup> The sudden *floruit* of these pictures towards the end of the sixth century must be related to the institution of the symposion and its homosexual associations. The symposion has been described as 'the successor of the common meal of the ar-

<sup>158</sup> Gossen 1921, 789.

<sup>159</sup> Schauenburg 1972, 291–295; McPhee & Pemberton 1990, 127.

<sup>160</sup> Mellink 1943, 169f.; Lacroix 1974, 25f.

<sup>161</sup> A possible example is the scenes on a vase in the Vatican Museum, interpreted by Sichtermann (1956, 111, figs. 16–18) as representing on one side Apollo in a wagon drawn by horses and on the other side Hyakinthos in a wagon drawn by swans.

<sup>162</sup> Sichtermann 1956, 105.

<sup>163</sup> Bremmer 1990, 142f. In one of the *Imagines* (14) by Philostratos the younger, Hyakinthos is described as riding on a chariot drawn by swans. In this context it is also described how Apollo teaches Hyakinthos how to use the bow, to play the lyre and to understand the art of prophecy. In this description it is clear that the relation between Apollo and Hyakinthos is understood as an *erastes-eromenos* relation.



chaic warrior clubs'<sup>164</sup> and, as Murray has pointed out, the demand for a great deal of the painted pottery of the Archaic period was produced by the aristocratic symposion. The shape, style and content of decoration were also influenced by the needs of the symposion.<sup>165</sup> One popular motif was that depicting Zeus and Ganymedes. According to the myth, Ganymedes was abducted by Zeus and taken to dwell among the immortals as a cup-bearer.<sup>166</sup> The earliest representations of this motif appear at the end of the sixth century BC, and depict Zeus and Ganymedes in courting scenes, thus from the beginning indicating the erotic element.<sup>167</sup> After a couple of decades, the motif appears in a slightly modified version with Zeus pursuing Ganymedes.

The motif has been called 'the standard homosexual paradigm' and, apart from the representations on vase paintings there is the famous terracotta-group in Olympia.<sup>168</sup> However, in contrast to the motif Zeus-Ganymedes, Apollo is never depicted together with Hyakinthos. In my view, this could be due to the social conventions surrounding homosexual relations in late Archaic times, which were supposed to involve two men of different generations.<sup>169</sup> Since Apollo and Hyakinthos, in contrast to for example Zeus and Ganymedes, were of approximately the same age, it was most likely not considered appropriate to depict the two figures together. Instead of depicting Apollo, the swan thus became a symbol of the presence of the god.

Towards the turn of the century in 500 BC, the courtship scenes were gradually replaced by scenes of pursuits or abductions, in which the relation between god and man is depicted as a rather violent event.<sup>170</sup> The importance of these representations seems to lie in the general association with an erotic sphere, rather than in specific individuals. Scholars have consequently had problems in identifying the figures depicted, and some vase paintings have been interpreted in different ways as far as the individuals are concerned. The pictures represent a divine intervention into the realm of man: a sudden and violent communication between

gods and men expressed through erotic imagery.

The second type of scenes including Hyakinthos belongs to the latter group, depicting pursuits and abductions. They represent the god of the west wind, Zephyros, chasing Hyakinthos (*Figs. 3–4*).<sup>171</sup> A painting on a bowl, attributed to Douris and his circle, is (since Hauser) interpreted as Zephyros and Hyakinthos. In Sichtermann's view, however, the picture lacks clear-cut attributes for that interpretation.<sup>172</sup> This seems to be characteristic of a lot of pictures associated with erotic motifs. The figures appear to be more or less interchangeable. The divine figures could be Apollo, Zephyros, Boreas or Eos, and the mortal figures Hyakinthos, Kephalos or some other, unidentified figure. The vase paintings interpreted as Zephyros chasing Hyakinthos can be grouped together with representations of gods or goddesses chasing a mortal.<sup>173</sup>

<sup>164</sup> Bremmer 1990, 136.

<sup>165</sup> Murray 1983, 195.

<sup>166</sup> Earliest literary evidence in Homer *Il.* 20.232–235.

<sup>167</sup> Sichtermann 1953, 21; 1959, 11–15.

<sup>168</sup> Keuls 1985, 285; Dover 1978, 196f.

<sup>169</sup> Shapiro 1981, 136f.

<sup>170</sup> Shapiro 1981, 142f.

<sup>171</sup> Kaempf-Dimitriadou, 1979, 14–16. As the swan has been the element of identification as far as Hyakinthos is concerned, the only vase painting which can be said to represent Hyakinthos is the Vienna skyphos. On this painting a youth rides on a swan, apparently chased by a winged figure, interpreted as Zephyros (No. 49 in Kaempf-Dimitriadou's catalogue, and no. 41 in the article in *LIMC* by Villard & Villard (1991). If the lyre should be considered a clue to the identification of Hyakinthos, another two vase paintings can be added, one on a plate in New York (no. 53 in Kaempf-Dimitriadou and no. 44 in *LIMC*) and an abduction scene on a fragment of a bowl in Boston (no. 54 in Kaempf-Dimitriadou and no. 46 in *LIMC*). However, the identification of the winged figure as Zephyros is not conclusive. Eros also appears as a winged figure in Archaic vase painting, and the winged figure in three abduction scenes is identified as Zephyros by Villard & Villard (nos. 45–47) and as Eros by Shapiro 1981, 142f., n. 71.

<sup>172</sup> Sichtermann 1956, 120.

<sup>173</sup> Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 41f.



Figs. 3–4. Skyphos depicting Hyakinthos riding on a swan, chased by Zephyros, c. 470–460 BC. Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum no. 191.



The first representations of this type seem actually to have been in the sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai. Some of the love-themes depicted on reliefs in the sanctuary were Zeus and Poseidon chasing the daughters of Atlas, Taygete and Alkyone, and Eos chasing Kephalos.<sup>174</sup>

Love-themes with heroes as agents were more common.<sup>175</sup> One motif was associated with the Spartan custom of marriage by capture: the chasing of the daughters of Leukippos by the Dioskouroi.<sup>176</sup> Other 'Liebesthemen' were the abductions of Helen by Theseus and Peirithoos and of Hippodameia by Pelops. These motifs also appear in Attic vase painting towards the end of the sixth century BC.<sup>177</sup>

I would like to suggest that the representation of Hyakinthos as a youth and the indication of an erotic relation between Apollo and Hyakinthos were invented in Athens and modelled on the popular motif of Zeus and Ganymedes. However, there is an important difference between the two myths. Whereas Ganymedes was taken to Olympos in order to serve and live with the immortals, Hyakinthos was killed by Apollo. The element of immortality is lacking in the myth about Hyakinthos; Pausanias is the first evidence of a version of the myth in which Hyakinthos was revived and introduced to Olympos.

It is possible that the representations of the young Hyakinthos, like those of Ganymedes, were thought of as indicating a transformation of the existence of the human protagonist from being a mortal to being an immortal. In the case of Hyakinthos, however, the literary testimonia express the immortality of Hyakinthos in only two sources. The description by Pausanias of the scene depicting Hyakinthos and Polyboia on the altar at Amyklaion is the earliest evidence of the myth about the resurrection of Hyakinthos. The second source is provided later by Nonnos (*Dion.* 19.104–105). On the contrary, the different versions of the myth stress the death of Hyakinthos and, beginning in Hellenistic times, the transformation of his blood into a flower.

Furthermore, the introduction of Hyakinthos to Olympos must have been preceded by a re-

surrection, as his grave was in the altar and his death was commemorated during the Hyakinthia. We would thus have in Hyakinthos a mythical being who actually died and was resurrected, something very rare in the myths of Archaic Greece. In the case of Ganymedes, there is no talk about his death before Zeus snaps him away to Olympos.

The possibility cannot be ruled out, however, that Pausanias, or his informant, gives expression to a version of the myth for which there is no evidence in the literary testimonia. This version, like the Zeus-Ganymedes motif, could have developed into a story of how Hyakinthos was given eternal life. Telling about the actual revival of Hyakinthos, it could have developed in Hellenistic times, perhaps in contact with Oriental myths.<sup>178</sup> However, in Euripides' version there is no mention of an eventual resurrection of Hyakinthos, and I would emphasize that, in the cultic context of the Hyakinthia, there is no evidence of a resurrection of Hyakinthos.

To sum up, towards the end of the sixth century BC Hyakinthos was depicted as a bearded, mature man on a relief in the Amyklaion sanctuary. At the same time, or somewhat later, Hyakinthos appears in Attic vase painting as a youth either riding on a swan or chased by a winged figure interpreted as Zephyros.<sup>179</sup> The

<sup>174</sup> Paus. 3.18.10, 12.

<sup>175</sup> Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 43.

<sup>176</sup> This theme was depicted in the Amyklaion as well as in the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos in Sparta: Paus. 3.18.11; 3.17.3.

<sup>177</sup> Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 44f.

<sup>178</sup> Mellink (1943, 78–99) makes comparisons with Oriental gods of vegetation such as Adonis, Attis and Osiris.

<sup>179</sup> The iconographical rendering of Triptolemos provides a parallel case to the rejuvenation of Hyakinthos. At the beginning of the fifth century the depiction of Triptolemos as a bearded man seated on a throne is replaced by a beardless youth in a winged chariot. According to Schwarz (1987, 249–251) this change was due to the role of Triptolemos in the Eleusinian mysteries. As 'der Urmyste', Triptolemos becomes the child of Demeter, depicted as a youth. See also Dugas 1950, 7–31; Miles 1982, 276.

rejuvenated Hyakinthos was probably an Attic invention, modelled on the popular motif representing Zeus and Ganymedes and emanating from the needs of the Athenian aristocratic symposion. However, in contrast to the myth about Zeus and Ganymedes, the myth about Hyakinthos came to include an element of death: Hyakinthos was killed by Apollo through a discus-throw. The young Hyakinthos was thus a separate figure from the bearded man on the relief in the Amyklaion, who was depicted in company with a female figure called Polyboia.

### *The mature Hyakinthos*

According to Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.15.8), Hyakinthos was a man from Sparta living in Athens.<sup>180</sup> He had four daughters, Antheis, Aigleis, Lytaia and Ortheia. They were sacrificed on the grave of the cyclops Geraistos in obedience to an oracle when the city was infested with pestilence. Demosthenes (60.27) states that the daughters of Erechtheus, the Erechtheidai, were called the Hyakinthides.<sup>181</sup> This relationship is repeated in Suda and Photios, although they say that the daughters were six in number. The two eldest daughters are said to have sacrificed themselves on a hill called Hyakinthos, where they were worshipped afterwards.<sup>182</sup>

The daughters of Erechtheus and Hyakinthos were thus identified with each other in the Attic testimonia, something which could have been a proof of nothing but mythical elaboration. The evidence of cult in connection with Hyakinthos, however, gives a hint of a more firm relation between Hyakinthos and Athens. The sacrifice on a hill called *Hyakinthos pagos* has been referred to above, and the word Hyakinthion is mentioned in connection with the enumeration of precincts by an inscription of Roman date found on the Acropolis.<sup>183</sup> Consequently Hyakinthos as a man of mature age with several daughters was not an unknown mythological figure in Athens, who also had cultic connections.<sup>184</sup>

Modern scholars are divided in their opin-

ions about the connection between the Lakonian and Athenian Hyakinthos.<sup>185</sup> Some of them claim that there is no relation at all, some that there must be a relation, albeit in an obscure way.<sup>186</sup>

I have already mentioned that the daughters of Hyakinthos were identified with the daughters of Erechtheus. A comparison between other testimonia concerning Hyakinthos and Erechtheus points to further similarities between the two figures. Apart from the identification of their daughters, they were both thought of as having their tombs within sanctuaries: Hyakinthos' tomb in the sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai and Erechtheus' tomb in the Erechtheion on the Acropolis.<sup>187</sup> Both were supposed to have been killed by gods, Hyakinthos by Apollo and Erechtheus by Poseidon.<sup>188</sup> They were both included in royal genealogies, Hyakinthos in Sparta and Erechtheus in Athens.<sup>189</sup> The name Erechtheus became an epithet of Poseidon, just as the name Hyakinthos is found as an epithet of Apollo.<sup>190</sup>

<sup>180</sup> Hyg. *Fab.* 238.

<sup>181</sup> See also Diodoros (17.15.2), who mentions the daughters of Leos and Hyakinthos. On the daughters of Leos and their relation to the Hyakinthides see Brunnsåker 1968, 78, n.7.

<sup>182</sup> Suda s.v. Παρθέναι and Ὑακινθίδες; Photios s.v. παρθέναι. Also Harpokration states that the daughters of Hyakinthos were called the Hyakinthides: Harp. s. v. Ὑακινθίδες.

<sup>183</sup> Mellink 1943, 59, n. 1. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1035.

<sup>184</sup> Mellink (1943, 58f.) regards the Hyakinthides as the attendants of the youthful god of vegetation.

<sup>185</sup> According to Mellink (1943, 58), 'the family-tie between the Attic Hyakinthides and the Laconian Hyakinthos does not make a reliable impression'.

<sup>186</sup> 'Dieser Hyakinthos, der Vater mehrerer Töchter, kann füglich nicht vom amyklaischen Heros...getrennt werden': Eitrem 1914a, 2f., but without any attempt at further investigation.

<sup>187</sup> Paus. 3.19.3; Clem. Al. *Protr.* 3.45.1 (Mondésert).

<sup>188</sup> Eur. *Hel.* 1469–1475; *Ion* 281–282; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.15.5.

<sup>189</sup> Hyakinthos: Paus. 3.1.3; Erechtheus: Paus. 1.5.2–3; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.15.1.

<sup>190</sup> Poseidon Erechtheus in *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 580; II<sup>2</sup>, 3538; Hyakinthos was the epithet of Apollo in Taras according to Polybios (8.28.2.).

Moreover, both Hyakinthos and Erechtheus shared cults with the gods, Hyakinthos with Apollo and Erechtheus with either Poseidon or Athena.<sup>191</sup>

This comparison indicates that Hyakinthos was thought of as a mature man, a Lakonian parallel to Erechtheus, and an ancestral mythical being. I would suggest that Hyakinthos as depicted by the relief on the altar in the Amyklaion was identical with the mature Hyakinthos in the Attic testimonia, though it is not possible to say how the connection between Hyakinthos and Athens came about.

There must have been a tradition also in Sparta about Hyakinthos as a mature man, whose death was celebrated during the Hyakinthia and who was depicted in the Amyklaion. The iconographical conventions of sixth-century Lakonia further support the interpretation of the bearded Hyakinthos as a mature man. In a number of scenes, depicting either pairs or groups of men, the beard is obviously used to indicate a difference in age. For example, a hunting scene on a cup represents two men, one bearded, the other beardless (*Fig. 5*). In a scene referring to the Prometheus myth, Zeus is depicted with a beard and Prometheus as a beardless youth (*Fig. 6*).<sup>192</sup> Since Bathylkes from Magnesia, who was responsible for the execution of the reliefs in the Amyklaion, has been dated to the sixth century BC, the bearded Hyakinthos must have indicated a mature man.

In my view, the mature Hyakinthos should be interpreted as an ancestral figure, the sacrifice to whom should be regarded as an essential part of the Hyakinthia as a rite of initiation. Communication with the dead as an element of rites of initiation has been noticed by M. Eliade.<sup>193</sup> Contact with ancestral figures seems to be a prerequisite for the initiands in these rituals. The ritual became a performance linking the new generations to the dead and thus creating an unbroken continuity between the living and the dead. The rejuvenation of Hyakinthos took place in Attic iconography as a means of adapting the love-story to the *erastes-eromenos* relation. The love-story itself was prob-



Fig. 5. Lakonian cup, depicting a hunting scene. Sixth century BC. Louvre E 670.

ably an Attic invention, originating in the mentality surrounding the aristocratic symposion, which easily suited Spartan conditions, where a boy at the age of twelve was introduced to an *erastes*. The young Hyakinthos came to embody every Spartan youth and his death symbolized the change in status accomplished in the rites of initiation connected with the Hyakinthia.<sup>194</sup> The two identities of Hyakinthos thus lived side by side in Sparta as well as in Athens.

<sup>191</sup> Apollo and Hyakinthos: Paus. 3.19.3; Ath. 4.139d. Poseidon and Erechtheus: Paus. 1.26.5, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1146; II<sup>2</sup>, 5058. Athena and Erechtheus: Hdt. 5.82.

<sup>192</sup> Stibbe 1972, pls. 78,1; 63,1. On plate 74,1 a bearded warrior is carried by beardless youths. See *Fig. 7*.

<sup>193</sup> See references *supra* n. 138.

<sup>194</sup> Calame 1977, 318.



Fig. 6. Lakonian cup, depicting Zeus and Prometheus. Sixth century BC. Vatican 16592.

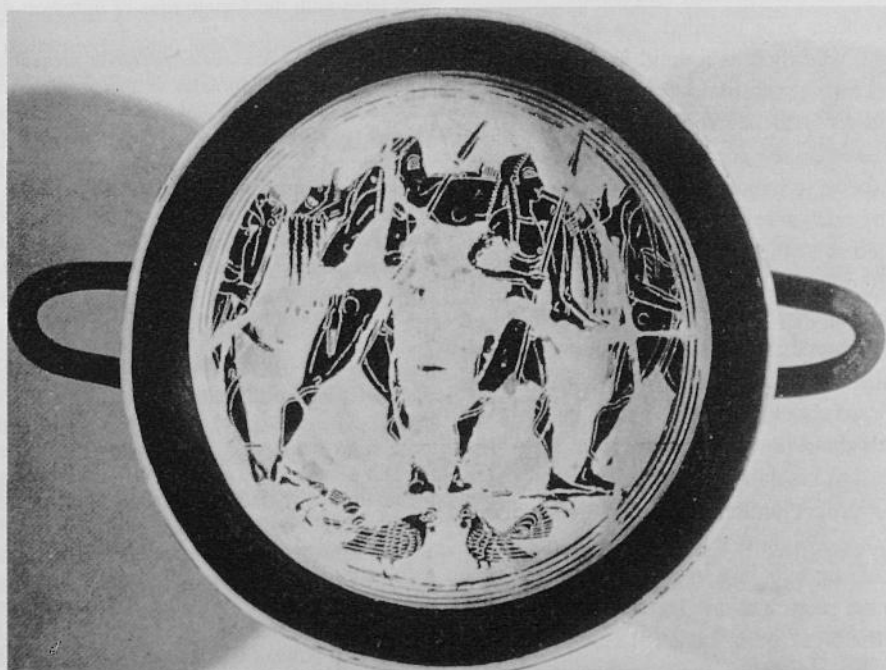


Fig. 7. Lakonian cup, depicting youths carrying a dead warrior. Sixth century BC. Berlin 3404.

*Hyakinthos and Polyboia*

According to Pausanias (3.19.3–5), the altar in the Amyklaion was covered with reliefs depicting the following figures: Biris; Amphitrite and Poseidon; Zeus and Hermes; Dionysos, Semele and Ino; Demeter, Kore and Plouton, Moirai and Horai; Aphrodite, Athena and Artemis; Herakles; the daughters of Thestios; Mousai and the Horai once again. Pausanias says that Demeter, Kore, Plouton, the Moirai and Horai, and Aphrodite, Athena and Artemis are bringing Hyakinthos and Polyboia to heaven, κομίζουσι δ' ἐς οὐρανὸν Ὑάκινθον καὶ Πολύβοιαν.<sup>195</sup> The presence of the god of the Underworld in an introduction to Olympos is quite remarkable and makes one rather suspicious about the correctness of Pausanias' report.<sup>196</sup> Pausanias states that Hyakinthos was depicted with a beard, which, as I have commented above, was the common way of representing a mature man in Lakonian iconography of the Archaic age. This detail combined with the information that Polyboia died as a maid, *parthenos*, makes it doubtful that Hyakinthos and Polyboia were brother and sister.<sup>197</sup>

Hyakinthos as a bearded, mature man and Polyboia, who died as a maid, may indicate a difference in generation between the two figures and I would like to put forward a hypothesis based on the above-mentioned evidence from Athens, in which Hyakinthos appears as a father of one or several daughters, who were sacrificed at a time of great distress.

In my opinion, the relief on the altar in the Amyklaion represented Hyakinthos and Polyboia as father and daughter, and the remark by Pausanias that Polyboia died when she still was a *parthenos* should be interpreted in the light of the myth about how Hyakinthos sacrificed one or several of his daughters.

For a proper understanding of the relation Hyakinthos-Polyboia it is necessary to take the nature of the cult into consideration, notably the female participation. The female presence during the Hyakinthia has been studied by Calame, who comes to the conclusion that it should be interpreted in the light of the cult as

a rite of initiation.<sup>198</sup> The agon, the horse-races and the parading in specially adorned chariots, κάρναθρα, are elements which point to initiation ceremonies.<sup>199</sup> The use of the *kannathra* points to the demarcation of a specific group, probably those *parthenoi* who were about to get married. The goal of the female initiation could, generally speaking, be said to prepare the *parthenoi* for their expected role as wives and mothers of Spartans, whereas the goal of the male initiation for the young men was to become citizen-warriors. If one assumes that the female participation in the Hyakinthia was connected with rituals of initiation aiming at marriage, I would like to interpret some of the scenes on the altar in the Amyklaion in terms of marriage initiation.

<sup>195</sup> According to Hesychios s.v. Πολύβοια, Polyboia was a goddess identified either with Artemis or Kore. Modern scholars have made her a vegetation goddess, see Treidler 1952, 1582f.; or a kourtophobic figure, see Mellink 1943, 52f. Brelich (1969, 148, n. 110, 179) and Calame (1977, 314f.) have considered her as a heroine, a mythological model associated with the female rites of initiation during the Hyakinthia.

<sup>196</sup> Hades is, to my knowledge, never present in the similar scene with Herakles as the protagonist. On the motif of Herakles' apotheosis see Verbanck-Piérard 1987, 187–199.

<sup>197</sup> Calame (1977, 315) solves this problem by proposing that Hyakinthos was depicted 'non pas avec une barbe d'adulte, mais avec sa première barbe d'adolescent'. However, as I have commented above, the iconographical evidence of sixth-century Lakonian vase painting supports the interpretation of the beard as a sign of maturity.

<sup>198</sup> Calame 1977, 305–319. The main literary testimonia are Ath. 4.139d–f, Eur. *Hel.* 1465–1475; Hieron. *Adv. Iovinian.* 1.308; *IG* V 1, 586, 587. To the literary evidence could be added archaeological material from the Amyklaion in the shape of female figurines, interpreted as Athena and Artemis and found in the 'Aschenschicht', dated from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period: von Massow 1927a, 39–43. However, the presence of Artemis and Athena does not necessarily indicate any female participation in the cult. Both goddesses were involved in male cults, such as that devoted to Artemis Orthia and that to Athena Chalkioikos; see Alroth 1989, 94f.

<sup>199</sup> Ath. 4.139d–f.



In this vein, the representation of the triad Demeter-Kore-Plouton could be explained as a motif associated with marriage.<sup>200</sup> The abduction of Kore by Hades signified the change from *parthenos* to *gyne*. Kore as *parthenos* and the myth about her abduction by Hades and temporary return to the earth were a mythological symbol for the young maid who was going to get married. The change of status, from being a daughter living with her mother to being the wife of Hades, is connected in myth with the violent act of abduction. Moreover, the connection of this myth with a cult containing elements of marriage initiation was all the more appropriate in a Spartan context, where marriage by capture was practised, at least in a symbolic way in later times.<sup>201</sup>

The abduction is a turning point in the life of Kore and a point of no return for her identity as a *parthenos* and daughter.<sup>202</sup> When she returns to earth it is as Persephone, the wife and queen of Hades. The myth has no cyclical pattern, as Burkert has remarked; it is a myth about an irrevocable change.<sup>203</sup>

The abduction of Kore also signified a change from an asexual to a sexual sphere. It is not a coincidence that, among the girls accompanying Kore on the meadow before the violent appearance of Hades, we find the presence of Athena and Artemis, the virgin goddesses in Greek religion.<sup>204</sup> The eating of the pomegranate, which makes a final return to earth for Kore an impossibility, points to spheres of sexuality and fertility; for the woman, to her future role as wife and mother.<sup>205</sup> The temporary period in the underworld also points to an initiatory pattern; the connection to earth and the underworld are almost universal symbols, expressing a pattern of death and rebirth associated with initiation ceremonies.<sup>206</sup> The structure of the Hyakinthia, with its change between two basically opposed parts, corresponds to the sudden change in the life of the *parthenoi* involved in the cult.<sup>207</sup> The change of status in real life is connected in myth with the temporary existence of Kore in the underworld. In sum, the presence of the triad Demeter-Kore-Hades on the reliefs on the altar should be

interpreted as the mythological correlative to the female initiation during the Hyakinthia.

The scene which in Pausanias' account immediately preceded the one depicting Hyakinthos and Polyboia represented the three goddesses Athena, Artemis and Aphrodite. Athena and Artemis, the virgin goddesses, symbolize the life of the girl before marriage. After marriage, the girl enters the domain of Aphrodite, of sexuality and fertility. A further indication of the association of Aphrodite with marriage as a social institution in Sparta is the existence of a statue of Aphrodite Hera, to whom a mother was supposed to sacrifice when a daughter was going to marry (Paus. 3.13.9).

Furthermore there was a temple in Sparta to the armed Aphrodite, called Morpho. In the temple there was an image of the goddess with

<sup>200</sup> Burkert 1983, 259–262; 1985, 159–161. Lincoln 1979, 223–235; 1981, 71–90. Sourvinou-Inwood (1973, 12–21; 1991, 147–188) has analyzed the association of Persephone at Lokri with marriage and the rearing of children. The earliest literary evidence is the Homeric Hymn to Demeter.

<sup>201</sup> Plut. *Lyk.* 15.3–4.

<sup>202</sup> The custom of cutting the hair of the bride can be regarded as a sign of her status transition: see Cartledge 1981, 101. It is possible that the bride's hair was dedicated during the Hyakinthia. Finds of bronze rings during the German excavations of the Amyklaion have been interpreted in the light of hair offerings: see Cartledge 1979, 91. See also Sinn 1988, 158 for similar finds at the Aphaia sanctuary on Aegina. At Megara, *korai* made offerings of hair before marriage on the tomb of Iphinoë, who was said to have died as a *parthenos*: Paus. 1.43.4. On ritual haircuts see Harrison 1988, 247–254.

<sup>203</sup> Burkert 1983, 261.

<sup>204</sup> *Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 424.

<sup>205</sup> Burkert 1985, 160.

<sup>206</sup> See references *supra* n. 138.

<sup>207</sup> The group Dionysos, Semele and Ino also points to a theme of transition and status change. According to a local Lakonian myth, associated with the coastal town of Brasiai, Kadmos had put Semele and her newborn son Dionysos in a chest, which was washed up on the shore at Brasiai. Semele, who was dead when the chest was found, was given a funeral by the inhabitants in the city and Ino became the nurse of Dionysos; see Paus. 3.24.3–4.



a veil and with fetters on her feet. The action to this statue was that Tyndareos, the father of the Dioskouroi, had put the fetters on the statue to symbolize the faithfulness of the wives to their husbands (Paus. 3.15.11). After describing this statue, Pausanias proceeds to a sanctuary of Hylaeira and Phoebe, the daughters of Leukippos (3.16.1–3). They were called the Leukippides, as were their priestesses, who were young *parthenoi*. Immediately after the description of this sanctuary, Pausanias says that the women weave a tunic for Apollo at Amyklai every year, and that the chamber in which this work was done was called *Chiton*. From the account by Pausanias it is possible to draw the conclusion that the chamber called *Chiton* was a part of the sanctuary of the Leukippides. The weaving as a preparation for the Hyakinthia, and its location in a sanctuary connected with the most famous myth about the abduction of brides, are further possible evidence for associating the Hyakinthia with marriage initiation. After the information about the weaving of a chiton for Apollo at Amyklai, Pausanias describes a house which originally had belonged to the Dioskouroi. A myth was associated with this house, in which the Dioskouroi raped the daughter of Phormion. The topographical information provided by Pausanias thus shows that the weaving of the chiton for Apollo was done in an environment associated with the abduction of brides and with the temple of Aphrodite, who in Sparta was connected with marriage.

To sum up, the presence of the triad Demeter-Kore-Hades on one of the reliefs on the altar in the Amyklaion, together with the weaving of a chiton for Apollo in a sanctuary associated with the most famous Lakonian myth concerning the abduction of brides, are in my view strong indications of the possibility to interpret the female presence during the Hyakinthia in the light of rites of initiation.

The question remains, however, how the interpretation of the scene depicting Hyakinthos and Polyboia can be associated with the context of marriage. I have interpreted the scene as representing Hyakinthos as a mature man, the

father of Polyboia, and have argued that the scene should be associated with the sacrifice of Polyboia as a *parthenos* in analogy with the Attic testimonia. But how can the association between marriage and sacrifice be explained?

The most obvious parallel for a cultic connection between marriage and sacrifice would be the cult of Artemis at Brauron, where the goddess presided over girls' initiation.<sup>208</sup> The initiands were called *arktoi*, she-bears, and the aetiological myth explained the identification of the girls with bears as an atonement for a bear sacred to Artemis, which was once killed. The initiands thus took on a role of animals and victims in their preparation for their future roles as adults.<sup>209</sup>

At Brauron, Artemis shared the cult with Iphigeneia who, according to Euripides (*IT* 1462–1465), was buried in the precinct. In the cultic complex at Brauron, Iphigeneia represented the dead *parthenos*, whose destiny was never fulfilled. The change in status for the girls was thus connected in myth with the death of a maid. The initiation symbolism is clear: the members of the rising generation have to 'die' before they can enter their new role as adults and members of the society.<sup>210</sup> Clothes of women who had died in childbirth were dedicated in the shrine, and this points to the role of Artemis in protecting the young girl's change from *parthenos* to *gyne*.<sup>211</sup>

<sup>208</sup> Jeanmaire 1939, 259–264; Brelich 1969, 240–290; Calame 1977, 186–188; Lloyd-Jones 1983, 87–102; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988a; Dowden 1989, 9–47.

<sup>209</sup> The tragic aura surrounding marriage rituals has been noticed in the following articles: Jenkins 1983, 137–145; Seaford 1987, 106–130.

<sup>210</sup> Foley (1982, 159–180) has analyzed the use by Euripides of marriage and sacrificial rituals in *Iphigeneia in Aulis*. She mentions some similarities between the two rituals; they both include a voluntary 'death', real or symbolic, designed to ensure social survival. Through violence and loss, a submission to the order of society is enacted and membership in the society emphasized.

<sup>211</sup> Burkert 1985, 151.

It is noteworthy that in Greek culture, the act of separation is connected more with the bride than with the bridegroom. It has also been noticed that, in practical details such as the use of water and the cutting of hair, bride and sacrificial victim are close to complete identification with each other.<sup>212</sup> For both bride and sacrificial victim, the rituals signify separation and the transition from one status to another.

It is in the light of a connection between marriage and sacrifice that the scene representing Hyakinthos and Polyboia can be interpreted. As the daughter of Hyakinthos Polyboia can be connected with the myths about maiden sacrifice in connection with warfare. As in Brauron, the female initiation during the Hyakinthia was thus associated, on the mythical level, with the sacrifice of a *parthenos*. The scene was furthermore juxtaposed with a scene representing Demeter, Kore and Hades: the archetypal myth for the young woman concerning marriage in Greek mythology. All this makes it plausible that the female participation in the Hyakinthia was devoted to a rite of initiation aiming at marriage.

### Summary

In this part I have dealt with the problems concerning the two identities of Hyakinthos. On a relief in the Amyklaion of the second half of the sixth century BC, he was represented as a bearded man in company with his sister Polyboia, according to Pausanias. In the same period Hyakinthos appears in Attic vase paintings as a youth, either riding on a swan or chased by

a winged figure generally interpreted as Zephyros. The young Hyakinthos was probably an Attic invention, connected with the life-style of the aristocratic symposion. An *erastes-eromenos* relation between Apollo and Hyakinthos is hinted at, although the god is never depicted together with Hyakinthos. The earliest literary evidence for the myth about how Apollo killed Hyakinthos is Euripides' *Helen*. This myth was further elaborated during Hellenistic and Roman times.

According to iconographical conventions of sixth-century BC Lakonian vase painting, the beard must have indicated Hyakinthos as a mature man. Since Polyboia is explicitly stated to have died as a *parthenos*, Hyakinthos and Polyboia could not have been brother and sister, as Pausanias says. A comparison with Attic myths about Hyakinthos as a man who sacrifices his daughters in a critical period makes it possible to infer that the couple Hyakinthos-Polyboia depicted in the Amyklaion can be regarded as father and daughter. The scene should be interpreted in the light of the female presence during the Hyakinthia, where *parthenoi* played a prominent role during the cult, probably in connection with rites of initiation aiming at marriage. Polyboia as the dead *parthenos* was the symbol for the status transition of the girl from *parthenos* to *gyne*. Symbols of death in rites of initiation stress the irreversible character of the change in status for the initiands.

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<sup>212</sup> Burkert 1983, 62–66.

## Chapter two

# The Gymnopaïdiai

### The literary testimonia

The literary testimonia concerning the Gymnopaïdiai can be divided in two groups. The first group contains testimonia which explicitly mention the cult and the second group concerns the dance called γυμνοπαϊδική. It is likely that the cult's name derived from this dance and that the performance of this particular dance formed the nucleus of the cult.

Herodotos (6.67) tells how the Spartan king Demaratos, who was deposed from his kingship in 491 BC, was insulted in public during the Gymnopaïdiai by his successor, Leoty-chidas.

Thucydides (5.82.1-3) provides the information that the democrats in Argos carried out a *coup d'état* in the summer of 417 BC, when the Spartans celebrated the Gymnopaïdiai. The oligarchs in Argos sent for help, but the Spartans at first refused their appeal. When the Spartans finally began their march to Argos and had reached Tegea, they learned about the final defeat of the oligarchs and then returned to Sparta in order to continue the celebration of the Gymnopaïdiai.

Xenophon mentions the Gymnopaïdiai twice. In *Memorabilia* (1.2.61) he says that a Spartan named Lichas entertained strangers, *xenoi*, during the Gymnopaïdiai. In *Hellenika* (6.4.16) it is told how the Spartans learned of the defeat at the battle at Leuktra during the last day of the Gymnopaïdiai. In spite of the disas-

trous news, the ephors decided to let the cult have its run.

In Plato's *Laws* (1.633c), the Gymnopaïdiai is spoken of as a test of endurance, καρτέησις, during strong heat. The scholion on this passage says that the cult consisted of exercises in which the boys beat each other.<sup>213</sup> These exercises were part of a competition which was held in the heat of the sun. Ball-playing, σφαῖραν ῥίπτειν, also seems to have been part of the cult, according to the scholion. The scholion also groups the Gymnopaïdiai together with the *diamastigosis* and the *krypteia*.<sup>214</sup> It says that these elements concerned courage, ἀνδρεία. The cult was thus a part of several tests of endurance, whose goal was to create *andreia*, a virtue which was connected with the warrior.

Four passages in Plutarch mention the Gymnopaïdiai. In the biography of Agesilaos (29.2-3), Plutarch repeats the story told by Xenophon how the Spartans got to know about the defeat at Leuktra when they celebrated the last day of the Gymnopaïdiai. Plutarch adds that choirs of boys, παῖδες, were performing in the theatre when the message reached Sparta. In the life of Lykourgos (15.1) it is said that bachelors were excluded from watching the Gymnopaïdiai. In Kimon (10.5) Plutarch repeats the notice by

<sup>213</sup> Schol. Pl. *Leg.* 1.633b s.v. ταῖς χερσίν.

<sup>214</sup> Schol. Pl. *Leg.* 1.633a s.v. τέταρτον.

Xenophon that Lichas entertained strangers during the Gymnopaïdai.

In his work on music (*Mor.* 1134b–c) Plutarch attributes the foundation of the Gymnopaïdai to the five men who were responsible for the second organization, κατάστασις, of music in Sparta. The five men were Thaletas of Gortyn, Xenodamos of Kythera, Xenokritos of Lokri, Polymnestos of Kolophon, and Sakadas of Argos.

Pausanias (3.11.9) states, in his description of Sparta, that the Spartans celebrated the Gymnopaïdai on the part of the agora called Χορός, the dancing place. At this spot there were images, ἀγάλματα, of Apollo Pythaeus, Artemis and Leto. He further says that the ephebes performed dances in honour of Apollo and that the Spartans observed this cult most seriously.

Athenaios (15.678b–c) says that the leaders of the choirs, which perform during the Gymnopaïdai, wore wreaths made of palm leaves.<sup>215</sup> The wreaths were called θυρεατικοί and were assumed to be carried as a memorial of the victory at Thyrea. In this passage it is also said that a choir of boys performed, and to the left of them a choir of men, ἄνδρες. The text is defective in this passage, but it is probable that a third choir also performed, standing to the right of the boys. On the basis of Plutarch (*Mor.* 238a–b) who states that three types of choirs performed during festivals in Sparta, consisting respectively of boys, παῖδες, men, ἄνδρες, and elders, γέροντες, the suggestion has been put forward that the third choir consisted of elders.<sup>216</sup> This suggestion is also confirmed by the above-mentioned scholion on Plato's *Laws*, which says that the Lakonians had three types of choirs, made up by *paides*, *andres* and *gerontes*.<sup>217</sup>

The Gymnopaïdai is mentioned by the lexicographers. In *Suda* the Gymnopaïdai is described as performances of choirs of boys who sing hymns to Apollo in honour of the fallen in the battle at Thyrea.<sup>218</sup>

Hesychios states that some people describe the cult as consisting of a race in which the ephebes ran around the altar at Amyklai, whip-

ping each other on the back, but that this is wrong since the cult took place in the agora and consisted of choral performances.<sup>219</sup>

In *Etymologicum Magnum* the cult is described as a Lakonian festival, εορτὴ Λακεδαιμονίων, in which boys, *paides*, sang paeans to Apollo in honour of those killed in the battle of Thyrea.<sup>220</sup>

The second group of testimonia is concerned with the dance called γυμνοπαϊδική. In a section treating the subject of music, Athenaios supplies three notices on this dance. Though there is no direct quotation, the information is said to be collected from Aristoxenos.

In 14.630d, Athenaios says that there were three types of dances in lyric poetry: the war dance, πυρρίχη, the ὑπορχηματική and the γυμνοπαϊδική. The *pyrrhiche* was danced in armour and the *gymnopaïdike* naked, as the names of the dances suggest.

In 14.630e, the *gymnopaïdike* is compared to a tragic dance called ἐμμέλεια. Both are characterized as grave and solemn (βαρὺ καὶ σεμνόν).

The third notice, 14.631b, says that the *gymnopaïdike* is what the ancients, οἱ παλαιοί, called the ἀναπάλη. Here it is explicitly stated that the dance was performed naked, and that its rhythmical movements represented a wrestling-and-boxing match, ἀπαγκράτιον. As variations of this dance, the Oschophoric and Bacchic dances are mentioned. These dances and the *gymnopaïdike* are said to be traceable to the worship of Dionysos.

<sup>215</sup> Ath. 15.678b–c = Sosibios *FGrHist* 595 F 5.

<sup>216</sup> Kaibel, in the Teubner edition of Athenaios, has proposed the reading <ὁ δ' ἐκ δεξιῶν γερόντων>. The chorus on the right would then have been made up by elders. This reading has been accepted in the Loeb edition. According to Bölte, however, (1929, 125) there could not have been a chorus of elders, as elders never took part in *agones* in Greek cult. In his view, the *eirenes*, i.e. the 20-year-old men, formed the third chorus.

<sup>217</sup> Schol. Pl. *Leg.* 1.633a s.v. τὰ συσσίτια.

<sup>218</sup> *Suda* s.v. Γυμνοπαῖδα.

<sup>219</sup> Hesychios s.v. Γυμνοπαῖδα.

<sup>220</sup> *Etym. Magn.* s.v. Γυμνοπαῖδα.

## Previous research

The discussions about the *Gymnopaïdai* in the previous literature have often been of a descriptive rather than interpretative nature. By some scholars, the cult has not been considered a religious festival at all. Wide, for example, completely ignored the cult in his 'Lakonische Kulte', and Nilsson denied the cult its religious status.<sup>221</sup> The latter, however, admitted that there was a relation between the *Gymnopaïdai* and Apollo, as expressed by different testimonia. The significance of the cult, according to Nilsson, lay in its agonistic character, which he obviously did not regard as a religious feature.<sup>222</sup>

Other scholars have treated the cult as a kind of semi-religious ceremony in which the element of dance and music was of great importance, not the least as a means of commemorating the fallen soldiers in the battle of Thyrea. Ziehen describes the *Gymnopaïdai* as a musical *agon* celebrated in honour of Apollo Pythaeus.<sup>223</sup>

Hiller von Gaertringen derives the name of the cult not from γυμνοὶ παῖδες, naked boys, but from γυμνὸς παίζειν, to dance naked, as not only boys performed but also mature men and elders.<sup>224</sup> According to Hiller von Gaertringen the cult became of great importance for Sparta with the addition of choruses commemorating the battle of Thyrea, which he dates to c. 550 BC.<sup>225</sup>

The military character of the cult was stressed by Farnell, who regarded the *Gymnopaïdai* as a part of another cult of Apollo, the Karneia, as the testimonium from Bekker's *Anecdota* indicates.<sup>226</sup> In Preller-Robert the *Gymnopaïdai* is said to have been celebrated in honour of Apollo in his aspect of a warrior god.<sup>227</sup>

Bölte discusses the *Gymnopaïdai* in his article on Lakonian cults, where he tries to construct a schedule for the course of the cult.<sup>228</sup> He thinks that it lasted for five days, one day for each *oba*. During each day a choir of respectively boys, *eirenes*, and men performed.<sup>229</sup> However, like several scholars be-

fore him, he does not give a proper interpretation of the cult, but describes it as 'einen einfachen Ritus von strengem, fast grimmigem Ernst...' <sup>230</sup> He concludes his discussion thus: 'Den ursprünglichen Sinn dieser Tänze zu deuten, muss ich den Religionsforschern überlassen.' <sup>231</sup>

Though the presence of dance and music has often been noticed in studies of cult in Greek religion, the significance of these features has been either neglected or treated as decoration without any deeper significance, or as an indication of the primitive roots of Greek civilization.<sup>232</sup> Some notable exceptions, however, are provided in studies of Greek cult practice discussing the cults as rites of initiation.<sup>233</sup>

J.E. Harrison discussed dances in Greek cult as elements of an initiatory pattern in which the learning and execution of dances formed a part

<sup>221</sup> Nilsson 1906, 140–142.

<sup>222</sup> Nilsson 1906, 141.

<sup>223</sup> Ziehen 1929a, 1509f.

<sup>224</sup> Hiller von Gaertringen 1910, 2087–2089.

<sup>225</sup> Hiller von Gaertringen 1910, 2089.

<sup>226</sup> Bekker, *Anecdota* I, 234; Farnell 1907, 260.

<sup>227</sup> Preller-Robert 1894, 274.

<sup>228</sup> Bölte 1929a, 124–143.

<sup>229</sup> Bölte 1929a, 126f.

<sup>230</sup> Bölte 1929a, 129.

<sup>231</sup> Bölte 1929a, 130.

<sup>232</sup> Treating the subject of dance, Nilsson writes (1967, 163): 'Auf keinem zweiten Gebiet wird der Unterschied zwischen dem Primitivismus, der sich tief in die europäische Volkssitte eindringt, und dem Griechentum so anschaulich. Es ist keine Entwürdigung der Griechen, zu behaupten, dass auch sie einmal primitive Menschen mit primitiven Sitten und Bräuchen wie alle anderen Völker gewesen sind; um so höher tönt das Lob dessen, was sie daraus gemacht haben.' These lines seem to be a condensation of the evolutionary view of Greek culture embraced by Nilsson and his generation.

<sup>233</sup> Burkert (1985, 102f.) gives full consideration to the element of song and dance in ritual: 'Rhythmically repeated movement, directed to no end and performed together as a group, is, as it were, ritual crystallized in its purest form.' Calame (1977) also provides an important reevaluation of the role of *choreia* in his work on choruses of girls in early Greek culture.

of the experience of the initiands.<sup>234</sup> Jeanmaire and Brelich, whose works concentrate on Greek cults as rites of initiation, emphasize the importance of dance and music in religious contexts, although they both express some doubts about the religious nature of the Gymnopaïdai. As with the Hyakinthia and the Karneia, Jeanmaire discusses the Gymnopaïdai in terms of rites of initiation.<sup>235</sup> He points out the close chronological connection between the three cults and their celebration within some weeks in the middle or end of the summer.<sup>236</sup> The training in and execution of dances and songs were a part of the educational program, *agoge*, in Spartan society. The performances during the cult demonstrated the skills obtained in singing and dancing.<sup>237</sup> Also Jeanmaire, however, is sceptical about the religious nature of the cult.<sup>238</sup>

Brelich treats the Gymnopaïdai in his work *Paides e parthenoi*.<sup>239</sup> Like Jeanmaire, Brelich considers the cult as a rite of initiation.<sup>240</sup> He accepts the Gymnopaïdai as a religious ceremony consisting of annual performances of choirs made up by different age groups, on the part of the agora called *Choros*.<sup>241</sup> However, Brelich does not regard it as a 'real' cult: 'di un culto vero e proprio non si trattava'.<sup>242</sup> A 'real' cult should, according to Brelich, have a temple and priests associated with it.

The purpose of the cult was, in Brelich's view, the exhibition of the young generations to the citizens. This demonstration was a part of the rites of initiation which gradually made a citizen of the initiand. This practice of initiation, in Brelich's view, was not a late addition to the cult, but had always formed the nucleus of the Gymnopaïdai.<sup>243</sup> According to Brelich, the implication of Plutarch's notice about the foundation of the Gymnopaïdai (*Mor.* 1134b–c) is not that the cult was actually established by these musicians, but that an originally primitive ritual, solely concerned with initiation, became the object of a radical reform, which in the ancient testimonia was regarded as the foundation of the cult.<sup>244</sup>

## Elements of the cult

### Choreia as tests of endurance

The scholion on Plato's *Laws* puts the Gymnopaïdai together with the *krypteia* and the *diastigmatismos* and says that they concern the *andreia*.<sup>245</sup> This mixture of elements by the scholiast has been considered a mistake by some scholars, but a close study of the three features will prove that they have one common denominator: they were all considered as tests of endurance and they were a part of the *agoge*, an important goal of which was to create a moral standard based on the concept of *andreia*.<sup>246</sup>

To start with the *krypteia*, Plutarch (*Lyk.* 28) says that the *krypteia* meant that the young men, *véoi*, from time to time were sent out by the magistrates, *ἄρχοντες*, into the countryside, equipped with daggers and necessary supplies. They were expected to keep hidden in the daytime, but at night to be active and kill every helot whom they caught. The ephors declared war upon the helots once a year as soon as they came into office, in order that there would be no defilement afflicting those who killed them.<sup>247</sup> Plato (*Leg.* 1.633b–c) says that the *krypteia* was a test of endurance, *karteresis*, including walking with bare feet in winter and sleeping on the ground. The scholion on this passage says that the *krypteia* meant that a

<sup>234</sup> Harrison 1912, 23–25. She mentions that among some cultures, a man who is too old to dance hands over his dance to a younger man and then ceases to exist socially.

<sup>235</sup> Jeanmaire 1939, 531–540.

<sup>236</sup> Jeanmaire 1939, 535.

<sup>237</sup> Jeanmaire 1939, 533f., 539.

<sup>238</sup> Jeanmaire 1939, 533.

<sup>239</sup> Brelich 1969, 139f., 171–173, 187–191.

<sup>240</sup> Brelich 1969, 176f., 188.

<sup>241</sup> Brelich 1969, 171f.

<sup>242</sup> Brelich 1969, 173.

<sup>243</sup> Brelich 1969, 176f., 188.

<sup>244</sup> Brelich 1969, 188–190.

<sup>245</sup> Schol. Pl. *Leg.* 1.633a s.v. *τέταρτον*.

<sup>246</sup> Bölte 1929a, 129; Chrimes 1949, 124f.

<sup>247</sup> Plut. *Lyk.* 28.4.

young man was sent out from the city for a period and during that time he was not allowed to be observed by anybody.<sup>248</sup> Those who happened to be observed were punished. He was to stroll around in the mountains and to have no servants and no supplies of food. He was sent out naked and expected to support himself on what he could steal. The period lasted for a year and was considered a preparation for warfare.<sup>249</sup>

The *krypteia* with its set of rules and prohibitions was interpreted by Jeanmaire as a part of a cycle of initiation rituals.<sup>250</sup> The stay in the wilderness, the lack of clothes and provisions, the stealing of food and the killing of helots point to a way of living which was a negation of civilized life.

Concerning the διαμαστίγωσις, Plutarch says that the boys, *paides*, in Sparta were lashed with whips, μάστιγες, for a whole day at the altar of Artemis Orthia, frequently to the point of death. This flagellation was modelled as a competition in endurance: the one who could endure being beaten for the longest time, and with the greatest number of blows, was considered the winner. This competition called *diamastigosis* was held each year.<sup>251</sup> The winner seems to have received the title βωμονίκης, the winner at the altar, a title which was held for life.<sup>252</sup>

Pausanias (3.16.6) says that behind this ritual lay originally a human sacrifice, but that Lykourgos changed the custom to a whipping contest. He also relates that during this ritual the priestess stood holding the wooden image of Artemis Orthia or Lygodesma. If the scourgers did not hit as hard as they could, the *xoanon* got so heavy that the priestess could hardly carry it.

The presence of the priestess confirms the religious nature of the custom. Jeanmaire associates this cult practice with the ritual complex, whose focal point was the altar of Artemis Orthia.<sup>253</sup> He is of the opinion that the *diamastigosis* was a part of rites of initiation. This is also the view of Brelich, according to whom the element of flagellation can be interpreted as a kind of ritual death associated with the trans-

formation of the initiate from one status to another.<sup>254</sup> The *krypteia* and the *diamastigosis* can thus be regarded as ordeals connected with rites of initiation.

The third element associated with the *andρεία* was the *Gymnopaïdai*. According to Plato (*Leg.* 1.633c) the dances were performed in strong heat. The scholion on this passage says that the cult included some kind of fighting and also ball-playing. The cult thus included both the performances of choirs in strong heat and games of fighting and ball-playing, features which can be considered as tests of endurance.

A notice in Lucian (*Anach.* 38) connects the beating and the ball-playing. He says that the Spartans strike one another in the theatre over a ball. According to Pausanias (3.14.6) there was a category of ephebes who were called σφαίρεις and he defines them as those ceasing to be ephebes and beginning to be counted among the men.<sup>255</sup> Modern scholars have explained these *sphaireis* as ball-players, deriving the name from the word for ball, σφαῖρα.<sup>256</sup>

<sup>248</sup> Schol. Pl. *Leg.* 1.633b s.v. κρυπτεία τις.

<sup>249</sup> Jeanmaire 1913, 121–150; 1939, 550–554; Oehler 1922, 2031f.; Brelich 1969, 155–157. On the *krypteia* as the opposite condition to the life of the citizen-warrior see Vidal-Naquet 1986, 112–114, 147f.

<sup>250</sup> Jeanmaire 1913, 121–150; 1939, 550–554.

<sup>251</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 239d. Other sources for the *diamastigosis*; Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 2.9; Plut. *Lyk.* 18.1; Arist. 17.8.

<sup>252</sup> Inscriptions concerning the *bomonikes*: IG V 1, 554, 652, 653, 653b, 654. On the *bomonikes* see Szanto 1905, 325; Chrimes 1949, 131, 134f.

<sup>253</sup> Jeanmaire 1939, 511, 515–523.

<sup>254</sup> Brelich 1969, 138.

<sup>255</sup> This indicates that the *sphaireis* belonged to a formal age grade within the age class system. See further Chapter Four.

<sup>256</sup> Woodward 1951, 191–199; Brelich 1969, 122f. Chrimes (1949, 132f.) has suggested a derivation from the meaning of *sphaira* as boxing-glove; but as the notice in Lucian indicates, the game was apparently a combination of ball-playing and a kind of boxing. According to LSJ, *sphaira* could be 'a weapon of boxers, prob. iron ball, worn with padded covers instead of boxing-gloves'.

Chrimes also discusses the inscriptions concerning the *sphaireis*.<sup>257</sup> The inscriptions list the winners in a game and occur on stelai with pediments which bear representations of circular objects, probably balls.<sup>258</sup> Furthermore, a specific *agon* called σφαίρομαχία is mentioned in late testimonia.<sup>259</sup>

Some features of the Gymnopaïdai were thus concerned with a game combining ball-playing and boxing.<sup>260</sup> This game, which the scholiast labels as an *agon*, was probably called the *Sphairomachia*. The preserved inscriptions enumerate the winners belonging to the age class called *sphaireis*. This age class apparently had an important role in the Gymnopaïdai, and they were organized according to *oba*.<sup>261</sup>

To sum up, the reason for the scholiast mentioning the Gymnopaïdai together with the *krypteia* and the *diamastigosis* was that the cult belonged to the series of severe tests of endurance which characterized the Spartan educational system.

Another feature associated with the Gymnopaïdai is nakedness, as the very name of the cult indicates. The nakedness should be treated as a symbol expressing the character of the cult. The most immediate significance of nakedness in this connection is the loss of identity and rank. In Sparta, when a child had entered the *agoge*, he wore a himation, the same one for a whole year.<sup>262</sup> Nudity was thus not a common feature in everyday life in Sparta, but was restricted to certain cults and probably certain age classes.<sup>263</sup> As mentioned above, the tests of endurance have been discussed by scholars as a part of a cycle of initiation rituals in Spartan society. Besides the discussions by Jeanmaire and Brelich, I would like to make some remarks based on the work by Victor Turner.<sup>264</sup>

Turner has dealt with the concept of liminality in explaining the rituals of the Ndembu people. He takes this concept from A. van Gennep, for whom all rites of passage were marked by three phases: separation, liminality and aggregation.<sup>265</sup>

The first phase meant the separation of the individual or group from a fixed status or con-

dition. The second phase is described by Turner as a transitional phase characterized by symbols of ambiguity. In the third phase the initiands were incorporated into the society.<sup>266</sup> The contribution by Turner is that he has focused attention on the second phase in van Gennep's scheme, the liminal period, and he has studied the symbolism developed in this stage.<sup>267</sup>

Turner has noticed that the initiands in the second stage are associated with symbols of an ambiguous nature. As they are in the process of status change, their condition and attributes are not those of normal status. They are frequently connected with death, invisibility, darkness, the wilderness, bisexuality. They can wear masks, often of a monstrous nature, or go naked as a sign of lack of identity and rank. The liminal condition is often associated with punishments of different kinds and the requirement of obedience and total submission to authority. During the liminal phase, the initiands are instructed and brought into contact with the traditions of the society.<sup>268</sup> These traditions are often of a sacred nature, associated with the gods and myths of the society. To change status

<sup>257</sup> Chrimes 1949, 132, nn. 5 and 6.

<sup>258</sup> Tod 1906–1907, 212–218.

<sup>259</sup> Chrimes 1949, 133, n. 4.

<sup>260</sup> The notice by Athenaios (14.631b) should here be added, where the dance *gymnopaïdike* is described as a *pankration*.

<sup>261</sup> Testimonia in Chrimes 1949, 132, n. 5.

<sup>262</sup> Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 2.4; Plut. *Mor.* 237b. The change of himation could have taken place during ritual.

<sup>263</sup> Brelich (1969, 200f.) has brought the nudity during the Gymnopaïdai into connection with cults in Crete. These cults are, in Brelich's view, concerned with the withdrawal of the initiands from the *agelai*, and the change of clothes associated with this step. For references to the research on the symbolism of nakedness in social anthropology see *idem* 1969, 72, n. 60.

<sup>264</sup> Turner 1969, 94–130.

<sup>265</sup> van Gennep 1960, 20f.

<sup>266</sup> Turner 1969, 94f.

<sup>267</sup> Turner 1967, 93–111; 1974, 272–299; 1978, 276–296.

<sup>268</sup> Turner 1969, 103.



meant to get in touch with the sacral knowledge of the society. It is important to stress that this knowledge does not necessarily have to be of a utilitarian nature, but could concern songs and dances which transfer myths about the origin of the world.

According to Turner, the liminal phase is associated with the sacral dimension. This phase often appears as dangerous, a threat to the ordinary order of society, and therefore surrounded by prescriptions and prohibitions. The opposition between the liminal phase and the order of society can be expressed by the following binary oppositions:<sup>269</sup>

transition—state  
 absence of status—status  
 nakedness or uniform clothing—distinctive clothing  
 sexual continence—sexuality  
 sacred instruction—technical knowledge  
 acceptance of pain and suffering—avoidance of pain and suffering

Adapting these remarks to the *Gymnopaïdai*, it is obvious that elements of the cult can be associated with the symbolism connected with the liminal phase of rites of passage. These features were considered as tests of endurance, imposed on the age classes which were in the process of becoming integrated into Spartan society as citizens. The severe and often cruel nature of the tests could be interpreted in the light of the obedience and submission which is often played out during rites of initiation.

During the *krypteia*, the young men lived for a year in a liminal stage of life, beyond the accepted order of the city. This stage signified the change from one age class to another, though it is not known precisely which age class was involved in the *krypteia*.<sup>270</sup> It is possible to conclude that the *Gymnopaïdai*, together with ritual elements such as the *krypteia* and the *diastigosis*, was part of the educational process in Spartan society. The passage from one status to another was marked by a liminal phase in which the initiand was not allowed to wear clothes. Nudity became not only a symbol of

the lack of identity but also an instrument for the expectation of a new identity, a new status. The nudity was thus an ambiguous symbol, alluding to both the old status, as a bereavement, and to the new status which the initiand was about to enter, symbolized for some age classes by the acquisition of new clothes. However, as citizens also took part in the cult, the liminal period was valid for the whole body of male inhabitants in Sparta.

### *Choreia as education*

The literary testimonia concerning the *Gymnopaïdai* bear witness to a religious ritual based on the performances of songs and dances and different physical activities, which were regarded as tests of endurance, *kartereseis*. Both the choral and physical activities were carried out as competitions, *agones*. Furthermore, the choirs performed on a part of the agora called *Choros*, the dancing place, where, according to Pausanias (3.11.9), images of Apollo Pythaeus, Artemis and Leto were set up.

The prominent position of dance and music, combined with the physical tests, has probably been the decisive factor behind the sceptical remarks on the religious nature of the *Gymnopaïdai*, expressed by some scholars.<sup>271</sup>

Still, I think that it is necessary in this connection to stress that *choreia*, the combination of dance and music, was a major religious expression in early Greek cult, on a par with the sacrificial practice. Before discussing the relation between *choreia* and religion, however, I would like to make some remarks about the as-

<sup>269</sup> Turner 1969, 106f.

<sup>270</sup> In Chapter Four I shall argue that the *krypteia* belonged to the age class between 18 and 20 years. The *krypteia*, as the most radical inversion of civilized life, was thus experienced immediately before a Spartan entered the age grade of *eiren* and became a member of the army.

<sup>271</sup> Brelich's remark (1969, 173) that the *Gymnopaïdai* was not a proper cult, as it lacked a temple and priests associated with it, is a representative view of these scholars.

sociation between *choreia* and education in Spartan society.

The second book of Plato's *Laws* is the earliest treatment of the subject of *choreia* in Greek literature. This discussion leads to the conclusion that the whole educational process, *παιδεία*, is included in the *choreia*, the combination of dance and song, ὄρχησις and ᾠδή.<sup>272</sup> For Plato, *choreia* was obviously a fundamental means of moulding the rising generations into citizens.<sup>273</sup> It can be argued that Plato's writing concerns his wishes about the conditions in a utopian city, which has nothing to do with actual realities. However, it has been assumed that much of the argumentation concerning the *choreia* as education in the *Laws* is influenced by the actual conditions in Sparta.<sup>274</sup> According to Mullen, in his work on Pindar and dance, the choral activities discussed by Plato are doubtless influenced by the importance of *choreia* in Greek culture and an effort of Plato to preserve what in his time was already dissolving.<sup>275</sup> Plato, through the Athenian as his spokesman, argues for a connection between *arete* and the art of *choreia* and much of the discussion is centred on this subject. In the ideal polis, the *choreia* would involve the imitation of states of character of the good citizen.<sup>276</sup> One would become a good citizen through the dancing and singing of appropriate choral works.

The most important aspect of *choreia* for both Pindar and Plato would, in Mullen's view, have been this mimetic element, as it made the executors imitate the comportment of citizens and 'learn what they are and become it'.<sup>277</sup> The presence of three types of choruses, made up respectively by boys, men and elders, would have the following educational purpose.<sup>278</sup>

The boys were in the middle of an educational process, actually learning how to become citizens. Their performances were exercises and imitations of songs and movements connected with the good behaviour of a free citizen.

The choruses of men were, in the educational process, making visible the state of being an adult and a citizen, and thus served as a

paradigm for the younger generations.

The elders represented the act of judgement and evaluation of the performance of the younger generations. Only the elders had the wisdom and acquired knowledge to be able to fully understand and judge the previous stages of life.

The knowledge and skills obtained during the educational process of *choreia* had to be upheld in life through continuous exercises. The values expressed through *choreia* were thus upheld through life in a never-ending process.<sup>279</sup>

Both *choreia* and *paideia* were of divine origin, according to Plato (*Leg.* 2.654a). The origin of *paideia* was to be found in Apollo and the Muses, and the origin of rhythmical movements was expressed in this way: 'Now, whereas all other creatures are devoid of any perception of the various kinds of order and disorder in movement (which we term rhythm and harmony, ῥυθμὸς καὶ ἁρμονία) to us men the very gods, who were given, as we said, to be our fellows in the dance, συγχορευταί, have granted the pleasurable perception of rhythm and harmony, whereby they cause us to move and lead our choirs, linking us one with another by means of songs and dances.'<sup>280</sup> For Plato the *choreia* was thus a fundamental feature in the moulding of the rising generations.

To return to Sparta, a number of testimonia indicate the importance of *choreia* as an educa-

<sup>272</sup> Pl. *Leg.* 2.672e. In the *Republic* (3.411e–412a) it is said that education is made up by the combination of γυμναστική and μουσική.

<sup>273</sup> Burkert 1985, 336.

<sup>274</sup> Chrimes 1949, 124–126; Mullen 1982, 55.

<sup>275</sup> Mullen 1982, 54.

<sup>276</sup> Pl. *Leg.* 2.655d–656a.

<sup>277</sup> Mullen 1982, 55. The quotation is Mullen's translation of *Pyth.* 2.72.

<sup>278</sup> Mullen 1982, 55. Plato's idea about three types of choruses is, in Calame's view (1977, 387f., n. 59), a reflection of the Spartan custom.

<sup>279</sup> Mullen 1982, 56.

<sup>280</sup> Pl. *Leg.* 2.653e–654a. Translation R.G. Bury (Loeb Classical Library), Cambridge, Mass., 1961 (1926).

tional force in Spartan society. According to Plutarch (*Lyk.* 21.1) an essential part of the education of young Spartans was devoted to poetry and music. He adds that most songs were sung as praises of men who had died for the city. This was the case during the Gymnopaïdai when the choirs commemorated the fallen soldiers in the battle of Thyrea.

Plutarch (*Lyk.* 21.2; *Mor.* 238a–b) gives an example of three choirs made up by respectively boys, men and elders performing a song of a competitive character, in which the boys sang that they would be more brave than the older generations. This notice seems to be valid for Spartan cults in general, and the evidence from Athenaios (15.678c) confirms that this was true of the Gymnopaïdai.<sup>281</sup>

According to Plutarch (*Lyk.* 21.3–4), both Terpander and Pindar associated the musical life in Sparta with bravery, *andreia*, a virtue which was connected with the tests of endurance described above, and closely related to the ideal of the Spartan citizen as a warrior. He also says that before the battles, the king sacrificed to the Muses, and this habit he regards as evidence of the relation between music and warfare among the Spartans.

In Sparta, the goal of education was to produce devotion and obedience to the city. As Marrou has remarked, the Spartan warrior was devoted to the city, the polis, whereas the Homeric heroes were attached to a person, a king.<sup>282</sup> The educational system in Sparta thus created a bond of loyalty between the citizens and the polis. The evidence concerning the Gymnopaïdai makes clear that for a Spartan citizen this bond was reinforced and renewed throughout life with the performances of all age classes in this cult. The participants had to conform to a traditional pattern of rhythm and movement, trained by older persons who imposed their authority on the younger generations.<sup>283</sup>

The education in the guise of *choreia* thus became a lesson in the obedience to a set of rules, the ancient rules of music, οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τῆς μουσικῆς νόμοι.<sup>284</sup>

When Athenaios (14.632f) states that of all

the Greeks, the Spartans have most faithfully preserved the art of music, ἡ μουσική, there is no reason to doubt that this was also the case with the art of dancing, as both music and dance were included in the *choreia*. The notice about the careful retaining of the ancient songs, αἱ ἀρχαῖαι ᾠδαί, is in accordance with Polykrates' account of the Hyakinthia, in which some of the dances were performed in a traditional style, ἡ κίνησις ἀρχαϊκή.<sup>285</sup> Lucian (*Salt.* 10–12), writing on the subject of dance, mentions the importance of dance in Spartan society, and how dance was associated with warfare. In this connection he states that the dance was also important in his time, i.e. in the second century AD. He further says that the ephebes did as much training in dance as in other physical exercises associated with warfare, and that their exercises ended in the performance of circle dances with a flute-player in the middle.

Of particular interest in the account of Lucian is the notice about a dance called ὄρμος (*Salt.* 12). This dance was performed by boys and girls together. Lucian says that the boys made steps and postures of young manhood, τὰ νεανικὰ ὀρχούμενος. From this passage I think it is possible to draw the conclusion that certain elements in the dances were connected with specific age classes, and that the dances differed in their choreography according to which age class performed the dance. It thus seems as if each age class had its own choreographic pattern to learn.

Immediately after the description of this dance, Lucian states that the Gymnopaïdai was danced in a similar way, i.e. that the dances resembled a string of beads. He probably means that some dances during the Gymnopaïdai were performed like the *hormos* dance and that they were considered as preparations for warfare.

<sup>281</sup> Ath. 15.678c = Sosibios *FGrHist* 595 F 5.

<sup>282</sup> Marrou 1964, 37.

<sup>283</sup> Jeanmaire 1939, 539f.

<sup>284</sup> Ath. 14.633b.

<sup>285</sup> Ath. 4.139e.



Fig. 8 Amyklaion, Lakonia. Youth with wreath. Bronze. Athens National Museum.

Specific choirs were associated with the commemoration of various battles at Thyrea, a district in the northeastern border area, Kynouria, between Sparta and Argos.<sup>286</sup> According to a quotation from Sosibios in Athenaios, the leaders of the choirs performing during the Gymnopaïdiai wore wreaths made of palm leaves, *thyreatikoi*, and they were assumed to be carried as a memory of the Spartan victory at Thyrea. (Fig. 8)<sup>287</sup> Pausanias (3.2.2–3; 3.7.2; 3.7.5) supplies traditions about struggles between Sparta and Argos, contemporary with Lykourgos. Herodotos (1.82) tells about a

battle which was surrounded by a distinct code of behaviour. Three hundred of each side should fight and whichever party won should possess the land. The rest of each army was to go away to its own territory and not to be present at the battle. This happened during the reign of Kroisos.

Thucydides (5.41) says that the Kynourian territory was a border area which the Argives and the Spartans were always disputing about. In 420, Sparta and Argos concluded a treaty of fifty years about the Thyrea district, saying that either Sparta or Argos could start a war about this area provided that there was neither war nor pestilence in either town. The armies were not allowed to pursue each other into their respective territories. The wars between Sparta and Argos about this area thus seem to have been ritualized, since the conditions of warfare were surrounded by strict rules.<sup>288</sup> The struggles about the Thyrea also seem to have gone back to the earliest history of the Spartan polis. In my view, the Gymnopaïdiai was shaped with the creation of Sparta as a polis in the middle of the eighth century. The traditions attached to the cult concerning battles at Thyrea are connected with the process of polis formation. The art of *choreia* thus became a means of moulding the rising generations into a pattern of loyalty to the newly created state and its history.

### *Choreia as a religious experience*

In the preceding section I have discussed the *choreia* as a part of the educational process in Spartan society. I have also made some re-

<sup>286</sup> Pieske 1924, 42–45; Bölte 1929b, 1303–1307.

<sup>287</sup> Ath. 15.678b–c. To this literary testimony can be added five bronze statuettes of youths wearing wreaths of palm leaves, two of which have been found at the Amyklaion, Herfort-Koch 1986, 45–47, nos. 91–95 in the Catalogue and pl. 13, 1–6. See also Kunze 1956, 97–102; Fitzhardinge 1980, 106 and Pipili 1987, 78f. and pls. 112–113.

<sup>288</sup> Brelich 1961, 22–39; Sartre 1979, 219.

marks on the fact that the performances of choirs during the *Gymnopaïdai* were considered as tests of endurance, as their setting was in the heat of the sun. It now remains to say something about the religious nature of the *choreia*.

It has been noticed that both song and dance in ancient Greek culture were closely linked to religion, and practically all gods were honoured with songs and dances as well as with sacrifices.<sup>289</sup> The occurrence of song and dance in Greek culture can be traced back to the Bronze Age as elements of the Minoan and Mycenaean civilizations.<sup>290</sup> To Nilsson, dance in Minoan religion was connected with e.g. the ecstatic veneration of trees, as numerous depictions on seals show.<sup>291</sup> Though no Mycenaean artefact depicts a dance, the description of dances and songs in Homer has led scholars to assume that dance was also an important part of the Mycenaean culture.<sup>292</sup> Both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* have a number of references to dance and song. In the *Iliad* the art of dancing is compared to achievements in warfare and in singing, and in the first book the *kouroi* sing the *paean* and dance in honour of Apollo.<sup>293</sup>

Representations of dances on Geometric vases from Attica, Argolis, Lakonia, Boiotia and the islands supply the literary testimonia on the importance of dance in early Greek culture.<sup>294</sup> Though no more than four fragments and a complete cup have been published of the Lakonian material, they nevertheless confirm the existence of *choreia* in Spartan culture at this time.<sup>295</sup> Three fragments were found in the excavation of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, representing both boys and girls dancing, and at the Amyklaion a *pyxis* was found, depicting a dance executed by men.<sup>296</sup> (Fig. 9) On the *pyxis* are also depicted two lyres. Moreover, a bronze lyre has been found at the Amyklaion, dated to the Geometric period.<sup>297</sup> The literary testimonia and the archaeological material thus make it possible to state that the performance of choirs was a major religious expression, on a par with the sacrificial practice.

Many poems begin with an invitation to the Muses or Charites to join in the songs and

dances.<sup>298</sup> Music as a cosmic power is expressed by Pindar (*Pyth.* 1.5–12) and the myth about Orpheus obviously reflects some of the mentality of the Greeks in regard to the effects and power of music. Plato, in the *Laws* (2.653e–654a), lets the Athenian say that the perception of rhythm and harmony, *rhythmos kai harmonia*, was given man by the gods and separates man from the animals.

During the seventh and far into the sixth century, Sparta was one of the most important centres in Greece, both in matters of *choreia* and in handicrafts.<sup>299</sup> It has been assumed that a sudden change took place towards the middle of the sixth century in which Sparta was turned into a military camp, where the art of song and music ceased to play any part at all in the society. This tradition, which has been taken over by modern scholars as the true history, is contradicted by later testimonia.<sup>300</sup> Pindar praises

<sup>289</sup> Lawler 1964, 13; Burkert 1985, 102f.

<sup>290</sup> On Minoan dance rituals see Warren 1988, 14f.

<sup>291</sup> Nilsson 1950, 275–277. Lawler (1964, 37) and Warren (1988, 14) associate dances with the epiphany of deities.

<sup>292</sup> Lawler 1964, 51.

<sup>293</sup> Hom. *Il.* 1.473–474; 13.636–637, 730–731. Three dances are described in connection with the description of the shield of Achilles. One dance is performed by *kouroi* in association with a marriage: *Il.* 18.494. The second dance is performed to the accompaniment of the *kithara* as a part of the vintage: *Il.* 18.567–572. In the third dance scene, youths and maidens, ἦῑθεοὶ καὶ παρθέναι, are dancing on a specific dancing-floor, *choros*, which is compared to the one made by Daidalos for Ariadne at Knossos: *Il.* 18.590–606. Homer thus gives substantial evidence of the importance of *choreia* in the society which he describes.

<sup>294</sup> Tölle 1964.

<sup>295</sup> Tölle 1964, 48–50.

<sup>296</sup> Coldstream 1968, pl. 46n.

<sup>297</sup> Demakopoulou 1982, 76f. and pl. 53.

<sup>298</sup> Lawler 1964, 98.

<sup>299</sup> Stoessl 1947, 92–114; Häfner 1965; Tigerstedt 1965, 40–44; Marangou 1969; Herfort-Koch 1986. See also the general overview in Fitzhardinge 1980, 24–123.

<sup>300</sup> Some scholars have criticized the traditional view. Cook (1962, 156–158) has remarked that sub-

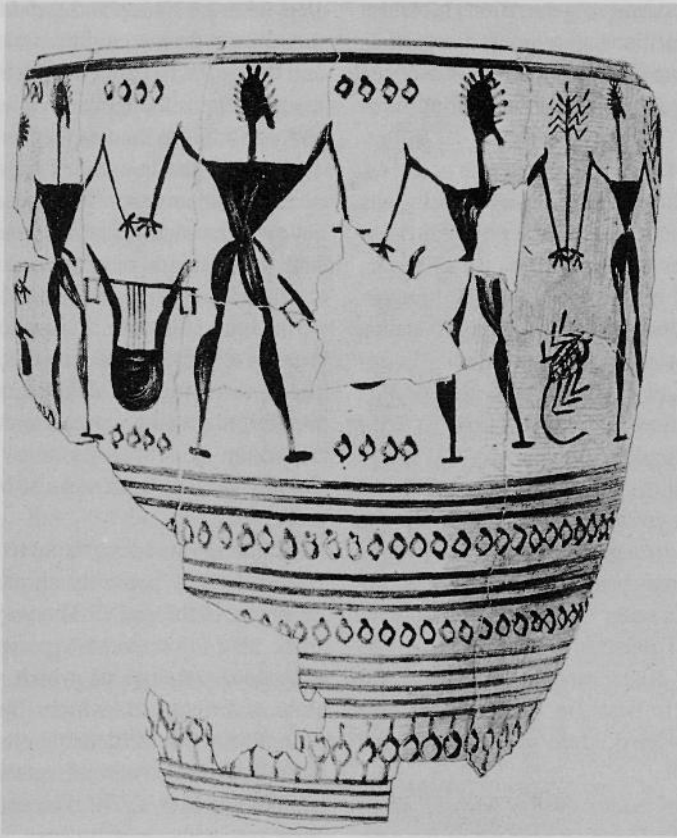


Fig. 9. Amyklaion, Lakonia. Late Geometric pyxis, depicting male dancers and lyres. Athens 234.

Sparta as the place for choirs, the Muse and Aglaia.<sup>301</sup> Aristophanes (*Lys.* 1305–1311) mentions dances performed by young men and women on the banks of Eurotas, and Euripides (*Alk.* 445–451) mentions choirs of girls in connection with the cult of Apollo Karneios. The late testimonia concerning the three cults dealt with in this study testify to the importance of *choreia*.

During the seventh century *choreia* was a medium for creative efforts and innovations, as the works by Tyrtaios and Alkman attest. The Spartan polis was at that time still a rather new creation, and the poets served the purpose of enhancing the glory of the city and its gods. After this period of *floruit* for music and dance, *choreia* became traditionally bound and con-

nected with the performances of the work of the poets active during the seventh century. Athenaios (15.678c) refers to Sosibios, who says that during the *Gymnopaidiai* the choruses sang and danced songs, *hymnoi*, by Thaletas and Alkman, and paeans by Dionysodotos the Lakedaimonian. The cults thus became a medium for the preservation of a cultural heritage consisting of the works of the great poets of the seventh century, a heritage which was handed

stantial efforts in architecture and sculpture were made in Sparta well into the fifth century. See also Holladay (1977, 111–126) and the sensible remarks by Starr (1965, 265f.) on this subject.

<sup>301</sup> Pind. fr. 199 (Snell).

down from generation to generation. It cannot be ruled out that there were poets later on in Sparta, but these are not known, with the exception of the above-mentioned Dionysodotos.

The medium for the performances of the results of the training in *choreia* was the religious cults. If the ultimate goal of the physical training of a man was to honour the city as a warrior, the musical training aimed at the honouring of the gods that protected the city. It seems as if *choreia* was considered a particularly appropriate means of honouring Apollo and Artemis.<sup>302</sup> In the first book of the *Iliad* (1.472–474), the Greeks placate the wrath of Apollo with paeans, and the cry *ie-paion* was intoned by the marching soldiers (22.391–392). In the Homeric Hymn to Apollo (514–519), the god himself, in company with some Cretans, arrives at Delphi in order to establish the sanctuary, singing and marching to the paean. The word *paieon* or *paian* has been derived from the verb *παίω*, ‘to beat’ or ‘to stamp’, i.e. the paean was performed while stamping the feet on the ground.<sup>303</sup>

Apollo as the leader of the Muses, *Mousagetes*, was envisioned as present in the performances of a choral dance, and Pindar invokes Apollo as the dancer.<sup>304</sup> Relevant here are some observations made by W. Mullen in his work on Pindar and dance.<sup>305</sup> He has noticed the association between the dancing and the word *aglaia*, ‘splendour, brightness’. In the first Pythian, the dance step is called the ‘source of radiance’, *βάσις ἀγλαΐας ἀρχά*.<sup>306</sup> *Aglaia* is the name of one of the three Graces, who arrange the dances in heaven,<sup>307</sup> and Sparta is blessed because this particular Grace flowers there alongside choruses and the Muse.<sup>308</sup>

Apollo is ‘the dancer, master of Radiance’, *ὄρχηστ' ἀγλαΐας ἀνάσσων*.<sup>309</sup> The expression *αἴγλα ποδῶν*, used by Pindar, is also used in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo (202–203), when the gods dance on Olympus. In the Homeric Hymn to Apollo (440–442), the god appears to the inhabitants of Krisa as a bright star, surrounded by flashes of fire. The radiance associ-

ated with the dance and the dancers in poetry thus has a divine origin, *αἴγλα διόσδοτος*,<sup>310</sup> and this is the radiance which the gods shed on the winners in the Panhellenic games.

Apollo, more than any other god, was associated with the temporary appearance in connection with music. The presence of Apollo follows the nature of the hymn: something which is born and disappears within a short period of time.<sup>311</sup> Kallimachos (*Ap.* 1–8) describes the epiphany of Apollo on Delos, and there is a rendering in prose by Himerios of a paean to Apollo by Alkaios, describing how the Delphians sing a paean and dance around a tripod invoking the presence of the god.<sup>312</sup> Apollo and the paean seem to be identical with each other.

The religious background to these examples from poetry is probably an experience of the epiphany of the god.<sup>313</sup> The very dance seemed to be able to create an experience of a divine presence, the sign of which was a flashing light, a brightness, which, by the poet, was associated with the dancing-steps. The *choreia* thus had the power of establishing a communication between heaven and earth, between men and gods, in a process analogous to the sacrifice. *Choreia* became a medium through

<sup>302</sup> Burkert 1985, 103.

<sup>303</sup> Diehl 1940, 90, 110f.; Koller 1963, 112–119.

<sup>304</sup> Pind. fr. 148 (Snell).

<sup>305</sup> Mullen 1982, 86–89, 222f.

<sup>306</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 1.2.

<sup>307</sup> Pind. *Ol.* 14.13–14.

<sup>308</sup> Pind. fr. 199 (Snell).

<sup>309</sup> Pind. fr. 148 (Snell). Translation by Mullen 1982, 222. The epithet *Αἰγλήτης* of Apollo at Anaphe can be interpreted as the shining one, *IG* XII 3, 259.

<sup>310</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 8.96.

<sup>311</sup> Burkert 1985, 146.

<sup>312</sup> Himer. *Or.* 48.10–11 = Alk. fr. 2 (Bergk)

<sup>313</sup> Nilsson (1967, 547f.) has pointed out the aspect of epiphany in the apprehension of Apollo. At Delphi the oracle originally functioned for one day a year, on the 7th of Bysios, and this day was thought of as the birthday of the god and the day when he made his arrival at Delphi. See also Burkert 1985, 146.

which the participants experienced the transformation to a sacred dimension away from ordinary life.

The art of *choreia* and the art of prophecy were both connected with Apollo.<sup>314</sup> The poet or singer, *aioidos*, was closely related to Apollo, as his profession was an imitation of what the god did. The singer, as well as the *mantis*, was a medium through whom the gods made their presence known to men. The skill of music is expressed by Homer as given the singer by the gods, either the Muses or Apollo.<sup>315</sup> According to Plato, the poet, when he is seated on the tripod, is confused and not in his senses, and soothsayers, prophets and poets are inspired and possessed by the gods.<sup>316</sup> Both activities, the *choreia* and the art of prophecy, involved departure from ordinary life to a dimension associated with obsession, trance, and the experience of divine presence.

In my view, an experience of this kind, away from everyday life, was associated with the performances of songs and dances during the second part of the Hyakinthia and the Gymnopaïdai. There are testimonia for both cults concerning the importance of the paean, the song associated with Apollo. During these cults as rites of initiation, the adolescents, on their way to full acceptance as members and citizens, had to get in touch with the sacred dimension of the society in which they lived. This is an element of rites of initiation noticed in the anthropological literature. The sacred knowledge and contact with the divinity were a part of the ritual associated with the passage from adolescence to the status of being an adult, and were obtained through the performances of songs and dances: in the Spartan context, the paean.<sup>317</sup>

It is obvious that ritual action has the potential of creating transpersonal experiences, culturally interpreted as the perception of divine power. Ritual techniques such as dancing, drumming, chanting and painful ordeals may be used to affect the state of the individual.<sup>318</sup> The experiences of trance also created a uniform feeling among the participants, an aspect which should not be underesti-

mated. The local traditions and the internal strife, which prevailed before the creation of the polis in the eighth century, were suppressed in order to generate a body of citizens, the *homoioi*.

## Summary

The archaeological material, in the shape of a bronze lyre and representations of dances and musical instruments on Geometric vases, together with the literary testimonia from fourth-century BC sources, such as Plato and Aristoxenos of Taras, down to Lucian and Plutarch writing in the second century AD, makes it possible to trace the art of *choreia* as a fundamental feature of Spartan civilization for a period of more than a millennium.

The Gymnopaïdai consisted of the performances of songs and dances by both adolescents and citizens. For the young generations the participation belonged to their initiation into full status as citizens. The choirs were performed during the hottest period of the summer and could thus be considered as ordeals associated with initiation. The references to the battles at Thyrea emphasize the educational aspect of *choreia*: the rising generations were taught

<sup>314</sup> Koller 1963, 71f.

<sup>315</sup> Hom. *Od.* 8.43–45, 73, 479–481, 487–489; 17.518–519; 22.347–349.

<sup>316</sup> Pl. *Leg.* 4.719c; *Menon* 99d.

<sup>317</sup> Turner 1969, 103.

<sup>318</sup> Laughlin 1990, 26, 30f. The work by Lex, d'Aquili and Laughlin is partly based on the investigation of specialization in the two cerebral hemispheres. The left cerebral hemisphere is the domain of logic and functions in the production of speech and in analytic thought. The right hemisphere is the domain of emotion and controls spatial and tonal perception. It contains holistic, synthetic thought while temporal capacity is believed absent: Lex 1979, 117–151; d'Aquili & Laughlin 1979, 152–182. Ritual action would thus activate the right cerebral hemisphere and produce affective states involving what was believed to be the experience of divine power.



songs commemorating successful warlike expeditions into the border zone between Argos and Sparta. The religious nature of the *choreia* consisted of an actual experience of the divinity. The performances created emotional states,

which most likely were believed to involve the contact with the divinity. Through the medium of *choreia* the participants thus transgressed the boundaries of everyday life in order to get in touch with the divine power.

## Chapter three

# The Karneia

### The literary testimonia

The cult of Apollo Karneios, the Karneia, was celebrated in the month Karneios. According to Demetrios of Skepsis, quoted by Athenaios (4.141e–f), the Karneia was an imitation of military training, μῖμημα στρατιωτικῆς ἀγωγῆς. In nine installations, called σκιάδες because of their likeness to tents, nine men ate in each and everything was done on command of a herald. Each *skias* contained members of three *phratriai*. The cult had a duration of nine days.

One of the principal ritual actions during the cult was the race of the so-called σταφυλοδρόμοι. According to Hesychios the *staphylodromoi* were chosen by lot among a group of men called καρνεᾶται.<sup>319</sup> *Karneatai* was the designation of a group of unmarried men who were in the service of Karneios. They were in charge of the organization of the cult and their period of duty lasted for four years.

An entry in Bekker's *Anecdota* says that someone during the Karneia put on woollen fillets and started to run, praying good omens for the city.<sup>320</sup> The *staphylodromoi* pursued the man, and if they caught him, this was considered a good omen for the city, but if he was not, the contrary.

At Sparta there was a priest associated with the Karneia called ἀγῆτης, in the service of a goddess whose name is not stated.<sup>321</sup> There was also a priestess in the service of Karneios Boiketas and Karneios Dromaioi.<sup>322</sup>

In Euripides' *Alkestis* (445–451) it is said that the destiny of Alkestis will be sung of during the Karneia by choirs without accompaniment, ὕμνοι ἄλθοι. This will happen when the moon is full. This is probably to be understood as nocturnal performances of choirs.<sup>323</sup>

<sup>319</sup> Hesychios s.v. καρνεᾶται, σταφυλοδρόμοι.

<sup>320</sup> Bekker, *Anecdota*, I, 305.

<sup>321</sup> Hesychios s.v. ἀγῆτης.

<sup>322</sup> *IG* V 1, 589 lines 6–8, 608 lines 2–3.

<sup>323</sup> Dale 1954, 90. The expression '*kyklos...perinisetai*' is interpreted by Weber (1930, 16) as a metaphor of the change of the year which, according to Weber, took place during the Karneia: 'Dank- und Sühnelieder werden Alkestis zu Ehren in Sparta im Monat Karneios gesungen: dort steht sie im Mittelpunkt eines im Wechsel des Jahres regelmässig stattfindenden Kultes.' Though not much can be said about the Spartan calendar, the sparse knowledge that is left gives support to Weber's hypothesis. Karneios was a late summer month, corresponding to the Attic Metageitnion (August/September): Plut. *Nik.* 28. The exact position, however, of the month in the Spartan calendar is not ascertained. As the date of the beginning of the Spartan year is a matter of divergent opinions, it is not possible to say whether the Karneios was the last or the first month of the year. Pareti, in a study of the Spartan calendar (1961, 213, 228f.), suggests the autumnal equinox as the beginning of the year in Sparta and consequently puts Karneios at the very end of the year. See also *supra* n. 9.

The creation of a chronology based on the winners in the musical agon of the Karneia can be interpreted as evidence of the month Karneios as the first month of the year. Moreover, as the turn of the year

There was a musical agon attached to the Karneia. According to Athenaios (14.635e–f), quoting Hellanikos' work on victors during the Karneia, Καρνειονίκαί, Terpander was the first to win a victory at the Karneia.<sup>324</sup> Athenaios further quotes Sosibios' work Περὶ χρόνων, stating that the establishment of the Karneia took place in the twenty-sixth Olympiad (676–672 BC). Athenaios adds a quotation from Hieronymos saying that Terpander lived in the time of Lykourgos, who reputedly arranged the first numbered Olympic games.<sup>325</sup>

From Pindar's fifth Pythian ode (74–81) it can be deduced that the Karneia was brought by the family of the Aigeidai from Sparta to Thera, whence it was taken to Kyrene. This route for the distribution of the Karneia is repeated by Kallimachos in his *Hymn to Apollo* (71–79). A temple is mentioned, *anaktoron*, and a ritual with sacrifices of bulls and dances of warriors and women together.

A sacrifice of a ram was a part of the Karneia<sup>326</sup> and, according to the scholion on Pindar's fifth Pythian ode, also a meal.<sup>327</sup>

The celebration of the Karneia interfered with the martial exploits of the Spartans, as did the Hyakinthia and the Gymnopaïdai. According to Herodotos (7.206), the Spartans came with an insufficient force to the battle of Thermopylai due to the celebration of the Karneia.<sup>328</sup>

Thucydides (5.75.2–3) says that the Spartans withdrew from their allies in the summer of 418 in order to celebrate the Karneia. He adds that the Spartans sent a message to their allies, urging them to prepare themselves for warfare after the month Karneios, a further proof of the unwillingness of the Spartans to start any war-like expedition during that particular month. Thucydides (5.54) also provides the information that the month Karneios was the sacrificial month of the Dorians, ἱερομηνία Δωριεῦσι.

There are several testimonia concerning the establishment of the Karneia.<sup>329</sup> Two versions exist, one associated with the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnese and the so-called return of the Herakleidai, and one of a more local Spartan origin. According to Pausanias (3.13.4), the cult of Apollo Karneios had been established

among the Dorians ever since Karnos, a *mantis* from Akarnania, had been killed by Hippotes, one of the Herakleidai. The killing of the seer, who was in the service of Apollo, led to the pestilence falling on the Dorian camp and Hippotes, the killer, had to go into exile because of the blood-guilt. In order to propitiate the crime, the Dorians established the cult of Karneia in honour of Apollo Karneios. In Konon, Karnos the seer is called an incarnation of Apollo, φάσμα Ἀπόλλωνος.<sup>330</sup>

took place between the solstice and the autumnal equinox in the calendars of many Greek cities, the Karneios, as a late summer month, must have been very close to the turn of the year. See further Nilsson 1918, 49f.; Bischoff 1919a, 1569, 1578–1582; 1919b, 1992f.; Meritt 1931, 78–80; Brelich 1969, 150, n. 118.

<sup>324</sup> Ath. 14.635e–f = Hellanikos *FGrHist* 4 F 85a.

<sup>325</sup> The three notices are obviously contradictory as far as the chronology is concerned. Musical elements during the Karneia could have developed into an agon under the influence of the Panhellenic games and the establishment of this agon could have served as the date for the foundation of the cult. The general flourishing of Spartan culture in the seventh century, with widespread contacts over the Greek world, could also have been a driving force in the creation of a musical agon. The creation of a chronology based specifically on the victors in the Karneian agon hints at the importance of the cult in Spartan society.

<sup>326</sup> Theok. *Id.* 5.83.

<sup>327</sup> Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 5.104b.

<sup>328</sup> The passage 6.106 has also been discussed as a proof of the hindrance that the Karneia caused the Spartans in their martial activities. It is said in that passage that the Spartans could not give any help to the Athenians because it was the ninth day of the first part of the month and they could not start any expedition until the moon was full. The name of the month is not specified. This notice, however, is a problem in connection with the Karneia. From Euripides' *Alkestis* it is possible to deduce that a part of the Karneia was celebrated at full moon. The month Karneios, in which the cult was celebrated, was thus a month when the Spartans did not start warfare at full moon. The passage in Herodotos thus cannot refer to the month Karneios.

<sup>329</sup> Paus. 3.13.3–4; Theopomp. *FGrHist* 115 F 357 = Schol. Theok. *Id.* 5.83b; Schol. Kallim. *Ap.* 71; Konon *FGrHist* 26 F 1.26.

<sup>330</sup> Konon *FGrHist* 26 F 1.26.

The second version is told by Pausanias (3.13.3). After telling the first version, he adds that Karnos in that story was not the Lakedaemonian Karneios with the epithet Oiketas, 'of the house', who was worshipped in the house of Krios, the seer, while the Achaians were still in possession of Sparta. Krios, the seer, had a daughter who once, when she was fetching water, met Dorian spies. They followed her to her father, who told them how to capture the city. The unreliable character of the seer is expressed here. These are the principal testimonia concerning the Karneia.

## Previous research

A pattern of interpretation emerges from a study of the discussions concerning the cult of Apollo Karneios. It has been considered a Dorian cult, brought with the Dorians in their conquest of the Peloponnese. The family of the Aigeidai seems to have played an important role in the distribution of the cult. On the basis of Pindar, the Aigeidai have been regarded as responsible for the extension of the cult from Sparta to Thera and Kyrene.<sup>331</sup>

The Karneia has been considered an expression of the religion of the Dorian pastoralists before having settled down. Welcker brought as evidence the explanation by Hesychios of the word 'κόρνος', meaning sheep.<sup>332</sup> Apollo Karneios was consequently a 'Schaafapollon', a god of the herd. With settled life in Sparta, the cult changed character and became more warlike.

According to Mezger, the Karneia was already established among the Achaians when the Dorians occupied Lakonia.<sup>333</sup> He discerns two strata in the cult. The older part, to which the race of the *staphylodromoi* belonged, was originally a nature cult for herdsmen and peasants. The younger part was altered by the Dorians to resemble a military camp.<sup>334</sup>

Schoemann regarded Karneios as a god of the herd, who also became a manifestation of Apollo.<sup>335</sup> The cult was given its warlike character by the Dorians. The man who was pur-

sued by the *staphylodromoi* was an incarnation of the crop. This would point to the original significance of the cult as a peasant cult.

Also Mannhardt interpreted the pursued man as an incarnation of the crop.<sup>336</sup> The Karneia was a festival associated with the grape harvest. Especially the race of the *staphylodromoi* interested Mannhardt. He saw in the race an analogy with central European customs, in which an animal or a man disguised as an animal was chased. These customs were a part of the celebration of the harvest festival.

Wide's discussion of the Karneia was mainly influenced by Mannhardt.<sup>337</sup> In Wide's opinion the Karneia had existed in the Peloponnese before the Dorian invasion. Karneios was an old god who was later identified with Apollo. The cult was a harvest festival, especially connected with the grape harvest.

Some scholars have interpreted the cult as an expiatory ritual, commemorating the death of the seer Karnos, who figures in the aetiological myths concerning the Karneia.<sup>338</sup>

In Burkert's view, the Karneia was a Dorian cult and the race of the *staphylodromoi* and the sacrifice of a ram were parts of a drama centred on guilt and expiation, as a preparation for warfare.<sup>339</sup>

The Karneia, like the Hyakinthia and the

<sup>331</sup> This general view of the cult is usually rendered in the encyclopedias and mythological lexica: Stoll 1890–1894, 967; Wide 1890–1894, 961–964; Couve 1900, 802–804; Prehn 1917, 1986–1988; Adler 1919, 1989–1992; Fauth 1969, 126; von Geisau 1969, 127.

<sup>332</sup> Welcker 1857, 469–472. See also Eder 1990, 207–211.

<sup>333</sup> Mezger 1882, 92f.

<sup>334</sup> The man who was pursued by the *staphylodromoi* symbolized 'den Bock, den grössten Feind des Weinstockes und der Saatfrucht', Mezger 1882, 93.

<sup>335</sup> Schoemann 1873, 458–460.

<sup>336</sup> Mannhardt 1905, 254f.

<sup>337</sup> Wide 1893, 73–87.

<sup>338</sup> Couve 1900, 802f.; Stoll 1890–1894, 967; Nilsson 1906, 121f.; Burkert 1985, 236.

<sup>339</sup> Burkert 1985, 234–236.

Gymnopaïdai, has been discussed as a rite of initiation.<sup>340</sup> In Brelich's view the Karneia was a festival of renewal and as such, together with the Hyakinthia and the Gymnopaïdai, constituted a ritual cycle which expressed the renewal of the community.<sup>341</sup>

To sum up, the Karneia has been considered a harvest festival, especially concerned with the grape harvest. There were elements of expiatory rituals, in commemoration of the killed seer Karnos. Either the cult had been brought to Lakonia by the Dorians, or it had been a native element among the inhabitants of the Peloponnese before the Dorian conquest. The Dorian presence changed the nature of the cult to become more warlike.

## Elements of the cult

### *Distribution of the cult*

It is generally agreed that the cult has given its name to the month and, consequently, that the occurrence of the month Karneios implies the existence of the cult.<sup>342</sup> The month Karneios has been attested at Akragas, Kalyмна, Kos, Epidauros, Epidauros Limera, Gela, Knossos, Nisyros, Rhodes, Sparta, Syracuse, and Tauromenion.<sup>343</sup>

Apart from Sparta, the cult has been attested at Kyrene, Sikyon, Sybaris-Thurioi and Thera.<sup>344</sup>

According to the testimony of Pausanias, the presence of Apollo Karneios was widespread in Lakonia. At Sparta there was a sanctuary of Apollo Karneios located in association with sanctuaries of the Dioskouroi, of the Graces (Charites), of Eileithyia and of Artemis Hegemone (3.14.6–7). Images, *agalmata*, of Apollo Karneios were to be found at Gythion (3.21.8), Oitylos (3.25.10), Leuktra (3.26.5), Kardamyle (3.26.7) and near Las, on a mountain called Knakadion (3.24.8). However, the presence of images of Apollo Karneios at these perioikic cities of Lakonia does not necessarily indicate that the cult was celebrated in these cities. As I will argue later, they rather func-

tioned as a reminder to the perioikic cities of the hegemony of the Spartan polis over Lakonia.

The presence of Apollo Karneios in Messenia is attested by Pausanias at two cities. In the neighbourhood of Pharai there was a grove, ἄλσος, to Apollo Karneios, with a spring of water (4.31.1). On the plain of Stenykleros, near Andania, there was another grove, called the Karnasian grove, where statues of Apollo Karneios and of Hermes carrying a ram were raised (4.33.4). In this grove the mysteries of the great goddesses were celebrated.<sup>345</sup>

Sikyon had two spots sacred to Apollo Karneios, according to Pausanias. In connection with a sanctuary of Asklepios there was a building with two rooms, the inner of which was sacred to Apollo Karneios (2.10.2). No one but the priests was allowed to enter this room. There was also a sanctuary of Apollo Karneios, but it seems to have been a ruin in the days of Pausanias (2.11.2). A third reference to Apollo Karneios in Sikyon is provided by Eusebios, whose chronology says that the priests of Apollo Karneios replaced the kings in the year 1161.<sup>346</sup>

<sup>340</sup> Jeanmaire 1939, 524–526; Brelich 1969, 148–154, 179–187.

<sup>341</sup> Brelich 1969, 151.

<sup>342</sup> Burkert 1985, 227, 234.

<sup>343</sup> Samuel 1972, index s.v. 'Karneios'. Apart from the month Karneios, there is evidence of priests in the service of Apollo Karneios at Lindos and Kameiros on Rhodes: *IG* XII 1, 697, 705 (Kameiros); 845 (Lindos).

<sup>344</sup> Kyrene: Pind. *Pyth.* 5.79–81; Kallim. *Ap.* 73; Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 717D; Sikyon: Paus. 2.10.2; Sybaris-Thurioi: Theok. *Id.* 5.83; Thera: Pind. *Pyth.* 5.75–81. Priests in the service of Apollo Karneios are attested on Thera: *IG* XII 3, 512, 514, 519 line 3, 868, 869.

<sup>345</sup> Sacrifices to Apollo Karneios in association with the mysteries: *IG* V 1, 1390 lines 34, 69. A priest in the service of Apollo Karneios was connected with the mysteries: *IG* V 1, 1390 line 97.

<sup>346</sup> Euseb. *Chron.* I.176; II.56 = Kastor *FGrHist* 250 F 2.

### Representations of Apollo Karneios

As seen above, Pausanias refers to images of Apollo Karneios at or near four cities in Lakonia. At Gythion there was an *agalma* of Apollo Karneios. On a mountain called Knakadion near the city Las, there was an Apollo Karneios. It is not clear what this notice refers to, but Pausanias probably suggests the presence of an image.

In the agora of Oitylos, there was a wooden image, *xoanon*, of Apollo Karneios. Such was also the case at Leuktra, and Pausanias remarks that the image at Kardamyle was made according to the Dorian custom, *καθὰ Δωριεῦσιν ἐπιχώριον*.

This specific Dorian way of representing Apollo Karneios probably refers to a theriomorphic conception of the god as a ram. Archaeological finds as well as epigraphical testimonia can shed some light on this issue. A dedicatory stele from Sparta has an inscription mentioning Karneios.<sup>347</sup> The top of the stele

has a relief cut out with the representation of a pair of ram's horns. A pyramid-shaped stone of marble, found at the village of Phlomochori in Lakonia and dated to the seventh century BC, has its top designed as a ram's head (*Fig. 10*). It has been interpreted as a representation of Apollo Karneios.<sup>348</sup> A parallel to this monument is a pillar-shaped stone found at Glanitsa in Arkadia.<sup>349</sup> The top of this pillar is shaped as

<sup>347</sup> Woodward 1908–1909, 81–85. The stele was built into a wall of probably Roman date. Close to where the inscription was found there was a statue of a man named Tiberius Claudius Brasidas. The Brasidas family held the hereditary priesthoods of Karneios Oiketas and Karneios Dromaios. Woodward, who published the inscription, has suggested that this statue was set up in the neighbourhood of the temple of Apollo Karneios and that the inscription was originally set up not far from where it was found. The inscription and the statue would thus indicate the site of the sanctuary of Apollo Karneios. *JG* V 1, 222.

<sup>348</sup> Le Roy 1965, 371–376.

<sup>349</sup> Metzger 1940–1941, 17–21.



Fig. 10. Phlomochori, Lakonia. Archaic pyramidal stone with top shaped as a ram's head.

Fig. 11. Metaponto. Stater from c. 425–390 B.C., depicting Apollo Karneios.



a ram's head. In the publication it is interpreted as a representation of Hermes.

Near the medieval fortress of Passava, at the ancient city of Las, a marble herm-like monument was found, the top of which is designed as the head of a ram. The monument has been interpreted as an image of Apollo Karneios.<sup>350</sup>

To this material can be added the depiction of ram's horns on coins representing Apollo Karneios (*Fig. 11*).<sup>351</sup> This numismatic evidence gives further weight to the association of Apollo with the ram. In Hesychios, moreover, the word *karnos* is explained by the word *probaton*, signifying a flock especially of sheep.<sup>352</sup>

To conclude, the association of Apollo with the ram, especially its head, is probably the explanation of Pausanias' notice about a specific Dorian way of representing Apollo Karneios.

### *The military aspect*

As pointed out above, the Karneia was, according to the testimonium of Demetrios of Skepsis, an imitation of a military way of living.<sup>353</sup> Nine tents, *skiades*, were set up and nine men ate in each. Each tent had representatives of three *phratriai*. Everything was done on command of a herald.

The notice about the three *phratriai* in each tent can be interpreted in two ways. The common view is that there were three different *phratriai* in each tent, together twenty-seven *phratriai*.<sup>354</sup> The interpretation is dependent on the meaning of the word *phratia*. The word is never used in the testimonia concerning Spartan society, and it is therefore possible that Demetrios uses it as a synonym of *phyle*. It would thus refer to the three Dorian *phylai*, the Hylleis, the Dymanes and the Pamphyloi, which not only Sparta, but also other Dorian cities, used as a general dividing principle.<sup>355</sup> According to a fragment by Tyrtaios, the Spartan army was organized in the three Dorian *phylai*.<sup>356</sup>

It has been suggested that with the new organization of Sparta, associated with Lykour-

gos and described in the so-called Great Rhetra, the previous division in tribes was superseded by an organization in *phylai* and *obai*. The relation between the two categories is by no means clear. One suggestion is that *phylai* and *obai* were two independent ways of organizing the citizens, one by birth, the other by residence.<sup>357</sup> The division of the citizens in *phylai* would refer to the original division in three Dorian tribes; the *obai* would be a new classification, based on residence, and a result of the process of *synoikismos* of the villages which constituted the city of Sparta. The French scholar D. Roussel has convincingly argued that the *phylai* were a means of organization developed within the polis and not survivals of a primitive, pre-polis tribal society.<sup>358</sup> The three Dorian *phylai* were thus created with the emergence of the polis, and the organization of the Karneia referred to these *phylai*. In my view, Demetrios uses the word *phratia* as a synonym of *phyle* and there were consequently representatives of the three *phylai* in each of the nine tents.

The collective meals indicate the importance of eating as a symbol of affiliation to the group. According to Herodotos (1.65), the organization of the men in *syssitia* was an invention of Lykourgos as a part of the military organization. The men who ate together also fought together. It is possible here to detect an element of initiation. For the oldest age class in the educational system, *agoge*, the change in status from adolescent to adult would mean participation in the army and in the *syssitia* that charac-

<sup>350</sup> Schröder 1904, 21–24.

<sup>351</sup> Imhoof-Blumer 1917, 5–9.

<sup>352</sup> Hesychios s.v. *κάρνος*.

<sup>353</sup> Ath. 4.141e–f.

<sup>354</sup> Wide 1893, 74, based on Schoemann 1873, 459.

<sup>355</sup> Roussel 1976, 128f.

<sup>356</sup> Tyrtaios fr. 1 (Diehl).

<sup>357</sup> Hammond 1950, 59f. The general view on the *phylai* is that they refer to the original tribes of the Dorians: the Hylleis, the Dymanes and the Pamphyloi; see e.g. Forrest 1968, 42.

<sup>358</sup> Roussel 1976, 311f.

terized the civil life of a Spartan citizen. For this age class, the meal eaten during the Karneia was a symbol of incorporation into the status of citizen.

The testimony of Demetrios also says that everything was done on command of a herald. To become a citizen and a warrior was to learn obedience.<sup>359</sup> This was particularly important in the mentality associated with the behaviour of a warrior in battle. A Spartan soldier had to conquer or die on the battlefield; there were no alternatives if one's honour was to be kept.

In the fragments of Tyrtaios we can witness a part of the propaganda which created the virtues of a citizen in the newly created Spartan polis.<sup>360</sup> The congruence between the ideals of the citizen and of the warrior is expressed, and it is described how the *arete* of the warrior grants glory to the city. The grave of a warrior will be remembered forever; if victorious in battle, he will be honoured by the whole body of citizens.<sup>361</sup>

As I have argued in the preceding chapter on the Gymnopaideiai, the connection between warfare and music in Spartan culture was of an inseparable nature. The musical agon attached to the Karneia reflects the importance of music in association with the educational preparation for warfare. To be a good musician and a good warrior was by no means a contradiction of virtues in Spartan culture, and the military training included training in musical skills, above all in the singing of different types of choirs.<sup>362</sup> In Sparta, as in other Greek cities, the paean seems to have been particularly important. When the Spartans caught sight of the enemy, the king sacrificed a goat, and ordered the soldiers to put on crowns and start to sing the paean.<sup>363</sup> They then started to march in the rhythm of the song.<sup>364</sup>

The musical element of the Karneia was arranged as an agon and its winners were listed in a chronology by Hellanikos, called *Καρνεονίκαι*.<sup>365</sup>

To sum up, the military training during the Karneia should be regarded as a part of the education accentuating a specific structure according to the division of the citizens in *phylai*.

Common meals, musical contests and the learning of obedience prepared the participants in the cult for their role as citizen-warriors.

According to Hesychios, Agetoria was another name for the Karneia.<sup>366</sup> At Argos, Karnos as the leader of the army was also called Zeus or Hegetor, thus indicating the identity between the leader of the army and the supreme god.<sup>367</sup> At Sparta, Ἀγῆτωρ was an epithet of Zeus and the king sacrificed to Zeus Agetor before taking the army to the borders of the country.<sup>368</sup> The Spartan kings were priests of Zeus and their main duty was to command the army.<sup>369</sup> It is possible from these sources to see a group of rituals expressing the common theme: leadership in war. At Argos the cult was obviously called Agetoria and was closely related to the Spartan Karneia.

One part of the Karneia was thus associated with leadership. As the cult was a preparation for warfare and included elements referring to the structure of the army, this is no surprise. It has even been suggested, by N. Robertson, that myths about the Dorian migration should be interpreted as having a ritual background,

<sup>359</sup> Vernant 1991, 220–243.

<sup>360</sup> According to Suda, Tyrtaios himself was an *aulētes* who was said to have encouraged the Spartans by his songs in their war with the Messenians: Suda s.v. Τυρταῖος.

<sup>361</sup> Tyrtaios fr. 12 (Diehl).

<sup>362</sup> Dances by warriors in association with the Karneia are attested at Kyrene: Kallim. *Ap.* 85–87.

<sup>363</sup> According to the scholion on Thucydides (1.50.5), the Greeks sang two sorts of paeans, one to Ares before a battle and one in honour of Apollo after the battle. Ares symbolized the destructive and chaotic aspects of war while the paean to Apollo after a battle accentuated the change from war to peace and a restoration of civilized order. A scholion on Aristophanes (*Plut.* 636) defines the paean as a hymn sung in honour of Apollo in order to stop a plague or a war.

<sup>364</sup> *Plut. Lyk.* 22.2–3.

<sup>365</sup> Hellanikos *FGrHist* 4 F 85–86.

<sup>366</sup> Hesychios s.v. ἀγῆτης.

<sup>367</sup> Schol. Theok. *Id.* 5.83b.

<sup>368</sup> *Xen. Lak. Pol.* 13.2.

<sup>369</sup> *Hdt.* 6.56.



centred on the renewal of leadership.<sup>370</sup> He regards the story about Hippotes as an action of a military ritual connected with the Karneia. Hippotes commanded the Dorians but happened to kill the seer Karnos, who followed the army. At the bidding of an oracle Hippotes was banished for nine years and another leader chosen in his place. In memory of the dead seer the Dorians established the cult of Apollo Karneios, the Karneia. According to Konon, Hippotes' victim was in fact called a φάσμα 'Ἀπόλλωνος, indicating the near-identity between seer and god.<sup>371</sup> Robertson also regards the ceremony called Agetoria as a secret ceremony of investiture for the new leaders of the tribal contingents. The retiring leaders slew an animal which was used to purify the successors.<sup>372</sup> In Agetoria the victim was a ram, chosen as a symbol of the leader of the flock. I agree with Robertson that some part of the Karneia was associated with leadership, and it is clear that in the symbolization of the leader, the ram played an important role in Sparta. The horns of a ram are represented on the cheekpiece of the helmet of the so-called Leonidas statue, a clear evidence of the association between the general and the ram as a symbol of leadership (*Fig. 12*).<sup>373</sup> As mentioned above, the presence of images, *agalmata*, associating Apollo Karneios with the ram, at several perioikic cities in Lakonia should be regarded in the light of the ram as a symbol of leadership. The images of Apollo Karneios became reminders of the hegemony of the Spartan polis in Lakonia. In a historical perspective, ritual elements were developed within the Karneia, which established Sparta as the ruling polis in Lakonia and the Spartan citizens as the conquering Dorians. The Karneia thus became an instrument for the ideological legitimization of Sparta as the leading city in Lakonia.

The ram was also connected with rituals of purification. The fleece of Zeus, Διὸς κώδιον, was used in purificatory rituals, for example in the cleansing of murderers.<sup>374</sup> The action of the Karneia was associated with the killing of a seer, Karnos, and the cult was said to have been established as an expiatory ritual to appease the

wrath of Apollo. It is thus possible to view the Karneia as a rite of purification, the purpose of which was to restore a broken communication with the gods and to purify the army. The eagerness of the Spartans to learn the will of the gods in connection with warfare is well attested. Without the proper signs from the gods, it was not possible for the Spartans either to go out for war or to go on with it.

According to Hesychios there was a priest called ἀγήτης in charge during the Karneia.<sup>375</sup> He was *atimos*, which must indicate that it was a young man who had not yet reached the status of full citizen. The *agetes* was in the service of a goddess, but Hesychios does not tell the name of this deity. As the Karneia was celebrated in honour of Apollo, scholars have believed that the feminine form of the genitive is simply a mistake by the lexicographer.<sup>376</sup> However, I would like to suggest that the priest was in the service of Artemis. Artemis, Zeus and Athena were the deities associated with warfare in Sparta. During a campaign, the king sacrificed a goat to Artemis Agrotera,<sup>377</sup> and there was a sanctuary in Sparta dedicated to Artemis Hegemone, the Leader. This sanctuary was situated beside the sanctuary of Apollo Karneios, an indication of the association between Artemis and Apollo Karneios.<sup>378</sup> The epithet Hegemone has, together with words such as

<sup>370</sup> Robertson 1980, 1–22.

<sup>371</sup> Konon *FGrHist* 26 F 1.26 = Phot. *Bibl.* 186.26.

<sup>372</sup> Robertson 1980, 11f.

<sup>373</sup> Fitzhardinge 1980, fig. 105. To this can be added the sculptures from the Siphnian treasure house: see Watrous 1982, 159–172. Watrous argues that the ram-helmeted figure on the north Siphnian frieze may represent the Spartan god Karneios: p. 166. For representations of a ram's head on the cheekpiece of helmets see Kunze 1967, 160–183.

<sup>374</sup> Stengel 1905, 1084; Stengel 1920, 164, 180, 248; Nilsson 1967, 110–113; Burkert 1983, 145; 1985, 65, 230.

<sup>375</sup> Hesychios s.v. ἀγήτης.

<sup>376</sup> Nilsson 1906, 121, n. 2. Usener (1898, 360) has suggested that the goddess was Persephone.

<sup>377</sup> Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.20.

<sup>378</sup> Paus. 3.14.6.



Fig. 12. Sparta. Statue of hoplite, 'Leonidas'. First quarter of the fifth century BC. Marble.

*agetes*, *agetor*, *agetoria*, a common stem and the words refer to leadership.<sup>379</sup> As Hegemone, Artemis was the Leader, the one who led and protected the army from the centre of the city beyond the border of the polis. In this respect she was a *Πρόμαχος*, a Spartan counterpart to the role of Athena in Attic ritual. As Vernant has noticed, Artemis was the guardian of the border between civilized order and brutal warfare.<sup>380</sup> To be a citizen-warrior was to adapt oneself to a certain code of behaviour in connection with warfare, and it is this aspect that Artemis represents. A male priest in the service of a goddess was not unusual in Greek cult practice, and there are some testimonia preserved concerning male priests in the service of Artemis.<sup>381</sup> Neither is there anything awkward about the presence of priests in the service of different gods acting together in a cult devoted to one god.<sup>382</sup> The *agetes* was thus a priest in the service of Artemis, who seems to have been the true warrior-goddess in Spartan religion.

### *The Karneia and the Aigeidai*

According to the mythical traditions of Sparta, the family of the Aigeidai was involved in the Dorian capture of Amyklai and in the colonization of Thera. They also appear in the genealogies of the royal houses. A group of testimonia concerns the association of the Aigeidai with the Karneia. From Pindar's fifth Pythian ode (75–81) it is possible to deduce that the Aigeidai brought the cult of Apollo Karneios to Thera and Kyrene. According to a fragment by Aristotle, the Aigeidai were a *phratría* of the Thebans and they were considered to have played a decisive role in the Dorian capture of Amyklai.<sup>383</sup> The leader of the Aigeidai in this conquest was called Timomachos, and he was regarded as the first man to have instructed the Spartans in military matters. It was the cuirass of this Timomachos which was put on display during the celebration of the Hyakinthia.<sup>384</sup>

The Aigeidai also appear in the genealogies associated with the rulers of Sparta before the establishment of the diarchy. The great-grandson of Polyneikes, Autesion, had escaped to

Sparta from Thebes, persecuted by the Erinyes of Laios and Oedipus. At Sparta, the daughter of Autesion, Argeia, married the king, Aristodemos. They had twins, Eurystheus and Prokles. When Aristodemos died, the brother of Argeia, Theras, became guardian of the two boys.<sup>385</sup> According to Herodotos (4.147–148), Theras held the royal power in Sparta until his nephews had grown up. He then chose to leave Sparta in order to colonize the island Kalliste, the name of which was changed to Thera.

Theras had a son who did not go with his father to Thera. His name was Oiolychos, 'sheep-wolf'. His son was called Aigeus, from whom the Aigeidai at Sparta took their name.<sup>386</sup> In the fifth generation from the eponym of the Aigeidai, Euryleon is said to have commanded the Spartan army in the opening battle of the second campaign of the first Messenian war, together with the Agiad king Polydoros and the Eurypontid king Theopompos.<sup>387</sup>

Herodotos (4.146–148) provides another story about Theras. A people called Minyai, who had taken refuge on the slopes of Taygetos, asked the Spartans, at some stage in Sparta's history, to be incorporated in the state, and

<sup>379</sup> Chantraine 1956, 88–91; 1968, s.v. ἡγέομαι, 405f.; Frisk 1973, s.v. ἡγέομαι, 621f.

<sup>380</sup> Vernant 1991, 244–257.

<sup>381</sup> Testimonia collected by Farnell 1904, 77f.

<sup>382</sup> For example, during the Skira festival in Athens, the priestess of Athena, the priest of Poseidon and the priest of Helios walked in a procession: Burkert 1985, 230.

<sup>383</sup> Arist. fr. 532 = Schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 7.18b. Modern literature on the Aigeidai: Cauer 1894, 949f.; Vian 1963, 216–225; Toynbee 1969, 175–177, 215–220; Nafissi 1991, 322–326, 365–369.

<sup>384</sup> Arist. fr. 532 (Rose).

<sup>385</sup> Hdt. 6.52; 4.147.

<sup>386</sup> Hdt. 4.149. In this connection Herodotos calls the Aigeidai a great clan, φυλὴ μεγάλη. The designation of the Aigeidai as a *phyle* by Herodotos indicates that the word, apart from its technical sense, could be used as a classification of a group according to some kind of family affiliation. In the above mentioned fragment (532) by Aristotle, the Aigeidai are called a *phratría*.

<sup>387</sup> Paus. 4.7.8.

to be given a share in the government and in the land. The Spartans approved of this claim and the Minyai were distributed among the Spartan *phylai*. There was intermarriage between the new and the old citizens. After a while they began to quarrel and the majority of the Minyai migrated to Triphylia. Some of the Lakonian Minyai went, according to Herodotos, overseas with Theras to colonize Thera.

From Herodotos (4.149) it is also known that a kind of religious defilement afflicted the Aigeidai, as none of their children was said to live long. By the instruction of an oracle, a temple of the Erinyes of Laios and Oedipus was set up, after which the children survived. The same procedure had to be established by the Aigeidai at Thera.<sup>388</sup>

The myths about the Aigeidai are thus related to a stage in the history of Sparta associated with the establishment of the diarchy, the incorporation of Amyklai and the colonization of Thera. The Aigeidai were associated with the Spartan struggle for hegemony in Lakonia and especially with the capture of Amyklai. Amyklai was connected in myth with the Achaian heritage, and it is interesting to see how a polarity was created between 'Dorian' Sparta and 'Achaian' Amyklai. According to the myth, the war ended in Dorian supremacy over Amyklai. The Spartans thus regarded themselves as conquerors, and this was commemorated during the Hyakinthia with the display of the cuirass of Timomachos, the commander of the army, who subdued Amyklai.

In the procession from Sparta to Amyklai during the Hyakinthia, the opposition between the two cities was acted out. The Spartan territory was defined through the opposition between the 'Dorian' Sparta and the 'Achaian' Amyklai, between centre and periphery.<sup>389</sup> In ritual this tension was acted out, and the Dorian order was renewed in a cult which was closely associated with the Dorian identity of the Spartans.<sup>390</sup> The initiands taking part in the Hyakinthia would thus learn to recognize themselves as Dorian conquerors.

The myths about the oldest history of Sparta also express social turbulence. When the

nephews of Theras had grown up, Theras had to give up royal power. In the myths this event is connected with the colonization of Thera, and the story told by Herodotos gives some hints at a struggle concerning the degree of influence that different people inhabiting Lakonia would have in the newly created Spartan polis.

These myths are not to be regarded as passive reflections of historical events. They can be related to historical processes, in which certain events are taken up and reshaped according to the rules of mythical thinking.<sup>391</sup> I am also convinced that myths were created and used actively to justify certain conditions. Regarding the myths about the Aigeidai, it is possible to regard them as related to the formative process of the Spartan polis, and that they were thus created during the eighth century. The colonization of Thera can be compared to the Partheniai affair, which ended in the colonization of Taras. Both events included the exodus of groups of people dissatisfied with the conditions of the polis. For the Aigeidai, the polis sealed the power of the two royal families and the loss of influence for themselves. The ritual *miasma* of not having children, which afflicted the Aigeidai, could be regarded as a part of the propaganda directed against the family, which ended in their loss of political influence within the polis. The tradition provided by

<sup>388</sup> The most famous example of an inherited religious defilement is that afflicting the Alkmaionidai: Hdt. 5.70; Thuc. 1.126. See Williams 1951, 32–49; 1952, 3–21.

<sup>389</sup> This thought is a development of the ideas proposed by Polignac (1984) on the importance of extramural sanctuaries in the emergence of the polis. According to Polignac, the Amyklaion sanctuary played a crucial role in the emergence of the Spartan polis. See *infra* part two of Chapter Five.

<sup>390</sup> It has been suggested that one element in the ritual consisted of the carrying of rafts, commemorating the entrance of the Dorians to the Peloponnese at Rhion: Bekker, *Anecdota*, I, 305 s.v. στεμματιάον; Hesychios s.v. στεμματιάον. See Huxley 1962, 99, n. 34; Burkert 1985, 236.

<sup>391</sup> On this problem see Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, 16–20, 244f.

Pausanias, that a member of the Aigeidai, Euryleon, acted as a general together with the two kings during the first Messenian war, could indicate that the exodus of the Aigeidai to Thera did not take place until the end of the eighth century and was contemporary with the colonization of Taras. The story about Theras and the Minyai could also indicate that the exodus to Thera took place after the creation of the Spartan polis, as the Minyai were chosen among the *phylai*.

### *The race of the staphylodromoi*

A conspicuous element of the Karneia was the race of the *staphylodromoi*. According to Bekker's *Anecdota*, a man wrapped up in woolen fillets, στέμματα, was pursued, praying good omens for the city.<sup>392</sup> He was pursued by young men, νέοι, called *staphylodromoi*. If the man was caught, this meant good luck for the city; if not, the contrary. An entry in Hesychios defines the *staphylodromoi* as some of the *karneatai*, the men who were in charge of the organization of the Karneia.<sup>393</sup> Epigraphical evidence indicates that the performance as a *staphylodromos* was an honourable task.<sup>394</sup>

Wide, in his treatment of the Karneia, has brought four entries in Hesychios into the discussion.<sup>395</sup> The first entry is στεμματιαῖον, explained as δίκηλον τι ἐν ἑορτῇ πομπῶν δαίμονος. During a festival someone acted in a procession as an image or a representation of a god, *daimon*. The word δίκηλον appears as two entries in Hesychios.<sup>396</sup> In one of these, it is explained as φάσμα, ὄψις, εἶδωλον, μίμημα.<sup>397</sup> Then follows the comment: ὅθεν καὶ ὁ μιμολόγος παρὰ Λάκωσι δικηλίκτας. The *mimologos*, who acts or represents, is called *dikelikitas* by the Lakonians.<sup>398</sup>

The third entry gives the following explanations for δίκηλον: ἐκτύπωμα, ὁμοίωμα, ἀνδριὰς and ζῶδιον.<sup>399</sup> The fourth entry in Hesychios is δεικλισταί, which is explained as μιμηταὶ παρὰ Λάκωσι.

The entries thus give the notion of a person who represents or acts, and of imitation in the sense of an image or a sculpture. In Wide's

opinion, these entries in Hesychios can be associated with the race of the *staphylodromoi*, especially the man dressed in *stemma*. This man was, in Wide's view, disguised as an animal representing 'der als Tier gedachte Daimon des Erntesegens'.<sup>400</sup> He also compares, influenced by Mannhardt, the race with customs of peasants at harvest festivals in Northern and Central Europe.

The race of the *staphylodromoi* has been interpreted since Wide as a vegetation ritual, performed in order to affect the harvest, notably the grape harvest.<sup>401</sup> Burkert, however, has noted the possibility that the Karneia occurred too early in the year for the grape vintage. Considering the ram sacrifice which took place during the Karneia, Burkert detects an identity between the man decked with fillets and the sacrificial animal.<sup>402</sup>

I would like to suggest an interpretation of

<sup>392</sup> Bekker, *Anecdota*, I, 305 s.v. σταφυλοδρόμοι.

<sup>393</sup> Hesychios s.v. σταφυλοδρόμοι, Καρνεῖται.

<sup>394</sup> *IG* V 1, 650–651.

<sup>395</sup> Wide 1893, 77–79.

<sup>396</sup> LSJ gives the following translation of the word δίκηλον: 'representation, exhibition, reflection, image, phantom, sculptured figure'.

<sup>397</sup> LSJ gives the following translations of the words:

φάσμα: 'apparition, phantom, appearance, phenomenon, monster'

ὄψις: 'objective, aspect, appearance of a person or a thing'

εἶδωλον: 'phantom, any insubstantial form, image reflected, likeness'

μίμημα: 'anything imitated, counterfeit, copy, artistic representation'.

<sup>398</sup> LSJ gives the following translations:

μιμολόγος: 'actor, reciter of mimes'

δεικλιίκτας: 'one who represents'.

<sup>399</sup> LSJ gives the following translations:

ἐκτύπωμα: 'figure in relief, reflection'

ὁμοίωμα: 'likeness, image'

ἀνδριάς: 'image of a man, statue'

ζῶδιον: 'small figure, painted or carved'.

<sup>400</sup> Wide 1893, 78.

<sup>401</sup> Roscher 1884–1890a, 431; Wide 1890–1894, 961–964; Couve 1900, 803; Farnell 1907, 131–135, 259–263; Prehn 1917, 1986–1988; Fauth 1969, 126.

<sup>402</sup> Burkert 1985, 234f.

the race of the *staphylodromoi* which regards it as connected with the process of divination and the activity of the seer, μάντις. One reason for this interpretation is the great importance that divinatory practices played in Greek culture in general and Spartan culture in particular, notably in association with warfare. The sacrifice as a means of getting to know the will of the gods was a fundamental feature in Greek religion. The art of the seer was a gift from the gods, notably Apollo, as Homer attests. In the *Iliad* (1.68–72, 384–386) there is the seer Kalchas, and in the *Odyssey* (15.252–253) it is said that Apollo made Polyphides the best seer among mortals.<sup>403</sup> The seer was a person of importance and reputation, and there are several testimonia mentioning the name of a seer in association with a battle. The Spartans, in particular, took great pains to provide themselves with the services of a famous *mantis*. Herodotus (9.33–35) tells how the Spartans gave the seer Tisamenos and his brother citizenship in order to have Tisamenos with them in the war against the Persians.<sup>404</sup> Seemingly it was as important to have a well-known seer with the army as to bring a general.<sup>405</sup>

In Sparta the seer belonged to the king's staff, together with the physicians, ἰατροί, and the flute-players, αὐληταί.<sup>406</sup> The *nauparchos*, the commander of the Spartan fleet, was accompanied by a *mantis*.<sup>407</sup> As a rule, the king performed the sacrifices, but the seer could also perform this task.<sup>408</sup> Cicero, in his *De Divinatione* (1.43.95), says that the Spartans assigned an augur to their kings as a judicial adviser, *assessor*, and they also decreed that an augur should be present in the Gerousia.<sup>409</sup>

Though several testimonia bear witness to the honour enjoyed by the *manteis*, it is possible to detect some suspicion against the seers. Pausanias' story about Krios has already been mentioned. Xenophon (*Cyr.* 1.6.2) tells that the father of the elder Kyros was having his son taught the mantic art in order that he should know what the gods counselled and not be at the mercy of seers, if they should wish to deceive him. In Aeneas Tacticus (10.4) there is a prescription that during the siege the *mantis*

should be watched closely and not allowed to sacrifice on his own account in the absence of the *archon*. This suspicion has its roots in the seer being primarily loyal not to his employer, but to the gods.

Since the Karneia can be regarded as a preparation for warfare, there should be no surprise in finding a ritual associated with the activity which was the very prerequisite for warfare, the process of interpreting the signs of the gods. For the Greeks there could be no war without a seer, and for the Spartans the testimonia are particularly relevant in this matter.<sup>410</sup>

There were three occasions for sacrifices related to warfare: before the departure, at the borders of the country and before a battle. In all these sacrifices there was a mantic process involved.

Xenophon (*Lak. Pol.* 13.2–5) provides information about the Spartan customs. Before leaving the city, the king made sacrifices to Zeus Agetor and the gods associated with him. If the sacrifices were benevolent, the fire-bearer,

<sup>403</sup> Polyphides had a son, Theoklymenos, who was also a seer. The art of divination was thus considered a hereditary profession in Homer. It is also obvious in Homer that the seer could be a stranger, coming from far away, a condition which he shared with physicians, carpenters, and poets.

<sup>404</sup> Tisamenos was from Elis and belonged to the Iamidai, a priestly family with whom the profession of divination was hereditary. This family had a tomb in Sparta: Paus. 3.12.8. In the battle of Thermopylai, the seer Magistias from Akarnania was present: Hdt. 9.36. According to Pausanias (3.11.5), it was due to the soothsayings of Agias that Lysander could beat the Athenian fleet at Aigospotamos in 405. The Spartans dedicated a statue of the seer at Delphi (10.9.7). For further notices about the participation of seers in battle see Pritchett 1979, 49–56.

<sup>405</sup> Stengel 1920, 62; Pritchett 1979, 47–90; Burkert 1985, 113.

<sup>406</sup> Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 13.7.

<sup>407</sup> Diod. 13.98.1.

<sup>408</sup> Plut. *Ages.* 6.5.

<sup>409</sup> For general comments about the art of divination in Greek religion see Stengel 1920, 54–66; Hopfner 1930, 1258–1288; Nilsson 1967, 164–174; Burkert 1985, 111–114.

<sup>410</sup> Burkert 1983, 66, n. 34.

πυρφόρος, took fire from the altar and led the army to the border, τὰ ὅρια τῆς χώρας. At the border, the king once again sacrificed to Zeus and also to Athena, and if the sacrifices proved acceptable to both these deities, the army could cross the borders of the country.<sup>411</sup> The fire from the sacrifices at the border, τὰ διαβατήρια, was never extinguished, but was brought with the army during the whole of the campaign.

The custom of divination has been interpreted as a part of a process of decision-making. The purpose of the Spartan sacrifices associated with warfare was to ensure that the divinities approved of the intention and implementation of a military expedition. The first sacrifice was made to Zeus Agetor and, as has been noted above, the epithet Agetor was associated with the idea of leadership. The kings, who made the sacrifices, were in Sparta priests in the service of Zeus and their main duty was to command the army as *archagetai*.

The second type of sacrifices, *ta diabateria*, can be regarded as a rite of passage. This sacrifice was more than a part of the preparations for warfare. It materialized the frontier as a symbol for the difference between the civilized world, the polis, and the unknown world beyond the border.<sup>412</sup>

The third occasion for sacrifices was when the army had left the polis and caught sight of the enemy. A sacrifice was then made to Artemis Agrotera. This sacrifice was performed every day, and for this purpose the Spartans brought with them a herd of goats during the campaign.<sup>413</sup>

But what has this to do with the race of the *staphylodromoi*? At a glance, the race resembles a scapegoat ritual. There are, however, several objections to this view. A scapegoat ritual was always a rite of expulsion and a means of getting rid of something negative, a defilement.<sup>414</sup> However, the pursued man in the race of the *staphylodromoi* was an individual of positive qualities. He should be caught and, if he was caught, this meant luck for the city. The symbolic value of the race was thus opposite to that of a scapegoat ritual.

The pursued man was important to the city, as he was considered a symbol of the well-being of the city. Moreover, the purpose of pursuing him was to foresee the city's well-being; in other words, the race was a form of augury. It is partly these positive qualities which make it possible to interpret the chased man as a seer. The importance of the seer in association with warfare as a mediator between men and gods is clear, taking the testimonia into consideration. The aetiological myths concerning the Karneia give a leading role to the seer, called Karnos, the death of whom was believed to be the very cause of the establishment of the Karneia. The killing of the seer in myth is a symbol of the broken communication between men and gods, and some part of the Karneia could well have been associated with a restoration of the relation between men and gods.

The pursued man was decked with woollen fillets, *stemmata*. The *stemmata* were religious paraphernalia, associated already in Homer with the performance of the priest. In the first book of the *Iliad* (1.14, 373), the priest Chryses has *stemmata* wrapped around his staff. The sacrificial animals were adorned with *stemmata*.<sup>415</sup> Hunted like an animal and disguised with *stemmata*, the pursued man transgressed the categories of man and animal, just as the seer in his profession created a category of his own, standing somewhere between men and gods.<sup>416</sup>

The act of persecution also raises the notion of unreliability. As I have said above, it is possible to detect a suspicion towards the seer in

<sup>411</sup> Popp 1957, 42–46; Pritchett 1979, 68–71; Lonis 1979, 95–115.

<sup>412</sup> Thucydides gives three examples of unfavourable *diabateria*, which stopped further progress of the Spartan army: Thuc. 5.54.2; 5.55.3; 5.116. The years were 419 and 416.

<sup>413</sup> Paus. 9.13.4.

<sup>414</sup> Bremmer 1983, 313–315.

<sup>415</sup> Blech 1982, 303f.; Burkert 1983, 3.

<sup>416</sup> In a structuralistic analysis of the myths concerning Teiresias, Brisson (1976, 33, 43–45) has pointed out how the seer transgresses the opposition man-god, male-female, present-future, life-death.

some testimonia. In the local Spartan myth concerning the establishment of the Karneia, the seer actually becomes a traitor to his city, giving the enemy knowledge about how to capture the city. In ritual this unreliability is expressed by the race, in which the pursued man should be caught. The loyalty of the seer was not obviously to the state which he served, but to the gods. The conflict between Teiresias and men of power, such as Kreon and Oedipus, has its root in this ambiguous status of the seer.<sup>417</sup> In the clash between civil power and the knowledge of the seer, with its divine origin, the *mantis* remained loyal to the gods.

To sum up, the entries in Hesychios, which Wide discussed in his treatment of the Karneia, give the idea of a ritual in which someone acted as the representation of a god or a daimon. This mimetic act is associated with the word *stemmatiaion*. The word *dikelon*, signifying the one who acts or represents, is explained with words as *phasma* and *mimema*. I think that Wide is right in associating these entries in Hesychios with the race of the *staphylodromoi*. Furthermore, in Konon's version of the aetiological myth concerning the Karneia, Karnos the seer is actually called a representation of Apollo, *phasma Apollonos*, as if the seer and the god were identical.

On this basis, I think that it is plausible to interpret the race of the *staphylodromoi* as connected with the seer, instead of with vegetation magic, as Wide does. Unreliable but indispensable, the seer was symbolically represented in myth and ritual as an ambiguous figure. In myth he becomes a traitor to his city, and in ritual he is hunted like an animal. In the Karneia, the ritual concerning the seer symbolized the renewal of the communication between men and gods, a condition which was a prerequisite not only for warfare but for the existence of man.

It remains to comment upon the role of Apollo in the Karneia. Clearly, Apollo was not an active warrior-god in Spartan religion. The gods associated with war were, as has been noticed above, Zeus, Athena and Artemis. However, the semi-iconic image at the

Amyklaion, where the god was armed with a lance and a bow, has also been discussed as evidence of the martial nature of Apollo in Spartan religion. Moreover, the warrior aspect of Apollo has been regarded as an original part of the god, who later developed interests in music and dance.<sup>418</sup> But a closer look at the testimonia cited to prove this development gives another picture.

The scene in the first book of the *Iliad* (1.43–52), where Apollo rushes down Olympos in order to punish the Achaeans with a plague, has its origin in a quarrel between Chryses, the priest of Apollo, and Agamemnon about Chryses' daughter. When Agamemnon refuses to give back the daughter, Apollo punishes the Greek army with a plague. Apollo appears in this scene as the guardian of a religious world-order, which was broken by Agamemnon in his refusal to accept the request of Chryses. The plague is the concrete sign of the disturbed order, an order which had Zeus as its supreme impersonation. Apollo can be regarded as the executive of this order, and his role in this scene is not that of a warrior god. In the Karneia, Apollo symbolized the civilized order, the structuring of the city and its body of citizens, expressed in the organization of the army and of the citizens in the *syssitia*. Apollo protected the rising generations and he guarded their transition from one status to another, until they had reached the status of citizens and members of the army.

## Summary

In my view, the Karneia was the final stage of a ritual cycle centred on rites of initiation, and the custom described by Demetrios was probably valid for the members of the oldest age class in the *agoge*. They were about to reach the status of full members of the society, and

<sup>417</sup> For the ambiguous status of Teiresias in the tragedies by Sophokles, see Segal 1981, 158, 240.

<sup>418</sup> Lonis 1979, 213–216



the initiation ritual had as its goal the preparation of the young men as warriors.<sup>419</sup> The identity of a Spartan citizen was defined in military terms: to become a citizen was to become a warrior.<sup>420</sup> In my interpretation the pursued man was a seer, and the catching of him symbolized the possibility of a renewal of the relations between men and gods, as if there were a contract which had to be renewed at regular in-

tervals. Within the framework of the ritual cycle, the Karneia came to play a restorative role and symbolized the renewed relation between the citizens and the gods.

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<sup>419</sup> Vernant 1991, 220–243.

<sup>420</sup> Vidal-Naquet 1986, 85.

## Chapter four

# The cults as a ritual cycle and the age class system

### Introduction

The most obvious reasons for regarding the three cults as a unity are that they were devoted to the same god, and that they were celebrated within a period of about two months.<sup>421</sup> H. Jeanmaire and A. Brelich have argued that the three cults formed some kind of unity with initiatory rituals as a common denominator; but their analysis is not, to the same degree as this study, centred on the relation between the three cults, and they do not try to place the rituals within a historical context.<sup>422</sup> As I have said above in the introduction, the analysis by W. Burkert of the New Year rituals, in his *Homo Necans*, became the inspiration for trying to show a similar ritual pattern in Spartan ritual life.<sup>423</sup>

For the participants, the ritual was a sequel of events, the structure of which was experienced by the performance of the ritual. In analogy with the structure of a piece of music, it is the specific ordering of the symbolic acts and symbols within the ritual which creates a specific type of ritual.<sup>424</sup> In my view, structuralist methods provide a helpful instrument for revealing the architecture behind the ritual cycle. This means that I regard the ritual cycle as consisting of a series of opposites, the pattern of which constitutes a rite of passage.<sup>425</sup>

It was A. van Gennep who pointed out that events connected with important passages in life, such as birth, marriage and death, share an

analogous tripartite structure consisting of periods of separation, marginality and aggregation.<sup>426</sup> He termed these events 'rites de passage'. *Chart 1* visualizes this tripartite structure.

This structural approach to ritual analysis

<sup>421</sup> Jeanmaire 1939, 535.

<sup>422</sup> Jeanmaire 1939, 524–540; Brelich 1969, 139–154. Both scholars regard the rituals as survivals of a primitive tribal initiation.

<sup>423</sup> Burkert 1966, 1–25; Burkert 1983, 135–158.

<sup>424</sup> I here use Turner's (1967, 19) definition of a symbol as 'the smallest unit of ritual which still retains the specific properties of ritual behavior; it is the ultimate unit of specific structure in a ritual context.'

<sup>425</sup> One of the main criticisms against structuralism has been its absence of any historical dimension; see Burkert 1979, 5–14. I will therefore in the next chapter make an attempt at putting the cults into a historical context. I will then try to show the importance of ritual at two critical periods in early Lakonian history: the end of the Bronze Age in connection with the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization, and the eighth century as a part of the emergence of the Spartan polis. Religious ritual became the main factor in coping with a changed world. I will say already here that it is my belief that the three cults came to function as a ritual cycle with the creation of the Spartan polis around the middle of the eighth century.

<sup>426</sup> See van Gennep 1960, 20f. It is the notion of structure which has been considered innovative in van Gennep's study: La Fontaine 1985, 24–27; Schøjdt 1986, 94f. On rites of passage see also Pentikäinen 1986; Myerhoff et alii 1987, 380–386; Turnbull 1990.

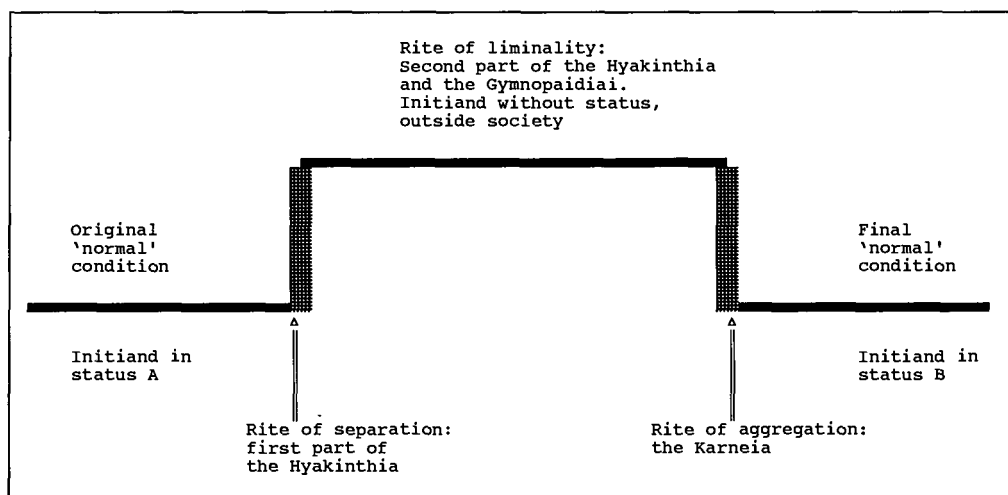


Chart 1. Based on Leach 1976, fig. 7.

proved to be very influential and the English translation of van Gennep's work, appearing in 1960, became an important stimulation for Victor Turner in his analysis of the Ndembu people. Turner developed ideas about the marginal, or liminal as he preferred to call it, stage of the rites of passage.<sup>427</sup> This period is characterized by ambivalence; it is separated by its symbolism both from what was before and from what is to be. The symbols of the liminal phase may be associated with death, invisibility, darkness, bisexuality, wild nature, and celestial phenomena such as eclipses of the sun and moon. If the rite of passage is an initiation ritual, the initiands may be dressed up as monsters, wear masks, or be naked to express their lack of position in society. They are often separated from everyday life by ritual interdictions.<sup>428</sup> Liminal behaviour often involves obedience, and punishments should be endured without complaints. If the society represents hierarchy and structure, the liminal phase expresses the absence of these qualities through the use of symbols or symbolic behaviour associated with anti-structure. In association with initiation rituals, the liminal phase often includes education for the initiands, by which they are introduced into the sacral traditions of the society. To be a member of a group may be to learn customary songs and dances.<sup>429</sup> The

knowledge obtained is often of a non-practical nature. The liminal phase is also associated with sacral experiences, and the divine powers seem to be accessible beyond the confines of everyday life. In addition, Turner also pointed out the processual character of rituals, oscillating between liminal and non-liminal phases.

One category of rites of passage is the initiation ritual.<sup>430</sup> M. Eliade has classified rituals of initiation thus: (1) puberty rites, (2) initiation into mysteries and secret societies, (3) initiation of shamans.<sup>431</sup> It is important here to make a distinction between puberty rites and rites of initiation. The use of the term 'initiation' instead of 'puberty' indicates that the rite was a culturally determined event.<sup>432</sup>

Rites of initiation are often regarded as either rituals of admission into secret societies, or more or less public rituals which mark the passage between childhood and maturity.<sup>433</sup> A fas-

<sup>427</sup> Turner 1967, 93–111; 1969, 94–130; 1974, 272–299. He calls the participants in the liminal phase the 'threshold people' (1969, 95).

<sup>428</sup> Turner 1985, 159.

<sup>429</sup> Burkert 1985, 260.

<sup>430</sup> Kaelber 1987, 229–234; Lincoln 1987, 234–238.

<sup>431</sup> Eliade 1987, 225–229.

<sup>432</sup> La Fontaine 1985, 14f.

<sup>433</sup> La Fontaine 1985, 14.

cinating peculiarity of the Spartan initiation rituals is that they were at the same time public festivals, mobilizing the whole population, and instruments for gradual admission to one of the most exclusive social groups of ancient Greece, i.e. the body of Spartan citizens. In this respect, the three rituals discussed here were a combination of collective initiation rituals, marking the passage between childhood and maturity as well as the acceptance into an exclusive society.

One aspect of this ritual cycle was thus to function as an initiation process, promoting the change in status for the participants involved. However, to recognize these rites of initiation does not mean that this was the only meaning of the rituals. The cycle was above all connected with the creation of the Spartan polis, a way of creating a world order according to the new conditions of the polis.

## The cults as a ritual cycle

In Chapter One, I have devoted one section to the structure of the Hyakinthia. Here I will recapitulate the results.

The first part of the cult was characterized by a series of prohibitions against eating bread, singing the paean and wearing wreaths. The ban against bread separates the meal during this part of the cult from the ordinary sacral meal in Sparta, the *kopis*. The ban against singing the paean separates the first part from the second part of the Hyakinthia, as did the prohibitions against wearing wreaths. It is clear that the first part of the Hyakinthia marked a separation from everyday life. This was made explicit through the procession from Sparta to the Amyklaion. The separation from everyday life was thus enacted by a movement in space from the city to the sanctuary. But it was also a separation from other rituals by its set of prohibitions. In my view the *enagismos* sacrifice to Hyakinthos created a negative sacral condition, *agos*, symbolically expressed through the set of prohibitions described above.

To the first part belonged the mourning of

Hyakinthos. As a rite of initiation, the *enagismos* sacrifice and the mourning were parts of the experience of the initiands. There are at least two important aspects of the symbols of death and mourning associated with rites of initiation. First, they mark the absolute separation of the initiands from mundane reality. Secondly, it is sometimes regarded as a prerequisite for the initiands to come into contact with the ancestors of the culture in which they live.<sup>434</sup> I would add that the symbols of death in initiation rituals express the irreversible character of the change in status of the initiand.

Through the *enagismos* sacrifice, the first part of the Hyakinthia can be considered as a day of pollution, *hemera apophras*. The pollution has been regarded as a sign of category transgression and, for the initiands, the change in status meant that they had to experience a period of defilement.<sup>435</sup> I have hinted at the possibility that the sacral reality acquired two opposite dimensions, and that this duality was connected with the process of polis formation in the eighth century. In the Hyakinthia these two dimensions were acted out, and the second part of the cult was much a reversal of the first one. The testimonia confirm that the wearing of wreaths and the singing of paeans were elements of the Hyakinthia, and must have belonged to the second part.

The second part of the cult can be described as the beginning of the liminal period in the ritual cycle. The participants lived in temporarily built huts during this part, probably around the sanctuary. The *thysiai*, the singing of the paean and the wearing of wreaths indicate an opposite character of the cult, compared to the first part. If the communication with the sacred was of a negative nature during the first part through the *enagismos*, the *thysiai* of the second part and the singing of the paean rather indicated the communication with the god and the experience of his actual presence. The general emo-

<sup>434</sup> La Fontaine 1985, 122f.

<sup>435</sup> Douglas 1966, 114–128; 1975, 47–59.

tion of the second part of the cult was joy, *chara*, in contrast to the *penthos* of the first part. In the chapter on the Gymnopaïdai, I have commented on the possibility of songs and dances creating emotional moods in which extraordinary sensations were felt. The performances of *choreia*, notably paeans, were major religious experiences for the Spartans and it is likely that they somehow involved perceptions of the appearance of the divinity, perhaps as flashes of light. It can be no coincidence that the presence of Apollo is often connected with music and light in poetry, e.g. in the Homeric Hymn to this god.

The liminality was expressed through the dissolution of social structure. Strangers, *xenoi*, were entertained during the meal and so were the slaves, *douloi*. This last fact is all the more striking in view of the strict separation in status between the Spartan citizens and, on the other hand, the *perioikoi* and the helots in Lakonia.

The sacral meal, *kopis*, thus became the medium for a symbolic inversion, expressed through the breakdown of social hierarchy.<sup>436</sup> In mundane life the meal, served in the *syssitia*, was a highly structured event associated solely with the citizens and the age classes belonging to the *agoge*. The sacral meal could thus be interpreted as a symbolic inversion associated with the liminal period.

Communication with the divinity and dissolution of social stratification were thus elements of liminality. Furthermore, the presentation of a chiton for Apollo can be regarded as a means of creating a relation with the divinity, an element of gift-giving. The initiatory elements of this part of the cult are clearly discernible in the participation of adolescents of both sexes, *neoi* and *parthenoi*. The performances of traditional songs and dances point to the educational aspect of the initiation. Some of the *parthenoi* were driven in specific wagons, *kan-nathra*. As I have argued in Chapter One, the presence of women in the Hyakinthia should be related to a marriage symbolism, preparing the *parthenoi* for the role as married women, in analogy with the display of the cuirass of

Timomachos, which symbolized the future role of the young men as warriors.

The Gymnopaïdai continued the liminal state of the second part of the Hyakinthia. The choral performances constituted the nucleus of the cult and the paeon seems to have been of particular importance, as during the Hyakinthia.

The initiatory part of the Gymnopaïdai consisted of tests of endurance. The choruses were performed in the middle of the summer and thus in torrid heat. The Gymnopaïdai was one part of the ordeals which the initiands had to go through, together with the *diamastigosis* and the *krypteia*.

The choral performances also had an educational purpose. The songs commemorated successful martial exploits, and the initiands thus became familiar with the traditions of the society. The battles at Thyrea played an important role, and it has been suggested that the struggles between Sparta and Argos over this borderline area were of a ritual character.<sup>437</sup>

The social stratification was still dissolved, in that strangers were admitted during the celebration of the cult. The nakedness can be interpreted as a loss of identity, a symbol of the marginal state of the participants. To be naked was to stand in a liminal zone outside any well-defined status. There is no evidence for female participation during the Gymnopaïdai, and it is possible that men and women were separated during this ritual. This separates the Gymnopaïdai from both the Hyakinthia and the Karneia, something which further accentuates the rhythm of the ritual cycle, as a series of opposites.

The Karneia was the final stage in the ritual cycle, and clearly a ritual of restitution and aggregation. The men eating in the nine tents

<sup>436</sup> On symbolic inversion see Babcock 1978, 13–36. The death and funeral of a Spartan king caused a similar dissolution of social hierarchy, with the participation of *perioikoi* and helots, Hdt. 6.58.

<sup>437</sup> Sartre 1979, 219; Brelich 1961, 22–34; 1969, 189f.

were divided according to the three Dorian *phylai*. The cult thus recreated a specific social structure, in contrast to the liminal period of the second part of the Hyakinthia and the Gymnopaïdai, in which strangers and slaves were allowed to take part. Moreover, the fact that everything was done according to the command of a herald emphasizes the attitude of submission to authority which was expected of the initiands.

Inscriptions from Thera in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Apollo Karneios can be interpreted as evidence of homosexual initiation. This probably involved the age grade *robidas*, the twelve-year-old boys, who were sexually initiated by an *erastes* within the framework of the Karneia. The association of Alkestis with the Karneia points to marriage as a part of the cult. There is also the notice, in the Hymn to Apollo by Kallimachos, that men and women danced together during the Karneia at Kyrene. According to Plutarch's life of Lykourgos, men were not allowed to get married when they wished. This probably means that marriage was accomplished collectively during a cult, and it is possible that Karneia was a cult of this kind. The location of a sanctuary of Eileithyia besides those of Artemis Hegemone and Apollo Karneios in Sparta also points to marriage and childbirth. The continuity of the society was thus symbolized through the element of marriage ceremonies and the preparation of the male initiands as members of the army.

The race of the *staphylodromoi* can be regarded as a restoration of communication between men and gods. In the aetiological myth, the Karneia was installed as an expiatory act for the seer Karnos, who had been killed by one of the Herakleidai. I have interpreted the man pursued by the *staphylodromoi* as a seer, a man who had the means of discovering the will of the gods.

The Karneia included references to the Do-

rian identity of the Spartans. One element of the cult was the carrying of rafts commemorating the entrance of the Dorians to the Peloponnese at Rhion. The aetiological myth associated with the Karneia was also connected with the Dorian identity of the Spartans. Ritual elements and myths connected with the cult thus expressed this identity. It is my belief that with the creation of the Spartan polis, the inhabitants of the five villages, which constituted the new polis, became identified as Dorians. The Dorian identity had probably been developed within the circle of an aristocratic elite during the early Iron Age, and the inhabitants of the Spartan polis came to separate themselves from the other inhabitants in Lakonia, who were not included in the polis as citizens and did not have any political rights. A sharp distinction was created between the citizens of Sparta and the other inhabitants of Lakonia, the *perioikoi* and the *helots*. In this respect, the admission to the group of citizens in Sparta can be compared with the initiation into a secret society.

To sum up, the three cults constituted a coherent whole, the symbolism of which expressed the basic pattern of a rite of passage, with periods of separation, liminality and aggregation. Some of the symbolism was connected with the cults as rites of initiation, and this was one aspect of the ritual cycle. The first part of the Hyakinthia marked the separation from everyday life. The liminal period of the ritual process, including the second part of the Hyakinthia and the Gymnopaïdai, expressed the dissolution of social structure and the encounter with the sacral dimension, experiences which can be regarded as opposed to those of ordinary life. The third cult, the Karneia, expressed the restructuring of society and the renewal of communication between men and gods. Table 3 summarizes the results of the analysis.

Table 3.

THE CULTS AS A RITUAL CYCLE			
Rite of separation		Rite of liminality	
HYAKINTHIA		GYMNOPAIDIAI	KARNEIA
Part one	Part two		
<p>Symbols of separation:</p> <p>Prescriptions against bread, wreaths and singing the paean.</p> <p><i>Enagismos</i> sacrifice to Hyakinthos, creating a negative, sacred condition, <i>agos</i>.</p> <p>Initiatory element: contact with the dead through the <i>enagismos</i>.</p> <p>Emotional character: <i>penthos</i>.</p>	<p>Symbols of liminality:</p> <p>Movement from centre to periphery: procession from Sparta to the Amyklaion.</p> <p>Communication with the divinity: the paean and the <i>thysia</i> sacrifice.</p> <p>Dissolution of social order: presence of <i>xenoi</i> and <i>douloi</i>.</p> <p>Initiatory elements: adolescents of both sexes play an active role.</p> <p>Marriage symbolism connected with Polyboia.</p> <p>Emotional character: <i>chara</i>.</p>	<p>Symbols of liminality:</p> <p>Nakedness as a symbol of lack of identity, valid for the whole body of citizens.</p> <p>Social hierarchy still dissolved: presence of <i>xenoi</i>.</p> <p>Communication with the divinity through the singing of paeans.</p> <p>Initiatory elements:</p> <p><i>Choreia</i> as tests of endurance and as the introduction into the history of the city.</p>	<p>Symbols of aggregation:</p> <p>Ritual described as a mimesis of a war camp. A fixed number of men lived in nine tents, representing three <i>phylai</i>. Everything was done on command of a herald.</p> <p>Movement back to centre, as the sanctuary of Apollo Karneios was situated in the city.</p> <p>A restoration of the relation between men and the gods through the race of the <i>staphylodromoi</i>.</p> <p>Initiatory elements: sexual initiation, marriage.</p>

## The age class system

### Introduction

The purpose of this section is to examine the system of age classes which characterized the Spartan society and its relation to the three cults. Emphasis will be laid on the relation between the age grades and religious duties.

The main literary sources for the age class system are Xenophon's *Spartan Constitution*, Plutarch's *Life of Lykourgos* and two scholiastic glosses, one on Herodotos and one on Strabo. The epigraphical material concerning age classes is published and discussed in the *Catalogue of the Spartan Museum* and in the final publication of the excavation of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.<sup>438</sup> Before examining the testimonia, however, I would like to introduce three definitions taken from Bernardi in his work on age class systems.<sup>439</sup>

Bernardi defines an age class as 'an institutionalized grouping, formally constituted according to different models. Members of a class form an egalitarian, corporate group that

passes together through the progression of social grades. Class membership constitutes the jural basis for the acquisition of the executive right to engage in the social activities appropriate to each grade.'

Informal age grades are defined as 'the stages of physiological and social development commonly employed in distinguishing among the members of a society. Examples are childhood, adolescence, youth, adulthood, old age. The indication is always approximate.' The third definition concerns the institutionalized age grades, which Bernardi defines as 'the promotional stages traversed by age classes that determine peoples's status and their executive right to undertake social activities.' Age class systems are defined as 'social formations founded on the classification of the society's members on the basis of structural age.' Bernardi also emphasizes that age is structural

<sup>438</sup> Tod 1906, 1-97; Woodward 1929, 285-377.

<sup>439</sup> Bernardi 1985. The definitions are all on p. 172.

rather than physiological in an age class system. This means that all members of an age class were of the same age regardless of when they were born.

While Bernardi lays stress on the social activities which the age classes are gradually given access to, I would like to emphasize the religious activities and duties associated with the different age grades in Spartan society.

Much energy has been spent on efforts to correlate the different age grades with specific years in a physiological sense, and there is at least one point on which scholars have reached a consensus, namely that the state education in Sparta, the *agoge*, according to Plutarch (*Lyk.* 16.4), started at the age of seven.<sup>440</sup>

However, the system of age classes started already with the birth of a child and was not confined to the official *agoge*, lasting between the age of seven and twenty or thirty. The whole life of a Spartan citizen was divided in age grades. The *agoge* and its set of age grades is just one aspect of the fact that age was a major structural principle in Spartan society.<sup>441</sup> The position of women in relation to the age class system should also be commented on. The absence of information about girls in the testimonia associated with the different stages in the age class system points to two circumstances. First, the age class system only concerned the male population and its function was to create the male citizen-warrior. Secondly, in excluding women from the age class system, women came to be regarded as a marginalized group within the Spartan polis, deprived of any influence in political matters. It is significant that the role of women in the three cults can be related to marriage symbolism and the change of the young girl from *parthenos* to *gyne*. It was as a wife and the mother of future warriors that a woman gained status in Sparta.<sup>442</sup>

### Age classes between 0 to 6 years

According to Plutarch (*Lyk.* 16.1–2), a newborn child seems to have been examined in two steps. First, women bathed the child in wine, as

a test of its physical strength. Second, the child was taken by the father to the *Lesche*, where the elders of the *phylai*, οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν φυλῆτων, examined it. If it was accepted, the child was assigned a lot of land, a *kleros*. Though Plutarch uses the word *παιδάριον*, which can mean both boy and girl, the assignment of a *kleros* indicates that the examination of the child by the elders concerned the male children. If the child was not accepted due to some defect, it was taken to a chasm at the foot of Taygetos, called *Apothetai*. As the examination made by the elders was decisive for the survival of a child, the test made by the women must have preceded it, perhaps in immediate connection with the birth.<sup>443</sup> A child was thus made the subject of two tests before it was finally accepted by the community.

Apart from the social acceptance of the

<sup>440</sup> Tazelaar (1967, 127) makes two statements in the beginning of his article. First, every way of classifying adolescents in training-groups should be traced back to physical and mental development. Secondly, he says that this will inevitably lead to the occurrence of differences between the system of legal age classes and the system based on physical and mental growth. For Tazelaar, the belief in two systems, one related to age classes, the other to physical development, becomes a way of explaining contradictory notices in the testimonia. It is true that the start of an age class system, for example at the age of seven in Sparta, can be explained in terms of mental development, i.e. that a child at a particular age is regarded as fit for an organized education. But neither physical nor mental development explains why the upbringing of children has to be shaped as an elaborate system of age classes.

<sup>441</sup> I do not agree with Brelich (1969, 114) saying that the *agoge* 'è senz'alcuna restrizione un'iniziazione di tipo primitivo.' As a part of the major changes taking place in connection with the creation of the Spartan polis, the age class system was more an invention than a survival.

<sup>442</sup> On Spartan women see Cartledge 1981, 84–105 and Scanlon 1988, 185–216.

<sup>443</sup> den Boer (1954, 234f.) claims the opposite order for the two tests. According to him, the bath in wine was a rite of initiation into the community, but it is evident from the comment by Plutarch that the bath in wine was considered a test, as well as the examination by the elders of the *phylai*.



child, there was a ritual one as well. I want to draw attention to a passage in Athenaios (4.139a–b), quoting Polemon who says that the *kopis*, the sacral meal of the Spartans, was eaten during the festival called Tithenidia, celebrated in honour of Artemis. During this cult, the nurses, αἱ τιθαί, brought the male children, τὰ ἄρρενα παῖδια, to the sanctuary of Artemis Korythalia, situated in the region toward Kleta, outside the city in the countryside. In this sanctuary the *kopis* was celebrated at the image of the goddess. Specific alimentary rules were associated with this *kopis*, as Polemon attests, including the eating of suckling-pigs, ὀρθαγορίσκοι, and oven-bread. The acceptance of a male child by the elders was thus followed by the presentation of the child to Artemis, a kind of ritual acceptance which placed the child in relation to the gods of the city.

The years between birth and the age of seven are not mentioned in the testimonia, and the child probably lived with his family during these years.

#### *Age classes between 7 and 20 years: the agoge*

At the age of seven the state education, *agoge*, began.<sup>444</sup> A boy was put in an ἀγέλη, a group consisting of boys of the same age.<sup>445</sup> The *agele* was probably the smallest unit in the age class system, and in each age class there was thus a number of *agelai*. The entrance into the *agoge* meant that the boys were subjected to a hierarchy of supervisors. From a gloss in Hesychios it is known that in each *agele* a boy was chosen as a leader, ἄρχων ἀγέλης, and that he was called a βοναγός.<sup>446</sup> This was a reputable task, recorded in the inscriptions of careers among Spartan magistrates.<sup>447</sup> The next level consisted of the εἵρενες, whose task was to supervise the *agelai*.<sup>448</sup> In this connection Plutarch defines an *eiren* as one who for two years has been out of the class of boys, παῖδες, and adds that μελλ-εἶρην was the name of the oldest of the boys. Xenophon (*Lak. Pol.* 2.11) says that an *eiren* was selected to command a group.<sup>449</sup>

The supreme authority in matters of educa-

tion was the Παιδονόμος, who was appointed by the city.<sup>450</sup> He had at his disposal men with whips, ἡβώντες μαστιγοφόροι.<sup>451</sup> Apart from this official hierarchy of supervisors, it was the duty of every citizen to act as an authority in relation to the boys.<sup>452</sup> Both Xenophon (*Lak. Pol.* 5.5–6) and Plutarch (*Lyk.* 16.5; 17.1) say that the elders, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, were particularly important in this respect. All citizens younger than sixty were expected to learn from the elders.

The goal of the education was, according to Plutarch (*Lyk.* 16.6), to learn obedience and endurance and to be victorious in battle. This indicates the association of the *agoge* with the future role of the boys as warriors. The education also included the training in the art of *choreia*: ὄδῃ and μέλος.<sup>453</sup>

Within the age class system, clothing, hairstyle and sexual behaviour functioned as structural elements. The age classes between seven and twelve had their hair cut short and went around barefoot. The clothing consisted of a tunic, *chiton*.<sup>454</sup>

At the age of twelve, important changes took place.<sup>455</sup> The boys got a *himation* to wear in-

<sup>444</sup> Plut. *Lyk.* 16.4. On the *agoge* see Meister 1963, 3–24 and Brélích 1969, 113–126.

<sup>445</sup> Plut. *Lyk.* 16.4.

<sup>446</sup> Hesychios s.v. βοῦα, βοναγός.

<sup>447</sup> Chrimes 1949, 95–99.

<sup>448</sup> Plut. *Lyk.* 17.2.

<sup>449</sup> Xenophon uses the word *ile*. Plutarch also uses this word, *Lyk.* 16.7, but the relation between the *agelai* and the *ilai* is not clear. However, Plutarch speaks about *ilai* in connection with the age class who had reached the age of twelve. This indicates that the age classes from twelve years were divided into both *agelai* and *ilai*.

<sup>450</sup> Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 2.2; Plut. *Lyk.* 17.2.

<sup>451</sup> Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 2.2.

<sup>452</sup> Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 2.10.

<sup>453</sup> Plut. *Lyk.* 21.1.

<sup>454</sup> Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 2.3; Plut. *Lyk.* 16.6.

<sup>455</sup> Xenophon (*Lak. Pol.* 3.1) says that a boy's life got harder when he went ἐκ παίδων εἰς τὸ μειρακιούσθαι. He does not mention the specific year when this change took place, but it is probable that it refers to the changes which Plutarch associates with the age of twelve.

stead of a *chiton*.<sup>456</sup> Clothing was thus a means of separating the group of age classes between seven and twelve from those above twelve. Short-cut hair was a characteristic of the age classes between twelve and twenty, as it was for those younger than twelve. Other specific behaviour required for those belonging to the *agoge* included to keep the hands under the cloak, *himation*, to walk in silence, and not to look about them but to fix their eyes on the ground.<sup>457</sup> That these rules of conduct were valid from the age of twelve is proved by Xenophon's use of the word *himation*, the clothing prescribed from twelve years of age. Xenophon's account of these rules proves that the body was used as an instrument for separating the age grades within the age class system.

From the age of twelve a boy got a lover, ἐραστής, chosen from the reputable young men, εὐδόκιμοι νέοι, i.e. those between twenty and thirty.<sup>458</sup> Xenophon (*Lak. Pol.* 2.12–14) says that according to Lykourgos the relation *erastes-eromenos* should not be a sexual one; but judging from the laws of other poleis, people refused to believe this. In modern scholarship, the sexual nature of the *erastes-eromenos* relation has been a matter of controversy. Cartledge, in a recent article, refers to the pioneering article on Greek pederasty by Bethe.<sup>459</sup> Bethe's contribution to the understanding of the role of pederasty in Spartan culture was to point out that the physical element was fundamental to the relationship between *erastai* and *eromenoi*, and that it should be regarded in association with rites of initiation necessary for entrance into the adult warrior community.<sup>460</sup> Pederasty was thus an institutionalized custom and, as such, a part of the *agoge*.<sup>461</sup> I would like to stress its structural significance within the Spartan age class system. From twelve to twenty, a boy was assumed to behave as an *eromenos*, while those between twenty and thirty were *erastai*. At the age of thirty, a Spartan was supposed to get married and it is probable that marriage was a prerequisite for citizenship.<sup>462</sup> An opposition of homosexual to heterosexual behaviour was thus created within the age class system, with

the age of thirty as the pivotal point. Sexual behaviour, like clothing and hairstyle, was thus a structural means of creating categories within the age class system.

Stealing was a prominent feature of the *agoge*, concerning the age classes between twelve and twenty. Xenophon (*Lak. Pol.* 2.6–9) and Plutarch (*Lyk.* 17.3–4) say that the reason for this behaviour was scarcity of food. The stealing had to be done in secret and those who were caught were punished. It may also be concluded from Plutarch's account that stealing was associated with the age grades starting from the age of twelve.

It has been observed that stealing was a part of rituals associated with Artemis.<sup>463</sup> Plutarch (*Lyk.* 18.1) had been an eyewitness to the ritual taking place at the altar of Artemis Orthia where ephebes were lashed. Xenophon (*Lak.*

<sup>456</sup> Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 2.4; Plut. *Lyk.* 16.6.

<sup>457</sup> Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 3.4.

<sup>458</sup> Plut. *Lyk.* 17.1. See also Ael. *VH* 3.10.

<sup>459</sup> Cartledge 1980a, 17–36; Bethe 1907, 438–475. See also den Boer 1954, 245–248.

<sup>460</sup> Bethe 1907, 444; Calame 1977, 421–427.

<sup>461</sup> It is possible that the *erastes-eromenos* relation was initiated during the cult of Apollo Karneios. Inscriptions of Archaic times on Thera, in a cave at the gymnasium of the ephebes and in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Apollo Karneios, testify to sexual activities in a ritual context. See Bethe 1907, 452f.; Jeanmaire 1939, 456–460; Sergent 1984, 140f.

<sup>462</sup> According to Plutarch (*Lyk.* 14.1) Lykourgos regulated marriages. This means most likely that the age of marriage was set at a certain level in the age class system: Brelich 1969, 125. The presence of the couple Alkestis and Admetos is interesting in this context. Admetos was depicted in the Amyklaion (Paus. 3.18.16) and the death of Alkestis was, according to Euripides (*Alk.* 446–454), commemorated with hymns during the Karneia. In Kallimachos' *Hymn to Apollo* (47–52), Admetos is described as the *eromenos* of the god. Alkestis as the faithful wife was thus made the mythical prototype of the Spartan woman while Admetos, combining the roles of *eromenos* and husband, became the model for the Spartan. It is thus in the context of marriage symbolism that the reference to Alkestis in connection with the Karneia can be explained: Sergent 124–132, 143f.

<sup>463</sup> den Boer 1954, 261–274.

*Pol.* 2.9) says that it was considered honourable to steal as many cheeses as possible, while others were appointed to scourge the thieves. It is obvious that he is referring to the ritual attached to the altar of Artemis Orthia. As Chrimes suggests, the notice in Xenophon indicates that at some festival the boys were required to steal as many cheeses as possible, and they were beaten by boys with whips.<sup>464</sup> In Chrimes' opinion, the 'defenders' of the cheeses were the *mastigophoroi* appointed to the service of the *paidonomos*.<sup>465</sup> Plato (*Leg.* 1.633b) mentions stealing as one of the Lykourgan institutions intended to produce bravery, *andreia*. It has been suggested that this stealing is identical with the ritual mentioned by Xenophon. According to Pausanias (3.16.9–11) the scourging of the ephebes at the altar originated in a human sacrifice, demanded by an oracle after a quarrel between the people of the four villages in Sparta: Mesoa, Pitana, Limnai and Kynosoura. Lykourgos changed this human sacrifice to the ritual of scourging. Chrimes has convincingly combined the testimonia in Xenophon, Plutarch and Pausanias in order to suggest a connection between the stealing and certain rituals at the altar of Artemis Orthia.<sup>466</sup> The act of stealing was thus a part of the cult.

The official appointment of men with whips, *mastigophoroi*, associated with the supreme authority in matters of education, the *paidonomos*, is clear evidence of the institutionalized nature of the stealing. That the boys were beaten in the course of a ritual has been interpreted as a fertility rite, a parallel to the Roman *Lupercalia*.<sup>467</sup> In my opinion, however, it is very hard to maintain that the beating had anything to do with fertility, either human or vegetative. On the contrary, the beating was an act of aggression, establishing a pattern of domination and submission which permeated the *agoge*. The adolescents in Sparta were taught the lesson of being controlled and dominated by older members of the society.

The winner of the stealing contest, the βωμο-νίκης, the victor at the altar, remembered his victory later in life, as the career lists demon-

strate.<sup>468</sup> In my view, the stealing should be interpreted as a symbolic behaviour associated with the age classes not yet full members of the society. It was a behaviour which separated the age classes between twelve and twenty years from other age classes in society. The act of stealing was an ambiguous behaviour, both required and forbidden. Among the structural elements of the *agoge*, it is thus possible to add the behaviour of stealing. The stealing created a bond between certain age classes and Artemis, since it was her cult that featured the rituals of stealing. Artemis protected the prospective members of society, a task which she shared with Apollo.

From the age of twelve and the following five years, there is evidence for the occurrence of six different age grades. A gloss on Herodotos, explaining the word *eiren*, says that a boy in the first year is called ῥωβίδας, the second year προκομίζόμενος, the third year μικζόμενος, the fourth year πρόποις, the fifth year ποῖς and the sixth year μελλείρην. The gloss also states that a boy was an ephebe, ἐφηβεύει, from the age of fourteen to the age of twenty.<sup>469</sup> This gloss has been confirmed by a marginal note in the oldest manuscript of Strabo's *Geography*.<sup>470</sup> This note, which was published in 1941, gives the same age grades as the Herodotos gloss, with the exception that *eiren* is mentioned as a seventh age grade. It is also stated that a boy was an ephebe between fourteen and twenty. However, in contrast to the gloss on Herodotos, the notice about the ephebic training immediately follows on the enumeration of the age grades. This has led scholars to believe that the age grades mentioned in the gloss on Strabo are those between fourteen and twenty.

<sup>464</sup> Chrimes 1949, 130f.

<sup>465</sup> Chrimes 1949, 262.

<sup>466</sup> Chrimes 1949, 248–271.

<sup>467</sup> den Boer 1954, 269.

<sup>468</sup> *IG* V 1, 554, 652, 653, 653b, 654. Chrimes 1949, 131.

<sup>469</sup> Published in Stein 1871, 465 s.v. ἐλρήν.

<sup>470</sup> Published in Diller 1941.

These two glosses have been variously interpreted. The scholars writing before 1941, basing their discussion on the Herodotos gloss, have claimed that the age grades mentioned started at the age of seven, i.e. when the state education in Sparta started. A boy of seven would then have been called a *robidas* and a boy of twelve *melleiren*.<sup>471</sup> However, scholars writing after 1941 generally take the six age grades mentioned in the glosses as starting from the age of fourteen.<sup>472</sup> Tazelaar, however, has convincingly argued that the series of age grades started at the age of twelve.

Plutarch provides three definite age limits in the chronology of the Spartan *agoge*. Two of them have already been discussed, namely that the *agoge* started for a boy at the age of seven and that the age of twelve marked the beginning of a new period, characterized by the *erastes-eromenos* relation, among other things. The third fixed point is that an *eiren* was twenty years old.<sup>473</sup> Apart from these age limits, Plutarch (*Lyk.* 17.2) states that *eiren* was the name of those who for two years had been out of the class of boys, *paides*. He further says that the oldest class of boys, *paides*, is called *melleiren*. Tazelaar has argued that the notice in Plutarch must indicate that there was an interval in time between the *melleirenes* and the *eirenes*; otherwise the expression δεύτερον ἤδη ἔτος would have been superfluous.<sup>474</sup> Thus, at the age of eighteen, a boy ceased to be a *melleiren*, and also a *pais*. Two years later, at the age of twenty, he became an *eiren*.

This gap in time between the *melleiren* and the *eiren*, as suggested by Plutarch, makes the continuous sequence in the Strabo gloss impossible to maintain. The problem with both glosses is that the age grades from *robidas* to *eiren* are juxtaposed with the notice about the age when a boy had his military training, when he ἐφεβύει, as the gloss has it. In my opinion, the sequence of age grades from *robidas* to *melleiren* is not equivalent to the years stated for the boys as being ephebes. Apart from the argumentation by Tazelaar, who argues that the age grades from *robidas* to *melleiren* started from the age of twelve, I think that the inscrip-

tions found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia can throw some light on the problem.

There are two main classes of inscriptions, one commemorating the victors in the contests organized for the members in the age classes, παιδικοὶ ἀγῶνες, the other recording the careers and lists of magistrates in which adult Spartans mention titles they had acquired during their promotion through the age grades.<sup>475</sup> Four age grades are mentioned in the Orthia inscriptions: μικχιζόμενος, πρατοπάμπαις, ἄτροπάμπαις and μελλείρην.<sup>476</sup> No inscription mentions the exact year of any of these age grades. The two first age grades in the above-mentioned glosses, *robidas* and *prokomi-zomenos*, are lacking. The contests in honour of Artemis Orthia were thus restricted to the age grades *mikichizomenos*, *pratopampais*, *hatropampais* and *melleiren*. The prize given for victory in the *paidikoi agones* was a sickle, δρέπανον, which was an ancient military weapon.<sup>477</sup> That a sickle-shaped weapon was used by the Spartans is attested by Xenophon (*Anab.* 4.7.16), who refers to the use of a ξυήλη, explained by the lexicographers as a sickle-shaped object, sometimes called a *drepanon*.<sup>478</sup>

<sup>471</sup> Nilsson 1952, 827; Marrou 1946, 229.

<sup>472</sup> For example Diller 1941, 501.

<sup>473</sup> Plut. *Lyk.* 17.2.

<sup>474</sup> Tazelaar 1967, 137.

<sup>475</sup> Chrimes 1949, 85. On the *paidikoi agones* see also Tillyard 1905–1906, 380–391; Woodward 1929, 288–293. The inscriptions concerning the *paidikoi agones* are dated between the first century BC and the third century AD, with two exceptions. The oldest inscription, dated to the fourth century, does not mention any age grade: Woodward 1929, 293.

<sup>476</sup> Woodward 1929, 285–377; Chrimes 1949, 86. Chrimes suggests that the age grades *pratopampais* and *hatropampais* correspond to the *propais* and *pais* in the glosses: Chrimes 1949, 87; den Boer 1954, 254.

<sup>477</sup> Chrimes 1949, 94, 254–256.

<sup>478</sup> Hesychios s.v. ξυήλη; Suda s.v. ξυήλη; Vernant (1991, 234, n. 29) has suggested that the *drepanon* was used during the *krypteia* in the murdering of helots. The prize in the contest thus pointed forward to the stage of the *krypteia*.

A sickle, made of iron, was dedicated to Artemis by the winner and fixed on the upper part of the stele which recorded the victory.<sup>479</sup> This reference to an object used as a weapon in warfare may be an indication that the training of the age classes associated with the cult of Artemis Orthia was regarded as military preparation. This training could have begun in the third age grade, i.e. the *mikizomenos*, as it is called in the glosses. Both glosses state that the *ephebeia* lasted from the age of fourteen to the age of twenty. If the verb *ephebeuo* in this connection has a specific connotation of military training, as it had in Athens, it would explain the differences between Plutarch and the two glosses. A further hint at the connotation of the verb *ephebeuo* meaning military training is a passage in Plutarch (*Lyk.* 22.1) where he says that the young warriors, *neoi*, started to let their hair grow long as soon as they ceased to be *ephebes*, εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων ἡλικίας. My conclusion is that the *ephebes* were younger than twenty, the age by which a Spartan became a member of the army. The verb *ephebeuo* in the glosses was thus associated with the military preparation which the age classes went through before becoming regular members of the army at the age of twenty.

Plutarch says that the *melleiren* was the last age grade among the *paides*. As the *eiren* was twenty and had then been out of the class of boys for two years, a *melleiren* must have been seventeen. If one counts from seventeen, the first age grade mentioned in the glosses, *robidas*, would have begun at twelve. In Plutarch's description of the *agoge*, this was the age when the second step was begun in the education. Taking into consideration the Orthia inscriptions, which mention the third, fourth and fifth age grades, and the statement in the two glosses that the time of the *ephebeia* lasted from fourteen to twenty, I think that it is possible to adjust the three testimonia of Plutarch and the glosses on Herodotos and Strabo.

At the age of twelve a boy entered the age grade of *robidas*. At the age of fourteen he became a *mikizomenos* and from this age he took part in the *paidikoi agones* associated with the

cult of Artemis Orthia. So he continued to do during the following age grades, the *pratopampais*, *hatropampais* and *melleiren*, as the inscriptions attest. The iron sickle, *drepanon*, dedicated to Artemis, points to the *agones* as military preparations, and the word *ephebeuo* used in the two glosses probably meant education in the specific sense of military training. The military education thus started when the age classes had reached the age grade of *mikizomenos*, i.e. the age of fourteen, and lasted till the age of twenty, when a boy became an *eiren* and a regular member of the army.

The different contests mentioned in the inscriptions included musical contests such as the μῶα and κελεία, the καθηρατόριον, the κυναγέτας, the εὐβάλκης and the καρτερίας, probably associated with the contest of flogging at the altar.<sup>480</sup> The words for the different contests frequently have the word τὸ παιδικόν added to them, indicating that they were intended for the age classes below eighteen, when a boy was still called a *pais*.

Following Plutarch, it is obvious that there was a period of at least one year between the *melleiren* and the *eiren*. It is my belief that the *krypteia* occurred between the ages of eighteen and twenty. While the *paidikoi agones* were still celebrated within the limits of the city, the *krypteia* brought the adolescents definitely beyond the limits of civilized life.<sup>481</sup>

To sum up, between twelve and eighteen the age classes in the *agoge* were promoted through a series of age grades, the *robidas*, *prokomizomenos*, *mikizomenos*, *propais*, *pais* and *melleiren*. The four last-mentioned age grades were associated with the cult of Artemis Orthia, as the inscriptions show. The military training started at the age of fourteen with the age grade *mikizomenos* and lasted till the age of twenty, when a boy became an *eiren* and entered the army. Table 4 summarizes the *agoge* in tabular form.

<sup>479</sup> Chrimis 1949, pl. 1.

<sup>480</sup> Chrimis 1949, 119–130.

<sup>481</sup> On the *krypteia* see Jeanmaire 1913, 121–150; 1939, 550–554; Vidal-Naquet 1986, 112–114, 147f.

Table 4. The agoge.

AGE	FORMAL/INFORMAL AGE GRADE	CULTIC ASSOCIATION
7-17	<i>Pais</i> : informal age grade	Apollo: Hyakinthia, Gymnopaideiai
7-11	<i>Pais</i>	
12	<i>Robidas</i>	Apollo Karneios, Karneia
13	<i>Prokomizomenos</i>	
14	<i>Mikizomenos</i>	Artemis Orthia, <i>paidikoi agones</i>
15	<i>Propais</i> ( <i>Pratopampais</i> )	Artemis Orthia, <i>paidikoi agones</i>
16	<i>Pais</i> ( <i>Hatropampais</i> )	Artemis Orthia, <i>paidikoi agones</i>
17	<i>Melleiren</i>	Artemis Orthia, <i>paidikoi agones</i>
18-19	<i>Krypteia</i>	

### Age classes between 20 and 60 years

As mentioned above, the age of twenty is the third fixed age limit in Plutarch's account of the *agoge*. At this age a boy became an *eiren* and liable to military service. He was allowed to let his hair grow, and long hair thus became a sign of membership in the army.<sup>482</sup> As the equipment of the soldiers included a red cloak, στολή φοινίκης, and a brass shield, ἀσπίς χαλκῇ, clothing, hairstyle and weapons distinguished the age classes over twenty from those younger.<sup>483</sup> In two passages dealing with the Lakedaimonian army, Xenophon (*Ages*. 1.31; *Hell*. 3.4.23) speaks of an age group, τὰ δέκα ἄφ' ἡβης. This is generally understood as the group of men between twenty and thirty.<sup>484</sup> It is informally called οἱ νεώτεροι or simply οἱ νέοι. Specific restrictions for this group indicate that they were not full citizens, in spite of their membership in the army. According to Plutarch (*Lyk*. 25.1), those who were under thirty years of age, οἱ νεώτεροι τριάκοντ' ἐτών, were not allowed to enter the agora. Thucydides (5.64.3) speaks of τὸ νεώτερον μέρος of the Spartan army, most likely indicating those between twenty and thirty.<sup>485</sup>

The *eiren* had accomplished the stage in life associated with the *agoge*, as is implied by the explanation of the word *eirene* by Hesychios, κόρος τέλος.<sup>486</sup>

A series of inscriptions records victories

won by the so-called σφαιρεῖς.<sup>487</sup> The *sphaireis* took part in annual contests involving a ball-game played by teams of probably fourteen members.<sup>488</sup> According to Pausanias (3.14.6), *sphaireis* were 'those ceasing to be *epheboi* and beginning to be counted among men', οἱ δὲ εἰσιν οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐφήβων ἐς ἄνδρας ἀρχόμενοι

<sup>482</sup> Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 11.3; Plut. *Lyk.* 17.2. Compare the terracotta head of a warrior from the Amyklaion, dated to the second half of the eighth century (*Fig. 13*). On the back of the head vertical wavy lines are depicted, indicating hair: Hampe & Simon 1981, 254, pls. 397-399.

<sup>483</sup> Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 11.3. For the red cloak see also Arist. *fr.* 542 (Rose).

<sup>484</sup> Billheimer 1946, 214-220. The word *hebe* seems to have been both a technical term, indicating a specific age, as the expression ἄφ' ἡβης demonstrates, and a term implying physical strength and completed maturation in a general sense.

<sup>485</sup> It has been assumed that Thucydides, by τὸ νεώτερον μέρος of the Spartan army, means those younger than twenty: see Gomme et alii 1970, 93. However, assuming that the age for obtaining full citizenship was thirty, it is possible that the expression *to neoterion meros* is used to signify that part of the army which consisted of Spartans not yet citizens.

<sup>486</sup> Hesychios s.v. εἰρήνη.

<sup>487</sup> *IG* V 1, 674-688. On these inscriptions see Tod 1903-1904, 63-77; 1906-1907, 212-218; Woodward 1951, 191-199.

<sup>488</sup> The complete inscription *IG* V 1, 674, lists fourteen names.

συντελεῖν.<sup>489</sup> This means that they were between twenty and thirty.<sup>490</sup> The name seems to be derived from σφαῖρα, ball, and some of the inscriptions on gable-topped stelai have a circular object represented in the gable, probably the ball of the *sphaireis*.<sup>491</sup> Above one of the inscriptions the Dioskouroi are represented, flanking an amphora and the *dokana*.<sup>492</sup> The *sphaireis* were thus in some way associated with the Dioskouroi, and they also made sacrifices to Herakles.<sup>493</sup> The phrase οἱ νικάσαντες τὰς ὀβάς proves that the *sphaireis* were chosen from the *obai* and Limnai and Kynosoura are mentioned. The *sphaireis* were probably active during the celebration of the Gymnopaïdai. According to the scholion on Plato's *Laws*, ball-playing, *sphairan rhiptein*, seems to have been a part of the cult.<sup>494</sup>

However, the *eiren* did not yet have full rights as a citizen, and the above-mentioned expression, *ta deka aph'hebes*, accentuating the age classes between twenty and thirty, shows that the age of thirty was a distinct level in the age class system. The statement by Plutarch that those under thirty were not allowed to enter the agora further supports this observation. This age probably meant full rights as a citizen, including participation in the assembly and eligibility to the state offices. There are some indications that marriage was the step to be taken in order to become a full citizen, and that this had to be accomplished at the age of thirty.<sup>495</sup> To be ἄγαμος, unmarried, as were the officials in charge of the organization of the Karneia, the *karneatai*, was accepted up to a certain age. That this age was thirty can be inferred from two notices by Plutarch. First (*Lyk.* 25.1) is the above-mentioned prohibition for men younger than thirty to enter the agora. Secondly, in a passage on marriage customs in Sparta, Plutarch (*Lyk.* 15.1) says that the *agamoî* were excluded from the Gymnopaïdai, which was celebrated in the agora. The common denominator in these notices is the prohibition of entering the agora. In the first case, Plutarch states that the prohibition was associated with the management of the household, ἡ οἰκονομία, which a Spartan should leave to the slaves.



Fig. 13. Amyklaion, Lakonia. Terracotta head of warrior with pointed helmet. Second half of the eighth century BC.

There is however another way of interpreting these notices. Xenophon (*Lak. Pol.* 1.6) says about marriage customs in Sparta that Lykourgos withdrew the right for men to marry whenever they chose and insisted on their marrying in the prime of their manhood, ἐν ἀκμαίς τῶν σωματίων. Two things can be inferred from this passage. First, that the age of marriage was connected with the age class system, prescribing marriage at a certain level in the system. Second, that a man should marry when he was among the ἀκμάζοντες. This informal age grade is used by Xenophon as a group older than ἡβώντες. The *hebontes* had reached their physical adulthood and can be regarded as those between twenty and thirty. The *akmazontes* then is the group between *hebontes* and

<sup>489</sup> Translation W.H.S. Jones & H.A. Ormerod (Loeb Classical Library).

<sup>490</sup> Michell 1952, 172; Tazelaar 1967, 149f.

<sup>491</sup> Tod 1906–1907; Chrimis 1949, 132, n. 6.

<sup>492</sup> Tod 1906–1907, 214f.

<sup>493</sup> Pausanias 3.14.6.

<sup>494</sup> Schol. Pl. *Leg.* 1.633B s.v. ταῖς χερσί.

<sup>495</sup> Brelich 1969, 125.

*gerontes*, i.e. those between thirty and sixty.<sup>496</sup> The age of thirty was thus another step in the age class system and marriage the sign of this status. This does not mean that all men married at the same time, but that it was expected of a man to be married at the age of thirty.<sup>497</sup> In my opinion, the prohibition against entering the agora for those younger than thirty and for bachelors in connection with the *Gymnopaïdiai* should be interpreted in the light of the agora as the civic centre of Sparta and thus connected with the activities of the citizens.

According to Pausanias (3.11.2), the *bouleuterion* of the *Gerousia*, the ephors, the *nomophylakoi* and of those magistrates called the *bidaioi*, was situated in the agora. The men under thirty had not yet acquired the status of full citizens, with associated rights and duties, and were thus not allowed to enter the civic centre of the city. If marriage was considered a part of the civic duties of a Spartan and a prerequisite for becoming a citizen, the prohibition for unmarried men to take part in the *Gymnopaïdiai*, celebrated in the agora, should be regarded as a penalty associated with ideas concerning citizenship in Sparta.

Between thirty and sixty a Spartan belonged to the informal age grade *akmazontes*. He was eligible for the offices in the state. However, in relation to the men above sixty he was still under the domination of the elders and was expected to learn from them. At the age of sixty a Spartan entered the class of *gerontes*, the most important age class in Spartan society. The members of the *Gerousia* were elected from the *gerontes*. The *gerontes* were free from military service.

To sum up, a Spartan probably had to be married at the age of thirty. At this age he became a full citizen, with rights and duties connected with the agora as the civic centre. The prohibitions for unmarried men against entering the agora should be interpreted as symbolic behaviour associated with citizenship. A citizen was a man who controlled and had access to the agora. The age classes not yet citizens, i.e. younger than thirty, were forbidden to enter the agora.

## The ritual cycle and the age class system

How was the age class system related to the three cults? In the preceding section I have tried to show how the cults constituted a cycle, a coherent whole consisting of a set of symbols and symbolic behaviour structured as a rite of passage. The testimonia concerning the age class system bear witness to the important role of religion. Age classes belonging to the four age grades *mikizomenos*, *propais*, *pais* and *melleiren* were particularly associated with the cult of Artemis Orthia, in which they took part in the *paidikoi agones*. To these age grades and the *melleirenes* belonged the wrestling matches in honour of Poseidon and Athena. The *sphaireis* conducted sacrifices to Herakles and they probably performed their ball-games during the *Gymnopaïdiai*.

However, in my view the passage from one age grade to another was accomplished through the participation in the celebration of the ritual cycle associated with Apollo. The initiatory symbolism of the *Hyakinthia* points to the departure from ordinary life through the transfer from Sparta to the *Amyklaion*, contact with *Hyakinthos* as an ancestral figure through the *enagismos* sacrifice and the performances of choruses. In Polykrates' account of the *Hyakinthia* (Ath. 4.139e) it is said that *paides* dressed in tunics played the lyre or sang to the flute accompaniment, and that they praised the god in anapaestic rhythm in a high pitch. The notice about the clothing indicates that the *paides* in this passage were those between seven and twelve years old as these, according to Plutarch, wore chitones. At the age of twelve the clothing changed and the *paides* got himatia to wear. Plutarch additionally states that they no longer wore chitones from the age of twelve. The conclusion to be drawn is that the

<sup>496</sup> Tazelaar 1967, 150.

<sup>497</sup> It cannot be ruled out that collective marriage was a part of the age class system at an early stage in Sparta's history.



*paides* mentioned by Polykrates belonged to the age classes between seven and twelve. Polykrates says that others, *alloi*, marched through the theatre on horses. As this notice immediately follows the account about the activities of the *paides*, the *alloi* probably refer to the *paides*.

Polykrates also reports that choruses of *neaniskoi* sang local songs, *choroi ton epichorion*, with dancers mingling among them, dancing in a traditional style, *kinesis archaïke*, accompanied by the flute and the voices of the singers. I take the word *neaniskoi* to mean those who no longer were *paides*, i.e. they were older than seventeen. I think that the *neaniskoi* should be associated with the cuirass of Timomachos, put on display during the Hyakinthia.<sup>498</sup> A crucial step in the age class system was the age of twenty. At this stage a boy became an *eiren* and a member of the army. It is also known that a soldier was equipped with a red cloak, *stole phoinikis*, and a brass shield, *aspis chalke*. I would like to suggest that the display of the cuirass of Timomachos was associated with the age class which was to enter the status of being an *eiren*, and that the red cloak and the shield were given to them as a sign of their new status.

The Hyakinthia was thus associated with the *paides* and the *neaniskoi*, but it also had a prominent female element. It featured the procession of *parthenoi* in specific wagons, *kannathra*, while others raced with two-horse carriages. I have suggested in the chapter on the Hyakinthia that the female element should be interpreted in terms of rites of initiation associated with marriage. A prominent position was thus taken in the cult by groups who were about to experience crucial changes in their lives.

Remarkable is the notice in Polykrates that the slaves, *douloi*, took part in the meals. In the preceding section of this chapter I have interpreted their presence as an erasure of the distinction between citizens and slaves, a ritual inversion expressing the dissolution of the strict hierarchy which characterized Spartan society. This was also valid for the age class system: through the participation in the cults, the age

classes of the previous year were blotted out. Old patterns had to dissolve before the creation of new categories.

Considering the Gymnopaïdai, this cult was above all concerned with the performances of *choreia*. Three groups of choruses performed during the cult, consisting respectively of *paides*, *andres* and *gerontes*. Testimonia mention the paeon in connection with the cult and a specific dance called the *gymnopaïdike*, which was danced naked and was of a tragic character. Some participants wore wreaths made of palm leaves called *thyreatikoi* and these were assumed to be carried as a memorial of battles between Sparta and Argos at Thyrea. The battles at Thyrea were obviously of a ritual character and can be interpreted as a part of the initiatory pattern. The singing of commemorative songs made the adolescents familiar with the traditions of successful martial exploits of the society. The active participation of elders during the Gymnopaïdai can be interpreted as the ritual accomplishment of the admission to the most important age grade, *gerontes*.

As the choral performances took place in strong heat, they were considered a test of endurance, *karteresis*. The performances could thus be interpreted as initiatory ordeals associated with the promotion of the age classes through the series of age grades. These performances, and the flagellation at the altar of Artemis Orthia, may be compared with the general observation in connection with rites of initiation that the initiands practically risk their lives during the ordeals.

The third cult, the Karneia, was designed as a military camp.<sup>499</sup> Nine men ate in nine tents with representatives of three *phylai* in each tent. Everything was done on the order of a herald. The men in charge of the organization of the cult were called *karneatai* and they were unmarried, *agamoï*. They held their position for four years. As the text is corrupt, it is not known how many they were; the text says five men, each from an unknown body. Consider-

<sup>498</sup> Arist. fr. 532 (Rose).

<sup>499</sup> Ath. 4.141e-f.

Table 5. The life cycle of a Spartan citizen.

AGE	AGE GRADE/CIVIC DUTY	CULTIC ASSOCIATION
Birth	Examination in wine by women. Examination by the elders of the <i>phylai</i> .	
Infancy		Brought to the image of Artemis Korythalia, during the cult of Tithenidia.
0-6	Living in the family	
7-19	The <i>agoge</i> . 7-17: <i>paides</i> , informal age grade	Apollo and Artemis. Performances of songs and dances during the Hyakinthia and the Gymnopaïdai.
7	Separation of the child from the family.	
12	<i>Robidas</i> . Homosexual initiation: introduction to an <i>erastes</i> .	Apollo Karneios
13	<i>Prokomizomenos</i>	
14-17	Military training starts. Formal age grades: <i>mikizomenos</i> , <i>propais</i> , <i>pais</i> , <i>melleiren</i> .	Participation in the <i>paidikoi agones</i> in honour of Artemis Orthia.
18-19	<i>Krypteia</i> . Complete inversion of civilized life-style, involving the murdering of helots. End of the <i>agoge</i> .	
20-29	<i>Hebontes</i> : informal age grade	Apollo. Performances of songs and dances during the Hyakinthia and Gymnopaïdai.
20	<i>Eiren</i> . Membership in the army. Equipment: red cloak and bronze shield.	
Between 21-29	<i>Sphaireis</i> : Teams of <i>sphaireis</i> in each <i>oba</i> competing with each other.	Ball-playing during the Gymnopaïdai. Sacrifices to Herakles. <i>Karneatai</i> : responsible for the organization of the Karneia.
30	Age of marriage.	Apollo Karneios
30-59	<i>Akmazones</i> : informal age grade. Full citizenship including eligibility to the magistrates and participation in the assemblies of the <i>demos</i> .	Gymnopaïdai: Apollo
60-	<i>Gerontes</i> , among whom the members of the Gerousia were chosen. The most important age grade.	Gymnopaïdai: Apollo
Death		Sacrifice to Demeter twelve days after death. End of mourning period. The social persona finally obliterated.

ing the discussion above concerning marriage as a sign of full citizenship, the unmarried *karneatai* probably belonged to the *neoterai*, the group between twenty and thirty. The reference to Alkestis in connection with the Karneia and the evidence from Kyrene of dances including both men and women, also in con-

nection with the Karneia, can be interpreted as references to marriage ceremonies. The homosexual initiation of the *robidai* was probably accomplished during the Karneia, as the inscriptions from Thera indicate.

As I have suggested above, the Karneia made up the last stage in the ritual cycle de-

voted to Apollo. It was characterized by a re-ordering of the population in two respects, one associated with the military organization, the other with marriage. The dissolution of order, symbolized by the presence of slaves and strangers during the Hyakinthia and the Gymnopaediai, was thus followed by the renewal of the society in terms of military organization and marriage.

To sum up, the organization of Spartan society was based on the principle of age with a strict hierarchy between the age grades. The age class system was closely related to the cults of Apollo and Artemis and, through the participation in the cults, the age classes were constituted and the promotion from one age grade to another was accomplished. Within the age class system, the *agoge* can be regarded as a preparation of the boys to become citizen-war-

riors. Those who for any reason failed to go through the *agoge* were probably excluded from citizenship.<sup>500</sup> It is in the light of the relation between the age class system and the religious order that it is possible to understand why the Spartans temporarily left a war in order to celebrate the three cults. As the society was built up according to an age class system, the promotion of the age classes through the age grades during the celebration of the cults were considered crucial to the existence of the society. The cults generated the society.

Table 5 summarizes the life cycle of a Spartan citizen.

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<sup>500</sup> Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 3.3; Plut. *Mor.* 238E.

## Chapter five

# The cults and the development of the Spartan polis

### Introduction

I have tried in the preceding chapter to demonstrate that the three cults can be regarded as a coherent whole, a ritual cycle. I have also described the connection between the cults as a ritual cycle and the age class system. The approach was deliberately nonhistorical, but with the underlying assumption that the rituals came to function as a cycle in connection with the creation of the Spartan polis, in the course of the eighth century.

The purpose of this chapter is to put the three cults into a historical framework and to try to give a picture of their role in the development of the Lakonian province in the Early Iron Age (from now on abbreviated EIA). The difficulties in trying to say anything about the early history of Sparta, this 'dimmed fringe of early Greek history',<sup>501</sup> hardly need to be expressed and, consequently, much in this part will remain hypothesis and suggestion.

For the section on the pre-polis period, my method has been to combine the archaeological material with theories about early state formation and peer polity interaction, as developed by C. Renfrew and J. Cherry.<sup>502</sup> My general view is that the changes taking place in EIA Lakonia can be explained by internal developments rather than by, for example, the coming of the Dorians.

As noted above, I believe that the cults came to function as a ritual cycle in connection with

the creation of the Spartan polis towards the middle of the eighth century. It is obvious that this could not have happened before the incorporation of Amyklai, an event which has been dated to c. 750 BC.<sup>503</sup> However, both the Hyakinthia and the Karneia had their roots in earlier stages of Lakonian history. The Hyakinthia was celebrated at the Amyklaion, where the archaeological material can be traced back to the Bronze Age, and the Karneia was firmly rooted in the Dorian identity of the Spartans. Furthermore, as the Karneia was considered specifically related to the Dorians, some reflections have to be made on the Dorian question.

Chronologically, by the pre-polis period I mean Lakonia before c. 750 BC, the time of the incorporation of Amyklai into the four villages constituting Sparta. With this event the Hyakinthia, together with the Gymnopaïdai and the Karneia, was brought into a ritual system expressing the unity of the five villages and their inhabitants. The common celebration of Apollo became a device for creating a coherent citizen body out of the previously locally rooted traditions. The celebration of religious ritual played a paramount role in the process of unification of the five villages.

<sup>501</sup> Starr 1965, 258.

<sup>502</sup> Renfrew 1986, 1–18. Morgan (1990) and Whitley (1991a; 1991b) have also been a source of inspiration in their attempts at applying theoretical models on archaeological material of EIA date.

<sup>503</sup> Cartledge 1979, 107.

The following topics will be discussed: the Late Helladic (LH) remains from the Amyklaion, the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age, the Protogeometric pottery and the nature of society in EIA Lakonia.

## The pre-polis period

### *The Amyklaion in the Late Bronze Age*

As one of the cults treated in this work, the Hyakinthia, may have had its origin in the Late Bronze Age, this will be the period to start with. A main question is how the cult at the Amyklaion, starting in the late LH IIIB period, i.e. c. 1200 BC, was related to the nearby Mycenaean settlement at the Menelaion. Another question is to what degree the cultic activities at the Amyklaion can be regarded as Mycenaean cult practices.

The most comprehensive account of the early history of Lakonia is that of Paul Cartledge, published in 1979, and I have chosen to use his study as a point of departure for further discussions. LH I and II material is represented at fifteen to twenty sites, and the existence of tholos tombs in Lakonia in this period testifies to a significant change in terms of social and economic organization, among other things implying a social hierarchy. Cartledge assumes a division of Lakonia in local 'princedoms' during LH II.<sup>504</sup> The tholos tombs indicate that Lakonia took part in the development which created the Mycenaean palace civilization, and it has been suggested that the earliest Mycenaean pottery was developed in Lakonia at Ayios Stephanos.<sup>505</sup> Chamber tombs have been found at e.g. Epidauros Limera.<sup>506</sup>

The continued existence of centralized power in Lakonia is witnessed by the Bronze Age complex at the Menelaion, described as 'the principal Mycenaean settlement of the plain of Lakonia during the 15th century and probably in the 13th century as well'.<sup>507</sup> However, as far as the continuity of the settlement is concerned, the Menelaion complex raises some questions. According to Catling, the Menelaion

hill was occupied as early as the Middle Helladic period. Pottery of LH I date has been found and fragments of Palace Style jars indicate occupation during LH IIA.<sup>508</sup> From LH IIB there is a building complex with a succession of three architectural periods.<sup>509</sup> The first period includes a complex built during LH IIB, i.e. in the second half of the fifteenth century BC. This structure survived for less than twenty-five years and was abandoned in LH IIIA1. In the second period a completely new complex was constructed which, however, seems to have had a shorter duration than the first period, i.e. less than twenty-five years, as it started and ended within LH IIIA1. A lacuna of c. 150 years follows on this spot. In LH IIIB a small part of the Period II building was refurbished for occupation. This period ended in a fire destruction dated to the end of the thirteenth century. LH IIIC pottery has not been found at this site, and there are no signs of re-occupation until the establishment of the cult of Menelaos and Helen in Late Geometric times.

Excavations at the adjacent Aetos hill revealed a monumental building contemporary with the Period I building on the Menelaion hill.<sup>510</sup> This building was altered by two or three subsequent reconstructions, the two earliest of which are dated to LH IIIA1. During the 13th century, the site was replanned, including a monumental terracing. A destruction took place in LH IIIB2. The site was abandoned in the early LH IIIC period. However, as little or no LH IIIA2 or IIIB1 pottery was found, there is still a lacuna in the archaeological record between the IIIA1 and the IIIB2 period. Excavations at the Menelaion hill in 1985 yielded My-

<sup>504</sup> Cartledge 1979, 42.

<sup>505</sup> Rutter & Rutter 1976, 63f.

<sup>506</sup> Dickinson 1977, 90–91. For a survey of prehistoric Lakonia see Waterhouse & Hope Simpson 1960, 67–107; 1961, 114–175.

<sup>507</sup> Catling 1976a, 89f.

<sup>508</sup> Catling 1976a, 82; 1977, 27–35.

<sup>509</sup> Catling 1975, 12–15; 1976a, 82–86; 1976b, 13f.; 1989, 8f.

<sup>510</sup> Catling 1981, 16–19; 1989, 9.

cenaeon pottery of all periods from LH IIA onwards, though in small quantities.<sup>511</sup> It thus seems as if the Menelaion hill was inhabited throughout the Mycenaean period. However, the lack of any building structures similar to a palace in the LH IIIB period points to the possibility that the Menelaion complex never developed into a true palatial centre comparable to those at Pylos, Mycenae and Tiryns.

So-called 'Barbarian' ware from the excavation of the Aetos hill in layers dated to LH IIIB2 and IIIC has been interpreted as evidence for an alien element in the population. According to Catling, this alien population would have entered the scene in connection with the LH IIIB2 destructions. However, the Barbarian ware disappears in another destruction in LH IIIC1.<sup>512</sup>

The reason for having dealt in some detail with the Bronze Age complex at the Menelaion is that it raises some questions about the nature and stability of Mycenaean domination in Lakonia, and consequently about the significance of the cultic activity at the Amyklaion. As I have mentioned above, the development in Lakonia seems to follow a general trend in the emergence of centralized power till LH IIIA1. According to K. Kilian, the Helladic palatial system, with a main and a secondary palace, was established with Period I at the Menelaion in LH IIB. The development included the appearance of an ideology centred on the ruling *wanax* and the beginning of a redistributive economy.<sup>513</sup> However, the two short periods at the Menelaion hill and the Aetos hill in LH IIB and LH IIIA1, with their abrupt end at the time when the Mycenaean palace civilization reached its zenith of dominance and influence, must have been a serious blow to the power which had its stronghold on the Menelaion hill. Kilian has emphasized the close connection between the palatial architecture and development of the *wanax* ideology.<sup>514</sup> Without the existence of a palatial centre with continuous habitation throughout the Mycenaean period, it is difficult to grasp how a *wanax* ideology ever could have developed in this part of Lakonia.<sup>515</sup>

The number of sites with Mycenaean ma-

terial in Lakonia, rising from twenty-five sites in the LH IIIA period to thirty-five to forty sites in LH IIIB, obviously points to an intensive circulation of Mycenaean goods in Lakonia.<sup>516</sup> The above-stated doubts about the nature of Mycenaean domination in Lakonia leads to the suggestion that Lakonia perhaps went its own way during the LH III period and never developed into a wholly integrated part of the economic and administrative palace civilization. Moreover, Catling has suggested that the inaccessible location of the Menelaion complex might be interpreted as a sign of 'intermittent tension between the Menelaion settlement and its neighbours'.<sup>517</sup> He further suggests that those who established themselves on the Menelaion Hill were newcomers to the plain of Sparta.<sup>518</sup>

In my opinion the establishment of Amyklaion as a cult centre towards the end of the LH IIIB period should be regarded in connection with the destructions on the Menelaion Hill in this period. Scholars have earlier believed in a continuous habitation on the hill of Ayia Kyriaki throughout the Bronze Age with

<sup>511</sup> Catling 1986, 29f.

<sup>512</sup> Catling & Catling 1981, 71–82. According to Rutter (1975, 17–32) the Barbarian pottery indicates northern intruders. Rutter (1990, 29) has moreover described the ware as 'a fundamentally non-Aegean pottery in the Minoan and Mycenaean contexts in which it has been found.' On the other hand it has been argued that the ware is indigenous, appearing as a result of increasing stress on the economic system at the end of the Mycenaean period: see Small 1990, 20. At the Menelaion the Barbarian ware made a short appearance in the early LH IIIC period. At the Amyklaion the ware has not been found, as far as I have understood.

<sup>513</sup> Kilian 1987, 203–217; 1988a, 136.

<sup>514</sup> Kilian 1988b, 291–302.

<sup>515</sup> The lack of finds of Linear B tablets in Lakonia also raises the question to what degree Lakonia developed a palace administration.

<sup>516</sup> Cartledge 1979, 44, 64. According to Cartledge, the settlement pattern of the LH IIIB period suggests a 'relatively high density of population' (1979, 67).

<sup>517</sup> Catling 1983, 27f.

<sup>518</sup> Catling 1983, 27f.

material dating from EH, MH, LH II and LH III.<sup>519</sup> A recent examination of the Mycenaean material from the Amyklaion by K. Demakopoulou has called into question the Palace Style jar fragments, attributed to the Amyklaion sanctuary. According to Demakopoulou, these sherds originally came from the excavation of the Vapheio tholos.<sup>520</sup> If so, there is a gap in the material record at the Amyklaion between MH and LH III and the Late Bronze Age sanctuary can be regarded as the beginning of a new cult.

The finds connected with the Mycenaean shrine consist of 136 clay figurines: 71 Psi figurines, 2 horse figurines, 28 wheelmade bovine figures, 32 handmade quadrupeds and one bird figurine and fragments of two nearly life-sized figures in terracotta, as well as a few sherds and some metal objects.<sup>521</sup> The last group, consisting of an iron sword, bronze spearheads, double axes and a bronze lyre, all usually considered Mycenaean artefacts, has been reexamined by Demakopoulou and dated to the Protogeometric and Geometric periods.<sup>522</sup>

In French's typology, the Psi figurines from the Amyklaion are considered as the late type datable to the late LH IIIB and IIIC periods.<sup>523</sup> The Amyklaion group, together with the examples from Delphi<sup>524</sup> and the Aphaia sanctuary on Aegina,<sup>525</sup> come from areas with cult associations and French regards them as votives.<sup>526</sup> An analysis of find contexts from Tiryns has demonstrated that some Psi figurines were found at thresholds.<sup>527</sup> The find of figurines outside a palatial context has been interpreted by Hägg as evidence of a popular level of Mycenaean religion.<sup>528</sup> The different types of find contexts seem to support the suggestion by French that the figurines did not carry any inherent meaning but took their function and meaning from the context in which they were found.<sup>529</sup>

The wheelmade bovine figures are dated from the late 13th to the middle of the eleventh century. Nicholls associates them with a public altar-cult in which they functioned as votives.<sup>530</sup> They have been found in Crete and on

the Mainland, where they flourished in settlements as well as in remote sacred places.<sup>531</sup> It has been suggested that the burnt-animal sacrifice was introduced in Greek religious practice in the Early Iron Age.<sup>532</sup> In my view, the wheel-made bovine figures, appearing towards the end of the III B period, could be interpreted as an expression of a change in the sacrificial practice with the emerging importance of the burnt-animal sacrifice, combined with a sacral meal for the participants.<sup>533</sup> The bovine figure

<sup>519</sup> Waterhouse & Hope Simpson 1960, 75f. For a summary of suggestions concerning the location of the settlement see Bintliff 1977, 385f.

<sup>520</sup> Demakopoulou 1982, 40–42.

<sup>521</sup> Demakopoulou 1982, 43.

<sup>522</sup> Demakopoulou 1982, 73–78.

<sup>523</sup> French 1971, 139f.

<sup>524</sup> French 1971, 140–142.

<sup>525</sup> Thiersch 1906, 373f.

<sup>526</sup> French 1971, 142.

<sup>527</sup> Kilian 1988a, fig. 16. He interprets them as having an apotropaic function, p. 148.

<sup>528</sup> Hägg 1981, 38f.

<sup>529</sup> French 1981, 173.

<sup>530</sup> Nicholls 1970, 8. For parallels in shape and decoration from Vrokastro in Crete see Hayden 1991, 116–126. These examples are dated to the Protogeometric and Geometric periods.

<sup>531</sup> Nicholls 1970, 8.

<sup>532</sup> Burkert 1975, 76f.; Bergquist 1988, 21–34. I use Bergquist's definition of burnt-animal sacrifice: 'the ritual burning of the deity's small portion of the sacrificed animal, which amounted to the thigh bones wrapped in fat', p. 29.

<sup>533</sup> Evidence of animal sacrifice in Mycenaean contexts testifies to meals in connection with the sacrifice, Bergquist (1988, 21–34). However, the emphasis of the Mycenaean animal sacrifice seems to have been on the blood of the animal and the libation was consequently the central action; see Hägg 1990, 177–184. The *enagismos* for Hyakinthos in historical times, made through a door in the altar, could have been a libation consisting of the blood of the animal and, as such, a continuation of a cult practice installed at the establishment of the cult.

The rendering of a bull sacrifice on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus seems to put emphasis on the blood of the animal. Long (1974, 61–71 and pl. 31) has interpreted this sacrifice as a chthonic one and has suggested (81f.), though less positively than Nauert (1965), that the recipient might be Hyakinthos.



Fig. 14. Amyklaion, Lakonia. Three fragments of life-sized figures from the Amyklaion. LH IIIB.

could have been a representation of the sacrificial animal, which from now on became the centre of the cult practice.<sup>534</sup> In the regenerative processes taking place after the collapse of the palace culture, the burnt-animal sacrifice could have been introduced and have become a means of creating and expressing social bonds and group cohesion.

The most interesting remains from the Amyklaion, as far as the significance of the cult is concerned, are fragments of two life-sized

figures (Fig. 14).<sup>535</sup> One fragment consists of a part of a head with a polos, another of a hand holding the base of a kylix. The last-mentioned fragment has been discussed by Kilian in connection with the publication of fragments of an amphora from Tiryns, representing a horse-race and dated to LH IIIC.<sup>536</sup> On one fragment a female figure is depicted sitting on a throne and holding a kylix (Fig. 15). As comparative material for the interpretation of the significance of the kylix-carrier, Kilian discusses a larnax from Tanagra and a larnax from Episkopi near Hierapetra. On the Tanagra larnax a woman is holding a kylix with her outstretched left hand while other women are represented with mourning gestures. According to Kilian, the larnakes and the mourning gesture point to a context of a cult of the dead for the kylix-carrier.

The juxtaposition of a kylix-carrier with horse-racing on the Tiryns amphora gives evi-

<sup>534</sup> The bull depicted on a fresco in the vestibule at Pylos probably refers to the sacrifice of the animal, but also to the bull as a symbol of the ruler: Lang 1969, 38–40, 192f. and pl. 119. It does not seem too far-fetched to suggest that in the palatial context, the sacrificial act was connected with the bull as a symbol of the power of the ruler. The emphasis of the historical burnt-animal sacrifice was the sharing of the meat between the gods and men, and the distribution of the meat in portions to the gods and the participants. The change in character of the animal sacrifice was thus due to a transformation in social conditions. The burnt-animal sacrifice of the Iron Age expressed the affinity of a collective group whereas the Mycenaean sacrifice, at least in the palatial context, may have been connected with the expression of the position of the *wanax* as a unique figure.

<sup>535</sup> Demakopoulou 1982, 54–56 and pls. 25–26. The two fragments consist of a part of a head with a polos and a left hand holding the base of a kylix. There is a fragment of a snake on the upper part of the hand. To me it seems as if the decoration on the polos is meant to represent a snake but this is not suggested by Demakopoulou. According to her, the fragments come from statues representing divinities and they should be dated to the LH IIIB period. The fragments are also published in Buchholz & Karageorghis 1971, nos. 1246 and 1247 a–b.

<sup>536</sup> Kilian 1980, 21–31 and pl. 9–10.





Fig. 15. Tiryns. Fragment of amphora depicting seated kylix-carrier. LH IIIC.

dence for the significance of the cult at the Amyklaion. The association of the kylix-carrier with a cult of the dead and accompanying horse-races supports the assumption that the main elements of the Hyakinthia were established from the beginning of the cult in the late Mycenaean period. In historical times the Hyakinthia was characterized by the prominent position of women and by an *agon* consisting of horse-races. Considering the association of the female kylix-carrier on larnakes with a cult of the dead, the life-sized kylix-carrier from the Amyklaion also points to a context of a cult of the dead.<sup>537</sup> Moreover, the raised arms of the Psi figurines could have been reinterpreted in the LH IIIC context as signifying a mourning gesture.<sup>538</sup> With the evidence from the LH IIIC period it is thus possible to assume that the cult of the dead Hyakinthos constituted an original part of the cult.

I have above made some inquiries about the nature of the Mycenaean culture in Lakonia during the LH III period. The doubts expressed also affect the way in which the cultic activity at the Amyklaion is regarded. As far as the

present evidence is concerned, it seems as if no palatial architecture developed on the Menelaion hill. It has recently been suggested that there were at least two levels of Mycenaean religion: one official, associated with the palaces, and one popular level.<sup>539</sup> It is obvious that the official level of the Mycenaean religion, centred at the palaces, could not have continued after the collapse towards the end of the LH IIIB period. Moreover, a close link has been proposed between the palatial elite, especially the *wanax*, and religion as a means of legitimizing this social stratum.<sup>540</sup> However, as I have noticed above, without the existence of a palatial centre with continuous habitation throughout the Mycenaean period, it is difficult to grasp how a *wanax* ideology ever could have been developed in Lakonia. Cult practices on the popular level could have survived, and I think that the cult at the Amyklaion can be regarded as an amalgamation of continued Mycenaean cult practices, such as libations, which were reinterpreted to serve the new social conditions in the LH IIIC period, and new cult practices such as the burnt-animal sacrifice.

There was probably no break in cult practice between the LH IIIC and the Protogeometric periods and, in my opinion, the cult activity at the Amyklaion was established towards the end of LHIIIB in connection with the collapse of the Mycenaean palace civilization, which affected the Mycenaean settlement on the

<sup>537</sup> Demakopoulou (1982, 54–56) interprets the kylix-carrier as a goddess, but the comparable iconographical material showing a similar person rather suggests a human being, possibly a priestess acting in the cult. According to Hägg (1990, 183), the kylix could have been the most common Mycenaean libation vessel, used in both divine cults and funerary ritual. The kylix-carrier can thus be associated with libations in a cult of the dead.

<sup>538</sup> Iakovidis 1966, 43–50. In the necropolis at Perati, dated to the LH IIIC period, Psi figurines were found: Iakovidis 1970, 266f.; Iakovidis 1969, pls. 14β, 72δ, 107β, 117α, 140α.

<sup>539</sup> Hägg 1981, 35–39.

<sup>540</sup> Halstead 1988, 528.

Menelaion hill. The cult was an expression of a society emerging in a period of upheaval. As a collapse of a culture can rapidly be followed by an anastrophic process, i.e. a recovery of societies on a lower level of complexity,<sup>541</sup> the cult at the Amyklaion could be regarded as the result of a process of this kind. The cult of the dead Hyakinthos could be interpreted as an ancestor worship, the main function of which was to create group cohesion. During the III C period, religion became the expression of smaller communities without the influence of the religious ideology radiating from the palatial centres. Mycenaean artefacts, such as the Psi figurines and the wheelmade bovine figures, continued to be used but the social conditions were radically changed from the preceding period as a result of the breakdown of the palatial civilization.<sup>542</sup> After some generations, the Mycenaean heritage faded away and the Protogeometric pottery was created as an expression of the new social conditions.

This leaves us with the question of the role of Apollo in the Hyakinthia at this early period. The common view has been that Apollo came to Lakonia with the Dorians and took command over the cult of Hyakinthos, who was then worshipped as a vegetation deity.<sup>543</sup> However, as I will argue further down, there was probably no Dorian invasion in Lakonia and Apollo most likely developed as a religious expression of the communities emerging after the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization. In these societies initiation rituals became the most important ceremonies, acting out the continuity of the group. The cult of Apollo as a god of initiation thus became associated with the cult of the dead Hyakinthos.<sup>544</sup>

### *The transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. The Protogeometric pottery*

In discussions of the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age, much argument has been centred on the remains from the excavations at the Amyklaion on the hill of Ayia Kyriaki. The excavations carried out in 1925 by a German expedition provided the only

<sup>541</sup> Renfrew 1979, 481–506.

<sup>542</sup> Kilian 1985, 73–115. See also Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, 148f.

<sup>543</sup> Wernicke 1896, 3–8; Farnell 1907, 264–267; Nilsson 1906, 130f. However, Burkert (1985, 19) has pointed out that ‘the precarious near-identity of god and victim is not something which can be separated into historical strata.’

<sup>544</sup> Apollo was regarded as the ‘arch-ephebos’ by Harrison, 1912, 441. This idea has been developed by Burkert (1974, 1–21; 1985, 144f.), who regards Apollo as an amalgamation of a Dorian-northwest Greek element, a Cretan-Minoan element and a Syro-Hittite element. The first component would point to the identity of Apollo’s name with the annual gatherings, *apellai*, of the tribal organization and associated rites of initiation. The second element consists of a Minoan-Mycenaean figure, *Paia-won*, whose name occurs in the Linear B tablets from Knossos (Gérard-Rousseau 1968, 164f.) and later on as a god in Homer, and who was mainly concerned with purification and healing: Burkert 1975, 72f.

The Syro-Hittite element consists of an assumed connection between Apollo at Amyklai and the Semitic god Rešep. This association is based on a fourth-century bilingual inscription from Idalion in Cyprus, where the Phoenician Rešep Mikal is translated into Greek as Apollo Amyklos. The nature of Rešep is much in resemblance with that of Apollo; he is a plague god equipped with bow and arrows, strikingly similar to the description of Apollo in the first book in the Iliad. According to Burkert, the presence of bronze statuettes in Greek contexts of EIA date, representing a god in a ‘smiting’ gesture, should be identified with Rešep. This god was, according to Burkert (1975, 74), amalgamated with the Minoan-Mycenaean *Paia-won* during the twelfth century in Cyprus and from there went to the Peloponnese via Crete and became associated with the Dorian *Apellon*, the tribal god. Also Dietrich (1978, 1–18) has argued for the presence of cults of Apollo in Cyprus already in the Bronze Age. However, the connection between Apollo and Rešep in Cyprus was most likely of a late date, and a result of an association made by the Greeks who came to Cyprus and noticed the resemblances between some aspects of Apollo and Rešep; see Lipiński 1987, 87–99. This is not to deny that the iconographical model of a warrior-god was borrowed by the Greeks from, for example, Cyprus. However, ‘smiting-god’ statuettes found their way to Greece already in the Bronze Age and some of these examples were no doubt carefully preserved for a long time. When the Greeks started to make statuettes of warrior-gods in the eighth century, they could have been influenced by the

stratified context from EIA Lakonia.<sup>545</sup> A layer of debris contained an upper level with Byzantine material followed by an ash-layer, 40–50 centimetres deep, with animal bones and votives of Archaic to Hellenistic date. Under this stratum there was a layer of clay, one metre deep. The upper 12 centimetres of this layer contained Geometric sherds. The remaining part of the layer contained Protogeometric and Mycenaean sherds, one Mycenaean figurine and fragments of a wheelmade bull figure. However, the finds from this layer have been interpreted in divergent ways.

Desborough claims that the Lakonian PG pottery has 'no obvious connexion with any Aegean style'<sup>546</sup> and that it was 'completely different from the preceding Mycenaean'.<sup>547</sup> In Cartledge's view, neither shape nor decoration indicate continuity between late Mycenaean and Protogeometric pottery.<sup>548</sup> Cartledge detects a number of non-Mycenaean stylistic traits in the decoration of the Lakonian PG and his conclusion is that 'the origins of Lakonian PG are not to be found in the local LH IIIC or the (barely attested) sub-Mycenaean styles'<sup>549</sup> or 'from a contemporary PG style elsewhere'.<sup>550</sup> Some stylistic traits of the Lakonian PG, similar to the PG from the 'West Greek' area, Cartledge associates with newcomers, who on their way to Lakonia developed their abilities in pottery production and decoration in the 'West Greek' area.<sup>551</sup> Cartledge's conclusion is that there was a cultural break between Mycenaean and PG pottery in Lakonia, and that the Lakonian PG style can be associated with an influx of newcomers, at some time in the tenth century.<sup>552</sup>

The second study of the Lakonian PG pottery is that of W. Coulson.<sup>553</sup> Coulson's study is based on both shape and decoration and his conclusions are in some respects opposite to those of Cartledge, not least as far as the possibility of continuity is concerned.<sup>554</sup> There seem to be two important conclusions drawn by Coulson: several shapes indicate continuity from the Mycenaean repertory of pottery,<sup>555</sup> and close connections can be detected between the Protogeometric pottery productions in La-

konian and Messenia, with the possibility of common workshops.<sup>556</sup> There is a third important conclusion to be drawn from Coulson's study, although he never seems to state it explicitly. The presence of Amyklaian types of shapes points to a workshop centred at the Amyklaion or the settlement Amyklai.<sup>557</sup> The

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statuettes preserved from the Bronze Age as well as from contemporary models.

On the element of initiation in the cult of Apollo see also Vernel 1985–1986, 143–154 and Graf 1979, 2–22.

<sup>545</sup> Buschor & von Massow 1927, 28, 32f.; Cartledge 1979, 81–83.

<sup>546</sup> Desborough 1952, 284. The Protogeometric pottery has been found at the Acropolis of Sparta, the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos, the Heroon, the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia and at the Amyklaion.

<sup>547</sup> Desborough 1952, 287.

<sup>548</sup> 'The use of horizontal grooving, whether tectonic or decorative in function, is one of the two most distinctive Lakonian PG traits and is unambiguously not of Mycenaean ancestry.' See Cartledge 1979, 84.

<sup>549</sup> Cartledge 1979, 86.

<sup>550</sup> Cartledge 1979, 87.

<sup>551</sup> Cartledge 1979, 88.

<sup>552</sup> Cartledge 1979, 92.

<sup>553</sup> Coulson 1985, 29–84; 1988, 21–24.

<sup>554</sup> Coulson prefers to call the PG pottery 'Dark Age pottery'. He detects (1985, 65) three chronological phases, the first of which belongs to the mid-tenth century, the second to 950–800. The third period is described as a 'short transitional phase to MG spanning the first quarter of the eighth century.'

<sup>555</sup> According to Coulson (1985, 64), Mycenaean antecedents can be claimed for the carinated skyphos, the flaring skyphos, the krater and certain types of cups.

<sup>556</sup> Coulson 1985, 38f. The skyphos, the cup and the small oinochoe/jug emphasize the similarity in shape between vessels from Messenia and Sparta, indicating the possibility of common workshops: *idem* 1985, 57f., 61f. Particularly close links between Messenian and Lakonian PG pottery have been noticed from Nichoria, Kaphirio and Volimnos, indicating contacts between the two regions from the early tenth century: *idem* 1983, 111, 321; 1986, 35–48, 55–56. According to Desborough (1952, 290), some of the PG pottery from Sparta indicates contact with the Argolid and Corinthia contemporary with the Attic PG style.

<sup>557</sup> Desborough (1952, 288) speaks about the 'pottery of Amyklai'. He further says: 'It seems, in con-

high quality of the pottery points to traditional knowledge handed down from generation to generation. The miniature skyphos could be interpreted as a shape with a specific cultic function, indicating a specialized pottery production in the service of the Amyklaion sanctuary.<sup>558</sup>

To sum up, the Amyklaion sanctuary with its important cult could have kept alive a tradition of pottery production from the Mycenaean period, and the presence of specifically Amyklaian shapes points to a workshop centred at the sanctuary.

The historical implications of the Lakonian PG pottery have been interpreted in various ways. Most scholars have assumed a hiatus of at least a century between the Mycenaean material and the occurrence of the Protogeometric pottery.<sup>559</sup> The continuity of some Mycenaean shapes is explained by Coulson as a preservation of a refugee population, but also as a part of the ceramic repertory of newcomers from Western Greece, who had learned the craft during their wanderings south.<sup>560</sup> Towards the middle of the tenth century PG pottery, according to the traditional chronology, begins to appear at sites which later were to become Sparta.<sup>561</sup> There is no distinction in shape and decoration between the pottery from the Amyklaion and the different areas of Sparta, indicating unity in manufacture and design of vessels.<sup>562</sup> According to Cartledge, the stratigraphy at the Amyklaion and the stylistic analysis of the pottery point to a cultural break between the Mycenaean and PG pottery in Lakonia.<sup>563</sup> Coulson, however, argues that a break of some two centuries or so, as Cartledge assumes, would have resulted in a sharper distinction in the stratigraphy between the two periods and that a gap in continuity could not have been a long one.<sup>564</sup> In my view, the study of Coulson strengthens the case for a continuity of cult at the Amyklaion, although his own conclusion is that there was a gap in the continuity of occupation in Sparta and Amyklai from the early eleventh to the mid-tenth century.<sup>565</sup>

The late tenth century has been suggested as

the starting point of the PG pottery, with an appropriate delay in relation to the beginning of the Attic PG. This late date has also explained the otherwise prolonged use of the PG style well into the eighth century, as few examples of Early or Middle Geometric pottery have been found.<sup>566</sup> But the finds of Lakonian PG pottery at Asine from contexts dated to the late eleventh century, together with the fact that the stratification at the Amyklaion actually had Mycenaean and Protogeometric material mixed together, speak for a duration from the end of the eleventh to the middle of the eighth century for the PG style.<sup>567</sup>

The outdrawn use of the PG style has been

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clusion, that the potters of Amyklai did borrow a very little from other PG styles, but that on the whole they were entirely responsible for their own peculiar manner of decorating their pottery.'

<sup>558</sup> The miniature skyphoi are handmade vessels, probably votives, according to Coulson (1985, 49f., n. 76). Similar handmade votives have been found at Tiryns, Argos and the Argive Heraion.

<sup>559</sup> Snodgrass (1971, 130f.) assumes a gap of 200 years.

<sup>560</sup> Coulson 1985, 64f.

<sup>561</sup> These sites are the Acropolis with the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos, the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia and the Heroon.

<sup>562</sup> Cartledge 1979, 83; Coulson 1985, 39. The combination of the carinated shape of the skyphos, especially type E, with the cross-hatched decoration is called a Spartan innovation by Coulson. However, as only seven of the numerous fragments of this type, nos. 68–132 in the Catalogue, were found outside the Amyklaion, it should perhaps be labelled an Amyklaian innovation.

<sup>563</sup> Cartledge 1979, 92.

<sup>564</sup> Coulson 1985, 64.

<sup>565</sup> Coulson 1985, 65. The finds from the excavations at Kalapodi attest an unbroken continuity between the LHIIIC and PG periods: Felsch 1981, 88; Felsch et alii 1987, 5.

<sup>566</sup> The traditional view of a sudden change from PG to LG in the Lakonian pottery sequence has been challenged by Margreiter, who detects stages of EG and MG pottery; see Margreiter 1988, 27–40.

<sup>567</sup> Finds of Lakonian PG imports from Phase I at Asine: see Wells 1983, 42, 64. According to Wells (42, 122), the Argive-Lakonian contacts could have been continuous from the LH IIIC period. An askos from Vrondama has been dated to the end of the eleventh century: see Coulson 1988, 21–24.

explained as a result of isolation.<sup>568</sup> However, the finds of Lakonian PG at Tegea and Asine and the affinities with the Messenian PG style contradict the opinion of Lakonia as an isolated region.<sup>569</sup> The conservative character of the PG style thus has to be explained in some other way. J. Whitley, in a recent work on the relation between pottery style and society in Dark Age Athens and Knossos, has suggested a connection between style and social demand.<sup>570</sup> The sequence of Protogeometric and Geometric pottery has been related to changes in society by an analysis which assumes that pottery shapes and styles should be regarded as symbolic expressions and thus as important indicators of changes in the social realities. Applying this method to Lakonian conditions, the sudden change to the LG style, with influences from Argive and Corinthian LG styles, can be explained as a result of the major changes taking place in Spartan society during the eighth century. But the long duration of the PG style can also be explained as a result of social, or rather religious, demands. The Lakonian PG pottery has almost exclusively been found on sites with religious connotations. I have suggested above that the cult at the Amyklaion sanctuary should be regarded as a ritual with the main function of creating social cohesion in connection with the breakdown of the Mycenaean palatial civilization. The Protogeometric style, applied on vessels used in ritual, with its emphasis on order and regularity, can be interpreted as an expression of the will to create order and stability. Contrary to the PG style in Athens, the Lakonian PG pottery was not used in social contexts to express status, but served to transmit a message of order and stability. In this respect, the religious cult and the decoration of the pottery used in it were both symbolic expressions of a will to create permanence.<sup>571</sup> The sudden change to the LG style towards the middle of the eighth century reflects the changed role of the rituals with the creation of the polis.

The possibility of cult continuity and the manufacture of pottery of a high quality point to the Amyklaion as the most important site in

Lakonia at this time. The similarities in pottery between Lakonia and Messenia indicate close contact between the two regions, something which slightly modifies the above-noted view of EIA Lakonia as a region of an almost complete isolation.<sup>572</sup> The shift to Late Geometric pottery seems to have been quite sudden in Lakonia, taking place towards the middle of the eighth century.<sup>573</sup> In Coldstream's view, the pieces of Lakonian Middle Geometric show contacts with MG styles in Attica and Argolis.<sup>574</sup> He regards the shapes of Lakonian Geometric pottery as native in origin but the decoration as influenced by Argive and Corinthian styles.<sup>575</sup> The figured drawing on Lakonian LG pottery, representing dancing and horse-taming, is related to the Argive LG in both subject matter and style and some of the fragments with figured drawing form a homogeneous group, according to Coldstream.<sup>576</sup> The pictorial Lakonian LG pottery indicates a production of pottery for specific cultic usage and the representations depict ritual elements such as dancing. The presence of horses indicates an aristocratic way of living, common to both Argos and Sparta. The change from PG to LG pottery testifies to the changes taking place in Lakonia during the eighth century.

<sup>568</sup> Desborough 1952, 288; 1968, 243; Coldstream 1977, 157–159.

<sup>569</sup> From the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea, two fragments are reported as apparent imports from Amyklai, ranging between 950 and 800 BC in date; see Voyatzis 1990, 68. For the evidence from Asine see above n. 567.

<sup>570</sup> Whitley 1991a, 1–12.

<sup>571</sup> On style as communication see Wiessner 1990, 105–112.

<sup>572</sup> It is, in this connection, worth mentioning the tradition, albeit late, of marriage by capture practiced by aristocrats in Lakonia and Messenia and the role played by the Hyakinthia in this tradition: Hieron. *Adv. Iovinian.* 1.308. Pausanias (4.16.9) supplies an episode in which the Messenian king Aristomenes captures Lakonian women who perform dances in honour of Artemis at Karyai.

<sup>573</sup> Coldstream 1968, 212; 1977, 159.

<sup>574</sup> Coldstream 1968, 214.

<sup>575</sup> Coldstream 1968, 364.

<sup>576</sup> Coldstream 1968, 217f.

### *Society in Early Iron Age Lakonia*

As no EIA settlement has been excavated in Lakonia, it may seem highly suspect to say anything about the nature of social realities. However, recent research on social conditions in EIA Greece, based on the texts of Homer and Hesiod, archaeological material and comparison with anthropological research, makes it possible to put forward some suggestions. Concepts such as peer polity interaction and big-man society will be discussed and evaluated in relation to the Lakonian evidence.

The standard view of EIA Lakonia is that of an almost complete drainage of population in the eleventh century, followed by an influx of Dorian newcomers towards the middle of the tenth century.<sup>577</sup> According to this view, the Dorians were organized in three *phylai*, the Hylleis, the Dymanes and the Pamphyloi, before their migration south.<sup>578</sup> They brought this tribal structure with them and developed it further after having settled in the Peloponnese. In my opinion, neither the Dorian migration nor the existence of a tribal society can any longer successfully explain the historical development of EIA Lakonia. I will first give a general overview of research on social and economic conditions in EIA Greece.

The previously held view among scholars, that communities and organizations above the level of the *oikos* in pre-polis Greece were held together by bonds of kinship such as *phylai* and *phratriai*, can no longer be retained. The French scholar D. Roussel has convincingly argued that *phylai* and *phratriai* as organizational instruments developed within the framework of the polis.<sup>579</sup>

Scholars such as Donlan<sup>580</sup> and Qviller<sup>581</sup> have, in the light of the research of Roussel, dealt with the social situation of EIA Greece. Donlan argues that neither *phyle* nor *phratría* were ancient kinship groups, but names given to groups of followers, originating in the Early Iron Age in response to the unstable conditions in Greece after the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization.<sup>582</sup> These groups are described as

loosely organized political/military associations.

In Homer and Hesiod there is evidence for three social units: *oikos*, *demos* and *laos*. According to Donlan, *oikos* was 'the basic kinship, residential, and economic unit, comprising both the "house" (dwellings, land, animals) and the "household"'.<sup>583</sup> A high-ranking *oikos* consisted of the family, the labour force and retainers. The retainers were free men, non-kin or distant kin in service of the *oikos* head.<sup>584</sup> They are described as '*hetairoi*' or '*philoí*'. With the *oikos* as the fundamental social unit, wider groups were formed as associations of independent *oikoi*.<sup>585</sup> Within villages the *oikoi* were probably linked by ties of kinship.

*Demos* is the largest unity, signifying both an area of land and all free inhabitants of the area. The *demos* in Homer is not yet a body of citizens, loyal to the state, but is loyal to particular leaders.<sup>586</sup> *Laos* refers either to a collection of men from different communities or to men who follow a particular leader.

The *phyle* was either a social unit composed of a few families who occupied a small area, or a single large extended family occupying a

<sup>577</sup> Kiechle 1963, 55–115; Kirsten 1983, 394; Cartledge 1979, 92f.

<sup>578</sup> Kiechle 1963, 116.

<sup>579</sup> Roussel 1976. Another French scholar, F. Bourriot (1976), has argued that the development of *genos* should also be regarded as a result of the polis. The main arguments against an allegedly tribal social structure of pre-polis Greece are that no traces of tribalism occur in the *ethne* and that aspects of a tribal structure are practically absent in the texts of Homer and Hesiod. Finley was the first to point out that kinship was not the main organizing principle of the Homeric society: Finley 1954, 111. See also Snodgrass 1980, 25f.

<sup>580</sup> Donlan 1985; 1989.

<sup>581</sup> Qviller 1981.

<sup>582</sup> Donlan 1985, 293–308; 1989, 5–29.

<sup>583</sup> Donlan 1985, 299.

<sup>584</sup> Donlan 1989, 11.

<sup>585</sup> Donlan 1985, 300.

<sup>586</sup> Donlan 1989, 18.

small settlement.<sup>587</sup> The ninth century saw the development from stock-breeding to grain-growing as the main means of subsistence. Settlement changed from small, scattered hamlets to villages with the first sign of urban clustering.<sup>588</sup> The change in means of subsistence led to the concentration of the population in permanent residential centres. Donlan thinks that the development of agrarian life triggered the transformation of unstable personal groups into communities.

In Donlan's opinion, the pre-state community in EIA Greece was made up by *oikoi* concentrated in a village and ruled by an emerging aristocracy. The political organization of the *demos* is described as 'an unstable collection of expanding and contracting kin/client associations'.<sup>589</sup>

The EIA society has also been described as dominated by an elite, composed of aristocrats controlling the land and with a group of dependents attached to them.<sup>590</sup> This elite controlled the produce, which was used in the creation of a network of friendships through gift-giving. The development of the polis is viewed as a result of the inability of the elite to control the dependent population, leading to social revolution.<sup>591</sup> Regarding the population density, it has been suggested that the majority of the population lived in groups of no more than 30 to 50 persons, but that the population in the largest communities must have reached into four figures.<sup>592</sup> According to Snodgrass, the population lived in scattered village settlements, linked by some form of alliance which, in later centuries, became formalized into a confederation or league.<sup>593</sup>

B. Qviller, in an analysis of kingship in the Homeric society, has pointed out the similarities with a big-man society, as described by M. Sahlins. This is a society where authority is based on personal power.<sup>594</sup> There is no fixed organization for political decision-making but power is based on the ability of a big man to win followers. The point of departure for the big man is his own household and the closest relatives.<sup>595</sup> A big man had to be able to acquire followers and dependents, whose produce was

given to the big man in exchange for protection and security. The collected produce was used to win more followers and a climate of competition was thus created between several big men.

The weakness of a big-man political system lies in its personal aspect. The power acquired by a big man was neither inherited nor inheritable, and it was not self-evident for the son of a big man to inherit the status of his father, as the example of Telemachos testifies. Sahlins describes the system thus: 'in its superstructure it is a flux of rising and falling leaders, in its substructure of enlarging and contracting factions'.<sup>596</sup> Though Qviller's article is based only on the textual evidence of Homer, it is now possible to add archaeological evidence as well. A series of large buildings, dated from the twelfth to the tenth century, can be regarded as 'feasting-halls', where big men received and entertained the most important of their followers.<sup>597</sup> The most conspicuous example is the so-

<sup>587</sup> Donlan 1985, 303.

<sup>588</sup> Donlan 1985, 307.

<sup>589</sup> Donlan 1985, 304.

<sup>590</sup> Gamsey & Morris 1989, 100.

<sup>591</sup> Gamsey & Morris 1989, 101.

<sup>592</sup> Gamsey & Morris 1989, 99. An estimation of the population of pre-polis Lakonia seems impossible even to suggest. The figures given by Plutarch concerning the number of *kleroi* created by Lykourgos, 9,000 *kleroi* for citizens and 30,000 for *perioikoi*, indicate that the population of Lakonia could have been counted in tens of thousands.

<sup>593</sup> Snodgrass 1986, 50.

<sup>594</sup> Sahlins 1962–1963, 289; Binford 1983, 219f.; Whitley 1991a, 184–186; 1991b, 348–352.

<sup>595</sup> Sahlins 1963, 291.

<sup>596</sup> Sahlins 1962–1963, 292. Finley (1954, 84) describes the Homeric world thus: 'A large measure of informality, of fluidity and flexibility, marked all the political institutions of the age.'

<sup>597</sup> Mazarakis-Ainian (1985, 6–9) has collected the evidence. According to him, the origin of the Greek temple is to find in dwellings of the EIA rulers, Mazarakis-Ainian 1988, 105–119. The interpretation as 'feasting-halls' of big men is that of Whitley 1991a, 185. Also Murray (1980, 48f.) has suggested that one of the functions of these architectural units was to serve as places of gatherings. See also Murray 1983, 195–199.

called Heroon of Lefkandi, dated to the first half of the tenth century.<sup>598</sup> This building lasted only for one generation, something which can be interpreted as an outcome of a big-man political system.

The economic conditions of EIA Greece have been described as based upon a concentration on stock-rearing, as a contrast to the more agriculturally dominated Mycenaean period.<sup>599</sup> This was possible through the depopulation taking place in the eleventh century, which left much open space for the grazing of animals. In my view, the concentration on stock-rearing can be regarded as an answer to the social conditions of a big-man society, where the keeping of big herds became a part of the strategy for winning retainers.<sup>600</sup> It is conceivable that the consumption of meat became associated with the celebration of cult, and that the slaughtering of animals became a sacral event as a part of the cult. Ritual thus came to channel the big man's ambition to win retainers. The greater part of the population would have been farmers, cultivating the land and keeping a small amount of animals.

How can this research on social realities in EIA Greece be applied to the situation in Lakonia?

The insecurity following the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization could have triggered the development of a big-man society.<sup>601</sup> I have argued that the Amyklaion sanctuary had continuous cult activity from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age. Manufacture of pottery of a high quality was attached to the sanctuary. At Amyklai a surplus of agricultural products could have provided the economic basis for craft specialists. Horse-figurines and horses depicted on pottery point to horse-breeding, and the horse obviously became a symbol for an aristocratic life-style.<sup>602</sup> The close contacts between Lakonia and Messenia, as far as pottery production is concerned, justify the attempt at making the excavated settlement of Nichoria a possible model for the reconstruction of EIA society in Lakonia.<sup>603</sup> In my view, the means of subsistence were much the same in Lakonia as in Messenia, based on the combi-

nation of cereal agriculture and the breeding of animals as a back-up resource.<sup>604</sup>

The Unit IV-1 at Nichoria, with a structure interpreted as an altar inside the building, has been explained as a possible indication of the importance of religious cult in establishing and maintaining the power in the community.<sup>605</sup> No building of this kind has been found in Lakonia but it is interesting in this connection to notice that the Lakonian PG pottery, with a few exceptions, has been found on sites with religious connotations. Apart from the Amyklaion, the four most important sites are in Sparta: the Acropolis, the sanctuary of Athena Chalkiokos, the Heroon and the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. The traditional date for the beginning of the PG pottery has been the middle of the tenth century but, as I have mentioned above, with new finds from Asine, it is likely that it started towards the end of the eleventh. Judging from

<sup>598</sup> Popham et alii 1982, 169–174. Whitley (1991a, 185f.) has made a reinterpretation of the archaeological evidence and regards it as a 'feasting-hall', in use for a generation.

<sup>599</sup> Snodgrass 1980, 35f.; 1987, 193–198. Snodgrass (1987, 209) suggests that 'over much of central and southern Greece, widely spaced, sedentary communities supported themselves in part by cultivation of the adjacent land, but also, to a far greater extent than earlier or later, by pastoral use of the more or less empty spaces that had opened up in the map of Greece.' See also Cherry (1988, 26–30) for comments on the mode of subsistence in the Early Iron Age.

<sup>600</sup> For cattle as a measure of wealth in Homer see Donlan 1981, 103f. with testimonia.

<sup>601</sup> Whitley 1991a, 184.

<sup>602</sup> The importance of the horse in the cultic activity at the Amyklaion is attested in the archaeological material from the start of the sanctuary. Two examples of horse-riders are published by Demakopoulou 1982, pl. 24: 65α–66. A horse is depicted on a krater fragment from the Amyklaion: see Coldstream 1968, pl. 460.

<sup>603</sup> There is also the traditions concerning marriage by capture practiced by aristocrats in Messenia and Lakonia, a custom which might go back to the Early Iron Age. See references supra n. 572.

<sup>604</sup> MacDonald & Coulson 1983, 323f.

<sup>605</sup> Coulson et alii 1983, 33, 40. See also Morgan 1990, 73–75.



the analysis by Coulson, it seems as if the innovation of the Lakonian PG pottery was made at the workshop connected with the Amyklaion, with a subsequent spread to the other sites. The emergence of settlements in Lakonia after the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization has been explained as the result of an influx of Dorian invaders. They would have begun to move south from north-west Greece towards the end of the Late Bronze Age, and settled in Argos in the eleventh century and at Sparta around 950 BC, the date assumed for the appearance of the PG pottery in Lakonia. However, the pottery found at the sites which were to become Sparta is not distinct from that found at the Amyklaion. The archaeological record does not support an assumed opposition between the Dorian Sparta and the Achaian Amyklai.

I would like to propose an alternative explanation for the emergence of the PG pottery at the sites which were to become Sparta. The explanation is based on the concept of peer polity interaction, which in C. Renfrew's definition 'designates the full range of interchanges taking place (including imitation and emulation, competition, warfare, and the exchange of material goods and of information) between autonomous (i.e. self-governing and in that sense politically independent) socio-political units which are situated beside or close to each other within a single geographical region, or in some cases more widely'.<sup>606</sup>

Adapting this concept to the situation in Lakonia, it is important to emphasize, as I have stated above, that the PG pottery has been found on sites with a religious association. These sites should be regarded not as settlements but as centres created for religious activity, probably during the tenth century. The Amyklaion, as I have argued, was at that time an established sanctuary, which had its origin in the Late Bronze Age and an unbroken continuity in cult practices. The shapes of the PG pottery are related to drinking and it is not too farfetched to suggest that the sacral meal including eating and drinking was at the core of the cultic activity. I have also argued that there was a slight chronological gap between the PG

pottery at the Amyklaion and the pottery from the Spartan sites. This suggests that the route of influence in terms of pottery manufacture went from the Amyklaion workshop to these sites. As centres of religious ritual they manifest the importance of cult in the emergence of socio-political units in the northern parts of Lakonia at this time. The creation of specific sites for ritual activity indicates a decision taken by a social organization, which was reinforced and expressed by the celebration of cult.

It can, of course, be considered inconsistent with the above description of the flexibility of a big-man society to suggest that fixed centres were created by this same system. However, I would suggest that in Lakonia, the control of religious ritual could have become a medium of competition. The rituals became media for the display of wealth, and status was acquired by those who could offer the most lavish sacrifices to the deities. Testimonia concerning sacrifices and sacral meals exist for both the Hya-kinthia and the Karneia. Sacral meals are attested for the Karneia at Sparta, Thera and Thebes.<sup>607</sup> In the myths about Sparta's conquest of Amyklai, the Karneia is explicitly mentioned as the cult in which the Spartans and Thebans together shared a meal before joining their forces.<sup>608</sup> The sacral meal thus established

<sup>606</sup> Renfrew 1986, 1.

<sup>607</sup> Sparta: Ath. 4.141e-f; Thera: Hiller von Gaertingen 1901, 134-139 (a rock-inscription); Thebes: Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 5.104b.

<sup>608</sup> I am aware of the problems in using myths as support for historical realities. It is my belief that the mentality expressed in a myth obviously must reflect the mentality of the society which creates the myth. The myth about the Spartans asking the Thebans for help in the conquest of Amyklai expresses at least two phenomena which, in my opinion, were realities in the EIA: first, that a cult was considered the appropriate means of establishing an alliance; secondly, that a network of alliances between an aristocratic elite was created and confirmed through the common celebration of cults, which gave the bond religious legitimacy. On the myth-history problem see Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, 16-20, 217-219, 244f.

an alliance between the two cities. Although no archaeological material can be connected with the Karneia before Archaic times, I believe that the cult had its roots in the Early Iron Age and played a role as described above.

The association of a particular family, the Aigeidai, with the Karneia, and the existence of branches of this family not only in Sparta and on Thera, but in other cities such as Thebes and Athens, indicate that politically dominant families in different settlements could consider themselves as relatives, and that this relation was confirmed in the celebration of specific cults. It is important to stress that this relation was based not on traditional concepts of kinship, i.e. ties of blood or marriage, but on the celebration of cult.<sup>609</sup> The phenomenon of *ξενία*, ritualized friendship, probably developed in the Early Iron Age as a way of creating a network of interregional alliances between the social elites.<sup>610</sup> The double meaning of the word *ξένος*, both friend and stranger, points to the original significance of the *xenia* institution, i.e. that of creating bonds between individuals from different regions. Homer testifies to the existence of the *xenia* institution, and I find no reason to doubt that it was developed in the earlier stages of the Iron Age.

To the *xenia* belonged the practice of gift-giving. The importance of gift exchange in the Early Iron Age has been stressed by Finley, according to whom it was a way of structuring social relations, above all between the heads of important *oikoi*.<sup>611</sup> The elaborate dedications of votives in Geometric sanctuaries can be regarded as a variation of the gift-exchange system, creating bonds between the gods and the aristocracy.<sup>612</sup> Both the *xenia* institution and the gift exchange can be regarded as strategies of a social elite to distance themselves from the population which they had subjugated.<sup>613</sup> Through separate codes of manners, occupations such as horse-breeding and the creation of fictitious genealogies, an aristocracy was created.<sup>614</sup>

It has been pointed out that for the emerging poleis, the sanctuaries of the Panhellenic games at Olympia and Delphi became import-

ant sites of gathering from the eighth century on. Religious ritual provided the framework for gatherings of people from different regions, and an awareness of a common identity was created. This aspect of cultic celebration was probably at work from the earliest stage of the Iron Age.

The spread of the cult of Apollo Karneios is an interesting feature in this process. The presence of Apollo Karneios and his cult at different sites throughout the Aegean has traditionally been explained as the result of the Dorian migration. The connection with the Dorians is obvious and cannot be dismissed. However, I think that the distribution of the cult should be explained not as a diffusion associated with the movement of the Dorians, but as an inter-regional interaction between social elites. The means by which communication was established and confirmed was the partaking in certain rituals. These cults had the same symbolic values attached to them, associated with warfare, leadership and competence in battle. An aristocratic life-style, enhancing the value of the warrior and the excellence in athletic exercises, would have strongly influenced the cults

<sup>609</sup> Pindar's claim in the fifth Pythian ode of being a descendant of the Spartan Aigeidai can be explained with a concept of kinship which was not based on blood, but on what one could call ritual alliances between the aristocratic elite. A network of alliances was developed during the Early Iron Age, including sites such as Argos, Thebes and Sparta. Pindar, though born in Thebes, could therefore claim a ritual kinship with the Aigeidai in Sparta.

<sup>610</sup> Herman 1987. In Herman's definition, ritualized friendship is a 'bond of solidarity manifesting itself in an exchange of goods and services between individuals originating from separate social units': p. 10. See also Murray 1980, 50f.

<sup>611</sup> Finley 1954, 62–65, 100–103, 129f. See also Coldstream 1983, 201–206 and Langdon 1987, 107–113.

<sup>612</sup> Langdon 1987, 112f.

<sup>613</sup> For the distinction between aristocrat and commoner see Finley 1954, 46–73. See also the conclusion drawn by Herman (1987, 162) in his study on the *xenia* institution.

<sup>614</sup> Herman 1987, 162.

and explains the elements of *agones* in numerous Greek cults.<sup>615</sup> A network of similar, but not necessarily identical, cults emerged, in which alliances and friendships were established and confirmed. The burnt-animal sacrifice came to be the most important ritual act, by which two purposes were obtained: the creation of a social bond between the participants through the consumption of the sacrificial animals, and the sacral legitimacy of this bond through the sacrifice of a part of the animal to the gods on the altar.<sup>616</sup>

To sum up, the social conditions of EIA Lakonia would have developed in the following way. The eleventh century witnessed the definite end of Mycenaean culture and the introduction of the Protogeometric pottery. This happened at the Amyklaion, where it is possible to see how the new Protogeometric style is applied to the manufacture of at least one of the wheelmade bovine figures.<sup>617</sup> The Amyklaion sanctuary had existed since the end of the thirteenth century, and the cult did not change with the transition to the Iron Age. The eleventh century would have been a period in which settlements were very small, living on the combination of agriculture and the keeping of a few animals. During the eleventh century, social conditions probably developed into a system which we could label a big-man society. Contrary to earlier theories about a tribal society, linking people together with bonds of kinship from generation to generation, each generation had to create its own basis of power. An elite emerged, within which the members competed in order to become the most influential. In this process I think that the religious ritual played a fundamental role. The cults became the framework for lavish offerings in which the aristocrats competed to win as many retainers they could. Bonds of dependence were created with the common eating of the sacrificial animals. For this purpose herds of cattle were kept as a part of the strategy of getting retainers. Society, religion and economy were thus intimately related to each other. Power and religion became intertwined at an early stage in Lakonian history.

During the ninth century, it seems that the villages which were to become Sparta had been established. The inhabitants were probably the retainers of the most influential families, among others the future royal families, the Agiadaí and Eurypontidaí. This group of people can be regarded as a 'middle class', standing between the aristocratic elite and the peasants. Under worsened conditions they could have put forward demands on participation in the political process and on a distribution of land. With the process of peer polity interaction at work, an increasingly aggressive character of the contacts between the communities led to an intolerable situation. This is echoed in the traditions supplied by Herodotos (1.65) and Thucydides (1.18.1), who both insist on the bad conditions prevailing in Lakonia before the Lykourgan reforms. The prolonged period of *στάσις* could have promoted the emergence of hierarchical institutions, such as the diarchy. At the beginning of the eighth century, the aggregation of the four villages Pitana, Kynosoura, Mesoa and Limnai and the establishment of the diarchy became the first steps taken towards the creation of the Spartan polis.

### *The Dorian question*

I would now like to turn to the Dorian question. The reason for discussing this topic is that elements of both the Hyakinthia and the Karneia were closely associated with the Dorians.

In discussions concerning the Dorians, it is always taken for granted that they were an eth-

<sup>615</sup> There was thus a close link between the celebration of cults and competitive athletics: Evjen 1986, 51–56; Raubitschek 1983, 3–7.

<sup>616</sup> The possibility of detecting a development of architectural structures associated with sacral dining might confirm the hypothesis that the animal sacrifice functioned as a confirmatory act by which social bonds were given a sacral value. See Bergquist 1990, 28–37.

<sup>617</sup> For a drawing of this bovine figure see *ArchEph* 1892, pl. 3:1,1α.

nically well-defined group of people, whose origin was somewhere in the north-western part of Greece.<sup>618</sup> They are thought of to have started their migration south at some time after the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization. Before their wanderings they were already grouped in the three Dorian tribes, the Hylleis, the Dymanes and the Pamphyloi, an organization which they retained after they had settled in the Peloponnese, in Crete and on some of the eastern Aegean islands. The earliest coherent version of the Dorian migration is provided by Herodotos. Initially (1.56) Herodotos describes the wanderings of the Dorians from the Phthiotis down to the Peloponnese via Histiaiotis and Dryopis. He says that they were called Dorians only when they had entered the Peloponnese. Later (9.26) he tells the story about the return of the Herakleidai, in which the Peloponnese is described as their ancestral country.<sup>619</sup> The two myths thus gave different locations for the origin of the Dorians: that they were intruders in the Peloponnese, and that they were autochthonous but had temporarily been exiled from the Peloponnese. It is obvious that the two versions are irreconcilable as far as the original home of the Dorians is concerned.<sup>620</sup>

Most scholars have presupposed that the myth about the Dorian migration reflects actual historical conditions.<sup>621</sup> According to Cartledge, the Lakonian PG style can be associated with an influx of newcomers, some time in the tenth century. In his view, the Dorians were transhumant pastoralists, who settled in Argos in the eleventh century and at Sparta around 950 BC.<sup>622</sup> Alternative hypotheses concerning the origins of the Dorians have been put forward. Chadwick has suggested that the submerged majority in the Mycenaean kingdoms spoke a proto-Dorian dialect, and he argues that some linguistic features in the Linear B tablets can be explained as traces of the Dorian dialect.<sup>623</sup> The upheaval of the palatial civilization would have been a result of the revolt of this submerged population.<sup>624</sup> In Cartledge's view, the cultural discontinuity between the Bronze Age and Iron Age is the strongest argument against those who believe that the Do-

rians were the suppressed population of the Mycenaean kingdoms.<sup>625</sup> As I have argued above, there does not seem to be such a cultural break in the material record. The difficulties in tracing the Dorians in the archaeological record have been acknowledged for years, and some of the traditional views concerning the Dorians can no longer be upheld. The use of iron, the habit of cremation, and the wattle-and-daub apsidal architecture can no longer be attributed to the Dorians.<sup>626</sup>

The Hyakinthia has been discussed in connection with the assumed Dorian infiltration into Lakonia. It has been suggested that it was the Dorians who amalgamated the Bronze Age cult of Hyakinthos with that of Apollo, who for a long time has been associated with the Dorians in the scholarly literature.<sup>627</sup> According to the ancient tradition, told by Pausanias, the

<sup>618</sup> Some scholars have expressed doubts, e.g. Snodgrass (1971, 303) who says that 'the whole conception of the migrant groups as racially and linguistically distinct peoples, strange to each other, which some authorities have inferred from these traditions, seems to be unjustified.' The still most sceptical scholars were Grote (1869, 6) and Beloch 1890.

<sup>619</sup> A fragment by Tyrtaios, 2 (Diehl), testifies that the migration myth was known in Sparta in the seventh century.

<sup>620</sup> Hooker (1976, 172) has emphasized the impossibility of reconciling the different versions given by Herodotos concerning the origin of the Dorians.

<sup>621</sup> Hammond (1975, 678–712) is the most striking example.

<sup>622</sup> Cartledge 1979, 94f. As Cartledge (1979, 77) points out, a coherent narrative of the Dorian migration was the work of Hellenistic mythographers. Revivalist movements in the third century BC, and in the early Roman empire reinforced the picture of Sparta as archetypally Dorian. In my view it is odd that these revivals of Dorian attitudes in Sparta did not activate the organization in the three Dorian tribes, which are not mentioned in the testimonia concerning Sparta after Pindar.

<sup>623</sup> Chadwick 1976, 103–117.

<sup>624</sup> This view is also held by Hooker 1976, 172f.; 1980, 44f.

<sup>625</sup> Cartledge 1979, 78f., 92f.

<sup>626</sup> Coulson 1990, 14–19.

<sup>627</sup> Nilsson 1967, 531. Burkert (1985, 143–149) considers Apollo as the amalgamation of at least three different traditions, one of which is the Dorian. See the discussion *supra* n. 544.

Achaian Amyklai was conquered by the Dorian Sparta after an outdrawn struggle. But Dietrich has argued that Hyakinthos was a Dorian cult figure already in the late Bronze Age, on the basis of the spread of the month name Hyakinthios in typically Dorian areas.<sup>628</sup> The cult of Hyakinthos would thus have been diffused by the Dorians. Dietrich's conclusion is that there was never any Dorian invasion in Lakonia in the Early Iron Age. His article provides serious criticism against the traditional picture of an ethnically distinct and antagonistic 'Dorian' Sparta and 'Achaian' Amyklai. To this can be added the cultural unity in matters of pottery production, mentioned above, between the Amyklaion and the area which was to become Sparta.

In the light of the latest research on the social conditions of EIA Greece, it is possible to give an alternative view of the Dorian question. I would like to argue that the emergence of a Dorian identity can be understood as part of the peer polity interaction described above. In my view, two factors promoted the creation of a Dorian identity: the existence of a common dialect or dialects, and the establishment of mythical traditions in order to justify and glorify the power of the ruling aristocracy. I am also convinced that the three Dorian *phylai* were an artificial creation in order to establish bonds of kinship between aristocrats on an interregional basis.

The tradition told by Pausanias (4.3.8), how the kings of Argos and Sparta restored Dorian supremacy over Messenia, not only reveals a close relation between the rulers of Argos, Sparta and Messenia, but points to the Dorian identity as an ideological network of alliances between the ruling families. The myth about the return of the Herakleidae became a means of legitimizing political hegemony in parts of the Peloponnese: Messenia, Argolis and Lakonia.<sup>629</sup> The network of affinities among the Dorians is described by Pindar in the fifth Pythian ode (69–74), where he speaks of the descendants of the Herakleidae who dwell in Lakadaimon, Argos and Pylos.

In the oral culture of EIA Greece, myth-tell-

ing was not a passive reflection of a world view but a means by which this world view was created and shaped. Two aspects of the Dorian myth, the return of the Herakleidae and the genealogies, tracing origins back to Herakles, concerned a ruling elite and, as such, were important factors in the legitimacy of power. As Roussel has suggested, the process of creating a Dorian identity went on in the ninth century with contacts especially between Argos and Sparta, and the three Dorian *phylai* were developed through contacts between the aristocratic elites.<sup>630</sup>

With the creation of the polis, a mythical-ritual complex was developed concerning the Dorian identity. The cult of Apollo Karneios was associated in Sparta with the myth about the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnese. One ritual element was the carrying of rafts, alluding to the passage at Rhion of the Dorians on their way to the Peloponnese.<sup>631</sup> The aetiological myths told in relation to the cult also referred to the Dorian conquest. During the Hyakinthia, the cuirass of Timomachos was displayed, serving as a memory of the Dorian conquest of Amyklai. However, as noticed above, the archaeological material does not support an assumed Dorian-Achaian polarity. The opposition Dorian-Achaian should rather be regarded as a means of conceptualizing the struggle for political domination in Lakonia in the eighth century.

With these ritual elements, the participants in the cults identified themselves as conquerors, and with the conqueror's right to dominate over a subjugated population.<sup>632</sup> The myth

<sup>628</sup> Dietrich 1975, 133–142.

<sup>629</sup> The myth about the return of the Herakleidae has been described as a 'genealogical fiction invented in Argos from political motives which was taken over and further developed in Sparta': Tigerstedt 1965, 35. See also Roussel 1976, 229; Prinz 1979, 313.

<sup>630</sup> Roussel 1976, 229.

<sup>631</sup> For references see supra n. 390.

<sup>632</sup> The mentality of conquest was indeed kept alive in the relation between the citizens and the helots. Once a year the ephors proclaimed war against the latter so that the killing of a helot would not create defilement. Plut. *Lyk.* 28.4.

about the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnese provided an authorization of the political conditions created in Sparta with the establishment of the polis in the eighth century. The inhabitants of Lakonia outside the five villages were excluded from political influence and did not become citizens. The Dorian identity in Lakonia, expressed in myth and ritual, was thus mainly an ideological instrument, developed during the ninth century and intensified during the first half of the eighth century with the creation of the Spartan polis. The tradition about the struggle between the 'Dorian' Sparta and 'Achaian' Amyklai should be regarded not as based on an objective, ethnic difference, but as an ideological expression of the efforts in gaining political domination in Lakonia in the eighth century.

## The creation of the Spartan polis

### *The political development during the eighth century*

In this part I will try to give a picture of the role of religion in the creation of the Spartan polis.<sup>633</sup> First, I will give a short sketch of the events leading up to the transformation of the five villages into a polis.<sup>634</sup>

The creation of Sparta as a polis can be regarded as a process accomplished in two steps. The first stage witnessed the creation of a territorial unit through the synoecism of the four villages, Pitana, Mesoa, Kynosoura and Limnai, and the installation of the diarchy.<sup>635</sup> This took place in the beginning of the eighth century and was probably preceded by a prolonged period of internal struggle, *stasis*, among the leading aristocratic families.<sup>636</sup>

Towards the end of the ninth century, there were three families who had established themselves as the ruling elite: the two future royal families, the Agiadai and Eurypontidai, and the Aigeidai. It is my belief that the prestige and power of these families were based on the control of the most important cults in pre-polis Sparta. Judging from the position of their

places of burial, the Agiadai had established themselves in the village of Pitana.<sup>637</sup> They were probably in charge of the cult of Athena, later with the epithet Chalkioikos, which was centred at the Acropolis of Sparta.<sup>638</sup> The Eurypontidai lived in Limnai and they controlled the cult of Artemis Orthia, whose sanctuary was situated in Limnai.<sup>639</sup> However, the subsequent royal families were not the only ones with political ambitions. The Aigeidai, whom Herodotos calls a great phyle, *phule megale*, were apparently also involved in the struggle for power.<sup>640</sup> They played an important role in the myth about the colonization of Thera.<sup>641</sup> As

<sup>633</sup> I use the word 'creation' to indicate that the polis formation was the result of a series of rapid changes rather than of a slow development.

<sup>634</sup> I follow the chronological framework proposed by Cartledge 1979, 102–130. However, in the dating of the establishment of the organization described in the Great Rhetra, I differ from his opinion.

<sup>635</sup> The character of Sparta as a conglomerate of villages is attested by Thucydides (1.10.2), who says that at his time the Spartans still lived in villages. For a discussion of attempts at explaining the origin of the diarchy see Oliva 1971, 23–28 and Thomas 1983, 81–104.

<sup>636</sup> Hdt. 1.65.; Thuc. 1.18.1; Roussel 1976, 236. The episode in Pausanias (3.16.9) about struggles at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia also hints at a period of *stasis* between the villages before the unification. It also affirms that ritual provided the solution to the tensions between the villages.

<sup>637</sup> Paus. 3.14.2; Toynbee 1969, 171; Cartledge 1979, 106.

<sup>638</sup> Paus. 3.17.1–2.

<sup>639</sup> According to Pausanias (3.16.6) the Eurypontid king Theopompos was buried in Limnai. This was also the place for the house of the Eurypontid king Ariston, according to Herodotos (6.69). Stibbe (1989, 69), however, connects the Eurypontidai with Mesoa on the basis of Pausanias (3.12.8), who says that the graves of the Eurypontidai were situated at the end of the Alpheitas road.

<sup>640</sup> Hdt. 4.149; Arist. fr. 532 (Rose). On the Aigeidai see Cauer 1894, 949f.; Kiechle 1963, 27–29, 84–93; Vian 1963, 216–225; Toynbee 1969, 213–221; Prinz 1979, 301–305.

<sup>641</sup> According to Cartledge (1979, 103), the settlement of Lakonians on Thera c. 800 BC reflects economic pressures comparable to those which stimulated the Euboian colonists. The myths about the colonization of Thera and Taras have one com-

the first post-Bronze Age material on Thera can be dated to c. 800, it has been suggested that this would be the date for the arrival of the first colonists from Sparta.<sup>642</sup> It is possible, however, that the exodus of the Aigeidai, like that of the Partheniai, took place at the end of the eighth century, as a result of discontent with the new conditions in the Spartan polis.<sup>643</sup> This would explain the statement by Herodotos (4.148) that the leader, Theras, chose men from the *phylai* to go with him, and the tradition supplied by Pausanias (4.7.8) that a member of the family acted as a general together with the kings during the first Messenian war. A branch of the family stayed in Sparta, where they were in charge of the gentile cult in honour of the Erinyes of Laios and Oedipus.<sup>644</sup> The status of the Aigeidai was also closely related to the cult of Apollo Karneios, which they brought with them to Thera.<sup>645</sup> With the creation of the polis, the Karneia became a state cult, associated with leadership and the organization of the army.

The synoecism thus meant that the two most ambitious families, the Agiadai and the Eurypontidai, were given royal status.<sup>646</sup> Archelaos and Charillos were probably the first kings to reign together, and their regime can be dated to c. 775–760.<sup>647</sup> One of their undertakings was the conquest of Aigys in the northwest corner of Lakonia.<sup>648</sup>

The second and decisive step in the creation of the Spartan polis was the incorporation of Amyklai.<sup>649</sup> This probably took place in the middle of the eighth century.<sup>650</sup> I have already mentioned that according to the tradition, the assimilation was the result of a warlike conquest, or rather an outdrawn siege, in which Dorian Sparta stood against Achaian Amyklai.<sup>651</sup> The archaeological material, however, does not speak for two culturally different societies and the opposition Dorian-Achaian was probably a means of conceptualizing the outdrawn struggle for hegemony in Lakonia. The uninterrupted cultic activity at the Amyklaion could have been an argument for the inhabitants of Amyklai to claim an Achaian descent, while Sparta, i.e. the four villages, lacked a corresponding sacral site that might

have lent support to their claims of hegemony. Moreover, the mention of Amyklai in the *Catalogue of Ships* must be a reflection of this settlement's importance in EIA Lakonia,<sup>652</sup>

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mon element and that is the marginal status of the colonists. The Partheniai were in some way considered impure by birth, and among the colonists to Thera were the above-mentioned Minyai. According to Herodotos (4.145–148) the Minyai were descendants of the Argonauts who had come to Lakadaimon and asked for permission to settle. They were granted land and were divided according to *phylai*. After a while they began to demand rights to the kingship, something which was not accepted. The Minyai were imprisoned but managed to escape to Taygetos. It was then decided that they would follow Theras in his migration to Thera. The myths about the Partheniai and the Minyai can be interpreted as expressing the cause of the migrations to Thera and Taras as a result of the exclusion from citizenship of parts of the population in Lakonia.

<sup>642</sup> Cartledge (1979, 109) has suggested that the settlement of Melos, and that of Amyklaion near Gortyn in Crete and Amyklai in Cyprus, should be associated with a ninth- or eighth-century rather than a twelfth-century Lakonian emigration, which has been suggested by Gjerstad 1944, 123.

<sup>643</sup> Main testimonia concerning the Partheniai and the exodus to Taras: Antiochos *FGrHist* 555 F 13 (in Strab. 6.3.2); Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 216 (in Strab. 6.3.3); Arist. *Pol.* 5.1306b.

<sup>644</sup> Hdt. 4.149.

<sup>645</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 5.74–80.

<sup>646</sup> Roussel 1976, 236; Welwei 1986, 441f.

<sup>647</sup> Forrest 1968, 21; Cartledge 1979, 103.

<sup>648</sup> Paus. 3.2.5.

<sup>649</sup> Polignac 1984, 73.

<sup>650</sup> Huxley 1962, 23f.; Oliva 1971, 28, n. 3; Cartledge 1979, 107.

<sup>651</sup> Arist. fr. 532 (Rose); Paus. 3.2.6. This is how most scholars still regard this event; Oliva 1971, 28. On the basis of epigraphical evidence Cartledge (1979, 96, 106f.) believes in a non-Dorian population at Amyklai, but thinks that Amyklai at the time of the incorporation already was to a large extent 'Dorianized'. The role of Timomachos, who was a member of the Theban branch of the Aigeidai, indicates, as I have argued above, interregional bonds between the aristocratic elites.

<sup>652</sup> Amyklai did not lose its reputation of being an independent city, although it was incorporated into the Spartan polis. It is mentioned in the *Catal. of Ships*, II. 2.584, and in Pindar *Pyth.* 1.65; 11.32; *Nem.* 11.34; *Isthm.* 7.14.

though, as I have noted above, the exact location of it has not yet been found.

In my view, the organization described in the Great Rhetra (see below) was contemporary with the incorporation of Amyklai.<sup>653</sup> The four villages had then already been a unit for some time with the diarchy in function.<sup>654</sup> However, the assimilation of Amyklai turned out to be the decisive event in the process of state formation.<sup>655</sup> This process was working on at least two levels. One was the establishment of fixed relations between the different groups in society according to the organization described in the Great Rhetra.<sup>656</sup> The other was a religious/symbolic process with a conception of the sacred in two opposite dimensions, affecting the world view of the new polis.<sup>657</sup> The Amyklaion sanctuary came to play an important part in the redefinition of the world view of the new state.

The Great Rhetra was probably the work of an individual, entrusted with the task of finding a solution to how the five villages would be organized. The ancient tradition, making Lykourgos a contemporary of Charillos, gives some support to the hypothesis that the incorporation of Amyklai and the establishment of the Rhetra were roughly contemporary events.<sup>658</sup> The assimilation of Amyklai within the unit of the four villages does seem odd from a practical point of view. While the four villages constituted a natural centre, Amyklai was situated some kilometres away. However, the main reason for the assimilation of Amyklai must have been to gain control of the Hyakinthia, which came to be one of the most important state cults of Sparta. The organization described in the Rhetra went hand in hand with a redistribution of land and the establishment of an age class system, whereby age became the major structuring principle in Spartan society.<sup>659</sup> The conquest of Messenia was triggered by the need for land and slaves, as every citizen in Sparta was to own a piece of land, *kleros*, which would support him and his family and provide him with the necessary supplies to the *syssition*.<sup>660</sup> However, the war seems to have loosened rather than consolidated the state organization

<sup>653</sup> Roussel 1976, 235. For the date of the Great Rhetra see the summary in Oliva 1971, 76f. n. 2. Most scholars seem to place the Rhetra in the seventh century. According to Cartledge (1980b, 104), the power of the *demoi* presupposes the existence of the hoplite phalanx and the hoplite reform in Sparta occurred during the first half of the seventh century.

<sup>654</sup> As mentioned supra n. 636, Pausanias' account about the struggles between the four villages at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia has been taken as evidence of a stage in the history of Sparta before the incorporation of Amyklai: Cartledge 1979, 106.

<sup>655</sup> Polignac 1984, 73.

<sup>656</sup> It has been argued that the polis, above all, was an organizing principle, a new way of structuring a settlement and the relations between its inhabitants: Whitley 1991a, 194.

<sup>657</sup> I use Kearney's (1984, 41) definition of world view: 'The world view of a people is their way of looking at reality. It consists of basic assumptions and images that provide a more or less coherent, though not necessarily accurate, way of thinking about the world.'

<sup>658</sup> Arist. *Pol.* 2.1271b.

<sup>659</sup> The possession of a *kleros* was a fundamental part of the ideology of equality among the *homoiotai* which was created in Sparta. Every citizen had the right to an equal share of the land: Polyb. 6.45.3–4. According to Plutarch (*Lyk.* 8), Lykourgos divided the land in nine thousand *kleroi* to the Spartiates and thirty thousand *kleroi* for the perioikoi. He says that Polydoros was also involved in the distribution of land. In my view, the first distribution of land to the Spartan citizens took place in the middle of the eighth century, contemporary with the establishment of the organization described in the Rhetra. However, the second half of the eighth century was a period of unrest, caused by the first Messenian war and, as I have mentioned above, ending in the Partheniai affair. The status of the perioikoi was probably an open question during the second half of the eighth century and not solved until the end of the first Messenian war. At this point the perioikoi were also given *kleroi*, most of which no doubt were situated in Messenia.

Some scholars have denied that there ever was an equal land distribution: Michell 1952, 207; Jones 1967, 43, and other scholars quoted by Oliva 1971, 33. On the redistribution of land in general see Michell 1952, 205–232; Oliva 1971, 32–38; MacDowell 1986, 89–99.

<sup>660</sup> For an analysis of the mess contributions in Spartan economy see Figueira 1984, 87–109. On the *syssitia* see Nafissi 1991, 173–226 with further references.



and it led to social unrest, culminating in the so-called Partheniai affair with the subsequent colonization of Taras and probably also the exodus to Thera.<sup>661</sup> It was, as Cartledge has pointed out, the concept of citizenship which lay behind this migration, and the name Partheniai indicates a group of people in some way considered impure in birth.<sup>662</sup> A concept of citizenship thus existed already by the end of the eighth century.

The social tensions towards the end of the eighth century probably caused two reforms in the Spartan constitution: the amendment to the Rhetra and the establishment of the ephorate.<sup>663</sup> The first reform supplied the Gerousia and the kings with the power of dissolving the decisions of the *demos*. The ephorate provided both the *demos* and the aristocratic wing of the Gerousia with the means of controlling the power of the kings.<sup>664</sup> The successful conquest of Messenia probably strengthened the power of the kings, and the popularity of Polydoros, who had the reputation in later sources of having been a radical friend of the *demos*, could have prompted the establishment of the ephorate.<sup>665</sup> In my view, both the amendment to the Rhetra and the creation of the ephorate can be interpreted as aristocratic initiatives, the first weakening the sovereignty of the *demos*, the second diminishing the power of the kings, which had grown as a result of the Messenian conquest. The turn of the century 700 seems to be the most appropriate time for these changes in the constitution. The remodelling of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia and the foundation of the cult of Menelaos and Helen, c. 700, further indicate a new start for the Spartan polis.<sup>666</sup>

### The Great Rhetra

The five villages thus became the object of a public organization, the framework of which is described in the so-called Great Rhetra.<sup>667</sup>

That this document goes back to Archaic times is generally acknowledged.<sup>668</sup> However, the date of its establishment has been a much debated issue. Most scholars date it to the seventh century but in my opinion it should be

regarded as contemporary with the incorporation of Amyklai.

The Rhetra implies an organization by which a fixed procedure of decision-making concerning public business was established, including the participation of all citizens. It regulated the relations between the council includ-

<sup>661</sup> The traditional date of the colonization of Taras, 706 BC, has been corroborated by archaeological finds: Pelagatti 1955–1956, 7–44. In Coldstream's view (1968, 218f.), the two Lakonian LG plates from Scoglio del Tonno were brought by the first generation of Spartan colonists. On the Partheniai and the migration to Taras see also Huxley 1962, 37f.; Kiechle 1963, 176–183; Pembroke 1970, 1240–1270; Corsano 1979, 113–140; Vidal-Naquet 1986, 212–214; Malkin 1987, 47–52, 216–221.

<sup>662</sup> Cartledge 1979, 123f.

<sup>663</sup> According to Cartledge (1980b, 99f.), the Great Rhetra and the so-called Rider were originally a unity, which was treated as two chronologically separate entities by Aristotle.

<sup>664</sup> According to Herodotos (1.66), it was Lykourgos who had established the ephorate. However, as the ephorate is not mentioned in the Rhetra, it must have been a later addition to the constitution. Aristotle (*Pol.* 5.1313a) associated the creation of the ephorate with king Theopompos, who reigned during the first Messenian war. This tradition is also rendered by Plutarch (*Lyk.* 7.1).

<sup>665</sup> Arist. *Pol.* 5.1313a; Paus. 3.3.2–3; 3.9.10.

<sup>666</sup> The remodelling of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia can also be regarded as a sign of the incorporation of the cult in the age class system. The masses of votives can be associated with those age groups which were specifically related to the goddess. For the dating of the first temple and altar at c. 700 BC see Cartledge 1979, 359f.

<sup>667</sup> The Great Rhetra is rendered in Plut. *Lyk.* 6.1. A paraphrase is rendered in Tyrtaios fr. 3a (Diehl). The meaning of the word *rhetra* has, like every single word of this document, been a matter of dispute. For a discussion of the meaning of the word *rhetra* see Oliva 1971, 71f.; Lévy 1977, 88f. According to Lévy, the *rhetra* should be considered 'une règle constitutionnelle (ou, si l'on préfère, constitutive), qui se présente, à tort ou à raison, comme un oracle et a reçu le nom de rhètra': p. 89.

I use the expression 'public organization' in Jones's definition (1987, 1): 'that apparatus of units, whether of territory or population, through which the state conducted its business'.

<sup>668</sup> Oliva 1971, 71; Lévy 1977, 85; Cartledge 1980b, 99.

ing the kings, the Gerousia, and the citizens, *demos*. The organization meant that a citizenship was created, which was extended to a large group of the male population in the five villages. This group made up the *demos*, which, according to the Rhetra, would assemble at regular intervals to make decisions concerning the affairs of the state.<sup>669</sup> The establishment of the Rhetra and the creation of the Spartan polis meant a change from a big-man society with unstable social relations to a state with a fixed, public organization. What were the reasons for this quick and revolutionary chain of events?

In the preceding part of this chapter I have given a picture of pre-polis Sparta based on the concept of peer polity interaction. From the ninth century on, there were four villages in the area which was to become the territory of Sparta, and they were inhabited by the aristocratic elite and its retainers. The three families mentioned above would have tried to collect as many retainers as possible, which led to more densely populated villages, inhabited by people who were dependent on the aristocrats for their living and protection. This group of people formed a 'middle class', whose demands, for example about land distribution and participation in the political decisions, could have been an important factor in the process of polis creation. In the course of the ninth century, the competitive nature of the relations between the aristocrats probably developed into warfare. The prolonged inner struggle, *stasis*, which Thucydides (1.10.2) mentions, would have ended in an intolerable situation, out of which the Spartan polis was born.

The economic basis for the aristocratic families would have been a combination of animal husbandry and farming. The keeping of big herds would have been a part of the strategy for getting retainers. It also became a means of being able to give lavish offerings to the gods. Richness was among other things counted in the size of herds. Farming would have been in the hands of independent peasants who gave away some of their produce in order to get protection. It is possible that animal husbandry

was confined to the aristocrats as a part of their accumulation of wealth, while farming was the means of living for the average Lakonian inhabitant.

I have suggested that the control of cult was an important factor in the big-man society. There would have been competition between the leading aristocratic families in the ability to give the most sumptuous offerings. This was due to the function of ritual as a means of establishing enduring good relations between the aristocrat and the god, bonds of loyalty between the aristocrat and his followers, and a sacral legitimization of this bond through the burnt-animal sacrifice. It seems as if the dwelling of the chieftain, as in Nichoria and probably the Heroon at Lefkandi, provided the setting for communication with the sacral sphere.

The Protogeometric pottery at the sanctuaries of Artemis Orthia and Athena Chalkiokos points to fixed spots for religious veneration already in the tenth century BC. As I have suggested above, the position of the burial grounds for the royal families in the same villages as the two sanctuaries indicates that these families were in control of the cults. However, with the creation of the polis, these cults became state cults.

To return to the Rhetra, it was considered a Delphic oracular response.<sup>670</sup> This lent sacral support for the organization of the polis.<sup>671</sup> The

<sup>669</sup> The regularity of the assemblies, ὥραξ ἐξ ὥραξ, was a marked difference from pre-polis conditions, in which people were gathered when considered necessary, Roussel 1976, 235; Welwei 1986, 443f. On assemblies in the Homeric world see Murray 1980, 58–60.

<sup>670</sup> I see no reason for doubting that the Rhetra from the very beginning was considered a divine sanction of the organization of the Spartan polis. On the contrary, the sacral nature of the Rhetra would have facilitated its realization. Moreover, there was obviously a close connection between Sparta and Delphi during the eighth century. They both profited from each other, Delphi giving religious authorization to the Spartan constitution and Sparta lending prestige to the oracle in submitting to its will. For a discussion of this relation see Morgan 1990, 168–171.

<sup>671</sup> Cartledge 1980b, 100.

text, as handed down by Plutarch, starts with what must be described as the three creative acts in the process of state formation. The first of the four aorist participles concerns the foundation of a cult to Zeus Syllanios and Athena Syllania. This was not an arbitrary choice. In the world view of the new polis, Zeus and Athena became associated with the order and structure of the polis, to which I will return below.

The second step was the division of the *demos* in *phylai* and *obai*. The *phylai* refer to the Dorian tribes: the Dymanes, Hylleis and Pamphyloi. The nature of the *obai* is a much-debated question, which I will discuss later.

The third formative act in the state formation was the creation of a council, Gerousia, of thirty persons including the kings, *archagetai*. The Gerousia was given the right to put forward or reject proposals.

After these three constituting acts, the Rhetra describes how the *demos* will hold assemblies, *apellai*, at regular intervals. It was the *demos* who had the ultimate power of accepting or refusing a motion made by the Gerousia.

According to Plutarch (*Lyk.* 6.4) there was an amendment to the Rhetra by the kings Polydoros and Theopompos, giving the Gerousia the power of dismissing the decisions of the *demos*.

The ephorate is thus not mentioned in the Rhetra, a fact which has caused trouble for those who give a late date for the establishment of the Rhetra.<sup>672</sup> However, in my view the Rhetra describes the major change taking place in Sparta at the middle of the eighth century, while the ephorate probably was established after the first Messenian war towards the end of the eighth century for reasons given above.

I will now discuss some details in the Rhetra. The two kings became the two most prominent officials in the state.<sup>673</sup> Contrary to most other state offices, the Spartan diarchy was hereditary and kept within the families of the Agiadaí and Eurypontidaí.<sup>674</sup> The use of the word *archagetes* indicates the condition of pre-polis Sparta in which there were several *agetai*,

among whom one was chosen to be the leader, for example in major undertakings such as warfare.<sup>675</sup> The general picture of the development of kingship in the Early Iron Age is that of dissolution in favour of aristocratic rule.<sup>676</sup> However, with the creation of the Spartan polis, a constitutional monarchy was created with the kings as state officials.<sup>677</sup> The two kings held the priesthoods of Zeus Ouranios and Zeus Lakedaimon.<sup>678</sup> Behind these epithets lies an idea of a congruous relation between the sacred order of the universe, guaranteed by Zeus, and the man-made order on earth. The kings stood as guarantors of this order and the seemingly curious act of controlling the kings, which took place every ninth year by the ephors, was founded on the belief that the behaviour of the kings had effects on the order of the universe.<sup>679</sup>

<sup>672</sup> 'The exclusion of the Ephorate was presumably due to its relative unimportance at this date': Cartledge 1979, 135. See also Welwei 1986, 444, n. 32. However, the most logical reason for the omission of the ephorate is that it did not yet exist when the organization described in the Rhetra was accomplished.

<sup>673</sup> This was expressed in various symbolic ways. They received a double portion during the meals at the *syssition*, and people rose from their seats when the kings entered: Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 15. Other rights of the kings are described by Herodotos (6.56–57).

<sup>674</sup> However, according to Herodotos (6.60) there were three hereditary professions in Sparta: the lyre-players, *auletai*, the herolds, *kerykes* (the Talthybiadaí family, Hdt. 7.134) and the officials at the sacrifices, *mageiroi*.

<sup>675</sup> According to Aristotle (*Pol.* 3.1285b), the Spartan kings were hereditary generals and this seems to have been their most important role together with their participation in the public sacrifices. See also Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 15.2.

<sup>676</sup> A summary is provided in Drews 1983, 1–9. Drews puts forward the idea that most communities during the Geometric period (900–700 BC) were not monarchies but ruled by groups of hereditary leaders. See also Starr 1961, 129–138; Thomas 1976, 187–206; 1983, 90.

<sup>677</sup> A hereditary kingship was thus created rather than perpetuated, since the *basileis* of the pre-polis period had their power not from monarchy as an institution but from personal charisma and ability. On kingship in Homer see further Qviller 1981.

<sup>678</sup> Hdt. 6.56.

<sup>679</sup> Plut. *Agis* 11.3.; Vernant 1988, 107. The death of

The Gerousia has been considered an institutionalization of the Homeric aristocratic council of the *basileus*.<sup>680</sup> However, the age class system as a means of disintegrating gēntilic bonds speaks against a forum exclusively intended for an aristocracy. At the beginning, the members of the Gerousia were no doubt elected from the complete body of citizens, the *homoioi*, though later on, as Aristotle testifies, the Gerousia became an aristocratic forum.<sup>681</sup> The verb εἰσέπειν in the Rhetra refers to the power of the Gerousia to put forward proposals to the *demos* during an assembly, while ἀφίστασθαι, as Wade-Gery has suggested, means to decline to bring proposals.<sup>682</sup> The Gerousia thus had the power of deciding the agenda of the assemblies.<sup>683</sup>

According to the Rhetra, the *demos* should be grouped in *phylai* and *obai*. The nature of these categories and the relation between them have been much debated.<sup>684</sup> It has for a long time been assumed that the polis grew out of a primitive, tribal society, organized according to kinship.<sup>685</sup> However, since the work by D. Roussel and F. Bourriot, this view can no longer be retained.<sup>686</sup> According to Roussel, *phylai* and *phratryai* were forms of organization created within the framework of the polis and should not be thought of as a tribal heritage from the pre-polis period. The *phylai* mentioned in the Rhetra are generally considered as referring to the three Dorian tribes Dymanes, Hylleis and Pamphyloi.<sup>687</sup> A fragment by Tyrtaios confirms that the Spartan army in the seventh century was organized according to these tribes.<sup>688</sup> However, while most scholars believe that the Dorian tribes existed before the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnese, Roussel has convincingly argued that they did not exist before the emergence of the polis. It is thus necessary to separate the existence of a Dorian identity and the existence of formal groupings associated with the Dorians, i.e. the Dorian *phylai*. In my view, the work of Roussel also leaves some question marks concerning the nature of the identity of the Dorians. Roussel believes that the Dorians existed as an ethnically defined group before the emergence of the po-

lis, but not in their formal organization in three *phylai*.<sup>689</sup> Moreover, as mentioned above, the idea of organized wanderings of ethnically defined groups connected with the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization has become the subject of serious doubts.<sup>690</sup>

As I have argued in the preceding part of this chapter, the Dorian identity was not at first associated with an ethnic group, but was developed as an ideology through the interaction between aristocrats in communities with a

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a king was a major event which influenced all inhabitants of Lakonia. Two free persons from each *oikos* had to show signs of defilement, *miasma*. At the funeral not only citizens but also perioikoi and helots were present. Public business was forbidden for ten days after the burial of a king: Hdt. 6.58.

<sup>680</sup> Welwei 1986, 432f. For a discussion of the Gerousia see Bringmann 1986a, 368–375; Cartledge 1987, 120–125.

<sup>681</sup> Arist. *Pol.* 5.1306a; Polyb. 6.10.9. In *Pol.* 4.1294b, Aristotle says that the *demos* elected the Gerousia and took part in the ephorate, indicating that in contrast to the ephors, who were elected among the complete *demos*, the members of the Gerousia were elected within a limited group: Rahe 1980, 387; Cartledge 1987, 118. On the election of ephors see Rahe 1980, 385–401, who claims that they were elected by lot. For criticism of this suggestion see Rohdes 1981, 498–502.

<sup>682</sup> Wade-Gery 1958, 47–50.

<sup>683</sup> The process of decision-making concerning the proposal of king Agis of a land distribution in 243, described by Plutarch (*Agis* 8–11), testifies to the power of the Gerousia to reject the decision of the assembly. In this episode the Gerousia thus acts in the way the amendment to the Rhetra describes, i.e. it rejects the decision taken by the *demos*. It also indicates that the kings could turn to the assembly over the heads of the Gerousia, but that the final decision lay in the hands of the Gerousia.

<sup>684</sup> For a discussion of these categories see Kiechle 1963, 116–127; Forrest 1968, 42–46; Oliva 1971, 78–86; Lévy 1977, 91–94; Welwei 1986, 426–447; Bringmann 1986a, 375–377.

<sup>685</sup> Kiechle 1963, 116–133; Oliva 1971, 15–23, 87; Bringmann 1986b, 449.

<sup>686</sup> Roussel 1976; Bourriot 1976.

<sup>687</sup> Oliva 1971, 78.

<sup>688</sup> Tyrtaios fr. 1. The *phylai* are also referred to in Pindar *Pyth.* 1.61–65.

<sup>689</sup> Roussel 1976, 228f.

<sup>690</sup> Snodgrass 1971, 385f.

similar socio-political structure. These communities were dominated by a layer of aristocratic families, who were in charge of specific religious cults, notably the cult of Apollo Karneios. The cults served as fora for the establishment of interregional contacts.<sup>691</sup> The Dorian identity was further enhanced by the Dorian dialects spoken in the Peloponnese, on islands in the eastern Aegean, in Crete and in cities of Asia Minor. However, the spread of the dialect was probably concluded at a much earlier time during the Bronze Age.

With the synoecism of the four villages and the later incorporation of Amyklai, the Dorian identity in my view came to function as a consolidating element in a territory previously characterized by struggles of power between a few families and their retainers. With the organization of the *demos* in the three *phylai*, the Dorian identity was extended to all citizens. The army of the Spartan polis was organized according to the three Dorian *phylai*, as Tyrtaios testifies. However, this tripartite division somehow became inconvenient, perhaps as a result of the development of the hoplite army. The organization of the army in *lochoi* is attested in Herodotos (9.53,57) and it has been suggested that the number of *lochoi* was identical with the number of *obai*.<sup>692</sup> According to Aristotle (fr. 541), the military units called *lochos* of the Spartan army were five in number, which agrees with the number of *obai*. It thus seems as if the organization of the army according to three Dorian *phylai* was replaced with an organization based on five *lochoi*. As Cartledge has noticed, in spite of Dorian revivalist movements in Hellenistic and Roman times, the three Dorian *phylai* are conspicuously absent from the literary and epigraphical record. In my view, since the Dorian identity never was a deep-rooted ethnic identity, but rather an ideological one, originating among aristocrats during the Early Iron Age, the three Dorian tribes withered away as an organizational means and this is the reason why they are never mentioned in the literary and epigraphical sources from the end of the fifth century.

The *oba* probably referred to territory and

the population of Sparta was organized in five *obai*.<sup>693</sup> The *obai* coincided with the former villages and each *oba* had most likely its population divided according to *phyle*. There were thus Dymanes, Hylleis and Pamphyloi in each of the five *obai*.<sup>694</sup> The difference between *phyle* and *oba* would have been that belonging to a *phyle* was associated with kinship while *oba* referred to territory. A Spartan was born into a *phyle* and this identity followed him through life, probably of significance concerning inheritance and cultic responsibilities, since there is evidence for hereditary professions and priesthoods.<sup>695</sup>

Membership of a *phyle* thus remained the same for a citizen throughout life, while association with an *oba* could change depending on where he lived. However, from perhaps as early as the seventh century, a process was at work which made the organization according to *phyle* fade away. In this process the number of *phylai* became identical with the number of *obai* but still came to refer to personal associations while the *obai* alluded to territorial belonging.<sup>696</sup>

The use of the verb ἀπελλάζειν to describe

<sup>691</sup> These contacts can be regarded as the beginning of the institution of ritual friendship which characterized not only the Spartan polis but the whole of Greek society: Herman 1987.

<sup>692</sup> Wade-Gery 1958, 75–77. See however the criticism on this point by Lazenby 1985, 48–52.

<sup>693</sup> Wade-Gery 1958, 71; Jones 1967, 31f.; Oliva 1971, 82; Cartledge 1979, 107. The evidence of a sixth *oba*, discussed in Beattie 1951, 46–58, remains doubtful. The organization of the *sphaireis*, the ball players, according to *oba* indicates that the age class system was arranged according to *oba*. This means that each *oba* had its set of age classes, which, in the case of the *sphaireis*, competed with each other.

<sup>694</sup> Jones 1987, 119f.

<sup>695</sup> A child was examined by the elders of the *phylai*: Plut. *Lyk.* 16.1–2. Evidence for three hereditary professions in Sparta, *auletai*, *kerykes*, and *mageiroi*: Hdt. 6.60. Evidence for hereditary priesthoods from Roman times: *IG V* 1, 497, 589, 608.

<sup>696</sup> According to Jones, the *obai* from the end of the fifth century were changed from territorial to personal associations and acquired the technical term *phyle*. The true *phylai*, according to Jones (1987, 121), disappeared as a result of the integration of new citizens of non-Dorian origin.

the assemblies of the *demos* points to the assemblies, ἀπέλλαι, associated with the Dorians.<sup>697</sup> These assemblies were sacral events and, taking the evidence of the Apellai at Delphi into account, the cult celebrated the three important stages of *gamela*, *paideia* and *apellaia*: marriage, the presentation of children, and the coming of age as ephebe.<sup>698</sup> The *apellai* point to annual gatherings and Apellaios was a month associated with Apollo. As *apellai* the political assemblies of the Spartan *demos* would have been religiously sanctioned and under the protection of Apollo. The *apellai* further indicate the close relation between Sparta and Delphi in the eighth century.

With the Rhetra, the decision-making was extended to a far greater part of the population than earlier. A concept of citizenship emerged, associated with the possession of a piece of land, *kleros*.<sup>699</sup> The citizenship also included membership in the army, participation in the assembly and eligibility to the offices which ran the business of the state. To these activities can be added membership in a *syssition*, the communal meal, and participation in the state cults.

In the creation of the Spartan citizenship, the system of age classes played a fundamental role. It became the instrument for creating the class of equals, *homoioi*, which made up the *demos*.<sup>700</sup> The age class system broke up the loyalties of the pre-polis communities, based on personal associations, and was the most important means of establishing a loyalty of the citizen towards the state, *patris*, a loyalty which acquired its ideological expression by Tyrtaios in the seventh century.<sup>701</sup> Moreover, age became a major structuring principle in the Spartan polis. Accession to the *agoge*, membership in the army and in the *syssitia* as well as marriage, eligibility to the offices and membership in the Gerousia were decided according to age. Even if parts of the age class system had their origin in pre-polis initiation rituals, the system as a whole must be considered an innovation which involved a radical transformation of the relations between the inhabitants in Sparta.<sup>702</sup> In the process of state formation in

Sparta, the introduction of the age class system was thus a step as important as the realization of the organization described in the Rhetra.

To return to the Dorian identity, what role did this identity play in the creation of the polis? In my view, the subjugation of parts of the Lakonian population was the strongest factor in the development of a Dorian ideology of conquest. This ideology created a sharp distinction between the ruling Spartan polis with its citizens and the surrounding territory of Lakonia with its inhabitants, who were either excluded from citizen rights, as the perioikoi, or actually enslaved, as the helots. The age class system came to perpetuate the distinction between citizen and non-citizen, and served to make the body of Spartan citizens one of the most exclusive social groups in Greece.

### *Religion and the polis*

I have mentioned above the close relations between Delphi and Sparta in the development of the Spartan polis during the eighth century. For the Greeks, the development of state formation in the eighth century made it necessary to establish relations with the gods in fundamentally changed conditions: the polis.<sup>703</sup> In this process the religious cults became instruments of apprehending and interpreting reality. It was through the mediation of cult that man established a relation to the gods within the civilized order of the polis.

It is evident that, parallel with the political development leading up to the creation of the

<sup>697</sup> Wade-Gery 1958, 44–47; Lévy 1977, 95f.

<sup>698</sup> Burkert 1974, 1–21.

<sup>699</sup> According to Plutarch (*Lyk.* 8.4), each *kleros* was expected to produce eighty-two *medimnoi* of barley and a part of this produce was given by each Spartan to his *syssition*: Figueira 1984, 87–109.

<sup>700</sup> Roussel 1976, 129, 241.

<sup>701</sup> Shey 1976, 5–28.

<sup>702</sup> Most scholars consider the *agoge* as a more or less primitive survival from the pre-polis period, Brelich 1969, 114; Cartledge 1987, 23–28.

<sup>703</sup> On polis religion see Sourvinou-Inwood 1988b, 259–274; 1990, 295–322.

polis, there was a symbolic process at work re-defining the world view. One problem was how to connect the gods with the polis. Aristotle's statement (*Pol.* 1.1253a) that whoever cannot live in the polis must be either a beast or a god is interesting as it locates the gods beyond the order of the polis. In the *Nicomachean Ethics* (7.1145a), the gods are once again said to be outside the values of man, as the gods are above *arete*. Through surpassing *arete* a man can become a god, according to Aristotle, but he also has the potential of becoming an animal through beastly behaviour. The position of man was not fixed for all time, and religious ritual can be regarded as an ongoing definition of man's relation with the gods. The citizen was formed by his participation in ritual and it was within the framework of the state cults that the new citizen ideology was created and expressed, the main element of which was the citizen's loyalty towards the gods of the state.

It seems that the world view of the Spartan polis was characterized by the conception of the sacred in two opposed dimensions. This concept was articulated in different ways.<sup>704</sup> F. de Polignac has described how the establishment of extramural sanctuaries helped to define the territory of the polis, and how this definition was expressed through processions from the centre of the polis to the sanctuary situated at the border. The polis territory became associated with the ordered world while the extramural territory was connected with a chaotic world. The preparation and carrying out of a military campaign further illustrate how the idea of two sacred dimensions was applied to define the territory.<sup>705</sup> According to Xenophon (*Lak. Pol.* 12.2–3), the king offered a sacrifice to Zeus Agetor and gods associated with him. If this sacrifice appeared positive, the fire-bearer, πυρφόρος, took fire from the altar and led the way to the borders of the land, τὰ ὅρια τῆς χώρας. There the king offered sacrifices again to Zeus and Athena, and only if these sacrifices were favourable could the king and the army cross the borders. From this description it follows that as long as the army remained within the polis territory, the sacrifices were of-

fered to Zeus and Athena. However, in the *Hel-lenika* (4.2.20), Xenophon reports that before a battle, a goat was sacrificed to Artemis Agro-tera.<sup>706</sup> Outside the borders of the polis it was thus Artemis who was the recipient of the sacrifices.<sup>707</sup> Through the sacrifices at the border, *ta diabateria*, the separation of the polis and its territory from the world beyond the confines of the polis was expressed.

Warfare in Sparta thus cannot be separated from the religious practice.<sup>708</sup> Warfare was one of the symbolic expressions by which the world view of the polis took concrete form. The similarity in structure between warfare and sacrificial ritual has been pointed out by Burkert.<sup>709</sup> A basic ritual pattern of separation, liminality and aggregation characterized those symbolic expressions which defined the world view of the polis. It seems as if warfare in this formative period of Spartan history was basically a lesson in the proper conduct of the hoplite-citizen in relation to the gods, and a means of defining and expressing the central role of

<sup>704</sup> Lloyd (1966) has investigated the use of polarities in early Greek thought.

<sup>705</sup> Originally the territory of the Spartan polis must have been confined to the territory of the five villages and the *kleroi* which belonged to the citizens. This means that both in terms of inhabitants and territory the Spartan polis was restricted to the five villages. Prontera (1980–1981, 225f.) has put forward the interesting suggestion that the statues of Apollo Pythaeus at Thornax (Paus. 3.10.8) and of Apollo at Amyklai marked the northern and southern limits of the original territory of Sparta.

<sup>706</sup> This sacrifice is also mentioned in *Lak. Pol.* 13.8.

<sup>707</sup> At Ephesos, the Spartan soldiers dedicated their garlands to Artemis: Xen. *Ages.* 1.27. Fossey (1987, 71–88) has noted the presence of sanctuaries of Artemis in the area between Sparta and Argos.

<sup>708</sup> Warfare as symbolic expression has been emphasized by Connor 1988, 3–29. He claims (16f.) that early Greek warfare seldom had any practical purpose. As I have mentioned above in Chapter Two, it cannot be ruled out that confrontations between Sparta and Argos about the Thyreatis had their roots in initiatory rituals.

<sup>709</sup> Burkert 1983, 46–48, 64–66; *idem* 1985, 267: 'war may almost appear like one great sacrificial action.'

the hoplite-citizen in the polis.<sup>710</sup> The hoplite tactic further enhanced the citizen body as a collective, the *homoioi*.

The creation of the polis thus meant that the world became divided in two opposite sacral spheres, one associated with the polis, the other with existence beyond the confines of the city. The sacrifices at the border expressed this division. Zeus and Athena were connected with the polis, while Artemis became associated with expeditions outside the limits of the polis. The reliefs on the altar at the Amyklaion, executed in the second half of the sixth century, can be regarded as an expression in images of the world view of the Spartan polis. The gods represented were Zeus, Hermes, Poseidon, Amphitrite, Dionysos, Semele, Demeter, Kore, Hades, Athena, Aphrodite, Artemis, the Moirai and Horai. Heroic figures were Ino, Hyakinthos, Polyboia and Herakles. As I have said above, Zeus represented the divine order of the universe.<sup>711</sup> The Rhetra established Zeus and Athena as the supreme poliadic divinities and the two foremost citizens, the kings, were priests of Zeus Ouranios and Zeus Lakedaimon. As mentioned above, every ninth year the ephors observed the night sky and if a shooting star was seen, the kings were immediately dismissed and a messenger sent to Delphi in order to consult the oracle. This custom was based on the idea that the behaviour of the kings had effects on the sacred order of the universe.<sup>712</sup>

Zeus and the kings represented the order within the confines of the polis. Poseidon and Amphitrite, on the other hand, were associated with the world outside the polis. As Gaiochos, Poseidon was preeminently associated with earthquakes. A famous sanctuary of Poseidon in Lakonia was situated at Tainaron. This sanctuary was an asylum of the helots and it was believed that the great earthquake in 464 was caused by the sacrilege of the Spartans in driving out suppliant helots from this sacred place.<sup>713</sup> Poseidon was thus associated with the helots, and this relation can be regarded as opposite to the relation between Zeus and the citizens living in the polis. A structural relation can be perceived between the connections

Zeus/polis territory/citizen as opposed to the relations Poseidon/extra-polis territory/helot (inhabitant without citizen rights). Moreover, the sanctuary had a cave, which was thought of as a descent to Hades.<sup>714</sup> The two sacred dimensions were thus articulated not only in a 'horizontal' division of the territory in terms of within/beyond polis, but also in a 'vertical' division, separating the subterranean realm from the world of the living. The Tainaron sanctuary was a place where this division was revoked, and in the Spartan pantheon Poseidon can thus be regarded as the supreme power of the sacred dimension outside the polis.

Dionysos was apparently not considered a polis divinity in Sparta. His sanctuaries were mainly associated with perioikic communities and with women as worshippers.<sup>715</sup> He was thus related to groups without citizen rights and to the territory outside the confines of the polis.<sup>716</sup>

The group Demeter, Kore and Hades is, as I have argued in Chapter One, linked to the Hyakinthia in its aspect as an initiatory ritual. The rape of Kore was the mythical paradigm for the transformation of a girl from *parthenos* to married woman, *gyne*. This change was connected in myth with a temporal stay in the underworld, a kind of symbolic death. In my opinion, the first part of the Hyakinthia with its *enagismos* sacrifice came to symbolize a contact with the subterranean realm, and a necessary step in the transformation of status for the young girls participating in the cult. The sacred experience was thus associated with a trans-

<sup>710</sup> Parker (1989, 157) has made the pertinent remark that Xenophon (*Lak. Pol.* 13.2–5) judges the skill of Spartan warfare not in technical terms but in terms of proper ritual behaviour.

<sup>711</sup> Vernant 1988, 102–109.

<sup>712</sup> This theme is used by Sophokles in *King Oedipus* (33–34), where Oedipus is described as the one who stands closest to the gods.

<sup>713</sup> Thuc. 1.128; Paus. 4.24.5–6; 7.25.3.

<sup>714</sup> Paus. 3.25.4–5; Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 509.

<sup>715</sup> Paus. 3.13.7; Parker 1988, 99, n. 5.

<sup>716</sup> Dionysos was venerated at the Amyklaion with the epithet *Psilax*, Paus. 3.19.6.



gression of the borders between the two sacred dimensions.

Demeter, like Dionysos, was related to perioikic territory rather than the polis, and to women as her worshippers.<sup>717</sup> As Chthonia she was explicitly connected with the nether regions, and there was a general sacrifice to Demeter twelve days after a person's death.<sup>718</sup> In my view, it was not agricultural concerns which made the cult of Demeter important in Sparta, but her association with critical stages in human life, notably a woman's life. Both Demeter and Dionysos were thus associated with women, perioikoi and helots. These were marginalized groups compared to the male citizens, and in this respect they were related to the sacred dimension opposed to the polis.

Aphrodite, depicted together with Athena and Artemis, was a polis divinity in Sparta. She had a general association with marriage and there was an image of Aphrodite Hera in Sparta.<sup>719</sup> There was also an image of her together with Zeus, with the common epithet Olympioi, which relates the two gods to the sacred order of the polis.<sup>720</sup>

Athena was, together with Zeus, the main poliadic divinity in Sparta with the epithet Poliouchos, the protectress of the city.<sup>721</sup> Her realm was the polis and it is interesting to notice that she did not appear as a warrior goddess, a Promachos, in Sparta as in Athens. At the border of the polis she left the Spartan army in the hands of Artemis.<sup>722</sup>

The group Dionysos, Semele and Ino points to an encounter with death. A local Lakonian version of the myth says that Semele and Dionysos, the latter put in a chest by Kadmos, were washed up on the shore at Brasiai in Lakonia. Semele was then already dead and received a funeral. Ino came to Brasiai and agreed to become the nurse of Dionysos.<sup>723</sup> In other myths Ino is transformed to a goddess, Leukothea.<sup>724</sup> In these myths the sea, the realm of Poseidon, is the scene for experiences of death with subsequent transformations in status for the figures involved.<sup>725</sup> In this respect there is a structural resemblance between the myths about Kore-Persephone and Ino-Leukothea.

They both reveal a change in status: from *parthenos* to married woman and from human being to goddess.

The Moirai and Horai were depicted together with Aphrodite, Athena and Artemis. The Moirai were personifications of fate, which in Greek religion meant that for each human being there was a portion of life, restricted in time and space.<sup>726</sup> The Horai were associated with the rhythm of the seasons and, in the framework of the polis, with the civilized order conceived as a regular, rhythmical pattern.<sup>727</sup>

Herakles was represented in a scene of introduction to heaven by a group of gods.

Hyakinthos should be regarded as a hero and he received the *enagismos* sacrifice during the first part of the cult. Polyboia died as a *parthenos* and, as I have argued in Chapter One, Hyakinthos and Polyboia should be considered as father and daughter, a Lakonian equivalent to Agamemnon and Iphigeneia.

There were thus two levels of reality represented on the altar, a divine and a heroic. The

<sup>717</sup> Parker 1988, 101–103.

<sup>718</sup> Paus. 3.14.5.

<sup>719</sup> Paus. 3.13.9. The mothers sacrificed at this statue when their daughters were to marry.

<sup>720</sup> Paus. 3.12.11. The place was called Skias.

<sup>721</sup> Paus. 3.17.2.

<sup>722</sup> I do not agree with Wide's description (1893, 62) of Zeus and Athena as 'Kriegsgötter des spartanischen Staates'. As poliadic divinities they accompanied the army as long as it remained within the polis territory but then they seem to have left the army to Artemis. This further strengthens the observation that Zeus and Athena were mainly associated with the polis territory. The same argument is valid for Apollo, who, as Karneios, was connected with the army, its organization and those age classes who prepared their entrance into the army, but never seems to have been involved in actual warfare.

<sup>723</sup> Paus. 3.24.3–4.

<sup>724</sup> Paus. 4.32.4; Burkert 1983, 178f.

<sup>725</sup> For the sea conceived of as raw nature see Detienne 1981, 16–42.

<sup>726</sup> Hom. *Il.* 24.49; Eitrem 1931–1932, 2449–2497; Burkert 1985, 129–130. The presence of the Moirai and Horai at critical stages in human life, such as birth, marriage and death, has been noticed by Villemonteix 1986, 87.

<sup>727</sup> Pind. *Paean* 1 (Snell); Villemonteix 1986, 87f.

divine level was represented by the Olympian gods among whom Zeus and Poseidon embodied the two sacred dimensions which determined the life of man. The heroic level was represented by Ino and Herakles, transcending the reality of ordinary man and turned into divine figures, and Hyakinthos and Polyboia, representing the encounter with death, necessary in all status changes. The association of myths concerning radical transformations with the Hyakinthia was due to the nature of the cult as an initiatory ritual. The change affecting the heroes in myth corresponded to the change in status of the adolescents of both sexes taking part in the cult. The destiny of Kore symbolized the irrevocable character of the transformation and the permanent change in the status of the initiands.<sup>728</sup>

The reliefs on the altar at the Amyklaion can thus be regarded as an expression in images of the world view of the Spartan polis. The pantheon seems to have been divided according to the apprehension of the sacred in two opposed dimensions, one associated with the polis, the other with existence beyond the border of the city. This conception was basic in the redefinition of reality which ran parallel with the development of state formation, and was made visible in the sacrifices at the border, *ta diabateria*, which the king made before leaving the polis. Zeus and Poseidon embodied the two sacred dimensions, and Athena, Hera and Aphrodite were goddesses connected with the polis. These divinities were venerated by the citizens within the confines of the polis. Poseidon, Demeter and Dionysos were mainly related to the territory outside the polis and to worshippers excluded from citizen rights: women, perioikoi and helots. Besides this horizontal division of the territory, there was a vertical one, opposing the poliadic gods from those of the underworld. The gods of the sacred dimension opposed to the polis were connected with the subterranean realm. The sanctuary of Poseidon at Tainaron had a cave which was thought of as being a descent to Hades; Demeter was venerated in Sparta as Chthonia, and a sacrifice was made to her twelve days after a person's death.

In this process, Apollo and Artemis came to constitute a third group, embracing both sacral dimensions and associated with an ambiguous symbolism in myth and ritual.<sup>729</sup> They were associated with initiation rituals and their most important sanctuaries in Sparta were situated at the borders of the polis. A further examination of the role of Artemis in Sparta shows that she was connected with liminal experiences of the inhabitants of the polis, with birth, social training and, as noticed above, with expeditions outside the confines of the polis, either in warfare or hunting. Artemis protected the young woman's passage from *parthenos* to *gyne*.<sup>730</sup> This is further enhanced by the existence in Sparta of a sanctuary shared by Eileithyia, the goddess of birth, with Apollo Karneios and Artemis Hegemone.<sup>731</sup> There was another sanctuary of Eileithyia, close to that of Artemis Orthia.<sup>732</sup> During the Tithenidia, a cult devoted to Artemis, male children were brought by their nurses to the sanctuary of Artemis Korythalia, a fact which emphasizes her concern with the stages of life of those not yet citizens. As Hegemone the goddess was closely related to Apollo Karneios, and thus to the preparation for warfare and the future role of the male adolescents as warriors. The same role can be detected in the cult of Artemis Orthia, which was part of the *agoge*. As noticed above, from the age of seven to the age of twenty a Spartan was the subject of a system of age classes, connected with cults of Apollo and Artemis. She was also the huntress, which the many figurines from the Orthia sanctuary confirm. A Spartan citizen left the territory of the polis either as warrior or as hunter, the two proper roles of a citizen when leaving the confines of the polis. In both capacities he was associated with Artemis.

The importance of Apollo in the Spartan po-

<sup>728</sup> Burkert (1983, 261) has emphasized the irreversible character of Kore's destiny.

<sup>729</sup> Versnel 1985–1986, 142f.

<sup>730</sup> King 1983, 109–127.

<sup>731</sup> Paus. 3.14.6.

<sup>732</sup> Paus. 3.17.1.

lis is evident from the prominent position of the three cults in Spartan religion. With the incorporation of Amyklai, the Hyakinthia came to play a major part in the religious life of Sparta. The Hyakinthia, the Gymnopaïdiai and the Karneia constituted a ritual cycle which created and expressed the world view of the new polis. I have emphasized above that the Rhetra established a regular schedule for the meetings of the assembly. With the creation of the constitution described in the Rhetra, an organization was established which demanded a firm chronological order. In this process the celebration of the cults of Apollo came to function as fixed points. A regular rhythm was created, in the shape of a year, the turn of which was celebrated through a symbolic pattern of dissolution and renewal.<sup>733</sup> Through the procession from Sparta to the Amyklaion during the Hyakinthia, the territory of the polis was defined.<sup>734</sup> The initiation rituals connected with the cults became related to the concept of citizenship, and functioned as a ritual enactment of the change in status of the adolescents in their passage through the elaborate system of age classes.

The basic, two-part structure of the Hyakinthia was enhanced by the assimilation of the cult in the ritual cycle. The polarization of the relation hero-god was one effect of the state formation, and the hero came to function as a transitional figure between men and gods.

It was within the framework of the state cults that the citizen ideology was created, an ideology which above all consisted of the citizen's loyalty towards the polis divinities. The Gymnopaïdiai can be regarded as an instrument for the creation of this ideology. The *arete* of the citizen as a warrior was expressed in the art of *choreia* commemorating successful military deeds. The celebration of the Gymnopaïdiai became a means of suppressing the regional differences between the villages in order to stress the homogeneity of the body of citizens. The commemoration of battles at Thyrea between Argos and Sparta during the Gymnopaïdiai points to warfare and ideology as inseparable aspects in the early period of the Spartan

polis. Warlike raids into the Thyreatis district were probably a part of the ritual system concerned with initiation.

The cult of Apollo Karneios was probably developed in the Early Iron Age and in Sparta closely associated with the family of the Aigeidai. This was a dominant aristocratic family with important functions as leaders in war. The myth about Timomachos, a member of the Theban branch of the Aigeidai, and how he came to help the Dorians in their struggle against Amyklai, possibly reflects a condition in which aristocratic families were tied to each others through bonds of ritual friendship, *xenia*. A meal was a part of the cult, expressing and creating cohesion between the participants under the auspices of the god. The sacrifice of a ram belonged to the cult, and the ram was obviously regarded as a symbol of leadership in Sparta. However, within the framework of the polis, the Karneia was transformed from a gentile cult to a state cult of concern for each citizen. The age class system, as a method of dissolving on one hand the gentile bonds within the *oikos* and, on the other hand, the personal loyalty between the aristocrat and his retainers, must have radically changed the character of the Karneia.

The celebration of the Hyakinthia and the Karneia established a pattern of conquest, as both cults included elements referring to the Dorian conquest of Lakonia. In my view, this emphasis on the Dorian identity served two purposes. It established the citizens of Sparta as conquerors and thus as rulers over the rest of

<sup>733</sup> The importance of Apollo in the establishment of a chronological order in Sparta is further enhanced by the sacrifices made by the kings (Hdt. 6.57) on the first and seventh day of each month at the temple of Apollo. Herodotos does not specify at which temple these sacrifices were made.

<sup>734</sup> Generally speaking, the procession as a specific mode of religious behaviour became important in the polis religion. A polis, defined as its citizens, was made visible in a concrete way through processions in which the different categories of inhabitants and magistrates participated.

the Lakonian population. The myths about the Dorian conquest legitimized the subjugation and actual enslavement of those parts of the population which did not get citizen status, i.e. those not living in the five villages which constituted the Spartan polis. Second, the Dorian

identity helped to create a uniform body of citizens, all with the same mythological origins, to replace the preceding regional diversity. The Dorian identity thus became associated with the new concept of citizenship, and all citizens were divided into the three Dorian *phylai*.

## Conclusions

The three cults dealt with in this study indicate the prominent position of Apollo in Spartan religion. The Hyakinthia was celebrated annually at the sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai, the Amyklaion. A procession went from Sparta to the Amyklaion, where the participants stayed in temporarily built huts during the celebration of the cult. A chiton was given to Apollo. A prominent position was played by women in the cult, and I have argued that the presence of women should be interpreted in the light of rites of initiation aiming at marriage.

According to the description by Pausanias, the altar at the Amyklaion was covered with reliefs depicting divine and heroic figures. Pausanias says that Hyakinthos was represented with a beard and that Polyboia died as a *parthenos*, and that the scene represented the introduction to heaven of Hyakinthos and Polyboia. Two remarks can be made against this interpretation. First, the presence of the triad Demeter, Kore and Plouton, who are explicitly said to accompany Hyakinthos and Polyboia, makes it doubtful that the scene represented an introduction to Olympos. The god of the underworld is never present in similar scenes with Herakles as the protagonist. Second, the reliefs on the altar were a part of a major reconstruction of the Amyklaion sanctuary, taking place in the second half of the sixth century and attributed to Bathykles of Magnesia at Meander. According to the iconographical conventions of sixth-century Lakonian vase painting, the

beard functioned as a sign distinguishing a mature man from a young one. The bearded Hyakinthos and Polyboia, who died as a *parthenos*, thus could not have been considered brother and sister in sixth-century Sparta. On the basis of myths about Hyakinthos as a mature man with daughters, one or more of whom was sacrificed in a critical situation, I have suggested that Hyakinthos and Polyboia should be regarded as father and daughter. There must furthermore have been an intention in the juxtaposition of the triad Demeter, Kore and Plouton with the scene depicting Hyakinthos and Polyboia. The myth about Kore can be regarded as the mythical paradigm for the transition of a girl from *parthenos* to *gyne*, and the notice in Hesychios that Polyboia was called either Kore or Artemis points to Polyboia as a local, Lakonian parallel to Kore. That Polyboia died as a *parthenos* can also be related to the myth of how Hyakinthos sacrificed his daughters in a critical situation. Hyakinthos and Polyboia as father and daughter would have been a Lakonian parallel to Agamemnon and Iphigeneia. Polyboia became the heroine whose death symbolized the transition of the Spartan girl from *parthenos* to *gyne*. The young Hyakinthos was probably an iconographical invention of the late sixth century, related to the needs of the aristocratic symposium in Athens. The erotic element in the myth about Apollo and Hyakinthos was modelled on the *erastes-eromenos* relation. The young Hyakinthos would easily

have been adapted to Spartan conditions, where the homosexual relation was an institutionalized part of the *agoge* from the age of twelve.

With the structural model proposed by van Gennep concerning rites of passage, I have tried to show that the three cults constituted a unity. The first part of the Hyakinthia can be regarded as a rite of separation. A sequence of ritual behaviour concerning bread, wreaths and singing the paean expressed a condition separated from everyday life. The sacrifice to Hyakinthos, the *enagismos*, further created a condition of *agos*, the sacred as something negative and defiled. The emotional character of this part was one of sorrow and mourning for the dead Hyakinthos. The ritual acts during the second part of the Hyakinthia can be interpreted as the expression of the liminal stage in a rite of passage. The procession from Sparta to the Amyklaion and the living in temporarily built huts expressed the condition of an existence beyond the order of mundane life. The presence of strangers and slaves points to the dissolution of social structure. However, the character of this part of the Hyakinthia was opposite to that of the first part. The singing of the paean and the wearing of wreaths indicated a positive communication with the divine power, and I have suggested that the performances of choruses created emotional states which were interpreted as the actual experience of the divinity.

The Gymnopaïdai continued the liminal stage of the ritual cycle. The nakedness of the active participants should be interpreted as a symbol of the lack of identity associated with the initiands. The choral performances formed the nucleus of the cult, and the paean seems to have been of particular importance. The *choreia* can be regarded as tests of endurance, considering the celebration of the cult in the summer heat, and were thus ordeals associated with initiation rituals. References to the battles at Thyrea point to the commemoration of successful warlike expeditions. The initiands were made familiar with the history of the city.

The Karneia constituted the third part of the

rite of passage, the rite of aggregation. One element in this cult was the eating of a meal for a fixed number of men in nine tents. The references to three *phratiriai* (or *phylai*, as I have argued) should be interpreted as referring to the three Dorian *phylai* which, in the earliest period of the Spartan polis, were instruments for the organization of the army. A firm structure related to the organization of the army was thus acted out, in contrast to the dissolution of the social hierarchy during the preceding liminal period. I have interpreted the race of the *staphylodromoi* as concerned with the role of the seer. The chased man, dressed in woollen fillets and hunted like an animal, seemed to combine attributes of both man and animal. Precious to the city if he was caught, the man symbolized the well-being of the city. The aetiological myth concerning the Karneia tells that the origin of the ritual was to placate the wrath of Apollo when Karnos, the seer, had been killed. The cult can therefore be regarded as an expiatory ritual, reestablishing a broken communication between men and gods.

For the adolescents taking part in the celebration of the cults, the ritual cycle came to dramatize the transition from one stage to another in the life cycle. The conclusion of my investigation of the age class system in Sparta is that age was a major structuring principle in Spartan society. The *agoge*, the upbringing of the boys, was a part of the age class system, aiming at the future role of the initiands as warrior-citizens. The promotion of the different age classes through the set of age grades was accomplished with the celebration of the three cults of Apollo. The cult of Artemis Orthia also played an important function, especially for some age classes within the *agoge*. The lack of testimony concerning girls in connection with the age class system indicates that they were not a part of the system. The age class system served as the promotion of the boys to the status as citizens, while the Spartan women were made a marginal group in the Spartan polis, without the right of participation in the organization of the polis as described in the Rhētra.

In Chapter Five the three cults were put into

a historical framework. The Hyakinthia can be traced back to the Late Bronze Age, when the cult of the dead Hyakinthos probably started in the precarious conditions following the collapse of the Mycenaean palace civilization. The archaeological material from the excavation of the Amyklaion points to an unbroken continuity in cult practice between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age. Towards the end of the eleventh century, the Lakonian version of the Protogeometric pottery began to appear. As this pottery has been almost exclusively found on sites with religious connotations, the persistence of this pottery style in Lakonia for three hundred years can be interpreted as a will to express order and stability. Regular cultic celebration and the Protogeometric pottery can be regarded as two ways of communicating the belief in structure and order. The cult of Hyakinthos as an ancestral figure reinforced the cohesion of the people celebrating the cult, and it is probable that rites of initiation connected with a youthful god were soon attached to the commemoration of Hyakinthos. Apollo was not a god brought by the conquering Dorians, but rather the religious expression of the societies emerging after the collapse of the Mycenaean culture. I have suggested that there was no Dorian invasion at all in Lakonia, but that the Dorian identity should be regarded as the result of contacts between aristocracies in the early Iron Age. With the creation of the polis, the Dorian identity became a means of creating a common identity for the inhabitants in the five villages which constituted Sparta.

It was with the creation of the Spartan polis that the ritual came to function as a unity, and it was the celebration of the three cults which provided the new polis with a world view. The age class system was related to the ritual cycle, and in this respect the rituals generated the order of the society. On the basis of the work of

F. de Polignac, I have tried to see how the sacred was apprehended as two opposite dimensions, one related to the polis and its citizens, the other with the territory outside the polis and marginalized groups in society such as women, perioikoi and slaves. Zeus and Athena were state divinities while Poseidon, Dionysos and Demeter seem to have been related to the extra-polis territory. The Spartan citizen was related to Zeus and Athena, women with Dionysos and Demeter, and perioikoi and slaves with Poseidon. The opposition between the two sacred dimensions also worked in a vertical sense, creating limits between men and the world of the dead, and it is significant that it was through a sacrifice to Demeter that the social persona of a Spartan citizen was finally obliterated. Apollo and Artemis formed a third group of gods, above all related to the transitional stages in the life of Spartan adolescents. The two gods were ambivalent figures, as spatially expressed in the position of their most important sanctuaries in borderline areas 'betwixt and between' the structured polis and the outside world. Leaving the confines of the polis, as either a hunter or a warrior, a Spartan was under the protection of Artemis.

I conclude with some further words on Apollo. In Sparta his concern was the rising generations, protecting their entrance to full membership of the society. In Homer he was visualized as the young god with unshorn hair, but at the Amyklaion he was never represented other than by a rough, semi-iconic column. Apollo in Sparta was not the god of the polis centre to the same degree as Zeus and Athena, but rather a power oscillating between centre and periphery, making his epiphany once a year in music and dances at the religious festivals. In this respect Apollo was indeed the distant god who worked afar, *ἐκάργος*, *ἐκαβόλος* and yet at the very heart of human matters.

## Testimonia

### Hyakinthia

Athenaios 4.139c-f

ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Πολέμων· πρὸς δὲ ἀντιλέγων Δίδυμος ὁ γραμματικὸς - καλεῖ δὲ, τοῦτον Δημήτριος ὁ Τροιζήνιος βιβλιολάθαν διὰ τὸ πλήθος ὧν ἐκδέδωκε συγγραμμάτων· ἐστὶ γὰρ τρισχίλια πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις - φησὶ τάδε· 'Πολυκράτης, φησί, ἐν τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς ἱστορεῖ ὅτι τὴν μὲν τῶν 'Υακινθίων θυσίαν οἱ Λάκωνες ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας συντελοῦσι καὶ διὰ τὸ πένθος τὸ γινόμενον περὶ τὸν 'Υακινθον οὔτε στεφανοῦνται ἐπὶ τοῖς δείπνοις οὔτε ἄρτον εἰσφέρουσιν <οὔτε> ἄλλα πέμματα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα διδάσσει καὶ τὸν εἰς τὸν θεὸν παιᾶνα οὐκ ᾄδουσιν οὐδ' ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον [εἰσάγουσιν] οὐδὲν καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις θυσίαις ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐταξίας πολλῆς δειπνήσαντες ἀπέρχονται. τῇ δὲ μέσῃ τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν γίνεται θεὰ ποικίλη καὶ πανηγυρὶς ἀξιόλογος καὶ μεγάλη· παῖδες τε γὰρ κιθαρίζουσιν ἐν χιτῶσιν ἀνεζωσμένοις καὶ πρὸς αὐλὸν ᾄδοντες πάσας ἅμα τῷ πλήκτρῳ τὰς χορδὰς ἐπιτρέχοντες ἐν ῥυθμῷ μὲν ἀναπαίστῳ, μετ' ὀξέος δὲ τόνου τὸν θεὸν ᾄδουσιν· ἄλλοι δ' ἐφ' ἵππων κεκοσμημένων τὸ θέατρον διεξέρχονται· χοροὶ τε νεανίσκων παμπληθεῖς εἰσέρχονται καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τινὰ ποιημάτων ᾄδουσιν, ὄρχησ-

### Hyakinthia

Athenaios 4.139c-f

Thus Polemon; but he is contradicted by Didymus the grammarian (whom Demetrius of Troezen calls the 'book-forgetter' because of the number of treatises-three thousand five hundred-which he has published). Didymus says: 'Polycrates relates in his History of Sparta that the Spartans observe the ritual of the Hyacinthia for a period of three days, and because of the mourning which takes place for the death of Hyacinthus they neither wear crowns at the meals nor introduce wheat bread, nor do they dispense any cakes, with their accompaniments, and they abstain from singing the paeon to the god, and do not introduce anything else of the sort that they do at other festivals. On the contrary, they eat with great restraint, and then depart. But in the middle of the three-day period there is held a spectacle with many features, and a remarkable concourse gathers which is largely attended. Boys with tunics girded high play the lyre or sing to flute accompaniment while they run the entire gamut of the strings with the plectrum; they sing the praises of the god in anapaestic rhythm and in a high pitch. Others march trough



ταί τε [έν] τούτοις ἀναμεμιγμένοι τήν κίνησιν ἀρχαϊκῇ ὑπὸ τὸν αὐλὸν καὶ τὴν ῥοήν ποιοῦνται. τῶν δὲ παρθένων αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ καννάθρων φέρονται πολυτελῶς κατεσκευασμένων, αἱ δ' ἐφ' ἀμίλλαις ἀρμάτων ἐζευγμένων πομπεύουσιν, ἅπασα δ' ἐν κινήσει καὶ χαρᾷ τῆς θεωρίας ἡ πόλις καθέστηκεν. ἱερεῖά τε παμπληθῆ θύουσι τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην καὶ δειννίζουσιν οἱ πολῖται πάντας τοὺς γνωρίμους καὶ τοὺς δούλους τοὺς ἰδίους· οὐδεὶς δ' ἀπολείπει τὴν θυσίαν, ἀλλὰ κενοῦσθαι συμβαίνει τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὴν θέαν.'

Pausanias 3.19.1-5.

Τοῦ θρόνου δὲ ἡ καθίζοιτο ἄν ὁ θεός, οὐ διὰ παντὸς κατὰ τοῦτο συνεχοῦς ὄντος ἀλλὰ καθέδρας παρεχομένου πλείονας, παρὰ δὲ καθέδραν ἐκάστην ὑπολειπομένης καὶ εὐρυχωρίας, τὸ μέσον ἐστὶν εὐρυχωρὲς μάλιστα καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐνταῦθα ἐνέστηκε. μέγεθος δὲ αὐτοῦ μέτρῳ μὲν οὐδένα ἀνευρόντα οἶδα, εἰκάζοντι δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα εἶναι φαίνονται ἂν πήχεις. ἔργον δὲ οὐ Βαθυκλέους ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ἀρχαῖον καὶ οὐ σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένον· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ καὶ πόδες εἰσὶν ἄκροι καὶ χεῖρες, τὸ λοιπὸν χαλκῷ κίονι ἐστὶν εἰκασμένον. ἔχει δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κράνος, λόγχην δὲ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τόξον. τοῦ δὲ ἀγάλματος τὸ βάθρον παρέχεται μὲν βωμοῦ σχῆμα, τεθάρθαι δὲ τὸν Ὑάκινθον λέγουσιν ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ Ὑακινθίοις πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος θυσίας ἐς τοῦτον Ὑακίνθῳ τὸν βωμὸν διὰ θύρας χαλκῆς ἐναγίζουσιν· ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ θύρα τοῦ βωμοῦ. ἐπειργασταὶ δὲ τῷ βωμῷ τοῦτο μὲν ἄγαλμα

the theatre mounted on gaily adorned horses; full choirs of young men enter and sing some of their national songs, and dancers mingling among them go through the figures in the ancient style, accompanied by the flute and the voice of the singers. As for the girls, some are carried in wicker carts which are sumptuously ornamented, others parade in chariots yoked to two horses, which they race, and the entire city is given over to the bustle and joy of the festival. On that day they sacrifice very many victims, and the citizens entertain at dinner all their acquaintances and their own servants as well. Not one misses the festival; on the contrary, it so happens that the city is emptied to see the spectacle.

Pausanias 3.19.1-5.

The part of the throne where the god would sit is not continuous; there are several seats, and by the side of each seat is left a wide empty space, the middle, whereon the image stands, being the widest of them. I know of nobody who has measured the height of the image, but at a guess one would estimate it to be as much as thirty cubits. It is not the work of Bathycles, being old and uncouth; for though it has face, feet, and hands, the rest resembles a bronze pillar. On its head it has a helmet, in its hands a spear and a bow. The pedestal of the statue is fashioned into the shape of an altar; and they say that Hyacinthus is buried in it, and at the Hyacinthia, before the sacrifice to Apollo, they devote offerings to Hyacinthus as to a hero into this altar through a bronze door, which is on the left of the altar. On the altar are wrought in relief, here an image of Biris, there Amphitrite and Poseidon. Zeus and Hermes are conversing; near stand

Βίριδος, τοῦτο δὲ Ἀμφιτρίτης καὶ Ποσειδῶνος· Διὸς δὲ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ διαλεγόμενων ἀλλήλοις πλησίον Διόνυσος ἐστήκασι καὶ Σεμέλη, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Ἰνώ. πεποίηται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ καὶ Κόρη καὶ Πλούτων, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Μοῖραι τε καὶ Ὠραι, σὺν δὲ σφισιν Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ τε καὶ Ἄρτεμις· κομίζουσι δ' ἐς οὐρανὸν Ὑάκινθον καὶ Πολύβοιαν, Ὑακίνθου καθὰ λέγουσιν ἀδελφὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν ἔτι παρθένον. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τοῦ Ὑακίνθου τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔχον ἐστὶν ἥδη γένεια, Νικίας δὲ ὁ Νικομήδους περισσῶς δὴ τι ἔγραψεν αὐτὸν ὥρατον, τὸν ἐπὶ Ὑακίνθῳ λεγόμενον Ἀπόλλωνος ἔρωτα ὑποσημαίνων. πεποίηται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων καὶ οὗτος ἀγόμενος ἐς οὐρανόν. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ Θεστίου θυγατέρες ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ, καὶ Μοῦσαι τε καὶ Ὠραι. περὶ δὲ ἀνέμου Ζεφύρου, καὶ ὥς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Ὑάκινθος ἀπέθανεν ἄκοντος, καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸ ἄνθος εἰρημένα τάχα μὲν ἂν ἔχοι καὶ ἄλλως, δοκεῖτω δὲ ἥ λέγεται.

#### Herodotos 9.7

οἱ γὰρ δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὄρταζόν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ σφι ἦν Ὑακίνθια, περὶ πλείστου δ' ἦγον τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πορσύνειν·

#### Herodotos 9.11

Ὑμεῖς μὲν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, αὐτοῦ τηδε μένοντες Ὑακίνθια τε ἄγετε καὶ παίζετε, καταπροδόντες τοὺς συμμάχους·

#### Thucydides 5.23.4-5

ὁμοῦνται δὲ ταῦτα οἷπερ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας σπονδὰς ὡνυον ἐκατέρων. ἀνανεοῦσθαι δὲ

Dionysus and Semele, with Ino by her side. On the altar are also Demeter, the Maid, Pluto, next to them Fates and Seasons, and with them Aphrodite, Athena and Artemis. They are carrying to heaven Hyacinthus and Polyboea, the sister, they say, of Hyacinthus, who died a maid. Now this statue of Hyacinthus represents him as bearded, but Nicias, son of Nicomedes, has painted him in the very prime of youthful beauty, hinting at the love of Apollo for Hyacinthus of which legend tells. Wrought on the altar is also Heracles; he too is being led to heaven by Athena and the other gods. On the altar are also the daughters of Thestius, Muses and Seasons. As for the West Wind, how Apollo unintentionally killed Hyacinthus, and the story of the flower, we must be content with the legends, although perhaps they are not true history.

#### Herodotos 9.7

For the Lacedaemonians were at this time holiday-making, keeping the festival of Hyacinthus, and their chiefest care was to give the god his due.

#### Herodotos 9.11

‘You Lacedaemonians,’ they said, ‘abide still where you are, keeping your Hyacinthia and disporting yourselves, leaving your allies deserted.’

#### Thucydides 5.23.4-5

‘These articles shall be sworn to by the same persons who swore to the other treaty on both

κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν ἰόντας  
 ἐς Ἀθήνας πρὸς τὰ Διονύσια, Ἀθηναίους  
 δὲ ἰόντας ἐς Λακεδαίμονα πρὸς τὰ Ὑακίν-  
 θια. στήλην δὲ ἑκατέρους στήσαι, τὴν μὲν  
 ἐν Λακεδαίμονι παρ' Ἀπόλλωνι ἐν Ἀμυκ-  
 λαίῳ, τὴν δὲ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐν πόλει παρ'  
 Ἀθηναίᾳ.

Xenophon Ages. 2.17

καὶ ἀναπετάσας τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὰς  
 πύλας οὕτως οἶκαδε ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὰ  
 Ὑακίνθια ὅπου ἐτάχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροποιοῦ  
 τὸν παιᾶνα τῷ θεῷ συνεπετέλει.

Xenophon Hell. 4.5.11

οἱ Ἀμυκλαῖοι αἰεὶ ποτε ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὰ  
 Ὑακίνθια ἐπὶ τὸν παιᾶνα, ἐάν τε στρατο-  
 πεδευόμενοι τυγχάνωσιν ἐάν τε ἄλλως πως  
 ἀποδημοῦντες. καὶ τότε δὴ τοὺς ἐκ πάσης  
 τῆς στρατιᾶς Ἀμυκλαίους κατέλιπε μὲν  
 Ἀγησίλαος ἐν Λεχαιῷ.

Aristotle fr. 532 (Rose)

...καὶ εἰσὶν Αἰγεῖδαι φατρία Θηβαίων, ἀφ'  
 ἧς ἦκόν τινες εἰς Σπάρτην Λακεδαιμονίους  
 βοηθήσαντες ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀμυκλαεῖς πολέμῳ,  
 ἡγεμόνι χρησάμενοι Τιμομάχῳ, ὃς πρῶτος  
 μὲν πάντα τὰ πρὸς πόλεμον διέταξε Λακε-  
 δαιμονίους, μεγάλων δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡξιώθη  
 τιμῶν. καὶ τοῖς Ὑακινθίοις δὲ ὁ χάλκεος  
 αὐτοῦ θώραξ προτίθεται· τοῦτον δὲ  
 Θηβαῖοι ὄπλον ἐκάλουν. ταῦτα ἱστορεῖ καὶ  
 Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Λακῶνων πολιτείᾳ.

sides. They shall be renewed every year, the  
 Lacedaemonians going to Athens at the Dionysia,  
 the Athenians to Lacedaemon at the Hyacinthia.  
 Each party shall erect a pillar, that in  
 Lacedaemon by the temple of Apollo of  
 Amyclae, that at Athens on the Acropolis by the  
 temple of Athena.'

Xenophon Ages. 2.17

Having thus unbarred the gates of Peloponnese,  
 he returned home for the festival of Hyacinthus  
 and joined in singing the paean in honour of the  
 god, taking the place assigned to him by the  
 choirmaster.

Xenophon Hell. 4.5.11

The Amyclaeans invariably go back home to the  
 festival of the Hyacinthia for the paean to  
 Apollo, whether they chance to be on a campaign  
 or away from home for any other reason.  
 Accordingly Agesilaus had on this occasion left  
 behind at Lechaeum all the Amyclaeans in the  
 army.

Aristotle fr. 532 (Rose)

The Aegeidae are a phratry of the Thebans, from  
 whose number some came to help the Spartans in  
 their war against the Amyclaeans; their leader  
 was Timomachus, who was the first man to  
 instruct the Spartans in all military matters, and  
 who received great honours from them. And his  
 bronze breastplate is put on display at the  
 Hyacinthia - the Thebans used to call this a  
 'weapon'. Aristotle relates this in the Constitution  
 of the Spartans.

Pausanias 3.10.1

ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ αὖθις ἐπὶ Κόρινθον στρα-  
τιῇ· καὶ - ἐπῆει γὰρ Ὑακίνθια - ἀφίησι  
τοὺς Ἀμυκλαίεις οἴκαδε ἀπελθόντας τὰ  
καθεστηκότα τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ὑακίνθῳ  
δρᾶσαι.

Pausanias 3.10.1

Agesilaus again marched with an army against  
Corinth, and, as the festival Hyacinthia was at  
hand, he gave the Amyclaeans leave to go back  
home and perform the traditional rites in honour  
of Apollo and Hyacinthus.

Pausanias 4.19.4

Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ - ἐπῆει γὰρ Ὑακίνθια -  
πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εἵρᾳ τεσσαράκοντα  
ἐποίησαντο ἡμερῶν σπονδὰς· καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν  
ἀναχωρήσαντες οἴκαδε ἐώρταζον.

Pausanias 4.19.4

Now the Lacedaemonians, as the festival of  
Hyacinthus was approaching, made a truce of  
forty days with the men of Eira. They themselves  
returned home to keep the feast.

Philostratos VA 6.20

Ἑυνίασιν,' εἶπεν, ὥσπερ ἐς τὰ Ὑακίνθια  
καὶ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδίας, θεασόμενοι ξὺν  
ἡδονῇ τε καὶ ὀρμῇ πάσῃ.'

Philostratos VA 6.20

'They flock,' he answered, 'to see the spectacle  
with pleasure and utmost enthusiasm, as if to the  
festival of Hyacinthus, or to that of the naked  
boys.'

Philostratos VS 2.12

ἄλλα καὶ σύ, πάτερ, μοι γράφε, πότε παρὰ  
Λακεδαιμονίοις Ὑακίνθια καὶ παρὰ Κοριν-  
θίοις Ἰσθμια καὶ παρὰ Δελφοῖς Πύθια, καὶ εἰ  
νικῶσιν Ἀθηναῖοι ναυμαχοῦντες.'

Philostratos VS 2.12

'But pray, father, write back to me and say when  
the Lacedaemonians celebrate the Hyacinthia and  
the Corinthians the Isthmian games; when are the  
Pythian games held at Delphi, and whether the  
Athenians are winning their naval battles.'

Ovidius Met. 10.217-219

nec genuisse pudet Sparten Hyacinthon, honorque  
durat in hoc aevi, celebrandaque more priorum  
annua praelata redeunt Hyacinthia pompa.

Ovidius Met. 10.217-219

Sparta, too, was proud that Hyacinthus was her  
son, and even to this day his honour still  
endures; and still, as the anniversary returns, as  
did their sires, they celebrate the Hyacinthia in  
solemn festival.

Macrobius Sat. 1.18.2

apud Lacedaemonios etiam in sacris quae  
Apollini celebrant, Hyacinthia vocantes, hedera  
coronantur Bacchico ritu.

Macrobius Sat. 1.18.2

Moreover, among the Spartans, at the celebration  
of the rites in honour of Apollo called the  
Hyacinthia, garlands of ivy are worn, as in the  
worship of Bacchus.

## Gymnopaidiai

Herodotos 6.67

ἦσαν μὲν δὴ γυμνοπαῖδαι, θεωμένου δὲ τοῦ Δημαρήτου ὁ Λευτυχίδης, γεγονὼς ἤδη [αὐτὸς] βασιλεὺς ἀντ' ἐκείνου, πέμψας τὸν θεράποντα ἐπὶ γέλῳ τε καὶ λάσθῃ εἰρώτα τὸν Δημάρητον ὁκοῖόν τι εἴη τὸ ἄρχειν μετὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν.

Thucydides 5.82.2-3

καὶ Ἀργείων ὁ δῆμος κατ' ὀλίγον ξυνιστάμενός τε καὶ ἀναθαρσήσας ἐπέθεντο τοῖς ὀλίγοις, τηρήσαντες αὐτὰς τὰς γυμνοπαίδας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. καὶ μάχης γενομένης ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπεκράτησεν ὁ δῆμος, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ ἐξήλασεν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἕως μὲν αὐτοὺς μετεπέμποντο οἱ φίλοι, οὐκ ἤλθον ἐκ πλείονος, ἀναβαλόμενοι δὲ τὰς γυμνοπαίδας ἐβοήθουν. καὶ ἐν Τεγέᾳ πυθόμενοι ὅτι νενίκηνται οἱ ὀλίγοι, προελθεῖν μὲν οὐκέτι ἠθέλησαν δεομένων τῶν διαφευγόντων, ἀναχωρήσαντες δὲ ἐπ' οἴκου τὰς γυμνοπαίδας ἤγον.

Xenophon *Mem.* 1.2.61

Λίχας μὲν γὰρ ταῖς γυμνοπαῖδαίς τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ξένους ἐδείκνυζε.

Plato *Leg.* 1. 633c

ἔτι δὲ κὰν ταῖς γυμνοπαῖδαίς δειναὶ καρτερήσεις παρ' ἡμῖν γίνονται τῇ τοῦ νήγους ῥώμῃ διαμαχομένων, καὶ πάμπολλα ἕτερα σχεδὸν ὅσα οὐκ ἂν παύσαιτό τις ἐκάστοτε διεξιών.

## Gymnopaidiai

Herodotos 6.67

Now while the festival of the Naked Men was celebrating, and Demaratus watching it, Leutychides, having by this time been made king in his place, sent his servant to ask Demaratus by way of mere mockery and insult how he liked his office after being a king.

Thucydides 5.82.2-3

And now the popular party at Argos, gradually consolidating its strength and recovering boldness, waited for the celebration of the Gymnopaediae by the Lacedaemonians and attacked the oligarchs. A battle occurred in the city and the popular party got the better of it, slaying some of their enemies and expelling others. The Lacedaemonians, although their friends kept sending for them, did not come for a long time; but at last they put off the Gymnopaediae and went to their aid. But hearing at Tegea that the oligarchs had been conquered, they refused to go further, in spite of the entreaties of the oligarchs who had escaped, and returning home proceeded with the celebration of the Gymnopaediae.

Xenophon *Mem.* 1.2.61

For Lichas used to entertain the strangers staying at Sparta during the Feast of the Dancing Boys.

Plato *Leg.* 1. 633c

Moreover in our games, we have severe tests of endurance, when men unclad do battle with the violence of the heat, and there are other instances so numerous that the recital of them would be well-nigh endless.

Plutarch Mor. 1134b-c

Ἡ μὲν οὖν πρώτη κατάστασις τῶν περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, Τερπάνδρου καταστήσαντος, γενένηται· τῆς δὲ δευτέρας Θαλήτας τε ὁ Γορτύνιος καὶ Ξενόδαμος ὁ Κυθήριος καὶ Ξενοκρίτος ὁ Λοκρὸς καὶ Πολύμνηστος ὁ Κολοφώνιος καὶ Σακάδας ὁ Ἀργεῖος μάλιστα αἰτίαν ἔχουσιν ἡγεμόνες γενέσθαι· τούτων γὰρ εἰσηγησαμένων τὰ περὶ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδίας τὰς ἐν Λακεδαίμονι λέγεται κατασταθῆναι, <καὶ> τὰ περὶ τὰς Ἀποδείξεις τὰς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ, τῶν τε ἐν Ἀργεὶ τὰ Ἐνδυμάτια καλούμενα.

Plutarch Kimon 10.5

καίτοι Λίχαν γε τὸν Σπαρτιάτην ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου γινώσκομεν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὄνομαστον γενόμενον ἢ ὅτι τοὺς ξένους ἐν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις ἐδείκνυεν·

Plutarch Ages. 29.2-3

ἔτυχε μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἑορτὴν ἄγουσα καὶ ξένων οὖσα μεστή (γυμνοπαιδίαι γὰρ ᾗσαν) ἀγωνιζομένων χορῶν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· παρήσαν δ' ἀπὸ Λεύκτρων οἱ τὴν συμφορὰν ἀναγγέλλοντες.

Plutarch Lyk. 15.1

οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀτιμίαν τινὰ προσέθηκε τοῖς ἀγάμοις. εἴργοντο γὰρ ἐν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις τῆς θέας·

Pausanias 3.11.9

Σπαρτιάταις δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς Πυθαέως τέ ἐστιν [καὶ] Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς ἀγάλματα. Χορὸς δὲ οὗτος ὁ τόπος καλεῖται πᾶς, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις - ἑορτὴ δὲ εἴ τις ἄλλη καὶ αἱ γυμνοπαιδίαι διὰ

Plutarch Mor. 1134b-c

Now music was first organized at Sparta, under the direction of Terpander; for its second organization Thaletas of Gortyn, Xenodamos of Cythera, Xenocritus of Locri, Polymnestus of Colophon, and Sacadas of Argos are said to have been chiefly responsible, since it was at their suggestion that the festival of the Gymnopaediae at Lacedaemon was instituted and so too the Apodeixeis in Arcadia and the so-called Endymatia at Argos.

Plutarch Kimon 10.5

And yet we know that Lichas the Spartan became famous among the Hellenes for no other reason than that he entertained the strangers at the boys' gymnastic festival.

Plutarch Ages. 29.2-3

The city was holding a festival and was full of strangers; for the 'gymnopaediae' were in progress and choirs of boys were competing with one another in the theatre; then came the messengers of calamity from Leuctra.

Plutarch Lyk. 15.1

Nor was this all; Lycurgus also put a kind of public stigma upon confirmed bachelors. They were excluded from the sight of the young men and maidens at their exercises.

Pausanias 3.11.9

On their market-place the Spartans have images of Apollo Pythaeus, of Artemis and of Leto. The whole of this region is called Choros (Dancing), because at the Gymnopaediae, a festival which

σπουδῆς Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰσὶν - ἐν ταύταις  
οὖν οἱ ἔφηβοι χοροὺς ἰστᾶσι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι.

the Lacedaemonians take more seriously than any  
other, the lads perform dances in honour of  
Apollo.

Athenaios 15.678b-c

ΘΥΡΕΑΤΙΚΟΙ. οὕτω καλοῦνταί τινες στέφανοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὥς φησι Σωσίβιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Θυσιῶν, ψιλίνους αὐτοὺς φάσκων νῦν ὀνομάζεσθαι, ὄντας ἐκ φοινίκων. φέρειν δ' αὐτοὺς ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἐν Θυρέᾳ γενομένης νίκης τοὺς προστάτας τῶν ἀγομένων χορῶν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ταύτῃ, ὅτε καὶ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν.

Athenaios 15.678b-c

Thyreatikoi. This is the name given to certain wreaths by the Lacedaemonians, as Sosibius says in his work On Sacrifices, alleging that they are today called psilinoi, being made of palm branches. They are carried, he says, as a memorial of the victory won at Thyrea, by the leaders of the choruses which perform during that festival wherein they carry out the Naked-boy-dances.

#### Karneia

Athenaios 4.141e-f

Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Σκῆψιος ἐν τῷ α' τοῦ Τρωικοῦ διακόσμου τὴν τῶν Καρνείων φησὶν ἑορτὴν παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις μίμημα εἶναι στρατιωτικῆς ἀγωγῆς. τόπους μὲν γὰρ εἶναι θ' τῷ ἀριθμῷ, σκιάδες δὲ οὗτοι καλοῦνται σκηναῖς ἔχοντες παραπλήσιον τι καὶ ἐννέα καθ' ἕκαστον ἄνδρες δειπνοῦσι, πάντα τε ἀπὸ κηρύγματος πράσσεται, ἔχει τε ἕκαστη σκιάς φρατρίας τρεῖς καὶ γίνεται ἡ τῶν Καρνείων ἑορτὴ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας θ'.

#### Karneia

Athenaios 4.141e-f

Demetrius of Scepsis, in Book I of The Trojan Battle-order, says that the festival of the Karneia at Sparta is a representation of their military discipline. There are, namely, places numbering nine, which they call 'sunshades' because they bear some likeness to tents; and nine men eat in each, and a herald proclaims everything by order. Each 'shade', moreover, holds three brotherhoods, and the festival of the Karneia is held for nine days.

Pindar Pyth. 5.72-81

τὸ δ' ἐμὸν γάρυει  
ἀπὸ Σπάρτας ἐπήρατον κλέος,  
ὅθεν γεγενναμένοι  
ἴκοντο Θήρανδε φῶτες Αἰγεΐδαι,  
ἐμοὶ πατέρες,  
οὐ θεῶν ἄτερ, ἀλλὰ μοῖρά τις ἄγεν·  
πολύθυτον ἔρανον

Pindar Pyth. 5.72-81

But mine it is to sing of the dear glory that cometh from Sparta, whence sprang the Aegeidae, my own forefathers, who, not without the gods, but led by some providence divine, once went to Thera, whence it was that we have received the festal sacrifice in which all have

ἔνθεν ἀναδεξάμενοι,  
 "Ἀπολλον τεῶ,  
 Καρνήϊ', ἐν δαιτὶ σεβίζομεν  
 Κυράνας ἀγακτιμέναν πόλιν·

Herodotos 7.206

τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην πρῶτους  
 ἀπέπεμψαν Σπαρτιῖται, ἵνα τούτους ὀρώντες  
 οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι στρατεύωνται μηδὲ καὶ  
 οὗτοι μηδίσωσι, ἦν αὐτοὺς πυθάνωνται  
 ὑπερβαλλομένους· μετὰ δέ, Κάρνεια γάρ σφι  
 ἦν ἐμποδῶν, ἔμελλον ὀρτάσαντες καὶ φυλα-  
 κὰς λιπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ κατὰ τάχος βοη-  
 θεῖν πανδημεί.

Thucydides 5.75.2-3

καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Κορίνθου καὶ ἔξω ἰσθμοῦ  
 ξυμμάχους ἀπέτρεψαν πέμπαντες οἱ Λακε-  
 δαιμόνιοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναχωρήσαντες καὶ  
 τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀφέντες (Κάρνεια γὰρ  
 αὐτοῖς ἐτύγχανον ὄντα) τὴν ἐορτὴν ἦγον.

Thucydides 5.75.5

καὶ Ἑλείων τρισχιλίων ὀπλιτῶν βοηθη-  
 σάντων Μαντινεῦσιν ὕστερον τῆς μάχης καὶ  
 Ἀθηναίων χιλίων πρὸς τοῖς προτέροις,  
 ἐστράτευσαν ἅπαντες οἱ ξύμμαχοι οὗτοι  
 εὐθύς ἐπὶ Ἐπίδαυρον, ἕως οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
 Κάρνεια ἦγον, καὶ διελάμενοι τὴν πόλιν  
 περιετείχιζον.

part, and, in thy banquet, O Carneian Apollo,  
 we honour the nobly built city of Cyrene.

Herodotos 7.206

These, the men with Leonidas, were sent before  
 the rest by the Spartans, that by the sight of them  
 the rest of the allies might be moved to arm, and  
 not like others take the Persian part, as might  
 well be if they learnt that the Spartans were  
 delaying; and they purposed that later when they  
 should have kept the feast of the Carneia, which  
 was their present hindrance, they would leave a  
 garrison at Sparta and march out with the whole  
 of their force and with all speed.

Thucydides 5.75.2-3

The allies, too, from Corinth and from outside  
 the Isthmus were turned back by messengers sent  
 by the Lacedaemonians, who then likewise  
 withdrew and, dismissing their allies, celebrated  
 the festival of the Carneia; for it happened to fall  
 at that time.

Thucydides 5.75.5

And now, since three thousand Elean hoplites had  
 come to the aid of the Mantineans after the  
 battle, and also one thousand Athenians in  
 addition to their former contingent, all these  
 allies marched at once against Epidaurus, while  
 the Lacedaemonians were celebrating the  
 Carneia, and proceeded to build a wall round the  
 city, dividing up the work.



Euripides *Alk.* 445-451

πολλά σε μουσικόλοι  
 μέλψουσι καθ' ἑπτάτονόν τ' ὀρεῖαν  
 χέλυν ἔν τ' ἀλύροις κλέοντες ὕμνοις,  
 Σπάρτα κύκλος ἀνίκα Καρνείου περινίσσεται  
 ὥρας  
 μηνός, ἀειρομένας  
 παννύχου σελάνας

Kallimachos *Ap.* 71-87

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Καρνεῖον· ἐμοὶ πατρώιον οὕτω.  
 Σπάρτη τοι, Καρνεῖε, τόδε πρῶτιστον  
 ἔδεθλον,  
 δεύτερον αὖ Θήρη, τρίτατόν γε μὲν ἄστῃ  
 Κυρήνης·  
 ἐκ μὲν σε Σπάρτης ἔκτον γένος Οἰδιπόδαο  
 ἤγαγε Θηραῖν ἐς ἀπόκτισιν· ἐκ δέ σε Θήρης  
 οὐλος Ἀριστοτέλης Ἀσβυστίδι πάρθετο γαίῃ  
 δεῖμε δέ τοι μάλα καλὸν ἀνάκτορον, ἐν δέ  
 πόλῃ  
 θῆκε τελεσφορίην ἐπετήσιον, ἧ ἐνὶ πολλοί  
 ὑστάτιον πίπτουσιν ἐπ' ἰσχίον, ᾧ ἄνα,  
 ταῦροι.  
 ἢ ἢ Καρνεῖε πολὺλλιτε, σεῖο δὲ βωμοί  
 ἄνθεα μὲν φορέουσιν ἐν εἵαρι τόσσα περ  
 ὦραι  
 ποικίλ' ἀγινεῖσι ζεφύρου πνεῖοντος ἑέρσην,  
 χείματι δὲ κρόκον ἡδύν· αἶε δέ τοι ἀέναον  
 πῦρ,  
 οὐδέ ποτε χθιζὸν περιβάσκειται ἄνθρακα  
 τέφρῃ.  
 ἦ ῥ' ἐχάρη μέγα Φοῖβος, ὅτε ζωστήρες  
 Ἐνυοῦς  
 ἄνδρες ὠρχήσαντο μετὰ Ξανθῆσι Λιβύσσαις,  
 τέθμια εὐτέ σφιν Καρνειάδες ἤλυθον ὦραι.

Pausanias 3.13.4

Κάρνειον δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα Δωριεῖσι μὲν τοῖς  
 πᾶσι σέβεσθαι καθέστηκεν ἀπὸ Κάρνου γένος  
 ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας, μαντευομένου δὲ ἐξ  
 Ἀπόλλωνος· τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν Κάρνον ἀπο-

Euripides *Alk.* 445-451

For the seven-stringed shell, or for paean  
 Unharped, shall thy fame be a song,  
 When o'er Sparta the moon Carnean  
 High rideth the whole night long.

Kallimachos *Ap.* 71-87

But I call thee Carneius; for such is the manner  
 of my fathers. Sparta, O Carneius! was thy first  
 foundation; and next Thera; but third the city of  
 Cyrene. From Sparta the sixth generation of the  
 sons of Oedipus brought thee to their colony of  
 Thera; and from Thera lusty Aristoteles set thee  
 by the Asbystian land, and builded thee a shrine  
 exceeding beautiful, and in the city established a  
 yearly festival wherein many a bull, O Lord,  
 falls on his haunches for the last time. Hië, Hië,  
 Carneius! Lord of many prayers, -thine altars  
 wear flowers in spring, even all the pied flowers  
 which the Hours lead forth when Zephyrus  
 breathes dew, and in winter the sweet crocus.  
 Undying evermore is thy fire, nor ever doth the  
 ash feed about the coals of yester-even. Greatly,  
 indeed, did Phoebus rejoice as the belted  
 warriors of Enyo danced with the yellow-haired  
 Libyan women, when the appointed season of the  
 Carnean feast came round.

Pausanias 3.13.4

The cult of Apollo Carneüs has been established  
 among all the Dorians ever since Camus, an  
 Acarnanian by birth, who was a seer of Apollo.  
 When he was killed by Hippotes the son of

κτείναντος Ἰηπότου τοῦ Φύλαντος ἐνέπεσεν  
ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῖς Δωριεῦσι μήνιμα  
Ἐπόλλωνος, καὶ Ἰηπότης τε ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ τῷ  
φόνῳ καὶ Δωριεῦσιν ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν Ἀκαρ-  
νᾶνα μάντιν καθέστηκεν ἰλάσκεσθαι.

Phylas, the wrath of Apollo fell upon the camp  
of the Dorians; Hippotes went into banishment  
because of the bloodguilt, and from this time the  
custom was established among the Dorians of  
propitiating the Acarnanian seer.

Athenaios 14.635e-f

τὰ Κάρνεια πρῶτος πάντων Τέρπανδρος  
νικᾷ, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ἱστορεῖ ἔν τε τοῖς  
ἐμμέτροις Καρνεονίκαις κἂν τοῖς καταλο-  
γάδην. ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ θέσις τῶν Καρνείων  
κατὰ τὴν ἕκτην καὶ εἰκοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα,  
ὡς Σωσίβιος φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ Χρόνων.

Athenaios 14.635e-f

Terpander was the first to win a victory at the  
Carneian festival, as Hellanicus records in his  
Carneian Victors, written in verse as well as in  
prose. Now the establishment of the Carneia took  
place in the twenty-sixth Olympiad, as Sosibius  
declares in his work On Chronology.

The translations are from the Loeb Classical Library except Macrobius (The Saturnalia, translated by P. Vaughan Davies, New York & London 1969) and Aristotle (The complete works of Aristotle. The revised Oxford translation, 2, ed. J. Barnes, Princeton, N.J. 1984)

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## Abbreviations

### ActaAth-4°

Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Athen, Series in 4°.

### *Celebrations*

*Celebrations of death and divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11–13 June, 1988* (ActaAth-4°, 40), eds. R. Hägg & G. Nordquist, Stockholm 1990.

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### SCABA

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### *Transition rites*

*Transition rites. Cosmic, social and individual order. Proceedings of the Finnish-Swedish-Italian seminar held at the university of Rome 'La Sapienza', 24th–28th March 1984* (Storia delle religioni, 2), ed. U. Bianchi, Roma 1986.

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