Athens-Sparta

Contributions to the Research on the

History and Archaeology of the Two City-States

Proceedings of the International Conference

in conjunction with the exhibition "Athens-Sparta"

organized in collaboration with

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Edited by Nikolaos Kaltsas

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Relief with an Athenian *Triereme* (detail.) Late 5th century B.C. Pentelic Marble.
From the Acropolis of Athens, excavated near the Erechtheion, 1852. Acropolis Museum, Athens, 1339.

Frontispiece:
Fragment of an Attic Red-Figure Loutrophoros (detail.) Ca. 430 B.C. Clay. Provenance unknown.
National Archaeological Museum, Athens, 1700.

Illustration on page 6:
Statue of a Hoplite known as "Leonidas" (detail). 480–470 B.C. Parian marble. Found southwest of the peribolos of the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos on the Acropolis of Sparta. Archaeological Museum, Sparta, 3365.

Illustration on pages 8–9:
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CHAPTER I

The Amyklaion Revisited: New Observations on a Laconian Sanctuary of Apollo

Stavros Vlizos

The present study is an attempt to deal with the most prominent sanctuary in Laconia, the Sanctuary of Apollo Amyklaios (*ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν κατὰ τήν Λακωνικήν ἱερῶν*, according to Polybios 5.19.3). My purpose is to discuss the sanctuary, to review critically the relevant research, and, most importantly, to present both the early findings and some of the new material resulting from a research project initiated by Angelos Delivorrias and the Benaki Museum in 2005.[1]

It is widely accepted that the choice of location for a sanctuary and its purpose was based primarily on a tradition dating back to Mycenaean times.[2] The only requirements for a sanctuary were sufficient space for crowds to gather and for the temenos and an altar. A trend toward monumentality within sanctuaries can be testified from the eighth century B.C. onward, but the building of temples in the Archaic Period was not the result of religious fervor. Such edifices were seen as embellishment, closely linked to the identity of the community or polis,[3] and this can certainly be said of the sanctuary of Apollo Amyklaios.

This paper will begin with a short description of the location of the Sanctuary of Apollo Amyklaios and the archaeological and historical facts relating to it, focusing on the period between the Late Bronze Age and the Late Archaic Period. Following that will be a discussion of information and conclusions gathered to date from the study of the sanctuary in 2005–2006 and a presentation of new evidence. The final part of the paper will present an analysis of the context in which the sanctuary was built—the sociopolitical impact of Apollo Amyklaios and the previously established cult of Hyakinthos on the formation of the city-state Sparta—as well as its religious significance.

Location and Historical Facts

The hill of Agia Kyriaki, where the site of the Apollo Amyklai sanctuary has been located, lies about five kilometers south of Sparta. The identification of the sanctuary was confirmed by the discovery of tiles stamped with the name of Apollo Amyklaios (*IG* V 1.823) and inscriptions found on the hill and in its immediate surroundings.[4] In prehistoric times, the village of Amyklai was concentrated on the southeast slopes of the hill.[5] Unfortunately, the precise location of the settlement in Archaic times and later is still unclear. Taking into account the distance between Amyklai and Sparta provided by Polybius (5.19.2) and his description of the Sanctuary of Apollo as lying on the seaward side of the settlement, as well as the fact that the other important sanctuary of the ancient city, that of Alexandra Kassandra,[6] was located in the modern village nearby, we may speculate that the ancient town extended from the range of hills west of the sanctuary to the site of modern Amyklai in the south.

In the Spartan plain, Amyklai had been first settled in the Early Helladic Period (2500–1900 B.C.)[7] Apart from an evident break at the end of the Middle Helladic (1600 B.C.), the excavated site seems to have been occupied continuously to the eleventh century B.C. Middle Helladic ceramics include gray and black Minyan ware, which was painted light on dark with a matte surface and may reflect contact with Minoan Crete.[8] Amyklai's chief significance, as a Late Helladic IIIB–C habitation site (1200–1150 B.C.) lies in its evidence of a late Mycenaean cult, such as a noticeable increase in population and the establishment of a sanctuary, as shown by the large number of terracotta figurines of stylized goddesses found together with fragments of animals.[9] There is an archaeological break in continuity after the eleventh century. The Amyklai stratigraphy and Laconian protogeometric pottery strongly suggest the arrival in Laconia of newcomers, from West Greece, at some time in the tenth century, between the Mycenaean and the Early Iron Age.[10] Walter Burkert observed: "It is clear that a radical reinterpretation has taken place," and he included Amyklai among the examples of this break in cult during the Greek "Dark Ages."[11] The date of the Dorian settlement of Sparta is an open question, but archaeology indicates a terminus post quem of about 950–900. The mention of Amyklai in the Homeric catalogue of ships (Il. 2.584) reflects the settlement's importance in Early Iron Age Laconia. Between 950–900 and the middle of the eighth century (the date of the assimilation of Amyklai into Sparta), it is almost impossible to conjure up any sort of picture of what was happening in Sparta and Laconia. So far as

igurine of a Female Cymbal Player (detail). Ca. 550 B.C. Laconian workshop. Bronze.
rom the sanctuary of Apollo (Amyclaeum), Amyclae. National Archaeological Museum, Athens, 7548

archaeological evidence goes, there is nothing to justify the idea that Sparta and Amyklai were culturally distinct after about 950–900 B.C. The most economical interpretation of the archaeological and literary evidence (*IG* V 1.27) is to suppose that Amyklai, already "Dorianized," like most of Laconia, was incorporated as the fifth district of the enlarged Sparta by Teleklos about 750 and was thereby politically subordinated.[12]

Literary Evidence

Ancient literary sources and inscriptions bear witness to the great importance of the Sanctuary of Apollo and the Hyakinthia festival to the people of Laconia in the first millennium B.C.[13] Two of the most important testimonia are found in Pausanias and Athenaios.[14] Pausanias provides information about the statue and the throne on which it stood. Further literary evidence for the appearance of the image comes from Athenaios (6, 232a), who informs us, among other things, that the Spartans wanted to gild the face of Apollo but could not find any gold in Greece. Other testimonia consist mainly of short notices, which tell us that during the historical period and Roman times this Apollonian sanctuary was connected with the previously established chthonic worship of the local hero Hyakinthos.[15] Polykrates, in the *Deipnosophistai* by Athenaios, describes the fact that the Laconians celebrated the Hyakinthia for three days.[16] Also, in Athenaios (4.173f) is the mention of the so-called Hyakinthis *odos*, probably the main road from Sparta to Amyklai, which was used during the Hyakinthia for processions.

Early Research

Pausanias' description, in particular, was one of the principal reasons Sparta and Laconia generally attracted the attention of travelers to Greece beginning in the fifteenth century A.D. By the eighteenth century, visiting the ruins of the city was a central focus in the itineraries, not only for travelers but also for scholars, who took a theoretical approach to its monuments. A more or less systematic attempt to take a theoretical approach to Laconian monuments began in the nineteenth century, and all significant travelers of this period considered it obligatory to visit the ruins of Amyklai.[17] It was in the early 1800s that the low hill crowned by the little church of Agia Kyriaki was first identified by William M. Leake as the site of the Sanctuary of Apollo.[18] The first excavations at the site were conducted by Christos Tsountas in 1890.[19] His research showed that the intervention of subsequent building had seriously damaged the structures of the sanctuary and that the ancient layers had to a great extent been stripped from the top of the hill. Particularly noteworthy was the excavation of parts of the wall that enclosed the sanctuary. Tsountas also discovered remains of a circular foundation, which he identified as the base for the throne of Apollo. Within and near this construction, Tsountas found a deposit of blackened earth mixed with sheep horns and bovine teeth. The layers contained a large quantity of geometric pottery and terracotta objects, as well as bronze Archaic human and animal figurines.

The twentieth century saw a growing scholarly interest in the Amyklaion. In 1904 the site became the subject of a new excavation under the direction of the German archaeologist Adolf Furtwängler.[20] Three years later, a second German expedition was led by Ernst Fiechter,[21] who believed that the circular foundation discovered by Tsountas was the remnant of a circular stepped altar. Like Furtwängler before him, Fiechter came to the conclusion that the throne must have been situated on the site of the church of Agia Kyriaki. His main task was the demolition of the church, which incorporated many ancient architectural members as construction material, in the hope of recovering ancient foundations connected with the throne of the Amyklaian Apollo, which he endeavored to reconstruct.[22] The dismantling of the church led to discoveries of other architectural members, such as friezes with palmette and lotus ornaments, epistyle blocks, fragments of columns, and console capitals, elements dated by Fiechter to the end of the sixth century B.C. It was after the excavation work that a new church was built, virtually on top of the ruins of the early Christian church excavated by Tsountas. Fiechter's study ended with a conclusion that was of fundamental significance for every reexamination of the related issues—that the Sanctuary of Apollo Amyklaios housed four basic architectural units: the throne with the colossal xoanon of the god, the tomb of Hyakinthos, the circular stepped altar, and the peribolos, or walled court.

The third German expedition at the Amyklaion was carried out in 1925 under the direction of Ernst Buschor. In an analytical study published in 1927, the excavators presented the results of the new investigation and a new reconstruction of the throne.[23] A deposit outside and below the eastern edge of the sanctuary wall, which enclosed the throne, provided a stratigraphy consisting of layers datable from the Late Mycenaean to the

Hellenistic Period.[24] Mycenaean artifacts formed the bottom layer. This was followed by a stratum containing Protogeometric pottery, then an ashy layer of Late Geometric, and finally a level with a mixture of material ranging from the Archaic Period to the Hellenistic. All of the layers contained sherds, mainly of aryballoi together with a number of miniature kantharoi, skyphoi, and oinochoai. The bronze finds included fragments of tripod legs, spearheads, armbands, and plaques, as well as spiral and finger rings.

In 1982 Kaiti Demakopoulou presented a highly informative doctoral dissertation resulting from her study of the Mycenaean era and the related pottery and terracotta finds at the sanctuary.[25]

By far the majority of articles published in relation to Amyklai have been focused on one specific aspect—the throne of Apollo. Imaginative graphic reconstructions were offered very early, as seen in Quatremère de Quincy in 1814, Theodor Pyl in 1852, Ludwig Ruhl in 1854, and Adolf Furtwängler in 1893. Amalia Faustoferri gathered these reconstructions together in 1996 with some additional attempts to reconstitute the mythological subjects of the decoration.[26] All the proposed restorations of the monument are characterized by the reduction of Pausanias' descriptions (III 18, 9–19, 1–5; V 11, 3–5) to free-hand drawings. The two alternatives proposed by Fiechter in 1918, were supported, for the first time, by architectural members found in the excavations or retrieved from the demolition of the church on top of the hill. His detailed measured drawings provided the only scientific evidence for every subsequent attempt to restore the monument, since most of its architectural remains were incorporated into the second church of Agia Kyriaki.[27] In 1927 Buschor proposed a structure for the throne that was more analogous to a modern sofa, and he further suggested that Amyklai provided the prototype for the altar of Pergamon.[28] Roland Martin advocated a reconstruction related to Fiechter's, and this led him to present two alternative proposals in 1976.[29] The primary motivation, however, behind Helmut Prückner's proposed reconstruction in 1992, which takes no account of findings deduced from the extant material, would seem to be his imagination.[30]

The Sanctuary and Its Units

Although Fiechter concluded that the Sanctuary of Apollo Amyklaios housed the throne, the tomb of Hyakinthos, the altar, and the peribolos, Angelos Delivorrias, who rejoined the circle of the Amyklaion scholars in 2005, noted correctly that, apart from these monuments, other buildings must also have existed in the sanctuary, certainly a stoa and very possibly a propylon.[31] However, with the exception of the easily recognizable parts of the altar, all the surviving architectural members were erroneously thought to be components of the throne.

Unfortunately, there are no specific sources that enable us even to imagine what the sanctuary generally looked like. Although Pausanias, for example, gives a very detailed description of the throne, it is very difficult to visualize the shape of the building itself. The throne was formed like an enormous chair, in the middle of which was an altar that served as the base for the column-shaped image of Apollo. According to Pausanias (3.19.1–3), both the statue and the throne were arranged to allow access to the tomb of Hyakinthos. Moreover, his detailed description of the vast array of mythological scenes and combined elements of the Doric and Ionic orders on this monument provides evidence for Archaic narrative subjects as informative as his description of the chest of Kypselos (5.17.5).[32] Pausanias expressly states that, apart from this image, Bathykles of Magnesia was responsible for every other work, including the decoration of the throne. Unfortunately nothing is known of Bathykles, but it is possible that Samos provided the geographical link for the Spartan interest in Ionian artistry.[33] Concerning the chronology of the throne, Ernst Buschor has played a key role in the establishing its date as the late sixth century B.C.[34] On the other hand, Amalia Faustoferri adduced the capitals of the older temple of Aphaia at Aegina, dated about 570, as near parallels and proposed a chronology for the throne of 560–550 B.C.[35]

The Periegete (3.19.2) describes the statue as thirteen meters high with a wooden core covered in the sphyrelaton technique, with sheets of hammered bronze, arms bearing a lance and a bow, and a helmeted head.[36] According to B. S. Ridgway, its primitive form suggests that it was made by the end of the seventh century, after the incorporation of Amyklai into the Spartan city-state and during a period when monumental images were first produced in Greece.[37] The appearance of the statue may be surmised from Laconian coins of the Imperial Period. Reverse types on issues of Commodus and Gallienus show a statue with a columnar body, a helmeted head, and outstretched arms holding a bow and a spear.[38]

The Recent Project

From 1925 to 2005, when the Benaki project started, the site was not researched archaeologically, and modern scholarly conclusions are still based on earlier observations, particularly those in Fiechter's and Buschor's work.

The excavations that took place during the summer sessions of 2005 and 2006 enable me to present the first new evidence to come from Amyklai in more than eighty years:

- The hill of Agia Kyriaki and the surrounding area were carefully surveyed. All elements from the previous research of Tsountas (1890–91), Fiechter (1907), and Buschor (1925) were included in the new plans. The present state of the archaeological site was drawn and all the extant parts of the *krepis* of the throne and of the surrounding wall, as well as the church of Agia Kyriaki, were depicted in detail (fig. 1).
- All architectural members from the monuments of the sanctuary within the archaeological site and within the expropriated area were grouped and arranged in categories. The systematic documentation that was concluded included the plotting and photographing of the architectural material of the throne and the altar within the enclosed area of the hill of Agia Kyriaki, as well as of material from the Archaeological Museum of Sparta. The new architectural members that were traced and grouped during the work accomplished in 2006 (fig. 2) were placed together with the already studied material.
- The search for other architectural members from the sanctuary's monuments was continued in the wider area of Sparta. Many parts of the throne and altar were traced, photographed, and documented in their positions, walled into the churches of Profitis Ilias (fig. 3), Agioi Theodoroi (fig. 4), and Agios Nikolaos in Amyklaion, as well as the church of Panayia in the community of Agios Ioannis in Sparta.
- The continuation of the surrounding wall was followed toward the north and southwest parts of the sanctuary by cleaning and further investigating three excavation sections that were previously studied by Fiechter (1907) and Buschor (1925). During this work, it was confirmed that the surrounding wall was actually a retaining wall. Built to a height of seven meters, it restrained the large hill bank, making it easier to construct the throne of Apollo. The continuation of the surrounding wall's route to the southwest (A2) was confirmed (figs. 5, 6), and further research to the west will define its relation to a tangent wall built of roughly worked stones (fig. 7). Approximately five meters north of this point was discovered the west end of an earlier wall (Tx 1), possibly Late Geometric or Early Archaic; this was probably the first monumental retaining wall, since it has almost the same direction and a similar orientation to the surrounding wall (fig. 8). An investigation of the northern extent of the surrounding wall revealed the continuation of its route, although its precise direction and endpoint have not yet been confirmed (fig. 9). A comparison of recent finds dating from the Mycenean to the Roman Period with those from the other excavated Laconian sanctuaries (Artemis Ortheia, Athena Chalkioikos, and the Menelaion) shows types common to most Greek sanctuaries (fig. 10a–c): functional objects and pure votives, figurines, painted clay drinking vessels, and jugs were popular especially in the Geometric and Archaic Periods. The significant number of full-size and miniature skyphoi, oinochoai, aryballoi, and plates are probably vestiges of the special meals served at the Hyakinthia. It is likely that few of these objects were made specifically for the cult of Apollo Amyklaios. Bronze finger rings, dress pins, beads, bracelets, and earrings, as well as clay loom weights and spindle whorls, are evidence of feminine interest in the cult and can be attributed to the prominent part played by women in the celebration of the Hyakinthia festival.
- In order to further document the large number of architectural members built into the church of Agia Kyriaki, its plaster exterior was entirely removed. The bench along the south wall of the portico was dismantled and yielded twenty architectural members from the throne and altar.
- Manolis Korres has constructed architectural drawings of two of the monumental pilaster bases of the throne, which are shaped like lions' feet and today support the lid of a Roman sarcophagus in the garden of the Archaeological Museum of Sparta. These new discoveries and conclusions drawn from other architectural members suggest that the throne designed by Bathykles must have taken the form of a large seat, like the type presented in many votive reliefs from Sparta.

One of the most important contributions of the recent archaeological research is the recording of many architectural members from the sanctuary buildings, which were not mentioned in the publications of Fiechter and Massow and were apparently unknown to them. Our architectural research shows that some blocks had previously been assigned to the wrong positions in the throne. Furthermore, based on the drawings of just five architectural members, Manolis Korres has sketched a reconstruction of the circular stepped altar (fig. 11). Owing to the fact that many of the altar's architectural members are preserved in the fabric of Byzantine and post-Byzantine churches in the district, the achievement of a future, at least sectional, erection of the monument now seems possible. A further objective of our research is the systematic tracking of the surface of the hill of Agia Kyriaki, in order to discover cuttings of the foundations of the throne and the altar.

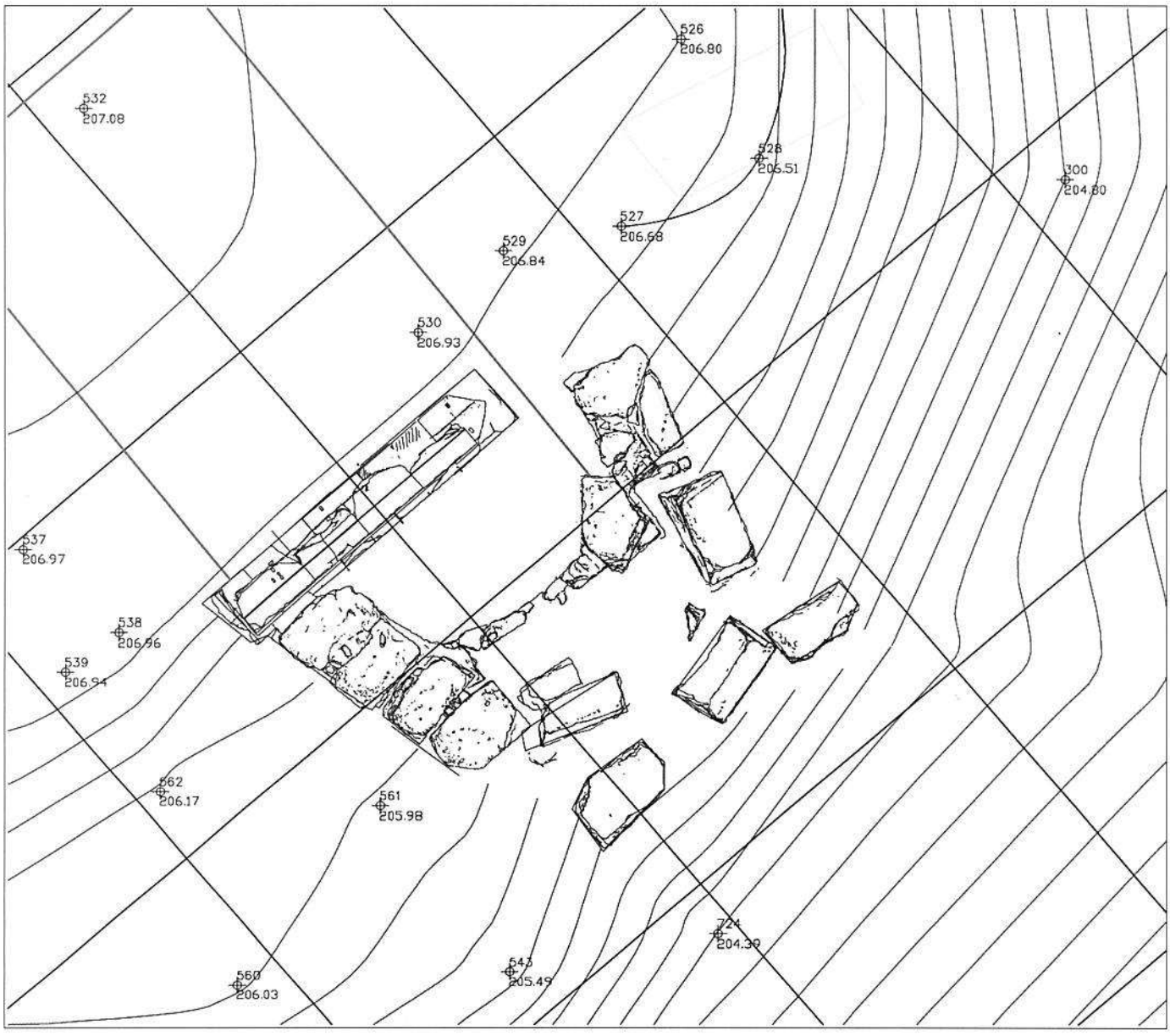


Fig. 1. The so called *krepis* of the throne of Apollo (drawing: Maria Magnisali, Themis Mpilis).

Fig. 2. Architectural members of the throne and altar that were grouped and arranged into categories at the site (photo: Stavros Vlizos).

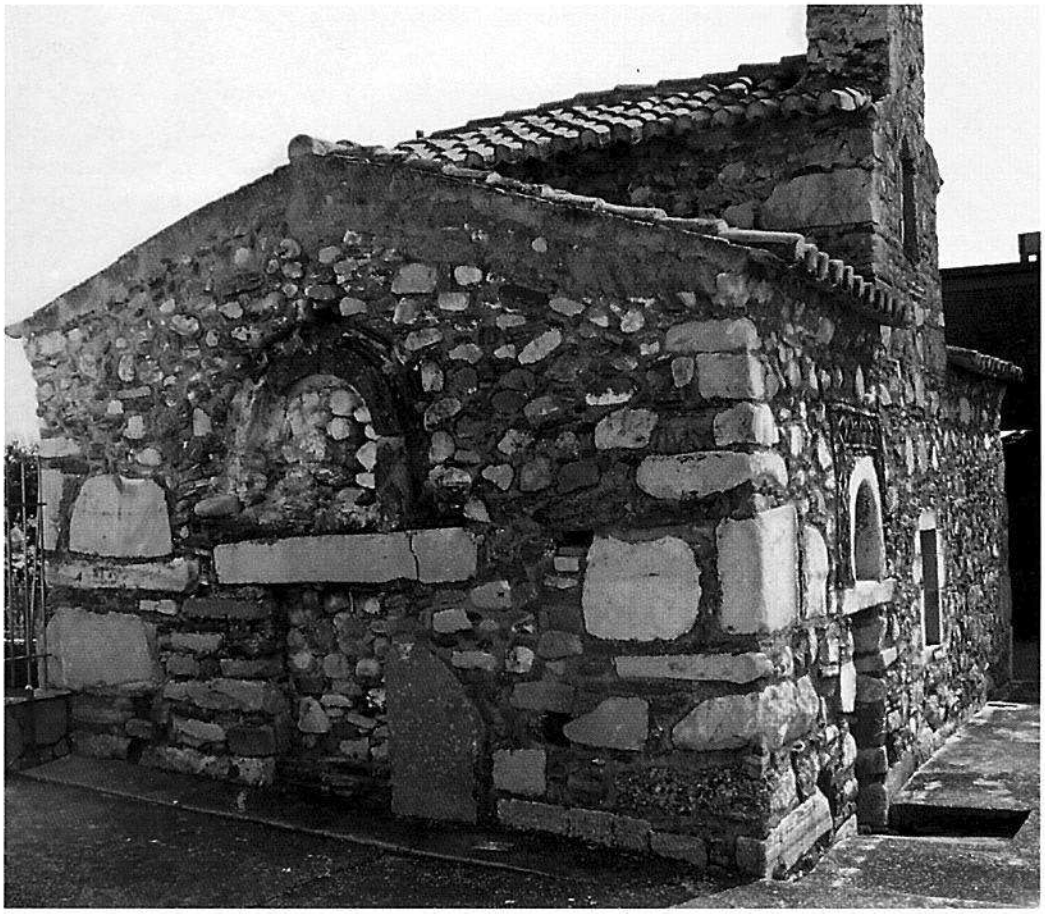


Fig. 3. Architectural members of the throne and altar that were walled into the church of Profitis Ilias (photo: Stavros Vlizos).

Fig. 4. The church of Agioi Theodoroi with spolia of the altar built into the south wall (photo: Stavros Vlizos).

Fig. 5. Section A2 with the southwest corner of the surrounding wall (photo: Stavros Vlizos).

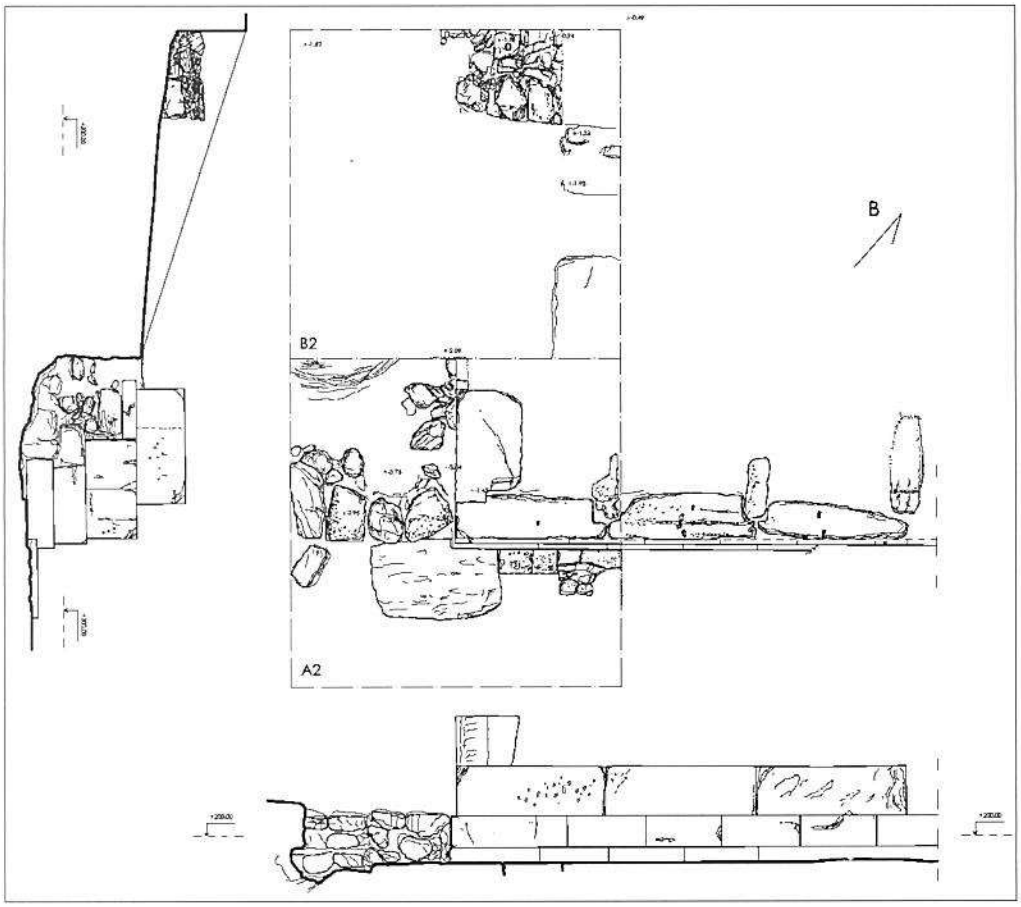


Fig. 6. Sections A2 and B2 (drawing: Maria Magnisali, Themis Mpilis).

Fig. 7. The tangent wall built with roughly worked stones (photo: Stavros Vlizos).

Fig. 8. The west end of an earlier wall (Tx 1) at section B2 (photo: Stavros Vlizos).

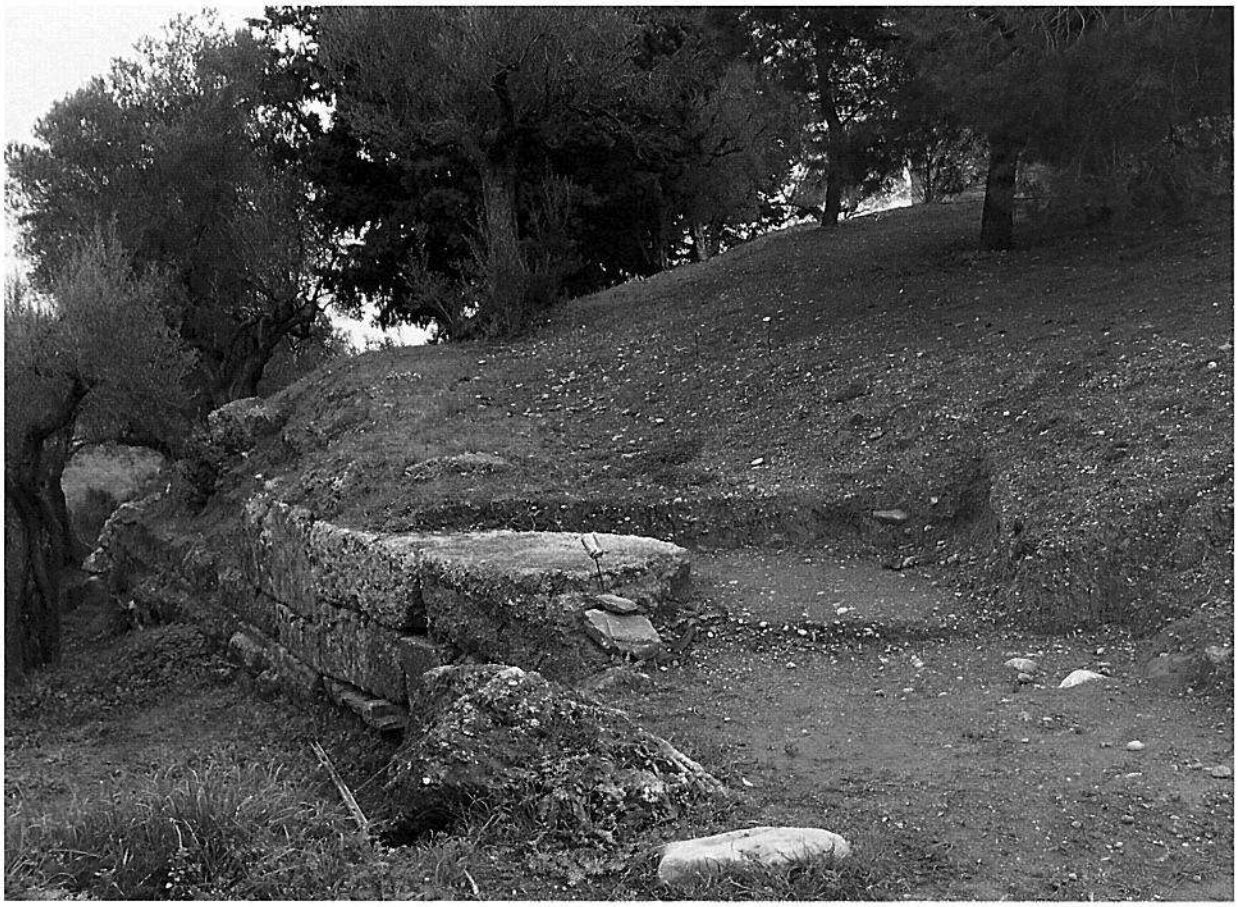
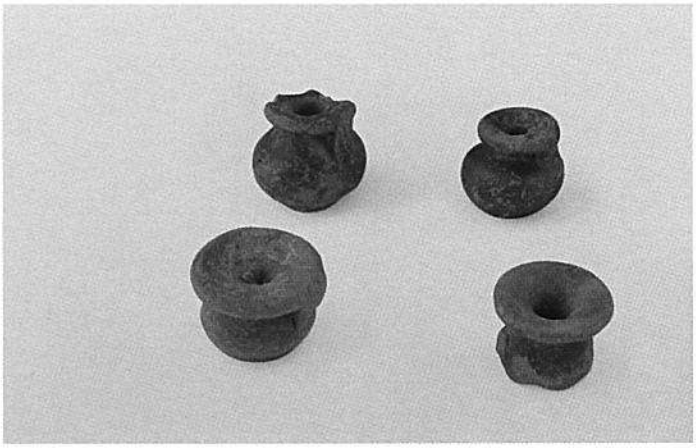
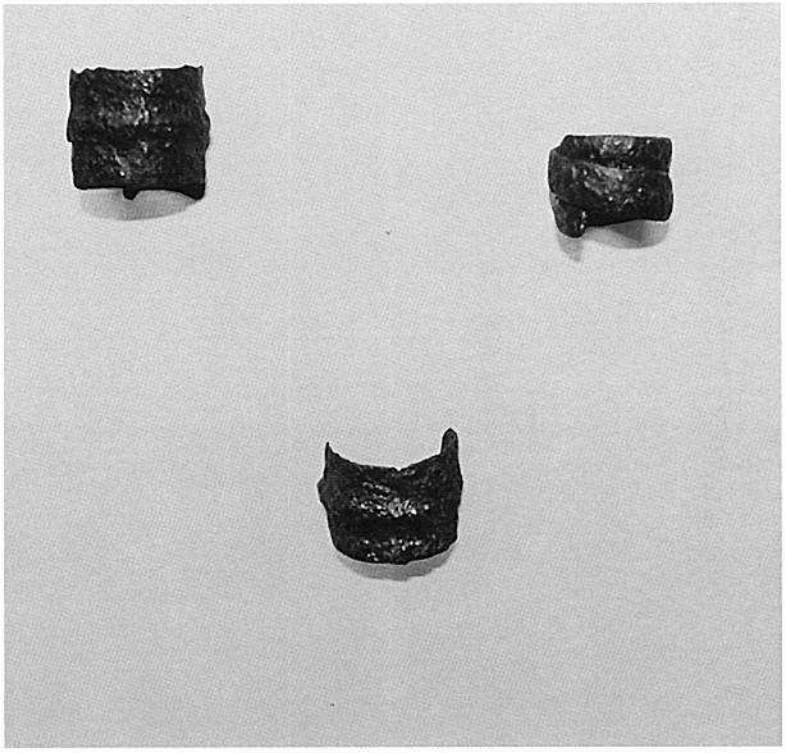


Fig. 9. The north part of the surrounding wall at section Ξ7 (photo: Stavros Vlizos).

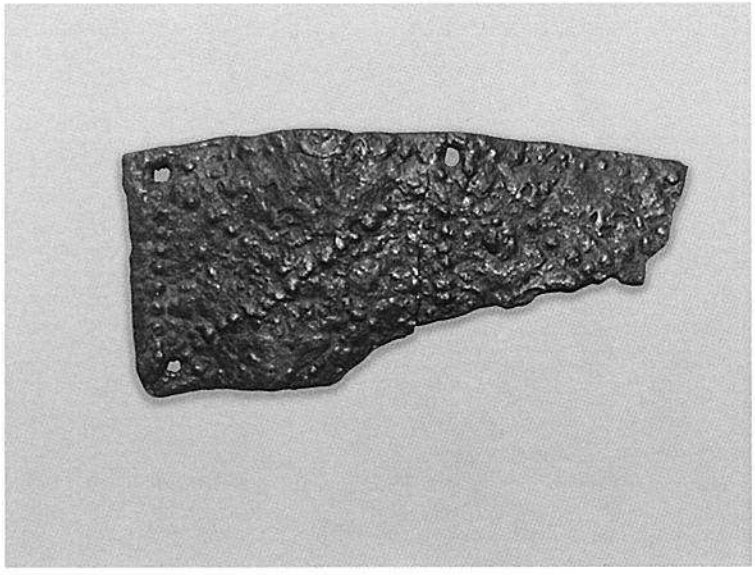


a.

b.



c.



Figs. 10 a, b, c.
Miniature vessels and metal finds from the Amyklaion (photo: Stavros Vlizos).

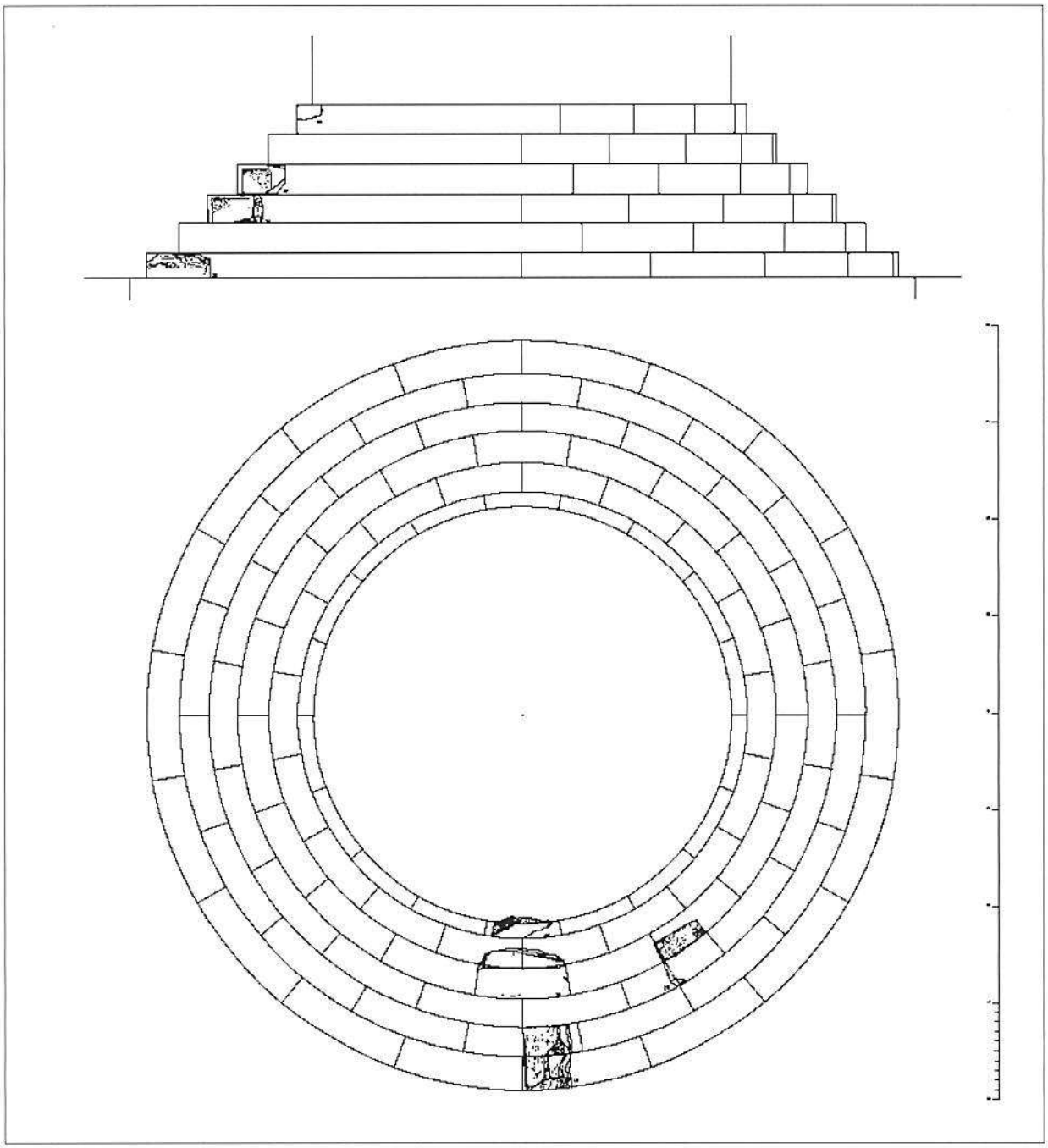


Fig. 11. The reconstruction of the circular stepped altar by Manolis Korres (drawing: Maria Magnisali, Themis Mpilis).

Cult, Architecture, and the New Identity

As mentioned above, the original cult at Amyklai goes back as far as the Early Bronze Age.[39] The tomb of Hyakinthos, whose name contains the *–nthos* suffix, which is of pre-Greek origin, was the centerpiece of the Sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai. It is evident that he played the part of ancestor in the Hyakinthia, introduced as the indigenous deity of Amyklai by the Indo-European tribes when they arrived in Laconia about the third millennium. As to Apollo's appearance at the sanctuary, his close association with Dorian communities in the historical period suggests that it was the incoming Dorians who combined the Bronze Age cult of Hyakinthos with that of Apollo.[40] Unfortunately, neither the precise time at which the Mycenaean cult became that of Apollo Amyklaios nor the means by which this was accomplished can be known. In any event, we may assume that the cult belonged primarily to Apollo by the time the cult statue was made, possibly as early as the late seventh century.

According to Polykrates in the *Deipnosophistai*, the Laconians annually celebrated the Hyakinthia for three days.[41] It can be assumed that the structure of the cult and the festival was built up by polarities, focusing on Hyakinthos as hero and Apollo as god. In the middle of the celebration, its dark character changed and the cult developed into a great spectacle. The first part—the day of mourning for Hyakinthos—could be regarded as a rite of separation. The participants were transferred in the cult from everyday life to sacral reality. Symbols and symbolic acts in the second part of the Hyakinthia point to rites of initiation. In this transitional period, the active roles played by children (*paides*) and adolescents of both sexes (*neaniskoi* and *parthenoi*) are a strong indication of the initiatory character of this part. Here Apollo's concern was protecting the coming generation for their full membership in society.

The robing of Apollo, an unusual rite for a male deity, and the weaving of the garment in a special house at Sparta, as well as the chariot procession from Sparta to Amyklai, served to emphasize the Spartan appropriation of Amyklai and its important sanctuary. It is, therefore, clear how the once local agrarian festival of Hyakinthos was altered, through Apollo, to serve political goals as well. Apollo was not a god brought by the conquering Dorians but rather the religious expression of the societies that emerged after the collapse of Mycenaean culture.[42] With the creation of the polis, the Dorian identity became a means of creating a common identity for the inhabitants in the five districts that constituted Sparta.[43] It was with the creation of the Spartan polis that the Amyklaion and the Hyakinthia ritual came to function as a unity, and it was the celebration of the cult of the Apollo Amyklaios together with the other Spartan cults, those of Athena Chalkioikos and Artemis Ortheia, that provided the new polis with a worldview.[44] The throne, which was exceptional for a building of the ancient world, commemorated the emblem of the new city-state. It was the most significant manifestation of Sparta's power and prestige, the expression of the new identity.

Notes

1. The project is a collaboration with the 5th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities under the auspices of the Greek Ministry of Culture. Acknowledgments are addressed especially to the Ephorate's Director, Ms. Adamantia Vasilogambrou, for her continuous help and active support
2. Hägg 1988; Marinatos–Hägg 1993; Alcock–Osborne 1994; Hägg 1998.
3. Polignac 1984, pp. 41–92; Pedley 2005, pp. 39–52.
4. Tsountas 1892, p. 3; *IG* V 1.27, 145, 511 (*SEG* 11.790), 823; Fiechter 1918, p. 223, nos. 11, 12; *SEG* 1.87–88; *SEG* 11.689–691 (Buschor–von Massow 1927, pp. 63–64, nos. 6–10); Buschor–von Massow 1927, pp. 61–64, nos. 1–16.
5. Demakopoulou 1982, pp. 29–42.
6. On the discovery and the significance of the sanctuary, see Christou 1956–61; Salapata 2002.
7. Fiechter 1918, pp. 125–27; Buschor–von Massow 1927, pp. 32–33, fig. 13; Waterhouse–Simpson 1960, p. 74; Cartledge 2002, pp. 33, 56–57, 93.
8. See especially Buschor–von Massow 1927, pp. 3–10.
9. Demakopoulou 1982, pp. 43–73.
10. Cartledge 2002, pp. 79, 81, 92
11. Burkert 1985, p. 49.
12. Cartledge 1976, p. 263; Kourinou 2000, p. 89; Cartledge 2002b, p. 94; Pikoulas 2006, p. 24.
13. See in general Faustoferri 1996, pp. 41–47. Literary sources: *Iliad* 2.584; Pindar Pyth. 1.65, 11.32. Nem. 11.34. Isthm. 7.14; Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 1297–1299; Thucydides 5.23; Polybios 5.19; Strabo 7.1.2, 8.5.1. On the inscriptions, see note 4.
14. Pausanias 3.1.3, 3.10.8, 3.16.2, 3.18.7–19.6; Athenaios *Deipnosophistai* 4. 138f–140a.
15. On Hyakinthos and his relation to Amyklai, see especially Piccirilli 1967; Pettersson 1992; Richer 2004.
16. For Athenaios, see note 14 and Pettersson 1992, p. 10.
17. Gordon 1817, pp. 446–52; Omont 1902, pp. 616–33. For his support and help regarding the previous references and the following, I am grateful to Paraskevas Matalas.
18. Leake 1830, pp. 134–47.
19. Tsountas 1889, p. 131; Tsountas 1890a, pp. 36–37; Tsountas 1890b, p. 81; Tsountas 1892.
20. Results published in Fiechter 1918, pp. 107–18.
21. Fiechter 1918
22. Ibid.
23. Buschor–von Massow 1927.
24. Ibid., pp. 28, 32–33.
25. Demakopoulou 1982.
26. Faustoferri 1996, pp. 24–36, figs. 2–4, 6, 9–16.
27. Fiechter 1918, pls. 19–20.
28. Buschor–von Massow 1927, p. 19, fig. 42.
29. Martin 1976, p. 214, figs. 6, 7.
30. Prückner 1992, pp. 129–30, pl. 21,1.
31. Delivorrias (in press)
32. Pollitt 1990, p. 23. See also Faustoferis 1996, pp. 87–281, esp. pp. 181–281, for her detailed description and doubtful conclusion that this monument would have served primarily to illustrate the political and strategic alliance between the royal house (of the Agiadai) and the aristocratic families (Aigeidai) of Sparta.
33. On Bathykles, see Martin 1976; Boardman 1978, p. 76; Pollitt 1990, pp. 23–26, fig. 1; Stewart 1990, pp. 118, 127, 246–47, 272; and, more recently, Vollkommer 2001. pp. 114–15 (Werner Müller). Regarding the connections between Sparta and Ionian city-states it is important to underline that they were already established from the seventh and especially the sixth century B.C. Laconian black-figure pottery and bronze objects that were found in Samos indicate that commercial communication and trade between them was established, as well as personal contacts between Spartan and Samian aristocrats. It is in this period when Croesus of Lydia concludes a military alliance with the Spartans against the Persians.
34. Buschor–von Massow 1927, p. 21.
35. Faustoferi 1996, pp. 297–358, esp. pp. 350–58.
36. Dengate 1988, pp. 130–133.
37. Ridgway 1977. See also Buschor–von Massow 1927, pp. 15–16, and Romano 1988.
38. Lacroix 1949, pp. 54–58, pl. 1.15; Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann 1978, p. 190, pl. 27, XLVIII 2, p. 195, pl. 28 LVI 5. A similar figure is to be seen on a damaged Hellenistic relief stele from the Amyklaion: Tod–Wace 1906, p. 202, no. 689.
39. Dengate 1988, p. 138.
40. Burkert 1985, p. 19; Cartledge 2002b, p. 69.
41. Dengate 1988, pp. 157–58, and more in detail Pettersson 1992, pp. 9–29.
42. Cf. Polignac, see note 3 (esp. pp. 70–72).
43. Pettersson 1992, pp. 122–23; Larson 2007, pp. 90–92.
44. Cf. Marinatos 1993, pp. 228–229.

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Abbreviations

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AD	*Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον*
AM	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung*
BABesch	*Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering des Kennis van de Antieke Beschaving*
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
BSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
BWBr	*Marburger Winckelmann-Programm*
IG	*Inscriptiones Greacae*
JbKuSammlBad	*Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden*
JdI	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
JwaltersArtGal	*The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*
OCD 1996	*Hornblower, S., and A. J. S. Spawforth, eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. 3rd ed. Oxford, 1996.*
OpAth	*Opuscula atheniensia*
PP	*La parola del passato*
RE	*Pauly –Wissowa, Real Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*
RM	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
StClOr	*Studi Classici ed Orientali*