

ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ

Lakonian Studies in honour of
HECTOR CATLING

Edited by Jan Motyka Sanders

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS
31-34 GORDON SQUARE, LONDON WC1H 0PY

Published by
The Managing Committee of the British School at Athens
31–34 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PY

© The Managing Committee, British School at Athens 1992

ISBN 0 904887 10 3

Distributed by
Oxbow Books, Park End Place, Oxford OX1 1HN
(Phone: 0865-241249; Fax: 0865-794449)

Distributed in the United States of America by
The David Brown Book Company, PO Box 5605, Bloomington, IN 47407
(Phone: 812-331-0266; Fax: 812-331-0277)

*The photograph on the front cover shows the Menelaion
against a background of the Taygetos Mountains.*

*On the back cover, Hector and Elizabeth Catling are seen
through the window at Aphyssou.*

(Both photos were taken by Richard Catling)

Produced by
AltSys Ltd,
74 Solonos Street, 106 80 Athens, Greece

Printed in Great Britain at
The Short Run Press, Exeter

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|------|
| Abbreviations | ix |
| Editor's preface | xi |
| HECTOR CATLING: A Memoir | xiii |
| PAMELA ARMSTRONG. Zeuxippus Derivative Bowls from Sparta | 1 |
| R. L. N. BARBER. The Origins of the Mycenaean Palace | 11 |
| JOHN BOARDMAN. 'For You Are the Progeny of Unconquered Herakles' | 25 |
| PETER G. CALLIGAS. From the Amyklaion | 31 |
| P. A. CARTLEDGE. Early Lakcdaimon: The Making of a Conquest - State | 49 |
| R. W. V. CATLING. A Votive Deposit of Seventh-Century Pottery from the Menelaion | 57 |
| W.-G. CAVANAGH & J. H. CROWEL. Melathria: A Small Mycenaean Rural Settlement in Laconia | 77 |
| WILLIAM D. E. COULSON. Mycenaean Pottery from Laconia in the Collection of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens | 87 |
| K. DEMAKOPOULOU. Some Early Mycenaean Vases from Asopos, Laconia | 95 |
| O. T. P. K. DICKINSON. Reflections on Bronze Age Laconia | 109 |
| DAVID HIBLER. Three Reliefs from Sparta | 115 |
| STEPHEN HODKINSON. Sharecropping and Sparta's Economic Exploitation of the Helots | 123 |
| SINCLAIR HOOD. Cretans in Laconia? | 135 |
| SIMON HORNBLOWER. Thucydides' Use of Herodotus | 141 |
| THEODORE G. KOUKOULIS. A Late Byzantine Windmill at Kythera | 155 |
| P. A. MOUNTJOY. The Origin of the LH III Whorl-Shell Motif | 165 |
| OLGA PALAGIA. Cult and Allegory: The Life Story of Artemidoros of Perge | 171 |
| MARIA PIPILI. A Laconian Ivory Reconsidered | 179 |

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----|
| J. ROY, J. A. LLOYD & E. J. OWENS. Two Sites in the Megalopolis Basin | 185 |
| G. D. R. SANDERS. George Finlay in Lakonia and Arkadia | 195 |
| JAN MOTYKA SANDERS. The Early Lakonia Dioskouroi Reliefs | 205 |
| GRAHAM SHIPLEY. <i>Perioikos</i> : The Discovery of Classical Lakonia | 211 |
| A. J. S. SPAWFORTH. Spartan Cults Under the Roman Empire: Some Notes | 227 |
| GEORGE STEINHAUER. An Illyrian Mercenary in Sparta Under Nabis | 239 |
| R. A. TOMLINSON. The Menelaion and Spartan Architecture | 247 |
| D. V. VAYAKAKOS (Δ. Β. ΒΑΓΙΑΚΑΚΟΣ). Ἐκ τοῦ Τοπωνυμικοῦ τῆς Λακωνίας καὶ τοῦ Συναφοῦς ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλᾶδος | 257 |
| J. M. WAGSTAFF. Colonel Leake in Laconia | 277 |
| PETER WARREN. Lapis Lacedaemonius | 285 |
| I. K. WHITBREAD. Petrographic Analysis of Barbarian Ware from the Menelaion, Sparta | 297 |
| Bibliography for Hector Catling | 307 |

ABBREVIATIONS OTHER THAN STANDARD

- AO* R. M. Dawkins, ed., *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (*JHS* Suppl. 5, London 1929)
- Chrimes* K. M. T. Chrimes, *Ancient Sparta: a re-examination of the evidence* (Manchester 1949)
- Clauss* M. Clauss, *Sparta Eine Einführung in seine Geschichte und Zivilisation* (Munich 1983)
- FM* Furumark motif number, cf. *MP* 236
- Forrest* W. G. Forrest, *A History of Sparta 950-192 BC* (London 1968)
- FS* Furumark shape number, cf. *MP* 585
- Gazetteer* R. Hope Simpson and O. T. P. K. Dickinson, *A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilization in the Bronze Age, I. The Mainland and Islands* (*SIMA* 52, Göteborg 1979)
- HRS* Paul Cartledge and Antony Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: a tale of two cities* (London and New York 1989)
- Jones* A. H. M. Jones, *Sparta* (Oxford 1967)
- Kiechle* F. Kiechle, *Lakonien und Sparta* (Munich 1963)
- Kythera* J. N. Coldstream and G. L. Huxley, eds. *Kythera: excavations and studies conducted by the University of Pennsylvania Museum and the British School at Athens* (London 1972)
- LS* *Λακωνικά Σπουδαί*
- LSAG* L. H. Jeffreys, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (revised ed. with suppl. by A. W. Johnston, Oxford 1990)
- MDP* P. A. Mountjoy, *Mycenaean Decorated Pottery: a guide to identification* (*SIMA* 73, Göteborg 1986)
- Michell* H. Michell, *Sparta: τὸ κρυπτόν τῆς πολιτείας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων* (Cambridge 1952)
- MP* A. Furumark, *The Mycenaean Pottery, I. Analysis and Classification; II. Chronology* (Stockholm 1941, repr. 1972)

- PM* A. J. Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, 4 vols and index vol. (London 1921-1936)
- Powell A. Powell, ed., *Classical Sparta: techniques behind her success* (London 1989)
- SL* Paul Cartledge, *Sparta and Lakonia. A regional history, 1300-362 B.C.* (London 1979)
- SMC* M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace, *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* (Oxford 1906, repr. Rome 1968)
- Tigerstedt E. N. Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta in Classical Antiquity*, 2 vols and index vol. (Stokholm, Göteborg and Uppsala 1965, 1974, 1978)
- WHS I H. Waterhouse and R. Hope Simpson, "Prehistoric Laconia, part I," *BSA* 55 (1960) 67-107
- WHS II H. Waterhouse and R. Hope Simpson, "Prehistoric Laconia, part II," *BSA* 56 (1961) 114-75

FROM THE AMYKLAION¹

As the river Eurotas makes its way towards the sea across the narrow but fertile Spartan plain, after flowing by the city of Sparta itself, it passes on its eastern bank the hill of the Menelaion. Still further down and on the west side of the river rises the hill of the Amyklaion. Menelaion - Amyklaion, two neighbouring sacred places of ancient Sparta with a long, parallel history, richly invested with venerated myths and cults of the Laconian metropolis.²

The Menelaion, as is well known, has been the site of intensive recent archaeological research undertaken by Hector Catling, a dear friend to whom this volume is justly dedicated. By contrast the Amyklaion, which was first excavated a century ago, has not received equal attention. The purpose of this short paper is to discuss some of the problems involved in the first excavations of the Amyklaion, to present certain of the unpublished finds from the site and to propose a new interpretation of the early history of the sanctuary.

Ancient literary sources and inscriptions bear witness to the great importance that the sanctuary of Apollo near the village of Amyklai held for the people of Laconia, who honoured the god there under the name Ἀπόλλων Ἀμυκλαῖος or Ἀπόλλων ἐν Ἀμυκλαίῳ.³ We also know from the sources that during the historical period, this Apollonian sanctuary was connected with the chthonic worship of Hyakinthos and the important Hyakinthia festival (Ath. 4.139 d-f). No less important was the position that the village of Amyklai itself occupied within the Spartan community during this period, since it was the fifth village (obe) which, along with the four mainly Spartan ones, constituted the Dorian city of Sparta.⁴

It was in the beginning of the last century that the low hill crowned by the little church of Ag. Kyriaki was first identified as the site of the important sanctuary of Apollo Amyklaios by W. M. Leake.⁵ However, the first archaeological excavations were undertaken a century ago, in the summer of 1890, by Chr. Tsountas and financed by the Archaeological Society in Athens.⁶ Tsountas published a study on the excavations, entitled Ἐκ τοῦ

¹ I would like to thank my daughter Eleni Calligas for her help.

Abbreviations other than standard:

Tsountas: C. Tsountas, "Ἐκ τοῦ Ἀμυκλαίου," *ArchEph* (1892) 1-26.

Fiechter: E. Fiechter, "Amyklae. Der Thron des Apollon," *Jdl* 33 (1918) 107-245.

Amyklaion, 1927: E. Buschor and W. von Massow, "Vom Amyklaion," *AM* 52 (1927) 1-85.

Demakopoulou: K. Demakopoulou, *Τό Μυκηναϊκό Ἱερό στό Ἀμύκλαιο καί ἡ ΥΕΙΙΙ περίοδος στήν Λακωνία* (Athens 1982).

² The geographical correlation of the sites is well illustrated in a sketch by H. Thiersch published in Fiechter 107, fig. 1; for the Menelaion and the Amyklaion see C. Christou, *Ἀρχαία Σπάρτη* (Sparta 1960) 69-72; for the Menelaion also see below, n. 107.

³ *RE* I (1894) 1995 s.v. "Amyklai", "Amyklaios"; *IG* V.1.1ff. (sporadic). See also M. Mellink, *Hyakinthos* (Utrecht 1943) passim. Thuc. 5. 23 mentions the deposition in the sanctuary of the important inscribed stele with the copy of the treaty of Athenians and Lacedaemonians.

⁴ G. L. Huxley, *Early Sparta* (London 1962) 24-25; Kiechle 55-67; Michell 98-99; Forrest 42-46; *SL* 107-1099. For connections of Amyklai with Gortyna in Crete see R. F. Willetts, *Cretan Cults and Festivals* (London 1962) 154, 260-61.

⁵ W. M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea* I (London 1830) 144.

⁶ Preliminary investigation by Tsountas: *ArchEph*, 1889, 131; Excavation (1890): *Prakt*, 1890, 36-37; *ArchDelt*, 1890, 81.

'Αμυκλαίου'⁷ (whence the title of the present paper) and presented a selection of the most noteworthy finds. Immediately after the excavations, he transported most of the finds, both metalware and terracotta, to Athens and deposited them in the Collection of the Archaeological Society, where they were indexed in the inventories under the relevant headings, bronzes, pottery, etc. It was there that de Ridder saw and studied some of the bronzes and included them in his catalogue,⁸ while the rest remained unpublished. The finds were subsequently transferred to the National Archaeological Museum in Athens and indexed once more in the relevant inventories. In the local museum in Sparta, Tsountas deposited certain of the remaining finds, mainly pottery, and although a number of these were included in the valuable catalogue of the Sparta Museum compiled by Tod and Wace,⁹ in fact they remained unpublished and unknown. Tsountas' research, while undisputably revealing, with the help of the inscriptions, that in antiquity the site was that of the Sanctuary of Amyklaian Apollo, also showed that subsequent building intervention had seriously damaged the constructions of the sanctuary and that the top of the hill had to a great extent been stripped of the ancient layers. Particularly noteworthy was the destruction of the important Throne of Apollo, which is described in detail by Pausanias, who mentions it as the work of Bathykles from Magnesia in Asia Minor (Paus. 3. 18. 9ff). On the east and north side of the hill, the excavator dug parts of a terrace wall, which enclosed the sanctuary during the Classical period.

Tsountas' excavations were followed in 1904 by those of A. Furtwängler, with the help of the architect E. Fiechter. After Furtwängler's sudden death, the work was undertaken in 1907 once again by the Archaeological Society, under A. Skias with the collaboration of Fiechter¹⁰. Their main task was the demolition of the small church of Ag. Kyriaki - which had used many ancient architectural members as construction material - in the hope of revealing ancient foundations connected with the Throne of the Amyklaian Apollo. Although the church was pulled down and a new one built to its north-west, almost on the ruins of the Early Christian church excavated by Tsountas, the results were overall negative. Nevertheless a large number of architectural members that must be connected with the throne were found. Fiechter published the results of the 1904-1907 excavations in an extensive article and endeavoured to reconstruct the throne.¹¹

A new excavation in 1925 by E. Buschor and W. von Massow aimed at the clarification of various uncertainties concerning this important archaeological site. It was believed that undisturbed ancient layers were detected in the area of the north terrace-wall and a study of the stratigraphy of the consecutive phases of the sanctuary's history (pre-Mycenaean, Mycenaean, Proto-Geometric, Geometric, Archaic and Classical) was attempted. In an analytical study, the excavators presented the results of the new investigation and proposed

⁷ See above (n. 1) for the excavations of the site and the finds: D. Leekley and R. Naves, *Archaeological Excavations in Southern Greece* (Park Ridge, NJ 1976) 104-105.

⁸ A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des Bronzes de la Société Archéologique d'Athènes* (Paris 1894) nos. 2-3, 150, 530, 814-5, 846, 992, 997, 1004, 1017.

⁹ *SMC* 225, 241, 244; *ArchDelt.* 1890, 101, 104. The Amyklaion material is catalogued under the inv. nos. 689-693 and 792-802. Cf also W. D. E. Coulson, "The Dark Age Pottery of Sparta," *BSA* 80 (1985), 30,

n. 6. For the need of publication, see B. C. Dietrich, "The Dorian Hyacinthia: a survival from the Bronze Age," *Kadmos* 14 (1975) 137, n. 45.

¹⁰ A. Skias, "Ανασκαφαί ἐν Ἀμύκλαις," *Prakt.* 1907, 104-107. All the 1907 finds were deposited in the Sparta Museum, where they were catalogued under inv. nos. 878-946, while finds from the Amyklaion previous to 1907 were catalogued under the nos. 731-733, 747, 763, 768 and 785-86.

¹¹ Fiechter 107-245. Cf. W. Klein, "Zum Thron des Apollo von Amyklæe," *AA*, 1922, 6-13.

a theory of continuous historical evolution of the sanctuary. Most of the new finds were described and illustrated, while a new reconstruction of the Throne was also attempted.¹²

Since then however, and despite an interval of 65 years, the site has not been researched anew archaeologically, and modern scholarly conclusions are still based on the observations of the German research of 1925. Recently, the sanctuary was the subject of a noteworthy Ph.D. thesis by Kaiti Demakopoulou that dealt especially with the Mycenaean phase of the site.¹³ While the particular excavation problems are presented and the LH III terracotta finds published, the work naturally centres around the Mycenaean era.

As Laconian studies have greatly advanced in recent years, due especially to the thorough and intensive British excavations under Hector Catling at the site of the Menelaion, and as the general study of the Early Iron Age in Greece has also developed lately, I believe that the time has come to re-examine and re-excavate this important site not least because the Amyklaion is among the few Laconian sites where it is believed that a stratified identification of the various historical phases, and most particularly the transition from the Mycenaean (LH IIIC) to the Proto-Geometric and Geometric periods, has been established. Additionally, certain aspects of the site, such as the course of the retaining terrace wall and the various layers within it, must be re-investigated.

Before resorting to new excavations, however, it would, I think, be useful to re-examine Tsountas' report of the work undertaken in 1890 which remains relatively unknown. The description of the excavations can run parallel to a re-appraisal of the finds, especially the metal ones whose final identification and inclusion in the inventories of the National Archaeological Museum I was able to complete just a few years ago. It is hoped that this re-examination will allow some new, more general conclusions to be drawn, which in their turn will aid future excavations of the site.

During the 1890 excavations Tsountas realised and described in his report that, in the historical period, the hill of the Amyklaion was surrounded, especially on the east and north side, by a strong retaining wall with well-constructed stepped masonry.¹⁴ On the inside of the retaining wall the excavator found the earth to be clear with very few ancient finds (Tsountas col. 6). The then existing church of Ag. Kyriaki occupied the highest point of the hill. To its NW, Tsountas excavated the foundations of an older, small triconch church which must have been an Early Christian cemetery basilica connected with the relatively large number of Christian graves found west and north of its foundations (col. 7-9). Various ancient architectural members as well as inscribed stelae and bases, the text of which the excavator transcribed, had been used both as tombstones and in the building of the church and the graves. As Tsountas observed, there were no ancient finds *in situ* in the area of the Early Christian church and the graves since the Christian buildings were founded on the rock and had apparently destroyed all the ancient layers that must have existed there previously.

It was at the west end of the relatively flat hill-top that Tsountas found remains of ancient constructions which he connected with the Sanctuary of Apollo (col. 15-16). There he

¹² Amyklaion, 1927. The finds from the excavations were deposited in the Sparta Museum, some bronzes were temporarily transferred to the Nat. Archaeol. Museum in Athens (inv. nos. A.15117 - A.15123), but were subsequently returned to the Sparta Museum. New architectural members from the throne were later deposited in the Sparta Museum and recognized by

A. Delivorrias, *Arch. Delt* 23 (1968) Chronika 140; idem, "Ειδήσεις ἐκ Σπάρτης," *AAA* 1 (1968) 42-44.

¹³ Demakopoulou.

¹⁴ A section of the wall appears on plan in Tsountas 1. A useful topographical diagram of the whole site is in Fiechter 108, fig. 2.

excavated part of a semi-circular structure built from small stones. It was paved on the eastern side and most of its foundations lay on the natural rock. Tsountas insisted that this construction had originally been semi-circular and not part of a full circle, and he believed it to be the foundation of the monumental Throne of Apollo.

In and around the construction, especially on the south, Tsountas found a layer of black soil which indicated burning and included charcoal, ash, animal bones, sheep horns and ox teeth.¹⁵ There he also found fragments of Geometric vases, a large number of miniature hand-made clay skyphoi, certain bronze objects - such as spear heads, part of a circular handle of an Archaic tripod cauldron¹⁶ - and a fragment of a stamped clay roof-tile of the Hellenistic period (col. 12). It is obvious that the layer was disturbed and not chronologically homogeneous.

Many dedications were found scattered in a wide area north and mainly east and south of the construction. Among these dedications, the following can be identified from their description: some strips of decorated sheet bronze,¹⁷ a fragment of a hammered leg of a Geometric tripod,¹⁸ a bronze earring,¹⁹ engraved ivory bands,²⁰ and the statuette of a kore playing the cymbals which formed the stand of a bronze mirror.²¹ Pendants in the form of small bronze double axes,²² bronze pins with a top ring,²³ various bronze rings,²⁴ numerous clay aryballoi stacked together, two heads of Geometric terracotta statuettes,²⁵ a bronze

¹⁵ Where the finds, following Tsountas' description, can be identified with these now in the Nat. Archaeol. Museum in Athens, their inv. nos. are given together with the rubric: "X" denoting the Collection of Bronzes. "A" the Collection of Vases and "PR" the Prehistoric Collection. See for the Mycenaean finds Demakopoulou, 43-78. I would like to thank my colleagues in the Nat. Archaeol. Museum, Miss Ios Zervoudaki, Curator of the Collection of Vases and Mrs K. Demakopoulou, Curator of the Prehistoric Collection, for their help.

¹⁶ Inv. no. X.17545 - M. P. H. 0.09m (unpublished); cf. a similar handle from the Sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas: P. G. Calligas, "Το Ιερό του Απόλλωνα Υπερτελεάτα στην Λακωνία," *LS* 5 (1980) 23, fig. 12.

¹⁷ (a) inv. no. X.17551, L. 0.078m, with rosettes (unpublished); (b) inv. no. X.17553: small fragments decorated with a guilloche pattern from the border of votive bronze shields; cf. *AO* 201, pl. 87 i-k and 88 b, h; and M. S. Thompson, "Excavations at Sparta, 1909. The Menelaion," *BSA* 15 (1908-9) 144, fig. 13; 18 and *ArchRep* 1976-7, 38, fig. 39.

¹⁸ Possibly inv. no. X. 17555, L. 0.14m. (unpublished).

¹⁹ Inv. no. X.8219, D. 0.045m (unpublished).

²⁰ Inv. nos. A.3796 and A.3797. A third piece was also found, A.3798: E. L. Marangou, *Laconische Elfenbein und Beinschnitzereien* (Tübingen 1969) 14, fig. 11-13. A fourth band, A.3800, is unpublished. Of a different type and possibly later: see Amyklaion, 1927, 38, fig. 19.

²¹ Inv. no. X.7548, Tsountas 10-11, pl. 1; L. O. Keene Congdon, *Caryatid Mirrors of Ancient Greece* (Mainz

am Rhein 1981) 130-31, no. 7, pl. 5 (with bibliography); M. Herford-Koch, "Archaische Bronzeplastik Laconiens," *Boreas* Suppl. IV (Münster 1986) 97, no. K.56, pl. 7, 5-6.

²² Inv. no. X.10652 (eight examples). For one example see Tsountas 12, pl. 3.2. Six are published by I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, *Anhänger in Griechenland von der mykenischen bis zur spatgeometrischen Zeit* (*PBF* XI.2, Munich 1979) 248-52, nos. 1595-96, 1617, 1645, 1671-72. Four examples are in Demakopoulou, 77-78, pl. 54.

²³ Inv. no. X.8340 (three examples), L. 0.11-0.125m (unpublished). Similar were found by Massow, Amyklaion, 1927, 36-7, Beil VIII, 4-5. See also P. Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins* (Oxford 1956) 134 (ring pins); I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, *Nadeln der frühhelladischen bis archaischen Zeit von der Peloponnes* (*PBF* XIII.8, Munich 1984) 284, nos. 4905-4909, pl. 113.

²⁴ All of bronze, found by Tsountas, inv. nos. X.8282 (simple rings), X.17542 (coils of wire), X.20123, X.20129, X.20131 (sheet cylinders), X.20132 (heavy amphiconical rings). See also examples from the 'Protogeometric layer', Amyklaion, 1927, 34, fig. 17, 4, 6. Some were for personal wear, others for dedication of locks of hair and others may have been part of some equipment; cf. the use of a bronze sheet cylinder as holder of pins in a LG grave at Tiryns, N. Verdalis, "Neue geometrische Gräber in Tiryns," *AM* 78 (1963) 43, fig. 14 (Gr. XXV:3).

²⁵ Inv. nos. A.4381-4382, Tsountas 13, pl. 4, 4-5; Demakopoulou 139, n. 73 (bibliography); *The Human Figure in Early Greek Art* (Athens 1987) 87, nos. 16-17 (exhibition catalogue with good photos).

figurine of a youth,²⁶ an engraved semi-precious stone,²⁷ and other objects were also found. Not many votive offerings were uncovered west of the semi-circular construction, but Tsountas noted the existence of a headless clay female figurine and a clay spindle whorl, both of the Mycenaean period.

Tsountas, as already mentioned, believed the semi-circular construction to be the foundation of the Throne of Apollo. The more recent German excavations, however, located this monument on the site of the old church of Ag. Kyriaki, and Tsountas' semi-circular structure was thought, rightly, to be part of the circular altar of the sanctuary where sacrifices were burnt.²⁸ Dedications were also found on the slope of the hill, east of the then existing church of Ag. Kyriaki - i.e. the Throne of Apollo - and, in particular, a few bronze animal figurines including a small Geometric deer,²⁹ the two well known decorated Geometric vases,³⁰ fragments and heads of Mycenaean terracotta bulls,³¹ a small bronze Archaic 'lyre'³² and an interesting iron sword,³³ the latter however was not transferred to Athens but evidently remained in the Sparta Museum (col. 14).

Tsountas also investigated in detail the preserved parts of the sanctuary's retaining wall, which he dated to the Early Classical period (col. 5-6 and 17-18). Charcoal and ashes from a fire were found near the NE corner of the terrace wall (col. 17), together with an inscribed bronze diskos,³⁴ a fragment of an inscribed bronze tablet,³⁵ the cast leg of a bronze Geometric tripod cauldron³⁶ (Fig. 13.a), a couple of miniature lead votive wreaths³⁷ and other objects. A quantity of charcoal and ash was also noted outside the north side of the terrace wall. It included many fragments of clay tiles of the Hellenistic period, while bronze animal figurines, small bronze double axes³⁸ and bracelets³⁹ were once more found there.

²⁶ Inv. no. X.7570 H. 0.051m.; W. Lambrinouidakis, *LIMC* II, 1, 190, s.v. Apollo no. 9; Herford-Koch (n. 21) 108, no. K.95, pl. 13.6.

²⁷ Inv. no. PR.10117, amygdaloid red-brown comelian (sard) engraved with fish, Tsountas 13, pl. 4.3; J. Sakellarakis, *CMS I Suppl.* (Berlin 1982) 73, no. 37. Three other seal-stones were also found by Tsountas; two engraved (*CMS I Suppl.* nos. 36 and 38) and one undecorated (Inv. no. A.9536).

²⁸ See Wolter's sketch (1894) in Fiechter 132, fig. 18. For the reconstruction of the round stepped altar see Fiechter 162-65, fig. 36. See also fig. 53; the lower diameter, 8.42m.

²⁹ The bronze deer: inv. no. X.7659, L. 0.053m. (unpublished).

³⁰ Deep pyxides: inv. nos. A.233 and A.234, Tsountas 14, pl. 14.1-2; M. Collignon and L. Couve, *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes* (Paris 1902) 94, nos. 396 bis-ter; no. A234, with the men's round dance, *The Human Figure* (n. 25) 82-3, no. 14 (with later bibliography).

³¹ Inv. no. A.4385 (the bull), Tsountas 14, pl. 3.1 and 3-4; Demakopoulou 57-63, pl. 27. Two "psi" type figurines, A.4383 and A.4384, mentioned by F. Winter, *Die antiken Terrakotten* III, 1 (Berlin-Stuttgart 1903) p. xxxiii; E. B. French, "The development of Mycenaean terracotta figurines," *BSA* 66 (1971) 179, pl. 19c.

³² Inv. no. X.10671, Tsountas 14, pl. 3.5; Demakopoulou 76-77, pl. 53. For similar examples of

miniature kitharai see P. G. Calligas, "Αρχαιολογικά Ευρήματα από την Ιθάκη," *Κεφαλληνιακά Χρονικά* 3 (1978-79) 56.

³³ *SMC* 241, no. 693 (16-17); discussion and bibliography in Demakopoulou 73-78.

³⁴ Inv. no. X.8618, D. 0.19m; de Ridder (n. 8) 104, no. 530. The inscription obviously became visible after the conservation of the diskos in the Nat. Arch. Museum; J. Jüthner, "Diskoi," *ÖJh* 29 (1935) 40 note 25, with a reading of the inscription by O. Walter; *pace* C. Vollgraff in Mellink (n. 3) 23, note 4.

³⁵ Inv. no. X.8120, M. P. L. 0.083m (unpublished).

³⁶ Inv. no. X.8009, M. P. H. 0.302m; de Ridder (n. 8) 4, no. 2; mentioned by C. Rolley, *FdD V 3: Les trépieds à cuve clouée* (Paris 1977) 112, n. 9 and M. Maass, *OIForsch X: Die geometrischen Dreifüsse von Olympia* (Berlin 1978) 4, 24.

³⁷ Inv. no. X.9387 (unpublished). The one surviving example of a spiked wreath resembles the later examples from the Artemis Orthia Sanctuary, *AO* 278, pl. 199.24, and the Menelaion, W. G. Cavanagh and R. R. Laxton, "Lead Figurines from the Menelaion and Seriation," *BSA* 79 (1984) 23-36.

³⁸ See note 22.

³⁹ Inv. no. X.17543 (ten examples, unpublished). Also 29 examples from Tsountas' excavations now in the Sparta Museum, *SMC* 241, no. 693(3). See also an example found in the German excavations, Amyklaion, 1927, 37, fig. 18.

On the NW end of the north side of the retaining wall a large number of tiles were again found - including one of Laconian type with a double stamp⁴⁰ - together with a small Daedalic hammered female protome,⁴¹ three iron spear heads,⁴² a lead winged figurine⁴³ and the well known Archaic bronze statuette of a wreathed youth.⁴⁴

Among the most important finds of Tsountas' excavations was the discovery of pre-historic tombs inside the area of the sanctuary, to which however he paid little attention. Eight metres north-west of the 'semi-circular construction', ie. the altar, the excavator found two built tombs. They were cist-tombs, but built from small slate-like stones, and had cover stones. Inside one of them, which was obviously undisturbed, Tsountas found two small clay vases (col. 12). The two vases were transported to the National Archaeological Museum together with the other finds from the excavations and catalogued in the inventory of vases, as nos. A.37 and A.38. Today only one has been identified (A.38) but fortunately both had been described⁴⁵ and illustrated.⁴⁶ The preserved vase is a small kalathos with a round vertical handle and a second, also vertical, side handle.⁴⁷ It is of pink clay and has a creamy slip. Its matt-painted decoration is composed of horizontal lines and a system of three pairs of small individual spirals arranged around the belly. A.37 was of a similar shape and, according to Tsountas, had 'three white spirals on red ground' on the shoulder. It is clear from the evidence that the two built tombs possibly, can be dated in the last phase of the Middle-Helladic period (MH III).⁴⁸

Ten metres east of the old church of Ag. Kyriaki, on the site of Apollo's Throne, Tsountas found yet another tomb, a plain pit-grave extending from east to west. From his description (col. 14) it appears that the tomb had been partially disturbed at some (later?) time and was found full of charcoal. Preserved at the two ends, however, were what must have been the original offerings to the dead: 'two undecorated clay vases, one of which resembled the shape of a two-handled skyphos' found at the western end of the tomb and a small bronze knife found at the tomb's eastern end. The vases were not transferred to Athens (and were not included in the inventories either of the Archaeological Society or the National Museum) but, apparently, remained in Sparta. I believe that they can be identified with two vases in the Sparta Museum which, according to their descriptions, are a one-handled cup and a two-handled cup,⁴⁹ and can be dated as Early Mycenaean. Of the bronze knife Tsountas records that the 'blade is almost triangular' (col. 15). From the description it can be identified as an unpublished bronze knife in the National Archaeological Museum, the only intact knife

⁴⁰ Inv. no. A.2493, Tsountas 3, no. 1; cf. the inscriptions from other Amyklaian stamped tiles: *IG V* 863 a-c.

⁴¹ Inv. no. X.7755, H. 0.045m (unpublished); mentioned by L. F. Fitzhardinge, *The Spartans* (London 1980) 92-93.

⁴² Inv. no. X. 9423 (one example), L. 0.11m. (unpublished). The two larger iron heads attributed to the Amyklaion and catalogued under nos. X. 9408 and X. 9419 could not be identified in the Bronze Collection.

⁴³ Inv. no. X.9306 (unpublished). Cf. the lead figurines from Artemis Orthia and the Menelaion (n. 37).

⁴⁴ Inv. no. X.7547, Tsountas, 18, pl. 2; de Ridder (n. 8) 143, no. 814; Herford-Koch (n. 21) 107, no. K. 92, pl. 13, 5 (with bibliography).

⁴⁵ Collignon and Couve (n. 30) 33, nos. 170-71.

⁴⁶ Amyklaion, 1927, 6, Beil I, 4-5.

⁴⁷ This type of double handle is not common but see a similar kalathos from a MH III period grave in Argos: E. Protonotariou-Deilake, *Οι Τύμβοι του 'Αργους* (Athens 1980) 40, 184, Phot. G. 30.1-4 and especially drawing E.19, above.

⁴⁸ The importance of the tombs has been stressed by Demakopoulou 38. This pottery from the Amyklaion can be compared to the vases found (together with an interesting bronze pin) in three cist-tombs at Geraki in Laconia: A. J. B. Wace, "Early Pottery from Geraki," *BSA* 16 (1909-10) 72-75, fig. 3-4, cf. *WHS* I, 85-86, where a MH III date is suggested.

⁴⁹ *SMC* 246, no. 799 (8). Cf. Demakopoulou 40.



Fig. 13. Bronzes from the Amyklaion. a. leg of geometric tripod. b. Bronze Age knife. c. horse from geometric tripod. d. hair fasteners.

among the Amyklaion finds. (Fig. 13.b and 14)⁵⁰ The small bronze nails (L. 0.01 m.) used to fasten the handle are preserved in two of the three holes of the handle and set in a horizontal line parallel to the handle, which has no flanges. The back of the knife is slightly concave. The Amyklaion knife is a typical Bronze Age implement and can be placed in Class Ia of N. Sandars' classification, with a date between the late Middle Helladic and the beginning of the Late Helladic (Mycenaean) period.⁵¹

A future detailed study of the vases found in these tombs will show if indeed the three tombs that Tsountas excavated on the slopes of the Amyklaion hill can - despite the differences in their construction - be dated during the same transitional period, i.e. from the MH to the LH age. The existence of a MH settlement on the hill, however, is testified by the rich Minyan Wares found during the German excavations.⁵²

If the occupation of the site during this early, pre-Mycenaean period is certified on the hill of Ag. Kyriaki, even with very few building remains, stratified pottery and tombs, the periods which followed are exceptionally vague and confused. This is certified by Tsountas' descriptions from where it can be derived, as modern scholars have already noted,⁵³ that the excavator did not observe any undisturbed ancient layer and that the various offerings and ancient objects were in complete disorder regarding both place and time. Of course a concentration of offerings was observed around the altar with the burnt layer ('semi-circular construction', according to Tsountas), but even these were chronologically mixed. The burnt layer also noted by Tsountas outside the terrace wall must be similar to that found in 1925 by the Germans.⁵⁴ The offerings had obviously poured out of the destroyed retaining wall, indicating that they belonged to the interior layers and must have rolled down from some

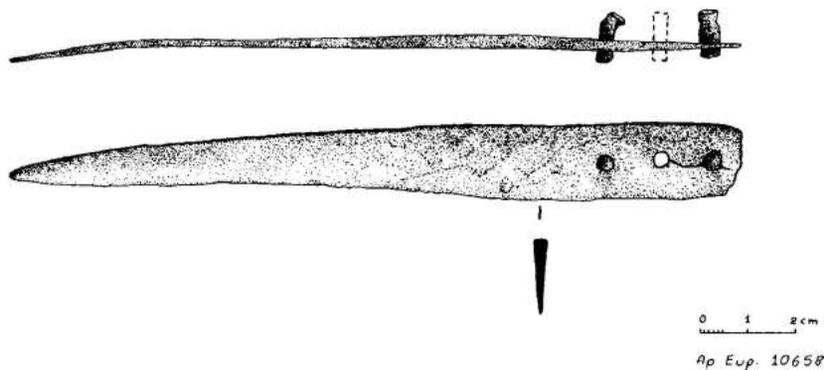


Fig. 14. Bronze Age knife.

⁵⁰ Inv. no. X.10658, L. 0.155m, W. 0.015m, intact. The tomb is mentioned by Fiechter, 127; compare also the fragment(?) from Tsountas' excavations in the Sparta Museum: "bronze knife blade, L. 0.09m"; *SMC* 241, no. 693 (10).

⁵¹ N. K. Sandars, "The Antiquity of the one-edge bronze knife in the Aegean," *PPS* 21 (1955) 174-97. I thank the draughtswoman of the Nat. Arch. Museum,

Mrs. Th. Kakarounga, for the design of the knife.

⁵² Amyklaion, 1927, 3-10; *WHS* I, 75; A small stone axe also found by Tsountas (inv. no. PR.3973), L. 0.008m unpublished) should be mentioned. Is it the one described by Tsountas, *ArchEph* 1889, 131 as having been collected on the hill?

⁵³ Demakopoulou 37.

⁵⁴ Amyklaion, 1927, 32-3.

higher point of the hill. A case in point is probably that of the bronze statuette of the wreathed youth (inv. no. X.7547) found outside the retaining wall, which would have been originally set on a pedestal somewhere inside the sanctuary at a considerably higher level.⁵⁵ It is also probable that a number of ancient pits: (bothroi) where the old offerings of the sanctuary would be collected existed, but none as yet been noted.

Tsountas' observation (col. 6) that the terrace wall existed only on the south, east and part of the north side of the hill remains to be verified by future excavation. Certainly it was a remarkable technical achievement and probably rose to considerable height and - judging by the morphology of the land- needed large quantities of soil to fill the interior. Chronologically, the construction of the terrace wall is probably connected with of Apollo's throne at the end of the sixth century BC. Apparently at that time it was necessary to develop a flat area around Bathykses' impressive construction, upon which towered the colossal xoanon-like statue of the god Apollo at a height of approximately thirteen metres.⁵⁶ The surface of the rocky hill top seems to have been rather small and the new needs of the sanctuary at the end of the sixth century BC necessitated the artificial expansion of the area with the construction of the terrace.

No remains of a construction were noted on the rock by either Tsountas or the German excavators, neither was a stratified layer found that would allow for the conclusion that the hill had been occupied at any other period, except first during the Pre- Mycenaean era (EH and MH/early LH settlements) and then during the historical period (Sanctuary of Hyakinthos and Apollo).

The significant intermediate phase of the Mycenaean period (LH IIIB-C) noted in the Amyklaion, is represented exclusively by a series of small finds, i.e. the interesting terracotta statuettes of bulls, a number of animal figurines and many clay, Psi-type female figurines. This evidence allowed, however, the early supposition that a sanctuary already existed on top of the hill of Ag. Kyriaki from the Mycenaean age.⁵⁷ To interpret the absence of building remains connected with the Mycenaean phase, it was suggested that the sanctuary was either an open-air, rural one or small in size and not incorporated in a larger building complex, or even that it was, a 'peak sanctuary'. But the pottery dated with the other finds is restricted in quantity, insignificant in quality and, contrary to what one would expect in an area of continuous worship during approximately two centuries (mid. 13th to mid. 11th centuries BC),⁵⁸ not of a votive character.

It must therefore be admitted that the Mycenaean phase of the Amyklaion is extremely ambiguous, and the possibility that the Mycenaean finds excavated there were brought in antiquity from elsewhere - perhaps from one of the neighbouring hills - should not be excluded. It is on these hills that the Mycenaean settlement must be sought, and possibly the Mycenaean domestic shrine whence the finds originated. The most appropriate time for

⁵⁵ Tsountas col. 17-18; see the interesting observations by Cartledge, *SL* 81-83, and W. D. E. Coulson, "The Dark Age Pottery of Sparta," *BSA* 80 (1985) 30.

⁵⁶ "Thirty πήχεις" high according to Pausanias (3. 19. 2). For the colossal statue of Apollo: *LIMC* (n. 25) 196, no. 55. For a hypothetical reconstruction of the site during the Classical period see Fiechter figs. 38 (on p. 166) and 53 (p. 208). For the artist Bathykses see E. Langlotz, *Studien zur*

nordostgriechischen Kunst (Mainz am Rhein 1975) 173-74; R. Martin, "Bathykses de Magnésie et le trône d'Apollo à Amyklai," *RA* (1976) 205-18 (with a new proposition of reconstruction). For the mythological scenes see M. Pipili, *Laconian Iconography of the Sixth Century B.C.* (Oxford 1987) 81-82. The colossus was gilded during the reign of Croesus: Ath. 6, 232a.

⁵⁷ Kiechle (n. 4) 49-54; in detail Demakopoulou 82-96.

⁵⁸ Demakopoulou 89-90.

the transfer of large quantities of soil to the sanctuary would be at the end of the sixth century BC, when the terrace was constructed and the soil for the necessary levelling gathered - soil that would, incidentally, have included the remains of Mycenaean cult.

During the historical period, when the Sanctuary of Hyakinthos and Apollo existed on the hill, it is clear that the settlement of Amyklai itself was, as Tsountas has already suggested,⁵⁹ located elsewhere. Presumably, the hill top of Ag. Kyriaki was too confined to support such an important fortified settlement and indeed, the only traces of habitation detected there were those of the comparatively small Pre-Mycenaean settlement.

Because the building remains on the Amyklaion were so few, scholars naturally hoped that the pottery, being the most numerous group of finds, would prove more helpful. But early Laconian pottery is both problematic and idiosyncratic. Until recently very few tombs have been found in Laconia that offered whole vases dating from the period after the 11th century BC and the pottery of the age is known mainly from sherds. Apart from the great quantity found at the Amyklaion, sherds have also been noted in other sites, mostly sanctuaries such as Artemis Orthia, Athena Chalkioikos and the Heroon - all in Sparta,⁶⁰ where however the pottery is not well stratified.

At the Amyklaion, however, the German excavators succeeded in 1925 in completing a stratigraphical section where they detected a variety of sherds in consecutive layers.⁶¹ Believing that a continuous chronological sequence from the Mycenaean through to the Hellenistic period could thus be established, the excavators supposed that there also existed continuity of cult at the Amyklaion from the Mycenaean period onwards. Despite its restricted area and dubious stratigraphical value, due mainly to contamination of the layers by artifacts from other chronological periods, this section became for many years the corner stone upon which rested the theory of continuity of cult at the Amyklaion and, by extension, the continuity of settlement in parts at least of Laconia.⁶² At the same time however, the dearth of archaeological material from the wider Laconian area led other scholars to the conclusion that Laconia was uninhabited for approximately 200 years, i.e. from c.1050 until c.850 BC.⁶³

It is only recently that the studies of Cartledge and Coulson on the early Iron Age Laconian pottery clarified certain of these issues.⁶⁴ According to their conclusions, the following chronological table for Laconia can be formulated, with approximately absolute dates:

| | |
|-----------|--|
| c.1050: | end of the LH IIIC period |
| 1050-950: | gap (now to be narrowed) |
| c.950: | newcomers from W. Greece (?). New establishments |

⁵⁹ Tsountas col. 6, note 1 (for the Classical period). See also Polybios' description (5. 12. 2-3) according to which the sanctuary (characterised as a temenos) is located very near (σχεδόν) the settlement of Amyklai.

⁶⁰ On the 'Amyklaean' Protogeometric ware: V. R. d' A. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery* (Oxford 1952) 283-290; J. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric pottery* (London 1968) 212-19.

⁶¹ Amyklaion, 1927, 32-3.

⁶² M. P. Nilson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* (Lund 1950) 470-71; H. W. Catling, "New Excavations at the Menelaion, Sparta," in U. Jantzen, ed. *Neue Forschungen in*

griechischen Heiligtümern (Tübingen 1976) 77-90, esp. 90. But see doubts about the site being used as a sanctuary during the PG and Geo times. V. R. d' A. Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans and their Successors* (Oxford 1964) 42, 88 and idem, *The Greek Dark Ages* (London 1972) 280; also R. Hope Simpson, *Mycenaean Greece* (Park Ridge, NJ 1981) 103, E5.

⁶³ A. M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece* (Edinburgh 1971) 130-1.

⁶⁴ *SL* 81-90; Coulson (n. 55) 29-84; idem, "The Dark Age Pottery of Sparta II: Vrondama," *BSA* 83 (1988) 21-24.

- 950-800: Protogeometric (PG) or Dark Age (DA) pottery
 800-775: transitional phase to Middle Geometric (MG) pottery
 800-750: MG II pottery
 750 - 700/690: Late Geometric (LG) pottery

Here, the existence of a period of discontinuity between the late Mycenaean and the PG periods appears inevitable, and the years c.950 BC are considered the beginning of Spartan history with the emergence of the Dorians in Sparta. In this paper however, I hope to indicate that a different interpretation is both more probable and more coincident with existing archaeological material. Also, concerning the characterisation of the PG period as 'Dark Age', as Coulson maintains, I would disagree and counter-propose, as I have stated elsewhere,⁶⁵ the term 'Early Iron Age' for the whole era.

Historical conclusions however, based exclusively on the study of pottery are naturally one-sided, especially when an important site such as the Amyklaion and vital issues, such as those of cult, are involved. In this respect it would be most constructive to have a full picture of all the finds from the Amyklaion, and a detailed study of all the metal finds of Tsountas' excavations, since they have been inadequately published. As such an extensive publication can not be accomplished here (it is hoped that this will be achieved shortly, elsewhere), I will attempt a brief presentation of the most important metal finds, particularly those dating in the early period.

Among Tsountas' catalogued metal finds from the Amyklaion, none can be attributed to the prehistoric era,⁶⁶ apart from the bronze knife mentioned above. This fact seems peculiar in view of the abundance of Mycenaean terracotta figurines and statuettes. Among the finds of the 'Protogeometric layer' of the German excavations of 1925 however, some artifacts might eventually be identified as belonging to the Mycenaean period and not the Iron Age. The finds themselves and their dimensions should of course be checked, provided the objects are preserved in the Sparta Museum. Judging from the published sketches⁶⁷ one bronze spear-head could be compared with the well known spear head from the Mycenaean hoard of Mycenae;⁶⁸ and the so-called 'primitive spear' with the bronze Late Cypriot ploughshares⁶⁹ and examples found in the Mycenaean hoards of the Athens Acropolis and Anthedon.⁷⁰

The Protogeometric period is also not well represented in metal finds, considering the period's long duration and the importance of the pottery attributed to it. One can, however, note the following two items. An iron sword from Tsountas' excavations (col. 14), probably not preserved today, has, from its description, been rightly dated in the ninth/eighth centuries BC.⁷¹ A very interesting early type of bronze pin from the Sparta Museum was

⁶⁵ P. G. Calligas, "Η Ελλάδα κατά την Πρώτη Εποχή του Σιδήρου," *Ανθρωπολογικά και Αρχαιολογικά Χρονικά* 2 (1987) 17-21.

⁶⁶ Demakopoulou 73 points out this fact.

⁶⁷ Amyklaion, 1927, 34, fig. 17.1-2; cf. Snodgrass (n. 63) 246-7, fig. 88, who dates this c.800 BC.; also Demakopoulou 1982, 75.

⁶⁸ Th. Spyropoulos, *Υστερομυκηναϊκοί Ελλαδικόι Θησαυροί* (Athens 1972) 16, 153, fig. 16, pl. 8c.

⁶⁹ H. W. Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World* (Oxford 1964) 79-81.

⁷⁰ Spyropoulos (n. 68) 128-30.

⁷¹ Demakopoulou 73-76, for bibliography and analysis of the problems of attribution and dating. For iron ore see Y. Bassiakos, "Ancient Metallurgy in Laconia," in R. E. Jones and H. W. Catling, eds., *New Aspects of Archaeological Science in Greece* (Fitch Laboratories, Occasional Papers 3, Athens 1988) 55-56 (Classical period).

published recently.⁷² It is considered a find of the German excavations of 1925, but the pin is not mentioned in the German report among the finds of the Amyklaion excavations and the inventory number corresponds to finds from Tsountas' excavations.⁷³ This discrepancy unfortunately raises questions regarding the correct attribution of the find.

Additionally, the metal finds included in the 'Protogeometric layer' of the German excavations⁷⁴ also present problems as some can be attributed to the Mycenaean period (cf. above) while others, such as the cylindrical hair fasteners of sheet bronze,⁷⁵ can be dated to the Geometric (eighth century BC).

Suddenly, in the second half of the eighth century, an abundance of metal finds is noted at the Amyklaion. Accompanied by a considerable amount of late Geometric (LG) pottery,⁷⁶ these finds testify to an important and sudden change that must have occurred in the area of the sanctuary during these years.

Firstly, Tsountas found fragments of the cast legs of two large bronze tripod cauldrons (X.8008-X.8009), one in the NE corner of the terrace (col. 17). Other fragments of cauldrons whose various parts were hammered were also found: five fragments of legs with engraved decoration of concentric circles (X.17550, 17554-17557), one small rod from the fastening of a large circular hammered handle (X.17541), and a handsome little bronze horse (X.7774) which decorated the top of such a handle (Fig. 13.c).⁷⁷ To these examples should be added the fragment of a hammered tripod leg from the German excavations.⁷⁸ Obviously - and contrary to what was until recently believed regarding Laconian sanctuaries⁷⁹ - tripod cauldrons were equally popular as votive offerings in the Amyklaion as they were in other Greek sanctuaries in the late eighth century BC.

Other early dedications include the bronze animal figurines of small horses, oxen and bulls. Some of these can be identified as products of the early Laconian metal workshops⁸⁰ and two, an ox (X.7662) and a bird (X.7861-2), also possess the characteristic circular perforated base.

⁷² Inv. no. 693, Kilian-Dirlmeier (n. 23) 71, no. 207, Type B.1 of the Protogeometric period.

⁷³ SMC 241, no.693(18): 'Eleven bronze hair-pins'.

⁷⁴ Amyklaion, 1927, 34, fig. 17.

⁷⁵ Cf. C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum II* (Boston and New York 1905) eg. nos. 1487-1488, 1496-1501, pl. 91.

⁷⁶ Amyklaion, 1927, 49-53, pl. 4-12; cf. Coldstream (n. 60) 215-219; B. Schweitzer, *Greek Geometric Art* (trans., London 1971) 63; J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (London 1977) 157-60.

⁷⁷ For examples of tripod cauldrons of similar types from Olympia see Maass (n. 36) passim. For the horse X.7774 which is of a Laconian workshop see W.-D. Heilmeyer, *OIForsch 12: Frühe olympische Bronzefiguren. Die Tiervotive* (Berlin 1979) 236-37, no. 493, pl. 64. For the Athenian examples of hammered tripod legs see E. Touloupa, "Bronzebleche von der Akropolis in Athen," *AM 87* (1972) 57-76. For analyses of the composition of the bronze used for the construction of the geometric tripods see C. Rolley, G. Varoufakis, S. Filippakis and E. Photou, "Bronzes grecs et orientaux: influences et

apprentissages," *BCH 107* (1983) 111-132, and E. Magou, S. Kilippakis and C. Rolley, "Trépieds géométriques de bronze, Analyses complémentaires," *BCH 110* (1986) 121-136. For miniature terracotta examples see S. Benton, "The Evolution of the Tripod-Lebes," *BSA 35* (1934-5) 129-30, fig. 17a (a tripod leg from the Tsountas excavations); cf. the story in Pausanias 4. 13. 7-9, about the dedication of wooden, clay and bronze tripods.

⁷⁸ Amyklaion, 1927, 36, Beil. VII, 3; Similar to X.17557.

⁷⁹ Their popularity had been already supposed by S. Benton (n. 77) 130. Contrary, C. Rolley, *Les Bronzes Grecs* (Fribourg 1983) 58 and Herford-Koch (n. 21) stressed the until now suspected absence from Laconian sanctuaries.

⁸⁰ Heilmeyer (n. 77) 110-31, pl. 60ff.; the birds: 186-87, pl. 118-9; see also the Laconian bird found at Lousoi in Arcadia (Nat. Arch. Mus. inv. no. X.15335): U. Sinn, "Ein Fundkomplex aus dem Artemis-Heiligtum von Lusoi in Badischen Landesmuseum," *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg 17* (1980) 29, fig. 5b.

Also among the early dedications to the sanctuary were bronze articles of dress, jewellery, etc. Of the two bronze Geometric pins that Tsountas found, one is an early type and could be dated in the Middle Geometric period,⁸¹ while the other belongs to the Late Geometric period.⁸² Tsountas found only one fibula, of the LG age,⁸³ while the German excavations produced two, but of a different type.⁸⁴ Also of interest are the bronze rings, the ring-like coils and the sheet cylinders that were found in comparatively large numbers and might be related to the fastening and/or dedication of locks of hair.⁸⁵

Included in this category are three hair-fasteners of bronze coiled wire with decorative spiral endings (Fig. 13.d). They belong to an interesting type rarely found in southern Greece; similar ones, noted in Macedonia, are thought to be of central European origin.⁸⁶ Perhaps of northern origin is also a pendant in the form of a four-spoked wheel from a thin sheet of bronze, similar to examples found in other Greek sanctuaries as well as in tombs.⁸⁷ C. Rolley⁸⁸ pointed out the problems concerning the existence of bronzes of northern origin in the heart of the Doric metropolis. A possible answer might involve the contact and relations of Laconia with western Greece noted at this period, if one bears in mind the northern origin of some of the bronze finds of Apollo's Sanctuary in Aetos of Ithaca.⁸⁹ Apart from this route through Northern Greece, the central European origin of some of the Amyklaion artifacts could also be traced through a western route - via Italy. In this context, one could consider the hair fasteners with spiral endings. These resemble the fibulae with four spiral endings found in the sanctuary of Orthia for which an Italian origin has been suggested.⁹⁰

Finally, pendants in the form of small double-axes were also found. Most of them are of bronze sheet, two retaining the long handle from where they hung. Small cast examples were noted too, similar to ones found in the Late Geometric layer of Artemis Orthia.⁹¹ Tsountas mentions that he found some of these axes east of the altar (col. 12 and pl. 3.2), while others outside and to the north of the terrace-wall (col. 17-18), which is again indicative of the dispersion of the material.

⁸¹ Inv. no. X.8325, L. 0.13m (unpublished). According to Kilian-Dirlmeier's classification (n. 23) it belongs to Type IA of the Geometric pins; nos. 336ff., pl. 13-14.

⁸² Inv. no. X.8326, L. 0.104m (unpublished). According to Kilian-Dirlmeier's classification (n. 23) it belongs to Type IX A-B of the Geometric pins no. 1449, pl. 49.

⁸³ Inv. no. X.10675. C. Blinkenberg, *Fibules grecques et orientales* (Copenhagen 1926) 71, type II, 14d.

⁸⁴ Amyklaion, 1927, 36, Beil VIII, 1-2.

⁸⁵ For their use see *SL* 91.

⁸⁶ Inv. no. X.8276 (three examples), L. 0.007m (unpublished). Cf. the examples from tombs at Vergina: (a) Ph. Petsas, *ArchDelt* 17 (1961-2) Mel. p. 225, pl. 145a and p. 281, fig. 10; (b) M. Andronikos, *Berylya I* (Athens 1969) 255-56, fig. 91. Also from a tomb at Chauchitsa see K. Kilian, "Trachtzubehör der Eisenzeit zwischen Ägais und Adria," *PZ* 50 (1975) pl. 39, 5.

⁸⁷ Inv. no. X.17549, D. 0.066m (unpublished) cf. M. Andronikos (n. 86) 255, fig. 9; Kilian-Dirlmeier (n. 22) 23-25, nos. 100-120, pl. 7. For the northern origin of the votive wheel see Desborough (n. 62) 72.

⁸⁸ Rolley (n. 79) 64.

⁸⁹ For example the bronze pendant, the animal on the 'cage' from the Aetos, Ithaca: S. Benton, "Further Excavations at Aetos," *BSA* 48 (1953) 348, no. E.197, pl. 66; cf. also Kilian-Dirlmeier (n. 22) 118, no. 647, pl. 34. For the attribution of the Aetos Sanctuary to Apollo: Calligas (n. 32) 61. For the entrance into Messenia of 'NW Greek' populations: G. E. Chatze, "Η Πρωτογεωμετρική Εποχή στην Μεσσηνία," *Πρακτικά Β' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών* 2 (Athens 1981-82) 321-47. For a West Greek ceramic koine: W. D. E. Coulson, *The Dark Age Pottery of Messenia* (Göteborg 1986) 75-76.

⁹⁰ Examples from Artemis Orthia: *AO* 198, pl. 81-82; J. Alexander, "The spectacle fibulae of southern Europe," *AJA* 69 (1965) 7-23 (type IV). An example from Olympia: H. Philipp, *OIForsch* XIII: *Bronzeschmuck aus Olympia* (Berlin 1981) no. 1087, p. 296-97, pl. 21, where it is suggested that the fibula is an 8th c. importation from Calabria, Italy. Cf. also K. Kilian, *Fibeln in Thessalien* (*PBF* XIV, 2, Munich 1975) 149, nos. 1715-16, pl. 58:1715.

⁹¹ For the Amyklaion examples see above (n. 22). For the Artemis Orthia examples: *AO* pl. 85.

Further study of the excavated material could disclose the existence of more objects belonging to the LG period. Already, however, I believe that the above presentation indicates to a sufficient degree that a major change occurred in the Sanctuary after the years *c.*750 BC. Although Tsountas' excavations uncovered also noteworthy bronze dedications of the Archaic, Classical and later periods, they lie outside the scope of this paper, which will now concentrate on the re-consideration and re-appraisal of the site's earlier history.

The low hill of Ag. Kyriaki, which is the last of a chain of neighbouring hills overlooking the plain of the Eurotas, was an important cult centre of Laconia from the Archaic period onwards, on account of the well known cults of Hyakinthos and Apollo that were practised there. At the same time, habitation remains are believed to have been found on the hill, a fact that prompted scholars to develop the concepts of the co-existence and interchange of habitation and cult on the site at different periods of its history.

The top of the hill, and the east and south side in particular, seems to have been inhabited from the Early Helladic period and habitation is also noted during the Middle Helladic times. The three tombs Tsountas excavated can be dated at the end of this period, when a small settlement may have existed on the hill. No cult remains of this period have been observed.

The occupation of the site during the Mycenaean period (LH IIIB-C) is doubtful and ambiguous. No building remains or stratified layers were found on the hill that could be attributed to this period and connected with a Mycenaean settlement, which must be sought in some neighbouring location. On the other hand, the many LH IIIB-C terracotta female and animal figurines and statuettes which are certainly cult objects and were found scattered in almost all the area of the hill, may well be stray finds, transferred from the vicinity, and do not offer sufficient proof of the existence on the hill of a Mycenaean shrine.

Whatever the case, the latest figurines date around the middle of the eleventh century (*c.*1050 BC), which coincides with the years of the end and dissolution of the Mycenaean world. It is clear that the religious activities betrayed by the figurines - wherever their original location - came to an end simultaneously with the end of the Mycenaean world and no continuity of cult can be surmised.

As a result of the destruction of their world, groups of the old Mycenaean population were, for a variety of reasons, forced to desert their homes. As I have supported in recent articles, after wandering for a period of time, these groups finally settled in new areas where they founded new establishments.⁹² It is possible that in Laconia this process lasted for a longer period. The dates indicated by the analysis of Laconian pottery to the present suggested that the new installation occurred around the middle of the tenth century (*c.*950 BC), thus creating an improbably long gap which it is hoped that future study will bridge. It is vital to bear in mind that the social, political and economic structure of the new Early Iron Age establishments was very different from that of the previous ones, both in size and in character. Laconia, I believe, experienced the same changes as the rest of Greece and the limited archaeological material we have from the area must be attributed to the nature of these new establishments and not to the supposition that the area remained uninhabited for whole centuries.

As we know from other parts of Greece, the tenth and ninth centuries BC, the Early Iron Age proper, constitute a long, uniform peaceful period characterised by a socio-economic

⁹²Calligas (n. 65) 17-21. For the Dorians as Vlach - type transhumance pastoralists see *SL*, 94.

system of dispersed and loosely woven habitation. The existing establishments consist solely of independent and unfortified patriarchal households, the *oikoi*, and no organised or communal settlement (village or polis) is noted. The freestanding *oikos* usually occupied the top of a low hill, while at the foot of the hill the few tombs of the dead of each *oikos* were opened. Worship to the family deities was held inside the building.

It is very probable that the same system existed during this period in the whole of Laconia and that the hill, where the Sanctuary of the Amyklaion was later located, was then occupied by such an isolated, independent *oikos* and was the seat of a patriarchal family which, through its head, the leader, dominated the hilly area and part of the surrounding fertile plain. The PG pottery found on the hill of the Amyklaion could thus be connected with such an *oikos*, while some of the finds, such as the iron sword and the early bronze pin (see above), could belong to PG tombs opened on the hill side which have escaped the attention of the excavators.⁹³ It is also possible that the two later royal Spartan households, the Agiads and the Eurypontids, also originated from such independent Early Iron Age *oikoi* in the neighbouring area of Sparta.⁹⁴

Considering the issue of cult, I believe that the Amyklaion falls in line with the rest of Greece, where we have no concrete evidence that communal worship was held in sanctuaries or shrines during the Early Iron Age. None of the PG finds from the Amyklaion can be connected with religious practice and it seems that no autonomous shrine existed on the hill, while religious activity would in all probability be confined to the interior of the *oikos*.

Towards the end of the ninth century BC in most parts of Greece a fundamental change is observed as the Early Iron Age system of habitation and social organisation comes to an end. The isolated households, the *oikoi*, were abandoned and the inhabitants formed now small fortified communities, the first after a long period of centuries.⁹⁵ It appears that such was also the fate of the *oikos* on the Amyklaion hill-top and a new community, the fortified *kome* (village) of Amyklai, was subsequently founded somewhere on the neighbouring hills.

It has been noted that parallel to the establishment of new settlements runs the establishment of new cults that are founded, maintained and supported by these new communities. The memory of the old leaders of the patriarchal *oikoi* was apparently held in great respect and it seems that the accidental discovery of an old tomb or burial mound (tumulus) would be connected with such a heroic leader of the past and stimulate veneration for him.⁹⁶ Evidently, this was the case with the Amyklaion, where the possible

⁹³ The "Amyklaion" PG pottery is suggested to be a local PG style, see Desborough (n. 60) and Coulson (n. 64) 31-32. The supposedly high rate (95%) of open shape vases as opposed to vases of closed shapes, a fact that seems to support votive offerings contrary to household pottery, has already been altered by further study.

⁹⁴ Early Spartan settlements and royal houses: Forrester 28-34; *SL* 104-106 and 341-46, the Spartan king-lists. For Sparta's history before the conquest of Amyklai: M. B. Sakellariou, "Contributions à l'histoire archaïque de Sparte et d'Argos," *Αρχαιογνωσία* 2 (1981) 83-93.

⁹⁵ For the new fortified settlements see A. M. Snodgrass, "The historical significance of fortification in Archaic Greece," in P. Leriche and H. Tréziny eds.,

La Fortification dans l'Histoire du Monde Grec (Paris 1986) 125-31, esp. 129-30. Calligas (n. 65) 21; L. Marangou, "Τειχισμένοι Οικισμοί των Γεωμετρικών Χρόνων" (9ος - 8ος π.Χ. αιώνας) *Πρακτικά* 63 (1988) 80. For the "Achaean" Amyklai see *SL* 106-9. Could the plural in the name of the new *kome* indicate that a *synoikismos* took place, a *synoikismos* of Achaean (not Doric) populations? For the mythical foundation of Amyklai according to the historian Ephorus, see *Str.* 8. 5. 4 and 5.

⁹⁶ A. Snodgrass, "Les Origines du culte des Héros dans la Grèce antique," in G. Gnoli and J. P. Vemant, eds., *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes* (Cambridge 1982) 107-119; P. G. Calligas, "Αρχαίοι Ευβοιακοί Μύθοι," *Ανθρωπολογικά και Αρχαιολογικά Χρονικά* 1 (1986) 103-8, idem., "Hero-cult in

find of an old tomb (perhaps one similar to the MH tombs Tsountas excavated or a PG one) eventually gave rise to the cult of a hero, the hero Hyakinthos.⁹⁷ From Pausanias (3. 19. 3) we know that the tomb of Hyakinthos was at the base of Apollo's Throne and also of the chthonic nature of the hero's cult. The appearance of the first identifiable dedications on the Amyklaion, i.e. the miniature clay votive vases, the hydrias and the skyphoi⁹⁸ also coincides with the inauguration of the cult, since they are dated during the transitional period from PG to MG II. It is very possible that the cult of Hyakinthos that was established on the Amyklaion hill some time around or after c.800 BC was the first communal cult to be founded there and had no connection with previous Mycenaean cults, if the existence on the site of such a prehistoric cult should prove to be a fact rather than a misinterpretation.

The cult of the hero Hyakinthos, as was recently suggested,⁹⁹ can be considered 'Doric' to the same extent as that of Apollo. I believe, it is rather misleading to seek a pre-Hellenic origin for the cult based on the etymology of the hero's name. Additionally, Hyakinthos' cult, parallel to its chthonic features, also evolved around the concept of the annual regeneration of nature. However, this new state of habitation and cult seems to have been short-lived, and from around the middle of the eighth century (c.750-740 BC), the area underwent important changes that are mirrored both in the archaeological finds and also in historical information that begins to be available.

The neighbouring fortified village of Amyklai which controlled the cult of Hyakinthos on the hill, lost its independence and was forced to join Sparta. Following the conquest,¹⁰⁰ attributed to the Spartan King Teleklos or the Aigeid Timomachos, Amyklai was incorporated into Sparta becoming its fifth ope. In all probability, it was in order to secure this conquest that a new cult, of the god Apollo, was inaugurated where the local hero Hyakinthos was previously worshipped alone. The new double cult, which appears to have been imposed by Sparta, was celebrated by an annual three-day festival, the Hyakinthia.¹⁰¹ The religious link between the two settlements remained strong until later years, so that even in the Hellenistic period, there existed in Sparta a building called the Chiton (tunic), where the women of

Early Iron Age Greece," in R. Hägg, N. Marinatos and G. Nordquist, eds., *Early Greek Cult Practice* (Stockholm 1988) 229-34; R. Hägg, "Gifts to the Heroes in Geometric and Archaic Greece," in T. Linders and G. Nordquist, eds., *Gifts to the Gods* (Boreas 15, Uppsala 1987) 93-99; I. Morris, "Tomb cult and the Greek Renaissance: the past in the present in the 8th century B.C.," *Antiquity* 62 (1988) 750-61; A. J. M. Whitley, "Early states and Hero Cults: a re-appraisal," *JHS* 108 (1988) 173-82.

⁹⁷ For Hyakinthos see Mellink (n. 3) 47. Generally for Laconian hero-cult see Ch. Christou, "Σπαρτιατικοί αρχαϊκοί τάφοι και επιτάφιος μετ' αναγλύφων αμφορεύς του λακωνικού εργαστηρίου," *ArchDelt* 19 (1964) Mel. 123-63; G. Steinhauer, *The Museum of Sparta* (Athens 1975) 13; M. Andronikos, "Λακωνικά Ανάγλυφα," *Πελοποννησιακά* 1 (1956) 253-314, on the possibility that the Laconian reliefs represent chthonic deities and not heroized dead.

⁹⁸ Miniature hydrias: Amyklaion, 1927, 47, fig. 27; Coulson (n. 64) 62, no. 464; Miniature skyphoi:

Coulson (n. 64) 49, nos. 176-182 and p. 64.

⁹⁹ B. C. Dietrich, (n. 9) 133ff.

¹⁰⁰ For the conquest of Amyklai: Kiechle 60-67; Huxley (n. 4) 22-25; *SL* 106-9. For Timomachos and his bronze thorax (the "hoplon"): Arist. Fr. 532 R.; M. Detienne, "La Phalange: Problèmes et Controverse," in J. P. Vernant, ed., *Problèmes de la Guerre en Grèce Ancienne* (Paris 1968) 138-42; P. Carledge, "Hoplites and Heroes. Sparta's contribution to the technique of ancient warfare," *JHS* 97 (1977) 25. For the incorporation into Sparta see above (n. 4).

¹⁰¹ The best description of the festival (but late in date) is Ath. 4. 139. d-f. The double nature of the cult at the Amyklaion can be discerned in the war-like nature of Apollo (dedication of arms, helmets, breastplate, etc.) while the female presence can be connected with Hyakinthos (dedication of jewellery, dress equipment, etc.). Apollo Amyklaios is also connected with purification cults (Katharmos) eg. Heracles: D.S. 4. 31. 5, Apollod. 2. 6. 2. For the sequence of the double cult see also *SL* 80-81.

Sparta each year wove the tunic they took to Apollo Amyklaios.¹⁰² Also indicative is the existence of a processional road, the Hyakinthis odos, which united the two sites.¹⁰³

It appears that the Spartans wished to lend splendour to the new double cult of the recently acquired obe, and this is reflected in the rich offerings now deposited in the sanctuary. It is to this period of the years following 750 BC, that the relatively large quantity of LG pottery and the earlier series of bronze dedications belong. Among the latter are noted the cast and hammered tripod cauldrons, the animal figurines, the pendants and hair-fasteners, etc.

Sparta, having expanded into the plain of Eurotas and completed her conquest of sites to the south - including Amyklai - turned westwards and became engaged in what remains known as the First Messenian War (740-720? BC).¹⁰⁴ The preliminary operations were undertaken by King Teleklos, the same who had conquered Amyklai. What is interesting is that, following their victory against Messenia, the Spartans are mentioned to have offered bronze tripods at the Sanctuary of Amyklaian Apollo, although the dedication could also be connected with some later victory as the tripods are attributed to the well known Laconian metalworker Gitiadas, who is dated in the Late Archaic period (Paus. 3. 18. 8).

In spite of the victorious conclusion of the Messenian war, the years around 700 BC were years of internal strife for Sparta. The conspiracy of the Partheniai, which was centred in Amyklai and ended with the colonisation of Taras in Italy, indicates the extent of the unrest.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, at this time, the first buildings on the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia were erected¹⁰⁶ and the cult of the heroes Menelaos and Helen was established on the nearby hill of Therapne, the Menelaion.¹⁰⁷ It might be that Sparta, in an effort to re-enforce political central power, sought to strengthen her position in the religious affairs of the area. Her influence is also witnessed in the Amyklaion in the seventh century, where offerings of an orientalising style¹⁰⁸ were deposited at a time when Sparta's overall interest was directed towards the East.

The next important period of the history of Apollo's Sanctuary comes before the end of the sixth century BC which witnessed a general growth of Laconian art. Elegant examples, such as the small bronze wreathed youth and the kore playing the cymbals which formed part of a mirror stand, products of Laconian metal workshops,¹⁰⁹ were offered in the Amyklaion. To decorate the sanctuary, the Spartans called upon Bathykles from Magnesia in Asia Minor who created the imposing building that surrounded and protected the old xoanon-like statue of the god. A manifestation of the link of the two cults is the fact that the base

¹⁰² Paus. 3. 16. 2.

¹⁰³ Ath. 4. 173f.

¹⁰⁴ A long description of the war appears in Pausanias' Book Four, Messeniaka, 4, 1ff. See also Huxley (n. 4) 33-36, *SL* 116-19; For the attribution of the tripods see G. Dickins, "The Hieron of Athena Chalkioikos," *BSA* 13 (1906-1907) 138-39.

¹⁰⁵ Huxley (n. 4) 37-8; Forrest 61-2; *SL* 123-29.

¹⁰⁶ J. Boardman, "Artemis Orthia and Chronology," *BSA* 58 (1963) 1-7.

¹⁰⁷ See above (n. 2). For the Menelaion excavations: A. Kastriotis, "Το Μενελάϊον," *Prakt* (1900) 74-87; A. J. B. Wace, M. S. Thompson and J. P. Droop, "The Menelaion," *BSA* 15 (1908-1909) 108-157; H. W. Catling, "Excavations at the Menelaion, Sparta

1973-1976," *AR* 23 (1976-77) 24-42, esp. 34-7, for the dating of the early shrine; idem., "Excavation and Study at the Menelaion, Sparta 1978-1981," *LS* 6 (1982) 28-43; idem., "Study at the Menelaion, 1982-1983," *LS* 7 (1983) 23-31.

¹⁰⁸ See attachments from orientalising bronze lebetes inv. nos X.7657 and X.7763: H. V. Herrmann, "Urartu und Griechenland," *Jdl* 81 (1966) 128, fig. 42; idem., *OIForsch VI: Die Kessel der orientalisierenden Zeit. Kesselattaschen und Reliefuntersätze* (Berlin 1966) 155, no. 22.

¹⁰⁹ For the bronze female figures as mirror stands: Th. Karageorga, "Λακωνικό κάτοπτρο στο Μουσείο της Σπάρτης," *ArchDelt* 20 (1965) A' Mel. 96-109; J. Charbonneau, R. Martin and F. Villard, *Archaic*

of the so-called Throne of Apollo incorporated the tomb of the hero Hyakinthos. The large retaining wall which surrounded the sanctuary and enlarged its useful area, might have been constructed at this time too.

Throughout antiquity until the Roman era, the Sanctuary numbered among the renowned Laconian religious centres, as contemporary inscriptions and votive offerings witness. Apart from the 'paean' (hymn) to Apollo, the decorous Hyakinthia festival¹¹⁰ which continued to be piously attended included dances and, in the Laconian tradition, athletic races in which women also took part.

Certainly, many aspects of the early history of the Sanctuary of Hyakinthos and Apollo Amyklaios need further clarification and research, but I hope that the points raised in this paper might prove constructive. It is also hoped that future excavations will reveal new material and help strengthen the historical conclusions.

PETER G. CALLIGAS
National Archaeological Museum, Athens

Note: A preliminary report on work in the area done in 1981 by Th. Spyropoulos came to my knowledge late in 1989, when the volume of *Arch. Delt.* 36 (1981) - Chr. (Athens 1988), 126, circulated and after the deposition of the present paper.

Greek Art (London 1971) 145-48, figs 175-81. For a general discussion of archaic Laconian art: C. Rolley, "La problème de l' art laconian," *Ktêma* 2 (1977) 125-140. See also the chapter 'The Bronzes' in the general study Fitzhardinge (n. 41) 90-117; Pipili (n. 56) 77-9.

¹¹⁰ See above (n. 101). For the chthonic night celebrations: E. *Hel.* 1469f and Ath. 4 139d. Also Mellink (n. 3) 20. The festival was attended by many young Spartan women arriving at Amyklai in carts

(X. *Ages.* 8, 7); Also C. Edmondson, "A graffito from Amyklai," *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 164. The paean to Apollo was sung by the Spartans arranged by a master of the choir (X. *Ages.* 2 17). Activities also took place in the theatre (Ath. 4 139e) which must have been lying near the sanctuary. For the similarity of celebrations at the Hyakinthia to those of Orthia's festival see Chrimes 270. See also above (n. 102-103). For connections of Hyakinthos with Doric Crete see Willets (no. 4) 222-3.