Sparta's Monumental Agenda.

The Celebratory and Commemorative Monuments of Archaic and Classical Sparta

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Abstract

This thesis examines Spartan celebratory and commemorative monuments of the Archaic and Classical periods based on the extant archaeological evidence and literary sources. The principal aim is to explore how the Spartans utilised monuments to project an image of themselves, in other words how the Spartans wished to be seen by their contemporaries and by future generations. The first two chapters set the framework for the study of monuments in relation to collective and cultural memory and summarise the current picture of Spartan culture in modern scholarship. Chapter 2 also examines Spartan self-presentation through a diachronic analysis of the terms 'Spartiate', 'Lakedaimonian', and 'Lakonian'. Chapter 3 engages with the disparate evidence and interpretation of the Aigospotamoi Monument at Delphi, the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians in Athens, and the monuments potentially erected by Sparta to commemorate the Persian Wars. The evidence is then analysed thematically, in relation to artistic forms (Chapter 4), identity and distinction (Chapter 5), and place and memory (Chapter 6). These analyses reveal attempts, both by the state and individuals, to project a consistent image of strength and stability, but also tensions between influential individuals and groups and the state. This demonstrates that, in contrast to the traditional idea of the Spartan mirage whereby an identity was projected onto the Spartans by non-Spartan writers, the Spartans were actively involved in the creation and perpetuation of their image through monumental display.

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Abbreviations and Spelling

Within this work I follow the abbreviations of the American Journal of Archaeology:

https://www.ajaonline.org/submissions/journals-series.

Epigraphic abbreviations:

https://www.aiegl.org/grepiabbr.html

All Greek texts and abbreviations are those of Perseus Digital Library:
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/

Other abbreviations:

BNJ Worthington, I. (ed.), *Brill's New Jacoby* (2006–)

FGrH Jacoby, F. *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (1923–)

All translations are my own and all dates are BCE unless unless otherwise stated.

My transliterations of names and terms could be termed 'moderately Greek'. For example, 'Lykourgos' rather than the Latinized 'Lycurgus', or the purist Greek 'Lukourgos'. Commonly used names of people and places have remained Latinized, for example 'Thucydides', not 'Thoukydides' and 'Corinth', not 'Korinthos'.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

> Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ εἰ ἡ πόλις ἐρημωθείν, λειφθείν δὲ τά τε ἱερὰ καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη, πολλὴν ἂν οἶμαι ἀπιστίαν τῆς δυνάμεως προελθόντος πολλοῦ χρόνου τοῖς ἔπειτα πρὸς τὸ κλέος αὐτῶν εἶναι. (καίτοι Πελοποννήσου τῶν πέντε τὰς δύο μοίρας νέμονται, τῆς τε ξυμπάσης ἡγοῦνται καὶ τῶν ἔξω ξυμμάχων πολλῶν· ὅμως δὲ οὔτε ξυνοικοσθείσης πόλεως οὔτε ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκευαῖς πολυτελέσι χρησαμένης, κατὰ κώμας δὲ τῷ παλαιῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τρόπῳ οἰκισθείσης, φαίνοιτ' ἂν ὑποδεεστέρα).
>
> For if the city of the Lakedaimonians were to become deserted, and the temples and foundations of buildings were left, many, I think, would, after a long time, doubt that their power matched their fame. And yet they hold two-fifths of the Peloponnese, and they lead the whole, and their many allies beyond. Nevertheless, as the city is neither built in compact form, nor furnished with costly temples and other buildings, but is composed of unwalled villages after the old fashion of Greece, it would appear somewhat inferior.[1]

This quote, from Thucydides, is widely used in reference to the popular image of fifth-century Sparta as a city with little to no interest in the display of expensive monuments. But was Thucydides' evaluation a fair one, or should we instead read it as a criticism of the costly, and potentially diplomatically unsuccessful, monumental building programme in Athens in the preceding 30 years?[2] The underlying point Thucydides is making is that the physical landscape of a city should not be taken as a true measure of its power, with particular reference to Athens and Sparta in his day and the Mycenae of Agamemnon. This passage therefore raises many questions about Sparta's use of monuments in the creation and projection of their image, which this work aims to tackle.

[1] Thuc. 1.10.2.
[2] Thuc. 2.13.3 alludes to the cost of the entranceway (*propylaion*) and 'other buildings' of the Acropolis in Athens, though he never mentions the Parthenon by name. For the construction of the Parthenon as a failed diplomatic gesture, see Scott 2018a.

Monuments were one of the most accessible forms of media for the ancient Greeks. Therefore, the form, placement, and purpose of these monuments may tell us a great deal about how the Spartans (both individually and collectively) wished to be seen, by one another, and by the Greek world at large. The study of the effect and range of monuments in Archaic and Classical Greece has intensified in recent years, with works covering the role of monuments in the formation of local identities,[3] as well as focused investigations of the commemoration of significant events.[4] Additionally, specific locations, including Sparta,[5] Athens,[6] and major Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries,[7] have been examined regarding their monumental topography. Particularly significant monuments, such as the Serpent Column erected at Delphi by the allied Greek states after their victory over the Persians, have been studied in-depth.[8]

The purpose of this thesis is to build upon this body of scholarship in an attempt to determine the monumental agenda of the Spartans, both as a political entity and a conglomeration of individual Spartiates, during the period of Sparta's heyday and rapid decline, *c*. 550-309. This chronological range begins with the consolidation of Spartan power in Lakonia in the mid-sixth century, and ends with the reign of King Areus, the first Spartan king to mint coins, marking the emergence of new forms of visual propaganda in the Hellenistic period. The thesis will examine whether we can detect restrictions, or preferences, governing the appearance and location of monuments, and what these factors can tell us about the image that Sparta wished to project. This is not necessarily an attempt

[3] Schröder 2020.
[4] For example, Duffy 2018.
[5] Most prominently, Kourinou 2000.
[6] For example, Arrington 2010.
[7] Scott 2010; 2014, with bibliography of earlier works.
[8] Stephenson 2016.

to determine whether the Spartans were the ultimate creators of specific stereotypes, for the origin of many of these traditions is impossible to decipher. Rather, this work considers the potential range of messages which could be projected by the monuments erected by Spartans, and whether these correspond to the Spartans' traditional image. As has been well pointed out, 'The origin of cultural practices is largely irrelevant to the experience of tradition; authenticity is always defined in the present.'[9]

The subsequent chapters will examine whether we can perceive a consistent 'monumental agenda' adopted by elements within the Spartan state, how such an agenda changed through the Archaic and Classical periods, and whether Sparta's citizens contributed to a collective image or pursued private agendas which caused tensions among the notionally 'similar' citizen body. To provide the most complete picture possible, the archaeological data will be combined with textual references to monuments. Neither of these datasets is free from issue: those few Spartan monuments which have survived from antiquity are fragmentary and incomplete, while textual references are susceptible to author bias. Caution is therefore necessary, but the combination of the available data with the substantial body of scholarship on Sparta and approaches to monuments and society more generally has the potential to revolutionise our understanding of this aspect of Spartan history and culture. Thus, Chapter 2 will first seek to summarise the current picture of Sparta in modern scholarship, before turning to the question of self-definition through the identifying terms 'Spartiate', 'Lakedaimonian' and 'Lakonian' as used by the Spartans themselves. Chapter 3 presents an overview of major monuments constructed by the Spartans during the Archaic and Classical periods in terms of historical references,

[9] Handler and Linnekin 1984, 286.

archaeological evidence, and modern scholarship. Chapter 4 turns to considerations of the form taken by Spartan monuments, and discusses whether there were apparent preferences, or restrictions. Chapter 5 examines the crucial concept of identity expressed through monuments, and attempts to highlight the tensions among individuals, and between individuals and the state. Finally, Chapter 6 looks at Spartan appreciation of space and the placement of their monuments for maximum effect upon the viewer. The remainder of this introductory chapter (Chapter 1) is designed to set down the theoretical framework that will be used in this thesis, with a focus on monuments and the transmission of memory, and to tackle some specific Spartan considerations relating to the study of monuments.

Monuments and Memory: Current Approaches

Before turning to the Spartan evidence, it is important to establish first the position this work will take in the current academic landscape regarding the role of monuments in societies more generally, particularly in relation to the transmission of memory. It is not uncontroversial to state that past, and indeed present, societies participate in some form of collective and cultural memory, which serves to bind groups together through shared experiences and traditions.[10] Memory is certainly not static; the memory of collectives relating to monuments, and, through them, ideas of identity are particularly dynamic. The monuments of any culture have a twofold relationship with a collective group: firstly, they serve as a trigger for memory and emotion; secondly, they play a role in shaping a collective identity through time, with the latter impacting heavily upon the former.

[10] Low 2014, 152. For 'collective memory': Halbwachs 1992. For 'cultural memory': Assmann 2011.

In many ways, monuments represent the epitome of a *Lieu de mémoire*, a term coined by the French historian Pierre Nora,[11] but which engages with a far older tradition.[12] '*Lieux de mémoire*' does not translate comfortably into English but is commonly defined as 'backgrounds of memory' or 'sites of memory'.[13] Nora's original concern was the construction and history of French national identity at a time when he felt that closer integration within Europe was inevitable and that the unique identities of individual countries would be diluted as a result. As such, Nora's *lieux de mémoire* were ideological concepts as well as physical sites, artificially invented or repurposed to serve the idea of the nation state by creating a modern version of history at the expense of 'natural' memory.[14] The media covered by the term *lieux de mémoire* have steadily increased, both within Nora's own work and in that of subsequent scholars.[15] Where at first they were momentous events, monuments and the actions used to commemorate them, they have spread to include real and imagined boundaries,[16] literary sources, photographs,[17] and abstract memories perpetuated by neither repeated acts nor visual culture,[18] fully justifying those who choose the translation 'backgrounds of memory'. Most significant to the present study are the works of Jay Winter, which have sought to refocus attention on physical sites, be they monumental in form or of historical significance, as well as the commemorative activities performed in conjunction with them.[19]

[11] Nora 2001-10.
[12] Similar ideas are visible in Cicero *De Oratore* 2.86-87.
[13] Den Boer 2008.
[14] Numerous aspects of Nora's original ideology, for example his conviction that the unique history of France made it the only country in which an investigation of *lieux de mémoire* would be a worthwhile undertaking, have been heavily criticised. Den Boer 2008; Holtdorf 2015.
[15] Isnenghi 2008; Le Rider 2008.
[16] Le Rider 2008.
[17] Hebel 2008.
[18] Isnenghi 2008. An example from Nora (2001-2010) is the concept of the Gauls.
[19] Winter 1996.

For Winter, there are three key factors to consider in the context of sites of memory. Firstly, all monuments and sites of memory require start-up resources, and future investment to maintain them. Secondly, sites of memory, particularly monumental landscapes, are constantly evolving in terms of material and meaning. Thirdly, while a site or monument may retain its meaning in isolation, meaning is strengthened, and can be altered or subverted, by activities performed at the site.[20] The importance of these three factors is further supported by other approaches to memory, in particular ideas of collective and cultural memory, as well as approaches in the field of psychology.

Assmann was the first to use the term 'cultural memory': a historical addition to Halbwachs' collective memory.[21] Assmann's cultural memory concerns the handing down of meaning across generations. When actions (mimetic memory) and objects (*entourage matériel)* cease to have practical function, they take on ritual or symbolic forms and become tradition or culture as a means of storing memory.[22] Assmann focused on the creation of memory in Egypt and the use of texts in the transmission of memory, neither of which are overtly relevant for this project.[23] However, his theoretical framework of the fading, recording and (re)generation of memory over time in the construction of social groups remains of interest. Actual, biological memory (which Assmann calls communicative), both collective and individual, dies out with its owners, even if passed down orally to a younger generation.[24] Such memory has a limited lifespan if not stored in some more permanent form, giving rise

[20] Winter 1996, 2008.
[21] Assmann 2006; 2011.
[22] Assmann 2011, 5-7.
[23] Assmann 2011, 248 sees notion of Panhellenism as rooted in the dissemination of a single central, biblical style text: the *Iliad.* This is at odds with the current understanding of Greek religion (Parker 2011) and ideas of cultural memory and identity in ancient societies (Bommas 2011a).
[24] Bommas 2011a, 4 suggests three generations as a reasonable lifespan for communicative memory. Cf. Tacitus' description of the death of the last individual to live under the Roman Republic (*Annales*. 3.75).

to Vansina's idea of the 'floating gap' in oral tradition.[25] The approximate maximum lifespan of this communicative memory is given as 80-100 years; after this the memory will be lost, unless committed to some more permanent form.[26] The vulnerability of memory in oral tradition is a key theme in the *Iliad*, where Hector hopes the Achaians will build a prominent tomb if he slays one of their champions, so that Hector's 'fame shall never die'.[27] Although the monuments are created to store memory in a more permanent form, alone they are insufficient for they require continuing human interaction to keep the memories alive. This idea can also be seen in the *Iliad* in the contrasting descriptions of the 'Tomb of Ilos' and the marker used in the chariot race, whose original purpose even wise old Nestor does not know.[28]

While 80-100 years mark the limits of communicative memory, the key period in cultural memory is around 40 years.[29] This represents the time at which survivors of an event will find they no longer represent an adult majority; their collective memories are no longer shared by the community at large and are in danger of disappearing unless fixed in some more permanent form. This also conforms with what psychologists refer to as the 'reminiscence bump': once adults are in their late forties and above, they are considerably more likely to experience recurrent memories of positive events from their late childhood and adolescence.[30] Average life expectancy within a community must also be a consideration here: if an adult may expect to be dead by the age of thirty-five, we might

[25] The 'floating gap' represents a moving period of blurred memory: just too far back in time to be recalled by an individual or group, but too recent to have been turned into cultural memory (Assmann 2011 following Vansina 1985, 23).
[26] Assmann 2011, 36-37.
[27] Hom. *Il*. 7.81-91.
[28] Tomb of Ilos: Hom. *Il*. 10.415; 11.166. Marker for chariot race: Hom. *Il*. 23.329-331. Livingstone 2011.
[29] Assmann 2011, 36.
[30] Baddeley et al. 2015, 317.

expect to find much swifter action in terms of committing events to some form of memory storage than if they could reasonably expect to live to seventy. Analysis of average life length in the ancient world has shown that 'notable' individuals born between 650 and 100, those for whom we have relatively detailed information including years of birth and death, would, if they survive childhood, live to around the age of 72.[31] Given that average life expectancy among adults in the first half of the twentieth-century was 71 (rising to 78 in the second-half of the century), I believe we can safely assume that patterns of remembrance would not be drastically affected by fear of dying younger. 40 years may therefore retain its significance in discussion of the ancient world. Indeed, Herodotus himself appears to conform with this model: his opening statement demonstrates the fragility of communicative memory,[32] while the commencement of his work is plausibly dated *c*. 440, 40 years after Xerxes' invasion.[33]

More recent studies of cultural memory have emphasised the need for repetitive activity for the retrieval of memory. Such repeated activities can strengthen collective identities, which may span several generations, so long as they continue to be performed by a community.[34] Psychological studies into 'retrieval-induced forgetting' also show that the repeated retrieval of one memory in a category may strengthen the recalled item, but rapidly increases the rate at which other material from the same category is forgotten.[35] Physical monuments are not essential in the creation and perpetuation of cultural memory, but significant locations are beneficial for their dissemination.[36] A modern example is

[31] Montague 1994. This work only uses historical data for 'notable' individuals. However, these same individuals would also be those with the greatest ability to influence the erection of monuments.
[32] Hdt. 1.1.
[33] Cartledge 2013, 4-5.
[34] Bommas 2011a, 4-5.
[35] Baddeley et al. 2015, 248-250.
[36] Halbwachs 1992, 52-53; Assmann 2011, 44.

Remembrance Sunday in the United Kingdom: activities such as the veterans' parade, the laying of poppy wreaths, and two minutes' silence would have tremendous significance no matter the location, yet they are enhanced by the monumental commemorative landscape in which they take place.

In general, situations that are emotionally charged or high in stress produce dominant memories, yet these same states are shown to reduce the accuracy of those same memories.[37] This drop in the accuracy of memory increases dramatically over time, but crucially it has been shown that individuals retain absolute belief in the accuracy of their memory, remaining blind to changes in their own version of a story.[38] Furthermore, experiments have demonstrated that if several people undergo the same experience and are asked to recall it, they naturally highlight their own role. However, if one member of the group is repeatedly asked to describe the experience, their version becomes dominant in the minds of the other participants. From the view of neuroscience then, it is eminently possible that collective memory can be shaped by elements within a group without its members even noticing.[39] For the study of monuments, particularly those set up by the state, this ability to shape collective and, by extension, cultural memory is highly significant.

Cultural and collective memory form a key part of what neuroscientists call 'semantic' or background memory. Semantic memory is a system of recall separate from episodic memory (which focuses on personal activities) and represents the knowledge, beliefs, assumptions, and prejudices an individual holds about the world.[40] While episodic memory generally requires conscious initiation and leaves more of a conscious mark, semantic

[37] Baddeley et al. 2015, 339.
[38] Baddeley et al. 2015, 313.
[39] Baddeley et al. 2015, 198-224.
[40] Baddeley et al. 2015, 166-190.

memory is more automatic, less specific, and less personal. Our long-term memory makes use of both episodic and semantic memory systems, and not always in a manner that provides accuracy. For example, when remembering stories from foreign cultures (utilising episodic memory), we are likely to unconsciously alter events to match our own understanding of the world (based on our semantic memory).[41] It is impossible to fully reconstruct the semantic memory of an ancient Greek, but it is important to bear in mind that the presentation of consistent narratives, in which physical monuments play a key role, creates, perpetuates, and distorts the biological memory of individuals and collectives, in both modern and ancient societies.[42]

To my knowledge, there have been no systematic examinations of the monumental agenda of any individual Greek city over an extended period. Studies devoted to individual monuments have, by necessity, taken into consideration the general patterns or trends in the culture of monumental dedications by the offering state, as well as contemporary trends elsewhere.[43] By contrast, there have been thorough examinations of the development of monumental spaces, such as the Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries of Delphi and Olympia,[44] or the evolution of the *demosion sema* of the Athenian Kerameikos.[45] Additionally, there have been several studies of the commemoration, both monumental and otherwise, of specific events in ancient Greek history, most notably the Persian Wars.[46] Further works have sought to draw out the importance of these major events in the evolution of cultural

[41] Baddeley et al. 2015, 185-6.
[42] Powell 2021 for this phenomenon in relation to Thucydides' account of Sparta.
[43] For example, Bommelaer 1971; 1981; 2011 (Aigospotamoi monument); von den Hoff 2009; Gensheimer 2017 (Athenian Treasury at Delphi); Neer 2001 (Siphnian Treasury at Delphi).
[44] Scott 2010; 2014.
[45] Arrington 2010; 2011; Low 2010.
[46] Curtis-West 1965; Duffy 2018.

memory in ancient Greece,[47] with the Persian Wars once more serving as a popular topic.[48] Indeed, the principles of cultural memory (outlined above) have been applied to the ancient world with increasing intensity,[49] including the study of Sparta in the Roman period.[50]

Spartan Monumental Display

Much like approaches to monuments in ancient Greece more generally, most studies of Spartan monuments have tended to focus on individual monuments,[51] or the development and significance of a particular category of monument.[52] While studies of triumphal monuments remain comparatively rare, there have been numerous works expounding on the perceived peculiarities of Spartan burial practice,[53] especially in light of the discovery of organised cemeteries in use during the Archaic and Classical periods.[54] Most Spartan monumental dedications in Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries are discussed in works which deal with the sanctuaries themselves (see above),[55] or considered from an artistic point of view.[56] Among the surviving ancient sources, the second-century CE travel writer Pausanias gives a detailed description of the monumental topography of Sparta in the Roman period. The relative paucity of excavated monuments makes Pausanias' account valuable but also potentially dangerous in attempting to analyse Spartan use of monuments in the creation and perpetuation of their image in the Archaic and Classical periods. There have been

[47] Alcock 2002; Giangiulio et. al. 2019; Schröder 2020.
[48] For example, Jung 2006. The role of Herodotus in the creation of the Persian War narrative has also been the subject of scholarly attention: Hammond 1996; Flower 1998; Van Wees 2018; Proietti 2021.
[49] Bommas 2011; Low and Oliver 2012; Steinbock 2012.
[50] Kennell 2017.
[51] For example, Corbett 1949 (stone lion at Thermopylai), Stroszeck 2006; 2013 (Tomb of the Lakedaimonians); Bommelaer 2011 (Aigospotamoi Monument).
[52] For example, Hodkinson 2000, 303-334; 2009 (equestrian victory monuments at Olympia).
[53] Recently, see Christesen 2018; Kucewicz 2021. Securely identified funerary monuments remain rare if not unheard of, particularly in the Archaic period (Kokkorou-Alevras 2009). See Chapter 5.
[54] Tsouli 2013; 2016; Christesen 2018.
[55] An exception is Palagia 2009, which offers a broad reconstruction of Spartan monumental dedications at Delphi and Olympia.
[56] Stibbe 2000; Förtsch 2001a.

several valuable attempts to reconstruct Pausanias' itinerary with reference to the surviving archaeology, which have shed some light on the arrangement of monuments in the Roman period,[57] although difficulties remain when using Pausanias' account to reconstruct monuments of the Archaic and Classical periods.

We know that the Spartans of later periods attempted to re-shape and re-define their history,[58] often quite radically, and the construction of new monuments to support new narratives could conceivably have formed a part of this new history.[59] Certain recent studies have sought to soften the commonly-held view that our surviving accounts of the constitution of Classical Sparta are severely distorted through the distance of time and the (re)imagination of later authors by highlighting the significance of *politeiai* composed in the early fourth-century by notable Spartiates such as Thibron (*BNJ* 581), Pausanias (*BNJ* 582) and Lysander (*BNJ* 583).[60] However, these fourth-century Spartan writers certainly had their own agendas to pursue (recall from exile for Pausanias and Thibron, political ambitions in Lysander's case) and sought to invoke the ancestral constitution as imparted by Lykourgos to support them. This, combined with the lapse of time and changes in Spartan society throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods, means that caution must still be exercised when assessing later references to artistic display, ownership of wealth, and monuments in Sparta, even in cases which are effectively back dated.

[57] Stibbe 1989; Kourinou 2000, esp. 235-9; Sanders 2009; Greco 2012. See Chapter 6.
[58] Hellenistic writers from Lakonia include Hippasos (*BNJ* 589), Molpis (*BNJ* 590), and the better known Sosibios (*BNJ* 595), seen by Boring (1979, 55) as the first Spartan who could be called an important writer. We also hear of Aristokrates (*BNJ* 591), a Spartan citizen who wrote *Lakonika*, a history of the Spartan constitution in at least four books, but which was probably not well thought of in antiquity.
[59] For this re-invention of Archaic and Classical Sparta in later periods, see Cartledge and Spawforth 2002; Figueira 2007; Kennell 2010; 2017.
[60] Tober (2010) sees the existence of these *politeiai* as evidence of Spartan interest in history and historiography. Figueira (2016) seeks to emphasize that these works were used by the later Hellenistic writers from Lakonia.

Alongside these studies, which deal more explicitly with monumental display in Sparta, there have been several works examining the use and regulation of visual display in other arenas of Spartan culture. Of particular significance is Powell's 'Mendacity and Sparta's use of the visual,' which demonstrated Spartan interest in regulating visual display to their own benefit.[61] The Spartans of the Classical period were evidently concerned with the visual spectacle of their army when on campaign,[62] although this does not necessarily mean that the appearance of their force was excessively regulated beyond Spartan citizens dressing in crimson and carrying a bronze shield.[63] When not on campaign, male Spartan citizens would dress somewhat uniformly in simple, modest clothing, which even the poorest in society could afford.[64] Such limitations in clothing were imitated (probably to an extreme) by Lakonising Athenians, who we find mocked in both comedy and oratory.[65] Aristotle even explicitly states that the uniform restriction of luxurious clothing as adopted by the Lakonians was a sign not of their restraint, but that such mock humility was truly boastful.[66] We can therefore see that even where visual display was limited and regulated, it could be a source of pride for adult male Spartiates, dressed affordably in a uniform manner which displayed their status, not unlike members of a modern sports team dressing in matching tracksuits. Similarly, the Spartans famously maintained particular hair and facial hair styles, although here their appearance was not limited so much as regulated, for the styles adopted were relatively common among elite groups in Archaic Greece.[67]

[61] Powell 1989. Harman 2009 for Xenophon's general interest in visual spectacle.
[62] Powell 2021, 233.
[63] Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 11.3. On the limits of regulation in the appearance of the Spartans on campaign, see van Wees 2017a, 218.
[64] Arist. *Pol*. 1294b. 24-9; Kritias fr. 34d-k; Thuc. 1.6.4; Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 2.3-4; 7.3. Hodkinson 2000, 219-226
[65] E.g., Aristophanes. *Birds*. 1281-3; Dem. 54.34.
[66] Arist. *Nik. Eth.* 1127b.
[67] Van Wees 2017a, 216-7.

The appearance of individuals was therefore regulated, probably from the late-sixth-century at the latest, and it is pertinent to ask whether similar regulations also governed the dedication of monuments, and whether we can see consistency in the types of monuments dedicated by 'central' Spartan powers. From Plutarch we hear of a restriction imposed on the tools which could be used in the construction of the outside of houses, which may have limited an opportunity for an outward display of status and wealth.[68] This calls to mind Xenophon's description of the doors of the house of the fourth-century Spartan king Agesilaos, which one might imagine were the very same doors that Aristodemos, the king who first led the Lakedaimonians to Sparta,[69] had set up centuries earlier.[70] This passage implies that Agesilaos was content to live a life devoid of luxury and wealth, but also highlights the continuity of lifestyle, which the Spartans often sought to emphasise. As with the regulations placed on hairstyle and clothing, these measures appear only skin deep but do demonstrate a concern regarding the image of Sparta projected both to the wider world and within Spartan society itself.[71]

A major consideration for a study of the monuments of Sparta comes from the model of Winter regarding the factors necessary for the creation of sites of memory: specifically, that all forms of commemoration require start up resources (money and time). This is especially true for the creation of physical monuments, which often involved the commissioning of at least one artist. However, the restriction of displays of wealth is a common theme in Classical Sparta. It is therefore necessary to briefly examine the economic factors which may

[68] Plut. *Lyk*. 13.3-4; *Mor*. 189c. Van Wees (2017a, 214) suggests that the restriction on the tools to be used, rather than on monetary expenditure, might point to an early date for this regulation.
[69] Hdt. 6.52.1.
[70] Xen. *Ages*. 8.7.
[71] The display of wealth was also probably restricted, either by law, custom, or both, in other areas of Spartan life (Hodkinson 2000, 209-30).

have governed the creation of monuments in Sparta, dedicated both by individuals and the state. Among our ancient sources, it is Plato who most explicitly comments on the wealth of individual Spartans of his day:

> χρυσίον δὲ καὶ ἀργύριον οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν πᾶσιν Ἕλλησιν ὅσον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἰδίᾳ. πολλὰς γὰρ ἤδη γενεὰς εἰσέρχεται μὲν αὐτόσε ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐξέρχεται δὲ οὐδαμόσε… ὥστε εὖ χρὴ εἰδέναι ὅτι καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ οἱ ἐκεῖ πλουσιώτατοί εἰσιν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ὁ βασιλεύς.
>
> But there is more gold and silver privately held in Lakedaimon than in the whole of Greece; for during many generations treasure has been passing into them from every part of Greece, and often from the barbarians also, but not passing out to anyone… so that one can be pretty sure that those people are the richest of the Greeks in gold and silver, and that among themselves the richest is the king.[72]

In the context of this metaphor, we might regard the creation of monuments and dedications in sanctuaries as one of the few signs of some of this wealth leaving Sparta. Passages such as this also suggest that individual Spartans possessed the means to commission monuments in celebration of their own achievements, and that wealthy families would have had the means to erect funerary monuments. On the other hand, it is questionable whether the Spartans ever had a deep 'state' treasury distinct from the private wealth of the two royal families.[73] Before continuing, it is therefore necessary to comment upon the sources of income available to the Spartan 'state' (as opposed to individual families) which could be used to commission monuments. The major economic contribution a Spartiate made to the state was the payment of his compulsory mess dues: a fixed

[72] Plat. *Alk*. 1.122e-123a. trans. Loeb. A similar claim occurs at Plat. *Rep*. 548a-b.
[73] Arist. *Pol*. 1271b. 11-15 remarks that when compelled to fight long wars, Sparta had nothing in the state treasury (ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῆς πόλεως ἔστιν οὐδὲν). On the eve of the Peloponnesian War, Thucydides (1.80) has King Archidamos state that the Spartans have no public funds. Plat. *Alk*. 1.123a-b records that the Lakedaimonians paid a significant tribute to their kings. Hodkinson 2000, 189-90.

quantity of agricultural produce from his estate offered to his *syssition* (common mess).[74] These contributions were higher than the dietary requirements of any individual Spartiate, and so represent a levy on the agricultural produce of a Spartiate's estate.[75] However, this surplus was probably used predominantly for the maintenance of the kings' messes, the rations and common equipment of the army on campaign, and other individuals and institutions maintained at public expense.[76] As a result, even if the state sold some of the excess mess contributions, the funds raised would be extremely meagre. There may have been some custom duties on goods traded in Sparta's market, yet these would also not raise significant revenues.[77] There is some indirect evidence for taxation in Sparta in the form of individuals who were said to be exempt from paying taxes.[78] However, as Hodkinson has pointed out, Aristotle refers to each Spartiate's mess dues as a tax, and it may therefore be that any other forms of taxation were negligible.[79] Herodotus records that when a new king ascended the throne he freed all Spartiates of any debt owed either to the king or the state (ἐλευθεροῖ τι Σπαρτιητέων τῷ βασιλέι ἢ τῷ δημοσίῳ ὤφειλε),[80] although these probably represent personal transactions rather than unpaid dues aimed at filling a state treasury.

With no meaningful taxation, no obvious sources of precious metal within their territory,[81] and, from the late-sixth-century onwards, no exports of luxury goods, there was little to fill the public coffers of Sparta. Public expenditure in Classical Sparta was similarly low, with no

[74] Hodkinson 2000, 190-1. For the common messes: van Wees 2017b.
[75] Hodkinson 2000, 191-6.
[76] Hodkinson 2000, 197. For the equipping of the army at public expense: Xen. *Lak*. *Pol*. 11.2. Arist. *Pol*. 1271b and Thuc. 1.80 both record that individual Spartiates were reluctant to make private financial contributions to a war effort, nor did they finance the outfitting of triremes in the Athenian manner (Hodkinson 2000, 211-4).
[77] Hodkinson 2000, 188.
[78] Arist. *Pol.* 1270b. 3-5 (men with four sons); Plut. *Ages*. 35.2 (descendants of the man who slew Epaminondas).
[79] Hodkinson 2000, 190. Arist. *Pol*. 1271a. 36-7
[80] Hdt. 6.59.
[81] In contrast to Athenian gold (Thuc. 4.105) and silver (Hdt. 7.144) mines.

public salaries to pay and little state funding needed for military projects (especially the payment of mercenaries, and the outfitting of ships or cavalry) before the Peloponnesian War.[82] It is therefore logical to conclude that major monumental dedications would (or could) predominantly only be made by the Spartan state in the wake of military victories and the capture of war booty or the economic windfall which accompanied territorial conquest.[83] This might explain why there was a major building programme in Sparta in the second half of the sixth-century following the consolidation of Spartan territory with the conquest of the Thryeatis and Kynouria regions, or why there were relatively few Spartan state dedications at Delphi between the Persian Wars and the victory over the Athenians at Aigospotamoi.

In contrast to the war-booty dependant ability of the state to regularly construct monuments, many individual Spartiates, with more regular sources of income provided by their estates, would be able to set up celebratory or commemorative monuments whenever they wished. In this context, it is interesting to wonder whether any of the supposed limits on monumental display reflect insecurity on the part of the state over its ability to compete with wealthier Spartiate families.

In summary, the aim of this thesis is to apply current approaches in the study of monuments to the available evidence for Spartan monumental display in order to ascertain how the Spartans wished to present themselves during their heyday. To that end, it is necessary to

[82] Hodkinson 2000, 187-8. For the increased military effort in the Peloponnesian War, see Hodkinson 2020b, 342-5.

[83] By the fourth-century anyone capturing booty in the Lakedaimonian army was sent to the λαφυροπῶλαι, 'booty-sellers' who accompanied the army. Xen. *Ages*. 1.18; *Hell*. 4.1.26; *Lak*. Pol. 13.11. A similar ideal, the bringing of all booty into a common pot, can be seen after the battle of Plataia in 479 (Hdt. 9.80.1.).

establish the current picture of Sparta in modern scholarship, to briefly chart the continuing evolution of this picture, and consider preliminary questions of identity.

Chapter 2. Re-introducing the Spartans

2.1. The 'Spartan Mirage' and the Issue of Sources

> The image of Sparta, and the Spartans, is one with which we are all familiar: musclebound soldiers with long hair and red cloaks, bearing shiny bronze shields emblazoned with the Greek letter lambda, and standing together as free equals.[84]

This quotation, taken from Bayliss' recent book 'The Spartans', excellently summarises the modern image of Sparta as a harsh and violent culture, whose inhabitants were as physically tough as they were repulsed by ideas of wealth and luxury. The prevalence of this image in twenty-first-century popular culture can be partially linked to the exaggerated, inaccurate, yet overwhelmingly positive portrayal of Sparta in Zack Snyder's *300* (2006). This positive portrayal, while still referring to some of the negative images of Spartan culture, represented a change from most twentieth-century portrayals of Sparta.[85]

Even as more even-handed depictions of Sparta start to appear, such as Kieron Gillen's *Three*, or Ubisoft's *Assassin's Creed: Odyssey*, the above elements often remain, regardless of historical accuracy. The world of video games has repeatedly drawn on the idea of the Spartan as a super-soldier, not only in games set (however loosely) in ancient Greece,[86] but also in popular titles such as *Halo*, which features genetically engineered super-soldiers known as Spartans.

This exaggerated focus on the martial prowess and hardiness of the Spartans has led to considerable appropriation beyond fictional genres. Far-right groups, from the schools of

[84] Bayliss 2020.
[85] Fotheringham 2012. Bayliss 2020, 129-146. The introduction to *Sparta in Modern Thought* (Hodkinson and Macgregor Morris 2012) provides a substantial overview, while the subsequent chapters provide detailed studies of specific periods. See also Hodkinson and Powell 1994.
[86] E.g., SEGA's *Spartan: Total Warrior*, or Sony's *God of War* series.

Nazi Germany to radical-right groups in America,[87] have often invoked an idea of ancient Sparta as an inspiration for their ideals.[88] Whilst the twentieth-century association between Sparta and fascism has proven resilient, [89] eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French thinkers often perceived Spartan land distribution as more liberal.[90] Consequently, Cartledge has described Sparta as a 'brand' that is in constant need of re-branding.[91] Sparta's ability to appal and appeal to disparate groups owes much to the ancient sources themselves, notably, the lack of any even-handed, concentrated descriptions of Spartan society and culture. One common feature of both ancient and modern writings on Sparta is that it is the regular target of value judgements.[92] It is often like marmite, either loved or hated.

This ongoing tradition of positive and negative distortions of Spartan society, the 'Spartan mirage', was first highlighted by Ollier's *Le Mirage Spartiate*, which focused primarily on the idealisation of Spartan society.[93] This was followed by further studies which enhanced and elaborated upon this idea of a Spartan 'mirage'. Tigerstedt's colossal three-volume work, *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought*, emphasised the negative portrayals of, and reaction to, Spartan culture.[94] In *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought* Rawson then examined how the perception of ancient Sparta changed according to the contemporary concerns of societies from ancient through to modern times.[95] Subsequent studies of Sparta

[87] Roche 2013; Hodkinson 2020a, 16-18.
[88] Roche 2012, esp. 320-4 for the image of Sparta (and the sources selected to promote it) in the Adolf Hitler Schools.
[89] Hodkinson 2010 charts the evolution of this analogy in British liberal thought.
[90] Mason 2017, 682. See also, Christesen 2012.
[91] Cartledge 2006, 41, 48.
[92] For example, Xen. *Lak*. *Pol*. 14, who praises the Spartan constitution as set down by Lykourgos while also criticising the Spartans of his own day for their moral decline.
[93] Ollier 1933-1943.
[94] Tigerstedt 1965-78.
[95] Rawson 1969.

would come to focus on the problematic nature of much of the written evidence, even if the process was not always as swift as it might have been.[96] Alongside this growing awareness of the limitations of the written sources came an increased appreciation for the archaeological evidence and a broadening of methodological approach, exemplified in 1979 by Cartledge's seminal *Sparta and Lakonia*. Focused Spartan scholarship intensified and accelerated through subsequent decades, in particular through the series *Sparta and its Influence*, published by the Classical Press of Wales, currently consisting of 16 volumes,[97] with two more forthcoming.[98] A *Companion to Sparta*, edited by Powell, has offered excellent contributions on the history, archaeology, and thematic issues relating to Sparta.[99] The fact that so much of our evidence for ancient Sparta is seen through the prism of non-Spartan ancient writers has led recently to a series focusing on the relationships of individual authors with Sparta,[100] as well as at least one volume (and multiple studies elsewhere) which consider the motivations for portrayals of Sparta through the overwhelmingly Athenian sources.[101]

Many studies have been devoted to examining the stereotypes attached to ancient Sparta, challenging preconceptions which in some cases have been held for centuries. The result of these focused studies is a more rounded image of the 'real' Sparta emerging from the murkiness of the stereotypes which have plagued it for so long. We no longer view the Spartans as illiterate brutes who spent little of their time in education on reading and

[96] Whitby 2002, 11.
[97] Powell 1989; Powell and Hodkinson 1994; Hodkinson and Powell 1999; Hodkinson 2000; Powell and Hodkinson 2002; Ogden 2004; Figueira 2004; Ducat 2006a; Hodkinson and Powell 2006; Hodkinson 2009; Powell and Hodkinson 2010; Hodkinson and Macgregor Morris 2012; Kralli 2017; Cartledge and Powell 2018; Powell and Richer 2020; Powell and Debnar 2021.
[98] Davies and Mossman (eds), *Plutarch and Sparta*; Powell and Hodkinson (eds), *Herodotus and Sparta*.
[99] Powell 2017.
[100] Powell and Richer 2020; Powell and Debnar 2021.
[101] Cartledge and Powell 2018.

writing.[102] Modern scholarship has comprehensively demonstrated that this reputation is unfounded, that the written word was central to the functioning of Spartan society, and that individual Spartiates were far more literate than had often been supposed.[103] The education of young Spartans has been shown to be much more open than previously imagined, with a significant elementary schooling of the same kind and quality as the *paideia* of other Greek cities.[104] Similarly, the overtly militaristic character of the Spartan state (and educational focus) has been questioned,[105] while the image of Spartiate citizens as professional soldiers has also been shown to be somewhat exaggerated.[106] So too the practice of ritual infanticide, attributed by Plutarch to Lykourgos,[107] where infants deemed undesirable by the state were cast into the same pit as executed criminals (the Kaiadas or Apothetai),[108] so enduringly prevalent in the popular image of Sparta,[109] now appears as yet another myth.[110] Adult male Spartiates were also not quite so equal as had long been believed, with a great disparity in wealth and property, as demonstrated by Hodkinson's *Property and Wealth in Classical Sparta*.[111] The ideal of the empowered Spartan woman, uniquely independent and assertive in politics,[112] has also been investigated and re-assessed to reveal women who did

[102] This picture is advanced as early as Isoc. *Panath.* 209, who states that the Spartans 'do not even learn their letters' (οὐδὲ γράμματα μανθάνουσιν). However, Isocrates himself admits that he has exaggerated his criticism of Sparta (232), while his pupil comments in the same work (251) on the Spartans reading Isocrates' works. Ducat 2006a, 45-9; 119-20.
[103] Cartledge 1978; Boring 1979; Millender 2001; Ducat 2006a, 119-21.
[104] Ducat 2006a, 119-34.
[105] Hodkinson 2006; 2017.
[106] Hodkinson 2020b.
[107] Plut. *Lyk.* 16.1. There is no earlier mention of infanticide in Sparta. The silence of Xenophon on the matter is particularly significant.
[108] Pitsios 2010 reports remains of at least 46 adult individuals, but no evidence of infant remains. Paradiso 2017, 261-2 offers an overview of the history and archaeology of the Kaiadas.
[109] Fotheringham 2012, 393.
[110] Huys 1996; Sneed 2021, esp. 749-53. Both Plato (*Rep*. 460c) and Aristotle (*Pol*. 1335b) include infanticide as part of their ideal states, but do not link the practice to Sparta.
[111] Hodkinson 2000. Certain elements of Hodkinson's hypothesis, for example the allocation of *Kleroi*, have been challenged: Figueira 2017, esp. 575.
[112] Millender 2017, 501-3 for the origin and durability of this image as part of the Spartan mirage. See also Millender 1999; Hodkinson 2000; Figueira 2010.

not live unrecognisable lives from their Greek counterparts, albeit with opportunities for greater economic independence and political power for those born into elite or royal families.[113] It is also important to stress the fluidity of the current picture of Sparta. The increased interest in Sparta and the acceleration of academic enquiry means that the picture is constantly changing, and that various aspects of Sparta are regularly subject to scholarly debate. This is especially true for elements of Spartan society that have left few traces in literary or material evidence, such as the status and experience of the Perioikoi and Helots, both of whom have been the subject of considerable study and debate.[114]

Our understanding of Sparta has also been dramatically improved by the intensification of archaeological excavations carried out in the modern city of Sparti.[115] It was not until 1994 that archaeological protection was extended to cover most of the modern town, leading to an increase in the number of excavations carried out. Prior to this, archaeological activity in Sparti was confined to the major sanctuaries and acropolis, as well as numerous smaller-scale rescue excavations.[116] Important sanctuaries, such as those of Artemis Orthia,[117] Athena Chalkioikos,[118] and the Menelaion,[119] were the subject of work from the British School in the early-twentieth-century, while other smaller structures, such as the Leonidaion, were excavated in the late-nineteenth-century.[120] The Amyklaion, south of Sparta, was first excavated by the Archaeological Society of Athens in the late-nineteenth

[113] Millender 2017, 519.
[114] See the different reconstructions of the role of Helots in Spartan society by Hodkinson 2000 and Figueira 2017. Also, Luraghi and Alcock 2003; Lewis 2018, ch.6. For questions of Helot and Messenian identity, see Figueira 1999; Ogden 2004; Luraghi 2008. For the status of the Perioikoi, see the opposing views of Hall 2000 and Ducat 2008; 2017, as well as Shipley 1997; 2004, and Hansen 2004.
[115] Cavanagh (2017) offers a thorough overview of the archaeology of Sparta (by period).
[116] Catling 1998 for a summary of twentieth-century archaeology in Sparta.
[117] Dawkins et al. 1929.
[118] Dawkins 1908.
[119] Wace, Thompson, and Droop 1909. The site was revisited in the 1970s: Catling 1976.
[120] Crosby 1893; Waldstein 1893.

and early-twentieth-centuries,[121] before the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut took over in the 1920s.[122] This important sanctuary has been the subject of renewed archaeological investigation: the *Amyklaion - Amykles Research Project*, still ongoing at the time of writing of this thesis, under the auspices of the Athens Archaeological Society.[123] A large number of finds unearthed at the various sanctuaries around Sparta have been studied by category,[124] which has also led to several good quality overviews of small-scale artistic production and consumption in Sparta and Lakonia.[125] The available evidence for production, consumption, and export of Lakonian art has also allowed scholars to detect a break in productions and innovation, *c*. 500.[126] This break, though not so dramatic as it once appeared,[127] has led scholars to question the relationship between artistic production and the idea of Spartan austerity, especially during the Classical period.[128] In an attempt to explain the decline, rather than abrupt halt, of Lakonian art after 500, both Nafissi and Förtsch reached (by different routes) the conclusion that austerity was not suddenly imposed but was the result of long-term tensions between the traditional aristocratic elite and the developing hoplite

[121] Tsountas 1892; Fiechter 1918.
[122] Buschor and von Massow 1927.
[123] https://amyklaion.gr/gr/research/reports/ for a summary of work and yearly excavations reports and exhibitions from 2008 – 2021 (accessed 01/02/2022).
[124] E.g., black figure pottery: Pipili 1987; 1998. Bronzes: Herfort-Koch 1986. Ivories: Marangou 1969. Lead figurines: Cavanagh and Laxton 1984.
[125] Hodkinson 1998a; 1998b; Stibbe 2000; Förtsch 2001b; Prost 2017.
[126] Prost 2017, 171-2.
[127] 'One may agree that craftsmanship probably did not wither away in Laconia after 500, but that a certain concept of art disappeared from Laconian society after that date' (Prost 2017, 173).
[128] Hodkinson 1998a; 2000, 19-64; Förtsch 2001a, 48-54.

class.[129] Despite such works, there are still no clear solutions to this issue which impose themselves onto all the available evidence.[130]

The belief that Classical Sparta was a society with little interest in artistic production and consumption, combined with the romanticization of Sparta and its heroes, often led to the association of archaeological discoveries with famous historical characters. Most prominently, the 'Tomb of Leonidas' (Leonidaion) located on Agidos Street in modern Sparti, and the 'Leonidas' statue found on the acropolis, near the theatre, were almost immediately associated with the legendary king.[131] Subsequent research has demonstrated that the 'Leionidaion' should not be associated with the king's tomb, seen by Pausanias in the vicinity of the theatre,[132] although the correct identification remains a matter of debate.[133] The identification of the hoplite statue with Leonidas is rather more resilient, although it now appears that this statue may once have belonged to a pair of symmetrical figures in combat.[134] Our ever-increasing knowledge and understanding of Spartan history and archaeology allow for the re-assessment of such material, although this does not mean that existing conclusions should be discarded.

One the most significant discoveries in the flurry of excavations which followed the extension of archaeological protection in the 1990s was the existence of multiple ancient

[129] Nafissi (1991) argued that the hoplite class gradually began adopting status symbols which had previously been the reserve of the aristocracy, causing all such symbols to eventually be restricted from a desire for visible equality. Förtsch (2001a) saw a tension between a restriction of luxury on the one hand, and the traditional forms of competition between the elite on the other, which led to the eventual abandonment of such aristocratic symbols.
[130] Hodkinson (1998b, 55-63) observes that the focus is often on the production of objects and the sharp decline after 500, rather thans consideration of use and context.
[131] 'Tomb of Leonidas': Crosby (1893, 353) concluded that it might represent the shrine to Castor (Paus. 3.13.1). Waldstein (1893, 31) argued against this identification. Woodward 1927: 'Leonidas Statue' (SM 3365).
[132] Paus. 3.14.1.
[133] See Sanders 2009, 201-2 and below (Ch. 6) for summary of the issue and potential solutions.
[134] The statue is convincingly dated to the early-fifth-century (Prost 2017, 160-1).

cemeteries, which have permanently altered our view of Spartan burial practice.[135] Additionally, the road networks and bridges of ancient Sparta, and the route of the Hellenistic city walls have been identified,[136] while there have been some excellent reconstructions of the monumental topography of the ancient city more generally.[137] Some of the major finds and developments from these excavations have been collected in a series of edited volumes.[138] The geographical scope of archaeological investigations has also increased, both through large-scale archaeological survey,[139] and work on individual sanctuary sites throughout Lakonia.[140]

It is also important to note certain archaeological works carried out elsewhere in Greece which pertain to Sparta. Most notably, the excavation of the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians in the Athenian Kerameikos, which has been known since the 1930s but has recently been the subject of ongoing re-excavation and investigation.[141] Thermopylai, a key area for the study of Spartan commemoration, was investigated by Marinatos in the 1930s, although the terrain presented difficulties in forming many concrete conclusions.[142]

In summary, our view of ancient Sparta has changed markedly since the middle of the twentieth century and is in a continuing state of evolution. In some aspects Sparta appeared a little different from a 'typical' Greek Polis, if such a thing can ever be said to have existed,

[135] Tsouli 2013; 2016. For a summary: Christesen 2018. See Chapter 5.
[136] Road network: Pikoulas 2012. Bridges: Kourinou and Pikoulas 2009. For both: Armstrong, Cavanagh, and Shipley 1992. City walls: Kourinou 2000, 35-88.
[137] Most fully, Kourinou 2000. See also Sanders 2009.
[138] Sanders 1992; Cavanagh and Walker 1998; Gallou et al. 2008; Cavanagh et al. 2009.
[139] Cavanagh et al. 1996; Cavanagh et al. 2002; Cavanagh et al. 2006.
[140] For example, Catling 1989 (Zeus Messapeus); Koursoumis 2014 (Artemis Limnatis). For a thorough overview, see Pavlides 2018 supplementary materials.
[141] Find published: Van Hook 1932. Later works: Willemsen 1977; Von Kienlin 2003. New investigations: Stroszeck 2006; 2013.
[142] Marinatos 1951, see also Kanellopoulos 2014. Geological investigation: Kraft et al. 1987. See also Chapter 3.

but the Spartans were certainly not so far removed from their contemporaries as was once believed.[143]

The Perpetuation of the Spartan Stereotype

The emerging picture of Sparta in contemporary scholarship is distinctly at odds with the prevailing portrayals in popular culture. Yet the stereotypical view of Sparta is not confined to the modern period, with considerable ancient antecedents. The study of Sparta through the lens of non-Spartan sources, although necessary, risks relegating the Spartans to bystanders in the creation of their own image. Following the publication of *The Invention of Tradition*,[144] this theory was enthusiastically applied to Sparta, particularly in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[145] These studies have shown that many of the traditions and stereotypes relating to Archaic and Classical Sparta were created or exaggerated during later periods. The same theoretical framework was applied to Classical Sparta by Flower, who concluded that particular laws and customs were regularly invented to meet contemporary needs.[146] These newly invented traditions were then projected back in time (almost exclusively to the reforms of Lykourgos) in order to give more credence to their application, and more weight to contemporary arguments.[147] These studies have certainly enhanced our understanding of the development of the image of Sparta, but they do not address the position which Sparta held during its heyday in the Archaic and Classical

[143] Hodkinson 2009; Hansen 2009; Hodkinson and Hansen 2009 offer a debate on how exceptional the Spartans were.
[144] Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983.
[145] Cartledge and Spawforth (1989), Spawforth (2012) and Kennell (2017) offer general overviews of the invention of tradition in Hellenistic and (especially) Roman Sparta. Kennell (1995) surveys the evidence for the 'invented' tradition of the *agoge*, especially during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.
[146] Flower 2002. This article also deals with the creation of tradition in the Hellenistic period and is necessarily speculative.
[147] Flower 2002, 203-9. The projection of traditions back in time in this manner is in-keeping with the theory of cultural memory as advanced by Assmann 2011, and the use and limits of oral tradition (Vansina 1967).

periods, nor the reputation which Sparta enjoyed during this time. The images of many Spartan institutions may have been formed in Hellenistic and Roman times, yet the surviving fifth and fourth-century sources already demonstrate certain stereotypes about Sparta.

The role of the Spartans in the creation of their own image during the Classical period has been explored in recent publications by Powell, who identified a 'party line' bought into by the broader Spartiate (or even Lakedaimonian) community and disseminated to outside sources, such as Thucydides.[148] We can also detect stereotypical views of Sparta held by ancient Greek authors. Modern studies in neuroscience have identified how stereotypes, more broadly 'schemata' or 'schemas' influence the way in which we remember events.[149] A schema is a 'well-integrated chunk of knowledge about the world, events, people, or actions' which heavily influences what we remember.[150] It must be stressed that we, as modern observers, cannot hope to fully reconstruct the schemata of an ancient Greek mind. However, on some occasions we may be able to observe widely held attitudes seeping into the works of ancient authors. Even as meticulous an author as Thucydides makes use of potentially widely held schemata about Sparta,[151] often in spite of evidence to the contrary. In his description of the First Mantineia, Thucydides presents it as established fact that 'the Lakedaimonians fight long and hard, standing their ground until the turning, but having turned the enemy, they pursue only briefly and not far',[152] despite numerous episodes

[148] The idea first appears in Powell 2017, 10-11 and elaborated in Powell 2021.
[149] Baddeley et al. 2015, 182. The insight that the schematic knowledge an individual holds is key to what they remember was first advanced by Bartlett 1932.
[150] Baddeley et al. 2015, 182.
[151] See the examples collected by Powell 2017, 10-11, of Thucydides commenting that the Spartans acted differently to their 'typical' practice, in particular Thuc. 1.132.5; 5.63.2; 5.66.1-2.
[152] Thuc. 5.73.4 (trans. Konijnendijk 2018). This stereotype appears to have caught on, with explanations for it appearing in Pol. *Strat*. 1.16.3; Plut. *Lyk*. 22.5; Paus. 4.8.11. See Konijnendijk 2018, 188-9.

which contradict this statement.[153] Another important facet of memory and schemata is that objects or events are considerably more likely to be remembered if they directly contradict our preconceived framework.[154] For example, we can speculate that there existed a schema that 'the Spartans do not surrender' from the reaction, reported by Thucydides, to the surrender of the Lakedaimonians on Sphakteria.[155] This is a simplistic example, but it demonstrates that it is possible to detect certain schemata that were widely held throughout the Greek world. Some of these stereotypes brought active advantages to Sparta, perhaps most notably in the form of the fear that the Spartans instilled in their opponents.[156] There is good evidence that this was an image that the Spartans themselves cultivated through the appearance of their army.[157] This would therefore suggest that, like their Hellenistic and Roman period descendants, the Spartans of the Classical period took an active interest in the creation and perpetuation of their own image.

A key question of this thesis is 'how did the Spartans wish to be seen', but before embarking on this topic, it is important to first ask who exactly is meant by the term 'Spartans'. The word might refer to the inhabitants of the ancient city of Sparta, yet Thucydides tells us that the Spartans (or, more accurately, the Lakedaimonians), ruled two-fifths of the Peloponnese.[158] Strictly speaking, it should perhaps refer exclusively to the 'Spartiates', those who rank among the 'similars' or 'peers' (*homoioi*). Yet some Spartiates had estates

[153] For example, at Corinth in 395 (Xen. *Hell*. 4.4.10-12). See further Konijnendijk 2018, 191-4, table 7; Hodkinson 2020b, 351, n. 45.
[154] Baddelley et al. 2015, 182-4.
[155] Thuc. 4.40.
[156] Konijnendijk 2017; 2018, 179-81 collects examples of battles where the enemy fled before the Lakedaimonians out of fear.
[157] E.G., Xen. *Ages*. 2.7; *Anab*. 1.2.16-8; *Cyr*. 3.3.57-63; *Hell*. 7.1.31; *Lak. Pol*. 11.3; *Oik*. 8.6. See also van Wees 2004, 54; Konijnendijk 2018, 180. Powell 1989 for other examples of Spartan exploitation of the visual. Harman 2009 for Xenophon's special interest in visual spectacle.
[158] Thuc. 1.10.2.

outside of the city, which was itself home to many who did not rank among the Spartiates. Most often, we are prone to use 'Sparta' or 'Spartans' when we should perhaps refer to 'Lakedaimon' or the 'Lakedaimonians', terms which denote a larger geographical territory and the *Perioikoi*, the free non-Spartiates who literally 'lived around' Sparta. However, the major decision-making bodies within this wide social and geographic area were those of Sparta and the Spartiates. The picture is clouded further by the occasional use of 'Lakonian' (from Lakonike, the name for the Spartan heartland) as an ethnic identifier. The ancient sources are also often prone to switch between these terms interchangeably; for example Syagros, the ambassador to Gelon is described as a Spartiate, a Lakedaimonian, and a Lakonian during a single episode (see below).[159] Within this thesis, in an attempt to ensure clarity, I shall strive to follow the ancient uses of terms (Spartiate/Lakedaimonian/Lakonian) when discussing specific incidents or monuments but will use the term 'Spartan' more generally, to refer to decisions taken by ruling powers, or where the more specific identity is unclear. In short, I will be assessing *Spartan* monuments, erected by individual or collective *Spartiates* and *Lakedaimonians,* as well as on behalf of the *Spartan* state.

The interchangeable nature of these identifiers makes them an excellent starting point for an investigation into Spartan self-presentation. To avoid the pitfall of the flexibility in their use by ancient authors and in order to focus on self-representation, I shall discuss the terms used in inscriptions of Spartan origin. The issues at stake are whether individuals wished to be specially designated as Spartiate, or Lakedaimonian (and whether this alters according to date and context), as well as whether we can detect any attempt by the Spartan authorities to impose a universal terminology, in-keeping with the idea of a party line.

[159] Hdt. 7.153-161.

2.2. Spartiates and Lakedaimonians: The Language of Identity.

The two most used terms in ancient sources are 'Spartan' (more accurately, *Spartiatai* or Spartiates) and 'Lakedaimonian'. The confusion between the two in the ancient sources has long been noted,[160] with considerable scholarly discussion on the exact nature of the relationship between the Spartiates and the Perioikoi and the concept of Lakedaimon as an entity.[161] As ever, a major hurdle in accurately explaining to whom the term 'Lakedaimonians' refers is the fact that the major historical sources are written by non-Spartans, indeed, by non-Lakedaimonians, resulting in a picture from the outside looking in, rather than offering the perspective of an inhabitant of Lakonike. Ducat has summed up the image presented by the written sources in formulaic terms as: 'Sparta + *perioikis* = Lakedaimon'.[162] The aim of this section is not to enter into the debate over who the Lakedaimonians were as an entity, but rather to utilise a different corpus of evidence, namely epigraphy and the role of monumental dedications, to shed some light on how the Lakedaimonians (and Spartiates) wished to be identified. As a starting point I have limited the evidence to inscriptions included in the *IG* online corpus, rather than including references to inscriptions in historical sources. This is mainly due to the blurring of lines between Sparta and Lakedaimon in ancient writers, which can lead to inscriptions being misquoted. Pausanias, for example, speaks almost exclusively of kings of Lakedaimon, yet the verses on the stone base which once held the dedication of Kyniska refer to 'Kings of Sparta'.[163] The physical inscriptions therefore provide our most 'real' evidence of self-presentation in terms of the division between 'Spartiate' and 'Lakedaimonian'. After

[160] Ducat (2010, esp. 184-5) offers a concise summary of notions of 'Lakedaimon' in previous scholarship.
[161] Shipley 1997; 2006; Ducat 2010; 2017.
[162] Ducat 2017, 597.
[163] *IG* V,1 1564a = IvO 160. Paus. 3.8.1; 3.15.1; 5.12.5; 6.1.6 for records of Kyniska's victories which echo the sentiments of the surviving inscription but speak only of Lakedaimon as opposed to Sparta.

presenting the relevant epigraphic evidence, I take into consideration inscriptions quoted in historical sources that no longer survive and consider the wider patterns in terms of collective identity visible through the Spartan monuments of the sixth-, fifth-, and fourth-centuries. Tables 1-3 display the terms as they occur in inscriptions according to date and then by authorship, to ascertain whether the label is one that is consciously being adopted or, as in our historical sources, being applied to the group. We run into a further issue when deciding who is responsible for the language used in an inscription; to what extent were foreign inscriptions influenced by 'official' Spartan/Lakedaimonian policy on which term to use? For example, should two inscribed marble thrones for *proxenoi* at Olympia which refer to Lakedaimon, but were inscribed by the Eleans themselves (see below), be considered as foreigners applying a term from the outside, or as using a format which must have been acceptable to the *proxenoi* themselves? In this instance I favour the latter interpretation. Therefore, the inscriptions used have been divided according to whether there was likely Spartan oversight or approval and comparing those to examples where the inscribers would be beyond the reach of Spartan influence, or even actively hostile to them.

2.2.1 The uses of 'Spartiate' and 'Lakedaimonian' before the Persian Wars

The corpus of inscriptions mentioning either Spartiates or Lakedaimonians down to the Persian Wars is quite meagre, totalling only 10 inscriptions. The context and content of the inscriptions are, however, broad enough to allow for some useful analysis in the development of Spartan self-representation at a time of momentous events in their history. The dating of inscriptions from Lakonike based on letter forms is far from certain, due to the relatively small corpus of texts and fluctuations in the usage of different letter forms.[164]

[164] Jeffery 1990, 187; Bauslaugh 1990, 666.

Therefore, certain inscriptions discussed below may belong to the early-years of the fifth-century and should perhaps be considered alongside evidence from after the Persian Wars. However, the early inscriptions speaking of Spartiates (Table 1) are reasonably secure in being dated before the Persian Wars, while afterwards we find that 'Lakedaimonian' had become the dominant term, meaning that a broadening of the historical period under consideration may skew the results and disrupt the analysis of the patterns emerging through the rest of the Archaic period. As a result, I have chosen to include and discuss those inscriptions of uncertain dating here.

Primary ID	Findspot	Nature of inscription	Other references
IG XII,6 2.540	Samos	Bronze lion attachment from (now lost) vessel	
IG V,1 1561	Olympia	Part of bronze plaque	IvO 263
IG V,1 1563	Olympia	Bronze plate, once part of larger vessel	IvO 244
IG XII, 9 286	Eretria	Grave stele of Pleistas	Walker 2004, 227-9

Table 1. 'Spartiate' inscriptions created with Spartan oversight, c. 550-480

The attested uses of Spartiate as an identifier come from a fairly-broad geographic area in this period, though there are none from within Lakonike itself (which is also true of inscriptions mentioning Lakedaimonians). This is not surprising, for it would be unnecessary to specify one's place of origin when offering a dedication in that same place. Of the two inscriptions from Olympia, the first (*IG* V,1 1561) is extremely fragmentary, with Σπα|ρτιάτ preserved in boustrophedon over two lines. The missing letters at the end of the word would allow for either a singular or plural, so it is unclear whether this was the offering of an individual or a group, although the former is slightly more convincing.[165] The second (*IG* V,1

[165] Boring (1979, no. 30) sees it as an individual offering.

1563) is certainly an offering from the Spartiates as a collective, although the purpose of the offering is unclear. It may have been connected to a military campaign undertaken by the Spartiates alone, without the aid of the Perioikoi. The crouching bronze lion, once part of a larger bronze vessel, was an individual dedication to Hera on Samos by Eumnastos, a self-identified Spartiate. We have no guess as to the size of the original dedication, but it seems that the vessel was transported from Lakonia to Samos and could have coincided with closer political ties between the two states.[166]

Figure 1: Grave stele of Pleistas, sixth-century. Jeffery 1990, pl.6 no.17

The grave stele of Pleistas (Fig. 1), located in Eretria, mentions Sparta as the dead man's *Patris*,[167] but that he made his living (or was raised) in Athens, [168] and died in Eretria. The fact that his fatherland is identified (in the present-tense) as Sparta, rather than Lakedaimon may represent a source of pride for the individual, reflecting their status as a Spartiate, which they wish to celebrate above and beyond their status as Lakedaimonian. On the other hand, it may be that the stele is being factually accurate in naming Sparta as the deceased's fatherland (which would probably, though not certainly, make him a Spartiate). There is the possibility that this Pleistas was interred by the Eretrians, that the dead man left Sparta in his childhood and the choice of the term is therefore largely irrelevant to discussions of Spartan identity.[169] We might point to the example of

[166] Jeffery and Cartledge 1982, 255-7, n. 67 and 75. Hdt. 3.46-8.
[167] For the concept of *Patris*, Nielsen 2004, ch.2.
[168] The verb used is τρέφω (Doric τράφω), which may refer to the bringing up or education of children or maintaining oneself. *LSJ* records ἐθράφθη as the aorist passive form, citing this inscription (although the inscription itself reads ἐθράφθε). Athens is here described as εὐρύχορος (having broad spaces), a rare adjective for Athens but elsewhere used of both Sparta (Pin. *Nem*. 10.52) and Lakedaimon (Hom. *Od*. 15.1).
[169] As Hodkinson (2000, 269-70, n. 65) has suggested.

Drakontios, who Xenophon describes as a Spartiate even though he had been exiled from Sparta as a boy and who therefore would certainly no longer rank among the *homoioi*.[170] Walker has suggested that the grave could be connected to the events of 511, when Anchimolios launched an unsuccessful attack on the port of Phaleron, and that Pleistas was a Spartiate casualty carried to the friendly territory of Eretria and buried, judging by the Doric Greek of the inscription, by his fellow Spartiates (or Lakedaimonians).[171] The burial of fallen soldiers in nearby friendly territory is a Spartan phenomenon which can be observed with some certainty in the fifth and fourth-centuries and it is surely not too much of a stretch to imagine that the practice had earlier roots,[172] especially after an unsuccessful raid where the recovery and burial of the dead on the battlefield would pose considerable logistical problems.[173] The words of the inscription may be Doric in character, but the letter forms are certainly not. Most prominently, the form of χ (+) is neither Lakonian nor typically Eretrian but is indistinguishable from Attic letter forms.[174] We are therefore left with a somewhat muddled burial of an individual from Sparta, whose fellow Spartiates may have dictated the words of his epitaph for a local craftsman (Eretrian or Athenian) to engrave.

Though the examples are few, it is possible to see that during the second-half of the sixth into the early-fifth-century, there are occasions where a 'Spartiate' identity can be seen, expressed both by individuals and groups. This is significant because, as will be set out

[170] Xen. *Anab*. 4.8.25. It is curious that in a society with many technical distinctions for classes (Villafane 2018, 133-4, table 1) that Drakontios would still be referred to as a Spartiate. This is especially true of Xenophon, who generally revels in his knowledge of Spartan terms.
[171] Walker 2004, 227-9.
[172] Low 2006, 94-98.
[173] We should note that the tomb of Anchimolios himself is reported at an uncertain location in Attica (Hdt. 5.63.4), but this does not preclude the possibility that other casualties from the battle were recovered and buried individually elsewhere.
[174] Jeffery 1990, 66, 79, 86, 183. This move towards standardised Attic lettering was common in Euboia during the early-fifth-century (Jeffery 1990, 86).

below, after the Persian Wars this separate Spartiate identity seems to disappear almost completely from the epigraphic and monumental record. Conversely, there is no evidence of the term being applied by outsiders in any official or dedicatory capacity, and though this may simply be an accident of survival, it might also reflect an emerging sense of Lakedaimon as a collective entity. Therefore, the surviving examples of dedications made by self-proclaimed Spartiates may highlight the pride felt by a group who viewed themselves as elevated above the 'other Lakedaimonians'. This attitude mirrors the description of the men of Lakedaimon given to Xerxes by the exiled Demaratus;

> 'πλῆθος μὲν πολλὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πόλεις πολλαί... ἔστι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι Σπάρτη πόλις ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων μάλιστα, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶ ὅμοιοι τοῖσι ἐνθάδε μαχεσαμένοισι. οἵ γε μὲν ἄλλοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτοισι μὲν οὐκ ὅμοιοι, ἀγαθοὶ δέ.'
>
> 'Great is the number of the Lakedaimonians and the number of their cities… there is in Lakedaimon a city called Sparta of 8,000 men, and all of them are similar (*homoioi*) to those who fought here. The other Lakedaimonians are not the same (*homoioi*), but they are brave also.' [175]

The existence in the years before the Persian Wars of a distinct Spartiate identity, exhibited by both individuals and groups, calls into question the status of the Lakedaimonians as a collective entity in this period. The term is attested in eight Linear B tablets from Thebes,[176] and is certainly prevalent in both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, yet it is absent in Tyrtaios who does mention both Sparta and Spartiates.[177] There are very few epigraphic uses of the term Lakedaimon currently dated before the Persian Wars (Table 2).

[175] Hdt.7.234.2.
[176] The Linear B 'ra-ke-da-mi-ni-jo' is present in TH. Fq: 229, 253, 258, 275, 284, 325, 339, 382.
[177] Tyr. *Fr.* 4 (West) 'βασιλῆας, οἷσι μέλει Σπάρτης ἱμερόεσσα πόλις' 'the kings in whose care is the lovely city of Sparta'; *Fr*. 23a (West) 'πάντ]ας μὲν κτενέουσ[ι Σπα]ρτιητέων ὁπόσου[ς ἐξ]οπίσω φεύγοντας' 'they will kill all… of the Spartiates as many as flee in retreat'. Alkman does not use either term.

Once more we see that there are no recorded examples of the term from within the boundaries of Lakonike, hardly surprising but somewhat disappointing as it means that we have no way to analyse how the Spartans referred to themselves within their own territory, a context in which we might hope to hear more of Spartiates than of Lakedaimonians. The geographical spread for occurrences of Lakedaimonians is also narrower than the appearances of Spartiates and covers fewer different contexts.

Primary ID	Findspot	Nature of inscription	Other references
IG V, 1 1562	Olympia	Statue dedication (base)	IvO 252; Paus. 5.24.3
SEG 11.956/ 1214	Olympia	Bronze strip from dedication	Jeffery 1990, 199: 19
SEG 11.1180a (add)	Olympia	Chair of Lakedaimonian *proxenos*	Jeffery 1990, 199: 15
SEG 11.1227	Olympia	Halter	Jeffery 1990, 199: 20
SEG 26.476	Olympia	Chair of Lakedaimonian *proxenos*	Jeffery 1990, 450 D
IGASMG V, 1	Taras	*Proxenoi* list	

Table 2. 'Lakedaimonian' inscriptions created with Spartan oversight, c. 550-480

The dedications with (presumably) more Spartan oversight reflect the apparent development of Lakedaimon as a cohesive political identity under which business can be conducted. The *proxenoi* chairs (Figs. 2, 3) and decree support the idea that, while individuals may still refer to themselves as Spartiates, there was a growing tendency to conduct official business as a wider collective which included the Perioikoi. As Ducat has argued, Lakedaimon resembled a ghost state, with no central institutions of its own distinct from those of Sparta,[178] yet as a concept it was important enough by the mid-late-sixth-

[178] Ducat 2010.

century that official business at Olympia and Taras, in the form of appointment of a *proxenos*, was done in the name of the Lakedaimonians, not the Spartiates.

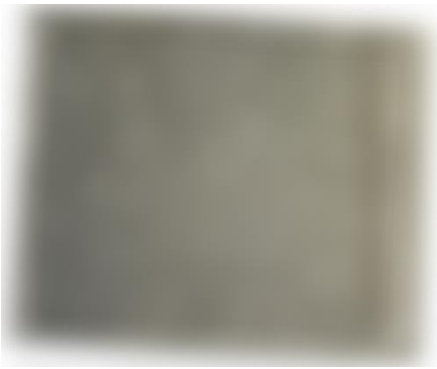

Figure 2: Chair of Lakedaimonian Proxenos at Olympia (c.600-550). Jeffery 1990, pl.36, no.15

Figure 3: Chair of Lakedaimonian Proxenos at Olympia (sixth-century). Mallwitz 1976, pl. 212a

The statue base (Fig. 20) from the dedication (*IG* V,1 1562) is extremely difficult to date accurately and there is a distinct possibility it should be connected to the Messenian revolt of the 460s, rather than placed in the first-quarter of the fifth-century.[179] Jeffery prefers a date around 500-490, in conjunction with an uprising of Helots hinted at in Plato and Strabo, chiefly due to the cylindrical cutting which suggests an older, semi-iconic statue.[180] The old fashioned form of the statue need not necessarily mean an older monument, as the Spartans were fond of archaism (see Chapter 4). Pausanias describes the monument and quotes the inscription (Fig. 4),[181] stating that it was set up after the second Messenian War.[182]

[179] Jeffery 1990, 187; 'Lakonian inscriptions are thus particularly difficult to date by their letter forms alone'; 195-6 for discussion of the dating of the inscription on the statue base. Paus. 5.24.3 connects it with the second Messenian revolt. As the letter forms rule out a seventh-century date, the second revolt would therefore be the uprising of 464-460.
[180] Jeffery 1949, 26-30. See Chapter 4.
[181] Paus. 5.24.3.
[182] The letters are clearly later than the seventh-century and so it is probable that Pausanias was referring to the revolt of the 460s as the 'second war'.

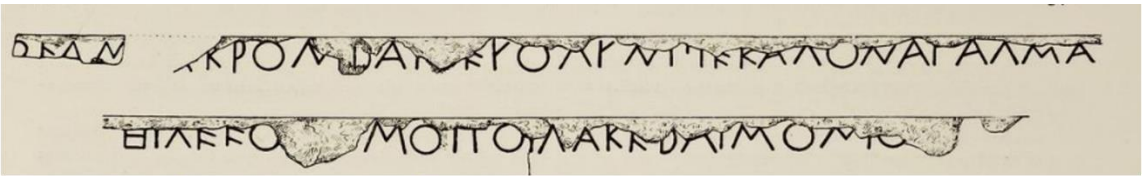

Figure 4: Copy of inscription on statue of Zeus. IvO 252.

[Δέξ]ο ἀν[αξ] Κρονίδα [Ζ]εῦ Ὀλύπιε καλὸν ἄ[γ]αλμα

ἰλήΦω[ι θυ]μῶι [τ]οῖ(λ) Λακεδαιμονίο[ις],

Compare Pausanias 5.24.3:

Δέξο ἄναξ Κρονίδα Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε καλὸν ἄγαλμα ἱλάῳ θυμῷ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις

If this dedication does indeed belong after the Persian Wars in connection to the Messenian revolt of the late 460s, then the only inscriptions mentioning the Lakedaimonians in this period are the two individual dedications and the three relating to the appointment of *proxenoi*. It may be tempting to assume that the two individual Lakedaimonian dedications come from Perioikoi, rather than Spartiates, and so the choice of term reflects a political reality, but there is not enough evidence to make a forceful argument for this. Rather, the use of the two terms demonstrates that individuals and groups were still occasionally referring to themselves as Spartiate, but that official business was increasingly carried out in the name of the Lakedaimonians. On the other hand, if the statue of Zeus should be placed before the Persian Wars, then it may reflect the growth of Lakedaimonians as a preferred term or acknowledge considerable Perioikic help in repressing an uprising of Helots.

In conclusion, from the mid-sixth-century until the beginning of the Persian Wars, we find two individuals referring to themselves as Spartiates and two as Lakedaimonians, an even split but one that may reflect a social reality (if the Lakedaimonians were Perioikoi) or the term Lakedaimonian becoming increasingly popular. The two group dedications inscribed to

say they come from Spartiates contrast sharply with the *proxenoi* material, all of which is carried out in the name of the Lakedaimonians. It might be that the dedications at Olympia represent wars, raids, or other small-scale conflicts fought by the Spartiates without major assistance from the Perioikoi, in-keeping with the common orthodoxy that the latter were only merged into the Spartiate army following the Messenian revolt of the 460s.[183] Such an attitude, however, does a disservice to the Perioikic contribution during the Persian Wars, during which they made up half of the Lakedaimonian contingent (excluding Helots) at Plataia,[184] and probably more than two-thirds of the force at Thermopylai.[185] I would suggest that, whatever the reality of Perioikic military service before the Persian Wars, the celebratory and commemorative traditions were initially dominated by the Spartiates themselves, with increasing inclusivity towards the end of the sixth-century into the fifth.[186] This is in line with the 'hoplite revolution' as envisaged by Van Wees, in which the enfranchisement and veneration of groups beyond the traditional elites belong not to the seventh and early-sixth-centuries as sometimes envisaged based on the adoption of armour, but to the last years of the sixth-century.[187] Foxhall explores the question of residence in the countryside as related to the rise of hoplite warfare and reaches a similar conclusion, although she also points out that Sparta may be somewhat ahead of other *poleis* in their move into the kind of medium-sized rural sites associated with the rise of hoplite warfare;

[183] Cartledge 1987, 40-2; van Wees 2017b, 239.
[184] Hdt. 9.11.
[185] Diod. 11.4.2-5; Isoc. 4.90, 6.99. Hammond 1996; Flower 1998; Van Wees 2004, 83. This is not to say that the Perioikoi were present in every military operation undertaken by the Spartiates. Indeed, even as late as the Peloponnesian War we hear that when the Athenians attacked Pylos, it was 'the Spartiates themselves and the closest of the Perioikoi' who responded at once, with the 'other Lakedaimonians' following more slowly (Thuc. 4.8.1).
[186] Pavlides 2020 for a recent overview of non-Spartiates in the Lakedaimonian army.
[187] Van Wees 2013. Kagan and Viggiano 2013 for general discussion and historiography of the 'hoplite revolution'.

precise dating is difficult but it appears that Sparta underwent the change gradually over the course of the sixth-century.[188]

The overall picture from before the Persian Wars is therefore that official business, such as serving as *proxenos*, was carried out in the name of all the Lakedaimonians. However, it was Sparta and the Spartiates who initially appear to claim more credit for success in warfare, though this tends towards full inclusivity and the universal use of Lakedaimonians. Such a model would make the list of the Thermopylai dead in Sparta seen by Pausanias and Herodotus one of the last examples of Spartiate focused commemoration overlooking the contribution of the Perioikoi, though they may have been commemorated on a smaller scale in their own communities. The other memorials of the Persian Wars, and those inscriptions which come later in the fifth-century, speak universally of the Lakedaimonians.

2.2.2. The Persian Wars to Battle of Leuktra: Lakedaimonian domination

It appears that the burgeoning popularity of Lakedaimonian as an official identifier visible in the late-sixth-century continued and intensified into the fifth. Notably, there are no securely attested examples of the word 'Spartiate', used either by Spartans or non-Spartans in a fifth-century epigraphic context. By contrast, there are many varied appearances of 'Lakedaimonian', both inside and outside Spartan territory, used universally by Spartans and foreigners alike.

Significantly, there are three examples from Sparta itself: two lists of contributions to a war fund near the start of the Peloponnesian War,[189] plus a treaty of alliance which has been

[188] Foxhall 2013, 212-3; 217. Cavanagh et al. 2005. Viggiano (2013, 125) prefers a date shortly after 669 for a hoplite revolution in Sparta.
[189] *IG* V,1 1 and *IG* V,1 219. Loomis 1992.

plausibly dated by Cartledge to the early years of the Peloponnesian War.[190] In these examples we find official business being conducted in the name of the Lakedaimonians, rather than the Spartiates. Lakedaimon may have been a ghost state, yet it was in the name of all the Lakedaimonians that official business, particularly relating to war, was being carried out, although the city of Sparta remained the major hub.

Considering the use of 'Lakedaimonian' as a collective term even within the city of Sparta itself, it is perhaps unsurprising that the monuments erected beyond the borders of the Lakonike also speak only of Lakedaimonians, never of Spartiates. In the late-fifth-century, the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians and the Aigospotamoi Monument were constructed in Athens and Delphi respectively. Both monuments seek to project a harmonious image of a united Lakedaimon, through an innovative use of inscriptional format in the case of the Tomb, and through the crowding effect and arrangement of statues in the Aigospotamoi Monument. In addition, an epitaph found at Amphipolis bears the name of Simonides the Lakedaimonian, suggesting that this was an identifier used not only in cases of collective action, but also by individuals (although we cannot rule out the possibility that Simonides was a Perioikos).[191] It is noteworthy that even Lysander refers to himself as Lakedaimonian, rather than Spartiate when dedicating golden crowns in Athens and on Delos.[192] This is an important distinction as it represents one of only two surviving dedications of Lysander which shed light on the projection of his identity. The other, the Aigospotamoi Monument, included an inscription in which Lysander did not label himself with any ethnic or *polis* term. However, the positioning of the words in the Greek, with Lysander's name directly

[190] Cartledge 1976; 1978.
[191] *SEG* 50.562.
[192] The crown in Athens is recorded in treasury lists: *IG* II^2, 1385; *IG* II^2, 1386; *IG* II^2, 1388; *IG* II^2, 1393; *IG* II^2, 1400; *IG* II^2, 1407. Crown on Delos: Homolle 1888, 153. Bommelaer 1981, 1-22.

preceding Lakedaimon, draws close attention to his identity as a Lakedaimonian.[193] In Lysander's case, there are naturally many avenues for speculation as to his choice of identifier. It could be that his reported status as a *mothax* caused him to identify as Lakedaimonian, rather than Spartiate.[194] However, this attribution of *mothax* status to Lysander appears late in our sources,[195] while reports that his father had ties to the king of Libya makes it less likely that Lysander hailed from a lowly family.[196] It is also difficult to explain Lysander's desire to be Lakedaimonian rather than Spartiate in light of his alleged plot to overthrow the kingship of Sparta and replace it with a leader elected either out of the Heracleidae,[197] or all Spartiates.[198] As intriguing as many of these debates may be, the simplest solution is also the most probable, that Lysander referred to himself as Lakedaimonian because, in the late-fifth-century, this was the term used universally in all official, collective, and individual Spartan monuments, attested by the surviving epigraphic evidence.

Beyond the extant epigraphic evidence, the inscriptions attested by ancient authors also conform to the universal use of Lakedaimonians, both in collective dedications such as the golden shield set up at Olympia after the battle of Tanagra in 457,[199] and those of important

[193] For text and translation of the inscription, see Chapter 3.
[194] Ath. 6.102; Ael. *VH*. 12.43.
[195] The earliest mention from Phylarchus (third-or second-century), quoted by Ath. 6.102. (*BNJ* 81 F. 43).
[196] Diod. 14.13.6. Cartledge (1987, 28) suggests that the term *mothax* also designated a Spartiate who required sponsorship when undertaking the *agoge* and that Lysander could therefore have been both Spartiate and *mothax*.
[197] Cartledge 1987, 96.
[198] Cartledge (1987, 96) argues for the former. Davies (2018) offers a review of the two positions and argues that the opening of the kingship to the Heracleidae was an invention of Plutarch and that the original report of Ephorus, transmitted through Diodorus (14.13) and elsewhere the basis for the plot narrative in Plutarch (Lys. 24-6, 30; Ages. 8.3), made all Spartiates eligible for kingship. Considering the evidence of Ephorus, as well as a brief mention in Arist. *Pol.* 1301b, it is curious that Xenophon makes no mention of this apparent plot. Powell (2010, 122-3 and n. 70) suggests that Agesilaos may have worried that his fellow Spartans would have regarded the plot as the king's own invention, prompting Xenophon's silence on behalf of his friend.
[199] Paus. 5.10.4.

individuals, such as Pausanias' krater dedicated at the Hellespont in the early 470s.[200] The major monuments of the Persian Wars also refer exclusively to Lakedaimonians. Despite Herodotus' insistence that there were only Spartiates present at Thermopylai (an assertion challenged by Diodorus),[201] the epitaph erected in the pass implored the reader to 'go tell the Lakedaimonians', while the Serpent Column, a monument with a significant Spartan fingerprint,[202] uses the same term in the list of allied states inscribed after Pausanias' attempt to inscribe his own name as, interestingly, leader of the Greeks (Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγός).[203]

It is not only the Lakedaimonians themselves who preferred the wider term at this time, as there are several inscriptions from other Greeks which speak universally of the Lakedaimonians, never of the Spartiates. A great deal of the available evidence comes from Athens: a shield taken from the Lakedaimonians at Pylos,[204] a mention in a casualty list for some Argives, buried in Athens, who died fighting against the Lakedaimonians,[205] as well as a series of official decrees.[206] In several of the alliance treaties found in Athens the Lakedaimonians take the form of the great external enemy whose actions are to be opposed under the terms of the new treaty. Beyond Attica the evidence is more sparse, limited to a dedication of spoils taken from the Lakedaimonians at Delphi,[207] a spear-butt dedicated by

[200] Ath. 12.50. Hdt. 4.81 records the vessel but does not quote the inscription.
[201] Hdt. 7.205.2; Diod. 11.4.5. For consideration of these passages, see Chapter 3.
[202] This is evidenced firstly by Pausanias' daring original inscription, projecting the column as his own victory monument. The implicit level of Spartan control is visible in that it is the 'Lakedaimonians', rather than the 'Allies', who erase the original inscription and replace it with the names of participating *Poleis*, with Lakedaimon at the top.
[203] Thuc. 1.132.2. Note also Diod. 11.33, where the prize of valour for cities goes to Sparta, but for individuals to Pausanias the Lakedaimonian.
[204] *IG* I^3, 522. Thucydides records that 292 shields were taken, 120 of them belonging to Spartiates. There may therefore have been some way to differentiate between them, but it is more likely that Thucydides knew the identities of the prisoners.
[205] *IG* I^2, 931/2+ (*SEG* 12.69 = *IG* I^3 1149; *Agora* XVII no. 4).
[206] For example, *IG* II^2, 1; *IG* I^3, 86.
[207] *FdD* III 1:573 (Delphi, dedicator unknown, possibly the Argives).

the Messenians at Olympia,[208] and a fragment of a currently unpublished decree from Amphipolis.[209] There are a handful of examples where 'Lakedaimonians' has been suggested as a restoration, but these are not particularly valuable for the current discussion.[210] The dominance of the term 'Lakedaimonians' in epigraphic evidence is mirrored in the choice of terms to be found in Thucydides and Xenophon, especially compared to Herodotus who uses Spartiates more frequently.[211] The epigraphic evidence, however limited, supports the idea that after the Persian Wars at the latest, monuments were erected in the name of the Lakedaimonians, not the Spartiates.

As noted above, certain official business had already been carried out in the name of the Lakedaimonians in the sixth-century, yet in the fifth-century we see a complete domination of the Lakedaimonian identity over the Spartiate, both for individuals and collectives. It is worth noting a decree from Argos in which Gnostas, a Perioikos from Oinous is named as *proxenos* under his own local ethnic (Γνόσσταν τὸν ϝοινόντιον) rather than as a Lakedaimonian.[212] This inscription, in Argive script, dated *c.*475, may demonstrate that the united picture of Lakedaimon as projected by official monuments and inscriptions was not absolute and that perioikic *poleis* were still free to pursue elements of their own policy.[213] This minor exception aside, the overall picture from this period appears to show an outward

[208] IvO 247. The dedicators are named as *Methanioi* but have been convincingly identified as Messenians by Bauslaugh 1990. The spear-butt is probably a dedication from the revolt and occupation of Mount Ithome and has a parallel in another spear-butt taken from the Athenians and dedicated at the temple of Apollo Korythos in Messenia.
[209] *SEG* 50.562.
[210] For example, IvO 253, where it is restored on the basis of *SEG* 28.430 and Paus. 5.10.4.
[211] For 'Sparta' and 'Lakedaimon' in Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, see Ducat 2010, esp. 191-2.
[212] Jeffery 1990, 169, no.22.
[213] In this case, the perioikic community in question was probably close to the centre of Spartan territory, as Ath. 1.31 places Oinous near Pitane.

display of harmony between the Spartiates and the Perioikoi, with the concept of Lakedaimon being at the forefront of both internal business and external comprehension.

The use of Lakedaimonians as the preferred term by both Spartans and non-Spartans continues unabated into the fourth-century with only one significant exception: the victory monument of Kyniska at Olympia, which reads:

> Σπάρτας μὲν [βασιλῆες ἐμοὶ]
> πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοί, ἅ[ρματι δ' ὠκυπόδων ἵππων]
> νικῶσα Κυνίσκα εἰκόνα τάνδ' ἔστασε. μόν[αν]
> δ' ἐμέ φαμι γυναικῶν Ἑλλάδος ἐκ πάσας τό[ν]
> δε λαβεῖν στέφανον.
>
> Kings of Sparta are my father and brothers.
> Kyniska, conquering with a chariot of fleet-footed steeds,
> Set up this statue. And I declare myself the only woman
> In all Hellas to have gained this crown.[214]

The reference to kings of Sparta is significant as there is no example of an inscription mentioning the king (or kings) of Lakedaimon. In addition to the monument of Kyniska, another fourth-century inscription from a mass burial in Tegea (see below) speaks of a king of Sparta. Ducat has argued that the term *Basileus Lakedaimonion* (king of the Lakedaimonians) owes its existence to the confusion between Spartiates and Lakedaimonians and that it more accurately reflects a military reality, where the king of Sparta acted as commander of the Lakedaimonian army.[215] While most textual sources refer to kings of the Lakedaimonians, Athenaios (quoting Douris) names Pausanias as King of the

[214] *IG* V,1 1564a (=IvO 160). Trans. Hodkinson 2000.
[215] Ducat 2010, 194-196.

Spartiates (ὁ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν βασιλεὺς), although later in the same passage, quoting the inscription placed by Pausanias on the tripod at the Hellespont, the regent apparently names himself a Lakedaimonian by birth (Λακεδαιμόνιος γένος).[216] The Douris quote, the Tegean inscription, and Kyniska's monument, coupled with the lack of any epigraphic evidence mentioning a king of Lakedaimon, support Ducat's view that the term 'king of the Lakedaimonians' was a military title, that the kings were kings *for* rather than *of* the Lakedaimonians, and that they should be seen constitutionally as kings of Sparta.[217] If so, it may be that the inscription on Kyniska's victory monument reflects a factually correct title: the kings were kings not of Lakedaimon or all of the Lakedaimonians, but of Sparta, although even this assumes the existence of such a title.[218] A late-fifth-century decree from Delos names both kings (Agis and Pausanias) and lists the five ephors, but nowhere mentions Sparta, Spartiates, Lakedaimon, or Lakedaimonians.[219] From the arrangement of the surviving text it appears unlikely that the city name or ethnic has been lost, unless it was mentioned at the beginning of the decree and not repeated when giving official titles, perhaps suggesting that the fame of the two kings and office of ephors identified Sparta sufficiently. Whether such a title was correct or not, the use of 'Sparta' on Kyniska's monument may also have been aimed at the predominantly Spartiate horse breeders who were currently enjoying such success in the chariot races.[220]

[216] Ath. 12.50. Douris = BNJ76 F.14.
[217] Ducat 2010, 196.
[218] Ducat 2010, 195: 'one may wonder whether, for the Spartan kings, there was, in classical times, such a thing as an official title.'
[219] *IG* V,1 1564 = *IDelos* 87, esp lines 7-9: ἐβασίλευον | Ἄγις, Παυσανίας| ἔφοροι ἦσαν...
[220] As Xenophon (*Ages*. 9.6) would certainly have us believe. Hodkinson 2000, 320-3; Palagia 2009, 35. Paus. 6.2.1 states that the Lakedaimonians became keen breeders of horses, before listing victors from Sparta. The confusion of the two terms is quite evident in this passage, but it may be significant that he names the origin as Sparta, rather than Lakedaimon, or Lakonike.

The period 404-371, described by some as the 'empire of the Spartans', saw the growth of major tensions and inequalities between the various components of the Lakedaimonian state, an increasing reliance upon the Perioikoi, freed Helots (*neodamodeis*), and other Greek allies, and the enrichment of a small number of Spartiate families combined with the disenfranchisement of many others leading to a major decline in manpower.[221] The discontent at home had manifested as early as 399, when Kinadon, a disenfranchised Spartiate, masterminded a conspiracy with the backing of the Helots and Perioikoi.[222] It is frustrating that this period, marked by internal tensions in Sparta, yields very few inscriptions from the Spartans themselves. The only securely dated examples are the offerings of Lysander and a re-used tombstone from Thespiai, inscribed for Hippokles the Lakedaimonian, dated 378-1.[223] The possibility that Hippokles was a Perioikos, and therefore a Lakedaimonian but not a Spartiate cannot be ruled out. However, considering the usage of terms observed throughout the fifth and later-fourth-centuries, it appears probable that a full Spartiate would also use Lakedaimonian as an identifier. Much like the sixth-century example from Euboia, an ethnic identifier is used on an individual epitaph beyond the borders of Lakonike, in contrast to memorials such as the *en polemoi* stelai found within Lakonike and therefore perhaps needing no ethnic identifier. The evidence is limited, but there seems no reason to believe that this period saw a major change in 'official' Spartan policy in the use of Lakedaimonians as the preferred identifying term. Indeed, these internal tensions probably strengthened the desire for the state to transmit a consistent image of stability, as was certainly the case after the Spartan reversal at Leuktra, to which I now turn.

[221] For an overview of all these issues: Hodkinson 2000, 399-440; Ruze 2017, esp. 323-6.
[222] Xen. *Hell*. 3.3.4-11.
[223] *IG* VII, 1904. Jeffery 1990, 447: 62a. Pl.75 no.5.

2.2.3. Post-Leuktra. A New External Focus on Spartiates?

With hindsight we can see that Spartan power began to decline as early as 394 with the naval defeat at Knidos. However, it was not until 371 and the catastrophic defeat at Leuktra, followed by a Theban invasion of Lakonike, the liberation of the Messenian Helots in 369, and finally the battle of Mantineia in 362 that Sparta truly lost its preeminent position among the Greeks. It is in this period that the term 'Spartiates' reappears in the epigraphic record, though it is not the Spartans, but their enemies who apply it.

Two examples are erected by the Thebans, both of which proclaim that the Thebans are superior in war to the Spartiates.[224] There are two potential explanations for a sudden appearance of the 'Spartiates' as the vanquished foe, rather than the previously universally preferred 'Lakedaimonians'. Firstly, it may be that the Thebans were focusing on those considered the best of the Lakedaimonian army and the finest warriors of the ancient world. The word choice is therefore explained by the extra prestige that it confers upon the Theban victory and presents a parallel to the early-fourth-century Theban mindset: The Thebans represent the best warriors of a resurgent 'Boiotia' as a collective entity,[225] and have triumphed over the Spartiates, the best warriors of 'Lakedaimon'. In addition, the Thebans may have promoted themselves due to their rivalry with (Lakedaimonian backed) Orchomenos, previously a prominent member of the Boiotian federation which had defected to Sparta in 395 and held a Lakedaimonian garrison from 395-375 (if not later).[226]

[224] *SEG* 22.460 (=*BCH* 87 (1963) 206/7) and *IG* VII, 2462, a funerary epigram for Leuktra, although see Gartland 2016, 143-6 for a later dating of the letter forms, placing the inscription in 315 or later, though Gartland does also suggest that the monument may have been re-inscribed after being damaged by Alexander's troops in 335.

[225] A collective Boiotian identity is visible as early as the sixth-century, with coins bearing a common insignia (the Boiotian shield), however the 'Boiotian federation' formed in the fifth-century was disbanded following the King's peace in 386 and only re-formed *c*.378. Hansen 2004, 431-3.

[226] Hansen 2004, 447. Xen. *Hell*. 3.5.6 (Orchomenos revolts from Thebes); 4.3.15 (fights alongside Lakedaimonians); 5.1.29 (Lakedaimonian garrison).

By promoting themselves as superior to a worthy opponent, the Thebans could assert their dominance both within Boiotia and the Greek world at large. The second potential explanation is that 'Lakedaimon' was no longer such a stable entity, with evidence of certain communities of Perioikoi switching sides or refusing to answer the calls for mobilisation from Sparta during the Theban incursion.[227]

The final epigraphic appearance of the word 'Sparta' from this period takes the form of an elegiac couplet on a monument from Tegea forming part of a mass burial of fallen warriors:

> [γᾶς ὕπ]ερ οἵδε [φίλας βίον ὤλεσα]ν ἀντία βά[ντες]
> [τοῖς Σπ]άρτας [δάϊοις ἀνδράσι καὶ β]ασιλε[ῖ]'
>
> Their lives lost over these beloved lands, going against
> The hostile men and king of Sparta.[228]

The monument has been plausibly dated to *c.*362, during a decade which marked the first time when the loyalty of the Perioikoi to Sparta was in any serious doubt.[229] In this context, the enemy is Sparta, rather than the Lakedaimonians, as the definition of the latter identity changes and allegiances start to shift. This parallels the appearance of the Lakedaimonians in the Athenian documents of the fifth and early-fourth-centuries where they represent an enemy casting a shadow over Athenian consciousness. It also reflects a desire among both the Tegeans and the Thebans to tempt groups among the Perioikoi away from Sparta, thereby further weakening the power of Lakedaimon as a collective and military entity.

In contrast to the late-fifth-century, there are no securely dated inscriptions mentioning the Lakedaimonians from within Lakonike in the fourth-century. Outside the borders of their

[227] Xen. *Hell*. 6.5.25.
[228] *IG* V,2 173.
[229] Shipley 1997, 202-3. Xen. *Hell*. 6.5.25 records that the perioikic inhabitants of Karyai informed the invading Thebans that the area was unguarded.

own territory there are a handful of examples where we can observe a potential preference for being identified as Lakedaimonians as opposed to Spartiates. In the case of a fragmentary proxeny decree from Keos it is hardly surprising that business is being carried out on behalf of the Lakedaimonians.[230] However, on this same inscription we also find three Perioikic communities providing their own *proxenoi*: Epidavros Limera, Kyphanta, and Pellene. In a similar manner to the *proxenos* from Oinous in Argos (see above), this decree showcases individual Perioikic communities pursuing their own agenda, although in this case it is significant that they appoint *proxenoi* in addition to a (presumably) more central Lakedaimonian official.

In addition, there are numerous decrees listing contributions to repairs at Delphi which mention either individual or groups of Lakedaimonians (never Spartiates). Interestingly, while generally the offerings of individual Lakedaimonians are inscribed according to the usual formula (*Name* - the Lakedaimonian - monetary amount),[231] there are two examples (dated 362/0 and 336) where all the contributions are grouped together and offered under a single collective heading of 'Lakedaimonians'.[232] This may represent occasional ad-hoc attempts to curb explicit displays of wealth by individual Lakedaimonians, effectively eliminating competition based on how much a particular individual could afford to offer. This attempt at projecting collective equality is very much in keeping with the Spartan image, though the underlying reality further confirms the major disparities in wealth which existed.[233]

[230] *IG* XII, 5.542.
[231] For example, *FdD* III 5:19, 20, 48, 49. Of special interest is *FdD* III 5: 3, which records an offering of two drachmae from Andokos, a Lakedaimonian, but also three obols from Philostratis, a Lakedaimonian woman.
[232] *FdD* III 5:4, 9. *FdD* III 5, 55 suggests that this collective nature may be related to the close ties king Kleomenes had to Delphi, and that perhaps he brought all the money together for deposition.
[233] As Hodkinson 2000 has demonstrated.

Most surviving non-Spartan evidence for the use of terms after Leuktra comes from Athens and Delphi. In both locations the term universally used is Lakedaimonians, whether for a victory dedication, or declaration of alliance, where the Lakedaimonians are presented as an external threat whose actions must be opposed (i.e., we must not allow the Lakedaimonians to do X). The evidence is skewed towards Athens, but the decrees and victory monuments from Delphi demonstrate that, despite the context-specific exceptions above, the Lakedaimonians were still a coherent entity in the eyes of many Greeks, if somewhat reduced in power and numbers by the mid-fourth-century.

It appears that even as Spartan power waned in years after Leuktra and Mantineia, official business was still carried out in the name of the Lakedaimonians. Even as the Thebans and newly empowered Arkadian League sought to dismantle the power of Lakedaimon as an entity, the message coming from within, through official channels and individual dedications was still of a united collective. This may reflect an increased reliance on the military contributions of the Perioikoi as Spartiate numbers floundered in the grips of *oliganthropia* during the late-fifth and early-fourth-centuries,[234] but the pattern of dedicatory language had in reality been set in the early-fifth-century and merely continued unabated into the fourth.

2.2.4. A Further Confusion: The use of 'Lakonian' as identifier

Above I have charted the development and relationship of the terms 'Spartiate' and 'Lakedaimonian' as identifiers on monuments, erected both by the Spartans and other Greeks. However, there exists a third term, 'Lakonian', used exclusively, with one possible exception, by non-Spartans. Generally, the term is connected to Lakonike, itself a somewhat

[234] Hodkinson 1989; 2000, 399-441.

flexible term for Spartan territory, and as a result is primarily geographical rather than political in its meaning. However, enough references exist to groups and individuals in the epigraphic record, as well as major historical sources of the Classical period, that a short investigation of the uses of the term is warranted at this point. As with the uses of Spartiate and Lakedaimonian, I shall begin with the epigraphic evidence, set out in Table 3.

Primary ID	Date	Location	Context
IG II^2, 1425	375-4	Athens	Acropolis treasury. ἀσπίδες Λακωνικαὶ; κρ[ατ]ῆρες Λακωνικοὶ
IG II^2, 1544	333-2	Athens	Epistatai at Eleusis, ὑδρία Λακωνικὴ
IG II^2, 1672	329-8	Athens	Epistatai at Eleusis, κεράμου Λακωνικοῦ ζεύγη
MFA 1987. 297	365-3	Boiotia?	*Proxeny* decree for Timeas of Lakonia
ID 104	364/3	Delos	Catalogue of offerings. κύλικες Λακωνικαὶ
ID 104 (1)	434-315	Delos	Catalogue of offerings. κύλικες Λακωνικαὶ
BCH 105 454, 1	369-8	Delphi	Spoils taken by Arkadian Tegeans. ἱστία... Λ[α]κόνων
BCH 105 455, 2	369-8	Delphi	Spoils taken by Arkadian Tegeans. ὅπλα... Λακόνων
IG XII, 5.542	Post 371?	Keos	Proxeny decree including two *poleis* 'ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς'

Table 3. Use of 'Lakonian' in inscriptions

Half of the epigraphic examples in Table 3 refer to vessels of some description, reflecting manufacturing origin or stylistic concerns rather than considerations of political identity. The reference to Lakonian shields on the acropolis is interesting, as they are elsewhere termed Lakedaimonian and, if we can generalise from the surviving example, were inscribed to the effect that they were taken from the Lakedaimonians.[235]

The two sets of spoils (sails and weapons) dedicated by the Tegeans at Delphi were almost certainly captured during the raids into Lakonike in 370/69, including an attack on the

[235] *IG* I^3, 522.

Spartan port of Gytheion, from which the sails could conceivably have been taken.[236] In this case, the choice to identify the sails and weapons as 'Lakonian' rather than Spartiate or Lakedaimonian could reflect Tegean pride at having won these spoils *in* Lakonike itself, an unprecedented feat. The further identification of themselves as Τεγεᾶται Ἀρκάδες (Arkadian Tegeans) emphasises the break from Lakedaimon and the Spartans, who had been their close allies for many years. The focus on the newly prominent Arkadian League also fits with the potential attempts to draw Perioikic groups away from Lakedaimon discussed above.

The final epigraphic example is a *proxeny* decree in the collection of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, identified as being made from marble taken from the Gorani quarry in Lakonia. The inscription and accompanying relief have been dated to the mid-360s, a time of considerable conflict and tension between Boiotia (mainly Thebes) and Sparta. The findspot of the relief is unknown, but the letters suggest a Boiotian rather than Lakonian hand, suggesting that the stone was probably transported from Lakonike to Boiotia for carving and inscribing. The choice of iconography on the stone at first represents a confusing fusion of Spartan, Arkadian, and Theban themes: the infant Herakles (born in Thebes and mythical ancestor of the Spartan Herakleidai) strangling snakes, the Dioskouroi accompanied by horses,[237] and Athena Alea.[238] The choice to identify Timeas as Lakonian, rather than Spartiate or Lakedaimonian, requires some explanation, with two possibilities appearing most viable. The first is that at the time of the creation of the stele, with tension between Sparta and Thebes, the two parties felt it would be potentially bad PR to identify Timeas as

[236] Xen. *Hell*. 6.5.32.
[237] Kastor and Polydeukes are named in the inscription, perhaps because in Thebes the 'two gods' normally referred to a local pair of twins, Amphion and Zethus (eg. Hom. *Od*. 11.260-5; Ar. *Ach*. 905).
[238] A statue of Athena Alea stood on the road from Sparta to Therapne (Paus. 3.19.7), yet the major temple in her honour was that of Tegea (Paus. 8.4.8; 8.45.4), while others were found in Alea itself (Paus. 8.23.1) and Mantineia (Paus. 8.9.6).

Figure 5. Proxeny decree for Timeas the Lakonian. (365-3) © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (BFA 1987.297). John H. and Ernestine A. Payne Fund. www.mfa.org.

either Lakedaimonian or as a Spartiate and that doing so could lead to reprisals, especially if the stele was set up in Thebes or elsewhere in Boiotia. This assumes that 'Lakonian' was a less politically charged term and that anyone reading the stele would not automatically identify Timeas as Spartan and react with potential hostility, and that the Spartans were so despised within Thebes that even an individual serving as a *proxenos* and guarding Theban interests might choose to disguise their identity. The other explanation is that Timeas was not a Spartiate but a Perioikos, possibly from a community that either abandoned, or considered abandoning, Sparta to join Arkadia (hence the presence of Athena Alea) and may therefore no longer wished to be classed as Lakedaimonian either. Even if his home community were merely considering leaving Sparta, an individual acting for Boiotian interests could conceivably choose to identify themselves with the geographical term 'Lakonian', rather than the more politically charged 'Lakedaimonian'. Neither of these explanations helps explain the presence of the Dioskouroi with their very close ties to Sparta unless it is merely due to their invocation during the swearing of oaths.[239] The only other

[239] It may be of note that the island of Kythera was home to a cult of the Dioskouroi and of Athena Alea, dating back to the mid-sixth-century. Sourlas 2012, 92 n. 46.

example of 'Lakonian' as an identifier in the context of *proxeny* decrees comes from Keos, in which the Lakedaimonians appoint a *proxenos* as do the cities of Pellene in Lakonike, and Epidavros in Lakonike, more of a geographical distinction than a social or political one.[240]

Beyond the epigraphic evidence, the use of 'Lakonian' as an identifying term for groups or individuals is relatively scarce throughout the Classical period. Thucydides uses the term very rarely, limited to two individuals and describing how the Athenians wrote on the 'Lakonian stele' that the Lakedaimonians had violated their oath.[241] Thucydides and Xenophon both occasionally speak of 'Lakonian ships',[242] with Xenophon also twice using the term to describe a harmost,[243] twice to describe troops,[244] and twice to describe individuals.[245] Herodotus uses 'Lakonian' in a more varied set of contexts,[246] but also uses it to describe more individuals and groups. Thus, when Lichas visited Tegea searching for the bones of Orestes, he was addressed by the Tegean blacksmith as 'ξεῖνε Λάκων' (Lakonian guest);[247] the Persian queen Atossa wishes to have Lakonian, Argive, Attic, and Corinthian women as servants;[248] Evagoras, whose horses won three Olympic crowns, is described as Lakonian;[249] while Eurybiades is described as Lakonian once,[250] though elsewhere he is explicitly labelled a Spartiate.[251] The troops of Xerxes fleet came to observe the 'Lakonian

[240] *IG* XII, 5.542. Hansen 2004, 117-8.
[241] Individuals: Thuc. 3.5.2; 8.55.2. 'Λακωνικῇ στήλῃ': Thuc. 5.56.3. In light of the Boiotian *proxeny* decree, the use of 'Lakonian' in this instance may suggest that the stone originated in Lakonia and had been transported to Athens, but this is probably stretching the evidence a little too far.
[242] Thuc. 6.104.1; 8.35. Xen. *Hell*. 1.6.34; 2.3.8.
[243] Xen. *Hell*. 2.2.2; 4.8.1.
[244] Xen. *Hell*. 2.4.4; 4.5.10.
[245] Xen. *Hell*. 1.132 (two individuals).
[246] Hdt. 6.57.2 (Lakonian τετάρτη, a measure of wine); 6.129.3 (Hippokleides embarrasses Cleisthenes by dancing Lakonian σχημάτια on a table); 9.82 (Pausanias orders the cooks to prepare a Lakonian meal).
[247] Hdt. 1.68.2.
[248] Hdt. 3.134.5.
[249] Hdt. 6.103.4.
[250] Hdt. 8.2
[251] Hdt. 8.42.2.

disaster' at Thermopylai,[252] while in the description of Plataia we find a passage in which the *Lakedaimonians* are ordered to follow the other Greeks and withdraw, Amompharetos refuses to leave because doing so would bring shame upon *Sparta*, and so the *Lakonian* army stays in place.[253] This interchanging of terms within Herodotus reaches its zenith in the description of the embassy to Gelon of Syracuse, in which Syagros, the Spartan ambassador, is described as Lakedaimonian, Spartiate, and Lakonian at various times:

> 7.153 – Emissaries sent to Gelon, including Syagros from the Lakedaimonians (καὶ ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων Σύαγρος)
>
> 7.157 – Syagros speaks on behalf of the Lakedaimonians and their allies
>
> 7.159 – Syagros complains that Agamemnon would wail aloud, hearing that the Spartiates had been deprived of their command by Gelon and the Syracusans. Syagros goes on to tell Gelon that if he wishes to help, he must obey the Lakedaimonians.
>
> 7.160 – Gelon addresses Syagros as his Spartiate guest (ξεῖνε Σπαρτιῆτα)
>
> 7.161 – The Athenians answer Gelon before the Lakedaimonian could speak, twice refer to Syagros as 'the Lakonian', and say that command of the fleet and army belongs to the Lakedaimonians.

The flexible nature of Syagros' identity during this exchange highlights two things: firstly, Syagros is indeed a Spartiate, a Lakedaimonian, and a Lakonian simultaneously. Secondly, the context in which Herodotus chooses to use each term may reflect certain attitudes

[252] Hdt. 8.66.
[253] Hdt. 9.53.

which he projects onto the characters in this exchange.[254] Syagros speaks for the Lakedaimonians, as seems proper considering the extant evidence of Lakedaimon as the entity which conducted official business in Herodotus' day and, probably, also during the Persian Wars. Gelon may address Syagros as 'Spartiate' to appear more friendly, with knowledge of the ambassador's station and position in society. On the other hand, the Athenians choose to move in the opposite direction, identifying Syagros with a wider geographical unit, but still refer to the Lakedaimonians as the collective who hold the command.

2.3. Summary

Although the evidence is somewhat scarce, it is possible to trace an overall pattern for the uses of the terms 'Spartiates' and 'Lakedaimonians' within the chronological boundaries of this thesis. Before the Persian invasions, it is possible to see a distinct Spartiate identity expressed both by individuals and collectives. However, there is a parallel development of Lakedaimon as an entity, and a sense of the Lakedaimonians acting as a single unified body in the appointment of *proxenoi* at Olympia and Taras. In this period, it may have been a matter of personal preference whether individuals were referred to as Spartiate or Lakedaimonian. Interestingly, there are no recorded examples of individual Perioikoi or Perioikic communities dedicating in their own name before the Persian Wars, although this may be an accident of survival and recovery rather than a lack of local identity.

The Persian Wars marked a major turning point in commemorative language as the designation 'Spartiate' disappears completely from both internal and external inscriptions and monuments are dedicated only in the name of the Lakedaimonians. The reasons for

[254] The whole scene is almost certainly a creation of Herodotus for dramatic effect: Grethlein 2006.

such a change were subtle and took place over many years, but the major Perioikic contributions at both Thermopylai and Plataia demanded recognition and may have accelerated the process. This image of a unified, harmonious Lakedaimon seems to have broadly reflected the historical reality in terms of Perioikic loyalty, yet it may have also served to mask the unrest throughout Lakedaimonian territory after the Helot revolt of 465.[255] This is not to say that there were no perceived differences between Spartiates and Perioikoi. Thucydides was able to specifically label commanders as either Spartiates or Perioikoi and distinguish 120 Spatiates among the 292 Lakedaimonian prisoners from Sphakteria.[256] However, as not only inscriptions but also historians speak almost exclusively of Lakedaimon and Lakedaimonians during this period, the projection of this image appears largely successful.

This unified image was actively targeted in the first-half of the fourth-century, particularly after the battles of Leuktra and Mantineia. This new focus on the Spartiates, rather than Lakedaimonians, is also found in Xenophon's description of the invasion of the Lakonike in the 360s, where we hear that: 'Οἱ δὲ Σπαρτιᾶται... μάλα ὀλίγοι καὶ ὄντες καὶ φαινόμενοι', 'The Spartiates… were, and were seen to be, very few in number.'[257] During this invasion, the principal enemies are the Spartiates, not the Lakedaimonians, an attitude reflected in the victory dedications and funerary epigrams in both Thebes and Tegea. The epigraphic evidence after the loss of Messene and curtailment of Spartan power shows a continuing attempt to project a unified Lakedaimon, yet the local identifiers found in the *proxeny*

[255] Only two perioikic groups (the Thouriates and Aithaians), both in Messenia and probably close to Ithome, joined in the revolt (Thuc. 1.101.2); Shipley 1997, 195, 203.
[256] Prisoners from Sphakteria: Thuc. 4.38.5. Perioikoi sent out as commanders: Thuc. 8.6.4; 8.22.1 (where Diniades is contrasted with Eualas, a Spartiate). Also, Thuc. 4.53, where the inhabitants of Kythera are described as 'Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ'εἰσὶ τῶν περιοίκων – they are Lakedaimonians of the Perioikoi'.
[257] Xen. *Hell*. 6.5.28.

decree from Keos suggest a growing independence for Perioikic communities, even if still in cooperation with Spartan policy. In addition, the sudden spike in external inscriptions identifying groups and individuals as ‘Lakonian’ could offer further evidence of the breaking down of the image of a strong, stable Lakedaimon which had dominated for a century or more.

Chapter 3. Monumental Highlights

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the most significant monuments erected by the Spartans during the time-period under consideration, to present the ancient textual and archaeological evidence, summarise previous scholarship, and state which models of interpretation will be used throughout this thesis. What follows is certainly not an exhaustive catalogue of all Spartan monuments, but is focused on the prominent, debated examples, the interpretation of which has a significant bearing on any subsequent discussion. The first part of the chapter will provide an overview of two monuments of the late-fifth-century for which we have both literary references and archaeological evidence: the Aigospotamoi Monument at Delphi and the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians in the Athenian Kerameikos. The second part of the chapter turns to Spartan commemoration of the Persian Wars, providing an overview of competing histories, Sparta's motivation to celebrate its role, and an overview of three key yet controversial monuments: a stele bearing the names of those who died at Thermopylai, the burial and re-burial of Leonidas, and the Persian Stoa in the Spartan agora.

3.1. The Aigospotamoi Monument

The Aigospotamoi Monument, also known as the Navarchs' monument,[258] erected *c.*404, in many ways represents the zenith of Spartan monumental display. It was erected at the height of their power and was conceived on a scale that would not be matched in the Greek world until the Granikos Monument of Alexander the Great.

[258] This name referred not to Lysander himself, but to all the allied captains arrayed behind him. Plut. *Mor*. 395b refers to the blue patina visible on *Navarchs*.

Following the disastrous defeat at Arginousai in 406, in which the Spartan commander Kallikratidas was killed, and the Peloponnesian fleet suffered heavy losses,[259] Sparta's allies in the Aegean requested the reinstatement of Lysander, who had enjoyed considerable success the previous year.[260] According to both Xenophon and Diodorus, it was against the law of the Lakedaimonians for the same individual to hold the office of admiral (ναύαρχος) twice. Accordingly, Arakos,[261] a Spartiate, was sent out as admiral, with Lysander accompanying him as either an ἐπιστολεύς (vice-admiral or, more literally, secretary),[262] or as a private citizen.[263] It is clear from both authors that Lysander was effectively in command, and Arakos is completely absent from either account of the subsequent activities of the fleet. Subsequently, Lysander won a series of victories in the Aegean, which prompted the Athenians to muster a fleet to meet him. Lysander captured and occupied Lampsakos, leading the Athenian fleet to encamp opposite, at Aigospotamoi.[264] For several days, the Athenians sailed out and arrayed themselves for battle, but Lysander refused to engage and kept his men stationed on the beach.

Eventually, Lysander either launched a surprise attack as the Athenians disembarked and scattered along the shores, [265] or moved quickly to engage a small Athenian force, which he then pursued back to their camp, subsequently falling upon the disorganised Athenian encampment. [266] In either case, he was able to capture most of the Athenian ships on the

[259] Xen. *Hell*. 1.6.29-34.
[260] Xen. *Hell*. 2.1.6-7.
[261] Arakos was probably a Spartiate of some influence. He (or a namesake) appears as eponymous Ephor for 410 (Xen. *Hell*. 2.3.10). An individual with the same name also appears as one of three officials sent to observe the war effort in Asia in 398 (Xen. *Hell*. 3.2.6), and again in 370 as an ambassador to Athens (Xen. *Hell*. 6.5.33). He was also represented on the Aigospotamoi Monument (Paus. 10.9.9).
[262] Xen. *Hell*. 2.1.7. Also, Plut. *Lys*. 7.2.
[263] Diod. 13.100.8.
[264] Xen. *Hell*. 2.1.21.
[265] Xen. *Hell*. 2.1.22-9.
[266] Diod. 13.106.

beach, with only a handful escaping. Following this victory, Lysander moved his fleet steadily towards the now defenceless Athens, resulting in siege, famine, and, ultimately, the surrender of Athens and the end of 27 years of war.

The Monument

The monument erected at Delphi in the wake of the victory at Aigospotamoi was composed of at least 39 statues standing in two rows. There is a considerable depth of scholarship centred on the Aigospotamoi Monument and the complex archaeology of the surrounding area.[267] Recently, Bommelaer has summarised all previous reconstructions and offered a thorough overview of the scholarship and surviving material.[268]

Among the extant ancient sources,[269] Pausanias gives the fullest description of the appearance of the monument, the arrangement of the statues, and the artists who contributed to its creation. The details from Pausanias are laid out in Tables 4 and 5. He describes the front line as follows:

> Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ τούτων ἀναθήματά ἐστιν ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων. Διόσκουροι καὶ Ζεὺς καὶ Ἀπόλλων τε καὶ Ἄρτεμις, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Ποσειδῶν τε καὶ Λύσανδρος ὁ Ἀριστοκρίτου στεφανούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, Ἀγίας τε ὅς τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ τότε ἐμαντεύτο καὶ Ἕρμων ὁ τὴν ναῦν τοῦ Λυσάνδρου τὴν στρατηγίδα κυβερνῶν.
>
> Right opposite these,[270] are offerings of the Lakedaimonians taken from the Athenians: The Dioskouroi, Zeus, Apollo, and Artemis. After these, Poseidon and

[267] Bommelaer 1971; 1991, 108-110; Jacquemin 1999, 338; Palagia 2009, 36-9. For the difficulties of the archaeology of this area: Pouilloux and Roux 1963, 3-68.
[268] Bommelaer 2011.
[269] Plut. *Mor*. 395b. Plut. *Lys*. 18.1; *Mor*. 397f mention gold stars representing the Dioskouroi that were also dedicated by Lysander, which apparently disappeared at the time of the Spartan defeat at Leuktra in 371. It is unclear whether these stars formed part of the Aigospotamoi Monument or were placed in the Treasury of Brasidas and the Akanthians, where Lysander placed other offerings (Plut. *Lys*. 1.1; 18.1).
[270] Offerings of the Arkadians described at Paus. 10.9.5-6.

Lysander, son of Aristokritos, being crowned by Poseidon, Agias, who divined for Lysander at that time, and Hermon, who steered the flagship of Lysander.[271]

Name	Relationship to Lysander	Artist	Artist's Polis	Ref. to Fig. 7
Polydeukes		Antiphanes	Argos	J
Kastor		Antiphanes	Argos	I
Zeus		Athenodoros	Kleitor (Arkadia)	H
Apollo		Athenodoros	Kleitor (Arkadia)	G
Artemis		Dameas	Kleitor (Arkadia)	F
Poseidon	'Crowning Lysander'	Dameas	Kleitor (Arkadia)	E
Lysander		Dameas	Kleitor (Arkadia)	D
Agias	Soothsayer (*Mantis*)	Pison	Kalaureia (Troizen)	C
?	Herald			B
Hermon	Helmsman of flagship	Theokosmos	Megara	A

Table 4. Aigospotamoi Monument: Front line of statues.

Pausanias records nine statues on the front row, yet he has missed at least one, for an inscription preserved on one of the surviving blocks shows that there was also a statue of Lysander's herald, who stood between Agias and Hermon.[272] With the addition of the herald, we have two groups of five statues on the front row: Kastor, Polydeukes, Zeus, Apollo, and Artemis, then Poseidon, Lysander, Agias, the herald, and Hermon. Pausanias uses the ambiguous phrase ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς, 'after these' or 'beyond these' when introducing the second group, so it is unclear whether these statues followed directly on from the first group, or whether we should imagine a physical break between the two groups (Fig. 6).

[271] Paus. 10.9.7.

[272] Bommelaer 2011, 205; fig. 2, Block X. It is impossible to say whether Pausanias simply missed this statue or whether it was no longer standing by the time of his visit.

Another issue of this front line of statues is the direction in which Pausanias is enumerating them: is it from east to west (i.e., from the entrance to the Sacred Way travelling towards to temple of Apollo), or from west to east? This question is also impossible to answer with any certainty, but Bommelaer has argued from surviving fragments that Block II, which held Polydeukes, has a relatively well-preserved seal which makes it suitable to be placed at the north-west corner of the monument.[273] If so, then Pausanias must be listing the front row of statues from west to east, back towards the entrance to the sanctuary. The surviving blocks from the back row of the statue group do not give us a definitive direction for Pausanias' listing of them but can be convincingly arranged so that Pausanias lists them from east to west. In this reconstruction, Pausanias first describes the offerings of the Arkadians opposite the Aigospotamoi Monument while walking east to west.[274] He then turns and walks back towards the entrance to the Sacred Way, enumerating the front line of the Aigospotamoi Monument from west to east. Finally, he turns again and lists the back line of statues from east to west, before arriving at the Argive and Athenian dedications which lay further up the Sacred Way (Fig. 7 and Table 5).[275]

This back line of statues included, in Pausanias' words, 'those who helped Lysander at Aigospotamoi, whether Spartiates or allies.'[276] Pausanias goes on to enumerate 28 statues in three groups, divided according to their sculptor. First, 11 statues created by Tisandros,[277] followed by seven works of Alypos of Sikyon, and finally 11 statues which 'they say are

[273] Bommelaer 2011, 218-20, 227.
[274] Paus. 10.9.5-6.
[275] Paus. 10.9.12 – 10.10.1.
[276] Paus. 10.9.9: 'ὅσοι συγκατειργάσαντο τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ τὰ ἐν Αἰγὸς Ποταμοῖς ἢ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμαχησάντων.'
[277] Bommelaer (2011, 205-7) attributes only 10 statues to Tisandros, with the statue of Aiantides of Miletos instead added to the second cluster of statues by Alypos.

works of Patrokles and Kamachos.'[278] Once more, Pausanias' list is incomplete, for we have remains of a base for a commander from Chalkis (no. 24). There is also a textual corruption at 10.9.9, where something, either an object or place described as ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μίμαντος (above or across from Mimas), has dropped out of the text.[279] A handful of fragments from the bases have survived, which demonstrate that Pausanias has not listed the statues in precisely the correct order, and so some re-arrangement is necessary (see Table 5).

The statues that made up the back row were smaller than those in front, and the number of artists involved in their production (five artists for ten statues on the front row, four artists for 29 statues on the back row) suggests a higher level of workmanship for those in front. To offset the height difference, it appears that the statues at the back were set on a stepped plinth, elevating them so they could still be seen beyond those in front.[280] The length of the bases of the monument is also an issue, for the front statues are not so large that these ten would extend to the same length as the 29 behind. The reconstructed route of Pausanias (above) and discrepancies in the depth of surviving blocks from the monument suggest that there was a gap between the two rows wide enough to walk down.[281]

[278] Paus. 10.9.9-10. We might interpret Pausanias' phrase (φασὶν ἔργα) as an indicator that these bases were not inscribed with sculptor's names, or that they had become illegible, especially in contrast to the certainty with which he attributes the other statues of the monument to specific artists.
[279] Bommelaer 2011, fig. 2 suggests an object, but it is also possible that this was once a qualifying statement for a place to be found 'across from' the promontory of Mimas in Ionia. Cf. Paus. 7.4.1., where Samos is described as 'across from Mykale' (Σάμος ἡ ὑπὲρ Μυκάλης).
[280] Bommelaer 2011, 229-231.
[281] Bommelaer 2011, 228-30.

Name	Polis	Artist	Ref. on Fig. 7
Arakos	Lakedaimon	Tisandros	1
Erianthes	Boiotia	Tisandros	2
Astykrates	Mimas	Tisandros	3
Kephisokles	Chios	Tisandros	4
Hermophantos	Chios	Tisandros	5
Hikesios	Chios	Tisandros	6
Timarchos	Rhodes	Tisandros	7
Diagoras	Rhodes	Tisandros	8
Theodamos	Knidos	Tisandros	9
Kimmerios	Ephesos	Tisandros	10
Aiantides	Miletos	Tisandros	11
Theopmpos	Myndos/Melos*	Alypos of Sikyon	12
Kleomedes	Samos	Alypos of Sikyon	13
Aristokles	Karystos (Euboia)	Alypos of Sikyon	14
Autonomos	Eretria	Alypos of Sikyon	15
Aristophantos	Corinth	Alypos of Sikyon	16
Apollodoros	Troizen	Alypos of Sikyon	17
Dion	Epidauros (in Argolis)	Alypos of Sikyon	18
Axionikos	Pellene	Patrokles & Kamachos	19
Theares	Hermione	Patrokles & Kamachos	20
Pyrrhias	Phokis	Patrokles & Kamachos	21
Komon	Megara	Patrokles & Kamachos	22
Agasimenes	Sikyon	Patrokles & Kamachos	23
?	Chalkis*	Patrokles & Kamachos	24*
Euantidas	Ambrakia	Patrokles & Kamachos	25*

Pythodotos	Corinth	Patrokles & Kamachos	26
Telykrates	Leukas	Patrokles & Kamachos	27*
Epikydides	Lakedaimon	Patrokles & Kamachos	28
Eteonikos	Lakedaimon	Patrokles & Kamachos	29

Table 5. Back Row of Statues of Aigospotamoi Monument.
** Represents deviation from the account of Paus. 10.9.9-10.*

The question of the length of the two bases has prompted four major theories about how to reconstruct the monument. In all these proposed reconstructions the back row remains constant, with different arrangements suggested for the front row (Fig. 6).[282]

Solution A: A front row of 14 or 15 bases, both ends of which are occupied by two groups of five statues. Between the two groups would be seven or eight slabs, either left empty or occupied by some unknown statues or objects (possibly lost by the time of Pausanias).

Solution B: Like solution A, with 14 or 15 bases at the front, but this time with only the central bases occupied, leaving either end empty.

Solution C: A shorter front row, composed of only eight bases.

Solution D: A split front row, with four bases at each end and nothing in between, resembling the Greek letter *pi* (π).

[282] I follow the values ascribed in Bommelaer 2011, 231; fig. 11.

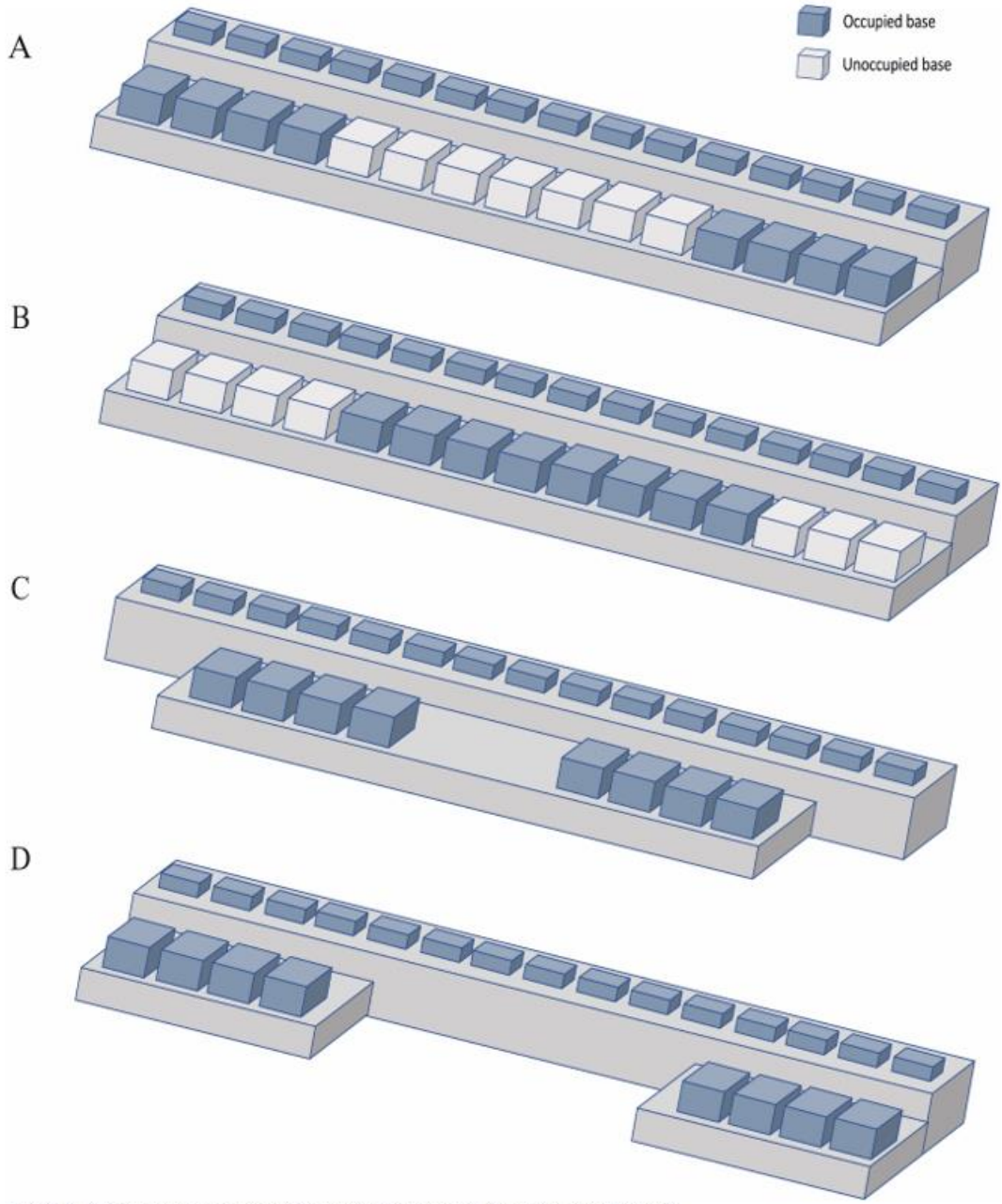

Figure 6. Aigospotamoi Monument: potential solutions for arrangement of bases

Of these solutions, Bommelaer prefers A or D, largely on the basis of Pausanias' phrase 'ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς', (beyond these) used to separate the two groups of statues on the front row, the lack of comparative evidence from Delphi (or elsewhere) for the arrangements seen in solutions B and C, and the fact that B does not place Polydeukes in the north-west corner of the monument.[283] I follow Bommelaer in the rejection of solution B, although I do not think

[283] Bommelaer 2011, 228.

that the evidence of Pausanias' ambiguous phrase and a lack of comparative evidence is sufficient to discount solution C completely, for the very inclusion of a second row of statues was itself unprecedented in the fifth-century.

Inscriptions

It is clear from the material evidence and from Pausanias' testimony that the bases of the statues were inscribed with the names of the commanders and either their *polis* identity (back row) or their relationship to Lysander (front row). It is also safe to conclude that most of the works were signed by their artists, although the statues attributed to Patrokles and Kamachos may not have borne legible signatures. In later periods, proxeny decrees relating to the persons portrayed were added to some of the bases.[284] In addition, the bases of Lysander and Polydeukes bore verses composed by Ion of Samos. The first inscription, beneath Lysander, reads:

> εἰκόνα ἐὰν ἀνέθηκεν [ἐπὶ] ἔργῳ τῷδε ὅτε νικῶν ναυσὶ θοαῖς πέρσεν
> Κε[κ]ροπιδᾶν δύναμιν Λύσανδρος, Λακεδαίμονα ἀπόρθετον στεφανώσα[ς]
> Ἑλλάδος ἀκρόπολ[ιν, κ]αλλίχορομ πατρίδα. ἑξαμο ἀμφιρύτ[ας] τεῦξε ἐλεγεῖον
> Ἴων.
>
> Lysander set up this image of himself on this monument when with his swift ships he victoriously routed the power of the descendants of Kekrops and crowned the invincible Lakedaimon, the citadel of Greece, the homeland with the beautiful dancing-places. Ion of sea-girt Samos composed these elegiacs.[285]

The second inscription, for Polydeukes, reads;

> [πώ Διός, ὠ] Πολύδεν[κ]εςγ Ιων [?καί τοίσ]δ'έλεγείοι[ς] [?λαϊνέαν] κρηπίδ'
> έστεφάνωσ[ε ?τεά]ν, [άρχός έπ]εί πρώτος, πρότερο[ς ὁ Ε]τι τούδε νανάρ[χον]
> [?έστας όςγ]εμόνων έλλάδος εύρ[νχ]όρου.

[284] Palagia 2009, 37.
[285] *CEG* 819 iii. Trans. Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 290.

> [Child of Zeus], Polydeukes, [with these] elegiacs Ion crowned [your stone] base, because you were the principal [commander], taking precedence even over this admiral, among the leaders of Greece with its wide dancing places.[286]

Both inscriptions were re-cut in the fourth century, and so from the physical evidence it is unclear how early they were added to the monument.[287] I consider the issues of the dating and interpretation of the inscriptions more fully in Chapter 5, but we should see the Polydeukes inscription as being added after the one for Lysander. The content of the Polydeukes epigram takes the credit for the victory away from the admiral, suggesting that the rather boastful epigram on Lysander's base was already in place. The fact that Ion's origin appears in the Lysander epigram but not in that on Polydeukes also supports this argument; it was unnecessary to repeat his origin if a visitor had already read the Lysander epigram. In line with the reconstruction of the monument presented here, the inscription upon Lysander would be read before the one on Polydeukes by a visitor to the sanctuary, leaving the Polydeukes' inscription as the final word on the matter of credit for the victory.[288]

Position in Delphi

The Aigospotamoi Monument was set up at the very beginning of the Sacred Way at Delphi, on the left-hand side as visitors passed through the peribolos wall. Its exact position cannot be fixed by the surviving blocks as they were found in secondary usage and were moved and re-arranged after their discovery, but the rough position of the monument can be reconstructed based on the orientation of the surrounding monuments and the testimony

[286] *CEG* 819 ii. Trans. Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 290.
[287] Palagia 2009, 37-8 argues for inscription close to construction, while Keesling 2017, 105-7 suggests that they were added later.
[288] Unlike when Pausanias visited, there was no statue group opposite to potentially distract a visitor at the time of the Aigospotamoi Monument's creation.

of Pausanias. The significance of the position of the Aigospotamoi Monument and the spatial relationship with the surrounding monuments is explored in Chapter 6.

From Pausanias, we know that the Aigospotamoi Monument eventually stood opposite an Arkadian (Tegean) statue group, which in turn stood in front of a stoa. There is some debate about the dedication of this stoa: Pausanias does not mention it explicitly but does refer to the offerings from Tegea which stood in front of it.[289] There is no known inscription which identifies the dedicant of the stoa, but inscriptions have been discovered within it referring to spoils dedicated by the Tegeans, won from the Lakonians.[290] This, combined with Pausanias' statement that the offerings of the Lakedaimonians were 'exactly opposite' (ἀπαντικρύ) those of the Tegeans, led Vatin to believe that the stoa must be an offering of the Tegeans.[291] However, there is good reason to follow Bommelaer's belief that the stoa was constructed before the Arkadian statue group which was set up in front of it, *c.*369.[292] The construction of the stoa was a major undertaking, requiring significant engineering of the banks behind it,[293] a strange decision if the structure was set up behind a pre-existing statue group. Despite the silence of Pausanias and the doubts of Vatin, this thesis will treat the stoa as a Spartan creation. This is especially significant for considerations of the original orientation of the Aigospotamoi Monument and the available space at Delphi.

Based on the available evidence, the length of the Aigospotamoi Monument can be estimated to have been between 16–18 m.[294] We have a good idea of the position of the Argive monuments (a semi-circular statue group and image of the wooden horse) and know

[289] Paus. 10.9.5-7.
[290] Vatin 1981 gives the text and analysis of these inscriptions.
[291] Vatin 1981, 453-9.
[292] Pouilloux and Roux 1963, 3-68. Bommelaer 1977, 213; 1981, 22; 1991, 106.
[293] Scott 2010, 104-7; 2014, 137.
[294] Bommelaer 2011, 229; fig. 12.

that the Marathon Monument set up by Athens in the 460s lay between these and the Aigospotamoi Monument.[295] This leaves a relatively small niche for the grandiose Aigospotamoi Monument in between the entrance and the Marathon Monument. If they stood side by side, then the Aigospotamoi Monument must have been placed at an angle moving away from the road, which seems at odds with other monuments in the sanctuary.[296] Several current reconstructions therefore align the Aigospotamoi Monument according to the Spartan stoa set up opposite, in order that these two monuments form a corridor at the beginning of the Sacred Way. This option seems more plausible and makes the placement of the Aigospotamoi Monument very aggressive, as it extends directly in front of the earlier Marathon Monument erected by the Athenians, not merely usurping its position as the first monument seen by a visitor, but actively blocking it from view. (Fig. 8).[297]

[295] Argive Monuments: Paus. 10.9.12 – 10.10.5; Bommelaer 1992. Marathon Monument: Paus. 10.10.1-2; Davison 2013.
[296] Previous reconstructions are summarised by Bommelaer 2011, fig. 3.
[297] For further consideration of the spatial rivalry between the two monuments, see Thompson 2021, esp. 3-10, and below (chapter 6).

Figures

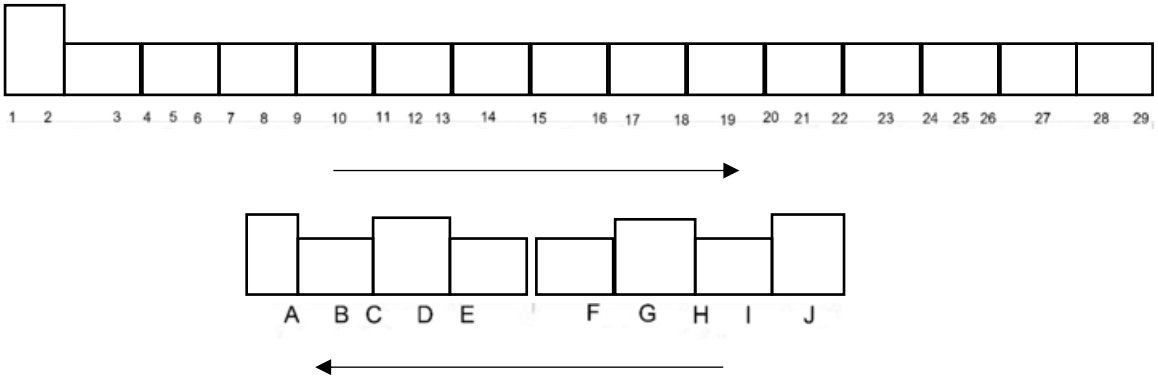

Figure 7a. The Aigospotamoi Monument. Letters and numbers correspond to entries in Tables 4 and 5. Arrows denote Pausanias' direction of travel

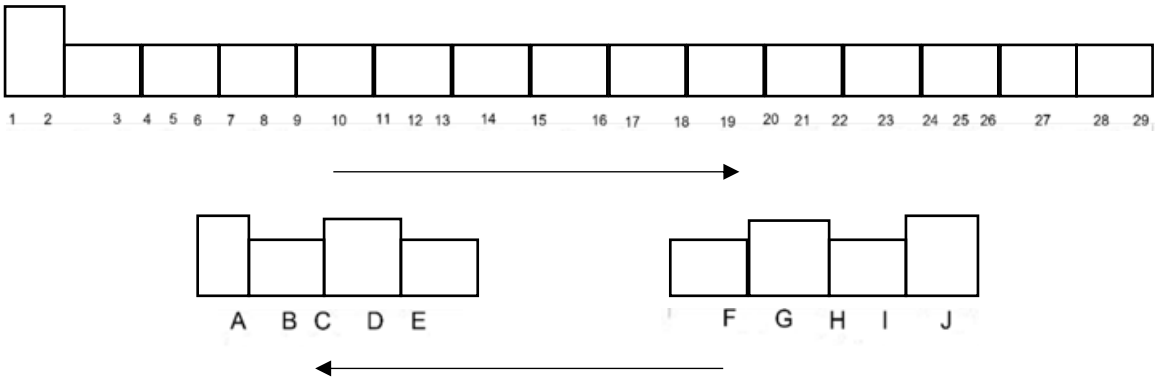

Figure 7b. The Aigospotamoi Monument. Alternative arrangement of front row

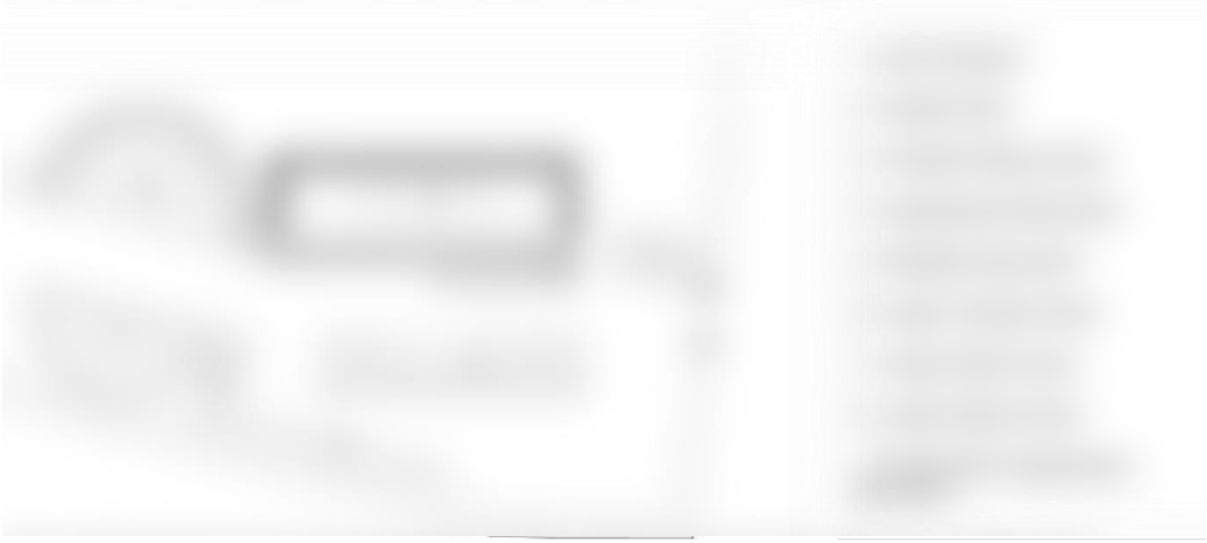

Figure 8. Monumental Layout of the Sacred Way at Delphi. Adapted from Bommelaer 2011, fig. 14. Placement of Aigospotamoi Monument in my own suggestion

3.2. The Tomb of the Lakedaimonians in the Athenian Kerameikos

The Tomb of the Lakedaimonians, located in the Kerameikos at Athens, is to date the only excavated example of the collective burial of Spartan soldiers in a polyandrion. The tomb is especially valuable for any discussion of Spartan burial practice, not least because it can be definitively dated to 403 on the basis of an accompanying inscription and account of Xenophon. The tomb has been the subject of archaeological investigations since 1915,[298] although many records and finds were lost as a result of World Wars I and II. New excavations, carried out by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Athen commenced in 2002. This discussion draws heavily upon their most recent reports.[299]

Historical Background

Xenophon's *Hellenika* is the major source for the events of 404/3 in Athens and the construction of the tomb. Shortly after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War, the 'Thirty', the Spartan installed oligarchy in Athens, requested Spartan aid against a democratic revolution led by Thrasyboulos. Lysander arrived with the fleet and blockaded Piraeus, while King Pausanias arrived shortly after with an army. After an initial Spartan victory, Pausanias resolved to restore democracy to Athens.[300] The Tomb of the Lakedaimonians was constructed for those who died in the only clash which Xenophon describes:

> οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἐτιτρώσκοντο, μάλα πιεζόμενοι ἀνεχώρουν ἐπὶ πόδα. οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπέκειντο. ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποθνήσκει Χαίρων τε καὶ Θίβραχος, ἄμφω πολεμάρχω, καὶ Λακράτης ὁ

[298] Earlier studies of the tomb: Van Hook 1932; Willemsen 1977; Von Kienlin 2003.
[299] Stroszeck 2006; Stroszeck 2013.
[300] Xen. *Hell*. 2.4.10-36.

> Ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ τεθαμμένοι Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ.
>
> then the Lakedaimonians, since many of them were being wounded and they were hard pressed, gave ground, though still facing the enemy, and at this they were laid upon harder still. In this attack fell Chairon and Thibrachos, both polemarchs, and Lakrates the Olympic victor, and the other Lakedaimonians who lie buried before the gates in the Kerameikos.[301]

The Tomb

The tomb was constructed from ashlar blocks (in secondary usage) and lies *c.*100 meters from the Dipylon Gate on the road to the Academy.[302] The tomb was not originally a single structure but was a conglomeration of a series of smaller tombs constructed in close proximity and quick succession. The total extent of the structure identified as the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians was built in four distinct phases (Fig. 9), although there is some debate as to whether the fourth phase should be included.[303] The earliest phase saw two distinct structures, housing the skeletons (Table 6) Sk. 15 and Sks. 1-9, with a further internal division separating Sks. 7-9 from 1-6. Shortly afterwards these two were connected by the tomb of Sk. 16, and the tomb was extended to the south to accommodate Sks. 10-14. Next, the tomb was extended to the north with the structure around Sk. 17 and 19-24. The northernmost part of the tomb, in which only two skeletons (25 and 26) are reported, came last, around the same time as the burial of Sk. 18, which seems to intrude into the third phase of the tomb. Sks. 18, 25, and 26 were buried perpendicular to the others, in a structure made from mud bricks.

[301] Xen. *Hell*. 2.4.33.
[302] Arrington 2010, 512, fig. 3.
[303] Stroszeck 2013, 383-5; Christesen 2021, 13.

At the time of its construction, it also appears to have been the last monument a visitor would see in the Kerameikos before passing through the Gate.

The Skeletons

26 skeletons can be associated with the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians, which are further divided into two groups. Group 1 consists of 23 skeletons, numbered 1-17 and 19-24 on Fig.9, all of whom were buried perpendicular to the road in the structure made from ashlar blocks. All the skeletons are adult males, buried in an extended supine position, with their heads placed (roughly) towards the east. Stones, which would probably have originally supported some sort of perishable headrest or pillow, were placed under each of the heads. All of the bodies appear to have been wrapped tightly in a cloth garment, probably the military cloak (*phoinikis*) in which dead Spartan warriors were said to be buried.[304] A number of sherds of Lakonian red-figure pottery vessels, rarely found beyond the boundaries of Spartan territory, were also found in the tomb, cementing the identification of the deceased as Lakedaimonians.[305] Aside from the pottery, there was only one grave good: an alabastron of alabaster associated with Sk. 15. Five skeletons are recorded as having the remains of bronze and iron weapons still embedded in their bones (Table 6).

[304] Ael. *Var*. *Hist*. 6.6; Plut. *Lyk*. 27.1-2; *Mor*. 238d. On the *phoinikis* see also Xen. *Lak*. *Pol*. 11.3.
[305] On the pottery specifically, see Stroszeck 2014.

Group 2 consists of the three skeletons (Sk. 18, 25, and 26) positioned parallel to the road and buried at a higher level in structures made from mud bricks. Unlike the skeletons of Group 1, there were no stones placed underneath the heads, nor does it appear that the dead were wrapped tightly in a garment. It is unclear whether the Lakonian red-figure vessels may be associated with these three burials, but it appears unlikely.[306] Because of this discrepancy, Stroszeck believes that only the skeletons of Group 1 may be securely identified as Lakedaimonians, although it is probable that the skeletons of Group 2 were also warriors of some description, evidenced by the presence of bronze arrowheads in the tombs of 18 and 25.[307] It is possible that they are either later intrusions, that the burials belonged to Helots buried without the care and attention afforded to the other Lakedaimonians, or that they were Lakedaimonian soldiers hurridley buried as the Spartans were leaving the city, but there is insufficient evidence for any sort of definite conclusion. The skeletons themselves were first examined by Brueckner in 1930 and revisited by Bisel in 1977, though neither report was ever fully published. Recently, Pitsios has carried out an osteological investigation into 16 of the skeletons and offered new estimates for their age at the time of death (Table 6).

	Biological Age (Brueckner 1930)	Biological Age (Bisel 1977)	Biological Age (Pitsios 2006)	Grave Goods and Remains of Weapons
SK. 1	37 years	37 years (?)	25-30 years	
SK. 2	---	---	Adult person (Ph)	
SK. 3	30 years	30 years (?)	25 – 35 years	Iron spear-butt, left side of chest

[306] The red-figure vessels come from the upper levels of the structure holding skeletons 1–9.
[307] Stroszeck 2013, 384.

SK. 4	33 years	33 years (?)	20 – 25 years	
SK. 5	39 years	39 years (?)	25 – 35 years	
SK. 6	24 years	24 years (?)	25 – 35 years	
SK. 7	25 years	25 years (?)	18 – 20 years	
SK. 8	33 years	33 years (?)	25 – 30 years	
SK. 9	50 years	50 years (?)	25 – 35 years	
SK. 10	37 years	37 years (?)	25 – 35 years	Bronze tip in right leg
SK. 11	29 years	29 years (?)	25 – 35 years	
SK. 12	24 years	24 years (?)	25 – 35 years	Bronze arrowheads in right foot; right side of pelvis
SK. 13	---	---	Adult person (Ph)	
SK. 14	*c.* 40 years		Adult person (Ph)	
SK. 15			Adult person (Ph)	Alabastron; Bronze tip in skull
SK. 16			20 – 25 years	Bronze tip in left side of chest
SK. 17			22 – 28 years	
SK. 18 *			Adult person (Ph)	Bronze arrowheads
SK. 19			Adult person (Ph)	
SK. 20			Adult person (Ph)	
SK. 21			20 – 30 years	
SK. 22			25 – 35 years	
SK. 23			Adult person (Ph)	
SK. 24			25 – 30 years	
SK. 25 *				Bronze arrowheads
SK. 26 *				

Table 6. Skeletons associated with the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians. (Ph) indicated that the age of the skeleton was determined from a photograph.

The Inscription

A fragment of an inscription which originally stood in front of the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians was found built into a Roman wall, around 4.5 m east of the tomb (Figs 10 and 11.).[308] The inscription is in Lakonian script written retrograde, matching the direction of travel for those entering the city, making it easier for a visitor to read the inscription.[309] The surviving part of the inscription names and labels the two polemarchs (Chairon and Thibrachos) known from Xenophon's account, interspersed between a larger Λ and A.[310]

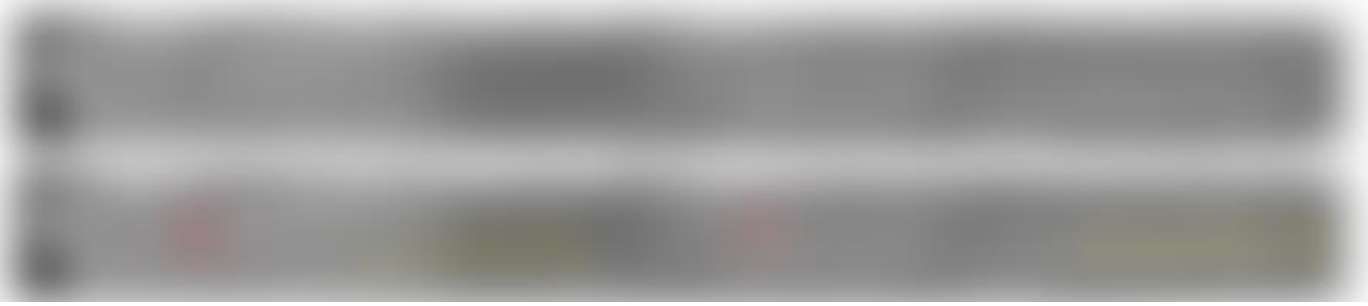

Figure 10. Above: Fragment of the inscription from the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians (after Stroszeck 2013, fig. 1). Below: Same image with lettering highlighted.

ΘΙΒΡΑΚΟΣ
ΠΟΛΕΜΑΡΨΟΣ

Λ

ΨΑΙΡΩΝ
ΠΟΛΕΜΑΡΨΟΣ

Α

Λ[ΑΚΡΑΤΗΣ]
[ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΝΙΚΗΣ]

Figure 11. Transliteration of Inscription (re-formatted left-right).

The large Λ and A are most convincingly restored as the beginning of ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΙ,[311] identifying the origin of the dead in addition to naming them and providing detail of rank at

[308] *IG* II^2, 11678.
[309] Van Hook 1932, 292.
[310] Due to the Lakonian script, Chairon's name uses psi instead of chi. Xenophon also spells Thibrachos with a chi, where the inscription uses a kappa.
[311] Stroszeck 2013, 382-3. Von Kienlin (2003, 121) argues for Λάκωνες instead of Λακεδαιμόνιοι, but this does not fit with the use of terms discussed in Chapter 2.

least in the case of the two polemarchs. Traces of the first letter of a third name are visible, although there is debate over whether to read a mu or a lambda.[312] If the third name does begin with lambda, then it could be restored as Lakrates, the Olympic victor named in Xenophon's account. Although it is uncertain whether the third name is Lakrates, it is reasonable to conclude that his name featured at some point in the inscription. What is less certain is whether Lakrates was labelled as an Olympic victor (as restored in Fig. 11), or whether Xenophon knew of his Olympic victory without the aid of an inscription.[313]

The surviving portion of the inscription is 0.17 m high and 2.1 m long. If we accept the restoration to Λακεδαιμόνιοι and assume a similar scale of lettering, the original inscription would have been between 13 and 14 m long (allowing for space after the final iota). This led von Kienlin to argue that it was too long to belong to the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians, an argument refuted by Arrington, and the connection between the inscription and the tomb is reaffirmed by Stroszeck.[314] It is reasonable to conclude that the inscription once stood by the southern part of the tomb (phases 1-2) and may have projected slightly beyond.

The decision to intersperse the names between larger letters makes good sense if the original number of dead to be named in the inscription fit somewhat neatly between 'Lakedaimonioi'. The gaps between the letters would comfortably allow 14 names, although given that the polemarch labels appear beneath the names that number could be increased

[312] Mu: Van Hook 1932, 291; Willemsen 1977, 136. Pritchett (1985 (iv), 134, n. 123) sees 'only two joining diagonal strokes as for the upper part of an alpha, delta, or lambda', and is followed by Stroszeck 2013, 383, who reads lambda.
[313] *IG* V,1 708, a third-century Lakonian cenotaph records that Euryades was an Olympic victor, yet it is certainly conceivable that Xenophon would have known about Lakrates' Olympic victories, which must have occurred relatively recently.
[314] Von Kienlin 2003, 116-8, 121. Arrington 2010, 512 n. 85. Stroszeck 2006, 102; Stroszeck 2013, 382-3. Christesen 2021, 12; n. 40.

to 26 (or 25 if Lakrates was labelled as Olympic victor).[315] This reaffirms the connection with the southern part of the tomb, containing 15 burials from two phases. There would, however, also be space to name those who were buried as part of the third phase, and even those of dubious identity in the fourth.

3.3. Spartan Monuments of the Persian Wars

The question of how, where, and why Sparta commemorated and celebrated its role in the Persian Wars of 480-79 is central to an overview of Spartan monumental propaganda. Variant accounts of the details of the Persian Wars, the powers responsible for victory dedications, and doubts over the date of creation of many monuments has led to a muddled and incomplete picture of how the Spartans (and the Greeks more broadly) celebrated their success. This has led to many doubts over the nature of three important monuments of the Persian Wars erected in Sparta: a stele for the dead of Thermopylai, the tomb(s) of Leonidas, and the Persian Stoa.

Although the outline of the Persian Wars is fairly consistent in our major surviving sources,[316] the accounts of the battle of Thermopylai found in Herodotus and Diodorus (among others) display discrepancies which demand some explanation. The major differences are the number of Lakedaimonian soldiers at Thermopylai,[317] and the events of the last day.[318] The detail most often ascribed as a post-Thermopylai Spartan invention is

[315] More names could certainly have been added, even if space was scarce. Cf. *IG* I^3, 1149, an Argive casualty-list where the heading curves down the right side of the monument due to a lack of space.
[316] Thuc. 1.97.2 implies that authors other than Herodotus had also written accounts of the Persian Wars.
[317] Hdt. 7.202 (300 Spartiates); Diod. 11.4.5-7 (300 Spartiates and 700 Perioikoi). Paus. 10.20.1-2 explicitly follows Herodotus' numbers. Isoc. 4.90; 6.99 states that 1000 Lakedaimonians went to Thermopylai.
[318] Hdt. 7.217-222 (last stand); Diod. 11.9.4-11.10.4 and Plut. *Mor*. 866a-c (night attack). There is also disagreement over who remained in the pass: Diodorus has Lakedaimonians and Thespians (not more than 500), while Plutarch and Herodotus also have the Thebans. Paus. 10.20.2 says 80 Mycenaeans also remained there (cf. 2.16.5).

that Leonidas and his small band always intended to die in the pass in obedience to an oracle which informed the Spartans that either Lakedaimon would be destroyed, or a king would be killed.[319] Remarkably, this oracle is absent from the accounts of Diodorus and Plutarch, both of whom state that Leonidas always intended to die in the pass, yet it does feature, in the account of Herodotus, who otherwise saw the small Spartan force as an advance guard designed to stop other Greeks from going over to the Persians.[320]

The standard position among scholars has been to prefer the account of Herodotus, while dismissing the version found in Diodorus as a 'legend', probably concocted by Ephorus or in circulation during the fourth-century.[321] However, several recent works have sought to question this position and to re-examine the plausibility, accuracy, and political context of the competing narratives. Hammond, while doubting the accuracy of the 'legend', sought to identify a pro-Spartan fifth-century writer as its ultimate source, while also suggesting that the narrative of Herodotus represented an exceptionally pro-Athenian viewpoint.[322] Flower argued that the 'legend', including the night attack on the Persian camp, may have been largely accurate and derived from a narrative elegy of Simonides, composed soon after the battle.[323] Most recently, Van Wees has taken Flower's argument a step further and demonstrated that Herodotus himself was aware of the 'legend' and that many notorious problems of Herodotus' narrative can be explained as an attempt to reconcile Herodotus' preferred version of events with those of the 'legend'.[324] Van Wees goes on to examine the

[319] Cartledge 2006, 129-31; Matthew 2013, 83-5; Van Wees 2018, 21-9.
[320] Diod. 11.4.2-4; Plut. *Mor*. 866b. Hdt. 7.220.3-4 (oracle); 7.206 (force as advanced guard).
[321] 'The legend' was first given as a name to this account by Hignett 1963, 125. For the general rejection of 'the legend' as fantasy, see Flower 1998, 366, n. 9; Trundle 2013, 30 n. 27; Van Wees 2018, 20, n. 5 with further refs.
[322] Hammond 1996. For the political backdrop of Persian War historiography: Osborne 2009, 231-4; Van Wees 2018.
[323] Diod. 11.11.6. Flower 1998, esp. 369-79; Trundle 2013, 32-4.
[324] Van Wees 2018.

reasons which Sparta may have had to justify its role as leader in the Persian Wars, in particular their failure to send more troops to, and successfully hold, Thermopylai.[325]

The period in which Herodotus began composing and writing his histories (*c.*450-430) was marked by growing tension and conflict between Sparta and Athens, the two *poleis* who had so effectively defeated the Persians.[326] There was, therefore, considerable motivation for both *poleis* to emphasise and exaggerate their own role in the victory, while simultaneously downplaying the achievements of their rivals.[327] Considering that there were competing narratives of the Persian Wars by the time of Herodotus' writing, it would be negligent to assume that competing monumental dedications did not also form a part of this competition. Therefore, I shall now provide a short overview of the major monuments dedicated in the immediate wake of the Persian Wars, as well as those of competing states throughout the fifth-century.[328]

Pausanias provides many references to monuments of the Persian Wars which were on display throughout the cities and sanctuaries of Greece in his day, though the continuing prominence of the Persian Wars through the Hellenistic and Roman periods casts doubt on much of this material. [329] There are, however, several monuments which are attested by

[325] Van Wees 2018, 43-6, contra. Hammond 1996, 9. Thuc. 1.69.5 has the Corinthians directly criticise perceived failures in Sparta's leadership during the first part of the Persian Wars.
[326] The dating of Herodotus' histories is an incredibly difficult undertaking and so the date given is necessarily rough (following Cartledge 2013). Thucydides was clearly aware of Herodotus' work (e.g., Thuc. 1.20, see Hornblower 1992), while the opening of Aristophanes *Acharnians* (dating to 425) seems to parody the opening of Herodotus' histories.
[327] This was not confined to Athens and Sparta: Hdt. 8.94 reports the claim made by the Athenians that the Corinthians played virtually no part in the battle of Salamis, which is contested by the Corinthians and the rest of Greece and at odds with the number of Corinthian memorials and epigrams which honour their role at Salamis. Page 1981, 200-7 ('Simonides' X – XIII).
[328] For full summaries of the monuments of the Persian Wars: West 1965; Duffy 2018.
[329] Alcock 2002, 74-82; Spawforth 2012.

fifth and fourth-century authors, as well as archaeological remains which give an insight into the immediate commemoration of the Persian Wars.

Herodotus tells us that after the battle of Plataia the Greeks set aside tithes for the gods of Delphi, Olympia and Isthmia and dedicated respectively the tripod atop the Serpent Column, a ten-cubit high statue of Zeus, and a seven-cubit high statue of Poseidon.[330] These were all dedications from the Greek allies as a whole, yet we hear that Pausanias the regent was able to have a self-aggrandising inscription placed on the tripod, and that when the various allies complained it was the Lakedaimonians themselves who had this inscription replaced.[331] This at least implies some level of Spartan authority over the dedications, as leader of the alliance. Similarly, at Thermopylai, Herodotus records epigrams and a funerary lion for Leonidas (3.3.2), said to be erected 'by the Amphiktyons'.[332] The Amphiktyony is a difficult body to pin down, in terms of both membership and extent of power, but it does appear that the Dorians of the Peloponnese and Sparta specifically were members of this council during the Classical period.[333] As such, we might imagine that Sparta might have been able to exert at least some influence over the commemorative monuments set up at Thermopylai, though it was far from the only Amphiktyonic member with such ambitions. The battlefield of Plataia also hosted numerous *polyandria*, although Herodotus tells us that some were empty and only added after the battle.[334] Later descriptions of the battlefield indicate that the site was probably reorganised sometime after Herodotus' work, but also make mention of verses of Simonides adorning the tombs of the Athenians and

[330] Hdt. 9.81.
[331] Thuc. 1.132.2-3. Stephenson 2016 for the Serpent Column.
[332] Hdt. 7.225.2; 228. The inscription for Megistias, the soothsayer, was apparently set up by Simonides at his own expense, as opposed to the other monuments. The Delphic Amphiktyonic Council may also have felt the need to justify its own role in the Persian Wars amid suspicions of Medizing (Scott 2010, 81-2).
[333] Scott 2010, 35-6, n. 32.
[334] Hdt. 9.85.2-3.

Lakedaimonians.[335] Two epigrams preserved in the *Palatine Anthology* have been attributed to Simonides and, while this attribution itself is doubtful, Page has suggested that they could be products of the fifth-century and may even have adorned the tombs at Plataia.[336] More securely linked to Simonides and probably commissioned by Sparta are elegies on the battles of Thermopylai and Plataia, composed soon after the conclusion of the Persian Wars.[337] It is unclear whether the detail of the oracle and subsequent intent of Leonidas to die appeared in these elegies, but it is clear that, whether true or Spartan propaganda, it became part of the Thermopylai narrative soon after the battle.

Other states are mentioned making their own dedications, but most of these do not seem to have represented attempts to undermine the achievement of the whole alliance so much as highlight the contribution of individual communities to the collective cause.[338] Spartan authority was not, however, as secure as it might first appear. By the early 460s, the Athenians had taken over the command of the allied Greeks (previously a Spartan prerogative) in the fight against Persia in the Aegean and Ionia, while Sparta seems to have had trouble closer to home in the same period with Argos and the cities of Arkadia.[339]

[335] Paus. 9.2.5.
[336] Page 1981, 196-200 ('Simonides' VIII and IX). The entry in the *Palatine Anthology* describes both as epigrams to the dead of Thermopylai, but this has received little scholarly support. The language used would not be out of place in the early-fifth-century but there is little else that can be said with any confidence.
[337] Thermopylai: Diod. 11.11.6. Flower 1998, 369-70; Molyneux 1992, 185-7. Plataia: West 1993; Boedecker and Sider (eds.) 1996.
[338] Hdt. 8.122 records extra dedications from Aegina after the god at Delphi was initially displeased that they had not offered more after winning the prize of valour. Megara displayed a tomb (probably empty) for their dead of the Persian Wars, which may have borne a fifth-century epigram: Page 1981, 213-5 ('Simonides' XVI).
[339] Hdt. 9.35.2 records that the Spartans won five victories while Tisamenus served as soothsayer: the first was Plataia (479), then at Tegea against the Tegeans and Argives, next at Dipaia against all the Arkadians except Mantineia, then against the Messenians at Ithome, the last was Tanagra (457). The three middle battles have left no other mark in the historical record, but the contest at Ithome is probably connected to the Helot revolt of 465/4. This would mean that the Spartans fought two major battles against Arkadian states to whom they had been allied in 480 at some point in the 15 years between 479 and 464.

At what point competing narratives started to seriously emerge is impossible to say. However, we can say with some confidence that the Athenians erected a series of monuments to promote their own role in the Persian Wars, with a particular focus on the battle of Marathon, in the 460s. 465/4 saw an earthquake devastate large parts of Lakonia and trigger a major Helot revolt, accelerating Spartan disengagement from affairs beyond their borders. It is highly significant, therefore, that it was at this time that the Athenians set up permanent trophies at Marathon and Salamis, while constructing a major statue group in celebration of Marathon at the start of the Sacred Way at Delphi.[340] Marathon was a battle won explicitly without Spartan help despite a request for their aid, [341] something which could not be said for Plataia, or even Salamis.[342] The decision to actively promote this victory at Delphi may have been a mark of Athenian enthusiasm for hegemony (previously a Spartan prerogative)[343] and an attempt to highlight their leadership credentials.[344] This substantial monumental building program may have coincided with some of the more pro-Athenian elements of the Persian War narrative found in Herodotus, but this is far from certain.[345]

[340] Archaeological remains of the trophy at Marathon (Paus. 1.32.4) date to 460: Vanderpool 1967. For a sister trophy at Salamis: Kinnee 2018, 51-3 with Plat. *Menex*.245a; Lyc. 1.73. For a summary of the Marathon Monument at Delphi: Davison 2013.
[341] Hdt. 6.106.
[342] Although the Athenians are hailed as 'saviours of Greece' (Hdt. 7.139.5) for their role at Salamis, the sea-battle received little in the way of Athenian commemoration. Technically the commander at the battle was Eurybiades, a Spartiate. It may be that the Athenians were loath to celebrate a battle where they were serving under the Spartans, further explaining their preference for monuments to Marathon.
[343] See the Spartan responses to the idea of giving up any share of command, either to Gelon of Syracuse (Hdt. 7.158-61) or the Argives (Hdt. 7.148-9).
[344] Thuc. 1.75.2 and 1.95.1 claims that the Athenians were begged to take command early in the fifth-century, though Hdt. 8.3 states that they seized power after the arrogance of Pausanias angered many of the confederate states. I explore this idea more fully in Thompson 2021.
[345] Hammond (1996, 9) argues that his lost, pro-Spartan, historian was writing *c.*460-445 as part of the growth of rival traditions.

It is against this backdrop of competing histories that I will consider the three monuments below (sections 3.2.1-3). Significant doubt has been expressed about the existence of all these monuments in the fifth-century, for none of them are explicitly mentioned until the account of Pausanias. However, this would mean that the Spartans constructed no monuments to either celebrate or commemorate their role in the Persian Wars. In light of the aggressive monumental agenda of Athens in the 460s, as well as the existence of at least two elegies of praise for Spartan actions at Thermopylai and Plataia, the absence of any monumental dedication in the city of Sparta seems unlikely, if not impossible.

3.3.1. A Stele for the Spartan Dead of Thermopylai

The first explicit mention of a stele placed in Sparta listing the names of the dead of Thermopylai is found in Pausanias, who places it close to the theatre and the tombs of Leonidas and Pausanias the regent:

> 'κεῖται δὲ καὶ στήλη πατρόθεν τὰ ὀνόματα ἔχουσα οἳ πρὸς Μήδους τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἀγῶνα ὑπέμειναν.'
>
> 'There is also a stele set up with the names, and fathers' names, of those who stayed behind at Thermopylai in the contest against the Medes.'[346]

A monument to the Spartan dead of Thermopylai would certainly be at home in Roman Sparta, where there was a great resurgence of interest in the battles of the Persian Wars.[347] However, there is good reason to believe that this stele (or another monument) was erected in Sparta as early as the fifth-century. We cannot know whether Pausanias is quoting from the monument itself when he says that it bore the names and patronymics of 'those who

[346] Paus. 3.14.1. οἳ πρὸς Μήδους τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἀγῶνα ὑπέμειναν in the last line is often translated as 'those who endured the struggle at Thermopylai against the Medes'. The translation I present here is designed to stress the significance of ὑπομένω ('stay behind' or 'remain', as well as 'endure'). The stele did not name all those who undertook the struggle, but those who stayed behind and fought to the end.
[347] Spawforth 2012, 103-41.

remained at Thermopylai in the contest against the Medes'. The phrase is suitably Laconic and bears comparison with the heading on the Serpent Column 'these fought in the war (τ̣ο[ίδε τὸν] πόλεμον [ἐ]-πολ[έ]μεον), yet 'Medes' is also Pausanias' term of choice throughout his work and so it is impossible to draw any conclusions from his language here.[348] Although there are no archaeological remains which may be associated with this monument, Herodotus, in his description of the Spartan last stand at Thermopylai, states:

> καὶ Λεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄριστος, καὶ ἕτεροι μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὀνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιητέων, τῶν ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων γενομένων ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα, ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἁπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων.
>
> And in this struggle Leonidas falls, having shown himself the bravest man, and with him other notable Spartiates. As they were worthy men, I have learned their names, indeed, I have learned the names of all of the 300.[349]

The simplest assumption is that Herodotus learned the names of the 300 from the same stele, or perhaps an earlier forebear, which Pausanias recorded some centuries later.[350] However, this interpretation has been strongly challenged, with scholars citing Herodotus' use of πυνθάνομαι as an indicator of oral enquiry.[351] Recently, Marincola has sought to stress Herodotus' pride at having learned the names of all of the 300; 'put simply, for an extraordinary *historical* achievement – the singular bravery of the Spartans at Thermopylai – Herodotus performs an equally extraordinary *historiographical* achievement: the discovery, by trial and error, and by his own extensive travels and inquiries, of all of their names'.[352]

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[348] *Syl.*[3] 31. [τ]ὸ[ν Μήδων] is plausibly restored to the inscription. Thuc. 1.132.2 records that Pausanias the regent named 'the Medes' as the enemy he had defeated in his original inscription on the tripod at Delphi.
[349] Hdt. 7.224.1.
[350] How and Wells 1936 (1912), 2.230; Richer 1994, 57. Flower (1998, 369) suggests a memorial for the Thermopylai dead as the location for performances of Simonides.
[351] Ball 1976; Paradiso 2009, 522-523; Marincola 2016. Herodotus clearly had good informants in Sparta: West 1985, 302-3; Cartledge 2006, 161. Similarities have been drawn between Herodotus' wealth of information on Sparta and Samos as evidence that he had good sources in both places: Mitchell 1975; Irwin 2009.
[352] Marincola 2016, 233.

One issue with this line of argument is that it raises the question of how the list of names on Pausanias' stele came about. We must either assume the existence of an official list, complete with patronymics (which may suggest an early date), kept in a central archive but not converted to monumental form for several centuries, [353] or conclude that the names which Pausanias saw were fixed considerably later and conceivably bore little resemblance to the actual Spartiates who followed Leonidas to Thermopylai.

Beyond claiming to have learned the names of all the 300, Herodotus proceeds to give the names and deeds of six of them. Unfortunately, Herodotus' language in the descriptions continues to be vague and does not allow any conclusions about the existence of a list. For example, he states that Dienekes, the bravest man at Thermopylai (after Leonidas), left several sayings behind him 'as a memorial' (λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα).[354] This might suggest that there was no permanent physical memorial set up in honour of Dienekes, and therefore cast doubt on the existence of a stele bearing his name. However, it seems more likely that Dienekes is being directly contrasted with the two Spartiates named by Herodotus in the next line: Alpheios and Maron, sons of Orsiphantos, who had a shrine erected in their honour in Sparta, which Herodotus probably saw.[355] The three other Spartiates (Aristodemos, Eurytos, and Pantites) named by Herodotus all form part of cautionary tales about the consequences of perceived cowardice in Sparta, although there were evidently

[353] Paradiso (2009, 526-8) argues that Herodotus had accessed some sort of official (non-monumental) record in Sparta, which listed all of the 300. It seems very strange that such a record would be created in the fifth-century and then kept in an archive, rather than transmitted into permanent commemorative form.
[354] Hdt. 7.226-7.
[355] Hdt. 7.227. Paus. 3.12.9 describes the twins as the bravest after Leonidas, omitting Dienekes. The shrine described by Pausanias was probably a private structure erected shortly after 480 by the presumably influential family of Alpheios and Maron: Hodkinson 2000, 258; Paradiso 2009, 526; n. 25. Musti and Torelli (1991, 204) posit that the shrine was the literal tomb of Alpheios and Maron, but this would require the identification and removal of their remains from Thermopylai. A monument in their honour seems more plausible.

variant versions in circulation.[356] Marincola argues that Herodotus' uncertainty about these alternate accounts proves that there was no stele, as Herodotus would have been able to check for the names of Pantites and Aristodemos, and thereby accept or reject the alternative versions.[357] This argument does not hold firm, as neither man would be named on the stele if we follow the wording of Pausanias, for neither of them remained in the pass to die with Leonidas. On their return home Pantites was dishonoured (ἠτίμωτο, from ἀτιμόω) and committed suicide, while Aristodemos was labelled *tresas*, a 'trembler', and subjected to social shunning.[358] Apparently, no Spartan would give Aristodemos fire, or even speak with him, and we might imagine that Pantites suffered a similar fate as part of his dishonour. Their exclusion from a memorial to those who remained with Leonidas in the pass would therefore mirror their exclusion from society.

In fact, it is this line of argument that can reconcile Herodotus' apparent pride at having learned the names of all of the 300 with the existence of a stele which he could have consulted.[359] Nowhere does Pausanias state that the stele bore 300 names, only that it bore the names and patronymics of those who remained behind in the battle against the Medes. If neither Aristodemos or Pantites were named on the stele, then Herodotus must have learned their names and the reasons for their omission through oral enquiry. In addition, while he may have relied upon a memorial for the status of Alpheios and Maron as some of the bravest Spartiates at Thermopylai, he had evidently learned the name and sayings of Dienekes from oral sources in Sparta. He could still be rightly proud of his enquiries, of

[356] Hdt. 7.229: Aristodemos chooses to return to Sparta, while Eurytos is led into battle. Hdt. 7.230: Aristodemos sent out as a messenger, tarried on his return, and missed the battle. Hdt. 7.231: Pantites sent as messenger to Thessaly.
[357] Marincola 2016, 229-30.
[358] Hdt. 7.231. For the 'tremblers' in Sparta: Ducat 2006b.
[359] Herodotus is not always explicit when he gains information from an inscription: West 1985, 303.

learning the names of *all* of the 300, even those who were consciously excluded from a permanent monument.

I turn now to the general picture of commemoration in the wake of the Persian Wars to determine whether such a monument would belong in a fifth-century context. What follows is intended as a broad-strokes reconstruction of commemoration in Sparta and Greece more widely as far as is relevant to the potential existence of a monument for the Thermopylai dead. For a more detailed review of Spartan burial practices, see Chapter 5.

From the end of the fifth-century comes the only securely identified example of a Spartan *polyandrion* (Section 3.2), built in 403 in the Athenian Kerameikos. The most important detail of this tomb for the present discussion is the inscription which probably named all of the dead.[360] It is also apparent that individual Spartans who died on campaign were honoured with small scale private memorials bearing their names and the words *en polemoi*, 'in war'.[361] These *en polemoi* stelai span several centuries, but the earliest examples can be dated to the second-half of the fifth-century.[362] In contrast to the stele reported by Pausanias, neither the inscription in the Kerameikos nor any of the *en polemoi* stelai include patronymics. It is also significant that the Kerameikos tomb was made for the Lakedaimonians, as opposed to 'Spartiates' alone (see Section 2.2), while the geographical spread of the *en polemoi* stelai suggests that some may have been set up for Perioikoi.[363] Therefore, by the end of the fifth-century there was a tradition of naming at least some of

[360] *IG* II^2, 11678.
[361] For an up-to-date catalogue of these stones: Christesen 2018, Appendix 8. For discussion: Low 2006 and this work, Chapter 5.
[362] *IG* V,1 701; 707; 1124.
[363] Low 2006, 89-90.

the Lakedaimonian war dead, both at the place of burial and at home in the form of cenotaphs.

The picture of Spartan burial practice in the sixth-century is rather more difficult to reconstruct. We do, however, hear of the dead of the 'battle of the Champions' fought between 300 picked men from Argos and Sparta respectively.[364] The Spartan dead from this battle occupied an important position in the commemorative consciousness of the Spartans, and they were celebrated as part of the prestigious Gymnopaidiai in Sparta.[365] However, they were celebrated as collective group, rather than named as individuals.[366] Based on the picture of commemoration in the late-fifth-century, we can conclude that during the *c.*150 year gap between the battle of Champions and the burial of Spartan dead in the Kerameikos, a tradition developed in which the individual dead could be named, although it is not clear that this was ever a 'standard' Spartan practice.

Also of some significance to this debate are inscribed lists of names, probably representing victors in a variety of athletic, equestrian, or perhaps even musical events held during festivals in Lakonia. In particular, two examples from Sparta and two from Geronthrai are dated *c.*500 on the basis of their letter forms.[367] Lists such as these may have allowed Hellanikos of Lesbos (fifth-century) to compile a list of victors in the Karneian games.[368] These inscriptions serve a very different purpose from epitaphs for the dead, but their existence does demonstrate that towards the end of the sixth and into the early-fifth-

[364] The battle can be dated *c.* 550 based on Hdt. 1.82, who places it during Croesus' reign in Lydia (*c.* 560-547). Paus. 2.38.5 for polyandria on the battlefield. For further discussion of the battle, the site, and the dead, see this work Chapter 6.
[365] Petterson 1992, 42-3; 51.
[366] Low 2011, 6.
[367] Jeffery 1990, 201, Lakonia Cat. Nos. 44 (*SEG* xi. 638), 47 (*IG* V,1 357) (both Sparta) and 45 (*IG* V,1 1134); 46 (*IG* V,1 1133) (both Geronthrai).
[368] Athen. 635e-f. Hodkinson 2009, 156-7.

century, official lists were appearing in Sparta in some context. This does not mean that the dead of Thermopylai must have been honoured by having their names inscribed, but it does demonstrate that a list of names would not be entirely out of place in early-fifth-century Sparta.

Even before the second Persian invasion in 480, it appears that the Athenians had erected a monument, which included a casualty list for the dead of Marathon.[369] It has also been suggested that the casualty lists of Athens were read aloud as part of public commemoration,[370] and that such a practice could also have taken place in Sparta.[371] From the sixth-century, we hear from Herodotus that the Samians set up a public memorial with the names of 11 captains who refused to abandon their post in a sea fight with the Phoenicians.[372] This is not as inclusive as listing the names of all the dead citizens from a battle in the Athenian manner, but demonstrates a further move towards lists honouring noteworthy individuals. After the expulsion of the Persians from Greece in 479, the Corinthians not only adorned the tomb of their dead from the battle of Salamis with an inscription, but also set up a cenotaph for their dead at the Isthmus.[373] No casualty list is mentioned as part of these monuments, but verses on a tomb and a memorial set up closer to home are nonetheless significant. Similarly, Megara was reported by Pausanias to have set up a memorial in the city for their own dead of the Persian Wars which bore verse epigrams that could conceivably belong to the fifth-century.[374]

[369] *IG* I^3, 503-4; *SEG* 56.430. Lyc. 1.109. For summaries of content and meaning: Keesling 2012; Janko 2014.
[370] Ebbott 2000, 91-4.
[371] Low 2011, 4.
[372] Hdt. 6.14.3.
[373] Plut. *Mor*. 870e-f. Page (1981, 200-206) believes that the various Corinthian verses belong to the fifth-century but should not be ascribed to Simonides as they often are.
[374] Paus. 1.43.3 literally refers to graves (τάφοι), yet their dead were probably interred on the battlefield. Page (1981, 213-5) sees no reason that the accompanying epigram should not belong to the early-fifth-century.

The final point of consideration for this monument is the poem of Simonides in honour of the Spartan dead of Thermopylai.[375] In particular, phrases such as βωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφος (their grave is an altar) and ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅδε σηκὸς (this sepulchre of valiant men) point to some form of monument for the Thermopylai dead which served as the venue for performance of the poem. The word σηκὸς, translated rather poetically here as 'sepulchre',[376] may also refer to a sacred precinct.[377] It is therefore difficult to say with confidence whether the poem is being performed over a single monument, or within a delineated area which may have contained multiple monuments, though the former seems more likely in conjunction with the singular 'altar' mentioned earlier in the poem. A memorial of some description for the dead of Thermopylai is therefore strongly implied.[378] It cannot be ruled out that the poem was meant to be performed in the pass of Thermopylai itself,[379] yet much stronger arguments place the performance of the poem in Sparta.[380] The exact position of any memorial for the Thermopylai dead is dependent upon the tombs of Leonidas and Pausanias discussed in the next section (see also Chapter 6).

In summary, there is good reason to believe that some sort of memorial was set up in Sparta for the dead of Thermopylai soon after the battle. This fits with the efforts displayed by other Greek cities to celebrate and commemorate their own dead of the Persian Wars and provides a natural setting for the performance of Simonides' poem. Pausanias only refers to

[375] Simonides fr. 231 (Diod. 11.11.6).
[376] σηκὸς can certainly refer to burial places: Plut. Kim. 8.6 refers to Kimon locating the σηκὸς of Theseus.
[377] For example: Hdt. 4.62.2. It could also carry the meaning of a pen or fold for rearing young livestock (e.g., Hom. *Il*. 18.589; *Od.* 9.219). Plato. *Rep*. 460c refers to a σηκὸς as a metaphorical enclosure to which the children of the 'good' will go.
[378] Podlecki 1968, 258-62 argues that the poem was designed to be performed informally at private gatherings. This is strongly refuted by Molyneux 1992, 185-6, who emphasises that 'this σηκὸς' should be taken literally.
[379] Molyneux 1992, 186-7.
[380] In particular, the fact that the battle needs to be specified suggests that the performance is taking place elsewhere (Low 2011, 5). Page (1981, 189-90) stresses the same rule is true for epigrams, particularly of the Archaic and Classical periods). Bowra (1933, 279) and Steiner (1999) also place the performance of the poem in Sparta.

300 Lakedaimonians at Thermopylai (as opposed to 1000), and so it seems safe to believe that the stele he saw named only the Spartiate dead.[381] Herodotus' claim that he had learned the names of all of the 300, as well as his insistence that there were only Spartiates and Helots at Thermopylai also suggests that, if he did see a stele, only Spartiates were named. If there were any Perioikoi at Thermopylai, they were probably not named on the stele, which may serve to further explain Herodotus' silence on their contribution to the battle. As noted previously (Chapter 2.2), sixth-century victory dedications were made in the name of either the Spartiates or the Lakedaimonians, while after the Persian Wars the term Lakedaimonians became dominant. A stele bearing the names of Spartiates alone might therefore be indicative of an earlier creation. However, the monumental topography of Sparta underwent major changes between the fifth-century and Pausanias' visit, and a stele set up in the Roman period could also conceivably focus on the sacrifice of the famous 300 Spartans at the expense of the Perioikoi. The evidence therefore shows that a list of the names of the Thermopylai dead would not have been out of place in fifth-century Sparta, but equally does not conclusively demonstrate that there must have been such an inscription. Within this work I shall therefore proceed with the belief that a memorial of some sort was set up in the wake of the Persian Wars, while treating the potential inclusion of an inscribed list of names with more caution.

3.3.2. Monuments for Leonidas – A Stone Lion and a Tomb

Leonidas, the hero of Thermopylai, earned such distinction and enjoyed so significant a legacy in Sparta that he received not one funerary monument but perhaps as many as three.

[381] Paus. 10.20.

Two monuments are connected with Leonidas' physical remains: a lion erected in the pass at Thermopylai during the fifth-century, and a less-securely dateable tomb in Sparta described by Pausanias.[382] The two are inexorably linked, for reasons which will be set out fully below.

The sole literary source for the existence at Thermopylai of a stone lion is Herodotus,[383] who mentions the monument as a reference point for the hill upon which the Spartans made their last stand, rather than as a focal point of his description:

> Ὁ δὲ κολωνὸς ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ὅκου νῦν ὁ λίθινος λέων ἕστηκε ἐπί Λεωνίδῃ.
>
> This hill is at the entrance (to the pass), where now the stone lion in honour of Leonidas has been set up.[384]

The Kolonos (hill) at Thermopylai has been identified as the hill where the Greek dead were buried, and therefore by proxy as the hill upon which Herodotus states the Spartans and Thespians made their last stand.[385] The use of the lion as evidence of where the last stand took place suggests a conspicuous and relatively well-known monument. Herodotus may also have invoked the placement of the lion as justification for this preferred version of events.[386]

Archaeological investigation of the site of Thermopylai has proved exceedingly difficult.[387] Preliminary excavations of the Kolonos returned a great number of Assyrian and Egyptian

[382] Hdt. 7.225.2; Paus. 3.14.1.
[383] It is notably absent from Strabo's description of the site of Thermopylai (9.4.12-16). Pausanias (4.35.9) claimed to have visited the site but provides no description of the monuments erected there.
[384] Hdt. 7.225.2.
[385] Hdt. 7.228.1.
[386] By contrast, the 'legend' the Spartans and Thespians cut down in the Persian camp, rather than making a last stand on the hill: Diod. 11.10.4; Plut. *Mor*. 866a. Flower 1998, 377.
[387] Marinatos 1940, later supplemented by an English language guide to the site (Marinatos 1951). See also Kanellopoulos 2014.

arrowheads,[388] and one Greek spear-butt.[389] The top of the Kolonos had undergone major changes, while excavations on the sides and base were cut short by a four metre thick layer of 'cement-like' stone formed by the salt springs, and a water table which in places was as little as two meters below ground level.[390] In addition, geological examination of the wider part of the pass has revealed that the layer of the fifth-century battlefield is as much as 20m below the current ground surface.[391]

The remains of a (roughly) square base in approximately the correct position for the stone lion at Thermopylai were described by Kroll and Mittelhaus and have been connected to the monument.[392] However, subsequent explorations of the pass make no explicit mention of this base. The remains of multiple square structures are described on the Kolonos, but these all appear to date to later periods.[393]

The Greeks were all eventually buried in one tomb, for Strabo speaks of a single polyandrion at Thermopylai,[394] but whether they were interred quickly by the Persians (after Xerxes had made a show of their corpses)[395] or only later, once the Greeks regained access Thermopylai, is unclear.[396] The burial of those who died before Leonidas dismissed the allies should be considered: if there was eventually only one common tomb, it strongly suggests

[388] Snodgrass 1967, 99-100.
[389] Robertson 1939, 200.
[390] Marinatos 1940, 340; 1951, 68.
[391] Kraft et al. 1987, esp. 194. Marinatos (1951, 67-8) reached a depth of eight metres, but the layers were still Byzantine.
[392] Kroll and Mittelhaus 1934, 2414; Duffy 2018, 103-4. The base was described as a mix of limestone, breccia, and sandstone, not joined with mortar, and therefore conceivably dated to the fifth-century.
[393] Marinatos 1951, 64-6. One prominent structure, described as having a limestone core surrounded by friable salt deposits and traces of stucco, may be tentatively equated with the base seen by Kroll and Mittelhaus. The structure seen by Marinatos, however, dates to the Byzantine period.
[394] Strab. 9.4.2; 9.4.16.
[395] Hdt. 8.25-6 for the display of the Spartan, Thespian, and Helot corpses. Paus. 9.32.9 explicitly states that the Lakedaimonians were buried by Xerxes.
[396] Pritchett 1985 (IV), 168.

that all the Greek dead were brought together for burial. In this case, the arrowheads excavated in the Kolonos do not necessarily prove that this was the site of a last stand. They could simply have been lying on the ground that either the Persians or, more probably, the Greeks later used to raise a mound of earth over the dead, as is the case of the tumulus at Marathon.[397] Whether Leonidas was singled out for special burial is unclear, but his corpse was beheaded and the head impaled by Xerxes, implying that his head at least lay apart from the bodies of the rest of the Greek dead and could be distinguished later.[398]

It is conceivable that the lion bore some manner of inscription, which made its association with Leonidas explicit, although no explicit reference to such an inscription has survived. There is an epigram, attributed to Simonides in the *Palatine Anthology*, which appears to address Leonidas directly:

> εὐκλέας αἶα κέκευθε, Λεωνίδα, οἳ μετὰ σεῖο τῇδ' ἔθανον, Σπάρτης εὐρυχόρου βασιλεῦ, πλείστων δὴ τόξων τε καὶ ὠκυπόδων σθένος ἵππων Μηδείων ἀνδρῶν δεξάμενοι πολέμῳ
>
> Famous are they, Leonidas, King of Sparta of the broad dancing places, who died here with you and have been buried, receiving in war the multitude of bows and swift footed horses of the Medes.[399]

As the epigram refers directly to Leonidas, it has been suggested that it adorned his tomb in Sparta (see below),[400] although Molyneux sees no reason why it could not have stood at Thermopylai.[401] If it did ever stand at Thermopylai, the stone lion is a more plausible

[397] Flower 1998, 378.
[398] Hdt. 7.238; 9.78.3.
[399] Anth. Pal. 7.301; Page 1981, 196-7 ('Simonides' VII).
[400] West 1965, 124. Duffy 2018, 109-10
[401] Molyneux 1992, 181.

recipient than any of the inscribed stelai which stood in the pass.[402] However, Page has dismissed this epigram as 'mediocre' and suggested it should be considered a product of the Hellenistic period, rather than be attributed to Simonides or another fifth-century poet.[403]

Duffy, following West, suggests that the lion may have been erected only after Leonidas' bones were removed to Sparta,[404] making the lion an almost compensatory offering, possibly to serve the same apotropaic function as the bones of Leonidas may previously have been performing.[405] However, the date of the removal of Leonidas' bones is contested, while the presence in the pass of at least one epigram of Simonides, who died *c*.466, makes the lack of a memorial for Leonidas before *c*.440 seem unlikely. The lion is therefore better understood as a funerary monument for Leonidas set up soon after the Persian Wars and that, at this early time, there was no thought of returning his bones to Sparta.[406] A lion represented a suitable funerary monument for Leonidas, not simply as a pun on his name, but also in the wider context of the use of lions in Archaic funerary architecture,[407] the aforementioned apotropaic nature of lions, the allusions to comparisons between heroes and lions in epic poetry,[408] and the links to the Persians and other peoples of the East.[409] The link to the Persian royal house, who used the lion as their symbol, is part taunt, part

[402] Strab. 9.4.2 has five inscribed stelai. Four of these are confidently identified as the epigrams for the 4000 Peloponnesians, the Lakedaimonians, Megistias, and the Opuntian Lokrians. The fifth is generally thought to have borne an inscription for the Thespians, recorded by Stephanus of Byzantium in his entry on Thespiae.
[403] Page 1981, 196-7.
[404] West 1965, 185; Duffy 2018, 103.
[405] On the apotropaic nature of lions as funerary markers: Kosmopoulou 2002, 45.
[406] Corbett (1949) goes further and argues that Herodotus' words make clear that Leonidas' bones were still in place when he was writing.
[407] Lethaby 1918; Ridgway 1993, 220-3. We also have *Anth*. *Pal*. 344A, an epigram attributed to Simonides which refers to a lion on a funerary marker. At least three sculptures of lions, possibly serving as funerary monuments, have been discovered on Kythera (Sourlas 2012, 87-91).
[408] Markoe (1989, 114-5) lists 28 instances of a hero 'like a lion attacking (various prey animals) and five examples of heroes moving or acting 'like a lion'.
[409] Markoe 1989, 105-9. In Archaic Athens, lions were popular, possibly due to this diplomatic link to Eastern visitors. After 490/80 there is a dramatic disappearance of lions from Athenian art (Kosmopoulou 2002, 95-9).

appropriation; a future invading force of Persians would be met with their own Royal symbol standing guard upon the tomb of a mighty Spartan king who similarly guarded Greece.

Whether the lion explicitly served as a grave marker for Leonidas is debated, based on the meaning of 'ἐπί Λεωνίδῃ', which can be taken to mean either 'upon the tomb of Leonidas' in a local sense,[410] or 'in honour of Leonidas', based largely on Homeric uses of 'ἐπί'.[411] Either translation is certainly tenable, but the exact meaning is extremely significant for our understanding of both the purpose of the lion, as well as the subsequent removal of Leonidas' bones to Sparta. This latter event is not explicitly mentioned by any source before Pausanias in the second-century CE, who states

> τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ Παυσανίου τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσιν ἡγησαμένου μνῆμά ἐστι, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Λεωνίδου - καὶ λόγους κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λέγουσι καὶ τιθέασιν γῶάνα, ἐν ᾧ πλὴν Σπαρτιατῶν ἄλλῳ γε οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι -, τὰ δὲ ὀστᾶ τοῦ Λεωνίδου τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἀνελομένου ἐκ Θερμοπυλῶν τοῦ Παυσανίου.
>
> Opposite the theatre, there is the memorial of Pausanias, the general at Plataia, and another of Leonidas – and every year they deliver speeches over them and lay on a contest in which no one competes except Spartiates – the bones of Leonidas having been taken up from Thermopylai 40 years later by Pausanias.[412]

If we briefly ignore the central part of the passage about the speeches and contests, it can be seen that the final part acts as a qualifier for the first: there is a tomb for Leonidas in Sparta, his bones having been brought back from Thermopylai (where he was originally

[410] Corbett 1949; Pritchett 1985, 171.
[411] E.g., How and Wells 1912 (II), 285; West 1965, 185; Duffy 2018, 103. Forman (1894, 26-8; 61) collects several examples where ἐπί is taken to mean 'in honour of' and does offer this passage as an example, but also concludes that 'the local sense seems sufficient'. This is also the only example Forman gives from Herodotus in which ἐπί is translated in this manner, as opposed to many which denote superposition.
[412] Paus. 3.14.1.

buried) 40 years later (440/39) by Pausanias.[413] This presents a problem, as there is no suitable Pausanias in a position to retrieve the bones for reburial at this date. Pausanias the regent, commander at Plataia and the subject of the first part of the passage, died sometime between 471 and 465, while Pausanias II was at most seven years old in 440. Below I consider the three major scholarly attempts to address this issue: that '40 years' should be amended to read either '80 years' or 'four years', or that '40 years' should stand but that the name of a relative of Pausanias has been lost from the text.

The first argument, to amend the text to read '80 years', would place the removal of Leonidas' bones in the reign of Pausanias II, grandson of Pausanias the regent.[414] It requires that at some point in the transmission of the text a π, shorthand for 80, has been mistaken for μ (= 40). It also allows Herodotus' phrase 'ἐπί Λεωνίδῃ' to mean literally 'upon Leonidas', rather than demanding 'in Leonidas' honour', as the bones of the king would still have been in the pass at the time of Herodotus' writing. The major problem with this interpretation is that Pausanias (the traveller) makes no attempt to distinguish between Pausanias the regent, explicitly labelled 'τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσιν ἡγησαμένου' (commander at Plataia), and Pausanias II, which is at odds with his practice elsewhere.[415] Finally, it would require the event to be passed over by Xenophon, who otherwise treats the period *c*.400 in some detail, although it is dangerous to rely on such *argumenta e silentio*.

The second solution is an emendation to 4 years (Δ (= 4) in place of M), to coincide with the period of the regent's activity.[416] However, Pausanias was probably at Kolonai in the Troad

[413] Presumably 40 years later is a reference to either Thermopylai (480), Plataia (479), or Leonidas' subsequent burial (*c*.479).
[414] Corbett 1949.
[415] Connor 1979, 23. Paradiso 2009, 525. Pausanias the regent and Pausanias II are clearly distinguished at 3.5.1. See also Paus. 3.3.5; 6.10.4; 6.12.2; 8.5.13 for examples of distinguishing individuals of the same name.
[416] Paradiso 2009, 542-6.

for much of 476,[417] while in 477 he had been recalled from Byzantium to face allegations from the other Greeks concerning his abuse of power.[418] Thus, while he had the motivation to recover Leonidas' bones in order to repair his own damaged reputation, the means to do so may have been beyond him: his second recall to Sparta saw him imprisoned, subsequently released under suspicion and investigation, before he finally died after taking sanctuary in the temple of Athena Chalkioikos.[419] Furthermore, if we accept the emendation to '4 years', it requires an explanation for the silence of Herodotus and Thucydides concerning the removal of the bones of Leonidas, in whom Herodotus has a strong interest, by Pausanias, whose career post-Plataia is of great interest to Thucydides. It also demands that 'ἐπί Λεωνίδῃ' be translated 'in honour of Leonidas', rather than denoting position.

The third possible solution, advanced by Connor, is that the name of a son of Pausanias the regent has been lost from the text.[420] This preserves the time (40 years later) and the identity of the Pausanias in the passage. The argument hinges on the presence of the definite article with the name Pausanias in the last line; 'τοῦ Παυσανίου'. Connor states: 'in particular he (Pausanias) avoids the use of the article with a personal name that is the subject of a genitive absolute'.[421] The most likely candidate to have dropped out of the text is Kleomenes, who served as regent for Pausanias II and would have had the means and motive to return the bones of Leonidas *c*.440.[422] The restoration of a name to the text is one hurdle for this argument; another is the silence of Thucydides. It allows for some ambiguity

[417] White 1964, 144.
[418] Thuc. 1.95.3.
[419] Thuc. 1.131-4.
[420] Connor 1979.
[421] Connor 1979, 23 and n. 10. Only one of 26 examples from Book 3 includes the article before a personal name.
[422] Thuc. 3.26. describes Kleomenes commanding an invasion of Attika in 427 in place of Pausanias II, who was still a minor; Connor 1979, 25-7.

as to the meaning of the lion at Thermopylai, based on whether Herodotus composed this part of his history before the removal of Leonidas' bones in 440.[423]

None of the three solutions is strong enough to impose itself onto the text, nor is any so without merit that can be completely discounted. It is perhaps simplest to conclude that Pausanias is mistaken, or has been misled, either by an inhabitant of second-century CE Sparta, or by one of his non-Herodotean sources, but this too is a dangerous path to tread. The physical remains of Leonidas would be a powerful political tool, whether or not he fully attained the status of a 'hero' on a Pan-Hellenic scale.[424] The political power invested in his physical remains means that there would be a clear motive to return those remains to Sparta at any point in its history, which does not help in clearing up the Pausanias passage. The position of the bones in Thermopylai, the pass in which Leonidas fell while defending not just Sparta, or the Peloponnese, but Boiotia and Attica too, marked Leonidas as a Pan-Hellenic figure, above and beyond his station as a Spartan king.

The removal of his bones to Sparta must therefore be seen not simply as the attempt of an individual to win acclaim, but as an act which would have major consequences for Spartan relations with the Greeks between Thermopylai and the Isthmus. The removal of Leonidas' bones would therefore be quite radical as early as 476, especially after the propagandic disaster of Pausanias' inscription on the Delphic tripod claiming sole credit for the victory. *c.*400 Sparta stood at the height of its power; the recently defeated, and even more recently

[423] Connor 1979, 25.

[424] The bones of heroes could be claimed and moved in order to harness the power of the dead or gain political acclaim. Cf. the recovery of the bones of Orestes from Tegea by the Spartans (Hdt. 1.67-8) and the return of the bones of Theseus to Athens by Kimon (Plut. *Theseus*. 36.1-2). Kings of Sparta received heroic honours from their own community, but the extent to which they were regarded as 'heroes' by other Greeks is unknown (Cartledge 1988; Parker 1988). Sparta also shows some evidence of heroization at an earlier date than other Greek cities (Currie 2005, 100).

reconciled, Athens was re-integrated into the Spartan alliance and attentions turned eastwards, towards Persia. Against this backdrop, it is hard to envisage the removal of Leonidas' remains from Thermopylai, where he died defending, among others, Athens. 440 may therefore represent the most suitable historical context of the three options, underscored by rising tensions between Athens and Sparta. 40 years often marks a period of intense commemoration, as those who remember an event no longer find themselves in the majority.[425] I would therefore suggest that retaining the date of 440 for the removal of Leonidas' bones is the most sensible of the three options, but also that this date is too insecure to contribute to any major conclusions.

To date, there are no remains excavated in Sparta which can be securely connected with the tomb of Leonidas. The structure known as the Leonidaion, located at the intersection of Agidos and Irakleidon Streets in modern Sparta, captured the imagination of various early excavators as a potential site for the tomb,[426] but the position is difficult to defend. Waldstein, in his brief investigation of the site in the 1890s, identified the structure as a temple, rather than a tomb, and found no further remains of antiquity in the immediate vicinity.[427] The subsequent discovery of a late-sixth-century dedication of Aiglatas to Karneios,[428] and an early-second-century CE inscription honouring Tiberius Claudius Brasidas, priest of Karneios 'of the house' and 'of the course',[429] in the vicinity of the Leonidaion strongly suggest that the structure could be identified with the temple of Karneios seen by Pausanias.[430] The various reconstructions of the monumental topography

[425] See Introduction for the significance of 40 years in cultural memory.
[426] Crosby 1893, 353. Crosby also suggests that the structure could be the enshrined tomb of Kastor, seen by Pausanias (3.13.1).
[427] Waldstein 1893, 31.
[428] *IG* V,1 222. Nenci 2018; Christesen 2019, 118-9, no. 3.
[429] *IG* V,1 497. Also, *IG* V,1 496.
[430] Paus. 3.13.3.

of Sparta as described by Pausanias offer good support to an identification with Karneios, but render an identification of the structure as the tomb of Leonidas considerably more difficult.[431]

A further problem with the dating of the tomb of Leonidas in Sparta is the second tomb, that of Pausanias the regent. From Thucydides, we know that the regent was interred just outside the precinct of the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos by order of the Delphic oracle:

> καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμέλλησαν μὲν ἐς τὸν Καιάδαν (οὗπερ τοὺς κακούργους) ἐσβάλλειν. ἔπειτα ἔδοξε πλησίον που κατορύξαι. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς τόν τε τάφον ὕστερον ἔχρησε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις μετενεγκεῖν οὗπερ ἀπέθανε (καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ προτεμενίσματι, ὃ γραφῇ στῆλαι δηλοῦσι)
>
> And they thought at first to throw him into the Kaiadas (where they throw criminals), but afterwards they resolved to bury him somewhere nearby. But later the god at Delphi directed the Lakedaimonians to transfer the tomb to where he died (and now he lies in the entrance of the Temenos, as the inscription on the stele shows).[432]

This passage categorically states that, at the time of Thucydides' writing (probably sometime in the 420s), Pausanias was not buried to the south of the future site of the Roman theatre but had an inscribed grave stele at the entrance to the Temenos of Athena Chalkioikos. In the 1920s, following the discovery of the so-called 'Leonidas' statue, Woodward suggested that Pausanias' phrase 'τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ' 'opposite the theatre' should not be interpreted as facing the theatre (i.e., south of the theatre, behind the stage), but instead mean behind the *cavea*, facing the stage, and therefore refer to the precinct of Athena

[431] Sanders 2009, 201-2.
[432] Thuc. 1.134.4. The verb ἔχρησε, from χράω, suggests a divine proclamation made by the Delphic oracle, which ordered the Lakedaimonians to move the body.

Chalkioikos.[433] This position has found some recent support, most notably from Greco and Voza, who identify a street that exits the agora near the Skias and goes straight towards the *cavea* of the theatre.[434] However, many of the reconstructions of Pausanias' route through the city continue to place the tombs south of the Roman theatre, behind the *skene*.[435] Two statues of Pausanias the regent were dedicated at the entrance to the precinct of Athena Chalkioikos, an area described in depth by Pausanias after the completion of his four itineraries from the agora.[436] However, as the precise eastward extent of the *temenos* of Athena Chalkioikos is not known,[437] it can still be argued that the tomb of Pausanias was not moved from Thucydides' day, and that Pausanias the traveller described tombs which stood at the entrance to the *temenos* before continuing on to the theatre (see Chapter 6 for reconstructions of Pausanias' route through Sparta).[438] This location presents a slightly more awkward fit with the wording of Pausanias,[439] but the tombs could still be described as opposite a part of the theatre. Studies which focus on Roman Sparta prefer to place the tombs in the lower position, south of the theatre, from which they would have been visible before the construction of the permanent scene building in the second-half of the first-century CE.[440] If we accept this line of argument, we must conclude that the tomb of Pausanias was moved from the entrance to the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos to the area

[433] Woodward and Hobling 1925, 264.
[434] Greco and Voza 2016, 345.
[435] Stibbe 1989; Kourinou 2000, esp. 288; Sanders 2009, fig. 20.2. For a reconstruction of Pausanias' Spartan itinerary, see this work Chapter 6.
[436] Statues of Pausanias: Thuc. 1.134.4. Paus. 3.17. provides a lengthy description of the Spartan acropolis, with considerable attention paid to the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos (3.17.2-3). This sanctuary is subsequently used as the reference point for Pausanias' description of the surrounding monuments (3.17.3-6). The two statues are placed next to the altar (3.17.7) and there follows a story about the regent in Byzantium (3.17.8-9). If Pausanias' tomb were still visible at the entrance to the precinct, it seems very strange that it would not be mentioned here.
[437] Dickens 1906, 142.
[438] Förtsch 2001a, 57 n. 493; Low 2011, 9-10; Greco and Voza 2016, 345.
[439] Pausanias sees the cenotaph of Brasidas first, then comes to the theatre, opposite which were the tombs. If the tombs were not south of the theatre, Pausanias ought to have seen them before the theatre.
[440] Spawforth 2012, 124; Kennell 2017, 652. For the phases of the theatre: Waywell et al. 1998.

south of the Roman theatre at some point between the fifth-century and the second-century CE. It is hard to imagine that this move came soon after a divine decree from the Delphic Oracle commanding the body be interred in a particular spot. Therefore, it is most sensible to envisage this second transfer of the tomb of Pausanias happening in the Hellenistic or Roman period, when the commemoration of the Persian Wars in Sparta was approached with vigour once more.

Even before the construction of the Roman theatre, this was a relatively central spot in Sparta, close to the major temples and monuments of the acropolis, and accessible from the agora. We may also reasonably speculate that Leonidas had some form of burial monument in Sparta before the return of his physical remains from Thermopylai, for Herodotus speaks of the Spartans burying an image of a king who dies in battle.[441] Herodotus was probably making a broad generalisation from the case of Leonidas, and we know that by the fourth-century the Spartans made a conscious effort to return the bodies of kings who died abroad.[442] It therefore follows that there would have been some sort of tomb created soon after 480 in which the image of Leonidas was interred. We might expect this to have been in the traditional Agiad royal cemetery on the outskirts of the village of Pitana,[443] and that the tomb eventually seen by Pausanias was constructed later, on the occasion of the removal of his bones to Sparta.

In summary, there is little we can see with confidence about any of the memorials set up for Leonidas in antiquity. A stone lion was certainly set up at Thermopylai, but whether this marked the king's physical grave is uncertain. From the available evidence, we cannot be

[441] Hdt. 6.58.2.
[442] Cartledge 1987, 333-4.
[443] Paus. 3.14.2.

confident of the dating of a tomb bearing the physical remains of Leonidas in Sparta. This is not to say that there was not a memorial of any sort for Leonidas, merely that we cannot confidently associate the structures seen by Pausanias with Classical monuments. Whether this tomb was eventually created next to that of Pausanias the regent, or whether the latter was moved in a reorganisation at some point, also remains unclear.

3.3.3. The Persian Stoa

The earliest source for the appearance of the Persian Stoa is the first-century writer Vitruvius, who describes the construction of the monument as follows:

> Non minus Lacones, Pausania Agesilae filio duce, Plataico proelio pauca manu infinitum exercitus Persarum cum superavissent, acto cum gloria triumph spoliorum et praedae, porticum Persicam ex manubiis, laudis et virtutis civium indicem, victoriae posteris pro tropaeo constituerunt. Ibique captivorum simulacra barbarico vestis ornatu, superbia meritis contumeliis punita, sustinentia tectum conlocaverunt, uti et hostes horrescerent timore eorum fortitudinis effectus, et cives id exemplum virtutis aspicientes gloria erecti ad defendendam libertatem essent parati. Itaque ex eo multi statuas Persicas sustinentes epistylia et ornamenta eorum conlocaverunt, et ita ex eo argumento varietates egregias auxerunt operibus.
>
> Not less the Laconians under the command of Pausanias, son of Agesilas,[444] having conquered with a small force an infinitely large army of Persians, gloriously celebrated a triumph with spoils and plunder, and, from the booty, built the Persian colonnade to signify the merit and courage of the citizens and to be a trophy of victory to their descendants. There they placed statues of their captives in barbaric dress – punishing their pride with deserved insults – to support the roof, that their enemies might quake, fearing the workings of such bravery, and their fellow citizens looking upon a pattern of manhood might by such glory be roused and prepared for the defence of freedom. Therefrom many have set up Persian statues to support architraves and their ornaments. This motive has supplied for their works some striking variations.[445]

[444] Vitruvius is mistaken here: Pausanias' father was Kleombrotos.
[445] Vitr. 1.1.6 (trans. Loeb).

Although there are several controversies surrounding Vitruvius' story on the origin of Caryatid-style columns, the statues of Persians holding up the roof appear as a famous feature of the Persian Stoa, built using spoils taken from the Persians at Plataia. This is in-keeping with the other literary description, from Pausanias:

> ἐπιφανέστατον δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστιν ἣν στοὰν Περσικὴν ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ λαφύρων ποιηθεῖσαν τῶν Μηδικῶν: ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ αὐτὴν ἐς μέγεθος το νῦν καὶ ἐς κόσμον τὸν παρόντα μεταβεβλήκασιν. εἰσὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν κιόνων Πέρσαι λίθου λευκοῦ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Μαρδόνιος Γωβρύου. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Ἀρτεμισία, θυγάτηρ μὲν Λυγδάμιδος, ἐβασίλευσε δὲ Ἁλικαρνασσοῦ.
>
> The most striking feature of the agora is the stoa that they call Persian, made from booty from the Medes. Over time they have altered it to be as large and well-ordered as it is now. On the pillars are Persians of white stone, including Mardonius, son of Gobryas. (An image of) Artemisia, daughter of Lygdamis, queen of Halicarnassus, has also been made.[446]

Pausanias provides the added details that the structure visible in his day had been altered from its original construction, that the statues of the Persians were made from white stone (probably marble), and that they included personalised images of Mardonius and Artemisia, both of whom feature prominently in Herodotus' account of the Persian Wars.

The remains of a structure excavated by Christou in the 1960s have been plausibly identified with the Persian Stoa.[447] This structure included remains dateable to the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods, although the regular augmentations and eventual

[446] Paus. 3.11.3.

[447] Christou 1964, 112-20. Kourinou (2000, 99-114) weighs the evidence and argues convincingly for the identification of Christou's stoa with the Persian Stoa. Another stoa, close to the theatre, should not be associated with the Persian Stoa despite an archaising column (Waywell and Wilks 1994, 413-4). The foundations date to the second-century CE (Waywell and Wilks 1994, 387), later than Vitruvius' description of the Persian Stoa. Waywell 1999, 14.

destruction of the monument have led to convoluted stratigraphy. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to follow Christou's dating of the original foundations to the Classical period.

The columns carved in the shape of Persians have never been found, prompting considerable debate as to the chronology of their inclusion in the Persian Stoa. Spawforth draws two conclusions very relevant to the present work. Firstly, that the statues of Persians described by Pausanias must have belonged to a later (most likely, Roman) phase of the Persian Stoa, either as an innovation or replacing or supplementing earlier images of barbarians. Secondly, that statues of barbarians displayed either 'on' or 'in' columns (allowing for the flexibility of ἐπί), would have been out of place in Greek architecture of the first-half of the fifth-century.[448]

The first conclusion carries considerable weight, for white marble was a material closely associated with building projects in Sparta during the Roman period.[449] By contrast, the use of white marble in Archaic and Classical Sparta was rare, though not unheard of. In particular, the 'Leonidas' statue from Sparta, long thought to be made of Parian marble, is now linked to a small marble quarry in Lakonia. Indeed, there are three quarries throughout Lakonia which seem to have supplied small quantities of white marble in the Archaic and Classical periods.[450] The balance of probabilities for the use of white marble points towards the Roman period, but the availability of small quantities of suitable local stone means that we should not definitively conclude that white marble statues could not have adorned a major public monument in the early-fifth-century.

[448] Spawforth 2012, 118-9.
[449] Notably, the theatre. Spawforth 2012, 121-5.
[450] Christien 2017, 627-8. See also Kokkorou-Alevras et al. 2009.

The presence of Mardonius and, especially, Artemisia strongly imply additions made after the fifth-century. Mardonius, as commander of the Persians at Plataia, may have featured in Spartan thinking shortly after the war, but it seems unlikely that Artemisia would have merited inclusion. Her fame and prominence in later periods are probably mainly owed to Herodotus' special interest in her exploits as queen of his native city.[451]

If new statues of Persians were added, probably during the Roman period, this does not necessarily mean that they were an innovation. Spawforth's belief that such statues standing atop columns or set into niches would have been out of place in fifth-century Greece has some merit, but does not allow for similar, alternative arrangements involving caryatid-style columns, which could also meet the description of Pausanias.

The most famous Caryatids are those of the Erectheion in Athens, erected as part of the building program on the acropolis in the second-half of the fifth-century. However, Caryatids serving as columns can be seen as early as the mid-sixth-century, most prominently at Delphi, where they featured on both the Knidian and Siphnian Treasuries, erected *c.*544 and 525/4 respectively.[452] Outside of architecture, female figures are used as supports and handles for a wide range of objects throughout Archaic Greece (including Sparta).[453] Finds from Sparta or attributed to Lakonian workshops include mirror handles in the shape of female figures,[454]

Figure 12. Reconstruction of Archaic Lakonian perirrhanterion. Hamdorf 1974, abb.3

[451] Hdt. 7.99.1-3. On the role of Artemisia in Herodotus, and his special interest in her: Munson 1988.
[452] For recent summary: Neer 2001, esp. 290; 315-6. The caryatids on the Siphnian Treasury may even have been made in imitation of those on the Knidian Treasury.
[453] Schultz 2019, 109; 112.
[454] Förtsch 2001b, Abb. 43, 155, 157 (handles with no attachment); 154, 168 (mirrors with statuette as handle).

vessels which include figures holding or replacing handles,[455] and figurines with a distinctive trapezoid-shaped headdress.[456]

There are also several examples of *perirrhanteria* made from grey marble from Lakonia which include a standing Archaic *kore* as part of the structural design.[457] The example illustrated was found at Olympia and attributed to a Lakonian workshop (Fig. 12). The *kore* is convincingly reconstructed as part of a larger dedication in which the relief was placed upon the columnar pedestal of a *perirrhanterion*.[458] The *kore* takes on the appearance of supporting the bowl, despite being entirely decorative. In this arrangement, one could certainly describe the figure as being on (ἐπὶ) the column.

The Spartans were apparently particularly fond of dedications which took the form of a Caryatid-style statue standing beneath a tripod, with several seen at Amyklai by Pausanias.[459] Some of these statue/tripod pairings were said to be the work of Gitiadas, the famous bronze-worker who flourished towards the end of the sixth-century. There is also the Throne of Apollo at Amyklai, said to have been constructed by Bathykles of Magnesia (*c.*550),[460] which was described by Pausanias as being 'held up at the front, and identically at the back, by two Graces, and

Figure 13. Reconstruction of the Temple of Olympian Zeus, Akragas (490-480). Archaeological Museum at Agrigento. Source: author.

[455] Förtsch 2001b, Abb. 231, 238, 239-244, 246.
[456] Förtsch 2001b, Abb. 187, 188, 352, 355, 367. Similar headdresses are also visible in relief: Förtsch 2001b, Abb. 26, 29, 30.
[457] Boardman 1978, figs. 74-7. Seventh and sixth-century examples from Samos, Rhodes, Ptoon (Boiotia), Isthmia, Phigaleia, Selinous, plus two from Olympia and five from Lakonia. There are later examples from Delphi and Athens in Cycladic marbles. Boardman 2006, 26-27 for references and discussion.
[458] Förtsch 2001b, Abb. 164 = Olympia, Mus. Inv. Nr. 4/5.
[459] Paus. 3.18.7-8. Chamoux 1970 on this style more generally:
[460] Paus. 3.18.9.

two Seasons.'[461] There is considerable debate concerning the reconstruction of the throne and other monuments of the Amyklaion,[462] and as yet no statues have been identified with the Graces and Seasons described by Pausanias, yet the Greek text strongly suggests that the monumental throne included multiple figures serving as columns. This provides a potential further precedent for the use of figures in Spartan monumental architecture by the time of the construction of the Persian Stoa.

The male equivalents to Caryatids, known as Telamons (or Atlantes), appear mostly in the West. Once again, they feature prominently as handles and supports, but also appear in monumental form on the temple of Zeus at Akragas, built *c.*480-70.[463] The reconstructions of the temple (Fig. 13) show the Telamons arrayed on an upper level, between the columns which hold up the roof.[464] I would argue that these statues could be also described using ἐπί in relation to the columns. The Persian Stoa was eventually a two-storey structure,[465] and therefore it is quite conceivable that the Persian statues formed part of the upper level in a similar manner to the temple of Zeus.

Furthermore, the Telamons of the temple of Zeus at Akragas bear a striking resemblance to a barbarian figurine found in Sparta (Figs. 14 and 15). The structure which contained the figurine was dated to the Hellenistic period, as were many of the other figurines found inside, although some Archaic and Classical figurines were excavated as part of the assemblage.[466] Schneider describes the figurine as Hellenistic, yet also concludes that the

[461] Paus. 3.18.10.
[462] Faustoferri 1996; Delivorrias 2009; Bilis and Magnisali 2012.
[463] Marconi 2019, 445; 456, figs. 15.8; 15.16.
[464] Broucke (1996, esp. 291-318) places the Telamons inside the cella, but still at an elevated level.
[465] Christou 1964, 112-20; Kourinou 2001, 427-8. It is unclear whether the second storey was part of the Classical building or whether it was a latter addition. The Throne of Apollo at Amyklai is also thought to have been at least two (if not three) storeys high (Bilis and Magnisali 2012, 132), suggesting that the Spartans had already created a multi-storey monument before the Persian Stoa.
[466] Stainchaouer 1976, 248.

large beard on the statuette suggests an early-fifth-century date, based on stylistic comparisons with barbarians depicted in Athenian vase painting.[467] The position of the arms holding up the roof, just as in Vitruvius' description, supports the view that this figurine may have been created in imitation of the statues on the Persian Stoa.

Figure 14. Telamon from the Temple of Zeus (490-480). Source: Author

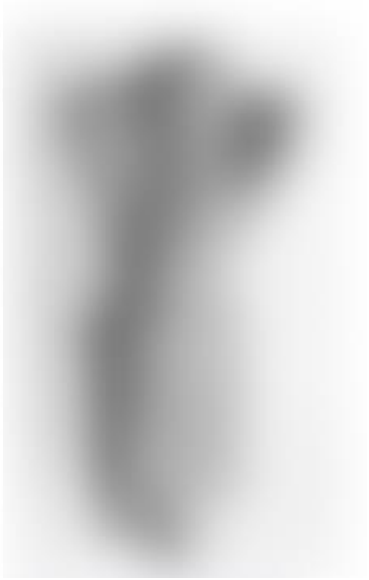

Figure 15. Barbarian Figurine, found in Sparta. (Stainchaouer 1976, pl. 186).

In light of this and the near contemporary fashion for Caryatid/Telamon style decoration in major building dedications, both in Sparta and at prominent locations throughout the Greek world, statues of Persians could have formed a part of an original fifth-century architectural design of the Persian Stoa. Therefore, the position adopted in this thesis is that the Persian Stoa was a monument created in the fifth-century and augmented over many years, in line

[467] Schneider 1986, 109-14. There is little, if any, typological reason for dating the figurine to the Hellenistic period. Rather, the date seems to be derived from the age of the structure in which it was found. If the figurine is indeed modelled after the columns of the Persian Stoa, this detail suggests that the columns themselves could be placed in the early-fifth-century, even if the figurine is dated later.

with Pausanias' testimony and the archaeological evidence. The white marble statues seen by Pausanias in the second-century CE, especially those of named individuals, were likely a product of the Roman period. However, these statues were probably not a Roman innovation, but replaced or augmented existing statues of Persians, which had been part of the structure from its initial construction. Without secure archaeological evidence, this position is necessarily speculative, yet there were certainly precedents for the use of statues on columns in this manner. It is also worth noting the Spartan taste for unusual building designs throughout the mid-late Archaic period, such as the Menelaion at Therapne, the throne of Apollo at Amyklai, and the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos on the acropolis.[468] The Persian Stoa, with its Persian Telamons holding up the roof, would fit well with these other Spartan building projects, while also being somewhat fashionable, and have a monumental contemporary in the temple of Zeus at Akragas.

[468] Cavanagh 2017, 67.

Chapter 4. Aniconism in Spartan Monuments

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I aim to analyse the uses and tension between 'aniconic' and 'iconic' Spartan monuments in comparison to art forms elsewhere in the Greek world. The striking difference in appearance between aniconic and iconic monuments marks one of the clearest delineations for a case study of artistic style in Sparta and ancient Greece more broadly during the sixth, fifth, and fourth-centuries. Firstly, I will seek to establish whether there existed a consistent theme in Sparta's monumental agenda relating to the use of aniconic and iconic forms in different contexts and, by considering ancient attitudes to aniconic forms, suggest the desired outcome on behalf of the Spartans. Secondly, an examination of the form taken by military and athletic victory monuments inside and outside of Spartan territory may help to determine the extent to which there was state domination of the monumental styles available to individual Spartiates. In doing so I aim to shed light on the tension that existed between individual Spartiates, as well as the tension between individuals and the state. Finally, I will consider the place occupied by the Aigospotamoi Monument in Delphi as the most prominent example of iconism in the context of Spartan military victory. Throughout this chapter attention will also be paid to the relationship between Spartan monuments and those of other contemporary Greek city states to further emphasise the extent to which the Spartans (both collectively and individually) attempted to stand out from the crowd, whether the Spartans could be considered innovative, and whether they were simply following external trends with regard to monumental forms.

The terms 'iconic' and 'aniconic' are not applied with any great consistency in scholarship.[469] Many studies have focused on the religious connotations of aniconism relating both to objects and empty spaces imbued with an 'index of divine presence'.[470] Scholarly approaches to aniconism are rooted in early Christianity and have struggled to shake off such religious roots.[471] Religion will, of course, still play a role in the interpretation of Spartan monuments, and it is impossible to ignore religious concerns in the ancient Greek world where gods and heroes were everywhere. [472] However, the focus of this thesis is not aniconic statues of divinities or stones used in cult practice, but commemorative and triumphal monuments.[473] This presents an opportunity to offer a fluid scale of the aniconic which need not relate directly to the divine, and to tackle Spartan attitudes to iconism and aniconism using a thematic approach.

In basic terms, the difference between aniconic and iconic art is quite simple, the former lacking in any anthropomorphic or theriomorphic elements, the latter being a faithful representation of human or animal forms. This simple division does not survive contact with the plethora of artistic forms found within ancient Greek art and therefore greater accuracy is required. Gaifman has identified spectrums both of iconicity and aniconicity in Greek antiquity:

> We find side by side not only naturalistic styles, simple wooden images, Dionysiac poles with masks, herms, and many other types of figural and semi-figural monuments, but also rough rocks, standing stelai in different geometric

[469] Gaifman 2017 offers a recent and thorough review of the history and development of attitudes to aniconism.
[470] Gell 1998, 26.
[471] Gaifman 2012, 17. Gaifman 2017, 342-4 for continuing uses of aniconism in theological debate.
[472] Flower 2017, 425-6 on the Greeks having no word for 'religion'.
[473] Gaifman 2012, 40; 2017, 338 for focus on divine in aniconism.

> forms, a range of vacant spaces, cultic sites with nothing but an altar, and numerous divine presences that are merely implied visually.[474]

For the purposes of this thesis, it is necessary to narrow the spectrum further in order to focus on constructed monuments that are often not primarily cultic in nature.[475] In doing so I rely heavily on Gaifman's spectrum but have redrawn some divisions and omit certain ideas not relevant to the current discussion. It is difficult to ever completely separate religion and everyday life, let alone monumental commemoration, yet to focus solely on religious elements of a grave marker is to miss the more down to earth, human commemorative side. In an attempt to incorporate more secular elements without ignoring potential religious aspects in many monuments, I have devised the following scale for the classification of monuments between aniconic and iconic (Fig. 16):

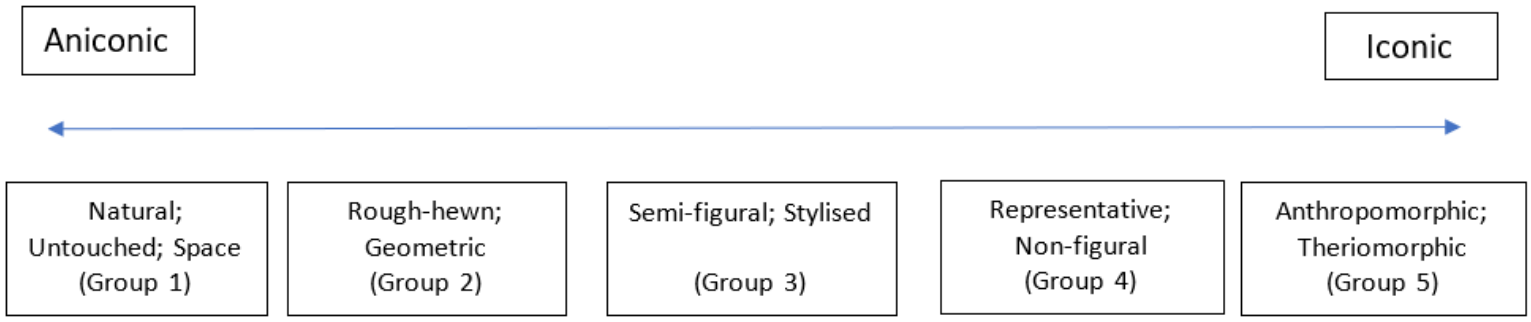

Figure 16. Scale of Aniconism

[474] Gaifman 2012, 44-5.

[475] Although it should be noted that, in the case of funerary monuments there was a strong cultic element to any sort of permanent memorial and the ritual activity which followed. Low 2011 for the relationship between a city's war dead and heroes; Tsouli 2016 for ritual feasting at the graveside in archaic and classical Sparta.

Here the most 'aniconic' category, Group 1, comprises natural material (rocks, trees, and landscapes) and empty spaces which have been afforded significance for either religious or historical reasons. Natural material that had been moved, but not reshaped, for example to serve as a grave marker, would also fall into this category. Group 2 includes rough carved stone and wooden sculpture, standing stelai (which may be inscribed), and structures lacking any figural shape such as tumuli. Group 3 consists of structures such as herms, *tropaia*, and other semi-figural and stylised statues such as those sometimes carved for Apollo.[476] Group 4 includes representations of non-figural objects, for example, stone lekythoi used as grave markers. These are not quite aniconic figures, for they accurately portray an object (a ceramic vessel in the previous example); nor do they seem as truly iconic as representations of life. Issues may occasionally arise where we find faithful representations of aniconic material in other media, for example a stone version of a perishable *tropaion* from Orchomenos,[477] or a stele represented in a carved relief scene. Finally, Group 5 contains fully representative iconic figures, both anthropomorphic and theriomorphic.

4.2. Archaism: Projecting Strength and Stability

One facet of non-monumental Spartan and Lakonian art, which has been emphasised by scholars, is its 'stop-start' trajectory, rather than continuous evolution and development.[478] This often results in an image of archaism but may reflect that little art is being produced at various times. Sparta, unlike Athens, never suffered any destruction on its acropolis and so it is hardly surprising that the existing temples were not dismantled and rebuilt in the fifth and

[476] LIMC II 244, 253, 364 for such 'simple' images of Apollo from Bassai. Bouzek 2000, 111 for potential links to Baltic representations of solar deity. Also, Paus. 3.19.2 for the statue of Apollo at Amyklai.
[477] Kinnee 2018, figs. 6.1, 6.2.
[478] Förtsch 1998; Prost 2017, 170-1.

fourth-centuries. The major buildings on the Spartan acropolis appeared old to Classical Greeks because, for the most part, they were, having reached a more or less finished form in the sixth-century.[479] The fifth and fourth-centuries therefore often witnessed the augmentation of pre-existing buildings.[480] Monuments therefore represent an interesting field of investigation as they do not stop being created, as art might be, but are a necessary part of celebrating triumph and commemorating sacrifice. As such they have the potential to offer a more complete, or at least a less fragmented, picture of Spartan attitudes to archaism expressed both through aniconic forms and deliberately archaizing iconic ones.

Writing on the Temple of Aphrodite Areia, itself a rather peculiar structure, Pausanias commented that the temple housed wooden statues (*xoana*) 'as old as any in Greece' (τὰ δὲ ξόανα ἀρχαῖα εἴπερ τι ἄλλο ἐν Ἕλλήσιν).[481] This was not the only time he and his informants were struck by the apparent antiquity of monuments in Sparta. The Classical Sparta of textual sources, in alleged obedience to the laws of Lykourgos, was old-fashioned, lacking in expensive monuments, and dedicated to a lifestyle long since abandoned by other Greeks. In this section, I investigate whether the monuments erected by the Spartans deliberately played upon contemporary attitudes to artistic forms in order to actively create and maintain this image of an old fashioned, stable, and continuous way of life.

Pausanias' interest in ancient things is certainly not limited to his travels in Sparta and Lakonike. For example, a description of unworked stones in the city of Pharai and an explanation for the reverence they receive:

> ἑστήκασι δὲ ἐγγύτατα τοῦ ἀγάλματος τετράγωνοι λίθοι τριάκοντα μάλιστα ἀπιθμόν· τούτουσ σέβουσιν οἱ Φαρεῖς, ἑκάστῳ θεοῦ τινὸς ὄνομα ἐπιλέγοντες.

[479] Kourinou 2000, 97-9; Cavanagh 2017, 66-7, 75-6; Flower 2017, 431-2.
[480] E.g., Lysander's addition of two Nikai to the temple of Zeus (Paus. 3.17.4).
[481] Paus. 3.17.5.

> τὰ δὲ ἔτι παλαιότερα καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι τιμὰς θεῶν ἀντὶ ἀγαλμάτων εἶχον ἀργοι λίθοι.
>
> Close to the image stand square stones, about thirty in number: these the people of Pharai honour, calling each by the name of a god. In older times all Greeks worshipped unwrought stones instead of images.[482]

One of the prevailing arguments to emerge from this excerpt is that there was a natural progression in Greek art, from unwrought stones, through semi-iconic herms and statues, to fully iconic art culminating in the statues of the Classical period. Other examples from Pausanias appear to confirm a contemporary belief that unwrought stones belong to the more ancient ages of the Greeks; for example, we find three unwrought stones (ἀργοὶ λίθοι) which are said by the Thebans to be a grave marker for Tydeus.[483] Pausanias records a statue of Herakles which was 'not artfully made, but of unwrought stone after the ancient fashion (ὄντος οὐχὶ ἀγάλματος σὺν τέχνῃ, λίθου δὲ ἀργοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον)'.[484] Whereas the unwrought stones being used for a burial marker signify only the antiquity of the tomb, here the antique nature of the image of Herakles serves almost as a substitute for artistic quality. The 'image' is worthy of reverence due to its age, in preference to the creation of a figural representation of the hero.[485]

Returning to the Spartan evidence, Pausanias' description of Lakonia contains important examples of aniconic images and monuments, with several others appearing in the slightly

[482] Paus. 7.22.4. The long history of scholarship on this passage has been summarised by Gaifman 2010.
[483] Paus. 9.18.2. Cf. also *Il*. 14.114.
[484] Paus. 9.24.3.
[485] Gaifman 2012, 58.

earlier works of Plutarch. Perhaps the most famous example is the *Dokana*: twin beams which represent the Dioskouroi, attested by Plutarch and depicted in relief form.[486]

In addition to the aniconic *Dokana*, we have a description of the statue of Apollo at Amyklai from Pausanias:

> ἔργον δὲ Βαθυκλέους ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ἀρχαῖον καὶ οὐ σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένον· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ καὶ πόδες εἰσὶν ἄκροι καὶ χεῖπες, τὸ λοιπὸν χαλκῷ κίονί ἐστιν εἰκασμένον. ἔχει δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κράνος, λόγχην δὲ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τόξον.
>
> It is not the work of Bathykles, but is ancient, having been made without skill (τέχνῃ). For although it has face, feet, and hands, the rest resembles a bronze pillar. On its head it has a helmet, in its hands a spear and a bow.[487]

The statue described by Pausanias and represented on Roman period Lakedaimonian coins (fig. 17a) is semi-iconic, bearing some anthropomorphic features but resembling a tall bronze pillar.[488] Once again, we find the association in Pausanias between an aniconic form, in this case one 'without art/skill', and the antiquity of an image. It is curious, therefore, that he makes no comment on the appearance of the statue of Athena Chalkioikos (fig. 17b) which he attributes to Gitiadas, generally dated *c.*525-500,[489] at least a quarter of a century after Bathykles, who Pausanias believed worked after the construction of the statue of

[486] Plut. *Mor*. 478a-b. In relief: Gaifman 2012, 295 fig. 7.8. Flower (2017, 433) presents the Dokana as one of the distinct symbols of Spartan religion (alongside armed statues of gods). Links have been made between the Dokana and Etruscan iconographical scenes, which show the Dioskouroi standing before the gates of the Underworld: De Grummond 1991, 11; 22. Certain appearances of the Dokana may even call to mind a table bearing food for a *theoxenia* ritual with which the Dioskouroi were closely associated (Bravo 2004, 74-5; Lippolis 2009, fig. 7 for a relief from Taras showing Dioskouroi riding towards a banqueting table).
[487] Paus. 3.19.2.
[488] For the statue and throne: Pettersson 1992, 11 n. 16; 1995; Faustoferri 1993; Burton 2009; Richer 2004, 392. Paus. (3.10.8) also reports a statue of Apollo at Thornax made after the style of the one at Amyklai. Cf. Tod and Wace 1906, No.325 for a similar, pillar-like statue. The statue of Apollo also appears on BMC Laconia 1, a coin of uncertain date but often attributed to the reign of King Areus (309-265).
[489] Paus. 3.17.2; Van Wees 2017a, 231, n. 58.

Apollo.[490] This apparent contradiction is not easily solved within the context of Pausanias' work, for the dates and chronology of the monuments he describes are somewhat muddled. For example, when describing the tripods at Amyklai Pausanias states:

> …καὶ τρίποδες χαλκοῖ: τοὺς δὲ ἀρχαιοτέρους δεκάτην τοῦ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους πολέμου φασὶν εἶναι. [8] ὑπὸ μὲν δὴ τῷ πρώτῳ τρίποδι Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἐστήκει, Ἄρτεμις δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ δευτέρῳ, Γιτιάδα καὶ αὐτοὶ τέχνη καὶ τὰ ἐπειργασμένα, ὁ τρίτος δέ ἐστιν Αἰγινήτου Κάλλωνος. ὑπὸ τούτῳ δὲ ἄγαλμα Κόρης τῆς Δήμητρος ἕστηκεν.
>
> … and there are bronze tripods. The older ones are said to be a tithe of the war against the Messenians. [8] Under the first tripod a statue of Aphrodite has been set up, under the second Artemis. These and the reliefs are the work of Gitiadas, the third is (the work) of Kallon of Aigina and under it stands a statue of Kore, daughter of Demeter.[491]

Elsewhere, Pausanias re-states that the three tripods and statues of this passage were dedicated at Amyklai after the first subjugation of Messene.[492] This would suggest a seventh-century date for the works of Gitiadas, which in turn would allow for the cult statue of Athena Chalkioikos to be sufficiently ancient that Pausanias need not comment on its semi-iconic form. However, the reference to Kallon of Aigina in this passage creates a problem of chronology, as Kallon is thought to have worked *c.*500-480, a dating derived in no small part from Pausanias himself, who offers a thorough overview of Kallon's training and career.[493] Pausanias must therefore have known that Kallon could not have created a tripod and statue as a tithe after the subjugation of Messene. This issue is considered further in relation to dedications of bronze tripods below.

[490] On the date of Bathykles and the construction of the throne of Apollo: Faustoferri 1993, 162-5, who establishes a secure mid-sixth-century date based on ceramic and architectural fragments. Faustoferri notes that the column capitals are 'either archaic or archaising'. I follow Faustoferri in favouring the former.
[491] Paus. 3.18.7-8.
[492] Paus. 4.14.2.
[493] Paus. 2.32.5; 7.18.10.

Figure 17a (left): BMC Laconia 80. Reverse of bronze coin of Commodus showing statue of Apollo at Amyklai.

17b (right): BMC Laconia 87. Reverse of coin of Gallienus depicting statue of Athena Chalkioikos.

It is not only in aniconic forms that Pausanias' Sparta appears ancient; some images are described as 'old' with no further details,[494] while he also lists a high number of wooden statues.[495] Twice Pausanias explicitly describes a wooden statue as 'ancient',[496] the temple of Aphrodite Areia (Warlike) is said to house wooden images 'as old as any in Greece,'[497] while on six other occasions the context clearly designates that the statues are old.[498] Five other wooden statues appear throughout Lakonia with no explicit mention of their age, all of them outside the boundaries of the town of Sparta.[499] The combination of aniconic, semi-iconic, and wooden images found throughout Lakonia in Pausanias point to an old, established, continuous way of life very much in keeping with the Spartan image as

[494] E.g., Paus. 3.14.6.
[495] The material for two of these statues, Askelpius Agnitas (3.14.7) and Artemis Orthia (3.16.7-11), may reflect medicinal uses of the wood used: Tsoulogiannis and Spandidos 2007, 81.
[496] Paus. 3.13.9 (Aphrodite Hera), 3.15.7-8 (Enyalius in chains).
[497] Paus. 3.17.5.
[498] Paus. 3.14.4-5 (Thetis, brought back by Anaxander, reigned mid-late-sixth-century); Paus. 3.15.10 (Armed Aphrodite, the temple in which the statue is found is described as ancient); Paus. 3.16.7 (wooden image of Artemis Orthia); Paus. 3.20.5 (Orpheus, made by the Pelasgians); Paus. 3.21.3 (Aphrodite Urania, housed in a temple on Kythera said to be the most ancient of all sanctuaries of the goddess); Paus. 3.25.3 (Apollo and Artemis, perhaps dedicated after the mythical repulsion of the Amazons).
[499] Paus. 3.19.7 (Athena Alea on the road from Sparta to Therapne); 3.20.7 (Kore, used in a festival in Helos); 3.23.3 (Apollo, originally from Delos, was thrown into the sea by an office of Mithridates and washed up at Epidelium in Lakonia); 3.25.10 (Apollo Karneios in Oitylos); 3.26.5 (multiple statues of Apollo Karneios, built after the fashion of the Lakedaimonians of Sparta, at Leuktra in Lakonia).

projected in the Roman period.[500] We may trust, I believe, that Pausanias is faithfully reporting the attitudes of his own time, a period when the Greeks, under Roman rule, were considered an ancient culture and were happy to play up to this notion. Sparta held a particular fascination at this time due to its former power and rapid decline. Therefore, the existence of a great many archaising forms of monument, both in terms of aniconism and wooden statues, projected the image of great antiquity, which certainly appealed to Pausanias and his Roman audience. This fascination may well have influenced what material Pausanias felt was worthy of recording.[501] If it were the ancient side of Sparta that interested him (and his audience), then his description would be naturally weighted towards what he perceived to be the oldest images.

The evidence from Pausanias demonstrates that during the second-century CE there was no opposition between artistic and unwrought, iconic, semi-iconic, and aniconic images.[502] We can also detect a belief that aniconic, semi-iconic, and wooden images were older than iconic, and therefore that the prominent display of such images throughout Sparta and Lakonia may represent a deliberate attempt by contemporary Spartans to tap into the mythology of the older, more successful Lakedaimonian state. An unfortunate result is that we must therefore doubt that the monuments described by Pausanias are as old as he claims. The Sparta of the Hellenistic and Roman periods was certainly very backward looking in terms of inspiration, with regular political and cultural attempts to recapture the glory of its bygone age.[503] Without securely attested archaeological remains for a great deal of the

[500] Cartledge and Spawforth 1989; Kennell 2017.
[501] Paus. 3.17.3 reminds his readers that he is only describing those things most worth remembering. See further Pretzler 2007, 118-29; Stewart 2013.
[502] Gaifman 2012, 57.
[503] Cartledge and Spawforth 1989; Flower 2002. Kennell 1995 for later ideas applied to descriptions of the Spartan upbringing, on which see also Ducat 2006, 23-32 and general introduction.

material reported by Pausanias, it is hard to know whether the monuments he described were truly ancient, or whether they were constructed later in deliberately outdated styles in order to give the impression of great antiquity. A pressing issue for this thesis is therefore whether this attitude towards aniconism was also present in the period of Sparta's heyday during the sixth, fifth, and fourth-centuries.

It is difficult to say a great deal about attitudes to the antiquity of various artistic styles before the fifth-century, but by this time it appears that ideas about the age of certain artistic styles were already reasonably well formed. Herodotus states that the Egyptians were the first to use the names of the gods, to build altars, and carve images,[504] and that the Greeks learned these from the Egyptians.[505] By associating their religious practices with those of Egypt, the early Greeks were possibly asserting continuity and precedent for their beliefs, effectively tapping into their own image of an ancient Egypt.[506] This assertion of age and continuity is a feature of cultural memory identified by Assmann, who states that it is in the interest of a regime to project its origins as far into the past as possible in order to convey ideas of stability.[507] Herodotus' narrative does not amount to a view of aniconic images (groups (2) and (3)) as necessarily older than iconic examples but does suggest that natural areas and spaces (group (1)) imbued with religious meaning came before the construction of altars and images.

While Herodotus concludes that the Greeks may have learned to carve images of the gods from the Egyptians, he names the Pelasgians as the creators of the (group (3)) semi-iconic

[504] Hdt. 2.4.2.
[505] Hdt. 2.50.
[506] Hdt. 2.100 states that Egyptian priests recited the names of 331 kings from a papyrus role.
[507] Assmann 2011, 54.

herms, and the Athenians as the first to adopt them.[508] Thucydides does not contradict Herodotus (as he is wont to do elsewhere), merely stating that the herms of Athens stood in many private doorways and temples according to the custom of the country.[509] This certainly suggests an established tradition, but falls short of Herodotus' statement that it was from the Pelasgians that the Athenians learned to construct herms. Indeed, there is no need to assume that the recently mutilated herms of Thucydides need be ancient themselves; they could have been more recent constructions in continuation of perceived tradition. The earliest herms recovered belong to the first-quarter of the sixth-century, suggesting that their presumed antiquity may not be entirely accurate, but it is difficult to be sure.[510]

Although the examples are few, it can be seen that, even in the fifth-century, there was a perception that aniconic images, worship of empty spaces, and the semi-iconic were remnants from an earlier time. A fragment of the Hellenistic poet Kallimachos appears to suggest that the lack of artistic endeavour in earlier periods was not due to a lack of skill, but rather to different tradition,[511] but aside from this we can detect an attitude of progression prevailing among Greek authors. Just as the Spartans of the late-Hellenistic and Roman periods may have deliberately played to an image of longevity through their visual culture, we might expect to find earlier Greek *poleis* adopting a similar archaising approach. Two *poleis* which needed to carve an identity for themselves in the fourth-century were Megalopolis and Messene, the former only founded in 371, the latter liberated from Sparta shortly after. It is surely therefore no accident that Pausanias reports a great number of

[508] Hdt. 2.51.1. In contrast, Paus. 4.33.3 names the Athenians as creators of the square herm form.
[509] Thuc. 6.27.
[510] Gaifman 2012, 84 and n. 28.
[511] Gaifman 2012, 89. Callim. *Aetia*. 4 fr. 100.

square-shaped statues in these cities,[512] as he does from Arkadia generally,[513] tying in with the common Arkadian tradition of autochthony.[514] The use of a form of statue whose origin contemporary Greeks would place in the distant past would help to further validate the new regimes by tying into older, well-established traditions.

One final point on attitudes to archaism is the regular contrast in the sources between the customs of the Greeks and various 'others', especially the Persians. We should first note that Herodotus claims the Persians do not believe that the gods have human nature or form at all,[515] that they exist everywhere at once and therefore can receive sacrifice from any location so long as a magus is present.[516] However, most important from the point of view of the current thesis is the idea that the Greeks used to do things in the same manner that barbarians still do, a theory advanced by Plato's *Socrates*,[517] and Thucydides.[518]

This idea of archaism is very relevant to the Sparta described by classical sources. If the views of Thucydides and Plato may be extended to Herodotus, who says that the funerals of Spartan kings bore more resemblance to those of 'the barbarians of Asia' than to their fellow Greeks, [519] then this apparent deviation from Greek norms of the fifth-century may represent archaism rather than an inherent 'otherness'. Thucydides explicitly states that the

[512] Paus. 4.33.3; 7.22.2. Gaifman 2012, 68-9. For the development of Messenian identity: Figueira 1999; Luraghi 2002.
[513] Paus. 8.48.6 states that the Arkadians particularly fond of square-shaped statues.
[514] Dem. 19.261. On the idea of Arkadia seeming 'backward' in both ancient texts and modern scholarship, Roy 2011.
[515] Hdt. 1.131-2; Gaifman 2012, 96-7. For similar Scythian beliefs: Hartog 1988, 175-6. Ahuramazda, the deity with whom Darius claimed a special relationship, is absent from Herodotus' summary of Persian beliefs (1.131-2). It has been argued that a winged disk figure often present on Achaemenid monuments may represent Ahuramazda. For discussion and summary: Finn 2011, 226-7.
[516] Hdt. 1.131-2.
[517] Plat. *Crat*.397c-d.
[518] Thuc. 1.6. Especially 1.6.6: 'πολλὰ δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλα τις ἀποδείξειε τὸ παλαιὸν Ἑλληνικὸν ὁμοιότροπα τῷ νῦν βαρβαρικῷ διαιτώμενον.' 'And there are many other points which demonstrate the similarity between the old Hellenic lifestyle and the life the Barbarians live now.'
[519] Hdt. 6.58.2.

organisation of Sparta was old fashioned, but this forms part of his discussion of how the architecture of a city can be deceiving.[520] In this case, it underplays the true power of Sparta and exaggerates that of Athens,[521] feeding into accusations of Periklean Athens behaving like a falsely boastful woman beautifying herself.[522] Powell has argued that the building of the Parthenon was intended as a diplomatic gesture in the 440s to appease the Spartans, who valued deeds over words and that its apparent failure to avert conflict led to considerable embarrassment.[523] To say that Sparta lacked buildings that were 'πολυτελής' (very expensive) sets a direct contrast to Athens, seemingly betraying Thucydides' own opinion of the apparent failure of the Parthenon as a diplomatic gesture. Xenophon, in a comparison of the lifestyle of the Persian king to that of Agesilaos, comments that whereas the Persian king coveted ever more wealth, the Spartan king was content with a humbler lifestyle. Of note to a discussion of archaism in Classical Sparta is the description of the house of Agesilaos:

> ὁ δὲ οὕτως ἀντεσκευάσατο τὸν οἶκον ὥστε τούτων μηδενὸς προσδεῖσθαι. [7] εἰ δέ ταῦτα ἀπιστεῖ, ἰδέτω μὲν οἵα οἰκία ἤρκει αὐτῷ, θεασάσθω δὲ τὰς θύρας αὐτοῦ· εἰκάσειε γὰρ ἄν τις ἔτι ταύτας ἐκείνας εἶναι ἅσπερ Ἀριστόδημος ὁ Ἡρακλέους ὅτε κατῆλθε λαβὼν ἐπεστήσατο.
>
> (Agesilaos), on the contrary, adopted such a simple style in his home that he needed none of these (costly) things. [7] If anyone doubts this, let him mark what sort of a house contented him, and in particular, let him look at the doors: one might imagine that these were the very doors that Aristodemos, the descendant of Herakles, set up with his own hands on his homecoming.[524]

[520] Thuc. 1.10.2. See Chapter 1 for text.
[521] Scott 2018, 89.
[522] Plut. *Perikles*. 12.2.
[523] Powell 1995, 257-8. Scott (2018a, 90) notes that Thucydides never explicitly mentions the Parthenon.
[524] Xen. Ages. 8.7-8. (Trans. Loeb, slightly adapted).

Much of Xenophon's laudatory description of Agesilaos' character focuses on his simple lifestyle and shunning of wealth, yet in this example an explicit link is drawn between the plain, presumably undecorated, doors of Agesilaos' home and an older lifestyle. Xenophon, perhaps unlike Pausanias, has not been fooled into believing that the doors were truly ancient, but demonstrates, not for the first time in his biography, that Agesilaos was adept at manipulating perceptions through the visual.[525]

Elsewhere in his biography, Xenophon states that Agesilaos would not allow a statue of himself to be erected, even though many desired to set one up.[526] In Agesilaos' day portrait statues were becoming more popular among wealthy Spartiates, particularly in Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries (see below), although there were still very few examples from Sparta itself, a pattern which stretches back into the Archaic period. Thus, *kouroi* and *korai*, in many ways the mainstay of large-scale Archaic iconic monuments, are largely absent from Lakonia, with only a handful of fragments recorded.[527] It may be that many figured statues (including *kouroi*) were made from bronze, and so do not survive.[528] Marble statues of warriors are similarly rare, with only two helmeted heads, one armoured torso, and the 'Leonidas' statue (see Chapter 3) currently known.[529] In addition, there exist a semi-iconic herm-like statue of Silenus from the mid-sixth-century and two 'ram-headed' herms, associated with Apollo Karneios.[530] We hear of many statues of gods throughout Sparta from Pausanias, which are

[525] Powell 1989, 179-80.
[526] Xen. *Ages*. 11.7. Plut. *Ages*. 2.2. Hodkinson 1996, 94.
[527] Kokkorou-Alevras 2009, 277-8. Fragments of a *kouros* have also been recovered from Aigies (LS JJ124), near Gytheion (Pavlides 2018, Suppl. Mat. 4-5).
[528] For example, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung Inv. Nr. Misc. 6324: a late-sixth-century bronze head found on Kythera and identified as a potential *kouros* (Sourlas 2012, 83).
[529] Förtsch 2001b, figs. 201, 323 (helmeted heads), 324 (torso), 321 ('Leonidas'). There is also the trunk of a warrior statue from Kythera (Sourlas 2012, 83-7; 2018, 468).
[530] Förtsch 2001b, fig. 334 (Silene); figs. 326, 327 ('ram-headed' herms). See the opposing views of Nenci 2018 (against) and Pettersson 1992, 31-2 (for) the association of ram's horns with Apollo Karneios.

not treated in this thesis, while it is also apparent that the statues produced in Lakonia were generally small in size and made from precious or semi-precious materials, or wood.[531] There are, however, very few statues of historical figures encountered either in the archaeological or textual record. Pausanias describes a handful of mythical characters: three statues of the Dioskouroi;[532] four of Homeric heroes;[533] two of Herakles;[534] one of Lykourgos,[535] plus Arion on a dolphin and Las upon a tomb.[536] Turning to mortals, and for the moment ignoring monuments for athletic and equestrian victories, we hear of a solitary statue of the seventh-century king Polydorus,[537] two statues of Pausanias the regent,[538] and one of Agias, the seer of Lysander at Aigospotamoi.[539] Of these statues, the example of Agias, being neither king, hero, nor regent, appears most unique, which may lead to the conclusion that this statue was set up by Lysander during his period of monumental dedications, although its position in connection with the altar of Augustus might suggest a later construction. Iconic statues of lions, probably serving as grave markers, are found scattered throughout the Peloponnese, but few are associated with Lakonian workshops, and fewer still found in Lakonia itself.[540]

Beyond Sparta the picture is somewhat different, with numerous portrait statues erected by Spartiates in celebration of athletic and equestrian victories, beginning in the late-fifth-

[531] Kokkorou-Alevras 2006, 89.
[532] Paus. 3.21.4; 3.24.5; 3.26.3.
[533] Paus. 3.19.6; 3.26.5 (both Alexandra/Kassandra); 3.19.6 (Klytaimnestra); 3.26.9 (Machaon).
[534] Paus. 3.14.6; 3.14.8.
[535] Paus. 3.14.8. This and one of the statues of Herakles (above) stood on each of the two bridges onto a man-made island where youths would fight.
[536] Paus. 3.25.7 (Arion the lyre player, cf. Hdt. 1.23); 3.24.10 for Las, eponymous founder of the town found at Hom. *Il.* 2.585. Arainos, described by Pausanias as the site of Las' tomb, has been identified with the headland of Ageranos (Forster and Woodward 1907, 232-4; Waterhouse and Simpson 1961, 118).
[537] Paus. 3.11.10.
[538] Paus. 3.17.7. Thuc. 1.134.4 tells us that these statues were dedicated after a decree from Delphi.
[539] Paus. 3.11.5.
[540] Kokkorou-Alevras 2006, 91 associates the stone lions of Kythera and Dimitsana with Lakonian workshops.

century and continuing through the fourth - these are considered below. Aside from these victory monuments, there are also statues of uncertain purpose. For example, an inscribed, circular base from Delphi which may once have held a statue of an 'Andridas the Lakedaimonian',[541] while the eyes of a statue of Hieron, a Spartiate, were said to drop out just before his death at Leuktra in 371.[542] Pausanias states that a posthumous statue of Archidamos (died 338) was the first of a Spartan king erected by the state beyond Spartan borders,[543] thereby excluding (either deliberately or accidentally) the statue of Agesipolis (died 380) erected by his father, Pausanias, when the latter was in exile.[544] We hear also of an inscription on a monument dedicated by Agis II, naming himself 'king of land and sea', presumably in direct competition with Lysander, but there is no indication of the form taken by Agis' monument.[545]

Spartan willingness to bend the rules regarding iconic dedications abroad is further evidenced by statues added to pre-existing groups in order to give the appearance that Sparta was responsible for the whole dedication (see Chapter 6).[546] Such offerings are therefore iconic or aniconic according to the demands of their environment, rather than reflecting a Spartan preference or agenda beyond attempting to claim the whole dedication. A potential example of an aniconic feature representing Sparta as an entity is found in the presence of a characteristically Lakonian roof on the temple of Hera at Olympia, a building

[541] *IG* V,1 1565a. Landridas has been identified with an exiled Spartan who was part of the Theban expedition at Leuktra (Diod. 15.54.1; Hodkinson 2000, 301 n. 42). If these are one and the same, the statue at Delphi probably pre-dated his exile.
[542] Plut. *Mor.* 397e. A small, undecorated, inscribed fragment has been used to suggest a second statue of Hieron at Olympia on the basis of an emendation, IvO 274; Hodkinson 2000, 301 n. 42.
[543] Paus. 6.4.9; Ath. 13.59. A potential second statue, unless Pausanias has walked in a circle and described the same monument a second time, appears at 6.15.7.
[544] *IG* V,1 1565.
[545] Plut. *Mor.* 467f. In light of Pausanias' claim about the statue of Archidamos being the first of a Spartan king set up by the state, it seems improbable, although not impossible, that Agis erected a statue of himself.
[546] Hdt. 1.51.3-4; Scott 2010, 100.

otherwise famed for a mismatch of stone columns, which may or may not have replaced wooden originals.[547] Lakonian roof tiles of the seventh and sixth-century were easily distinguishable thanks to their distinctive sheen and spiral-patterned antefixes,[548] and are found scattered throughout the Greek world.[549] In the case of the Heraion at Olympia, the Lakonian style roof is a striking visual reminder of the Spartan contribution to the construction of the temple, although the temple was supplemented with further decoration, possibly including bronze panels on the roof.[550] Indeed, such a distinctive roof may have made the whole temple appear to be a Spartan construction.[551] In another, almost certainly accidental development but one with which the Spartans were likely only too happy, the image of the well-ordered and stable Lakonian roof would have stood in contrast to the mismatch of columns beneath, a visual embodiment of well-ordered, stable Lakedaimon holding together (but also supported by) the less organised columns beneath. While the Spartans may have been opportunistic in their attempts to claim statue groups, there seems to be a more consistent effort to manufacture high quality, recognisable, roof tiles for use throughout the Peloponnese.

What is clear from an examination of the textual and material evidence is that in sixth-century-Sparta both iconic and aniconic images existed side by side. Nowhere is this more apparent than in depictions of the Dioskouroi, who, from their earliest appearances, are represented either as two standing figures (with or without a female figure, presumably

[547] Sapperstein 2016, 571-597.
[548] Barletta 2016, 131-3. Förtsch 2001b, figs. 297; 298 for sketches of the Heraion roof, figs. 306-312 for Lakonian antefixes with pattern decoration; fig. 313 for an unusual antefix with a gorgon style face.
[549] Skoog 1998.
[550] Bocher 2012, 139-42 for the appearance of the Heraion. Kyrieleis 2008, 190-8 for bronze sheets as part of the roof.
[551] Patay-Horvath 2013, 89-92 argues that the Spartans may have been the driving force behind the creation of the temple in the early-sixth-century. The view is speculative, but at least some level of Spartan involvement is likely.

Helen),[552] two large amphorae,[553] the two (or three) beamed *Dokana*,[554] or a combination of several of the above elements.[555] Through the fifth-century into the fourth we can detect a decline in the number of iconic images (of which there were few to begin with) and a move toward celebratory and commemorative monuments that are either aniconic or, more rarely, contain only very minor iconic elements. This would give the whole city an appearance of antiquity and therefore stability, a relative rarity in a (Greek) world beset by *stasis*. As concerns the projection of image, the idea of Sparta as old and stable was clearly effective, tying into Powell's idea of a 'party line'.[556]

The appearance generated by consistent forms of monumental commemoration within Sparta would project an image of antiquity and stability, which no doubt influenced the opinions of visitors to the city. This was reinforced by old forms of commemoration, particularly the kings whose funerals 'resembled those of the barbarians of Asia',[557] or through repeated, yearly performance of the same archaic poetry at festivals.[558] It would appear therefore that the whole Spartan lifestyle was designed to promote an image of antiquity, stability, and continuity in which their monuments played a vital role. However, there is also evidence of tension, expressed through the various forms taken by military and sporting victory monuments.

[552] Förtsch 2001b, figs. 30, 32, 221, 222.
[553] Förtsch 2001b, fig. 347. *BMC* Laconia 39 (35-31).
[554] S.M. 588.
[555] Förtsch 2001b, figs. 219, 220.
[556] Powell 2017a, 12-13.
[557] Cartledge 1987, 331-343. Hdt. 6.58.
[558] Calame 2017, 180-191.

4.3. Victory Monuments

4.3.1. Monuments Celebrating Military Victory

The natural starting point for a discussion of military victory monuments is the battlefield trophy (*tropaion*). The appearance of the *tropaion* is reliably recorded through vases,[559] coins,[560] and iconographic scenes.[561] In all these examples, the trophy takes the form of a suit of hoplite armour,[562] complete with shield and sometimes spear (all taken from a defeated foe), nailed to, or draped over a post or tree on the battlefield. The origins, development, and meaning of the battlefield *tropaion* are extremely convoluted and difficult to trace, with arguments ranging from as far back as the age of Homer,[563] the aftermath of the Persian Wars,[564] or as late as ten years after the expulsion of the Persians.[565] The basic anthropomorphic form of the *tropaion* has been argued to have its roots in the prestige associated with capturing weaponry from defeated opponents found in the *Iliad*,[566] as well as the dedications of captured armour throughout the Archaic period.[567]

[559] Caskey and Beazely (1963, 66-67) list 13 examples starting in the mid-fifth-century: 11 Attic red-figure, one Boiotian black-figure (which was initially dated to the sixth-century: Krentz 2002, 32, n. 40), and one Campanian red-figure.
[560] Woelcke 1911, 76; Kinnee 2018, 48; figs. 1.6, 1.7. It should be noted that no trophies appear on coins before the fourth-century, and few before the death of Alexander. It is in the Hellenistic and Roman periods that the motif becomes considerably more popular.
[561] Dinsmoor 1926, 22-26.
[562] It should be noted that Dinsmoor (1926) also speaks of trophies draped in Persian armour being represented in the parapet of Athena Nike, however in most cases it is hoplite armour that is depicted.
[563] Finley 1956, 132; Pitchett 1978 (II), 249, comprehensively rejected by Krentz 2002, 32 and Kinnee 2018, 35-36
[564] Woelcke 1911; West 1969.
[565] Krentz 2002, 32; Van Wees 2004, 138.
[566] Perhaps best illustrated by an exchange between Idomeneus and Meriones at *Il.* 13.260-272, in which the former boasts of the number of Trojan spears and sets of armour in his hut as a mark of his ability, while the latter responds that he has plenty of captured arms in his own hut as testament to his own valour.
[567] Jackson 1991.

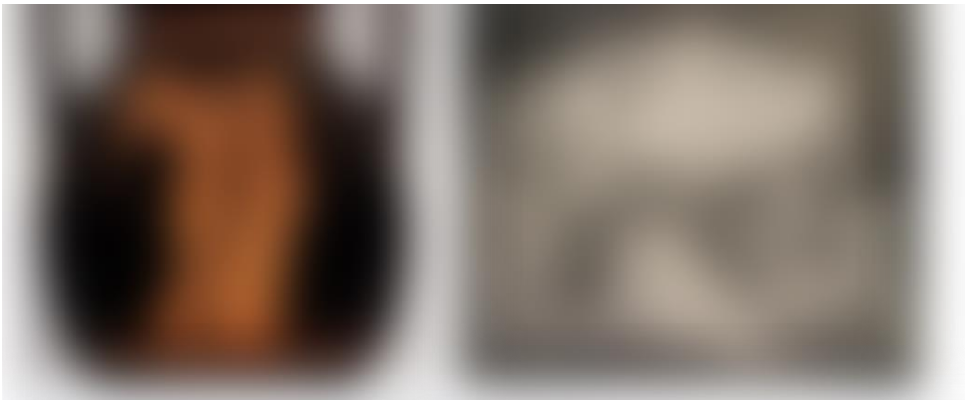

Figure 18. Left: Fifth-century Athenian Red Figure Pelike showing Nike crowning a mannequin style tropaion (Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts 20.187).

Right: Detail of late-fifth-century Athenian victory monument, including a tropaion probably representing a Spartan (Athens, Acropolis Museum 3173, after Kosmopoulou 2002, fig. 27).

These perishable, semi-iconic monuments were laced with aspects of celebration and humiliation.[568] The celebratory aspect shows the *tropaion* as a triumphal marker for defeating the enemy and, generally, of capturing enemy dead and their equipment. The humiliation of the losing side comes from their defeat in battle, but more strongly through the surrender of their dead comrades to be despoiled by the enemy. From the fifth-century, the time when battlefield trophies first appear in art and literature,[569] there was a move towards more standardised equipment, particularly in shield motifs,[570] while the iconography of some trophies on late-fifth-century bases show cloaks or tunics draped over the armour;[571] another clear advertisement of the loser of the battle (especially in the case of Sparta with their distinctive crimson cloaks). In a society in which both shame (aidōs) and regret are powerful emotional forces,[572] the immediate ability to identify the loser of a battle by the trophy is significant. Though an inscription may reveal the victor, from a

[568] Woelke (1911) was the first to distinguish between perishable battlefield *tropaia* and their more permanent counterparts. For perishable, semi-iconic *tropaia*: Janssen 1957; Pritchett 1974 (II), 246-75; Stroszeck 2004; Chaniotis 2005; Kinnee 2018.
[569] The term is first attested in Aesch. *Seven.* 277 and 954 (*c.*468 BC) and in vase painting (Fig. 18).
[570] Lambda for the Lakedaimonians, Sigma for Sikyon, Mu for Messenians, Poseidon's trident for the Mantineans, and Herakles' club for the Thebans being some of the best-known examples (Snodgrass 1999, 90-5; Krentz 2002, 34-5).
[571] Kosmopoulou 2002, figs. 27; 28; AAM 3173.
[572] Cairns 1993 (aidōs); Fulkerson 2013 (regret).

distance it was only clear who the defeated side were. This ties in with evidence for inscriptions on the dedication of captured armour at Olympia from the late-sixth-century to the mid-fifth, where both the victors and the defeated are almost always named.[573] The importance attached to *tropaia* is illustrated by the abuse suffered by soldiers of Corinth from their elders for failing to match the Athenians in erecting a trophy after a drawn battle, prompting them to return to hostile territory just to set one up.[574] Contrary to their reluctance to dedicate captured arms,[575] the Spartans were possibly even more zealous than others in erecting trophies.[576] Janssen has even argued that the linguistic roots of the word point to an anthropomorphic rather than tumuler origin and furthermore that it was a Dorian development, symbolising an opponent defeated in battle.[577]

This representation of the defeated foe in semi-iconic terms is interesting because it appears to contrast with a general lack of iconic statues in Sparta itself. The use of the semi-iconic *tropaion* may be explained as the Spartans simply following the conventions of their fellow Greeks, but there exists another, more peculiarly Spartan example: the Persian Stoa (Chapter 3.3.3).

The striking feature of the Persian Stoa was the columns in the shape of Persians.The extent to which the elaborate architecture found in later authors reflects a fifth-century reality is difficult to answer (see Chapter 3). If the Persian Stoa was indeed a product of the fifth-century, then the message projected by the Persian 'columns' is striking. The use of an

[573] Kyrieleis 2003, 29; Scott 2010, 170.
[574] Thuc. 1.105.6.
[575] Plut. *Mor.* 224b and f. Pritchett 1979, 292-3; Jackson 1991, 231-2.
[576] Thuc. 8.42.5 the Spartans row 50 miles to erect a trophy; Xen. *Ages*. 6.3.
[577] Janssen 1957. The argument is developed and enhanced by Pritchett (1974 (II), 246). The idea of a Dorian development is borne out by the presence of postholes for anthropomorphic mannequins at Olympia and Isthmia, but their absence from (non-Dorian) Delphi.

iconic form in place of a usually aniconic object would certainly be eye catching and have an effect on any viewer, especially given the difference between a sympathetic, Caryatid-style column and the image of the defeated, barbarian enemies forced to shoulder the burden of the stoa.[578] In terms of purpose, we may therefore see a link between the Persian Stoa and the weapons dedicated in temples by other *poleis.* Both signified superiority over a defeated enemy, but whereas captured weapons would weather over time,[579] the permanent monument constructed by the Spartans projected an enduring dominance over the Persians. Similarly, the iconic statues contrast with the aniconic (or semi-iconic mannequin) dedications found throughout other Greek *poleis*, in particular, the pride of place afforded to shields captured from the Lakedaimonians themselves.

The use of the 'Persians' as antagonists may point to a fifth-century (as opposed to fourth-century) date given the relative perceptions of Persian ferocity. Whereas in writers such as Xenophon the Greeks expect to overcome Persians easily,[580] the Persians of Herodotus initially strike fear into the Greeks.[581] In this context, a monument which celebrates victory over the Persians may have more impact if they are considered great warriors, rather than a victory the Greeks would expect to win. However, there is some potential for ambiguity in the interpretation of the Persian statues. They might be relegated to the position of effete cowards, not even worthy of bearing weapons but forced to carry the weight of this Spartan

[578] For Athenian representations of 'feminized, barbarian losers' (including the Spartans themselves): Scott 2018, 92-5.
[579] Unless painted with pitch as the Lakedaimonian shields hanging in the Stoa *Poikile* in Athens had been (Paus. 1.15.4).
[580] Xen. *Anab.* 1.8.18-20 for the ease with which the Greek force overcame their opponents.
[581] Hdt. 6.112.3 describes the Athenians at Marathon as the first Greeks to look upon the dress of the Medes and not panic.

victory monument, like the actions of Agesilaos in Ephasos displaying the pale, out of shape bodies of Persian prisoners.[582]

Aside from the innovative use of iconic columns in the Persian Stoa, Spartan military dedications of the Archaic and Classical periods generally follow a set of guidelines potentially established as early as the eighth-century. The most common form of victory monument appears to be a large bronze vessel, which were dedicated both in Sparta (at Amyklai) and Olympia.[583] It is now time to return to the issues surrounding the dating of the tripods described at Amyklai by Pausanias, specifically, the contradiction that seems to exist between the dates ascribed to Gitiadas and Kallon and the statement that the tripods were set up as a tithe of the Messenian War.[584]

Jeffery suggests three possible solutions to this issue: either the tripods were made to commemorate the conquest of Messene, but around 200 years after the event, somewhat awkward considering they are said to be a tithe (δεκάτη). Secondly, the war in question was the Messenian revolt of 464 and therefore Kallon and Gitiadas should be dated considerably later. Thirdly, that the tripods were set up after an otherwise largely unknown uprising in 490.[585] I would add a fourth possible explanation, that the three tripods were dedicated at different times and that they should not all be associated with the same war. Pausanias goes on to describe the presence of two more tripods, larger than the others, with statues set up beneath them at Amyklai and tells us that they were dedicated there by Lysander after his

[582] Xen. *Hell*. 3.4.19.
[583] Morgan 1990, 30-1; 97-103. For tripods at Olympia: Willemsen 1957. It is worth noting that several iconic stone statues have been attributes to Lakonian and Corinthian workshops (Mallwitz and Herrmann 1980, 133-7; Scott 2010, 153), though this need not necessarily mean Lakonian and Corinthian dedicators. Stibbe 2000, 159-62.
[584] Paus. 3.18.7-8; 4.14.2.
[585] Jeffery 1949, 27-8.

victory at Aigospotamoi.[586] From this, we can glean that the mode of monumental commemoration of military victories at Amyklai did not radically change, and that it bore a resemblance to Spartan dedications of tripods at Olympia (beginning in the eighth-century and continuing for several centuries) and large bronze vessels elsewhere.[587] There is also the issue of Pausanias' language, in particular the use of φασίν, from φημί (it is said) when describing the tripods: this expression, especially in comparison to the certainty with which he attributes the tripods to their various artists, betrays some doubt about whether the three tripods truly dated to the Messenian War. This in turn suggests that there was probably no inscription securely identifying the conflict, or possibly even the adversary. The lack of such an inscription seems at odds with the standard practice of naming the adversary on dedications of armour,[588] as well as victory monuments,[589] in the sixth and fifth-centuries.[590] However, before the early-fifth-century there is no secure evidence of the Spartans naming the defeated foe on any of their victory monuments, although the available evidence is scarce.[591] The most promising example, an early-sixth-century inscription from the rim of a large bronze vessel dedicated at Olympia (Fig. 19), records the Spartiates as dedicators and Olympian Zeus as the recipient.[592] The purpose of the

[586] Paus. 3.18.8.
[587] Morgen 1990, 102; Scott 2010, 146 for tripods at Olympia; 152 for large Spartan *Perirrhanterion*. Consider also Pausanias' *krater* at the Hellespont (Ath. 12.50. Hdt. 4.81), and the bronze lion which once adorned a large vessel dedicated on Samos (*IG* XII, 6.2.540: Jeffery and Cartledge 1982, 255-6.).
[588] Jackson 1991. Kyrieleis 2003, 29; Scott 2010, 170.
[589] Most prominently, the Serpent Column at Delphi: *Syll*^{3}.31. Also, the golden shield on the Temple of Hera at Olympia (Paus. 5.10.4) after the battle of Tanagra in 457 (Thuc. 1.107.5-108.2).
[590] Thuc. 1.132.2 records that the Medes were named in Pausanias' original inscription on the Serpent Column, yet the regent's dedication at the Hellespont does not mention an enemy (Ath. 12.50).
[591] IvO 263: a sixth-century fragment of a bronze plaque once nailed to an offering of some sort, is too fragmentary to offer any information beyond the Spartiates as dedicants. A sixth-century bronze strip (*SEG* 11.1214; Jeffery 1990, 199, no.19) from a dedication of arms from an individual Lakedaimonian does not name an enemy. Three helmets dedicated at Amyklai read simply '(ὸ δεῖνα) ἀνέθεκε τοῖ Αμυκλαίοι' (Jeffery 1990, 190). The helmets and plaque are interpreted by Pritchett as old warriors dedicating their own arms (Pritchett 1979 (III), 249-55).
[592] IvO 244.

dedication is unknown, but the fact that it is dedicated by the Spartiates as a collective, rather than an individual, rules out a sporting connection. It is possible that the vessel was offered for purely religious reasons, but such an expensive offering seems particularly generous, even for the outwardly pious Spartans. Therefore, a military context seems most probable.

Figure 19: Rim of large bronze vessel dedicated by the Spartans. Late-sixth-century. IvO 244

If the convention for naming the defeated side in a conflict did not arrive until the late-sixth, or even fifth-century,[593] then there is no need to assume that the dedications at Amyklai bore any such labels. Without further information it is impossible to do more than speculate on the conflicts for which these vessels were dedicated, but the continuing use of tripods and statues as a form of victory monument down to the end of the fifth-century at least strongly suggests that the three tripods at Amyklai may commemorate multiple conflicts. In line with Kallon's traditional dating (*c.*500-480), the Persian Wars are not out of the question, for it seems strange that there are no monuments mentioned at Amyklai in connection with the Persian invasion, although this may be stretching the text of Pausanias too far.

[593] The variability at the start of the fifth-century can be seen in the helmets dedicated after Marathon: one names Miltiades as dedicant and Zeus as recipient (*IG* I^3, 1472), whereas another is labelled as spoil taken from the Medes by the Athenians (*IG* I^3, 1467). The Spartan dedication at Olympia after their victory at Tanagra in 457 does explicitly name their defeated foes (Paus. 5.10.4).

One final military victory monument that warrants consideration is a statue of Zeus erected at Olympia, which Pausanias associates with the second Helot revolt (464).[594] The remains of a base at Olympia bear an identical inscription and so can be securely linked to this monument, though the statue has not surved. [595] The cylindrical cutting in the surviving fragment of the base (Fig. 20) strongly suggests a semi-iconic, pillar-like statue in the style of the Apollo at Amyklai.[596] The combination of this archaic statue type and the formation of the letters of the inscription led Jeffery to suggest that this statue was dedicated at Olympia after a Helot uprising at the time of the battle of Marathon (490), based on references in Plato and Strabo,[597] and on inconsistencies with Pausanias' later accounts of the Messenian wars.[598] Following this line of thinking, the tripods of Gitiadas and Kallon at Amyklai would also be associated with this early-fifth-century uprising.

Figure 20. Lakedaimonian Dedication at Olympia, with cylindrical cutting for statue. IvO V, 252

The dating of the inscription based on letter forms is especially difficult given a lack of securely dated mid-fifth-century Lakonian inscriptions for comparison, but Jeffery states that the forms of ε and υ seem rather archaic for a dating of 464-460.[599] The greatest difficulty with the idea of a Helot revolt in the early-fifth-century is the silence of so many

[594] Paus. 5.24.3. The inscription does not name an enemy.
[595] IvO 252.
[596] Jeffery 1949, 30. See this work Chapter 2.2.1, Fig. 5 for inscription.
[597] Plat. *Laws*. 698d-e states that the Lakedaimonians were prevented from helping at Marathon due to a conflict with Messene. This detail is lacking from other descriptions of the Spartan failure to help at Marathon, which Herodotus instead associates with a festival (6.106; 6.120). Strab. 8.362 says there were not three, but four Messenian wars.
[598] Paus. 4.23.5-10; Jeffery 1949, 26-7; 1990, 196. Wallace (1954) suggests that the trouble in 490 was dealt with quickly and therefore left no record in the works of Herodotus and Thucydides. Den Boer (1979, 86-95; 168-177) argues strongly against a Helot uprising *c*.490.
[599] Jeffery 1990, 196, no.49. The letters certainly cannot belong to the seventh-century, and therefore cannot be related to the earlier Messenian war.

historians, particularly Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, all of whom had an interest in recording Spartan history and varying degrees of access to Spartan sources.[600] Their silence on an apparent war in 490 is particularly hard to accept if this statue of Zeus and the tripods at Amyklai were indeed dedicated out of the spoils won from the Messenians at this time. The very existence of several large-scale monumental dedications makes it problematic to believe that our major historical sources have completely missed this event. Therefore, we have two options: either the statue of Zeus did indeed commemorate the Helot revolt of the 460s, or Pausanias has erred in his attribution of the statue to a war against the Messenians, and so we must look for a different conflict. A dedication after the Persian Wars is once again possible, although the Lakedaimonians had, as leaders of the allied forces, dedicated a statue of Zeus at Olympia.[601] The attribution of the monument to the Messenian revolt of the 460s therefore seems more probable, where it may even have been set up to counter Messenian dedications of spoils at Olympia.[602] In this instance, the archaising, semi-iconic form of the statue would take on a new significance. Firstly, it fits with the picture already established of consistent forms of monumental dedication, tapping into contemporary attitudes to project an image of stability. Secondly, the archaising form of the statue would speak directly to the Messenian Helots, who had been under the thumb of Sparta for nearly two centuries. The consistent, unchanging nature of Sparta is projected through the archaic form of their victory monument, reminding the Messenians of the consistent, unchanging nature of their subjugation and servitude to their Spartiate masters.

[600] Hdt. 9.35 and Paus. 3.11.8 explicitly mention a victory won over the Helots in the 460s as one of five contests won for Sparta by Tisamenos.
[601] Paus. 5.23.1-2.
[602] IvO 247.

4.3.2. Athletic and Equestrian Monuments.

One major category of victory monuments, from Sparta and elsewhere in Greece, which have received plentiful attention are dedications by victorious athletes. From the fifth-century onwards, dedications in Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries normally appeared as iconic statues, a trend which the Spartans joined comparatively late, and which never fully extended to Sparta itself. There is considerable evidence for athletic dedications in Sparta, but most are completely aniconic in the form of pillars or stelai, while others bear only minimal relief decoration depicting athletic scenes. The evidence concerning athletic victory dedications is comprehensively treated and catalogued by Christesen whose catalogue numbers I will use in this discussion.[603] Of the 45 dedications recorded by Christesen, 16 are small, votive offerings and need not feature in this work,[604] while he also cites the *heroon* of Kyniska in conjunction with the base of her athletic dedication at Olympia, both of which are treated elsewhere.[605] This leaves 28 references to and fragments of victory dedications in Lakonia, of which only three are dated to the third-century or later.[606] Of the remaining 25 dedications (Table 7) 19 are attested only through archaeological evidence, five only through textual evidence (Pausanias), leaving only one which may potentially be found in both literature and the material record,[607] although even here there are major doubts.[608]

[603] Christesen 2019, Appendix 2, 187-216.
[604] Christesen 2019, cat nos. 22-30, 37-41, 44-5.
[605] Christesen 2019, cat no. 35. *IG* V,1 1564a (base of Kyniska's dedication at Olympia).
[606] Christesen 2019, cat nos. 9, 34, 43. It should be noted that several of the dates offered by Christesen are speculative.
[607] If we consider this overlap, we have a 7-2 chance of a text being confirmed by archaeology, and a 23-2 chance of archaeological remains being confirmed by a text. We can use this probability to very roughly estimate the number of such monuments that may have once stood in Sparta as (23x7)/2 = 80.5 monuments in Lakonia. This is completely speculative and assumes all the archaeological examples were still standing but passed over by Pausanias but may be used to demonstrate the sheer number of such monuments that may once have existed in Sparta.
[608] Christesen 2019, cat no. 5. *SEG* 11.696, a stele with a life-sized representation of a nude discus thrower, which has been tentatively identified with the pentathlete Ainetos mentioned in Paus. 3.18.7. Also note cat no. 43, the statue base of Nikokles, which may be identified with the Nikokles of Paus. 3.22.5, but the career of this athlete is dated *c.*100, outside the scope of this thesis.

We can also observe that in the archaeological record there are few iconic examples of dedications: the Damonon stele and the stele of Ainetos have sculpted reliefs (a chariot and a discus thrower respectively),[609] while Aglatas' monument bears either ram horns or a column in relief and a pair of shallow holes which once bore further decoration, now lost.[610] Three of the five monuments found in Pausanias include some form of iconic relief, or are statues. Of the two that do not, one is the non-descript tomb of Ladas, while the other, a stele listing the athletic victories of Chionis, is interesting as it has been plausibly argued that he did have a statue (alongside a presumably identical stele) in Olympia.[611] It is not the case that the aniconic or semi-iconic dedications were humble for the Damonon stele stands over two metres high, but their simple forms and minor decoration certainly contribute to a consistent image being presented in Sparta itself.

[609] Christesen 2019, cat nos. 7 and 5 respectively.
[610] Christesen 2019, 114-5 and cat no. 3.
[611] Paus. 3.14.3 for stele in Sparta; 6.13.2 for stele and statue at Olympia. Christesen 2010, 28 on the statue representing Chionis.

Christesen Cat. No.	Description	Date (approx.)	Aniconism Group	References
1	Stele of Glaukatias	510-500	2	*IG* V,1 720; Jeffery 1990, 200 #31
2	Stele	510-500	2	*SEG* 11.827; Jeffery 1990, 200 #28
3	Stele of Aiglatas	500	2	*IG* V,1 222; Jeffery 1990, 199 #22
4	Stele	500	2	*IG* V,1 253; Boring 1979, 110 #114
5*	Stele (Ainetos?)	475	2 + 5 (relief of discus thrower)	*SEG* 11.696; Jeffery 1990, 201 #63; Paus. 3.18.7??
7	Stele of Damonon	400	2 + 5 (relief of chariot)	*IG* V,1 213; Jeffery 1990, 201 #52; Christesen 2019
8	Stele of Arexippos	4th century	2	*IG* V,1 255
10	Stele	530-500	2	*SEG* 11.652; Jeffery 1990, 199 #23
11	Stele	525-500	2	Jeffery 1990, 201 #41
12	Stele	500	2	*SEG* 11.638; Jeffery 1990, 201 #44
13	Stele	500	2	*IG* V,1 357; Jeffery 1990, 201 #47
14	Stele	500	2	*SEG*. 11.693; Jeffery 1990, 193 n. 4
15	Stele	500-475	2	*IG* V,1 721; Jeffery 1990, 201 #50
16	Stele	500-450	2	*IG* V,1 239b; Boring 1979, 100 #113
17	Stele	350-300	2	*SEG* 1.87
18	Stele	500-450	2	*IG* V,1 1120
19	Stele	525-500	2	Jeffery 1990, 201 #42
20	Stele (list of victors?)	500	2	*IG* V,1 1134; Jeffery 1990, 201 #45
21	Stele (list of victors?)	500	2	*IG* V,1 1133; Jeffery 1990, 201 #46
31	Dedication base	500-475	Only base survives	*IG* V,1 238; Jeffery 1990, 201 #48
38	Doric capital	*c*. 400	Inscribed 'Kyniska'. Only capital survives	*IG* 1, 235

Table 7a. Archaeological evidence for athletic and equestrian victory monuments

Christesen Cat. No.	Description	Date (approx.)	Aniconism Group	References
5*	Stele of Ainetos	475	2 + 5 (relief of discus thrower)	Paus. 3.18.7 (and see above)
6	Stele of Chionis	470	?	Paus. 3.14.2
33	Statue of Hetoimokles	5th century	5	Paus. 3.13.9
36	Statue of Euryleonis	After 400	5	Paus. 3.17.6
42	Tomb of Ladas	5th century	?	Paus. 3.21.1

Table 7b: Literary References to Athletic and Equestrian Victory Monuments

It has been argued that the lack of statues in Sparta reflected an active ban imposed by the Spartan state,[612] but such a dogmatic level of control is not entirely necessary. We might instead wonder if the aniconic dedications in Sparta were constructed using signs that immediately identified them as athletic monuments in the eyes of the inhabitants of Lakonia, presumably their most common viewers.[613] Beyond Sparta the picture was very different as, beginning in the mid-fifth-century, we hear of a great many iconic statues of Spartan victors standing at Olympia, shoulder to shoulder with statues of other victorious athletes from the rest of the Greek world. Portrait statues had been set up at Olympia by certain non-Spartan victors since the mid-sixth-century,[614] while the earliest iconic statues of Spartans of which we hear are those of the sixth-century wrestler Kalliteles, erected by his son as part of a monument to celebrate a victory in chariot racing,[615] and Chionis, the seventh-century-athlete, erected by the state around 470 and coinciding with an aniconic

[612] Palagia 2009, 36.
[613] One potential identifying 'sign' is the racetrack like lines and flowing text visible in many of the inscriptions: Christesen 2019, cat. nos. 1, 2, 3, 10, 14. Jeffery 1990, 199-200.
[614] Hodkinson 2000, 320-1. Paus. 6.18.7.
[615] Paus. 6.16.6. Hodkinson 1999, 180 n. 35.

stele and possible heroization in Sparta.[616] Both athletes depicted were long dead at the time of the erection of the monuments, fitting in with a general theme of honouring past Olympic victors throughout Greece at this time.[617] Statues of living Spartan victors appear in the 440s and quickly intensified to become the norm for both Spartan and non-Spartan victors.[618] In this arena the rules of triumphal dedications were different, meaning that a simple stele, even a tall one with decorated relief, would not demonstrate dominance in the same way it might back in Sparta. However, just as in Sparta, it was often through the inscriptions that the best claim for superiority was made thanks to what Hodkinson has described as the 'value added' element. Spartan victory inscriptions would generally add an extra element to make their victory more special than the achievements of those around them.[619] This extra level of competition eventually extended to a 'Spartan only' section of statues at Olympia, which removed the need to compete with non-Spartan victors (and which therefore may have allowed the statues themselves to be a little more modest in terms of artistic quality and cost).[620] Despite their apparent isolation from the offerings of other *poleis*, the form of the dedications remained the same, showing that the artistic convention was still being observed despite their spatial segregation.

The most lavish monument dedicated was that of Kyniksa, sister of Agis and Agesilaos, who, in addition to setting up miniature bronze horses in the pronaos of the temple of Zeus at Olympia,[621] erected a statue group featuring herself, her chariot, horses, and charioteer.[622] According to Xenophon, Kyniska was encouraged to breed horses and enter the race by

[616] On Chionis' potential heroization in Sparta: Christesen 2010, esp. 29-45.
[617] Hodkinson 1999, 166-7.
[618] Hodkinson 2000, 320-1.
[619] Hodkinson 2000, 321-3, following Pleket 1975, 79.
[620] Hodkinson 2000, 322.
[621] Paus. 5.12.5.
[622] Paus. 6.1.6. Surviving base fragments show Kyniska's statue was over-life sized; Palagia 2009, figs. 3 and 4.

Agesilaos in order to prove that victories in chariot races were won by individuals of wealth, not necessarily merit.[623] If this is the case, then it is likely that the king was taking aim at the glory coveted by Spartan horse breeders, rather than making a comment on other Greeks.[624] From an artistic perspective, it is noteworthy that apparently the only way to compete with the Spartan horse breeding elite was to trump their monumental dedications in the same fashion, only on a larger scale. Just as Lysander dedicated more and larger statues to trump the surrounding monuments at Delphi, so Kyniska dedicated on a grander scale, but in the same form as previous Spartan (and other Greek) victors. A fragment of a Doric column bearing the name Kyniska has been found in Sparta and associated with a counterpart victory monument to those in Olympia.[625] However, the capital itself is small and so probably never held a statue of a chariot.[626] We can only guess at the form of this monument, but its humble dimensions suggest that here, as elsewhere, ostentatious displays of victory were limited to Olympia, while back in Sparta simpler monuments were erected. The use of portrait statues eventually penetrated Sparta itself, evidenced by a statue of Euryleonis, winner of the two-horse chariot race at Olympia, about whom we know very little, though her victory is generally dated to 368.[627]

The statue of Euryleonis aside, it appears that the artistic forms taken by athletic and equestrian victory monuments differed greatly between Sparta and elsewhere, particularly Olympia. The exclusive use of aniconic forms with minimal decoration within Sparta itself once again feeds into the idea of archaism, stability, and continuity of a way of life. In

[623] Xen. Ages. 9.6.
[624] Palagia 2009, 36.
[625] *IG* V,1 235; Hodkinson 2000, 328.
[626] Christesen 2019, 213.
[627] Paus. 3.17.6. The dating of Euryleonis' victory to 368 is suggested by Moretti 1957, no.368 but no reasoning is given. Christesen 2019, 212, no. 36.

contrast, beyond the limitations (whether state imposed or societally enforced) of their home *polis*, wealthy Spartiates appear free to pursue acclaim using more conventional, up-to-date means employed by other Greeks. This is in accordance with the continuing dedication of large bronze vessels and tripods in Sparta and abroad, practised by the Spartans during the Archaic and Classical periods. Perhaps nowhere else is this tension better observed than in the monumental dedications of Lysander in the late-fifth-century, to which I now turn.

4.4. The Dedications of Lysander

Following his decisive victory over the Athenians at the Battle of Aigospotamoi Lysander was able to make dedications at Delphi, Athens, and Sparta. At Delphi the massive Aigospotamoi Monument (see Chapter 3), included 39 statues and placed Lysander himself being crowned by Poseidon.[628] Lysander also dedicated a portrait statue of himself at the entrance to the Treasury of Brasidas and the Akanthians, alongside a golden trireme given to him by the Persian Cyrus (placed inside the Treasury), and a great deal of money.[629] In the city of Athens Lysander dedicated a golden victory wreath on the acropolis,[630] a more subtle manoeuvre than his monument at Delphi but no doubt affected by the impracticality of trying to compete on a monumental level with the elaborate architecture of Athens. Conversely, in Sparta Lysander fell in line with tradition, apparently unable (or perhaps unwilling) to dedicate a statue of himself and instead augmenting the stoa near the temple of Zeus Kosmetas with a pair of Nikai atop eagles,[631] and dedicating the two largest tripods

[628] Paus. 10.9.7-10.
[629] Plut. *Lys.* 1; 18.1. The 'money' in question would likely be a combination of coined and uncoined bullion. Hodkinson 2000, ch.5 for discussion of moveable wealth in Sparta.
[630] Hurwit 2000, 60. The wreath appears in several treasury lists from the Athenian acropolis dating from 400-385/4): *IG* II^2, 1388, 1400, 1407 and can be safely restored to both *IG* II^2, 1386 and 1393.
[631] Paus. 3.17.4.

at Amyklai.[632] In addition, there was the bronze statue of Agias, Lysander's seer, which in Pausanias' day was to be found at the altar of Augustus.[633] Lysander is not named explicitly as the dedicant, as he is elsewhere, and so it is unclear whether this statue was erected in the late-fifth/early-fourth-century, or at a later date. Lysander may be credited as the first to erect statues of living commanders at Delphi, the first conqueror to dedicate on the Athenian acropolis, and the offerant of the largest tripods in Amyklai, yet he was still confined by the conventions of these different spaces. Lysander was certainly able to adapt to the different environments in which he was dedicating but was also willing to push the boundaries in terms of the artistic forms taken by his monuments. To determine the extent to which Lysander 'broke the mould', it is necessary to examine his various dedications in their respective historical and geographical contexts.

I shall begin with the largest and most ambitious of Lysander's dedications: the Aigospotamoi Monument at Delphi. The sheer scale of the monument may be explained in part by the unprecedented level of booty available to him,[634] but it is interesting to compare this monument to those erected in the wake of the Persian Wars, some 75 years earlier.[635] Sparta, as leader of the Hellenic alliance, may have taken a leading role in the dedication of the collective dedications at Delphi, Olympia, Isthmia, and Thermopyali, but there is no explit evidence that they offered any monuments of their own in the Pan-Hellenic

[632] Paus. 3.18.8.
[633] Paus. 3.11.5.
[634] Diod. 13.106 reports that Gylippos was sent back to Sparta with 1500 talents of silver, in addition to spoils (λάφυρα). Hodkinson 2000, 167-170; also 322 for the comparative cost of athletic victory monuments of the late-fifth and fourth-centuries.
[635] The spoils awarded to Sparta, as leader of the Greek force, were likely considerable, even if 'much was stolen by the Helots and sold to the Aiginetans' (Hdt. 9.80.3). Hdt. 9.81.2 records that Pausanias, as commander, received ten of 'everything'.

sanctuaries. The general dedications fell within acceptable conventions: serpents and a tripod at Delphi, a Zeus statue at Olympia, and Poseidon at the Isthmus.

The rest of the fifth-century yields only meagre Spartan dedications at Delphi, though several do take the form of statues added to an existing group to give the appearance that Sparta was responsible for the whole.[636] In fact, the major sanctuary dedications from the mid-fifth-century to the erection of the Aigospotamoi Monument were the portrait statues set up by Spartan victors, both at Olympia and beyond. We might wonder therefore if the inclusion of living military commanders in the Aigospotamoi Monument was a continuation of the relatively new tradition of depicting living victors at Pan-Hellenic games in statue form. We do know that Lysander had appropriated athletic symbols of victory before in the form of the golden laurel wreaths (an imitation of the crowns awarded to victorious athletes) dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis and on Delos, while the connection between athletic and military prowess was long established, if often debated.[637] Furthermore, Scott presents some evidence of the increasingly militaristic appearance of athletic victory statues at Olympia,[638] where statues of victors in the *hoplitodromoi*, the race in armour, had been depicted in armour almost since the inauguration of the race.[639] A tendency to emphasise military achievements is also present in at least two victory statues for other athletic events, suggesting an increasing military veneer, but caution is necessary.[640] One statue, that of a Samian boxer, cannot be dated with any certainty but sits between two statues probably belonging to the early-fourth-century. The other, of Stomius, a pentathlete noted for his

[636] Hdt. 1.51.3-4; Scott 2010, 100. I have already touched on the roof of the Heraion in Olympia performing a similar function (Chapter 4.2).
[637] Christesen 2012, 237.
[638] Scott 2010, 200-201.
[639] Paus. 6.10.4 (Demaretos); 6.13.7 (Mnaseas).
[640] Paus. 6.2.9 (Samian boxer) and 6.3.2 (Stomios of Elis).

heroics as a cavalry commander, must have been erected after 371. This means that neither of these statues could have influenced the construction of the Aigospotamoi Monument,[641] but they may belong to an increasing trend of a blurring of lines between military and athletic victory monuments. Statues of deceased military commanders had been a feature of victory monuments at Delphi since at least the early-fifth-century, evidenced by the presence of Miltiades in the Athenian Marathon monument.[642] A Phokian monument described by Pausanias and commonly dated to *c*.500-490 also included statues of the seer Tellias, Phokian heroes, and generals from the battle, although it is unclear whether the generals were still living at the time of the dedication.[643] The Aigospotamoi Monument, in depicting living military commanders on such a scale,[644] therefore represents a leap, but perhaps a smaller one than previously believed if athletic statues indeed paved the way for representations of living generals.

Another major factor in the design of the Aigospotamoi Monument was no doubt the presence of the Athenian victory monument celebrating the battle of Marathon, whose place the new Spartan dedication took as the first a visitor would see upon passing onto the Sacred Way. The Aigospotamoi Monument opposes that of Marathon on the same artistic terms–anthropomorphic statues– but appears instantly more inclusive. The inclusion of statues of allied commanders showcases Sparta's role as leader of a great mass of Greek states, celebrating a victory won by a collective. Lysander is certainly the most prominent figure in this group, but the crowding effect of the statues behind him marks him as the

[641] There is also a military victory monument dedicated by the Mendeans of Thrace (otherwise unattested), which Pausanias found confusing due to the inclusion of jumping weights in a military dedication (Paus. 5.27.12).
[642] Paus. 10.10.1.
[643] Paus. 10.1.10.
[644] As Palagia notes (2009, 36 n. 42), it is unknown whether all the commanders depicted on the monument were alive when it was set up, although at the very least Lysander himself was still living.

leader of a combined force, not simply as a Spartan commander. In comparison, the Athenian monument would now look exclusive, insular, and paint the Athenians as an isolated, external enemy to the new alliance arrayed behind Lysander.

In light of the factors discussed above, the Aigospotamoi Monument appears to fit comfortably into its context, both in terms of its location in Delphi and a growing trend towards statues of living individuals being set up. The move from aniconic to iconic dedications in Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries began before its construction and continued afterwards, though with greater momentum. The monument was certainly the first of its kind in many ways, but each leap can be traced to other monuments, normally non-Spartan, in its surrounding area.

The monuments erected by Lysander in Sparta entered an arena governed by very different conventions from Delphi in the late-fifth-century. Lysander's dedication of tripods and statues at Amyklai was entirely in keeping with the accepted tradition. Like the Aigospotamoi Monument at Delphi, it was the size of the dedication that marked the scale of Lysander's triumph, or perhaps ambition. As noted throughout this chapter, down to the end of the fifth-century there are very few examples of iconic victory monuments erected in Sparta, contributing to the whole city projecting an air of antiquity and stability. Therefore, Lysander's decision to erect iconic statues of eagles and Nikai on a pre-existing stoa represenst more of a divergence from the established dedicatory tradition within Sparta. Choosing to embellish a pre-existing structure rather than erect a new one is in keeping with the rhetoric employed by Lysander on the Aigospotamoi Monument, where the inscription records that he 'crowned invincible Lakedaimon, acropolis of Greece' with his victory.[645] His

[645] *CEG* 819 iii.

monuments in Sparta literally 'crowned' a stoa in the centre of their own acropolis, just as his victory had metaphorically 'crowned' his *polis* and as Poseidon visibly crowned Lysander in the Aigospotamoi Monument. This trick was not entirely an innovation of Lysander; for a great many years the Spartans had been creating easily recognisable rooftiles which adorned or 'crowned' temples all over the Greek world, as well as adding to pre-existing dedications at Delphi in order to claim ownership of the whole. Therefore, we can see that while Lysander's methods in Sparta may have conformed to pre-established conventions, the use iconic forms certainly did not. Furthermore, and somewhat surprisingly, it is the comparatively humble dedications in Sparta, rather than the grandiose Aigospotamoi Monument at Delphi, that appear more radical and enterprising in the context of their own surroundings.

4.5. Funerary Monuments

The final arena in which to examine the role of aniconism and iconism is in the funerary monuments, or lack thereof, erected by the Spartans during the Archaic and Classical periods. This analysis owes much to Gell's influential *Art and Agency*, which introduced a new way of approaching artworks as actions rather than purely static conglomerations of symbols. One of the more compelling arguments in his work is the idea of an artwork as an 'index' created by an artist to embody a prototype and exercise agency upon the viewer:[646]

> 'Approximately, the aniconic image of the god in the form of a stone is an index of the god's spatio-temporal presence, but not his appearance … The stone functions as a "natural sign" of the god's location just as smoke is a natural sign of the spatial location of fire'.[647]

[646] Gell 1998, 13-16.
[647] Gell 1998, 26.

Gell was primarily concerned with the indices of divine presence, but his approach to this issue has been expanded upon and utilised by Gaifman.[648] Iconic statues, not necessarily of divinities and often of living individuals, have also been argued to signify an index of a living presence to their viewers.[649] In this section I expand the range of these into an analysis of Spartan funerary monuments, with particular attention to the differences between iconic and aniconic forms, while also suggesting that marked and unmarked graves serve not just as an index of presence, but that their contrasting forms may provide emphasis.

Fully iconic funerary monuments were rarely erected by the Spartans, either in their own territory or abroad. In particular, anthropomorphic statues are virtually absent: two bronze statues of the regent Pausanias were set up after his death, yet these were not grave markers and were created in response to a command from Delphi.[650] We hear from Herodotus that when the body of a king could not be returned, an image of him was made and carried on a bier in the funeral procession, but there is no mention of the fate of such an image.[651] It may have been set up as a grave marker in the manner of the statue of Archidamos was set up at Delphi when his body could not be recovered,[652] or may alternatively have been buried in place of the body.[653] In the absence of archaeological evidence or further literary testimonia, it is impossible to say more on the use of iconic statues as funerary markers in Sparta. Anthropomorphic representations in reliefs are

[648] Gaifman 2012, 40-2.
[649] Van Eck 2010, 645.
[650] Thuc. 1.134.4; Paus. 3.17.7.
[651] Hdt. 6.58.3.
[652] Paus. 6.4.9. Of particular importance is the fact that Pausanias describes this statue as the first of a king erected by the Spartans *beyond* their own country. This may hint at a more common practice of creating iconic statues of Spartan kings but may also be explained in the context of Pausanias' narrative by the statue of Polydoros he describes in Sparta (3.11.10).
[653] Cartledge (1987, 333-4) links the description in Herodotus with the funeral of Leonidas, who died in unprecedented circumstances. It therefore seems dangerous to generalise from this example alone.

considerably more common, particularly the large group known as the 'Hero Reliefs', depicting one or two seated figures, with regular additions of snakes and feasting,[654] while other plaques feature standing figures and riders.[655] The function of these reliefs is much debated and due to their wide chronological spread, beginning in the Archaic period and continuing well into Roman times, and by the lack of inscriptions.[656] The argument that they may have served as funerary markers is based almost entirely on a single fragment of a relief (Fig. 21) bearing the inscribed name '[X]IΛON', regularly identified with the famous ephor of the sixth-century, whose *heroon* Pausanias reported seeing close to the findspot of the relief.[657] This argument was first developed by Wace and later expanded by Stibbe and rests on the assigning of a double meaning to the relief: that it was simultaneously a heroic offering and erected above the grave as a marker and that therefore a similar double function was possible for all of the hero reliefs.[658] This theory is comprehensively rejected by Salapata, who stresses that the consistent iconography in the hero relief series argues against a funerary function and that the Chilon relief is better interpreted as an offering at his *heroon*.[659] I concur with Salapata, and therefore will not consider the hero reliefs as evidence of iconic funerary monuments but as offerings at the various shrines and *heroa* of

[654] Salapata 2014 offers the most comprehensive study of these reliefs.
[655] Salapata 2014, 176-215.
[656] Salapata 2014, 162-3.
[657] Paus. 3.16.4; Kourinou 2000, 148-9.
[658] Wace 1937, 219-20; Stibbe 1991, 11.
[659] Salapata 2014, 158; 165.

Sparta. It would appear therefore that anthropomorphic representations do not commonly serve as grave markers in Sparta during the Archaic and Classical periods.

Figure 21. Mid-sixth century Hero-Relief bearing the retrograde inscription '[X]ΙΛΟΝ'. After Kaltsas 2006, 100.

We may now turn to other examples of iconic images being used in funerary contexts, the most famous of which is the stone lion for Leonidas at Thermopylai (Chapter 3.3.2). The choice of a lion represented a combination of the conventional use of lions as grave markers, the heroic imagery associated with the lion, and the play on Leonidas' name. It has been suggested that the lion sculpture from Kythera (Fig. 22), as well as fragments of two further lions and one warrior, may have served as grave markers.[660] All these fragments date to the Archaic period, when Kythera was open to foreign influences and maintained close ties to a number of areas in the Greek world, including Attica, the Aegean islands, the Cyclades, and Crete as well as the rest of the Peloponnese.[661] The inhabitants of the island are specifically identified as 'Lakedaimonians of the Perioikoi' by Thucydides,[662] and it seems that the communities there may have forged their own monumental path to some extent. The lack of statue fragments dating to the Classical period may therefore reflect Kythera

[660] Sourlas 2012; 2018.
[661] Sourlas 2018, 473-4.
[662] Thuc. 4.53.2.

consciously 'buying in' to the Spartan image at a time when Sparta might have been tightening control over the island.[663]

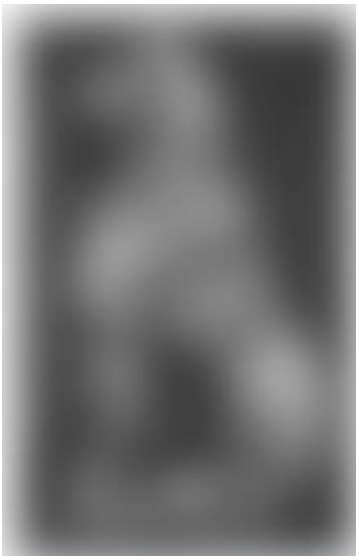

Figure 22. Archaic Lion from Kythera. After Sourlas 2018, fig. 1.

Excavations at the 'Olive Oil Cemetery' in Sparta, which was in use from the Archaic to early Hellenistic period, have yielded no permanent grave markers of any kind aside from a monumental two-storey tomb and two peribolos-delineated burial clusters (see Chapter 5).[664] We cannot rule out the possibility of perishable markers, mounds of earth or stones, or graves delineated at ground level, but there is a distinct possibility that simple mounds of earth would be the only identifiers for a great many tombs in Sparta and that it was only through familial and cultural memory that such burials could be distinguished and serve as an index of presence.

In the absence of permanent markers, it is worth considering other forms of commemoration that are known to have taken place in Sparta which may have contributed to the preservation of a dead individual's memory. We know of a series of athletic

[663] Thuc. 4.53.2 for the Κυθηροδίκης, a Spartan magistrate sent annualy to Kythera. It is unclear how long before the time of Thucydides' writing the practice of sending this magistrate began. For the statues of Kythera: Sourlas 2012; 2018.
[664] Monumental tomb: Raftopoulou 1998; 2006. Periboloi burials: Tsouli 2016, 367-9; Christesen 2018, 326.

competitions, the *Leonideia*, focused on the tomb of Leonidas in Sparta, but these may be a later creation and such grand commemoration was certainly not available to the majority.[665] Similarly, the heroic dead of Thermopylai may have received some sort of annual honours, based on the fragment of Simonides which suggests performance in Sparta,[666] while the dead of Thyrea were honoured at the Gymnopaidiai festival.[667] Our best evidence for the type of performative commemoration open to 'normal' Spartans comes in the form of ceramic vessels dedicated at the graveside following a banquet.[668] Such banqueting required knowledge of of the grave's location and would, through the deposition of the feasting vessels, effectively mark it, at least for a brief period. If performative acts like this formed the mainstay of commemoration, then grave markers would not be necessary, at least in cases where the body could be returned, and the location of the burial preserved in the collective and cultural memories of certain members of society. In terms of a discussion of aniconism, this would relate to group (1), the idea of an index of presence being transmitted in a specific space, rather than through an image, or even marker.

This idea of performative commemoration occupying a central position in Spartan culture can help explain the existence of (aniconic) funerary markers that do exist in two contexts: burials outside of Spartan territory, and the *en polemoi* stelai of Lakonia. There are two plain, rectangular stones which probably represent grave markers for individual Spartans in foreign territory: a sixth-century stone from Eretreia (*IG* XII, 9.286),[669] and a fourth-century stone from Thespiae (*IG* VII, 1904). In addition, there are several textual reports of

[665] Reported by Pausanias 3.14.1 and confirmed (for the Roman period) by inscriptions: *IG* V,1 18-20.
[666] Steiner 1999, 392. See also Chapter 6 of this thesis.
[667] Pettersson (1992, 42-3, 51) suggests that the commemoration of the dead of Thyrea may have been attached to a pre-existing festival. Ath. 15.678b-c. See Chapter 6 of this thesis.
[668] Tsouli 2016.
[669] Walker 2004, 227-9.

polyandria,[670] and one archaeological example in the Kerameikos of Athens. The Kerameikos tomb aside, the form taken by Spartan *polyandria* abroad can be hard to define due to the lack of descriptions and inconsistencies in word choice,[671] but the most likely explanation is that they took the form of burial mounds, with or without a stele on top. These aniconic tumuli were not only practical but formed a link with burial practices found in epic poetry, which helps explain their wide usage throughout the Archaic period and beyond.[672] A desire for funerary markers abroad makes sense as the memory of a foreign burial site would be much harder to pass down than one in Sparta itself, meaning that if the dead were to be remembered, monuments were necessary. The aniconic nature of these monuments is partly explained by practical concerns, for building an elaborate funerary monument in enemy territory would be somewhat difficult, even in victory, but it also emphasises that it is the actions of the dead which grant them enduring memory, rather than the wealth or power which may be projected through sculpted designs. The tomb in the Kerameikos appears to have lacked any decoration save for the inscription (see Chapter 3.2). This aniconic form stood in stark contrast not only to the lavish sculptures and reliefs decorating a great many private Athenian tombs, but also to the reliefs topping the Athenian casualty lists further up the Academy Road.[673] The tomb's mere presence served to undermine the image of Athenian power projected by the other monuments of the Kerameikos, as well as the Parthenon (easily viewable from the Academy Road) and the imposing city walls. Much

[670] Cartledge 1987, 337.
[671] Herodotus uses both θήκη and τὰφος for Spartan tombs at Plataia (9.85). At Thermopylai (7.228.1) they were simply 'buried where they fell' (θαφθεῖσι δέ σφι αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇ περ ἔπεσον). Pausanias (2.38.5) mentions τάφοι at Thyrea, but it is unclear whether there were graves for multiple individuals or if he is referring to two mass graves (one for Lakedaimonians, one for Argives). Paus. 9.2.5 uses both τάφοι and μνῆμα for tombs at Plataia.
[672] Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 106, 111.
[673] Although undecorated, the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians was certainly imposing, over 20 m in length.

as Lysander chose to dedicate a golden wreath on the Athenian Acropolis because he could not compete with the sheer splendour of the surrounding monuments, the tomb knowingly refuses to engage in a battle of monumental one-upmanship (as seen in Delphi), but instead exploits an aniconic form and a distinctive inscription to draw attention and thereby undermine the powerful image of Athens. Finally, it is important to note the presence of Lakonian pottery, used for a funerary banquet, deposited at the Kerameikos tomb, [674] suggesting that the Lakedaimonian soldiers in Athens performed this very Lakonian graveside ritual before leaving the city. We may wonder whether such banquets also took place at other *polyandria* erected by the Spartans throughout the Archaic and Classical periods.

The desire for memory as a form of commemoration meets the need for a conduit for grief in the *en polemoi* stelai, a set of 28 rectangular stones, 13 of which date to the fifth and fourth-centuries, found only within the borders of Lakonia.[675] They are not grave markers, since they do not mark the site of a burial,[676] but are cenotaphs erected for those who have been buried elsewhere. The concept of cenotaphs is certainly not unique to Sparta and examples have been found throughout the Greek world. In function, these monuments further enhance the honour and fame of individuals or groups who have already been buried with funeral rites elsewhere. Furthermore, they may provide a closer physical link to the dead buried in a distant location, such as the cenotaph in Corinth for the dead of the

[674] Stroszeck 2006.
[675] Christesen 2018, Appendix 9. Three further stones are undated: *SEG* LX.404 (SM 14435); SM 6737; and a final example from the Sylloge Mystra (466). The latter two are unpublished save for a mention in Zavvou 1992-8, n. 2. There is also *SEG*: 47.352, an unbroken stone bearing a name but not the words *en polemoi*, dated to the fifth-century and found near Sellasia which may represent a burial marker (Low 2006, 102 n. 2).
[676] The Spartan war dead were generally buried on the battlefield, see above and Pritchett 1985 (IV), 243-6; Cartledge 1987, 337; Hodkinson 2000, 251-2.

Persian Wars,[677] or the potential cenotaph for the dead of Marathon in Athens.[678] We may add to this list potential private grave markers (in family cemeteries) identified by Low as belonging to individuals who appear on Athenian casualty lists and therefore constituting private cenotaphs for individuals buried with the rest of the war dead.[679] The earliest *en polemoi* stones date from the fifth-century and they continue in use down to the first-century.[680] The lack of uniformity in the size of these stones,[681] coupled with their scattered distribution throughout Lakonia,[682] suggest that they are private, rather than state, monuments, though the conventions may be dictated. Low emphasises that they therefore functioned as concessions to the families of the deceased, both in terms of the need for a conduit for grieving and a chance for the dead man's family to celebrate his contribution to the Lakedaimonian state.[683] On this last point it is prudent to note that these stones may name Perioikoi as well as Spartiates, given their distribution in both a central Spartan location and throughout the *chōra* of Lakonia.[684] We have only one reference to a cenotaph which may be of this sort within Sparta: that of Brasidas reported by Pausanias.[685] Pausanias offers only an imprecise location (west of the Agora, not far from the theatre) and no

[677] Plut. *Mor*. 870e-f. Duffy 2018, 124, No.46.
[678] *IG* I^3, 503/504. The interpretation of this monument has proven difficult and contentious, although it is now generally agreed to have been a monument for the dead of Marathon. See Duffy 2018, 77-86, No.11 for a summary of previous discussion. There was also a *polyandrion* at Marathon with a casualty list and epitaph from early in the fifth-century: *SEG* 56.540; Spyropoulos 2009; Keesling 2012; Janko 2014; Duffy 2018, 56-8, 70-1, Nos. 1, 7.
[679] Low 2012, 35. The most prominent example is the monument of Dexileos (*IG* ii^2, 6217) whose name also appears on the cavalry casualty list of 395/4 (*IG* ii^2, 5222). It is noteworthy that in this Athenian example the cenotaph bears iconic decoration, in contrast to the casualty list, which is topped with a relief but is otherwise a plain stele. For a modern parallel, see Tarlow 1997, 111-3: a discussion of private grave markers for soldiers of the world wars who were buried by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission.
[680] Hodkinson 2000, 250-1; Low 2006, 86-7, 102.
[681] The largest (*IG* V,1 708) is 90 cm high, the smallest (*IG* V,1 705) only 13 cm. Low 2006, 87 has the average height as 36 cm.
[682] Low 2006, 89. *map* 1.
[683] Low 2006, 90-91.
[684] Low 2006, 86-9.
[685] Paus. 3.14.1.

description of the size, form, or inscription of the monument beyond that it belonged to Brasidas. However, as with the other *en polemoi* stones, it is not the form or decoration of the monument that is significant so much as their very existence and the fact that they carry the name of an individual whose remains are buried far away and therefore beyond the reach of the types of performative commemoration practised in Sparta.

Just as a plain stele bearing the name of a god could serve as a focus for worship, so a stone bearing the name of a friend or loved one could provide a reminder of his life and a record of his contribution to the city, his family, and even his *syssition*. In contrast to the kind of iconic funerary monuments found in Athens, this simplistic aniconism may actually have emphasised the contribution of the deceased. Just as in Pausanias' time a stone could be venerated on account of its age, as opposed to artistry,[686] so in Sparta it was valour, sacrifice, and contribution to the state that was sufficient reason for reverence. We might go a step further and argue that aniconic commemorative monuments of this sort take a deliberately simple, inartistic form so as not to detract from the memory of the individual commemorated.[687]

Comparison with modern war memorials and interviews with surviving veterans or the families of the deceased support the conclusion that an aniconic monument bearing the names of the dead is better for channelling emotions, while iconic images have the tendency to call up past trauma,[688] possibly leading to the involuntary recall of unpleasant

[686] Paus. 9.243; Gaifman 2012, 58.
[687] A similar attitude is expressed by Agesilaos (Xen. *Ages*. 11.7), although probably in the context of a triumphal statue.
[688] Baddeley et al. 2015, 312-317.

memories associated with post-traumatic-stress-disorder (PTSD).[689] The Vietnam War Memorial is a prime example of a modern aniconic monument, which serves a positive function for grievers.[690] The names provide an outlet for memories, both positive and negative, and are sufficient to call to the mind of the observer experiences they had shared with the dead.[691] This may show the aniconic Spartan monuments in a more positive light than, for example, the somewhat conflicted and ambiguous iconography found on the Athenian casualty lists.[692] One major theme in the recollections of Vietnam War veterans is that the monument was made more necessary by the lack of opportunity to grieve during the war itself as the bodies were removed for burial elsewhere and the intensity and horrors of the war led most soldiers to supress their emotions in the name of survival.[693] This ties in with the simple *en polemoi* stelai, as well as a potential list of the Thermopylai dead: both commemorate dead Spartans buried far away, denying their friends and relatives back home the opportunity to adequately grieve and perform the sort of graveside rituals which may bring some comfort. We might also speculate that soldiers on campaign may have been supressing emotions, but this is not the place for a full investigation into ideas of combat trauma in Sparta.

4.6. Summary

Throughout this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate how resistance to iconic monuments in Sparta helped to create and maintain an image of stability, austerity, and

[689] It is sometimes tempting to see evidence of PTSD in the ancient world, for example in the behaviours of Ajax and Odysseus in drama and epic respectively, as well as the sudden blindness of Epizelus at the battle of Marathon (Hdt. 6.117). However, see Melchior 2011 for an argument against identifying the above with modern notions of PTSD. For an examination of the psychology of the Athenian hoplite: Crowley 2012, esp. 5-21.
[690] Shay 2002, 169-70.
[691] Tritle 2012, 162-3.
[692] Osbourne 2010.
[693] Tritle 2012, 171.

unity of purpose, very much the 'party line' identified by Powell. This image was reinforced by continuity in the types of monuments dedicated, such as the tripods at Amyklai. If such monuments were not clearly labelled, as may be the case, then this continuity may even have confused ancient authors such as Pausanias. At the end of the fifth-century, we start to see the first cracks appearing in this image in certain dedications of Lysander, which broke the mould in terms of artistic form. However, it was not until later in the fourth-century that iconic images truly penetrated Sparta in any great number, a trend which continued and accelerated into the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In order for this image of austerity and an older way of life to be actively maintained for so long, there must have been a tremendous collective desire on the part of the inhabitants in Sparta. This is not difficult to imagine or explain: the fear generated in Sparta's enemies by their reputation was a formidable weapon,[694] while their role as leader of a vast alliance was key to Sparta's power throughout the sixth, fifth and early-fourth-centuries. With the growth of the wealthy Spartan elite in the early-fourth-century, this projection of image becomes increasingly strained.[695] Responses to breaks from the 'party line' are somewhat ad hoc, generally driven by individuals (such as the kings) and could be either lacking completely,[696] slow and subtle,[697] or forced to abandon the traditional monumental agenda and engage directly with other artistic forms.[698]

The lack of major funerary monuments and the persistence of aniconic and archaic forms fits with the above picture and highlight the importance of performative commemoration in

[694] Konijnendijk 2019.
[695] Hodkinson 2000, esp. 151-8, 312-6.
[696] E.g., the lack of response to the monuments of Lysander in Sparta.
[697] E.g., the inscription on the Aigospotamoi Monument which suggests an attempt to reclaim control of the monument for the kings.
[698] E.g., Kyniska's dedication at Olympia.

Sparta. It was a combination of memory and ceramics dedicated at the graveside, which stopped the location of a grave being forgotten. The regular intrusions of later graves into older ones is further evidence against the existence of markers and a sign that human memory was not sufficient to protect the location of a grave forever.[699] The predominantly performative nature of commemoration in Sparta meant that when the remains of an individual could not be returned, some form of monument was needed to fill the void and serve as a focus for commemoration. Even in this case, the forms were simple and aniconic, with enough consistency to suggest a common tradition but sufficient variation to allow them to be identified as private, rather than state, monuments. As a result, the *en polemoi* stelai were entirely in keeping with the overall image of Sparta as projected by their monuments. In addition, simple forms may have been chosen because, quite simply, there was no need for a complex or expensive monument: the general lack of grave markers suggests that there was not a great tradition of competition in funerary architecture of the sort that existed in Athens, at least during the Classical Period.

[699] Tsouli 2016, 366-8.

Chapter 5. Individual and Collective Identity

5.1. Introduction

In Chapter 2, we saw that by the end of the Persian Wars at the latest, the term Lakedaimonians had come to be used consistently in both official and private monumental dedications. In this section, I shall investigate whether this picture is quite so harmonious and homogeneous, or whether there is evidence of particular groups of individuals who are elevated above the rest of the collective, and how such distinctions are transmitted. The work of Hodkinson has demonstrated that Spartiates, let alone Lakedaimonians, were not all equal, and that considerable differences existed between rich and poor.[700] Despite these vast inequalities in wealth we can still detect evidence of attempts to project a vision of equality amongst the Spartiate citizen body, although such measures often appear only skin deep.[701] For example, we hear of restrictions on extravagant display at weddings and funerals,[702] while Plutarch attributes a law to Lykourgos which dictated that only certain tools could be used on the woodwork of houses,[703] in contrast to the great treasures which Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle claimed lay within.[704] Personal appearance was also apparently subject to regulation, with a focus on hairstyle and clothing designed to create uniformity, while also making all Spartiates easily distinguishable.[705]

[700] Hodkinson 2000, esp. ch.7-11.
[701] Van Wees 2017a; 2017b; Davies 2017.
[702] For wedding restrictions: Plut. *Lyk.* 15, cf. Hdt. 6.65. Burial customs: Plut. *Lyk*. 27. 1-2; Arist. *Con. Lak.* fr. 611.13. Van Wees 2017a, 219-223. Sparta was not alone in attempting to curb lavish wedding and funeral display in the late-sixth-century, although its measures went further than most.
[703] Plut. *Lyk*. 13.3-4, cf. *Mor*. 198c; 227c. Plutarch believed that humble exteriors would deter Spartiates from ostentatious display of wealth within. See van Wees 2017a, 214-5.
[704] Plat. *Rep*. 548a-b; Arist. *Pol*. 1269b, 22-5; 1270a, 7-8; 12-15. Xen. *Hell*. 6.5.27 records that when the Thebans invaded Lakonia in 370 they did not dare cross the bridge into Sparta but, keeping the Eurotas on their right, plundered houses 'full of many good things' (πολλῶν κἀγαθῶν μεστὰς).
[705] Hairstyle: Xen. *Lak*. *Pol*. 11.3; 13.9; Arist. *Rhet*. 1367a, 29-31. Pride in hairstyle and appearance: Hdt. 7.208.3; 209.3; Plut. *Artax*. 18.1. (Ktesias: *FGrH* 688 F 28). Clothing: van Wees 2017a, 216-7. See also Chapter 1.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the extent to which differences in wealth and influence translate into the monumental record, and to what extent the central powers in Sparta attempted to regulate such display. It is worth re-iterating the point that Sparta as a state had little by the way of a public treasury, and that most state monuments were probably financed by booty captured after battles or territorial gains.[706] By contrast, individual Spartiates had access to more reliable revenue streams, and so monumental celebration or commemoration was available more consistently, unless subject to regulation by the state or Spartiate citizen body in general.

The Spartan royal families represent a clearly distinct group of individuals who received considerably more honours than non-royal Spartiates, although few are described in much detail, and fewer still have left any trace in the archaeological record.[707] As such, the dedications of kings play a small role in the following discussion, generally only being invoked for comparison with the monuments erected by other self-promoting Spartiates, or when the royal families might have set up their own monuments to directly challenge those of non-royal citizens.

In the following discussion I will first present and analyse the evidence for distinctions in burial with a focus on permanent funerary monuments, inside and outside Spartan territory. After discussing burial evidence, I turn to triumphal monuments, both military and sporting, erected by individuals and on behalf of the Lakedaimonians as a collective. No discussion of individual self-aggrandisement in Sparta would be complete without a special discussion of

[706] Hodkinson 2000, 187-99.
[707] Tomb of Theopompus: Paus. 3.16.6; tombs of Leonidas and Pausanias: 3.14.1; Stone lion for Leonidas at Thermopylai: Hdt. 7.225.2; Statue of Archidamos: Paus. 6.4.9.

Lysander's monumental dedications in the late-fifth-century. Finally, I will briefly examine a separate phenomenon, where an image of an individual serves to represent a larger group.

5.2. Distinction in Burial - Sparta and Lakonia

The most obvious distinctive group in terms of burial practice within Sparta itself were the two royal families, especially the kings, who received considerable funerary honours beyond the dreams of non-royal Spartans.[708] To date no archaeological material has been securely connected with the tombs of either royal house, although the language of Pausanias strongly suggests that above ground markers were visible in the two royal cemeteries.[709] The memorials of Leonidas and Pausanias the regent, and the *heroon* of Kyniska are singled out for special attention by Pausanias and lay outside of the standard royal cemeteries,[710] though this may in part reflect the interests of Pausanias and his audience.[711] It is not surprising that the kings and royal families received prestigious burial rites and, probably, marked tombs. Among the surviving ancient works, it is Plutarch who gives us the most explicit account of the nature of non-royal Spartan burials under the laws of Lykourgos:

> Πρῶτον μὲν γάρ ἀνελὼν διεσιδαιμονίαν ἅπασαν ἐν τῇ πόλει θάπτειν τοὺς νεκρούς, καὶ πλησίον ἔχειν τὰ μνήματα τῶν ἱερῶν οὐκ ἐκώλυσε, συντρόφους ποιῶν ταῖς τοιαύταις ὄψεσι καὶ συνήθεις τοὺς νέους, ὥστε μὴ ταράττεσθαι μηδ' ὀρρωδεῖν τὸν θάνατον ὡς μιαίνοντα τοὺς ἁψαμένους νεκροῦ σώματος ἢ διὰ τάφων διελθόντας. Ἐπείτα συνθάπτειν οὐδὲν εἴασεν, ἀλλὰ ἐν φοινικίδι καὶ φύλλοις ἐλαίας θέντες τὸ σῶμα περιέστελλον. [2] Ἐπιγράψαι δὲ τοὔνομα θάψαντας οὐκ ἐξῆν τοῦ νεκροῦ, πλὴν ἀνδρὸς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ γυναικὸς τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποθανόντων.
>
> Firstly, he removed all religious fear, for he did not prevent them from burying their dead in the city, nor having memorials near the sacred places, thus making

[708] Cartledge 1987, 331-43; Hodkinson 2000, 262-3. Hdt 6.58. Xenophon (*Lak. Pol*. 15.9) states that the kings were honoured as heroes. Cartledge 1988.
[709] Eurypontid tombs in Limnai: Paus. 3.12.8; Agiad tombs in Pitana: Paus. 3.14.2-3.
[710] Leonidas and Pausanias: Paus. 3.14.1; Kyniska: Paus. 3.15.1.
[711] Pretzler 2007, 118-129.

> the youth familiar with such sights, having grown up with them, so that they were not troubled by them and did not fear death as polluting one who touched a dead body or walked among the tombs. Next, he permitted nothing to be buried with the dead, except to wrap the body in a *phoinikis* (scarlet cloak) and olive leaves when they buried it. [2] To inscribe the name of the dead during burial was not allowed, save for a man who died in war, or a holy woman.[712]

Plutarch's text draws heavily on the *Instituta Laconica,* a Hellenistic text which presents a very similar picture.[713] Both of these texts are considerably later than the events that they describe and cannot therefore be treated as an accurate portrayal of burial in Archaic and Classical Sparta. The only text which touches upon non-royal burial in the Classical period is a short mention in Herakleides Lembos, derived from the lost Aristoteleian *Polity of the Lakedaimonians*, stating that 'graves are modest and the same for all'.[714]

The exact meaning of γυναικὸς τῶν ἱερῶν in the Plutarch passage is disputed, but it is unlikely to mean 'women who died in childbirth' (as it is often amended).[715] The translation 'holy woman' is intended to communicate both the spirit and ambiguous nature of the Greek. The existence of four tombstones (*IG* V,1 713; 714; 1128; 1277) which mention women dying in childbirth is not sufficient evidence to drastically amend Plutarch's text: all four are probably of late date,[716] while there are five examples of tombstones mentioning ἱεραί (*IG* V,1 1127; 1129; 1221; 1283; *SEG* 22, 306), also of late date.[717] Finally, while *IG* V,1 1277 does label three women as dying in childbirth, it also has seven not so labelled. In

[712] Plut. *Lyk*. 27.1-2.
[713] *Inst. Lac.* 18 = Plut. *Mor*. 238d. The texts are not identical, but clearly Plutarch was heavily reliant upon the *Instituta Laconica* for his life of Lykourgos. Hodkinson 2000, 244-5.
[714] *Herakleides Lembos* 373.13 (Dilts); Arist. *Lak. Pol*. 611.13; Hodkinson 2000, 244.
[715] For discussion and variant readings, see Brule and Piolot 2004.
[716] Tsouli (2016, 355) claims that *IG* V,1 713 and 714 belong to the Classical period, disputed by Brule and Piolot 2004, 155. *IG* V,1 713 preserves no name, but is written retrograde, perhaps indicating an earlier date. According to *LGPN*, the name Agippia appears only in *IG* V,1 714, generally dated to the Hellenistic period.
[717] Brule and Piolot 2004, 158-9.

summary, women who died in childbirth were honoured and identified on grave markers, but they were not alone in earning this distinction.

The recent excavation of multiple cemeteries on the outskirts of the *komai*, which composed the ancient city of Sparta,[718] in conjunction with the synthesis of numerous intra-communal burials and comparison with contemporary *poleis*,[719] has demonstrated the limitations of the Plutarch passage for our understanding of Spartan burial practice in the Archaic and Classical periods. One particularly striking feature of the cemeteries and, so far as one can tell, the intracommunal burials, is the apparent scarcity of grave markers or monuments.[720] While the possibility that existing grave markers had been removed (either for new constructions or as acts of vandalism) cannot be completely dismissed, it is extremely unlikely. The cemetery was in use for around 300 years, during which time the elevation rose sharply, making any future looting of grave monuments a difficult prospect.[721] Furthermore, there is evidence that, in an attempt to utilise all available space, graves were used for consecutive burials as attested by the presence of bones and skulls found outside the graves themselves.[722] It is unlikely that these earlier graves were knowingly targeted by later generations. Rather, the haphazard nature of the removed bones, especially in contrast to a handful of undisturbed, more clearly marked burials, strongly suggests that for the vast majority there were never any permanent markers.

[718] Tsouli 2016, 354. Thuc. 1.10.2.
[719] Christesen 2018. I also follow Christesen's use of the term 'intra-communal' as opposed to 'intramural'. The use of the latter term creates difficulties as Sparta had no walls until the third-century, which falls beyond the chronological limits of this thesis.
[720] Tsouli 2013, 157; 2016, 355; Christesen 2018, 326.
[721] Christesen 2018, 328.
[722] Tsouli 2016, 366-8.

In light of the general lack of grave markers in Sparta, those few that do exist, however humble they may appear, take on a new level of significance. Such grave markers are few and securely identified and dated examples rarer still. From the Archaic period, excavators have identified pottery vessels as markers: a black glazed hydria for a single grave,[723] and a large relief amphora as the potential *sema* of a small family cemetery.[724] Christesen argues that the former was probably deposited at the grave after a burial ritual, rather than as a grave marker.[725] However, even if the vessel was left after a ritual, rather than set up as a grave marker, its presence would still denote the location of the burial. This may be a secondary, even unintended, purpose of graveside feasting in Sparta,[726] yet the lasting effect of ceramic vessels at the grave could serve to distinguish a place of burial and potentially save such graves from being dug up to make way for a subsequent burial. The large relief amphora described by Christou appears at first to be a more substantial candidate for a deliberate grave marker. The amphora is securely dated to the late-seventh or early-sixth-century and was in deliberate usage in the burial (one of its handles was partly underneath a covering slab).[727] However, there is very good reason to believe that the amphora was in secondary usage, rather than having been created specifically as a grave marker and deposited soon after its construction. Most significantly, the kiln found in close proximity to the cemetery plot (which went out of use before the construction of the tombs) has been convincingly dated to the Byzantine period, rather than the Archaic.[728]

[723] Zavvou and Thermos 2009, 116, along the lines of similar ceramic vessels used as grave markers in Athens: Morris 1987, 151.
[724] Christou 1964a; Tsouli 2016, 361 n. 35.
[725] Christesen 2018, 324-5. Tsouli 2016 for funerary banqueting as a graveside ritual.
[726] On performative commemoration, see below and Tsouli 2016.
[727] Hodkinson 2000, 239-40.
[728] Christesen 2018, Appendix 7. Hasaki (2002, 424 no.393) places the kiln in the Late Antique period. There were very few grave goods, which are not published in sufficient detail (Christou 1964a), to conclusively settle the debate.

Numerous fragments of similar relief amphorae dating *c.*625-550 have been found, though it is unclear whether they served as grave markers.[729] The amphorae were only decorated on one side and were therefore probably designed to be displayed lying down (perhaps on a grave) or with their backs to a wall in a temple. The majority of the surviving fragments were found close to shrines or on the acropolis itself, suggesting a votive rather than funerary function, although many of the amphorae were in secondary usage.[730] Similarly, the so-called hero reliefs, sometimes identified as grave markers,[731] should be understood as regular offerings at the various hero-shrines throughout Sparta and Lakonia.[732] A similar late-archaic example from Magoula depicts a youth holding out food to a snake and holding a spear.[733] The surviving inscription suggests it was dedicated to Thiokles by the 'koroi', suggesting either a grave monument or, perhaps more likely, a votive offering from a group of young men to the memory of a friend or comrade.[734]

The Classical period has yielded virtually no grave markers of any kind, whether from cemeteries or intracommunal burials, although several are described in textual sources. One rare exception is a rectangular stele found at a higher level from a grave just east of the acropolis, which the excavator suggested may

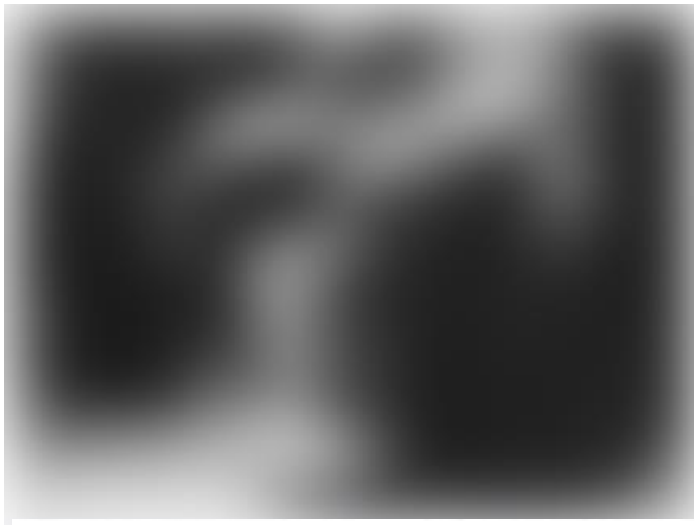

Figure 23. Classical Funerary urn from burial with stele. Zavvou 2002, 483, pl.71a.

[729] Christou 1964b, 172-5; Hodkinson 2000, 240-4.
[730] References are to Christou 1964b. Theatre: I; XVII; XVIII. Acropolis: VIII; XV; XVII. Heroon by the Eurotas: II; V; IX; XIII. Altar by Eurotas: III; X; XI; XII; XV; XVII. Fragments with similar decoration have also been reported from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.
[731] Wace 1937, 219-20; Stibbe 1991, 11.
[732] Salapata 2014, 158; 165, and this work Chapter 4.
[733] *IG* V,1 457; Jeffery 1990, 200 no.29.
[734] Boring (1979, 103) connects the 'koroi' to the *hippeis,* though this connection is tenuous at best.

represent a grave marker.[735] Without further information about the stele it is hard to draw any conclusions, but the presence of a marked grave close to the acropolis would not be unheard of, especially for prominent individuals.[736] There is no mention of any inscription on the stele, nor whether it should be interpreted as marking a single grave or the whole cluster. From the only published photograph of the tomb (Fig. 23), it appears as though the stele may have been used to seal a burial which contained a funerary urn, a common feature in the Hellenistic period but otherwise unknown from Classical Sparta.[737]

There are also two stelai of Classical date from Geraki (ancient Geronthrai) and Neapoli Voion (ancient Voiai), which might be identified as grave markers.[738] The two stelai bear some iconographic similarities to the 'hero-reliefs', though elements such as the snake are absent. Both depict a single seated figure, with greater realism than is found in the hero-reliefs, which might point towards a funerary function, although it may also represent a 'modern' twist on a traditional form of offering. Their findspots, in areas inhabited predominantly by Perioikoi rather than Spartiates, may also demonstrate that certain Perioikoi were more willing to branch out with funerary monuments compared to their more constrained Spartiate neighbours.

We may now turn to those marked tombs and memorials whose interpretation is more secure. The most significant burial monument from the period under consideration is a two-storey tomb, dating to the early-sixth-century, with the main burial on the lower level and subsequent burials on the upper, excavated as part of a small cluster of graves on the

[735] Zavvou 2002, 160. SM 12720γ. Deposits associated with a sanctuary were found close by: Phloures 2001.
[736] See below for monumental Archaic tomb. Other examples: Paus. 3.12.9 (shrine of Alpheios and Maron); 3.14.1 (cenotaph of Brasidas).
[737] Poupaki 2009, 246 for Hellenistic examples; 249 for identification of this urn as earlier in date and therefore potentially Classical.
[738] Stibbe 1996, 254-8, figs. 138-9.

Gerokomeion hill south-east of the acropolis.[739] The two-storey tomb type is described as both 'typical of Sparta' and 'continuing into the Hellenistic period',[740] yet there are no other published examples of two-storey tombs from Archaic or Classical Sparta. The existence of several similar tombs of Hellenistic date, alongside the explicit comparison drawn by Raftopoulou in the publication of the Archaic example, allows for some reconstruction in terms of appearance although it should be noted that the Archaic tomb is described as 'simple'.[741] Although plain in comparison to its Hellenistic relatives, this monumental tomb still represents a significant anomaly amongst the other grave markers of the Archaic and Classical periods, not only due to its size and conspicuous nature, but also the care taken to construct tiled channels which surrounded the tomb and directed rain water away from it.[742] There were at least two phases of these channels, one of which was installed at the same time as the construction of the tomb in the second-quarter of the sixth-century, and another which was added in the late Classical period.[743] The later addition demonstrates that either the tomb belonged to a family who still cared for its maintenance, or that we should treat this as something more akin to a hero-shrine, the care for which might fall to the community or state more generally.[744] The presence of several skeletons within the monument appear to support the idea of a family tomb, although this does not rule out

[739] Raftopoulou 1998, 134-6. Zaimis plot (bb 117A).
[740] Raftopoulou 1998, 134; Tsouli 2016, 361.
[741] Raftopoulou 1998, 134; Christesen 2018, 322-4. Wace and Dickens 1907, pl.VI for a two-level tomb of the Hellenistic period.
[742] Raftopoulou 1998, 134-5, fig. 12.18 shows part of the channel network.
[743] Christesen 2018, 323.
[744] Raftopoulou (1998, 134) states that the tomb later became the site of some sort of worship but provides no explicit evidence to support this (cf. Pavlides 2011, 158-9; Christesen 2018, 323). A handful of vessels have been published in association with the tomb, which were ritually punctured, probably following a funerary banquet at the graveside (Raftopoulou 2006, 138; Tsouli 2016, 362), yet banquets of this kind appear to have occurred more widely and such vessels alone do not constitute sufficient evidence for later worship.

potential veneration at the site. It has also been tentatively suggested that this tomb may be linked to the following fragment of Tyrtaios:[745]

> τὸν δ' ὀλοφύρονται μὲν ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες,
> ἀργαλέῳ δὲ πόθῳ πᾶ σα κέκηδε πόλις,
> καὶ τύμβος καὶ παῖδες ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀρίσημοι
> καὶ παίδων παῖδες καὶ γένος ἐξοπίσω.
> οὐδέποτε κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπόλλυται οὐδ' ὄνομ' αὐτοῦ,
> ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γῆς περ ἐὼν γίγνεται ἀθάνατος,
> ὅντιν' ἀριστεύοντα μένοντά τε μαρνάμενόν τε
> γῆς πέρι καὶ παίδων θοῦρος Ἄρης ὀλέση
>
> The young and old alike lament his death
> and all the people mourn his grievous loss.
> His tomb is greatly honoured among men, as are his sons
> and sons' sons and his lineage evermore.
> Neither his glorious reputation nor his name ever die,
> he still lives on, though laid beneath the ground
> if he stood firm and fought courageously
> for land and children till furious Ares struck him down.[746]

In particular, the line referring to the dead warrior's tomb, and the tombs of his sons calls to mind the two-levels of burial found in the monumental Archaic tomb. However, tempting as it may be to link the two, the current lack of any similar tombs until the Hellenistic period must cast serious doubt on the notion that this monument originally represented the burial afforded to a Spartiate warrior who died in battle. The remarks of Tyrtaios surely refer to tombs in Sparta itself, rather than on distant battlefields, and so we are left to wonder whether at one time it was customary to return the war dead to Sparta.[747] From the mid-

[745] Christesen 2018, Appendix 8, 47. The connection is first drawn (extremely speculatively) by Hodkinson 2000, 239.
[746] Tyr. Fr. 12 (West), 26-34, trans. Hodkinson 2000, 238.
[747] While it was certainly possible to bring war dead home, evidenced both by the restoring of the bodies of the kings and burial practices of Athens (among others, Low 2004), it was probably a difficult undertaking with considerable logistical considerations. Given the Spartan proclivity for quick marches and surprise attacks

sixth-century the textual evidence strongly suggests that it was common practice to bury the dead on the battlefield, or in allied territory close to the site of the battle.[748] Aside from the kings, whose bodies were returned home where possible,[749] there are no securely attested examples that may contradict this view.[750] If it were the case that Tyrtaios' poetry was reflecting monumental tombs of this sort for those who die in battle, we must ask why more have not come to light. It should also be stressed that Tyrtaios nowhere explicitly states that the tomb of the warrior (and those of his sons) were visually distinct from those of other Spartans. Rather, the emphasis is on the opinion of the people, among whom these tombs are 'notable' (ἀρίσημος). This suggests a focus on collective memory, rather than the form of the tomb, as the primary commemorative force. It seems more reasonable, therefore, to suggest that the two-storey tomb belonged to an influential family who were able to deploy their wealth in a monumental tomb that continued in use for over a century.

Further evidence for the distinction of certain groups comes in two forms: horse burials and periboloi enclosures. These periboloi burials do not appear to have differed from the rest of the graves excavated in the cemeteries, beyond the fact that they were more clearly delineated.[751] Far from being permanent features of the cemetery, it is apparent that some of the earliest examples, located at the west side of the Olive Oil cemetery and dating to the

(Powell 1989), it might have been easier to bury the dead at the battlefield. However, the relatively close distance between Sparta and the territory of Messenia over which it was fighting could have allowed for more of the war dead to be returned home, especially given the later tradition of burial in nearby friendly territory.

[748] Pritchett 1985 (IV), 243-6; Low 2006. Kucewicz 2021.

[749] Plut. *Ages*. 40.3 (the Lakonian custom that the bodies of kings be brought home, but that others be buried abroad). For return of the bodies of kings: Xen. *Hell*. 5.3.19 (Agesipolis); Diod. 15.93; Plut. *Ages*. 40.3 (Agesilaos). Note the difference in traditions between the two. Diodorus states that Agesilaos' body was embalmed in honey for return to Sparta, while Plutarch (who is followed by Nepos *Ages*. 8.7) states that it was enclosed in melted wax since they had no honey.

[750] Plut. *Mor*. 235a talks of a Spartan warrior borne home on his shield to Pitane; *Mor*. 241f ('either this or upon this'), and the iconography of the Hunter vase depicting a fallen warrior being carried on his shield (generally interpreted as being carried from the battlefield, rather than all the way home).

[751] Christesen 2018, 326.

sixth-century, were destroyed and supplanted by subsequent enclosures.[752] Only one, Burial Enclosure A, has been fully investigated, yielding six graves in the lower stratum and eight in the upper. Similar to the monumental tomb, the earliest graves could be dated to the sixth-century on the basis of pottery finds, with usage continuing into the Classical period.[753] To date no published report exists on the skeletons, which makes a secure identification of the enclosure difficult, although Tsouli identifies Burial Enclosure A as a family plot. The removal of earlier burial enclosures for the construction of a newer one may therefore either represent an updating of the area by the family, or even competition between Spartiate families for prominence in burial; as the influence of one family wanes (or the family is lost completely),[754] their distinctive tombs are also removed to make way for the newly prominent families. Without further information from the excavations or literary sources, it is impossible to draw concrete conclusions on this question, but it is clear that certain groups, probably influential families, were capable of setting themselves apart in burial. Compared with many of the elaborate sculpted funerary monuments of the Athenian Kerameikos, the Spartan examples appear rather plain and low-key, yet the lack of any sort of marker for the majority of burials makes any form of visible tomb monument extremely significant.

In Burial Enclosure A, the peribolos wall is accompanied by a further mark of distinction: a horse burial at the centre of the enclosure. This represents one of five horse burials currently known in the excavated cemeteries from the Archaic and Classical periods, three

[752] Tsouli 2016, 367-9.
[753] Tsouli 2016, 369 and n. 58.
[754] The loss of whole families was an issue in Sparta: E.g., Leonidas' concerns when setting out for Thermopylai (Hdt. 7.205.2); Hodkinson 1989.

of which (including Burial Enclosure A) can be related to specific human graves.[755] All five horses bore slaughtering marks, but no evidence of burning, indicating that they were killed deliberately but not sacrificed for eating.[756] In contrast to many of the human graves in the cemetery, at least three of the horse burials remained undisturbed by later activity, leading Tsouli to suggest that they served as a locus for a group of family burials.[757] Whether there were any above ground indicators of the presence of the horse sacrifice is unclear (aside from the peribolos example). Pausanias reports a monument for the tomb of the horse sacrificed by Tyndareus, over which the suitors swore to defend Helen and whoever should be chosen as her husband,[758] which might lead one to see other horse burials as indicators of oaths sworn between families, but without earlier literary testimony any such suggestion is completely speculative.[759] The fact that several horse burials remained undisturbed does not necessarily mean that any form of permanent monument was erected above ground to denote its position; if the horse served as the locus for a set of family burials, then group memory would keep its position alive, although some form of small-scale (possibly perishable) marker would not be out of place with the current picture.

[755] Tsouli 2016, 369-70.
[756] Christesen 2018, 327.
[757] Tsouli 2016, 370.
[758] Paus. 3.20.9.
[759] Phaklaris 1986 and Schäfer 1999: horse burials in ancient Greece. Hdt. 6.103.3 records that the horses of Kimon (who won three consecutive crowns at Olympia) were buried next to his family's tomb in Athens. As the burials in Sparta were of a single horse, it is unlikely that this is a similar phenomenon.

Securely identified grave markers for individual Lakedaimonians within Lakonia are very rare,[760] with most examples either too fragmentary,[761] insecurely dated,[762] or ambiguous in purpose, to be confidently identified.[763] The most ambiguous candidates for individual memorials are a small group of stones often identified as memorials for priests. None of these stones originates in Sparta, coming instead from Lakonike and Messenia, nor are any of these stones associated with a burial, with the vast majority in secondary usage. Only one, *IG* V,1 1329 from Leuktra in Lakonike, dated to either the sixth or fifth-century explicitly names the recipient as a priest (*hiareus*).[764] Two other stones from Gerenia and Abia (Messenia) can be dated to the fifth-century and include the names of individuals labelled *hiaros* (a Doric form of *hieros*),[765] while three further undated stones refer to individuals as *hieros*.[766] These may also represent priests, yet the literal interpretation of *hiaros* is something holy, or consecrated, more of a status earned than an office held.[767] Like the *hierai* of the Plutarch passage above, we cannot definitively say how one could attain this special 'holy' status, only that there were certain individuals who were singled out for special honours. The significance of the subtlety of this distinction is considered below (Section 5.3).

[760] Pavlides 2011, 92-3 offers an overview of the epigraphic evidence.
[761] *IG* V,1 722. There is also *IG* V,1 721, a stele inscribed boustrophedon and identified as a cenotaph for a Lakedaimonian killed at the battle of Tanagra in 457 (Boring 1979, no.111). However, Jeffery (1949, 28, n. 27) doubts this identification and argues that -άγραι (commonly restored Τανάγραι) in the last line is not secure, and that the reading -αιραι cannot be excluded. The rest of the inscription is too fragmentary to allow secure identification as a cenotaph, and a date from the mid-fifth-century is far from secure without the reference to Tanagra.
[762] *IG* V,1 711, which is dated to the second-century CE but which Brule and Piolot (2004, 168, n. 20) suggest was copied from an earlier epitaph. As Pavlides (2011, 92, n. 52) points out, no explanation is offered for why this should be viewed as a later copy of an earlier text.
[763] Christesen 2018, Appendix 8. Note also *SEG* 47.352: a fifth-century stone found near Sellasia bearing a name which might represent a burial marker or memorial (Low 2006, 102).
[764] Dillon 2007, 161
[765] *IG* V,1 1338 (Gerenia); *IG* V,1 1356 (Abia). The latter has two individuals, both labelled *hiaros*.
[766] *IG* V,1 1214; 1367; *SEG* 11.951. Another undated stone, *IG* V,1 1223 potentially restores ἥρ[ως], 'hero'.
[767] Hodkinson 2000, 261-2; van Wees 2017a, 221.

From the area of Sparta itself there is a single inscribed fifth-century stone, *IG* V,1 720, more securely identified as a memorial of some kind by the words μνᾶμα Κάλας.[768] The self-identification of the stele as μνᾶμα, a Doric form of μνῆμα (memorial), need not necessarily signify a grave marker. To quote Hodkinson; 'In its earliest usage, the word μνῆμα signified the function of memorialisation performed by an object designed to perpetuate the memory of a dead (or a living) person.'[769] Therefore, in this fifth-century context it seems equally probable that the stone represented a cenotaph, in the same manner as the *en polemoi* stelai, for an individual who was buried outside the limits of Spartan territory. This scant body of evidence of individual grave markers stands in stark contrast to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, during which we see an increase in the number and size of monumental tombs, more epitaphs relating to priests, priestesses, and women who died in childbirth, and more grave markers for individuals not claiming to be soldiers or 'holy' individuals.[770]

Another elevated group is evidenced by the *en polemoi* stelai. The emotional aspect for the dead man's family and friends has been emphasised by Low,[771] while the humble nature of the monuments suggest that they would have been inexpensive and potentially available to a good proportion of the Lakedaimonian population. The stelai have two main purposes for the commemorating group. Firstly, they act as a concession to the emotional needs of the dead individual's family and friends, serving as a focus for mourning and remembrance, especially pertinent for individuals buried far from home.[772] Secondly, the stones amplify

[768] Pavlides 2011, 92. Wallace (1970, 100, 102) describes the stone a 'probably not sepulchral' but does not confront the 'μνᾶμα Κάλας'.
[769] Hodkinson 2000, 249.
[770] See above for monumental tombs. Brule and Piolot 2004, 158-9; Pavlides 2011, 92-3 for female grave markers.
[771] Low 2006, 91.
[772] Tarlow 1997; Oliver 2012.

the memory of the dead warrior by stressing his contribution to the state,[773] which in turn serves to justify the elevated position enjoyed by the commemorating group: they belong to, and enjoy the benefits of, the Lakedaimonian collective identity.

It is also unclear what factors would influence whether an individual received an *en polemoi* marker as opposed to one which labelled them as *hieros*. Whether such stones represent actual burial markers or if, like the *en poleimoi* stelai, they are set up as cenotaphs is unclear. If it were the latter, this may conform with the laws set out in the *Instituta Laconica* concerning having memorials near sacred places; [774] the 'holy' dead, priests, and warriors, even if buried inside Spartan territory in unmarked graves or beyond its borders in *polyandria*, could be honoured with memorials close to the sacred and prominent places in the town.

Although these represent monuments for individuals, their uniform inscriptions, lack of decoration, and unity of purpose serve to create a sub-group within the Spartiate (or Lakedaimonian) community.[775] Unlike other marked burials in Sparta (above), the criterion for inclusion in the group is clear: death in battle. It seems almost certain that a further consideration was that the body of the dead man was not returned home for burial. Similar to present day Commonwealth War-graves, the uniformity of appearance and purpose quickly marks the dead individual (even in the absence of the body) as a soldier who has fallen in service to the state, thereby deserving of respect from the community.[776] The *en polemoi* stelai, by maintaining a consistent iconographic code, instantly convey their

[773] Low 2006, 90-1.
[774] Plut. *Mor.* 238d. For discussion of the passage see Hodkinson 2000, 244-6; Christesen 2018, Appendix 8.
[775] The wide range of findspots of the stones, coupled with the variation of *IG* V,1 1124, the memorial of Eualkes, which adds the place of death (Mantineia) to the inscription, suggest that this may have been a Lakedaimonian, rather than Spartiate practice.
[776] Oliver 2012 who stresses the importance of naming the dead, as well as the uniformity of grave markers.

purpose to the knowing viewer and therefore, unlike funerary monuments which seek to showcase wealth or prominence during life, do not need to be expensive, beautiful, or even very large. Within this sub-group composed of the valiant dead, those who fought and died at Thermopylai were elevated even higher through the stele bearing their names and patronymics located on the acropolis.[777] Presumably, this was a monument erected by the state rather than by private individuals or groups. If so, then one of the motivating factors may have been the inability of some of the families of the dead of Thermopylai to erect their own private memorials, prompting the state to intervene and create a group monument. If there was inequality between the wealth of the various families of the Thermopylai dead, there would probably be a disparity in the quality of memorials erected in their honour (one example of which may be the shrine of Alpheios and Maron). Similar to the motivations of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission in the First World War, where there was a desire to honour all fallen soldiers equally rather than allowing wealthy families to monopolise commemoration and condemn poorer soldiers to anonymity,[778] the Spartan state could have intervened to ensure that all the dead received honourable mention on a memorial in the heart of the city. Taking responsibility for the commemoration of the Thermopylai dead would also discourage competitive commemoration between various families.

In the case of soldiers, priests, and certain athletic victors, the state might choose to take ownership of the commemorative monument. Thus, we hear of the cenotaph of Brasidas

[777] See Chapter 3.3.1.

[778] Oliver 2012, esp. 123. Sir Fredrick Kenyon's 1918 report set out the desire for uniformity of commemoration, (earlier in the war burial practice had been haphazard and lacking central direction). It is possible to imagine a similar *ad hoc* approach in Sparta after the events of Thermopylai, with the state scrambling to regain control of the commemoration of the dead and, effectively, ownership of the battle from the wealthier, influential families of individual war dead.

placed conspicuously on the Spartan acropolis, close to important monuments of the Persian Wars.[779] Brasidas was buried in Amphipolis, where the people honoured him as *oikist*, consciously removing all trace of their earlier, Athenian founder.[780] Brasidas' stock was therefore extremely high in the Hellenic world at the time of his death, and so it is not surprising for the state to take charge of his commemoration, highlighting his worth to the whole of Lakedaimon in a manner above and beyond a private memorial. From Pausanias' description, the form of the memorial is unclear but, while we might suspect a grander monument than a standard *en polemoi* stone, a large monument would not have been necessary, due to the prestigious position it occupied.[781] We have no solid literary examples of a priest being elevated by the state, but several *manteis* (diviners) were given special honours. Firstly, there was a statue of Agias, the seer for Lysander at Aigospotamoi and grandson of the famed Tisamenos,[782] although whether this was erected by the state or by Lysander is a matter of debate. The family of Agias and Tisamenos, the Iamidai, also had a memorial (μνῆμα) close to the shrine of Alpheios and Maron in Sparta.[783] State involvement seems almost certain for this monument, considering not only the service of the Iamidai as *manteis* in Sparta over several generations, but also the story of Tisamenos being lured to Sparta through the gift of citizenship for himself and his brother.[784] The evidence for state honoured athletes is discussed below (Chionis and Hipokoon). Not only were these athletes

[779] Paus. 3.14.1. Few other historical, non-royal Spartiates were honoured with monuments for their military achievements. The most prominent example after Brasidas was Eurybiades, who had a memorial (μνῆμα) close to that of Theopompus and the temple of Lykourgos (Paus. 3.16.6).
[780] Thuc. 5.11.1 for Brasidas' death and hero cult. Burns 2011 for Thucydides' general admiration of Brasidas within his work.
[781] The fact that Pausanias describes it as the cenotaph of 'Brasidas, son of Tellis' might suggest that the patronymic was included on the monument and that therefore it differed from a typical *en polemoi* marker. However, Pausanias could have known the name of Brasidas' father from other sources
[782] Paus. 3.11.5-9.
[783] Paus. 3.12.8. It is important to note that Pausanias describes a single μνῆμα for the Iamidai family.
[784] Hdt. 9.33-6; Paus. 3.11.6-9. The Iamidai were a large family, apparently descended from the mythical Iamos, whose origins are recounted in Pindar. *Ol.* 6, 44-75.

honoured with monuments, but also with ongoing performative commemoration in the form of cult and sacrifices.[785] Graveside rituals, including feasting, appear to have occurred in Sparta,[786] but once again it can be observed that the state had the power to elevate individuals above the level of distinction attainable through private means. Therefore, while individuals could be honoured by their family and friends through markers, location, and ritual activity, the state could, and did, effectively trump private groups in all three spheres.

The final question for this section, which seeks to bring the disparate evidence together, is whether individuals could be venerated for both their manner of death (joining the collective expressed through the *en polemoi* stelai), and for their prominence in life. Alpheios and Maron, who Pausanias describes as the bravest at Thermopylai after Leonidas, had a shrine (ἱερόν) in Sparta that was still standing at the time of Pausanias' visit.[787] Herodotus makes the two brothers third bravest, after Leonidas and Dienekes, with the latter being famous for his witty sayings which, Herodotus tells us, he left as a memorial (λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα).[788] This remark may suggest a contrast with Alpheios and Maron, who left behind an actual, physical memorial which Herodotus would have seen while in Sparta, thereby implying a date soon after the battle for its creation.[789] Herodotus also supplies a patronymic for the brothers, but not for Dienekes, which may suggest either an elite family, or that their shrine included an inscription. Hodkinson has argued that their

[785] Paus. 3.15.7 for Hipposthenes' temple and sacrifices. Christesen 2010 for potential cult of Chionis.
[786] Tsouli 2016. Plut. *Lyk*. 27.1-2 states that Lykourgos limited mourning to 11 days, while *Mor* 238d has it banned completely. On mourning and lamentation: Cartledge 2012. Sparta mirrors restrictions in mourning from elsewhere in Greece in the sixth-century and beyond: Hodkinson 2000, 2446-7; van Wees 2017a, 220-3; 225.
[787] Paus. 3.12.9.
[788] Hdt. 7.226-7.
[789] Huxley 1982. Nafissi (1991, 31) states that the peripheral location of the shrine (as opposed to a more prestigious plot closer to the acropolis) implies that it was erected in a family plot. Hodkinson (2000, 257, n. 60) argues that this is unprovable and that its mere existence must imply official sanction.

standing need not be that of an elite family, and that the interest shown in them owed more to their fraternity evoking images of the Dioskouroi.[790] However, in light of the two-level tomb, as well as the delineated periboloi burials, I would argue that the combination of both a heroic death and pre-existing status could well have led to a significant monument, and that perhaps the two-level monumental tomb even represents something along these lines.[791] It should be stressed that both the manner of one's death and station in life might allow a memorial, but the family of the dead individual needed to have sufficient wealth and influence in order to capitalise and set it up. This may also explain why many of the grave markers denote a cluster of tombs rather than a single one.

5.3. Distinction in Burial – Foreign Territory

While most tombs in Sparta lacked prominent burial markers of any kind, there were limited opportunities for influential groups to stand out from the crowd. In the case of the list of the 300, there is the further possibility that we can observe the state reacting to private commemorative monuments in an attempt to curb both the display of wealthier families and to reclaim the memorialisation of a major event.[792] Outside of the borders of their own territory, it would seem more difficult for the state to impose restrictions on burial, but it would be even harder for individual families to exercise their own influence. While on campaign the main Lakedaimonian army was under the control of the king, with smaller

[790] Hodkinson 2000, 258.
[791] It is clear from another fragment of Tyrtaios (Fr.11 West) that the formation contained light armoured soldiers and archers (Viggiano and Van Wees 2013, 57-60 for a more 'open' picture of the early Greek phalanx). In this model, the more heavily armoured warriors who fought and died at the front would belong to the upper strata of society, and thus the tombs of Tyrtaios Fr. 12 surely refer to already (relatively) wealthy families and individuals (Van Wees 2004, 47).
[792] For similar motivation regarding athletic victory monuments: Christesen 2010.

forces under the command of Lakedaimonians (generally, but not exclusively, Spartiates),[793] both of whom could be held to account on their return to Sparta.[794] A commander who knew their actions would be under close scrutiny on their return would be loath to risk the scorn of the ephors by erecting monuments which did not fit a common Spartan 'ideal'. Therefore, we might expect the burial of soldiers away on campaign to be governed by a set of pre-existing values, upheld by the commander of the force.

Securely identified grave markers for Lakedaimonians beyond their own territory are limited to the memorial for Pleistas on Euboia,[795] and a fourth-century grave marker found at Thespiai for Hipoklees the Lakedaimonian.[796] Walker has coherently argued that Pleistas may have been brought to friendly territory in Euboia after conflict in Athens, and so could conceivably have been the only casualty.[797] We have no further information regarding the death and subsequent burial of Hipoklees. The most prominent memorials set up by the Spartans outside their own territory honoured kings: the lion for Leonidas at Thermopylai and a statue of Archidamos set up at Olympia. Pausanias describes the statue of Archidamos as the first of any Spartan king set up by the state, a special honour which he attributes to failure to return the king's body from Italy, where he was killed fighting for Taras in 338.[798]

[793] Thuc. 8.6.4 records Phyrinis, a Perioikos, sent to investigate matters on Chios. Thuc. 8.22.1-2 has the land forces of the Peloponnesians commanded by Eualas, a Spartiate, with the fleet under the command of Diniadas, a Perioikos. Diniadas seems to have autonomous command, procuring the revolts of Methymna and Mytilene and garrisoning the fleet as he sees fit.
[794] Cartledge 1987, 105-6. Pritchett 1974 (II), 4-33, esp. table 1. There are numerous Spartan kings brought to trial for their actions on campaign, who were either subsequently acquitted (Hdt. 6.82; Thuc. 1.128.3; Paus. 3.5.2), banished (Hdt. 6.72), fined (Thuc. 5.63) or sentenced to death (Xen. *Hell*. 3.5.25). Similarly, we hear of many non-royal commanders being tried upon their return home. Apart from Sphodrias who was acquitted at Agesilaos' behest (Xen. *Hell*. 5.4.22-32), all those recorded were either fined (Xen. *Hell*. 5.4.19; Plut. *Pelop*. 6), banished (Thuc. 5.72.1; Xen. *Hell*. 3.1.8) or sentenced to death (Plut. *Lys*.16; Xen. *Anab*. 2.6.4; Xen. *Hell*. 5.4.13). Powell 2010.
[795] *IG* XII, 9.286.
[796] *IG* VII, 1904. Cartledge 1987, 337.
[797] Walker 2004, 227-9.
[798] Paus. 6.4.9. Diod. 16.63.1 records the death of Archidamos but not the fate of the body (Palagia 2009, 32).

Aside from a very small number of grave-markers for individual Spartiates and Lakedaimonians, burial in a mass tomb at or near the battlefield was the prevailing practice from the mid-sixth-century onwards.[799] To date, only one has been discovered and archaeologically investigated: the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians in Athens (Chapter 3.2). While this tomb will prove important to the following discussion, we should be cautious when applying the conventions seen therein to other examples reported only in literary texts. The tomb was created in a unique moment and its construction and design were governed by many unusual factors.

The tomb was built in multiple phases (Fig. 9) and the final form of the monument actually serves to mask the distinction which would previously have been enjoyed by particular individuals. In the initial phase, Sk.15 recipient of an alabastron, the only non-ceramic grave-good recorded, received an individual burial, while the second structure was internally subdivided and accommodated skeletons 1-6 in one part and 7-9 in another (Sk.7 was further separated from 8 and 9 by a large stone).[800] These two tombs were subsequently connected by Sk.16, another individual burial.

The next phase of burial saw skeletons 17 and 24 given individual burials, while 19-23 shared a single section of the tomb. The later examples of individual burial (16, 17, and 24) can be explained by the continued presence of Lakedaimonian soldiers in Athens, who would be engaged in small scale skirmishes while the eventual peace treaty was being negotiated and therefore could have died in small numbers, their burials added to the tomb as they fell.[801] The individual burial of Sk.15 in a separate tomb is rather harder to explain;

[799] Pritchett 1985 (IV), 243-6.
[800] Christesen 2021, 13-15.
[801] Xen. *Hell*. 2.4.35-43; Stroszeck 2013, 385.

clearly this was an individual who merited some level of distinction, evidenced not only by his individual burial but also the presence of the alabastron. One might suspect that this is the body of either a polemarch or the Olympic victor. However, Sks.7-9, buried with extra care and set apart from the others are more commonly identified as the three individuals named by Xenophon.[802] Sks. 8 and 9, estimated to be aged between 25 and 35, fit the criteria for the two polemarchs. Sk.7 is estimated to have been no older than 20, which means, if this individual is identified as Lakrates the Olympic victor, that he could conceivably have won his crown in 404 at the age of 19. However, there is a strong possibility that Sk. 15, whose age has never been estimated, buried in an individual tomb and in receipt of the only grave offering, should be identified with Lakrates, although this leaves us with the problem of the identity of Sk. 7. The inscription, which names (and labels) the two polemarchs and which surely once contained the names of at least the first 14 inhabitants of the tomb cannot provide much clarity on this matter. If the third name was Lakrates, as has been argued on the assumption that Xenophon is quoting from the inscription when giving names,[803] then he should probably be identified with Sk.7, for the inscription would not have covered the section containing Sk.15.[804] Whoever these two truly were, we find that at least one more Lakedaimonian was worthy of distinction during burial than Xenophon names in his description of the events of 403. The overall picture from this monument supports the idea that, while all the Lakedaimonian war-dead receive honours in burial, there are a handful of individuals who are elevated above their fellows. In this tomb, distinction was afforded to those who had achieved a higher rank or a great deed (in this

[802] Van Hook 1932, 291; Hodkinson 2000, 252; Stroszeck 2013, 387-8.
[803] A slight issue with this interpretation is that the polemarchs are listed in a different order in Xenophon's account from the inscription, and that the names are spelled differently (Hodkinson 2000, 270 n. 68).
[804] Stroszeck 2013, 389.

case an Olympic victory) before their death. The reasons for elevating a fourth individual must remain a mystery.

The distinction enjoyed by certain individuals in the Kerameikos tomb leads us to arguably the most important, controversial, and debated text concerning the burial of the Lakedaimonian war-dead: Herodotus' description of the burial of the dead after the battle of Plataia in 479:

> Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ὡς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὴν ληίην διείλοντο, ἔθαπτον τοὺς ἑωυτῶν χωρὶς ἕκαστοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τριξὰς ἐποιήσαντο θήκας, ἔνθα μὲν τοὺς ἱρέας ἔθαψαν, τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ἦσαν καὶ Φιλοκύων τε καὶ Καλλικράτης. Ἐν μὲν δὴ ἐνὶ τῶν τάφων ἦσαν οἱ ἱρέες, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ οἱ ἄλλοι Σπαρτιῆται, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ οἱ εἵλωτες.
>
> The Greeks at Plataia, when they had divided up the booty, each buried their own dead separately. The Lakedaimonians made three tombs. In one they buried the ἱρέες, among them Poseidonios, Amompharetos, Philokyon, and Kallikrates. So, the ἱρέες were in one grave, in another the rest of the Spartiates, and in a third the helots.[805]

There are several problems with this passage which have long been recognised by scholars, most pertinently for the present discussion are the identity of the ἱρέες,[806] the nature of the three tombs (when Pausanias would later only report one),[807] and the absence of the Perioikoi in tombs built by the 'Lakedaimonians'. Later textual sources offer little to dispute or correct Herodotus' account of the aftermath of Plataia. Thucydides appears to contradict Herodotus' statement about the Athenian dead by having Perikles claim that, aside from the

[805] Hdt. 9.85. Trans. Christesen 2021, slightly modified.
[806] The most common translation is 'priests'. However, Poseidonios, Amompharetos and Philokyon are recorded as the bravest fighters at Plataia (Hdt. 9.71), making the overlap extremely unlikely (Christesen 2021, 2-3).
[807] Paus. 9.2.5.

dead of Marathon, the Athenian war dead were always brought home for burial, though this is reasonably presumed to be a narrative device.[808] Diodorus offers only an inflated estimate of the total number of Greeks slain, with no mention of memorials.[809] Plutarch's *Aristides* differs from Herodotus in the description of the battle, but offers little on the tombs constructed afterwards, except to say that 'the total number of those who fell, and the memorials to them, demonstrate a common success'.[810] This implies multiple tombs for different contingents, but cannot add anything to the discussion of whether the Lakedaimonians had one tomb or three, nor who was buried in each. Plutarch's *On the Malice of Herodotus* fails to mention the tomb(s) of the Lakedaimonians, which might have provoked Plutarch's ire if described incorrectly.[811] Pausanias, visiting the site some 600 years later, provides the most direct contradiction of Herodotus' report, describing only three tombs: one for the Lakedaimonians, one for the Athenians, and third for the rest of the Greeks.[812] The site visited by Pausanias probably bore little resemblance to that seen by Herodotus in the fifth-century, supported by Plutarch's repeated mentions of multiple tombs at the battlefield.[813]

Similarly, the Perioikoi go unmentioned in later reports of the battle (which consistently speak of 5,000 Spartiates each attended by seven Helots),[814] leaving some mystery as to where their dead were buried. Unless the Perioikoi suffered no casualties (only the 91

[808] Thuc. 2.34.5. Hornblower 1991-1996, Vol. 1, 294 for Thucydides citing the best-known exception rather than reeling off a complete list.
[809] Diod. 11.30.1 (close to 100,000 Greeks present); 11.33.1 (more than 10,000 slain). The casualties are not divided by contingent, nor is there any mention of tombs.
[810] Plut. *Aris*. 19.5. On the battle generally: Plut. *Aris*. 10-21. Christesen 2021, 10.
[811] Plut. *Mor.* 871e-873d, esp. 872f, 873c. On this see Pelling 2007; Marincola 2016.
[812] Paus. 9.2.5.
[813] Flower and Marincola 2002, 254; Christesen 2021, 10-11
[814] Plut. *Mor* 871e-f; *Aris*. 10.7.

Spartiates are mentioned by Herodotus),[815] it is hard to square the wording of the passage with any realistic picture: Herodotus tells us that the Lakedaimonians made three tombs, but that not one contained any Lakedaimonians other than Spartiates. I would concur with Christesen that the most reasonable assumption is that the second tomb contained a mixture of Lakedaimonians.[816] To Christesen's arguments I would add that the burials at Plataia would not represent the first occasion where it appears Herodotus has overlooked the Perioikoi: a similar omission has occurred in his description of Thermopylai. Here, Herodotus records only 300 Spartiates,[817] whereas Diodorus, following Ephorus and potentially another lost source, mentions 1000 Lakedaimonians, including 300 Spartiates.[818] Van Wees has recently demonstrated that large parts of the Thermopylai 'legend' which formed the basis for the accounts of Diodorus, Plutarch, and Justin, were known to Herodotus,[819] including the tradition about the number of Lakedaimonians present. The epigram in the pass, seen by Herodotus, stating that 4000 Peloponnesians fought against the Persians supports the presence of the Perioikoi in early versions of the Thermopylai narrative, and I concur with Van Wees that the number of Lakedaimonians (1000) cited in the non-Herodotean accounts is probably accurate.[820] Flower suggests that the Perioikoi are omitted from Herodotus' report because they did not remain in the pass to die with the

[815] Flower and Marincola 2002, 231, 255; Christesen 2021, 43-44. Richer (2012, 171) doubts very much that the Perioikoi avoided taking casualties. The wording of Hdt. 9.70.5 is somewhat unclear, in that it refers to casualties sustained among the Lakedaimonians from Sparta (Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης).
[816] Christesen 2021, 45.
[817] Hdt. 7.205.2. Herodotus' total count of Peloponnesian hoplites at Thermopylai is 3100 (7.202), yet the epitaph he quotes (7.228.1) counts 4000.
[818] Diod. 11.4.5. The literal Greek says that there were 1000 Lakedaimonians and 'with them 300 Spartiates' (καὶ συν ἀὐτοῖς Σπαρτιᾶται τριακόσιοι) for a total of 1300, but this is at odds with Diodorus' own figures (Leonidas took 1000 Lakedaimonians in total, plus 3000 other Greeks, for a total of 4000 hoplites: Diod. 11.4.5-6). Understanding the former passage as 1000 Lakedaimonians, including 300 Spartiates also conforms with the epitaphs honouring the 4000 from the Peloponnese, Flower 1998, 367-8.
[819] Van Wees 2018.
[820] Epigram: Hdt. 7.228.1; Van Wees 2018, 29-31.

300 Spartiates, yet there is no evidence to support this beyond their absence from Herodotus' account.[821] Hammond's solution is that the 1000 Lakedaimonians have dropped out of the text,[822] a position rejected by Flower.[823]

A reasonable solution, therefore, especially in light of the mysterious vanishing Perioikoi at Plataia, is that Herodotus is focused on the bravery and sacrifice of the Spartiates alone and so passes over the details concerning the Perioikoi. In the case of Thermopylai, Herodotus may have been influenced by the stele in Sparta bearing the names of the Spartiates who fell with Leonidas. This stele only recorded Spartiates, and so may have shaped the focus and interest of Herodotus.[824] Similarly, the poem of Simonides in honour of the Thermopylai dead, as quoted by Diodorus, was most likely performed in Sparta.[825] If this is so, the poem may also have focused strongly on the fallen Spartiates, as opposed to the Lakedaimonians more broadly.

Finally, I return to the debate over the identity of the ἱρέες. Christesen has recently summarised the six major arguments over the occupants of the tomb of the ἱρέες, which previous scholarship has focused upon when discussing Herodotus 9.85. In the order given by Christesen these are:

(1) Herodotus' list of the men decorated for bravery is incomplete

(2) Herodotus' list of the occupants of the tomb of the ἱρέες is incomplete

[821] Flower 1989, 368. Flower cites two passages of Isocrates (*Panegyricus* 90 and *Archidamus* 99) which attest the presence of 1000 Lakedaimonians but, as he admits himself (n. 20), both passages imply that all 1000 Lakedaimonians perished in the pass.
[822] Hammond 1996, 12, n. 9.
[823] Flower 1989, n. 19.
[824] Van Wees 2018, 31-2. Van Wees dates the stele *c.*440, to coincide with the apparent removal of Leonidas' bones to Sparta. However, see Chapter 3 for a potentially earlier dating of the stele, which fits as well, if not better, with the early creation of the Thermopylai 'legend'.
[825] Diod. 11.11.6. Simonides Fr. 531 (Page).

(3) ἱρέες should be emended to ἱρένες

(4) ἱρέες should be emended to ἱππέες

(5) ἱρέες should be translated as 'men who fought heroically' rather than as 'priests'

(6) the phrase τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ἦσαν καὶ Φιλοκύων τε καὶ Καλλικράτης should be athetized.

Solutions (1) – (3) are almost certainly untenable for the reasons set out by Christesen and therefore to avoid needless repetition are not treated here.[826] The potential emendation to ἱππέες makes good sense in terms of matching the men decorated for bravery,[827] plus Kallikrates as the most beautiful (and possibly the tallest) man in the force.[828] If one accepts this reading, then it fits with the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians in that individuals who had gained distinction in life are singled out for special privileges during burial. However, a major problem is the palaeographical improbability of the emendation,[829] especially when Herodotus has earlier used the term ἱππέες.[830] Solution (6), that the phrase τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ἦσαν καὶ Φιλοκύων τε καὶ Καλλικράτης should be athetized, is preferred by Christesen on the grounds that the wording does not fit and requires a textual emendation of some kind.[831] This would leave the inhabitants of the first tomb as 'priests', presumably a small percentage of the Lakedaimonian army but generally held to be recipients of special treatment.[832] However, as discussed above, these examples may not be priests at all, but refer to dead who were somehow 'holy' or 'consecrated'. One must also

[826] Christesen 2021, 18-31.
[827] Figeuira 2006 for the Spartan ἱππέες. These elite troops would probably be positioned where the fighting was fiercest and, already being well regarded, were very likely to be considered when the prizes for valour were being decided.
[828] Christesen 2021, 32. Plut. *Aris*. 17.7 for Kallikrates as the tallest man in the whole Greek army.
[829] Christesen 2021, 32.
[830] Hdt. 1.67.5; 8.124.3.
[831] Christesen 2021, 45.
[832] *IG* V,1 1338; *IG* V,1 1356. Christesen 2021, 45, n. 136.

wonder what would bring a later editor of Herodotus' work to insert the names of the four Spartiates in whom Herodotus had shown an interest into a context in which they very clearly did not belong. The solution is certainly tenable, but it is difficult to explain the lack of extra care afforded to either the bravest warriors or those who had gained distinction before the battle, as is the case in the tomb in the Kerameikos, the poetry of Tyrtaios, and, probably, Alpheios and Maron after Thermopylai.

We turn therefore to Solution (5), translating ἰρέες as 'men who fought heroically', which has the benefit of matching the named inhabitants of the tomb with the description of the type of men to be found within.[833] It is, however, not without issue, most pertinently the inclusion of Kallikrates, who died after being shot with an arrow before the hand-to-hand fighting began, and those selected for extra honours in the Kerameikos tomb, all of whom had gained distinction before the battle in which they fell.[834] This solution alone is therefore far from perfect, but we could slightly amend our understanding of ἰρέες (derived from ἱερός), to mean not merely 'those who fought heroically', but 'those who received sacred honours'. This is a slight change from the solution of Richer but could be used to explain the presence of Kallikrates in the tomb if he had gained distinction before Plataia so as to be thought worthy of extra honours after death in the manner of the two polemarchs and the Olympic victor in the Kerameikos. Such honour could either relate to an individual's rank or station,[835] previous noteworthy deeds,[836] manner of death,[837] or a combination of two or

[833] Hodkinson 2000, 258; Richer 2012, 165-78.
[834] Christesen 2021, 34-9.
[835] E.g., the burials of individual commanders, which may have been more prestigious or otherwise elevated above their fellows: Hdt. 5.63.4 (Anchimolios); Plut. *Lys*. 29.3; Paus. 9.33.1 (Lysander).
[836] E.g., an Olympic victory (Lakrates in the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians, cf. Plut. *Lyk*. 22.4; Christesen 2012, 228; n. 117 for Olympic victors fighting beside the kings in battle). Alternatively, it could be a military action which received praise and recognition, as in the case of Brasidas (Thuc. 2.25.2).
[837] For example, the honours granted to the dead of Thermopylai, but also the 300 from the battle of the Champions (Low 2006, 93-5; 99).

more such factors.[838] It also fits with the literal meaning of ἱερός as 'consecrated' (discussed above), as well as Herodotus' use of ἱερός elsewhere in his *Histories*.[839] If we take this reading – that those in the tomb of the ἱρέες were picked out for special honours, either due to their deeds on the battlefield at Plataia, or their pre-existing station and good standing, then we have the benefit of not having to emend the text of Herodotus, nor confront any difficulty with the inhabitants of the tomb. Although far from perfect, I would argue that this solution matches with the distinctions in burial practice observed both in the Kerameikos tomb and in Sparta, while also tying together the available literary evidence.

We can see, therefore, that both in our most detailed textual reference and our only archaeological example of Lakedaimonian tombs that a small group of individuals was elevated above their fellows through the manner of their burial. In the Kerameikos tomb individuals were distinguished by the manner of burial and an allocated space within the tomb. If all the dead were all named in the inscription, then the labels afforded to the two polemarchs become the markers of their superiority: they are included among the Lakedaimonians but are distinguished in death for the rank achieved in life. Lakrates, the Olympic victor, may have been so labelled on the tomb, prompting Xenophon to include his name.[840] Without the rest of the inscription, we cannot know whether any of the other dead were afforded a rank or description, but Xenophon's decision to include only three names, two of whom were definitely labelled as superior on the inscription, strongly supports the

[838] It is not clear whether the Amompharetos honoured for bravery is the same as the commander of *lochos* of Pitane who argued with Pausanias (Hdt. 9.53-7; 9.71), but this would be an example of an individual who had gained prominence before the battle, was entrusted with command, and subsequently judged one of the bravest.

[839] Elsewhere in his histories Herodotus uses ἱερός to denote the sacred quality of objects and ideas: At 2.42.6 he speaks of a sacred coffin (ἱρῇ θήκῃ) and, in a more abstract use of the word, at 2.81.2 we are told 'there is a sacred legend about this' (ἔστι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἱρὸς λόγος λεγόμενος).

[840] Compare the third-century *en polemoi* stele, which labels Euryades as Olympic victor (*IG* V,1 708); Low 2006, 87-8.

idea that the other dead had no such labels. The distinguishing markers are small, but significant nonetheless, in promoting a small group above the other honoured dead.

In Herodotus 9.85 we hear of a separate tomb for those in receipt of honours. The extent to which this was a definitively separate structure as opposed to a division within a single tomb is impossible to say without archaeological evidence. We hear that the tomb at Plataia bore verses of Simonides, as did that of the Athenians,[841] but there is no mention of any form of casualty list in the manner the Athenians erected for the dead of Marathon,[842] or the Spartans set up for those who fell at Thermopylai. However, as I have argued previously in relation to the list of the Thermopylai dead, an emerging epigraphic culture of naming the dead is quite strong in the fifth-century, with examples from Athens, Samos, and Corinth.[843] The lack of archaeological remains or explicit literary testimony is an issue, yet Xenophon, for example, never states that he learned the names of the polemarchs in the Kerameikos from an inscription, and so were it not for the luck of the stone's survival we would probably assume that Xenophon gained his information from first-hand enquiry.[844] It is therefore not out of question that an inscription naming the 91 Spartiate dead could have been set up at Plataia in the fifth-century, and that such an inscription could have elevated certain individuals above the rest through labels.

Without hard evidence, we can only speculate as to the situation at Plataia, but a distinction can be observed in the inscriptions set up at Thermopylai, reported by Herodotus. We are told that the Thermopylai dead were buried in the pass, presumably with no distinction

[841] Paus. 9.2.5.
[842] For the monument to the dead of Marathon, dated soon after 490: *SEG* 56.430; Keesling 2012; Janko 2014. On the Athenian casualty lists generally: Arrington 2010; Low 2010.
[843] Cenotaph in Corinth: Plut. *Mor*. 870a–871c; Duffy 2018, 124, no.46. Samos: Hdt. 6.14.3. On the links between Sparta and Samos: Jeffery and Cartledge 1982.
[844] For a similar phenomenon in Herodotus: West 1985.

between men of different rank, standing, or even *polis*. It was therefore through a combination of inscriptions and monuments that the dead were honoured and elevated. Herodotus reports three inscriptions: one for the Peloponnesians, one for the Lakedaimonians, and a third for the seer Megistios (which was apparently erected by Simonides on his own initiative).[845] Finally, in addition to the mass burial, there was a statue of a lion set up in honour of Leonidas.[846] The hierarchy as established here is relatively clear: all of the Peloponnesians are honoured collectively by the first inscription, the Lakedaimonians are elevated above the rest of the dead by the second inscription, and Leonidas is honoured above all the rest through the erection of the lion sculpture.

5.4. Triumphal Monuments

As mentioned earlier (Chapter 2.1), most celebratory dedications for military victories were made in the name either of the Spartiates or, universally from the Persian Wars onwards, the Lakedaimonians. Aside from the dedications of Lysander, there are very few examples which buck this trend throughout the Archaic and Classical periods. We hear from Thucydides that Pausanias the regent attempted to have his own name inscribed on the Serpent Column and tripod dedicated after the Persian Wars.[847] It is also apparent that he successfully inscribed a large cauldron on the Hellespont in his own honour.[848] In the late-fifth or early-fourth-century, King Agis erected a dedication on a tall column, probably in order to compete with the dedications of Lysander.[849] It was not unusual in the Greek world

[845] Hdt. 7.228.
[846] Hdt. 7.225.2. See this work, Chapter 3.
[847] Thuc. 1.132.2 for inscription in the Delphic tripod.
[848] Ath. 12.50 for inscription. Hdt. 4.81 mentions the vessel in a comparison with the much larger cauldron of Ariantes but does not quote the inscription.
[849] Plut. *Mor*. 467e. Scott 2010, 111, no. 214.

for army commanders to take charge of dedications from booty won by the whole force, and so it should not be too surprising that we find examples of this from Pausanias the regent,[850] although his inscription on the tripod at Delphi caused outrage and was replaced with a list of the allied Greek *poleis*. It is also noteworthy that these examples of individuals dedicating monuments for military triumph come from members of the royal families. The sixth-century bronze plaque at Olympia, which once stood next to arms dedicated by Eurystratidas the Lakedaimonian, may represent a small-scale exception, but this is as likely to be an offering of his own arms as captured spoils.[851]

If we turn to the city of Sparta itself, we once more find no solid evidence of military victory monuments which glorify an individual rather than the collective. Several public monuments had been created with the booty won on campaign, but the prevailing picture is that said booty was returned to Sparta, where the state commissioned the monuments. The most enigmatic finds which may be connected to an individual are the fragments of the so-called 'Leonidas' statue, discovered during Woodward's excavations on the Spartan acropolis in 1925 and 1926.[852] The work can be dated to the early years of the fifth-century and has been tentatively attributed to a Lakonian sculptor,[853] although it appears that it did not remain standing for long, with the great earthquake of 465/4 suggested as the cause of its destruction.[854] The statue was over life sized, with a Corinthian style helmet bearing rams horns on the cheek guards. The statue features a style of facial hair - beard with no

[850] Pritchett 1979 (III), 269-74.
[851] Jeffery 1990, 199 no.19
[852] Woodward and Hobling 1925, 253-66 for first fragments of the torso, left leg, right foot, shield, and helmet crest. Part of the left arm was discovered the following year: Woodward et al. 1927, 45.
[853] Kourinou 2006, 223.
[854] Palagia 1993, 167-9.

moustache - which conforms to literary depictions of the Spartans,[855] also seen on small Archaic Lakonian bronzes.[856] It should be noted that such hairstyles were not uncommon among the Greek upper classes of the Archaic period, although they gradually disappeared elsewhere.[857] This distinctive style of facial hair makes identification with gods or heroes of myth difficult and suggests that this was either an individual portrait or a representation of a generic, or idealised, Spartiate. The 'Leonidas' statue was possibly part of a scene of combat involving two or more statues based on the recovery of other fragments in the area.[858] However, there exist discrepancies in dating between these fragments, some of which should be dated earlier than the 'Leonidas'.[859] It was long believed that the statue was made from imported Parian marble, but recent work has demonstrated that the source was in fact a shallow marble deposit on a plateau north of Vresthena, to the north of Sparti.[860] Interpretation of the 'Leonidas' sculpture is difficult; it appears too large to sit comfortably on a temple pediment and the whole statue is finely sculpted, suggesting it was perhaps meant to be viewed in the round.[861] There are no historical references to portrait statues of individual Spartiates being set up in stone in the early-fifth-century, and it is probable that the statue would no longer be visible even by the time of Herodotus' visits to Sparta in the mid-fifth century. The association with Leonidas was made almost as soon as the statue was discovered, with the heroic king representing an obvious candidate for personalised

[855] Xen. *Lak*. *Pol*. 11.3; Plut. *Mor*. 189c; 228f. Plutarch, citing Aristotle, says that when the ephors entered office they commanded all men to shave off their moustaches (Plut. *Kleom*. 9.2).
[856] Prost 2017, 160-1.
[857] Van Wees 2017a, 216. The Spartans of the Classical period therefore did not adopt the style so much as refuse to abandon it, as Greek elites in other cities did.
[858] Prost 2017, 160.
[859] Boardman 1985, 52; Palagia 1993, 167-9.
[860] Christien 2017, 627-8.
[861] In contrast to certain other Lakonian works of the late Archaic period, for example SM 325 and 364, both of which have roughly rounded backs.

commemoration in the early-fifth-century,[862] although others suggest that it may be a *hoplitodromos* from a statue group.[863] In the absence of other securely identified fragments, inscriptions, comparative material, or literary references, it is problematic to incorporate the 'Leonidas' statue into an analysis of individual triumphal or commemorative monuments, and so it must, for now, remain an enigma.

While monuments celebrating individual military triumph were certainly rare, individual celebrations of sporting success were numerous and conspicuous, both in Sparta itself and at Olympia. The Spartans, either side of the ban on their presence instated by the Eleans, had close ties with Olympia.[864] It was their closest major sanctuary and, following their conquest of Messenia, they controlled the major routes into Olympia itself. As far back as the eighth and seventh-centuries, the Spartans were already exercising a 'predatory' dominance of Olympia through the persistent dedication of tripods,[865] as well as apparently excelling in the early games.[866] It is curious therefore that, in contrast to their rivals, individual Spartan victory monuments appeared comparatively late and, initially, were very few.[867] In addition, it seems that athletes (as opposed to winners of equestrian events) were initially only honoured posthumously. The first example we hear of is an early-fifth-century

[862] Woodward and Hobling 1926, 265-6.
[863] Richer 2018, 249-50.
[864] Elean control over the sanctuary is particularly visible in the years 420-399, when Elis joined the anti-Spartan alliance alongside Athens and Argos, resisting Spartan attempts to regain control for 20 years before finally succumbing following Sparta's victory over Athens. Thuc. 5.47.11. for the bronze stele with terms of the alliance erected in Olympia. Xen. *Hell*. 3.2.26 for Agis' sacrifice after Elis' eventual capitulation.
[865] Morgen 1990, 102 for Sparta's 'predatory' relationship with Olympia; Scott 2010, 146 (tripods), 152 (*Perirrhanterion*), 153: surviving vessel attachments from the eighth and seventh-centuries suggest Corinthian or Lakonian workmanship, though this does not necessarily mean Corinthian and Lakonian dedicators. Stibbe (2000, 159-162) has identified a potential joint Lakonian-Corinthian bronzeworking centre in the vicinity of Dodona.
[866] De Ste Croix 1972, 354-5; Hodkinson 1999, 161-3: from the Olympic victory lists covering the years 720-576, over half the victors in athletic contests were Spartan.
[867] If the so called 'Leonidas' is interpreted as a *hoplitodromos*, it would represent a very early example of a monument for an athlete.

statue of a seventh-century athlete (Chionis), placed next to a statue of a (presumably still living) victor: Astylos of Syracuse.[868] Chionis was also honoured in Sparta with a stele detailing his victories, and possibly even a heroic cult.[869] In addition, we hear of a statue of Eutelidas, another seventh-century victor, which was constructed sometime before 457.[870] Both of these monuments are more likely to be state dedications rather than private offerings, set up to compete with similar athletic statues dedicated by other poleis at this time.[871] Other individual athletes were clearly raised to prominence under certain facets of the Spartan state both at Olympia and closer to home where, in addition to Chionis, we hear of a temple dedicated to Hipposthenes, another seventh-century athlete who was probably honoured in a similar manner to Chionis in the early-fifth-century.[872] A statue of Hetoimokles, son of Hipposthenes, was also seen by Pausanias in Sparta, and although we have no solid information about the date of its installation, it seems logical to associate it with the dedication of a temple to his father.[873] By celebrating long dead athletes in this way, the powers that be in Sparta were not only elevating individuals but also promoting the glory that they won for the Lakedaimonian state. We should note that Sparta was not alone in honouring long-dead athletic victors during the first-half of the fifth-century.[874] Nor was Sparta unique in apparently setting up stelai that recorded the winners of certain athletic or equestrian events, which were almost certainly administered at a more local

[868] Paus. 6.13.2. Hodkinson 1999, 165 who argues that the placement of the statue to rival that of Astylos was related to the dispute between Sparta and Syracuse over the command of the Greek forces in 480 (Hdt. 7.158-60).
[869] Paus. 3.14.2-3. For the potential heroization of Chionis: Christesen 2010.
[870] Paus. 6.15.8. Hodkinson 1999, 165, 180-1, esp. note. 39 for refutation of the argument that Eutelidas' statue was contemporary with his victories.
[871] Scott 2010, 199-201.
[872] Christesen 2010, 38-9.
[873] Paus. 3.13.9; Christesen 2019, 209, no.33.
[874] Christesen 2010, 37-9. Other examples of long dead athletes honoured in the fifth-century include Oibotas (Paus. 7.17.6-14), Orsippos (Paus. 1.44.1), and possibly Hipposthenes (Paus. 3.15.7).

level, particularly in the case of contests at specific sanctuaries, which would have kept their own records.[875] The significance of the mere existence of such lists should not be underestimated, especially when compared to the dearth of funerary inscriptions recovered from Sparta. Sadly, in most cases it is difficult to ascertain the event in which the potential victors competed, meaning we do not know whether these were equestrian competitions only open to wealthy Spartiates, or athletic contests which would be accessible to a wider section of the Spartiate, and Lakedaimonian, population.[876]

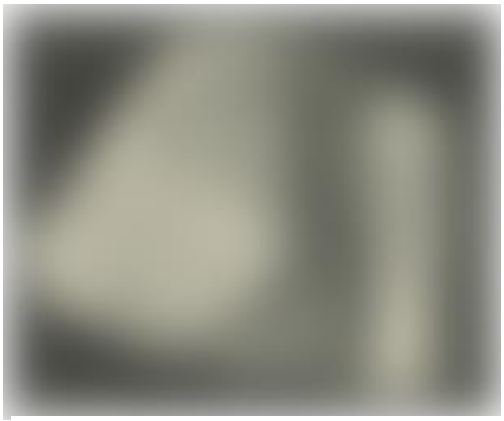

Figure 24. Stele of 'Ainetos' from Amyklai. Von Massow 1926, abb. 1

In contrast to those athletes who were elevated at the behest of the state (or one of the royal families), we also find many monuments set up by victors in both athletic and equestrian events. The athletic dedications appear earlier and are very simple in form, generally limited to a stele recording a list of victories dedicated in a temple.[877] A stele with a discus thrower in relief dated to *c.*475 (Fig. 24), found at Amyklai and tentatively associated with a certain Ainetos known from Pausanias, represents the earliest securely identified athletic victory dedication with an image of the victor included (the others are all simple stelai with inscriptions).[878] A late Archaic inscribed base which once held an offering in secondary use was recovered from Magoula, leaving us with no indication of the original form of the monument.[879] Victory dedications by athletes

[875] *SEG* 11.638; *IG* V,1 357; 721; 1134; 1133. Christesen 2019, nos. 12, 13, 15, 20, 21 respectively.
[876] *IG* V,1 255 (Christesen 2019 no.8), a stele from Artemis Orthia is probably athletic or gymnic. One of the others has even been suggested as for a musical contest (*SEG* 1.87; Christesen 2019 no.17.)
[877] *IG* V,1 222; *SEG* 11.652; Jeffery 1990, 201, no.41; *SEG* 11.693; *IG* V,1 239b; *IG* V,1 120; *IG* V,1 2. Christesen 2019 nos. 3, 10, 11, 14, 16, 18, 19 respectively.
[878] Paus. 3.18.7; *SEG* 11.696; Christesen 2019, no.5.
[879] *IG* V,1 238. SM 611; Boring 1979, 103 no. 47; Christesen 2019 no.31. Dated to the first-quarter of the fifth-century.

are relatively common during the late-sixth and early-fifth-centuries, but by the end of the fifth-century into the fourth they are increasingly challenged by the rise in dedications of equestrian victory monuments. This switch from celebrating athletic success which was, notionally at least, a measure of strength and skill, to triumph in equestrian events, for which the only condition was wealth, represents a major shift in the celebratory traditions of the Spartiates.

The early stages of this shift in celebratory focus appear to have occurred not in Sparta, but at Olympia, a hotbed for athletic and equestrian victory monuments dedicated by all manner of individuals and poleis. Victory monuments were almost certainly also dedicated at Delphi; we hear from Pausanias of the Spartan Polykles who commissioned several statues of himself and won races at the Pythian games, but few have been recovered. Many of these dedications would have been removed by the Phokians to pay mercenaries in the fourth-century and so were lost long before Pausanias' visit to Delphi.[880]

Some restraint seems to have been exercised in the earliest dedications made by Lakedaimonian equestrian victors: Euagoras, the first Spartan recorded to have made a dedication (540s), set up a bronze chariot,[881] in keeping with other equestrian victory offerings at the time.[882] Despite the dedication of life sized statues by at least three non-Spartan equestrian victors in the early fifth-century, the Spartiate Polypeithes (winner of the chariot race in 484) follows Euagoras in offering a representation of a chariot, but also (as part of the same monument) dedicated a representation of his father, Kalliteles, victor in

[880] Scott 2010, 124-5.
[881] Paus. 6.10.8.
[882] Hodkinson 2000, 320-1. Contemporary athletic victors from other states were dedicating life sized statues of themselves (Paus. 6.18.7), but there is no record of a winner of a chariot race following suit until *c.* 516 (Paus. 6.10.6-8).

the wrestling contest.[883] The fact that the image is that of the father, an athletic victor, suggests that there was still hesitation on the part of Polypeithes to offer an image of himself, whether from a state imposed ban, or the relative prestige afforded to athletes over equestrian victors. It is unclear whether Kalliteles was still alive at the time of his son's victory dedication and, in keeping with the trend for honouring deceased athletes discussed above, it may be that Polypeithes elected to set up a posthumous image of his father.

These dedications, as well as those of Lakedaimonian athletic victors, were placed amongst the general population of victory offerings. From 450 onwards this picture changes and we see a rapid acceleration of Spartan victors in chariot races dedicating statues of themselves. Between 448 and 384 we hear of nine statues dedicated by eight victors (Arkesilaos, winner in 448 and 444, dedicated two statues of himself).[884] Although the erection of personal statues marks a new trend in Spartan dedications, few of the monuments included anything more than the statue itself, therefore remaining relatively modest in comparison with the statue groups of other dedicants.[885] The fact that they were grouped together, in their own exclusive area of the sanctuary close to the temple of Hera,[886] may explain this lack of elaborate statuary: the victors were not competing with the offerings from around the Greek world, but their fellow Spartiates.[887] It is interesting therefore that, even when separated from the offerings of other Greeks, the Spartan dedications used the same iconographical forms to promote themselves and their victories, even if initially on a more

[883] Paus. 6.16.6; Hodkinson 2000, 321. Pausanias' description of this monument leads to confusion about its form, though most favour the image of a stele with a relief carving of Kalliteles the wrestler, plus a chariot in relief on the same stele (Hodkinson 1999, 180, n. 35).
[884] Paus. 6.2.2.
[885] Hodkinson 2000, 321.
[886] See Chapter 6.
[887] Some of the victors may have been wealthy Perioikoi, rather than Spartiates: Pausanias' language is rather too vague to draw a definite conclusion. It seems probable, however, that most of the statues recorded by Pausanias belonged to Spartiates.

humble scale. The statue group of Polykles (winner in 424) broke the mould, consisting of himself holding the ribbon, plus two boys (presumably his sons), one asking for the ribbon, the other holding a chariot wheel.[888] Polykles' more spectacular monument reflects his devotion to, and success at, chariot racing. He was also a victor at the three other games on the crown circuit, earning himself the punning nickname 'Polychalkos' ('rich in bronze', or 'much-bronzed' in reference to his many dedications of bronze victory statues).[889] The primary motivation of these dedications was not to bring glory to the *polis*, but to reflect the glory of an individual, although it is almost certain that the inscribed bases would have included an identifier (Lakedaimonian or, less likely, Spartiate). Most of these victors acted in their own interest, but it should be noted that the Spartan victors were joining a much wider group with whom they competed for prominence, both through the setting apart of victory monuments in a distinct section, as well as the added value element of their victory inscriptions.[890] By setting up monuments to their victories, athletic and equestrian victors conceivably constitute another collective within Spartiate society, competing with wealthy individuals from other *poleis*, those Spartiates who could not afford to breed race horses, and one another.

Eventually we see an attempt to curb, or at the very least diminish, the excesses of Spartiate horse breeders and their coveting of glory through statue dedications at Olympia in the dedications of Kyniska, who offered the most lavish monument dedicated by an equestrian victor. In addition to setting up miniature bronze horses in the pronaos of the temple of Zeus,[891] a statue group featuring herself, her chariot, horses, and charioteer was set up in

[888] Paus. 6.1.7-8.
[889] Hodkinson 2000, 321.
[890] Distinct space at Olympia: Scott 2010, 191; 204. Added value: Hodkinson 2000, 322-3.
[891] Paus. 5.12.5.

the Spartiate only section.[892] Regardless of whether Agesilaos had encouraged her participation, [893] Kyniska's victory inscription was certainly self-aggrandising, and highlighted her royal roots (see Chapter 2.2.2 for text).

Back in Sparta we see an increase in the number of self-promotional monuments erected by individuals to celebrate equestrian success, although we hear of only one statue from the Classical period, in marked contrast to the large number of portrait statues dedicated at Olympia. This was the statue of Euryleonis whose victory in the chariot race is dated to 368 by Moretti, although no further explanation is offered.[894] We know nothing else about Euryleonis, although the name may suggest a connection to the Eurypontid royal family, or possibly a link (or allusion) to Euryleon, a prominent Spartiate who travelled to Sicily with the Spartan prince Doreios *c.*510 and was briefly tyrant of Selinous.[895] It is possible that Pausanias saw other victory monuments, including statues, in Sparta but passed over them, mentioning Euryleonis for the exceptional fact that she was another Spartan woman who had won a chariot race at Olympia, confirming his earlier statement that 'after Kyniska other women, especially those of Lakedaimon, have won Olympic victories.'[896]

Although the forms are very different, the existence of monuments which promoted individual equestrian triumph, rather than a contribution to the collective, heroic deeds in battle, or even physical prowess, illustrates a potential loosening on the strict restrictions or conventions of the state.[897] The significance of the form of the monuments has been

[892] Paus. 6.1.6. Parts of the bases of statues have survived showing Kyniska's statue to be over-life sized (Palagia 2009, figs. 3 and 4).
[893] Xen. Ages. 9.6.
[894] Paus. 3.17.6; Moretti 1957, no. 368; Christesen 2019, no.36.
[895] Hdt. 5.46. Richer 2010, 11-3 for 'leontophoric' names: two of eight on record belong to kings, the others to distinguished Spartiates.
[896] Paus. 3.8.1.
[897] This trend comes to fruition in terms of monumental tombs in the Hellenistic period (Raftopoulou 1998, 134-6; Christesen 2018, 328-332).

considered elsewhere,[898] here their most significant feature is the very existence of monumental dedications that, first and foremost, promoted the prominence of an individual, and were set up by that individual. The fact that these monuments were erected both in Sparta and Olympia by horse breeders, representing the wealthiest Spartiate families, further highlights the breakdown of the overall monumental agenda promoting equality, harmony, and contribution to the collective, held by Sparta since the time of the Persian Wars at the latest. The focus on continuing family achievement seen in the dedication of Polypeithes did apparently continue into the second-half of the fifth-century, for an inscription on the base of Anaxandridos' victory statue proclaimed that his grandfather had won an Olympic crown in the wrestling.[899] Lichas, a Spartan victor of the late-fifth-century, set up his portrait statue next to that of his father, Arkesilaos, who had earlier achieved victory in the chariot race.[900] In other cases we either see a move away from a focus on family achievement, or it may be that Pausanias does not record patronymics or similar familial boasts on the statues of the other Spartiate victors he enumerates. Kyniska's dedicatory inscription may therefore represent something of a hybrid between this focus on family achievement and the later-fifth and early-fourth-century dedications which focused on personal glory.

[898] See Chapter 4. The high cost of bronze has been identified as a potential concern for the statues at Olympia (Hodkinson 2000, 322; Palagia 2009, 36) and we could expand this reasoning to suggest that it would have been even more expensive to erect a bronze statue in Sparta in the absence of the sort of on-site bronze workshops and body of sculptors present at major sanctuaries.
[899] Paus. 6.1.7; Moretti 1957, no. 327. Anaxandridos was apparently the first in his family to win an equestrian event.
[900] Paus. 6.2.1.

5.5. The Case of Lysander

Whilst wealthy Spartiates sought to win fame through the dedication of portrait statues for their equestrian victories, or honour their dead with memorials bearing their names, none had ever come close to the sort of monumental agenda attempted by Lysander after the victory at Aigospotamoi in 405 and the surrender of Athens the following year. His attempts at self-promotion through monuments were such that he demands his own sub-section in a discussion of monuments erected by individuals.

Following the critical victory at Aigospotamoi, Lysander came into possession of a quantity of booty not seen since the Persian Wars. In addition, we hear from Xenophon that the Persian prince Cyrus 'assigned to Lysander all the tribute which came in from his cities and belonged to him personally'.[901] Anaxandrides of Delphi wrote that Lysander stored nearly two talents of silver in the Treasury of Brasidas and the Akanthians, money which may well have come from the tribute assigned to Lysander by Cyrus. [902] This wealth, alongside the prestige he had gained for his military service and leadership, allowed him to cultivate a previously unprecedented cult of personality,[903] and to erect a monument in celebration of Aigospotamoi at Delphi.[904] Lysander's position among the divine figures of the front row, accompanied only by his inner circle, could imply that he was given his victory by the gods, rather than by the Lakedaimonians or any of his allies,[905] although the massed statues

[901] Xen. *Hell*. 2.1.14 (trans. Loeb).
[902] Plut. *Lys*. 18.2. (*BNJ* 404 F. 2); Hodkinson 2000, 345. Plutarch states in the same passage that this report is in contrast to generally accepted accounts of Lysander's poverty. However, Athenaios (12.543b-c) claims that 'almost every historian says that Pausanias and Lysander were famous for living in luxury,' with the exception being Theopompus of Chios (*BNJ* 115. F.20). Plut. *Lys*. 30.2-3 also cites Theopompus (F.333) when claiming Lysander has little wealth when he died.
[903] Rice 1993, 228.
[904] For the monument see, Paus. 10.9.7-8; Plut. *Lys.* 18.1; Plut. *Mor.* 395b, 397f; Bourguet 1929 24-41; Arnold 1969, 33-36; Bommelaer 1991, 108-110; Jacquemin 1999, 338. For recent discussion see Flower 1988; Palagia 2009; Ruzé 2017; Round and Thompson (forthcoming). Also, Chapter 3 of this thesis.
[905] Keesling 2017, 106.

representing the allied commanders in the second row seem to undermine this view somewhat.

In order to ascertain the extent to which we should see the monuments erected by Lysander as evidence of self-aggrandisement, it is necessary to discuss Lysander's other promotional activities. Plutarch cites Douris of Samos, who tells us that Samos honoured Lysander with a portrait statue at Olympia,[906] with altars, sacrifices and paeans, and that the Samians even voted to change the name of their ancient festival of Hera from *Heraia* to *Lysandreia*.[907] This has been seen as coveting divine status on a par with the kings of Sparta, as such practices would not have been appropriate for a mortal who had not undergone apotheosis.[908] Whether this was happening during his lifetime, or immediately following his death, is contested.[909] Ephesos, the centre of Lysander's operations in Asia Minor, dedicated a further portrait statue in their own temple of Artemis.[910] It is, of course, impossible to know to what extend Lysander himself was the driving force behind such unprecedented honours, but it is hard to envisage him objecting to such worship. Of his own volition, he dedicated a further statue of himself at Delphi, placed in the Treasury of Brasidas and the Akanthians,

[906] Paus. 6.3.14-5. Lysander may have been unable to dedicate at Olympia due to Spartans being banned from the sanctuary by Eleans at this time.
[907] Plut. *Lys.* 18.3-5 (= Douris *BNJ* 76 F.71), also Ath. 15.52.696e (=*BNJ* 76 F.26) for paians sung to Lysander. Plut. *Lys*. 18.4 also records an anecdote in which Lysander personally crowned the poet Nikeratos of Herakleia, though this may be a later tradition (Flower 1988, 131-3). For the *Lysandreia* generally: Beck-Schachter 2016. The existence of the festival is confirmed by an inscription, which honours a four-time victor in the pankration at the *Lysandreia* (Homann-Wedeking 1965, 440).
[908] Flower 1988, 128; Plut. *Lys*. 18.4-6. It was not unheard of for living individuals to receive heroic sacrifices, e.g., Thuc. 5.11.1 for Hagnon, recipient of founder cult in Amphipolis, who would still be alive when his cult was re-dedicated to Brasidas. For further, less definitive examples and discussion on the nature of heroic honours, see Currie 2005, 159-72. The emphasis of the Douris passage quoted in Plutarch is therefore that Lysander was the first to receive sacrifices in his lifetime *as a god*.
[909] Plut. *Lys.* 18.4-6. For deification following death: Badian 1981, 33-44; Flower 1988, 131. For deification during his lifetime: *BNJ* 76 F. 93, 94; Flower 1988, 132.
[910] Paus. 6.3.15. On this occasion, Lysander was not the only Spartan honoured with a statue, for Pausanias reports further portrait statues of 'Eteonikos, Pharax, and other Spartiates quite unknown to the Greek world'.

alongside a gold and ivory trireme gifted to him by the Persian Cyrus.[911] Furthermore, from the Athenian Treasury lists we hear of a golden wreath dedicated there bearing the inscription 'Λύσανδρος Ἀριστοκρίτο Λακεδαιμόνιος' (Lysander, son of Aristokritos, the Lakedaimonian),[912] with two similar wreaths dedicated on Delos, the symbolic heart of the Delian League.[913] Self-promotion to quite this degree is not attested by any other Lakedaimonian during the Classical period: individual military monuments could be erected to distinguish an individual from the broader collective, but generally did so by stressing the contribution of that individual to that collective.

While Lysander was certainly adored in Samos and coveted divinity in Delphi, in Sparta he appears corseted by convention, dedicating tripods at Amyklai and embellishing existing structures.[914] Whereas beyond the borders of Lakonia Lysander appears enthusiastic and innovative in his pursuit of glory through monumental display, back in Sparta his offerings conform to existing patterns or serve as embellishments to pre-existing structures. Whether he was actively prevented from pursuing a more self-serving agenda by the machinations of the Spartan state, or he simply did not dare to attempt such a display in Sparta is debateable, but it is tempting to see elements of both arguments influencing his decisions. Although his offerings at home conformed to pre-existing patterns, they were still considerable in size and cost and clearly well enough associated with Lysander himself that several centuries later

[911] Plut. *Lys*. 1.1; 18.1.
[912] Present in *IG* II^2, 1388, 31-2; 1400, 14-5 and justifiably restored to *IG* II^2, 1386; 1393; 1407. The earliest inscription dates to 400, the latest to 385/4. Hurwit 2000, 60.
[913] Hodkinson 2000, 346 argues that these crowns were created on Lysander's behalf by his grateful friends, in a similar vein to the statues erected by the Ephesians and Samians. Nevin (2016) sees them as dedications by a victorious conqueror. Whether or not Lysander was aggressively demonstrating his victories personally, he would surely have approved of and supported the dedication of these crowns.
[914] Paus. 3.17.4; 3.18.7-8. See this work, Chapter 4.4.

Pausanias would still remark that Lysander (as opposed to the Lakedaimonians) had dedicated them.

Beyond the curtailing of his monumental ambitions, it is also possible to detect a hostility towards Lysander in Sparta, particularly in the apparent lack of commemoration after his death at Haliartos in 395. Lysander was buried alongside the rest of the dead from the battle, presumably in a common tomb, although Plutarch mentions a personal monument (μνημεῖόν) for Lysander standing by the road from Delphi to Chaironeia.[915] Pausanias also mentions a μνῆμα (tomb or memorial) for Lysander at Haliartos, which could be interpreted as either a cenotaph, a later invented tradition, or a combination of the two.[916]

The fact that later writers pick out the tomb of Lysander himself may suggest a level of distinction afforded to him in death that would set him apart from the rest of the dead but may also be explained by the special interest that the authors themselves would have in his burial.[917] It would have been possible for the body to be returned to Sparta for a more prestigious burial, but it appears that this was an honour reserved for the kings.[918] It is more striking that there is no mention of any memorial in Sparta for such an important (and successful) Spartan commander, in stark contrast to the tomb of Eurybiades and the cenotaph of Brasidas, two other non-royal fifth-century Spartan commanders of some merit.[919] It is extremely unlikely that such a monument could have existed for Lysander and been passed over by Pausanias during his description of Sparta, due to the interest that the author clearly

[915] Plut. *Lys*. 29.3. Xen. *Hell*. 3.5.23-4 strongly implies that all the dead were taken up out of Haliartos. Plutarch refers only to the burial of Lysander, but we may infer that the Lakedaimonians buried all their dead in the territory of their allies, the Panopeans (Low 2006, 95-6).
[916] Paus. 9.32. Cenotaph: Bommelaer 1981, 7. Invented tradition: Austin 1931, 209.
[917] Hodkinson 2000, 257 for elevated burial of certain Spartans. Pritchett (1985 (IV), 164) highlights the tendency for historical accounts to focus on prominent individuals, even in collective burials. Cf. Low 2006, 95 and n. 32.
[918] Cartledge 1987, 331-343.
[919] Tomb of Eurybiades: Paus. 3.16.6; Cenotaph of Brasidas: Paus. 3.14.1.

demonstrates elsewhere for Lysander. This opposition was apparently not universal, as evidenced by King Pausanias' exile after being accused of failing to meet Lysander at Haliartos on time deliberately, but it was probably sufficient to ensure, particularly within the royal-families who were most threatened by such a prominent individual,[920] that he received few to no honours from the state. Indeed, the hostility of the royal houses to Lysander began before his death, when Agesilaos sought to actively curb Lysander's influence with the allies in 396/5,[921] while Pausanias had brought about the return of democracy in Athens in 403 after the 'Thirty' installed by Lysander had incited revolt.[922] Of the fourth-century historians, it appears that only Theopompus took a favourable view of Lysander.[923] Most notably Ephorus, who strongly influenced the accounts of Diodorus and Plutarch, was critical of Lysander for the accumulation and bringing of wealth into Sparta,[924] bribing the oracles of Delphi, Dodona, and Siwa,[925] and the controversial pamphlet proposing a new constitution opening the kingship to all Spartiates.[926]

In light of Lysander's self-aggrandisement on the one hand and the relative disdain with which he was treated by the Lakedaimonian state on the other, we can now return to the date of the inscription on the base of his statue, as well as the one placed under Polydeukes (See Chapter 3.1 for text).

[920] Millender 2019, 42-6.
[921] Xen. *Hell*. 3.4.7; Plut. *Lys*. 23; *Ages*. 7-8; Flower 1988, 132-3.
[922] Xen. *Hell*. 2.4.35-6.
[923] Flower 1988, 133. Ath. 12.643b-c (*BNJ* 115 F. 20).
[924] Plut. *Lys*. 17.1-4 (= Ephorus *BNJ* 70 F.205). Theopompus (*BNJ* 115 F.332) is also cited in support of this story.
[925] Plut. *Lys*. 25.3 (*BNJ* 70 F. 206).
[926] Plut. *Lys.* 30.1-4 (*BNJ* 70 F. 207). Aristotle (*Pol*. 1301b) apparently knew, though did not necessarily believe, the story of Lysander's proposed reforms. For discussion on the nature of the reforms: Davies 2018. For summary of arguments concerning whether this was an invention to discredit Lysander: Cartledge 1987, 94-6; Kennell 2010, 134 (both of whom conclude that the plot fits with what we know of Lysander).

Within the context of Lysander's self-aggrandising agenda and the opposition to it in Sparta, particularly from both royal families, I believe it is possible to at least state that the second epigram, to Polydeukes, was added after the one for Lysander. This is apparent from the fact that it appears to correct the self-promotion of Lysander, who went so far as to proclaim that he crowned the state of Lakedaimon, a serious departure from monuments which highlighted a contribution to the collective. It is hard to imagine such an inscription being added to the monument after Lysander's death, especially considering the lack of commemoration afforded him. It could be that Lysander himself had the second epigram added, in an attempt to appease and reassure the powers in Sparta that he was not claiming the victory all for himself. It seems more probable, however, that this inscription was added, whether after Lysander's death or not, by the state driven by one of the royal families, to reclaim the decisive victory of the Peloponnesian War from Lysander. The close link between the Dioskouroi and the kings is a well-established one, meaning that bestowing the command upon Polydeukes, rather than Lysander or even any of the gods present on the monument, effectively brought the victory back under the domain of the kings. Once more, we may see an element within the state effectively firefighting to regain control of monuments dedicated by individuals.

There is one final question that must be dealt with in the case of Lysander. Was he truly unique, either in his attempts at self-aggrandisement or the reaction that he provoked? The most obvious comparison is Pausanias the regent, victor at the battle of Plataia and (briefly) head of the Greek war effort in Asia Minor,[927] who came into a great deal of war booty,[928]

[927] Thuc. 1.94 (Pausanias sets out in command of Greek forces and captures Byzantion), 1.95.1-3 (recalled after complaints about his conduct).
[928] Hdt. 9.81.2.

inscribed his own name onto victory monuments and subsequently had an inscription at Delphi erased and corrected by the Lakedaimonians,[929] allegedly conspired with the king of Persia to become ruler of all Greece,[930] and was accused of plotting with the Helots against Sparta's traditional form of governance.[931] Pausanias' alleged crimes were certainly far greater than any of the criticisms levelled at Lysander and so direct comparison is difficult.[932] However, we can see a similarity in the response of the state to Pausanias' attempts at self-promotion through monuments, namely that the inscriptions could be corrected and made more acceptable. In Pausanias' case this involved the erasure of his original verses, while in Lysander's case the reaction was softer, a simple shifting of credit for the victory away from the commander and back to the royal families. King Agis may also have been trying to compete with Lysander when he set up his own dedication at Delphi, on a tall column, with the inscription 'Agis, King of sea and land, dedicated me.'[933]

Pausanias and Lysander may have been the most ambitious Spartan commanders in terms of their monumental dedications, but they were far from the only prominent individuals brought down or reined in by elements within the Spartan state. As Powell has argued, Sparta was restless under the control of royalty,[934] and the recall and execution of Pausanias was entirely in keeping with the treatment of royal commanders in the early-fifth-century.[935] An interesting detail in the banishment of King Leotychidas, accused of taking a bribe instead of

[929] Thuc. 1.132.2.
[930] Thuc. 1.128-30.
[931] Thuc. 1.132.4.
[932] Powell 2010, 111-2.
[933] Plut. *Mor*. 467e
[934] Powell 2010.
[935] Powell 2010, 126-7 for full overview of rulers from late-sixth to mid-fourth-centuries. The early-fifth-century saw Damaratos deposed and exiled to Persia in 491 (Hdt. 6.65-7), while Leotychidas, who took his throne, was banished in the 470s (Hdt. 6.72). Kleomenes, Damaratos' rival, fled out of fear of being put to death, was recalled and reinstated, before being imprisoned and committing suicide (*c*.490) having apparently fallen into madness (Hdt. 6.74-5).

subduing Thessaly,[936] was that his house in Sparta was destroyed, a threat also made to King Agis in the late-fifth-century. [937] In a similar vein to the erasure of Pausanias' name from the tripod at Delphi, or the lack of post-mortem commemoration of Lysander, it appears that the Spartans knew when not to allow permanent reminders of particular individuals.

The regular recall, trials, exile, and even execution for royal Spartans throughout the Archaic and Classical periods demonstrates that there were plenty of reasons for the kings (effectively generals for life: Arist. *Pol*. 1285a) to feel insecure in their position.[938] Powell has stressed that personal jealousy and enmity were important factors in the treatment of Spartan commanders. As we have seen, this worked both ways; just as kings were subject to the jealousy and plots of other (royal and non-royal) Spartiates, so other prominent Spartan commanders like Lysander could be undermined by the royal houses. The jealousy (φθόνος) of the leading men in Sparta is cited by Thucydides as a reason why Brasidas did not receive the reinforcements he requested,[939] although the fact that some reinforcements were eventually sent out may highlight divisions within the upper echelons of Spartan society.[940] However, Brasidas did not, or did not have the opportunity to, pursue personal glory through the creation of monuments, and so any jealousy did not extend to his legacy and he was honoured with a cenotaph in Sparta.[941]

[936] A similar charge had been levelled at Kleomenes (Hdt. 6.82), though he was acquitted.
[937] Powell (2017b, 294) states that this was to show, with an enduring visual effect, that Leotychidas had no future in Sparta. Thuc. 5.63.2 for the threat to destroy Agis' house in Sparta.
[938] Powell 2010, 127. From Kleomenes to Agesilaos, seven out of eleven kings were either executed, exiled, or threatened with exile. Only Leonidas (died in battle), Pleistarchos (a minor for most of his reign), Archidamos, and Agesilaos escaped this fate.
[939] Thuc. 4.108.7.
[940] Brasidas' actions in receiving the revolt of Skione after the declaration of peace are backed by the Lakedaimonian authorities (Thuc. 4.122), and we hear later of an Ischagoras' failed attempt to levy an army to support Brasidas, with only certain Spartiate and Lakedaimonian officers arriving to help (Thuc. 4.132).
[941] Paus. 3.14.1.

Lysander sits in a strange position when compared with other named Spartan commanders of the Archaic and Classical periods. There were certainly some within Sparta who were envious of his success and sought to curb his influence, yet he also successfully evaded any accusations of wrongdoing during his lifetime. Perhaps this was the most exceptional feature of Lysander's life, that despite his repeated success, accumulation of booty, and dedication of self-aggrandising monuments, he was never seriously threatened with execution or exile. The charges brought against King Pausanias after Lysander's death may highlight that there were still many in Sparta who admired him, but they may just as easily reveal that there were plenty who were hostile to Pausanias and used the defeat at Haliartos to bring charges against him.

5.6. Individuals representing larger groups

The final section of this chapter examines several cases in which an individual portrayed or named in a monument may be representing a much larger group. For the purposes of this thesis, I have limited discussion to representations of and dedications to historical characters, rather than expanding into the realm of gods and heroes. These examples are interesting as they potentially provide a relatively full picture of the ways in which individuals could come to stand in for a larger collective. The evidence below has been divided into two categories: firstly, laudatory examples, where the praise and honour heaped upon an individual may be applied to a much wider group. Secondly, the tables are turned completely with examples of monuments that depict individuals but should be understood as proclaiming dominance and celebrating victory over considerably more foes.

5.6.1. Military commanders representing a larger force?

The first problem with which we have to contend here is the tendency of historians to focus on the actions of prominent individuals at the expense of a collective, which may in turn draw us into believing that certain individuals were in fact singled out for extra honours, when this need not be true at all. In terms of the Spartan material, there are two prime examples, both relating to burials, where only the tomb of the commander is mentioned: Anchimolios in Attica and Lysander in the territory of the Panopeans.[942]

The story of Anchimolios is related by Herodotus, who recounts a disastrous Lakedaimonian incursion into Attica:

> Ἐμπεσοῦσα δὲ διέφθειρε ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν Αγχιμόλιον: τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένους αὐτῶν ἐς τὰς νέας κατεῖρξαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος στόλος ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος οὕτω ἀπήλλαξε, καὶ Αγχιμολίου εἰσὶ ταφαὶ Ἀττικῆς Ἀλωπεκῆσι, ἀγχοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ ἐν Κυνοσάργεϊ.
>
> Then, charging, they (the cavalry) slew Anchimolios and many other of the Lakedaimonians: the survivors were driven back to their ships. Thus, the first army from Lakedaimon was driven off and Anchimolios' tomb is in Attica at Alopekai, near to the Herakleion in Kynosarges.[943]

The passage presents a clear problem in terms of commemoration, in that we hear of many slain Lakedaimonians, but only about the tomb of their commander. It is inconceivable that the rest of the slain Lakedaimonians were not afforded any sort of burial, and, considering the overall picture of Spartan burial practice, there was probably a single *polyandrion* for all the dead.[944] Anchimolios is not the only example where the burial of a commander alone is

[942] Anchimolios: Hdt. 5.63. Lysander: Paus. 9.33.1; Plut. *Lys*. 29.3
[943] Hdt. 5.63.4.
[944] Pritchett 1985 (IV), 241-6; Low 2006, 91-3.

reported, for we also hear, from both Pausanias and Plutarch, about the tomb of Lysander.[945] It is intriguing that both of these authors only refer to the tomb of Lysander in light of Xenophon's description of the commander's death and the recovery of his body. We hear that Lysander and many of his soldiers were slain before the walls of Haliartos,[946] and that his body, and those who fell with him, were recovered under truce.[947] Xenophon makes no mention of burial, only that the Lakedaimonians were forced to leave Boiotia and did so as soon as they had taken up their dead.[948] Pausanias makes a passing reference to the tomb of Lysander being at Haliartos, while Plutarch places his burial after the Lakedaimonians had left Boiotia, in the friendly territory of the Panopeans, 'where his memorial (μνημεῖόν) now stands'.[949] The discrepancy in information is difficult to reconcile, as is the statement of Plutarch that Lysander was honoured with a monument, and that after his death the Lakedaimonians 'paid him many honours'. Plutarch records only a fine imposed on those who had agreed to marry daughters of Lysander but broke their promises after his death,[950] which seems to be as much about punishing ambitious Spartiates as about posthumously honouring Lysander.

Additionally, there is the issue of the rest of the dead from the battle of Haliartos in 395: were they buried on the spot after being recovered, or also brought back over the border and buried along with Lysander? It is once again extremely improbable that the rest of the dead from Haliartos were not buried at the same time as Lysander, which gives us two potential interpretations of the descriptions given by Herodotus, Pausanias, and Plutarch:

[945] Paus. 9.33.1. Plut. *Lys*. 29.3.
[946] Xen. *Hell*. 3.5.19.
[947] Xen. *Hell*. 3.5.22-3.
[948] Xen. *Hell*. 3.5.24.
[949] Plut. *Lys.* 29.3.
[950] Plut. *Lys*. 30.5.

firstly, that the interest of the historians is drawn strongly to prominent individuals, but that all the dead were buried together in a single tomb;[951] or, secondly, that the commanders were distinguished and elevated through their tomb, a monument, or an inscription, from the other dead.[952]

As I have already discussed, distinguished groups or individuals were sometimes granted extra honour in burial and memorials. It is not unthinkable therefore that both Anchimolios and Lysander could have been so elevated, either through an inscription on the tomb (in the manner of the tomb in the Kerameikos), or a separate monument, in the manner of Leonidas' stone lion at Thermopylai. In the case of Anchimolios, it seems most reasonable, although far from certain, to believe that he was buried along with the rest of the Lakedaimonian dead and possibly listed as a commander in any inscription on the tomb.[953] The case of Lysander is somewhat different in that we are explicitly told by Plutarch that there was a monument (μνημεῖον) for Lysander visible from the road between Delphi and Chaironeia, a route presumably well-known to Plutarch. Two things about this description seem extraordinary: the lack of a mention of the rest of the Lakedaimonians, and the honouring of Lysander with his own monument. We might assume, in light of the previous example, that the rest of the dead from Haliartos were also carried over the border for burial, and that their absence from the sources is due to the special interest of Plutarch and Pausanias, in which case we might imagine a *polyandrion* in which Lysander, as general and despite the apparent animosity towards him from King Pausanias, was granted extra burial

[951] On the interest of historians: Pritchett 1974 (II), 286-8; 1985 (IV), 163-4; Low 2006, 95, n. 32.
[952] Hodkinson 2000, 257-8.
[953] There are very few known funerary inscriptions for Lakedaimonians from this period, but the existence of the grave stele of Pleistas on Euboia means that we should not rule out that Anchimolios, or indeed the other Lakedaimonians killed in this engagement, were named in an inscription of some sort.

honours and perhaps singled out in an inscription. Lysander's surviving soldiers, some of whom may have served with him for some time, could have been a driving force behind some form of personal commemoration for their fallen commander. Whether he was granted a personal monument is an altogether different and more challenging matter. It is hard to imagine the Lakedaimonians taking the time and care to erect a memorial immediately, considering they had just suffered a major defeat and that on his return to Sparta King Pausanias was put on trial, and chose to flee into exile rather than returning to face a death sentence.[954] Any sizeable monument to Lysander would therefore probably have required the Lakedaimonians to return at a later time, to territory far from their own borders, in order to augment the tomb of a highly divisive individual, in the process promoting him above other Spartiate commanders and dangerously close to the level of the kings. I would argue therefore that we have three viable options: (1) that Plutarch mistook or mislabelled a collective memorial for one of Lysander alone; (2) that Lysander was distinguished through an inscription on a common memorial in the manner of the Polemarchs in the Kerameikos tomb and so Plutarch, due to his narrow interest, recorded it as Lysander's memorial;[955] or (3) that a monument of some sort was erected sometime after Lysander's death, probably through the private machinations and wealth of his friends both in Sparta and around the Greek world, including the Panopeans themselves rather than the Lakedaimonians.[956]

[954] Xen. *Hell*. 3.5.25.

[955] This would not be so great a departure from Xenophon's description of the tomb in the Kerameikos (*Hell.* 2.4.33), where he named three individuals who received special mention on the inscription.

[956] See above for the honours already granted to Lysander by the Samians and Ephesians. It is not beyond the realms of possibility that his friends and supporters could have commissioned a memorial, nor that the Lakedaimonian state was in no position to oppose a monument erected so far from their borders. For the Panopeans, the body of Lysander (already a recipient of cult sacrifices on Samos) may have represented a major boon and prompted the erection of an extra memorial. On mortal individuals afforded heroic honours and their importance to the community: Jones 2010, esp. 13-21.

The most probable scenario is therefore that neither of the individuals above were honoured in such a way that they represented the larger group. Rather, the special interest of historians has served to focus attention on them while largely ignoring the rest, although there may have been slight distinctions visible in the manner discussed above.

For a more promising example of individuals standing not just for themselves but for a larger collective I shall now leave the realm of funerary monuments and return to the Aigospotamoi victory monument at Delphi (Chapter 3.1), specifically to the statues of mortals other than Lysander included in the monument. Their identities are provided by a handful of surviving inscribed bases and through the description of Pausanias. Those closest to Lysander: Agias the seer, Hermon of Megara who steered his flagship, and the unnamed herald, are defined by their role within Lysander's victory, elevating their relationship with Lysander above their own *polis* identity. The other commanders, who made up the second row, are without such explicitly close ties to Lysander and so their friendship and support are implied by their presence, quite literally arrayed behind him. The inscriptions on their statue bases give not just their names but also their home *polis*. Although the statues are of individuals, their role is defined as leaders of allied armies. They become, in effect, embodiments of the contribution of the whole city to the war effort of Lysander and the Lakedaimonians. This sort of namechecking of the allies was not a new phenomenon: one need only think of the Serpent Column and the statue of Zeus at Olympia after the Persian Wars, which listed the allied Greek *poleis* who had fought in the war.[957] Such inscriptions on major victory monuments create a new group, membership of which cannot be easily

[957] *Syll*^{3}.31. Stephensen 2016, esp. ch. 1-3. The letters of the inscription are Phokian (Jeffery 1990, 104, no. 15), suggesting that local craftsmen carried out the inscription at the behest of the Lakedaimonians (Thuc. 1.132.2-3). For the statue of Zeus at Olympia: Paus. 5.23.1-3.

gained or lost and which create not only a feeling of pride in citizens of the states listed, but also a great feeling of exclusion, even shame, among inhabitants of cities conspicuous by their absence. Around 70 years later, the Lakedaimonians would be the ones actively excluded from Alexander's victory over the Persians at Granikos, for the spoils sent back to Greece were inscribed:

'Αλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων
ἀπὸ τῶν Βαρβάρων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικούντων.'
'Alexander, son of Phillip, and the Greeks except the Lakedaimonians,
from the Barbarians who live in Asia.'[958]

The unique development made by the Aigospotamoi Monument was to channel the contribution of collective groups through the prism of an individual, or a handful of individuals. At first glance, this new use of individual statues as representations of a much larger group represents quite a leap from inscribing of the names of *poleis* onto victory monuments or setting up statues of gods or heroes. However, there are several reasons why this may not be quite as an extreme development as it first appears. Firstly, as discussed in Chapter 4, the rise in the number of portrait statues of living athletic and equestrian victors, beginning in the 440s, may have influenced the decision to include statues of living military commanders.[959] The second reason, set out below, was that it was already fairly well established that an image of an individual could represent the whole of a defeated group. In this context, the Aigospotamoi Monument represents a collision of the two otherwise unconnected monumental traditions of sporting victory and military defeat, culminating in

[958] Plut. Alex. 16.8.
[959] Hodkinson 2000, 320-1; Scott 2010, 200-1; Christesen 2012, 237.

the use of portrait statues of victorious commanders to represent the glory and contribution of much larger groups.

5.6.2. Defeated individuals representing a larger group

An excellent parallel to the victorious generals of the Aigospotamoi Monument is found in the Persian Stoa.[960] The monument was certainly prominent, but it is the presence of the individual Persians carved into columns that is of most interest here. Sadly, Pausanias only names two of the individuals depicted (Mardonius and Artemisia) and so we are left to wonder whether the other columns represented named individuals or, more likely, generic Persians.[961]

Firstly, although their portrait statues were probably added at a later date, we should briefly consider the significance of the inclusion of Mardonius and Artemisia, especially when it does not appear that the Great King Xerxes was included.[962] These two commanders are closely linked to two of the great Greek victories of the Persian Wars - Plataia and Salamis respectively, and it is here that the reason for their inclusion may lie. By portraying Mardonius, the Spartans would naturally invoke memories of Plataia, a battle in which the Greeks, under the command of the regent Pausanias, decisively defeated the Persians, commanded by Mardonius, who was himself killed in the fighting.[963] Similarly, Artemisia was, according to Herodotus at least, a prominent Persian commander at Salamis, the

[960] Vitr. 1.1.6; Paus. 3.11.3. Kourinou 2000, 109-112, fig. 2. See this work, Chapter 3.3.3.
[961] Vitruvius' description implies that the statues were of generic Persians.
[962] We cannot rule out that there was a statue of Xerxes in the monument, but it would be very odd for Pausanias to pass over it while picking out two of his underlings.
[963] Hdt. 9.63-4.

decisive battle at sea, which marked the end of Xerxes' personal presence in Greece.[964] By including two famous enemy commanders, the Spartans effectively claimed the lion's share of credit for the two victories. This may appear somewhat at odds with the traditional picture of the two engagements: Herodotus is quick to praise the Spartans for their leading role at Plataia, but lauds the Athenians for their performance at Salamis, going so far as to judge them 'the saviours of Greece'.[965] The balanced share of praise demonstrated by Herodotus is not unanimously found in other (later) sources. In particular, Diodorus names Eurybiades not only as the commander at Salamis, but the individual in overall command of the allied Greek effort during the first phases of the war, above even Leonidas and, later, Kleombrotos.[966] Herodotus confirms Eurybiades as the admiral of the allied Greek fleet at Salamis, a fact that his readers would be forgiven for forgetting considering that the rest of the account focuses on the role of Themistokles, painting the latter as the de-facto leader and mastermind behind the Greek victory.[967] If we look past the account of Herodotus and instead examine the celebratory rites and monuments for the various battles of the Persian Wars, we find that neither Sparta nor Athens does a great deal to commemorate Salamis.[968]

Meyer has recently argued that in ignoring Salamis and prioritising Marathon, the Athenians were focusing on the victory won by the wealthier, hoplite classes and downplaying the contribution of the lower social orders who made up the rowers and sailors of the Athenian

[964] Hdt. 7.99; 8.68-9; 8.88; 8.101-107 for the role of Artemisia. Plut. *Mor*. 869f - 870a; 873e-f criticises Herodotus' focus on Artemisia.
[965] Evans 1979.
[966] Diod. 11.4.2. Hammond (1996, 5) suggests that the reason Eurybiades was placed above Leonidas was that the hoplites at Thermopylai were supposed to hold their position, whereas the fleet might have to redeploy.
[967] Hdt. 8.57-63; Plutarch *Mor*. 869f – 870a.
[968] The Athenians did set up a trophy at Salamis (Kinnee 2018, 51-2), but the battle had nowhere near the level of prominence enjoyed by Marathon in Athenian thought.

fleet.[969] This argument explains a part of the Athenian reluctance to celebrate Salamis on the same terms of Marathon, but I would add that the shadow of Spartan command, which hangs over Salamis in the shape of Eurybiades, was also a factor. Eurybiades himself was granted a prominent tomb within Sparta,[970] while the representation of Artemisia on the Persian Stoa would naturally call to mind the battle of Salamis. The inclusion of the two most famous Persians commanders from two decisive Greek victories of the Persian Wars was a reminder of Sparta's key role as leader of the allies who had repelled the invaders. Therefore, in this instance the individuals stand not only for a larger group, but also for a specific event.

The presence of other, probably generic, Persian statues holding up the roof of the Stoa does not call to mind specific events in the manner of Mardonius and Artemisia but does nonetheless serve to demonstrate the overall victory. In depicting the Persian captives in this manner, the Spartans were effectively appropriating an iconographic trope used by the Persians themselves, most famously in the Behistun inscription, located in the Kermanshah province of Iran.[971] In the reliefs, which accompany the inscription, several prisoners, each dressed in the traditional garb of a different province of the Persian Empire, are shown bound together with ropes, symbolising Darius' successful quelling of rebellions. The inscription identifies each of these figures as individuals who incited their provinces to revolt, and their presence as prisoners represents their defeat, Darius' victory, and the dominance he now exercised over them. The Persian columns in Sparta, representing

[969] Meyer (forthcoming); the paper was originally delivered at the 20th Unisa Classics Colloquium, and it is from the presentation and later discussion with Professor Meyer that I am drawing this argument. I have not yet seen the paper in its finished form.
[970] Paus. 3.16.6.
[971] Kuhrt 1995 (II), 664-7. Van de Mieroop (2007, 290-2) summarises the common view that at least some of Herodotus' account of the rise of Darius I is based on a version of the Behistun inscription. However, Armayor 1978 demonstrates that there are major discrepancies between the two accounts.

prisoners holding up the roof, similarly represent the defeated invaders, mimicking the Persians' own iconography of military triumph.

The use of specific and generic individuals to symbolise larger defeated groups, even specific battles, was not limited to monumental display in Sparta. There is also the widespread practice of erecting *tropaia*; semi-iconic anthropomorphic mannequins set up on the battlefield.[972] Here my focus is on the perishable *tropaion*, as opposed to the permanent monuments of the same name which, although suggested to have resembled their temporary cousins in appearance, often looked very different.[973] A link has been drawn between the recovery of the dead under truce and the erection of a trophy as the two primary markers of the resolution of the conflict,[974] although we must note that *tropaia* were often erected before the collection of any dead.[975] Van Wees suggests that the trophy is erected as a signal to the defeated side that the victor is in possession of the dead and their arms,[976] an attractive idea though seemingly contradicted by some of the ancient sources.[977] For the purposes of this section, the most important aspect of the *tropaion* is the use of armour captured from the defeated side in its construction, especially considering the fifth-century move towards more standardised equipment, particularly in shield motifs.[978] The iconography of some trophies on late-fifth-century bases also show cloaks or tunics

[972] For *tropaia*, see Woelcke 1911; Pritchett 1974 (II), 246-75; Stroszeck 2004; Kinnee 2018.
[973] Woelcke (1911) was the first to distinguish the two types and has been followed by Pritchett (1974 (II)) and West (1969). Kinnee (2018, 51-53) maintains that the *tropaion* at Marathon (described by Paus. 1.32.4) could only be considered a trophy if it were topped by a mannequin but provides insufficient evidence to support this. The only statue remains found in connection with the Marathon monument are a female arm with drapery (Vanderpool 1966, 99-106; West 1969, 8) suggesting a Nike, and possibly a seated figure (Beschi 2002, 53; Stroszeck 2004, 320).
[974] Pritchett 1985 (IV), 247; Krentz 2002, 32-33.
[975] See Pritchett 1978 (II), table 9.
[976] Van Wees 2004, 136-138.
[977] Xen. *Hell*. 5.4.53 reports that after an engagement near Tanagra the Boiotians erected a trophy, even though the Skiritai under Agesilaos had suffered no casualties. Thuc. 2.22.2-3 states that the Athenians recovered their dead without a truce, but also that the Peloponnesians set up a *tropaion* the next day.
[978] Krentz 2002, 34-5 and above, n. 568.

draped over the armour to add further identification, particularly powerful if the defeated side wore a distinctive garment, such as the Spartan *phoinikis*.[979] These single, generic, faceless markers represent the collective identity of the defeated side, especially those who died on the battlefield and were subsequently stripped off their arms.

These grisly mannequins, composed of bloodied armour bearing the identifying marks of the losing side, served as a reminder of the fate of the defeated dead: they would lie stripped, often completely nude on the battlefield,[980] and in extreme cases even mutilated.[981] The *tropaion* takes on a role similar to that performed by The Tomb of the Unknown Warrior in reverse: it can represent any man of the defeated side who had fallen in the battle. While the intended psychological effect of the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior was to provide an outlet for any grievers who had lost family or friends in the First World War, the *tropaion* would more likely provoke a response of anger, guilt, or sadness in the survivors of the defeated force. Just as a grieving relative could firmly believe that the body in the tomb of the unknown warrior really was their lost loved one, so the armour and shield used in the *tropaion* could represent, to any individual onlooker, their closest friend or kinsman. The representation of a generic individual therefore comes to stand for the collective identity of the defeated force, the dead who have been despoiled on the battlefield, and even different specific individuals in the eyes of different viewers. Eventually, *tropaia* are reported as being

[979] Kosmopoulou 2002, figs. 27, 28. Athens, Acropolis Museum 3173. Hodkinson (2000, 224-5) links these specifically to Spartan equipment.
[980] Xen. *Hell*.2.4.19 records that, after a victory over the Thirty, the Athenian democrats 'did not strip the tunic from any citizen', thus strongly implying that under normal circumstances the corpses would have been stripped completely (in the manner depicted on the Chigi vase: Museo Nazionale Etrusco inv. No. 22679).
[981] Tritle (1997) sets out the evidence and offers his own viewpoint as a Vietnam War veteran. There is explicit evidence for the mutilation of Persian corpses by the Greeks (Xen. *Anab*. 3.4.5; Hdt. 9.25) and vice-versa (Hdt. 7.238.). The evidence for Greeks mutilating other Greeks is very speculative (*Tyrtaios* fr.12; Thuc. 4.97. Tritle 1997, 127, 135.)

made from the armour of certain prominent individuals, notably generals,[982] in a development which, in a similar manner to the Persian Stoa, showed commanders standing for the whole force. If the sources are to be believed, then this development occurred before the erection of the Aigospotamoi Monument, in which case the images of commanders being used to represent an entire force, even an entire people, has a further precedent.[983]

5.7. Summary – The collective and individual picture over time

The scant nature of the available evidence means that any conclusions drawn must always be somewhat tentative. However, it is possible to attempt a reconstruction of the interaction of state, collectives and individuals as expressed through monuments from the Archaic period through to the late-fourth-century. The picture is more-or-less coherent, with clear periods of restraint contrasting with times of individual scrambles for self-promotion. Through the monumental evidence, it is possible to see a definitive change in the collective mentality sometime in the early-fifth-century, after the Persian Wars or the great earthquake of *c*.465/4. This somewhat more reserved period holds until the late-fifth-century, when the first signs of individual ambition reappear before exploding fully after the Peloponnesian War. Although there is some evidence of an attempt to preserve the image of a unified Lakedaimon and equality among Spartiates, the cracks in this picture begin to

[982] Thuc. 4.12.1 (Shield of Brasidas used by Athenians); Diod. 13.19.3.
[983] One should be careful blindly accepting the evidence from Diodorus, writing at a time when it was much more common to use the armour of the enemy commander when setting up a trophy. Thucydides' reference seems more secure but considering his particular interest in and regular exaltation of Brasidas, we ought to treat his reference with some caution.

grow throughout the fourth-century, with evidence coming both from within and beyond Lakedaimon.

In Sparta itself we find influential groups, probably families, who were able to distinguish themselves from their fellows through both small-scale burial enclosures and at least one monumental tomb. Away from the city itself, certain groups of individuals were selected for extra honours, communicated through both the manner and location of their burial and epigraphic marks of their distinction. The selection of who received such honours appears to be based on a mixture of a heroic manner of death and pre-existing distinction, due to rank or previous notable deeds. The inner workings of the selection process are not clear - in one instance, Herodotus speaks of the admirals casting votes for the individual prize of valour, but generally such decisions were at least communicated on behalf of the collective.[984] As many of the distinctions which could earn an individual a memorial were earned in life rather than the manner of their death, it is probably the case that many such men already belonged to influential families.[985]

It appears that sometime in the early to mid-fifth-century many avenues for individual or familial self-aggrandisement were closed off. Thus, no further monumental or delineated burial areas were created (although some continued in use from the Archaic period). The monumental commemoration of individuals of outstanding merit was brought under more state controlled, or at least state approved, avenues, emphasising a contribution to the collective. The Perioikoi may also have adopted similar monumental styles, as suggested by the geographical spread of the *en* polemoi stelai.[986] The lack of celebration of individual

[984] Hdt. 8.123 (admirals); 9.71. Pritchett 1974 (II), 276-90; Christesen 2021, 34-5.
[985] Hodkinson 1983 on the awarding of prominent commands to already influential families.
[986] Cartledge 2002, 220; 226; Low 2006, 90.

glory for its own sake matches well with the seemingly tighter hold exercised on funerary monuments and the language employed in inscriptions. One might also wonder whether the fall of Pausanias the regent became something of a cautionary tale for Spartans of the early to mid-fifth-centuries, serving to discourage others from excessive monumental self-promotion.[987]

From the mid- fifth-century onwards, individuals started to explore methods of personal promotion outside the borders of Lakedaimon, apparently beyond the reach of any state or social restrictions. As a result, the second-half of the fifth-century saw the erection of victory monuments by athletes and equestrian victors at Olympia and perhaps the other Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries. The growth of this trend was temporarily halted by the ban imposed on the Spartans from entering the Olympic Games, although once more it is unclear if wealthy Spartiates continued to dedicate at other sanctuaries.[988] Although most monuments were still erected by the state, the power of wealthy and influential individuals continued to grow, highlighted through the dedications of Lysander. It appears that Lysander, although emboldened by the sheer wealth of booty captured at Aigospotamoi to pursue a spectacularly ambitious monumental agenda, was consistent with other developments taking place at that time.

The opportunities of influential individuals and groups to promote themselves (rather than their contribution to the state) through monuments, which had been limited at the start of

[987] Compare with Agesilaos' conspicuous rejection of divine honours during his lifetime, which Flower (1988, 134) suggests curtailed the development of ruler cult for two to three generations due to Agesilaos' prominence.

[988] Here we are largely prisoners of Pausanias, whose enumeration of portrait statues at Olympia is by far our greatest source of information. It is possible that any statues elsewhere had been melted down, or that they were passed over by Pausanias, who does not have the same interest in victors in the games outside of Olympia.

the fifth-century, began to multiply after Sparta's victory in the Peloponnesian War. The relative explosion in both the number and the scale of equestrian victory monuments highlights the most obvious avenue now open to the wealthiest in society, but this rediscovered taste for self-aggrandisement also trickled through to Sparta itself, if on a smaller scale. This could suggest that state control was always somewhat more relaxed than the monumental record of the fifth-century would suggest and that the lack of individual monuments owed as much to competitive restraint and a collective interest in projecting a unified image. Equally, once the power of Sparta was on the wane, it might be that the state was no longer in a position to dictate terms to the powerful families and groups within the system, leading to an increasing number of monuments which celebrated success not related to a contribution to the state. Once more, the most plausible explanation is a combination of multiple factors. Throughout the period covered by this thesis, it appears that the Spartan state worked to maintain a consistent image, but that many of the measures were ad hoc responses to arising issues. Thus, the returning sense of individual competition and showcasing of wealth in decrees at Delphi counting contributions to the repair fund were quickly amended to group all the Lakedaimonians under a single heading.[989] The self-aggrandisement of Lysander was undermined both in a refusal to allow a memorial in Sparta, and an inscription possibly attempting to reclaim the Aigospotamoi Monument for the kings. Finally, the portrait statues of prominent equestrian victors were opposed through the dedication of Kyniska, which attempted to outdo all the previous offerings. Aside from these specific firefighting activities, a relative limit was maintained on the scale of individual monuments in Sparta itself, especially in funerary contexts where

[989] Individuals: *FdD* III, 5: 3; 19; 20; 48; 49. Collective: *FdD* III, 5: 3; 4; 9.

there is no evidence of a major shift back towards the marked tombs of the Archaic period. All official monuments, dedications and even *proxeny* decrees continued to be made in the name of the Lakedaimonians as a whole. However, the cracks which had started to appear in the collective image continued to grow, with the pattern eventually coming to fruition outside of the chronological limits of this thesis with the return of monumental tombs, the continuation of victory monuments at Olympia, and ultimately, the loss of the Spartan image and power.

Chapter 6. Place, Politics, and Memory

6.1. Introduction

Where Chapters 4 and 5 examined Spartan monuments with regard to form and identity respectively, this chapter engages with considerations of the placement of Spartan monuments with reference to politics and memory. I propose that the Spartans would regularly take great care over the placement of their monuments in an attempt to ensure maximum effect. In addition, I will look at the development and evolution of monumental sites, particularly those which host competing memories of a range of individuals and collectives. Finally, building on the theoretical works of Nora and Winter, I present a case study of Spartan battles and battlefields as *Lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory). In the process, I will also touch on performative commemoration that developed in Sparta to cement certain events into collective and cultural memory. Many of these repeated performances centre on monuments, giving both gravitas to the performance and renewing the significance of the monument. The temporary monuments which were regularly set up on battlefields are largely absent from the following discussion, mainly because in most cases we can learn very little about their precise placement.

6.2. The Politics of Monument Positioning in Sparta

The starting point for this discussion of monuments is the city of Sparta itself. Our major ancient source for the monumental topography of the city of Sparta is the description of

Pausanias,[990] although there are several major issues to consider. Pausanias is writing many centuries after the events and creation of the monuments that he describes and is often at the mercy of his local guides. Therefore, it is often unclear whether a monument which commemorates an Archaic or Classical period event has been set up close in time to the event in question, or whether it has been added in later centuries.[991] Additionally, the exact route which Pausanias took through the city cannot be comprehensively reconstructed, and so discussions of the exact positioning of monuments within the city is rendered even more difficult.[992]

Despite these difficulties, there is still much that can be gleaned from Pausanias' description and the archaeological finds from the city which demonstrate the politics and patterns of monument placement within the city of Sparta. The exact routes of Pausanias' itinerary through Sparta may be lost to us, but through his enumeration of shrines and monuments he does reveal the more-or-less prominent placement of certain monuments, as well as clusters of shrines and monuments which have been attracted to certain spots. Some consideration of Pausanias' route through the city is therefore necessary, if only to determine the relative proximity of certain monuments to key areas.

After a brief description of some of the more notable features of the road into the city,[993] Pausanias reminds his readers that he is only recording those things most worthy of mention,[994] before launching into a description of the civic buildings of the agora.[995] The

[990] Kourinou 2000 provides the best current reconstruction of the monumental topography of the ancient city.
[991] Cartledge and Spawforth 1989, 216-225 for catalogue of Roman buildings and monuments in Sparta.
[992] Four major reconstructions of the route have been attempted to date: Stibbe 1989; Musti and Torelli 1992; Kourinou 2000; Sanders 2009.
[993] Paus. 3.2.6 – 3.10.8.
[994] Paus. 3.11.1.
[995] Paus. 3.11.2: The Bouleterion, and residences of the Ephors, Guardians of the Laws, and the Bidiains (officers in charge of Ephebes: *IG* V,1 32; 41; 1498.13). The locations are not specified beyond 'in the agora'.

agora of Sparta can be confidently identified as the Paliokastro hill within the city, as a rectangle defined to the south by the Roman Stoa, a late antique wall to the east and the famous Persian Stoa on the west.[996] Stoas appear with some regularity during Pausanias' tour of the city,[997] but the construction of one which celebrated Sparta's leading role in the expulsion of the Persians clearly merited a more central location in an area which would be frequented by outsiders as well as Lakedaimonians.[998] Although Pausanias is vague about the relationship of the major buildings to one another,[999] there are several instances where it appears that an early monument or sanctuary has attracted later ones.[1000] Unfortunately, it is often impossible to be certain which monument has appeared first and which has been added later. A relevant example for the present discussion is the statue of Agias, which is located by the altar of Augustus in the agora.[1001] We can only speculate as to whether the altar was constructed close to a pre-existing statue, or whether the statue was added, or moved from elsewhere in the city.

After describing these buildings, Pausanias embarks on four excursions on four different roads from the agora towards other points of interest in the city.[1002] The routes of these four excursions are contested, with too little solid archaeological evidence for any to impose

[996] Greco and Voza 2016, 343-4, fig. 1. On the archaeological layout of the agora: Kourinou 2000, 99-129; Greco 2016.
[997] Paus. 3.13.6; 3.15.1; 3.17.4. Waywell 1994 for excavations at one of the Roman stoas in Sparta.
[998] Xen. *Hell*. 3.3.5 gives a description of the business of the agora and the small proportion of Spartiates there compared to non-Spartiates during the Kinadon affair.
[999] Kourinou (2000, 99-100) suggests that Pausanias is enumerating the buildings and monuments in the order in which he sees them. There may be some truth to this, yet the lack of confirmed archaeological evidence, coupled with typological groupings in Pausanias, means that this cannot be accepted with certainty.
[1000] E.g., Paus. 3.11.10, where the grave of Orestes and a statue of Polydoros are 'close to the sanctuary of the Fates.' In this instance, it is reasonable to believe that the sanctuary existed first and that the bones of Orestes were buried close to it after their recovery from Tegea (Hdt. 1.67.5-68.6). However, there is no way of knowing when the statue of Polydoros would have been added.
[1001] Paus. 3.11.5.
[1002] Excursion one (Aphetaid Road): Paus. 3.12.1 – 3.12.9; Excursion two ('Another Street'): 3.12.10 – 3.13.9; Excursion three ('towards the sunset'): 3.14.1 – 3.15.10; Excursion four (towards Artemis Orthia): 3.16.1 – 3.16.7.

itself.[1003] The most recent attempts to reconstruct Pausanias' itinerary, by Kourinou and Sanders, have the most merit, yet even here there are major discrepancies.[1004] It is not my primary intention here to propose a new reconstruction of Pausanias' excursions, but in the course of evaluating the positioning of certain monuments and their interaction with their surroundings it will be necessary to refer to some of the controversies regarding the route that he followed.

Pausanias' first excursion, down the Aphetaid Road, starts with a similar mix of civic buildings and shrines to that found in his description of the agora itself.[1005] Further along were the *heroa* of mythical heroes, plus the precinct of Tainareios Poseidon, the location of which can be placed with some confidence in plot OT36, south of the agora, based on third-century inscriptions listing 'Tainarioi'.[1006] In Pausanias, we can see that once again a sanctuary has acted as a magnet for several *heroa*.[1007] Continuing down the road we find a place (χωρίον) called the Hellenion, either the place where the Greeks gathered to discuss the invasion of Xerxes, or where the Greeks gathered to discuss the expedition against Troy.[1008] The final part of Pausanias' journey down the Aphetaid road poses the most problems for the present discussion, for it is not clear whether he is still travelling away from the agora, or whether he has turned and is walking back towards it.[1009] The directions become muddled: Pausanias states that at the end of the street, close to the city walls, are

[1003] Stibbe 1989; Musti and Torelli 1992; Kourinou 2000; Sanders 2009.
[1004] In particular, the direction of Pausanias' second excursion: Kourinou 2000, 237-9 has Pausanias travel north of the agora, while Sanders 2009 argues that he travelled south.
[1005] Paus. 3.12.2-4. Kourinou 2000, 133-5 for previous reconstructions of the route of the Aphetaid Road; 135-8 for an updated reconstruction of the route, running roughly NE – SW from the agora and terminating at Stavrou Antonakou square, between Agesilaou and Gkortsologou in modern Sparti.
[1006] Kourinou 2000, 185-94; map 2. *IG* V,1 210; 211; 212.
[1007] Paus. 3.12.5: *Heroa* of Iops, Amphiarios, and Lelex. There was also a statue of Athena dedicated by the colonists who left for Taras.
[1008] Paus. 3.12.6-7.
[1009] Still travelling away: Kourinou 2000; Sanders 2009. Turning back towards: Papachatzis 1989; Stibbe 1989. Turning west and walking along the wall: Musti and Torelli 1992.

the graves of the Eurypontid kings but then abruptly returns to describing the surroundings of the Hellenion.[1010] From here, we learn that in the direction of 'the Forts' is a temple of Artemis and, a little farther on, the memorial for the Iamidai and the shrine of Alpheios and Maron.[1011] As these are conceivably monuments that belong to the Classical period, it is important to ascertain whether they were set up close to the limits of the city, or whether they were closer to the agora and the centre of the town. It is not an easy question to answer, yet there is good reason to believe that Pausanias is still travelling away from the agora, for he has given no indication that he has turned around.[1012] If Pausanias had turned around, this would also mean that between the Hellenion and the city walls, one side of the Aphetaid Road had considerably more shrines and monuments worth recording than the other.[1013] The term Φρουρίοις, 'Forts', may also suggest a fortified position close to the wall, rather than an area back towards the agora, perhaps in the low foothills near the Magoula River. However, Papchatzis has suggested that these 'forts' were earlier fortifications closer to the centre of the city, subsequently enclosed by the walls.[1014] From Pausanias' language, I would suggest that he may not on this occasion have walked as far as the tombs themselves, but that they are at the end of this street, near the wall.[1015] He then returns to his description of the surroundings of the Hellenion, before wandering a little from the Aphetaid Road (possibly listing the monuments on the other side) in the direction of the city walls (and limits of the city) where he describes the subsequent temples and

[1010] Paus. 3.12.8.
[1011] Paus. 3.12.8-9.
[1012] As he does elsewhere when he changes direction: Sanders 2009, 202.
[1013] Paus. 3.12.7-8: This would place the tomb of Talthybius, altar of Apollo Akritas, sanctuary of Gaia, statue of Apollo Maleatas, sanctuary of Diktynna and the Eurypontid tombs on one side of the Aphetaid Road, and nothing on the other for the stretch between the Hellenion and the walls.
[1014] Papachatzis 1989, 345, n. 4. There are no archaeological remains which are currently associated with the forts.
[1015] Pausanias does not describe anything about the surroundings of the Eurypontid tombs, in contrast to 3.14.2-3 where he describes several monuments around the burial ground of the Agiads.

monuments.[1016] If Pausanias has not turned around, his first excursion would reveal a simple distinction in the prestige of space within the city: the area closest to the agora is reserved for civic buildings and temples, next come *heroa* of mythical heroes, along with more temples and shrines, and finally, close to the wall, tombs and monuments of historical persons.

This same pattern is also visible in his second excursion from the agora, down the 'Etera Exodos' ('Another Way/Exit'), where we first find the Skias and a circular building, work of Epimenides, housing statues of Olympian Zeus and Aphrodite.[1017] The 'Round Building' in Sparta, located at the southwest corner of the agora, has been known since the late-nineteenth-century, and was immediately associated with the circular building mentioned by Pausanias.[1018] However, recent investigations have revealed a smaller circular building directly adjoining to the Round Building. This has led the excavators to convincingly argue that the larger Round Building should be identified as the Skias, built in the second-half of the sixth-century, and that the smaller structure was the 'circular building' where Pausanias saw the statues of Zeus and Aphrodite (Fig. 25).[1019]

[1016] This would accord with Pausanias' practice at 3.15.6, where he specifies which road he takes from the Dromos, before digressing to a temple which lies on another road from the Dromos, then returns to his original route.
[1017] Paus. 3.12.11. On the Round Building: Paus. 3.12.10-1. Greco and Voza 2016.
[1018] Waldstein 1894; Kourinou 2000, 121-7; Sanders 2009, 203.
[1019] Greco and Voza 2016.

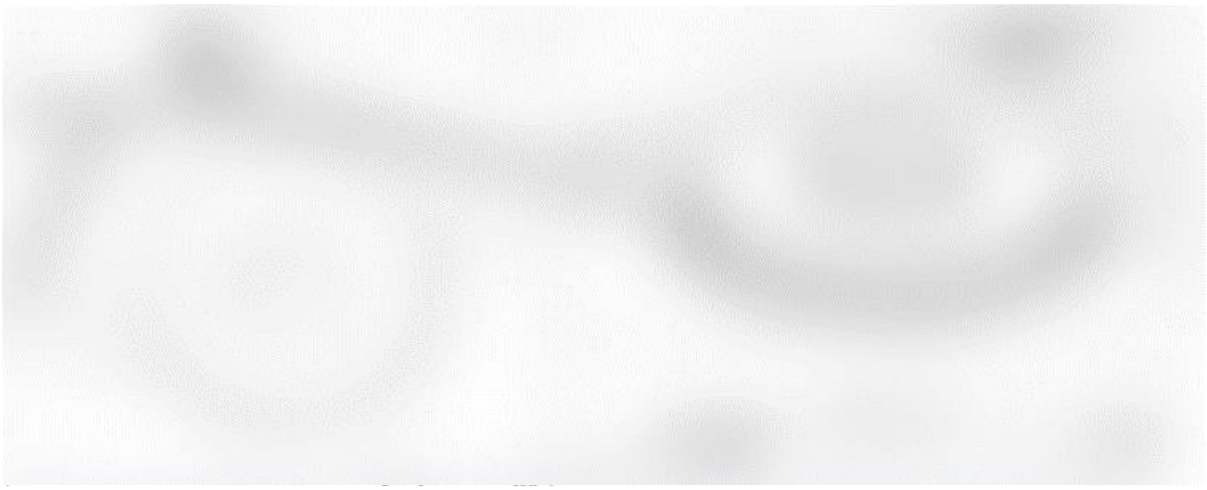

Figure 25. Skias and Oikodomema: reconstruction of the plan and axonometric drawing. Greco and Voza 2016, fig. 6

As Pausanias continues along the 'Etera Exodos', he comes upon the tomb of Kynortas, the memorial and shrine of Kastor, and the disputed tombs of Idas and Lynkeos.[1020] The presence of an older agora confuses matters slightly with more temples and shrines, but at the end of the route was a statue of Hetoimokles, the sixth-century athlete and son of Hipposthenes, which was probably erected in the fifth-century.[1021]

I shall return to Pausanias' third (and most complex) excursion shortly, but first it is worth examining whether the established pattern holds for his fourth route from the agora towards the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. Although we can ascertain the start- and end-points of this route, it is not entirely clear whether Pausanias meanders through the city or proceeds more directly to the sanctuary.[1022] Again, he starts at a civic building called *Chiton*, named after the chiton for Amyklaian Apollo which was made inside, before happening upon some *heroa* dedicated to heroes of the sixth-century, rather than the more distant

[1020] Paus. 3.13.1.
[1021] Paus. 3.13.9. Hodkinson 2009, 165-6 for honours afforded to them in the fifth century.
[1022] The language at Paus. 3.16.4 has Pausanias moving from the agora towards the gate. As his only stopping points appear to be the *heroa* of Chilon and Athenodorus, followed by the sanctuary of Lykourgos, it stands to reason that he is probably travelling directly to the gate and Artemis Orthia.

mythic past.[1023] Kourinou plausibly places this cluster of monuments on the line of the Gerokomeio and Xenia hills, although archaeological investigations have proved inconclusive due to an early Christian basilica, which seems to have displaced any earlier material.[1024]

Beyond this, a sanctuary where Lykourgos was worshipped as a god appears to have attracted a series of later memorials, including that of the fifth-century admiral Eurybiades.[1025] Although clearly some distance from the agora, this was still a prominent position, close to a temple, a cluster of *heroa*, and the tomb of King Theopompos. The remains of a structure quickly dubbed the 'Great Altar', as well as a nearby *heroon*, both predating the construction of the city walls in the third-century, have been discovered in a roughly appropriate position.[1026] However, doubts remain over whether these two structures can be firmly established as the Altar (shrine) of Lykourgos and the *heroon* of Astrabakos.[1027]

It is on Pausanias' third route from the agora, moving west past the theatre, that he recorded most monuments which can be plausibly dated to the Archaic and Classical periods. Between the agora and theatre stood the cenotaph of Brasidas, who was buried and worshipped as a hero in distant Amphipolis.[1028] Brasidas was certainly a noteworthy individual, who received public commendation at Sparta and beyond during his lifetime,

[1023] Paus. 3.16.4: Chilon, dated to the sixth century. Diog. Laer. 68 makes him ephor in the 56th Olympiad (556), and Athenodorus, who went with Dorieus to Sicily (Hdt. 5.42-6).
[1024] Kourinou 2000, 147-8. Delivorrias 1970, 138.
[1025] Paus. 3.16.6. For Eurybiades: Hdt. 8.42; Diod. 11.4.2.
[1026] Dickins 1906, 295-302. The date of the structure is difficult to determine, but it appears that the city walls were modelled around it, rather than vice versa.
[1027] Kourinou 2000, 149-51. The inscriptions recovered from the area of the altar (Tillyard 1906, 440-1) are too fragmentary to provide solid identification.
[1028] Paus. 3.14.1. Thuc. 5.11 for Brasidas' burial and worship in Amphipolis. Hornblower 2005, 43 for Brasidas' burial and heroization; 38-61 for a longer consideration of the idealisation of Brasidas within Thucydides.

even before his heroization at Amphipolis.[1029] However, it may appear strange that his monument was still closer to the agora than any private Spartan before him,[1030] closer even than the tombs of Leonidas and Pausanias, which stood a little further on, opposite the theatre.[1031] This area opposite the theatre contained a cluster of monuments dedicated to the Persian Wars: the aforementioned tombs of Leonidas and Pausanias and a stele bearing the names and patronymics of those who fell at Thermopylai. By the Roman period it was also the focus for performative commemoration, with both athletic contests and speeches delivered over the tombs,[1032] although there may well have been earlier commemorations at the same site. This nucleus of commemoration for the Persian Wars further elevates the position of the cenotaph of Brasidas, which sits inbetween important civic and commemorative hubs.[1033]

Still walking roughly west, Pausanias arrived at a place called Theomelida, where he saw the graves of the Agiad kings and the nearby Lesche of the Krotani. Pausanias then travels beyond these to the Tomb of Tainaros and a cluster of sanctuaries,[1034] before returning to the Lesche and Agiad tombs, where he records the stele of Chionis.[1035] There follows a description of sanctuaries before Pausanias arrives at the Dromos via the tomb of Eumedes

[1029] Burns 2011 for Thucydides' fascination with the virtue of Brasidas. Public commendation at Sparta: Thuc. 2.25.2. Crowned at Skione as 'Liberator of Hellas' (ἐλευθεροῦντα τὴν Ελλάδα): Thuc. 4.121.1. Cf. Pouncey 1980, 3-5 for the view that Thucydides' praise of Brasidas is designed to excuse his own failure against this 'worthy victor', which resulted in Thucydides' exile.
[1030] Paus. 3.11.10 records a statue of the seventh century king Polydoros next to the Tomb of Orestes, but other than this there are no statues or tombs mentioned in the agora aside from the problematic statue of Agias.
[1031] Paus. 3.14.1.
[1032] Paus. 3.14.1. *IG* V,1 18
[1033] Hodkinson (2000, 257, n. 61) suggests that the survival of this monument may owe something to the importance of the Claudii Brasidae family in Roman Sparta.
[1034] The sanctuary of Artemis Issoria, seen by Pausanias beyond the Agiad tombs, has been placed on the Vamvakia hill by Kourinou (2000, 212-3).
[1035] Paus. 3.14.2-3. For Chionis' stele and potential heroization by the Agiad kings: Christesen 2010.

and an image of Herakles.[1036] After the Dromos Pausanias visits the area known as Platanistas, after the plane trees which grew there.[1037] This area contained an artificial lake and island where the ephebes would engage in a no-holds-barred fight as part of their education. Importantly for the present study, it was in the direction of the Platanistas that Pausanias reported the *heroon* of Kyniska.[1038]

The significance of this *heroon* coupled with scholarly disagreements over the location of Platanistas makes serious consideration of Pausanias' route necessary at this point. Stibbe, Musti and Torelli, and Kourinou all place the Dromos in the south-west of the city, meaning that Pausanias has turned south after describing the Agiad tombs before turning back on himself heading towards the so-called 'Tomb of Leonidas', located in the homonymous square in modern Sparti, which all three identify with the sanctuary of Apollo Karneios seen by Pausanias near the Dromos.[1039] *IG* V,1 222, the dedication of the late-sixth-century athlete Aiglatas to Karneios, was found in this area and appeared to confirm the hypothesis; not only would the dedication of an athletic victory monument make sense close to the Dromos, but the stele is decorated with what appeared to be rams' horns (associated with Apollo Karneios) in relief. Recent re-examination, however, has determined that these are not in fact horns but ionic capitals and that the stone need not be associated with Apollo Karneios at all.[1040] In order to solve this issue, Sanders associates the 'Tomb of Leonidas' and

[1036] Paus. 3.14.4-6.
[1037] Paus. 3.14.8.
[1038] Paus. 3.15.1.
[1039] Paus. 3.14.6 records the sanctuary of Apollo Karneios close to the Dromos. *IG* V,1 496, 497 (Tiberius Claudius Brasidas named priest of Karneios 'of the house' and 'of the course').
[1040] Nenci 2018, esp. 265-72; Christesen 2019, 118-9.

the inscriptions found in the area to Karneios and the House of Krius mentioned in Pausanias' second excursion down 'Another Street'.[1041]

The discovery of a Roman bath complex at Arapissa, around 600m south-west of the theatre, which included several hip-herms representing Herakles, regularly a guardian of athletic activity, appears to support the location of the Dromos to the south of the Agiad tombs.[1042] However, these herms have been dated to the Severan period, several decades after Pausanias' visit to Sparta.[1043] It may still be that the baths were constructed adjacent to one of the two gymnasia seen in the area of the Dromos, but it is difficult to definitively associate them with any part of Pausanias' itinerary in Sparta.[1044] The relatively level ground in this area also supports the placement of a running track, for it would be more difficult to find a suitable area without more changes in elevation to the north of the Agiad tombs. However, I would argue that placing the Dromos as far south-west as Arapissa appears at odds with Pausanias' later directions, where he heads east from the Dromos and takes a path to the right.[1045] A placement north of Arapissa seems more plausible with Pausanias' route while also allowing for the Roman baths to have been constructed slightly beyond the Dromos and the gymnasia. In addition, Sanders has convincingly placed Platanistas in the hills to the north of the agora, close to the Mousga stream, on the grounds that a grove of plane trees seems more plausible in the rich alluvial soil.[1046] The Dromos and Platanistas

[1041] Sanders 2009, 201-2. In this interpretation, the inscriptions relating to Karneios 'of the house' and 'of the course' refer to Karneios in the house of Krius, rather than Apollo Karneios.
[1042] Cartledge and Spawforth 1989, 219-30; Wace 1906. Cf. Sanders 2009, 198-9.
[1043] Palagia 1989.
[1044] Even if they were standing at the time of Pausanias' visit, they would have been a very new construction. As noted in Chapter 4, Pausanias had a much greater interest in monuments he considered ancient, and so may not have thought a newly constructed bath complex worthy of mention.
[1045] Paus. 3.15.6-8. Pausanias has clearly been west of the agora visiting the tombs of the Agiad kings, and so would have approached the Dromos from the west/north-west and carried on walking east to reach Apollo Karneios, before turning back and describing the Dromos and Platanistas, before heading east again by a different road.
[1046] Sanders 2009, 199-200.

appear close together, while a sanctuary of Herakles is described as quite close to the wall.[1047] This does not necessarily mean that we should assume that the Dromos and Platanistas stood side by side, for Pausanias certainly does not describe them as such (as he does for other monuments). If the Dromos lay only a short distance south of the Agiad tombs, then it may also be the case that Platanistas was located only a short distance to the north, in the area of the Mousga stream (Fig. 26). If the Dromos extended around 180m (one stade) south or south-west from Theomelida, then the bath house at Arapissa would be less than 100m further on, and the position of Platanistas argued by Sanders would lie under 200m north of the Dromos.

Whatever conclusion is ultimately drawn, the Dromos and Plataniastas both lay close to the Agiad tombs. We therefore have the *heroon* of Kyniska, a princess of the Eurypontid family, positioned close to an area of ephebic and athletic activity,[1048] and not far from the burial ground of the other royal family, at which Chionis, another Olympic victor, had been honoured with a monument in the previous century. Millender has previously stressed the heroization of Kyniska as part of the rivalry visible between the Eurypontid royal house and wealthy, non-royal, Spartiates, particularly Lysander.[1049] The placement of her *heroon* also showcases the rivalry between the two royal houses.

After completing his trips from the agora, Pausanias returns to the city and describes the monuments of the acropolis. Once again, his focus is on the many sanctuaries and temples, but he does describe the existence of a handful of statues and victory monuments. From Pausanias' description, the acropolis appears as exclusive as the agora for the erection of

[1047] Paus. 3.15.3-5. Theoc. *Idyll*. 18, 43-4 where the house of Menelaus and Helen's wedding is closely associated with plane trees. For the city wall: Kourinou 2000, 35-66.
[1048] Mitchell 2012, 17-18.
[1049] Millender 2019.

monuments. Aside from a statue of Euryleonis and the two Nikai set up by Lysander on a stoa before the sanctuary of Zeus Kosmetas, Pausanias only describes temples, sanctuaries, and statues of gods.[1050] The star of Lysander was certainly high when he dedicated the Nikai in the city, which explains the prominent position in which he was able to set them up. However, it does not appear that Pausanias is enumerating all the monuments that he sees in this part of the city, for he makes no mention of the Damonon stele, found close to the temple of Athena Chalkioikos. In light of this, we must assume that either Damonon was able to exercise significant influence to erect such a prominent monument so close to the heart of the acropolis, or that there would have been more victory monuments clustered around the sanctuary in which Pausanias had little to no interest.

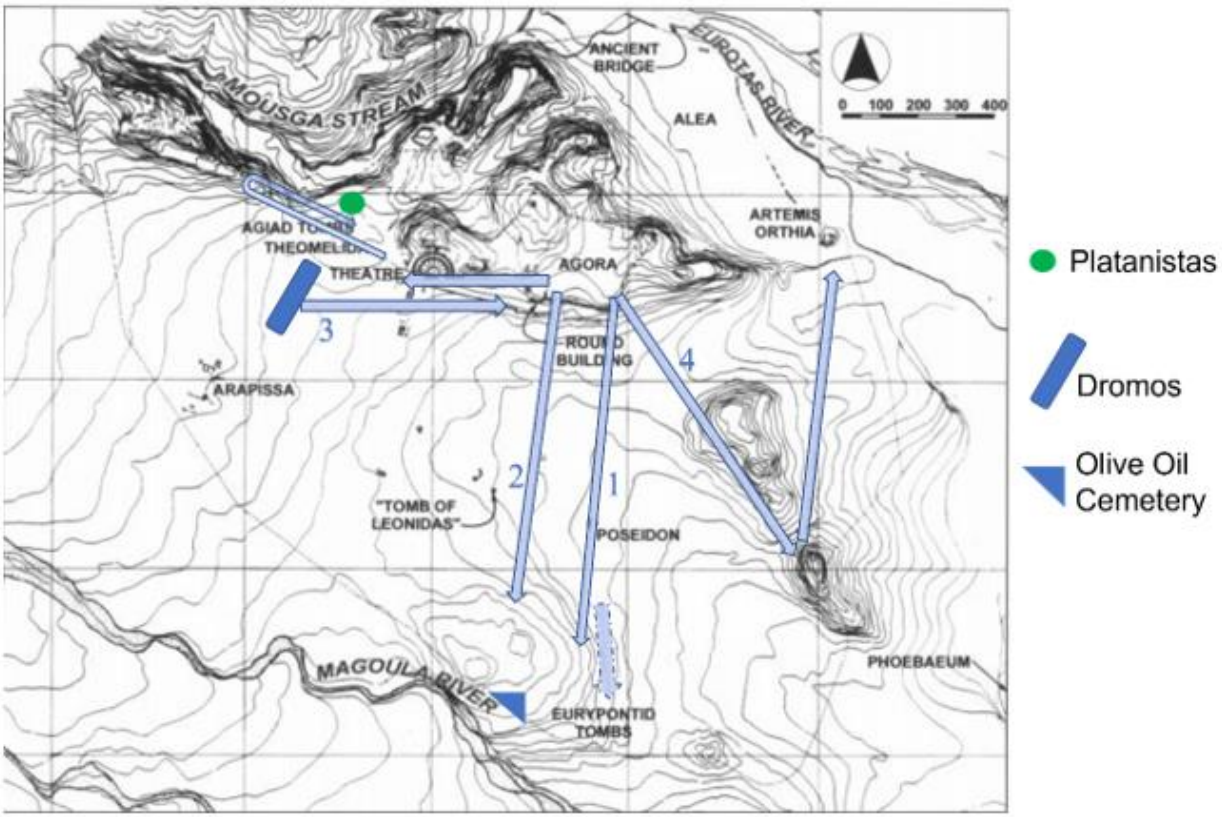

Figure. 26 Pausanias' Spartan itinerary. Base map Raftopoulou 1988, fig. 12.33

[1050] Paus. 3.17.1-3.18.5.

6.3. Competing for space on the Pan-Hellenic stage

The ultimate competitive sites of memory in the Greek world were undoubtedly the major Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, particularly Delphi and Olympia. These specially designated spaces provided a solution to the problems of celebrating victories won far from home, acting as a magnet for victory monuments from all corners of the Greek world, and beyond.[1051] Prior to the fifth-century, Olympia received the majority of Sparta's victory dedications. Unfortunately, due to the regular re-organisation of the site, the periodic removal of older offerings, and the eventual loss or destruction of most of the bronze monuments, it is difficult to say anything concrete about the placement of early Spartan offerings within Olympia.[1052] These concerns also cast a shadow over Pausanias' description of the site, but there are still some observations that can be made about the organisation and placement of Spartan dedications.

As early as the eighth-century the Spartans started dedicating tripods and other large bronze vessels at Olympia, with dedications intensifying after the conquest of Messenia. We cannot say much about the placement of any of these vessels, but they were apparently dedicated in great numbers.[1053] The sheer profusion of Spartan vessels would create an overwhelming picture of Spartan dominance, largely irrespective of their placement. In

[1051] Hdt. 1.51.
[1052] Scott 2010, 146; 152; 181-4
[1053] Morgan 1990, 30-1. For tripods at Olympia generally: Willemsen 1957.

contrast, the Spartans are conspicuously absent from the catalogue of states who dedicated captured arms in the area around the stadium.[1054] We may therefore see a conscious decision to avoid dedications in this competitive arena in favour of prioritising and dominating in another.

The athletic and equestrian victory monuments seen by Pausanias from before the mid-fifth-century are a jumble, with little discernible pattern or grouping.[1055] However, it is possible to see flashes of competition between Sparta and rival poleis in the placement of certain statues, as well as a wider phenomenon whereby existing monuments attract later ones. The statue and stele of the seventh century-athlete Chionis appear to have been set up in the early-fifth-century to compete with the statue of Astylos of Syracuse, victor in the 480s.[1056] Another seventh-century athlete, Eutelidas, is described as having an incredibly old statue with a worn inscription,[1057] yet this statue was also probably a state dedication of the fifth-century,[1058] unless we believe that Pausanias has made a major error when he later categorically states that the first athletes commemorated by statues belonged to the mid-sixth-century.[1059] This statue appears to have acted as a magnet for statues of two Spartan kings: Archidamos, son of Agesilaos,[1060] and the Hellenistic King Areus.[1061] Another early-fifth-century offering, this time a contemporary monument set up by Polypeithes, seems to

[1054] Jackson 1991, 231-2; Scott 2010, 158.
[1055] The Spartan monuments within this area are those of Euagoras, victor in 548, 544, and 540 (Paus. 6.10.8), and Polypeithes who erected a stele for his equestrian victory in 484 that bore a representation of his father, a victor in wrestling (Paus. 6.16.6, Hodkinson 1999, 180, n. 35).
[1056] Paus. 6.13.1-2. Hodkinson 2009, 165.
[1057] Paus. 6.15.8.
[1058] Scott 2010, 199-201.
[1059] Paus. 6.18.7, specifically the 59th and 61st Olympiads (544 and 536). Hodkinson 2009, 165, 180 n. 39.
[1060] Paus. 6.15.7. Pausanias also reports an unidentified hunter statue and later Byzantine offerings in this area. The Byzantine statues at least must have been added after this statue of Archidamus, who also appears to have a second statue set up elsewhere in the Altis (Paus. 6.4.9).
[1061] Paus. 6.15.9.

have attracted a subsequent offering of Seleadas, dated tentatively to 308, victor in the wrestling who may also have won a victory at the Lykaia festival.[1062]

It was not unusual to see pockets of victory monuments from one state appear in this area of the Altis, yet the Spartans of the later-fifth and early-fourth-centuries eventually went one step further by cultivating and completely dominating an area closer to the Heraion, north of the temple of Zeus. At least six statues belonging to five Lakedaimonian victors (Lykinos dedicated two statues of himself) were set up in this area in the late-fifth to early-fourth-century.[1063] The Spartan statues were not completely alone in this area, as an Arkananian athlete, possibly named Xenarkes, had a statue set up in their midst.[1064] Just as this area was dominated by statues of Spartan victors, these statues were dominated in turn by the colossal dedication of Kyniska.[1065]

We can detect therefore a gradual move away from the 'standard' placement of victory monuments in a cluttered and competitive area of the sanctuary towards domination of one particular area, in which individual Spartiates were free to compete with one another. Kyniska's second monument at Olympia, a smaller than life-size group of horses on a pedestal in the pronaos of the temple of Zeus itself,[1066] highlights a second trend for Spartan dedication; that they were able to erect monuments in especially prestigious areas within

[1062] Polypeithes: Paus. 6.16.6. For Seleadas: Kralli 2017, 444; table 6; table 14.
[1063] Paus. 6.1.7 – 6.2.2. Two victors seem to have created distinctive statues: Anaxandros was depicted at prayer, Polykles tying the ribbon to his chariot attended by two children. The statues of the others (Lykinos, Arkesilaos, and Lichas) are not described but appear to have given more details about the victors in inscriptions; Hodkinson 2000, 323. There is a suspected corruption in the manuscript at 6.2.1, where Xenarkes is given as the name of an Akarnanian athlete but may also appear in the list of Spartan horse-breeders.
[1064] The date of this Arkananian cannot be confirmed beyond being post-479. Moretti (1957, no.386) suggests a fourth-century date, but corruption in the manuscript renders more precise dating impossible.
[1065] Paus. 6.1.6. Parts of the bases of the statues have been found in the northern part of the Prytaneion, very close to the temple of Hera (IvO 160). Palagia 2009, figs. 3 and 4.
[1066] Paus. 5.12.5. The inscribed base (IvO 634), confirming the size of the statues, was found at the eastern edge of the north wall of the pronaos of the temple of Zeus, just as Pausanias describes.

the sanctuary. Here we may see a re-enforcement of the social order at Sparta. Kyniska's larger, more costly dedication is set up to trump the offerings of Spartan horse breeders in an area of the sanctuary that they were otherwise dominating. Her second offering may be smaller, but the prestigious placement in the heart of the pronaos of the temple itself is in many ways a more powerful message. Kyniska's royal status enabled her to erect a monument in a space that was simply not available to lesser Spartiate horse breeders.

Kyniska's monument in the pronaos was not the first time the Spartans had demonstrated their power with the placement of their monuments at Olympia. Directly in front of the entrance to the Bouleuterion stood a statue of Zeus dedicated after the defeat of the Persians at the battle of Plataia.[1067] Like the Serpent Column at Delphi, this was not strictly a Spartan offering as it was dedicated in the name of the whole force, but Sparta, as leader of the alliance, would have played a major role in its creation and positioning within the sanctuary. Closer to the temple of Zeus, Sparta certainly made its presence felt through monumental dedications. The first of these was a statue of Zeus set up after the Messenian revolt of the 460s.[1068] This was set up just to the south-east of the temple,[1069] so as not to directly compete with or obscure the temple itself, but to be unmissable for anyone looking towards the front of the temple from the hippodrome.[1070] On the temple itself, the Spartans affixed a golden shield, paid for with the spoils from the battle of Tanagra in 457.[1071] Three fragments of a marble version of the same inscription have been found in the

[1067] Paus. 5.23.1-2. Hdt. 9.81.
[1068] Paus. 5.24.3. For revolt: Thuc. 1.102. See above, pp.144-6 for debated dating of statue.
[1069] IvO 252. The findspot agrees with Pausanias, who places it just to the right of the temple (showing Pausanias has his back to the temple) and who states that the offering of Mummius stands to the left of the Lakedaimonian Zeus and is in line with the columns of the temple.
[1070] This Zeus statue was itself opposed spatially by the Nike of Paionios, set up *c.*420 by the Messenians. Paus. 5.26.1 records that the Messenians claimed that it was set up after the Lakedaimonian defeat on Sphakteria but that the Messenians feared the Lakedaimonians and so did not name them in the inscription.
[1071] Paus. 5.10.4.

vicinity of the temple of Zeus (IvO 253), perhaps from a copy of the inscription set up at ground level to facilitate ease of reading.[1072] It was surely a testament to Spartan power that they were able to fix their shield directly onto the temple itself and it should therefore not be surprising if they set up an extra inscription to draw the attention of visitors. Pausanias also reported that a golden *lebes* stood at each end of the roof of the temple of Zeus, while a gilded Nike was set up atop the central pediment.[1073] Pausanias is silent as to the occasion and reason for their dedication, for he proceeds straight to a description of the golden shield set up by the Spartans. The most likely solution is that the *lebes* and the Nike were part of the original temple design, yet the use of a matching golden shield by the Spartans may have cast some doubt on this, perhaps even tempting a viewer to see the other gold offerings as Spartan also.[1074]

Such an action by the Spartans would not be unprecedented. At Delphi, Herodotus reports that two sprinkling vessels dedicated by Croesus had been appropriated to appear as though they were offerings of the Lakedaimonians.[1075] The dedicatory inscription, according to Herodotus, was added by a certain Delphian who hoped to please the Lakedaimonians, yet the Spartans themselves dedicated a statue of a youth, through whose hands the water from Croesus' vessels ran.[1076] The Spartans have therefore been very deliberate in the placement of their offering. The statue appears tailor-made to accompany the two sprinkling vessels, and so by incorporating all three it gives the appearance of a single offering.

[1072] Scott 2010, 192-3.
[1073] Paus. 5.10.4.
[1074] If this were true, then it would create a further striking visual parallel with the temple of Hera, similarly 'crowned' with distinctive Lakonian roof tiles (see Chapter 4).
[1075] Hdt. 1.151.3.
[1076] Hdt. 1.151.4.

We can see a similar exploitation of prestigious spaces within the sanctuary at Delphi. In the mid-fifth-century, following the grant of *promanteia*, the Spartans erected a statue of Hermione next to the Omphalos, literally the centre of the world.[1077] Even the Athenians, who dominated the monumental landscape at Delphi during the fifth-century, never erected a monument in this area and had to content themselves with constructing monuments along the Sacred Way.[1078] Following the defeat of Athens in 404, the Spartans and their allies were in a position to directly compete with Athenian domination of the sanctuary. The most prominent spatial opposition came at the entrance to the Sacred Way, where in the 460s the Athenians had constructed a monument for the battle of Marathon.[1079] The Marathon monument was the first major dedication a visitor to the sanctuary would see on their route up the Sacred Way. It was precisely this position that the Spartans sought to usurp with the dedication of Lysander's Aigospotamoi Monument at the end of the fifth century. The Spartans were aggressive in their spatial and monumental opposition to Athens, but they were certainly not alone, nor was this spatial opposition to Athens a new development.[1080] A treasury dedicated by Syracuse after the repulsion of the Athenian invasion of Sicily in 413 may have been set up to oppose the Athenian Treasury, though the location is uncertain.[1081] The location of the Treasury of 'Brasidas and the Akanthians' is also

[1077] Paus. 10.16.3-4; Scott 2010, no.152. Pindar. *Pyth*. 4.74-5. Although later monuments would be set up here, at the time of the Spartan dedication, it appears that only the cauldron of Alyattes was set up so close to the Omphalos.
[1078] Scott 2010, 77-81; 2014, 128-30.
[1079] Harrison 1996, 25-6; Davison 2013. There is considerable debate over the nature and location of the base for this monument (Amandry 1998, 76; 87-9). Bommelaer 1991, 111 for the disassociation of a base on the Athenian treasury with the Marathon monument. We are therefore reliant upon the testimony of Pausanias (10.10.1) for the position and reconstruction of the monument.
[1080] Earlier fifth-century opposition came from Megara and Thessaly: Scott 2010, 103. An unidentified triangular column may also have been set up in opposition to a combined Messenian/Athenian dedication: Bommelaer 1991, 234.
[1081] Scott 2010, 105, no.183.

uncertain,[1082] but the various options all allow for spatial opposition to the Athenian Treasury.[1083] The level of involvement of Brasidas himself, or the Spartans more generally, is unknown,[1084] but we can surmise that the Spartans would not object to a dedication which both spatially and typologically opposed the Athenian Treasury.

The Aigospotamoi Monument outclassed the earlier Athenian dedication in both size and position, yet it was through the stoa constructed on the opposite side of the Sacred Way that complete dominance of the entranceway was achieved. The monopolisation of both sides of the entrance was something that had never been achieved before at Delphi and ensured that a visitor to the sanctuary could not help but see the power of Sparta. As discussed in Chapter 3, there is some uncertainty about the dedication of the stoa but there is good reason to believe that it was a Spartan creation. The strongest arguments revolve around the purpose of the stoa and the intensity with which it was targeted by later statue dedications of states hostile to Sparta. Stoas were commonly considered a place to rest in the shade and so are often constructed to channel the gaze of viewers towards particular monuments.[1085] The construction of the Arkadian statue group in front of the stoa, as well as the Argive statue group at the end, effectively cut off access to the stoa, nullifying its role as a viewing gallery for the Aigospotamoi Monument opposite.[1086] The presence of Tegean booty within the stoa, rather than identifying the Tegeans as the builders, represents a

[1082] Plutarch (*Mor*. 397f; 400f) places it behind the altar. Plut. *Lys*. 1.1. Different foundations have been suggested: Scott 2010, 104 n. 149.
[1083] The position either mirrored the Athenian Treasury at a turn on the pathway or imposed on the domination the Athenian Treasury exercised on the temple terrace (Scott 2010, 105).
[1084] Partida (2000, 103) believed that the treasury was originally constructed in the sixth-century but refitted in the 420s and rededicated to recognise the contribution of Brasidas (Thuc. 4.84-8). Bommelaer 1991, 106 argues for a new build *c.*420.
[1085] Coulton 1976, 8-12; Strabo 13.3.6; Vitr. 5.9.1. Kuhn 1985, 277-87 on stoas as seating areas.
[1086] Paus. 10.9.5-6 (Tegean and Arkadian offerings); 10.10.5 (Argive statues).

further insult to the Spartans, from whom the booty was taken.[1087] A Spartan stoa, rendered inaccessible and effectively 'killed off' by subsequent hostile dedications therefore represents the most agreeable solution. The subsequent hostility to this monument should not detract from its impact at the time of its construction, when it was a key part of the monumental domination of a key area in Delphi, projecting Spartan power and dominance over the Greek world through careful placement as well as the physical size of Spartan dedications.

In summary, the Spartans exploited space in three major ways in Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries. Firstly, they used their prominence to erect monuments in the most prestigious areas of the sanctuaries, an option not available to most states. Secondly, they targeted spaces which they could monopolise, creating their own private hubs within sanctuaries. Finally, they played on spatial ambiguity to make their own offerings appear grander and to claim credit for, or at least create doubt over, the dedication of other monuments.

6.4. Battles and Battlefields as lieux de mémoires

Few events left such permanent marks in the consciousness of Sparta as its great victories and some of its most chastening defeats.[1088] In this section, I aim to examine the extent to which certain battles and battlefields became *lieux de mémoires*, and how these events were memorialised in Spartan culture. At this point, it is worth reiterating the major factors needed for the creation of a site of memory (see Chapter 1). Firstly, all monuments and sites

[1087] Dedicating spoils in another *polis*' monument can already be seen at Delphi: Ath. 13.604 records the shield offered by Asophikos of Thebes in a stoa, probably that of Athens, or perhaps even Sparta. Scott 2010, 115, no.225.
[1088] Trundle 2018.

require resources to initiate and maintain them. Secondly, sites of memory, particularly monumental landscapes, are constantly evolving in terms of material and meaning. Thirdly, while a site or monument may retain its meaning in isolation, meaning is strengthened, and can be altered or subverted, by activities performed at the site.[1089]

The most pressing difficulty with identifying Spartan sites of memory is that after the conquest of Messenia, virtually all of Sparta's major wars and battles were fought far from their own territory until the fourth-century Theban and Arkadian invasion.[1090] The Spartans of the Classical period in particular are characterised as both keen to fight their battles far from home,[1091] and proud of the inviolable nature of their homeland.[1092] The consequences of this phenomenon on the monumental ambitions of the Spartans were twofold: firstly, it rendered the return of the war-dead to Sparta difficult, leading to burial at or near the site of a battle.[1093] Secondly, it presented significant logistical obstacles to the construction of major battlefield monuments, even in victory. These issues were certainly not unique to Sparta and several traditions arose which were universally adopted in ancient Greece.

The factors needed to create a site of memory posed significant hurdles for the commemoration of battles in the ancient world, not least the need for an army to remain mobile. For this reason, most ancient battles would not make it past the initial phase of creative commemoration, undertaken immediately after the conclusion of the battle itself.

[1089] Winter 1996, 2008.
[1090] Xen. *Hell*. 6.5.27-8.
[1091] Hdt. 8.108.3-4.
[1092] Compare the pride expressed by Antalkidas in Plut. *Ages*. 31.5 who, when an Athenian said, 'we have driven you from the Kephisos many times', replied 'but we have never driven you from the Eurotas', with the reaction of the women of Sparta during the invasion in 369, who had never seen smoke or the enemy before (Xen. *Hell*. 6.5.27-8; Plut. *Ages*. 31.5).
[1093] Pritchett 1985, 243-6; Low 2006, 92-3. See Chapter 5 for discussion of the possible return of some of the war-dead to Sparta during the Messenian Wars.

Thus, with a few exceptions, notably Classical Athens,[1094] it was fairly standard practice that the Greek war-dead of the Archaic and Classical periods were buried at, or near, the site of a battle in a *polyandrion*.[1095] Cremation and inhumation were both in use for such mass burials, with inhumation perhaps representing the simpler, cheaper option and cremation a more prestigious, costly, and altogether grander spectacle of burial.[1096] By the early-fifth-century, it was also typical for the victor to set up a *tropaion* (trophy) of captured arms to mark the result of the battle.[1097] These monuments were necessarily simple, inexpensive and quick to set up. The piece of ground chosen for the battle is immediately imbued with significance by those who have taken part in the engagement. However, such memories can be lost abruptly if the event is not commemorated in a more lasting way, by a wider group of people than those directly involved. Most of these forms of lasting commemoration involved the setting up of monuments in specialised spaces, either in a home *polis* or Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries.

One of the most significant early Spartan battlefields to appear in the sources is the site of the battle of the Champions, traditionally dated to *c.*547, fought against the Argives for control of the region of Thyreatis/Kynouria.[1098] Victory in this battle led to the consolidation of Spartan dominance over Lakonike. The available evidence suggests that this conflict between Argos and Sparta had been ongoing for many years,[1099] though the origins and

[1094] The Athenians were not so unique in this practice as often suggested (Low 2004).
[1095] Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 106, 111. Pritchett 1985 (iv), 125-39; 249-50.
[1096] Duffy 2018, 36-7. Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 247 for mass burials at Marathon; Ma 2008, 77-8 for the Macedonian cremation tomb after Chaironeia, and 82-3 for the more hurried Theban mass inhumation.
[1097] Stroszeck 2004; Kinnee 2018.
[1098] Hdt. 1.82 states that the dispute over Thyrea took place at the same time as Croesus (reigned *c.*560-547) requested aid from the Lakedaimonians. Paus. 2.38.5; Cartledge 2002, 122-3. For the archaeology of the region: Pavlides 2018, 284-5.
[1099] Paus. 3.2.3; 3.7.5. Tyr. Fr. 23a appears to mention a conflict with Argos in the mid-seventh-century, though the papyrus is fragmentary and the identification of the Argives not certain (see the commentary of Bayliss in *BNJ* 580 F. 23a).

details of the battles before the mid-sixth-century are far from concrete.[1100] The fact that the battle of the Champions (and the subsequent engagement) are preserved in the historical sources demonstrates the significance which the Spartans attached to it. Despite this significance, the battlefield as described by Pausanias appears fairly typical, with no monuments beyond the tombs of the chosen Spartans and Argives.[1101] If the Spartans ever did erect permanent monuments for this battle in Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries or their own *polis*, they have left no trace in the material or literary record. It was therefore subsequent activities which marked the significance of this battle and served to elevate the battlefield itself. These activities came in the form of festivals which were either created or augmented to celebrate the battle, most notably the Gymnopaidiai in Sparta. Another festival, the Parparonia, was celebrated in the region of Thyrea, close to the location of the battle.[1102] Little information has survived about the format of the Parparonia, but gymnic and equestrian games were included as the Damonon stele records victories won there by both Damonon and his son Enymakratidas.[1103] The participation of evidently wealthy Spartiates in a festival some distance from Sparta town shows the importance of both the festival and, by extension, the event which it helped commemorate.[1104] Despite the distance, the fact that

[1100] For example, the battle of Hysiai, described by Pausanias (2.38.5) as a victory of the Argives over the Spartans *c.*669, has been connected with the mention of the Argives in Tyr. Fr. 23a (Cartledge 2002, 109). However, see Kelly 1970 for the argument that there was no such battle in the seventh-century and that the graves seen by Pausanias should be connected instead with the Spartan destruction of Hysiai in 417 (Thuc. 5.83.2).

[1101] Paus. 2.38.5-6 suggests that the dead 'champions' from both sides were buried on the battlefield but makes no explicit mention of the dead of the subsequent engagement. Several sources, probably citing a much later tradition, mention a *tropaion* erected by Othryades, the sole Spartan survivor, inscribed with his own blood (Plut. *Mor*. 306b; Luc. *Charon*, 24). It is highly doubtful that this trophy ever existed.

[1102] Low 2006, 93-4. The cult of Parparos at Xerokambi is attested by an inscribed bronze bull (Pavlides 2018, 288; Supp. Mat. No.1). Cavanagh (1996, 271) places the festival site near Karyes.

[1103] *IG* V,1 213; Christesen 2019, 122-3. Enymakratidas won in the boys' *stadion*, *diaulos*, and *dolichos* at the Parparonia (44-7), while his racehorse also won an event at the same occasion (47-9). Damonon won the *stadion* and *diaulos* (62-4).

[1104] The ancient route from Sparta to Prasiai, via Therapne, would be around 75 km. Therefore, participating in the festival would involve several days of travel, in addition to the time spent at the festival itself.

the site not only remained accessible but also became a part of Spartan territory made performative commemoration of this sort possible. Unfortunately, there is insufficient evidence to determine whether the battlefield and the *polyandria* there became the focus of any of the later commemoration or whether commemoration of the battle was incorporated into a festival at a nearby sanctuary, most plausibly the Parparonia. In either case, it appears that the Spartans felt no need to augment the battlefield itself with any monuments beyond the *polyandria* themselves.[1105]

Despite the relative proximity and accessibility of the tombs at Thyrea, it appears that the Spartans also commemorated the Thyrea dead at the Gymnopaidiai festival, celebrated in the city.[1106] The importance of the Gymnopaidiai is apparent from Classical sources.[1107] However, the testimonia linking the festival to the dead of Thyrea are all of considerably later date.[1108] Pettersson believes that the origins of the Gymnopaidiai lay in the eighth-century shaping of Sparta as an entity, and that therefore the association with Thyrea, itself a contested area for many of Sparta's formative years, was incorporated soon after the battle of the Champions in the mid-sixth-century.[1109] Although the songs were apparently in honour of the dead of Thyrea, the performative commemoration in a festival may suggest that mourning for the dead is replaced by an air of celebration.[1110] The contribution and sacrifice of the dead is honoured in the context of what it has brought to Sparta, in this case

[1105] Unless such monuments were removed by the Argives when they regained control of the region in the fourth-century.
[1106] Paus. 3.11.9.
[1107] Xen. *Mem*. 1.2.61 (followed by Plut. *Kim*. 10.5) demonstrates that the festival was also attended by non-Spartans. Thuc. 5.82.1-3 has the democrats in Argos enact a coup during the Gymnopaidiai in the knowledge that the Spartans will be occupied, although on this occasion the Spartans postpone the festival to march out, before returning and finishing it after learning that the Argive Oligarchs had been defeated. Pettersson 1992, 42-3 for full summary of testimonia.
[1108] Athen. 15.678b-c. The Suda and the *Etymologicum Magnum* both state that the Gymnopaidiai was a festival where choruses of boys sang hymns to Apollo in honour of the dead of Thyrea.
[1109] Pettersson 1992, 51.
[1110] Steiner 1999, 392 for the same phenomenon in the context of the dead of Thermopylai.

the consolidation of total power within the Lakonike. Attaching commemorations of Thyrea to an important, pre-existing, central Spartan festival highlights the deliberate efforts of the Spartans to remember this event above and beyond their other victories. The repetitive nature of the performances reinforces the memory of the battle as a defining event in the formation of Sparta and as part of the ongoing collective consciousness and memory.

The dead of Thyrea certainly occupied a special position in the commemorative tradition of Sparta. In the early-fifth-century, the Spartan dead of the Persian Wars also demanded elevated status in the wake of the eventual Greek victory. Like the dead of Thyrea, those who fell at Thermopylai (and possibly Plataia) may have been honoured during a festival in Sparta. Unlike Thyrea, the battlefields at Thermopylai and Plataia lay well beyond Spartan territory, and performative commemoration akin to the Parparonia was simply not possible. These were also battles which affected not only Sparta, but the whole of Greece. As a result, memories of the Persian Wars were hotly contested, and the commemoration of individual battles took on a competitive edge. The battle of the Champions could be celebrated and commemorated by the Spartans as they saw fit and with few, if any, external considerations. By contrast, the victory in the Persian Wars was a collaborative effort, and a great many *poleis* celebrated their own role with monuments set up at home and in Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries.[1111] Athens was the most active of these states; sometime around 460 they set up permanent victory monuments at Marathon and Salamis and, in a manner similar to the Spartan commemoration of Thyrea, instigated festivals where the young men of the city would visit both sites.[1112]

[1111] For example, *IG* I^3, 1143; Plut. *Mor*. 870e: A dedication of the Corinthians claiming sole credit for the victory in the Persian Wars.
[1112] Marathon: Paus. 1.32.4; Vanderpool 1967. Salamis: Plat. *Menex*. 245a; Lyc. 1.73; Kinnee 2018, 51-3.

The battlefield of Plataia was a particular magnet for competing commemorative monuments: Herodotus reports a great number of tombs (including three built by the Spartans), some of which he says were empty, only constructed ten years after the battle out of a desire to share in the glory of the victory.[1113] Pausanias, visiting the site many centuries later, reported only three tombs.[1114] Such funerary monuments were apparently considered sufficient to highlight the contribution and sacrifice made by the various participating poleis, although Plutarch reports that both the Lakedaimonians and the Athenians erected competing trophies in the aftermath of the battle.[1115] The Plataians celebrated a festival involving games as early as the fifth-century,[1116] which probably expanded into the much grander Eleutheria festival in the Hellenistic period.[1117] It was during the Eleutheria that the Spartans and Athenians apparently held a public debate to determine who had the right to lead the procession, evidenced by a series of inscriptions dating from the late Hellenistic period onwards.[1118] Although such developments demonstrate the competing memories and interests at the site, they are unlikely to be features of the fifth-century commemorations and so are not under consideration here.

Perhaps in an attempt to rival the prominent Athenian commemoration of Marathon and avoid the competing memories at Plataia, the Spartans focused a great deal of commemorative energy upon Thermopylai. Even here, competing memories abound, as shown by the presence of a single collective tomb and, by the time of Strabo at least, five inscribed stelai. These monuments, as well as the lion for Leonidas, all served to highlight

[1113] Hdt. 9.85.3.
[1114] Paus. 9.2.5.
[1115] Plut. *Arist*. 20.3. Considering that the significance of battlefield trophies increased through the later-fifth and fourth-centuries (and beyond), this anecdote was probably a later addition to the story.
[1116] Thuc. 3.58-4-5.
[1117] Wallace 2011, 153-4.
[1118] *IG* II^2, 2086; 2089; 2130. Robertson 1986.

the sacrifice made by groups and individuals in the pass. Thermopylai itself certainly became a site of memory, while the monuments erected there became a key part of the retelling of the narrative, for example, Herodotus' report that the Greeks made their last stand on the hill where the stone lion was erected in honour of Leonidas.[1119] This phenomenon applies to other battlefield monuments too – they become the focus and identifier of where momentous events took place, and the story is woven around them.[1120]

By the time of Pausanias' visit, the Leonideia festival, complete with games and speeches, was celebrated at Sparta, centred on the tombs of Leonidas and Pausanias, and the stele for the Thermopylai dead.[1121] In addition, there are fragments of poems composed by Simonides in honour of the dead of Thermopyai and Plataia, emphasising their heroism and sacrifice in a manner which may have echoed not only Homer but also perhaps songs for the dead of Thyrea.[1122] There is no explicit evidence as to where these songs were performed. Boedeker believes that the 'New Simonides' in honour of the Plataia dead was originally performed over the tombs on the battlefield shortly after their construction.[1123] Bowra believed they were sung at a shrine in Sparta,[1124] a position disputed by Podlecki, who argued instead that a less public setting, such as the *Syssition*, made better sense.[1125] The most convincing argument is that of Steiner, who places the performance of the poems at some sort of festival in Sparta.[1126] We have no evidence for the Leonideia before *c.*113-7 CE, although as this date saw a renewal of the festival and doubling of the prizes, it must have

[1119] Hdt. 7.225.2
[1120] For example, Thuc. 5.10.6: Brasidas engaged the Athenians 'where the trophy now stands.'
[1121] Paus. 3.14.1. *IG* V,1 18-20.
[1122] Boedeker 1998.
[1123] Boedeker 1995; 1998.
[1124] Bowra 1933, 279.
[1125] Podlecki 1968, 258-62.
[1126] Steiner 1999, esp. 392, followed by Low 2011, 5. See also Flower 1998, 369.

existed earlier,[1127] nor is there any other festival which is an obvious candidate for the performance of the poems. Despite this, the strong likelihood is that the poems were indeed performed publicly and repeatedly in Sparta from the fifth-century, much like those performed for the Thyrea. The very existence of these Simonidean poems can be seen as an exploration of how to commemorate the dead in a location very distant from their physical remains.[1128]

The three battlefields (Thyrea, Thermopylai, and Plataia) discussed so far all showcase some similarities in terms of the Spartans' attitudes towards sites of memory. The monuments erected at all three sites are funerary in nature, focusing on the sacrifices made during momentous events, rather than on the ultimate victories and consequences thereof, explored in the performative commemoration and songs which came after. The tombs at Thermopylai and Plataia, far from Sparta's home territory, could not be maintained by the Spartans themselves. It is not clear where responsibility for the maintenance of the monuments at Thermopylai lay, but the tombs at Plataia were in the care of the Plataians themselves. We learn, from an impassioned speech recorded by Thucydides, that the Plataians not only maintained the graves but also celebrated a festival and games at the battlefield in honour of the sacrifices made there.[1129] This Spartan emphasis on magnifying their sacrifices, coupled with the factor of fighting many wars far from home, leads neatly to the burial of the Spartan dead from the battles of Mantineia (418) and Haliartos (395).[1130] The dead of both of these battles were carried away from the battlefield and buried in the

[1127] Cartledge and Spawforth 1989, 192-3.
[1128] Steiner 1999. Low 2011, 4-5. The *en polemoi stelai* are another example of this phenomenon.
[1129] Thuc. 3.58.4-5. Robertson (1986, 96) suggests that the Plataians would not be able to finance the grand Eleutheria festival, and so either Sparta, Athens, or both would have contributed.
[1130] The following argument draws heavily on Low 2006.

friendly territory of the Tegeans and Panopeans respectively.[1131] The removal of the dead of Haliartos to friendly territory must be caveated by Xenophon's report of the behaviour of the Thebans, who swiftly and unceremoniously escorted the defeated Lakedaimonians out of their territory.[1132] Therefore, it was probably the case that there was no opportunity to bury the dead any earlier. Mantineia, on the other hand, was a decisive Spartan victory. The dead could therefore have been buried on the battlefield, yet they were instead removed to Tegea, whose inhabitants had requested Spartan help. Just as the Spartan (and other Greek) dead at Plataia were honoured and maintained by the Plataians, the graves of those who fell at Mantineia would be honoured and maintained by the Tegeans. Looking at this through the prism of memory, we see that the Spartans are actively attempting to shape memory of their allies. They bury their dead in Tegea (and Phokis) as a reminder of the assistance given by the Spartans when their allies called.

The examples collected above can be examined in terms of place, rather than through considerations of space. Their rough position is known, but there is no way to adequately gauge the interaction of the Spartan tombs with the surrounding natural or urban landscape. The only example of a Spartan polyandrion for which we can even attempt such an analysis is the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians (Chapter 3.2).

Before considering the interaction of the tomb with its surroundings, it is prudent to stress the unprecedented historical context of the burials in Athens. Firstly, it is rare to find the Spartans fighting within a foreign city which contains both friendly and hostile elements. Secondly, the Spartan presence in Athens continued after the engagement, affording more

[1131] Burial after Mantineia: Thuc. 5.74.2. Burial after Haliartos: Plut. *Lys*. 29.3.
[1132] Xen. *Hell*. 3.4.25.

time to construct the tomb, but also rendering the removal of the dead from the city difficult.[1133] Finally, King Pausanias was in a position of considerable strength within the city for the duration of his stay. Therefore, while there were factors limiting the options for the burial of the dead, this was also an unprecedented opportunity to create a lasting memorial in the monumental landscape of Athens.

The Tomb of the Lakedaimonians was placed in the Kerameikos, close to the Dipylon Gate, at the side of the Academy Road, within the *Demosion Sema*.[1134] This important area around the Academy Road was purposefully identified and cultivated as a public cemetery after the democratic reforms of Kleisthenes, with little evidence for pre-Classical use.[1135] The most prominent monuments in the *Demosion Sema* were the famous Athenian casualty lists, fragments of which have been discovered in the Valerian wall, as well as by the side of the Academy Road.[1136] The Academy Road was particularly special; its size and route through the public monuments of the fifth-century invited large groups to meander and inspect the monuments that surrounded it and, crucially, allowed for the performance of large-scale public ceremonies and commemoration in the area.[1137] This commemoration was focused on the casualty lists, many of which were clustered around the Marathon cenotaph and involved a public funeral for the war-dead and the delivery of speeches.[1138] The placement of the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians so close to the Academy Road, in the stretch between the casualty lists and the city walls, is therefore of great significance. Any Athenian walking

[1133] Hdt. 3.55 tells of a Spartan who fell while attacking Samos being given a public burial by the Samians, but this was still a hostile engagement. The Lakedaimonian garrison in Thebes was eventually forced out after three years with no reports of conflict: Xen. *Hell*. 5.4.1-9.
[1134] Arrington 2010, 512.
[1135] Arrington (2010, 506-9) places the beginnings of the Demosion Sema *c.*500.
[1136] Arrington 2010, figs. 2-4.
[1137] Arrington 2010, 522-4 for Academy Road. Loraux 1986 for public commemoration.
[1138] Loraux 1986 for the funeral oration in Athens. Thuc. 2.34-46 for Perikles' funeral oration.

from the city towards the casualty lists in order to hear the funeral oration would pass the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians, before passing it again on their return to the city. The place of the tomb in the collective consciousness of the Athenians can be seen in Lysias' funeral oration:

> ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐ πλῆθος τῶν ἐναντίων φοβηθέντες, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς σώμασι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν κινδυνεύσαντες, τρόπαιον μὲν τῶν πολεμίων ἔστησαν, μάρτυρας δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς ἐγγὺς ὄντας τοῦδε τοῦ μνήματος τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων τάφους παρέχονται.'
>
> 'Nevertheless, having felt no fear of the multitude of their opponents, and having exposed their own bodies to great peril, they (the Athenian democrats) set up a trophy over the enemy and now have witnesses to their valour, close to this monument, in the tombs of the Lakedaimonians.'[1139]

Here, Lysias is not presenting a true reflection of the events, conflating the tombs of the Lakedaimonians in the city with an earlier victory won by the Athenian democrats, whereas, according to the Xenophon passage, the Lakedaimonians buried in the Kerameikos fell in a battle in which Pausanias was victorious.[1140] Whether Lysias reflected the popular opinion of his day or not, we can detect an attempt to re-define the elephant in the room; the shadow of the power Sparta once exercised over Athens, expressed though a tomb which all members of the audience had already passed, and would have to pass again. We can see a parallel with the burial of their dead at Plataia, Phokis, and Mantineia, in that the Spartans attempt to shape the memories of the Athenians through the position of burial. In this instance these attempts can be seen to go a stage further for the tomb is placed (and

[1139] Lys. 2.63. Todd 2007, 157-64 for the uncertain authorship and date of this oration.
[1140] Todd 2007, 260-3. Xen. *Hell*. 2.4.11-19 for the battle at Mounykhia, which Lysias may be deliberately confusing with the battle in which these Lakedaimonians died (Xen. *Hell*. 2.4.35), eventually won by Pausanias.

labelled) conspicuously within a space which was already the site of important commemorative ceremonies. It is therefore a considerably more aggressive imposition of memory than those at Mantineia and Phokis, while also demonstrating Spartan appreciation of space and memory in performative commemoration.

In addition to the effect on the citizens of Athens, the placement of the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians would also have had an influence on visitors to the city entering through the Dipylon Gate. The direction of text in the inscription (retrograde) would have made it easier to read while travelling into the city. At the time of its construction, it was also the last monument that a visitor would see before entering the city. A visitor taking this route into the city would be invited to look upwards towards the acropolis, resplendent with the relatively recently constructed Parthenon. Based on estimations of the height of the city wall and the distance of the tomb from it, the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians was positioned close to where this view of the acropolis would be obscured by the wall.[1141] As the height of the wall can only be estimated, the position of the tomb is either the last from which the acropolis could still be seen or the the point where the wall obscured the view.[1142] The fact that the first extension of the tomb was in the direction of the wall may suggest the latter.[1143] If we believe that a visitor would be at least tempted to look up towards the acropolis when entering Athens, then the eventual obscurement by the walls would naturally force their eyes downwards and back to their surroundings, just at the point where the Spartans erected both their tomb and their inscription.

[1141] For the city walls of Athens (8-10 m high): Theocharaki 2011.
[1142] The tomb is roughly 1.2 km from the acropolis, which is *c.*130 m higher. A wall 10.5 m high would obscure the view of the acropolis at *c.*92 m, very close to the distance of the Tomb from the Dipylon Gate.
[1143] Stroszeck 2013, 385.

6.5. Summary

This chapter has shown that the Spartans placed their monuments with great care and with a view to present and future viewers. They were also able to adjust their monumental dedications and spatial concerns to fit the context and the occasion to ensure maximum effect. There are examples where they position their dedications to directly compete with and dominate the monuments of their rivals, such as with the Aigospotamoi Monument at Delphi. On other occasions, they were willing to employ deceit and exploit ambiguity to enhance the effect of their monuments.[1144] Finally, during periods of ascendancy the Spartans appear keen to exert their considerable influence to ensure that their dedications in Delphi and Olympia were afforded pride of place.

These spatial considerations are also visible in the placement of monuments within Sparta itself, and it can be surmised that there was fairly tight control over the most prestigious areas of the city. This is not to say that private monuments were not set up in these areas, particularly in the vicinity of sanctuaries, which naturally attract votive offerings, monumental and otherwise.[1145] However, we hear of few monuments erected by, or for, individuals of the Classical period, and most private monuments seem to be far from the agora and the acropolis. This marks the special privilege of an individual like Brasidas, who was deemed sufficiently worthy of commemoration that his cenotaph was still standing in a central location by the time of Pausanias' visit.

[1144] This accords with their use of visual deceit in other arenas: Powell 1989; 1994, 284-7.
[1145] Hodkinson 1998.

It would also appear that while important battles had the potential to become *lieux de mémoire*, their place in the cultural consciousness of Sparta was ensured primarily through repeated performative commemoration, which may or may not have been centred on specific monuments depending on the occasion. This imposition of memory was limited neither to their own citizen body, nor to the 'typical' routes through the dedication of monuments in Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries but extended to their allies through the placement of their tombs in foreign territory. In the case of Athens, the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians was even inserted into the Athenians' own important performative commemoration of their war-dead.

It is noteworthy that virtually all of the major monuments Pausanias reported seeing in Sparta were set up after the death of the individual which they commemorated, and that festivals such as the Gymnopaidiai, Parparonia and Leonideia all honoured sacrifice rather than the achievements of the living.[1146] It seemed to Pausanias that the Spartans were 'of all men, the least admiring of poetry, or given to the praise of poets' (δοκοῦσι δὲ οἱ Σπαρτιᾶταί μοι ποίησιν καὶ ἔπαινον τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἥκιστα ἀνθρώπων θαυμάσαι).[1147] This has led to debate over the existence of the epinician ode, composed for a victor in an athletic or equestrian event, at Sparta.[1148] There is very little direct evidence for the very existence of triumphal verses of any sort, certainly after the Persian Wars, and less still for any manner of public or private performance in Sparta itself.[1149] What is clear from Pausanias' statement

[1146] According to Plat. *Laws.* 802a, it was not safe to honour the living with hymns and praise. On the links between the *Laws* and Sparta: Powell 1994, esp. 294.
[1147] Paus. 3.8.2. This statement has been thoroughly interrogated by Hornblower 2004, 237-9.
[1148] Absence: Hodkinson 2000, 217-9. Potential existence: see Nobili 2013.
[1149] Nobili 2013. See also Hornblower 2004, 21; 237; 239-43. Barron (1984, 20-1) identifies Ibykos S 166 (dated *c.*550) as part of an epinician for a Spartan, while a fragment of Simonides from *P. Oxy*. 2623 has been interpreted as an epinician, dated *c.*494-488 by Nobili (2013, 67-73) on the basis of the wording of the text and the fact that *P. Oxy*. 2623 appears to be solely comprised of epinicians (Rutherford 1990, 201-2). There are no

above and his subsequent description of Sparta, is that if such verses were ever composed, they were certainly not added to monuments set up by sporting victors in Sparta.[1150] Therefore, the general picture is one of relatively high state control over monumental dedications in the city itself, as well as over the types of performative commemoration which helps cement memories.

other potential verses of any sort between this fragment of Simonides and Kynsika's inscription at Olympia, nor any information as to where such verses may have been performed or inscribed.

[1150] For example, Paus. 3.17.6 records the statue which 'the Lakedaimonians say is Euryleonis', suggesting there was no inscription visible, unlike the statues at Olympia where his descriptions imply inscriptions, which may have been in verse, in the manner of Akmatidas' halter dedication in the sixth-century (*CEG* 372). Paus. 3.8.2 categorically states that, aside from the verses composed for Pausanias the regent and Kyniska, there were no other verses honouring royal Spartiates, which does not necessarily preclude the inscribing of verses upon the monuments of non-royal Spartan victors at Olympia.

Conclusion

The core aim of this thesis has been to examine the ways in which Sparta used monumental commemoration and associated performative acts to solidify the idea of Sparta amongst contemporaries, as well as project its own identity through both time (to future generations) and space (on the Pan-Hellenic stage). The evidence has been examined regarding the interplay between artistic form and the projection of a consistent image (Chapter 4), the tensions between expressions of individual and collective identity (Chapter 5), and how place and memory could be and were manipulated to ensure coherence with political aims (Chapter 6). These thematic investigations have revealed several common threads relating to Spartan monumental display, and allow an engagement with Powell's concept of a Spartan 'party line'.[1151] A final debate, which permeates the full thesis, surrounds the extent to which Sparta could be considered exceptional in its use of monuments. In other words, was Sparta's identity as expressed through monumental commemorations built cohesively or contrastingly with those of other Greek poleis.

The epigraphic evidence (Chapter 2.2), though limited, shows that prior to the fifth-century individuals and groups identified themselves as Spartiates or Lakedaimonians. This distinction disappears with the Persian Wars; from this time onwards, the inscriptions set up by the Spartans refer exclusively to Lakedaimonians. It is equally noteworthy that the fifth-century also saw an increased reluctance to follow contemporary artistic trends and

[1151] Powell 2021.

developments, with a preference for outdated forms of monuments, such as the continuing dedication of tripods at Amyklai (Chapter 4). The relative tightening of control over monumental display in Sparta visible in the fifth-century may have prompted wealthy Spartiates (and, possibly, Perioikoi) to seek alternative avenues for self-aggrandisement. This resulted in an increase in the number of monumental dedications offered by individual Lakedaimonians in Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, with the volume intensifying into the fourth-century (Chapter 5). In these arenas, away from the city's authorities and their peers, Spartans started to engage with emerging trends in monumental form and function, culminating in the dedication of numerous portrait statues at Olympia. It should be stressed that there was little unusual about individual Spartan dedications, especially for athletic and equestrian victories, when compared with the wealthy elite of other contemporary Greek *poleis*.[1152]

When placing dedications abroad, we can see the Spartans exercise their power to assure themselves pride of place in prestigious locations (Chapter 6). Interestingly, this applies to both collective and individual dedications. This shows that individuals were happy to use the prominence of Sparta, and their own membership of a such powerful and exclusive group, to further promote themselves. The competition between prominent individuals (and families) betrays not only the tensions within Spartiate society, but also highlights tension between prominent groups and the Spartan state itself. The outward image of austerity maintained by the rejection of certain monumental forms in Sparta was certainly tested by this same tension between influential individuals and the state, although it appears that

[1152] Hodkinson 1999.

traditional forms of dedication remained the norm in Sparta in the Classical period.[1153] Outside the sphere of monumental dedications, we find a host of distinctions and accepted inequalities within Spartan culture, also recognised by non-Spartan authors.[1154]

Distinction was also not always positive, and it was certainly the case that in Sparta an individual could become conspicuous by their exclusion.[1155] In the case of Aristodemos, the sanctions could be very severe: labelled a 'trembler' and shunned in Sparta,[1156] denied a prize for valour at Plataia,[1157] and explicitly denied the honours afforded to others who had distinguished themselves in battle.[1158] Whether he was buried in the mass tomb constructed by the Lakedaimonians is unclear, but it is highly unlikely he was buried in the tomb of the ἰρέες. Similarly, his name was almost certainly omitted from the stele of the 300 in Sparta. It also appears that the Spartans chose not to compete in dedicatory spheres which they could not dominate. They do not appear to have offered captured arms in Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, and their offerings at Delphi are relatively meagre before their victory in the Peloponnesian War. This demonstrates a consistent interest in the influence of monumental display, and an appreciation of the potential impact the lack of visual commemoration could have.

The ambitions of prominent Spartan individuals and families also prompted responses from elements within the Spartan state, most commonly from one of the two royal houses. This suggests a desire to perpetuate an image of Sparta, a concern to maintain the status quo,

[1153] The most prominent exception is probably the portrait statue of Euryleonis (Paus. 3.17.6), although there is much that is uncertain about this monument.
[1154] On these levels of distinction (and ancient references), see Hodkinson 2000; Figueira 2006; Van Wees 2017a; 2017b; Davies 2017.
[1155] For example, the destruction of the house of Leotychidas after his exile (Hdt. 6.72).
[1156] Ducat 2006b.
[1157] Hdt. 7.231; 9.71.
[1158] Hdt. 9.71.4: 'οὗτοι δὲ τοὺς κατέλεξα πάντες, πλὴν Ἀριστοδήμου, τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ τίμιοι ἐγένοντο.' ('all those aforementioned, save Aristodemos, who died in the battle received honour').

and prevent the emergence of serious threats to the prominence of the kings and the position of the royal houses. The nature of the responses we can see in the surviving evidence argues against the existence of overbearing legislation limiting the avenues for monumental display, and instead suggests more of a 'fire-fighting' response to issues as they arose. Whether seeking to undermine the dedications of wealthy Spartiates at Olympia through Kyniska's dedication, to possibly reclaim the monuments of Lysander at Delphi with an inscription, or demonstrate royal superiority through the most prestigious placements available, the state proved adaptable in its response to the ambitions of wealthy Spartiates.

A 'Party Line'?

Against this backdrop we can return to Powell's idea of the 'party line': that the Spartiates (or, possibly, Lakedaimonians) collectively conspired to project a single, coherent image of Spartan history and culture.[1159] In particular, it is interesting to ask to what extent this 'party line' was imposed by central powers onto the community, or whether the Spartans themselves enthusiastically bought into its projection.

The curtailment of new artistic forms and the near-disappearance of funerary monuments in the fifth-century, juxtaposed with the prominence granted to monuments for those deemed to have contributed to the community, implies top-down control.[1160] The conspicuous exclusion of certain individuals also supports the idea of a central authority which took an active role in visual commemoration.[1161] The growth of a wealthy Spartiate

[1159] Powell 2021.
[1160] For example, Brasidas and the dead of Thermopylai.
[1161] For example, the lack of a funerary monument for Lysander in Sparta, the destruction of the house of Leotychidas, or the exclusion of Aristodemos from honours at Thermopylai and Plataia.

class, with access to reliable income streams from their estates, may have prompted the state to impose limitations on monumental display due to its own inability to consistently compete.[1162] Another sign of this insecurity was the reaction of the authorities in Sparta to the sudden influx of war-booty won by Lysander.[1163] By retaining the ability to erect grander monuments in more prestigious areas of the city of Sparta (and beyond), the state ensured it would not be outdone by even the wealthiest Spartiates. There were evidently still avenues for private monuments to be set up and, despite the apparent tensions, there are few examples of major attempts to dramatically diverge from the accepted monumental traditions.

Within Sparta and Lakonia, certain private monuments, such as the shrine of Alpheios and Maron, may have been state sanctioned, rather than state sponsored. Others, such as the *en polemoi* stelai, conform to a consistent set of values, once again suggesting sanctioned limits on private monumental display. The disparity between the monuments erected in Sparta and Olympia by wealthy Spartiates suggests that each location was governed by distinct customs. However, ad-hoc responses of the Spartan authorities to specific trends in Spartan monumental display may point to a looser level of control, necessitating occasional interference.

Although there are signs of restrictions being imposed onto monumental display in the Archaic period, it was after the Persian Wars that attention to the Spartan image appears to intensify. This is partly explained by the general clamour to promote states and individuals

[1162] See above, pp. 14-7 for Spartan state treasury.
[1163] Plut. *Lys*. 17.1-6. Gylippos, who had been sent with 1,000 talents to Sparta, tried to steal 30 talents, but was caught. This led the state to outlaw gold and silver currency from Sparta *c.*404, resulting in the subsequent execution of the Spartan commander Thornax for possession of silver (Plut. *Lys*. 19.4). See further Hodkinson 2000, 155-7; 170-6.

in the wake of the Persian Wars (Chapter 3), but the process may have been more intense in Sparta due to the elevation of Leonidas and the dead of Thermopylai.[1164] There are numerous literary references which demonstrate the enduring influence of Thermopylai in the minds of the Spartans, as well as the rest of Greece.[1165] Therefore, it might be the case that the traditions of monumental display in Sparta were temporarily frozen after the Persian Wars, in order to evoke this powerful association and maintain Sparta's reputation, on which it was increasingly reliant.[1166]

The power of the Spartan image may serve to explain why there was little overt opposition to the restrictions on monumental display within the city of Sparta from the Spartans themselves. Being identified as a Spartiate, or a Lakedaimonian, certainly came with benefits during the Classical period, such as the ability to erect monuments in prestigious areas within sanctuaries.[1167] Individuals may have been content to conform to monumental conventions in Sparta without outright defiance, while simultaneously pursuing self-aggrandisement beyond the boundaries of the city. This willingness to conform in the interest of cultivating an image could also have applied to the Perioikoi, but there is insufficient evidence to be confident of their motivations. It might also be the case that fear of the scorn of the collective was a motivating factor for the erection of monuments in Sparta: not only might the state disapprove of grandiose monumental display, but a dim view may have been taken by other Spartiates. The most logical model therefore seems to be that the Spartan state had an interest in creating and perpetuating an image, possibly

[1164] Especially if we follow the line of thought that the Thermopylai campaign was a failure and so the Spartans needed to re-define it as a heroic sacrifice.
[1165] For example, Thuc. 4.40.1. Powell 2017a.
[1166] Konijnendijk 2019.
[1167] See above, pp. 253-5.

driven initially by a desire to curb excessive monumental display by wealthy groups and individuals. The Spartans themselves either recognised the benefits this image conferred on them or were restrained by collective jealousy and so, largely, conformed to the 'party line' within the city of Sparta.

Was Sparta exceptional in its use of monuments?

One final question to consider in this thesis is whether Sparta was exceptional in its use of monuments. Without a comparative analysis of the monumental agendas of other Greek *poleis*, the question is difficult to answer, however we can say that there are probably more similarities than might be expected, even between Athens and Sparta. For example, in both *poleis* we find a mixture of intercommunal and cemetery burials,[1168] as well as private cenotaphs set up for individuals buried in mass-graves, although the visible forms are very different. Neither the lack of any sort of grave marker for the majority of the population, nor the ability of small, privileged groups to elevate themselves through marked tombs or burial enclosures, was extraordinary for contemporary Greek *poleis*.[1169] Similarly, the absence of *Kouroi* serving as burial markers is not far removed from the rest of the Peloponnese during the sixth-century.[1170]

For the period covered by this thesis, it appears that the Spartans were not particularly innovative in their monumental dedications in Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, often reacting to developing trends. During the late Archaic period the Spartans appear more willing to engage with unusual designs for monuments and major buildings in Sparta itself, although

[1168] Christesen 2018, 339-41.
[1169] Christesen 2018, 308-9.
[1170] Kokkorou-Alevras 2009.

even here there were generally precedents elsewhere. The restrictions imposed on many avenues for monumental display in the late-sixth and early-fifth-centuries mirror the regulation of the appearance of other aspects of life in Sparta. For all these restrictions, there are parallels elsewhere in the Greek world, where aristocratic displays of wealth were restricted to various degrees in the late Archaic period.[1171] What marked Sparta as different was the longevity of these restrictions, compared to the varying stages and degrees of relaxation of elsewhere. Similarly, Sparta was not unique in showcasing tension between individual and state monuments,[1172] yet the degree of restraint visible in the city of Sparta itself was probably slightly greater than elsewhere. Even the idea of archaism and stability which the Spartans sought to project through their monuments was not entirely unique, with examples from other Greek states.[1173]

As discussed in Chapter 6, several Spartan monuments were erected in uniquely prestigious spaces throughout the Greek world. However, the desire to position monuments in such areas would not have been unique to Sparta. Rather, the location of these dedications is a reflection of Spartan power and influence, in addition to the desire to advertise that power. More specifically Spartan is the apparent refusal to engage in certain types of competitive monumental display in arenas which the Spartans could not dominate. Thus, there were few Spartan monuments, and no treasury, in the competitive hotbed of Delphi before the late-fifth-century, while they refused to compete with other city-states in the dedication of captured arms at Olympia, instead focusing on the dedication of bronze vessels.

[1171] Van Wees 2017a.
[1172] For example, the private memorial for Dexileios in Athens (*IG* II^2, 6217), who was named on a state casualty list (*IG* II^2, 5222) and probably interred with the other Athenian war dead.
[1173] See above, p.130 for Messenia and Megalopolis.

In a sense, all monuments are designed to influence the memory of the people and events that they commemorate. However, when it came to attempts to shape memory, the Spartans appear very energetic and aggressive. By constructing distinctive monuments in carefully chosen locations, the Spartans often tried to insert memories into the consciousness of other Greek states. In the city of Sparta there was a conscious attempt to create an image for outsiders; the idea of a stable, harmonious society was projected through monumental forms as well as the 'party line'. It also appears that memory was imposed onto the Spartan collective through the repetitive performative commemoration of particular individuals and events, which was designed to cement a consistent version of Spartan 'history' and legacy. The Spartans were certainly not unique in their desire to shape memory, but once again it appears that they were able to go slightly further than other Greek states.[1174]

I hope that this examination of Spartan monuments has demonstrated that the Spartans of the Archaic and Classical periods were not passive observers in the projection of their own image, but pursued a monumental agenda designed to present a picture of strength and stability. The combined literary and archaeological evidence shows that the Spartans were, individually and collectively, concerned with how they were perceived, and actively erected monuments to demonstrate their power to their fellow Greeks, and beyond. This desire to present consistent images and narratives adds yet more difficulty to discovering the 'real'

[1174] The idea of Sparta as similar to other Greek states but taking measures slightly further, conforms with other aspects of Spartan society: Hodkinson 2017, 29-31.

Sparta, but also highlights a key part of the role played by the Spartans themselves in the creation and perpetuation of the ‘Spartan mirage’.

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