

# THE SANCTUARIES OF APOLLO MALEATAS AND APOLLO TYRITAS IN LACONIA: RELIGION IN SPARTAN–PERIOIKIC RELATIONS

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*This article examines how religion contributed to the interconnectivity of the large geographical region of Laconia which was under Spartan control for most of the Archaic and Classical periods. With a particular focus on two Laconian sanctuaries, that of Apollo Maleatas and that of Apollo Tyritas, located in the area of the Thyreatis/Kynouria, which had traditionally been a disputed region between Sparta and Argos, it considers how sanctuaries played a part in Spartan–perioikic relations. The votives from the two sanctuaries vary: the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas is rich in weapon dedications, while that of Apollo Tyritas has a diverse array of offerings, including bronzes, pottery and weapons. I argue that the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas served as a central gathering place that united the Lakedaimonians, both Spartans and perioikoi, and where they celebrated the military qualities of Apollo. The sanctuary of Apollo Tyritas may reflect Spartan interests in the disputed region from the late seventh/early sixth century, and it too presents evidence for the military preoccupations affecting the area. The warrior-god Apollo, prominently worshipped in Sparta and Laconia, was appropriately offered offensive weapons of spears and arrowheads, both real size and miniature. The Spartans and perioikoi celebrated the Maleateia festival, at the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, which presented an opportunity for Spartans and perioikoi to gather together. A Laconian sacred landscape was formed through the celebration of common cults and festivals, thus uniting the centre (Sparta) with the Laconian (and Messenian) countryside.*

## INTRODUCTION

Even though there are a number of studies on Spartan religion (Parker 1989; Flower 2009; Richer 2007; 2012), relatively little has been written on the cults of Laconia since Wide's *Lakonische Kulte* (1893).<sup>1</sup> In their chapter on Laconia and Messenia in the *Companion to Archaic Greece* (2009), Kennell and Luraghi do not discuss perioikic sanctuaries in wider Laconia (beyond those covered in the Laconia Survey and in immediate proximity to Sparta), but focus only upon well-excavated sites, such as Aigies and Geronthrai. This is surprising, since perioikic cults constitute a large proportion of the archaeological sites in Laconia, some of which have yielded a rich array of votives, indicating their long life and regional and local importance. Our understanding of perioikic religion is complicated by the fact that many sites have not been excavated or surveyed in any depth. The work of the Laconia Survey (Cavanagh et al. 1996;<sup>2</sup> 2002; Cavanagh, Mee and James 2005), and that of Phaklaris (1987; 1990), Pikoulas (1987; 1988; 2012), Goester (1993) and the Asea Survey (Forsén and Forsén 2003), have focused upon settlement patterns and cults in areas close to Sparta and on the northern borderlands of Arcadia and Argos, but other parts of Laconia are less well explored. Various studies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries attempted (often successfully) to identify perioikic poleis and cults referenced by ancient authors, specifically Pausanias.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Guarducci (1984, 86–106) focuses upon literary accounts and mostly on Spartan cults. Wallner (2008) discusses perioikic settlements and cult sites along Pausanias' route. Focusing particularly upon the perioikoi and their relationship with Sparta, she offers only a short discussion of perioikic cults.

<sup>2</sup> Sites listed in the catalogue of the Laconia Survey will be referenced here as *LS*.

<sup>3</sup> Leake 1830; Wide 1893; Puillon de Boblaye 1836; Forster 1903–4; 1906–7; Wace and Hasluck 1907–8; Ormerod 1909–10; Hondius and Hondius-van Haeften 1919–21. More recently: Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1961; Christien 1989; Pritchett 1965, 59–70; 1979, 110–42; 1982, 1–73; 1985, 79–106; 1991, 137–77.

The results of the Laconia Survey show that the perioikoi<sup>4</sup> living close to Sparta in the settlements of the Eurotas Valley and the Chrysapha basin probably used Spartan cults and festivals for their own religious activities, as no large cult site has been identified in the area (Catling, R.W.V. 2002, 224). Further away, local communities had a long-lived and established pantheon.<sup>5</sup> Variation in settlement patterns and border disputes affected the commencement, cessation and character of cults (and settlements). However, by the Archaic period, it appears that Laconia, regardless of the regional settlement pattern, saw the establishment of many cults that continued into the Classical and later periods.

Although much has been written regarding Spartan–perioikic relations, little attention has been paid to how religion contributed to the interconnectivity of the large geographical region of Laconia (and Messenia), which was under Spartan control for most of the Archaic and Classical periods. This article attempts to fill this gap with an examination of two Laconian sanctuaries: that of Apollo Maleatas and that of Apollo Tyritas (Fig. 1). The material evidence from the two sites differs greatly: the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas is rich in weapon dedications, while that of Apollo Tyritas has a diverse array of offerings, including bronzes, pottery and weapons. The two sanctuaries are located in the area of the Thyreatis/Kynouria<sup>6</sup> which had traditionally been a disputed region between Sparta and Argos. Using these two sites as case studies, I examine how sanctuaries contributed to Spartan–perioikic relations during the Archaic and Classical periods and provide a picture of religious interconnectivity in Laconia. I argue that the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas served as a central gathering place that united the Lakedaimonians, both Spartans and perioikoi, who celebrated the military qualities of Apollo. The sanctuary of Apollo Tyritas may reflect Spartan interests in the disputed region from the late seventh/early sixth century, and it too presents evidence for the military preoccupations affecting the area. Taking together the votives, literary sources and comparative evidence from other Laconian sanctuaries and cults, I discuss how Sparta connected with its perioikic neighbours through the promotion and celebration of perioikic cults in Laconia and in Sparta itself.

#### APOLLO MALEATAS: SITE AND FINDS

The sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas is located on a high mountain peak of Prophitis Ilias at Kosmas on the Parnon mountain range in Kynouria, in Laconia. It probably derives its name from its position in the Malea peninsula in Laconia with Cape Malea at its southern tip.<sup>7</sup> The identification of the cult is confirmed by inscriptions of a bronze warrior statuette, c.520 (*IG V* 1.927; Herfort-Koch 1986, 56, 66, 116 no. K131, pl. 19, 1–2; Phaklaris 1990, 181 fig. 103, pl. 93c–d; Stibbe 2000a, 89, figs 20–2; Proskynitopoulou 2006, 163 no. 66) and a bronze disc (*SEG*

<sup>4</sup> In general, scholars agree that Laconia was part of the Lakonike, Spartan territory inhabited by perioikoi and helots (Shipley 2006, 52–3; Mertens 2002; Gallego 2005, 34–43; Wallner 2008, 217–32; Kennell 2010, 88–92). The Laconian perioikoi were inhabitants of the Spartan state and, together with the Spartans, formed the group called the Lakedaimonians (Shipley 1997, 201, 205; Hall 2000, 80; Mertens 2002, 285; contra Ducat 2008, 63–8). They lived in small poleis and settlements (perhaps 400–600 people; cf. Isokrates, *Panathenaikos* 179) scattered throughout Laconia and Messenia with their own sanctuaries and territory (Shipley 1997, 206–11; Hansen 2004, 153–4; Kennell 2010, 71) and formed part of the Spartan army (Shipley 1997, 202; 2006, 52–3; Hall 2000, 74–5; Ducat 2008, 34–44). For the view that the perioikoi were full citizens of their own poleis, see Ducat 2008, 72–82.

<sup>5</sup> For a catalogue of cult sites in Laconia, see the Supplementary Material to this article.

<sup>6</sup> The geographic extent of Kynouria is debatable; for which see Shipley 2000, 377. I take Shipley's view that the Thyreatis was part of Kynouria (Thucydides 2.27.2; Shipley 2000, 376).

<sup>7</sup> Romaios (1956, 8, 12) suggests that the original deity was a local god 'Maleatas' who took his name from the mountain range which used to be called Maleas instead of Parnon (*Odyssey* 3.287). However, place-specific deity epithets are common in Greek religion and need not be the name of an older deity (Parker 2003, 176–7, 182). The name remains in the Arkadian polis Malea (Pausanias 8.27.4) and the region Maleatis (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 6.5.24), Phaklaris 1990, 182 n. 574.

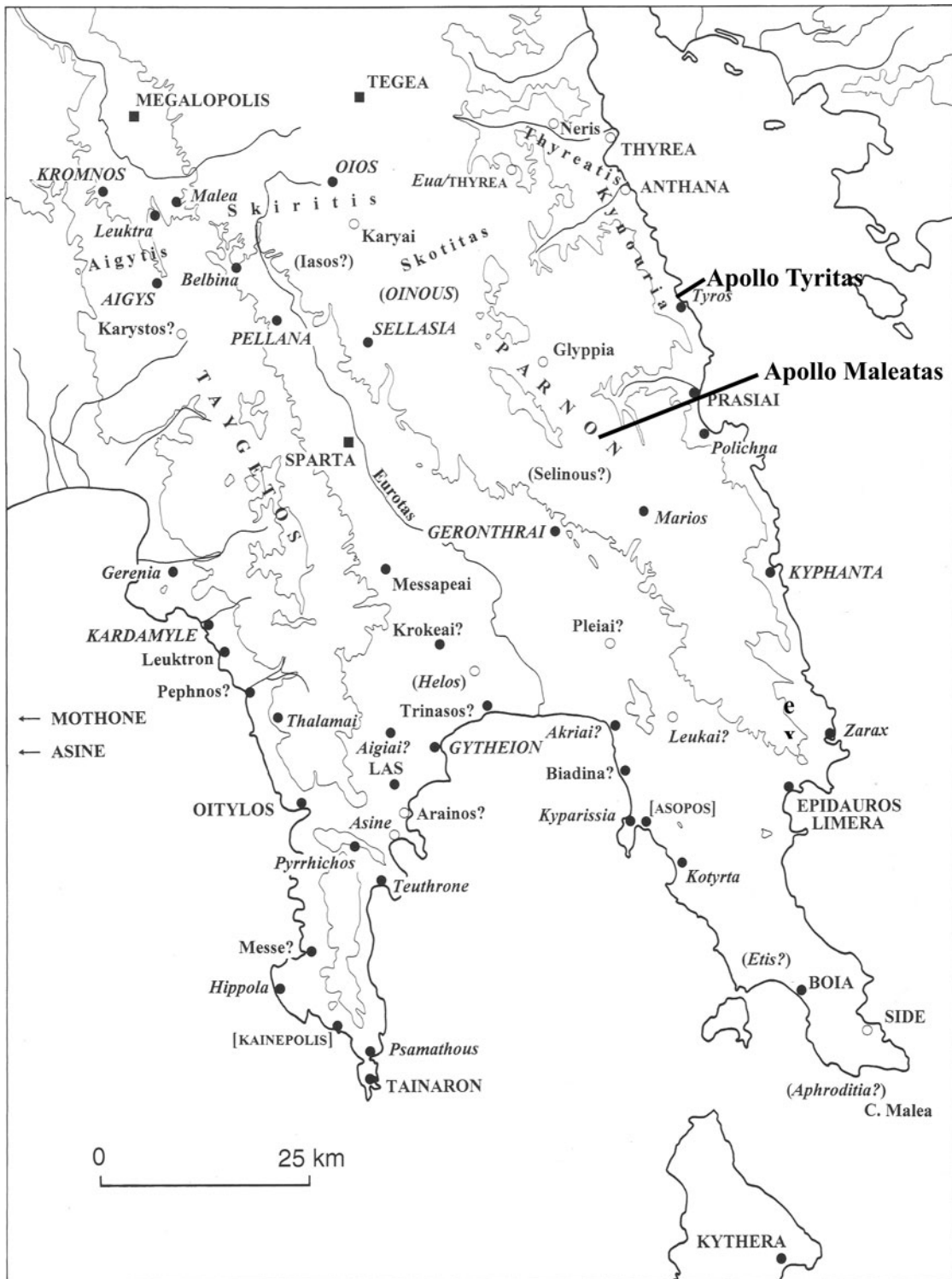


Fig. 1. Map of Laconia. Adapted from Shipley 2000, 370.

XI 890; Phaklaris 1990, 182 fig. 104).<sup>8</sup> It is extremely rich in weapons, both miniature and real size, as well as Laconian pottery – aryballoi, skyphoi and oinochoai – especially of the sixth and fifth centuries (Phaklaris 1990, 180); there are also two examples of seventh-century Corinthian aryballoi. The site has never been extensively excavated, but a brief excavation by Christou (1963) revealed parts of two retaining walls together with black-glazed Laconian tiles (cf. Phaklaris, 1990, 179, 183; Baumer 2004, 124).<sup>9</sup> An unpublished rescue excavation undertaken during the opening of a road in 1988 revealed further weapons (both real size and miniature), three small animal horns, a bronze ploughshare, an iron hoe and 105 fragments of broken pottery.<sup>10</sup> Based on the finds, the cult appears to have commenced in the seventh century (Baumer 2004, 134) and reached its peak in the Archaic and Classical periods (Phaklaris 1990, 183). On the basis of the large number of weapons found at the site, Christou initially interpreted it as a fort (Christou 1963, 87–8; cf. Christien 1982–3, 63). However, the aforementioned inscribed bronzes – a warrior statuette and disc – and finds in miniature – a lead spear,<sup>11</sup> a miniature bronze spear, miniature double axes, various vases, numerous miniature spearheads, weapons made of thin bronze sheet, and drinking vessels – have provided Phaklaris with enough evidence to argue convincingly that this is a cult site (Phaklaris 1990, 179–80).

### Weapon assemblage

The volume of weapon dedications is indeed remarkable. Without detailing an extensive list, we may note that Christou unearthed in a deposit on the inside of the retaining wall, and on top of it, numerous iron spearheads, 20 iron javelin heads, many miniature iron spear and javelin heads,<sup>12</sup> and small knives. From the rescue excavations in 1988 an even more substantial number of finds was unearthed at the height of the retaining wall: 356 iron arrowheads, 105 bronze arrowheads, 2 miniature swords (0.037 m and 0.022 m), 57 javelin heads and spearheads, 24 iron fragments of spears and arrowheads, 3 bronze axes, 3 small axes, 1 bronze spearhead and 10 knife blades, among other finds.<sup>13</sup> Many of the weapons were probably not functional, as they were made of thin bronze sheet, which is characteristic of weapons made for dedicative purposes (Snodgrass 1964, 126). The finds, therefore, consist of a large number of real-life weapons which could be ‘raw’ dedications<sup>14</sup> and miniature weapons made for dedicatory purposes. The site differs from other Laconian sanctuaries in that it has not produced bronze vessels, as at the sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteletas further south in Laconia (Stibbe 2008; see Supplementary Material catalogue no. 40). In fact, it has only produced a few bronze statuettes, pottery, a couple of agricultural instruments and no terracotta statuettes.

The distinctive nature of the finds is also noteworthy, since the weapons consisted mostly of spearheads, javelin heads and arrowheads; that is, offensive weapons. Helmets, cuirasses, greaves and shields, which commonly appear as war booty at other sanctuaries, are absent. However, Apollo Maleatas is not the only sanctuary to preserve dedications of offensive weapons only. Some Peloponnesian sanctuaries of Apollo, such as those at Halieis and Apollo Parrhasios in

<sup>8</sup> Phaklaris (1990, 181 n. 566) places the find-spot of the bronze warrior statuette at the top of the hill of Prophitis Ilias. He also places another bronze statuette of a goat with an inscription MAEATA (*IG V* 1.929) at the sanctuary (Phaklaris 1990, 181 n. 568).

<sup>9</sup> Other material which is now lost had been found in an excavation conducted by the school principal in 1934 (Phaklaris 1990, 178).

<sup>10</sup> The finds are unpublished and reported only in the *Kynouria* newspaper (*Kynouria* 1988, 1; cf. Phaklaris 1990, 183).

<sup>11</sup> See the miniature lead spearheads from Olympia in Baitinger 2001, 142–3, nos 493–7, pl. 13.

<sup>12</sup> Miniature weapons have been found at a number of sanctuaries – Olympia, Bassai, Sounion, Delphi and the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea as well as other Arcadian sanctuaries, such as Alipheira, Glanitsa and Gortys (Voyatzis 1990, 198–201) – but they are particularly associated with Crete (*LIMC* I, 316, no. 14; Snodgrass 1974, 196). For more recent bibliography see Baitinger and Völling 2007, 201 n. 1004; Baitinger 2011, 159–60; Schaus 2014, 180–1, no. 208.

<sup>13</sup> *Kynouria* 1988, 1.

<sup>14</sup> ‘Raw’ votives were originally produced for utilitarian rather than votive use (Snodgrass 1989–90, 287–94).

Arcadia, have revealed predominantly offensive weapons (Larson 2009, 131), but the numbers are low, as is the secure identification of these sites as belonging to Apollo.<sup>15</sup>

### Weapon dedications in Greek sanctuaries

The unusual uniformity in military finds from the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas becomes more obvious when compared with other Laconian, Messenian and Greek sanctuaries.<sup>16</sup> Although a number of weapon dedications have been found at the sanctuary of Apollo Tyritas further north in Laconia (see below), hardly any have been found in other perioikic sanctuaries: from the rich array of bronzes from the temple of Apollo Hyperteleatas only a bronze spear-butt and a spearhead are reported (Stibbe 2008, 29–30, nos 41–2, figs 40–1; see Supplementary Material catalogue no. 40). Likewise, the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods only produced two examples of spearheads (Genière 2005, 31, nos 49–50, pl. xxiv; see Supplementary Material catalogue no. 39), while the sanctuary of Aigies near Gytheion produced only a few examples, one of which is a Corinthian helmet (Bonias 1988, 100–1, nos 551, 557–8; see Supplementary Material catalogue no. 18).

In Spartan sanctuaries, especially those of Apollo Amyklaios, the votives include weapons, swords, spearheads, an inscribed helmet and bronze sheets belonging to shield decorations.<sup>17</sup> Weapon dedications have also been unearthed at the Menelaion<sup>18</sup> and the sanctuary of Zeus at Tsakona.<sup>19</sup> Other sanctuaries, such as those of Artemis Orthia,<sup>20</sup> Athena Chalkioikos<sup>21</sup> and the Eleusinion<sup>22</sup> are poor in weapon dedications. Numerous weapon dedications in bronze and iron were unearthed (Versakis 1916, 88–91 nos 11–17, figs 24–9; 97–9, no. 45, figs 45–6) at the temple of Apollo Korythos at Longa in Messenia (Versakis 1916, 116–17; Zunino 1997, 168; Luraghi 2008, 118–19),<sup>23</sup> including two inscribed spear-butts, one of which commemorates a victory over the Athenians (Jeffery and Johnston 1990, 206 nos 3, 10; Bauslaugh 1990, 661–8).<sup>24</sup> The warrior nature of Apollo Korythos is further expressed by a well-known bronze figurine of a hoplite dated to 540–525 and found at the sanctuary (Versakis 1916, 106, pl. A; Herfort-Koch 1986, 117 no. K 135; Stibbe 2000a, 96–7, figs 33–4; Proskynitopoulou 2006, 164 no. 67).<sup>25</sup> Although many Laconian sanctuaries have produced weapon dedications, none have yielded numbers as large as those of Apollo Maleatas, votives of such a predominantly offensive type, or finds of such limited diversity.

Spearheads and arrowheads are well attested in Greek sanctuaries, especially in Archaic contexts (Simon 1986, 253; cf. Larson 2009, 130 fig. 6), though they are not usually found in such high numbers. Only a few sanctuaries have produced large quantities: Olympia produced more than 400 projectiles and the sanctuary of Artemis and Apollo at Kalapodi produced more than 300

<sup>15</sup> Halieis: Dengate 1988, 242. Apollo Parrhasios in Arcadia: Kourouniotis 1910, 29, 36; Dengate 1988, 84–5, though the identification is uncertain: see Voyatzis 1990, 44.

<sup>16</sup> Baitinger 2011, 61.

<sup>17</sup> Tsountas 1892, 10; Kalligas 1992, 34, fig. 13a–d; Demakopoulou 2009, 103; fragment of a bronze helmet with an inscription which reads: [A]μυκλαῖο(ι) (*SEG* XI 690; Jeffery and Johnston 1990, 199 no. 9, pl. 35).

<sup>18</sup> Remains of shields and others iron objects, such as swords and spearheads (Catling, H.W. 1976–7, 38); fragments of a bronze strip preserving the upper parts depicting four warriors in combat (Catling, R.W.V. 1986, 211, fig. 5); Laconian III (575–550) cup fragment with a warrior head on the tondo (Catling, H.W. 1976–7, 41, fig. 48; 1977, 415, fig. 15).

<sup>19</sup> Bronze spearhead, fragments of shields (Catling, H.W. 1990, 26, 29, 30, figs 5a–b).

<sup>20</sup> Arrowheads: Dawkins 1929, 201 pls 87 *i–k*, *h*; 88 *b*, *g*, *h*; Voyatzis 1990, 200.

<sup>21</sup> Statuette of armed Athena and spearhead (Dickins 1906–7, 148, 150, 154); statuette of an armed female (Aphrodite?), perhaps from the 4th century (Dickins 1907–8, 145 fig. 2).

<sup>22</sup> Stibbe 1993, n. 59: a spearhead.

<sup>23</sup> More weapons may have been found, but there is substantial corrosion on many iron pieces, making their shape unknown (Versakis 1916, 97, 99).

<sup>24</sup> See also an inscription mentioning Enyalios (Versakis 1916, 115; Jeffery and Johnston 1990, 204, n. 2; Luraghi 2008, 118).

<sup>25</sup> From the Ω-Ω sanctuary at Messene: an arrowhead and fragments of armour (Themelis 1998, 161) and a shield dedicated to Polydeukes from the late 4th or early 3rd century (Themelis 1998, 160, fig. 2).

spearheads, which have been interpreted as war booty.<sup>26</sup> Generally speaking, while armour is found in many sanctuaries the numbers are not very high, and there are only a few sanctuaries other than those of Panhellenic standing, such as Olympia, Isthmia or Delphi, where more than 100 weapons of any type have been found.<sup>27</sup> The 198 projectiles unearthed at the Stymphalos sanctuary could perhaps be the remnants of an attack or series of attacks, rather than the result of votive practice (Hagerman 2014, 98–102).<sup>28</sup> Compared to these, the weapons found at the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas are so numerous (e.g. 356 iron arrowheads, 105 bronze arrowheads) that they can be paralleled only by those deriving from larger sanctuaries, such as those at Olympia and Kalapodi, which had a wider audience and a varied votive assemblage.<sup>29</sup> Yet we can hardly compare the material evidence from the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas to Olympia. The sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas in Laconia would have had a more regional audience.

The sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas has produced both a more distinct character of weapons (offensive) and a larger number of weapons than most Greek sanctuaries. In order to understand the significance of the cult and its position among the communities living in Laconia, one must attempt to understand the reasons behind the existence of the large number of weapons. In his study of the weapons found at the Stymphalos sanctuary, Hagerman (2014, 95–6) suggests that a sanctuary could serve as a storage site for military weapons, that weapons could have been dedicated, or that weapons could appear as the result of warfare.

### Sanctuary under attack?

It is not unlikely that the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas came under attack. The area of Thyreatis/Kynouria was disputed between Sparta and Argos and the two faced each other in a number of battles. The current consensus is that the region was taken by Sparta from Argos by 546, after the famous ‘Battle of the Champions’,<sup>30</sup> though the two cities had a history of warfare predating the mid-sixth century<sup>31</sup> and continuing into the Classical (Thucydides 5.41; Pausanias 2.20), Hellenistic (*Anthologia Palatina* 7.430–2)<sup>32</sup> and Roman (Pausanias 7.11.1–2) periods. Sparta also

<sup>26</sup> Olympia: Baitinger 2001, 92; Kalapodi: Schmitt 2007, 424.

<sup>27</sup> See Larson (2009, 125 n. 5), who lists Athena Itonia at Philia in Thessaly and the sanctuary at Kasmenai in Sicily. Very impressive are the 3000 iron daggers found at the ash altar of Zeus at Ozea, the highest peak of Mount Parnes (Langdon 1976, 100; Baumer 2004, 94; Eijnde 2010–11).

<sup>28</sup> Some projectiles from Olympia and Nemea have also been linked with military hostilities (Hagerman 2014, 101).

<sup>29</sup> The sanctuary at Kalapodi was a regional sanctuary of some importance. Although it could not compete with Delphi or Olympia, the size of its temple and the volume of dedications show that it ‘aspired to compete with major Panhellenic sanctuaries’ (Felsch 2007, 555).

<sup>30</sup> According to Herodotus (1.82; cf. Pausanias 3.2.2–3, 7.5; Plutarch, *Moralia* 231d–f), the territory of the Thyreatis/Kynouria and also the entire Malea peninsula all the way to the southern coast was controlled by Argos but taken over by Sparta during the reign of King Croesus, c.560–547. Thucydides called the territory of the Thyreatis/Kynouria a borderland (γῆ μεθορία) of the Argolid and Laconia (2.27.2). The extent of Argive control of the Malea peninsula cannot be confirmed archaeologically; the claim was probably later Argive propaganda (Cartledge 2002, 122).

<sup>31</sup> Pausanias (3.2.3) records that during the reign of King Labotas there was a dispute over Kynouria; another battle dated by Eusebius to 719/718 was perhaps the same battle as that during the reign of King Theopompos over the Thyreatis (Pausanias 3.7.5; Hall 1995, 585). There was also the battle of Hysiai, traditionally dated to 669, at which Argos was victorious (Pausanias 2.24.7), though Kelly (1970, 86–7) dates the battle to 417 when Sparta destroyed Hysiai (Thucydides 5.83.2). Moreover, a fragment of Tyrtaios (23a Gerber; cf. fr. 8) reveals animosity between Argos and Sparta going back to the 7th century. The destruction layer (c.590–580) in Halieis contains Laconian pottery such as lakainai which are not traditionally exported, so its presence is interpreted as signifying Spartan involvement in the Argolid (Jameson 1969, 318–22). See Jameson, Runnels and Andel 1994, 70–1 and Goester 1993, 45–8 for the historical background of the area.

<sup>32</sup> Philip II gave the region of the Thyreatis to Argos in 338, but it is uncertain whether he also handed over Kynouria and the Parnon seaboard. For discussion see Piérart 2002, which argues that the area was given over but was difficult to maintain. Shipley (2000) argues that the area was not given to Argos but was lost at some point between 272 and 219. In 219 King Lykourgos was able to briefly recover Polichna, Prasiai, Leukai and Kyphanta but was unable to take Glyppia and Zarax (Polybius 4.36.5; Shipley 2000, 378; Piérart 2002, 38, 39).

had some towers along the borders: those of Xeropigado, Xylopyrgos and Anemomylos all date to the second half of the fifth century and show the strategic importance of the area (Phaklaris 1990, 201–5; Baumer 2004, 143). Still, it is unknown whether the conflict between Sparta and Argos ever reached as far south as this particular area of the Parnon mountain range. It is also unclear whether or not Sparta lost this area in 338 when Philip II gave the Thyreatis and parts of Kynouria to Argos, but attempts were made to reconquer the area with some periods of success in the third century; the area was certainly lost to Argos by 195 (Polybius 4.36; Shipley 2000, 378–9; cf. Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, 33–4). The sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas was on a main road connecting Prasiai with the main perioikic polis of Geronthrai and the Eurotas plain, so we cannot exclude the possibility that the sanctuary may at some point in its history have come under attack, though no literary sources, as far as I am aware, mention such an episode.

While the possibility that weapons appeared at the sanctuary due to military conflict remains open, we can at least assume that many weapons, particularly miniatures or weapons made of thin bronze sheet, were probably dedicatory. The deposits found do not exclude the possibility that there was cleaning of the sanctuary after an attack which would have included debris from a siege together with votive material (cf. Hagerman 2014, 98).

### Votives

Since a significant volume of material appears to be miniature versions of real weapons, the possibility that the archaeological assemblage is votive must be taken into consideration. The numbers reported for the miniatures are suspiciously large. Phaklaris (1990, 183 n. 576) reports 50 iron spearheads as miniatures and gives the length as 0.04–0.055 m. The finds have not been properly published, so definitive conclusions can only be met with caution, but a number of the published images (pls 91*b*, 92*b–c*) show that these may be arrowheads, not miniature spearheads. A comparison with arrowheads from Olympia shows the variety and typology of such weapons, which could easily be confused with miniature spearheads (Baitinger 2001, 6–32, pls 4–12). Moreover, there are many examples of small arrowheads of dimensions of 0.055 m and smaller from both Olympia<sup>33</sup> and Kalapodi.<sup>34</sup> It is not that miniature versions of assault weapons do not exist: miniature spearheads and other weapons are known from Olympia, which are made of thin sheet metal (Baitinger 2001, 80, 238 nos 1347–50, Br 1946, Br 6023, pl. 67) and so thought to be votive rather than ‘raw’ dedications. Some bronze offensive miniature weapons have been found at the temple of Apollo at Bassai (Kourouniotis 1910, 318 fig. 38) but the real versions are in iron (Arapogianni 2002, 26–8 fig. 28).<sup>35</sup> Miniature spearheads from the Diktaian cave on Crete are also made of thin bronze sheet (Boardman 1961, 26–7, nos 104–11 fig. 10).<sup>36</sup> In general, miniature versions of weapon dedications in Greek sanctuaries tend to be defensive weapons, such as shields, helmets and greaves, while assault weapons are less frequent and even completely absent (Baitinger 2011, 159). Moreover, miniature weapons are predominantly found in bronze (such as the numerous examples at Bassai), though there are also terracotta examples (Baitinger 2011, 160). The so-called miniature spearheads from Apollo Maleatas, however, are made of iron, but one bronze and one lead version of a spearhead are reported (see above) as well as others made of thin bronze sheet. Arrowheads are not uncommonly confused with miniaturised versions of real weapons, and so-called miniature versions appear at times to have been fully functional weapons (Kiernan 2009, 90).<sup>37</sup> It appears, therefore, that many of the so-

<sup>33</sup> For example: Baitinger 2001 category I ‘Dornpfeilspitzen’ A1: 95 no. 7, pl. 1.7 = 0.05 m; I A2: 96 no. 12, pl. 1.12 = 0.044 m; I A 4b: 98 no. 36, pl. 2.36 = 0.044 m; IA 5a: 99 no. 39, pl. 2.39 = 0.047 m, no. 40, pl. 2.40 = 0.049 m; IA 5b 99 no. 46, pl. 3.46 = 0.05 m. Category II ‘Tüllenpfeilspitzen’, 101–40, nos 62–487, pls 3–12 has even smaller examples ranging from 0.043 m (Baitinger 2001, 116 no. 228, pl. 8.228) to 0.016 m (Baitinger 2001, 134 no. 428, pl. 12.428).

<sup>34</sup> Schmitt 2007, 484, 486, pl. 98.

<sup>35</sup> Compare Phaklaris 1990, 180 n. 565.

<sup>36</sup> See also the hammered bronze spearheads from Vrokasto, Crete: Hall, E.H. 1910–14, 103–6, fig. 59.

<sup>37</sup> For example, two iron weapons from Kalapodi that could be miniature lance-heads or arrowheads: Schmitt 2007, 486–7, nos 405b, 406, pl. 97; cf. Snodgrass 1964, 126 type K.

called miniature spearheads from the temple of Apollo Maleatas are probably arrowheads. If the weapons are real-size arrowheads, then they are 'raw' dedications and, together with the large numbers of other spearheads and javelins discovered at the site, they could have a significant impact on our understanding of the character of the cult at the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas. The sanctuary could be interpreted as a place where it was 'fashionable' to dedicate (or which had a tradition of dedicating) captured or retired offensive weapons. Miniatures, on the other hand, are deliberately made for votive purposes only. Their high numbers would suggest a different picture, in which items symbolising weapons were traditionally dedicated alongside the 'raw' dedications which are in the majority at the sanctuary.

Weapon dedications could have been presented to the god as thank-offerings for aid in battle. In Panhellenic sanctuaries, most notably Olympia, Delphi and Isthmia, such dedications also demonstrated the victor's glory and the loser's shame (Chaniotis 2005, 143–8).<sup>38</sup> One could also dedicate old or battle-damaged weapons, such as the famous helmet of Miltiades at Olympia, or offer one's armour to the god upon retirement from military service (Pritchett 1979, 249–52). Mercenaries setting off for or returning from an expedition could also dedicate weapons.<sup>39</sup> Only inscribed votives can prove the occasion of a dedication,<sup>40</sup> but the 'raw' offering of an enemy's captured weapons symbolised the violence of the battle. The sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas was not Panhellenic, so military dedications could have been directed at a regional audience without excluding the possibility of visitors from abroad.

### A Laconian sanctuary

If these weapons were votive dedications, then we can explore the role of the sanctuary in the communities of Laconia. Who were the individuals who dedicated the offensive weapons, and what was the reason behind the offering of such distinct votives to this particular cult of Apollo?

The first question is more difficult to answer given the lack of epigraphic or literary evidence identifying individuals or groups that would have frequented the sanctuary. The most famous attestation of the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas is, of course, on the late fifth-century Damonon stele dedicated at the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos in Sparta (*IG V 1.213*; see below). Lines 56–8 mention the Maleateia, which is traditionally taken to mean a festival taking place at the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas in Thyreatis/Kynouria, which Damonon won in the category of boys as a *παῖς*.<sup>41</sup> The stele also mentions the Parparonia, further north in the Thyreatis (ll. 44, 63), along with other festivals in other perioikic sanctuaries, which suggests that Spartans competed in festivals in Thyreatis/Kynouria. At the very least, the Damonon stele shows that there were Spartans visiting the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas and that there was a festival in which boys would participate.<sup>42</sup> A recent publication of an inscribed halter (jumping stone) found near the sanctuary further attests to athletic competitions taking place at the sanctuary (Lanérès and Grigorakakis 2015).

This, of course, does not confirm that Spartans were the only ones who could have dedicated the large number of weapons in the sanctuary. In fact, there is some evidence that the custom of dedicating captured arms of enemies was frowned upon in Sparta. Plutarch records that when asked why the Spartans do not dedicate booty from their enemies, the Spartan King Kleomenes replied that it is because it is taken from cowards (*Moralia* 224b). When asked the same question, King Leotyichidas replied that since these weapons were taken from enemies because

<sup>38</sup> For weapon dedications at Olympia see Baitinger 2001. For Delphi, see Picard 1991, 170–4. For Isthmia, see Jackson 1992. For an overview of weapon dedications at Greek sanctuaries, see Simon 1986, 234–62 and more recently Baitinger 2011.

<sup>39</sup> For Lakedaimonian mercenaries, especially of the 4th century, see Diodorus 14.44.2; 14.58.1; Isocrates, *Panegyrikos* 144; Cartledge 1987, 211, 322.

<sup>40</sup> See a partial list of examples primarily from Olympia in Pritchett 1979, 290–1.

<sup>41</sup> Nafissi 2013, 132–3. On the age group see Ducat 2006, 10–12, 86–94.

<sup>42</sup> In fact, the Damonon stele informs us about a number of festivals at which boys had to travel a considerable distance from Sparta in order to compete: the Parparonia, Maleateia, the festival to Apollo Lithesios (perhaps at Cape Malea); Ducat 2006, 261.



of their cowardice it would not be good for young men to see or dedicate them to the gods (Plutarch, *Moralia* 224f; cf. Aelian, *Varia Historia* 6.6; Pritchett 1979, 292).<sup>43</sup> But Plutarch's account is not altogether confirmed by archaeological finds; military dedications appear in Laconian sanctuaries, as seen above.<sup>44</sup> To the list can be added a trophy of arms at Olympia (550–525) by Eurystratides, of which an inscribed bronze strip survives (*SEG XI 1214*; Jeffery and Johnston 1990, 199 no. 19, pl. 36). The archaeological remains from Spartan sanctuaries confirm that Spartans and other Lakedaimonians dedicated captured armour at their sanctuaries. Due to the lack of inscriptional evidence, however, it is unclear how much of the armour was their own or their enemies'.

It is worth noting that defensive weapons, such as shields and helmets, do not appear as votive dedications at the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, which is striking if the sanctuary was traditionally the recipient of captured weapon dedications. Shields and helmets were more impressive and valuable than the large number of iron weapons found. This may suggest that large numbers of spearheads and arrowheads at the sanctuary were not war spoils at all but rather specifically chosen dedications, or rather place-specific dedications for this particular sanctuary.<sup>45</sup>

In Sparta, Apollo was a war god, most famously seen at his cult at Amyklai where there was an armed statue of the divinity holding a spear and bow (Pausanias 3.19.2–3); similar imagery was probably found at the cult of Apollo Pythaeus at Thornax in the periphery of Sparta (Pausanias 3.10.8).<sup>46</sup> The military importance of the cult is also reflected in the rites of the Hyakinthia, at which participants were shown the breastplate of Timomachos,<sup>47</sup> the Aegeid who had supposedly conquered Amyklai for the Lakedaimonians (Pindar *Isthmian* 7.13–15; Aristotle, *Lakedaimonion Politeia* fr.532 Rose; Scholia Pindar *Isthmian* 7.18a).<sup>48</sup> Other Spartan festivals of Apollo, such as the Karneia (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* 4.141e–f; Pettersson 1992, 62–6; Ducat 2006, 275–6) and the Gymnopaedia, had military components.<sup>49</sup> The Spartans allegedly sacrificed and sang the paean before battle and marched to the rhythm of the song (Plutarch, *Lykourgos* 22.2–3; Pettersson 1992, 63 n. 363). Apollo, it is safe to say, was predominantly a military deity in Sparta. The many spearheads, javelin heads, arrowheads, and the bronze warrior statuette<sup>50</sup> found at the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas would have been appropriate offerings to a military deity whose attributes were the spear and the bow. This is specifically indicated by the miniature versions of weapons in lead, bronze and perhaps iron found at the site, as well as the numerous non-functional and probably votive examples in thin bronze sheet. The sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, therefore, appears to have been a place of a specific type of dedication of offensive weapons, whether 'raw' or made for votive purposes.

<sup>43</sup> Spartans set up monuments in honour of their victories, such as the Persian stoa in the Spartan Agora (Pausanias 3.11.3), Lysander's 'Nauarch monument' at Delphi (Pausanias 10.9.7–8; Plutarch, *Lysander* 18.1; *Moralia* 395b, 397f), of which statue-bases survive (Stibbe 2000a, 65–75; Palagia 2009, 36–7, figs 6–7), and the gold shield at Olympia set up by the Lakedaimonians and their allies from the Battle of Tanagra (Pausanias 5.10.4; Scott 2010, 192 and n. 50 on the golden shield being 'midway between *tropaia* and a precious object').

<sup>44</sup> Contra Pritchett 1979, 293.

<sup>45</sup> Other Laconian sanctuaries have place-specific dedications, such as masks at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (Dawkins 1929) and terracotta reliefs with heroic iconography from hero-shrines throughout Sparta and Messenia (Salapata 2014). Both the temple of Artemis Orthia and the Menelaion appear to be the predominant recipients of lead figurines. Another sanctuary with place-specific weapon dedications may be that of Zeus at Ozea on Mount Parnes, where around 3000 iron daggers were discovered (see above, n. 27).

<sup>46</sup> Roman-era Spartan coins represent Apollo Amyklaios with a spear and a bow: Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann 1978, 99, 191, 195 (Commodus: Gr. XLVIII R4, pl. 27; Gr. XLVIII R2, pl. 27, and Gallienus: Gr. LVI R5, pl. 28, 32.13). The armed representation of Apollo with a spear and bow is found elsewhere in the Greek world (*LIMC II* 1, 197–9 nos 67–80).

<sup>47</sup> According to Thucydides (5.18.23), when the Athenians and the Spartans signed the Peace of Nikias the stele upon which the agreement was engraved was placed at the sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai. The festival of the Hyakinthia provided the occasion for renewing the alliance. The most ancient tripods in the sanctuary were those deposited as a tithe from the Messenian wars (Pausanias 3.18.7).

<sup>48</sup> Pritchett 1985, 42.

<sup>49</sup> For the festivals in general see Pettersson 1992; Richer 2004, 2005; Ducat 2006, 262–79.

<sup>50</sup> See discussion above at n. 8.

The festival of the Maleateia may have been the occasion for such dedications. As with other festivals of Apollo in Laconia, such as the Gymnopaïdia, the Karneia and the Hyakinthia, this too would have been a festival where the military attributes of Apollo were celebrated. The Maleateia festival, in which Damonon competed as a boy, would therefore also have been a communal celebration of the military aspects of Apollo, at which the young would have participated, as was also the case at the Gymnopaïdia, Karneia and Hyakinthia (Ducat 2006, 263–5, 268–74, 277), where the young also partook in the festivals.<sup>51</sup> The votive weapons may have been personal objects, perhaps dedicated to the warrior-god by both Spartans and perioikoi (who served in the Lakedaimonian army: Herodotus 8.28.1; Thucydides 4.38.5; Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5.3.9)<sup>52</sup> at the end of an active military career – many had traces of ash and carbon on them, probably indicating sacrifice at the festival.

Apart from its location – the sanctuary was easily reached by many perioikic communities – its setting atop the Parnon mountain range, linking the Eurotas Valley with Thyreatis/Kynouria, the gateway to Argos, made the sanctuary of great strategic importance. Its peak votive period, based on Laconian pottery finds, dates to the Archaic and Classical periods, when Sparta dominated Laconia. Although it is uncertain whether the sanctuary was in use in the Hellenistic period, one would assume that King Lykourgos would have used this route and passed by the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas when he attempted to regain the lost territory of Kynouria (Polybius 4.36); he captured the nearby perioikic polis of Prasiai, but not Glyppia, 10 km to the north. In fact, Polybius mentions that in his time Glyppia was the frontier of Sparta and Argos, and that it was there that the Messenian allies of Philip V gathered (Polybius 5.20.3). The sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, therefore, was located at a site of military significance. The military dedications found at the sanctuary may reflect a tradition of dispute and border conflict.<sup>53</sup> The link between military hostilities and sanctuaries is evident at the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis in Volimnos, Messenia (Koursoumis 2014). Its location on the border of Laconia and Messenia and the route crossing Taygetos from Sparta to Messenia cannot be accidental; it demonstrates how the location of sanctuaries symbolised such enmities. It is exactly the geographical location of the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas that may explain the tradition and choice of this sanctuary as a centre of the warrior-god Apollo. Placed on the route from the Eurotas Valley to Kynouria, military dedications would have been an appropriate offering to Apollo at a sanctuary with strategic importance.

The interplay between cult, politics and military antagonism between Sparta and Argos is apparent in other cults in the region. The Hermai, the three large stone cairns seen by Pausanias (2.38.7), delineate the border of Sparta, Argos and Tegea (see Supplementary Material catalogue no. 5). Further north in the Thyreatis lies the cult of Parparos at Xerokambi, as confirmed by an inscribed sixth-century bronze figurine of a bull (Phaklaris 1990, 183–5; see Supplementary Material catalogue no. 1). The name is found in literary sources connected with a mountain Parparos (Pliny, *Natural History* 4.5.17) and as the site of the famous ‘Battle of the Champions’ between the Argives and the Lakedaimonians in 546 which delineated the border between Sparta and Argos (Pritchett 1979, 110–14; Christien and Spyropoulos 1985, 459; Phaklaris 1987; 1990, 185, n. 582; Vaquero and Monedero 2014, 85–9). Since the Lakedaimonians were victorious and Sparta came to dominate the region, a cult of Parparos would have celebrated Sparta’s victory and reflected its control over the region, demonstrating its power and reminding its opponent of its defeat. This would have been further enforced by the Parparonia mentioned on the Damonon stele, which probably took place in the region (*IG V* 1.213, 1.63). It is suggested that the Parparonia may have initially celebrated the Spartan victory over the Argives but after the loss of the Thyreatis in the fourth century have been added to the festival of the Gymnopaïdia in

<sup>51</sup> Miniature weapons may have been dedicated by young boys, as has been suggested for the miniature shields at the Samian Heraion (Brize 1989–90, 325).

<sup>52</sup> Shipley 1997, 202; Hall 2000, 74–5; Shipley 2006, 52–3; Ducat 2008, 34–44.

<sup>53</sup> Kalapodi, a federal sanctuary of the Phokians located at a spot of strategic importance, was also rich in weapon dedications (Larson 2009, 131). The cult of Zeus at Ozea on Mount Parnes, where the 3000 iron daggers were found, was located on the northern border of Attica with Boiotia (Eijnde 2010–11, 124).

Sparta, which commemorated the Spartan victory over the Argives at the Thyreatis (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* 15.678b–c; *Suda* s.v. Γυμνοπαίδια; Brelich 1961, 31; cf. Pritchett 1979, 112; Wallner 2008, 321–2; Richer 2012, 404). If this hypothesis is correct, there is evidence to show how cult sites in the Thyreatis/Kynouria were consciously used by Sparta to celebrate their victory over the Argives and to express their domination over the area. Besides, the interplay between warfare and religious festivals was often linked in Sparta in various events (Brelich 1961, 24–33). The Maleateia festival could have been another occasion which offered the opportunity for the Spartans to link their polis to the Laconian countryside and to unify the perioikic landscape with a festival which celebrated military aspects of their society.

The sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas and its position in the power interplay between Sparta and Argos may also have extended to his homonymous cult at Epidauros, which is first attested c.500.<sup>54</sup> McNerney has recently suggested that the local Epidaurian god was Apollo and that Maleatas was adopted from Sparta when the Epidaurians were ‘making overtures to Sparta at the expense of their nearest neighbour, Argos’.<sup>55</sup> If this is correct, then we can see the political use of religion by a Greek polis. The choice of Apollo Maleatas was an interesting one, as it suggests a close connection between Sparta itself and the perioikic sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas in Laconia, so much so that the epithet ‘Maleatas’ would have had Spartan connotations. Spartan interest in the sanctuary is supported by the existence of a cult of Apollo Maleatas in Sparta (Pausanias 3.12.8). Its foundation date is unknown, but the cult may have been a way for Sparta to connect with its perioikic territory and the cult of Apollo Maleatas in Kynouria.<sup>56</sup>

The location of the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas would have made it an appropriate central place for a festival that gathered together the Lakedaimonians. Located on a high pass through the Parnon mountain range, it was situated on one of the most important routes connecting the Eurotas Valley to the region of Kynouria. This route, which probably linked the important perioikic town of Geronthrai with Prasiai, passed by the temple of Apollo Maleatas.<sup>57</sup> Additionally, another road appears to connect the sanctuary more directly with Marios, extending perhaps towards the fort at modern Zavraina, which was in use from Classical to Roman times.<sup>58</sup> Other perioikic settlements, such as Selinous, Kyphanta and Glyppia, were also located near the sanctuary. A central sanctuary such as that of Apollo Maleatas would have contributed to the unity of the communities living nearby and enhanced Lakedaimonian identity for those who had travelled from further afield.

Evidence suggests that in Laconia and Messenia religious occasions, such as festivals, games and oracles, perhaps more than other times of the year, gave rise to considerable movement of, and interaction between, Spartans and perioikoi.<sup>59</sup> The Damonon stele offers evidence of nine different festivals that Damonon and his son participated in.<sup>60</sup> A victory list from Geronthrai (*IG* V 1.1120) records the festival Hekatombaia, which was possibly held at the perioikic polis of Geronthrai; Strabo (8.4.11) claims that the festival was held annually by the hundred cities of

<sup>54</sup> Lambrinoudakis 1977; 2002; see Ogden 2013, 142, 357 for the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros as a healing cult which later transferred to the Asklepeion at Epidauros. There is no evidence of a healing cult at the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas in Kynouria.

<sup>55</sup> McNerney 2013, 64.

<sup>56</sup> The cult of Apollo Maleatas is attested in Messenia (*SEG* LVII 365, 127 BC, an ephebic list referring to a priest of Apollo Maleatas), which Makres (2009) links with the Dryopian identity of Asinaians in Messenia, and Thera (*IG* XII 3.372; 4th century); this may explain its links to Sparta, since Thera was a Spartan colony and shared a cult of Apollo Karneios (Malkin 1994, 89–111, 157–8).

<sup>57</sup> Pikoulas 2012, 203 no. 34α, 207 no. 34β.

<sup>58</sup> Pikoulas 2012, 221, 471 nos 35, 36; *LS* 287, FF106.

<sup>59</sup> A similar occasion for movement and interaction between the perioikoi and the Spartans would be royal funerals. The death of a king was proclaimed by horsemen throughout Laconia and a certain number of perioikoi and helots had to attend the funeral (Herodotus 6.58). For Spartan royal funerals see Ducat 2008, 50–1.

<sup>60</sup> Hodkinson 2000, 303–7; Wallner 2008, 314–27. For a recent study on the stele see Nafissi 2013; on its date: Kiderlen 2010, 144–5; Nafissi 2013, 114–15 with further references. For a pre-431 date see Matthaïou 2006, 23–4.

Laconia.<sup>61</sup> When Pausanias visited the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis in Volimnos, Messenia, he described (4.4.2–3) how incidents that took place during a common festival held at the sanctuary shared by the Messenians and the Spartans resulted in the outbreak of the first Messenian War.<sup>62</sup> While the incident of the sanctuary is usually discussed in relation to Sparta's subjugation of Messenia, it also suggests the sanctuary's importance to both Lakedaimonians and Messenians: a shared cult of Artemis Limnatis at Volimnos, and a festival that they alone of all the Dorians participated in. The oracular sanctuary of Ino-Pasiphae also served a Laconian function when ephors visited (*IG V 1.1317*; *SEG XIII 260*; Cartledge 2002, 165; fourth/third century; Lanérés 2015, 107–11; see Supplementary Material catalogue no. 32). A fragment of Sosibios offers evidence for perioikic participation in festivals in Sparta (*FGrH 595 F 4*), since during the Promachia festival 'the people from the country (τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας) are garlanded with reeds, while the boys undergoing Spartan training follow ungarlanded'.<sup>63</sup> Parker (1989, 145) suggests that by 'people from the country' Sosibios means the perioikoi. Lastly, Plutarch (*Agessilaos* 29.2) mentions that during the festival of the Gymnopaidia the city was 'full of strangers', indicating that non-Spartans – perhaps perioikoi – attended the festival. There is enough evidence to suggest that, far from being isolated, Laconian and Messenian sanctuaries acted as gathering places for people from their own region and beyond. Moreover, Spartan cults, such as that of the Dioskouroi, were celebrated in perioikic poleis, such as Sellasia and Geronthrai (see Supplementary Material catalogue nos 12, 13, 21, 50). Religion would contribute significantly towards unity and common Lakedaimonian identity.

Cults and festivals in Laconia, such as the Gymnopaidia and the Parparonia (see below), could be used to celebrate Spartan victories, especially against their long-term rival, Argos. The temple of Apollo Maleatas offers another example of a strategically placed sanctuary with a unique votive assemblage that celebrates the Spartan control of the disputed region of Kynouria. Beyond that, the sanctuary was a central gathering place within Laconia that focused on the military nature of Apollo, not unlike the military nature of the Spartans themselves. It presented another opportunity for the Laconian landscape to be unified in a religious setting.

#### APOLLO TYRITAS

The sanctuary of Apollo Tyritas, located on the eastern coast of Kynouria on top of the hill of Prophitis Ilias Melanon with wide views of the valley and the sea below, is one of the better-documented cult sites in Laconia. The sanctuary's contribution to the study of Spartan–perioikic relations appears in its location and votive assemblage. Situated in a long-disputed region between Argos and Sparta, the sanctuary, like that of Apollo Maleatas, lies at the gateway to the Argolid both by land and by sea, while its lifespan, between the seventh and fourth centuries, is roughly contemporaneous with Spartan control of the area. Material evidence from the seventh to the mid-sixth century has been labelled as 'Argive'; Laconian material appears in the mid-sixth century (Phaklaris 1990, 178; cf. Shipley 1996, 281 BB29) and has been interpreted as reflective of the Spartan takeover of the region of the Thyreatis.<sup>64</sup> Below, I challenge the traditional interpretation of the early material finds as Argive and re-examine the sanctuary's

<sup>61</sup> Wallner 2008, 327–9. Another reference to the Hekatombaia appears on a 2nd-century AD inscription from Amyklai (*IG V 1.511*). See Nafissi 2013, 140–5 for a discussion of the identification of the Hekatombaia with the Hyakinthia, and of the possible reference to the Spartan month of Hekatombaios.

<sup>62</sup> Spartan maidens were assaulted by the Messenians, who even killed the Spartan King Teleklos. The Messenian version of the story records that the Spartans had a group of beardless youths dress up in women's clothes in order to attack high-ranking Messenians who were participating in the festival. Only Pausanias provides both versions of the story. Strabo (6.1.6; 6.3.3) preserves only the Spartan tradition. For a discussion of the sources recording the cause of the Messenian War, see Luraghi 2008, 80–3.

<sup>63</sup> Parker 1989, 145, n. 17; Wallner 2008, 329.

<sup>64</sup> Phaklaris (1990, 178; cf. *LS BB29*) argues for Argive presence until the first half of the 6th century, but the early 6th century has also been proposed (Cartledge 2002, 122; Catling, R.W.V. 2002, 242).

position in Spartan–perioikic relations. I hope to demonstrate, on the basis of votives and architectural remains, that the sanctuary was hardly a remote cult place. The material evidence exhibits an Early Archaic Spartan interest in the region and coalesces into a historical understanding of the Spartan–Argive relations in the Archaic and Classical periods.

### Sites and finds

The site, excavated in 1910 by Romaios, has been confirmed as that of Apollo Tyritas (Romaios 1911) by votives, such as a bronze male figurine inscribed with ΑΠΕΛΟΝ ΤΥΡΙΤΑΣ (*SEG XI* 892; Phaklaris 1990, 175, fig. 101, pl. 76*a–b*), a bronze figurine of a bull (*IG V* 1.1518; Phaklaris 1990, 174) and a bronze phiale inscribed with the letters ΑΠΕΛΟΝ ΤΥΡΙΤ[ΑΣ] (*IG V* 1.1517; Romaios 1911, 269; Phaklaris 1990, 174). The earliest material consists of terracotta standing and seated figurines and a bone stamp, which suggest a seventh-century commencement of the cult (Phaklaris 1990, 177, pls 89*d*, 89*a*), while several architectural fragments give some indication of architectural phases.<sup>65</sup> The cult site must have undergone building work in the late seventh or early sixth century, on the basis of Laconian antefixes dated by Winter (1993, 106–7, 138, 141) to 650/620–580.<sup>66</sup> Further building and renovations were undertaken in the sixth century: a fragment of an antefix appears to have features of later repairs and is of Arkadian style (c.525–500; Romaios 1911, 259, fig. 3; 1953, 254–5; Winter 1993, 138, 141). One of two marble Doric capitals found by Romaios has a very flat echinus and belongs to an Archaic period temple, while a fragment of a *poros* architrave may belong to the same building (Romaios 1911, 20; 1953, 251–2). Although a fourth-century altar and statue bases are attested, the temple of Apollo Tyritas fell slowly into disuse. The reason for this is uncertain, as is its connection with a possible Argive presence when Philip II gave parts of the Thyreatis/Kynouria to Argos in 338 (Phaklaris 1990, 178).

The typology and chronology of the finds have prompted scholars to associate the early history of the sanctuary with the Argive control of the region. Generally it is thought that the area produced Argive ceramics into the seventh century (cf. Voyatzis 2005, fig. 6) and that the sanctuary had Argive votives until the first half of the sixth century (Phaklaris 1990, 178). Such observations are in line with Herodotus' claim (1.82) that the region, including also the Malea peninsula and Kythera, belonged to Argos, though this statement is more likely later Argive propaganda.<sup>67</sup>

Sparta's takeover of the Thyreatis/Kynouria, so famously secured in the 'Battle of the Champions' in 546, can hardly be expected to have been the result of a sharp transition between the Argive and Spartan control of the area, if there was really a transition at all. As with other areas of Laconia and Messenia, Sparta's gradual expansion in the southern Peloponnese was probably the result of a complex process that did not just involve warfare. Rather, it saw the absorption of villages in the vicinity of Sparta (e.g. Amyklai), and resettlements of populations (as for example Messenian Asine, which was supposed to have been populated by exiles from Asine in the Argolid; see below), along with the expulsion of local populations and the foundation of Spartan settlements in Laconia (e.g. Geronthrai and Pharis; Pausanias 3.2.6; 3.22.6). Sparta's interest in the region must predate the mid-sixth century, since Sparta and Argos had already fought over the Thyreatis/Kynouria in the early sixth and perhaps even the seventh century.<sup>68</sup>

Sparta's influence in the region is difficult to detect before the sixth century. Still, stylistic evidence, such as late seventh-/early sixth-century Laconian antefixes, shows that the region was connected with other parts of Laconia. This type of antefix is seen on other Laconian temples and is found on the early temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, the Amyklaion, the Menelaion, the temple of Apollo Hyperteleatas in the Malea peninsula in Laconia, and the temple of Athena

<sup>65</sup> The site of the actual temple of Apollo Tyritas is thought to have been where the chapel of Prophitis Ilias currently stands.

<sup>66</sup> Type I variant 1a.

<sup>67</sup> See above, n. 30.

<sup>68</sup> See above, n. 31.

Soteira and Poseidon at Vigla near Tegea (Winter 1993, 106–7, 138, 141). The architectural similarities between prominent Laconian temples (as well as that at Vigla) reveal the links that this region had with Laconia. Far from being isolated, it shows that whoever was responsible for designing the temple had commissioned an architect who was well aware of current architectural trends. The chronology of the architectural remains pushes Laconian contacts with the region of Thyreatis back further than Phaklaris and others have suggested. It also shows that the communities that lived near the borders, such as those who built the temple of Poseidon at Vigla, and of Apollo Tyritas, probably did not have clearly defined Laconian, Arcadian, or Argive identities in the seventh and early sixth centuries, but had fluid cultural connections at this time (cf. Voyatzis 1999, 143–5).

Beyond the early architectural remains, we need to address some of the seventh- and early sixth-century votive assemblage. The identification of the votive assemblage as ‘Argive’ is based on observations on pottery that has for the most part not been properly studied or published; more specifically, pottery discovered at sites such as Prasiai and Kythera in the earlier twentieth century has not been accurately analysed in terms of its style (Christien 1992, 166–7). Some pottery has been labelled ‘Geometric’ rather than assessed on the basis of stylistic analysis as Argive, Corinthian or Laconian.<sup>69</sup> In consequence, among the seventh-/early sixth-century material from the sanctuary of Apollo Tyritas it is not particularly clear where the seventh-century Argive material is. The sanctuary has some seventh-century Corinthian pottery (Phaklaris 1990, pls 84–5), but the appearance of Corinthian pottery at the cult site of Apollo Tyritas is not unique among Laconian sanctuaries.<sup>70</sup> It would be reasonable to assume that the communities living in the area may not have been culturally uniform in the seventh century, and we may expect regional adaptations and influences from all over the Peloponnese, including the Argolid and Laconia.<sup>71</sup> Morgan and Whitelaw (1991, 80) describe the pottery of Kynouria as ‘a distinctive fusion of Argive and Lakonian influences’.

Stibbe’s extensive work on Laconian pottery and bronzes (together with the terracotta antefixes) confirms that Laconian influence on material culture becomes apparent at the sanctuary of Apollo Tyritas by the late seventh and early sixth century. Among the most noticeable finds are a fragment of a volute crater with parts of animal friezes dating to Laconian II (c.600; Stibbe 1989, 126, fig. 139) and an aryballos (Phaklaris 1990, pl. 86; Stibbe 2000b, no. A35) that should date from the first quarter of the sixth century, given a similarly shaped one in Sparta (Stibbe 2000b, 27). Earlier evidence for Laconian influence in the sanctuary can be seen in a black-glazed aryballos of c.650–600 for which parallels are known from Artemis Orthia (Stibbe 2000b, 47, no. O15; cf. Phaklaris 1990 177, pl. 87).<sup>72</sup> Pottery confirms Laconian stimulus in the sanctuary’s material culture by at least the early sixth century, if not earlier.

<sup>69</sup> More recent investigations have at least revealed Laconian Protogeometric pottery (10th–9th century) in the Malea peninsula (Kastelli Daimonias, Bozas, Apidia and perhaps Phoiniki; Zavvou 2012, 558). For the area of Kynouria, Phaklaris (1990, 159–69) suggests that the material from the Sindza cave (10th–9th centuries) is Laconian, though this has met with objections (Christien 1992, 166; Catling, R.W.V. 2002, 242). For the Argive Geometric ceramics from Kythera see Coldstream 1972, 306. There are ‘Argive affinities’. The evidence is scarce and there is also material from Crete, Corinth and Attica; cf. Petrocheilos 2004, 454. More recently, it has been suggested that the Geometric material from Kythera resembles that from Laconian and Peloponnesian sanctuaries (Gregory and Tzortzopoulou-Gregory 2015, 47).

<sup>70</sup> Much of the published Corinthian pottery from the temple of Apollo Tyritas consists of ovoid aryballoi and alabastra (Phaklaris 1990, pl. 84), shapes not commonly seen in Laconian sanctuaries. When found they are not considered Laconian but Corinthian. 7th-century ovoid aryballoi examples in Laconian sanctuaries: Artemis Orthia (Dawkins 1929, 98 fig. 70f); Mother of the Gods at Kastraki (Genière 2005, 34 no. 67); Aigies (Bonias 1988, 140 no. 93, pl.25).

<sup>71</sup> See the discussion in Catling, R.W.V. 2002, 242 based on the evidence of Laconian pottery from the 6th century in various sites in Thyreatis/Kynouria.

<sup>72</sup> Another exceptionally shaped aryballos with a plastic decoration of a woman’s head is also early, c.600 (Stibbe 2000b, 50, no. R1). Two others can be mentioned: one from the early 6th century (Stibbe 2000b, 32, no. E6) and another from the first half of the 6th century (Stibbe 2000b, 43, no. M36). Other shapes include a black-glazed miniature *lakaina* dating from the early part of the 6th century with parallels from Sparta (Stibbe 1994a, 34, no.

The appearance of Laconian material in the Thyreatis/Kynouria does not offer a unique picture compared to the rest of the Spartan-dominated regions. Throughout Laconia and Messenia the material culture is homogeneous in terms of architecture, pottery and inscriptions. Nor can the appearance of Laconian material culture in the Thyreatis/Kynouria necessarily define the identity of the inhabitants; but it can reveal the Spartan impact in the area from an early date as well as cultural contacts with the rest of Laconia.

From the sixth century onwards, once the Laconian material appears in the sanctuary, the site yields many remarkable bronze dedications. These dedications not only reveal the wealth and status of the visitors, but also highlight the sanctuary's importance as a cult place in the Thyreatis/Kynouria and its links with the rest of Laconia. Among the most notable is a bronze *askos* in the shape of a siren (Herfort-Koch 1986, 121 KI57; Phaklaris 1990, 175, pl. 78c-d; Tsiafakis 2001, 15–16, figs 8a–b; Stibbe 2006, 204, fig. 38; Ambrosini 2013, 71, figs 40–1), which is considered the earliest in its series and dates from the first quarter of the sixth century.<sup>73</sup> An inscribed bronze fibula of a lion (Phaklaris 1990 174, pl. 76c; Stibbe 1994b, 113 n. 32; Proskynitopoulou 2006, 173 no. 76) has Spartan parallels in two examples from the Artemis Orthia (Droop 1929, 200 pl. lxxxvii, *f* and lxxxviii, *m*), one from the Menelaion (Dawkins et al. 1908–9, pl. ix), one from Apollo Hyperteleatas (Kalligas 1980, 21, fig. 9), and one of many Laconian bronzes from the Athenian Acropolis (Stibbe 2008, 41, no. 13, fig. 65a–b).<sup>74</sup> An inscribed bronze oinochoe handle of c.560–555, depicting a lion head between two ape heads, was dedicated by Menoitos to Apollo Pythaeus and found near the sanctuary of Apollo Tyritas (*IG V* 1.928; Jeffery and Johnston 1990, 200, n. 36; Stibbe and Pelagatti 1999, 41–2, fig. 18; Stibbe 2006, 139, fig. 14).<sup>75</sup> This handle belongs to a well-known series of such bronze oinochoai produced in Laconia in the sixth century (Stibbe and Pelagatti 1999; Stibbe 2006, 139). A remarkable container in the shape of a horse with a vessel on its head is probably a unique shape in bronze in the Greek world<sup>76</sup> (Phaklaris 1990, 175, fig. 77δ, 78γ–δ; Stibbe 2006, 149–51, fig. 44–5; Proskynitopoulou 2006, 157, 158 fig. 4). Lastly, another unique bronze statuette features a seated figure with a vessel between his legs inscribed ΑΠΕΛΑΟΝ ΤΥΡΙΤΑΣ (*SEG XIX* 892; Phaklaris 1990, 174–5, fig. 101, pls 76α–β; Stibbe 2009, 29–30, figs 10–12). Thus the Laconian-style bronzes and pottery have parallels in other prominent Laconian sanctuaries, both in Sparta itself and in the rest of Laconia. The finds not only confirm the cultural connections that the region had with Laconia, but also, based on some of the unique shapes, highlight the tradition of perioikic crafts.<sup>77</sup>

### A perioikic sanctuary

As shown by the high quality of the votives and the lifespan of the sanctuary from the seventh to fourth centuries, the sanctuary of Apollo Tyritas must have been important within north-eastern perioikic Laconia and beyond. This view is further strengthened by the amount of building undertaken at the sanctuary over its lifespan, with an Archaic architectural phase, repairs, and the construction of an altar in the fourth century. The centrality and prominence of the cult is further confirmed by the simple fact that no other sanctuary has been unearthed nearby; even Prasiai, with activity dating

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K13), a cylindrical mug of c.600 ‘typical of provincial Laconian sanctuaries’ (Stibbe 1994a, 43, no. F1), and a one-handed mug from the first quarter of the 6th century (Stibbe 1994a, 45, no C4).

<sup>73</sup> The style of the siren has been argued to belong to Laconian manufacture (Stibbe 2006, 204), although Argive has also been cited (Ambrosini 2013, 71) without stylistic analysis. Although there are terracotta examples, very few bronze sirens are known, though two notable examples are those from Crotone and another of Etruscan manufacture (Tsiafakis 2001, 5, 15–18, figs 1a–g, 9a–10).

<sup>74</sup> Stylistic analysis in Stibbe 2006, 4–6.

<sup>75</sup> It was found between Leonidi and Pera Melana on the east coast of the Peloponnese. Stibbe and Pelagatti (1999, 41–2) suggest that it belonged to the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas.

<sup>76</sup> There are 6th-century terracotta horse-shaped askoi from the Heraion on Samos and Thera, and late 6th- and 5th-century examples from Kymai and Sicily (Heldring 1981, 18–23, 31–40; cf. Magro 2014). The vase on the horse's head has parallel shapes from Gordion (Stibbe 2006, 151, n. 237 with bibliography).

<sup>77</sup> Another centre of exceptional bronzes would be that of the sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas. For the bronzes see Stibbe 2008, 17–47; Farace 2013, 34. For a revised chronology of the sanctuary see Farace 2013.

from the seventh century, has not produced remains associated with cult (Phaklaris 1990, 129–37), though future investigations may reveal some of the cults mentioned by Pausanias (3.24.4–5).

It is uncertain whether the sanctuary was connected with the nearby settlement of Tyros, where archaeological evidence suggests a fourth-century occupation, postdating the life of the cult of Apollo Tyritas (Christien and Spyropoulos 1985, 495; Phaklaris 1990, 142–5; *LS BB* 28), although a fifth-century polis may have existed (Shipley 2004, 576). It is possible that the temple was connected with the nearby perioikic polis of Prasiai (Shipley 2004, 586), an important port town within easy reach of the Argolid. There is evidence of a fifth-century settlement nearby at Paliochora, including foundations (Phaklaris 1990, 139; *LS BB*27), which indicates that other smaller but as yet undetected settlements, such as farmsteads and hamlets, were located within the temple's catchment area (cf. Catling, R.W.V. 2002, 247). A number of bronze strips found at the sanctuary, some of which were unfinished, have been linked to travelling artisans who would have visited different festivals and made their products on the spot (Kourouniotis 1910, 330–1; cf. Phaklaris 1990, 176 n. 547 pl. 83α–β).<sup>78</sup> We can, therefore, assume that the sanctuary was linked to a festival that would have brought people living in Thyreatis/Kynouria and beyond together to celebrate the cult of Apollo.<sup>79</sup>

The high number of expensive dedications in bronze demonstrates further the central status of the sanctuary of Apollo Tyritas to the communities living in Thyreatis/Kynouria. The Laconian countryside did not produce very large nucleated settlements and most of the population lived in dispersed farmsteads. It is suggested that the wealthy elite lived in the nucleated centre and were also in control of the communal cults (Catling, R.W.V. 2002, 247). The wealthy local (and foreign) elite dedicated a rich array of votives to Apollo Tyritas and would have used the sanctuary as a central gathering place. There are many questions regarding the wealthy elite and their relationship to Sparta, their involvement in the building of the temple, and the repairs and construction of the fourth-century altar, as well as Spartan presence at the sanctuary. Unfortunately, there is little evidence to aid our understanding of the specific mechanisms by which Sparta controlled and kept connections with the perioikic territories, though it is generally thought that it was done through the wealthy perioikic elite.<sup>80</sup> Festival occasions, with Spartan participation, would have been an opportunity to unite the Spartan-dominated areas and bring greater interaction between the Spartan and the perioikoi.

The status of the temple of Apollo Tyritas within the communities of Thyreatis/Kynouria can be further expressed by the inscribed dedication on an Attic cup: [Εὐγ]ειτονίδας ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι παρ Δοριέος δῶρον, 'Eugeitonidas dedicated to Apollo an offering (on behalf?) of Dorieus' (*IG V* 1.1521; *SEG XI* 893; XXXV. 298; Phaklaris 1990, 175, pl. 77β–γ; Steinhart and Wirbelauer 2000, 265). Stibbe has argued that this cup was dedicated by [Eug]eittonidas on behalf of the discontented Spartan prince Dorieus (Herodotus 5.42–3; Stibbe 1996, 241–6; 1998, 74). Although it is tempting to accept this hypothesis, one would expect a more elaborate gift from a royal to Apollo than a black-glazed cup. Stibbe's argument has been received with criticism, since the use of παρ(α)+genitive is not common and its use could signify that the cup was a gift that Eugeitonidas received from Dorieus, which he later dedicated to Apollo (Steinhart and Wirbelauer 2000, 264–5). Moreover, the name Dorieus is not unique (Steinhart and Wirbelauer 2000, 265 n. 41). This cup is not an isolated example of Attic pottery at the temple of Apollo Tyritas, as five fragments of Attic kylikes are reported, two of which depict ithyphallic satyrs (first third of the sixth century; Phaklaris 1990, 177, pl. 88α–ε). A lekane (sixth–fourth century), a shape commonly associated with Attic rather than Laconian pottery, has also been unearthed at the sanctuary.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>78</sup> These bronze strips are smaller and uninscribed and do not resemble the Hellenistic inscribed strips found at the temple of Apollo Hyperteleatas. They may have decorated wooden objects (Simon 1986, 177 n. 2)

<sup>79</sup> Some evidence of sacrifice is probably found in blackened earth and bones discovered in a votive deposit together with pottery on the slopes below the sanctuary terrace (Romaio 1911, 256).

<sup>80</sup> We know that the *καλοὶ κάγαθοί*, 'accomplished and well-born', perioikoi served as volunteers in the army (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 5.3.9). For the wealthy perioikoi and their relationship to Sparta see Hodkinson 2000, 352–3.

<sup>81</sup> Catling, R.W.V. 1996, 53 no.24.



These votives show that the sanctuary would have received dedications from further away places, perhaps alluding to a wealthier audience.

The aforementioned inscribed Attic cup is not only notable for its unusual inscription ‘(on behalf) of Dorieus’. Whoever Eugeitonidas was, he used the form Ἀπόλωνι on the graffito rather than the Doric Ἀπέλον, and its occurrence is not unique at the sanctuary. A bronze fibula of a crouched lion with a tail of a bearded serpent is inscribed with Ἀπόλλωνος ἐμι (Phaklaris 1990, 174, pl. 76γ; Jeffery and Johnston 1990, 200 no. 40). Its existence may further explain the status of the communities living in the area and their relationship to the Argolid, since ‘Apellon’ rather than ‘Apollo’ is the more common form in Laconia and Messenia (Buck 1955, 46 no. 49.3; Miller 2014, 204 no. 17.11), e.g. Apellon Korythos (*SEG* XI 993–4),<sup>82</sup> and other Doric-speaking areas,<sup>83</sup> with the exception of Argos<sup>84</sup> and the temple of Apollo Maleatas at Epidaurus,<sup>85</sup> where the Doric speakers use ‘Apollo’. In other Laconian sanctuaries, such as that of Apollo Hyperteleatas in the Malea peninsula, inscriptions use the form ‘Apellon’.<sup>86</sup> In other examples from the sanctuary of Apollo Tyritas he is also called Apellon (*IG* V 1.1517–18), not Apollon. Moreover, since inscriptions from the eastern Argolid use the same alphabet as Laconia (Jeffery and Johnston 1990, 175; cf. Steinhart and Wirbelauer 2000, 265 n. 41), the two ‘Apollo’ inscriptions found at Apollo Tyritas may indicate that the sanctuary was frequented by non-Laonians, perhaps from communities living in the Argolid or Attica, where ‘Apollon’ would have been a more common form. After all, Apollo Tyritas was within easy reach of the Argolid. In nearby Prasiai another inscription (*IG* V 1.929c) is dedicated to Apollon Maleatas and not to ‘Apellon’. Geographic proximity meant that it would have been inevitable that the communities living in the area shared cultural contacts with the Argolid (Morgan and Whitelaw 1991, 80).

Influences from a wider geographical area beyond Laconia are found in further examples. The appearance of dedications to Apollo Pythaeus, at the sanctuaries of both Apollo Maleatas and Apollo Tyritas, will be discussed below, as will the cult’s connections with the Argolid. Moreover, nearby Prasiai was a member of the Kalaureian Amphiktyony (for which Sparta paid its dues), which united the maritime poleis of Aigina, Athens, Epidaurus, Hermione, Nauplia and Boiotian Orchomenos (Strabo 8.6.14; Phaklaris 1990, 137; Kōiv 2003, 307).<sup>87</sup> A large iron trident found at the sanctuary of Apollo Tyritas may have been destined for Poseidon (Phaklaris 1990, 176 pl. 82a).<sup>88</sup> The population of Kynouria may have perceived themselves differently from the rest of Laconia, as they were autochthonous and apparently the only Dorianised Ionians (Herodotus 8.73). The population in the area of Kynouria was close to the borders of Argos and may have kept traditions in tune with the Argolid, including Epidaurus.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Sparta: *IG* V 1.145; *IG* V 1.219–20; Temple of Apollo at Amyklai: *SEG* XI 689 (c. late 7th–early 6th century, Jeffery and Johnston 1990, 198 no. 5); *SEG* XI 926; *IG* V 1.863A (but see 863C); *SEG* I 87, 88.

<sup>83</sup> See Burkert 1975, 6–7 for the inscriptional and literary evidence from Crete and Syracuse among other areas.

<sup>84</sup> *IG* IV 559 and *IG* IV 658 to Apollo Lykeios; *IG* IV 645. See also Burkert 1975, 7, n. 24.

<sup>85</sup> *IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 1.142, 6th century; IV<sup>2</sup> 1.191–2, 5th century; IV<sup>2</sup> 1.40, c. 400; IV<sup>2</sup> 1.106, 4th century; IV<sup>2</sup> 1.96, 300–250; IV<sup>2</sup> 1.57, 4th or 3rd century.

<sup>86</sup> *IG* V 1.977, 3rd century; V 1.980–1; V 1.983–4; V 1.986; V 1.989, c. 550; *SEG* XI 908, Jeffery and Johnston 1990, 199 no. 17. The form ‘Apollon’ appears prominently in the late Hellenistic period after the sanctuary became the centre of the Eleutherolaconians (*IG* V 1.991–1002, 1004–8, 1010–16, 1019–24, 1026–42, 1044–77, 1092–3, 1095–1106).

<sup>87</sup> Neither this list nor the continuous existence of the amphiktyony is verified. Kelly (1966, 212, n. 70) argues that there was a Hellenistic revival (*IG* IV 842 of the 3rd century) of the Kalaureian amphiktyony; cf. Hall 1995, 584–5.

<sup>88</sup> Miniature tridents have been found at the temple of Poseidon at Kalaureia and at Dodona (Phaklaris 1990, 176 n. 546; 177 n. 555).

<sup>89</sup> Envoys from Epidaurus on their way to the Asklepeion at Kos (Pausanias 3.23.6) founded the city of Epidaurus Limera in the Malea, which suggests a date in the Classical period or later (Shipley 2004, 580). The connections of the Argolid with Laconia continued even after Sparta took over the Thyreatis/Kynouria.

### Spartan involvement in the sanctuary?

Regardless of the wider cultural connections that the sanctuary may have had with the Argolid, Sparta's influence is clear in the material record from the early sixth century onwards, when building activity commences and votives become numerous. Sparta's direct involvement in the cult is difficult to discern, given the lack of inscriptions that could identify anyone as Spartan. Examining the region within the historical context of border antagonism may be fruitful in order to perceive Sparta's possible interest in the cult as well as its significance for the regional perioikoi.

In his study of settlement patterns in Laconia, Catling comes to the conclusion that the disputed northern borderlands between Sparta and Argos (and Tegea) saw an expansion of settlement in areas that had had little occupation beforehand and were consolidated under Spartan control in the early sixth century (Catling, R.W.V. 2002, 240–3).<sup>90</sup> Catling even suggests that the consolidation of settlements in the northern borderlands may be explained as 'a deliberate Spartan policy conceived to assert full authority over the region' (Catling, R.W.V. 2002, 243). It is possible that the early Archaic building phase at the sanctuary of Apollo Tyritas, which shows Laconian influence, may have taken place under Spartan auspices whereby patronage of an Apollo sanctuary in a remote region of Laconia could have demonstrated their influence and claim to the territory in the years preceding the 'Battle of the Champions'.<sup>91</sup> The sanctuary, therefore, could be viewed within the framework of animosity of the two powerful Peloponnesian poleis.

Spartan patronage of, and perhaps deliberate support for, the sanctuary can be confirmed by the fact that the sanctuary's life appears to coincide with Sparta's control of the Thyreatis/Kynouria. It is during the late seventh/early sixth century that Laconian material first appears, a chronology contemporary with Sparta's struggles against Argos in the area. The architectural similarities with Spartan and other Laconian temples may reveal connections maintained at an official level between the wealthy perioikoi, who may have organised the building of the temple, and Sparta. Beyond that, the perioikoi who lived in the Thyreatis/Kynouria may too have regarded the sanctuary as a frontier place between the Argolid and Laconia;<sup>92</sup> after all, the Tyritai considered themselves Lakedaimonians in the third century (see below). The life of the temple continued until the fourth century, which saw the construction of an altar and statue bases either by private or by public initiative. After that, activity at the temple of Apollo Tyritas slowly diminishes. The cause of the cessation of cult is unclear, but may be linked with instability in the area after Sparta lost the Thyreatis (and perhaps also parts of the Kynouria) in 338.

Indeed, the Thyreatis saw the erection of a number of late fourth-century fortifications (Elliniko, *LS AA13*) and watchtowers (Kastro tis Orias, *LS AA21a*; Elliniko, Charadros, *LS AA330*) that are probably of Argive construction, while nearby Tyros (*LS BB28*) is a fortified settlement of late Classical foundation with most activity in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, but some also earlier.<sup>93</sup> An inscription (*SEG LIX 356*, c.340–330 BC) might delineate the Argive defensive system on the western border after 338.<sup>94</sup> The evidence thus suggests an organised and heavy defence border between Sparta and Argos following the fourth century. It is unclear whether or not Philip II gave the region of Kynouria to Argos, but by 275 Sparta probably re-established itself in the area of Tyros, as the Tyritai call themselves κώμα

<sup>90</sup> Thyreatis/Kynouria has evidence of occupation dating back to the early Iron Age. Paralio Astrous: *LS AA6*; Cherronisi: *LS AA 14*; Elliniko: *LS AA13*; Marmalona, Xerokampi: *LS AA16*; Sidza cave: *LS BB34*.

<sup>91</sup> The region's importance is further attested during the Peloponnesian War, when nearby Prasiai was sacked by the Athenians in 430 (Thucydides 2.56) and again in 414 (Thucydides 6.105.2; 7.18.3). In 366 troops of the Peloponnesian League assembled there (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 7.2.2–3; Christien 1982–3, 62).

<sup>92</sup> I owe this point to an anonymous referee.

<sup>93</sup> See earlier discussion.

<sup>94</sup> The cult of Parparos was abandoned after Sparta lost the Thyreatis, as was a substantial Classical settlement located at nearby Armakades (*LS AA20*; see Supplementary Material catalogue no. 2), which was deserted after the mid-4th century (Phaklaris 1990, 118). The remains of the sanctuary at Anemomylos, Elliniko (late Classical–Roman; *LS AA10*) have been identified as Argive and dated post-338, when Argos took over the Thyreatis (Phaklaris 1990, 191; see Supplementary Material catalogue no. 4).

Λακεδαιμονίων on a third-century inscription from Delphi (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 407; Shipley 2000, 378; cf. Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, 33–4). Regardless of whether it was lost or not, this sanctuary, like other perioikic sanctuaries,<sup>95</sup> shows decline in the fourth century, when Sparta and Laconia went through a number of years of instability following their loss of territory.<sup>96</sup>

Another point further expresses the position of the sanctuary of Apollo Tyritas both within the context of Spartan antagonism against Argos and as a frontier sanctuary for both the Spartans and perioikoi. A significant number of weapons have been discovered at the site: six iron spearheads, an inscribed sword, six iron swords, arrows, a ring belonging to a wooden bow, a fragment belonging to a shield and a large fragment of a helmet (Romaioi 1911, 274–5; Phaklaris 1990, 175–6). The substantial number of weapon dedications reveals the military nature of Apollo, which was also celebrated at the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas further south. The weapon dedications are noticeable, since they are rare in other prominent Laconian perioikic sanctuaries, e.g. the sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas, where among the plethora of valuable bronzes only two weapons have been unearthed (see above). The military aspect of Apollo honoured here reflects the sanctuary's geopolitical setting. It was situated in a contested area with Argos, Sparta's long-term enemy, and it provided access to the Argolid by both land and sea. The cult, which flourished during Spartan control of the area, may have adopted some of Apollo's military characteristics, which were apparent at the Amyklaion, the cult of Apollo Pythaeus at Thornax and the temple of Apollo Maleatas at Kosmas. A sanctuary of military Apollo would have been appropriate as a military guardian of Lakedaimonian land, and the cult may have been promoted by Sparta itself. Both Spartans and perioikoi living in the region could have dedicated the armour at their strategically placed sanctuary.

Inasmuch as the sanctuary was located in a crucial area for Sparta, Spartan attendance at the sanctuary is difficult to detect. Four lead figurines in the shape of wreaths may reveal Spartan presence, since such figurines are commonly found at the sanctuaries of Artemis Orthia and the Menelaion, but less so in Laconian and Peloponnesian sanctuaries (Phaklaris 1990, 176, pl. 79c; cf. Boss 2000, 7–14).<sup>97</sup> As the evidence of the Damonon stele illustrates, Spartans travelled and participated in games at perioikic festivals; it is thus likely that Spartans attended the sanctuary of Apollo Tyritas too, especially given its prominent position among the perioikoi in the region. Support from elsewhere shows that some Spartans were involved as officials in perioikic cults: three inscriptions from the temple of Apollo Hyperteleatas in Laconia, dating to the Hellenistic period (*IG* V 1.1014–16), mention Spartans.<sup>98</sup> The inscriptions record that Spartans held the office of priests and of πυροφόροι (fire-bearers; cf. *IG* V 1.965; Xenophon, *Constitution of the Lakedaimonians* 13.2). The inscriptions demonstrate how Sparta maintained good relations with perioikic sanctuaries even after the area of the Malea peninsula was lost in 195 (Kennell 1999, 194), but they may also reflect the earlier close ties between Sparta and perioikic sanctuaries, which cannot otherwise be detected. The temple of Apollo Tyritas, too, may have had Spartan contacts at an official level through the wealthy perioikoi. Interest in and patronage of a prominent perioikic sanctuary would have connected Sparta with its perioikic neighbours and promoted Sparta's claims to a strategic and disputed area in the Archaic and Classical periods.

<sup>95</sup> The sanctuary of Aigies near Gytheion shows decline after the 4th century (Bonias 1998, 119; see Supplementary Material catalogue no. 18). The sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods at Kastraki shows similar Classical-period decline and 2nd-century revival (Genière 2005, 79–80; see Supplementary Material catalogue no. 39), as does the temple of Apollo Hyperteleatas (Farace 2013; see Supplementary Material catalogue no. 40). A similar situation can perhaps be seen at the temple of Apollo Maleatas.

<sup>96</sup> For the period between the 4th and 2nd centuries see Shipley 2000, 381–3.

<sup>97</sup> They have also been found at the sanctuary at Aigies near Gytheion and at the temple of Apollo Hyperteleatas. Kennel (2010, 91) suggests that their appearance at Aigies may indicate Spartan visitors.

<sup>98</sup> It is unlikely that the inscriptions at the Hyperteleaton with the ethnic 'Lakedaimonios' refer to perioikoi, who tend to identify themselves by their own polis ethnic, as in other inscriptions from the Hyperteleaton (Shipley 2004, 588).

## PERIOIKIC SANCTUARIES AND CULT PARALLELS IN SPARTA

The use of religion to exhibit Laconian interconnectivity and, to some degree, Spartan dominance over Laconia can be further demonstrated by the existence of many prominent perioikic cults in Sparta itself. The best example of this phenomenon must be the cult of Apollo Pythaeus<sup>99</sup> which was practised both at Apollo Maleatas and at Apollo Tyritas. An inscribed bronze oinochoe handle from c.560–555 depicting a lion head between two ape heads was dedicated by Menoitos to Apollo Pythaeus near the sanctuary of Apollo Tyritas.<sup>100</sup> A sixth-century bronze disc dedicated to Pythaeus was discovered in the area of the temple of Apollo Maleatas (*SEG* XI 890; Jeffery and Johnston 1990, 199, n. 14; Phaklaris 1990, 181–2, n. 570, fig. 104). These finds are significant because Apollo Pythaeus is a cult more closely associated with the Argolid.

The cult of Apollo Pythaeus is well known from his sanctuary at Asine in the Argolid, itself destroyed by Argos c.720, but with evidence of continuity and some habitation after the destruction.<sup>101</sup> The cult appears to have fallen under Argive patronage at some point,<sup>102</sup> which extended to the adoption of Apollo Pythaeus in Argos itself (Pausanias 2.24.1).<sup>103</sup> Cults of Apollo Pythaeus appear in numerous communities throughout the Argolid, such as Hermione (Pausanias 2.35.2), and the cult extended into Kynouria.<sup>104</sup>

The cult of Apollo Pythaeus is also found in Sparta. There was a cult of Apollo Pythaeus on the periphery of Sparta at Thornax and a statue of Apollo Pythaeus, together with Artemis and Leto, in the agora by the Choros, where the festival of the Gymnopaedia took place (Pausanias 3.11.9). The festival was one of the most important for the Spartans – they ‘celebrate with their heart and soul’ (Pausanias 3.11.9) – and commemorated Sparta’s takeover of the Thyreatis; it was an occasion when boys sang songs and wore wreaths called θυρεατικοί (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* 15.678b–c; *Suda* s.v. Γυμνοπαίδια).<sup>105</sup> The link between the Gymnopaedia and Sparta’s celebration of victories over the Argives has been a recurrent subject in scholarly circles (Brellich 1961, 31; Pettersson 1992, 51, 55–6; Kowalzig 2007, 156 n. 78; Richer 2012, 404–13), but it is uncertain how far back one can date the connection between Apollo Pythaeus and the Gymnopaedia. It was important enough that at some point the connection was made (Kowalzig 2007, 156).

The link between the cult of Apollo Pythaeus in the Argolid and Spartan control of the Thyreatis can be clarified. The cult of Apollo Pythaeus in Asine was very old (eighth century), so its adoption by Argos is seen as a way for Argos to signify its domination over Asine or the Argolid (Billot 1989–90, 35, 97),<sup>106</sup> since the cult held a central significance to the communities in the region.<sup>107</sup> This fact is crucial, not only to understand the position of the cult of Apollo Pythaeus in the Argolid but also to recognise its role in Laconia as a symbol of the conflict between Argos and Sparta. The festival of the Gymnopaedia, which celebrated the victory over the Argives in the Thyreatis, is distinctly anti-Argive and at some point was linked to Apollo Pythaeus in Sparta. Linking the Gymnopaedia, which celebrated a victory over the Argives, with the cult of Apollo Pythaeus, celebrated by Argos and the wider regions of the Argolid and Kynouria, shows how religion was used for propaganda purposes. Sparta could be making

<sup>99</sup> On the topic see Brellich 1961, 22–34; Vaquero and Monedero 2014, 91–8.

<sup>100</sup> See above, n. 75.

<sup>101</sup> Jameson, Runnels and Andel 1994, 94 and n. 11; Poulsen 1994; Wells 2002.

<sup>102</sup> This is based on an Argive terracotta sima, c.500, of a similar type made by Argive workshops, which may suggest a rebuilding of the temple (Wells 1990, 160).

<sup>103</sup> For the archaeology see Vollgraff 1956; Morgan and Whitelaw 1991, 83; Hall 1995, 581. For the cult see Piérart 1990; Kowalzig 2007, 145–9.

<sup>104</sup> Piérart (1990, 326) sees the spread of the cult of Apollo Pythaeus as a result of an Argive cultural influence.

<sup>105</sup> For the literary sources see Pettersson 1992, 42–3; Ducat 2006, 265–72.

<sup>106</sup> A view shared by Hall (1997, 102). The cult of Apollo Pythaeus as a symbol of Argive dominance in the Argolid is exemplified in Thucydides (5.53; cf. Diodorus 12.78).

<sup>107</sup> The cult of Apollo Pythaeus in the Argolid has been interpreted as a unifying feature for the communities in the area (Kowalzig 2007, 145–7).

overtures to communities under Argive threat<sup>108</sup> and linking itself with those communities living in Thyreatis/Kynouria, which were traditionally under dispute between Argos and Sparta.

The use of religion to lay claim to territory disputed between Sparta and Argos is further demonstrated by the cult of Apollo Pythaeus at Thornax on the periphery of Sparta.<sup>109</sup> The chronology of the cult is contemporary with Sparta's struggles for dominance in the Peloponnese:<sup>110</sup> King Kroisos of Lydia gave the gold for the statue at a time when Sparta was dominant over most of the Peloponnese and had attempted to subjugate Tegea a few years before the decisive 'Battle of the Champions' in the Thyreatis, which established the Argive–Spartan border (Herodotus 1.68, 83). The establishment in the Archaic period of the cult of Apollo Pythaeus at Thornax, so close to Sparta, serves a double role: first, it lays claim to an Argive region via a cult associated with the Argolid and the Thyreatis/Kynouria, since dedications to Apollo Pythaeus were found by the sanctuaries of Apollo Maleatas and Apollo Tyritas. Secondly, and most importantly, it shows how Sparta was linking itself to those communities in the Thyreatis/Kynouria who celebrated the cult of Apollo Pythaeus in the disputed region between Argos and Sparta.

Apollo Pythaeus is not the only example where a perioikic cult finds parallels in Sparta and which serves to link Sparta with its perioikic territories: Apollo Maleatas, too, was worshipped in Sparta (Pausanias 3.12.8),<sup>111</sup> while three Hellenistic inscriptions from the first century by the Ταῖνάριοι point to a cult of Poseidon Tainaros in Sparta (*IG V 1.210–12*; *SEG XI 648–9*; *SEG L 393*; Kourinou 2000, 185–99; Mylonopoulos 2003, 219–21), echoing the famous sanctuary of Poseidon Tainaros in the southern tip of the Mani peninsula (see Supplementary Material catalogue no. 38). The cult of the Mother of the Gods also finds a counterpart in Sparta, as indicated by Pausanias and confirmed by an inscription (*SEG LIX 391*; *SEG LX 401*; Pausanias 3.12.9; Zavvou 2001–4, 237; Zavvou and Themis 2009, 118–19) with a parallel in one of the older sanctuaries in Laconia (see Supplementary Material catalogue no. 39). Six anatomical reliefs from the first century BC/first century AD are dedicated to Kyparissia in Sparta (*SEG XLV 284*; *SEG L 395–405*; Kourinou 2000, 167–85), and may allude to the prominent sanctuary of Athena Kyparissia on the acropolis of the Parakyparissian Achaïans (Pausanias 3.22.9; see Supplementary Material catalogue no. 42).<sup>112</sup> Numerous other cults have parallels in Sparta, Laconia and Messenia,<sup>113</sup> although most are only attested by Pausanias.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Sparta appears to have had strong connections with Argolic Asine, from where the cult originates, and both cities were involved in an attack against Argos (Pausanias 2.36.4). Once the Argives destroyed Asine, Sparta relocated the inhabitants to Messenia (Pausanias 4.8.3; 4.14.3; 4.24.4; Luraghi 2008, 141–2; Kennell and Luraghi 2009, 250).

<sup>109</sup> The cult statue of Apollo Pythaeus was made in the style of Apollo Amyklaios, an armed Apollo (Herodotus 1.69; Xenophon, *Hellenica* 6.5.27; Pausanias 3.10.8).

<sup>110</sup> The archaeological evidence for the cult of Apollo Pythaeus at Thornax shows activity at the site from the Archaic and Classical periods, though most took place during the late Classical and Hellenistic periods (Eleftheriou and Skangos 2010–13, 536–7). The rise in activity may be linked to the increased importance of the cult of Apollo Pythaeus after the loss of the Thyreatis and subsequent struggles to regain the territory.

<sup>111</sup> See earlier discussion.

<sup>112</sup> Kourinou argues that the cult at Sparta is that of Artemis Kyparissia because of terracotta figurines of Artemis found with the anatomical reliefs dedicated to Kyparissia. She links the cult to that of Agrotera Kyparissia attested on a 3rd-century BC inscription from the temple of Apollo Hyperteleatas (hence Artemis Kyparissia; *IG V 1.977*). But see Salapata (2001), who questions this association because the figurines and the anatomical inscribed reliefs were found in reused material. See Forsén 1996, 133–59 on various deities who could receive anatomical dedications and are associated with health, including Athena. The cult is also attested in Messene (*SEG XXIII 209–10*; *XXXIX 381*; *XLVIII 376*; *XLI 341*; *XLIII 143–4*, 147, 3rd century) and Messenia (Pausanias 4.36.7; Luraghi 2008, 275–6).

<sup>113</sup> Cults of Zeus Messapeus were located at Tsakona, on a hill north of Sparta, (Catling, H.W. 1990), and at Anthochori on the other side of the Spartan plain (Pausanias 3.20.3), where a stamped tile (*SEG XXVI 460*; *XXXIX 373*; *LII 345*; 2nd century) and other finds confirm the existence of a shrine (Catling, R.W.V. and Shipley 1989, 195–6; *LS GG108* with further bibliography). Kassandra had a temple and a statue at Leuktra (Pausanias 3.26.4–5) as well as at Amyklai. A temple of Diktyinna existed in Sparta (Pausanias 3.12.8) and another to Britomatis (Pausanias 3.14.2), while epigraphic evidence confirms the existence of a Hellenistic cult of Diktyinna in the Eurotas valley (Steinhauer 1993).

<sup>114</sup> See Richer 2007, 243–4; 2012, 227–42.

Urban reduplication of cults found in the countryside has been noted in Arcadia, where newly founded Megalopolis duplicated important Arcadian shrines, such as that of Zeus on Mount Lykaion. Jost (1992, 228–32) suggests that this was a way of giving the urban centre divine protection and symbolising the political and religious union of the region. Similarly, cults of Artemis Limnatis and Athena Kyparissia were established in fourth-century Messene from elsewhere in Messenia (Luraghi 2008, 275–6). Sparta, of course, was not a newly founded polis; but the duplication of rural cults in urban centres did not appear only in new poleis. The cult of Artemis Brauronia on the Athenian Acropolis, which was introduced from the cult of Artemis at Brauron, was presumably founded during the reign of Peisistratus, who was himself from Brauron; it thus integrated city and countryside (Hurwit 1999, 117). Other examples are the Eleusinian mysteries, which unified Athens and Eleusis, and the cult of Dionysos Eleuthereios celebrated during the City Dionysia, which came from Eleutherai (Pausanias 1.38.8; Bonner 1933, 132–3; Rehm 1992, 14).

Sparta would have used the setting of perioikic cults to unify its rural landscape with the centre. Since we do not know the date of the foundation of many cults, we cannot be certain whether the appearances of the perioikic cults in Sparta were intended to claim the territories through the introduction of the prominent perioikic cults after they were lost in the late Classical and Hellenistic periods or were earlier foundations which aimed to amalgamate the perioikic communities with Sparta. The adoption of the cults of Apollo Pythaeus and Apollo Maleatas in Sparta are thus further examples of Sparta, by celebrating the cults, asserting its claim to the area of Kynouria/Thyreatis where the cults are prominently celebrated. But further than that, Sparta also links the centre (Sparta) with the country and unifies a Laconian religious landscape.<sup>115</sup>

## CONCLUSION

There were various mechanisms by which Sparta connected and interacted with its perioikic neighbours. Here, religion offers one way by which the Laconian landscape was to some degree unified. Various sanctuaries distributed around Laconia offered the opportunity for the perioikoi and the Spartans to travel, interact and participate in festivals. Moreover, Sparta connected with its perioikic neighbours through the adoption of perioikic cults and participation in perioikic festivals. In this study we have seen how the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas served a special purpose for the perioikoi and the Spartans through the celebration of the military character of Apollo. Another sanctuary in the region, that of the strategically placed Apollo Tyritas, may also show the impact of Spartan interest and expansion in the area by the late seventh–early sixth century. Both sanctuaries demonstrate that Spartan rivalry with Argos had an effect and influence on the character of some perioikic cults. Thus, the military quality of the dedications in both sanctuaries is probably the result of the geopolitical setting of the sites, as is the case with other sanctuaries in the disputed border area of the Thyreatis/Kynouria. The Maleateia festival, celebrated at the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, may in fact have been another occasion when Spartans and perioikoi gathered together to celebrate military success over the Argives in the contested area. The offensive weapons of spears and arrowheads, both real size and miniature, would have been appropriate dedications for the warrior-god Apollo, prominently worshipped in Sparta and Laconia. Cults and festivals in Laconia (and Messenia) would have offered the opportunity for Sparta to connect with its perioikic neighbours and unite the centre with the countryside, thus contributing towards a Laconian sacred landscape.

<sup>115</sup> The opposite can also be observed, whereby traditionally Spartan cults, such as those of Artemis Limnatis (alluding to the cult of Artemis Orthia located at Limnai in Sparta), are found in various locations throughout Laconia and Messenia but also elsewhere in the Peloponnese, such as Sikyon and Patrai; for which see Solima 2011, 30–2, 116–17, 123–5, 153, 182–3; Koursoumis 2014, 215–17.

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## SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

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### Τα ιερά του Απόλλωνα Μαλεάτα και του Απόλλωνα Τύριτα στη Λακωνία: η θρησκεία στη σχέση Σπάρτης και περιοίκων

Το άρθρο εξετάζει πως η θρησκεία συνέλαβε στη διασυνδεσιμότητα της Λακωνίας που ήταν υπό Σπαρτιατική επικράτεια την Αρχαϊκή και Κλασσική εποχή. Με επίκεντρο δύο Λακωνικά ιερά, αυτό του Απόλλωνα Μαλεάτα και αυτό του Απόλλωνα Τύριτα, που βρίσκονται στην περιοχή Θηρεάτιδα/Κυρρουρία, για την οποίαν φιλονικούσαν η Σπάρτη και το Άργος, το άρθρο μελετά πως τα ιερά συντελούσαν στη σχέση Σπάρτης και περιοίκων. Τα αναθήματα από τα δύο ιερά διαφέρουν: το ιερό του Απόλλωνα Μαλεάτα είναι πλούσιο σε αναθηματικά όπλα. Το ιερό του Απόλλωνα Τύριτα έχει ποικιλία αναθημάτων, όπως μπρούντζινα, αγγεία, και όπλα. Υποστηρίζω ότι το ιερό του Απόλλωνα Μαλεάτα εξυπηρετούσε ως κεντρικός τόπος συγκέντρωσης που έσμιγε τους Λακεδαιμόνιους, και Σπαρτιάτες και περιοίκους, που γιόρταζαν τις πολεμικές ιδιότητες του Απόλλωνα. Το ιερό του Απόλλωνα Τύριτα ίσως να συνάπτεται με το Σπαρτιατικό ενδιαφέρον στην περιοχή από το τα τέλη του 7<sup>ου</sup> Ιαρχές 6<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα, όπου και αυτό παρουσιάζει ενδείξεις για στρατιωτικούς συσχετισμούς της περιοχής. Στον πολεμικό θεό Απόλλωνα, που λατρευόταν στην Σπάρτη και Λακωνία, αφιέρωναν επιθετικά όπλα, όπως δόρατα και αιχμές βελών, κανονικού μεγέθους και μικκύλα. Οι Σπαρτιάτες και οι περιοίκοι γιόρταζαν τη Μαλεάτεια γιορτή στο ιερό του Μαλεάτα Απόλλωνα όπου τους δινόταν η ευκαιρία να έχουν επαφή και επικοινωνία. Ένα ιερό Λακωνικό τοπίο διαμορφωνόταν με τον εορτασμό κοινών λατρείων και γιορτών, όπου το κέντρο (η Σπάρτη) ενωνόταν με τη Λακωνία (και τη Μεσσηνία).