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Laconian material culture and Lacedaemonian identity. The Laconian sanctuaries case

Adrien Delahaye

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Regions and Communities in Early Greece (1200–550 BCE)



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EDITORS' PREFACE

This book has its origin in a conference on 'Regional Approaches to Early Greek Society, 1100–550 BCE' held at the Institute of Classical Archaeology of Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen on 14–16th December 2018. The meeting was organized in association with and funded by a programme of the university's graduate academy and excellence initiative, which allows doctoral students to meet and present their research alongside more experienced experts. We would like to thank these institutions very much for giving us this opportunity and for their support. The Fritz Thyssen Stiftung für Wissenschaftsförderung generously provided additional funding for our conference and thus allowed us to further enlarge the programme, originally bringing together twelve doctoral students and thirteen more experienced researchers.

Moreover, the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung für Wissenschaftsförderung financed the publication of the conference proceedings, for which we are most thankful. We would also like to acknowledge the support we received from the members of the Institute of Classical Archaeology, especially Richard Posamentir, Katy Opitz, Luisa Balandat and Hanni Töpfer. Furthermore, we would like to thank the series' editors, Alexander Heinemann, Richard Posamentir and Thomas Schäfer, for their inclusion of the volume into *Tübinger Archäologische Forschungen*. Pia Lehner has turned the manuscript into a book and we thank her for the accurate typesetting. Last, but by no means least, we would like to express our heartfelt gratitude to the anonymous peer reviewers whose observations have been of great help for us as well as the individual authors.

LACONIAN MATERIAL CULTURE AND LACEDAEMONIAN IDENTITY. THE LACONIAN SANCTUARIES' CASE (SEVENTH–FIFTH CENTURY BC)

Adrien Delahaye

Abstract: If spartan history is better known thanks to the revision of the spartan mirage, Lacedaemon, however, continues to escape to a great extent from our knowledge. Sometimes considered as a polis, sometimes as a state or a symmachia, Lacedaemon appears to be mainly a matter of regional identity. Spartans and Perioikoi seem to have shared more than political ties and the integration of the latter is based on cultural and ethnic – understood as a cultural construction – factors. Unfortunately, the Perioikoi remain far more unknown and are basically studied as the ‘other’ Lacedaemonians; the laconian material culture is a way to go beyond this aporia. Its use remains problematic as the historians focus on Sparta through literary sources, while the material culture and the production sphere are supposedly in the hands of the Perioikoi. This statement has led us to largely ignore the historical value of laconian artifacts, especially to study the whole lacedaemonian society during the archaic period. The secured perioikic sites are few, but they exist and can be used in a comparative study with the better known and published spartan sanctuaries in order to highlight common features and specificities. Different categories of votive offerings – as the black-glazed pottery, the bronze vases and figurines, the

lead figurines and the laconian reliefs – can be used as identity markers. The first results lead to common classes of artifacts, used in the same contexts and seem to indicate common votive practices.¹

Introduction

Whatever theoretical model of *polis* or *ethnè* is chosen, Sparta resists to the analysis. In fact, as Thomas Clements stressed it in the previous chapter, ‘Sparta’ does not matter as much as ‘Lacedaemon’, even though the exact nature of the latter remains quite difficult to determine.² While Florentia Frangkopoulou once addressed the link between the four main spartan sanctuaries and the construction of a laconian identity between the Late Bronze Age Period and 600 BC,³ I propose in this paper to extend for once the reflections from the Spartans, in order to include the ‘other’ lacedaemonian people, the *Perioikoi*.⁴

The literary sources from Classical, Hellenistic and Roman times are not only late, but also corrupted by the spartan “mirage” theorized by François Ollier.⁵ They are indeed marked by a powerful pro- or anti-spartan vision that makes their use dif-

¹ I am grateful to the editors both for the stimulating conference they organized in Tübingen and for their patience and perseverance in editing this volume; to the audience of the conference for the numerous remarks; to Charikleia Giannakaki, Despoina Nika and Eleni Artavani for their kind assistance. The research leading to this paper was funded by grants from the University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne and the A. Onassis foundation. I finally want to express my gratitude to the Ephorates of Antiquities of Attic and Laconia, and to the Amykles Research Project and its director Stavros Vlivos, for the authorizations

and the photographs. All the dates in this paper are BC, unless specified otherwise. The following abbreviations are used: MS: Archaeological Museum of Sparta; NMA: National Archaeological Museum of Athens.

² The multitude of terms used does not help. See Ducat 2008.

³ Frangkopoulou 2011.

⁴ The reference studies on the *Perioikoi* have been provided by Shipley 1992, 1997, 2006; Ducat 2008.

⁵ Ollier 1933; 1943. On the spartan “mirage”, see also Tigerstedt 1965, 1974.

difficult, leading to many contradictions and to a tendency to ‘freeze’ the Spartan society in a structural interpretation, without any diachronic perspective. The problem is particularly serious for the archaic period, for which the approach is purely teleological. There is a tendency to place phenomena and structures documented – for the earliest – in the second half of the fifth century back, to the sixth or even the seventh century. The reason for this trend lies in the dogma of the alleged conservatism of the Spartan institutions. Fortunately, the modern research is gradually deconstructing this mirage, but the archaic era is still resisting;⁶ this is where the use of the archaeological data takes on its full meaning in order to overcome the methodological aporia. The Laconian material culture can therefore be used to question the relevance of the demarcation between the Spartans and the *Perioikoi*. In other words: can differences in status, or at least different practices, be identified from the archaeological assemblages found in Laconia?

A lacedaemonian identity

A question of vocabulary

The difficulty in understanding Lacedaemonian society can be seen by the confusion between the terms used by modern scholars. But these imprecisions affected also the ancient Greeks themselves.⁷ Thus, we speak of Lacedaemon and Lacedaemonians as well as Spartans, *Perioikoi*, Helots, but sometimes also of Laconia and Laconians.⁸ The term Laconia is problematic. The Laconia generally mentioned by modern authors refers to the Eurotas valley, located between the mountain of Taygetos in the west and

Parnon in the east, the Gulf of Laconia in the south and the margins of Arcadia in the north. The term *Λακωνία* does not appear in ancient sources,⁹ but *Λακωνική* does.¹⁰ The problem is that *Λακωνική* does not refer as much to a geographical entity as it does to a political territory, the one dominated by the polis of Sparta. It, therefore, also includes Messenia, as well as the peninsulas of Mani and Malea. Laconia as the Eurotas’ valley is usually translated in ancient texts by *Λακεδαίμων*.¹¹ The term Lacedaemonians refers to a group whose characterization is highly debated. But it is a term used in consensus for all Spartans and *Perioikoi* gathered together at least since the sixth century at least.¹² Also, the term is often used only for the Spartans, especially from the end of the fifth century.¹³ In any case, during the classical period, even though the *Perioikoi* can be included amongst the Lacedaemonians, they are not called that way when they are not alongside Spartans.¹⁴ The confusion has nothing to do with clumsiness or ignorance, as Jean Ducat observed that the authors can mark the distinction when the context implies to separate the two groups.¹⁵

The *Perioikoi* of Laconia are in fact impossible to distinguish from the Spartans during the archaic and classical period, from an ethnic, linguistic and, more generally, cultural point of view.¹⁶ They speak

⁶ For a synthetic introduction and a bibliographical update, see Powell 2018a, 3–28. Also Cartledge 1979; Christien 1992b; Hodkinson and Powell 1994; Meier 1998; Cartledge 2001; Hodkinson and Powell 2002; Figueira 2004; Hodkinson and Powell 2006; Hodkinson and Powell 2009; Hodkinson and Morris 2012; Powell 2018b; Cartledge and Powell 2018.

⁷ The confusion exists already in *Il.* between Lacedaemon (3.239, 387, 443) and Sparta (4.51). The distinction appears only in the ship’s catalogue (2.581–82). Also Hdt. 9.85; Xen., *Hell.*, 7.4.20; 21; 27; Isoc., *Panath.*, 12.177–81.

⁸ The qualifying adjective is geographic, but also ethnic and designs the Spartans and *Perioikoi* of Laconia, the core of Lacedaemon, insofar as Messenia remains a specific component.

⁹ Restored form from a *scholia* to Thuc. 2.15.4.

¹⁰ Xen., *Hell.*, 4.7.6; 8.8; 6.2.31; 5.21; Polyb., *passim*; Hdt. 1.69; 6.58.1; Ar., *Vesp.*, 1162; *Pax*, 245; Strabo 8.2.2; 4.9; 5.4 *sq.*; Paus. 3.1.1; 21.6; 4.1.1; 16.8; 17.1; Ptol. 3.16.9; Plin., *HN*, 2.243; 4.1; 5.32; 6.214; 25.94; *IG XII* 5.542.22; *SEG XI*.924. About the etymology and the occurrences, see Lafond 2006; Shipley 2006, 52, n. 8.

¹¹ Shipley 2006, 52.

¹² It has been documented in inscriptions since the sixth century. See Van Effenterre and Ruzé 1994, Nos. 37–38; Ducat 2008, 69.

¹³ Ducat 2008, 69–72 has noticed the occurrences in Hdt, Thuc. and in the *Hellenics* of Xen. Hdt. uses indifferently “Spartans” and “Lacedaemonians”: 1.65; 68.1; 75.1; 76.1; 80.1; 86.5; 87.2; 152–3; 6.51, 52, 58; 75.1; 76.1; 92.1, 5; 7.202, 205. The confusion is clear in Xen., even though the notion of *politeia* refers more clearly to the Spartans. So then it is in the *Lac.*, but also in Thuc. 1.18.1; Xen., *Hell.*, 2.3.34; Arist., *Pol.*, 2, 1269 a 29. In 98 % of the cases noticed by J. Ducat, Lacedaemon refers to the *polis* of Sparta.

¹⁴ Ducat 2008, 48.

¹⁵ Ducat 2008, 2–4, 69. Hdt. 6.58; 7.234; 9.70; Thuc. 4.8.1; Xen., *Hell.*, 6.4.15; 7.1.25.

¹⁶ Will 1956, 48; Cartledge 2002, 98; Kennell 2010, chap. “Helots and *Perioeci*”, 76–91.

the same language at least since the sixth century¹⁷ and worship Apollo more than any other god.¹⁸ The question of the 'ethnic' origins of the *Perioikoi* is a false problem. The distinction between the Spartans and them, following ethnic criteria is a part of the myth of the Dorian conquest, when the Achaean communities are supposed to have been conquered and downgraded to the perioikic status. But this story is essentially an etiologic narrative forged during the fifth century on the basis of dialectal variations, in order to legitimate the opposition between Athens and Sparta.¹⁹ Hans van Wees even locates the beginning of the construction of this shared regional identity during the EIA, before the political integration of Laconia and Messenia under the spartan rule.²⁰

The Lacedaemonians on campaign

In a diplomatic and military context, Spartans and Lacedaemonians merge in one unique group. The Spartans alone make decisions regarding war and peace but, during a campaign, it is the one army of all the Lacedaemonians that faces the enemy.²¹ Platea is the first battle where contingents of *Perioikoi* are mentioned as a separate unit following the Spartans to the fighting.²² Then, from 418, perhaps even 425, they are individually enlisted in the spartan *phalanx* and seem totally integrated in the army at the beginning of the fourth century.²³ The Cinadon's conspiracy description by Xenophon allows us to understand implicitly that several of the plotters – some Inferiors, but also some *Perioikoi* – are armed and serve in the army,²⁴ while Isocrates insists on their essential role in it.²⁵ Some *Perioikoi* could even get some important commands and have

authority over the Spartans.²⁶ The ones who volunteered to accompany Agesipolis against Olynthos are also qualified as *καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ* by Xenophon.²⁷ This integration in the *phalanx* is sometimes presented as a solution against the *oliganthropia* affecting the civilian community at the end of the fifth and the fourth centuries.²⁸ But the *Perioikoi*, despite being in separated contingents, are already attested in equal number to the Spartans.²⁹ Therefore, their integration during the Peloponnesian war cannot be limited to a desperate attempt, comparable to the *Neodamodes*. Some lead figurines representing an hoplite – mainly found at the sanctuary of Orthia and usually considered as characteristics of a spartan military *ethos*³⁰ – have been discovered during the excavations of the agrarian sanctuary of Aigies, in perioikic territory (*fig. 1*).³¹ Dated back to the sixth century, these artifacts point to shared votive practices, if not a common hoplitic ideal. The discovery of a bronze corinthian helmet³² strengthens this impression and allows us to make the hypothesis of an early date for the integration of the *Perioikoi* in a lacedaemonian army.³³

A shared identity

This shared lacedaemonian identity is probably the key to understand the *Perioikoi*'s loyalty towards Sparta.³⁴ No riots, neither defections of perioikic communities are recorded in the written sources until the battle of Leuctra.³⁵ Only some messenian settlements joined the revolt of the helots resulting in the 464 earthquake; but none in Laconia. This calmness can be disturbing if we consider Isocrates' testimony³⁶ – who paints a very dark portrait of the *Perioikoi*'s situation – and if we consider their military skills.

¹⁷ Bechtel 1963, 296.

¹⁸ Parker 1989, 145.

¹⁹ Mossé 1977, 121, n. 1.

²⁰ Hall 2000, 85; van Wees 2003.

²¹ Ducat 2008, 70, using several diplomatic documents: the Platea tripod *ML 27*; the treaty with the Erxadeis Aitoloi (*SEG*, 26, No. 461); the list of the 'War contributions', *IG V.1.1* (see Loomis 1992).

²² Hdt. 9.11, 28.

²³ Xen., *Hell.*, 3.9.6–7; V.3.9; see also *Hell.*, 4.4.19; 5.4.41, 55; 7.4.20, 27.

²⁴ Xen., *Hell.*, 3.9.6–7. About the integration of the *Perioikoi* in the lacedaemonian army, see also 4.4.19; 5.4.41, 55; 7.4.20, 27.

²⁵ Isoc., *Panath.*, 177.

²⁶ In Thuc. 8.22.1, the lacedaemonian fleet is commanded by the *Perioikos* Deinias.

²⁷ Xen., *Hell.*, 5.3.9.

²⁸ Mossé 1977, 124.

²⁹ Hdt. 9.11.

³⁰ Wace 1929; Cavanagh and Laxton 1984.

³¹ Bonias 1998, 103–5 pl. 65. See also Zavvou 2014 who records at Toriza – near Xirokampi – several dozens of lead crowns and figurines which signal the existence of a sanctuary in the area.

³² Bonias 1998, pl. 63, 551.

³³ See Delahaye 2019, chap. 2.

³⁴ Hdt. 6.58.2. See Christien 1992a, 157; Ducat 2008, 2, 50, 62.

³⁵ Who had found a fertile ground because of war requisitions.

³⁶ Isoc., *Panath.*, 177.

The spartan troops were few and mainly gathered in Sparta and at the lacedaemonian's borders; the inner *Perioikis*' defense was in the hands of the *Perioikoi*. They formed an essential piece of the defensive system as their settlements constituted a framework to control the lacedaemonian borders and to isolate the helots of Laconia from the Arcadians and the Argives.³⁷ Far off being oppressed, the *Perioikoi* were associated to a system whose they share the profits. The alliance with Sparta certainly alienated their sovereignty, but also provided a strong protection for these small communities.³⁸ Finally, if the kings Agis III and Cleomenes IV tried to give the spartan citizenship to some *Perioikoi*,³⁹ it is because the latter were similar enough to the Spartans to join their lines. The rejection of these reforms is not due to this integration, but to the threat on the property system controlled by the main spartan families.⁴⁰

One important point to understand the perioikic compliance is the probable existence of local elites which had more in common with the Spartans than with their fellow 'citizens'.⁴¹ First, fighting as hoplites next to the Spartans meant that the *Perioikoi* were able to fund their own equipment and to be away from their lands and fields during the campaigns, especially from the fifth century and the multiplication of distant campaigns. The epigraphic inscriptions

also suggest writing practices in perioikic territory back to the second half of the sixth century.⁴² Far away from the vision of exploited rural communities depicted by Isocrates, the *καλοὶ κάγαθοί* mentioned by Xenophon are likely not craftsmen or peasants, but some local notable men who share – at least a part – of the spartan way of life.⁴³

A panlacedaemonian cultic system

In terms of religion, the spartan peculiarity is – once more – relative. This cultic system forms indeed a pair with another one, on the scale of Laconia, which can be considered a matrix for the lacedaemonian identity.⁴⁴ As Massimo Nafissi has underlined, the *Perioikoi*'s religion has not really aroused the interest of the scholars until now.⁴⁵ Furthermore, when studies discuss this matter, they always focus on the *Homoioi*'s visits at perioikic sanctuaries, following a heuristic schema which leads to interpret the whole society through the prism of the spartan elite. It is true that the spartan citizens have frequently visited several sanctuaries across Laconia.⁴⁶ Thereby, the Damonon's stele informs us about the religious feasts that the Spartans and the *Perioikoi* had in common and gives an overview of a shared lacedaemonian system.⁴⁷ Damonon

³⁷ Cartledge 2002, 155.

³⁸ Efficient for land campaigns, the spartan protection appeared ineffective during the coastal raids of the fifth century. Hdt. 8.49–74; Thuc. 4.3–41; 53–57; Diod. Sic. 11.15–16; 12.61–63; 65.8–9; Ruzé 2015, 544–47.

³⁹ In Plut., *Vit. Lyc.* 8, Lykourgos is supposed to have given 30 000 *kleroi* to the *Perioikoi* and 9 000 to the Spartans. In *Agis*, 8, this mythical repartition serve as original ground for Agis' reforms, who is said having allocated 15000 *kleroi* to the *Perioikoi* – with the spartan citizenship – and 4500 to the Spartans.

⁴⁰ On the land tenure system and its evolutions, see Hodkinson 2000.

⁴¹ The use of the term 'citizen' for the *Perioikoi* is highly debated. See Mertens 2002; Ducat 2008.

⁴² In Phoiniki, the sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas revealed inscribed bronze strips from the Hellenistic period, but also several archaic bronze vases displaying an inscribed lip (Stibbe 2008, Nos. 3, 5, 7, 10–12, 25, 37, 44, 46; see Cartledge 2002, 162–64); two inscribed marble *perirrhantéria* dated before 500 (*SEG* XI.908; Stibbe 2008, Nos. 63–64; Cartledge 1979, 184; Jeffery 1990, 194, 201 No. 43 pl. 47; Förtsch 2001, 150, 180); an inscribed black-glazed *kothon* in Kythera (*IG* V1.945: HMIKOTYΛION); a gem and two inscriptions carved in the rock in Gytheio; a cultic inscription from the fifth century in Thalamai in the northwest of Mani (*IG* V1.1316); a bronze hoplite from the sixth

century and a spear's foot from the fifth in Asinè at the sanctuary of Apollo Korythos; an inscription carved in the rock on an islet off the coast of Protè and dated from the sixth century (Jeffery 1990, 206 No. 2); another inscription dated back to 500 concerning "Apelon", the laconian form of Apollo Le Roy 1974, 220–222, and three lists of winner's names from the same period in Geraki (anc. Geronthrai); *SEG* XVII.189; Jeffery 1990, 201 No. 45–46. In the Sarandapotamos River (to the west of Vourvoura) was found a small basket of bronze bearing the inscription "Alphios", dated back to 500. Cartledge 2002, 161.

⁴³ Xen., *Hell.*, 5.3.9.

⁴⁴ Nafissi 2013, 106–8; Mertens 2002, 285–96.

⁴⁵ Flower 2009; Richer 2012.

⁴⁶ See the winner's list like the one at Geraki (*SEG* XVII.189; Jeffery 1990, 201 No. 45–46); the Damonon stele (*IG* V1, 213 = Moretti, *IAG* 16). Parker 1989, 145; Shipley 1997, 203; Mertens 2002, 288.

⁴⁷ MS 953; *IG* V1, 213 = Moretti, *IAG* 16. The stele was found in two blocks, one in Mystras in convent's walls, the other during the British excavations held at the Acropolis of Sparta in the foundations of a late roman building, near the Athena Chalkioikos' sanctuary. See Jeffery 1990, 196–201 n. 52; Hodkinson 1999, 152–57; Nafissi 2013, 108–12 for a translation, 113–35 for a commentary and a study of the stele in the religious context of Laconia.

lists his personal victories at the *Athenaia*, the *Eleusinia*, *Poseidonia* of Helos, the *Theuria*, the *Arontia* and at the sanctuary of Gaiavochos. Then he counts his son's Enymakratidas victories off at the *Lithesia*, the *Arontia*, the *Parparonia*, at the sanctuary of Gaiavochos, at the *Maleateia* (at the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas)⁴⁸ and the *Athenaia*.⁴⁹ The new interpretation of the inscription by Nafissi, combined with Strabo's mention about the *Hekatombeia*,⁵⁰ allows us to assume the existence of a festival's system at the scale of the whole Laconia, with a specific calendar combining minor annual contests, usually located in the *Perioikis*.⁵¹ During these festivities, the circulations of attendants contributed to a territorial integration phenomenon in Laconia.⁵² This religious system grounds the hypothesis of the existence of a strong lacedaemonian identity.⁵³

The corpus of inscribed laconian halters supports the existence of these laconian feasts. The eight pub-

lished artifacts are all archaic and half of them have similar dimensions. Apart from Olympia⁵⁴ highly frequented by the Lacedaemonians from the eighth to the third centuries, Laconia has provided several halters, in Sparta,⁵⁵ but mainly in the *Perioikis*, at the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas in Kynouria,⁵⁶ the rural sanctuary of Aigieis (ancient *Aigai*)⁵⁷, and in the site of Tsakona.⁵⁸ The dedicants' identity remains far from obvious. Nevertheless, these objects can be used to attest common practices in sanctuaries disseminated in Sparta, Olympia and in the *Perioikis*. Therefore, this kind of offerings can be neither used as a spartan, nor as a perioikic attendance marker, but merely as a lacedaemonian one, without further distinction.

To summarize, we can formulate three hypotheses, which the study of laconian material culture will complete:

- Lacedaemon is neither a polis, nor exactly a federation, but an institutionally loose group associating the perioikic settlements with a more powerful polis, Sparta;
- There is a lacedaemonian identity shared by the Spartans and the *Perioikoi*;
- The functionalist approach of a lacedaemonian society divided in three main groups (*Homoioi*, *Perioikoi*, Helots), correlating status, political freedom and economic activities has to be reassessed.

We can therefore formulate the hypothesis of a lacedaemonian *koinè*. An approach based on the material culture confirms these theories. It is indeed impossible to distinguish Spartans and *Perioikoi* with this documentation. The case of the sanctuaries of Laconia, both spartan and perioikic, allows us to conduct a comparative approach.

⁴⁸ Phaklaris 1990, 178–82; Catling et al. 1996, 282, BB 37; Shipley 2004, 593; Nafissi 2013, 132–33; Lanères and Grigorakakis 2015 published a bronze halter dated back to 600 (Archaeological Museum of Tripoli [inv. No. 9016], dedicated in the sanctuary, which ensures the localisation of the Maleateia; Pavlides 2018.

⁴⁹ Recap charts Nafissi 2013, 118. See also Wide 1893, 92; Bólte 1929, 130–132; Nilsson 1967, 204; Christien 1989, 89; 1992, 161 n. 41; Catling et al. 1996, 312 NN 248; Shipley 1997, 239 No. 27; Richer 2005, 250–255; 2012, 404, 606; Kokkorou-Alevras et al. 2009, 169.

⁵⁰ Strabo 8.4.11. Feast attested by one of the winner's lists from Geraki (*IG V*¹, 1120; Jeffery 1990, 447 No. 51b; but also by an epigraphic fragment from the Amyklaion dated back to the second century AD: *IG VI*, 511; Buschor and von Massow 1927, 67. See Nafissi 2013, 141 n. 115, 118.

⁵¹ Nafissi 2013, 149–50; also Shipley 2004, 593. This calendar is nevertheless different than the one for the major festivals of the *Karneia*, the *Hyakinthia*, the *Gymnopedia*, but also the *Hekatombeia*, which had a penteteric frequency.

⁵² Nafissi 2013, 143–45, on the basis of Strabo 8.4.11 argues that the *Hekatombeia* could have been the *Hyakinthia* and, as a result, could have had a true 'panlacedaemonian' audience. An inscription from Aigiai, dated between the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth centuries, could support the large audience of the *Hyakinthia*. Gallavotti 1978; *SEG* 28, 404 transliterated it as follow: “Υακίνθιοι ἀνέθεν ἅττα ἀγοίκοι”. See also Waterhouse and Simpson 1961, 175 for a drawing; also Jeffery 1990, 447, 51a; Van Effenterre and Ruzé 1994, 292 No. 76.

⁵³ Nafissi 2013, 150; Ruzé 1993, 297 even use the concept of lacedaemonian *koinè*.

⁵⁴ Bearing the name of the olympionic Ἀκματιάδας (*CEG* 372); also *IvO* 720.

⁵⁵ Halter dedicated by Παῖτιάδας (*SEG* 11, 655), found in the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos; also *IG V*¹, 216; *SEG* 59 388.

⁵⁶ Bearing the name of Τίρον (9016 Archaeological Museum of Tripoli); see Lanères and Grigorakakis 2015.

⁵⁷ Bonias 1998, No. 605.

⁵⁸ *SEG* 40, 357.

From laconian art to lacedaemonian material culture

The material ‘convergence’

The *Perioikis* remains very imperfectly known from an archaeological point of view, but the published data allows us to consider Spartans and *Perioikoi* as a single group. Indeed, the material as much as the votive practices merge together in one category that we can name ‘laconian material culture’. Some lead crowns and figurines similar to the examples known from the spartan sanctuaries (*fig. 2*)⁵⁹ have been discovered at several sites in the *Perioikis*, in Anthochorion, Analipsis and Tyros,⁶⁰ but also at the sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas in Phoiniki and in the rural sanctuary of Aigies.⁶¹ Paul Cartledge considers that they were brought there by some spartan pilgrims,⁶² but there is no reason to deny the possibility of perioikic offerings. The sanctuary of Aigies has also provided fragments of a life-size *kouros* and of an enthroned figure which are very close to the types attested in Sparta.⁶³ At Geraki (ancient *Geronthrai*), the remains of two archaic *korai* are the only ones known in the whole Laconia and can not only be compared to the Aigies’ *kouros*, but also to the laconian bronze figurines of the sixth century.⁶⁴

The laconian ‘heroic’ reliefs constitute to a much more consistent *corpus* to study the reality of a lacedaemonian identity through common votive practices.⁶⁵ The reliefs carved in stone, as the terracotta moulded reliefs, are admittedly attested in Sparta, but have mainly been found in the *Perioikis*.⁶⁶ The

latter, manufactured in a cheap material, quite often grossly made and replicable from the same mould, were some humble offerings and were not worth to be transported far away from their place of production. Consequently, we can assume that they were produced on or near their site of discovery. They were not brought by some spartan pilgrims and are, in any case, too numerous.⁶⁷ These plaques were dedicated for local heroic cults and could have been offered by all the inhabitants of Lacedaemon, whatever their status was.⁶⁸ Gina Salapata has clearly demonstrated the laconian specificity of the type, as well as its adaptability to several cults.⁶⁹ She puts forward the hypothesis of Lacedaemonian cultural markers, the purpose assigned to this series of votive offerings probably being to differentiate local heroes from others.

The laconian pottery is well named, but not exactly for the right reasons. Because of the so-called manual activities prohibition for the Spartans. The term ‘laconian’ thus refers only to the *Perioikoi*, to whom it is generally assigned the hand-crafted productions by the scholars. But the homogeneity of the sherds found in Sparta and in Laconia gives a new relevance to the term. Indeed, we find more or less the same type of material. The small amount of studies of complete assemblages prevents us from conducting quantitative comparisons between Sparta and Laconia. We can nevertheless notice the presence of black-glazed pottery on multiple perioikic sites, and even of some black-figured sherds. The *Laconia Surveys* and the *Laconia Rural Sites Project* have thus established the difficulty in distinguishing traces of laconian, perioikic and helotic settlements. For the archaic and classical period, the best example is given by the study of the site LP18.⁷⁰ The *symposion* vases discovered there raise the question of the identity of the inhabitants. The helots are indeed supposed to live in the countryside, to feed the Spartans. But, because of their inferior status and their relative poverty,⁷¹ the use of a whole *symposion* set is hard to conceive. The

⁵⁹ Mainly at Orthia’s sanctuary, but also at Athena Chalki-oikos’ one on the spartan Acropolis, at the Amyklaion, the Menelaion and the votive deposit of Amyklai.

⁶⁰ Cartledge 2002, 155.

⁶¹ Bonias 1998, 103–5 pl. 65.

⁶² Cartledge 2002, 155.

⁶³ Bonias 1998, 38–52, especially 40 fig. 20 and 46–47 figs. 5–6. To compare with the sculptures No. 2, 576 and 600 exhibited at the Museum of Sparta; see Förtsch 2001, figs. 316–18.

⁶⁴ Cartledge 2002, 153; Ridgway 1977, 90, 114; Herfort-Koch 1986, 19–30 for some parallels in the small bronzes productions.

⁶⁵ About the construction of civic identities and the affiliation dynamics created by collective practices and the question of status, see Langlotz 1927; Rolley 1994 and his review by Croissant 2005. See also Croissant 1988, 1999, 2007 and, more recently, Azoulay 2014, 613.

⁶⁶ The Chrysapha and Geraki reliefs are among the oldest (sixth century). Cartledge 2002, 164. For the maps, see Salapata 2013, 192–93 figs. 7–8.

⁶⁷ Rolley 1983, 86; Salapata 2013, 197–98.

⁶⁸ Bonias 1998, 104; Alcock 2002, 153–55; Baumbach 2004, 5; Salapata 2015, 123.

⁶⁹ Salapata 2013, 197–98.

⁷⁰ Agios Nektarios, a recent chapel built on the Sparta-Chrysapha road. Cavanagh et al. 2005, 110–14 No. LP 18; matches with Catling et al. 1996, Nos. R275, 276, 277.

⁷¹ Hodgkinson 2000, 386–88.

hypothesis of one or several perioikic families could appear like a more relevant solution, but this site was more probably located in spartan territory. These uncertainties about the characterization of the inhabitants of this domestic context reveal our inability to distinguish between Spartans and *Perioikoi* on the basis of material culture.

Apart from this example, the laconian black-glazed pottery of the archaic period – but also from the classical period⁷² – was collected during these surveys on several other sites on the northeastern margins of the spartan *chôra*.⁷³ Most of these sites were probably spartan, but the *chôra*'s limits remain hypothetical and a perioikic presence remains possible. In both cases, these productions are distributed at the margins of the civic territory, besides for common products. Black-glazed laconian sherds are also attested in doubtless perioikic areas, as the Malea⁷⁴ and Mani⁷⁵ peninsulas, in Kythera⁷⁶, in the Molaoi plain⁷⁷, in the Helos plain⁷⁸, in Gytheio and its surroundings⁷⁹, in Aigies⁸⁰, in Geraki, in Antochori on the eastern slopes of Mount Taygetos⁸¹, in

Kynouria⁸², in Thyreatida⁸³, in the western mountains of Parnon⁸⁴, in Skiritida⁸⁵ and to the north of the Eurotas valley at the borders of Arcadia⁸⁶.

The excavations of the rural sanctuary of Aigies, carried out by Zisis Bonias, provide us with a rich example in order to understand the laconian material culture in a perioikic context. The artifacts found display the same types and trends visible in Sparta; there is no perioikic peculiarity from a material point of view.⁸⁷ The ceramological profile of the site has the same characteristics as in Sparta. The chronological spectrum thus reveals laconian vases dated from Laconian 2 to Laconian 5 – from 620 to the end of the fifth century –, while the morphological spectrum shows an assemblage similar to those of the Orthia and Amyklaion sanctuaries, with a wide variety of laconian aryballoi (*figs. 3–4*),⁸⁸ of black-glazed *lakainai*,⁸⁹ black-glazed two-handled mugs,⁹⁰ one black-glazed *skyphoi* with secondary ornaments,⁹¹ but also a laconian stirrup krater.⁹² As for the rest of the votive material, it is also fundamentally similar to what can be observed in Sparta until the middle of the fifth century, and in the rest of the Greek world afterwards. The offerings of the second half of the fifth and fourth centuries are as

⁷² The productions of the sixth and fifth centuries, hardly distinguishable, are gathered in Catling et al. 1996, 2002; Cavanagh et al. 2005.

⁷³ LS R3012 / LP 7; LS R287 / LP 8: 1; LS R291 / LP10: 1; LS Q3009 / LP 20: 3; LS R526 / LP 19; LS S437 / LP 14; LS M325 / LP 11: 6; LS J231 / LP 5: 6; LS U496 / LP 17: 4; LS N186 / LP 3: 1; LS 7467 / LP 15.

⁷⁴ At Agios Giorgos near Neapolis (ancient Boiai; Cartledge 2002, 161–62); Pappagenies / Daphni (LS NN245); Megali Spilia (LS NN245); Viglaphia / Latoimi (LS NN248).

⁷⁵ Passavà, Chosiàni (LS LL153); Skopas, Kotsonas (LS LL203); Spira, Kyprianos (LS LL191); Dimanistika, near the Prophet Ilias' church (LS LL281).

⁷⁶ Zavvou et al. 2005, 180–81 noted the discovery, on the At 186 plot (Konstantinakou parcel) of several black-glazed vases, whose one canthar, in a funerary *pithos* of the end of the archaic period. Also Margreiter 1988, 98 No. 671 pl. 58; Pelagatti 1989, 7 fig. 20; Stibbe 1994a, 20; Cartledge 2002, 161–62.

⁷⁷ Palaiokastro / Chavalas (Pikoulas 1984, 182–83; LS MM229); Palaiokastro / Kourkoula (LS MM218); near Kokkinia (LS MM285).

⁷⁸ Agios Eustratios (LS KK144 et KK146); Panagiotis / Lekas (LS KK136); Agios Stephanos (LS KK273).

⁷⁹ Steinhauer 1973, 172; 1974, 292–94; 1979/1980, 32; Spyropoulos 1980, 145–47; 1981, 125–26; 1983, 94–98.

⁸⁰ Bonias 1998, chap. Κεραμική, 53–63.

⁸¹ Christou 1962, 113–15; Zavvou 2009. The latter identifies the site as a sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus, which is located in Tsakona, near Amphisou by Catling 1990a, 15–35; 1990b, 276–295.

⁸² Sanctuary of Apollo Tyritas (LS BB29; Phaklaris 1990); Leonidi / ancient Prasiai (LS BB33 et BB34); Kosmas (LS BB37); sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas (Phaklaris 1990, 173–81; Lanérés and Grigorakakis 2015, 652)

⁸³ Moni / Agiou Sotira (MS AA296); Pyrgaki / Kato Vervenia (LS AA306); Skylochori / Karakouvouni (LS AA318); Marmaralona / Xerokambi (LS AA16); Koutri / Kokoretsa (LS AA18); Marmaralona / Agios Petros (LS AA23).

⁸⁴ To the northeast of Sparta. At Pyrgos / Kallithea (LS FF62); Agios Athanasios / Nerotrivi (LS FF98); Mitsoulas / Réma (LS FF62); Kastelli / Mari (LS FF66); Vasaras / Agios Charalambos, at the bottom of Agios Konstantinos' hill.

⁸⁵ Karyes / Arachova (LS DD46).

⁸⁶ Paleokastro, probably a fortress linked to the perioikic settlement of Pellana. Cartledge 2002, 161–62.

⁸⁷ Bonias 1998, 115–19.

⁸⁸ Following the typology established by Stibbe 2000a, we can count in Bonias 1998 some type A aryballoi (No. 94, 95; pl. 25), F (No. 112; pl. 27); G (No. 109–10; pl. 27); K (No. 98–106; pl. 25–26); L (No. 96, 97, 114, 115; pl. 25, 27); N (No. 93; pl. 25). On aryballoi offerings in laconian sanctuaries, see Coudin 2012.

⁸⁹ Bonias 1998, No. 35, 46, 49 (miniature); pl. 25.

⁹⁰ Bonias 1998, No. 142, 150, 175; pl. 28.

⁹¹ Bonias 1998, No. 199 pl. 29.

⁹² Bonias 1998, No. 213 pl. 30.

rich as those of the sixth, but they bear the mark of a strong Attic influence, which therefore seems to have penetrated Laconia in the classical period.⁹³ There is therefore no perioikic material specificity, but a lacedaemonian material culture.⁹⁴ The frequently alleged rupture between archaic and classical periods in Sparta is generally attributed to the so-called establishment of the austerity in the polis. The parallel of Aigies, though, shows a picture which could be potentially used to reassess the paradigm of the evolution of the laconian material culture between the sixth and the fifth century BC: instead of austerity, we should perhaps merely invoke the Attic competition.⁹⁵

Spartan bronzes in perioikic territory ?

The bronzes found in the *Perioikis* shed a new light on the problem of the producers and of a common material culture. The number of laconian bronzes published for the sixth and fifth centuries amounts to 216 (fig. 5).⁹⁶ 106 come from the lacedaemonian territories, including 33 from Sparta, 74 from the *Perioikis*, and 43 for the sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas alone. Considering the superficial knowledge we have of perioikic archaeology, as well as the role of Sparta as a centre of consumption and production, the amount of bronze offerings found in the *Perioikis* is significant.

An hoplite in the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas

The presence of bronze statuettes representing hoplites of the Dodone-type is of particular interest.⁹⁷ These offerings in a cult context are generally considered as consecrated by Spartans, since they are found in Sparta and in major panhellenic sanctuaries.⁹⁸ The bronze hoplite discovered in the

sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas in Kynouria, dated back to 555–545,⁹⁹ is one of only two specimens found in perioikic sanctuary (fig. 6).¹⁰⁰ The spear and shield are missing, but the feet and base are preserved and allow us to affirm that it was a single statuette and not a bronze vase's component. His almond-shaped eyes with very expressive pupils, alongside his thin and pronounced nose are laconian characteristics elements. The edge of the base bears an inscription confirming the votive function of this object: “Χάριλος ἀνέθεκε τῷ Μαλεάται”.¹⁰¹ The novelty of this iconographic type in a perioikic context and the inscription could indicate an offering consecrated by a Spartan during the feast of the *Maleatai*, which are known to be frequented by the Spartans. The excavations of the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas¹⁰² have indeed highlighted a considerable increase of the offerings during the second half of the sixth century, where laconian pottery and bronzes are the most numerous. This offering of a bronze hoplite in a perioikic sanctuary would therefore be that of a passing Spartan. The sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas constitutes however a specific context, as it seems to have been symbolically invested by Sparta as a territorial marker in a border area claimed by the Argives. The increase of offerings from the beginning of the spartan rule, as well as the rise of the *Maleatai* celebrations, led to the identification of an extra-urban sanctuary of high symbolic value for Sparta, rather than a true perioikic sanctuary as can be that of Apollo Hyperteleatas.

Some perioikic craftsmen's offerings? The case of the bronzes from Apollo Hyperteleatas

The sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas¹⁰³ is located in the Malea Peninsula on the heights of present-

⁹³ This attic taste is clearly detectable in terracotta productions; Bonias 1998, Nos. 280–82, 285, 341–49, 351–52, 355, 358, 387–91, 490.

⁹⁴ Bonias 1998, 119.

⁹⁵ Delahaye 2019, chap. 5.

⁹⁶ According to the lists of Herfort-Koch 1986; Stibbe 1992, 1994b, 1995, 2000b, 2003; Stibbe and Heldring 2006; Stibbe 2007, 2008, 2009.

⁹⁷ B31 Mariemont; MS 3302; MS 3303; NMA 14808; NMA 14806; NMA 14809; NMA 7598; NMA 14789; NMA 7644.

⁹⁸ Laconian bronze hoplites found in Dodona: 4914 Ioannina; 4913 Ioannina; 1411 Ioannina; 10560 Berlin.

⁹⁹ NMA 7598. See Lamb 1927, 85 pl. 28a; Ducat 1971, 344 No. 2c; Jost 1975, 358 No. 10; Rolley 1977, pl. 2,1; 1982, 60; Herfort-Koch 1986, No. K 131; Jeffery 1990, 200 No. 37; Phaklaris 1990, 222; Stibbe 1996, 141.

¹⁰⁰ With the sanctuary of Apollo Korynthos in Longa in Messenia (NMA 14789; Herfort-Koch 1986, No. K135; Stibbe 1996, 146).

¹⁰¹ *IG* V¹ 927; Jeffery 1990, 200 No. 37; *SEG* 35 278.

¹⁰² Christou 1963, 87–88; Phaklaris 1990, 178–83; Lanérés and Grigorakakis 2015, 654.

¹⁰³ Apollo according to the inscriptions, Asclepios based on Paus. 3.22.10.

day Phoiniki. Very partially excavated,¹⁰⁴ it nevertheless revealed an impressive number of bronzes, more than any other site in Laconia.¹⁰⁵ This sanctuary proves that Laconia was not only a land of producers, but also an outlet for this luxury production. The question is whether these offerings were consecrated by passing Spartans or by some *Perioikoi*. In the first case, this would prove that the Spartans frequented the sanctuary – as in the case of the Apollo Maleatas' sanctuary – and that the laconian bronzes were distributed on the local market. In the second case, the existence of a perioikic aristocracy rich enough to consecrate bronze objects and engaged in the competition for prestige and for social differentiation would be validated, as would the hypothesis of a common material culture – at least as far as votive objects are concerned.

The hypothesis of objects consecrated by some *Perioikoi* who were bronze craftsmen has been put forward, following the association often assumed between *Perioikoi* and craftsmanship. This idea is especially based on the famous figurine of the *hydria* carrier (fig. 7).¹⁰⁶ Dated back to 540–530,¹⁰⁷ this bronze was probably attached to the rim of a large krater. Claude Rolley considers that the vase carried by the character is a funeral urn because of the marks on the lip of the vase, indicating the presence of a cover that has now disappeared. Conrad M. Stibbe and Paul Cartledge suggest the depiction of a craftsman specialized in the production of bronze *hydriai* for the sanctuary,¹⁰⁸ who would have dedicated a figurine to his effigy.¹⁰⁹ Right foot for-

ward, bust bent, it seems he wants to put the vase down. His short beard and the wrinkle on his forehead reflect his age, but also his concentration in the action; it is perhaps the moment of the offering that is represented. The urge to identify a *Perioikos* in the person represented by this statuette and to validate the analogy between *Perioikoi* and craftsmen is therefore great. However, this interpretation is subject to several reservations.

First, the theory that the bronze offerings were deposited by perioikic craftsmen contradicts the fact that the known bronze makers appear to have been Spartans. But the quantity of bronzes unearthed is striking if we compare them with the amount of bronzes discovered in Sparta; the votive material of the sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas reveals much more than offerings just brought by spartan pilgrims. The wide range of bronze offerings also raises questions, since we find not only large vases and their components¹¹⁰ – many of which having inscriptions on them – but also statuettes,¹¹¹ a disc pin,¹¹² and mirror handles.¹¹³ No site in Sparta itself has offered so much variety. The large vases are indeed absent from Sparta *kata komas*,¹¹⁴ although the other elements are found in the sanctuaries of the *polis*, especially in Orthia's one. The large number of objects and the variety of types make it impossible in any case to consider this perioikic site as a sanctuary of secondary significance. But to whom was it important? First, its location does not make it a symbolic territorial marker in a territory of borders. The problematics of the Kynourian sanctuaries of Apollo Tireatas and Maleatas are not relevant here. Secondly, the site became the federal sanctuary of the Eleuthero-laconian League after the 'liberation' of the *Perioikoi* from Sparta's domination in 195.¹¹⁵ Finally, there is no mention of any festival integrated into the lacedaemonian religious system. The sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas would therefore have mainly been a sanctuary of importance for the local perioikic communities.

The serialization of the bronzes of the sanctuary on a laconian scale makes it possible to deconstruct the theory of an *hapax* offered by a perioikic crafts-

¹⁰⁴ Karapanos 1884 (and Sophoulis 1885) carried out the first excavations on behalf of the Archaeological Society of Athens. About the inscriptions: Wace and Hasluck 1908; Hondius and Woodward 1919, 137; Jeffery 1990, 201 No. 43. The excavation works carried out by Angelos Delivorrias in 1968–1969 revealed the foundations of a rectangular structure in massive irregular masonry on 27.90 × 7.40 m, as well as the remains of a probable altar facing the east wall (Delivorrias 1969, 137–41). According to him, this is the temple, although it is a *stoa* for Kalligas 1980, 17 and Stibbe 2008, 18.

¹⁰⁵ Stibbe 2008, 18. His catalogue includes 43 archaic bronzes.

¹⁰⁶ NMA 7614, around 540–530.

¹⁰⁷ Rolley 1977, 130 pl. 2; 1983, 100; Stibbe 2008, No. 1.

¹⁰⁸ Stibbe 2008 made an inventory of 25 archaic bronze vases components, including only two *hydriai*.

¹⁰⁹ Stibbe 2008, 20 No. 1; also Kalligas 1980, 24–25 No. 8 fig. 16; Herfort-Koch 1986, 111 No. K12 pl. 15, 5–6; Vokotopoulou 1997, 233 No. 61; Förtsch 2001, 223 n. 1617 No. 5 fig. 365; Cartledge 2002, 164. *Contra* Rolley 1977, 130 fig. 7; 1983, 100.

¹¹⁰ Stibbe 2008, Nos. 1–25.

¹¹¹ Stibbe 2008, 26–31.

¹¹² Stibbe 2008, 32.

¹¹³ Stibbe 2008, 37, 45–50.

¹¹⁴ This formed a good part of Rolley's reservations about the role of laconian bronze workshops in the manufacture of large vases in the sixth century.

¹¹⁵ Wace and Hasluck 1908, 165; Cartledge 2002, 86.

man active in a bronze workshop near the sanctuary. Other examples prove indeed the existence of a type dedicated elsewhere. All the other specimens were thus found in Sparta and not inside the *Perioikis*: two ‘wagon pullers’ found on the spartan Acropolis dated 530–520 (fig. 8)¹¹⁶ and a second *hydria* carrier dated 535–525 (fig. 9).¹¹⁷ The statuette 13662 of the National Archaeological Museum at Athens has the same attitude as the *hydria* carrier from the sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas, even though the probable *hydria* has now disappeared. But this time it is the left leg that comes forward, the silhouette is much slimmer and a trace of flow is still clearly visible on the skull. Rather than the self-representation of a bronze-maker working near the sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas, the type perhaps materializes more modestly the gesture of the offering. The ‘wagon pullers’ found on the Acropolis of Sparta are of a different type, but are also associated with artisanal or, at least, manual activities.¹¹⁸ These two statuettes represent a man walking, with his left leg advanced, pulling something behind him with two arms. The item exhibited at the Museum of Sparta¹¹⁹ keeps his hands behind his back, grasping a ring that was often interpreted as the end of a wagon.¹²⁰ The evidence does not allow us to speculate that far and, at most, we can indicate the carrying of an indeterminate object, but obviously heavy and, in any case, a manual activity. These two bronzes have been unearthed in the heart of the spartan civic space, on the Acropolis, which its main sanctuary is that of Athena Poliouchos / Chalkioikos (the poliad divinity of Sparta), whose worship and celebration during the *Promacheia* have no panlacedaemonian or Dorian dimension, only spartan.¹²¹ The consecration by some *Perioikoi*, while not impossible, is therefore highly hypothetical.

Finally, these figurines were probably fixed on the lip of bronze volute kraters.¹²² The rarity of these

expensive and prestigious offerings does not prevent the consecration by a *Perioikos*.¹²³ But it certainly discredits the possibility of an offering by a simple bronze craftsman. Laconian bronzes representing manual activities are not ex-voto of individuals, but are components of larger prestigious bronze vases in Sparta and the *Perioikis*. The study of laconian bronzes found in perioikic sanctuaries reveals two things: characterising them as spartan or perioikic is impossible; the types of ‘craftsmen at work’ do not prove the theory of votive self-representation by any perioikic craftsman.

To conclude, after this overview on assemblages from laconian sanctuaries, we can assume that no status distinction can be traced on the basis of the archaeological evidence between Spartans and *Perioikoi*. No distinct material culture can be identified; on the opposite, the two groups seem to have used productions belonging to a shared Lacedaemonian *koinè*. They form a lacedaemonian group unified by cultural and identity features,¹²⁴ much more than political. The same types are dedicated in Sparta and Laconia, in both spartan and perioikic sanctuaries, and status is not an issue, nor is there any archaeological evidence indicating the existence of a system in which the *Perioikoi* would have been dedicated to supply a spartan clientele. The perioikic settlements, as Sparta, can be seen both as production and consumption centres, even though the latter was at another scale. It does not mean that the *Perioikoi* were not craftsmen, neither that they could not have worked for spartan clients. It means though that we should at least consider the possibility of craftsmen in Sparta who were not *Perioikoi*. Two arguments can support this assertion. First, the well delimited social groups described in ancient texts refer to the earliest to the beginning of the fifth century BC. It is therefore possible that there was less difference between *Perioikoi* and Spartans during the Archaic period. Secondly, not all the Spartans were fully *Homoioi*, neither were they all wealthy members of the landed gentry, able to live on their estate’s income only. An abstruse group of ‘Inferiors’ (*Hypomeiones*) is mentioned by Xenophon during the conspiracy of Kinadon.¹²⁵ Even if this event and

¹¹⁶ NMA 12312; MS 3242 (fig. 8).

¹¹⁷ NMA 13662.

¹¹⁸ Depending on the definition of the craft activities chosen, it is possible, or not, to integrate mining activities into the field of crafts. The one used here includes only activities related to the processing of ore in a smelter.

¹¹⁹ MS 3242.

¹²⁰ Herfort-Koch 1986, No. K 111.

¹²¹ Unlike the *Hyakinthia* and *Karneia*.

¹²² The ‘wagon-puller’ from the NMA (12312) conserved its fixation base. Stibbe 2006, 313–14; 2008, 20, 36 integrates these to the secondary decorative system of these big bronze vases and considers they are a clue of the laconian origin of this production.

¹²³ About the rarity, the prestige and the destination of these bronze volute kraters, refer to Rumpf 1957; de La Genière 2014; Pipili 2014.

¹²⁴ At least in Laconia, Messenia presenting a much more complex and incomplete picture.

¹²⁵ Xen., *Hell.*, 3.3.4–11; especially 3.3.6.

the context it relates to seem to be characteristic of the end of the second half of the fifth and the fourth century BC, the existence of this group interrogates the question of their earnings. Even belittled from the full citizenship, even not admitted anymore at the common meals of the *syssitia*, they were still Spartans and the question of their economic activities has to be addressed.¹²⁶

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¹²⁶ Delahaye 2019, chap. 2.

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Fig. 1: Map of Laconia and its perioikic communities (G. Shipley 2006, Fig. 1)

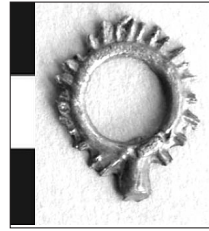


Fig. 2: Lead crown from the Amyklaion. Sixth century BC (©Amykles Research Project – photograph author).



Fig. 3: Miniature aryballos from the Amyklaion. Sixth century BC (©Amykles Research Project – photograph author).



Fig. 4: Miniature aryballos from Aigies. Sixth century BC (Bonias 1998, No. 102).

Total Laconia	89	41 %
Total Messenia	17	7.8 %
Total Lacedaemon	106	49.07 %
Sparta and surroundings	33	15 %
<i>Perioikis</i> alone	74	34.5 %
Phoiniki (Apollo Hyperteleatas)	43	19.9 %

Fig. 5: Distribution table of laco-nian bronzes (author).



Fig. 6: X7598, National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Photographer Eirini Miari (©Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development (H.O.C.RE.D.)). Found at the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas. 555–545 BC (stylistic datation) / 530–520 BC (epigraphic datation).



Fig. 7: X7614, National Archaeological Museum, Athens (©Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund). Found at the sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas. 540–530 BC.



Fig. 9: X13662, National Archaeological Museum, Athens (©Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund – photograph author). Found on the Acropolis of Sparta. 535–525 BC.



Fig. 8: 3242, Archaeological Museum, Sparta (Ephorate of Antiquities of Laconia – Regional Office ©Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund). Found on the Acropolis of Sparta. 530–520 BC.