

Spartan Religion

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Entry tags: Greek Religions, Greek Cult, Religious Group

Ancient Spartans, known also as Spartiates, lived in the city of Sparta, a settlement located in the region of southwest Greece known as the 'Peloponnesos'. Positioned between the Eurotas River and the Taygetos mountains, Sparta during the Archaic and Classical periods controlled a large territory that included the regions of Lakonia and Messenia. Having subjugated the native populations of these regions during a series of conflicts thought to have taken place during the 8th-7th centuries BCE, the Spartans instituted a system—attributed to the quasi-mythical Spartan lawgiver Lycurgus—by which a small caste of full-citizen Spartiates were supported by the unfree agricultural and commercial labor of oppressed non-Spartan inhabitants of Lakonia and Messenia (known as 'perioikoi' and 'helots'). Uniquely unconstrained by agricultural or economic obligations, Spartiate males devoted the majority of their time to rigorous physical and military training from the age of seven onwards. The educational system at Sparta, supposedly another Lycurgan initiative, specialized in the cultivation of civic and martial virtues such as bravery, obedience, and self-control, as well as physical prowess and mental acumen; physical training for Spartiate women also existed to promote the generation of strong and healthy children. As a result of this system, the Spartans maintained one of the most powerful and respected armies in all of Greece during the Archaic and Classical periods, and it is this martial aspect of Spartan society that remains most well-known today. || Beyond the reputation of the Spartans as formidable warriors, however, many aspects of Spartan society remain shrouded in mystery. Little written evidence regarding Archaic and Classical Sparta has survived unto the present day, and of the ancient sources that do survive, very few of them record contemporary Spartan perspectives. François Ollier first coined the term 'le mirage Spartiate' to describe this conundrum of attempting to reconstruct Spartan society from the testimony of outsider perspectives, most of which postdate the period in question and present an idealized account of Spartan society. Much of the ancient evidence concerning Sparta comes either from the period of Roman Greece, when Sparta was greatly admired by the Roman Empire, or from the 5th century BCE, when Sparta and Athens were locked in a struggle for the supremacy of Greece. Fueled by the ideological conflict and the perceived insularity of 'conservative' Spartan society, 5th-century Athenian writers tended to project their feelings about Athens—whether positive or negative—onto the antithetical 'blank canvas' of Spartan society. || If reconstructing Spartan society remains a difficult task on its own terms, then reconstructing Spartan religion is even more challenging due to the scarcity of written evidence and the strong localizing tendencies of Greek religion. During the Archaic and Classical periods, each city-state in the Greek world practiced its own expression of a more universal 'Greek religion'. Deeply embedded in a city-state's civic institutions, these so-called 'polis religions' fused local religious traditions with aspects of Panhellenic belief and practice. In reconstructing Spartan ritual practices and festivals, every attempt has been made to temper the accounts of later writers such as Pausanias and Plutarch by turning to the testimony of archaeological evidence, particularly that excavated from Spartan sanctuaries and shrines under the auspices of the British School at Athens. In the absence of -emic sources concerning Spartan religious beliefs and cosmology, much of this material has been reconstructed from the testimony of early Greek poets such as Homer and Hesiod. ||



Date Range: 800 BCE - 300 BCE

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory ('chora')

Region tags: Greece

Extent of domain at the height of Spartan power, c. 400 BCE. Despite this significant territory, the

majority of Spartan religious activity took place in the city of Sparta and its immediate environs.

Status of Participants:

- ✓ Elite
- ✓ Religious Specialists

Sources

Print sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1: Flower, M. (2018) 'Spartan Religion' in Powell, ed. *A Companion to Sparta*, Vol. II (Wiley Blackwell): 425-451.
- Source 2: Parker, R. (1989) 'Spartan Religion' in Powell, ed. *Classical Sparta: Techniques Behind her Success* (University of Oklahoma): 142-172.
- Source 3: Pettersson, M. (1992) *Cults of Apollo at Sparta: The Hyakinthia, the Gymnopaïdai, and the Karneia* (Svenska Institutet i Athen).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

- Source 1: Richer, N. (2007) 'The Religious System at Sparta' in Ogden, ed. *A Companion to Greek Religion* (Wiley Blackwell): 236-252.
- Source 2: Flower, M. (2009) 'Spartan 'Religion' and Greek 'Religion' in Hodkinson, ed. *Sparta: Comparative Approaches* (Classical Press of Wales): 193-229.
- Source 3: Dawkins, R., ed. (1929) *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Online sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1 URL: http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/1/eh155.jsp?obj_id=3305
- Source 1 Description: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism's website for the Archaeological Museum of Sparta, which contains information about visiting the museum.
- Source 2 URL: http://www.ancientgreece.co.uk//sparta/explore/exp_set.html
- Source 2 Description: Interactive website hosted by the British Museum that showcases objects from the Museum Collection related to religion and other aspects of Spartan society.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Relevant online primary textual corpora (original languages and/or translations):

- Source 1 URL: <https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0125>
- Source 1 Description: English translation of Herodotus's 'The Histories' by Godley (1920).
- Source 2 URL: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0210%3Atext%3DConst.+Lac>.

– Source 2 Description: English translation of Xenophon's 'Constitution of the Lacedaimonians' by Marchant and Bowersock (1925).

– Source 3 URL: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2008.01.0047>

– Source 3 Description: English translation of Plutarch's 'Life of Lycurgus' by Perrin (1914).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

– Source 1 URL: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0160%3Abook%3D3%3Achapter%3D1%3Asection%3D1>

– Source 1 Description: English translation of Pausanias's 'Description of Greece' by Jones and Ormerod (1918).

– Source 1 Description: English translation of Pausanias's 'Description of Greece' by Jones and Ormerod (1918).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

General Variables

Membership/Group Interactions

Are other religious groups in cultural contact with target religion:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)



Is the cultural contact competitive:

– No

Notes: In Archaic and Classical Greece, religion was deeply embedded in the social fabric of city-state ('polis') communities and was closely tied to a community's political life. In fact, the majority of participation in religious activity—from attending festivals and rituals to consulting oracles such as that of Apollo at Delphi—was mediated through one's status as a citizen in their home community. Although citizens (and non-citizen residents such as women and resident foreigners) of each Greek polis may have celebrated particular festivals and rituals that were unique to that polis and may have worshipped different civic patron deities, they also participated in a wider 'Panhellenic' ('all Greek') religious system, in which ritual practice, mythological traditions, and a pantheon of major deities was shared between communities. As such, the Greek religious system was largely pluralistic, and individual poleis would not have sought religious 'converts' from other communities. Even so, Panhellenic sanctuaries such as Olympia and Delphi did serve as 'competitive venues' for interpoleis competition, not only by means of the athletic events held there but also through the construction of treasury buildings and dedications intended to bear witness to each community's civic glory. For further reading, see: Sourvinou-Inwood, C. (2000) [1990] 'What is Polis Religion?' in Buxton, ed. *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion* (Oxford): 13-37. Sourvinou-Inwood, C. (2000) 'Further Aspects of Polis Religion' in Buxton, ed. *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion* (Oxford): 38-55. Neer, R. and Kurke, L. (2019) *Pindar, Song, and Space: Towards a Lyric Archaeology* (Baltimore).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Is the cultural contact accommodating/pluralistic:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Is the cultural contact neutral:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Is there violent conflict (within sample region):

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Is there violent conflict (with groups outside the sample region):

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does the religious group have a general process/system for assigning religious affiliation:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Assigned at birth (membership is default for this society):

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Assigned by personal choice:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Assigned by class:

– Yes

Notes: Ancient Spartan society consisted of three distinct social classes: Spartiates, perioikoi, and helots. The Spartiates (also called 'homoioi', 'peers') represented the most elite social class, and Spartiate males enjoyed full political and legal rights. Spartiates were barred from participating in agricultural or commercial activities and instead took part in rigorous training to condition them for a lifetime of professional soldiery. Perioikoi ('dwellers-around') were a class of free, non-citizen residents of Spartan territory. Although perioikoi were not afforded full citizen rights, they were allowed to own land and to serve as hoplites in the Spartan army. Perioikoi are most commonly associated with commerce and manufacturing activities, which they provided to the Spartiates. Finally, the helots were an unfree class of state-owned laborers who farmed the Spartiate estates. Helots were not afforded any political or legal rights and suffered institutionalized violence and oppression at the hands of the Spartan state. For the majority of Spartan religious activities, it is likely that only men and women of the Spartiate class were allowed to participate (although see Parker 1989:144-5 for two fragments of later ancient historians that may suggest rare perioikoi and helot participation in Spartan festivals). Little remains known about the religious practices of perioikoi and helots. For further reading, see: Cartledge, P. (2002) [1979] *Sparta and Laconia: A Regional History 1300-362 BC* (Routledge). Hodkinson, S. (2003) 'Chapter 10: Spartiates, Helots, and the Direction of the Agrarian Economy: Towards an Understanding of Helotage in Comparative Perspective' in Luraghi and Alcock, eds. *Helots and Their Masters in Laconia and Messenia: Histories, Ideologies, Structures* (Center for Hellenic Studies): 248-285. Parker, R. (1989) 'Spartan Religion' in Powell, ed. *Classical Sparta: Techniques Behind her Success* (University of Oklahoma): 142-172.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Assigned at a specific age:

– No

Notes: Although religious affiliation in Archaic and Classical Sparta was not assigned at a specific age, religious activity was thought to play an important role in the process of cultivating youths into model Spartiates. Religious rites performed at specific ages or times of life have thus been interpreted as 'initiatory' rituals. Xenophon describes one such rite, said to have been established by the ancient lawgiver Lycurgus, in which Spartan boys attempted to steal as many cheeses as possible from the altar in the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia while being scourged. This rite has been seen in close connection with the agoge, the rigorous training and education program that Spartan boys underwent to prepare them for their future life as citizen-soldiers. Xenophon himself recounts that Lycurgus had instituted this rite in order to impart the lesson that 'by enduring pain for a short time, one can enjoy lasting esteem' (Xen. Const. Lac. 2). Later writers Plutarch (Inst. Lac. 40) and Pausanias (3.16.10-11) record the existence of a similar form of this rite in their own day; in it, Spartan boys were tied to the altar of Artemis Orthia and competed amongst themselves to endure the most lashings. For further reading, see: Bonnechère, P. (1993) 'Orthia et la flagellation des éphèbes spartiates' *Kernos* 6: 11-22. Richer, N. (2018) 'Spartan Education in the Classical Period' in Powell, ed. *A Companion to Sparta, Vol. II* (Wiley Blackwell): 525-543. Parker, R. (1989) 'Spartan Religion' in Powell, ed. *Classical Sparta: Techniques Behind her Success* (University of Oklahoma): 148-9.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Assigned by gender:

– No

Notes: Although religious affiliation in ancient Sparta was not assigned on the basis of gender, gender did play a role in the assignation of religious roles. Distinct roles in religious activity are attested for Spartan men and women of all age groups. For instance, according to Pausanias (3.16.1), the Sanctuary of Hilaireia and Phoibe was served by young women priestesses, whereas Herodotus (6.56-7) notes that two of the major civic cults of Sparta, those of Zeus Lakedaimon and Zeus Ouranios, were served by adult male priests descended from two elite families. Other religious roles, such as those of performer or ritual attendant during festivals, were also assigned on the basis of age and gender. The local historian Polykrates recounts that during the Hyakinthia festival, Spartan boys would perform songs, choral dances, and mounted parades in honor of Apollo and his lover Hyakinthos, while Spartan girls would participate in the rite by being carried in procession in decorated wicker baskets or chariots, which they would later race (Ath. 4.139e-f). The 7th-century BCE poet Alkman, one of the few Spartan voices preserved in the literary record, composed a type of choral ode known as a 'partheneion'. This song, although fragmentary, was likely sung by a chorus of girls and young women and may have been performed in the context of a religious ritual. For further reading, see: Selections from Alkman, in Campbell, D., ed. (2009) [1982] *Greek Lyric Poetry: A Selection of Early Greek Lyric, Elegiac, and Iambic Poetry* (Bristol Classical Press): 18-26. Bowra, C. (1934) 'The Occasion of Alcman's Partheneion' *Classical Quarterly* 28.1: 35-44. Nobili, C. (2014) 'Performances of Girls at the Spartan Festival of the Hyakinthia' in Moraw and Kieberg, eds. *Girls in Antiquity* (Waxmann): 135-148.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Assigned by participation in a particular ritual:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Assigned by some other factor:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does the religious group actively proselytize and recruit new members:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does the religion have official political support

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Are the priests paid by polity:

– Yes

Notes: Herodotus (6.56-7), when enumerating the priestly privileges assigned to Spartan kings during military campaigns, recounts that they were entitled to 'sacrifice as many sheep and goats as they wish at the start of their campaign' and to keep the hides and skins of these animals. During peacetime, the kings were also served first at public banquets and received a double portion at common meals. Moreover, at each new moon and on the seventh day of the first part of each month, the kings were given a full-grown victim for Apollo's temple, a bushel of barley, and a Lakonian quart of wine from the public store. The testimony of Xenophon confirms Herodotus's report (Const. Lac. 13.1, 15) and adds the information that the Spartan kings were 'assigned...enough choice land in many in many of the perioikoi cities so as to ensure a reasonable living without excessive wealth.' Although it remains unclear whether other, non-kingly priests would have been afforded this maintenance (or indeed whether other priests existed during the Archaic and Classical periods, cf. Richer 2007:239), Herodotus' testimony suggests that at least some priests were maintained at the polity's expense. For further reading, see: Flower, M. (2009) 'Spartan 'Religion' and Greek 'Religion' in Hodkinson, ed. *Sparta: Comparative Approaches* (Classical Press of Wales): 193-229. Parker, R. (1989) 'Spartan Religion' in Powell, ed. *Classical Sparta: Techniques Behind her Success* (University of Oklahoma): 142-172. Richer, N. (2007) 'The Religious System at Sparta' in Ogden, ed. *A Companion to Greek Religion* (Wiley Blackwell): 236-252.

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↳ Is religious infrastructure paid for by the polity:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Are the head of the polity and the head of the religion the same figure:

– Yes

Notes: During the Archaic and Classical periods, Sparta was governed by means of a dual monarchy. The two Spartan kings were always descended from the elite Ageiad and Eurypontid families, respectively, both of which traced their lineage back to the original descendants of Herakles that had conquered Sparta in the generations following the Trojan War. As noted by Herodotus and Xenophon in the sources mentioned above, the semi-mythical Spartan lawgiver Lycurgus was credited with establishing the Spartan system such that the two kings also held the priesthoods of Zeus Lakedaimon and Zeus Ouranios and were responsible for carrying out significant religious duties such as making sacrifices and soliciting and preserving oracular responses. For further reading, see: Powell, A. (2009) 'Divination, Royalty, and Insecurity in Classical Sparta' *Kernos* 22: 35-82. Miller, D. (1998) 'The Spartan Kingship: Some Extended Notes on Complex Duality' *Arethusa* 31.1: 1-17.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Are political officials equivalent to religious officials:

– No

Notes: Beyond the circumstance of the Spartan kings serving as the respective priests of Zeus Lakedaimon and Zeus Ouranios, the ancient evidence does not mention any other political officials serving in religious roles.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Is religious observance enforced by the polity:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Although it remains unclear to what extent religious observance may have been 'enforced' by the polity, evidence suggests that, even in antiquity, the Spartans were renowned among the Greeks for their religiosity and their commitment to religious observance. Herodotus, in explaining why the Spartans became involved in the expulsion of a tyrant from Athens in 510 BCE, recounts that the Spartans had been instructed to do so by the Delphic oracle and that they had complied with the oracle's directive because they 'considered the things of the gods more important than the things of men' (5.63.2). Both Herodotus (6.106, 7.206, 9.36ff.) and Xenophon (Hell. 4.5.11) record numerous examples of Spartans delaying military action in order either to accommodate the celebration of religious festivals or to obtain more favorable omens for action. These testimonies suggest that proper religious observance, particularly concerning political and military matters, was of significant importance to the Spartans, and thus that it may have been enforced. For further reading, see: Flower, M. (2018) 'Spartan Religion' in Powell, ed. *A Companion to Sparta*, Vol. II (Wiley Blackwell): 425-451. Powell, A. (2009) 'Divination, Royalty, and Insecurity in Classical Sparta' *Kernos* 22: 35-82.

Specific to this answer:

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↳ Polity legal code is roughly coterminous with religious code:

– No

Specific to this answer:

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↳ Polity provides preferential economic treatment (e.g. tax, exemption)

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Is there a conception of apostasy in the religious group:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Size and Structure

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (estimated population, numerical):

– Estimated population, numeric: 35000

Notes: Although Plutarch records the original number of Spartiate males at the time of Lycurgus's reforms at 9,000 individuals (Lyc. 9), the Spartans reportedly suffered from population decline throughout the 5th-4th centuries BCE such that by the time of the Battle of Leuktra in 371 BCE, there were only 700 male Spartiates present (cf. Arist. Pol. 1270a31; Xen. Hell. 6.4.15). Recent demographic reconstructions based on archaeological and literary evidence have estimated the population of male Spartiates and their families to have been around 30,000-40,000 individuals during the height of Spartan power around 400 BCE. Helot and perioikoi populations have also been estimated to outnumber Spartiate males, possibly by as much as 3-5 times. Of the Spartiates class, all likely would have participated in Spartan religious activity. For further reading, see: Cawkwell, G. (1983) 'The Decline of Sparta' *Classical Quarterly* 33.1: 385-400. Figueira, T. (2003) 'Chapter 8. The Demography of the Spartan Helots' in Luraghi and Alcock, eds. *Laconia and Messenia: Histories, Ideologies, Structures* (Center for Hellenic Studies): 193-239. Morris, I. (2005) 'Military and Political Participation in Archaic-Classical Greece' *Princeton/Stanford Work. Pap. Classics* 120511 Scheidel, W. (2003) 'Chapter 9. Helot Numbers: A Simplified Model' in Luraghi and Alcock, eds. *Laconia and Messenia: Histories, Ideologies, Structures* (Center for Hellenic Studies): 240-247.

Specific to this answer:

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Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (% of sample region population, numerical):

– Estimated population, percentage of sample region: 20

Notes: This percentage represents a very rough estimate, as calculated from the numbers given in the sources listed above.

Specific to this answer:

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Scripture

Does the religious group have scriptures:

Scripture is a generic term used to designate revered texts that are considered particularly authoritative and sacred relative to other texts. Strictly speaking, it refers to written texts, but there are also "oral scriptures" (e.g. the Vedas of India).

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Architecture, Geography

Is monumental religious architecture present:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)



In the average settlement, what percentage of area is taken up by all religious monuments:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Although Spartiates maintained private agricultural allotments ('kleroi') located throughout Lakonia and Messenia, Spartiates were expected to spend most of their time at Sparta living in communal barracks and partaking in the communal messes ('syssitia'). As such, despite the work of pioneering projects such as the Laconia Survey Project, little remains known about settlement patterns and population distribution in the Spartan hinterland. For further reading, see: Cavanagh, W., et al. (2002) *Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape: The Laconia Survey, Vol. I: Methodology and Interpretation* (Annual of the British School at Athens, Supplement 26). Cavanagh, W., et al. (1996) *Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape: The Laconia Survey, Vol. II: Archaeological Data* (Annual of the British School at Athens, Supplement 27). Cavanagh, W., and Crowel, J. (1988) 'Lakonia Survey, 1983-1986' *Lakonikai spoudai* 9: 77-88. Mee, C. and Cavanagh, W. (1998) 'Diversity in a Greek Landscape: the Laconia Survey and Rural Sites Projects' in Cavanagh and Walker, eds. *Sparta in Laconia* (British School at Athens): 141-148.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)



Size of largest single religious monument, square meters:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: The superimposition of the modern city of Sparta directly above the ancient city has made it difficult to undertake systematic, large-scale archaeological excavation in the area of Sparta. This complicated situation makes it nearly impossible to speak definitively about maximum or average sizes of religious monuments at Sparta. Although the eyewitness testimony of Pausanias, a Greek traveller who visited the city and recorded what he saw there at some point in the 2nd century CE, can help to reconstruct what the city may have looked like at that time, it is also important to bear in mind that 2nd-century CE Sparta had developed into a tourist attraction for Romans interested in getting a firsthand glimpse of 'antiquated' Spartan customs. As such, many of the buildings and monuments may have been rebuilt, added onto, or demolished between the end of the 4th century BCE and Pausanias's day. Several smaller-scale archaeological excavations in Sparta were carried out by the British School at Athens between the years 1906-1910. These excavations revealed two religious buildings, that of the Shrine of Athena Chalkioikos, located on the Spartan acropolis, and that of the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, located on the western bank of the Eurotas River. Excavations of the Shrine of Athena Chalkioikos, despite this being the 'chief sanctuary in Sparta', revealed the limits of a small Classical building—'large enough to accommodate the

statue of the goddess and nothing more' –enclosed within a sacred precinct, or temenos (Dickins 1906/1907: 141). Similarly, excavations at the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia revealed another modest Archaic temple (with an area of c. 120 square meters) and an altar within an enclosed temenos. Despite its relatively pedestrian architectural remains, the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia produced rich votive deposits of carved ivories, lead figurines, and ceramic masks. For further reading, see: Pausanias, *Descriptions of Greece*, Book III. Dickins, G. (1906/1907) 'Laconia I – Excavations at Sparta, 1907: The Hieron of Athena Chalkioikos' *Annual of the British School at Athens* 13: 137-154. Dawkins, R. (1929) 'The Sanctuary' in Dawkins, ed. *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies): 1-52.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Height of largest single religious monument, meters:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Unfortunately, the buildings revealed during the excavations of the Shrine of Athena Chalkioikos and the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia were not preserved to their full height, but merely to that of their foundations. Pausanias, however, when describing his visit to the Sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai just outside of Sparta, mentions seeing a cult statue of the god that he estimates to be about 45 feet tall (3.19.2); this may very well have been the tallest religious monument in the area.

Specific to this answer:

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↳ Size of average monument, square meters:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

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↳ Height of average monument, meters:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ In the largest settlement, what percentage of area is taken up by all religious monuments:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: The lack of systematic archaeological excavation at Sparta makes it impossible to estimate the percentage of the city's area that was taken up by religious monuments. However, it is worth recalling Thucydides's comments on the relatively modest appearance of the city of Sparta in his own day: 'If Lakedaimon were to become desolate and only the temples and the foundations of public buildings were left, as time went on there would be a great faction of posterity that would be distrustful of her power and her reputation...[because]

the city is not built up nor is it adorned with costly temples and public buildings, but it consists of villages in the early Greek manner, and it would seem inferior' (1.10.2, trans. Marchant, adapted). Nevertheless, the sense conveyed by Pausanias's account of what he saw in Sparta is that religious monuments (whether shrines, sanctuaries, temples, tombs of heroes, statues of gods, or votive dedications) were ubiquitous throughout the city, even if they were not particularly impressive or costly installations.

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Are there different types of religious monumental architecture:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

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↳ Tombs:

– Yes

Notes: Certain tombs at Sparta, particularly those thought to contain the relics of heroes, served as sites for religious activity such as votive dedications and libations. Xenophon recounts that Spartan kings were honored as heroes after their deaths (Xen. Const. Lac. 15), and this statement seems to be confirmed by Pausanias's account, which recounts that the tombs of the Spartan kings Pausanias and Leonidas received some kind of post-funerary cult consisting of annual speeches and a competition in which only Spartans could compete (Paus 3.14.1). Another well-known site of Spartan hero cult was the shrine of Helen and Menelaus at Therapne, which was believed to have been built up over the site of their graves (Paus. 3.19.9). For further information, see: Antonaccio, C. (1995) *An Archaeology of Ancestors: Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Early Greece* (Rowman and Littlefield). Catling, et al. (2009) *Sparta: Menelaion I: The Bronze Age, Vol. I-II* (British School at Athens Supplementary Volumes, No. 45). Wace, A., et al. (1909) 'Excavations at Sparta, 1909: The Menelaion' *Annual of the British School at Athens* 15: 108-157.

Specific to this answer:

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↳ Cemeteries:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Given that so few graves have been excavated at Sparta, very little is known about Spartan funerary customs and their relationship to Spartan religion more broadly. Unlike many other Greek settlements, in which cemeteries were located away from main settlements, Sparta allowed burial within the city limits. Plutarch records that this circumstance had been instituted by Lycurgus to familiarize the Spartans with death so that it not be feared by them (Plut. Lyc. 27.1). According to Raftopoulou (1998: 136), systematic, extramural sanctuaries similar to those found elsewhere in Greece are not attested at Sparta before the Roman period (although this topic is currently being reconsidered). For further reading, see: Raftopoulou, S. (1998) 'New finds from Sparta' in Cavanagh and Walker, eds. *Sparta in Laconia* (British School at Athens): 125-140. Christesen, P. (2018) 'The Typology and Topography of Spartan Burials from the Protogeometric to the Hellenic Periods: Rethinking Spartan Exceptionalism and the

Ostensible Cessation of Adult Intramural Burials in the Greek World' Annual of the British School at Athens 113: 307-363.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Temples:

– Yes

Notes: Pausanias records seeing numerous sanctuaries/temples at Sparta. The main sanctuaries located within the Spartan territory include: The Shrine of Athena Chalkioikos The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia The Sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai The Sanctuary of Helen and Menelaus at Therapne For further reading, see: Pausanias, *Descriptions of Greece*, Book 3 Richer, N. (2007) 'The Religious System at Sparta' in Ogden, ed. *A Companion to Greek Religion* (Wiley Blackwell): 243-246. This source includes maps of known sanctuaries and hero-cults located within the Spartan territory.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Altars:

– Yes

Notes: In the Greek world, altars were often located within the sacred precinct ('temenos') of a sanctuary in front of the temple with which they were associated. Excavations at the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia revealed the presence of an altar (dimensions: 9m in length, 1.5m in width, and 1m in height) constructed during the Archaic period directly over the remains of the earliest altar found at the site (Dawkins 1929: 9). Altars could also be found outside of sanctuary settings and were frequently attested in other public and private spaces such as market-places, sacred groves, and even homes (although no examples of domestic altars have been found at Sparta).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Devotional markers:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Mass gathering point [plazas, courtyard, square. Places permanently demarcated using visible objects or structures]:

– Yes

Notes: Although not an expressly religious space, the Spartan agora was a large public gathering place where much of the commercial and public life of the city would have taken place. Again, although the agora would not have been demarcated as an expressly or even primarily religious space, Pausanias records that it did contain temples, such as that of Athena

Agoraia ('of the market-place'), and statues and images of the gods (Paus. 3.11.9-11).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Other type of religious monumental architecture:

– Yes [specify]: Statues

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

– Yes [specify]: Shrines

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Is iconography present:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Where is iconography present [select all that apply]:

– All public spaces

Notes: As the testimony of Pausanias demonstrates, religious iconography would have been present in many, if not all, public spaces, including those that were expressly designated as religious spaces and those that were not.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Are there distinct features in the religious group's iconography:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Eyes (stylized or not):

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings (zoomorphic):

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings (geomorphic):

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings (anthropomorphic):

– Yes

Notes: The 6th-century BCE philosopher Xenophanes supposedly made the following comment on the tendency of humans to represent their gods as anthropomorphic: 'Ethiopians say that their gods are short-nosed and black; Thracians say that theirs are blue-eyed and red-haired. But if horses or oxen or lions had hands and the power to paint and make works of art like men, then horses would depict their gods with horse-like forms, and oxen would depict their gods with oxen-like forms, even each after its own kind' (fr. 16, 15). On the whole, Spartan gods were depicted anthropomorphically, as they were elsewhere in Greece. Plutarch claims that all statues of gods and goddesses at Sparta were armed, possibly as a reflection of Sparta's singular commitment to military values (Plut. Mor. 239a, 232d). While this statement to have been a mere exaggeration for effect, Pausanias does record seeing the massive statue of Apollo at Amyklai that depicts the god equipped with helmet, spear, and bow, as well as, at Sparta, a rare statue of an armed Aphrodite, a goddess who was depicted with weapons very rarely in other parts of the Greek world (3.19.2, 3.15.10; cf. Flower 2009: 202-205). In evaluating the testimonies of both Plutarch and Pausanias, one must keep in mind the late nature of these sources; it is possible that these authors could be describing deliberate 'archaizing' or 'militarizing' changes made to Spartan religious iconography at some point during the Roman period, when the city enjoyed great popularity as a tourist destination. In terms of archaeological evidence, votive figurines and ivories excavated from Archaic and Classical levels of the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia depict a frontal-facing female figure with Daedalic-style hair. The figure is often represented wearing a polos hat and a belted gown ('peplos') with elaborate patterning, and she is occasionally depicted with wings, holding two wild birds by their necks at her side in the style of the Near Eastern 'mistress of the animals' ('potnia theron') motif. It is thought that these votives might depict the ancient cult statue ('xoana') of the goddess Orthia, who was later assimilated to Artemis as Artemis-Orthia during the Roman period. For further reading, see: Dawkins, R. (1906/1907) 'Laconia I - Excavations at Sparta, 1907: The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia' *Annual of the British School at Athens* 13: 44-108. Dawkins, R. (1929) 'Terracotta Figurines' in Dawkins, ed. *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies): 145-162. Dawkins, R. (1929) 'Ivory and Bone' in Dawkins, ed. *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies): 203-248. Flower, M. (2009) 'Spartan 'Religion' and Greek 'Religion' in Hodkinson, ed. *Sparta: Comparative Approaches* (Classical Press of Wales): 193-229. Wace, A. (1929) 'Lead Figurines' in Dawkins, ed. *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies): 249-284.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings (abstract symbol):

– Yes

Notes: Plutarch records that the Spartans represented the Dioscuri, their protective heroic deities, as an abstract, aniconic symbol called a 'dokana' (Mor. 478a-b). This symbol, an example of which on a marble relief has been excavated from Sparta, consists of two parallel bars linked by crosspieces. The 'common and indivisible' nature of the symbol was intended to evoke the 'brotherly love' of the deities. For further reading, see: Richer, N. (2007) 'The Religious System at Sparta' in Ogden, ed. *A Companion to Greek Religion* (Wiley Blackwell): 236-252. Tod, M. and Wace, A. (1906) *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* (Oxford): 113-118, 193.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Portrayals of afterlife:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Aspects of doctrine (e.g. cross, trinity, Mithraic symbols):

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Humans:

– Yes

Notes: Humans are occasionally depicted as worshippers on Spartan hero reliefs. For further reading, see: Parker, R. (1989) 'Spartan Religion' in Powell, ed. *Classical Sparta: Techniques Behind her Success* (University of Oklahoma): 147-148. Salapata, G. (2014) *Heroic Offerings: The Terracotta Plaques from the Spartan Sanctuary of Agamemnon and Cassandra* (University of Michigan).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Other features of iconography:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Are there specific sites dedicated to sacred practice or considered sacred:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)



Are sacred site oriented to environmental features:

"Environmental features" refers to features in the landscape, mountains, rivers, cardinal directions etc...

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Some scholars have recently suggested that the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia may have been orientated towards certain stars and constellations in the night sky, such as the Pleiades. For further reading, see: Boutsikas, E., and Ruggles, C. (2011) 'Temples, Stars, and Ritual Landscapes: The Potential for Archaeoastronomy in Ancient Greece' *American Journal of Archaeology* 115.1: 55-68.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Are pilgrimages present:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)



How strict is pilgrimage:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Some festivals, such as the Hyakinthia, were thought to include processions of worshippers from the city of Sparta to a sanctuary in its environs (Pettersson 1992: 10). To judge from the thousands of personal dedications made at Spartan sanctuaries and shrines throughout the Spartan territory, it is likely that individuals did undertake voluntary personal journeys to make votive dedications, although little remains known about the frequency of these events. For further reading, see: Pettersson, M. (1992) *Cults of Apollo at Sparta: The Hyakinthia, the Gymnopaïdai, and the Karneia* (Svenska Institutet i Athen).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Beliefs

Burial and Afterlife

Is a spirit-body distinction present:

Answer "no" only if personhood (or consciousness) is extinguished with death of the physical body.

Answering yes does not necessarily imply the existence of Cartesian mind/body dualism, merely that

some element of personhood (or consciousness) survives the death of the body.

– I don't know

Notes: Although Greek poetry as far back as Homer appears to differentiate linguistically between the terms that eventually came to mean 'body' ('soma') and 'soul' ('psuche'), it is unclear whether these independent terms should be seen as evidence for the presence of a mind-body distinction in early Greek thought. While a mind-body distinction is certainly present in the works of Plato, it remains unclear to what extent this distinction was unique to his own philosophy and whether it should be considered representative of broader strands of Greek religious thought during the Classical period. The lack of Spartan sources on this matter further preclude the possibility of our knowing anything about belief in a mind-body distinction that was particular to Spartan religion.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Belief in afterlife:

– Yes

Notes: Faced with a lack of ancient sources that provide insight into Spartan religious beliefs, most scholars assume that the Spartans shared a number of general Greek religious beliefs that are attested in literary evidence from other poleis. As such, scholars assume that most Spartans held shared Greek beliefs about the afterlife as attested in the works of Homer and Hesiod.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Is the spatial location of the afterlife specified or described by the religious group:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Afterlife in specified realm of space beyond this world:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined "above" space:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined "below" space:

– Yes

Notes: The Greeks believed that one's afterlife could take place in the Underworld, the kingdom of the dead located under the earth that was ruled by Hades. For further reading, see: Homer, *Odyssey* Book 11 Homeric Hymn to Demeter

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined horizontal space:

– Yes

Notes: The Greeks believed that the souls of the righteous, the souls of heroes, and the souls of those favored by or descended from the gods spent their afterlife in the Elysian Fields/Isles of the Blessed. The Greeks located this region on the western edge of the earth, near the river Okeanos. For further reading, see: Homer, *Odyssey* Hesiod, *Works and Days*

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Afterlife located in "other" space:

– Yes [specify]: Elysian Fields/Isles of the Blessed

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Reincarnation in this world:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Again, while reincarnation is attested in the works of Greek philosophers such as Plato, it is unclear to what extent this phenomenon was represented in mainstream Greek or Spartan religious thought of the Archaic and Classical periods.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Are there special treatments for adherents' corpses:

– No

Notes: Herodotus (6.58) describes the funerary rites of Spartan kings, which, although more elaborate than typical Spartan funerary rites, do not include special treatments of the corpse.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Are co-sacrifices present in tomb/burial:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)



Human sacrifices present:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)



Animal co-sacrifices present:

– Yes

Notes: Plutarch recounts that Spartan funerary rituals lasted eleven days; on the twelfth day, a sacrifice was made to Demeter and all mourning ceased (Lyc. 27.2). While the word used by Plutarch to denote the act of sacrificing (θύω) could technically refer to any offering being made to the gods, it was most commonly used to indicate the 'dedicating, killing, and offering of a victim in the context of a feast' (Peirce 1993: 237-8). This use of the term 'thyo' may then suggest that the meat from the sacrifice was subsequently consumed as part of a funerary feast. For further reading, see: Ekroth, G. (2002) *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Period* (Liège). Peirce, S. (1993) 'Death, Revelry, and 'Thysia'' *Classical Antiquity* 12.2: 219-266. Pettersson (1992), *The Cults of Apollo at Sparta - The Hyakinthia, the Gymnopaidiai, and the Karnea* (Svenska Institutet i Athen): 22.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Are grave goods present:

– Yes

Notes: Plutarch records that Lycurgus forbid Spartans to be buried with anything other than a scarlet shroud and olive leaves (Lyc. 27.1). Of the few burials excavated at Sparta, grave goods such as metal weaponry, hair ornaments, jewelry, coins, and ceramic vases have been excavated from burials dating to the Geometric and Hellenistic periods (cf. Dickins and Wace 1906/1907; Raftopoulou 1998:133-137). Interestingly, none of the Classical-period Spartan graves that have been excavated so far have contained any grave goods. While this fact may seem to support Plutarch's statement about Lycurgus's injunction, it may also be the result of insufficient archaeological excavation. For further reading, see: Raftopoulou, S. (1998) 'New finds from Sparta' in Cavanagh and Walker, eds. *Sparta in Laconia* (British School at Athens): 133-137. Dickins, R., and Wace, A. (1906/1907) 'Laconia I - Excavations at Sparta, 1907: The Tombs' *Annual of the British School at Athens* 13: 155-168.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)



Personal effects:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Valuable items:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Significant wealth (e.g. gold, jade, intensely worked objects):

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Some wealth (some valuable or useful objects interred):

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Other valuable/precious items interred:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Other grave goods:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Are formal burials present:

– Yes

Notes: While the presence of formal burials is attested at Sparta, Plutarch records that the Spartan lawgiver Lycurgus restricted the number of individuals who could have their name inscribed on a funerary marker to men who had fallen in battle and women who had died while serving as priestesses (Lyc. 27.2). For further reading, see: Dillon, M. (2007) 'Were Women Who Died in Childbirth Honored with Grave Inscriptions?' *Hermes* 135.2: 149-165. van Wees, H. (2018) 'Luxury, Austerity, and Equality in Sparta' in Powell, ed. *A Companion to Sparta*, Vol. II (Wiley Blackwell): 220-223.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ As cenotaphs:

– Yes

Notes: Although Plutarch records that most Spartan soldiers that fell in combat were buried on the battlefield (Agis 40.4), two important military leaders were known to have received cenotaphs at Sparta. The first military hero to receive the rare honor of a cenotaph was Leonidas, the Spartan king who had led the heroic band of 300 Spartan soldiers in their valiant but ill-fated stand against the Persian forces of Xerxes. Pausanias reports that, forty years after the battle, King Pausanias of Sparta located and disinterred the bones of Leonidas and had them installed in a tomb at Sparta near the agora. A stele containing the names and patronymics of all those who had fought at Thermopylae was then erected near the tomb (Paus. 3.14.1). The other Spartan cenotaph recorded by Pausanias is that of the Spartan general Brasidas, who led the Spartans to a series of victories in the Peloponnesian War against Athens (Paus. 3.14.1).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ In cemetery:

– No

Notes: Unlike many other Greek settlements in which cemeteries were located away from main settlements, Sparta permitted burial within the city limits. According to Plutarch, this circumstance had been instituted by Lycurgus (27.1). According to Raftopoulou (1998:136), systematic, extramural cemeteries are not found at Sparta before the Roman period (although this topic is currently being reconsidered). For further reading, see: Raftopoulou, S. (1998) 'New finds from Sparta' in Cavanagh and Walker, eds. *Sparta in Laconia* (British School at Athens): 133-137. Christesen, P. (2018) 'The Typology and Topography of Spartan Burials from the Protogeometric to the Hellenic Periods: Rethinking Spartan Exceptionalism and the Ostensible Cessation of Adult Intramural Burials in the Greek World' *Annual of the British School at Athens* 113: 307-363.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Family tomb-crypt:

– Yes

Notes: Raftopoulou (1998: 134) notes that the 'typical form' of the Spartan tomb, as attested between the Archaic and Hellenistic periods, consisted of two-storeys. While the lower part of the tomb was used for the primary burial, bones and offerings from earlier burials were collected and moved to the upper storey. This pattern of tomb reuse suggests that these may have served as family tombs.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Domestic (individuals interred beneath house, or in areas used for normal domestic activities):

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Other formal burial type:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Supernatural Beings

Are supernatural beings present:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ A supreme high god is present:

– Yes

Notes: While on a local level, adherents of Spartan religion worshipped Athena as the patron goddess of the city, they also worshipped the pantheon of Olympian Gods that was honored throughout the Greek world. Zeus was worshipped in the Spartan territory in many guises, including those of Zeus Lakedaimon and Zeus Ouranios (Hdt.6.56), Zeus Olympios (Paus. 3.12.11), Zeus Euanemos ('of fair wind', Paus. 3.13.8), Zeus Agoraios ('of the marketplace', Paus. 3.11.9), Zeus Xenios ('friend of strangers', Paus 3.11.11), Zeus Tropaeian ('he who turns to flight', Paus. 3.12.9), Zeus Kosmetas ('he who orders', Paus. 3.17.4), Zeus Hypatos ('most high', Paus. 3.17.6), and Zeus Ploutios ('wealthy', Paus. 3.19.7). For further reading, see: Pausanias, *Descriptions of Greece*, Book 3

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ The supreme high god is anthropomorphic:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ The supreme high god is a sky deity:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ The supreme high god is chthonic (of the underworld):

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ The supreme high god is fused with the monarch (king=high god):

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ The monarch is seen as a manifestation or emanation of the high god:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ The supreme high god is a kin relation to elites:

– Yes

Notes: The Ageiad and Eurypontid kings in Sparta traced their descent from Herakles, the son of Zeus and Alcmene.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ The supreme high god has another type of loyalty-connection to elites:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ The supreme high god is unquestionably good:

– No

Notes: In the works of Homer and Hesiod, Zeus is often portrayed as vengeful and vindictive; he is also depicted as a serial philanderer. For further reading, see: Homer, Iliad Homer, Odyssey Hesiod, Theogony Hesiod, Works and Days

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Other feature(s) of supreme high god:

– Yes [specify]: See note below.

Notes: In the absence of written 'credos' or other 'doctrinal' treatises concerning traditional Greek (or Spartan) religion, scholars have turned to the mythology of early Greek poets such as Homer and Hesiod to attempt to reconstruct Archaic- and Classical-period Greek beliefs about the kosmos and the nature of the gods. In

traditional Greek mythology, Zeus is associated with thunder and lightning. In Homer, Zeus receives the epithets 'he who delights in thunder' (τερπικέρανος, Il.1.419), 'loud-thundering' (ὕψιβρεμέτης, Od. 5.4), 'he who marshals the thunderheads' (νεφεληγερέτα, Il.1.511), and 'he of the dazzling lightning bolt' (ἀργικέρανος, Il.19.121), all of which speak to these associations. He is also frequently referred to in both Homer and Hesiod as the 'father of men and gods' (πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, Hom.Od.1.28; Hes.Th.457), and in Hesiod as 'king of the gods' (θεῶν βασιλεὺς, Th.886). Zeus is also associated with the proper treatment of foreigners and strangers in his role as Zeus Xenios, and with the protection of oaths in his capacity as Zeus Horkios. For further reading, see: Homer, *Iliad* Homer, *Odyssey* Hesiod, *Theogony* Morales, H. (2007) *A Very Short Introduction to Classical Mythology* (Oxford). Price, S. and Kearns, E. (2003) *The Oxford Dictionary of Classical Myth and Religion* (Oxford).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ The supreme high god has knowledge of this world:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ The supreme god's knowledge is restricted to particular domain of human affairs:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ The supreme high god's knowledge is restricted to (a) specific area(s) within the sample region:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ The supreme high god's knowledge is unrestricted within the sample region:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ The supreme high god's knowledge is unrestricted outside of sample region:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ The supreme high god can see you everywhere normally visible (in public):

– Yes

Notes: A well-known Homeric epithet for Zeus is 'far-seeing' (εὐρύοπα, Od. 2.144).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ The supreme high god can see you everywhere (in the dark, at home):

– Field doesn't know

Notes: See response below, as well as response to 'Beliefs - Supernatural Monitoring - Supernatural Monitoring of Prosocial Norms'.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ The supreme high god can see inside heart/mind (hidden motives):

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Questions concerning the omniscience of Zeus are notoriously difficult to answer. In the Homeric poems, Zeus does not appear to be able to discern the hidden motives of other gods; this is made clear by his behavior in the famous 'deception of Zeus' (dios apate) incident (Odyssey 14), in which he is seduced by Hera in order to distract him from the ongoing Trojan War. Another incident that is often invoked as evidence of Zeus's omniscience (or lack thereof) is Hesiod's account of the Prometheus myth (Th.535-570). According to Hesiod, Prometheus deceived Zeus by means of a wily trick (δολία τέχνη, 540). When Prometheus and Zeus were deciding which portion of the sacrificial victim should be offered to the gods, Prometheus wrapped up the fat and bones of the animal in such an appealing way that Zeus was tricked into choosing the inferior portion. When Zeus tried to punish humankind for Prometheus's ploy by withholding the power of fire, he was again deceived (ἐξαπατάω, 565) by Prometheus, who stole the fire in a fennel stalk and distributed it to humankind without Zeus's knowledge or approval. As punishment for Prometheus's second misdeed, Zeus then creates woman - a great 'evil for humankind' (κακὸν ἀνθρώποισιν, 570). Despite Hesiod's account of Zeus having been 'deceived' by Prometheus's 'wily tricks,' the poet attempts to suggest that Zeus was in fact not deceived by Prometheus, but that the god had already decided to create women to be an annoyance for men and simply needed an excuse to introduce this 'great evil': 'But Zeus, whose wisdom is everlasting, noticed and did not fail to perceive the trick, but he was plotting in his heart evils for mortal men that were about to come to pass' (550-552). The scholar M.L. West has sought to explain this contradiction by suggesting that the original myth that was passed down to Hesiod contained instances of

Zeus's deception, but that by Hesiod's time, this narrative had become incompatible with an evolving Greek theology in which Zeus was then held to be omniscient. West suggests that Hesiod inserted the line about Zeus's scheming because 'his piety will not allow it that Zeus was deceived' (West 1988: xii). For further reading, see: West, M. (1961) 'Hesioda' *Classical Quarterly* 11.2: 136-145. West, M. (1988) *Hesiod: Theogony and Works and Days* (Oxford).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

- ↳ The supreme high god knows your basic character (personal essence):
– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

- ↳ The supreme high god knows what will happen to you, what you will do (future sight):

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

- ↳ The supreme high god has other knowledge of this world:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

- ↳ The supreme high god has deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

- ↳ The supreme high god can reward:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

- ↳ The supreme high god can punish:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ The supreme high god has indirect causal efficacy in the world:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ The supreme high god exhibits positive emotion:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ The supreme high god exhibits negative emotion:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ The supreme high god possesses hunger:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: While there are references to the gods feasting in the halls of Olympus (cf. Il.1.601-2), and while Zeus is known to have swallowed his lover Metis in order to prevent her from giving birth to Athena (Hes.Th.936-940), it is unclear whether he is affected by hunger.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Is it permissible to worship supernatural beings other than the high god:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ The supreme high god possesses/exhibits some other feature:

– Yes [specify]: Zeus had the ability to take on different human and animal forms. He famously seduced Europa while disguised as a white bull, Leda while disguised as a swan, and Kallisto while disguised as Artemis.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ The supreme high god communicates with the living:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ In waking, everyday life:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ In dreams:

– Yes

Notes: In the Iliad, Zeus sends Agamemnon a 'baneful dream' (οὐλὸς ὄνειρος, 2.6) to convince him to lead an attack against the Trojans.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ In trance possession:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Through divination practices:

– Yes

Notes: As early as the 8th century BCE, Homer records the existence of an oracle of Zeus located at the sanctuary of Dodona in northwest Greece (Il.16.233-5). The poet Hesiod also mentions the oracle of Zeus at Dodona and provides further information about its procedure. According to Hesiod (Cat.fr.97), the oracles were transmitted through the flapping of the wings of doves that lived in a sacred oak grove. These rustlings were then interpreted by priests known in Homer's time as the 'Selli' (Il.16.235). Herodotus disputes this procedure, suggesting instead that the priestesses who practiced divination there were called 'doves' because of their babbling speech (2.55-6). Certainly by Herodotus's day, the primary form of oracular divination practiced at Dodona seemed to be that of cleromancy, or divination by lot. In this form of divination, a question that could be answered either in the affirmative or negative was presented to a priestess, who, without reading it, transmitted the god's response by drawing either a white or black pebble out of a jar at random. Thousands of small lead tablets (lamellae) dated between the 6th century BCE and the 2nd century CE have been excavated from the site of Dodona. These lamellae contain thousands of personal questions ranging from 'Will my crops do well?' (DVC 2319A) to 'Will I win my lawsuit?' (DVC 2521A) to 'What should I

do in order to become healthy?' (DVC 2525A) and testify to the range of issues for which people sought oracular advice. In addition to Zeus's oracle at Dodona, the oracle of Apollo at Delphi was also understood to communicate the will of Zeus. As the Priestess of Pythian Apollo states in the opening lines of Aeschylus's *Eumenides*, 'Loxias [Apollo] is the prophet and interpreter of his father Zeus' (19). For further reading, see: Eidinow, E. (2007) *Oracles, Curses, and Risk Among the Greeks* (Oxford). Dakaris, S., Vokotopoulou, I., and Christidis, A-Ph. (2013) *Τα χρηστήρια ελάσματα της Δωδώνης των ανασκαφών Δ. Ευαγγελίδη* [Les lamelles oraculaires de Dodone. Fouilles de D. Evangelidis] (Archaeological Society of Athens). Available online at: Dodona Online [<https://dodonaonline.com/>] Parke, H. (1967) *The Oracles of Zeus: Dodona, Olympia, Ammon* (Harvard).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Only through religious specialists:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Only through monarch

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Other form of communication with living:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Previously human spirits are present:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Non-human supernatural beings are present:

– Yes

Notes: In accordance with the strict nature of the Spartan military system, Spartans were required to 'master their own bodies in the service of the city' (Richer 2007:248). As such, Plutarch recounts that the Spartans personified the bodily passions—that is, Fear ('Phobos'),

Shame ('Aidos'), Sleep ('Hypnos'), Death ('Thanatos'), Laughter ('Gelos'), Love ('Eros'), and Hunger ('Limos')—and honored them as deities in order to effect greater social control (Cl.9.1). While little is known about the nature of these deities, Pausanias does record the existence of a temple and grove to Eros at Leuktra (3.26.5). For further reading, see: Richer, N. (2009) 'Aidos at Sparta' in Hodkinson and Powell, eds. *Sparta: New Perspectives* (Classical Press of Wales): 91-116. Richer, N. (2007) 'The Religious System at Sparta' in Ogden, ed. *A Companion to Greek Religion* (Wiley Blackwell): 236-252.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ These supernatural beings can be seen:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ These supernatural beings can be physically felt:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge of this world:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ These supernatural beings have indirect causal efficacy in the world:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ These supernatural beings exhibit positive emotion:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ These supernatural beings exhibit negative emotion:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ These supernatural beings possess hunger:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ These supernatural beings possess/exhibit some other feature:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Mixed human-divine beings are present:

– Yes

Notes: In addition to the deities mentioned above, the Spartans also worshipped a category of divine beings called 'heroes'. Many of these divinities, such as the Dioscuri and Herakles, were believed to have been of mixed human-divine parentage and were thought to have enjoyed special powers during their lifetimes. Other heroic divinities worshipped at Sparta included individuals known from epic poetry, such as Agamemnon and Cassandra, Helen and Menelaus, and even Agamemnon's herald, Talthibius (Paus. 3.12.7). The Spartans treated these individuals with divine honors after their deaths and made votive dedications and sacrifices to them. The Spartans also bestowed post-mortem heroic honors on particularly glorious mortals, including the Spartan kings Pausanias and Leonidas (Paus.3.14.1) and the pseudo-mythical lawgiver Lycurgus (Paus.3.16.6). Little remains known about the specifics of Spartan hero cult. Excavations at the Sanctuary of Agamemnon and Cassandra at Amyklai (described by Pausanias at 3.19.6) revealed hundreds of votive terracotta reliefs depicting a seated male holding a kantharos, occasionally accompanied by a seated female and/or a bearded snake. Although previous interpretations of these enigmatic reliefs had suggested their association with the worship of Demeter and Dionysus (Stibbe 1991), they have most recently been interpreted in connection with the heroic worship of Agamemnon and Cassandra (Salapata 2014). For further reading, see: Antonaccio, C. (1995) *An Archaeology of Ancestors: Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Early Greece* (Rowman and Littlefield). Ekroth, G. (2002) *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Period* (Liège). Flower, M. (2009) 'Spartan 'Religion' and Greek 'Religion' in Hodkinson, ed. *Sparta: Comparative Approaches* (Classical Press of Wales): 443-448. Salapata, G. (2014) *Heroic Offerings: The Terracotta Plaques from the Spartan Sanctuary of Agamemnon and Cassandra* (University of Michigan). Stibbe, C. (1991) 'Dionysos in Sparta' *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 66: 1-44.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ These mixed human-divine beings can be seen:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ These mixed human-divine beings can be physically felt:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Mixed human-divine beings have knowledge of this world:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ These mixed human-divine beings have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ These mixed human-divine beings have indirect causal efficacy in the world:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ These mixed human-divine beings exhibit positive emotion:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ These mixed human-divine beings exhibit negative emotion:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ These mixed human-divine beings possess hunger:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ These mixed human-divine beings possess/exhibit some other feature:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Mixed human-divine beings communicate with the living:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Does the religious group possess a variety of supernatural beings:

– Yes

Notes: Beyond Zeus and the Pathemata, Pausanias records that many other deities were worshipped at Sparta, including the following: Aphrodite Ourania (3.12.11), Hera Hypercheiria ('whose hand is above', 3.13.8), Thetis (3.14.4), Demeter Chthonia (3.14.5), Athena Poliouchos/Chalkioikos ('protectress of the city'/'of the bronze house', 3.17.2-3), the Charites (3.14.6), Eileithyia (3.17.1), Apollo Karneios ('of the ram', 3.14.6), Artemis Hegemone ('leader', 3.14.6), Artemis Orthia (3.16.7-11), Artemis Issoria (3.14.2), Artemis Knagia (3.18.4-5), Poseidon Genethlios ('of kin', 3.15.10), Aphrodite Morpho (3.15.10), the Leucippides, Hilaieira and Phoibe (3.16.1-2), and Dionysus Kolonatas ('of the knoll', 3.13.7). For a map of these cult places at Sparta, see: Richer, N. (2007) 'The Religious System at Sparta' in Ogden, ed. *A Companion to Greek Religion* (Wiley Blackwell): 236-252.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Organized by kinship based on a family model:

– Yes

Notes: Zeus is given the epithet 'the father of men and of gods' in the works of both Homer and Hesiod. He is either the sibling, consort, or father of several deities worshipped at Sparta, including Artemis (father), Athena (father), Aphrodite (father), Hera (consort), Demeter (sibling), Eileithyia (father), and Poseidon (sibling).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Organized hierarchically:

– Yes

Notes: Hesiod refers to Zeus as the 'king of the gods' (886) and recounts his struggle for ascendancy in the Theogony.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Power of beings is domain specific:

– Yes

Notes: Hesiod's Theogony gives an account of how Zeus apportioned individual domains and spheres of influence to the other gods.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Other organization for pantheon:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Supernatural Monitoring

Is supernatural monitoring present:

This refers to surveillance by supernatural beings of humans' behaviour and/or thought particularly as it relates to social norms or potential norm violations.

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ There is supernatural monitoring of prosocial norm adherence in particular:

Prosocial norms are norms that enhance cooperation among members of the group, including obviously "moral" or "ethical" norms, but also extending to norms concerning honouring contracts and oaths, providing hospitality, coming to mutual aid in emergencies, etc.

– Yes

Notes: The question of whether the ancient Greeks believed that the gods monitored their behavior remains a point of scholarly contention. Lacking ancient 'credos' and other statements of belief that might provide insight into this issue, scholars are obliged to turn to literary sources such as the poetry of Homer and Hesiod to attempt to reconstruct Archaic- and Classical-period Greek beliefs about the kosmos and the nature of the gods. In the case of supernatural monitoring, however, the poetic sources appear to present differing outlooks. In Homer, although the gods are depicted as looking down from Olympus and as actively monitoring human affairs such as the Trojan War, it remains unclear whether their interest in human affairs stems primarily from a desire to police human morality or from their attempts

to bring about the inevitable and inalterable 'will of Zeus' (βουλή Διός, Il.1.5). Some scholars (e.g. Larson forthcoming) have suggested that the gods in Homer take it upon themselves to police and punish only certain human wrongs that violate special sacralized relationships, including those between guest-friend and host (cf. Zeus Xenios, Il.13.620-635), between suppliant and supplicated (cf. Zeus Hiketesios, Il.24.569-570, Od.13.269-271), and between oath-takers (cf. Zeus Horkios, Il.3.105-7). In order to secure divine punishment for other human moral failings, however, the gods apparently have to be made aware that the wrongdoing has occurred. This is often effected by means of an invocation, such as that made by the priest Chyrses to Apollo (Il.1.38-42) or that recounted in Sappho fr. 5, in which Aphrodite, having heeded the invocation and arrived at Sappho's side, has to inquire of Sappho whom she actually wants her to punish, and why (15-20). The testimony of this evidence seems to imply that, at least in some early Greek religious thought, the gods were not thought to serve as supernatural monitors. Other authors such as Hesiod, however, present a conflicting account. Hesiod states in the *Works and Days* (238-269) that 'the eye of Zeus sees all things and knows all things' (πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντα νοήσας, 267) and that Zeus dispenses divine justice to those who commit unspecified 'cruel wanton violence and wretched deeds' (ὑβρις κακὴ καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα, 238). Hesiod's depiction of Zeus as an omniscient, omnispersive god that punishes all human misdeeds (not only violations of sacralized relationships) seems to represent a different strand of religious thought from that present in the works of Homer and Sappho. Hesiod's depiction of Zeus in the *Works and Days* calls to mind M.L. West's hypothesis concerning Hesiod's depiction of an omniscient Zeus in the context of the Prometheus incident in the *Theogony* (535-570). West believed that Hesiod had revised an earlier Prometheus myth in which Zeus was not depicted as omniscient in order to represent Zeus more in line with evolving Greek religious thought. (See response to 'Supernatural Beings – Supreme High God Has Knowledge of This World – Supreme High God Can See Inside Heart/mind'.) Given this multiplicity of traditions in ancient Greek poetry concerning the nature of Zeus and the nature of the gods' supernatural monitoring, it is difficult to know the extent to which the Greeks believed that the gods monitored them, and it is likely that this answer may have varied between regions and historical periods. In terms of Spartan religious beliefs, the literary testimony of Thucydides seems to suggest that, at least during the Classical period, the Spartans believed that the gods did monitor and punish human misdeeds relating to the murder of suppliants and the breaking of oaths, as the Spartans purportedly attributed their losses in battle to these causes (cf. Thuc. 1.128.1, 7.18.2). For further reading, see: Hesiod, *Works and Days* Kotsifou, C. (2016) 'Prayers and Petitions for Justice: Despair and the 'Crossing of Boundaries' Between Religion and Law.' *Tyche* 31: 167-199. Larson, J. (2019) 'Greek Gods, 'Big Gods', and Moral Supervision' [abstract]. Annual Meeting of the Society for Classical Studies, 3-6 January 2019, San Diego, CA. Larson, J. (forthcoming) 'Big Gods, Greek Gods, and Moral Supervision' in Blakeley, ed. *Data Science, Human Science, and Ancient Gods: Conversations in Theory and Method* (Lockwood). Parker, R. (1996) [1983] *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford). Petrovic, A. and Petrovic, I. (2016) *Inner Purity and Pollution in Greek Religion, Volume I: Early Greek Religion* (Oxford).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings care about taboos:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Food:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Sacred space(s):

– Yes

Notes: In ancient Greece, land associated with sanctuaries, shrines, and sacred groves was designated as sacred space by means of its enclosure by a temenos wall. This wall served as a physical barrier between the sacred precinct (the 'temenos') and the land surrounding it and indicated that this area—together with everything dedicated within it—was divine property. We know from British School excavations at Sparta that temenos walls were present both at the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia and at the Shrine of Athena Chalkioikos on the Spartan acropolis (cf. Dickins 1906/1907; Dawkins 1929). Inscriptions containing sacred regulations of sanctuaries in other poleis suggest that the Greeks considered temenoi and all that they enclosed the sacred and inviolable property of the gods worshipped at the sanctuary. Taboos concerned with pollution ('miasma') barred certain individuals (e.g., individuals who had committed murder, women who had recently given birth or miscarried, individuals who had been in close proximity to a corpse) from entering the temenos and banned certain activities, including birth, death, and sexual activity, from taking place within its sacred space. Removal of any property dedicated within the temenos was considered a theft committed against the gods ('hierosylia'). This convention also held in the case of suppliants seeking refuge ('asylia') within the temenos; by claiming asylia and placing themselves under the protection of the gods, these individuals became sacred property and their removal was considered a divine theft punishable under both divine and human systems of justice. Although no sacred regulations from Sparta are attested in either the epigraphic or literary records, the testimonies of Herodotus and Thucydides suggest that the Spartans typically upheld these religious practices. Both Herodotus and Thucydides recount rare Spartan violations of asylia, which the Spartans later purportedly believed had caused them to suffer divine retribution (cf. Hdt.7.78-80; Thuc. 1.128.1, 1.134); this attitude suggests that the Spartans generally upheld Greek religious conventions concerning sacred space and that these violations of them should be seen as aberrations from normative practice. For further reading, see: Alcock, S., and Osborne, R., eds. (1994) *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece* (Oxford). Chaniotis, A. (1996) 'Conflicting Authorities: Asylia between Secular and Divine Law in the Classical and Hellenistic Poleis' *Kernos* 9:75-92. Gould, J. (1973) 'Hiketia' *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 93: 74-103. Graf, F. (2010) 'Pollution and Purification' in Gagarin, ed. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome* (Oxford). Rahe, P. (2017) 'Religion, Politics, and Piety' in Forsdyke et al. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Thucydides* (Oxford): 427-441. Robertson, N. (2010) *Religion and Reconciliation in Greek Cities: The Sacred Laws of Selinus and Cyrene* (Oxford). Parker, R. (1996) [1983] *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford). Naiden, F. (2006) *Ancient Supplication* (Oxford).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Sacred object(s):

– Yes

Notes: The Greeks believed that all objects dedicated to the gods became divine property. Thus, the removal of votives from the sanctuary, shrine, or grove in which they had been dedicated was considered a divine theft ('hierosylia'). Evidence that the Spartans also shared this belief can be found in Thucydides's account of the death of the Spartan king Pausanias (1.134). Having been accused of conspiring with the Persian king Xerxes during the Persian Wars, Pausanias claimed sanctuary in the temple of Athena Chalkioikos in order to avoid being arrested. The Spartan ephors then barricaded Pausanias inside the temple, which eventually resulted in his death from starvation. Thucydides records that the Spartans later felt that they had been cursed for their impiety, and that they were instructed by the Delphic oracle to dedicate two bronze statues to Athena Chalkioikois in order to reimburse the goddess for the divine theft of her suppliant. For further reading, see: Chaniotis, A. (1996) 'Conflicting Authorities: Asylia between Secular and Divine Law in the Classical and Hellenistic Poleis' *Kernos* 9:75-92. Gould, J. (1973) 'Hiketeia' *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 93: 74-103. Naiden, F. (2006) *Ancient Supplication* (Oxford). Schipperheijn, M. (2013) 'Hierosylia' in Bagnall et al., eds. *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (Wiley Blackwell): 3215.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings care about other:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings care about murder of coreligionists:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings care about murder of members of other religions:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings care about murder of members of other polities:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings care about sex:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings care about lying:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings care about honouring oaths:

– Yes

Notes: Thucydides's comment (7.18.2) that the Spartans thought that they had fared poorly during the Archidamian War as divine punishment for their having broken oaths to enter it suggests that the Spartans believed that the gods oversaw the honoring of sworn oaths.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings care about laziness:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings care about sorcery:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings care about non-lethal fighting:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings care about shirking risk:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings care about disrespecting elders:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings care about gossiping:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings care about property crimes:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings care about proper ritual observance:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings care about performance of rituals:

– Yes

Notes: Accounts of Spartans delaying or even interrupting military action in order to attend or celebrate festivals during wartime are numerous (cf. Hdt. 9.7, 7.206; Xen. Hell. 4.5.11). These accounts suggest that the Spartans felt it necessary to perform these religious rites--even at great cost and inconvenience to themselves-- because they believed that the gods cared about the performance of sacred rituals.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings care about conversion of non-religionists:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings care about economic fairness:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings care about personal hygiene:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural beings care about other:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Do supernatural beings mete out punishment:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Is the cause or agent of supernatural punishment known:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Is the reason for supernatural punishment known:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural punishments are meted out in the afterlife:

– Yes

Notes: Descriptions of punishments suffered in the afterlife—such as those undergone by Tantalus and Sisyphus—are attested in Greek poetry as early as Homer (cf. Od.11.582-600).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural punishments in the afterlife are highly emphasized by the religious group:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of mild sensory displeasure:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of extreme sensory displeasure:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of reincarnation as an inferior life form:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of reincarnation in an inferior realm:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Other [specify]

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural punishments are meted out in this lifetime:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural punishments in this life are highly emphasized by the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: Even in antiquity, the Spartans were renowned among the Greeks for their religiosity; as Herodotus noted, the Spartans ‘considered the things of the gods more important than the things of men’ (5.63.2). Thucydides records several misfortunes that the Spartans considered to be divine punishments directly brought about by their actions. The first misfortune was a major earthquake that struck Sparta in 464 BCE; Thucydides notes that the Spartans attributed this to their sacrilegious killing of some helots that had claimed sanctuary at the Temple of Poseidon at Taenarus (1.128.1). Later, Thucydides also recounts that the Spartans considered their poor performance in the Archidamian War a direct result of the fact that they had violated their oaths in order to enter the war (7.18.2). Later in the 4th century BCE, Xenophon also records that the Spartans credited losses in battle to acts of sacrilege and impiety (Xen.Hell.5.4.1, 6.4.7). For further reading, see: Parker, R. (1989) ‘Spartan Religion’ in Powell, ed. *Classical Sparta: Techniques Behind her Success* (University of Oklahoma): 160-163. Flower, M. (2009) ‘Spartan ‘Religion’ and Greek ‘Religion’ in Hodkinson, ed. *Sparta: Comparative Approaches* (Classical Press of Wales): 196-201.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Punishment in this life consists of bad luck:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Punishment in this life consists of political failure:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Punishment in this life consists of defeat in battle:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Punishment in this life consists of crop failure or bad weather:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Punishment in this life consists of disaster on journeys.

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Punishment in this life consists of mild sensory displeasure:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Punishment in this life consists of extreme sensory displeasure:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Punishment in this life consists of sickness or illness:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Punishment in this life consists of impaired reproduction:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Punishment in this life consists of bad luck visited on descendants:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Other [specify]

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Do supernatural beings bestow rewards:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

- ↳ Is the cause/purpose of supernatural rewards known:
 - Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

- ↳ Supernatural rewards are bestowed out in the afterlife:
 - Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

- ↳ Supernatural rewards in the afterlife are highly emphasized by the religious group:
 - Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

- ↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of mild sensory pleasure:
 - Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

- ↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of extreme sensory pleasure:
 - Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

- ↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of eternal happiness:
 - Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

- ↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of reincarnation as a superior life form:
 - Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of reincarnation in a superior realm:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Other [specify]

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural rewards are bestowed out in this lifetime:

– Yes

Notes: Just as the Spartans seemed to consider misfortunes divine punishment (see above), a 4th-century inscription of the poet Isyllus, erected at Epidaurus to commemorate his miraculous healing from a childhood illness, credits a victory against Philip II to Spartan piety in preserving the oracles of Apollo. This evidence suggests that the Spartans also believed that divine rewards for piety could be meted out during one's lifetime. For further reading, see: Flower, M. (2009) 'Spartan 'Religion' and Greek 'Religion' in Hodkinson, ed. *Sparta: Comparative Approaches* (Classical Press of Wales): 196-201.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Supernatural rewards in this life are highly emphasized by the religious group:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Reward in this life consists of good luck:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Reward in this life consists of political success or power:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Reward in this life consists of success in battle:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Reward in this life consists of peace or social stability:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Reward in this life consists of healthy crops or good weather:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Reward in this life consists of success on journeys:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Reward in this life consists of mild sensory pleasure:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Reward in this life consists of extreme sensory pleasure:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Reward in this life consists of enhanced health:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Reward in this life consists of enhanced reproductive success:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Reward in this life consists of fortune visited on descendants:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Other [specify]

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Messianism/Eschatology

Are messianic beliefs present:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Norms and Moral Realism

Are general social norms prescribed by the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: As in other Greek poleis, religion was very much 'embedded' in Spartan society and religious activity often served to reinforce social norms. For instance, various aspects of religious rites, notably the whipping of the boys at the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, have been seen in connection with the agoge, the state-led training and educational regime that served to mold Spartiate youths into professional citizen-soldiers (cf. Parker 1989: 148).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Is there a conventional vs. moral distinction in the religious group:

– No

Notes: Unlike the Athenians, which in the 4th century BCE began distinguishing between general, permanent laws ('*nomoi*') and more temporary decrees passed by the Athenian assembly ('*psephismata*'), Spartans did not seem to recognize any distinction between conventional and moral

law. Instead, the Spartans believed that their way of life and constitution had been divinely instituted by their ancient lawgiver Lycurgus, whom they honored after his death as a god (Paus. 3.16.6; Plut. Lyc.31.3).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Practices

Membership Costs and Practices

Does membership in this religious group require celibacy (full sexual abstinence):

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does membership in this religious group require constraints on sexual activity (partial sexual abstinence):

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does membership in this religious group require castration:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does membership in this religious group require fasting:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does membership in this religious group require forgone food opportunities (taboos on desired foods):

– Yes

Notes: A fragment of the local historian Polykrates recounts that the eating of bread and sweet cakes was prohibited during the first day of the Hyakinthia festival (Ath.4.139d).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does membership in this religious group require permanent scarring or painful bodily alterations:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does membership in this religious group require painful physical positions or transitory painful wounds:

– Yes

Notes: Xenophon describes a ritual, said to have been established by the ancient lawgiver Lycurgus, in which Spartan boys tried to steal as many cheeses as possible from the altar in the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia while being held off by whips (Xen. Const.Lac. 2). Later writers Plutarch (Inst. Lac. 40) and Pausanias (3.16.10-11) record the existence of a similar form of this rite in their own day in which Spartan boys were tied to the altar of Artemis Orthia and flogged; they competed among themselves as to who could withstand the most lashings. Plato mentions that the Spartan festival of the Gymnopaïdai also involved transitory discomfort or pain; he referred to the festival, in which youths competed in athletic and choral contests, as a 'test of endurance' (καρτέρησις) that took place in the heat of the sun (Laws 1.633c). For further reading, see: Pettersson, M. (1992) Cults of Apollo at Sparta: The Hyakinthia, the Gymnopaïdai, and the Karneia (Svenska Institutet i Athen): 42-56.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of adults:

"Adults" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition of a human who is 18-years-old or older and who is legally responsible for his/her actions, then please specify that difference in the Comments/Sources: box below.

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of children:

"Children" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition, please specify that different in the Comments/Sources: box below.

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does membership in this religious group require self-sacrifice (suicide):

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of property/valuable items:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Although no accounts of Spartan rituals or festivals mention that participants were required to make dedications, the thousands of votive objects excavated from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia and from the Sanctuary of Agamemnon and Cassandra at Amyklai suggest that the act of making personal dedications was considered an acceptable religious practice at Sparta. For further reading, see: Dawkins, R., ed. (1929) *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies). Salapata, G. (2014) *Heroic Offerings: The Terracotta Plaques from the Spartan Sanctuary of Agamemnon and Cassandra* (University of Michigan).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of time (e.g., attendance at meetings or services, regular prayer, etc.):

– Yes

Notes: Even in antiquity, the Spartans were recognized by other Greeks as being particularly pious, and accounts of their delaying or even interrupting military action in order to attend or celebrate festivals are numerous (cf. Hdt. 9.7 on the Spartans' hesitation to fight Mardonius because they were celebrating the Hyakinthia; Hdt. 7.206 on the Spartans' failure to equip Leonidas with a larger force at Thermopylae because they were celebrating the Karneia; Xen. Hell.4.5.11 on King Agesilaus allowing soldiers from Amyklai to return home during a campaign in order to perform at the Hyakinthia). Given the importance that this evidence suggests the Spartans attached to religious matters, it is likely that all Spartiates were expected to attend festivals and rituals. For further reading, see: Flower, M. (2009) 'Spartan 'Religion' and Greek 'Religion' in Hodkinson, ed. *Sparta: Comparative Approaches* (Classical Press of Wales): 196-201.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does membership in this religious group require physical risk taking:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does membership in this religious group require accepting ethical precepts:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does membership in this religious group require marginalization by out-group members:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does membership in this religious group require participation in small-scale rituals (private, household):

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Unlike at Athens, where smaller-scale religious rituals are attested for demes, tribes, clans, and even households, no ancient evidence mentions the existence of smaller-scale rituals performed during peacetime at Sparta. Parker (1989:144) suggests that a statement in Plutarch, in which the writer recounts that any Spartiate who made a sacrifice was obliged to share the meat with his mess-mates, implies the existence of at least some private or small-scale ritual practice at Sparta. In times of war, however, Xenophon records that military divination rituals were performed by a Spartan king in the presence of a limited audience of military officials (Cons. Lac. 13.4).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does membership in this religious group require participation in large-scale rituals:

i.e. involving two or more households; includes large-scale “ceremonies” and “festivals.”

– Yes

Notes: The three major Spartan religious festivals, all held in honor of Apollo, were the Hyakinthia, the Gymnopaïdai, and the Karneia. The Hyakinthia, which was celebrated at the Sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai each summer, recalled the death and resurrection of Apollo's lover, Hyakinthos. This festival took place over three days. The local historian Polykrates recounts that on the first day of the festival, the Spartans memorialized and mourned Hyakinthos's death by refraining from wearing garlands, singing paeans, and eating breads and cakes. On the second day of the festival, the mood lightened to one of joy, and sacrifices and feasts were held together with musical performances, choral dances, processions, and competitions, all involving young Spartan men and women of different ages (Ath.4.139d-f). What took place on the third day of the festival is not known. Pausanias recounts that the Spartan women wove a tunic each year for Apollo at Amyklai, and so this offering may have been presented at some point during the festival (13.16.2). The two other major Spartan festivals, those of the Gymnopaïdai and the Karneia, were also celebrated in honor of Apollo and were held in mid- and late summer, respectively (Richer 2007:247). The Gymnopaïdai, or the 'festival of naked/unarmed dancing', was thought to commemorate an ancient victory against the Argives at Thyrea. Its festivities consisted of several competitive musical performances by male choruses of different ages as well as dances performed by ephebes in honor of Apollo (Paus. 3.11.9; cf. Richer 2007: 247, Flower 2009: 208-211, Pettersson 1993: 42-45). The Spartan festival of the Karneia, which was thought to commemorate the death of the seer Karnas during the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnese (Paus.3.13.4), also included musical and athletic competitions, military displays, the sacrifice of a ram, and feasting (cf. Pettersson 1993: 57-60). For further reading, see: Flower, M. (2018) 'Spartan Religion' in Powell, ed. *A Companion to Sparta*, Vol. II (Wiley Blackwell): 435-441. Flower, M. (2009) 'Spartan 'Religion' and Greek 'Religion' in Hodkinson, ed. *Sparta: Comparative Approaches* (Classical Press of Wales): 207-211. Nobili, C. (2014) 'Performances of Girls at the Spartan Festival of the Hyakinthia' in Moraw and Kieberg, eds. *Girls in Antiquity* (Waxmann): 135-148. Parker, R. (1989) 'Spartan Religion' in Powell, ed. *Classical Sparta: Techniques Behind her Success* (University of Oklahoma): 148-152. Pettersson, M. (1992) *Cults of Apollo at Sparta: The Hyakinthia, the Gymnopaïdai, and the Karneia* (Svenska Institutet i Athen). Richer, N. (2004) 'The Hyakinthia of Sparta' in Figueira, ed. *Spartan Society* (Classical Press of Wales): 77-102.

Richer, N. (2005) 'Les Gymnopédes de Sparte' *Ktema* 30: 237-62. Richer, N. (2007) 'The Religious System at Sparta' in Ogden, ed. *A Companion to Greek Religion* (Wiley Blackwell): 246-7. Richer, N. (2009) 'Les Karneia de Sparte (et la date de la bataille de Salamine)' in Cavanagh et al., eds. *Sparta and Laconia: From Prehistory to Pre-Modern* (British School at Athens Supplement 16): 213-223. Richer, N. (2012) *La religion des Spartiates: croyances et cultes dans l'Antiquité* (Les Belles Lettres).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ On average, for large-scale rituals how many participants gather in one location:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ What is the average interval of time between performances (in hours):

Performances here refers to large-scale rituals.

– Field doesn't know

Notes: According to the Spartan religious calendar, each major festival was celebrated once a year at its designated time.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Are there orthodoxy checks:

Orthodoxy checks are mechanisms used to ensure that rituals are interpreted in a standardized way, e.g. through the supervisory prominence of a professionalized priesthood or other system of governance, appeal to texts detailing the proper interpretation, etc.

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Are there orthopraxy checks:

Orthopraxy checks are mechanisms used to ensure that rituals are performed in a standardized way, e.g. through the supervisory prominence of a professionalized priesthood or other system of governance, appeal to texts detailing the proper procedure, etc.

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Does participation entail synchronic practices:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)



Is there use of intoxicants:

– No

Notes: In Plato's *Laws*, Socrates's Spartan interlocutor Megillus states that there are no drunken festivals of Dionysus at Sparta (637a-b). The testimony of the elegiac poet Kritias, as preserved in Athenaeus's *Deipnosophistai*, seems to confirm Megillus's assertion: 'The Spartan mode of living is ordered equably: eating and drinking in moderation, they have the power to think and work. No day is set apart to intoxicate the body with excessive portions' (10.433b). Given the Spartan contempt for public drunkenness, it seems unlikely that intoxicants (beyond the consumption of wine in moderation) would have been involved in Spartan religious practices. For further reading, see: Flower, M. (2018) 'Spartan Religion' in Powell, ed. *A Companion to Sparta*, Vol. II (Wiley Blackwell): 440-441. Parker, R. (1989) 'Spartan Religion' in Powell, ed. *Classical Sparta: Techniques Behind her Success* (University of Oklahoma): 150-151.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Are extra-ritual in-group markers present:

E.g. special changes to appearance such as circumcision, tattoos, scarification, etc.

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does the group employ fictive kinship terminology:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Society and Institutions

Levels of Social Complexity

The society to which the religious group belongs is best characterized as (please choose one):

– A state

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Welfare

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized famine relief:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Is famine relief available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized poverty relief:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Is poverty relief available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized care for the elderly and infirm:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Is institutionalized care for the elderly and infirm available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Education

Does the religious group provide formal education to its adherents:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Is formal education available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: From the age of seven, Spartiate boys participated in a rigorous training and educational program that was overseen by the Spartan state. This program, known as the 'agoge', was believed to have been instituted by Lycurgus and was intended to prepare the boys physically and mentally for their life as future citizens and soldiers. In addition to training in athletics, military skills, and mental acumen, boys also received instruction in music, dancing, and poetry. For further reading, see: Xenophon, *Constitution of the Lacedaimonians*, 2-3 Ducat, J. (1999) 'Perspectives on Spartan Education in the Classical Period' in Hodkinson and Powell, eds. *Sparta: New Perspectives* (Classical Press of Wales): 43-66. Ducat, J. (2006) *Spartan Education, Youth and Society in the Classical Period* (Classical Press of Wales). Kennell, N. (1995) *The Gymnasium of Virtue: Education and Culture in Ancient Sparta* (University of North Carolina). Richer, N. (2018) 'Spartan Education in the Classical Period' in Powell, ed. *A Companion to Sparta, Vol. II* (Wiley Blackwell): 525-543.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)



Is extra-religious education open to both males and females:

– Yes

Notes: Although Spartan girls did not participate in the agoge, sources suggest that they received training in basic literacy, music (music, singing, and choral dancing), and gymnastics. Xenophon (*Const.Lac.1.4-5*) mentions that Lycurgus also instituted races and contests of strength for women in acknowledgment of the fact that strong women bear 'more vigorous' children. For further reading, see: Kennell, N. (1995) *The Gymnasium of Virtue: Education and Culture in Ancient Sparta* (University of North Carolina). Millender, E. (2018) 'Spartan Women' in Powell, ed. *A Companion to Sparta, Vol. II* (Wiley Blackwell): 500-524. Millender, E. (2015) *Unveiling Spartan Women* (Classical Press of Wales). Pomeroy, S. (2002) *Spartan Women* (Oxford). Richer, N. (2018) 'Spartan Education in the Classical Period' in Powell, ed. *A Companion to Sparta, Vol. II* (Wiley Blackwell): 537-539.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Bureaucracy

Do the group's adherents interact with a formal bureaucracy within their group:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Do the group's adherents interact with other institutional bureaucracies:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Public Works

Does the religious group in question provide public food storage:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Is public food storage provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does the religious group in question provide water management (irrigation, flood control):

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Is water management provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does the religious group in question provide transportation infrastructure:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Is transportation infrastructure provided for the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Taxation

Does the religious group in question levy taxes or tithes:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Are taxes levied on the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

Notes: In Archaic and Classical Sparta, only perioikoi and helots paid taxes. The only 'tax' on the Spartiate class was a monthly contribution that each adult male was required to make to his communal mess ('syssition'). According to Plutarch (Lyc.12.2), this contribution consisted of a medimnos of barley-meal, eight khoes of wine, five mnai of cheese, two and a half mnai of figs, and a small sum of money for the purchase of meat and fish. Ancestral agricultural allotments ('kleroi') distributed by the state to Spartiates were intended to produce this contribution; should Spartiates fail to contribute to their communal mess, then they were deprived of full citizen rights (Arist.Pol.1271a28ff.). For further reading, see: David, E. (1978) 'The Spartan Syssitia and Plato's Laws' *American Journal of Philology* 99.4: 486-495. Figueira, T. (1984) 'Mess Contributions and Subsistence at Sparta' *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 114: 87-109. van Wees, H. (2018) 'The Common Messes' in Powell, ed. *A Companion to Sparta, Vol. I* (Wiley Blackwell): 236-268.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Enforcement

Does the religious group in question provide an institutionalized police force:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized judges:

– Yes

Notes: Herodotus records that the kings of Sparta—who also served as the priests of Zeus Lakedaimon and Zeus Ouranios—presided as judges over cases concerning unwedded heiresses and public roads (6.57.4).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Do the group's adherents interact with an institutionalized judicial system provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: Aside from the judicial prerogatives of the Spartan kings, justice at Sparta was also dispensed via the Gerousia, the council of Spartan elders. The Gerousia was the only authority at Sparta that was able to pronounce sentences of death or exile (cf. Xen. Const. Lac. 10.2; Arist. Pol. 1270b39–40, 1275b10; Plut.Lyc.26.2). For further reading, see: Kennell, N. (1992) 'The Spartan Synacheia' Phoenix 46: 342-351. Nafissi, M. (2013) 'Gerousia' in Bagnall et al., eds. The Encyclopedia of Ancient History (Wiley Blackwell): 2906-7.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does the religious group in question enforce institutionalized punishment:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Are the group's adherents subject to institutionalized punishment enforced by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)



Do the institutionalized punishments include execution:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)



Do the institutionalized punishments include exile:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)



Do the institutionalized punishments include corporal punishments:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

|

↳ Do the institutionalized punishments include ostracism:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

↳ Do the institutionalized punishments include seizure of property:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Does the religious group in question have a formal legal code:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Are the group's adherents subject to a formal legal code provided by institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: Unlike the laws ('nomoi') and decrees ('psephismata') of Classical Athens or the legal codes attested elsewhere in the Greek world (cf. the Gortyn Law Code), ancient Sparta did not possess a written, formalized legal code. According to Plutarch, the quasi-mythical Spartan lawgiver Lycurgus went so far as to actually forbid laws or the Spartan constitution to be written down; Lycurgus instead believed that laws were more secure if they were instilled by the community's way of life and civic institutions than if they were simply written on stone (Plut.Lyc.13.1). As such, although the Spartans did not possess a written law code, the Spartan constitution was enshrined in and upheld by their way of life. For further reading, see: Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus* Nafissi, M. (2018) 'Lykourgos the Spartan 'Lawgiver': Ancient Beliefs and Modern Scholarship' in Powell, ed. *A Companion to Sparta*, Vol. I (Wiley Blackwell): 93-123. MacDowell, D. (1986) *Spartan Law* (Scottish Academic Press).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Warfare

Does religious group in question possess an institutionalized military:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Do the group's adherents participate in an institutionalized military provided by institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: Modern receptions of ancient Sparta have emphasized the militaristic and martial nature of Spartan society. Yet even in antiquity, Spartans were renowned for their fearlessness on the battlefield and their military virtues of endurance, obedience, and self-control. Released from the burden of agricultural labor by their subjugation of the helots and barred by Lycurgus from participating in any commercial activities, adult Spartiate males were expected to dedicate the vast majority of their time to military drilling and training. The Spartan military was divided into units of hoplites overseen by officers, and one of the Spartan kings led the army on campaign as its general. In terms of religious practices, military divination, in which omens were taken by the king before campaigns and battles, is frequently attested at Sparta. The Spartans were known to perform a religious rite called the *diabateria* whenever their army crossed the border of Spartan territory in order to ascertain whether their action was met with divine approval (cf. Xen. Const. Lac. 13.2-5). Ancient evidence suggests that the outcome of these sacrifices and divinations held great weight among the Spartans and that military actions were not infrequently delayed or rethought as a consequence of them (cf. Hdt. 9.36, 6.81-2; Xen. Hell.3.1.17-19). For further reading, see: Selections from Tyrtaios, in Campbell, D., ed. (2009) [1982] *Greek Lyric Poetry: A Selection of Early Greek Lyric, Elegiac, and Iambic Poetry* (Bristol Classical Press): 9-12. Flower, M. (2009) 'Spartan 'Religion' and Greek 'Religion' in Hodkinson, ed. *Sparta: Comparative Approaches* (Classical Press of Wales): 196-201. Lazenby, J. (1985) *The Spartan Army* (Aris and Phillips). Parker, R. (1989) 'Spartan Religion' in Powell, ed. *Classical Sparta: Techniques Behind her Success* (University of Oklahoma): 155-163. Sekunda, N. (1998) *The Spartan Army* (Osprey).

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Are the group's adherents protected by or subject to an institutionalized military provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Written Language

Does the religious group in question possess its own distinct written language:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Is a non-religion-specific written language available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Is a non-religion-specific written language used by the group's adherents through an

institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: Doric Greek

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Calendar

Does the religious group in question possess a formal calendar:

– Yes

Notes: The Spartan religious calendar was structured around the celebration of religious festivals, including those of the Hyakinthia, the Gymnopaïdai, and the Karneia. Richer (2007:246-7) suggests that this calendar may have been based on lunar, solar, and stellar movements. Richer, N. (2007) 'The Religious System at Sparta' in Ogden, ed. *A Companion to Greek Religion* (Wiley Blackwell): 246-7.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Is a formal calendar provided for the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Food Production

Does the religious group in question provide food for themselves:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)

Is food provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: In Archaic and Classical Sparta, the Spartiates were maintained by the labor of the helots, an unfree class of state-owned laborers who farmed the Spartiate estates and supplied provisions to the Spartiates. For further reading, see: Cartledge, P. (2002) [1979] *Sparta and Laconia: A Regional History 1300-362 BC* (Routledge). Figueia, T. (2018) 'Helotage and the Spartan Economy' in Powell, ed. *A Companion to Sparta, Vol. II* (Wiley Blackwell): 565-595. Hodkinson, S. (2003) 'Chapter 10: Spartiates, Helots, and the Direction of the Agrarian Economy: Towards an Understanding of Helotage in Comparative Perspective' in Luraghi and Alcock, eds. *Helots and Their Masters in Laconia and Messenia: Histories, Ideologies, Structures* (Center for Hellenic Studies): 248-285.

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)



Please characterize the forms/levels of food production [choose all that apply]:

- Hunting (including marine animals)
- Fishing
- Patoralism
- Small-scale agriculture / horticultural gardens or orchards
- Large-scale agriculture (e.g., monocropping, organized irrigation systems)

Specific to this answer:

Region: Sparta and surrounding territory (chora)