

Robin Osborne: Sparta Lecture Series (WK 1-6)

Historians discussed (from earliest to latest):

- Tyrtaeus (mid 7th century)
- Xenophon (B. 430 BC – approx. 354 BC)
- Herodotus (B. 484 BC – 425 BC) **CLASSICAL AUTHOR**
- Ephorus (B. 400 BC – 330 BC)
- Aristotle (B. 384 BC – 322 BC)
- Diodorus Siculus (Active 1st Century BC)
- Strabo (B. 63 BC – 23 AD)
- Plutarch (B. 46 AD – 119 AD)

Lecture (1): Lykourgos and the problems of the ‘Spartan mirage’

Introduction

- Sparta notoriously a Greek city which is substantively odd
- Politically odd because it has 2 Kings (incongruous with traditional monarchical structures), socially and economically compared with Athens where women have no property rights
- Sparta was also different (as noted by Thucydides) in that it doesn't have an urban centre – it was a cluster of villages rather than a singular town [Strabo BK 8.4.11: 'in olden times it was called, they say, 'the country of the hundred cities']
- Furthermore, it had a very large territory – Athens was a large city state with a territory of 2,500 sqkm whereas Sparta has double the territory
- Sparta had a slave population that is ethnically coherent – helots
- Sparta also had a set of cities within its territory that were (1) on the one hand independent communities and on the other (2) DEPENDENT upon the Spartans – owed various services to Sparta
- Sparta is completely different from any other Greek city state

Limited literary sources

- Another peculiarity is we have almost NO WRITTEN literature by Spartans (2 well-known archaic poets whose evidence is extremely important for our understanding of the Spartan world during the Archaic period Alcman and Tyrtaeus) but no surviving literary or epigraphic texts from the Classical Periods
- Only a handful of Spartan decrees or inscriptions survive – this is a huge contrast with the quantity Athenian literary evidence that survives
- Consequence of limited literary sources is twofold:

(1) Sparta is always presented to us in texts by people who don't belong to Sparta, these sources see Sparta as a place hugely in contrast with the rest of the Greek world = the result of this is has been termed the ‘**Spartan mirage**’ aka we see through a highly selective reflection because the viewers approach it conditioned by their own expectations of how a Greek city state should operate

(2) Because Sparta is different, authors feel the need to explain *why* these differences have occurred and create a series of stories that explain the origins of ‘early Sparta’ – these stories are invented to rationalise cultural differences

Conclusion: Sparta is created as a textual object within classical and later sources – subject to imaginative reconstructions

Source 1: Strabo (B.63 BC – 23 AD) [*Geographica* BK 8.5.4]

- Greek geographer, philosopher and historian who lived in Asia Minor (Amasya, Turkey) during the transitional period of the Roman Republic into the Roman Empire
- Strabo writes a “Geography” under Augustus, he’s interested in the nature of a country and its political arrangement
- Strabo is very typical of almost all historians of the Greek world after the 4th Century BC aka that he is an “armchair historian” – scoured libraries to find sources and collating them to tell readers what earlier authorities have said, sometimes cites sources sometimes writes independently
- Strabo is extremely useful to distinguish between passages where he is citing another author and passages where he is simply making it up as he goes along
- Strabo makes clear when he is citing other sources e.g “According to Ephorus, Eurysthenes and Procles, the Heracleidae took possession of Laconia” [Strabo BK8.5.4]
- Here Strabo references Ephorus in a history which is now lost to us but he was widely read in antiquity and heavily used by Diodorus who also wrote in the 1st Century BC – for this reason despite his works being lost we know a lot of what he said
- “until the romans” signals were no longer reading Ephorus – Strabo here is now giving his own commentary
- Strabo hasn’t quite understood Ephorus, he comes to the conclusion that the helots were held as state slaves but as far as the Classical period is concerned this is false, the conditions of the helots were accurately described by Ephorus, they were owned by INDIVIDUALS on particular conditions (can’t be freed or sold abroad) – here is Strabo being a sloppy reader of an earlier author who he misrepresents and Ephorus makes up a story based on available data
- The issue with Strabo’s text is not that he’s a later author – sometimes people disparage late author and question their credibility, but rather the problem of pertains to writing Spartan history which has proved difficult even for early authors like Herodotus

Source 2: Ephorus (B. 400 BC – 330 BC)

- A Greek historian known for his unprecedented universal history (his *mangum opus* consisting of 29 Books, according to Polybius he was the first person to ever author a universal history)
- Born in Cyme, Aeolia
- Ephorus is a well-respected historian who did serious research – many of which pertain to the history of his own time
- Ephorus wrote *catagenos* [aka by type] didn’t tell chronological retelling of history but grouped according to themes in a more cohesive way – has a whole book which he devotes to Phillip of Macedon etc.
- Ephorus’ account of early Sparta informs much of Strabo’s retelling of Spartan history – we don’t know where he got it from but we can see clearly what he is doing in his passage – analysing Sparta and trying to explain what is odd about it

- According to him the story of Sparta starts with the children of Heracles – immediately transposes the gap between history and mythology
- Heracles' children took possession of Sparta and divided it into 6 parts, he also singles out Amyclae because although Sparta was traditionally a cluster of smaller villages Amyclae was a large city settlement
- He then turns from the cities to the people who live there 'though the neighbouring peoples one and all were subject to the Spartans still they had equal rights, sharing both the rights of citizenship and the offices of state but then Agis ... deprived them of equality of rights and ordered them to pay tribute to Sparta', here he gives explanation for the origins of *periokoi* aka a ruler decided that political and civil rights should be amended
- Comments on the huge enslaved population – the helots, explanation for the helots is that when Agis enslaved the occupation of Helos after a revolt ('all obeyed except the Heleians') – explicit order was given that no slave owner be allowed to free them or sell them to anyone outside the country – these 2 conditions ensure that the slaves are bound in perpetual servitude and are ethnically 'pure'
- Ephorus does know something even if he makes up an explanation to get there

Source 3: Herodotus (B. 484 BC – 425 BC)

- Born in Halicarnassus in Asia Minor
- Known most famously for his account of the Graeco-Persian Wars
- Herodotus provides us with our earliest account of how Sparta came to be what it was in the Classical period
- Once upon a time the Spartans were the worst governed city **BUT** they had escaped great evil but changed to a good government after Lykourgos visits Delphi and he is enhanced by the Delphic oracles' recognition of him as a God
- Lykourgos persuades the Spartans to adopt a new law code – not clear whether that law code came from Delphi or Crete – Herodotus' sources doesn't know this because even though Sparta is odd it shares many of its peculiarities with Crete
- This set of laws outlined and consolidated Sparta's social divisions – established their affairs of law, civil divisions, annual officials and the council of elders etc.
- Once the Spartans adopted this code of law they became tremendously successful – story is transparently invented to give authority to the figure of Lykourgos – story is a means of persuading the Spartan people that the current state of affairs is excellent
- Sparta was once in a great state of disarray but a heroic figure whose virtue was recognised **EVEN** by the Delphic oracle rescued Sparta – we see this reflected again later in Herodotus with a speech delivered by the exiled Spartan King Darius to the Persian ruler Xerxes where he explains why the Spartans are the best warriors on earth

Conclusion: Interestingly, you can see how the need to resist Persia is actually being used to reinforce this ideological position about Sparta – primarily a position for the Spartans themselves to consume

Source 4: Xenophon (B. 430 BC – approx. 354 BC) [Constitution of the Lakedaimonians 1.1-4]

- Not all ancient authors take this approach to Lykourgos, they don't claim he was divine or glorify him to the same extent
- Others just believe he was supremely rational [like Xenophon who was born as an Athenian but lives on an estate given to him by a Spartan king and knew Sparta very intimately] whereas Herodotus was a Greek from Halicarnassus who travelled extensively around the Greek world in the late 5th Century BC **BUT** didn't spend a significant period of time in Sparta
- Xenophon is the closest we get to hearing what the Spartans themselves say – the Spartans are telling themselves a story – not simply revisiting an existing text buried in an archive
- Xenophon's story about Lykourgos recounts that he was uninfluenced by what other people did – was not interested in imitating other city states – explains why Sparta was 'pre-eminently prosperous'
- Xenophon gives an account of Spartan childbirth, Lykourgos felt that motherhood was the most important function of the female population which is why physical training was mandated for both men and women

Conclusion: Xenophon is suggesting that Sparta is different because of **RATIONAL REASONS – EMPHASISES LYKOURGOS' PRAGMATISM**

Xenophon is effectively imposing that view as a view that he first comes up with to explain the contrast between Sparta and the rest of the Greek world

'Later authors'

- Later authors who write about Sparta reflect a variety of different methods for constructing the past – occasionally they realise there are ways of constructing this past that CAN USE historical anchors (**aka** contemporaneous sources) who were actually witness to those events or lived closer to the period being recounted
- Sometimes later authors thoroughly and intelligently researched the archives of available literature – this is true of Diodorus and Plutarch

Source 5: Diodorus Siculus (Active 1st Century BC) [7.12.1-8]

- Diodorus [BK 7.12.1-8] has an even more elaborated version of the oracle to Lykourgos that Herodotus had recorded **BUT** in Diodorus' version the oracle actually **ENDORSES** Lykourgos' laws instead of just proclaiming him a god – pushes claim that the laws came from Delphi to imbue them with greater authority
- Another oracle is delivered later in the passage – there are two paths and you are going to go a good way – further endorsement
- But later in the passage Diodorus comes up with both more hearsay evidence [section 5] back projection for certain explanations for the collapse of certain power in the 4th Century BC: (1) one of the explanations is that the Spartans became overly zealous with money – the Pythian priestess predicted this was "always going to happen"
- The Pythian priestess also delivered an oracle which is cited from the Archaic period [Tyrtaios] – this means that this is an explanation that the Spartans were telling themselves back in the 7th Century BC – hidden behind the poetic language is a

description of the Spartan constitution (**aka** kings are to have overall power, they are advised by a council of elders and the people are to make the decisions = basic constitution laid out)

- The fact that an Archaic poet could talk about the constitution confidently and lay out all the features that later authors were familiar with suggests that even in the archaic period there was some kind of established political arrangement dating back to the 7th Century BC

Source 5: Plutarch (B. 46 AD – 119 AD) [Plut. Lykour 6 & 5.6-8]

- Plutarch was a middle Platonist philosopher, historian and biographer
- He is known primarily for his work Parallel Lives (a series of biographies of illustrious Greeks and Romans)
- Plutarch in his life of Lykourgos knows that he is a fiction – “nothing can be said which is not disputed” [Plut. Lyk. 1], he then lists the various traditions in order to suggest that no one really knows the origin of Sparta
- A few chapters later, Plutarch talks about Lykourgos’ political arrangements – familiar with the biggining of the story, but then he states that after establishing cults, dividing people into social groups and create a counsel of elders, they had to hold annual assemblies
- Aristotle is referenced in Plutarch in a work that is now lost to us, Plutarch however has clearly found this lost document
- Exactly the same wrote from Tyrtaeus as we do quoted from Diodorus – Plutarch has seen that Tyrtaeus’ explanation is a poetic version of the text he’s found in the now lost Aristotelian constitution, this means we can confidently date Tyrtaeus as the 7th century – from at least he 7th century on Sparta was organised in this way
- Our reconstruction of archaic Sparta depends on what we make of the Great Rhetra (the official Spartan Constitution) – unclear whether it was a later construction but the language that he has used strongly suggests otherwise and the essential bones of it are in the Tyrtaeus passage so doesn’t matter which text is derivative of the other
- Also enables us to see why we get certain other stories about archaic Sparta – the Rhetra and Tyrtaeus both tell us about the kings, tribes, the council of elders and the political power of the people etc. but what they don’t mention is the Ephors (5 annual magisters) – why aren’t they mentioned? **EITHER (1)** they were part of this arrangement but just conveniently weren’t included in the summary **(2) OR** they were a later invention
- Plutarch therefore comes up with the explanation that they were created later, if you believe in Lykourgis as a great constitutional thinker who is faultless but then observes things in Classical Sparta that have gone wrong – this is problematic
- Aristotle in his Politics suggests that it was all the fault of the Ephors as a later addition to the Spartan political system
- The debate whether the Ephors were a Lykourgian invention is **IMPORTANT**
- Plutarch in Chapter 5 of the Life of Lykourgis discusses the counsel of Ephors (Gerousia) and why they only have just 28 people, he explores various explanations including: **(a)** what a wonderful number 28 is (**aka** number mysticism) **(b)** an arbitrary explanation is that Lykourgis happened to have 28 friends **OR (c)** Plutarch's

preferred explanation is that 30 is a round number and if you discount 2 kings you are left with 28

Conclusion: The way these authors fret over these issues shows how early historians constructed their histories and rationalised different things

Source 6: Aristotle (B. 384 BC – 322 BC) [Aristotle, Politics 1270b6 – 1271a18]

- Aristotle in BK 2 of his politics when he is thinking about the best way to organise a city looks at a variety of real and fictional constitutions
- He gives us a critic of Plato's republic and why the government system isn't in his view a good system and equally gives a critique of Sparta and writing after the collapse of spartan power tries to explain what went wrong
- What's important about this is that Aristotle's own explanation is embedded in the sorts of stories which he has been told about Sparta – what are your expectations about Sparta?
- That results on him focusing on the Ephors because of how they were represented later on **BUT** he also focuses on a number of peculiar features of the Spartan political system
- The whole mirage shows Greeks reflecting on how Spartan practises differ from the rest of the Greek world – for instance to be elected to the Gerousia (counsel of Ephors) was done by acclimation (send away two people to sit behind a curtain and then as candidates enter they measure which candidate receives the loudest cheers – Aristotle thinks this is a silly practise and sees this as a reason as to why the Spartan constitution ultimately fails in the end)

Conclusion: By locating the problems of Sparta with the Ephors, Aristotle exonerates Lykourgos

Conclusion:

- The perspective of authors are effected by the contemporary stories they had heard about Sparta
- There are some firm pieces of historical data which we can extrapolate from Classical and later texts (quotations from Tyrtaeus, texts like the Rhetra etc.)
- Material evidence from archaic Sparta can also provide insights – not least because there is a very big discrepancy from what emerges from material and what emerges from the 'literary mirage'

Lecture 2: The Art and Archaeology of Sparta

Importance of material culture

- History is a set of questions and not a body texts, to answer some of these questions we often have better evidence from material culture
- Material record provides an impression of Archaic Sparta
- Classical Sparta has reputation for being austere, noticeable absence of impressive buildings, classical statues, gold or silver coinage etc.

What does material evidence suggest about Sparta?

It is true that very rich Classical sites have not been a feature of Spartan archaeology but archaic Sparta is different:

- (1) Archaic Sparta was materially rich and well connected, materials from Sparta appear across the Mediterranean and raw materials come into Sparta from elsewhere – contrast to picture of Spartan isolationism
- (2) Archaeological evidence of devotions at sanctuaries etc. enables us to see how Spartans interreacted with each other in the Archaic period – complements literary evidence revealing a competitiveness within Spartan society
- (3) But also reveals a Sparta that stands apart in some ways from the rest of the Greek world, notably in the production of artefacts not found elsewhere – highlights peculiar aspects of Archaic Spartan society

aka Allows us to see the way in which Sparta was embedded in the wider material world as well as insights into Spartan life

Case study (1): Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia

- This site was excavated before WW1 – first stratigraphic excavation on the Greek mainland
- One of the most important religious sites in all of Sparta
- The site has produced many artefacts that allow historians to better understand exactly what went on in the sanctuary during that period of time

Attitudes to Sparta

- Thucydides remarks that ancient Sparta, by contrast to Athens, would seem like a totally unimportant place to later generations because it had no major buildings:

Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ εἰ ἡ πόλις ἐρημωθείη, λειφθείη δὲ τὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη, πολλὴν ἂν οἶμαι ἀπιστίαν τῆς δυνάμεως προελθόντος πολλοῦ χρόνου τοῖς ἔπειτα πρὸς τὸ κλέος

Suppose the city of Sparta to be deserted, and nothing left but the temples and the ground-plan, distant ages would be very unwilling to believe that the power of the Lacedaemonians was at all equal to their fame [**Thuc. 1.102**]

- But this assessment is slightly unfair to ancient Sparta

The geography of the Spartan state

- We have little notion of where much of the material that is produced in Archaic Sparta (e.g bronzes, ceramics, bone and ivory etc.) actually came from or who used it
- The Spartan citizens themselves were encouraged to spend all their time preparing for war so it's unclear where productive capacity lies – likely with Periokoi communities (groups of 'free' but non independent peoples that were scattered across Laconia – mostly on the eastern coast of Pelopnese etc.)
- The chances are that much of the craft production happened not within Sparta itself but it's neighbouring communities
- The Spartan settlement pattern of Laconia features not just a single town (like most major Greek city states e.g Megara) but a number of large villages/towns around the peninsula
- Also allows us to appreciate the sheer the size of spartan territory
- Sparta itself is occupying a central position – where there is relatively limited communication both East and West because of the Taygetus and Parnon mountain range on either side
- Immediate surroundings of Sparta are now well known because of intensive archaeological surveys that have detected a fair amount of rural settlements, their distribution is interesting – not randomly scattered by existing in particular 'favoured locations' – likely owing to distribution of good soils and distance from Sparta itself
- Sparta is surrounded by series of rural sanctuaries: (a) The Menelaion Sanctuary, bronze age palace which acquires ongoing life etc. (b) The Sanctuary of Apollo at Amyclae – outlier to the South (c) Sanctuary of Athena Chalkiokos, situated on the Spartan acropolis
- Sparta itself has an acropolis, the sanctuary of Artemis and the Eurotas valley
- Recently there has been quite a lot of excavation of cemetery sites particularly in the South East and North areas (around the outside of the inhabited spaces) but in the Classical period Sparta famously had no walls to mark out civil spaces (Hellenistic addition to the landscape)

Spartan Pottery

Artifact (1): Geometric amphora (750-700 BCE)

- Sparta produces a small amount of geometric pottery from the 8th Century BCE – looks similar to other examples of pottery found elsewhere in Greece at this time with the familiar concentric circles and iconic stripes, Spartan pottery however is distinctive for it's slender proportions



Artifact (2): Late geometric pyxis (750-690 BCE)

- Fragment excavated at the Amykaloin shows some very typical geometric figures with triangular torsos, **BUT** interestingly they are depicted linking hands and dancing with a lyre, suggests that the pot is actually made for a ritual occasion to recall a ritual occasion
- Therefore, already in the 8th Century there is therefore evidence of specialist pottery to serve ritual purposes
- Also features peculiar animal, subsequent Laconian painting is keen on scattering these odd creatures



Artifact (3): Lakoniain black-figure cup (c. 550 BCE)

- Ascribed to the Hunt Painter, depicts two hunters attacking a boar (Calydonian boar hunt)
- Random animals and creatures are littered throughout the scene – common feature of Spartan pottery
- Also interestingly cuts of the boar as it attempts to escape the hunter's – this compositional device of cutting things of is unique to Sparta
- Illustrates how the Iconography of Spartan pottery is very unusual



Artifact (4): Lakonian black figure cup (c. 565 BCE) showing symposiasts

- Another example of Spartan black figure



- pottery BUT much more conventional
- Depicts group of reclining diners, Spartan mess is represented as another form of the traditional Greek symposium
- What's not standard is the winged figures offering wreaths to the drinkers

Artifact (5): Lakoniain black-figure cup (c. 560 BCE) depicting Arkesilas from Vulci

- One of the most extraordinary examples of Laconian pottery
- Attributed to the Arkesilas Painter (approx. 20 cm in diameter)
- Bizarrely depicts a seated figure on a throne carrying a sceptre with a servant in front of them and a weighing device suspended from a beam, below the surface are stacks being stowed – perhaps cargo being stored in boathold (?)
- Laconian labels identify the seated figure as Arkesilas the ruler of Syreni (a settlement in Libya founded from Thera who was founded by Sparta – a pseudo grand-daughter settlement)
- The King is overseeing some sort of commercial enterprise
- Additionally, there is a lizard and monkeys dotted around PERHAPS an attempt to situate this scene in an ecology which is exotic from Sparta's point of view



N.B This cup shows the engagement of Spartan artists with what is on outside Sparta/Spartan interest in the broader world as well as willingness to paint pots with innovative designs

going

Spartan Bronzes

Artifact (6): 8th Century BCE bronze figure of flute-player (?)

- Recovered from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
- Unclear what he's doing, some speculation he's either drinking a cup or playing an instrument
- Wonderful way of invoking a relaxed pose
- Evidence of a bronze working tradition in Sparta from 8th Century onwards



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Artifact (7): Laconian bronze horse statuette (650-730 BCE)

- Evidence of blossoming bronze working tradition

Artifact (8): Bronze female figure (700-650 BCE)

- Recovered from the Menelaion Sanctuary
- Approx. 13cm high



Artifact (9): Bronze piriform (meaning pear-shaped) Corinthian aryballos (small, spherical flask with narrow neck – usually contained perfume or oil and often depicted in vase paintings as being used by athletes) (675-650 BCE)

- Recovered from Menelaion sanctuary
- Probably Corinthian **BUT** inscribed around the top with distinctive Laconian letters – it has been inscribed especially for a special occasion and dedicated to Helen
- **Inscription reads:** Deinis dedicated this as thanks to Helen, wife of Menelaos'
- Although the whole idea of having an alphabetic script must have been initially born in single moment in time by the time we have any surviving writing from the Greeks, they chose to write using an alphabet that was slightly distinctive and unique to different areas of Greece
- The Laconian alphabet is distinctive so we can therefore recognise it
- Given that it isn't obvious in the Classical period that Sparta much use of writing (no written decrees etc.) it is interesting to discover written dedications from Sparta were already in the century BCE – SUGGESTS Sparta was not behind the curb in acquiring literacy but just didn't use it in the same ways



Artifact (10): Kouros (560-550 BCE)

- Bronze figure in a pose very similar to the classical figure of a kouros (approx. 12cm)



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Artifact (11): Warrior figure (540-520 BCE)

- Example of Spartan bronze of a warrior figure (approx. 16cm) recovered from Sanctuary of Apollo Korythos at Longas in Messenia
- Warrior is shown wearing Corinthian helmet with nose guard + hair crest and breastplate typical of a Spartan hoplite
- Reminder that Spartan is a warrior culture



horse

Artifact (12): Bronze pitcher-carrier (hydriaphoros) (540-520 BC)

- Recovered from Sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas, Phoniki, Laconia (approx. 8cm)
- The figure carrying the vessel is interesting because it shows an individual doing something laborious, not simply a warrior – despite Spartan emphasis on war
- There are occasions where figures who practice other kinds of tasks are still celebrated



Artifact (13): Bronze running girl (550-540 BCE)

- Figure comes North-West Greek sanctuary of Dedona (approx. 12cm)
- Figure is identified as Spartan because it is a girl having athletic training – something that was mandated in Spartan society



Artifact (14): Bronze Mirror with clothed female figure (560-550 BCE)

- A lot of bronze mirrors were manufactured in Sparta, this is the first of several signs of an unexpected Spartan agenda (concern with appearance)
- This example was recovered from Leonidio, Kynouria (approx. 27 cm) and depicts a figure clothed in *chiton* and *himation* as the handle (outer garment worn over the left shoulder and under the right)



Artifact (15): Bronze Mirror with nude female figure (550-525 BCE)

- Recovered from Vasiliki forest, Taygetos (approx. 24 cm)
- Depicts nude woman wearing various items of jewellery and holding apple in left hand and lotus flower in right



N.B these two examples of bronze mirrors come from sanctuaries outside Sparta – evidence that although Spartiate life focused heavily on the town of Sparta there were plenty of signs of actual ritual life and elaborate dedications in other Laconian settlements. No single concentration of material dedications in Sparta itself.

Artifact (16): Naked female figure (former handle of bronze mirror?) (c. 550 BCE)

- Recovered from Amyklaion (approx. 16cm)
- Figure appears to be playing the cymbals – alluding to the making of music and dancing in the context of religious ritual



Artifact (17): Gorgon shield (?) (Late 6th Century BCE)

- Bronze gorgon figure was recovered from Spartan acropolis
- Likely part of shield motif – being dedicated to Athena (Goddess of War)



Artifact (18): Bronze Apollo (?) (Early 5th Century BCE)

- Recovered from forest of Taygetos (approx. 10cm)
- Bronze figures in the early 5th Century are beginning to show much more developed anatomical representations of the human body – Spartan bronze tradition is developing an



adapting to changing artistic sensibilities



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Artifact (19): Two Statuettes of Athena (c. 460, 530-520 BCE)

- Statuette on the left is approx. 10cm, the one on right is approx. 14cm
- Both recovered from the Chalkiokos sanctuary, Sparta
- The style of drapery in both cases suggests they date from the early classical period



Artifact (20): Large statue of Artemis (530-520 BCE)

- Statue recovered from Mazi, Elis
- Much larger in scale than the two other examples (approx. 1.92m *aka* larger than life size)
- Considerable size is important because of what this implies technically – one thing to be able to produce small bronzes, another to produce large scale statues
- She also has inscription which is written across her clothing which reads: Chimaridas to Daidaleia in Laconian script
- After the 5th Century these bronze statues virtually disappear

Artifact (21): Vix Krater (500 BCE)

- Spartan bronzes have been recovered much further afield than Laconia
- The Vix Krater was found in Northern Burgundy, France (approx. 1.63m and 200kg in weight)
- Presumably the Krater ended up in France through gift exchange or a mixture of trade and gift exchange
- It was either made in Sparta itself or Tauris in Southern Sicily (settlement founded by Sparta where there is a lot of trade connection with the rest of the world)
- Decorative handles and Gorgon figure shows extraordinarily elaborate bronzework, there's also a fine relief scene which depicts warriors and chariots
- This must always have been a splendid vessel suitable for giving as a present – perhaps a diplomatic gift that has been passed on BUT not direct diplomacy between Sparta and gallic chieftain in central France



N.B These Bronzework examples gives us a good notion of spartan technical ability
Many are impressive, high-quality pieces

They also give us an indication of the sites in which there is investment in sanctuaries across of the whole of Vasinia and Laconia in the Archaic period (an investment that is interested in performance and presentation)

Spartan Sculptural Pottery

Artifact (22): Clay Heads (700 BCE)

- From the Early 8th Century there are examples of male and female warrior heads sculpted from clay – beginning of a sculpting tradition in clay that doesn't really go anywhere
- Example on the left (approx. 11cm) depicts a male warrior, example on the right conversely depicts a female warrior (which was an idea unique to Sparta) (approx. 8.5 cm)
- Both examples were recovered from Amyklaion



Spartan Stone Sculptures

N.B Stone sculpting tradition develops which produces some difficult to read iconography unique to Sparta

Artifact (23): Pyramidal stele from Sparta (c. 6th Century BCE)

- This funerary stele is strange in shape and dimension, it narrows towards the top and resembles a kind of 4-sided pyramid
- There are two scenes, one on the reverse side: **(1)** The first scene depicts a male figure on the left engaged in some sort of friendly relationship with a female figure on the right **(2)** the image on the reverse side shows a seemingly hostile encounter between the two – the male figure is now wielding a sword
- Is this trying to tell a story? Juxtaposing friendly story to hostile story? (unclear)
- No way of definitively interpreting the meaning of these scenes but it does suggest from the very beginning the object was intended to draw the viewer in and make them think
- The narrow sides of the stele are decorated with snakes – a recurring visual motif in Spartan sculptural reliefs



N.B The unique parallelism with friendly/unfriendly relationships raises interesting questions about how men and women relate in society

Artifact (24): Votive relief of Dioscuri (c. 500 BCE)

- This relief was recovered from Sparta (approx. 50cm)
- Appears to depict the Dioscuri
- The Dioscuri refers to the legend of the twin deities Castor and Pollux
- They were associated with the two Kings of Sparta who claimed to be descendants of the Dioscuri – the Kings were the priests of the Dioscuri
- They were associated with young men and their pursuits of horsemanship, athletics and warfare and assisted in the protection of Sparta in times of crisis
- Had their own cult to whom Spartans made votive offerings
- Snakes again appear either side of an egg above the relief



Artifact (25): Votive stele of young women (c. 550 BCE)

- Recovered from Chalkioikos Sanctuary
- Dedication of female figure with flower in her hand
- Inscription which reads 'Wannaxibios' once again distinctive long sigma typical of Laconian script



N.B 5th Century Spartan sculpture shows examples of splendid grave stelae – iconography once again unique to Sparta, but period saw the end of figurative stelae in Sparta – only few examples survive

Artifact (26): Votive stele of enthroned figures (550-525 BCE)

- Recovered from Acropolis wall, Sparta (approx. 56 cm)
- This dedication is a peculiar Spartan type
- Depicts two figures seated, the nearer of whom looks straight out at the viewer while holding a chalice



Artifact (27): Relief of enthroned figures with worshipers (c. 550 BCE)

- Recovered from Chrysapha (approx. 87 cm)
- Similar example of later, better preserved scene
- Adds two worshippers below throned figures offering flowers BUT still same striking frontal gaze, chalice and snake – demonstrates some degree of consistency across iconography
- Size of seated individuals suggests they are supposed to be ontological figures – HERE size is being used to show difference in divine/terrestrial status
- This iconography is unique to Sparta



Artifact (28): Inscribed grave stele (c. 4th Century BCE)

- Spartan stelae with inscription that reads: Gorgopas died in war (approx. 47.5 cm)
- This example is supported by literary sources as Plutarch tells us that Spartans only allowed burial inside the Spartan city to be commemorated with a stela if the man died in war or the woman died in childbirth



Distribution of pottery

- Spartan pottery is found very widely distributed both East and West, appears in Samos (where most amount of spartan pottery has been recovered), Etruria and other places in Italy
- Sparta in the Archaic period clearly commercially linked South East and West

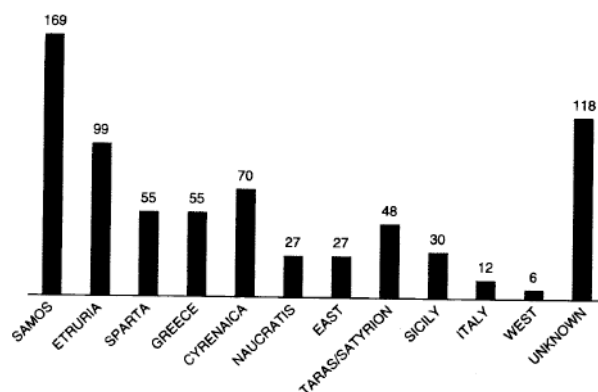


Figure 5.6 Chart of distribution of attributed Laconian black-figured vases. Source: Author.

N.B This strong production of artefacts dies out in the Classical period – no fine examples of Classical Spartan pottery

Archaeological record shows steady and continuous decline of dedications in the various Spartan sanctuaries from the 6th-4th Century BCE

Statues peak in popularity in the 6th Century BCE, but regardless they all gradually disappear

Finds concentrated in Sparta itself

The sanctuary of Artemis Orthia by the Eurotas valley has yielded extraordinarily rich finds that demonstrate the variety of Spartan production (e.g decorative pins, fibulae, statuettes, bone and ivory objects etc.) and devotion from an early date

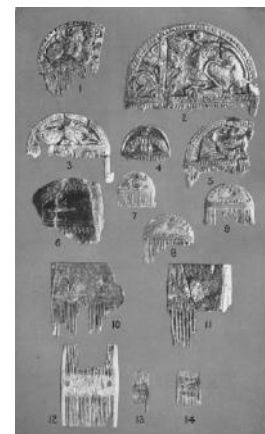
Artifact (29): Lead devote figures (7th – 3rd Century BCE)

- Tiny lead figures (which came in various sorts e.g goddesses, animals and warriors etc.) were extremely popular in Sparta
- They vary a bit over time **BUT** were clearly extremely cheap given the quantity recovered
- They are mostly concentrated to Sparta
- Examples of these kinds of small figurines have only been found as far as the sanctuary of Apollo Tagia, none beyond that – regional phenomena
- The archaeological record suggests they peaked in popularity in the 6th Century BCE



Artifact (30): Bone combs (650-625 BCE)

- A number of ornate ivory combs have been recovered
- Almost certainly not for combing hair but as decorative accessory (once again showing concern with appearance and self-presentation)



Artifact (31): Clay masks (6th Century BCE)

- Bizarre find at Artemis Orthia sanctuary is a collection of clay masks with eyeholes – perhaps intended to be actually worn than purely decorative
- Presumably these masks refer to some ritual where you dress up (maybe ritual of passage – to change from state A to B, purely speculative but Sparta is very concerned with ‘age grades’)
- No other sanctuary in the Greek world that produces anything like this



Artifact (31): The Throne

- Passage from Pausanias [3.18.6-16] describes an extraordinary work called the throne – a piece of art that has totally vanished but was clearly extraordinarily elaborate
- Emphasises that Sparta is not just ANOTHER city state producing fine artifacts in the Archaic period but actually one of the leading artistic centres doing innovative things

Lecture 3: The world of Tyrtaios and Alkman

Recap:

- First three lectures focuses on available sources (written or material) on Sparta and how we can access their utility
- In the first lecture we reviewed ancient historians Outsiders accounts – highly selective, their perspective is driven by an interest in comparing and contrasting the 'unique' aspects of the Spartan socio-political infrastructure

Poetic Sources

- Poetic accounts are not trying to tell us about Sparta in the same way as traditional historical sources BUT still reveal insights into the nature of Spartan society
- Tyrtaios and Alkman are effectively the only extensive Spartan voices that survive from antiquity
- Both poets offer us two very different voices despite being more or less contemporary (7th Century BCE) – likely because they compose different kinds of poetry intended for different occasions = different agendas

Context of poetic performance

- Tyrtaios writes elegy **BUT** don't know what it's performance context was
- The Spartans *syssitia* (Spartan equivalent of the Greek symposium- or closely related institution) is the most plausible context
- By contrast, Alkman composed choral lyric which must've been used in the context of religious rituals and festivals – **MORE** public occasions
- These two genres account for the very different sorts of content that the two poets produce

Tyrtaios (mid 7th Century BCE)

- He wrote at a time of two major crises affecting Sparta: (1) a civic unrest which threatened the Kings and elders – later recalled in a poem *Eunomia* (Law and Order)
- (2) The Second Messenian War (a revolt by the helot population of Messenia aided by the Argives and Arcadians)
- Tyrtaios' poetry has a very strong political edge to it, it's all about how you run the state the expectations of Spartan men
- An entirely conformist, ideological poet – his poetry is supportive of the existing Spartan regime – his sentiments were the kind that the rulers of Sparta would like the Spartiate to embrace

Fragment 2

[ὧ] πειθώμεθα κ[α]ν ἐγγύτεροι γένεος·
αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων, καλλιστεφάνου πόσις Ἥρης,
Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις τήνδε δέδωκε πόλιν·
οἷσιν ἅμα προλιπόντες Ἐρινεὸν ἠνεμόεντα
εὐρεῖαν Πέλοπος νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα.

Let us obey [the kings since they are] nearer to the race [of the gods]. For Cronus' son himself, Zeus the husband of fair-crowned Hera, hath given this city to the children of Heracles, with whom we came into the wide isle of Pelops from windy Erineus.

- Emphasises the importance of respecting the Spartan Kings
- 'Children of Heracles' – reminder of the Spartan's divine descent
- Fragment explains why the *Perioikoi* have a different status than the rest of the Spartan citizen body, the land was divinely given to the Spartans so they pushed them out and made them subservient – idea of Spartan manifest destiny
- As discussed in the first lecture there is good deal of emphasis from our Classical sources on how remarkable the Spartans are for their obedience

εὐθείαις ῥήτραις ἀνταπαμειβομένους.

Διὸς Συλλανίου καὶ Ἀθανᾶς Συλλανίας ἱερὸν ἰδρυσάμενον, φυλὰς φυλάξαντα καὶ ὠβὰς ὠβάξαντα, τριάκοντα γερουσίαν σὺν ἀρχαγέταις καταστήσαντα, ὥραις ἐξ ὥρας ἀπελλάζειν μεταξύ Βαβύκας τε καὶ Κνακιῶνος, οὕτως εἰσφέρειν τε καὶ ἀφίστασθαι·
γαμωδανγοριανημεν καὶ κράτος.

Perhaps read: δάμωι δ' ἀγορίαν ἤμεν

Great Rhetra: Having established a cult of Syllanian Zeus and Athena, having done the tribing and obing, and having established a gerousia of 30 members including the kings, season in, season out they are to hold Apellai between Babyka and Knakion; the gerousia is both to introduce proposals and to stand aloof; the damos is to have power to give a decisive verdict; but if the damos speaks crookedly, the gerousia and the kings are to be removers.

- Spartan citizens must be devoted not just to the individual kings but the laws of Sparta and the notion of their perfect constitution (Tyrtaois promotes this view)
- Again, he praises the θεοτιμήτους βασιλῆας [divinely honoured Kings] – emphasises that their authority is divinely sanctioned
- The Kings are the guardians of the Spartan πόλις, use of μέλει > μέλω (to care) highlights their role as benevolent caretakers
- Tyrtaois also reminds the Spartan damos of the limits of their power and the function of the constitutional arrangement
- δημότας ἄνδρας [the common man] can confirm by vote decrees *providing* they speak with εὐθείαις ῥήτραις [straight words] and do not βουλεύω <σκολιόν>

[counsel crooked(ly)] otherwise they will be overruled by the Gerousia and Kings (the dynamics of power are precarious so everyone must play their part)

[Plutarch's *Lykourgos*, 6]

- Tyrtaios' account of the political structures in Sparta and the God-given rights of the kings is echoed in Plutarch [*Lyk.* 6:] in which he repeats an earlier text from Aristotle (what appears to have been a documentary text of the Spartan constitutional law)
- When we put these texts against each other we find both of them emphasise the power of Kings, elders and the fact that there is a role for the people **IF** they are obedient
- Plutarch directly references Tyrtaios' passages and how the Spartans were persuaded to accept Lykourgos' constitution: ἔπεισαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν πόλιν ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα προστάσσοντος, ὥς που Τυρταῖος ἐπιμένηται [and they actually persuaded the city that the God ordered this, as Tyrtaios mentions]

Tyrtaios' poetry appears to have been hugely influential in Spartan culture, especially in matters of war:

καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποιητὰς οὐδένα λόγον ἔχοντες, περὶ τούτου οὕτω σφόδρα ἐσπουδάκασιν ὥστε νόμον ἔθεντο, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐξεστρατευμένοι [έκστρ] ὣσι [εἰσίν], καλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως σκηνὴν ἀκουσομένους τῶν Τυρταίου ποιημάτων ἅπαντα

[Lycurg, *Against Leocr.* 107]

And although they took no account of other poets, they placed such high value on him that they passed a law that whenever they took to the field under arms they should all be called to the king's tent to listen to the poems of Tyrtaeus

Fragment 5

ἡμετέρῳ βασιλῆϊ, θεοῖσι φίλῳ Θεοπόμπῳ, ὃν διὰ Μεσσήνην εἵλομεν εὐρύχορον, Μεσσήνην ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἀροῦν, ἀγαθὸν δὲ φυτεύειν· ἀμφ' αὐτὴν δ' ἐμάχοντ' ἐννέα καὶ δέκ' ἔτην ὡλεμέως αἰεὶ ταλασίφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες αἰχμηταὶ πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες· εἰκοστῷ δ' οἱ μὲν κατὰ πίονα ἔργα λιπόντες φεῦγον Ἰθωμαίων ἐκ μεγάλων ὀρέων.

. . . to(?) our king Theopompus dear to the gods, through whom we captured spacious Messene, Messene good to plough and good to plant. For nineteen years the spearmen fathers of our fathers fought ever unceasingly over it, displaying steadfast courage in their hearts, and in the twentieth year the enemy fled from the high mountain range of Ithome, abandoning their rich farmlands.

- Other fragments from Tyrtaios have a more historical, event-driven focus and give an account of the 'approved history'
- Fragment 5 recalls the history of how Sparta came to have control over Messene
- He explains that Sparta took control of Messene after a long war who eventually surrendered
- Messene is described as ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἀροῦν, ἀγαθὸν δὲ φυτεύειν· ἀμφ' [good to plow, good to plant], my emphasising Messenia's wealth and rich natural resources we

understand why it was so important that the Spartans maintained control over the territory

Fragment 6

ὥσπερ ὄνοι μεγάλοις ἄχθεσι τειρόμενοι, δεσποσύνοισι φέροντες ἀναγκαίης ὕπο λυγρῆς ἥμισυ παντός ὅσον καρπὸν ἄρουρα φέρει.

Like asses worn out by heavy burdens, bringing to their masters out of grievous necessity half of all they produce that the land brings forth.

- Tyrtaios goes on to acknowledge the conditions of the helots
- Unlike other servile populations, the helots seem to have a great deal of personal freedom provided that they produce their 'rent' (half of their produce)
- They are disparagingly described as ὥσπερ ὄνοι [like asses], this comparison with a beast of burden highlights the hardship experienced by the Messenians in service of the Spartan state
- The Messenians are a self-reproducing population, they can't be freed or sold abroad and have obligation which reduces them to 'animals'
- The Spartans are referred to as δεσποσύνοισι [despots, masters, overlords]

Fragment 7

ὅτι δὲ καὶ συμπενοθεῖν ἔκειτο αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκη δεδήλωκεν ἐν τῷδε·
δεσπότης οἰμῶζοντες, ὁμῶς ἄλοχοί τε καὶ αὐτοί, εὖτε τιν' οὐλομένη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου.

wailing for their masters, they and their wives alike, whenever the baneful lot of death came upon any

- This fragment likely also describes the servile condition of the Messenians, Pausanias claims that according to this fragment they were forced to share in mourning when Spartans died

Fragment 10

τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα
ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν περὶ ἧ πατρίδι μαρνάμενον.
τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ προλιπόντα πόλιν καὶ πίνοντας ἀγροὺς
πτωχεύειν πάντων ἔστ' ἀνιηρότατον,
ἑπλαζόμενον σὺν μητρὶ φίλῃ καὶ πατρὶ γέροντι
παισὶ τε σὺν μικροῖς κουριδίῃ τ' ἀλόχῳ.
ἐχθρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοῖσι μετέσσειται, οὓς κεν ἴκηται
χρημοσύνη τ' εἴκων καὶ στυγερῇ πενίῃ,
αἰσχύνει τε γένος, κατὰ δ' ἀγλὰν εἶδος ἐλέγχει,
10 πᾶσα δ' ἀτιμία καὶ κακότης ἔπεται.
εἰ δέ τοι οὕτως ἀνδρὸς ἀλωμένου οὐδεμὶ ὥρη

γίγνεται οὐτ' αἰδῶς οὐτ' ὅπεις οὐτ' ἔλεος,
θυμῷ γῆς περὶ τῆσδε μαχώμεθα καὶ περὶ παίδων
θνήσκωμεν ψυχέων μηκέτι φειδόμενοι.
15 ὦ νέοι, ἀλλὰ μάχεσθε παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες,
μηδὲ φυγῆς αἰσχυρᾶς ἄρχετε μηδὲ φόβου,
ἀλλὰ μέγαν ποιεῖσθε καὶ ἄλκιμον ἐν φρεσὶ θυμόν,
μηδὲ φιλοψυχεῖτ' ἀνδράσι μαρνάμενοι:
τούς δὲ παλαιοτέρους, ὧν οὐκέτι γούνατ' ἐλαφρά,
20 μὴ καταλείποντες φεύγετε γηπετέας:
αἰσχυρὸν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο, μετὰ προμάχοισι πεσόντα
κεῖσθαι πρόσθε νέων ἄνδρα παλαιότερον,
ἤδη λευκὸν ἔχοντα κάρη πολιόν τε γένειον,
θυμὸν ἀποπνεύοντ' ἄλκιμον ἐν κονίῃ,
25 αἱματόεντ' αἰδοῖα φίλαις ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντα – αἰσχυρὰ
τά γ' ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ νεμεσητὸν ἰδεῖν – καὶ
χρόα γυμνωθέντα: νέω δέ τε πάντ' ἐπέοικεν
ὄφρ' ἐρατῆς ἥβης ἀγλαὸν ἄνθος ἔχη:
ἀνδράσι μὲν θηητὸς ἰδεῖν, ἐρατὸς δὲ γυναιξίν,
30 ζῶος ἐών, καλὸς δ' ἐν προμάχοισι πεσών.
ἀλλὰ τις εὖ διαβάς μενέτω ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροισιν
στηριχθεὶς ἐπὶ γῆς, χεῖλος ὁδοῦσι δακῶν.

It is a fine thing for a brave man to die when he has fallen among the front ranks while fighting for his homeland, and it is the most painful thing of all to leave one's city and rich fields for a beggar's life, wandering about with his dear mother and aged father, with small children and wedded wife. Forgiving way to need and hateful poverty, he will be treated with hostility by whomever he meets, he brings disgrace on his line, belies his splendid form, and every indignity and evil attend him. There is no regard or respect for a man who wanders thus, nor yet for his family after him, let us fight with spirit for this land and let us die for our children, no longer sparing our lives. Come, you young men, stand fast at one another's side and fight, and do not start shameful flight or panic, but make the spirit in your heart strong and valiant, and do not be in love of life when you are fighting men. Do not abandon and run away from elders, whose knees are no longer nimble, men revered. For this brings shame, when an older man lies fallen among the front ranks with the young behind him, his head already white and his beard grey, breathing out his valiant spirit in the dust, clutching in his hands his bloodied genitals—this is a shameful sight and brings indignation to behold—his body naked. But for the young everything is seemly, as long as he has the splendid prime of lovely youth; while alive, men marvel at the sight of him and women feel desire, and when he has fallen among the front ranks, he is fair. Come, let everyone stand fast, with legs set well apart and both feet fixed firmly on the ground, biting his lip with his teeth

For 'tis a fair thing for a good man to fall and die fighting in the van for his native land, whereas to leave his city and his rich fields and go a-begging is of all things the most miserable, wandering with mother dear and aged father, with little children and wedded wife. For hateful shall such an one be among all those to whom he shall come in bondage to

Want and loathsome Penury, and doth shame his lineage and belie his noble beauty, followed by all evil and dishonour. Now if so little thought be taken of a wanderer, and so little honour, respect, or pity, let us fight with a will for this land, and die for our children and never spare our lives.

- This is addressed to the Spartans themselves and outlines their military roles
- These fragments were widely influential in antiquity, in fact the opening line (τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα: It is a fine thing for a brave man to die when he has fallen among the front ranks while fighting for his homeland] is famously latinised by Horace: Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori (It is sweet and proper to die for one's country) [Horace, Odes, 3.2.13]
- Therefore, this sentiment of dying for your country is picked up and used across antiquity – occasionally with an ironic spin BUT no irony in Tyrtaios's poetry – trying to convince the Spartiate's of the importance of their self-sacrifice
- Dying in battle is presented as the ultimate honour and preferable to risking expulsion from Sparta (be made to διαβάς = wander)
- Tyrtaios essentially presents his Spartan audience with an ultimatum, either die in the front ranks or be condemned to wander in poverty
- If you aren't prepared to fight you can't be part of this community – you become effectively stateless because the citizen body is the body of soldiers
- This sentiment is developed when Tyrtaios instructs young men to: ἀλλὰ μάχεσθε παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες [stand fast at one another's side and fight] – sense of comradeship and Spartan solidarity
- He goes on to explain that αἰσχρὸν ... δὴ τοῦτο, μετὰ προμάχοισι πεσόντα
- κεῖσθαι πρόσθε νέων ἄνδρα παλαιότερον [It is shameful when an older man lies fallen among the front ranks with the young behind him] – he is making an appeal to young men to take their place on the frontline
- His explanation for this is that older people for whom ὤν οὐκέτι γούνατ' ἐλαφρά, [knees are no longer nimble] are not as physically equipped to fight in battle
- Fighting is also sold as a way of getting a good wife, a warrior will appear ἐρατῆς [charming, irresistible] to women **aka** unmarried men are encouraged to earn a reputation so they can marry well
- It is equally wonderful to see a young body dead notion καλὸς δ' ἐν προμάχοισι πεσών [when he has fallen among the front ranks, he is fair]
- Such thing as a beautiful dead (Iliadic sentiment), this is used as a motivator (you will be admired when your dead)
- You can't have a fighting machine in which those who are young don't play their part – GOT to assume the responsibilities of war because they are nimble and fittest
- Also, the people who NEED to establish themselves if they are going to be respected later in life – entire social order is threatened if the young don't play up to the role that is designed for them, it is a system that needs to reproduce itself over the generations

- Stress is on fighting in the hoplite warfare which is why at the end he talks about each man abiding, feet firm set on the ground – these lines recur in different context in frag 11

Fragment 11

ἀλλ', Ἡρακλῆος γὰρ ἀνικῆτου γένος ἐστέ, θαρσεῖτ'—οὐπω Ζεὺς αὐχένα λοξὸν ἔχει—μηδ' ἀνδρῶν πληθὺν δειμαίνετε, μηδὲ φοβεῖσθε, ἰθὺς δ' ἐς προμάχους ἀσπίδ' ἀνήρ ἔχέτω, 5 ἐχθρὴν μὲν ψυχὴν θέμενος, θανάτου δὲ μελαίνας κῆρας <ὁμῶς> αὐγαῖς ἡελίοιο φίλας. ἴστε γὰρ ὡς Ἄρεος πολυδακρύου ἔργ' αἵδηλα, εὖ δ' ὀργὴν ἐδάητ' ἀργαλέου πολέμου, καὶ μετὰ φευγόντων τε διωκόντων τ' ἐγένεσθε, 10 ὧ νεοί, ἀμφοτέρων δ' ἐς κόρον ἠλάσατε. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τολμῶσι παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες ἔς τ' αὐτοσχεδίην καὶ προμάχους ἰέναι, παυρότεροι θνήσκουσι, σαοῦσι δὲ λαὸν ὀπίσσω τρεσσάντων δ' ἀνδρῶν πᾶσ' ἀπόλωλ' ἀρετή. 15 οὐδεὶς ἂν ποτε ταῦτα λέγων ἀνύσειεν ἕκαστα, ὅσσ', ἦν αἰσχρὰ πάθη, γίνεται ἀνδρὶ κακὰ ἀργαλέον γὰρ ὅπισθε μετάφρενόν ἐστι δαΐζειν ἀνδρὸς φεύγοντος δηῖω ἐν πολέμῳ· αἰσχρὸς δ' ἐστὶ νέκυς κατακείμενος ἐν κονίῃσι 20 νῶτον ὅπισθ' αἰχμῇ δουρὸς ἐληλάμενος. ἀλλὰ τις εὖ διαβὰς μενέτω ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροισι στηριχθεὶς ἐπὶ γῆς, χεῖλος ὁδοῦσι δακῶν, μηρούς τε κνήμας τε κάτω καὶ στέρνα καὶ ὦμους ἀσπίδος εὐρείης γαστρὶ καλυψάμενος· 25 δεξιτερῇ δ' ἐν χειρὶ τινασσέτω ὄβριμον ἔγχος, κινεῖτω δὲ λόφον δεινὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἔρδων δ' ὄβριμα ἔργα διδασκέσθω πολεμίζειν, μηδ' ἐκτὸς βελέων ἐστάτω ἀσπίδ' ἔχων, ἀλλὰ τις ἐγγὺς ἰὼν αὐτοσχεδὸν ἔγχεϊ μακρῷ 30 ἢ ξίφει οὐτάζων δῆϊον ἄνδρ' ἐλέτω, καὶ πόδα παρ ποδὶ θεὶς καὶ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος ἀσπίδ' ἐρείσας, ἐν δὲ λόφον τε λόφῳ καὶ κυνέην κυνέῃ καὶ στέρνον στέρνῳ πεπληγμένος ἀνδρὶ μαχέσθω, ἢ ξίφεος κώπην ἢ δόρυ μακρὸν ἐλών. 35 ὅ μεῖς δ', ὧ γυμνήτες, ὑπ' ἀσπίδος ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος πτώσσοντες μεγάλοις βάλλετε χερμαδίοις· δούρασί τε ξεστοῖσιν ἀκοντίζοντες ἐς αὐτούς, τοῖσι πανόπλοισιν πλησίον ἰστάμενοι.

Come, take courage, for your stock is from unconquered Heracles—not yet does Zeus hold his neck a slant—and do not fear throngs of men or run in flight, but let a man hold his shield straight toward the front ranks, despising life and loving the black death-spirits no less than the rays of the sun. You know how destructive the deeds of woeful Ares are, you have learned well the nature of grim war, you have been with the pursuers and the pursued, you young men, and you have had more than your fill of both. Those who dare to stand fast at one another's side and to advance towards the front ranks in hand-to-hand conflict, they die in fewer numbers and they keep safe the troops behind them; but when men run away, all esteem is lost. No one could sum up in words each and every evil that befalls a man, if he suffers disgrace. For to pierce a man behind the shoulder blades as he flees in deadly combat is gruesome, and a corpse lying in the dust, with the point of a spear driven through his back from behind, is a shameful sight. Come, let everyone stand fast, with legs set well apart and both feet fixed firmly on the ground, biting his lip with his teeth, and covering thighs, shins below, chest, and shoulders with the belly of his broad shield; in his right hand

let him brandish a mighty spear and let him shake the plumed crest above his head in a fearsome manner. By doing mighty deeds let him learn how to fight and let him not stand—he has a shield—outside the range of missiles, but coming to close quarters let him strike the enemy, hitting him with long spear or sword; and also, with foot placed alongside foot and shield pressed against shield, let everyone draw near, crest to crest, helmet to helmet, and breast to breast, and fight against a man, seizing the hilt of his sword or his long spear. You light-armed men, as you crouch beneath a shield on either side, let fly with huge rocks and hurl your smooth javelins at them, standing close to those in full armour.

- This fragment encouragement is to fight in a brave manner
- Repeats line from previous fragment: ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες [standing together/side by side], underscores the importance of standing firm in battle with fellow Spartan soldiers
- Tyrtaios reminds the Spartans of their divine lineage: ἀλλ', Ἡρακλῆος γὰρ ἀνικῆτος γένος ἐστέ [But, you are the unconquered stock of Heracles] – Spartans must live up to their divine forefather
- He lists the problems for man who flees in battle, if people stand firm παυρότεροι θνήσκουσι [die in fewer numbers] and protect the men behind the front ranks (Uses more practical argument here than pure romanticism of warfare)
- Iliadic language – if men abandon their posts they lose ἀπόλῳ ἀρετή [all virtue]
- More realistic tone, acknowledges warfare is a terrible thing [ὄργην ἐδάητ' ἀργαλέου πολέμου: the nature of grim war], but still encourages it
- Tyrtaios gives us our most detailed description of hoplite warfare [L21] (however this is still a hotly contested topic among scholars – illustrates how even when we have a classical source we remain dubious about its content)
- Historians argue that it would actually be more strategic to advance with your feet astride in battle to better protect the frontline troops – which is what Tyrtaios appears to describe here
- This formation makes enemy penetration harder
- Entirely predictable that best description of hoplite warfare should come from a state that has such a huge martial culture
- Terminology used is compatible with both proposed models of hoplite warfare, particularly the use of a ἀσπίδος εὐρείης [wide shield] to cover the entire body and the close-knit formations
- Interestingly, at the end of the fragment there is an acknowledgement of another form of warfare altogether [L35] we know that there are light-arm troops in the Spartan army but they seem to mostly be provided by the *periokoi* and helots
- Perhaps we need to think of Spartan society as not quite so exclusively segregated in terms of its social groups

Fragment 12

οὔτ' ἂν μνησαίμην οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθείμηνοῦτε ποδῶν ἀρετῆς οὔτε παλαιμοσύνης, οὐδ' εἰ Κυκλώπων μὲν ἔχοι μέγεθος τε βίην τε, νικῶν δὲ θέων Θρηϊκίον Βορέην, 5 οὐδ' εἰ Τιθωνοῖο φυὴν χαριέστερος εἶη, πλουτοίη δὲ Μίδεω καὶ Κινύρεω μάλιον, οὐδ' εἰ Τανταλίδεω

Πέλοπος βασιλεύτερος εἶη, γλῶσσαν δ' Ἀδρήστου μελιχόγηρυν ἔχοι, οὐδ' εἰ πᾶσαν ἔχοι
δόξαν πλὴν θούριδος ἀλκῆς· 10 οὐ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίνεται ἐν πολέμῳ μὴ τετλαίῃ μὲν
ὀρῶν φόνον αἱματόεντα, καὶ δηίων ὀρέγοιτ' ἐγγύθεν ἰστάμενος. ἢ δ' ἀρετὴ, τὸ δ' ἄεθλον ἐν
ἀνθρώποισιν ἄριστον κάλλιστόν τε φέρειν γίνεται ἀνδρὶ νέῳ. 15 ξυνὸν δ' ἐσθλὸν τοῦτο πόληϊ
τε παντὶ τε δήμῳ, ὅστις ἀνὴρ διαβὰς ἐν προμάχοισι μένην ὠλεμέως, αἰσχροῦ δὲ φυγῆς ἐπὶ
πάγχυ λάθεται, ψυχὴν καὶ θυμὸν τλήμονα παρθέμενος, θαρσύνῃ δ' ἔπεισιν τὸν πλησίον
ἄνδρα παρεστώς· 20 οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίνεται ἐν πολέμῳ. αἶψα δὲ δυσμενέων ἀνδρῶν
ἔτρεψε φάλαγγα στρατηγείας, σπουδῇ δ' ἔσχεθε κῦμα μάχης. αὐτὸς δ' ἐν προμάχοισι πεσὼν
φίλον ὤλεσε θυμόν, ἅστυ τε καὶ λαοὺς καὶ πατέρ' εὐκλείσας, 25 πολλὰ διὰ στέρνοιο καὶ
ἀσπίδος ὀμφαλοέσσης καὶ διὰ θώρηκος πρόσθεν ἐληλαμένος. τὸν δ' ὀλοφύρονται μὲν ὁμῶς
νέοι ἢ δὲ γέροντες, ἀργαλέῳ δὲ πόθῳ πᾶσα κέκηδε πόλις, καὶ τύμβος καὶ παῖδες ἐν
ἀνθρώποις ἀρίσῃ μοι 30 καὶ παίδων παῖδες καὶ γένος ἐξοπίσω· οὐδέ ποτε κλέος ἐσθλὸν
ἀπόλλυται οὐδ' ὄνομ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γῆς περ ἐὼν γίνεται ἀθάνατος, ὅντιν' ἀριστεύοντα
μένοντά τε μαρνάμενόν τε γῆς πέρι καὶ παίδων θοῦρος Ἄρης ὀλέσῃ. 35 εἰ δὲ φύγῃ μὲν κῆρα
τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο, νικήσας δ' αἰχμῆς ἀγλὰν εὖχος ἔλῃ, πάντες μιν τιμῶσιν, ὁμῶς νέοι
ἢ δὲ παλαιοί, πολλὰ δὲ τερπνὰ παθὼν ἔρχεται εἰς Αἶδην, γηράσκων δ' ἀστοῖσι μεταπρέπει,
οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν 40 βλάπτειν οὔτ' αἰδοῦς οὔτε δίκης ἐθέλει, πάντες δ' ἐν θώκοισιν ὁμῶς νέοι οἳ
τε κατ' αὐτὸν εἴκουσ' ἐκ χώρης οἳ τε παλαιότεροι. ταύτης νῦν τις ἀνὴρ ἀρετῆς εἰς ἄκρον
ἰκέσθαι πειράσθω θυμῷ μὴ μεθιεῖς πολέμου.

I would not mention or take account of a man for his prowess in running or in wrestling, not even if he had the size and strength of the Cyclopes and out stripped Thracian Boreas in the race, nor if he were more handsome than Tithonus in form and richer than Midas and Cinyras, nor if he were more kingly than Pelops, son of Tantalus, and had a tongue that spoke as winningly as Adrastus', nor if he had a reputation for everything save furious valour. For no man is good in war unless he can endure the sight of bloody slaughter and, standing close, can lunge at the enemy. This is excellence, this the best human prize and the fairest for a young man to win. This is a common benefit for the state and all the people, whenever a man with firm stance among the front ranks never ceases to hold his ground, is utterly unmindful of shameful flight, risking his life and displaying a steadfast spirit, and standing by the man next to him speaks encouragingly. This man is good in war. He quickly routs the bristling ranks of the enemy and by his zeal stems the tide of battle. And if he falls among the front ranks, pierced many times through his breast and bossed shield and corselet from the front, he loses his own dear life but brings glory to his city, to his people, and to his father. Young and old alike mourn him, all the city is distressed by the painful loss, and his tomb and children are pointed out among the people, and his children's children and his line after them. Never do his name and good fame perish, but even though he is beneath the earth he is immortal, whoever it is that furious Ares slays as he displays his prowess by standing fast and fighting for land and children. And if he escapes the doom of death that brings long sorrow and by his victory makes good his spear's splendid boast, he is honoured by all, young and old alike, many are the joys he experiences before she goes to Hades, and in his old age he stands out among the townsmen; no one seeks to deprive him of respect and his just rights, but all men at the benches yield their place to him, the young, those of his own age, and the elders. Let everyone strive now with all his heart to reach the pinnacle of this excellence, with no slackening in war.

- Tyrtaios' poetry so far is very much focused on life in Sparta

- **BUT** there are signs in his poetry that he is operating within a wider field of reference
- He is not simply writing for people whose lives are confined to thinking about politics and warfare
- In Fragment 12 he runs through a series of mythological figures (cyclops, winds, etc) expecting his audience to be familiar with them
- Tyrtaios' reason for referencing these mythological figures however turns out to point in again be about warfare
- He goes through other qualities that these mythological figures can give **BUT** argues it's all useless unless you've got war-like strength

Fragment 19

hurlers of stones and...
like hordes of wasps...
Ares, the bane of men,

... like ...
making a fence with hollow shields,
Pamphyloi, Hylleis, and Dymanes separately, brandishing in their /your hands murderous
spears of ash...
10 entrusting everything to the immortal gods...
we will obey the... of our leaders.
But all together at once we will crush...
standing close to the spearmen.
The din will be terrible...
as both sides dash round shields and falling upon each other they will... and corselets on
men's breasts, though rent.... will ward off destruction
and the bronze helmets, struck by huge stones will ring out...

- This fragment makes references to Doric tribes, this suggests some of his poetry may have replayed historic wars and explored the roles of particular groups within that

N.B *Later numbered fragments are pieces recovered not from quotations but papyri – so they are highly fragmentary *

Fragment 23

ο.[..]στευο[
ἐξείης πα[
τεῖχος α.[..]οστη[
οισ.μπαλλομε[
κλήρος καὶ ταφ[(5)
Μεσσηνίων [
τεῖχος τερυ[
οὶ μὲν γὰρ β[
ἀντίοι ἰστ[α
οὶ δ' ἐκτὸς [βελέων (10)

ἐν δὲ μέσοις ἡμεῖς σ.[
 πύργου δυ[
 λείψουσ' ἰλη[δὸν
 οἱ δ' ὡς ἐκ πο[
 _κυ[.]αδ[(15)
 τοῖς ἴκελοι μ[
 _Ἥρης αἰδοίης [
 εὖτ' ἂν Τυνδαρί[δαι

one after another...
 wall...
 allotment of land and (grave?)
 of the Messenians...
 wall...
 for some ...
 standing face to face...
 and others outside ...
 and in the middle we...
 of a tower...
 they will leave in throngs...
 and as those from..
 like them...
 of august Hera...
 whenever the Tyndaridae...
 ... the grey-eyed daughter of aegis-bearing Zeus checks the savage missiles. Many will let fly
 with javelins... sharp points... the light-armed men running
 forward... Arcadians... of the Argives.... along the wall... water... from Athena... trench... they
 will kill all... of the Spartans as many as... fleeing in retreat...

- Mention of Arcadians and Argives suggest we may have historically situated fragment – but too fragmented to fully comprehend
- Rehearsal of recent history in the interest of persuading his audience of the importance of warfare

Alkman

- Active in the 7th Century BCE
- Poetry reveals a completely different world
- His poetry is choral lyric (songs sung in the course of choral dancing by young women)
- Most famous poem is one called partheneion (frg 1)

Fragment 1 (partheneion)

] Πωλυδεύκης·
 οὐκ ἐγὼ]ν Λύκαισον ἐν καμοῦσιν ἀλέγω
 Ἐνα]ρσφόρον τε καὶ Σέβρον ποδώκη
]ν τε τὸν βιατὰν
 5]. τε τὸν κορυστὰν
 Εὐτείχη] τε ράνακτά τ' Ἀρήιον
]ά τ' ἔξοχον ἡμισίων·
 καὶ]ν τὸν ἀγρέταν
] μέγαν Εὐρυτόν τε
 10 Ἄρεος ἄν] πώρω κλόνον
 Ἄλκωνά] τε τὼς ἀρίστως
 οὐδ' ἀμῶς] παρήσομες·
 κράτησε γ]ὰρ Αἶσα παντῶν
 καὶ Πόρος] γεραιτάτοι,
 15 λύθη δ' ἀπ]έδιλος ἀλκά.
 μή τις ἀνθ]ρώπων ἐς ὥρανὸν ποτήσθω
 μηδὲ πη]ρήτω γαμῆν τὰν Ἀφροδίταν
 Κυπρίαν ρ]άν[α]σαν ἢ τιν'
] ἢ παῖδα Πόρκω
 20 εἰναλίω· Χά]ριτες δὲ Διὸς δόμον
 ἀμφιέπου]σιν ἐρογλεφάροι·
]τάτοι
]τα δαίμων
]ι φίλοις
 25 ἔδ]ωκε δῶρα
]γαρέον
]ώλεσ' ἦβα
]ρονον
 μ]αταίας
 30]έβα· τῶν δ' ἄλλος ἰῶι
]μαρμάρωι μυλάκρωι
]. ἐν Αἴδας
]αυτοὶ
]'πον· ἄλαστα δὲ
 35 φέργα πάσον κακὰ μεσημένοι.
 ἔστι τις σιῶν τίσις·
 ὁ δ' ὄλβιος, ὅστις εὐφρων
 ἀμέραν [δι]απλέκει
 ἄκλαυτος· ἐγὼν δ' ἀείδω
 40 Ἀγιδῶς τὸ φῶς· ὀρῶ
 ρ' ὥτ' ἄλιον, ὄνπερ ἄμιν
 Ἀγιδῶ μαρτύρεται
 φαίνην· ἐμὲ δ' οὔτ' ἐπαινῆν
 οὔτε μωμήσθαι νιν ἅ κλεννὰ χοραγὸς
 45 οὐδ' ἀμῶς ἐῆι· δοκεῖ γὰρ ἤμεν αὔτα
 ἐκπρεπὴς τὼς ὥπερ αἴτις

έν βοτοῖς στάσειεν ἵππον
παγὸν ἀεθλοφόρον καναχάποδα
τῶν ὑποπετριδίων ὀνείρων.
50 ἦ οὐχ ὀρῆις; ὁ μὲν κέλης
Ἐνητικός· ἃ δὲ χαίτα
τᾶς ἐμᾶς ἀνεψιᾶς
Ἀγησιχόρας ἐπανθεῖ
χρυσὸς [ὦ]ς ἀκήρατος·
55 τό τ' ἀργύριον πρόσωπον,
διαφάδαν τί τοι λέγω;
Ἀγησιχόρα μὲν αὐτὰ
ἃ δὲ δευτέρα πεδ' Ἀγιδῶ τὸ ρεῖδος
ἵππος Ἰβηνῶι Κολαξαῖος δραμήται·
ταῖ Πεληάδες γὰρ ἄμιν
Ὀρθρίαι φᾶρος φεροίσαις
νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίαν ἄτε σήριον
ἄστρον ἀυηρομέναι μάχονται.
οὔτε γάρ τι πορφύρας
65 τόσσος κόρος ὥστ' ἀμύναι,
οὔτε ποικίλος δράκων
παγχρύσιος, οὐδὲ μίτρα
Λυδία, νεανίδων
ἱανογ [λ] εφάρων ἄγαλμα,
70 οὐδὲ ταῖ Ναννῶς κόμαι,
ἀλλ' οὐ[δ'] Ἀρέτα σιειδής,
οὐδὲ Σύλακίς τε καὶ Κλησισήρα,
οὐδ' ἐς Αἰνησιμβρ[ό]τας ἐνθοῖσα φασεῖς·
Ἀσταφίς [τ]έ μοι γένοιτο
75 καὶ ποτιγλέποι Φίλυλλα
Δαμαρ[έ]τα τ' ἐρατά τε ριανθεμῖς·
ἀλλ' Ἀγησιχόρα με τηρεῖ.
οὐ γὰρ ἃ κ[α]λλίσφυρος
Ἀγησιχ[ό]ρ[α] πάρ' αὐτεῖ,
80 Ἀγιδοῖ [δ'] ἔκτ[α]ρ μένει
θωστήρ[ι]α τ' ἄμ' ἐπαινεῖ;
ἀλλὰ τᾶν [εὐχάς], σιοί,
δέξασθε· [σι]ῶν γὰρ ἄνα
καὶ τέλος· [χο]ροστάτις,
85 ρεῖποιμί κ', [έ]γῶν μὲν αὐτὰ
παρσένος μάταν ἀπὸ θράνω λέλακα
γλαύξ· ἐγὼ[ν] δὲ τᾶι μὲν Ἀώτι μάλιστα
φανδάνην ἐρῶ· πόνων γὰρ
ἄμιν ἰάτωρ ἔγεντο·
90 ἐξ Ἀγησιχόρ[ας] δὲ νεάνιδες
ἰρ]ήνας ἐρατ[ᾶ]ς ἐπέβαν.
τῶ]ι τε γὰρ σηραφόρῳ

αὐ]τῷς ἐδ[
 τ[ῷ] κυβερνάται δὲ χρῆ
 95κ[ή]ν νᾶϊ μάλιστ' ἀκούην·
 ἃ δὲ τᾶν Σηρην[ί]δων
 ἀοιδότερα μ[ὲν οὐχί,
 σιαι γάρ, ἀντ[ί] δ' ἔνδεκα
 παίδων δεκ[ὰς ἄδ' ἀείδ]ει·
 100φθέγγεται δ' [ἄρ'] ὥ[τ' ἐπὶ] Ξάνθῳ ῥοαῖσι
 κύκνος· ἃ δ' ἐπιμέρῳι ξανθᾷ κομίσκai

Frg. 1 (tr. Davenport) [] Polydeukes. I cannot find Lykaithos among the dead
 Enarsphoros and with him the fast runner Thebros

[] the violent
 [] the helmeted
 And Euteikhes and the lord of lands Areios [] mightiest of men half gods.
 [] the hunter
 [] the great and Eurytos
 [] blind tumult
 [] most brave
 [] we shall [not] go across
 [] Destiny and Providence
 [] the oldest of all the gods
 15 [] force goes barefoot
 A wild heart must not crowd divinity
 Nor rush upon Aphrodite hot to marry
 [] Wanassa, nor any
 [] Porkos' daughter
 20 [] Graces from the house of Zeus
 [] eyes all love in their looking
 [] Fate [] to friends
 25 [] gave gifts
 []
 [] destroyed youth
 []
 [] left, the one by an arrow
 [] marble millstone
 [] to Hades
 [] they
 [] are unforgotten
 35 Who suffered the evil their own hands made.
 And there is the vengeance of the gods.
 He is a happy man who can weave his days,
 No trouble upon the loom.
 And I, I sing of Agido,
 Of her light.
 She is like the sun

To which she makes our prayers,
The witness of its radiance.
Yet I can neither praise her nor blame her
Till I have sung of another,
Sung of our choirmaster,
Who stands among us as in a pasture
One splendid stallion Paws the meadow, a champion racer, A horse that runs in dreams.
50 Imagine her if you can.
Her hair, As gold as a Venetian mane,
Flowers around her silver eyes.
What can I say to make you see?
She is Hagesikhora
and Agido, almost, almost as beautiful, Is a
Kolaxaia filly running behind her In the races at Ibeno.
A Pleiades of doves they are
Contending at dawn before the altar of Artemis
For the honor of offering the sacred plow
Which we have brought to the goddess.
They are the white star Sirius rising In the honey and spice of a summer night.
Neither abundance of purple
65 Can defend us with its glory,
Nor golden snakes engraved with eyes and scales,
Nor bonnets from Lydia and brooches,
Nor our sweet violet eyes. Nor can Nanno's hair,
Areta's goddess face,
Thylakis nor Kleësithera,
Nor Ainesimbrotia to whom we cry
Let Astaphis be ours,
75 Let Philylla look our way sometimes,
Damareta and the lovely Wianthemis,
Keep back defeat unless Hagesikhora alone, our love,
Be our victory's shield.
And she is, she is our own,
The splendid-ankled Hagesikhora!
With Agido, by whose side she lingers,
She honors the rites with her beauty.
Accept her prayers O gods,
For she is your handiwork, Perfect of her kind.
And I, I, O Choirmaster,
85 Am but an ordinary girl.
I hoot like an owl in the roof.
I long to worship the goddess of the dawn
Whose gift is peace.
90 For Hagesikhora
We sing, for her we virgin girls
Make our lovely harmonies.

8. To the swift trace-horse

So [] | [] to the pilot | And the ship []

More melodious than the Sirens

For they are goddesses.

There are ten Of us, eleven of them []

100 Sings [] upon the Yellow River

The swan. And she of the lovely yellow hair []

- Starts with a fragmentary section that discusses a mythological history [Destiny and Providence, Eurytos etc.] – references to great figures from the past
- When the text becomes less fragmented (L35 onwards) we conclude the mythological section with the sentiment that there is vengeance of the gods and transfer into completely different sort of register – the chorus sings of themselves
- First focuses attention of female member of the chorus (Agido) and then the Chorus Mater (Hagesikhora)
- The women are compared with race horses – indication of Spartan addiction to racing
- N.B Almost every Spartan festival seemed to be accompanied by horse races – they are keen on showing of their prowess in horse racing, in fact famously a Spartan princess called Cynisca won horseback at the Olympic games (a remarkable achievement for a woman, as the owner of the winning horse)
- Discusses world of leisure and investment in thorough-breds – none of this is aimed at defeating the enemy **BUT** encouragement of competition within the Spartiate body
- The girls in the chorus are competing in similar sorts of ways – they are admiring each other (homoerotic?) but underlying competitiveness
- Also evocation of the sensuousness of the occasion with elegant descriptions of ‘contending at dawn before the goddess Artemis....’ **aka** the festival begins early in morning when air is fragrant and the girls are adorned with jewellery and Lydian headscarves – **SHOWING OFF** for **(a)** each other (homoeroticism) **(b)** but also those who attend the festival
- Familiar feature of festivals that people go along to admire processions – play matchmaker from the side-lines – highly performative in nature
- Alkmans poetry is encouraging this tradition – enjoyment of material wealth in ritual context

N.B Here – Sparta that looks completely different from the austere world described by Tyrtaois

Fragment 26

[Ὀλ]υμπιάδες περί με φρένας

[]ς αἰιδας

[]ω δ' ἀκούσαι

[]ας ὀπός

[]..ρα καλὸν ὕμνιοισσᾶν μέλος (5)

[].οι

[ὑπνον ἀ]πὸ γλεφάρων σκεδ[α]σεῖ γλυκύν
[]ς δέ μ' ἄγει πεδ' ἀγῶν' ἵμεν
—[ἄχι μά]λιστα κόμ[αν ξ]ανθὰν τινάξω·
[]·σχ[] ἀπ[α]λοὶ πόδες (10)

Λυσιμελεῖ τε πόσῳ, τακερώτερα (61)
δ' ὕπνω καὶ σανάτῳ ποτιδέρεται·
—οὐδέ τι μαψιδίως γλυκ..ήνα·
Α[σ]τυμέλοισα δέ μ' οὐδὲν ἀμείβεται
ἀλλὰ τὸ]ν πυλεῶν' ἔχοισα (65)
[ῶ] τις αἰγλά[ε]ντος ἀστήρ
ῶρανῶ δαιπετής
ἢ χρύσιον ἔρνος ἢ ἀπαλὸ]ν ψ[ίλ]ον
[]·]ν
[]·. διέβα ταναοῖς πο[σί·] (70)
[]—κ]ομος νοτία **Κινύρα** χ[άρ]ις
—[] ἐπὶ π[α]ρσενικᾶν χαίταισιν ἴσδει·
[] **Α[σ]τυμέλοισα** κατὰ στρατόν
[] μέλημα δάμῳι
[]]μαν ἐλοῖσα (75)
[]]λέγω·
[]]εναβαλ' α[ί] γὰρ ἄργυριν
[]]·]ία
[]]α ἴδοιμ' αἶ πως με..ον φιλοι
ἄσ]σον [ιο]ῖσ' ἀπαλᾶς χερὸς λάβοι, (80)
αἶψά κ' [έ]γνων ἱ]κέτις κήνας γενοίμαν·

Olympian Muses fill my heart with longing
for a new song.
I am eager to hear
the maiden voice of girls singing a beautiful melody to the heavens...
it will scatter sweet sleep from my eyes
and leads me to go to the assembly
where I shall rapidly shake my yellow hair...
soft feet....
(3.3) cold... and with limb-loosening desire,
and she looks (at me?) more meltingly
than sleep or death,
and not in vain is she sweet.
But Astymeloisa makes not answer to me;
no, holding the garland,
like a bright star
of the shining heavens
or a golden branch or soft down...
she passed through with her long feet; ...
giving beauty to her tresses,
the moist charm of Kinyras
sits on the maiden's hair.

Truly Astymeloisa goes through the crowd
the darling of the people
... taking...

I say; ... if only ... a silver cup....

I were to see whether perchance she were to love me.

If only she came nearer and took my soft hand, immediately I would become her suppliant.

- Repeating same sorts of sentiments as the previous fragment – making it clear that sexual desire is at issue here, we are being invited to admire the physical beauty of the young women
- Population of Sparta gathering, picking out the virtues of the young girl
- Poetry is remarkable because it provides a different perspective on Sparta but also because we don't have anything like this from anywhere else in Greek world – closest we get is poetry of Sappho (Lesbos) where it is written for sanctuary context
- Reference in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* that the Spartans continue to perform Alkmans poetry – these rituals are part of the life of classical and archaic Sparta (although in classical Sparta the material manifestation disappears – but the implied competitiveness remains as its deeply ingrained in spartan life)

Conclusion

- Political history of classical Sparta is hard to understand unless you appreciate how deeply competitive every aspect of spartan life is – remarkably competitive for the women as well as the men
- It's not just young girls of the age of marriage that are competitive but competition continues in Spartan women – reflected in historical dubious collections of anecdotes about Spartan women
- Competitiveness is guaranteed by continued performance of this kind of poetry

Lecture 4: Sparta, the Peloponnese and the wider world to 525 BC

Introduction:

- What can we say about Sparta's relationship to the wider world by reviewing the traditions that are handed down in the Classical period and what Archaic Sparta was like
- In the 5th Century, Sparta comes to be known as reluctant to intervene in the rest of the Greek world
- Notoriously she does not want to continue the war against the Persians in Ionia (wants to end resistance to Persian's once the Greek mainland is secure) so Athens is forced to take over leadership and the Delian league is formed
- The 5th Century image of Sparta is that it is a '**stay-at-home power**'
- Was Archaic Sparta like that? Various signs suggest no (e.g distribution of artifacts of Spartan artefacts in other parts of Greek world + some early traditions)

[Strabo 6.3.3]: Sparta as a Colonising Power

****This passage is quoted by Strabo from Ephorus and is a reminder that a lot of the information we have about archaic and Classical Greece doesn't come from Archaic or even Classical authors but later authors who are 'arm-chair historians' and riffle through earlier accounts lost to us – picking out what they feel is relevant****

- Strabo tends to use a lot of anecdote but generally he has a fairly good sense of where he can get the best data
- But one peculiarity of Strabo's work is that he feels the best data of all comes from Homer, in fact much of his *Geography* is spent defending information found in Homer's epics
- He discusses the Spartan war against Messenia as well as its consequences
- It turns out the Messenian war explains the creation of the city of Taras in Southern Italy
- He begins with the moment the Spartans conquer the Messenians, this war starts with the killing of the Spartan king Teleclus
- The war with the Messenians lasted a long time (10 years) at that point their wives get fed up and pointed out that *if* the men stay for such a prolonged period of the time while the Messenians were able to still reproduce at home they would have a greater advantage (10yr hiatus in child production for Sparta could prove extremely problematic)
- In the ancient world where cities often struggled to keep their population numbers constant a 10 year gap in childbirth was a very serious matter
- Spartan men recognised that women are right and sent back the youngest Spartan soldiers who were "most vigorous ... for they knew that these had not taken part in the oaths [of war] because they were still children when they went out to war"
- Youngest Spartan soldiers were forced to cohabit with the Spartan maidens, this resulted in a spike in births but no idea the paternity of the children – so they do not have obvious lineages (this fatherless generation of children were called the *Partheniae*)
- When the rest of the men returned home they were reluctant to give the *Partheniae* the normal rights and privileges of most Spartan citizens because they had been born out of wedlock
- The *Partheniae* banded together with the helots to form a plot against the Spartans
- This plot was exposed and they are persuaded not to overthrow the Spartans but go off and found a city elsewhere (which would become Taras)
- This likely fictitious story has at least one element that is true (The Spartans were involved in the settlement of Taras – **FIRM LINK ESTABLISHED**), but this is a datum that Strabo felt needed an explanation
- Ingenious idea because it takes advantage of another story (the Spartans fighting long war against Messenia)
- **NO CHANCE** the story in its entirety is true **BUT** still an interesting example of the ingenuity of ancient writers who put together traditions to join the dots
- It creates **BOTH** the Spartan sense of ownership over Taras while also distancing their population from the other Spartans (they were not proper Spartans citizens but a disenfranchised group of fatherless children)
- We find lots of stories about settlement abroad in early Greek literature – very often these stories are concerned with how we select people to live in some other place

and frequently involve political disputes or some major crisis – generate a crisis to explain why a city was founded

N.B There clearly was a special relationship between Taras and the Spartans – important enough that they created a kind of mythical history to maintain this relationship
So although story is largely fabricated –reveals some of the pressures placed upon Sparta and some of the questions of Spartan history that needed answering

[Herodotus. *Hist.* 3.45]: Stay-at-home Sparta: the case of Samos

- Taras is one kind of special relationship BUT if we consider the material distribution of Spartan pottery they also had a relationship with the island of Samos, North Africa (Libya and Cyrene etc.)
- Cyrene was settled by people from Tara, which had been first settled by Sparta – connection meant that Cyrene could trace ultimate ancestry to Sparta
- Samos however had nothing to do with the Dorian world (it was an Ionian city) – so how did Sparta have special relationship? Stories in our literature explain it
- Herodotus is interested in Samos because of their tyrant Polycrates – who serves as an example of a great political figure who ultimately seems doomed
- He explores Polycrates relationship with Amasis in Egypt
- Disaffected faction of expelled Samians wanted to usurp Polycrates and went to Sparta hoping for military reinforcements
- The Samian faction visited Sparta twice, the first time they pled their case to the Spartans but were apparently too long-winded and so were dismissed
- The second time they returned with a sack and said ‘the sack wants flour’, the Spartans responded that ‘the sack’ was unnecessary but they would send help (Joke about how laconic Spartans are)
- The Spartans then sent an army to Samos

There are 2 different explanations offered for why the Spartans agree to help:

1. They were returning a favour to the Samians who had helped in the war against Messinia
2. Because they have previously been offended by the Samians after the Spartans had attempted to send a bowl to King Croesus of Lydia along with a breastplate from King Amasis of Egypt and the Samians intercepted them and stole them

N.B Herodotus’ story of the diplomatic gift of a bowl and breastplate presupposes that Sparta is interested in relationships with non-Greek nations – Archaic Sparta does keep an eye on what is happening in the rest of the world

Entire story in Herodotus BK 1 of Croesus visiting Sparta similarly presupposes that Sparta is interested in global geopolitics

- Spartans according to Herodotus came with a great army and besieged Samos
- The Spartans besieged the city for 40 days but were unsuccessful and left – totally inconsequential incident
- **HOWEVER**, Herodotus claims that he has spoken to the grandson of someone who fought in this episode, this is an actual instance where he **NAMES** his source and we know that it actually comes from a Spartan who was present for the event (locking

into a Spartan tradition as the Spartans themselves are effectively telling stories about how they made an attempt to remove a tyrant in the 6th Century)

- Without the material evidence in the form of Spartan imports we might dismiss this relationship between Sparta and Samos – shows how literature and archaeology can complement each other

N.B Modicum of fact that is **undeniable** – fact that Samos does get large amount of Spartan ceramics shows that there is some credibility to this story or at least the shared relationship between the two city state's

- Sparta did keep up connections abroad in the Archaic period and other cities equally expected to engage abroad
- But Sparta is also busy fighting at home in the Peloponnese (war against Messenia's etc)
- Messenian's were likely turned into helots at the end of the 8th century
- The Souda records under Tyrtaois that he himself played a particular part in the Messenian war, he was an Athenian who helped the Spartans capture the Messenia's

“The Lakedaimonians vowed that they would either take Messene or die. When the gods oracular response told them to get a general from the Athenians, they got the poet Tyrtaios, who was lame; he inspired them to courage and captured Messene in the 20th year of the war. They raised it to the ground and drafted the prisoners into the helots” **[Souda: Tyrtaios trans. Cooley]**

Strabo [8.4.10]: Evidence of Second Messenian war in Tyrtaios

πλεονάκις δ' ἐπολέμησαν διὰ τὰς ἀποστάσεις τῶν Μεσσηνίων. τὴν μὲν οὖν πρώτην κατάκτησιν αὐτῶν φησι Τυρταῖος ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι κατὰ τοὺς τῶν πατέρων πατέρας γενέσθαι: τὴν δὲ δευτέραν, καθ' ἣν ἐλόμενοι συμμάχους Ἀργείους τε καὶ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Πισάτας ἀπέστησαν, Ἀρκάδων μὲν Ἀριστοκράτην τὸν Ὀρχομενοῦ βασιλέα παρεχομένων στρατηγόν, Πισατῶν δὲ Πανταλέοντα τὸν Ὀμφαλίωνος: ἥνίκα φησὶν αὐτὸς στρατηγῆσαι τὸν πόλεμον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐλθὼν ἐξ Ἐρινεοῦ: καὶ γὰρ εἶναί φησιν ἐκεῖθεν ἐν τῇ ἐλεγείᾳ ἣν ἐπιγράφουσιν εὐνομίαν αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων, καλλιστεφάνου πόσις Ἥρης, Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις τήνδε δέδωκε πόλιν: οἷσιν ἅμα προλιπόντες Ἐρινεὸν ἠνεμόεντα, εὐρεῖαν Πέλοπος νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα. ὥστ' ἢ ταῦτα ἡκύρωται τὰ ἐλεγεία, ἢ Φιλοχόρῳ ἀπιστητέον τῷ φήσαντι Ἀθηναῖόν τε καὶ Ἀφιδναῖον, καὶ Καλλισθένει καὶ ἄλλοις πλείοσι τοῖς εἰποῦσιν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἀφικέσθαι δεηθέντων Λακεδαιμονίων κατὰ χρησμόν, ὃς ἐπέταττε παρ' Ἀθηναίων λαβεῖν ἡγεμόνα. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Τυρταίου ὁ δεύτερος ὑπῆρξε πόλεμος: τρίτον δὲ καὶ τέταρτον συστήναί φασιν, ἐν ᾧ κατελύθησαν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι. ὁ δὲ πᾶς παράπλους ὁ Μεσσηνιακὸς στάδιοι ὀκτακόσιοι που κατακολπίζοντι.

Often, however, they went to war on account of the revolts of the Messenians. Tyrtaeus says in his poems that the first conquest of Messenia took place in the time of his fathers' fathers; the second, at the time when the Messenians chose the Argives, Eleians, Pisatans, and Arcadians as allies and revolted – the Arcadians furnishing Aristocrates the king of

Orchomenus as general and the Pisatae furnishing Pantaleon the son of Omphalion; at this time, he says, he himself was the Lacedaemonian general in the war, for in his elegy entitled Eunomia he says that he came from there: ""For the son of Cronus, spouse of Hera of the beautiful crown, Zeus himself, hath given this city to the Heracleidae, in company with whom I left windy Erineus, and came to the broad island of Pelops." Therefore either these verses of the elegy must be denied authority or we must discredit Philochorus, who says that Tyrtaeus was an Athenian from the deme of Aphidnae, and also Callisthenes and several other writers, who say that he came from Athens when the Lacedaemonians asked for him in accordance with an oracle which bade them to get a commander from the Athenians. So the second war was in the time of Tyrtaeus; but also a third and fourth war took place, they say, in which the Messenians were defeated. The voyage round the coast of Messenia, following the sinuosities of the gulfs, is, all told, about eight hundred stadia in length.

The History of Tyrtaios and the problem with the Messenians

- This is not a story invented in late antiquity, in the 4th Century BC Tyrtaios gets quoted by Athenian orators as having been an Athenian – **long tradition**
- This tradition is recognising that Tyrtaios' poetry is not like any other martial elegy that survives
- Tyrtaios also had a particularly influential role in Spartan culture, he inspired military activity and this is linked with his references to the Messenian war to form a new story that he was an Athenian commander that aided the Spartans
- By the time of Strabo, scholars extrapolated from Tyrtaios' poetry the existence of a Second Messenian War, the Second Messenian war was even more serious because various Peloponnesian states got involved
- There is modern scholarly dispute as to whether you can actually see traces of this second revolt in Tyrtaios' poetry – **BUT** what is clear is that this tradition sets up problem for Sparta, they are never going to be able to keep Messenian helots quiet if they are able to call on help from the rest of the Peloponnese

Messenian History: An alternative perspective

- In 4th Century, the Messenians manage to free themselves from Sparta with the liberation of their territory through the assistance of the Thebans etc,
- This is conventionally considered the end of Classical Sparta as this loss emasculated Sparta (symbolically, economically etc.)
- At that point the Messenians want to tell a history of their past – we get from the Hellenistic period a number of histories of Messenia – highly unlikely that any of these histories have any significant historical value

Pausanias Extract (1): Explains how war came about

Pausanias Extract (2): Account of source material

Pausanias [4.4.1-3]

ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπὶ τῆς Φίντα βασιλείας διαφορά πρῶτον, ἀπὸ αἰτίας ἀμφισβητουμένης μὲν καὶ ταύτης, γενέσθαι δὲ οὕτω λεγομένης. [2] ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος καλουμένης Λιμνάτιδος, μετεῖχον δὲ αὐτοῦ μόνοι Δωριέων οἱ τε Μεσσηνιοὶ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν δὴ φασιν ὡς παρθένους αὐτῶν

παραγενομένας ἐς τὴν ἑορτὴν αὐτάς τε βιάσαιντο ἄνδρες τῶν Μεσσηνίων καὶ τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν ἀποκτείναιεν πειρώμενον κωλύειν, Τηλέκλον Ἀρχελάου τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τοῦ Δορύσσου τοῦ Λαβῶτα τοῦ Ἐχέστράτου τοῦ Ἀγίδος, πρὸς τε δὴ τούτοις τὰς βιασθείσας τῶν παρθένων διεργάσασθαι λέγουσιν αὐτάς ὑπὸ αἰσχύνῃς: [3] Μεσσήνιοι δὲ τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι σφῶν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν πρωτεύουσιν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ κατὰ ἀξίωμα, τούτοις φασὶν ἐπιβουλεῦσαι Τηλέκλον, αἴτιον δὲ εἶναι τῆς χώρας τῆς Μεσσηνίας τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἐπιβουλεύοντα δὲ ἐπιλέξαι Σπαρτιατῶν ὅποσοι πω γένεια οὐκ εἶχον, τούτους δὲ ἐσθῆτι καὶ κόσμῳ τῷ λοιπῷ σκευάσαντα ὡς παρθένους ἀναπαυομένοις τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἐπείσαγαγεῖν, δόντα ἐγχειρίδια: καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀμυνομένους τοὺς τε ἀγενεῖους νεανίσκους καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι Τηλέκλον, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ—οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ ταῦτα βουλεῦσαι σφῶν τὸν βασιλέα—συνειδότας ὡς ἄρξαιεν ἀδικίας, τοῦ φόνου σφᾶς τοῦ Τηλέκλου δίκας οὐκ ἀπαιτῆσαι. ταῦτα μὲν ἑκάτεροι λέγουσι, πειθέσθω δὲ ὡς ἔχει τις ἐς τοὺς ἐτέρους σπουδῆς.

It was in the reign of Phintas that a quarrel first took place with the Lacedaemonians. The very cause is disputed, but is said to have been as follows:

[2] There is a sanctuary of Artemis called Limnatis (of the Lake) on the frontier of Messenian, in which the Messenians and the Lacedaemonians alone of the Dorians shared. According to the Lacedaemonians their maidens coming to the festival were violated by Messenian men and their king was killed in trying to prevent it. He was Teleclus the son of Archelaus, son of Agesilaus, son of Doryssus, son of Labotas, son of Echestratus, son of Agis. In addition to this they say that the maidens who were violated killed themselves for shame.

[3] The Messenians say that a plot was formed by Teleclus against persons of the highest rank in Messene who had come to the sanctuary, his incentive being the excellence of the Messenian land; in furtherance of his design he selected some Spartan youths, all without beards, dressed them in girls' clothes and ornaments, and providing them with daggers introduced them among the Messenians when they were resting; the Messenians, in defending themselves, killed the beardless youths and Teleclus himself; but the Lacedaemonians, they say, whose king did not plan this without the general consent, being conscious that they had begun the wrong, did not demand justice for the murder of Teleclus. These are the accounts given by the two sides; one may believe them according to one's feelings towards either side.

Pausanias [4.6.1-5]

ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπὶ
τῆς Φίντα βασιλείας διαφορὰ πρῶτον, ἀπὸ
αἰτίας ἀμφισβητουμένης μὲν καὶ ταύτης,
γενέσθαι δὲ οὕτω λεγομένης. [2] ἔστιν ἐπὶ
τοῖς ὄροις τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος
καλουμένης Λιμνάτιδος, μετεῖχον δὲ αὐτοῦ
μόνοι Δωριέων οἳ τε Μεσσήνιοι καὶ οἱ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν δὴ
φασιν ὡς παρθένους αὐτῶν
παραγενομένας ἐς τὴν ἑορτὴν αὐτάς τε
βιάσαιντο ἄνδρες τῶν Μεσσηνίων καὶ τὸν
βασιλέα σφῶν ἀποκτείνειεν πειρώμενον
κωλύειν, Τήλεκλον Ἀρχελάου τοῦ
Ἀγησιλάου τοῦ Δορύσσου τοῦ Λαβῶτα τοῦ
Ἐχέστράτου τοῦ Ἄγιδος, πρὸς τε δὴ τούτοις
τὰς βιασθείσας τῶν παρθένων
διεργάσασθαι λέγουσιν αὐτάς ὑπὸ
αἰσχύνης· [3] Μεσσήνιοι δὲ τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι
σφῶν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν πρωτεύουσιν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ
κατὰ ἀξίωμα, τούτοις φασὶν ἐπιβουλεῦσαι
Τήλεκλον, αἴτιον δὲ εἶναι τῆς χώρας τῆς
Μεσσηνίας τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἐπιβουλεύοντα δὲ
ἐπιλέξαι Σπαρτιατῶν ὅποσοι πω γένεια οὐκ
εἶχον, τούτους δὲ ἐσθῆτι καὶ κόσμῳ τῷ
λοιπῷ σκευάσαντα ὡς παρθένους
ἀναπαυομένους τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις
ἐπεισαγαγεῖν, δόντα ἐγχειρίδια· καὶ τοὺς
Μεσσηνίους ἀμυνομένους τούς τε
ἀγενεῖους νεανίσκους καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνειν
Τήλεκλον, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ—οὐ γὰρ
ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ ταῦτα βουλεῦσαι σφῶν
τὸν βασιλέα—συνειδότας ὡς ἄρξαιεν
ἀδικίας, τοῦ φόνου σφᾶς τοῦ Τηλέκλου
δίκας οὐκ ἀπαιτῆσαι. ταῦτα μὲν ἑκάτεροι
λέγουσι, πειθέσθω δὲ ὡς ἔχει τις ἐς τοὺς
ἐτέρους σπουδῆς.

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- Pausanias explains that he has an account of the Messenian war from Rhianus of Bene (a writer of epic) and Myron of Priene (a prose writer)
- These two writers give very different accounts and they share little in common [“neither writer achieved a complete and continuous account of the whole war from its beginning to the end”]
- Pausanias is desperate to tell some sort of story and so decides one of the sources is more plausible than the other – **BUT** no reason to believe either has any bases of truth in their account (fiction created for the purpose of Messenian nation building in the 4th Century)
- Although there is an account of the Messenian War we can't believe any of it – no possibility of getting any sensible story out of the received tradition

N.B While Pausanias' account of the wars is based on dubious sources, there is still some hope of understanding how Sparta came to deal with the problem identified in Strabo's passage (ensuring other city state's in the Peloponnese don't extend their support to the Messenia's)

Herodotus [1.65.1]: Sparta's rise to power

τοὺς μὲν νυν Ἀθηναίους τοιαῦτα τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος κατέχοντα, τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκ κακῶν τε μεγάλων πεφευγότας καὶ ἐόντας ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ κατυπερτέρους Τεγεγτέων. ἐπὶ γὰρ Λέοντος βασιλεύοντος καὶ Ἡγησικλέος ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους εὐτυχεόντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς Τεγεήτας μούνους προσέπταιον.

So Croesus learned that at that time such problems were oppressing the Athenians, but that the Lacedaemonians had escaped from the great evils and had mastered the Tegeans in war. In the kingship of Leon and Hegesicles at Sparta, the Lacedaemonians were successful in all their other wars but met disaster only against the Tegeans.

- King Croesus is made to engage with the two most powerful cities of Greece to get their support against Persia – excuse for Herodotus to explain why these are the two most powerful cities
- The Spartans were once the worst ordered city until Lycurgus' reforms – **BUT** this doesn't tell us anything about how Sparta turned her internal good order into control over the whole Peloponnese

Herodotus [1.66-8]: Sparta's relationship with Tegea

οὕτω μὲν μεταβαλόντες εὐνομήθησαν, τῷ δὲ Λυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἱρὸν εἰσάμενοι σέβονται μεγάλως. οἷα δὲ ἐν τε χώρῃ ἀγαθῇ καὶ πλήθει οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθηνήθησαν, καὶ δὴ σφι οὐκέτι ἀπέχρα ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκάδων χωρῇ.

[2] ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι χρᾶ τάδε.

Ἀρκαδίην μ' αἰτεῖς: μέγα μ' αἰτεῖς: οὐ τοι δώσω.
πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν,
οἳ σ' ἀποκωλύσουσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ τοι οὐτι μεγαίρω:
δώσω τοί Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι
καὶ καλὸν πεδίον σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι.

[3] ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀρκάδων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείχοντο, οἱ δὲ πέδας φερόμενοι ἐπὶ Τεγεήτας ἐστρατεύοντο, χρησμῷ κιβδήλῳ πίσυνοι, ὡς δὴ ἐξανδραποδιούμενοι τοὺς Τεγεήτας. [4] ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐζωγρήθησαν, πέδας τε ἔχοντες τὰς ἐφέροντο αὐτοὶ καὶ σχοίνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι τὸ πεδίον τὸ Τεγεητέων ἐργάζοντο. αἱ δὲ πέδαι αὗται ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέετο ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν σόαι ἐν Τεγέῃ περὶ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης κρεμάμεναι.

67 κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρότερον πόλεμον συνεχέως αἰεὶ κακῶς ἀέθλεον πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, κατὰ δὲ τὸν κατὰ Κροῖσον χρόνον καὶ τὴν Ἀναξανδρίδεω τε καὶ Ἀρίστωνος βασιλείῃ ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι ἤδη οἱ Σπαρτιῆται κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγεγόνεσαν, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε γενόμενοι.

[2] ἐπειδὴ αἰεὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐσσοῦντο ὑπὸ Τεγεητέων, πέμψαντες θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτων τίνα ἂν θεῶν ἱλασάμενοι κατύπερθε τῷ πολέμῳ Τεγεητέων γενοίαιτο. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε τὰ Ὁρέστεω τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὅστέα ἐπαγαγομένους.

[3] ὡς δὲ ἀνευρεῖν οὐκ οἶοι τε ἐγίνοντο τὴν θήκην τοῦ Ὁρέστεω ἔπεμπον αὐτὶς τὴν ἐς θεὸν ἐπειρησομένους τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ κέοιτο Ὁρέστης. εἰρωτῶσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι λέγει ἡ Πυθίη τάδε.

[4]

ἔστι τις Ἀρκαδίας Τεγέῃ λευρῷ ἐνὶ χώρῳ,
ἔνθ' ἄνεμοι πνείουσι δύω κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης,
καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πῆμ' ἐπὶ πῆματι κεῖται.
ἔνθ' Ἀγαμεμνονίδην κατέχει φυσίζοος αἶα,
τὸν σὺ κομισσάμενος Τεγέης ἐπιτάρροθος ἔσση.

[5] ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀπείχον τῆς ἐξευρέσιος οὐδὲν ἔλασσον, πάντα διζήμενοι, ἐς οὗ δὴ Λίχης τῶν ἀγαθοεργῶν καλεομένων Σπαρτιητέων ἀνεῦρε, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοεργοὶ εἰσὶ τῶν ἀστῶν, ἐξιόντες ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων αἰεὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, πέντε ἔτεος ἐκάστου: τοὺς δεῖ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, τὸν ἂν ἐξίωσι ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων, Σπαρτιητέων τῷ κοινῷ διαπεμπομένους μὴ ἐλινύειν ἄλλους ἄλλη.

68. τούτων ὧν τῶν ἀνδρῶν Λίχης ἀνεῦρε ἐν Τεγέῃ καὶ συντυχίῃ χρησάμενος καὶ σοφίῃ. εὐούσης γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιμιξίης πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, ἐλθὼν ἐς χαλκήιον ἐθηεῖτο σίδηρον ἐξελαυνόμενον, καὶ ἐν θώματι ἦν ὁρέων τὸ ποιούμενον.

[2] μαθὼν, δέ μιν ὁ χαλκεὺς ἀποθωμάζοντα εἶπε παυσάμενος τοῦ ἔργου ἥκου ἄν, ὦ ξεῖνε Λάκων εἴ περ εἶδες τό περ ἐγώ, κάρτα ἂν ἐθώμαζες, ὅκου νῦν οὕτω τυγχάνεις θῶμα ποιούμενος τὴν ἐργασίην τοῦ σιδήρου.

[3] ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῇδε θέλων τῇ αὐλῇ φρέαρ ποιήσασθαι, ὀρύσσων ἐπέτυχον σορῶ ἐπταπήχεϊ: ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπιστίης μὴ μὲν γενέσθαι μηδαμὰ μέζοντας ἀνθρώπους τῶν νῦν ἄνοιξα αὐτὴν καὶ εἶδον τὸν νεκρὸν μήκει ἴσον ἐόντα τῇ σορῶ: μετρήσας δὲ συνέχωσα ὀπίσω. ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἔλεγε τὰ περ ὁπώπεε, ὁ δὲ ἐννῶσας τὰ λεγόμενα συνεβάλλετο τὸν Ὀρέστεα κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τοῦτον εἶναι, τῇδε συμβαλλόμενος:

[4] τοῦ χαλκέος δύο ὁρέων φύσας τοὺς ἀνέμους εὕρισκε ἐόντας, τὸν δὲ ἄκμονα καὶ τὴν σφῦραν τὸν τε τύπον καὶ τὸν ἀντίτυπον, τὸν δὲ ἐξελαυνόμενον σίδηρον τὸ πῆμα ἐπὶ πῆματι κείμενον, κατὰ τοιόνδε τι εἰκάζων, ὡς ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σίδηρος ἀνεύρηται.

[5] συμβαλλόμενος δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐς Σπάρτην ἔφραζε Λακεδαιμονίοισι πᾶν τὸ πρῆγμα. οἱ δὲ ἐκ λόγου πλαστοῦ ἐπενείκαντες οἱ αἰτίην ἐδίωξαν. ὁ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Τεγέην καὶ φράζων τὴν ἐωυτοῦ συμφορὴν πρὸς τὸν χαλκέα ἐμισθοῦτο παρ' οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος τὴν αὐλήν:

[6] χρόνῳ δὲ ὡς ἀνέγνωσε, ἐνοικίσθη, ἀνορύξας δὲ τὸν τάφον καὶ τὰ ὀστέα συλλέξας οἶχετο φέρων ἐς Σπάρτην. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου, ὅπως πειρώατο ἀλλήλων, πολλῶν κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι: ἤδη δὲ σφι καὶ ἡ πολλὴ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦν κατεστραμμένη.

Thus they changed their bad laws to good ones, and when Lycurgus died they built him a temple and now worship him greatly. Since they had good land and many men, they immediately flourished and prospered. They were not content to live in peace, but, confident that they were stronger than the Arcadians, asked the oracle at Delphi about gaining all the Arcadian land.

[2] She replied in hexameter: "You ask me for Arcadia? You ask too much; I grant it not.

There are many men in Arcadia, eaters of acorns,
Who will hinder you. But I grudge you not.
I will give you Tegea to beat with your feet in dancing,
And its fair plain to measure with a rope.

[3] When the Lacedaemonians heard the oracle reported, they left the other Arcadians alone and marched on Tegea carrying chains, relying on the deceptive oracle. They were confident they would enslave the Tegeans, but they were defeated in battle.

[4] Those taken alive were bound in the very chains they had brought with them, and they measured the Tegean plain with a rope by working the fields. The chains in which they were bound were still preserved in my day, hanging up at the temple of Athena Alea.

67. In the previous war the Lacedaemonians continually fought unsuccessfully against the Tegeans, but in the time of Croesus and the kingship of Anaxandrides and Ariston in Lacedaemon the Spartans had gained the upper hand. This is how:

[2] when they kept being defeated by the Tegeans, they sent ambassadors to Delphi to ask which god they should propitiate to prevail against the Tegeans in war. The Pythia responded that they should bring back the bones of Orestes, son of Agamemnon.

[3] When they were unable to discover Orestes' tomb, they sent once more to the god to ask where he was buried.

The Pythia responded in hexameter to the messengers:

[4] There is a place Tegea in the smooth plain of Arcadia,
Where two winds blow under strong compulsion.
Blow lies upon blow, woe upon woe.
..There the life-giving earth covers the son of Agamemnon.
. Bring him back, and you shall be lord of Tegea.

[5] When the Lacedaemonians heard this, they were no closer to discovery, though they looked everywhere. Finally it was found by Lichas, who was one of the Spartans who are called "doers of good deeds.". These men are those citizens who retire from the knights, the five oldest each year. They have to spend the year in which they retire from the knights being sent here and there by the Spartan state, never resting in their efforts.

68. It was Lichas, one of these men, who found the tomb in Tegea by a combination of luck and skill. At that time there was free access to Tegea, so he went into a blacksmith's shop and watched iron being forged, standing there in amazement at what he saw done. [2] The smith perceived that he was amazed, so he stopped what he was doing and said, "My Laconian guest, if you had seen what I saw, then you would really be amazed, since you marvel so at ironworking.

[3] I wanted to dig a well in the courtyard here, and in my digging I hit upon a coffin twelve feet long. I could not believe that there had ever been men taller than now, so I opened it and saw that the corpse was just as long as the coffin. I measured it and then reburied it." So the smith told what he had seen, and Lichas thought about what was said and reckoned that this was Orestes, according to the oracle.

[4] In the smith's two bellows he found the winds, hammer and anvil were blow upon blow, and the forging of iron was woe upon woe, since he figured that iron was discovered as an evil for the human race.

[5] After reasoning this out, he went back to Sparta and told the Lacedaemonians everything. They made a pretence of bringing a charge against him and banishing him. Coming to Tegea, he explained his misfortune to the smith and tried to rent the courtyard, but the smith did not want to lease it.

[6] Finally he persuaded him and set up residence there. He dug up the grave and collected the bones, then hurried off to Sparta with them. Ever since then the Spartans were far superior to the Tegeans whenever they met each other in battle. By the time of Croesus' inquiry, the Spartans had subdued most of the Peloponnese.

- This passage explores Sparta's relationship with the city of Tegea
- Tegea is the focus of these stories because it is the next door neighbour of Sparta – needs to be under control otherwise Sparta has a hostile neighbour and no access out of the Peloponnese
- Various Peloponnesian states were quite small compared to Sparta's territory, which consisted of most of the Southern Peloponnese (huge resources of land and manpower)
- Herodotus gives us a whole series of stories in relationship with Tegea
- Story 1 tells us that they attacked Tegea and ask the Delphic oracle for advice – they assume from her answer that they can turn Tegea into helots (nice example of ambiguous oracle)
- They visit the oracle a second time and ask what god they should pray to in order to be victorious – they are instead told to bring back the bones of Orestes
- After finding Orestes bones they prove successful
- There is lots of modern scholarly discussion over what significance we should place on the bones of Orestes – clear that he was powerful name across the whole of the Peloponnese because of his mythical history
- Also worth considering that there was already a cult of Menelaus and Helen at Sparta so bringing in another member of that family might make sense too local spartan communities
- Orestes wasn't really associated with Sparta but Mycenae (where Agamemnon was king) so in embracing him they are appropriating a hero who has been adopted by other cities in the Peloponnese to show a sort of 'fellow-feeling'/affinity with other cities
- Not playing invader card but rather arguing they have a lot in common with other cities and a lot to offer (military support etc.)

Plutarch [*Greek Questions*. 5] and Aristotle [frg. 592]: Relationship with the Tegeans to keep the Messenian's disenfranchised

Context: In the *Greek Questions*, Plutarch endeavours to give the reason or explanation of fifty-nine matters concerned with Greek life

The vast majority of them are customs or names and, as the explanations are usually historical, they often go back to very early times

This passage tries to identify which of the Greeks are 'good'

‘τῖνες οἱ παρ’ Ἀρκάσι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις χρηστοί;’

Λακεδαιμόνιοι Τεγεάταις διαλλαγέστες ἐποιήσαντο συνθήκας καὶ στήλην ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ κοινὴν ἀνέστησαν, ἐν ᾗ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γέγραπται 'Μεσσηνίους ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, καὶ μὴ ἐξεῖναι 'χρηστοὺς' ποιεῖν.' ἐξηγούμενος οὖν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης τοῦτο φησι δύνασθαι τὸ μὴ ἀποκτινύναι βοηθείας χάριν τοῖς λακωνίζουσι τῶν Τεγεατῶν.

Who are the 'good' among the Arcadians and the Spartans?

When the Spartans had come to terms with the Tegeans, they made a treaty and set up in common a pillar by the Alpheius. On this, among other matters, was inscribed: 'The Messenians must be expelled from the country; it shall not be lawful to make men good.' Aristotle, then, in explaining this, states that it means that no one shall be put to death because of assistance given to the Spartan party in Tegea.

- This passage is quoting Aristotle
- χρηστοὺς is word frequently used on funerary stelae
- What is most plausible is that χρηστοὺς actually just means 'good' (*aka* make them good/put them in good standing – make them citizens)
- It shouldn't be possible for the Messenians to flee across the border and become citizens of another state – they need to control the Messenian refugees
- The Spartans want an agreement with Tegea that ensures they won't grant citizenship to the helots, this is substantiated by other sources which don't permit for them to be sold abroad or freed
- This text is a plausible part of what the Spartans wanted to get out of allying with Tegea – not to undermine their rule over the Messenians

Pausanias [7.1.7-8]: The bones of Tisamenus and Sparta's political motivations

[7] δυνηθέντων δὲ ἔν τε Ἄργει καὶ Λακεδαίμονι τῶν Ἀχαιοῦ παίδων, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἐξενίκησεν Ἀχαιοὺς κληθῆναι: τοῦτο μὲν σφισιν ὄνομα ἦν ἐν κοινῷ, Δαναοὶ δὲ Ἀργείοις ἰδίᾳ. τότε δὲ ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐκπεπτωκότες ἔκ τε Ἄργους καὶ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο Ἴωσιν αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Τισαμενὸς ὁ Ὀρέστου γενέσθαι σύνοικοι σφισιν ἄνευ πολέμου: τῶν δὲ Ἰώνων τοὺς βασιλέας ὑπῆει δέος, μὴ Ἀχαιῶν ἀναμιχθέντων αὐτοῖς Τισαμενὸν ἐν κοινῷ βασιλέα ἔλυνται κατὰ τε ἀνδραγαθίαν καὶ γένους δόξαν.

[8] Ἰώνων δὲ οὐ προσεμένων τοὺς Ἀχαιῶν λόγους ἀλλὰ ἐπεξελθόντων σὺν ὅπλοις, Τισαμενὸς μὲν ἔπεσεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, Ἴωνας δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ κρατήσαντες ἐπολιόρκουν καταπεφευγότας ἐς Ἑλίκην καὶ ὕστερον ἀφίᾳσιν ἀπελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους. Τισαμενοῦ δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν Ἀχαιῶν ἐν Ἑλίκῃ θαψάντων, ὕστερον χρόνῳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς σφισιν ἀνειπόντος χρηστηρίου κομίζουσι τὰ ὅσα ἐς Σπάρτην, καὶ ἦν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι αὐτῷ τάφος, ἐνθα τὰ δεῖπνα Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐστὶ τὰ Φειδίτια καλούμενα.

[7] When the sons of Achaeus came to power in Argos and Lacedaemon, the inhabitants of these towns came to be called Achaeans. The name Achaeans was common to them; the Argives had the special name of Danai. On the occasion referred to, being expelled by the Dorians from Argos and Lacedaemon, the Achaeans themselves and their king Tisamenus, the son of Orestes, sent heralds to the Ionians, offering to settle among them without warfare. But the kings of the Ionians were afraid that, if the Achaeans united with them, Tisamenus would be chosen king of the combined people because of his manliness and noble lineage.

[8] The Ionians rejected the proposal of the Achaeans and came out to fight them; in the battle Tisamenus was killed, the Ionians were overcome by the Achaeans, fled to Helice, where they were besieged, and afterwards were allowed to depart under a truce. The body of Tisamenus was buried in Helice by the Achaeans, but afterwards at the command of the Delphic oracle the Lacedaemonians carried his bones to Sparta, and in my own day his grave still existed in the place where the Lacedaemonians take the dinner called Pheiditia.

- Pausanias comes up with a second bone story about a man called Tisamenus (the son of Orestes)
- His bones are recovered from Achea (Northern Peloponnese)
- Once they find them they take them back to Sparta
- The underlying political implications (like in the story of the recovery of Orestes's bones) are exactly the same – the Spartans are embracing those whom others regarded as heroes and claiming an affinity with them to establish relationships with other cities

Herodotus [1.82]: Hostility with the Argives

- One city which Sparta had no success in bringing over was Argos, there is a tradition of continuous warfare between the two states [as alluded to in Tyrtaeus' frg. 23]
- Herodotus also tells us about famous Battle of the Champions [546 BC] where Sparta fought against Argos over territory of Thyrea to gain access to coast
- Sparta and Argos agreed to pit 300 of their best men against each other rather than all out warfare, the battle came down to 1 Spartan soldier and 2 men from Argos
- The Argives left assuming they had won given that their remaining 2 champions outnumbered Sparta's last man standing – Sparta contested this and said that the Argives left before the contest was complete
- This battle was sufficiently well-lodged in tradition – built into discussions in Thucydides [5.41.2-3] when he recalls negotiations between Argos and Sparta (421 BCE) – refers back to earlier occasion when both sides claimed a victory
- This was the closest they get to bringing Argos into a short-term peace treaty

Plutarch [*On the Malignity of Herodotus*. 21]: Sparta's animosity towards tyrants

ἐν δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν βίβλων διηγούμενος τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ Πολυκράτη τὸν τύραννον στρατείαν αὐτοὺς μὲν οἶσθαι φησι καὶ λέγειν Σαμίους, ὡς χάριν ἐκτίνοντες αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους βοηθείας στρατεύσειαν, τοὺς τε φεύγοντας κατάγοντες τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῷ τυράννῳ πολεμοῦντες; ἀρνεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ λέγειν, ὡς οὐ βοηθοῦντες οὐδ' ἐλευθεροῦντες, ἀλλὰ τιμωρούμενοι Σαμίους στρατεύσαιντο, κρατῆρὰ τινα πεμπόμενον Κροίσῳ παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ θώρακα πάλιν παρ' Ἀμάσιδος κομιζόμενον αὐτοῖς ἀφελομένους. καίτοι πόλιν ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις οὔτε φιλότιμον οὔτως οὔτε μισοτύραννον ἴσμεν ὡς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων γενομένην: ποίου γὰρ ἔνεκα θώρακος ἢ τίνος κρατῆρος ἐτέρου Κυψελίδας μὲν ἐξέβαλον ἐκ Κορίνθου καὶ Ἀμπρακίας ἐκ δὲ Νάξου Λύγδαμιν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν δὲ τοὺς Πεισιστράτου παῖδας ἐκ δὲ Σικυῶνος Αἰσχίνην ἐκ Θάσου δὲ Σύμμαχον ἐκ δὲ Φωκῶν Αὔλιν ἐκ Μιλήτου δ' Ἀριστογένην, τὴν δ' ἐν Θετταλοῖς δυναστείαν ἔπαυσαν, Ἀριστομήδη καὶ Ἀγγελον καταλύσαντες διὰ Λεωτυχίδου τοῦ βασιλέως; περὶ ὧν ἐν ἄλλοις ἀκριβέστερον γέγραπται: κατὰ δ' Ἡρόδοτον οὔτε κακίας οὔτ' ἀβελτερίας ὑπερβολὴν λελοίπασιν, εἰ τὴν καλλίστην καὶ δικαιοτάτην τῆς στρατείας ἀρνούμενοι πρόφασιν

ὡμολόγουν διὰ μνησικακίαν καὶ μικρολογίαν ἐπιτίθεσθαι δυστυχοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ κακῶς πράττουσιν.

Our author in his Third Book, relating the expedition of the Lacedaemonians against the tyrant Polycrates, affirms, that the Samians think and say that the Spartans, to recompense them for their former assistance against the Messenians, both brought back the Samians that were banished, and made war on the tyrant; but that the Lacedaemonians deny this, and say, they undertook this design not to help or deliver the Samians, but to punish them for having taken away a cup sent by them to Croesus, and besides, a breastplate sent them by Amasis. And yet we know that there was not at that time any city so desirous of honor, or such an enemy to tyrants, as Sparta. For what breastplate or cup was the cause of their driving the Cypselidae out of Corinth and Ambracia, Lygdamis out of Naxos, the children of Pisistratus out of Athens, Aeschines out of Sicyon, Symmachus out of Thasus, Aulis out of Phocis, and Aristogenes out of Miletus; and of their overturning the domineering powers of Thessaly, pulling down Aristomedes and Angelus by the help of King Leotychides? —which facts are elsewhere more largely described. Now, if Herodotus says true, they were in the highest degree guilty both of malice and folly, when, denying a most honorable and most just cause of their expedition, they confessed that in remembrance of a former injury, and too highly valuing an inconsiderable matter, they invaded a miserable and afflicted people.

- Plutarch in his work on the *Malignity of Herodotus* complains about Herodotus' account of the Spartans and the Tyrant Polycrates of Samos because he wants to argue that the Spartans were continuously the enemies of tyrants
- Wasn't that it was a dispute over the stealing of goods – they were motivated by their hatred of tyrants
- Plutarch goes on to list all the tyrants Sparta has supposedly dealt with or expelled
- Most of these examples are likely untrue except for the Athenian example

Lecture 5: Spartan Kings and Spartan government – the case of Kleomenes

- One of the peculiarities of Sparta is that it has 2 Kings – claims it's had this system since the very beginning
- This lecture is not interested in origin stories but how you work a system with 2 kings and the problems that arise (how it operates in practice rather than in principle)
- We are best informed about the role of Spartan kings through Herodotus' account of Kleomenes

Herodotus' *Histories* [7.3.3]: Issues with Spartan succession

ἐπεὶ γε καὶ ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἔφη ὁ Δημάρητος ὑποτιθέμενος οὕτω νομίζεσθαι, ἣν οἱ μὲν προγεγονότες ἔωσι πρὶν ἢ τὸν πατέρα σφέων βασιλεῦσαι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεύοντι ὀψίγονος ἐπιγένηται, τοῦ ἐπιγενομένου τὴν ἔκδεξιν τῆς βασιλείης γίνεσθαι.

At Sparta too (advised Demaratus) it was customary that if sons were born before their father became king, and another son born later when the father was king, the succession to the kingship belongs to the later-born.

- You become king in Sparta because your father was king – **BUT** while we might expect a simple matter of succession, those born when their father is king has a greater claim than those born while their father is not king
- Not that often that you get a king who has children while they're king

Thucydides [5.16.3]: Accession Ceremony

χρόνῳ δὲ προτρέψαι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους φεύγοντα αὐτὸν ἐς Λύκαιον διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ποτὲ μετὰ δώρων δοκίσεως ἀναχώρησιν, καὶ ἡμῖσι τῆς οἰκίας τοῦ ἱεροῦ τότε τοῦ Διὸς οἰκοῦντα φόβῳ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔτει ἐνὸς δέοντι εἰκοστῷ τοῖς ὁμοίοις χοροῖς καὶ θυσίαις καταγαγεῖν ὥσπερ ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον Λακεδαίμονα κτίζοντες τοὺς βασιλέας καθίσταντο.

after a banishment of nineteen years, he persuaded the Lacedaemonians to bring him home again with dances and sacrifices and such ceremonies as they observed when they first enthroned their kings at the foundation of Lacedaemon. He had been banished on account of his retreat from Attica, when he was supposed to have been bribed. While in exile at Mount Lycaeus he had occupied a house half within the sacred precinct of Zeus, through fear of the Lacedaemonians.

- The accession ceremonies were pretty elaborate
- Performed since the first foundation of Sparta
- Sparta is always tracing everything back to its beginning – everything has always been the same
- Accession ceremonies were just part of making the kings into charismatic leaders regardless of their own personal nature
- They were turned into something larger than life

Herodotus' *Histories* [6.56–7] Kingly priesthood & privileges

γέρεά τε δὴ τάδε τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι Σπαρτιῇται δεδώκασι, **ἱρωσύνας δύο**, Διὸς τε Λακεδαίμονος καὶ Διὸς οὐρανίου, καὶ **πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν** ἐπ' ἣν ἂν βούλωνται χώραν, τούτου δὲ μηδένα εἶναι Σπαρτιητέων διακωλυτήν, εἰ δὲ μὴ αὐτὸν **ἐν τῷ ἁγεί** ἐνέχεσθαι. στρατευσόντων δὲ πρώτους ἰέναι τοὺς βασιλέας, ὑστάτους δὲ ἀπιέναι: ἑκατὸν δὲ ἄνδρας λογάδας ἐπὶ στρατιῆς φυλάσσειν αὐτούς: προβάτοισι δὲ χρᾶσθαι ἐν τῇσι ἐξοδίῃσι ὁκόσοισι ἂν ὦν ἐθέλωσι, τῶν δὲ θυομένων πάντων **τὰ δέρματά τε καὶ τὰ νῶτα** λαμβάνειν σφεας.

57 ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐμπολέμια, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τὰ εἰρηναῖα κατὰ τάδε σφί δέδοται. ἦν θυσίη τις δημοτελὴς ποιέηται, **πρώτους ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον** ἵζειν τοὺς βασιλέας, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων πρῶτον ἄρχεσθαι **διπλήσια νέμοντας** ἑκατέρῳ τὰ πάντα ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοις δαιτυμόνεσι, καὶ **σπονδαρχίας** εἶναι τούτων καὶ τῶν τυθέντων τὰ δέρματα.

[2] νεομηνίας δὲ πάσας καὶ ἐβδόμας ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς δίδοσθαι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ἱρήιον τέλεον ἑκατέρῳ ἐς Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ μέδιμνον ἀλφίτων καὶ οἴνου τετάρτην Λακωνικὴν, καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι πᾶσι **προεδρίας ἐξαιρέτους**. καὶ **προξείνους** ἀποδεικνύναι τούτοις προσκεῖσθαι τοὺς ἂν ἐθέλωσι τῶν ἀστῶν, καὶ **Πυθίους αἰρέεσθαι δύο** ἑκάτερον. οἱ δὲ Πύθιοι εἰσὶ θεοπρόποι ἐς Δελφούς, σιτεόμενοι μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων τὰ δημόσια.

[3] μὴ ἔλθοῦσι δὲ τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἀποπέμπεσθαί σφι ἐς τὰ οἰκία ἀλφίτων τε δύο χοίνικας ἑκατέρῳ καὶ οἴνου κοτύλην, παρεοῦσι δὲ **διπλήσια πάντα** δίδοσθαι: τῷτο δὲ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς ἰδιωτέων κληθέντας ἐπὶ δεῖπνον τιμᾶσθαι.

[4] τὰς δὲ **μαντηίας τὰς γινομένας τούτους φυλάσσειν**, συνειδέναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πυθίους. δικάζειν δὲ μόνους τοὺς βασιλέας τοσάδε μοῦνα, **πατρούχου τε παρθένου πέρι**, ἐς τὸν ἰκνέεται ἔχειν, ἣν μή περ ὁ πατήρ αὐτὴν ἐγγυήσῃ, καὶ **ὁδῶν δημοσιέων** πέρι:

[5] καὶ ἣν τις **θετὸν παῖδα** ποιέεσθαι ἐθέλῃ, βασιλέων ἐναντίον ποιέεσθαι. καὶ **παρίζειν βουλευούσιν τοῖσι γέροισι** ἐοῦσι **δυῶν δέουσι τριήκοντα**: ἣν δὲ μὴ ἔλθωσι, τοὺς μάλιστα σφι τῶν γερόντων **προσέκοντας ἔχειν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων γέρεα**, **δύο ψήφους τιθεμένους**, **τρίτην δὲ τὴν ἑωυτῶν**.

These **privileges** the Spartans have given to their kings: two **priesthoods**, of Zeus called Lacedaemon and of Zeus of Heaven; **they wage war** against whatever land they wish, and no Spartan can hinder them in this on peril of being put under a **curse**; when the armies go forth the kings go out first and return last; one hundred chosen men guard them in their campaigns; they sacrifice as many sheep and goats as they wish at the start of their expeditions, and **take the hides and backs** of all sacrificed beasts.

57 Such are their rights in war; in peace the powers given them are as follows: at all public sacrifices the kings first sit down to the banquet and are **first served**, each of them receiving a **portion double** of what is given to the rest of the company; they make the **first libations**, and the hides of the sacrificed beasts are theirs.

[2] At each new moon and each seventh day of the first part of the month, a full-grown victim for Apollo's temple, a bushel of barley-meal, and a Laconian quart of wine are given to each from the public store, and **chief seats** are set apart for them at the games.

[3] It is their right to appoint whatever citizens they wish to be **protectors of foreigners**; and they **each choose two Pythians**. (The Pythians are the ambassadors to Delphi and eat with the kings at the public expense.) If the kings do not come to the public dinner, two choenixes of barley-meal and half a pint of wine are sent to their houses, but when they come, they receive a **double share** of everything; and the same honor shall be theirs when they are invited by private citizens to dinner.

[4] They **keep all oracles** that are given, though the Pythians also know them. The kings alone judge cases concerning the rightful **possessor of an unwedded heiress**, if her father has not betrothed her, and cases concerning **public roads**.

[5] If a man desires to **adopt a son**, it is done in the presence of the kings. They sit with the twenty-eight elders in council; if they do not come, the elders **most closely related to them hold the king's privilege**, giving **two votes over and above the third which is their own**.

- The two priesthoods of Zeus belonged to the Kings (priestly role as well as secular as Herodotus outlines above)

- Herodotus claims the kings can wage war against whatever land they wish – no Spartan can hinder them, if they try to they get cursed
- Because they're priests they get priestly privileges e.g they get the hides from beasts that are sacrificed in order to guarantee good omens for going to war
- Kings are the first to sit down and be served at banquet – entitled to a double portion, give first libations and get the hides of the sacrificial beasts
- At games they get the chief seats **BUT** none of this is particularly surprising – even the Archons in democratic Athens got the best seats in the theatre
- It's the Kings who have charge of appointing **proxenia** (citizens of other cities who champion and offer hospitality to Spartans whenever they have dealings with those cities, this was a way in which a King established a network of friends abroad)
- Also responsible for officials called **Pythians** (people who collect oracles from Delphi and keep a record of those oracles), Sparta has a propensity to go and get information from oracles
- The fact that Kings choose people who go and report back the answer/keeps record for possible future is significant, this is a power they could feasibly take advantage of
- These privileges are transferable, **IF** the King can't attend a meeting he can send someone who is close to him to represent him, his representative gets the 'double share'
- Those closely related attend the council of elders if the King is not able to and they get **"two votes over and above the third which is their own"** (Effectively more powerful than had just the King been there – they keep their own vote plus **2 votes**)
- Kings also has a role with regard to Spartan heiresses, if there is an heiress they decide who should marry her if her father is deceased – these rights over heiresses are linked by Herodotus with the fact that they also oversee public roads – women are just another practical consideration in Spartan society
- We might have expected that Sparta was not a very modern state worried about communication but consider the situation they are in, they **must** maintain control of distant countryside, rapid movement is vital = public roads therefore are essential

N.B The advantage of having the King is they offer some stability – while politicians come and go by annual election Kings can provide ongoing continuity of policy (Although this becomes a disadvantage in the 5th Century – creates a state of political stasis)

Xenophon *Constitution of the Spartans* [15]: Kingly privileges

βούλομαι δὲ καὶ ἄς βασιλεῖ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν συνθήκας ὁ Λυκοῦργος ἐποίησε διηγῆσθαι: μόνη γὰρ δὴ αὕτη ἀρχὴ διατελεῖ οἷα περ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατεστάθη: τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πολιτείας εὖροι ἂν τις μετακινημένας καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν μετακινουμένας.

[2] ἔθηκε γὰρ **θύειν μὲν βασιλέα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τὰ δημόσια ἅπαντα**, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὄντα, καὶ **στρατιὰν ὅποι ἂν ἡ πόλις ἐκπέμπῃ ἡγεῖσθαι**. [3] ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ **γέρα ἀπὸ τῶν θυομένων λαμβάνειν**, καὶ **γῆν δὲ ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν περιοίκων πόλεων ἀπέδειξεν ἐξαίρετον** τοσαύτην ὥστε μήτ' ἐνδεῖσθαι τῶν μετρίων μήτε πλούτῳ ὑπερφέρειν. [4] ὅπως δὲ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἔξω σκηνοῖεν, **σκηνὴν αὐτοῖς δημοσίαν ἀπέδειξε, καὶ διμοιρίᾳ γε ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ** ἐτίμησεν, οὐχ ἵνα διπλάσια καταφάγοιεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε τιμῆσαι ἔχοιεν εἴ τινα βούλοιντο. [5] ἔδωκε δ' αὖ καὶ **συσκήνους δύο ἑκατέρῳ προσελέσθαι**, οἳ δὴ καὶ **Πύθιοι** καλοῦνται. ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ **πασῶν τῶν**

συνὴν ἀπὸ τόκου χοῖρον λαμβάνειν, ὥς μήποτε ἀπορήσαι βασιλεὺς ἱερῶν, ἣν τι δεηθῇ θεοῖς συμβουλευέσασθαι. [6] καὶ πρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ δὲ λίμνη ὕδατος ἀφθονίαν παρέχει· ὅτι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς πολλὰ χρήσιμον, οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες αὐτὸ μάλλον γινώσκουσιν. καὶ **ἔδρας δὲ πάντες ὑπανίστανται βασιλεῖ**, πλὴν οὐκ ἔφοροι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφορικῶν δίφρων. [7] καὶ **ὄρκους δὲ ἀλλήλοις κατὰ μῆνα ποιοῦνται**, ἔφοροι μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, βασιλεὺς δὲ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ὄρκος ἐστὶ τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ κατὰ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως κειμένους νόμους βασιλεύσειν, τῇ δὲ πόλει ἐμπεδορκοῦντος ἐκείνου ἀστυφέλικτον τὴν βασιλείαν παρέξειν. [8] αὗται μὲν οὖν αἱ τιμαὶ οἴκοι ζῶντι βασιλεῖ δέδονται, οὐδέν τι πολὺ ὑπερφέρουσαι τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἐβουλήθη οὔτε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τυραννικὸν φρόνημα παραστῆσαι οὔτε τοῖς πολίταις φθόνον ἐμποιῆσαι τῆς δυνάμεως. [9] αἱ δὲ τελευτήσαντι τιμαὶ βασιλεῖ δέδονται, τῇδε βούλονται δηλοῦν οἱ Λυκούργου νόμοι ὅτι **οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώπους ἀλλ' ὡς ἥρωας** τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς προτετιμήκασιν.

I wish also to give an account of the compact made by Lycurgus between King and state. For this is the only government that continues exactly as it was originally established, whereas other constitutions will be found to have undergone and still to be undergoing modifications. [2] He ordained that the **King shall offer all the public sacrifices** on behalf of the state, in virtue of his divine descent, and that, whatever may be the destination to which the state sends out an **army, he shall be its leader**. [3] He also gave him the right to **receive certain parts of the beasts** sacrificed, and assigned to him enough **choice land in many of the perioikic cities** to ensure him a reasonable competence without excessive riches. [4] In order that even the kings should mess in public, he assigned to them **a public mess tent; he also honoured them with a double portion** at the meal, not that they might eat enough for two, but that they might have the wherewithal to honour anyone whom they chose. [5] He also allowed each King to choose two messmates, who are called **Pythii**. Further, he granted them to take **of every litter of pigs a porker**, that a King may never want victims, in case he wishes to seek counsel of the gods. [6] A lake near the house supplies abundance of water; and how useful that is for many purposes none know so well as those who are without it. Further, **all rise from their seats when the King appears**; only the Ephors do not rise from their official chairs. [7] And they **exchange oaths monthly**, the Ephors on behalf of the state, the King for himself. And this is the King's oath: "I will reign according to the established laws of the state." And this the oath of the state: "While you abide by your oath, we will keep the kingship unshaken." [8] These then are the honours that are bestowed on the King at home during his lifetime; and they do not greatly exceed those of private persons. For it was not the wish of Lycurgus to put into the King's hearts despotic pride, nor to implant in the mind of the citizens envy of their power. [9] As for the honours assigned to the King at his death, the intention of the laws of Lycurgus herein is to show that they have preferred the Kings of the Lacedaemonians in honour **not as mere men, but as demigods**.

- Herodotus's list of the privileges of kings is reflected in Xenophon's constitution, much of what he says gets repeated
- *Except for some additional privileges* – **most importantly** the King has of choice land in many *perioikoi* cities
- Other privileges are in tune with what we've already seen: King gets porker from every litter of pigs, the justification is that he always has a sacrificial animal prepared in case they need to discover the will of the gods

- All of this sets the King aside, even the *perioikoi* are continually reminded of the role of the Spartan King, he is kept in the centre of political affairs and day-to-day life
- Xenophon passage ends by saying the intention of the laws of Lycurgus is to show that the Kings were not mere men but heroes (possess almost superhuman powers and appetites)

Xenophon *Constitution of the Spartans* [13.1–7, 10–11] Kings on Campaign

διηγῆσομαι δὲ καὶ ἥν ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς ὁ Λυκοῦργος βασιλεῖ δύναιμιν καὶ τιμὴν κατεσκεύασε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ φρουρᾶς **τρέφει ἡ πόλις βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ**: συσκηνοῦσι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμαρχοι, ὅπως αἰεὶ συνόντες μᾶλλον καὶ κοινοβουλῶσιν, ἥν τι δέωνται: συσκηνοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τρεῖς ἄνδρες τῶν ὁμοίων: οὗτοι τούτοις ἐπιμελοῦνται πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὥς μηδεμία ἀσχολία ἧ αὐτοῖς τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.

[2] ἐπαναλήψομαι δὲ ὡς ἐξορμᾶται σὺν στρατιᾷ ὁ βασιλεὺς. **θύει μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον οἴκοι** ὧν Διὶ Ἀγῆτορι καὶ τοῖς σιοῖν αὐτῷ: ἥν δὲ ἐνταῦθα καλλιερῆση, λαβὼν ὁ πυρφόρος πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ προηγείται ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια τῆς χώρας: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖ αὖ θύεται Διὶ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ.

[3] **ὅταν δὲ ἀμφοῖν τούτοις τοῖν θεοῖν καλλιερηθῇ**, τότε διαβαίνει τὰ ὄρια τῆς χώρας: καὶ τὸ πῦρ μὲν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ἱερῶν προηγείται οὔποτε ἀποσβεννύμενον, σφάγια δὲ παντοῖα ἔπεται. αἰεὶ δὲ ὅταν θύηται, ἄρχεται μὲν τούτου τοῦ ἔργου ἔτι κνεφαῖος, προλαμβάνειν βουλόμενος τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ εὖνοιαν. [4] πάρεισι δὲ περὶ τὴν θυσίαν πολέμαρχοι, λοχαγοί, πεντηκοντῆρες, ξένων στρατάρχαι, στρατοῦ σκευοφορικοὶ ἄρχοντες, καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων δὲ στρατηγῶν ὁ βουλόμενος:

[5] **πάρεισι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων δύο**, οἱ πολυπραγμονοῦσι μὲν οὐδέν, ἥν μὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς προσκαλῇ: ὁρῶντες δὲ ὅ τι ποιεῖ ἕκαστος πάντας σωφρονίζουσιν, ὡς τὸ εἶκός. ὅταν δὲ τελεσθῇ τὰ ἱερά, ὁ βασιλεὺς προσκαλέσας πάντας παραγγέλλει τὰ ποιητέα. ὥστε ὁρῶν ταῦτα ἡγήσαιο ἂν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αὐτοσχεδιαστὰς εἶναι τῶν στρατιωτικῶν, **Λακεδαιμονίου δὲ μόνους τῷ ὄντι τεχνίτας τῶν πολεμικῶν**.

[6] ἐπειδὴν γε μὴν ἡγήται βασιλεὺς, ἥν μὲν μηδεὶς ἐναντίος φαίνεται, **οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ πρόσθεν πορεύεται, πλὴν Σκιρίται** καὶ οἱ προερευνώμενοι ἵππεῖς: ἥν δὲ ποτε μάχην οἶωνται ἔσεσθαι, λαβὼν τὸ ἄγημα τῆς πρώτης μόρας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄγει στρέψας ἐπὶ δόρυ, ἔστ' ἂν γένηται ἐν μέσῳ δυοῖν μόραιν καὶ δυοῖν πολεμάρχοιν.

[7] οὓς δὲ δεῖ ἐπὶ τούτοις τετάχθαι, ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν περὶ δαμοσίαν συντάττει: εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι ὅσοι ἂν σύσκηνοι ᾖσι τῶν ὁμοίων, καὶ μάντις καὶ ἰατροὶ καὶ αὐληταὶ καὶ οἱ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες, καὶ ἐθελούσιοι ἥν τινες παρῶσιν. ὥστε τῶν δεομένων γίνεσθαι οὐδὲν ἀπορεῖται: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀπρόσκεπτόν ἐστι...

[10] ὅταν γε μὴν καιρὸς δοκῇ εἶναι στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, **τούτου μὲν δὴ κύριος βασιλεὺς** καὶ τοῦ δεῖξαι γε ὅπου δεῖ: **τὸ μέντοι πρεσβείας ἀποπέμπεσθαι καὶ φιλίας καὶ πολεμίας, τοῦτ' οὐ βασιλέως**. καὶ ἄρχονται μὲν πάντες ἀπὸ βασιλέως, ὅταν βούλωνται πρᾶξαι τι.

[11] ἦν δ' οὖν δίκης δεόμενός τις ἔλθῃ, **πρὸς ἔλλανοδίκας** τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποπέμπει, ἦν δὲ χρημάτων, **πρὸς ταμίαις**, ἦν δὲ λήϊδα ἄγων, πρὸς **λαφυροπώλας**. οὕτω δὲ πραττομένων βασιλεῖ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔργον καταλείπεται ἐπὶ φρουρᾶς ἢ **ἱερεῖ μὲν** τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι, **στρατηγῷ δὲ** τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

I will also give an account of the power and honour that Lycurgus conferred on the King in the field. In the first place, while on military service the **King and his staff are maintained by the state**. The polemarchs mess with the King, in order that constant intercourse may give better opportunities for taking counsel together in case of need. Three of the *homoioi* also attend the King's mess. These three take entire charge of the commissariat for the King and his staff, so that these may devote all their time to affairs of war.

[2] But I will go back to the beginning, and explain how the King sets out with an army. **First he offers up sacrifice** at home to Zeus the Leader and to the gods associated with him. If the sacrifice appears propitious, the Fire-bearer takes fire from the altar and leads the way to the borders of the land. There the King offers sacrifice again to Zeus and Athena.

[3] **Only when the sacrifice proves acceptable** to both these deities does he cross the borders of the land. And the fire from these sacrifices leads the way and is never quenched, and animals for sacrifice of every sort follow. At all times when he offers sacrifice, the King begins the work before dawn of day, wishing to forestall the goodwill of the god.

[4] And at the sacrifice are assembled polemarchs, *lochagoi*, *pentekonteres*, commandants of foreign contingents, commanders of the baggage train, and, in addition, any general from the states who chooses to be present.

[5] **There are also present two of the Ephors**, who interfere in nothing except by the King's request, but keep an eye on the proceedings, and see that all behave with a decorum suitable to the occasion. When the sacrifices are ended, the King summons all and delivers the orders of the day. And so, could you watch the scene, you would think all other men mere improvisors in soldiering and the Lacedaemonians the only artists in warfare.

[6] When the King leads, provided that no enemy appears, **no one precedes him except the Sciritae** and the mounted vedettes. But if ever they think there will be fighting, he takes the lead of the first regiment and wheels to the right, until he is between two regiments and two colonels.

[7] The troops that are to support these are marshalled by the senior member of the King's staff. The staff consists of all peers who are members of the royal mess, seers, doctors, fluteplayers, commanding officers and any volunteers who happen to be present. Thus nothing that has to be done causes any difficulty, for everything is duly provided for...

[10] When the time for encamping seems to have arrived, the decision rests with the King, who also indicates the proper place. On the other hand the dispatch of embassies whether

to friends or enemies is not the King's affair. All who have any business to transact deal in the first instance with the King.

[11] Suitors for justice are remitted by the King to the Court of Hellanodicae, applications for money to the treasurers; and if anyone brings booty, he is sent to the auctioneers. With this routine the only duties left to the King on active service are to act as priest in matters of religion and as general in his dealings with the men.

- Role of Spartan monarchy is most notable when the Kings go on expeditions abroad
- When they go to war the king is in charge, and at war the King and his staff are well maintained
- Sacrifices are made before going to war – **once** they are deemed acceptable the King leads the expedition (king has considerable powers as to whether or not you go to war)
- The King takes two ephors with him on every campaign (Classical development after the Spartans get suspicious about the kings having too much independent power)
- First to lead men into battle apart from **Sciritae** (**Scritae** formed an elite corp of light infantry, they were made up of people subject to Sparta, whose status is comparable to that of the **periokoi**, they derived their name from the town of Skiritis)
- King makes all the campaigning decisions, functioning both as a hereditary General as well as a priest

Herodotus' Histories [5.75.2] Quarrelling Kings on Campaign

As a result of this dissension, a law was made at Sparta that when an army was despatched, **both kings would not be permitted to go with it**. Until that time they had both gone together, but now one of the kings was released from service and one of the sons of Tyndarus too could be left at home. Before that time, both of these also were asked to give aid and went with the army.

ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς διχοστασίης ἐτέθη νόμος ἐν Σπάρτῃ **μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἔπεσθαι ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας** ἐξιούσης στρατιῆς: τέως γὰρ ἀμφοτέροι εἶποντο: παραλυομένου δὲ τούτων τοῦ ἐτέρου καταλείπεσθαι καὶ τῶν Τυνδαριδέων τὸν ἕτερον: πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ δὴ καὶ οὗτοι ἀμφοτέροι ἐπικλητοὶ σφι ἐόντες εἶποντο.

- In the Archaic period every time the Spartans went on campaign both Kings went until Demaratus and Cleomenes quarrelled causing the campaign to be aborted – **neat solution** to send only one but also **undermines** the whole system, the entire point is that there is a **double-lock mechanism**, both kings need to be able to agree and hold each other accountable

Herodotus' Histories [6.58–59] Spartan Kings' state funerals

The kings are granted these rights from the Spartan commonwealth while they live; when they die, their rights are as follows: **Horsemen proclaim their death** in all parts of Laconia, and in the city **women go about beating on cauldrons**. When this happens, two free persons from each house, a man and a woman, are required to wear mourning, or incur heavy penalties if they fail to do so.

[2] The Lacedaemonians have the same custom at the deaths of their kings as the foreigners in Asia; most foreigners use the same custom at their kings' deaths. When a king of the Lacedaemonians dies, **a fixed number of their *perioikoi* must come** to the funeral from all Lacedaemon, besides the Spartans.

[3] When these and the helots and the Spartans themselves have assembled in one place to the number of many thousands, together with the women, **they zealously beat their foreheads** and make long and loud lamentation, calling that king that is most recently dead the best of all their kings. Whenever a king dies in war, they make an image of him and carry it out on a well-spread bier. For ten days after the burial there are no assemblies or elections, and they mourn during these days.

59 The Lacedaemonians also resemble the Persians in this: when one king is dead and another takes his office, this **successor releases from debt** any Spartan who owes a debt to the king or to the commonwealth. Among the Persians the king at the beginning of his reign forgives all cities their arrears of tribute.

ταῦτα μὲν ζῶσι τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι δέδοται ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, ἀποθανοῦσι δὲ τάδε. **ἱππῆες περιαγγέλλουσι** τὸ γεγονὸς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Λακωνικὴν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν **γυναῖκες περιουῖσαι λέβητα κροτέουσι**. ἐπεὰν ὧν τοῦτο γίνηται τοιοῦτο, ἀνάγκη ἐξ οἰκίης ἐκάστης **ἐλευθέρους δύο καταμαίνεισθαι**, ἄνδρα τε καὶ γυναῖκα: μὴ ποιήσασι δὲ τοῦτο ζημίαι μεγάλαι ἐπικέεται. [2] νόμος δὲ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι κατὰ τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς θανάτους ἐστὶ ὡυτὸς καὶ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ: τῶν γὰρ ὧν βαρβάρων οἱ πλεῖνες τῷ αὐτῷ νόμῳ χρέωνται κατὰ τοὺς θανάτους τῶν βασιλέων. ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἀποθάνῃ βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκ πάσης δεῖ Λακεδαίμονος, χωρὶς Σπαρτιητέων, **ἀριθμῷ τῶν περιοίκων ἀναγκαστοὺς ἐς τὸ κῆδος ἶέναι**. [3] τούτων ὧν καὶ τῶν εἰλωτέων καὶ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐπεὰν συλληχθέωσι ἐς τώυτὸ πολλὰι χιλιάδες σύμμικτα τῆσι γυναιξί, **κόπτονται τε τὰ μέτωπα προθύμως** καὶ οἰμωγῇ διαχρέωνται ἀπλέτῳ, φάμενοι τὸν ὕστατον αἰεὶ ἀπογενόμενον τῶν βασιλέων, τοῦτον δὴ γενέσθαι ἄριστον. ὃς δ' ἂν ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν βασιλέων ἀποθάνῃ, τούτῳ δὲ εἰδωλον σκευάσαντες ἐν κλίνῃ εὖ ἐστρωμένη ἐκφέρουσι. ἐπεὰν δὲ θάψωσι, **ἀγορὴ δέκα ἡμερέων οὐκ ἴσταται** σφί οὐδ' ἀρχαιρεσίῃ συνίζει, ἀλλὰ πενθέουσι ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας.

59 συμφέρονται δὲ ἄλλο οὔτοι τόδε τοῖσι Πέρσησι: ἐπεὰν ἀποθανόντος τοῦ βασιλέος ἄλλος ἐνίστηται βασιλεὺς, οὗτος ὁ ἐσιὼν **ἐλευθεροῖ ὅστις τι Σπαρτιητέων τῷ βασιλεῖ ἢ τῷ δημοσίῳ ὠφείλε**: ἐν δ' αὖ Πέρσησι ὁ κατιστάμενος βασιλεὺς τὸν προοφειλόμενον φόρον μετιεῖ τῆσι πόλιν πάσῃσι.

- Finally, Kings are marked out at their funerals
- Horsemen proclaim the death, women go about beating on cauldrons
- People must wear mourning clothes or incur a large penalty
- Certain number of *Perioikoi* from all across Laconia are forced to attend state funeral

- When king dies in war they make an image of him and parade it around Sparta (body is not in fit state for display)
- Ban assembly and elections during the 10 days after the burial
- There is a clean sweep of public debt at that point – **new King** means a **new start**
- This status of Spartan Kings needs to be remembered throughout the stories of Spartan politics and foreign relationships in the 6th, 5th and 4th Century BC

Herodotus' *Histories* [5.39–42] Accession to throne – the case of Kleomenes

At Sparta, Anaxandrides the son of Leon, who had been king, was now no longer alive but was dead, and Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides held the royal power. This he had won **not by manly merit but by right of birth**. Anaxandrides had as his wife his own sister's daughter, and although he was content with her, no children were born to him. [2] Since this was the case, the **Ephors called him** to them and said, "Even if you have no interest in caring for yourself, we cannot allow the house of Eurysthenes to perish. Therefore send away the wife that you have, seeing that she bears you no children, and wed another. If you do this, you will please the Spartans." Anaxandrides, however, said in response that he would do neither of these things and that they were not giving him good advice in bidding him to get rid of his present wife, who was blameless, and to marry another. 40 Then the **Ephors and Elders took counsel**, and placed this proposal before Anaxandrides: "Since, as we see, you cling to the wife that you have, carry out our command, and do not hold out against it, bearing in mind that the Spartans will certainly find some other way of dealing with you. [2] As for the wife that you have, we do not ask that you send her away. Keep providing her with all that you give her now and marry another woman in addition who can give you children." So they spoke, and Anaxandrides consented. **Presently he had two wives** and kept two households, a thing which is not at all customary at Sparta.

41 After no long time the second wife gave birth to Cleomenes. She, then, gave the Spartans an heir to the royal power, and as luck would have it, the first wife, who had been barren before, conceived at that very time. [2] When the friends of the new wife learned that the other woman was pregnant, they began to make trouble for her. They said that she was making an empty boast, so that she might substitute a child. **The Ephors** were angry, and when her time drew near, they **sat around to watch her in childbirth because of their scepticism**. [3] She gave birth first to Dorieus, then straightway to Leonidas, and right after him to Cleombrotus. Some, however, say that Cleombrotus and Leonidas were twins. As for the later wife, the mother of Cleomenes and the daughter of Prinetas son of Demarmenus, she bore no more children.

42 Now **Cleomenes, as the story goes, was not in his right mind and really quite mad**, while

τῆς δὲ Σπάρτης Ἀναξανδρίδης μὲν ὁ Λέοντος οὐκέτι περιεὼν ἐβασίλευε ἀλλὰ ἐτετελευτήκει, Κλεομένης δὲ ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew εἶχε τὴν βασιληίην, **οὐ κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην σχὼν ἀλλὰ κατὰ γένος**. Ἀναξανδρίδῃ γὰρ ἔχοντι γυναῖκα ἀδελφεῆς ἐωυτοῦ θυγατέρα, καὶ ἐοῦσης ταύτης οἱ καταθυμίας, παῖδες οὐκ ἐγίνοντο. [2] τούτου δὲ τοιοῦτου ἐόντος, **οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπικαλεσάμενοι αὐτὸν** 'εἴ τοι σὺ σεωυτοῦ μὴ προορᾷς, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ οὐ περιοπτόν, γένος τὸ Εὐρυσθέneos γενέσθαι ἐξίτηλον. σὺ νυν τὴν μὲν ἔχεις γυναῖκα, ἐπεῖτε τοι οὐ τίκτει, ἔξεο, ἄλλην δὲ γῆμον· καὶ ποιέων ταῦτα Σπαρτιήτησι ἀδῆσεις.' ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο φᾶς τούτων οὐδέτερα ποιήσιν, ἐκείνους τε οὐ καλῶς συμβουλεύειν παραινέοντας, τὴν ἔχει γυναῖκα ἐοῦσαν ἀναμάρτητον ἐωυτῷ, ταύτην ἀπέντα ἄλλην ἐσαγαγέσθαι· οὐδέ σφι πείσεσθαι.

40 πρὸς ταῦτα **οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ γέροντες βουλευσάμενοι** προσέφερον Ἀναξανδρίδῃ τάδε. 'ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τοι περιεχόμενόν σε ὀρῶμεν τῆς ἔχεις γυναικός, σὺ δὲ ταῦτα ποίει, καὶ μὴ ἀντίβαινε τούτοις, ἵνα μὴ τι ἄλλοιον περὶ σεῦ Σπαρτιῆται βουλεύωνται: [2] γυναικός μὲν τῆς ἔχεις οὐ προσδεόμεθά σευ τῆς ἐξέσιος, σὺ δὲ ταύτῃ τε πάντα ὅσα νῦν παρέχεις πάρεχε καὶ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτῃ ἐσάγαγε γυναῖκα τεκνοποιόν.' ταῦτά κῃ λεγόντων συνεχώρησε ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδης, μετὰ δὲ **γυναῖκας ἔχων δύο** διξᾶς ἰστίας οἶκεε, ποιέων οὐδαμῶς Σπαρτιητικά.

41 χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος ἡ **ἐσύστερον ἐπελθοῦσα γυνὴ τίκτει τὸν δὴ Κλεομένεα** τοῦτον. καὶ αὕτη τε ἔφεδρον βασιλέα Σπαρτιήτησι ἀπέφαινε, καὶ ἡ **προτέρη γυνὴ τὸν πρότερον χρόνον ἄτοκος ἐοῦσα τότε κως ἐκύησε**, συντυχίῃ ταύτῃ χρησαμένη. [2] ἔχουσαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ οἱ τῆς ἐπελθούσης γυναικός οἰκῆιοι πυθόμενοι ὦχλεον, φάμενοι αὐτὴν κομπέειν ἄλλως βουλομένην ὑποβαλέσθαι. δεινὰ δὲ ποιούντων αὐτῶν, τοῦ χρόνου συντάμνοντος, **ὑπ' ἀπιστίας οἱ ἔφοροι τίκτουσαν τὴν γυναῖκα περιζόμενοι ἐφύλαξαν**. [3] ἥ δὲ ὥς ἔτεκε Δωριέα ἰθέως ἴσχει Λεωνίδην, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἰθέως ἴσχει Κλεόμβροτον· οἱ δὲ καὶ διδύμους λέγουσι Κλεόμβροτον καὶ Λεωνίδην γενέσθαι. ἥ δὲ Κλεομένηα τεκοῦσα καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἐπελθοῦσα γυνὴ, ἐοῦσα θυγάτηρ Πρινητάδew τοῦ Δημαρμένου, οὐκέτι ἔτικτε τὸ δεύτερον.

42 ὁ μὲν δὴ **Κλεομένης, ὡς λέγεται, ἦν τε οὐ φρενήρης ἀκρομανῆς τε, ὁ δὲ Δωριεὺς ἦν τῶν ἀλίκων πάντων παῖδας**, οἳ τε ἐπίσταται κατ'

- The King has a decisive role as shown in the case of Kleomones
- Kleomones problems start from his accession, the hereditary principle ought to be simple – pass on power to child of previous King (**no question** of female accession)
- At some point there was an occasion to debate whether it should be the oldest male heir or the first heir born while their father is King
- Spartan kings turn out to have terrible problems having children and succession is complicated

Multiple heirs:

- Kleomenes' father, Anaxandrides, has a wife (his own niece, Greek states have a strong sense of incest of taboo **BUT** this only operates at **VERY** close relationships, marriages between uncles and nieces are **not uncommon**)
- They were happy together but couldn't conceive children – this created a political crisis, Ephors told him he had a public responsibility to have children and replace his wife
- Anaxandrides refused to replace his wife so Ephors suggested he just take a second wife – he agreed (**not** at all customary in Sparta)
- Second wife gives birth to Kleomenes **but** shortly after the first wife gives birth to Dorieus
- So Anaxandrides ends up with heirs from **both** his wives, when he dies and the question of which of these children ought to become King causes a crisis
- In the end, this gets resolved in favour of the child from the second wife – **BUT** still issues remain
- The oldest child from the first wife (Kleomenes) thinks he is entitled to the Kingly power, situation is made worse by the fact that Kleomenes was reportedly '**not in his right mind and quite mad**' while Dorieus was '**first among his peers**'
- Dorieus '**would not tolerate being made subject to Kleomenes**' so he goes to found a settlement abroad
- At first he is not successful in Libya and tries again in Sicily – **BUT** gets defeated in war and killed

N.B Episode demonstrates that you could have a debate at Sparta about succession even though birth order was clear

Episode 1: Anchimolios: Herodotus [5.63.1–3] (trans. Godley)

These men, as the Athenians say, established themselves at Delphi and **bribed the Pythian priestess to bid any Spartans who should come to inquire of her on a private or a public account to set Athens free.** [2] Then the Lacedaemonians, when the same command was ever revealed to them, sent Anchimolius the son of Aster, a citizen of repute, to drive out the sons of Pisistratus with an army despite the fact that the Pisistratidae were their close friends, for the god's will weighed with them more than the will of man. [3] They sent these men by sea on shipboard. Anchimolius put in at Phalerum and disembarked his army there.

ὥς ὧν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐν Δελφοῖσι κατήμενοι **ἀνέπειθον τὴν Πυθίην χρήμασι, ὅπως ἔλθοιεν Σπαρτιητέων ἄνδρες εἴτε ιδίῳ στόλῳ εἴτε δημοσίῳ χρησόμενοι, προφέρειν σφί τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐλευθεροῦν.** [2] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ὥς σφι αἰεὶ τῷτὸ πρόφαντον ἐγένετο, πέμπουσι Ἀγχιμόλιον τὸν Ἀστέρος, ἐόντα τῶν ἀστῶν ἄνδρα δόκιμον, σὺν στρατῷ ἐξελῶντα Πεισιστρατίδας ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὅμως καὶ ξεινίους σφι ἐόντας τὰ μάλιστα: τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ πρεσβύτερα ἐποιεῦντο ἢ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν: πέμπουσι δὲ τούτους κατὰ θάλασσαν πλοίοισι. [3] ὁ μὲν δὴ προσσχὼν ἐς Φάληρον τὴν στρατιὴν ἀπέβησε,

- Kleomenes comes to power in divisive circumstances, he then gets heavily involved with the end of tyranny in Athens and their ongoing political situation
- Spartan involvement in Athens at the end of the 6th Century BC is **remarkable** – apparently the aristocratic family of Alcmaeonidaeans at Athens persuaded the Pythian priestess that when the Spartans come to ask about anything whatsoever they should be told to **free** the Athenians – consequently the Spartans embark on a military expedition against Athens

Episode 2: Kleomenes expels Peisistratids: Herodotus [5.64] (trans. Godley)

After this the Lacedaemonians **sent out a greater army to attack Athens**, appointing as its general their king Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides. This army they sent not by sea but by land. [2] When they broke into Attica, the Thessalian horsemen were the first to meet them. They were routed after only a short time, and more than forty men were slain. Those who were left alive made off for Thessaly by the nearest way they could. Then Cleomenes, when he and the Athenians who desired freedom came into the city, drove the tyrants' family within the Pelasgic wall and besieged them there.

μετὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι **μέζῳ στόλῳ στείλαντες ἀπέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας**, στρατηγὸν τῆς στρατιῆς ἀποδέξαντες βασιλέα Κλεομένεα τὸν Ἀναξανδρίδew, οὐκέτι κατὰ θάλασσαν στείλαντες ἀλλὰ κατ' ἥπειρον: [2] τοῖσι ἐσβαλοῦσι ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώραν ἢ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἵππος πρώτη προσέμιξε καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολλὸν ἐτράπετο, καὶ σφῶν ἔπεσον ὑπὲρ τεσσεράκοντα ἄνδρας: οἱ δὲ περιγενόμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὥς εἶχον εὐθύς ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας. Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἅμα Ἀθηναίων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι ἐπολιόρκεε τοὺς τυράννους ἀπεργμένους ἐν τῷ

- First Spartan expedition against Athens was unsuccessful, then the Spartan King sends a greater army and defeats the Thessalian horsemen who were defending Athens, effectively driving out the tyrants

Episode 3: Kleomenes returns and expels Kleisthenes: Herodotus [5.70 & 72] (trans. Godley)

Isagoras, who was on the losing side, devised a counter-plot, and invited the aid of Cleomenes, who had been his friend since the besieging of the Pisistratidae. It was even said of Cleomenes that he regularly went to see Isagoras' wife. [2] Then Cleomenes first sent a herald to Athens demanding the banishment of Cleisthenes and many other Athenians with him, the Accursed, as he called them. This he said in his message by Isagoras' instruction, for the Alcmeonidae and their faction were held to be guilty of that bloody deed while Isagoras and his friends had no part in it.

72 When Cleomenes had sent for and demanded the banishment of Cleisthenes and the Accursed, Cleisthenes himself secretly departed. Afterwards, however, Cleomenes appeared in Athens with no great force. Upon his arrival, he, in order to take away the curse, banished seven hundred Athenian families named for him by Isagoras. Having so done **he next attempted to dissolve the Council, entrusting the offices of government to Isagoras' faction.** [2] **The Council, however, resisted him,** whereupon Cleomenes and Isagoras and his partisans seized the acropolis. **The rest of the Athenians united and besieged them** for two days. On the third day as many of them as were Lacedaemonians left the country under truce. [3] The prophetic voice that Cleomenes heard accordingly had its fulfillment, for when he went up to the acropolis with the intention of taking possession of it, he approached the shrine of the goddess to address himself to her. The priestess rose up from her seat, and before he had passed through the doorway, she said, "Go back, Lacedaemonian stranger, and do not enter the holy place since **it is not lawful that Dorians should pass** in here. "My lady," he answered, "I am not a Dorian, but an Achaean." [4] So

ἐν τῷ μέρει δὲ ἐσσοῦμενος ὁ Ἰσαγόρης ἀντιτεχνᾷται τάδε: ἐπικαλέεται Κλεομένεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον γενόμενον ἐωυτῷ ξεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς Πεισιστρατιδέων πολιορκίας: τὸν δὲ Κλεομένεα εἶχε αἰτίη φοιτᾶν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰσαγόρεω τὴν γυναῖκα. [2] τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα πέμπων ὁ Κλεομένης ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας κήρυκα ἐξέβαλλε Κλεισθέnea καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλους πολλοὺς Ἀθηναίων, τοὺς ἐναγέας ἐπιλέγων: ταῦτα δὲ πέμπων ἔλεγε ἐκ διδασχῆς τοῦ Ἰσαγόρεω. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι καὶ οἱ συστασιῶται αὐτῶν εἶχον αἰτίην τοῦ φόνου τούτου, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ μετεῖχε οὐδ' οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ.

72 Κλεομένης δὲ ὡς πέμπων ἐξέβαλλε Κλεισθέnea καὶ τοὺς ἐναγέας, Κλεισθένης μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπεξέσχε, μετὰ δὲ οὐδὲν ἦσσαν παρῆν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ὁ Κλεομένης οὐ σὺν μεγάλῃ χειρί, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἀγῆλαττει ἐπτακόσια ἐπίστια Ἀθηναίων, τὰ οἱ ὑπέθετο ὁ Ἰσαγόρης. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας **δεύτερα τὴν βουλὴν καταλύειν ἐπειρᾶτο, τριηκοσίοισι δὲ τοῖσι Ἰσαγόρεω στασιώτησι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐνεχείριζε.** [2] **ἀντισταθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οὐ βουλομένης πείθεσθαι, ὃ τε Κλεομένης καὶ ὁ Ἰσαγόρης καὶ οἱ στασιῶται αὐτοῦ καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.**

Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ τὰ αὐτὰ φρονήσαντες ἐπολιόρκεον αὐτοὺς ἡμέρας δύο: τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξέρχονται ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἐπετελέετο δὲ τῷ Κλεομένει ἡ φήμη. [3] ὡς γὰρ ἀνέβη ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μέλλων δὴ αὐτὴν κατασχέειν, ἦε ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ ὡς προσερέων: ἡ δὲ ἱερεὶ ἐξαναστᾷσα ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου, πρὶν ἢ τὰς θύρας αὐτὸν ἀμεῖψαι, εἶπε ὧς ξεῖνε Λακεδαιμόνιε, πάλιν χώρεε μὴδὲ ἔσιθι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν: **οὐ γὰρ θεμιτὸν Δωριεῦσι παριέναι ἐνθαῦτα.** ὁ δὲ εἶπε ὧς γύναι, ἀλλ' οὐ Δωριεὺς εἰμι ἀλλ' Ἀχαιός. [4] ὁ μὲν δὴ τῇ κληδόνι οὐδὲν χρεώμενος ἐπεχείρησέ τε καὶ τότε πάλιν ἐξέπιπτε μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων: τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἀθηναῖοι κατέδησαν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ Τιμησίθεον τὸν Δελφόν, τοῦ ἔργα χειρῶν τε καὶ λήματος

- In doing this, Kleomenes meets various Athenians including Isagoras who gets into a political struggle with Cleisthenes of the Alcmaeonidae family and asks for his help
- Kleomenes demands the banishment of Cleisthenes and his associates – he curses them (relates back to the ‘**Cylonian Affair**’ where an Athenian statesman man called Cylon had attempted to take power, had been besieged on the Acropolis and sought sanctuary **BUT** the Athenians ignored the fact he took refuge in a sacred space, killing him regardless, as a result they were cursed, this curse repeatedly gets invoked throughout history)
- Cleisthenes initially withdraws but then when Kleomenes attempts to impose the rule of Isagoras there is a popular uprising in Athens
- Isagoras attempts to dissolve the counsel **BUT** the counsel resists, unites and besieges Isagoras
- There is some dispute amongst historians as to **which** counsel this is (The Areopagus, Counsel of 400?) – **IF** it's counsel of 400 it's the only time the counsel is referred to as doing anything
- Kleomenes is forced out of Athens

N.B Pretty **remarkable** that the Spartans intervened in the first place – not only does Kleomenes come with an army

He returns to ensure that his own friend is in power at Athens – extremely revealing about what Sparta's' interest was in “freeing” Athens from tyranny

Building alliances

- During the 6th Century Sparta is building up a set of alliances with other Peloponnesian powers (Tegea, Achia, Samos), so by the end of the Century the whole Peloponnese besides Argos was on friendly terms with Sparta
- Cities in central Greece had also begun to ask Spartans if they could establish a friendship, for instance city of Plataea (Boeotia) is said to have asked Kleomenes if they could ally with Sparta **BUT** instead chose to ally with Athens, **N.B** indicative however of the way in which Sparta is becoming a viable ally inside and outside the Peloponnese
- Had Kleomenes succeeded here Athens would've likely joined the Peloponnesian league – glimpse of political mechanisms the Spartans are beginning to use to enlarge their powerbase

Episode 5: Kleomenes' abortive attempt to restore Isagoras: Herodotus [5.74–5]

Cleomenes, however, fully aware that the Athenians had done him wrong in word and deed, **mustered an army from the whole of the Peloponnesus. He did not declare the purpose** for which he mustered it, namely to avenge himself on the Athenian people and set up Isagoras, who had come with him out of the acropolis, as tyrant. [2] Cleomenes broke in as far as Eleusis with a great host, and the Boeotians, by a concerted plan, took Oenoe and Hysiae, districts on the borders of Attica, while the Chalcidians attacked on another side and raided lands in Attica. The Athenians, who were now caught in a ring of foes, decided to oppose the Spartans at Eleusis and to deal with the Boeotians and Chalcidians later.

75 When the armies were about to join battle, **the Corinthians, coming to the conclusion that they were acting wrongly, changed their minds** and departed. Later **Demaratus son of Ariston, the other king of Sparta, did likewise**, despite the fact that he had come with Cleomenes from Lacedaemon in joint command of the army and had not till now been at variance with him. [2] As a result of this dissension, a law was made at Sparta that when an army was despatched, both kings would not be permitted to go with it. Until that time they had both gone together, but now one of the kings was released from service and one of the sons of Tyndarus too could be left at home. Before that time, both of these also were asked to give aid and went with the army. [3] So now at Eleusis, when **the rest of the allies** saw that the Lacedaemonian kings were not of one mind and that the Corinthians had left their host, they too went off.

Κλεομένης δὲ ἐπιστάμενος περιυβρίσθαι ἔπεισι καὶ ἔργοισι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων **συνέλεγε ἐκ πάσης Πελοποννήσου στρατόν, οὐ φράζων ἐς τὸ συλλέγει**, τίσασθαι τε ἐθέλων τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰσαγόρην βουλόμενος τύραννον καταστήσαι: συνεξῆλθε γάρ οἱ οὗτος ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος. [2] Κλεομένης τε δὴ στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλε ἐς Ἐλευσίνα, καὶ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπὸ συνθήματος Οἰνόην αἰρέουσι καὶ Ὑσιὰς δήμους τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Χαλκιδέες τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα ἐσίνοντο ἐπιόντες χώρους τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, καίπερ ἀμφιβολίῃ ἐχόμενοι, Βοιωτῶν μὲν καὶ Χαλκιδέων ἐς ὕστερον ἔμελλον μνήμην ποιήσεσθαι, Πελοποννησίοισι δὲ ἐοῦσι ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα.

75 μελλόντων δὲ συνάψειν τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐς μάχην, **Κορίνθιοι μὲν πρῶτοι σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δόντες λόγον ὥς οὐ ποιέοιεν δίκαια μετεβάλλοντό** τε καὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, μετὰ δὲ **Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος, ἑὼν καὶ οὗτος βασιλεὺς Σπαρτιητέων** καὶ συνεξαγαγὼν τε τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος καὶ οὐκ ἑὼν διάφορος ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ Κλεομένει. [2] ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς διχοστασίης ἐτέθη νόμος ἐν Σπάρτῃ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἔπεσθαι ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας ἐξιούσης στρατιῆς: τέως γὰρ ἀμφότεροι εἶποντο: παραλυομένου δὲ τούτων τοῦ ἑτέρου καταλείπεσθαι καὶ τῶν Τυνδαριδέων τὸν ἕτερον: πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ δὴ καὶ οὗτοι ἀμφότεροι ἐπὶ κλητοῖ σφι ἐόντες εἶποντο. [3] τότε δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἐλευσίνι ὁρῶντες **οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων** τοὺς τε βασιλέας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐκ ὁμολογέοντας καὶ Κορινθίους ἐκλιπόντας τὴν τάξιν, οἶχοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλασσόμενοι...

- Most **remarkable**, even after Kleomenes failed to install Isagoras he had another attempt to dictate politics in Athens
- He mustered an army from whole of Peloponnese **BUT** didn't openly declare its purpose – incredible that not only can a King lead Spartans to war but it's allies too
- He leads the expedition to as far as Eleusis (Athenian territory) until the Corinthians get concerned about what they are being asked to do
- The Corinthians change their mind and depart (Corinth is the Peloponnesian state that is in line for Athenian reprisals: sensitive about this, also the power that it offers Sparta is a direct result of it's extensive trade links that connect Sparta to the wider world, **IF** Athens becomes part of this alliance Corinth would become far **less important**)
- Demaratus, the other King of Sparta, also abandons his post and leaves the campaign, this is the reason why we only have 1 King on future Spartan expeditions
- Kleomenes can't go any further and the army breaks up – the rest of allies depart

Episode 6: Spartan proposal to restore Hippias: Herodotus [5.91.1–2] (trans. Godley)

Now the Lacedaemonians, **when they regained the oracles** and saw the Athenians increasing in power and in no way inclined to obey them, realized that if the Athenians remained free, they would be equal in power with themselves, but that if they were held down under tyranny, they would be weak and ready to serve a master. Perceiving all this, they sent to bring Pisistratus' son Hippias from Sigeum on the Hellespont, the Pisistratidae's place of refuge. [2] When Hippias arrived, **the Spartans sent for envoys from the rest of their allies** and spoke to them as follows: "Sirs, our allies, we do acknowledge that we have acted wrongly, for, led astray by lying divinations, we drove from their native land men who were our close friends and

τότε δὲ ὡς ἀνέλαβον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς χρησμούς καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὥρων αὐξομένους καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐτοιμοὺς ἐόντας πείθεσθαι σφίσι, νόῳ λαβόντες ὡς ἐλεύθερον μὲν ἐὼν τὸ γένος τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἰσόρροπον ἂν τῷ ἐωυτῶν γίνοιτο, κατεχόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τυραννίδος ἀσθενὲς καὶ πειθαρχέεσθαι ἔτοιμον· μαθόντες δὲ τούτων ἕκαστα μετεπέμποντο Ἰππίην τὸν Πεισιστράτου ἀπὸ Σιγείου τοῦ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἐς ὃ καταφεύγουσι οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι. [2] ἐπεῖτε δέ σφι Ἰππίης καλεόμενος ἦκε, **μεταπεμψάμενοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων** ἀγγέλους ἔλεγόν σφι Σπαρτιῇται τάδε. ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, συγγινώσκομεν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν οὐ ποιήσασιν ὀρθῶς· ἐπαερθέντες γὰρ κιβδήλοισι μαντηίοισι ἄνδρας ξείνους ἐόντας ἡμῖν τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἀναδεκομένους ὑποχειρίας

- Kleomenes is still interested in restoring the tyrant Hippias as a substitute for his friend Isagoras (this fundamentally undermines claim that Sparta was anti-tyrant)

N.B This incident suggests getting rid of Hippias at Athens had not been a principled objection to tyranny but a way of getting Athens on-board as a Spartan ally
It is the **Corinthians** who say Tyranny is in principle a bad thing – Spartans don't actually seem to share that sentiment

Herodotus [6.76–8] (trans. Godley): Kleomenes and Argos

As Cleomenes was seeking divination at Delphi, the oracle responded that he would take Argos. When he came with Spartans to the river Erasinus, which is said to flow from the Stymphalian lake (this lake issues into a cleft out of sight and reappears at Argos, and from that place onwards the stream is called by the Argives Erasinus)—when Cleomenes came to this river he offered sacrifices to it. [2] The omens were in no way favorable for his crossing, so he said that he honored the Erasinus for not betraying its countrymen, but even so the Argives would not go unscathed. Then he withdrew and led his army seaward to Thyrea, where he sacrificed a bull to the sea and carried his men on shipboard to the region of Tiryns and to Nauplia.

77 The Argives heard of this and came to the coast to do battle with him. When they had come near Tiryns and were at the place called Hesipeia, they encamped opposite the Lacedaemonians, leaving only a little space between the armies. There the Argives had no fear of fair fighting, but rather of being captured by a trick. [2] **This was the affair referred to by that oracle which the Pythian priestess gave to the Argives and Milesians** in common, which ran thus: “When the female defeats the male And drives him away, winning glory in Argos, She will make many Argive women tear their cheeks.

As someday one of men to come will say: The dread thrice-coiled serpent died tamed by the spear.

” [3] All these things coming together spread fear among the Argives. Therefore they resolved to defend themselves by making use of the enemies' herald, and they performed their resolve in this way: whenever the Spartan herald signalled anything to the Lacedaemonians, the Argives did the same thing.

78 When Cleomenes saw that the Argives did whatever was signalled by his herald, he commanded that **when the herald cried the signal for breakfast, they should then put on their armor** and attack the Argives. [2] The Lacedaemonians performed this command, and when they assaulted the Argives they caught them at breakfast in obedience to the herald's signal; they killed many of them, and far more fled for refuge into the grove of Argus, which the Lacedaemonians encamped around and guarded.

Κλεομένει γὰρ μαντευσμένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐχρήσθη Ἄργος αἰρήσειν: ἐπεῖτε δὲ Σπαρτιήτας ἄγων ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἐρασῖνον, ὃς λέγεται ῥεῖν ἐκ τῆς Στυμφαλίδος λίμνης: τὴν γὰρ δὴ λίμνην ταύτην ἐς χάσμα ἀφανὲς ἐκδιδοῦσαν ἀναφαίνεσθαι ἐν Ἄργεϊ, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἤδη τοῦτο ὑπ' Ἀργείων Ἐρασῖνον καλέεσθαι: ἀπικόμενος δ' ὣν ὁ Κλεομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἐσφαγιάζετο αὐτῷ: [2] καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐκαλλιέρεε οὐδαμῶς διαβαίνειν μιν, ἄγασθαι μὲν ἔφη τοῦ Ἐρασίνου οὐ προδιδόντος τοὺς πολίτας, Ἀργείους μέντοι οὐδ' ὥς χαιρήσειν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξαναχωρήσας τὴν στρατιὴν κατήγαγε ἐς Θυρέην, σφαγιασάμενος δὲ τῇ θαλάσῃ ταῦρον πλοίοισι σφέας ἤγαγε ἕξ τε τὴν Τιρυνθίην χώραν καὶ Ναυπλίην.

77 Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἐβοήθεον πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν: ὥς δὲ ἀγχοῦ μὲν ἐγίνοντο τῆς Τίρυνθος, χώρῳ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κεῖται Ἡσίπεια οὖνομα, μεταίχμιον οὐ μέγα ἀπολιπόντες ἵζοντο ἀντίοι τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τὴν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μάχην οὐκ ἐφοβέοντο, ἀλλὰ μὴ δόλῳ αἰρεθέωσι: [2] **καὶ γὰρ δὴ σφί ἐς τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα εἶχε τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐπικοῖνα ἔχρησε ἡ Πυθίη τοῦτοισί τε καὶ Μιλησίοισι**, λέγον ὧδε.

“ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡ θήλεια τὸν ἄρσενά νικήσασα ἐξελάσῃ καὶ κῦδος ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἄρῃται, πολλὰς Ἀργείων ἀμφιδρυφέας τότε θήσει. ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἀνθρώπων δεινὸς ὄφιν τριέλικτος ἀπώλετο δουρὶ δαμασθεῖς.” [3] ταῦτα δὴ πάντα συνελθόντα τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι φόβον παρεῖχε. καὶ δὴ σφί πρὸς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τῷ κήρυκι τῶν πολεμίων χρᾶσθαι, δόξαν δὲ σφί ἐποίηον τοιόνδε: ὅπως ὁ Σπαρτιήτης κήρυξ προσημαίνει τι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, ἐποίηυν καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τῷτο τοῦτο.

78 μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ποιεῦντας τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ὁκοῖόν τι ὁ σφέτερος κήρυξ σημήνει, παραγγέλλει σφί, **ὅταν σημήνῃ ὁ κήρυξ ποιέεσθαι ἄριστον, τότε ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα** χωρέειν ἐς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους. [2] ταῦτα καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπιτελέα ἐκ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων: ἄριστον γὰρ ποιευμένοι σφίσι Ἀργείοισι ἐκ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἐπεκέατο, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφόνευσαν αὐτῶν, πολλῶ δὲ τι πλεῦνας ἐς τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Ἄργου καταφυγόντας περιζόμενοι ἐφύλασσον.

- Other set of incidents were probably later than this intervention in Athens
- Kleomeones attempts to bring Argos on-board (systematic attempt to expand the Peloponnesian league)
- Story is that it was an oracle at Delphi who told Kleomenes to try and take Argos so he attacks
- In the end he defeats the Argives through trickery: by observing how the Argive army is behaving and taking advantage of the fact that they are simply mimicking the behaviour of the Spartans
- BUT Kleomones burns down a Sacred grove (distinctly underhand behaviour) – realises that the grove is literally called **Argos** and the oracle has been fulfilled without actually occupying the city of Argos, so he takes no further action

Herodotus [6.61,1–2, 5, 62–66] (trans. Godley): Kleomones and Demeratos

While **Cleomenes was in Aegina working for the common good of Hellas, Demaratus slandered him**, not out of care for the Aeginetans, but out of jealousy and envy. Once Cleomenes returned home from Aegina, he planned to remove Demaratus from his kingship, using the following affair as a pretext against him: **Ariston, king of Sparta, had married twice but had no children.** [2] He did not admit that he himself was responsible, so he married a third time. This is how it came about: he had among the Spartans a friend to whom he was especially attached. This man's wife was by far the most beautiful woman in Sparta, ... [5] and when she reached the time for marriage, Agetus son of Alcidas married her. This man was Ariston's friend.

62 So love for this woman pricked Ariston, and he contrived as follows: He promised to give to his comrade any one thing out of all he owned, whatever Agetus might choose, and he bade his comrade make him the same promise. Agetus had no fear about his wife, seeing that Ariston was already married, so he agreed and they took oaths on these terms. [2] Ariston gave Agetus whatever it was that he chose out of all his treasures, and then, seeking equal recompense from him, tried to take the wife of his comrade. Agetus said that he had agreed to anything but that, but he was forced by his oath and by the deceitful trick to let his wife be taken. 63 In this way Ariston married his third wife, after divorcing the second one. But **his new wife gave birth to Demaratus too soon**, before ten lunar months had passed. [2] When one of his servants announced to him as he sat in council with the ephors that he had a son, Ariston, knowing the time of the marriage, counted up the months on his

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω γίνεται. τότε δὲ τὸν **Κλεομένεα ἐόντα ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ καὶ κοινὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀγαθὰ προεργαζόμενον ὁ Δημάρητος διέβαλε**, οὐκ Αἰγινητέων οὕτω κηδόμενος ὡς φθόνῳ καὶ ἄγῃ χρεώμενος. Κλεομένης δὲ νοστήσας ἀπ' Αἰγίνης ἐβούλευε τὸν Δημάρητον παῦσαι τῆς βασιλείης, διὰ πρῆγμα τοιόνδε ἐπίβασιν ἐς αὐτὸν ποιούμενος. **Ἀρίστωνι βασιλεύοντι ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ γήμαντι γυναῖκα δύο παῖδες οὐκ ἐγένοντο.** [2] καὶ οὐ γὰρ συνεγινώσκετο αὐτὸς τούτων εἶναι αἴτιος, γαμέει τρίτην γυναῖκα: ὧδε δὲ γαμέει. ἦν οἱ φίλος τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἀνὴρ, τῷ προσέκειτο τῶν ἀστῶν μάλιστα ὁ Ἀρίστων. τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐτύγχανε ἐοῦσα γυνὴ καλλίστη μακρῷ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γυναικῶν, ... [5] γαμέει δὲ δὴ μιν ἐς γάμου ὥρην ἀπικομένην Ἄγητος ὁ Ἀλκείδew, οὗτος δὴ ὁ τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος φίλος.

62 τὸν δὲ Ἀρίστωνα ἔκνιζε ἄρα τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης ὁ ἔρωσ: μηχανᾶται δὴ τοιάδε: αὐτὸς τε τῷ ἐταίρῳ, τοῦ ἦν ἡ γυνὴ αὕτη, ὑποδέκεται δωτήνην δώσειν τῶν ἐωυτοῦ πάντων ἓν, τὸ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἔλῃται, καὶ τὸν ἐταῖρον ἐωυτῷ ἐκέλευε ὡσαύτως τὴν ὁμοίην διδόναι: ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν φοβηθεὶς ἀμφὶ τῇ γυναικί, ὁρέων ἐοῦσαν καὶ Ἀρίστωνι γυναῖκα, καταινέει ταῦτα: ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ ὅρκους ἐπήλασαν. [2] μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸς τε ὁ Ἀρίστων ἔδωκε τοῦτο, ὃ τι δὴ ἦν, τὸ εἵλετο τῶν κειμηλίων τῶν Ἀρίστωνος ὁ Ἄγητος, καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ὁμοίην ζητέων φέρεσθαι παρ' ἐκείνου, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ τοῦ ἐταίρου τὴν γυναῖκα ἐπειρᾶτο ἀπάγεσθαι. ὁ δὲ πλὴν τούτου μούνου τὰ ἄλλα ἔφη καταινέσαι: ἀναγκαζόμενος μέντοι τῷ τε ὅρκῳ καὶ τῆς ἀπάτης τῇ παραγωγῇ ἀπειεῖ ἀπάγεσθαι.

63 οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὴν τρίτην ἐσηγάγετο γυναῖκα ὁ Ἀρίστων, τὴν δευτέραν ἀποπεμψάμενος. ἐν δὲ οἱ χρόνῳ ἐλάσσονι καὶ οὐ πληρώσασα τοὺς δέκα μῆνας ἡ γυνὴ αὕτη τίκτει τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Δημάρητον. [2] καὶ τίς οἱ τῶν οἰκετέων ἐν θῶκῳ κατημένῳ μετὰ τῶν ἐφόρων ἐξαγγέλλει ὡς οἱ παῖς γέγονε. ὁ δὲ ἐπιστάμενός τε τὸν χρόνον τῷ ἡγάγετο τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ἐπὶ δακτύλων συμβαλλόμενος τοὺς μῆνας, εἶπε ἀπομόσας 'οὐκ ἂν ἐμὸς εἴη.' τοῦτο ἤκουσαν μὲν οἱ ἔφοροι, πρῆγμα μέντοι οὐδὲν ἐποίησαντο τὸ

- Demaratus was also born in strange marital circumstances, his father had married twice but had no children
- His father (Ariston) spots the fiancé of a friend and decides he'll marry her – tricking his friend into offering him his wife (folktale motif that recurs in other circumstances of Herodotus)
- This new wife gives birth to Demaratus – there suspicions over the paternity of the baby **BUT** as the boy grew up Ariston regretted saying it wasn't his son
- Creates opening for Kleomenes to later question the legitimacy of Demaratus

Herodotus [6.74.1, 75]: Kleomenes treachery and death

Later Cleomenes' treacherous plot against Demaratus became known; he was seized with fear of the Spartans and secretly fled to Thessaly. From there he came to Arcadia and stirred up disorder, uniting the Arcadians against Sparta; among his methods of binding them by oath to follow him wherever he led was his zeal to bring the chief men of Arcadia to the city of Nonacris and make them swear by the water of the Styx.

75 When the Lacedaemonians learned that Cleomenes was doing this, they took fright and brought him back to Sparta to rule on the same terms as before. Cleomenes had already been not entirely in his right mind, and on his return from exile a mad sickness fell upon him: any Spartan that he happened to meet he would hit in the face with his staff. [2] For doing this, and because he was out of his mind, his relatives bound him in the stocks. When he was in the stocks and saw that his guard was left alone, he demanded a dagger; the guard at first refused to give it, but Cleomenes threatened what he would do to him when he was freed, until the guard, who was a helot, was frightened by the threats and gave him the dagger. [3] Cleomenes took the weapon and set about slashing himself from his shins upwards; from the shin to the thigh he cut his flesh lengthways, then from the thigh to the hip and the sides, until he reached the belly, and cut it into strips; thus he died, **as most of the Greeks say**, because he persuaded the Pythian priestess to tell the tale of Demaratus. **The Athenians alone say** it was because he invaded Eleusis and laid waste the precinct of the gods. The Argives say it was because when Argives had taken refuge after the battle in their temple of Argus he brought them out and cut them down, then paid no heed to the sacred grove and set it on fire.

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κλεομένεα ἐπάιστον γενόμενον κακοτεχνήσαντα ἐς Δημάρητον δεῖμα ἔλαβε Σπαρτιητέων, καὶ ὑπεξέσχε ἐς Θεσσαλίην. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀρκαδίην νεώτερα ἐπρησσε πρήγματα, συνιστὰς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἐπὶ τῇ Σπάρτῃ, ἄλλους τε ὄρκους προσάγων σφί ἧ μὲν ἔψεσθαι σφέας αὐτῷ τῇ ἂν ἐξηγήηται, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Νώνακριν πόλιν πρόθυμος ἦν τῶν Ἀρκάδων τοὺς προεστεῶτας ἀγινέων ἐξορκοῦν τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ.

75 μαθόντες δὲ Κλεομένεα Λακεδαιμόνιοι ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, κατῆγον αὐτὸν δέισαντες ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι ἐς Σπάρτην τοῖσι καὶ πρότερον ἦρχε. κατελθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ὑπέλαβε μανίῃ νοῦσος, ἐόντα καὶ πρότερον ὑπομαργότερον: ὅκως γὰρ τεῷ ἐντύχοι Σπαρτιητέων, ἐνέχραυε ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ σκῆπτρον. [2] ποιέοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ταῦτα καὶ παραφρονήσαντα ἔδησαν οἱ προσήκοντες ἐν ξύλῳ: ὁ δὲ δεθεὶς τὸν φύλακον μουνωθέντα ἰδὼν τῶν ἄλλων αἰτέει μάχαιραν: οὐ βουλομένου δὲ τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ φυλάκου διδόναι ἀπείλεε τὰ μιν αὖτις ποιήσει, ἐς ὃ δέισας τὰς ἀπειλὰς ὁ φύλακος (ἦν γὰρ τῶν τις εἰλωτέων) διδοῖ οἱ μάχαιραν. [3] Κλεομένης δὲ παραλαβὼν τὸν σίδηρον ἄρχετο ἐκ τῶν κνημέων ἐωυτὸν λωβώμενος: ἐπιτάμνων γὰρ κατὰ μῆκος τὰς σάρκας προέβαινε ἐκ τῶν κνημέων ἐς τοὺς μηρούς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μηρῶν ἔς τε τὰ ἰσχία καὶ τὰς λαπάρας, ἐς ὃ ἐς τὴν γαστέρα ἀπίκητο, καὶ ταύτην καταχορδεύων ἀπέθανε τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ, **ὥς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσι Ἑλλήνων**, ὅτι τὴν Πυθίην ἀνέγνωσε τὰ περὶ Δημαρήτου λέγειν γενόμενα, **ὥς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μοῦνοι λέγουσι**, διότι ἐς Ἐλευσίνα ἐσβαλὼν ἔκειρε τὸ τέμενος τῶν θεῶν, **ὥς δὲ Ἀργεῖοι**, ὅτι ἐξ ἱροῦ αὐτῶν τοῦ Ἄργου Ἀργείων τοὺς καταφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης καταγινέων κατέκοπτε καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄλσος ἐν ἀλογίῃ ἔχων ἐνέπρησε.

- Kleomenes bribes the Delphic oracle to declare Demaratus isn't actually son of the Ariston (example of how **succession politics** used to create **division**)
- Despite simplicity of hereditary accession in principle it offers plenty of opportunity for argument
- All of these immoral actions (most notably bribing the Delphic oracle) cause Kleomenes to be pushed out of power – he ends up committing suicide
- All of the accounts of his death have different explanations about why Kleomenes dies in such a horrific way, they all argue he behaved improperly in one way or another

Conclusion

- Spartan King set up figure with peculiar religious and military powers
- Kleomenes' stories show how the Spartans and other Greeks come to think about what the consequences monarchy are and how you should interpret them
- The position of the Spartan king is a central feature of politics – always liable to misrepresentation precisely because he occupies such a unique role

Lecture 6: Sparta's economy and Spartan society: helots and *perioikoi*

- In the case of *perioikoi* they are a group that live in the country so their active political rights are reduced compared to those in the urban centres
- **However**, although helots are slaves they are held on certain conditions (can't be freed or sold abroad)
- Helots are a **self-reproducing** population, this makes them **distinctly different** from the population of slaves elsewhere
- Helots were predominantly used in agriculture (this is a product of the very different conditions which they lived and worked)
- *perioikoi* can run their own communities subject to interference from the Spartans but can't have independent foreign policies or armies, they are also required to help fill the Spartan army
- This whole arrangement is therefore exceptional for the Greek world – has consequences for what Sparta is **or** isn't able to do

Helot origins

Thucydides [1.101.2–3] (trans. Jowett)

... when the great earthquake occurred and was immediately followed by the revolt of the helots and with them the perioeci of Thuria and Aethaea, who seized Ithomè. These **helots were mostly the descendants of the Messenians** who had been enslaved in ancient times, and hence all the insurgents were called Messenians. [3] While the Lacedaemonians were thus engaged...

διεκωλύθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου σεισμοῦ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ οἱ Εἰλωτες αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν περιοίκων Θουριᾶται τε καὶ Αἰθαῖς ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν. **πλεῖστοι δὲ τῶν Εἰλωτῶν ἐγένοντο οἱ τῶν παλαιῶν Μεσσηνίων τότε δουλωθέντων ἀπόγονοι**: ἧ καὶ Μεσσηνιοὶ ἐκλήθησαν οἱ πάντες. [3] πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἐν Ἰθώμῃ πόλεμος καθειστήκει Λακεδαιμονίους...

Athenaios [6.102] (Theopompos) trans. Yonge

And Theopompus, in the seventh book of his history of the Affairs of Greece, speaking of the helots that they were also called Eleataæ, writes as follows:—"But the nation of the Helots is altogether a fierce and cruel race. For they are people who have been enslaved a long time ago by the Spartans, **some of them being Messenians, and some Eleataæ, who formerly dwelt in that part of Laconia called Helos.**

Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν ζ' Ἑλληνικῶν 'περὶ τῶν εἰλώτων λέγων ὅτι καὶ ἐλεάται καλοῦνται γράφει οὕτως: 'τὸ δὲ τῶν εἰλώτων ἔθνος παντάπασιν ὡμῶς διάκειται καὶ πικρῶς: εἰσὶ γὰρ οὗτοι καταδεδουλωμένοι πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον ὑπὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, **οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐκ Μεσσήνης ὄντες, οἱ δ' ἐλεάται κατοικοῦντες πρότερον τὸ καλούμενον Ἑλος τῆς Λακωνικῆς.**'

- Helots had an origin story that the Spartans told and they increasingly wished to tell themselves, **particularly** after Messenia won its political freedom in the 4th Century BC
- The story goes that the Spartans had come as outsiders and reduced the people of the Helos plain to slaves
- They had initially resisted the Spartan invaders and were enslaved as a consequence, this story is reflected in Herodotus

Strabo 8.5.4 (trans. Jones): Helot Ownership

According to Ephoros... though the neighbouring peoples (*perioikoi*), one and all, were subject to the Spartiatae, still they had equal rights, sharing both in the rights of citizenship and in the offices of state; but Agis, the son of Eurysthenes, deprived them of the equality of rights and ordered them to pay tribute to Sparta; now all obeyed except the Heleians, the occupants of Helos (and they were called Helots), who, because they revolted, were forcibly reduced in a war, and were condemned to slavery, **with the express reservation that no slaveholder should be permitted either to set them free or to sell them** outside the borders of the country; and this war was called the War against the Helots. One may almost say that it was Agis and his associates who introduced the whole system of Helot-slavery that persisted until the supremacy of the Romans; for **the Lacedaemonians held the Helots as state slaves in a way**, having assigned to them certain settlements to live in and special services to perform

φησὶ δ' Ἐφορος... ὑπακούοντας δ' ἅπαντας τοὺς περιοίκους Σπαρτιατῶν ὁμῶς ἰσονόμους εἶναι, μετέχοντας καὶ πολιτείας καὶ ἀρχείων· Ἄγιν δὲ τὸν Εὐρυσθένους ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ἰσοτιμίαν καὶ συντελεῖν προστάξει τῇ Σπάρτῃ. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλους ὑπακοῦσαι, τοὺς δ' Ἐλείους τοὺς ἔχοντας τὸ Ἔλος (καλεῖσθαι δὲ Εἴλωτας) ποιησαμένους ἀπόστασιν κατὰ κράτος ἀλῶναι πολέμῳ καὶ κριθῆναι δούλους ἐπὶ τακτοῖς τισιν, **ὥστε τὸν ἔχοντα μήτ' ἐλευθεροῦν ἐξεῖναι μήτε πωλεῖν ἔξω τῶν ὄρων τούτους**: τοῦτον δὲ λεχθῆναι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Εἴλωτας πόλεμον. σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ τὴν εἰλωτείαν τὴν ὕστερον συμμείνασαν μέχρι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας οἱ περὶ Ἄγιν εἰσὶν οἱ καταδείξαντες: **τρόπον γάρ τινα δημοσίους δούλους εἶχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτους**, κατοικίας τινὰς αὐτοῖς ἀποδείξαντες καὶ λειτουργίας ἰδίας.

- Strabo correctly identified the conditions helots were held under (he is quoting an older text by Ephorus)
- Strabo himself, makes a statement that is than quite false: **“helots are state slaves in a way”**, they are **not** state slaves but individual slaves
- The fact that individual owners cannot free them however does seem to mean that homes had different attitudes to their slaves

Aristotle *Politics* [1263a33–40] (trans. Rackham): Attitudes to Helots

For individuals while owning their property privately put their own possessions at the service of their friends and make use of their friends' possessions as common property; for instance **in Sparta people use one another's slaves as virtually their own**, as well as horses and hounds, and also use the produce in the fields throughout the country if they need provisions on a journey. It is clear therefore that it is better for possessions to be privately owned, but to make them common property in use; and to train the citizens to this is the special task of the legislator.

ιδίαν γὰρ ἕκαστος τὴν κτῆσιν ἔχων τὰ μὲν χρήσιμα ποιεῖ τοῖς φίλοις, τοῖς δὲ χρῆται [35] κοινοῖς, οἷον καὶ **ἐν Λακεδαίμονι τοῖς τε δούλοις χρῶνται τοῖς ἀλλήλων ὡς εἰπεῖν ἰδίους**, ἔτι δ' ἵπποις καὶ κυσίν, κἂν δεηθῶσιν ἐφοδίων ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς κατὰ τὴν χώραν. φανερόν τοίνυν ὅτι βέλτιον εἶναι μὲν ἰδίας τὰς κτήσεις, τῇ δὲ χρήσει ποιεῖν κοινάς: ὅπως δὲ γίνωνται τοιοῦτοι, τοῦ νομοθέτου τοῦτ' ἔργον ἰδίον ἐστίν

- **“People use another’s slaves as virtually their own”** (Aeistotle, Politics) – overall assumption by Spartans that helots are a subjugated nation and Spartans were the overlords of ALL helots

Athenaios [6.102] (Myron *FGrH* 106 F1) (trans. Yonge): Freeing Spartan Slaves

Myron of Priene, in the second book of his history of the Affairs of Messene, says, **“The Lacedæmonians often emancipated their slaves**, and some of them when emancipated they called Aphetæ, and some they called Adespoti, and some they called Erycteres, and others they called Desposionautai, whom they put on board their fleets, and some they called Neodamodes, but all these were different people from the Helots.”

Μύρων δὲ ὁ Πριηνεὺς ἐν δευτέρῳ Μεσσηνιακῶν **‘πολλάκις, φησὶν, ἠλευθέρωσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι δούλους** καὶ οὓς μὲν ἀφέτας ἐκάλεσαν, οὓς δὲ ἀδεσπότους, οὓς δὲ ἐρυκτῆρας, δεσποσιοναύτας δ' ἄλλους, οὓς εἰς τοὺς στόλους κατέτασσον, ἄλλους δὲ νεοδαμώδεις ἐτέρους ὄντας τῶν εἰλώτων.'

- Although individuals cannot emancipate their slaves the state can and **DID**
- Not unknown for other states to grant freedom to slaves for their services (e.g Battle of Aganousi which showed how the state could at a stroke deprive masters of their private property)
- **BUT** Sparta seems to have done this on a much systematic basis, according to Myron of Priene “the Spartans often emancipated their slaves ... some they called **Apheta**, and some they called **Adespoti** and some they called **Erycteres** and others they called **Desposionautai**
- By comparison, if you were freed in Athens you’d simply become an **Eleutheros** and join the metics (a foreign resident of Athens, one who did not have citizen rights in their Greek πόλις of residence) **BUT** you don’t form a particular group, whereas in Sparta those who have been emancipated get separated into distinct groups in an attempt to make less visible the fact that these people are all former slaves

- Emancipated slaves occupied a strange limbo position – not entitled to political rights **BUT** also didn't join the *perioikoi* etc.

IG 5.1 1228 Stele from Tainaron (LSAG 201 no. 53) 450–30 BC: Evidence for individual manumission

Thares dedicated Kleogenes to Poseidon.	ἀνέθεκε τοι Ποιοιδᾶ[νι] Θεάρεις
Ephor, Daiochos; witnesses, Arion, Luon.	Κλεογένε.
	ἔφορος Δαιχος ἐπάκο Ἀρίο(ν), Λύον.

- One of two strange documents (even from the 5th Century) which look like individual manumissions of helots
- A Stele from Tainaron reads: **“Thares dedicated Kleogenes to Poseidon, Ephor Daiochos, witnesses, Arion, Luon.”** – in any other Greek city we would interpret this as a manumission, **BUT** appears to be an individual who is freeing another individual
- We can't be sure Kleogenes is a helot and not a cattle slave **BUT** nevertheless the fact that you have this official, individual manumission procedure undermines the argument that **all** emancipation was done by the state (epigraphic and literary evidence don't complement each other)
- Helots can't normally be sold abroad or freed, have a common origin, self-reproducing – live in family units quite unlike slaves in other Greek cities who are bought in from abroad and kept separate unless their masters decide they want to let their slaves to breed
- Helots therefore actually form their own communities

Herodotus [9.28.2, 29] (trans. Godley): Helot population numbers

Presently the whole Greek army was arrayed as I will show, both the later and the earliest comers. On the right wing were ten thousand Lacedaemonians; five thousand of these, who were **Spartans, had a guard of thirty-five thousand light-armed helots, seven appointed for each man...**

29 All these, except the seven appointed to attend each Spartan, were hoplites, and the whole sum of them was thirty-eight thousand and seven hundred. This was the number of hoplites that mustered for war against the barbarian; as regards the number of the light-armed men, there were in the Spartan array seven for each hoplite, that is, thirty-five thousand, and every one of these was equipped for war. [2] The light-armed from the rest of Lacedaemon and Hellas were as one to every hoplite, and their number was

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε οἱ ἐπιφοιτῶντές τε καὶ οἱ ἀρχὴν ἐλθόντες Ἑλλήνων. τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας εἶχον Λακεδαιμονίων μύριοι: τούτων δὲ τοὺς πεντακισχίλιους ἐόντας **Σπαρτιήτας ἐφύλασσον ψилоὶ τῶν εἰλώτων πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι, περὶ ἄνδρα ἕκαστον ἐπτὰ τεταγμένοι.**

29 οὗτοι, πλὴν τῶν ἐπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τεταγμένων Σπαρτιήτησι, ἦσαν ὀπλίται, σύμπαντες ἐόντες ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς τε μυριάδες καὶ ὀκτὼ χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἐπτὰ. ὀπλίται μὲν οἱ πάντες συλλεγέστες ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον ἦσαν τοσοῦτοι, ψιλῶν δὲ πλῆθος ἦν τόδε, τῆς μὲν Σπαρτιτικῆς τάξις πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἄνδρες, ὡς ἐόντων ἐπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον ἄνδρα, καὶ τούτων πᾶς τις παρήρητο ὡς ἐς πόλεμον: [2] οἱ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων ψилоί, ὡς εἶς περὶ ἕκαστον ἑὼν ἄνδρα, πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι

- Helots are also extremely numerous, the best evidence for Helot population numbers comes from Herodotus' account of the number of helots on the battlefield in Plataea (for every Spartan there were 10 helots: **"Spartans, had a guard of thirty-five thousand light-armed helots, seven appointed for each man"**)
- The assumption is that taking away this many helots was in some sense precautionary, the Spartans want to take away as many helots as they can as to not leave young, military-capable helots in the Spartan homeland while they were away at war
- This probably reflects the proportion of numbers overall as it relates to helots vs Spartans (although we can't be sure)
- Spartan population was massively outnumbered – especially as their population was declining in the 5th Century
- These helots were not there to provide menial support but fight as light-armed troops – played a very significant part at Plataea, the whole sum of hoplites was 38,700, 35,000 helots + 5,000 *perioikoi* **aka** they represent almost half of total manpower at Plataea

Plutarch *Moralia* [239e] (trans. Edwards): Helot economy

The helots worked the land for them, paying a rent established in advance.
Charging a higher rent was forbidden, so that the helots might make some profit and be happy to serve, and the masters would not be greedy for more.

οἱ δὲ εἴλωτες αὐτοῖς εἰργάζοντο τὴν γῆν ἀποφέροντες ἀποφορὰν τὴν ἄνωθεν ἱσταμένην. ἐπάρατον δ' ἦν πλείονός τινα μισθῶσαι, ἵνα ἐκεῖνοι μὲν κερδαίνοντες ἡδέως ὑπηρετῶσιν, οὗτοι δὲ μὴ πλεόν ἐπιζητῶσιν.

- Helots are different from slaves elsewhere, they were fundamentally agricultural slaves (sharecroppers)
- **“the helots worked the land for them, paying a rent established in advance”**, therefore this arrangement was set out by the Spartans, they were tenant farmers which meant they have it in their own hands whether they are impoverished or rich (annual variations in climate might affect crop yield, **BUT** affectively up to them to make what they will of half the produce they keep – some economic freedom, different from slaves elsewhere)

How does Sparta control this majority population of helots?

Athenaios [14.74] (Myron FGrH 106 F2): Treatment of Helots

Agesilaus took the sheep and the oxen, but as for the confectionery and sweetmeats, at first he did not know what they meant, for they were covered up; but when he saw what they were, he ordered the slaves to take them away, saying that it was not the custom of the Lacedaemonians to eat such food as that. But as the Thasians pressed him to take them, he said, Carry them to those men (pointing to the Helots) and give them to them; saying that **it was much better for those Helots to injure their health by eating them** than for himself and the Lacedaemonians whom he had with him.” And that **the Lacedaemonians were in the habit of treating the Helots with great insolence**, is related also by Myron of Priene, in the second book of his History of Messene, where he says—“They impose every kind of insulting employment on the Helots, such as brings with it the most extreme dishonour; for they compel them **to wear caps of dogskin, and cloaks also of skins; and every year they scourge them without their having committed any offence**, in order to present their ever thinking of emancipating themselves from slavery. And besides all this, if any of them ever appear too handsome or distinguished-looking for slaves, they impose death as the penalty, and their masters also are fined for not checking them in their growth and fine appearances. And they give them each a certain

ὁ δ’ Ἀγησίλαος τὰ μὲν πρόβατα καὶ τὰς βοῦς ἔλαβεν, τὰ δὲ πέμματα καὶ τὰ τραγήματα πρῶτον μὲν οὐδ’ ἔγνω: κατεκεκάλυπτο γάρ. ὥς δὲ κατεῖδεν, ἀποφέρειν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν, εἰπὼν οὐ νόμιμον εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις χρῆσθαι τοιούτοις τοῖς ἐδέσμασι. λιπαρούντων δὲ τῶν Θασίων ὁδοῦτε, φησί, φέροντες ἐκείνοις, δείξας αὐτοῖς **τοὺς εἴλωτας, εἰπὼν ὅτι τούτους δέοι διαφθεῖρεσθαι τρώγοντας αὐτὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας Λακεδαιμονίων.** ὅτι δὲ **τοῖς εἴλωσιν ὑβριστικῶς πάνυ ἐχρῶντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι** καὶ Μύρων ὁ Πριηνεὺς ἱστορεῖ ἐν δευτέρῳ Μεσσηνιακῶν γράφων οὕτως ὅτι δ’ εἴλωσι πᾶν ὑβριστικὸν ἔργον ἐπιτάττουσι πρὸς πᾶσαν ἄτιμίαν. **κυνῆν τε γὰρ ἕκαστον φορεῖν ἐπάναγκες ὥρισαν καὶ διφθέραν περιβεβλησθαι πληγὰς τε τεταγμένας λαμβάνειν κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἀδικήματος χωρὶς**, ἵνα μήποτε δουλεύειν ἀπομάθωσιν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἴτινες ὑπερακμάζοιεν τὴν οἰκετικὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, ἐπέθηκάν τινες θάνατον καὶ τοῖς κεκτημένοις ἐπιτίμιον, εἰ μὴ ἐπικόπτοιεν τοὺς ἀδρουμένους. καὶ παραδόντες αὐτοῖς τὴν χώραν ἔταξαν μοῖραν ἣν αὐτοῖς ἀνοίσουσιν αἰεὶ.

- The Spartans maintained a reign of terror by systematically treating the helots as a lower building (deeply ingrained in Spartan culture)
- Athenanios quoting Myron says Agesilaus (King in the first part of 4th Century) was given some sheep, oxen as well as sweatmeats but refused to eat it and gave it to the helots because: **“it was much better for those helots to injure their health by eating them”**
- The Spartans would also commit arbitrary acts of punishment: **“scourge them without their having committed any offence”**

Now in all this there is no trace of injustice or arrogance, which some attribute to the laws of Lycurgus, declaring them efficacious in producing valour, but defective in producing righteousness. The so-called "krupteia," or secret service, of the Spartans, if this be really one of the institutions of Lycurgus, as Aristotle says it was, may have given Plato also this opinion of the man and his civil polity. 2 This secret service was of the following nature. The magistrates from time to time sent out into the country at large the most discreet of the young warriors, equipped only with daggers and such supplies as were necessary. In the day time they scattered into obscure and out of the way places, where they hid themselves and lay quiet; but in the night they came down into the highways and killed every Helot whom they caught. 3 Oftentimes, too, **they actually traversed the fields where Helots were working and slew the sturdiest and best of them.** So, too, Thucydides, in his history of the Peloponnesian war, tells us that the Helots who had been judged by the Spartans to be superior in bravery, set wreaths upon their heads in token of their emancipation, and visited the temples of the gods in procession, but a little afterwards all disappeared, more than two thousand of them, in such a way that no man was able to say, either then or afterwards, how they came by their deaths. 4 And Aristotle in particular says also that the ephors, as soon as they came into office, made formal declaration of war upon the Helots, in order that there might be no impiety in slaying them.

And in other ways also they were harsh and cruel to the Helots. For instance, **they would force them to drink too much strong wine,** and then introduce them into their public messes, to show the young men what a thing drunkenness was. They also ordered them to **sing songs and dance dances that were low and ridiculous,** but to let the

Ἐν μὲν οὖν τούτοις οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀδικίας ἵχνος οὐδὲ πλεονεξίας, ἣν ἐγκαλοῦσιν ἔνιοι τοῖς Λυκούργου νόμοις, ὥς ἱκανῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς ἀνδρείαν, ἐνδεῶς δὲ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην. ἡ δὲ καλουμένη κρυπτεία παρ' αὐτοῖς, εἴ γε δὴ τοῦτο τῶν Λυκούργου πολιτευμάτων ἐν ἐστίν, ὥς Ἀριστοτέλης ἱστορήκε, ταύτην ἂν εἴη καὶ τῷ Πλάτῳ περὶ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐνείργασμένη δόξαν. ἦν δὲ τοιαύτη· τῶν νέων οἱ ἄρχοντες διὰ χρόνου τοὺς μάλιστα νοῦν ἔχειν δοκοῦντας εἰς τὴν χώραν ἄλλως ἐξέπεμπον, ἔχοντας ἐγχειρίδια καὶ τροφήν ἀναγκαίαν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν· οἱ δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν εἰς ἀσυνδήλους διασπειρόμενοι τόπους, ἀπέκρυπτον ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀνεπαύοντο, νύκτωρ δὲ κατιόντες εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς τῶν εἰλώτων τὸν ἀλίσκομενον ἀπέσφαττον. πολλὰκις δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀγροῖς ἐπιπορευόμενοι **τοὺς ῥωμαλεωτάτους καὶ κρατίστους αὐτῶν ἀνήρουν.** ὥσπερ καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἐν τοῖς Πελοποννησιακοῖς ἱστορεῖ τοὺς ἐπ' ἀνδρεία προκριθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν στεφανώσασθαι μὲν ὡς ἐλευθέρους γεγονότας καὶ περιελθεῖν τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἱερά, μικρὸν δὲ ὕστερον ἅπαντας ἀφανεῖς γενέσθαι, πλείονας ἢ δισχιλίους ὄντας, ὥς μήτε παραχρῆμα μήτε ὕστερον ἔχειν τινὰ λέγειν ὅτῳ τρόπῳ διεφθάρησαν. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ μάλιστ' ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ὅταν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστῶσι πρῶτον, τοῖς εἴλωσι καταγγέλλειν πόλεμον, ὅπως εὐαγὲς ἦ τὸ ἀνελεῖν. Καὶ τὰλλα δὲ τραχέως προσεφέροντο καὶ σκληρῶς αὐτοῖς, ὥστε καὶ **πίνειν ἀναγκάζοντες πολὺν ἄκρατον** εἰς τὰ συσσίτια παρειαῖον, ἐπιδεικνύμενοι τὸ μεθύειν οἷόν ἐστι τοῖς νέοις. καὶ ὥδ' ἐκέλευον ἄδειν καὶ **χορείας χορεύειν ἀγεννεῖς καὶ καταγελάστους,** ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ τῶν ἐλευθέρων. διὸ καὶ φασιν ὕστερον ἐν τῇ Θηβαίων εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν στρατείᾳ τοὺς ἀλίσκομένους εἴλωτας κελευομένους ἄδειν τὰ Τερπάνδρου καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος καὶ

- One of the most famous acts of arbitrary violence is perpetrated by the Spartan *krupteia* (secret service)
- According to Plutarch, the Spartans annually told their young Spartiate's to roam the fields and kill any helot that looked particularly strong: **“they actually traversed the fields where helots were working and slew the sturdiest and best of them”**
- They would also: **“force them to drink too much strong wine and then introduce them into the public messes to show the young men what a thing drunkenness was”**, example of needless cruelty
- Plutarch refuses to ascribe this treatment of the helots to Lycurgus and claims instead: **“such cruelties were first practices but the Spartans in later times”** BUT his only evidence for this is his own personal bias and distaste at the idea of Lycurgus ever instituting this kind of cruel treatment

Herodotus [9.85.1–2]: Helot burial rites

But the Greeks, when they had divided the spoils at Plataea, buried each contingent of their dead in a separate place. The Lacedaemonians made three tombs; there they buried their “irens,” among whom were Posidonius, Amompharetus, Philocyon, and Callicrates. [2] In one of the tombs, then, were the “irens,” in the second the rest of the Spartans, and **in the third the helots**. This, then is how the Lacedaemonians buried their dead. The Tegeans, however, buried all theirs together in a place apart, and the Athenians did similarly with their own dead. So too did the Megarians and Phliasians with those who had been killed by the horsemen.

οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὴν λήϊν διείλοντο, ἔθαπτον τοὺς ἐωυτῶν χωρὶς ἕκαστοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τριζὰς ἐποιήσαντο θήκας· ἐνθα μὲν τοὺς ἱρένας ἔθαψαν, τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ἦσαν καὶ Φιλοκύων τε καὶ Καλλικράτης. [2] ἐν μὲν δὴ ἐνὶ τῶν τάφων ἦσαν οἱ ἱρένες, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ οἱ ἄλλοι Σπαρτιῆται, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ οἱ εἰλωτες. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἔθαπτον, Τεγεῆται δὲ χωρὶς πάντας ἀλέας, καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐωυτῶν ὁμοῦ, καὶ Μεγαρέες τε καὶ Φλειάσιοι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου διαφθαρέντας.

- Herodotus claims that the helots also received different burial rites
- The Spartans were separated into the *irens* (those who died very young) and then the rest of the Spartans were buried elsewhere – while the helots were buried far away

Herodotus [8.25.1]: Visibility of the Helots

They crossed over and went about viewing the dead. All of them supposed that the fallen Greeks were all Lacedaemonians and Thespians, **though helots were also there for them to see**.

διαπεραιωθέντες δὲ ἐθηεῦντο διεξιόντες τοὺς νεκρούς· πάντες δὲ ἠπιστάτο τοὺς κειμένους εἶναι πάντας Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Θεσπιέας, **ὁρῶντες καὶ τοὺς εἰλωτας**.

- Helots were regularly used as Spartan soldiers, we can trace this to the Classical period where there are accounts of battles that feature helots (never appear in the 6th Century literature – not to suggest that they weren't used but their contributions weren't recognised)
- Herodotus notes that at Thermopylae when the Persians surveyed the dead they think that they are all Spartans or Thespians although **“helots were also there for them to see”**
- According to popular tradition only 300 people resisted Persian force at Thermopylae but Herodotus claims there were at least 700 Thespians and helots too

Herodotus [9.80.1, 3–81.1]: Helots stereotyped as untrustworthy/greedy

Pausanias made a proclamation that no man should touch the spoils, and **ordered the helots to gather all the stuff together**. They, spreading all over the camp, found there tents adorned with gold and silver, and couches gilded and silver-plated, and golden bowls and cups and other drinking-vessels; [2] and sacks they found on wagons, in which were seen cauldrons of gold and silver. They stripped from the dead who lay there their armlets and torques, and golden daggers; as for the embroidered clothing, it was disregarded. [3] Much of all this the helots showed, as much as they could not conceal, **but much they stole and sold to the Aeginetans**. As a result the Aeginetans laid the foundation of their great fortunes by buying gold from the helots as though it were bronze. 81 Having brought all the loot together, they set apart a tithe for the god of Delphi. From this was made and dedicated that tripod which rests upon the bronze three-headed serpent, nearest to the altar; another they set apart for the god of Olympia, from which was made and dedicated a bronze figure of Zeus, ten cubits high; and another for the god of the Isthmus, from which was fashioned a bronze Poseidon seven cubits high. When they had set all this apart, they divided what remained, and each received, according to his worth, concubines of the Persians and gold and silver, and all the

Παυσανίης δὲ κήρυγμα ποιησάμενος μηδένα ἄπτεσθαι τῆς ληΐης, **συγκομίζειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἰλωτας τὰ χρήματα**. οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον σκιδνάμενοι εὕρισκον σκηνάς κατεσκευασμένας χρυσῶ καὶ ἀργύρῳ, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους, κρητῆράς τε χρυσεούς καὶ φιάλας τε καὶ ἄλλα ἐκπώματα: [2] σάκκους τε ἐπ' ἀμαξέων εὕρισκον, ἐν τοῖσι λέβητες ἐφαίνοντο ἐνεόντες χρύσειοι τε καὶ ἀργύρειοι: ἀπὸ τε τῶν κειμένων νεκρῶν ἐσκύλευον ψέλια τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀκινάκας ἐόντας χρυσεούς, ἐπεὶ ἐσθῆτός γε ποικίλης λόγος ἐγένετο οὐδεὶς. [3] ἐνθαῦτα **πολλὰ μὲν κλέπτοντες ἐπώλεον πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγινήτας οἱ εἰλωτες**, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν, ὅσα αὐτῶν οὐκ οἶα τε ἦν κρύψαι: ὥστε Αἰγινήτησι οἱ μεγάλοι πλοῦτοι ἀρχὴν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένοντο, οἳ τὸν χρυσὸν ἅτε ἐόντα χαλκὸν δῆθεν παρὰ τῶν εἰλώτων ὠνέοντο.

81 συμφορήσαντες δὲ τὰ χρήματα καὶ δεκάτην ἐξελόντες τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ, ἀπ' ἧς ὁ τρίπους ὁ χρύσεος ἀνετέθη ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρήνου ὄφις τοῦ χαλκεοῦ ἐπεστεῶς ἄγχιστα τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ θεῷ ἐξελόντες, ἀπ' ἧς δεκάπηχυν χάλκεον Δία ἀνέθηκαν, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ θεῷ, ἀπ' ἧς ἐπτάπηχυν χάλκεος Ποσειδέων ἐξεγένετο, ταῦτα ἐξελόντες τὰ λοιπὰ διαιρέοντο, καὶ ἔλαβον ἕκαστοι τῶν ἄξιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς τῶν Περσέων καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργυρον καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα τε καὶ ὑποζύγια.

- At Plataea the helots are also used to gather up the booty: **“Pausanias made a proclamation that no man should touch the spoils, ordered the helots to father all the stuff together”**
- Supposedly some of the helots concealed items and sold them on to the Aeginetans who used this to lay **“the foundation of their great fortunes by buying hold from the helots as though it were bronze”** – example of myth-making to explain why the Aeginetans were so wealthy even though they were wealthy long before the battle of Plataea
- This story also characterises the helots as untrustworthy and stupid (mistaking gold for bronze)

Thucydides 5.34.1 (trans. Jowett): Brasidas’ campaign

In the course of the same summer the troops serving in Thrace, which had gone out under Brasidas and were brought home by Clearchus after the conclusion of peace, arrived at Lacedaemon. The Lacedaemonians passed a vote that the **Helots who had fought under Brasidas should be free** and might dwell wherever they pleased. Not long afterwards, they settled them, together with the Neodamodes, at Lepreum, which is on the borders of Laconia and Elis, being now enemies of the Eleians.

καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους ἤδη ἡκόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀπὸ Θράκης μετὰ Βρασίδου ἐξελθόντων στρατιωτῶν, οὓς ὁ Κλεαρίδας μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ἐκόμισεν, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐψηφίσαντο τοὺς μὲν μετὰ Βρασίδου **Εἰλωτας μαχεσαμένους ἐλευθέρους εἶναι** καὶ οἰκεῖν ὅπου ἂν βούλωνται, καὶ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν νεοδαμωδῶν ἐς Λέπρεον κατέστησαν, κείμενον ἐπὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἠλείας, ὄντες ἤδη διάφοροι Ἠλείοις:

Thucydides 5.67.1 (trans. Jowett): Mantinea in 418 BC

On this occasion the Sciritae formed the left wing, a position to which in the Lacedaemonian army they have a peculiar and exclusive right. Next to the Sciritae were placed **the troops who had served in Chalcidice under Brasidas, and with them the Neodamodes**. Next in order were ranged the several divisions of the Lacedaemonian army, and near them the Heraeans of Arcadia; next the Maenalians, and on the right wing the Tegeans, and a few Lacedaemonians at the extreme point of the line

τότε δὲ κέρας μὲν εὐώνυμον Σκιριῖται αὐτοῖς καθίσταντο, αἰεὶ ταύτην τὴν τάξιν μόνοι Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἔχοντες: παρὰ δ’ αὐτοὺς οἱ ἀπὸ Θράκης **Βρασίδειοι στρατιῶται καὶ νεοδαμῶδεις μετ’ αὐτῶν**: ἔπειτ’ ἤδη Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοὶ ἐξῆς καθίστασαν τοὺς λόχους, καὶ παρ’ αὐτοὺς Ἀρκάδων Ἡραιῆς, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Μαινάλιοι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρῳ Τεγεᾶται καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὀλίγοι τὸ ἔσχατον ἔχοντες, καὶ οἱ ἱππῆς αὐτῶν ἐφ’ ἑκατέρῳ τῷ κέρῳ.

Thucydides 7.58 (trans. Jowett)

Of Hellenes who were not inhabitants of Sicily, the Lacedaemonians provided a Spartan general; **the Lacedaemonian forces were all *Neodamodeis* and Helots**. [The word *Neodamodes* means freedman].

τῶν δ' ἔξω Σικελίας Ἑλλήνων Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ἡγεμόνα Σπαρτιάτην παρεχόμενοι, **νεοδαμῶδεις δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ Εἰλωτας** [δύναται δὲ τὸ νεοδαμῶδες ἐλεύθερον ἤδη εἶναι]

- Most famous use of helots as troops comes from Brasidas' campaign in the first year of the Peloponnesian War
- He decides that the helots should be freed once they have completed their task and became known simply as the men of ***Brasidas***, they would later be redeployed in other Spartan battles, for instance in Mantinea there are: **"The troops who had served in Chalcidice under Brasidas, and with them the Neodamodeis (another group of freed helots)"**
- The Spartans repeatedly make bolster their manpower by using emancipated helots
- At Plataea however they were light-armed troops whereas Brasidas trained up his helots to become full-blown hoplites
- In 4th Century BC there was a further call to helots to take up arms

Fear of Helots

Thucydides 1.132.4–5 (trans. Jowett): Helots as a revolutionary force

They were also informed **that he was intriguing with the Helots**; and this was true, for he had promised them emancipation and citizenship if they would join him in an insurrection and help to carry out his whole design. [5] Still the magistrates would not take decided measures; they even refused to believe the distinct testimony which certain Helots brought against him; their habit having always been to be slow in taking an irrevocable decision against a Spartan without incontestable proof. At last a certain man of Argilus, who had been a favourite and was still a confidential servant of Pausanias, turned informer...

ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ καὶ **ἐς τοὺς Εἰλωτας πρᾶσσειν τι αὐτόν**, καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως: ἐλευθέρωσίν τε γὰρ ὑπισχνεῖτο αὐτοῖς καὶ πολιτείαν, ἣν ξυνεπαναστῶσι καὶ τὸ πᾶν συγκατεργάσωνται. [5] ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς οὐδὲ τῶν Εἰλώτων μηνυταῖς τισὶ πιστεύσαντες ἡξίωσαν νεώτερόν τι ποιεῖν ἐς αὐτόν, χρώμενοι τῷ τρόπῳ ᾧπερ εἰώθασιν ἐς σφᾶς αὐτούς, μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι περὶ ἀνδρὸς Σπαρτιάτου ἄνευ ἀναμφισβητήτων τεκμηρίων βουλευσαί τι ἀνήκεστον, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῖς, ὡς λέγεται, ὁ μέλλων τὰς τελευταίας βασιλεῖ ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον κομιεῖν, ἀνὴρ Ἀργίλιος, παιδικὰ ποτε ὦν αὐτοῦ καὶ πιστότατος ἐκείνῳ, μηνυτὴς γίγνεται..

- Sparta naturally worried that their helots would realise the strength in their own numbers – we see this in little incidents e.g Pausanias gets suspected by the Spartans of seeking his own profit rather than the good of Sparta, immediately the story goes that he was conspiring with the helots – promising them emancipation if they helped with insurrection

Thucydides 4.80.1–4 (trans. Jowett): Paranoia about the Helots

For now that the Athenians were infesting Peloponnese, and especially Laconia, they thought that a diversion would be best effected if they could retaliate on them by sending troops to help their dissatisfied allies, who moreover were offering to maintain them, and had asked for assistance from Sparta with the intention of revolting. [2] **They were also glad of a pretext for sending out of the way some of the Helots**, fearing that they would take the opportunity of rising afforded by the occupation of Pylos. [3] **Most of the Lacedaemonian institutions were specially intended to secure them against this source of danger.** Once, when they were afraid of the number and vigour of the Helot youth, this was what they did: they proclaimed that a selection would be made of those Helots who claimed to have rendered the best service to the Lacedaemonians in war, and promised them liberty. The announcement was intended to test them; it was thought that those among them who were foremost in asserting their freedom would be most high-spirited, and most likely to rise against their masters. [4] So they selected about two thousand, who were crowned with garlands and went in procession round the temples; they were supposed to have received their liberty; but not long afterwards **the Spartans put them all out of**

τῶν γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ἐγκειμένων τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῇ ἐκείνων γῇ ἥλπιζον ἀποτρέψειν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα, εἰ ἀντιπαραλυποῖεν πέμψαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς συμμαχοὺς αὐτῶν στρατιάν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐτοίμων ὄντων τρέφειν τε καὶ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει σφᾶς ἐπικαλουμένων. [2] καὶ ἅμα τῶν Εἰλώτων βουλομένοις ἦν ἐπὶ προφάσει ἐκπέμψαι, μή τι πρὸς τὰ παρόντα τῆς Πύλου ἐχομένης νεωτερίσωσιν: [3] ἐπεὶ καὶ τότε ἔπραξαν φοβούμενοι αὐτῶν τὴν σκαιότητα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος (αἰεὶ γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς τοὺς Εἰλωτας τῆς φυλακῆς πέρι μάλιστα καθειστήκει): προεῖπον αὐτῶν ὅσοι ἀξιοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις γεγενῆσθαι σφίσιν ἄριστοι, κρίνεσθαι, ὥς ἐλευθερώσοντες, πεῖραν ποιούμενοι καὶ ἡγούμενοι τούτους σφίσιν ὑπὸ φρονήματος, οἷπερ καὶ ἤξιωσαν πρῶτος ἕκαστος ἐλευθεροῦσθαι, μάλιστα ἂν καὶ ἐπιθέσθαι. [4] καὶ προκρίναντες ἐς δισχιλίους, οἱ μὲν ἐστεφανώσαντό τε καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ περιῆλθον ὥς ἡλευθερωμένοι, οἱ δὲ οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον **ἠφάνισάν τε αὐτοὺς** καὶ οὐδεὶς ἦσθετο ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἕκαστος διεφθάρη.

- When the Spartans agree to recruit helots to fight with Brasidas they first get rid of the helots who are keenest to join: **“they proclaimed that a selection would be made of those helots who claimed to have rendered the best service the Lacedaemonians in war and promised them liberty. The announcement was intended to test them ... the Spartans put them out of the way and no man knew how any of them came by this end”**
- “Most of the Lacedaemonian institutions were especially intended to secure them against this source of danger”

Libanius Or. 25.63 (On Slavery) (Kritias DK 81B37): Spartans as slaves to the helots

The Lakedaimonians have, with regard to the helots, the right of killing first, and Kritias says about them that the **most enslaved and the most free are in Lakedaimon**. Another thing that Kritias says is that because of mistrust, the Spartiate at home takes the handles off their (the Helots') shields. Not being able to do this in war, because of the frequent need for speedy use, he goes round always carrying his spear, thinking to overcome the Helot with it if he tries separate mutiny with the shield only. They have also devised bolts, which they believe to be strong enough to withstand any attack

οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οἱ κατὰ τῶν εἰλώτων ἐξουσίαν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνοίγοντες φόνου καὶ περὶ ὧν Κριτίας φησὶν, **ὥς μάλιστα δοῦλοί τε ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι**, τί δ' ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅπερ αὐτὸς ὁ Κριτίας φησὶν, ὡς ἀπιστίας εἵνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς εἰλωτας τούτους ἐξαίρει μὲν Σπαρτιάτης οἴκοι τῆς ἀσπίδος τὸν πόρπακα, τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς στρατείας ποιεῖν διὰ τὸ δεῖν πολλάκις ὀξύτητος τὸ δόρυ ἔχων ἀεὶ περιέρχεται, ὡς κρείττων γε ταύτῃ τοῦ εἰλωτος ἐσόμενος, ἣν ἀπὸ μόνης νεωτερίζῃ τῆς ἀσπίδος. μεμηχάνηται δὴ καὶ κλεῖδας ἃς οἴονται τῆς παρ' ἐκείνων ἐπιβουλῆς ἰσχυροτέρας εἶναι.

- In some sense the Spartiate's had enslaved themselves to the helots because they were so afraid of them: **“the most enslaved and most free are in Lakedaimon”**

Aristotle *Politics* 1269a34–b12 (trans. Rackham): Ethnic homogeneity of helots

Now it is a thing admitted that a state that is to be well governed must be provided with leisure from menial occupations; but how this is to be provided it is not easy to ascertain. The serf class in Thessaly repeatedly rose against its masters, and **so did the Helots at Sparta**, where they are like an enemy constantly sitting in wait for the disasters of the Spartiates. Nothing of the kind has hitherto occurred in Crete, the reason perhaps being that the neighboring cities, even when at war with one another, in no instance ally themselves with the rebels, because as they themselves also possess a serf class this would not be for their interest; whereas the Laconians were entirely surrounded by hostile neighbors, Argives, Messenians and Arcadians. For with the Thessalians too the serf risings originally began because they were still at war with their neighbors, the Achaeans, Perraei and Magnesians. Also, apart from other drawbacks, the mere necessity of policing a serf class is an irksome burden—the problem of how intercourse with them is to be carried on: if allowed freedom they grow insolent and claim equal rights with their masters, and if made to live a hard life they plot against them and hate them. It is clear therefore that those whose helot-system works out in this way do not discover the best mode of treating the problem.

- The helots do revolt, Aristotle draws attention to the danger of uprisings whenever you get an ethnically homogenous unit of slaves: **“they are like an enemy constantly sitting in wait for the disasters of the Spartiate's”**

ὅτι μὲν οὖν δεῖ τῇ μελλούσῃ καλῶς πολιτεύεσθαι [35] τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπάρχειν σχολήν, ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστιν: τίνα δὲ τρόπον ὑπάρχειν, οὐ ῥᾶδιον λαβεῖν. ἢ τε γὰρ Θετταλῶν πενεστεία πολλάκις ἐπέθετο τοῖς Θετταλοῖς, **ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς Λάκωσιν οἱ εἰλωτες** (ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐφεδρεύοντες τοῖς ἀτυχήμασι διατελοῦσιν): περὶ δὲ τοὺς Κρήτας [40] οὐδὲν πω τοιοῦτον συμβέβηκεν. αἴτιον δ' ἴσως τὸ τὰς γειτνιώσας πόλεις, καίπερ πολεμούσας ἀλλήλαις, μηδεμίαν εἶναι σύμμαχον τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις διὰ τὸ μὴ συμφέρειν ταῖς καὶ αὐταῖς κεκτημέναις περιόικους, τοῖς δὲ Λάκωσιν οἱ γειτνιώντες ἐχθροὶ πάντες ἦσαν, Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μεσήνιοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες: [5] ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς Θετταλοῖς κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀφίσταντο διὰ τὸ πολεμεῖν ἔτι τοῖς προσχώροις, Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ Περραιβοῖς καὶ Μάγνησιν. ἔοικε δὲ καὶ εἰ μὴδὲν ἕτερον, ἀλλὰ τό γε τῆς ἐπιμελείας ἐργῶδες εἶναι, τίνα δεῖ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁμιῆσαι τρόπον: ἀνιέμενοί τε γὰρ ὑβρίζουσι καὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀξιοῦσιν [10] ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς κυρίοις, καὶ κακοπαθῶς ζῶντες ἐπιβουλεύουσι καὶ μισοῦσιν. δῆλον οὖν ὡς οὐκ ἐξευρίσκουσι τὸν βέλτιστον τρόπον οἷς τοῦτο συμβαίνει περὶ τὴν εἰλωτείαν.

Isokrates [12] *Panathenaikos* [178–82] (trans. Norlin): The nature of the *perioikoi*

For the latter suffered the opposing party to live with them and share in all the privileges of the state, excepting the offices and the honors, whereas the intelligent class among the Spartans held that such men were foolish in thinking that they could live in the same city with those against whom they had committed the greatest wrongs and yet govern the state in security; they themselves did nothing of the sort, but instead set up amongst their own class the only kind of equality and democracy which is possible if men are to be at all times in complete accord, while **reducing the mass of the people to the condition of Perioeci**, subjecting their spirits to a bondage no less abject than that endured by slaves. 179 And having done this, they disposed of the land, of which by right every man should have had an equal share, seizing for themselves—the few—not only the richest but more than any of the Hellenes possess, while to the mass of the people they apportioned only enough of the poorest land so that by working laboriously they could hardly gain their daily bread. Then they divided the multitude into the smallest groups possible and settled them upon many small tracts—groups who in name were spoken of as dwelling in cities, but in reality had less power than the townships with us. 180 And, having despoiled them of all the rights which free men ought to share, they imposed upon them the greatest part in all dangers. For **in the campaigns which were conducted by their kings they not only ranged them man for man side by side with themselves**, but some they stationed in the first line, and whenever need arose to dispatch a relief-force anywhere and they themselves were afraid of the hardships or the dangers or the length of time involved, they sent them forth to take the brunt of the danger from all the rest. 181 But why make a long story by detailing all the outrages which were visited upon the common people? Why not, rather, mention the greatest of their

τούς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους συνοίκους ἔχειν ἐν τῇ πόλει τοὺς στασιάσαντας καὶ κοινωνοὺς ἀπάντων πλήν τῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ τῶν τιμῶν: οὐς οὐκ εὖ φρονεῖν ἠγεῖσθαι Σπαρτιατῶν τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας, εἰ νομίζουσιν ἀσφαλῶς πολιτεύεσθαι μετὰ τούτων οἰκοῦντες, περὶ οὓς τὰ μέγιστα τυγχάνουσιν ἐξημαρτηκότες: αὐτοὺς δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ σφίσι μὲν αὐτοῖς ἰσονομίαν καταστήσαι καὶ δημοκρατίαν τοιαύτην, οἷαν περ χρὴ τοὺς μέλλοντας ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον ὁμονοήσῃν, **τὸν δὲ δῆμον περιοίκους ποιήσασθαι**, καταδουλωσαμένους αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς οὐδὲν ἥττον ἢ τὰς τῶν οἰκετῶν: [179] ταῦτα δὲ πράξαντας τῆς χώρας, ἥς προσῆκεν ἴσον ἔχειν ἕκαστον, αὐτοὺς μὲν λαβεῖν ὀλίγους ὄντας οὐ μόνον τὴν ἀρίστην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοσαύτην ὅσην οὐδένας τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔχουσι, τῷ δὲ πλήθει τηλικοῦτον ἀπονεῖμαι μέρος τῆς χειρίστης ὥστ' ἐπιπόνως ἐργαζομένους μόλις ἔχειν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διελόντας τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ὡς οἷόν τ' ἦν εἰς ἐλαχίστους εἰς τόπους κατοικίσαι μικροὺς καὶ πολλοὺς, ὀνόμασι μὲν προσαγορευομένους ὡς πόλεις οἰκοῦντας, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν ἔχοντας ἐλάττω τῶν δήμων τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν: [180] ἀπάντων δ' ἀποστερήσαντας αὐτοὺς ὧν προσήκει μετέχειν τοὺς ἐλευθέρους, τοὺς πλείστους ἐπιθεῖναι τῶν κινδύνων αὐτοῖς: **ἐν τε γὰρ ταῖς στρατείαις, αἷς ἠγεῖται βασιλεύς, κατ' ἄνδρα συμπαράτάττεσθαι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς**, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ τῆς πρώτης τάττειν, ἐάν τέ που δεῖσαν αὐτοὺς ἐκπέμψαι βοήθειαν φοβηθῶσιν ἢ τοὺς πόνους ἢ τοὺς κινδύνους ἢ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ χρόνου, τούτους ἀποστέλλειν προκινδυνεύοντας τῶν ἄλλων. [181] καὶ τί δεῖ μακρολογεῖν ἀπάσας διεξιόντας τὰς ὕβρεις τὰς περὶ τὸ πλῆθος γιγνομένας, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ μέγιστον εἰπόντας τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῶν ἄλλων; τῶν γὰρ οὕτω μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δεινὰ πεπονθότων, ἐν δὲ τοῖς παροῦσι καιροῖς

- The *perioikoi* are much more mysterious than the helots, we know precious little about these communities despite their numbers
- Our fullest description of the conditions of the *perioikoi* comes from Athenian orator Isocrates writing in 4th Century BC (**N.B** he is not historian, or attempting to write history – using them as a way to make a political argument, still very striking that he can look at Sparta and see that it is not just the helots who are peculiarly enslaved but also the *perioikoi*): **“reducing the mass of the people to the condition of the Perioeci, subjecting their spirits to a bondage no less abject than that endured by slaves”**
- Sparta has effectively placed these surrounding communities into conditions that are slave-like while leaving them in theory with some sort of freedom
- He complains that the Ephors can put to death *perioikoi* without trial – **yet** Sparta needs them for their own security (they crucially provide manpower)

Xenophon *Hellenika* 3.3.8–9: Sparta expects to interfere in *perioikic* cities

Upon hearing these statements the ephors came to the conclusion that he was describing a well-considered plan, and were greatly alarmed; and without even convening the Little Assembly, as it was called, but merely gathering about them—one ephor here and another there—some of the senators, they decided to send Cinadon to Aulon along with others of the younger men, and to order him to **bring back with him certain of the Aulonians and Helots whose names were written in the official dispatch**. And they ordered him to bring also the woman who was said to be the most beautiful woman in Aulon and was thought to be corrupting the Lacedaemonians who came there, older and younger alike. [9] Now Cinadon had performed other services of a like sort for the ephors in the past; so this time they gave him the dispatch in which were written the names of those who were to be arrested. And when he asked which of the young men he should take with him, they said: “Go and bid the eldest of the commanders of the guard to send with you six or seven of those who may chance to be at hand.” In fact they had taken care that the commander should know whom he was to send, and that those who were sent should know that it was Cinadon whom they were to arrest. The ephors said this thing besides to Cinadon, that they would send three wagons, so that they would not have to bring back the prisoners on foot—trying to conceal, as far as

ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι ἐσκεμμένα τε λέγειν ἡγήσαντο αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεπλάγησαν, καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν μικρὰν καλουμένην ἐκκλησίαν συλλέξαντες, ἀλλὰ συλλεγόμενοι τῶν γερόντων ἄλλος ἄλλοθι ἐβουλευέσαντο πέμψαι τὸν Κινάδωνα εἰς Αὐλῶνα σὺν ἄλλοις τῶν νεωτέρων καὶ κελεῦσαι ἥκειν **ἄγοντα τῶν Αὐλωνιτῶν τέ τινας καὶ τῶν εἰλώτων τοὺς ἐν τῇ σκυτάλῃ γεγραμμένους**. ἀγαγεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἣ καλλίστη μὲν αὐτόθι ἐλέγετο εἶναι, λυμαίνεσθαι δ' ἐώκει τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ νεωτέρους. [9] ὑπηρετῇκει δὲ καὶ ἄλλ' ἤδη ὁ Κινάδων τοῖς ἐφόροις τοιαῦτα. καὶ τότε δὴ ἔδοσαν τὴν σκυτᾶλὴν ἐκείνῳ, ἐν ᾗ γεγραμμένοι ἦσαν οὓς ἔδει συλληφθῆναι. ἐρομένου δὲ τίνας ἄγοι μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τῶν νέων, ἴθι, ἔφασαν, καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν ἱππαγρετῶν κέλευέ σοι συμπέμψαι ἕξ ἢ ἐπτὰ οἳ ἂν τύχῃσι παρόντες. ἐμεμελήκει δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅπως ὁ ἱππαγρέτης εἰδείη οὓς δέοι πέμπειν, καὶ οἱ πεμπόμενοι εἰδείειν ὅτι Κινάδωνα δέοι συλλαβεῖν. εἶπον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῷ Κινάδωνι, ὅτι πέμψοιεν τρεῖς ἀμάξας, ἵνα μὴ πεζοὺς ἄγωσι τοὺς ληφθέντας, ἀφανίζοντες ὥς ἐδύναντο μάλιστα ὅτι ἐφ' ἑνα ἐκείνον ἔπεμπον.

- Sparta clearly expected that it could just interfere with the *perioikic* communities (Spartan military officer Cinadon was identified at centre of conspiracy etc. to overthrow Spartan Monarchy and oligarchy – grant greater rights to the poor and helot population)

Cinadon Conspiracy (399 BC) summary (wikipedia):

- An informant revealed Cinadon's plans for a *coup d'état* to the Ephors

- He said that Cinadon had brought him to the agora and ordered him to count the Spartans in the crowd, which consisted of nearly 4000 people
- It turned out that only forty of them were Peers: a king, ephors, Gerousia, and citizens
- Cinadon then pointed out that the forty Spartans were the real enemy, and the rest of the 4000 were allies
- The informer added that Cinadon had gathered around himself a number of *hypomeiones* (literally means inferiors, men who were probably although not certainly Spartiates who had lost their social rank) who hated the Spartans:
- The informer finished by pointing out that some conspirators were armed and the rest had access to implements such as hatchets and sickles
- Panicked, the ephors did not immediately arrest Cinadon, instead they orchestrated an elaborate ruse and sent him to the Elean frontier at Aulon in Messenia
- His escort was composed of young *hippeis* carefully selected by their commander
- An additional detachment of cavalry was available as reinforcements
- Cinadon was interrogated in the field, whereupon he revealed the names of the principal co-conspirators, who were then arrested

Thucydides 8.6.3–4 (trans. Jowett): *Perioikoi* being assigned special tasks

They were themselves far more favourable to the proposals of the Chians and Tissaphernes; for Alcibiades was in their interest, and he was a great hereditary friend of Endius, one of the Ephors of that year. Through this friendship the Lacedaemonian name of Alcibiades had come into his family; [4] for Alcibiades was the name of Endius' father. Nevertheless the Lacedaemonians, before giving an answer, sent a commissioner, Phrynus, one of their Perioeci, to see whether the Chians had as many ships as they said, and whether the power of the city was equal to her reputation. He reported that what they had

οἱ μέντοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ τῶν Χίων καὶ Τισσαφέρνους παρὰ πολὺ προσεδέξαντο μᾶλλον: ξυνέπρασσε γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης, Ἐνδίῳ ἐφορεύοντι πατρικὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ξένος ὢν, ὃθεν καὶ τοῦνομα Λακωνικὸν ἢ οἰκία αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ξενίαν ἔσχεν: Ἐνδιος γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἐκαλεῖτο. [4] ὁμῶς δ' οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρῶτον κατάσκοπον ἐς τὴν Χίον πέμψαντες Φρῦνιν ἄνδρα περίοικον, εἰ αἱ τε νῆες αὐτοῖς εἰσὶν ὅσασπερ ἔλεγον καὶ τᾶλλα εἰ ἡ πόλις ἰκανὴ ἐστὶ πρὸς τὴν λεγομένην δόξαν, ἀπαγγείλαντος αὐτοῖς ὡς εἶη ταῦτα ἀληθῆ ἅπερ ἤκουον...

- *Perikio* are themselves used for special tasks, Spartans have problem within community where Spartiate's are supposed to be equal when they need to pick out individuals to perform certain tasks
- So instead, they pick out people on the periphery like the *perioikoi*

Xenophon *Constitution of the Lacedaimnians* 12.3, 13.6 (trans. Marchant): Perioikoi used as troops

To meet the case of a hostile approach at night, he assigned the duty of acting as **sentries outside the lines to the Sciritae**. In these days the duty is shared by foreigners, if any happen to be present in the camp.

13.6 When the King leads, provided that no enemy appears, **no one precedes him except the Sciritae** and the mounted vedettes. But if ever they think there will be fighting, he takes the lead of the first regiment and wheels to the right, until he is between two regiments and two colonels.

νύκτωρ δὲ ἔξω τῆς φάλαγγος ἐνόμισεν ὑπὸ **Σκιριτῶν προφυλάττεσθαι**: (νῦν δ' ἤδη καὶ ὑπὸ ξένων αὐτῶν τινες συμπαρόντες.)

13.6 ἐπειδάν γε μὴν ἡγῆται βασιλεὺς, ἦν μὲν μηδεὶς ἐναντίος φαίνεται, **οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ πρόσθεν πορεύεται, πλὴν Σκιρίται** καὶ οἱ προερευνώμενοι ἵππεῖς: ἦν δέ ποτε μάχην οἴωνται ἔσσεσθαι, λαβὼν τὸ ἄγημα τῆς πρώτης μόρας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄγει στρέψας ἐπὶ δόρυ, ἔστ' ἂν γένηται ἐν μέσῳ δυοῖν μόραι καὶ δυοῖν πολεμάρχων.

- *Perkiokoi* also provided troops for Spartan army, they had particular military roles e.g people from **Scirites** formed the **Sciritae** group and were always on the frontline of the Spartan army

Thucydides 5.67.1, 68.3, 71.2–72.3 (trans. Jowett): Military contributions of *perioikoi*

On this occasion **the Sciritae formed the left wing**, a position to which in the Lacedaemonian army they have a peculiar and exclusive right.

68.3 However, the following calculation may give some idea of the Lacedaemonian numbers. There were seven divisions in the field, **besides the Sciritae who numbered six hundred...**

71.2 In this battle the line of the Mantineans, who were on the Argive right wing, extended **far beyond the Sciritae**: and still further, in proportion as the army to which they belonged was the larger, did the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans on the Lacedaemonian right wing extend beyond the Athenian left. [3] Agis was afraid that the Lacedaemonian left wing would be surrounded, and, thinking that the Mantineans outflanked them too far, **he signalled to the Sciritae** and the old soldiers of Brasidas to make a lateral movement away from his own division of the army, and so cover the line of the Mantineans: to fill up the space thus left vacant he ordered Hipponoidas and Aristocles, two of the polemarchs, to bring up their two divisions from the right wing, thinking that he would still have more troops than he wanted there, and that he would thus strengthen that part of his line which was opposed to the Mantineans. 72 He had given the order at the last moment, when the charge had already begun, and Aristocles and Hipponoidas refused to make the movement. (For the cowardice which they were supposed to have shown on this occasion they were afterwards banished from Sparta.) The enemy were upon him before he was ready, and as the two divisions would not advance into the **place left by the Sciritae**, Agis ordered the Sciritae themselves to close up, but he found that it was too late, and that they also were now unable to fill the vacant space. [2] Then the Lacedaemonians showed in a remarkable manner that, although utterly failing in their tactics, they could win by their

τότε δὲ **κέρας μὲν εὐώνυμον Σκιρίται** αὐτοῖς καθίσταντο, αἰεὶ ταύτην τὴν τάξιν μόνοι Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἔχοντες...

68.3 ἐκ μέντοι τοιοῦδε λογισμοῦ ἔξεστί τω σκοπεῖν τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τότε παραγενόμενον πλῆθος. [3] λόχοι μὲν γὰρ ἐμάχοντο **ἐπτὰ ἄνευ Σκιριτῶν** ὄντων ἑξακοσίων...

71.2 καὶ τότε περιέσχον μὲν οἱ Μαντινῆς **πολὺ τῷ κέρει τῶν Σκιριτῶν**, ἔτι δὲ πλέον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Τεγεᾶται τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅσω μεῖζον τὸ στράτευμα εἶχον. [3] δείσας δὲ Ἄγης μὴ σφῶν κυκλωθῇ τὸ εὐώνυμον, καὶ νομίσας ἄγαν περιέχειν τοὺς Μαντινέας, **τοῖς μὲν Σκιρίταις** καὶ Βρασιδεῖσι ἐσήμηνεν ἐπεξαγαγόντας ἀπὸ σφῶν ἐξισῶσαι τοῖς Μαντινεῦσιν, ἐς δὲ τὸ διάκενον τοῦτο παρήγγελλεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως δύο λόχους τῶν πολεμάρχων Ἴππονοῖδα καὶ Ἀριστοκλεῖ ἔχουσι παρελθεῖν καὶ ἐσβαλόντας πληρῶσαι, νομίζων τῷ θ' ἐαυτῶν δεξιῷ ἔτι περιουσίαν ἔσεσθαι καὶ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς Μαντινέας βεβαιότερον τετάξεσθαι. 72 ξυνέβη οὖν αὐτῷ ἅτε ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐφόδῳ καὶ ἐξ ὀλίγου παραγγείλαντι τὸν τε Ἀριστοκλέα καὶ τὸν Ἴππονοῖδαν μὴ ἠελῆσαι παρελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ αἰτίημα ὕστερον φεύγειν ἐκ Σπάρτης δόξαντας μαλακισθῆναι, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους φθάσαι τῇ προσμείξει, καὶ κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ, **ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκιρίτας** ὥς οὐ παρῆλθον οἱ λόχοι, πάλιν αὖ σφίσι προσμεῖξαι, μὴ δυνηθῆναι ἔτι μηδὲ τούτους συγκληῖσαι. [2] ἀλλὰ μάλιστα δὴ κατὰ πάντα τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐλασσωθέντες τότε τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ ἔδειξαν οὐχ ἥσσον περιγενόμενοι. [3] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν χερσὶν ἐγίννοντο τοῖς ἐναντίοις, τὸ μὲν **τῶν Μαντινέων δεξιὸν τρέπει αὐτῶν τοὺς Σκιρίτας** καὶ τοὺς Βρασιδεῖς, καὶ ἐσπεσόντες οἱ Μαντινῆς καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀργείων οἱ χίλιοι λογάδες κατὰ τὸ διάκενον καὶ οὐ συγκλησθὲν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους διέφθειρον καὶ

- At the battle of Mantinea (418 BC) the *perioikoi* form the left wing of Spartan army

Xenophon *Hellenika* [5.3.8–9] (Agesipolis' campaign against Olynthos, 381) (trans. Brownson): Advantages of military service

Having come to this conclusion, they sent out Agesipolis, the king, as commander, and with him, as they had sent with Agesilaus to Asia, thirty Spartiatae. [9] There followed with him also **many of the Perioeci as volunteers**, men of the better class, and aliens who belonged to the so-called foster-children of Sparta, and sons of the Spartiatae by Helot women, exceedingly fine looking men, not without experience of the good gifts of the state. Furthermore, volunteers from the allied states joined the expedition and horsemen of the Thessalians, who wished to become known to Agesipolis...

οὕτω δὲ γνόντες ἡγεμόνα μὲν Ἀγησίπολιν τὸν βασιλέα ἐκπέμπουσι, μετ' αὐτοῦ δὲ ὥσπερ Ἀγησιλάου εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τριάκοντα Σπαρτιατῶν. [9] **πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν περιόικων ἐθέλονται** καλοὶ κάγαθοὶ ἡκολούθουν, καὶ ξένοι τῶν τροφίμων καλουμένων, καὶ νόθοι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, μάλα εὖειδεῖς τε καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καλῶν οὐκ ἄπειροι. συνεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν συμμαχίδων πόλεων ἐθέλονταί, καὶ Θετταλῶν γε ἵππεῖς, γνωσθῆναι τῷ Ἀγησιπόλιδι βουλόμενοι...

- We shouldn't think these military services were always forced – there was glory and booty to be gained from military service
- Xenophon in his *Hellenika* says that: “**There followed with him [King Agesipolis] also many of the Perioeci as volunteers**”

Herodotos [7.235.2–3] (trans. Godley): Special status of Kythera

There is an island lying off their coasts called Cythera. Chilon, a man of much wisdom among us, says about it that it would be better for the Spartans if Cythera were beneath the sea rather than above it. This he said because he expected that it would provide an opportunity for attack just as I am suggesting—not that he had any foreknowledge of your force, but he dreaded all men's forces alike. [3] Let them then make that island their station and set out from there to strike fear into the Lacedaemonians. If these have a war of their own on their borders, you will have no cause to fear that they will send men to save the rest of Hellas from being overrun by your armies; furthermore, the enslavement of the rest of Hellas must weaken Laconia if it is left to

ἔστι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ νῆσος ἐπικειμένη τῇ οὐνομα ἐστὶ Κύθηρα, τὴν Χίλων ἀνὴρ παρ' ἡμῖν σοφώτατος γενόμενος κέρδος μέζον ἂν ἔφη εἶναι Σπαρτιήτησι κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης καταδεδυκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπερέχειν, αἰεὶ τι προσδοκῶν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τοιοῦτο ἔσεσθαι οἷόν τοι ἐγὼ ἐξηγέομαι, οὐτὶ τὸν σὸν στόλον προειδώς, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως φοβεόμενος ἀνδρῶν στόλον. [3] ἐκ ταύτης τῆς νήσου ὀρμώμενοι φοβεόντων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. παροίκου δὲ πολέμου σφι ἐόντος οἰκείου, οὐδὲν δεινοὶ ἔσονταί τοι μὴ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀλίσκομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ βοηθέωσι ταύτῃ.

- Spartans were suspicious of the *perioikoi*
- When Sparta is invaded in 369 BC, the *perioikoi* ask the Thebans to help them against Sparta
- One *perioikic* community which often gets forgotten is the island of Cythera, Sparta most of the time manages to control this territory – important as it enables to control all movement by sea into Laconia

Thucydides 4.53.2–3 (trans. Jowett) Spartans maintenance of control over Cythera

Cythera is an island which lies close to Laconia off Cape Malea; **it is inhabited by Lacedaemonian *perioikoi***, and a Spartan officer called the Judge of Cythera was sent thither every year. The Lacedaemonians kept there a garrison of hoplites, which was continually relieved, and took great care of the place. [3] There the merchant vessels coming from Egypt and Libya commonly put in; the island was a great protection to the Lacedaemonians against depredation by sea, on which element, though secure by land, they were exposed to attack, for the whole of Laconia runs out towards the Sicilian and Cretan seas.

τὰ δὲ Κύθηρα νῆσός ἐστιν, ἐπικείται δὲ τῇ Λακωνικῇ κατὰ Μαλέαν: **Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' εἰσὶ τῶν περιοίκων**, καὶ κυθηροδίκης ἀρχὴ ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης διέβαινεν αὐτόσε κατὰ ἔτος, ὀπλιτῶν τε φρουρὰν διέπεμπον αἰεὶ καὶ πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιοῦντο. [3] ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῶν τε ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου καὶ Λιβύης ὀλκάδων προσβολή, καὶ λησταὶ ἅμα τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἥσσον ἐλύπουν ἐκ θαλάσσης, ἥπερ μόνον οἷόν τε ἦν κακουργεῖσθαι: πᾶσα γὰρ ἀνέχει πρὸς τὸ Σικελικὸν καὶ Κρητικὸν πέλαγος.

- A special official is sent to the island to oversee the population, during Peloponnesian war the Athenians quickly identify this and so put pressure on Cythera
- Cythera's place as a perioikic community reminds us that they had a life beyond military service to Sparta
- Cythera was central to the whole trading network across central Mediterranean – offers safe anchorage at times of storm etc.
- The island was also in the right place to exploit trading links
- Might be perioikic communities whose work was responsible for the production for much of Sparta's exports in the Archaic period

Lecture 7: Sparta and the Persian Wars

Sparta's reputation was formed and cemented by the accounts told on the Persian Wars

Herodotus [5.38.2, 49.1, 49.9–51] (trans. Godley): Ionian Revolt

After doing away with the tyrants, Aristagoras of Miletus ordered all the peoples to set up governors in each city. Then **he went on an embassy in a trireme to Lacedaemon**, for it was necessary for him to find some strong ally.

49 It was in the reign of Cleomenes that Aristagoras the tyrant of Miletus came to Sparta. When he had an audience with the king, as the Lacedaemonians report, **he brought with him a bronze tablet on which the map of all the earth was engraved**, and all the sea and all the rivers.

49.9 Thus spoke Aristagoras, and Cleomenes replied: "Milesian, my guest, wait till the third day for my answer."

50 At that time, then, they got so far. When, on the day appointed for the answer, they came to the place upon which they had agreed, **Cleomenes asked Aristagoras how many days' journey it was from the Ionian sea to the king**. [2] Till now, Aristagoras had been cunning and fooled the Spartan well, but here he made a false step. If he desired to take the Spartans away into Asia he should never have told the truth, but he did tell it, and said that it was a three months' journey inland. [3] At that, Cleomenes cut short Aristagoras' account of the prospective journey. He then bade his Milesian guest depart from Sparta before sunset, for never, he said, would the Lacedaemonians listen to the plan, if Aristagoras desired to lead them a three months' journey from the sea.

51 Cleomenes went to his house after this exchange, but Aristagoras took a suppliant's garb and followed him there. Upon entering, he used a suppliant's right to beg Cleomenes to listen to him. He first asked Cleomenes to send away the child, his daughter Gorgo, who was standing by him. She was his only child, and was about eight or nine years of age.

Cleomenes bade him say whatever he wanted and not let the child's presence hinder him. [2] Then **Aristagoras began to promise Cleomenes from ten talents upwards**, if he would grant his request. When Cleomenes refused, Aristagoras offered him ever more and more. When he finally promised fifty talents the child cried out, "Father, the stranger will corrupt you, unless you leave him and go away." [21]

Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος ὡς τοὺς τυράννους κατέπαυσε, στρατηγοὺς ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν πολιῶν κελεύσας ἐκάστους καταστήσαι, δεύτερα **αὐτὸς ἐς**

Λακεδαίμονα τριήρεϊ ἀπόστολος ἐγίνετο:

ἔδεε γὰρ δὴ συμμαχίης τινός οἱ μεγάλης ἐξευρεθῆναι.

49 ἀπικνέεται δὲ ὦν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην κλεομένεος ἔχοντος τὴν ἀρχήν: τῷ δὴ ἐς λόγους ἦιε, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, **ἔχων χάλκεον πῖνακα ἐν τῷ γῆς ἀπάσης περίοδος ἐνετέμνητο** καὶ θάλασσά τε πᾶσα καὶ ποταμοὶ πάντες.

49.9 Ἀρισταγόρης μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε, κλεομένης δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. 'ὦ ξεῖνε Μιλήσιε, ἀναβάλλομαί τοι ἐς τρίτην ἡμέρην ὑποκρινέεσθαι.' 50 τότε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἦλασαν: ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἡ κυρὴ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τῆς ὑποκρίσιος καὶ ἦλθον ἐς τὸ συγκεῖμενον, εἶρετο ὁ **κλεομένης τὸν Ἀρισταγόρην ὀκοσέων ἡμερέων ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἰώνων ὁδὸς εἴη παρὰ βασιλέα**. [2] ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης τᾶλλα ἐὼν σοφὸς καὶ διαβάλλων ἐκείνον εὖ ἐν τούτῳ ἐσφάλη: χρὲν γάρ μιν μὴ λέγειν τὸ ἐόν, βουλούμενόν γε Σπαρτιήτας ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, λέγει δ' ὦν τριῶν μηνῶν φᾶς εἶναι τὴν ἄνοδον. ὁ δὲ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον τὸν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὥρμητο λέγειν περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ, εἶπε [3] 'ὦ ξεῖνε Μιλήσιε, ἀπαλλάσσεο ἐκ Σπάρτης πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου: οὐδένα γὰρ λόγον εὐεπέα λέγεις Λακεδαιμονίοισι, ἐθέλων σφέας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τριῶν μηνῶν ὁδὸν ἀγαγεῖν.'

51 ὁ μὲν κλεομένης ταῦτα εἶπας ἦιε ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης λαβὼν ἱκετηρίην ἦιε ἐς τοῦ κλεομένεος, ἐσελθὼν δὲ ἔσω ἅτε ἱκετεῦων ἐπακοῦσαι ἐκέλευε τὸν κλεομένεα ἀποπέμψαντα τὸ παιδίον: προσεστήκεε γὰρ δὴ τῷ κλεομένει ἡ

- The story of Sparta's encounter with the Persians starts with the Ionian Revolt – Sparta was not interested in engaging with Persia because it was too far away
- Aristagoras of Miletus was trying to muster support for the Ionians, managed to secure help from Athenians but goes to Sparta with a bronze tablet that had the entire earth inscribed Cleomenes responds by asking how many days journey from the Ionian sea to the King, Aristagoras tells him it is approx. 3 months
- Aristagoras promises Cleomenes money **BUT** Cleomenes' daughter (Gorgo) intervenes and warns him not to do business with the foreigner – he sends Aristagoras away

N.B This is a story that makes us pause and think about the fact Sparta would not intervene and illuminates power structures in Sparta/repeated pattern that for all that spartan men are supposed to be decisive in the end the hardliners are the spartan women (Spartan mythology being formed here)

Herodotus [7.133.1, 134] (trans. Godley): Sparta and Persian Heralds (491 BC)

To Athens and Sparta Xerxes sent no heralds to demand earth, and this he did for the following reason. **When Darius had previously sent men with this same purpose, those who made the request were cast at the one city into the Pit and at the other into a well**, and bidden to obtain their earth and water for the king from these locations.

134 Be that as it may, the anger of Talthybius, Agamemnon's herald, fell upon the Lacedaemonians. At Sparta there is a shrine of Talthybius and descendants of Talthybius called Talthybiadae, who have the special privilege of conducting all embassies from Sparta. [2] Now there was a long period after the incident I have mentioned above during which the **Spartans were unable to obtain good omens from sacrifice**. The Lacedaemonians were grieved and dismayed by this and frequently called assemblies, making a proclamation inviting some Lacedaemonian to give his life for Sparta. Then two Spartans of noble birth and great wealth, Sperthias son of Aneristus and Bulis son of Nicolaus, undertook of their own free will to make atonement to Xerxes for Darius' heralds who had been killed at Sparta. [3] Thereupon the Spartans sent these men to Media for execution...

ἐς δὲ Ἀθήνας καὶ Σπάρτην οὐκ ἀπέπεμψε Ξέρξης ἐπὶ γῆς αἵτησιν κήρυκας τῶνδε εἵνεκα: πρότερον **Δαρείου πέμψαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τοὺς αἰτέοντας ἐς τὸ βάραθρον οἱ δ' ἐς φρέαρ ἐμβαλόντες** ἐκέλευον γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τούτων φέρειν παρὰ βασιλέα.

134 τοῖσι δὲ ὧν Λακεδαιμονίοισι μῆνις κατέσκηψε Ταλθυβίου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος κήρυκος. ἐν γὰρ Σπάρτῃ ἐστὶ Ταλθυβίου ἱρόν, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπόγονοι Ταλθυβιάδαι καλεόμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ κηρυκῆαι αἱ ἐκ Σπάρτης πᾶσαι γέρας δέδονται. [2] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα **τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι καλλιερῆσαι θυομένοισι οὐκ ἐδύνατο**: τοῦτο δ' ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἦν σφι. ἀχθομένων δὲ καὶ συμφορῇ χρεωμένων Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλῆς τε πολλάκις συλλεγομένης καὶ κήρυγμα τοιόνδε ποιευμένων, εἴ τις βούλοιτο Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀποθνήσκειν, Σπερθίης τε ὁ Ἀνηρίστου καὶ Βοῦλις ὁ Νικόλεω, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται φύσι τε γεγονότες εὖ καὶ χρήμασι ἀνήκοντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα, ἐθελονταὶ ὑπέδυσαν ποινὴν τίσαι Ξέρξῃ τῶν Δαρείου κηρύκων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων. [3] οὕτω Σπαρτιῆται τούτους ὡς ἀποθανευμένους ἐς Μῆδους ἀπέπεμψαν...

- Sparta also tells the story that a few years later in 491 BCE when Darius prior to the first invasion of the Persian wars sends heralds to Greek cities seeking earth and water, neither the Athenians nor the Spartans receive the ambassadors – **BOTH** cities claim this demand was a step too far
- In Sparta this story gets further elaborated – after doing this terrible thing to the Persian ambassadors they are unable to get good omens from sacrifices
- The Spartans decide they need to make amends to the Persians so 2 Spartans of noble birth (Sperthias and Bulis) willingly agree to sacrifice their lives in order to compensate for the 2 Persian ambassadors who were killed
- **BUT** Xerxes refuses (historicity of this story is not at issue, what is interesting is what it is telling us about Sparta – the city takes things to do with the gods unreasonably seriously, consider story of Marathon also)

Herodotus [6.106, 120] (trans. Godley): Spartans and Marathon

106 This Philippides was in Sparta on the day after leaving the city of Athens, that time when he was sent by the generals and said that Pan had appeared to him. He came to the magistrates and said, [2] "Lacedaemonians, the Athenians ask you to come to their aid and not allow the most ancient city among the Hellenes to fall into slavery at the hands of the foreigners. Even now Eretria has been enslaved, and Hellas has become weaker by an important city." [3] He told them what he had been ordered to say, and they resolved to send help to the Athenians, but they could not do this immediately, for they were unwilling to break the law. It was the ninth day of the rising month, and they said that on the ninth they could not go out to war until the moon's circle was full.

120 After the full moon two thousand Lacedaemonians came to Athens, making such great haste to reach it that they were in Attica on the third day after leaving Sparta. Although they came too late for the battle, they desired to see the Medes, so they went to Marathon and saw them. Then they departed again, praising the

106 τότε δὲ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Φειδιππίδης οὗτος, ὅτε πέρ οἱ ἔφη καὶ τὸν Πᾶνα φανῆναι, δευτεραῖος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἄστεος ἦν ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔλεγε [2] 'ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμέων δέονται σφίσι βοηθῆσαι καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν πόλιν ἀρχαιοτάτην ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι δουλοσύνην περιπεσοῦσαν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων· καὶ γὰρ νῦν Ἐρέτριά τε ἡνδραπόδισται καὶ πόλις λογίμῃ ἢ Ἑλλὰς γέγονε ἀσθενεστέρα.' [3] ὁ μὲν δὴ σφί τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἀπήγγελλε, τοῖσι δὲ ἔαδε μὲν βοηθέειν Ἀθηναίοισι, ἀδύνατα δὲ σφί ἦν τὸ παραυτίκα ποιέειν ταῦτα, οὐ βουλομένοισι λύειν τὸν νόμον· ἦν γὰρ ἰσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτη, εἰνάτη δὲ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν μὴ οὐ πλήρεος ἐόντος τοῦ κύκλου.

120 Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἦκον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας δισχίλιοι μετὰ τὴν πανσέληνον, ἔχοντες σπουδὴν πολλὴν καταλαβεῖν, οὕτω ὥστε τριταῖοι ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ. ὕστεροι δὲ ἀπικόμενοι τῆς συμβολῆς ἰμείροντο ὅμως θεήσασθαι τοὺς Μήδους· ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα ἐθεήσαντο. μετὰ δὲ αἰνέοντες Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἀπαλλάσσοντο Ἀπίαν.

- Athenians sent Phillippides to Sparta to get reinforcements at the battle of Marathon
- Spartans apologise but say they can't help because they are celebrating a religious festival
- This story is clearly designed to put the focus on noticing Sparta's absence (like in the Ionian Revolt) and says something about the question of Sparta's priorities

Herodotus [7.239]:

I return now to that place in my history where it earlier left off. **The Lacedaemonians were the first to be informed that the king was equipping himself to attack Hellas**; with this knowledge it was that they sent to the oracle at Delphi, where they received the answer about which I spoke a little while ago. Now the way in which they were informed of this was strange. [2] Demaratus son of Ariston, an exile among the Medes, was, as I suppose (reason being also my ally), no friend to the Lacedaemonians, and I leave it to be imagined whether what he did was done out of goodwill or spiteful triumph. **When Xerxes was resolved to march against Hellas, Demaratus, who was then at Susa and had knowledge of this, desired to send word of it to the Lacedaemonians.** [3] He, however, feared detection and had no other way of informing them than this trick:—taking a double tablet, he scraped away the wax from it, and then wrote the king's plan on the wood. Next he melted the wax back again over the writing, so that the bearer of this seemingly blank tablet might not be troubled by the way-wardens. [4] When the tablet came to Lacedaemon, the Lacedaemonians could not guess its meaning, until at last (as I have been told) Gorgo, Cleomenes' daughter and Leonidas' wife, discovered the trick herself and advised them to scrape the wax away so that they would find writing on the wood. When they did so, they found and read the message, and presently sent it to the rest of the Greeks. This is the story, as it is told.

ἀνείμι δὲ ἐκεῖσε τοῦ λόγου τῇ μοι τὸ πρότερον ἐξέλιπε. **ἐπύθοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅτι βασιλεὺς στέλλοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρῶτοι**, καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψαν, ἔνθα δὴ σφι ἐχρήσθη τὰ ὀλίγω πρότερον εἶπον: ἐπύθοντο δὲ τρόπῳ θαυμασίῳ. [2] Δημάρητος γὰρ ὁ Ἀρίστωνος φυγὼν ἐς Μήδους, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω καὶ τὸ οἶκος ἐμοὶ συμμάχεται, οὐκ ἦν εὖνοος Λακεδαιμονίοισι, πάρεστι δὲ εἰκάζειν εἴτε εὐνοίῃ ταῦτα ἐποίησε εἴτε καὶ καταχαίρων. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ Ξέρξη ἔδοξε στρατηλατέειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, **ἔων ἐν Σούσοισι ὁ Δημάρητος καὶ πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἠθέλησε Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐξαγγεῖλαι**. [3] ἄλλως μὲν δὴ οὐκ εἶχε σημῆναι: ἐπικίνδυνον γὰρ ἦν μὴ λαμφθεῖν: ὁ δὲ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε: δελτίον δίπτυχον λαβὼν τὸν κηρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐξέκνησε, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ τοῦ δελτίου ἔγραψε τὴν βασιλέως γνώμην, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ὀπίσω ἐπέτηξε τὸν κηρὸν ἐπὶ τὰ γράμματα, ἵνα φερόμενον κεινὸν τὸ δελτίον μηδὲν πρῆγμα παρέχοι πρὸς τῶν ὁδοφυλάκων. [4] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπῖκετο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὶν γε δὴ σφι, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, Κλεομένεος μὲν θυγάτηρ Λεωνίδεω δὲ γυνὴ Γοργῶ ὑπέθετο ἐπιφρασθεῖσα αὐτή, τὸν κηρὸν κνᾶν κελεύουσα, καὶ εὐρήσειν σφέας γράμματα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ. πειθόμενοι δὲ εὗρον καὶ ἐπελέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι ἐπέστειλαν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται γενέσθαι.

- When Xerxes plans to invade 10yrs later the story of Sparta's involvement gets more complicated, Kleomenes and Demaratus fell out over foreign policy

- Kleomenes manages to use the Delphic oracle to get Demaratus removed from Persia
- Demaratus plays an important role in the story of the Persian conflict with the Greeks – acts as an informant
- Fact that you have former King working as informant to Persians is problematic – Herodotus addresses the issue by making him more sympathetic for instance he is the first to tell the Spartans of Xerxes' plans to invade Greece
- Demaratus writes a message on the wood of a wax tablet and covers it with wax – arrives in Sparta and appears to have no message **BUT** Kleomeones' daughter Gorgo discovered the trick and advised the Spartans to scrape the wax away
- The Spartans with this story want to show that they may have been late to Marathon but they were the **FIRST** to know about the Persian invasion

Herodotus [7.239]: Greek resistance to Persians

I return now to that place in my history where it earlier left off. **The Lacedaemonians were the first to be informed that the king was equipping himself to attack Hellas**; with this knowledge it was that they sent to the oracle at Delphi, where they received the answer about which I spoke a little while ago. Now the way in which they were informed of this was strange. [2] Demaratus son of Ariston, an exile among the Medes, was, as I suppose (reason being also my ally), no friend to the Lacedaemonians, and I leave it to be imagined whether what he did was done out of goodwill or spiteful triumph. **When Xerxes was resolved to march against Hellas, Demaratus, who was then at Susa and had knowledge of this, desired to send word of it to the Lacedaemonians.** [3] He, however, feared detection and had no other way of informing them than this trick:—taking a double tablet, he scraped away the wax from it, and then wrote the king's plan on the wood. Next he melted the wax back again over the writing, so that the bearer of this seemingly blank tablet might not be troubled by the way-wardens. [4] When the tablet came to Lacedaemon, the Lacedaemonians could not guess its meaning, until at last (as I have been told) Gorgo, Cleomenes' daughter and Leonidas' wife, discovered the trick herself and advised them to scrape the wax away so that they would find writing on the wood. When they did so, they found and read the message, and presently sent it to the rest of the Greeks. This is the story, as it is told.

ἄνειμι δὲ ἐκεῖσε τοῦ λόγου τῇ μοι τὸ πρότερον ἐξέλιπε. **ἐπύθοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅτι βασιλεὺς στέλλοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρῶτοι**, καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψαν, ἔνθα δὴ σφί ἐχρήσθη τὰ ὀλίγω πρότερον εἶπον: ἐπύθοντο δὲ τρόπῳ θωμασίῳ. [2] Δημάρητος γὰρ ὁ Ἀρίστωνος φυγὼν ἐς Μήδους, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω καὶ τὸ οἶκος ἐμοὶ συμμάχεται, οὐκ ἦν εὖνοος Λακεδαιμονίοισι, πάρεστι δὲ εἰκάζειν εἴτε εὐνοίῃ ταῦτα ἐποίησε εἴτε καὶ καταχαίρων. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ Ξέρξης ἔδοξε στρατηλατέειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, **ἐὼν ἐν Σούσοισι ὁ Δημάρητος καὶ πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἠθέλησε Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐξαγγεῖλαι.** [3] ἄλλως μὲν δὴ οὐκ εἶχε σημῆναι: ἐπικίνδυνον γὰρ ἦν μὴ λαμφθεῖν: ὁ δὲ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε: δελτίον δίπτυχον λαβὼν τὸν κηρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐξέκνησε, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ τοῦ δελτίου ἔγραψε τὴν βασιλέως γνώμην, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ὀπίσω ἐπέτηξε τὸν κηρὸν ἐπὶ τὰ γράμματα, ἵνα φερόμενον κεινὸν τὸ δελτίον μηδὲν πρῆγμα παρέχοι πρὸς τῶν ὁδοφυλάκων. [4] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὶν γε δὴ σφί, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, Κλεομένεος μὲν θυγάτηρ Λεωνίδεω δὲ γυνὴ Γοργῷ ὑπέθετο ἐπιφρασθεῖσα αὐτή, τὸν κηρὸν κνᾶν κελεύουσα, καὶ εὐρήσειν σφέας γράμματα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ. πειθόμενοι δὲ εὖρον καὶ ἐπελέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι ἐπέστειλαν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται γενέσθαι.

There are a lot of disputable narratives about what the Greeks did to resist the Persian invaders

- **“All the Greeks who were concerned about the general welfare of Hellas met in conference and exchanged guarantees”** [Herod 7.145.1-2] – but this is unsuccessful, we don’t end up with a totally united Greek effort
- The Greeks were very divided despite their shared goals

Herodotus [7.173.1–2] (trans. Godley): Spartan Euainetos leads Greek army to Thessaly in response to Thessalian appeal

Thereupon the Greeks resolved that they would send a land army to Thessaly by sea to guard the pass. When the forces had assembled, they passed through the Euripus and came to Alus in Achaea, where they disembarked and took the road for Thessaly, leaving their ships where they were. They then came to the pass of Tempe, which runs from the lower Macedonia into Thessaly along the river Peneus, between the mountains Olympus and Ossa. [2] There the Greeks were encamped, about ten thousand men-at-arms altogether, and the cavalry was there as well. **The general of the Lacedaemonians was Euaenetus son of Carenus, chosen from among the**

ταῦτα ἔλεγον οἱ Θεσσαλοί. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες πρὸς ταῦτα ἐβουλεύσαντο ἐς Θεσσαλίην πέμπειν κατὰ θάλασσαν πεζὸν στρατὸν φυλάξοντα τὴν ἐσβολήν. ὥς δὲ συνελέχθη ὁ στρατός, ἔπλεε δι' Εὐρίπου: ἀπικόμενος δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιΐης ἐς Ἄλον, ἀποβάς ἐπορεύετο ἐς Θεσσαλίην, τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ καταλιπών, καὶ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰ Τέμπεα ἐς τὴν ἐσβολήν ἣ περ ἀπὸ Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρει παρὰ ποταμὸν Πηνειόν, μεταξύ δὲ Ὀλύμπου τε ὄρεος ἐόντα καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης. [2] ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατὰ μυρίους ὀπλίτας συλλεγέστες, καὶ σφι προσῆν ἡ Θεσσαλῶν ἵππος: **ἐστρατήγεε δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν Εὐαΐνετος ὁ Καρήνου ἐκ τῶν πολεμάρχων ἀραιρημένος, γένεος μέντοι ἐὼν οὐ τοῦ βασιλῆους,**

- Sparta claims from the beginning that she took the lead, they lead an army to Thessaly but not under the leadership of either of the Kings: **“The general of the Lacedaemonians was Euaenetus son of Carenus, chosen from among the Polemarchs, yet not of the royal house”**, why aren’t the Spartans taking this more seriously?

Herodotus [7.201–2]: Spartans at Thermopylae

King Xerxes lay encamped in Trachis in Malis and the Hellenes in the pass. This place is called Thermopylae by most of the Hellenes, but by the natives and their neighbors Pylae. Each lay encamped in these places. Xerxes was master of everything to the north from Trachis, and the Hellenes of all that lay toward the south on the mainland.

202 The Hellenes who awaited the Persians in that place were these: **three hundred Spartan armed men**; one thousand from Tegea and Mantinea, half from each place; one hundred and twenty from Orchomenus in Arcadia and one thousand from the rest of Arcadia; that many Arcadians, four hundred from Corinth, two hundred from Phlius, and eighty Mycenaeans. These were the Peloponnesians present; from Boeotia there were seven hundred Thespians and

βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης ἐστρατοπεδεύετο τῆς Μηλίδος ἐν τῇ Τρηχινίῃ, οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῇ διόδῳ. καλέεται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλεόνων Ἑλλήνων Θερμοπύλαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ περιοίκων Πύλαι.

ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν νυν ἑκάτεροι ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι χωρίοις, ἐπεκράτεε δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἐχόντων πάντων μέχρι Τρηχίνος, οἱ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νότον καὶ μεσαμβρίην φερόντων τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἡπείρου.

202 ἦσαν δὲ οἷδε Ἑλλήνων οἱ ὑπομένοντες τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ, **Σπαρτιητέων τε τριακόσιοι ὀπλῖται** καὶ Τεγεατέων καὶ Μαντινέων χίλιοι, ἡμίσεες ἑκατέρων, ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ τε τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀρκαδίας χίλιοι: τοσοῦτοι μὲν Ἀρκάδων, ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τετρακόσιοι καὶ ἀπὸ Φλειοῦντος διηκόσιοι καὶ Μυκηναίων ὀγδῶκοντα. οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρῆσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ Βοιωτῶν Θεσπιέων τε

- The narrow pass between mountains and sea meant Thermopylae was ideal setting for a small army to confront a much larger army
- The Spartans don't send the whole of their army straight away to Thermopylae – only part of it

Herodotus [7.204, 206]: Spartan presence at Thermopylae

Each city had its own general, but the one most admired and the leader of the whole army was a Lacedaemonian, Leonidas, son of Anaxandrides, son of Leon, son of Eurycratides, son of Anaxandrus, son of Eurycrates, son of Polydorus, son of Alcamenes, son of Teleclus, son of Archelaus, son of Hegesilaus, son of Doryssus, son of Leobotes, son of Echestratus, son of Agis, son of Eurysthenes, son of Aristodemus, son of Aristomachus, son of Cleodaeus, son of Hyllus, son of Heracles. Leonidas had gained the kingship at Sparta unexpectedly.

206 The Spartans sent the men with Leonidas on ahead so that the rest of the allies would see them and march, instead of medizing like the others if they learned that the Spartans were delaying. At present the Carneia was in their way, but **once they had completed the festival, they intended to leave a garrison at Sparta and march out in full force with all speed.** [2] The rest of the allies planned to do likewise, for the Olympiad coincided with these events. They accordingly sent their advance

τούτοις ἦσαν μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατὰ πόλιας ἐκάστων, ὁ δὲ θαυμάζομενος μάλιστα καὶ **παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγεόμενος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν Λεωνίδης** ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew τοῦ Λέοντος τοῦ Εὐρυκρατίδew τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ Εὐρυκράτεος τοῦ Πολυδώρου τοῦ Ἀλκαμένεος τοῦ Τηλέκλου τοῦ Ἀρχέλεω τοῦ Ἡγησίλεω τοῦ Δορύσσου τοῦ Λεωβώτew τοῦ Ἐχεστράτου τοῦ ῥΗγιος τοῦ Εὐρυσθένεος τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὑλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, κτησάμενος τὴν βασιληίην ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκίτου.

206 τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην πρῶτους ἀπέπεμψαν Σπαρτιῆται, ἵνα τούτους ὀρῶντες οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι στρατεύωνται μηδὲ καὶ οὗτοι μηδίσωσι, ἣν αὐτοὺς πυνθάνωνται ὑπερβαλλομένους· μετὰ δέ, Κάρνεια γάρ σφι ἦν ἐμποδῶν, **ἔμελλον ὀρτάσαντες καὶ φυλακὰς λιπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ κατὰ τάχος βοηθέειν πανδημεί.** [2] ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐνένωντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ποιήσιν: ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τώυτῳ Ὀλυμπιάς

- Herodotus goes on to exaggerate the Spartan presence by saying Leonidas was General and then spends time explaining his extraordinary genealogy – dating all the way back to Heracles
- Although King Leonidas is there the Spartan force is relatively small: **“the Spartans sent the men with Leonidas on ahead so that the rest of the allies would see them and march instead of medizing like the others if they learned the Spartans were delaying”**
- **“At present the Carneia was in their way, but once they had completed the festival they intended to leave a Garrison at Sparta and march out in full force”** – small number of soldiers **BUT** emphasis on Spartan heroism (even though the small number of Spartans is actually suspicious and that they’re force is actually bolstered by the Thespians and Helots)

Herodotus [7.219–220.1], 226–8: Examples of Spartan, individual heroism

The seer Megistias, examining the sacrifices, first told the Hellenes at Thermopylae that death was coming to them with the dawn. Then deserters came who announced the circuit made by the Persians. These gave their signals while it was still night; a third report came from the watchers running down from the heights at dawn. [2] The Hellenes then took counsel, but their opinions were divided. Some advised not to leave their post, but others spoke against them. They eventually parted, some departing and dispersing each to their own cities, others preparing to remain there with Leonidas. 220 It is said that **Leonidas himself sent them away because he was concerned that they would be killed, but felt it not fitting for himself and the Spartans to desert that post** which they had come to defend at the beginning.

226 This then is how the Lacedaemonians and Thespians conducted themselves, but the Spartan Dieneces is said to have exhibited the greatest courage of all. They say that he made the following speech before they joined battle with the Medes: he had learned from a Trachinian that there were so many of the barbarians that when they shot their missiles, the sun was hidden by the multitude of their arrows. [2] He was not at all disturbed by this and made light of the multitude of the Medes, saying that their Trachinian foreigner brought them good news. If the Medes hid the sun, they could fight them in the shade instead of in the sun. This saying and others like it, they claim, Dieneces the Lacedaemonian left behind as a memorial. 227 Next after him two Lacedaemonian brothers, Alpheus and Maron, sons of Orsiphantus, are said to have been most courageous. The Thespian who gained most renown was one whose name was Dithyrambus son of Harmatides. 228 There is an inscription written over

τοῖσι δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον μὲν ὁ μάντις Μεγιστίης ἐσιδὼν ἐς τὰ ἱρὰ ἔφρασε τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι ἅμα ἡοῖ σφι θάνατον, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτόμολοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐξαγγείλαντες τῶν Περσέων τὴν περίοδον. οὗτοι μὲν ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐσήμηναν, τρίτοι δὲ οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι καταδραμόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἤδη διαφαινούσης ἡμέρης. [2] ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλευόντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ σφεων ἐσχίζοντο αἱ γνώμαι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔων τὴν τάξιν ἐκλιπεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἀντέτεινον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διακριθέντες οἱ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσοντο καὶ διασκεδασθέντες κατὰ πόλιν ἕκαστοι ἐτράποντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἅμα Λεωνίδῃ μένειν αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάδατο.

220 λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς σφεας ἀπέπεμψε Λεωνίδης, μὴ ἀπόλωνται κηδόμενος· αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιητέων τοῖσι παραιοῦσι οὐκ ἔχειν εὐπρεπέως ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν ἐς τὴν ἦλθον φυλάζοντες ἀρχήν.

226 Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Θεσπιέων τοιούτων γενομένων ὅμως λέγεται ἀνὴρ ἄριστος γενέσθαι Σπαρτιήτης Διηνέκης· τὸν τότε φασὶ εἰπεῖν τὸ ἔπος πρὶν ἢ συμμῖξαι σφέας τοῖσι Μήδοισι, πυθόμενον πρὸς τευ τῶν Τρηχινίων ὡς ἐπεὰν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπίωσι τὰ τοξεύματα, τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὀιστῶν ἀποκρύπτουσι· τοσοῦτο πλήθος αὐτῶν εἶναι. [2] τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐκπλαγέντα τούτοις εἰπεῖν ἐν ἀλογίῃ ποιούμενον τὸ Μήδων πλῆθος, ὡς πάντα σφι ἀγαθὰ ὁ Τρηχίνιος ξεῖνος ἀγγέλλοι, εἰ ἀποκρυπτόντων τῶν Μήδων τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ σκιῇ ἔσοιτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ μάχη καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἡλίῳ.

227 ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα ἔπεα φασὶ Διηνέκεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀριστεῦσαι λέγονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι δύο ἀδελφεοί, Ἀλφεὸς τε καὶ Μάρων Ὀρσιφάντου παῖδες. Θεσπιέων δὲ εὐδοκίμεε μάλιστα τῷ οὐνόμα ἦν Διθύραμβος Ἀρματίδew.

228 θαφθεῖσι δὲ σφι αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇ περ ἔπεσον, καὶ τοῖσι πρότερον τελευτήσασιν ἢ ὑπὸ Λεωνίδew ἀποπεμφθέντας οἶχεσθαι, ἐπιγέγραπται γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε. “μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο

- Herodotus than tells the stories of individual Spartans and their heroic exploits

Herodotus [8.42–43.1, 49–50.1], 63–64.1 (trans. Godley): Spartans and Athenians at Salamis

When those from Artemisium had put in at Salamis, the rest of the Hellenic fleet learned of this and streamed in from Troezen, for they had been commanded to assemble at Pogon, the harbor of Troezen. Many more ships assembled now than had fought at Artemisium, and from more cities. [2] **The admiral was the same as at Artemisium, Eurybiades son of Euryclides, a Spartan but not of royal descent.** The ships provided by the Athenians were by far the most numerous and the most seaworthy.

43 The following took part in the war: from the Peloponnese, the Lacedaemonians provided sixteen ships...

49 When the generals from the aforementioned cities, met at Salamis, they held a council and Eurybiades proposed that whoever wanted to should give his opinion on what place under their control was most suitable for a sea battle. Attica was already lost, and he proposed that they consider the places which were left. [2] The consensus of most of the speakers was to sail to the Isthmus and fight at sea for the Peloponnese, giving this reason: if they were defeated in the fight at Salamis they would be besieged on an island, where no help could come to them, but if they were at the Isthmus they could go ashore to their own lands.

50 While the generals from the Peloponnese considered this argument, an Athenian came with the message that the barbarians had reached Attica and were destroying all of it by fire.

63 When Themistocles said this, Eurybiades changed his mind. I think he did so chiefly out of fear that the Athenians might desert them if they set sail for the Isthmus. If the Athenians left, the rest would be no match for the enemy, so he made the choice to remain there and fight.

64.1 After this skirmish of words, since Eurybiades had so resolved, the men at

ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου ἐς Σαλαμῖνα κατέσχον τὰς νέας, συνέρρεε καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς πυνθανόμενος ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐκ Τροιζηνος· ἐς γὰρ Πώγωνα τὸν Τροιζηνίων λιμένα προείρητο συλλέγεσθαι. συνελέχθησάν τε δὴ πολλῶ πλεῦνες νέες ἢ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυμάχεον καὶ ἀπὸ πολίων πλεύνων. [2] **ναύαρχος μὲν νυν ἐπὶν αὐτὸς ὃς περ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Εὐρυβιάδης ὁ Εὐρυκλείδew ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιήτης, οὐ μέντοι γένεος τοῦ βασιλῆιου ἐών:** νέας δὲ πολλῶ πλείστας τε καὶ ἄριστα πλεούσας παρείχοντο Ἀθηναῖοι. 43 ἐστρατεύοντο δὲ οὔδε: ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου **Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐκκαίδεκα νέας παρεχόμενοι...**

49 ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα συνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημενέων πολίων, ἐβουλεύοντο, προθέντος Εὐρυβιάδew γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον, ὅκου δοκέοι ἐπιτηδεότατον εἶναι ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι τῶν αὐτοῖ χωρέων ἐγκρατέες εἰσί: ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ ἀπέϊτο ἤδη, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν πέρι προετίθεε. [2] αἱ γνώμαι δὲ τῶν λεγόντων αἱ πλεῖσται συνεξέπιπτον πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πλώσαντας ναυμαχεῖν πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἐπιλέγοντες τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὥς εἰ νικηθέωσι τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, ἐν Σαλαμῖνι μὲν ἐόντες πολιορκήσονται ἐν νήσῳ, ἵνα σφι τιμωρίῃ οὐδεμία ἐπιφανήσεται, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐς τοὺς ἐωυτῶν ἐξοίσονται.

50 ταῦτα τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατηγῶν ἐπιλεγομένων, ἐληλύθεε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἀγγέλλων ἥκειν τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πυρπολέεσθαι...

63 ταῦτα δὲ Θεμιστοκλέος λέγοντος ἀνεδιδάσκετο Εὐρυβιάδης: δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἄρρωδῆσας μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνεδιδάσκετο, μὴ σφεας ἀπολίπωσι, ἣν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀγάγῃ τὰς νέας: ἀπολιπόντων γὰρ Ἀθηναίων οὐκέτι ἐγίνοντο ἀξιόμαχοι οἱ λοιποί. ταύτην δὲ αἰρέεται τὴν γνώμην, αὐτοῦ μένοντας διαναυμαχεῖν.

64.1 οὕτω μὲν οἱ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ἔπεσι ἀκροβολισάμενοι, ἐπεῖτε Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἔδοξε,

- The Athenians evacuate while the fleet famously remains stationed at Salamis where a major naval showdown occurs
- The Spartans are supposed to still be in charge at this point, Herodotus' story has the decision to fight made by the Spartan commander Eurybiades **BUT only** when he's been cornered by the Athenian commander Themistocles

Herodotus [8.108] (trans. Godley): Policy after Salamis

When, however, they learned that the ships were gone, they straightway resolved on pursuit; so they pursued Xerxes' fleet as far as Andros, but failed to catch sight of it. When they came to Andros, they held a council there. [2] Themistocles declared his opinion that they should hold their course through the islands, and having pursued the ships, should sail forthwith to the Hellespont to break the bridges.

Eurybiades, on the other hand, offered a contrary opinion, saying that to break the bridges would be the greatest harm that they could do to Hellas. [3] "For," said he, "if the Persian is cut off and compelled to remain in Europe, he will attempt not to be inactive. This he will do because if he remains inactive, he can neither make his cause prosper nor find any way of return home, but his army will perish of hunger. If, on the other hand, he is enterprising and active, it may well be that every town and nation in Europe will join itself to him, by conquest or, before that, by compact. He will then live on whatever yearly fruits of the earth Hellas produces. [4] But, as I think that the Persian will not remain in Europe after his defeat in the sea-fight, let us permit him to flee to his own country. Thereafter let it be that country and not ours which is at stake in the war." With that opinion the rest of the Peloponnesian admirals also agreed.

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὰς νέας οἰχωκυίας, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκεε ἐπιδιώκειν. τὸν μὲν νυν ναυτικὸν τὸν Ξέρξεω στρατὸν οὐκ ἐπεῖδον διώξαντες μέχρι Ἄνδρου, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἄνδρον ἀπικόμενοι ἐβουλεύοντο. [2] Θεμιστοκλέης μὲν νυν γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο διὰ νήσων τραπομένους καὶ ἐπιδιώξαντας τὰς νέας πλέειν ἰθέως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντας τὰς γεφύρας: **Εὐρυβιάδης δὲ τὴν ἐναντίην ταύτη γνώμην ἐτίθετο, λέγων ὡς εἰ λύσουσι τὰς σχεδίας, τοῦτ' ἂν μέγιστον πάντων σφί κακῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐργάσαιτο.** [3] εἰ γὰρ ἀναγκασθεὶς ὁ Πέρσης μένειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, πειρῶτο ἂν ἡσυχίην μὴ ἄγειν, ὡς ἄγοντι μὲν οἱ ἡσυχίην οὔτε τι προχωρεῖν οἷόν τε ἔσται τῶν πρηγμάτων οὔτε τις κομιδὴ τὰ ὀπίσω φανήσεται, λιμῶ τέ οἱ ἡ στρατιὴ διαφθερέεται, ἐπιχειροῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔργου ἔχομένῳ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην οἷά τε ἔσται προσχωρῆσαι κατὰ πόλιν τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα, ἧτοι ἀλίσκομένων γε ἢ πρὸ τούτου ὁμολογεόντων: τροφὴν τε ἔξιν σφέας τὸν ἐπέτειον αἰεὶ τὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καρπὸν. [4] ἀλλὰ δοκέειν γὰρ νικηθέντα τῇ ναυμαχίῃ οὐ μενέειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὸν Πέρσην: ἐατέον ὦν εἶναι φεύγειν, ἐς ὃ ἔλθοι φεύγων ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ: τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ποιέεσθαι ἤδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐκέλευε. ταύτης δὲ εἶχοντο τῆς γνώμης καὶ Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἄλλων οἱ στρατηγοί.

- Once Salamis is won Herodotus continues to investigate whether it is the Athenians or the Spartans who have the best strategic insight
- Eurybiades wants to destroy the bridge at the Hellespont but Themistocles state's that this would mean the Persian forces would not be able to withdraw and return home

- The Persian land army remains in central Greece and the following year the question remains where the Greeks will confront the last of the Persian forces

Herodotus [9.8–10] (trans Godley): Preparations for Battle of Plataea > Spartan response to Athenian embassy

When the ephors heard that, they delayed answering till the next day, and again till the day after. This they did for ten days, putting it off from day to day. In the meantime all the Peloponnesians were doing all they could to fortify the Isthmus, and they had nearly completed the task. [2] I cannot say for certain why it was that when Alexander the Macedonian came to Athens the Lacedaemonians insisted that the Athenians should not join the side of the Persian, yet now took no account of that; it may be that with the Isthmus fortified, they thought they had no more need of the Athenians, whereas when Alexander came to Attica, their wall was not yet built and they were working at this in great fear of the Persians.

9 The nature of their response was as follows: on the day before the final hearing of the Athenian delegation, **Chileus, a man of Tegea**, who had more authority with the Lacedaemonians than any other of their guests, learned from the ephors all that the Athenians had said. [2] Upon hearing this he, as the tale goes, said to the ephors, “Sirs, if the Athenians are our enemies and the barbarians’ allies, then although you push a strong wall across the Isthmus, a means of access into the Peloponnese lies wide open for the Persian. No, **give heed to what they say** before the Athenians take some new resolve which will bring calamity to Hellas.”

10 This was the counsel he gave the ephors, who straightway took it to heart. Without saying a word to the envoys who had come from the cities, they ordered five thousand Spartans to march before dawn. Seven helots were appointed to attend each of them, and **they gave the command to Pausanias son of Cleombrotus. [2] The leader's place rightfully belonged to Pleistarchus son of Leonidas, but he was still a boy**, and Pausanias his guardian and cousin. Cleombrotus, Pausanias’ father and

ὥς δὲ ἄρα ἤκουσαν οἱ ἔφοροι ταῦτα, ἀνεβάλλοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ὑποκρίνασθαι, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἐς τὴν ἐτέρην: τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ἐποίεον, ἐξ ἡμέρης ἐς ἡμέρην ἀναβαλλόμενοι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἐτείχεον σπουδὴν ἔχοντες πολλὴν πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι, [2] καὶ σφί ἦν πρὸς τέλει. οὐδ’ ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ αἴτιον διότι ἀπικομένου μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνο· ἐς Ἀθήνας σπουδὴν μεγάλην ἐποίησαντο μὴ μηδίσαι Ἀθηναίους, τότε δὲ ὥρην ἐποίησαντο οὐδεμίαν, ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι ὁ Ἴσθμὸς σφί ἐτετείχιστο καὶ ἐδόκεον Ἀθηναίων ἔτι δεῖσθαι οὐδέν: ὅτε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπίκητο ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οὐκ ἔτι ἀπετετείχιστο, ἐργάζοντο δὲ μεγάλως καταρρωδηκότες τοὺς Πέρσας.

9. τέλος δὲ τῆς τε ὑποκρίσεως καὶ ἐξόδου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐγένετο τρόπος τοιοῦτος. τῇ προτεραίῃ τῆς ὑστάτης καταστάσεως μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι **Χίλεος ἀνὴρ Τεγεήτης**, δυνάμενος ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι μέγιστον ξείνων, τῶν ἐφόρων ἐπύθετο πάντα λόγον τὸν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔλεγον: ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Χίλεος ἔλεγε ἄρα σφί τάδε. [2] ‘οὕτω ἔχει, ἄνδρες ἔφοροι: Ἀθηναίων ἡμῖν ἐόντων μὴ ἀρθμίων τῷ δὲ βαρβάρῳ συμμαχῶν, καίπερ τείχεος διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένου καρτεροῦ, μεγάλαι κλισιάδες ἀναπεπτάται ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον τῷ Πέρσῃ. **ἀλλ’ ἐσακούσατε**, πρὶν τι ἄλλο Ἀθηναίοισι δόξαι σφάλμα φέρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι.’ 10. ὁ μὲν σφί ταῦτα συνεβούλευε: οἱ δὲ φρενὶ λαβόντες τὸν λόγον αὐτίκα, φράσαντες οὐδέν τοῖσι ἀγγέλοις τοῖσι ἀπιγμένοις ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων, νυκτὸς ἔτι ἐκπέμπουσι πεντακισχιλίους Σπαρτιητέων καὶ ἑπτὰ περὶ ἑκάστον τάξαντες τῶν εἰλώτων, **Παυσανίῃ τῷ Κλεομβρότου ἐπιτάξαντες ἐξάγειν. [2] ἐγίνετο μὲν ἡ ἡγεμονία Πλειστάρχου τοῦ Λεωνίδεω: ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ἦν ἔτι παῖς**, ὁ δὲ τούτου ἐπίτροπος τε καὶ ἀνεψιός. Κλεόμβροτος γὰρ ὁ Παυσανίεω μὲν πατὴρ Ἀναξανδρίδεω δὲ παῖς οὐκέτι περιῆν, ἀλλ’ ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν

- The whole of Herodotus' BK 9 is devoted to the run up to and the battle of Plataea
- It is not the Spartans who have the strategic insight but a Taguean man called Chileus
Herodotus also goes on to emphasise the role of the Athenians because one of Sparta's Kings has just died and the other is too young, so Pausinias takes over as regent for Leonidas' young son

Herodotus [9.28.2, 29–30]: Numbers on battlefield in Plataea

Presently the whole Greek army was arrayed as I will show, both the later and the earliest comers. **On the right wing were ten thousand Lacedaemonians; five thousand of these, who were Spartans, had a guard of thirty-five thousand light-armed helots, seven appointed for each man.**

29 All these, except the seven appointed to attend each Spartan, were men-at-arms, and the whole sum of them was thirty-eight thousand and seven hundred. This was the number of men-at-arms that mustered for war against the barbarian; as regards the number of the light-armed men, there were in the Spartan array seven for each man-at-arms, that is, thirty-five thousand, and every one of these was equipped for war. [2] The light-armed from the rest of Lacedaemon and Hellas were as one to every man-at-arms, and their number was thirty-four thousand and five hundred.

30 So the total of all the light-armed men who were fighters was sixty-nine thousand and five hundred, and of the whole Greek army mustered at Plataea, men-at-arms and light-armed fighting men together, eleven times ten thousand less eighteen hundred. The Thespians who were present were one hundred and ten thousand in number, for the survivors of the Thespians were also present with

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε οἱ ἐπιφοιτῶντές τε καὶ οἱ ἀρχὴν ἐλθόντες Ἑλλήνων. τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας εἶχον Λακεδαιμονίων μύριοι: τούτων δὲ τούς πεντακισχίλιους ἐόντας Σπαρτιήτας ἐφύλασσον ψилоὶ τῶν εἰλώτων πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι, περὶ ἄνδρα ἕκαστον ἑπτὰ τεταγμένοι.

29 οὗτοι, πλὴν τῶν ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τεταγμένων Σπαρτιήτησι, ἦσαν ὀπλίται, σύμπαντες ἐόντες ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς τε μυριάδες καὶ ὀκτὼ χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἑπτὰ. ὀπλίται μὲν οἱ πάντες συλλεγέστες ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον ἦσαν τοσοῦτοι, ψιλῶν δὲ πλῆθος ἦν τόδε, τῆς μὲν Σπαρτιητικῆς τάξις πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἄνδρες, ὡς ἐόντων ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον ἄνδρα, καὶ τούτων πᾶς τις παρήρτητο ὡς ἐς πόλεμον: [2] οἱ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων ψилоί, ὡς εἶς περὶ ἕκαστον ἑὼν ἄνδρα, πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἦσαν.

30 ψιλῶν μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀπάντων τῶν μαχίμων ἦν τὸ πλῆθος ἕξ τε μυριάδες καὶ ἑννέα χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες πέντε, τοῦ δὲ σύμπαντος τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ συνελθόντος ἐς Πλαταιὰς σὺν τε ὀπλίτησι καὶ ψιλοῖσι τοῖσι μαχίμοις ἑνδεκα μυριάδες ἦσαν, μῆς χιλιάδος, πρὸς δὲ ὀκτακοσίων ἀνδρῶν καταδέουσαι. σὺν δὲ Θεσπιέων τοῖσι παρϐοῦσι ἐξεπληροῦντο αἱ ἑνδεκα μυριάδες: παρήσαν γὰρ καὶ Θεσπιέων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οἱ περιεόντες, ἀριθμὸν ἐς ὀκτακοσίου καὶ

- Pausinias complicates the issue of spartan responsibility at Plataea
- When we met the army at Plataea we realise what Sparta could have deployed in the battlefield at an earlier stage – Sparta manages to bring a force of 10,000 (5,000 being Spartiate, 5,000 being *perioikoi*)

- The total number of Greeks assembled at Plataea is enormous, Herodotus claims 110,000, possibly hugely inflated but highlights sheer size of Greek force at this stage

Herodotus [9.71] (trans. Godley): Spartan valour at Plataea

Among the Greeks, the Tegeans and Athenians conducted themselves nobly, but **the Lacedaemonians excelled all in valor**. [2] Of this my only clear proof is (for all these conquered the foes opposed to them) the fact that the Lacedaemonians fought with the strongest part of the army, and overcame it. According to my judgment, the **bravest man by far was Aristodemus**, who had been reviled and dishonored for being the only man of the three hundred that came alive from Thermopylae; next after him in valor were Posidonius, Philocyon, and Amompharetus. [3] Nevertheless, when there was a general discussion about who had borne himself most bravely, those Spartans who were there judged that Aristodemus, who plainly wished to die because of the reproach hanging over him and so rushed out and left the battle column behind, had achieved great deeds, but that Posidonius, who had no wish to die, proved himself a courageous fighter, and so in this way he was the better man. [4] This they may have said merely out of jealousy, but all the aforesaid who were killed in that fight received honor, save Aristodemus; he, because he desired death because of the reproach previously mentioned, received none.

Ἑλλήνων δέ, ἀγαθῶν γενομένων καὶ Τεγεατῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων, **ὑπερεβάλλοντο ἀρετῇ Λακεδαιμόνιοι**. [2] ἄλλω μὲν οὐδενὶ ἔχω ἀποσημήνασθαι (ἅπαντες γὰρ οὗτοι τοὺς κατ' ἐωυτοὺς ἐνίκων), ὅτι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρότερον προσηνεύθησαν καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν. καὶ **ἄριστος ἐγένετο μακρῷ Ἀριστόδημος** κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας, ὃς ἐκ Θερμοπυλέων μόνος τῶν τριηκοσίων σωθεὶς εἶχε ὄνειδος καὶ ἀτιμίην. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἡρίστευσαν Ποσειδώνιος τε καὶ Φιλοκύων καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ὁ Σπαρτιήτης. [3] καίτοι γενομένης λέσχης ὃς γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος, ἔγνωσαν οἱ παραγενόμενοι Σπαρτιητῶν Ἀριστόδημον μὲν βουλόμενον φανερώς ἀποθανεῖν ἐκ τῆς παρεούσης οἱ αἰτίης, λυσσωντά τε καὶ ἐκλείποντα τὴν τάξιν ἔργα ἀποδέξασθαι μεγάλα, Ποσειδώνιον δὲ οὐ βουλόμενον ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν: τοσοῦτῳ τοῦτον εἶναι ἀμείνω. [4] ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ φθόνῳ ἂν εἴποιεν: οὗτοι δὲ τοὺς κατέλεξα πάντες, πλην Ἀριστοδήμου, τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ τίμιοι ἐγένοντο: Ἀριστόδημος δὲ βουλόμενος ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίην οὐκ ἐτιμήθη.

- Spartans get to claim that despite only constituting 5,000 out of the 110,000 they were the bravest among the Greeks: **“the Lacedaemonians excelled in all valour”**
- Turned into another occasion where we see Spartan values are at play, for instance Aristodemus would be considered the bravest man *if* he didn't have an agenda, he was the only man who had escaped from Thermopylae so felt the need to prove his bravery
- This tradition of picking out individuals in battle goes back to discussing the *aristeia* of warriors like in the Iliad

Herodotus [9.86–88] (trans. Godley): Action against Thebes

As soon as the Greeks had buried their dead at Plataea, **they resolved in council that they would march against Thebes** and demand surrender of those who had taken the Persian side—particularly of Timagenidas and Attaginus, who were chief among their foremost men. If these men were not delivered to them, they would not withdraw from the area in front of the city till they had taken it. [2] They came with this purpose on the eleventh day after the battle and laid siege to the Thebans, demanding the surrender of the men. When the Thebans refused this surrender, they laid waste to their lands and assaulted the walls.

87 Seeing that the Greeks would not cease from their harrying and nineteen days had passed, Timagenidas spoke as follows to the Thebans: “Men of Thebes, since the Greeks have resolved that they will not raise the siege till Thebes is taken or we are delivered to them, do not let the land of Boeotia increase the measure of its ills for our sake. [2] No, rather if it is money they desire and their demand for our surrender is but a pretext, let us give them money out of our common treasury (for it was by the common will and not ours alone that we took the Persian side). If, however, they are besieging the town for no other reason than to have us, then we will give ourselves up to be tried by them.” This seemed to be said well and at the right time, and the Thebans immediately sent a herald to Pausanias, offering to surrender the men.

88 On these terms they made an agreement, but Attaginus escaped from the town. His sons were seized, but Pausanias held them free of guilt, saying that the sons were not accessory to the treason. As for the rest of the men whom the Thebans surrendered, they supposed that they would be put on trial, and were confident that they would defeat the impeachment by bribery. Pausanias, however, had that very

ὥς δ' ἄρα ἔθαψαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι οἱ Ἕλληνες, **αὐτίκα βουλευομένοι σφι ἐδόκεε στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας** καὶ ἐξαιτέειν αὐτῶν τοὺς μηδίσαντας, ἐν πρώτοισι δὲ αὐτῶν Τιμηγενίδην καὶ Ἀτταγῖνον, οἳ ἀρχηγέται ἀνὰ πρώτους ἦσαν· ἦν δὲ μὴ ἐκδιδῶσι, μὴ ἀπανίστασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος πρότερον ἢ ἐξέλωσι. [2] ὥς δέ σφι ταῦτα ἔδοξε, οὕτω δὴ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς συμβολῆς ἀπικόμενοι ἐπολιόρκεον Θηβαίους, κελεύοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας· οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων ἐκδιδόναι, τήν τε γῆν αὐτῶν ἔταμνον καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος.

87 καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύοντο σινόμενοι, εἰκοστῇ ἡμέρῃ ἔλεξε τοῖσι Θηβαίοισι Τιμηγενίδης τάδε. ‘ἄνδρες Θηβαῖοι, ἐπειδὴ οὕτω δέδοκται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, μὴ πρότερον ἀπαναστῆναι πολιορκέοντας ἢ ἐξέλωσι Θήβας ἢ ἡμέας αὐτοῖσι παραδῶτε, νῦν ὧν ἡμέων εἵνεκα γῆ ἢ Βοιωτὴ πλέω μὴ ἀναπλήσῃ, [2] ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν χρημάτων χρῆζοντες πρόσχημα ἡμέας ἐξαιτέονται, χρήματά σφι δῶμεν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ (σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμηδίσσαμεν οὐδὲ μῶνοι ἡμεῖς), εἰ δὲ ἡμέων ἀληθέως δεόμενοι πολιορκέουσι, ἡμεῖς ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀντιλογίην παρέξομεν.’ κάρτα τε ἔδοξε εὖ λέγειν καὶ ἐς καιρόν, αὐτίκα τε ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς Παιυσανίην οἱ Θηβαῖοι θέλοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας. 88 ὥς δὲ ὠμολόγησαν ἐπὶ τούτοις, Ἀτταγῖνος μὲν ἐκδιδρῆσκει ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, παῖδας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπαχθέντας Παιυσανίης ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίας, φὰς τοῦ μηδισμοῦ παῖδας οὐδὲν εἶναι μεταιτίους. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐξέδοσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, οἳ μὲν ἐδόκεον ἀντιλογίης τε κυρῆσιν καὶ διὰ χρήμασι ἐπεποιθέσαν διωθέεσθαι· ὁ δὲ ὥς παρέλαβε, αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑπονοέων τήν στρατιὴν τήν τῶν συμμάχων ἅπασαν ἀπῆκε καὶ ἐκείνους ἀγαγὼν ἐς Κόρινθον διέφθειρε. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι καὶ Θήβῃσι γενόμενα.

- Question after Persian war remains about what to do with the Greeks who backed the Persians
- After Plataea they decide to focus their attention on Thebes and those who had sided with the Persians
- The Spartans force the Thebans to hand over two men (Timagenidas and Attaginus)
- Attaginus runs away so his sons are seized instead **BUT** Pausanias protests and says he wants Attaginus himself, not his sons to suffer his punishment
- The two men thought that they would be put on trial and could bribe the courts to secure an acquittal so instead Pausanias put them to death (case of Spartan taking decisive action and cutting through any process to achieve the result he wants – **realistic and ruthless**)

Herodotus [9.106.2–4, 114] (trans. Godley): Issue of Ionia

When they had arrived at Samos, they debated in council over the removal of all Greeks from Ionia, and in what Greek lands under their dominion it would be best to plant the Ionians, leaving the country itself to the barbarians; for it seemed impossible to stand on guard between the Ionians and their enemies forever. If, however, they should not so stand, they had no hope that the Persians would permit the Ionians to go unpunished. [3] In this matter **the Peloponnesians who were in charge were for removing the people** from the lands of those Greek nations which had sided with the Persians and giving their land to the Ionians to dwell in. The Athenians disliked the whole plan of removing the Greeks from Ionia, or allowing the Peloponnesians to determine the lot of Athenian colonies, and as they resisted vehemently, **the Peloponnesians yielded**. [4] It accordingly came about that they admitted to their alliance the Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and all other islanders who had served with their forces, and bound them by pledge and oaths to remain faithful and not desert their allies. When the oaths had been sworn, the Greeks set sail to break the bridges, supposing that these still held fast. So they laid their course for the Hellespont. 114 The Greeks who had set out from Mykale for the Hellespont first anchored off Lectum having been stopped by contrary winds, and came from there to Abydos, where they found the bridges broken which they thought would still be in place; these were in fact the chief cause of their coming to the Hellespont. [2] **The Peloponnesians then who were with Leutychides decided to sail away to Hellas**, but the Athenians, with Xanthippus their general, that they would remain there and attack the Chersonesus. So the rest sailed away, but the Athenians crossed over to the Chersonesus and laid siege to Sestus.

ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Σάμον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀναστάσιος τῆς Ἰωνίης, καὶ ὅκη χρεὼν εἶη τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατοικίσαι τῆς αὐτοὶ ἐγκρατέες ἦσαν, τὴν δὲ Ἰωνίην ἀπεῖναι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι: ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐφαίνετό σφι εἶναι ἐωυτούς τε Ἰώνων προκατῆσθαι φρουρέοντας τὸν πάντα χρόνον, καὶ ἐωυτῶν μὴ προκατημένων Ἴωνας οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα εἶχον χαίροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλλάξιν. [3] πρὸς ταῦτα **Πελοποννησίων μὲν τοῖσι ἐν τέλει ἐοῦσι ἐδόκεε τῶν μηδισάντων ἐθνέων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὰ ἐμπολαῖα ἐξαναστήσαντας** δοῦναι τὴν χώραν Ἴωσι ἐνοικῆσαι, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκεε ἀρχὴν Ἰωνίην γενέσθαι ἀνάστατον οὐδὲ Πελοποννησίοισι περὶ τῶν σφετερέων ἀποικιέων βουλεύειν: ἀντιτεινόντων δὲ τούτων προθύμως, **εἶξαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι**. [4] καὶ οὕτω δὴ Σαμίους τε καὶ Χίους καὶ Λεσβίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας, οἳ ἔτυχον συστρατευόμενοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐποίησαντο, πίστι τε καταλαβόντες καὶ ὀρκίοισι ἐμμένειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσεσθαι. τούτους δὲ καταλαβόντες ὀρκίοισι ἔπλεον τὰς γεφύρας λύσοντες: ἔτι γὰρ ἐδόκεον ἐντεταμένας εὐρήσειν. οὗτοι μὲν δὲ ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου ἔπλεον.

114 οἱ δὲ ἐκ Μυκάλης ὀρμηθέντες Ἕλληνες ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου πρῶτον μὲν περὶ Λεκτὸν ὄρμεον, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἀπολαμφθέντες, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ἀβυδὸν καὶ τὰς γεφύρας εὖρον διαλελυμένας, τὰς ἐδόκεον εὐρήσειν ἔτι ἐντεταμένας, καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἦκιστα εἵνεκεν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον ἀπίκοντο. [2] **τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἀμφὶ Λευτυχίδην Πελοποννησίοις ἔδοξε ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα**, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ καὶ Ξανθίππῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ αὐτοῦ ὑπομείναντας πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Χερσονήσου. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἀπέπλεον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδου διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκεον.

- Second debate was about what to do with Ionia (Persians were still occupying Greek Cities along Asia minor after Plataea)
- This issue is made to characterise Spartan attitudes, what they do is totally unsurprising – they think that they should take the Greeks from Ionia and move them to the Greek mainland
- **“In this matter the Peloponnesians who were in charge were for removing the people from the lands of those Greek nations which had sided with the Persians”**
- Athens however felt a kinship with the Ionians because of shared genealogical history and wanted to help them
- Flash forward to future, Athens and Sparta go to war because of Athens’ growing power
- Athens managed to form alliances and increase influence over Greek world but because Sparta walked out Athens was forced to take over the leadership role – although story is contested
- Other accounts suggest the Ionians specifically asked the Athenians to lead a force to remove the last of the Persians because they were suspicious about the Spartan leader Pausanias

Pausanias 3.14.1 (trans. Jones): Spartan War Memorial

On going westwards from the market-place is a cenotaph of Brasidas the son of Tellis. Not far from it is the theater, made of white marble and worth seeing. **Opposite the theater are two tombs; the first is that of Pausanias, the general at Plataea, the second is that of Leonidas.** Every year they deliver speeches over them, and hold a contest in which none may compete except Spartans. The bones of Leonidas were taken by Pausanias from Thermopylae forty years after the battle. There is set up a slab with the names, and their fathers' names, of those who endured the fight at Thermopylae against the Persians.

ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πρὸς ἥλιον ἰόντι
 δυόμενον τάφος κενὸς Βρασιδᾶ τῷ
 Τέλλιδος πεποιήται: ἀπέχει δὲ οὐ πολὺ τοῦ
 τάφου τὸ θέατρον, λίθου λευκοῦ, θέας
 ἄξιον. τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ
 Παισσανίου τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσιν ἡγήσαμένου
 μνημῆμά ἐστι, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Λεωνίδου— καὶ
 λόγους κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς
 λέγουσι καὶ τιθέασιν ἀγῶνα, ἐν ᾧ πλὴν
 Σπαρτιατῶν ἄλλω γε οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι
 —, τὰ δὲ ὅστ’ αὐτοῦ Λεωνίδου τεσσαράκοντα
 ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἀνελομένου ἐκ
 Θερμοπυλῶν τοῦ Παισσανίου. κεῖται δὲ καὶ
 στήλη πατρόθεν τὰ ὀνόματα ἔχουσα οἷ
 πρὸς Μήδους τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἀγῶνα

- The story we know of the Persian wars is effectively Herodotus’ story but we can find some traces of the battle elsewhere
- The Spartans would come to think of the war as 2 great battles (Plataea and Thermopylae)
- Every year the Spartans held a contest by the honorary tomb of Leonidas and Pausanias

Serpent Column ML 27 (cf. Paul Stephenson *The Serpent Column: a Cultural Biography* (Oxford 2016))

το[ίδε τὸν]	These
πόλεμον [έ]-	fought
πολ[έ]μεον'	the war:
Λακεδ[αιμόνιοι]	Lakedaimonians
Ἀθηναῖο[ι]	Athenians
Κορίνθιοι	Corinthians
Τεγεᾶ[ται]	Tegeans
Σικυόν[ιο]ι	Sikyonians
Αἰγινᾶται	Aiginetans
Μεγαρεῖς	Megarians
Ἐπιδαύριοι	Epidaurians
Ἐρχομένιοι	Orchomenians
Φλειάσιοι	Phleiasians
Τροζάνιοι	Troizenians
Ἑρμιονεῖς	Hermionians
Τιρύνθιοι	Tirynthians
Πλαταιεῖς	Plataians
Θεσπιεῖς	Thespians
Μυκανεῖς	Mycenaeans
Κεῖοι	Keans
Μάλιοι	Melians
Τένιοι [added later]	Tenians
Νάξιοι	Naxians
Ἐρετριεῖς	Eretrians
Χαλκιδεῖς	Chalkidians
Στυρεῖς	Styreans
Φαλειῖοι	Eleans
Ποτειδαῖται	Poteidaians
Λευκάδιοι	Leukadians
Φανακτοριεῖς	Anaktorians
Κύθνιοι	Kythnians
Σίφνιοι [added later]	Siphnians
Ἀμπρακιῶται	Ambraciots
Λεπρεᾶται.	Lepreans

- In the immediate aftermath there appears to be much more going on, column is put up in Delphi which lists all the Greek cities who fought in the war
- Some peoples are added later like people of Tinos and Siphnos (presumably because there was a real question over what those Aegean islands **actually did** during the war)
- Herodotus' account has 2 Peloponnesian contingents arrive late – the people from Elis and the Mantinaeans, **BUT** somehow Eleans still get a place on the column (demonstrates politics and negotiations of historical narrative)

Epitaph on Spartan tomb at Plataia: Simonides frg. 9/*Palatine Anthology* [7.251] (trans. Paton) (cf. Paus. 9.2.4)

These men having clothed their dear country in inextinguishable glory, donned the dark cloud of death; and having died, yet they are not dead, for their valour's renown brings them up from the house of Hades.

ἄσβεστον κλέος οἶδε φίλῃ περὶ πατρίδι
θέντες
κυάνεον θανάτου ἀμφεβάλοντο νέφος.
οὐδὲ τεθνᾶσι θανόντες, ἐπεὶ σφ' ἀρετὴ
καθύπερθε
κυδαίνους' ἀνάγει δώματος ἐξ Αἰδέω.

Simonides' Plataia elegy (frg.11. *POxy* 2327) (restored and translated by West)

[But] now farewell, [thou son] of goddess glorious,
20 [daughter] of Nereus of the sea, while I
[now summon] thee, [illustrious] Muse, to support,
[if thou has any thought] for men who pray:
[fit out], as is thy wont, this [grateful] song-array
[of mine], so that rem[embrance is preserved]
of those who held the line for Sparta [and for Greece,]
that none should see] the day [of slavery].
They kept their [courage, and their fame rose] heaven-high;
[their glory in] the world [will] never die.
[From the] Eurotas and from [Sparta's] town they [marched,]

30 accompanied by Zeus' horsemaster sons,
[the Tyndarid] Heroes, and by Menelaus' strength,
[those doughty] captains of [their fathers'] folk,
led forth by [great] Cleombrotus' most noble [son,]
----- Pausanias.
[They quickly reached the Isthmus] and the famous land
of Corinth, [furthest bounds] of Pelops' [isle,]
[and Megara,] Nisus' [ancient] city, where the [rest]
[then joined the army from] the ocuntry round.
[Again they marched, the omens] giving confidence,
40 [and soon they reached Eleusis'] lovely plain,
driving [the Persians from Pan]dion's [land, by help]
of that most godlike seer, [the Iamid.]
--- overcame ---

- The Spartans themselves want to claim special credit, they get Simonides to write a poem for them (which is quoted in the Palatine Anthology)
- This was supposedly written on an honorary epitaph for a Spartan tomb at Plataea
- Simonides' elegy turns the whole anti-Persian campaign into a Spartan story where they alone confront the Persians like heroes of old (rewrites Persian wars as story of Spartan success)
- The Persian wars establish a future template that Sparta has to try and live up to

Lecture 10: Women and Wealth in Sparta

- We've already had some impression of lives of Spartan women in Archaic Period from archaeological records, dedications made at sanctuaries and Alkmans' poetry about Spartan choral performance **BUT** we have a limited understanding of how women fitted into the overall social and political configuration of Sparta
- Women's relatively enhanced rights in terms of property are both a product of the military emphasis in Spartan life and in part responsible for increasing inequality at Sparta
- Archaic Spartan women looked to be within the range of what we might expect from Greek cities, but the traditional view in the Classical period is that they were very **distinctive**
- They have a reputation for being different – a reputation that Xenophon in particular seeks to substantiate by explaining how Lycurgus was responsible for a particular set of female behaviours
- Image of Lycurgan woman is one that then gets expanded on in later texts (Plutarch Life of Lycurgus etc.)
- That reputation for spartan women is undoubtedly itself a classical artefact, in Herodotus the daughter Cleomenes plays a particular political part in persuading her father refusing to listen to Aristagoras and join the Ionian revolt = already in the 5th Century women are written into Spartan history as authoritative actors

Most concentrated expression of this comes from work of Plutarch which collects the sayings of the Spartan women – sayings are all reinforce Spartan ideology:

1. "When he had come to the enemy, was he not bound either to be slain by them or to slay them? It is more pleasing to hear that he died in a manner worthy of myself, his country, and his ancestors than if he had lived for all time a coward." [Plut. Lacaе. 4] **aka** Death is only acceptable option if you don't win in battle
 2. Another Spartan woman made away with her son, who had deserted his post, on the ground that he was unworthy of his country, saying, "Not mine the scion." This is the epigram referring to her:
"Off to your fate through the darkness, vile scion, who makes such a hatred, So the Eurotas flow not e'en for the timorous deer.
Worthless whelp that you are, vile remnant, be oif now to Hades; Off! for never I bore Sparta's unworthy son." [Plut. Lacaе. 6] **aka** to return home alive, guilty of cowardice is among the most shameful crimes
 3. Gorgo, wife of Leonidas, asked him before he set out for Thermopylae what she should do and he replied "Marry a good man, and bear good children." [Plut. Lacaе. 3.6] **aka** it is the responsibility of Spartan omen to produce upstanding young men to serve the country
- These sayings have undoubtedly been improved over time **BUT** they contribute to an image of what Spartan women were like
 - This image that was already in production in the 5th Century BCE

Lampito in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* [78–84]

Good day, Lampito, dear friend from Lacedaemon.
How well and handsome you look! what a rosy
complexion! and how strong you seem; why, you
could strangle a bull surely!

Lampito: Yes, indeed, I really think I could. It's
because I do gymnastics and practise the bottom-
kicking dance.

Cleonice: And what superb breasts!

Lampito: La! you are feeling me as if I were a beast
for sacrifice.

Λυσιστράτη

ὦ φίλτάτη Λάκαινα χαῖρε Λαμπιτοῖ.

οἷόν τὸ κάλλος γλυκυτάτη σου φαίνεται.

80ὥς δ' εὐχροεῖς, ὥς δὲ σφριγᾷ τὸ σῶμά σου.

κἄν ταῦρον ἄγχοις.

Λαμπιτώ: μάλα γ' οἶῶ ναὶ τὸ σιώ:

γυμνάδομαι γὰρ καὶ ποτὶ πυγὰν ἄλλομαι.

Καλονίκη: ὥς δὴ καλὸν τὸ χρῆμα τιθίῳν ἔχεις.

Λαμπιτώ: ἄπερ ἱερεῖόν τοί μ' ὑποψαλάσσετε.

- Lampito is a one-dimensional ethnic stereotype as a model of Spartan women but her physical distinction from other Greek women is flagged up
- Spartan women being pointed to because they are physically better specimens

Xenophon on Spartan women

Xenophon *Constitution of the Lakedaimonians* [1.3–30] (trans. Marchant)

First, to begin at the beginning, I will take the begetting of children. In other states the girls who are destined to become mothers and are brought up in the approved fashion, live on the very plainest fare, with a most meagre allowance of delicacies. Wine is either withheld altogether, or, if allowed them, is diluted with water. The rest of the Greeks expect their girls to imitate the sedentary life that is typical of handicraftsmen -- to keep quiet and do wool-work. How, then, is it to be expected that women so brought up will bear fine children? [4] But **Lycurgus thought the labour of slave women sufficient to supply clothing. He believed motherhood** to be the most important function of freeborn woman. Therefore, in the first place, he insisted on **physical training** for the female no less than for the male sex: moreover, he instituted races and trials of strength for women competitors as for men, believing that if both parents are strong they produce more vigorous offspring. [5] He noticed, too, that, during the time immediately succeeding marriage, it was usual elsewhere for the husband to have unlimited intercourse with his wife. The rule that he adopted was the opposite of this: for **he laid it down that the husband should be ashamed to be seen entering his wife's room or leaving it.** With this restriction on intercourse the desire of the one for the other must necessarily be increased, and their offspring was bound to be more vigorous than if they were surfeited with one another. [6] In addition to this, he withdrew from men the right to take a wife whenever they chose, and **insisted on their marrying in the prime of their manhood**, believing that this too promoted the production of fine children. [7] It might happen, however, that an old man had a young wife; and he observed that old men keep a very jealous watch over their young wives. To meet these cases he instituted an entirely different system by requiring the elderly husband to introduce into his house some man whose physical and

αὐτίκα γὰρ περὶ τεκνοποιίας, ἵνα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄρξωμαι, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰς μελλούσας τίκτειν καὶ καλῶς δοκούσας κόρας παιδεύεσθαι καὶ σίτῳ ἢ ἄνυστον μετριωτάτῳ τρέφουσι καὶ ὄψῳ ἢ δυνατὸν μικροτάτῳ: οἴνου γε μὴν ἢ πάμπαν ἀπεχομένας ἢ ὕδαρεῖ χρωμένας διάγουσιν. ὥσπερ δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν τὰς τέχνας ἐχόντων ἐδραῖοί εἰσιν, οὕτω καὶ τὰς κόρας οἱ ἄλλοι Ἑλληνες ἡρεμιζούσας ἐριουργεῖν ἀξιοῦσι. τὰς μὲν οὖν οὕτω τρεφομένας πῶς χρή προσδοκῆσαι μεγαλεῖον ἂν τι γεννηῆσαι; [4] ὁ δὲ **Λυκοῦργος ἐσθῆτας μὲν καὶ δούλας παρέχειν ἱκανὰς ἡγήσατο εἶναι, ταῖς δ' ἐλευθέραις μέγιστον νομίσας εἶναι τὴν τεκνοποιίαν** πρῶτον μὲν **σωμασκεῖν** ἔταξεν οὐδὲν ἥττον τὸ θῆλυ τοῦ ἄρρενος φύλου: ἔπειτα δὲ δρόμου καὶ ἰσχύος, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οὕτω καὶ ταῖς θηλείαις ἀγῶνας πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐποίησε, νομίζων ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἰσχυρῶν καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα ἐρρωμενέστερα γίνεσθαι. [5] ἐπεὶ γε μὴν γυνὴ πρὸς ἄνδρα ἔλθοι, ὁρῶν τοὺς ἄλλους τὸν πρῶτον τοῦ χρόνου ἀμέτρως ταῖς γυναιξὶ συνόντας, καὶ τούτου τάναντία ἔγνω: **ἔθηκε γὰρ αἰδεῖσθαι μὲν εἰσιόντα ὀφθῆναι, αἰδεῖσθαι δ' ἐξιόντα.** οὕτω δὲ συνόντων ποθεινοτέρως μὲν ἀνάγκη σφῶν αὐτῶν ἔχειν, ἐρρωμενέστερα δὲ γίνεσθαι, εἴ τι βλάστοι οὕτω, μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ διάκοροι ἀλλήλων εἶεν. [6] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἀποπαύσας τοῦ ὁπότε βούλοιντο ἕκαστοι γυναικᾶ ἀγεσθαι, **ἔταξεν ἐν ἀκαμαῖς τῶν σωμάτων τοὺς γάμους ποιεῖσθαι,** καὶ τοῦτο συμφέρον τῇ εὐγονίᾳ νομίζων. [7] εἴ γε μέντοι συμβαίῃ γεραιῷ νέαν ἔχειν, ὁρῶν τοὺς τηλικούτους φυλάττοντας μάλιστα τὰς γυναῖκας, τάναντία καὶ τούτου ἐνόμισε: τῷ γὰρ πρεσβύτῃ ἐποίησεν, ὁποίου ἀνδρὸς σῶμά τε καὶ ψυχὴν ἀγασθείη, τοῦτον ἐπαγαγομένῳ τεκνοποιήσασθαι. [8] εἰ δὲ τις αὖ γυναικὶ μὲν συνοικεῖν μὴ βούλοιτο, τέκνων δὲ ἀξιολόγων ἐπιθυμοίη, καὶ τοῦτο νόμιμον

- Starts analysis of Spartan Constitution with explanation of Lycurgus' attempt to produce stronger Spartans by breeding better Spartan mother's
- Relates that Lycurgus had not acted like other Greeks where women were kept away from wine and bear children as soon as their fertile, he sought to strengthen women physically and only allow them to birth children when they were in their physical prime
- Motherhood is the most important function of freeborn women
- An entire genetic theory of childbearing is attributed to Lycurgus with its aim of producing exceptional offspring
- Structure of Spartan population resulted in later age of marriage for women – they married in their prime as this promoted production of fine children, later age of marriage changes whole pattern of childbearing – mother in position to have more dominant influence over children
- Small matter of age in marriage has quite considerable consequences – also meant Sparta was less resilient in keeping the population up (declining population)
- Further aspect of fertility comes out in Sparta's curious conventions about marital relations, marital arrangements point to an anxiety about family size – “having children who claim no part of the money”, Aristotle's evidence over female landowning shows women in Sparta inherit a share of their parental property – not just a dowry, this inheritance reduces what is inherited by boys so that if you have a large family you divide the property into a lot of separate parts so children are poorer than their parents
- This seems designed to allow the possibility that you can restrict those who would inherit property while still producing further children
- Already observed in case of Spartan kings that odd marital arrangements were not infrequent – causes problems for kingly accession

Plutarch on Spartan women

Plutarch *Lykourgos* [14–15] (trans. Perrin)

In the matter of education, which he regarded as the greatest and noblest task of the law-giver, he began at the very source, by carefully regulating marriages and births. For **it is not true that, as Aristotle says, he tried to bring the women under proper restraint, but desisted**, because he could not overcome the great licence and power which the women enjoyed on account of the many expeditions in which their husbands were engaged. During these the men were indeed obliged to leave their wives in sole control at home, and for this reason paid them greater deference than was their due, and gave them the title of Mistress. But even to the women Lycurgus paid all possible attention. 2 **He made the maidens exercise their bodies** in running, wrestling, casting the discus, and hurling the javelin, in order that the fruit of their wombs might have vigorous root in vigorous bodies and come to better maturity, and that they themselves might come with vigour to the fulness of their times, and struggle successfully and easily with the pangs of childbirth. He freed them from softness and delicacy and all effeminacy by accustoming **the maidens no less than the youths to wear tunics only** in processions, and at certain festivals to dance and sing when the young men were present as spectators. 3 There they sometimes even mocked and railed good-naturedly at any youth who had misbehaved himself; and again they would sing the praises of those who had shown themselves worthy, and so inspire the young men with great ambition and ardour. For he who was thus extolled for his valour and held in honour among the maidens, went away exalted by their praises; while the sting of their playful raillery was no less sharp than that of serious admonitions, especially as the kings and senators, together with the rest of the citizens, were all present at the spectacle. 4 **Nor was there anything disgraceful in this scant clothing of the maidens**, for modesty attended them, and wantonness was

Τῆς δὲ παιδείας, ἣν μέγιστον ἡγεῖτο τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ κάλλιστον ἔργον εἶναι, πόρρωθεν ἀρχόμενος εὐθύς ἐπεσκόπει τὰ περὶ τοὺς γάμους καὶ τὰς γενέσεις. **οὐ γάρ, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν, ἐπιχειρήσας σωφρονίζειν τὰς γυναῖκας, ἐπαύσατο** μὴ κρατῶν τῆς πολλῆς ἀνέσεως καὶ γυναικοκρατίας διὰ τὰς πολλὰς στρατείας τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐν αἷς ἠναγκάζοντο κυρίας ἀπολείπειν ἐκείνας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον τοῦ προσήκοντος αὐτὰς ἐθεράπευον· καὶ δεσποίνας προσηγόρευον· ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιήσατο. **τὰ μὲν γε σώματα τῶν παρθένων** δρόμοις καὶ πάλαις καὶ βολαῖς δίσκων καὶ ἀκοντίων διεπόννησεν, ὡς ἢ τε τῶν γεννωμένων ρίζωσις ἰσχυρὰν ἐν ἰσχυροῖς σώμασιν ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσα βλαστάνοι βέλτιον, αὐταὶ τε μετὰ ῥώμης τοὺς τόκους ὑπομένουσai καλῶς ἅμα καὶ ῥαδίως ἀγωνίζονται πρὸς τὰς ὠδῖνας. ἀφελῶν δὲ θρύψιν καὶ σκιατραφίαν καὶ θηλύτητα πᾶσαν οὐδὲν ἤττον **εἴθισε τῶν κόρων τὰς κόρας γυμνάς τε πομπεύειν** καὶ πρὸς ἱεροῖς τισιν ὀρχεῖσθαι καὶ ᾄδειν τῶν νέων παρόντων καὶ θεωμένων. ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ σκώμματα λέγουσαι πρὸς ἕκαστον εὐχρήστως ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων· καὶ πάλιν εἰς τοὺς ἀξιούς αὐτῶν ἐγκώμια μετ' ὥδῃς πεποιημένα διεξιοῦσαι, φιλοτιμίαν πολλὴν καὶ ζῆλον ἐνεποιοῦν τοῖς νεανίσκοις. ὁ γὰρ ἐγκωμιασθεὶς ἐπ' ἀνδραγαθίᾳ καὶ κλεινὸς ἐν ταῖς παρθένοις γεγονὼς ἀπῆει μεγαλυνόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπαίνων· αἱ δὲ μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ σκωμμάτων δῆξεις οὐδὲν ἀμβλύτεραι τῶν μετὰ σπουδῆς νοουημάτων ἦσαν, ἅτε δὴ πρὸς τὴν θεάν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις καὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν γερόντων συμπορευομένων. **Ἡ δὲ γύμνωσις τῶν παρθένων οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν εἶχεν**, αἰδοῦς μὲν παρούσης, ἀκрасίας δὲ ἀπούσης, ἀλλ' ἐθισμόν ἀφελῇ καὶ ζῆλον εὐεξίας

- Plutarch expands further on spartan women (need to be careful about Plutarch since he is drawing on source material, some from Hellenistic Sparta and at end of 3rd century Sparta tries to reinvent itself – to more intimately associate itself with Lycurgus)
- Nevertheless, the story that Plutarch tells is pretty much an expansion of story from Xenophon
- Plutarch puts the stress on the way in which Lycurgus made the female population do exercise [14.2]
- [14.4] Plutarch himself reverts to question of spartan women's nudity

2 points to this arrangement:

- (1) Production of strong children
 - (2) Ensuring that spartan men marry – their desire is being stimulated by having young women mix among them in their exercise and religious processions
- [15] there are penalties for not marrying – penalties are a bit like being a woman, bachelors have to go round naked and as they march they have to sing a certain song (parallel to women in choral procession)
 - Plutarch goes on to tell stories of spartan marriage by which he almost certainly means spartan courtship practices, eventually spartan takes a form not dissimilar to marriage elsewhere (moving from father's house to husband's house with official ceremony)
 - Courtship includes carrying of desired bride by force [15.3], cuts woman's hair – makes her into the reverse of a man as spartan men had long hair – likely a public signal that maiden had been chosen and betrothed
 - Plutarch claims there is no adultery in Sparta – defined out of the equation, many other ways Spartans can lend their wives from others or borrow others wives = doesn't leave much scope for adultery

Plutarch *Lysander* [30.5]

However, they paid him many honors at his death. In particular, they imposed a fine upon the men who had engaged to marry his daughters, and then, after Lysander's death, when he was discovered to be poor, had renounced the engagement. The reason given for the fine was that the men had paid court to Lysander while they thought him rich, but when his poverty showed them that he was a just and good man, they forsook him. For there was, as it appears, a penalty at Sparta not only for not marrying at all, and for a late marriage, but also for a bad marriage and to this last they subjected those especially who sought alliance with the rich, instead of with the good and with their own associates. Such, then, are the accounts we have found given of Lysander.

οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τὰς τε ἄλλας τιμὰς ἀπέδοσαν αὐτῷ τελευτήσαντι, καὶ τοὺς μνηστευσασμένους τὰς θυγατέρας, εἴτα μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ Λυσάνδρου πένητος εὐρεθέντος ἀπειπαμένους ἐζημίωσαν, ὅτι πλούσιον μὲν νομίζοντες ἐθεράπευον, δίκαιον δὲ καὶ χρηστὸν ἐκ τῆς πενίας ἐπιγνόντες ἐγκατέλιπον. ἦν γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ ἀγαμίου δίκη καὶ ὀψιγαμίου καὶ κακογαμίου: ταύτῃ δὲ ὑπῆγον μάλιστα τοὺς ἀντὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ οἰκείων τοῖς πλουσίοις κηδεύοντας. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ Λύσανδρον οὕτως ἱστορήσαμεν ἔχοντα.

- Passage discusses desire to accumulate of property
- Spartans were very conscious that monetary motives for marriage are not ideal: Plutarch Lysander: when Lysander died and his daughters turned out to be poor the men who were going to marry them decided against it, they suffered a penalty for a **'bad marriage'** – persecutes those who sought an alliance with the rich

Polybius [12.6b 8] (trans Shuckburgh)

For in Sparta it is a traditional law, and a matter of common custom, for three or four men to have one wife, and even more if they are brothers; and when a man has begotten enough children, it is quite proper and usual for him to sell his wife to one of

παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ πάτριον ἦν καὶ σύνηθες τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἔχειν τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τέτταρας, τοτὲ δὲ καὶ πλείους ἀδελφοὺς ὄντας, καὶ τὰ τέκνα τούτων εἶναι κοινά, καὶ γεννήσαντα παῖδας ἱκανοὺς ἐκδόσθαι γυναῖκά τινι τῶν φίλων

Aristotle on women at Sparta

Aristotle *Politics* [1269b12–1270a15 9] (trans. Rackham)

Again, **the freedom in regard to women is detrimental** both in regard to the purpose of the constitution and in regard to the happiness of the state. For just as man and wife are part of a household, it is clear that the state also is divided nearly in half into its male and female population, so that in all constitutions in which the position of the women is badly regulated one half of the state must be deemed to have been neglected in framing the law. And this has taken place in the state under consideration, [20] for the lawgiver wishing the whole city to be of strong character displays his intention clearly in relation to the men, but in the case of the women has entirely neglected the matter; for **they live dissolutely in respect of every sort of dissoluteness, and luxuriously**. So that the inevitable result is that in a state thus constituted **wealth is held in honor, especially if it is the case that the people are under the sway of their women, as most of the military and warlike races are**, except the Celts and such other races as have openly held in honor passionate friendship between males. For it appears that the original teller of the legend had good reason for uniting Ares with Aphrodite, for all men of martial spirit appear to be attracted to the companionship either of male associates or of women. Hence this characteristic existed among the Spartans, and **in the time of their empire many things were controlled by the women**; yet what difference does it make whether the women rule or the rulers are ruled by the women? The result is the same. And although bravery is of service for none of the regular duties of life, but if at all, in war, even in this respect the Spartans' women were most harmful; and they showed this at the time of the Theban invasion, for they rendered no useful service, as the women do in other states, while they caused more confusion than the enemy. It is true therefore that **at the outset the freedom allowed to women at Sparta seems to have come about with good reason**, [1270a] [1] for

ἔτι δ' ἡ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἄνεσις καὶ πρὸς τὴν προαίρεσιν τῆς πολιτείας βλαβερὰ καὶ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν πόλεως. ὥσπερ γὰρ [15] οἰκίας μέρος ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνή, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ πόλιν ἐγγὺς τοῦ δίχα διηρῆσθαι δεῖ νομίζειν εἰς τε τὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πλῆθος καὶ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν, ὥστ' ἐν ὅσαις πολιτείαις φαύλως ἔχει τὸ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς πόλεως εἶναι δεῖ νομίζειν ἀνομοθέτητον. ὅπερ ἐκεῖ συμβέβηκεν: ὅλην γὰρ [20] τὴν πόλιν ὁ νομοθέτης εἶναι βουλόμενος καρτερικὴν, κατὰ μὲν τοὺς ἄνδρας φανερός ἐστι τοιοῦτος ὢν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐξημέληκεν: **ζῶσι γὰρ ἀκολάστως πρὸς ἅπασαν ἀκολασίαν καὶ τρυφερῶς**. ὥστ' ἀναγκαῖον ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ **τιμᾶσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον, ἄλλως τε κἂν τύχωσι γυναικοκρατούμενοι, [25] καθάπερ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ πολεμικῶν γενῶν**, ἔξω Κελτῶν ἢ κἂν εἴ τινες ἕτεροι φανερώς τετιμήκασιν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρρενας συνουσίαν. ἔοικε γὰρ ὁ μυθολογήσας πρῶτος οὐκ ἀλόγως συζεῦξαι τὸν Ἄρην πρὸς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην: ἢ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀρρένων ὁμιλίαν [30] ἢ πρὸς τὴν τῶν γυναικῶν φαίνονται κατοκώχιμοι πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι. διὸ παρὰ τοῖς Λάκωσι τοῦθ' ὑπῆρχεν, καὶ **πολλὰ διωκέτο ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν**. καίτοι τί διαφέρει γυναῖκας ἄρχειν ἢ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἄρχεσθαι; ταῦτό γὰρ συμβαίνει. χρησίμου δ' [35] οὔσης τῆς θρασύτητος πρὸς οὐδὲν τῶν ἐγκυκλίων, ἀλλ' εἶπερ, πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, βλαβερώταται καὶ πρὸς ταῦθ' αἱ τῶν Λακῶνων ἦσαν. ἐδήλωσαν δ' ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων ἐμβολῆς: χρήσιμοι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἦσαν, ὥσπερ ἐν ἐτέραις πόλεσιν, θόρυβον δὲ παρεῖχον πλείω τῶν πολεμίων. **ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν [40] οὖν ἔοικε συμβεβηκέναι τοῖς Λάκωσιν εὐλόγως ἢ τῶν γυναικῶν ἄνεσις**. [1270a] ἔξω γὰρ τῆς οἰκείας διὰ τὰς στρατείας ἀπεξενοῦντο πολὺν χρόνον, πολεμοῦντες

- Aristotle is interested in alternative constitutions – so he examines Sparta
- His conclusion is that Sparta has got it wrong in terms of its treatment of women, he argues their freedoms and legal privileges are detrimental
- He argues where you've got luxury and no self-control it's inevitable that wealth is held in honour – goes on to draw attention to influence of Spartan women
- View of Sparta is produced by the way in which Sparta at the beginning of the 4th century (having been all powerful at end of Peloponnesian war) lost its political place in the Greek world, by the time Aristotle is writing in the 320s he is trying to explain HOW things went wrong – women are the answer (they lead to bad behaviour because they indulge in luxury and they lead therefore to a concentration of wealth – causes massive inequality)
- Lycurgus originally had good reason to grant spartan women certain freedoms – women have got to assume some sort of responsibility when male population is regularly away at war, but Lycurgus failed to bring spartan women under control of the law
- Aristotle's complaint is not just about women's conduct (refusing to follow law, obsession with wealth etc.) but 2/5 of whole area of country is owned by women – chief cause for why Sparta ends up with very few Spartiate's
- Modern scholars debate how it could be that 2/5 of the country end up owned by women – surely it would be half if women had same property and inheritance rights as men, must be some limitation on what daughters inherit compared with what boys are entitled to
- Shortage of spartan manpower – women inherit substantial amounts of wealth so wealthy men look to marry wealthy women so landed wealth gets concentrated into fewer and fewer hands

N.B All of this contrasts pretty sharply with what is often thought about Sparta

Sparta's wealth

Plato *Alcibiades* [1 122c–123b] (trans. Lamb)

Should you choose, again, to look at the temperance and orderliness, the facility and placidity, the magnanimity and discipline, the courage and endurance, and the toil-loving, success-loving, honor-loving spirit of the Spartans, you would count yourself but a child [122d] in all these things. If again you regard wealth, and think yourself something in that way, I must not keep silence on this point either, if you are to realize where you stand. For in this respect **you have only to look at the wealth of the Spartans, and you will perceive that our riches here are far inferior to theirs.** Think of all the land that they have both in their own and in the Messenian country: not one of our estates could compete with theirs in extent and excellence, nor again in ownership of slaves, and especially of those of the helot class, nor yet of horses, [122e] nor of all the flocks and herds that graze in Messene. However, I pass over all these things: but **there is more gold and silver privately held in Lacedaemon than in the whole of Greece;** for during many generations treasure has been passing in to them from every part of Greece, and often from the barbarians also, but not passing out to anyone; and just as in the fable of Aesop, [123a] where the fox remarked to the lion on the direction of the footmarks, **the traces of the money going into Lacedaemon are clear enough,** but nowhere are any to be seen of it coming out; so that one can be pretty sure that those people are the richest of the Greeks in gold and silver, and that among themselves the richest is the king; for the largest and most numerous receipts of the kind are those of the kings, [123b] and besides there is the levy of the royal tribute in no slight amount, which the Spartans pay to their kings. Now,

εἰ δ' αὖ ἐθέλῃσεις εἰς σωφροσύνην τε καὶ κοσμιότητα ἀποβλέψαι καὶ εὐχέρειαν καὶ εὐκολίαν καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνην καὶ εὐταξίαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ καρτερίαν καὶ φιλοπονίαν καὶ φιλονικίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίας τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων, παῖδ' ἂν ἡγήσαιο σαυτὸν πᾶσι τοῖς [122δ] τοιούτοις. εἰ δ' αὖ τι καὶ πλούτῳ προσέχεις καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο οἶετι εἶναι, μὴδὲ τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ἄρρητον ἔστω, ἐάν πως αἴσθῃ οὐκ εἶ. **τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εἰ ἐθέλεις εἰς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων πλούτους ἰδεῖν, γνώσῃ ὅτι πολὺ τάνθάδε τῶν ἐκεῖ ἐλλείπει:** γῆν μὲν γὰρ ὅσην ἔχουσιν τῆς θ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ Μεσσηνίας, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἀμφισβητήσῃε τῶν τῆδε πληθῇ οὐδ' ἀρετῇ, οὐδ' αὖ ἀνδραπόδων κτήσῃε τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ τῶν εἰλωτικῶν, οὐδὲ μὴν ἵππων γε, οὐδ' ὅσα ἄλλα βοσκήματα [122ε] κατὰ Μεσσηνίην νέμεται. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν πάντα ἐὼ χαίρειν, **χρυσίον δὲ καὶ ἀργύριον οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν πᾶσιν Ἕλλησιν ὅσον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἰδίᾳ:** πολλὰς γὰρ ἤδη γενεὰς εἰσέρχεται μὲν αὐτόσε ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐξέρχεται δὲ οὐδαμόσε, [123α] ἀλλ' ἀτεχνῶς κατὰ τὸν Αἰσώπου μῦθον ὃν ἡ ἀλώπηξ πρὸς τὸν λέοντα εἶπεν, καὶ **τοῦ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα νομίσματος εἰσιόντος μὲν τὰ ἵχνη τὰ ἐκεῖσε τετραμμένα δῆλα,** ἐξιόντος δὲ οὐδαμῇ ἂν τις ἴδοι. ὥστε εὖ χρὴ εἰδέναι ὅτι καὶ χρυσῶ καὶ ἀργύρῳ οἱ ἐκεῖ πλουσιώτατοί εἰσιν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ὁ βασιλεὺς: ἐκ τε γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων μέγισται λήψεις καὶ πλεῖσταί εἰσι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλικὸς φόρος οὐκ ὀλίγος γίνεταί, ὃν τελοῦσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι [123β] τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν. καὶ τὰ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς πρὸς Ἕλληνικοὺς μὲν πλούτους μεγάλα, ὡς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Περσικοὺς καὶ τοῦ ἐκείνων βασιλέως οὐδέν.

- Plato in Alcibiades argues that Sparta probably is a wealthy place (**paradoxical view**) **BUT** no one appears to spend anything

Wealth on display

Aristotle *Politics* [1271a26–37] (trans. Rackham)

Also the regulations for the the public mess-tables called Phiditia have been badly laid down by their originator. The revenue for these ought to come rather from public funds, as in Crete; but among the Spartans everybody has to contribute, although some of them are very poor and unable to find money for this charge, so that the result is the opposite of what the lawgiver purposed. For he intends the organization of the common tables to be democratic, but when regulated by the law in this manner it works out as by no means democratic; for it is not easy for the very poor to participate, yet their ancestral regulation of the citizenship is that it is not to belong to one who is unable to pay this tax.

οὐ καλῶς δ' οὐδὲ περὶ τὰ συσσίτια τὰ καλούμενα φιδίτια νενομοθέτηται τῷ καταστήσαντι πρῶτον. ἔδει γὰρ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ μᾶλλον εἶναι τὴν σύνοδον, καθάπερ ἐν Κρήτῃ: παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Λάκωσιν ἕκαστον δεῖ [30] φέρειν, καὶ σφόδρα πενήτων ἐνίων ὄντων καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάλωμα οὐ δυναμένων δαπανᾶν, ὥστε συμβαίνει τούναντίον τῷ νομοθέτῃ τῆς προαιρέσεως. βούλεται μὲν γὰρ δημοκρατικὸν εἶναι τὸ κατασκευάσμα τῶν συσσιτίων, γίνεται δ' ἥκιστα δημοκρατικὸν οὕτω νενομοθετημένον. μετέχειν μὲν [35] γὰρ οὐ ῥάδιον τοῖς λίαν πένησιν, ὅρος δὲ τῆς πολιτείας οὗτός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ὁ πάτριος, τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον

- Wealth at Sparta was on display in various ways in different contexts such as the mess hall: according to Aristotle regulations for Spartan mess tables had been badly laid out
- Everyone had to contribute the same amount at the mess in order to participate, even though some were far poorer than others – so they fall out of citizenship

Plutarch *Lykourgos* [12.2–6] (trans. Perrin)

[2] They met in companies of fifteen, a few more or less, and each one of the mess-mates contributed monthly a bushel of barley-meal, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheese, two and a half pounds of figs, and in addition to this, a very small sum of money for such relishes as flesh and fish. Besides this, whenever any one made a sacrifice of first fruits, or brought home game from the hunt, he sent a portion to his mess. For whenever any one was belated by a sacrifice or the chase, he was allowed to sup at home, but the rest had to be at the mess. [3] For a long time this custom of eating at common mess-tables was rigidly observed. For instance, when King Agis, on returning from an expedition in which he had been victorious over the Athenians, wished to sup at home with his wife, and sent for his rations, the polemarchs refused to send them to him; and when on the following day his anger led him to omit the customary sacrifice, they laid a fine upon him. [4] Boys also used to come to these public messes, as if they were attending schools of sobriety; there they would listen to political discussions and see instructive models of liberal breeding. There they themselves also became accustomed to sport and jest without scurrility, and to endure jesting without displeasure. Indeed, it seems to have been especially characteristic of a Spartan to endure jesting; but if any one could not bear up under it, he had only to ask it, and the jester ceased. [5] As each one came in, the eldest of the company pointed to the door and said to him: 'Through that door no word goes forth outside.' And they say that a candidate for membership in one of these messes underwent the following ordeal. Each of the mess-mates took in his hand a bit of soft bread, and when a servant came along with a bowl upon his head, then they cast it into this without a word, like a ballot, leaving it just as it was if he approved of the candidate, but if he disapproved, squeezing it tight in his hand first. [6] For the flattened piece of bread had the

συνήρχοντο δὲ ἀνὰ πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ βραχεῖ τούτων ἐλάττους ἢ πλείους. ἔφερε δὲ ἕκαστος κατὰ μῆνα τῶν συσσίτων ἀλφίτων μέδιμνον, οἴνου χόας ὀκτώ, τυροῦ πέντε μνᾶς, σύκων ἡμιμναῖα πέντε, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἰς ὀψωνίαν μικρόν τι κομιδῇ νομίσματος: ἄλλως δὲ [p. 238] καὶ θύσας τις ἀπαρχὴν καὶ θηρεύσας μέρος ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὸ συσσίτιον. ἐξῆν γὰρ οἴκοι δειπνεῖν ὅποτε θύσας τις ἢ κυνηγῶν ὀψίσειε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἔδει παρεῖναι. [3] καὶ μέχρι γε πολλοῦ τὰς συσσιτήσεις ἀκριβῶς διεφύλαττον. Ἄγιδος γοῦν τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας καταπεπολεμικῶς Ἀθηναίους, βουλομένου παρὰ τῇ γυναικὶ δειπνεῖν καὶ μεταπεμπομένου τὰς μερίδας, οὐκ ἔπεμψαν οἱ πολέμαρχοι, τοῦ δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὑπ' ὀργῆς μὴ θύσαντος ἦν ἔδει θυσίαν, ἐζημίωσαν αὐτόν. [4] εἰς δὲ τὰ συσσίτια καὶ παῖδες ἐφοίτων, ὥσπερ εἰς διδασκαλεῖα σωφροσύνης ἀγόμενοι, καὶ λόγων ἠκροῶντο πολιτικῶν καὶ παιδευτὰς ἐλευθερίας ἐώρων, αὐτοὶ τε παίζειν εἰθίζοντο καὶ σκώπτειν ἄνευ βωμολοχίας καὶ σκωπτόμενοι μὴ δυσχεραίνειν. σφόδρα γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ τοῦτο Λακωνικὸν εἶναι, σκώμματος ἀνέχεσθαι μὴ φέροντα δὲ ἐξῆν παραιτεῖσθαι, καὶ ὁ σκώπτων ἐπέπαυτο. [5] τῶν δ' εἰσιόντων ἐκάστῳ δείξας ὁ πρεσβύτατος τὰς θύρας, 'διὰ τούτων' φησὶν, 'ἔξω λόγος οὐκ ἐκπορεύεται' δοκιμάζεσθαι δὲ τὸν βουλόμενον τοῦ συσσιτίου μετασχεῖν οὕτω φασί. λαβὼν τῶν συσσίτων ἕκαστος ἀπομαγδαλίαν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα, τοῦ διακόνου φέροντος ἀγγεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἔβαλλε σιωπῇ καθάπερ ψῆφον, ὁ μὲν δοκιμάζων ἀπλῶς, ὁ δ' ἐκκρίνων σφόδρα τῇ χειρὶ πιέσας. [6] ἡ γὰρ πεπιεσμένη τὴν τῆς τετρημένης ἔχει δύναμιν. κἂν μίαν εὖρωσι τοιαύτην, οὐ προσδέχονται τὸν ἐπεισιόντα, βουλόμενοι πάντας ἢ δομένους

- Plutarch is best source of evidence for what the contributions at the Spartan mess hall were
- In theory you pay mess hall fee in produce from your helot-farmed estate – measure of how too many Spartiate's are supported by small estates and can no longer meet their mess bills
- The mess was not simply a vehicle by which the Spartans became citizens it shaped what it meant to be a citizen, one of primary socialising institutions within Sparta
- Spartan messes were small (up to 15 people) and there is an obligation to attend
- According to Plutarch, King Agis returned home and sent for rations to eat in his private quarters – he was fined for not attending mess
- Introduction of boys to these messes was a way in which they were socialised

Athenaios 4.19 (141a–141e) (trans. Olson)

As for the dinner eaten by the members of the mess, Dicaearchus records the following in his work entitled *The Tristatesman*: the dinner is initially served to each man separately, and nothing is shared with anyone else. Then there is a barley-cake as large as each of them wants; and, moreover, a cup is set beside each man to drink from whenever he wishes. Everyone is always given the same *opson*, so stewed pork; and sometimes it is nothing at all except a little bit of *opson* that weighs a quarter-unit at most. Beyond that there is nothing else except the broth made from the meat, which is enough to supply them all during the whole dinner, and perhaps an olive, some cheese, or a fig, or if they are given something extra, a fish, a hare, a ring-dove, or the like. They eat quickly, and then after this the so-called *epaikla* are passed around. Each man contributes at most about three Attic half-medimnoi of barley-groats to the mess, perhaps 11 or 12 choes of wine and in addition a certain weight of cheese and figs, and about 10 Aeginetan obols to buy *opson*. Sphaerus writes in Book III of *Spartan Constitution*: the members of the mess also bring *epaikla* to them. On occasion average people bring some game they have caught, whereas the rich bring bread and as much of whatever is in season in their fields as is enough for a single meeting, since they regard preparing more than enough as excessive, if it is not going to be consumed. Molpis says: After the dinner, it was customary that something always be provided by someone, and on one occasion by a number of people, specifically a *mattue* they had prepared at home, which they refer to as an *epaiklon*. It was not the custom for anyone to purchase any of the items that were provided and bring it; for they do not supply those items for pleasure's sake or because their bellies are out of control, but as a way of demonstrating their own prowess in hunting. And many of them who

περὶ δὲ τοῦ τῶν φιδιτίων δείπνου Δικαίαρχος τάδε ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Τριπολιτικῷ 'τὸ δεῖπνον πρῶτον μὲν ἐκάστω χωρὶς παρατιθέμενον καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον κοινωνίαν οὐδεμίαν ἔχον: εἶτα μᾶζαν μὲν ὅσῃν ἂν ἕκαστος ἦ βουλόμενος, καὶ πιεῖν πάλιν ὅταν ἦ θυμὸς ἐκάστω κώθων παρακείμενός ἐστιν. ὅψον δὲ ταύτῳ ἀεὶ ποτε πᾶσιν ἐστίν, ὕειον κρέας ἐφθόν, ἐνίοτε δ' <οὐδ'> σπιμνεοῦν πλήν ὅψον τι μικρὸν ἔχον σταθμὸν ὡς τέταρτον μάλιστα, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο ἕτερον οὐδὲν πλήν ὃ γε ἀπὸ τούτων ζωμὸς ἱκανὸς ὢν παρὰ πᾶν τὸ δεῖπνον ἅπαντας αὐτοὺς παραπέμπειν, κἂν ἄρα ἐλάα τις ἢ τυρὸς ἢ σῦκον, ἀλλὰ κἂν τι λάβωσιν ἐπιδόσιμον, ἰχθὺν ἢ λαγῶν ἢ φάτταν ἢ τι τοιοῦτον. εἴτ' ὁξέως ἤδη δεδειπνηκόσιν ὕστερα περιφέρεται ταῦτα τὰ ἐπάικλα καλούμενα. συμφέρει δ' ἕκαστος εἰς τὸ φιδίτιον ἀλφίτων μὲν ὡς τρία μάλιστα ἡμιμέδιμνα Ἀττικά, οἴνου δὲ χοεῖς ἑνδεκά τινες ἢ δώδεκα, παρὰ δὲ ταῦτα τυροῦ σταθμὸν τινα καὶ σύκων, ἔτι δὲ εἰς ὀψωνίαν περὶ δέκα τινὰς Αἰγιναιίους ὀβολούς.' Σφαῖρος δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Λακωνικῆς πολιτείας γράφει 'φέρουσι δὲ καὶ ἐπάικλα αὐτοῖς οἱ φιδίται: καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀγρευομένων ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἐνίοτε οἱ πολλοί, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οἱ γε πλούσιοι καὶ ἄρτον καὶ ὦν ἂν ὥρα ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ὅσον εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν συνουσίαν, νομίζοντες καὶ τὸ πλεῖονα τῶν ἱκανῶν παρασκευάζειν περιττὸν εἶναι, μὴ μέλλοντά γε προσφέρεσθαι.' Μόλπις δὲ φησι 'μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον εἴωθεν ἀεὶ τι παρὰ τινος κομίζεσθαι, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ παρὰ πλειόνων, παρ' αὐτοῖς κατ' οἶκον ἡρτυμένη ματτύη, ὃ καλοῦσιν ἐπάικλον. τῶν δὲ κομιζομένων οὐδεὶς οὐθὲν ἀγοράσας εἴωθεν φέρειν: οὔτε γὰρ ἡδονῆς οὐδ' ἀκрасίας γαστρὸς οὔνεκεν κομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς κατὰ τὴν θήραν ποιούμενοι. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ποιμνία αὐτῶν τρέφοντες ἀφθόνως μεταδιδόασιν τῶν ἐκγόνων. ἐστὶ δ' ἡ ματτύα φάτται, χῆνες, τρυγόνες, κίχλαι,

- Delicacies were competitively introduced at the spartan mess – competition in conspicuous expenditure

Damonon's victories: [IG V.1 213] (trans. Hodkinson)

Damonon dedicated this to Athena Poliachos, having gained these victories in a manner unparalleled among those now living. Damonon won the following victories with his own four-horse chariot and himself driving: in the games of the Earth-Holder four times, and at the games of Athena four times, and at the Eleusinian games four times. Damonon also won at the games of Poseidon at Helos, at the same time winning the race on horseback, himself driving, seven times with colts bred from his own mares and his own stallion. And Damonon also won at the games of Poseidon at Thouria eight times, himself driving, with colts bred from his own mares and his own stallion. And at the games of Ariontia Damonon won eight times, himself driving, with colts bred from his own mares and his own stallion, and he won the race on horseback at the same time. Damonon also won the Eleusinian games four times, himself driving, with his colts. Enymakratidas won the following victories: the long race for boys and the race on horseback on the same day. And at the games of Ariontia Enymakratidas won [lacuna] And at the Parparonian games Enymakratidas won the boys stade race, the two stades and the long race, and the race on horseback at the same day. And Damonon as a boy won the stade and the two stades at the games of the Earth-Holder. And Damonon as a boy won the stade and the two stades at the Lithesian games. Damonon also as a boy won the stade and the two stades at the Malateian games. And Damonon as a boy won the stade and the two stades at the Lithesian games. And Damonon as a boy won the stade and the two stades at the Parparonian games, and the stade at the games of Athena. In the ephorate of Echemenes Damonon

Δαμόνον | ἀνέθεκε Ἀθαναία[ι] | Πολιάχοι νικάῃας | ταυτᾶ, ἡᾶτ' οὐδὲς |[5] πέποκα τῶν νῦν.
τάδε ἐνίκα^{he} Δαμόνο[ν] | τῷ αὐτῷ τεθρίππο[ι] | αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίον· | ἐν Γαιαφόχο τετράκιν, |[10] καὶ Ἀθάναια τετρ[άκιν], | κέλευ^hύνια τετρά[κιν]. | καὶ Πο^{ho}οΐδαια Δαμόνο[ν] | ἐνίκε ^hέλει καὶ ^{ho} κέλε[ξ] | ^hαμᾶ αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίον |[15] ἐν^{he}εβό^hαις ^hίπποις | ^hεπτάκιν ἐκ τᾶν αὐτῷ | ^hίππον κέκ τῷ αὐ[τ]ῷ ^hίππ[ο]. | καὶ Πο^{ho}οΐδαια Δαμόνον | [ἐ]νίκε Θευρίαι ὀκτάκιν |[20] αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίον· ἐν-|^{he}εβό^hαις ^hίπποις | ἐκ τᾶν αὐτῷ ^hίππον | κέκ τῷ αὐτῷ ^hίππο. | κέ^ν Ἀριοντίας ἐνίκε | [25] Δαμόνον ὀκτάκιν | αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίον | ἐν^{he}εβό^hαις ^hίπποις | ἐκ τᾶν αὐτῷ ^hίππον | κέκ τῷ αὐτῷ ^hίππο καὶ |[30] ^{ho} κέλεξ ἐνίκε ^hα[μᾶ]. | καὶ Ἐλευ^hύνια Δαμ[ό]νο[ν] | ἐνίκε^ν αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίον | ἐν^{he}εβό^hαις ^hίπποις | τετράκιν. |[35] τάδε ἐνίκα^{he} Ἐνυμακ[ρατίδ]-| [ας]· πρᾶτ[ος] παί<δ>ον δολιχόν | [Λιθ]έ^hια καὶ κέλεξ μιᾶ[ς] | [ἀμέ]ρας ^hαμ[ᾶ] ἐν[ί]κον. | [καὶ ..]εβ.ν [Ἐνυμακρατί]-|[40] [δας ἐν] Ἀριοντ[ί]α[ς] ἐνίκε | [— — — — —]| δολιχόν [καὶ ^{ho} κέλεξ μιᾶς] | ἀμέρας ^hαμᾶ ἐνίκον. | καὶ Παρπαρόνια ἐνίκε |[45] Ἐνυμακρατίδας παῖδας | στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον | καὶ δολιχόν καὶ ^{ho} κέ[λεξ] | μιᾶς ἀμέρας ^hαμᾶ | ἐνίκε. καὶ Δαμόνον |[50] ἐνίκε παῖς ἰὸν ἐν | Γαιαφόχο· στάδιον καὶ | [δί]αυλον. | [κ]αὶ Δαμόνον ἐνίκε | παῖς ἰὸν Λιθέ^hια |[55] στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον. | καὶ Δαμόνον ἐνίκε | παῖς ἰὸν Μαλεάτεια | στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον. | καὶ Δαμόνον ἐνίκε |[60] παῖς ἰὸν Λιθέ^hια | στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον. | καὶ Δαμόνον ἐνίκε | παῖς ἰὸν Παρπαρόνια | στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον· |[65] καὶ Ἀθάναια στάδιον. | ^hυπὸ δὲ Ἐχεμένε^ε ἔφορο[ν] | τάδε ἐνίκε^ν Δαμόνον· | Ἀθάναια ἐν^{he}εβό^hαις | ^hίπποις αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίον [70] καὶ ὁ κέλεξ μιᾶς | ἀμέρας ^hαμᾶ ἐνίκε^ν, καὶ | ^{ho} ^hυιὸς στάδιον ^hαμᾶ | ἐνίκε. ^hυπὸ δὲ | Εὐίππον ἔφορον τάδε |[75] ἐνίκε Δαμόνον· Ἀθάναια | ἐν^{he}εβό^hαις ^hίπποις | αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίον καὶ | ^{ho} κέλεξ μιᾶς ἀμέρας | ^hαμᾶ ἐνίκε^ν, καὶ ^{ho} ^hυιὸς |[80] στάδιον ^hαμᾶ ἐνίκε. | ^hυπὸ δὲ Ἀριστῆ^ε ἔφορον | τάδε ἐνίκε^ν

- Evidence of this conspicuous consumption is also found in a few examples of Spartan inscriptions – pillar with image of someone driving 4-horse chariot at top, dedication in sanctuary made by Damonon which lists chariot victories
- Almost all of games are local events in Laconia or Messinia, the absence of any victories at Olympia has left scholars to speculate whether we should date this inscription to the period between 420 – 404 BC when Sparta was banned from the Olympic games **BUT** there are very large number of horse-race competitions being held at events across Laconia = large number of Spartiate's are pouring their money into expensive horse racing
- Throughout Spartan society there is a commitment to this competitive display of spending on chariots
- Lycurgus had tried to prevent conspicuous expenditure – he told Spartans only to use iron spits and not adopt a gold or silver currency
- Iron currency was useful for major interstate transactions and the Spartans during the 5th Century have to engage in silver and gold coinage as a consequence

Spartan money

Plutarch *Lykourgos* [30.1]

But in the reign of Agis, gold and silver money first flowed into Sparta, and with money, greed and a desire for wealth prevailed through the agency of Lysander, who, though incorruptible himself, filled his country with the love of riches and with luxury, by bringing home gold and silver from the war, and thus subverting the laws of Lycurgus.

Ἄγιδος δὲ βασιλεύοντος εἰσερρύη νόμισμα πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ νομίσματος πλεονεξία καὶ πλούτου ζῆλος ἐπέβη διὰ Λύσανδρον, ὃς αὐτὸς ὦν ἀνάλωτος ὑπὸ χρημάτων, ἐνέπλησε τὴν πατρίδα φιλοπλουτίας καὶ τρυφῆς, χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου καταγαγὼν καὶ τοὺς Λυκούργου καταπολιτευσάμενος νόμους.

- In the reign of Agis, gold and silver currency was first adopted in Sparta

Plutarch *Lysander* [16–17] (trans. Perrin)

Lysander, after settling these matters, sailed for Thrace himself, but what remained of the public moneys, together with all the gifts and crowns which he had himself received,—many people, as was natural, offering presents to a man who had the greatest power, and who was, in a manner, master of Hellas,—he sent off to Lacedaemon by Gylippus, who had held command in Sicily. But **Gylippus, as it is said, ripped open the sacks at the bottom,** and after taking a large amount of silver from each, sewed them up again, not knowing that there was a writing in each indicating the sum it held. [2] And when he came to Sparta, he hid what he had stolen under the tiles of his house, but delivered the sacks to the ephors, and showed the seals upon them. When, however, the ephors opened the sacks and counted the money, its amount did not agree with the written lists, and the thing perplexed them, until a servant of Gylippus made the truth known to them by his riddle of **many owls sleeping under the tiling.** For most of the coinage of the time, as it seems, bore the effigy of an owl, owing to the supremacy of Athens.

17 Gylippus, then, after adding a deed so disgraceful and ignoble as this to his previous great and brilliant achievements, removed himself from Lacedaemon. And the wisest of the Spartans, being led by this instance in particular to fear the power of money, which they said was corrupting influential as well as ordinary citizens, reproached Lysander, and fervently besought the ephors to purify the city of all the silver and the gold, as imported curses. The ephors deliberated on the matter. [2] And it was Sciraphidas, according to Theopompus, or Phlogidas, according to Ephorus, who declared that they ought not to receive gold and silver coinage into the city, but to use that of the country. Now this was of iron, and was dipped in vinegar as

ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος ἀπὸ τούτων γενόμενος, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ Θράκης ἐξέπλευσε, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων τὰ περιόντα καὶ ὅσας δωρεὰς αὐτὸς ἢ στεφάνους ἐδέξατο, πολλῶν, ὡς εἰκός, διδόντων ἀνδρὶ δυνατωτάτῳ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ κυρίῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα διὰ Γυλίππου τοῦ στρατηγήσαντος περὶ Σικελίαν. ὁ δέ, ὡς λέγεται, **τὰς ῥαφὰς τῶν ἀγγείων κάτωθεν ἀναλύσας** καὶ ἀφελὼν συχνὸν ἀργύριον ἐξ ἐκάστου πάλιν συνέρραψεν, ἀγνοήσας ὅτι γραμματίδιον ἐνῆν ἐκάστῳ τὸν ἀριθμὸν σημαῖνον. [2] ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς Σπάρτην ἃ μὲν ὑφῆρητο κατέκρυπεν ὑπὸ τὸν κέραμον τῆς οἰκίας, τὰ δὲ ἀγγεῖα παρέδωκε τοῖς ἐφόροις καὶ τὰς σφραγίδας ἐπέδειξεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνοιξάντων καὶ ἀριθμούντων διεφώνει πρὸς τὰ γράμματα τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ παρεῖχε τοῖς ἐφόροις ἀπορίαν τὸ πρᾶγμα, φράζει θεράπων τοῦ Γυλίππου πρὸς αὐτοὺς αἰνιξάμενος **ὑπὸ τῷ κεραμικῷ κοιτάζεσθαι πολλὰς γλαῦκας.** ἦν γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ πλείστου τότε νομίσματος διὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους γλαῦκες. 17 ὁ μὲν οὖν Γύλιππος αἰσχρὸν οὕτω καὶ ἀγεννὲς ἔργον ἐπὶ λαμπροῖς τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν καὶ μεγάλοις ἐργασάμενος μετέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος. οἱ δὲ φρονιμώτατοι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν τοῦ νομίσματος ἰσχὺν φοβηθέντες, ὡς οὐχὶ τῶν τυχόντων ἀπτομένην πολιτῶν, τὸν τε Λύσανδρον ἐλοιδόρουν καὶ διεμαρτύραντο τοῖς ἐφόροις ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι πᾶν τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ὥσπερ κῆρας ἐπαγωγίμους. οἱ δὲ προὔθεσαν γνώμην. καὶ Θεόπομπος μὲν φησι Σκιραφίδαν, [2] ἔφορος δὲ Φλογίδαν εἶναι τὸν ἀποφηνάμενον ὡς οὐ χρή προσδέχεσθαι νόμισμα χρυσοῦν καὶ ἀργυροῦν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ χρῆσθαι τῷ πατρίῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν σιδηροῦν, πρῶτον μὲν ὄξει καταβαπτόμενον ἐκ πυρός, ὅπως μὴ καταχαλκεύοιτο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν βαφὴν ἄστομον καὶ ἀδρανὲς γίνοιτο, ἔπειτα βαρύσταθμον καὶ δυσπαρακόμιστον καὶ

- Story of Spartan corruption
- The image of Sparta in the early 4th Century was not of a society that keeps itself free from corruption **BUT** rather love of wealth has conquered everything else – basis of Aristotle's claim that wealth was the undoing of Sparta

Lecture 11: The Spartan Empire

After 27yrs of war Sparta emerges victorious with conflict with Athens in 404 BC

But the victory was **NOT** straightforward

Complications of Peloponnesian victory

Persian involvement

- Victory had been secured through the financial backing of the Persians who funded the Spartan navy
- Situation was further complicated by the fact that agent who brought that money (Persian King Cyrus) tried to oust his older brother following the death of his father

BUT complexities **not** limited to involvement of Persia

Obligations to Spartan allies

- Also complicate by the expectations of Sparta's allies, pressure upon Sparta's allies (e.g. Corinth) = had be central to origins of the conflict
- these allies wanted Athens brought down a peg and expected the victory would be advantageous for them as well as Sparta

Sparta's dilemma in the aftermath of victory

- Sparta had curious choice, had won war because of Persian backed navy and maintaining control of Athens' old empire demanded that it continued to have this expensive navy:
- Should Sparta attempt to take Athens place it needed to find a substitute for the funding provided by Persia? **OR** withdraw from the Aegean altogether reckoning it had sufficiently dismantled Athens?
- How could Sparta leave the Aegean without effectively handing the Greeks back over to Persian control?

Spartan behaviour in Greece

Sparta and Elis: Diodoros [14.17.4–7] (402), 34.1(401) (trans. Oldfather) (cf. Xenophon *Hell.* 3.2.21–31)

While these events were taking place, the Lacedaemonians brought a number of charges against the Eleians, the most serious being that **they had prevented Agis, their king, from offering sacrifices to the god and that they had not allowed the Lacedaemonians to complete in the Olympic Games.** [5] Consequently, having decided to wage war on the Eleians, they dispatched ten ambassadors to them, ordering them, in the first place, to allow their subject cities to be independent, and after that they demanded of them their quota of the cost of the war against the Athenians. [6] This they did **in quest of specious pretexts for themselves and of plausible openings for war.** When the Eleians not only paid no heed to them but even accused them besides of enslaving the Greeks, they dispatched Pausanias, the other of their two kings, against them with four thousand soldiers. [7] He was accompanied by many soldiers also from practically all the allies **except the Boeotians and Corinthians.** They, being offended by the proceedings of the Lacedaemonians, took no part in the campaign against Elis.

34 The Eleians, because they stood in fear of the superior strength of the Lacedaemonians, brought the war with them to an end, agreeing to surrender their triremes to the Lacedaemonians and let the

τούτων δὲ πραττομένων Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἄλλα μὲν πλείονα τοῖς Ἡλείοις ἐνεκάλουν, μάλιστα δ' **ὅτι Ἄγιν αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα διεκώλυσαν τῷ θεῷ θῦσαι καὶ διότι τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις Λακεδαιμονίους οὐκ εἶσαν ἀγωνίσασθαι.** [5] διόπερ κρίναντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκφέρειν πόλεμον, δέκα πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλαν, πρῶτον μὲν κελεύοντες τὰς περιοίκους πόλεις ἑᾶν αὐτονόμους εἶναι, ἔπειτα τὰς δαπάνας τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτοῖς μέρος ἀπῆτουν. [6] ταῦτα δ' ἔπραττον **προφάσεις αὐτοῖς εὐλόγους καὶ πιθανὰς ἀρχὰς ζητοῦντες πολέμου.** οὐ προσεχόντων δὲ τῶν Ἡλείων, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεγκαλούντων ὅτι τοὺς Ἕλληνας καταδουλοῦνται, τὸν ἕτερον τῶν βασιλέων Πausανίαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλαν μετὰ στρατιωτῶν τετρακισχιλίων. [7] συνηκολούθουν δ' αὐτῷ πολλοὶ στρατιῶται καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων σχεδὸν ἀπάντων **πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων:** οὗτοι δὲ δυσχεραίνοντες τοῖς ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων πραττομένοις οὐ μετέσχον τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἥλιν στρατείας.

34 Ἡλεῖοι δὲ φοβηθέντες τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπεροχὴν, κατέλυσαν τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰς τριήρεις δοῦναι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὰς περιοικούσας πόλεις αὐτονόμους ἀφεῖναι.

- The architect of the Spartan victory was essentially Lysander (not a King) and had very clear ideas that Sparta should indeed take over Athens' old empire, the Kings had been limited to dealing with Spartan movements on the mainland
- For those who stayed on the mainland there were scores to settle
- Victory over Athens allowed various other problems that had emerged during the war to be dealt with
- Sparta moves in against its former ally Elis because it had **excluded** the Spartans from the Olympic games in 420 BC and then fought against Sparta
- In attacking Elis, Sparta did not have the support of its allies (mainly (Boetians and Corinthians)

Herakleia in Trachis: Diodoros [14.38.4–5] (399)

In Trachinian Heracleia **civil discord had arisen** and the Lacedaemonians sent Herippidas there to restore order. As soon as Herippidas arrived in Heracleia he called an assembly of the people, and surrounding them with his hoplites, he arrested the authors of the discord and **put them all to death, some 500 in number**. [5] And since the inhabitants about Oete had revolted, he made war on them, subjected them to many hardships, and forced them to leave their land. The majority of them, together with their children and wives, fled into Thessaly, from where they were **restored to their homes five years later** by the Boeotians.

ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ δὲ τῇ περὶ Τραχῖνα **στάσεως γενομένης**, Ἡριππίδαν ἐξέπεμψαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καταστήσοντα τὰ πράγματα. ὃς παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἡράκλειαν συνήγαγεν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὰ πλήθη, καὶ περιστήσας αὐτοῖς ὀπίτας συνέλαβε τοὺς αἰτίους καὶ **πάντας ἀνεῖλεν, ὄντας περὶ πεντακοσίους**. [5] τῶν δὲ περὶ τὴν Οἰτὴν κατοικούντων ἀποστάντων ἐπολέμησεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πολλοὺς περιβαλὼν κακοῖς ἡνάγκασεν ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν χώραν: ὧν οἱ πλεῖστοι μετὰ τῶν τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἔφυγον εἰς Θεσσαλίαν, καὶ **μετὰ πέντε ἔτη κατήχθησαν** ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν.

- This episode is related both by Diodorus and Xenophon = they have different chronologies and Kings involved leading the campaign – surprising amount of confusion
- Sparta also took action against their own colony Herecleia and Trachis
- Faced with civil discord they send a Spartan called Heripidas to resolve the issue – putting to death civilians
- The neighbours were interested in doing everything that the Spartans didn't want done, those who flee are restored to their homes 5yrs later by the Boetians – another opportunity for Spartans former allies to undermine Spartan power

Lysander's imperialism

Diodoros [14.10.1–2] (trans. Oldfather)

In Greece the Lacedaemonians, now that they had brought the Peloponnesian War to an end, held the supremacy by common acknowledgement both on land and on sea. Appointing Lysander admiral, they ordered him to visit the cities and **set up in each the magistrates they call harmosts**; for the Lacedaemonians, who had a dislike for the democracies, wished the cities to have oligarchic governments. [2] They also **levied tribute** upon the peoples they had conquered, and although before this time they had not used coined money, they now collected yearly from the tribute **more than a thousand talents**.

κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Λακεδαιμόνιοι καταλελυκότες τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον ὁμολογουμένην ἔσχον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὴν κατὰ γῆν καὶ τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν. καταστήσαντες δὲ ναύαρχον Λύσανδρον, τούτῳ προσέταξαν ἐπιπορεύεσθαι τὰς πόλεις, **ἐν ἐκάστῃ τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένους ἄρμοστὰς ἐγκαθιστάντα**: ταῖς γὰρ δημοκρατίαις προσκόπτοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δι' ὀλιγαρχίας ἐβούλοντο τὰς πόλεις διοικεῖσθαι. [2] **ἔταξαν δὲ καὶ φόρους** τοῖς καταπολεμηθεῖσι, καὶ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον οὐ χρώμενοι νομίσματι, τότε συνήθροισαν ἐκ τοῦ φόρου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν **πλείω τῶν χιλίων**

- Other action was led by Lysander who went about incorporating old allies of Athens into new Spartan alliance, does so by: establishing friendly governments > finds groups of 10 that are prepared to back Sparta in return for Spartans support – provides these small governments with Spartan garrisons and imposes tribute at a higher rate than the Athenians had during the war
- The Athenians had banished tribute in 413 BC replacing it with a new tax system – Spartans reintroduced this tribute system

Plutarch *Lysander* [13.2–5] (trans. Perrin)

After this, Lysander sailed to the various cities, and **ordered all the Athenians whom he met to go back to Athens**, for he would spare none, he said, but would slaughter any whom he caught outside the city. [3] He took this course, and drove them all into the city together, because he wished that scarcity of food and **a mighty famine** should speedily afflict the city, in order that they might not hinder him by holding out against his siege with plenty of provisions. He also suppressed the democratic, and the other forms of government, and **left one Lacedaemonian harmost in each city, and ten rulers chosen from the political clubs** which he had organized throughout the cities. [4] This he did alike in the cities which had been hostile, and in those which had become his allies, and sailed along in leisurely fashion, in a manner establishing for himself the supremacy over Hellas. For in his appointments of the rulers he had regard neither to birth nor wealth, but **put control of affairs into the hands of his comrades and partisans**, and made them masters of rewards and punishments. He also took part himself in many massacres, and assisted in driving out the enemies of his friends. Thus he gave the Greeks no worthy specimen of Lacedaemonian rule, [5] nay, even the comic poet Theopompus was thought absurd in likening the Lacedaemonians to tavern-women, because **they gave the Greeks a very pleasant sip of freedom, and then dashed the wine with vinegar**; for from the very first the taste was harsh and bitter, since Lysander not only would not suffer the people to be masters of their affairs, but actually put the cities into the hands of the boldest and most contentious of the oligarchs.

ἐκ δὲ τούτου πλέων ὁ Λύσανδρος ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις **Ἀθηναίων μὲν οἷς ἐπιτύχοι ἐκέλευε πάντας εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπιέναι**: φείσεσθαι γὰρ οὐδενός, ἀλλ' ἀποσφάζειν ὃν ἂν ἔξω λάβῃ τῆς πόλεως. [3] ταῦτα δ' ἔπραττε καὶ συνήλαυνεν ἅπαντας εἰς τὸ ἄστει βουλόμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει ταχὺ **λιμὸν ἰσχυρὸν γενέσθαι καὶ σπάνιν**, ὅπως μὴ πράγματα παράσχοιεν αὐτῷ τὴν πολιορκίαν εὐπόρως ὑπομένοντες. καταλύων δὲ τοὺς δήμους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας, **ἓνα μὲν ἄρμοσθῇ ἐκάστη Λακεδαιμόνιον κατέλιπε, δέκα δὲ ἄρχοντας** ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συγκεκροτημένων κατὰ πόλιν ἐταιρειῶν. [4] καὶ ταῦτα πράττων ὁμοίως ἐν τε ταῖς πολεμίαις καὶ ταῖς συμμάχοις γεγεννημέναις πόλεσι, παρέπλει σχολαίως, τρόπον τινὰ κατασκευαζόμενος ἑαυτῷ τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡγεμονίαν. οὔτε γὰρ ἀριστίνδην οὔτε πλουτίνδην ἀπεδείκνυε τοὺς ἄρχοντας, **ἀλλ' ἐταιρείαις καὶ ξενίαις χαριζόμενος** τὰ πράγματα καὶ κυρίους ποιῶν τιμῆς τε καὶ κολάσεως, πολλαῖς δὲ παραγινόμενος αὐτὸς σφαγαῖς καὶ συνεκβάλλων τοὺς τῶν φίλων ἐχθρούς, οὐκ ἐπιεικὲς ἐδίδου τοῖς Ἑλλησι δεῖγμα τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχῆς, [5] ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ κωμικὸς Θεόπομπος ἔοικε ληρεῖν ἀπεικάζων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ταῖς καπηλίαις, ὅτι τοὺς Ἕλληνας **ἡδιστον ποτὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας γεύσαντες ὄξος ἐνέχεαν**: εὐθύς γὰρ ἦν τὸ γεῦμα δυσχερὲς καὶ πικρόν, οὔτε τοὺς δήμους κυρίους τῶν πραγμάτων ἔωντος εἶναι τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, καὶ τῶν ὀλίγων τοῖς θρασυτάτοις καὶ φιλονεικοτάτοις τὰς

- Plutarch in *Life of Lysander* describes the nature of the governments that were installed

- The purpose of this was to “put control of the affairs into the hands of his comrades and partisans”
- Athenian Comic poet Theopompus is quoted who likens the Spartans to tavern women because “they gave the Greeks a very pleasant sip of freedom, and then dashed the wine with vinegar” – *aka* new governments set up were unpopular

Lysander and Thasos: Polyainos *Strategemata* [1.45.4] (trans. Krentz and Wheeler)

Lysander made himself master of the Thasians, among whom many pro-Athenian sympathizers were hiding due to fear of the Lakonian. **He gathered the Thasians at the temple of Herakles and made a humane speech**, saying that it was necessary to pardon the men in hiding as a result of the change in affairs, and that it was appropriate for them to have confidence that they would suffer nothing terrible, since he was speaking in a temple and these events were occurring in the city of Herakles, his ancestor. The Thasians in hiding trusted his humane speech and came forward, and Lysander, after waiting a few days so they would become less fearful, gave orders for them to **be arrested and have their throats cut**.

Λύσανδρος ἐκράτησε Θασίων, παρ’ οἷς ἦσαν ἀττικίζοντες πολλοὶ κρυπτόμενοι [φόβῳ] τοῦ Λάκωνος. ὁ δὲ τοὺς Θασίους ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν συναγαγὼν **φιλανθρώπους λόγους** διεξῆλθεν· ὥς δέον συγγνώμην ἔχειν τοῖς κρυπτομένοις ἐν τῇ μεταβολῇ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ θαρρεῖν αὐτοῖς προσῆκον ὥς μηδὲν δεινὸν πεισομένους τῶν λόγων ἐν ἱερῷ γιγνομένων καὶ ταῦτα ἐν Ἡρακλέους (πόλει) τοῦ πατρῴου. οἱ μὲν κεκρυμμένοι τῶν Θασίων πιστεύσαντες τῇ φιланθρωπίᾳ τῶν λόγων προῆλθον, Λύσανδρος δὲ διαλιπὼν ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, ὅπως ἀδεέστεροι γένοιτο, **προσέταξε συναρπασθέντας ἀποσφαγεῖν**.

- Polyainos tells us the clever strategy Lysander used to gather the Thasians together at the temple of Heracles
- Lysander delivered a speech claiming the men should be pardoned which persuaded the Thasians in hiding to come forward, after a few days Lysander executes them = a lot of bloodshed across former Athenian empire

Lysander and Samos: Xenophon *Hellenica* [2.3.6–8] (trans. Brownson)

Meanwhile the Samians were being besieged by Lysander on every side, and when, seeing that at first they refused to come to terms, he was on the point of making an attack upon them, they came to an agreement with him that every free person should depart from the city with but one cloak and that all else should be surrendered; and on these terms they withdrew. [7] And **Lysander gave over the city and everything therein to the former citizens, and appointed ten rulers** to guard it; then he dismissed the naval contingents of the allies to their several cities, [8] and he sailed home with the Laconian ships to Lacedaemon, taking with him the prows of the captured ships, the triremes from Piraeus except twelve, the crowns which he had received from the cities as gifts to himself individually, four hundred and seventy talents in money, being the balance that remained of the tribute money which Cyrus had assigned to him for the prosecution of the war, and whatever else he had obtained during the

οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι πολιορκούμενοι ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου πάντη, ἐπεὶ οὐ βουλομένων αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον ὁμολογεῖν προσβάλλειν ἤδη ἔμελλεν ὁ Λύσανδρος, ὠμολόγησαν ἐν ἱμάτιον ἔχων ἕκαστος ἀπιέναι τῶν ἐλευθέρων, τὰ δ' ἄλλα παραδοῦναι: καὶ οὕτως ἐξῆλθον. [7] Λύσανδρος δὲ **τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις παραδούς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα πάντα καὶ δέκα ἄρχοντας καταστήσας** φρουρεῖν ἀφῆκε τὸ τῶν συμμάχων ναυτικὸν κατὰ πόλεις, [8] ταῖς δὲ Λακωνικαῖς ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ἀπάγων τὰ τε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων νεῶν ἀκρωτήρια καὶ τὰς ἐκ Πειραιῶς τριήρεις πλὴν δώδεκα καὶ στεφάνους, οὓς παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐλάμβανε δῶρα ἰδίᾳ, καὶ ἀργυρίου τετρακόσια καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα τάλαντα, ἃ περιεγένοντο τῶν φόρων, οὓς αὐτῷ Κύρος παρέδειξεν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐκτήσατο ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ.

- Similar story concerning Lysander and Samos in Xenophon's *Hellenica*, there was controversy of this policy even at home in Sparta

Abolished by ephors: Xenophon *Hellenica* [3.4.2] (trans. Brownson)

Now while the Lacedaemonians were in a state of great excitement, and were gathering together their allies and taking counsel as to what they should do, Lysander, thinking that the Greeks would be far superior on the sea, and reflecting that the land force which went up country with Cyrus had returned safely, persuaded Agesilaus to promise, in case the Lacedaemonians would give him **thirty Spartiate, two thousand neodamodeis, and a contingent of six thousand of the allies**, to make an expedition to Asia. Such were the motives which actuated Lysander, but, in addition, he wanted to make the expedition with Agesilaus on his own account also, in order that with the aid of Agesilaus **he might re-establish the decarchies which had been set up by him in the cities, but had been overthrown through the ephors**, who had issued a proclamation restoring to the cities

ἀνεπτερωμένων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους συναγόντων καὶ βουλευομένων τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, Λύσανδρος νομίζων καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ πολὺ περιέσεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τὸ πεζὸν λογιζόμενος ὡς ἐσώθη τὸ μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβάν, πείθει τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὑποστῆναι, ἂν αὐτῷ δῶσι **τριάκοντα μὲν Σπαρτιατῶν, εἰς δισχιλίους δὲ τῶν νεοδαμῶδων, εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν συμμάχων**, στρατεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ αὐτὸς συνεξελθεῖν αὐτῷ ἐβούλετο, ὅπως **τὰς δεκαρχίας τὰς κατασταθείσας ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐκπεπτωκυίας δὲ διὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους**, οἳ τὰς πατρίους πολιτείας παρήγγειλαν, πάλιν καταστήσειε μετ' Ἀγησιλάου.

- The Spartans launch an anti-Persian campaign with a tiny group of Spartiate's (30), 2000 freed helots and 6000 allies
- The decision to take an anti-Persian line is undermined by the fact that Lysander's real motivation was to restore the governments of 10 that he had set up in the cities that had been overthrown by the Spartan Ephors who wanted to reinstate existing modes of government

Policy split at Sparta: King Pausanias at Athens: Xenophon *Hellenica* [2.4.28–38] (trans. Brownson)

And now, when the Thirty in Eleusis sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon, and likewise those in the city who were on the roll, and asked for aid on the plea that the commons had revolted from the Lacedaemonians, Lysander, calculating that it was possible to blockade the men in Piraeus both by land and by sea and to force them to a quick surrender if they were cut off from provisions, lent his assistance to the ambassadors, with the result that **a hundred talents was loaned to the Athenian oligarchs and that Lysander himself was sent out as harmost** on land and his brother Libys as admiral of the fleet. [29] Accordingly, Lysander proceeded to Eleusis and busied himself with gathering a large force of Peloponnesian hoplites; meanwhile the admiral kept guard on the sea, to prevent any supplies from coming in by water to the besieged; so that the men in Piraeus were soon in difficulties again, while the men in the city again had their turn of being confident, in reliance upon Lysander. While matters were proceeding in this way, **Pausanias the king, seized with envy of Lysander** because, by accomplishing this project, he would not only win fame but also make Athens his own, **persuaded three of the five ephors** and led forth a Lacedaemonian army. [30] And all the allies likewise followed with him, **excepting the Boeotians and the Corinthians**; and the plea of these was that they did not think they would be true to their oaths if they took the field against the Athenians when the latter were doing nothing in violation of the treaty; in fact, however, they acted as they did because they supposed that the Lacedaemonians wanted to make the territory of the Athenians their own sure possession.

So Pausanias encamped on the plain which is called Halipedum, near Piraeus, himself commanding the right wing, while Lysander and his mercenaries formed the left. [31] Then, sending ambassadors to the men in Piraeus, Pausanias bade them disperse to their homes; and when they refused to obey, he attacked

πεμπόντων δὲ πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνος, τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ἐξ ἄστεως, καὶ βοηθεῖν κελευόντων, ὡς ἀφεστηκότος τοῦ δήμου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, Λύσανδρος λογισάμενος ὅτι οἷόν τε εἶη ταχὺ ἐκπολιορκῆσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀποκλεισθείησαν, συνέπραξεν ἑκατόν τε τάλαντα αὐτοῖς δανεισθῆναι, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἄρμοστήν, Λίβυν δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ναυαρχοῦντα ἐκπεμφθῆναι. [29] καὶ ἐξελθὼν αὐτὸς μὲν Ἐλευσινάδε συνέλεγεν ὀπλίτας πολλοὺς Πελοποννησίους: ὁ δὲ ναύαρχος κατὰ θάλατταν ἐφύλαττεν ὅπως μηδὲν εἰσπλέοι αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων: ὥστε ταχὺ πάλιν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ ἄστει πάλιν αὖ μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ. οὕτω δὲ προχωρούντων **Παυσανίας ὁ βασιλεὺς φθονήσας Λυσάνδρῳ**, εἰ κατειργασμένος ταῦτα ἅμα μὲν εὐδοκμήσοι, ἅμα δὲ ἰδίας ποιήσοιτο τὰς Ἀθήνας, **πείσας τῶν ἐφόρων τρεῖς** ἐξάγει φρουράν. [30] συνείποντο δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες **πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων**: οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον μὲν ὅτι οὐ νομίζοιεν εὐορκεῖν ἂν στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους μηδὲν παράσπονδον ποιοῦντας: ἔπραττον δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐγίγνωσκον Λακεδαιμονίους βουλομένους τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων χώραν οἰκείαν καὶ πιστὴν ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιπέδῳ καλουμένῳ πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ δεξιὸν ἔχων κέρας, Λύσανδρος δὲ σὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις τὸ εὐώνυμον. [31] πέμπων δὲ πρέσβεις ὁ Παυσανίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν: ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, προσέβαλλεν ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν, ὅπως μὴ δηλὸς εἶη εὐμενὴς αὐτοῖς ὢν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς

- Athens gets a super-decarchy, we have various accounts of how this happened in Athens
- Athenians in theory have some role in this decision but in reality Lysander's friends are appointed to this Spartan imposed government – become the infamous 30 tyrants
- 30 tyrants need outside support to cope with popular unrest, they ask for a Spartan garrison and borrow money from the Spartans to pay for it
- Spartan king Pausanias takes army to Athens to sort things out, he goes along with 3 of the 5 Ephors (Ephors were annually elected so they reflect popular mood of the moment)
- Sparta initially supports the 30 Tyrants with a half-hearted military victory
- Pausanias, having set up a trophy was not angry with those who fought against him and tries to negotiate with them
- The Spartans support the idea that there should be a reconciliation – result of this is the restoration of democracy in Athens and removal of 30 Tyrants = Pausanias therefore removes glorified decarchy

Trial of King Pausanias: Pausanias [3.5.1–2] (trans. Jones)

Pleistoanax had a son Pausanias; he was the Pausanias who invaded Attica, ostensibly to oppose Thrasybulus and the Athenians, but really to establish firmly the despotism of those to whom the government had been entrusted by Lysander. Although he won a battle against the Athenians holding the Peiraens, yet immediately after the battle he resolved to lead his army back home, and not to bring upon Sparta the most disgraceful of reproaches by increasing the despotic power of wicked men.

[2] When he returned from Athens with only a fruitless battle to his credit, he was brought to trial by his enemies. The court that sat to try a Lacedaemonian king consisted of the *gerousia*, “old men” as they were called, 28 in number, the members of the ephorate, and in addition the king of the other house. **14 gerontes, along with Agis, the king of the other house, declared that Pausanias was guilty;** the rest of the court voted for his acquittal.

Πλειστοάνακτος δὲ ἐγένετο Παυσανίας. οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀφίκετο ὁ Παυσανίας Θρασυβούλῳ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πολέμιος τῷ λόγῳ, τοῖς δὲ ἄρχειν ἐπιτραπεῖσιν ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου καταστησόμενος τὴν τυραννίδα ἐν βεβαίῳ. καὶ μάχῃ μὲν ἐνίκησεν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ἔχοντας τὸν Πειραιᾶ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην αὐτίκα οἱ τὸν στρατὸν ἀπάγειν οἴκαδε ἤρεσε μηδὲ ἀνοσίων ἀνδρῶν τυραννίδα αὖξοντα ἐπισπάσασθαι τῇ Σπάρτῃ τὸ αἴσχιστον τῶν ὀνειδῶν. [2] **ὥς δὲ ἐπανῆλθεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν μαχεσάμενος ἄπρακτον μάχην, ὑπάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς κρίσιν οἱ ἐχθροί.** βασιλεῖ δὲ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίων δικαστήριον ἐκάθιζον οἱ τε ὀνομαζόμενοι γέροντες, ὅκτῳ καὶ εἴκοσιν ὄντες ἀριθμόν, καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχή, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ τῆς οἰκίας βασιλεὺς τῆς ἐτέρας. **τέσσαρες μὲν δὴ καὶ δέκα τῶν γερόντων, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἅγισ ὁ τῆς ἐτέρας οἰκίας βασιλεὺς, ἀδικεῖν τὸν Παυσανίαν κατέγνωσαν:** τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἀπέγνω δικαστήριον.

- When Pausanias returns to Sparta he gets but on trial
- The Gerosia sat in on the trial as well as the Ephors and king of the other house

- 14 of the Gerousia (Exactly half) along with King Agis claimed he was guilty whereas the rest of the court protested and declared his innocence, whole-hearted support from annually elected Ephors for Pausanias and the reinstitution of Athenian democracy – shows clear policy split in Sparta
- Pattern at Sparta where there is enthusiasm immediately after the war to settle old scores with former allies and Lysander's policy for instituted decarchies is unpopular
- Lysander goes from having been massively glorified to being side-lined at Sparta, he is desperate to become politically influential again

Accession of Agesilaos: Xenophon *Hellenika* [3.3.1–3] (trans. Brownson)

After this Agis, having gone to Delphi and offered to the god the appointed tithe of his booty, on his way back fell sick at Heraea, being now an old man, and although he was still living when brought home to Lacedaemon, once there he very soon died; and he received a burial more splendid than belongs to man. When the prescribed days of mourning had been religiously observed and it was necessary to appoint a king, **Leotychides, who claimed to be a son of Agis, and Agesilaus, a brother of Agis, contended for the kingship.** [2] And Leotychides said: "But, Agesilaus, the law directs, not that a brother, but that a son of a king, should be king; if, however, there should chance to be no son, in that case the brother would be king." "It is I, then, who should be king." "How so, when I am alive?" "Because he whom you call your father said that you were not his son." "Nay, but my mother, who knows far better than he did, says even to this day that I am." "But Poseidon showed that you are entirely in the wrong, for he drove your father out of her chamber into the open by an earthquake. And time also, which is said to be the truest witness, gave testimony that the god was right; for you were born in the tenth month from the time when he fled from the chamber." Such were the words which passed between these two. [3] But Diopieithes, a man very well versed in oracles, said in support of Leotychides that there was also an oracle of Apollo which bade the Lacedaemonians **beware of the lame kingship.** Lysander, however, made reply to him, on behalf of Agesilaus, that he did not suppose the god was bidding them beware lest a king of theirs should get a sprain and become lame, but rather lest one who was **not of the royal stock should become king.** For the kingship would be lame in very truth when it was not the descendants of Heracles who were at the head of the state. [4] After hearing such arguments from both claimants the state chose Agesilaus

μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἄγις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ τὴν δεκάτην ἀποθύσας, πάλιν ἀπιὼν ἔκαμεν ἐν Ἡραίᾳ, γέρον ἤδη ὢν, καὶ ἀπηνέχθη μὲν εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα ἔτι ζῶν, ἐκεῖ δὲ ταχὺ ἐτελεύτησε: καὶ ἔτυχε σεμνοτέρας ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ταφῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὠσιώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι, καὶ ἔδει βασιλέα καθίστασθαι, **ἀντέλεγον περὶ βασιλείας Λεωτυχίδης, υἱὸς φάσκων Ἄγιδος εἶναι, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ ἀδελφός.** [2] εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Λεωτυχίδου: ἄλλ' ὁ νόμος, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, οὐκ ἀδελφὸν ἀλλ' υἱὸν βασιλέως βασιλεύειν κελεύει: εἰ δὲ υἱὸς ὢν μὴ τυγχάνοι, ὁ ἀδελφός κα ὡς βασιλεύοι. ἐμὲ ἂν δέοι βασιλεύειν. πῶς, ἐμοῦ γε ὄντος; ὅτι ὄν τὸ καλεῖς πατέρα, οὐκ ἔφη σε εἶναι ἑαυτοῦ. ἀλλ' ἢ πολὺ κάλλιον ἐκείνου εἰδυῖα μήτηρ καὶ νῦν ἔτι φησὶν. ἀλλὰ ὁ Ποτειδᾶν ὡς μάλα σευ ψευδομένῳ κατεμήνυσεν ἐκ τοῦ θαλάμου ἐξελάσας σεισμῶ εἰς τὸ φανερόν τὸν σὸν πατέρα. συνεμαρτύρησε δὲ ταῦτ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἀληθέστατος λεγόμενος χρόνος εἶναι: ἀφ' οὗ γάρ τοι ἔφυσέ σε καὶ ἐφάνη ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ, δεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἐγένου. [3] οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτ' ἔλεγον. Διοπειθὴς δέ, μάλα χρησμολόγος ἀνὴρ, Λεωτυχίδῃ συναγορεύων εἶπεν ὡς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος χρησμὸς εἶη **φυλάξασθαι τὴν χωλὴν βασιλείαν.** Λύσανδρος δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀγησιλάου ἀντεῖπεν ὡς οὐκ οἶοιτο τὸν θεὸν τοῦτο κελεύειν φυλάξασθαι, μὴ προσπταίσας τις χωλεύσαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ **οὐκ ὢν τοῦ γένους βασιλεύσειε.** παντάπασι γὰρ ἂν χωλὴν εἶναι τὴν βασιλείαν ὅποτε μὴ οἱ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους τῆς πόλεως ἡγοῖντο. [4] τοιαῦτα δὲ ἀκούσασα ἡ πόλις ἀμφοτέρων Ἀγησίλαον εἵλοντο βασιλέα.

- At this point King Agis dies – becomes a question about succession (Spartan succession is infamously problematic)

- The person who ought to come to throne is Leotychides (son of Agis), however allegation is made that his paternity was false, argument is made that convenient oracle which says “beware the lame kingship” therefore his brother Agesilaus should take the throne
- Anyone whose support is seemed to have been essential to Agesilaus’ accession to the throne will be in an influential position – for this reason Lysander backs him

Agesilaos and the ephors: Plutarch *Agesilaos* [4] (trans. Perrin)

In this way, and for these reasons, Agesilaüs was appointed king, and straightway enjoyed possession of the estates of Agis as well as his throne, after expelling Leotychides as a bastard. But seeing that his kinsmen on his mother's side, though worthy folk, were excessively poor, **he distributed among them the half of his estates**, thereby making his inheritance yield him good-will and reputation instead of envy and hatred. As for Xenophon's statement that by obeying his country in everything he won very great power, so that he did what he pleased, the case is as follows. [2] At that time the ephors and the *gerousia* had the greatest power in the state, of whom the former hold office for a year only, while the members of the *gerousia* enjoy their dignity for life, their offices having been instituted to restrain the power of the kings, as I have said in my *Life of Lycurgus*. Therefore from the outset, and from generation to generation, the kings were traditionally at feud and variance with them. [3] But Agesilaüs took the opposite course. Instead of colliding and fighting with them, he **courted their favour**, winning their support before setting out on any undertaking; and whenever he was invited to meet them, hastening to them on the run. If ever the ephors visited him when he was seated in his royal chair and administering justice, **he rose in their honour**; and as men were from time to time made members of the *gerousia*, he would send each one a cloak and an ox as a mark of honour. [4] Consequently, while he was thought to be honouring and exalting the dignity of their office, he was unawares increasing his own influence and adding to the power of the king a greatness which was conceded out of good-

οὕτω δὲ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα βασιλεὺς ἀποδειχθεὶς ὁ Ἀγησίλαος εὐθὺς εἶχε καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοῦ Ἄγιδος, ὡς νόθον ἀπελάσας τὸν Λεωτυχίδην. ὁρῶν δέ τοὺς ἀπὸ μητρὸς οἰκείους ἐπικεικῆς μὲν ὄντας, ἰσχυρῶς δέ πενομένους, **ἀπένειμεν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἡμίσεα τῶν χρημάτων**, εὖνοιαν ἑαυτῷ καὶ δόξαν ἀντὶ φθόνου καὶ δυσμενείας ἐπὶ τῇ κληρονομίᾳ κατασκευαζόμενος. ὃ δὲ φησὶν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ὅτι πάντα τῇ πατρίδι πειθόμενος ἴσχυε πλεῖστον, ὥστε ποιεῖν ὃ βούλοιο, τοιοῦτόν ἐστι. [2] τῶν ἐφόρων ἦν τότε καὶ τῶν γερόντων τὸ μέγιστον ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ κράτος, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρχουσι μόνον, οἱ δὲ γέροντες διὰ βίου ταύτην ἔχουσι τὴν τιμὴν, ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ πάντα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐξεῖναι συνταχθέντες, [p. 10] ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Λυκούργου γέγραπται: διὸ καὶ πατρικὴν τινα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ διετέλουν εὐθὺς οἱ βασιλεῖς φιλονεικίαν καὶ διαφορὰν παραλαμβάνοντες. [3] ὃ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν ἦλθε, καὶ τὸ πολεμεῖν καὶ τὸ προσκρούειν αὐτοῖς ἐάσας **ἐθεράπευε**, πάσης μὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνων πράξεως ἀρχόμενος, εἰ δὲ κληθείη, θᾶπτον ἢ βάδην ἐπειγόμενος, ὁσάκις δὲ τύχοι καθήμενος ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ θώκῳ καὶ χρηματίζων, ἐπιοῦσι τοῖς ἐφόροις **ὑπεξανίστατο**, τῶν δ' εἰς τὴν γερουσίαν ἀεὶ καταταττομένων ἐκάστῳ χλαῖναν ἔπεμπε καὶ βοῦν ἀριστεῖον. [4] ἐκ δὲ τούτων τιμᾶν δοκῶν καὶ μεγαλύνειν τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρχῆς, ἐλάνθανεν αὖξων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ προστιθέμενος μέγεθος ἐκ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας συγχωρούμενον.

- When the Ephors visit Agesilaus, he is unduly deferential in order to try and consolidate his newfound power

Agesilaos, Lysander, and Lysander's friends: Xenophon *Hellenica* [3.4.7–8] (trans. Brownson)

During the time that Agesilaus was spending in quiet and leisure at Ephesus, since the governments in the cities were in a state of confusion—for it was no longer democracy, as in the time of Athenian rule, nor decarchy, as in the time of Lysander—and since the people all knew Lysander, they beset him with requests that he should obtain from Agesilaus the granting of their petitions; and for this reason a very great crowd was continually courting and following him, so that Agesilaus appeared to be a man in private station and Lysander king. [8] Now Agesilaus showed afterwards that he also was enraged by these things; but the thirty Spartiatae⁸ with him were so jealous that they could not keep silence, but said to Agesilaus that Lysander was doing an unlawful thing in conducting himself more pompously than royalty. When, however, Lysander now began to introduce people to Agesilaus, **the king would in every case dismiss, without granting their petitions, those who were known by him to be**

ὥς δὲ ἡσυχίαν τε καὶ σχολὴν ἔχων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διέτριβεν ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ, ἅτε συντεταραγμένων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν πολιτειῶν, καὶ οὔτε δημοκρατίας ἔτι οὔσης, ὥσπερ ἐπ' Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε δεκαρχίας, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου, ἅτε γιννώσκοντες πάντες τὸν Λύσανδρον, προσέκειντο αὐτῷ ἀξιοῦντες διαπράττεσθαι αὐτὸν παρ' Ἀγησιλάου ὧν ἐδέοντο: καὶ διὰ ταῦτα αἰεὶ παμπλήθους ὄχλος θεραπεύων αὐτὸν ἠκολούθει, ὥστε ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ιδιώτης ἐφαίνετο, ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος βασιλεύς. [8] ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἔμνηε καὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ταῦτα ἐδήλωσεν ὕστερον: οἱ γὰρ μὴν ἄλλοι τριάκοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου οὐκ ἐσίγων, ἀλλ' ἔλεγον πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὡς παράνομα ποιοίη Λύσανδρος τῆς βασιλείας ὀγκηρότερον διάγων. **ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἤρξατο προσάγειν τινὰς τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ ὁ Λύσανδρος, πάντας οἷς γνοίη αὐτὸν συμπράττοντά τι ἡττωμένους ἀπέπεμπε.**

- Lysanders' hopes that Agesilaus would prove pliable were misplaced
- When they get to Asia minor to pursue campaign against Persians – Lysander was friendly with people in Asia Minor which would have put him at an advantage over Agesilaus so he regularly dismissed Lysander's friends

Lysander's abortive revenge: Plutarch *Lysander* [24.4–25.2, 30.3–4]

- Now Lysander belonged to one of these families, and when he had risen to great fame for his deeds, and had acquired many friends and great power, he was vexed to see the city increased in power by his efforts, but ruled by others who were of no better birth than himself. **He therefore planned to take the government away from the two houses, and restore it to all the Heracleidae in common,** [5] or, as some say, not to the Heracleidae, but to the Spartans in general, in order that its high prerogatives might not belong to those only who were descended from Heracles, but to those who, like Heracles, were selected for superior excellence, since it was this which raised him to divine honors. And he hoped that when the kingdom was awarded on this principle, no Spartan would be chosen before himself.
- 25 In the first place, then, he undertook and made preparations to persuade the citizens by his own efforts, and **committed to memory a speech written by Cleon, the Halicarnassian,** for the purpose. In the second place, seeing that the novelty and magnitude of his innovation demanded a more audacious support, he brought stage machinery to bear upon the citizens, as it were, [2] by collecting and arranging responses and oracles of Apollo; convinced that Cleon's clever rhetoric would not help him at all unless he should first terrify and subdue his countrymen by vague religious fear and superstitious terror, and then bring them under the influence of his argument.
- 30.3 But after some time had passed, according to Ephorus, some dispute arose at Sparta with her allies, and it became necessary to inspect the writings which Lysander had kept by
- τούτων οὖν γεγινώς ὁ Λύσανδρος, ὡς εἰς δόξαν τῶν πράξεων ἦρθη μεγάλην καὶ φίλους ἐκέκτητο πολλοὺς καὶ δύναμιν, ἤχθετο τὴν πόλιν ὁρῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μὲν αὐξανομένην, ὑφ' ἐτέρων δὲ βασιλευομένην οὐδὲν βέλτιον αὐτοῦ γεγονότων, καὶ **διενοεῖτο τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τῶν δυεῖν οἴκων μεταστήσας εἰς κοινὸν ἀποδοῦναι πᾶσιν Ἑρακλείδαις,** [5] ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι φασιν, οὐχ Ἑρακλείδαις, ἀλλὰ Σπαρτιάταις, ἵνα μὴ ἦ τῶν ἀφ' Ἑρακλέους, ἀλλὰ τῶν οἷος Ἑρακλῆς τὸ γέρας, ἀρετῇ κρινομένων, ἢ κάκεῖνον εἰς θεῶν τιμὰς ἀνήγαγεν. ἤλπιζε δὲ τῆς βασιλείας οὕτω δικαζομένης οὐδένα πρὸ αὐτοῦ Σπαρτιάτην ἂν αἰρεθῆσεσθαι.
- 25 πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐπεχείρησε καὶ παρσκευάσατο πείθειν δι' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ **λόγον ἐξεμελέτα πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν γεγραμμένον ὑπὸ Κλέωνος τοῦ Ἀλικαρνασσεῶς.** ἔπειτα τὴν ἀτοπίαν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ καινοτομουμένου πράγματος ὁρῶν ἱταμωτέρας δεόμενον βοηθείας, ὥσπερ ἐν τραγωδία μηχανὴν αἴρων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολίτας, [2] λόγια πυθόχρηστα καὶ χρησμοὺς συνετίθει καὶ κατεσκεύαζεν, ὡς οὐδὲν ὠφελησόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς Κλέωνος δεινότητος, εἰ μὴ φόβῳ θεοῦ τι καὶ δεισιδαιμονίᾳ προεκπλήξας καὶ χειρωσάμενος ὑπαγάγοι πρὸς τὸν λόγον τοὺς πολίτας.
- 30.3 χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἐφορός φησιν ἀντιλογίας τινὸς συμμαχικῆς ἐν Σπάρτῃ γενομένης, καὶ τὰ γράμματα διασκέψασθαι δεῆσαν ἃ παρ' ἑαυτῷ κατέσχεν ὁ Λύσανδρος, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὸν Ἀγησίλαον. εὐρόντα δὲ τὸ

- Lysander therefore begins to plot against Agesilaus and overthrow the Spartan system of monarchy – not clear how much of this was merely rumours
- Plutarch tells us that Lysander commissioned a speech from Cleon of Halicarnassus to persuade the Spartans to replace their traditional kingship and replace it with selection on the basis of excellence, this speech is only found after his death
- Agesilaus upon discovering the speech wants to publish it in order to further humiliate Lysander, but an Ephor Lacratidas notes the content of the speech and tells him to bury it

Death of Lysander at Haliartos, exile of King Pausanias: Xenophon *Hellenica* [3.5.18–19, 25] (trans. Brownson)

But when some of the Thebans, who were within the wall, prevented them from doing so, he made an attack upon the wall. [19] And on hearing of this the Thebans came on the run to the rescue, both hoplites and cavalry. Whether it was that **they fell upon Lysander unawares**, or that he saw them coming and nevertheless stood his ground in the belief that he would be victorious, is uncertain; but this at any rate is clear, that the battle took place beside the wall; and a trophy stands at the gates of the Haliartians. Now when Lysander had been killed and his troops were fleeing to the mountain, the Thebans pursued stoutly.

25 When Pausanias reached home he was brought to trial for his life. He was charged with having arrived at Haliartus later than Lysander, though he had agreed to reach there on the same day, with having recovered the bodies of the dead by a truce instead of trying to recover them by battle, and with having allowed the Athenian democrats to escape when he had got them in his power in Piraeus; and since, besides all this, **he failed to appear at the trial, he was condemned to death.** And he fled to Tegea, and there died of sickness.

ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων τινὲς ὄντες ἐν τῷ τείχει διεκώλυον, προσέβαλε πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. [19] ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Θηβαῖοι, δρόμῳ ἐβοήθουν οἱ τε ὀπλίται καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς. ὁπότερα μὲν οὖν, **εἴτε λαθόντες τὸν Λύσανδρον ἐπέπεσον** αὐτῷ εἴτε καὶ αἰσθόμενος προσιόντας ὡς κρατήσων ὑπέμενεν, ἄδηλον: τοῦτο δ' οὖν σαφές, ὅτι παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο: καὶ τροπαῖον ἔστηκε πρὸς τὰς πύλας τῶν Ἀλιαρτίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθανόντος Λυσάνδρου ἔφευγον οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς τὸ ὄρος, ἐδίωκον ἐρρωμένως οἱ Θηβαῖοι.

25 ὁ μέντοι Πausανίας ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο οἴκαδε, ἐκρίνετο περὶ θανάτου. κατηγορουμένου δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι ὑστερήσειεν εἰς Ἀλιάρτον τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, συνθέμενος εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν παρέσεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι ὑποσπόνδους ἄλλ' οὐ μάχη ἐπειρᾶτο τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀναιρεῖσθαι, καὶ ὅτι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων λαβὼν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἀνῆκε, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις **οὐ παρόντος ἐν τῇ δίκῃ, θάνατος αὐτοῦ κατεγνώσθη:** καὶ ἔφυγεν εἰς Τεγέαν, καὶ

At beginning of 390s Agesilaus is on campaign in Asia minor trying to remove the Persians, has minor successes but doesn't achieve very much

Meanwhile back in Greece, Boeotians and Corinthians refused to support the Spartans and the Boeotians proposed Sparta become a large sheep pasture – they were afraid of the possibility of Sparta to be funded now by Athens' silver mines

These former allies also looked for opportunities to cause trouble in Greece while Agesilaus is away on campaign, the Boeotians stir-up war by getting the Phocians to invade Locris – the anti-Spartan leaders in Boeotia know they can cause major disruption (leads to Corinthian war in 390s BC)

One of the consequences of the Corinthian war is the death of Lysander, Pausanias and Lysander were supposed to join their forces to fight the Boeotians, Pausanias doesn't arrive at the same time as Lysander, but he still decides to go into battle alone – Lysander is subsequently defeated in battle and dies

The Spartans then put Pausanias on trial for not getting there on time and raise their other complaints with him (allowed Athenian democrats to escape when they had taken control of the Piraeus), Pausanias anticipates that he will be found guilty so never attends trial – interestingly Pausanias had previously been tried before and acquitted – so clearly there has been a shift in Spartan popular attitude to Pausanias

Cost of Pausanias fleeing means they have to recall Agesilaus from his campaign, in passage of Xenophon there was great sadness over Agesilaus departure from Asia Minor

Although the accounts of what Agesilaus achieved in Asia Minor appear minimal, it is written as though had he been left there longer he would've been hugely successful

Agesilaus returns and achieves victory in Boeotia and the Corinthian war is effectively "won" although the Athenians by this time have begun negotiations with the Persians + Persian-backed navy with Athenian commander in 392 BC manages to deliver naval victory at Knidos – more or less the end of Spartan naval supremacy

Puts us back into familiar situation, Athens once again has a lot of influence within the Aegean and the Spartans are unable to maintain their position there, this leads to the Spartans looking to establish peace at the end of the 390s, they convince the Persian King to support a 'common peace' among the Greeks

But if the Greeks get embroiled in conflict the Persian King warns that he will interfere The Spartans threaten Athenian grain supply by blocking Hellespont, the Argives are also coming towards the end of their 30yr peace with the Spartans – incentives across Greek world to sign peace treaty

Peace treaty is signed but immediately leads to conflict, Agesilaus uses clause that Greek cities should leave each other free in order to claim that the Boeotian confederacy should be disbanded – when the Thebans resist this Agesilaus suggests he will use force and so the Thebans are compelled to concede

There is also resistance from Corinth – they wouldn't dismiss the garrison they stationed in their city from the Argives (alliance between Corinth and Argive) – but Agesilaus makes a show of force which forces Argives to depart

Whether this arrangement would've proved stable is hard to tell – Persian King likely had enough distractions to interfere and Corinth and Athens at this point are strong enough to create trouble for Sparta on their own

But Agesilaus' strong arm tactics that had proved successful in 387 BC emboldened him to similarly strong-arm other members of the Delian league, they disciplined the Mantineans because they hadn't served in the Spartan army and had helped deliver grain supplies to the Argives

Agesilaus refuses to lead expedition to Mantinea, internal politicking – Agesilaus makes excuse not to leave so he can embarrass the other King who's father had close, friendly ties with the elite in Mantinea

Ephors take decision to make people of Philus restore the people who had fled into exile, but those who are taken back do not have their civil rights totally restored so Sparta launches a campaign against them, but unpopular decision in Sparta, the complaint against Agesilaus is that he is merely trying to support a small number of his friends in a very heavy-handed way

Heavy-handed use of muscle power seems to have infected the Spartiate's as a whole, in the following years there are 2 notorious incidents:

- (1) Spartan Phobias occupies the Acropolis of Thebes without a declaration of war, regarded by everybody as quite extraordinary, even Xenophon who is less critical of the Spartans that what happened next was a sign that "the gods do not fail to take heed of the wicked"
- (2) Another Spartan called Sphodrias marches against Athens overnight – absurd little expedition – extraordinarily worrying for the Athenians, Sphodrias is put on trial in Sparta and subsequently acquitted, but encourages Athenians to form second Athenian confederacy that is explicitly anti-Spartan

In 370s BC there is an attempt by Sparta to tidy up its act, makes more reasonable demands of its allies and making it possible to pay money than troops – much more flexible military system being created

BUT this proves too little too late, the Spartans running short of manpower and at battle of Lutra in 371 BC, the Thebans wielding totally new military tactics bring about a very heavy defeat of the Spartans in which about half the Spartan army is killed – not only that but the Thebans follow this up and March into the Peloponnese, liberating Messenia in the process – Spartan economy is undermined by loss of half its territory, Peloponnesian leagues are divorced from Sparta and its power is totally undermined (**DRAMATIC FALL FROM POWER**)