CONFLICT IN THE PELOPONNESE

Social, Military and Intellectual

Proceedings of the 2nd CSPS PG and Early Career Conference, University of Nottingham 22-24 March 2013

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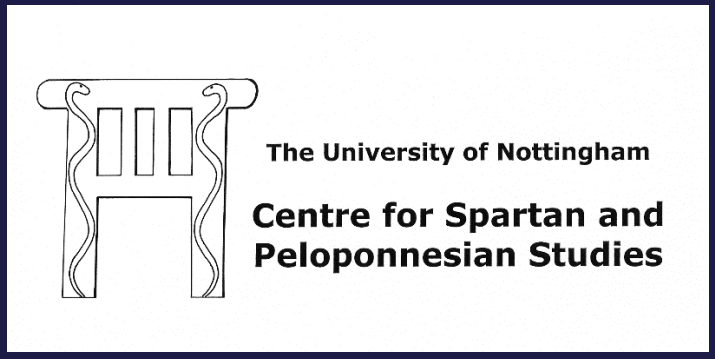
CSPS Online Publications 4
2018

Published by the Centre for Spartan and Peloponnesian Studies (CSPS), School of Humanities, University of Nottingham, Nottingham, NG7 2RD, UK.

ISBN 978-0-9576620-2-5



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FOREWORD

On 22-24 March 2013 the second CSPS Post Graduate and Early Career Work in Progress Conference, entitled 'Conflict in the Peloponnese: Social, Military and Intellectual' was held at the Centre for Spartan and Peloponnesian Studies at the University of Nottingham. Preceded by an equally successful postgraduate conference in 2011,[1] this conference brought together a number of prominent postgraduate students and young scholars from different disciplines such as ancient history, literature and archaeology.

The publication of the proceedings was an idea which started articulating shortly after the conclusion of the conference and we are delighted to see it finally materialise. Regrettably, not every delegate was able to contribute due to copyright issues or other constraints.

The main theme of the conference, which was preceded by the CSPS Annual Lecture by Dr Thomas Heine Nielsen entitled 'Coalition Fighting in the Late Archaic and Classical Greek World', was the notion of social, military and intellectual conflict in the Peloponnese from prehistory to modern times. Conflict is a key theme in the history of the Peloponnese diachronically and this conference made an original and significant contribution across disciplines.

We would like this opportunity to thank the other two co-organisers of the conference, Mr Peter Davies and Ms Ioanna-Roumpini Charami, all the contributors of this volume for their articles and their participation in the conference, and the conference sponsors – CSPS, the J.F. Costopoulos Foundation, Tesco PLC and Sainsbury's, for their generous funding. We also wish to express our sincere appreciation to the Managing Committee and the staff of the Centre of Spartan and Peloponessian Studies; especially Dr Chrysanthi Gallou, Professor Steven Hodkinson and Mr Sarantos Minopetros for their invaluable help throughout the conference as well as Dr James Roy and Professor William Cavanagh for their constructive feedback. Special thanks should be extended to the anonymous reviewers for their careful reading of the manuscripts and their many insightful comments and suggestions.

Papers have been organised in an alphabetical order and since they are wide-ranging, we have opted for separate references instead of an amalgamated bibliography. Unless otherwise stated, abbreviations of Greek and Roman authors are after *A Greek English Lexicon* edited by Liddell, Scott and Jones, *The Oxford Latin Dictionary* edited by Peter Glare and *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd edition) edited by Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth. The abbreviations of modern periodicals and series derive from the *L'Année philologique* and the *American Journal of Archaeology* list of abbreviations.

Vasiliki Brouma
Kendell Heydon

[1] The 1st CSPS Postgraduate Conference on 'Understanding the Peloponnese: Work-in-Progress' was held at the University of Nottingham on April11th, 2011.

THE FAMILY AS THE INTERNAL ENEMY OF THE SPARTAN STATE [1]

Maciej Daszuta

The issue of the Spartan family is far from being a popular topic of research among classical scholars.[2] The reason for that seems to be, apart from a shortage of sources, a popular opinion that the role of the Spartan *oikos* within society was restricted to one basic function – that of providing new generations of citizens.[3] Other aspects of family life are often reckoned to be present in Sparta merely in a vestigial form, if at all, and as such they were not noteworthy. Such a view harmonizes with the entire image of Sparta as a 'totalitarian' polis in which there was not enough space for anything else except the state itself. The polis is often seen as being very demanding towards a citizen, jealous of his time and affection and a 'mistress' who brooks no argument.[4] This image of Sparta is based to a considerable extent on three principal and interconnected elements: the perception of Spartan society as extremely militaristic; strictly related to it, the obligatory education of future citizens; and – specifically – the limitation of the private sphere of the citizens' life. This last element carries the simple inference that if a *Spartiate* was spending the majority of his life out of his household and was blindly obedient to the state, it seems obvious that such a life-style would of necessity have been at the expense of his family life. Ancient authors did occasionally make reference to various restrictions

[1]This article is a revised version of paper published in Polish: 'Sparta contra rodzina', *Przegląd Historyczny* 4 (2012), pp. 629-642. The author is indebted to J.K. Davies and R. Kulesza for their valuable notes and suggestions and to the Foundation for Polish Sciences (FNP) for its generous financial support.

[2]Among the rare but noticeable exceptions are: Lacey 1968; Pomeroy 1997.

[3]*Oikos* in ancient Greek has many different meanings, but in this paper it is used mainly as a synonym for 'family' (if it is not stated otherwise); Dynneson 2008, p.25; Pomeroy 1994 (1975), p.36; MacDowell 1986, p.156.

[4]Ehrenberg 1968 p. 35; Toynbee 1969, p.286; Powell 2001 (1988), pp.226-228; Humble 2006, pp.223-224.

that were imposed, directly or not, on the private sphere of the Spartans' life. All this found its culmination in an assertion made by Sir Moses Finley in his important essay on the Spartan society, viz. that: 'The family, in sum, was minimised as a unit of either affection or authority, and replaced by overlapping male groupings...'.[5]The opinion of this distinguished historian has undoubtedly merely reinforced a popular conviction that in the case of the Spartan *oikos* there is almost nothing to be said.[6] However, that view is not entirely justified. As with the two other basic elements of the stereotypical description of Sparta, which have been already convincingly challenged, the marginalization of the Spartan family is also a barely defensible interpretation, and should be revisited.[7]

First of all, a strong contrast between the public and private spheres of life was by no means unique to Sparta. It has often been emphasised that the ancient Greek *polis* in general could be characterized not only by a separation, but even, in some sense, by a permanent tension between the domain of state and that of an individual family.[8] The values and features that marked each sphere might all too easily polarize. The family was hermetic, inward-looking,[9] individual and hierarchically organized; the state was open, impersonal and egalitarian. Furthermore, family life was characterised by particular

[5]Finley 1982 (1968), p. 28. Although, it must be admitted that in the same text the author challenged many stereotypes and false interpretations and indicated new research directions. Cf. Oliva 1971, p.29; Blundell 1995, p.150; Ogden 1996, p. 212; Baltrusch 1998, p. 64.

[6]In many publications concerning the family in antiquity the Spartan *oikos* occupies astonishingly little space; cf. Humphreys 1983; Patterson 1998; Rawson 2011. In others, what one can find in chapters dedicated to it is often a loose description of many different aspects of Spartan life such as: marriage practices, inheritance system, polygamy etc.: cf. Roussel 1960; Schmitz 2007. Some publications concerning the ancient Greek family did not mention the Spartan oikos at all, e.g. Rousselle & Sissa & Thomas 1986; Seveso 2010, Seveso 2012.

[7]Hodkinson has emphasised that ancient Sparta ought not to be regarded any longer as a militaristic society, or at least not much more than many other poleis: Hodkinson 2006. Studies by N.M. Kennell and J. Ducat also have revealed that the famous *agoge* in a form (and under the name) we usually picture it had probably little in common with the realities of classical Sparta: Kennell 1997; Ducat 2006.

[8]Meier 1990 (1979), pp. 141–146; Humphreys 1983, pp. 1–11; Hansen 1998, pp. 86-90, 135-137.

[9]Also quite literally, cf. Keuls 1985, p. 97.

diversity. It contained persons of both sexes, but also within it youth coexisted with senility, and freedom with enslavement. The public sphere was more uniform – exclusively masculine, mature and free.[10] The *oikos* was simultaneously the basic unit of the *polis*, by which it was supposed to be carefully protected, but also the main obstacle to obtaining the community's ultimate cohesion.[11] Its function of providing the state with the next generations of citizens guaranteed its continued existence, but made it also the chief rival of the polis in the competition for a citizen's time and commitment.[12] The importance of one of them in a Greek's life was often inversely proportional to that of the other. Some scholars were in favour of seeing the importance of the state in the social landscape of the polis as overriding; others believed that the ancient Greeks themselves never developed a clear sense of the state that would be somehow similar to our modern meaning, so that any attempt to contrast the state and the family could be simply misleading. Others opted for perceiving the relationship between public and private spheres as a process of constant intermingling and supplementing one another, while finally yet others suggested that in fact it might be the private sphere that had been always dominating the public life of the polis by influencing actions from behind the scenes.[13] Given this very simplistic outline of a much broader issue, one has to assume that relations between *oikos* and polis in Greek society constituted a rather complicated and multidimensional question. Thus, any straight assertion that family life in Sparta was simply 'minimised' and 'replaced' by omnipresent state institutions should not be taken for granted.

[10]Hansen 1989, pp. 17–21.
[11]However, a contrary view can be found in Roy 1999.
[12]Christ 2007, p. 41.
[13]de Coulanges 1864, pp.281-287, Finley 1985, p. 116; Cartledge 2001 (1996), p.69, Berent 2000, pp. 257-289; Strauss 1993, pp. 33-53, Halperin 1990, pp. 88-104.

Even more is that so for our evidence concerning the imposition of restrictions on the *oikos* in Sparta, because the rest of our evidence for that polis's development is of uneven value. It derives from various, sometimes very distant periods and may record different phases of Spartan history. Some such restrictions might be deeply rooted in Spartan tradition, but others might comprise the response to the needs and issues of a specific moment, while a number of them can be simply fictional. It seems to be beyond the shadow of a doubt that if we base our argument solely on them we shall be unable to catch any glimpse of the complexities of Spartan policy at any one precise moment in time as it was directed towards the domestic sphere. Nevertheless, they deserve attention and should be examined as a record both of the way in which some outsiders perceived this aspect of Spartan reality, and of the way in which the polis herself might wish it to be depicted.

The main aim of this short paper is to assemble and to comment on those actions of the Spartan state that seemed to be intended more or less to undermine the position and role of the family in Spartan society. That should help to answer the question how that sphere would appear in an ideal situation (as promoted by the state), and what aspects of it the state could be particularly afraid of.

We can distinguish two main spheres which seem to be particularly targeted by the state. The first is related to material matters. For many Greek poleis, and maybe especially for Sparta, to retain the cohesiveness of the civic body was issue of high importance. In consequence they made many attempts to 'cover up' wealth differences by prohibiting any form of family ostentation. The second sphere is definitely more difficult to grasp and of a far more speculative character, since it concerns issues of

relationships, loyalties and boundaries which on some level might be exposed to interruption by the state.

Economic and symbolic matters

Let us first consider financial procedures. Leaving aside some special instances of officials or individuals who rendered great services to the community, the funeral in ancient Greece was in principle a private matter. Apart from commemoration of the deceased, it could serve also as a good occasion to demonstrate the unity, affluence and social status of the family.[14] Ostentation accompanying it at times took even such an extravagant form that, at some point *poleis* had to impose special restrictions concerning the ceremony.[15] The description of burial customs in Sparta given by Plutarch indicates that this *polis* went a step further in the way in which she tried to restrain families in this regard.[16] For we are informed that it was prohibited to bury a dead Spartan with any valuables or things connected with the private sphere of his life. Instead of that, significantly, it was allowed only to cover the body with a purple robe (*phoinikis*) and olive leaves (*phylla elaia*).[17] A purple robe was, as we are informed elsewhere, the standard attire of a Spartan hoplite.[18] Since military service was one of the most important duties of each citizen, the presence of that element in the burial custom strongly emphasised the closeness of the bond between a Spartan and his state. And even if one agrees with MacDowell, according to whom the *phoinikis* did not constitute a compulsory component of Spartan funerals, the sole fact that it could appear in this context, while other

[14]Morris 1992, pp.141-4; Osborne 2009 (1996), pp. 81–82.
[15]Cic. Leg. 2.59-66; Cf. Kurtz & Boardman 1971, pp. 200- 204; Garland 1985, pp. 21–22.
[16]Plut. Lyc. 27.2–4.
[17]According to Aelianus (VH 6.6) a purple robe and olive leaves were granted only to those Spartans who distinguished themselves and died during the battle.
[18]Xen. Lac. 11.3.

possessions were prohibited, may indicate the state's tendency to appropriate and dominate the ceremonial that normally belonged to the family.[19] By doing this the polis could also prevent the rich from any attempt to distinguish their family from the rest of society – a recurring theme, as has been clearly exposed in Hodkinson's study.[20]

The situation was similar in the case of grave inscriptions. The right to commemorate one's name was a privilege to be given only to those among the Spartan men who were killed fighting for their polis; whereas among women – *per analogiam* – only to those who died fulfilling their single most important duty, i.e. giving birth.[21] It was apparently designed as a reward for loyalty towards the state and the system of values promoted by it. Surviving exemplars of grave inscriptions found in Laconia seem to confirm the information given by Plutarch, that the text usually consisted only of the name of the deceased followed by a short annotation: 'in battle' (*en polemo*) or 'in childbirth' (*tou lechous*).[22] There was no *patronymikon* indicating family-affiliation or any other content.[23] In this way not only was the *polis* able to maintain the illusion of egalitarianism, but also, thanks to the imposed meaning of such grave inscriptions, she might create an impression among outsiders that the only circumstances in which Spartan citizens and women might pass away were, correspondingly, war and childbirth. Also the sole fact that the 'prize' should be awarded only to those who successfully fulfilled the requirement of the state was a clear indicator of what ought to be regarded by the citizens as their most important duty.

[19]MacDowell 1986, p. 121.
[20]Hodkinson 2000.
[21]Considering the risk to the woman's life accompanying labour, the analogy with a hoplite's death becomes even more meaningful. Cf. Demand 1994, pp. 71–86; Ducat 1998, p. 401.
[22]*tou lechous* - K. Latte's conjecture, which first appeared in K. Ziegler's edition (Leipzig 1926) and afterwards, was accepted by other scholars and editors (R. Flaceliere, M. Manfredini and L. Piccirilli). It was rejected by P. Brulé, L. Piolot and W. Den Boer as unjustified. Cf. Brule & Piolot 2004, pp. 151–78; Den Boer 1954, pp. 295–300.
[23]Low 2006, pp. 86-88.

Another restriction related to Spartan burial customs concerned mourning. Plutarch writes that the period during which a family was allowed to grieve over the death of a relative in Sparta was restricted to eleven days, a period which in comparison with other *poleis* seems to be rather short.[24] Thanks to its brevity, mourning citizens remained excluded from the society (as being 'sullied' by the death) for a shorter period, and could return to public life more rapidly. Yet, despite the extremely private character of that custom, mourning appears to be have treated by the state in a relatively moderate way (in comparison to the two already mentioned), since it probably remained unchanged in terms of its form: at least ancient sources did not mention any restriction concerning it. Drawing upon surviving fragments of Tyrtaios' poetry,[25] we can presume that mourning was an important custom in archaic Sparta and that, maybe because of the strong tradition attached to it and the religious role it was fulfilling, it could not be reduced more severely.[26]

Subsequent restrictions imposed on the Spartan family concerned its very core, viz. the house. For the law was to determine what kind of tools one could use to construct particular parts of the Spartan *oikia*. According to Plutarch, while constructing a roof it was permitted to make use only of an axe (*pelekys*), and only a saw (*prion*) was suitable for preparing doors.[27] Undoubtedly these instructions would heavily restrain constructional possibilities and would give residential buildings relative uniformity and simplicity. This restriction, like those mentioned above, could make also a clear example

[24]For instance, in Athens mourning period traditionally lasted thirty days, cf. Lys. 1.14; Kurtz & Boardman 1971, p. 147.
[25]Tyrt. 7, 12.27–29.
[26]According to some scholars grief and lamentations had a twofold role in Greek culture: they enabled the mourners to fulfill their religious duty to the family of the deceased and helped to calm his or her soul down, cf.: Zschietzschmann 1928, pp. 17–47; Kurtz & Boardman 1971, pp.142-147; Johnston 1999, pp. 41–43.
[27]Plut. Lyc. 13.3.

of the state's aversion to any sort of ostentation. By imposing it, the *polis* might have tried to prevent rich families from rising above the rest of society, maybe even literally. After all, what can be a more explicit symbol of high family status than a magnificent house?

Revealing also is the way in which Plutarch comments on this information. He seems to be convinced that the simplicity, or even primitiveness, of houses would keep its owners from furnishing it in an extravagant manner (because these aspects would not harmonize with each other).[28] Such an interpretation appears to be excessively idealistic. Nonetheless, from what Plutarch writes here it appears that there was no formal ban on the possession of costly furniture in Sparta.[29] Indeed, when describing the Theban invasion of Laconia in 369 BC, Xenophon mentions plundered Spartan households which were filled with valuables.[30] If that was really so, one can assume that however the *polis* might impose limitations on the outer shell of the Spartan *oikos*, it seems that she did not impinge on its interior. Plutarch's information might be also confirmed by Thucydides, who commented once in Book I that if Sparta, the mightiest polis of his time, was suddenly abandoned by her inhabitants, after some years nobody would believe in her greatness due to the modesty of her edifices.[31] Also Xenophon in his encomium of Agesilaos pays particular attention to the simplicity and antiquity of his house's doors and lists it among the other merits of that king in proving his respect for the old Spartan tradition.[32]

[28]Plut. Lyc. 13.4.
[29]The issue has been discussed in much broader terms in: Hodkinson 2000, pp.151-186.
[30]Xen. Hell. 6.5.27.
[31]Thuc. 1.10.
[32]Xen. Ages. 8.7.

Bonds and relations

State actions directed against the institution of family were not confined to financial and symbolic matters. The Lacedaemonian polis, as depicted by our sources, seems also to have made some attempts to loosen the ties which linked family members. Many state actions directed towards it can be observed if one tries to follow the consecutive stages of a Spartan's life, starting with the infamous inspection of infants as described by Plutarch.[33] Admittedly the whole issue of the existence of that procedure is highly debatable and is questioned by many scholars,[34] but those who allow for its presence in ancient Sparta point to its extremely anti-familial character. For instance, Pomeroy believes that any postponement of the act of giving the baby back to its mother, caused by the inspection conducted by the elders of the *phyle*, resulted in the creation of a growing psychological distance from the very beginning between the parent and the child.[35] However, it is rather difficult (although not impossible) to imagine that such a sophisticatedly treacherous outcome could be planned by the state as the background for that rule, but - if considered at all - it should be perceived rather as its dreadful by-product. Drawing upon his evidence (or his very notion of Sparta) Plutarch says explicitly that Lycurgus regarded children as a property not of their parents but of the state.[36] If the inspection really existed, it would be, in the first instance, a confirmation of that state of affairs. It was the state, not the parents, who decided if a child would stay alive and be reared, or would be abandoned to a certain death. In a broader prospect, that decision was determining, above all, whether a particular *oikos* would expand or not. The inspection is usually associated with a cruel eugenic policy that was being carried out by

[33]Plut. Lyc. 16.1-3.
[34]Cf. Huys 1996; Kulesza 2010.
[35]Pomeroy 2002, p. 57.
[36]Plut. Lyc. 15.14.

Lacedaemon[37], whereas it may also be interpreted quite differently. As has been convincingly shown by Hodkinson in his study, there were considerable differences in wealth within Spartan society.[38] Additionally, while considering the inheritance system in Sparta, we can expect that rich families might tend restrict the number of offspring, being anxious to minimise the possible fragmentation of wealth.[39]

Poorer Spartans could have even more at stake. There was a great risk that after any fragmentation of their modest possession, their sons would no longer be able to make obligatory contributions to the *syssitia* and thus to retain full citizen rights.[40] Because of that, the inspection carried out by the Spartan state might serve as a preventive measure against any procreative strategies adapted by its citizen families. By ordering them to keep a new-born child alive and rear it, the *polis* could save many more children from being potentially subjected to abandonment just as much as it could eliminate those that were weak and crippled.[41] Sparta could take twofold advantage of that procedure – by saving children who passed positively through the scrutiny, she would obviously gain future citizens, which by some point of her history was so desperately needed; furthermore she might be able to undermine the position of rich families, by catalysing a process of fragmentation of the estates that they had accumulated. If what Plutarch reports here is historical, then the very severe potential impact of its application is good proxy evidence for the intrinsic importance of family actions and strategies in the Spartan society.

[37]Patterson 1985, p.113; MacDowell 1986, p.53; Pomeroy 2002, p.35.
[38]Hodkinson 2000.
[39]Cartledge 2002 (1979), p. 264; Cartledge 1987, p. 168.
[40]Arist. Pol. 1271a 26–37.
[41]Link 1998, pp. 153–164. Such an interpretation makes all the more sense if we consider Sparta's chronic problem with the falling numbers of citizens, cf. Forrest 1968, pp.131-137; Ste Croix 2001 (1972), pp.331-332.

A further public move against the internal independence of the family might be related to the education of young Spartans. According to Aristotle, if the Lacedaemonians should be praised for anything, it should be because of the attention they paid to their children by putting them under state supervision.[42] The whole polis had placed itself in a position to seize at least partial control over boys by taking them away from their family-houses.[43] It happened at a relatively early stage of the boys' life and, at least partly, might be aimed at loosening family ties (or even at inhibiting their development at all). Instead, completely new bonds were to be developed, which had nothing to do with any blood-relationship. The first bond related to the peer-group within which boys spent much of their time and where, as one could expect, they might make some friends. It is also possible that they developed a peculiar self-identification with that group. Nonetheless, such a self-identification, which has been regarded by Finley (as well as the family identification) as 'natural', also stood in contradiction to the desired cohesiveness of the state structure.[44] Because of that, in the course of a boy's adolescence it too had to be interrupted, since young Spartans from these groups were transferred individually into different *syssitia* (which groups, in contrast to the previous peer-groups, we should probably call "artificial" if we are willing to adopt Finley's nomenclature). Singor has suggested that a characteristic feature of this kind of group was that its members could not be related with each other.[45] He drew this conclusion from one passage of Xenophon's *Hellenica* where the ancient author implies that fathers, sons and brothers were not part of the same *mora*.[46]

[42]Arist. Pol. 1337a.
[43]Plut. Lyc. 16.7; cf. Jones 1968, pp. 34–35; Hodkinson 1983, p. 242; Ducat 2006, pp. 71–81.
[44]Finley 1982 (1968), p. 29.
[45]Singor 1999, p. 72.
[46]Xen. Hell. 4.5.10.

Apart from the already mentioned motivation that might underlie the state education of the young, another motive for its existence, which is also connected with family matters, could be proposed. In other *poleis* the process of the upbringing and education of children were the private matters of a given family and depended mainly on its social and material status.[47] In Sparta education was to be uniform and involved all the boys from citizen families. Its completion constituted a *conditio sine qua non* of becoming a Spartan citizen.[48] Every *Spartiate*, with the exception of the two kings,[49] must have been an alumnus of the same 'school', and in that sense it was a universal and common system. Therefore rich families were unable to use their resources in favour of their children, who in fact were liable to the same requirements as the children of the remaining citizens. Thanks to that all the Spartans – at least in theory – were given an equal start in their adult life.

Another element of family life in Sparta which was subjected to state restriction was marriage. It is commonly accepted that in Athens as well as in other Greek poleis it was usually regarded as a private matter, admittedly sanctioned by the community, but generally free of any external interferences.[50] In contrast, in Sparta, as depicted by the ancient authors, even that prerogative of the family was contravened by the polis and almost 'statutorily hedged about with conditions'.[51] Many of them seem to be meant mainly to force the Spartans to get married. However that policy, even if at first glance appearing to be 'family-friendly', was not aimed at the promotion of the family as a social institution, but mainly at providing Sparta with the new generation of legitimate

[47]Beck 1964, p. 81; Griffith 2001, p.24.
[48]Plut. Lyc. 16.7.
[49]Plut. Ages. 1.1.
[50]Bickermann 1975, p. 2; Patterson 1991, pp.48-72; Oakley & Sinos 1993, pp. 9-10.
[51]Kulesza 2003, p. 125.

citizens.[52] Ancient authors inform us about the state directives on the suitable age at which young Spartans should marry and about the penalties provided for those who might be reluctant or might decide to marry too late. We also hear about some privileges granted for fathers who begot specific numbers of sons.[53] Particularly interesting is however an item of information mentioned by Plutarch in the *Life of Lysander*. While listing the state's procedures against bachelorhood, which came to exist in Sparta, he writes about 'bad marriage' (*kakogamia*).[54] The term itself is rather ambiguous, but some light on its interpretation is shed by the author.[55] According to Plutarch, penalties for *kakogamia* were designed mostly against those who preferred to marry into rich families than to have a relationship with good (*agathoi*) or related/akin people (*oiketoi*). MacDowell rejected this explanation, writing that the size of a would-be father-in-law's possessions could never serve as a basis of accusation against a suitor.[56] But Plutarch did not say anything like that. He suggests only that a punishment for *kakogamia* affected *mainly* (*malista*) – but as is indicated by the usage of this adverb, not only – marriages involving the rich. Nonetheless, it is likely that they made a special and probably the most frequent group of 'the culprits' against which the repressive measure was designed from the very beginning. In Cartledge's view the English proverb *wealth marries wealth* is wholly appropriate to ancient Greek realities, and particularly to the realities of Sparta[57] - especially since, as has been already mentioned, financial equality among *homoioi* was a

[52]On the ground of the language (*gamos* - > *gamein*) one can argue that this function of marriage was seen as primary by all ancient Greeks, not only the Spartans. Cf. Arist. Pol. 1.1253b 9-10; Cartledge 1981, p.95.
[53]The body of state's interference with Spartan marriage has been gathered and commented in detail by Kulesza 2008, pp. 158-165.
[54]Plut. Lys. 30.6-7.
[55]MacDowell 1986, p. 74; Ogden 1996, pp. 236–237; Kulesza 2003, pp. 115–116. J. Davidson claims moreover, that the single term "marriage" did not have one definition in Sparta and was understood differently depending on occasion: Davidson 2007, p. 319.
[56]In his opinion, that category of punishment concerns those who decided to marry daughters of non-Spartans or the Spartans who had been condemned for misdeeds, cf. MacDowell 1986, p. 74.
[57]Cartledge 1981, p. 96.

fiction (as is indicated - *nota bene* - by Plutarch himself, here juxtaposing the rich (*plousioi*) with the 'good/reputable' (*agathoi*)). There is also a common conviction that the higher strata of society tended towards homogamy.

Moreover, in all probability there were no dowries in Sparta: instead daughters, like sons, took their part of the inheritance, with the reservation that they received only a half of their brothers' portions.[58] If it really happened, we can expect that when a woman became an owner of some part of a family estate it would be a matter of high importance to her relatives that she should marry someone who would not be poorer than she.[59] They were able to control this since normally the decision in choosing a suitable candidate to marry one's daughter in Sparta was made by her parents or the closest relatives.[60] As a result the rich were likely to create relationships mainly with peers in order to retain a high family status. Because of that it is possible to perceive the implementation of punishment for *kakogamia* as a state's response to practices which led to the gradual concentration of wealth in the hands of the few.[61] Among all abuses related to marriage in Sparta, *kakogamia* was to be punished most severely.[62] Kulesza thinks that it could well reflect a level of social damage caused by this misdeed, which might be regarded as an explicit negation of the idea of social equality promoted by the polis.[63] The additional reason might also be the commonness of the practice.

The next issue which might be connected with the state's interference with the private sphere of Spartan life concerns the status and responsibilities of women. Giving birth, as has been already mentioned, was regarded in Sparta as their main duty; that was

[58]Hodkinson 1989, p.89; Hodkinson 2000, pp. 98–103.
[59]Cf. Foxhall 1989, p.34.
[60]Cartledge 1981, pp. 99–100; MacDowell 1986, pp. 77–82; Kulesza 2008, pp. 136–147.
[61]Turasiewicz 1964, pp. 441–442; Cartledge 1981, p. 94.
[62]Stob. Flor. 67.16.
[63]Kulesza 2008, p. 162.

nothing exceptional, since it was expected from women in every polis. However, the role of Spartan women was to be singled out from the rest by the different way of life they were to follow. Not only did they have a different diet,[64] but also they were exempted from the household chores that were usually regarded as women's.[65] As a result Spartan women had a considerable amount of time at their disposal, which (at least partly) they devoted to activities that were normally regarded as belonging strictly in the male domain.[66] Thanks to that, their offspring were to be healthy and strong, being promising future-hoplite material. Even if that eugenic motivation mirrors not only the views of outsiders, but also Spartan *opinio communis*, an additional explanation can be suggested. By freeing women from household obligations and ordering them to take good care about their bodies and health, the polis was trying in a way to "remove" them from the private sphere of their *oikoi.* In a literal sense, in order to exercise, women probably gathered together, leaving the closed space of their houses. More broadly, responsibilities towards home and family were replaced by others which had nothing to do with it. In other Greek poleis the *oikos* supposed to be the main and natural centre of a woman's life.[67] Apart from slaves and children she spent a lot of time with her husband, and she was also subjected to his will and authority. That subjection might be additionally emphasised by a considerable difference in their age. Sometimes a husband had to 'rear" his wife, which undoubtedly influenced her attachment to, and dependence on, him.[68] Thus her point of reference consisted of her family – whatever a Greek female was doing, she was doing it usually in favour of her family or on its dictate. The different policy of the Spartan polis in

[64]Xenophon juxtaposes Greek norms concerning the situation of women with Spartan customs in that regard, by listing the biggest differences. Cf. Xen. Lac. 1.3.
[65]According to Xenophon (Xen. Lac. 1.4), the Spartans regarded those tasks as proper for slaves, not for women from citizen families.
[66]Xen. Lac. 1.4; Plut. Lyc. 14.3-4.
[67]Keuls 1985, pp. 98–99; 108–112; Just 1989, p.33-34.
[68]Xen. Oec. 7.10.

this respect could have been aimed at loosening the bonds between husband and wife and at shifting their focus from the private sphere of life into the public. It was facilitated by the fact that a Spartan man had to live away from his house until he was thirty. Marriages had probably been concluded before that happened, and because of that, as we are informed by Plutarch, spouses were to see each other only from time to time: moreover their meetings were to be short, and held only in order to procreate.[69] It was to occur in an atmosphere of secrecy, after a man slipped out from his quarters. After spending some time with his wife, he went back to his companions the very same evening. Xenophon adds that a Spartiate should be 'ashamed' (*aideisthai*) if someone saw him going to or returning from his wife.[70] According to the Athenian author the whole practice was designed out of concern for moderation in sexual relations, which eventually would have a positive impact on the health and vitality of prospective children. However, it is rather improbable that the elements of secrecy and embarrassment that appeared on such occasions could be explained only by eugenic reasons.[71] Pomeroy believes that this Spartan custom might be a Greek version of so-called trial marriage, which, if it did not bring the expected results i.e. children, and remained secret, could be dissolved without any consequences and would enable subsequent "attempts" until the result was achieved.[72] That view seems to be quite convincing, especially on account of the state's interest in ensuring the new generation of Spartans. It also clarifies the emphasis put on the secrecy of meetings and the anxiety of being seen. What it does not explain is the element of shame mentioned by both Xenophon and Plutarch (although slightly

[69]Plut. Lyc. 15.6–10.
[70]Xen. Lac. 1.5.
[71]One might ask if the remaining measures (women's diet and exercises, or initial separation of spouses) would not have been enough.
[72]Pomeroy 1994 (1975), p. 38. Cf.: Kulesza 2008, p. 140, n.27.

differently). In his commentary to the already mentioned passage from the *Spartan Constitution*, Lipka claims that there is nothing strange in this description since in ancient Greece it was commonly regarded as disgraceful – as much for a man as for a woman – to be caught in an intimate situation by others.[73] Furthermore, he finds it possible that Xenophon, writing about it, could have made a mistake and confused custom concerning a husband returning from his wife with the custom that a mature Spartiate on his way home from the *syssition* at night should not been using a burning torch.[74] Lipka's explanations seem unconvincing. First of all, no source informs us about shame caused by being caught in an intimate situation (or even being together) but only about the shame caused by the sole recognition of the fact that the husband visited the wife (even if the reason was obvious). Secondly, acceptance of his suggestion concerning Xenophon's mistake, although not entirely impossible, would require abandoning commonly accepted assumptions concerning his writing and sources of information.[75] In the light of what has been already said about the negative attitude of the Spartan state towards the family as a social institution incompatible with the promoted state system and, in a sense, tolerated only as a "necessary evil", other interpretations could be offered. If children, so desirable for the state, were to appear, a Spartan husband had to visit his wife – which is obvious – but he should not flaunt it. An ideal Spartiate, as has been stressed by Powell, was expected to give priority to the polis above anything else, including his family.[76] Because of that, every emotion, feeling and tie between spouses, which could naturally develop in the course of their meetings, should be exposed to erosion from the very beginning by

[73]Lipka 2002, p.107.
[74]Xen. Lac. 5.7.
[75]MacDowell 1986, pp. 13–14; Proietti 1987, pp. XIV-XV.
[76]Powell 2001(I1988), p. 228.

driving them into the sphere of *tabu* and burdening them with shame and a sense of guilt.[77]

Studying the ancient sources concerning the history of Sparta, one could easily get the impression that the rules ordering the life of Lakedaemonian society and the values professed by it were as old as Sparta herself and that Spartan citizens always respected and lived in accordance with them. It is not true. It is also rather hard to assume that they appeared overnight, suddenly making Sparta the polis described by Xenophon and other ancient authors. Most scholars believe that it was an evolutionary process rather than rapid, revolution-like change, and that all the processes that were occurring in Lacedaemon constituted more or less appropriate responses to the flaws and weaknesses of her political and social system. It was not so much that the family was weak and restricted, but rather the reverse. The number and variety of the restrictions imposed on the family and on the private sphere of Spartan life, as described above, allow us to believe that the institution of the family in Sparta was so strong and deeply rooted as to make it a serious challenge to the state: notably so, indeed, if so many measures had to be taken against it. Moreover, in my opinion, we can assume that there was no single moment in Sparta's history when the Spartan *oikos* was successfully reduced or replaced. It might have been like that in a model situation, but, in that as in many other respects, Spartan society was never fully-constructed in accordance with any plan or model.

[77]Cf. Williams 1993, pp. 219–223.

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COMMEMORATING THE WAR DEAD IN ANCIENT SPARTA

THE GYMNOPAIDIAI AND THE BATTLE OF HYSIAI

Elena Franchi

The Gymnopaidiai, Hysiai and the songs for the fallen in Thyrea

It is usually assumed that the festival of the Gymnopaidiai is linked with the battle of Hysiai, because according to ancient traditions the festival was founded in the year 668BC and the battle was fought in the previous year. The aim of this paper is to show that this link is wrong: none of the ancient sources on the Gymnopaidiai mentions Hysiai, whereas another battle is cited, that fought in Thyrea.[1]

The traditional belief in the link between the Gymnopaidiai and Hysiai is the consequence of a superficial reading of a passage of Sosibius (in Ath. 15.678b-c), writing in the 3rd or in the 2nd century BC[2]:

ΘΥΡΕΑΤΙΚΟΙ. Οὕτω καλοῦνταί τινες στέφανοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὥς φησι Σωσίβιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Θυσιῶν (*FGrHist* 595 F 5), ψιλίνους αὐτοὺς φάσκων νῦν ὀνομάζεσθαι, ὄντας ἐκ φοινίκων. φέρειν δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἐν Θυρέᾳ γενομένης νίκης τοὺς προστάτας τῶν ἀγομένων χορῶν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ταύτῃ, ὅτε καὶ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδιὰς ἐπιτελοῦσιν. χοροὶ δ᾽ εἰσὶν τὸ μὲν πρόσω παίδων τὸ δ᾽ ἐξ ἀρίστου ἀνδρῶν, γυμνῶν ὀρχουμένων καὶ ᾀδόντων Θαλητᾶ καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος ᾄσματα καὶ τοὺς Διονυσοδότου τοῦ Λάκωνος παιᾶνας.

[1] I would like to thank Mr Peter Davies, Dr Vasiliki Brouma and the entire staff of the CSPS for inviting me to contribute to this special volume. I extend my gratitude to Maurizio Giangiulio for his invaluable comments and for his constant support and guidance. All translations are the author's except where otherwise noted.

[2] "Thyreatikoi: the name which the Lacedaemonians give to certain crowns, as Sosibios says in his *On Sacrifices*. He states that they are now called crowns of feathers, although in fact they are made of palm-leaves. They are worn, according to him, in commemoration of the victory at Thyrea, by the leaders of the choruses which are staged during the festival which also involves the Gymnopaidiai. The choruses are as follows: in front, the chorus of paides, and on the left the chorus of andres. They dance naked and sing songs (ᾄσματα) of Thaletas and Alcman, as well as paians of the Lakonian Dionysodotos." (transl. by Ducat 2006). See Jacoby 1955a, p. 635 f; Boring 1979, p. 56; Lévy 2007, p. 277–79; Richer 2012, p. 389 and n. 30.

5 ὅτε καὶ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδιὰς ἐπιτελοῦσιν codd.: secl. Jacoby 5-6 τὸ μὲν πρόσω ... ἀνδρῶν A; ὁ μὲν πρόσω παίδων, ὁ δ'ἐξῆς ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν Casaubon; τὸ μὲν εὐπροσώπων παίδων, τὸ δ᾽ ἐξ ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν Schweighäuser; εἰσιν <γ'>, ὁ μὲν πρόσω παίδων, <ὁ δ'ἐκ δεξιοῦ γερόντων>, ὁ δ'ἐξ ἀριστεροῦ ἀνδρῶν Wyttenbach; πρὸς ἕω – ἐξ ἀρίστου Wilamowitz, Bölte, lacunam post παίδων suspicatus; εἰσιν <γ'>, ὁ μὲν πρός ἕω παίδων, <ὁ δ'ἐκ δεξιοῦ γερόντων>, ὁ δ'ἐξ ἀριστεροῦ ἀνδρῶν Ziehen † πρόσω παίδων, τὸ δ᾽ ἐξ ἀρίστου† Jacoby πρὸς ἕω – ἐξ ἀριστεροῦ Davies

According to Athenaeus, Sosibius says that the Lacedaemonians' name for some of the crowns worn in commemoration of the victory at Thyrea by the leaders of the choruses staged during the festival which also involves the Gymnopaidiai was thyreatikoi: "The choruses are as follows: in front, the chorus of *paides*, and on the left the chorus of *andres*. They dance naked and sing songs (ᾄσματα) of Thaletas and Alcman, as well as paians of the Lakonian Dionysodotos" (transl. Ducat 2006).

The text is highly problematic,[3] but the questions on which we will focus are: how many festivals are involved? What are the connections between the choruses and the festivals? And most importantly: what battles are mentioned by Sosibius? In which battle did the dead commemorated during these festivals fall? [4]

Tackling these issues, in the first part of the paper I will question the historicity of the battle of Hysiai; in the second part I will try to distinguish different festivals in the passage of Sosibius; in the third part I will try to identify which battle of Thyrea is referred to by Sosibius and to understand if it is the same battle mentioned by a not at all negligible lexicographical tradition.

[3] For the problems concerning the name of the crowns and the number and the composition of the choruses see Richer 2012, pp. 389, 398 and esp. n. 76, p. 401 and esp n. 87, pp. 601, 603 with previous bibliography, and Franchi forthcoming, ch. 3.

[4] Nilsson 1906, pp. 140–42; Hiller von Gärtringen 1912; Bölte 1929; Ehrenberg 1929, col. 1380; Ziehen 1929, col. 1510, 1516; Meritt 1931; Andrewes 1949, p. 77; Wade-Gery 1949; Huxley 1962, p. 50, 72 f; Michell 1952, p. 187; 1953, p. 147; Calame 1977 I, p. 35; II, p. 352 ff; Parker 1989, pp. 140–50; Billot 1989/1990; Petterson 1992, p. 44 ff; Robertson 1992, p. 147 ff; Sergent 1993, p. 164, 173; Shaw 2003, pp. 176–83; Richer 2005b; Ducat 2006, pp. 265–74; Nobili 2011, pp. 38 ff; Richer 2012, pp. 383-422 with previous bibliography.

The historicity of Hysiai and the foundation of the Gymnopaidiai

The foundation of the Gymnopaidiai, the *puerorum nudum certamen*, is dated between 668 and 665 BC.[5] Modern scholars note that Pausanias (2.24.7) dates a battle between Sparta and Argos to the year 669 BC, at Hysiai; this was in fact the only time that the Spartans were defeated by the Argeans.[6] This is why scholars link the two pieces of information: the battle of Hysiai and the foundation of the Gymnopaidiai some years later.[7] But Pausanias does not mention the Gymnopaidiai in that passage; moreover, the numeral of the date on the manuscript is corrupted,[8]

[5] Euseb. *Vers. Arm*. 1351 Schoene; Hier. *Chron. ad Ol*. 28.1 Schoene; Synk. 401.23 Mosshammer, who, as it often happens (Mosshammer 1979, p. XXVI ff; Adler-Tuffin 2002, p. XXXVI, LIII, LX-LXI), uses the same source as Eusebius and so strengthens the idea that Eusebius is referring to the Gymnopaidiai.

[6] ἐπανελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ Τεγέας ὁδόν ἐστιν ἐν δεξιαῖ τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου Τρόχου Κεγχρεαί. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐφ᾽ ὅτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ γέγονεν, οὐ λέγουσι, πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἄρα ὠνομάσθη διὰ τὸν Πειρήνης παῖδα Κεγχρίαν. καὶ πολυάνδρια ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν Ἀργείων νικησάντων μάχῃ Λακεδαιμονίους περὶ Ὑσιάς. τὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα τοῦτον συμβάντα εὕρισκον Ἀθηναίοις ἄρχοντος Πεισιστράτου, τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς <ἑβδόμης καὶ εἰκοστῆς> Ὀλυμπιάδος ἣν Εὐρύβοτος Ἀθηναῖος ἑνίκα στάδιον. καταβάντος δὲ ἐς τὸ χθαμαλώτερον ἐρείπια Ὑσιῶν ἐστι πόλεώς ποτε ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι, καὶ τὸ πταῖσμα Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι λέγουσιν (2.24.7 Rocha-Pereira). (“On returning to the road that leads to Tegea you see Cenchreae on the right of what is called the Wheel. Why the place received this name they do not say. Perhaps in this case also it was Cenchrias, son of Peirene, that caused it to be so called. Here are common graves of the Argives who conquered the Lacedaemonians in battle at Hysiae.1 This fight took place, I discovered, when Peisistratus was archon at Athens, in the fourth year of the twenty-seventh Olympiad, in which the Athenian, Eurybotus, won the foot-race. On coming down to a lower level you reach the ruins of Hysiae, which once was a city in Argolis, and here it is that they say the Lacedaemonians suffered their reverse“, trans. by W.H.S. Jones & H.A. Ormerod 1918).

[7] Most scholars consider the battle of Hysiai to be historically accurate simply because Pausanias said it happened and because it is likely to have happened (see Cartledge 1979, p. 125 f and again in Cartledge 2009, p. 44; Pritchett 1980, p. 67 f; Hendriks 1982, p. 7 ff; Gehrke 1990, p. 48 n. 46; Nafissi 1991, p. 37 n. 29; Murray 1993[2], nn. 143, 165, 171; Parker 1993, nn. 55-56; Osborne 1996, nn. 184, 289). More cautious are Koiv (2003, p. 119 f) and Hall (1995, p. 591). As far as I know the first scholar who denied the historicity of Hysiai was Kelly (1970a, p. 999; 1970b; 1976, p. 88), followed by Robertson (1992, pp. 208–216) and Meier (1998, p. 73; see also Bershadsky 2012, p. 66). According to Kelly the archaic battle of Hysiai was invented by the Argives to set a victorious precedent to the defeat at Hysiai of the year 417 against the Spartans (Thuc. 5.83). Robertsons goes further in claiming that the story of archaic Hysiai was invented by "an Argive chauvinist" to set a victorious answer to the victory of the Spartans at Thyrea 50 years before: "Pausanias’ source asserted that Hysiai was an Argive counterstroke, just fifty years later" (1992, pp. 182 f, 209 f). Richer takes up again the matter of the duplication of Hysiai reasserting the historicity of the old battle and interpreting the new battle as a Spartan vengeance (2012, p. 607). See Franchi 2012; Franchi forhtcoming, chap. 3.

[8] In fact Pausanias dates the battle to the 4th year of the Olympiad in which Eurybotos gained his victory in the race and Peisistratos was archon in Athens. But the numeral in the archetype codex ß is corrupted. Hitzig proposed to read ἑβδόμης καὶ εἰκοστῆς, because according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (3.1.3) a Eurybates won the 27th Olympiad (= 672 BC; the fourth year of the 27th Olympiad would therefore be 669 BC). The proposal of Hitzig is likely, but far from solid. It is not by chance that scholars don’t establish the chronology of the battle (see e.g. Cartledge 1979, p. 125 f). The exception is Shaw, who redates the so-called second Messenian war, which according to the opinion of most scholars is a consequence of Hysiai, to the beginning of the 5th century BC: Hysiai should therefore be fought in the year 497 (Shaw 1999; 2003, pp. 13–15, 49, 51, 54, 69–70, 77, 84, 88, 96, 98, 102 ff, 158 ff.). Nevertheless Richer is right in getting back to supporting Victor Parker’s chronology of the so-called second Messenian war and so considering Shaw’s chronology of Hysiai too late (Richer 2005a, p. 269 f). See also Franchi 2012 with previous bibliography.

and the battle is referred to nowhere else; finally, how likely is it that the Spartans would have instituted a festival in order to celebrate their own defeat? On the other hand, one cannot ignore that Sosibius explicitly cites 'the victory of Thyrea' and that Thyrea is also suggested by the name of the crowns, *thyreatikoi*. Moreover, the lexicographical tradition also reports a battle of Thyrea, whereas there is no mention of Hysiai.[9] This is not insignificant: modern studies have shown the reliability of Phrynicus and Timaeus, on which most of the other lexicographical sources on the Gymnopaidiai depend.[10] Indeed Phrynicus and Timaeus largely rest on lost commentaries on Plato. These commentaries probably commented on Plato's passage on the Gymnopaidiai and in doing so they quoted the passage of Sosibius also quoted by Athenaeus. As one can infer from reading in detail these lexicographical sources, it is quite clear that the source of Timaeus and of Phrynicus reported different details and in any case read more of Sosibius than Athenaeus. And they confirm that the battle linked to the Gymnopaidiai was fought in Thyrea- in other words, that this is very likely to be an original datum of Sosibius.

[9] Phryn. *Praep.Soph*., s.v. Γυμνοπαιδιά p. 57, 19-21 De Borries: γυμνοπαιδιά· ἐν Λακεδαίμονι κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν παῖδες γυμνοὶ παιᾶνας ᾖδον εἰς τιμὴν τῶν περὶ Θυρέας <ἀποθανόντων Σπαρτιατῶν>; ("Gymnopaidiai: in Sparta naked boys sang paianas in the agorà in honour of the Spartans died around Thyrea"); Timaeus *Lex.Plat.*, s.v. Γυμνοπαιδία Ruhnken pp. 412-13: Γυμνοπαιδία. χοροὶ ἐν Σπάρτῃ τῆς Λακωνικῆς εἰς θεοὺς ὕμνους ᾄδοντες, εἰς τιμὴν τῶν ἐν Θυρέαις ἀποθανόντων Σπαρτιατῶν; ("Gymnopaidiai: choruses in Sparta of Laconia singing hymns for the gods in honour of the Spartans died in Thyrea"); *Suda*, s.v. Γυμνοπαίδια vol .I, p. 547 ll. 12-16 Adler: Γυμνοπαίδια, χοροὶ ἐκ παίδων ἐν Σπάρτῃ τῆς Λακωνικῆς εἰς θεοὺς ὕμνους ᾄδοντες, εἰς τιμὴν τῶν ἐν Θυραιαῖς ἀποθανόντων Σπαρτιατῶν; ("Gymnopaidiai: choruses of children in Sparta of Laconia singing hymns for the gods in honour of the Spartans died in Thyrea"); Phot. *Lex*., Γυμνοπαιδία Γ 230 Theodoridis: Γυμνοπαιδία· ἑορτὴ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐν ᾗ <παῖδες ᾖδον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι> παιᾶνας γυμνοὶ εἰς τοὺς περὶ Θυραίαν πεσόντας (cfr. *Etym.Mag*., s.v. Γυμνοπαιδία p. 243 ll. 4-7 Gaisford) ("Gymnopaidiai: a festival of the Spartans, in which naked children sang paians for Apollon in honour of those who fell around Thyrea"); Phot. *Lex*., Γυμνοπαιδία γ 231 Theodoridis: Γυμνοπαιδία· χοροὶ ἐκ παίδων ἐν Σπάρτῃ τῆς Λακωνικῆς εἰς θεοὺς ὕμνους ᾄδοντες, εἰς τιμὴν τῶν ἐν Θυραίαις ἀποθανόντων Σπαρτιατῶν (cfr. *Lex.Sabb*., s.v. Γυμνοπαιδία; Apostol. 5.68 Leutsch-Schneidewin) ("Gymnopaidiai: choruses of children in Sparta of Laconia singing hymns for the gods in honour of the Spartans died in Thyrea").

[10] See Crusius 1895, p. 182 f; Wentzel 1895, p. 477 ff; Nilsson 1906, p. 141; Adler 1928, p. XVII; Bölte 1929, p. 130 f; Strouth-French 1941, col. 923; Wade-Gery 1949, p. 80 n. 4; Latte 1953, p. XLVII; Erbse 1965, pp. 226–28; Alpers 1981, p. 73 ff; Theodoridis 1982, p. LXXII-III; Alpers 1988, p. 357; 1990, p. 26; Prandi 1999, p. 16 f; Campbell Cunningham 2003, pp. 21, 26 ff and 53; Whitaker 2007; Richer 2012, 409-10. For a detailed discussion, see Franchi forthcoming, chap. 3.

How many festivals does Sosibius mention?

Sosibius evidently describes not the Gymnopaidiai, but another festival, which was celebrated at the same time as the Gymnopaidiai. Grammar says that, and since Boelte, modern scholarship has been unanimous on this point. The question which arises is: which festival?

According to Boelte the other festival is the Parparonia, a festival which includes some choruses and takes place on mount Parparus, near Thyrea. [11] Indeed, Pliny writes that Parparus is a mountain in Argolis and Herodian writes that "Parparus is a place near Thyrea where the Argives fought against the Spartans (τόπος δέ ἐστιν τῷ περὶ Θυρέᾳ, ἔνθα ἐμαχέσαντο Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι)."[12] In fact Thyrea was actually the site where the Spartans defeated the Argives in the famous battle of the champions of the mid-6th century BC.[13] Boelte argues that the Spartans established a festival, the festival of the Parparonia, in Parparus, i.e. in Thyrea, to celebrate this victory. In the 4th century, when the Argives conquered the Thyreatis, the Spartans had to move the festival to Sparta and the Parparonia and the Gymnopaidiai merged.[14]

Although agreeing on the merging of the festivals with Boelte, Wade-Gery assumes that even at the time of the battle of the champions the Gymnopaidiai also had some choruses. Unlike Wade-Gery, Jacoby completely agreed with Boelte and, moreover, expunged the temporal clause ὅτε καὶ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδιὰς ἐπιτελοῦσιν assuming that it was added by Athenaeus or by his

[11] See *IG* V 1, 213, l. 63 ff (*IAG* 9):

ΚΑΙ ΔΑΜΟΝΟΝ ΕΝΙΚΕ
ΠΑΙΣ ΙΟΝ ΠΑΡΠΑΡΟΝΙΑ
ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΥΛΟΝ

"and Damonon as a boy won the stade and the two stades at the Parparonian games"
(trans. by St. Hodkinson 2000, 304).

Cfr. *SEG* XLIX (1999) 391=*SEG* XLVII (1997) 354=*SEG* XLIII (1993) 1221=*SEG* XLII (1992) 311=*SEG* XL (1990) 356=*SEG* XXXIX (1989) 370=*SEG* XXVI (1976–1977) 463=*SEG* XV (1958) 216=*SEG* XIV (1957) 330=*SEG* XI (1950) 650. See Richer 2012, p. 606 with previous bibliography and Nafissi 2013.

[12] Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 4.16 f Mayhoff; Choirob. *GrammGr*, 4.1 p. 297: (=E. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* III, Berlin 1821, p. 1408, s.v. Πάρ), which depends on Herodian. *de pros. cath*. 3.1, 397, 22–24 Lentz.

[13] Kalitses 1965, pp. 10–18; Meyer 1972, col. 527; Pritchett 1980, p. 110; Christien 1985, pp. 455–66; Müller 1987, p. 871. *Contra*, Phaklares 1987, pp. 101–119.

[14] Bölte 1929, p. 124 ff. See also Weber 1887, p. 52; Nilsson 1906, p. 141.

epitomist.[15] I'm not sure if it is necessary to expunge, but one thing is very clear: this temporal clause sounds odd. Not, however, for the reasons indicated by Jacoby. I think that the difficulties arise because Sosibius is trying to give coherence to a festival which was in his time the result of several fusions, which occurred at different times, between different festivals.

Some of these mergers (these different stages of the festival) can be reconstructed. The songs of Thaletas and Alcman, cited by Sosibius, must have been added to the Gymnopaidiai after the second half of the 7th century, according to the recent chronological studies on these two poets.[16] The paeans of Dionysodotus, though, must have been added after the second half of the 6th century, when this poet is believed to have lived.[17] It is arguable that they were added after the battle of the champions, when the Spartans also started celebrating their superiority over the Argives in Parparus, in another festival, the Parparonia. This last festival must have been moved to Sparta when the Argives regained control of Thyrea in the first half of the 4th century. By then, the Gymnopaidiai included the songs of Thaletas and Alcman, the paeans of Dionysodotus, and the Parparonia.

This reconstruction seems plausible to me. But there remains at least one problem to be solved. Sosibius says that the crowns were worn to commemorate those who had fallen in a battle which took place in Thyrea. Given that these songs must have been composed before the battle of the champions, which also took place in Thyrea, what battle is Sosibius referring to?

What battle fought at Thyrea is Sosibius referring to?

As it stands, we have different pieces of information about one or more battles fought in Thyrea before the 6th century, as Noel Robertson noted. Let's analyse this different data:

[15] Jacoby 1955a, p. 647; 1955b, p. 371.
[16] Manfredini-Piccirilli 1980, p. 226; Schneider 1985, pp. 8, 12, 15 f, 36; Richer 2005a, S. 270. Contra, Shaw 2003, p. 88 f, 189–94 and 205–9
[17] Chrimes 1949, p. 309.

1) According to Solinus, who writes between the 2nd and the 3rd century AD, the Spartans and the Argives fought in Thyrea 'in anno septimodecimo regni Romuli', that is in 735 BC (II 9). His source could be a gloss on *Nat.Hist.* 4.8: the *Naturalis Historia* is one of the works most often consulted by Solinus. [18]

2) Eusebius reports another battle fought in Thyrea between Spartans and Argives, which occured fifteen years later (720 BC). Jacoby demonstrated that the battles referred to both by Solinus and Eusebius are one and the same battle. In both authors the chronology of this battle is related to the chronology of the so-called First Messenian War. Both Solinus and Eusebius agreed on the fact that the battle of Thyrea took place four years after the end of the First Messenian War, but they follow two different chronologies of this war: Solinus follows Eratosthenes, whereas Eusebius follows Sosibius.[19]

3) We then have a third source that reports a battle fought in Thyrea between Spartans and Argives: Plutarch. Plutarch, explaining in an *apophthegma,* that is a kind of well-known, short pithy instructive saying, gives a very confused account of a battle fought in Thyrea between the Argives and the Spartans, the latter led by Polydoros (231 E Nachstädt—Sieveking—Titchener). The apophthegma is included in the *Apophthegmata laconica*, which are spurious, but still drawn up by Plutarch. [20] Polydoros is believed to have reigned from the end of the 8th until the beginning of the 7th century BC.[21] But the question is more complicated than that. Looking at these sources properly it seems quite clear that the episode related to the apophthegma mixes some features of the Herodotean account of the battle of the champions and others of the Herodotean account of the battle of

[18] Cfr. Walter 1963, pp. 98–119; 1969, p. 5 ff.
[19] Jacoby 1902, p. 128; Mosshammer 1979, p. 208 f.
[20] Gemoll 1924; Nachstädt 1935; Ziegler 1965; Fuhrmann 1988, p. 135; Tritle 1992, p. 4289; Santaniello 1995, p. 18 f; Hodkinson 2000, p. 39; Pelling 2002, p. 65.
[21] Beloch 1912, p. 191; Carlier 1984, p. 316 ff; Musti-Torelli 1991, p. 170; Richer 1998, pp. 84-86; Meier 2001, col. 55f.

Sepeia,[22] so that it is quite likely that the author of the apophthegma had some hazy information about an archaic battle fought in Thyrea and attributed it to Polydoros- as it was typical for classical, Hellenistic and Roman Sparta to attribute some glorious deeds and sayings to the kings and generals of the past.[23] Because information about this battle was fuzzy, the battle was reinvented by collecting details from the Herodotean account of the battle of the champions and of the Herodotean account of the battle of Sepeia. Nevertheless, this battle of Thyrea must have been fought, as the information on which the *apophthegma* is based seems to prove; even Jacoby considers it historical. This will appear clearer in the following.

4) In 3.7.2-5 Pausanias refers to different battles fought in Thyrea between Spartans and Argives: a) a battle under Echestratos, in the second half of the 11th century; b) a battle under Prytanis, at the end of the 11th/beginning of the 10th century; c) a battle under Charillos, at the end of the 10th and beginning of the 9th century; d) a battle under Nicander, second half of the 9th century; e) a battle under Theopompus, beginning of the 7th century. Elsewhere, Pausanias refers to other Thyreatan battles also under Labotas (Paus. 3.2.2 f) and under Alkamenes (Paus. 3.2.7). [24] The chronology of all these battles is evidently affected by mechanisms of reduplication and backprojection to the archaic period of classical and Hellenistic battles fought in Thyrea, which effectively were numerous; and some battles could even have been invented.[25] But no one can deny that all these pieces of information about battles fought in Thyrea in the first centuries of the Archaic past must reflect at least a kernel of truth. And this kernel of truth is certainly truer

[22] Cfr. Schneider 1985, p. 22; Fuhrmann 1988, p. 338; Richer 1998, p. 82.
[23] See, e.g., *Anth. Pal.* 7.432; *Anth. Pal.* 7.720; Chriserm. *FGrHist* 287 F 2a in [Plut.], *Par.Min*. 306 A–B. Cfr. Franchi 2013.
[24] For the discussion of the chronological problems of these battles, see Beloch 1912, p. 191; Den Boer 1956; Henige 1974, p. 213; Carlier 1984, p. 316 ff; Calame 1987; Vannicelli 1993, p. 43 ff; Musti 1991, p. 171 f; Richer 1998, chap. 7; De Vido 2001, p. 212 ff.
[25] On the memory of wars in antiquity see Franchi 2014, esp. pp. 77-78.

than the connection with Hysiai. A battle in Thyrea in the 8th or 7th century BC is highly probable, and certainly more likely than the battle of Hysiai.

Summarizing:

The Gymnopaidiai was founded before the middle of the 7th century. No source links that foundation and that festival with the battle of Hysiai. Some years later the Spartans started another festival, consisting of the performance of some choruses singing *asmata* composed by Thaletas and Alcman in order to commemorate the dead of a battle fought between Spartans and Argives in Thyrea which occurred at the end of the 8th century or during the 7th century. During this festival the leader of the choruses wore the *thyreatikoi*. These songs and the Gymnopaidiai merged.

After the battle of the champions of the middle of the 6th century BC the Spartans added to the Gymnopaidiai the performance of the paeans composed by Dionysodotus, which celebrated this victory, and at the same time founded near Parparus, in Thyrea, the Parparonia, in order to celebrate the same victory. In fact, victory in the battle of the champions was celebrated both in Sparta and in Thyrea, i.e. Parparus.

However, in the second quarter of the 4th century the Argives regained control of the Thyreatis, the district of Thyrea, and the Spartans had to move the Parparonia to Sparta. The Gymnopaidiai and the Parparonia merged.

When Sosibius writes, all of these mergers had already been accomplished centuries before, and people were no longer aware of the many other festivals which had merged with the Gymnopaidiai. This explains the difficulties of the Sosibius passage, which was complicated even more by those consulting him, perhaps through a middle source. Nonetheless, something appears

to me to be incontestable: that according to all the mentioned sources, without exception these festivals are linked to battles fought in Thyrea, not in Hysiai.

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PHILOTIMIA AND *PHILONIKIA* AT SPARTA*

Michele Lucchesi

Introduction

In this chapter, I explore φιλοτιμία (love of honour, ambition, or rivalry) and φιλονικία (love of victory, contentiousness, or spirit of emulation) as values that, according to the literary sources available, characterised Sparta. First, I illustrate how the authors that conducted comprehensive surveys of the Spartan socio-political system consistently associated these concepts with the Spartan constitution. Both φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία, that is to say, would constitute important moral principles, which the young Spartans learned during their training and to which they had to adhere in adult life. In the second part of the chapter, I discuss the differences between these literary sources, which date to the 4th century BC (Xenophon's *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, Plato's *Republic* and *Laws*, *Alcibiades I*, Aristotle's *Politics*) and to the Hellenistic and early Imperial age (especially Polybius' *Histories* and Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*), and earlier authors of the archaic and classical age, who did not mention φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία in reference to Sparta. The hypothesis, which I formulate in the third part of the chapter, is that ambition, rivalry, and contentiousness reflected the Spartan society of the 4th century BC and were projected to the past, that is, to the Lycurgan tradition in order to explain the crisis and the decline of Sparta.

* I wish to thank Dr Michal 'Crocodile' Molcho for proof-reading this chapter and improving my English. The remaining errors and inaccuracies are, of course, entirely my own responsibility. Translations, unless otherwise stated, are my own. For the Greek text I have followed the more recent Teubner editions.

Φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία in the Spartan political system

In the literary sources that examine the Spartan political system, ambition, rivalry, competition, and spirit of emulation appear to be distinctive traits of the Spartan national character, to which all the Spartans were called to conform. In particular, extreme competitiveness played a crucial role in the rigid education (ἀγωγή) of the young.[1] This is, for instance, the image of Sparta conveyed by Xenophon's *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*. In this treatise, love of victory was considered to be at the heart of the contention (ἔρις) between the young (ἡβῶντες), who had to fight against one another in order to become knights (ἱππεῖς) [4.1-6]. This contest, which Xenophon defined as dearest to the gods (θεοφιλεστάτη) and most political (πολιτικωτάτη), was meant to promote virtue (ἀρετή) and manly bravery (ἀνδραγαθία) (4.2).[2] Similarly, rivalry and competition were depicted by Xenophon as essential features of the procedure for selecting the elders for the Gerousia, a process which was again presented as a contest (ὁ περὶ τῆς γεροντίας ἀγών) (10.3).[3] By putting the elders in charge of the 'contest about life' (once more, indicated as a περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγών), that is, the judgment of capital crimes, Lycurgus rendered old age more honoured (ἐντιμότερος) than the vigour of men in full bloom. Thus, the constitution urged the old Spartiates to persevere in virtue and prevented them from abandoning the noble principles of their city (10.1-2).[4]

[1] On competitiveness in Sparta see Ducat 2006, pp. 171-175, Finley 1968, pp. 147 and 151-153. For an overview of the Spartan educational system see Cartledge 1987, pp. 25-28, 2001, pp. 79-90, Ducat 1999, 2006, especially pp. 69-247, Hodkinson 1983, pp. 244-251, Kennell 1995, especially pp. 5-69, Powell 1988, pp. 231-236.

[2] The passage of X. *Lac*. 4.1-6 is thoroughly examined by Birgalias 1997; cf. also Ducat 2006, pp. 17-19, Lipka 2002, pp. 142-146, Proietti 1987, pp. 50-52. On the Spartan ἱππεῖς and their selection see Ducat 2007, pp. 328-336, Figueira 2006, especially pp. 62-67, Hodkinson 1983, pp. 247-249.

[3] With reference to the selection for the Gerousia, phrases analogous to that of Xenophon were employed by Aristotle (ἆθλον ἡ ἀρχὴ αὕτη τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐστι) (*Pol*. 1270b24-25) and Plutarch (μέγιστος ἐδόκει τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγώνων οὗτος εἶναι καὶ περιμαχητότατος) (*Lyc*. 26.2).

[4] Cf. Humble 1997, pp. 206-210, Lipka 2002, pp. 182-188. On the Spartan Gerousia see David 1991, pp. 15-36 and Nafissi 2007, pp. 332-335, with further bibliographical references.

Plato, too, attributed a great importance to competitiveness in Sparta. In the *Republic*, he famously associated both φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία with the Spartan constitution: 'After this, should we not go through the inferior [types of men], that is, the contentious and ambitious, corresponding to the Laconian constitution, the oligarchic, the democratic, and the tyrannical?'.[5] Contrary to Xenophon's idealised view, Plato's observations are inserted in the context of the negative judgment about the various forms of government compared with aristocracy.[6] According to Plato, timocracy or timarchy – the form of government equivalent to that of the Spartans – represented the degeneration of aristocracy and was an intermediate between this political regime and oligarchy (8.545c-d and 547c). To a great extent, timocracy was ambivalent, since it imitated some elements of aristocracy and some others of oligarchy, while also having some qualities peculiar to itself. On the one hand, the care for physical training and military exercise (γυμναστικῆς τε καὶ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου ἀγωνίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι) was derived from aristocracy (8.547c). On the other hand, the inclination for high-spirited and simple-minded men, more suited for war than for peace (τοὺς πρὸς πόλεμον μᾶλλον πεφυκότας ἢ πρὸς εἰρήνην), and the fact that war was men's major occupation were typical aspects of timocracy (8.547e-548a). Thus, timocracy was a mixture of good and evil (μεμειγμένην πολιτείαν ἐκ κακοῦ τε καὶ ἀγαθοῦ) and its most conspicuous features were φιλονικίαι and φιλοτιμίαι (8.548c). Analogously, while describing the qualities of the type of man corresponding to timocracy, Plato highlighted contentiousness and ambition (8.549a):

[5] Pl. *R*. 8.545a: ἆρ᾽ οὖν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο διιτέον τοὺς χείρους, τὸν φιλόνικόν τε καὶ φιλότιμον, κατὰ τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἑστῶτα πολιτείαν. Plato added later: 'Now we should examine first the constitution based on love of honour' (καὶ νῦν οὕτω πρῶτον μὲν τὴν φιλότιμον σκεπτέον πολιτείαν) [8.545b].

[6] On Plato's analysis of the Spartan political regime in the *Republic* see Anderson 1971, pp. 155-166, Lévy 2005, pp. 218-224, Pappas 1995, pp. 158-161. For a more general critical discussion of Plato's presentation of the various political systems in the *Republic* see Annas 1981, pp. 294-305, Hitz 2010, pp. 103-107 and 109-124.

φίλαρχος δὲ καὶ φιλότιμος, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ λέγειν ἀξιῶν ἄρχειν οὐδ᾽ ἀπὸ τοιούτου οὐδενός, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπὸ ἔργων τῶν τε πολεμικῶν καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰ πολεμικά, φιλογυμναστής τέ τις ὢν καὶ φιλόθηρος.

Lover of power and honor, expecting to rule neither for his ability to speak nor for anything of that sort, but for his military deeds and for the preparation for war, being a lover of gymnastics and hunting.

The same concepts were repeated at the end of the long section devoted to timocracy, where Plato examined the origin of the timocratic man (8.550a-b):

τότε δὴ ὁ νέος πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀκούων τε καὶ ὁρῶν, καὶ αὖ τοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς λόγους ἀκούων τε καὶ ὁρῶν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ ἐγγύθεν παρὰ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ἑλκόμενος ὑπ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων, τοῦ μὲν πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τὸ λογιστικὸν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἄρδοντός τε καὶ αὔξοντος, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τό τε ἐπιθυμητικὸν καὶ τὸ θυμοειδές, διὰ τὸ μὴ κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι τὴν φύσιν, ὁμιλίαις δὲ ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων κακαῖς κεχρῆσθαι, εἰς τὸ μέσον ἑλκόμενος ὑπ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ἦλθε, καὶ τὴν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀρχὴν παρέδωκε τῷ μέσῳ τε καὶ φιλονίκῳ καὶ θυμοειδεῖ, καὶ ἐγένετο ὑψηλόφρων τε καὶ φιλότιμος ἀνήρ.

The young man constantly hears and sees such things, but he also listens to his father's discourses and observes his father's customs close to those of other men. He is attracted by both, his father watering the rational element in the soul and making it grow, the other men doing the same with the appetitive and spirited elements. Since he does not have the nature of a bad man, but is under the influence of bad companies, being dragged by both these two forces, he finishes up in the middle. He hands the rule inside himself over to the intermediate element of contentiousness and high spirit and becomes a man high-minded and fond of honor.[7]

While Xenophon associated φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία with the social dynamics of Sparta and with some specific political institutions, placing a great emphasis on their educational aspects, in Plato's view not only were these values at the centre of the whole Spartan

[7] Translation by Ferrari-Griffith 2000, pp. 259-260 with minor adaptations.

political system, but they also constituted the quintessence of the timocratic man's nature. From a modern perspective, one may claim that in Plato more explicitly than in other authors politics and anthropology were intrinsically connected to one another. In the *Republic*, the historical circumstances of Sparta were not discussed: despite the fact that the idea of timocracy was largely inspired by the Spartan constitution, it represented an ideal model rather than a realistic image of the concrete political situation in 4th century BC Sparta. Similarly, Plato seems to have described a type of man – the timocrat – rather than the Spartans in their historically determined reality, even if the Spartan society of the classical age provided the basis for his analysis.[8] Yet, despite the differences between Xenophon and Plato that have been observed, it remains evident that φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία were regarded as typical Spartan values.[9]

Other texts, too, seem to support our evaluation of love of honour and love of victory. In *Alcibiades* I, for instance, both φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία were listed among the positive values of the Spartans that Socrates brought to Alcibiades' attention (122c). More emblematically, in the second book of the *Politics*, while conducting a critical assessment of the Spartan constitution and while implicitly trying to correct some assumptions about Sparta contained in Plato's *Republic*, Aristotle presented φιλοτιμία again as a crucial element of the Spartan political system.[10] In his negative review of Spartan institutions, he focused his attention on the process for electing the elders to the Gerousia. He disapproved of the

[8] In this regard, Ferrari 2003, pp. 59-82 pointed out that Plato established a proportional and symmetrical correspondence between the types of constitution and the types of soul, but he did not imply a relationship of cause and effect. Cf. also Hitz 2010, pp. 103-113 and 122-124.

[9] Very interestingly, this aspect was not treated by Plato in the various passages of the *Laws*, where he provided in positive terms a more historically accurate description of several Spartan political institutions; cf. Pl. *Lg*. 1.630d-633c, 1.634d-635d, 1.636e-637b, 3.682e-686c, 4.712d-e, 6.776c-d, 6.778d, 6.780e-781a, 7.805e-806c. On the Platonic view of Sparta in the *Laws* see Powell 1994, especially pp. 274-292 and 302-312.

[10] On Aristotle's criticism of Plato's *Republic* see Stalley 1991. In general, on Aristotle and the Spartan constitution see Bertelli 2004, David 1982-1983, De Laix 1974, and Schütrumpf 1994.

fact that Lycurgus' procedure was based on the candidates' desire to put themselves forward for the role, an aspect already praised by Xenophon, as we saw earlier. Aristotle labelled this method as childish (παιδαριώδης), since in his view the worthiest man for the office should be appointed regardless of his will.[11] Aristotle's judgment, nonetheless, remarked upon the coherence between the specific criteria for choosing the Gerontes and the general spirit of the constitution, whose aim was to render the citizens ambitious (φιλοτίμους κατασκευάζων τοὺς πολίτας) (*Pol*. 2.1271a8-18). Indeed, the tone of these comments was radically different from Xenophon's eulogy of Sparta; yet Aristotle recognised that ambition was a fundamental value at Sparta.[12]

Plutarch, too, attributed a great relevance to φιλονικία and φιλοτιμία in his thorough analysis of the Spartan constitution in the *Life of Lycurgus*, a biography whose Platonic echoes are numerous and well-documented.[13] As in the case of Xenophon, Plutarch, too, stressed the importance of these values for the ἀγωγή of the young. He wrote, for instance, that during some religious feasts the young Spartan girls used to make fun of the boys because of their mistakes; on the same occasions, however, they would praise the boys' merits by singing *encomia* in verses so as to inspire in them great love of honour (φιλοτιμία) and spirit of emulation (ζῆλος) [14.4-6]. On the other hand, by dancing and performing naked, women were also accustomed to simplicity (ἀφέλεια) and the emulation of physical vigour (ζῆλος εὐεξίας), taking part in men's virtue and love of honour (14.7).[14] In this regard, Plutarch appears to have followed Xenophon and expanded on his positive view about

[11] See p. 41, n. 4.
[12] Cf. Phillips Simpson 1998, pp. 118-119.
[13] See De Blois 1995, pp. 101-106, 2005a, pp. 93-102, 2005b, Futter 2012, pp. 35-50, Liebert 2009, pp. 255-271, Schneeweiss 1979, Stadter 1999. On Plutarch's idea of φιλονικία and φιλοτιμία see Nikolaidis 2012, Pelling 2002, pp. 244-247, 292-295 (Lysander and Agesilaus), 350-353, 2012.
[14] On female nudity at Sparta see David 2010, pp. 147-149.

women's education at Sparta (cf. X. *Lac*. 1.4), while Plato and Aristotle claimed that Lycurgus concentrated his attention on the boys' training, but neglected the girls.[15] Like all the other sources, nonetheless, Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus* confirms that ambition and love of honour played a crucial role in Spartan society.

Φιλονικία was not considered differently. In a passage that may remind us of the section of Xenophon's *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* devoted to the education of children (*Lac*. 2.2), Plutarch argued that Lycurgus did not allow any form of private education (*Lyc*. 16.7). Rather, from the age of seven the young Spartans were divided into herds (ἀγέλαι) and lived together under the leadership of commanders, chosen from among those boys who distinguished themselves in prudence and high spirit in fighting (*Lyc*. 16.8).[16] As Plutarch added, moreover, the elders used to provoke battles and rivalries (μάχαι καὶ φιλονικίαι) between the young. These contests aimed to make the young become used to fighting bravely, without being afraid of taking action (16.9). Plutarch commented incisively: 'Thus, they learned to read and write only as far as it was strictly necessary; all the rest of their training aimed to make them obey commands well, endure while suffering hardships, and win when fighting battles'.[17]

According to Plutarch, ambition and spirit of rivalry used to be at the centre of the Spartans' social life even after the young had become adults, since 'education extended as far as the prime of manhood' (ἡ δὲ παιδεία μέχρι τῶν ἐνηλίκων διέτεινεν) [*Lyc*. 24.1]. The Lycurgan laws had the primary goal of cementing the unity and the cultural identity of

[15] See, for instance, Arist. *Pol*. 2.1269b19-1270a14, Pl. *Lg*. 7. 6.781a-c, 806a-c. In general, on the education of Spartan women see Cartledge 1987, p. 27, Ducat 1999, pp. 57-59, 2006, pp. 223-245, Pomeroy 2002, pp. 3-32, Powell 1988, pp. 247-248.

[16] Plu. *Lyc*. 16.8: ἄρχοντα δ' αὐτοῖς παρίσταντο τῆς ἀγέλης τὸν τῷ φρονεῖν διαφέροντα καὶ θυμοειδέστατον ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι. Cf. also Arist. *Pol*. 8.1337a31-2.

[17] Plu. *Lyc*. 16.10: γράμματα μὲν οὖν ἕνεκα τῆς χρείας ἐμάνθανον· ἡ δ ἄλλη πᾶσα παιδεία πρὸς τὸ ἄρχεσθαι καλῶς ἐγίνετο καὶ καρτερεῖν πονοῦντα καὶ νικᾶν μαχόμενον.

Sparta, making the Spartans reject any form of individualism, in order to concentrate only on the public good. As Plutarch wrote, both φιλονικία and φιλοτιμία were part of this lifelong educational programme (*Lyc*. 25.5):

> τὸ δὲ ὅλον εἴθιζε τοὺς πολίτας μὴ βούλεσθαι μηδὲ ἐπίστασθαι κατ᾽ ἰδίαν ζῆν, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ τᾶς μελίττας τῷ κοινῷ συμφυεῖς ὄντας ἀεὶ καὶ μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων εἱλουμένους περὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα, μικροῦ δεῖν ἐξεστῶτας ἑαυτῶν ὑπ᾽ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ὅλους εἶναι τῆς πατρίδος.
>
> Overall, he made the citizens become accustomed neither to wish nor to be able to live individually, but to belong wholly to their country, just as bees that are always organic parts of the whole community and cluster round about their leader, almost being beside themselves with enthusiasm and ambition.

To sum up, in all the texts examined above, the ἀγωγή and the Spartan constitution are presented as aiming to instil in the young φιλονικία and φιλοτιμία, moral values that permeated the Spartan society at various levels and which drove individuals to distinguish themselves and stand out among their peers as leaders of the young, ἱππεῖς, Gerontes, and so forth. As far as one can understand from the literary sources, then, ambition, spirit of competition, and rivalry characterised the social dynamics and the political life at Sparta. It is also interesting, in this regard, that the numerous references to φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία lay emphasis on how these passions regulated the public conduct of the Spartans among themselves rather than towards foreigners or external enemies.

One might think, however, that to some extent this interpretation of φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία was contradicted by Polybius, who compared the Spartan, Cretan, and Roman constitutions in the sixth book of his *Histories*.[18] In particular, Polybius highlighted the dichotomy between Lycurgus' success in preserving the internal harmony (ὁμόνοια) of

[18] On Polybius and Sparta see Hodkinson 2000, 50-52, Lévy 1987. On Polybius' problematic reference to Ephorus at 6.45 see Hodkinson 2000, 29-30.

Sparta and the lack of legislation on military conquests. On the one hand, by establishing equality (ἰσότης) of private possessions among the Spartans, by making money be esteemed of no value, and by promulgating laws that promoted a simple lifestyle, Lycurgus rendered the Spartans temperate (σώφρονες). He eradicated from Sparta greed for wealth (πλεονεξία) and, consequently, all the disagreements and seditions (πᾶσα φιαφορὰ καὶ στάσις) deriving from it, granting the Spartans a long and stable freedom (6.45.3-4, 46.6-8, 48.2-5).[19] On the other hand, nonetheless, he did not adopt any legislative measure to govern the Spartans' desire for hegemony and annexation of neighbouring territories (6.48.6). Polybius remarked upon the striking contrast between the Spartans' complete lack of ambition (they were defined ἀφιλοτιμότατοι) with respect to their private lives and the city's customs, and their great ambition (φιλοτιμότατοι) and greed for power and money, which made them take a belligerent attitude towards other Greeks (6.48.8). The war against the Messenians, the Persian War, the Peloponnesian War, the expeditions in Asia, and the peace of Antalcidas (387 BC) are the historical episodes mentioned by Polybius to support his claim about the Spartans' φιλονικία and φιλαρχία (6.49.1-6).

This might suggest that in Polybius' view φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία were not values embodied in the Lycurgan constitution or embedded in Spartan society. In fact, one should consider that in book six Polybius' primary intent was not to discuss in detail the internal dynamics, the educational system, or the various political institutions of Sparta as in the works of Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle, and Plutarch. Rather, as mentioned earlier, through a comparative analysis he tried to explore the reasons that made the Romans become the greatest superpower in history, being able to establish a universal empire (6.1.1-3). Thus, in

[19] On property and wealth in Sparta cf. *Alc. I* 122d-123b, Arist. *Pol*. 2.1269b21-32, 1270a11-29, 1271a3-5, 1271b10-17, Pl. *Lg*. 3.696a-b, *R*. 8.547b-d, 548a-b, 549c-d, 550d-551b, Plu. *Lyc*. 8-10, X. *Lac*. 7. So complex a question is thoroughly examined by Hodkinson 2000, where one can find further bibliographical references.

the case of Sparta – as much as in those of Crete and Carthage – Polybius concentrated his attention only on the elements relevant to understanding the Spartan hegemony so as to compare it with the Roman imperialism (6.50). In this regard, he referred to the lack of funds, which forced the Spartans to seek support from the Persians, betraying the Greek cities of Asia Minor, and to the defeat against the Thebans, which almost cost the Spartans their freedom. For this reason, according to Polybius, the Roman successes were greater and more enduring. The different scope of Polybius' survey, therefore, can explain the differences from the other authors who analysed Sparta.

In addition, the fact that Lycurgus managed to eliminate φιλοτιμία (rivalry) for money does not necessarily entail that other forms of φιλοτιμία were not accepted or encouraged at Sparta. One of these types of ambition, which Lycurgus implicitly admitted, can be considered φιλοτιμία deriving from physical training, which generated courage (ἀνδρεία) and φιλονικία in war. The section of the sixth book of the *Histories* devoted to Sparta focused on the consequences of φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία on foreign affairs. In this respect, Polybius' account was similar to the interpretations of this particular aspect of the Spartan socio-political system offered by Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle, and Plutarch, who underlined the complementarity between love of honour, ambition, rivalry, and the physical training that the Spartans had to undergo until old age. For the intense and constant pressure to be and act as φιλότιμοι and φιλόνικοι, together with the acquisition of fighting skills, was regarded as the Spartans' preferred means to maintain military supremacy.[20] Just as in the other literary sources, however, in Polybius too neither φιλοτιμία nor φιλονικία was exactly

[20] On the importance of physical training in Sparta and on the Spartan orientation towards war cf. Arist. *Pol*. 2.1271b1-6, 7.1324b7-9, 7.1333b5-35, 7.1334a40-34b4, 8.1338b25-39, Pl. *Lg*. 1.625c-626b, 1.633a, 2.666e-667a, Plu. *Lyc*. 14.3, 16.2-3, 16.9-14, 17.7-8, 22.1-3, X. *Lac*. 2.3-4, 2.7, 4.5-7, 5.8-9, 11-12. Cf. also Critias Fr. 32 and Isoc. 6.58-59, 7.7, 8.96-103, 11.18, 12.225-226. The question of Sparta's military orientation has been reassessed by Hodkinson 2006 with further bibliographical references.

equivalent to the manly courage (ἀνδρεία or ἀνδραγαθία) that the Spartans had to display in battle. Rather, love of honour and love of victory were perceived as the premises for acquiring military virtue, but their sphere of influence was certainly wider than war. From this perspective, Polybius confirmed the central role attributed to φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία in Spartan society. Despite the different approach, then, Polybius' remarks integrate with the information provided by other authors.

We can conclude that φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία concerned various aspects of the Spartan public life: soldierly actions as much as political activities, public offices, or personal wealth. In brief, φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία were moral values that defined the Spartan cultural identity.

Archaic and classical periods

After examining the meaning of φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία in the Spartan context, we can explore whether these values were attributed to the Spartans before the 4th century BC. The first author to analyse cannot but be the poet Tyrtaeus, who wrote his elegies sometime in the second half of the 7th century BC during the Second Messenian War. In his poems, Tyrtaeus never employed the terms φιλοτιμία or φιλονικία nor their cognates. The themes of ambition, spirit of competition, and contentiousness, moreover, were never explicitly mentioned. Tyrtaeus, conversely, often focused his attention on military valour and courage (especially in Tyrt. 10, 11, and 12 W^2.), and on the importance of preserving the existing political order, centred around the kings and the Gerontes (Tyrt. 2 and 4 W^2.).[21] Furthermore, as one can infer from Tyrt. 12 W^2., the reputation gained for fighting bravely at

[21] On the relationship between Tyrtaeus' fragments – especially fr. 4 W^2 – and the Great Rhetra as it was transmitted by Plutarch (*Lyc*. 6) cf. Lévy 2003, pp. 23-45, Liberman 1997, Meier 2002, Musti 1996, van Wees 1999, pp. 6-14, 2002, West 1974, pp. 184-186.

war was the greatest honour for the Spartans, but it did not concern only individuals but also the whole civic community. The primary purpose of serving as soldiers was to benefit Sparta and to bring glory to all the citizens, even if this entailed dying heroically on the battlefield. Similarly, the whole community of Spartans recognised and validated the soldiers' greatness by paying posthumous tributes to the dead or by revering the survivors of war in public offices (Tyrt. 12.23-42 W^2.): [22]

αἶψα δὲ δυσμενέων ἀνδρῶν ἔτρεψε φάλαγγας
τρηχείας· σπουδῆι δ᾽ ἔσχεθε κῦμα μάχης,
αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐν προμάχοισι πεσὼν φίλον ὤλεσε θυμὸν,
ἄστυ τε καὶ λαοὺς καὶ πατέρ᾽ εὐκλεΐσας,
πολλὰ διὰ στέρνοιο καὶ ἀσπίδος ὀμφαλοέσσης
καὶ διὰ θώρηκος πρόσθεν ἐληλάμενος.
τὸν δ᾽ ὀλοφύρονται μὲν ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες,
ἀργαλέωι δὲ πόθωι πᾶσα κέκηδε πόλις,
καὶ τύμβος καὶ παῖδες ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀρίσημοι
καὶ παίδων παῖδες καὶ γένος ἐξοπίσω·
οὐδέ ποτε κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπόλλυται οὐδ᾽ ὄνομ᾽ αὐτοῦ,
ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ γῆς περ ἐὼν γίγνεται ἀθάνατος,
ὅντιν᾽ ἀριστεύοντα μένοντά τε μαρνάμενόν τε
γῆς πέρι καὶ παίδων θοῦρος Ἄρης ὀλέσηι.
εἰ δὲ φύγηι μὲν κῆρα τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο,
νικήσας δ᾽ αἰχμῆς ἀγλαὸν εὖχος ἕληι,
πάντές μιν τιμῶσιν, ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ παλαιοί,
πολλὰ δὲ τερπνὰ παθὼν ἔρχεται εἰς Ἀΐδην·
γηράσκων δ᾽ ἀστοῖσι μεταπρέπει, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν
βλάπτειν οὔτ᾽ αἰδοῦς οὔτε δίκης ἐθέλει,
πάντες δ᾽ ἐν θώκοισιν ὁμῶς νέοι οἵ τε κατ᾽ αὐτὸν
εἴκουσ᾽ ἐκ χώρης οἵ τε παλαιότεροι.

Soon he turns back the foemen's sharp edged battle lines
and strenuously stems the tide of arms;

[22] For an analysis of the elegy see Fuqua 1981, pp. 219-221 and 224-226, Luginbill 2002, pp. 407-412, Shey 1976, pp. 6-20; cf. also Loraux 1977, Mourlon Beernaert 1961, Prato 1965-67.

his own dear life he loses, in the front line felled,
  his breast, his bossed shield pierced by many a wound,
and of his corselet all the front, but he was brought
  glory upon his father, army, town.
His death is mourned alike by young and old; the whole
  community feels the keen loss his own.
People point out his tomb, his children in the street,
  his children' children and posterity.
His name and glorious reputation never die;
  he is immortal even in his grave,
that man the furious War-god kills as he defends
  his soil and children with heroic stand.
Or if in winning his proud spear-vaunt he escapes
  the doom of death and grief's long shadow-cast,
then all men do him honour, young and old alike;
  much joy is his before he goes below.
He grows old in celebrity, and no one thinks
  to cheat him of his due respect and rights,
but all men at the public seats make room for him,
  the young, the old, and those of his own age.[23]

In this elegy, therefore, Sparta was depicted as a very cohesive society, whose internal political unity was not threatened by any form of rivalry or contention. The fact that Tyrtaeus wrote his poems in a military context, when the menace posed by the external enemy – the Messenians – was perceived as imminent, may explain so strong an emphasis on the harmony of the Spartan community. Yet the complete absence of so peculiarly Spartan traits such as φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία from the work of the only native Spartan is undoubtedly noteworthy.

Similarly, in Herodotus, too, ambition and contentiousness were not mentioned among the characteristics of the Spartans.[24] In the first book of the *Histories*, for instance,

[23] Translation by West 1993, pp. 26-27.
[24] While the term φιλονικία was never employed by Herodotus, φιλοτιμία was used only once and it assumed a negative connotation: 'ambition is a mischievous possession' (φιλοτιμίη κτῆμα σκαιόν) (3.53.4). On Herodotus

within the discussion about the changes introduced by Lycurgus in the Spartan law system, there is no reference to φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία (1.65-66). Analogously, while talking about the qualities of the Spartans, neither the Persian king Cyrus the Great, replying to the Spartan herald (1.153), nor the exiled Spartan king Demaratus, being asked by Xerxes (7.104), made direct allusion to love of honour and love of victory as important values of the Spartans.

The only cases that Herodotus explicitly described as political quarrels (νείκεα) concerned Demaratus, but they were not positive examples of emulation.[25] Herodotus wrote that Demaratus had a disagreement with Cleomenes (οὐκ ἐὼν διάφορος ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ Κλεομένει), the other king of Sparta, during the military campaign against Athens, after the aristocratic leader Isagoras, supported by the Spartans, had been banished and Cleisthenes had been recalled from exile by the Athenians (5.75.1). The relationship between the two Spartan kings deteriorated so much, that Demaratus made accusations (διέβαλε) against Cleomenes. As Herodotus explained, Demaratus acted out of envy and jealousy (φθόνῳ καὶ ἄγῃ χρεώμενος) (6.61.1). Subsequently, Cleomenes decided to depose Demaratus as retaliation in kind (6.61.2). He set Leotychidas against Demaratus, knowing their hostility, caused by the fact that both loved the same woman, Percalus (6.65.1-3). In this case, too, the use of the adjective ἐχθρός and the substantive ἔχθρη reveals how Leotychidas and Demaratus did not have a constructive rivalry, but were merely full of hatred, bred by purely private reasons. Only when he had to examine the public repercussions of the enmity between Cleomenes, Leotychidas, and Demaratus, and the

and Sparta see Lévy 1999, pp. 125-134, Vannicelli 1993, pp. 9-98. On Archidamus' discourse see Meriggiò 2004, pp. 288-294.

[25] On Herodotus' account of Demaratus and his quarrel with Cleomenes see Boedeker 1987, pp. 187-191, Cartledge 2002[2], pp. 123-130 and 171-173, Tigerstedt 1965, pp. 91-99.

consequences of Leotychidas' accusation that Demaratus was not the son of king Ariston and the rightful heir to the throne, did Herodotus employ the term contention (νείκος): 'At last, as there was contention about those matters, the Spartans resolved to ask the oracle at Delphi whether Demaratus was the son of Ariston'.[26] Such a critical impasse, which hit the most important political institution of Sparta, was addressed again as a νείκος in Demaratus' discourse to his mother, when he inquired as to his true identity: 'For Leotychidas spoke in his contention with me, saying that you came to Ariston being pregnant by your former husband'.[27]

As in the other cases analysed earlier, Herodotus did not connect contention and rivalry with the education and the political institutions of the Spartans. The dramatic political crisis involving Demaratus, conversely, was considered an anomaly, which the Spartans tried to avoid in the future. One should note, in this regard, that after the dispute between Cleomenes and Demaratus the Spartans promulgated a law, which prohibited both kings from leading the army in expeditions abroad together and simultaneously (5.75.2).[28] It seems plausible to infer, therefore, that according to Herodotus' account rivalry, contentiousness, and ambition were not integral part of the Spartan political system.

The same conclusion can be drawn from the depiction of Sparta in Thucydides. In the debate before deciding to declare war against Athens in BC 432, the Spartan king Archidamus described several characteristics of the Spartans (1.84.3-4):

> πολεμικοί τε καὶ εὔβουλοι διὰ τὸ εὔκοσμον γιγνόμεθα, τὸ μὲν ὅτι αἰδὼς σωφροσύνης πλεῖστον μετέχει, αἰσχύνης δὲ εὐψυχία,

[26] Hdt. 6.66.1: τέλος δὲ ἐόντων περὶ αὐτῶν νεικέων, ἔδοξε Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἐπειρέσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι εἰ Ἀρίστωνος εἴη παῖς ὁ Δημάρητος.
[27] Hdt. 6.68.2: Λευτυχίδης μὲν γὰρ ἔφη ἐν τοῖσι νείκεσι λέγων κυέουσάν σε ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρὸς οὕτω ἐλθεῖν παρὰ Ἀρίστωνα.
[28] Cf. X. *HG* 5.3.10. In general, on the trials of the Spartan kings see Lévy 2003, pp. 177-182.

εὔβουλοι δὲ ἀμαθέστερον τῶν νόμων τῆς ὑπεροψίας παιδευόμενοι καὶ ξὺν χαλεπότητι σωφρονέστερον ἢ ὥστε αὐτῶν ἀνηκουστεῖν, καὶ μὴ τὰ ἀχρεῖα ξυνετοὶ ἄγαν ὄντες τὰς τῶν πολεμίων παρασκευὰς λόγῳ καλῶς μεμφόμενοι ἀνομοίως ἔργῳ ἐπεξιέναι, νομίζειν δὲ τάς τε διανοίας τῶν πέλας παραπλησίους εἶναι καὶ τὰς προσπιπτούσας τύχας οὐ λόγῳ διαιρετάς.

We are skilled in war and well-advised thanks to our orderly behaviour: skilled in war, because prudence is the greatest part of the sense of respect and sense of shame is the greatest part of courage; well-advised, because we are severely educated with too little learning to disdain the laws and with too great a prudence to disobey them. Without being excessively intelligent in useless matters, we do not criticise brilliantly the armaments of the enemy in words, but go out against them in a different way in action. Rather, we believe that our neighbours' thinking is similar to ours and the fates, which befall us, cannot be determined by a theory.

Archidamus' speech put emphasis on the combination between courage, military preparation, and sense of shame, prudence, and respect for the laws as the main outcome of Spartan education. Very significantly, nonetheless, it did not relate ambition and spirit of contention to the Spartan way of life.[29] A similar evaluation of the Spartan ἀγωγή can be found in Pericles' long funeral oration for the dead of the first year of the Peloponnesian War (BC 431). While commenting on the differences between the Spartans and the Athenians, Pericles highlighted the distinctly militaristic character of Spartan training. Neither φιλοτιμία nor φιλονικία, however, were discussed as typical Spartan values yet again (2.39.1).

In Thucydides' view, conversely, the notion of φιλοτιμία explained the Athenians' behaviour after Pericles' death, when they did not follow the recommendations about the war provided by their leader, condemning themselves to complete failure (2.65.6-7).

[29] On the traditional Spartan values mentioned by Archidamus see Meriggiò 2004, pp. 3-4, Wassermann 1964, pp. 289-291.

Ambition, that is to say, was the passion that made the Athenians make wrong decisions during the Peloponnesian War. In this regard, Thucydides recalled again the Athenian φιλοτιμία while analysing the regime of The Four Hundred and the tensions between moderates and extremists as to whether the oligarchy should be replaced by the larger social group of the Five Thousand (411 BC). From Thucydides' perspective, private φιλοτιμίαι were ultimately responsible for ruining the oligarchy made out of a democracy (8.89.3). The conduct of the Athenians was also characterised by φιλονικία. Contentiousness, in particular, connoted their imperialistic tendencies, which manifested themselves in subjugating the Aeginetans and punishing the Samians with the help of the Corinthians (1.41.3), and in continuing the war on the two fronts of Sicily and Greece despite the desperate situation (7.28.3). To sum up, φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία caused many atrocities – as also confirmed by Thucydides' general comment about the subversion of the normal order of things, derived from the violence of war (3.82.8) –, but these passions were attributed to the Athenians rather than to the Spartans.

This brief survey of the historical sources dating back to the archaic and classical age suggests the presence of a marked divergence from the later texts discussed in the first part of the chapter. A simple explanation for so striking a difference might be that Tyrtaeus, Herodotus, and Thucydides did not seek to offer as thorough an analysis of the Spartan political system as those of Xenophon or Plutarch. Their views on Sparta, therefore, may have been limited to the features more suitable to prove the strength and unity of Spartan society. Yet it remains unclear – and also very significant – why such important aspects as φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία were never linked to Sparta by earlier authors, while being later attributed to the polity established by Lycurgus. One could also argue that the words

φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία were first employed relatively late in Greek literature, becoming more frequent only from the fifth century BC onwards.[30] This, however, may only explain the absence of occurrences in Tyrtaeus' elegies; Herodotus and Thucydides, conversely, as we saw earlier, were familiar with the idea of love of honour and love of victory, and their implications. This type of answer to the question posed above, therefore, cannot be satisfactory and we should adopt a different approach.

Explaining the crisis of Sparta

The issue concerning the absence of references to φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία in earlier texts can be better addressed by contextualising the later sources. As recalled at the beginning of the chapter, Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle, Polybius, and Plutarch – and we can also add Isocrates and Ephorus – wrote about Sparta and the Spartan constitution at the time when the Spartan political system had already manifested its limits. Lysander's exceptional power as *navarch* and general of the army during the last phase of the Peloponnesian War, his enormous prestige as a private citizen after returning to Sparta, and his role in Agesilaus' controversial accession to the throne after king Agis' death (ca BC 401-400) fostered political instability. The clash between Lysander and Agesilaus on the eve of the military campaign against the Persians (BC 396) as much as Lysander's conspiracy, aimed at overthrowing the Spartan kingship, proved how acute the Spartan political crisis was. The Spartan hegemony, moreover, established by Lysander by imposing oligarchic regimes on the other Greek cities under Spartan domination, revealed the imperialistic ambitions of the Spartans soon after the end of the Peloponnesian War. Finally, the battle of Leuctra and the

[30] Cf. De Pourcq-Roskam 2012, pp. 1-4.

defeat by the Thebans (BC 371) marked the end of the supremacy of Sparta and the beginning of her slow and inexorable decadence.[31]

Doubtless, these historical events exerted a profound influence on the authors' perception of Sparta as a political system caught in a terrible predicament. For instance, despite his appreciation of the Spartan constitution, Xenophon had to admit that the Spartan customs had changed substantially in the course of time. Flatteries, fondness for money, the desire to act as *harmosts* in foreign cities, the aspiration to command rather than to become worthy leaders constituted unmistakable signs that the Spartans no longer obeyed the Lycurgan constitution (*Lac*. 14).[32] An analogous line of argument was later deployed by Isocrates in the discourse *On the Peace* (BC 355), where he criticised the Spartan imperialism by contrasting the current decline of Sparta with her glorious past, based on virtuous habits. In particular, Isocrates identified the main causes of the Spartans' radical change with both the abandonment of the Lycurgan traditions and the creation of the maritime empire. As a result, the Spartans became aggressive and despotic even towards former allies. In his view, all the political and military decisions taken after the end of the Peloponnesian War – the expedition against the Persians (BC 401), the Corinthian War (395-386 BC), the support given to Dionysius the Elder, and so forth – proved that the Spartans adopted a new warlike and foolhardy attitude (96-103).[33] The idea of a dramatic reversal in Spartan history, which should prevent from drawing inferences about the past of Sparta from her later state of affairs, was also expressed by Ephorus, who saw again the war

[31] On Lysander, Agesilaus, and the crisis of Sparta see Cartledge 1987, pp. 77-381, 2002[2], pp. 228-259. Cf. also Cawkwell 1976, Funke 2009.
[32] See Hodkinson 2000, pp. 22-26, Humble 1997, pp. 232-234.
[33] Isocrates employs the adverbs φιλοπολέμως and φιλοκινδύνως, which may be considered pejorative terms used instead of the milder φιλονικία and φιλοτιμία. On the Spartans' greed abroad, while exerting their power against other Greeks, cf. also Isoc. 11.18-19, 12.225-226. On Isocrates' image of Sparta see Gray 1994, especially pp. 257-268.

against Thebes as a decisive turning point (*FGrH* 70 F 118 12-16 *ap*. Str. 8.5.5; F 149 31-33 *ap*. Str. 10.4.17).[34]

Plato, too, like Aristotle and Isocrates, discussed the causes of the Spartan decadence. In his view, timocracy was not a stable form of government, but inevitably degraded into oligarchy because of the progressive accumulation of private wealth with the consequent growth of widespread love of money (φιλοχρηματία) and admiration for the rich. This made timocratic men repeal their original laws and adopt a new constitution based on census (*R*. 8.550d-551b).[35] Indeed, as we argued earlier, one would wrongly assume that Plato's timocracy constituted a completely faithful representation of historical Sparta. It would be difficult to claim, nonetheless, that the eighth book of the *Republic* contained no echo of the political and social crisis of Sparta, interpreted in philosophical terms.

More explicitly, in the second book of the *Politics* Aristotle repeatedly mentioned the defeat at Leuctra as the key episode that exposed the limits of the Spartan constitution, especially as regards the boldness (θρασύτης) of women (2.1269b35), the scarcity of manpower (2.1270a29-34), and, above all, the education for military virtue alone, without developing any ability to live well in peace, free from occupations (2.1271b2-6; cf. 7.1334a2-9 and 7.1334a34-1334b5). Contrary to other authors, therefore, Aristotle gave emphasis on the continuity between Lycurgus' laws and the crisis of Sparta, without viewing the Spartan decline simply as the result of a major upheaval.[36] This concept was reaffirmed even more strongly later in the treatise. As Aristotle contended, Sparta's downfall showed that Lycurgus

[34] Stylianou 1998, pp. 113-120 makes insightful observations about Ephorus' moralistic attitude towards Sparta, but Green 1999's criticism of Stylianou's biased approach against Diodorus should be also taken into account.
[35] See Hodkinson 2000, pp. 31-32, Rosen 2005, pp. 305-311. In general, on Spartan coinage and for a critical assessment of the ancient sources see Figueira 2002, especially pp. 138-147. Cf. also David 1979-80.
[36] Hodkinson 2000, pp. 33-35, and Schütrumpf 1994, pp. 338-41 convincingly argue that Aristotle's negative evaluation of Sparta was not based on a concept of historical development, but regarded the whole history of the city as a continuum from the archaic age to Leuctra. David 1982-83, conversely, hypothesises that Aristotle mostly criticised contemporary Sparta, while maintaining a positive judgement of Lycurgus' time.

was not a good lawgiver, since his laws did not make the Spartans happy. For the Lycurgan constitution merely aimed at conquest and war (πρὸς τὸ κρατεῖν καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον), without educating the citizens to practice virtue. Consequently, following Lycurgus' principles in time of war, the Spartans managed to impose their despotic rule on other cities. After creating their empire, however, they fell into arrogance because of the lack of moral values such as justice (δικαιοσύνη) and temperance (σωφροσύνη) (7.1333b5-35). The battle of Leuctra, moreover, put an end to the military supremacy of Sparta. The Spartan failure was explained by the opposition of enemies who had an excellent military preparation, a challenge that the Spartans never faced before. In Aristotle's view, then, one should take into account not only the past successes but also the current situation of crisis in order to form a balanced judgment on Sparta (8.1338b24-38).

Following the trend of earlier generations, several authors of the Hellenistic and early imperial age also attached great importance to the historical period culminating in the battle of Leuctra. As we saw in the first part of the chapter, Polybius, like Aristotle, criticised Lycurgus and his laws, while still considering the battle of Leuctra the lowest point of the Spartan decadence.[37] In the *Bibliotheca Historica*, conversely, summarising Ephorus' work, Diodorus Siculus praised the Lycurgan constitution and its positive effects on the Spartans. For, thanks to Lycurgus' legislation, the Spartans were able to establish their hegemony and to preserve their pre-eminence for more than four hundred years, that is, until the debacle against the Thebans. Subsequently, as soon as they slowly (κατ'ὀλίγον) started to abolish their customs, turning to luxury and laziness, using coined money, and accumulating wealth, they became corrupted and lost their supremacy (7.12.8). The disapproval of Sparta's moral decay is harsher in the prologues of the fourteenth and fifteenth books. By advancing

[37] See pp. 45-7.

different arguments from those in book seven, Diodorus pointed out that the Spartans, committing injustice, mistreated their allies, but paid a high price losing the hegemony (14.2.1). Once again, the emphasis fell on the contrast between Sparta's glorious past, when the ancestors established the supremacy of Sparta on a firm basis and preserved it thanks to their virtue, and the fourth century BC, characterised by unjust and arrogant wars against other Greeks. On numerous occasions, the Spartans acted violently and harshly (βιαίως καὶ χαλεπῶς), whereas in earlier generations they had treated their subjects with moderation and humanity (ἐπιεικῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως) [15.1.3-4].[38]

Finally, Plutarch, too, regarded the period between Lysander's command as *harmost* and the battle of Leuctra as a time of radical changes, triggered by Lysander's decision to send the silver and gold acquired in war to Sparta (*Lyc*. 30.1).[39] This provoked the subversion of Lycurgus' laws and, consequently, the beginning of the moral decadence of the Spartans. Once more, the decline of Sparta reached its nadir with the defeat against the Thebans, after which the Spartans were not able to regain their past greatness. These themes, which were only briefly outlined in the *Life of Lycurgus*, were discussed much more thoroughly in the *Lives of Lysander and Agesilaus*, where they constituted the core of Plutarch's analysis of the Spartan crisis.[40]

The various images of Sparta, conveyed by fourth century BC and later literary sources, reveal that the rise and fall of Sparta were thought to be indissolubly linked to one another. The Lycurgan constitution and the Spartan hegemony could not be fully evaluated –

[38] See Stylianou 1998, pp. 141-142. Cf. also Stylianou's remarks about Ephorus' moralistic idea of history (see p. 59, n. 34 of this chapter), which may also apply to Diodorus.
[39] On the impact of Lysander's decision to send money to Sparta see Christien 2002, pp. 172-183.
[40] See, in particular, Plu. *Lys*. 2.6, 16-17 (Lysander's silver and gold at Sparta); *Lys*. 5.5-6, 8.1-3, 13.3-14.4, 15.1-6, 19.1-4, 21, *Ages*. 15.1-2, 23-24 (Spartan imperialism); *Lys*. 23.4-24.2, *Ages*. 7-8 (the clash between Lysander and Agesilaus), *Lys*. 24-26, 30.3-5, *Ages*. 20.3-5 (Lysander's conspiracy), *Ages*. 26-28, 31-32 (the defeat against Thebes).

either in positive or negative terms – without considering simultaneously the decline of Sparta, whether the two extremes of the Spartan trajectory were seen as being connected in a cause and effect relationship (Aristotle and Polybius) or whether, conversely, greater importance was given to the repudiation of traditional values, which created a caesura in Spartan history (Xenophon, Isocrates, Ephorus/Diodorus, Plutarch). That is to say, assessing the positive or negative long-term outcome of Lycurgus' laws was integral part of the analysis of the Spartan political system. Similarly, the crisis of Sparta could not be understood without exploring its roots in the past, either by emphasising the impact of external factors such as wealth, gained after establishing the empire, or the hatred of former allies, or by determining some internal cause such as the militaristic orientation of the Spartan constitution.

This implies that the authors who examined the Spartan socio-political system as a whole also attempted to investigate its intrinsic limits and the reasons for its ultimate failure. In this regard, φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία represented useful interpretative keys for this type of analysis. As we saw earlier, the desire to compete with other citizens so as to assume high offices and obtain public recognition, the ambition to excel, and the aspiration to demonstrate one's own superiority in public affairs were regarded as positive values at Sparta. In the later literary sources, these passions appear to have played a vital role in the Spartan successes. Yet, in light of the events of the fourth century BC, giving a moral interpretation of the Spartan crisis, it was also easy to assume *a posteriori* that φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία created the conditions for the decadence of Sparta.

The various internal and external causes of the crisis – power struggles between political leaders, desire for command, imposition of a more aggressive and despotic

imperialism, love of wealth, hatred of powerful enemies, and so forth – could find breeding ground in the ambition, spirit of competition, contentiousness, and rivalry typical of Spartan society. Indeed, the delicate balance between courage (ἀνδρεία) and obedience (αἰδώς), military virtue (ἀρετή) and moderation (σωφροσύνη), which preserved concord (ὁμόνοια) among the Spartans, could be disrupted by excessive φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία.[41] Furthermore, the behaviour of the Spartan leaders as much as the military and political acts between the end of the Peloponnesian War and the battle of Leuctra proved that education to obedience was not an adequate means to counterbalance the effects of uncontrolled ambition and contentiousness. Nor was it able to guarantee moderation and the assertion of collective over private interests.[42] Eventually, regardless of the cause that triggered them, the φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία of the Spartans affected the other Greeks, transcending the narrow confines of Sparta and the simple relationship between citizens.

Thus, by placing emphasis on φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία as essential features of the Lycurgan constitution, authors such as Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, and Polybius might have tried to determine retrospectively which aspects of Spartan culture and society favoured the moral, social, and political decline of Sparta. The attribution of so decisive an importance to φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία, then, may constitute a form of projection to the past of a later image of Sparta. Love of honour and love of victory characterised the Spartan cultural identity, but at the same time they were distinctive traits that, reflecting the social and political condition of Sparta in the fourth century BC, could prefigure *ex post* her

[41] On the notion of φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία as mean-virtues requiring moderation see Frazier 1988, pp. 110-118, Nikolaidis 2012, pp. 32-33.

[42] On collective over private interests see Hodkinson 1983, p. 245. Cf. also Cartledge 2001, p. 84, Ducat 1999, p. 50, Powell 1988, p. 235. On education to obey cf. X. *Lac*. 2.2, 2.10-11, and 8.1-2, Pl. *Lg*. 1.634d-e, 2.666e-667a, *R*. 8.549a. See Cartledge 2001, pp. 82-84, Hodkinson 1983, pp. 247-248, Powell 1988, pp. 233-234, Proietti 1987, pp. 52 and 58-59.

decadence. This may also explain the difference between later authors and the literary sources of the archaic and classical age, in which φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία were virtually absent.

In conclusion, as I hope to have shown, the analysis of φιλοτιμία and φιλονικία confirms once again that the literary sources present the juxtaposition and the overlap of various images of Sparta from different historical periods, something to which modern historiography is certainly used. And yet this makes the research on Sparta to be a continuous and fascinating journey through time.

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SLAVERY AS A POLITICAL PROBLEM

DURING THE PELOPONESSIAN WARS [1]

Bernat Montoya Rubio

The interest for the morality and the origins of slavery did not begin in the 18th century but in the 4th century BC. We are used to reading about how natural slavery was among ancient Greeks contrary to our modern conception and to what extent the philosophical principles of Plato and Aristotle contributed to legitimising this institution.[2] On the contrary, very few scholars have attempted to answer the opposite question: how is it possible that during a time when everybody accepted the existence of slavery as something natural, some philosophers began a dedicated effort justifying its legitimacy? In this sense, Aristotle remarkably notices that during his time some people maintained that: 'for one man to be another man's master is contrary to nature, because it is only convention that makes the one a *slave* (*δοῦλον*) and the other a *freeman* (*ἐλεύθερον*) (...) and therefore it is unjust, for it is based on force' (1253b).[3]

The general trend among scholars has been to confine this debate to a purely philosophical sphere of few intellectuals with no social or political implications (i.e.

[1] I use the phrase 'Peloponnesian Wars' in plural because I am referring, not only to the big war of 431-404 BC, but also to the previous conflict between Athens and Sparta known as the 'First Peloponnesian War of 460-445 BC. This text has been improved from the version presented in the 2nd CSPS Conference 'Conflict in the Peloponnese: Social, Military and Intellectual' thanks to the stimulating remarks of Mr Davis, Dr Nielsen, Professor Hodkinson and Dr Vlassopoulos. I would also like to express my gratitude to Mrs Escalante and Dr Brouma for her help in the grammar correction of this text.

[2] Schlaifer 1936, Vlastos 1941, Davis 1966, Garnsey 1996 and Finley 1980, among many others.

[3] All quotations of Greek texts in English derive from the Loeb edition. I prefer using the Greek word in order to refer free citizens, slaves and helots because part of the discussion debates the use of one word or the other. If it is important to compare with the original text, then I reproduce the entire sentence in Greek.

Cambiano 1987). The lack of other types of evidence seems to support this interpretation. However, we should keep in mind that the writings of Plato and Aristotle did not only have a philosophical purpose; they also had strong political and social implications in their own society. One of the main purposes of this article is to underline the political perspective, not only in the writings of the philosophers but also in historiography and other genres of Greek literature. I defend that any great transformation in the domain of ethical, political and historical thought is highly related to important changes in the realm of contemporary politics. I understand philosophical and historical writings mainly as discourses pointed to respond to the polemics of their time.[4] This does not mean that these writings provide us complete information of their historical context but only on those aspects that were conceived as debatable problems. In the case of slavery, we know that the current trend in slave societies is to avoid questioning the morality of the institution; it is just accepted as something natural (Davis 1984). Taking this into consideration, the appearance of a public debate about the morality of slavery during the 4th century BC can be explained only in terms of a great social or political transformation. In my opinion, Plato refers to the event that provoked this great transformation when he writes:

> As regard to possessions (…) *servants* (οἰκέτης) present all kinds of difficulties (…) For probably the most vexed problem in all Hellas is the problem of the

[4] This study is related to a wider project aiming to bring the methodology developed by Pocock and Skinner on modern political thought to the Greek political discourses about slavery. Focus is shifted on the intellectual and historical contexts in which the texts were produced in order to reconstruct all their political and intellectual implications. My research has been strongly influenced by several works that have transformed our way of understanding the Greek political and social thought from different perspectives, such as: Wood 1978, 1988; Raaflaub 1983, 2003; Hunt 1998; Ober 1999; Vlassopoulos 2007 and Tamiolaki 2010. This article can be understood to a great extent as a response to the quoted works of Hunt, Raaflaub and Tamiolaki.

Helot-system of the Spartans (*Λακεδαιμονίων εἰλωτεία*), which some maintain to be the good, others bad (*Laws*, 776c).

This sentence clearly proves that Helotage was a controversial issue when Plato wrote the *Laws.* Moreover, it seems that Plato wrote the *Laws* during the last decade of his life, which means that Messenian independence had already taken place (in 369 BC) and we know that this event caused an important discussion around the condition of Spartan Helots. The best known evidence derives from Isocrates' Archidamus, representing the Spartan voice when he complains: 'The worst fate which threatens us is not that we shall be robbed of our land contrary to justice, but that we shall see our *slaves* (*δούλους*) made masters of it.' (Isoc. 6.28). In conflict with Archidamus' statement was the contemporary Alkidamas, who wrote the *Messianic* to defend the helot's cause, and said: 'God has left all men free; Nature has made none a slave',[5] which presents an interesting analogy to the anonymous opponents to slavery quoted by Aristotle at the beginning of his *Politics* (1253b). The aim of this paper is to suggest that a public controversy about the legitimacy of helotage could have been posed before Messenian independence, at some point between the revolt at Mount Ithome and the Peloponnesian War.[6] It can be argued against this idea that there is no direct evidence that this opinion was prevalent among Athenians and even less in the other *poleis.* Nevertheless, we should take into consideration that the contemporary sources are quite limited. Despite the fact that Athenian democracy existed and had its defenders in the public sphere, no single writing expressing their viewpoint survives. If

[5] « Ἐλευεθέρους ἀφῆκε πάντας θεός. οὐδένα δοῦλον ἡ φύσις πεποίκεν » (Arist. *Rhet*.1373b).
[6] Most scholars suggest that the polemic began with the formal constitution of the Messenian *polis* in 369 BC (see Vidal-Naquet, 1973; Luraghi, 2002; Raaflaub, 2003, among others).

no radical defence of the democratic point of view has survived, it is evidently more difficult to impart the evidence that criticises slavery.

Another aspect that should be taken into account is what we refer to as "slave" is not the exact translation of the Greek words *δοῦλος* and *οἰκέτης*. Terminological studies have demonstrated that the most proper translation of the word *δοῦλος* is someone subdued to another subject (it can be a person but also a political power) and that *οἰκέτης* is someone who works serving another person, whatever the juridical condition of this worker is.[7] Contrary to the most common interpretation, I do not consider the root *δοῦλ*- as a metaphor when it is not applied to chattel-slaves[8] but as its principal meaning.[9] Chattel-slavery is only one of the conditions that can be described as *δουλεία*. At the same time, the sources demonstrate that the difference between slaves and free people in the Greek world was not so accentuated compared to Modern American societies, where race establishes a social gap so strong that it can't be surpassed, even after the emancipation of slaves.

In taking into account these aspects, some historical passages, such as Solon's reform, may be observed under a different light. When Aristotle quotes Solon's speech in order to defend the abolition of the *hectemorate*, he says that he had freed many Athenians from "base δουλεία" (*δουλίην ἀεικέα*).[10] Were poor Athenians subdued to work for their debtors considered *δοῦλοι*? What differentiated them from Spartan

[7] See Lencman 1951, Finley 1960, 1964, Gschnitzer 1964, 1974, Mactoux 1979 and Montoya Rubio 2012; 2015 pp. 87-116.
[8] According to Plácido Suárez's (1992) interpretation, when Thucydides uses the root *δοῦλ*- he refers to the subjection of Athenian allies to the great city.
[9] The study of the cases where words with the root *δοῦλ*- are used seems to demonstrate this fact (see Mactoux 1979 and Plácido Suárez 1992). Nevertheless, there are other Greek words that are applied with more certainty to chattel-slaves, as *ἀνδράποδον* and *σῶμα*, among others (see Lencman 1951 and Gschnitzer 1964, 1974).
[10] 'And others suffering *base slavery* (*δουλίην ἀεικέα*) / Even here, trembling before their masters' humour.' (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 12.4.)

δοῦλοι? I agree with P. Hunt (1998) when he says that classical Greek *poleis* had strong reasons to hide the participation of slaves in their wars. However, I believe that the boundary between a full-right citizen and a *δοῦλος* was weaker than it is usually perceived. The persistence we find among certain authors (such as Aristotle) about the insuperable gap between the free-citizen and those excluded from the rights of the *polis,* probably talks more about the desire of the Greek writers rather than the actual social reality in which they used to live.

M. Tamiolaki (2010, 138-147) has brilliantly demonstrated Thucydides' awareness of the words he uses to talk about the Helots (*δοῦλοι*, helots or Messenians). When Thucydides wants to stress the rightness of Athenian and Helot/Messenian interventions in Laconian territory he uses the term 'Messenians' (i.e. Thuc. 4.3.3-4.4.1). The geographical term gives them the entity of a *polis*, and therefore, their status as an honorable ally of Athens.[11] At the same time, Thucydides informs us that Spartans usually defined Athenian control over their allies as δουλεία, that is, as oppression. Thus, in order to reduce the discursive power of Spartan criticism of Athenian hegemony, Thucydides interposes a number of comparisons with the Spartan harshness over the Helots (i.e. Thuc. 1.128.1). Interestingly, he starts using this discursive strategy after the installation of the Messenian refugees in Naupactus by the Athenians. Knowing that, the question I would like to pose is: To what extent is Thucydides expressing a discourse which was created, not by himself, but by the Athenians who promoted and defended the installation of the Messenian refugees in the Naupactus settlement?

[11] This strategy can be verified when comparing Pausanias' *Messenia* with Isocrates' *Archidamus*. While the former uses systematically the word "Messenians", Isocrates interposes several times the words δοῦλοι and Helots to talk about the people who will be the inhabitants of Messene (i.e. Isoc. *Archid*. 28).

I maintain that the episode of the Athenian intervention to help Sparta against the Helot rebellion of Mount Ithome affords some interesting clues to this question. The first remarkable aspect is that the two main sources we have about this historical event highlight very different details and perspectives of it. The first one is Thucydides (1.101-103), who offers a vision closer to the Greek sense of honour studied by Hunt (1994), because he presents Athenian intervention in Messenia as a honourable response to the claim of aid of their ancient allies (the Spartans). However, the Spartan distrust and dismiss of the Attic force was perceived by the Athenians as a great outrage against their honour which contributed greatly to the degeneration of the diplomatic relations between the two great cities. Thucydides' description of the event demonstrates that the hierarchy between *ἐλεύθεροι* and *δοῦλοι* was so great on its ideological basis, that 'class solidarity' could surpass the political confrontation between different *poleis*.[12] Similarly, Raaflaub (2003) points out that the Athenian use of Helot forces during the Peloponnesian War did not raise a different perception of slavery and freedom.

However, moving from Thucydides to the other main source of the event, Plutarch's *Cimon* (16-17), then we observe a great change of perspective.[13] Plutarch begins by presenting Cimon as a strong philo-Laconian and follows by describing Athenian intervention in 464 BC as an operation lead by Cimon with the opposition of the democrat Ephialtes. Subsequently, Plutarch explains that the Spartan rejection of the Athenian force was badly regarded in their mother city causing the ostracism of

[12] Hunt (1998) presents the increasing participation of slaves and helots in the 5th century BC wars as a crisis of the hoplite system of warfare. Under this system, participating in war was closely connected to the possession of citizenship rights.

[13] On the other side, Pausanias 4.24.6-7 provides the same explanation as Thucydides, probably, because the Athenian historian was his main source on this episode.

Cimon. In this instance, we are presented with a very different picture where two confronting parties discussed on the military intervention in Messenia. The leader of the aristocratic party, Cimon, was eager to suppress the Helot revolt, whereas Ephialtes, the leader of the Democratic Party, opposed to it because he was aiming for the collapse of Sparta. The confrontation narrated by Plutarch contrasts with the view that Thucydides presents as the single Athenian position on this subject. I suspect that in this context the supporters of the democrat party could find some similarities between the oppression (*δουλεία*) suffered by the helots and the situation of the Athenian *demos* before the beginning of democracy, especially that of the debtors. The development of some kind of empathy with Spartan Helots is even more plausible if we take into account Luraghi's (2002) theory about the invention of Messenian identity between the 5th and the 4th century BC. If Messenians were culturally identical to Spartans, as Luraghi sustains, that means that their situation was not radically different from that of the Attic population before Solon's reform.[14]

Under this context, helping Spartan Helots was not only convenient from a geostrategic point of view but also from a political one as a way of reinforcing Athenian democracy. We have no evidence of a public comparison between the two types of *δουλεία*, but Thucydides gives us an important range of evidence of democratic leaders in support of the desertions and rebellions carried out by the helots during the Peloponnesian War of 431-404 BC.[15] On the other side, within the

[14] Figueira (1999) proposes a similar interpretation. I partly agree with Tamiolaki's (2010, p. 140) criticism of Figueira's thesis in the sense that such a comparison was not in Thucydides mind, nor in the minds of most Athenians during Mount Ithome's revolt. However, I maintain that it could have risen in the following decades due to the influence of the Naupactean Messenians among some Athenians, especially, during the Peloponnesian War.

[15] One of the best examples, is that of the Athenian intervention in Pylos which was promoted by General Demosthenes (sent by the democrat Cleon), against the desires of another faction of the Athenian army that preferred to concentrate the Athenian efforts in Sicily (Thuc. 4.3-4). Controversies

oligarchic perspective, the alliance with Sparta and the repression of the Helot rebellion could represent the cleverest option because it contributed to stopping the diffusion of power towards the lower classes. The Spartan dismissal of the Athenians resulted in the ostracism of Cimon, and surprisingly enough, with the settlement of helot refugees in Naupactus. Contrary to Thucydides' view, it seems more plausible that Athenians did not act by offense, but because they were following the confrontational strategy of the democrats against Sparta. It is very likely that the defenders of this strategy started to maintain the recognition of a Messenian identity and the questioning of their condition of δοῦλοι.

Moreover, Tamiolaki's (2010) analysis has clearly demonstrated the discursive use of the helot's situation by Thucydides, who prefers to describe them as Messenians than Helots and even less as δοῦλοι. Following the same principle, we can deduce that Thucydides pursued the same goal in his descriptions of the Spartan severity towards the Helots. A good example is when Thucydides explains the sacrilege committed by the Spartans when they slaughtered a group of Helot supplicants from the temple of Poseidon (1.128.1). What is important is not only the report of the sacrilege but also its location. We find it in the set of accusations that Spartans and Athenians launched against each other just before the beginning of the war. It is plausible that Thucydides is reproducing here a discursive use of the Helot's cause that could be prevalent in Athens during the Peloponnesian War.

Finally, let us now consider the philosophical discussions on the legitimacy of slavery (*δουλεία*) and the status of helots, which were produced during the 4th

among Athenians occurred again when the Spartans sent ambassadors to ask the Athenians to leave Pylos fortress and Cleon insisted remaining in Pylos defying Nicias, the leader of the aristocratic party. The result of this controversy was Cleon's travelling to Sphacteria in support of Demosthenes' cause. (Thuc. 4.21, 27-29).

century BC. The most common argument is that these discussions appeared as a consequence to the creation of the polis of Messene by Epaminondas in 369 BC. I have no doubt that this event stimulated a controversy about the Messenian right to constitute a state independently of Spartan control as Plato and Aristotle writings clearly demonstrate. Nevertheless, I do not see why this discussion had to develop towards a more general discussion on the legitimacy of slavery. However, this situation changes if we take into account the previous context of the Helot rebellion of 464 BC and the subsequent relationships between them and the Athenians, especially, during the Peloponnesian War. I believe that the discussion of *δουλεία* originated within this context, because Athenians started to question the right of the Spartans to dominate their *δοῦλοι*. I am convinced that Athenians did not find it easy to convince the rest of the Greek *poleis* about the right of the Helots to fight against their masters. As such, this would explain the context which gives rise to Plato's sentence: 'servants present all kinds of difficulties (…) For probably the most vexed problem in all Hellas is the problem of the Helot-system of the Spartans, which some maintain to be the good, others bad' (*Laws*, 776c).

The comparison between Plato and Aristotle presents us with some interesting insights. At the beginning of the *Politics*, Aristotle explains that he opposes those who: 'think that household management, statesmanship and monarchy are the same thing' (1253b). In contrast to Plato, Aristotle delineates a clear distinction between the Athenian household *δοῦλοι*, on one hand, the Spartan, Cretan and Thessalian collective *δοῦλοι*, on the other, and the free workers (who are described as Metics, peasants and craftsmen). The first group is introduced in book I, when he discusses the relationship between master and servant, whereas the second and the third groups

are introduced in the discussions about the types of political constitution that occur in books II and III. Aristotle shows here, as in other parts of his work, a closer view to Athenian democrats than Plato and Xenophon, who present the oligarchic point of view with their tendency to merge all the worker groups (Athenian slaves, Spartan Helots, Metics, free peasants and craftsmen) in the same category of *δοῦλοι*. In their view, all those carrying out the menial works can be defined just as the 'servile class', the *δοῦλοι*. If we move this perspective back to context of 460 BC, we could interpret Cimon willingness to help the Spartans against their *δοῦλοι* as a way of reinforcing the power of Athenian aristocracy over the worker groups (designed as *δοῦλοι* during Solonian times).

Another interesting testimony from the 4th century BC derives from the historian Theopompus of Chios, who traces the clearest distinction we possess when describing the different types of δοῦλοι in Classical Greece:

> The Chians were the first Greeks, after the Thessalians and Lacedaemonians, to use *slaves* (*δούλοις*), but they did not acquire them in the same way. For the Lacedaemonians and Thessalians (…) constituted *their slave-class* (*τὴν δουλείαν*) out of the Greeks who had earlier inhabited the territories which they themselves posses to-day (…) The people *reduced to slavery* (*καταδουλωθέντας*) were in the first instance called *helots* (*εἵλωτας*), in the second penestae. But the *slaves* (*οἰκέτας*) whom the Chians own are derived

from non-Greek peoples, and they pay a price for them. (*FGrHist* 115, fr. 122 in Athenaeus 6. 265b-c).[16]

The classification of Theopompus marks a high innovation in comparison to previous literature. However, we can trace a line in the development of Greek political ideas about *δουλεία* as early as Thucydides, who begins to question the status of Spartans' *δοῦλοι*, to the time of Theopompus, who clearly explains the radical differences between the Athenian and the Spartan δοῦλοι. From a Panhellenic point of view that started to circulate in the 4th century BC, the enslavement (*δουλόω*) of other Greeks was badly perceived, and we find some resonances of this idea in Plato's but more importantly in Aristotle's reflections on slavery. Nevertheless, the idea of paying a price for the servants (*οἰκέτης*) was not equally a totally positive idea, especially, when it meant depriving other members of the same *polis* of their right to work. This way of thought would be clearly developed by the stoic philosopher Posidonius of Apameia at the beginning of the 1st century BC when he contemplated the bad treatment of chattel-slaves in the fields of Sicily and the mines of Attica, Spain and Egypt (Strasburger 1965, Canfora 1982). Posidonius' criticism of slavery is rooted within the stoic praise of the law of nature against *nomos*. However, this criticism could also trace other intellectual sources.

Some centuries later, Athenaeus of Naucratis expressed the same idea in his discussion about slavery by picking different fragments from the writings of Aristotle, Theopompus and Posidonius, among others. Interestingly, after quoting Theopompus' description of the different types of *δοῦλοι*, Athenaeus states: 'I believe that the Deity

[16] I reproduce here the Greek words used in the original text to compare them with the English words used by the translator (S. Douglas Olson, Harvard edition of Athenaeus).

became wroth at the Chians for this practice, since, at a later time, they were disastrously involved in war on account of their slaves' (Ath. 265c). Athenaeus was probably influenced by Posidonius' negative view on chattel-slavery, but it is also possible, that the same Theopompus transmitted a bad opinion of the type of *δουλεία* practiced by the Chians. We know that Theopompus was born in Chios and he had to leave this *polis* because of his Laconian sympathies. Was Theopompus the first to create a critical discourse with Athenian and Chian type of *δουλεία* to defend the Spartan one? It is not impossible, especially if we take into account that Theopompus was also an acolyte of Isocrates, who transmitted the Spartan view about the Helot independence when he wrote in Archidamus: 'The worst fate which threatens us is not that we shall be robbed of our land contrary to justice, but that we shall see our slaves made masters of it"' (Isoc. 6.28).

It is possible that Posidonius took Theopompus' criticism of chattel-slavery as a worse system than former kinds of servitude (as helotage); a discourse that could had been created by Athenian aristocrats who saw in Sparta an ideal system of peasant dependence already lost in Athens. Two examples can support this hypothesis: the Old Oligarch (*Ath. Pol.* 1.10-12) and Plato (*Rep.* 431b-c). At the same time, it is also possible that Theopompus was using a type of discourse created by the Spartans during the Peloponnesian War. At the end, we know they had good reasons to act so especially after the Athenian open collaboration with their *δοῦλοι* begun. We also know that Spartans applied a similar strategy when they occupied Attica for some time and ensured that over 20.000 Athenian slaves would flee the land (Thuc. 7.27.5). The Spartans could have taken these slaves for their own financial benefits but eventually

found it more useful from a political and strategic point of view, that is, more detrimental to Athenian stability, to set them free (see Hunt 1998, pp. 112-115).

In conclusion, I defend that the period between the Ithome revolt and the Peloponnesian War marks a point of reference for the appearance of political discussions about *δουλεία*, which started as discussions on the Athenian allies' subjection, continued with Helot's dependence, and concluded into a more general discussion about the righteousness of all types of slavery (including chattel-slavery) during the 4th century BC. However, what made this debate more important from a political point of view is that it did not only affect the geo-strategic relationships, but also the social relationships inside the Greek *poleis.* I consider that explains Cimon's willingness to help the Spartans against the Helots, and the Socratic tendency to merge all worker groups into the same juridical condition of *δοῦλοι*. The result of this political polemic would be the emergence of a philosophical and historical discussion about the legitimacy of slavery in the 4th century BC, which could have influenced the stoic criticism of slavery as contrary to nature. This idea was transmitted to later authors, like Posidonius, who created new philosophical and historical discourses about slavery. These discourses appear clearly depicted in Plutarch's and Athenaeus' texts, which have caused a great influence on the modern conception of ancient slavery. However, the passing of time would inevitably erase the political purposes that these discourses initially held.

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TYRTAEUS: THE SPARTAN POET FROM ATHENS

SHIFTING IDENTITIES AS RHETORICAL STRATEGY IN LYCURGUS' AGAINST LEOCRATES

Eveline van Hilten-Rutten

In 330 BCE, the Athenian treasurer and politician Lycurgus delivered a speech against the citizen Leocrates. The defendant, an Athenian blacksmith, had fled to Rhodes after the defeat at the battle of Chaeronea (338 BC), taken up residence in Megara for several years and sold his property at Athens, but then decided to return to his hometown for reasons now unknown. Upon his return he was charged with treason by Lycurgus, but escaped conviction by only one vote.[1] Albeit famous for its patriotism, the speech was unsuccessful in court and it is the only extant complete speech of Lycurgus. He goes to great lengths to praise Athens' past, and to demonstrate the excellence of Athenian citizens. To this end, he devotes more than half of the speech to examples of brave deeds and persons (*paradeigmata*; 75-134).[2] However, not all of these *paradeigmata* are concerned with Athens; most strikingly, Sparta plays a prominent part in two examples. In paragraphs 105-110 Lycurgus quotes thirty-two lines of the Spartan poet Tyrtaeus, and in paragraphs 128-130 he describes how traitors were put to death in Sparta.

[1] Sources for the trial are the speech itself (esp. 16-26) and Aes. 3.252. Another possible date for the trial is 331 (Whitehead 2006, p. 132n2). All ancient dates are BCE unless stated otherwise.

[2] The long quotations evoked criticism from ancient and modern commentators. The three poetic quotations in particular were considered poetolatry: Allen 2000, p. 11; Steinbock 2011, p. 280, n2.

But why would an Athenian orator cite Spartans as an example to Athenian jurors? This paper is concerned with the rhetoric by which Lycurgus makes Spartan examples palatable for an Athenian audience.[3] I will show that identity constructs play a prominent role in *Against Leocrates*, and that Lycurgus uses two strategies to minimize conflict between Sparta and Athens: First, he turns Spartan examples into Athenian ones by means of cultural appropriation. And second, while depicting Sparta sympathetically, he subtly portrays Spartans as inferior to Athenians. I will briefly treat the position of Lycurgus and Sparta in the 4th century, and then analyse the Spartan *paradeigmata* in *Against Leocrates*.

Lycurgus of Butadae frames himself in his speech as a 'disinterested public guardian'[4] who acts as a mere citizen on behalf of the *polis*. In fact, he is one of the main politicians of Athens in the period 338-324 BC, responsible for numerous socio-economic, religious and cultural reforms.[5] His measures, commonly referred to as 'the program', have been explained as an attempt to 'revive the Athens of Pericles',[6] and scholars have accordingly tried to link specific reforms to examples in *Against Leocrates*.[7] An obvious parallel is the oath of the *ephebeia* (75-78), which can be connected to Lycurgus' own reforms of the ephebic system. This has led to the view that Lycurgus must have been a

[3] Throughout I will take the extant text of Lycurgus as a faithful transcription of what he read out in court even though it may have been edited afterwards. On this process see Worthington 1991; 1996; MacDowell 2000, p. 23-27.
[4] Allen 2000, p. 23.
[5] [Plut.] *Vit.Dec.Or.* 841B-844A; a clear overview is provided by Humphreys 1985. See on Lycurgus' supposed anti-Macedonian stance Burke 1977 with Sawada 1996, pp. 78-80.
[6] Sawada 1996, p. 77; Wirth 1999, pp. 45-8.
[7] '[H]e used the Assembly and lawcourts as platforms for his policies' (Humphreys 1985, p. 199); 'propaganda for his patriotic program' (Sawada 1996, p. 81); 'ein Mittel von Selbstdarstellung' (Wirth 1999, p. 37); Hanink reads the quotations of poetry as 'evidence for the ideological foundations of his programme for Athens' (2014, p. 31) and connects the speech to Lycurgus' reforms of tragedy.

laconophile, on the ground that he gives two Spartan examples.[8] This, however, is not borne out by any other evidence from Lycurgus' life or politics; and is, in my opinion, an unconvincing explanation for the inclusion of Spartan examples. Rather than being a commentary on his political career, or an account of his personal views, the speech is meant to convince Athenian jurors of Leocrates' guilt.[9] While some of the *paradeigmata* may also reflect contemporary concerns or politics (in which Lycurgus as a statesman obviously has a role), all of them are set in the distant past to let the voice of Lycurgus disappear behind those of Athenian ancestors.[10] Deceased Athenians are apparently more capable than a contemporary politician of convincing an Athenian audience. Lycurgus' rhetorical strategy is to invoke his own policies only implicitly. Hence, the two Spartan examples cannot function as mere reflections of Lycurgus' political or personal views; they must also be familiar to the Athenian public.[11]

Sparta did not have an influential position in inter-state politics during the 4th century. It mainly focused on its position in the Peloponnese and strove to reconquer Messenia and Arcadia.[12] Sparta's power had diminished quickly after the defeat by Thebes at Leuctra (371 BC) and the loss of Messenia (369 BC). Attacks on Megalopolis were made in 351 and 331 BC to regain influence over Messenia, but both failed and left the city state weaker rather than stronger. Its enemies Messenia and Arcadia had strong

[8] Sawada 1996, p. 77, n112.
[9] Compare Scholz 2010, pp. 182-3, although he still argues that the speech reflects Lycurgus' own convictions (186). On the lost apologetic speech or document on his reforms, which Lycurgus wrote at the end of his career, see Conomis fr. I with [Plut.] *Vit.Dec.Or.* 842F.
[10] Allen 2000.
[11] Compare Steinbock 2011, pp. 281-2.
[12] General accounts in Fisher 1994, pp. 350-6; Kennell 2010, pp. 159-62.

allies in Thebes and Macedon. Sparta was in an alliance with Athens until the battle of Chaeronea. However the friendship, 'never resulted in any effective military or political cooperation', and both Sparta and Athens presumably acted cautiously in case their ally should once again become their enemy.[13] Most strikingly, Athens and Sparta never joined forces against the increasing power of Macedon, although both made attempts to resist Philip and Alexander. Macedon's superiority was established especially after their victory at Chaeronea (338 BC) and the creation of the Corinthian League, in which Sparta did not participate.[14] In 330 BC, at the time of the trial against Leocrates, Sparta was not a force to reckon with, still counting its losses after the defeat of King Agis III at Megalopolis in 331 BC. But Athens too had yielded most of its political power to Macedon; it was autonomous, but bound by the Corinthian League in its foreign affairs. It is against this background that I will analyse the speech of Lycurgus for its attitude towards Sparta.

In *Against Leocrates*, Lycurgus begins by narrating the crime and introducing witness statements about Leocrates' actions and character. He then devotes paragraphs 75-134 to a set of *paradeigmata*. These are divided into positive examples that one can follow (75-110), and negative examples of traitors and their punishments (111-134). The examples show careful divisions and parallel structures: Lycurgus starts out with two oaths (of the Ephebes and of Plataea); then gives two folk narratives (on the Athenian king Codrus and the Place of the Pious in Sicily); and then three literary quotations from Euripides, Homer and Tyrtaeus. The positive section closes with the actual influence of

[13] Fisher 1994, pp. 355-6.
[14] *IG* II^2 236.

these quotations on hoplites who fought at Marathon and Thermopylae, and how Leocrates' behaviour is contrary to everything his ancestors considered noble.

The *paradeigmata* are connected through several thematic and verbal echoes. Reverence for ancient custom and love for one's country can be considered the main themes that bind them together.[15] But Lycurgus also establishes links between individual *paradeigmata*. The oath of Plataea, for instance, which connects well to the preceding Ephebic oath, is picked up again in the final *paradeigma* in which Lycurgus speaks of the battles at Marathon and Thermopylae.[16] The two folk narratives are connected through their focus on the role of the gods: King Codrus sacrifices himself to fulfil an oracle of Delphi; and a young boy is saved by the gods and now revered in a sanctuary.[17] The quotations of Euripides, Homer and Tyrtaeus are closely linked to each other, not just by their sequenced position, but also by their introductions. Each quotation is preceded by recalling the performance of the poetry, at festivals or before battle, and how they inspired the Athenian ancestors to imitate (*mimeisthai*) the poetry.[18] Lycurgus, in effect, imitates these performances himself: reading out the quotations, he inspires the jury

[15] It has often been argued that the *paradeigmata* replace laws in this section (an overview in Steinbock 2011, p. 280n2); I would rather believe that for Lycurgus there is not much difference between breaking unwritten customs and a written law. On evidence in oratory, see Carawan 2007; Canevaro 2013.

[16] This connection may be reinforced when the supposed Athenian precursor of the Plataean oath 'that is traditional among you' (80) can be identified with the one sworn at Marathon (Krentz 2007 with references).

[17] On king Codrus, see Steinbock 2011. The focus on the gods may also structurally connect the digression of a negative example, Callistratus, (90-93) to the other two examples.

[18] Most telling is 102: 'Because of their conciseness, laws do not teach but state what must be done; but poets, who portray (μιμούμενοι) human life having selected the noblest deeds, persuade people with word and demonstration.' See also paragraphs 100, 107.

members to follow and emulate the deeds of their ancestors. This makes the quotations an integral and sophisticated part of the rhetorical structure of the speech.[19]

Most examples are strongly grounded in Athenian history or myth. There are three exceptions: the Place of the Pious, Homer, and Tyrtaeus. I am here concerned with the latter two.[20] Although Homer and Tyrtaeus are both foreigners, their identity is not glossed in the same way.[21] In paragraphs 102-104, Homer is said to have been an important poet for Athens and Hellas alike, and receives a Panhellenic identity.[22] But this does not mean that Homer cannot be Athenian.

βούλομαι δ' ὑμῖν καὶ τῶν Ὁμήρου παρασχέσθαι ἐπῶν. οὕτω γὰρ ὑπέλαβον ὑμῶν οἱ πατέρες σπουδαῖον εἶναι ποιητήν ὥστε νόμον ἔθεντο καθ' ἑκάστην πεντετηρίδα τῶν Παναθηναίων μόνου τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν ῥαψῳδεῖσθαι τὰ ἔπη, ἐπίδειξιν ποιούμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅτι τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων προηροῦντο.

I also want to produce some of Homer's poems to you. Your fathers found him a poet of such worth that they passed a law that, every four years at the *Panathenaea*, out of all poets' works only his should be recited; thus they displayed to all the Greeks that they preferred the noblest deeds.[23] (102)

First, Homer's connection to Athens is made clear: Homer's poetry was recited at the festival of the Panathenaea. Lycurgus frames this as a democratic decision in the distant past, and uses the phrase 'they passed a law' (νόμον ἔθεντο, 102). He does not

[19] On quotations in oratory see Perlman 1964; Ober 1989, pp. 177-82; Ford 1999; Fisher 2001, pp. 286-7.
[20] The Place of the Pious is situated in Catana, Sicily. See Graf 'Amphinomus' in Brill's *Neue Pauly* for an overview of versions of the myth. The story here serves to illustrate that reverence for one's parents is rewarded by the gods. Lycurgus equals honouring parents and more distant ancestors, but does not connect the story in any way to Athens.
[21] On glossing as a rhetorical strategy, see Ford 1999 and Hesk 1999.
[22] Graziosi 2002, pp. 196-7.
[23] The text is taken from Conomis 1970; translations are my own.

refer to a different tradition according to which the law was instated by the tyrants of Athens in the late sixth century.[24] Instead, he focuses on the benefits of the law for the entire Athenian people. By listening to the poetry of Homer, the Athenians became the moral and military leaders of Hellas. Lycurgus continues to tell how Homer inspired Athens' famous deeds at Marathon, by which they became 'the champions of the Greeks and rulers over the barbarians' (τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων προστάτας, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων δεσπότας, 104). Athenian identity is considered superior to that of all other *poleis* and marked as properly Panhellenic in word and deed. Lycurgus could have turned Homer into an Athenian poet only by putting his poetry in an Athenian context; instead, he also turns Athens into the leading Panhellenic *polis*, so that Homer's Panhellenic and Athenian identity become virtually the same.

Lycurgus starts paragraph 105 as an amplification of the previous statement; Athens was great not only in the Persian War, but also when the Spartans fought with the Messenians.[25] As proof of this, Lycurgus tells the jury that the Spartans procured a leader (ἡγεμόνα, 105) from the Athenians on the advice of the gods. This leader is the poet Tyrtaeus, who instructed the Spartan hoplites on warfare and bravery (106-107). As illustration of Tyrtaeus' values, Lycurgus quotes thirty-two lines of poetry (108). The poem is connected to the Spartans' famous death at Thermopylae, and both epitaphs on Thermopylae and Marathon are quoted (109). The identities of Sparta, Athens, and Hellas

[24] Plato *Hipp.* 228b. On the relation between the Peisistratids and Homer, see Graziosi 2002, 220-3. For a good analysis of Lycurgus' frame, see Hanink 2014, pp. 53-55.

[25] Although the most recent war between Sparta and Messenia was only a year before the speech, Lycurgus makes it clear that he refers to a war 'in earlier times' (ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις, 105), which dates the war *before* the Persian War mentioned in 104. The exact date is withheld, and there is no indication of a 100-year time gap.

are intricately connected in this passage. I will illuminate two aspects: first, Tyrtaeus' double identity, and second Athens' role as an instructor of *aretê* in Sparta and Hellas.

τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅτι Τυρταῖον στρατηγὸν ἔλαβον παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, μεθ' οὗ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκράτησαν, καὶ τὴν περὶ τοὺς νέους ἐπιμέλειαν συνετάξαντο οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸν παρόντα κίνδυνον, ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα βουλευσάμενοι καλῶς; κατέλιπεν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐλεγεῖα ποιήσας, ὧν ἀκούοντες παιδεύονται πρὸς ἀνδρείαν·

Who of the Greeks does not know that they took Tyrtaeus from our city as their leader, with whom they defeated their enemies and organised their training system for the young, providing well for the immediate danger and for their whole future too? For Tyrtaeus has left them elegiac poems that he had composed, and when they listen to these they are trained in courage. (106)

Tyrtaeus is said to have a double identity: he is a Spartan citizen, but of Athenian origin. Lycurgus does not assert that Tyrtaeus, like Homer, is an important Panhellenic poet. Rather, in order to make him relevant and palatable for an Athenian audience, his identity is changed. Tyrtaeus was originally Athenian and so, when the Spartans listened to Tyrtaeus and drew courage from his verses, they were taught Athenian values. Lycurgus devotes much detail to the relevance of Tyrtaeus' poetry to the Lacedaemonians. Tyrtaeus' poems are part of the military training system up to this very day, so they 'are willing to die for their fatherland' (αὐτοὺς μάλιστα πρὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἐθέλειν ἀποθνῄσκειν, 107). Lycurgus ascribes these values mainly to Spartan soldiers, but because of Tyrtaeus' double identity they are also identifiable as Athenian values. In these paragraphs, Athens is given the role of Sparta's instructor.

Tyrtaeus' double identity was probably not invented by Lycurgus. Plato states that Tyrtaeus was 'an Athenian by birth, but became a citizen of the Lacedaemonians'; and Isocrates refers to the story without mentioning the poet's name or origin in the *Archidamos*.[26] In later centuries, the story is elaborated. Tyrtaeus is portrayed as a *stratêgos* more than a poet-leader, qualified as an unintelligent lame schoolmaster. The negative portrait is a later development, and Lycurgus does not mean to belittle Tyrtaeus.[27] On the contrary, he portrays Tyrtaeus as an important and influential poet in Sparta. Lycurgus uses existing stories about Tyrtaeus' identity as an extra argument in favour of Athenian values.[28]

The superiority of Athens is also made evident by means of a subtle difference in concepts. In paragraphs 104-109, *aretê* (excellence, virtue) is a quality of Athens, whereas the Lacedaimonians are described by the word *andreia* (manliness, courage).[29] Throughout the speech, *aretê* identifies Athens and Athenian citizens, especially in scenes of war: the other instances of the word are mainly found in a description of the aftermath of the battle of Chaeronea (37-51). A clear instance of the difference between *aretê* and *andreia* is found in paragraph 108:

[26] Plato *Leges* 629a; Isocr. 6.31. Fisher 1994, p. 363.
[27] The sources are mostly from the second Sophistic and show signs of explaining the story in the light of Athenian-Spartan rivalry: according to their reasoning, Athens would not send off an important person to its main enemy, so Tyrtaeus must have been an outsider. For a list of sources, see Gerber 1997, p. 102.
[28] The statement on Tyrtaeus' identity is preceded by the clause 'who does not know...' (τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε), which probably means that it was not a particularly well known story. On τίς and the rhetoric of general statements, see Ober 1989, pp. 148-51.
[29] *aretê*: 10, 48, 49, 50, 69, 80, 83, 89, 104 (twice), 105, 108, 109, 140. *Andreia / andreios*: 47, 105, 107, 108 (twice), 109. In 51, Blass adds *andreian* to the text and I will leave this case out of consideration. I also leave out the adjective *agathos*, since it can denote both bravery and moral excellence (*LSJ* I.2 & I.4). On the use of *kalos* and moralism, see Allen 2000, pp. 20-1.

οὕτω τοίνυν εἶχον πρὸς ἀνδρείαν οἱ τούτων ἀκούοντες ὥστε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀμφισβητεῖν, εἰκότως· τὰ γὰρ κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων ἀμφοτέροις ἦν κατειργασμένα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρόγονοι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκησαν, οἳ πρῶτοι τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπέβησαν, καὶ καταφανῆ ἐποίησαν τὴν ἀνδρείαν τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ πλήθους περιγιγνομένην· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ᾽ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις παραταξάμενοι ταῖς μὲν τύχαις οὐχ ὁμοίαις ἐχρήσαντο, τῇ δ᾽ ἀνδρείᾳ πολὺ πάντων διήνεγκαν.

When the [sc. Spartan] men heard the verses they became so courageous that they disputed with our city for supremacy; reasonably, since the noblest deeds had been performed by either people. For your ancestors defeated those barbarians who first set foot in Attica [sc. at Marathon], making courage prevail over wealth and excellence over numbers. The Spartans lined up at Thermopylae, and, though their fortune was not equal [to that of Athens], they endured with courage unsurpassed. (108)

Lycurgus thus uses both *aretê* and *andreia* of Athens, but is careful to give Spartans credit for *andreia* only. *Aretê* and *andreia* are not interchangeable words, since *andreia* is considered only one part of *aretê*. To achieve excellence, a citizen also needs to acquire self-mastery (*sôphrosyne*), wisdom (*sophia*) and justice (*dikaiosynê*).[30] Lycurgus frames the Spartans as having acquired only one aspect of virtue. Similar criticism is voiced by Plato and Aristotle, who, in expounding their views on education, say that Sparta is too much focused on teaching for war.[31] Likewise in the *Funeral Oration* of Pericles, Spartan *andreia* is inferior to Athenian *andreia* 'because the former is manifested as an effect of external compulsion while the latter is an innate disposition'.[32] In other words: Athenians have *aretê* (and thus also *andreia*), but Spartans, even if they are taught *andreia* by an Athenian-Spartan poet, cannot be taught *aretê*.

[30] Plato *Respublica* 427e. On differring definitions of *andreia* in antiquity, see Bassi 2003. On Lycurgus and Plato's philosophy, see Allen 2000, pp. 21-2.
[31] Plato *Leges* 625c-29a; Arist. *Pol.* 1338b. For a detailed discussion, see Hodkinson 2006.
[32] Bassi 2003, p. 47.

There is one exception to this: when Spartans (and other allies) fight together with the Athenians, they do have a share in Athenian *aretê*. This distinction can be found in two instances: at the battle of Plataea (paragraph 80) and at the battles of Marathon and Thermopylae (109). Here the common goal of defeating an external enemy is stressed,[33] but so too is the role of Athens as military and moral leader: 'although all Greeks were fine men in the face of danger, your city distinguished itself the most' (82). That is why the oath of Plataea (80) and the famous epitaphs (109) are introduced as ἀναγεγραμμένα τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν (witnesses of their excellence): they refer not so much to the deeds of the allies but to the moral excellence that Athens displayed and exemplified before the other Greek *poleis*.

Lycurgus frames the poem of Tyrtaeus as a document that conveys Athenian values. It was composed by Tyrtaeus, an Athenian *stratêgos* who taught the Spartans their famous *andreia* on instigation of a god. The poem itself (fr. 10 West, 6-7 Gentili–Prato) can also be linked thematically to the Leocrates' case. The poem contains a number of admonitions, two of which are directed to the audience consisting of Athenian jurors. In the opening lines of the poem, a good man is defined as one who 'died in the front ranks while fighting for his fatherland' (1-2), while 'leaving one's city and rich fields to wander around is the most painful thing of all' (3-4). The strophe continues on how a wanderer is hated by everyone (5-10) and closes with 'let us fight for this land with spirit' (13).[34] This

[33] The enmity between Sparta and Athens is also downplayed by using the word ἀμφισβητέω (108) when speaking about the time that the *poleis* were enemies. This verb usually denotes philosophical disputes rather than military strife.

[34] On whether the wanderer is supposed to actually represent a deserter rather than a coward, see Prato 1968, pp. 88-9; Verdenius 1969, pp. 343-4.

wanderer is, of course, meant to represent Leocrates who travelled to Rhodes and Megara, whereas 'us' refers to the Athenians. In the second admonition, young men are advised to stand and not 'run away from elders, men revered' (19-20). A famous description of a slain old hoplite follows. Here, the recurring theme of honouring one's ancestors is brought up. It seems that Lycurgus has carefully selected from a larger poem, or section of poems, those lines best suited to his themes. Tyrtaeus thus becomes a spokesperson for Athenian rather than for Spartan values.

How does Lycurgus' view of Tyrtaeus accord with the views on Sparta expressed elsewhere in the speech? Sparta is part of the other *paradeigmata*, especially those taken from the Peloponnesian War (111-15; 120-21; 124-26). But if the enemies are named at all, it is only in passing; no characterisation, positive or negative, takes place. In the closing section of the negative *paradeigmata* we find the only other substantial passage on Sparta. Here, however, Lycurgus uses a different rhetorical strategy. Sparta is not made Athenian, nor is it considered one of the Panhellenic states. Sparta in this case remains Sparta, well known for its strict rules on traitors. It is set here as an exemplary state for Athenians, as Lycurgus treats something that the Athenians have not yet acquired: punishing traitors by law rather than decree.

In paragraphs 111-27, Lycurgus narrates several instances where traitors were punished to death or, if already dead, were degraded and had their bones expelled. All of these verdicts, however, were passed by *psêphisma* rather than *nomos*. The distinction between the two terms has been usefully clarified as follows: a *nomos* is supposed to be

a permanent general law instated by *nomothetai*, whereas a *psêphisma*, passed by the *ekklêsia*, has a temporal and individual character.[35] Athens, in other words, does not have a permanent law which states that traitors must receive the death penalty. Lycurgus therefore introduces the Law (*nomos*) of the Spartans (128-29), and states that this may be something to take over from this city state (130), as it would deter cowards in the future.[36] Sparta is framed as a *polis* similar to Athens in the introductory passage:

οὐ μόνον τοίνυν ἡ πόλις ὑμῶν οὕτως ἔσχεν πρὸς τοὺς προδιδόντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. καὶ μή μοι ἀχθεσθῆτε ὦ ἄνδρες, εἰ πολλάκις μέμνημαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων· καλὸν γάρ ἐστιν ἐκ πόλεως εὐνομουμένης περὶ τῶν δικαίων παραδείγματα λαμβάνειν, <ἵν'> ἀσφαλέστερον {γὰρ} ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν δικαίαν καὶ τὴν εὔορκον ψῆφον θῆται.

Your city was not alone in dealing thus with traitors. The Spartans were the same. Please do not be grieved, gentlemen, if I speak often of these men. For it is good to take examples of righteous conduct from a well-governed city, and so be surer that each of you will give a just verdict in keeping with his oath. (128)

Lycurgus here adopts the rhetorical strategy of apology: Had it been possible to refer to a different city-state he might have done so, but for now the jury members must remember that Sparta has many things to offer to Athens. Lycurgus refers to Sparta's good government, the so-called *eunomia*, for which Sparta was famous. He anticipates negative reactions to giving a Spartan example, and tries to counter them by reassurance. The use of 'often' makes the passage relate to the *paradeigma* of Tyrtaeus.[37] There,

[35] Hansen 1978, pp. 315-30.
[36] Lycurgus has stated in 8-10 that the jury must consider itself 'lawmakers'.
[37] Another link may be perceived in the mention of the word εὐνομουμένης, which relates to the title of Tyrtaeus' famous poem *Eunomia*. But the passage quoted at 109 probably does not come from this poem.

Sparta's similarity to Athens is stressed, and that may help to convince the jury of the similarity of this *nomos* to the *psêphismata* of Athens. Moreover, both Demosthenes and Aeschines use comparisons with other *poleis* in order to show how Athens could profit from their laws. This need not be proof of a pro-Spartan attitude; both orators adopt a critical stance towards Spartan institutions elsewhere.[38]

Throughout the speech, Lycurgus stresses the similarities rather than the differences between Athens and Sparta. The glorious past of Athens is the main focus in all *paradeigmata*, and Sparta's past is only briefly touched upon. Sparta is however not downgraded, but assimilated to Athens. The poet Tyrtaeus is an Athenian; Spartan *andreia* is therefore Athenian in origin, but Athens is still superior because of its mastery of *aretê.* When Sparta may be better in that it has a permanent law instead of temporary decrees, its similarity to Athens functions as an extra argument to take this suggestion seriously. In other words: although Sparta can be an example for the Athenians, it is an example that is overruled by examples of the Athenians themselves. The Athenians, after all, are the Panhellenic example *par excellence*: the champions of the Greeks and the lords of the barbarians.

[38] Dem. 20.105; 24.139-43; Aes. 1.180-1. Fisher 1994, pp. 364-75.

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THE INFLUENCE OF THE KARNEIA ON WARFARE

Rocco Selvaggi

The Karneia was celebrated every year during the month having the same name as the god, Karneios. However, it is difficult to establish how long the festival lasted and exactly when it took place in the month Karneios. According to Demetrios of Skepsis, quoted by Athenaeus,[1] the Karneia had a duration of nine days in Sparta. Herodotus[2] says that in Sparta the Karneia ended with the full moon and this information is also found in Euripides' *Alcestis.*[3] Actually, Herodotus only says that the Spartans did not fight in the battle of Marathon because they had to wait for the full moon and he does not use any term which can be connected with the Karneia. However, many scholars are convinced that he meant the Karneia by virtue of other references in the same work;[4] and because in Thucydides,[5] the reason given for not-fighting is the duty to celebrate the Karneia.[6] Accordingly, all we know about the Spartan Karneia is that the festival lasted nine days and ended with the full moon.

In Plutarch' *Quaestiones Conviviales* [7] a certain Florus says that in Cyrene the Karneia were celebrated on the 7th of the month, that is, on Apollo's birthday. It is not surprising, in fact, that the festival in honour of a god took place on the day of his birth. We do not know how long the festival lasted in Cyrene, but, according to Callimachus,[8] it seems to have taken

[1] Demetr. Sceps. fr. 1 Gaede (in Ath. IV 141ef).
[2] Hdt. 8.72.
[3] Eur. *Alk*. 445ff.
[4] Hdt. VIII 206.
[5] Thuc. 5.54; Thuc 5.75, 5; Thuc 5.76, 1.
[6] Legrand 1948, p. 105, n. 2; Nenci 1998, p. 269**f.**; Scott 2005, pp. 615-618; **cfr.** Pritchett 1971, pp. 116-121, saying that the festival of Karneia was irrelevant for accounting Sparta's absence in the battle of Marathon.
[7] Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 717d.
[8] Call. *Ap*. 2.28-31.

place for more than one day. An inscription edited by Hiller von Gärtringen reveals that in Thera the Karneia were celebrated at least on the 20th of the month Karneios.[9]

The information in the sources is too insufficient to allow us to establish when exactly the Karneia was celebrated in Cyrene and Thera: in both cases we have information about one festival day only and it is impossible to know whether that day is the first or the last one of the festival, or whether it is one of the other days of the festival. There is also the possibility that in these cities the Karneia lasted only a single day. However, this last option looks very improbable: first of all, it would be very strange if the most important religious festival of the Dorian *poleis* lasted for one day only. Moreover, since Thucydides [10] recounted that in 419 BC the Spartans postponed warfare after the end of the month Karneios, the Karneia seems to have had a duration of longer than only one day. The scholion to the passage [11] says that the month Karneios had many holy days, or perhaps even that the whole month was holy.

To the ancient historians the month Karneios presents a significant problem, especially concerning its position in the calendar of the Dorian cities. It is possible to try to identify its position anyway. The most important point for achieving this is to consider the central role of the Karneia in Dorian culture. The cult of Apollo Karneios strongly influenced social and political life, and in particular the military activities of the cities which celebrated his festival: in fact, no war was allowed for the cities celebrating the Karneia.

The most famous and significant example of this is found in connection with the battle of Thermopylae during the second Persian war, as reported by Herodotus: [12] the moral duty to observe the Karneia forced the Spartans to send only a small contingent of soldiers under

[9] Hiller von Gärtringen 1901, pp. 134-139.
[10] Thuc. 5.54.
[11] Schol. Thuc. 5.54, 2.
[12] Hdt. 7.206.

the control of Leonidas. This story is also told by Plutarch: [13] even if he says Ἕλληνες ('Greeks'), there is no doubt that he means the Spartans by reason of the historical context. Even during the Peloponnesian war, the martial efforts of the Spartans were adjusted to the Karneia: according to Thucydides,[14] in 419 BC the Spartans returned home in order to celebrate the Karneia and left their allies, ordering them to get ready to fight after the month of Karneios. The scholion to this passage of Thucydides[15] explains that the Lacedaemonians did not fight during the month Karneios because this month either had many holy days, or even that all of them were holy. In the same way, the Spartans dismissed their allies in 418 BC and started to fight only after the end of the celebration of the Karneia.[16] According to Herodotus,[17] the festival of Karneia is probably also the reason why the Spartans were not engaged in the battle of Marathon. In fact, as I have already mentioned, the historian does not refer explicitly to the Karneia, but he simply says that the Spartans were waiting for the full moon, which can be interpreted as a reference to the Karneia.

The prohibition from conducting war during the Karneia did not only concern the Spartans, but also other Dorians. Listing all the Greek nations defending the Isthmus of Corinth during the second Persian war, Herodotus [18] is surprised that some of the Peloponnesians were not taking part in the coming conflict, although the Olympic Games and Karneia were already over. Another story concerning the incompatibility between the Karneia and the war is told by Thucydides.[19] In 419 BC, the Argives were about to invade the territory of Epidaurus, but the upcoming Karneia would have forbidden their warfare. As a result, they got around

[13] Plut. *De Herod. malign.* 873e.
[14] Thuc. 7.54, 2.
[15] Schol. Thuc. 5.54, 2.
[16] Thuc. 5.75, 5; Thuc 5.76, 1.
[17] Hdt. 6.106; Hdt. 6.107; Hdt. 6.120.
[18] Hdt. 8.72.
[19] Thuc.5.54, 2.

the problem with a smart idea: they decided to change the structure of their calendar. They practically stopped time four days before the month of Karneios began. In this way, they put off the arrival of the month of Karneios and consequently of the Karneia. By employing this trick, the Argives were able to attack Epidaurus. Thucydides also tells that the allies of Epidaurus ignored their requests for help, saying that the arrival of the month of Karneios justified their choice. Some of them were already on the border of Epidaurus' territory, but they did not intervene anyway.

From all these sources it is clear that the month of Karneios had a different position in the calendar of each Dorian city. The date of the battle at the Thermopylae, which can be used to fix the time of the Karneia because the Spartans did not fight by reason of the festival, is a topic of much discussion among scholars, who agree either with Georg Busolt or with Julius Beloch. The first asserts that the battle happened between the end of August and the beginning of September; the second puts the event one month earlier (end of July / beginning of August).[20] According to Giuseppe Nenci,[21] whose opinion is generally accepted, the battle of Marathon took place during the month of Boedromion, roughly between the middle of September and the middle of October. But Plutarch clearly says that the month of Karneios coincides with the month of Metagitnion in Athens, which is between August and September. Finally, the events told by Thucydides,[22] about the Peloponnesian war, seem to have occurred in winter. Further, still according to Thucydides, Sparta, Argos and the allies of Epidaurus probably celebrated the Karneia at the same time. Otherwise it would be surprising if the most important festival of the Dorian cities was celebrated at a different time in each city. So, the

[20] Busolt 1895, p. 673; Beloch 1897, p. 43; cfr. How - Wells 1936 [3], p. 223; Labarbe 1954, pp. 1-21; Richer 2004, pp. 389-419.
[21] Nenci 1998, p. 285.
[22] Thuc. 5.76.

differences between the sources about the position of the month of Karneios on the calendar could be explained by admitting a lapse of time between the end of summer and the beginning of autumn.[23]

It is very strange and at the same time interesting that it was completely forbidden to fight during the Karneia, given the fact that this was the most important festival of the Dorians, known as 'warrior-folk', and that some of its features have a connection with the military world. Demetrius of Skepsis [24] tells that the Karneia was an imitation of military education (μίμημα στρατιωτικῆς). In nine σκιάδες, it is not clear what this means (I prefer the general translation 'shadow shelter'), there were nine men eating in each of these shadow shelters and everything was done on the command of a herald. According to Callimachos,[25] during the Karneia in Cyrene a ritual was fulfilled, which commemorated the first contact between the native population and the foreign settlers: blond Libyan women danced with the 'strangers', who were dressed as warriors (ζωστῆρες Ἐνυοῦς ἀνέρες). Even Pindar [26] informs us that the settlers were primarily warriors (χαλκοχάρμαι ξένοι, literally "strangers fighting in armour of bronze"). According to the lexicographer Hesychios,[27],the Karneia was also called Agetoria and the ἀγήτης was the priest in charge during the Karneia: both words, derived from ἡγέομαι, refer to the semantic area of military leadership. Furthermore, Theopompus, quoted by a scholion to the 5th idyll of Theocritus,[28] says that in Argos, Apollo Karneios was called *Hegetor* (the one who leads), because he led the army. This epithet is normally associated to Zeus: Zeus *Hegetor* is a very important military god. Moreover, even the etiological legends indicate

[23] Trümpy 1997, p. 127.
[24] Demetr. Sceps. fr. 1 Gaede (in Ath. IV 141ef).
[25] Call. *Ap*. II 85-86.
[26] Pind. *Pyth*. 5.82-83.
[27] Hsch. *s.v.* ἀ γ ή τ η ς .
[28] Theopomp. Hist. *FGrHist* 595 F 3 (in Schol. Theoc. V 83b).

a military aspect. In fact, all the legends about Apollo Karneios, i.e. the saga of the 'Heracleidae's return' (this expression refers to the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese), the sack of Troy and the foundation of Cyrene, have the same basic topic: the leaving for military conquest.

According to Walter Burkert,[29] through the sacrifice of animals and expiatory rituals an ancient guilt was purged, so that the warriors could leave for conquering free from this guilt; in this context, the Karneia is the precondition for successful warfare and this is the reason why fighting was forbidden while it was taking place. The purpose of the festival was the success of the warriors, who are also the protagonists of the cult, and this explains the military aspect of the Karneia. But this theory does not explain why the Spartans left the ongoing war to celebrate the festival twice. Also, the regular campaigning season did not begin in the middle of the hot summer season, in which the month of Karneios lies, but long before that.

It is also important to point out that, according to Herodotus [30] and Thucydides,[31] who called Karneios the ἱερομηνία Δωριεῦσι (literally, the holy month for the Dorians), the Karneia was completely observed only by the Spartans: they even suspended a war in order to celebrate the Karneia. In contrast, the Argives and some allies of Epidaurus were not as respectful of the Karneia: the Argives used a trick to ignore the festival's rules; the latter used the festival as excuse for not fighting, when they were in fact ready to fight – they had reached the border after all.

However, although the Karneia had many connections to the military world, it would be wrong to identify it as a military festival or cult. In the sources we find many other rituals

[29] Burkert 2003, p. 437.
[30] Hdt. 6.106; Hdt. 6.107; Hdt. 6.120; Hdt. 7.206.
[31] Thuc.5.54, 2.

or descriptions of the festival, which show the Karneia in a different light, without connections to warfare. I think that all the military features of the Karneia reflect a second phase of the cult, which became militarised by Spartan influence; some traces of the pre-Dorian cult, in my opinion an agricultural-pastoral cult, are quite clear, for example the race of the σταφυλοδρόμοι (literally, grape-runners) or the fact that the month of Karneios took place during the vintage time. In other words, the martial elements express the Spartan attempt (partially completed) to individualise a native cult of their own.

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SPARTAN CHORUSES AND FOREIGN POETS

THE PLACE OF SPARTA IN THE ANCIENT FESTIVAL NETWORK

Edmund Stewart

Introduction

Laconia was famed in antiquity for its festivals and choral dances.[1] Music and poetry were seen as fundamental to reinforcing good order both in the state and on the battlefield, where Spartan hoplites marched to the tune of lyre and *aulos*. My aim is to assess the role and impact of Sparta within the broader song culture of the Hellenic race, during both the archaic and classical periods. This included a network of festivals stretching across the Greek world, with the Pythia at Delphi and the Dionysia and Panathenaea at Athens as prime examples. In particular, we will examine the role of foreign poets at Spartan festivals. Which contests could they enter and in what capacity? Did they enter as performers only or could they act as directors of the choruses? And finally who was active in Sparta and when?

This inquiry further calls into question two aspects of the Spartan 'mirage': the uniqueness of Spartan institutions, to which the exceptional stability of the state and discipline of its citizens were credited, and Laconian hostility towards foreigners, particularly artisans and other specialists.[2] At the heart of this image lies a contradiction, one that did not escape ancient writers on Sparta; for it was foreign poets who were believed to have

[1] E.g. Pratinas 709 *PMG* = fr. 4 *TrGF* = Athen. 633a; Eur. *Alc*. 445-52; *Hel*. 1465-70; Ar. *Lys*. 1305-15; Athen. 632f-633a.

[2] On the claim of Spartan uniqueness: see Hodkinson 1997, pp. 92-8, 2009; ξενηλασία: Ar. *Av.* 1012-13,Thuc. 1.144.2, Xen. *Lac. Pol*. 14.4, for full references see Figueira 2003, p.45 n.6; absence of foreigners due to a lack of currency: Plut. *Lyc*. 9.3-4, *cf*. Arist. *Pol.* 1272b15-20; Chrimes 1949 p.310 notes that ξενηλασία did not prevent foreigners from visiting Sparta; Rebenich 1998 and Figueira 2003 have argued that this did not amount to a policy of xenophobia.

prevented civil strife and instituted the festivals on which Spartan order depended.[3] A growing interest in the existence and function of networks between Greek cities should encourage us to attempt to situate Laconia within a broader circuit of Panhellenic gatherings.[4] Sparta, in offering a venue for display before an international audience, was an attractive and important destination for the professional wandering poet.

Spartan Festival Culture

Before we can address the question of foreign involvement in Spartan festivals, we should briefly review what is known concerning these events in antiquity. What was it that drew these poets to the banks of the Eurotas and what did they find when they arrived? Even a cursory examination of the evidence should be enough to reveal the outlines of an astonishingly vibrant song culture: one that could rival Athens in the number and opulence of its festivals, not only in the archaic period but in the 5th and 4th centuries as well.

Most important were the three festivals for Apollo: the Hyacinthia, Gymnopaidiai and Karneia. The Hyacinthia took place in late spring and centred around the sanctuary of Apollo at Amyclae, a short distance from Sparta itself. According to Polycrates (*FGrHist* 588 F 1), who was quoted by Didymus, the festival lasted for three days and involved a period of ritual mourning for Hyacinthus, followed by celebrations on the second day that included musical performances. Richer has suggested that in the classical period the celebrations may have continued for as long as ten days: the length of time the Athenian embassy was

[3] E.g. see Plut. *Agis* 10.1-6 for the paradox that Lycurgus both expelled foreigners and hosted the foreign sages Terpander, Thales and Pherecydes. Σ Ar. *Pax* 623a (Holwerda p. 99) indicates that foreigners were allowed to enter Sparta on set days (ὡρισμέναις ἡμέραις) suggesting an attempt to reconcile the tradition of ξενηλασία with an awareness that foreigners did attend Spartan festivals.

[4] See e.g. Horden and Purcell 2000, pp.342-400; Malkin *et al.* 2009; Malkin 2011, pp.3-20; Stewart 2013; Vlassopoulos 2013, pp.12-15.

required to wait for an answer to their petition in 479.[5] The Gymnopaidiai occurred slightly later in the year in around July and included choral displays. Xenophon (*Hel.* 6.14.16) notes that the news of the battle of Leuctra arrived on the last day of the festival, implying an event of several days. Finally, the Karneia was held for nine days at the end of the summer in the month of Karneus, corresponding roughly to August.[6] The major event for which this festival is known is the competition of *citharodes*. It is likely that these events took place annually. The Hyacinthia was chosen as the scene of the yearly renewal of the treaty between Athens and Sparta, while the Karneia had associations with the annual harvest.[7]

These three celebrations formed only a part, however significant, of a much more extensive festival calendar. In addition to Apollo, his sister Artemis was a major recipient of sacrifice and choral song. In Pausanias' time, choruses of maidens performed annually (κατὰ ἔτος Paus. 3.10.7) at the shrine of Artemis at Caryae. Pausanias (4.16.9) believed that these dances dated as far back as the rebellion of Aristomenes. This notion receives support from Athenaeus' reference to a work by the 5th century poet Pratinas, entitled Καρυάτιδες or Δυμαίναι, which may well have concerned this festival (Athen. 392f = 711 *PMG* = *TrGF* I 4 F 1). The Dymainai, one of the Dorian tribes, appear in Alcman, while the term is also applied by Hesychius to female Bacchic dancers in Sparta.[8] Similar maiden dances are likely to have taken place, perhaps from the time of Alcman, at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, Artemis

[5] Hdt. 9.8; Richer 2004, p.80.

[6] Equivalent to the Attic month of Metageitnion (Plut. *Nic.* 28.1-2); see Pettersson 1992, p.57; Richer 2009, p.219-23. Nine days: Demetrius of Scepsis fr. 1 Guede = Athen. 141e-f.

[7] Hyacinthia: Thuc. 5.23.4-5; Karneia: See Richer (2009) 214; Cf. Hesych. κ 38 Latte: Carneatae were appointed for four years (ἐπὶ τετραετίαν), which presumably entailed service at more than one Carnea.

[8] Alcman fr. 10b.8-9 *PMGF*; αἱ ἐν Σπάρτῃ χορίτιδες Βάκχαι Hesych. δ 2600 Latte. On Bacchic dances in Sparta see Constantinidou 1998, p. 22, Battezzato 2013, pp. 102-9; D'Alessio 2013, p. 127; cf. Calame 1997, 155 who stresses differences between the cults of Artemis and Dionysus.

Limnatis on the Messenian border and conceivably also at those of Artemis Corythalia at Cleta and Helen at Therapnae.[9]

It was not only the sanctuaries of the children of Leto that played host to gatherings involving choruses. The 5th or 4th century inscription of Damonon lists athletic contests at no fewer than nine festivals held in Laconia or its environs. One of these, the Paparonia, held in the contested area of the Thyreatis, is said by Hesychius to be a site for choral performance.[10] Another site of Damonon's victories is a celebration for Athena, conceivably connected to the temple of Athena *Chalkioikos* on the Spartan Acropolis.[11] If so, it is possible that the chorus of Euripides' *Helen* are referring to this festival when they imagine the heroine rejoining the Leucippidae before the temple of Pallas (πρὸ ναοῦ / Παλλάδος 1466-7). The ode to Athena at the close of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (1320-1) may also allude to choral performances for the goddess. Finally, it has been suggested that the Eleusinia, a sanctuary dedicated to Demeter and the site of yet another family victory, also played host to dithyrambs sung by female choruses.[12]

Some, if not the majority, of these choral displays involved competitions. Xenophon states that the chorus of men was permitted to compete on the final day of the Gymnopaidiai of 371.[13] Given that only one chorus is specified it is likely, as Bölte supposed,

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[9] For Artemis Orthia as the goddess invoked in Alcman S1 *PMGF*, see Davison 1938, pp. 446-8; Page 1951, pp.69-82; Campbell 1982, pp.196, 205-5; Luginbill 2009; *contra* Gentili 1976, who proposes Aphrodite, and Calame 1977, pp. 121-8, who argues for the cult of Helen at the Platanistas; on the performance context in general see Clay 1991. Artemis Limnatis: Paus. 4.4.2, Strab. 8.4.9, Calame 1997, pp.142-9; dancers for Corythalia see Hesych. κ 3689 Latte: κουθαλίστραι αἱ χορεύουσαι τῇ Κορυθαλίᾳ θεᾷ; for Artemis Corythalia: see Paus. 3.18.6; for the festival of Tithenidia at Artemis Corythalia see Polemon fr. 86 = Athen. 139a, Calame 1997, pp.169-71; Therapnae: see Alcman fr. 7 *PMGF*, Calame 1997, pp.193-201.

[10] *IG* V.213.44-9, 62-4; Hesych. π 1003 Hansen ἐν ᾧ ἀγῶν ἤγετο καὶ χοροὶ ἵσταντο; on the Thyreatis see Paus. 2.38.2-7. For the suggestion that the Thyreatic crown, worn by chorus leaders at the Gymnopaediae (Sosibius *FGrHist* 595 F 4 = Athen. 678b-c), was originally a feature of this festival before the loss of Thyrea in 371 BC see Bölte 1929, pp.130-2, Wade-Gery 1949, pp.79-80, Jacoby IIb pp. 646-7 on *FGrHist* 595 F 5; *contra* Robertson 1992, pp.179-80.

[11] *IG* V.213.10.

[12] See D'Alessio (2013) 129-30; cf. Paus. 3.20.5 on the sanctuary.

[13] τὸν μέντοι χορὸν οὐκ ἐξήγαγον, ἀλλὰ διαγωνίσασθαι εἴων. *Hel*. 6.14.16.

that an uncertain number of rival choruses had performed on the previous days.[14] The designation of this chorus as one of men (τοῦ ἀνδρικοῦ χοροῦ) points to competitions in other age categories. Other sources refer to performances by three choruses of old men, young men and boys, but it is uncertain whether they refer to separate competitions in different age categories or a simultaneous performance by three choruses.[15] It has been suggested that Alcman's maiden songs took place within a competition.[16] Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions found at the sanctuary of Orthia confirm the existence of singing competitions for boys, at least at a later period.[17] It is possible that the Spartan *phylae* provided the competing choruses, a form of organisation perhaps alluded to by Alcman.[18]

Not all musical performance need have taken place in a competition. It is uncertain whether the paean at the Hyacinthia formed part of any specific contest.[19] The encomium to the Maiden, which Sosibius (*FGrHist* F 6a = Athen. 646a) in his work on Alcman claimed was a feature of Spartan festivals for women, may also belong in this category. Robertson has suggested that the choral contest at the Gymnopaidiai, which Xenophon states took place in the theatre, may have been separate from the choruses of boys, which, according to Pausanias, were performed in the agora.[20] Whether the latter was a competitive event is unclear. A similar division of events may have taken place at the Hyacinthia. Pausanias

[14] Bölte 1929, p.126.

[15] Performances by at least two choruses of men and boys are suggested by the text of Sosibius *FGrHist* 595 F 4 = Athen. 678b-c (χοροὶ δ' εἰσὶν τὸ μὲν † πρόσω παίδων, τὸ δ' ἐξ ἀρίστου † ἀνδρῶν), though unfortunately the text is corrupt; for the various conjectures see Jacoby's apparatus. Three choruses: Pollux 4.107 τριχορίαν δὲ Τύρταιος ἔστησε, τρεῖς Λακώνων χορούς, καθ' ἡλικίαν ἑκάστην, παῖδας ἄνδρας γέροντας.; cf. Pl. *Leg.* 664b; Plut. *Lyc.* 21.3 = *PMG* 870; see Robertson 1992, pp.159-61.

[16] 1.60-3 *PMGF* may refer to a rival chorus, see Campbell 1982, p. 205; alternative interpretations: the constellation of the Pleiades see Hutchinson 2001, pp.90-3; Hagesichora and Agido as doves see Calame 1983, pp.331-2.

[17] See Woodward 1929.

[18] Fr. 10b.8-9, fr. 11 *PMGF*; see Calame 1997, pp.155-6, 219-21 and 1983, pp.388-9; on the phylae of Dyme and Pitane see Hesych. δ 2484 Latte Δύμη ἐν Σπάρτῃ φυλή, καὶ τόπος and π 2382 Hansen ἔστι δὲ ἡ Πιτάνη φυλή.

[19] Xen. *Hel*. 4.5.11, *Ag.* 2.17; on the performance of paeans see Rutherford 2001, pp.58-68.

[20] Robertson 1992, pp.153-6; for the theatre Xen. 6.4.16, cf. Hdt. 6.67.3, Plut. *Ag.* 29.2-3; agora: Paus. 3.11.9; Hesych. γ 1002 Latte = Anon. *FGrHist* 596 F41

records that the 'throne' of Amyclae was the site of a sacrifice to Apollo and offerings to the hero Hyacinthus, whose tomb formed the base of the god's statue. Tents were erected by the temple at Amyclae for a peculiarly Laconian form of meal, the κοπίς.[21] However, Polycrates mentions a theatre as the site of a display by horsemen, followed by the arrival of choruses of young men.[22] It is uncertain whether this merely formed part of a procession to Amyclae or also incorporated a contest.

This summary is by no means exhaustive and, in any case, our evidence is hardly sufficient for a complete survey. Yet it should be evident that musical performances and competitions were a frequent occurrence throughout the Spartan year. At this point we may wonder how the Lacedaemonians maintained such a busy festival programme. We know nothing regarding the funding of the festivals, though judging by our evidence for Athens it is likely that there were considerable costs, probably met in part by wealthy citizens.[23] The Spartan citizen body would provide the choruses, but poets or choral trainers, *aulos*-players and other instrumentalists were also required. In the case of Athens, many of these specialists were imported from abroad. Of around eighty dithyrambic poets, many of whom are known to have instructed choruses at Athens, only three were certainly citizens.[24] Among the *aulos*-players who accompanied choruses at Attic festivals performers from Thebes, Argos and Sicyon predominated.[25] Was the same true of Sparta?

Athenaeus indicates that the Spartans possessed and maintained in his time a substantial corpus of 'old songs'.[26] In Polycrates' account of the Hyacinthia the choruses of

[21] Epilycus fr. 4 K–A = Athen. 140a.
[22] ἄλλοι δ' ἐφ' ἵππων κεκοσμημένων τὸ θέατρον διεξέρχονται Athen. 139e = Polycrates *FGrHist* 588 F 1.
[23] See Wilson 2008.
[24] See Sutton 1989 who lists Lamprocles (no. 12), Cinesias (no. 22) and Lysiades (no. 51).
[25] Theban *aulos*-players: Ar. *Ach*. 862-9; *IG* II^2 3064, 3106; *SEG*, 26.220, 27.17 and 18; other cities *IG* II² 3038, 3045, 3052, 3068; see Stewart 2013, pp.196-9.
[26] τηροῦσιν δὲ καὶ νῦν τὰς ἀρχαίας ᾠδὰς ἐπιμελῶς πολυμαθεῖς τε εἰς ταύτας εἰσὶ καὶ ἀκριβεῖς. 632f.

young men sing some of these 'local' poems.[27] Pausanias states that the dance of the maidens at Caryae was of a peculiarly 'local' kind.[28] Where did these traditional works come from? Alcman and Tyrtaeus certainly formed a key part of the Spartan poetic corpus. The Athenian Lycurgus (*Leocr.* 107) states that Tyrtaeus' works were re-performed by the army while on campaign. Sosibius claims that the choruses at the Gymnopaidiai sung the songs of Thaletas and Alcman and the paeans of the Laconian Dionysodotus.[29] Pausanias mentions a Spartan Gitiadas, the creator of the statue of Athena, who also composed Dorian songs and a hymn to the goddess.[30]

However, apart from Dionysodotus, an otherwise entirely obscure figure of unknown date, all of these poets date to either the 7th or 6th centuries. Yet it is also a fact that Spartan festivals continued unabated into the classical period and beyond. Clearly these events, in keeping with the notion of Spartan conservatism, included traditional Laconian songs by at least the Roman period that may have been part of the attraction for visiting tourists. But was the same true of choral and citharodic competitions? The conservative ethos of these contests is suggested by the fact that the Spartans, unlike many other Greek and even Dorian cities, never introduced the innovation of dramatic competitions. Yet it seems unlikely that the old songs alone could have been enough for so many choral performances each year. We also cannot discount the possibility that new works were presented as finds from the corpus of the old masters.

The traditional corpus was not even believed to be exclusively the creation of the Spartans themselves. Of the authors of the old Dorian songs listed above, one (Thaletas)

[27] τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τινὰ ποιημάτων ᾄδουσιν 139e = Polycrates *FGrHist* 588 F 1.
[28] καὶ ἐπιχώριος αὐταῖς καθέστηκεν ὄρχησις 3.10.7.
[29] γυμνῶν ὀρχουμένων καὶ ᾀδόντων Θαλήτου καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος ᾄσματα καὶ τοὺς Διονυσοδότου τοῦ Λάκωνος παιᾶνας. *FGrHist* 595 F 5 = Athen. 678b-c.
[30] ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ᾄσματα Δώρια ὁ Γιτιάδας ἄλλα τε καὶ ὕμνον ἐς τὴν θεόν. 3.17.2-3.

was certainly a foreigner from Crete, two (Alcman and Tyrtaeus) were of disputed origins, and only two, and the most obscure (Dionysodotus and Gitiadas), are said explicitly to have been Spartans. And if new songs were performed in Sparta or introduced into the Spartan repertoire, they must have been the work of foreign poets.

Foreigners at Spartan Festivals

Spectators

We have seen that Spartan festivals were distinctive, or at least distinctively Dorian, in their songs and rituals. Yet at the same time they were also Panhellenic events that drew a large number of visitors to Laconia. Thucydides (5.23.4-5) states that the truce in 421 BC between Sparta and Athens was to be renewed each year, with the cities sending delegations to the Hyacinthia and Athenian Dionysia respectively. These festivals were chosen presumably because the Hyacinthia, like the Dionysia, was attended by visitors from allied and other Greek cities.[31] The same logic is likely to lie behind the earlier decision to publicise the treaty with stelae at the Panhellenic sanctuaries of Olympia, Delphi and the Isthmus (5.18.10).

The presence of foreign visitors is directly attested in sources from the classical period. Herodotus (9.73) notes that the citizens of Decelea in Attica were granted the honour of front row seats in Sparta (προεδρίη), which suggests regular visits by Athenian spectators in the fifth century. Xenophon records that a certain Lichas became famous for hosting foreign visitors at the time of the Gymnopaidiai.[32] Plutarch, in noting that the news of defeat at Leuctra arrived while the festival was being held, claims that the city was full of foreigners (ξένων οὖσα μεστή *Ages.* 29.2) while the choruses were performing in the theatre. Foreigners appear to have partaken of meals and sacrifices at festivals. Cratinus (fr.

[31] Dionysia: see Roselli 2011, pp.118-24; Stewart 2013, pp. 139-40.
[32] *Mem*. 1.2.61; cf. Plut. *Cim*. 10.5.

175 K–A) mentions that foreigners would be feasted at the κοπίς. This fragment is preserved by Athenaeus (138e) in a discussion of Spartan dining practices. It is followed by Polycrates' description of the Hyacinthia festival and a fragment of Epilycus (fr. 4) locating a κοπίς at the temple of Apollo at Amyclae. Like the κοπίς at the Hyacinthia and other festivals, the Karneia also involved feasting in tent-like structures (σκιάδες), in which, according to a Hellenistic epigram by Trypho, Terpes (or Terpander) was singing when he died by choking on a fig.[33]

Performers

This Terpander was from Lesbos and known as the first victor of the Karneia, dated in antiquity to the first quarter of the 7th century.[34] To later authors Terpander was the first of a series of foreign poets, who would not only develop Sparta as a centre for choral poetry, but also enhance the stability of its constitution. Terpander's arrival was said to have put an end to civic strife in Laconia.[35] According to pseudo-Plutarch (*de Mus*. 1134b-c), a second generation of foreign poets, which included Thaletas of Crete, Xenodamus of Cythera, Xenocritus of Locri, Polymnestus of Colophon and Sacadas of Argos, were associated with the establishment of the Gymnopaidiai. As with Terpander, the foreign poet Thaletas brings to an end a period of instability in Sparta. According to Plutarch, Lycurgus brought Thaletas to Sparta to help him institute his new constitution, while in another tradition he was summoned by an oracle to cure the Spartans of disease.[36]

[33] Trypho *Anth. Pal*. 9.488 = *FGE* 380-3. σκιάδες: Athen. 141e; Pettersson 1992, p. 57.
[34] Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F 85a = Athen. 635e-f; date: Sosibios *FGrHist* 595 F 3= Athen. 635e-f.
[35] Philodemus *de Mus*. fr. 47.30-5, 133.4-7 (Dellatre I p. 75, II p.256); [Plut] *de Mus*. 1146b; Diod. Sic. 8.28; Zenob. 5.9; *Suda* μ 701 Adler; Photius μ 318 Theodoridis.
[36] Lycurgus: Plut. *Lyc*. 4.1; *Agis*. 10.6; disease: Pratinas fr. 713iii *PMG* = [Plut.] *de Mus*. 1146b; Paus. 1.14.4.

What, if anything, can this tradition tell us about the activities of foreign poets in Sparta in the 7th century? In some respects, the outlook is far from promising. This tradition is only preserved in post-classical sources and contains many formulaic elements common to the genre of ancient literary biography.[37] And while we possess substantial fragments of the work of Alcman and Tyrtaeus, the poetry of Terpander is represented by only a handful of short fragments of dubious authenticity. Most scholars agree that these are in fact only written under the name of the legendary master and need not date to the seventh century.[38]

Nevertheless, we can be confident that the legend of Terpander, together with the tradition of foreign poets in Sparta, developed no later than the 5th century and probably earlier. The primacy of Lesbian singers among foreign competitors is claimed by Sappho at around the end of the seventh or early sixth century.

πέρροχος, ὡς ὅτ' ἄοιδος ὁ Λέσβιος ἀλλοδάποισιν

He is pre-eminent, as when the Lesbian singer appears among those of other lands.

(Fr. 106 Voigt).

The saying 'after the Lesbian poet', with which the Sappho fragment is connected, is first attested in a play by Cratinus (fr. 263 K–A) and was linked with Terpander by Aristotle (fr. 545 Rose) in his *Spartan Constitution*. Similarly the story of how Thaletas cured the Spartans was known to Pratinas of Phlius, a contemporary of Aeschylus.[39] In around 450, Hellanicus of Mytilene (*FGrHist* 4 F 85a) listed Terpander in his list of victors at the Karneia. His contemporary Herodotus (1.23-4) attests to the wide travels of another Lesbian singer, Arion of Methymna, who in the time of Periander (c. 627-587) visited not only Corinth but

[37] Kivilo 2010, pp.164-5.
[38] See Page on *PMG* 697-8 p. 362; West 1992, p.56; Beecroft 2008; *contra* Kivilo 2010, p.151.
[39] Pratinas fr. 713iii *PMG* = [Plut.] *de Mus*. 1146b.

even Sicily and Italy. Hellanicus (F 86) also mentioned Arion in his list as the first to set up a circular chorus and he too may have been included as a victor.

These tales of poets from the archaic period may in fact hint at the ongoing presence of foreigners in later centuries. The myth of a semi-heroic predecessor was probably developed and promulgated by travelling singers from Lesbos by the early 5th century as part of a strategy to promote their craft in foreign cities, including, most prominently, Sparta.[40] Using the name and persona of a famous wandering poet helps to attract an audience and allay any suspicions they might have about these visitors. It also may have allowed poets to claim special privileges when abroad. The Spartans were believed to have invited the descendants of Terpander to compete first at their competitions.[41]

This practice of claiming descent from Terpander may be dated to the 5th century, if not earlier. Aristocleitus or Aristocleides, who was active at around the time of the Persian Wars and was known as the teacher of Phrynis of Mytilene, is said to have claimed descent from Terpander and was identified by some as the Lesbian poet of the saying.[42] Plutarch illustrates Spartan conservatism in music by an anecdote, in which an ephor threatens to cut the additional strings off the lyre belonging to Phrynis.[43] Unfortunately this story is likely to be apocryphal, since the same anecdote is applied to Terpander and Timotheus of Miletus.[44] Nevertheless, it would be perfectly natural for the pupil of one of Terpander's descendants to perform in Sparta and Phrynis may conceivably have used these credentials to appeal to a Spartan audience. By the end of the 6th century the Homeridae, or descendants of Homer, were certainly performing and, in at least one case, adding to the corpus of works attributed

[40] As suggested by Beecroft 2008, p.225 and Power 2010, pp.320-3.
[41] Arist. fr. 545 Gigon; Hesych. μ 1004 Latte; Suda μ 701 Adler; Eustathius s.v. *Il*. 9.129.
[42] Σ Ar. *Nub.* 971a (Holwerda I 3.1 p. 187); Suda φ 761 Adler; Aristocleitus as the singer from Lesbos: Arist. fr. 545 Gigon.
[43] *Agis* 799f-800a; *Apophth. Lac*. 220c; *Prof. Virt*. 84a.
[44] Plut. *Inst. Lac*. 238c; Paus. 3.12.10.

to Homer: a process which in turn contributed to the 'invention' of their putative ancestor.[45] Terpander was himself believed to have been a descendent of Homer and, in one tradition, to have come from Cyme, one of Homer's possible birthplaces.[46] The descendants of Terpander may have functioned as a Lesbian off-shoot of the Homeridae on Chios.

Despite the importance of Lesbos, many of the poets who visited Sparta hailed from other cities. The earliest testament to Sparta's reputation for choruses appears in a papyrus fragment ascribed to Ibycus of Rhegium, who was active in the mid-6th century. The poem concerns Castor and Pollux and explicitly mentions Sparta (Λακ]ε̣δαίμονα S166.30). The following line refers to choruses and possibly equestrian contests. This work may be an early *epinician* offered to a Spartan victor and, if so, probably performed in Sparta.[47] Allusions to Sparta in the works of the other major poet from the 6th century Greek West, Stesichorus, have led some scholars to suppose that he also travelled to Laconia.[48] In the following century, Pratinas of Phlius may have had a connection with Sparta. He is known to have celebrated the Spartan choral tradition and, as we have seen, composed a work possibly connected to the festival at Caryae.[49] An elegy by Ion of Chios, a contemporary of Sophocles and Euripides, describing a symposium probably contains an address to a Spartan king.[50] It has been argued that Ion most probably travelled to Sparta in order to perform his poetry at one of its festivals.[51] Another elegy in praise of Spartans is the 'New Simonides', which has

[45] Homeridae: Pind. *Nem*. 2.1-3; descent from Homer: Σ *Nem*. 2.1c (Drachmann III.29-30); date of Homerid Cynaethaeus of Chios c. 504-501 and additions to corpus of Homer: Σ *Nem*. 2.1c = Hippostratus 568 F 5 *FGrHist*; see West 1975, pp.165-6 = 2011a, pp. 335-6 and 1999, p.368 = 2011a, p. 414.
[46] Suda τ 354 Adler; Kivilo 2010, pp.136-8.
[47] Barron 1964, pp.20-1.
[48] For a recent discussion and bibliography see Kivilo 2010, p.68 and Finglass 2014, pp.27-9.
[49] Λάκων ὁ τέττιξ εὔτυκος ἐς χορόν fr. 4 *TrGF* = 709 *PMG* = Athen. 633a.
[50] χαιρέτω ἡμέτερος βασιλεὺς σωτήρ τε πατήρ τε· fr. 90.1 Leurini = fr. 27.1 West. This interpretation was first made by Haupt 1876, pp.209-10; see more recently Bartol 2000.
[51] Stewart 2013, pp.210-18.

been seen as a royal commission to celebrate the victory at Plataea.[52] Pindar states in his first *Pythian* (75-8) that he will celebrate the victory of the Spartans at Plataea, perhaps in a work similar to Simonides' elegy, although none is known for certain.

Unlike the performances of the Lesbian citharodes, none of these works can be definitely linked with a specific festival or competition at Sparta. An exception, however, is a dithyramb by Bacchylides, probably performed by a chorus of girls, possibly in a contest. Its opening lines allude to a performance by Spartan maidens.

Σπάρτᾳ ποτ' ἐν ε[ὐρυχόρῳ

ξανθαὶ Λακεδα[ιμονι̣...

τοιόνδε μέλος κ[...

Once in Sparta [of the wide dancing grounds] golden haired [maidens] of the Spartans [sang] such a song.

(20.1-3 = Dith. 6 Snell-Maehler)

The papyrus preserves the title 'Idas for the Spartans' (Ἴδας Λακεδαιμονίοις). Idas is associated with the abduction of Marpessa from a chorus and, in one tradition, with the story of the first rape of Helen (usually credited to Theseus).[53] The former appears to have been the myth told by Bacchylides. As Maehler has noted, such a theme would be suitable for performance at Sparta, given the association of the cults of Artemis at Caryae and other sanctuaries with myths of rape.[54] A version of the Idas story was also told by Simonides (fr. 563 *PMG*) and it is tempting to wonder whether the two Cean poets did not visit Sparta together. A scholion on the Alcman papyrus notes that the Spartans in the time of its author

[52] See Nobili 2011, pp.26-7; Schachter 1998 argues that the work was commissioned by Pausanias for a performance before the Greek forces at Sigeum.
[53] Marpessa: Ἴδας ὁ Ἀφαρήϊος καὶ ἁρπάσας ἐκ χοροῦ ἔφυγεν, Plut. *Parallel. Min*. 315e; Helen: Plut. *Thes.* 31.1. The Helen episode was depicted on the throne at Amyclae (Paus. 3.18.15), while the cult of Helen was prominent at Sparta and may have been honoured with choruses; see Calame 1997, pp.197-201.
[54] Maehler 2004, p.219.

used foreign poets / chorus trainers.[55] The Bacchylides dithyramb suggests that this was indeed the case in the fifth century.

Yet it is important to situate these visits in their wider context. Sparta's significance was primarily as a centre within a network of Panhellenic festivals. Terpander was credited by pseudo-Plutarch (*de Mus.* 1132e) with four Pythian victories, while the poets of the second κατάστασις, which brought about the Gymnopaidiai at Sparta, were also linked with festivals in Argos and Arcadia (1134c). Ibycus is the probable author of a poem addressed to Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos (S151.47-8 *PMGF*). A connection with Sicyon has also been proposed on the basis of allusions to Sicyonian heroes.[56] This reconstruction of Ibycus' travels closely resembles Herodotus' account of the travels of Arion, though in reverse.[57] We may also recall lines from the Theognidea (783-8), in which the poet recalls journeys as far afield as Sicily, Euboea and Sparta. By at least the 6th century, therefore, a network of contacts and poetic centres stretched from the Greek West to the islands of the Aegean, with the Peloponnese and Sparta at its centre.

Connections between Sparta and Asia Minor are in evidence even earlier. According to ancient sources that included Aristotle and Crates of Pergamon, Alcman was a stranger-poet from Lydia and not a native Spartan.[58] The story of Alcman's Lydian origins was dismissed by later ancient scholars, including Aristarchus.[59] However, while there appears to have been good evidence for Alcman's Spartan origins, the argument for a Lydian connection was not unfounded either, since it was at least partly based on Alcman's own

[55] καὶ νῦν ἔτι [ξε]νικῳ κέχρη[ν]ται διδασκάλῳ χο[ρῶν Alcman TA2.36-7 *PMGF*.
[56] Sicyon: fr. S151.41, Barron 1961. On Ibycus' travels see Bowie 2009, pp. 122-5.
[57] Cf. Finglass 2014, pp. 24-5.
[58] Fr. 13a 12-13 *PMGF*; *Suda* α 1289 Adler. For the full *testimonia* see TA1-9 *PMGF*.
[59] *Suda* α 1289 Adler; see Hutchinson 2001, pp.74-5.

poetry. The surviving fragments are littered with references to Lydia.[60] Most important, however, is a passage which describes a Lydian.

οὐκ ἦς ἀνὴρ ἀγρεῖος οὐ-

δὲ σκαιὸς οὐδὲ †παρὰ σοφοῖ-

σιν† οὐδὲ Θεσσαλὸς γένος,

Ἐρυσιχαῖος οὐδὲ ποιμήν,

ἀλλὰ Σαρδίων ἀπ' ἀκρᾶν

He was no unskilled rustic nor clumsy (not even in the view of unskilled men?) nor Thessalian by race nor an Erysichaean shepherd: he was from lofty Sardis.[61]

(fr. 16 *PMGF*)

The chorus need not have identified this individual explicitly as Alcman, yet it is likely that it contributed to the case for his Lydian origins. Nagy's notion of 'diachronic skewing' may be useful here: the chorus is potentially appealing to the idea of a Lydian sophisticate, which can then be projected onto their own poet, just as the author of the *Hymn to Apollo* appeals to an idea of the blind Homer.[62]

The poet is thus making a claim, either for himself or somebody else, to a degree of sophistication associated with Lydia and Sardis, its capital. Such a connection is far from surprising. This Anatolian kingdom was particularly associated with music. The Lydian and Phrygian modes are thought to have been brought to Greece from the East.[63] Herodotus (1.55.4) attests to the Lydian passion for music. In addition, much early Greek literature,

[60] E.g. spacious Asia and the Lydian district of Maeonia (εὐρυ]χόρω δ' Ἀσίας fr. 3 = P.Oxy. 2387 fr. 23.2; Μαιόν[6) and a Phrygian song played on the aulos (Φρύγιον αὔλησε μέλος τὸ Κερβήσιον fr. 126).
[61] The translation is by Campbell 1988, p.409; note that the verb could potentially be either second or third person.
[62] Nagy 2003, pp.39-40.
[63] Telestes fr. 806 *PMG*.

including the poetry of Alcman, shows the influence of Eastern cultures.[64] Lydia is also associated with wandering sages by at least the fifth century, who travel to the east to gain the wisdom that they use to benefit the cities of Greece upon their return. The archetypical travelling sage, who brings with him new wisdom and knowledge from the East, is Dionysus.[65] Sages and poets similarly benefit the cities they come to by advising their citizens and rulers. The last king of Lydia, Croesus, was linked in Herodotus to Solon, who was one of the numerous travelling sophists (σοφισταί) to visit the court at Sardis during its heyday.[66] Solon gained his wisdom as a lawgiver through his travels abroad, particularly in Egypt.[67] Finally, Lydia is the source of the gold and luxury objects (such as the Lydian headband) prized by the girls of Alcman's choruses.[68]

This tradition may have been based on an actual traffic in wisdom taking place in the archaic period.[69] Nicolaus of Damascus mentioned a Magnes of Smyrna, a travelling epic poet and favourite of Gyges, the father of Ardys.[70] Alcman was a contemporary of Ardys, Croesus' great-grandfather.[71] West has argued that Nicolaus probably used the fifth century *Lydiaca* of Xanthus of Sardis as his source.[72] If so, it is likely that the tradition has some basis in fact. Lydia and the Greek cities of the East may have been a hub for both Greek and non-Greek wandering poets from an early period. Lesbos and the Greek cities of Ionia are likely

[64] See West 1997, pp. 524-6.
[65] E.g. Eur. *Bacch*. 463-4; on Dionysus as a traveller in literature and cult see Seaford 1994, pp. 250-1.
[66] Hdt. 1.29.1: he is termed one of the travelling sophists who visit Croesus' court. [Pl.] *Ep.* 2. 311a-b: Croesus and Solon both appear together in a list of wise advisors to tyrants.
[67] Solon fr. 28 West; Hdt. 2.177.2.
[68] Lydian headbands: μίτρα / Λυδία Alcman fr. 1.67-8 *PMGF*; cf. μ]ιτράναν δ' ἀρτιως . . . ṇοικιλαν ἀπὺ Σαρδίω[ν Sappho fr. 98.10-11 Voigt; cf. Xenophan. fr. 3 West claims that the people of Colophon learned luxury from the Lydians.
[69] On the interaction between Greeks and the east see West 1997, pp. 1-9; Vlassopoulos 2013. On the influence of the Persian magi on early Greek philosophy see Horky 2009, pp. 50-66.
[70] Nicolaus *FGrHist* 90 F 62 περιήει τε τὰς πόλεις ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὴν ποίησιν. τούτου δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι ἥρων, Γύγης δὲ μᾶλλον τι ἐφλέγετο, καὶ αὐτὸν εἶχε παιδικά.
[71] *Suda* a 1289 Adler; Eusebius *Chron.* Ol.30.3 (p.94 Helm). For the chronology see Markianos 1974, p. 11; Campbell 1988, p. 337 n. 4.
[72] West 2011b, pp.345-6.

to have provided the connections between Sardis and Sparta. The poetry of Sappho and Alcaeus attests to contacts between Lydia and Lesbos in the late seventh century.[73] Pindar claimed that Terpander had invented the barbitos from listening to music at the banquets of the Lydians.[74] Telestes in the late fifth century contrasts Lydian music with the 'Dorian' Muse: perhaps evoking a time at which Lydia and Sparta were competing musical centres, between which the singers of Lesbos would travel.[75]

Alcman and Tyrtaeus were the only known Spartan poets, and in each case their Spartan origins were questioned in antiquity. Why? The ancient tradition of Alcman's Lydian origins suggests that he fits into the pattern of the wandering poet who comes from abroad to benefit a new city with his wisdom and oriental lore. Tyrtaeus' supposed Athenian origins belong in the same category.[76] He is also credited with bringing good order to Sparta. This tradition is, like that of Alcman's foreign origins, based upon his own poetry. In particular, Aristotle (*Pol.* 1306b36-1307a1) states that Tyrtaeus' poem on good order (Εὐνομία fr. 1 West) demonstrates that civil unrest, caused by inequality, was rife in Sparta at about the time of the second Messenian war. As Van Wees has observed, the tradition of Tyrtaeus' foreign origins allows him to fit seamlessly into the pattern of the wise foreign poet, exemplified by the legend of Terpander.[77] This is based on a strong, longstanding and universal conviction that poets should travel. If a poet failed to travel, ancient authors assumed that he was a foreigner to begin with.

[73] Sappho fr. 39 and 98 Voigt; Alcaeus is offered money by Lydians (fr. 69 Voigt); Croesus and Sparta: Hdt. 1.69-70.
[74] Fr. 125 S–M.
[75] Fr. 806 *PMG*; cf. Pl. *Lach.* 188 d.
[76] Lycurgus *Leocr.* 106; Pl. *Leg.* 629a, cf. scholion *ad loc.*; Paus. 4.15.6; Philochorus *FGrHist* 328 F 215.
[77] Van Wees 1999, pp.4-5.

Conclusion

This belief was founded, firstly, on the reality that travel between major Panhellenic festivals was commonly undertaken by poets from the archaic period and, secondly, on the self-presentation of poets as wanderers who gain the wisdom that will be of benefit to a foreign state from their travel. It is clear that Sparta remained a prominent part of the festival circuit for poets throughout not only the archaic but also the classical period. Their roles were varied and significant, ranging from competition in the citharodic contests, to the production of *ad hoc* celebratory works to, in at least some cases, the training of choruses. It is in this context of a wider Panhellenic song culture and festival circuit that we must understand the twin traditions of Spartan musical success and foreign involvement in Spartan festivals.

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GO TELL THE…LACEDAEOMONIANS?

SPARTA'S RELIANCE ON THE *PERIOIKOI* DURING TIMES OF CONFILICT

Carlos Villafane

This paper will discuss the crucial role the *perioikoi* played in the Lacedaemonian Army and the way they are perceived by modern scholarship. To be clear from the outset, the term 'Lacedaemonian Army' will be used throughout the whole paper instead of the incorrect one, the 'Spartan Army', used by scholars over the years, simply because there was no such thing. The Spartans and the *perioikoi* were part of the same army, which is why calling it the Spartan army is a modern misconception.[1] The fact is that nowhere in our ancient sources is it called the Spartan Army, not for grammatical reasons but simply because they knew that the Spartans were not the only members of the Lacedaemonian Army. This paper will take into consideration two important factors that are crucial for the understanding of perioikic presence in the Lacedaemonian Army: (i) the (modern) negative view of the *perioikoi* as fighters and (ii) the various roles they played in the Lacedaemonian Army itself, which includes a close analysis of Thermopylae.

Over the past centuries scholars have divided the inhabitants of Laconia into Spartans, helots and *perioikoi*, but as shown in Table 1 it was much more complicated than that.[2]

[1] Monographs such as Lazenby's *The Spartan Army*, 1985 helped make the term more mainstream and acceptable. However, by the early twentieth century Toynbee 1913, p. 248 was aware that it should not have been called the Spartan Army. He quite rightly pointed out that 'above all Λακεδαιμόνιοι is the title of the army in the field'.

[2] Cartledge 2002, p. 84 calls the *perioikoi* the 'third force' in Lakonian political and economic development. See also Sealey 1976, pp. 67-8 and Hall 2000, p. 74.

Classes or groups within Laconia	Accepted definitions
Spartiates (Σπαρτιᾶται)	Full citizens of Sparta
Neodamodeis (νεοδαμώδεις)	Liberated Helots
Hypomeiones (ὑπομείονες)	Spartans of less inferior status or who possibly lost their citizenship
Helots (εἵλωτες, εἰλώται)	The slave/serf class
Perioikoi (περίοικοι)	'Those who dwell around'. Free inhabitants of Laconia who did not possess any political rights in Sparta
Nothoi (νόθοι)	Sons of Spartiates by Helot women
Mothones (μόθωνες)	Young servants (helots?) charged with domestic tasks for young Spartans during their education
Mothakes (μόθακες)	Possibly freeborn helots or hypomeiones who were not citizens of Sparta but shared all the education which is given to the free citizens
Tresantes (τρέσαντες)	Literally 'tremblers', or cowards who fled the battle
Trophimoi (τρόφιμοι)	Foreigners/strangers that were brought up at Sparta and went through the usual course of Spartan discipline. It is said that Xenophon's own sons belonged to this class

Table 1: Classes or groups within Laconia

The three just mentioned only make up roughly thirty percent of the classes or groups within Laconia. Of course, most in the list are just hybrids or related to those three but they are still categorised for a reason. The only downside is that some of them are only mentioned once in our sources so we really cannot obtain more information from them.[3] Nevertheless, going back to the *perioikoi*, it is safe to say that we know significantly more

[3] *Trophimoi* and *Nothoi* in Xen. *Hell*.5.3.9; *hypomeiones* in Xen. *Hell*.3.3.6.

about the helots and Spartiates than we do about the *perioikoi*. In fact, we know almost nothing about them, let alone their place in the Lacedaemonian Army. This is because most of the time they only make cameo appearances. I like to call them an oddity within an oddity because the Spartans were always seen as the strange ones – but inside Laconia the strange ones were the *perioikoi*, not the Spartans. The role of a Spartiate was clearly defined, as was that of the helots, but the role of the *perioikoi* still puzzles us to this day. We know that they fought with the Spartans and for the Spartans, but to what extent has not exactly been studied before. For example, we do not know when they started fighting alongside the Spartans, but ancient sources and modern scholars alike suggest they may have been present as early as Thermopylae, which will be discussed in detail later on. Other unanswered questions include: how large was the perioikic component in the Lacedaemonian Army? What function did they perform on the battlefield and how well did they perform it? And, did they really contribute to Sparta's military collapse?

First, the *perioikoi* as fighters. Oddly enough, when the fighting skills of the *perioikoi* are discussed by modern scholarship the end result is always negative. Gerald Proietti [4] says that 'the Spartans had to master highly standardized tactical manoeuvres because the non-Sparta Lacedaemonians are not so reliable as soldiers'. He is, of course, referring to chapter eleven of Xenophon's *Lacedaemonian Constitution.* In 11.7-8 Xenophon describes the 'special' tactics and manoeuvres the Spartans had to adapt when chaos and disorder ensued. Another scholar, Noreen Humble, not only agrees with Proietti's statement but adds to it. To her, Proietti's statement is important because 'it was not a rare occurrence to find only one or a few full Spartan citizens leading an army composed of some combinations

[4] Proietti 1987, p. 66.

of *perioikoi*, ex-helots, allies and mercenaries'.[5] Still, there is no ancient text in which an author comments negatively on the fighting skills of the *perioikoi*. The fact that a Spartan citizen was the head of an army of non-Spartans does not automatically mean that the men fighting under him were untrained or prone to cause disorder.

When looking at the ancient sources with the *perioikoi* solely in mind, which is what I am pursuing in my research, what one finds, strikingly enough, is quite the opposite. There are instances where we actually see *perioikoi* holding high positions in the Lacedaemonian Army. For instance, three very distinctive cases are those of Eudicus in Agesilaus' war against Thebes, Diniades in the Chian revolt of 411 BC, and Phrynis, during that same event. In the case of Eudicus (Xen. *Hell*.5.4.39) we have a *perioikos* who was a horseman who died in battle alongside two other Spartiate horsemen. What is important here is that he served in the cavalry alongside Spartiates and subsequently died among them. In the case of the other *perioikos*, Diniades (Thuc. 8.22.1), the description of his military role is much more specific. Thucydides tells us how the land forces of the Peloponnesians were under the command of Eualas, a Spartan, while the fleet was under Diniades, a *perioikos*. Here we can see a clear contrast between Spartiate and *perioikoi*, yet both are said to be in command, one on land and the other on sea. The third example that of Phrynis (Thuc. 8.6.4), gives us a *perioikos* who was sent as a herald to assess the situation at Chios and report back to the Spartans. Phrynis plays an important role because whatever action Sparta was going to take all depended on his report and his assessment of the situation. The downside is that these three *perioikoi* are only mentioned once, and we never to hear from them again, which is unfortunate given their unique cases.

[5] Humble 2006, p. 222.

However, they are not the only *perioikoi* mentioned by name in our sources. Two very distinct cases are those of Neon the Asinean and Dexippus, both mentioned in Xenophon's *Anabasis*. Xenophon never identifies Neon as a *perioikos*, but there was no need for this. By saying Neon is from Asine, he ensured his readers would know that he was in fact a *perioikos*. George Cawkwell certainly thought so when he said that 'Asine was one of the 'surrounding' towns of Sparta, and Neon therefore a perioikos'.[6] Neon also had an important military role because he was Chirisophus' right hand man, and we know that Chirisophus was one of the few high ranking officers of the Ten Thousand. In fact, at one point, Neon acts as commander in place of Chirisophus, who had left temporarily and presumably left Neon in charge (Xen. *Anab*. 5.6.36) and also took command of Chirisophus' post when the latter died (Xen. *Anab*. 6.4.11).

Moving on to Dexippus, here we have a unique case of a *perioikos* who is mentioned in two different sources: in Xenophon's *Anabasis* and in Diodorus' *Library*. Dexippus is important because we can trace his whereabouts for a number of years and not only is he mentioned in two different sources but in two different sets of events as well: he was employed as a mercenary in campaigns in Sicily around 406 BC and, of course, was also part of the Ten Thousand in the *Anabasis*. Dexippus is undoubtedly a *perioikos* because Xenophon describes him as one (Xen. *Anab*. 5.1.15). Most scholars will agree that Dexippus is not the most honourable individual in Greek history, but Diodorus describes him as having a high reputation because of his native *polis*. Whether the people of Gela thought he was a Spartan or just from Lacedaemon we will never know. Nevertheless, what is most important here is the fact that Dexippus is described by Diodorus as being experienced in warfare (Diod. 13.87.5). If Dexippus was a mercenary then we can assume that he was also a soldier

[6] Cawkwell 1972, n. 6, p. 248.

in the Lacedaemonian Army either at the time of his mercenary exploits or at some point in his life (e.g. before becoming a mercenary). Therefore, Diodorus will have been correct in saying he was experienced in warfare because he would have had to train as a soldier of the Lacedaemonian Army.

Hence, the argument that the *perioikoi* were not reliable soldiers is flawed because if we look carefully at the evidence we can see instances of *perioikoi* in command on their own or alongside Spartiates. None of them, nor any other *perioikoi* for that matter, are seen either fleeing a battle or acting in a cowardly fashion. Their military roles were also very diverse. As we have seen they were fleet commanders, mercenaries, cavalrymen, spies or scouts etc. And to be any one of these, you had to be somewhat experienced in war, especially if your comrades were Spartans.

But scholars have overlooked all of these instances. Humble indirectly places some of the blame on the *perioikoi* for Sparta's military flaws and subsequent military downfall. She argues that 'the *perioikoi*, not having been brought up to believe death is better than flight, are liable to flee in disorderly situations'.[7] But if we look at the major Spartan battles where chaos and disorder ensued (i.e. Thermopylae, Plataea and Sphacteria), we see no evidence of the *perioikoi* taking flight. At Plataea, the only time chaos and disorder breaks out is when Pausanias and Amompharetus, two high ranking Spartans, but not *perioikoi*, start to argue. In fact, there is no evidence whatsoever of a Spartan battle were the *perioikoi* are described as fleeing the battlefield. Thus, it is only when we discard the bad reputation modern scholars have sometimes given to the *perioikoi* that we can appreciate their positive and influential role in the Lacedaemonian Army.

[7] Humble 2006, p. 229.

The Spartans were not good at winning simply because they fought well, but because they were even better at choosing their battles. Fighting with the support of the *perioikoi* probably improved considerably their chances of winning. This, of course, should not undermine Sparta's claim to military superiority, but it is definitely not farfetched to think that in battle the *perioikoi* were most likely undistinguishable from the Spartans, at least to the untrained eye of the enemy. The *perioikoi* may have well used the same weapons, shields, spears, and swords as the Spartans. As far as we can tell, the Spartans did not bear a sigma for Sparta on their shield, but a lambda, for either Lacedaemon or Lacedaemonian (Xen. *Hell*. 4.4.10). Therefore, to our knowledge, to the enemy, all soldiers appeared to be 'Spartans'.

One good example of this is the battle of Plataea. The Spartans were not known for providing vast number of soldiers every time a war or battle was around the corner. Yet exceptionally, for Plataea they provided five thousand *Spartiates*. However it was not five thousand Spartans who marched on Plataea, but ten thousand Lacedaemonians in total. Of these ten thousand Lacedaemonians, five thousand were *perioikoi*, which means that the exact half of the Lacedaemonian fighting force was composed of *perioikoi*. Herodotus only mentions the *perioikoi* of Laconia by word three times in the whole of the *Histories* (6.58; 8.73; 9.11), and one of those instances is to describe how the Spartans fielded those five thousand *perioikoi* into Plataea (9.11). Τῶν περιοίκων Λακεδαιμονίων λογάδες are his exact words. Some translate this as 'Lacedaemonian countrymen' [8] and others as 'an elite force of five thousand Lacedaemonian *perioikoi'*.[9] The second translation is more specific and accurate. Herodotus does not make use of the word *perioikoi* after 9.11, for this reason we

[8] Godley 1920.
[9] Waterfield 1997.

must assume that at some point along the way they joined forces with the rest of the Spartans and fought side by side at Plataea.

Strength in numbers was a key factor in this battle and the *perioikoi* most definitely 'increased' the number of Spartans in the eyes of the enemy. Adding five thousand *perioikoi* to the already five thousand-strong force of Spartans would produce what would appear to the enemy to be a force of ten thousand Spartans. One very good example of this is when the Argives, having promised that they were going to stop the Spartans before they reached Plataea, sent a runner to Mardonius to tell him that they were not going to be able to stop the Spartans after all and that he should change his plans (Hdt. 9.12). Herodotus merely says that it was too late for them to act because the Lacedaemonians had already departed from Sparta, but by the time the Argives found out that the Lacedaemonian Army was already on the move, the *perioikoi* in all probability had already caught up with their Spartan counterparts and joined their ranks. Therefore, what the Argives were reacting to was the combined force of five thousand Spartans and five thousand *perioikoi*, and the way that they reacted shows that they regarded this combined force as too superior for them to deal with.

The *perioikoi* were skilled fighters and a reliable element of the Spartan military establishment. Xenophon says that the secret of carrying on in a battle with any troops at hand when the line gets into confusion is not so easy to grasp, except for soldiers trained under the laws of Lycurgus (*Lac.* 11.7). Yet Xenophon never uses the Greek word for *Spartiate*, but the more acceptable word Λακεδαιμόνιοι. This can mean one of two things, (i) either Xenophon is still referring to the Spartiates but chooses to use the word Lacedaemonians (for whatever reasons) or (ii) he does not specify *Spartiates* because he is including the *perioikoi* who were, of course, Lacedaemonians as well. The latter would also

mean that there existed the possibility for some *perioikoi* to be trained under the 'laws of Lycurgus'. Xenophon, of all authors, knew that the *perioikoi* had a strong military presence in the Lacedaemonian Army and using the term Spartiate would obviously mean ignoring the *perioikoi*. The fact that we know much about the *perioikoi* from his texts attests to the familiarity he acquired either whilst living in Sparta or during his military exploits with them, both of which must have influenced the way he thought – and subsequently wrote.

It should not be surprising that the Spartans relied on non-Spartan forces to fight with them. The *perioikoi* fell under a completely different category; one that is safe to say was exclusive altogether from the rest. Unlike mercenaries they were not paid and unlike allies they were part of the Lacedaemonian Army, as Shipley has already pointed out.[10] However, the real difference and uniqueness of the perioikic soldiers is that they can be seen fighting alongside the Spartans during almost all battles, while the same cannot be said for either allies or mercenaries. After all, as Shipley has argued, they were part of the same state as the Spartans, Sparta's wars were also their own, and Sparta's kings were their kings as well.[11]

Cartledge has nonetheless claimed that the Spartans' over-reliance on non-Spartiate soldiers constituted 'a serious breach in the principle of the citizen militia'.[12] But I would argue that there was never a 'serious breach', because the concept of citizen militia is inapplicable to the *perioikoi*. First of all, The Lacedaemonian Army, at different stages during the time, was mostly operational and referenced in our sources (i.e. 5th to 4th centuries BC), included non-Spartiate troops. This was a fairly normal occurrence during the Persian Wars, when they included the *perioikoi*; during the Peloponnesian War, when they included

[10] Shipley 2006, p. 67.
[11] Shipley 2006, pp. 67-68; see also Hdt. 6.58.
[12] Cartledge 1987, p. 40.

helots, *neodamodeis* and *perioikoi*; and during the 4th century, when we see helots, *perioikoi*, mercenaries, and *neodamodeis* among Spartan ranks. The *perioikoi*, however, can be accounted as fighting in the Lacedaemonian Army consistently throughout the 5th and 4th centuries BC. This sets them apart from the other non-*Spartiate* components of the Lacedaemonian Army. What is important and worth stressing is that the *perioikoi*, although non-*Spartiate*, were Lacedaemonians in the same respect as the Spartans were. It is not a coincidence that they are seen fighting alongside the Spartans in every major conflict. Nor is it a coincidence that the army is called the Lacedaemonian Army.

The *perioikoi*, after all, were Lacedaemonians and part of the Lacedaemonian state. They should therefore be considered citizens of Laconia or citizens of the Lacedaemonian state. Jonathan Hall speaks of a 'Lakedaimonian citizenship' held by *Spartiates* and the *perioikoi*.[13] In a sense you could say it was a type of dual-citizenship because Hall says that a *Spartiate* 'held both Spartan and Lakedaimonian citizenship'. A *perioikos* would similarly hold Lakedaimonian citizenship but also citizenship of his own *polis* (i.e. Kytheran citizenship). That is why the *perioikoi* are unique in respect to both the Lacedaemonian Army and Lacedaemonian society. If there was ever a citizen militia ideal in Sparta it was one that encompassed the whole of Laconia and not just Sparta. This would have included the *perioikoi* because they were Lacedaemonian citizens as well.[14] Therefore, having the *perioikoi* in the Lacedaemonian Army never constituted a breach in the 'principle of citizen militia' because they were equal to the Spartans in that they both were citizens of Laconia and therefore obliged to protect not only Sparta but the Lacedaemonian state in its entirety, which, of course, included perioikic territory. That is why maybe citizen militia is not the

[13] Hall 2000, p. 80.

[14] Ephorus (BNJ 70 F 117) also suggests that the *perioikoi* held Lacedaemonian citizenship. He says that they 'enjoyed equal rights and participated both in the citizenship as well as in the public offices'.

right word. 'State Militia' would be more accurate and appropriate since both Spartans and *perioikoi* belonged to and fought for the Lacedaemonian State.

Scholars have said that the real (and probably only) reason for the Spartans' over-reliance on non-citizen soldiers was simply that their citizen numbers were declining and they needed more manpower.[15] While to some extent this may be true, especially for the latter half of the 5th century BC and the early 4th century BC, the reason for having perioikic troops in the Lacedaemonian Army had nothing to do with a shortage of manpower. Van Wees argues, and I agree, that the *perioikoi* were already an integral part of the Lacedaemonian Army during the Persian Wars, before manpower became an issue.[16] At Plataea, we have the same number of *perioikoi* as Spartiates (Hdt. 9.11; 9.28) and – if we are to believe Isocrates and Diodorus – more *perioikoi* than Spartiates at Thermopylae (Isoc. 4.90, 6.99; Diod. 11.4.2, 5). Van Wees says that seven hundred *perioikoi* fought at Thermopylae and that while other sources clearly mention this (i.e. Isocrates and Diodorus), Herodotus did not because he was too busy glorifying the Spartan war dead.[17]

Thermopylae is a very important battle in all regards concerning the *perioikoi*; It is important because it gives us the earliest evidence of perioikic participation in the Lacedaemonian Army and because it shows how integrated into the army the *perioikoi* were. First we must analyse the sources. While Herodotus does not mention the seven hundred *perioikoi*, Isocrates and Diodorus show that they were there (Isoc. 4.90, 6.99; Diod. 11.4.2, 5). Isocrates mentions twice that there were one thousand Lacedaemonians – not the usual three hundred Spartans we see on Herodotus and in the popular legend of Thermopylae – and he also mentions twice that all of them perished. We should not assume

[15] See Hodkinson 2000, pp. 421; Cartledge 1987, pp. 37-42.
[16] Van Wees 2004, pp. 83.
[17] Ibid

that Herodotus forgot to mention the *perioikoi* because they had been discharged before the final confrontation. He specifically says that the majority of the allies of the Lacedaemonians were discharged by Leonidas (7.220, 222). In that respect, the *perioikoi* could not have been part of that withdrawal because, as I argued above, they were not allies. Isocrates' references are crucial because of the consistent way in which he reports that one thousand Lacedaemonians fought at Thermopylae.

Moreover, Isocrates is not the only one who mentions the 'one thousand'. Diodorus also speaks of them (11.4.2, 5), presumably reflecting 4th century BC sources not far removed in time from Isocrates. The first passage is almost identical to what we find in Isocrates. It is the second passage, however, that stands out. Here Diodorus mentions both Lacedaemonians and *Spartiates* in the same sentence; something that is not often seen in ancient sources. Although he does not specifically name the *perioikoi*, Diodorus does refer to the three hundred *Spartiates* – the same three hundred that appear in Herodotus and the ones we are all familiar with – and the other seven hundred Lacedaemonians must be *perioikoi*. If we acknowledge perioikic presence as early as Thermopylae we can be certain that the *perioikoi*, being part of the Lacedaemonian Army, were always needed by the Spartans.[18] This would disprove the whole notion that the *perioikoi* only had an impact in the Lacedaemonian Army when Sparta was lacking in numbers. To put it simply, the Spartans counted on the *perioikoi* because it made the Lacedaemonian Army bigger and stronger. It worked at Plataea and, to some extent, at Thermopylae. The fact that there were *perioikoi* present at these two major battles, long before Spartiate numbers were on

[18] Cartledge 2002, p. 123 proposes an even earlier date for perioikic participation in the Lacedaemonian Army. He says the naval expedition to Samos in c. 525 BC 'certainly implies military co-operation of some nature between the Spartans and Perioikoi, for all naval muster-stations or ports in Lakonia were located in Perioikic territory'.

the decline, demonstrates that the *perioikoi* were always considered to be part of the Lacedaemonian Army.

Perioikic presence in Thermopylae undermines everything that has been said in regards to their participation and integration into the Lacedaemonian Army. If neither Isocrates nor Diodorus had mentioned the 'one thousand Lacedaemonians' nobody would have thought twice about perioikic presence in Thermopylae. This prompts the question: are there more forgotten *perioikoi* which we simply do not know about? My answer would be positive; there could be many more instances in which the *perioikoi* fought alongside the Spartans and we simply do not know about them. In fact, it is highly likely that the *perioikoi* fought with the Spartans on more occasions than those few known to us. If they are present from the very beginning of the Classical period (i.e. Plataea and Thermopylae) all the way to the end of it (i.e. Leuctra) then chances are that the *perioikoi* fought in other battles before Plataea and Thermopylae and in many more during the Classical period.

In conclusion, if the *perioikoi* fought in most, if not all, Spartan battles during the Classical period without having Spartan citizenship or any political rights, this would clearly mean one of two things: (i) either the ideal citizen militia was just that, an ideal which was never truly put in practice, but was part of the Greek imaginary of what a true army should be, which is what Van Wees believes,[19] or (ii) the integration of perioikic troops was never 'a serious breach in the principle of the citizen militia' because no matter how devoid they were of 'Spartan citizenship', they were already Lacedaemonian citizens. That is what makes the *perioikoi* unique; they did not need to be Spartan citizens because they were already citizens of their native *poleis* and of the Lacedaemonian State. The same can be said of the Spartans; they were not citizens of a perioikic *polis* because they were Spartan citizens. The

[19] Van Wees 2004, p. 85.

best example of this shared Lacedaemonian citizenship is the Lacedaemonian Army. From the earliest records we have of a Spartan battle, the *perioikoi* were already present and fighting alongside the Spartans. The image of the *perioikoi* fighting alongside the Spartans for the protection of Laconia is much more realistic and commendable than that of an army solely comprised of the ideal citizen Spartan soldier. Hall mentions a Lacedaemonian identity that was shared by both Spartiates and *perioikoi*; it was this identity that bound Sparta and the perioikic communities together to the extent that the *perioikoi* remained loyal to Sparta throughout the Classical period. Hall even calls them 'conscious conspirators in the Spartan promotion of Lakedaimonian identity'.[20] We can therefore say that the Spartans and the *perioikoi* also fought for the protection of Lacedaemonian identity.

The *perioikoi* could not have been at fault for Sparta's military collapse in the 4th century BC. It is quite the opposite; they were right there from the beginning until the very end. They contributed to the Lacedaemonian Army just as much as the Spartans did. There is one small but very curious and significant passage in Herodotus which could possibly quell all rumours of the *perioikoi* as unreliable in battle (234.1-2). In the aftermath of the battle of Thermopylae, clearly left impressed by the Lacedaemonians, Xerxes asks Demaratus how many Lacedaemonians – not Spartiates – are left and how many of them are warriors like the ones who fought at Thermopylae, to which Demaratus replies: 'there is in Lacedaemon a city called Sparta, a city of about eight thousand men, all of them equal to those who have fought here; the rest of the Lacedaemonians are not equal to these, yet they are valiant men.' This passage says much of the *perioikoi*. The fact that he not only includes the *perioikoi* in the praise of the Lacedaemonians but says that they are valiant as well is testimony to the importance of the *perioikoi* in the Lacedaemonian Army. Herodotus admits

[20] Hall 2000, p. 87.

they are not equal to the Spartans but in Greek its οὐκ ὅμοιοι which could mean that they are not members of the class of Peers; nonetheless they are valiant men, like Peers are. As mentioned above, there are no ancient references that speak ill of the *perioikoi* as fighters, but here we do have a positive one where they are referred to as being valiant, ἀγαθοί.

Therefore, what we need to ask ourselves is not whether the *perioikoi* contributed to Sparta's downfall, but on the contrary, whether the Lacedaemonian Army would have lasted as long as it did without the presence of the *perioikoi*, and whether it would have been as successful as it clearly was.

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ARGOS, THE HERAION AND THE OTHER TOWNS IN THE ARGOLID PLAIN

Adele Zarlenga

The purpose of this paper is to reconstruct the relationship of power and territorial supremacy between Argos and other the towns of the Argolid plain during the Dark Ages and the archaic period, and to examine the role played by the sanctuary of Prosymna in this context. The hypothesis for which we try to provide evidence is that during the early archaic period Argos extended its control over the Heraion and its hegemony over the entire plain, and that during this time the sanctuary of Hera became a concrete symbol of Argive sovereignty over the surrounding area. Those clues, (mythical, cult, archaeological, epigraphic) which can help to clarify the link between Argos and the sanctuary of Hera during the initial stages of their history will, therefore, be taken into account.

Argos had continuously been inhabited since the 4th millennium BC, although it long held a position of secondary importance in the plains, living in the shadow of Mycenae and Tiryns.[1] Only after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces did Argos become the main settlement in the Inachus plain. Over time its importance grew and in the 8th century, when the 'signs' of the Greek Renaissance exploded, it became the most important settlement of the Peloponnese and one of the most developed in all of Greece.[2] Its major role is described in some detail by archaeology: the dense distribution of the tombs, the rich grave goods (such as Tomb 45, which still has no comparanda in the Argolid), the high level of craftsmanship

[1] Picard 1998, p. 3.

[2] On the transformations that followed the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization, the new relationship between centres and territory, and the reversal of roles between Argos and Mycenae see Deshayes 1966, p. 195, p. 247; Styrenius 1967, pp. 160-161; Musti 1991, pp. 21-25; Musti 1994, p. 273-277.

such as metalworking and the production of ceramics, are all signs of its development and its economic prosperity in the geometric period.[3] The story of the other towns on the plain which survived the catastrophic ruin of the Mycenaean palaces, however, is characterized by gradual decline. The remains which have been found are almost exclusively funerary, while the traces of housing are almost non-existent. The citadels of Mycenae and Tiryns themselves, first became graveyards, then were transformed into cultural areas.[4]

During the Dark Age and archaic period, relations between Argos and other towns of the plain were dictated by a situation of close physical proximity and a forced sharing of economic resources, water, and land. The different historical developments during the Iron Age, which were just mentioned, lead us to believe that in the 8th century Argos was left to 'direct' inter-community relations and that these relations soon had taken on the form of hostile competition and subordination. Three events demonstrate this Argive power: first the destruction of Asine (ca. 700 BC), then that of Nauplia (ca. 600 BC),[5] and finally the building of the great sanctuary of Hera at the eastern edge of the plain, between the 8th and the 7th century BC.

The Heraion was an extra-urban sanctuary located far away from the daily acts of worship. It was situated at the eastern edge of the Argolid plain, halfway between the *chora* of Mycenae, Midea, and Argos and in the vicinity of Tiryns. It was placed at the slopes of Mount Euboea, on the hill of Prosymna where, in the Mycenaean period, a settlement had

[3] Courbin 1966 and Coldstream 1977 remain fundamental points of reference on the age and Geometric ceramic production in the period. But see also the chronicles of the French excavations regularly published in *BCH* since 1954, and those in *Archaiologikon Deltion* since 1963. See Snodgrass 1971, pp. 213-286 (from the material coming from the Argolid see. pp. 233-236, 265-270); Snodgrass 1991, p. 42. On the findings of metal objects in the tombs see also Courbin 1974, pp. 20-22, 33-34, *passim*.

[4] On the inhabited Argive in the Geometric period and relative demographic figures see Foley 1988, pp. 25-27, p. 159, p. 264. On the Argo era geometric see well Courbin 1974, Kelly 1976, pp. 29-37; Hägg 1974, pp. 30-35, pp. 42-43; Hägg 1982, pp. 297-307; Hägg 1983, p. 27-31; Aupert 1982, pp. 23-24; Protonotariou-Deilaki 1998, pp. 33-38; Touchais and Divari-Valakou 1998, pp. 15-18.

[5] Paus. 2, 36, 4-5; Paus. 4, 24, 4; 27, 8; 35, 2; Str., 8, 6, 11= Theopompus. Hist., *FGrHist*, 115 F 383

existed which has left its traces in the remains of the town and of the tombs. From the top of Prosymna, the view dominated all the sites scattered over the entire plain, all the way to the sea. Evidently its topographical features made it a place of strategic and symbolic importance; Prosymna was an elevated point, secluded by its heights, but at the same time, it was the centre of a network of communication, placed at the crossroads of natural passages in Mycenaean times, when the lands around were densely populated. In the 9th century, when it began to be repopulated, and for a few centuries after, during the archaic period when it fell under the control of Argos, the Prosymna hill still retained its strategic location, protecting passage, as well as its dominating presence.

Scholars unanimously believe that the construction of the sanctuary of Hera began with the erection of a pseudo-cyclopean terrace between the late 8th and early 7th centuries and that the old temple was built in the 7th century. The beginning of the cult, however, dates from the mid-8th century, an age when the site began acquiring increasingly more importance; the offers were multiplying exponentially. The construction of the gigantic pseudo-cyclopean terrace demonstrates the monumentality of its development. It is very likely that it was the Argives who institutionalized the cult at Prosymna and who started work on the construction of this monumental shrine as a sign of their taking possession of it. The testimony of the ancient historical writers and the archaeological remains at least attest to such a hypothesis.

The position of its territorial continuity from the beginning of its history made the sanctuary a place of common worship. Literary sources report that at one time the Heraion was divided between Argos and Mycenae. The testimony of Strabo [6] is clear in this regard. He

[6] Str., 3.6, 10. For other examples of contiguous cults held in common by the two cities see De Polignac 1991, p. 50.

describes it as a *koinon hieron,* shared by the two *poleis* at the time when they were chosen by the descendants of Danaus to be the respective capitals of their kingdoms. Equally clear is the testimony of Diodorus,[7] who refers to a later time in the history of the two cities, when he documents that the *hieron* became a bone of contention between these two *poleis*. Diodorus states that there was a time when the Mycenaeans 'were at odds with the Argives over the sanctuary of Hera, claiming among other things that they themselves take over the administration of the Nemean games'.[8]

The data provided by these two accounts fix the history of Argos, Mycenae, and the Heraion in a historical framework common to many regions in the archaic period, which sees the inter-relationships becoming increasingly conflictual with the acquisition of a territory and its resources. At the end of the Geometric period there was fighting from the north to the south of the Greek peninsula over extra-urban places of cult worship.[9] In the Argolid, the focus of contention between Argos and its neighbouring communities was the Prosymna hill, where there is evidence that a deity had been revered till then.

The descent of a joint sacred place under the sovereignty of a single *polis*, connected with the territorial expansion often occurred in a violent way, transforming the extra-urban place of cult worship into an outpost for the presence of a city in that territory – essentially, the sacred space became its political frontier. The monumental works on a place of worship procured by a *polis* were often followed by the appropriation of that place by the *chora*, consolidating the possession of the place of worship. In the end, this definitively turned them

[7] D.S. 11, 65, 1-5.
[8] The relationship between Mycenae and the Heraion is documented by the paved road already in use during the Bronze Age and still travelled during the Geometric period: Blegen 1939, p. 428; Wright 1982, p. 192 n. 7; Morgan and Whitelaw 1991, p. 85; Antonaccio 1992 p. 68 n. 59.
[9] There was fighting between Thebes and Orchomenus, Eretria and Chalcis, Corinth and Megara, Pisa and Elis, Argos and Sparta, Argos and the other sites on the Argolid plain, Sparta and Amyclae and again, between Sparta and the Messenians: see De Polignac 1991, p. 61ff.

into grave markers, defining borders while enhancing their function as symbols of the sovereignty of the city over its surrounding area.

In narrowing the focus down to the territory of Argos and by reconsidering the words of Strabo and Diodorus, a situation defined by the same guidelines as just now outlined in such general terms can be found more specifically in the Argolid. In the aftermath of the Dorian migration a new relationship with the territory and new relations of land ownership were determined. Argos was the centre of the Dorian conquest. The 'newcomers' transformed Argos into the new capital of the region, making it stand out from the other sites. Throughout the archaic period Argos strengthened its role as the 'capital' of the plain, extending its influence and presence. One of the first stages of this extension was the appropriation of the sacred site, which was formerly held in common, succeeded by its monumentalisation. In this way, the sanctuary built on the hill became the sacred boundary of the Argive *chora* and the goddess who 'resided' there, its patron.

The history of Argos, Mycenae, the Heraion, and the other sites of the plain is intertwined with that of the tombs in the Helladic necropolis of Prosymna and with the temple built near the *tholos* at the western edge of the necropolis. Between 750 and 700 BC the tombs began to receive offerings from the inhabitants of the neighbouring sites and to witness sacrifices.[10] With the transition to the new century, tomb cult ended, while the first evidence for religious activity appeared at the *tholos*, where in a clearing on a terrace a small temple was built.[11] At the same time the pseudo-cyclopean terrace was levelled, on which

[10] The phenomenon is not exclusive to Argolis, but has been noted in other regions: Attica (Aliki Maenads, Eleusis, Thoricos), Boeotia (Thebes), Corinth (Soligea), Messenia (Nichoria, Volimedia, Vasiliko), Delo (Theke Virgins hyperborean). For a summary of the whole see Coldstream 1976, pp. 8-17; Snodgrass 1980, p. 37; De Polignac 1991, p. 182, I. Ratinaud Lachkar 1999, pp. 87-108; Antonaccio 1993, pp. 46-70; Antonaccio 1994, pp.79-104: the scholar explains the differences between the 'hero cult' and 'tomb cult' and clarifies that such phenomena should not be interpreted as heroic cults.

[11] The nature of the cult on the terrace remains controversial. According to Blegen 1939, pp. 427-430, on the esplanade was a secondary altar of Hera, according to Wright 1982, p.194 it was a cult to a hero who was

site the archaic temple of Hera was later erected. These early architectural works were sponsored by Argos. The archaeological evidence supports the belief that only the Argive *polis* had the necessary means to take charge of such a monumental work on the primitive sacred area. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that, in the same period that the small temple was constructed, a sacred building dedicated to Agamemnon a kilometre south of Mycenae was founded, which could have been a Mycenaean answer to the Argive 'affront'.[12] The choice of the place on which the Agamemnoneion was built does not seem random; the temple was in the Mycenaean *chora* at the end of the road which connected Mycenae to the *Heraion*, in front of the temple of the *tholos*. The placement of the two temples, facing each other, was a symbol of the authority of the cities which had decreed their construction and, it is necessary to add, an expression of their opposing claims. By the construction of the temple of the *tholos,* Argos seems to be taking the first step in the process of appropriation of the cult of Hera and the sacred site dedicated to the goddess; a way to mark the end of the fight with Mycenae and to materialize supremacy over the region of the plain.

believed be buried in the nearby *tholos*. On the findings see: Hägg 1987, pp. 93-99. About offerings, their types and functions, see also Blegen 1937, pp. 377-390. For the sanctuary of Agamemnon at Mycenae: Cook 1953a, pp. 30-68; Cook 1953b, pp. 112-118; Hägg 1985, pp. 97-98; Hägg 1992, p.17; Whitley 1988, pp. 178-181; Pierart 1992, pp.131-132; De Polignac 1998, pp. 154-155. Dedications to Agamemnon were not earlier than the 4th century BC, however, there is no reason to argue, as does Hall 1995, pp. 601-603, that the temple was originally dedicated to Hera.

[12] Whitley 1988, p. 181 suggests that the Mycenaeans built the Agamemnoneion because the construction of the *Heraion* was a threat to their independence and to their pride as inheritors of the ancient palaces. Antonaccio 1992, pp.103-104 also establishes a close relationship between the building of the temple of Agamemnon and the start of construction work at the *Heraion* ('Secondary Temple'), believing , however, that the Agamemnoneion and the temple at the *tholos* were made by Mycenae and Argos respectively to arrogate to itself the right to burial in the necropolis of Prosymna. A different explanation of the relationship between the Agamemnoneion and the Heraion is proposed by Foley 1988, p. 161, conditioned by the key interpretation of a 'local' cult at Mycenaean tombs. Both the Agamemnoneion and the Heraion respond to the attempt by the Dorians to strengthen and legitimize the domination of the indigenous population by trying to anchor such legitimacy to the past and to the cults of the heroes of the past who were the protagonists of that past. The construction of the two temples also coincide with the Dorians attempt to strengthen its presence at the places which had a strong Mycenaean-Achaean imprint.

The appropriation of the sanctuary and the cult of Hera and the extra-special connection that Argos had with the goddess is immediately reflected in the *Iliad*. In fact, Hera is '*Argeie*' in two verses in which the epithet can only mean 'from the town of Argos', since the Argive goddess was named alongside Athena who was 'from the city of Alalcomenai'.

δοιαὶ μὲν Μενελάῳ ἀρηγόνες εἰσὶ θεάων
Ἥρη τ᾽ Ἀργείη καὶ Ἀλαλκομενηΐς Ἀθήνη

The close relationship between the goddess and the city is also apparent from the verses in book 4, in which the goddess confesses to have Argos in her heart in a special way, being one among her own φίλτεραί εἰσι πόληες Ἄργός [13] It can be concluded that the Argive properties of the sanctuary are earlier than these verses from the Iliad which therefore would also presuppose the construction work on the *hieron* of Prosymna, or at least the start of the monumental construction work.

In reference to the city of Argos the epithet 'Argeie' is also used in the *Theogony* (vv. 9-12).[14] In this case, the receiving of religious and political reference from the epic poem probably would include the myth of Io, priestess of Hera, handed down from the *Catalogue* of Hesiod. According to Argive tradition,[15] Io was the first priestess of Hera, but in another tradition, dating back to the *Phoronis* and preserved by Clement of Alexandria,[16] Kallithoe was

[13] Hom., *Il*., 3.52-54.
[14] Hes. *Th*., 9-12:
ἔνθεν ἀπορνύμεναι κεκαλυμμέναι ἠέρι πολλῷ
ἐννύχιαι στεῖχον περικαλλέα ὄσσαν ἰεῖσαι,
ὑμνεῦσαι Δία τ᾽ αἰγίοχον καὶ πότνιαν Ἥρην
Ἀργείην, χρυσέοισι πεδίλοις ἐμβεβαυῖαν,
[15] Call., Aet., *fr*. 66 Pfeiffer
[16] Clem. Al., *Strom*. 1, 24, 163-164; cfr. G. Kinkel, *Epicorum graecorum fragmenta*, Leipzig, 1877, fr. 4 = A. Bernabé, *Poetarum epicorum graecorum, Testimonia et fragmenta*, Pars I. Leipzig, 1987, fr. 4 = *Epicorum graecorum fragmenta*, Göttingen, 1988, fr. 3.

considered to be the first priestess of the goddess. Her father would have been Piras/Peirasos, king of Tiryns, who had initiated the service to Hera, after having founded the first shrine in honour of the goddess and having carved a *xoanon* after her image in the wood from a wild pear tree. In the verses of *Phoronis,* Kallithoe is described as the first to have adorned with ribbons and wool cloth the statue of the goddess, thus starting the ritual. From the lists of the priestesses also an Io-Kallithoe is known. In Hesiod's *Catalogue,* Io is the daughter of Peiren, son of Argos.[17] The genealogy passed down from the *Catalogue* is followed by Acusilaus of Argos.[18]

From all this it can be deduced that there were many genealogies, but also that the genealogical trees were contaminated and used in propaganda. The syncretism Io-Kallithoe with the passage of the priestess from the service of the goddess of Tiryns to that of Hera at Argeia likely bears the mark of Argos and reflects the adoption of the cult of Hera by the city. That Io probably replaced Kallithoe as the first priestess of the goddess was conceived by the Argives and used to glorify, to their neighbours, the antiquity of the privileged bond which united the goddess to Argos, since Io was the priestess ancestor of Danaus, founder of Argos. It is worth noting that the Io-Kallithoe syncretism is already evident in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, where the 'Argive' Io is called the daughter of Peiren, the founder of the cult of Hera, and replaces Kallithoe. It can be assumed that the control of the Argive cult was already in practice at the large extra-urban sanctuary prior to the 6th century BC, which is the period of composition of the catalogue. But, considering that the composed genealogical lists date no later than the 8th century[19], with a little flexibility and a bit of a push, the possession of the

[17] Hes. *fr*. 124 M.-W.; cfr. *fr*.125 M. – W. = Call. *fr*. 769 Pfeiffer
[18] Apollod., II, 1.3 'Hesiod and Acusilaus say that (Io) is the daughter of Peiren', cfr. Hes., Fr. 124 M. - W; Acus. *FGrHist* 2 F 26.
[19] West 1985, pp. 164-165.

Argive cult and of the sanctuary probably can be said to have begun to be propagated through *mythoi*, long before the 6th century.

Striking and significant is the coincidence in time between the time of preparation of mythical genealogies which were used by Argos to justify its claims on the cult of Prosymna and the era which saw the start of the monumental work on the sacred area with the realization of the pseudo-cyclopean wall and terrace. Argos moved on several fronts and in different directions to achieve a goal which would coincide with the expansion of its area of influence. It found, in religion and the worship of the goddess, an important vehicle with which to take the lead over the other communities in its vicinity – both allies and rivals. It gained much in the protection of a place to which a very strong ideological and strategic importance was given, a point where transit routes converged, and where the natural appearance blended with the presence of ruins that called to mind a glorious past.

The 'possession' of the Argive sanctuary is also evidenced in several documents from the classical period, a period in which the archaeological (renovations at the *Heraion*), epigraphic and literary evidence thoroughly document the relationship between Argos and the sanctuary. Some of this documentation can be backdated at least a century and therefore also helps to strengthen the argument for the Argive control of the extra-urban sanctuary from the archaic period. Herodotus narrates the legend of Cleobis and Biton,[20] cited by many as proof of the antiquity of the procession, which took place during the festival for Hera and which began at Argos and finished at the sanctuary. The importance of the passage in Herodotus is mainly due to exemplary characters attributed to Cleobis and Biton in the legend. There are no more ancient sources than Herodotus on the two heroes but certainly,

[20] Hdt. 1, 31.

if the historian makes it a paradigmatic narrative, the legend must have already been widespread and was likely part of not only of the Argive, but Greek tradition in general. This implies that even the sanctuary and its relevance to Argos, as attested by the legend, had already reached a certain 'international' character. Only the distance in time between the formation of the myth and the composition of the narrative told by Herodotus assures the myth its paradigmatic value.[21]

It seems important to highlight the chronological coincidence which would lead to the backdating of the spread of the legend of Cleobis and Biton to the 6th century. In this same century an inscription is dated which comes from the *Heraion* and which could be the oldest epigraphic testimony for the festival and for the games dedicated to Hera of Argos. The inscription lists the victories achieved by Timokles at the Panhellenic games and in other Greek cities. An explicit reference to Argive games is lacking, but their inclusion among the other games might be inferred from the fact that the inscription was deposited at the sanctuary of Hera of Argos.[22]

To the 6th century is also attributed the composition of the *Catalogue* of Hesiod[23] which contains propaganda in the legend of Io, the daughter of Piras (or Pirasos), the initiator of the cult of Hera. To further emphasise the importance of this period in the history of Argos and of the sanctuary, the new works on the Heraion can also be attributed to the same century. One might be tempted to say that the second architectural phase of the sanctuary accompanied the institution of the games which were dedicated to Hera, or at least that its

[21] Piérart 2003, p. 61: 'La légende de Cléobis et Biton […] pourrait être le mythe de fondation de la fête et des concours. On ne l'imagine guère de facture récente quand Hérodote l'a recueillie'. Cfr. Piérart 2004, pp. 19-31.
[22] IG, IV, 510, cfr. Moretti 1953 n. 7, p. 13. Probably refers to *Heraia* Festivals also the inscription IG, IV, 561, dated to the first half of the fifth century: cfr. Moretti 1953 n. 10, p. 21-22. Caution proposed by Amandry 1980, p. 211, n. 3.
[23] On the date of the *Catalogue,* see Hunter 2005, p. 2. Several scholars of the poem date it to the 6th century: see for example West 1985, pp. 168-171 who favors a date late in the century, and Fowler who is inclined towards a rather earlier date (580 BC).

reputation, was extended beyond the geographical reach of the races. If this picture was considered true it would suggest a correspondence between the different phases of the architectural building on the sanctuary and the contemporary events that involved Argos and the *hieron* from the Geometric to the classical period.

The beginning of the grandiose architectural program in the 7th century solemnly marks the passage of the common place of cult worship under the exclusive sovereignty of Argos. The realization of the second architectural project, in the 6th century, bears traces of the internationalisation of the cult and of the festivals in celebration of Hera. The impressive works of the classical period, which were started after a long period of standstill, probably determined by the defeat of Sepeia and the internal stasis following the armed conquest of the city centres of the plain, materialise the renewed power of Argos. In the words of P. Amandry: 'les Argiens avaient désormais haute main, sans partage, sur le sanctuaire of Héra [...] here allait devenir commun à toute l'Argolide unifiée sous l' hegemonie d'Argos'.[24] The echo of the renewed grandeur of the games in honour of Hera were captured by Pindar in the *X Nemean*, composed around the year 464 BC for the athlete Theaios, the winner of two races. In the 4th century BC the last phase of work on the sanctuary coincides with the reorganisation of the festivals, which were renamed the *Hecatomboia* and were soon associated with the Nemean Games.

By taking into consideration all this evidence, the relationship between Argos and the extra-urban sanctuary of Hera is highlighted, proving that bonds had already existed in the archaic period. At the same time, the evidence highlights the rich history of the *polis,* which will eventually become a focal point in the Greek world. The events involving Argos over the

[24] Amandry 1980, p. 235.

centuries coincide with the constant process of its emergence from a local context, to the achievement of a significant role in the history of Greece as a whole. In the process, the history of the city never appears to be detached from that of the sanctuary. In the 5th century BC, Thucydides and Hellanicus play an important role in this process and will consecrate the final outcome. Hellanicus makes the list of the Argive priestesses of Hera the backbone of a work in which the events to which these priestesses are exposed come to affect the whole of the Greek world; advancing its claim to scientific pretence, precisely because of the fact that it was based on an impartial priestly list.[25] By confirming the authority that the sanctuary and Argos itself had already acquired among the Greeks, Thucydides,[26] solemnly began his epic story of the Peloponnesian War with a triple dating, one date also in compliance with Argos.

However, the elevation of Argos to a position of importance within the Greek world does not stop even then. The city and the sanctuary continues to flourish in the Hellenistic period, when the Macedonian kings were called *Argeadai* and boasted descent from the Argive sanctuary.

[25] Hellanic. *FGrHist* 4 F 74 - 84.
[26] Thuc. 2.2.

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