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Creating Legitimacy: The Dyarchy in Spartan Social Memory

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Abstract

Scholars of the constitutional development of Archaic Sparta and its dyarchy (or dual kingship) have long considered Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* contemporary evidence for the mysterious lawgiver Lykourgos, whose alleged reforms have largely been reconstructed from late-Classical and Roman sources. According to orthodox narratives of Lykourgos, seventh-century Sparta enjoyed internal stability and good governance, but Tyrtaios' seventh-century poem strongly suggests the continued existence of civil strife. Drawing on social memory studies and archaeological survey data, this dissertation questions the Lykourgan grand narrative and explores the capacity of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* to help us recontextualize Sparta's socio-political development in the seventh century BCE.

I argue that Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] offers insights into how the seventh-century poet encouraged Spartans to preserve their *basileia* by using local social memory in the form of the myths of the return of the Herakleidai and the Dorian migration. Building on the work of Hans van Wees and Jessica Romney, I make the case that Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* did not respond to an external challenge to Sparta's rule over Messenia but was composed in response to ongoing political instability within Sparta. Using the concept of social memory as an analytical tool, I explore the transmission and varied functionality of these two foundational myths in relation to a broader collective memory concerning Herakles and his offspring in the Peloponnese. I also demonstrate that the poem highlights the divine heritage of the two *basileis* as descendants of Herakles and Zeus and links their origin to the origin of the Spartan community itself, thus legitimizing the Spartan dyarchy as an essential element of the established divine order. Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* represents a moment in the institutionalization process of the Spartan *basileia* in the middle of the seventh century. Alkman's *Partheneion*, a choral song composed c.600 BCE, presented to its audience a prescribed social order that implicitly called upon the Spartans to consider their *basileis* as embodiments of proper behaviour with respect to marriage. It thus shows that the Spartan *basileia* was, by then, successfully integrated into the socio-cultural and religious fabric of the Spartan community.

Keywords: Archaic Sparta, Tyrtaios, *eunomia,* Alkman, *Partheneion*, *basileia*, Lykourgos, the return of the Herakleidai, social memory, collective memory

Summary for Lay Audience

It is now widely accepted by specialists that our historical narrative about Archaic Sparta is problematic. Scholarship on the political development of Archaic Sparta and its systems of rulership has long considered Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*, a seventh-century lyric poem, to be proof of the reforms of the legendary Spartan lawgiver, Lykourgos. While Sparta, according to modern historical reconstructions, should have been enjoying internal stability and good governance, Tyrtaios composed a poem about civil strife. This dissertation builds on previous scholarship that similarly challenges orthodox narratives to explore the capacity of Tyrtaios' poetry to help us recontextualize Sparta's political development in the seventh century.

I am primarily interested in exploring how Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*, and in particular the second fragment of this poem (Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2]), encouraged the Spartans to retain the Spartan *basileia* (the dual-kingship or dyarchy) in the seventh century. I argue that by using local social memory in the form of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai, which describes the return of the Spartan ruling families to power in the Peloponnese with divine approval, and the myth of the Dorian migration, which features the emigration of the Dorians to the Peloponnese, Tyrtaios legitimized the rule of the Spartan *basileia*. Building on the work of Hans van Wees and Jessica Romney, I argue that Tyrtaios' poem *Eunomia* was composed in response to ongoing political instability inside Sparta. Using the methodology of social memory studies, I explore how this myth was transmitted over time and what its functions were in relation to a broader collective memory concerning Herakles, the ancestor of the Spartan ruling families, and his descendants in the Peloponnese. I conclude that Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* highlights the divine heritage of the Spartan *basileia* and connects the origin of this institution to the origin of the community itself, thus creating a sense that it was necessary to maintain the Spartan *basileia* based on an established divine order. I further test my thesis by examining Alkman's *Partheneion* (c.600 BCE), a choral song, which, I argue, highlights that the Spartan *basileis* were successfully incorporated into the very fabric of the Spartan community.

Dedication

18 years ago, a young girl from Walkerton Ontario flew, for the first time, as an unaccompanied minor to British Columbia. While nervously waiting to board the plane, she decided to investigate the airport shop. Rather than explore the candy and chocolate on offer, she was drawn to the rotating carousel of books. In the sea of mystery novels and biographies about people she had never heard of, she found a book called *Alexander the Great: Journey to the end of the Earth*, by Norman F. Cantor. To this day I don't know why she bought that book, but this dissertation is for her.

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To my Friends and Family, first to Kait and Steven Hall and Charles Craik – your love and understanding have sustained me through the challenges of this rigorous pursuit. And this

Epigraph

"To make the ancients speak, we must feed them with our own blood."

- Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff

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Abbreviations and Editions

Bernabé   A. Bernabé, *Poetae Epici Graeci 1* (1988)

Campbell   D. Campbell, *Greek Lyric*, 5 vols. (1982-1993)

Davies   M. Davies, *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (1991)

FD   *Fouilles de Delphes*

FGrH   F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (1923-)

IG   *Inscriptiones Graecae Consilio et Auctoritate Academiae Borussicae Editae*

Kannicht   R. Kannicht (ed.) *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol.5. (2004)
TrGF

LSJ   Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th edn., rev. H. Stuart Jones (1925–40); Suppl. by E. A. Barber and others (1968)

Marx   F. Marx, *C. Lucilii Carminum Reliquiae* (1904–5)

ML   R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC*, rev. edn. (1988)

M-W   R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, *Fragmenta Hesiodea* (1967)

Page   D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci* (1962)

P.Berol   *Berlin Papyri*

POxy   *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (1898–)

Rose   V. Rose (ed.), *Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus* (1826-1916)

SEG   *Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum* (1923–)

SIG   W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd edn. (1915–24)

West[2]   M. L. West, *Iambi et Elegi*, 2nd edn. (1989–92)

Translations in this dissertation are my own unless otherwise stated. I have made these translations in consultation with editions, commentaries, and standard published translations. Variations in translations and critical editions are discussed in footnotes when pertinent.

My approach to transliteration is to be consistent with each word/name/place and to use exact transliteration where the use of such practice does not hinder the recognizability of the word. Conventional transliterations are sometimes used for better readability, and for particularly common names I have used their Latinized forms.

Chapter 1: Methodological Introduction

Sparta has been a topic of fascination for ancient writers, contemporary scholars, and general audiences alike for centuries; but there is perhaps nothing more puzzling for those studying Sparta than the longstanding continuation of the Spartan dyarchy. The Spartan dyarchy, or the Spartan *basileia*, was a form of dual rulership in Sparta. The position of the two Spartan *basileis* (singular *basileus*) was occupied by the eldest male member of each of the two "royal" families, the Eurypontids and the Agiads, who claimed to be descendants of Herakles, the semi-divine son of Zeus. The Spartan *basileia* originated, according to Spartan myth, sometime in the twelfth century as a result of the triumphant return of the Herakleidai and the Dorian migration.[1] According to the modern grand narrative of Archaic Greek history, a Greek *polis*, in progressing to its inevitable Classical form, abolished the *basileia* as a form of rulership because 'sole-rulership' was antithetical to systems of government that served the rising *demos*.[2] In other words, *stasis* in the *polis* between elites led to the elimination of the Greek *basileia* because it was no longer congruent with Greek thinking about political leadership. If this was typical of a Greek *polis*, then Archaic Sparta was wholly unique specifically in its continued use of a hereditary *basileia*. Furthermore, Sparta had not one *basileus*, but two *basileis*.[3] Additionally, Sparta was unique because it did not progress through the typical evolution of an archaic *polis* (e.g., *stasis*, tyrants, classical *politeia*). Instead, Lykourgos, the legendary lawgiver of Sparta, is said to have established *eunomia* (good governance) in the eighth century BCE with the Great

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[1] Both the return of the Herakleidai and the Dorian migration will be discussed in detail in chapters two, three, and four. The Dorian migration story is sometimes referred to as the Dorian Invasion, a now outdated interpretation of the coming of the Dorians into the Peloponnese that historicized these two myths. For the conventional dating of the events of these myths in ancient chronological time, see Kennell 2010, 20-38.

[2] Periodization is a modern preoccupation that permeates studies of Greek history. The foundation of such chronologies lies in either ceramic typology (e.g., the Geometric period) and paradigm shifts between artistic trends (e.g., the High-Classical period) or the delineation of time based on major historical events (e.g., the conclusion of the second Greco-Persian War in 480 BCE, or the death of Alexander in 323 BCE). The Archaic period refers to a broad period from the eighth century BCE to the early fifth century (c.800-490BCE), see Charalambidou and Morgan 2017, 2-3. However, within and around that broad period, there are artistic periods such as the Early Iron Age (c.1100-800 BCE), the Dark Age/Geometric period (c.9th-8th centuries) and the "orientalising" period (c. mid-8th-7th centuries), as well as other periodizations such as "the long seventh century," which stretches the seventh century to encompass the mid-eighth to the mid-sixth centuries. When relevant, these periodizations are discussed below in footnotes. For bibliography on the "grand narrative" of the Archaic period see Bernhardt and Canevaro 2022, 1-26 and Charalambidou and Morgan 2017, 1-8, see also Ma 2016 and Seelentag 2014.

[3] Drew (1983, 15-16, 20-29) discusses other cases where there was more than one *basileus*, but they are non-historical with the exception of the college of *basileis* in Chios. For discussion of the Chian *basileia*, see Jeffrey 1956.

Rhetra, which included the continuation of the Spartan *basileia*.[4] This view of Lykourgos is supported by ancient authors such as Thucydides (1.18.1), Xenophon (*Lac. Pol.*), and Plutarch (*Lyc.*) who assert that after the establishment of Lykourgos' reforms, Sparta was the most stable and well-governed *polis*. The narrative of Lykourgos, the lawgiver, has greatly impacted our understanding of seventh-century Sparta because it is the widely-accepted narrative about the development of early Sparta in the field of Classics broadly and is, therefore, an orthodox perspective. Recent scholarship in the field of Spartan studies seeks to challenge this narrative and as a result there is often a disconnect between the way in which early Spartan history is understood by non-specialists and how it is understood by specialists.

Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*, a late seventh-century poem by a Spartan author, presents something of a challenge to this commonly accepted narrative because it suggests that there was civil strife in Sparta after the eighth century BCE. The poem is even cited by Aristotle (*Pol.* 1306b35-1307a5) as an example of strife. Furthermore, fr.2 West[2], a portion of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*, is the first textual reference to two fundamental myths that are central to how we understand Spartan identity and its socio-political hierarchy in the seventh century.

$$
\begin{aligned}
&]. . . \text{υι} . . [\\
&] . . ε\,θ\,εοπρο[π \\
&\quad] . . φ . . ενακ[\\
&] . μαντει ασαν\,[\\
5\quad&\quad\quad] τειδεταθὴ . [\\
&]πάντ' εἶδεν . [\\
&\quad ἄ]νδρας ἀνιστ[αμεν \\
&\quad]ι\,[.]ηγαλα[\\
&] . . [. . .]θεοῖσι φί[λ \\
10\quad&\quad]ω πειθώμεθα κ[\\
&\quad]αν ἐγγύτεροι γέν[εος· \\
&αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων] καλλιστεφάνου [πόσις Ἥρης \\
&\quad Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις] ἄστυ[5] δέδωκε τό[δε \\
&οἷσιν ἅμα προλιπ]όντες Ἐρινεὸν [ἠνεμόεντα \\
15\quad&\quad εὐρεῖαν Πέλοπ]ο[ς] νῆσον ἀφικόμ[εθα \\
&\quad\quad]γλαυκώπ[ι]δος[6]
\end{aligned}
$$

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[4] For bibliography on this narrative, see Romney 2017, 557-61; van Wees 2009, 1.

[5] Strabo (8.4.10) recorded τήνδε δέδωκε πόλιν, rather than ἄστυ δέδωκε τό[δε. Following the publication of *POxy*. 38 2824 in 1971, editions print the papyrus reading and place the reading in Strabo in the *apparatus criticus*, see West[2] 1989-1992, 170; Gerber 1999, 38.

[6] Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] (as printed in 1989-1992, 170) = fr. 1a Gentili-Prato (1988, 20-1). There are two notable differences in Gentili-Prato's edition; v.3]ο.φρένα κ[and v.5]. .ιας .α [.]..[

The poem's fragmentary state prevents a coherent translation of the first eight lines. Lines 9 to 15, however, read as follows:

> dear to the gods
> 10   let us obey (the *basileis* since they are?)
> nearer the *genos* (of the gods?)
> For he, the son of Kronos himself, husband of beautifully-crowned Hera,
> Zeus, has given to the Herakleidai this city here
> with whom, after leaving behind windy Erineos,
> 15   we arrived at the broad isle of Pelops.[7]

As the preceding subjunctive "let us obey (the *basileis*)" suggests, the myth of the return of the Herakleidai establishes the descendants of Herakles as rulers in Sparta based on a determined divine order (12-13). The story of the return of the Herkaleidai represents the mythical beginning of the Spartan *basileia* in conjunction with the foundation of the community (chapter three). Second, the poem refers to the Dorian migration story (14-15), in which the Dorians, the *ethnos* (ethnic group) of the contemporary Spartans, assisted the Herakleidai in accomplishing their return (chapter four).

Modern interpretations of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* are impacted by the discussion of this fragment by Aristotle. Aristotle (*Pol.* 1306b-1307a), who quotes Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* as evidence of civil strife, framed the *stasis* hinted at in the poem as a response to a Messenian revolt that was quelled, in part, by Tyrtaios' poetry. Aristotle, operating as if Sparta had already achieved internal stability before the Messenian Wars, presents the poem as a response to an external conflict rather than an internal one, thus obscuring evidence of civil strife in the seventh century BCE. Furthermore, the myth of the return of the Herakleidai in fr.2 West[2] is found also in late-Classical sources such as Isokrates' *Archidamos*. Isokrates' *Archidamos*, however, seeks to legitimize Sparta's 'ancestral' ownership of Messenia in a post-Leuktra context, which is an

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Prior to the publication of *POxy*. 38 2824, Prato (1968, 23) printed Strabo (4.8.10) as fragment 1a (2) of Tyrtaios that informs the numbering in Gentili-Prato 1988.

[7] The additions of "the *basileis* since they are?" and "of the gods" in verses 10 and 11 are supplied by Gerber (1999, 38-9) and serve here to highlight the connection between the subjunctive 'let us obey'(v.10), the explanatory γάρ (v.12), and the Herakleidai (v.13).

entirely different context from seventh-century Sparta.[8] Nevertheless, scholars such as Malkin consider the function and context of the myth to be the same. Additionally, Tyrtaios' combination of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai and the Dorian migration story in fr.2 West[2] is interpreted by Malkin as an expression of divinely granted ownership of Messenia when considered in terms of a foundation oracle. These oracles are an integral aspect of ancient Greek colonization and are typically recorded in late-Classical or post-Classical sources.[9] Malkin's interpretation, which has been influential, is problematic because it relies heavily on late-Classical and Roman sources, incorrectly contextualizes Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*, and is the result of now-outdated assumptions about Lykourgos and the early history of Sparta, which are challenged by the work of scholars such as van Wees, Hodkinson, Powell, Nafissi, and Romney.[10] Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*, and fr.2 West[2], must be recontextualized in accordance with contemporary approaches to both Archaic Greece and Spartan history.

The problem, as I see it, is twofold. First, the Spartan *basileia* appears unique to both ancient writers and modern scholars because hereditary rulership seemed incongruent with political thought in the Classical period, prompting scholars to ask why Sparta kept a *basileia*. Second, orthodox scholarly approaches to Archaic Sparta, which are deeply impacted by the grand narratives of Archaic Greece, have produced histories of the Spartan *basileia* that rely on late-Classical or even Roman sources. These sources reflect the concerns of their own time rather than those of the eighth, seventh, or sixth centuries BCE. At the centre of these overlapping problems lies Tyrtaios' poem *Eunomia* and fr.2 West[2] in particular. Orthodox approaches to this poem reflect a teleological tendency; they look to the Classical or even Roman period to determine how Sparta must have been in the Archaic period in order for it to become the community that is better documented in these later periods.[11] Such teleological inquiries lack a careful consideration of the historical context and do not centre on the institutionalization of the

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[8] The historical context of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* is further addressed in chapters three and four. Following the battle of Leuktra in 371 BCE, the Spartans lost control of Messenia. The Spartans attempted in various campaigns to regain Messenia, which impacted the transmission history of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai. Malkin 1994, 33-5.

[9] See Malkin 1994, this will be further addressed in chapters three and four. These oracles are typically recorded in texts from the Classical period or later, for example the oracle Malkin compares Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] to is from Diodorus (8.21.3) concerning Satyrion and Thera. This is discussed in detail in chapter four.

[10] Challenges to the more commonly held orthodox of Spartan history by non-specialists is well represented in the 2 vol., 2018 Blackwell Companion, *A Companion to Sparta* , featuring representative chapters by van Wees, Powell, Hodkinson, and Nafissi among others; for Romney's contribution see, Romney 2017. The impact of such interpretations is further discussed throughout this dissertation.

[11] This is further discussed below; for a definition, see Ma 2016, 398.

basileia in the context of the seventh century, when Tyrtaios was composing his verses. Since fr.2 West[2] is the first instance of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai as a justification for the Spartan *basileia*, it is important to reconsider the capacity of this fragment to help us recontextualize Sparta's *basileia* in the seventh century BCE. Likewise, Tyrtaios' combination of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai with the Dorian migration myth deserves careful attention.

I argue that Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] both explicitly and implicitly legitimizes the Spartan *basileia*. I explore the history of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai and its uses and evolutions in Archaic and Classical texts to highlight that the original function of the myth was to legitimize rulership in the Peloponnese in accordance with a collective memory concerning Herakles and his descendants. This function of the myth was not limited to Sparta but extended to rulership in Messenia and Argos. I argue that this myth was coopted in Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* as a rationale for maintaining the Spartan *basileia* (fr.2 West[2]) and the traditional hierarchy within the Spartan assembly (fr.4 West[2]) in accordance with a determined divine order. The poem *Eunomia* and especially fr.2 West[2], were composed in response to ongoing political instability inside Sparta.[12] I build upon the conclusions of van Wees and Romney who likewise argue that Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* does not respond to an external challenge to Spartan authority in Messenia, an interpretation informed by distortions in late-Classical texts.[13] This dissertation contributes to the scholarly trend of recontextualizing Archaic Spartan sources, and it challenges interpretations grounded in late-Classical or Roman texts.

I argue that Tyrtaios utilizes rhetorical features in fr.2 West[2] that present the past as a historical *exemplum* for prescribed behaviour in the present in accordance with a determined divine order.[14] His use of local myth in public discourse, namely the combined presentation of the return of the Herakleidai and the Dorian migration story in fr.2 West[2], supports a prescribed socio-political hierarchy that privileges the Spartan *basileia*. Additionally, I argue that Tyrtaios emphasizes the relationship between the Herakleidai and Zeus in fr.2 West[2] to highlight the important religious position of the Spartan *basileia* as mediator between the *polis* and the divine.

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[12] van Wees 2009; Grethlein 2010, 56-7, 291-3; Romney 2017.

[13] van Wees 2009; Romney 2017.

[14] As modeled by Grethlein (2010, 56-7, 291-3), which I elucidate in full in chapter 4.1.2 "Rhetorical Use of the Past."

This form of legitimization, I argue, is an example of a larger ideology of rulership that was operative among competing political leaders from as early as the Early Iron Age and is grounded in early Greek epic.[15]

I view the *basileia* in seventh-century Sparta as a dynamic political entity in the process of institutionalization, that is in a process by which the Spartan *basileia* is established as a conventional feature of the Spartan governing system and an integral element of Spartan culture (i.e., a part of what is considered a norm).[16] The position of the seventh-century *basileia* was subject to change in accordance with the environment and historical context. It was just as vulnerable as any other position of political leadership in any other archaic *polis*, regardless of later narratives such as Herodotus' (1.65) and Thucydides' (1.18.1), which purport that the Spartan system, following early reforms, was a beacon of stability and continuity. The seventh-century Spartan *basileia* was an institution of power that was formed by and in response to its immediate environment. Its members were required to perform their status utilizing the same models (e.g., Homeric *basileis*) as any elite in any Greek *polis*.[17] Additionally, the fact that the Spartan *basileia* "survived" into the Classical period necessitates further exploration of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*, which will help us better understand the socio-cultural and political significance of the Spartan *basileia* in the seventh century based on contemporary evidence. My dissertation, therefore, will create a picture of the Spartan *basileia* that is not constructed based solely on late-Classical and post-Classical authors' commonplace depiction of the *basileis* as powerful, and sometimes charismatic, generals.[18]

Broadly, this dissertation contributes to ongoing discussions about political and social continuity, discontinuity, and change in the Greek Archaic period with a focus on the seventh century BCE. My approach is influenced by four interrelated presuppositions. First, I contend that Tyrtaios' poetry must be re-evaluated in its immediate historical context as a source for both

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[15] For further discussion and bibliography see Mitchell 2013 and Charalambidou and Morgan 2017. This will be further discussed below.

[16] This approach is influenced by the proposition in recent scholarship on Archaic history to reconsider the process of institutionalization itself in relation to the environment, political or otherwise, in the development of political bodies and governing systems of archaic *poleis*. See, for example, Ma (2016) and the edited collections of Charalambidou and Morgan (2017) and Bernhardt and Canevaro (2022). Institutionalization is further discussed in chapters two and four, especially in section 4.4. "Priests and Guardians."

[17] This approach is the topic of the subsection 'Political Leadership and Rulership Ideology in Archaic Greece' below.

[18] This is further discussed in chapter 4.3.1 "Spartan "Kingship" as Perpetual Generalship."

socio-political development in Archaic Sparta and the mentalities and attitudes in seventh-century Sparta, thus challenging previous interpretations of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* as evidence in support of established narratives of "Lykourgan Sparta." Second, I agree that the development of political and social institutions of the Archaic period, such as the Spartan dyarchy, are the product of continuous processes of institutionalization rather than abrupt changes marking stark discontinuities from a Homeric and Hesiodic past on an inevitable course toward the Classical Greek *polis*. Third, my focus on the seventh century is informed by the fact that it is an understudied and underrepresented century of Archaic history because of the aforementioned teleological approach of past inquiries into Archaic Greece. Finally, because of an interpretative shift and renewed interest in the seventh century, lyric poetry is due to be re-examined in its historical context. I will now discuss these perspectives in three sections as they pertain to my argument.

1.1 Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* in Spartan Studies

Scholars interested in Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* have, historically, concentrated on what Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* can tell us about the date of Lykourgos' Great Rhetra.[19] Because of this narrow focus, "the evidence of *Eunomia* has not been exploited to the full."[20] Romney and van Wees contend that these orthodox interpretations of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* lack a careful consideration of the historical context (the seventh century BCE).[21] Previous narratives rely too heavily on late-Classical or Roman sources that perpetuate a problematic account of the development of Sparta based on the figure of Lykourgos despite the fact that he is generally seen in contemporary scholarship as an invented tradition rather than a historical person.[22] Consequently, all references to civil unrest, and when the *Eunomia* refers to civil unrest it must be unrest that occurred after the alleged Lykourgan reforms, have been interpreted as a product of external threats to Spartan security *vis à vis* Messenia or were considered simply unhistorical. Romney and van Wees have argued that Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* refers to internal conflict within Sparta rather than to conflict between the Spartans and Messenians, but they have not reinterpreted fr.2 West[2] in light of their argument with respect to the Spartan *basileia*. Their conclusions laid the groundwork for a new

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[19] For bibliography and the major concerns, see van Wees 2009, 1-2.
[20] Van Wees 2009, 1.
[21] Romney 2017; van Wees 2009.
[22] See Nafissi 2018, 93-123.

investigation of Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2]. I explore the fragment's capacity to offer information about the position of the Spartan *basileia* in seventh-century Sparta in this historical context.

The "crisis" of the seventh century BCE, as reconstructed by van Wees, directly challenges the orthodox position that Lykourgos established good governance and the Spartan way of life as early as the eighth century.[23] Additionally, Nafissi argues persuasively that if there was an Archaic document called the Great Rhetra, which stipulated the Spartan *politeia*, it was perhaps from the sixth century, but not earlier.[24] Nafissi makes a convincing case that the invented tradition of Lykourgos is a product of 'deep political turmoil' as an attempt to "strengthen the authority of the *basileis* and *gerontes*," citing Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*.[25] Furthermore, Hodkinson demonstrates that the crisis of the seventh century was the impetus for the development of the Classical Spartan system.[26] These conclusions are the result of a relatively new approach to Sparta, which questions blind faith in later sources to reconstruct Archaic and Classical Spartan history. Still, there is need for further work. Both van Wees and Hodkinson continue to look to the Classical period as a somewhat pre-determined endpoint when considering Archaic Spartan history. Classical Sparta is especially present when they theorize about Sparta's political development in the Archaic period. For example, van Wees interprets the internal conflict that sparked the composition of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* as a commonplace Archaic Greek political phenomenon. His work deemphasizes the exceptionalism some scholars consider inherent in Sparta's development by elucidating how it is, in fact, suffering from the same type of factional infighting as is commonplace in the Greek Archaic period. Factional infighting is often considered a crucial necessity of the Archaic period in order to progress to the Classical *polis*. Although van Wees' work laid the groundwork for this investigation, it does not go far enough to consider how Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* can contribute to our understanding of continuous institutionalization processes in combination with factional infighting, thus decentralizing the elites and focusing on community development as a whole.[27] I discuss this further below. The current trend to recontextualize Sparta, especially Archaic Sparta, nevertheless helps contextualize Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* by separating it from previous, problematic interpretations of

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[23] Hodkinson 2000, 1-4.
[24] Nafissi 2018, 99.
[25] Nafissi 2018, 98.
[26] Hodkinson 2000, 1-4.
[27] For a model that privileges the process of institutionalisation, see Ma (2016) and Seelentag (2014).

Sparta's political development. Both van Wees and Hodkinson, for example, utilize archaeological material and contemporary or near-contemporary literary sources to reconstruct the historical context of Archaic Sparta.

Van Wees' conclusion that Sparta underwent a period of internal strife, which he refers to as a crisis, is necessary for understanding seventh century Sparta, but there is certainly room to expand on van Wees' conclusion in a way that decentres the elites as the essential characters or agents of change. My approach, while embracing the work of van Wees and the idea of internal instability in seventh-century Sparta, seeks to give primacy to the process of institutionalization with respect to both the development of the dyarchy in the seventh century and the use of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai in public discourse. Both the Spartan *basileia* as an office and the myth of the return of the Herakleidai undergo a process of institutionalization over time, which I elaborate on in Chapters three and four. Additionally, whereas van Wees concentrates on fr.4 West^2, I focus on fr.2 West^2, which focuses on the legitimacy of the Spartan *basileis* rather than on legitimizing the current structure of the Spartan assembly with respect to who can speak and when (as in fr.4 West^2).

As older, more conventional views on Spartan history change, new questions emerge. To examine properly the rhetorical strategies of Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2, we first must deconstruct the old orthodox perspective and prioritize contemporary physical and literary remains in accordance with this new view of the historical context. This dissertation, therefore, is a small contribution to the new scholarship on Sparta that radically questions blind faith in late literary sources and challenges now-outdated perspectives on the historical context of seventh-century Spartan poetry.

1.2 Archaic Greek History and the Seventh Century

The study of Archaic Sparta presents its own challenges due to a lack of contemporary primary material and the abundance of later, Classical and post-Classical primary material created by non-Spartans about Archaic Sparta. Nevertheless, the particular challenge of a lack of contemporary primary material exists in some way for all scholars who seek to examine the Greek Archaic period. The textual sources of the Archaic period, including the poetry of Homer and Hesiod, a few legal texts and inscriptions, and geographically disparate, fragmentary lyric

poetry, are notoriously difficult to read, interpret, and date. They are equally difficult to contextualize. This challenge is why we often consult later sources to integrate the fragmentary poetry into a concrete and stable narrative. Unfortunately, as twenty-first century scholars continue to demonstrate, this approach is deeply problematic if the goal is to understand the Archaic period on its own terms. Late-Classical sources like Aristotle's *Politics* and Isokrates' *Archidamos*, or post-Classical sources such as Plutarch's *Life of Lykourgos*, are shaped by ideas and concerns of their own times, are often Athenocentric, or in the case of post-classical sources deeply impacted by their Roman context, and do very little to facilitate our understanding of the Greek Archaic period. Yet, histories of Archaic Sparta have long been constructed based on these late narratives. It is these narratives that are commonly cited, reprinted, and taught.[28]

A major criticism of this approach to Archaic Greek history is that it creates a teleological narrative of the Archaic period that inevitably concludes at the Classical period as the expected end. The very term 'archaic' suggests that something more advanced will develop from it. The conventional 'master-narrative' of the Archaic period, in the words of Ma, progresses as follows:

> Thanks to an eighth-century BCE revolution (political, demographic), cities emerged out of primitive political arrangements (involving clans, tribes, and kings); a generalized crisis led to the rise of "tyrants," autocratic rulers supported by an emergent middle class of "hoplites," or armored citizen soldiers; as these tyrants fulfilled their historical mission of destroying aristocratic rule, the hoplitic reform (ca. 650 BCE) brought about the transfer of power to the people, and ultimately democracy, which attained its developed form in Classical Athens, the end-point of the teleological rails.[29]

Canevaro and Bernhardt describe the same problem from the perspective of source material. The study of the Greek Archaic period can be characterized as inquiries taken up from the point of view of the Classical period because of the relative lack of sources for the Archaic period in contrast to the relative abundance of sources for the Classical period.[30] The lack of sources has fostered an approach that investigates the Archaic period, regardless of the inquiry, as "inherently formative, and attempts to identify when and how a world like that represented in

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[28] See, for example, Pomeroy et al., 2019.
[29] Ma 2016, 398.
[30] Canevaro and Bernhardt 2022, 2-3.

Homer or discovered through archaeological studies and surveys…developed into the world of Athens and Sparta…"[31] These older approaches have been intensely scrutinized in the twenty-first century.[32]

Canevaro and Bernhardt proposed two new approaches to counter the problematic older approaches: first, that the Archaic period be investigated from the perspective of economic history with respect to continuities in landownership and social status; second, that it be investigated from the perspective of understanding the history of the *polis* over time. Ultimately, "elites and communities, in tension with one another, should be more strongly understood as connected, and…both archaeological and literary testimonies should be read as spaces for negotiation and as expressions of play-acting."[33] I attempt, therefore, to integrate both approaches in this dissertation. I further outline, below, my approach to understanding political leadership in seventh-century Sparta as connected to the development of the community of Sparta yet remaining in tension with it. Additionally, I interpret Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] as an important moment in the continuously developing relationship between the community and the Spartan *basileia* as it is being negotiated and, thus, institutionalized. Chapter two discusses the historical context of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* and the development of the dyarchy in the Archaic period and maintains that the elites and community are connected and impact one another, but the evidence is limited primarily to archaeological surveys and disparate mentions in fragmentary lyric poetry of civil strife based on economic inequality and landownership. Thus, I have recourse to economic history to provide the historical context in which Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* was composed.

A further consequence of the teleological approach to Greek Archaic history is that scholarship on the Archaic period tends to highlight discontinuities between the world constructed in the Homeric and Hesiodic poems and the late-Archaic and Classical periods. The

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[31] Canevaro and Bernhardt 2022, 2.

[32] The more recent approaches range from attempts to improve the narratives that exist with recent evidence (Meier 2011), counter narratives based on archaeological evidence (Osborne 2009; Hall 2014a), thematically structured accounts of the Archaic period (Raaflaub and van Wees 2009), and deconstructions of the old narrative (Ulf and Kistler 2020). For bibliography and further discussion see, Seelentag 2014; Ma 2016; Charalambidou and Morgan 2017; Canevaro and Bernhardt 2022. Spartan studies followed a similar evolution; for example, see the two-volume Blackwell *Companion to Sparta* (Powell 2018).

[33] Canevaro and Bernhardt 2022, 7. For examples of the economic approach, see Zurbach 2013; 2017; D'Ercole and Zurbach 2019. For a similar approach to Classical Sparta, see Hodkinson 2000. For examples of the *polis* approach, see Ma 2016.

seventh century has been generally passed over by scholars in favor of exploring the eighth and sixth centuries.[34] The seventh century was overshadowed by the so-called 'eighth-century Greek renaissance' that led directly to the Archaic period and the *polis*-centred Greek world.[35] Out of the centuries which constitute the Greek Archaic period (8th-6th c. BCE), the seventh century is historically ignored or elided into the eighth and/or sixth centuries.[36] For example, Whitley's 2001 publication, entitled *The Archaeology of Ancient Greece*, moves historically from the Early Iron Age (1000-700 BCE) to "the city, the state, and the *polis*" with a discussion of orientalising phenomena and sacred places in between.[37] The seventh century is notably absent in "Part II: Histories" of Raaflaub and van Wees' 2009 *Companion to Archaic Greece* even though the 'eighth-century revolution' and the Early Iron Age have independent chapters.[38] Diverse periodizations of the Archaic period include the seventh century differently: as part of the 'Greek renaissance' (the eight century leading into the seventh century); in the 'age of revolution' (c.750-650 BCE); in the age of experimentation (c. ninth century to the sixth century); and as part of the 'long seventh century' (c. mid-eighth century to the mid-sixth century), which is characterized by a series or sequence of revolutions.[39] Although the 'long seventh century' features the seventh century in the title, its focus includes part of the eighth and sixth centuries and emphasizes the inevitability of elite conflict and revolution.[40]

In light of these challenges, Charalambidou and Morgan, in their 2017 edited volume entitled *Interpreting the Seventh Century BC: Tradition and Innovation*, asked "how then should we approach the seventh century?" [41] They suggest that "one can accept that *poleis* existed as self-identifying political communities throughout the Early Iron Age, regardless of their exact form, and still argue that the socio-political content of membership (or citizenship) could also

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[34] Charalambidou and Morgan 2017, 2-3; see also Brock and Duplouy 2018; cf. Morris 1998.
[35] Charalambidou and Morgan 2017, 2-3; Canevaro and Bernhardt 2022, 1-4.
[36] Robin Osborne pointed out this lack of focus already in 1998. Seelentag 2014; Ma 2016; Charalambidou and Morgan 2017, 1-8; Étienne 2017, 9-10; Canevaro and Bernhardt 2022, 1-9.
[37] Whitley 2001.
[38] Raaflaub and van Wees 2009.
[39] For bibliography and further discussion, see Ma 2016, 403-4; Charalambidou and Morgan 2017, 1-8; Étienne 2017, 9-14. Extending the "eighth century renaissance" into the seventh century, see Coldstream 2003; the age of revolution (c. 750-650 BCE), see Starr 1961; the Greek Archaic period as an "age of experiment," see Snodgrass 1980, 15-84; 'the long seventh century', which stretches the seventh century from the mid-eighth to the mid-sixth centuries, see Morris 1994, 39-40.
[40] For discussion, see Ma 2016, 403-6. This model was popularized by both Morris (1996, 1998) and Kurke (1999), and is the paradigm is boldly elaborated by Neer 2012.
[41] Charalambidou and Morgan 2017, 3.

change."[42] Importantly, this change does not happen unidirectionally. Some aspects of the development were more significant over time, "but all in their different ways were of their time", meaning that they happened in direct response to their context and any changes "reflect the agents and clients involved."[43] Charalambidou and Morgan argue that "reintegrating the written, the oral and the material record in their diverse forms can only deepen our understanding of the role of various channels of communication in increasingly complex states and of what we may generally term the 'poetics' of the seventh century."[44] I too reintegrate the written, the oral, and the material record surrounding Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2 and its recourse to the myth of the return of the Herakleidai to better understand its capacity to communicate information concerning the complex *polis* of Sparta. In doing so, I aim to contextualize Tyrtaios fr. 2 West^2 in a more holistic manner than has previously been done.

This dissertation seeks to understand the position of the Spartan *basileia* in the seventh century on its own terms, not as a precursor to the Spartan dyarchy of Herodotus and not as a post-Homeric institution. Rather, I approach the dyarchy as a dynamic social, political, and economic entity struggling, as these positions always have done and always will do, to hang onto whatever power they can, utilizing whatever means are available and are suitable to their circumstances.[45] In this way, I hope to avoid, as best as possible, the teleological trap of past scholarship and contribute to re-constructing a new picture of seventh-century Sparta.

1.3 Lyric Poetry and Collective Memory

The recent methodological shift in scholarship interpreting the Archaic period serves as both a model and rationale for this dissertation. My approach, namely focusing on the implications and historical context of the text of one fragment of poetry (Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2) from one specific historical time (the mid-seventh century BCE) in a specific place (Sparta), is methodologically congruent with current scholarly trends in Archaic Greek history and Spartan studies. Ma argues,

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[42] Charalambidou and Morgan 2017, 3.
[43] Charalambidou and Morgan 2017, 3; see also, Morgan 2009; Brock and Duplouy 2018.
[44] Charalambidou and Morgan 2017, 3.
[45] During the writing of this dissertation, Queen Elizabeth II died, and King Charles was crowned, a ceremony that initiated a global conversation about why and how the British monarchy has lasted. The answer often included the simple fact that it has a continuous history, relying on its continuity and links to the past. Mitchell (2013) discusses various contexts in both the Archaic and Classical period where rulers or would be rulers vie for status/position using a similar set of tactics; this is discussed further below.

for example, in our attempts to dismantle the master-narrative of the Archaic period, we must shift our perspective away from thinking about early Greek communities and their political structures as "primitive" tribal constructions out of which the *poleis* will inevitably emerge. Rather, we should focus on the stories about early Greek community development as "invented traditions and constructed political and civic forms, which performed constitutive, kinship-imitative but in fact non-familial bonding functions within the archaic communities."[46] In the context of this dissertation, Ma's assertion means we should no longer be focusing on the historicity of, for example, the Dorian Invasion when confronted with the myth of the return of the Herakleidai, but rather we should be asking about the contemporary implication such invented traditions have for the construction of political and civic identities.[47] This is precisely what this dissertation aims to do regarding the myth of the return of the Herakleidai in Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2.

Furthermore, since the seventh century historically has not been the focus of scholarly inquiry about the Archaic period, as discussed above, and since Tyrtaios was most active in the mid-seventh century, it is even more fitting to take a fresh look at his poetry.[48] As Crielaard and Romney argue, referring to lyric poetry and Tyrtaios' poetry respectively, archaic poetry shows us that communities already had developed ideas about themselves and a referential context that the poets drew from. This referential context comprises a collective memory that was deeply embedded in a historical context; "lyric poetry is full of both implicit and explicit ideas and opinions about events and developments taking place in the poet's time."[49] Tyrtaios' poetry is a rich source for thinking about the history of ideas and mentalities in seventh-century Sparta. His poems highlight experiences of the larger community while also being capable of speaking to subgroups in the community as much as to the whole (e.g., Dorian-Spartans, Achaean-Herakleidai).[50] This poetry, which is some of the earliest Archaic poetry in a long tradition of lyric, is not exceptional in the way in which it supports the development and solidification of

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[46] Ma 2016, 399.

[47] This approach is congruent with that of Hall (1997), Patterson (2010), Luraghi (2008), and Nafissi (2018). For select comparative scholarship on "invented traditions," see Hobsbawn and Ranger 2012; Anderson 2016. For an example of this approach applied to sixth-century Athens, see Anderson 2003.

[48] *Contra* Luther (2004, 61), who argues that Tyrtaios lived in the fifth century. This is an exception to the general consensus that Tyrtaios composed his poetry in the seventh century BCE, see Cartledge 2002, 46-7. For Romney (2017), for example, there is no question of his date.

[49] Crielaard 2017, 383-85. See, Romney 2017; 2020.

[50] Romney 2017; 2020.

political and military identities after a period of intense *stasis*; rather, it is likely an early example of how lyric poetry participates in "maintaining the group boundaries according to what each poet considers to be the traditional line… continuing the standards of behaviours that define an individual as elite" among the various social groups of a *polis*.[51] The use of known myths, such as the return of the Herakleidai, reenforces ideas about the past based on established norms, values, and beliefs that connect the audience to the speaker and to various socio-political groups.[52] My interpretation of Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] is firmly rooted in this understanding of lyric poetry's capacity to communicate with its audience through the use of myths that structure a community's identity, in other words.

The term social memory is a product of the study of collective memory, which was first established by Maurice Halbwachs, a student of the French sociologist Émile Durkheim.[53] Halbwachs argues that collective memory refers to the shared representations of the past within a group or society. According to Halbwachs, individuals draw on this collective memory to reconstruct their own personal memories and identities. Accordingly, social memory is not static but is constantly being reconstructed and renegotiated. Halbwachs also emphasized the role of social groups in shaping collective memory, arguing that individuals are not isolated beings but are part of various social groups (e.g., family, community, polis), each with its own collective memory. These social groups provide frameworks for interpreting the past and help to reinforce particular narratives and interpretations of history. While Halbwachs' work is seminal, it is not without criticism, for example, Steinbock notes that Halbwachs' view on collective memory as "*entirely* dependent on the social group that determines what is 'memorable' and how it will be remembered shows signs of social determinism" fails to recognize the relationship between individual memory and one's construction of the past.[54] With this criticism in mind, Steinbock argues that social memory is distinct from the "sum total of individual thoughts about the past;"

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[51] Romney 2020, 12-14. Romney's book highlights how Tyrtaios' poetry fits into a broader lyric tradition of defining "we" groups and maintaining social norms and boundaries for elites during or following *stasis*, emphasising that, while each poet responds to local circumstances, poets such as Tyrtaios, Solon, Theognis, and Alkaios utilize techniques that are shared within the literary genre.

[52] Creilaard 2017, 385. See, Grethlein 2010; Romney 2017; 2020.

[53] For Halbwachs' theorization of collective memory and his seminal work on social memory theory, see Halbwachs 1925, 1941, and 1980 (originally published in French in 1950, posthumously). For a detailed discussion of Halbwachs' influence on the study of social memory in Greek lyric poetry, see Schade 2016, and for a discussion of Halbwachs' contribution to the field of collective memory, see Steinbock 2013, 8-13.

[54] Steinbock 2013, 9, see Misztal (2003, 50-56) for a critique of Halbwachs' theorization of collective memory.

rather "social memory comes into existence when people talk about the memories that they consider important enough to share with others."[55] Social memory is a term used to designate a story told by a community or designated group that has social and cultural significance to that group.[56] This dissertation is an investigation of the relationship between specific myths, such as the return of the Herkaleidai, the Spartan *basileia*, and Spartan collective memory systems.

Using social memory theory as an analytical tool involves applying the theoretical frameworks and concepts from the study of collective memory to analyze and understand various aspects of a particular society and its cultural norms and values, in this case Archaic Sparta. As an analytical tool, it helps us identify patterns in how communities and social groups remember, commemorate, and transmit their collective past. This includes examining the ways in which historical events are remembered, the narratives constructed around them, and the social practices and rituals associated with commemoration.[57] Identifying these patterns with respect to the myth of the return of the Herakleidai is the aim of chapter three: "Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2 and the Return of the Herkaleidai," the implications of which are explored in chapter four. Additionally, the use of social memory theory as an analytical tool helps us understand identity formation by focusing on how collective memory shapes societal identity and promotes group cohesion (as discussed in chapters three and four). By examining which aspects of the past are emphasized or, perhaps invented, how they are interpreted, and who is included or excluded in a particular collective memory, insights can be gained into processes of identity formation and group belonging. This is further explored with respect to subgroups in the Spartan community (e.g., Dorian-Spartans, Achaean-Herakleidai) in chapters three, four, and five. This tool also helps us explore power dynamics, highlighting how dominant groups, such as the Spartan *basileis,* may control or manipulate collective memory to reinforce their authority and marginalize alternative narratives or voices (e.g., Dorian Spartans). Finally, this tool allows us to analyze shifts in collective memory over time, which supports the study of social change and transformation (further explored in chapter three).

Overall, using social memory theory as an analytical tool provides a framework for understanding the role of storytelling and memory in shaping the social dynamics, cultural

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[55] Steinbock 2013, 12.
[56] For discussion and bibliography, see Steinbock 2013, 1-47; Alcock 2002, 1-35; Fentress and Wickham 1992.
[57] See Thomas (1991) and Steinbock (2013) in the context of Athens and Luraghi (2008) in the context of Messenia.

practices, and identity formation within Archaic Sparta, allowing us to explore the complex interplay between the past, present, and future in shaping collective narratives in Sparta. As Steinbock asserts, "social memory creates feelings of identity and belonging."[58] It provides a shared image of the past, but also offers "a design for the future" possessing an inherently rhetorical function when presented in public discourse.[59] By public discourse, I mean utterances that are delivered in any public setting, which pertain to a community's or a group's social, cultural, and/or political composition. In this dissertation, I discuss four such settings: the *syssitia* (the dining messes), the *symposion* (a drinking party), and civic or cultic festivals.[60]

In examining Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2, I rely on tenets of social memory theory that consider myth an integral element of a community's social memory and approach myth as malleable traditions, which are handed down through generations and are continuously subject to change through transmission.[61] Traditions are constantly adapted for their contemporary historical and narrative context and must be considered as dynamic and malleable with an expected amount of variability. Traditions are often used by poets in public discourse to provoke a sense of shared identity in the audience and can serve as examples from the past for present and future action.[62] It is within this scope that I examine the myth of the return of the Herakleidai in Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2. I make the case that the use of the myth is rhetorically significant and impactful for the audience. I evaluate this material by asking two important questions. First, what is the function of the story in the larger narrative? Second, is the story plausible for its audience?[63] These questions focus my investigation on the relationship between the rhetorical presentation of social memory in Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2 and the historical audiences who were listening in seventh-century Sparta. I return to this in chapter three.

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[58] Steinbock 2013, 3.
[59] Steinbock 2013, 3.
[60] The *syssitia* and *symposia* are potential settings for Tyrtaios' exhortative poetry. I address this in chapter four. A public, civic festival is a plausible setting for Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*, which I discuss further in both chapters three and four and, finally, Alkman's *Partheneion*, which I discuss in chapter five, was performed at a public religious festival for a cult that is yet to be identified.
[61] Approaches to myth in Classical sources from this perspective have proved fruitful, i.e., Steinbock 2013; Thomas 1989. For the capacity of lyric poetry to function in this way, see, for example, Romney 2020 who focuses on the connection between language and identity rather than on social memory theory. I utilize both approaches in chapters three and four.
[62] Romney 2020, 1-14; Grethlein 2010, 1-15, see 54-9 for an example using Tyrtaios fr.5 West^2 and Simonides fr.11 West^2.
[63] Luraghi 2008, 13.

In addition to the use of social memory theory as an analytical tool, chapter four utilizes Grethlein's phenomenological model, which provides a framework for analyzing rhetorical techniques in commemorative genres in Archaic and Classical Greek literature as a means for mitigating social anxiety around the role of chance in people's lives.[64] While phenomenological models and social memory theory focus on different aspects of the human experience, they are not inherently contradictory. Grethlein's framework involves studying how individuals perceive and interpret the world around them through these commemorative genres, which help audience members mitigate their own experience of anxiety surrounding chance and change. This approach emphasizes understanding how ancient Greeks broadly make sense of their reality using shared stories about the past. As I have just established, social memory theory examines collective memory within social groups, focusing on how groups remember, commemorate, and transmit this shared past through oral storytelling. Grethlein's framework complements the study of Spartan social memory by providing insights into how Tyrtaios' poetry engages with and contributes to the construction of collective memory. By utilizing Grethlein's framework, discussed in full in section 4.2.1 "Rhetorical Uses of the Past," we can better understand the techniques used by Tyrtaios' poetics which enrich our understanding of how collective memory is formed, negotiated, and maintained within its historical context.

In this dissertation, I argue that the Spartan *basileia* relies on its connection to Zeus, *via* Herakles, to support the position of the *basileis* in seventh-century Sparta as Tyrtaios' poem demonstrates. There are two scholarly trends, however, that complicate my investigation: first, the teleological approach to the development of the Archaic Greek *polis* as discussed above; and second, the longstanding narrative of "Lykourgan Sparta". Both of these approaches to Archaic Spartan history understand the Spartan *basileia* as both an oddity and a military position, above all else.[65] This interpretation of the Spartan *basileia* has resulted in a fragmented understanding of what the Spartan *basileia* was in Archaic Sparta, emphasizing its military role. As a result, we rarely consider the role of the Spartan *basileis* in the community (i.e., the political, social-ritual, and religious roles), and, consequently, we have not fully considered their institutionalization over time, nor their impact on Spartans. I argue that one of the ways that the Spartan dyarchy "survived" the so-called 'crisis of the seventh century' was by emphasising the ancestral origin

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[64] Grethlein 2010. Grethlein's model is further discussed in section 4.2.1 "Rhetorical Uses of the Past."
[65] This will be further discussed in chapter 4.3 "The Role of the Spartan *Basileia* in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2]."

of the position of the Spartan *basileia* in connection with the origin of the *polis*. In Spartan collective memory, the Spartan *basileia* is made synonymous with the foundation of Sparta itself.[66] The use of the title *basileus* has ideological significance beyond the practical function of the office. According to Thomas' theory of oral tradition, the ancestral Spartan *basileia* became synonymous with the origins of the *polis* itself simply by virtue of time. Beyond three generations, 'ancestors' are considered both grandparents and legendary heroes, meaning that the grandfather of a Spartan *basileus* and Herakles occupied the same category when told in Spartan stories about their shared past.[67] Accepting Vansina's conclusion that there are only two registers of oral traditions, the origin and the present, it is plausible that the Spartan basileia was believed to be contemporaneous with the origins of the *polis* through the establishment of a collective memory regarding this event.[68] Since the best calculation for the origin of the Spartan *basileia* is approximately 775-760 BCE and Tyrtaios was composing his *Eunomia* in approximately 640 BCE, it is reasonable to suggest that while the Spartan *basileia* may have existed for a few generations, it was certainly not an ancient institution at the time of Tyrtaios.[69] From the perspective of collective memory, the Spartan *basileia* could be considered ancestral and ancient, synonymous with the origins of the *polis*, even if it was actually relatively new.

The continuity of the Spartan *basileia* was reinforced in the socio-political world through action (i.e., performing sacrifices, appointing officials, etc.) and in the performance of public poetry that highlights the Spartan *basileia* as an integral, traditional component of Sparta's prosperity in the past, present, and future (such as Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*).[70] For example, according to Classical authors, the Spartan *basileis* were responsible for public sacrifices (Hdt. 6.56-57.2; Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 13.2-5, 10, 15.2-3; Arist. *Pol.* 1285a6-7) and were permitted to bestow an extra portion of food to someone in the *syssitia* (Hdt, 6.57.1-4). These actions remind the public of the

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[66] This is further explored in chapters three and four with respect to the myth of the return of the Herkaleidai and the position and office of the Spartan *basileia*.

[67] Thomas (1991) argues this point in the context of Classical Athens.

[68] Vansina 1985, 23-4; Thomas 1991; Mitchell 2013, 35-7.

[69] For the date of Tyrtaios, Sud. T 1205. This date is, in part, calculated from his own references to chronology most notably in fr.5 West[2] where Tyrtaios states that Theopompos was two generations before the current time (c.700-675 BCE, Millender 2018, 453; *contra* Luther (2004, 61), who favours dating Tyrtaios to the 6th or even 5th c. BCE). I discuss when the Spartan *basileia* originated further in chapter 2.1 "The Origins of the Spartan *Basileia*," for discussion, see Cartledge 1987, 100-3; 2001, 28; 2002, 88-9. See also Oliva 1971, 23-8; Jeffrey 1976, 114.

[70] By "reinforced", here I mean that the actions the Spartan *basileis* perform in public for the community perpetuated the invented tradition that the office had a certain measure of antiquity. It highlighted the ancestral, traditional nature of the position.

unique nature of the Spartan *basileis*; they are closer to the gods by virtue of their ancestry, and they have privileges because of this fact.[71] Although these examples are from Classical sources, there is a precedent for the religious function of the *basileis*, which I discuss further below. The operational positions of the Spartan *basileis* in the *polis*, particularly their social and ritual responsibilities and privileges, connect them to the *basileis* of early Greek hexameter poetry and elevate them to a semi-divine status within the community because of their divine heritage.[72] In this dissertation, I argue that verses in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] rhetorically engage the audience in a performance that connects the Spartans (a coherent social group with a shared past) to the contemporary historical Spartan *basileia* to showcase the *basileia* as an essential and traditional aspect of Spartan social, political, economic, and religious life.

1.4 Terminology

Given the focus of this dissertation on the Spartan *basileia*, also referred to as the Spartan dyarchy, it is essential to discuss briefly the issue of nomenclature. The term *basileus* is most often translated into English as "king."[73] Although it is less frequent, sometimes *basileus* is translated into English as "chief" or even "prince."[74] All three translations create interpretive challenges. Both "king" and "prince" prompt us to think about a political model of rulership analogous to Medieval or Early-modern European kingship. "Chief," on the other hand, encourages one to consider a neo-evolutionary anthropological model, which describes the development of communities as they evolve over time. Additionally, translating *basileus* as "king" or "chief" implies that the *basileus* is the ruler of a certain type of community, namely a state or kingdom for a king or some version of a ranked society for a chief.[75] Models or frameworks such as these are helpful for organizing our evidence of sole or semi-sole rulership into a structure that is comprehensible to us, but because they are modelled after Medieval or Early-modern European kingship they will inevitably be problematic for understanding what a

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[71] On the role of the Spartan *basileis* in religious life, see Carlier 1984, 256–69; Cartledge 2001, 63–4; Parker 1989, 143, 152–60; Richer 2007, 239–41; Powell 2010, 127; Sahlins 2011; Millender 2018, 469-70. For examples of the frequency at which a Spartan *basileus* might perform such sacrifices on campaign, see Agesilaos Xen. *Ages*. 1.31; *Hell*. 4.3.12-14; 5.4.37, 41, 47, 49; 6.5.12, 17-18.

[72] This is further discussed below and in chapter 4.4 "Priests and Guardians" and 4.5 "The Spartan *Basileia* in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] Reconsidered."

[73] LSJ, s.v. βασιλεύς I.1.

[74] LSJ, s.v. βασιλεύς I.2 and I.3

[75] Carneiro 1970, 733-8; 1981, 67-71; Sahlins 2004, 147-8, 257. For a full discussion of the issue and bibliography, see Mitchell 2013, 24-30.

basileus might have been in a Greek community at any given time. The definition of *basileus* in the LSJ, for example, demonstrates the dynamic nature of the term, in one instance referring to it as a hereditary kingship in opposition to τύραννος, and in another instance as a "lord" or "master," implying, perhaps, feudal conditions.[76] The nomenclature, therefore, reveals our confused attempts at interpretation.

Translating and interpreting the word *basileus* is made more complicated by the lack of primary sources for understanding rulership from the Early Iron Age to the Classical period. The Linear B tablets of the Mycenaean palatial complexes, such as at Pylos, provide the only literary evidence for a hierarchical system in the Late Bronze Age (c.1600-1200 BCE). This system inspires our modern reconstructions of the Dark Age/Early Iron Age (c.1200-900 BCE) even though the administrative system of record keeping using Linear B was no longer in use. Nevertheless, the figure of the *basileus* is linguistically equivalent to and commonly considered an Early Iron Age version of the Mycenaean *qa-si-re-u,* who was an official mentioned on Linear B tablets and considered by Ainian to be a "rather unimportant official, possibly the chief of a semi-independent provincial town, perhaps serving as a priest as well and sometimes responsible for the allocation of bronze."[77] For example, he argues convincingly that there is both direct evidence (i.e., tombs with prestige goods and status symbols, "Homeric burials," and the identification of hero cults) and indirect evidence (i.e., elite use of collective spaces such as sanctuaries, "which functioned as a wider arena for competitive display of valued objects," e.g., narrative art, which underlined elite status and/or heroic descent) for the *basileus*-figure in Early Iron Age settlements.[78] Following the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial centres, the central figure of the system, the *wanax*, disappeared, but the local *basileis* "managed to consolidate their power" by capitalizing on their connections to the metal industry, according to Ainian, and adopting "heroic ideals of fighting, hunting, seafaring (including raiding) and communal feasting, characteristics which endured into the Iron Age," according to Deger-Jalkotzy.[79] Ainian's perspective is exemplary of more recent attempts to understand systems of power in the

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[76] LSJ, s.v. βασιλεύς I.3.
[77] Ainian 2006, 182, see Ainian 2006, 181-3 for discussion and bibliography.
[78] Ainian 2006, 181.
[79] Ainian 2006, 182; Deger-Jalkotzey 2006. These characteristics are the core of Mitchell's understanding (2013, 23-48) of elite competition amongst rulers and would-be-rulers in the Archaic and Classical period as well.

Early Iron Age from the perspective of archaeological material, whereas previously scholars relied heavily on the representation of *basileis* in Homeric epic.

A reliance on Homeric epic for reconstructing historical realities or phenomena is problematic at best. The poems themselves, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, are artefacts of a dynamic oral tradition spanning half a millennium. This oral tradition is made up of traditional stories woven together using traditional elements, such as type-scenes and formulae, to help the singer compose in performance.[80] The poems themselves are not representative of any particular historical time or place.[81] Although some argue that the social norms and values and political institutions are consistent with those of the Dark Age or the Early Iron Age, I prefer to exercise caution in this respect and rely, instead, on the archaeological evidence, as discussed above, and, to a lesser extant, the theoretical models discussed below. The figure of the *basileus* has, at times, been viewed by scholars as a symbol of both discontinuity and continuity with the Homeric past as a historical past. In other words, the Homeric *basileus* represented either a figure of an ancient past that is no longer a feature of the Greek world and is illustrative of the dramatic changes following the Mycenaean collapse, or, because the term itself did "survive" as a political or religious official in certain communities, it represented continuity with the Homeric past. Carlier, for example, sees kings as integral to both the Homeric and Early Iron Age communities, arguing that the Homeric *basileus* is representative of a real-world historical phenomenon.[82] Drews and Luraghi, however, vehemently challenge this view, arguing that there is no such thing as Homeric kingship in Geometric or Early Iron Age Greece and suggesting instead that the communities were ruled by a collective elite.[83] As I discuss below, I do not rely on the Homeric epics to reconstruct an origin of the *basileia* as a Greek political institution. Rather, I argue that the Homeric epics serve as an ideological framework for rulership, highlighting both the relationship between the *basileus*-figure and the community and the ways

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[80] For the origin of the oral-formulaic method of oral epic composition in oral theory and its impact, see Lord and Elmer 2019. See also Foley (1988; 1991; 1995; 1999) who's work on traditional referentiality has been greatly influential.
[81] Snodgrass 1974; 1998.
[82] Carlier 2006, 108; Carlier provides further bibliography regarding this issue.
[83] Drews 1963; Luraghi 2013a, 13–16; 2013b, 132–35. Note what Drews (1983) calls Geometric Greece is the eighth century BCE. It is not all that radical to think about collective aristocratic rule in the early Archaic period. See, for example, Andreev 1979. Others have suggested collective rule in the so-called 'Dark Ages': Osborne 1996, 151; van Wees 2002, 114; Morris 2003, 10; Dickinson 2006, 120. See Kõiv 2016 for further discussion and bibliography.

in which that relationship is negotiated and supported, in particular with reference to Zeus. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that within the political landscape constructed by the narrative of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the term *basileus* is used to express a variety of positions of power within a community, including, for example, more wide-ranging power over other *basileis,* such as Agamemnon amongst the Achaeans, and more isolated power over non-*basileis* such as Achilles has over his own Myrmidons. This is just one example of how the term is not static even in the Homeric epics.[84]

Of the potential sociological theories concerning the position of the Greek *basileus*, Donlan's argument that Archaic Greek society had either "Big Men" or "chieftains" is attractive as a framework. The distinction between the two is that a "Big Man" achieves his status by establishing a position of power over other tribesman through personal accomplishments and must work to maintain it, whereas the position of the chief is ascribed by means of age, appointment, or succession.[85] The key activities that separate the two positions are achieve and ascribe, suggesting that the former, a "Big Man," must work for his position in a way that the latter, the "chief" is not required to. My major concern with this typology is that the *basileus* of the Early Iron Age seems to have relied on both ascribed and acquired status to achieve and keep his position. Antonaccio, for example, argues that by the beginning of the Archaic period (c.750 BCE), the authority of a Greek *basileus* was derived from ascribed and acquired status. Ascribed status is that which is inherited, referring both to birth and socio-economic capital via inheritance, and acquired status is that which is accomplished through military success, including both amassing and retaining additional wealth and one's participation in acts of reciprocity such as gift giving.[86] Maran similarly concludes in his investigation of post-palatial Tiryns that the ideology behind a *basileus* "combined two conflicting principles for the justification of rulership, one based on individual accomplishments and the other on the proof of descent from former elites."[87] Maran and Antonaccio recognize the necessity of ascribed and acquired status as complementary rather than opposing principles of Archaic Greek rulership. Although the Spartan

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[84] See, for example, Telemachos' speech to Antinoös (*Od*. 3.388-398), in which he discusses becoming a *basileus*, following his father, the paramount *basileus* at the time, amongst other *basileis* on Ithaka.
[85] Donlan 1997, 40-4. This theoretical framework is present, for example, in the textbook *A Brief History of Ancient Greece* (Pomeroy, et. al., 2019, 45-56) who refers to Homeric *basileis* as "paramount chiefs" within their communities, and occupants of, for example, the House of Tiles in Lerna as "Big Men."
[86] Antonaccio 2002; 2006, 388-9; See also Wright 1995.
[87] Maran 2006, 143-4.

basileia remained a hereditary position of authority within the Spartan *polis* throughout the Archaic and Classical period, the success of the individuals who held this position was contingent upon a complex network of relationships, responsibilities, and privileges. Failing to masterfully keep all of these elements in balance with one another could result in deposition, as was famously the case with Demaratos, who was deposed by Kleomenes I and Leotychidas I.[88]

Zeller, whose recent comparative study on the *basileis* in early Archaic Greece and the *godi* of Medieval Iceland, proposes yet another theoretical framework for understanding the Greek *basileus*. He proposes that *basileis* are "a more or less stable group, whose status, however, was subject to continuous performative requirements vis-à-vis the community."[89] The model laid out by Maran and Antonaccio seems to suggest a similar process, namely that the position of the *basileus* was not predetermined in some way but was constantly in need of acceptance by the community. For the purposes of this dissertation, as may already be evident, I have intentionally transliterated rather than translated the term *basileus* and its cognates *basileis* and *basileia*. This choice is to signify the importance of understanding such terms in their own historical and narrative contexts. When asked to define the Spartan *basileia*, it is imperative to respond by asking which one? The Spartan *basileia* changes, constantly, in response to and in conjunction with the world around it. Even the LSJ recognizes this fact in differentiating the *basileus* who, in Athens, is the second of the nine Archons, whereas in other Greek *poleis* it is the title of a magistrate, and, finally, in Persia, it is the so-called "Great king."[90] Translating the term *basileus* inevitably creates an interpretation, which, in my opinion, turns something that is dynamic into something static. The process of defining and translating removes the terminology from its own world even though the institution or position can only be understood in relation to the circumstances of its own context. My approach to understanding the seventh-century Spartan *basileia* is further elaborated below.

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[88] Demaratos was deposed by Kleomenes I and Leotychidas with false claims that he was not born of his father Ariston (Hdt. 6.50-51, 61-71.1).

[89] Zeller 2022, 9.

[90] LSJ, s.v. βασιλεύς. For βασιλεύς as the second archon of Athens see, *IG* 12.76; Antipho. 6.38; Lys. 6.4; Arist. *Pol*. 1285b17. For βασιλεύς as the title of a magistrate in other Greek *poleis*, an inscription from Elis dating to the sixth century BCE names a group of *basileis* who hold "the highest magistracy," which is found also at Megara, Miletos, Kos, Nasos, Kyme, Kyzikos, Ephesos, Skepsis, and, perhaps, at Mantinea, see Jeffrey (1956, 165) for a full list, esp. n.5. For βασιλεύς as the King of Persia or the Great King, see Hdt. 7.174 for just one example.

Additionally, it is worth briefly discussing what the geographic and political terms Sparta, Lakonia, Lakedaimon, Spartan, and Spartiate indicate. In defining these terms, I follow the example of Christesen and Cartledge.[91] Sparta itself can be defined spatially as the region within the Mousga ravine to the north of the modern city, the Eurotas river to the east, and the Magoulitsa River running north-west to south-east. The south-eastern corner is not defined by a natural boundary, but Christesen suggests we simply define the spatial limits using the later Hellenistic circuit wall and include the modern village of Magoula (north-west of the modern town of Sparti, see fig.1).[92] Cartledge also defines ancient Sparta as the product of synoikism between the four local villages Kynosoura, Mesoa, Limnai, and Pitana followed by the inclusions, perhaps under force, of Amyklai roughly five kilometres to the south of Sparta.[93] Lakonia, on the other hand, is the geographic space within which Sparta was historically located. In chapter two, I discuss the consolidation of this territory, which, by approximately 775 BCE, extended from the Taygetos mountain ranges to the Parnon mountain ranges north-east of the Eurotas valley, including border regions such as Skiritis, Sellasia, and Pellana (see fig.2). To the south of Sparta, it included key locations in the Malae peninsula such as Hyperteleaton and Volimnos, and, to the west of Sparta, on the ancient border with Messenia, the site of Artemis Limnatis.[94] A geographic understanding of the region ought to be differentiated from the political entity of which Sparta was the 'capital'. This political unit is called Lakedaimon and includes all those under Spartan influence or partner to the Spartan socio-political structure and agricultural programme (i.e., the helot and perioikic communities). As a result, the general term Spartans refers to the people who lived within Lakonia, in contrast to the term Spartiate, which designates a civic group of Spartans who have full-citizenship rights in Classical Sparta and likely lived in and around ancient Sparta.[95]

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[91] Cartledge 2002; Christesen 2018.
[92] Christesen 2018, 313.
[93] Cartledge 2001, 9-20; 2002, 90-1; Kennell 2010, 1-9.
[94] Cartledge 2002, 85-6.
[95] Christensen 2018, 313.
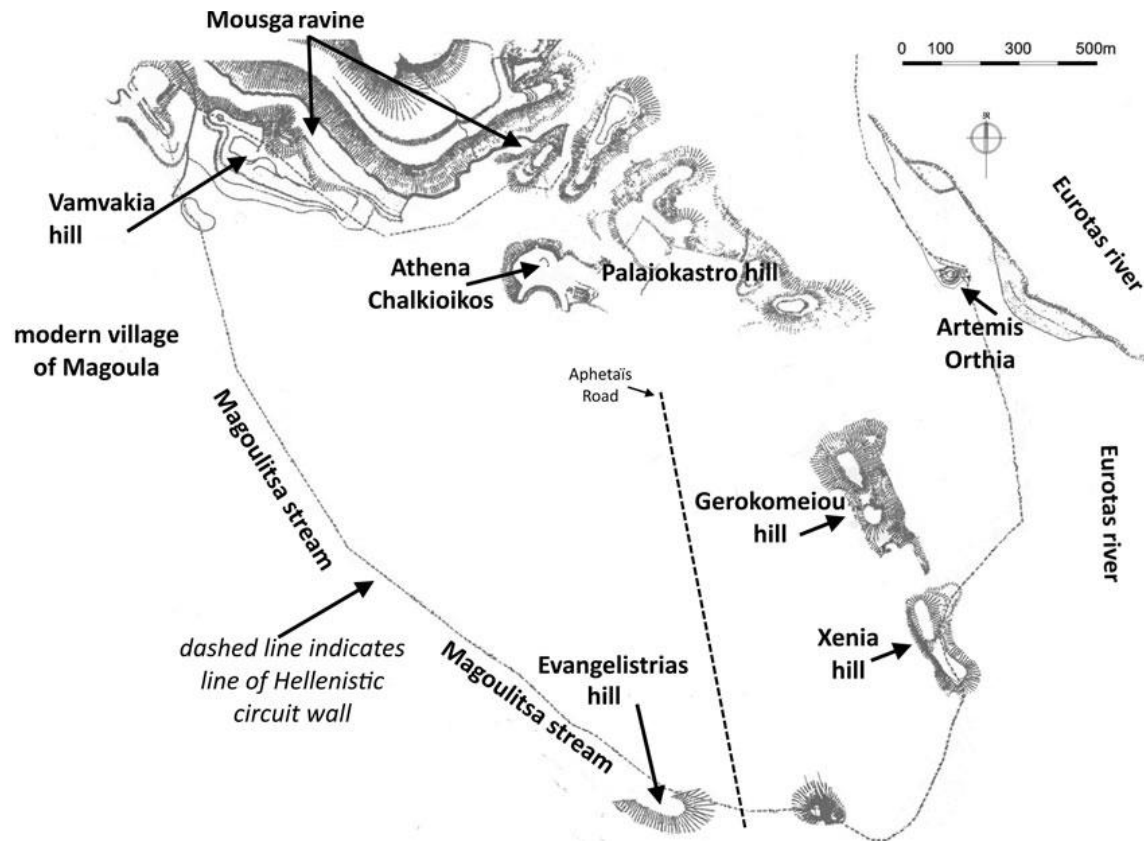
Figure 1: Major Topographical Features of Ancient Sparta, Christesen 2018, 310.

Figure 2: The Territory of Ancient Sparta, CC-BY-SA-4.0. Author: Marsyas.

1.5 Political Leadership and Rulership Ideology in Archaic Greece

In describing the challenges presented by teleological models of Archaic Greek history, Bernhardt and Canevaro state that "no topic in Archaic Greek history has been more affected by the teleological tendencies of most master narratives than that of political leadership."[96] Since this dissertation is primarily concerned with how the Spartan *basileia* became an integral part of the Spartan political landscape, in part by embedding itself ideologically in the very foundation of the *polis* of Sparta through the myth of the return of the Herakleidai as shown in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2], it is imperative that I engage with the impacts of such teleological master narratives on the study of political leadership in Archaic Greece and, by extension, Archaic Sparta.

In most of these narratives, the elites are considered the agents of change and revolution and are "essential characters" of Archaic Greek society.[97] Generally, it is the elites who occupy positions of political leadership in seventh-century Greek communities, or they are seeking it in some capacity. As discussed above, the master narrative of Archaic Greece begins with the "eighth-century revolution," which impacted the political and demographic composition of the forming community because of the "rise of the aristocracy." The political landscape evolved according to an anthropological framework in which communities progress from more "primitive" forms of organization, such as clans and tribes with so-called "Big Men" as political leaders, to larger communities with "kings;" this is the typical rise of the aristocracy.[98] These communities then suffered from *stasis* primarily because of competing elites vying for power.[99] This *stasis* provided ample opportunity for the rise of tyrants, referred to as the "age of tyrants" (c.650-500 BCE) since tyrants are often described by ancient authors and scholars alike as competing against other elites to gain further power and control within the *polis* by supporting, and at times mobilizing, portions of the *demos*. The *stasis*, in turn, can be linked to the development of the hoplite (i.e., the "hoplite revolution" c.650 BCE), who is commonly considered by scholars an average citizen responsible for fighting and is motivated by the threat

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[96] Bernhardt and Canevaro 2022, 15.
[97] For bibliography and further discussion, see Ma 2016, 403-4; Charalambidou and Morgan 2017, 1-8; Étienne 2017, 9-14
[98] For bibliography and further discussions, see Ma 2016; Bernhardt and Canevaro 2022. This anthropological approach was addressed above. I use "kings" here as this is the translation commonly used in these narratives.
[99] There are two primary models for the emergence of democracy: 1) intra elite conflict, see Forsdyke 2005, and 2) the rising hoplite middle-class, see Hanson 1998.

external enemies pose to his *oikos* (household and associated goods) and *agros* (farmland).[100] *Stasis*, therefore, arose between elites within the *polis* while members of the *polis* called for increased representation.[101] This upheaval brought about radical change and revolution that resulted in the transfer of power to the *demos* and the codification of laws. The evolutionary process concluded with the formation of the Classical city-state. The seventh century, the century of primary concern in this dissertation, is a period characterized, by *stasis*.[102] Criticisms of this anthropology-based model, made popular by the work of Kurke and Morris, are twofold; the inquiry is teleological and entrenched in an Athenocentric perspective, yet the model it produces is applied relatively wholesale to the development of all Archaic Greek *poleis* as a singular Greek political and social phenomenon.[103] This is not to say that the concepts of a "middling ideology" or "elitist ideology" do not have merit. They are limited in their capacity to help us understand processes of political institutionalization in any given *polis* since they rely heavily on Athenian texts and do not, generally, account for the particularities of local contexts.[104]

Teleological models have had a profound impact on the study of the Spartan *basileia*, producing a narrative of exceptionalism because the archetypal narrative of Sparta's early political development did not fit the model of a typical Archaic Greek *polis*.[105] Increasingly, however, scholarship on Sparta has turned away from this exceptional model.[106] This change is partly due to the introduction of new approaches and perspectives on the concept of the *polis*, including: comparative studies (with both ancient and modern communities and systems); a widening of our geographic investigation to include more than 1000 *poleis*; recent investigations of *ethnē* and federal states; an understanding of Greek phenomena in a wider Mediterranean framework; and new attention to complex networks of interaction and exchange, including localism and diversity between Greek communities.[107] These new approaches and perspectives

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[100] For a robust discussion of the hoplite debate, see Kagan and Viggiano, 2013.

[101] For bibliography and further discussions, see Ma 2016 and Kõiv 2018.

[102] I return to this concept and its impact on our understanding and interpretation of seventh-century Sparta and Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* in chapter 2.3 "The Seventh Century 'Civil Strife Crisis.'"

[103] For discussion and relevant bibliography, see Ma 2016.

[104] For discussion of localism as an approach to ancient Greek history and the development of the *polis*, see Beck 2020.

[105] i.e., Cartledge (2001) asks whether Sparta can even be considered a *polis* because of its development in comparison to the established model. For a more general discussion of how teleological models impact the student of other *poleis* with reference to Sparta, see Ma 2016, esp. 400-4.

[106] See Hodkinson 1983; 1997; 1999; 2000; 2006; 2018; Powell 2018.

[107] For bibliography and further discussion, see Bernhardt and Canevaro 2022, 1-8.

culminate in a general recognition that Greek communities are diverse and must be understood in their own contexts in relation to their own environments. This conclusion extends to our understanding of the processes of institutionalization of any given political entity in any given *polis*.[108]

In Spartan studies, the conclusions of several scholars challenge the orthodox understanding of Lykourgos' *eunomia* and the establishment of the Spartan Great Rhetra. They argue that the Spartan mirage has deeply impacted our ability as scholars to evaluate the political development of Archaic Sparta on its own terms.[109] The current focus of Spartan studies broadly is to re-evaluate and re-contextualize contemporary Archaic sources alongside renewed interest in archaeological material from the Archaic period.[110] It is from these two concurrent trends, namely the general acceptance of the fact that Greek communities are diverse and must be understood in their own historical and environmental contexts and that, consequently, our narratives about Archaic Sparta must be re-evaluated and the primary material re-contextualized, that I embark on a contextualized reading of the return of the Herakleidai in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2].

How, then, do we evaluate claims to legitimacy for the Spartan *basileia* in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] without resorting to outmoded models that understand the development of the *polis* as having an inevitable and necessary progression? First, we must reconsider how we contextualize elite competition, that is competition among wealthy individuals vying for status in a *polis*. To navigate this challenge, I focus on "competition and institutionalisation as analytical concepts…grounded in the general grammar of archaic culture" as presented by Bernhardt and Canevaro.[111] Bernhardt and Canevaro present a compelling argument for analyzing legitimization methods of would-be-rulers and political leaders in Archaic Greece. The group of individuals who occupy positions of rulership is somewhat stable, but the status of individuals with political authority in the community is maintained or increased only through "continuous performative requirements vis-à-vis the community."[112] This conceptualization of competitive

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[108] See Ma 2016.
[109] This approach to contextualization has been a growing trend since the late 20th and early 21st centuries (i.e., van Wees 1999, reprint 2009) and has become the prevailing approach to Spartan studies: i.e., volumes edited by Powell and Hodkinson 2010; 2006; 2002; 1999; the most recent *Companion to Sparta* (2018) edited by Powell.
[110] See, for example, the forthcoming volume *Spartan Origins* edited by Cartledge and Christesen.
[111] Bernhardt and Canevaro 2022, 7; Meister and Seelentag 2020.
[112] Bernhardt and Canevaro 2022, 9.

elites is compatible with Duplouy's reconstruction of elite status and the approach to tyranny used by both Taylor and Mitchell regarding the later Archaic period.[113] As Mitchell describes, archaic rulers were constantly adapting to the circumstances around them and negotiating their position within the community. These adaptations reflect an ideology of rulership based on a traditional framework of ruling dating from the Early Iron Age.[114] Mitchell argues that rulership depended on "a belief in the nature of rule and a willingness to be ruled."[115] In the context of the Archaic and Classical period, these two principles, namely a belief in the nature of the rule and a willingness to be ruled, were achieved by rulers who were able to sufficiently demonstrate they had a surplus of *aretē*, (excellence).[116]

Individuals and families used connections with former elites and heroes as grounds for legitimacy and status since the Early Iron Age.[117] This *aretē* was demonstrated through accomplishments and benefactions and a significant connection to important individuals of the past, for example heroes or founders.[118] Maran argues, for example, that signet rings found in a single house in the Lower Town of Tiryns, where the elite shifted their dwellings following the palatial collapse, were passed down as symbols of palatial authority from the past.[119] Similarly, Antonaccio argued that antiquities were used in the burials in the Toumba at Lefkandi to link the individuals in the graves to the peoples of the Bronze Age past.[120] Mitchell discusses the settlement of Nichoria in the same terms.[121] Connecting oneself to a founder was one way in which potential rulers would establish their legitimacy in, for example, the context of a Greek colony.[122] Examples of this include the foundation-story of Kyrene by Battos and the tradition of the Battiads (Pind. *Ol.* 1.23; *Pyth.* 1.60, 3.70, 5.29-30), and the Deinomenid family including Deinomenes of Gela, Gelon (Hdt. 7.153-67; Diod. Sic. 11.20-38.3), Hieron (Diod. Sic.11. 38.7-67.4), Thrasybulos (Arist. *Pol.* 5.1312b 11,14, 1315b 38; Diod. Sic. 11.66-88; Plut. *Mor.* 403c), Polyzalos, and, finally, his daughter, who allegedly connected the Deinomenids to the

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[113] Duplouy 2022 139-61; Taylor 2022, 301-29; Mitchell 2013, 1-21.
[114] Mitchell 2013, 14-15.
[115] Mitchell 2013, 57.
[116] Mitchell 2013, 57-90.
[117] Mitchell 2013, 57-90; Crielaard 2006, 282-4; Eder 2006, 549-80; Deger-Jalkoltzy 2006, 151-80, 1991; Maran 2001, 2006, 123-50; Wright 2006, 7-52.
[118] Mitchell 2013, 57-90.
[119] Maran 2006; 2001.
[120] Antonaccio 2006, 391.
[121] Mitchell 2013, 36-7, cf. Ainian 1997, 79-80.
[122] See, for example, Hdt. 4.153-60; *SEG* 9.3.

Emmenides of Akragas.[123] Pindar (*I*. 7.12-15) referred to Sparta as an *apoikia*, putting the Herakleidai in the role of founders.[124] The legitimizing force of these claims is that the individual is related to someone who was given divine right to rule in the specific geographic area, usually by the oracle of Apollo at Delphi.[125] This specific type of claim is dependent on the context. The location must be a colony for which divine approval was given to an individual to establish and rule that colony. Mitchell refers to this type of claim regarding colonization as an adaptation within a traditional framework, meaning that the core principle of needing an ancestral connection to the past to be eligible for rulership was fundamental, but rulers of them used more contemporary figures, like an *oikistes*, to adapt to their contemporary circumstances.[126]

We see a similar process taking place in both Archaic and Classical Sparta. The Spartan *basileis* had to be related by birth to the proper line of the Herakleidai as established by the myth of the return of the Herakleidai. The ambitions of Lysander, who was a prominent Spartan naval commander (*nauarch*) at the end of the fourth century BCE, exemplifies this requirement.[127] Lysander utilized all the legitimizing tactics Mitchell refers to in an attempt to successfully perform his worthiness in an attempt (theoretically) to hold the position of *basileus* by demonstrating his excellence.[128] For example, he is said to have dedicated items at key religious sites and had dedication made in his honour (Duris of Samos *FGrH* 76 F 71; Plut. *Lys*. 1.1, 18.1; Paus. 10.9.7-8). In addition, he had numerous *xenoi*, guest-friends, including Kyros of Persia (Xen. *Hell*. 2.1.14) and Libys near Siwah (Diod. Sic. 14.13.5), among others (Plut. *Lys*. 8.1, 19.1).[129] His ambition is noted by both Diodorus Siculus (14.13.2-8) and Plutarch in his *Life of Lysander* (26). Yet, he was never able to advance due to the restriction of ancestry.[130] An individual *basileus* was expected to behave properly and if he did not, he could be removed from

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[123] Polyzalos is credited for the dedication of the "Charioteer at Delphi" to Apollo at Delphi (currently located in the Delphi Archaeological Museum). On Polyzalos' daughter, see Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F 93, scholia on Pind. *Ol*. 2.29b-d.

[124] See also *Pyth.* 5. 68-73. The relevance of Pindar's label of Sparta as a Dorian *apoikia* for interpreting the migration story of the Dorians in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] is addressed in chapter 4.2 "The Gift of Zeus."

[125] On colonization, see Malkin 1987. This is further discussed in chapters three and four.

[126] Mitchell 2013,14-15.

[127] On Lysander's bid for *basileus*, see Millender 2018, 470; Mitchell 2013, 63; Cartledge 1987, 84, 100.

[128] Mitchell discusses both ancestry (2013, 32-41, 92-6) and the use of wealth through associations such as *xenia* (41-8) as central to rulership as well as being a competent general (65-8), a panhellenic victor (including commissioning epinician poetry and erecting dedications, 69-73), and a city-founder (73-80).

[129] For discussion, see Hodkinson 2000, 338.

[130] On succession generally in the Spartan *basileia*, see Millender 2018, 455-57; Cartledge 1987, 100; Carlier 1984, 240-8.

the position.[131] These fundamental principles, namely the need to demonstrate excellence and a connection to past rulers, appear also in early Greek epic as the basis for legitimate rule.[132] Mitchell argues that these are the foundation of an Archaic and Classical ideology of rulership that was, in part, derived from the example of Homeric *basileis*.[133] Whereas Mitchell argues, more or less, that this ideology of rulership does not change from the Early Iron Age through to the Classical period, I maintain that these aspects (i.e., making recourse to the past, legitimization through ancestry, the demonstration of excellence as markers of status) are foundational, but are expressed differently depending on the place and the time. In other words, expressions of this ideology change based on the historical context. In using this approach, I am able to contextualize the Spartan *basileia* within a larger framework of rulership operative in the Greek world from the Early Iron Age but understand the expression of Spartan rulership *vis à vis* the *basileia* within its own context. This process of contextualization allows me to better address the fact that Sparta can be unique in having two *basileis and* be inherently Greek in their expression of rulership. Since the Spartan *basileia* is generally considered a stable and static institution, it is rarely examined as a political entity in need of legitimization or negotiation. This examination, therefore, is an original contribution to the new trends of Spartan studies.

Like heroic rulers, Archaic and Classical rulers and would-be-rulers emphasized their ancestry and focused on showcasing their excellence through whatever means appropriate to the context (i.e., athletic victories, gift-giving, colonization, dedications, military victories, etc.). In the Early Iron Age, rulers used their wealth to host communal ritual feasting in their own domestic space and display their wealth publicly and ostentatiously, whereas rulers of the Classical period (including tyrants) avoided such displays of ostentation and used their wealth to showcase their *aretē* by, for example, supporting public building programmes or making dedications at religious sanctuaries.[134] Spartan *basileis* did likewise. They advertised the same qualities and utilized their wealth similarly, building connections through the practice of *xenia*

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[131] Demaratos was deposed by Kleomenes I and Leotychidas with false claims that he was not born of his father Ariston (Hdt. 6.50-51, 61-71.1), Pleistoanax was deposed and exiled for taking bribes (Thuc. 1.114.1-2, 2.21.1, 5.16.3; Plut. *Per.* 22-23) and was re-instated as *basileus* at the request of the Delphic oracle (Thuc. 5.16.1; 17.1).
[132] Mitchell 2013, 24-30, 34-41.
[133] To historical audiences of Homeric poetry, the content represents a specific stage in the development of their world (i.e., the age of heroes), see Mitchell 2003, 34-41; Graziosi and Haubold 2005.
[134] Mitchell 2013, 14-15, 41-8; e.g., Kypselos' fortification of Korinth, construction of temples at Korinth for Apollo and at Isthmia for Poseidon (Hdt. 5.92; Nicolaus of Damascus *FGrH* 90 F 57); Periander's plan for the *diolkos* across the Isthmos, the harbor at Lechaeum, and a temple for Olympian Zeus (Diog. Laert. 1.99); Gelon's temple to Demeter and Kore and a golden tripod at Delphi (Diod. Sic. 11.26.7).

with other rulers.[135] For example: Xenophon (*Hell*. 5.3.9) tells how, in 381 BCE, volunteers of allied *poleis* and cavalrymen from Thessaly wished to be known by Agesipolis on his march to Olynthos (γνωσθῆναι τῷ Ἀγησιπόλιδι βουλόμενοι); Kleomenes I was rather famously the *xenos* of Isagoras of Athens (Hdt. 5.70-2), participating in Isagoras' occupation of the Athenian acropolis (507/6 BCE); Pausanias was the *xenos* of Hegetorides of Kos (Hdt. 9.76) and Xerxes (Thuc. 1.128-30); Archidamos was close with the faction of Podanemos (Xen. *Hell*. 2.1.14); and, finally, Archidamos was the *xenos* of Perikles, the famous statesman of Athens (Thuc. 2.13). The relationships between the following were considered by late Classical and post-Classical accounts to be ancestral in nature: Lysander and Libys from Siwah (Diod. Sic. 14.13.5); Pausanias and Diognetos of Athens (Lys. 18.10); Agesilaos and an unnamed individual from Mantinea (Xen. *Hell*. 6.5.4); Agesilaos and Mausolos of Karia (Xen. *Ages*. 2.27). Spartan *basileis* could use their wealth to gain support in Sparta as well, for example, Agesilaos was a patron to various members of the Gerousia according to both Xenophon and Plutarch (Xen. *Ages*. 4.4; Plut. *Ages*. 4.3-4). Millender discusses the various ways in which the *basileis* were uniquely privileged in their ability to create long lasting alliances inside and outside of the *polis* of Sparta.[136] For example, in Classical sources the Spartan *basileis* are reported to have made dedications with a portion of their military spoils, often at the temple of Apollo at Delphi. This action, Mitchell argues, demonstrates that the Spartan *basileis* used wealth to highlight their excellence much like other Greek rulers.[137] Additionally, when a new *basileus* took up his position he freed any Spartan from his debts whether he was liable to the previous *basileus* or the *demos* (Hdt. 6.59).

The very title *basileus* has a distinct heroic quality evoking a type of ruler whose position was divinely given or sanctioned by Zeus.[138] A Homeric *basileus* also had qualities that were evident to anyone who looked at him, including certain types of strength (i.e., ὑπερμενής,

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[135] A Spartan *basileus* derived wealth from a few sources: his estates (e.g., Hdt. 6.62.2; Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 15.3); inheritance (e.g., Agesilaos II: Xen. *Ages*. 4.5, Agis II Plut. *Ages*. 4.3); and military spoils (e.g., Pausanias, as regent, following Plataea: Hdt. 9.81.2; Agis II in 400 BCE Xen. *Hell*. 3.3.1, 3.2.26; Agesilaos II in 394 BCE: Xen. *Hell*. 4.3.21, 3.4.12; *Ages*. 1.16, 4.6; Plut. *Ages*. 4.3). On the practice of *xenia* between Spartan *basileis* and non-Spartans: see Hodkinson 2000, 337-52; Herman 1987, 166-75;.
[136] Millender 2018, 467-8.
[137] Mitchell 2013, 41-8.
[138] Examples of how the title *basileus* is connected to Zeus are discussed in detail below.

κρατερός, εὐρύς).[139] For example, Priam notes to Helen that Agamemnon seems like a *basileus* (Hom. *Il*. 3.170). Additionally, Eteoneos remarks on the appearance of Nestor and Telemachos to Menelaos (Hom. *Od*. 4.20-48) who likewise notes they have the appearance of "scepter-bearing *basileis*" (*Od*. 4.60-65). Odysseus tells Antinoös that he looks like a *basileus* (Hom. *Od*. 17. 415-23). In the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* (7.11-12) the pirates who take Dionysus captive do so because they believe he looks like a son of the "Zeus-nourished *basileis*" (υἱὸν γάρ μιν ἔφαντο διοτρεφέων βασιλήων / εἶναι, καὶ δεσμοῖς ἔθελον δεῖν ἀργαλέοισι.). Finally, in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Metaneira says to Demeter, who is in disguise, that she does not seem like a nobody because her eyes are filled with the same respect and grace as the eyes of "*basileis* who minister law and right" (…ἐπί τοι πρέπει ὄμμασιν αἰδὼς / καὶ χάρις, ὡς εἴ πέρ τε θεμιστοπόλων βασιλήων, 214-15). Sparta's retention of the title *basileus* is likely ideological as much as operational, creating a sense of antiquity for the position and grounding it in a traditional and ancient past.[140] It is likely, also, that the title's associations with Zeus and the heroic past, along with the ancestral connection between the Spartan *basileia* and Zeus via Herakles produced a different ontology of the individuals who occupied the position, blending mortal with immortal.[141]

My approach to understanding the institutionalization of the Spartan *basileia* in seventh-century Sparta is, therefore, rooted in seeing similarities in the ideological conception of rulership in the Spartan *basileia* and the traditional framework of rulership in early Greek epic. Overall, if we take the teleological end point of the Classical period out of our investigation of the Spartan *basileia*, narratives that illuminate strong imagined or invented continuities between Homeric society and the seventh and sixth centuries are more congruent with the contemporary evidence than narratives that emphasize radical change and sharp discontinuities.[142] I propose we consider the position of the *basileus* in early Greek epic as a model for the Spartan *basileis* of seventh-century Sparta.[143] From early Greek epic we can extract a traditional framework for

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[139] For the *basileus* as ὑπερμενής, see, e.g., Hom. *Od.* 13. 205-6; *Il.* 8. 236. For the adjectives "strong" (κρατερός) and "broad" (εὐρύς) as distinguishing features of the *basileus*, see, e.g., Hom. *Il.* 3. 179, 1. 410-11.

[140] Cavanagh (2018, 62) and van Wees (2009, 23-4) argue that the use of *basileus*, *demos*, and Gerousia as early as Tyrtaios indicates that the Archaic governing structures of Sparta were indebted to vocabulary from Linear B tablets and have a distinctly Homeric flavor.

[141] Sahlins 2011.

[142] Bernhardt and Canevaro (2002, 8) emphasize this point for all investigations of Archaic Greece. Van Wees' investigation of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* exemplifies this approach in Spartan studies.

[143] Van Wees 2009.

rulership that impacts the shape of political leadership in Archaic and Classical Greece and the discourse around rulership with respect to legitimization. This framework highlights the various ways that rulers or would-be-rulers attempted to articulate their own legitimacy within a *polis* in accordance with a traditional mode of rulership.[144] This approach is informed by our understanding of how Greeks of the Archaic and Classical periods intentionally constructed their past through both "invented traditions" and "intentional histories," often grounded in myth or social/collective memory.[145] Homeric and Hesiodic epics, therefore, are not sources of historical fact for the Archaic period but represent *exempla* from a period of the audiences' own ancient past. As *exempla*, they are powerful models of behaviour and continue to define and influence how political leadership and rulership is conceptualized ideologically.

A recent comparative study by Zeller between *basileis* in early Archaic Greece and the *godi* of Medieval Iceland yields a fascinating model of social organization and development, which can be used as a heuristic tool for considering the position of *basileis* in early Archaic Greece.[146] Zeller's proposed model "describes the individual position of a *basileus* as a complex position made up of economic, physical, cultural, and social resources."[147] According to this model, it was possible to climb the social ladder in Archaic Greek communities, but to obtain a "durable leading position, individuals needed other resources [beyond temporary economic capital and social reputation] that had to be acquired over a long period."[148] The core of the power of the *basileus* is not his military accomplishments or economic gain but rather his "ability to accomplish cooperative tasks" and to act in the interest of the community.[149] Zeller's study emphasizes that the most valuable resource an Archaic Greek leader had for long term success was his relationship with the community, a fact, he notes, that is "already evident in the epics."[150] It is the relationship between the community and the leader that Tyrtaios leverages to support the position of the Spartan *basileia* in fr.2 West[2]. The relationship between the Spartan *basileia* and the community is strengthened by the involvement of the gods, especially Zeus, as I

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[144] Mitchell 2013.
[145] Bernhardt and Canevaro 2002, 16. Luraghi's work on helotage (2002, 2003, 2009) and the Messenians (2008) exemplifies the revolutionary effects of these trends on our understanding of not just Sparta but Archaic Greece generally. See also Gehrke 2001, 2003; Foxhall, Gehrke, and Luraghi 2010.
[146] Zeller 2022.
[147] Zeller 2022, 50.
[148] Zeller 2022, 52.
[149] Zeller 2022, 52.
[150] Zeller 2022, 55.

discuss in chapter four. Tyrtaios' use of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai fosters a codependence between the community and the institution of the *basileia*. It is important to outline the traditional framework on which this relationship is modeled, and for that I turn to the relationship between the community and the *basileus* in early Greek epic.

1.6 Early Greek Epic as *Exempla*

For the purposes of understanding the underlying principles of rulership as derived from an ancient and traditional past, I describe below the position of the heroic *basileus* with a wealth of examples taken from Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the *Homeric Hymns*, and Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days*. As a model for this analysis, I rely on Mitchell's paradigm for Greek rulers: "rulers, at least on an ideological level, were the providers of good order, straight judgements, and heroic qualities."[151] There was a significant religious component to Greek rulership, especially leadership roles derived from the position of the *basileus*, that is often underemphasized.[152] The religious component of rulership is, however, central to the Spartan *basileia*, as I further discuss in chapters four and five. In the Homeric and Hesiodic texts there is a special relationship between a *basileus* and the gods. This relationship gave the *basileus* a privileged position among mortals and a heightened responsibility to the gods.

In Hesiod's *Theogony* (76-96), the *basileus* arbitrates cases, provides advice, and plays a prominent role in the assembly. In this description, a *basileus* is given his ability to do these things successfully by the Muses, daughters of Zeus. They pour sweet dew upon the tongue of the *basileus*, allowing "gracious words" to flow out (τῷ μὲν ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ γλυκερὴν χείουσιν ἐέρσην,/ τοῦ δ᾽ ἔπε᾽ ἐκ στόματος ῥεῖ μείλιχα…, 83-4). With this skill, the *basileus* arbitrates in accordance with justice, brings difficult quarrels to a conclusion, and provides guidance and advice with gentle words in the assembly (84-90).[153] In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter basileis*

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[151] Mitchell 2013, 14-15. Mitchell's monograph (2013) fully explores this paradigm of rulership as the ideological basis of Archaic and Classical rulership.

[152] Although Mitchell (2013) lays out various types of rulers (i.e., rulers as warriors, rulers as panhellenic victors, rulers as city-founders), she surprisingly does not include a category for rulers as priests even though she mentions several times the important religious roles held by various rulers and the role of "divine nature" in rulership (e.g., Argive *probasileu*s, cf. Mitchell 2013, 33; Carlier 1984, 382-4, Egyptian and Persian rulers cf. Mitchell 2013, 25-6, Macedonian rulers cf. Mitchell 2013, 30-2). This is further discussed in chapter 4.4 "Priests and Guardians."

[153] West (1966, 183-5) discusses a possible connection between this passage and Hom. *Od*. 8.170-3, and emphasizes that, although the transition to discussing the "kings" is somewhat odd, it is likely important to include in the poem because it was in some way addressed to the "kings" or composed for them. The position of the *basileus* is here

have the epithet θεμιστοπόλος (103, 215, 473) meaning "ministering law and right." The *basileus* is characterized twice as being "from Zeus" in both Hesiod's *Theogony* (ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες, 96) and the *Homeric Hymn to the Muses and Apollo* (ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες, 25.4). Additionally, he is commonly described using the adjective Διοτρεφής, "god-nourished" or, more particularly, 'Zeus-nourished'.[154] After the death of Antinoös, for example, Eurymachos begs Odysseus to stop his slaughter. He states that Antinoös was driven by a desire to be *basileus*, not because of some need or the desire for marriage and, ultimately, Zeus did not accomplish this for Antinoös (*Od.* 22.44-59).[155] Penelope (Hom. *Od.* 4.687-92) characterises the *basileis* as divine (ἥ τ᾽ ἐστὶ δίκη θείων βασιλήων· 692).[156] Based on these descriptors from the Homeric and Hesiodic poems, the *basileus* was connected to Zeus and had an important leadership role in the community.[157]

The *basileus* was, in one way or another, responsible for the prosperity and success of the community. For example, when Odysseus (Hom. *Od.* 19.106-14), while in disguise, compares Penelope's *kleos* to that of a "blameless *basileus*" (βασιλῆος ἀμύμονος, 109), he describes the *basileus* as god-fearing (θεουδὴς, 109), ruling over many strong men, and upholding "righteousness" (εὐδικίας ἀνέχησι, 111). Odysseus implies that a *basileus* is responsible for upholding what is "good" in the community and is beholden to the gods. As a result of his "good leadership" (ἐξ εὐηγεσίης, 114) the community thrives; everything grows, the trees are heavy with fruit, the sheep reproduce, and the sea is filled with fish (…φέρῃσι δὲ γαῖα μέλαινα / πυροὺς

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defined by the divine gifts given to him, namely the ability to solve disputes and arbitrate; this quality is not inherent in all men.

[154] Διοτρεφής, in the singular Hom. *Il.* 4.338; 5.463-4; 24.803; *Od.* 4.44; Hes. *Theog.* 992, but often in the plural, Hom. *Il.* 1.176; 2.98, 197; 14.27; *Od.* 3.480; 4.64; 7.49; Hes. *Theog.* 83; *Hom. Hymn to Dionysus* 11.

[155] Zeus himself is the *basileus* of the immortals, cf. Hes. *Theog.* 881-900, 923, *Op.* 668; in the *Cypria*, Zeus is described as '*basileus* of the gods', Ζηνὶ θεῶν βασιλῆϊ (fr.9.3 Bernabé); *Thebaïs* (fr.3.3 Bernabé) Διὶ βασιλῆϊ. Kronos is also a *basileus*, cf. Hes. *Theog.* 478. Zeus himself is the *basileus* of the immortals, cf. Hes. *Theog.* 881-900, 923, *Op.* 668; in the *Cypria*, Zeus is described as '*basileus* of the gods', Ζηνὶ θεῶν βασιλῆϊ (fr.9.3 Bernabé); *Thebaïs* (fr.3.3 Bernabé) Διὶ βασιλῆϊ. Kronos is also a *basileus*, cf. Hes. *Theog.* 478. Mitchell (2013, 8-9) discusses the role of Zeus as *basileus* in Aristophanes' *Wealth*, *Clouds*, and *Birds*.

[156] It is somewhat unique to have a *basileus* described using the adjective θεῖος, "of or from the gods," or "divine," but the use in this instance further demonstrates the close relationship between the *basileus* and the gods. West's commentary (1988, 237) suggests that the use of δίκη here is markedly not Iliadic, meaning something like "custom." The use of the term δίκη, as "justice," therefore, is reserved for specific moments when the term is in fact conveying "justice" in the Hesiodic corpus. Ultimately, both traditions present a *basileus* who is integral to the success of the community and is in a relationship with the gods that is marked consistently in the texts.

[157] See also Hekate siting by the *basileis* who deserve reverence in *dikē* (Hes. *Theog.* 428-34, ἔν τε δίκῃ βασιλεῦσι παρ᾽ αἰδοίοισι καθίζει, 434), this is like the description of the relationship between the *basileus*, muse, and Zeus (Hes. *Theog.* 76-98).

καὶ κριθάς, βρίθῃσι δὲ δένδρεα καρπῷ,/ τίκτῃ δ᾽ ἔμπεδα μῆλα, θάλασσα δὲ παρέχῃ ἰχθῦς, 111-13).[158] In his *Works and Days*, on the other hand, Hesiod (248-64) characterizes "bad" *basileis* as those who do the opposite. He describes how, if the *basileus* does not protect against affronting the gods by lying, using crooked judgements, and enacting violence against others, the entire community will suffer famine, plague, and challenges with reproduction.[159] Hesiod warns the *basileus* to think about *dikē* (Ὦ βασιλῆς, ὑμεῖς δὲ καταφράζεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ / τήνδε δίκην· 248-9) because the gods are watching (…ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐόντες / ἀθάνατοι φράζονται… 249-50) and will punish everyone for 'the recklessness of the *basileis*' (…ὄφρ᾽ ἀποτείσῃ / δῆμος ἀτασθαλίας βασιλέων… 260-1). Just as the *basileus* can be a symbol of community prosperity, his actions can create suffering for the community.

These two aspects of the heroic *basileus*, namely his relationship with the divine and his position in the community, complement one another. For example, in book three of the *Odyssey*, when Telemachos arrives at Pylos, the first location he visits on his journey to learn about Odysseus, he meets Nestor.[160] The people of Pylos are offering sacrifices of black bulls to Poseidon, "the dark-haired earth shaker" (Hom. *Od*. 3.5-8).[161] When Telemachos and Athena (as Mentor) approach Nestor he is described as seated with his sons and the men of Pylos preparing the community feast (*Od*. 3.31-3).[162] In this scene, Nestor and the men of Pylos show Telemachos and Athena proper hospitality, offering them food and drink (*Od.* 3.34-66).[163] They then take part in the prayer, and then Nestor, who speaks "first among them," asks Telemachos

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[158] For a discussion of Odysseus as a 'good *basileus*', see de Jong (2004, 57). Similarly, there is a scene on the shield of Achilles (Hom. *Il.* 18.550-60) that describes a *basileus* standing with his scepter in his hand, joyful in his heart, watching over the agricultural work in his *temenos*. The *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* connects the *basileis* to community agricultural production (*Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 473).

[159] Hesiod uses the adjective δωροφάγοι, "gift-swallowing" to describe the *basileis* three times in the *Works and Days* (39, 221, 264). This adjective has a similar connotation to the adjective δημοβόρος, "people-devourer," used by Achilles to insult Agamemnon (δημοβόρος βασιλεὺς ἐπεὶ οὐτιδανοῖσιν ἀνάσσεις· Hom. *Il*. 1.231). Both describe bad *basileis* in connection to their community. On the topic of "bad" *basileis*, a *basileus* should be gentle in his position of rulership, but there are reasons for the *basileus* to be 'harsh', e.g., Hom. *Od.* 2.224-41; *Od.* 2.231-4= 5.9-12, since Odysseus' household is being abused, he, as the *basileus*, will no longer be gentle, but harsh. See also, Achilles' description of Agamemnon in the *Iliad* as a "rough *basileus*," καὶ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλῆος ἀπηνέος, Hom. *Il*. 1.340. For discussion of this passage, see Verdenius 1985, 138-42.

[160] West (1988, 158) describes the transition from Ithaka to Pylos, from books two to three, as one from "near-anarchy of Ithaka to the pious-well ordered life of Nestor's Pylos, who…knows his obligations and rejoices in fulfilling them," highlighting the example Nestor provides of a "good" *basileus*.

[161] For discussion of the "black bulls," see West 1988, 160.

[162] West (1988, 160) notes that it is significant that Telemachos finds Nestor engaging in an elaborate sacrifice.

[163] This is emphasized in the scene itself, *Od.* 3.69-70. For discussion, see West 1988, 164-5; de Jong 2004, 69-85.

who he is (*Od*. 3.68-74).[164] Nestor's position in this example exemplifies the role of the Homeric *basileus* in his community; a pious leader following proper decorum.[165]

As examples of a traditional framework, what is highlighted is that the *basileus*, ideologically, is responsible for the community, and that his position and authority is connected to the divine, and to Zeus in particular. Additionally, there is room for negotiation: the status of the individual who holds the position *basileus* is stable, yet subject to change in accordance with his relationship to the community (e.g., Telemachos' position as *basileus* is not guaranteed simply because he is the son of Odysseus). In Classical texts, we can see that these principles are an implicit feature of the Spartan *basileia*. The responsibilities and privileges of the *basileis* are defined by the same assumptions, namely that they were responsible for good order, fair judgements, and the prosperity of the community. Whether as successful military generals or as priests overseeing community sacrifices in Sparta or on campaign, the Spartan *basileis* were integral to community safety and the relationship of the community with the gods.[166] At times, the actions, words, and even the physical body of a *basileus* were used as predictors of whether the city of Sparta would fare well or ill; he was a measure of their prosperity.[167] There are examples of individual *basileis* behaving in accordance with these principles in both the Archaic and Classical periods, but contemporary evidence for the Archaic period is sparser.[168]

It is from the poetry of Tyrtaios that we can see a clear engagement with this heroic ideology in seventh-century Sparta. Tyrtaios emphasizes, for example, Theopompos' role in Sparta's initial success against Messenia, giving an early example of how the Spartan *basileus* provided a service to the community in his role as general. In fr.5 West[2], Tyrtaios celebrates Theopompos' role in the Spartan seizure of Messenia:

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[164] For discussion, see de Jong 2004, 72-75.

[165] West 1988, 158-9; de Jong 2004, 72-3. This connection between the religious function of the Homeric *basileis* and the Spartan *basileis* is further discussed in chapter four and five.

[166] The literary history of the Spartan *basileia* is particularly concerned with the military successes and failures of the Spartan *basileis*. Although their power waned in the Classical period, particularly in judicial matters in Sparta, the Spartan *basileis* were considered by Classical authors most absolute in their power as military commanders in the field (cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1285a; Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 13). The concentration of the sources on the military accomplishments and failures of the Spartan *basileis* is further discussed in chapter 4.3.1 "Spartan "Kingship" as Perpetual Generalship," along with their religious responsibilities in chapter 4.4 "Priests and Guardians."

[167] See Millender 2018, this is further discussed in chapter 4.4 "Priests and Guardians."

[168] Compare, for example, the sacrifice of Leonidas I as described by Herodotus (7.220.2-4) for the protection of the *polis*, with negative examples of various Spartan *basileis*: Kleomenes I (Hdt. 6.74-75, 82, 84); Leotychidas II (Hdt. 6.72, 85); Pausanias, the regent and general at Plataea (Thuc. 1.95.1-7, 128.3, 131.2); Pleistoanax (Thuc. 2.21; 5.16.3); Agis II (Thuc. 5.63.4); Pausanias (c. 408-395 BCE, Xen. *Hell*. 3.5.25).

ἡμετέρῳ βασιλῆϊ, θεοῖσι φίλῳ Θεοπόμπῳ,
   ὃν διὰ Μεσσήνην εἵλομεν εὐρύχορον,
Μεσσήνην ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἀροῦν, ἀγαθὸν δὲ φυτεύειν·
   ἀμφ᾽ αὐτὴν δ᾽ ἐμάχοντ᾽ ἐννέα καὶ δέκ᾽ ἔτη
5   νωλεμέως αἰεὶ ταλασίφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες
   αἰχμηταὶ πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες·
εἰκοστῷ δ᾽ οἱ μὲν κατὰ πίονα ἔργα λιπόντες
   φεῦγον Ἰθωμαίων ἐκ μεγάλων ὀρέων.[169]

to our *basileus* Theopompos, dear to the gods,

through whom we seized spacious Messene,

Messene, good to till and good to plant,

over it for nineteen years

5   vehemently, continuously, while holding their spirit steadfast,

the spearmen fathers of our fathers kept fighting,

and in the twentieth year they [the Messenians], after leaving behind their rich

farmsteads, fled from the high mountain range of Ithome.[170]

Owing to the incompleteness of the fragment, we cannot understand the function of the dative (Θεοπόμπῳ). Nevertheless, Theopompos is the antecedent of the relative pronoun ὅν, which is acted on by the preposition διὰ, thus making it clear that Theopompos is the agent through whom Messene was captured. His position as "our *basileus*" (ἡμετέρῳ βασιλῆϊ) is particularized with the phrase "dear to the gods" (θεοῖσι φίλῳ), separating and elevating him from the "we" of εἵλομεν. The ὅν διὰ effectively transfers the credit of the collective's success as described in the subsequent verses to the divinely connected *basileus* who orchestrated the victory. Likewise, in fr.4 West[2], Tyrtaios declares that the audience's obedience to both the *basileis* and the *gerontes* (lit., the elders) will bring about some form of success that will, in turn, bring victory and power for the entire collective (δήμου τε πλήθει νίκην καὶ κάρτος ἕπεσθαι/ Φοῖβος γὰρ περὶ τῶν ὧδ᾽ ἀνέφηνε πόλει, Tyrtaios fr.4. 9-10 West[2]).[171] A similar emphasis on the leaders of the army is in fr.19 West[2], where Tyrtaios describes a contemporary and/or past mythological conflict stating, "we will obey the…of (our) leader(s)" (πεισόμεθ᾽ ἡγεμ), preceded by an emphasis on the gods

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[169] Tyrtaios fr.5 West[2] = fr.2, 3, 4 Gentili-Prato. West (1989-1992, 172) and Gerber (1999, 44) print fragment 5 as one whole, whereas Gentili-Prato (1988, 22-3) and Prato (1968, 25-6) print them as three separate fragments. The first 2 lines are quoted in Paus. 4.6.5, the third in Schol. Pl. *Leg*. 629a, and the fourth to eighth in Strabo 6.3.3.
[170] This translation is my own in consultation with Gerber 1999.
[171] van Wees 2009, 6-14.

(δ᾽ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖς ἐπὶ πάντα) and followed by an emphasis on the actions of the collective (ἀλλ᾽ εὐθὺς σύμπαντες ἀλοιησεῦμεν).[172] All three examples highlight the *basileus* as a source of communal prosperity through military victory.

In these examples, there is a clear emphasis on the relationship between the Spartan *basileis* and the gods. This emphasis echoes the examples above of *basileis* in the Homeric and Hesiodic tradition, who are likewise characterized by their relationship to the gods, to Zeus in particular. For example, Agamemnon's position and authority is linked to the scepter he bears, originally given (δῶκε) to his ancestor, Pelops, by Zeus (Hom. *Il*. 2. 100-8).[173] Consider also Antinoös' wish that Zeus not make Telemachos the leading *basileus* on Ithaka in Odysseus' place, to which Telemachos replies that he would happily accept the role if Zeus would give it (καὶ κεν τοῦτ᾽ ἐθέλοιμι Διός γε διδόντος ἀρέσθαι, Hom. *Od*. 1.390).[174] Similarly, following Antinoös' death, Eurymachos pleads with Odysseus not to continue the slaughter (Hom. *Od*. 22.44-59). He states that it was Antinoös who wished to become *basileus* but that, ultimately, it was not something accomplished for him by Zeus, the son of Kronos (…τά οἱ οὐκ ἐτέλεσσε Κρονίων, 22.51). In all three examples, the position of a *basileus* is described as somehow granted by Zeus, whether through an object like the scepter or by divine approval.[175]

Tyrtaios states that Zeus has given (δέδωκε) Sparta to the Herakleidai (αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων] καλλιστεφάνου [πόσις Ἥρης / Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις] ἄστυ δέδωκε τό|δε, fr.2. 11-12 West[2]). Although neither Zeus nor the Herakleidai are in the extant fragment, they are mentioned in, in Strabo's *Geography* (8.4.10), which is conventionally used to complete lines 12-15 of the papyrus.[176] Additionally, these lines are confidently restored by commentators from the

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[172] Gerber (1999, 67) translates πεισόμεθ᾽ ἡγεμ/, cautiously as "we will obey the…of (our) leader(s)," which I think is the best way to preserve the ambiguity of this fragmentary line.

[173] For a discussion of the role of Zeus in this scene in relation to the 'kingship', see Kirk 1985, 126-7.

[174] Hom. *Od.* 1.384-7: for discussion of this passage with respect to Telemachos' position in Ithaka, see West 1988, 122-3.

[175] Mitchell 2013, 34-1; van Wees 2009, 23-4. In the Homeric tradition, the noun-adjective pairing of *basileus* and scepter-bearing is common, but there is no indication that the Spartan *basileis* had a physical item such as a scepter to mark their authority and their connection with Zeus. The myth of the return of the Herakleidai, in its capacity to symbolize the divine approval of the *basileia*, might act as such a physical item in local Spartan memory, and the role of the *basileis* in Spartan religion/cult could serve as a reminder to the audience of this ancient position.

[176] This is further discussed in chapter three.

context.[177] The formulation of the giving echoes that of Zeus giving glory and renown to the scepter-bearing *basileis* in the Homeric tradition (i.e., σκηπτοῦχος βασιλεύς, ᾧ τε Ζεὺς κῦδος ἔδωκεν, Hom. *Il.* 1.279).[178] Additionally, in the *Iliad* (2.196-7), Odysseus states that Zeus-nourished (διοτρεφέων) *basileis* derive their *timē* from Zeus (τιμὴ δ᾽ ἐκ Διός ἐστι, 197), and that Zeus loves him (φιλεῖ δέ ἑ μητίετα Ζεύς, 197).[179] In Tyrtaios' verses, the Spartan *basileis* are described as being θεοτίμητοι, "honoured by the gods" (fr. 4.3 West[2]), and θεοῖσι φίλος/θεοῖσι φίλ "dear to the gods" (fr. 5.1 of Theopompos, 2.9 West[2] of the Herakleidai). If we understand fr.2 West[2] to be referring to the *basileis*, as I and most scholars do, then here as well the *basileis* are described as "nearer the *genos*" of the gods (fr.2.11 West[2]). The position and legitimacy of the Spartan *basileis*, therefore, originates from a gift of Zeus, and such an origin finds a parallel in the origin of the legitimacy of several heroic *basileis* in early Greek epic. Furthermore, Hesiod's statement that the *basileis* are literally from Zeus (ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες, *Theog.* 96) encapsulates, in a rather laconic way, the ontological relationship between the two.[180] It is Zeus himself, in the Hesiodic poems and in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, who is the *basileus* of the gods.[181] Therefore, the relationship between Zeus and the Spartan *basileis* was likely derived from the traditional framework found in the Homeric and Hesiodic traditions.

1.7 Overview of the Chapters

In chapter two, I outline the historical background of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* beginning in the eighth century to provide the necessary historical context in which Tyrtaios' famous poem was composed. I explore the so-called "civil strife crisis" identified by van Wees from the perspective that elites and their community were connected and impacted one another. Although the evidence is limited, I utilize archaeological surveys and disparate mentions in lyric poetry of civil strife to argue that certain land-use patterns contributed to economic disparity, creating

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[177] Following the publication of *POxy*. 38 2824 in 1971, editions privilege the papyrus reading and place any divergences in Strabo's text in the *apparatus criticus*; cf. West 1989-1992, 170; Gerber 1999, 38. The content of the fragment is closely analyzed in chapter three.

[178] Hom. *Il.* 2.98-108; 216; 8.216 ὅτε οἱ Ζεὺς κῦδος ἔδωκε. Van Wees (2009, 23-4) argues that "*Eunomia's* description of Spartan government, in fact, has a distinctly Homeric ring to it," since the *basileis* owe their authority to Zeus, "who raises them and gives them their sceptres."

[179] For discussion, see Kirk 1985, 135-6.

[180] This line is repeated in the *Homeric Hymn to the Muses and Apollo*, ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες, 25.4: see also West 1966, 186-7.

[181] *Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 358; Hes. *Theog.* 881-900, 923, *Op.* 668; *Cypria* fr.9 Bernabé; *Thebaïs* fr.3 Bernabé. Kronos is also a *basileus*, Hes. *Theog.* 478.

inequality especially with respect to landownership. This conclusion is based on an evaluation of the contemporary literary sources in relation to the environmental context and the archaeological material.

In chapter three, I demonstrate that the orthodox interpretation of Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] is incongruent with the newly established historical context of seventh-century Sparta. I argue that previous interpretations, which rely on the orthodox understanding of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* as a response to an external challenge (i.e., the Messenian Wars), have misunderstood the myth's function by interpreting it as expressing the same sentiment as found in late-Classical authors such as Aristotle and Isokrates. I untangle the transmission history of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai to conclude that many of the details that are emphasized in late-Classical texts, were likely not available in the seventh century for Tyrtaios to draw on. I specifically address Malkin's argument that the myth of the return of the Herakleidai in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] functions like a foundation oracle given to the Herakleidai by Zeus in place of Apollo. I challenge the interpretation that understands the myth of the return of the Herakleidai as a response to an external, military challenge, and interprets the act of Zeus giving Sparta to the Herakleidai as equal to Apollo approving the foundation of a colony by an *oikistes* via the Delphic oracle. I argue that the myth ought to be understood as a means to legitimize the Spartan *basileia* as a part of a process of institutionalization within Sparta's socio-political sphere.

In chapter four, I focus on the act of Zeus giving the city of Sparta to the Herakleidai as described in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] (12-13). Having established that Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] responds to an internal challenge wherein issues of landownership and wealth inequality were fueling civil strife, I focus on the combination of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai and the Dorian migration story in this context. Since the Spartan *basileia* is a stable political entity only in as much as it can continuously maintain acceptance by the community, it requires firm grounding in Spartan collective memory. The agential role of Zeus in giving Sparta to the Herakleidai in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] highlights three important aspects of Spartan *basileia*: the divine connection between the Spartan *basileis* and the gods; the unique ancestry of the *basileis* in comparison to Dorian Spartans; and the invented continuity between the Spartan *basileis* and Greek epic models. Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2], therefore, highlights the Spartan *basileia* as an integral and

traditional feature of Sparta and connects the origin of the Spartan *basileia* to the very origin of the Spartan community.

In chapter five, I consider another example of Spartan lyric poetry, Alkman's *Partheneion* (c. 600 BCE) to showcase the fact that the Spartan *basileia* was successfully integrated, ideologically, into the socio-cultural and religious fabric of the Spartan community, which I have argued was the intention behind the combination of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] and the Dorian migration story. In this chapter I argue that Alkman's *Partheneion* presented to its audience a prescribed social order for the marriage of young women in a manner that implicitly called upon the audience to uphold proper unions as embodied for them by the Spartan *basileis*. The poem first established a connection between the audience and the performers through a sense of a shared past and collective ritual practice, much like Tyrtaios achieves with the myth of the return of the Herkaleidai in fr.2 West[2]. Second, the poem presented a piece of local, shared history to influence contemporary behaviour regarding marriage. Third, the *Partheneion* utilized *gnomai* to punctuate the importance of following prescribed social norms and values, emphasizing the divine origin of the *basileis* and their relation to the larger Spartan social order. The roles of Agido and Hagesichora and the Tyndaridai invite the audience to look to the Spartan *basileis* as an example of proper behaviour and as protectors of their social order. The hierarchical relationships constructed in the poem and the persistent theme of pairs helps direct the audiences' attention to the Spartan *basileia*.

I conclude by arguing that, as a case study of legitimization efforts in early Spartan lyric poetry, this dissertation shows that from our limited evidence for the seventh century we can say, tentatively, that the Spartan *basileia* was in part maintained because it was considered by the community of Sparta foundational and integral for Sparta's continued prosperity. The connection between the community's well being, the *basileia*, and the origins of the *polis*, was a feature of the Spartan *basileia* that was likely institutionalized in part by Tyrtaios' combination of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai and the Dorian migration story. The evidence suggests that the Spartan *basileia* was maintained because of its integration into the political, social, economic, and ritual life of Spartans rather than merely on account of the military position of the *basileis*. I show this in chapter 5 with the example of Alkman's *Partheneion*. This conclusion is made possible only when the Spartan *basileia* is understood as being institutionalized in response to

and in concert with the diverse and dynamic community of Sparta and its changing environment, in the seventh century BCE.

Chapter 2: the Historical Context of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*

To better understand the Spartan *basileia* in the context of the seventh century without concentrating on elites as the central actors in Sparta, I consider more closely the emergence of the Spartan *basileia* in relation to the ongoing development of the Spartan community itself. In this approach, I follow the recommendation of Étienne, who argues that to write histories of the seventh century, one must consider closely the interaction between "the formation of the city, common cults, sacred architecture, and the creation of original mythology."[182] He asserts that "it is possible to write histories of the seventh century… [with a] firm commitment to understanding how each individual community followed its own pace and responded differently to change within itself."[183] Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* provides an excellent case study for such an investigation because it contains, despite its fragmentary state, evidence for the creation of an original Spartan mythology anchored in both common cult and the formation of the *polis*, which is embedded in the local history and physical space of the Eurotas Valley. This chapter explores the connection between the emergence of the Spartan *basileia*, the development of the Eurotas Valley, and the "seventh-century civil strife crisis" as set out by van Wees to construct a contemporary context for Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* that takes into account both the environment and the socio-political context.[184] This chapter first constructs the origin of the Spartan *basileia* in conjunction with the development of the region of Lakonia and second, challenges the orthodox narrative of Sparta's development to demonstrate that Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] was written in response to an internal challenge rather than an external threat. This means that I directly contribute to the scholarly trend that challenges the orthodox narrative of archaic Sparta's development. In particular, I challenge the popular conception in the discipline of Classics broadly that archaic Sparta can be constructed around the reforms of Lykourgos, the legendary Spartan lawgiver, and propose a contemporary historical context for Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* based on the most recent archaeological data in conjunction with an economic approach to the seventh-century crisis. I do this in the last section of this chapter, entitled "the Seventh Century 'Civil Strife Crisis,'" by addressing the

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[182] Étienne 2017, 13-14.

[183] Étienne 2017, 13-14; see also Whitley 2010 writing on Crete, and Morgan 2003 writing on the concept and development of *ethnē*.

[184] Van Wees 2009.

manipulation of Archaic sources in both late-Classical and post-Classical texts so as to accommodate the invented tradition surrounding Lykourgos and his Great Rhetra.

In an attempt to grapple with the challenges posed by teleological inquiries of Archaic Greek history and the development of the Spartan *basileia*, I have done my best to consider what the Spartan *basileia* is in the seventh century without attempting to figure out how it will become the Spartan *basileia* of the Classical period as described by Herodotus (6.52-60). This means that I am not examining the position of the Spartan *basileia* as described in Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* as a pre-cursor to the Classical Spartan *basileia*. Instead, I consider the Spartan *basileia* of the seventh century as a form of Archaic Greek political leadership and Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* as representative of a moment in the institutionalization process of the Spartan *basileia* in the seventh century. By investigating the Spartan *basileia* from this perspective, I am suggesting that, as an institution, it was not a stable political office in the seventh century even though it is generally assumed to be because of the orthodox narrative concerning Lykourgan Archaic Sparta.[185] In contrast to the broader orthodox narrative, I recognize the Spartan *basileia* as a relatively newly formed political entity that would be subject to the same uncertainty and vulnerability as any position of power or leadership in the Archaic period. I examine the legitimization tactics in Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* in relation to a traditional framework of rulership accessible in early Greek epic (as described in chapter one).[186] I argue that Tyrtaios' poem *Eunomia* represents a moment in a continuous process of institutionalization and provides a window into the negotiation process between the community and the Spartan *basileia* as a political entity. Institutionalization can be seen in the archaeological record through the establishment of an *agora* and the construction of temples with connecting pathways or roads.[187] These features are discussed in detail below.

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[185] See, Oliva 1971, 123-31; Richer 1998; Kennell 2010, 102-9. See Millender (2018, 461-2) for further bibliography.

[186] See chapter 1.6 "Early Greek Epic as *Exempla*."

[187] Zeller 2022 48. See also Berger and Luckmann 1969; Burns and Dietz 1995; Hölkeskamp 2003, 2004; Jessen 2014; Seenlentag 2014.

2.1 The Origins of the Spartan *Basileia*

"Although scholars have posited a number of theories on the origins of this double kingship, the dearth of evidence on pre-archaic-age Sparta precludes any firm conclusions."[188] Tyrtaios and Alkman's poetry contain the earliest references and allusions to Spartan customs, institutions, and the Spartan *basileia*. Both authors present the Spartan *basileia* as a necessary or secure part of the socio-political hierarchy of seventh-century Sparta. Because of this, there is little we can concretely say about how and when the dyarchy itself emerged. Furthermore, where the dyarchy was concerned, the Spartans were collectively invested in preserving an image of the Spartan *basileia* that emphasized their legitimacy and continuity.[189] For example, Millender discusses the importance of preserving an image of the Spartan *basileia* as a hereditary position that was inherited strictly and exclusively by the eldest, living son of the previous *basileus* from both the Eurypontid and Agiad families emphasizing vertical inheritance from Herakles to Nabis.[190] Cartledge has closely considered this historical quandary, proposing a *terminus ante quem* for the Spartan *basileia* of the second quarter of the eighth century (c.775-760 BCE).[191] This date is widely accepted.[192] Cartledge proposed that this conclusion was the most historically plausible of the theories put forth by other scholars as summarized by Oliva.[193] Cartledge critically evaluates the contents of the Spartan king lists (Hdt. 7.204, 8.131.2; Paus. 3.1-8, 3.2.1-7 7.1-10) and the various stories surrounding the return of the Herakleidai, which I discuss in chapters three and four.[194] The date, c.775-760 BCE, is an estimation for the joint reign of Charillos, a member of the Eurypontid family, and Archelaos, an Agiad. Cartledge argues that Charillos and Archelaos are the first *basileis* because they are the first leaders to undertake "joint action" and are not simply listed together, therefore, but are linked by the "coincidence of reign" as first noted by Jeffrey.[195] The joint action in question is the supposed conquest of Aigys in north-western Lakonia, which is said to have been approved by the Delphic oracle, who addressed the *basileis*

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[188] Millender 2018, 453.

[189] The Spartans were, of course, an equal partner along with non-Spartan authors in the construction of what we now call the Spartan Mirage. For discussion and bibliography, see Hodkinson (2018) and Powell (2018).

[190] Millender 2018, 457, 470.

[191] Cartledge 1987, 100-3; 2001, 28; 2002, 88-9. See also Oliva 1971, 23-8; Jeffrey 1976, 114.

[192] See Millender (2018, 455) for relevant bibliography and the widely accepted opinion on this matter.

[193] Oliva 1971, 23-8.

[194] Cartledge 2001, 28; 2002, 89-92 and appendix 3, 293-8.

[195] Cartledge 2001, 28; 2002, 89; Jeffrey (1976, 114) first suggested that the dyarchs prior to Charillos and Archelaos are little known beyond simply appearing in a list as reigning together.

jointly.[196] Furthermore, Cartledge argues that the reign of Charillos and Archelaos marked the origin of the dyarchy because the majority of the names of the Eurypontid *basileis* prior to Charillos (i.e., Eunomos, Prytanis, Soos) are spurious, representative of concepts and offices, whereas the names of the Agiads (i.e., Labotas, Agis I) are not so suspicious.[197]

Eurypontid Family Line in Herodotus after Aristodemos (8.131.2)	Eurypontid Family Line in Pausanias after Aristodemos (3.2.1-7; 3.1-8; 7.1-10)
Prokles	Prokles
Euryp(h)on	Soos
Prytanis	Eurypon
Polydektes	Prytanis
'Eunomos'	'Eunomos'
Charillos	Polydektes
Nikandros	Charillos
Theopompos	Nikandros
Anaxandridas I	Theopompos
Archidamos I	Zeuxidamos
Anaxilaos	Anaxidamos
Latychidas I (Leotychidas)	Archidamos I
Hippokratidas	Agasikles
Agesilaos (Hegesilaos)	Ariston
Menares	Damaratos
Latychidas II (Leotychidas)	Latychidas II (Leotychidas)

Table 1: The Eurypontid Family Line after Aristodemos in Herodotus and Pausanias

The Eurypontid line of succession is marked by the fact that the list varies substantially between the accounts of Herodotus and Pausanias. This variation is in contrast to the lists of the Agiad line, which are consistent between the two texts (Hdt. 7.204; Paus. 3.2.1-3.3.9). According to the king lists in Herodotus (6.52; 7.204; 8.131.2), the dyarchy began with Prokles and Eurysthenes, twin sons of Aristodamos, who himself was a great-grandson of Herakles. The

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[196] Cartledge 2002, 89; Oenom. ap. Eus. *PE*. 5. 32; Parke and Wormell 1956, 213 no.539. Charillos and Archelaos are credited for the taking of Aigys by Pausanias (2.3.5). For a temple of Apollo Kereatis in Aigys, see Paus. 8.37.4.
[197] Cartledge 2002, 89-92, 293-8; 2001, 103; Kennell 2010, 94-5; Millender 2018, 455.

Eurypontid line continued from Prokles to Euryphon, to Prytanis, to Polydektes, to Eunomos, to Charillos. In Pausanias' account (3.1-8, 3.2.1-7 7.1-10), however, the Eurypontid line went from Prokles to Soos, to Euryphon, to Prytanis, to Eunomos, to Polydektes, to Charillos (see table 1). The list of *basileis* who reigned after Charillos also differs from Herodotus to Pausanias. Pausanias, for example, excludes Anaxandrias I and Anaxilaos (Hdt. 8.131.2), replacing them with Zeuxidamos and Anaxidamos (Paus. 3.7.6). Additionally, Pausanias omits Leotychidas I, who certainly was a *basileus*, and Hippokratidas who follows Leotychidas I (Hdt. 8.131.2).[198] These variations lead Cartledge to conclude that the lists themselves are selective constructions. Nafissi, for example, demonstrates that the Eurypontid list in Herodotus is impacted by the invented tradition of Lykourgos (which is discussed in detail below), Sparta's legendary lawgiver; a further example of how flexible these traditions could be. A notable fact of these families is that their eponymous figures are not Prokles and Eurysthenes, the progenitors of the dyarchy according to certain mythical accounts (e.g., Hdt. 6.52), but Agis I and Euryphon, their supposed successors.[199]

Cartledge suggests that the Agiads were "royal" before the Eurypontids, in part because of the insecurity of the Eurypontid king lists.[200] This conclusion is certainly a possibility given the version of the origin of the dyarchy as described by Herodotus (6.52), in which the Delphic oracle instructs the Spartans to favor the eldest of the twins of Aristodemos, Eurysthenes, whom they discern to be the Agiad progenitor rather than his brother Prokles. Cartledge argues that Herodotus' story "suggests that they [the Agiads] had been in some sense royal before the Eurypontids, perhaps indeed as early as the second half of the tenth century, when Sparta may have been settled by Dorians."[201] Herein, however, lies another difficulty in attempting to explore the origin of the dyarchy, namely that the Spartans of the late-Archaic and Classical periods thought that the dyarchy was the result of the return of the Herakleidai. The fact that ancient sources present the dyarchy as the result of the return of the Herakleidai presents a challenge to historians in attempting to separate myth, invented tradition, and historical fact.

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[198] Cartledge 2002, 296-7. For a stemma, see Millender 2018, 456.
[199] Nafissi 2018, 95-106.
[200] Cartledge 2002, 90.
[201] Cartledge 2002, 90. For Cartledge's position on the Dorian Invasion see, 2002, 65-87, especially 79-81.

The return of the Herakleidai refers to a collection of stories concerning the return of the son, grandsons, and great-grandsons of Herakles to the Peloponnese. The Spartans reportedly believed that this collection of events occurred after Herakles' descendants had been banished by Eurystheus, the ruler of Argos, following Herakles' death. According to this tradition, the descendants of Herakles had the right to rule in three regions in the Peloponnese: the Argolid, Messenia, and Lakonia, each of which was assigned, in some form, by lot, to one of the descendants. For Lakonia, rulership was given to Aristodemos' twin sons, Eurysthenes and Prokles, or, according to Herodotus (Hdt. 6.52; Xen. *Ages.* 8.7), the Lakedaimonians say that Aristodemos himself ruled Sparta following the return, but then died shortly after his twins were born. Either way, according to this myth, the dyarchy emerged simply because Aristodemos had twins.

When we consider the Spartan king lists, however, we get a much more complicated picture. If the Agiads were the ruling family prior to the advent of the dyarchy, how did rulership in Sparta go from one *basileus* to two? Cartledge indicates that out of several suggested hypotheses, the merging of the four villages of Sparta, namely Pitana, Kynosoura, Limnai, and Mesoa, is the likely impetus for the change in rulership.[202] According to this theory, when the four villages came together, there were two communities, Limnai and Pitana, with leading families, the Eurypontids and the Agiads, who were important in their respective village, perhaps even two villages.[203] They were likely recognized for their ability to lead, to acquire goods and land, to procure necessities for feasts, to bring in raw materials for the fabrication of objects, and/or to arbitrate disputes in the community.[204] When the communities came together, perhaps it was decided that these two families would remain influential and share responsibilities, thus forming the Spartan *basileia*. This is conjectural. It is, however, grounded in the putative model of the development of the *basileus* as an office in the Early Iron Age and the development of the region of Sparta between the ninth and eighth century to which I now turn in detail.

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[202] Cartledge 2002, 90. Although the amalgamation of these villages was similar to a typical *synoikism*, some scholars hesitate to call it one, preferring to think of it as an "incomplete" *synoikism*, see Cartledge 2001, 9-20, 2002, 88-93; Toynbee 1969, 171-4; Moggi 1976, n.6 (with substantial bibliography).

[203] Based on Pausanias, which states that the family tombs were situated to the south [Eurypontid: Paus. 3.12.8] and northwest [Agiads: Paus. 3.14.2] of Sparta, scholars have suggested that the Eurypontids and Agiads exercised control/influence in these initial regions, which then grew. These tombs, however, have not yet been found.

[204] i.e., Ainain 2006; Antonaccio 2006; Morgan 2006.

2.2 The Development of the Eurotas Valley

We cannot create a reliable picture of the development of the Spartan *basileia* and the political organization of the Eurotas Valley based on literary evidence alone. It is imperative to consider the archaeological data provided from excavated sites and survey projects to construct as complete a picture as possible of the development of the region. The political identity of a community is not simply constructed by the actions and initiatives of aristocrats and/or elites:

> More usually, the political identity of a community was formed from a complex of associations, including a relationship to a leader, a residential centre (usually a *polis*), and one or more *ethnē*, all of which could potentially acquire political salience to the point where they might sustain a tier of government.[205]

It is crucial to consider how the entire community developed in concert with the Spartan *basileia*. Contextualizing Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] begins by outlining the socio-political and cultural development of Sparta in the eighth century, after the *synoikismos*, when the dyarchy most likely began.

The eighth century was an important period for Sparta. Sparta consolidated its control over Lakonia and achieved enough internal security to begin a process of expansion toward the Argolid and Messenia. What I aim to illustrate in this section is the important relationship between the development of Sparta in Lakonia and the development of the Spartan dyarchy. The institutionalization of the dyarchy is the result of the region's growth. Our understanding of the eighth century is, however, limited by the available evidence. There is no contemporary Spartan literature, and archaeological finds come from select sites, primarily sanctuaries and key votive deposits (i.e., Orthia, the Menelaion, the acropolis, and the Amyklaion) that makes it difficult to generalize about the entire region. There are, however, extensive survey projects such as the Laconia Survey and the Laconia Rural Sites Project that provide evidence for settlement distribution and the use of land diachronically. Votive deposits at popular ritual sites, such as Orthia, indicate popular cult practices. Furthermore, the identification of new constructions and reconstructions at sacred sites allows us to better understand which sites were important to communal ritual life and at what time. Broadly speaking, the evolution of ceramic styles and

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[205] Morgan 2006, 234.

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figurines helps us understand artistic influences in the region and can assist us in identifying socio-cultural shifts.

Although we are limited by the lack of written documentation and comprehensive archaeological evidence, what we can see is that the Eurotas Valley in the eighth century developed similarly to communities elsewhere in the Peloponnese (like Argos) with an established communal life that included competing families and a governing hierarchy. It is helpful to compare the development of these communities because the archaeological record for Lakonia is fragmentary, but the evidence for Korinth and Argos is somewhat clearer. These sites have a number of common features: a settlement distribution demonstrating that the land is being owned or managed by a relatively small portion of the population; grave goods that hint at a prosperous and competitive elite; evidence of communal activity through the construction, reconstruction, and connection of communal cult sites; a pronounced interest in the past as demonstrated by dedications at Bronze Age sites; the rise of hero cult as a venue for families competing for influence; aggressive expansion, which implies organization and a certain degree of internal stability; and dedications at local and Pan-Hellenic sites such as Olympia that would be considered out of the ordinary.[206] These elements are suggestive of a competitive elite, and the development of the Eurotas Valley, as I discuss below, indicates that competition in Lakonia likely involved the control of land through a system of ownership that we can only glean from survey results and theoretical models. Each region in Lakonia develops uniquely according to its individual circumstances (e.g., access to arable land, population growth, military success or failure, relations with one's neighbours, etc.). It is critical to explore the evidence available for the development of the Eurotas Valley within this broader Peloponnesian context.

In Lakonia, already by the tenth century BCE, the area around the Eurotas Valley, where Sparta will be, and Amyklai, a settlement roughly 5km south of Sparta, show evidence of a blossoming community. There are archaeological remains such as ceramics that demonstrate the development of a community. In addition to these two sites, the future perioikic sites of Geronthrai, Pellana, Kardamyle, Kyparissia, and perhaps Gytheion (which would later become the major port site of Sparta) show signs of settlement (see fig. 3 below). By the eighth century, rural sites, such as Anthochorion, Apidia, Asteri-Karaousi, Daimonia, Peristeria and Pavlopetri,

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[206] Morgan 2006; Étienne 2017.

were under development. This development is indicative of where settlement began or continued following the collapse of the Mycenaean administration in the LH IIIC period (c.1200-1050BCE).[207] The presence of Lakonian Proto-Geometric pottery perhaps suggests that there was some level of cultural homogeneity across these settlements and indicates that the same techniques, ornamentation, and shapes were used in multiple locals around Lakonia. Lakonian Proto-Geometric pottery has been found at eight sites: Sparta and Amyklai in the Eurotas Valley; Anthochorion (west of the Eurotas) and Apidia (east of the Eurotas, in the western part of the Parnon foreland) in the Helos plain; Karaousi, Chasanaga and Daimonia along the east coast of the Lakonian gulf (Malea peninsula); and Mavrovouni at the mouth of the Lakonian gulf on the western side of the peninsula (see fig.3 below).[208] These sites are geographically significant because they have access to water and localized arable land. Small finds of Lakonian Proto-Geometric wares have been found also in Tegea, Kaphirio and Hellenika (ancient Thouria) in south-eastern Messenia, and at the Argive Heraion in the Argolid, suggesting that there was some communication outside of the southern Peloponnese.[209]

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[207] Cavanagh 2018, 62.
[208] Cartledge 2002, 67.
[209] Cavanagh 2018, 63-5; Cartledge 2002, 65-87.

Figure 3: The Territory of Ancient Sparta, (CC-BY-SA-4.0, Author: Marsyas) with additions by myself after consultation of Cartledge 2001.

By 775 BCE, our *terminus ante quem* for the creation of the Spartan *basileia*, Spartan influence had expanded from the Taygetos to the Parnon mountains in the north, including border regions such as Sellasia and Pellana in addition to settlements in Malae, such as Hyperteleaton and Volimnos, and the site of Artemis Limnatis on the ancient border with Messenia (see fig.3 above).[210] Cavanagh characterizes the development before this point as a period of "anarchy and disruption," but by the end of the ninth century, an identifiable network of settled communities was established in Lakonia, much like other settlements in surrounding regions, such as Messenia, Elis, Achaia, and Arkanania.[211] This development indicates that, at

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[210] Cartledge 2002, 85-6.
[211] Cavanagh 2018, 62 (*contra* Cartledge 2002, 65–87); Eder 1998. For sceptical views on the Dorian invasion's impact, see Nafissi 2009 118–19; Luraghi 2008, 46–67. See also Cavanagh 2018, 62; Coulson 1985; 1986

the end of the ninth century, Sparta was developing much like other regions in the Peloponnese. In contrast, Lakonian Proto-Geometric pottery is limited to a select number of sites relatively close in proximity and isolated in style from Argos and Korinth. It was not until the eighth century (c.750 BCE) that a style comparable to Late Geometric emerged in Lakonia with clear influences from both Argos and Korinth and a much more widespread distribution. The evidence is indicative of Sparta's relative isolation in the tenth and ninth centuries, a period of "anarchy and disruption," before it emerged as a network of more settled, nucleated communities with Sparta at the centre.[212]

Uniquely, in Lakonia, neither archaeological surveys nor excavations demonstrate a densely populated landscape that would result in the type of land hunger we see elsewhere in Greece. This type of land hunger, resulting from rapid population growth, is often considered the impetus for expansion or colonization in the grand narratives of the Archaic period.[213] The absence of this issue begs the question of why the Spartans expanded, most famously into Messenia, when they did not appear to be suffering from land scarcity.[214] Whereas Cartledge suggests a number of contributing factors for this expansion, including relative overpopulation, Cavanagh argues that archaeological surveys show an amalgamation of available, arable land under the control of a few powerful families.[215] He argues that Sparta's desire for land in Messenia was the result of "engrossment [of land] by aristocratic families of large estates, which were not intensively farmed, but equally were not made available for free subsistence farmers."[216] In other words, the land could have potentially supported population growth, but it did not because the arable land was not evenly distributed and used. Cavanagh asserts that political rivalries amongst the landowning elites could be an impetus for the movement of

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(including the Ionian islands). Although our evidence for understanding the ethnic diversity of the region is sparse, the archaeological data represents the development of a cohesive Lakonian style shared throughout the region, including Messenia, in the Archaic period (Prost 2018). The spread of Dorianism throughout the region follows a similar pattern (Hall 1997; 2014b).

[212] Pipili 2018, 124-5.

[213] For scholarship on colonization, including shifting perspectives on the impetus for colonization with respect to the grand-narrative approach, see Bintliff 2022; Scharff 2022; Anderson 2005; Osborne 1998; Crielaard 1996.

[214] For a discussion of the conquest of Messenia by Sparta and the institution of helotage, see Figueira 2018, 567-71; Cartledge 2002, 97-103. The so-called Messenian Wars are discussed in further detail in chapter 3.1.2 "Recontextualizing Tyrtaios fr.2 West²", helotage is addressed further below.

[215] Cartledge 2002, 97-103; Cavanagh 2018, 65. Cavanagh's approach is congruent with Bintliff's conclusion (2022, 30-1) that archaeological surveys throughout the Aegean demonstrate that the "carrying capacity" of the available arable land was not exceeded by the population density.

[216] Cavanagh 2018, 65-9.

peoples just as much as overpopulation could cause population movement.[217] Both Cavanagh and Cartledge reference the movement of peoples to Asine, the colonization of Taras in the late-eighth century, and the eventual occupation of Messenia as examples of population movement with respect to Sparta. Additionally, colonization was an element of competition between elite families in individual cities as types of heroic exploits demonstrative of their *aretē* and was likely the result of an increase in trade.[218] Regardless of the reason for movements of peoples out of Lakonia and for the conquest of Messenia, the archaeological record indicates that land in the Eurotas Valley was being controlled by a minority of the population.

The presence of nucleated settlements, without small farmsteads nearby, shows a pattern of landownership in the Spartan countryside that supports the hypothesis that wealthy Spartan families in the seventh century controlled the land. The pattern of landownership helps explain why, even though the hypothesis that there was overpopulation at the time is not supported by archaeological survey reports, the Spartans experienced land hunger and expanded into Messenia. The Spartans would have had to expand if the competing elite were not willing to give up land or submit to a redistribution of land.[219] There was a shift, however, in the sixth century, to a dense network of small, somewhat isolated farmsteads and hamlets in Lakonia, indicating a change in the distribution of land.[220] This change aligns with the development of a new citizenship system that was created as a response to the civil strife of the seventh century (to be discussed below) and is suggestive of a more equitable distribution of land among the citizen population of Sparta.[221] The varying size and prosperity of these scattered farmsteads demonstrates that the status of those who owned and worked the land varied. The evidence contradicts the orthodox view that all Spartans, post-Lykourgan reform, owned an equal *kleros* (e.g., Plut. *Lyc*. 8). This theory underpins the misguided perception that Sparta was egalitarian with respect to landownership.[222] There is no archaeological evidence to support the hypothesis that land was divided into equal *kleroi*.[223] Furthermore, the various regions controlled by Sparta had different settlement patterns. Central Lakonia, which comprised the Spartan countryside

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[217] Cavanagh 2018, 68-9; for political rivalries as a source of population movement, see Malkin 1994; 2009.
[218] Bintliff 2022, 30-2; Clay, Malkin, and Tzifopoulos 2017; Donnellaan, Nizzo, and Burgers 2016; Mitchell 2013, 73-80; Crielaard 1996.
[219] Cavanagh 2018, 65; Figueira 2018, 569-70.
[220] Cavanagh 2018, 70-2.
[221] Hodkinson 2000.
[222] For further discussion, see Davies 2018, 480-99; van Wees 2018, 202-68; Hodkinson 2000.
[223] For the most cited and elaborated discussion of this, see Hodkinson 2000.

including Boia in the southeast and the Mani peninsula, initially had large estates owned by few families and subsequently had dense networks of small farmsteads and hamlets in the sixth century BCE.[224] On the other hand, the Helos plain and Messenia (once under Spartan control in the eighth century), had a nucleated centre with habitation spread throughout the region.[225]

The variation in settlement patterns demonstrates that the land was owned and managed differently based on the region. Central Lakonia was first owned by wealthy Spartan families and was then distributed somehow among the citizens. The Helos plain and Messenia were worked by helots, the forced labour system of Sparta. The creation of nucleated centres in the Helos plain and Messenia implies that there was agricultural exploitation of the countryside.[226] This pattern can be contrasted with the way the land in central Lakonia was underutilized in the eighth and seventh centuries.[227] The helots in Messenia seem to have lived in small village communities rather than isolated farmsteads (as in the Central Lakonia), which is unique and stands in stark contrast to the way land was divided in the Spartan basin. There was an important difference between the two, namely that Messenian land served a particular agricultural purpose (with some form of operational stability with respect to ownership), whereas land in the Spartan basin was neither solely used for agricultural production nor completely uncultivated.[228] The land in the Spartan basin is more likely to have been involved in elite competition and political tension given the historical development of Lakonia, namely that the region was solidified before expansion into Messenia and northern Lakonia.[229] I return to the implications of this distribution below when I explore the civil strife in the seventh century.

Thus far I have focused on what the settlement systems in Lakonia and Messenia can tell us about how the land was distributed and utilized. I argued that the patterns were indicative of a disparity of ownership of and access to land in the eighth and seventh centuries, especially in Central Lakonia. At the same time, inside Sparta, a community was forming. We can see this process by examining the social and economic ties in the community apparent in archaeologically visible contexts (e.g., settlement systems, sanctuaries, cemeteries, and

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[224] Cavanagh 2018, 70-2.
[225] Cavanagh 2018, 70-2; Themos 2007.
[226] Figueira 2018, 569-70.
[227] Cavanagh 2018, 72.
[228] Figueira (2018, 578-80), for example, describes helot-land as abundantly available in Lakonia, but in need of more labourers to work it.
[229] Figueira 2018, 570.

territories).[230] In such an investigation, we are specifically looking for connections between individuals in the community, for example, collective practices at sanctuaries, communal use of resources like water, waste management, etc.[231]

In Sparta, there is clear archaeological evidence that the community was focusing on building up particular cult sites and connecting those sites through a central agora.[232] From as early as c.950 BCE, there are ceramic finds at the following cult sites in the Eurotas Valley: Athena Chalkioikos on the acropolis of Sparta; Apollo and Hyakinthos at Amyklai; (Artemis) Orthia, and the so-called Heroön along the Eurotas river.[233] Because there was such a large amount of ceramics and such a large number of figurines found at the majority of these sites as well as clear evidence of reconstructions of the temples in the eighth and seventh centuries, we can conclude that the local population considered these temples significant from as early as the mid-tenth century, and we know they continued to be important sites throughout Sparta's history.[234]

Furthermore, Sparta's agora, which took shape in the eighth century, was geographically located at the centre of these key cult sites. The road system that connected sanctuaries in the countryside, such as Orthia and the site of Apollo and Hyakinthos at Amyklai, to the acropolis site with Athena Chalkioikos ran through the central agora.[235] Each of these cult sites had developed a unique type of popular dedication. For example, at the sanctuary site of Zeus Messapeos at Tsakona, crudely modeled ithyphallic clay figures were particularly common, whereas lead figurines were central to votive dedications at Orthia. At the site of Athena Chalkioikos, bells were the popular dedication, but cymbals were the dedication at Artemis Limnatis and clay plaques were popular dedications for Alexandra/Kassandra and Agamemnon/Zeus.[236] The distribution of select objects at particular cites demonstrates that there

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[230] Morgan 2006, 238.
[231] Morgan 2006, 238-40.
[232] Cavanagh 2018, 67-8.
[233] Cavanagh 2018, 65-7; Coulson 1985.
[234] The large caches of figurines found at these sites is indicative of a uniform, popular cult practice at local sanctuaries (i.e., the dedication of specific items at specific cults demonstrating uniform and collectively understood practices), Cavanagh (2018). See also Flower (2018), for the continued significance of these sites and religious figures.
[235] Cavanagh 2018, 67.
[236] See Cavanagh (2018, 65-7) for descriptions and bibliography.

was a collective, communal practice of ritual worship with votive dedications that the majority of the population understood.

In the eighth century, cult sites in the countryside were either founded anew or rebuilt. Construction such as this is indicative of a programme of cultural consolidation much like that in the northeastern Peloponnese and the Argolid, where we see Argos and Korinth taking over rural sanctuaries originally serving independent villages so as to consolidate their control over the region.[237] The site for Helen and Menelaos at the Menelaion, Zeus at Tzakona, Apollo at Phoiniki, and shrines at Pellana and Kokkinia were all rebuilt or expanded in the eighth century. This programme of revitalization likely served to bring Sparta together with the communities of the surrounding region into one larger community defined by a shared culture and communal way of life.[238]

In addition to this evidence for a growing cultural community in the eighth and seventh centuries in Sparta, there was a political hierarchy forming. I have already suggested that the evidence regarding the distribution of and access to land supports the hypothesis that there were competing families in Lakonia, specifically in Central Lakonia. Evidence for the development of a competing elite in eighth-century Sparta relies largely on the contrast between popular dedications, as mentioned above, at sites important to the local population and dedications, which are more expensive that often featured special imported materials.[239] Additionally, there is an increase in Spartan dedications at the Pan-Hellenic site of Olympia.[240] These dedications feature imagery of communal feasting, chariotry, and warfare, all of which are generally considered elements of an archaic elite culture rooted in an epic, heroic tradition.[241] Finally, there is an increase in the size of cist graves that parallels an increase in expensive grave goods, especially weaponry.[242]

Mitchell argues that rulership in the Archaic and Classical periods in Greece was based on one's *aretē*, or excellence. *Aretē* could be demonstrated in a number of ways: ancestry,

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[237] Cavanagh 2018, 63-4.
[238] For studies on the development of *ethnē* in the Peloponnese, see Morgan 2006; Hall 1997.
[239] Cavanagh 2018 66-7; Prost 2018.
[240] For discussion of Lakonian dedications at Olympia, see Prost 2018.
[241] For discussion of an elite culture in the context of rulership and competing elites, see Mitchell 2013. For discussion of this type of activity in Sparta, see Cartledge 2002, 88-112.
[242] Cavanagh 2018, 69-8. For recent discussion of burials in Sparta, see Christensen 2019.

wealth, success in war, panhellenic victories, and the foundation of cities.[243] She argues that both textual and archaeological evidence for the eighth and seventh centuries demonstrates either a continuation or reinvention of an elite culture that values status-focused, competitive activities such as hunting, feasting, chariotry, and warfare. All of these activities were indicative of elite status in the Homeric epics.[244] This view of the elite in Archaic Greek communities is similar to that of Duplouy, who imagines these communities to be competitive spaces where elites accumulate prestige based on their status. Importantly, their status is achieved through performing in appropriate activities and is flexible.[245] I, too, follow this approach and consider the Spartan *basileis* as necessarily a part of this developing performative and competitive political landscape. The performative and competitive political landscape is, in part, why the Spartan *basileis* participate in similar heroic or traditional forms of legitimization.

In addition to a concentration of land amongst a few wealthy families, the presence of a limited number of expensive wares at sanctuaries further suggests the existence of a competitive ethos in Sparta among a select group. High art, meaning art that aesthetically represents the pinnacle of a particular craft beyond common use, was not common at Spartan sanctuary sites in the eighth century.[246] When artefacts of this nature are found, however, in a rather limited numbers, at Spartan cult sites amongst a vast collection of common items, this demonstrates a stark contrast between Spartan popular cult and competitive, elite dedications.[247] For example, there have been found various specialized items at Spartan cult sites, such as: bronze figurines, dress pins, fibulae, jewellery, large bronze vessels (most notably monumental sized tripod cauldrons likely dedicated to Zeus or Apollo), large pottery kraters, and outsized jugs, presumably for serving at feasts.[248] Additionally, Cavanagh suggests that it is quite probable that the sacred cult images of Apollo at Amyklai and the wooden image of Orthia were made at this time in connection with elite activity.[249] These dedications are a contrast to, for example, the tens of thousands of lead figurines found at Orthia or the bells at the site for Athena Chalkioikos.

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[243] Mitchell (2013) discusses these elements in the introduction, but goes into detail regarding each aspect in subsequent chapters.
[244] Mitchell 2013.
[245] Duplouy 2022; 2006. For discussion of how Duplouy's approach has shifted the way in which archaic elites are conceptualized, see Bernhardt and Canevaro 2022, Charalambidou and Morgan 2017, and Ma 2016.
[246] Cavanagh 2018, 65-7. For a discussion of the development of artistic trends in Lakonia, see Prost 2018.
[247] Cavanagh 2018, 65-7.
[248] Cavanagh 2018, 64; Coldstream 2008, 216.
[249] Cavanagh 2018, 64. See also Cartledge 2002, 88-112.

These more expensive dedications could, therefore, be the result of elite competition at important communal sacred sites. The erection of expensive dedications at these sites suggests that wealthy individuals/families both recognized the importance of such communal sites to the community, and were using these sites to perform their status through objects (as discussed in chapter one).[250]

Consider the presence in Sparta of iconography, across artistic media, produced from as early as the eighth century through the sixth and even fifth centuries BCE, that is representative of a competitive ethos grounded in the Homeric epics (i.e., hunting, feasting, chariotry, and warfare). Prost, for example, argues that as early as the second quarter of the eighth century, there was a distinctive Lakonian horse statuette. He marks the importance of the setting, Olympia, in stating "it is therefore at Olympia, in the competitive context of the offerings and the contests, that the Laconians defined the broad outlines of a specific style."[251] The horse was a popular iconographic figure in locally dedicated material, including a wealth of both bronze and lead figurines dedicated at Orthia, the Menelaion, and the Amyklaion.[252] It appears in pottery as early as the Lakonian Geometric (LG) period (c.750 BCE), and Alkman's *Partheneion* provides the earliest example of horses as items of value and prestige in Spartan conceptions of beauty and desire.[253] The popularity of this image in local contexts confirms its symbolic significance in Sparta and supports the existence of a competitive culture that values heroic qualities. The horse is emblematic of Spartan wealth.[254]

Likewise, Hodkinson points to the iconography on a terracotta amphora found at the Heroön by the Eurotas river depicting both heroic combat and chariotry or hunting on one item.[255] The importance of such activities to the Spartan elite and the integration of these activities into the *polis* can additionally be seen in the continued practice of chariotry through

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[250] See chapter 1.5 "Political Leadership and Rulership Ideology in Archaic Greece."
[251] Prost 2018, 156. For a stylistic comparison between the Lakonian style horse and the Argive, see Zimmermann 1989.
[252] Hodkinson (2000, 222-3) presents select examples of bronze and lead hoplite figures (Lead III-IV c.580-500 BCE). See Wace (1929) for the initial publication of lead figurines from Orthia in Dawkins' (1929) publication of the British School's excavation of the site. The publications include a limited number of images, and there are a selection of the figurines on display at the Archaeological Museum in Sparti, and there is also a small collection in Liverpool. The vast majority is housed in the archives of the Archaeological Museum in Sparti.
[253] Pipili 2018, 144; Calame (2018, 177-201) discusses the intricacies of pre-Classical song culture in Sparta. He presents two choral songs from Classical Athenian drama as representative of a broader understanding of the existence of Archaic Spartan song culture, both of which feature horses in a way reminiscent of Alkman: Eur. *Hel.* 1465-77; Ar. *Lys.* 1292-1312. This is further discussed throughout chapter five.
[254] This is further discussed in chapter 5.1 "Historical Context."
[255] Hodkinson 2000, 240-2.

equestrian sport and collective hunting and feasting practices both in the *syssitia*, the common mess, and on campaigns into the Classical period.[256] Moreover, beginning in the mid-to-late eighth century (c.740-730 BCE), a distinctive Lakonian style for human figures emerges in lead and bronze statuettes.[257] Prost identifies a key example from a group in bronze from the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia that features a male figure in combat against a centaur, which has been attributed by some to a Lakonian workshop.[258] Like the horse figure, the male figure in combat is popular among lead and bronze figurines dedicated at the communal sacred sites in Lakonia, the largest cache being from Orthia.[259] We see scenes of heroic combat featured also on a fragmentary Archaic terracotta metope in addition to figurines in terracotta, ivory, and bone all locally dedicated in and around Sparta.[260] Sculpture likewise features the Lakonian style "hoplite" figure, the most famous example being the pseudo-Leonidas crafted from local marble and prominently displayed in the Sparta Museum.[261] The imagery further supports the cultural value of competitive displays of excellence. Not only is this imagery appearing in competitive venues such as Olympia, but dedications with the same images were erected at local sanctuaries, which supports the hypothesis that this imagery had localized cultural significance.

The presence of various grave goods in addition to the increase in size of cist graves is likewise a marker of wealthy families displaying that wealth. The items can indicate that an individual or their family could afford to place items out of circulation into burials. Additionally, some goods may indicate feasting, combat, or other elite or heroic activities. Examples can be

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[256] Hodkinson 2000, 216-7. E.g., Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 4. Xenophon also highlights the practice of hunting and its connection to the *syssitia* (*Lac. Pol.* 6). See Hodkinson's (2000, 209-368) discussion of how rich Spartan citizens utilize private wealth in Classical Sparta, demonstrating that there were many ways in which traditional elite competition existed and Spartan citizens could vie for influence and power. See also van Wees (2018, 202-68) on austerity and equality and the functionality of the common mess (syssitia) in Sparta and Davies' (2018, 480-99) chapter aptly titled "Equality and Distinction within the Spartiate Community."

[257] Prost 2018, 156-7, the lead is more popular than the bronze.

[258] Prost 2018, 156-7; item 17.190.2072 in the New York Metropolitan Museum. See Zimmermann (1989, 143-4) for its attribution to a Lakonian workshop. Muskett (2014) catalogues the votive offerings from Orthia in the Liverpool collection.

[259] Hodkinson (2000, 223) provides some clear examples with slight variations in the style and dress of the figures. Hodkinson argues these stylistic changes suggest historical differentiations in the type of armour worn based on wealth inequities among the citizens.

[260] The Sparta Museum featured two prominent sections of the metope in 2018, but I have yet to find a photograph in published form for reference. Prost (2018, 157-62) has some excellent examples of early human figurations in terracotta as well as additional figurines in Hodkinson 2000, 223. Muskett's (2014) catalogue includes some terracotta votives from the Liverpool collection, but few pictures are provided.

[261] Item 3365 in the Sparta Museum; Prost (2018, 160) provides a clear image and some discussion.

seen in burial practices in both Korinth and Argos.[262] In the last twenty-five years, given the expansion of the archaeologically protected zone in modern Sparta in 1994, our knowledge and understanding of burial practices in Lakonia have dramatically increased. Previously, it was largely thought that Lykourgan customs restricted grave goods and grave markers in favor of austerity and that Spartan burials were unique in that there was no prohibition on intracommunal burials, that is burials within the communal space of the region (i.e., where people performed their daily tasks). Moreover, the previous lack of excavated pre-Roman burials led scholars to believe that Lykourgan austerity allowed only intracommunal burials and that so few tombs had been found because they had been destroyed by later building activity (i.e., Hellenistic and Roman building).[263] Extracommunal burials, however, have since been found. A cemetery called the Olive Oil Cemetery has been confirmed on the south-western edge of Sparta with burials from the Archaic to Hellenistic period including pottery from as early as the Geometric period (c.750-650 BCE).[264] Additionally, new intracommunal graves have been excavated, ranging from the Proto-Geometric period to the Hellenistic period. Christesen, who collates these recently published burials, argues that Spartan burial practices were similar to burial practices in Argos and Korinth, further dispelling the idea of Spartan exceptionalism (i.e., that Sparta is wholly unique in its practices from other Greek *polies*) in so much as they did not have only intracommunal burials and shared practices with Argos and Korinth.[265]

Even though nearly 200 graves have now been found in and around Sparta from the Proto-Geometric period to the Hellenistic period, the evidence is in no way complete or entirely accessible for further study. The archaeologically protected area is centralized around modern Sparta and, consequently, we are ill-informed about the burial practices of Lakedaimon outside of Sparta.[266] In comparison to other large *poleis* in the Peloponnese such as Argos, the number of finds is quite small, and so the following discussion is limited and could be dramatically altered by future finds. Firstly, there is a perceivable increase in individual graves as early as the tenth and ninth centuries that contrasted with the Mycenaean style of collective tombs still used in

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[262] Kõiv 2016, 8-9. For burial customs and social differentiation in eighth-century Argos, see Hägg 1983, 27-31.
[263] Christesen 2019, 307-12.
[264] Christesen 2019, 309-12.
[265] Christesen 2019. The issue of Sparta exceptionalism with respect to burial practices is addressed by Hodkinson (2000), who catalogues the known burials around Sparta up to the year 2000. The inventory has since grown given the increase in rescue excavations after the expansion of the archaeologically protected area in 1995. It was not until 2008, for example, that the Olive Oil Cemetery was discovered through rescue excavation.
[266] Christesen 2019, 314.

Messenia, NE Peloponnese, and the Argolid in this early time.[267] Single, yet sizeable, graves in pits or cists often indicate kin-group burials, which could suggest an emerging elite interested in preserving or referencing their past. Singular graves also suggest the grave goods or markers are conspicuous symbols of status for that individual or, potentially, their kin-group. Twelve Proto-Geometric graves have been discovered in Sparta in eight distinct locations in five geographical areas; near the Eurotas river, north of the site of Orthia, southwest of the acropolis, on the south-western edge of the settlement of ancient Sparta, and one west of the Aphetais road.[268] Grave goods were sparse, but included pottery, bronze jewellery, and iron pins. Interestingly, graves from a small Proto-Geometric cemetery in Amyklai contained a rock crystal bead, a gold spiral, and gold beads. These items, although from a small sample, are suggestive of the presence of wealthy goods based on the fact that the raw materials needed to produce such items were not locally available and, therefore, had to be imported.[269] Additionally, they are high-quality, high-value items such as gold. Furthermore, two oinochoai and a drinking vessel were found next to two of the graves from Amyklai suggesting funerary ritual.[270]

The archaeological evidence discussed above further supports the hypothesis that there were families competing with one another for status. Additionally, it demonstrates how one might perform their status in the community and for the community. Mitchell argues that would-be rulers or rulers themselves legitimized their positions in the Archaic period "not only through personal accomplishment, but also by making connections through their activities and symbols of power with former elites."[271] This connection could create a sense of continuity and longevity for the family or individual looking to rule. Maran suggests, for example, that signet rings found in a single house in the Lower Town of Tiryns, where he argued the elite shifted their dwellings following the palatial collapse, were passed down generationally as symbols of palatial authority from the past.[272] Tiryns is an example where, following the palatial collapse, those desiring authority relied on the symbolic significance of links to the past to legitimize their positions. The

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[267] Cavanagh 2018, 63.
[268] Christesen 2019, 319, fig.5.
[269] For a recent discussion on the difference between wealth and luxury in Archaic Greece with some discussion of Peloponnesian sanctuaries, see Osborne 2021, 1-18.
[270] Christesen 2019, 320.
[271] Mitchell 2013, 37; Crielaard 2006, 282-4; Eder 2006, 549-80; Deger-Jalkoltzy 2006, 151-80, 1991; Maran 2006, 123-50; Wright 2006, 7-52 (Mycenaean elite).
[272] Maran 2006; 2001. Antonaccio (2006, 391) argues for a similar interpretation of the Toumba at Lefkandi where Bronze Age antiquities were used in burials to create links to the past that legitimize the present.

continued worship of Mycenaean Poseidon, the use of terminology that harkened back to the Mycenaean administrative structure like *wanax* and *basileus*, and the continued recognition of Mycenaean sacred sites such as Amyklai all support the idea that the past was symbolically important to tenth-century Spartans.[273] Cavanagh suggests that, archaeologically speaking, Sparta in the tenth century may have been much like Nichoria in Messenia, where similar strategies of legitimization regarding ancestry support rulership.[274] Evaluating whether there was a clear interest in the past in Sparta is difficult because of the lack of an adequate sample size. Nevertheless, the above select examples provide evidence for the possibility that individuals and their families were creating ties to the past for legitimization purposes.

Firstly, there is evidence that the Spartans valued supporting and celebrating Bronze Age connections. For example, the continued worship of Mycenaean Poseidon and investment in sacred sites such as Apollo/Hyakinthos at Amyklai support the hypothesis of continuations from Mycenaean cultural practices.[275] Furthermore, Cavanagh suggests that because Tyrtaios' political terminology overlaps with that found on Linear B tablets (i.e., *basileus*, *demos*, and Gerousia) the Spartans were remembering their Mycenaean past in their socio-political hierarchies.[276] This vocabulary may indicate a conscious effort to make a connection between the contemporary, Spartan political offices and their more ancient, heroic past. Although the *qa-si-re-u* was a lower officer in the Mycenaean administrative systems, the *basileus* was a prominent figure of power in the Homeric epics (as discussed in chapter one).[277] It is possible that Tyrtaios was aware of these associations with the title *basileus*, regardless of its precise origin or historical reality.

Secondly, the revitalization of the cult for Helen and Menelaos at the Menelaion and shrines at Pellana show an interest in the past through the establishment of hero cult.[278] Additionally, we see an increase in dedications to Alexandra/Kassandra and Agamemnon/Zeus. There is also a potential Heroön, identified by Stibbe as the Achilleion, a cult site for Achilles (Paus. 3.20.8), located on the Megalopolis Road, north of modern Sparta, which Stibbe argues

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[273] Cavanagh 2018, 62; cf. Eder 1998, 98.
[274] Cavanagh 2018, 63; Mitchell (2013, 36-7) discusses the scholarship and describes the settlement of Nichoria, cf. Ainian 1997, 79-80.
[275] Cavanagh 2018, 62. See also Eder 1998, 98.
[276] Cavanagh 2018, 62. See also van Wees 2009, 24.
[277] See chapter 1.6 "Early Greek Epic as *Exempla*."
[278] For bibliographic surveys on hero cults and ancestor/family tomb worship see Price 1973, 129-32; Abramson 1978, 12-26; Burkert 1985, 190-208; Kearns 1989, 1-9. For an elaborated example of hero cult in Homeric poetry, see Nagy 2013, 314-22.

was active from the Mycenaean to the Roman period, according to the wide array of votives found at the site.[279] In addition to the archaeological presence of a hero cult, there was likely ancestor worship occurring in Lakonia.[280] The combination of the two forms of worship in public spaces is suggestive of competing and/or overlapping traditions. Dedications and structures that support local cult and traditions are representative of the community, whereas status-driven dedications and constructions for and by individual families represent the performance of status in struggles for power/acceptance.[281]

In Lakonia, there is evidence in the Archaic period of grave cult, family tombs, and, perhaps, royal cemeteries, demonstrating a variety of contrasting examples for how monuments were used to advertise certain messages, whether they be individual, familial, or *polis* oriented.[282] During the Archaic and Classical periods, Lakonia, from an archaeological standpoint, "was an area exceptionally rich in hero shrines."[283] In addition, there was ancestor worship and there were family tombs. We see in Tyrtaios' exhortative elegy an example of the dead being heroized and celebrated by both their families and the community with language that is suggestive of the concept of ancestor worship and the existence of family tombs:

αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐν προμάχοισι πεσὼν φίλον ὤλεσε θυμόν,
   ἄστυ τε καὶ λαοὺς καὶ πατέρ᾽ εὐκλεΐσας,
25   πολλὰ διὰ στέρνοιο καὶ ἀσπίδος ὀμφαλοέσσης
   καὶ διὰ θώρηκος πρόσθεν ἐληλαμένος.
τὸν δ᾽ ὀλοφύρονται μὲν ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες,
   ἀργαλέῳ δὲ πόθῳ πᾶσα κέκηδε πόλις,
καὶ τύμβος καὶ παῖδες ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀρίσημοι
30   καὶ παίδων παῖδες καὶ γένος ἐξοπίσω·
οὐδέ ποτε κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπόλλυται οὐδ᾽ ὄνομ᾽ αὐτοῦ,
   ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ γῆς περ ἐὼν γίνεται ἀθάνατος (Tyrtaios fr.12. 23-32 West²).

Falling among the *promachoi*, he lost his dear life,

Having brought glory to his city and his people and his father,

25   pierced many times through his chest and bossed shield,

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[279] Stibbe 2002, 211-12. For discussion of the excavation reports, finds, scholarship, and current interpretations, see Pavlides 2023, 57-9. On hero cult and shrines in Sparta, see Flower 2018, 443-7; Pavlides 2023.
[280] On ancestor worship, see Antonaccio 1995. On ancestor worship and hero cult in Sparta, see Cavanagh 2018, 68-9; Flower 2018, 443-7. For a recent discussion of hero cult in Sparta, see Pavlides 2023.
[281] Cavanagh 2018, 68-9; Duplouy 2022; 2006.
[282] Cavanagh 2018, 68-9, cf. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 51 1996, 123-5; Raftopoulou 1998*; Archaiologikon Deltion* 50 1995, Chr. 125. For the Archaic burials see Raftopoulou 1995; 1998. The cemeteries of the Eurypontids and the Agiads are described by Pausanias (3.12.8, 14.2) but they have not been found in the excavations completed thus far.
[283] Flower 2018, 443.

and through his corselet from the front

The young men and old men alike mourn him,

all the city is distressed by painful longing,

and his tomb and children are notable among the people,

30   and his children's children and his *genos* hereafter.

Never does his noble fame perish nor his name,

but even though he is beneath the earth he becomes immortal.[284]

The reference to a tomb (τύμβος, 29) is followed by a reference to current children (παῖδες, 29), then future children (παίδων παῖδες, 30), and then the male, paternal line of those who will come after (γένος ἐξοπίσω, 30). The poem links the importance of lineage to death in battle through its elaboration of the impact of such a death on generations of children. I suggest that the *genos* in this poem supports Tyrtaios' exhortation; the *genos* is as a collection of ancestors and descendants whose reputation an individual male can either uphold, as Tyrtaios suggests he should, or disgrace. It is a collective entity that will be either praised or shamed based on the behaviour of the individual male soldier who belongs to it. This behaviour, in turn, leads to *kleos* (εὐκλεΐσας, 24, κλέος, 31) and thus immortality (ἀθάνατος, 32). Death in battle and the successive generations of children are what perpetuates the *kleos*, and, thus, the immortality that is gained by the soldier. The generational perpetuation of a person's memory in connection with the *genos* is the basis, perhaps, for ancestor worship, or perhaps it points toward the existence of family tombs and a family history.[285] Furthermore, Tyrtaios explicitly refers to the existence of a tomb (τύμβος) that people would be able to see and point toward as a memorial of the individual's excellence, which supports the theory that ancestor worship existed at the time. The mourning that Tyrtaios describes may also link the tomb to ritual.[286]

Additionally, Tyrtaios' focus on the *genos* in his poetry more broadly is significant. A survey of the use of *genos* in Tyrtaios' poetry reveals that it is a concept with remarkable emotive force. Tyrtaios uses the term to refer primarily to future ancestors and he constructs

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[284] This translation was written in consultation with Gerber's translation (1999, 59-61). Gerber, however, has chosen to reorganize the lines of the fragment and translates aorist tense in the present, whereas I have translated the aorist as a simple past-tense, and maintained the line order.

[285] For a general overview of the development of hero cult from Bronze Age ancestor worship, see Antonaccio (1995, 4-9, 245-68), who discusses the complicated history of the connection between *genos*, family tombs, ancestor worship, and the development and prominence of hero cult.

[286] For a discussion of the relationship between hero cult and *penthos*, see Nagy 1999, 94-117.

socially significant concepts of care, shame, honour, memory, and excellence based on the impact of an individual's choices on their *genos*, as demonstrated by fr.12 West[2].[287] The significance of the term *genos* can operate on a communal level as well as a familial one. In fragment 11 West[2], for example, Tyrtaios extends the qualities of Herakles and the Herakleidai to the *genos* of the Dorians: ἀλλ᾽ Ἡρακλῆος γὰρ ἀνικήτου γένος ἔστε / θαρσεῖτ᾽… "but take heart, for you are the race of unconquerable Herakles." The fragment confirms what the use of *genos* elsewhere in Tyrtaios' poetry suggests, namely that it is the behaviour of the individual in the present that will affect the *genos* in the future. In this example, the Dorians must "take heart" since they are ostensibly members of the *genos* of Herakles.[288] The reference to the *genos* of Herakles implicitly suggests the audience must not shame the memory and reputation of Herakles with unsuitable behaviour.

Thus far in this subsection I have discussed the development of the community of Sparta, Sparta's relationship with the surrounding communities in Lakonia, and the presence of a competitive ethos that demonstrates that families were competing for status by performing their excellence. This is the socio-political context in which the Spartan *basileia* emerged and continued to vie for its own legitimacy, performing its right to rule. The final point I want to make about the development of Sparta in contextualizing the formation of the Spartan *basileia* is about Sparta's foreign expansion. When a collective ventures outside of its defined geographic space intending some form of conquest, this generally indicates a certain degree of organized government and/or hierarchy. Leadership is required for such ventures as well as some degree of internal stability. For Sparta, the eighth century marked a period of expansionism with the Spartans attempting to consolidate control over a wider territory than the Eurotas Valley.[289] This expansionism, however, would exacerbate wealth inequalities at home, especially with respect to land ownership, which is discussed further below.

As stated above, by the first quarter of the eighth century, c.775 BCE, Sparta had expanded its influence to reach from the Taygetos to the Parnon, including important sites in the southern Peloponnese, in the Malea peninsula, on the Helos plain, and on the northern border of Lakonia, including Skiritis. By c.775 BCE Sparta was in control of the region we typically call

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[287] Tyrtaios fr. 10.9-12 West[2], fr. 11.1 West[2], fr. 12.30 West[2].
[288] See Romney 2017. This is further discussed in chapter 4.1 "The Dorian Charter Myth."
[289] Kennell 2010, 20-53; Cartledge 2002, 88-112.

Lakonia. Additionally, there is evidence to suggest early cultural contact with Messenia.[290] In the eighth century, Sparta, comprising the four original villages, expanded first by consolidating its connection with its neighbor Amyklai, which is largely thought to have been fully brought under Spartan control c.750 BCE.[291] Sparta then subjugated Messenia over a series of conflicts and depopulations, the first of which is commonly referred to as the First Messenian War, dated variously from the mid-eighth century to the mid-seventh century BCE.[292] A combination of archaeological finds supports the hypothesis of Spartan influence in Messenia in the eighth century including influences in pottery styles, in metal finds including bronze horse figurines matching the Lakonian style, and select burials.[293] Some scholars, Morgan among them, have suggested that the abandonment of Nichoria in the mid-eighth century was the result of such Spartan aggression, but the evidence remains inconclusive.[294] Nevertheless, Cartledge argues that archaeological finds from the eighth century at a settlement in the Argolid supports the argument that Asine was settled by refugees who were displaced owing to conflict in Messenia with the Spartans.[295] Figueira paints a picture of the gradual occupation of Messenian territory. He argues that the sheer scale of the practice of helotage that is evident in later periods would have required successive depopulations with revolts and resistances, which would have had to be dealt with militarily, over time.[296] This approach seems to be the most conservative and the most likely possibility since the entire citizenship system of Classical Sparta depended on Messenian helotage.[297] The process of institutionalizing helotage in Messenia likely began, therefore, in the eighth century BCE.

The likelihood that Sparta made efforts to subjugate Messenia in the seventh century, and that it also engaged in military conflicts elsewhere at the same time, suggest the presence of an organized hierarchy in Sparta and a certain degree of internal stability and community development. What I have described up to this point is a developing community with a land-

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[290] Cavanagh 2018, 64; Cartledge 2002, 97.

[291] Cartledge 2002, 90-6.

[292] Figueira 2018, 568-7; Cartledge 2002, 97-103. For a full discussion of the relationship between Sparta and Messenia, see Luraghi 2003, 2008. By depopulations, I mean that Sparta's intervention in Messenia caused the population of the region to decrease likely by a combination of casualties through military conflict and raiding, but also because some people would have fled to other areas.

[293] For burials, see Raftopoulou 1995; Steinhauer 1972, 244–5; Coldstream 2003, 162.

[294] For the abandonment of Nichoria, see Morgan 1990, 100; Cavanagh 2018, 64; Cartledge 2002, 97, 102-3, 166.

[295] Cartledge 2002, 84.

[296] Figueira 2018, 570; 2003, 221-5.

[297] Figueira 2018; Hodkinson 2000.

owning minority who appear to be wealthy, based on the evidence of dedications and grave goods. These wealthy families participated in competitive performances of their position in the community to continue to increase status. Competitions for status would have included the families of the Spartan *basileis*, who likely achieved their position through the same means in the eighth century when the dyarchy likely began, as discussed above. In the seventh century, criticism of these wealthy, powerful families and individuals, along with other types of challenges to their status, manifested themselves in a "civil strife crisis." This is precisely the context behind the composition of Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2].

2.3 The Seventh Century 'Civil Strife Crisis'

2.3.1 Evidence for the Seventh Century 'Civil Strife Crisis'

How do we know there was a period of civil strife in seventh-century Sparta that gave way to reform and the subsequent establishment of the Classical system of citizenship and land tenure? There are two major hurdles that hinder us from answering this question definitively: 1) the lack of texts from Archaic Sparta; and 2) the manipulation of the few Archaic Spartan texts that we do have in later retellings of the *polis*' political foundation. In this section I first outline the evidence for civil strife in seventh-century Sparta and, second, address the manipulation of this evidence in later sources that has hitherto hindered our understanding of the political development of Sparta in the seventh century.

I begin with Herodotus and Thucydides, both of whom discuss the establishment of *eunomia* in Sparta following a period of *stasis*. Herodotus (1.65) dates this transformation to sometime before the joint rulership of Leon and Hegesikles (c. 600-560 BCE). Thucydides (1.18.1) argues that *eunomia* was established following a period of *stasis* after the so-called Dorian invasion and ended some four hundred years before the conclusion of the "current war." Following that *stasis*, he continues, the governing structure that existed in his time was established.[298] Although both examples are influenced by the tradition of Lykourgos and the political re-founding of Sparta by this legendary lawgiver, they both also point toward a historical reality, namely that *stasis* contributed to political change in the seventh and sixth

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[298] Based on conventional dating, this would place the establishment of the Classical governing system c. mid-ninth century BCE, for a full discussion of Thuc. 1.18.1 (in comparison with Hdt. 1.65) see Hornblower 1991, 51-3.

centuries in Sparta.[299] Additionally, we see echoes of social unrest in early Sparta underpinning the traditions concerning the Partheniai and Epeunaktai.[300] The Partheniai were a group of disenfranchised individuals among the Spartans who left Sparta and founded Taras. This foundation is traditionally dated to the end of the eight century BCE following the 'First Messenian War.' The Partheniai emigrated, according to Ephoros and Antiochus, because of mistreatment after they were classified as illegitimate and were suffering disenfranchisement.[301] Diodorus Siculus connects the Partheniai to the Epeunaktai. The Epeunaktai were helots who had been granted citizenship because of underpopulation.[302] Both occasions point toward episodes of civil strife in the early development of Sparta.

There are several traditions regarding the important role different poets played in quelling civil strife in Sparta in the seventh century.[303] The first poet, Terpander, allegedly came to Sparta to sing for the Spartans in accordance with an oracle because of ongoing civil strife (Diod. Sic. 8.28). Diodorus Siculus likely adopted this tradition from Ephoros (c. 4th century BCE). Additionally, we see its influence in both Aristotle (fr. 545 Rose) and Herakleides' *Spartan Constitution* (7.5). Terpander's career was closely-tied with Sparta; he allegedly won at the first Karneia, organized music as an artform in Sparta, and set the *polis' nomoi* to music.[304] Likewise, there was a tradition that Tyrtaios was sent to Sparta to assist it in civil strife, but from Athens. There is much debate concerning the historicity of this fourth-century claim.[305] Van Wees

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[299] Hodkinson 2000, 1-4; van Wees 2009; Romney 2017.

[300] For further discussion see Cartledge 2002, 107-9; Nafissi 1991, 38-51, 251-8.

[301] Strabo (6.3.2-3) presents two versions of the story, one by Antiochus (*FGrH* 555 F13) and the other by Ephoros (*FGrH* 70 F216). In both versions, children called the Partheniai were born in unprecedented circumstances during the war with the Messenians and later were not permitted to share in full Spartan citizenship. These circumstances led to civil strife and factionalism, resulting in the Partheniai leaving and eventually founding a colony, Taras (modern Tarentum, Taranto). See also Aristotle (*Pol.* 5.7.1306b.29-31) who recognizes the Partheniai as representative of revolution.

[302] Diod. Sic. 8.21 (Theopompos *FGrH* 115 F171); for further discussion, see Nafissi 1991, 38-51.

[303] Calame 2018, 177-201. See van Wees (2018, 251 n.80) for discussion of the respect for poets and musicians in Sparta: cf. Arist. fr. 545 Rose; Terpander T 2, 7–9 Campbell; Tyrtaios T 1–7 West²; Alkman 101, 109, 126 Page. This theme is present, also, in art, see Pipili (1987, 41–2) for discussion. For musicians in the lead figurine collection, see Wace 1929, 262, 269, 274–6.

[304] For Terpander as a victor at the Karneia, see Hellanikos *FGrH* 4 F85a; as the first person to organize music in Sparta, see Plut. *Mor.* 1134b; for putting the Spartan *nomoi* to music, see Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.16.78.5; for Terpander's significance in Sparta, see Arist. fr.545 Rose. Later sources include: Plut. *Agis.* 10.3; Plut. *Lyc.* 28.10; Diod. Sic. 8.28; [Plutarch], *De Musica* 1146b; Aelian *VH* 12.50; Zenobius 5.9; Suda s.v. μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν (= Sud. μ 701; Terpander T 9 Campbell). See also van Wees 2009, 5, n.13.

[305] Pl. *Leg.* 629a-b; cf. Lycurg. *Oratio in Leocratem* 106; Philochoros *FGrH* 328 F215-16; Kallisthenes *FGrH* 124 F24; Diod. Sic. 8.27; Paus. 4.15.6; Diogenes Laertius 2.43. Even in antiquity, there was no consensus concerning Tyrtaios' origins, cf. Suda s.v. Tyrtaios (T 1 West²); Strabo (8.4.10), for example, explicitly argues against his Athenian origins. See Fisher (1994, 362–4), who argues for a fourth century invention, and contrast with Stibbe

suggests, as a compromise, that the Athenians embellished an existing tradition that Tyrtaios was not Spartan and that this tradition may have been started by Spartans, who, in the Classical period, credited such poets with assisting Sparta and held up Cretan institutions as models for their own.[306] Crete's influence on Sparta may similarly support the hypothesis that Thales was instrumental in the establishment of order in Sparta.[307] Thales, a third poet from the seventh century, was allegedly sent to Sparta, again at the behest of an oracle, to use his songs to encourage obedience (εὐπείθεια) and harmony (ὁμόνοια; Plut. *Lyc*. 4.2-3). The travels of Thales are corroborated by Pausanias (1.14.4), who states that Polymnestos of Colophon, a fellow seventh-century poet, composed a poem for the Lakedaimonians about Thales who, he claims, subdued a plague for the Lakedaimonians.[308] Although the chronology and historicity of these episodes is debated, they all point toward a robust tradition regarding the poet's role in the elimination of strife in Sparta prior to the establishment of *eunomia*.

What was the reason for this civil strife? Simply put, inequity. More specifically, Aristotle cites Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* in support of his own hypothesis that civil wars begin when there is an imbalance in the distribution of wealth:

> συνέβη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, ὑπὸ τὸν Μεσσηνιακὸν πόλεμον· δῆλον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς Τυρταίου ποιήσεως τῆς καλουμένης Εὐνομίας· θλιβόμενοι γάρ τινες διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἠξίουν ἀνάδαστον ποιεῖν τὴν χώραν.

> and this, also occurred in Lakedaimon about the time of the Messenian War, as is clear from the poem of Tyrtaios called *Eunomia*, for certain men, being squeezed because of the war, demanded a redistribution of the territory (Arist. *Pol*. 1306b36-1307a2).[309]

(1996, 89–96), who accepts its historicity, whereas van Wees (2009, 4-5) presents a compromise, and Romney (2017, 563) argues the birthplace of Tyrtaios is irrelevant since the poetry presumes a Spartan by birth, which is accepted by the audience.

[306] Van Wees 2009, 4-6; cf. Hdt. 1.65, Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F149. Crete and Sparta are compared in both Plato's *Laws* (544c–545b) and Aristotle's *Politics* (1260b30–1; 1269a29–1271b19). See also Nafissi 2018 for the inclusion of Crete as a place of origin for the Spartan constitution in the tradition of Lykourgos. See Link (2009, 89-112) for a comparison of Cretan and Spartan practices.

[307] Van Wees 2009, 5, n.14. For Thales as the inventor of "Cretan rhythms" and a lawgiver, see Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F149.16. For Thales as a lawgiver, see Aristotle, *Pol.* 1274a26–31; as a poet and a lawgiver, creating harmony in Sparta, see Plut. *Lyc.* 4.2–3; as the one who settles conflict in Sparta, see Plut. *Cum Princ. Phil.* 4.

[308] Pausanias (1.14.4) compares Polymnestus to Epimenides, a Cretan who similarly assisted the Athenians. See van Wees 2009, 25-6, n.16 and n.75. Polymnestus is mentioned in Alkman fr.145 Page (c. 600 BCE).

[309] καὶ τοῦτο is deleted by Verrall, see Gerber 1999, 38.

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Aristotle explicitly connects Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*, ongoing civil strife, and the equitable distribution of wealth in the form of land. Van Wees postulates that while Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* would not have contained specific details about its historical context, it is likely that the poem contained an allusion to a call for a redistribution of land.[310] Later, Pausanias reports that the Spartan people were calling for a redistribution of land because portions of the land were deliberately being underutilized to prevent the Messenians from profiting through raids during the Spartans' prolonged conflict with Messenia (4.18.2-3).[311]

I will return to Pausanias' interpretation of these events shortly, but first I want to consider the archaeological evidence concerning land cultivation and productivity in the seventh century. As discussed above, according to land surveys conducted in Lakonia and Messenia, an agricultural reorganization of rural settlements did not begin until the sixth century. Prior to this, in the seventh century, larger estates "which were not intensively farmed, but equally were not made available for free subsistence farmers" were the norm.[312] Cavanagh suggests that in the sixth century, the pattern of landownership shifted from a group of a few families or individuals possessing large swaths of land in the eighth and seventh century to a more dispersed distribution.[313] He argues that the cause of the redistribution was not simply a shortage of land, but rather that the land was owned by a minority of the individuals and/or individual families. Cavanagh's argument further supports van Wees' conclusion that competition for private landownership was a major concern of the seventh century.[314]

Furthermore, Hodkinson argues that competition for private landownership was a concern among already wealthy landowners of the seventh century. In particular, competition for private landownership was a concern for landowners who were currently disenfranchised by ongoing conflicts in Messenia and, perhaps, in conflicts on the northern borders of Lakonia. Disenfranchisement would mean a loss of status and economic power for those who profited

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[310] Van Wees (2009, 2) suggests for comparison Solon fr.34. 8-9 West², "it did not please me that fine men should have the same share of the fertile soil of our country as the lower classes." Additionally, Solon's own *Eunomia* personifies *Eunomia* as a force that eradicates strife in the *polis* (fr.4. 38-9).
[311] Pausanias (4.18.3) and Diodorus Siculus (8.27) go so far as to claim that Tyrtaios was responsible for averting a civil war.
[312] Cavanagh 2018, 70.
[313] Cavanagh 2018, 70.
[314] Van Wees 2009, 1-42.

from exploiting land that was, in previous conflicts, taken by Spartans.[315] The threat of disenfranchisement leads us back to Aristotle's interpretation of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*. Aristotle concludes that individuals were "squeezed because of the war" (Arist. *Pol*. 1307a1) and explains that ongoing military conflicts were related to the "civil strife crisis." The military conflict against Messenia, therefore, was not the cause of strife but was an additional contributor to the crisis. The initial foray into Messenia in the mid-eighth century was likewise triggered by civil strife and was likely the result of an inequitable distribution or use of land in the Eurotas Valley combined, perhaps, with an increase in population density as discussed above.[316] It is plausible that, with access to the land that the Spartans had already conquered again being restricted, concerns over land resurfaced.

In addition to an inequitable distribution of land, an inequitable distribution of the wealth circulating within Sparta could also have fueled interpersonal conflicts within the community. As many now recognize, the elite of Sparta were participating in conspicuous consumption as discussed above. They revelled in wealthy goods, such as horses, which required large swaths of land that was consequently not being utilized for crop production.[317] Consider the wealth alluded to in Alkman's *Partheneion*, which cites gold, silver, Lydian headbands, snake shaped golden bracelets, and purple dyes as beautiful items adorning beautiful women (fr.1.54-5, 64-77). The poem may even refer to foreign thoroughbred horses imported from northern Italy, Scythia and Lydia (Alkman fr.1.51, 59, Venetic, Kolaxaian, and Ibenian).[318] Furthermore, the metalworking industry, particularly the production of bronze goods, was thriving not only for the practical production of arms and armour, but for decorative and non-essential items such as reliefs, figurines, vessels, and jewellery, many of which were publicly dedicated and displayed.[319] Additionally, dedications of ivory, marble, limestone, and terracotta, along with elaborate burials

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[315] Hodkinson 2000, 15, 76-7, 106-8. Tyrtaios fr.18-23 West[2] (from *P.Berol*. 11675) may suggest that the Spartans were engaged in military activity against the Argives. It is also possible that the Argives were allies of the Messenians and that any conflict with Argos was still about conflict with Messenia. Although this is possible, it is equally likely that the Spartans were engaged in several conflicts at this time as they attempted to consolidate their access to arable land and control over Lakonia. Archaeological evidence relies primarily on land surveys, and it is inconclusive in this matter. See Cartledge (2002, 108-10) for further discussion.

[316] Cartledge 2002, 98-100.

[317] See Hodkinson 2000; Cavanagh 2018, 61-79; van Wees 2009; 2018, 202-35; Finglass 2021.

[318] Ferrari 2008, 74, n.2; Cavanagh 2018, 72.

[319] Cavanagh 2018, 66. See also Prost's (2018, 154-76) discussion of Lakonian Art and Pipili's (2018, 138-9) discussion of the decline of black-figure and "the problem of austerity," which she describes as a "hardly tenable" theory. Her chapter detailing the complex history of pottery production and trade in Lakonia should also be considered as evidence for a "rich" seventh century (2018, 124-53).

of the Archaic period that celebrated one's genealogy, were common in Lakonia throughout the seventh and into the sixth century.[320] The site of Orthia well demonstrates the disparity between the poor and wealthy in that relatively inexpensive lead votives were dedicated in the hundreds of thousands alongside more expensive items made from imported materials such as gold, silver, ivory, glass, faience, and amber.[321] This contrast perhaps demonstrates an inequitable distribution of available wealth by highlighting that some could afford expensive imported material and others (most likely the majority of the population, if the sample is at all representative despite its small size) could not. Both van Wees and Hodkinson cite Alkman (fr.17 Page) as an example of evidence showing wealth inequity demonstrated by evidence from the consumption of sweet confections versus ordinary foods in Sparta.[322]

It is this inequity in wealth and Sparta's reputation for wealth in the seventh century that likely generated the proverb "a man is what he owns" (Pind. *Isth*. 2.11).[323] Pindar, in the fifth century BCE, calls the proverb Argive, but a Scholiast to Pindar reveals it to be Spartan in origin; he quotes Alkaios "for they say that Aristodemos once expressed it shrewdly at Sparta: money is the man, and no poor man is good or honourable (fr. 360)."[324] This quotation suggests not only an ideological conception of wealth in connection with concepts of honour and goodness (πένι-] χρος δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ εἷς πέλετ᾽ ἔσλος οὐδὲ τίμιος), but it also emphasizes the importance of wealth to the elite (male) Spartan in the Archaic period. Van Wees argues that there is a second proverb that connects Spartan avarice with the ongoing civil strife crisis of the seventh century; "greed will destroy Sparta, but nothing else."[325] He concludes that, "the best way of explaining the language, metre, and content of the proverb, then, is to assume that it was originally composed by one of these cithara-singers as part of a poem warning a Spartan

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[320] Cavanagh 2018, 66, 68-9. For the Archaic burials, see Raftopoulou 1995; 1998.

[321] Cartledge 2002, 103-4; Cavanagh 2018, 66. For a description of the initial findings at Orthia and the Menelaion, see Dawkins 1907 and Catling 1977, respectively. For subsequent typologies and interpretations, see Dawkins 1929; Calame 1986; Carter 1987, 1988; and more recently Rosenburg 2015.These finds are also discussed in a broader context in Prost (2018, 154-76) and Pipili (2018, 124-53), specifically with respect to artistic trends and trade, respectively.

[322] καί ποκά τοι δώσω τρίποδος κύτος / ᾧ κ᾽ ἐνὶ < > λέ᾽ ἀγείρῃς. / ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι νῦν γ᾽ ἄπυρος, τάχα δὲ πλέος / ἔτνεος, οἷον ὁ παμφάγος Ἀλκμὰν / ἠράσθη λιαρὸν πεδὰ τὰς τροπάς· / οὔτι γὰρ ἀδὺ τετυγμένον ἔσθει, / ἀλλὰ τὰ κοινὰ γάρ, ὥπερ ὁ δᾶμος, / ζατεύει, Alkman fr.17 Page. For discussion, see Van Wees 2009, 2-3; Hodkinson 2000, 2.

[323] χρήματα χρήματ᾽ ἀνήρ, Pind. *Isth*. 2.11

[324] ὣς γὰρ δή ποτ᾽ Ἀριστόδαμον φαῖσ᾽ οὐκ ἀπάλαμνον ἐν Σπάρτα λόγον εἴπην· χρήματ᾽ ἄνηρ, πένιχρος δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ εἷς πέλετ᾽ ἔσλος οὐδὲ τίμιος, Alkaios fr.360 Campbell, ap. Schol. Pindar *Isthmian* 2.17; van Wees 2009, 3; Hodkinson 2000, 2.

[325] ἁ φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν ὀλεῖ, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν, the proverb is recorded by Aristotle (fr. 544 Rose) and appears in Diod. Sic. 7.12.6 and Plut. *Agis*. 9. See van Wees 2009, n.6 for discussion and bibliography.

audience of the potentially destructive effects of greed," ultimately suggesting that it was originally sung by Terpander and composed for a Spartan audience. [326]

The above is a collection of the evidence that civil strife was a persistent issue for Sparta throughout the seventh century. This evidence leads van Wees to confidently open his provocative chapter, entitled "Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*; nothing to do with the Great Rhetra," with the statement: "Sparta was brought to the brink of civil war in the seventh century BC."[327] Furthermore, Hodkinson argues on the grounds of this evidence that the entire Spartan system for citizen organization in the Classical period, including land tenure, emerged as a solution to civil strife and crisis that, he argued, centred around issues of property and wealth; he states that "Sparta's classical citizen organization was a definitive response to this chronic state of crisis."[328] Both Hodkinson and van Wees conclude that this instability was not a random episode of strife, but a consistent, chronic problem pointing toward the chronic instability that likely existed throughout the development of the dyarchy, as discussed above. Furthermore, both Grethlein and Romney recognize the longstanding scholarly misreading of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*. They argue that while past scholarship has assumed the poem is associated with an external conflict (i.e., the Messenian War), in fact the poem responds to an internal challenge (i.e., civil strife and wealth inequity).[329]

Throughout his chapter, van Wees shows that later authors, such as Plutarch, Pausanias, and Diodorus Siculus, either re-write, disregard, or omit early references to civil strife in order to fit Archaic literature into later traditions regarding the legendary lawgiver Lykourgos.[330] Because of this focus, scholars have missed a valuable opportunity to explore texts such as Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* on their own terms and in their own historical contexts. This is an interpretative challenge that has hindered our understanding of the evidence above. Since even the earliest traditions concerning the life of Lykourgos place him prior to the seventh century, each piece of evidence that points toward the existence of civil strife in the seventh century was reassigned or

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[326] Van Wees 2009, 3-4. Van Wees (2009, 4) finds a parallel in Solon's elegy on *eunomia* (fr. 4.1-6 West[2]), "Our *polis*, by Zeus' destiny and the will of the blessed immortal gods, will never be destroyed…but the townsmen themselves, in their folly, wish to ruin the great city for the sake of wealth."
[327] Van Wees 2009, 1.
[328] Hodkinson 2000, 2; van Wees 2009.
[329] Grethlein 2010, 291-4; Romney 2017, 557-61.
[330] Van Wees 2009, 1-42; Grethlein (2010, 291-4) cites van Wees' argument with regard to the assignment of fragments to Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*.

invalidated to make sense of a *polis* that, according to tradition, had achieved *eunomia* long before.[331] Each piece of evidence presented above has, in some way or another, been manipulated by later ancient authors. The earliest discussions of *stasis* and *eunomia* in Sparta, those of Herodotus (1.65) and Thucydides (1.18.1), present the change from bad governance to good governance as a swift transformation for which, according to Herodotus' account, Lykourgos may have been responsible, with varying degrees of involvement of the Delphic oracle.[332] It is clear from this initial description that there are already a variety of traditions in circulation regarding Lykourgos. I will now elaborate on the many variations of the tradition as they pertain to the evidence presented above. I focus on how both the transmission and interpretation of the tradition of Lykourgos impacts a reading of Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] in its own historical contexts.

2.3.2 The Distorting Influence of the Lykourgos Myth on Archaic Spartan Sources

The earliest extant mention of Lykourgos is in Herodotus (Hdt. 1.65) that presents two co-existing variants of the tradition. The first identifies Lykourgos as a "distinguished man among the Spartans" with no official administrative title or connection to either of the *basileis*. He is travelling to the Pythia at Delphi in connection with the persistent poor governance in Sparta (1.65.1). He receives a spontaneous declaration concerning his personhood suggesting that he is godlike, which, perhaps, foreshadows the fact that, by Herodotus' time, he had received some form of cultic honours after he died (Hdt. 1.66.1). Some say, according to Herodotus, that at this visit, the Pythia proclaimed to Lykourgos the *kosmos* that was in place during Herodotus' lifetime (1.65.4, cf. Paus. 3.16.6).[333] Herodotus attributes the second version to the Lakedaimonians themselves, who say that when Lykourgos took up the guardianship or regency of Leobotes (Labotas), he completed various reforms that are divided into three groupings (Hdt.1.65.4-5). First, he changed all the traditional norms (τὰ νόμιμα πάντα), second, he

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[331] Van Wees 2009, 1-42; Hodkinson 2000, 2-4. Hodkinson (2000, 19-64) demonstrates how a similar process occurs regarding the concept of egalitarianism in Sparta. Likewise, Nafissi (2018, 93-123) demonstrates how the tradition of Lykourgos is variously constructed from the sixth century to the Roman period and, to a certain extent, demonstrates how central the discussion of Lykourgos is to understanding the early history of Sparta as conceptualized in antiquity.

[332] The role of the Delphic oracle is already uncertain at this early date. Herodotus (1.65) states three traditions regarding from where the institutions of Sparta originated: 1) that the Spartans themselves say they brought their institutions from Crete; 2) that Lykourgos received approval of the institutions from the Delphic oracle; and 3) that the Delphic oracle foretold the institutions to Lykourgos, and he subsequently implemented them. The role of the Delphic oracle moves from being nonexistent, to passing approval, to the sole creator of the institutions.

[333] *Kosmos* here perhaps meaning something like the Spartan way of life, or their constitution.

established matters concerning warfare (τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα), and third, he established the ephors and *gerontes* (τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ γέροντας; Hdt. 1.65.5). Furthermore, it is not from the Delphic oracle that Lykourgos brought these institutions and customs, but rather from Crete (1.65.4).

I discern three key differences between these two variants that represent persistent trends and interpretative challenges to the tradition of Lykourgos from Herodotus to Plutarch. They also demonstrate that there was already uncertainty concerning Lykourgos' genealogy and what exactly he did for Sparta's *kosmos* or constitution by Herodotus' time. The first key difference is Lykourgos' relationship with the existing hierarchy in Sparta. The first version does not identify Lykourgos as a member of either family of the *basileis*, nor does it place him in a position of power or authority within the administrative structure of the *polis*. The Lakedaimonian version, however, puts Lykourgos in a position in which he would be administratively capable of enacting such changes to the overarching socio-political design of the *polis*; he is a regent or guardian of an underaged *basileus*. Additionally, the Lakedaimonian version connects Lykourgos and his institutional reforms to the Agiad family through his relation to Leobotes (Labotas), an Agiad *basileis* of the early ninth century (Hdt. 7. 204).[334]

The second and third key differences are intertwined and are in the details of what Lykourgos did. In the Lakedaimonian version, Lykourgos addressed issues in three important aspects of the Spartan socio-political system, namely matters in the social and ritual sphere, the military sphere, and the political sphere. Alternatively, the version in which Lykourgos is simply a distinguished individual among the Spartans credits Apollo and the Delphic oracle for outlining the entire system (the *kosmos*) to Lykourgos, who then brought it back to Sparta. The changes attributed to Lykourgos in the Lakedaimonian version, I argue, are particular and happen within a complicated, pre-existing structure that shows evidence of pre-existing hierarchies of power and administration (i.e., the *basileis* and a position of guardianship or regency). The more general transformation attributed to the "godlike" Lykourgos without any official position suggests a complete overhaul of the entire way of life in Sparta as dictated by the Pythia/Apollo. The inclusion of the Delphic oracle leads, I argue, to divergences in the tradition concerning Lykourgos' role in the foundation of Sparta's constitution and the level of involvement by

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[334] Lykourgos' regency, as a piece of the tradition of Lykourgos, is discussed at length by Nafissi (2018, 103-6).

Apollo and/or the Delphic oracle. Additionally, it demonstrates that there is disagreement as to where these customs and institutions came from, namely Crete, according to the Lakedaimonian version, or the Delphic oracle and Apollo.[335]

To complicate the tradition further, a third version existed. First proposed by Simonides, it suggests that Lykourgos was a part of the Eurypontid family rather than the Agiad one as presented in the Lakedaimonian version in Herodotus (1.65.4-5). Simonides (fr.628 Page), as quoted by Plutarch (*Lyc*. 1.4), asserts that Lykourgos was the son of Prytanis and the brother of Eunomos. This assertion, at least in Plutarch's text, is in response to a further variation that Lykourgos was the son of Eunomos, rather than his brother. The tradition concerning Eunomos is later complicated by Ephoros, who argues that Lykourgos was the regent or guardian for Charilaos (Charillos), a Eurypontid *basileus* from the late-ninth and early-eighth centuries.[336] This dating perhaps corresponds to Thucydides' chronology who suggests a date in the late-ninth century BCE for the establishment of *eunomia* in Sparta (1.18.1).[337] Thucydides' version notably lacks any mention of Lykourgos, but utilizes the same vocabulary as Herodotus used to describe Sparta's transformation from the worst governed *polis* to a *polis* characterized by *eunomia*, suggesting that both authors are describing a similar, if not the same, event in Sparta's development (Thuc. 1.18.1 and Hdt. 1.65.2). The wide variation in this third tradition is reflected in Herodotus' genealogy of the Eurypontid *basileus* Leotychidas, in which Charilaos (Charillos) is the son of Eunomos, son of Polydektes, son of Prytanis (8.131.2, see table 1), indicating a different genealogical progression in the Eurypontid family than in Simonides, the variant Simonides responds to, and Ephoros. Plutarch presents an even more diverse tradition, stating that "most writers" trace the Eurypontid genealogy from Aristodemos as follows: Prokles, Soos, Eurypon, Prytanis, Eunomos, and Polydektes, who is the half-brother of Lykourgos, "as Dieutychidas narrated" (*Lyc*. 1.4). The inclusion of Soos and the order of Prytanis, Eunomos, and Polydektes demonstrate further variations, as discussed above regarding the Eurypontid family line.

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[335] The importance of Herodotus 1.65 in understanding the early development of the tradition of Lykourgos is further discussed by Nafissi 2018.

[336] See, Nafissi (2018, 103-9) for discussion and bibliography.

[337] Thuc. 1.18.1. Hornblower (1991, 51-4) provides a detailed breakdown of scholarly calculations based on the chronology provided by Thucydides and discusses their historicity.

Discussions of poets visiting Sparta or performing in Sparta are likewise subsumed into this complex network of traditions. According to Plutarch, for example, Terpander, Thales, and Pherekydes, although foreigners, were highly honoured in Sparta because their poetry (and philosophy) supported the teachings and philosophy of Lykourgos (*Agis*. 10.3). In this way, the poets are no longer responding to a current, ongoing issue but are upholding the values of the *eunomia* previously established by an earlier Lykourgos. Their authority to bring about change and interact in the socio-political sphere of the Archaic Greek world is subordinated to the expertise of the lawgiver figure Lykourgos.[338]

Tyrtaios, rather curiously, is not mentioned in connection to *stasis* and *eunomia* in Sparta until Aristotle (*Pol*. 1306b-1307a). Interestingly, Aristotle (*Pol*. 1306b-1307a), Pausanias (4.18.3), and Strabo (8.4.10) all credit Tyrtaios with stamping out civil strife in the seventh century and, rather than attributing the civil strife to an internal conflict, they shift the focus to an external challenge, namely the Second Messenian War. The historicity of the Second Messenian War is questionable at best. Although conflict is certain, it is uncertain who was involved, what the motivations were, and at what time it was completed. Cartledge, for example, argues that this conflict was a "gradual process of pacification" and suggests that rather than a war, we understand this event as a series of conflicts with multiple enemies.[339] While the conflict was a factor in the civil strife crisis, it was not simply the product of an external challenge, as I have argued in agreement with van Wees and Romney.[340] Later authors, however, connect this so-called Second Messenian War with Tyrtaios' poetry regarding constitutional change to fit the existing chronology of Lykourgos. In other words, the threat expressed in Tyrtaios must be external because *eunomia* has already come to Sparta through the intervention of Lykourgos. The pamphlet of the Agiad *basileus* Pausanias, written in exile at the beginning of the fourth century BCE, may have further complicated matters by utilizing Tyrtaios' poetry, or the oracles presented therein, to contradict the so-called Great Rhetra.[341] This created an additional branch in

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[338] Lykourgos, for example, learns from Thales as other lawgivers did (Arist. *Pol*. 2.1274a); van Wees 2009, 1-42; Nafissi 2018, 93-123.

[339] Cartledge 2002, 109-10.

[340] Romney 2017; van Wees 2009; Cartledge 2002, 109-10.

[341] There are no surviving excerpts or fragments of the pamphlet itself. While David (1979) suggests that the pamphlet called for the dissolution of the ephorate, condemning Pausanias' rivals for behaving unconstitutionally, more recent studies have suggested that the pamphlet criticized the Lykourgan system and considered Lykourgos responsible for the creation of the ephorate (Nafissi 1991, 57-62; 2018, 99-100; van Wees 2009, 14-17). Richer (1998, 35-40) contains a summary of the differing opinions and comprehensive bibliography.

the tradition, according to which a second period of *stasis* occurred in the seventh century and was settled by Tyrtaios, while the first had been settled by Lykourgos.[342] The second period of *stasis* was conceptualized by Classical authors as a response to an external conflict that generated pressure for a redistribution of land under an pre-existing Lykourgan constitution. This theory further represents the orthodox interpretation of Sparta that will be further addressed in the next chapter.[343]

Furthermore, as argued above, the proverb, "a man is what he owns," (*Isth*. 2.9-11), and Alkaios' anecdote (fr. 360) regarding wealth, honour, and goodness, reveal a pointed concern for wealth in Archaic Sparta.[344] Van Wees explicitly connects the misinterpretation of such comments to the "legend of Lycurgan equality" that caused earlier knowledge regarding the Archaic Spartan sources to be distorted.[345] If the Spartans were practising something akin to the mirage form of egalitarianism and austerity we expect of them from Plutarch's *Life of Lykourgos*, these sentiments would be entirely lost on them. As Hodkinson has well established, however, neither Archaic nor Classical Spartans practised Lykourgan austerity, nor were the Spartans themselves egalitarian in nature.[346] In fact, private land ownership was a persistent concern from the eighth century onward. It is clear from the work of late-Classical authors such as Xenophon (*Lac. Pol.* 14) and Aristotle (*Pol*. 1269a-1270b) that the land tenure issue of the late-Classical period had hit a desperate point that could only have come after longstanding issues regarding the exchange, sale, and distribution of land. Furthermore, Hodkinson demonstrates that the ownership and transfer of land was a heavily regulated custom in Classical Sparta, and marriage and inheritance were strictly observed.[347] Nevertheless, land transfer was

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[342] Cf. Strabo 8.5.5. See Kennell 2010, 103; Richer 1998. Van Wees (2009, 14-25) and Nafissi (2018, 99-100) discuss the importance of the pamphlet in later interpretations of Tyrtaios and the Rhetra.
[343] See chapter 3.1 "Challenging Orthodox Interpretations."
[344] Van Wees 2009, 3, see n.318.
[345] Van Wees 2009, 3.
[346] Hodkinson 2000.
[347] Hodkinson 2000, 65-112, 151-208, 399-446.

possible and concerns regarding land were persistent. [348] Landownership, transfer, and exchange is further discussed in chapter five.[349]

Likewise, the proverb quoted in Aristotle (fr.544 Rose) and Diodorus Siculus (7.12.6), which states "greed will destroy Sparta, but nothing else," is defined by its relation to Lykourgos and his various traditions. It allegedly came from the Delphic oracle, and Diodorus Siculus (7.12.6) suggests that it was delivered to Lykourgos himself. Plutarch (*Mor.* 239f), however, says that it was delivered to the Spartan *basileis* Alkamenes and Theopompos. Again, the attribution of the saying relies on one's interpretation of Lykourgos and the institution of his reforms. This time the variation concerns the institution of the ephorate itself that, according to one of the traditions presented in Herodotus (1.65), was instituted by Lykourgos (either directly from the Delphic Oracle or from observing Cretan institutions). Aristotle, however, along with several later sources, credits the institution to Theopompos. This attribution is likely an invented tradition emerging, again, after the circulation of the pamphlet of Pausanias, which may have been challenging the legitimacy of the ephorate.[350] In addition to these concerns, van Wees argues on the grounds of dialect that the proverb is not a genuine oracle, given that "all of the several hundred preserved Delphic verse oracles, whether genuine or false, use a mixture of epic and Ionic language."[351] Instead, he argues, like many other Greek proverbs, it is more likely a snippet from lyric poetry. He concludes that, because of the dialect and subject matter, the proverb belongs to a group of cithara-singers from Lesbos based on their prominence in seventh century Sparta.[352] The poet most likely attributed the saying to a spontaneous Delphic oracle, which started the tradition then found in Aristotle (fr.544 Rose), the earliest iteration of the proverb.

In this way, all the evidence that points toward the existence of civil strife in Sparta during the seventh century was viewed by late-Classical and Roman authors through the

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[348] See Hodkinson (2000, 9-17) for a discussion and bibliography concerning the development of the concept of an egalitarian and communitarian Sparta in modern thought and Hodkinson (2000, 19-64) for a detailed discussion and bibliography of the same development in ancient thought. See also Cavanagh's (2018, 70-2) discussion of the survey results regarding non-exhaustive use of land and the apparent shift in settlement patterns in the sixth century as discussed above.

[349] See chapter 5.1 "Historical Context."

[350] See n. 335.

[351] Van Wees 2009, 3.

[352] See van Wees 2009, 4-6; Calame (2018, 180-3) discusses the importance of music as part of an Archaic Spartan "song culture" and includes a discussion of the relevant material, including bibliography.

distorting lens of the traditions of Lykourgos. This tradition was particularly popular in such later narratives in which these Archaic snippets were quoted and contextualized, ultimately colouring our interpretation of them. In other words, the poetry of Tyrtaios has been misrepresented as early as the fourth century in service of a broader argument regarding the Lykourgan development of early Sparta. I make the case that, in attempting to address civil strife from the eighth to the seventh centuries, the position of the dyarchy was gradually made constitutional through a process of applying checks and balances onto an existing version of the Spartan *basileia*. Each formal function in the Classical period was the product of negotiation between the eighth and the sixth centuries (as it was elsewhere throughout the Mediterranean and, to a certain extent, in the Near East).[353] The Classical Spartan *basileia*, therefore, is the result of a period of negotiation following a marked period of civil strife in the seventh century. It is precisely in this period of strife and instability that Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] was composed. I now examine the fragment more closely.

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[353] Mitchell 2013, 14-15, 25-30; Atack 2020, 1-6.

Chapter 3: Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] and the Return of the Herakleidai

As discussed in chapter one, Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] is an understudied fragment of the political poem entitled *Eunomia*.[354] It is preserved in two ancient sources. Fifteen lines are discernable on a papyrus from Oxyrhynchos (*POxy*. 38 2824), which, however, contains some significant gaps. The first-century geographer Strabo (8.4.10) also quotes four lines of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*. He uses them to illustrate that Tyrtaios was Spartan based on the use of the first-person plural, which, he argues, includes Tyrtaios amongst the Spartan audience of the poem.[355] Before providing the quotation, Strabo states that this excerpt was "in the elegy which they entitle *Eunomia*," (ἐν τῇ ἐλεγείᾳ ἣν ἐπιγράφουσιν Εὐνομίαν·).[356] Using Strabo to complete verses 12-15, the fragment reads as follows:

<div style="text-align:center">

]. . υι . . [
] . . ε θεοπρο[π
        ] . . φ . . ενακ[
] . μαντει ασαν [
        ] τ̲ειδεταθή . [
]π̲άντ' εἶδεν . [
        ἄ]ν̲δρας ἀνιστ[αμεν
]ι [.]ηγαλα[
        ] . . [. . .]θεοῖσι φί[λ
]ω πειθώμεθα κ[
        ]αν̲ ἐγγύτεροι γέν[εος·
αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων] καλλιστεφάνου [πόσις Ἥρης
   Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις] ἄστυ δέδωκε τό[δε
οἷσιν ἅμα προλιπ]όντες Ἐρινεὸν [ἠνεμόεντα
   εὐρεῖαν Πέλοπ]ο[ς] νῆσον ἀφικόμ[εθα
        ]γλαυκῶπ[ι]δος[

</div>

5

10

15

The initial verses mention prophecies and oracles (θεοπρο[π, 2; μαντειασαν[, 4).[357] Gerber suggests that "in what precedes v. 9 there are references to consultation of the Delphic oracle and to men standing up, presumably to speak," referring to ἄ]νδρας ἀνιστ[αμεν, but the fragmentary nature prevents the identification of the subject and verb form.[358] The scant verses between lines 8 to 10 translate as "dear to the gods/ let us obey/ nearer to the *genos*." When Strabo's quotation (8.4.10) is considered, verses 12 to 15 may be translated as:

> For he, the son of Kronos himself, husband of beautifully-crowned Hera,
>
> Zeus, gave to the Herakleidai this city here
>
> with whom, after leaving behind windy Erineos,
>
> we arrived at the broad isle of Pelops.

The final line includes enough to discern the epithet "grey-eyed" (γλαυκώπ[ι]δοσ), commonly used for Athena.[359]

The latter half of the fragment (9-15) draws the audience in through the use of the first-person plural forms πειθώμεθα (10) and ἀφικόμ[εθα (15), suggesting a public performance that attempted to actively engage the audience in the poem's contents. It identifies its audience as the Dorian-Spartans (14-15) with whom the poet aligns himself, again by using the first-person plural ἀφικόμ[εθα (we arrived, 15). The poem encourages obedience (πειθώμεθα, 10) of himself and the audience to a group, presumably the Herakleidai, who are characterized by their close relationship to the gods (9-11) and have been given their rule over the city by Zeus himself (12-13). Gerber translates as follows; "…let us obey (the kings since they are?) nearer to the race (of

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[357] θεοπρο[π is likely connected to prophecy; see LSJ, s.v. θεο-προπέω I "prophesy," but only in part. masc., (i.e., θεοπροπέων ἀγορεύεις Hom. *Il.*1.109); LSJ, s.v. θεο-προπέω II to be a θεοπρόπος or s.v. I θεο-πρόπιον, τό (i.e., Hom. *Il.* 1.85; θεοπροπίων εὖ εἰδώς Hom. *Il.* 6.438: in Prose, ἐκ θεοπροπίου Hdt.1.7.); s.v. I θεο-πρόπος, ον, "prophetic," (i.e., οἰωνιστής Hom. *Il.*13.70); s.v. II as a substantive, "seer," or "prophet" (i.e., Hom. *Il.* 12.228; Hom. *Od.* 1.416) or a public messenger sent to inquire of an oracle (i.e., Hdt.1.48). Likewise, μαντειασαν has something to do with oracular responses, prophecy, power of divination or prophetic power; see LSJ, s.v. μαντ-εία I, "prophetic power," "power of divination" and II "oracle," or "prophecy." The ending, -σαν, is problematic. The prophetic vocabulary may be strengthened by verse 5, πάντ᾽ εἶδεν; a reference to knowledge of all things. See Gerber 1999, 37.

[358] Gerber 1999, 37; West does not print the acute accent on the iota perhaps suggesting that he is uncertain about what follows ἀνιστ[, Turner, in the *apparatus criticus*, suggests ἀνιστ[αμένους.

[359] Gerber 1999, 39. The rulership of the Herakleidai might have happened with the aid of Athene as West suggests in his critical apparatus to line 16 "populumque subegimus Minervae auxilio." Athena (Chalkioikos) certainly played a prominent role in Spartan religion occupying a central location on the acropolis with activity at her temple since c.950 BCE (Cavanagh 2018, 63; Flower 2018; Coulson 1985). Additionally, Athena in the Classical period was one of two deities, alongside Zeus, to whom the *basileis* offer sacrifice (Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 13.2). See LSJ, s.v. I γλαυκ-ῶπις, ἡ.

the gods?),” whereas van Wees translates, “de[ar] to the gods…let us obey…closer in ori[gin]…”[360] Van Wees concludes that, “despite the gaps, the sense is fairly clear. The Spartans must obey their kings, the Heraclids, since their power is divinely sanctioned: not only are they ‘closer in origin’ and ‘dear’ to the gods, but Zeus himself gave them control over Sparta.”[361] In addition, the hortatory subjunctive, “let us obey,” followed by an explanatory γὰρ, suggests that the poem is addressing an ongoing issue threatening the legitimacy of the Herakleidai as the Spartan *basileis*.[362] The poem encourages the audience to obey the Herakleidai now and presumably in the future because their position was established in the past by a divine agent, Zeus. Additionally, the oracular vocabulary in the earlier portion of the fragment (2-5) suggests that the poem may have supported the role of the Herakleidai or the established *polis* hierarchy, with oracles that likewise approved them.[363] Furthermore, the poem narrates the Dorians’ participation in the mythic Return of the Herakleidai (14-15), in which the great-grandchildren of Herakles, with the military support of the Dorians, “reclaimed” Argos, Messenia, and Lakonia.[364] The brief narration by Tyrtaios is the earliest extant evidence for the Return of the Herakleidai in a text of any kind and Malkin describes it as the very “essence of the Heraklid/Dorian charter myth.”[365] The poem provides two explanations as to why the Dorians, the intended audience of the poem, ought to obey the Herakleidai. These include the gift of the *polis* to them by Zeus and the subordinate position of the Dorians in the Return of the Herakleidai, which implicitly represents the enactment of their rightful political claim in Sparta.[366] I argue that both explicit and implicit claims respond to a contemporary political challenge to the rulership of the *basileis* and, therefore, emphasize their legitimacy.

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[360] Gerber 1999, 37-9; van Wees 2009, 6.

[361] Van Wees 2009, 6. See West (1974, 184) for similar supplements.

[362] Romney (2017, 565-6) states, “the command of the obedience depends on the narrative given in lines 12-15, which the explanatory γάρ introduces: the Herakleidai/kings must be followed because Zeus gave Sparta…to them.” See also van Wees 2009, 6.

[363] Cf., Gerber 1999, 37. Wees (2009, 6) explicitly connects the oracles to the position of the *basileis*: “in this context, it seems likely that the ‘oracles’ referred to earlier also in some way support the kings’ right to rule.”

[364] The term Herakleidai is somewhat flexible referring, for example, in the *Iliad* to Tleptolemos (*Il.* 2.653; 5.628) and Thessalos (*Il.* 2.676-9) suggesting it can refer simply to any children of Herakles (e.g., Eur. *Heracl.*). It is also used, however, for Herakles’ grandchildren and great-grandchildren as in the Return of the Herkaleidai. One could argue the label took on a political nature in Sparta in that, as I discuss below, direct descent from Herakles through a particular line of the Herakleidai was a requirement for the Spartan *basileis* and was a defining feature of the Spartan *basileia*. I discuss this in further detail below but suffice it to say that Tyrtaios refers to a tradition regarding the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Herakles; cf., Romney 2017, 556 n.5.

[365] Malkin 1994, 33.

[366] See Romney 2017.

In this chapter, I begin by addressing the orthodox interpretation of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* in its assumed historical context, namely the Second Messenian War. The impetus for the composition of the poem is an internal challenge, rather than an external one, prompting a new interpretation of the poem.[367] My contribution to this shift, as I demonstrate in this chapter and chapter four, is a full exploration of fr.2 West^2 utilizing this new perspective. Irad Malkin's argument regarding fr.2 West^2 is representative of how the orthodox understanding of the historical context affects one's interpretation of the content of the poem. He presents the myth of the Return of the Herakleidai as a "charter myth" of the Herakleid and Dorians and suggests its use in fr.2 West^2 is representative of its ability to produce a legitimate claim over geographic territory. Malkin argues that this usage was common in texts of the Classical period, such as Isokrates' *Archidamos*. I challenge Malkin's interpretation, and the orthodoxy broadly, on two points. First, given the new understanding of the historical context of the internal seventh-century crisis, any interpretation assuming the poem was composed solely in response to the Second Messenian War is problematic. Second, I argue that any interpretation of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai and the ethnic origin myth of the Dorians in Tyrtaios based on Classical variants of the myths is flawed. I conclude this chapter by suggesting that, rather than expressing a concern for ancestral land, as is common with this myth in claims over Messenia in a post-Leuktra context, we ought to consider the use of the myth in terms of its original function to legitimize rulership, first in Argos and then in Sparta.

3.1 Challenging Orthodox Interpretations

As discussed in chapter one and two, the historical context of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* has been understood through the work of later ancient authors who quote Tyrtaios to discuss the Messenian Wars and the constitutional development of Sparta (e.g., discussions of the Great Rhetra). Scholarship, likewise, focuses on the poem's utility in reconstructing a functional timeline of the events that led to and followed the establishment of Lykourgos' Great Rhetra, which is generally accepted as historical.[368] This is evident in the provocative title of van Wees' publication against such an approach: "Tyrtaeus' *Eunomia*: Nothing to do with the Great Rhetra," in which van Wees' successfully disentangles fr.4 West^2 from Plutarch's Great Rhetra

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[367] Romney 2017; van Wees 2009; see chapter 2.3 "The Seventh Century 'Civil Strife Crisis.'"
[368] See Andrewes 1938, 89-102; Wade-Gery 1944, 1-9; Tigerstedt 1965, 56-7; West 1974, 185; Nafissi 1991, 72-3. For comprehensive bibliography, see van Wees 2009, n.1.

(*Lyc*. 6). Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2], however, is only discussed in passing. Malkin's understanding of Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] is a product of the orthodox interpretation of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* as a response to the Second Messenian War. Although Herodotus and Thucydides do not mention Tyrtaios or his *Eunomia*, Aristotle (*Pol*. 1306b35-1307a5) cites the *Eunomia* as a case study for the type of strife that emerges when land distribution is inequitable, as discussed in chapter two.[369] He notes that upheaval was caused in Sparta because of a military conflict with the Messenians: "and this happened in Lakedaimon about the time of the Messenian war" (συνέβη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ὑπὸ τὸν Μεσηνιακὸν πόλεμον). Aristotle was the first to mention the connection between the event known by scholars as the Second Messenian War and Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*, and this influences later ancient authors' perspectives on the poem.[370] Some of these later authors even suggest that Tyrtaios himself was a soldier in the Second Messenian War.[371] The connection, therefore, between Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* and the Messenian War is not in the poetry of Tyrtaios itself.

Additionally, the historicity of the Second Messenian War has long been in question.[372] Other than the fragments of Tyrtaios, there is scant contemporary evidence for the existence of the war. Cartledge exhausts the available evidence, concluding that, at best, it is a "plausible modern theory" that a Messenian revolt (not a war) broke out in the seventh century.[373] He suggests that it was sparked by a precarious combination of events, all of which are uncertain: the defeat at Hysiai by Argos, itself conjectural and recorded only by Pausanias (c. 669 BCE, 2.24.7); the threat of Argive power presumably at its peak in the mid-seventh century; the murder of Polydoros (Paus. 3.3.1; 4.7.7), an Agiad *basileus*, thought to be murdered for attempting social reform; and the call for a redistribution of land (Arist. *Pol.* 1306b35-1307a5).[374] Cartledge suggests that the lack of contemporary sources to corroborate the

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[369] See chapter 2.3 "The Seventh Century 'Civil Strife Crisis.'"

[370] For discussion of the so-called First and Second Messenian Wars, their chronology, and the scholarly debates surrounding them, see Figueira 2018; Luraghi 2002. The conflict against the Messenians mentioned by Aristotle would be the Second, rather than the First Messenian War. For examples of post-classical sources impacted by Aristotle's discussion of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*, see Strabo 8.4.10 and Paus. 4.18.3.

[371] Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F216.

[372] For discussion including archaeological evidence and further bibliography, see Cartledge 2002, 109-12. See Parker (1991, 1993) and Forrest (1963) for examples of chronology as both flexible with regards to the dating of the Messenian Wars and as the primary focus of scholarly inquiry regarding the utility of Tyrtaios and his *Eunomia*.

[373] Cartledge 2002, 109-11.

[374] Cartledge 2002, 109-10. For the Second Messenian War as a revolt (cf. Pl. *Leg*. 777c), see Figueira 2018, 567; Cartledge 2002, 109-11. See Cartledge (1977) and Wade-Gery (1949) for further discussion on the historicity of the

historicity of the Second Messenian War is not itself "a fatal object to the theory." Nevertheless, the archaeological evidence indicates that any conflict that may have occurred resulted in a merely gradual process of pacification.[375] Thus, the very concept of a war that neatly started and ended at a particular time through military conquest was likely the creation of later authors looking back on an ancient past. Additionally, Cartledge contends that the late eighth to mid-seventh century was characterized by attempts to consolidate surrounding, available land under Spartan control. He states, "the Spartan victory should perhaps be interpreted as a gradual process of pacification including the spread of Spartan control to the west coast of Messenia south of the Nedha, which may not have been completed much before the end of the seventh century." Cartledge thus understands the conflict with Messenia in the broader context of the development and consolidation of Lakonia under Spartan control (dated c.550 BCE).[376] The Spartans of the seventh century were not fighting solely against the Messenians over Messenian land, but more broadly throughout Lakonia as a general process of consolidating their power. As discussed in chapter two, land distribution and an inequitable ownership of land among Spartan elites was a crucial aspect of the "civil strife crisis" in seventh-century Sparta.[377] The conflict is representative of a widespread concern for land occupation across Lakonia and not necessarily of a Spartan-Messenian conflict.[378] While Messenia is a part of the process to consolidate Lakonia under Spartan control, the broader perspective allows us to de-centre Messenia in discussions of the historical context of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* and challenges us to think more holistically about Sparta's relationship to non-Spartans south of the Thyreatis on the northeastern border and south of the Nedha river on the northwestern border (see fig.3).

As for the fragments of Tyrtaios, fr. 5 West[2] is the only one to explicitly mention Messenia:

> ἡμετέρῳ βασιλῆϊ, θεοῖσι φίλῳ Θεοπόμπῳ,
>   ὃν διὰ Μεσσήνην εἵλομεν εὐρύχορον,

Battle of Hysiai and the threat of Argive power in the seventh century BCE. Also note Flower (2018, 439) whose discussion well represents the ongoing, vexing nature of this debate. Additionally, Roy (2018, 358) well summarizes the rise of Argive power in the seventh century BCE in relation to Sparta and Lakonia. See Nafissi (2018, 93-123) for a discussion of Polydoros and the issue of land redistribution and social reform as a part of the Lykourgan tradition and associated invented traditions. Additionally, see Parker (1991; 1993) for a more positivistic discussion of Polydoros and the call for land redistribution.

[375] Cartledge 2002, 110.
[376] Cartledge 2002, 110.
[377] See esp. sections 2.2 "The Development of the Eurotas Valley," and 2.3 "the Seventh Century 'Civil Strife Crisis.'
[378] Van Wees 2009; Hodkinson 2000, 1-7.

Μεσσήνην ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἀροῦν, ἀγαθὸν δὲ φυτεύειν·
    ἀμφ᾽ αὐτὴν δ᾽ ἐμάχοντ᾽ ἐννέα καὶ δέκ᾽ ἔτη
5   νωλεμέως αἰεὶ ταλασίφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες
    αἰχμηταὶ πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες·
    εἰκοστῷ δ᾽ οἱ μὲν κατὰ πίονα ἔργα λιπόντες
    φεῦγον Ἰθωμαίων ἐκ μεγάλων ὀρέων.[379]

to our *basileus* Theopompos, dear to the gods,

through whom we seized spacious Messene,

Messene, good to till and good to plant,

over it for nineteen years

5   vehemently, continuously, while holding their spirit steadfast,

the spearmen fathers of our fathers kept fighting,

and in the twentieth year they [the Messenians], after leaving behind their rich

farmsteads, fled from the high mountain range of Ithome.

The fragment refers to a conflict against the Messenians that occurred three generations before the composition of the poem (πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες), commonly interpreted as referring to the initial capture of Messenia in the so-called First Messenian War.[380] As Romney argues, the fragment highlights that by the mid-to-late seventh century BCE, "the (First) Messenian War had entered into the Spartan communal memory as an important event."[381] She adds that Theopompos' victory over Messenia was being placed alongside the return of the Herakleidai as a means of heroizing the past.[382] The conflict with Messenia, which had occurred in the past, was then described in seventh-century Sparta as a heroic, historical event, about which a general Spartan audience would be well informed. The mention of a conflict against the Messenians in the past, however, does not prove the existence of a prolonged Second Messenian War, which late-Classical and post-classical authors suggest and modern scholars often assert with fr.5 West[2] as their only piece of evidence. Although the fragment's mention of a conflict with the

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[379] Tyrtaios fr.5 West[2] = fr.2, 3, 4 Gentili-Prato. West (1989-1992, 172) and Gerber (1999, 44) print fragment 5 as one whole, whereas Gentili-Prato (1988, 22-3) and Prato (1968, 25-6) print them as three separate fragments. The first 2 lines are quoted in Paus. 4.6.5, the third in Schol. Pl. *Leg*. 629a, and the fourth to eighth lines are in Strabo 6.3.3.
[380] Prato (1968, 77) aligns this phrase with τρίτη γενεά from Paus. (4.15.2) and his explanation of the phrase (1968, 30 n.112) demonstrates the general scholarly concern of dating the Messenian Wars using this passage. He notes, however, that there was a group of scholars, he mentions Schwartz (1899, 438) in particular, who see the phrase as generic, meaning simply 'in the time of our ancestors.'
[381] Romney 2017, 558.
[382] Romney 2017, 558; Grethlein 2010, 56-7.

Messenians could be compared with a contemporary conflict, the fragment itself does not explicitly make such a comparison. Furthermore, fr.23 West[2] deserves some discussion because it too mentions the Messenians possibly alongside others, potentially their allies. The fragment defies complete interpretation due to its incomplete nature.[383] The papyrus, *POxy*. 3316, does, however, explicitly mention the Argives (Ἀργείωνυνελ, 15).[384] The confirmation of Argive involvement in fr.23 West[2] leads Cartledge to conclude that Sparta was militarily preoccupied with Argos in the mid-seventh century, suggesting, again, that Messenia was not the sole military target of seventh-century Sparta.[385]

The preconceived notion of understanding Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* as the product of a Second Messenian War was the reason for assigning Tyrtaios fr.6 and 7 West[2] to this very poem in all standard editions. Presumably these two fragments describe the experience of the Messenian population, after their subjugation by Sparta. Tyrtaios fr. 6 West[2] describes the unfortunate lot of an unnamed subject population generally thought to be the Messenians:

> ὥσπερ ὄνοι μεγάλοις ἄχθεσι τειρόμενοι,
> δεσποσύνοισι φέροντες ἀναγκαίης ὕπο λυγρῆς
>   ἥμισυ παντὸς ὅσον καρπὸν ἄρουρα φέρει.[386]

just like asses worn down by heavy burdens,

bearing to their masters because of grievous necessity

half of all the produce which the land bears.

Tyrtaios fr.7 West[2] suggests that these subjects and their spouses collectively mourn their masters when they die:

> δεσπότας οἰμώζοντες, ὁμῶς ἄλοχοί τε καὶ αὐτοί,
>   εὖτέ τιν᾿ οὐλομένη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου.[387]

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[383] Fr. 23 West[2] = fr.10 C col. 2 Gentili-Prato = *P.Berol*. 1165 fr.C col. ii. The fragmentary parts of the papyrus suggest a military context, cf. fr.19 West[2] = fr.10 A col.2 = P. Berol. 11675 fr.A col. ii. See Prato's discussion (1968, 140) as an example of the typical, historical interpretations of these fragments. He suggests the poem describes a historical seventh-century battle, the Battle of the "Fossa Grande" or "the Battle of the Great Trench." This is representative of the traditional approach to Tyrtaios' poetic texts from the perspective of historical positivism.

[384] The *apparatus criticus* provides the following note: "Ἀρ]κάδες (Haslam) veri. sim.; cf. fr.8 fort. Ἀργείω(ι) νῦν."

[385] For discussion, see Cartledge (2002, 109) and Tausend (1993). In the first edition of *Sparta and Lakonia* (1979) Cartledge was granted permission to include this papyrus in his discussion of Spartan development and military activity in Lakonia in the seventh century in advance of its first publication (M. W. Haslam 1980, *POxy*. XLVII 3316).

[386] Tyrtaios fr. 6 West[2] = fr. 5 Gentili-Prato (Paus. 4.14.4-5).

> lamenting their masters, both they themselves and their wives,
>
> whenever the baneful lot of death reached one.

Because of van Wees' problematization of the historical context, Grethlein explicitly argues that fr.6 and 7 West[2] do not belong to Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*. Their attribution is the result of late-Classical associations between the poem and the Messenian Wars, but the fragments on their own do not provide sufficient information to conclusively say they are the product of an initial conquest or a later one.[388] Neither van Wees nor Romney consider Tyrtaios fr.6 West[2] or 7 West[2] to be part of the *Eunomia*. They agree that the poem *Eunomia* comprises fragments 2 and 4 West[2], and Romney leaves room for fr.5 West[2] (although she is not wholly committed to its attribution).[389] Consequently, fr.5, 6, and 7 West[2], which most strongly point towards the Messenian War as the historical context for Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*, cannot be connected definitively with Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2]. We must reconsider, then, the historical context of fr.4 and 2 West[2]. Instead of viewing it as a response to the Second Messenian War, van Wees sees Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* as "an example of the way in which the Spartan authorities typically responded to the seventh-century crisis."[390]

3.1.1 Recontextualizing Tyrtaios fr.4 West[2]

Van Wees confidently re-examines fr.4 West[2] accordingly, arguing that the oracle therein dictates the maintenance of a prescribed order in the Spartan assembly, placing the *basileis* and the *gerontes* in a position of authority over the *demos*. He argues convincingly that Tyrtaios fr.4 West[2] was composed in response to a challenge to the internal operation of the assembly, including their decision-making process for deciding whether to continue or how to manage ongoing military operations, as discussed above. Van Wees prints the fragment as follows, omitting the two lines introducing the quotation, which differ between Diodorus (7.12.6) and Plutarch (*Lyc.* 6.10), and leaving verse 8 deliberately problematic:

> ἄρχειν μὲν βουλῆς θεοτιμήτους βασιλῆας,
>   οἶσι μέλει Σπάρτης ἱμερόεσσα πόλις,
> 5   πρεσβυγενέας τε γέροντας· ἔπειτα δὲ δημότας ἄνδρας

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[387] Tyrtaios fr.7 West[2] = fr.5 Gentili-Prato (Paus. 4.14.4-5). Gentilit-Prato (1988, 23-4) prints as one fragment (fr.5) what West (1989-1992, 173) breaks into two (likewise, cf. Gerber 1999, 46-9). For the participation of the entire community including Spartiates, *perioikoi*, and helots in the funeral festivities for a Spartan *basileis*, see Hdt. 6.58.

[388] Grethlein 2010, 293; Luraghi 2008, 73-5.

[389] Romney 2017; van Wees 2009.

[390] Van Wees 2009, 25.

εὐθείαις ῥήτραις ἀνταπαμειβομένους
μυθεῖσθαί τε τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἔρδειν πάντα δίκαια,
   [?] μηδέ τι ἐπιβουλεύειν τῆιδε πόλει [?]
δήμου τε πλήθει νίκην καὶ κάρτος ἔπεσθαι.
10   Φοῖβος γὰρ περὶ τῶν ὧδ' ἀνέφηνε πόλει.[391]

"Counsel is to begin with divinely honoured kings,

who have the lovely city of Sparta in their care,

5   and with the ancient elders. Then the men of the people,

responding in turn to straight *rhētrai*

must say what is noble and do all that is just

but not longer [?] plot [?] against the city [?].

Victory and power will attend the multitude of the people."

10   For thus Phoebus declared to the city in these matters.[392]

Both authors, Diodorus and Plutarch, introduce the quotation as an oracle given to either Lykourgos or the Spartan *basileis* Theopompos and Polydoros, respectively. Van Wees states that, "the difference between the two quotations and interpretations, and the garbling of one of the verses, have inspired much debate and make it necessary to examine these texts in detail."[393] He concludes that although most scholars prefer Plutarch's version to Diodorus', the two sources were not "very different in their methods and reliability, despite having very different motives."[394] It is possible, therefore, "that Plutarch and Diodorus do not offer one false and one genuine version of Tyrtaeus, but two different selections of genuine material from the same poem."[395] Van Wees argues for an interpretation of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* that "tries to understand and reconstruct *Eunomia* on its own terms" rather than "in the light of the Great Rhetra." [396]

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[391] I print van Wees' text (2009, 9) and translation here because I will be exploring his argumentation. The first four verses occur in both authors, the final four are derived from Diodorus alone. Van Wees' text differs from West (1989-1992, 171) at verse 8, where van Wees presents the text un-emended, although it does not fit the metre, rather than printing the common emendation: μηδέ τι βουλεύειν τῆιδε πόλει <σκολιόν>· Tyrtaios fr. 4 West² = fr. 1b Gentili-Prato. Van Wees (2009, 11) provides an alternative emendation μηδ' ἔτι βουλεύειν.

[392] Van Wees 2009, 9.

[393] Van Wees 2009, 6.

[394] Van Wees 2009, 7.

[395] Van Wees 2009, 8. See van Wees (2009, 29-30 n.26) for bibliography regarding line attributions and n.31 for bibliography regarding the emendation (e.g., Gentili-Prato 1979). Wilamowitz (1884, 286) and Meyer (1892, 227), for example, suggest it was intended to be prose and, therefore, no emendation is needed. Van Wees (2009, 10-11) finds the commonly accepted emendation problematic on the same grounds as the overall interpretation of the fragment, namely that it relies on expressions from Plutarch, in this instance regarding "crooked speech," which, he argues, would have been cited verbatim from Tyrtaios had he actually used it. He then goes on to suggest a rather

Van Wees first argues that verses 7 and 8 describe what will result for the people and the *polis* if they follow the procedures described by the oracle, that is if the *basileis* and *gerontes* begin council and the *demos* responds in turn with straight *rhetrai*. According to the oracle, the result is that victory (νίκην) and power (κάρτος) will be shared amongst the citizens of the *polis*. Van Wees takes the last two words from the corrupt line (verse 8), τῆιδε πόλει, as connected to the following verse (verse 9), with something missing before "the city."[397] He suggests two possibilities to produce metrical verses that would correspond with the historical context and rhetorical effect of the fragment: 1) ὥσθ' ἅμα, which would produce "and not to counsel further so that victory and power will attend (both) this city and the multitude of the people," or 2) ἀλλ' αἰεί, which would produce "and not to counsel further; but always victory and power would attend the city."[398] Either emendation is metrically possible and would produce a similar meaning, which would emphasize the need for obedience amongst the *demos* on the basis of an oracle that promises community prosperity. For comparison, the orthodox interpretation of this line favours an emendation that reads μηδέ τι βουλεύειν τῆιδε πόλει [σκολιόν], "and not give the city (crooked) counsel." This emendation, while metrically possible, is problematic. The emendation is produced based on sentiments found in the Great Rhetra (Plut. *Lyc.* 6.1-4), because of which scholars argue that the original oracle and, by extension, Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*, gives the *demos* an active political role in the Spartan assembly.[399] The historical context of Tyrtaios, however, as van Wees demonstrates, does not support such a role for the Spartan *demos* in the seventh century BCE. The orthodox emendation prompts the reader to imagine an antagonism between the people and their leaders that is unrealistic "especially in a poem which otherwise asserts the legitimacy of the kings, and in an oracle which emphasizes the need for

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different meaning based on the "garbled verse" as printed; see below for discussion and van Wees (2009, 9-14) for the full argument.

[396] Van Wees 2009, 9, see also 27-9, n.1; cf. West 1974, 185; Tigerstedt 1965, 65-7; Wade-Gery 1944, 3-4.

[397] Van Wees 2009, 11, 30-1 n.36; cf. Tyrtaios fr.10.23 West² ἤδη λευκὸν ἔχοντα κάρη πολιόν τε γένειον and Tyrtaios fr.12.15 West² (cf. Hom. *Il*. 3.50) πόληϊ τε παντί τε δήμῳ.

[398] Van Wees 2009, 9-12.

[399] The translation of this line is from Gerber (1999, 41). Van Wees 2009, 9-12, 30 n.28; Wade-Gery 1944, 1, 6; Prato 1968, 73. See also Cartledge (2002, 113-16) and Kennell (2010, 45-50) for how these interpretive concerns contribute to conversations regarding the historical context and constitutional development of Sparta.

obedience."[400] Even in the Classical period, although the *demos* (composed of Spartan citizens) had the power to vote, they were not able to speak or make proposals themselves.[401]

Additionally, there is uncertainty whether εὐθείαις ῥήτραις (Tyrtaios fr.4.6 West^2), straight *rhetrai*, is to be taken as a "true dative" or an instrumental one; do the male citizens respond "to" straight *rhetrai* or "with?" Van Wees argues convincingly that, although both are grammatically possible and the latter is more popular because, again, it parallels the role of the people in the assembly described in Plutarch's Rhetra (Plut. *Lyc*. 6.1-4), nevertheless, the "true dative" is preferable.[402] If it were intended to be instrumental, he argues, it would be redundant given that the following verse stipulates that the people "must speak the good things and do all things just," (μυθεῖσθαί τε τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἔρδειν πάντα δίκαια Tyrtaios fr.4.7 West^2). The key to understanding the fragment, and the corrupt verse, is to carefully consider the relationship that is being contrasted. The use of μὲν in the first verse and ἔπειτα δέ in the third contrasts both the *basileis* and the *gerontes* and their right to begin the assembly with the participation of the citizens themselves. The fragment ultimately emphasizes the need for obedience to this system to achieve a positive outcome for everyone. If we interpret the dative as instrumental, rather than a true dative, line 7 would be redundant, whereas, as van Wees argues, the true dative adds something important to the rhetorical presentation of the information. The true dative stipulates that the *rhetrai* put forth by the *basileis* and *gerontes* are inherently "straight" and ought to be responded to in turn. According to van Wees, the use of the prefix ἀντ- in the unusual verb ἀνταπαμείβομαι "strongly suggests the idea that the people's response should match what has been presented to them, and this fits best if the oracle speaks of 'straight' proposals or decisions by the authorities, in response to which the assembly's words and deeds must be equally 'noble' and 'just.'" [403] Van Wees' approach understands the historical context and considers the meaning of Tyrtaios fr.4 West^2 accordingly, divorced from the influences of the Great Rhetra.

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[400] Van Wees 2009, 11, 30 n.34.

[401] Consider the parallelism with the structure of the Homeric assembly as discussed by Carlier (2006, 101-10) and van Wees (2009, 9-10), cf. Thuc. 1.67-88.

[402] Van Wees 2009, 9-10, 30 n.28.

[403] Van Wees 2009, 10. Van Wees also argues that it is not until much later in Sparta that the term *rhetra* was a "technical term for a proposal put to an assembly or council." See van Wees 2009, n.29; Plut. *Agis*. 5.3, 8.1, 9.1.

Van Wees briefly connects Tyrtaios fr.4 West[2] to the content of fr.2 West[2], suggesting that it likewise justifies the position of the *basileis* based on divine approval.[404] He concludes that the poem, *Eunomia*, relies on "reminders of divine approval of established order," referencing "oracles, rituals, and songs."[405] Romney likewise states, "fragment 2 responds to a political challenge, not a martial and/or territorial one," relying on van Wees' contextualization of fr.4 West[2].[406] I turn now to fr.2 West[2] to likewise unravel our understanding of its context and interpretation by focusing specifically on the myth of the return of the Herakleidai.

3.1.2. Recontextualizing Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2]

The orthodox reading of Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2], as a part of the *Eunomia*, takes the reference to the return of the Herakleidai (14-15) as an expression of rightful land ownership in the context of the Second Messenian War. In other words, the reference reminds the Dorian-Spartans in the audience that they share the rights to the land of the Messenians along with the *basileis*. Malkin contends that the four verses of fr.2 West[2] express the "essence of the Herakleid/Dorian charter myth," understanding the myth as an expression of a shared, co-operative past between the two.[407] He presents three alternative hypotheses to explain Zeus' divine allotment, stating simply that all three "belong to the context of the Second Messenian War."[408] Each hypothesis clearly demonstrates the focus on an external military challenge as the impetus for the creation of the poem.

The first hypothesis interprets verses 12 to 15 as a "rallying cry" to encourage Spartan soldiers and assure them "that Zeus and their Herakleid kings are still on their side."[409] In this interpretation, Sparta is the city given to the Herakleidai by Zeus and the text serves to embolden the audience and present a message of cooperation between the two. The use of the myth of the return of the Herkaleidai would characterize the cooperation between the Dorians and the Herkaleidai as ancestral and continuous. Malkin calls this a "general patriotic exhortation."[410]

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[404] Van Wees 2009, 6.
[405] Van Wes 2009, 25-6.
[406] Romney 2017, 561.
[407] Malkin 1994, 33.
[408] Malkin 1994, 35. As van Wees (2009, 26-7 n. 1) argues about the connection between Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* and the text of the Great Rhetra (Plut. *Lyc*. 6), the connection between fr.2 West[2] and the Second Messenian War is likewise taken for granted in Malkin's interpretation.
[409] Malkin 1994, 35.
[410] Malkin 1994, 35.

The second hypothesis, like the first, identifies the *astu* in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] as Sparta. Malkin argues that the Dorian-Spartans hear references to the return of the Herakleidai as encouragement to protect Sparta. In this scenario, the Messenians present a serious threat to Sparta's security and Tyrtaios is calling upon the audience to defend it. Malkin summarizes the message of the fragment as "do not forget…why this land is *ours*," again emphasizing that the poem presents a cooperative message to embolden military defence.[411] The final hypothesis suggests that the *astu* in question might be Messene. If this were the case, then the fragment would act as "a conquering cry for Messenia," suggesting that the Dorians and the Herakleidai have rightful claims over the land of Messene, and not Sparta.[412] Malkin seems less committed to this possibility, suggesting that "it would be 'true', inasmuch as Messenia was part of the legacy of the Herakleidai."[413]

Malkin concludes his argument that all three options – "a general patriotic exhortation, a call for the defence of Sparta, and a conquering cry for Messenia – belong to the context of the Second Messenian War."[414] Generally, all three hypotheses support the idea that the invocation of the return of the Herakleidai encourages the Dorian Spartans to fight against the external threat of the Messenians, and that the fragment asks the audience to obey the Herakleidai, as their military generals, since they are the rightful rulers of both Messenia and Lakonia. He continues that this historical context is "highly significant because the articulation of the charter myth appears as a *response to a challenge*."[415] Malkin adds:

> It is perhaps no accident that the most explicit articulations of the charter myth of the Return of the Herakleidai resound in our sources at the times of the greatest challenges to Sparta vis-à-vis Messenia: During the Second Messenian War (Tyrtaios) and after Messenia had regained its independence (the *Archidamos* and later sources).[416]

Malkin thus connects references to the myth of the return of the Herkaleidai with external challenges. This connection, I argue, reveals a further preconceived notion, namely that the myth of the return of the Herakleidai in Tyrtaios and later sources such as Isokrates' *Archidamos*

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[411] Malkin 1994, 35.
[412] Malkin 1994, 35.
[413] Malkin 1994, 35. See Romney (2017, 560-1) for a critical assessment of this suggestion.
[414] Malkin 1994, 35.
[415] Makin 1994, 35.
[416] Malkin 1994, 36.

expresses the same concern and responds to a similar historical context (i.e., when Sparta's control of Messenia is under dispute). There are two problematic assumptions present in Malkin's interpretation of Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2]. The first assumption is that the historical context is the Second Messenian War, a spurious event that was overemphasized by later sources to produce a cohesive chronology of early Spartan history and development that is congruent with Lykourgos' alleged reforms. The second assumption is that the motivations behind the composition of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* and its reference to the myth of the return of the Herakleidai can be understood through a comparison with later versions of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai. The myth of the return of the Herakleidai in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2], however, provides only the fundamental elements of the myth, namely that the Herakleidai travelled to the Peloponnese along with the Dorians with a claim to Sparta given to them from Zeus: "Zeus, has given to the Herakleidai this city here / with whom, after leaving behind windy Erineos, / we arrived at the broad isle of Pelops (13-15)."[417] Tyrtaios' fragment lacks many of the elaborated features we find in later narratives. For example, Isokrates' *Archidamos* describes the legitimacy of each of the three individual claims that the Herkaleidai have over Argos, Messene, and Lakonia respectively (16-19). Furthermore, some narratives completely deviate from the conventional tradition. For example, Herodotus' description (6.52) of the origin of the Spartan dyarchy includes the twin's mother, who contrives that Eurysthenes and Prokles share rulership in Sparta by stating that she does not know which of the two was born first. Their joint-rule is then legitimized by the Delphic oracle. As Alcock argues, thinking about variants with an either/or perspective is largely outmoded, since "recent work on the creation of social memory points in a new direction, toward accepting an incessantly dynamic process of remembrance and oblivion, commemoration and rejection."[418] In other words, there is no right version of the return of the Herakleidai, but rather each is the result of a dynamic process, in which aspects of the myth are altered to produce something cogent for the audience at a particular moment that is both plausible and functional. It is worth considering, therefore, what aspects of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai were operative when Tyrtaios was composing his poem *Eunomia*. Additionally, we must consider that Tyrtaios made choices when he composed his poem that hint

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[417] Tyrtaios fr.2.13-15 West[2] : Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις] ἄστυ δέδωκε τό[δε / οἶσιν ἄμα προλιπ]όντες Ἐρινεὸν [ἠνεμόεντα / εὐρεῖαν Πέλοπ]ο[ς] νῆσον ἀφικόμ[εθα.
[418] Alcock 1999, 338-9; Luraghi 2008, 45-8.

at both the function and plausibility of the myth for his audience. I now turn to the origin of the myth and its transmission history to address these questions.

3.2 The Origin of the Return(s) of the Herakleidai

The term "return of the Herakleidai" generally refers to a series of stories concerning the return of the descendants of Herakles to positions of leadership in three major regions of the Peloponnese: Argos, Sparta, and Messenia. The claims to rulership in these locations are based on the life and deeds of Herakles prior to his expulsion from the Peloponnese by Eurystheus, a rival of Herakles, who expelled Herakles and his sons to keep his own position of rulership in Argos. I discuss this in greater detail below. The fundamental elements of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai emerged, perhaps, as early as the ninth or eighth centuries and are commonly accepted to have originated in Argos.[419] The evidence for this origin is, first, that the ruling Argive family, the Temenids, were the only ones from the three regions to be named after one of the Herakleid leaders, Temenos.[420] Second, it is only in the Argolid that Herakles had a claim to rulership based on birth, whereas Pylos and Sparta were won by conquest.[421] Third, the genealogical tradition of Herakles and the appearance of Herakles and his descendants in cult seem to be richer in the Argolid than elsewhere.[422] Furthermore, as I elaborate below, many aspects of the myth that pertain particularly to Argos and rulership in Argos are the most elaborate in their earliest performances, which suggests a certain degree of antiquity.

There are two returns of the Herakleidai with respect to Argos. The first showcases Hyllos, the son of Herakles, and Herakles' nephew, Iolaos, who is said to have returned to the Argolid specifically to seek revenge against Eurystheus, who was responsible for expelling Herakles and his sons.[423] The earliest references to the myth, both from the fifth century BCE, highlight that a certain degree of variation already existed between these recorded texts and

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[419] Tigerstedt 1965, 31; Prinz 1979, 206-313; Hall 1997, 61-2; Luraghi 2008, 46-67; Patterson 2010, 31-6. This fact is so well accepted that Patterson, for example, takes this for granted, no longer citing where this argument originated, he states (2010, 31) "There is also general (not universal) agreement that…[the myth] originated in Argos."

[420] Tigerstedt 1965, 31; Hall 1997, 61; Patterson 2010, 31-2.

[421] Hall 1997, 61; Patterson 2010, 32. The return of Tyndareos and Neleus (Isoc. *Archidamos* 19; Hom. *Il*. 11.69-93; Hesiod fr.33(a) M-W, cf. Tigerstedt 1965, 31.) create claims of rulership as the products of conquest followed by the granting of guardianship.

[422] Hall 1997, 61-2; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 358; Parker 1989, 146.

[423] Pind. *Pyth*. 9.79-83; Eur. *Herakleidai, Temenos, Archelaos*; Ant. Lib. 33 = Pherekydes *FGrH* 3 F84.

earlier versions of the myth that are not available to us *via* a text. Pindar (*Pyth*. 9.79-80) briefly references the myth by simply stating that Iolaos cut off Eurystheus' head. The more elaborate account comes from Euripides' *Herakleidai*, which features an older Iolaos. It begins with Hyllos challenging Eurystheus to single combat, which the latter refuses. Iolaos prays to Zeus for temporary youth so that he can fight against him, successfully captures him, and takes him to Alkmene, Herakles' mother, in Marathon, where they debate his fate. The play concludes with Eurystheus led off stage to be executed. The conclusion of Euripides' *Herakleidai* is likely a commentary on the treatment of prisoners of war and the play has a distinctly Athenian flavor that likely influences its presentation of the myth.[424] These two references demonstrate that the myth itself was older and not invented by Pindar or Euripides. Since Pindar merely references the myth in two lines of verse, it is probable that the audience was aware of a version of the myth where Iolaos and Eurystheus fight against one another. Euripides' *Herakleidai* is one of three dramas that we know of that featured the return of the Herakleidai: the *Herakleidai* dramatizes the return of Herakles' son Hyllos and his nephew Iolaos; the *Temenos* and the *Archelaos* feature the second return of the Herakleidai, referring to the great-grandsons of Herakles.[425]

Every version of the first return of the son of Herakles, Hyllos, from Pindar to Apollodoros contains a certain degree of variation. For example, Diodorus (4.57) and Apollodoros (*Bib.* 2.8.1) record that Hyllos killed Eurystheus himself, whereas in Pindar (*Pyth.* 9.79-80), Strabo (8.6.19), and Pausanias (1.44.9) it is Iolaos who is responsible for his death. Additionally, both Pausanias and Euripides mention the sacrifice of a young woman, Makaria, who was the daughter of Herakles. Pausanias says (1.32.6) that she is memorialized by a spring at Marathon. Gantz makes the plausible suggestion that Pausanias may have uncovered an "old local tradition" connecting the presence of a local spring-cult to a version of the myth that was in circulation by the time of Euripides' *Herakleidai* at the latest.[426] Apollodoros (*Bib.* 2.8.1), however, omits Makaria even though the action takes place at the same location, at the Skironian

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[424] See Kovacs 1995, 3-7; Burian 1977; Avery 1971. See also Taddei (2014) for a more recent discussion of the Athenian elements of Eur. *Heracl*., namely the Panathenaea in the third stasimon, 748-83.

[425] I am utilizing the text of Euripides *Herakleidai* and the *Temenos*, *Archelaos*, and *Kresphontes* as printed in the Loeb: *Euripides* Vol. II, ed., and trans., by Kovacs (1995) and Euripides' *Dramatic Fragments* Vol. I (2008) and II (2009) ed., and trans., by Collard and Cropp.

[426] Gantz 1993, 465. Makaria is much like Iphigenia, cf., Eur. *Heracl*. 408-601; Paus. 1.32.6; with the description of Iphigenia's sacrifice Procl. loc. cit. 55; Eur. *IA; IT*. For discussion of these types of sacrifices in Attic drama, see Mimidou, (2012). For this type of local variants of popular myth in Athenian social memory, see Steinbock (2017).

rocks, as Pausanias relates. Gantz suggests that it might be significant that both authors include the Skironian rocks in both versions perhaps adding some credibility to the idea that the location was significant to the myth.[427] A scholion to Pindar says that Iolaos had died and rather than wishing for youth, wished to come back to life for a day and was granted this wish. In this version, Iolaos killed Eurystheus and promptly died again (Σ *Pyth*. 9.137). The same scholion argues that the version in which Iolaos is simply made younger is an attempt to make an earlier version, in which Iolaos was dead, more plausible, and Gantz agrees.[428] For Gantz, the inclusion of Hyllos as the killer of Eurystheus may also have been the result of similar thinking. In other words, since Iolaos was too old to be participating in this conflict, they included Hyllos, the next plausible choice.[429] These examples highlight how scholars typically approach the history of such myths, i.e., by considering the frequency of certain details and their plausibility. There is also, in the case of the Scholiast, a certain degree of rationalization. The existence of so many variations indicates that the myth was popular in the fifth century BCE and that both versions in which Iolaos and Hyllos respectively kill Eurystheus likely existed prior to the fifth century. If this is the case, the variations support the argument that, prior to the Classical period, there was likely a complex web of myths regarding a return of the Herakleidai, albeit about the son, rather than the great-grandsons of Herakles. [430]

The second return of the Herakleidai, the more popular of the two in Spartan studies, refers to Herakles' great-grandchildren, who are said to have returned to the Peloponnese to complete what Hyllos had began. This myth is a continuation of the previous myth. The two are connected by the need to eliminate Eurystheus as a threat to the descendants of Herakles. Eurystheus had to be removed from his position of rulership in Argos for the sons of Herakles to return and this is accomplished by the first return of Hyllos. For example, Apollodoros (*Bib*. 2.8.2) and Diodorus (4.58.1-4) present the death of Eurystheus as the impetus for the Herakleidai to return, as a collective, to the Peloponnese. The attempt, however, to return is made difficult for Hyllos. For example, Apollodoros tells us that Hyllos attempted to push further into the Peloponnese but was forced to retreat. He then obtained an oracle from Delphi that ordered him

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[427] Gantz 1993, 465.
[428] Gantz 1993, 465.
[429] Gantz 1993, 465.
[430] These elements point towards the conglomerate nature of the myth of the return of the Herkaleidai as a product of the bringing together of independent myths: Hall 1997, 57; Luraghi 2008, 48-60; Patterson 2010, 33-5.

to wait for the "third fruits" (τὸν τρίτον καρπὸν) before returning (*Bib.* 2.8.2-4). Hyllos misinterprets the oracle, thinking that it meant three years, and, after waiting only three years to return, he is stopped at the Isthmus of Korinth by Atreos and his Tegean allies. Both Diodorus (4.58.1-5) and Herodotus (9.26.3-5) record that Hyllos was killed in single combat by the Tegean Echemos. The presence of this detail in Herodotus' *Histories* demonstrates that this element of the myth, which connects the return of the Herakleidai in the form of Herakles' great-grandsons to the initial attempt made by Hyllos, is not a late-Classical or post-Classical addition but was already well-known by the middle of the fifth century BCE.

Luraghi pointedly questions, however, whether the return of the Herakleidai, meaning the return of the great-grandsons of Herakles, and the division of the Peloponnese among them originated prior to the fifth century: "it is possible to observe that at Argos in the first decades of the fifth century the interest in myths connected to Heracles and the Heraclids seems to be increasing."[431] He argues that, "Argos in the 470s represents clearly an almost perfect background for a revival of the myth of the Heraclid conquest and division of the Peloponnese, and it is worth considering seriously if the origin itself of the myth has to be earlier."[432] This is a fair criticism, and Luraghi continues that, "it is significant that no source before Pindar mentions or even alludes to the division of the Peloponnese among the Heraclids."[433] I would argue, however, that the mention of the Herakleidai in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] suggests otherwise. If the division of the Peloponnese in the myth of the return of Herakles' great-grandsons is, indeed, a fifth-century invention, then the story of Hyllos and Iolaos would likely be the only version of the return of the Herakleidai that existed prior to the sixth century. This theory is seriously undermined, however, by the representation of the myth of the return of the Herkaleidai in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2], since Tyrtaios states explicitly that Zeus has given the ἄστυ (i.e., Sparta) to the Herakleidai, a detail which is not supported by the story of Herakles' son, Hyllos and his ultimately unsuccessful return to the Peloponnese or Argos, more particularly. Tyrtaios' version of the return of the Herkaleidai necessitates that there be a different explanation for the claim of rulership of the Herkaleidai than is provided in the unsuccessful return of Hyllos, Herakles' son. Additionally, Zeus does not feature prominently in any other version of the return of the

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[431] Luraghi 2008, 60-1.
[432] Luraghi 2008, 60-1.
[433] Luraghi 2008, 60, esp., n. 47.

Herkaleidai and Tyrtaios' fragment focuses specifically on Sparta, hence the use of the singular ἄστυ (or *polis*) rather than a plural in reference to all three regions (i.e., Argos, Lakonia, Messenia). Zeus' role in this fragment is further explored in chapter four.[434] How, then, do we account for elements of the myth of the return of the great-grandsons of Herakles that are fifth-century inventions or additions, since a version of the great-grandsons' return must have existed in the seventh century for Tyrtaios to draw upon?

Hall rightly points out that the genealogical tradition of Herakles was "far richer, and presumably more developed" than the genealogical traditions of, for example, the first Spartan *basileis* who traced their descent back to Herakles, but, in the Classical period, generally no further.[435] Discussions of Kresphontes, the descendant of Herakles originally promised Messenia, and his descendants or the Aipytid ruling family are likely a fourth-century invention and have no grounding in the Archaic period.[436] Additionally, Hall argues that the person of Herakles and his descendants received more cult honours and appear more substantially in the topographic record of Argos than in Lakonia or Messenia.[437] Hall suggests that the presence of Herakles in cult and the topographic record demonstrates that the myth of the return of the Herakleidai in Argos was firmly established in oral tradition and in cult in a manner that was not true of Lakonia or Messenia in the early Archaic period.

The names of the three Herakleid leaders, Temenos, Aristodemos, and Kresphontes, were likely fundamental to the myth in its original form from Argos.[438] Patterson sensibly proposes that if the myth originated in Argos and Temenos is their ruling eponym, they likely "invented the figures of Cresphontes and Aristodemus to account for the Dorian divisions that currently existed in the Peloponnesus, that is, in the eighth century."[439] Moreover, the division of the Peloponnese into three independent places with Herakleid rulership was a fundamental element

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[434] See chapter 4.2 "The Gift of Zeus."

[435] Hall 1997, 56-62; see Hdt. 7.204; 8.131.2. Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] suggests, however, that a connection to Zeus is significant. See Hdt. 6.51-2 for the reconning of family trees to heroes versus to gods in the context of the return of the Herakleidai and the establishment of the Spartan *basileia*.

[436] The Aipytid family are the descendants of Kresphontes, one of the great-grandsons of Herakles to complete the return of the Herakleidai. The name, Aipytos, comes from the son of Kresphontes, named in late-Classical sources as discussed below. Luraghi 2008, 61-7; Patterson 2010, 31-8, 79-82.

[437] Hall 1997, 61-2; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 358. This can be complicated by the lack of archaeological protection and immediacy in both Messenia and Lakonia as discussed by Christensen 2019. It is possible that this picture might change with the discovery and study of new archaeological sites and materials from both regions in the future.

[438] Patterson 2010, 33

[439] Patterson 2010, 33.

of the myth already present in the Homeric epics.[440] Herakles' claim to Argos *via* inheritance by birth (Hom. *Il.* 19.120-4) and his claim to Pylos by means of killing Neleus, Nestor's father, already appear in both the Homeric and Hesiodic texts.[441] For example, Nestor (Hom. *Il.* 11.690-3) speaks of the time when Herakles killed all eleven of his brothers, leaving him alone to rule in Pylos, which is narrated in greater detail by Hesiod (fr.33a-35 M-W). Furthermore, the Herakleid claim to rulership in Sparta *via* the return of Tyndareos may have been a fundamental feature of the foundation of the dyarchy in the *polis* in the 8th century.[442] What seems likely given the evidence discussed above is that the myth of the return of the Herakleidai involving both the attempted return of Hyllos leading to the death of Eurystheus and the final return of Herakles' great-grandsons (Temenos, Aristodemos, and Kresphontes) existed in some form in the collective memory networks within the Peloponnese for Tyrtaios to draw upon in the seventh century BCE. The precise form of these myths is the subject of the remainder of this chapter.

3.3 The Myth of the Return of the Herakleidai: Adaptations

It's likely that the Spartan rulers of the eighth century coopted a myth from the social or collective memory network within the Peloponnese that was used to legitimize rulership in Argos. Most scholars emphasize that the rulers of Sparta, the Agiad and Eurypontid families, lacked corresponding eponyms to the original returning Herakleidai in comparison to the Temenids, who, as mentioned above, are named after Temenos, the Herakleid who led the return of the Herakleidai.[443] Scholars argue on the basis of this conclusion that the Spartan ruling families connected themselves to a Peloponnesian myth with an Argive origin. It is possible that, beyond the names of Temenos, Aristodemos, and Kresphontes, no other details regarding their return existed prior to the fifth century BCE. Patterson perceptively suggests that Eurypon and Agis, the eponymous *basileis* of the Spartan ruling families, the Eurypontids and the Agiads, "had been part of Spartan epichoric tradition before they became part of the return story, figures remembered or invented by the houses bearing their names."[444] Prokles and Eurysthenes, the so-

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[440] Hall 1995, 586-7; 1997, 57-62; 2002, 93-8; Luraghi 2008, 46-68 esp. 48-60; Patterson 2010, 33.
[441] Patterson 2010, 31-2. Herakles' Argive origin is also attested in Ps.Hes. *Shield of Herakles*.
[442] Patterson 2010, 32-3. See also Malkin 1994, 22-6; Gantz 1993, 426-8. The implications of the myth of the return of Tyndareos are further discussed in chapter five.
[443] Tigerstedt 1965, 31-4, n.151; Hall 1997, 61-2; Cartledge 2001, 28; 2002, 89-92, 295; Luraghi 2008, 46-67; Patterson 2010, 31-6; *contra* Piérart 1991, 140.
[444] Patterson 2010, 33.

called originators of the dyarchy, were likely invented or remembered and then connected in myth to Aristodemos to add antiquity to the ruling families. Patterson argues that the two ruling families in Sparta were likely fortifying themselves within an existing tradition by creating a connection to Aristodemos. This connection would give the Spartans "the right to claim supremacy in the Dorian world" through Prokles and Eurysthenes, "while the identity of the royal houses continued to reside with local figures," i.e., Eurypon and Agis. Eurypon and Agis, Patterson claims, could be considered by the Spartans "of better moral fiber than their fathers (the ones invented by the Argives), thus distancing the Spartans from their fellow Dorians."[445] In other words, by blending the two traditions, the epichoric tradition and the tradition concerning the return of the Herakleidai, the ruling families of Sparta could espouse strong local and Peloponnesian connections through Eurypon and Agis and Prokles and Eurysthenes respectively, that support their rulership in Sparta and the expansion of their territory into the Peloponnese. Similarly, Tigerstedt argued that "the myth took its rise in Argos" and was utilized by Sparta for both political and territorial gain as a "propagandistic pseudo-history in the form of a myth" that was created for the purpose of justifying the domination of the Peloponnese "by ascribing to their ancestor a series of mythical conquests."[446]

Both Patterson and Cartledge compellingly argue that the Spartan ruling families wanted to distinguish themselves from other elites who could claim some kind of Herakleid descent in Lakonia.[447] Cartledge argues that the myth lends support to the hypothesis that the dyarchy originated in the eighth century BCE (as discussed at length in chapter two) and, therefore, the myth must have been established earlier.[448] The very use of an Argive myth for the purpose of legitimizing rulership in Sparta lends credibility to the argument that supporting rulership was, indeed, the purpose of the myth in Argos. The usage in Argos indicates that its main function was legitimization rather than claiming ownership over land and, in particular, Messenian land, as has long been thought, following the lead of late-Classical sources. The use of this myth to

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[445] Ephoros was wondering about this as well (*FGrH* 70 F118 = Strabo 8.5.5): see Patterson (2010, 34).

[446] Tigerstedt 1965, 33-4; Patterson (2010, 31) likewise discusses how the myth of the return of the Herakleidai has long been argued to be "propagandistic" in nature. Patterson (2010, 185 n.37) refers to Dowden (1992, 71) for this application of the term 'propaganda.'

[447] Patterson 2010, 33-4; Cartledge 2001, 28; 2002, 89-92, 295.

[448] See chapter 2.1 "The Origins of the Spartan *Basileia*." Cartledge 2001, 28; 2002, 295; see Millender (2018, 467-73) on "the roots of royal power."

claim ownership in Messenia, as I argue in full below, emerged later in a different historical context after several changes and adaptations of the myth had occurred.

There are significant additions to the myth of the return of the Herakleidai in the fifth and fourth centuries that must be considered because they impact our understanding of the myth and its applicability, wholesale, to the historical context of seventh-century Sparta. By the fifth century, the tripartite division of the Peloponnese among the Herakleidai functioned to explain why, although being ethnically related, the three regions, Messenia, Lakonia, and the Argolid, were not allies.[449] There was enmity among the three from the sixth century BCE to the second century CE and there is reason to believe that this hostility reached further back in time.[450] According to both the literary and archaeological records, Sparta was in contact with both the Argolid and Messenia by the eighth century BCE and conflict remained central to their relationships.[451] With this context in mind, additions were made to the myth of the return of the Herakleidai to further explain such long-standing animosity. There are three distinct Classical additions to the myth that make versions, in particular those that were created after the defeat of Sparta at the battle of Leuktra in 371 BCE and the subsequent liberation of Messenia in 369 BCE, simply unusable for our understanding of the use of the myth in the historical context of Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2. These three aspects of the myth are: 1) the use of a trick in the division of the Peloponnese amongst the three Herakleidai following their successful defeat of Tisamenos and local forces in Argos; 2) elaborations of Kresphontes' life following the tripartite division of the Peloponnese and Isokrates' re-imaging of Spartan ownership of Messenia; and 3) the re-ordering of the Messenian mythical past following its liberation by Epaminondas and his northern Peloponnesian allies (i.e., Arkadia) in 369 BCE. Understanding these three aspects as additions and continuations allows us to deduce what parts of the myth, to the best of our knowledge, were available to Tyrtaios from the complex web, so to speak, of Greek collective memory, broadly conceived.[452] Additionally, this investigation demonstrates just how significant

[449] Luraghi 2008, 50; Patterson 2010, 33.

[450] See Cartledge (2002, 109-10) on Argive and Spartan enmity in the seventh century. The 'historical' chapters in the Blackwell companion to Sparta (2018) well summarize the system of alliances throughout the Archaic and Classical periods in the Peloponnese and provide full bibliography: see Roy (2018, 354-73, esp. 357-60), Lupi (2018, 271-90, esp. 275-8), Powell (2018, 291-319, esp. 313-14), and Ruzé (2018, 320-53, esp. 331-2, 334).

[451] Cartledge 2002, 65-137; Roy 2018, 354-73.

[452] Here I use "Greek collective memory" broadly to include Spartan, Dorian, Peloponnesian, and Pan-Hellenic stories that contribute to the various constructions of identity. The return of the Herkaleidai, here, is one example of such a story that is then adapted for the specific purposes of the author and/or context.

the particular historical context is for understanding the functionality and plausibility of various retellings of this myth.

3.3.1 The Trick Motif

First, we consider the division of the Peloponnese by lots, which is first described by the first century BCE geographer Strabo (8.5.6) in his comparison of the topographic and geographic nature of Lakonia and Messenia. He quotes Euripides (fr.727e Kannicht):

> Περὶ δὲ τῆς φύσεως τῶν τόπων καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν Μεσσηνιακῶν ταῦτα μὲν ἀποδεκτέον, λέγοντος Εὐριπίδου· τὴν γὰρ Λακωνικήν φησιν ἔχειν
>
>> πολὺν μὲν ἄροτον, ἐκπονεῖν δ᾽ οὐ ῥᾴδιον·
>> κοίλη γὰρ ὄρεσι περίδρομος τραχεῖά τε
>> δυσείσβολός τε πολεμίοις,
>
> τὴν δὲ Μεσσηνίαν
>
>> καλλίκαρπον
>> κατάρρυτόν τε μυρίοισι νάμασι,
>> καὶ βουσὶ καὶ ποίμναισιν εὐβοτωτάτην,
>> οὔτ᾽ ἐν πνοαῖσι χείματος δυσχείμερον
>> οὔτ᾽ αὖ τεθρίπποις Ἡλίου θερμὴν ἄγαν·
>
> καὶ ὑποβὰς τῶν πάλων φησίν, ὧν οἱ Ἡρακλεῖδαι περὶ τῆς χώρας ἐποιήσαντο, τὸν μὲν πρότερον γενέσθαι
>
>> γαίας Λακαίνης κύριον, φαύλου χθονός·
>
> τὸν δὲ δεύτερον τῆς Μεσσήνης,
>
>> ἀρετὴν ἐχούσης μείζον᾽ ἢ λόγῳ φράσαι,
>
> (οἵαν καὶ ὁ Τυρταῖος φράζει).[453]

> One may accept the following statements by Euripides about the natural condition of these regions as well as that of Messenia; he says that Laconia has
>
>> lots of arable land, but is not easy to cultivate,
>>
>> for it is hollow, surrounded by mountains all around and rough
>>
>> hard to attack for enemies
>
> while Messenia, on the other hand, is
>
>> rich in crops
>>
>> with innumerable streams flowing through,
>>
>> abounding in pasturage for cattle and sheep
>>
>> not fiercely cold in winter when the storms blow,

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[453] Greek text from Radt (2003). The fragment of Euripides quoted by Strabo is fr.727e Kannicht, the poem to which Strabo refers at the conclusion of the excerpt is likely Tyrtaios fr.5 West². Note Radt's choice to print Μεσσηνίαν rather than Μεσσηνιακήν (Jones 1927, 142): see Radt (2007, 449) for further discussion.

> nor too hot due to the four-horse chariots of Helios;

and a little further he says that, of the lots that the Herakleidai cast for the land, the first was

> lordship over the land of Lakonia, a poor land;
>
> The second Messenia,
>
>> so fertile it cannot be put into words
>
> (as also Tyrtaios indicates).[454]

The description of Lakonia and Messenia does not explicitly mention a deceit or trick in the division of the Peloponnese; rather it establishes the quality of Messenia and Lakonia as lots to be drawn. Although the play no longer survives in full, this fragment is attributed to Euripides' *Temenos* or *Temenidai*.[455] The play that is described, although fragmentary, devotes a considerable amount of space to the drawing of lots that would determine who of the descendants of Herakles would take up rulership in each of the three locations (Messenia, Lakonia, and Argos).[456] In the *Temenos* (or *Temenidai*), Temenos organized the drawing of lots for Messenia and Lakonia after having been granted Argos on the grounds of being the eldest.[457] Luraghi argues that although none of the cursory versions of the tripartite division of the Peloponnese explicitly describe the deceit or trick, they likely included one of some kind.[458]

The most elaborated versions of the myth that include the trick are found in the work of Apollodoros (*Bib.* 2.8.4) and Pausanias (4.3.5), although, much like we saw with the first return of the Herakleidai by Hyllos, the details are not the same in both accounts. Apollodoros (*Bib.* 2.8.4) states that after the Herakleidai were successful in defeating Tisamenos and they had established an altar to Zeus and sacrificed at it, Temenos, Kresphontes, and Prokles and Eurysthenes (the twin sons of their deceased brother, Aristodemos) cast lots for the territories; the first draw was for Argos, the second Lakedaimon, and the third for Messene. They were to

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[454] Translation is adapted from Radt (2003; 2007) and in consultation with Jones (1927) and Roller (2014).

[455] The two are grouped together, see Collard and Cropp's introduction to *Temenidai* and *Temenos* (2009, 225-7) and Kannicht *TrGF* 68 and 69 p. 719-25. For the division of the fragments between the two texts, see Harder 1991, 123-4.

[456] See Collard and Cropp's introduction to *Temenidai* and *Temenos* (2009, 225-7) for a discussion of the fragments' history and interpretation.

[457]*POxy.* 2455 fr.9 and fr.10 (printed by Kannicht *TrGF* 68 & 69 i-ii, p. 719-21). Fr.9, line 9 (αν Τήμενος ἀπ]ή‹ι›τησ[ε]ν [ὁ] πρεσ[βύ]τατος) characterizes Temenos as the eldest with respect to rulership in the Argolid (line 8 ends with τ[ὴν μ]ὲν Ἀργεί-), cf. Luppe 1987: 196–7; Luraghi 2008, 49-50; Silva 2022.

[458] Luraghi 2008, 49-50.

put rocks into a pitcher of water to draw from, but Kresphontes cast a clod of earth instead so that he would gain the territory he wanted, namely Messene. Each then found an animal that the seer, Oxylos, would interpret for them; Temenos found a toad, which meant he should stay within his city as the toad is not good on its legs, Aristodemos' sons, Prokles and Eurysthenes, found a snake, which meant they would be hard to defeat in battle, and Kresphontes found a fox indicative of his wily nature. The final detail regarding the fox in addition to the deceptive nature of the trick implies Kresphontes, and by extension the Messenians, were tricksters.

Pausanias' version (4.3.5) is quite different from that of Apollodoros. Rather than lots being drawn for all three regions, Argos was already given to Temenos, and he controlled the drawing of lots for the other two, as in Euripides' *Temenos* (or *Temenidai*). Pausanias says that Kresphontes wanted Messenia and went to Temenos to obtain it, making him an accomplice in his deceit. Then, instead of drawing for a specific region, the first to be drawn would get to choose which territory they desired. Both lots were made of earth in this version; Kresphontes' lot, however, had been fired, whereas the clay for the sons of Aristodemos was dried in the sun. The clay of the twins dissolved, leaving Kresphontes' piece of fired-earth behind. Consequently, Kresphontes was selected and chose Messenia as his region. Luraghi cites Sophocles' *Ajax* (1283-7) as evidence for the existence of the story of the dividing of the Peloponnese by lots involving a deceit in the fifth century BCE:

> χὦτ᾽ αὖθις αὐτὸς Ἕκτορος μόνος μόνου,
> λαχών τε κἀκέλευστος, ἦλθεν ἀντίος,
> οὐ δραπέτην τὸν κλῆρον ἐς μέσον καθείς,
> ὑγρᾶς ἀρούρας βῶλον, ἀλλ᾽ ὃς εὐλόφου
> κυνῆς ἔμελλε πρῶτος ἅλμα κουφιεῖν.

> And again, when he came against Hector, man to man,

> by lot and without orders,

> having thrown in a token that was no runaway, no lump of wet earth,

> but one that was bound to leap first out of the crested helmet?"

It is speculative whether this reference to a lottery involving a lot made out of clay indicates knowledge of the division of the Peloponnese, although it is tantalizing.[459] It does, however, support the idea that a fifth-century audience was familiar, perhaps, with the trick.

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[459] cf. Hom. *Il*. 7.38-312; Luraghi 2008, 50. See Finglass (2011, 493-4) for further discussion.

Most scholars consider the trick to be a justification for Sparta's continued hostility toward Messenia.[460] As a variation to the myth, it is historically significant that the addition emerges following the earthquake in the 460s BCE, which led to the most well-known Messenian revolt and a re-settling of Messenians by Athens in Naupaktos.[461] The trick, therefore, has long been thought by scholars to be an invention of the Spartans creating an anti-Messenian version of the original division of the Peloponnese in an attempt to undermine Messenia's independence. If, however, the story of the division and the deceit were originally devised by Sparta, the sons of Aristodemos likely would have fared better in the myth. In other words, in a pro-Spartan version one might expect that there would be no tripartition and that both Messenia and Lakonia would be allotted to Aristodemos or the sons of Aristodemos, thus strengthening their claim to both territories. Moreover, the accounts of Ephoros and Apollodoros suggest that Lakonia was the least desirable territory, which seems a detail unlikely to be created or maintained by the Spartans themselves.[462]

Furthermore, the Spartans, according to Herodotus (6.52.1), maintained that Aristodemos survived the conflict and lived to see the birth of his sons, who were then permitted to rule jointly as a dyarchy following the approval of the Delphic oracle: "The Lakedaimonians say, in agreement with no other poet, that it was Aristodemos, son of Aristomachos, son of Kleodaeos, son of Hyllos, who led them to that land which they now possess, rather than the sons of Aristodemos."[463] The tradition presented by Herodotus may contrast with a tradition found in the work of a Spartan poet, Kinaithon, and the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, which would support the version of the myth that Aristodemos died prior to the division of the Peloponnese, leaving his twin sons to become joint-rulers.[464] Where, then, does Herodotus' version come from? Luraghi convincingly argues that Herodotus was likely referring to a Lakedaimonian tradition that aligned with a Panhellenic version, "probably epic," of the division of the Peloponnese

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[460] Robert 1921, 662; Vitalis 1930, 50-1; Kiechle 1966, 497; Harder 1991, 130 n.32; Luraghi 2008, 51.

[461] Luraghi 2008, 62; Patterson 2010, 35-6, n.59.

[462] Luraghi 2008, 51.

[463] Hdt. 6.52.1 Λακεδαιμόνιοι γὰρ ὁμολογέοντες οὐδενὶ ποιητῇ λέγουσι αὐτὸν Ἀριστόδημον τὸν Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὕλλου βασιλεύοντα ἀγαγεῖν σφεας ἐς ταύτην τὴν χώρην τὴν νῦν ἐκτέαται, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τοὺς Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδας.

[464] Perhaps a work entitled *Herakleia* attributed by some to Kinaithon, although the attribution of fr.6 and 7 Bernabé is uncertain, see Luraghi (2008, 53-4, n.27-8) and Hornblower and Pelling (2017, 153-4) for further discussion and bibliography.

rather than a local Argive or Lakonian one.[465] In order for Herodotus' version to have a connection to a local Argive or Lakonian version of the myth, we would need to see evidence of a version that featured Aristodemos himself being deceived by Kresphontes and Temenos. If this existed, it has disappeared from the record completely. It is possible, although unlikely, that the Spartans invented such a version, but no longer used it, but this does not help explain Herodotus' story. As Luraghi argues, it is more likely that the version found in Herodotus, in which Aristodemos survived the return of the Herakleidai and was allotted Sparta, dying after his sons were born (6.52), was preserved by some other poet with Panhellenic relevance, perhaps Kinaithon, meaning his version of the events of the myth would be more widely known by a broader Greek audience. Luraghi argues further that it is possible this poet's version, alluded to by Herodotus (6.52.1), perhaps suggested that the dyarchy itself was established by Kresphontes and Temenos to cripple Sparta's chances, which would have undermined Sparta's possession of Messenia and would, therefore, not have been invented by them. If, in this imagined version of the division of the Peloponnese, Aristodemos was dead and his twin sons were too young to rule, it is possible that Kresphontes and Temenos would have been guardians of Aristodemos' sons. We are now, however, speculating based on versions of the myth that we do not have.

To summarize, whereas the twins, Prokles and Eurysthenes, in Herodotus (6.52.1) are necessary for explaining the origins of the dyarchy and any contemporary enmity between the *basileis*, they are superfluous in a version of the myth that includes the deceit.[466] Xenophon (*Ages*. 8.7) likewise asserts that Aristodemos, not his sons, took up rulership in Sparta before his twin sons. This detail of the survival of Aristodemos demonstrates an alternative to the myth of the division of the Peloponnese that either does not include the trick, which seems to always involve the sons of Aristodemos, or does not emphasize it. If such a version existed, it would support the hypothesis that the Spartans did not use the trick performed by Kresphontes to support their own claim over Messenia. Isokrates, in his discourse *Archidamos*, crafts an argument for Spartan ownership over Messenia in the voice of Archidamos III, a Eurypontid *basileus* (c. 360-38 BCE), using the myth of the return of the Herakleidai. Importantly, he does not utilize the trick to undermine Messenia's independence. He relies, instead, on the fate of Kresphontes, to which I return below. It is likely, therefore, that the Spartans did not invent this

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[465] Luraghi 2008, 53-4, n.27-8.
[466] Luraghi 2008, 53-5. cf. Xen. *Ages*. 8.7.

portion of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai, in which the Peloponnese was divided into three by the casting of lots.

How are we to understand the significant variation in the telling of this division of the Peloponnese by lots? First, the variations likely describe different stories of the division of the Peloponnese with different functions. According to Luraghi, Euripides' version, which probably inspired the fact that Argos was not available for selection in Pausanias (4.3.5), was likely the product of an increased interest in the figure of Herakles and the Herakleid ancestry of Argive leadership in the fifth century BCE.[467] Luraghi compellingly argues that the trick does not have to be interpreted as an anti-Messenian, pro-Spartan element of the myth.[468] While the guile and *mētis* (cunning) demonstrated by Kresphontes is neither uncommon nor unheroic, the trick-motif likely originated at a time when Messenia was not independent, indicating it is probably not an original element of the myth, but an invention to attempt to undermine Messenian attempts at independence.[469] It is also possible that the trick motif undermines the legitimacy of Messenia's independence by suggesting that it was not gained through legitimate means, but through trickery, although Luraghi convincingly argues against this interpretation. The dissolution of the clods of earth is likely symbolic, indicating Messenia's lack of independence. In versions of the myth when the clod of earth dissolves, either leaving two or one lot to choose from, depending on the version, the trick backfires and there is literally no lot to draw. As Luraghi states, "the (in)solidity of his lot mirrors the (in)solidity of his gain," undermining any potential claim Messenia might make to independence via Kresphontes.[470]

Luraghi suggests that the story implicitly highlights Messenia's lack of independence. This lack of independence may be why Pausanias attempted to create a more overtly pro-Messenian version, in which the Messenian lot is the only one that is drawn, rather than the reverse, where the Herakleidai draw lots for multiple regions. Pausanias would, according to this argument, be emphasizing the contemporary independence of Messenia while still utilizing the prevalent story regarding the division of the Peloponnese by lots that undermines Messenian independence.[471]

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[467] Luraghi 2008, 60-1, n.47.
[468] Luraghi 2008, 57.
[469] See Luraghi (2008, 57, n.35) for a discussion of *mētis* as a positive attribute (i.e., Odysseus), rather than pejorative.
[470] Luraghi 2008, 57.
[471] Luraghi 2008, 58.

Luraghi asserts that "Pausanias' attempt at white washing Kresphontes speaks for the first possibility [i.e., that Pausanias' story of the drawing of lots implicitly attempts to support Messenian independence], but the fact that the Spartans did not use the myth of the deceitful division to buttress their claim on Messenia speaks for the second [i.e., that the story, which undermines Messenian independence, is so prevalent it cannot be avoided]."[472] In other words, Pausanias' version, which is representative of an independent Messenia (i.e., post-369 BCE), was likely created in response to the pre-existing version of the division by lots, in which Messenia's independence was symbolically undermined by the invention of the deceit or trick. The myth, as discussed above, in its original form imagines all three regions as independent entities. The trick serves to undermine that independence in these later versions. Nevertheless, what Luraghi is emphasizing is that the Spartans did not necessarily invent the trick, since it was not considered advantageous enough to undermine Messenian independence, otherwise Isokrates would have employed this version in the *Archidamos*. The division by lots and the inclusion of a trick, therefore, was a later addition to the myth of the return of the Herakleidai because it emphasized the lack of independence for Messenia that was not present in early versions of the broader myth; it was likely not a Spartan invention.

3.3.2 Kresphontes

In the same way that the different versions of the trick motif in later narratives of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai are contextually specific and products of the Classical period, stories surrounding the death of Kresphontes and the possession of Messenia by the Spartans are also Classical in origin. The use of these myths is not equivalent to the myth's use in Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2. To prove this assertion, it is crucial to understand the evolution of these myths in the Classical period before returning to Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2.

Following the division of the Peloponnese into three regions, it is said that Kresphontes was killed by Dorian-Messenians in an unfortunate civil war.[473] What happened following his death depends on the version. The "pro-Spartan" version, in which the Spartans are said to have taken over the claim of Kresphontes as their own, emerged in the fourth century. It is an elaboration of the commonly known version of the return of the Herakleidai, in which the

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[472] Luraghi 2008, 58.
[473] Eur. *Kresphontes* fr. 448a-459 Kannicht; cf. Paus. 4.3.6-8; Apollodoros *Bib.* 2.8.5.

Peloponnese was said to have been divided into three regions ruled by Temenos, Kresphontes, and the sons of Aristodemos, as discussed above.[474] This continuation of the myth forms the backbone of Isokrates' pro-Spartan version of events in the *Archidamos*, which justifies Spartan ownership over Messenia based on the death of Kresphontes and the gift of Messenia to Prokles and Eurysthenes by Kresphontes' sons (Isoc. *Archidamos*, 21-3):

> Ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν μέχρι ταυτησὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐμμένετε ταῖς συνθήκαις καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις, οὓς ἐποιήσασθε πρὸς τοὺς προγόνους τοὺς ἡμετέρους· διὸ καὶ τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον ἄμεινον τῶν ἄλλων ἐφέρεσθε, καὶ τὸν ἐπιόντα προσδοκᾶν χρὴ τοιούτους ὄντας βέλτιον ἢ νῦν πράξειν. Μεσσήνιοι δ᾽ εἰς τοῦτ᾽ ἀσεβείας ἦλθον, ὥστ᾽ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες ἀπέκτειναν Κρεσφόντην, τὸν οἰκιστὴν μὲν τῆς πόλεως, κύριον δὲ τῆς χώρας, ἔκγονον δ᾽ Ἡρακλέους, αὐτῶν δ᾽ ἡγεμόνα γεγενημένον. διαφυγόντες δ᾽ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ τοὺς κινδύνους ἱκέται κατέστησαν ταυτησὶ τῆς πόλεως, ἀξιοῦντες βοηθεῖν τῷ τεθνεῶτι καὶ τὴν χώραν διδόντες ἡμῖν. ἐπερόμενοι δὲ τὸν θεὸν κἀκείνου προστάξαντος δέχεσθαι ταῦτα καὶ τιμωρεῖν τοῖς ἠδικημένοις, ἐκπολιορκήσαντες Μεσσηνίους οὕτως ἐκτήσασθε τὴν χώραν.[475]

> So, you [the Spartans], on the one hand, remain to this day true to the covenants and oaths, the ones which you made to our ancestors; therefore, you did both better than the others in the past, and it must be expected that in the future, if you remain the same, you will be better off than you are now. The Messenians, on the other hand, went so far in their wickedness that they plotted against and killed Kresphontes, the founder of their city, lord of their country, descendant of Herakles, after he became their leader. When his sons fled the dangers, they became suppliants of this city here, demanding that we rush to the aid of the dead man and offering us the land. After you had consulted the god and he had instructed you to accept this offer and take revenge for those who had been wronged, you successfully besieged the Messenians and thus acquired the land.[476]

In this version, the Spartans help the sons of Kresphontes, who had been killed by the Dorian-Messenians. Since the Dorian-Messenians murdered their ruler, they are said to have blasphemously violated their pact with the Herakleidai. For Isokrates' Archidamos, the Dorian-Spartans were the only ones to keep their word with the Herakleid rulers, since Sparta was still ruled by the Herakleidai in his own day (Isoc. *Archidamos*, 21-3). Luraghi argues that this

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[474] This specification is important in that it does not correspond to the version of the return of the Herakleidai in which Aristodemos survives the final battle of the return of the Herakleidai (Hdt. 6.52.1; Xen. *Ages.* 8.7).
[475] Text is from Zingg 2017.
[476] Translation is adapted from Zingg (2017) in consultation with Zingg's commentary (2017, 514-5). Note the translation of διδόντες as "offering" to capture the connotative nature of the present participle.

version is a response to an existing pro-Argive variety of the tripartition.[477] He is arguing that Isokrates is responding to the existence of a myth that *may have* existed, which was designed to legitimate Herakleid rulership in Argive territory based on an established mythology. The logic of the argument is sound, but it is purely conjecture. It is also possible that Isokrates is drawing on a Spartan version of the myth that does not utilize the trick motif, as discussed above with respect to Herodotus (6.52).

The question remains: was there a version of this pro-Spartan story that existed before Isokrates' speech, in which the Spartans helped restore order in Messenia? Euripides' *Kresphontes*, in contrast to Isokrates' version of events, certainly seems to be a pro-Messenian account, since Kresphontes' son, also named Kresphontes, does not require assistance to retake his position.[478] Luraghi astutely observes that this pro-Messenian tendency was consistent with the historical, friendly relationship between the Athenians and Messenians established following the re-settlement of the Messenians by Athens in Naupaktos in the second half of the fifth century BCE.[479] The alliance between the Athenians and disenfranchised Messenians was maintained throughout the Peloponnesian War.[480] Furthermore, Luraghi suggests that the pro-Messenian tone found in Euripides' version would hold more meaning for an audience if it was intended to be contrasted with an earlier version that was like Isokrates' *Archidamos*, from which he may have been drawing.[481] As Herodotus emphasized, the version that the Lakedaimonians used in his time was contrary to the popular version (6.52.1) regarding the division of the Peloponnese, according to which the Peloponnese was divided up, and, in particular, the survival of Archidamos (cf. Xen. *Ages.* 8.7). Euripides' pro-Messenian version, if we follow Luraghi's argumentation, would be engaging in a debate regarding the implications of this myth for the historical power struggle between Messenia and Lakonia. Again, this is conjecture. Luraghi's position, however, is strengthened further by a discussion of Pausanias' description (4.3.7-8) of

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[477] Luraghi 2008, 62.

[478] Luraghi 2008, 61 n.50. For Eur. *Kresphontes*: the fragments have been edited by Musso 1974 and Harder 1985. On the plot, see Paus. 4.3.6-8; Apollodoros *Bib.* 2.8.5 (printed by Kannicht at *TrGF* 39 ii a-b p. 478); Harder 1985, 7–14. According to Lucil. fr. 1169 M., Euripides called Polyphontes the brother of Kresphontes the elder, but there is reason to question if Lucilius was accurate, cf. Apollodoros *Bib.* 2.8.4 (printed by Kannicht at *TrGF* 39 ii b, p. 478) simply calls Polyphontes a Herakleid. Both Polyphontes and Kresphontes (the son of Kresphontes, the Herakleid general and leader) are generally considered Euripidean inventions; see Harder 1985, 9–11.

[479] Luraghi 2008, 62; Patterson 2010, 35-6.

[480] Luraghi 2008, 62, cf. 188.

[481] Luraghi 2008, 62; Harder (1985, 9–11) cautiously admits the possibility that Euripides might have been drawing on some little-known local myth.

the reinstallation of Kresphontes' son, in this version named Aiyptos, following the murder of Kresphontes:

> διοικούμενον δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ πολλὰ ἐς χάριν τοῦ δήμου μᾶλλον οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες αὐτόν τε Κρεσφόντην ἐπαναστάντες καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀποκτείνουσι τοὺς λοιπούς, ὁ δὲ Αἴπυτος—παῖδα γὰρ ἔτι ὄντα ἔτρεφεν αὐτὸν ὁ Κύψελος—περιγίνεται μόνος τοῦ οἴκου, καὶ ὡς ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, οἱ Ἀρκάδες κατάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς Μεσσήνην· συγκατήγαγον δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ βασιλεῖς τῶν Δωριέων, οἵ τε Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδες καὶ Ἴσθμιος ὁ Τημένου.[482]

> And since he ruled in most matters to please the common people, the rich revolted and killed both Kresphontes and all his other sons, but Aipytos – who was still a boy and was being brought up by Kypselos – survived as the only one of his house. When he reached manhood, the Arkadians led him back to Messene. The remaining Dorian *basileis*, the sons of Aristodemos and Isthmios, the son of Temenos, helped to restore him.[483]

Pausanias combines elements from earlier versions of the myth and says that Aiyptos, the son of Kresphontes, was reinstalled in Messenia by a large group of important characters: the Arkadians (ruled by Kypselos, Aiyptos' maternal grandfather), a son of Temenos named Isthmios, and the sons of Aristodemos, Prokles and Eurysthenes. Luraghi persuasively argues that this variation, which included all the contemporary Herakleidai, indicates that the details from Isokrates' *Archidamos*, which emphasize the role of Prokles and Eurysthenes in the restoration of the sons of Kresphontes, was somewhat well established prior to Isokrates' speech and, therefore, may have existed prior to the Euripidean version as well.[484]

    The use of the myth in Isokrates' *Archidamos*, however, might introduce an entirely new element. Perhaps the Spartans co-opted the myth of the division of the Peloponnese to mythically claim Messenia as their own after they had lost it in 369 BCE. Luraghi argues that it is unclear if the Isokratean version of the myth gained any popularity in Sparta.[485] Patterson, likewise, establishes that the speech may not have been written for public delivery.[486] For example, he notes that the argument presented by Isokrates' Archidamos is grounded in individual Spartan claims to the individual portions of the Peloponnese, namely Messenia via conquest of Neleus,

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[482] Greek text is from the Loeb, Jones 1926.
[483] The translation is adapted from Jones (1926) and Herrero Ingelmo (1994).
[484] Luraghi 2008, 63.
[485] Luraghi 2008, 56.
[486] Patterson 2010, 80-2. See also Zingg's extensive introduction (2017) for the most recent discussion of Isokrates' *Archidamos* in its historical context.

Sparta via the gift of Tyndareos, and Argos via familial inheritance (18-19). It is unclear whether the Spartans understood Messenia to be the same geographic location as Homeric Pylos. As Luraghi states:

> the fact that in the second half of the fifth century the Spartans called Pylos Koryphasion (Thuc. 4.3.2 and cf. 4.118.4; 5.18.7) suggests that they rejected the identification of this place with Homeric Pylos… Moreover, as far as is possible to tell, every time the myth of the division of the Peloponnese among the Heraclids was used as an argument in a territorial controversy, it was used against the Spartans.[487]

Luraghi notes that the myth had little value to the Spartans in arguments regarding territorial ownership or conquest. In fact, he argues, the myth served to undermine Spartan possession of land in the Classical period.[488] The use of the myth against Spartan territorial conquest demonstrated that "the myth of the division of the Peloponnese depicted Messenia as an independent entity and thereby implicitly questioned the Spartan rule thereof."[489] Two distinct possibilities emerge: the myth of the return of the Herakleidai and the murder of Kresphontes as justification for Spartan ownership of Messenia (as told in Isokrates' *Archidamos*) was either an invention of the author or was an adaptation of an earlier version that existed as an alternative to the version found in Euripides' *Kresphontes*. Neither hypothesis can be proven, and both rely on speculation and an impressive amount of intellectual gymnastics, but both hypotheses suggest a Classical origin.[490] Patterson states "Archidamus' version of the Return, at least where Messenia was concerned, was most likely a Spartan innovation of the fourth century," indicating that regardless of its origin, this element was likely new.[491] The use of the myth in Isokrates' *Archidamos* and Euripides' *Kresphontes* respond to their own historical contexts, suggesting their usage is particularized. This examination of the Kresphontes extension of this myth thus strongly suggests the elements emphasized in these later versions are not compatible with the

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[487] Luraghi 2008, 55-6.

[488] Luraghi 2008, 56; Luraghi (2008, 56 n.34) contrasts with Thuc. (5.69.1) where before the battle of Mantineia, in 418 BC, the Argives are encouraged by their commanders calling them to fight to re-establish the original *isomoiria* in the Peloponnese, a clear allusion to the division among the Herakleids. Macedonia used this argument for their own invasion of Lakonia, Luraghi 2008, 18, 208, 214.

[489] Luraghi 2008, 61.

[490] On the dating of Eur. *Kresphontes* see Musso (1974, xxvii–xxviii) and Harder (1985, 3–4, 118–19) suggesting 423 BCE. On the dating of Isokrates' *Archidamos* see Zingg (2017) and Patterson (2010, 80-2) suggesting 366/5 BCE.

[491] Patterson 2010, 82.

historical context and potential motives of Tyrtaios in his composition of fr.2 West[2]. There is one final continuation of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai to consider, the elaboration of the character Aipytos, the son of Kresphontes.

3.3.3 Aipytos, the son of Kresphontes

The circumstances surrounding the death of Kresphontes were not a concern to Isokrates and Euripides, whose plots began after Kresphontes' death. It was, however, controversial for Ephoros (*FGrH* 70 F 116, as in Nicolaus *FGrH* 90 F 31), given that Kresphontes is said to have originally allowed everyone equal legal status but later revoked it, which caused civil strife in Messenia. The Dorian-Messenians are said to have killed him as a result of that revocation. Luraghi aptly notes that this reflects the anti-Dorian/anti-Spartan sentiment of a liberated Messene under Theban protection, at which point the Messenians began to emphasize their Herakleid rather than their Dorian heritage: "Kresphontes' death at the hands of the Dorians of Messenia and the names of the [new Messenian] tribes go together in suggesting that the new Messenians wanted to depict themselves as Heraclids rather than Dorians."[492] The liberation of Messene in 369 BCE by Epaminondas and his allies ushered in an additional development in the myth of the return of the Herakleidai with regards to Kresphontes, namely the naming of Kresphontes' son Aipytos.

Following the liberation of Messene in 369 BCE, Aipytos became the eponymous hero of the mythical Messenian ruling family. In Euripides' *Kresphontes* the son of Kresphontes shared his name and in Isokrates' *Archidamos* (31) the sons remained nameless.[493] The introduction of the new Aipytos connected the Messenians with their neighbors and allies of the Thebans in Messenia's liberation, the Arkadians. Aipytos was originally an Archaic Arkadian hero (Hom. *Il*. 2.604) and Aipytos' maternal grandfather, Kypselos, ruled in Arkadia.[494] Moreover, there is no evidence for the existence of the Aipytid family in Messene in the Archaic period. Pausanias (4.3.8), who is the first to use the name, drew on primary sources from the third century BCE

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[492] Luraghi 2008, 65.

[493] Isoc. *Archidamos* 31: ὅτε διδόντων ἡμῖν αὐτὴν τῶν Κρεσφόντου παίδων προσέταξε δέχεσθαι τὴν δωρεὰν καὶ βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις, "when [the oracle] commanded us to receive it [the land] as a gift from the sons of Kresphontes and to go to the aid of the wronged…" See n. 474 on Polyphontes as a son of Kresphontes.

[494] Patterson 2010, 35-6. Patterson argues this change reflects the close ties between the two places following Epaminondas' victories in the Peloponnese, cf. Robert 1921, 673-4; Harder 1985, 54; Collard, Cropp, and Lee 1995, 124; Bremmer 1997, 15; Luraghi 2008, 62-3.

including the writers Rhianus of Bene (Krete) and Myron of Priene. Patterson rightly notes that "much of the content of their accounts was probably of their own devising or a sensationalist embellishment of earlier material."[495] Nevertheless, the version provided in Pausanias is likely representative of an attempt to harmonize several conflicting versions of the story, as mentioned above. After the reinstallation of the son of Kresphontes there are perceivable time-gaps in the myth that have been variously filled by different authors to render the rule of Aipytos or the Messenian Herakleids as ineffective.[496] For Diodorus (15.66.2), for example, the Spartans took over immediately following the "restoration" because Kresphontes' descendants had lost their rule. In Nicolaus' account (*FGrH* 90 F34) the rulership of the Aipytids was tenuous and filled with civil strife until the take over by the Spartans. Both accounts likely relied on Ephoros and neither of them suggests who gave the land back to the son of Kresphontes in the first place. Both seem fundamentally pro-Spartan since they date the ownership of Messenia by Sparta to before the so-called First Messenian War. This chronology implicitly supports the idea that Messenia was rightfully Spartan and glosses over the fact that Messenia was originally independent. Nevertheless, these elements are likely a response to the free Messenians claiming their own identity and creating the figure of Aipytos as their ancient, eponymous ruler after the liberation in 369 BCE. The use of an Arkadian hero signifies that the matter was more than a question of whether Messenia was Spartan or free. Pausanias' account, therefore, attempts to harmonize several versions that connected Aipytos to the Herakleid dynasty since the Aipytids were likely an independent ruling family.[497]

What does all this mean? First, later versions of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai were employed for contemporary effect. They are adaptations of earlier versions with their own independent additions, creating continuations of some original myth to which we no longer have access, such as the elaboration of the division of the Peloponnese by lots utilizing a trick, the death of Kresphontes, and his sons' actions after his father's death. Second, these elaborations and continuations are most likely Classical and were not available to Tyrtaios and are not lurking behind his reference to the myth in fr.2 West^2.

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[495] Patterson 2010, 36 n.61.
[496] Luraghi 2008, 63.
[497] Luraghi 2008, 63-4; cf. Musti and Torelli 1994, 210–11.

3.4 The Myth of the Return of the Herakleidai in Sparta Reconsidered

The initial function of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai was political and focused on legitimizing rulership in Argos. In seventh-century Sparta, the function was the same, supporting the Spartan dyarchy's political position rather than legitimizing Spartan claims over land in Messenia. The original myth most likely supported the Herakleid ruling family in Argos, the Temenids, who traced their rulership back to Temenos, their eponymous ruler, who accomplished the return of the Herakleidai, which had been attempted three generations earlier by Hyllos and Iolaos after the death and apotheosis of Herakles. It is likely that the Spartan ruling families, in analogy to the Argive example, created a link to Herakles *via* Temenos' brother Aristodemos when the families first began to solidify the dyarchy (c.775 BCE). We then see that ancestry as an important component of rulership was highlighted by poets in times of civil strife in the case of Tyrtaios in the seventh century BCE (as discussed in chapter two). The function of the myth, therefore, was to create political legitimacy. It is in the fifth and fourth centuries, and again in post-Classical narratives of the myth, where we see the purpose of the myth change: first, to explain the perceived enmity between the three regions in the Peloponnese; and second, to address Messenian independence. The latter created a great deal of variation.

Let us return to Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2, and the myth presented therein. What I have argued thus far is that Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* ought not to be considered a response to the putative Second Messenian War since the historical context is rooted in internal civil strife rather than an external military challenge. Second, I made the case that the main *comparandum* for understanding the use of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai in fr.2 West^2, namely its treatment in Isokrates' *Archidamos*, is a completely different and somewhat unique version of the myth, which was likely not available to Tyrtaios upon his composition of fr.2 West^2. Both arguments render earlier, orthodox interpretations of the poem problematic and necessitate a fresh look at the use of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai myth in fr.2 West^2 as a response to an internal political challenge and as an attempt to legitimize the rulership of the Herakleidai in Sparta.

I am not the first person to recognize that Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* and fr.2 West^2 in particular have been misunderstood. Luraghi, for example, challenges Malkin's understanding of the myth as a Dorian charter myth to justify land claim in the Peloponnese by stating:

the [Messenian] revolt did not question Spartan possession of Laconia, which is what Tyrtaeus talks about; his verses insist on the Heraclid pedigree of the Spartan kings in order to convince the Spartans to obey them, that is, even here the Heraclid genealogy has a preeminently domestic function.[498]

Luraghi argues that the tripartition myths reflect the desires of those in power to retain/gain territory, which is not likely reflective of the historical, geographic reality. Likewise, Hall states that the myth in Tyrtaios illustrates the important connection between "the illustrious lineage of Herakles" and one's "eligibility to the highest office," namely the Spartan *basileia*.[499] He continues that, "it cannot therefore be coincidental that the myth of the Herakleidai served to legitimate the rule not only of the Spartan kings but also of Pheidon, the tyrant of Argos."[500] Furthermore, Hall emphasizes that the "trick-motif" of the later versions of the return of the Herakleidai is not an original aspect of the tradition. Additionally, the "spatial element" emphasized in reiterations of the myth was not present in the earlier ones: "it is not the *territories* of the Argolid, Lakonia, Messenia that are allotted, but the *polis* of Argos, Sparta, and (originally) Pylos that are chosen as the seats of government by Temenos, the sons of Aristodemos, and Kresophontes, respectively."[501]

I argue, in addition, that the myth of the return of the Herakleidai in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] expresses political legitimacy on the part of the Herakleidai at a time of political unrest in Sparta. It connected the ruling families of Sparta with Aristodemos and Hyllos, widely known names from the myths of the return of the Herakleidai. Additionally, Tyrtaios includes the basic elements of the charter myth for the Dorian peoples, which, according to Tyrtaios, coincided with the return of the Herakleidai. I now turn to what Tyrtaios does with these myths in fr.2 West[2].

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[498] Luraghi 2008, 50-1 n.18; van Wees (2009, 2) summarizes Tyrtaios' verses as follows: "The Spartans must obey their kings, the Heraclids, since their power is divinely sanctioned."
[499] Hall 1997, 60; cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 10.13; Hdt. 7.204; 8.131.2. See Tigerstedt 1965, 29; Cartledge 1979, 343-4; Malkin 1994, 15. On Pheidon of Argos, see Diod. Sic. 7.17.
[500] Hall 1997, 60.
[501] Hall 1995, 586-7.

Chapter 4: Tyrtaios fr.2 West² and the Spartan *Basileia*

Having established the historical context of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* in chapter two and the political

nature of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai in its pre-Classical form in chapter three, I

now turn to Tyrtaios' particular expression of the myth and, in particular, "the gift of Zeus" as

emphasized in verses 12-13:

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                       ]. . . υι . . [
                   ] . . ε θεοπρο[π
                       ] . . φ . . ενακ[
                   ] . μαντει ασαν [
5                      ] τειδεταθὴ . [
                 ]πάντ᾿ εἰδεν . [
                   ἄ]νδρας ἀνιστ[αμεν
                   ]ι [ . ]ηγαλα[
                 ] . . [ . . . ]θεοῖσι φί[λ
10               ]ω πειθώμεθα κ[
                   ]αν ἐγγύτεροι γέν[εος·
      αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων] καλλιστεφάνου [πόσις Ἥρης
         Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις] ἄστυ δέδωκε τό[δε
      οἷσιν ἅμα προλιπ]όντες Ἐρινεὸν [ἠνεμόεντα
15       εὐρεῖαν Πέλοπ]ο[ς] νῆσον ἀφικόμ[εθα
                   ]γλαυκώπ[ι]δος[
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dear to the gods

10   let us obey (the *basileis* since they are?)

nearer the *genos* (of the gods?)

For he, the son of Kronos himself, husband of beautifully-crowned Hera,

Zeus, has given to the Herakleidai this city here

with whom, after leaving behind windy Erineos,

15   we arrived at the broad isle of Pelops.[502]

Malkin argues that "the gift of Zeus" expresses the rightful ownership of designated territory as

if the territory was provided by a foundation oracle, in which Apollo empowers an *oikist* to

establish a *polis* and its cults. Although the special relationship Malkin describes between

Apollo, the *oikist,* and the community can be seen as analogous to the relationship between Zeus,

the Herakleidai, and the Dorian Spartans in Archaic and Classical Sparta, his interpretation does

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[502] The additions of "the *basileis* since they are?" and "of the gods" in verses 10 and 11 are supplied by Gerber (1999, 38-9) and serve here to highlight the connection between the subjunctive 'let us obey'(v.10), the explanatory γάρ (v.12), and the Herakleidai (v.13).

not explain why it is Zeus (and not Apollo) who gave the city to the Herakleidai. I make the case that Tyrtaios' emphasis on the *polis* as a gift of Zeus provides an explicit justification for the Dorian Spartans' need to obey the Herakleidai and reflects the socio-political hierarchy in Archaic Sparta, in which the Dorian Spartans are subordinate to the *basileis* because of the divine heritage of the Herakleidai. Furthermore, the position of the Spartan *basileis* comes from Zeus. Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* is not presenting the Dorian migration or the return of the Herkaleidai as a colonization story of Lakonia or Messenia. Instead, the poem is justifying the Spartan *basileia* in the context of a challenge from within Sparta itself. This justification is based on both the genealogical relationship of the Herkaleidai to Zeus and the fact that, in Greek cosmological terms, it is Zeus, and not Apollo, who gives the *basileis* their right to rule.

Moreover, Romney demonstrates that Tyrtaios' argument relies on a "shared history" between the Herakleidai and the Dorians, and she makes a compelling argument that Tyrtaios constructs an identity for the Dorians that is both familiar and politically charged.[503] She does not, however, address in detail why this argumentation would resonate with the Dorian Spartan audience given the historical context and the contemporary position of the *basileis* in the *polis*. I expand on Romney's interpretation and argue that in responding to a political threat to the functional operation of the Spartan *basileis*, fr.2 West^2 reminds the audience of the sacerdotal responsibilities of the Spartan *basileia* and highlights their unique relationship with Zeus. Previous interpretations of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* have understood the myth as a response to an external challenge and emphasised the role of the Spartan *basileis* as the military leaders of Sparta. As a response to an internal challenge, however, I argue that Tyrtaios' call for the Spartans to be obedient to the Herakleidai does not refer to the military responsibilities of the Spartan *basileis* (4.3.1); rather, the poem presents the *basileis* (i.e., the Herkaleidai) as legitimate rulers of the *polis* community, highlighting their sacerdotal role (4.4). I argue in section 4.4 "Priests and Guardians," that the sacerdotal responsibilities are not simply about functional ritual practices on which the community relies, rather, the relationship between Zeus and the *basileis* is one of mutual reinforcement (i.e., it is ontological) based on the performance of the *basileis* as priests and guardians of the community. As the *basileia* endures over time these performances appear natural and requisite. The relationship presented in the poem between Zeus and the

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[503] Romney 2017.

Herakleidai reminds the audience of the sacerdotal responsibilities of the *basileis*, which are performative in the linguistic sense, meaning their words and gestures reinforce and re-institutionalize the system of power every time they happen. This performance reflects the inherent greatness of the Spartan *basileis* and thereby confirms the socio-political hierarchy to be correct and good. I turn to an example of this institutionalization in the final chapter, "The Spartan *Basileia* in Alkman's *Partheneion*."

4.1 The Dorian Charter Myth

First, I must address the second myth present in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2], namely the Dorian migration myth or the ethnic origin story of the Dorian Spartans. The narrative presented in fr.2 West[2] assumes an understanding by the original audience of two myths: first, the division of the Peloponnese at least regarding rulership in the initial locations of Sparta, Pylos, and Argos in the return of the Herakleidai and, second, the existence of a Dorian people who came along with the Herakleidai from their homeland in Erineos, in Central Greece. Tyrtaios' brief reference to the return of the Herakleidai indicates that there was, as discussed in chapter three, a version of the return of the Herakleidai available for Tyrtaios to draw from that likely included Aristodemos, to whom the Spartan ruling families were connected. In its fragmentary state, Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] does not explicitly reference the casting of lots for the land as discussed in chapter three, nor does it explicitly name the individuals who have rightful rulership in the original three locations beyond stating that the Herakleidai have a rightful position in Sparta. The fact that Tyrtaios considered it sufficient to allude briefly to this myth without providing further details strongly suggests that he took his audience's familiarity with this story for granted. The existence of the second myth, the "charter myth" of the Dorians, and its connection to the return of the Herakleidai requires more attention.

It is unclear whether the myth of the return of the Herakleidai, prior to Tyrtaios' poem, was already intertwined with the Dorian ethnic myth of origin. Since Tyrtaios provides only four lines, which connect the two myths but contain only cursory information about each, it is logical to suggest that the connection existed prior to the composition of his *Eunomia*, even if there is no extant textual evidence to prove that it did.[504] The two myths were likely independent in their

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[504] Prinz 1979, 252–9; Malkin 1994, 38-43; Hall 1997, 56-65; Paterson 2010, 30-1; Romney 2017, 566-7.

inception.[505] Functionally, the two myths, which were combined into one mytho-historical event, help explain the arrival of the Dorians, especially for Classical authors who saw the return of the Herakleidai and the Dorian migration as the transition from mythical to historical time.[506] Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] and Isokrates' *Archidamos* are the only textual sources that utilize these myths to speak to a Dorian audience (real or imagined, as in the case of the *Archidamos*) about their shared past, albeit in different ways. We ought to question, however, the strength of such a connection and its rhetorical force in Tyrtaios' contemporary historical context. To explore these ties and their rhetorical efficacy, I begin by examining the elements of the Dorian ethnic myth of origin and evaluate the strength of its connection to the return of the Herakleidai. In doing so, I address the plausibility of the long-standing connection of these two myths. I then examine how the presentation of the Dorian ethnic charter myth rhetorically benefits Tyrtaios' argument for obedience in fr.2 West[2], thus addressing its functionality.

In later elaborations of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai, Dorian hospitality and participation in the second expedition to the Peloponnese (i.e., after the death of Hyllos) were crucial to the success of the final return.[507] Following the death of Eurystheus and Hyllos' unsuccessful attempt to expand into the Peloponnese, the Herakleidai are said to have been forced to retreat. According to both Diodorus (4.57-8) and Apollodoros (*Bib.* 2.8.3), they stayed with the Dorians in central Greece under the rulership of Aigimios. Aigimios was a Dorian leader who also had ties to Herakles. According to the mythic tradition, Aigimios was the son of Doros, and the father of two sons, Dymas and Pamphylos (Hes. *Cat.* fr.10a 7 M-W). He is considered the progenitor of the Dorians from the Oita mountains (Pind. *Pyth.* 1.64; 5.72). Strabo (9.4.10) states the relationship as follows:

> τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς Αἰγίμιος ἐκπεσὼν τῆς ἀρχῆς κατήχθη πάλιν, ὡς ἱστοροῦσιν, ὑφ᾽ Ἡρακλέους· ἀπεμνημόνευσεν οὖν αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν τελευτήσαντι περὶ τὴν Οἴτην· Ὕλλον γὰρ εἰσεποιήσατο τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν ἐκείνου παίδων, καὶ διεδέξατο ἐκεῖνος τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι. ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμηθεῖσι τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις ὑπῆρξεν ἡ εἰς Πελοπόννησον κάθοδος.

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[505] See Hall 1997, 56-65.
[506] Luraghi 2008, 46. See also Malkin 1994, 43-5; Cartledge 2002, 65-87; Kennell 2010, 23.
[507] See Gantz (1993, 463-6) for a summary of the return of the Herakleidai, its sources, and its variations.

Aigmios, the *basileus* of these [Dorians] was driven from his rule, but brought back

again, as the story goes, by Herakles; accordingly, Aigimios requited the favor to

Herakles after his death on Oita; for he adopted Hyllos, the eldest of the sons of Herakles;

and Hyllos and his descendants inherited his rule. Setting out from there, the Herakleidai

accomplished their return to the Peloponnesus.

In these myths, Aigimios' sons, Pamphylos and Dymas, died in the final, successful,

return of the Herakleidai.[508] The adoption of Hyllos, Herakles' son, by Aigimios is crucial if one

wishes to interpret the conquest of the Peloponnese by the Dorians and the Herakleidai as an

example of cooperation between equals, since the adoption creates a kinship bond between the

Dorians and the Herakleidai.[509] Nevertheless, the adoption is incompatible with the version of

the myth in which Hyllos dies at the Isthmos fighting against the Tegean Eumechos, an aspect of

the story that is well-established by the fifth century (as discussed in chapter three).[510] The

monomachia between Hyllos and Eumechos would have occurred before the Herakleidai

retreated to live amongst the Dorians in the first place.[511] Hall summarizes the integration of

these two groups, the Herakleidai and the Dorians, as both artificial and awkwardly achieved:

> We cannot be totally certain as to the date at which such an assimilation may have taken
>
> place. It is sometimes thought that Aigimios' alliance with Herakles may have been told
>
> in the now barely extant *Aigimios* (an epic, attributed in antiquity variously to Hesiod or
>
> Kerkops), though there is no solid evidence for this. All we can say is that this integration
>
> had already taken place by the mid-seventh century, since Tyrtaios groups the properly
>
> Dorian *phylai* of the Pamphyloi and the Dymanes alongside the *phyle* of the Hylleis,
>
> which should, strictly speaking, be Heraklid. [512]

Hall refers to Tyrtaios fr.19.8 West[2], in which the three Dorian tribes are named, presumably as

the names of military contingents in a conflict against the Messenians.[513] Luraghi states that "it is

more than likely that the tradition of multiple attempts resulted from a merging of stories that

were originally independent," suggesting that variation in the sources from the time of

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[508] Strabo 9.4.10; Apollod. *Bib*. 2.8.3.
[509] Malkin 1994, 38-42; *contra* Hall 1997, 62-3.
[510] See chapter 3.2 "The Origin of the Return(s) of the Herakleidai."
[511] See Hdt. 9.26.3-5; Diod. Sic. 4.58.1-5.
[512] Hall 1997, 60.
[513] fr.19.8 West[2] = fr.3 col. 6 Gentili-Prato: χωρὶς Πάμφυλοί τε καὶ Ὑλλεῖς ἠδ[ὲ Δυμᾶνες. This fragment is briefly discussed in chapter 1.6 "Early Greek Epic as *Exempla*."

Eurystheus' death and the successful return of the Herakleidai under Aristodemos were all independent elements that were later interwoven into a larger narrative such as those we find in Diodorus (4.57-8) and Apollodoros (*Bib*. 2.8.1-4).[514] Hall concludes simply that the two myths, the myth of the return of the Herakleidai and the Dorian ethnic myth of origin, were originally distinct and independent, and that Sparta was capitalizing on the "obvious utility" of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai for claims to rulership, which, he argues, is why the myth spread readily throughout the Peloponnese.[515] The connection, therefore, between the Dorian ethnic myth of origin and the return of the Herakleidai likely existed before Tyrtaios' composition of fr.2 West[2]. The connection would have been flexible, given its tenuous nature, but plausible since both myths would resonate with the Dorian Spartan audience of Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2].

4.1.1 Historical Herakleidai vs. Herakles as a Model for Behaviour

Romney draws on this precariously connected "shared history" to distinguish between the historical connection between the Herakleidai and the Dorians, and a connection between the collective populace of Sparta and the martial prowess and reputation of Herakles.[516] Romney argues convincingly that Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] and fr.11 West[2] construct different "we" groups because the poems are ultimately targeting different social groups and are performed in different spaces. Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] refers to the Herakleidai as a historical group and characterizes a "we" group that represents historical socio-political identities (i.e., Dorian Spartans and the Herakleidai).[517] The opening of Tyrtaios fr.11 West[2], in contrast, constructs a social group, a "we" group, that is based on a putative, or commonly accepted, genealogy from Herakles.[518] The fragment opens as follows (fr.11.1-2 West[2]):[519]

      ἀλλ᾽, Ἡρακλῆος γὰρ ἀνικήτου γένος ἐστέ,

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[514] Luraghi 2008, 48; Malkin 1994, 42-3; Hall 1997, 56-65.

[515] Hall 1997, 62. Tigerstedt (1965, 34) argues that the Agiads and Eurypontids of Sparta and the Aipytids of Messenia (discussed in chapter 3.3 "The Myth of the Return of the Herakleidai: Adaptations") do not rely on the myth for the eponyms, and he argues that their ancestors, Kresphontes, Prokles, and Eurysthenes, were either inserted in their genealogy at a later date or deliberately invented.

[516] Romney 2017, 557. Romney (2017, 571) states "the audience turns from the familiar identity as Dorians to the perhaps less-secure identity as Dorians who acknowledge the right of the Herakleidai and their descendants to be kings and as Dorians who obey those kings."

[517] Romney 2017, 563-4. Note that Tyrtaios aligns himself with the audience, at least in persona, see Romney 2017, 563-4. See van Wees (2009, 4-5) and D'Alessio (2009, 154-6) for discussion of Tyrtaios' possible foreign origin.

[518] Romney 2017, 569.

[519] Tyrtaios fr.11 West[2] = fr.8 Gentili-Prato.

θαρσεῖτ᾽· οὔπω Ζεὺς αὐχένα λοξὸν ἔχει·

Come, for you are the *genos* of unconquerable Herakles

be courageous; Zeus does not yet hold his neck aslant.[520]

Tyrtaios encourages the audience to be courageous based on an association with the *genos* of Herakles, which is in turn based on a relationship of descendancy. Whereas scholars often cite fr.11 West[2] in support of the idea that the Dorians' position in fr.2 West[2] was cooperative and encouraging, Romney's argument demonstrates that a poet need not construct social identities in the exact same manner in different performance contexts.[521] In other words, fr.2 West[2] can subordinate the Dorians to the Herakleidai and fr.11 West[2] can encourage the collective to think of themselves as a part of the *genos* of Herakles. In this way, the depictions do not contradict one another. Tyrtaios fr.11 West[2] is representative of poetry to be performed in a private setting, such as the *symposion* or in the *syssitia*, whereas fr.2 West[2] would have been most appropriate at a public, civic festival, perhaps in a musical competition.[522] Romney states:

> For martial elegy, the question of martial cohesion outside of the performance venue
> weighs on the exhortative content, which results in a notionally equal poetic martial
> group qualified by shared putative descent from Herakles...Herakles serves as an
> exemplar of martial bravery and the imposition of putative kin ties with him on the
> audience demands that they show the same behaviour markers: they must be brave
> because they are the γένος of Herakles.[523]

Romney describes the mnemonic recall of an individual, Herakles, whose behaviour, and qualities can serve as symbols of the Dorian-Spartan collective character.[524] The fact that the poems are composed for different performance contexts means "the former [fr.11 West] can use

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[520] Translation is my own, adapted from Gerber (1999, 55) and in consultation with West 1974, 186; Campbell 1967, 171-2; Romney 2017, 568-70. The phrase "Zeus does not yet hold his neck aslant," indicates that the final outcome has not yet been decided.

[521] Romney 2017, 568-70.

[522] For the performance of fr.11 West[2] at the *symposion*, see Bowie 1986; Romney 2017, 568-9; Calame 2018, 193-6. Throughout the sixth and seventh centuries the social institutions of the *symposion* and *syssitia* overlap in Sparta; see Meier 1998, 216-18, 220; Nafissi 1991, 175-177; Rabinowitz 2009, 118; and Thommen 2003, 48-50. For the performance of Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2], see van Wees 2009; Romney 2017, 568-9; Calame 2018, 197; Bowie 1986, 27-34; Boedeker 1995, 223-4, 227. Grethlein (2010, 56-7) argues for the public performance of Tyrtaios fr.5 West[2], which likewise supports the public performance of fr.2 West[2].

[523] Romney 2017, 569.

[524] See Steinbock (2013, 2) and Assmann (2001, 24-5) on the general ability of social memory to extend characteristics from cultural ancestors into the present. For discussion of the imitation of the valor of putative tribal ancestors in Athens, see Dem. 60.27-31; Steinbock 2011, 300-2.

Herakleid descent to cohere the disparate audience members together and encourage a standard of behaviour linked to putative shared descent while the latter [fr.2 West] can employ Herakleid descent and Dorian ethnicity to separate the "we" of speaker and audience from those whom they should obey."[525] For Romney, therefore, Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] is representative of the ways in which the performance context of a poem allows a poet to construct social identities differently while still drawing on similar concepts of a shared past, and I agree.[526] What remains to be addressed, however, is how this shared history of the Dorians and Herakleidai functions in the poem.

4.1.2 Rhetorical Use of the Past

By merging the Dorian Spartans of the present with the Dorians of the past, the poem effectively makes obedience to the Herakleidai a shared tenet of the Spartan present and the heroic past.[527] Grethlein describes this rhetorical technique as representative of what specific commemorative genres in Archaic Greece do to mitigate social anxiety surrounding the role of chance in peoples' lives. In linking temporality with the concept of memory through Heidegger's ontological view of hermeneutic philosophy, Grethlein suggests that we view "acts of memory as attempts to cope with temporality."[528] It is Heidegger's concept of temporality (*Zeitlichkeit*) that forms the basis from which Grethlein formulates his "matrix of modes of memory." Temporality, he argues, is based on the concept of contingency. Grethlein outlines that contingency is comprised of both contingency of action and contingency of chance and creates a tension between what one expects and what one experiences. Expectations are built upon past experiences and the outcome of an expectation can be affected by both action and/or chance.[529] Chance in this formula acts to undermine expectations threatening future plans and challenging identities.[530] People address the uncertainty created by chance by attempting to "bridge the gap between expectations and

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[525] Romney 2017, 569.
[526] For a parallel, see Steinbock 2013, 83-89: the Athenians claim that they fought alone at Marathon in the funeral orations while being well aware and openly acknowledging that they had been aided by the Plataeans as certain oratorical references show; cf. Thomas (1989, 197-237) on this issue of remembering different things in different contexts.
[527] Romney 2017, 565.
[528] Grethlein 2010, 6.
[529] Grethlein 2010, 7.
[530] Grethlein 2010, 9.

experiences in order to be able to project new expectations into the future."[531] Anxiety often emerges when there are challenges to the *status quo*. Grethlein argues that there are four commemorative strategies used across various commemorative genres that mitigate anxiety: continuity, regularity, development, and, finally, the acceptance of chance.[532] The latter two strategies are not found in Archaic texts.[533] Accordingly, Grethlein classifies four 'acts of memory': traditional, exemplary, developmental, and accidental. Of these four acts, traditional and exemplary acts of memory, while not always, are often employed together. Grethlein suggests calling the employment of these modes in an act of memory its 'idea of history.'[534] In other words, traditions that create continuity often help individuals and groups construct identities that both define who they are and legitimize the status quo. Exemplary uses of the past, which rely on the construction of regularity, provide *exempla* that juxtapose the present with the past and create a historical (whether real or imagined) precedent for the present circumstances. Whereas tradition defines and legitimizes who a group is in the present in relation to the past, *exempla*, in utilizing traditional material, encourage present action based on past action. Continuity defines the past and creates legitimacy for the present whereas regularity is created by identifying or establishing a recurrent pattern or using underlying laws that create "the stability necessary for identities and actions."[535] Regularity is demonstrated in *exempla* that juxtapose the present with the past, creating a sense of continuity with the past that guides action in the present and future. Both regularity and continuity often occur together and work together to support a sense of stability.[536]

Grethlein demonstrates how these two commemorative strategies (i.e., regularity and continuity) function in Archaic elegy by examining Tyrtaios fr.5 West[2]:

ἡμετέρῳ βασιλῆϊ, θεοῖσι φίλῳ Θεοπόμπῳ,
    ὃν διὰ Μεσσήνην εἴλομεν εὐρύχορον,

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[531] Grethlein 2010, 9.
[532] Grethlein (2010, 9-10) presents four modes of coping with contingency and the uncertainty of chance that he labels "commemorative strategies."
[533] Grethlein 2010, 9-10, 19-73. Developments, however, thwart the message of regularity and continuity, suggesting a more dynamic process that allows for change. They outline a process that is dynamic but not unpredictable, and therefore still managing the anxiety produced by chance. Developments make the formation of identities the product of a historical process rather than the product of tradition. They make it difficult to juxtapose the past and the present, thus making it difficult to draw conclusions from the past for the present. Instead, the past is represented as a process.
[534] Grethlein 2010, 10-11.
[535] Grethlein 2010, 9.
[536] Grethlein 2010, 9-11.

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Μεσσήνην ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἀροῦν, ἀγαθὸν δὲ φυτεύειν·
    ἀμφ᾽ αὐτὴν δ᾽ ἐμάχοντ᾽ ἐννέα καὶ δέκ᾽ ἔτη
5 νωλεμέως αἰεὶ ταλασίφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες
    αἰχμηταὶ πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες·
εἰκοστῷ δ᾽ οἱ μὲν κατὰ πίονα ἔργα λιπόντες
    φεῦγον Ἰθωμαίων ἐκ μεγάλων ὀρέων.

to our *basileus* Theopompos, dear to the gods,

through whom we seized spacious Messene,

Messene, good to till and good to plant,

over it for nineteen years

5 vehemently, continuously, while holding their spirit steadfast,

the spearmen fathers of our fathers kept fighting,

and in the twentieth year they [the Messenians], after leaving behind their rich

farmsteads, fled from the high mountain range of Ithome.

Grethlein argues that the use of epic diction (i.e., θεοῖσι φίλῳ Θεοπόμπῳ, 1; πίονα ἔργα, 7), the emphasis on endurance (ταλασίφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες, 5), and the explicit reference to twenty years of toiling (εἰκοστῷ, 7) recalls to the audience the journey of Odysseus, effectively making the conquest of Messene a feat worthy of an Odysseus-figure, perhaps meant to be Theopompos in this fragment.[537] The heroization of the recent past in the fragment gives the poetry a certain air of authority.[538] Campbell's commentary likewise characterizes Tyrtaios' diction broadly as Homeric: "Tyrtaeus' vocabulary is almost exclusively Homeric: of the non-Homeric words half can be found in Hesiod and the Homeric hymns, a few are technical expressions and proper names…and others are only slight variants on Homer…Only rarely does he allow features of Spartan vernacular."[539] Campbell's discussion of Tyrtaios' vocabulary illustrates how entrenched Tyrtaios' poetic expression is in the authoritative, traditional speech of the Homeric past (as discussed in chapter one).[540] Although it is unlikely that this fragment belonged to Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* (as discussed in chapter three), it was likely intended for performance at a civic festival. Grethlein and others accept that it was intended to be exhortative in the same manner as

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[537] Grethlein 2010, 56; See, for comparison, φίλος ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι Hom *Il.* 20.347; *Od.* 10.2; φίλος...θεοῖσι *Il.* 22.21; 24. 749; πίονα ἔργα *Il.* 12.283; *Od.* 4.318. One might also look at the use of the adjective εὐρύχορον to describe a *polis*, i.e., *Il.* 2.498 *Od.* 11.265.
[538] Grethlein 2010, 56-7, 291-3.
[539] Campbell 1967, 170-1.
[540] See chapter 1.6 "Early Epic as *Exempla*."

Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] and fr.4 West[2].[541] If the fragment was intended to be paraenetic, the use of the past in the fragment serves as a model for the present in the form of an *exemplum*.[542] In other words, Tyrtaios fr.5 West[2] presents a model for behaviour even though the *exemplum* is absent from the fragment. The use of such an *exemplum* indicates the poem is utilizing the commemorative strategy of regularity, implicitly juxtaposing the present with the past to guide action in the present and the future. The authority of such a juxtaposition is grounded in the continuity it creates with the past. Grethlein argues that the poem collapses the time between past and present by eliding the "we" of the members of the audience with the "we" represented by the "fathers of our fathers," since the collective identified in the "we" "envisages Sparta's past and present as one entity… the timeless collective…[which] elides the distinction between past and present."[543]

As for Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2], we see the same rhetorical techniques in use:

<div align="center">

].̣.̣.υ̣ι̣.̣.̣[

].̣.̣ε θεοπρο[π

].̣.̣φ.̣.̣ενακ[

].̣μαντειασαν̣[

5].̣τειδεταθή.̣[

]πάντ᾽ εἶδεν.̣[

ἄ]νδρας ἀνιστ[αμεν

]ι̣[.̣]ηγαλα[

].̣.̣[.̣.̣.̣]θ̣εοῖσι φί[λ

10]ω πειθώμεθα κ[

]α̣ν̣ ἐγγύτεροι γέν[εος·

αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων] καλλιστεφάνου [πόσις Ἥρης

Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις] ἄστυ δέδωκε τό[δε

οἷσιν ἅμα προλιπ]όντες Ἐρινεὸν [ἠνεμόεντα

15 εὐρεῖαν Πέλοπ]ο[ς] νῆσον ἀφικόμ[εθα

]γλαυκῶπ[ι]δος[

</div>

dear to the gods

10   let us obey

nearer the *genos*,

For he, the son of Kronos himself, husband of beautifully-crowned Hera,

Zeus, has given to the Herakleidai this city here

[541] Grethlein 2010, 57. See chapter 3.1 "Challenging Orthodox Interpretations."

[542] Grethlein 2010, 57.

[543] Grethlein 2010, 57; the continuum is also perpetuated with the first person plural personal pronoun in verse 1 applied to Theopompos, "our *basileus*, Theopompos."

with whom, after leaving behind windy Erineos,

15   we arrived at the broad isle of Pelops.

Tyrtaios again utilizes epic diction (i.e., θεοῖσι φί[λ, 1; the epithets at 12, 14, and 15; Κρονίων, 12), which serves to heroize the Herakleidai in verses 9-13 and, to a lesser extent, the Dorians in verses 14-15.[544] In contrast to fr.5 West^2, the exhortative quality of fr.2 West^2 is explicit; it calls on the Dorian Spartans to obey the Herakleidai on the grounds of a historical event, namely that "Zeus has given to the Herkaleidai" the city of Sparta, a completed event in the past, with present and future ramifications.[545] The poem presents a model for Dorian-Spartan obedience to the Herakleidai.[546] The authority of this *exemplum* is grounded in its traditional nature. In other words, it is an important event that is significant in the larger pan-Peloponnesian or pan-Dorian collective memory that accounts for the presence of the Dorians in the Peloponnese. It provides an explanation for how the Dorians arrived and lived where they currently are.

The connection between the return of the Herakleidai and the audience of Spartans and Dorians is dependent, according to Grethlein's model, on the continuity between past and present established in the fragment using a particular grammatical person and tense.[547] Fr.2 West^2 utilizes the same strategies as fr.5 West^2. Tyrtaios uses the first-person plural (πειθώμεθα, 10; ἀφικόμ[εθα, 15) to elide the collective "we" of the present with that of the historic "we" in the past. Romney, for example, convincingly argues that:

> First person plural commands create a relationship of equals, as the poet includes himself in the imperative; this is known as the integrative-directive function of the first person plural, where the integrative function of 'we' emphasizes the solidarity between speaker and addressee(s), while the directive function separates speaker from his/her audience as

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[544] Grethlein 2010, 291-3; the characterization of the Herakleidai in fr.2 West^2 is reminiscent of descriptors for Theopompos in fr.5 West^2, θεοῖσι φίλῳ, 1; the use of epithets for the gods καλλιστεφάνου, 12 and]γλαυκώπ[ι]δος[, 16, cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.206; 5.133; *Od.* 1.44; 5.347. The epithet καλλιστέφανος is not used in the Homeric epics but is in the *Hymn to Demeter*, καλλιστέφανος Δημήτηρ 251, 295. Prato (1968, 61-2) argues καλλιστέφανος is first used as an epithet for Aphrodite on the Cup of Nestor and for Demeter in the *Hymn to Demeter*; Ἐρινεὸν ἠνεμόεντα, 14, ἠνεμόεις in reference to Ilium, cf. Hom. *Il.* 3.305; 8.499; 18.174; εὐρύς as an adjective for cities cf. of Lykia, Hom. *Il.* 6.210. See Prato (1968, 62-3) for a discussion of Πέλοπ]ο[ς] νῆσον.

[545] Cf. Prato's discussion of δέδωκε, noting the uniqueness of the perfect active rather than the aorist as in Homer (cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.178).

[546] Van Wees 2009, 6; Grethlein 2010, 291-3; Romney 2017.

[547] Grethlein 2010, 291-3.

its 'principal function . . . is to get others to perform an action that is in the speaker's (and his group's) own interest.[548]

The combination of the two makes the "we" "especially powerful as the addressee(s) are directed by a speaker who has included him-/herself in their number and thus can be thought of by the addressees as sharing their values and expectations and to have the welfare of the group in mind."[549] The poetry instills a sense of continuity and creates a reason for present and future action based on past action. The inclusion of the Dorian ethnic charter myth as coinciding with the return of the Herakleidai is both plausible and functional in Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2. In other words, the combination of these basic elements of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai and the Dorian ethnic charter myth would be congruently presented to a seventh-century Spartan audience, which included members of the Herkaleidai and Dorian-Spartans. Additionally, fr.2 West^2 well represents Grethlein's concept of regularity because its rhetorical technique is grounded in the underlying laws that are necessary for the creation of identities and their associative actions.[550] The divine allotment of Zeus is representative of an underlying divine law that stipulates the present population respect the established socio-political hierarchy. It is the gift of Zeus, therefore, to which I now turn, that grounds the present position of the Herakleidai firmly in the past.

4.2 The Gift of Zeus

When tackling the gift of Sparta to the Herakleidai by Zeus in Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2, Malkin argues that the gift ought to be understood as a type of colonial gift/allotment typically given by Apollo in foundation oracles recorded in Classical or post-Classical sources.[551] The gift, he suggests, creates a second, divergent, operative charter myth in Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2, different from the return of Tyndareos, that emphasizes rightful land ownership through Delphic approval. He, therefore, understands the gift of Zeus as secondary to the return of Tyndareos. It is worth briefly outlining the myth of the return of Tyndareos before continuing. Like the return of the Herkaleidai, there are a number of variations in the tradition of the return of Tyndareos, and the

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[548] Romney 2020, 32; cf. Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990, 172-3.
[549] Romney 2020, 32.
[550] Grethlein 2010, 54.
[551] Malkin 1994, 33.

most elaborate versions of the myth are from post-Classical sources such as Apollodoros and Pausanias (e.g., *Bib*. 3.214; Paus. 3.15.3-5). Tyndareos was a native "king" of Sparta and the father of the Tyndaridai. After the death of his father, Tyndareos was forced out of Sparta by his brother Hippokoon, who took the throne for himself.[552] Tyndareos fled Lakonia travelling either to Aetolia, according to the Homeric tradition, under the protection of king Thestios where he was given Leda, Thestios' daughter, in marriage or, according to Pausanias, to Messenia.[553] Tyndareos was later restored to the throne of Sparta by Herakles, who killed Hippokoon and a number of his sons.[554] Tyndareos (and his descendants) were to rule in Sparta until the return of Herakles' descendants.[555] This is the event to which Malkin refers as the return of Tyndareos.

According to Malkin, Herakles' return of Tyndareos to his rightful place as ruler and Tyndareos' subsequent gift of the land to Herakles' descendants provided the Herakleidai with a political claim to rulership. That claim was then solidified by the gift of Zeus in a semi-colonial context.[556] As argued in chapter three, this interpretation of Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2 is the result of reading the myth of the return of the Herakleidai as an expression of Spartan ownership of Messenia akin to Isokrates' *Archidamos*. In this interpretation, the gift of Zeus to the Herkaleidai in Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2 is not framed politically because providing political legitimacy for the rule of the Herkaleidai is the function of the myth of the return of Tyndareos. Instead, Malkin argues that the gift in fr.2 West^2 reminds the Dorians of the military leadership of the Herakleidai, who, by completing their return, realized their political right, which was granted to their ancestor

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[552] Tyndareos' parents were either Oebalus and Bateia, a naiad (Hes. fr.199) or Perieres and Gorgophone (Stesich. fr.277 PMGF). The parentage presented by Stesichorus may have been the more popular tradition in later retellings as this makes Hippokoon Tyndareos' half-brother further complicating the succession dispute (cf. Apollod. *Bib*. 3.124; Strab. 10.2.24).

[553] Hom. *Od*. 2.298; Paus. 3.1.4.

[554] The Return of Tyndareos is variously reported in (perhaps) Alcm. fr. 1; Ibycus fr. 41; Isoc. *Archidamos* 18-19; Diod. Sic. 4.33.5-6; Paus. 3.1.4, 15.3-6, 19.7; Apollod. *Bib*. 2.143-5, 3.123-5. See Gantz 1993, 426-8. The sons of Hippokoon are named by Paus. 3.14.6-7, 15.1. Diod. Sic. suggests only ten sons died, out of twenty, the count varies between traditions. Herakles' restoration of Tyndareos was motived by revenge against Hippokoon and his sons. There are three different reasons provided in the sources: Hippokoon and his sons may have refused Herakles purification (Paus. 3.15.3). In another tradition, Herakles was offended because Hippokoon and his sons were allied with Neleus, the father of Nestor and king of Pylos, whom he had recently killed along with his eleven sons leaving only Nestor alive (Hom. *Il*. 11.692-3; Hes. Fr.35; Apollod. *Bibl*. 1.9.9, 2.3.7). The third tradition is that Herakles was seeking revenge for the death of his friend Oeneus, who angered the sons of Hippokoon by killing a dog (Diod. Sic. 4.33.5; Apollod. *Bibl*. 2.3.7). The return of Tyndareos is discussed further throughout chapter five.

[555] The throne is given back to Tyndareos to hold onto until the return of Herakles' descendants either by winning in combat against Tyndareos (Diod. Sic. 4.33.5-6) or by having the kingdom entrusted to Tyndareos by Herakles after combat Apollod. *Bibl*. 2.7.3; Paus. 2.18.7.

[556] Malkin 1994, 34.

Herakles by Tyndareos. According to Malkin's argument, the gift legitimates the position of the Herakleidai as the Spartan generals, who are responsible for leading the Dorian Spartans in military campaigns to protect Spartan interests as established in the return of the Herkaleidai. Malkin's rationale is congruent with the orthodox understanding of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* as a response to an external military challenge, namely the Second Messenian War.[557] Malkin asserts that the myth of the return of the Herakleidai is useful in this context as a call to defend Sparta or re-take Messenia. As I have argued, however, the historical context for this poem is better understood as a time of ongoing internal civil strife. Additionally, the myth of the return of the Herakleidai legitimizes contemporary political claims to rulership and is connected to the Dorian ethnic myth of origin on this basis. The political function of the myth is ignored by Malkin, even though the poem is inherently political, as I have argued in chapter three, and the myth of the return of the Herkaleidai seeks to provide political legitimacy for the right to rule of the Herkaleidai in Sparta, Argos, and Messenia. What, then, is the political function of the gift of Zeus in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] from this newly established domestic perspective?

Other scholars such as van Wees and Romney have already made a compelling case for a political reading of fr.2 West[2] as a response to an internal challenge created by intense civil strife in the seventh century BCE, but the role of Zeus in the fragment in this context has not yet been sufficiently explained. Since the fragment was constructed with great care to produce a rhetorically effective argument for the audience to obey the ruling Herakleidai, the emphatic positioning of Zeus in relation to the Herakleidai in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] must be considered with equal care. First, Tyrtaios emphasizes Zeus:

12   αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων] καλλιστεφάνου [πόσις Ἥρης
         Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις] ἄστυ δέδωκε τό[δε

     For he, the son of Kronos himself, husband of beautifully-crowned Hera,

     Zeus, has given to the Herakleidai this city here.

The intensive pronoun αὐτός introduces emphatically the nominative, masculine, singular subject of the verse, which turns out to be Zeus.[558] The pronoun αὐτός is then followed by two descriptors; first, the patronymic noun Κρονίων, to denote his ancestry from his father Kronos,

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and second by his role as husband (πόσις) to Hera, including an epithet to describe her, καλλιστέφανος, 'beautiful-crowned.'[559] Tyrtaios next reveals the proper name of his subject, Zeus, which would have been abundantly clear to the audience from the previous descriptors. The nominative, masculine, singular, 'Zeus', is not only emphatically placed at the beginning of the line, but is also situated immediately before the Herakleidai, who appear in the dative, masculine, plural.[560] The proximity of these two entities in the poem reflects the relationship Tyrtaios wanted his audience to remember: they are beneficiaries of Zeus' benevolence. Tyrtaios' choices in these two lines, therefore, highlight the relationship between Zeus and the Herakleidai. These two lines echo syntactically and aurally what was likely expressed in the previous line, namely that the Herakleidai are nearer to the gods than the Dorians with respect to their ancestry (nearer the *genos*, ἐγγύτεροι γέν[εος, 11).[561] They are likely also in a reciprocal relationship with the gods (dear to the gods,]θεοῖσι φί[λ, 8).[562] There can be no doubt that Tyrtaios emphasizes the role of Zeus in this fragment. Why, then, have scholars such as Malkin found it satisfying to conceptualize Zeus' role in fr.2 West[2] as a simple substitution for the authority of Apollo?

4.2.1 Sparta as a Dorian Colony

In examining verses 12-13 of Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2], Malkin poses an important question: "what kind of a gift was this?"[563] He ultimately concludes that this gift was a type of divine gift or allotment, which Apollo might give to an *oikist* along with a 'foundation oracle'.[564] He states that, in the case of Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2], Zeus lends this specific gift a "higher level of divinity" than if it were simply given by Apollo, and states that the gift is geographically larger than Apollo would generally grant, arguing that Zeus gives not just a city but an entire region.[565] Malkin devotes merely a paragraph to explaining the gift of this *polis* by Zeus to the Herakleidai: "Zeus gave (δέδωκε): what kind of gift was this? It is not our notion of a gift, nor is it the Hebrew *matana* represented by God's Promised Land for Abraham. The idea of a divine gift of a

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[559] Zeus as the Κρόνου πάϊς i.e., Hom *Il*. 2.205, Zeus, identified as the child of Kronos, grants ruling authority to Agamemnon by gift of his scepter; cf. 2.319; 9.37. See n. 541 for discussion of the epithet καλλιστέφανος.
[560] Quattrocelli 2008, 10-11; Romney 2017, 568.
[561] Grethlein 2010, 291-3; Romney 2017, 568.
[562] Van Wees 2009, 6; Grethlein 2010, 291-3; Romney 2017, 568.
[563] Malkin 1994, 33.
[564] Malkin 1994, 33.
[565] Malkin 1994, 33.

territory is sometimes apparent in foundation oracles."[566] Malkin then provides two examples; first, he refers to a foundation oracle found in Diodorus (8.21.3), in which the Pythia, channeling Apollo says: "I have given you Satyrion and Taras," both in the accusative (Σατύριόν, Τάραντά), to the Epeunaktai, a group of helot-Spartans fleeing civil strife and disenfranchisement in Sparta.[567] Second, he states that Delphi's role in sending the Herakleidai to the Peloponnese is confirmed as early as in Pindar's *Pyth.* 5.68-73:

> μυχόν τ᾽ ἀμφέπει
> μαντήϊον· τῷ {καὶ} Λακεδαίμονι
> 70 ἐν Ἄργει τε καὶ ζαθέᾳ Πύλῳ
> ἔνασσεν ἀλκάεντας Ἡρακλέος
> ἐκγόνους Αἰγιμιοῦ τε. τὸ δ᾽ ἐμὸν γαρύειν
> ἀπὸ Σπάρτας ἐπήρατον κλέος.

> and he rules over his oracular shrine,

> through which, in Lakedaimon

> 70 and Argos, and holy Pylos

> he settled the courageous descendants

> of Herakles and Aigimios, and it is mine to proclaim

> delightful glory from Sparta [568]

He concludes that the gift in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] "should be understood in terms of this kind" and points the reader to his previous work on colonization and foundation oracles in *Religion and Colonisation in Ancient Greece*.[569] Malkin does not refer explicitly to Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] in this

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[566] Malkin 1994, 33.

[567] Diod. Sic. 8.21.3: Σατύριόν τοι ἔδωκα Τάραντά τε πίονα δῆμον / οἰκῆσαι καὶ πῆμάτ᾽ Ἰαπύγεσσι γενέσθαι. According to Theopompos (*FGrH* 115 F171 = Ath. 6.271c-d) the Epeunaktai were helots who, during the First Messenian War, were freed and given citizenship rights. This was an attempt to bolster citizen numbers and encourage reproduction because of the increased number of Spartan widows (see Just. (*Epit.* 3.5.6) who dates this episode to the Second Messenian War). This would make the Epeunaktai the fathers of the Partheniai, who are featured in the foundation story of Taras according to Strabo (6.3.2-3), one of the few Spartan colonies. Diod. Sic. (8.21), however, labels the same group, the Partheniai, the Epeunaktai and suggests they received this oracle to settle Taras. See Schmitz (2017) for a recent examination of the sources concerning the foundation of Taras/Tarentum.

[568] For the text, I follow Snell and Maehler 1984, except for v.72 where I print the infinitive γαρύειν as suggested by Hermann (the Doric infinitive γάρυεν [Heyne] would also be suitable). The consideration here is largely metric; a cretic is needed to complete the line. There is, however, a significant difference in the translation. The subject must either be Apollo (as is the case with Wilamowitz's γαρύει, or Heyne's unaugmented imperfect γάρυεν) or, as I have above, τὸ ἐμόν, which is separated from ἐπήρατον κλέος, and an ἐστί is understood. This creates something like, "it is mine to proclaim delightful glory from Sparta" as in Race's translation (1997, 315). The infinitive, therefore, is essentially predicative and there are parallels for this construction elsewhere in Pindar's odes: *Pyth.* 11.41; *Isth.* 8.38. My translation was adapted from Race (1997, 315) and in consultation with Sobak's commentary (2013) and with the helpful advice of C. Brown.

[569] Malkin 1994. 33, n.89; Malkin 1987.

work, but outlines the connection between oracles, the gods, and gifts of land in the context of colonization to which will I return shortly.

The involvement of the Delphic oracle as an agent of approval for the "founding" of Sparta by the Herakleidai is not recorded or mentioned explicitly before Pindar's reference to it. Additionally, the specific language used by Pindar is unique to his description. Nevertheless, the simple detail that the Delphic oracle was a part of the tripartition of the Peloponnese appears in various versions of the myth from the Classical period onwards, suggesting its insertion had lasting impact on re-tellings of the myth. As discussed in chapter three, the tripartite division of the Peloponnese was likely a feature of the early Argive version of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai.[570] The details of such division including the trick, however, were, I have argued, a fifth century elaboration, perhaps initiated by Argos given its propensity for Herakles and Herakleid ancestry at the time.[571] The mention of the division in Pindar is, in fact, one of the earliest attestations of the division itself. It is worth considering, therefore, the involvement of the Delphic oracle as emphasized in Pindar (*Pyth*. 5.68-73) in some detail.

4.2.2 The Delphic Oracle and the Return of the Herakleidai

The Delphic oracle reportedly played a significant role in the return of the Herakleidai after the death of Eurystheus in Apollodoros' version (*Bib*. 2.8.2-3) but is notably absent from Diodorus' (4.57-8). The stark difference suggests that there were variations in their sources for the myth. Apollodoros' account reports three oracles: the first oracle was given in response to a plague that had ravaged the Peloponnese one year after the Herakleids defeated Eurystheus and took all the cities in the Peloponnese (*Bib* 2.8.2); the second oracle was given to Hyllos after he asked when the appropriate time was for the Herakleidai to return (unfortunately, he misinterpreted the oracle leading to his death and the Herakleid retreat from the Peloponnese (*Bib* 2.8.2)); and the third oracle was given to Temenos who, after correctly interpreting the oracle given to Hyllos, sought out the oracle's advice anew because the naval and land forces were suffering a great calamity (*Bib* 2.8.3). The third and final oracle instructed Temenos to banish for ten years the one responsible for killing a seer. After doing so, he was instructed to find a three-eyed guide who

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[570] See chapter 3.2 "The Origin of the Return(s) of the Herakleidai," 3.3 "the Myth of the Return of the Herakleidai: Adaptations," and 3.4 "the Myth of the Return of the Herakleidai in Sparta Reconsidered."
[571] Luraghi 2008, 60-1.

would lead them to victory. Temenos subsequently came upon Oxylos who was riding a one-eyed horse, thus having three eyes between the two of them, and made him their guide. They were then successful on land and at sea, and defeated Tisamenos, the son of Orestes. Apollodoros then, finally, relates the casting of the lots for the Peloponnese (*Bib* 2.8.4). As concluded in chapter three, Apollodoros' version of the tripartite division and the trick performed therein was likely inspired by Euripides' *Temenos*.[572] In the brief glimpses of this earlier version of the division, Oxylos appears to be responsible for the division into three parts because his presence was necessary for the return to be successful based on this third oracle (*Bib* 2.8.3).[573]

The first testimony to Euripides' fragments (discussed in chapter three) refers explicitly to an oracle as the source for employing Oxylos as the guide of the Herakleidai as in Apollodoros' report (*Bib.* 2.8.3-4). This oracle, namely the oracle instructing Temenos to retrieve a three-eyed guide, is *not* the same oracle to which Pindar is referring (*Pyth.* 5. 68-72). Pindar refers to an oracle that led to the settlement (ἔνασσεν, 71) of the descendants of Herakles and Aigimios, an act of legitimization using colonial vocabulary. Elsewhere, Pindar refers to Sparta as a Dorian colony, an ἀποικία (Pindar *I.* 7.12-15). The use of colonial vocabulary in the myth of the tripartite division of the Peloponnese within the broader myth of the return of the Herakleidai is unique to Pindar's description. Although oracles are an aspect of the return story from the Classical period onwards, these oracles are not typically framed as providing legitimacy to the expedition itself, but rather legitimize the return by allowing it to happen at specific times. The return itself is not likened to the setting out of a colony or its settlement in these descriptions. For example, in Apollodoros' version of the story, the most elaborate with regards to the involvement of the Delphic oracle, Hyllos and Temenos go to the oracle to establish the right time to enact their returns (*Bib.* 2.8.2-3). The oracle does not grant the Herakleidai the right to return *simpliciter*, but rather guides them in completing a military campaign against an enemy to reclaim something recognized to be theirs. The difference is subtle, but significant because, with the exception of Pindar, authors do not frame the return of the Herakleidai as the settlement of a colony.

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[572] See chapter 3.3 "The Myth of the Return of the Herakleidai: Adaptations," for discussions of the texts of Euripides' *Temenos* or *Temenidai*.

[573] On Oxylos, see Strabo 8.3.33 (*FGrH* 70 F115); Luraghi 2008, 49. Luppe (1987, 194–5) provides a collection of sources on Oxylos. See Camassa (1983, 17, 31-5) for a discussion of Oxylos' three eyes as a reflection of a common mythic motive.

Conversely, Isokrates' *Archidamos* features an oracle that supports the intervention of Sparta on behalf of the sons of Kresphontes to avenge the death of Kresphontes, which is connected to the original return. What Isokrates presents is also unique. Archidamos argues that because of Herakles' defeat of Neleus and his subsequent appointment of Nestor as guardian in Messenia, Messenia is Herakleid (18). Because of the mistreatment and murder of Kresphontes, the supplication of Prokles and Eurysthenes by the sons of Kresphontes, and the subsequent approval of the Delphic oracle to intervene, Messenia can justifiably be regarded as Spartan in as much as Sparta itself was Herakleid (19-20, 23). Although this oracle is, in part, used to justify the expedition of the Spartans against Messenia, it is not the justification for Spartan ownership of Messenia, at least not on its own. Rather, as we see in the version of the return of the Herakleidai in Apollodoros (*Bib.* 2.8.2-3), this oracle supports the undertaking of a military campaign against a land that is rightfully Herakleid for other reasons, namely that Herakles won it through conquest. Nevertheless, as discussed in chapter three, it is unclear how popular the version presented by Isokrates was, nor is it certain that Messenia was, at that time, considered geographically synonymous with Nestor's Pylos. Additionally, the version presented by Isokrates was a product of the fourth century and in direct response to the loss of Messenia because of its liberation by Epaminondas and his allies in 369 BCE. The use of an oracle in the *Archidamos*, therefore, while unique, is likewise not congruent with Pindar's presentation of an oracle in the return of the Herakleidai and the tripartite division of the Peloponnese.

4.2.3 Pindar's Return of the Herakleidai: Oracular Approval and the Dorian Migration

Additionally, there is reason to suggest that Pindar is not, in fact, characterizing the return of the Herakleidai in *Pyth.* 5.68-72, but rather making explicit reference to the historic coming of the Dorians into the Peloponnese. The difference may seem inconsequential given their connection, but it is significant because the two, as discussed above, were originally distinct ideas.[574] There are two significant details that suggest Pindar is not focused on the return of the Herakleidai. First, Pindar's placement of Sparta first in the list of the three locations, namely Argos, Pylos, and Sparta, is unique.[575] Luraghi indicates that this placement reflects Pindar's occasion, namely the celebration of the victory of Arkesilaos of Kyrene in a chariot race, and the close connection

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[574] Malkin 1994, 43-5; Hall 1997, 56-65; Cartledge 2002, 65-87; Luraghi 2008, 46; Kennell 2010, 23.
[575] Luraghi 2008, 60-1.

between Kyrene and Sparta.[576] Second, Pindar emphasizes Sparta as the original Dorian ἀποικία,

outlining the descendants of both Herakles and Aigimios (the son of Doros and the mythical

ancestor of the Dorians) as rightful inhabitants of the three regions in the initial tripartition of the

Peloponnese.[577] Pindar was likely drawing on a particular version of the final return of the

Herakleidai, one that combined the Dorian ethnic myth of origin and the return of the

Herakleidai into one event.

Pindar particularly focuses on the consequence of the successful return, namely the

settlement, in his terms, of Dorians in the three regions. Pindar uses this point of connection

between the two myths as justification for the spread of Dorianism through colonization by

utilizing the term ἔνασσεν (*Pyth.* 5.71). He shapes the initial arrival of the Dorians as a

successful colonial settlement. In other words, the connection between Herakles and Aigimios

through the adoption of Hyllos and the participation and death of Aigimios' sons, Pampylos and

Dymas, in the return of the Herakleidai explains the arrival of the Dorians in the Peloponnese

and their right to stay given their military actions and kinship ties to the Herakleidai.[578] As a

charter myth for the Dorians, this story explains the coming of the Dorians from a collective

homeland, Erineos in Central Greece according to Tyrtaios (fr.2.13-4 West^2), to the Peloponnese

as well as their tripartite *phylai* division (Pamphyloi, Hylleis, and Dymanes). This division is

noted as early as Tyrtaios (fr.19.8 West^2) and, perhaps, Hesiod (fr. 233 West^2) citing Hyllos, the

son of Herakles and the adoptive son of Aigimios, Dymas, and Pamphylos, as their eponyms.[579]

Pindar, therefore, adds an oracle to the myth of the return of the Herakleidai that supports the

arrival and settlement of the Dorians in particular. The oracle supports the settlement of the first

Dorians as it now supports the late colonization of various other places by the Dorians in

Pindar's odes (i.e., Thera, Kyrene, and Aitna).

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[576] Luraghi 2008, 60-1, n.44. On date and occasion, see Angeli Bernardini et al. 1995, 159–60. On performance context, see Race's introduction (1997, 306-7), Sobak's commentary (2017), and Krummen's analysis (1990, 98-151), which has significant argumentative gaps but attempts to argue that the context is a contemporary Kyrenian Karneia. On Kyrene as a colony of Thera (via Sparta), see Hdt. 4.150-8; Pindar *Pyth.* 4, 5; *SEG* IX₃; Strabo 17.3.21; on the differences between Herodotus' account and Pindar's, see Hornblower 2002, 383-4; on the role of Sparta in the foundation of Kyrene versus Thera, see Monico 2000; on the historical foundation and functioning of Kyrene, see Mitchell 2000, 82-102.

[577] Pind. *Isthm.* 7.12-15. On references in Pindar to the division of the Peloponnese into three and the Dorian tripartite tribal system, see *Pyth.* 1.60-8; 5.68-72; 10.1-3; *Isthm.* 9.2-5.

[578] Malkin 1994, 36, 40-3.

[579] On the antiquity of the three Dorian tribes, see Tigerstedt 1965, 35; Prinz 1979, 206-33, 53-9; West 1985, 59; Malkin 1994,40-3, n.116 and 118.

In Pindar's odes, the combination of these two originally independent myths serves to support the hypothesis that the Dorians and their Doric practices, especially cult, spread outside of their initial spaces, meaning the spaces at which they originally arrived in the return myths. Thucydides (1.12.3-4), on the other hand, contrasts the coming of the Dorians into the Peloponnese with the organized sending out of colonies at a much later date (ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμψε, 1.12.4). He describes a period, recognized generally as the Dark Ages, as follows: "and so when difficultly and after a long time Hellas became permanently tranquil and its population was no longer subject to expulsion, it began to send out colonies (1.12.4)."[580] The colonization movement Thucydides refers to took place "a long time" after the coming of the Dorians into the Peloponnese together with the Herakleidai (ξὺν Ἡρακλείδαις, 1.12.3). Thucydides understands the arrival of the Dorians as happening simultaneously with the return of the Herakleidai, but does not characterize it as a process of colonization. In fact, he states that only after a long period of unsettled movement were official colonies able to be sent out. Thucydides (1.12.4) distinguishes between the arrival of the Dorians and the colonies that the Athenians founded in Ionia and in the islands, and the Peloponnesians established in Italy and Sicily. It is only after Thucydides introduces colonization (ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμψε), that he uses the particularized vocabulary of founding colonies to describe the movement of such peoples (e.g., ᾤκισαν, ἐκτίσθη). Thucydides' discussion shows clearly that the settlement of the Dorians in the Peloponnese ought not to be regarded as the colonial enterprise Malkin claims it to be.

As *comparanda* for Tyrtaios, Malkin emphasizes the founding of Rhodes by Tleptolemos (a Herakleidai, by birth) and the mention of a tripartite division in Dorian Krete in the *Odyssey* (19.175-7) as examples of texts representing the Herakleidai as founders of Dorian cities (*oikistai*).[581] How far this notion can be pressed in the texts that remain of the myths is controversial, since there is a distinct lack of the particularized vocabulary of Greek colonization in narratives concerning the return of the Herakleidai. There is, however, one exception. In his *Archidamos* (16-25), Isokrates characterizes the incoming of the Dorians and the Herakleidai as a settlement of Dorians ("for which reasons you settled in the Peloponnese, you the Dorian of old," 16) and Kresphontes as Messenia's *oikistēs* (τὸν οἰκιστὴν μὲν τῆς πόλεως, 22).[582] Again, the

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[580] Thuc. 1.12.4: μόλις τε ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ ἡσυχάσασα ἡ Ἑλλὰς βεβαίως καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνισταμένη ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμψε.
[581] Malkin 1994, 37-8.
[582] Isoc. *Archidamos* 16: δι᾽ ἃς αἰτίας ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ κατῳκήσατε Δωριεῖς τὸ παλαιὸν ὄντες.

specificity of the contemporary historical context suggests that this language would have had maximum impact for the argument of Isokrates' *Archidamos*, which attempts to legitimize Sparta's rule of Messenia through legitimate means of possession, namely the approval of the Delphic oracle in a colonial context. As discussed above, Isokrates' version of the return of the Herakleidai was not popular, nor is it likely that the version of the myth presented therein was in circulation prior to the Classical period. The fact that this version of the myth lacked popularity and was likely not in circulation prior to the Classical period (c.450 BCE) further supports the argument that the colonial undertones found in Pindar's description of the return of the Herakleidai as a colonization of Argos, Messenia, and Lakonia was likely not yet available to Tyrtaios in the seventh century. Even if one were to suggest that Isokrates was elaborating upon the tradition which Pindar drew on, if he did not, in fact, invent it, this theory would not support the idea that the return of the Herkaleidai was represented as a colonial settlement of the Dorians in the seventh century BCE.

The specific, colonial vocabulary of Pindar's characterisation of the arrival of the Dorians and the return of the Herakleidai is marked. It is reflective of Pindar's intention to legitimize Dorian colonies and provide antiquity to their practices through foundation stories. In other words, these allusions to the historic migration of Dorians into the Peloponnese, which happened to coincide mythically with the return of the Herakleidai at this point in the transmission history, supports the construction of Dorian identities *vis à vis* the foundation stories of the ethnically Dorian colonies about which Pindar composes his poetry. *Pyth.* 1.60-8, for example, refers to the Dorian migration into the Peloponnese at the time of the return of the Herakleidai in support of the foundation of Dorian Aitna by Hieron, to be ruled over by his son Deinomenes according to the Dorian customs:

60   ἄγ᾽ ἔπειτ᾽ Αἴτνας βασιλεῖ φίλιον ἐξεύρωμεν ὕμνον·
           τῷ πόλιν κείναν θεοδμάτῳ σὺν ἐλευθερίᾳ
           Ὑλλίδος στάθμας Ἱέρων ἐν νόμοις ἔ-
           κτισσε· θέλοντι δὲ Παμφύλου
           καὶ μὰν Ἡρακλειδᾶν ἔκγονοι
65   ὄχθαις ὕπο Ταϋγέτου ναίοντες αἰ-
           εὶ μένειν τεθμοῖσιν ἐν Αἰγιμιοῦ
           Δωριεῖς. ἔσχον δ᾽ Ἀμύκλας ὄλβιοι
           Πινδόθεν ὀρνύμενοι, λευκοπώλων
           Τυνδαριδᾶν βαθύδοξοι
70   γείτονες, ὧν κλέος ἄνθησεν αἰχμᾶς.

60   Come then, let us compose a hymn of friendship for Aitna's *basileus*,

        for whom Hieron founded that city with god-built

        freedom in the laws of Hyllos' rule.

        The descendants of Pamphylos

        and the Herakleidai,

65   who dwell under the slopes of Taygetos, wish always

        to remain Dorians in the ordinances of Aigimios.

        The blessed ones set out

        from Pindos and took Amyklai, the far-famed

        neighbors of the Tyndaridai with white horses,

70   and the fame of their spear flourished.[583]

Hieron's foundation of Dorian Aitna is linked to a long history of Dorian migration that reaches back to the arrival of the Dorians alongside the Herakleidai in their final return. The reference to the return itself is isolated, as in Pindar (*Pyth.* 5.68-72), to the mention of the descendants of Herakles and the descendants of Aigmios (1.62-4) and focuses on the migration and settlement of the Dorians (ἔκτισσε, ναίοντες 1.63-5). As Morgan argues, the motifs of foundation and victory are "unique" and "specific to the identity of the victor."[584] The re-telling of the migration describes the Dorians as coming from Pindos (not Erineos) but nevertheless still from a region in northern Greece.[585] They come to Amyklai, a village about five kilometres north of Sparta that was incorporated into Sparta in its early development.[586] Again, the ode is not concerned here with the events of the return of the Herakleidai, nor the tripartite division of the Peloponnese. Its focus, rather, is on the successful integration of the Dorians in Sparta, especially as regards their cultic practices (1.65-9), and their continued prosperity there (1.64).

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[583] Text from Snell and Maehler 1984, translation adapted from Race (1997, 227) and Morgan (2015, 306-7).

[584] Morgan (2015, 324-5) states, "in *Pythian* 1 foundation is almost contemporary and is the culmination of a lengthy mythological past. Rather than recall the achievements of the founder and his community, the victor is the founder, and his victory is foundational for the city's future achievements." On the glorification of the founding of Aitna in contrast to the historical reality of its conquest as the former *polis* Katane, see Bell-Schlatter 2009, 10-11.

[585] On Pindos as an extension of Erineos, see Tigerstedt 1965, 29.

[586] On the historical incorporation of Amyklai, into Sparta see Cartledge 2001, 69-81, 90-3. The Tyndaridai were prominent Greek heroes and had a cult presence in Therapne, Sparta, and Argos with chthonic associations (Alkman fr. 7; Pind. *Nem.* 10.56-60). In Sparta they were linked with the dyarchy (i.e., Hdt. 5.75). The Tyndaridai are further discussed in chapter five.

The use of the return of the Herakleidai in Pindar's odes serves a unique function and it is different from the retellings of the myth previously discussed in both its focus and description. Pindar's few mentions, implicit and explicit, of the return of the Herakleidai are, instead, about the arrival and foundation of Dorian customs in the Peloponnese. The foundation of Dorianism in the Peloponnese, which was firmly connected to the ethnic origin myth of the Dorians, served as the foundation story for the establishment of Dorian colonies outside of the Peloponnese, particularly those discussed after the sixth-century BCE.[587] The prevalence of Sparta, in particular, in such references, is the result of the historical context, in which Sparta has played an important role in defeating the Persians and has cultivated a reputation of constitutional stability.[588] In this way, Dorian Sparta becomes representative of both the original, successful Dorian migration and the spread of Dorian customs.

Based on the argument outlined above, we have to regard Malkin's suggestion that the gift of Zeus in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] acts like a foundation oracle akin to the foundation oracles of other Dorian ἀποικία as problematic. The image of Sparta as a successful Dorian colony was likely not firmly rooted in Spartan social memory, if at all, at the time of Tyrtaios' composition of the *Eunomia*. In fact, as I have argued above, the description and characterization of the final return of the Herakleidai in Pindar's odes is unique to Pindar. Although Pindar's poetry is considered Archaic lyric poetry, he was composing his poetry in the first half of the fifth century BCE, whereas Tyrtaios composed his poetry in the mid-seventh century BCE. Moreover, Pindar's references to the myth are tangential to the retellings of the myth in the fifth century, presenting the return of the Herakleidai as a model for future Dorian colonization rather than directly contributing to retellings of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai itself.

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[587] i.e., Kyrene and Thera (Hdt. 4.150-8; *SEG* IX₃; Strabo 17.3.2); Krete (Hom *Od*. 19.172-80; Diod. Sic. 5.64.80; praise for its Dorian institutions Pl. *Leg*. 631b; Arist. *Pol*. 1264a 39ff, 1271b 18ff); Aitna (Pind. *Pyth*. 1.60-8; Diod. Sic. 11.49); Kythera (Hdt. 1.82; 7.235; Thuc. 4.53.2-3; 7.57.6; Cartledge 2001, 93-4, 106, 122-3); Taras (Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F 216; Antiochos *FGrH* 555 F13; Diod. Sic. 8.21; Paus. 10.10.6-8; Cartledge 2001, 106-7). On Doreios (the brother of Kleomenes I and Leonidas) and his attempted colonization in Sicily utilizing the same rationale, see Hdt. 5.39-48: "there he was advised by Antichares, a man from Eleon, who cited to him one of the oracles of Laios that ordered the settlement of Herakleia in Sicily, saying that the whole land of Eryx in Sicily belonged to the Herakleids, since Herakles himself had acquired it" (ἐνθαῦτα δέ οἱ Ἀντιχάρης ἀνὴρ Ἐλεώνιος συνεβούλευσε ἐκ τῶν Λαΐου χρησμῶν Ἡρακλείην τὴν ἐν Σικελίῃ κτίζειν, φὰς τὴν Ἔρυκος χώρην πᾶσαν εἶναι Ἡρακλειδέων αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλέος κτησαμένου, 5.43). He then went to Delphi to ask if he really could conquer the land, and the oracle approved (5.43). See Malkin 1994, 192-218; Patterson 2010, 75-9; van Wees 2018, 253-4.
[588] Morgan 2015, 334-5.

4.2.4 Parallels between *Ktisis*-narratives and Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2]

The aim of the discussion above is not to say that there are no thematic connections between foundation stories in Classical texts such as Pindar's odes (*Pyth.* 1), and the representation of the return of the Herakleidai in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2]. As Romney illustrates, for example, Tyrtaios' two-line description of the Dorians travelling from Erineos to the Peloponnese bears resemblance to the description of the movement of the Smyrnaeans from Pylos to Kolophon in Mimnermos (fr.9 West[2]):

> αἰπυ < > τε Πύλου Νηληΐου ἄστυ λιπόντες
>   ἱμερτὴν Ἀσίην νηυσὶν ἀφικόμεθα,
> ἐς δ᾽ ἐρατὴν Κολοφῶνα βίην ὑπέροπλον ἔχοντες
>   ἑζόμεθ᾽ ἀργαλέης ὕβριος ἡγεμόνες·
> 5 κεῖθεν δ᾽ Ἀστήεντος ἀπορνύμενοι ποταμοῖο
>   θεῶν βουλῇ Σμύρνην εἵλομεν Αἰολίδα…

> After leaving Pylos, the steep city of Neleus,
>
> we arrived in our ships at desirable Asia,
>
> and bringing our overpowering might to lovely Kolophon
>
> we settled, leaders of inexorable violence:
>
> 5 and from there, setting forth from the river Asteeis,
>
> by the will of the gods we captured Aeolian Smyrna…[589]

Romney identifies parallels in the language of those leaving behind their original homeland (προλιπ]όντες Ἐρινέον [ἠνεμόεντα, Tyrtaios fr. 2.14 West[2] and Πύλον Νηλήϊον ἄστυ λίποντες, Mimn. fr.9.1 West[2]) and arriving at another one (εὐρεῖαν Πελοπ]ο[ς] νῆσον ἀφικό[μεθα, Tyrtaios fr.2.15 West[2] and ἱμερτὴν Ἀσίην νηυσὶν ἀφικόμεθα, Mimn. fr.9.2 West[2]).[590] She also notes that both poets mention the help of the divine (Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις] ἄστυ δέδωκε τό[δε, Tyrtaios fr.2.13 West[2] and θεῶν βουλῆι, Mimn. fr.9.6 West[2]).[591] Both Romney and D'Alessio note that these features are representative of a theme prevalent in Archaic narrative elegy, namely the κτίσις theme.[592] Romney suggests Pindar's later description of Sparta as a Dorian ἀποικία might be the expansion of this early characterization of the Dorian arrival in Tyrtaios'

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[589] Mimnermos fr.9 West[2] = fr.3 Gentili-Prato; Strabo 14.1.4. Text is West 1974 (note there is considerable variety in what is printed in line one of the fragment – see the app. crit in West 1974 and Allen 1995. For a full discussion of textual and historical problems, see Allen 1995, 75-85. My translation is adapted from Bowie 2009, 113-14.
[590] Romney 2017, 562-3.
[591] Romney 2017, 562-3.
[592] Romney 2017, 562-3; D'Alessio 2009, 153-4.

Eunomia.[593] As discussed above, the Pindaric description of Sparta as a Dorian colony seems to be a later elaboration of a theme present in Tyrtaios' early integration of the two independent myths.

Romney rightly notes that we ought to consider this language in Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2 akin to κτίσις-narratives that "order the collective identity of a group of πολῖται by structuring their shared past in such a way that it makes sense of the group's present, and as such they are well suited for public performance in venues where the citizen-body defined itself."[594] It is worth emphasising, however, that the language used in Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2 is not a reflection of real colonization. In other words, it does not support an interpretation that the return of the Herakleidai was a realized colonization of the Peloponnese or Sparta by Dorians. The use of such language in fr.2 West^2 is rhetorical; it distills the shared history of the Dorians and the Herakleidai into four verses that recall the original foundation of the *polis* under Zeus. The poem emphasizes the rulership of the Herakleidai and the movement of the Dorian people from one place to another.[595] In this way, Tyrtaios may have been evoking a common theme in narrative elegy, namely the foundation narrative, to emphasize the foundation of Sparta.[596] Employing this theme does not, however, indicate that Tyrtaios was framing Sparta as a colony of the Dorians, since the evidence for such phrasing is limited to Pindar, who, as argued above, cannot be used as evidence in support of Malkin's claim.

4.3 The Role of the Spartan *Basileia* in Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2

Previous interpretations of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* have understood the myth as a response to an external challenge (as discussed earlier) and, in turn, have interpreted the connection between Zeus and the Herakleidai in fr.2 West^2 as legitimization for the Dorian Spartans to obey the Herakleidai as the top-ranking generals of the Spartan army. As a response to an internal challenge, however, which has nothing to do with colonization or a legitimization for conquest, I argue that Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* does not emphasize the military responsibilities of the Spartan

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[593] Romney 2017, 562-3.
[594] Romney 2017, 562.
[595] Grethlein (2010, 57-58) likewise discusses this passage in comparison with Tyrtaios fr.5 West^2 as an example of the rhetorical use of the past, as discussed above.
[596] On narrative elegy and such themes, see Bowie 1986; Dougherty 1994; Boedekker 1995; Hunter and Rutherford 2009; Grethlein 2010, 47-7; Romney 2020.

basileis. Instead, the poem highlights their sacerdotal role and reminds the audience of the religious significance of the Spartan *basileis* through their complex connection to Zeus. In the next two sections, 4.3.1 and 4.4, I examine the military and sacerdotal roles of the Spartan *basileis* to support this argument. As I have discussed in section 4.2 "The Gift of Zeus," Malkin connects the gift of Zeus in Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2 to foundation oracles.[597] His earlier work, to which he directs the reader in his interpretation of Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2, is indicative of his understanding of the gift of Zeus in Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2. Accordingly, if Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2 supports the theory that a foundation oracle existed, which the Herakleidai used to legitimize their conquest of the Peloponnese, this unknown oracle grants divine justification for the settlement of the Dorians in Sparta, exactly as Pindar described it (*Pyth.* 5.68-72).[598] The Herakleidai then become imbued with a "numinous authority," bestowed upon them as the *oikist*-figures, that allows them to act as the mediators between the citizens, the *polis*, and the gods.[599] The underlying implication of Malkin's claim aligns particularly well with the prerogatives and responsibilities of the Spartan *basileis*, but this connection is not made explicit by Malkin, nor was this supposed *ktisis*-oracle issued by Apollo as one would expect. It is not the religious role of the Spartan *basileis* that Malkin views as legitimized by the gift of Zeus, but rather their military role. He argues that the Herakleidai ought to be obeyed as the generals of the Lakedaimonian army, which included the Dorian Spartans as their soldiers.[600] He suggests that foundation oracles imbue a similar authority upon an *oikist* as is typically ascribed to "kings," stating that it is not only their "numinous authority" that is similar but also their constitutional authority in that they are often lawgivers (another purview of Apollo, he suggests) and military leaders.[601]

Again, we see the influence of the orthodox understanding of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* in connection with the Great Rhetra (Plut. *Lyc.* 6) underlining the interpretations of this fragment. Explaining the gift of Zeus in Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2 as akin to a foundation oracle coincides with the orthodox understanding of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* as some Archaic version of the Plutarchean Great Rhetra. Van Wees well characterizes the problem:

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[597] Malkin (1994, 33) states: "the idea of a divine gift of a territory is sometimes apparent in foundation oracles."
[598] Malkin 1994, 33-5.
[599] Malkin 1987, 28, 89-90.
[600] Malkin 1994, 35.
[601] Malkin 1987, 89-90.

Since *Eunomia's* ancient readers believed that Sparta's constitution had been created by Lycurgus long before Tyrtaeus' time, they were mainly interested in the poem as evidence for Lycurgus' legislation. Modern scholars, despite viewing stories about the deified lawgiver with all due scepticism, have followed suit. They have accepted sources' claim that *Eunomia* made reference to Sparta's chief constitutional law, the Great Rhetra, and have concentrated on the question of what the poem tells us about the date of that law. In doing so, scholars have drawn quite heavily on ancient conjectures about what Tyrtaeus implied in parts of the poem now lost.[602]

Although mentioned only in passing by Malkin, it is clear that he understands Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* to be a piece of an oracle originally given by Apollo from Delphi to the legendary lawgiver, Lykourgos, and that this oracle established the constitution of Sparta as represented by the Great Rhetra in Plutarch's *Life of Lykourgos* (6). He makes this evident when he describes the Great Rhetra as an expression of a foundation oracle in that the provisions were sanctioned by Delphi and the oracle describes the foundation of two central cults (Plut. *Lyc.* 6.1, Zeus Syllanios and Athena Syllania).[603] It is perfectly congruent with the orthodox interpretation discussed above to conflate the Great Rhetra and the *Eunomia*, taking both fragments 2 and 4 West[2] together as an expression of a constitution much like the Great Rhetra that was provided by an oracle originally recorded in the *Eunomia*, and now lost.[604] This oracle, which no longer survives, may be what the poet alludes to in the fragment's opening lines (θεοπρο[π, 2; μαντειασαν[, 4). Theoretically, this portion of the poem would have more concretely conformed to the pattern Malkin observes in foundation oracles from Apollo to an *oikist*, in this case likely Lykourgos.

The elements Malkin identifies in his previous work as necessary aspects of authentic oracular responses, however, are not present in the fragment as we have it: there is no indication of a request being made to Apollo at Delphi; the oracle is not framed as a response given directly or in a straightforward manner to an *oikist*; and there are no geographical markers that would help the *oikist* identify the precise location upon which the colony ought to be founded.[605] In general, it is difficult to accept that an oracle of such a nature existed in the *Eunomia* and, if it

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[602] Van Wees 2009, 1, 26-27 n.1.
[603] Malkin 1987, 2.
[604] Van Wees 2009, esp. 11-14, 22-5. On the relationship between Lykourgos and the Delphic Oracle, see Nafissi 2018, 99-103.
[605] Malkin 1987, 27.

was present in the poem, Plutarch would surely have cited it in his discussion of the Great Rhetra.[606] His argumentation is conjectural at best since it relies solely on Plutarch's Great Rhetra as a later representation of an oracular response that Lykourgos received, which is assumed to be alluded to in the vague opening lines of Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2 (i.e., θεοπρο[π, 2; μαντειασαγ[, 4).[607]

Interpreting the gift of Zeus in Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2 in such a way suggests that Zeus, operating as Apollo, gave Sparta as a divine gift/allotment to the Herakleidai, which imbues in them the same godly authority we would find in Lykourgos, the lawgiver, who received the foundation oracle.[608] The Herakleidai, who are representatives of the Spartan *basileis* in the poem, and therefore the "kings," have authority in all three areas; religion, constitution, and military. Although Malkin's interpretation of the gift of Zeus in Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2 is problematic in its attempt to understand Sparta as a Dorian colony in relation to the myth of the return of the Herakleidai, Malkin recognizes that the Spartan *basileis* exercise their authority much like an *oikist*, in a newly founded *polis*. The comparison of the Spartan *basileis* to Greek *oikistai* is based on the religious authority of both figures. Nevertheless, Malkin maintains that this gift of land is granted to the Herakleidai as generals and that the poem asks the Dorians for their military obedience. Malkin states the following regarding the responsibility of the *oikists* as generals:

> Foundation oracles imply divine sanction or justification of settlement; sometimes we hear of a particular place expressly described as a *gift* from the god to the oikist…we should pause and point out the significance of the "gift" in so far as it sheds light on the position of the *oikist*. Since foundation oracles were concerned with potential entities only and not with existing states, they could not be given either to the citizens of the mother-city (because the new foundation would not belong to them), nor to the colonists themselves (because they had not yet been formed into an independent *polis*). Religious authority and guidance could only be delegated to someone who was between these two

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[606] Van Wees 2009 10.

[607] Both van Wees (2009, 11-13) and Nafissi (2018, 98) see the fragmentary references to oracles in Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2 as possible oracles that defended the rulership of the Herakleidai in Sparta and stated that the people ought to obey the Herakleidai in order to achieve military success in their ongoing conflicts beyond Sparta.

[608] On the relationship between the Delphic oracle and the tradition of the figure of Lykourgos in Sparta, see Nafissi 2018, 99-103.

statuses - namely the *oikist*. The founders of Greek colonies represented both the initiative of their mother-cities, the authority of Apollo, and the embryonic colony. The *oikistes* thereby formed the connection among all three, they served as the intermediary between men, their communities, and their gods.[609]

It is abundantly clear that Malkin's understanding of the *oikist* informs his interpretation of the military motivations for the call for obedience in Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2.[610] Understanding the call for obedience in Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2 in relation to the responsibilities of an *oikist*, however, oversimplifies the role of Zeus in Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2 and subordinates it to a formula to which the fragment does not conform.

4.3.1 Spartan "Kingship" as Perpetual Generalship

We must now turn to the role of the Herakleidai as generals (4.3.1) and priests (4.4) to understand better why it is Zeus who gave Sparta to the Herakleidai in Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*. First, I must examine the connection between Malkin's interpretation of fr.2 West^2 as a reference to a foundation oracle, and his understanding of the call for obedience in the fragment as an expression of the military power of the Spartan *basileis*. His interpretation is informed by a longstanding bias in the Classical and post-Classical texts (as well as modern interpretations), which concentrates on the military responsibilities of the Spartan *basileis* rather than the religious or civic responsibilities. For Malkin, the foundation oracle is a symbol of legitimization for conquest:

> To conclude, for colonists setting out toward a distant location with a reasonable
> expectation of war against natives, such an oracle could raise morale and allay fears. At
> the same time, the language which is used evokes epic, or heroic, associations. The
> colonists could look up to their leader not just as a divinely appointed *oikist* but also as a
> military commander cast in the heroic mold. Rather than diminishing the danger of
> encounters with local inhabitants, the oracular response creates the impression of a
> divinely justified and inspired war, with the god personally at the side of the leader.[611]

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[609] Malkin 1987, 28.
[610] cf. Malkin 1994, 35.
[611] Malkin 1987, 51-2.

Given this understanding of the military function of foundation oracles, it seems that, for Malkin, Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2 implicitly expresses the same sentiments and serves the same purpose; namely, that those travelling to a different land than their own looking to conquer it are justified by the gods through the foundation oracle and this authority resides in their leader. In Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2 the obedience requested must, according to Malkin, be military in nature.[612] The Dorians are the ones emboldened by the oracle and imbued with a sense of divine justification for their military conquest over locals, in this case, the Messenians. Given Malkin's alignment with the orthodox interpretation of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*, it is worth considering here why Malkin assumes, other than the problematic context of the Second Messenian War, the obedience called for in fr.2 West^2 must be military in nature.

Aristotle (*Pol.* 1285a) asserts that the Spartan *basileia* was nothing more than a hereditary and perpetual generalship and that it was only in his role as a general that the *basileus* exercised additional controls in matters of religion and justice. Additionally, Xenophon states that while on campaign the *basileus* performed all sacrifices, decided on the place for encampments, controlled strategic decision making and logistics, and handled all business transactions (*Lac. Pol.* 13).[613] According to Xenophon, the Spartan *basileia* was most powerful in this arena.[614] Cartledge argues that the two *basileis* also had control over capital punishment while on campaign.[615] If this was the case, the *basileus* on campaign enacted justice alongside religious and administrative duties. Aristotle's dismissal, however, of the constitutional and religious power of the Spartan *basileia* in peacetime is an oversimplification. What Aristotle's attitude indicates is the fact that a Spartan *basileus* in the Classical period was primarily evaluated based on his abilities as a general. Post-Classical sources such as Plutarch and Pausanias similarly emphasize the military prowess of the *basileis*, arguing that their skill as generals is indicative of their moral character and ability to rule well. For example, Plutarch emphasizes this in his Lakonian *Apophthegmata* (*The Spartan Sayings*, Plut. *Mor.* 208b–242d).[616] Pausanias' historical overview of Sparta in book three of his *Hellados Periegesis* is almost solely a history of the military successes and failures of the *basileis* (3.1.7-10.5). Nevertheless, the Spartan *basileis* still performed

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[612] Makin 1994, 35.
[613] Millender 2018, 468.
[614] I.e., Agis at Dekelea, Thuc. 8.5.3.
[615] Cartledge 1987, 106; 2001, 61.
[616] i.e., Agesilaos 19, 28-30, 34-6, 39, 41 (*Mor.* 210-11); Theopompos 4 (*Mor.* 221), Leonidas 1-15 (*Mor.* 225).

constitutional and religious duties in Sparta and likely had more power in these areas in the seventh century, prior to the regulation of their constitutional powers by the ephorate. Throughout the sixth and fifth centuries, however, it is clear that Sparta restricted or, at least, increased the surveillance of the *basileus* while on campaign. In 506 BCE, for example, a law was put in place (ἐτέθη νόμος) in Sparta that prohibited both of the *basileis* from campaigning together as, according to Herodotus (5.75.2), was the custom before. This law was established in response to Demaratos' dissention and eventual withdrawal on the battlefield when he was co-campaigning with Kleomenes I against Athens. According to Herodotus, the retreat led to the embarrassment of Kleomenes I and was perceived as weakness on the part of the Spartan *basileis* because the two *basileis* were openly disagreeing, resulting in a military retreat.

By the Classical period, it was the Spartan assembly who ultimately made the decision, by voting on proposed actions, such as going to war and making or accepting terms for peace.[617] Ephors accompanied a Spartan *basileus* on campaign as early as 479 BCE. The earliest example can be found in Herodotus (9.76.3, cf. Xen. *Hell*. 2.4.36). Likewise, Xenophon states that two ephors accompanied a *basileus* on campaign, but that they did not interfere with the proceedings of the *basileus* and that they only oversee (ὁρῶντες) the sacrifices to ensure all were maintaining a proper decorum (*Lac. Pol.* 13.5). Although Xenophon's phrasing suggests the *basileis* maintained the highest level of authority, by the beginning of the Classical period, Sparta was certainly interested in vigilantly watching the *basileis*. In the realm of religious authority on campaign, in 479 BCE the Lakedaimonians arranged for an Elean seer, Tisamenos, to serve alongside the *basileis* in their religious capacities on campaign (Hdt. 9.33.3-36).[618] Additionally, in 418 BCE the Spartans again made a law (νόμον…ἔθεντο) that the *basileus* was not permitted to leave on campaign without the consent of a council of ten Spartiates.[619] Furthermore, there are numerous examples that demonstrate that a Spartan *basileus* of the Classical period was required

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[617] On Archidamos who did not want to go to war in 431 BCE but lost the vote in the Spartan assembly, see Thuc. 1.87-8; on deciding peace with Athens, see Xen. *Hell*. 6.3.18-19.

[618] Millender 2018, 468; Powell 2010, 93-4, 101-2. 113.

[619] Thuc. 5.63.4 δέκα γὰρ ἄνδρας Σπαρτιατῶν προσείλοντο αὐτῷ ξυμβούλους, ἄνευ ὧν μὴ κύριον εἶναι ἀπάγειν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. Although this *nomos* may have been created for the specific circumstances, namely the anger the Spartans felt against Agis, Aristotle (*Pol*.1271a) seems to be referencing this law and suggesting its more general application. Advisers did accompany Spartan *navarchs* prior to this, cf. Thuc. 2.85.1, 3.69.1. Hornblower (1991, 365) provides an overview of the use of ξύμβουλοι as "commissioners" or lit. "advisors" to generals and suggests (2008, 167-8) that this instance is unique in that it involves restricting a *basileus*. See Cartledge 1987, 212; Hodkinson 1983; Westlake 1976.

to answer to the Spartan deliberative bodies at home for their decisions and actions abroad.[620] For example, Leotychidas II was tried by the Lakedaimonians for excessive *hubris* (περιυβρίσθαι) against the Aeginetans and they sentenced him to be given over to the Aeginetans in place of hostages who were lost on account of Leotychidas' actions at Athens (Hdt. 6.85).[621] We might additionally consider the trial of Pausanias following the battle of Haliartos in 395 BCE where Pausanias, the Agiad *basileus* from c.408-395 BCE, was tried, although physically absent from the trial, and condemned to death. His offence was twofold: he arrived too late to the battle of Hiliartos, where Lysander had already coordinated an attack and had been killed in battle; and he recovered the Spartan dead under truce rather than fighting (Xen. *Hell*. 3.5.25). Additionally, he had allowed Athenians to escape following his seizure of the Peiraeus in an earlier conflict, which was likewise brought against him at this trial.[622] Pausanias, rather than face the death penalty, fled Sparta to Tegea where he wrote political pamphlets until his death in c.380 BCE.[623]

The generalship, therefore, of the *basileis* continued to be monitored and negotiated throughout the Classical period with additional laws put in place to restrict their sole authority over matters on campaign. Nevertheless, when they put additional laws in place, they did so with the understanding that the role of the *basileis* was traditional, by which I mean that the two *basileis* had performed their duties in an established manner prior to the institution of such *nomoi*. Xenophon (*Lac. Pol.* 13) emphasizes that the oversight by the ephors, for example, did not interfere with the actions of the *basileus* and he states that the role of the *basileus* was hereditary, recognizing its particularity and continuity. Aristotle (*Pol.* 1285a.) likewise emphasizes the heredity of the Spartan *basileia* with regard to their position as generals. In his description of the episode in 418 BCE, in which the Spartans made a law (νόμον…ἔθεντο) that the *basileus* was not permitted to leave on campaign without the consent of a council of ten Spartiates Thucydides emphatically states that the law was "such as had never been before"

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[620] E.g., Kleomenes I (Hdt. 6.74-75, 82, 84); Leotychidas II (Hdt. 6.72, 85); Pausanias, the regent and general at Plataea (Thuc. 1.95.1-7, 128.3, 131.2); Pleistoanax (Thuc. 2.21; 5.16.3); Agis II (Thuc. 5.63.4); Pausanias (Xen. *Hell*. 3.5.25).

[621] On the historical context of this passage, see Scott 2005, 310-14; Hornblower and Pelling 2017, 201-2.

[622] Xen. *Hell*. 3.5.25; On the entire episode, see Xen. *Hell*. 3.5.1-7, 17-25; Diod. Sic. 14.89.1; Plut. *Lys*. 27-30.1; Paus. 3.5.3-6; Kennell 2010, 133-4.

[623] On the impact of Pausanias' political pamphlets on the constitutional history of Sparta, see Nafissi 2018, 100, n. 26, who provides extensive bibliography on the pamphlets.

(5.63.4).[624] Thucydides (5.66.2) later emphasizes that Agis remained sole commander in this case. This example further demonstrates how unprecedented it was to restrict the generalship of the *basileis*.

Furthermore, when speaking of the constitutional organization of the Spartan *basileia* by the lawgiver Lykourgos, both Xenophon (*Lac. Pol.* 13.1) and Herodotus (1.65) demonstrate that the Spartan *basileia* was already a functioning institution. Herodotus suggests that Lykourgos was able to accomplish his constitutional changes because of his position and relation to the current *basileus*. Herodotus' assertion further supports the hypothesis that the Spartan *basileia*, at least in the imagination of these Classical authors, existed prior to Lykourgos' putative reforms (Hdt. 1.65). Regarding warfare, Herodotus attributes some military reforms to Lykourgos stating that he "established the affairs pertaining to warfare, namely the *enomotia*, the company of thirty, and the *syssitia*" (Hdt.1.65.5). Elsewhere, he presents the generalship of the *basileis* as a historic responsibility (Hdt. 6.56). Both Xenophon (*Lac. Pol.* 10.8) and Herodotus (1.65) place Lykourgos' reforms in the nebulous early history of Sparta's constitutional development. The historicity of their claims is irrelevant for the current discussion but suffice it to say that Classical authors considered generalship to be an ancient and traditional role of the Spartan *basileia* that was said to have been codified perhaps by Lykourgos, yet paradoxically, continued to be negotiated throughout the Classical period.[625] Generalship, therefore, was considered an important and traditional aspect of the Spartan *basileia* in the Classical period and was likely already an important function of the position in the Archaic period. It was certainly the aspect of the Spartan *basileia* that appears to have attracted the most attention.

We ought to consider, also, that the position of a *basileus* in the Classical Greek world more generally is almost always associated with warfare and campaigning. Consider, for example, the response of the Spartan envoys to the Argives regarding an Argive plea for a thirty-year truce with Sparta and its allies in 481 BCE:

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[624] Thuc. 5.63.4 νόμον δὲ ἔθεντο ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ὃς οὔπω πρότερον ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς. On the significance of this passage, see Hornblower 2008, 167-8.
[625] This is paradoxical because the constitution of Sparta and its customs are considered to be unchanged from the time of Lykourgos (i.e., Hdt. 1.65; Thuc. 1.18.1) and yet changes are certainly detectable (Hdt. 5.75.2; Thuc. 5.63.4; Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 14 where the Spartans have diverged far from their Lykourgan customs). See Millender 2018 for further examples and bibliography.

τῶν δὲ ἀγγέλων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Σπάρτης πρὸς τὰ ῥηθέντα ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἀμείψασθαι τοῖσιδε· περὶ μὲν σπονδέων ἀνοίσειν ἐς τοὺς πλεῦνας, περὶ δὲ ἡγεμονίης αὐτοῖσι ἐντετάλθαι ὑποκρίνασθαι, καὶ δὴ λέγειν, σφίσι μὲν εἶναι δύο βασιλέας, Ἀργείοισι δὲ ἕνα· οὔκων δυνατὸν εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης οὐδέτερον παῦσαι τῆς ἡγεμονίης, μετὰ δὲ δύο τῶν σφετέρων ὁμόψηφον τὸν Ἀργεῖον εἶναι κωλύειν οὐδέν.

Those of the envoys from Sparta replied in response to the things having been said by the council the following: concerning a truce, on the one hand, they would put their request to the masses, but, on the other, concerning leadership they themselves had been commanded to respond, and in particular to say, that the Spartans have two *basileis*, but the Argives, one: it is not possible, therefore, to depose either of the two Spartan *basileis* of his leadership, but there is nothing to prevent the Argive *basileus* from having the same right of voting as their own two (Hdt. 7.149.2).

When discussing the issue of command of the allied forces the Spartans are firm in that the two *basileis* of the Spartans have an equal vote to the one *basileus* of the Argives. Herodotus shows that the Argives had a *basileus* that was in some respects, at least according to the envoys of the Spartans in Herodotus' narrative, comparable to the *basileis* of Sparta, and that their position was related to military command.[626] Additionally, Mitchell argues that the Molossian and Macedonian *basileis* were generals of their respective armies.[627] Likewise, Samos had a *basileus* and he seems to have been responsible for the Samians taking military action against Aegina when a certain Amphikrates was *basileus* in Samos.[628] Each of these examples demonstrates an affinity between the role of the *basileus* and military leadership in the Classical period. The connection between their *basileis* and military leadership likely stretched back to the Archaic period as well, as discussed in chapters one and two.

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[626] Cf. ML 42 in addition to Hdt. 7.149.2. The question remains whether the Argive *basileia* was, at this point, magisterial or hereditary. On the nature of the Argive *basileia* at the time of Pheidon see Carlier 1984; Drews 1983. Scott (2005, 593 n.19) states that the Argive *basileus* of the fifth century likely had religious or symbolic duties only, but the denial of the ability to hold the position of general seems a key factor in Argos' final decision not to join the alliance (Hdt. 7.149.3). On evidence for Argive *basileis* in the fifth century BCE, see Shaw 2009, 289 n.59; there is no mention of one in the treaty of 420 BCE (cf. Thuc. 5.47.8).

[627] Mitchell 2013, 65-8.

[628] Hdt. 3.59.4: Σάμιοι ἐπ᾽ Ἀμφικράτεος βασιλεύοντος ἐν Σάμῳ στρατευσάμενοι ἐπ᾽ Αἴγιναν; Asheri (2007, 455) suggests ἐπ᾽ Ἀμφικράτεος is a "typical eponymic formula that recalls a *basileus* as eponymous magistrate of archaic Samos," but others take this to be evidence of a "real" *basileus* of the 7th century BCE, cf. Drews 1983; Carlier 1984. The date of this episode is unclear.

The orthodox understanding of Tyrtaios' call for obedience to the Spartan *basileis* in fr. 2 West[2] is informed by the emphasis in Classical sources such as Xenophon and Aristotle on the role the *basileis* played as generals. Tyrtaios' poetry, however, which contains the earliest literary references to the Spartan *basileia*, emphasized not only the military function of the *basileia* but also its religious and constitutional roles. He referred to both an individual *basileus* (Theopompos, fr.5 West[2]) and the *basileia* (fr.4 West[2]) as a part of the deliberative process in the Spartan assembly. He declares the prominence of the *basileis* alongside the *gerontes* above the *demos* in the assembly (fr.4 West[2]) where the audience's obedience will, in turn, bring about some form of success that will bring victory and power for the entire collective.[629] As outlined in chapter one, Tyrtaios celebrates Theopompos' role in the Spartan seizure of Messenia in Tyrtaios fr.5 West[2], emphasizing both his role in capturing Messene (ὃν διὰ Μεσσήνην εἵλομεν) and his closeness with the gods (e.g., describing him as θεοῖσι φίλῳ). I discussed a similar emphasis on the leaders of the army in Tyrtaios fr.19 West[2], which focuses on obedience to leadership ("let us obey (our) leaders", πεισόμεθ᾿ ἡγεμ[ό) preceded by an emphasis on the gods (δ᾿ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖς ἐπὶ πάντ[α) and followed by an emphasis on the actions of the collective (ἀλλ᾿ εὐθὺς σύμπαντες ἀλοιησεῦ[μεν). All three examples link the position of the *basileus* to success in the military sphere, but also highlight his divine nature and the constitutional authority of the two *basileis*. Tyrtaios shines a spotlight on the *basileis* as leaders of the army while simultaneously underlining their role in the *polis* by bringing into focus their relationship with the divine. Xenophon and Aristotle do not emphasize the same roles; instead, they interpret the religious and constitutional authority of the Spartan *basileis* as existing within the confines of their role as generals and not necessarily as independent of it. Our Classical sources have yet again clouded our understanding of Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] and, in this case, our perception of the socio-cultural importance of the Spartan *basileia*. The emphasis on Zeus in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] leads us not towards thinking about the *basileis* as the leading generals of Sparta, but instead towards the *basileis* as mediators with the divine (as discussed in chapter one, to which I return in the following section).[630]

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[629] Tyrtaios fr.4.9-10 West[2], δήμου τε πλήθει νίκην καὶ κάρτος ἕπεσθαι/ Φοῖβος γὰρ περὶ τῶν ὧδ᾿ ἀνέφηνε πόλει, see Van Wees 2009, 6-14.
[630] See chapter 1.6 "Early Greek Epic as *Exempla*."

4.4 Priests and Guardians

I now turn to the sacerdotal responsibilities of the Spartan *basileis* to further elaborate this point. Herodotus provides a detailed catalogue of the responsibilities and prerogatives of the Classical Spartan *basileis* beginning with their dual priesthood of Zeus Lakedaimon and Zeus Ouranios (6.56).[631] The specificity of these epithets is revealing; Lakedaimon refers to Lakonia and its inhabitants and Ouranios refers to the broader Spartan cosmic order. The semi-divine nature of the Spartan *basileis*, marked by their ancestry (i.e., Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2]; Hdt. 6.52; Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 15.2), their priesthoods of Zeus (Hdt. 6.56.1), and their responsibilities for sacrifice before campaigns (Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 13.2-3), "suggests that the kings functioned as guarantors of the divine protection of Sparta" and "indicate their symbolic role as guardians of the state's continued welfare" in Classical Sparta.[632] The divine position of the Spartan *basileis* was further reinforced by their relationship with the Tyndaridai. When the Spartan assembly, for example, restricted the *basileis* from campaigning together in 506 BCE, Herodotus states that the Spartans permitted one of the Tyndaridai to remain at home as well (Hdt. 5.75.2). The Spartan *basileis*, accompanied by the Tyndaridai, were the protectors of Sparta.[633] In their priestly roles in the Classical period the Spartan *basileis* were responsible for maintaining the cosmic order and seeking protection and approval on behalf of the collective. In other words, they were the intermediaries between the *polis* and the divine as discussed in chapter one through the example of early Greek epic.[634] The Classical Spartan *basileis* also regularly performed public sacrifices and had special access to sacrificial hides; this was not restricted to campaigning.[635] Herodotus,

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[631] The final religious prerogative Herodotus describes stipulates that the *basileis* protect the oracles pertaining to the *polis* and they each appoint two *pythioi* who were responsible for travelling to Delphi and sharing the contents of the oracles with the *basileis* (6.57.2-4). Xen. (*Lac. Pol.* 15.5) mentions the *pythioi* by name but does not describe their position. As Herodotus notes (6.57.2) the Spartan *pythioi* are like the θεοπρόποι or θεωροί of other Greek *poleis*. This specific position was likely eliminated after the dissolution of the Spartan *basileia* following 222 BCE. In the Roman period such ambassadors to Delphi were called θεοπρόποι, cf. *FD* III 1.215. On the importance of the Spartan *pythioi* in recording and archiving oracles related to Sparta and the connection between the Delphic oracle and the Spartan *basileia*, see Millender 2001, 129.

[632] Millender 2018, 471; see also Sahlins 2011.

[633] See Carlier 1977, 76n. 42; Cartledge 1987, 109, 339; 2001, 62–3; Richer 2007, 239–40; Millender 2009, 14; Sahlins 2011.

[634] See chapter 1.6 "Early Greek Epic as *Exempla*."

[635] Hdt. 6.56-57.2; Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 13.2-5, 10, 15.2-3; Arist. *Pol.* 1285a6-7. On the role of the Spartan *basileis* in religious life, see Carlier 1984, 256–69; Cartledge 2001, 63–4; Parker 1989, 143, 152–60; Richer 2007, 239–41; Powell 2010, 127; Sahlins 2011; Millender 2018, 469-70. For examples of the frequency with which a Spartan *basileus* might perform such sacrifices on campaign, cf. Agesilaos: Xen. *Ages.* 1.31; *Hell.* 4.3.12-14; 5.4.37, 41, 47, 49; 6.5.12, 17-18.

for example, reports that they "had rights to make the first libation" in feasting/dining and that they received the hides (6.57.1). Additionally, they were to perform regular sacrifices for Apollo on every new moon and on the seventh day of each month (6.57.2). In the Classical period the cost of sacrifices was furnished by the public treasury (6.57.2); however, there is evidence to suggest that the *basileus* of the Early Iron Age controlled access to sacrificial animals personally.[636]

As priests, the Spartan *basileis* participated in a relationship with the gods, specifically Zeus, that modeled the relationship depicted between Zeus, the *basileus*, and the *polis* in the examples provided in chapter one (i.e., Hom. *Od.* 3.31-74, 19.106-14; Hes. *Theog.* 76-96; *Op.* 248-64).[637] The decisions and actions of a *basileus* could positively or negatively impact the entire community, as could the decisions and actions of the *basileus* of early Greek epic. In Classical texts, the relationship between the actions of the Spartan *basileis* and the wellbeing of the *polis* was often mediated by the Delphic oracle. Leonidas I, for example, reportedly died to save Sparta, sacrificing himself according to an oracle that stated a *basileus* would die or Sparta would fall to the Persian enemy (Hdt. 7.220.2-4).[638] This episode could be an invention of the Agiad family in collaboration with the Delphic oracle, either during or after the event. Nevertheless, it provides an example of the perceived connection between the actions of the Spartan *basileus* and the wellbeing of the Spartan *polis*; Leonidas I was lauded as a "good" *basileus* because, in listening to the Delphic oracle, he sacrificed himself for the survival of Sparta. Furthermore, when Pleistoanax was restored as the Agiad *basileus* in 426 BCE, his rivals consistently insisted that his return was an evil for the entire Spartan community whenever something went awry. His rivals argued that the Pleistoanax would never be able to protect the community because he had been charged for bribing the Delphic oracle, a religious offence (Thuc. 5.16). This example further highlights the connection between the welfare of the *polis* and the capability of the *basileus*. After Agis II died, his son, Leotychidas, and Agesilaos II were contending for the position of *basileus* when Diopeithes recalled an oracle to beware of a "lame"

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[636] Ainian 2006, 184-5. See also Ainian 1997; Mitchell 2013, 120-1.
[637] See chapter 1.6 "Early Greek Epic as *Exempla*."
[638] This oracle is likely the product of a Spartan tradition about Leonidas I formulated after the Spartan defeat at Thermopylae as an attempt to heroize both Leonidas and the dead Spartans (Hdt. 224-8; Paus. 3.14.1), see Lupi 2014; Lupi 2018.

basileus (Xen. *Hell*. 3.3.3).[639] Again, the quality, actions, and disposition of a Spartan *basileus* were perceived to have real-life consequences for the entire *polis* and its prosperity.

Additionally, the city underwent a symbolic death when a *basileus* died, which appears most clearly in "the suspension of all commercial and political activity during a prescribed ten-day period of mourning following the king's funeral."[640] The entire *polis*, including the *perioikoi* and helots, mourned for ten days (Hdt. 6.58.3).[641] The reverence expressed by the community in the period of mourning is congruent with the fact that the *basileis* were the priests of Zeus Lakedaimon, the protector of the city and community, and Zeus Ouranios, the protector of the Spartan cosmos. We see the same symbolism in the protection of the body of the *basileis*.[642] An example of this symbolism can be seen in Plutarch's *Life of Agis*; after Agis was sentenced to death by the ephors, Damochares, who was responsible for moving Agis, witnessed officers (ὑπηρέται) and mercenaries unwilling to lay hands on the body of the *basileus* as this was against divine law and Spartan custom.[643] The protection of the body of a *basileus* in battle or in the event of his death in battle further demonstrates the significance of his body.[644] Whereas the bodies of individual Spartans were not generally returned from the battlefield, the bodies of *basileis* were vehemently protected and returned because of their bodily relationship to the divine.[645] Millender describes the eventual return of Leonidas' remains as a recognition of the "power that resided in the king's physical remains and the daimonic power of the kingship itself."[646] Millender extends the protection afforded to the bodies of the *basileis* beyond the physical realm, stating that they protect the *polis* in death "by means of their family tombs,

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[639] Plut. *Lys*. 22.3-6; *Ages*. 3-4.1; Paus. 3.8.7-9.1, 10.
[640] Millender 2018, 469-73; Millender 2002, 10-11.
[641] Heraclid. Lemb. *Pol*. 10; Xen. *Lac. Pol*. 15.9. See also Millender 2002, 10-11; 2018, 502; Sahlins 2011, 71-2.
[642] Cartledge 1987, 109, 333-7.
[643] Plut. *Agis* 19.6: ὡς οὐ θεμιτὸν οὐδὲ νενομισμένον βασιλέως σώματι τὰς χεῖρας προσφέρειν.
[644] "Bodyguard" of *hippeis* (Hdt.7.224; Thuc. 5.72.4); fight for Leonidas I's body (Hdt. 7.225.1); Kleombrotos I's body at Leuktra (Xen. *Hell*. 5.4.13; Diod. Sic. 15.55.5-56.1; Paus. 9.13.10); effigy of the dead *basileus* (Hdt. 6.58.3). See Schaefer 1957, 224; Cartledge 1987, 333; Toher 1999; Millender 2018, 471.
[645] Cf. Plut. *Ages*. 40.3; Compare the funerals of the *basileis* (Hdt. 6.58) with the modest funerals of Spartans (Plut. *Lyc*. 27.1-2; *Mor*. 238d); see also Xen. (*Hell*. 3.3.1) for the vague description of the burial of Agis II. Leonidas I and Archidamos III were the only *basileis* whose bodies were lost. There was an effort made to return the bodies home (this was not, presumably, done for just any Spartan cf. Plut. *Ages*. 40.3), e.g., Agesipolis I died in 380 BCE of a fever while campaigning in Pallene and was embalmed in honey to be returned to Sparta for proper burial (Xen. *Hell*. 5.3.19); Agesipolis II was encased in melted wax due to a honey shortage (Nep. *Ages*. 8.7; Plut. *Ages*. 40.3; Diod. Sic. 15.93.6). On Spartan funerals, see Cartledge 1987, 331-43; Hartog 1988, 152-6; Toher 1991, 169-73; Millender 2002, 7-11.
[646] Millender 2018, 472-3 (cf. Paus. 3.14.1; *IG* V.1.660). See also Connor 1979; Richer 1994, 70-82; Boedeker 1993, 168.

which were situated to the south (Eurypontid: Paus. 3.12.8) and northwest (Agiads: Paus. 3.14.2) of Sparta."[647] Additionally, according to Xenophon, the *basileis* were honoured as heroes following their death.[648]

The role of the Spartan *basileis* as guardians or protectors of the Spartan cosmos, their responsibility for the community's welfare, and their very being as a representations of the *polis*' security were also evident in other administrative roles in the Classical period. For example, the *basileis* were responsible for overseeing all adoption cases (Hdt. 6.57.4) as well as making marital arrangements for heiresses for whom arrangements had not been made at the time of the male guardian's death (Hdt. 6.57.4).[649] Both are examples of the ways in which the Spartan *basileis* acted as official guardians in Lakedaimon, akin to their priesthood of Zeus Lakedaimon.[650] Comparatively, in Classical Athens, the *basileus* was a religious magistrate and, although Athenian *basileia* became an annually elected office in the Classical period, even in the fourth century he and his wife performed some religious duties.[651] Additionally, the four *phylo-basileis* that were combined in the Prytaneion under the oversight of the *basileus* judged certain homicide cases specifically concerning religious matters.[652] An inscription from Elis dating to the sixth century BCE names a group of *basileis* who hold "the highest magistracy." Similar inscriptions were found also at Megara, Miletos, Kos, Nasos, Kyme, Kyzikos, Ephesos, Skepsis, and, perhaps, at Mantinea.[653] The Chian office of the *basileus*, in the fifth century, was still responsible for uttering "official curses."[654] The Spartan version of the *basileia*, therefore, was not atypical among the various ways different *poleis* treated the office of the *basileus*, but the religious functions of the Spartan *basileis* were just as important as the military functions. We can see from the examples above that the religious functions of the office of the *basileus* were more commonly paralleled in other *poleis* than is typically recognized because of the focus on the military functions of the Spartan *basileis* in Classical texts (as discussed in 4.3.1).

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[647] Millender 2018, 472; Richer 1994, 89-90; 2007, 244, 250. Protection from the death of a ruler is likely not unique to Sparta: cf. Soph. *OC*. 1518-55.
[648] Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 15.8-9; Hdt. 6.58. See Cartledge 1987, 335-6, 1988; Currie 2005, 244-5.
[649] Cartledge 1987, 108-9. See chapter 5.1 "Historical Context."
[650] Millender 2018, 469-73.
[651] See Mitchell 2013, 44-5, 144 n.17; Seaford 2012, 85-8, see Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 3.1-3, 5, 57; Dem. 59.73-8. Scott (2005, 593 n.19) suggests likewise of the fifth-century Argive *basileus*, i.e., Hdt. 7.149.2.
[652] Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 57.4; Jeffrey 1956, 165, n.4.
[653] See Jeffrey 1956, 165.
[654] Jeffrey 1956, 165.

Ainian posits that, in the Early Iron Age, the Greek *basileus* functioned as a communal priest who was able to provide sacrificial victims and host feasts and communal dining.[655] Since the Spartan *basileis* performed the same role in the Classical period with the state standing in as the official provider of the sacrificial victims, it is likely that prior to the Classical period the Spartan *basileis* played a role in feasting and cultic practices and that this role underwent a process of institutionalisation, much like their role as generals (as discussed in 4.3.1). It has been suggested that the move towards community-focused worship in the development of the *polis* may have decentralized the role of "chiefs" or "kings," whose houses may have served as the communal sacred space, particularly for feasting.[656] While this theoretical sketch of the development of the *polis* is not without its problems, as discussed in chapter one, Ainian contends that Nichoria, Lefkandi, Oropos, and Pithekoussai are case studies for the position of the *basileus* in the Early Iron Age.[657] He concludes that, "the *basileis* of Early Iron Age Greece derived much of their power not only from their bravery and skills as warriors or their possession of arable land, but also from their abilities to offer feasts and their connection with metals and trade."[658] The connection between the position of the *basileus* and the religious sphere seems likely. Mitchell compellingly claims, "the building of temples does not mean that rulers' religious responsibilities were curtailed, only that they changed." With respect to Sparta, I agree that the role of the *basileus* in the religious sphere changed in accordance with the collectivization of cult activity into communal civic spaces as a part of their institutionalization. The process of institutionalization would have been necessary if the *basileis* were to retain importance in the community and it seems certain that they were successful in integrating themselves in this respect.

The title *basileus* from as early as the Early Iron Age was associated with local cult practice and communal feasting. By the Classical period the Spartan *basileia* was intimately involved in the communal ritual and dining practices of Sparta. The role of the *basileis* in feasting and dining endured while they were on campaign but was not a consequence of their

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[655] See Ainian 2006, 184-5, on tablets from Pylos and Knossos, which describe the *basileus* as priests or keepers of sanctuaries. The role of *basileus* was further discussed in chapter 1.5 "Political Leadership and Rulership Ideology in Archaic Greece."

[656] See chapter 1.2 "Archaic Greek History and the Seventh Century," and 1.5 "Political Leadership and Rulership Ideology in Archaic Greece."

[657] See chapter 1.5 "Political Leadership and Rulership Ideology in Archaic Greece."

[658] Ainian 2006, 181-212; See also Ainian 1997; Mitchell 2013, 120-1.

military role. The complex integration of the *basileis* into the ritual space of the *polis* must have been completed prior to the Classical period itself and is most likely the result of a longstanding connection between the *basileis* and the religious functioning of the community. The connection between the *basileis* and the community can be seen in the priesthoods they hold, the positions of honour they maintain in communal dining and sacrificing, and the sanctity of their bodies. They appear as protectors of the *polis* and intermediaries between the civic collective and sphere of the divine, like the *basileus* of early Greek epic. They are the keepers of the cosmic and divine order of Sparta. It is their relationship with Zeus that justifies all these responsibilities, precisely what Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] emphasizes.

The role of the *basileis* as described by Herodotus with respect to feasting would suggest that the office was, to a certain degree, curtailed, in that the *polis* was responsible for the provision of the sacrificial victim and sacrifices took place in a public, civic space. Nevertheless, we should not undervalue the religious significance of the *basileis* having the privilege to pour the libations, keep the hides, and offer sacrifices regularly and publicly. The religious aspects of the office may have been subsumed under the macro-structure of the *polis* through institutionalization over time, but the experience of viewing the *basileis* regularly and continuously in this significant religious position had lasting impact on the Spartan community. The Spartan *basileis* are the only individuals with power in the Spartan *polis* that enjoys continuity in that their office is hereditary, and they hold their position for their entire lives (barring deposition or death).[659] The physical placement of the family tombs, acting as a "carrier of memory," further contributes to the performative aspect of the Spartan *basileia* because the tombs are a consistent reminder of the history, longevity, power, and divine nature of the *basileis*.[660] The presence of these tombs and the consistent presence of the basileis at festivals, rituals, and civic events reminds the public of the significance of the Spartan *basileia* in the broader Spartan social memory, emphasizing their religious duties and connection to the gods.

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[659] Millender (2018, 464-67) demonstrates how this benefits Kleomenes I and Agesilaos II who are perhaps the best examples of *basileis* who utilize their position and personal accomplishments to affect policy and steer Sparta in a particular direction.

[660] Steinbock 2013, 2-4. Steinbock demonstrates the function of such carriers of memory in the Athenian context throughout the book. See Pavlides (2023) for a recent discussion of hero cult in Archaic and Classical Sparta, including the most recent archaeological evidence.

What I have demonstrated above is that functionally the Spartan *basileis* were connected to Zeus through their sacerdotal duties, most evidently documented in Classical sources. From examples in early Greek epic, we can extrapolate that this traditional role endured from the early Archaic into the Classical period. The relationship between the Spartan *basileis* and Zeus, however, according to Sahlins, was not simply functional or structural, it was also ontological, meaning the relationship had more to do with the nature of their being than with their structure and function in the political organization of Sparta. In his discussion of the ontological nature of the Spartan dyarchy, Sahlins argues that "there are two distinct principles of sovereign dualism: duality of the sovereign person and duality of sovereign powers."[661] The symmetrical distribution of responsibilities between two rulers is "a political division of labor," and, therefore, a "functional dualism", the doubling of man and god entailed in divine kingship", however, is "an ontological principle," meaning that their nature is the reason for their position.[662] The Spartan dyarchs are characterized by twinship. They are protected by, identified with, and descended from twins who are likewise descendants of Zeus (i.e., the Tyndaridai and Prokles and Eurysthenes).[663] Ultimately, this sovereign dualism rests on the ability of the Spartan *basileis* to claim descent from Zeus, and the functional duties that they share are reflections of this dualism, namely that they are a double being, both mortal and immortal in some respect.[664] In other words, I argue that Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* elaborated on a deep mythical tradition of dual sovereignty that could legitimize a historical dyarchy on religious grounds. Sahlins concludes that:

> Spartan dual kingship is a mytho-praxis, endowing the Laconian sovereignty and its existential situation with a treasure-house of mythic values. It evokes famous exploits of conquest and hegemony, the usurpations of indigenous kings, and reminiscences of universal domination. Its structural features are imitations of the sovereignty of Zeus and implications of the dominance of Mycenae.[665]

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[661] Sahlins 2011, 65.

[662] Sahlins 2011, 65.

[663] See above for discussion of the connection between the Tyndaridai and the Spartan *basileis*. This is further discussed throughout chapter five. Sahlins 2011, 73-5.

[664] Sahlins 2011, 65-73.

[665] Sahlins 2011, 99. Sahlins is arguing that the mythical explanations of the Spartan *basileia* serve to parallel the sovereignty of Zeus and that the use of such myths in the practical functioning of the Spartan *basileis* is evocative for the audience of the individual's dual nature, his mortal and divine nature.

Although Sahlin's work combines mythological traditions from the Homeric epics to the genealogy of Lakonia prior to the Herakleidai in Pausanias, his exploration of the Spartan dyarchy from a religious and ontological perspective contributes to the ongoing debate concerning the "survival" of the Spartan dyarchy. His investigation extends beyond the historical or political circumstances of the Archaic and Classical period to clarify the religious implications of the Spartan dyarchy's unique dualism. I now return to the fragment itself to reconsider the role of the Spartan *basileis* in Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2. Having established that the connection between Zeus and the Herakleidai in the poem is not an expression of the Herakleidai as military generals and colonists who have received their power from Zeus (in place of than Apollo), I contend that the connection between Zeus and the Herakleidai in the poem is a reflection of the sacerdotal function and ontological nature of the Spartan *basileis*.

4.5 The Spartan *Basileia* in Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2 Reconsidered

I argue that the emphasis on Zeus in Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2 not only reflects the functional and structural responsibilities of the Spartan *basileis* but also serves as a reminder of the divine nature of the Spartan *basileia* through comparison with and paralleling of the divine sovereignty of Zeus in verses 12-13. The Classical priesthoods of Zeus Lakedaimon and Zeus Ouranios were formal representations of the legitimizing effect of the relationship between the *basileis* and Zeus – himself the *basileus* of the immortals won through military conquest (Hes. *Theog*. 881-5). Political leadership and the "right to rule" in the Homeric community was granted by Zeus (cf. Hom. *Il*. 2. 100-8; *Od*. 1.384-7), as discussed as length in chapter one.[666] In the *Iliad* (2.197), for example, Odysseus states that Zeus-nourished (διοτρεφέων) *basileis* derived their *timē* from Zeus (τιμὴ δ᾽ ἐκ Διός ἐστι), and that Zeus considers them a *philos* (φιλεῖ δέ ἑ μητίετα Ζεύς). In Tyrtaios, the Spartan *basileis* are described as being θεοτίμητοι, honoured by the gods (fr. 4.3 West^2), and Theopompos is called θεοῖσι φίλος, dear to the gods (5.1 West^2, 2.9 West^2). Tyrtaios fr.2.12-15 West^2 demonstrates that Zeus bestows upon the Herakleidai their "right to rule" in much the same way as Zeus bestows the right to rule upon Agamemnon (i.e., Hom. *Il*. 1.254-84). As we have seen in chapter one, in *Theogony* (75-97), Hesiod sings of the Zeus-nourished *basileis* (διοτρεφέων βασιλήων) who are selected by the daughters of Zeus, the Muses, to receive the gift of sweet speech to be used in matters regarding community justice and prosperity.

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[666] See chapter 1.6 "Early Greek Epic as *Exempla*."

Hesiod goes on to state that it is from the Muses and Apollo that the world has *aoidoi* and *kythara* players, but that the *basileis* are from Zeus (ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες, 96). At the conclusion of the *Odyssey*, it is Zeus who devises a plan for Athena to enact regarding the angry families of the suitors; Odysseus will be the *basileus* and, in forgetting about the slaughter of their sons and brothers, the people of Ithaka will live in peace and wealth (Hom. *Od*. 24.482-6). Zeus' role, therefore, cannot be overstated. The gift of Zeus in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] refers to the right of the Herakleidai to rule in the *polis* of seventh-century Sparta. This interpretation is contrary to previous interpretations who see in the phrase "Zeus, has given this city" an allusion to Messene being given to the Herkaleidai who rule Sparta. I have argued instead that the phrase alludes to the fact that Sparta was allotted to the sons of Aristodemos in the tripartite division of the Peloponnese and, therefore, serves to legitimize the right to rule of the Herkaleidai through a divine right to rule in Sparta, which is symbolized in Archaic Sparta by the sacerdotal role of the Herakleid *basileis*.

In addition to the ontological connection between Zeus and the Spartan *basileis*, they were also connected to Zeus by blood. A relationship between Zeus and the *basileis* through blood was uncommon for a Greek *basileus* to have. It was unique to the Spartan *basileia*.[667] The links between the Spartan *basileia*, Herakles, and Zeus are emphatic in the textual references to the dyarchy from the Archaic to the Roman period.[668] The claim that the Spartan *basileis* descended from Herakles tied the *genos* of the *basileis* to Zeus. Furthermore, Herodotus recites the ancestry of the Spartan *basileis* in-full, an act that serves to legitimize the Herakleidai by drawing attention to their genealogical continuity.[669] Consider, for example, the way Herodotus introduces Leonidas:

> τούτοισι ἦσαν μέν νυν καὶ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατὰ πόλιας ἑκάστων, ὁ δὲ θωμαζόμενος μάλιστα καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγεόμενος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν Λεωνίδης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδεω τοῦ Λέοντος τοῦ Εὐρυκρατίδεω τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ Εὐρυκράτεος τοῦ Πολυδώρου τοῦ Ἀλκαμένεος τοῦ Τηλέκλου τοῦ Ἀρχέλεω τοῦ Ἡγησίλεω τοῦ Δορύσσου τοῦ Λεωβώτεω τοῦ Ἐχεστράτου τοῦ Ἤγιος τοῦ Εὐρυσθένεος τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὕλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος…

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[667] For comparison between Spartan and Macedonian *basileis*, see Mitchell 2013, 30-2, 107-7, 121.
[668] Cf. Tyrtaios fr.2 , 11 West[2]; Hdt. 6.52, 56, 7.204, 8.131.2; Xen. *Lac. Pol*. 15; Isoc. *Archidamos* 18-19; Diod. Sic. 4.33.5-6; Paus.3.1-10.5; Apollod. *Bibl*. 2.8, 143-5, 3.123-5. Malkin 1994, 22-6, 33-43.; Cartledge 2001, 293-8; Patterson 2010, 27-38; Sahlin 2011; Millender 2018, 469-70; Kennell 2018, 643-62, 2010, 20-38.
[669] Cf. Hdt. 6.52, 56; 7.204; 8.131.2.

Now there were also other generals for these men according to the *polis* of each, but the
one who invoked awe the most and was the leader of the whole land army was a
Lakedaimonian Leonidas, the son of Anaxandridas, son of Leon, son of Eurykratides, the
son of Anaxandros, the son of Eurykrates, the son of Polydoros, the son of Alkamenes,
the son of Teleklos, the son of Archelaos, the son of Aegesilaos, the son of Doryssos, the
son of Leobotes, the son of Echestratos, the son of Agis, the son of Eurysthenes, the son
of Aristodemos, the son of Aristomachos, the son of Kleodaios, the son of Hyllos, the son
of Herakles…(Hdt. 7.204).[670]

The emphasis on ancestry is self-evident in this passage, connecting Leonidas to each *basileus*
who ruled in Sparta all the way back to Herakles himself.[671] The king list demonstrates the
ancestral nature of the position Leonidas holds in Sparta and explains why he was the "*hegemon*
of the entire land army," and "the most awe inspiring" of the generals. The recitation of such lists
also demonstrates that they were available as a source to Herodotus, which presupposes an
interest in their maintenance.[672]

As Xenophon emphasizes, it is the Herakleid ancestry, a divine ancestry, that made the
Spartan *basileus* a mediator between the *polis* and the divine (*Lac. Pol.* 15.2). As discussed
above, the Spartan *basileis*' bodies, their actions while living, and their deaths symbolized life
and death for the *polis* itself. They were, in a cultic sense, living representations of the
connection between the *polis* and the gods. The connection between the *basileis*, the *polis*, and
the gods was publicly reinforced on a continuous and regular basis by having the *basileis*
perform ritual activities both publicly and frequently (e.g., Hdt. 6.57.1). Additionally, the public
funerals of the *basileis* serve to reinforce the special nature of the Spartan *basileia*, the *basileis*
themselves, and the connection between their lives and the life of the *polis* (Hdt. 6.58.3). Any
action performed by the *basileis* at a public event, such as performing or overseeing sacrifices, or

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[670] On the identification of the sources of Spartan traditions about the "royal" families in Herodotus, see Hooker
1989, 134–5; Forsdyke 2002, 531–3; Lombardo 2005 with bibliography. Tsakmakis (2018, 99-100) suggests the
interest in Spartan genealogy at 204 is rather an interest in Leonidas, specifically, cf. Möller 2001, 252–3, but see
also Hdt. 8.131.2 on the pedigree of Eurypontid Leotychidas II. The precise nature of these lists is unclear, see
Cartledge 2002, 293-8.
[671] Herodotus (8.131.2) introduces Leotychidas, the corresponding Eurypontid *basileus* to Leonidas, with the same
emphasis on ancestry.
[672] For discussion of the Spartan kings lists and their historicity: Cartledge 2002, 89-92, 293-8, 2001, 103; Kennell
2010, 94-5; Millender 2018, 455. For a discussion of the place of such lists in *polis* and family traditions, see
Thomas 1989, esp. 181-92.

commencing assembly in a civic capacity, reminds the audience of the unique nature of the Spartan *basileis*. These moments, which happen frequently, reinforce the legitimacy of the Spartan *basileia* and recall moment they were granted that power, namely the return of the Herakleidai, a foundational moment in the history of the dyarchy and Herakleid rulership in Sparta. In this way, the role of Zeus in the giving of Sparta to the Herakleidai in a narrative that also makes a connection to the return of the Herakleidai perfectly marries two legitimization strategies. First, the audience is reminded of the semi-divine nature of the Spartan *basileia* and the role of the *basileis* in maintaining (divine) order in the *polis* through their relationship with Zeus, to whose *genos* they also belong. Second, the audience is reminded of the establishment of this divine order through the return of the Herakleidai in which the Dorians occupy a subordinate position to the Herakleidai.

We must reconsider the importance of the gift of Zeus in Tyrtaios fr.2.12-13 West[2]:

12 αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων] καλλιστεφάνου [πόσις Ἥρης
   Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις] ἄστυ δέδωκε τό[δε

For he, the son of Kronos himself, husband of beautifully-crowned Hera,

Zeus, has given the Herakleidai this city here.

I have argued that Tyrtaios rhetorically presented in fr.2 West[2] the Spartan heroic past as a historical *exemplum* for prescribed behaviour in the present in accordance with a pre-determined divine order. His combination of the return of the Herakleidai and the Dorian migration story in fr.2 West[2] supports the existing, prescribed socio-political hierarchy that privileges the position of the Spartan *basileia*. Additionally, I have argued that Tyrtaios emphasized the genealogical and ontological relationship between the Herakleidai and Zeus in fr.2 West[2] to highlight the important religious position of the Spartan *basileia* as mediator between the *polis* and the divine. Tyrtaios was participating in building and legitimizing the Spartan *basileis* as distinct and unique individuals, highlighting the difference between them and the Dorian Spartans as way to reinforce the socio-political hierarchy of the community. Verses 12-13 of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* effectively connect the Spartan *basileia* in Spartan social memory to the very inception of the community and anchors the authority of the *basileia* in the divinely sanctioned, original, and traditional composition of Sparta.

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Chapter 5: The Spartan *Basileia* in Alkman's *Partheneion*

I have argued in this dissertation that Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] represents a moment of
institutionalization for the Spartan *basileia*. The use of Spartan myth in the fragment provides a
window into the legitimization strategies employed by supporters of the Spartan *basileia* in the
seventh century BCE. This strategy is firmly rooted in the world of early Greek epic and places
the contemporary Spartan *basileis* on the same pedestal as semi-divine heroes (e.g., Herakles)
and *basileis* of a bygone past (e.g., Agamemnon, Menelaos, Achilles, etc.). I have argued that
Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] incorporates the myths of the migration of the Dorians and the return of the
Herakleidai to firmly root the Spartan *basileia* in the very inception of the Spartan community. I
argued in chapter four that Tyrtaios emphasized Zeus' role in establishing the Herakleidai as
rulers in Sparta alongside the subordinate Dorian Spartans to highlight the contemporary cultic
significance of the Spartan *basileia*. In other words, the Spartan *basileis* are figured as mediators
between the *polis* and the divine; a traditional role of the *basileus* reflected also in early Greek
epic. Furthermore, I emphasized that this remained an essential element of the Spartan *basileia*
into the Classical period, as evidenced by references to the semi-divine ancestry of the Spartan
basileis (e.g., references to Herakles and Zeus).

Turning away from Tyrtaios in my final chapter, I examine another example of Spartan
lyric poetry, Alkman's *Partheneion*, which was composed in the late-seventh or early-sixth
century BCE, to demonstrate that the Spartan *basileia* was indeed successfully integrated,
ideologically, into the socio-cultural and religious fabric of the Spartan community. In this
chapter I argue that Alkman's *Partheneion* presented to its audience a prescribed social order for
the marriage of young women in a manner that implicitly called upon the audience to uphold
proper unions as exemplified for them by the Spartan *basileis*. The poem first established a
connection between the audience and the performers through a sense of a shared past and
collective ritual practice, just as Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2]. Second, the poem presented a piece of local,
shared history to influence contemporary behaviour regarding marriage. Third, the poem utilized
gnomai to punctuate the importance of following prescribed social norms and values, by
emphasizing the divine origin of the *basileis* and their relation to the larger Spartan social order.
The roles of the two prominent female figures of the poem, Agido and Hagesichora, and the
mythical Tyndaridai invited the audience to look to the Spartan *basileis* as examples of proper

behaviour and as protectors of the traditional social order in Sparta. The hierarchical relationships constructed in the poem and the persistent theme of pairs prompted the audience to see the Spartan *basileis* in this role.

Alkman's *Partheneion* 1, also referred to as the *Louvre Partheneion*, has puzzled scholars for centuries and sparked numerous theories concerning both the performance and occasion of the poem.[673] Nonetheless, scholars largely agree that Alkman's *Partheneion* is a choral ode composed for performance at a local Spartan event by young girls, *parthenoi* (86, cf. 90), who were available or would soon be available for marriage.[674] In fundamental studies on choral performances of young women in ancient Greece, Calame established that choral performances like the performance of Alkman's *Partheneion* initiated Spartan girls into womanhood through a *rite de passage*, both a ritual and civic process. [675] The poem's concentration on the *parthenoi* with few references to the occasion and ritual action suggests that the focus of the performance was indeed on the young women themselves and their initiation. Nevertheless, the worship of a particular deity or performance at a specific festival cannot be ruled out.[676] The precise details of the occasion are irrecoverable owing to the fragmentary nature of the poem, the lack of *comparanda* from Alkman's corpus, and an overall scarcity of sources for cult practice in Archaic Sparta.

Based on the consensus that the occasion was likely a local event involving Spartan religious practice, this chapter explores the ode's potential to forge social cohesion in light of the poem's historical context. This poem is multi-functional. It had not only a religious, but also a socio-political function; it publicly presented eligible young women to a defined social group to

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[673] Alkman fr.1 Page or fr.3 Calame: for simplicity I refer to the poem as Alkman's *Partheneion* throughout. I have used the Greek text of Budelmann 2018. The somewhat frequent references to dawn make the possible performance at sunrise attractive, but a more specific understanding of the ritual context remains speculative. For a full doxography, see Bowie 2011, 61 n.74; possibilities include Helen, Eileithyia, Artemis Phosphoros, Artemis Proseoea, Aphrodite Heosphoros, or the Leukippidai, specifically Phoebe (Robbins 1994, 9). Bowie (2011, 61) argues that the ritual is in honour of more than one god, such as the Sirens, and Ferrari (2008) argues the festival could be emphasizing a time of year such as the harvest celebrated at the Karneia. A version of this chapter has been accepted for publication in a conference volume with the European network on Gender Studies in Antiquity.

[674] Calame's study (1997) largely solidified this understanding. The identity of the chorus as *parthenoi* is often central to scholarly work on the poem, e.g., Bowie 2011; Swift 2016. For a reading of the poem as a party that celebrates the initiation of the young girls rather than a specific deity, see Tsantsanoglou 2012.

[675] Calame 1977; 1997. That the song was performed publicly is undisputed. In her discussion of community performance, Stehle (1997, 30-9, 73-88) identifies Alkman's *Partheneion* as an example of how performers speak both to and for their community. See also Lonsdale 1993, 193–205.

[676] For further discussion, see Budelmann 2018, 61-2.

which they themselves belonged. [677] Historians often overlook how choral poetry contributed to addressing historical questions concerning Archaic Sparta, as discussed in chapter one, and perhaps no case better demonstrates that than Alkman's *Partheneion*.[678] The poem's ability to connect with its intended audience through shared norms and values is so far under-explored. I argue in this chapter that the *gnome* "let no mortal fly to heaven [nor] attempt to marry Aphrodite" (ἀν]θρώπων ἐς ὠρανὸν ποτήσθω / πη]ρήτω γαμὲν τὰν Ἀφροδίταν, 16-17) connected the mythological content of the poem (1-35) to the choral performance of these young girls.[679] The key to this linkage is provided by the historical context, firmly rooted in a contemporary anxiety surrounding land ownership in Archaic Sparta.

Many scholars, in addition, recognize that the poem somehow alluded to the Spartan *basileia* whether by including a version of the myth of the return of Tyndareos or by presenting the leadership qualities of the dyarchy in Agido and Hagesichora. If the poem included the myth of the return of Tyndareos it would be legitimizing the contemporary Spartan *basileia* by emphasizing the political foundation of the Herakleidai. If, however, the poem did not include this myth, it still alluded to the dyarchy through the leading roles of Agido and Hagesichora, who mirror the contemporary dyarchy in their relationship with the chorus.[680] Some scholars, such as Ferrari and Tsantsanoglou, argue for a political reading of the mythological portion of the poem (1-35), viewing it as a version of the return of Tyndareos similar to that of Pausanias (3.15.3) or Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.10.5). [681] This reading, however, fragments the poem into two halves and

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[677] Millender 2018b, 504-5; Swift 2016, 282; Ducat 2006, 224-6, 244-5; Calame 1977. The primary function is religious. On Spartan religion, see Richer 2012; Parker 1989. For the education of Spartan girls via the chorus, see Millender 2018b, 503-8; Ducat 2006, 223-48.

[678] See chapter 1.1 "Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* in Sparta Studies," 1.2 "Archaic Greek History and the Seventh Century," and 1.3 "Lyric Poetry and Collective Memory."

[679] Davies prints γαμῆν rather than γαμὲν: for a discussion of the Doric infinitive in Budelmann's text, see Budelmann 2018, 63.

[680] Ferrari 2008; Tsantsanoglou 2012. How to interpret the myth is a subject of most of the scholarship on the poem, see Calame 1977, 53; 1983, 313; Ferrari 2008, 27; Bowie 2011, 56-7. For bibliography and general discussion, see Budelmann 2018, 58-62.

[681] For discussion and bibliography, see Budelmann 2018, 65-6. The camps are broadly represented by Page 1951; Robbins 1994; Ferarri 2008. The major dispute is whether the mythological narrative is one continuous narrative featuring the Tyndaridai and the Hippokoontidai (e.g., Robbins 1994), or two separate narratives, with the most fragmentary portion, lines 22-35, representing a different conflict from the one alluded to in the listing of the Hippokoontidai in lines 2-12. Calame (2018, 189-91) suggests somewhat of a compromise.

fails to address the connection between the content of the myth, the *gnome* (16-17) concerning marriage, and the performance of the young girls. [682]

What does the political foundation of Sparta have to do with a *gnome* regarding marriage? The Tyndaridai are not typically characters in narratives of the return of Tyndareos (Paus. 3.15.3; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.5), in which Herakles killed the sons of Hippokoon out of personal revenge resulting in the reinstalment of Tyndareos as ruler of Sparta. A coherent understanding of the entire poem requires, as Robbins argues, that the myth be understood as an amorous competition, in which the Tyndaridai and the Hippokoontidai are rival suitors.[683] Robbins asserts this is a local variation of a myth recorded by Pindar (*Nem.* 10.64-71), in which the sons of Tyndareos, Polydeukes and Kastor, fought the sons of Aphereos, Idas and Lynkeos, for the twin daughters of Leukippos, Phoibe and Hilaeira. Instead, Alkman has the Tyndaridai fight the sons of Hippokoon and emerge victorious. Although Herakles is not mentioned in the fragments of the poem, some scholars insist on his presence in the mythological narrative, which has caused considerable confusion.[684] Tsantsanoglou, for example, argues that Herakles is the primary perpetrator of violence between lines 22-35, emending line 27 to include Herakles' name: "for youthful Heracles destroyed his royal house."[685] Parallels are drawn between Alkman's fragmentary narrative and later narratives of the death of the Hippokoontidai in which Herakles is injured. This argument requires a heavily supplemented text, and the lack of a connection between the *gnome* (16-17) and the content of the myth remains a problem if we accept the myth as a straightforward narrative of the return of Tyndareos. The mythical variants of the return of Tyndareos and the amorous competition between the Tyndaridai and their cousins (i.e., the Hippokoontidai or the Apheretidai) are mutually exclusive; the sons of

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[682] Dale 2011; Robbins 1994; *contra* Calame (2018, 189-91) who argues that there are two myths; the first (1-12) features the return of Tyndareos, the second (22-35) an amorous competition between Tyndaridai and the Apharetidai. For discussion and bibliography, see Hutchinson 2001, 79-80; Budelmann 2018, 65-6.

[683] Robbins 1994, 14-15. The scholiast on Clement states the Tyndaridai were the rival suitors of the Hippokoontidai. Some scholars suggest that the scholiast made the mistake of confusing the Hippokoontidai with the Apharetidai, but as Robbins (1994, 11-13) shows not only is there evidence for the individual elements of the myth elsewhere but the amorous quality is appropriate for both the *gnome* (16-17) and the playful competition presented in the less fragmentary portion of the poem (40-101).

[684] Understanding the myth as the political foundation of Sparta via Herakles is difficult given that Herakles' name does not appear in the surviving fragment of the poem. Scholars who argue for Herakles' involvement in Alkman's version rely on Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* 36) who states that Sosibios says Herakles was wounded by the Hippokoontidai in the hand. Additionally, a scholiast to the *Patheneion* reports that Alkman mentioned this episode involving Herakles and the Hippokoontidai in Book I, cf. Campbell 1988, 361 n.2.; 1991, 197.

[685] Tsantsanoglou 2012, 29-34, 144, 161.

Hippokoon cannot die twice, once at the hands of Herakles and once at the hands of the Tyndaridai. It is not inconceivable that the return of Tyndareos in Alkman featured the otherwise unattested involvement of the Tyndaridai, Kastor and Polydeukes, aiding Herakles. However, given that marriage is the concern of the *gnome* (16-17), it is much more likely that the mythological content also involved marriage. I agree with Robbins that the myth characterizes the Hippokoontidai as rival suitors and that the Leukippidai are their intended brides.[686]

Since the poem likely does not allude to the return of Tyndareos by Herakles, as it is narrated in Apollodoros and Pausanias, but rather focuses on an amorous competition between the Tyndaridai and the Hippokoontidai for the daughters of Leukippos, we must reconsider the references to the Spartan dyarchy. Considering the poem's focus on *parthenoi* and their marriageability rather than on the political legitimacy of the Spartan *basileia*, it is unlikely that the myth served simply to praise the mythological origins of the contemporary dyarchy. Rather, I argue that the implicit references to the dyarchy in the poem presented the Spartan *basileis* as the living embodiments and semi-divine models of Spartan social order. By arguing that these references are implicit and nuanced with respect to the socio-political context, I contribute to our appreciation of such myths as tools for creating political legitimacy, but with an understanding of the Spartan *basileia* in its historical context.[687] I link evidence pertaining to the history of early Sparta together with a reading of the programmatic features of the poem to illustrate how it responded to contemporary socio-political concerns regarding the practice of marriage in Sparta at the close of the seventh century. I argue that Alkman's *Partheneion* celebrated marriage practices that preserved the social and economic status of wealthy Spartan-citizen families. The performance of local Spartan social memory in the form of a local mythological narrative along with gnomic statements that emphasized the necessity of marrying within one's station produced what is sometimes described as an affect for the social group for which it was composed.[688] The poem presented a prescribed social order with respect to marriage fixed by a determined divine order. The rhetorical impact of this presentation was likely similar to the effect that Tyrtaios fr.2

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[686] Robbins 1994.

[687] There are, of course, political implications to the use of this myth, but the poem does not primarily construct political legitimacy using the return narrative: see, for example, Ferarri (2008, 21-9); cf. Malkin 1994.

[688] "Affect" herein refers to the ability of words, images, or symbols to produce an effect upon someone that is both responsive and emotional. The usage of affect in this chapter is adjacent to the application of "affect theory" in as much as affect is thought to assist in shaping social values, collective groups, and shared identities. See, for example, Meineck, Short, and Devereaux 2019. For how language is used to construct shared identities in lyric poetry, see Romney 2020. For an example of studies on lyric poetry in its context, see Irwin 2005.

West[2] had on its audience, as I have laid out in chapters three and four, but in a different context.[689] Additionally, the poem constructed hierarchical relationships, and the theme of pairs created an implicit parallel to the Spartan *basileis* who participated in the same system of marriage and oversaw its management, when necessary.

In what follows, I briefly review the historical context underpinning the first performance of Alkman's *Partheneion* to emphasize the economic anxiety surrounding marriage at a time of economic strife. I summarize how the Spartan *basileis* were involved with marriage and inheritance law in Sparta. I then turn to the rhetorical qualities of the *Partheneion* to argue that the poem connected the audience and the performers through a sense of a shared past and collective ritual practice to influence contemporary behaviour regarding marriage. In the last section, I revisit the implied parallels between Alkman's *Partheneion* and the Spartan dyarchy. I argue that the poem alluded to the Spartan *basileis* by paralleling the hierarchical relationships and emphasizing pairs as a central theme. The Spartan *basileis*, who were the guardians of Spartan social order, functioned as semi-divine models of the prescribed behaviour. I conclude that what connected the Spartan dyarchy to Alkman's *Partheneion* was a contemporary anxiety concerning proper marriage for landowning Spartan-citizens in a system that included some form of universal female inheritance with a dyarchy leading them.

5.1 Historical Context

The audience of this poem was almost certainly the Spartan male population and the broader community of Sparta. The audience and the performers of Alkman's *Partheneion* constituted a coherent social group that is motivated by contemporary anxieties.[690] This group was keenly interested in managing marriages as an aspect of economic exchange *via* inheritance in Archaic Sparta. By the mid-sixth century BCE Sparta had established the fundamental aspects of the strictly maintained citizenship system that emerged gradually as a solution to intense civil strife in the seventh century. As discussed in chapter two, this "civil strife crisis" centred on an inequitable distribution of wealth and land, since, throughout the eighth and seventh centuries, land was continuously concentrated among the Spartan elite, causing a growing gap between the

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[689] See sections 3.4 "the Myth of the Return of the Herakleidai in Sparta Reconsidered" and 4.5 "The Spartan *Basileia* in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] Reconsidered."
[690] Romney 2017; 2020; Stehle 1997.

rich and poor as a result of successful military campaigns to consolidate Lakonia under Spartan rule.[691] There was a distinct memory of such civil strife in the descriptions of Sparta's early political development by Herodotus (1.65) and Thucydides (1.18.1) and in the movements of the Partheniai and Epeunaktai, groups of disenfranchised individuals who left Sparta following times of conflict.[692] Proverbs such as "a man is what he owns," attributed to Aristodemos the Spartan, and "greed will destroy Sparta, but nothing else" traced back to Sparta by van Wees and attributed to Terpander, further emphasized the economic nature of the ongoing strife.[693] Furthermore, the poetry of Alkman (i.e., fr.1 and 17), in addition to the archaeological record, supports the argument that conspicuous consumption was an important component in maintaining the Spartan ruling elite, and the fact that Spartans applauded an indulgence in luxury goods.[694]

Finally, Aristotle (*Pol*. 1306b36-1307a2) cites Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* in support of his own hypothesis that civil wars began when there was an imbalance in the distribution of wealth; "and this," he states, "also occurred in Lakedaimon about the time of the Messenian War as is clear from the poem of Tyrtaios called *Eunomia*, for certain men, being squeezed because of the war, demanded a redistribution of the territory."[695] Aristotle explicitly connects Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*, ongoing civil strife, and the equitable distribution of wealth in the form of land. Van Wees

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[691] Hodkinson 1983, 240; 1989, 95-108; 1997, 86-7; 2000, 1-4. For an introduction to Spartan history, see Kennell 2010; for the development of Spartan institutions, see Hodkinson 1997; Cartledge 2001. For the seventh century civil strife crisis, see van Wees 2009; Hodkinson 2000, 1-4. For archaeological survey results that support a shift in the use and distribution of land from the seventh to sixth centuries and a concentration of the land amongst the few from the eighth to seventh centuries, see Cavanagh 2018, 65, 68-72. This is discussed in further detail in chapter 2.3 "The Seventh Century 'Civil Strife Crisis.'"

[692] On the Partheniai, see Strabo 6.3.2-3 = Antiochus *FGrH* 555 F13 and Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F216. The civil strife and factionalism resulted in the Partheniai leaving and eventually founding a colony in Taras (Arist. *Pol*. 5.7.1306b.29-31). On the Epeunaktai, see Diod. Sic. 8.21 = Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F171. For further discussion, see Cartledge 2002, 107-9; Nafissi 1991, 38-51, 251-8.

[693] Van Wees 2009, 3, n.6. The proverb "a man is what he owns" is attributed to Aristodemos of Sparta by Alkaios fr.360 Campbell, ap. Schol. The second proverb, "greed will destroy Sparta, but nothing else" appears in Aristotle fr. 544 Rose; Diod. Sic. 7.12.6; Plut. *Agis*. 9. For further discussion, see chapter 2.3 "The Seventh Century 'Civil Strife Crisis,'" and van Wees 2009 3, n.6; Hodkinson 2000, 2.

[694] Alkman fr.17 draws a comparison between sweet confections and ordinary food (van Wees 2009, 2-3; Hodkinson 2000: 2). Fr.1 includes mention of gold, silver, Lydian headbands, snake-shaped golden bracelets, and purple dyes as beautiful items adorning beautiful women (fr.1.54-5, 64-77). The poem may even refer to foreign thoroughbred horses imported from northern Italy, Scythia and Lydia (fr.1 51, 59, Venetic, Kolaxaian, and Ibenian). For further discussion, see Ferrari 2008, 74, n.2; Cavanagh 2018, 72; Finglass 2021; Gallou 2021. For a discussion of the thriving artistic industry at this time, see Prost 2018, 154-76; Pipili 2018, 124-53.

[695] Arist. *Pol*. 1306b36-1307a2, συνέβη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, ὑπὸ τὸν Μεσσηνιακὸν πόλεμον· δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τῆς Τυρταίου ποιήσεως τῆς καλουμένης Εὐνομίας· θλιβόμενοι γάρ τινες διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἠξίουν ἀνάδαστον ποιεῖν τὴν χώραν, see chapter 2.3 "The Seventh Century 'Civil Strife Crisis'" for discussion.

argues that while Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* would not have had specific details about its historical context, it is likely that the poem contained an allusion to a call for a redistribution of land.[696] Later, Pausanias reports that the Spartan people were calling for a redistribution of land because portions of the land were deliberately being underutilized to prevent the Messenians from profiting through raids (4.18.2-3).[697] In support of this claim, the archaeological survey records indicate that in seventh-century Sparta larger estates, "which were not intensively farmed, but equally were not made available for free subsistence farmers," were the norm, and, as a result, the land was firmly concentrated in the hands of the few.[698]

Hodkinson lists four essential strands of the mid-sixth century system (i.e., the military, economic, political, and social-ritual system), all of which created the impression of equality between the citizens while maintaining the ability to obtain wealth privately.[699] The military system sought to extend Spartan citizenship to all adult males including membership in a "guild" that was conditional on providing the fixed contribution of foodstuffs for the *syssitia*. To hold citizenship, therefore, Spartans had to belong to a *syssition* and maintain their membership by contributing the fixed quantity of foodstuffs. To accomplish this, a citizen required enough land to produce the dues. An economic system was used to provide, in theory, sufficient land and accompanying helots for each citizen to meet the compulsory dues without engaging personally in the manual labour required. Underlying the economic system was Sparta's control of the helots, consolidated in the mid-seventh century.[700] A citizen could participate in the political system, which gave the general population a formal role in decision making via the assembly while retaining the privileged position of the Gerousia and the Spartan *basileis*. Finally, citizens shared a social-ritual system that designated from birth to burial a collective way of life that applied to all citizens.[701] In participating in this communal, public way of life there was a sense

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[696] Van Wees (2009, 2) suggests for comparison Solon fr. 34.8-9 West[2] "it did not please me that fine men should have the same share of the fertile soil of our country as the lower classes." Additionally, Solon's own *Eunomia* personifies *Eunomia* as a force that eradicates strife in the *polis* (fr. 4. 38-9 West[2]).

[697] Pausanias (4.18.3) and Diodorus Siculus (8.27) go so far as to claim that Tyrtaios was responsible for averting a civil war.

[698] Cavanagh 2018, 65, see chapter 2.2 "The Development of the Eurotas Valley."

[699] Hodkinson 2000, 3, and 209-368; e.g., Davies 2018, 480-99; van Wees 2018, 202-35.

[700] Hodkinson 2000, 4. For a discussion of the origin of helotage, the Spartan economy and the practice of helotage, see Figueira 2018, 565-95.

[701] Hodkinson 2000, 3. The archaeological record indicates a communal investment in collective sacred spaces from the seventh to sixth century BCE, subsuming ritual life into *polis* life, see, e.g., Cavanagh 2018, 65-72.

of uniformity between the rich and the poor, thus the seemingly equal lifestyle mitigated public perceptions of wealth inequalities among citizens.

Given that Alkman was active at the close of the seventh century, the first performance of his *Partheneion* likely coincided with the development of the Classical citizenship system just described.[702] The *Partheneion* lies at the intersection of the economic and social-ritual system. The song was sung publicly in a ritual context and engaged the audience in their collective way of life by referencing contemporary marriage practices and the initiation of girls into womanhood through marriage.[703] Broadly, the song focuses on a collective of young women approaching eligibility for marriage. The content first emphasizes the importance of achieving a proper union in conjunction with the standards set by the gods and not transgressing the limits of humanity (16-21, 34-37) and then reveals a concern that the prayers of the young girls be accepted since the gods are responsible for such fulfillment and completion (83-84).

Importantly, the poem concentrates on the wealthy by emphasizing luxurious goods (i.e., 45-59, 64-67, 92-93, 101).[704] The economic availability of the *parthenoi* is implicit, but nonetheless embedded in the song's function. In other words, the poem's repeated references to wealth perhaps speak to the potential wealth a woman could bring into a new *oikos* through marriage. Wealth certainly is an important feature of the poem, connecting contemporary economic anxieties to the concern of the poem, namely proper marriage-unions. Some chorus members, for example, are described in conjunction with the luxurious items they wear (64-67). The lengthy comparisons of Agido and Hagesichora to horses (45-59, 92-93), as well as gold and silver (50-55, 101) further demonstrate that there is an emphasis on wealth and luxury. Horses were items of wealth in Sparta and indicative of socio-economic status.[705] The emphasis on expensive, imported goods as decoration for the young women (64-67), and the comparison of Agido and Hagesichora to foreign horse-breeds (50, 58-59) suggest high economic status, perhaps evoking their potential inheritance.[706] These indicators of wealth, however, are contextualized by the lesson of the mythological *exemplum* and the *gnomai* emphasizing the

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[702] For discussion and bibliography on the date of Alkman's poetry, see Budelmann 2018, 57; Hutchinson 2001, 71.
[703] See Bowie 2011.
[704] For a recent discussion of these mentions in comparison with the archaeological data, see Gallou 2021.
[705] The horse is a popular figure in Laconian art (Prost 2018). For discussion of horses and Spartan wealth, see Hodkinson 2000, 303-33.
[706] Swift 2016, 282; see also Wasdin 2018, 109-10. Horses are commonly associated with the wealth in the Archaic period, see Griffiths 2006.

need to form proper unions within one's socio-economic station inside of a prescribed social order (13-15, 20-21, 34-36, 83-84, 92-99), which I will discuss below.

The chorus members contextualized such references for the audience by actively encouraging the audience to view the young women as beautiful, well-adorned, and well-stationed, all of which were characteristic of the visual language of parthenaic songs.[707] The chorus thus played an active role in which aspects of the women were emphasized within the culturally constructed ritual space of the performance. The economic viability of each young woman was present, but not necessarily explicit. Its focus on marriage and successful transitions for young women connected the poem to Sparta's contemporary economic system because of the developing citizenship system, which included the practice of universal female inheritance. Spartan women about to marry were participating in the economic system through the exchange of land and wealth.[708] Historical demographer Goody observed that the effect of an economic system including universal female inheritance was continuous short-term instability in landholdings, since every time someone married or died land was exchanged both between the sexes and down the generations.[709] When this occurred, daughters would fragment their paternal and maternal landholdings more than sons. Consequently, the landholdings coming with their sons' wives were important for maintaining the entire familial landholding. Land exchange, *via* inheritance, and particularly *via* female inheritance at the time of marriage, caused anxiety for Spartiate families whose citizen status depended on how much land they owned.[710] Endogamy, or close-kin marriage, could help ensure that wealth and land remained in the family through the generations.[711] This form of marriage could also help maintain the landholdings of wealthy families, perhaps even in a changing system that looked to disperse wealth and land more equitably.[712]

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[707] Swift 2016, 282-3.
[708] Universal female inheritance here means that all women receive some inheritance regardless of whether they had brothers or not. The amount, however, was likely half the inheritance of a male, if there was a male heir: see Hodkinson 2001, 98-103; *contra* Ducat 1998, 393; see also Hodkinson 2000, 100-1.
[709] Goody 1976, 10.
[710] Hodkinson 2000, 406.
[711] Hodkinson 2000, 407-8.
[712] Hodkinson (2000, 399-405, 437-9) describes how the meticulous management of inheritances in a system of universal female inheritance was crucial and may have contributed to the systems' longevity before its collapse after the liberation of Messenia in 369 BCE. For the economic collapse of Sparta internally in the fourth century, see Ruzé 2018, 325-6.

Evidence for universal female inheritance in Sparta comes largely from the Classical period with examples as early as the mid-sixth century BCE. The lack of Archaic sources limits our understanding of the practice at the end of the seventh century. Nevertheless, through the giving of dowries, marriage would still have social and economic impact. Hodkinson argues that land was often exchanged along with wealth (i.e., dowries) upon marriage.[713] What Aristotle (*Pol.* 1270a) refers to as substantial dowries, Hodkinson frames as "*pre-mortem* inheritance given on a daughter's marriage."[714] The size of these dowries was calculated based on what the daughter would receive when her parents died. Dowries in the late-seventh century and early-sixth century likely functioned in the same way since it takes time for such practices to change, and we know Spartans were practising universal female inheritance by the mid-sixth century BCE. Even without a formalized system of universal female inheritance, however, intense anxiety around economic exchange was prevalent in the seventh century.

The Spartan *basileis* were connected to the issues of marriage and inheritance concretely, as sole arbiters for a *patrouchos* (an heiress), and abstractly, as models of Spartan social order through their divine connections. The numerous implicit references to the Spartan *basileis* in Alkman's *Partheneion* may reflect these positions in the contemporary political and religious discourse of Archaic Sparta. The Spartan *basileis* became involved in marital arrangements if arrangements for the marriage of a *patrouchos* were not made prior to the death of her father. Herodotus (6.57.4-5) lists the responsibility for arrangements of a *patrouchos* alongside approving of adoption cases and managing all matters related to public roads. Herodotus emphasizes that in these cases alone the Spartan *basileis* enjoyed sole discretion in a manner they did not have in any other judicial matter.[715] Each responsibility reflects a concern for maintaining existing land allotments for Spartan citizens by passing judgment regarding inheritance arrangements through marriage and adoption and maintaining the literal division of space via the road system.[716]

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[713] Hodkinson 2000, 65-112.
[714] Hodkinson 2000, 100.
[715] Millender 2018a, 462; Hodkinson 2000, 94-8.
[716] For a succinct discussion of the initial involvement of the Spartan ruling families in land distribution, see Figueira 2018, 570. For discussion of the Spartan *basileis* and landownership, see Millender 2018b, 467-8; Hodkinson 2000, 335-68. Antonaccio (2002; 2006, 388-9) argues that the status of a Greek *basileus* was derived, in part, from his socio-economic standing and accumulation of land, suggesting a longstanding connection between landownership, authority, and the Greek *basileus*.

Millender argues that the judicial responsibility was likely the result of special, semi-divine status of the Spartan *basileis* designating them as guardians of the Spartan social order under divine auspices.[717] As discussed in chapter four, the religious responsibilities of the Spartan *basileis* demonstrate their important role in leading the Spartan *polis* in ritual practice and showcase their significant role as guardians of Spartan social order.[718] Their religious responsibilities are evidence that the Spartan *basileis* had a central religious function in the Spartan *polis* including their hereditary priesthoods of Zeus Lakedaimonios and Zeus Ouranios, their responsibility to be present for civic sacrifices and to perform sacrifices themselves on specific occasions such as prior to embarking on expeditions. Furthermore, the Spartan ruling families and wealthy Spartans commonly practised endogamous marriage, specifically cousin-marriage or father's-brother's-daughter (FBD) marriage.[719] This form of marriage is present in the poem through the union of the Tyndaridai and the Leukippidai who are cousins and from a parallel branch of Tyndareos' family tree. The significance of this connection will be further elaborated shortly. The Spartan *basileis*, therefore, were administratively involved in managing marriages through judicial practices and abstractly represented proper conduct as both guardians and models of a divine social order. I established above that a social anxiety surrounding land and wealth exchange was a defining feature of the seventh century civil strife crisis and was likely being addressed at the time of the first performance of Alkman's *Partheneion*. Additionally, the Spartan *basileis* played both a judicial and ideological role in reinforcing what defined proper behaviour for young women embarking on marriage in Sparta. Endogamous marriage was a likely option for managing economic anxiety and was historically relevant for both wealthy Spartan landowners and the Spartan royal families.

5.2 Prescribed Behaviour: Mythological *Exemplum* and *Gnomai* in Alkman's *Partheneion*

Alkman's *Partheneion* presented a prescription of behaviour with the use of a *gnome*: "let no mortal fly to heaven [nor] attempt to marry Aphrodite" (μήτις ἀν]θρώπων ἐς ὠρανὸν ποτήσθω / μηδὲ πη]ρήτω γαμὲν τὰν Ἀφροδίταν, 16-17). Robbins argues that the *gnome* prohibited one from

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[717] Millender 2018a, 470-1.
[718] Millender 2018a, 471; cf. Cartledge 1987, 105. See chapter 4.4 "Priests and Guardians."
[719] Hodkinson 2000, 407-8, 410-16.

seeking a marriage outside of one's social and economic station.[720] Considering the contemporary historical context, this message engaged the audience by generating an emotional response from the employment of a myth as an example for present and future behaviour. The myth suggested to the audience that what occurred in the past forms the foundation for practice in their present. To generate an emotional response, first the performers established a connection to the audience, which, I argue, they achieved by using the first person plural παρήσομες (12) in a moment that emphasized a collective shared past and shared ritual practice. The audience would have understood these references because they centred on local figures such as the Tyndaridai, the Hippokoontidai and the Leukippidai. Second, the performers characterized the myth as a negative *exemplum* with a divine punishment, effectively moralizing what they presented to their audience.

The mythological content of the poem included characters who were fundamental to Sparta's early history, including its ritual and political foundations, and thus created a link to a collective shared past. The Tyndaridai and Leukippidai were fundamental to Spartan religion. Robbins argues that the myth particularly celebrates the success of the Tyndaridai as a moral expression of grace (χάρις) that is contrasted with the punishment reserved for individuals who use force (ἀλκά), presumably the Hippokoontidai (34-35).[721] A conflict between the Tyndaridai and their cousins, the Hippokoontidai, over the Leukippidai, Phoebe and Hilaeira, would have been a significant moment in Sparta's mythical history given that the Leukippidai were fundamental cult figures for young Spartan women and the Tyndaridai were their male counterparts for young Spartan men.[722] Nevertheless, the list of the names of the Hippokoontidai (3-12) and the description of their deaths (22-33) may also have reminded some in the audience of the political foundation of the Spartan *polis* via the return of Tyndareos. This myth was a part of Sparta's collective memory as is apparent from the prominence of the myth on Apollo's throne at Amyklai in the late-sixth century BCE and, although the date is uncertain, cult was established to the Hippokoontidai in Sparta (Paus. 3.14.6-7, 15.1-2).[723] Even though the myth in Alkman's *Partheneion* most likely featured the amorous competition between the Tyndaridai and

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[720] Robbins 1994.
[721] Robbins 1994, 13, 15-16. See also Dale 2011.
[722] On Spartan religion, see Richer 2012; Parker 1989. On the role of the Tyndaridai and Leukippidai in Alkman's *Partheneion* and in Spartan religion, see Calame 2018, 183-91.
[723] For a discussion on the basis for cultural memory in Roman Sparta in the Archaic period, see Kennell 2018.

the Hippokoontidai, the malleable nature of myth could allow for a conflation of the two versions into one, especially if Herakles was mentioned in the lost portion of the poem. The Hippokoontidai, Leukippidai, and Tyndaridai were all integral to Sparta's social-ritual life and recall Sparta's political and ritual foundations as pieces of a shared past. Regardless of the specifics, the chorus established a connection with its audience based on a compilation of shared stories and memories about their collective past.

The first-person singular ἀλέγω (2) in the *praeteritio* of the opening lines and the first-person plural παρήσομες (12) created a connection between the performers and the audience. Although the chorus shifted between using the first-person singular (2, 39, 40, 43, 52, 56, 77, 85, 86, 87, 88) and the first-person plural (12, 41, 60, 81, 89) throughout the poem, this usage of the first-person plural was marked as a form of epic remembrance.[724] Generally, these usages are representative of the melic form and the characteristic self-referential nature of melic poetry, in which the performers described their ritual action.[725] The "we" of line 12 could encompass the entire collective of Spartans who comprised the audience, including the performers because of the subsequent present imperatives ποτήσθω (16) and πη]ρήτω (17) and the shared reverence for the Hippokoontidai in Spartan cult. The use of the first-person plural παρήσομες (12) in combination with the subsequent present imperatives suggested that the audience and performers constituted a coherent social group connected by a shared past grounded in contemporary ritual practice. The gnomic statement "let [no] mortal fly to heaven, [nor] attempt to marry Aphrodite…", implores all men, and thus also the entire Spartan group, to avoid certain behaviours that are exemplified by the myth as a part of their collective shared past. Although the details are left uncertain, the *gnome* (16-21) suggests that individuals recognized their mortality and avoided overstepping what is permitted for them. The poem punctuated the restrictions placed on mortals in the first half of the *gnome* "let [no] mortal fly to heaven." Additionally, the violence alluded to between lines thirty and thirty-five accompanied by "there is some punishment from the gods" (36), suggests that overreaching will result in suffering and punishment (τίσις). Furthermore, reference to divine τίσις in the context of inappropriate unions may recall Zeus' speech to the gods in the *Odyssey* (1.32-43). Zeus describes the killing of Aigisthos by Orestes as a punishment (τίσις, 40), which was foretold by the gods (34-42)

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[724] Budelmann 2018, 66-7; Hutchinson 2001, 80-2.
[725] Calame 2018, 185, 189.

because Aigisthos took what was beyond his portion (ὑπὲρ μόρον, 34, i.e., in pursuing the wife of Agamemnon and killing Agamemnon himself). Aigisthos' death is further described as a payment-in-full for everything he had done (ἀθρόα πάντ᾽ ἀπέτισεν, 43), which might loosely correspond to Alkman's description of the suffering of the Hippokoontidai: "but unforgettable were the things they suffered for the evils they plotted" (34-35).

The chorus then emphatically shifted from a focus on the past to the ritual practice in the present: "But I sing the light of Agido" (39-40). This shift moved the chorus and audience from considering the negative example of the past into the ritual of the present. Dale states "no sooner has the chorus finished reflecting on the lessons to be drawn from the myth than it asserts itself, and enacts the precepts of the myth, in the here and now of the ritual action."[726] The conscious manipulation of the audience's perception of time in the chorus' presentation of a mythological *exemplum* with moralizing *gnomai* led to the construction of a collective between the audience and the performers solidified by their shared sense of history and ritual. Additionally, the divine repercussions of overstepping one's boundaries was clear (34-39). The myth, therefore, formed a precedent founded on divine punishment that, in turn, generated an affect that made the audience members more likely to conform because they shared both this history and this ritual.

5.3 The *Basileia* in Alkman's *Partheneion*

Strict hierarchical relationships in Alkman's *Partheneion* mirrored how the community ought to be subordinate to their leaders such as the Spartan *basileis*. The chorus of *parthenoi*, for example, modeled humility and obedience to both Agido and Hagesichora as their superiors. Thus, when Agido was introduced (40), the chorus immediately recalled that they were restricted by their "glorious leader" (44) from praising or blaming Agido (43), thereby recognizing both the leader's and Agido's superiority. Additionally, they signaled their inferior status by praising Agido and Hagesichora at length (40-59) and admitting their need for protection (ἀμύναι, 65). There are two images of subordination to a leader (92-5) and, although fragmentary, they likely compared the relationship of the chorus to Hagesichora with that of the relationship between a trace-horse and yoke-horses and a helmsmen and his crew.[727] Budelmann states, "the significance of order [in Alkman's *Partheneion*] reaches beyond the text, to the girls' place in

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[726] Dale 2011, 27.
[727] See Budelmann (2018, 82) for discussion.

their *oikoi* and the *polis*, and to *polis* hierarchies more widely…Choral dance serves as a display of social order…."[728] The hierarchies defined and celebrated not only the relationship between the Spartan *parthenoi* and the *polis*, but also the relationships between young female citizens and their broader socio-political hierarchies, including the Spartan *basileia*.

Moreover, the hierarchies established in the poem have distinct, recognizable elements that evoke the Spartan *basileia*. The most evident, of course, is the prominence given to a group of two at the fore of each contest in both halves of the poem. In the mythological narrative, the Tyndaridai twins are the victors over their cousins, the Hippokoontidai (1-12). Although only one of their two names, Polydeukes (1), appears in the fragmentary portion of the poem, one generally does not appear without the other.[729] Similarly, in the later portion, Agido and Hagesichora are equally prominent in excelling above the other *parthenoi*.[730] The parallel is made all the clearer in stating that Hagesichora is the cousin of the chorus members (52) echoing the genealogical relationship between the Tyndaridai and the Hippokoontidai. Although both the Hippokoontidai and the *parthenoi* who make up the chorus are deserving of some praise, the designated pair is preeminent. The Hippokoontidai, for example, although committing some act that was punishable by the gods and that resulted in their deaths (21-35), are still honoured, both in the poem with an epic-style commemorative catalogue including epithets (1-12) and possibly in cult in Sparta.[731] Similarly, the *parthenoi* are identified as beautiful with stunning adornments (64-77) but lacking in comparison to Agido and Hagesichora.

The prominence of the pairs is marked by a relationship to the divine, a defining feature of the Spartan *basileia*.[732] The semi-divine/mortal status of the Tyndaridai would be well known to a Spartan audience and need not be explicitly made in the poem. The same is true of the relationship between the Tyndaridai and the Spartan *basileis*. The Tyndaridai are divine models for the Spartan *basileis* and, according to Herodotus (5.75), they were traditionally present on

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[728] Budelmann (2018, 59)

[729] Commentators suggest that the mention of Polydeukes presupposes the involvement of Kastor, see Calame 1983, 313-14; Hutchinson 2010, 79; Budelmann 2018, 65-6.

[730] Although both Agido and Hagesichora are individually praised (39-57), they are also celebrated together (58-9). What is significant here is not their differences, but rather their excellence beyond the other young women, see Budelmann 2018, 70-1; Bowie 2011, 42-3; West 1965, 197.

[731] For discussion of the description of the Hippokoontidai and the ways in which it does not deprive them of their due honors, see Budelmann 2018, 66; on the development of cult to the Hippokoontidai, see Hodkinson 2000, 407-8.

[732] For the connection between the Spartan *basileia* and the gods, see Cartledge 2001, 293-8; 2011; Millender 2018a, 469-70; Kennell 2018, 643-62; 2010, 20-38.

campaign with them.[733] One might infer that the Tyndaridai, because they are the victors in the marriage quarrel with the Hippokoontidai, serve as an example of the one who is blessed (37-39) in that they heed the limits set by the gods as established by the *gnome* (13-17).[734] Agido and Hagesichora are likewise marked as prominent; but because they are mortal women, they are explicitly not divine, simply preeminent among the other chorus members. For example, as a collective group of ten, the eight *parthenoi* and Agido and Hagesichora, the chorus is able to match the singing talents of the swan (100-101), but the chorus is careful not to compare their human activity to that of the gods noting their inferiority in comparison to the Sirens who as goddesses (98) are more tuneful (ἀοιδοτέρα, 97).[735]

Agido and Hagesichora are analogous to the Spartan *basileis* in the ways in which they lead or oversee the chorus. Whether Agido and Hagesichora are equal to one another is a contentious issue, since both are praised, first Agido (39-51) followed by Hagesichora (51-7). But it is not always clear which one is being referred to at any given point in the poem.[736] Budelmann argues that, "the excellence and pre-eminence of both leaders is more important than the differences."[737] Likewise, West observes that, "Alcman tactfully preserves the balance between the two," stating they are equally preeminent in both beauty and importance. Both have important functions and act on behalf of the chorus members.[738] Agido, for example, calls the sun to witness the performance/ritual (41-43). Hagesichora is likely the *choregos* (44, 84) and may be the source of the girls' ability to set their feet upon peace (91) following their fighting (63) and need for protection (65).[739] Nonetheless, it is both Agido and Hagesichora who, in

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[733] For discussion and bibliography on the connection between the dyarchy and the Tyndaridai, see Millender 2018a, 470.

[734] ὁ δ' ὄλβιος ὅστις εὔφρων ἀμέραν [δι]απλέκει ἄκλαυστος, "but blessed is he who in good faith weaves through his day without weeping" fr. 1. 37-9.

[735] The Sirens are present either to serve as an example of the fact that when compared to divine singing, the chorus cannot succeed, but with the help of Agido and Hagesichora they can best a swan, or as an example of potential threats to the progression of the *parthenoi* (i.e., Bowie 2011). For full discussion, see Budelmann 2018, 82-3.

[736] For various divisions of the praise of Agido and Hagesichora, see Budelmann 2018, 70-1; Bowie 2011, 42-4; Calame 1997, 3-6; West 1965, 197.

[737] Budelmann 2018, 71.

[738] West 1965, 197.

[739] The language of combat (63, 65, 91) is likely metaphorical (see Budelmann 2018, 60), but there is room to conceptualize a rival chorus (cf. Campbell 1991, 205). For an interpretation of Hagesichora as the source of such protection, see Bowie 2011. Much ink has been spilled on who the Peleiades are and what their role is in the poem in relation to the vocabulary of fighting (63, 65, 77). There are a variety of camps: perhaps they are a star cluster (e.g., West 1965, 197) representing some rival choir in the sky or indicating the time of year or maybe it is an official title for Agido and Hagesichora (e.g., Puelma 1995, 83-5). The specifics of each interpretation vary widely and there are difficulties with them all. Budelmann (2018, 75-6) well summarizes the competing theories, with

standing apart from the chorus (78-79), "praise our festival" (81). In fact, this section (78-91) alternates between the chorus' subordination to the gods (82-84, 85-89) and to their leaders, Agido and Hagesichora (78-81, 84, 90-91).[740] Agido and Hagesichora, in addition to praising the chorus' ritual action, pray for them (82-84). We might see a parallel with the Spartan *basileis* in their role as prominent religious figures who help ensure proper religious observance at sacrifices and the protection of Spartan social order, as previously discussed.[741] Both Agido and Hagesichora, therefore, play a leading role in the performance bringing the ritual itself to successful completion. They are an example of a dyarchy acting as protectors and overseers at the fore of a Spartan ritual, much like the Spartan *basileis*.

Furthermore, Bowie argues that Hagesichora's ability to provide protection "derives from her seniority" but not because she is older or the focus of the initiation rite; rather her authority derives "from a higher station in Spartan society than that of the other girls."[742] Given the relative equality, however, between Agido and Hagesichora, I argue that both are superior for the same reason. The setting apart of two young women is marked for a Spartan audience who is governed by a dyarchy, but the names of Agido and Hagesichora perhaps themselves brought to mind the Agiads and Eurypontids with names such as Agis, Agesipolis, and Agesilaos.[743] Bowie emphatically states, "there could hardly be closer feminine equivalents of the masculine names Agis and Agesilaus (or Agesipolis) than Agido and Hagesichora."[744] Hagesichora literally means leader of the *choreia* and Agido, derived from ἄγω, means 'to lead'. The names reflect "the context of competitive self-display for young women that corresponded to the context of the battlefield for young men" as emphasized in the masculine names of Agis and Agesilaos.[745] It is not unthinkable, either, that Agido and Hagesichora may be of Herakleid descent or

bibliography, yet suggests that one is "perhaps more persuasive," namely that 'Peleiades' may be a title for Agido and Hagesichora, likely religious in nature. This could be 'Doves' or the star-cluster Pleiades. In this way, the expression of Agido and Hagesichora's superiority simply continues from 58-59 and, although the battle imagery poses some difficulty in that the chorus leaders would appear to be set against their own chorus, "the emphasis on their exceptionality continues, with a climactic statement of their superiority." This further emphasizes the pre-eminence of the pair in comparison to the chorus.

[740] Budelmann 2018, 79.
[741] Millender 2018a, 470-1.
[742] Bowie 2011, 56-7.
[743] Bowie 2011, 56-7. A connection between Agido and the Agiads was suggested early in studies of the *Partheneion* (Bergk 1865, 3). Nagy (1990, 347) suggests they are not "real" women, but characters in the choral song. For a discussion of the king lists, see Cartledge 2002, 89-92, 293-8; 2001, 103; Kennell 2010, 94-5; Millender 2018a, 455.
[744] Bowie 2011, 57.
[745] Bowie 2011, 57.

representative of Herakleid women in some mythical performance that is considered the origin of such a chorus. Alkman praised children of the ruling families in at least one other poem, perhaps two.[746] Agido and Hagesichora likely made some members of the audience think of the Spartan *basileia* since they are analogous to the Tyndaridai, the leadership roles they hold in the chorus, the pre-eminent position they have over the *parthenoi*, and their names.

More abstractly, the persistence of pairs in the poem is religiously significant since the Spartan *basileia* was founded on semi-divine twinship and their divine nature is what gave them their authority.[747] Even abstract pairs in the poem, such as "fate" and "the course of life" (Αἶσα and Πόρος 13-14) and "fulfillment" and "completion" (ἄνα and τέλος 83-84) contributed to this larger theme.[748] Sahlins observes that mythological twinship acted as a prototype for twin-rule in Sparta suggesting a mytho-praxis, meaning the myths inform the function and ontological understanding of the historical Spartan *basileia*.[749] Sahlins' framework for the Spartan dyarchy further contextualizes the potential religious connection between the Tyndaridai, the Leukippidai, Agido and Hagesichora, and the Spartan *basileis*, themselves descendants of twins. We can see his model in the performance of Agido and Hagesichora, themselves a pair in a significant position of superiority in a ritual abounding in mythological twins. The parallel in the poem between the Tyndaridai, the Spartan *basileis*, and marriage practices is strengthened by the fact that Agido and Hagesichora might represent the Leukippidai.[750] Sahlins argues that endogamous marriage, particularly those that follow the pattern of FBD (Father's-Brother's-Daughter) marriage, reflects the dual-divine/mortal-nature of the Spartan *basileis* and imitates divine practice.[751] For example, the first ruling Herakleidai, Prokles and Eurysthenes, are said by Pausanias (3.16.6) to have married twins, Lathria and Anaxandra, who descended from Herakles

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[746] Timasimbrota of fr.5 Davies is thought to be the daughter of Leotychidas I, and perhaps also the Hagesidamus of fr. 10 (b) 8–12 Davies. For royalty in Alkman's poetry, see West 1992; Calame 1983, 434-7. Calame (1997, 72) observed that *choregoi* often descend from ruling families (i.e., Nausicaa, Hecuba, and Theseus).

[747] Tyrtaios fr.2 West²; Hdt. 6.52, 56-57.2; Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 13.2-5, 10, 15.2-3; Arist. *Pol.* 1285a6-7. On the role of the Spartan *basileis* in religious life, see Carlier 1984, 256–69; Cartledge 2001, 63–4; Parker 1989, 143, 152–60; Richer 2007, 239–41; 2012, 225-42; Powell 2010, 127; Sahlins 2011; Millender 2018, 469-70.

[748] Budelmann 2018, 59, 68. For the possible cosmological implications of these pairs in the context of the ritual/occasion of the poem, see Ferrari 2008.

[749] see chapter 4.4 "Priests and Guardians."

[750] Budelmann 2018, 60; Bowie 2011, 57; Calame 2018, 183; 1997, 185-91. This mirroring is most explicit in the comparison of Agido and Hagesichora to horses (46-51, 58-59, 92-93), which connect them both to the Tyndaridai and, perhaps, the cult of the Leukippidai (cf. Arist. *Lys.* 1307-9).

[751] Sahlins 2011, 86. For a detailed description and bibliography on the function and responsibilities of the Spartan *basileia*, see Millender 2018a. For the cosmological and ontological aspects of the Spartan *basileia*, see Sahlins 2011.

through his paternal line. Pausanias emphasizes the fact that both are sets of twins. [752] This union is comparable to the union between the Tyndaridai and the Leukippidai who were also cousins. Given the connection between the Spartan *basileis* and the Tyndaridai and the reflection of the *basileis* in the poem, I believe that it is possible that the audience would interpret the myth and the *gnomai* as validation for such unions if they are undertaken properly.

Finally, endogamous marriage not only reflected divine practice, but also eased economic anxiety surrounding female inheritance in the late seventh and early sixth centuries. Close-kin marriage was practised broadly among the ruling families with historical examples as early as the sixth century BCE (i.e., Anaxandridas II and his sister's daughter, Leonidas to his niece Gorgo, and Archidamos II to his aunt Lampito).[753] Wealthy elites likewise practised endogamous marriage.[754] The union, for example, between Anaxandridas II and his sister's daughter caused considerable scandal in Sparta in the mid-sixth century BCE because she appeared unable to bear children (Hdt. 5.39-41). The ephors convinced him, finally, to take a second wife after he vehemently refused to divorce her. Hodkinson suggests that, although Herodotus tells us his refusal to divorce his niece was the result of devotion, monetary concerns were likely involved.[755] The sources hinder a full interpretation of this episode, but following Anaxandridas' second marriage, his first wife and niece gave birth to three sons who could then inherit her property. Hodkinson argues that in marrying his niece and procreating with her, Anaxandridas consolidated his parents' inheritance by, at least partially, absorbing it through the portion of his niece. If understood from this perspective, this episode suggests a considerable amount of thought went into unions with such high socio-economic investments.[756] It seems very likely that the historical practice of endogamous marriage lurks behind the parallels between the Tyndaridai, the Leukippidai, Agido and Hagesichora, and the Spartan *basileis* in Alkman's *Partheneion*.

The management of marriages of available *parthenoi* had particular relevance to Alkman's Sparta since the practice of universal female inheritance, where young women

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[752] αἱ δὲ αὐταί τε ἦσαν δίδυμοι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ σφᾶς οἱ τʼ Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδες ἅτε ὄντες καὶ αὐτοὶ δίδυμοι λαμβάνουσι, for discussion, see Sahlins 2011, 75, 88.
[753] For examples, discussion, and bibliography, see Hodkinson 2000, 410-13.
[754] Hodkinson 2000, 407-8, 410-16.
[755] Hodkinson 2000, 410.
[756] Hodkinson 2000, 405-16.

received a pre-mortem inheritance of wealth and land upon their marriage, was ubiquitous. The Spartan *basileis*, from an administrative perspective, participated in the management of inheritances by judging cases of adoption and making marital arrangements for heiresses. Alkman's *Partheneion* played a role in legitimizing the implementation or continued use of this practice. It presented to the audience a prescribed social order for the marriage of young women in a manner that implicitly called upon the audience to uphold proper unions as embodied for them by the Spartan *basileis*. The message presented emotionally affected the audience by first establishing a connection between the audience and the performers through a sense of a shared past and collective ritual practice. Second, the poem presented a piece of local shared history to influence contemporary behaviour regarding marriage and, third, it utilized *gnomai* to punctuate the importance of following prescribed social norms and values, emphasizing their divine origin and relation to the larger Spartan social order. The roles of Agido and Hagesichora and the Tyndaridai invited the audience to look to the Spartan *basileis* as an example of proper behaviour and as protectors of their social order. The hierarchical relationships constructed in the poem and the persistent theme of pairs prompted the audience to consider the Spartan *basileis* in this role. In conclusion, what connected the Spartan dyarchy to the content of Alkman's *Partheneion* was the contemporary historical concern for proper marriage at a time when a system including universal female inheritance was being solidified.

Conclusion

In this dissertation I argue that both Alkman's *Partheneion* and Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] provide evidence for important moments in the institutionalization process of the Spartan *basileia* in the Archaic period. Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] exemplifies how the combination of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai and the Dorian migration story helped solidify the Spartan *basileia* as a foundational aspect of Sparta's social, cultural, and religious wellbeing in the middle of the seventh century BCE. Alkman's *Partheneion* illustrates that by the end of this century the Spartan *basileia* was successfully integrated, ideologically, into the socio-cultural and religious fabric of the Spartan community.

Chapter one outlines the problematic aspects of previous interpretations of the early political development of Archaic Sparta and, in particular, the relationship between Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* and the history of the legendary lawgiver, Lykourgos. I challenge these narratives on two points: these accounts of Archaic Spartan history and the role of lyric poetry in it are deeply impacted by the grand narratives of Archaic Greece, and they rely heavily on late-Classical and Roman sources privileging the problematic history of Lykourgos. In highlighting these problems and challenges, I align myself with scholars who are similarly critical of orthodox conceptions of Spartan history such as Hans van Wees and Jessica Romney. The remainder of the chapter focuses on the importance of terminology and methodological concerns. I turn to the topic of political leadership and rulership ideology in Archaic Greece and the authoritative and traditional world of early Greek epic in order to illustrate that *basileis*, in early Greek epic, are central to the wellbeing of the community and are important figures with a special connection to the gods, and Zeus in particular. These figures serve as exempla for *basileis* of the Archaic period. Additionally, I establish that the development of rulership in Sparta, like in any Greek *polis*, is a process of institutionalization, which lyric poetry has the capacity to illuminate.

Chapter two outlines the historical context of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* from the eighth century to the end of the seventh century BCE. I argue that this reconstruction is indispensable since past attempts to reconstruct the development of Sparta in the seventh century have been largely rooted in a scholarly tradition that privileges the invented tradition of Lykourgos and the reconstructions of Archaic Sparta found in late-Classical or post-Classical texts. Additionally, chapter two explores the so-called "civil strife crisis" identified by van Wees from the

perspective that elites and their community were connected and impacted one another. In alignment with criticisms that state that this period of Spartan history has been understood through late-Classical and post-Classical sources, I utilize contemporary lyric poetry and available archaeological data including data from archaeological surveys to argue that land use contributed to economic disparity in seventh-century Sparta, creating inequality especially with respect to landownership. I thus reconstruct the development of Sparta in a manner that privileges the most contemporary literary and archaeological material possible without relying on teleological narratives that attempt to understand the development of Archaic Sparta in reverse, starting from the Roman, Hellenistic, or Classical period (as discussed in chapter one).

After contextualizing Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*, I pivot towards examining the conventional interpretation of the poem to showcase its disparity with the historical context of seventh-century Sparta. I contend that prior interpretations, hinging on the conventional understanding of Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* as a reaction to an external threat (namely, the Messenian Wars), have fundamentally misinterpreted the purpose of the myth in its historical context by understanding it to convey a sentiment akin to that expressed by late-Classical authors like Aristotle and Isokrates. I explore the transmission of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai to conclude that several aspects, focused on in Classical narratives, were inaccessible to Tyrtaios in the seventh century BCE. In other words, many of the details that scholars have used to understand both Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* and the historical context of the poem *Eunomia*, are, in fact, continuations, adaptations, or inventions from the Classical period onwards and thus could not have impacted Tyrtaios' conceptualization of the myth of the return of the Herakleidai and its origin and function in the Peloponnese in the seventh century BCE. In particular, I scrutinize Malkin's assertion that the myth of the return of the Herkaleidai in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] served as a foundational oracle bestowed upon the Herakleidai by Zeus in lieu of Apollo. I challenge the interpretation that views the myth of the return of the Herakleidai as a response to an external military threat, equating Zeus granting Sparta to the Herakleidai with Apollo endorsing the establishment of a colony by an *oikistes* through the Delphic oracle. I conclude that the representation of the myth of the return of the Herkaleidai in Tyrtaios fr.2 West[2] ought to be perceived as a way to legitimize the Spartan *basileia* and thus contribute to the internal process of institutionalization.

In chapter four, I focus on the gift of Zeus, as described in Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2 (12-13). Having established in chapter two that Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2 responded to an internal challenge wherein issues of landownership and wealth inequality were fueling civil strife, I focus on what it means for Tyrtaios to combine the myth of the return of the Herakleidai and the Dorian migration story in his poem *Eunomia*. Since the stability of the Spartan *basileia* relied on being accepted by the community, it required a strong foothold within the collective memory of Spartan culture to endure. I argue that by presenting Zeus as an active agent, who gave Sparta to the Herakleidai, Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2 highlighted the essential divine connection between the Spartan *basileis* and the gods. This gift emphasized the unique ancestry of the Spartan *basileis* in direct contrast to the Dorian Spartans and highlighted the continuity inherent in the institution of the Spartan *basileia* by utilizing language that prompted comparison with early Greek epic models of the *basileus*. Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2, therefore, represents the Spartan *basileia* as a vital and traditional aspect of Sparta, linking its inception to the very origin of the Spartan community.

In the final chapter, I argue that Alkman's *Partheneion* presented to its audience a prescribed social order for the marriage of young women in a manner that implicitly called upon the audience to uphold proper unions as embodied for them by the Spartan *basileis*. I contend that the poem achieved this by first establishing a connection between the audience and the choral performers through the presentation of a shared past and through collective, communal ritual practice. Tyrtaios fr.2 West^2 connected with its audience through the use of a shared past *vis à vis* the return of the Herakleidai and the Dorian migration story. The poem *Eunomia* attempted to influence people to obey the *basileis* and uphold the prescribed social order in a time of civil strife. Alkman's *Partheneion* presented a piece of local shared history in order to influence contemporary behaviour regarding marriage. Both poems utilized local history and myth to influence the community by citing the existence of an established divine order and emphasising continuity *via* a communal longstanding practice based on a shared history. Additionally, Alkman's *Partheneion* employed *gnomai* to punctuate the importance of following these prescribed social norms and values, emphasizing their divine origin and relation to the larger Spartan social order. The roles of Agido and Hagesichora and of the Tyndaridai in Alkman's *Partheneion* further invited the audience to look to the Spartan *basileis* as an example

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of proper behaviour and as protectors of the established social order. This was accompanied, I argue, by the hierarchical relationships constructed in the poem and the persistent theme of pairs.

In conclusion, as a case study of legitimization efforts in early Spartan lyric poetry, this dissertation demonstrates that from our limited evidence for seventh-century Sparta, we can tentatively say that the *basileia* was in part preserved because it was perceived as foundational and essential for Sparta's continued success. We cannot yet answer the question of why the Spartans had two *basileis* rather than one. We can, however, say with some level of confidence that having two *basileis* had been a distinctive feature of the Spartans' local mythology even prior to Tyrtaios' *Eunomia*. Tyrtaios' integration of two fundamental myths, namely the return of the Herakleidai and the Dorian migration story, shows an intentional effort on the part of the poet to promote a shared past for the citizens now living in Sparta (i.e., the Dorian Spartans and the families who represent the Spartan *basileia*), which privileged those who could claim to be Herakleidai. Tyrtaios' combination of these two stories provides us with a window into an important moment in the ongoing and continuous institutionalization of the Spartan *basileia*. The evidence that I have presented indicates that the Spartan *basileia* was maintained because over time it had become an indispensable part of the political, social, economic, and ritual life of the Spartans. The Spartan *basileis* were not simply capable military generals and the poem does not emphasise their role as military generals in Sparta. Rather, the *basileis* served multiple functions and had a complex ontology, as the example of Alkman's *Partheneion* shows.

On February 8th, 2024, Stephen Hodkinson presented on far-right appropriations of Sparta in North America and Europe as part of the 2024 Sparta Live! seminar series offered by the Center for Spartan and Peloponnesian Studies. In his presentation, Hodkinson defined a new Sparta mirage, which he called "the modern mirage of Spartan militarism," in connection with the Spartan mirage established by François Ollier in *Le Mirage Spartiate* (1933). The Spartan mirage highlighted the problematic nature of reconstructing the history of Archaic and Classical Sparta based largely on post-Classical texts, such as Plutarch's *Life of Lykourgos*. Hodkinson argued that "the modern mirage of Spartan militarism" is an uncritical image of Spartan militarism originally crafted by political philosophers, Classicists, and politicians from the 18th century onwards, who characterize Sparta as nothing more than a militaristic community of

professional soldiers.[757] More recently, this image of Spartan militarism has been modeled after representations of the Spartans at Thermopylae in Frank Miller's graphic novel *300* and Zack Snyder's film adaptation by the same name. These fictionalized representations of the Spartans at Thermopylae have dominated popular representations of Sparta in North America and Europe since the early 2010s and are in many ways synonymous with the appropriation of Sparta in far-right groups such as the Oath Keepers and the Golden Dawn.[758] In response to such appropriations of Sparta, which rely on interpretations of Archaic and Classical Sparta through late-Classical and Roman sources, it is essential to relinquish unfounded notions about both Archaic and Classical Sparta, embrace what emerges from all the available evidence (including survey archaeology and sociological models), and advocate to continue to search for further evidence through full excavations in Lakonia. The work of this dissertation, which re-contextualized the poetry of Tyrtaios and Alkman, is a small contribution to this work, helping illuminate the history of Sparta in the seventh century. In particular it targets the false assumption that Archaic Sparta was nothing more than a garrison of men who shared in some kind of warlike brotherhood. Instead, it was a vibrant, complex community with evolving political systems, trade and production, art, wealth, and a history grounded in local myths and traditions. Efforts to challenge the modern mirage of Spartan militarism are pressing in a time when, more than ever, we, as critically-thinking scholars of Classics and I, as an early-career Spartan scholar, need to combat the misappropriation of Sparta that serves as evidence for ideologies which often spread hatred and discrimination.

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[757] Hodkinson 2022; Siapkas and Sjösvärd 2022; Müller 2022. For discussion of the portrayal of Spartan militarism in Frank Miller's *300*, see Fotheringham 2012 and Kovacs 2013. For a discussion of 18th and early-19th century interpretations of Sparta see, for example, Murray 2007; Powell 2018; Jensen 2018; Manson 2018; Rebenich 2018.
[758] Ioannidou 2022; Bar 2023. See also the *Rue89Lyon* online publication concerning the alt-right in France last updated on November 15, 2023 https://www.rue89lyon.fr/2021/10/23/extreme-droite-lyon-panorama-groupuscules/#3.

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2017. *Les hommes, la terre et la dette en Grèce (c. 1400–c. 500 a.C.).* Paris.

Curriculum Vitae

Education	2017-April 2024 PhD, Classical Studies, Western University Degree Status: Defense April 11, 2024
	2014-2016 MA, Classical Studies, Text and Culture, Brock University Degree Status: Completed with Distinction
	2009-2014 BA, Honors Degree, Classical Studies, The University of Guelph Degree Status: Completed with Distinction

Awards & Scholarships

2020/2021 Ontario Graduate Scholarship
2019/2020 Graham & Gale Wright Ontario Graduate Scholarship
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2018 Faculty of Arts and Humanities Alumni Graduate Awards, Western University
2017 Faculty of Arts and Humanities Provost Entrance Scholarship, Western University
2017 Graduate Fellowship, Western University
2016 Distinguished Graduate Student Award, Brock University
2016 Spirit of Brock Medal, Board of Trustees, Brock University
2016 Marilyn Rose Graduate Award for Academic Excellence in Humanities, Brock University
2016 Graduate Student Teaching Assistant Award, Brock University
2016 Ralph D. Morris Graduate Student Award, Brock University
2015/2016 Dean of Graduate Studies Excellence Scholarship, Brock University
2015/2016 Ontario Graduate Scholarship
2015 Jack M. Miller Excellence in Research Award, Brock University
2015 Danielle Anne Parks Classics Memorial Scholarship, Brock University
2015 Bluma Appel Graduate Entrance Scholarship for Excellence in Humanities, Brock University
2014 Dean of Graduate Studies Entrance Scholarship, Brock University
2014 Graduate Fellowship, Brock University
2013 College of Arts Student Union Prize, University of Guelph

Teaching Experience

Instructor
Winter 2024 (CS3904G/TS3952G/ARTHUM3390G) Performing Antigones, Western University
Fall 2023 (CS3904F) Archaic and Classical Sparta, Western University
Summer 2023 (CS650) Greek and Roman Civilization, (online, asynchronous), Western University
Fall 2021 (CS3904F) Archaic and Classical Sparta, Western University
Fall/Winter 2020/2021 (GK2000) Advanced Ancient Greek (online, synchronous), Western University
Fall 2019 (CS3904F) Archaic and Classical Sparta, Western University
Fall 2016 (BOST0N00) BOOST, Brock University

Teaching Assistant

Fall/Winter 2022/23 Greek and Roman Civilization, Western University
Winter 2020 (ARTHUM2200) The *Iliad*: Performing the Politics of Anger, Western University
Fall/Winter 2018/19 (CL2300) Sport and Recreation in the Ancient World, Western University
Fall/Winter 2017/18 (CL1000) Greek and Roman Civilization, Western University
Spring/Summer 2017 (CLAS3M23) Study Tour to Greece, Brock University
Spring 2016 (CLAS1P91) Introduction to Greek Civilization, Brock University
Winter 2016 (CLAS3P03) History of Classical Greece, Brock University
Fall 2015 (CLAS3P04) History of Early Greece, Brock University
Winter 2015 (CLAS1P97) Myths of the Heroic Age, Brock University
Fall 2014 (CLAS1P95) Myths of the Greek and Roman Gods, Brock University

Educational Development Experience

2021-2024 Junior Teaching Fellow, Teaching and Learning in Higher Education Research Fellowship, Western University
2023 Junior Course Developer, SASAH, Western University
2020 Intern, Department of Classical Studies, Western University
2018 Graduate Assistant, Department of Classical Studies and SASAH, Western University

Research Experience

2022-2023 Research Assistant, Department of Classical Studies, Western University
2018-2021 Research Assistant, Department of Classical Studies, Western University
2019 Research Assistant, Department of Classical Studies, Western University
2018/2022 Research Assistant, Department of Classical Studies, Western University
2017 Research Assistant, Center for Pedagogical Innovation, Brock University
2015 Research Fellowship, Classics Department, Brock University
2013 Research Assistant, School of Languages and Literatures, University of Guelph

Publications & presentations

Articles (Peer-Reviewed)
Accepted for publication in a conference volume, "Mitigating Anxiety about Female Inheritance in Seventh Century Sparta: Alkman's *Partheneion* and the Spartan Basileia in Context," (10 000 word)

Articles (In Preparation)
Dennie, Stephanie, and Kim Solga. "Real-world Applicability of Interdisciplinary Collaboration: Lessons from an Interdisciplinary Partnership between Community Psychology and Applied Theatre." 6000 words.

Dennie, Stephanie, and Kim Solga "Complex Collaborative Co-Teaching Across Disciplines in Higher Education: Leaning Into Difficulty," (7500 words).

Dennie, Stephanie, Kim Solga, and Leora Swartzman. "Complex Collaborative Co-Teaching: A Conversation Across Community Psychology and Applied Theatre," *Canadian Theatre Review* (forthcoming 2024).

Book Reviews
Review of Nicolette A. Pavlides, *The Hero Cults of Sparta. Local Religion in a Greek City* (London: Bloomsbury, 2023) in *BMCR* (forthcoming 2024).

Presentations
2024 "Spartan social memory, the myth of the return of the Herakleidai, and Hdt. 6.52," The Herodotus Helpline (online lecture series).

2023, Co-presenter with Dr. Kim Solga, "Complex Collaborative Teaching in an Interdisciplinary Context: Learnings, Challenges, Future Possibilities," Innovations in Education Conference at McMaster University,
Hamilton, ON

2023, Co-presenter with Dr. Kim Solga and Dr. David Sandomierski, "Preparing Students to Address Complex Real-World Problems through Interdisciplinary Collaborative Teaching," the University of Western Ontario's Spring Perspectives on Teaching, Western University
London, Ontario

2023 "Attic Drama as A Starting Point: Using Sophocles' *Antigone* as an introduction to interdisciplinary learning in a co-taught class for Theatre Studies and Community Psychology," Graduate Student Caucus Lightning Talk Panel, Classical Association of Canada, Hybrid session, virtual delivery.

2023 "Mitigating Anxiety about Female Inheritance in Seventh Century Sparta: Alkman's *Partheneion* and the Spartan Basileia in Context," The Department of Classics Speaker's Series, Western University
London, ON

2022, Seminar leader in three week Reading Seminar on Hdt. 6.52-60, Herodotus Helpline, Organized by Dr. Thomas Harrison and Dr. Jan Haywood.
https://herodotushelpline.org/

2022 "Female community in Alkman's *Partheneion* and the socio-political importance of "proper marriage" in Archaic and Classical Sparta"
European Gender Studies in Antiquity Research Network Annual Meeting
Toronto, ON

2022 "Legitimizing the Spartan Dyarchy: The Return of the Herakleidai in Tyrtaios fr.2," The Department of Classics Speaker's Series, Western University
London, ON

2020 "The Phaleric Wall: Examining Chronology, Course, and Context"
Classical Association of Canada Annual General Meeting, cancelled due to the
COVID-19 pandemic

2018 "Antigone Grieving and Betrayed"
Classical Association of Canada Annual General Meeting, University of Calgary,
Calgary, ON

2017 "Not Yet Diagnosed Nervous: The Effect of Class on Diagnosis and
Treatment of Combat Trauma in Canadian Soldiers of WWI"
Great War Lecture Series, St. Catharines Public Library, St. Catharines, ON

2017 "Relationship Development in the Lakedaimonian Phalanx"
CAMWS 113th Annual Meeting, Kitchener, ON, delivered in absentia

2016 "The Psychology of the Spartan Hoplite: Relationship Development in the
Lakedaimonian Phalanx"
Humanities Research Institute Symposium, Brock University, St. Catharines, ON

2016 Method in Madness: How to Evaluate Spartan Constitution"
Research Seminar Series, Brock University, St. Catharines, ON

2016 "1000 Ways to Die: How Soldiers Die in Homer's *Iliad*"
Brock University Graduate Student Conference, St. Catharines, ON

2015 "A Killer Education: The Psychology of a Spartan Military Education"
Atlantic Classical Association Annual Meeting, Dalhousie University, Halifax, ON

2015 Lecture, "Homer and Battlefield Wounding"
Colgate University Online Course *Greeks at War: Homer at Troy*

2015 "Learning from Ancient Combat Trauma"
Mapping New Knowledge Conference, Brock University, St. Catharines, ON

2015 "The Beating Heart of the *Iliad*; Narrative Function of Wound Descriptions"
Johns Hopkins University Graduate Student Conference, Baltimore, MD

2015 "Achilles and Patroklos; The Death of a Special Comrade in Combat"
University of Guelph Classics Society Annual Symposium, Guelph, ON

2012 "The Effects of Deforestation on Roman Agriculture"
University of Guelph Classics Society Annual Symposium, Guelph, ON