

the notional value of forty years (Meyer 1892, 153-88, esp. 169ff., 179-82). However, since 'it is impossible to accept a generation average as high as forty years over a period of fifteen generations, no matter what contingencies are postulated' (Henige 1974, 208), the hypothesis about collateral, and especially perhaps consobrinial, succession may again be invoked to account for it, if indeed it is felt that the forty-year generation has any basis in fact.

However that may be, exact lengths were subsequently attached to the reigns at least down to those of Alkamenes and Theopompos. Various candidates for the role of first calculator have been proposed, of whom the third-century Lakonian Sosibios (595 Jacoby) has possibly the strongest claim. Eratosthenes of Cyrene, also in the third century, brought the lists into an acceptable relationship with the First Olympiad, which was for him the dividing line between 'mythical' and 'historical' Greece (Fraser 1970, esp. 190, 196f.). From Eratosthenes descends the 'vulgate' chronology of early Greek history through Apollodoros (c.100) and Diodorus to Eusebius (AD 263-339).

It goes without saying that the absolute dates arrived at by these erudite men have no truly scientific foundation, and that differences between their dating and ours are to be expected. On the other hand, to tamper with their relative chronology is hazardous. In general, their absolute dates are too high, a natural consequence of the Heraklid distortion. If we substitute the more plausible allowance of thirty years per generation for the 'Hekataian' forty, we achieve a satisfying congruence between potsherds and pedigrees, at least for the Agiads: Agis I could have been on the throne around the last third of the tenth century (Forrest 1968, 21). At the same time, however, we cannot pretend that in the present state of our knowledge this is much more than a happy coincidence.

## NOTE

I was greatly helped in the preparation of the original version of this Appendix by my late friend Richard Ball, although the responsibility for any remaining errors is of course entirely mine. It is good to know that his Oxford doctoral thesis on Greek chronography is to be seen through the press by W.G. Forrest.

P. Cartledge, Sparta and Lakonia:

A Regional History 1300-362 BC

(London 1979)

## The Helots: Some ancient sources in translation

## A. GENERAL

## 1 Thucydides (5c.)

- (a) 4.80.2: Most Spartan institutions have always been designed with a view to security against the Helots. (OR As far as the Helots are concerned, most Spartan institutions have always been designed with a view to security.)  
 (b) 8.40.2: The Chians possessed many slaves (oiketai), the most in fact of any one state apart from Sparta.

## 2 Plato (4c.)

- (a) 'Laws' 776C (quoted, with minor verbal differences, ap. Athen. 6.264DE): The Helot-system (OR The Helots) of Sparta is (are) practically the most discussed and controversial subject in Greece, some approving the institution, others criticizing it. (OR The condition of the Helots among the Spartans is of all Greek forms of servitude the most controversial and disputed about, some approving it and some condemning it.)  
 (b) 'Laws' 777BC: (Man) is a troublesome piece of goods, as has often been shown by the frequent revolts of the Messenians, and the great mischiefs which happen in states having many slaves (oiketai) who speak the same language. ... Two remedies alone remain to us, - not to have the slaves of the same country, nor, if possible, speaking the same language (Jowett).  
 (c) 'Alk.' I.122D: No one could doubt that their land in Lakonia and Messenia is superior to our [Athenian] land, both in extent and quality, not to mention the number of their slaves (andrapoda) and especially the Helots.

## 3 Aristotle (4c.)

'Pol.' 1330a25-8: The very best thing of all would be that the farmers should be slaves, not all of the same people and not spirited; for if they have no spirit, they will be better suited for their work and there will be no danger of their making a revolution.

## 4 Strabo (1c. BC/1c. AD)

8.5.4: Helotage lasted right up to the Roman conquest.

## B. ORIGINS

## 1 Hellanikos (5c.)

FGrHist 4F188: The Helots are those who were not by birth the slaves (douloi) of the Spartans but those occupying the city of Helos who were the first to be defeated.

## 2 Antiochos (5c.)

FGrHist 555F13: After the [First] Messenian War the Spartans who did not participate in the expedition were adjudged slaves (douloi) and called Helots, while all those who had been born during the campaign were called Partheniai and deprived of full citizen rights. (OR.... while all those to whom children had been born during the campaign (had to accept that their sons) were called Partheniai, etc.)

## 3 Thucydides

1.101.2: The majority of the Helots were descended from the Messenians who were enslaved (doulouthenton) of old. Hence all were called Messenians.

## 4 Ephorus (4c.)

FGrHist 70F117: Agis [I] son of Eurysthenes robbed (the Perioikoi) of their equal political status and compelled them to pay contributions to Sparta. They obeyed, but the Heleioi, those who held Helos, revolted and were conquered by force of arms and adjudged slaves (douloi) on fixed

conditions.

## 5 Theopompos (4c.) FGrHist 115

(a) F13: They are those who have been enslaved (katadedoulomenoi) for a very long time by the Spartiates, some of them being from Messenia, while the Heleatai formerly inhabited Helos in Lakonike.

(b) F122: The Chians were the first Greeks after the Thessalians and Spartans to make use of slaves (douloi), but they did not acquire them in the same way as these. For the Spartans and Thessalians ... recruited their slave populations from the Greeks who previously inhabited the country they now control, the Spartans from the Achaeans, the Thessalians from the Perrhaiboi and Magnetes; and they called those whom they had enslaved respectively Helots and Penestai.

## 6 Plutarch (1-2c. AD)

'Lyk.' 2.1: Of these ancestors (of Lykourgos) the most distinguished was Soos, in whose reign the Spartans made the Helots their slaves (douloi).

## 7 Pausanias (2c. AD)

(a) 3.2.7: (In the reign of Alkamenos) the Achaeans of Helos by the sea revolted too, and (the Spartans) defeated the Argives who came to the aid of the Helots.

(b) 3.20.6: (The inhabitants of Helos) were the first to become slaves of the community (douloi tou koinou) and the first to be called Helots.

## 8 Anecdota Graeca

(ed. Bekker) I.246, s.v. 'Heilotes': The slaves (douloi) of the Spartans ... so called because they were first defeated in Helos and enslaved.

## 9 Stephanos of Byzantion (6c. AD)

s.v. 'Chioi': (The Chians) were the first to use servants (therapontes), just as the Spartans used Helots, the Argives Gymnesioi, the Sikyonians Korynephoroï, the

Italians Pelasgoi, and the Cretans Dmoitai (sic).

C. STATUS (see also A.1b, 2b-c, B)

1 Kritias (5c.)

88B37 D-K: In Lakedaimon are to be found those who are the most enslaved (douloi) and those who are the most free.

2 Thucydides

(a) 4.118.7 (armistice of 423): Neither side is to receive deserters during this period, whether free or slave (doulos).

(b) 5.23.3 (alliance between Sparta and Athens, 421): If the slave class (douleia) revolts, the Athenians are to come to the aid of the Spartans in full strength in accordance with their ability.

3 Xenophon (4c.)

(a) 'Hell.' 7.1.13: You [Athenians] become leaders merely of their slaves (douloi, i.e. Helot rowers) and men of least account.

(b) 'Lak. Pol.' 6.3: They are able to use even the slaves (oiketai) of another (Spartiate), if they so request.

(c) 'Lak. Pol.' 7.5: (Lykourgos made Spartan money valueless so that) a man should not be able to conceal it from his slaves (oiketai) if he dragged it home.

(d) 'Lak. Pol.' 12.4: They keep the slaves (douloi) away from the arms-dumps (in camp).

4 Isokrates (4c.)

12 ('Panath.') 178: The souls (of the Perioikoi) are reduced to slavery no less than those of (the Spartans') slaves (oiketai).

5 Ephorus

(continuation of B.4): Their master was permitted neither to manumit them nor to sell them beyond the frontier.

6 Theopompos

F40: The Ardiaioi (of Illyria) possess 30,000 dependent labourers (prospelatai) on the same conditions as (the Spartans) possess Helots.

7 Aristotle

(a) 'Pol.' 1264a32-6: Again (Sokrates) makes the Farmers the masters of the estates, for which they pay a rent (apophora). But in that case they are likely to be much more unmanageable and rebellious than the Helots, Penestai or slaves in general.

(b) fr. 586: (The Kallikyrioi at Syracuse) are like the Spartans' Helots, the Thessalians' Penestai and the Cretans' Klarotai.

8 Myron (3c.)

FGrHist 106F1: The Spartans often freed their slaves (douloi) calling some Aphetai (released?), some Adespotoi i (masterless?), some Erykteres (curbers?), others again Desposionautai (master-seamen?); the last they assigned to naval expeditions.

9 Kallistratos (3c.)

FGrHist 348F4: They called the Mariandynoi (of Herakleia Pontika) Dorophoroi (gift-bearers) to take away the sting in the word 'slaves' (oiketai), just as the Spartans did for the Helots, the Thessalians for the Penestai, and the Cretans for the Klarotai.

10 Phylarchos (3c.)

FGrHist 81F8: The Byzantines rule over the Bithynoi in the same way as the Spartans rule over the Helots.

11 Strabo

8.5.4: The Spartans held (the Helots) as slaves (douloi) as it were of the community (tropon tina demosios).

## 12 Livy (1c. BC/1c. AD)

(a) 34.27.9: Next some of the Helots - these had been 'castellani' (farm- or fort-dwellers) from remotest times, a rural people - were accused of wishing to desert and were lashed to death in all the villages (vici).

(b) 34.31.11: But the name of 'tyrant' and my actions are held against me (Nabis), because I liberate slaves (servi).

## 13 Pollux (2c. AD)

3.83: Between free men and slaves (douloi) (are) the Lakonian Helots, the Thessalian Penestai, the Mariandynian Dorophoroi, the Argive Gymmetes and the Sikyonian Korynephoroi.

D. TREATMENT (see also C.1, 3b, 4, 8; F.i.2b)

## 1 Tyrtaios (7c.)

(a) fr. 6: Like asses exhausted under great loads: under painful necessity to bring their masters full half the fruit their ploughed land produced.

(b) fr. 7: They and their wives too must put on mourning and bewail their lords whenever death should carry them away.

## 2 Kritias

(following C.1): Through distrust of these Helots a Spartiate at home removes the arm-band from his shield. Since the frequent need for speed prevents him taking this precaution on campaign, he always carries his spear with him, in the belief that he will be stronger than the Helot who tries to revolt with a shield alone. They have also devised keys which they think are strong enough to resist any Helot attempt on their lives.

## 3 Thucydides

(a) 1.128.1: The Spartans had once dragged some Helot suppliants from the sanctuary of Poseidon and led them away to be killed, as a result of which, so they believed, the great earthquake had hit Sparta.

(b) 4.80.3 (following A.1a): (The Spartans) made a proclamation that the Helots should choose from their number

as many as claimed to have done the best service in the war. They implied that these Helots would be freed, but in fact it was a test conducted in the belief that those who thought themselves best qualified for freedom would also be the most likely to revolt. About 2,000 were selected, who put garlands on their heads and did the rounds of the sanctuaries as if they had been freed. But not much later the Spartans did away with them, and no one knew how each of them was killed.

## 4 Isokrates

12.181: The Ephors have the right to choose as many (Perioikoi) as they wish and put them to death, and this when for all Greeks the murder of even the most nefarious slaves (oiketai) is considered impious.

## 5 Theopompos

F13: The Helot population is in an altogether cruel and bitter condition.

## 6 Aristotle

(a) 'Pol.' 1269b7-12: Apart from other drawbacks, the mere necessity of policing (the Helots) is a troublesome matter - the problem of how contact with them is to be managed. If allowed freedom, they grow insolent and think themselves as good as their masters; if made to live a hard life, they plot against and hate them. It is clear therefore that those whose Helot-system works out like this have not discovered the best way of managing it.

(b) fr. 538 (ap. Plut. 'Lyk.' 28): The so-called 'Krypteia' of the Spartans, if this really is one of Lykourgos' institutions, as Aristotle says, may have given Plato ('Laws' 630D) too this idea of (Lykourgos) and his polity. The Krypteia was like this. The magistrates from time to time sent out into the country those who appeared the most resourceful of the youth, equipped only with daggers and minimum provisions. In the daytime they dispersed into obscure places, where they hid and lay low. By night they came down into the highways and despatched any Helot they caught. Often too they went into the fields and did away with the sturdiest and most powerful Helots. (Here Plutarch retails D.3b.) And Aristotle specifically says also that the Ephors upon entering office declared war on

the Helots, so that their murder might not bring with it ritual pollution.

(c) 'Lak. Pol.' (excerpted by Herakleides Lembos 373.10 Dilts): It is said that (Lykourgos) also introduced the Krypteia. In accordance with this institution even now they go out by day and conceal themselves, but by night they use weapons to kill as many of the Helots as is expedient.

## 7 Myron

F2: They assign to the Helots every shameful task leading to disgrace. For they ordained that each one of them must wear a dogskin cap and wrap himself in skins and receive a stipulated number of beatings every year regardless of any wrongdoing, so that they would never forget they were slaves (douleuein). Moreover, if any exceeded the vigour proper to a slave's condition, they made death the penalty; and they allotted a punishment to those controlling them if they failed to rebuke those who were growing fat. And in giving the land over to them they set them a portion (of produce) which they were constantly to hand over.

## 8 Plutarch

(a) (following D.6b): And in other ways too they treated the Helots harshly and cruelly. For example, they would compel them to drink a lot of unmixed wine and then bring them into the common messes to show the young men what drunkenness was like. They would also order them to sing songs and perform dances that were ignoble and ridiculous but to refrain from those appropriate to free men. However, such cruelties were, I believe, inflicted by the Spartans only relatively late, especially after the great earthquake....

(b) 'Comp. Lyk. et Num.' 1.5: (Helotage was) the cruellest and most lawless system.

## E. ATTITUDE OF HELOTS (see also D.2, 6a)

### 1 Xenophon

'Hell.' 3.3.6: The secret (of the Helots, Neodamodeis, Hypomeiones and Perioikoi) (was that), whenever among these mention was made of Spartiates, none was able to conceal that he would gladly eat them - even raw.

## 2 Aristotle

(a) 'Pol.' 1269a37-b5: The Penestai of the Thessalians repeatedly revolted, as did the Helots - who are like an enemy constantly sitting in wait for the disasters of the Spartans. Nothing of this kind has yet happened in Crete, the reason perhaps being that the neighbouring cities, even when at war with one another, never ally themselves with the (servile) rebels. For since they themselves possess a subject population (perioikoi), this would not be in their interest. The Spartans, on the other hand, were surrounded by hostile neighbours, Argives, Messenians and Arkadians.

(b) 'Pol.' 1272b17-20: (Crete) is saved by its geographical situation; for distance has had the same effect as the expulsion of aliens (from Sparta). A result of this is that, whereas the Cretan perioikoi stay loyal, the Helots frequently revolt.

## F. FUNCTIONS

### i. Agriculture (see also D.7)

#### 1 Aristotle

'Pol.' 1271b40-72a2: The Cretan institutions resemble the Spartan. The Helots are the farmers of the latter, the perioikoi of the former.

#### 2 Plutarch

(a) 'Lyk.' 8.7: The kleros was large enough to yield seventy medimnoi of barley for a man and twelve for a woman, and the corresponding amount of fresh fruits.

(b) 'Mor.' 239DE: A curse was decreed to fall upon (the Spartan) who exacted more than the long-established rent (apophora), so that (the Helots) might serve gladly because gainfully, and (the Spartans) might not exceed the fixed amount.

(c) 'Mor.' 223A: Kleomenes [I] son of Anaxandridas said that Homer was the poet of the Spartans, Hesiod of the Helots; for Homer had given the necessary directions for warfare, Hesiod for agriculture.

## ii Warfare

Hdt. 6.80f. (batmen, etc.); 9.28f., 80.1, 85 (auxiliary personnel); Thuc. 4.80 (hoplites); Xen. 'Hell.' 3.1.27 (batmen), 6.5.28f. (hoplites), 7.1.12f. (rowers).

## iii Miscellaneous

Hdt. 6.52.5-7, 63.1; Xen. 'Hell.' 5.4.28; 'Lak. Pol.' 7.5; Plut. 'Agis' 3.2 (all household servants); Hdt. 6.68.2 (groom); 6.75.2 (armed guard); Kritias 88B33 D-K (cup-bearer at mess).

## The sanctuary of (Artemis) Orthia

By the beginning of the present century the British School of Archaeology at Athens could look back on striking successes in the excavation of prehistoric sites but lacked for a classical counterpart to Delphi and Olympia, secured respectively by the French and German Schools. Somewhat boldly, in view of the weight of ancient literary evidence suggesting artefactual sterility, the School selected Sparta for its operations. Sensibly, however, they spread the risks by simultaneously conducting smaller excavations in other parts of Lakonia, on both prehistoric and classical sites, and by undertaking invaluable and unrepeatable topographical surveys of the southern portion of the region. The groundwork was laid by M.N. Tod and A.J.B. Wace in their still serviceable 'Catalogue of the Sparta Museum', which was published in the same year, 1906, as the School began excavations in Sparta itself.

The most significant ancient landmark at that time, in a landscape undistinguished for its ancient remains, was a Roman theatre on the right (west) bank of the Eurotas. Even this, though, had been extensively looted and largely denuded since the foundation of the modern town in 1834 and was being slowly encroached upon by the river. It was, however, precisely the Greek remains dislocated by the ingress of the Eurotas which gave hope of important early finds - a hope that was to be fulfilled far beyond the expectations even of those responsible for the decision to concentrate the digging here. As the main director of excavations, R.M. Dawkins, later wrote (AO 50): 'The Roman theatre had done its work thoroughly in preserving untouched ... the great wealth of archaic objects which by their fresh light on early Sparta have given this excavation its chief importance.'

The stone theatre, it emerged, had been constructed in the third century AD. Its function was to enable blood-