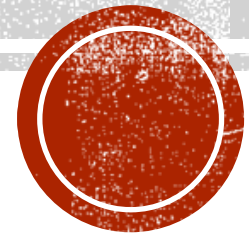


SPARTA: AN EXTRAORDINARY CITY

Lecture 10. Spartan Overreach and Decline



THE AFTERMATH OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

- In 404, Sparta had an empire on land and sea.
- It was the most powerful polis in the Greek world.
- It had an understanding with Persia and its support in Greece and the Aegean.



DIVISIONS IN THE PELOPONNESIAN LEAGUE

- In 404, Thebes and Corinth wanted Athens to be destroyed
- The Spartans did not destroy Athens but imposed an oligarchy, the 30 Tyrants
- This was the first major problem in the Peloponnesian League after the victory of Aigospotamoi.



THE 30, ATHENS, ARGOS, MEGARA AND THEBES

So, then, Theramenes died; but the Thirty, thinking that now they could play the tyrant without fear, issued a proclamation forbidding those who were outside the roll to enter the city and evicted them from their estates, in order that they themselves and their friends might have these people's lands. **And when they fled to Piraeus, they drove many of them away from there also, and filled both Megara and Thebes with the refugees.**

Xenophon, *Hellenika* 2.4.1



THE 30, ATHENS, ARGOS, MEGARA AND THEBES

The Lacedaemonians, seeing the city of the Athenians abased in power and having no desire that the Athenians should ever gain strength, were delighted and made their attitude clear; for they voted that the Athenian exiles should be delivered up to the Thirty from all over Greece and that anyone who attempted to prevent this should be liable to a fine of five talents. Though this decree was shocking, all the rest of the cities, dismayed at the power of the Spartans, obeyed it, **with the exception of the Argives who, hating as they did the cruelty of the Lacedaemonians** and pitying the hard lot of the unfortunate, were the first to receive the exiles in a spirit of humanity. **Also the Thebans voted that anyone who witnessed an exile being led off and did not render him all aid within his power should be subject to a fine.**

Diodoros 14.6



MERCY OR ANTI-SPARTAN FEELING?

- Argos was an old enemy of Sparta and would not hesitate to undermine the Spartans in any way they could.
- Megara and Thebes were members of the Peloponnesian League.
- Thebes had urged for the destruction of Athens, but during the regime of the 30 Tyrants provided help to the Athenian democrats.



THE THEBAN POLICY

- The Theban policy towards Athens is one of the earliest signs of Theban ambition towards hegemony.
- Initially, Thebes advocated the destruction of Athens, probably with the view to robbing Sparta of an important and powerful ally in central Greece.
- By helping the Athenian democrats, Thebes achieved a similar target, since the democrats, if in power, would not blindly follow the directives of Sparta.



DISAFFECTION IN THE LEAGUE

And all the allies likewise followed with him, excepting the Boeotians and the Corinthians; and the plea of these was that they did not think they would be true to their oaths if they took the field against the Athenians when the latter were doing nothing in violation of the treaty; in fact, however, they acted as they did because they supposed that the Lacedaemonians wanted to make the territory of the Athenians their own sure possession.

Xenophon, *Hellenika* 2.4.30



DISAFFECTION IN THE LEAGUE

Now the Lacedaemonians were glad to seize a pretext for undertaking a campaign against the Thebans, for they had long been angry with them both on account of their claiming Apollo's tenth at Decelea and their refusing to follow them against Piraeus. Furthermore, they charged them with persuading the Corinthians likewise not to join in that campaign.

Xenophon, *Hellenika* 3.5.5



DISAFFECTION IN THE LEAGUE

- The Corinthians and Boeotians, led by the Thebans, refused to help Sparta support the 30 Tyrants militarily.
- That was a blow to Sparta from some of its most important allies; it eventually became part of Spartan accusations of Thebes as a traitorous ally.
- Corinth, by trying to limit Spartan power in Athens, safeguarded its position as prime maritime power in the Peloponnese and the Peloponnesian League.



THE SITUATION IN ASIA MINOR

- Lysander had established a number of decarchies in Asia Minor and the eastern Aegean islands.
- By 403-2, many of these decarchies had been abolished.



THE ASIA MINOR DECARCHIES AND INTERNAL SPARTAN CONFLICTS

...but, in addition, he wanted to make the expedition with Agesilaus on his own account also, in order that with the aid of Agesilaus he might re-establish the decarchies which had been set up by him in the cities, **but had been overthrown through the ephors**, who had issued a proclamation restoring to the cities their ancient form of government.

Xenophon, *Hellenika* 3.4.2



THE ASIA MINOR DECARCHIES AND INTERNAL SPARTAN CONFLICTS

- Spartan policy towards its allies had changed by 402.
- The democracy had been restored in Athens and most of the decarchies in Asia Minor had been abolished.
- This is directly related to the strained relations between Lysander and king Pausanias, since their internal struggle for power in Sparta translated to different policies towards the allies.
- In 402, Pausanias held the upper hand and the decarchies had been abolished, but the propaganda damage had already been done in the allies' view of Sparta as an imperial power.



CYRUS, THE SPARTANS AND PERSIA

So ended the civil strife at Athens. Shortly after this Cyrus sent messengers to Lacedaemon and asked that the Lacedaemonians should show themselves as good friends to him as he was to them in the war against the Athenians. And the ephors, thinking that what he said was fair, sent instructions to Samius, at that time their admiral, to hold himself under Cyrus' orders, in case he had any request to make. And in fact, **Samius did zealously just what Cyrus asked of him: he sailed round to Cilicia at the head of his fleet, in company with the fleet of Cyrus, and made it impossible for Syennesis, the ruler of Cilicia, to oppose Cyrus by land in his march against the Persian king.**

Xenophon, *Hellenika* 3.1.1



THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

490 B.C.

SCALE OF MILES

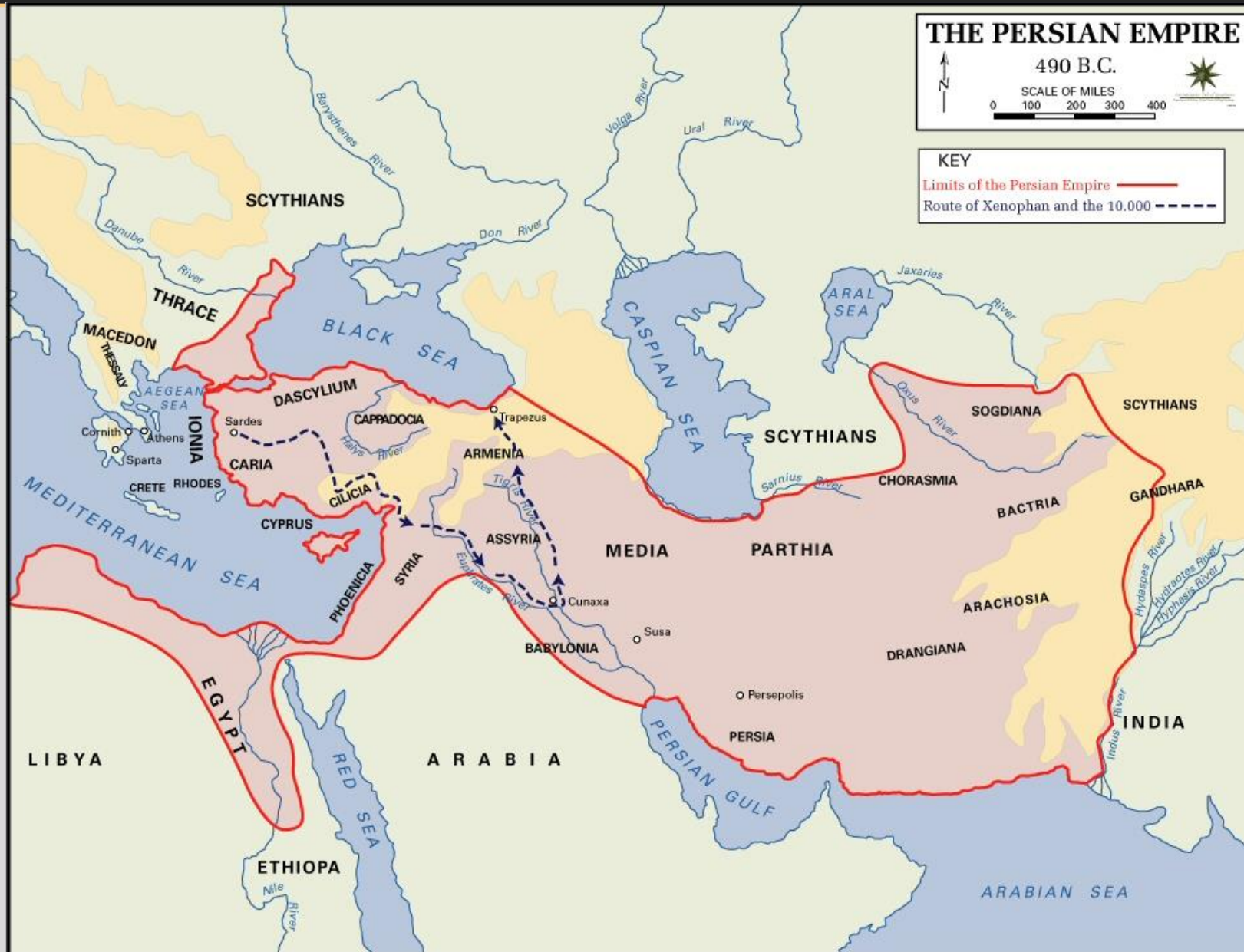
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KEY

Limits of the Persian Empire ———

Route of Xenophon and the 10,000 - - - -



SPARTA AND PERSIA

- By providing military aid to Cyrus in his rebellion against his brother Artaxerxes, Sparta effectively came into direct conflict with Persia.
- With the defeat of Cyrus, Spartan credibility in the Persian court had been lost.
- Like the Athenians in the 410s had lost the King's support by supporting Amorges' rebellion, Sparta lost Persian support by supporting Cyrus.



SPARTA IN CENTRAL AND NORTHERN GREECE

- After 404, Sparta started a campaign to dominate central and northern Greece.
- Lysander established an oligarchy in Thasos, campaigned in Thrace and besieged Aphytis in the Chalcidice.
- The Spartans tried to help the Thessalians against Macedon.
- A Spartan garrison was established at Pharsalos in Thessaly.
- The Spartans put down a civil war in Herakleia Trachinia.



SPARTA'S GREEK POLICY

- Sparta effectively had the Peloponnese under its dominion.
- By targeting Thessaly and northern Greece it was trying to replace Athens as main imperial power in the region. Unlike Athens it wanted access to the interior as well as the coast.
- Coupled with Spartan domination of Asia Minor, the situation was grave for any polis in central Greece and the Peloponnese that wanted a measure of independence.



SPARTA, CORINTH AND THE WEST

- After the defeat of the Athenians, the Greeks of Sicily had an even greater threat to fight against; Carthage.
- In the course of the rebuilding after the Athenian invasion and the beginnings of Carthaginian aggression, Dionysius I became tyrant of Syracuse with Spartan support.
- Syracuse was a Corinthian colony with close relations with its mother-city. The Spartan intervention in Syracuse was a direct attack on Corinthian interests.
- By supporting Dionysius in Syracuse, Sparta managed not only to get his naval support in the Aegean but also to cultivate a close relationship with one of the great military powers in the Greek world.



THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST PERSIA

- In 400 Thibron was sent to help the Ionian cities against Tissaphernes, satrap of Lydia.
- In 399, Derkyllidas replaced Thibron but concentrated on the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia. Hellespontine Phrygia was very important if one wanted to control the Hellespont and, thus, traffic between the Aegean and the Black Sea.



THE PERSIAN REACTION: CONON AND ATHENS

Pharnabazus, after the truce had been made with the Lacedaemonians, went back to the King and **won him over to the plan of preparing a fleet and appointing Conon the Athenian as its admiral**; for Conon was experienced in the encounters of war and especially in combat with the present enemy, and although he excelled in warfare, he was at the time in Cyprus at the court of Evagoras the king. After the King had been persuaded, Pharnabazus took five hundred talents of silver and prepared to fit out a naval force. Sailing across to Cyprus, he ordered the kings there **to make ready a hundred triremes and then, after discussions with Conon** about the command of the fleet, **he appointed him supreme commander at sea, giving indications in the name of the King of great hopes Conon might entertain. Conon, in the hope not only that he would recover the leadership in Greece for his native country if the Lacedaemonians were subdued in war but also that he would himself win great renown,** accepted the command.

Diodoros 14.39



THE PERSIAN OFFENSIVE

- After being betrayed by Sparta (Sparta had not only attacked Persian interests in Asia Minor but also had supported Cyrus in his bid for the Persian throne), Artaxerxes employed Sparta's recent enemy, Athens.
- Athens still did not have much of a fleet, but Konon became the most powerful figure in Athenian politics in the 390s.



THE SPARTAN ANSWER: AGESILAOS

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

Xenophon, *Hellenika* 3.4.2



THE SPARTAN ANSWER

- With renewed Persian aggression, Sparta stepped up its offensive.
- The new king, Agesilaos, was sent to Asia Minor with troops in order to fight against Persia and with the express aim of “liberating the Greeks”.
- Remember that these are the same Greeks that Sparta had given up to Persia for Persian support in the Peloponnesian War and had later suffered Lysander’s decarchies.



THE SACRIFICE AT AULIS

When he had reached Aulis, however, the Boeotarchs, on learning that he was sacrificing, sent horsemen and bade him discontinue his sacrificing, and they threw from the altar the victims which they found already offered. Then Agesilaus, calling the gods to witness, and full of anger, embarked upon his trireme and sailed away. And when he arrived at Gerastus and had collected there as large a part of his army as he could, he directed his course to Ephesus.

Xenophon, *Hellenika* 3.4.4



THE POINT OF THE BOIOTARCHS

- By sacrificing at Aulis, Agesilaos made an important propaganda point, since Aulis was where Agamemnon had sacrificed before setting out in the Trojan War.
- The Thebans stopped the sacrifice as a protest against Spartan imperialistic ambitions.



AGESILAOS AND SHADOW DIPLOMACY

When he reached Ephesus, Tissaphernes at once sent and asked him with what intent he had come. And he answered: **“That the cities in Asia shall be autonomous, as are those in our part of Greece.”** In reply to this Tissaphernes said: **“Then if you are willing to make a truce until I can send to the King, I think you could accomplish this object and, if you should so desire, sail back home.”** “Indeed I should so desire,” said he, “if I could but think that I was not being deceived by you.” “But,” said he, “it is possible for you to receive a guarantee on this point, that in very truth and without guile, if you follow this course, we will do no harm to any part of your domain during the truce.” After this agreement had been reached, Tissaphernes made oath to the commissioners who were sent to him, Herippidas, Dercylidas, and Megillus, that in very truth and without guile he would negotiate the peace, and they in turn made oath on behalf of Agesilaus to Tissaphernes that in very truth, if he did this, Agesilaus would steadfastly observe the truce. **Now Tissaphernes straightway violated the oaths which he had sworn; for instead of keeping peace he sent to the King for a large army in addition to that which he had before. But Agesilaus, though he was aware of this, nevertheless continued to abide by the truce.**

Xenophon, *Hellenika* 3.4.5-6



INDEPENDENCE AND AUTONOMY

- Agesilaos did not try to convince Tissaphernes to restore liberty to the Greek cities of Asia Minor.
- On the contrary, Agesilaos tried to revert to the *status quo* in 404, when the cities were autonomous allies of Sparta but under Persian domination.
- In other words, that both Sparta and Persia had a say in the cities and Sparta could establish pro-Spartan governments in them.



THE BATTLE OF SARDIS, 395

- Agesilaos defeated the Persians in the battle of Sardis, which resulted in Persia agreeing to the autonomy of the Asia Minor Greeks on the condition that Agesilaos leaves Asia Minor.
- Agesilaos did not agree to the Persian terms.
- At the same time, Rhodes, an important maritime city in the southeast Aegean, revolted from Sparta and sided with Persia.
- The position of Rhodes is important, since it shows that while Sparta was winning on land, on sea the islanders saw the Persian fleet as more powerful.



SPARTAN AGGRESSION IN GREECE

Now the Lacedaemonians were glad to seize a pretext for undertaking a campaign against the Thebans, for they had long been angry with them both on account of their claiming Apollo's tenth at Decelea and their refusing to follow them against Piraeus. Furthermore, they charged them with persuading the Corinthians likewise not to join in that campaign. Again, they recalled that they had refused to permit Agesilaus to sacrifice at Aulis and had cast from the altar the victims already offered, and that they also would not join Agesilaus for the campaign in Asia. **They also reasoned that it was a favourable time to lead forth an army against the Thebans and put a stop to their insolent behaviour toward them; for matters in Asia were in an excellent condition for them, Agesilaus being victorious, and in Greece there was no other war to hinder them.**

Xenophon, *Hellenika* 3.5.5



ANTI-SPARTAN ALLIANCE AND PERSIAN MONEY

- The Spartan aggression against Thebes was immediately answered by an anti-Spartan alliance between Thebes, Athens, and a number of other central Greek poleis.
- The alliance was probably financed by the Persian king in an effort to make the Spartan offensive in Asia Minor stop.



THE BATTLE OF KNIDOS, 394

- The Persian fleet led by Konon the Athenian defeated the Spartan and allied fleet at Knidos.
- This was the first major setback to Sparta since the battle of Arginoussai in the Peloponnesian War.
- Due to the anti-Spartan alliance in Greece, Agesilaos was forced to return to the mainland and Spartan interests in the Aegean and Asia Minor were safeguarded only by the fleet.
- With the defeat at Knidos, Sparta loses a great part of its power.



THE BATTLE OF CORONEA, 394

- On the Greek front, Sparta won the hoplite battle of Coronea in Boeotia against the anti-Spartan alliance, but the victory was not conclusive.
- With Corinth in alliance with Argos, a defeat in the east and problems at home (the Kinadon affair) and no decisive victory in Greece, Sparta had to sue for peace.



THE TRUCE TERMS

When they had reached their destination, Antalcidas said to Tiribazus that he had come desiring peace between his state and the King, and, furthermore, just such a peace as the King had wished for. For the Lacedaemonians, he said, **urged no claim against the King to the Greek cities in Asia and they were content that all the islands and the Greek cities in general should be independent.** “And yet,” he said, “if we are ready to agree to such conditions, why should the King be at war with us or be spending money? Indeed, if such terms were made, **we could not take the field against the King, either; the Athenians could not unless we assumed the leadership, and we could not if the cities were independent.**”

Xenophon, *Hellenika* 3.8.14





PERSIA, ATHENS AND THE FAILED PEACE

- The Persian King, Artaxerxes, refused to agree to the Spartan peace proposal after almost a year of negotiation. The main reason for Artaxerxes' refusal was his suspicion of Sparta.
- At the same time, the Athenians, nominally at the time allies of Persia, supported the revolt of Cyprus from Persia. Thus, the Persians now had reason to distrust both major Greek powers in Asia Minor.



PERSIA AGAINST ATHENS

- With Athenian support of Evagoras in Cyprus and a series of anti-Persian raids by Thrasybulus in Asia Minor, the Persian king decided to take the offensive against Athens.
- With Athens as the enemy, the logical ally for Persia was Sparta.
- Thus, Persia supported the Spartan fleet in the Aegean, which eventually took control of the Hellespont and thus the Athenian grain supply.



THE KING'S PEACE, 387/6

“King Artaxerxes thinks it just that the cities in Asia should belong to him, as well as Clazomenae and Cyprus among the islands, and that the other Greek cities, both small and great, should be left autonomous, except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros; and these should belong, as of old, to the Athenians. But whichever of the two parties does not accept this peace, upon them I will make war, in company with those who desire this arrangement, both by land and by sea, with ships and with money.”

Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5.1.31



SPARTA AND THE KING'S PEACE

- Sparta won in the King's Peace.
- The Autonomy clause of the Peace meant that no empire or hegemony could be created by Athens or any other polis.
- Further, as effective Representative of the King in Greece, Sparta now had a free rein to discipline its recalcitrant allies (Corinth, Thebes).



SPARTA AND THE NORTH

After the death of Glos and Tachos the Lacedaemonians **renounced their undertakings in Asia, but they went on organizing affairs in Greece for their own interest**, winning over some of the cities by persuasion and getting others into their hands by force through the return of the exiles. From this point they began openly to bring into their own hands the supremacy of Greece, contrary to the common agreements adopted in the time of Antalcidas after intervention by the King of the Persians. ... At first the people of the Olynthians enjoyed the revenues from the land given them, and when later the king unexpectedly recovered strength and got back his entire kingdom, the Olynthians were not inclined to return the land when he asked for it. Consequently Amyntas gathered an army from his own people, and forming an alliance with the Lacedaemonians persuaded them to send out a general and a strong force **against the Olynthians. The Lacedaemonians, having decided to extend their control to the regions about Thrace, enrolled soldiers both from their citizens and from their allies**, more than ten thousand in all; the army they turned over to Phoebidas the Spartan with orders to join forces with Amyntas and to make war together with him upon the Olynthians. **They also sent out another army against the people of Phlius, defeated them in battle, and compelled them to accept the rule of the Lacedaemonians.**

Diodoros 15.19.1-3



SPARTA AND THE NORTH

- The expedition against Olynthos and the Chalcidian League was another of Sparta's efforts after the King's Peace to stop the creation of federal states.
- Also, Sparta clearly tried to gain control of northern Greece with main targets the Greek poleis of the Chalcidice and the Thracian coast.



SPARTA AND ASIA MINOR

At this time the kings of the Lacedaemonians were at variance with each other on matters of policy. Agesipolis, who was a peaceful and just man and, furthermore, excelled in wisdom, declared that they should abide by their oaths and not enslave the Greeks contrary to the common agreements. **He pointed out that Sparta was in ill repute for having surrendered the Greeks of Asia to the Persians and for organizing the cities of Greece in her own interest**, although she had sworn in the common agreement that she would preserve their autonomy. **But Agesilaus, who was by nature a man of action, was fond of war and yearned for dominance over the Greeks.**

Diodoros 15.19.4



SPARTA AND PERSIA

Glos, who had been in command of the fleet and was married to the daughter of Tiribazus, fearful that it might be thought that he had co-operated with Tiribazus in his plan and that he would be punished by the King, resolved to safeguard his position by a new project of action. Since he was well supplied with money and soldiers and had furthermore won the commanders of the triremes to himself by acts of kindness, he resolved to revolt from the King. At once, then, he sent ambassadors to Acoris, the king of the Egyptians, and concluded an alliance with him against the King. He also wrote the Lacedaemonians and incited them against the King, promising to give them a large sum of money and offering other great inducements. He pledged himself to full co-operation with them in Greece and to work with them in restoring the supremacy their fathers had exercised. Even before this the Spartans had made up their minds to recover their supremacy, and at the time were already throwing the cities into confusion and enslaving them, as was clear to all men. Moreover, they were in bad repute because it was generally believed that in the agreement they had made with the King they had betrayed the Greeks of Asia, and so they repented of what they had done and sought a plausible excuse for a war against Artaxerxes. Consequently they were glad to enter the alliance with Glos.

Diodoros 15.9



SPARTA AND PERSIA

- The support provided to Glos' failed revolt was the only Spartan action against the Persian king after the King's Peace and until the 360s.
- The King did not take an anti-Spartan position, as far as our sources tell us, because of Sparta's actions.
- However, this is a sign that Sparta had not abandoned its imperialistic ambitions for Asia Minor .



THE ISSUE OF MANTINEIA

Since in all this matters had proceeded as they desired, the Lacedaemonians resolved, in the case of all among their allies who had been hostile during the war and more favourably inclined toward the enemy than toward Lacedaemon, to chastise them and put them in such a situation that they could not be disloyal. Firstly, therefore, they sent to the Mantineans and ordered them to tear down their wall, saying that they could not trust them in any other way not to take sides with their enemies. ... When, accordingly, they now refused to tear down their walls, the Lacedaemonians called out the ban against them. ... The Lacedaemonians, however, said that they would not make peace with them except on condition that they should also dwell apart in villages. And they for their part, coming to the conclusion that it was necessary, agreed that they would do this also. Now the partisans of Argos and the leaders of the popular party expected that they would be put to death, but the father of Agesipolis obtained from him the promise that safety should be granted them as they departed from the city, being sixty in number...

Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5.2.1-6



THE ISSUE OF MANTINEIA

After this the wall was torn down and Mantinea was divided into four separate villages, just as the people had dwelt in ancient times. And at first they were displeased, because they were compelled to tear down the houses which they had and to build others; but the owners of the landed property, since they not only dwelt nearer to their estates, which were round about the villages, but also enjoyed an aristocratic government and were rid of the troublesome demagogues, were pleased with what had been done. And the Lacedaemonians sent mustering officers to them, not singly, but one for each village. Moreover, they came from their villages for service in the Lacedaemonian army far more zealously than when they were under a democratic government. Thus ended the affair of the Mantineans, whereby men were made wiser in this point at least -- not to let a river run through city walls.

Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5.2.6-7



THE ISSUE OF MANTINEIA

- The Mantineian campaign is the most powerful example of how Sparta used the King's Peace and particularly the autonomy clause to further and strengthen its position as imperial power in the Greek world.



THE SEIZURE OF THE KADMEIA (382)

Now one could mention many other incidents, both among Greeks and barbarians, to prove that the gods do not fail to take heed of the wicked or of those who do unrighteous things; but at present I will speak of the case which is before me. The Lacedaemonians, namely, who had sworn that they would leave the states independent, after seizing possession of the Acropolis of Thebes were punished by the very men, unaided, who had been thus wronged, although before that time they had not been conquered by any single one of all the peoples that ever existed; while as for those among the Theban citizens who had led them into the Acropolis and had wanted the state to be in subjection to the Lacedaemonians in order that they might rule despotically themselves, just seven of the exiles were enough to destroy the government of these men. How all this came to pass I will proceed to relate.

Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5.4.1



THE SEIZURE OF THE KADMEIA

- The seizure of the Kadmeia was a deadly insult to Thebes and created a powerfully pro-Theban climate in Boeotia.
- Even pro-Spartan parties and individuals, like Xenophon, considered the seizure of the Kadmeia a bad move and, in the case of Xenophon, an impiety.
- In general, seizing and holding the centre of a polis was a very rare event in Greek warfare, especially when done under truce.



THE JUDGEMENT OF PHOEBIDAS

For this act the Lacedaemonians, being now discredited in the eyes of the Greeks, punished Phoebidas with a fine but would not remove the garrison from Thebes.

Diodoros 15.20

When these things had been accomplished, they chose another polemarch in place of Ismenias, but Leontiades proceeded at once to Lacedaemon. There he found the ephors and the majority of the citizens angry with Phoebidas because he had acted in this matter without authorization by the state. Agesilaus, however, said that if what he had done was harmful to Lacedaemon, he deserved to be punished, but if advantageous, it was a time-honoured custom that a commander, in such cases, had the right to act on his own initiative. “It is precisely this point, therefore,” he said, “which should be considered, whether what has been done is good or bad for the state.”

Xenophon *Hellenika* 5.2.32



PHOEBIDAS AND SPARTAN POLICY

- The lack of punishment to Phoebidas for an unwarranted act of aggression made Sparta extremely unpopular not only in Boiotia but all over Greece.
- Like in the siege of Plataia in the Peloponnesian War, the Spartans are seen as caring only for the good of Sparta.
- But this time it is not at a time of war and Sparta is clearly the aggressor (in the case of Plataia, the aggressor was Thebes).



THE HEIGHT OF SPARTAN POWER

With the enrolment of the Olynthians in the Spartan alliance many other states likewise were eager to enlist under the Lacedaemonian standard. As a result the Lacedaemonians at this particular juncture reached their greatest power and won the overlordship of Greece on both land and sea. For the Thebans were secured by a garrison; the Corinthians and the Argives were safely humbled as a result of the previous wars; the Athenians, because of their policy of occupying with colonists the lands of those whom they subdued, had a bad reputation with the Greeks; the Lacedaemonians, however, had given their constant attention to securing a large population and practice in the use of arms, and so were become an object of terror to all because of the strength of their following. Consequently the greatest rulers of that time, the Persian King and Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily, paid court to the Spartan overlordship and sought alliance with them.

Diodoros 15.23.3-5



THE HEIGHT OF SPARTAN POWER

- 380 BCE was the nominal height of Spartan power.
- All of Sparta's enemies were defeated and under Spartan authority.
- Athens, Corinth, Thebes and Olynthos were no longer in position to threaten Sparta's supremacy.



THE BEGINNING OF THE END

- Sparta loses its power quite quickly.
- The 370s is a time of major changes in the Greek world.
- Thebes and Athens will gain considerable power in this decade and will individually, and together, challenge Sparta's power.



THE LIBERATION OF THE KADMEIA

During their term of office what is known as **the Boeotian War** broke out between the Lacedaemonians and the Boeotians for the following reasons. When the Lacedaemonians maintained a garrison unjustly in the Cadmeia and had exiled many important citizens, the exiles gathered together, secured the support of the Athenians, and returned by night to their native city. Having first slain in their own houses those who favoured the Lacedaemonian cause, whom they surprised while still asleep, they next rallied the citizens to the cause of freedom and **obtained the co-operation of all the Thebans**. When the populace had quickly assembled under arms, at daybreak they attempted to assault the Cadmeia. **The Lacedaemonians who formed the garrison of the citadel, numbering with their allies not less than fifteen hundred, sent men to Sparta to announce the insurrection of the Thebans and to urge them to send help as soon as possible.** Favoured by their position, they slew many of the attackers and wounded severely no small number. The Thebans, anticipating the arrival of a large army from Greece to aid the Lacedaemonians, dispatched envoys to Athens to remind them that they too once aided in restoring the democracy of the Athenians at the time when the Athenians had been enslaved by the Thirty Tyrants, and to **request the Athenians to come with all their forces and assist them in reducing the Cadmeia before the arrival of the Lacedaemonians.**

Diodoros 15.25



THE SECOND ATHENIAN CONFEDERACY

The Athenians sent their most respected citizens as ambassadors to the cities which were subject to the Lacedaemonians, urging them to adhere to the common cause of liberty. For the Lacedaemonians, relying on the size of the force at their disposal, ruled their subject peoples inconsiderately and severely, and consequently many of those who belonged to the Spartan sphere of influence fell away to the Athenians. The first to respond to the plea to secede were the peoples of Chios and Byzantium; they were followed by the peoples of Rhodes and Mytilene and certain others of the islanders; and as the movement steadily gathered force throughout Greece, many cities attached themselves to the Athenians. The democracy, elated by the loyalty of the cities, established a common council of all the allies and appointed representatives of each state. It was agreed by common consent that, while the council should hold its sessions in Athens, every city great and small should be on an equal basis and enjoy but one vote, and that all should continue independent, accepting the Athenians as leaders. The Lacedaemonians, aware that the movement of their cities to secede could not be checked, nevertheless strove earnestly by means of diplomatic missions, friendly words and promises of benefits to win back the peoples who had become estranged. Likewise they devoted themselves assiduously to their preparations for war, for they expected the Boeotian War to be a hard and tedious affair for them, since the Athenians and the rest of the Greeks who participated in the council were allied with the Thebans.



THE NEW ALLIANCE

- With Thebes rebelling against Sparta with Athenian help and the support of the poleis of Boeotia, Sparta faced a long and difficult war in central Greece.
- With the 2nd Athenian Confederacy, Sparta loses its influence over the islands and Thrace, as well as whatever influence it still had in Asia Minor.
- The Athenians and the Thebans are very careful not to break the King's Peace.
- With Thebes and Athens allied, Sparta faced an enemy that has both a strong army and a strong navy.



THE SPARTAN CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THEBES

- The Spartans campaigned annually against Thebes after 379 for the rest of the decade.
- These annual invasions are the main reason why later, Agesilaos was considered the architect of the Spartan downfall, since he pressed the Thebans too much into becoming an effective military force. (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4; Diod. 15.32ff)



THE CRACKS SHOW: THE BATTLE OF TEGYRA (375)

While these things were going on, the Thebans made an expedition against Orchomenus with five hundred picked men and performed a memorable action. For as the Lacedaemonians maintained a garrison of many soldiers in Orchomenus and had drawn up their forces against the Thebans, a stiff battle took place **in which the Thebans, attacking twice their number, defeated the Lacedaemonians. Never indeed had such a thing occurred before; it had seemed enough if they won with many against few.** The result was that the Thebans swelled with pride, became more and more renowned for their valour, and had manifestly put themselves in a position to compete for the supremacy of Greece.

Diodoros 15.37



THE DEFEAT AT NAXOS (376)

- The Spartans were also defeated, this time by the Athenians, in a naval battle at Naxos in 376 BCE.
- By 375, the Spartans had suffered defeats on both land and sea by the anti-Spartan alliance.



THE PEACE OF 375

- In 375 Sparta and Athens concluded a short-lived treaty.
- Both Sparta and Athens were greatly alarmed at the power that Thebes was gaining in leaps and bounds.
- Sparta was now on the defensive against Thebes.



THEBES AND BOEOTIA, 375-371 BCE

- Thebes was not idle after the truce of 375.
- It had managed to achieve its main and basic aim of unifying Boiotia under its leadership.
- Now the Thebans did not fight alone but had the power of the other Boiotian poleis behind them, giving them support and numbers.



THE PEACE CONFERENCE OF 371

- In the Peace Conference of 371 was an effort by Sparta and Athens to curtail Theban power.
- The unification of Boeotia had alarmed greatly both Sparta and Athens.
- The Spartans tried to convince the Thebans to sign as an individual polis, not as representatives and hegemon of Boeotia.
- The Thebans refused, which prompted another invasion of Boiotia by Sparta.



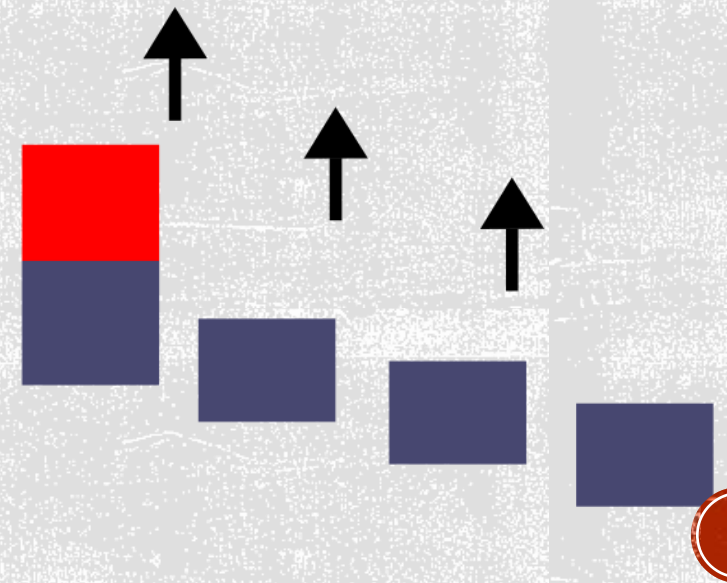
LEUKTRA, 371

- The Battle of Leuktra was the great moment of defeat for Sparta.
- Of the 700 homoioi present in the Spartan army at Leuktra, 400 died.
- The Thebans won the battle due to their better formation of the deepened left flank.
- Sparta was defeated in its own game, the hoplite battle.



HOPLITE TACTICS AT LEUKTRA

- Top: Typical phalanx arrangement
- Bottom: The Sparta and Theban lines at Leuktra
- Red are the elite troops. For Sparta, this was Spartiatae. For Thebes, this was the Sacred Band





OLIGANTHROPIA

- Oliganthropia is the decline of citizen manpower.
- It is considered by Aristotle and the majority of modern scholars to have been the main reason behind the abrupt decline of Sparta in the 370s.





SPARTAN POPULATION

- In the sources the total number of the population of Lakonia and Messenia is never mentioned; probably because it was unknown at the time (the Greeks did not make censuses)
- There are, however, ways to calculate a possible population for Lakonia and Messenia.



A POSSIBLE POPULATION FIGURE

- An easy way to calculate possible population figures is through the carrying ability of the land.
- The Carrying Ability of the Land is *the number of people that could be fed by the grain (usually barley) production of the chora of the polis in a standard year*



THE CARRYING ABILITY OF SPARTA AND MESSENIA

- Lakonia and Messenia have a total area of 8500 km².
- About 30% of the land is cultivable.
- An adult male eats about 5 medimnoi of wheat per year (200 kg).
- Lakonia and Messenia could theoretically feed about 450,000 people.



OLIGANTHROPIA AND POPULATION

- There is no evidence or reason to assume that oliganthropia had anything to do with population decline in Sparta.
- Short-term population declines can be attributed to severe long-term plagues, war or long famine periods.
- Long-term population decline can only be attributed to a lack of women.



OLIGANTHROPIA AND PROPERTY

As a result of this although the country is capable of supporting fifteen hundred cavalry and thirty thousand heavy-armed troops, they numbered not even a thousand. And the defective nature of their system of land-tenure has been proved by the actual facts of history: the state did not succeed in enduring a single blow, but perished owing to the smallness of its population.

Aristotle *Politics* 1270a29-b6.



POSSIBLE NUMBER OF HOMOIOI IN ARCHAIC PERIOD

Upon their consent to these proposals, proceeding at once to put them into execution, he divided the country of Laconia in general into **thirty thousand equal shares, and the part** attached to the city of Sparta into **nine thousand**; these he distributed among the Spartans, as he did the others to the country citizens. Some authors say that he made but six thousand lots for the citizens of Sparta, and that King Polydorus added three thousand more. Others say that Polydorus doubled the number Lycurgus had made, which, according to them, was but four thousand five hundred.

Plutarch, *Lykourgos* 8



NUMBER OF SPARTAN CITIZEN HOPLITES IN THE PERSIAN WARS

This, then, is how the Greeks fought at Thermopylae. Xerxes then sent for Demaratus and questioned him, saying first, “Demaratus you are a good man. I hold that proven by the plain truth, for things have turned out no differently than you foretold. Now, tell me this: how many Lacedaemonians are left, and how many of them are warriors like these? or is it so with them all?” “My king,” said Demaratus, “the number of the Lacedaemonians is great, and so too the number of their cities. But what you would like to know, I will tell you: there is in Lacedaemon a city called Sparta, **a city of about eight thousand men, all of them equal to those who have fought here;** the rest of the Lacedaemonians are not equal to these, yet they are valiant men.” “And how, Demaratus,” answered Xerxes, “can we overcome those men with the least trouble to ourselves? Come, disclose that to me, for you have been their king and know the plan and order of their counsels.”

Herodotus 7.234



SPARTAN HOMOIOI AT LEUKTRA

The polemarchs, however, seeing that of the whole number of the Lacedaemonians almost a thousand had been killed; seeing, further, that among the Spartiatae themselves, of whom **there were some seven hundred there, about four hundred had fallen**; and perceiving that the allies were one and all without heart for fighting, while some of them were not even displeased at what had taken place, gathered together the most important personages and deliberated about what they should do. And as all thought it best to recover the bodies of the dead by a truce, they finally sent a herald to ask for a truce. After this, then, the Thebans set up a trophy and gave back the bodies under a truce.

Xenophon, *Hellenika* 6.4.15



ARISTOTLE, *POLITICS* 1270A29-B6

They have a tradition that in the earlier reigns they used to admit foreigners to their citizenship, with the result that dearth of population did not occur in those days, although they were at war for a long period; and it is stated that at one time the Spartiates numbered as **many as ten thousand**. However, whether this is true or not, it is better for a state's male population to be kept up by measures to equalize property. The law in relation to parentage is also somewhat adverse to the correction of this evil. For the lawgiver desiring to make the Spartiates as numerous as possible holds out inducements to the citizens to have as many children as possible: for they have a law releasing the man who has been father of three sons from military service, and exempting the father of four from all taxes. **Yet it is clear that if a number of sons are born and the land is correspondingly divided there will inevitably come to be many poor men.**



THE PROBLEM OF OLIGANTHROPIA IN THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

The Athenians, after guarding them that day and night, the next morning set up a trophy in the island, and got ready to sail, giving their prisoners in batches to be guarded by the captains of the galleys; and the Lacedaemonians sent a herald and took up their dead. The number of the killed and prisoners taken in the island was as follows: **four hundred and twenty heavy infantry had passed over; three hundred all but eight were taken alive to Athens; the rest were killed. About a hundred and twenty of the prisoners were Spartans.** The Athenian loss was small, the battle not having been fought at close quarters.

Thucydides 4.38



THE PROBLEM OF OLIGANTHROPIA IN THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR – THE PYLOS AFFAIR

Upon the arrival of the men the Athenians determined to keep them in prison until the peace, and if the Peloponnesians invaded their country in the interval, to bring them out and put them to death. Meanwhile the defence of Pylos was not forgotten; the Messenians from Naupactus sent to their old country, to which Pylos formerly belonged, some of the likeliest of their number, and began a series of incursions into Laconia, which their common dialect rendered most destructive. The Lacedaemonians, hitherto without experience of incursions or a warfare of the kind, finding the Helots deserting, and fearing the march of revolution in their country, began to be seriously uneasy, and in spite of their unwillingness to betray this to the Athenians began to send envoys to Athens, and tried to recover Pylos and the prisoners. The Athenians, however, kept grasping at more, and dismissed envoy after envoy without their having effected anything. Such was the history of the affair of Pylos.

Thucydides 4.41



THE PROBLEM OF OLIGANTHROPIA IN THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

- In Thucydides there are some indications that oliganthropia was already a problem at Sparta, since 120 hostages were very important to the Spartans.
- However, it is also clear that for the historian the main problem for Sparta at the time was the fear of a helot revolt.



OLIGANTHROPIA AND CORRUPTION

For I know that formerly the Lacedaemonians preferred to live together at home with moderate fortunes rather than expose themselves to the corrupting influences of flattery as governors of dependent states. And I know too that in former days they were afraid to be found in possession of gold; whereas nowadays there are some who even boast of their possessions. There were alien acts in former days, and to live abroad was illegal; and I have no doubt that the purpose of these regulations was to keep the citizens from being demoralized by contact with foreigners; and now I have no doubt that the fixed ambition of those who are thought to be first among them is to live to their dying day as governors in a foreign land. **There was a time when they would fain be worthy of leadership; but now they strive far more earnestly to exercise rule than to be worthy of it.** Therefore, in times past the Greeks would come to Lacedaemon and beg her to lead them against reputed wrongdoers; but now many are calling on one another to prevent a revival of Lacedaemonian supremacy. **Yet we need not wonder if these reproaches are levelled at them, since it is manifest that they obey neither their god nor the laws of Lycurgus.**

Xenophon, *Spartan Constitution* 14



OLIGANTHROPIA AND CORRUPTION

- With the influx of wealth after 404 BCE, the differences between rich and poor in Sparta would have appeared greater than before.
- Also, the greater the differences between the wealthy and the poor, the easier for the poor to be resentful.



OLIGANTHROPIA AND THE NON-HOMOIOI

This Cinadon was a young man, sturdy of body and stout of heart, but not one of the peers. And when the ephors asked how he had said that the plan would be carried out, the informer replied that Cinadon had taken him to the edge of the market-place and directed him to count how many Spartiatae there were in the market-place. “And I,” he said, “after counting king and ephors and senators and about forty others, asked ‘Why, Cinadon, did you bid me count these men?’ And he replied: ‘Believe,’ said he, ‘that these men are your enemies, and that all the others who are in the market-place, more than four thousand in number, are your allies.’” In the streets also, the informer said, Cinadon pointed out as enemies here one and there two who met them, and all the rest as allies; and of all who chanced to be on the country estates belonging to Spartiatae, while there would be one whom he would point out as an enemy, namely the master, yet there would be many on each estate named as allies. When the ephors asked how many Cinadon said there really were who were in the secret of this affair, the informer replied that he said in regard to this point that those who were in the secret with himself and the other leaders were by no means many, though trustworthy; the leaders, however, put it this way, that it was they who knew the secret of all the others—**Helots, freedmen, lesser Spartiatae, and Perioeci; for whenever among these classes any mention was made of Spartiatae, no one was able to conceal the fact that he would be glad to eat them raw.**



OLIGANTHROPIA AND THE NON-HOMOIOI

- Under a system of exploitation of the non-homoioi classes as the Spartan, the main problem with declining numbers of the ruling class is the increasing possibility of a successful revolt.
- With homoioi numbers dwindling and non-homoioi numbers rising, the main fear of the Spartans was how to keep their lower classes peaceful.
- With the defeat at Leuktra and the intervention of Thebes in Lakonia and Messenia, the Spartans could no longer keep control of their lower classes and thus had to capitulate.



REACTIONS TO LEUCTRA

Jason of Pherai

- Destroys Herakleia
- Expands North
- Assassinated in 370



THE RISE OF THEBES

- The Spartan defeat at Leuktra revealed the rising star of Thebes.
- However not all Greek poleis were happy with a strong and possibly imperialistic Thebes.
- In the peace of 371/0 (immediately after Leuktra), which was instigated by Athens, Thebes did not participate.



REACTIONS TO LEUKTRA

As for the Thebans, immediately after the battle they sent to Athens a garlanded messenger, and while telling of the greatness of their victory, they at the same time urged the Athenians to come to their aid, saying that now it was possible to take vengeance upon the Lacedaemonians for all the harm they had done to them. Now the Senate of the Athenians chanced to be holding its sitting on the Acropolis. And when they heard what had taken place, it was made clear to everyone that they were greatly distressed; for they did not invite the herald to partake of hospitality and about the matter of aid they gave him no answer. So the herald departed from Athens without having received a reply.

Xenophon, *Hellenika* 4.6.19-20



THEBES AND DEMOCRACY

- Although the Boeotia League was an essentially oligarchic state, it appears that Leuktra provided momentum for a new democratic movement in various poleis.



DEMOCRACY AND FEDERALISM

As a natural result of these proceedings the Mantineans, feeling that they were now entirely independent, all came together and voted to make Mantinea a single city and to put a wall about it. But the Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, thought that it would be a grievous thing if this were done without their approval. They accordingly sent Agesilaus as ambassador to the Mantineans, because he was regarded as an ancestral friend of theirs. Now when he had come to them, the officials refused to assemble for him the Mantinean people but bade him tell them what he desired. He then offered them his promise that, if they would desist from their wall-building for the present, he would arrange matters so that the wall should be constructed with the approval of Lacedaemon and without great expense. **And when they replied that it was impossible to desist, since a resolution to build at once had been adopted by the entire city, Agesilaus thereupon departed in anger.** It did not seem to be possible, however, to make an expedition against them, inasmuch as the peace had been concluded on the basis of independence. Meanwhile some of the Arcadian cities sent men to help the Mantineans in their building, and the Eleans made them a contribution of three talents in money toward the expense of the wall. The Mantineans, then, were occupied with this work.

Xenophon, *Hellenika* 6.5.3-5



THEBES AND FEDERALISM

In the Peloponnese, the Lacedaemonians dispatched Polytropus as general to Arcadia with a thousand citizen hoplites and five hundred Argive and Boeotian refugees. He reached the Arcadian Orchomenus and guarded it closely since it was on friendly terms with Sparta. Lycomedes of Mantinea, general of the Arcadians, with five thousand men styled the elite, came to Orchomenus. As the Lacedaemonians led forth their army from the city a great battle ensued in which the Lacedaemonian general was killed and two hundred others, while the rest were driven into the city. [3] The Arcadians, in spite of their victory, felt a prudent respect for the strength of Sparta and believed that they would not be able by themselves to cope with the Lacedaemonians. **Accordingly, associating Argives and Eleians with themselves, they first sent envoys to Athens requesting them to join in an alliance against the Spartans, but as no one heeded them, they sent an embassy to the Thebans and persuaded them to join an alliance against the Lacedaemonians.** [4] Immediately, then, the Boeotians led out their army, taking some Locrians and Phocians along as allies. Now these men advanced against the Peloponnese under the boeotarchs Epameinondas and Pelopidas, for the other boeotarchs had willingly relinquished the command to these in recognition of their shrewdness in the art of war and their courage. When they reached Arcadia, the Arcadians, Eleians, Argives, and all the other allies joined them in full force. And when more than fifty thousand had gathered, their leaders sitting in council decided to march upon Sparta itself and lay waste all Laconia.



THEBES AND FEDERALISM

- Thebes was a proponent of federalism.
- In the inter-polis political scene in Greece, federal states were more likely to be Theban allies.
- With the Arkadian invitation, Thebes now had a convenient excuse for interfering in the Peloponnese.



THE FIRST THEBAN INVASION

- From Xenophon it appears that the possibility of helot revolt was the deciding factor in the Theban decision to invade Lakonia.
- Note also Xenophon's very brief reference to oliganthropia.



THE FIRST THEBAN INVASION

But while the Thebans listened to this request, they took into account, on the other hand, the fact that Laconia was said to be exceedingly difficult to enter, and that they believed garrisons were posted at the points of easiest access. For Ischolaus was at Oeum, in Sciritis, commanding a garrison composed of emancipated Helots and about four hundred of the youngest of the Tegean exiles; and there was another garrison also at Leuctrum, above Maleatis. The Thebans likewise weighed this consideration, that the force of the Lacedaemonians would gather quickly and that they would fight nowhere better than in their own country. Therefore, taking into account all these things, they were by no means eager to proceed into Lacedaemon. But when people had come from Caryae **telling of the dearth of men**, promising that they would themselves act as guides, and bidding the Thebans slay them if they were found to be practising any deception, and when, further, **some of the Perioeci appeared, asking the Thebans to come to their aid, engaging to revolt if only they would show themselves in the land, and saying also that even now the Perioeci when summoned by the Spartiatae were refusing to go and help them** -- as a result, then, of hearing all these reports, in which all agreed, the Thebans were won over, and pushed in with their own forces by way of Caryae, while the Arcadians went by way of Oeum, in Sciritis.

Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.5.24-5



THE LIBERATION OF MESSENIA

Now Epameinondas, whose nature it was to aim at great enterprises and to crave everlasting fame, counselled the Arcadians and his other allies to resettle Messene, which for many years had remained stripped of its inhabitants by the Lacedaemonians, for it occupied a position well suited for operations against Sparta. When they all concurred, he sought out the remnants of the Messenians, and registering as citizens any others who so wished he founded Messene again, making it a populous city. Among them he divided the land, and reconstructing its buildings restored a notable Greek city and gained the widespread approbation of all men.

Diodoros 15.66.1





THE LIBERATION OF MESSENIA

- The liberation of Messenia meant the end of Spartan supremacy.
- With the loss of Messenia, the basis of the Spartan economy, the excessive kleroi and the helots, were lost.
- Additionally, now Sparta had to contend with a large and potentially powerful enemy at its doorstep.



THE SECOND THEBAN INVASION

- In 369/8, the Thebans invaded Lakonia once again.
- However, this time the invasion was not quite successful, since reinforcements from Syracuse had reached Sparta.



THE HELOTS

As for the people in the city, the women could not even endure the sight of the smoke, since they had never seen an enemy; but the Spartiatae, their city being without walls, were posted at intervals, one here, another there, and so kept guard, thought they were, and were seen to be, very few in number. It was also determined by the authorities to make proclamation to the Helots that if any wished to take up arms and be assigned to a place in the ranks, they should be given a promise that all should be free who took part in the war. **And it was said that at first more than six thousand enrolled themselves, so that they in their turn occasioned fear when they were marshalled together, and were thought to be all too numerous;** but when the mercenaries from Orchomenus remained true, and the Lacedaemonians received aid from the Phliasians, Corinthians, Epidaurians, Pelleneans, and likewise some of the other states, then the Spartiatae were less fearful of those who had been enrolled.

Xenophon, *Hellenika* 6.5.28



THE HELOTS

- Interestingly, the helots of Lakonia did not follow the course of revolt but supported the Spartans.
- However, Xenophon makes it clear that even so, the Spartans were afraid of the large helot contingent in their army and preferred the support of their allies.



THE PERIOIKOI

It now seemed somewhat more certain that they would make no further attempt upon the city; and in fact their army departed thence and took the road toward Helos and Gytheium. And they burned such of the towns as were unwalled and made a three days' attack upon Gytheium, where the Lacedaemonians had their dockyards. There were **some of the Perioeci also who not only joined in this attack, but did regular service with the troops that followed the Thebans.**

Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.5.32



THE PERIOIKOI

- Some of the perioikoi were ready to revolt and supported Thebes.
- However, it is interesting that there was no widespread revolt of the perioikoi, in spite of the support of a Theban force in Lakonia.

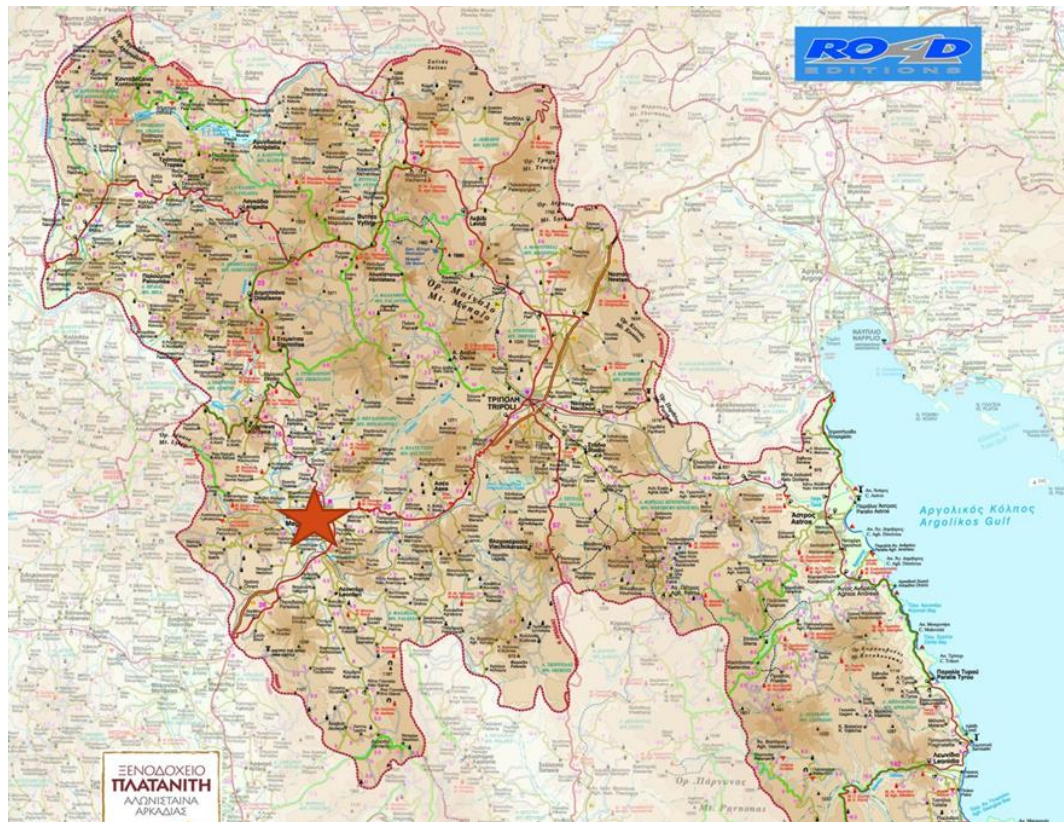


SPARTAN FEARS AND THE NON-HOMOIOI

- Judging from the 6000 helots enrolled to the Spartan army as reported by Xenophon, there was no shortage of personnel for Sparta.
- Spartan fear of helot revolt stopped the reinforcement of the army before the invasion.
- Even after Leuktra the Spartans were not ready to make drastic changes in relation to the helots and other non-homoioi groups



FOUNDATION OF MEGALOPOLIS



- 369/8 Founded with the support of Epaminondas
- Arcadian
- Anti-Spartan



SHIFTING ALLIANCES AND THEBAN PROBLEMS

- Thebes isolates Arkadia
- Athens becomes hostile towards Thebes
- Thessaly hostile towards Thebes
- Rise of the 2nd Athenian League



SPARTAN REVIVAL: THE TEARLESS BATTLE

Shortly after this the Lacedaemonians fought a great battle with the Arcadians and defeated them signally. Indeed since the defeat at Leuctra this was their first stroke of good fortune, and it was a surprising one; for over ten thousand Arcadians fell and not one Lacedaemonian. The priestesses of Dodona had foretold to them that this war would be a tearless one for the Lacedaemonians.

Diodorus 15.72.3-4

- Sparta, under the command of Archidamus (son of Agesilaus II) routed a force of Arcadians, Argives, and Messenians in 367 BCE after capturing Caryae.



PEACE CONFERENCE AT SUSAN 367

- Thebes gains Persian support
- Thebes supports Elean claims to disputed territory with Arcadia



MORE THEBAN PROBLEMS

- Arcadia allies with Athens
- Corinth breaks alliance with Athens and with Thebes
- Arcadia begins a war with Elis
- Arcadia begins to use sacred funds from Olympia
- Mantinea disapproves
- Epaminondas invades
- Thebes and Arcadia vs Elis, Achaëa, Sparta, Athens



THEBAN INVASION

- Agesilaus returns from Satrap's revolt and is given command of army
- Agesilaus marches north
- Epiminondas marches towards Sparta
- Agesilaus returns and protects the city
- Battle outside Mantinea
- Thebans and allies winning until Epiminondas is killed
- Stalemate



AFTERMATH OF MANTINEA AND THE END OF XENOPHON

When these things had taken place, the opposite of what all men believed would happen was brought to pass. For since well-nigh all the people of Greece had come together and formed themselves in opposing lines, there was no one who did not suppose that if a battle were fought, those who proved victorious would be the rulers and those who were defeated would be their subjects; but the deity so ordered it that both parties set up a trophy as though victorious and neither tried to hinder those who set¹ them up, that both gave back the dead under a truce as though victorious, and both received back their dead under a truce as though defeated, and that while each party claimed to be victorious, neither was found to be any better off, as regards either additional territory, or city, or sway, than before the battle took place; but there was even more confusion and disorder in Greece after the battle than before. Thus far be it written by me; the events after these will perhaps be the concern of another.



THE END

- The Battle of Mantinea spelt the end of Spartan power in Greece.
- After Mantinea, Sparta is no more than a disinterested observer in Greek events, not even taking part in the fight against Philip of Macedon or Alexander's conquests.
- Sparta will not become part of the greater scene until the middle Hellenistic period.



COMMON PEACE

- Peace of 362 (koine eirene)
- Applies to all Greek states
- First peace since 386 which does not involve a foreign state
- Except Sparta
 - Agesilaus still in control of Sparta
 - Refuses to accept the loss of Messenia



SPARTA AFTER 362

- Peloponnese divided
- Sparta not dominate over southern half
- Agesilaus dies in 359
- Archidamus replaces him
- Same year Philip becomes de facto king in Macedon



3RD SACRED WAR, 356 BCE

- Waged over control over Delphi
- Thebes had taken control of the Amphictyony after Leuctra
 - Fined Sparta (which it never pays)
- Archidamus gave 15 talents to Phocis to pursue the war



3RD SACRED WAR

- Phocis occupies Delphi in 356
- 353 Phocis defeats Philip in a battle
- 352 Philip marches south of Thermopylae and meets a combined force of Athens, Sparta and Phocis. There is no battle and Philip retreats



ACTIVITY IN THE PELOPONNESE

- 351 BCE: Archidamus and Agis attack Megalopolis with 3000 mercenaries
- No real success



CHAERONEA, 338 BCE

- Sparta does not take part
- Sparta is not included in the “League of Corinth”



PHILIP'S INVASION OF LACONIA 337

- No uprisings
- No attempt to capture Sparta
- Removal of northern Laconian border lands





SPARTAN TERRITORY

