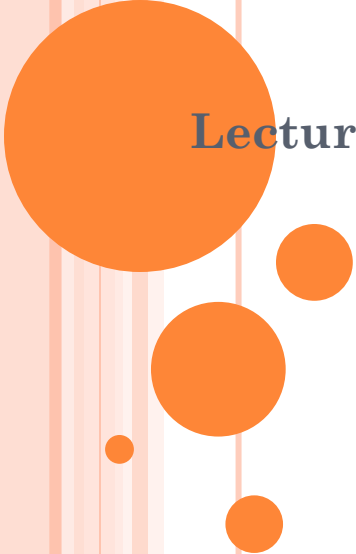




Lecture 8: The Persian Wars

SPARTA: AN EXTRAORDINARY CITY

THE IONIAN REVOLT

- The Ionian Revolt is one of the major events in Greek history, since it precipitated the Greco-Persian conflict.
- Several causes have been suggested for the revolt, but there is no simple answer as to why the Greeks of Asia Minor would revolt against Persia.



THE IONIAN REVOLT: CAUSES

1. Economic burden of Persian tribute, which was still a recent occurrence
2. Lack of political autonomy of the Greek cities – particularly the Persian support for tyranny



THE IONIAN REVOLT: MAJOR FIGURES

- Histiaios of Miletos: Tyrant of Miletos, supposedly original instigator of the revolt according to Herodotus but his relation to the revolt is doubted in modern scholarship
- Aristagoras of Miletos: Tyrant of Miletos, main instigator and leader of the revolt according to Herodotus
- Cleomenes of Sparta: Spartan king at the time of the revolt – refused to help the Ionians
- Mardonius: Persian noble, took over Ionia after the revolt, re-negotiated the tribute and removed the tyrants.



CLEOMENES' BIRTH

At Sparta, Anaxandrides the son of Leon, who had been king, was now no longer alive but was dead, and Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides held the royal power. This he had won not by manly merit but by right of birth...

Herodotus 5.39

Now Cleomenes, as the story goes, was not in his right mind and really quite mad, while Dorieus was first among all of his peers and fully believed that he would be made king for his manly worth. Since he was of this opinion, Dorieus was very angry when at Anaxandrides' death the Lacedaemonians followed their custom and made Cleomenes king by right of age. Since he would not tolerate being made subject to Cleomenes, he asked the Spartans for a group of people whom he took away as colonists. He neither inquired of the oracle at Delphi in what land he should establish his settlement, nor did anything else that was customary but set sail in great anger for Libya, with men of Thera to guide him. When he arrived there, he settled by the Cinyrs river in the fairest part of Libya, but in the third year he was driven out by the Macae, the Libyans and the Carchedonians and returned to the Peloponnesus.

Herodotus 5.42

EMBASSY TO THE SPARTANS

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

Herodotus 5.38



ARISTAGORAS IN SPARTA

It was in the reign of Cleomenes that Aristagoras the tyrant of Miletus came to Sparta. When he had an audience with the king, as the Lacedaemonians report, he brought with him a bronze tablet on which the map of all the earth was engraved, and all the sea and all the rivers. Having been admitted to converse with Cleomenes, Aristagoras spoke thus to him: “Do not wonder, Cleomenes, that I have been so eager to come here, for our present situation is such that the sons of the Ionians are slaves and not free men, which is shameful and grievous particularly to ourselves but also, of all others, to you, inasmuch as you are the leaders of Hellas. **Now, therefore, we entreat you by the gods of Hellas to save your Ionian kinsmen from slavery. This is a thing which you can easily achieve, for the strangers are not valiant men while your valour in war is preeminent.** As for their manner of fighting, they carry bows and short spears, and they go to battle with trousers on their legs and turbans on their heads. [4] Accordingly, they are easy to overcome. Furthermore, the inhabitants of that continent have more good things than all other men together, gold first but also silver, bronze, coloured cloth, beasts of burden, and slaves. All this you can have to your heart's desire. ... **You should suspend your war, then, for strips of land of no great worth—for that fight with with Messenians, who are matched in strength with you, and Arcadians and Argives, men who have nothing in the way of gold or silver (for which things many are spurred by zeal to fight and die).** Yet when you can readily be masters of all Asia, will you refuse to attempt it?”



ARISTAGORAS IN SPARTA

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

Herodotus 5.49-50 (excerpts)

WHY DID SPARTA NOT SUPPORT THE IONIAN REVOLT?

- The reasons for Sparta's unwillingness to get involved in the Ionian Revolt are not certain.
- The Herodotean tradition falls the burden squarely on the shoulders of Cleomenes and on the concept that the Spartans were not fond of foreign wars.
- At the time, however, Sparta had been involved in several actions in mainland Greece and the Aegean, mainly against tyrants.
- It is possible that the Spartans kept their ambitions to the Peloponnesian League and the rest of mainland Greece.
- Also it is possible that the Spartans realised the magnitude and power of the Persian Empire and thus were unwilling to get involved in the revolt.



THE IONIAN REVOLT AND ATHENS

It was when the Athenians had made their decision and were already on bad terms with Persia, that Aristagoras the Milesian, **driven from Sparta by Cleomenes the Lacedaemonian, came to Athens, since that city was more powerful than any of the rest. Coming before the people, Aristagoras spoke to the same effect as at Sparta, of the good things of Asia, and how the Persians carried neither shield nor spear in war and could easily be overcome. This he said adding that the Milesians were settlers from Athens, whom it was only right to save seeing that they themselves were a very powerful people.** There was nothing which he did not promise in the earnestness of his entreaty, till at last he prevailed upon them. **It seems, then, that it is easier to deceive many than one, for he could not deceive Cleomenes of Lacedaemon, one single man, but thirty thousand Athenians he could. The Athenians, now persuaded, voted to send twenty ships to aid the Ionians, appointing for their admiral Melanthius, a citizen of Athens who had an unblemished reputation. These ships were the beginning of troubles for both Greeks and foreigners.**

WHY DID ATHENS GET INVOLVED IN THE IONIAN REVOLT?

- Herodotus presents the Athenian willingness to help the Ionians revolt as a matter of deception on the part of Aristagoras and, to a lesser extent, a matter of kinship alliance with the Ionian Greeks.
- Ambition? Athens at the time was not a major power in the Greek world but may have wanted to become more involved in the international political scene.



THE BURNING OF SARDIS

When the Ionians had come to Ephesus with this force, they left their ships at Coresus in the Ephesian territory and marched inland with a great host, taking Ephesians to guide them on their way. They made their way along the river Caicus, and after crossing the Tmolus, they came to Sardis and captured it without any resistance. They took all of it except the citadel, which was held by Artaphrenes himself with a great force of men. They were prevented from plundering the city by the fact that most of the houses in Sardis were made of reeds, and those made of brick had roofs of reeds. Accordingly, when one of these was set on fire by a soldier, the flames spread from house to house all over the whole city. While the city was burning, the Lydians and all the Persians who were in the citadel, being hemmed in on every side since the fire was consuming the outer parts and having no exit from the city, came thronging into the marketplace and to the river Pactolus, which flows through the marketplace carrying down gold dust from Tmolus and issues into the river Hermus, which in turn issues into the sea. They assembled in the marketplace by this Pactolus and were forced to defend themselves there. When the Ionians saw some of their enemies defending themselves and a great multitude of others approaching, they were afraid and withdrew to the mountain called Tmolus, from where they departed to their ships at nightfall. In the fire at Sardis, a temple of Cybebe, the goddess of that country, was burnt, and the Persians afterwards made this their pretext for burning the temples of Hellas.



THE BURNING OF SARDIS

- The burning of Sardis and particularly that of the temple of Kybele became the ostensible reason for the later invasions of Greece by Persia.
- Of course, that is not the actual reason for the invasions, but it did, to some extent, give the Persians the moral high ground in the conflict (at least before the burning of Athens)



IONIAN FAILURE

When the Persians had conquered the Ionians by sea, they laid siege to Miletus by sea and land, mining the walls and using every device against it, until they utterly captured it in the sixth year after the revolt of Aristagoras. They enslaved the city, and thus the calamity agreed with the oracle concerning Miletus. When the Argives inquired at Delphi about the safety of their city, a common response was given, one part regarding the Argives themselves, but there was an additional response for the Milesians. [2] I will mention the part concerning the Argives when I come to that part of my history; this was the prophecy given to the Milesians in their absence: “Then, Miletus, contriver of evil deeds, For many will you become a banquet and glorious gifts; Your wives will wash the feet of many long-haired men; Other ministers will tend my Didyman shrine!”

Herodotus 6.18-20



IONIAN FAILURE

All this now came upon the Milesians, since most of their men were slain by the Persians, who wore long hair, and their women and children were accounted as slaves, and the temple at Didyma with its shrine and place of divination was plundered and burnt. Of the wealth that was in this temple I have often spoken elsewhere in my history. After that, the captive Milesians were brought to Susa. King Darius did them no further harm, settling them by the sea called Red, in the city of Ampe, by which the river Tigris flows as it issues into the sea. Of the Milesian land the Persians themselves held what was nearest to the city, and the plain, giving the hill country into the possession of Carians from Pedasa.

Herodotus 6.18-20



CONSEQUENCES OF THE IONIAN REVOLT

1. Important Ionian cities, most importantly Miletos, have suffered greatly (politically, economically and in terms of manpower)
2. Persia firmly started to look towards the west for expansion rather than the north, where Darius had concentrated before (expedition to Scythia)



FIRST PERSIAN WAR AND THE BATTLE OF MARATHON

- First invasion took place at the end of Darius' reign.
- The Persian Fleet attacked Naxos and other islands in the Cyclades.
- Then destroyed Eretria and conquered Karystos in Euboea.
- Then attacked Athens by disembarking at Marathon.
- At Marathon the Athenians and their Plataian allies defeated the Persians under the leadership of the Athenian general, Miltiades.



SPARTA AND MARATHON

While still in the city, the generals first sent to Sparta the herald Philippides, an Athenian and a long-distance runner who made that his calling. As Philippides himself said when he brought the message to the Athenians, when he was in the Parthenian mountain above Tegea he encountered Pan. Pan called out Philippides' name and bade him ask the Athenians why they paid him no attention, though he was of goodwill to the Athenians, had often been of service to them, and would be in the future. The Athenians believed that these things were true, and when they became prosperous they established a sacred precinct of Pan beneath the Acropolis. Ever since that message they propitiate him with annual sacrifices and a torch-race. This Philippides was in Sparta on the day after leaving the city of Athens, that time when he was sent by the generals and said that Pan had appeared to him. He came to the magistrates and said, "Lacedaemonians, the Athenians ask you to come to their aid and not allow the most ancient city among the Hellenes to fall into slavery at the hands of the foreigners. Even now Eretria has been enslaved, and Hellas has become weaker by an important city." **He told them what he had been ordered to say, and they resolved to send help to the Athenians, but they could not do this immediately, for they were unwilling to break the law. It was the ninth day of the rising month, and they said that on the ninth they could not go out to war until the moon's circle was full.**



WHY DID SPARTA NOT GO TO MARATHON?

- The religious reasons, although maybe looking specious to us, they were very important to the Spartans, and indeed to other Greeks as well.
- Of course, there is always the suspicion that the Spartans did not want to send a major expeditionary force in fear of helot revolt.



EARTH AND WATER

Xerxes stayed for many days in the region of Pieria while a third part of his army was clearing a road over the Macedonian mountains so that the whole army might pass by that way to the Perrhaebian country. Now it was that the heralds who had been sent to Hellas to demand earth, some empty-handed, some bearing earth and water, returned. Among those who paid that tribute were the Thessalians, Dolopes, Enienes, Perrhaebians, Locrians, Magnesians, Melians, Achaeans of Phthia, Thebans, and all the Boeotians except the men of Thespieae and Plataea. Against all of these the Greeks who declared war with the foreigner entered into a sworn agreement, which was this: that if they should be victorious, they would dedicate to the god of Delphi the possessions of all Greeks who had of free will surrendered themselves to the Persians. Such was the agreement sworn by the Greeks. **To Athens and Sparta Xerxes sent no heralds to demand earth, and this he did for the following reason. When Darius had previously sent men with this same purpose, those who made the request were cast at the one city into the Pit and at the other into a well, and bidden to obtain their earth and water for the king from these locations. What calamity befell the Athenians for dealing in this way with the heralds I cannot say, save that their land and their city were laid waste. I think, however, that there was another reason for this, and not the aforesaid.**



EARTH AND WATER: POLICIES

- There is no apparent reason for the Spartan treatment of the heralds; after all heralds were inviolate in the Greek world.
- However, it is evidence of an initial Spartan decision not to even consider medising.
- The same is apparently true for Athens.



THE HELLENIC LEAGUE

These oracles, then, had been given to the Athenians. All the Greeks who were concerned about the general welfare of Hellas met in conference and exchanged guarantees. They resolved in debate to make an end of all their feuds and wars against each other, whatever the cause from which they arose; among others that were in course at that time, the greatest was the war between the Athenians and the Aeginetans. Presently, learning that Xerxes was at Sardis with his army, they planned to send men into Asia to spy out the king's doings and to despatch messengers, some to Argos, who should make the Argives their brothers in arms against the Persian, some to Gelon son of Dinomenes in Sicily, some to Corcyra, praying aid for Hellas, and some to Crete. This they did in the hope that since the danger threatened all Greeks alike, all of Greek blood might unite and work jointly for one common end. Now the power of Gelon was said to be very great, surpassing by far any power in Hellas.

Herodotus 7.145



THE HELLENIC LEAGUE AND SPARTA

- The Hellenic League is the first case of the Greek poleis uniting in a military alliance. Such events in Greek history are few and far between.
- Sparta is from the very beginning one of the most important members of the League and, given its attitude towards Persian overtures, it appears that the Spartans wanted leadership of this alliance.



THE SECOND INVASION

- Darius' successor, Xerxes, was the Great King at the time of the second invasion.
- Unlike the previous occasion, this time the Persians combined land and naval forces.
- The numbers provided by Herodotus on the Persian army and navy are believed to be grossly exaggerated.



THE SECOND INVASION

- Initially the Greeks wanted to stop Xerxes' army at Tempe in Thessaly.
- However the medising of the Thessalians meant that the plan could not go through.



THE SECOND INVASION

- Since Tempe was unavailable, the Greeks decided to make their stand further south, at Thermopylae for the land forces and at Artemision for the navy.



LEONIDAS

Each city had its own general, but the one most admired and the leader of the whole army was a Lacedaemonian, Leonidas, son of Anaxandrides, son of Leon, son of Eurycratides, son of Anaxandrus, son of Eurycrates, son of Polydorus, son of Alcamenes, son of Teleclus, son of Archelaus, son of Hegesilaus, son of Doryssus, son of Leobotes, son of Echestratus, son of Agis, son of Eurysthenes, son of Aristodemus, son of Aristomachus, son of Cleodaeus, son of Hyllus, son of Heracles. Leonidas had gained the kingship at Sparta unexpectedly. Since he had two older brothers, Cleomenes and Dorieus, he had renounced all thought of the kingship. Cleomenes, however, died without male offspring, and Dorieus, who had met his end in Sicily, was also no longer alive. The succession therefore fell to Leonidas since he was older than Anaxandrides' youngest son Cleombrotus and had married Cleomenes' daughter. He now came to Thermopylae with the appointed three hundred he had selected, all of whom had sons. He also brought those Thebans whom I counted among the number and whose general was Leontiades son of Eurymachus.

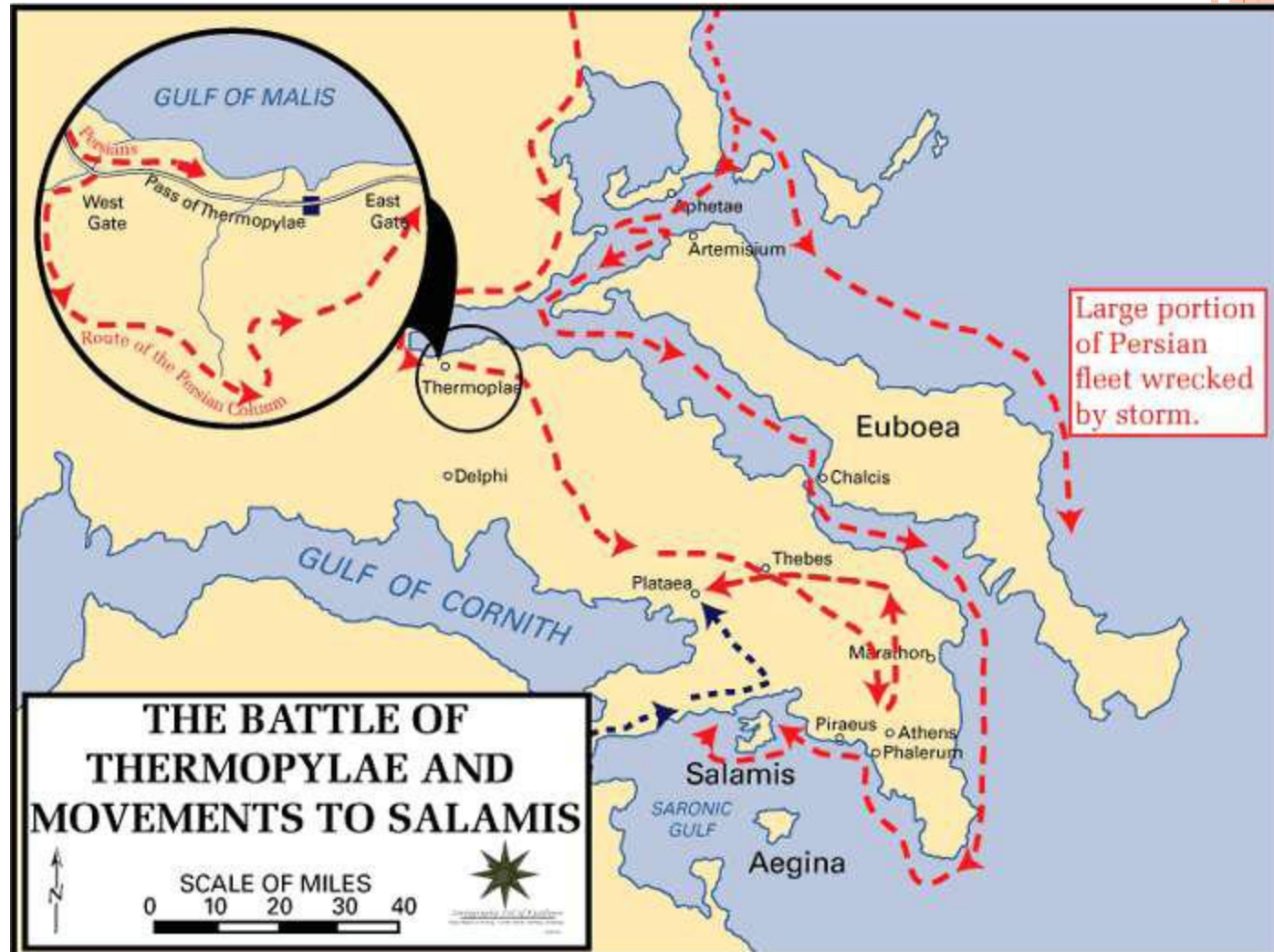
LEONIDAS

- Leonidas is a very strange figure for a Spartan king.
- Unlike the majority of kings and regents known from the classical period, he did not want or expect to become a king.
- His decision to leave Sparta with only his bodyguard went against custom, since the Spartans due to a festival period could not actually fight at the time.



THERMOPYLAE

At Thermopylae, the Greeks were apparently betrayed and the Persians managed to outflank them.



THERMOPYLAE

However, it is important to remember that the last stand at Thermopylae was not suicidal, it had a definite military purpose, since it provided the bulk of the Greek army time to escape to the south.



THE LEGACY

Go tell the Spartans, thou who passest by, That
here, obedient to their laws, we lie.

Epigram by Simonides for the 299 Spartans who
fell at Thermopylae (Transl: W. L. Bowles)



SALAMIS

When Eurybiades, who had the command of the fleet on account of the superior claims of Sparta, but who was faint-hearted in time of danger, wished to hoist sail and make for the Isthmus, where the infantry also of the Peloponnesians had been assembled, it was Themistocles who spoke against it, and it was then, they say, that these memorable sayings of his were uttered. When Eurybiades said to him, “Themistocles, at the games those who start too soon get a caning,” “Yes,” said Themistocles, “but those who lag behind get no crown.”

Plutarch *Themistocles* 11.2



SALAMIS

- The Spartans had secured leadership over the fleet as well as over the allied Greek army, in spite of not having the greatest fleet.
- They also, just like everyone but the Athenians, did not want to fight at Salamis but preferred the Isthmus of Corinth.
- This preference was not a matter of cowardice but strategy since at the Isthmus, unlike Salamis, the army and the navy could support each other.



PLATAIA

- The Athenian generals went to the right wing and told Pausanias what they had heard from Alexander. At the message Pausanias was terrified by the Persians, and said: “Since, therefore, the battle is to begin at dawn, it is best that you Athenians should take your stand opposite the Persians, and we opposite the Boeotians and the Greeks who are posted opposite you; for you have fought with the Medes at Marathon and know them and their manner of fighting while we have no experience or knowledge of those men. We Spartans have experience of the Boeotians and Thessalians, but not one of us has experience with the Medes. No, rather let us take up our equipment and change places, you to this wing and we to the left.” “We, too,” the Athenians answered, “even from the moment when we saw the Persians posted opposite you, had it in mind to make that suggestion which now has first come from you. We feared, however, that we would displease you by making it. But since you have spoken the wish yourselves, we too hear your words very gladly and are ready to do as you say.

PLATAIA

- The victory at Plataia was the greatest Greek victory over Persia.
- The Spartans were once again the leaders of the alliance and also the strategists that allowed the Greeks to win against superior numbers.



THE LEGACY OF THE PERSIAN WARS

Here I am forced to declare an opinion which will be displeasing to most, but I will not refrain from saying what seems to me to be true. Had the Athenians been panic-struck by the threatened peril and left their own country, or had they not indeed left it but remained and surrendered themselves to Xerxes, none would have attempted to withstand the king by sea. What would have happened on land if no one had resisted the king by sea is easy enough to determine. Although the Peloponnesians had built not one but many walls across the Isthmus for their defence, they would nevertheless have been deserted by their allies (these having no choice or free will in the matter but seeing their cities taken one by one by the foreign fleet), until at last they would have stood alone. They would then have put up quite a fight and perished nobly. Such would have been their fate. Perhaps, however, when they saw the rest of Hellas siding with the enemy, they would have made terms with Xerxes. In either case Hellas would have been subdued by the Persians, for I cannot see what advantage could accrue from the walls built across the isthmus, while the king was master of the seas. As it is, to say that the Athenians were the saviours of Hellas is to hit the truth. It was the Athenians who held the balance; whichever side they joined was sure to prevail; choosing that Greece should preserve her freedom, the Athenians roused to battle the other Greek states which had not yet gone over to the Persians and, after the gods, were responsible for driving the king off. Nor were they moved to desert Hellas by the threatening oracles which came from Delphi and sorely dismayed them, but they stood firm and had the courage to meet the invader of their country.



THE LEGACY OF THE PERSIAN WARS

- The Persian Wars became a point of propaganda in the classical period.
- The Athenians considered themselves the saviours of Hellas, something reflected in Herodotus, because of Marathon and Salamis.
- The Spartans also considered themselves the protagonists in the victory because of their overall leadership, Thermopylae and Plataia.
- Although our sources are mainly Athenian and influenced by Athenian propaganda on the matter, the Persian Wars, and particularly Thermopylae, were considered the greatest moment of Spartan history by the Greeks.



THE DESIRE FOR EMPIRE

- The post-Persian Wars period is best known to us as the period of the Athenian Empire.
- In general terms, it is not until the end of the 5th century that Sparta is considered a viable imperial power.
- However, immediately after the Persian Wars it appears that Sparta did covet imperial power.



THE WALLS OF ATHENS

Perceiving what they were going to do, the Lacedaemonians sent an embassy to Athens. **They would have themselves preferred to see neither her nor any other city in possession of a wall; though here they acted principally at the instigation of their allies, who were alarmed at the strength of her newly acquired navy, and the valour which she had displayed in the war with the Medes. They begged her not only to abstain from building walls for herself, but also to join them in throwing down the walls that still held together of the ultra-Peloponnesian cities. The real meaning of their advice, the suspicion that it contained against the Athenians, was not proclaimed; it was urged that so the barbarian, in the event of a third invasion, would not have any strong place, such as he now had in Thebes, for his base of operations; and that Peloponnese would suffice for all as a base both for retreat and offence. After the Lacedaemonians had thus spoken, they were, on the advice of Themistocles, immediately dismissed by the Athenians, with the answer that ambassadors should be sent to Sparta to discuss the question.**



THE WALLS OF ATHENS

Themistocles told the Athenians to send him off with all speed to Lacedaemon, but not to despatch his colleagues as soon as they had selected them, but to wait until they had raised their wall to the height from which defence was possible. Meanwhile the whole population in the city was to labour at the wall, the Athenians, their wives and their children, sparing no edifice, private or public, which might be of any use to the work, but throwing all down. After giving these instructions, and adding that he would be responsible for all other matters there, he departed. Arrived at Lacedaemon he did not seek an audience with the authorities, but tried to gain time and made excuses. When any of the government asked him why he did not appear in the assembly, he would say that he was waiting for his colleagues, who had been detained in Athens by some engagement; however, that he expected their speedy arrival, and wondered that they were not yet there.

THE WALLS OF ATHENS

- The Spartan policy to stop Athens from rebuilding its fortifications, although it failed, shows that the Spartans as early as c.478 were afraid of a surge of Athenian power.
- Since Athenian power was clearly naval at the time, lack of fortifications would mean that Athens would be vulnerable to an attack by land.



PAUSANIAS

Before held in high honour by the Hellenes as the hero of Plataea, Pausanias, after the receipt of this letter, became prouder than ever, and could no longer live in the usual style, but went out of Byzantium in a Median dress, was attended on his march through Thrace by a bodyguard of Medes and Egyptians, kept a Persian table, and was quite unable to contain his intentions, but betrayed by his conduct in trifles what his ambition looked one day to enact on a grander scale. He also made himself difficult of access, and displayed so violent a temper to every one without exception that no one could come near him. Indeed, this was the principal reason why the confederacy went over to the Athenians.

Thucydides 1.130

PAUSANIAS

- The career of Pausanias the regent is anything but simple.
- However his actions after Plataia show that Sparta was willing to go on leading the Greek world even after the immediate threat of Persia had gone.
- The corruption and political blunders of Pausanias may have lost Sparta its empire in the immediate aftermath of the Persian Wars.



THE HETOIMARIDAS DEBATE

- When Dromocleides was archon in Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Marcus Fabius and Gnaeus Manlius. In this year the Lacedaemonians, now that for no good reason they had lost the command of the sea, were resentful; consequently they were incensed at the Greeks who had fallen away from them and continued to threaten them with the appropriate punishment. And when a meeting of the Gerousia was convened, they considered making war upon the Athenians for the sake of regaining the command of the sea. Likewise, when the general Assembly was convened, the younger men and the majority of the others were eager to recover the leadership, believing that, if they could secure it, they would enjoy great wealth, Sparta in general would be made greater and more powerful, and the estates of its private citizens would receive a great increase of prosperity. They kept calling to mind also the ancient oracle in which the god commanded them to beware lest their leadership should be a "lame" one, and the oracle, they insisted, meant nothing other than the present; for "lame" indeed their rule would be if, having two leaderships, they should lose one of them.



THE HETOIMARIDAS DEBATE

Since practically all the citizens had been eager for this course of action and the Gerousia was in session to consider these matters, no one entertained the hope that any man would have the temerity to suggest any other course. But a member of the Gerousia, Hetoemaridas by name, who was a direct descendant of Heracles and enjoyed favour among the citizens by reason of his character, undertook to advise that they leave the Athenians with their leadership, since it was not to Sparta's interest, he declared, to lay claim to the sea. He was able to bring pertinent arguments in support of his surprising proposal, so that, against the expectation of all, he won over both the Gerousia and the people. And in the end the Lacedaemonians decided that the opinion of Hetoemaridas was to their advantage and abandoned their zest for the war against the Athenians. As for the Athenians, at first they expected to have a great war with the Lacedaemonians for the command of the sea, and for this reason were building additional triremes, raising a large sum of money, and dealing honourably with their allies; but when they learned of the decision of the Lacedaemonians, they were relieved of their fear of war and set about increasing the power of their city.

THE HETOIMARIDAS DEBATE

- The Hetoimaridas debate belongs to the mid-470s but scholars have long debated whether it actually happened or it is the invention of some historian.
- However, Sparta clearly, judging from its policy on the Athenian walls and Pausanias, had some ambition towards empire after the Persian Wars.



SPARTA AND EMPIRE

- Although Sparta did not manage to keep its leading position over Greece and the Aegean after the Persian Wars, her power remained great.
- Athens got maritime supremacy but Sparta continued to hold sway over the Peloponnese and central Greece.



FOLLOW-UP READING

- Cartledge, Paul. *Sparta and Lakonia: A Regional History, 1300-362 BCE*, London, 2002, pp. 171-191. (Chapter 11)
- Herodotus *Histories* Book 7

