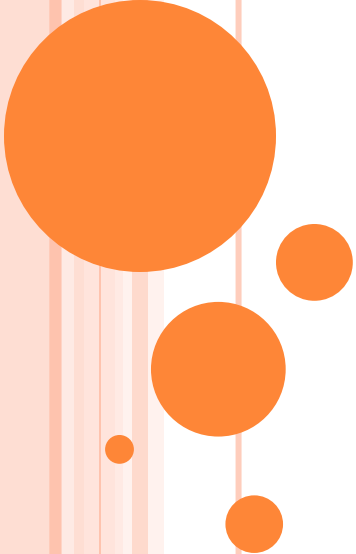




SPARTA: AN EXTRAORDINARY CITY

Lecture 14: Lysander

SPARTAN STRATEGY OPTIONS

- Aegean Strategy:
 - Support of Chios
 - Influence of Alcibiades
- Hellespontine Strategy
 - Blockade the Hellespont
 - Control Athens grain supply



SPARTA GETS A NAVY

The Lacedaemonians now issued a requisition to the cities for building a hundred ships, fixing their own quota and that of the Boeotians at twenty-five each; that of the Phocians and Locrians together at fifteen; that of the Corinthians at fifteen; that of the Arcadians, Pellenians, and Sicyonians together at ten; and that of the Megarians, Troezenians, Epidaurians, and Hermionians together at ten also; and meanwhile made every other preparation for commencing hostilities by the spring.

Thucydides 8.3.2



FIRST TREATY WITH THE KING

The Lacedaemonians and their allies made a treaty with the king and Tissaphernes upon the terms following:—

1. Whatever country or cities the king has, or the king's ancestors had, shall be the king's; and whatever came in to the Athenians from these cities, either money or any other thing, the king and the Lacedaemonians and their allies shall jointly hinder the Athenians from receiving either money or any other thing.
2. The war with the Athenians shall be carried on jointly by the king and by the Lacedaemonians and their allies; and it shall not be lawful to make peace with the Athenians except both agree, the king on his side and the Lacedaemonians and their allies on theirs.
3. If any revolt from the king they shall be the enemies of the Lacedaemonians and their allies. And if any revolt from the Lacedaemonians and their allies they shall be the enemies of the king in like manner.

Thucydides 8.18



SECOND TREATY WITH THE KING

The convention of the Lacedaemonians and the allies with King Darius and the sons of the king, and with Tissaphernes for a treaty and friendship, as follows:—

1. Neither the Lacedaemonians nor the allies of the Lacedaemonians shall make war against or otherwise injure any country or cities that belong to King Darius or did belong to his father or to his ancestors: neither shall the Lacedaemonians nor the allies of the Lacedaemonians exact tribute from such cities. Neither shall King Darius nor any of the subjects of the king make war against or otherwise injure the Lacedaemonians or their allies.
2. If the Lacedaemonians or their allies should require any assistance from the king, or the king from the Lacedaemonians or their allies, whatever they both agree upon they shall be right in doing.
3. Both shall carry on jointly the war against the Athenians and their allies; and if they make peace, both shall do so jointly.
4. The expense of all troops in the king's country, sent for by the king, shall be borne by the king.
5. If any of the states comprised in this convention with the king attack the king's country, the rest shall stop them and aid the king to the best of their power. And if any in the king's country or in the countries under the king's rule attack the country of the Lacedaemonians or their allies, the king shall stop it and help them to the best of his power.



ALKIBIADES

- Affair with Agis' wife?
- Moves to Tissaphernes' court at Sardis
- Attempts to win Tissaphernes to Athenian side or reduce support for Sparta
- Suggests if Athens overthrows its democracy and recall him, he could get them Persian support



THIRD TREATY WITH THE KING

Still more he (Tissaphernes) feared that the Peloponnesians might ravage the continent in search of supplies. Having calculated and considered all this, agreeably to his plan of keeping the two sides equal, he now sent for the Peloponnesians and gave them pay, and concluded with them a third treaty in words following:

Thucydides 8.57



THIRD TREATY WITH THE KING

In the thirteenth year of the reign of Darius, while Alexippidas was Ephor at Lacedaemon, a convention was concluded in the plain of the Moeander by the Lacedaemonians and their allies with Tissaphernes, Hieramenes, and the sons of Pharnaces, concerning the affairs of the king and of the Lacedaemonians and their allies.

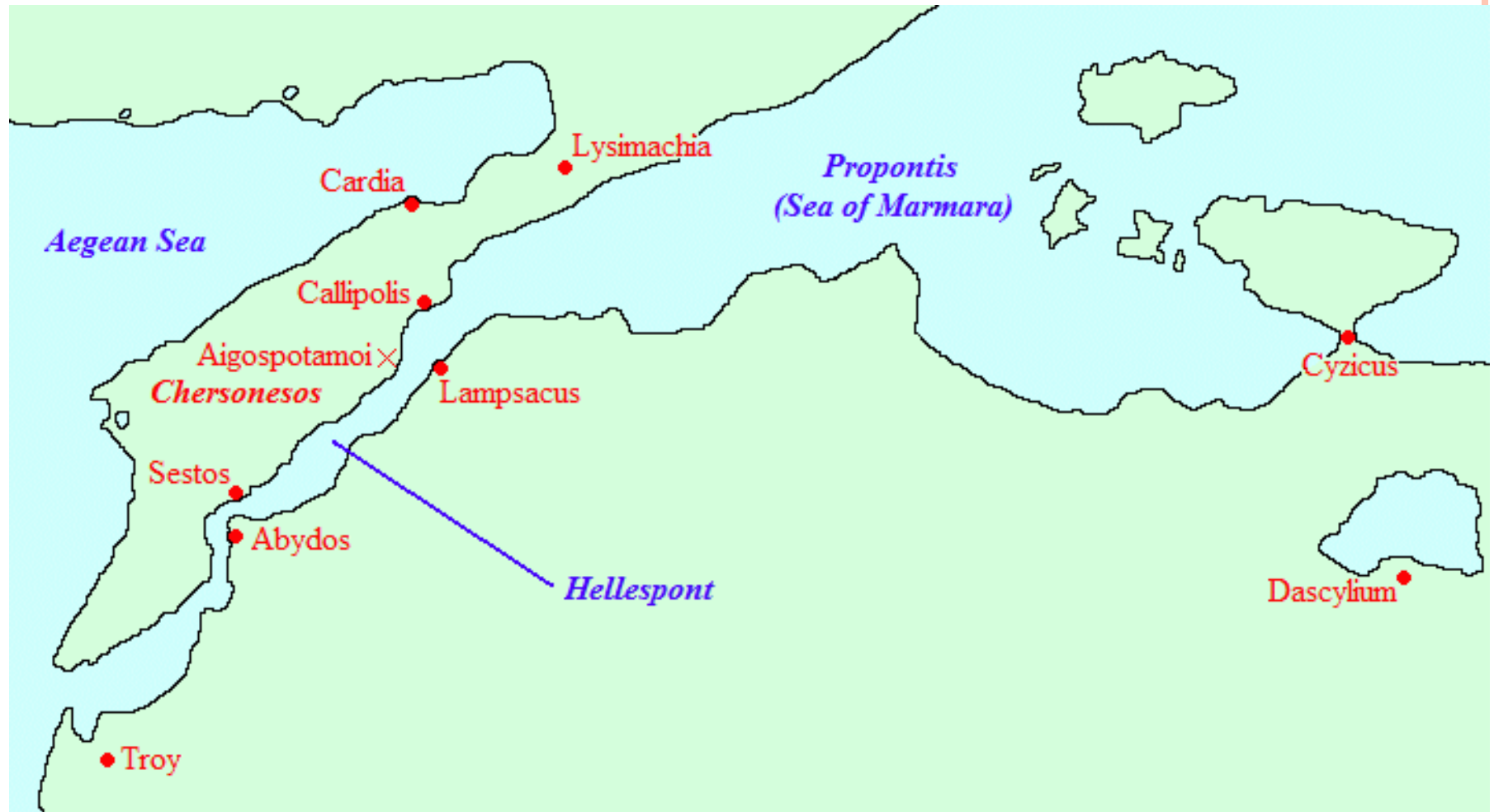
1. The country of the king in Asia shall be the king's, and the king shall treat his own country as he pleases.
2. The Lacedaemonians and their allies shall not invade or injure the king's country; neither shall the king invade or injure that of the Lacedaemonians or of their allies. If any of the Lacedaemonians or of their allies invade or injure the king's country, the Lacedaemonians and their allies shall prevent it; and if any from the king's country invade or injure the country of the Lacedaemonians or of their allies, the king shall prevent it.
3. Tissaphernes shall provide pay for the ships now present, according to the agreement, until the arrival of the king's vessels; but after the arrival of the king's vessels the Lacedaemonians and their allies may pay their own ships if they wish it. If, however, they choose to receive the pay from Tissaphernes, Tissaphernes shall furnish it; and the Lacedaemonians and their allies shall repay him at the end of the war such monies as they shall have received.
4. After the king's vessels have arrived, the ships of the Lacedaemonians and of their allies and those of the king shall carry on the war jointly, according as Tissaphernes and the Lacedaemonians and their allies shall think best. If they wish to make peace with the Athenians, they shall make peace also jointly.

NEW STRATEGY?

- Spartans sent Dercylidas to the Hellespont by land from Miletus
- Gains on both sides (Lampsacus is taken by Sparta, then Athens, Abydus by Sparta)
- Clearchus wins over Byzantium
- Asia cities, not completely happy with agreement with the Persians
- Alcibiades is now general in Athens again
- Athens defeats Sparta in a naval battle off Cynossema



HELLESPONT



PERSIAN AID

- The Spartans allied themselves with the Persian satraps of Asia Minor against Athens.
- The payment that Sparta had to pay to secure Persian help was to give up any right to Asia Minor.
- In effect, the Greek cities of Asia Minor, which were under Athenian domination, now again came under the dominion of the King.



LIBERATOR?

- Sparta in its deal with Persia attempts to liberate the Greek cities of the Aegean, Asia Minor and Thrace from Athenian domination.
- While the cities of the Aegean and Thrace are not further affected, for the Greeks of Asia Minor the deal with Persia meant merely a change of masters.
- Asia Minor, politically and diplomatically, returns to the situation before the defeat of Xerxes.
- The giving up of Asia Minor had important moral and political consequences for Sparta, since it seems to side with the ancestral enemy, Persia, and even worse to aid Persia in achieving dominion over Greeks.



END OF THUCYDIDES

Tissaphernes upon hearing of this act of the Peloponnesians in addition to what had occurred at Miletus and Cnidus, where his garrisons had been also expelled, now saw that the breach between them was serious; and fearing further injury from them, and being also vexed to think that Pharnabazus should receive them, and in less time and at less cost perhaps succeed better against Athens than he had done, determined to rejoin them in the Hellespont, in order to complain of the events at Antandros and excuse himself as best he could in the matter of the Phoenician fleet and of the other charges against him. Accordingly he went first to Ephesus and offered sacrifice to Artemis.

Thucydides 8.109



CONTINUATION OF THUCYDIDES?

After this, not many days later, Thymochares came from Athens with a few ships; and thereupon the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians fought another naval battle, and the Lacedaemonians were victorious, under the leadership of Agesandridas.

Shortly after this, at the beginning of the winter, Dorieus, the son of Diagoras, sailed into the Hellespont from Rhodes with fourteen ships, arriving at daybreak. And when the Athenian day-watcher described him, he signalled to the generals, and they put out against him with twenty ships; and Dorieus, fleeing from them towards the shore, beached his triremes, as fast as he got them clear of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Rhoeteum. And when the Athenians came near, the men under Dorieus fought, from their ships and from the shore, until the Athenians sailed away to Madytus, to the rest of their fleet, without having accomplished anything.

Xenophon *Hellenika* 1.1



ACCOUNTS TO THE END OF THE WAR

- Xenophon *Hellenika*
- Diodorus Book 13
 - Ephorus
 - ?
- Hellenica Oxyrhynchia
 - Theopompus of Chios?
 - Cratippus of Athens?
- Plutarch *Life of Alcibiades* and *Lysander*



AFTER CYNOSSEMA

- Athens revitalised
- Spartan fleet is partially destroyed by a storm off Mount Athos
- Winter 411/10: Thrasyllus goes to get reinforcements
- Alcibiades goes to visit Tissaphernes
- Mindarus and Pharnabazus captured Cyzicus



BATTLE OF KYZIKOS

As for the generals themselves, they divided the naval force into three squadrons, Alcibiades commanding one, Theramenes another, and Thrasybulus the third. Now Alcibiades with his own squadron advanced far ahead of the others, wishing to draw the Lacedaemonians out to a battle, whereas Theramenes and Thrasybulus planned the manoeuvre of encircling the enemy and, if they sailed out, of blocking their retreat to the city. Mindarus, seeing only the ships of Alcibiades approaching, twenty in number, and having no knowledge of the others, held them in contempt and boldly set sail from the city with eighty ships to attack him. Then, when he had come near the ships of Alcibiades, the Athenians, as they had been commanded, pretended to flee, and the Peloponnesians, in high spirits, pursued after them vigorously in the belief they were winning the victory.

Diodorus 13.50



THE BATTLE OF KYZIKOS

But after Alcibiades had drawn them a considerable distance from the city, he raised the signal; and when this was given, the ships of Alcibiades suddenly at the same time turned about to face the enemy, and Theramenes and Thrasybulus sailed toward the city and cut off the retreat of the Lacedaemonians. The troops of Mindarus, when they now observed multitude of the enemy ships and realized that they had been out generalled, were filled with great fear.... Alcibiades, pursuing him vigorously, sank some ships, damaged and captured others, and the largest number, which were moored on the land itself, he seized and threw grappling-irons on, endeavouring by this means to drag them from the land.

Diodorus 13.50



ARRIVAL OF TISSAPHERNES

He put up a heroic battle about the ships, fighting in person before all his troops, but though he slew many of the opponents, in the end he was killed by the troops of Alcibiades as he battled nobly for his fatherland. When he had fallen, both the Peloponnesians and all allies banded together and broke into terror-stricken flight. The Athenians pursued the enemy for a distance, but when they learned that Pharnabazus was hurrying up at full speed with a strong force of cavalry, they returned to the ships, and after they had taken the city they set up two trophies for the two victories, one for the sea-battle at the island of Polydorus, as it is called, and one for the land-battle where they forced the first flight of the enemy. Now the Peloponnesians in the city and all the fugitives from the battle fled to the camp of Pharnabazus; and the Athenian generals not only captured all the ships but they also took many prisoners and an immeasurable quantity of booty, since they had won the victory at the same time over two armaments of such size.

Diodorus 13.51



THE BATTLE OF KYZIKOS

Meanwhile a letter dispatched to Lacedaemon by Hippocrates, vice-admiral under Mindarus, was intercepted and taken to Athens; it ran as follows: “The ships are gone. Mindarus is dead. The men are starving. We know not what to do.”

Xenophon *Hellenika* 1.1.23



PERSIAN AID

Pharnabazus, however, urged the whole Peloponnesian army and their allies not to be discouraged over a matter of ship timber -- **for he said there was plenty of that in the King's land -- so long as their bodies were safe**; and he not only gave to each man a cloak and subsistence for two months, but he also armed the sailors and set them as guards over his own coastline. Furthermore, calling together the generals and ship-captains from the various states, **he bade them build triremes at Antandrus to equal the number which they had severally lost, giving them money for the purpose and telling them to get timber from Mount Ida.**

Xenophon *Hellenika* 1.1.24



AFTER THE BATTLE OF KYZIKOS

- The three years after the battle of Kyzikos (410-407) are pivotal in the course of the Ionian (or Decelean) War.
- The Athenians have more successes than the Spartans, mainly at sea.
- But the Spartans continue to have a foothold in the Aegean and Asia Minor, mainly due to Persian help.



ALKIBIADES

- Alkibiades had once again switched sides in this period and was now helping the Athenians against Sparta.
- His strategy of concentrating on the Hellespont rather than Ionia or Karia was right for Athens, since Athens depended on the import of grain from the Black Sea to survive.
- Further, Alkibiades managed to convince Tissaphernes, the Persian satrap, to play the two sides of the war against each other, rather than openly support Sparta.



CYRUS THE YOUNGER

As for Pharnabazus and the ambassadors, while they were spending the winter at Gordium, in Phrygia, they heard what had happened at Byzantium. But as they were continuing their journey to the King, at the opening of the spring, **they met not only the Lacedaemonian ambassadors returning,-- Boeotius and his colleagues and the messengers besides, who reported that the Lacedaemonians had obtained from the King everything they wanted,--but also Cyrus, who had come in order to be ruler of all the peoples on the coast and to support the Lacedaemonians in the war.**

Xenophon *Hellenika* 1.4.1



CYRUS THE YOUNGER

- The Persian support of Sparta in 407 translated not only in access to the resources of Asia Minor but also the abandonment of Tissaphernes' policy of playing the two sides against each other.
- Cyrus the younger (son of King Darius II) was expressly sent to Asia Minor to support the Spartan war effort against Athens.



LYSANDER, SPARTAN ADMIRAL

- Lysander was from an old Spartan family that had fallen on hard times.
- He is reported to have been one of the *mothakes* but after completing the *agoge*, he became an *homoios*.
- He had close relations with the son of king Archidamos, the later king Agesilaos.
- In 408/7, he was given the office of admiral of the Spartan and allied forces in the Aegean



LYSANDER AND CYRUS THE YOUNGER

At a banquet which Cyrus gave him as he was about to depart, the prince begged him not to reject the tokens of his friendliness, but to ask plainly for whatever he desired, since nothing whatsoever would be refused him. "Since, then," said Lysander in reply, "thou art so very kind, I beg and entreat thee, Cyrus, to add an obol to the pay of my sailors, that they may get four obols instead of three."

Plutarch *Lysander* 4.3



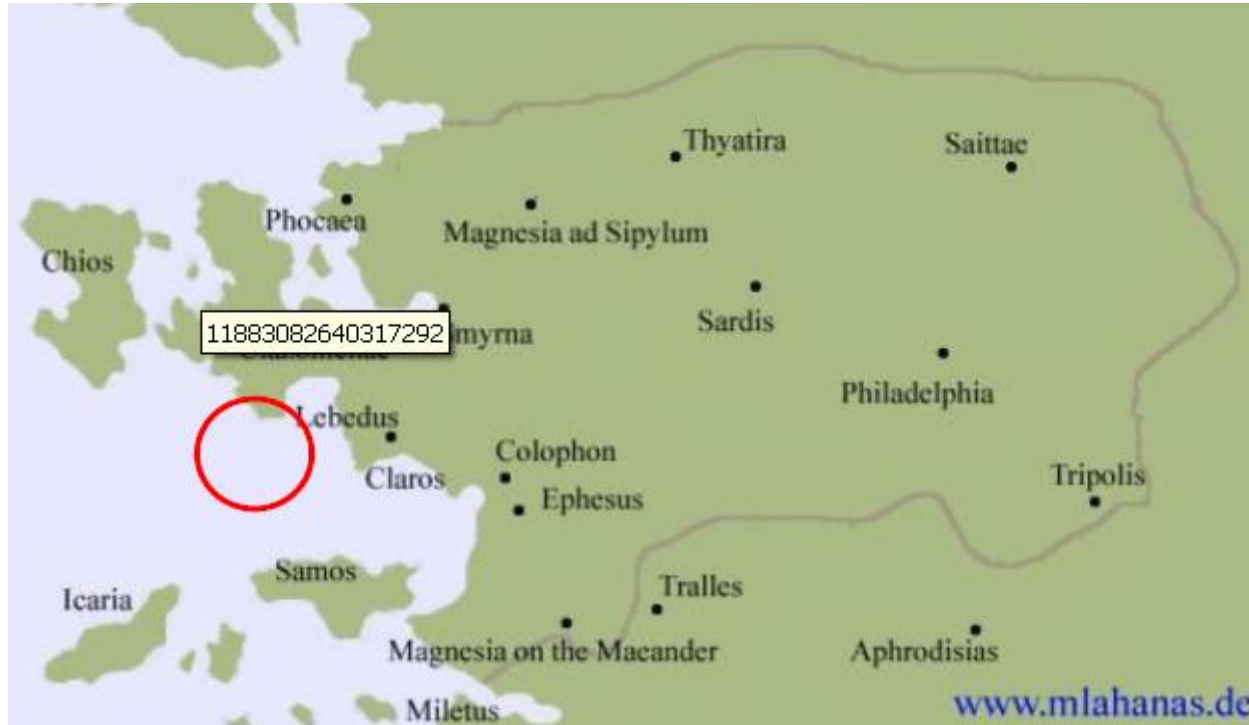
THE BATTLE OF NOTION, 407 BCE

Meantime Alcibiades, hearing that Thrasybulus had come out from the Hellespont and was investing Phocaea, sailed across to see him, leaving in command of the fleet Antiochus, the pilot of his own ship, with orders not to attack Lysander's ships. Antiochus, however, with his own ship and one other sailed from Notium into the harbour of Ephesus and coasted along past the very prows of Lysander's ships. Lysander at first launched a few ships and pursued him, but when the Athenians came to the aid of Antiochus with more ships, he then formed into line of battle every ship he had and sailed against them. Thereupon the Athenians also launched the rest of their triremes at Notium and set out, as each one got a clear course. **From that moment they fell to fighting, the one side in good order, but the Athenians with their ships scattered, and fought until the Athenians took to flight, after losing fifteen triremes.**

Xenophon *Hellenika* 1.5.11-3



AFTERMATH OF NOTION



- The main consequence of the Athenian defeat at Notion was that Alkibiades took the blame and did not return to Athens.
- Thus, Athens lost the main strategist behind its comeback in the period.



THE BATTLE OF ARGINOUSSAI

- The Battle of Arginoussai in 406 BCE was an Athenian victory over the Spartan admiral Kallikratidas.
- The defeat of the Spartans and their allies is attributed by Xenophon specifically to the failures of Kallikratidas, rather than to any question of the quality of seamanship of the Spartans.
- The battle of Arginoussai was the event that led to the trial and execution of the Athenian generals that fought in this battle



AFTERMATH OF ARGINOUSAI

After this victory it was resolved by the Athenian generals...should sail with forty-seven ships to the aid of the disabled vessels and the men on board them, ... But despite their desire to carry out these measures, the wind and a heavy storm which came on prevented them; accordingly, after setting up a trophy, they bivouacked where they were...

...Now the people at home deposed the above-mentioned generals, ... but when the other six came home.... that the others also should be imprisoned and turned over to the Assembly for trial, the Senate imprisoned them.....

...After this they condemned the generals who took part in the battle, eight in all; and the six who were in Athens were put to death.

Xenophon *Hellenika* 1.6-7 excerpts



THE SPARTAN NAVARCHOS (ADMIRAL)

- The office of Navarchos was in Sparta that of the commander of the fleet.
- It was a supreme command and could be given to any homoios.
- A navarchos served for only one year, which was non-repeatable (although that rule could be broken).



LYSANDER AGAIN

- After the defeat at Arginoussai, the Spartans re-instated Lysander as admiral (a circumvention of the rules).
- Lysander not only had the support and friendship of Cyrus but also clearly had strategic talent in matters of naval warfare.



THE BATTLE OF AEGOSPOTAMI

- In 405 BCE, the Athenians were utterly defeated in Aigospotamoi and the larger part of their fleet was captured by Sparta.
- With the loss of their fleet, the Athenians could no longer control the Hellespont or protect the shipping routes that brought the necessary imports of grain to the Peiraeus.
- In less than a year, Athens had capitulated due to starvation.



THE FATE OF ATHENS

Now when Theramenes and the other ambassadors were at Sellasia and, on being asked with what proposals they had come, replied that they had full power to treat for peace, the ephors thereupon gave orders to summon them to Lacedaemon. When they arrived, the ephors called an assembly, at which the Corinthians and Thebans in particular, though many other Greeks agreed with them, opposed making a treaty with the Athenians and favoured destroying their city. The Lacedaemonians, however, said that they would not enslave a Greek city which had done great service amid the greatest perils that had befallen Greece, and they offered to make peace on these conditions: **that the Athenians should destroy the long walls and the walls of Piraeus, surrender all their ships except twelve, allow their exiles to return, count the same people friends and enemies as the Lacedaemonians did, and follow the Lacedaemonians both by land and by sea wherever they should lead the way.**

Xenophon *Hellenika* 2.2.19-20



WHY DID SPARTA NOT DESTROY ATHENS?

- There were probably valid emotional reasons for not destroying Athens due to Marathon and Salamis (although that argument certainly did not work in 427 with Plataia).
- Athens was a powerful polis, even without its navy, and could become a very helpful Spartan ally, especially against Corinth.
- Sparta at the time was looking at an empire in the Aegean and Asia Minor; whatever Athens had done against its own allies, it was not a good idea for Sparta to alienate the Aegean and Asia Minor poleis that had tribal links with Athens.



AFTER 404: THE DEKARCHIES

He also suppressed the democratic, and the other forms of government, and left one **Lacedaemonian harmost in each city**, and **ten rulers** chosen from the political clubs which he had organized throughout the cities. **This he did alike in the cities which had been hostile, and in those which had become his allies, and sailed along in leisurely fashion**, in a manner establishing for himself the supremacy over Hellas. **For in his appointments of the rulers he had regard neither to birth nor wealth, but put control of affairs into the hands of his comrades and partisans, and made them masters of rewards and punishments.**

Plutarch *Lysander* 13



THE DEKARCHIES

- The Dekarchies were closed oligarchies imposed on many poleis in the Aegean and Asia Minor by Lysander.
- The Dekarchies were unaccountable to anyone but themselves.
- They were often supported by a Spartan garrison and their commander, called a harmost.
- The most famous “dekarchy” is that of the 30 Tyrants at Athens.
- Some of the dekarchies were deposed off quickly but others remained in power until the battle of Knidos (394) or even the King’s Peace (386).



SPARTAN IMPERIALISM: LYSANDER

- He also took part himself in many massacres, and assisted in driving out the enemies of his friends. **Thus he gave the Greeks no worthy specimen of Lacedaemonian rule,** nay, even the comic poet Theopompus was thought absurd in likening the Lacedaemonians to tavern-women, because they gave the Greeks a very pleasant sip of freedom, and then dashed the wine with vinegar; **for from the very first the taste was harsh and bitter, since Lysander not only would not suffer the people to be masters of their affairs, but actually put the cities into the hands of the boldest and most contentious of the oligarchs.**

○ Plutarch *Lysander* 13



SPARTAN IMPERIALISM: CRUELTY

For what man dwelt beyond their reach? What man was so far removed from public life that he was not forced into close touch with the disasters into which such creatures plunged us? But in the face of all this, these men, who brought their own cities to such a pitch of anarchy, do not blush to make unjust charges against our city; **nay, to crown their other effronteries, they even have the audacity to talk of the private and public suits which were once tried in Athens, when they themselves put to death without trial more men in the space of three months than Athens tried during the whole period of her supremacy.** And of their banishments, their civil strife, their subversion of laws, their political revolutions, their atrocities upon children, their insults to women, their pillage of estates, who could tell the tale? **I can only say this much of the whole business--the severities under our administration could have been readily brought to an end by a single vote of the people, while the murders and acts of violence under their regime are beyond any power to remedy.**

Isocrates 4.13



SPARTAN IMPERIALISM: THE 30 TYRRANTS

Now at Athens the Thirty had been chosen as soon as the long walls and the walls round Piraeus were demolished; although chosen, however, for the purpose of framing a constitution under which to conduct the government, they continually delayed framing and publishing this constitution, but they appointed a Senate and the other magistrates as they saw fit. Then, as a first step, they arrested and brought to trial for their lives those persons who, by common knowledge, had made a living in the time of the democracy by acting as informers and had been offensive to the aristocrats; and the Senate was glad to pronounce these people guilty, and the rest of the citizens--at least all who were conscious that they were not of the same sort themselves--were not at all displeased.

Xenophon *Hellenika* 2.3.11-12



SPARTAN IMPERIALISM: THE 30 TYRRANTS

When, however, the Thirty began to consider how they might become free to do just as they pleased with the state, their first act was to send Aeschines and Aristoteles to Lacedaemon and persuade Lysander to help them to secure the sending of a Lacedaemonian garrison, to remain until, as they said, they could put “the scoundrels” out of the way and establish their government; and they promised to maintain this garrison at their own charges. Lysander consented, and helped them to secure the dispatch of the troops and of Callibius as governor. But when they had got the garrison, they paid court to Callibius in every way, in order that he might approve of everything they did, and as he detailed guardsmen to go with them, they arrested the people whom they wished to reach,--not now “the scoundrels” and persons of little account, but from this time forth the men who, they thought, were least likely to submit to being ignored, and who, if they undertook to offer any opposition, would obtain supporters in the greatest numbers.

Xenophon *Hellenika* 2.3.13-14



DARK IMPERIALISM

- Sparta as imperial power was more controlling than Athens.
- Where Athens had established clerouchies and financial restitutions, Sparta preferred closed oligarchies and garrisons.
- The overall sentiment in later authors, including Xenophon, on Spartan rule over the Aegean and Asia Minor is negative



LACK OF SUPPORT

- The tendency of Sparta to support oligarchies, particularly the closed type advocated by Lysander, made it few friends and many enemies.
- While the oligarchs were generally pro-Spartan, the majority of the populace quickly stopped looking at Sparta as liberator and started considering it a tyrant.



DIVISIONS IN SPARTA?

While matters were proceeding in this way, **Pausanias the king, seized with envy of Lysander** because, by accomplishing this project, he would not only win fame but also make Athens his own, persuaded three of the five ephors and led forth a Lacedaemonian army. ... Then, sending ambassadors to the men in Piraeus, Pausanias bade them disperse to their homes; and when they refused to obey, he attacked them, at least so far as to raise the war-cry, **in order that it might not be evident that he felt kindly toward them.** ... Thereupon Pausanias set up a trophy and returned to his camp; and despite what had happened he was not angry with them, but **sent secretly and instructed the men in Piraeus to send ambassadors to him and the ephors who were with him, telling them also what proposals these ambassadors should offer; and they obeyed him.**

Xenophon *Hellenika* 2.4.29-35



DIVISIONS IN SPARTA?

He also set about dividing the men in the city, and gave directions that as many of them as possible should gather together and come to him and the ephors and say that they had no desire to be waging war with the men in Piraeus, but rather to be reconciled with them and in common with them to be friends of the Lacedaemonians. [36] Now Naucleidas also, who was an ephor, was pleased to hear this. For, as it is customary for two of the ephors to be with a king on a campaign, **so in this instance Naucleidas and one other were present, and both of them held to the policy of Pausanias rather than to that of Lysander.** For this reason they eagerly sent to Lacedaemon both the envoys from Piraeus, having the proposals for peace with the Lacedaemonians, and the envoys from the city party as private individuals, namely, Cephisophon and Meletus.

Xenophon *Hellenika* 2.4.29-36



LYSANDER AND THE THRONE

But after some time had passed, according to Ephorus, some dispute arose at Sparta with her allies, and it became necessary to inspect the writings which Lysander had kept by him; for which purpose Agesilaus went to his house. **And when he found the book containing the speech on the constitution, which argued that the kingship ought to be taken from the Eurypontidae and Agiadae and made accessible to all Spartans alike, and that the choice should be made from the best of these, he was eager to produce the speech before his countrymen, and show them what the real character of Lysander's citizenship had been.** But Lacratidas, a prudent man, and at that time the principal ephor, held Agesilaus back, saying that they ought not to dig Lysander up again, but rather to bury the speech along with him, since it was composed with such a subtle persuasiveness.



PAUSANIAS AND LYSANDER

- Lysander was a proponent of hard imperialism, while Pausanias appeared to be less harsh towards the allies (new and old).
- However, these opposite foreign policies were probably fuelled by internal Spartan rivalries and by Pausanias' suspicion of Lysander's overall aims.



LYSANDER: THE GOD

For he was the first Greek, as Duris writes, to whom the cities erected altars and made sacrifices as to a god, the first also to whom songs of triumph were sung. One of these is handed down, and begins as follows:

The general of sacred Hellas who came from wide-spaced Sparta will we sing, O! Io!
Paeon.

Unknown.

The Samians, too, voted that their festival of Hera should be called Lysandreia.

Plutarch *Lysander* 18



LYSANDER: THE OTHER SIDE

- Probably most of the honours given to Lysander were bestowed by the oligarchic elites.
- However, such public displays of gratitude were almost unique in the Greek world at the time (interestingly a parallel can be seen with Brasidas).
- Such displays show that at least for some Lysander was considered worthy.
- At the same time, such displays were bound to create suspicion in Sparta and particularly to Lysander's peers.



FOLLOW-UP READING

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