Complete List of Ancient History Sources – 2019

POMPEII AND HERCULANEUM:

Survey
– the geographical setting and natural features of Campania
Seneca (Philosopher): “The city is in a pleasant bay, some distance from the open sea ... Herculaneum on the other; the shores meet there.”
Bacchus and Mount Vesuvius painting
Pliny the Younger: “Campania has a wealth of different kinds of forest ... And abundance of corn, vines and olives”
– the eruption of AD 79 and its impact on Pompeii and Herculaneum
“It was not clear at that distance from which mountain the cloud was rising. Its general appearance can best be expressed as being like a pine rather than any other tree, for it rose a great height on a sort of trunk and then split off into branches...In places it looked white, elsewhere blotched and dirty, ...” Pliny the younger,
Pompeii: Dog found in the house of the tragic poet (asphyxiation)
Herculaneum: Brain matter found in the skulls (thermal shock), soldier with broken bones (pyroclastic flows), “The overall evidence showed that a 500°C hot surge caused the instant death of the Herculaneum residents as a result of fulminant shock”, carbonised wood in buildings and columns of buildings were cracked from the weight of the pyroclastic flows, In an article published in 2002 Sigurdsson and Casey elaborate on the stratigraphic evidence, asserting that as Herculaneum was upwind of the fallout, the pumice fall in the first few hours was moderately light.
– early discoveries and the changing nature of excavations in the 19th and 20th centuries
Discovery: “the aim of excavations was not primarily to gain knowledge of the past but gain prestige for the present...” A E Cooley
Giuseppe Fiorelli (19th century): described as being “one of the pioneering Pompeii preservationists”
his methodology was: “[identifying] cavities in the volcanic material that encased them, then filled the cavities with liquid plaster,”.
Amedeo Maiuri (20s-60s): “The important thing now is not to discover new objects... What we must do now is...learn the daily life of the ordinary people.”
– representations of Pompeii and Herculaneum over time
18-19th Centuries
1830 Karl Bryullov’s Painting ‘Last Days of Pompeii’: Cataclysmic end, God’s vengeance on pagan people
Neoclassicism/Romanticism: 2 paintings called Excavations at Pompeii focused on emotion, contained fantasy elements
20-21st Centuries
Pompeii by Robert Harris (Roman engineer)
Pompeii 2014 movie

Focus of study
Investigating and interpreting the sources for Pompeii and Herculaneum
● the evidence provided by the range of sources, including site layout, streetscapes, public and private buildings, ancient writers, official inscriptions, graffiti, wall paintings, statues,
mosaics, human, animal and plant remains from Pompeii and Herculaneum, as relevant for:
– the economy: role of the forum, trade, commerce, industries, occupations

**Forum/Commerce:** Map of the forum, Mensa Ponderaria (system for measuring food), Macellum w/ fish bones found (markets), building of Eumachia (women within commerce)& inscription “Eumachia, the public priestess (of Venus), Strabo (geographer) described it as “a fortified trading post”, Villa dell’Abbondanza shows many shop (taberna) close together with residential areas behind

**Trade/Industries:** Pliny the elder “no other liquids except unguents has come more highly valued”, mosaic artwork of garum jar with a stopper (on garum), Amphorae/Dolium (for wine), Thermopolia (hot food and drink, holes where food kept warm),

**Occupations:** House of Neptune Mosaic (HER) wine/cereals shop (tabernae) attatched w/amphoras found, fullery of stephanus (laundry, washing place), the house of Vetti (cups (putti) making perfume, goldsmiths, wine and flower sellers), 35 known bakeries in Pompeii and 2 in Herculaneum with millstones and ovens, J. Deiss “twenty-five bronze baking pans of various sizes from about four inches to a foot an a half” “When he escaped he left behind... stacks of money”, carbonised bread, lupanar “The conditions in which the women worked were of no concern to brothel owners, clients or anyone else for that matter, as most sex workers in ancient Italy were slaves.” M Johnson (Prof. Classsics), excavations from lupanars include murals and graffiti about the activities and cost of activities in the lupanars
– the social structure: men, women, freedmen, slaves

**General/Men:** Brian Brennan: “Roman Society was extremely class conscious: based on a strict hierarchy with no definite middle class”

Cameron and Lawless: “reflected in the seating arrangements of the theatre: privileged citizens in the front rows...then free adult women and slaves in the back rows”

**Women:**
- Economy: Statue of Eumachia (local elite, business woman) w/ inscription: “Eumachia, the public priestess (of Venus), daughter of Lucius, had the vestibule, the covered gallery, and the porticoes made with her own money”, Property of Julia Felix was rented “To let, on the property of Julia Sp.f. Felix, a ladies’ and gentlemen’s bathing establishment...bars, lock-up shops, rooms. Five year lease from August 13th.”, Lupanar: women worked as prostitutes (M Johnson)
- Politics: “I beg you to make Pupius duumvir. Appuleia with her neighbour Mustius (asks) and Narcissus asks you.” (programmata)
- Religion: Inscription Eumachia “daughter of Lucius, a public priestess in her own name” (heighest level of society, bestowed by the ordo decurionum)

**Freedmen:** Wallace-Hadrill: wealthy freedmen “‘imitated the cultural language of the nobility in order to establish their membership in society”, inscription on a tomb outside of Herculaneum gate: “Naevoleia Tyche made this monument during her lifetime for her own freedmen and freedwomen” Brian Brennan: “although their was a social hierarchy in these towns, there are indications of upward mobility”

**Slaves:** S Bisel “I suspect she was a slave. There are scars on the upper shafts of her humeri where the pectorials major joins the bone. That means she used those bones for heavier work than she should have.’, A little statue from the House of Gaius Rufus shows 2 slaves carrying a chair through the streets, Villa Regina at Boccoreale has an iron block which slaves would have been attached to,
– local political life: decuriones, magistrates, comitium
Patron Client relationship: “Political life at Pompeii and Herculaneum was dominated by the patronage of poorer citizens and of particular social and business groups by members of a powerful, wealthy and influential elite.” – Lazer and Brennan

Fresco of bread distribution shows a political candidate giving bread to someone (possibly for political support)

**Herculaneum**: statue of Marcus Nonius Balbus (he donated to the Basilica in Herculaneum)

**(Decuriones)**: Curia (south side of forum) where the decurions met

**(Magistrates)**: Basilica (bottom left of the forum) had a tribunal for the magistrates to sit (for administering justice/business negotiations), Epitaph on tomb reads: “To Marcus Lucretius Decidianus Rufus, duumvir three times, quinquennial, priest…”,

**Comitium**:  
- everyday life: housing, leisure activities, food and dining, clothing, health, baths, water supply, sanitation

**Leisure activities**: Pompeii amphitheatre for blood sports, religious occasions or public holidays, Pompeii small theatre (Odeon) for poetry readings, lectures and concerts, mosaics found of Greek plays in Pompeii and Herculaneum, gladiator helmets (POM and HER), Palaestra (POMP & HER, athletics and gym held and shows Greek influence), Painting on marble of women playing tali (knuckle bones) in HER

**Food and dining**: Caupona – deli/pub (HER & POM) HER - w/ description of different wines on the street of Augustus w/ inscription “Hedone says, “You can get a drink here for only one coin. You can drink better wine for two coins. You can drink Falernian for four coins” (Falernian = nice wine), Taberna (bar/pub) dice and mosaics found (gambling connection with drinking), remains incl. pigs, egg, pomegranates, grapes, grain, bread, dormice, Houses = smaller houses kitchen next to latrine (plumbing) w/ stone hearth and fire wood = larger houses had bigger stone hearths, Villa of the Mysteries had own oven, also Thermopolium (on of Vetutius Placidus in Pompeii) and utensils show cooking methods (Silverware in house of Menander and bronze pots elsewhere), bakeries

**Clothing**: various mosaics show: men’s clothing with a toga (Marcus Nonius Balbus) especially more prominent men also shown in a fresco in Pompeii of men engaging in religious activities, wall paintings show women in a stola (purple and symbol of marriage)

**Health**: House of the surgeons has the remains of possible surgical tools, P. Allison: “We believe that whenever we find medical instruments, they belong to doctors. But I think a lot more high-level first aid went on within households.” Pompeii remains: a large sample size of remains are present they show that the teeth had wear and tear, some bodies show signs of respiratory problems and menopausal symptoms in women, based on the deductions on height, age and gender the people in Pompeii were rather healthy, Herculaneum remains: diet was heavy in seafood and vegetables, wear and tear on bones (manual labour), Estelle Lazer: “[There is] evidence of tooth decay, gum disease with associated bone loss”,

**Baths**: Graffiti: “baths, wine and sex corrupt our body but they make life worth living” Stabian baths (incl. paleastra-bathing connection to fitness), Pompeian baths (Stabian baths): remains incl.: hypocaust (heating system) underneath a caldarium (plunge baths) & Tepidarium (in between caldarium and apodyterium (change rooms) – to get used to the heat) and Herculaneum: In suburban baths - Frigidarium (cold pool) & In forum baths – Floor mosaics of serpents in the men’s Apodyterium (change room), Brian Brennan: baths were “places where people went to meet their friends, political allies and business associates”

**Water supply**: Pompeii – Castellum Aquae (main water tower), public water fountains in (POMP & HER) also terracotta drain pipes, wells & lead pipes (ahhh bad)
Sanitation: Pompeii – public latrines near forum, latrine near kitchen in House of the Greek Epigrams, lupanare (brothel) latrine (POMP), sponges on a stick

Housing:
- Domus: e.g. House of Menander (Pompeii) – ring seal found in servants quarter (owned by Quintus Poppaeus), entrance w/ masonry seating, Atrium w/ fourth style decorations painted walls in red, yellow and black with Nilotic and marine landscapes, impluvium decorated with florals and sea serpents, triclinium with fourth style paintings with marine life and floating figures

Atrium-Peristyle: e.g. House of the Faun – architect at the time: “‘For me of rank who, from holding offices and magistracies, have social obligations to their fellow citizens, lofty entrance courts in regal style, and most spacious atriums and peristyles, with plantations and walks of some extent in them, appropriate of their dignity”, includes: entrance, atrium w/ a bronze statue of a faun in the impluvium, each side of the vestibule had a protected temple, Atrium tetrastylum (small atrium) indicative of Hellenistic influence, peristylum includes small rectangular pool w/ marble fountain, Nilotic mosaic includes animals of the Nile and more Hellenistic influence with the Alexander the great mosaic

Insulae: e.g. House of the Trellis (Herculaneum) – built from plaster and wood (cheap)

Villas: e.g. Villa of Julia Felix – grotto decorated with Nilotic scenes, frescoes show daily activities (male reading news, woman and servant giving to poor man, shop keepers selling veggies, cloth, bronze pans), marble statue of Venus preparing for a bath, garden contained a shrine of Egyptian goddess Isis, “The younger Pliny seems to be closer to the upper-class norm in the casual way he describes the cubicula dotted around his Villas” – A Wallace-Hadrill

- religion: household gods, temples, foreign cults and religions, tombs

Household gods: lares (fresco from Pompeii in scene of a sacrifice with the head of the family making offerings) in the house of Amarantus “Small high concentrations of cremated bones and carbonised plant remains were found in the gardens...These remains have been interpreted as offerings to the lares” – M A Robinson / genius (House of Vetti mosaic incl. lares dancing with the genius underneath) / penates (good of larder or food store) bronze statues of the penates found one carrying a cornucopia ensuring the family would have the necessities they needed(they were placed on the table at meals)

Temples (not excavated at Herculaneum): Temple of Jupiter (centre, most important, worship of triad of gods incl. A bust of Jupiter on the north side), Temple of the Public Lares (three figures and A Mau statues: they presented a “striking analogy to the shrines of the Lares found in so many private houses”), Temple of Vespasian (centre of the Imperial cult incl. altar shows scenes of sacrifices, priest performing a ceremonial offering)

Foreign Cults: Cult of Isis (Pamela Bradley notes that this building was one of the first restored after the earthquake in 62 A.D – showing its significance, Temple of Isis is not found in Herculaneum although archaeologists have discovered a wall painting of priests of Isis performing a sacrifice, house of Julia Felix contained a shrine to Isis), Cult of Sabazius (one shrine found in Pompeii of a stone alter with vases for possible offerings),

Tombs: Most found outside of Pompeii and Herculaneum in the Necropolis (some inscriptions on tombs: “Helle, slave girl, lived 4 years”, “To Marcus Obellius, son of Marcus, Aedile, duumviri with judicial power...”)

- the influence of Greek and Egyptian cultures: art and architecture

Egyptian: Art: Nilotic scene in the House of the Faun, Temple of Isis depicts scenes of Isis’ legend Architecture: House of Julia Felix water feature is a Delta branch of the Nile
Reconstructing and conserving the past

- Changing interpretations: impact of new research and technologies

Changing interpretations:

- Population decline: A Maiuri came up with a theory for population decline ("upper-class houses into Officine" and "the splitting up of a single, grand, upper-class house into several modest dwellings") although Wallace-Hadrill believes that "his model is simply too rigid" and is not tenable.

- Eruption details: Volcanologist H Sigurdsson notes that it may have taken less than 5 minutes "for the surge to asphyxiate or burn its victims or smash them with debris" according to New York Times writer P. M. Boffey.

New Technologies:

- Estelle Lazer and Giuseppe Fiorelli: GF - "[identifying] cavities in the volcanic material that encased them, then filled the cavities with liquid plaster, thus creating a cast of the victims’ last movements and expressions"—Wash Post. EL—"Wax was poured into the cavity that was observed when the body was first exposed. It was then encapsulated in a plaster matrix and the wax was replaced with transparent epoxy resin...About one hundred images of CT-scan sections were produced. These form the basis of a structural study of the vertebrae, pelvis and lower limbs of this individual."

- Sara Bisel: "I suspect she was a slave. There are scars on the upper shafts of her humeri where the pectorials major joins the bone. That means she used those bones for heavier work than she should have." Grooves on her teeth indicate inadequate nutrition, when she was about 11 months old, and she suffered from either sickness or starvation even to the point of death." & Estelle Lazer notes: "reconstructed the lifestyle, social position, and general health of the victims the basis of her skeletal analysis."

- Issues of conservation and reconstruction: Italian and international contributions and responsibilities

- Herculaneum conservation project: "Its main objectives are: to slow down the rate of decay across the entire site...to test and implement long term conservation strategies...to conserve, document, publish and improve access to the artefacts found in excavations at Herculaneum."—British School at Rome, HCP

- "80% of collapsing protective shelters (often reinstated floor plates) were repaired or substituted by the HCP team directly or using public funding in the period 2005–2015...990 m of drains were reinstated or laid by HCP"—Sarah Court, Ascanio D’Andrea, Francesca Del Duca, Paola Pesaresi, and Jane Thompson

- The Great Pompeii Project: "reduction of the hydro-geological risk by securing the unexcavated embankments; securing the insulae (apartment buildings); consolidation and restoration of masonry; consolidation and restoration of decorated surfaces; protecting buildings from weather exposure, with a consequent increase in the number of areas that can be visited; strengthening of the video-surveillance system."—TGPP

- "The E.U. funding is a good starting point to overcome this situation, but it’s not enough to save the site,"—Teresa Elena Cinquantaquattro (The superintendent of the site in 2013)

- Other problems: "territorial deterrence" against birds by the HCP

- Ethical issues: excavation and conservation, study and display of human remains
Display of remains: “In their palpable anticipation to reach the ‘main event,’ I witnessed tourists captivated by the plaster casts found throughout the ruins” – A Catrone

Excavating Villa of Papyri: “there is a strong case for urgent work to stop the embankment crumbling and the flow of water further damaging the lower floors...” – A Wallace-Hadrill

“The Villa was rediscovered and partially excavated in the 1990’s. The excavation must be finished.” – Robert Fowler

– value and impact of tourism: problems and solutions

2000: 2.4 million visitors  
2016: 3.7 million visitors

Graffiti on the fresco in the Fullonica of Stephanus

-UNESCO plan to allow a set no. of visitors and only allow them to visit in a special routes

“The organisation of tourist routes will be more necessary as it is the only possible way to coordinate tourist flows and the restoration and extraordinary maintenance work of the insulae and regions...”

"Paradox is that while we need visitors, and more especially their money to finance conservation and research projects at Pompeii, it is the visitors who are speeding up the decay." Herculaneum Conservation Project
THE GREEK WORLD: 550 – 440 BC

The Persian Wars

-Causes:
Persian Imperialism - Behistun inscription: “These are the countries which are subject to me and by the grace of Ahuramazda I became king of them... 23 in all.”
Ionian Revolt - J. Fine: “the basic cause for discontent was the system of tyrants established by the Persians.”
Cause for Invasion – Herodotus indicates that one of Darius’ slaves would tell him, “Lord, don’t forget the Athenians.”

-Significance of:
Battle of Marathon: Greek leadership skills, political tactics and first indication of Greek military tactics
Miltiades role and ending the stalemate – Herodotus states that Miltiades made a powerful speech to the Greeks: “It is now up to you... For now, Athens is in greater peril than ever.”
Miltiades tactic to end the stalemate was political (indicates Greeks used political tactics) – R. Sealy “the grounds for the Athenian’s decisions were political...they feared that... there might be treachery among the Athenians”
Miltiades leads the Greeks in battle (weakening of Persian centre) – J Fine: “Miltiades...had ordered his wings in such a contingency to turn back and attack the enemy centre from the rear.”

Battle of Thermopylae and Artemision: Naval skill, tactic of loosing
Triremes – J Hale: “the twenty Athenian triremes formed a single line and began a leisurely encircling manoeuvre, rowing around and around the perimeter of the motionless kyklos”
Planned loss – Decree of Themistocles: “The Athenians are to send their children and women to safety in Troezen…”

The Battle of Salamis: Leadership of Themistocles and Eurybiades, Unity and Naval skill
Themistocles tactical loss (Decree of Themistocles)
Themistocles and Eurybiades deciding to battle at Salamis – Herodotus: “It is now in your power to save Greece, if you take my advice and engage the enemies fleet here at Salamis.”
Greeks utilising their expertise in naval battle: Aeschylus: “…soon their (Persians) multitude became their ruin: in the narrow firth. They might not use their strength, and, jammed together…”
Significance - Thucydides: “The result at Salamis proved that the fate of Hellas depended on her navy”

The Battle of Plataea and Mycale: Land battle tactics, Pausanias, Column
Archers – P Green: “Athenian archers, however, wasted few arrows on armoured men... one such shot skewered Masistius.”
Pausanias – Herodotus: “the finest victory of all time known to me was won by Pausanias.”
The Serpent column erected at Delphi to commemorate all of the Greek poleis that participated in the battles

-Role and contribution of:
Miltiades
End stalemate: Herodotus – “It is now up to you... for Athens in in greater peril than ever”
Stopping infighting among Athenians; R Sealy – “the grounds for the Athenians decisions were political... they feared... there might be treachery among the Athenians”
Military leadership: P Krentz – “Miltiades...had ordered his wings in such a contingency to turn back and attack the enemy centre from the rear.”

**Themistocles**
- Predetermined loss at Thermopylae - Decree of Themistocles: “The Athenians are to send their children and women to safety in Troezen…”
- Petition to remain at Salamis and trust in Eurybiades – Herodotus: “It is now in your power to save Greece... If you take my advice and engage the enemy’s fleet here in Salamis.”
- Overall unification of Greek poleis – Plutarch: “The greatest of all his achievements was to put an end to all fighting within Greece”
- Overall contribution – J Bury: “it may be said that he contributed more than any other single man to the making of Athens into a great state”

**Eurybiades**
- Commander in chief of navy at Salamis – Thucydides: “The result at Salamis proved that the fate of Hellas depended on her navy.”

**Leonidas**
- Thermopylae – Herodotus: “Leonidas fell fighting bravely, together with many other famous Spartans...”

**Pausanias**
- Plataea – Herodotus: “the finest victory in all time known to me was won by Pausanias”
- Plataea – J A Fine: “When one tries to envisage the difficulties Pausanias faced in holding together for weeks an army consisting of over 100 000 men from over some 24 cities, plagued by dissension, insubordination and lack of food and water... we can only applaud Herodotus’ judgement...that at Plataea, “the finest victory in all time known to me was won by Pausanias”

-Reasons for Greek victory:

**Greek unity:**
- Unity at Salamis (Themistocles and Eurybiades) Herodotus: “it is now in your power to save Greece, if you take my advice and engage the enemy’s fleet here at Salamis”
- Unity at Plataea (Pausanias using Athenian troops) Green: “Pausanias saw that his own slow-moving, heavy-armoured troops were useless...he very sensibly ordered up special Athenian commando” (incl. light infantry and archers)

**Greek tactics and strategy:**
- Battle of Salamis (Planned loss at Thermopylae): The Decree of Themistocles “The Athenians are to send their children and women to safety in Troezen”
- Deceiving Xerxes at the Battle of Salamis Aeschylus: “When Xerxes heard of this with no thought/of mans guile or of the jealousy of the gods”

**Naval skill:**
Delian League, Athenian Democratic developments, Changing relations between Athens and its allies

Origins and aims of the Delian League:
Fear of revival of Persian power: “[The Athenians] objective being to compensate themselves for their losses by ravaging the territory of the King of Persia” – Thucydides
“The Greeks] aims probably included also their determination to protect those Greek states which had already revolted from Persia and to liberate those still under Persian rule” – J A Fine

Organisation: “The underlying principle of the alliance was the agreement that the allies would share the same friends and the same enemies…Initially the league was equal, but as time passed, the Athenians used their control over the votes of the smaller poleis to control larger poleis” – T L Dynneson

Tributes: “[The Greeks] applied to the Athenians for the service of Aristides and appointed him to survey the various territories and their revenues and then fix their contribution according to each member’s worth and ability to pay” - Plutarch

Activities of the Delian League:
GOOD:
Siege of Eion (476 BC): “The first action of the Athenians was the siege of Eion…occupied by the Persians. Under the command of Cimon…they captured this place and made slaves of the inhabitants” – Thucydides

Capture of Scyros (474 BC): “Cimon…took possession of the island, and after expelling the natives (found guilty of piracy), colonised it with Athenians...” – W G Smith, G W Greene

Battle of the Eurymedon River (468BC): “Cimon, not satisfied with a victory of such magnitude, set sail at once with his entire fleet against the Persian land army, which was then encamped on the bank of the Eurymedon River. And wishing to overcome the barbarians by a stratagem, he manned the captured Persian ships with his own best men,” – Diodorus (1st Cent. CE Greek)

Peace of Callias (449/447 BC): “A truce was made for thirty years, Callias and Chares negotiating and confirming the peace.” – Diodorus (BUT IS DEBATED ABOUT AS NO ONE ELSE SAYS IT HAPPENED)

BAD:
Revolt of Naxos (469BC): “The Revolt of Naxos only ten years after the formation of the Delian League raised the fundamental issue of whether a member had a right to secede from the league. Athens, [with approval of the other members] decided that secession...could not be tolerated.” – J A Fine

“Naxos left the league and the Athenians made war on the place. After a siege, Naxos was forced back to allegiance.” – Thucydides

Contribution of Cimon and Aristides the Just

Cimon:
Siege of Eion: “The first action of the Athenians was the siege of Eion...occupied by the Persians. Under the command of Cimon...they captured this place and made slaves of the inhabitants” – Thucydides

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the bank of the Eurymedon River. And wishing to overcome the barbarians by a stratagem, he manned the captured Persian ships with his own best men,” – Diodorus (1st Cent. CE Greek)

General success of Cimon: “…gained brilliant successes against the barbarians. He was a moderate statesman who succeeded better than any others in giving his country a breathing space in which to recover from the violence of party strife. He was as brave as Miltiades and as intelligent as Themistocles, and he admitted to have been a juster man than either.” – Plutarch

Regarding his politics (which wasn’t even that successful but ok): “Cimon was a great patriot who never tried to gain political power beyond that of a legally elected strategos.” – V Ehrenberg

Aristides the just:

Collecting tax from the allies: “[The Greeks] applied to the Athenians for the service of Aristides and appointed him to survey the various territories and their revenues and then fix their contribution according to each member’s worth and ability to pay” – Plutarch

Being fair about tax collection: “For his equable assessment and honest administration, Aristides became recognised as a man of integrity” – A Traver

Aristides support for Themistocles at Salamis: “he is the man responsible for rejecting Persian overtures after Salamis, he is part of the subsequent embassy to Salamis...” – R Osborne

Transformation of Athens into the Athenian Empire/Changing relations with its allies

Revolt of Thasos (465BC): “Athens was making new endeavours...to lay hands on the traffic in those regions. Her interests collided with those of the Thasians...Their walls were pulled down, their ships were handed over to Athens, they gave up all claim to the mine and the mainland...” – J Bury

Tributes (460s-450s): “For this position it was the allies themselves who were to blame. Because of this reluctance of theirs to face military service, most of them, to avoid serving abroad, had assessments made by which, instead of producing ships, they were to pay a corresponding sum of money. The result was that the Athenian navy grew at their expense, and when they revolted they always found themselves inadequately armed and inexperienced in war.” - Thucydides

Cimon’s ostracism and the rise of Pericles: Once more the Lacedaemonians summoned the Athenians to come to their aid...and the Athenians went, but their dashing boldness awakened fear, and they were singled out from all the allies and sent off as dangerous conspirators. They came back home in a rage...above all against Cimon...They ostracised him for ten years. That was the period decreed in all cases of ostracism.” – Plutarch

Moving the treasury to Athens: “He [Pericles] succeeded in carrying through the assembly another decree authorising that...the 5,000 talents from the public treasury to that of Athena” – J A Fine

Cleruchies: “the cleruchies did provide land for Athenian citizens at the allies expense and serve as an informal garrison: presumably the allies which had cleruchies inflicted on them are allies which had provoked Athenian inference.” – Ostwald and Boardman

Other sources n stuff: “The Delian League had long possessed the trappings of an empire, but at this point it clearly became and empire...In the official documents we even find a reference to the ‘Athenians and the others whom they rule...’ ” – C Meier

OTHER CHANGES IN THEIR RELATIONSHIP FROM EARLIER:
Revolt of Naxos: “Naxos left the league and the Athenians made war on the place. After a siege, Naxos was forced back to allegiance.” – Thucydides

Key Democratic Developments

Thetes: “participated forcefully in the uprising of Athenian demos” – Wallace and Ober

Weakening of Areopagus: “First he [Ephilates] removed any of the Areopagus by laying charges against them for their mismanagement of affairs” – Aristotle

“[Ephilates] took away the Areopagus’ right to punish public officials if they broke the law, and their right to supervise the government administration” – Fonara and Samons

Pericles payment for public service: Bury – 500 talents for public service

Aristotle – argues that this is one of the reasons why the court deteriorated as anyone could be a part in decision making and it wasn’t reserved for educated men

Pericles citizenship law: “he proposed a law that only those should be reckoned Athenians whose parents on both sides were Athenians...there was a general crop of prosecutions against citizens of illegal birth by the law of Pericles” – Plutarch

Ostracism: “Probably originally introduced by Cleisthenes as a part of his reforms to empower his restructured democratic system of government, ostracism allowed citizens to exile fellow citizen for a period of 10 years” - Martin

XERXES

Survey

- The historical context, including:
  – geography, topography and resources of the Persian Empire
  – an overview of Persian political, social and military structures

-Political system: Relief of Xerxes in Persepolis (Xerxes being followed by 2 servants),

-Social system: Persepolis fortification tablets (Privileged women led nice and independent lives and could own estates, hire officials and workers, travel alone and with the king),

-Military system: Brick, glazed relief in Susa depicts the immortals, relief in Persepolis w/Persian and Median soldiers both of which indicate they used arrows and spear throwing techniques
  – expansion of the Persian Empire

Cyrus the great: Medes, Lydia and Babylon – Cambyses: Egypt – Darius I: Thrace and Macedonia, Behistun relief from Darius states that he was king of 23 countries (satrapies)
  – an overview of religion in the Persian Empire

Ahuramazda is almost always pictured above the king in reliefs, Behistun relief “By the grace of Ahuramazda I am king...”
  – Persian concept of kingship

religion – Behistun relief: Darius, “By the grace of Ahuramazda I am king. Ahuramazda has granted me the kingdom.” & Xpf inscription: Xerxes, “May Ahuramazda protect me form harm, and my house, and this land. This I ask of Ahuramazda.”, Expansion: Behistun relief: “These are the countries which are subject to me; by the grace of Ahuramazda I became king of them... 23 countries in all.” Also, the relief is trilingual further revealing the diverse
nature of the empire and how the king made sure all of the satrapies listened to him and what he had to say.

**Focus of study**

Background and rise to prominence, including:
- family background and status RER

**Royal Pursuits:** M. Brosius: “The banquets were political as well as social occasions; their duration and their opulence...were a demonstration of the kings power.”; Tomb of Darius: “Trained I am both with hands and feet. As a horseman. As a bowman...”, Seal of Darius I from Egypt depicting him hunting (with Ahuramazda above him)

**Religion:** Xpl inscription from Xerxes on a stone tablet: “A great god is Ahuramazda...who created happiness for man, who sent wisdom and capabilities down upon king Xerxes.”; Behistun relief depicts Ahuramazda above Darius

**Education:** Herodotus: “They educate their boys from five to twenty and teach them only 3 things: riding and archery and honesty.” “with a series of writers in the fourth century exploring in particular the idea of a one-man rule and how an individual’s character and education might best prepare him to undertake this form of government.” – E Bridges

**Other:** Xerxes royal background incl. hunting, honesty and religion: religion: Xpl inscription (Xerxes): “A great god is Ahuramazda...who created happiness for man, who sent wisdom and capabilities down upon king Xerxes.”, Xenophon: “he was remarkable for his fondness of horses and his ability to manage them well...when he got for hunting, he was most enthusiastic.”, Herodotus: “they hold lying to be the most disgraceful thing of all.”

**Family background:** descendent of Achaemenes: Xpf inscription from Xerxes: “I am Xerxes, the great king, king of kings...Grandson of Arsames the Achaemenid.”, descendent of Cyrus the great, “But to my thinking, Xerxes would have been made king even without this advice for Atossa had complete sway.” – Herodotus

- succession to kingship

**Xpf** inscription: “Other sons of Darius there were but thus was Ahuramazda’s desire – my father Darius made me the greatest after himself.”. Herodotus: “At Sparta too (advised Demoratus) it was customary that if...another son was born later when the father was king, the succession to the kingship belongs to the later born.”, J. M. Cook notes that Xerxes had a stronger claim than his siblings as his mother was the daughter of Cyrus the great.

**Key features and developments, including:**
- administration of the Persian Empire SCAR

**Satrapy:** Herodotus: “The whole country under the dominion of the Persians, besides paying a fixed tribute, is parcelled out into divisions, which have to provide food to the king and his army during different portions of the year (also for agriculture, trade and tribute)

**Coinage and Measurements:** Archaeological evidence as gold daric have been found where Susa was and pictured the king in a running/kneeling position also 2 Karsha have been found in Egypt with an inscription saying: “I am Darius, the great king...”

**Agriculture and trade:** “The Achaemenid Empire...was not based on the political oppression and economic destruction of conquered regions but rather on a well-designed system of political support for economic production and expansion throughout the whole empire...” – T Dayraee

**Roads and waterways:** "Says King Darius: I am a Persian. Setting out from Persia, I conquered Egypt. I ordered to dig this canal from the river called the Nile that flows through Egypt, to the sea that begins in Persia. Therefore, when this canal had been dug as I had
ordered, ships could sail through this canal from Egypt to Persia, as I had intended." – Chalouf

– revolts in the empire: Egypt, Babylon

**Egypt:** “The satrap, Pherendates, had died during the revolt...and Xerxes put his own brother, Achaemenes, in his place.” – V G Callender

“The view that Xerxes treated Egypt harshly after the rebellion is not tenable...The Babylonian evidence establishes that Xerxes introduced, without brutality, significant temple and personnel reforms” – R Granger

**Babylon:** “The city walls were demolished to some considerable extent...the leaders of the rebellion were executed, and their land was given to Persian nobles.” – V G Callendar

**Daeva Inscription:** “King Xerxes says: when I became king, there was among these countries one that was in rebellion. Ahuramazda bore me aid. By the grace of Ahuramazda I smote that country and put it down in its place... by the grace of Ahuramazda I destroyed that sanctuary of demons, and I proclaimed: 'The demons shall not be worshipped!'”

– religious policy

**Zoroastrianism:** Xpf inscription – Ahuramazda credited for the creation of earth, man, and it was his desire that Xerxes would be made king “the greatest after himself [Darius]”, Religious Tolerance: Brosius – “The Achaemenids did not impose their religious cult of Ahuramazda on other people”, Persian kings adopted the title of Pharaoh in Egypt, Daeva inscription “Among these countries there was a place where previously demons had been worshipped...I destroyed that sanctuary of demons” seems intolerant but the tense is hard to know (could be “if there is a sanctuary of demons”) and unsure which satrapy is being referred to – from Weisehofer, Darius’ Dpf inscription and Persepolis fortification tablets mentions Ahuramazda and other gods (no name in particular) is further evidence of Religious tolerance

– building program: Persepolis

“In Persepolis he completed the palace and throne hall begun by Darius I and began the construction of his own palace on the royal terrace. In the absence of any mention of unrest or rebellion in the empire, it appears that the Persian defeat and territorial losses in Greece had no repercussions for the stability of the empire.” - Brosius

Gate of all nations: trilingual inscription and statue of lamassu

Apadana: biggest building w/ reliefs of immortals and elite guards

– images and representations of Xerxes as king

Persian evidence – Inscriptions: Palace of Xerxes in Persepolis is trilingual and reveals his succession, Gate of All Nations written in multiple languages, acknowledgement of Ahuramazda, Xerxes and his father built the Gate of all Nations

Relief: Northern Staircase of the Apadana Xerxes is represented (visually) the same way as other reliefs, feet don’t touch the ground (‘above everything’), Palace of Xerxes includes many military soldiers indicates he is proud of his military, Xerxes is above both visually and metaphorically

– foreign policy: role in the invasion of the Greek mainland

Planning:

Effective leadership: Dio Chrysostomos – “Xerxes...defeated the Spartans at Thermopylae and destroyed the city of Athens...”, M Dandamaev – “To the Achaemenid empire...the defeat in Greece had the character of only a minor set-back along the periphery of its relm.”
“...it appears that the Persian defeat and territorial losses in Greece had no repercussions for the stability of the empire.” - Brosius

Poor leadership/planning: Herodotus – “The Persians believed what he [Themistocles] had told them and preceded to put ashore a large force on the islet of Pyttaleia...they occupied the whole night, so that none of the men had time for sleep.”, J Cook – “Without a fleet the Peloponnesian could not be conquered...” (Persians lost a large amount of their naval force at Artemisium)

relationship with prominent Persians and non-Persians

Non-Persian – Demaratus: Diodorus details that he assisted Xerxes at the Battle of Thermopylae; he gave him advice and stayed with him, Themistocles: E Bridges suggests that Themistocles was brought to Persia after his exile with the ruse of a luxurious lifestyle and lived in Persia unpunished, “remarkable notion that the victor at Salamis was able to build a relationship with his once arch-enemy”

Persian – Mardonius: Herodotus states that he was heavily involved in strategy in the Greek invasion, he has “more influence with Xerxes than anyone else in the empire” He says, “It is only right that they [the Athenians] should be punished for their crimes...” Pg. 442, Atossa: Aeschylus, she is characterised as angry for having to leave her palace of gold ornaments to speak to the people: “And therefore am I come, leaving my house, that shines with gorgeous ornaments and gold...” & FIND A MOD SOURCE

manner and impact of his death

Lead up: Herodotus tells an interesting love affair, Persepolis fortification tablets shows the rising prices of grain and indicates a famine

Assassination: Brosius notes that Artabanus, Megabyzus and Aspamitres were involved in the murder of Xerxes in his bedroom,

Evaluation, including:

impact and influence on his time

Impact:

Influence:

Religious Policy

Building Program:

Greek Invasion: M Dandamaev – “To the Achaemenid empire...the defeat in Greece had the character of only a minor set-back along the periphery of its realm.”

assessment of his life and reign

legacy

ancient and modern images and interpretations of Xerxes

Ancient:

Modern: Orientalist – More Modern -

ONE particular source or type of source (eg Herodotus, Books V–IX; Persepolis) for Xerxes, including:

the value and limitations of the source

an evaluation of the source in the context of other available sources, including problems of evidence

Aeschylus’ ‘The Persians’: “O fatal spirit of destruction, cruelly you have attacked and trampled the whole Persian race”, “Atossa: Xerxes, whose rashness emptied Asia of its men”, “... soon their (Persians) multitude became their ruin: in the narrow firth. They might not use their strength, and, jammed together...”
E. Bridges analysis: the play differs significantly to what Achaemenid sources suggest (Achaemenid inscriptions aim to keep Xerxes on the same moral pedestal as his father and these sources continue to uphold a very similar image of all of the Persian kings after Xerxes (P. Kingship!!) whereas Aeschylus uses the character of the ghost of Darius is used to ‘model’ Persian kingship which Xerxes fails to uphold)

SPARTAN SOCIETY TO THE BATTLE OF LECTURA

Survey
The historical and geographical context, including:
  – geographical setting, natural features and resources of ancient Sparta
    “Messenia is a softened, more open repetition of Laconia with a westward outlook, with a milder and moister climate and of great fertility.” – H. Mitchell
    “the stream of the Eurotas...runs clean and strong among its fertile orchards.” – C. Robinson
  – significant sites: Sparta

SOURCES NEEDED
Focus of study
  ● Social structure and political organisation, including:
    – the Great Rhetra:
      the issue of Lycurgus
      “Lycurgus was a god who gave them a way of life which was divinely inspired and divinely sanctioned.” – K. Welch
      “Weather of not Lycurgus actually existed is irrelevant. The central importance of this figure to Spartan thinking is crucial.” – K Welch
      “There is so much uncertainty in the accounts which historians have left us of Lycurgus” – Plutarch
      roles and privileges of the two kings
      “He [Lycurgus] laid it down that the king should make all public sacrifices for the state because of his divine descent and should lead the army on any foreign campaign.” – Xenophon
      “The king swears to rule according to the established laws of the city...” – Xenophon
      “certain definite legal matters are left to their sole decision.” – Herodotus
      “The kings’ most important sacred duty as to determine the will of the gods and, in particular, the will of the king of gods, Zeus, their ultimate progenitor, before they led the army out of Sparta...” – A S Bradford
      government: ephorate, gerousia, ekklesia
    Ephorate: “the ephors swore to uphold the kingship ‘unshaken’...the ephors had the power to impeach the kings before a grand jury.” – P. Cartledge
“ephors have the right to inflict punishments at will, to require immediate payment of fines, to depose magistrates during their term in office, to imprison them, and even to put them on trial for their lives.” - Xenophon

Gerousia: “whenever an elder died his place should be taken up by a man over sixty whose merits were regarded as most outstanding…” - Plutarch

“If the king had persisted in his refusal, the gerousia would have put some proposal towards the assembly” – M Whitby (this is about the possible actions of the gerousia in one specific circumstance where the king had married his niece and the ephors and gerousia wanted to take action = historiographical problems!!)

Ekklesia: “They made their decision by acclamation not by voting...he wanted to make them show their opinions.” – Thucydides

“that they [Spartiates] all had an equal vote in the ekklessia weather on questions of policy or in elections” – Lazenby

– social structure and occupations: Spartiates, periokoi, ‘inferiors’, helots

Spartiates: Laconian 3 pottery depicts Spartiates fighting in their phalanx formation

Perioikoi: “a small peripheral group called Perioikoi, [were] mostly farmers, miners, and small merchants. Neither the Perioikoi nor the helots had any political rights. They were denied admission to the ranks of the Spartans and prohibited from intermarrying with them.” – Paschalis (modern historian, IKR), Plutarch: the Perioikoi would fight in a battle in the hoplite ranks if they were needed, Michell: there wasn’t a great deal of hatred between the Spartiates and Perioikoi as without the Perioikoi the Spartiates wouldn’t have anyone to make their weapons and armour

Helots: “For one of the noble and blessed privileges which Lycurgus provided for his fellow-citizens, was abundance of leisure, since he forbade their engaging in any mechanical art whatsoever... Besides, the Helots tilled their ground for them, and paid them the produce mentioned above” - Plutarch

Inferiors: “men who failed to pass through the agoge or had not subsequently been elected into the common mess and were so automatically ineligible for regular hoplite service became inferiors...” – P Cartledge

– the Spartan army: training (agoge), composition

Agoge: “that successful passage through it was made one of the requirements for admission to the ranks of the ... Spartiates.” – Cartledge

“The boys learnt to read and write no more than necessary. Otherwise their whole education was aimed at developing smart obedience, perseverance under stress and victory in battle.” - Plutarch

Composition: “You could see the gymnasia full of men exercising, the hippodrome full of horsemen riding, the javelin-throwers and the archers at target practice” – Xenophon

“The red cloaks worn by Sparta troops proved distinctive and memorable, as they were surely intended to be.” – Powell

“Suddenly there came over the whole phalanx the look of some ferocious beast, as it wheels at bay, stiffens its bristles and turns to defend itself, so that the barbarians could no longer doubt that they were faced with men who would fight to the death.” - Plutarch

– control of the helots: the military, syssitia, krypteia

Military: An often-fake promise that if the helots could be freed if they served in the military: “the Spartans decreed that the helots who had fought should be given their freedom” – Thucydides

“The helots served in the army as servants to Spartan soldiers during war...” – P Bradely
Syssitia: “men who failed to pass through the agoge or had not subsequently been elected into the common mess and were so automatically ineligible for regular hoplite service became inferiors...” – P Cartledge
Krypteia: “The so-called "krupteia," or secret service, of the Spartans...This secret service was of the following nature. The magistrates from time to time sent out into the country at large the most discreet of the young warriors, equipped only with daggers and such supplies as were necessary...in the night they came down into the highways and killed every Helot whom they caught” – Plutarch
– role and status of women: land ownership, inheritance, education
Education: bronze statue of a Spartan girl running, “By athleticism they made sure that their children would be up to the standard of physical fitness demanded by the Spartan system.” – H Mitchell
Land Ownership: “and nearly two-fifths of the whole country is held by women...” – Aristotle (remember Aristotle’s bias against women!!)
Inheritance: “a brotherless girl inherited her father’s kleros” – S Pomeroy
● The economy, including:
– land ownership: agriculture, kleroi, helots
“Presumably then, their [Spartiates] ‘equality’ lay in the fact that they all at least owned kleros sufficient to provide them with the dues in kind required for membership of a sysstision and so for citizenship” – Lazenby
“While some of the Spartan citizens have quite small properties, others have very large ones...” - Aristotle
“the Spartiates ‘entrust’ the land of the helots, that is to say they authorise them to stay on it and live off of it, while harvesting a fixed tax” – M Whitby
“the helots tilled the soil for them [Spartiates]” – Plutarch
– technology: weapons, armour, pottery
Weapons/Armour: a set of bronze armour (5th to 7th Century), Spartan shield with a red L for Lacedaemonians, bronze statue of a Spartiate in his military cloak, “everything suggests that it was from the Perioikic smiths that there Spartans got their weapons and armour.” – Whitby, “a small peripheral group called Perioikoi, [were] mostly farmers, miners, and small merchants...” – Paschalis (MOD). Michell: there wasn’t a great deal of hatred between the Spartiates and Perioikoi as without the Perioikoi the Spartiates wouldn’t have anyone to make their weapons and armour
Pottery: Laconian 3 pottery depicting Spartans fighting showing their hoplon, Art on pottery was, “interested in human subjects and in telling a story” – Fitzhardinge, Arkesilas Cup found in Samos (near Sparta), as well as another vase found in North Africa which is suggested to have been painted by the same person (the “Arkesilas cup”) – Paschalis (MOD), Michell: there wasn’t a great deal of hatred between the Spartiates and Perioikoi as without the Perioikoi the Spartiates wouldn’t have anyone to make their weapons and armour
Perioikoi: “a small peripheral group called Perioikoi, [were] mostly farmers, miners, and small merchants...” – Paschalis (MOD)
“were doubtless fishermen, and the best sailors in Sparta” - Michell
Helots: “the helots tilled the soil for them [Spartiates]” – Plutarch
“the Spartiates ‘entrust’ the land of the helots, that is to say they authorise them to stay on it and live off of it, while harvesting a fixed tax” – M Whitby
– economic exchange: use of iron bars, trade
Iron Bars: Lycurgus “withdrew all gold and silver money from currency and ordained the use of iron money” – guess who... PLUTARCH what a fucking surprise also H Michell debunks the
idea that Lycurgus ordered the iron to be weaken by vinegar to ensure it couldn’t be used in any other way saying, “…tempering in this way only gives a thin surface hardness and the iron underneath is unaffected. The whole account is absurd and may be disregarded.” – H Michell

**Trade:** Arkesilas Cup found in Samos (near Sparta), as well as another vase found in North Africa which is suggested to have been painted by the same person (the “Arkesilas cup”), Vix bowl found in France: “the vix bowl is one of the most impressive works of the Archaic...” – Fitzhardinge

- **Religion, death and burial, including:**
  - gods and goddesses: Artemis Orthia, Poseidon, Apollo

  **Artemis Orthia:** Ivory broach depicting Artemis Orthia holding a bird, bone fibula catch plate of Artemis Orthia found at the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, clay masks of old women and hoplites were found at the Sanctuary and were possibly votive offerings, Plutarch: “I have witnessed many of them dying under the lashes they received at the altar of Artemis Orthia” (about theft of the cheeses ritual), Pomeroy – Alcman wrote a song suggests that girls brought a cloak to Artemis Orthia

  **Poseidon:** “For the Spartans had in the past raised up some helot suppliants from the altar of Poseidon and had taken them away and killed them. They believe that the great earthquake in Sparta was the result of this.” – Thucydides

  **Apollo:** “It has a helmet on its head, and a spear and a bow in its hands. The base of the statue is shaped like an altar, and Hyakinthos is said to be buried in it.” Pausanias

- **myths and legends: Lycurgus and the Dioscuri**

  **Lycurgus:** “Lycurgus was a god who gave them a way of life which was divinely inspired and divinely sanctioned.” – K. Welch

  “Weather of not Lycurgus actually existed is irrelevant. The central importance of this figure to Spartan thinking is crucial.” – K Welch

  “There is so much uncertainty in the accounts which historians have left us of Lycurgus” – Plutarch

  **Dioscuri:** Dioscuri egg (Laconian 3 pottery), white marble relief of the two brothers holding spears to each other

- **festivals:** Hyakinthia, Gymnopaedia, Karneia

  **Hyakinthia:** “The Amyclaeans invariably go back home to the festival of the Hyakinthia for the paean to Apollo, whether they chance to be on a campaign or away from home for any other reason.” Xenophon, Sanctuary of Amyklaion Throne of Apollo (a pretty impressive throne), Herodotus: apparently the Athenians were annoyed that the Spartans would go home for Hyakinthia instead of going to Plataea and Mycale but they didn’t.

  **Gymnopaedia:** “a festival which the Lacemaedonians took more seriously than any other” – Pausanias, “Troops of young boys, young men sang one after the other, the children singing what they would do when they grow up, the young men boasting their strength and prowess...” – H Michell

  **Karneia:** coin depicting Apollo Karneios (w/ inscription: to Karneios – karneios means ram so it looked like a ram person on the coin), Herodotus suggests that at the Battle of Thermopylae the Spartans incl. Leonidas had to wait for the festival of Karneia to finish before they could fight

- **religious role of the kings**
“The kings’ most important sacred duty as to determine the will of the gods and, in particular, the will of the king of gods, Zeus, their ultimate progenitor, before they led the army out of Sparta...” – A S Bradford

“He [Lycurgus] laid it down that the king should make all public sacrifices for the state because of his divine descent and should lead the army on any foreign campaign.” – Xenophon

– funerary customs and rituals
“after the kings funeral there are no public meetings or elections for ten days” – Herodotus
A statue was put up for a king who had died in Battle e.g. Statue of Leonidas after his death at Thermopylae

● Cultural and everyday life, including:
“the break turned out to be a misconception and the decline of the higher arts at Sparta was seen to be not a sudden sharp decline...” - Kelly
– art: sculpture, painted vases, bone and ivory carving

**Sculpture:** RELIGION: according to Cartledge bronze figures were so valuable that they were used as offerings, Pausanias: statue of Apollo at the Amyklaion & Statue of Zeus in Olympia were made by Spartans MILITRAISTIC: a marble bust of a hoplite found in the Acropolis, bronze figurine of a Spartan warrior, Spartan girl running

**Painted Vases:** HUNTING: Hunters killing a boar 555BC, Warrior killing a serpent 550BC

**Myths, Legends and Real Life:** Arkesilas cup from Kyrene, Odysseus and a cyclops

**Bone and Ivory Carving:** Ivory comb at the shrine of Artemis Orthia and depicts a lion, Ivory broach depicting Artemis Orthia holding a bird,

– architecture: Amyklaion, Menelaion, the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia

**Amyklaion:** Pausanias – Hyakinthus was buried at the alter and people would bring offerings to hyakinthus,

**Menelaion:** Offerings of a bronze mouse and an amphora found , Herodotus suggests that their was a legend of an ugly girl who went to Menelaion and transformed into a beautiful woman once she came back

**Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia:** Bone relief of Artemis Orthia and clay masks of women and hoplites found

– writing and literature: Alcman and Tyrtaeus

**Alcman:** “Now sleep the mountain peaks and ravines, ridges and torrent streams, all creeping things that black night nourishes...now sleep...”, “wearing her garland like some bright star shooting across the night sky or golden sprout...grace sits of the maiden’s tresses”

**Tyrtaeus:** “Rise up, warriors, take your stand at one and another’s sides...for you were born from the blood of Heracles, unbeatable by moral men, and the god of gods has never turned his back on you...”

– Greek writers’ views of Sparta: Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Aristotle, Pausanias, Plutarch

– leisure activities

**Overall:** “For one of the noble and blessed privileges which Lycurgus provided for his fellow-citizens, was abundance of leisure” – Plutarch

“Adult men were required to stay fit through hunting and exercising in the gymnasium” – P Christesen
**Athletics:** Pausanias suggests that Spartans who were particularly good at sports were respected

**Hunting:** “Hunting on Taygetus had been the traditional leisure occupation of the Spartans from the earliest moment they took possession of the region” – K Chrimes

**Equestrian sports:** The Stele of Damonon lists over 40 horse chariot races

– marriage customs

“For their marriage the women were carried off by force...when they were in full bloom and wholly ripe...Then, after spending his days with his comrades, and sleeping with them at night, but visiting his bride by secretly and cautiously” – Plutarch

“It seems likely that...the bride left her parent’s house to live with her husband. We do not know if the marriage was neolocal (living separately).” – S Pomeroy