THUCYDIDES
AND
SPARTA

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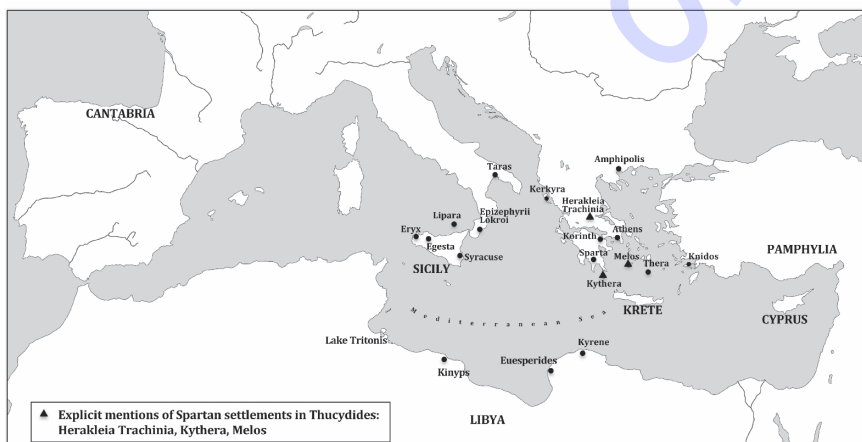
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THE MYTHO-POLITICAL MAP OF SPARTAN COLONISATION IN THUCYDIDES: THE 'SPARTAN COLONIAL TRIANGLE' vs. THE 'SPARTAN MEDITERRANEAN'

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1. Introduction

In his masterly treatment of Greek colonisation of the archaic period, A. J. Graham notes: 'Herodotus and Thucydides determine the picture of Greek colonization', at the same time warning that 'a great lost literature lies behind the meagre and skeletal information preserved for us in the extant historians and geographers' (Graham 1982, 87 and 89). This chapter will show that, unlike the story told by other sources, including Herodotus, which is one of Spartan mobility and spatial expansion (the 'Spartan Mediterranean'),[1] Thucydides' mytho-political map of Spartan settlements abroad appears to be geographically restricted to only three places in mainland Greece and the Aegean: Herakleia in Trachis, Kythera and Melos, which I call the 'Spartan colonial triangle' (see map). If Thucydides were our only fifth-century source, then our view of Spartan colonisation, mobility and power would have been a very different one indeed.

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Thucydides took a keen interest in Sparta, providing invaluable information and analysis on matters such as Spartan institutions, ethnic character, psychology and motivation, rhetoric and persuasion, diplomacy within and outside the Peloponnese, and the nature of Spartan power, often compared with those of Athens and other major players, such as Korinth or Chios.[2] One topic of investigation which has not received adequate attention so far is Thucydides' treatment of Spartan colonising activity and profile, on which this chapter will concentrate. Such an investigation promises to enhance our understanding of Thucydides' presentation and evaluation of the nature of Spartan power on the one hand, and the role of intercommunal kinship in his analysis of the war on the other.[3] In attempting to explain the contrast between the 'Spartan Mediterranean' and the 'Spartan colonial triangle', this chapter will also address Thucydides' historiographical aims as well as methodological questions concerning the use and value of literary sources and the archaeological record in our study of Greek colonisation.[4]

Thucydides takes pains to show how the emotional and ethical framework of intercommunal kinship interacts with the practical parameters of interstate relations and power politics, especially in ethnic conflicts, such as the Peloponnesian War. A mother-city would expect loyalty from its *apoikiai*, and the latter would in turn expect support by the mother-city in moments of danger and security threat. When things go wrong, deep and bitter hostility mark the rhetoric, decision-making and action of kin parties in conflict.[5]

The amount and detail of information about colonial ties varies significantly across the *History*. For example, in the account of the Spartan general Brasidas' campaign in the north of Greece (mainly 4.78–88, 102–16, 4.120–5.11),[6] there is a concentration of colonial information, varying from a simple mention of the mother-city (or mother-ethnos) to (more rarely) mini-narratives of the ethnic background of a city or group, as in the cases of Skione (an *apoikia* of the Achaian Pellenaians in the Peloponnese) and the ethnically mixed communities of Akte in Chalkidike.[7] But as will be seen, Thucydides' mode of operation in the case of the *apoikiai* of Dorian Sparta is either explicit and detailed, as in the cases of the 'Spartan colonial triangle' (Herakleia in Trachis (mainland *apoikia* in central Greece), Kythera and Melos (island *apoikiai* in the Aegean)), or highly implicit and barely traceable.

The two major catalogic digressions in the narrative of the Sicilian expedition (Books 6 and 7), namely, the catalogue describing the colonizsation of Sicily (6.2–5) and the list of the alliances on each side before the final sea battle at Syracuse (7.57–8) are important examples of

not only Thucydides' keen interest in colonial ties and their role in war, but also of the manner in which Sparta's colonial ties are represented in the work. There is a rapport between these two catalogic sections, because the intercommunal kinship ties mentioned in the first help us understand and evaluate the power relations described in the second: the chapters on the Greek colonisation of Sicily (6.3–5) provide the cognitive map in the light of which the alliances of the Sicilian catalogue in Book 7 are to be read. The military alliances of the Sicilian catalogue are at times aligned with intercommunal-kinship hierarchies (an *apoikia* normally fights on the side of its mother-city), and at times dissonant. These complexities are reflected in Thucydides' opening statement of the Sicilian catalogue of allies, in which he describes the different motives behind these alliances:

> Such were the nations who fought on either side at Syracuse, against Sicily or on behalf of Sicily, ... choosing sides not so much on grounds of moral principle or kinship (οὐ κατὰ δίκην τι μᾶλλον οὐδὲ κατὰ ξυγγένειαν), but either as contingent factors (ξυντυχία), or interest (ξυμφέρον) or necessity (ἀνάγκη) determined it. (7.57.1)

The Kytherians, colonists of the Lakedaimonians, provide one example of reversal of kinship in the catalogue. The Kytherians had been brought into the Athenian Empire (4.57) and fought against Sparta, their own mother-city: 'the Kytherians were colonists of the Lakedaimonians, but served in the Athenian army against the Lakedaimonians' (Κυθήριοι Δωριῆς ... Λακεδαιμονίων ἄποικοι, 7.57.6). But there is a further striking feature in this in-spite-of kinship alliance: it is the only explicit reference to Spartan colonial activity in the narrative of the Sicilian expedition in books 6 and 7. It is indeed noteworthy that Sparta has such a meagre presence as a *metropolis* in this highly polished section of the *History*, where kinship (*syngeneia*) has an important role in the motivation and rhetoric of both sides. In the light of the whole of Thucydides' account, it might be argued that the underplaying of the Spartans' colonial profile in the Sicilian books is counterbalanced, as it were, by their overwhelming importance as metropolitan kinsmen of the Melians and warrantors of their freedom (5.104, 112) in the episode describing the Athenian imperialistic aggression against Melos in 416/15 BCE (5.84.2–116), as we will see below (pp. 194–6). This episode has rightly been viewed as a bridge to the Sicilian narrative, the pinnacle of Athenian imperialism. The historiographical problem of Sparta's relative effacement as a colonial power in the Sicilian narrative and elsewhere in Thucydides is tackled in section 5 of this chapter, where some answers are suggested.

This chapter draws the map of Spartan colonisation in Thucydides, paying attention to both presences and absences, to both explicit and

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implicit references. Having charted intercommunal kinship in Thucydides (section 2), which encompasses the special case of Amphipolis as an 'adopted' Spartan *apoikia* too, and methodological questions (which should be borne in mind throughout this discussion), in section 3, I will turn to the explicit mentions of Spartan colonial ties (the 'Spartan colonial triangle'): more precisely Herakleia in Trachis, Kythera and Melos, as the only three, and extensive, references to the Spartan *apoikiai* in the *History* (see map). In section 4, I will address the problem of absences and implicit mentions of Spartan colonial ties in the work, by looking at communities which appear unaccompanied by information about their Spartan colonial origins; such information can be found in sources outside Thucydides. In the final part of this chapter (section 5), I will try to explain the geographically limited map of Spartan colonial activity in the *History* or, in other words, the contrast between Thucydides' 'Spartan colonial triangle' and what has been called 'the Spartan Mediterranean', as attested in external sources.

2. Charting intercommunal kinship

Intercommunal kinship is an inclusive and holistic phenomenon, which extends beyond colonisation and narratives of common descent to encompass political and socio-cultural mechanisms (such as grant of citizenship, *xenia* (guest-friendship), *proxenia*, cultural transmission through cult, artistic production and so on). These institutions and practices have the power to connect communities with ties which might be at least equally binding as those based on colonisation or membership in the same ethnic group. For this type of intercommunal kinship, beyond the circle of colonial and tribal kin, the term 'relatedness' may be used, borrowed from anthropology and recent work on extended forms of kinship beyond biology, such as adoption.[8] This broadened notion of kinship is highly operative in interstate relations.

The significance and versatile use of extended kinship ties can be seen in the case of Amphipolis in Thrace, a telling case of adoption at the interstate level, since Amphipolis was an Athenian settlement which for a period of time became an 'adopted' Spartan *apoikia*. After a prolonged and difficult struggle for dominance in the area, the Athenians founded Amphipolis on the river Strymon in 437 BCE; the Athenian oikist in this successful colonial expedition to northern Greece was Hagnon. But in 422, in the course of the Spartan Brasidas' successful campaign in the region, the people of Amphipolis decided to change allegiances and attached themselves to Sparta. In a series of symbolic gestures the Amphipolitans renounced their colonial tie with Athens and initiated a new life for their community as a Spartan foundation. Thucydides' description is detailed,

also showing the close relationship between the religious and political aspects of intercommunal kinship as a total social phenomenon. At the same time it reminds us of the complexities of Greek colonial practices and our limited knowledge of them (5.11.1):

> After this Brasidas was given a state funeral in the city: the whole body of the allies formed a procession in full armour and buried him in front of what is now the agora. The Amphipolitans created a precinct round his tomb, and ever since then they make offerings to him as a hero, and have instituted games and annual sacrifices in his honour. They also adopted him as the founder of their colony (τὴν ἀποικίαν ὡς οἰκιστῇ προσέθεσαν), demolishing the buildings erected to honour Hagnon and obliterating any other potentially lasting memorials of his foundation. They regarded Brasidas as their saviour, and a further motive at the time for cultivating their Spartan alliance was fear of the Athenians: now that they were in a state of enmity with Athens they thought that paying founder's honours to Hagnon would be less in their interest, and less to their [or: to Hagnon's] taste. (trans. Hammond)

The puzzles of this valuable passage are many and the present state of the archaeological record along with the absence of inscriptional evidence cannot be of much help.[9] Important for my discussion is the symbolic significance of the actions described. This is a ritual of collective ethnic conversion-transformation, in which the switch is much more radical than the simple change of a founder, which is not unique in the Greek world.[10] In a map of Greek colonial ties, the Amphipolitans who replaced their Athenian-Ionian identity with a Spartan-Dorian one remind us that colonial (and ethnic) identities were not fixed, but negotiable and in close rapport with historico-political conditions. This significant episode inscribes Amphipolis into the orbit of Spartan colonial activity, a dimension often missed in discussions of Greek, and Spartan, colonisation of the classical period.[11] Feelings and narratives of descent interact with 'hard' politics (e.g. war alliances, imperial ambitions etc.) in a subtle interplay between past and present, constantly (re-)shaping feelings and perceptions of ethnic origin.

The *longue-durée* of Greek colonial activity from the prehistorical period of migrations onwards, which unifies mythical and historical time into a historically meaningful continuum, should also be taken into account in any discussion of Greek colonisation.[12] Mytho-historical time creates an extended temporal space which interacts with the geographical space of Spartan (and Greek) colonisation. The observation of this spatio-temporal relationship is very enlightening regarding Thucydides' handling of Spartan colonisation. Archaeology shows that the Greek expansion overseas was a gradual process, already at least from the Mycenaean times, related to

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routes of trade, piracy, hunt for metal resources and so on.[13] Multiple foundation dates in our literary sources are a further indication of the long-term nature of overseas settlements. Even when a single foundation date is attested, it does not represent a fixed event, but a long-term and complex process. Foundation dates are the historical and cultural mechanisms of collective memory around which ethnic consciousness and identity are scaffolded.[14] This is important for our discussion, since, as will be seen, in his map of Spartan colonisation Thucydides provides the foundation dates of two Spartan *apoikiai* (one belonging to the classical, the other to the prehistorical period): 426 BCE for Herakleia in Trachis and 1116 BCE for Melos (see section 3 in this chapter).

In the Melian Dialogue, the Melians themselves date their foundation seven hundred years before the historical present of 416 BCE (5.112.2). We have to assume therefore that by 1116 BCE the occupation of Sparta itself had taken place as a result of the so-called Dorian invasion into the Peloponnese. This passage is of wider significance, often read with an early and key passage in Thucydides for the study of Greek colonisation, where major events and movements of groups and individuals in the space of Hellas are recorded, including the Dorian invasion itself ('eighty years after the fall of Troy' 1.12.3), which resulted in a gradual reshaping of the map of the Greek world (1.12).[15] In this well-known passage the fall of Homer's Troy is used as a terminus post quem for dating foundations of communities resulting from the Greek heroes' itineraries on their return from Troy after the Trojan War. Sometimes Trojan heroes too come into the frame, in joint wandering and oikist activity with the Greeks. These itineraries are recorded in the *Nostoi* ('Returns') creating maps, with which Thucydides' own map of Greek – and Spartan – colonisation interacts.[16]

Thucydides draws on the epic material of the *Nostoi* when he records (or implies) foundation stories, which are significant for his account. One such case is for example the activity of the Argive hero and seer Amphilochos, son (or grandson) of Amphiaraos, an oikist in the region of Akarnania (western mainland Greece).[17] According to Thucydides, after the Trojan War, Amphilochos returned to his native city of Argos in the Peloponnese, but was dissatisfied with the state of affairs there, so 'founded Amphilochian Argos and colonised the rest of Amphilochia in the Ambracian Gulf', in Akarnania (2.68.3).[18] Engaging subtly with the material of the *Nostoi*, Thucydides locates Amphilochos (together with his brother Alkmaion, who is also active in oikist capacity in Akarnania, 2.102.2–6) in mainland Greece and not in Cilicia and Pamphylia, in south Asia Minor, where he is located by a more dominant tradition, followed by Herodotus

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and later sources.[19] In the catalogue of forces joining Xerxes' army in Herodotus (7.91), Amphilochos, paired with the better-known seer Kalchas, appears as the Greek progenitor of the mixo-Hellenic Pamphylians, who are armed in the Greek manner.[20] Epigraphic and archaeological material provide important context for the mythical justification of the Pamphylians' mixed culture. Inscriptions on stone and coins of the Hellenistic period from Side and Aspendos in Pamphylia (south coast of Asia Minor, close to mod. Antalya, Turkey) use both Greek and Anatolian languages, reflecting Hellenisation over a long period as well as the indigenous influence on the Greek colonists. There is similar evidence from Side's Pamphylian neighbours, such as Perge (for which see n. 13 in this chapter). Side's mountainous neighbour Selge (not mentioned in Thucydides) was thought to have been founded by Lakedaimonians, though the earliest sources in which this information is found are Roman and Byzantine (Strabo 12.7.3; Steph. Byz. 560.1).[21]

Pamphylia and Cilicia are mentioned in Thucydides only in the *Pentekontaetia*, in relation to Cimon's victory at Eurymedon (1.100.1) and death at Cition in Cyprus a little later (1.112.4).[22] As we saw, Thucydides' preferred mythological variant, locating Amphilochos' *nostos* in mainland Greece, departs significantly from the dominant version of this hero-founder's *nostos*. Thucydides' interaction with myth is not the focus of this discussion. But Amphilochos' case can illuminate our discussion of Spartan colonisation in two ways: first because it is a case of Thucydides' purposeful, I suggest, interaction with Herodotus also in the handling of colonial information. And second, because it is only one representative example of Thucydides' and Herodotus' subtle interplay with a large, culturally active and politically meaningful mythological corpus, of which we have a fragmentary and distant view. The latter observation relates to the problem of our sources: a significant number of foundation traditions – pertinent to Sparta and other *metropoleis* of the archaic and classical periods – are known to us from later, especially late Hellenistic and Roman, sources, such as Lykophron, Strabo and Pausanias. These authors often communicate with earlier traditions and sources, which could have been not only within Thucydides' reach but also under his critical examination as his panhellenic historical account was taking shape, and therefore deserve careful consideration, in the light of the material record.

Sources outside Thucydides reveal a fairly extensive network of Sparta's kinship ties based on colonisation across the Mediterranean. This network has aptly been called by Irad Malkin the 'Spartan Mediterranean' and comprises 'not only the bilateral links between Sparta and each of its colonies, but also the direct interconnections between those colonies'.[23]

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In addition to settlements in mainland Greece (among them the *metropolis* of Sparta itself, Doris, in central Greece), this extended mythopolitical map of Spartan colonisation across the Mediterranean includes the Aegean and the south and southwestern coast of Asia Minor, and settlements stretching from Iberia in the West, Italy, Sicily and the Adriatic, to North Africa, Crete, Cyprus and south Asia Minor in the East.[24] The map of Spartan settlements in Thucydides (the 'Spartan colonial triangle') is extremely restricted in itself, especially when compared with the 'Spartan Mediterranean'.

3. Thucydides' 'Spartan colonial triangle': Herakleia, Kythera, and Melos

Only three localities are explicitly flagged as Spartan *apoikiai* in Thucydides: one mainland settlement in central Greece, Herakleia in Trachis, and two insular ones, Kythera and Melos in the Aegean. All are first-generation settlements or else 'daughter cities' of Sparta, whose foundation dates stretch from the early Dark Ages (Melos) to the eighth century (Kythera), down to the fifth century (Herakleia in Trachis). So Thucydides' chronology of Spartan colonisation covers, in three movements, a significant span of time, collapsing myth and history into a meaningful historico-political narrative. In addition to his expansive myth-historical chronology, the richness, distinctiveness and distribution of material on Spartan *apoikiai* in Thucydides create an 'expansive narratological space', which demonstrates the validity of A. J. Graham's view that Thucydides, together with Herodotus, determines the picture of Greek colonisation, in the strongest possible way (p. 183 above). I would like to suggest that it is precisely the expansive narratological and temporal space of these three Spartan *apoikiai* in Thucydides, combined with his close and sophisticated interaction with Herodotus, that obscures the geographically restricted space of Spartan colonisation in Thucydides. Let us look at these three settlements, starting from the most recent one chronologically and going backwards in time.

The first explicit reference to a Spartan colony in the *History* crops up as late as in Book 3, in Thucydides' recording of the foundation of Herakleia in Trachis by the Spartans in 426 BCE. In this colonial undertaking, Sparta's own *metropolis*, Doris (Dorians) in central Greece (Δωριῆς, ἡ μητρόπολις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, 3.92.3) – which happens to be geographically close to Trachis – has a crucial role:

> The Spartans decided to send out the colony, partly in a desire to come to the aid of the Trachinians and Dorians, but they could also see that having the city established there would advantage them in the war with Athens (3.92.4, trans. Hammond)

Thucydides makes it explicit that there was a combination of ethical, emotional and practical motives behind the Spartan initiative of Herakleia's foundation. The choice of location was related partly to the location of Doris in the vicinity, the mother-city of the Spartans who called them in on grounds of kinship, as they were pressed by problems with a local *ethnos*, the Oitaeans (3.92.3); and partly to the strategic advantages of the new foundation with respect to the war against the Athenians. Herakleia would provide footing close at hand for naval operations against Euboia and a safe route to Thrace. Two years later, the Spartan general Brasidas would indeed use the city as a station in central Greece, on his way to the north for his successful campaign there (4.78.1).

Herakleia in Trachis was not close to its mother-city geographically, but its closeness to the cradle of all Dorians, and Sparta's own *metropolis*, made emotional, ethical and strategic sense and tightened the bond between *metropolis* and *apoikia* further. The lasting significance of Doris, this small area of central Greece, for all Greeks of Dorian ethnicity is evident in probably the most important inscription of kinship diplomacy, from the end of the third century BCE.[25] This long and elaborate inscription was found in the Hellenised city of Xanthos in Lykia, in southwest Asia Minor, and records the petition of the small city of Kytinion in Doris to the Xanthians for financial help on account of kinship. Kytinion is also mentioned in Thucydides, as one of the cities of mainland Doris (together with Boion and Erineos), in the first appearance of 'the *metropolis* of the Lakedaimonians' in the work (ἐς Δωριᾶς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων μητρόπολιν, 1.107.2).[26] The petition of the Kytinians in the third-century inscription in discussion was satisfied (to an extent), and a remarkable aspect of this decree is the elaborate documentation adduced by the Xanthians to prove their kinship with the Kytinians, based on divine and heroic genealogies. Unsurprisingly, among the mythical figures mentioned in the decree are Dorus (the eponymous ancestor of the Dorians), Herakles (the Dorian, and Spartan, foundational figure (*Archēgetēs*) par excellence) and his descendants. This Hellenistic inscription from Lykia is a brilliant example of the lasting persuasive power of myth in ancient Greek politics, and of the interrelation of mythical narratives, collective emotions and ethics in interstate politics. It is also a reminder of Sparta's lasting profile as Dorian coloniser of the Mediterranean, on this occasion by means of one of its kin communities, its own mother-city Doris, where Kytinion belonged. There were a number of Dorian Herakleias across the Mediterranean, but only two appear in Thucydides, the most conspicuous of which is Herakleia in Trachis.[27]

Tradition and innovation are intertwined in Herakleia's foundation in

426 BCE (3.92), with myth playing a central role in the name of the city itself and two of its three oikists, through the name of the Dorian proto-colonial hero Herakles. The speaking and propitious name of one of the three oikists was 'Alkidas' ('Mr Powerful' and another name of Herakles himself). Leon ('Mr Lion'), was the name of the second oikist, evoking Herakles' labours and related tokens; and 'Damagon', 'Mr Leader of the People', the third oikist, bore a technically appropriate name for a colonial operation. The significant nomenclature along with the oracular consultation ('first they made enquiry of the god at Delphi' 3.92.5) can be counted among the traditional aspects of the operation. A standard feature of colonial enterprises is also the exclusion of 'incompatible' ethnic groups from the body of settlers in order to secure the greatest possible cohesion and stability in the new settlement. The traditional ethnic divide between Dorians and Ionians can be seen in the foundation of Herakleia too, since the body of settlers was to comprise only Spartans and *perioikoi* and any other Greeks who might wish to join (τὸν βουλόμενον), except for Ionians, Achaians and some other groups (3.92.5). On the other hand, the committee of three oikists, along with the strong possibility that the three men did not stay on to live in the city, as settlers of the archaic period did, are indications of evolution in Greek colonial practices.

The theme of the Spartans' proactive defence of their *metropolis* Doris is pronounced early on in the *History*. In the first occurrence of Doris as the metropolis of the Lakedaimonians (1.107.2), Thucydides reports that the Spartans helped their *metropolis* Doris in a period of hostility against the Phokians, known as the First Sacred War (460s). The settlement of Sparta by the Dorians features also in the early and significant passage of the Archaeology on the transformation of Greece as a result of migrations and movements, one of which was the occupation of the Peloponnese by the Herakleidai (descendants of Hyllos, son of Herakles) and the Dorians, the charter myth of Spartan identity: 'in the eightieth year the Dorians occupied the Peloponnese with descendants of Herakles' (1.12.3), discussed above in relation to the *Nostoi* (pp. 188–9).[28] In ethical and emotional terms, Thucydides' treatment of kinship more generally, and especially in relation to Dorian attitudes to kinship, suggests a hierarchical order between a *metropolis* and its *apoikia*, which corresponds to the hierarchy between the members of human family, especially parents and offspring. Intercommunal kinship hierarchy can be seen in paradigmatic detail (in both authorial and rhetorical passages) in the episode of the *Kerkyraika*, on the quarrel between Korinth, Kerkyra's mother city, with its *apoikia* Kerkyra over a third kin city, Epidamnos: the senior member of this relationship (the *metropolis* Korinth) appears to have a vastly superior

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and eternal claim to the political loyalty, cultural continuity, gratitude and attribution of honour of its colonial offspring (Kerkyra).[29] It is within this hierarchical framework that we must see the foundation of Herakleia in Trachis by the Spartans, which created a new strategic connection based on colonial kinship in a vital part of mainland Greece for the Spartans, at the same time enhancing ties with Doris, Sparta's mother-city-cluster.

Kythera, which was geographically close to Sparta, is the second Spartan *apoikia* explicitly mentioned in the *History*, (4.53.2). It was an island *apoikia* just off the shore of Lakonike and a hub of potential troubles very close to its mother-city. The dangerous-island motif is attested in a memorable passage in Herodotus. Advising Xerxes to use Kythera as a base from which to cause fear and harm to the Spartans by establishing 'a war close at home for them' (παροίκου δὲ πολέμου σφι ἐόντος οἰκηίου, 7.235.3), the Spartan Demaratos reports what the Spartan sage Chilon said about the island: that the Spartans would be better off if Kythera sank in the bottom of the sea rather than sticking out of it.[30] In this connection we may remember Thucydides' reference to the Spartans' wars 'of their own' or 'close to home' (πολέμοις οἰκείοις, 1.118.2), which he considers at least one reason for the famous quietness of the Spartans (ἡσύχαζον) and their reluctance to undertake military campaigns.

Thucydides records the Athenian attack against Kythera in the summer of 424 BCE. This attack, along with the capture of Pylos and the Spartan disaster on Sphakteria, another 'dangerous' island, the previous year, were major setbacks for the Spartans in the Peloponnesian War (see 4.36.3; 55.1, 4). The Athenians used Kythera as a basis from which to make raids against other perioikic communities, such as Thyrea in Kynouria (4.57.1–3).[31] In the text of the peace of Nikias (421 BCE), like Koryphasion (the Spartan name for Pylos, 4.3.2), Kythera was expected to be restored to Sparta (5.18.7), but apparently it was not, since in the catalogue of allies in Syracuse in 413 BCE the Kytherians are reported fighting against the Spartans, despite their colonial connection (7.57.6), as we saw earlier in this chapter.

The settlement of Kythera was a short-distance colonial initiative. Thucydides notes that the settlers were Lakedaimonian perioikoi ('dwellers round about', that is, free Spartans of non-citizen status) (4.53.2). He does not provide a foundation date, but any Spartan initiative should be placed later than the first half of the eighth century, when Kythera might have been controlled by Argos.[32] Thucydides reports that the Spartans took great care of the place, because of its commercial and military importance. They kept a hoplite garrison on the island and sent an official every year

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(κυθηροδίκης ἀρχή, 4.53.2). Such mechanisms of control of the mother-city over its *apoikia* were not unusual: a parallel for the Spartan *kytherodikai* seemed to have been the Korinthian *epidemiourgoi*, that is the officials sent by (Dorian) Korinth to its *apoikia* in northern Greece, Poteidaia (1.56.2).

Thucydides elaborates on the Spartan alarm caused by the capture of Kythera by the Athenians in 424 BCE. He says that the Spartans took protective measures of rather unusual scale and type, as the Athenian assault awoke fears of revolution (4.55.1). These fears were not new and were related to the helots, whose desertions and potential revolt are explictly mentioned as sources of Spartan anxiety in explicit terms in relation to the loss of Pylos (4.41.3; 5.14.3).[33] It is worth noting that despite being Lakedaimonians and under the close watch of their mother-city, the Kytherians displayed an un-Spartan ethnic character in their handling of Athenian aggression: after a short resistance they surrendered themselves to the Athenians on condition that death penalty was not to be imposed on them. There was also a background of previous communication between them and the Athenian commander Nicias, Thucydides continues, which speeded up and improved the terms of the deal, in both the short- and the long-term (4.54.2–3). After removing a few Kytherians and depositing them in the islands, the Athenians allowed the community to continue to live in their land on payment of four talents as tribute (4.57.4), a substantial amount, which indicates wealth.[34] It is obvious that the Kytherians were not prepared to sacrifice themselves in order to defend their city and its freedom (whatever degree of independence from Sparta can be postulated for this peroikic community; probably little).[35] They did not resist in the way the Spartans who were killed on Sphakteria had done a year ago; nor did they demonstrate the loyalty and resilience of the Melians in 416 BCE, another insular society (and a robust economy, like Kythera, though the Melian wealth does not surface in Thucydides). Although at close distance to their mother-city, the Kytherians' lack of loyalty to Sparta and their un-Dorian-Spartan ethics placed them far apart from their *metropolis*. Sparta's heavy-handedness with this perioikic community along with Kythera's mercantile economy must have been the main factors of the emotional and cultural distance between the two areas.[36] In the framework of network theory it has been suggested that there is an inverse relationship between geographical distance and commonality and cohesiveness between two areas.[37] It can be suggested that Kythera and Melos in Thucydides fit this pattern well; two wealthy insular societies with an inverse relationship with their *metropolis* in terms of their geographical and emotional-cultural distance from it.

Melos is another insular Spartan *apoikia* to which Thucydides devotes

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much attention. In contrast to Kythera, Melos lay at some distance from the *metropolis*, in the middle of southern Aegean, and in the course of the war it would demonstrate a very Spartan and Dorian ethnic character and remarkable loyalty to its *metropolis*.

The description of the second Athenian attack against Melos in the spring of 416/15 BCE,[38] which also includes the famous debate known as the Melian Dialogue, is, together with the *Kerkyraika*, the most detailed and compelling statement of colonial *xyngeneia* in Thucydides. In the Melian Dialogue Thucydides stages a drama of political realism, on the one hand, and of psychological unreality, on the other. The dialogic form of the debate is Thucydides' innovation, which evokes several genres, among them tragedy, philosophical dialogue and sympotic performance.[39] The Melians are represented as the weak islanders, who are prepared to discuss academically about their own death or survival, retaining an irrational composure before Athenian power. In ethical and emotional terms, colonial kinship with the Spartans is the dominant argument of the Melian Dialogue, which fuels the Melians' resistance to the Athenian aggression. The Melians proudly proclaim the antiquity of their tie with Sparta, by saying that they had been settled by Sparta seven hundred years earlier (1116 BCE), a date which, as we saw (p. 188 in this chapter), intertwines myth and history by making the Spartan-Herakleidan colonial activity compatible with the Trojan *nostoi*.[40]

The hopes of the Melians that they would receive help from their mother-city proved futile, as the Athenians had foreseen (5.105.3–4) (ἐλπίς 'hope' is a key word in the Dialogue). Thucydides is silent about any initiatives undertaken by the Spartans to help their kin community. Was kinship with Sparta of any avail to the Melians? The question is important, because the whole episode bears signs of an author hard at work, as regards not only the form of the Melian Dialogue itself and its interplay with other literary genres, but also the portrait of the Melians themselves. In post-colonial terms, there is a fair amount of 'Orientalisation' in the Melians' representation as weak and isolated islanders – 'Others' in the middle of the Aegean, who remain loyal to their mother-city and steadfast to the traditional Dorian ideal of freedom at all costs, defying Athenian imperialism (5.112.2). In fact, Melos was a robust island society with good connectivity and resources, which have been downplayed by Thucydides.[41] It was after many months of siege and only after treason by the pro-Athenian party that the island fell into Athenian hands, and became, as Thucydides presents it, an Athenian settlement ('they settled the place themselves, sending out five hundred settlers of their own', 5.116.4).

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We cannot exclude the possibility that the Spartans were aware of the prolonged siege of the Melians; nor can we exclude that pleas based on kinship were made to the Spartans by Melian embassies, or that Sparta might even have offered some form of help, which would have contributed to the robust resistance of the Melians. The contrast between Thucydides' expansive description of interstate negotiations in the form of the Melian Dialogue and the elliptical description of the siege and fall of the island (5.114, 115.4, 116.2–4) has been noticed.[42] Despite the hopes of the Melians that help would come from the mother-city, the Spartans do not show up to defend their *apoikoi*, at least in Thucydides' presentation. In the Melian Dialogue, the Athenians themselves accuse the Spartans of some form of duplicity, namely that they equate comfort with honour and expediency with justice (5.104.4).[43] This statement reflects of course the Spartan stereotype of duplicity and treacherousness which abounds in our sources (e.g. Eur. *Andr.* 445–52). At the same time, it reinforces the reading of the Melian Dialogue as the archetype of imperialistic ideology and rhetoric.[44] But should this lead us to think that the Spartans did not value kinship and that the Melians' hopes were unfounded? Or, that Thucydides himself would like us to think that kinship is marginal and unimportant in times of war, and perhaps more generally in Greek society? The answer to both questions is categorically No. Thucydides' own evaluation of kinship as a factor in interstate-relations ethics is well-represented in the Sicilian catalogue of allies and the multiple motives behind the alliances (7.57.1), discussed previously (p. 185). In it the overturning of the 'moral principle or kinship' (*dike*, *syngeneia*) which characterises some of the alliances of the Sicilian catalogue is presented as an aberration and not expected practice. Also, Thucydides' choice to treat at such length two of the factors that precipitated the outbreak of the war – the famous 'apparent reasons' (1.23.6) – the *Kerkyraika* (and the *Potidaiatika*), two 'Dorian-Korinthian family affairs' taking place in northwestern Greece, demonstrates the importance he attributed to the role of intercommunal kinship in conditions of ethnic conflict. The events in these remote theatres of the war, in which cities other than Sparta or Athens were directly involved, had implications for the causes of the Peloponnesian War.[45] As for the Spartans, there is evidence in the *History* that they did have a regard for kinship. One such example is their prompt and consistent help to their mother-area Doris (pp.190–2 in this chapter); another is the episode of the Euesperides, a Greek city of Spartan stock in northern Africa (*Kyrenaika*), as we will see in the next section. It is also a further indirect Thucydidean reminder of Sparta's extended network of colonial relations across the Mediterranean.

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4. *Syngeneia* in the background: implicit references and significant absences

The most impressive examples of indirect references to Spartan colonial activity in Thucydides relate to the West, notably Taras and Kyrene. Both cities' kinship ties with their *metropolis* Sparta are not mentioned in Thucydides, although they are key representatives of Spartans away from home, and their mytho-political significance is well reflected in external sources and the material record.

Taras in South Italy has been considered the only certain overseas settlement of the Spartans and its last securely-dated eighth-century colony in Italy (706 BCE, Eusebius' date). The material record indicates a Lakonian origin for at least part of the settlers and a closer association between Sparta and Taras from the end of the seventh century onwards. Herodotus refers to the special friendship between the Tarentines and the Knidians in the East on account of common origin (ἀπὸ τούτων ἐόντων ... φίλων μάλιστα, 3.138). The structure ἀπό + genitive (ἀπὸ τούτων ἐόντων) denotes colonial descent.[46] Herodotus' passage is of immense significance, because, when cross-read with Hdt. 1.174.2 (the Knidians are Lakedaimonian *apoikoi*), it is a clear and early attestation of the common Spartan origin of Knidos and Taras.[47] As we will see, Knidos in Karia (Asia Minor), member of the Doric *hexapolis* (later *pentapolis*), plays a key role in the Spartan, and Dorian, kinship network of the Aegean.[48] Cultural indexes, namely *nomima* (customs), dialect and script, leave no doubt that Sparta was Taras' mother-city.[49]

The mytho-political background about the Spartan foundation of Taras in our sources is a composite one, combining an imported Spartan oikist, Phalanthos, and an eponymous mythical founder, Taras, indigenous to the land, whose cult must have prevailed during the fifth and certainly in the fourth century BCE. The figure of Phalanthos is related to a typical story-pattern of foundations away from home: an internal crisis (*stasis*), which is eventually resolved by the displacement of the ill-fitted group and their exiled leader abroad to found a new city; the story is known as the myth of the Partheniae.[50] The context of the crisis is the first Messenian War (probably c.735–715 BCE), a defining moment of Spartan history and Greek colonial activity more generally (cf. Strabo 6.1.1 on Rhegion's (Chalkidian) foundation in the context of this turbulent period). As usual, the resolution is provided by means of a Delphic oracle (reported in Antiochus' version): 'I have given you Satyrion and Taras, a rich country, to dwell in and be a plague to the Iapygians' (πῆμα Ἰαπύγεσσι γενέσθαι).[51] The oracle might be viewed as reflecting the prolonged state of hostility with the local element (cf. Th. 6.34.4, 44.2).[52] πῆμα Ἰαπύγεσσι γενέσθαι evokes the Homeric

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πῆμα γενέσθαι Τρωσί ('be a plague to the Trojans', Hom. *Il.* 22.421–2), and the Homeric resonance of the oracular verse represents a purposeful legitimation of ancient territorial claims of the Tarentines in the area. The later tradition has same effect about Homeric Menelaos' dedication of spoils paving the way in the area for the Spartans. Menelaos has been viewed as a mythical prototype of the historical Spartan Dorieus who set out to colonise the West.[53]

Cult is another important criterion of kinship and it is worth mentioning here a remarkable instance of reverse cultural transmission from the *apoikia* to the Greek *metropolis*, namely from Taras to Sparta. This is suggested by a Lakonian cup (c.590–570 BCE), which was found in 1987 about four kilometers outside modern Sparta, bearing the inscription: [-]ε Μεσαπεῦ. Catling and Shipley have suggested that the object is related to the cult of Messapian Zeus in Lakonia. They think that the cult must have taken its name from the Messapians in South Italy, who perhaps acquired the cult of Zeus from the Tarentines, and was introduced in turn to Sparta, the mother-city of Taras.[54]

The rich tradition about Taras' ethnic origin does not surface in Thucydides. The only indication of a potentially Dorian origin is the city's presentation as steadily loyal and friendly to the Dorian Syracusans and the Peloponnesian forces, and hostile to the Athenians. The same applies to Epizephyrii Lokri in South Italy, which is frequently paired with Taras in Thucydides.[55] The proximity of the two localities in Thucydides' text is representative of the Epizephyrian Lokrians' proximity to Taras' *metropolis*, Sparta, as the Lokrians of Italy fashioned themselves as 'the Sparta of the West', although they were not of Spartan, or even of Dorian, origin.[56] The Epizephyrian Lokrians constructed their special closeness to the Spartans by means of their political, economical and social organisation, and the use of the Spartan mytho-political apparatus of ethnicity. It is a case exemplifying the complexity and malleability of colonial myths. The tradition preserved by Polybius (12.6b.9) dates the foundation of Epizephyrii Lokri at the time of the first Messenian War, another pivotal event in the history of Greek colonisation, and might be dependent on earlier versions of Taras' foundation myth, on account of its striking similarities with them.[57] The Epizephyrians' (self-)image as 'the Sparta of the West' reflects the magnitude and economic and cultural significance which their city acquired over time, and their effort to appropriate the role of *metropolis* of the whole Lokrian ethnos, which they must have felt deserved more than the small and rather dim Lokrians of mainland Greece.

Another case of implicit statement of Spartan *syngeneia* in Thucydides is found in the context of the Athenian operations in the Aiolian (< Aiolos)

islands in the Tyrrhenian Sea in 428/7 BCE. Thucydides turns the focus to the only inhabited island of the complex, Lipara, and its people's resistance against the Athenians (3.88; 3.115.1). The Liparaians lay off Rhegion and the Straits of Messina (*IACP* no. 34), and, as Thucydides mentions, they were colonists of the Knidians (3.88.2) and allies of the Syracusans.[58] Though Knidos plays an important role in the events of 412/11, as base of the Peloponnesian forces (8.35, 41–4, 52, 109), nowhere does Thucydides mention Knidos' colonial origin from Sparta.[59] This we know from Herodotus (1.174.2).[60] The only potential trace of the Knidian–Spartan connection in the *History* is the patronymic of the Lakedaimonian commander Xenares (who died fighting in defence of the fifth-century Spartan *apoikia*, Herakleia in Trachinia in 419 BCE (5.51.2)). His father's name was Knidis, which might suggest family links with Knidos.[61]

By contrast, Diodorus (5.9.2–5) provides rich mytho-political material on the Liparaians' ethnic identity. According to their foundation myth, the Liparaians were founded by Pentathlos, a Heraklid from Knidos, who had come to Sicily in the 580s and lost his life trying to settle Lilybaion, on the western tip of the island. But three of his kinsmen sailed north and started a new community on Lipara. The Liparaians had won important victories over the Etruscans in the course of the sixth century, and they had often dedicated lavish spoils to Delphi.[62] Pentathlos was a colonial predecessor of Dorieus, son of Anaxandrides and half-brother of the Spartan king Kleomenes. Dorieus came to Sicily seventy years later (c. 510 BCE) to colonise Eryx in Sicily (see below).

The absence of the kinship tie between Knidos and Sparta from Thucydides' narrative obscures the extended network of Sparta's colonial settlements in the Mediterranean both eastwards and westwards. Without the help of external sources, not only do we lose sight of the Spartans' colonial activity in the East and their foundation of a major centre of Dorianism in Asia Minor, but we also miss their role as grand-mother city of Lipara (a Knidian *apoikia*), on the western fringes of the Greek world. One might be tempted to think that the absence of the colonial tie between Knidos and Sparta might be a sign of the work's incomplete status and/or lack of revision. Given Knidos' central role in supporting Spartan-led forces in 412–11 (8.35, cf. n. 59 in this chapter), the information would normally have featured in Book 8, which, together with Book 5, has been the focus of separatist criticism regarding the question of composition. The absence of this piece of information from Book 8 might have been tagged 'problematic' from a separatist-friendly perspective (against the approach taken in this chapter). Today the majority of Thucydidean

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scholarship is unitarian, with W. R. Connor changing the field in the 1980s by consistently introducing narratological questions to the study of Thucydides.[63] The incomplete status of the work cannot be denied of course, nor can every loose end be redeemed or attributed to Thucydides' literary genius. But in line with this chapter's argument, Thucydides' silence about the colonial tie between Sparta and Knidos can be seen not as a loose end, but as part of his 'Spartan-triangle policy', which consistently presents Sparta's colonial activity as being geographically restricted to the Greek mainland and the Aegean, underplaying its extended network of settlements across the Mediterranean.

Like Lipara, Kyrene was a second-generation Spartan settlement in the West (north Africa, ancient Libya). Its *metropolis* was Thera (modern Santorini) in the Aegean, which was settled by the Spartans. This succession of settlements (Sparta – Kyrene – Thera) is known to us from external sources and the archaeological record, where it is richly attested,[64] and not from Thucydides, who is silent about these colonial connections. In fact Kyrene and Thera get scant and only passing references in the *History* (1.110, 2.9, 7.50). The only vestige of these colonial connections in Thucydides is an episode involving the city of Euesperides in north Africa. The Euesperitans too were Spartan kinsmen in Libya (*Kyrenaika*), because they were an *apoikia* of Kyrene. This colonial tie does not surface in Thucydides' text either, but it is only by knowing it that we are able to understand the interstate relations of the episode and kinship's role in them. The episode (7.50) is perhaps the most characteristic example of Thucydides' implicit statement of *xyngeneia*, on this occasion concerning Spartan colonial ties.[65] Let us have a closer look.

At a critical moment of Syracuse's siege by the Athenians in 413 BCE, Thucydides notes, Peloponnesian and Spartan-led forces destined to Sicily were driven off course to Libya, and were delayed there by being involved in a local war of the Euesperitans with the Libyans. We are casually told that the Kyrenaians gave two triremes and guides to the Spartans for their mission without any explanation for their decision. After helping the Euesperitans successfully, Thucydides continues, the Spartans sailed round to Neapolis, the Carthaginian emporion, and from there they crossed north to Selinous (7.50). Without being aware of the kinship tie between Sparta, Kyrene and Eusperides – and Sparta's long-standing interest and operations in the West (see below on Dorieus' and Pentathlos' colonial expeditions, pp. 202–3) – we cannot grasp the interstate kinship politics behind this digressive military mission in north Africa, centring on Sparta's ethnic family, at such a critical moment of the war in Sicily. It is also further evidence that the Spartans did have a regard for kinship after all, contrary

to the very bad press they tend to get as an apparently inactive *metropolis* of the Melians, as we saw.

As we learn from sources outside Thucydides, Euesperides /Berenike/ Bengazi, together with Barke/Ptolemais and Taucheira/Tocra, was among the cities on the Libyan cost founded by Kyrene in Libya. We have no literary date for the foundation of Euesperides, but we know that the city existed in 515 BCE (Hdt. 4.171, 198.3, 204). The very name of the city, points to the myth of the Golden Apples of the Hesperides, which, in later sources, is linked with the exploits of Herakles in Libya.[66] In his Libyan *logos* Herodotus (4.178) also attests to an oracle, which stipulated a Spartan foundation on a small island named Phla in the area of Lake Tritonis.[67] This is reinforced by an irredentist story, which Herodotus provides in the same context aiming to legitimise a vigorous Greek presence in the area. The story goes back again to the Argonauts and Jason, who had to offer a bronze tripod to the local watery god Triton (eponymous of the Lake) in order to be granted safety and a safe route back to Greece. On receipt of the tripod, Triton predicted that the Greeks could expect to found a hundred Greek cities in the area, should they ever find and retrieve the tripod (Hdt. 4.179.3). As we hear from Timaios, in later times a tripod was publicly displayed in Euesperides, supposedly the 'retrieved one', as a symbol of legitimation of Kyrenaian, and consequently Spartan, colonial activity in the area.[68]

The Argonauts were also implicated in Kyrene's own foundation by means of its oikist Battos from Thera, who claimed descent from the Argonauts.[69] Battos and his clan the Aigeidai are also tightly associated with the Spartan Herakleidai, in the context of the well known fifth-century tradition of the Lakonian settlement of Kyrene in Libya.[70] The transmission of the Spartan cult of Apollo Karneios to Thera and thence to Kyrene is an important cultural index of the close relationship between the three kin cities.[71] In addition to the Greek (Minyan, Herakleidan and Lakonian) background, via Battos, there is a Trojan element too in Kyrene's ethnic identity, related to the Trojan *nostoi*: a generation after the Argonauts (i.e. prior to the Lakonian occupation of Kyrene by Battos), the sons of the Trojan Antenor had established themselves in the area (in the 'Hill of the Antenoridai'). According to Pindar (*Pyth.* 5.85–8), the Spartan Greeks who came later embraced the Trojan cults already in place, and this cultic and ethnic co-existence was reflected in the honours the Kyrenaians attributed to their local heroes.[72]

The multiple temporal layers and the Greco-Trojan activity of foundation traditions are central to the mytho-political background of the 'Spartan Mediterranean'. Strabo (3.4.3), for example, presents the story of

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the Lakonian settlement of part of Cantabria, on the north coast of Spain (Bay of Biscay): the Greek founders comprised the Heraklids together with Messenians and Homeric heroes, such as the Achaian Odysseus and the Trojan Antenor. On this occasion, Strabo identifies as his source Asklepiades of Myrleia (*FGrH* 697), a grammarian of the second/first century BCE who worked in Spain.[73] Asclepiades' testimony seems to be either the late trace of an uninterrupted narrative of ethnic descent, whose earlier phases are lost to us, or, most probably, a late construction in intentional dialogue with an early and venerable epic past. Parts of this past are also the Homeric background of Antenor's friendly association with the Spartan Menelaos and Odysseus (*Il.* 3.203–8) and the wider mytho-chronological compatibility of Trojan returns and Herakleidan mobility.[74]

It is particularly noteworthy that none of this mythological material pertinent to Sparta's diffused colonial activity in the Greek world of the West, richly documented in sources roughly contemporary to Thucydides (such as Herodotus and Pindar) and certainly well-known to him, found its way into his own historical narrative. This is true in relation not only to the line Sparta – Thera – Kyrene – Euesperides, but also to the Spartan background and Doric ethnic make-up of the Elymian cities Egesta and Eryx in Sicily, a major theatre of the war recorded by Thucydides. The Spartan colonial activity in this part of the world relates to the Spartan Dorieus' two-phase colonial activity at the end of the sixth century BCE, first in northern Africa, then in Sicily. In Thucydides Egesta plays a key role, as the city appears to be largely responsible for dragging the Athenians into the Sicilian expedition. But Egesta and Eryx are presented as straightforwardly 'barbaric' (6.2.6; 7.57.11), and not of mixed culture, in which the Spartan – Dorian element had an important role.[75]

It is from Herodotus, again, that we hear about Dorieus' activities in the West at the end of the sixth century BCE: not being able to tolerate the rule of his step-brother, the Spartan king Kleomenes, whom he deemed less worthy than himself, Dorieus set off westward to colonise at first the site of Kinyps, in Libya (north Africa) (c.512 BCE).[76] Quite oddly for a Spartan (Spartans were famously thought to place divine matters above all else, Hdt. 5.63.2 and 9.7.1), Dorieus, in a state of rage, neglected to consult the oracle and fulfil the expected practices. Because he met with local resistance, his expedition in northern Africa was doomed to fail and two years later Dorieus had to return home. Equally ill-fated was Dorieus' second attempt to colonise the West, this time in the area around Mount Eryx in western Sicily (Hdt. 5.43–48). This mission had the religious backing of an oracle, which drew on the myth of the Spartans' Heraklid descent and aimed at legitimising Spartan presence in Sicily, by presenting

it as a return to the ancestral rights of Herakles. The city, which Dorieus and his group were going to establish on the site of Eryx, was to be named 'Herakleia' (a distinctively Dorian name, cf. p. 191 in this chapter). But due to his own mishandlings and to local resistance (Hdt. 5.46), Dorieus and his group did not manage to fulfil their mission, and Dorieus lost his life in battle. The material record attests to the mixed culture of the two Elymian cities, Egesta and Eryx, which, as we saw, appear as outright 'barbarian' in Thucydides.[77] Similar evidence exists in Herodotus (5.47) and concerns cult: Philip of Kroton, an Olympic victor and the most handsome man of his time, had joined Dorieus' colonial expedition. After his death, the people of Egesta honoured him with a hero cult, which is thought of as a feature of Greek culture.[78]

Thucydides was well aware of the sources documenting the rich mytho-political material of the Spartan Mediterranean, and on some occasions interacted subtly with it. At the same time he gave ample textual space to the Spartans' colonising activities and their *apoikiai* in places within the restricted space of the Greek mainland and the Aegean, what we have called the 'Spartan colonial triangle'. How can we explain Thucydides' two-geared strategy in relation to Sparta's colonial profile? Why is Spartan Mediterranean so invisible in his work in sharp contrast to the visibility of the Spartan colonial triangle?

5. Why is 'the Spartan Mediterranean' so invisible in Thucydides?
One key aspect of the problem is Thucydides' intense and sophisticated engagement with Herodotus' text. Suffice it to say that Thucydides' 'gaps' on the map of Spartan Mediterranean would have been perceived and interpreted very differently by his contemporary audiences, who were more familiar not only with Herodotus' own text but also other significant prose and poetic intertexts; and so was Thucydides himself.[79] At least some of these gaps would have been filled more readily by active and shared cultural contexts, such as literature, art, ritual and so on. The 'filling in of the gaps' and creation of meaning by modern audiences is surely a very different process, as their historical and cultural contexts are different too.[80] This is of prime importance when considering 'cognitive maps' of ancient colonisation in Thucydides, and more generally.[81] In other words, what is 'visible' or 'invisible' in the text depends on the reader/receiver.

The cross-reading of colonial information in Thucydides and Herodotus reveals considerable complementarity in the amount, kind and distribution of colonial information in the two authors. Where Thucydides is terse or silent, Herodotus tends to be explicit and expansive, and vice-versa.[82] We have already seen some representative examples, such as Kyrene

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and Thera, about which Herodotus provides rich colonial information, whereas Thucydides only passing mentions. Melos is also a case in point. In Herodotus the Melians appear in only two passing references, in the catalogue of the Greek forces before the battle of Salamis (Hdt. 8.46, 48), where they stand out for their Dorian Lakedaimonian ethics, because they were among the few Aegean islands who did not give earth and water to the Persians, and contributed two pentekonters. In Thucydides the Melians' Dorian Lakedaimonian ethics shine through again, but by means of a very different narratological handling. Thucydides devotes much attention and literary artistry to the Melian episode by producing a generically unique digression (the Melian Dialogue), in which the Spartans' role as colonial *metropolis* and warrantors of justice and freedom on account of kinship is weighed against considerations of political realism, against the backdrop of the Athenian imperialism and perceptions of the threat to their national security.

Another factor that influences the narrow space of colonial activity which Thucydides allocates to the Spartans is, I suggest, the shaping of the national characters of the two main enemy cities, the Spartans and the Athenians, which involves a considerable amount of stereotyping and antithetical presentation. The Dorian Spartans are presented as timid, over-religious, prone to inaction (ἡσυχία), and attached to their land and the problems about and around it, whilst the Ionian Athenians are presented as fast, daring, naval, mobile and constantly looking ahead and beyond what they already possess.[83] The antithetical, and at the same time complementary, ethnic characterisation of the Spartans and the Athenians in Thucydides has an explanatory value not only of local but also of transcultural and transtemporal quality. It is one of the mechanisms through which Thucydides' famous ambition to deliver his analysis of war and ethnic conflict to posterity as a possession for all time is fulfilled.

The antithetical presentation of the two main enemies emerges at different parts of the *History* to explain thinking processes, feelings, action/inaction and military successes and failures: the Spartans were the ideal enemies for the Athenians, because their weaknesses were the Athenians' strengths, and vice-versa (8.95.5). Spartan mobility, territorial expansion and colonial activity in the wider space of the Mediterranean have been underplayed, commensurately with the underplaying of the Spartans' naval ability, since these inter-related strengths have been decisively allocated to the Athenians. In this light, it is not accidental that the three *apoikiai* of the Spartan colonial triangle in the *History* are all very, or reasonably, close to the *metropolis*, and within the space of mainland Greece and the southern Aegean. Kythera is literally a stepping stone to the

south of the Lakonike. Melos is closer than Kythera to the eastern shores of the Lakonike; although according to Thucydides the Spartans would not even cross this stretch of sea to come to the rescue of their *apoikoi*. Herakleia in Trachis is mid-distance but very close to Doris, the *metropolis* of the Spartans. If the extended network of Spartan colonial kinship across the Mediterranean, from Knidos in the east to Lipara and Euesperides in the west, were to come to the foreground, Thucydides' antithetical presentation of the national characters of Athens and Sparta, and his explanatory strategy 'for all time' would have been blurred.

That said, ethnic stereotyping in Thucydides has its limitations and his Peloponnesian War is far from a bipolar affair.[84] On the contrary, it is a diffused war of many centres, multiple individual and collective motives, means of war, cultural interactions and ethnic middle grounds, local communities and local wars, chance events and so on. All these interact and produce a complex and nuanced picture of historical explanations and contingencies. Korinth, with its own colonies, is part of this multi-centred and complex historiographic universe, as a third major player in the war, and certainly the second major player among the Dorian Greeks after the Spartans. As far as colonial activity is concerned, it is Korinth rather than Sparta who is cast in the role of an active and geographically dispersed colonial power from early times. This, I suggest, is a further factor in Sparta's presentation as a low-key colonial player in the broader canvas of the war's intercommunal kinship dynamics.

In the Archaeology, Korinth is presented as an early naval power, a trading centre (emporion, 1.13.5), and a 'rich place' since archaic times ('by the ancient poets', 1.13.5). By the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 431 BCE Korinth's position in the matrix of Greek interstate relations was very much changed. In the *Kerkyraika* (1.24–55) (and the *Potidaiatika*, 1.56–65) Korinth's early wealth and naval power are explicitly related to its colonial activity in northwestern Greece. In these sections we watch the Korinthians' conflict with their own past self-image, part of which appears to be their hurt pride as an archaic and dishonoured *metropolis* and its pursuit of retribution for what they felt was an insult from their *apoikoi*, the Kerkyraians. It is against this background that the Korinthians' pursuit of the war and the relentless urging of their fellow-Dorians, the Spartans, towards this direction are set.

As mentioned already (p. 192 in this chapter) the *Kerkyraika* and the *Potidaiatika* have a paradigmatic value for the role of intercommunal kinship in the *History* and Korinth's central role in colonial politics. Later on Korinth's loyal *apoikia* in Sicily, Syracuse became another major and bloody theater of the Sicilian war, again bringing to the foreground

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kinship-related motivation and its inter-relation with imperialism and 'hard' politics, and presenting Korinth – not Sparta – as active coloniser of the West and Dorian *metropolis* par excellence. In this connection we may recall Thucydides' statement in the Archaeology: 'The Athenians colonised Ionia and most of the islands: the *Peloponnesians* [my emphasis] founded the majority of the colonies in Italy and Sicily, and some in other parts of Greece' (1.12.4). In the comprehensive ethnic name 'Peloponnesians' Thucydides encompasses the Spartans without actually naming them as Dorian colonisers of the West, because it is the Korinthians, rather than the Spartans, who best fit the bill. This is another example of Thucydides' ethnic broad-brushing, in order to create two antithetical, and complementary, conceptual maps of Greek colonisation.[85]

Last but not least, the restricted space of Spartan colonisation in the Archaeology and beyond relates to another distortion, on the axis of time: the shrinking of the *long-durée* of Spartan interest and involvement in Sicily. For example, there are several mentions of Thurii in Italy from Book 6 onwards (as, for example, Spartan Gylippos' 'reviving his father's citizenship' with the Thurians, 6.104.2), but we hear nothing about the foundation of the city in the late 440s, an enterprise in which both Peloponnesians (but no Spartans) and Athenians were involved, as we hear from Diodorus (12.10.3–7; cf. Strabo 6.1.13).[86] Nor do we hear anything about Spartan colonial expeditions to Sicily in the sixth century (Pentathlos' and Dorieus' activities) – a silence which, as we saw, has serious implications for the representation of Sicilian communities, such as Egesta and Eryx, as ethnically non-Greeks (cf. pp. 202–3).

The deconstruction of the *longue-durée* of Spartan operations in the West is in line with an analogous strategy of effacement of Athenian diplomatic and military initiatives in the same part of the world since the 440s at least, as documented in external sources (including fifth-century inscriptions recording alliances) and hints in Thucydides' own account.[87] This strategy is part of a historical decontextualisation of the Athenian expedition to Sicily in 415–13 BCE, in order for the author to stage it as an act of Athenian collective madness to a far-off and largely unknown and alien land (6.1). The extent to which this land was really unknown or alien to the Athenians is the question of another discussion, in which Athens' map of intercommunal kinship ties would also have to have a central role.

6. Conclusion
The aim of this discussion was to deal with the contrast between what has been called the 'Spartan Mediterranean', an extensive network of Spartan foundations across the Mediterranean known from literary, epigraphic and

archaeological evidence outside Thucydides, and the restricted map of Spartan colonial settlements in Thucydides, which we named the 'Spartan colonial triangle'. The latter consists of only three first-generation foundations in the mainland Greece and the Aegean, namely Herakleia in Trachis, Kythera and Melos. If Thucydides was our only source, this 'triangle' would have defined our mental map of Sparta's colonial activity and 'the Spartan Mediterranean' would have been invisible to us. Surprisingly though, this misleadingly restricted map in Thucydides has escaped attention so far and its significance has not been assessed and explained. The purpose of this discussion has been to fill this gap.

This chapter concentrated on the 'visibility' and 'invisibility' of Sparta's colonial ties in Thucydides as concepts of relevant value, with a view to illuminating Thucydides' historiographic strategies and widely legible and meaningful explanatory patterns. If the case of Amphipolis presents us with the model of an 'adopted' *apoikia* in mainland Greece, reminding us of the subtle workings of intercommunal kinship and ethnicity in the context of ethnic conflict, the 'Spartan colonial triangle' (Herakleia in Trachis, Kythera and Melos) is one example among many in the *History* that poses the question of Thucydides' handling of historical 'truth'. The aim of this discussion was to provide some new perspectives both of Thucydides' heavy-handedness and of his subtlety in the process of shaping our mental maps of Greek colonisation.

Thucydides' 'Spartan colonial triangle' confined Spartan colonisation in the mainland and the Aegean, masking the Spartans' considerable network of settlements across the Mediterranean and on the fringes of the Greek world, as emerging from external sources. This triangle is in line with the stereotypical image of the Spartans as generally occupied more with the management of local problems, within the Peloponnese and their own population, rather than with extrovert policies. Thucydides constructed an antithetical, and at the same time complementary, explanatory schema of the national characters of Sparta and Athens, which had a bearing on shaping Spartan colonial activity 'close to home' and 'back in time', in contrast with his much more mobile, expansive and opportunist Athenians.

It was suggested that there is an inverse relationship between the restricted geographical space of the 'Spartan colonial triangle' on the map of the Greek world on the one hand, and on the other the expansive textual-narratological and temporal space allocated to this triangle in the *History*. This expansive textual-narratological and temporal space is created by means of the rich and distinct narrative material provided for each of these three Spartan *apoikiai* and the significant span of myth-historical time,

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chronologically well-defined by two foundation dates-events (426 BCE for the more recent (Herakleia) and 1116 BCE for the more ancient (Melos)) in the *History*. The effect of this inverse relationship is a sort of a narratological illusion, which makes it hard to perceive the degree of effacement of Spartan colonial expansion in Thucydides outside 'the triangle'.

Thucydides' configuration of geographical and mental (i.e. textual-narratological and temporal) space is enriched – to varying degrees for different audiences – by mental hypertexts, as it were, created by the inter-action of his 'Spartan colonial triangle' with significant and active prose and poetic intertexts. It was argued that there is a striking complementarity with Herodotus' *Histories* in the distribution of Sparta-related colonial material, revealing a subtle and detailed use of Herodotus' text with wider implications beyond the present discussion. A significant poetic intertext is Pindar, especially in the case of Sparta – Thera – Kyrene – Euesperides. Korinth's role as the Dorian coloniser of the West par excellence, and the overarching presence of the 'Korinthian colonial map' in Thucydides, considerably more expansive than that of the Spartans, was put forward as another determining factor of Thucydides' 'Spartan triangle'.

Notes

[1] Irad Malkin's (1994) term.

[2] Illuminating contributions on the topic: Powell 2001; Debnar 2001; Cartledge and Debnar 2006; Luraghi 2011.

[3] Mainly (but not solely) pertaining to the relationship between mother-cities (*metropoleis*) and their foundations (*apoikiai*) or between groups with claims of ethnic homogeneity. The Greek term is *sungeneia* (*xungeneia* in Thucydides); Jones 1999; Hornblower in *CT* ii, 61–80; Fragoulaki 2013.

[4] I am using the terms 'colony' and 'colonisation' as a functional convention, in the light of the specifics of Greek mobility and overseas settlements; for important discussions of the problem, see e.g. van Dommelen 1997, Osborne 1998.

[5] It must be noted that in Herodotus the term *sungeneia* is used only for biological kinship between individuals and families. E.g. Hdt. 3.2.2, 4.147.3. In Thucydides, of the thirty-five occurrences of the terms ξυγγένεια and ξυγγενής only seven refer to kinship ties between individuals; the rest describe kinship between cities; cf. Fragoulaki 2013, 32–57.

[6] Ridley 1981.

[7] E.g. 4.103.3 (Argilos); 110.1 (Torone); 4.109.2–4 (Akte); 4.120.1 (Skione); 4.88.2 and 5.6.1 (Stagiros); 4.107.3 and 5.6.1 (Galepsos and Oisyme).

[8] For the application of modern anthropological theories of relatedness and kinship to intercommunal kinship and the political sphere of ancient Greece, see Fragoulaki 2013, 3–25.

[9] Mari 2012, with further bibliography.

[10] From Thucydides we know of similar phenomena in the Sicilian cities of Katane and Kamarina, 6.3.3, 6.5.3. Cf. Epidamnos handing itself over to Korinth (its grandmother city) instead of Kerkyra, its original *metropolis* (1.25.2). These communities though belong to the Dorian ethnos and none of these attempted a change as radical as attaching themselves to a non-Dorian *metropolis*.

[11] Debnar (2001, 198–9) correctly notes the reshaping of the Amphipolitans' ethnic identity through Brasidas' rhetoric and his becoming their oikist, but uses the more general ethnic designation 'Dorian' (p. 199), rather than 'Spartan', for post-Brasidas Amphipolis. For an Ionian example, see Hornblower in *CT* ii, 73 on ML 89 (the Neapolitans try to obliterate their colonial origin from the Thasians, attaching themselves to the Athenians). As Hornblower points out in the same context 'Thucydides himself notes such inversions of the colonial norm'; and see above (p. 185) for the inversions of the catalogue of allies in Book 7.

[12] Graham 1982, 83; Malkin 1994, 3–6. Thomas 2001, concentrating on Herodotus, but more generally valuable.

[13] There is evidence of Mycenaean contacts with South Italy and Sicily, sporadic from C16 to C15, increased significantly in C14–C13. Mycenean presence is attested at e.g. Scoglio del Tonno (anc. Taras, Spartan *apoikia*) and Lipari (anc. Lipara, *apoikia* of Knidos (Thuc. 3.88.2)), *IACP* p. 253. Knidos was an *apoikia* of Sparta, but its colonial origin is not attested in Thucydides; Fragoulaki 2013, 183–5. For Perge in the east, a city of mixed culture in Pamphylia (south western Asian Minor) (*IACP* no. 1003), it has been suggested that it was founded in the Mycenean period from Argolid and Sparta. Statues of mythical founders from the Roman period found in the city point to the mythological background of the *nostoi* and hero-founders active after the fall of Troy, such as Mopsos, Kalchas and the Argive Amphilochos (for the latter see pp. 188–9).

[14] Cf. *IACP* p. 252; Malkin 2002.

[15] For Thucydides' (and Herodotus') dating of the fall of Troy at around 1250 BCE, see *CT* i, 38; *CT* iii, 250. On the historical date of Melos' settlement by the Spartans (around C9–C8 BCE), see Cartledge 2002, 94.

[16] E.g. 4.120.1, a *nostos* story about the foundation of Skione in northern Greece. *Nostoi* was an epic poem lost to us and known from prose summaries, e.g. Danek 2015, Hornblower and Biffis 2018.

[17] Amphilochos belongs to a younger generation of Trojan heroes (like Neoptolemos, son of Achilles); he is not mentioned in the *Iliad*, but he does feature in the *Odyssey* (15.248) as a descendant of the seer Melampous (Scheer 1993, 162–3 and n. 70).

[18] Alkmaion's connection with Troy is less conspicuous in our sources than that of his brother Amphilochos, but he too is included among Helen's suitors in an early source (Hesiod fr. 197.6–9; cf. Cingano 2005, 140–1), which connects him 'by default' with the Trojan undertaking, at least in some less well-trodden paths of the epic tradition.

[19] Hdt. 3.91 (Amphilochos founds Posideion, on the Cilician and Syrian border); Posideion was the only Greek city in Syria until the time of Alexander, *IACP* no. 1022); Hdt. 7.91. Later sources: Strabo 14.5.16; Lyk. *Alex.* 439–46: together with Mopsos, another seer, Amphilochos is involved in the foundation of Mallos in Cilicia, where they are both buried; with Scheer 1993, 168–74; Hornblower 2015, 215–17.

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Soloi in Cilicia is an alternative place of Amphilochos' death (Hes. fr. 279 M/W; with *IACP* no. 1011).

[20] Cf. Sophocles fr. 180 Pearson; schol. Lyk. 427 and 980. In Xen *An.* 1.2.15–18, Cilicians and Pamphylians are considered *barbaroi*.

[21] See Mitchell 1991; cf. Brixhe and Özsait 2013; for Selge see PECS (Nicola Bonacasa); IACP p. 1213. In Arrian (*Anab.* 1.28.1) the inhabitants of Selge are Pisidian *barbaroi*. Cf. n. 13, p. 209 in this chapter on Perge in Pamphylia.

[22] Pamphylia's presence in Th. 1.100.1 is rightly defended by Classen-Steup *ad loc.*

[23] Malkin 1994, 10. Cf. Malkin 2011, for an interactive and network-oriented regionalism, against center and periphery and top-down approaches.

[24] E.g. Adriatic: Black Kerkyra ('Melaina Korkyra') on the Adriatic coast (unlocated) is referred to as a colony of Knidos, itself a colony of Sparta, down to the Roman period (Ps. Scymnos 428; Strabo 7.5.5). There is an alternative, Korinthian, line of colonial descent (Korinth – Syracuse – Issa – Black Kerkyra) supported epigraphically (*Syll.³* 141; *SEG* 40.511; 43.348, 300–250 BCE) (*IACP* no. 83). South Asia Minor: see above pp. 188–9.

[25] Curty 1995, no. 75 (206/5 BCE); Jones 1999, 61–2; Patterson 2010, 118–23.

[26] Ps.-Scymnos 594 and Strabo 9.4.10 for Pindos as a fourth city of Doris (*tetrapolis*).

[27] The other being Herakleia Pontike in the Black Sea area (4.75.2), a Megarian colony (Xen. *Anab.* 6.2.11).

[28] On the close connection between the Dorians and the Herakleidai in the myth of the Peloponnesian Return, see e.g. Fowler 2013, 340: 'Dorians and Herakleidai were joined at the hip'. Hdt. 8.31 (Doris, *metropolis* of the Dorians of the Peloponnese). This is one of the two passages in Herodotus, in which the word μητρόπολις is used for a Greek city (the other being 7.51.29, for Athens as the *metropolis* of Ionia).

[29] Fragoulaki 2013, 58–99, with further bibliography.

[30] It is plausible that the Demaratos/Chilon episode (Hdt. 7.235) was written in the Archidamian War, in the light of Spartan anxiety caused by the occupation of Kythera in 424, described by Thucydides (4.55) (Fornara 1971, 33–4; cf. Fornara 1981, 151). For 'dangerous' islands, see Constantakopoulou 2007, 115–19.

[31] In the *Pentekontaetia* the Athenian general Tolmides had taken Kythera (456/5), but we hear about it from Pausanias (1.27.5; cf. Schol. Aisch. 2. 75) and not from Thucydides. The latter does record Tolmides' *periplous* of the Peloponnese (1.108. 5), but not the attack against Kythera.

[32] Hammond 1982, 326; *pace* Cartledge (2002, 106) who is reluctant to connect the meagre archaeological findings with Argive control of Kythera in C8 BCE; he notes that 'Herodotus [1.82.2] is something of a puzzle'.

[33] Cf. Thuc. 4.80.2–4 (helot extermination). The threat of helots did exist, but see Hodkinson 1997, 96, advising caution not to overstress its importance to avoid the pitfall of constructing a supposedly unique society.

[34] Kallet-Marx (1993, 182), commenting on the unprecedentedness of levying such heavy tribute on a Lakedaimonian city, suggests that Kythera could have belonged to a novel category of Athenian imperial control, combining tribute-paying status with some form of autonomy, that is non-allied status (in the light of a relevant clause in the Peace of Nikias, 5.18.2). But in 413 the Kytherians fought at Syracuse as allies of the Athenians (7.57.6). So if they enjoyed some form of autonomy from 421 onwards, by 413 this status must have changed.

[35] On perioikic communities, see Shipley 1997; Ducat 2018. It is true that Thucydides

does not have much to say about the problems the Lakedaimonians had with their *perioikoi*, as Luraghi (2008, 208 n.120) observes, but it is not fair to say that Thucydides 'does not think it noteworthy that the *perioikoi* of Kythera became allies of the Athenians and even sent troops to Sicily (Thuc. 7.57.6)'. Thucydides' sophisticated motivation and categorisation of allies in the Syracusan catalogue shows that he had a keen interest in recording and explaining in-spite-of-kinship cases.

[36] Kythera was a centre of purple dye manufacture, Coldstream *et.al.* 1972.

[37] Malkin 2011.

[38] For the first, unsuccessful, Athenian attack against Melos, see 3.91.2–3.

[39] For a detailed reading of the sympotic themes of the Melian Dialogue, see Fragoulaki 2013, 162–79.

[40] 5.112.2; cf. 5.104; 5.84.2. Brillante 1983. Cf. Hdt. 2.145.4 (with *CT* ii, 130). Cf. *IG* V I. 1 (face B), ll. 1–7, 13–17 (ML 67 = OR 151) recording financial help supplied by the Melians to the Spartans (c.427–412 BCE).

[41] Kallet 2001, 17; cf. Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982, 277–80; Horden and Purcell 2000, 48, 'Melos, though an island, is far from isolated'; Said 1978, on Orientalism.

[42] *CT* iii, 254–6.

[43] Cf. Thuc. 5.45.3; with Luraghi 2011, 195–6. Hdt. 9.54.1, with Bradford 1994; Bayliss 2009; Powell 1989.

[44] E.g. Stahl 2003.

[45] Thucydides' handling of the causes of the Peloponnesian War has caused much discussion; e.g. recently Robinson 2017 with further bibliography. For the crucial role of ethical and cultural factors and kinship's role, see Fragoulaki 2013, 64–7 *et passim*.

[46] On kinship terminology, Fragoulaki 2013, 32–57.

[47] Against the view that all the literary evidence for Taras as Spartan is late (Hall 2008, 420).

[48] Craig 1980, 5, 52 *et passim*. Knidos was a member of a Doric cultic association of six at first (*hexapolis*), later five (*pentapolis*) *poleis* centred on the Triopion sanctuary of Apollo: Hdt. 1.144.1, Th. 8.35; the sanctuary's exact location is a puzzle, but the archaeological remains clearly point to an archaic foundation date (C7l – C6 BCE), *IACP*, p. 1124.

[49] Nafissi 1999, 247–251; Malkin 1994, 128; Graham 1982, 112: 'The earliest colonial material recovered at Taras is of the last quarter of the eight century'. Cf. Hornblower 2011, 46 (C4 military help of Sparta to Taras).

[50] Hall 2008; Gray 2015, 350–4 for city foundations by exiles.

[51] Antiochus' version (*FGrHist* 555 F 14 = Str. 6.3.2). Strabo records Ephorus' version too (*FGrH* 70 F 216 = Str. 6.3.3); Pl. *Leg.* 1. 637B; Arist. *Pol.* 5. 1306b 30–2; Diod. 8. 21. 3. Luraghi 2008, 160, for Strabo's use of Antiochus' version.

[52] The thrust of Tarentine expansion in the area takes place after 473 BCE, when the Tarentines suffered a serious defeat by the local Iapygians (Diod. 11.52.3–4; cf. Hdt. 7.170.3–4). The Tarentine dedications at Delphi to commemorate their victories in the fifth century against the Iapygian Messapians and the Peuketians tell the same story (*Syll.*[3] 21 and 40; Paus. 10.10.6 (Messapians), 10.13.6 (Peuketians)).

[53] Lyk. *Alex.* 852–5, with Hornblower 2015, 327–35; Braccesi 1999, 69–76 (Menelaos as a mythical prototype of the historical Dorieus, who was actually heading for the island of Elba, off the coast of Etruria); Malkin 1994, 58–9.

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[54] Catling and Shipley 1989. *SEG* 39.376. For the cult of Messapios Zeus in Sparta: Pausanias 3.20.3; Theopompos (apud Steph. Byz. s.v. Μεσσαπέαι). On Taras' *apoikia* Herakleia on the Siris (*IACP* no. 52), see Nafissi 1999, 247–51 (presence of ephors in Taras). Herakleia on the Siris was a joint foundation of Taras and Thurii (433/2) and the last Greek foundation in Italy (Antiochos *FGrH* 555 F 11). According to Antiochos 'the city was judged to be Tarentine' (τὴν ἀποικίαν κριθῆναι Ταραντίνων), cf. Strabo 6.1.14; 6.3.4. But see Hdt. 8.62.2, for Athenian claims over Siris as 'Athenian of old'.

[55] In three out of its nine mentions in Thucydides, Taras is paired with Epizephyrii Lokri: 6.44.2, 7.1.1, 8.91.2.

[56] They were thought to have been founded by the Lokrians of mainland Greece. Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F 138 (fourth c BCE): Opous; Strabo 6.1.7 (C1 BCE–CE C1): Ozolians.

[57] Pédech 1961, 77–8 for detailed comparison of the two foundation myths; Sourvinou-Inwood 1974, 189 'some kind of identification with Taras'. Cf. Fisher-Hansen, Nielsen and Ampolo, in *IACP*, p. 274 on Paus. 3.3.1 (CE C2) perhaps 'a reflection of (alleged) Tarentine participation' in Epizephyrii Lokri's foundation.
  Further aspects of the Lokrians' Spartan mytho-political profile: Diod. Sic. 8.32 (Epizephyrii Lokri won a miraculous victory at the battle of Sagra in C6 BCE with the help of the Dioskouroi (also Tyndaridai), Sparta's protective twin divinities, brothers of Helen of Troy); Strabo 6.1.10. Like the Spartans, the Epizephyrians too had an autochthonic myth: Pi. *O.* 9. 43–6 (produced from stones by Pyrrha and Deukalion), with Hornblower 2004, 313. Sparta: Apoll. 3.10.3 (Eurotas, son of Lelex, son of the soil). Diod. 14.44.6: when the Syracusan Dionysios the Elder used Lokri as his Italian base, he married a Lokrian woman with the significant name Doris; Redfield 2003: 283 ff.; Fragoulaki 2013, 200–8.

[58] Eusebius' foundation date of Lipara is 630 BCE. Cf. Bosworth 1992, for useful background and discussion of a papyrus fragment from a local history of Sicily, usually ascribed to Philistos.

[59] In the eastern Aegean, where the war had been transferred after 413 (in addition to Dekeleia in Attika, another war theatre), Knidos was for the Peloponnesians what Ionian Samos was for the Athenians. Lewis (1977, 97) on Knidos' 'peculiar fitness' in terms of its colonial tie with Sparta.

[60] But see Strabo 14.2.6 for Megarian settlement of Knidos. Lipara does not feature in Herodotus. Earliest archaeological material in Lipara: 575–550 BCE; Osborne 2009, 85. For Knidos' geographical location, see *CT* iii, 849, 873.

[61] *CT* iii, 137.

[62] Diod. Sic. 5.9.3–4; Ps.-Scymn. 262; Paus. 10.11.3, 16.7, with Domínguez 2006, 311–16.

[63] For a lucid presentation of the problem (and a unitarian position), see *CT* iii, 1–4, 53–57, and 883–86.

[64] Thera: Hdt. 4.147–9; Pind. *Pyth.* 4.251–9 and 5.72–6; Paus. 3.1.7–8, cf. *IG* XII.3 382 (C4). Kyrene: Pind. *Pyth.* 4.4–8, 59–63; Pind. *Pyth* 5.85–95; Hdt. 4.147–58; cf. Hdt. 5.42 (Dorieus takes Theran guides with him on his mission to colonise Libya); ML 5 (= Fornara 18) C4 (Kyrene's foundation decree (purporting to contain an earlier foundation decree of the seventh century)); RO 96 (list of cities of mainland Greece receiving grain from Kyrene, including Thera, probably on grounds

of kinship, c.330–326 BC). Graham 1982, 134–8; Malkin 1994, 89–111; Mitchell 2000; Cawkwell 2011; Agócs 2020 on Pind. *Pyth.* 4.

The archaeological record shows that permanent occupation of Kyrene seems to start in c.620 BCE, which is reasonably congruent with the literary foundation date. Osborne 2009, 15–16, on early importation of pottery and personal items from Sparta, perhaps indicating settlers from Lakonia from the start. Christesen 2010, on Spartan Chionis as an athlete-founder (Paus. 3.14.2–3), an Olympic victor (fl. 664, 660 and 656 BCE), who had also taken part in the colonial expedition of Battos and had helped him subdue local Libyan resistance.

[65] *CT* iii 641; Fragoulaki 2013, 107–8, 187–8.

[66] Diod. Sic. 4.26; Paus. 2.13.8, 5.18.4; Apollon. Rhod. *Argon.* 4. 1380–405; but see Apoll. *Bibl.* 2.5.11. Malkin 1994, 186–7.

[67] On Herodotus' Libyan *logos*, see Baragwanath 2020.

[68] Timaios *FGrH* 566 F 85 = Diod. 4.56.6. The localisation of Lake Tritonis and the island of Phla (otherwise unknown) is elusive, typical of mythical locations. Herodotus places Lake Tritonis in the area of the lesser Siris, on the western side of the Kyrenaica, drawing a fairly extensive network of Kyrenaian colonial claims over the area (Corcella in Asheri, et al. 2007, 701; Malkin 1994, 198–9; Austin in *IACP*, p. 1237). *SEG* 18.772 (C4); *SEG* 41.1693 (indicating direct transmission of the institutions of the 'great-grandmother city', Sparta, to the third colonial generation, Kyrene, and thence to Euesperides); Hornblower 2004, 246.

[69] Battos, descendant of the Minyan Ephemus (Hdt. 4.150), with Hdt. 4.145, the Minyans, descendants of the Argonauts.

[70] Hdt. 4.145–9; Pind. *Pyth.* 5.72–103 (Pindar himself proudly claimed descent from the Aigeidai: Pind. *Pyth.* 5.75–6), with Hornblower 2004, 240–1.

[71] Cult of Apollo Karneios: Pind. *Pyth* 5. 72–81; Kallim. 2.71–9, cf. Pettersson 1992.

[72] Jones 2010, 11, using the scholiast's interpretation of Pindar's lines. Agócs 2020 on the role of the Antenoridai in the pre-settlement tradition of Kyrene.

[73] On Strabo 3.4.3 and Asklepiades, see Woolf 2009, 212.

[74] Thuc. 1.12.1–3 (cf. Melos, pp. 194–6 in this chapter); Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F 223, with Fowler 2013, 593–4. For intentional history, see Foxhall *et.al.* 2010.

[75] For the distortion of the Egestaians' ethnic profile in Thucydides and a historiographic explanation, see Fragoulaki 2013, 298–316.

[76] Hdt. 5.42.2–3; cf. 4.198.1–2, on the fertility of the land.

[77] The third Elymian city being Entella, not appearing in Thucydides (cf. Lyk. *Alex.* 964).

[78] Jones 2010, 23. 'Segesta' in *OCD*[4] (architecture; use of Greek characters in the Elymian language; cult of Herakles in Western Sicily under his Greek name already since the sixth century BCE). Egesta is an unfortunate omission from the list of *poleis* in *IACP*.

[79] Rood 1999, on Thucydides' intertextual relationship to Herodotus. For the audience of the ancient historians and interacting genres, e.g. Marincola 1997, 19–33 *et passim*; Pelling 2000, 1–17 *et passim*; Baragwanath 2008 (for an Herodotean angle); Grethlein 2010; Fragoulaki 2020.

[80] Reader-response theory provides a helpful theoretical framework. E.g. on familiar social and historical contexts, horizons of expectation, reading process, see Iser 2008.

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The concept of 'active cultural memory' and literature's role in it is also pertinent; Grabes 2017.

[81] Cf. Malkin 2011, 50.

[82] Fragoulaki 2013, 'Appendix II'.

[83] Two classic *loci*: 1.70–71; 8.96.5. Cf. Fragoulaki (forthcoming).

[84] Cf. Cartledge and Debnar 2006, a subtle analysis of the Spartan/Athenian antithesis and its nuances in Thucydides.

[85] For a perceptive analysis of Thucydides' construction of Spartan non-expansiveness in the Archaeology and Book 5, see Luraghi 2011 ('a power geared towards stability and unable to grow beyond a certain geographical boundary', p. 196).

[86] For Gylippos' father, Kleandridas, and Thurii, see *CT* iii, 534–5.

[87] E.g. alliance with the Egestaians, ML 37 = OR 166 (*IG* I[3] 11, ?418 BCE); renewal of old alliances with Rhegion, ML 63 = OR 149 (*IG* I[3] 53) and Leontinoi, ML 64 = OR 149 (*IG* I[3] 54), 433/2 BCE for both. For the latter, cf. Th. 3.86.3, old alliance, probably in the 440s; renewal of 'old friendship' with Artas, the archon of the Messapians of Italy, Th. 7.33.4. For an illuminating discussion, see *CT* iii, 5–12.

Abbreviations

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CT i–iii S. Hornblower, *A Commentary on Thucydides*, 3 vols, Oxford, 1991–2008.

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HCT A. W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, and K. J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, 5 vols., Oxford, 1945–81.

IACP M. H. Hansen and T. H. Nielsen (eds), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, Oxford, 2004.

IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin, 1873–.

ML R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC*, rev. edn., Oxford, 1988.

M/W R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, *Fragmenta Hesiodea*, Oxford, 1967.

Pearson Pearson, A. C., *The Fragments of Sophocles*, Cambridge, 1917.

PECS R. Stillwell, W. L. MacDonald and M. H. McAllister, *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1976.

OCD[4] S. Hornblower, A.J.S. Spawforth, and E. Eidinow (eds), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4th edn., Oxford, 2012.

RO P. J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404–323 BC*, Oxford, 2003.

OR R. Osborne and P. J. Rhodes, *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 478–404 BC*, Oxford, 2017.

SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden, 1923–.

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