

The Medism of Caryae

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WHEN THE PATRIOTIC LEADERS of the Greeks met in 481 B.C.¹ to form their League and concert action against the Mede, they decided to put an end to the internal disputes of the Hellenes (Herodotos 7.145.1). Disputes did not cease, however; and we have in Herodotos evidence that even as late as the Battle of Plataea there were troubles in Peloponnese which weakened the Hellenic cause. The Mantineans arrived late for the battle, and were so ashamed of themselves that they pursued the Persians as far as Thessaly before sending into exile the generals who were responsible for the delay. The Eleans, who were late too, also sent their leaders into exile (Hdt. 9.77). Here is evidence that the leaders of Elis and Mantinea were, in 479, not enthusiastic for the Hellenic cause, of which Sparta was then the acknowledged leader. Mantinea's rival Tegea, however, claimed a prominent place in the order of battle at Plataea, though Tegea, as her men admitted, had often opposed Sparta with arms in the past (Hdt. 9.26.7). How recently had there been trouble between Sparta and Arcadia and how serious had it been?

Herodotos, in a passage to which Professor Andrewes has drawn attention,² told the story of Hegesistratos the Elean, a notable and a seer, who sometime before the Battle of Plataea had been captured by the Spartans and condemned to death because he had done Sparta great harm. The harm is not specified, but it is likely that Hegesistratos had, following the example of Kleomenes I, attempted to stir up the Arcadians against Sparta; after his courageous escape from prison the seer made his way to Tegea, which, Herodotos remarks, was not friendly with Sparta at the time. Later Hegesistratos medized and was with Mardonios at Plataea, but the Spartans caught him at last in Zakynthos and put him to death (Hdt. 9.37.4). The

¹ For the date see P. A. Brunt, *Historia* 2 (1953/4) 156.

² 9.37.4. See A. Andrewes, *Phoenix* 6 (1952) 2.

flight of Hegesistratos to Tegea is not easily dated, but that some Arcadians may well have been at odds with Sparta as late as 480 B.C. is shown by the arrival of Arcadian fugitives in the Persian camp immediately after the Battle of Thermopylae (Hdt. 8.26.1–2).

There exists indeed sound, but neglected, evidence for serious trouble on Sparta's northern frontier during the Persian invasion of 480 B.C. Long ago (1810) Schweighaeuser³ linked the report of Arcadian renegades at Thermopylae with a passage in Vitruvius.⁴ We are informed by the Roman architect that marble statues of women in long robes which take the place of columns are called Caryatides; Caryae, a place in Peloponnese, took the Persian side against Greece, and later the Greeks, after their victories over the Medes, made common cause and declared war against the people of Caryae—*communi consilio bellum Caryatibus indixerunt*. The town was taken, its men were killed, and their wives carried off in their long robes to slavery. The load carried by the Caryatid statues, Vitruvius concludes, was made by architects of the time to symbolise and to commemorate the sin and punishment of the people of Caryae.

The Vitruvian explanation of the origin of the architectural term Caryatid has been doubted⁵ (the statues may simply represent maidens who danced in honour of Artemis at Caryae), but we need not deny the truth of the report that Caryae medized and was punished. Caryae is definitely asserted to have been taken by Sparta from the Arcadians⁶ and was Spartan territory in the late fifth century B.C. (Thuc. 5.55.3). The words of Vitruvius strongly suggest that one of the first acts of the Hellenic League against Persia after Plataea was to destroy Caryae because it had, or was asserted to have, medized. Such an action would have been in accordance with the regulations of the League, whose members "assumed obligations not limited to the repulse of the Persian invasion," and undertook to punish medizing states.⁷

Now Caryae and its territory was one of the nine demes which at some time unknown were synoecised with Tegea.⁸ Tegeates had

³ See R. W. Macan, *Herodotus, The Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Books* I.2 (London 1908) 390; cf. Stein *ad loc.*

⁴ *De arch.* 1.1.5.

⁵ Fiechter, *RE* 10.2 (1919) 2247; first by Lessing.

⁶ Phot. p. 133,25 quoted by A. Meineke, *Analecta Alexandrina* (Berlin 1843) 361–2.

⁷ P. A. Brunt, *Historia* 2 (1953/4) 137 and 149 on Hdt. 7.132.

⁸ Paus. 8.45.1 and Strabo 8.3.2 (337).

fought at Thermopylae (Hdt. 7.202) and at Plataea, and if Sparta used Caryae's alleged Medism to take away, under the pretence of Panhellenic vengeance, some of Tegea's territory, then the Tegeates' loyalty to the Greek cause was indeed poorly rewarded. I think it unlikely, therefore, that by 480/79 Caryae had already been synoecised with Tegea. The place may, however, not have been even nominally Lacedaemonian at that time, for it lay in the marches of Arcadia in land over which for centuries Sparta was hard pressed to exert her authority. Panhellenism may well have offered, in 479, a convenient excuse for extending northwards the bounds of Lacedaemon as added insurance against any new trouble from Tegea.

The threat of the open revolt in central Peloponnese in mid-480 must have presented Sparta with a grave strategic problem. It helps to explain why the Lacedaemonians were unwilling to commit a large force at Thermopylae, for to send the army far outside Peloponnese would have given the Arcadian dissidents a splendid opportunity to join forces with the helots, as they had tried to do under Kleomenes in 490 B.C. The revolt of Caryae cannot have been overlooked by the Persians, who, Herodotos alleges (7.235.1-2), were urged by Damaratos to send a force to Kythera, thence to ravage Laconia, so that there should be war at Sparta's back door. The Spartan's words *παροίκου δὲ πολέμου σφι ἔοντος οἰκηίου*, with the present participle (7.235.3), may even mean that Herodotos believed Arcadia to be in revolt while Thermopylae was being fought. Far from being "light-hearted advice,"⁹ the proposal of Damaratos to capture Kythera was, with Caryae in revolt, sound strategy: Sparta would then have been threatened at once from north and south.

Shortly after the victory at Salamis Themistokles visited Sparta, where he was given great praise for his generalship and presented with an olive crown and a chariot. He was also accorded the unique honour of an escort of three hundred picked troops of the *Hippeis* who accompanied him to the bounds of Tegea (Hdt. 8.124.2-3). This exceptional guard may have had a sound military purpose—to protect the Athenian from an ambush on the borders of Arcadia; but the reference to Tegea suggests that at the time no trouble was to be expected there, for the escort went no further than the boundaries of the Tegeates, whose loyalty was again shown next year at Plataea.

⁹ A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides III* (Oxford 1956) 509.

Caryae, however, paid for its treachery by being devastated at the command of the Hellenic League after Plataea.¹⁰

There is another hint of trouble for Sparta on the Arcadian marches in 480 (Hdt. 8.125). After stating that Themistokles was escorted to the bounds of the Tegeates, Herodotos relates the anecdote about Timodemos of Aphidna, "an enemy of Themistokles." This man churlishly told the Athenian that the honours bestowed on him by the Lacedaemonians were due to Athens, not to his own merits. Themistokles replied: "I would not have been so honoured by the Spartiates if I were a man of Belbina, nor would you, sir, if you were an Athenian." The very attractive suggestion has been made that we should recognise here the Peloponnesian Aphidna(i) and Belbina,¹¹ the former of which probably, and the latter certainly, lay in the Arcadian marches between Sparta and Tegea. If the suggestion is correct, then even after Salamis there were men of the Arcadian marches (not necessarily *perioikoi* of Sparta) who were prepared, like Timokreon of Rhodes, openly to criticise a champion of the Greeks against the Mede.

To many, Sparta's conduct at the time of Thermopylae has seemed less than enterprising; but her unwillingness to fight a pitched land battle with her entire army in 480 B.C. north of the Isthmus is the more comprehensible if the threat of an uprising in the Arcadian marches was genuine and grave.¹²

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¹⁰ Did the *tragedy* of Pratinas, *Karyatides*, dwell upon the fate of the unfortunate women of Caryae? (Nauck, *TGF*² p. 726; cf. Meineke, *op.cit.* [*supra* n.6] 361.)

¹¹ J. Labarbe, "Timodèmos d'Aphidna," *Revue belge de Philologie* 36 (1958) 31-50. I am grateful to Mr Forrest for drawing my attention to this ingenious article. In Hdt. 8.125.1 we should correct *ΑΘΗΝΑΣ* to *ΑΦΙΔΝΑΣ*—a cogent change. The scene of the anecdote is thus just beyond the Lacedaemonian boundary; Herodotos wrote *ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος ἀπίκετο εἰς τὰς Ἀφίδνας, ἐνθαῦτα Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος, τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος εἶν . . . ἐνείκεε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα.* Cf. Labarbe, *op.cit.* 49.

¹² Dr L. H. Jeffery and Mr W. G. Forrest kindly read a draft of this article; for its faults they are blameless.