

CLEOMENES IN ARCADIA (AND AFTER): SANE OR MAD?

1 According to §§74–5, Cleomenes fled Sparta and united the Arcadians against Sparta; the Spartans feared this, brought him home, and confirmed his kingship. He then went mad and committed suicide. This Appendix looks at the narrative from several interrelated perspectives: what were his plans, how did the Arcadians judge those plans, and so what were they prepared to do; and whether we should accept the madness, and in turn whether his activities in Arcadia were the first signs of that madness.

2 We should first look at the two parties. Herodotus has some 16 passages about him (Carlier (1977) 68–9 summarises them; all are referred to in this book).¹ Their substantial accuracy is accepted (even allowing for some of the sources being hostile; and see n. 10), and he attracts judgments such as “undoubtedly the most powerful Spartan king since Polydoros, and his like was not to reappear until . . . Agesilaos” (Cartledge (1979) 143); cf Carlier (1984) 259 with n. 116, referring to Carlier (1977) and H&W Appx XVII; Bultrighini (2003) 90–7; cf Cawkwell (1993b). The other information we have about him is in character. Plut *Apophth Lac* 223a–224b attributes several aphorisms and witty sayings to him.² Thuc 1.126.12 has him digging up the bones of dead Alcmaeonids in c508. Steph Byz sv Ἀνθήνα says that he flayed a corpse at Anthene and wrote oracles on the

¹ They include his presence at Plataea, §108; the two invasions of Attica in c510 and c508, the third abortive invasion in c506, and the proposed further one of c504, in all of which he was probably the moving spirit (see note to §§49.2–55, para 4); his dealings with Aristagoras (pp. 42 n. 62, 47); the attack on Argos, §§76–82; his actions in Aegina, §§49–50, 61, 73; his deposition of Demaratos, §§65–6; and Arcadia, discussed here.

² In particular, an anecdote at 223a-b that after swearing a truce with the Argives for 7 days he attacked at night: day did not include night, he said. When accused of breaking his oath, he was said to have added: doing ill to one’s enemies is regarded by gods and men as higher than justice. The stories have no or doubtful historicity, but they fit the picture of the man we glean from Herodotus. For the *Apophthegmata* generally, Hodkinson (2000) 39–43.

skin. That cannot be literally true, but it may reflect the actual desecration of a tomb: Griffiths (1989) 62–70.³

3 Behind these judgments, and accepting that he behaved substantially as reported, several features emerge. He was not afraid to undertake ambitious but controversial projects (disregarding for the moment his plans in Arcadia). Both adjectives apply to his further expedition in c506 to support Isagoras (whatever the merits of helping him in c508), as well as to his idea, as it almost certainly was, of restoring Hippias in c504; not only in our judgment, but that of many on his own side at the time. Both can be applied to Aegina, and removing Demaratos. At Argos, he risked having to start a siege, if the Argives had not come out to meet him, or had fled back to the city after a battle (Appx 15 para 3). Secondly, he embarked on his projects with enthusiasm and energy. Whatever the true reason for not crossing the Erasinos, he took some trouble to move his army by sea (*ibid* and on §76.2). His first trip to Aegina is presented almost as a knee-jerk response to the Athenian complaint, §50.1; the second was immediately, αὐτίκα, Demaratos was deposed, §73.1. Herodotus uses προθυμίη or πρόθυμος, eager(ness), for both his arrangement with Leotychidas and getting the Argive leaders to swear by the Styx, §§65.3, 74.1. The third feature is his disregard for conventions, particularly religious. When he died, everyone had their own story of sacrilege (§§75, 84). There were further incidents at Argos: misusing the quasi-sanctity of the herald, and beating the priest of Hera; he had forced his way into the temple of Athena at Athens in 508, 5.72. Another one probably lies behind the Anthene episode. Nor is it coincidence that he was accused of sleeping with Isagoras' wife in 508 (5.70.1). Finally, quick and witty responses fall from his lips: when refused entry to the temple of Athena, he replied: I am an Achaean, not a Dorian. Even if unhistorical, though accurately

³ Even if the Thucydides episode was on the initiative of the Athenians, he participated. The most probable location for Anthene is Tsiorovos, about 14 km southwest of Lerna, 5 km south of the railway, as marked on Barrington 58, following Pritchett *SAGT* III 102–142, IV 75–9; VI 91–104; Shipley (1997) 226 no 1, (1996) 276 site AA1. It thus lies on a route Cleomenes may have taken when invading Argos, and on the easier route for his retreat to Thyrea: see on Ἐρασίῳν, §76.1. It is not modern Elliniko, 5 km south-west of Astros (e.g. Müller 1987: 871), which was Eua: see Shipley (1997) 241 no 30, (1996) site AA10; *SAGT* VI 87–9, and probably not Ag Andreas near the coast (Shipley (1996) 279 site AA 19).