

ΑΝΔΡΕΟΥ ΠΑΝΑΓΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ

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A NOTE ON THUC. V. 77, 1,3.

In the Spartan scheme for a Spartan-Argive Treaty of peace and alliance after the battle of Mantinea in 418, recorded by Thucydides in the original, in Laconian dialect, we read the following passage. «The Assembly of Sparta is prepared to make an agreement with the Argives on the following terms: The Argives shall give back to the Orchomenians their children and to the Maenalians their men, and shall give back to the Spartans the men they hold in Mantinea»<sup>1</sup>; and below: «If the Spartans have any children in their own power, they shall give them back each to his own city...»<sup>2</sup>

Because the two passages are somewhat obscure and there is no complete agreement between them and the narrative, there has been a long and confusing controversy about the meaning of the word «children» here, and whether either or both «children» and «men» refer to hostages or captives. A summary of the various suggestions is the following: Gomme-Andrewes<sup>3</sup>, agreeing basically with Arnold, Grote and Busolt, support the view that the former term here means literally «children» and that they were hostages. Jacqueline de Romilly is reserved about the exact meaning of «children» but is positive that it refers to hostages, not to prisoners<sup>4</sup>. Classen-Steup,

1. V.77.1: «Κατάδε δοκεῖ τῷ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ξυμβαλέσθαι ποτὲ τὸν Ἀργείους, ἀποδιδόντας τῷ παιδας τοῖς Ὀρχομενίοις καὶ τῷ ἄνδρας τοῖς Μαιναλίοις, καὶ τῷ ἄνδρας τῷ ἐν Μαντίνειᾳ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀποδιδόντας...» (Transl. Warner).

2. Thuc. V. 77, 3: «Καὶ αἱ τίνα τοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παιδας ἔχοντι, ἀποδόμεν ταῖς πολιεσσι πάσαις...» (Transl. Warner).

3. In Gomme-Andrews-Dover, A Historical Commentary on Thucydides, vol. IV, Oxford 1970, ad loc. (Hereafter: H. C. T.)

4. Thucydide (Budé, Paris 1967) ad loc., n.2: «Des otages pouvaient être de jeunes garçons. Le mot peut aussi désigner les «fils», au sens des ressortissants. De toute manière, il s'agit d'otages, non de prisonniers». Cf. also m. Amit. «Hostages, in ancient Greece», Riv. Fil. Class., 98(1970), p. 141.

on the contrary, maintain that it means «men» and that it refers to the hostages of V. 61.5, while the latter term («the men they hold in Mantinea») refers to Spartan prisoners probably taken in the first part of the battle of Mantinea<sup>1</sup>. It seems to me that the first view is more correct and that «children», in all places, means «children», literally, as opposed to the juxtaposed «men», and that all the groups of «children» and «men» refer to hostages. More analytically: the first «children» («the Argives shall give back to the Orchomenians their children») refers, indeed, to the hostages mentioned previously in V. 61.5 («they should . . . give hostages of their own to the Mantineians»<sup>2</sup>; who, as appears from this passage, should have been chosen among children of important families of Orchomenos and have been in the meantime transferred by the Mantineians for safer keeping and are now demanded back by the Argives; also that the first «men» («and to the Maenaliens their men») who have not been referred to before in the narrative<sup>3</sup>, might have been taken hostages from various communities in Mai-nalia by the previous Argive-Athenian allies and have been transferred by them to Argos, too, for security reasons<sup>4</sup>; that the second «men» («they shall give back to the Spartans the men they hold in Mantinea») have not been mentioned before, either: Gomme has convincingly (though not exactly at the right place) argued against Steup's<sup>5</sup> suggestion that these men may have been prisoners of war taken at Mantinea; but Gomme, following Hobbes and others, has himself made the mistake of maintaining that «the men in Mantinea who are to be returned to Sparta will be those hostages deposited (for an unknown reason) in Orchomenos by Sparta (61.4)»<sup>6</sup>. On the other

1. Thukydides, erklärt von J. Classen, bearbeitet von J. S. Steup, Berlin 1900-22 (Book V 1912), ad loc.

2. «ὅμηρος σφῶν... αὐτῶν δοῦναι Μοντίνευσι».

3. Steup (in Classen-Steup, ad loc.) reservedly suggests that they may have been those Arkadian hostages, placed in Orchomenos by the Spartans (V. 61. 4); this is wrong, for we clearly see in Thucydides that they were then given back by the Orchomenians («καὶ οὓς κατέθεντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι παραδοῦναι» V. 61. 5); which means that they must have been immediately returned to their cities, and not been kept again as hostages by their liberators.

4. See above, pp. 276ff.

5. ad loc., on «τός ἄνδρας τοῖς Ματαλίοις»: «. . . Vielleicht handelt es sich ausserdem um die in der Schlacht bei Mantinea gefangen genommene Maenaliere (vgl. c. 67. 1)»

6. H. C. T., ad loc. Andrewes unfortunately has not intervened in Gomme's original note here. For an explanation, on why this suggestion is wrong, in my opinion, see above, n. 1, where Steup's suggestion on «τός ἄνδρας τοῖς Ματαλίοις» is criticized.



hand, it is on these «men» and not on those of the previous case («and to the Mainalians their men») that Steup wrongly argued that they might have been not hostages but captives taken in the battle of Mantinea. So, I feel, while we can say why these «men» here cannot be identified with any hostages mentioned previously in the Thucydidean of V.61. 4-5 and why they are not likely to have been prisoners taken at the battle of Mantinea, we cannot really say with sufficient evidence what exactly they were<sup>1</sup>. At last, on the second and last «children» (if the Spartans have any children in their power, they shall give them back each to his own city), Andrewes is right in pointing out that they, too, are literally «children» not men, and hostages, not captives, as Steup wrongly argued<sup>2</sup>. Andrewes means: «his (sc. Steup's) interpretation makes the distinction  $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma$  /  $\ddot{\alpha}v\delta\rho\alpha\varsigma$  meaningless. This clause, like the first, refers only to hostages, and there is no need to find a reference to prisoners: if any special arrangement was made about them it was concluded separately.»<sup>3</sup> There is really hardly anything to be added here.

Finally, «this treaty and alliance came into force, and both gave back to each other whatever they had gained in war or in other ways»<sup>4</sup>. This probably refers to exchange of captives.

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Obviously, these Mainalian men must be distinguished from the Arkadian hostages of V. 61. 4.

1. Steup, as appears from various places here, insisted on showing that the exchange proposed by the Spartans in this document refers both to captives and hostages, and that some of the clauses implicitly refer to captives taken in the fight of Mantinea. I believe, with Andrewes, that all clauses here refer to hostages; also that prisoners must have been taken in the battle of Mantinea, but they are to be traced elsewhere; see above, pp. 144ff.

2. On V. 77. 3: «wenn man hierunter als Geiseln nach Sparta gebracht Kinder versteht, so ist in dem ganzen Aktenstück von der Zurückgabe der von den Lakk. gemachten Kriegsgefangenen keine Rede. Da dies wenig wahrscheinlich wäre, so ist  $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\delta\alpha$  wohl im Sinne von  $\ddot{\alpha}v\delta\rho\alpha$  gesagt, und unser Satz eben auf die Zurückgabe der Kriegsgefangenen zu beziehen. Natürlich sind dann auch die  $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$  von 1.2 als Leute in kriegsfähigen Alter aufzufassen». But the premise is, most probably, wrong: why should it be necessary that the proposals refer to the return of Spartan captives?

3. H. C. T., on V.77.3.

4. Thuc. V. 80. 1: «Αἱ μὲν σπονδαὶ καὶ ἡ ξυμμαχία αὗτη ἐγεγένητο· καὶ δόποια ἀλλήλων πόλεμῳ ἡ εἰ τι ἄλλο είχον, διελύσαντο».