



CSPS Post-graduate and Early Career Researcher Conference

# 'Gender and Identities in Peloponnesian Antiquity'

University of Nottingham, The Centre for Spartan & Peloponnesian Studies

22-23 June 2017

Keynote speaker: Professor Paul Christesen (Dartmouth)

Day One	
Day One	
9:00 – 10:00	Registration
10:00 – 11:00	Keynote Speaker: Paul Christesen (Dartmouth College) Title TBC
11:30 – 13:00	Panel 1: Collective Identities
	Manolis Pagkalos (University of Leicester) The Many Faces of the Hellenistic Peloponnesos: Memory, identity and politics
	Gabriel Cabral Bernardo (University of Sao Paulo / University of Nottingham)  Spartan Identity and the Treatment of Helots
	Roumpini-Ioanna (Nina) Charami (University of Nottingham) <i>The 'Other'</i> Lakedaimonians: Ascribing the perioikoi to a Lakedaimonian identity
13:00 – 14:00	Lunch
14:00 – 15:00	Panel 2: Literary Constructs
	Stergiani Tzirvitsi (University of Ioannina, Greece) <i>The Proposal for Orestes'</i> Exile in the Argos Agora
	Katerina Ladianou (University of Crete) Language That Matters: (Fe)male chorus and feminine voice in Alcman's Partheneion
15:00 – 15:30	Coffee break
15:30 – 17:00	Panel 3: Male Identity
	Oliver Laband (University Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona) Religious Rites and the Creation of Masculinity in the Spartan Education System
	Richard Evans (University of Leicester) What's in a Talthybiadae?: Studying the Lacedaemonian heralds, understanding Laconian identity
	Kendell Heydon (University of Nottingham) <i>The Hippeis and Hegemonic Masculinity in Xenophon's Spartan Constitution</i>
17:00 – 18:30	Wine reception
18:30 – 19:00	Transport to conference dinner
19:00 – onwards	Conference dinner
Day Two	
09:30 – 11:00	Panel 4: The Experience of Women

Elena Duce Pastor (University Autonoma of Madrid) Women's Property in Ancient Sparta: A question of power and influence

Maria del Mar Rodriguez Alcocer (Complutense University of Madrid)
Women that Make the Difference: Education and Civic Models in Spartan
Maternity

Elise Pampanay (Université de Lyon) Women Who Died in Childbirth: A case study on Laconian and Attic sources

11:00 – 11:30 Coffee break

#### 11:30 – 13:00 **Panel 5: Powerful figures**

Andrea Scarpato (University of Leicester) Agis IV and the Ephors

Stefano Frullini (TBC) 'King-Tyrant' Pheidon and the Construction of Argive Identity against Sparta in the Fifth Century BCE

Martina Gatto (University of Rome – Tor Vergata) *The Wife of a Tyrant: The portrait of Apia* 

13:00 – 14:00 Lunch

# 14:00 – 15:30 Panel 6: Participation and Identity

András Patay-Horváth (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest) Why were Adult Women Excluded from the Olympic Games?

James Lloyd (University of Reading) "After the Lesbian": Musical identities in ancient Sparta

Ioannis Mitsios (University of Athens) *Virgin sacrifice and city protection in Athens and Peloponnese* 

15:30 – 16:00 Coffee break

16:00 – 17:00 Round table discussion: *Methodologies and Approaches* 

# **ABSTRACTS**

- 1. Gabriel Cabral Bernardo (University of Sao Paulo / University of Nottingham) Spartan Identity and the Treatment of Helots
- Roumpini-Ioanna (Nina) Charami (University of Nottingham)
   The 'Other' Lakedaimonians: Ascribing the *perioikoi* to a Lakedaimonian identity
- 3. Elena Duce Pastor (University Autonoma of Madrid)
  Women's Property in Ancient Sparta: A question of power and influence
- 4. Richard J. G. Evans (Leicester)
  What's in a Talthybiadae?: Studying the Lacedaemonian heralds, understanding Laconian identity
- Stefano Frullini (no institution given)
   'King-Tyrant' Pheidon and the Construction of Argive Identity against Sparta in the Fifth Century BCE
- Martina Gatto (University of Rome Tor Vergata)
   The Wife of a Tyrant The Portrait of Apia
- 7. Kendell Heydon (University of Nottingham)
  The Spartan *Hippeis* and Hegemonic Masculinity in Xenophon's *Spartan Constitution*
- 8. Oliver Laband (University Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona)
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- 9. Katerina Ladianou (University of Crete)
  Language That Matters: (Fe)male chorus and feminine voice in Alcman's *Partheneion*
- 10. James Lloyd (University of Reading)"After the Lesbian": Musical identities in ancient Sparta
- 11. Maria del Mar Rodriguez Alcocer (Complutense University of Madrid) Women that Make the Difference: Education and civic models in Spartan maternity
- 12. Ioannis Mitsios (University of Athens)
  Virgin sacrifice and city protection in Athens and Peloponnese
- 13. Manolis Pagkalos (University of Leicester)
  The Many Faces of the Hellenistic Peloponnesos: Memory, identity and politics

- 14. Elise Pampanay (Université de Lyon)
  Women who died in childbirth: a case study on Laconian and Attic sources
- 15. András Patay-Horváth (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest) Why Were Adult Women Excluded from the Olympic Games?
- 16. Andrea Scarpato (University of Leicester)
  Agis IV and the Ephors
- 17. Stergiani Tzirvitsi (University of Ioannina, Greece)
  The Proposal for Orestes' Exile in the Argos Agora

# POSTERS -

1. Elena Franchi – Gendered narratives

#### Gabriel Cabral Bernardo

University of Sao Paulo / University of Nottingham

# **Spartan Identity and the Treatment of Helots**

The information we have on the treatment of helots in the Classical Period has already motivated well-structured debates on the construction of the ancient Messenian identity, mainly after its liberation from Sparta in the fourth century BC. However, much less has been said on what this same treatment could tell us about its obverse, the Spartan identity. This paper intends to address this gap, discussing how the treatment of helots described by the ancient authors could help us understand the way Spartans saw not only themselves, but also those who were perhaps one of the more important "others" of the Spartiate society. It will be argued that the descriptions of the treatment of helots offer an insight on the characteristics (moral and physical) and behaviours that, to a certain extent, made up the Spartan identity.

Roumpini-Ioanna (Nina) Charami

University of Nottingham

The 'Other' Lakedaimonians: Ascribing the perioikoi to a Lakedaimonian identity

In a dedicatory inscription of 277/6 BC at Delphi (FD III, 1:68), the Tyritai, a small *perioikic* community on the eastern coast of Lakonia, chose to proclaim itself as komē Lakedaimoniōn. The deliberate use of Lakedaimoniōn by the *perioikoi*, in an external context and on official documentation, suggests the existence of a commonly shared identity between the Spartans and the *perioikoi*, a Lakedaimonian identity.

The ideological framework of a monocentric Lakedaimonian identity, its definition and how it would have been perceived by the Lakedaimonians themselves has puzzled scholars. Hall argued for a Bronze Age 'setting' based on his interpretation of historical and archaeological evidence, and Hodkinson observed the single identity of the Lakedaimonians when Spartans and perioikoi joined to celebrate and worship in common.

This paper aims to investigate the existence of a common Lakedaimonian identity and its nature from the *perioikic* point of view from the Archaic to the Hellenistic times. The evidence from *proxeny* decrees found outside Laconia are comparatively examined with archaeological data from religious and other contexts from *perioikic* sites in order to determine if, to what extent, how, and why would the perioikoi regard themselves as Lakedaimonians. The existence of a common culture between the perioikoi and the Spartans will be looked into, as well as how strong the notion of a Lakedaimonian identity would have been as the name of the first league of *perioikic* communities, the *'Koinon* of the Lakedaimonians' indicates (early 2nd c. BC).

#### Elena Duce Pastor

University Autonoma of Madrid

# Women's Property in Ancient Sparta: A question of power and influence

In this paper, we will discuss the problematic issues surrounding property in female hands in Ancient Sparta. We know that by the IV century a large amount of land was in women's hands, as a result of the decrease of male soldiers. But, when and why did women start receiving land? Was it a dowry gift? Was it inherited? Was it only an excuse that Classical sources used in order to explain Sparta decline?

Classical sources assumed that Spartan women did not receive a dowry, and that most of the land consisted on indivisible *kleroi*. Sparta was perceived as a military society in which every aspect was clear and established. But as a living society, it contained a certain amount of sociological evolution. In relation property, scholars like Cartledge and Hodkinson have defined the difference between what was written and the Spartan reality.

It is clear that Spartan women had authority and power. Female status existed and women were able to live outside their homes. Most of these attitudes could be explained considering land ownership. A person, female or male, with property also had dependent population bound to him or her.

The main aim of this paper is discussing the problematic issues concerning land in women's hands; their origins, and the implications on power and social status that it obviously had. Sources are not always clear, since they proceed from Athens, but we can combine literary and epigraphical sources in order to draw a main panorama of (female) land propriety and Sparta.

Richard J. G. Evans

University of Leicester

# What's in a Talthybiadae?: Studying the Lacedaemonian heralds, understanding Laconian identity

In detailing the death of Darius' heralds, Herodotus refers to the consequential chaos that befell Sparta's Heralds, the Talthybiadae. These heralds were accordingly a hereditary group, who exclusively served as Sparta's heralds in all inter-state affairs, under the watch and protection of the legendary Talthybius. Little studied, due, in part, to the sparse evidence concerning their organisation, the Talthybiadae are a curious example of the herocult that existed within ancient Laconia, tied to the Laconian heroes of the Homeric epics.

Through the examination of the Talthybiadae, and wider hero-cult in general, this paper shall explore how the use of Talthybius aided in the construction of internal and external identities for the ancient Laconians. Did Talthybius provide a greater authority in Sparta's heralds? Did the Talthybiadae reinforce the Lacaedaemonian's claims in their legendary past? Did other *poleis* possess heroic heraldic institutions, and, if so, what were the similarities to the Lacaedaemonians? By asking these questions, we can further appreciate how the use of heroes enabled a *polis* to construct an inter-state identity, amongst numerous other communities vying for the prestige of the past.

#### Stefano Frullini

(Institution to be confirmed)

'King-Tyrant' Pheidon and the Construction of Argive Identity against Sparta in the Fifth Century BCE

Dating the reign of Pheidon, the semi-mythical ruler of Archaic Argos, is a daunting task for every student of early Greek history. Ancient evidence is exceptionally inconsistent, but on a closer look it can be divided into two main branches: fifth-century sources (Herodotus), who apparently date him to the late seventh to early sixth century, and fourth-century sources (Ephorus and others) who backdate him to the eighth century or even earlier. Discrepancies in the two groups of sources are not limited to chronology: they also involve the specific role of Pheidon – tyrannos in Herodotus, Temenid king in later accounts – and the main feats ascribed to him. We have to ask ourselves why this is the case: why are Ephorus' and Herodotus' accounts so different from each other? Which one is most reliable and useful to reconstruct early Argive history? This paper aims to show that Ephorus' work, although accurate in outlining a context suitable for Pheidon's conduct, is irreparably wrong in chronology. Furthermore, the causes of his backdating are not immediately clear – yet they could be retraced in Argos' deliberate will, in the late fifth century (that is during the hottest phase of Argive-Spartan enmity in the Peloponnesian War), to build a new, 'more anti-Spartan' past for herself. To do this, Argos (and later historians) ascribed to Pheidon a role similar to the one held by Lycurgus in Spartan history: both a conqueror and a lawgiver. Thus, a careful analysis of this question enables us to grasp what kind of identity and past Argive democracy sought for herself.

Martina Gatto

University of Rome - Tor Vergata

The Wife of the Tyrant: The portrait of Apia

During his reign (207 – 192), the Spartan king Nabis married an Argive woman in order to reinforce his political and social connections with Argos. His wife, Apagea, was in fact identified with Apia, the daughter of the Argive tyrant Aristippus. In his account of Nabis's rule, Polybius underlines her role and stressed her viciousness in parallel with the negative description of her husband (Pol. 13, 7). For instance, according to the historian, Apagea was sent to her hometown to obtain a great sum of money. In order to reach her malicious goals, Apia deprived the women of Argos of their gold jewellery and precious clothing without mercy. Moreover, Nabis invented a torture machine with the appearances of his wife, described in detail by Polybius.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the representation of a peculiar Spartan woman in Polybius' Histories and the use of a negative female character in his historical account. Furthermore, another aim will be to provide comparison between Apia and the other influential royal women in Hellenistic Sparta, such as Cratesicleia (the mother of Cleomenes III) or Agiatis (wife of Agis IV and then of Cleomenes III). In fact, in contrast to the terrible portrait of Apia described by Polybius, Cratesicleia and Agiatis are depicted by Plutarch in a very favourable light. This comparative examination can be useful to better understand the importance of women in Spartan Hellenistic society.

Kendell Heydon

University of Nottingham

# The Spartan Hippeis and Hegemonic Masculinity in Xenophon's Spartan Constitution

The exploration of ancient Greek masculinity is always challenging, due to the generally accepted idea that the Greeks did not have a concept of "masculinity" in the modern western understanding. Scholars have argued that the gender-identity of Greek males can only be properly understood in the context of the intersection between a number of subjectivities including biological sex, age, sexual behaviour, and class (see e.g. Dover 1989; Halperin 1990, 2002, Davidson 1997; Hubbard 1998, 2000; Hubbard ed. 2014). Furthermore, because the majority of literature available from the Classical period is Athenocentric, the most detailed analyses of masculinity in Classical Greece produced thus far have focused primarily on Athenian mores. Sources' mentions of attitudes towards masculinity in other *poleis*, such as Sparta, have generally been subjected to less scrutiny. The result being that the picture we hold of "Greek masculinity" can be more accurately described as Athenian masculinity. However, Spartan masculinity remains a relevant point of reference not only to conceptions of masculinity in Antiquity, but to modern constructions as well— as the iconic film 300, for example, attests.

My paper seeks to examine a particular arena in which Spartan masculinities can be seen to be constructed. Particularly, it will provide detailed analysis of the selection process of the elite unit of the 300 *hippeis* and the strife for manly virtue, between young men, which resulted from it. I will employ sociological gender theory, based in social constructionist frameworks, in my examination. In so doing, I will demonstrate that this selection process, as described by Xenophon in his *Spartan Constitution*, can be viewed as a performative display of hegemonic masculinity; a societal mechanism in which both the chosen and unchosen demonstrated their adherence to prominent Spartan masculine ideology via stylized public competition. Thus, I will suggest that gender construction by means of performance can be understood as a chief objective of this important Spartan institution.

#### Oliver Laband

University Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona

# Religious Rites and the Creation of Masculinity in the Spartan Education System

The core focus of this paper is on the construction of masculinity in classical era Sparta. The research will focus primarily on the influence of religious rites, within educational institutions, in implanting a specific masculine identity into elite Spartan boys. Studies into masculinity are relatively few especially with regard to Spartan society. The proposed research will seek to broaden our understanding of Spartan masculinity through focusing on the specific aspect of religious rites. Source material is famously sparse with regard to Spartan society, this will be taken into account when conducting proposed research and when presenting conclusions. Studies into the effects of Spartan education systems on the construction of a masculine ideal are as yet non-existent hence providing justification of a study of this kind.

Katerina Ladianou

University of Crete

# Language That Matters: (Fe)male chorus and feminine voice in Alcman's Partheneion

Reading the *Partheneia* of Alcman is always a challenging quest, stemming from their fragmentary state, perplexing imagery and metaphoric language (Peponi, 2004). Thus, fragment 3C has provoked many readings in order to decipher the female chorus (Calame, 1997; Stehle 1998; Robbins, 1994; Clark, 1996).

In this paper, I will argue that the fundamental problem lies in Alcman's representation of female speech. The performers are staged as mimicking male discourse: they describe their performance as a battle and employ a catalogue of female adornments, mirroring the catalogue of warriors. Moreover, through metaphors the young girls are represented as valuable objects, calling attention not only to their defamiliarized voice but also to an abstract image, which blurs the subjectivity of the dancers.

I will then propose that the fragment can be read not only as a passage into the order of an androcentric society but also as a passage into the symbolic order of language. Performing a choral poem the chorus seems to partake in this symbolic order. However, the young girls of the chorus are clearly represented as valuable possessions. Thus, represented as objects the young girls have no subjectivity, no voice, no desire, no language. Like signs, myths and commodities they are made to be exchanged and always refer back to men (Irigaray, 1985).

In conclusion, I will argue that composing songs for young women, Alcman chooses to represent feminine voice as different from human voice, stressing a matter inherent to feminine voice: its alterity and problematic representation.

#### References

Calame, C. 1997. Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece: their morphology, religious role, and social functions. New York. London.

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James Lloyd

University of Reading

"After the Lesbian": Musical identities in Ancient Sparta

Such was the fame of Terpander and his musical descendants that the phrase  $\mu\epsilon\tau\dot{\alpha}$   $\Lambda\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\beta\iota$ ov  $\psi\delta\dot{\omega}$  (cf. Aristot. [fr.545, Rose]; Phot. Lex. s.v. etc.) became proverbial in Sparta for coming second, because the Lesbian musicians always won in the local agones (so one interpretation goes).

We know that music was vitally important to forming Spartan identities, but so far little has been done in trying to identify, in terms of gender, class, and other distinguishing factors, its practitioners (except for its choral singers, in the case of Calame's synchronic and focused study and more recent work by Nobili). As the above phrase underlines, music was a thoroughly pervasive cultural phenomenon in Sparta, as it was in the whole of the Hellenic world. By better understanding Spartan musical identities, I argue, we can better explore Spartan cultural, social, and religious identities and Spartan constructs of gender.

Through a study of Alcman, the references of later writers, and perhaps most illuminatingly, the iconography of Laconian Black figure, lead figurines, and other media (including several Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions), a vastly more complex and culturally fluid Spartan musical identity reveals itself (despite later stories concerning Timotheus and interpretations which focus on Spartan choral music), which is at odds with the traditional images of Spartan austerity and cultural conservatism.

Maria del Mar Rodriguez Alcocer

Complutense University of Madrid

Women that Make the Difference: Active education and civic models in Spartan maternity

Like any Greek mother, Spartan mothers must bear children, but their eugenic value allowed them to participate in certain highly relevant public activities, integrating them into the community.

Women acted as state educational agents, with the same ideological and symbolic discourse as men. For that reason, "hysterical" femininity is diluted in them in favour of "manly" virtue. The legitimacy to speak in public, an even to criticize and maybe punish their children, is linked to their civic role as the first educators of their children, since the first stage of children's life is fundamental for the adoption of a very specific way of thinking. It is the moment in which homonoia more easily marks the minds of individuals. Throughout the rest of his life, the other state mechanisms of education, syssitia, rites, the paidonomos, the eirens, etc. also act as mechanisms of repression of different ways of thinking; but the woman is still present, both in the figure of the mother, and in the companions of their same age who praised or laughed at them if they behaved or not in an honourable way.

In this paper I will focus precisely on the role of women as educators integrated in the general repression mechanisms to see how they adopted the civic virtues adapted to their gender role themselves, and how they become creators of gender identity in their children, transmitting the virtues according to the identity that society imposes on different individuals.

**Ioannis Mitsios** 

University of Athens

# Virgin sacrifice and city protection in Athens and Peloponnese

Dying a glorious death in combat is one of the main prerequisites of heroization for men, but how can *kleos* and *hysterophemia* be gained by women, since they are excluded from war? The self-sacrifice of a female, preferably virgin, for the salvation of the community, "unum pro multis dabitur caput" and the phenomenon of "dying for doing" is well attested in ancient Greek myth.

Athenian myth provides us with a plenty of cases of Athenian virgins, mostly of royal origin, who voluntarily sacrifice themselves for the salvation of the city. These examples include the daughters of king Kekrops- also known as the Aglaurids-, the daughters of king Erechtheus- also known as the Hyakinthids-, and the daughters of Leos. Nevertheless, the most famous sacrificed heroine, although in a different context, remains the Peloponnesian-Argive Iphigenia, a heroine receiving panhellenic cult. The connection between the Arkteia, a festival related to Iphigeneia and the Arrhephoria, a festival related to the Aglaurids, has been noticed by some scholars.

In regards to city protection, Herodotus (8.41.2-3), in his passage about the Persian wars, mentions a snake, guardian of the Acropolis, that didn't eat its monthly offerings. This bad sign resulted into the defeat of the Athenians and the conquest of the Acropolis. Pausanias (1.24.7) calls the guardian snake of the Acropolis Erichthonios, the autochthonous Athenian hero par excellence. Pausanias (6.20.4-5), in another passage, dealing with the war between Arcadians and Eleans, mentions the Elean hero Sosipolis, whose name means savior of the city. The child, when presented to the Arcadians, turned into a snake, causing disorder to their ranks, providing victory to the Eleans.

The aim of this paper is to examine and compare the heroic context of "self sacrifice" and "city savior" in Athens and Pepolonnese, highlight some striking similarities, notice the differences, and, if possible, trace the possible interactions in myth, as indicated in the case of the Athenian virgins Hyakinthids and the Spartan king Hyakinthos.

Manolis Pagkalos

University of Leicester

The Many Faces of the Hellenistic Peloponnesos: Memory, identity and politics

The Hellenistic period marks an era of major changes both in the political and geographical landscapes. With the emergence of the Hellenistic kingdoms and the formation of strong alternatives, the polis, still in the centre of political life, struggles between autonomy and dependence. In these ambient changes, the past presents an excellent opportunity: it can be used as a (re)confirmation of a certain identity, be it civic or collective, or can help to construct a new one; in either way, its potential is enormous. In the contemporary world, the connection between the use of the past and politics has been sanctioned; but this relationship has deep roots in the ancient world. Memory and the use of the past are social and cultural forces, effectively altering the modes of representation and contemporary worldviews. This paper aims to demonstrate the power of the use of the past and its active role in the political discourse of the Peloponnesos. From the Spartans of the Early Hellenistic period to the prolific Achaian historian Polybios, this paper seeks to assess the different uses of the past and investigate its agents. The evidence seems to point towards the same culprit – an active and grasping elite, yet is this the case? The motives – with a strong political tinge – are also under investigation, highlighting personal and state expediencies. Ultimately, the dynamics of the use of the past and its versatility are verified, extending such practices well beyond the limits of Peloponnesos and of the ancient world.

Elise Pampanay

Université de Lyon

Women Who Died in Childbirth: A case study on Laconian and Attic sources

Among the studies on women in Classical Greece, an interesting parallel has been made between soldiers who died on the battlefield and women who died in childbirth. This idea, mainly based on four Laconian funerary inscriptions, and on a passage from Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, has been transposed to the Athenian context, since a group of several funerary stelae from the fourth century seem to depict women in the pains of giving birth. If recent studies have shown that the reading and the interpretation of Plutarch's text are mistaken, it is interesting to see how the sources on women dying in childbirth, and especially iconographic representations, are quite exceptional in many respects. Indeed, only a few of them have been preserved, when this type of death was probably very common, and it is also a rare case where the cause of death is depicted. Then, when no inscription confirms it, the identification of the scene shown on the relief can be difficult. This iconographic scheme has been popular enough to spread to Alexandria and Thasos, for example, and also counts a few examples in the Hellenistic period, but we have no example of such a motif coming from Laconia. We will question the limited chronological and geographical scope of such a representation, and its implications on funerary art and practices, both in Attica and Laconia.

András Patay-Horváth

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

# Why were Adult Women Excluded from the Olympic Games?

It is a well-known fact that adult women were banned from attending the Olympic Games and that those who violated this rule were supposed to be executed. This regulation is quite strange for several reasons but, nevertheless, has not often investigated in detail. The explanations offered for its origins are obviously unsatisfactory and therefore a new attempt will be made, based on broad comparative material.

It is generally assumed, and indeed very likely, that the exclusion can be seen as a remnant of an age-old religious taboo, with a terrifying and deterring effect. In ancient Greece, it is only the cult of Ephesian Artemis in which a similar restriction is applied to women; but similar rules are found all over the world and concern hunters and their wives. In addition, written sources attest that the vicinity of the sanctuary was regarded as a superb hunting ground, and Early Iron Age finds also suggest that, initially, hunting was the main attraction of the sanctuary.

One may therefore reasonably conclude that the Games originated from animal ceremonialism, i.e. ceremonies intimately connected to hunting, and the exclusion of married women derived from the related cult of Artemis which was certainly very well-developed in Olympia.

Andrea Scarpato

University of Leicester

# Agis IV and the Ephors

King Agis IV is a neglected character of Spartan history. His agency and identity are topics which have been overlooked by the scholarship. The latest significant studies have addressed important issues such as the program of reforms advanced by Agis IV and Cleomenes III and the impact that these reforms had on Spartan society (Oliva 1971; Shimron 1972; Cartledge 2002). In doing so, they have deployed the limited evidence (mostly offered by Plutarch) and focussed on the expansionist policy carried out by Cleomenes, along with his social and economic reforms. The identity and agency of Agis IV and the nature of the rapport between kings and Spartan governing bodies represent topics that have not been fully addressed in the latest contributions. The integration of the testimony of Pausanias – rejected or neglected in previous studies – may enable us to broaden our understanding of Agis' agency. The analysis of his agency may reveal if the Spartan king were selective on which aspects of royal identity he utilised and whether these aspects were selected by him or imposed on him by the Spartan governing bodies (ephors, gherousia). The implication for identity expression by the kings may have had serious implications within and outside Sparta. This paper seeks to address these issues and to explore further the relationship between kings and ephors; whether Agis was a passive or active agent of the polis represents the primary topic of this paper.

A combination in a complimentary fashion of the literary and epigraphic evidence from locales situated inside and outside the Peloponnese points to a nuanced relationship between Agis and the ephors, and to Agis' diverse identities. The narratives reveal a different identity of the king inside and outside of Sparta and his proactive role in military and political matters of the utmost importance.

Selected Bibliography

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University of Ioannina, Greece

#### The Proposal for Orestes' Exile in the Argos Agora

The subject of exile in the myths of Peloponnese, and especially of Argos, has particular interest, as shown through the example of Orestes in the eponymous tragedy of Euripides. The young descendant, with profound roots and origin from the Peloponnesian *oikoi*, has been excluded from the line of succession and faces numerous hardships in reclaiming his identity and ancestral throne. Although the hero comes from the renowned *genos* of Atreides, he is treated as a foreigner in his own homeland due to having committed matricide.

In this paper, we would like to present the hero's public treatment as a matricide in the Argos' *agora*. Linking the homicide with the penalty of exile, we will try to illustrate the time, the place and the way of Orestes reception in Argos. We intend to focus on the assembly of the Argives, in the agora, as shown in the Euripidean narration of Orestes' myth in the eponymous tragedy. We follow the climax of events associated with Menelaus, Pylades and the assembly. It is also interest to explore the way that political actions are realized on the theatrical stage, such as the decree of this assembly.

Finally, we will attempt to address critical questions concerning the synthesis of the crowd, the motives, and proposals delivered. We hope to demonstrate the political dimension of the integration of a member of the house, whose performance of paternal duty leads to the loss and turbulent reclaim of his political identity.