

Women and War in Classical Greece

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Abstract

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This thesis examines the lives of women in Classical Greece in the context of war. War is often regarded as the domain of men but actually it is a social phenomenon where everybody is involved. Scholarship has begun to be interested in issues of women and war in Classical Greece, while they are insightful and demonstrate portions of women's experience, studies to date have not attempted to create a holistic view. In such studies, women are generally depicted as a single homogeneous group, their involvement in war is viewed as limited and exceptional, and they are only seen as the marginal victims of war. This thesis, by contrast, strongly argues for diversity in women's experiences during war. It demonstrates the centrality of war to women's lives in Classical Greece, as well as how women's experience might vary according to (for example) their social and economic circumstances. By analysing both written sources and archaeological material across the Classical period, this thesis intends to produce a broader perspective. By providing the first full-length study on the subject, this thesis, thus, contributes to the disciplines of both gender studies and warfare studies.

This thesis begins by investigating the way in which ancient sources outlined wartime boundaries for women. While there were no formal 'rules of war', ancient writers nonetheless suggest that there were certain social conventions particular to the treatment of women in Classical Greece at times of war. As chapter 1 shows, perhaps surprisingly, women were not always evacuated from their communities as is commonly thought, they were not supposed to be maltreated, nor killed in Classical Greek warfare. Chapter 2 then examines ancient authors' positive and negative evaluations on the behaviour of women in war. By analysing the way in which different sources rationalized women's wartime behaviour, this thesis shows that there existed boundaries for women in war. Having established women's potential involvement in war, an exploration follows of their contributions to the war effort, both in the city and abroad. Two observations emerge from chapter 3. First, women were heavily involved in crucial wartime activities such as defending the city, distribution of food and missiles, giving military advice, among others. However, they also participated in negative and traitorous wartime behaviour such as facilitating enemy soldiers to escape a city under conflict. Second, their wartime contributions were not perceived to be 'breaking social norms' as is commonly maintained in much scholarly discussion. In chapter 4, the analyses of the different social and economic impacts of war on women reveals that war affected them directly through their experience of evacuations and their necessity to find employment due to wartime poverty, but war also affected women in more insidious ways, especially in their family life and relationships. Finally, chapter 5 then analyses the impact of war with special reference to women's experiences in post-war contexts such as captivity, slavery, and rape and sexual violence. By showing the variety of experiences and how there existed selection processes with regards to women, this chapter demonstrates that not all women were going to experience the same fates after war. The result is the emergence of a rounded picture of the wartime lives of women in Classical Greece.

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Abbreviations

All translations and modified translations are from the Loeb Classical Library unless otherwise stated. All dates are BC unless otherwise stated.

<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJPh</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AncW</i>	<i>The Ancient World</i>
<i>BAR</i>	<i>British Archaeological Reports</i>
<i>CHGRW</i>	<i>The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Classical Journal</i>
<i>CPh</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
<i>CW</i>	<i>Classical World</i>
<i>DHA</i>	<i>Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne</i>
<i>G&H</i>	<i>Gender & History</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>IJFP</i>	<i>International Feminist Journal of Politics</i>
<i>ILJ</i>	<i>Cornell International Law Journal</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JMH</i>	<i>Journal of Military History</i>
<i>JOP</i>	<i>Journal of Politics</i>
<i>MHR</i>	<i>Mediterranean Historical Review</i>
<i>PT</i>	<i>Political Theory</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des Etudes Grecques</i>
<i>Salduie</i>	<i>Salduie: Estudios de Prehistoria y Arqueologia</i>
<i>SO</i>	<i>Symbolae Osloenses</i>
<i>TAPhA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>YCIS</i>	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>

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Introduction

War has traditionally been regarded as the domain of men. Men decide when and where battles take place, they fight, and are remembered collectively by their cities and individually by their families. Even though women now serve in many national armies from the United States to North Korea, as well as revolutionary militias like Colombia's FARC, in the popular imagination – thanks to blockbuster films, television documentaries, and war novels – warfare remains a male affair.¹ Yet even setting aside women's potential role in conflict, daily news reports remind us that women are intimately bound up in war. Television news and news on the internet are filled with images of women and children made destitute as a result of current conflicts in Syria and Gaza.² The women in these images are frequently depicted grasping children in their hands, in traditional non-Western clothing, sometimes completely veiled.³ They are shown mourning with their hands in the air, crying, screaming, sad, and generally pitiful. These images are set against the background of destruction – collapsed buildings, destroyed households and untidy refugee centres are the most common. What we are presented with every day is essentially the visual iconography of suffering. As atrocities continue unabated in the Middle East, female suffering has become iconic in Western media outlets of all that is wrong.⁴ In the news stories accompanying these images, women are presented as the victims of war, suffering what has been described as 'systematic rape', escaping wartime enslavement, among many other types of horrific violence. But is there more behind media's representation of women as the victims of war? Some have seen this representation in light of the old West versus Orient debate, arguing for the West's need to picture oppressed Eastern women as an excuse for their military involvement in Middle

¹ For women in the United States army, see Chapman 2008, DeFraites et al. 2015 and bibliography therein. For the recent compulsory military service for women in the North Korean army, see Song Ming 2015. For women in Colombia's FARC, see O'Neil 2015. See also the United Nations Regional Information Centre for Western Europe (no date). 'FARC' is the Spanish acronym for 'Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia'. For recent war films see, for example, *American Sniper* (2015) which chooses to focus on a male sniper when, in fact, there are now equally qualified female snipers in the United States Army. See also *Lone Survivor* (2013) and *Fury* (2014). For war documentaries that continue to focus on men see, for instance, *Restrepo* (2010) which did not feature any women when female units were present in the field to contend with Afghan culture and especially Afghan women (Hokenson 2010). A brief survey into contemporary war novels immediately shows how these are still largely focused on the men's wartime experiences whether on the battlefield or on leave. See, for instance, *Billy Lynn's Long Halftime Walk* by Ben Fountain (2012).

² For a sample of these images, see the following: On Syria, see Tran 2013, *Syria's Women, Many Raped in Refugee Centres, Long to Return Home* 2013, *Syria Conflict: Women 'Targets of Abuse and Torture'* 2013, Connolly 2014. On Gaza, see Booth 2014, Agencies 2014.

³ Even when the women are not veiled – as with Israeli women soldiers who are sometimes shown in uniform – they are still portrayed in deplorable positions with sad emotions. See, for example, the woman in the image in Greenhouse 2014.

⁴ See, for example, Miller 2015, *Iraq: ISIS Escapees Describe Systematic Rape. Yazidi Survivors in Need of Immediate Care*, 2015, Burger 2015.

Eastern countries usually seen as backwards, while others argue that it may be due to the ‘male corporate control of media’.⁵ However, women’s representation in today’s media also has strong echoes in the representation of women in the ancient world, especially with the veiling of Greek women. Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones has elucidated this when he argues that ‘classical scholarship wishes to distance itself (whether knowingly or subconsciously) from the political and social ramifications that the veil has in the liberated West ... and ... that scholarship is reluctant to connect itself to a garment that, to a great extent, is intimately and fundamentally associated with the subjugation of women and with the notion of Oriental ‘Otherness’.⁶ Even though women’s representation in today’s media is heavily constructed, the unavoidable conclusion is that women are affected by war in different ways. War is, therefore, no longer the realm of men. Women not only endure atrocities committed by men who engage in conflicts and mourn the loss of family members (especially male relatives who fight), but they also experience economic and social instability because of war. Thus, in the incessant flow of 24 hour news, we are constantly reminded that war is a fundamental part of these women’s lives.

Perhaps it is not surprising that in light of these modern images scholars examine women in the context of ancient warfare, and that they imagine women in exactly these same roles, emphasising some aspects and not others.⁷ Kurt A. Raaflaub, for example, argues that ancient Greek women suffered most obviously sexual violence and enslavement because:

In our own time, it is all too familiar not least from news reports about abuses and atrocities committed by combatants in local African wars or the debates about recognition of forced prostitution imposed on women in areas conquered by Japanese troops before and during World War II.

(Raaflaub 2014, 35)

In this, Raaflaub (and others) are sometimes supported by the disparateness of the evidence which tends to explicitly mention women as being enslaved after war. Classical Greek authors like Thucydides and Xenophon commonly say that the women of a particular

⁵ For the former view, see Al-Ali and Pratt 2009, for the latter, see Thompson et al 2007, 438. This is called by Al-Ali and Pratt as ‘gendered war talk’ (2009, 69-72). For the inverse, namely women’s representation in Middle Eastern media, see Al-Ariqui 2008-2009.

⁶ Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 5.

⁷ David Schaps, for example, examines the ‘hardships of defeat’ in his brief study (1982, 202-206). Kathy L. Gaca, on the other hand, only focuses on the wartime rape and sexual violence of women in ancient warfare (2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2014). Modern scholarship’s focus on rape and sexual violence as *the* female experience *par excellence* in ancient warfare is largely embedded in this retrojecting image; a subject explored below.

defeated city were ‘sold into slavery’.⁸ These authors’ brief remarks give little consideration to what this phrase meant, adding nothing more that may give an indication as to what exactly this comprised. However, the evidence for women’s involvement in ancient Greek conflict is more varied and goes beyond women’s victimization. Women’s appearances in war scenarios or war narratives of the Classical period are often distributed over a range of sources, genres, time and place; but this disparateness also shows different perspectives. As chapter 3 shows, women were sometimes involved in different wartime tasks like wall-building and cooking for soldiers in garrisons. These accounts generally portray women as being useful (and at times useless) towards their *poleis* or *oikoi* at times of war. There even existed whole conversations and dialogues solely on the behaviour and expected roles of women in war (explored in chapter 2). Even within women’s experiences of enslavement and wartime rape, as chapter 5 highlights, we see variety. The scattered nature of the literary evidence suggests that to portray women as war victims is not one particular conscious decision of one specific author but rather the nature of our sources that reflects how ancients conceptualized women in the context of war overall. And, in light of the discussion above, this may not be that different from our own day where we tend only to imagine women as the victims of war.

The same can be said of material evidence such as Greek sculpture and vase paintings where the scattered depictions of women in different war scenarios is also present. The Nereid Monument of Xanthus, red- and black-figure vases, white-ground *lekythoi*, even ancient descriptions of no longer extant sculpture all depict women in war scenarios in different ways, and they are all explored in this thesis alongside written sources. The researcher is immediately confronted with methodological issues such as the different audiences for each type of evidence (some vases, for instance, were only made for export outside Attica or for a funerary context – or both), different contexts (e.g. a Lycian tomb versus an Attic one), and the diverse reasons for which they were produced (e.g. commemorative sculpture for a victory in battle in a non-existent *stoa* in the *agora* of Sparta versus a celebratory inscription in a temple). The picture becomes a little more complicated by the agent under discussion in this thesis: women. Being the less visible individual in a patriarchal society, they are by definition considered less important in many narratives about war (which, for the most part, was seen as a strictly male activity). As Jonathan Hall argues: ‘ancient authors were not generally interested in the mundane, and they made choices – both

⁸ See, for instance, Thuc.3.68.2, 4.48.4, 5.32.1, 5.116.4. Xen.*Hell.*1.6.14, 2.1.15.

conscious and unconscious – as to what they saw fit to record’.⁹ It is exactly in Hall’s mundane world that women exist in war narratives such as those of Thucydides and Xenophon. To address these methodological issues, this thesis employs what Jonathan Hall calls ‘the only corrective’:

...first, to situate a text or an archaeological feature within its broader literary or material context and only then to consider whether there might be a relationship between the two.

(Hall 2014, 208)

In the case of women, one needs to recognize that most of the evidence we have for their social lives exist as part of what Christopher Pelling calls an ‘ideological construct’.¹⁰ Pelling analysed three of the most discussed passages for women in literature, namely, Pericles’ address to the widows (Thuc.2.45.2), the different purposes of courtesans (*hetairai*), concubines (*pallakai*) and legal wives as portrayed in the speech *Against Stephanus* (Dem.59.122), and Andromache’s speech of loyal servitude to her husband Hector (Eur.*Tro.*645-656) and concluded that when taken out of context they give a fundamentally different impression.

All three of our passages now seem more problematic guides to real social life, but that does not terminate their value to the historian. What matters, as usual, is that such things are *sayable* in their contexts. In each case they can represent an ideological construct; in each case the point can partly be that they do *not* match neatly or comfortably against reality or normality – that this is asking too much of Athenian women, that most women are not like Andromache. It remains important that they can be presented in such an idealised setting...

(Pelling 2000, 193)

Thus, it is only by allowing each type of evidence to speak for itself in its own specific context that one can obtain a better understanding of the wartime lives of women in Classical Greece.

This approach is not new; scholars have successfully (and unsuccessfully¹¹) attempted to use both types of evidence in the reconstruction of the ancient world. One especially

⁹ Hall 2014, 208.

¹⁰ Pelling 2000, 189, 194.

¹¹ Adrienne Mayor’s problematic attempt to argue for the existence of real Amazons in the ancient world is one example (2014).

successful attempt – by de Philip de Souza, Waldemar Heckel and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones – has shown how it is possible to reconstruct the wartime experiences of a particular woman by analysing different sources. By using different written sources together, they created a case study where the wartime life of Hipparete, wife of the general Alcibiades, came to life.¹² Even though this is certainly not possible for every woman, it shows that in some cases this approach has proven effective. Therefore, by drawing together a full range of possible sources, this thesis strengthens its analysis, reconstruction and assessment of different wartime experiences for women in Classical Greece. This thesis attempts to compile the fragmented Classical evidence for women in war to evaluate their wartime lives in every facet, before, during, and after war.

As seen above, the limited images we see in modern mass media and in ancient sources present a consistent representation of women as victims. But there exist different glimpses of women behaving in other ways which have been neglected and which can benefit from looking at modern parallels. Aristotle, for example, briefly alludes to the existence of female spies in Classical Greece, yet this reference has been largely ignored in the context of war (*Pol.*1313b11-16). Aeneas Tacticus similarly imagines women as the perfect agents to move around secret messages.¹³ However, acknowledging that one cannot transpose from one context to another, modern parallels may shed light into the types of roles these women may have carried, and why. Women, for example, were used as wartime spies during World War II (and afterwards), where their roles as flexible couriers made them especially useful.¹⁴ These women, Clare Mulley argues, ‘needed to be on the move regularly, something considered much more dangerous for an able-bodied man capable of fighting’.¹⁵ This is just one example of the larger and far more complex picture where women fit in the context of modern warfare. As the victimized image of women in times of war is increasingly preferred by the media, other complexities such as the one above are not equally made public. Thus, when scholars come to analyse women in the ancient world this complex image is largely absent from their interpretations.

With this approach one needs to be careful not to under-read the importance of woman as victim in the Greek mind and its link to the erotic.¹⁶ There existed an ‘ideal’ image

¹² De Souza, Heckel and Llewellyn-Jones 2004, 171-176, 208.

¹³ Both passages analysed further in chapter 3.

¹⁴ Mulley 2015.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Many thanks to Professor Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones for his comments on the Greek erotic imagination and its relation to the beautiful war victim.

(in both written sources and artistic representations) of the desirable beautiful war victim. This is a long-standing tradition, reported in Homer, Herodotus, Euripides, Xenophon and Ctesias, which needs to be acknowledged in any study of women and war in ancient Greece as it cannot be separated from Greek ideas of women, war and rape. This tradition is fully developed in the fourth century novellas of Ctesias (Zarinea) and Xenophon (Panthea).¹⁷ But traces of it can also be found in historical reports such as Herodotus' account of the captive daughter of Hegetorides, Xenophon's description of the concubines in Cyrus' camp, and even in Isocrates' narrative of the women raped by Greek mercenary armies (all explored further in chapter 5). Greek painted pottery also portrays this representation of the 'ideal victim' of war. There are, for example, different variations of the rape of Cassandra by Ajax and in many of these images she is depicted fully naked grasping the image (*xoanon*) of Athena whilst Ajax follows behind or drags her by her hair.¹⁸ Just like the women above, she incites pity because of her beauty. The act of dragging off women and the taking off garments, as briefly explored in chapter 5, also has erotic connotations when it comes to wartime violence against women. Behind these written and pictorial representations there is an underlying narrative of one normative type of war victim in the Greek mind: the beautiful one.

Nevertheless, as the trend to look at women not as victims but as active contributors to war continues to rise, another image starts to appear.¹⁹ Women have always contributed in different ways to conflicts, they help with medical treatment and healthcare of both combatants and non-combatants alike, they aid in the pillaging of enemy villages, and they are crucial agents in peacebuilding and post-war contexts.²⁰ Yet, somehow the modern idea is that in order for women to contribute to war they must fight or engage in what are today called 'the lines of combat'.²¹ The recent United States military reforms that officially lifted the policies which prevented women in combat roles are a case in point.²² In the US army, women have always been excluded from what is officially called 'combat' areas, even though

¹⁷ On the similarities in the accounts of both women, see Llewellyn-Jones and Robson 2010, 71-72.

¹⁸ See, for example, the red-figure *amphora* in the British Museum (1873,0820.366).

¹⁹ See, for instance, the recent review of an edited volume focused on the non-victimhood of women in war, Toman 2009. See also the trend in producing encyclopaedias and companions to women in war: Cook 2006, Hacker and Vining 2012.

²⁰ On female combat medics in the US, see Figley et al 2015, 134-146. For an early representation of female camp followers pillaging a village with their men, see Lynn 2012, 94. For women in post-war contexts, see, for instance, the US Institute of Peace 2012.

²¹ This modern thinking, as we will see, has infiltrated studies of ancient women and war. See, for instance, Loman 2004a.

²² In 2013, the United States Army officially allowed women to serve in combat roles, see Burrelli 2013.

combat and non-combat areas are increasingly difficult to separate.²³ The above modern thinking still predominates and shows no signs of dwindling, especially as the UK is said to soon follow US military reforms with regards to women and combat.²⁴

This thesis, by contrast, moves away from the assumption that the only contribution is on the front line and considers women's contributions as anything of value that contributed to the war effort, whether positively or negatively, that was recognized as such by Classical Greek society. Not because women did not fight in Classical Greece, but, more importantly, because Greek men – even if open to the idea of female military training as Plato was reported to be – did not believe their women were ever capable of fighting; a subject discussed in detail in both chapters 1 and 2. This thesis is part of a growing scholarly interest in the different ways in which women are involved in war, even when their contributions are not always straightforward.²⁵

It is not only their contributions that are complicated, but sometimes women's attitudes are at variance with their reported actions, and it must be recognized that one cannot approach women's attitudes to wars merely by looking at their contributions. In a modern context, for example, interviews with Lebanese women of the 'Women's Edification Assembly' (WEA) – a group that provided seminars, food, and space for children to play during the 1980s civil war – showed that these women felt guilty merely by distributing food to soldiers because they believed that they were contributing to a war they did not agree over.²⁶ These women, by opening a kitchen to feed people involved in the conflict were providing much needed support, yet they did not always agree on the conflict. This modern example shows how women's actions in war are not always necessarily representative of their ideology and beliefs.²⁷ A possible way of moving forward and perhaps glean some of women's attitudes to conflicts is by looking at their own words. An inscription set up by the women of Corinth after the Persian Wars is an example analysed in chapter 3 as depicting women's praying contribution, but it also suggests their attitudes to this particular conflict.

²³ Attacks on areas usually assigned to women are the perfect example. When deployed to Iraq, some women stayed in areas that are not considered 'combat' zones, yet shelling from the enemy found its way into these areas, wounding many female military personnel.

²⁴ See, for example, Weaver 2014. The British Army already has its own version of the US Army Female Engagement Team (FET) – a company of female soldiers attached to various Special Forces units on the ground of combat in Afghanistan – called Female Engagement Officers (FEO). The latter's main purpose is to 'build relationships with Afghan women' (Baskerville 2012) and it is quite similar to the former. On the FET, see Nicolas 2015.

²⁵ See, for example, the UN report by Rehn and Sirleaf (2002) and that of Amnesty International by Alberdi (2009) both of which address women in different modern conflict scenarios.

²⁶ On the interviews, see Toman 2009, 326. For the WEA, see Ward 2009.

²⁷ This is a subject that Schaps (1982) attempted to elucidate, see discussion below.

In light of the apparent complexity underlying the image from modern times, a reappraisal of the reality behind the image presented by Thucydides, Xenophon, and other Classical writers (picked up by modern scholars), is very much overdue. This thesis examines women in the context of Classical Greek warfare and argues that women were as essential to the survival and continuance of the *polis* and community (as well as cultural values) as the men who fight in times of war. The purpose of this thesis is to analyse what people thought about women in war, their wartime contributions, and the different ways in which war had an impact on their lives. The main questions it asks and answers are centred on the wartime lives of Greek, and in some instances, foreign women. What did women do in war? What groups of women were affected? How did the different impacts of war on women manifested themselves in different Classical *poleis*? How did Classical Greek men conceptualized their women and their behaviour in the context of war? The latter question is vital to this study because it sheds light on what men thought were appropriate wartime roles for women, and likewise when they considered that women had exceeded the boundaries of those roles. In essence, this thesis is a sociological study on the wartime lives of the women involved in and affected by Classical Greek conflicts.

This thesis concentrates on a historiographical data-set because, as we will see below, these questions have not yet been asked from historical wars and historical women. Myth, tragedy and comedy have all received considerable attention in previous studies, whilst no serious attempt has been made with regards to (for instance) the women following armies or female captives in different scenarios. The historical landscape is very much saturated with assumptions made either from mythological women and wars or direct associations from the modern world. But do they really tell us about real practices in Classical warfare? What follows is essentially a historiographical study on women and war. The main sources privileged here are (for example) Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and the orators, among others.

The topic of women (in) and at war in Classical Greece has received some scholarly attention in the past, principally in the form of brief scholarly articles (discussed below), but overall it is still an area of little scholarly interest. The current state of the discipline is spread over two fields of study that have only begun to fully converse with one another: gender studies and warfare studies of the ancient Greek world. But before one can address the current state of the discipline, an evaluation of the most relevant works is needed given the impact they have had on the most recent scholarship. David Schaps' pioneering 1982 article 'The Women of Greece in Wartime' is the earliest (and most cited) study of women in war in

the ancient Greek world. Schaps focused on the evidence as presented by the ancient Greek historians and investigated three main issues: ancient Greek women's attitudes towards wars, their experiences, and 'what they tell us about the relationship of Greek women to their male relatives and to the state'.²⁸ This interest reflects the larger interests of scholarship at the time, where the debate public versus private and male versus female was growing in influence.²⁹ But what really set Schaps apart from everyone else at the time was that he tried to elucidate women's attitudes to wars from the attested actions of real women in a context that was typically seen as a male context: wartime.³⁰ One of his main conclusions, followed in this thesis, was that 'the men and women of a city were partners in war'.³¹ This thesis, first and foremost, places women in Classical Greek society as members of a rich wartime community, and not – as they are usually seen – as the secluded individuals who participated in their own areas separate from men.

Schaps' novel approach paved the way for other studies in this (still) newly emerging field of women and war studies in the Classical Greek world.³² Fritz Graf's article on 'Women, War and Warlike Divinities' attempted to outline a picture of women in the religious rites of war.³³ Graf's study is extremely useful in elucidating the historicity and aetiological concerns behind three accounts of 'fighting' women and their relationship to religion.³⁴ However, it has a narrow definition of the 'rituals surrounding warfare' because it considers only those directly associated to the battlefield (in which men – never women – participated).³⁵ A broader inclusion of women's participation in the rites of war which Classical Greek society itself saw as crucial at times of war such as the role of female relatives in the rituals of the household and that of priestesses in temples would have been beneficial; both are discussed in chapters 3 and 4 respectively. It also undermines the *ololuge*

²⁸ Schaps 1982, 193.

²⁹ On the one hand, the emphasis on public versus private was already present as early as 1836 by Heinrich Hase when he (disturbingly) claimed that 'they [the women] grew up guarded by bolts and bars, in a seclusion almost equal to that of the eastern harem' (311). On the other hand, the male versus female debate/shift can be seen in the same year with the tendency for works to focus on sexuality and, by definition, on women. For example, in Lefkowitz and Fant (1982) now iconic edited sourcebook. In fact, Schaps actually acknowledges Lefkowitz's advice at different points in his study (1982, 207, n. 115). Johns 1982. But before that there were already other studies such as Dover 1973, 1974.

³⁰ Schaps 1982, 212.

³¹ Ibid.

³² See, for example, Barry 1996 and Loman 2004a addressed shortly.

³³ Graf 1984.

³⁴ Namely, that of the poetess Telesilla and her Argive women (Paus.2.20.8-10), a late account by the Christian author Lactantius where Spartan women almost fight their men who thought they were Messenians (Lact.div.inst.1,20,29-32), and that of the Tegean women who fight King Charillus' Laconian forces (Paus.8.48.4).

³⁵ Graf 1984.

as a lesser female contribution to war, which, as we will see in chapter 3, was a crucial wartime contribution as it enforced their men's actions at times of war.³⁶

Graf's belief that there existed a 'clear cut picture' of women in war, where 'women stood aside and acted only in emergencies' is more problematic, however.³⁷ In Graf's study we notice the earliest signs of an increasing trend that sees ancient women's actions and involvement in war as limited and exceptional. This is very much present in many studies that address women in war contexts in one way or another.³⁸ William D. Barry, for instance, in his study of roof tiles and urban violence, similarly claims that 'the apparent frequency of tile-throwing women is particularly significant in the context of gender divisions in ancient Mediterranean societies. ... Women might lend assistance ... but only rarely did they actually engage in violence'.³⁹ Simon Hornblower, on the other hand, claims that 'in the actual historiography of war, women's role is – apart from a few exotic foreign female commanders like the Carian Artemisia in Herodotus' account of the battle of Salamis, the Macedonian Olympias in Hieronymus, Cleopatra in Plutarch – essentially marginal (like that of archers) and disruptive'.⁴⁰ This thesis contests this modern opinion, and argues for two main ideas from which we can move forward: (i) that women's roles in wars may appear as 'marginal' and 'disruptive' only because of the nature of the evidence (analysed in discussion above), and (ii) that there is a strong need for a reassessment of gender divisions in the context of war. As chapter 3 demonstrates, these gender divisions, while not exactly clear in peacetime, become increasingly blurred in different conflict contexts such as sieges, *stasis*, and campaigns abroad. Perhaps it is not that women 'rarely engaged in violence' in times of war but that our definition of wartime violence may need some revision. And this is exactly what chapter 1 does in relation to women and the 'rules' of war, and what chapter 5 does with regards to the actual wartime violence against women; they attempt to see wartime violence as much as possible through a fifth- and fourth-century lens.

However, the irony of the argument of women acting only in 'the topsy-turvy world of *στάσις*' is very much one sided.⁴¹ While scholars contend that women act but only in exceptional wartime circumstances, they readily assume that women suffered most from the

³⁶ When Graf addresses Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes* he actually says that 'all that remains to the young women is the *ololyge*, the ritual cry, after his [Eteocles'] prayer' (Graf 1984, 246). When, in fact, the women's ritual cry enforces Eteocles' prayer. For the *ololyge* in Greek religion, see Osborne 1993, 394, McClure 1999, 53-54, Goff 2004, 42, Bremmer 2007, 136-137.

³⁷ Graf 1984, 246.

³⁸ See, for example, Cartledge 1993a, 1993b, Barry 1996.

³⁹ Barry 1996, 68.

⁴⁰ Hornblower 2007, 43.

⁴¹ Cartledge 1993a, 129 who follows Loraux 1990, 284-287.

impacts of war. Women are excluded from regular wartime activities yet utterly immersed in wartime suffering. They belong to war, but only to a part of war. Kathy L. Gaca, for example, has shaped more than any other scholar our understanding of the wartime rape and sexual violence against women in ancient warfare.⁴² Despite acknowledging that ‘warfare in antiquity may have been multifarious’, Gaca has few misgivings about the nature of wartime rape and sexual violence. In attempting to place the latter at the centre of warfare, she ends up claiming that the ‘deliberate, degrading sexual violence perpetrated by armed males against women and girl captives was a habitual objective and practice of ancient warfare’.⁴³ But as we will see in chapter 5, although common, the wartime rape and sexual violence of women and girls was never a ‘habitual objective’ of ancient Greek warfare.⁴⁴ Gaca’s claims are the result of the broad type of evidence she uses for a subject that needs careful attention in its specific social space and time.⁴⁵ If there is anything that modern conflicts have taught us it is that wartime rape and sexual violence do not manifest themselves in the same way in every conflict. Rape has been used as a weapon of war in deliberate acts of genocide to eviscerate specific populations such as in the Armenian and Rwandan genocides.⁴⁶ There is even what is commonly known as ‘acquaintance rape’ among male and female soldiers of the US military, among others.⁴⁷ Rape has also been used as revenge for atrocities committed by the other side. The anonymous WWII diary of a German woman who endured and was witness to rapes committed by the Soviet forces once they arrived in Berlin depicts one such episode. Three (later only two) Russian soldiers attempted to rape a baker’s wife who was taking refuge in a basement and were enraged when – at the instigation of the diary’s author – they were prevented by one of their officers from doing so. In the words of the anonymous author:

One of the two men being reprimanded voices his objection, his face twisted in anger: ‘What do you mean? What did the Germans do to our women?’ He is screaming: ‘They took my sister and ...’ and so on. I can’t understand all the words, only the sense.

(A Woman in Berlin 2003, 72)

⁴² Gaca 2008, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c. In addition, her etymological work on the word (and related verb forms of) *andrapoda* (2010) and *paides/paidas* (2011c) was very much needed for a long time.

⁴³ Gaca 2011a, 80.

⁴⁴ The objectives of Greek wars and conflicts (if any can be easily identified) are rooted in much larger political and specific circumstances depending on the conflict; no war was ever conducted merely to rape women and girls.

⁴⁵ On the one hand, Gaca considers ancient Greek historians such as Herodotus and Thucydides and, on the other, she treats equally authors like Polybius as well as the early church historians until the Byzantine period.

⁴⁶ For the 1915 Armenian genocide and the 1994 Rwandan genocide, see Cook 2006, 26- 31 and 508-511 respectively with bibliography therein.

⁴⁷ See, for example, Clark and Carroll 2007 (with regards to military academies) and Zaleski 2015, 51-52. See also the documentary *Women in War* (2014) where it is described as such.

These two men then proceeded to rape the anonymous author after lying in wait for her in the basement's corridor. This case of double revenge is very distinctive to a conflict where one side feels downtrodden by the other and feels it needs to repay the other side with the same wartime violence.⁴⁸ Thus, women's experiences in war depend on the particular circumstances of each conflict where there will inevitably be different ways in which they may experience wartime violence both physically and psychologically – wartime rape and sexual violence being *one* of them. This thesis places wartime rape and sexual violence against women in Classical Greek warfare in the larger context of wartime violence, whilst recognizing that it does not vary with 'the general level of abuse' (i.e. that a violent conflict will not necessarily produce more cases of rapes).⁴⁹ It is not considered here a universal consequence of war. Some modern parallels where some of the most violent militant groups – like the Liberation Tigers for Tamil Eelam of Sri Lanka – abstain from carrying out this act for various (and different) reasons are enlightening because it forces us to reassess some of the preconceptions we may have about wartime violence against women.⁵⁰ War intensifies the conditions for its appearance in much more visible ways that are not necessarily present (in the same way) in peacetime. Examining modern comparisons can help us move beyond Gaca's approach and to illuminate (rather than to avoid) the complexity surrounding the impact of war on women.

The topic of violence against women in Classical Greece is extremely complicated. In order to properly understand wartime violence against women one must first consider the ideological setting of mistreatment of women in ancient Greek society. Women are part of a network of honour and shame dynamics that start in and affect the *oikos* and these need exploration as to whether they extend into wartime. Was it possible to humiliate a woman through violence or is that humiliation only activated in her male kin? In war, is sexual humiliation or rape an extension of this honour/shame code? Is a woman really dishonoured by rape or again is that dishonour reflected on the males of her *oikos*? As explained below, the answer to these questions depends on two variables: the woman affected (wife, captive and, more importantly, free or slave) and the wartime context (civil war, expedition abroad or army camp).

⁴⁸ The treatment of defeated Germans after WWII is one example of this where they were subject to the same (or similar) types of torture and violence as they committed against Jews. See, for example, the recent documentary *1945: The Savage Peace* (2015).

⁴⁹ Wood 2009, 134.

⁵⁰ For both groups see Wood 2009, 2010, 2012a, 2012b, 2013.

First, female humiliation through violence. Peacetime violence against women remains a relatively unexplored topic in studies of ancient Greece.⁵¹ But it is generally accepted that violence against women affects more her guardian (*kyrios*) in her household than herself. Robson argues that ‘this way of viewing rape – as an attack on, and insult to, a woman’s *kyrios* – makes frequent appearances in our sources and there are numerous examples of a *kyrios* apparently conceiving the rape of a female relative under his protection as primarily a crime against himself’ (e.g. Eur.*Hipp.*1038-1044).⁵² That male protectors are conceptualized (by ancient men) as being more affected by the violence against women under their protection does not preclude the fact that the women could be humiliated as well. But because sources concentrate on the male humiliation we rarely hear of women described as ‘humiliated’ or ‘shamed’ by violence.⁵³ Herodotus, for instance, describes well this female humiliation by the use of violence in Mycerinus’ story (Hdt.2.131). ‘It is said that Mycerinus raped his own daughter because he was in love with her. Afterwards, they say, she hanged herself in grief...’ (...ὡς Μυκερῖνος ἠράσθη τῆς ἐωυτοῦ θυγατρὸς καὶ ἔπειτα ἐμίγη οἱ ἀεκούσῃ: μετὰ δὲ λέγουσι ὡς ἡ παῖς ἀπήγξατο ὑπὸ ἄχρους). The daughter’s action, therefore, illustrates the shame and humiliation that her father’s rape brought upon her.

Second, the situation becomes more complicated when one analyses whether this honour/shame code extends into war. Wartime sexual humiliation and its implications for the shame and honour of women is addressed in two episodes; both of which explicitly allude to the women’s shame and honour as affected by the men’s violence in war. Plutarch’s account of the rape of Timocleia describes her as being ‘shamefully violated’ (βίαν συγγενόμενος καὶ κατασχύνας) by a Thracian (Plut.*Alex.*12), while Isocrates’ description of the rapes of the women of Asia Minor by Greek mercenaries refers to the ‘dishonouring’ of the most beautiful women (εὐπρεπεστάτας κατασχύνοντες) (Isoc.*epist.*9.10).⁵⁴ It was possible, therefore, to humiliate, shame and dishonour women in war. Both examples also show that the women’s *oikos* shared in the same dishonour. When Timocleia is presented before Alexander for having killed her attacker, she explicitly tells him about her brother who formerly fought with Philip at Chaeronea. Thus emphasising that the rape was an act committed against the (now deceased) male of her household as well. The same concern is

⁵¹ Studies tend to focus on legal aspects (see page 48 n. 52). There are, however, recent studies that are branching out to cover previously uncharted territory. See, for example, Llewellyn-Jones 2011 on domestic violence against women in ancient Greece.

⁵² Robson 2013, 103.

⁵³ Exceptions are Isoc.*epist.*9.10 and Plut.*Alex.*12; both are wartime contexts where the shame and honour of the women are specifically affected, not that of their male relatives or protectors (see analysis below).

⁵⁴ Both accounts are fully explored in chapter 5.

evident when Isocrates refers to the public nudity of the women abused by mercenaries: ‘...those who even when fully clothed were not to be seen by strangers, are beheld naked by many men...’ (...τῶν δ’ ἄλλων ἃ περὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἔχουσι περισπῶντες, ὥσθ’ ὡς πρότερον οὐδὲ κεκοσμημένας ἦν ἰδεῖν τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ταύτας ὑπὸ πολλῶν ὁρᾶσθαι γυμνάς). Their nudity in public contrasted with their previous seclusion is not only an attack on their personal shame and honour but also on their *oikos*. Whereas before their households (and by definition their guardians) protected them from the gaze of others, now they were publicly exhibited in front of many in the most shameful manner. Thus, in war, the sexual humiliation or rape is indeed an extension of this honour/shame code.

Finally, it appears that wartime sexual violence and rape committed against women incurred a double humiliation: the woman experienced dishonour and the male relatives of her *oikos* as well. In war, different women are affected (as this thesis argues throughout). At first glance it appears that all women could indeed be shamed and dishonoured by wartime rape, but the examples above allude only to Greek women and, more importantly, they are *free-born* Greek women. The reader is forced to assume that in the case of captive and slave women, their experiences of wartime sexual humiliation would not count for the same breach of boundaries as that of free-born Greek women. If (for example) a wife was raped in a civil war (*stasis*), then she and her household would incur this double humiliation. But what happens when a female captive (taken abroad or following in the baggage train of an army) is sexually humiliated in war? She will undoubtedly experience shame and dishonour, even if it was not recognized as such by ancient authors. But, as explored in chapter 5, as a captive she no longer belongs to a household; she has severed ties with her former *oikos* and now belongs to her captors. Therefore, would the same shame/honour ideology apply to her? What dishonour would be reflected on the males of her *oikos* when she no longer belongs to one? One is forced to conclude that they did not partake in the same shame/dishonour ideology as free-born women in the Greek (male) imagination. In war, therefore, there existed very complex humiliation codes that are not universal. While some are an extension of peacetime violence against women, not all of them can be said to apply to all women equally.

Coming back to modern scholarship, Pasi Loman’s article ‘No Woman, No War: Women’s Participation in Ancient Greek Warfare’ moves away from this general trend of seeing women as victims of war.⁵⁵ His study is crucial because it considers women’s wartime roles at home and on foreign campaigns when previous studies denied them these

⁵⁵ Loman 2004a.

involvements. Different from both Schaps and Graf, yet similar to Gaca, he uses a broad range of evidence – (largely) Hellenistic (e.g. female poetesses Anyte and Nossis) – and sometimes ends up projecting distinctively Hellenistic ideas back onto the Classical Greek world.⁵⁶ However, Loman's study assumes a simplistic understanding of women's participation where in order for them to contribute to war they needed to do so actively. On the one hand, for Loman's women to participate in war they have to either throw roof tiles or actually lead armies.⁵⁷ On the other, their participation at home is only limited to moral support and encouragement, but denied (following Graf) in the rituals surrounding warfare. This view, however, is refuted in this thesis in chapter 3, where the role of women in the wartime household is analysed in the context of domestic ritual libations as presented by the archaeological evidence of Classical Greek vase paintings. Women's participation in war, therefore, has become synonymous with women's *active* participation in war.⁵⁸

This problematic active/passive paradigm profoundly rooted (consciously or unconsciously) in modern images of women in war should not be transported back into the ancient Greek world. As chapters 2 and 3 explore, for a Classical individual (and particularly men) women were by definition what we would call today 'passive' individuals especially when it comes to warfare, yet this did not stop them acknowledging when their contributions were essential for the survival of the *polis*. The vital role of the priestess of the Acropolis during the evacuations of the Persian Wars is one example, the roles of women in ritual libations is another. Ancient Greek men also recognized likewise when their women's behaviour in war was disruptive and they were not afraid to condemn, criticise and even compare them to the women of other *poleis* as with the case of the women of Sparta during the Theban invasion of Laconia in 370/369 (Arist.*Pol.*1269b). As we will see below, this simplistic notion is not Loman's alone as it is deeply rooted in the way in which studies of both gender and warfare in the Classical world have each developed.

Studies on ancient Greek warfare developed in such a way that by focusing on the technical side of war such as military tactics, battles, weaponry and armour they tended to overlook the social aspects of war in so far as they relate to women.⁵⁹ Ancient sources

⁵⁶ A trend that, as discussed below, stems from the nature of the ancient evidence itself. Loman's reliance on Hellenistic evidence is understandable given that his PhD thesis was on the 'Mobility of Hellenistic Women' (2004b).

⁵⁷ See, for instance, the Hellenistic women cited in his article: Loman 2004a, 44-53.

⁵⁸ Loman 2004a, 38-53.

⁵⁹ See, for example, Pritchett 1971-1991, Best 1969, Marsden 1969, 1971, Hanson 1990, 1999, 2010, Spence 1993, Lazenby and Whitehead 1996, Snodgrass 1999, Christ 2001, Sabin et al 2007, Schwartz 2009, Campbell and Tritle 2013. Late nineteenth and early twentieth century German scholarship on the subject started this

recognize more women's involvement in war than that of slaves, yet there are far more modern studies on the role of slaves in war than on women.⁶⁰ Recent trends, however, have moved away from this line of thought to incorporate more and more the socio-cultural facets of conflict, and this is where women make their appearances at intervals.⁶¹ Hans Van Wees, for instance, considers women when addressing 'the warrior ideal' where men are the only ones who fight and gain honour through fighting, and when he argues that being a captain of a trireme was seen as a masculine activity rather than merely a financial role.⁶² Still, one area where women do not feature in Greek warfare studies is in the analyses of the 'rules of war', even when certain 'rules' include non-combatants (such as those of evacuations, temple suppliants, on the killing of women and children, and the maltreatment of women). Chapter 1 considers precisely those rules. The inviolability of heralds, of suppliants and sacred individuals, the return of the enemy dead, diplomatic communications via ambassadors have all been investigated yet never with women in mind – even when they indeed feature in some of them (like suppliants).⁶³

But before proceeding any further the definition of war used here is needed. Following Graham Shipley, this thesis considers war as 'one part of a larger spectrum of *organized societal violence*'.⁶⁴ He recognizes the disparate and complicated nature of ancient Greek warfare and the pressing need for a definition of war that 'can include not only wars as disparate in size and nature as the so called Falklands war, the Gulf war of 1991, the Cold War, and the second world war, but also wars of independence, guerrilla wars, terrorist campaigns and the raids of the Borders Reavers'.⁶⁵ It is in this context of organised societal violence where we need to place any attempts to regulate the conduct of ancient Greek warfare. Modern international laws attempt to regulate the ways in which wars are conducted today, and likewise, they also attempt to regulate the levels of abuse and maltreatment of each side involved in a conflict.⁶⁶ But no such thing existed in the context of Classical Greek

trend, especially since German academics and officers were the ones who produced much of the material, see Hanson 1999. For a good analysis of the scholarship on ancient Greek warfare see Hanson 1999.

⁶⁰ On the role of slaves in ancient Greek warfare, see Hunt 1998, 2007.

⁶¹ See Rich and Shipley 1995, de Souza, Heckel and Llewellyn-Jones 2004, Van Wees 2004, 2009, Raaflaub 2007, Lee 2007, Tritle 2010. For a consideration of women in Hellenistic warfare, see Chaniotis 2005.

⁶² Van Wees 2004, 39-40, 229-230.

⁶³ Women are absent from studies like that of Garlan 1972, Pritchett 1991, Ducrey 1999, and Ober 1996.

⁶⁴ Shipley 1995, 8 (his italics).

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ On modern international law, see the United Nation's *International Legal Protection of Human Rights in Armed Conflict* (2011). For women in humanitarian laws, see Askin 1997.

warfare, thus leaving us to investigate what it is that the ancient Greeks considered as the limits of war.

In keeping with the diverse academic discussion on the subject, this thesis acknowledges that there were no fixed ‘rules’ of war in Classical Greece, but that there were certainly conventions and norms in the way in which Greek warfare was conducted, even when these conventions are mostly vague, contradictory, unwritten and cannot always be pinpointed exactly in specific times and places.⁶⁷ Like Sonya Nevin who examines the rules of war with special reference to temples and sanctuaries and Josiah Ober and Peter Krentz who both examine them in the context of fighting men, this thesis considers those rules of war with relation to women.⁶⁸ Trying to identify the limits (if any) that applied with regard to the treatment of non-combatants is not without its problems. The researcher often needs to rely on particular authors’ opinions and comments, as well as their evaluative and rhetorical arguments which may (or not) be representative of the general attitudes of others. Take for example the ‘norms of the Greeks’ (τὰ νόμιμα τῶν Ἑλλήνων) that Thucydides’ Boeotians talk about when addressing the sacredness of temples in war (4.97.2-3) and the ‘Greek law’ (τὸν δὲ νόμον τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν εἶναι) of the Athenians who argue that those who control the land of temples also control the temples themselves (4.98.2).⁶⁹ Both are depicted by Thucydides as legitimate claims and the reader is left without a clear answer about which side is correct. But the very fact that both are introduced as viable and possible *legitimate* claims suggests that Classical Greek rules of war were subject to change depending on the people involved in the conflict and their own views towards that conflict. The same line of thought is applied here to those rules that dealt with women with the exception that for women in war contexts we have more explicit information that says how women should not ‘suffer war’ (Aristoph.*Ach.*1062).⁷⁰ Thus, the limits of what it is that women should not suffer or endure in war are explored in chapter 1.

Moving on from warfare studies, we find that studies of gender and women in the Classical world developed in a similar manner to the former when it comes to women and war. Such studies have come a long way since the days when they considered women as secluded members of Classical Greek society.⁷¹ As Phyllis Culham explains, such studies

⁶⁷ Ober 1996, Alonso 2007, Lanni 2008.

⁶⁸ Ober 1996, Krentz 2002, Nevin 2008.

⁶⁹ Most studies on the rules of war cited in n. 67 above treat in detail the episode here. See also Nevin 2008, 3-4 who analyses different modern opinions on this episode.

⁷⁰ This thinking is not particular to comedy since it is echoed elsewhere (e.g. Xen.*Hell.*1.3.19).

⁷¹ This progression can be seen in the titles that have appeared in the last two decades: see, for instance, Rabinowitz and Auanger’s study on female homoerotic relationships (2002), McClure’s edited volume (2002),

have moved away from the ‘German philological tradition’ which focuses on close textual analysis and side-lines art, and have profited mainly from anthropological (and feminist) works such as that of the French School.⁷² The role of women in religion, in Athenian law, in the family and household, as well as their economic rights, have all been explored at length.⁷³ There is, however, one area that has not received the same intensive attention: war. There is currently a partial and incomplete representation of ancient women that increasingly side-lines the importance of conflict in their lives. Similar to historians of ancient warfare, the main trend tends to reflect the images of suffering mentioned above.⁷⁴ Nancy Rabinowitz, for example, who has been a pioneer in gender studies on the socio-cultural lives of ancient women has recently begun publishing on women and war.⁷⁵ Following Gaca, Rabinowitz sees wartime rape and slavery as the quintessential experiences of women in war. ‘The women of Troy’, argues Rabinowitz, ‘reveal the ongoing fate of women in wartime’.⁷⁶ But, as chapters 4 and 5 explore, it is incredibly hard to determine a single ‘ongoing fate’ of women in war, especially when it comes to the impacts of war on women. These were diverse and they will be inevitably different depending on the socio-economic background of particular women (e.g. Athenian or Spartan wives, widows, *hetairai*) and the circumstances of particular conflicts (e.g. siege, *stasis* or expedition abroad). This lack of recognition of diversity in war is a subject we will come to address below.

This image of the woman as the victim of war is mainly conditioned by the partial representation of tragic plays. In her analysis of women and war in tragedy, Rabinowitz sketched out the broad and varied ways war affected women (and, to a lesser extent, children). Isolation, mental and physical trauma, suffering due to killing of children, pity for other women and enslavement are all experiences and emotions war brings upon the women of tragedies. Rabinowitz concluded that women ‘suffer their own form of combat trauma as a result of men’s licensed warrior behavior’.⁷⁷ Whilst fluidity of statuses is recognized for

McHardy and Marshal’s edited volume (2004), MacLachlan’s sourcebook of women in ancient Greece (2012), and more recently, Lee’s (2015) study on *Body, Dress, and Identity*.

⁷² Culham 1987, 9-30.

⁷³ The scholarship is numerous, but see the following selected titles. For the economic rights of women, see Schaps 1975, 1979. For women in religion, see Dillon 2001, Connelly 2007. For women in Athenian law, see Schaps 1975, Just 1991. For women in the household, see Blundell 1995, 140-144.

⁷⁴ For women as the main victims of war, usually seen through the lens of tragedy, see for instance, McDonald 2006, Roisman 2006, Rabinowitz 2014.

⁷⁵ Rabinowitz is particularly known for her feminist take on ancient women’s studies, see, for instance, Rabinowitz and Richlin 1993. On women and war in tragedy, see *Classics Confidential* 2013 and Rabinowitz 2014.

⁷⁶ Rabinowitz 2011, 13.

⁷⁷ Rabinowitz 2014, 201.

women like Clytemnestra, Deianeira and Tecmessa, who transform from wives to concubines to war prizes, the same cannot be said of historical women. Ordinary women like army followers and those affected by the siege of Selinus (for example) receive much less attention and are not afforded the same flexibility in wartime contexts. Their experiences, by contrast, remain in the shadows. Therefore, a new perspective that goes beyond tragic women is what this thesis attempts.

A second trend in gender studies where war makes its appearance focuses on warrior women like the Amazons and to some extent on a superficial image of Spartan women.⁷⁸ The Amazons have captured the imagination of both ancient and moderns for one particular reason: they are women who fight. Because of their unnatural involvement in warfare and their specific characteristics that closely resemble that of men they represent that which is not natural to female nature (*physis*) as the ancient Greeks understood it – a concept explored alongside virtue (*arete*) in chapter 2. As Tyrrell argues, ‘the Amazons’ customs reverse the ideal or model – not the reality – according to which citizen men and women were supposed to conduct their lives’.⁷⁹ The Amazons are important in as much as they shed light on the ways in which ancient Greek society moulded them in different ways in different periods to embody contemporary attitudes towards outsiders, women, and wartime enemies.⁸⁰ But the Amazons are nevertheless women who fight; they do not morph into men when in battle but they have manly characteristics, and this is what made them so different to most of the Greek women studied in this thesis.

The image of Spartan women, on the other hand, has always been associated to an unusual degree with war, whether that is the image of the strong and proud Spartan mother of soldiers or of the war dead. Yet their involvement in war has been ill-conceived because of extensive overreliance on Plutarch’s *Sayings of Spartan Women* and the inaccurate belief that because these women were from Sparta – a city that has been inaccurately perceived as ‘war-loving’⁸¹ – they were any different from women of other Classical Greek *poleis*.⁸² Sarah Pomeroy, for example, whose study on Spartan women brought this group of women to the forefront has claimed that ‘Spartan women may have been better at defending themselves, if

⁷⁸ For the Amazons, see Bothmer 1957, del Real 1967, Boardman 1982, Shapiro 1983, Tyrrell 1984, Hardwick 1990, Blok 1995. For Spartan women, see Redfield 1977-1978, Cartledge 2001, Kunstler 1987, Zweig 1993, Fantham et al 1994, Blundell 1995, Pomeroy 2002, and more recently, Millender (forthcoming).

⁷⁹ Tyrrell 1984, 40.

⁸⁰ See Tyrrell 1984 and Blok 1995.

⁸¹ On whether Sparta was a military society, see Hodkinson 2006 whose views – that the city was no different in any extreme to other Classical *poleis* – I follow in this thesis.

⁸² For this skewed image of Spartan women, see Redfield 1977-1978 (only with war), Fantham et al 1994, 56-67, Pomeroy 2002.

need be, for Plutarch (*Mor.* 227d12) says that a goal of their physical education was to make them able to defend themselves, their children and their country'.⁸³ It is generally agreed, however, that Spartan women's physical exercises – such as training exercises and races – were never intended for war but to better the health of the body, especially with childbirth.⁸⁴ As Ducat and Hodkinson argue, one should be cautious of taking at face value external and later sources in their comments about a group of women that by the fourth century were already perceived through a 'mirage' of stereotypes outside their own *polis*.⁸⁵

Aside from the Amazons and Spartan women, the women of comedies have received some attention for their involvement in wars, especially those in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*.⁸⁶ Arlene Saxonhouse, for example, analysed the conflicts between the female and male, and the private (family) and public (war and politics) as presented in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, *Ecclesiazusae*, and Euripides' *Trojan Women*. She argues that the women are the link to the community and to the warriors, and that they exist beyond the *polis* but are part of it due to family ties.⁸⁷ Mary-Jane Fox and Emma Lindsay build on the *polis*/family paradigm to concentrate on women as peacekeepers in conflict. Whilst Fox is interested in what *Lysistrata* has to say about women's role in war, peace, humanitarian law and negotiation agreements, Lindsay is more concerned with women in international law in conflict and post-conflict situations. However, both scholars are interested in *Lysistrata* as a means to understand the role of women in war in our world today. Lindsay argues that 'There is a growing recognition that, due to their different role in society to men, women develop and bring skills to peace negotiation that would otherwise be absent'.⁸⁸ As these studies show, women in war (as represented in these plays) are still analysed via the binary oppositions of *polis* life versus private life in the *oikos*. When attempts are made to move away from these, there is still an emphasis on traditionally non-masculine roles like peacekeeping. These, however, are still

⁸³ Pomeroy 2002, 18.

⁸⁴ Xenophon's *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* describes this well: 'he insisted on physical training for the female no less than for the male sex: moreover, he instituted races and trials of strength for women competitors as for men, believing that if both parents are strong they produce more vigorous offspring' (1.4), Euripides' *Andromache* says that they 'race and wrestle with boys' (595-601) and Plutarch: 'he made the girls exercise their bodies in running, wrestling, casting the discus, and hurling the javelin' (*Lyc.*14). See also Moore who argues that 'Xenophon makes it clear that the reasons behind the Spartan system (and his approval of it) were not humanitarian; the motivation was purely eugenic...' (1983, 95). Cartledge sees a 'ritual' and 'secular' significance to Sparta's female training (1981, 91). Ducat 1999, 2006b also believes that Spartan women's training was never intended for war (2006b, 237-238).

⁸⁵ Ducat 1999, 2006b and Hodkinson 2009, 254 (who argues that the image of 'the tough, patriotic Spartan mother ... is utterly post-classical' in nature).

⁸⁶ See, for instance, Saxonhouse 1980, Fox 2001 and Lindsay 2004.

⁸⁷ Saxonhouse 1980, 68, 71-72.

⁸⁸ Lindsay 2004, 22.

women of the imagination. Lysistrata and the wives of the soldiers fighting the war are not meant to represent real women in real situations. Thus at the moment there exists a gap where the social wartime reality (as represented by historiography) for different groups of women is not being addressed – a gap that this thesis fills.

Scholars of gender in the ancient world accept that marriage and motherhood are crucial periods in ancient women's lives, but the same cannot be said for periods of conflict.⁸⁹ This thesis, therefore, argues that war and periods of conflict were just as important in ancient women's lives. As chapter 4 examines, in war women lost their male relatives, they were forced to find paid employment, they enquired about the safety of their husbands who were fighting, and were negatively affected by their male relatives' cowardly actions in war (in the case of Sparta). The latter was intrinsically related to one of the most important phases in ancient women's lives: marriage. If any of their male family members was considered a coward (*tresas*) they could not be married off, yet oddly enough this has missed modern gendered investigations into ancient women's lives. Jean Ducat in his article of Sparta's 'tremblers' explored briefly the impact this had on the women of Sparta but it was from the perspective of the 'trembler' himself. Chapter 4, by contrast, explores this from the perspective of the Spartan woman.

In all of the scholarship addressed above, women are treated as a homogeneous group in war. However, one needs to step back and reassess the individual(s) under investigation in this thesis. The term 'women' hides subcategories that were active in antiquity which includes different individuals with diverse social and economic backgrounds, and sometimes as in the case of foreign women, very different home countries. There is actually a complex variety of groups of women involved in war: legal wives of soldiers, daughters of soldiers, *hetairai*, flute players, bread-makers on garrisons, women in the baggage train of armies, captive women, slave women, among others, and they were all involved in war in different ways. Greek female war captives – discussed in chapter 5 – can act here as a brief example. The daughter of Hegetorides (Hdt.9.76), the Phocaeen woman (Xen.An.1.10.2-3), the Milesian woman (Xen.An.1.10.3), and the Macedonian woman called Antigone (Plut.Alex.48 and Mor.339e) are all addressed in different ways by ancient sources and their experiences were different, yet their stories are rarely ever brought to the forefront when scholars write

⁸⁹ For marriage and motherhood in ancient Greece, see Demand 1994, Hackworth Petersen and Salzman-Mitchell 2012.

about female wartime captivity.⁹⁰ The groups of women mentioned above are not necessarily different from one another (*hetairai*, for example, were among the women in baggage train of armies) but they do need to be recognized before addressing such a large topic as women in war.

This homogenization is challenging because it still depicts a picture of women's agency and experiences in war as if they are communal, unified or somehow experienced as a group all the time. Although scholars are doing their best in recognizing different women in different contexts – for example, prostitutes and metic women in Classical Athens and Spartan women in Sparta, among others – they still tend to group these women again in the context of war.⁹¹ This is partly due to the nature of the evidence where women are frequently described only with a very general 'γυναῖκες'. Most of the time, however, it is due to scholars' judgement of what they believe these women are (or are supposed to be). John Lee, for example, when discussing the women in the baggage train of Cyrus' Greek mercenary army, argues that the soldiers formed attachments to their captive women and that the latter became 'cherished companions'.⁹² The word *hetairai* has led Lee to assume that 'Xenophon's use of ἑταῖραι to describe them highlights his recognition that all who shared the rigors of the retreat and the social life of the army merited the name of "companions"'.⁹³ These women, however, were simply the female companions (*hetairai*) the men brought with themselves and not captives turned companions. Xenophon himself calls them *hetairai* (An.4.3.19) and

⁹⁰ Gaca's 'andrapodized' women, for the most part, remain nameless and anonymous when there is clearly evidence to address them individually.

⁹¹ For prostitutes in ancient Greece, see Faraone and McClure 2006, Glazebrook and Henry 2011. For metic women in Athens see Futo-Kennedy 2014. For Spartan women, see n. 78 above. For recent approaches to women in ancient Greece, see MacLachlan 2012 who focuses on the different women and the different life stages of women from childhood to old age. It is not only women who suffer from scholars' homogenisation – children in war fall under this influence as well. Gaca's recent study on the etymology of *paides* is the only attempt to differentiate when written sources refer to girl children and boy children in war. Gaca argues that 'just as Girl Scouts are not Child or Boy Scouts, when παῖδες are girls, they deserve to be recognized as such, not subsumed under children or erased altogether as boys or male youths' (2011c, 87-88).

⁹² Lee 2004, 154, 2007, 12, especially chapter 10 and 270-273.

⁹³ Lee 2004, 145. The word *hetaira* (female companion) needs dissecting as it has the potential to read 'courtesan' to 'whore'. Henry 2012 defines it as 'an Attic euphemism for those women, slave, freed, or foreign, who were paid for sexual favours'. However simple and neutral this definition might seem, it has to be acknowledged that 'payment' for sexual favours was not always straightforward. *Hetairai* could receive payment in the form of gifts and gift exchanges. There is a long-standing debate in scholarship about the meaning and definition of the terminology associated to prostitution in ancient Greece. James Davidson 1997, 74-77 argues that the state of the discipline is without consensus because most scholars tend to group ancient women into what he calls the 'two-types model' of 'Wives and the Rest'. Davidson's call for diversity in the lives of different types of prostitutes and courtesans is very much welcome. There are different words for prostitutes in ancient Greece ranging from *hetaira* to *porne*. The former has always been associated with a high status prostitute whilst the latter has more 'street' and 'brothel' connotations. But McClure 2006, 7 rightly argues that a 'clear status distinction [between the words *hetaira* and *porne*] ... is not always evident'. Kapparis' 2011 is the most comprehensive investigation into the vocabulary of prostitution in the ancient Greek world, while Futo Kennedy 2015 is now the most recent study on the social implications of the term *hetaira*.

he does differentiate between the women in the army sometimes (e.g. *An.5.4.33* versus 6.1.13). During the march there were those women who came voluntarily with the soldiers, those that were taken captive in the course of the march and those named women like Hellas and Epyaxa whom they encountered during the march. By following the narrative closely and identifying the opportunities the soldiers had to take captives (when it was and was not profitable or when provisions mattered most), it is possible to distinguish between these captive and non-captive women. Consequently, in order to reveal women's experiences of war, there needs to be first an overall awareness of different women in particular conflict contexts – and it applies to both the women in the wartime city and the women abroad. Therefore, by grouping them all together we miss particular experiences of particular women, and that is why this thesis places so much emphasis on diversity.

Some attempts, however, have been made to recognize the diversity of women at times of war. For example, Lisa Kallet has analysed the status of war widows in the context of Pericles' funeral oration for the first war dead of the Peloponnesian War (Thuc.2.45.2) – a passage that is considered in chapter 2 at length because of what it can tell us about men's evaluations of women's behaviour at times of war.⁹⁴ She argues that 'Pericles' advice is only applicable to this particular category of women' and adds that 'we must be alert to the possibility that the war widows Pericles addresses were as diverse in social class and personal circumstances as were their dead husbands'.⁹⁵ However, while it is true that the widows are the primary group being addressed in Pericles' funeral oration, the context of the funeral oration also needs to be taken into consideration. As Lorna Hardwick argues, present at the funeral oration were other women who, while not current widows, were *future* widows.⁹⁶ Thus, Pericles' advice was – by definition – for all women. That is why the specific wartime contexts cannot be taken out of the picture when addressing women in war.

Schaps also attempted to distinguish between different women in the context of war. After war, he argues, 'their lot was to be apportioned to a soldier or sold on the block, to a life of drudgery if they were old or ugly, degradation if they were young and beautiful'.⁹⁷ Schaps' argument is innovative because it distinguishes women's different wartime experiences based on age and physical appearance. Nevertheless, Schaps does not afford the same variation when he writes about women contributing to the *polis* or when he addresses

⁹⁴ Kallet 1993. See also Wiedemann 1983, Loraux 1985, Harvey 1985, Andersen 1987, Cartledge 1993a, Hardwick 1993, Tyrrell and Bennett 1999, and more recently Winton 2010.

⁹⁵ Kallet 1993, 135-136.

⁹⁶ Hardwick 1993, 147.

⁹⁷ Schaps 1982, 205.

their possible attitudes towards war. There are, however, some limitations on how far one can talk of and examine ‘individual’ female experiences. Some women, like the woman with the axe in Plataea (Thuc.2.4.4), have to remain faceless because it is not always possible to know the identity of the women except when the context makes it clear (or easily identifiable). The parameters that Schaps uses are based on modern preconceptions of age and aesthetic, and his argument adopts a universal concept of ‘degradation’. Presumably, Schaps had in mind wartime rape for the young and beautiful women, but one cannot preclude the possibility that older women experienced this type of degradation in war as well. After war degradation can also have various meanings not related at all to physical violence. In the modern world, for instance, there exists social and economic degradation, like that experienced by Afghan war widows when they are shunned by society and forced to find work, and in some cases ‘can’t even wear colourful clothes, or laugh out loud’.⁹⁸ For others, like the warrior women of the Dahomey Kingdom in West Africa, being taken captive in war was not considered shameful nor ‘a disgrace’ because they knew they could always be ransomed back.⁹⁹ Therefore, it is not always possible to make assumptions about the experiences of different women based on modern notions, and one should take each case and evaluate it against the standards and norms of the period, place, and specific wartime context.

The methodological approach to the use of anthropology in this thesis needs addressing. The modern material used in this thesis is not for drawing parallels, it is merely to open up new questions about the ancient world. The ancient material is always privileged. The main limitations of this comparative approach are that both ancient and modern societies are inherently different. Modern conflicts are waged in different ways from ancient ones, and one can never transpose ideas from one context to another. However, in light of the current relevance of the topic under discussion here, it seems negligent not to observe modern war scenarios to enrich our understanding about ancient ones.

The case of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), as briefly explored in chapter 5, makes for a relevant modern comparative case study because of their extreme violence in conflict and the reported absence of rape and sexual violence against women in war.¹⁰⁰ Suicide bombings against civilians (some carried out by women combatants), indiscriminate killing, torture, and forced displacement of populations are just a few

⁹⁸ Abrahams 2014.

⁹⁹ Alpern 2011, 163-164.

¹⁰⁰ The civil war in Sri Lanka between the LTTE and government forces started in 1983 and ended in May 2009 when the LTTE were defeated. See Wedagedara 2013.

examples of their wartime violence.¹⁰¹ They are used in this study because their extreme wartime violence amongst the same population has echoes with the ancient Greeks, of whom it is safe to say that they spent more time fighting amongst themselves than against foreigners.¹⁰² Studies on the LTTE show the complexities surrounding wartime rape and its reported absence. This is a group which engages in extreme violent acts but (it is claimed) abstains from carrying out rapes against women in war. Therefore, a richer understanding of modern war scenarios can lead one to ask new questions about the ancient Greek world and to draw out the complexities surrounding the rape of ancient women in war.

In conclusion, by analysing women in a context usually seen as primarily belonging to the male, this thesis contributes to both gender and warfare studies of the Classical Greek world. Through an analysis of both written texts and archaeological material, and the aid of modern comparatives, it attempts to gain a closer understanding of a group of people that are often pushed to the margins by both ancient and modern authors. The following chapters attempt to reconstruct (as far as possible) the experiences of women in different Classical wars, from the Persian Wars to the skirmishes between cities in the Peloponnesian War.

¹⁰¹ On LTTE violence, see Trawick 1997 and Wood 2009, 143-149. On LTTE women combatants, see Azmi 2015.

¹⁰² On war and violence in ancient Greece, see Van Wees 2009.

PART I

SKETCHING BOUNDARIES

Chapter 1. Rules of War?

In the modern world there are clear principles about the treatment of civilians and of soldiers in war, and likewise there are also laws which regulate the use of force, violence, and weapons in armed conflicts. The following summary of the Geneva Conventions shows a sample of some of these:

Persons *hors de combat* and those who do not take a direct part in hostilities are entitled to respect for their lives and their moral and physical integrity. They shall in all circumstances be protected and treated humanely without any adverse distinction.

Captured combatants and civilians under the authority of an adverse party are entitled to respect for their lives, dignity, personal rights and convictions. They shall be protected against all acts of violence and reprisals. They shall have the right to correspond with their families and to receive relief.

(International Committee of the Red Cross, 1998)

And yet, these things are constantly being debated and argued about. The ongoing conflict between Israel and Palestine is a clear example of this. While most international organisations such as the UN recognize that Israel – a party to the Geneva Conventions – is under article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, Israel, on the other hand, claims that ‘the international conventions relating to occupied land do not apply to the Palestinian territories because they were not under the legitimate sovereignty of any state in the first place’.¹ Thus, the question is at what point do people, international organisations, governments and other bodies decide what constitutes forced deportations, genocide, ethnic cleansing, and mass rapes? In antiquity, this is even more nebulous because there existed no international bodies that regulated the conduct of warfare and its participants as they do today. Yet this does not mean that there were no rules at all. On the contrary, some rules do emerge. Heralds and sacred spaces were supposed to be respected, men were not supposed to flee the battlefield and the

¹ Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Conventions is: ‘The occupying power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own population into the territories it occupies’, see *The Geneva Convention* 2009. For recent debates on the conflict between Israel and Gaza and humanitarian law, see Rudolph 2014.

enemy dead should be returned after a truce. These have all received considerable attention in the field of ancient Greek warfare.² For example, Ober's short but significant essay on the rules of war in Classical Greece explores the subject in relation to hoplites and other fighting men.³ But what is the status of a rule of war? Who decides what a rule of war is in antiquity? What makes it a rule of war? No one in Classical antiquity signed up to a convention and, as Ober argues, there were no official 'laws of warfare' in Classical Greek society.⁴ There is, however, a body of coherent negative principles which are significant. As Polly Low argues in relation to Greek international law, 'although there is little consensus on how far the ancient Greeks had travelled along the road towards a developed system of international law, there seems to be a widespread perception that they had, at least, made a start on the journey'.⁵ The same holds true when it comes to rules about war.

This chapter follows Ober's argument when he states that 'international rules limiting the practice of warfare are social artifacts produced by a particular social order and a particular structure of social and political power'.⁶ Seeing the rules of war explored here as social conventions and more as standard patterns of responses to situations arising during warfare rather than as fixed rules is, therefore, the best way to explore the topic because they depend on other variables, outside variables, which can never be predicted: time (when), the type of conflict (what), the men fighting (who), and the reason for the conflict (why). But, more importantly, they depend on the behaviour of individuals which – in peacetime as in wartime – can never be predicted.

Similar questions, however, have not yet been asked regarding women in Classical conflicts. War consisted of more than fighting – war affected women, it involved women, and more importantly, it also happened to women. War happened to women of all ages, of different *poleis* and of different communities. Ober's analysis is useful for military rules concerning fighting, tactics and the battlefield but is not always relevant in relation to women, even when some of his rules implicitly include women. There is still scope for further work to be done on some of his twelve rules of war.⁷

This chapter addresses the evidence about this topic and suggests that although there were no specific rules of war concerning women in Classical warfare, there existed norms

² For a thorough discussion on the rules of war for both the Archaic and Classical periods, see Garland 1976, Connor 1988, Ober 1996, Hanson 1999, 2009, Krentz, 2002, Van Wees 2004, Dayton 2006 and Lanni 2008.

³ Ober, 1996.

⁴ Ober 1996, 55.

⁵ Low 2007, 82.

⁶ Ober 1996, 53.

⁷ See Ober 1996, 56 for the complete list of his twelve rules of war.

and military conventions which men were supposed to follow. Statements about the rules of war that applied (or not) to women in Classical Greek warfare are always assumed to the extent that we have factoids. The old idea of a ‘free for all’ once battle is over is contested in this chapter by analysing men’s attitudes towards the wartime behaviour of other men. The extant evidence shows more complexity than has been previously recognized and it allows us to analyse Greek men’s attitudes about the evacuation of women in war, respecting (or not) women as suppliants, wartime rape of women and the killing of women. Attitudes towards the treatment of women in war only tell us that someone thought about this in the first place, not the number of times it happened and whether or not everyone actually believed it should or should not have happened. This chapter, therefore, explores the difficulty of addressing the rules of war with sole reference to women during the fifth and fourth centuries. This is done in order to establish a base from which to explore women’s actual treatment in war and actual historical events in Classical warfare in further chapters.

Women Do Not Fight

The first unwritten rule of war concerning women is that women never fight. It seems odd to address this matter given that one would normally assume that this is a well-known fact, but it is surprising to see many scholars today who refer to women in Classical Greek conflicts as ‘fighters’, especially when they write about those women who throw stones and tiles in sieges and surprise attacks.⁸ It is nevertheless important to state this because for a Classical Greek man, women were never meant to fight nor supposed to fight in battles and they are never described as ‘fighters’ either. This notion can be traced back to Homer and it is best expressed in the famous scene on the walls of Troy where Hector tells Andromache that war is men’s business:

Dear wife, in no way, I beg you, grieve excessively at heart for me; no man beyond what is fated shall send me to Hades; but his fate, say I, no man has ever escaped, whether he is base or noble, when once he has been born. But go to the house and busy yourself with your own tasks, the loom and the distaff, and tell your handmaids to ply their work: and war will be the concern for men, all of those who live in Ilios, but especially for me.

(*Il.*6.489-494)

⁸ See, for instance, Hornblower 2007, 43.

That war is for men and the household for women is nowhere else expressed in such an explicit manner. At first glance it seems ironic how women were seen as completely separate from war, yet Classical Greek society had different stories that connected the two. The Amazons, the women in Herodotus like the women of the Zauake who drive their men's chariots to war, are well-known individuals, but when we analyse their stories it soon becomes clear that these women are so talked about because Greek men deeply held that war is a male sphere. All of these women who fight belong to the realm of that which is distant, different and extraordinary (but not necessarily foreign). They are described precisely because they are outside traditional Greek norms and customs. The idea that women were never supposed to fight is further illustrated by the way in which men thought about women and their abilities. Xenophon's Ischomachus explains to his wife how god made men for the protection of property, for defence and for outside activities because they are stronger and can endure the elements better. Women, on the other hand, were made with a larger propensity for fear and thus they are not able to defend anything; the implication being that women are weaker than men and especially made for all things indoor (*Oec.*23-26). It is not that the women of Classical Greece never did anything at times of war; on the contrary, as we will see in chapter 3, they contributed to the war-effort in different ways: they brought water to their men, they were a source of encouragement for their men and they also threw tiles and stones to the enemy when fighting arrived to the city, but no matter what they did in war, they were never expected to pick up a shield and engage in battle. By the fourth century the orator Lycurgus described women alongside children as people useless (*achrestos*) for war (Lyc.1.53) precisely because they did not fight. They were not useless because they did nothing – their men knew they were essential to the home front once conflict started – but because they did not fight. The concept of usefulness in Classical Greece was tied down to one's direct service to the *polis* and, for women, this was just not the case.

Women Were Not Always Evacuated

Another area where we encounter unwritten rules regarding women is in the evacuation of populations before conflict starts. Some scholars argue that women, as part of a community of non-combatants, were always evacuated before conflict started.⁹ Ryszard Kulesza, for example, claims that 'before the enemy arrived, the inhabitants were usually far away'.¹⁰ But

⁹ See Pritchett 1991, 348, Hanson 1998, 103-121, Kulesza 1999, Krentz 2002, 27.

¹⁰ Kulesza 1999, 161.

when one analyses the evidence for the evacuation of people before and during conflict, two patterns emerge: (i) evacuations were not a permanent practice in Classical warfare and (ii) they could be considered cowardly at times, especially in the fourth century.¹¹ Women, as non-combatants, had the possibility to be evacuated from their place of dwelling when conflict was imminent. There were two types of evacuations: (i) state organised evacuations like those that took place before and during the Persian invasion of Athens, where the population was sent to Aegina, Salamis and Troezen (Hdt.8.41.1),¹² and (ii) individual evacuations where families and friends sponsored their own journeys out of the city like that of Leocrates and his *hetaira* after Chaeronea in 338 (Lyc.1.17 and 53). It has been argued that during the fifth century state evacuations predominated, while during the fourth century individual evacuations far outweighed those organised by any *polis*.¹³ There is no immediate explanation for this shift, but when the evidence for evacuations of non-combatants is analysed one pattern emerges. There appears to be a growing sentiment which saw as cowardice the wartime removal of the most precious elements of a household, namely, women and children.

During the Persian Wars one finds that wartime evacuations of women arose out of necessity (Hdt.8.44), extreme danger (Hdt.8.4, 8.36) or as a pre-emptive measure because of imminent danger (Hdt.8.40-41). Before Artemisium, as soon as the Euboeans learned that the rest of the Greeks were contemplating a retreat they asked the Spartan commander Eurybiades to wait until they could remove their children and households to safety (Hdt.8.4). The Delphians sent their women and children away to Achaëa only when they learned that Xerxes' troops were headed their way (Hdt.8.36). Before Salamis, the Athenians issued an official proclamation exhorting everyone to remove children and members of their households as best they could; these were sent to Aegina, Troezen and Salamis (Hdt.8.40-41, Thuc.1.89.3, Plut.*Them*.10.3, Lys.2.33-34).¹⁴ On their way back from Artemisium, the Plataeans stopped to evacuate their households and family (Hdt.8.44).

This same pattern of removing women only after extreme danger was anticipated can also be found during the Peloponnesian War. Thucydides says that it was only after Aristeus

¹¹ Müller 1975, 129-156 originally compiled a list of evacuations of people and property including written sources and inscriptions, this list was further amended by Pritchett 1991, 348-352 who added a few examples.

¹² See also the 'Decree of Themistocles' in Meiggs and Lewis 1969, 48-52 which states that women were evacuated but that the priestess of Athena Polias was to stay in the city. The authenticity and discrepancies of the decree is not of importance here since it also states the official nature of the evacuation.

¹³ Ayer 2012.

¹⁴ See also Pausanias 2.31.5 who connects a temple in Troezen to this evacuation. See chapter 4 for the impact this evacuation had on the Athenians and for their lives as wartime refugees.

realized that Potidaea had no hopes for salvation that he ordered the inhabitants to sail away except five hundred men with whom he would stay behind (1.65.1). After the surprise attack on Plataea, Thucydides even says that the Plataeans ‘settled the affairs of the city as seemed best to them in the emergency’ (2.6.1); thus they sent their women, children and useless people away with the Athenians (2.6.4, 2.78.3). The evacuation of women as a pre-emptive measure, on the other hand, can only be found when a specific leader gives the order to evacuate; Pericles and Brasidas gave orders for the Athenians and for the people of Scione and Mende respectively to leave their homes (Thuc.2.14.1-2, 4.123.4).

It is wrong to assume that evacuations of women and children were a standard wartime practice since a later episode in 370 shows how women were not always evacuated upon the expectation of conflict.¹⁵ The Arcadian town Eutaea was said to have been full of women, children and old men when Agesilaus arrived with his army; the young and adult men of Eutaea were away in the Arcadian assembly (Xen.*Hell.*6.5.12). The relative ease with which Xenophon reports this episode suggests how this was not out of the ordinary for Classical conflicts. He shows no surprise at the fact that women and children were still in the village and this tells us that not every Greek village or *polis* would have considered the evacuation of their women and children as a standard wartime practice. It was certainly common, but not the norm. When one looks at the large amount of movable property that the inhabitants of villages and un-walled territories had to take with them, it becomes clear that evacuations were no easy task. Hanson in his study of Greek warfare and agriculture mentions them all: crops needed moving inside city walls, farming implements, household items including furniture, doors and woodwork, sometimes cattle and, although reported only once, even roof tiles were taken in evacuations.¹⁶

The decision on whether women would be evacuated usually rested with the *demos*. Voting sometimes was introduced on whether or not women should be removed from their cities. When the Carthaginians were advancing against the city of Gela in 405 the people voted on the question of the removal of their women and children (Diod.Sic.13.108.6). Likewise, before Leuctra, the men of Thebes also voted on whether or not their women should be removed from the city (Diod.Sic.15.52.1). In both occasions the emergency of the situation was stressed: at Gela Diodorus says that they resolved to this because of the present

¹⁵ Hanson, for instance, assumes that ‘in reality, however, women, children and older people must have received special treatment as they would today...’ (Hanson 1998, 114).

¹⁶ Hanson 1998, 106-110: Aen.Tac.7.1, 10.3, Aristoph.*Peace*.566-567, Lys.19.31, Thuc.2.14.1, Andoc.frag.3.1, Hell.Oxy.12.4, line 455.

danger (διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ προσδοκωμένου κινδύνου) and at Thebes, because of the presence of the enemy (οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι διὰ τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν πολεμίων). The different representations of Themistocles trying to persuade his Athenian audience to leave Athens during the Persian Wars suggests that a voting process was most likely implemented there as well (Plut.*Them.*7, Isoc.15.233). Even later in the fourth century one can still see that voting to evacuate women was still a process that was fairly active. After Chaeronea, Lycurgus says that: ‘After the battle ... you all gathered hastily to the Assembly, and the people decreed that the women and children should be brought from the countryside inside the walls’ (γεγενημένης γὰρ τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχης, καὶ συνδραμόντων πάντων ὁμῶν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐψηφίσατο ὁ δῆμος παῖδας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν εἰς τὰ τεῖχη κατακομίζειν) (Lyc.1.16). Ultimately, if voting was needed it was because evacuations were not an automatic response to conflict. Like many other matters concerning the welfare of the state, it was a decision that the *demos* took through a democratic process.

Attitudes towards wartime evacuations of women take a different turn in the fourth century since it is only here when we have evacuations being associated with cowardice (although this does not mean that this sentiment could not have been already present during the Persian Wars or during the Peloponnesian War). There is strong evidence to suggest that the individual evacuation of female members of a family, including children, was sometimes frowned upon, and in the case of Athens in the fourth century even punishable by law. Lycurgus, in his speech *Against Leocrates*, mentions a previous case in which a member of the Areopagus named Autolycus was tried and found guilty of treason (*prodosia*) for sending away in secret (ὕπεκθέσθαι) his wife and sons after the battle of Chaeronea in 338.¹⁷

Moreover you condemned Autolycus and punished him because, though he himself had faced the dangers, he was charged with secretly sending his wife and sons away. Yet if you punished him when his only crime was that he had sent away persons useless for war, what should your verdict be on one who, though a man, did not pay his country the price of his nurture? The people also, who looked with horror upon what was taking place, decreed that those who were evading the danger which their country’s defence involved were liable for treason, meriting in their belief the extreme penalty.

(Lyc.1.53)¹⁸

¹⁷ Incidentally, Lycurgus himself prosecuted Autolycus. For the case against Autolycus, see Allen 2000, 9 and Sullivan 2003, 132. In the case *Against Leocrates*, Lycurgus is pushing his conservative ideology via Leocrates, see Petrie 1922, Humphreys 2004, 77-129, Worthington, Cooper and Harris 2001.

¹⁸ See also Lycurgus fragment 9.

Autolycus' behaviour went against the official measures which stipulated that the women and children should be moved inside the city walls (Lyc.1.16). The people's attitudes towards the panic after Chaeronea (if we are to believe Lycurgus) is that they were outraged at the sight of everyone leaving or sending their families away. That is why in the present case against Leocrates the latter is being accused for deserting Athens when she needed him the most. To emphasise the act of desertion, Lycurgus employed visual imagery by emphasising that Leocrates set sail at night, in secret, and with his belongings (Lyc.1.17). By comparing Leocrates' behaviour with that of Autolycus, Lycurgus is trying to make Leocrates' conduct – he left the city, sold his belongings and moved to Rhodes and Megara with his *hetaira* – seem worse than that of Autolycus because the latter stayed and helped the city while Leocrates left. Lycurgus, to some extent, is bound to say that running away during times of need was terrible because of the exceptional wartime context: Philip had just won at Chaeronea and Athens was in a panic at the thought of an invasion. But the fact that Autolycus was condemned and sentenced to death, while Leocrates escaped the same fate by only one vote (Aeschin.3.252) suggests that this ideology of leaving the city at war was not just in Lycurgus' imagination or only deployed as a rhetorical exercise.

It seems that sending away your family in times of conflict when not prescribed or authorized by the state left individuals open to charges of betraying the city. Why would sending away the women of your city be considered wrong if it was done for their own protection? The case against Autolycus – like every other Athenian litigation – presumably had other things going on in the background, but one suspects the answer lies in the fact that *poleis* needed to make sure that the stakes were high. Written sources constantly repeat statements that reinforces the idea that women were a reason worth fighting for and worth defending.¹⁹ No other statement is more explanatory than Thucydides' report of Nicias' speech to his soldiers:

... [he] then went on to add whatever else men would be likely to say at so critical a moment, when they do not guard themselves against uttering what might to some seem trite and commonplace – appeals to wives and children and ancestral gods such as are put forward in almost the same words in support of every cause – but in the dismay of the moment, thinking that these sentiments will be useful, shout them at the top of their voices.

(Thuc.7.69.2-3)

¹⁹ See, for instance, Thuc.7.68.2, 7.69.2, 8.74.3, 8.86.3.

If men fight for their women but there are no women left in the city, then there is nothing to protect. It is the same ideology behind Aeneas the Tactician's recommendation that to avoid traitors, *poleis* should place as sentries on the gates men who have everything to lose, namely, wives and children (5.1). Fighting should be done for the protection of women, children, temples, gods, country, and freedom, in essence, for a greater good. The wives of fighting men were intrinsically linked to this ideology. There existed a strong ideology for which to fight for. A soldier should not fight just for the sake of fighting, as this was considered excessive. Clearchus' extreme fondness for war – which eventually led to his condemnation at Sparta – is a case in point: he was said to be a lover of war (φιλοπολέμου) and of danger (φιλοκίνδυνος) (Xen.*An.*2.6.6-7) and to have spent money on war just as men spend on lovers and pleasures (Xen.*An.*2.6.6). Another way of looking at this problem is that evacuating assumes defeat – the Athenians, after all, only voted to move their women and children inside the walls only *after* the defeat at Chaeronea (Lyc.1.16-17).

However, this sentiment of keeping women in cities upon the expectation of conflict was not particular to Athens. The evacuation of women before conflict in Sparta could have been also seen as cowardly. Plutarch tells us that during the Theban invasion of Laconia in 370/369 the ephor Antalcidas secretly sent his children away to Cythera, because 'so full of fear was he' (περίφοβον γενόμενον) (*Ages.*32). The significant detail here is that Antalcidas, just like Autolycus, removed his family in secret (ὕπεκθέσθαι). Shipley argues that this passage 'is perhaps intended to indicate the depth of despair to which even such a prominent Spartan had sunk'.²⁰ But the fact that Plutarch used the removal of Antalcidas' family to characterise decline suggests that there is something behind the wartime removal of women in secret that is considered negative. This could only mean that sending one's family away during war was prohibited at the time in question, or that it was frowned upon but not officially prohibited (by a decree, for instance).

Plutarch assumed that it was because of fear that Antalcidas secretly sent his children away, but it could also be because it was considered shameful precisely because it was the ephor's children that were evacuated. The ephors were elected from the citizen body, and like any other Spartiate, they needed to contribute to their city in times of war.²¹ And Antalcidas did indeed contribute, he was a major figure during the fourth century, he helped establish the Peace which bears his name in 387 (Xen.*Hell.*5.1.31), he also led naval contingents

²⁰ Shipley 1997, 343.

²¹ Kennell 2010, 105-110.

(Xen.*Hell.*5.1.6) and was heavily involved in foreign diplomacy as any ephor would.²² Yet, this reference to the evacuation of his children appears nowhere else in our sources. The family of ephors were, one supposes, just like the family of Spartiates and there is no reason to suppose that they would have had any special wartime privileges allowing their evacuation. However, given Sparta's belief in courage and military prowess (at least as perceived by outsiders)²³ it is not hard to imagine that certain behaviour in war was considered unacceptable, and sending away one's children in war could be one of these. This becomes even more apparent when one considers the harsh and well-known (at the time and after) criticism (by insiders and outsiders) of Sparta's women due to their behaviour during the Theban invasion of Laconia where they ran around the city and caused much confusion.²⁴ If these women were so publicly criticised,²⁵ surely the men would have received harsh press as well. Sparta was notorious for her treatment of soldiers who deserted the battlefield, known as 'tremblers' (*tresantes*).²⁶ Although not a military society, this was nevertheless a state where military failure was considered as social failure as well. If one did not function properly in war, then there was no need to enjoy the same privileges in peacetime as others who behaved in the correct manner during wartime. Ultimately, if an ephor had to remove his children in secret, then there is something odd going on which our sources failed to report.

It would be useful to have evidence for the wartime evacuations of women and children in Sparta and Laconia, but Plutarch's brief reference provides the only evidence. During the Peloponnesian War, the Athenians made incursions into Laconian cities on the coast (Thuc.4.53-56), but aside from Aristophanes' brief remark about some rural farmers (*Pax*.626-627), we never hear of the inhabitants of these cities, much less of the women of these communities. At first glance, it seems as if these are 'ghost' cities but the fact Laconian farmers are mentioned as being the most affected by the Athenian warships suggests that at least in some cities the inhabitants were still present (Aristoph.*Pax*.626-627). Thyrea, for instance, a perioikic city on the border between Laconia and Argos was completely burned

²² For Antalcidas see, Xen.*Hell.*4.8.12-16, 5.1.25-29, 6.3.12, Diod.Sic.14.110, and Plut.*Ages*.31, 32.

²³ See Hodkinson 2006.

²⁴ For the behaviour of the women of Sparta during the Theban invasion of Laconia, see Xen.*Hell.*6.5.28, Arist.*Pol.*1269b and Plut.*Ages*.31.4. Anton Powell has identified another passage where Plato may also be referring to the women's behaviour as well (Pl.*Laws*.806a-b). For discussion on this topic, see chapter 2.

²⁵ It is important to note that this criticism was always directed towards a collective group and it did not include individual named women. The women of Sparta always remained anonymous to the reader, but everyone knew what they needed to know: that it was the women of Sparta who behaved different than other women at war. See more of this in chapter 2.

²⁶ For a good study on these *tresas* and a compilation of the evidence, see Ducat 2006a. See chapter 4 for the implications and impact that being a 'tresantes' had on the women of Laconia.

(κατέκαιναν) and pillaged (ἐξεπόρθησαν) (Thuc.4.57.3). The word used for the act of pillaging here is also used by Thucydides at 8.41.2 to refer to the Lacedaemonians' sack of Cos in 412. At Cos, the inhabitants had already fled to the mountains and the soldiers were able to gather much booty, but the fact that the booty included humans suggests that not everyone was evacuated (the free men were let go in Cos). Therefore, there is nothing to stop one from assuming that the booty captured at Thyrea likewise included humans – it is just that Thucydides chose not to record this particular detail.

Later on, the impression one gets from the incursions of the Thebans and their allies during their invasion of Lacedaemon is that they came across some villages and cities that were similarly (and at least partially) full of people and possessions: the Thebans also burned (ἔκαον) and pillaged (ἐπόρθουν) Sellasia (Xen.*Hell.*6.5.27). The people of these cities could always desert their homes, leave their valuables behind and take refuge in forts as the Thespians did after the battle of Leuctra (Paus.9.14.2), but it seems unlikely that every city was abandoned or that every family had a safe place to go, or, for that matter, that other cities would be able (or willing) to receive them. After all, the women of Sparta remained *in* the city of Sparta; they were not evacuated even though the Lacedaemonians already knew that Epaminondas and his forces were making their way there. When Agesilaus was passing through Lydia he was said to have 'caused no harm to the inhabitants' (according to the truce with Tithraustes), but his army did plunder and ravage the land of the territories of Pharnabazus (*Hell.Oxy.*21.1, lines 641-648). The distinction made by the Oxyrhynchus historian suggests that when an army passed through a territory, that territory most likely still had inhabitants in it, and women could be part of these inhabitants. Thus, the common references to plundering and ravaging in our sources should sometimes be taken to mean that the inhabitants of that territory were on occasion present: men, women, and children.

Evacuations, therefore, were an option, and at times, they could be a slightly embarrassing option, but necessary nonetheless. Evacuations can be deployed as criticism (Lycurgus and Antalcidas). As explored above, women remained in cities undergoing some of the most extreme wartime circumstances, like the Theban invasion of Laconia. This shows that although women are mentioned specifically by few sources, there exists the possibility that they were present in more wartime situations where scholars have easily denied their presence by assuming they were evacuated beforehand.

Rights of Suppliants Should Be Respected

Such women as they found to have taken refuge together with their children in the temples they called upon their comrades not to kill, and to these alone did they give assurance of their lives. This they did ... not out of pity for the unfortunate people, but because they feared lest the women, despairing of their lives, would burn down the temples, and thus they would not be able to make booty of the great wealth which was stored up in them... To such a degree did the barbarians surpass all other men in cruelty, that whereas the rest of mankind spare those who seek refuge in the sanctuaries from the desire not to commit sacrilege against the deity, the Carthaginians, on the contrary, would refrain from laying hands on the enemy in order that they might plunder the temples of their gods.

(Diod.Sic.13.57.3-6)

Diodorus' account of the aftermath of the siege of Selinus in 409 portrays an image of a universal (λοιπῶν) custom of respecting suppliants in wartime. Episodes like this one have made some argue that in Classical Greek warfare the rights of suppliants should be respected. Ober, for example, suggests the following rule of war: 'Hostilities against certain persons and in certain places are inappropriate: the inviolability of sacred spaces and persons under protection of the gods, especially heralds and suppliants, should be respected'.²⁷ In theory, temples and sacred spaces offered women the opportunity to take refuge from the atrocities of war. Supplication has always been a crucial characteristic of Classical Greek society, as Angelos Chaniotis argues, 'by coming into physical contact with a sacred place the suppliant is somewhat incorporated in the sanctity of the place, becoming in a sense property of the god'.²⁸ Being a religious offence, any form of physical violence towards female wartime suppliants constituted a breach of norms because it is essentially a rejection of the suppliant status.²⁹ But whether the rights of each female suppliant were actually respected is another matter. The rights of female suppliants during war are complex. Greek practices of supplication, as Fred Naiden has shown, had three stages: who or what to approach (altar/temple versus person), gestures (e.g. knee clasp), and lastly, the request or argument (e.g. request to be spared or an appeal for pity).³⁰ However, it is unclear what constitutes not respecting the rights of female wartime suppliants given that very few episodes divulge their requests. Apart from two episodes where their requests are firmly stated – that of the unnamed daughter of Hegetorides at Plataea who asked to be saved from captive slavery

²⁷ Ober 1996, 56.

²⁸ Chaniotis 1996, 66-67.

²⁹ On ancient Greek supplication, see Gould 1973, Chaniotis 1996, Naiden 2006.

³⁰ Naiden 2006, 29-104.

(Hdt.9.76) and that of the women of Gela who asked not to be evacuated (Diod.Sic.13.108.6) – the reader is often left to assume the reason why the women of a city retreated into a temple at times of war, and what it is that they expected to happen afterwards. When soldiers seek refuge in temples or altars during war they ask for their lives to be spared (Thuc.5.60.6, Diod.Sic.13.67.7). But did this apply to women as well? What exactly did respecting the rights of female suppliants mean in Classical Greek warfare? Was it respect for their lives or their wellbeing?

The table in figure 1 lists the instances where women are mentioned as wartime suppliants in written sources. The first observation is that seeking refuge as suppliants was a last resort for women, both in the city and in a camp context. The unnamed daughter of Hegetorides following in the Persian baggage train became a suppliant once she knew the Persians were losing at Plataea (Hdt.9.76). The women of Peiraion took refuge in their temple once they realized the Spartans were in a better (winning) position (Xen.*Hell.*4.5.5). The inhabitants of Himera fled to the temples once the city was breached by Hannibal's forces (Diod.Sic.13.62.4). Women, then, become wartime suppliants once there is no hope for their city's future or even their own.

Secondly, there is not a particular reason why women become suppliants as they are in their suppliant position for very different reasons. The daughter of Hegetorides wanted to be saved from becoming another captive of war (Hdt.9.76), while the women of Gela wanted to remain in the city and share the same fate as their men (Diod.Sic.13.108.6). The rest of the women in figure 1 are in their suppliant positions because their men and fellow residents were being massacred (although see below for the implications of Diodorus' accounts). And thirdly, what happened to them afterwards (i.e. the nature of outcomes) is completely varied.

Reference	Date	Context of Supplication	Outcome
Hdt.9.76	479	Battle of Plataea; unnamed daughter of Hegetorides of Cos grabbed Pausanias	Handed over to the Ephors and allowed to resettle in Aegina
Xen.Hell.4.5.5	390	Agésilas' advance against Peiraion; men, women, slave and free take refuge in the temple of Hera	Unclear; voluntary exit some (men) handed over to Corinthian exiles while the rest was sold (cattle and women?)
Diod.Sic.13.57.3-5 Diod.Sic.13.58.1-2	409	Siege of Selinus; women and children take refuge in temples	Were given 'assurances of their lives' (πίστιν ἔδοσαν) but later raped by Carthaginians
Diod.Sic.13.62.4	409	Siege of Himera; women as suppliants in temples	Suppliants dragged out (ἀποσπᾶσας) of the temples. Captive women are later distributed among the army
Diod.Sic.13.108.6	405	Before siege of Gela; women flee to altars and ask not to be evacuated	Their request was granted and they were allowed to stay
Diod.Sic.14.53.1-3	397	Siege of Motya; women take refuge in temples	Their lives were spared but sold as booty afterwards
Diod.Sic.17.13.6 Arr.An.1.8.8	335/334	Fall of Thebes; children, women and old people take refuge in temples	'Torn/dragged' (ἀπὴγοντο) from sanctuaries and submitted to 'extreme outrages' (μετὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης ὕβρεως)
Diod.Sic.17.35.5-7	333/332	After Issus; Persian women fall at the knees of Macedonians	Some dragged (ἐπισπόμενοι) by the hair, the clothes of others ripped off and forcibly pushed with blows (ἐπιβάλλοντες) and spears

Figure 1. Table listing instances of women as suppliants during war.

There is one apparent exception to the outcomes above, and that is the fate of Pausanias' suppliant – the daughter of Hegetorides. She escaped further captivity and was allowed to resettle wherever she wished (Hdt.9.76). The fates of the rest of the women show a variety of outcomes that probably reflects more what happened in war. They were dragged from temples, distributed amongst soldiers, forcibly pushed around, and most commonly, were

sold into slavery. To a modern reader it may seem ironic that some of these women, like the women in the temple of Hera mentioned by Xenophon, are portrayed as if their suppliant rights are being respected, but then they were sold into slavery afterwards anyway. However, it may be the case that since ‘reducing to slavery’ or ‘selling into slavery’ was a part of Classical Greek warfare this did not constitute a breach of the rights of suppliants.³¹ These women probably went into the temple knowing that this was the expected outcome. But this also raises the question of what exactly they expected to happen by going into temples or altars. Fear for their lives is one constant element in the accounts above in figure 1. All of Diodorus’ stories closely associate the women’s suppliant status with the killing of other non-combatants. At first glance, it looks as if the women are taking refuge because they wish their lives to be spared from the massacres taking place. But upon closer inspection, one cannot help but notice that Greek soldiers are considerably missing from this picture as the examples above in figure 1 mostly feature non-Greek soldiers; a pattern that finds parallels in both the wartime rape of women and the killing of women.³² With the exception of the fall of Thebes where Plataean, Phocian and other Boeotian soldiers are said to have dragged and killed female suppliants (*Arr.An.*1.8.8), the rest of the transgressions against suppliants are undertaken by Macedonians and Carthaginians. The Carthaginians, in particular, are depicted as especially brutal. For instance, during the siege of Selinus they are represented as lawless peoples with absolute disregard for the lives of pitiful non-combatants in temples – all because of their greed. According to Diodorus, they saved the women and children suppliants because they feared they would set fire to the temple and its dedications (13.57.3-6). However, this is Diodorus’ reflective opinion on why the Carthaginians did not kill those inside temples as they had been moments before. The reader, therefore, has to acknowledge the particular agenda of Diodorus.³³

The Greek soldiers, by contrast, are depicted in a favourable light. A few lines after the story above, Diodorus casually informs the reader that the ‘Greeks serving as allies of the Carthaginians, as they contemplated the reversal in the lives of the hapless Selinuntians, felt pity at their lot’ (Θεωροῦντες δὲ τὴν τοῦ βίου μεταβολὴν οἱ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις Ἕλληνες συμμαχοῦντες ἠλέουν τὴν τῶν ἀκληρούντων τύχην) (13.58.1). Thus, they were present in the massacre but are not depicted as taking part in it, they were present when the women of Selinus were being dragged from temples and subjected to the ‘enemies’ lasciviousness’

³¹ See chapter 5.

³² See sections below for the killing of women, and chapter 5 for the wartime rape of women.

³³ On Diodorus as a source, see Green 2010.

(πολεμίων ὕβρει) and ‘terrible indignities’ (δεινὰς ταλαιπωρίας) but did not take part in these activities. Diodorus clearly represents the Greek allies as passive spectators to the horrors being caused by the Carthaginians. Nevertheless, this is not particular to Diodorus. In the immediate aftermath of the battle of Plataea, the Spartan king Pausanias saves the female suppliant in a dramatic fashion even while armed combat is still taking place. After clasping his knees and telling him her story, Pausanias responds with the following:

‘Woman, you have nothing to fear... not only because you’ve come to me as a suppliant, but also if you really are the daughter of Hegetorides of Cos, as you claim to be, because he’s my closest guest-friend in those parts.’ Then he entrusted her, for the time being, to those of the ephors who were there, but later he sent her, at her own request, to Aegina.

(Hdt.9.76)

Agésilas similarly spares the lives of the women who came out voluntarily from the temple of Hera. ‘Meanwhile those who had taken refuge in the Heraeum came out, with the purpose of leaving it to Agésilas to decide as he chose in regard to them. He decided to deliver over to the exiles all those who had had a part in the massacre, and that all else should be sold’ (Xen.*Hell.*4.5.5). These people were not forced nor starved out of the temple (as in other occasions where even stones have been thrown to force suppliants out of temples, e.g. Xen.*Hell.*6.5.9), they simply put their trust in Agésilas (ἐπιτρέποντες Ἀγησιλάῳ γνῶναι ὃ τι βούλοιτο περὶ σφῶν). As Pierre Ducrey argues, temples were often the stage for atrocities.³⁴ Yet when it comes to the only instance of female suppliants in Xenophon, they are treated with the best possible scenario (due to Agésilas, of course). This positive portrayal of Agésilas occurs not only with women, but with male suppliants as well. Xenophon reports that when some horsemen saw that armed Thebans had taken refuge in the temple of Athena they rode back and asked Agésilas what they should do concerning these men, to which the Spartan king replied they should be let go to wherever they wished without any harm (Xen.*Hell.*4.3.20).³⁵ Most of these sources portray events at the temples during war as if the collective actions of the soldiers either transgressing wartime norms or following them were acting *en masse* and without any protocol at all, but this episode shows soldiers consulting with their superiors about how to treat the suppliant refugees. Therefore, these representational strategies show how there really was a strong social wartime convention in

³⁴ Ducrey 1999, 298.

³⁵ See also Xen.*Ag.*11.1-2 where he is portrayed as respecting the rights of all suppliants in war.

Classical Greek warfare behind the tradition that the rights of suppliants should be respected. By treating the non-Greeks as the primary perpetrators against female wartime suppliants, our sources casually portray a superficial image of Greek soldiers as the ones who respected the rights of suppliants.

Having taken into account this Greek/non-Greek representational strategy, one needs to acknowledge that nowhere else do women take refuge in temples because they wished their lives to be spared. Parting from the modern assumption that women should not be killed in war, a subject discussed in the section below, then it does not make sense to have women seeking refuge in temples just so their lives are spared (since they were not supposed to be killed anyway).³⁶ This suggests that they took refuge in temples not to save their lives – as Diodorus is keen to portray – but to seek refuge from other atrocities against them in the aftermath of war. Perhaps they were merely seeking refuge from maltreatment (like rape) since the moment they took refuge in temples they already knew that a life of slavery or displacement awaited them. Or, alternatively, they simply entered temples because this is what Greek non-combatants did once a city was breached by the enemy. It is no coincidence that the only instance where non-combatants did not automatically enter temples when a city was breached were non-Greeks. Unaware of the Greek's practice of respecting suppliants, the women (together with the rest of the inhabitants) of the Phoenician city of Motya needed to be instructed by Dionysius' heralds to take refuge in the temples 'which were revered by the Greeks' ('Ἑλλῆσιν ἱερὰ τιμώμενα') (Diod.Sic.14.53.2). Caven argues that these temples were possibly those 'dedicated to Phoenician gods whom the Greeks popularly identified with their own, such as Melqart (Heracles), Reshef (Apollo), and Astarte (Aphrodite)'.³⁷

Although not set during wartime, a story in Plutarch may give an indication as to the nature of the breach of rights of suppliants. The case concerns a runaway attendant of Megabyzus who took refuge in the temple of Artemis of Ephesus but it was suggested that he be lured outside to be arrested but not arrested in the actual temple (*Alex.*42.1). This passage suggests that it may not have been the action at all that denominated the breach of rights of suppliants but that any action – whether that is dragging away women for violence, to be killed, enslaved or raped – that occurred inside a sacred precinct was considered already as a breach of the rights of suppliants. Another passage, this time possessing a wartime setting, suggests the same: Thucydides, when describing the events of Corcyra in 427, says that such

³⁶ For this modern assumption, see Ober 1996 and discussion below.

³⁷ Caven 1990, 105.

was the violence of the revolution that men were ‘dragged from the temples and killed on them’ (ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπὸσπῶντο καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἐκτείνοντο). Others, he continues, were even walled up (περιοικοδομηθέντες) in the temple of Dionysius and died there (3.81.5). Therefore, it is not so much what happened to suppliant women but *where* it happened.

The stories of female wartime suppliants analysed in this section show that there is an underlying wartime convention, as Ober noted, of respecting the rights of suppliants in war, and the rights of female suppliants, although complex, fit within this overall convention. By contrast to the previous section, there is a stronger sense (rooted in religion) that not respecting the rights of suppliants is really bad. This is framed by closely associating transgressions about female suppliants with non-Greeks. In many of the accounts analysed in this section the breaching of female suppliants’ rights is closely associated with the killing of women and children at times of war. Therefore, one needs to analyse whether the killing of women in war was also considered as a breach of military conventions in Classical Greek warfare.

Women Should Not be Killed

It is traditionally assumed that women, being non-combatants, should not be killed. Ober proposed the following rule of war: ‘war is an affair of warriors, thus non-combatants should not be primary targets of attack’.³⁸ Krentz, on the other hand, views Ober’s rule as an ‘alleged protocol [that is] no protocol at all, but rather a matter of military tactics’, reasoning that women were not attacked simply because they were evacuated beforehand.³⁹ However, as we saw above, the evacuation of non-combatants was not a constant procedure of Classical warfare; it was frequent but not carried out every time people expected conflict. Thus, a reappraisal of this assumption is needed. If attacking non-combatants is not a military ‘rule’ and not down to military tactics, then how do we classify it and where does it fit? This section explores how Classical soldiers thought about the killing of women in war and whether or not they considered this act a breach of wartime rules.

Similar to transgressions against female suppliants in war, the wartime killing of women, if we are to go by our sources, was strictly a non-Greek practice, it was something

³⁸ Ober 1996, 56.

³⁹ Krentz 2002, 27.

that only non-Greek soldiers did.⁴⁰ Herodotus says that the Babylonians strangled to death their own women to conserve supplies during a siege (3.150). He also says that a group of Persians raped to death (διέφθειραν) a group of fleeing Phocian women (8.33). In this episode, the death of the women comes about because of their rapes, making it one of the most extraordinary passages in Greek sources. Thucydides twice says that Thracians killed women in war; his comments are especially noteworthy, given his relative silence about women. The first time one hears of Thracians killing women is as part of a settlement of ten thousand colonists that were sent from Athens and other places to Amphipolis on the Strymon (*Ennea Hodoi*) (1.100.3, 4.102.2).⁴¹ According to Thucydides, the colonists were ‘cut off’ by the Thracians (οἱ διεφθάρησαν ἐν Δραβήσκῳ ὑπὸ Θρακῶν). Pritchett argues for the massacre of the women, while Gomme does not because he reasons that only the men who fought at Drabescus in 465 were killed but not the women and children of the colonists.⁴² Pritchett’s proposal is more convincing: it seems inconceivable that the Thracians would let go the women of the colonists or put them on a boat to return to safety to Athens.⁴³ Whatever the actual fate of these women the notion that Thracians killed women in war is in Thucydides’ mind not out of the ordinary. The account elicits no comment or judgement from the author, especially when one comes to the next time he mentions them. In the second episode, the Thracians indiscriminately killed women and children during their attack on Mycalessus in Boeotia (7.29.4). This time Thucydides gives his own judgement on the events:

So the Thracians burst into Mycalessus and fell to plundering the houses and the temples and butchering the people, sparing neither old nor young, but killing all whom they met just as they came, even children and women, aye, pack-animals also and whatever other living things they saw. For the Thracian race, like the worst barbarians, is most bloodthirsty whenever it has nothing to fear. And so on this occasion: in addition to the general confusion, which was great, every form of destruction ensued, and in particular they fell upon a boys’ school, the largest in the town, which the children had just entered, and cut down all of them. And this was a calamity inferior to none that had ever fallen upon a whole city, and beyond any other unexpected and terrible.

⁴⁰ Non-Greeks: Persians Hdt.3.150, 7.107, 8.33. Thracians Thuc.1.100.3, 4.102.2, 7.29.4, Diod.Sic.12.82.2. Taochi Xen.An.4.7.13-14, Carthaginians Diod.Sic.13.57.2, Macedonians Arr.An.1.8.8 (Arrian says that the Macedonians did not kill women and children but this is certainly a rhetorical exercise to relieve the guilt from his portrayal of Alexander and it is almost certain that Macedonian soldiers did kill women and children during their attack on Thebes). Greeks: Plataeans, Boeotians and Phocians Arr.An.1.8.8, Sicilian Greeks: Diod.Sic.14.53.1-3.

⁴¹ Although women are not mentioned specifically they are included as part of the colonists.

⁴² Pritchett 1991, 210.

⁴³ Ibid. The possibility existed, of course, that these women would have been sold or incorporated to Thracian society as slaves or workers, among others, but this is out of the scope of this thesis.

ἐσπεσόντες δὲ οἱ Θραῖκες ἐς τὴν Μυκαλησσὸν τάς τε οἰκίας καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπόρθουν, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐφόνεον φειδόμενοι οὔτε πρεσβυτέρας οὔτε νεωτέρας ἡλικίας, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐξῆς, ὅτῳ ἐντύχοιεν, καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας κτείνοντες, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὑποζυγία καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔμψυχα ἴδοιεν. τὸ γὰρ γένος τὸ τῶν Θρακῶν ὁμοῖα τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἂν θαρσῆσι, φονικώτατόν ἐστιν. καὶ τότε ἄλλη τε ταραχὴ οὐκ ὀλίγη καὶ ἰδέα πᾶσα καθειστήκει ὀλέθρου, καὶ ἐπιπεσόντες διδασκαλείῳ παιδῶν, ὅπερ μέγιστον ἦν αὐτόθι καὶ ἄρτι ἔτυχον οἱ παῖδες ἐσεληλυθότες, κατέκοψαν πάντας· καὶ ξυμφορὰ τῇ πόλει πάσῃ οὐδεμιᾷς ἥσσω μᾶλλον ἐτέρας ἀδόκητός τε ἐπέπεσεν αὕτη καὶ δεινὴ.

(Thuc.7.29.4)

Thucydides' opinion of the events makes this the most crucial passage in our sources regarding the wartime killing of women because it shows how killing people who are not combatants is outside normal Greek military practices and norms. By stressing the barbarity of the nature of the Thracians, Thucydides emphasises the horror of events in a city invaded by the enemy.⁴⁴ What made this invasion particularly distinctive is that the women and children were killed in a situation where they should not have been killed in the first place. The Greek emphasises the atrocities committed by the Thracians. One by one Thucydides lists the acts and behaviours that breached normal wartime conventions: plundering (usual in houses) extended to sacred spaces, killing of people (usual of combatants) extended to the young and old generations of non-combatants, even animals (large and domestic) which came upon the Thracians' path were murdered. The 'ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐξῆς, ὅτῳ ἐντύχοιεν', carefully introduced by Thucydides in between the massacre and the women and children (most likely girl children, following Gaca), strongly conveys the continuous slaying of non-combatants.⁴⁵ The women were in their homes, in the streets and their male children in schools all of which suggests the surprise nature of the attack. One may note that the women were not killed in temples, an act that Thucydides would have no doubt recorded in this instance, suggesting further the notion that the inhabitants had no idea of the impending attack. Possibly this further stresses the breaking of wartime conventions of attacking a place without the possibility for the inhabitants to respond appropriately to the attack. Thucydides describes events in a way that situates the wartime killing of women outside Greek practices. He, essentially, makes the Thracians into barbarians. It has to be noted that the general leading

⁴⁴ The massacre of Mycalessus was so great that even Pausanias records that in his time there were no descendants of these peoples (1.23.3). See Quinn 1995.

⁴⁵ For the distinction between girl and boy children when sources use *paides*, see Gaca 2011c. The 'καὶ' modifies 'παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας κτείνοντες' as a feminine collective signifying girl children.

the Thracians into Mycalessus was Dieitrephes of Athens, a notorious and much-criticised military leader with a terrible reputation of licentiousness and extravagance.⁴⁶ Perhaps, then, Thucydides is also reflecting on what happens when a general who is morally unsound leads a contingent of naturally depraved individuals.

Thucydides is not alone in portraying non-Greeks as the ones who kill women in war. As briefly mentioned above, Diodorus also depicts non-Greeks, especially Carthaginians and Macedonians, killing women in war. Describing the aftermath of the siege of Selinus, he says how the Carthaginians burned (συγκατέκαιον) the inhabitants along with their homes and killed (ἐφόνευσον) the women and children who were in the streets. ‘...Without distinction of sex or age but whether infant children or women or old men, they put them to the sword, showing no sign of compassion’ (τῶν δ’ εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς βιαζομένων οὐ διακρίνοντες οὔτε φύσιν οὔθ’ ἡλικίαν, ἀλλ’ ὁμοίως παῖδας νηπίους, γυναῖκας, πρεσβύτας ἐφόνευσον, οὐδεμίαν συμπάθειαν λαμβάνοντες) (Diod.13.57.2). Infant children, women, and the elderly were all killed in this conflict. These are the same groups of people mentioned by Thucydides, thus, suggesting that these groups of people were not supposed to be killed in warfare.

There are only two instances where Greeks commit similar acts. The first is during Alexander’s attack on the city of Thebes. Arrian in his description of the Macedonians’ attack on Thebes says that the women and children of Thebes were killed by Plataeans, Boeotians and Phocians, but that no Macedonian soldier participated in this bloodshed (*An.*1.8.8).⁴⁷ ‘And then, in anger, it was not so much the Macedonians as Phocians and Plataeans and the other Boeotians who slaughtered the Thebans without restraint’ (ἐνθα δὴ ὀργῇ οὐχ οὕτως τι οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἀλλὰ Φωκεῖς τε καὶ Πλαταιεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Βοιωτοὶ οὐδὲ ἀμυνομένους τοὺς Θηβαίους ἔτι οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἔκτεινον).⁴⁸ Arrian places the blame on those three groups of people but the fact that he excuses the Macedonians from taking responsibility for the killing of women again suggests how this was a practice that lied outside normal Greek military procedures. Arrian favours the Macedonians and he is notably fond of Alexander who is treated as a hero in his narrative.⁴⁹ Here we see the Greek versus non-Greek paradigm working in reverse: the Macedonians (non-Greeks) are good (at least, more lenient) towards women, whereas the Greeks are bad.

⁴⁶ For the individual Dieitrephes and his constant ridicule in Aristophanes’ comedies before the massacre at Mycalessus, see Sears 2013, 79-81, 159-161.

⁴⁷ Diodorus, of course, presents the event as they were: both Macedonians and Greeks took part in the massacre (17.13.1-6)

⁴⁸ Modified trans. Brunt 1974.

⁴⁹ On Arrian’s favourable bias towards Alexander and the Macedonians, and his sources Ptolemy and Aristoboulos, see Bosworth 1988, Hammond 1993.

The second episode where we see Greek soldiers killing women at times of war is in the aftermath of the siege of Motya in 397 where the Sicilian Greeks ‘eager to return cruelty for cruelty’ are said to have killed ‘everyone they encountered, sparing without distinction not a child, not a woman, not an elder’ (οἱ γὰρ Σικελιῶται ὁμότητα ὁμότητι σπεύδοντες ἀμύνεσθαι, πάντας ἐξῆς ἀνήρουν, ἀπλῶς οὐ παιδός, οὐ γυναικός, οὐ πρεσβύτου φειδόμενοι.) (Diod.Sic.14.53.1). In both episodes, when Greek soldiers kill women in war, they do so as an act of retaliation and because they were oppressed and were taking revenge on some past act committed against them. This is not used by sources as an excuse for their behaviour since sources do acknowledge that the killing of non-combatants is not right, but they do emphasise that it is because of special wartime circumstances. Whereas in Thucydides and Herodotus, the reason why men kill women in war is rooted in their nature as non-Greeks, with Arrian and Diodorus, it is completely different. The Greeks, by contrast, have a vengeful (though not valid) reason for the way they are behaving.

It is not only men who kill women in war; women also kill themselves and children in war. Again, however, it is only non-Greek women who do this in foreign societies like the Taochi. ‘Then came a terrible spectacle’, says Xenophon, ‘the women threw their little children down from the rocks and then threw themselves down after them, and the men did likewise’ (Ἐνταῦθα δὴ δεινὸν ἦν θέαμα. αἱ γὰρ γυναῖκες ῥίπτουσαι τὰ παιδιά εἴτα καὶ ἑαυτὰς ἐπικατερρίπτουν, καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ὡσαύτως) (Xen.*Anab.*4.7.13-14).⁵⁰ That Xenophon calls this a ‘terrible spectacle’ (δεινὸν θέαμα) shows how this was something he was not accustomed to see in times of conflict.

In conclusion, no soldier ever expected to attack non-combatants, and perhaps that is why we find no humanitarian rules regarding civilians in war: because it was not needed, because the rules of war were so embedded with custom and social life that it was common knowledge that there were certain practices you just did or did not do in war. ‘The most striking lacuna in the Greek law of war’, claims Lanni, ‘is the absence of protection for non-combatants. We have no evidence for a norm against harming civilians’.⁵¹ This is partly true because the fact is that no one explicitly states that women as non-combatants should not be killed, but the different examples above demonstrate that the practice was indeed frowned upon. Other behaviour in war was similarly frowned upon in Classical Greek warfare, one in

⁵⁰ Modified trans. Brownson. Revised by Dillery 2001.

⁵¹ Lanni 2008, 481.

particular, namely, the wartime rape and sexual violence against women, deserves some attention because it is often assumed to be universal in Classical Greek warfare.

Wartime Rape: A Punishable Offence?

The rules of war examined so far have derived from women's experiences during war. However, their treatment after war also followed certain conventions. There is continuity across sources which suggest that attitudes towards the treatment of women after war remained roughly consistent during the Classical period, although it fluctuated depending on the specific conflict and the specific people involved. As will be discussed further in chapter 5, the most common treatment of women is that of 'selling them (or reducing them) into slavery' both in the fifth and fourth centuries, but they could also be released without harm and under a set of specific capitulation terms (i.e. Thuc.2.70.3). However, one act is often associated with war: rape. The terminology for rape in the ancient world needs to be addressed because it has implications for the meaning of the passages discussed in this section and throughout the thesis. It is commonly observed that there is no equivalent word in Greek for our English word 'rape', but that there are different words that include what we mean today by rape; *bia* and *hybris* are just two of the most prominent examples.⁵² They each suggest an action that harms another individual (not necessarily physically), that inflict shame, and address overall negative behaviour. The act of rape is difficult to pin down, but when we do pin it down we can see that it was generally considered a bad thing to do for different reasons: it brought shame to the household and bloodlines needed protecting, among

⁵² For the difficulty of addressing instances of rape in general (not necessarily in war), especially the problems with the terminology associated with words used to mean rape, see Cohen 1991 who examines the usage of the word *hybris* with relation to sexual offences and its legal implications in Athens, Fisher 1992 whose ground-breaking study on *hybris* in ancient Greek society considers rape and sexual offences as acts of *hybris* that explicitly inflict shame and dishonour, Cairns 1993 discusses the dishonour and shame (*aidos*) that rape brought to women and the *oikos* as found in Greek literature, Carey 1995 who explores rape and adultery in Athenian law and reinforces the claim that adultery was a worse crime than rape, Deacy and Pierce 1997 whose edited volume considers rape in myth, law, art, history, and new comedy from different perspectives, Omitowoju 2002, 5 who draws from Fisher and concentrates on the matter of consent argues that 'female consent is not part of the standard Athenian definition of rape', Harris 2006 who examined previous attempts at explaining rapes (especially in New Comedy) and addressed common assumptions. Harris 2006, 306 asks scholars to stop using the word rape as it is a modern imposition and encourages us to start 'looking for "the Athenian attitude towards rape" or "the Greek concept of rape"'. For a feminist view on Greek ideas of rape, especially in tragedy, see Rabinowitz 2011, 2014. Many of these studies focused on the legal aspect of rape in Athens ignoring rapes committed in war. That adultery was supposedly a worse crime than rape in Athenian law (and the subsequent denial of this claim by Harris) has received the most attention in these analyses.

others.⁵³ In Athens and Gortyn it was punishable by law.⁵⁴ Lysias (1.32) reports a version of the Athenian law against the forced rape of free women:

...if anybody indecently assaults (αἰσχύνῃ βίᾱ) a free (ἐλεύθερον) man or boy, he shall pay twice the damages; if he assaults a woman (in those categories where the death sentence is applicable), he shall be liable to the same penalty...

(Lys.1.32)

Plutarch also reports another version of this law:

...Solon's laws (νόμοι) concerning women seem very absurd (ἄτοπίαν). For instance, he permitted an adulterer caught in the act to be killed; but if a man committed rape (βιάσῃται) upon a free woman (ἐλευθέραν γυναῖκα), he was merely to be fined a hundred drachmas; and if he gained his end by persuasion, twenty drachmas, unless it were with one of those who sell themselves openly, meaning of course the courtesans (ἐταίρας). For these go openly to those who offer them their price.

(Plut.*Solon*.23)

Both passages are worth quoting at length because they show three main legal preoccupations: (i) the offence, (ii) the punishment, and (iii) the woman involved. Susan Guettel Cole argues that 'in both versions the emphasis is on the penalty, and in each case that penalty is a monetary fine. Each version describes the fine in a different way'; furthermore, she contends that 'both versions belong to the same law'.⁵⁵ That rape deserves punishment is clear in a legal sense. The act of rape, therefore, merits punishment because it disrupts stable society by affecting the honour and shame of freeborn women.⁵⁶ But in war, the women are on the other side. As we have seen above, behaviours that might be expected to be normal and usual in wartime such as the evacuation of women are much more complicated and not straightforward. Given that the prevalent view is that the expected discipline of a soldier was basically the same as that of a citizen of a *polis*, that there is no evidence for a different set of moral principles to be applied in warfare, and that generals could be held accountable for actions incurred on campaigns, it seems reasonable to explore whether wartime moral behaviour – which is where wartime rape would be – would have

⁵³ See Ogden 1997.

⁵⁴ On rape in Athenian law, see Cole 1984, Harris 1990, Omitowaju 2002.

⁵⁵ Cole 1984, 99.

⁵⁶ On honour and shame being the two most important things affected by a rape, see Fisher 1979, 1992.

been punishable as well.⁵⁷ (By punishment, I do not mean punishment by a court of law.⁵⁸ But punishment in the sense that a specific act incurs negative consequences). One must therefore question whether the scenario above applies or not in war and to what extent. This section, then, analyses those instances of wartime rape and explores peoples' attitudes towards this act in wartime.

Pausanias, when speaking of the past exploits of the mythical hero of Messene Aristomenes, says that some noble and wealthy girls captured in a night raid were left under guard with some of Aristomenes' men and were about to be raped (βίαν).⁵⁹ 'When Aristomenes attempted to deter them from an action contrary to Greek custom, they paid no attention, so that he was compelled to kill the most disorderly' (Ἀριστομένους δὲ ἀπείργοντος οὐ νομιζόμενα Ἑλλησι δρῶντας οὐδένα ἐποιοῦντο λόγον, ὥστε ἠναγκάσθη καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς παροικοῦντας μάλιστα ἐξ αὐτῶν) (Paus.4.16.10). Being a mythical hero, Aristomenes needs to behave in a proper manner that reflects the best of men in his position. The women involved in this story are no ordinary women; they are young girls of wealthy and respected families and these are the two main reasons why he stops the rape from taking place. But the fact that Pausanias considers rape an action that is contrary to Greek custom and Aristomenes' attempt to stop it a worthy act both suggest that rape in conflict situations went against Greek patterns of behaviour and that it deserved some form of punishment.

The monument set up for the virgins who committed suicide because they were raped by Lacedaemonians further shows how rape was unacceptable and that it brought only negative consequences (Xen.*Hell.*6.4.7, Diod.*Sic.*15.54.2-3, Plut.*Pel.*20.3-4, Paus.9.13.5-6). The fact that a commemorative monument (μνημα) like this even existed shows how the act of rape was a negative one which even drew women to commit suicide. The memorial was perhaps more about their noble deaths than the act of rape, but it nevertheless suggested death being the best possible outcome after a rape. That the failure of the Lacedaemonians in the battle of Leuctra is mentioned by Xenophon (although not directly associated) to this past act

⁵⁷ Discipline of soldiers: Pritchett 1974, 232-245, Carney 1996b, Van Wees 2004, 100-101, 108-113. *Hybris* as a breach of military norms and conduct has received little attention so far, on this see Fisher 1979, 33, 43 and 1992, 125-126. This is because military punishment has been a relatively unexplored area in Classical warfare studies, and wartime moral behaviour – whether positive or negative – even less.

⁵⁸ Although there were instances where this was used as pretext to attack someone else's credibility. See for example, Demosthenes' attack on Aeschines and the shameful treatment of free-born women brought to Athens after the fall of Olynthus (Dem.19.309).

⁵⁹ The word *bia* does not always refer to rape: its basic connotation is simply violence. When Alcibiades dragged his wife Hipparete through the marketplace when she tried to petition a divorce, the word used for his violence is *bia* (Plut.*Alc.*8.4). Similarly, when Calonice asks Lysistrata what to do when their husbands use force (*bia*) against them (for not submitting to sex with them), the same word is used (Ar.*Lys.*160-166).

suggests a link between justice and the act. In Xenophon's version of the story justice is expressed through oracular divinity, typical of the way he uses the gods or references to the gods to create judgements on the actions of his characters. But in both Plutarch and Pausanias' versions it is through actual mortal justice. Both versions say that the girls' father went to Sparta to ask for justice but upon being ignored he killed himself (Plut.*Pel.*20.4, Paus.9.13.5). The link is between the act, the persons involved (both the offender and the victim) and justice. Justice is one element that these stories all have in common and it suggests how justice (whether divine or mortal) is present after the act of rape.

It is a longstanding general consensus that wartime rape was a common reality for the women affected by Classical conflicts.⁶⁰ As the story involving Aristomenes and the Lacedaemonian girls suggest, although rape and sexual violence did happen and it was frequent in conflict scenarios, it does not mean that it was considered acceptable. Attitudes towards wartime rape (and rape in general) are never positive whether the person committing the act is Greek or non-Greek.⁶¹ As already noted in relation to female suppliants and the killing of women in war, in the relatively few accounts of wartime rape, it is usually (but not always) non-Greek soldiers who commit this act.⁶² This rhetorical exercise tells us that to rape women in war was not considered appropriate. This does not, I stress, portray non-Greeks (particularly Persians) as the uncontrolled 'other' who constantly rape women as some scholars argue.⁶³ This is a modern opinion refuted in this thesis. The only account where wartime rape is depicted as an act of uncivilised barbarism is that of the fleeing women of Phocis who were raped to death by some Persians (Hdt.8.33). If the Persians were actually raping women wherever they went it seems likely that our sources would not waste any opportunity to use this as a rhetorical argument, but we find no such rhetorical trope of 'Persians who rape' in our sources. In light of what Cole concluded in her study of Greek sanctions against sexual assault – i.e. that wartime rape 'was not generally condoned' – a reappraisal of the few accounts of wartime rape in our sources is needed.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ See, for example, Schaps 1982, Cole 1984, 112.

⁶¹ Schaps 1982, Cole 1984, Deacy and Pierce 1997.

⁶² See Schaps on the relative silence on wartime rape in our sources 1982, 203. See also Humble 2004, 169 n. 19 who claims that there is only one instance of rape in our sources but see the following passages: Non-Greeks who rape women in war: Persians Hdt.8.33, Carthaginians Diod.Sic.13.58.1, Thracians Plut.*Alex.*12, Macedonians Din.1.24, Plut.*Alex.*22, Diod.Sic.17.36.1-4, 17.70.6, Curt.3.11.21, 5.6.8, 10.1.4. Greeks who rape women in war: Dem.23.141, Thuc.8.74.3, 8.86.3 (imagined rape).

⁶³ Vikman 2005, 25.

⁶⁴ Cole 1984, 111. See also McHardy 2008, 50-58 where she analyses responses to sexual offences but none of them occur in war. The focus on attitudes towards rape is always on mythical rapes, adultery and seduction, but not in war.

There existed no specific policy nor official rule that addressed the rape of women in war, but different sources suggest that wartime rape had negative consequences for those who committed the act – punishment by death arises in several stories – and that rape could be used as an excuse to incur punishment for other offences. Although death cannot be seen as an actual punishment after every rape, the fact that it is introduced as a punishment for the deeds merits some attention. There is something behind these representations of soldiers being punished for negative moral behaviour which need to be examined. Wartime rape is punished with death not once but four times in Alexander's Histories (Plut.*Alex.*12, 22, Curtius 10.1.1-4, Diod.Sic.17.108.4).⁶⁵ First, Timocleia of Thebes, a free woman of high standing was 'shamefully raped' (βίαν συγγενόμενος) by a Thracian commander during the sack of Thebes in 335 and she killed her rapist by pushing him into a well and throwing stones on him (Plut.*Alex.*12, Plut.*Mulier.*24, Poly.*Strat.*8.40). According to Plutarch, she was then brought before Alexander who enquired about her and after explaining who she was and on learning that she was the sister of a soldier who previously fought and died under Philip in Chaeronea – he let her go. Alexander let her go because of her family connections, but this episode portrays her actions as a worthy response to the act of rape. Furthermore, it shows consistency with what we saw above in regards to Athenian law: that if she were an ordinary (perhaps even a slave) woman, the outcome would have probably not been the same for her.⁶⁶ This shows the importance that Classical Greek soldiers placed on who was actually raped.

Secondly, when Alexander's army reunited at Carmania, charges were brought against Cleander, Sitalces, Heracon and Agathon⁶⁷ who were accused of not only pillaging temples 'but [that] they had not even withheld their hands from sacred objects, and maidens and women of high station who had suffered violation were weeping for the insult to their persons' (Quippe cum omnia profana spoliassent, ne sacris quidem abstinerant, virginesque et principes feminarum, stupra perpressae, corporum ludibria deflebant) (Curt.10.1.3). Cleander in particular is singled out for a specific act that was considered terrible to a higher degree: 'among them all, however, the mad passion of Cleander was preeminent, who after having assaulted a maiden of high birth had given her to one of his slaves as a concubine' (Inter omnes tamen eminebat Cleandri furor, qui nobilem virginem constupratam servo suo pelicem dederat) (10.1.5). Curtius tells us that the men were put in chains (10.1.3), while

⁶⁵ That this happens only with Alexander's army is because we have more sources for his campaigns. It does not mean that this was strictly a fourth-century belief or occurrence.

⁶⁶ Alexander 'issued orders to his officers that they should take good care and be on the watch that no such insult should again be offered to a noted house' (Plut.*Mor.*260D).

⁶⁷ The men used in the assassination of Parmenion (Arr.*Anab.*3.26.3).

Arrian specifies that they were put to death (6.27.3-5).⁶⁸ In addition to this, Alexander ordered to be put to death six hundred common soldiers ‘who had been the instruments of their cruelty’ (qui saevitiae eorum ministri fuerant) (Curtius.10.1.8). In this story, not only the perpetrators are punished but those who carried out their decision as well. However, this may have not been the general attitude towards these men’s acts as Curtius explicitly says that ‘very many of Alexander’s friends had an eye, not so much to the atrocity of the crimes that were openly laid to the charge of these men, as to the memory that they had killed Parmenion,’ (Curt.10.1.6). Thus, the act of rape in war, as one of other morally defunct behaviour, could be used as an excuse to incur charges when it benefitted someone.

In a third example, when Harpalus was accused of excessive behaviour including raping women and excessive expenditure of money, we are told by Diodorus how he initially escaped Alexander’s punishment but met his end when he was killed later on (Diod.Sic.17.108.4-8). Even though this is more about Diodorus’ moralising position, much like he does in other of his stories, the passage still represents Harpagus escaping from his own negative actions and as being criticised for his actions at the time.⁶⁹ He was left in charge of the treasury, yet he used his power to rape women (ὑβρεῖς γυναικῶν) and mismanage the money under his protection. Diodorus could have easily used only the bad management of the treasury to put forward his point. If wartime rape was just a criticism you throw at someone, it meant that it was not good to carry out. In other words, if the rape of women was not considered wrong, then he would not have used it in his account. Wartime rape is here combined with the abuse of power, an idea that finds parallels in other accounts where overall abuse (*hybris*) is being committed against people whom Fisher calls inferiors.⁷⁰

Finally, the last episode where rape is punished by death is when two Macedonian soldiers named Damon and Timotheus ‘ruined’ (διεφθαρκέναι) the women of certain mercenaries.⁷¹ Alexander then ‘wrote to Parmenio ordering him, in case the men were convicted, to punish them and put them to death as wild beasts born for the destruction of mankind’ (ἔγραψε Παρμενίῳ κελεύων, ἐὰν ἐλεγχθῶσιν, ὥς θηρία ἐπὶ καταφθορᾷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γεγονότα τιμωρησάμενον ἀποκτεῖναι) (Plut.*Alex.*22). These sources want to

⁶⁸ Arrian says that Heracon was acquitted of the charges but that he eventually caught up with his punishment when he was accused by another person of desecrating holy property. See Badian 1961 for the death of these men.

⁶⁹ ‘He came under general criticism’ (καὶ δίαιταν πολυδάπανον ἐνιστάμενος ἐβλασφημεῖτο) (Diod.Sic.17.108.4).

⁷⁰ Fisher 1992, 117-118. See analysis below of Dem.23.141-142.

⁷¹ The identity of these women is usually mistaken as the ‘wives’ of the mercenaries. See Trundle 2004 and Loman 2005. However, the word ‘gynaikes’ used to describe them and the context abroad both strongly suggest that these are merely women whom the mercenaries had with them, and not their legal wives.

present Alexander in an admirable light, as the just and good leader of men who is fair with his subjects, but it is striking to see the amount of times where punishment is included for the wartime rape of women in this representation. In order for this image of Alexander to be successful he needs to be presented as a just individual who surpasses others in his exemplary behaviour.⁷² As Edward M. Anson quite rightly states:

In their assessments of Alexander, our surviving authors present an Alexander who loved “honor and danger” and “cared for religion” ... While Curtius ... comments that his desire for “glory and renown” was greater than was proper, he overlooks this fault proclaiming that Alexander was young and had, indeed, accomplished “glorious deeds,” which is a view that Plutarch ... and Diodorus ... both endorse.

(Anson 2013, 10)

The punishment of wartime rape is merely part of this rhetoric where Alexander punishes those who overstep their boundaries in war. These passages do not tell us that death was an actual punishment⁷³ – death is an idealised form of punishment for wartime rape – but they do tell us that wartime rape was believed to be a deed worth punishing for or could be used as a pretext.

Coming back to the link between wartime rape and the abuse of power, one can see that abusing inferior people (i.e. women, young people and slaves) was also considered morally wrong in conflict situations. Demosthenes, in his speech *Against Aristocrates*, reminds the audience of previous events that happened between 368 and 362 with the mercenary Philiscus of Abydus:

Philiscus, who resembled Charidemus in his choice of a career, began to use the power of Ariobarzanes by occupying Hellenic cities. He entered them and committed many outrages, mutilating free-born boys, insulting women, and behaving in general as you would expect a man, who had been brought up where there were no laws, and none of the advantages of a free constitution, to behave if he attained to power. Now there were two men in Lampsacus, one named Thersagoras and the other Execestus, who had formed views about tyranny very much like those that prevail here. These

⁷² Compare his reported behaviour with the women in Darius’ tent and women in general just a few lines before (Plut.*Alex.*21) and his behaviour towards the man who tried to sell him beautiful boys (Plut.*Alex.*22). On honour in Alexander, see Roisman 2003.

⁷³ Pritchett argues that during the fifth century *strategoi* could inflict the death penalty but that by Aristotle’s time they had lost this power (1974, 238). There is only one instance of an actual soldier punished with death and that is because he was caught making traitorous signals to the enemy during the Sicilian expedition (Lys.13.67).

men put Philiscus to death, as he deserved, because they felt it their duty to liberate their own fatherland.

(Dem.23.141-142)

This passage fits a standard model in which tyrants mistreat women (amongst other crimes).⁷⁴ Philiscus is said to have insulted (ὕβριζων) the women of the cities he entered with his army; wartime rape is one of the insults meant by this phrase.⁷⁵ Demosthenes stresses that this is the type of behaviour of those who were brought up without any laws (ἄνευ νόμων). The implication is that people without *nomoi* are ignorant of the correct way to behave in war, whereas people who know *nomos* would know how to behave towards the people of a city. It seems that the wartime treatment of women and children was something universal that everyone was supposed to know and, likewise, everyone was supposed to recognize when it went too far; raping women and mutilating boys are just two examples of such extreme behaviour. The emphasis on the fact that these were Hellenic cities makes Philiscus' behaviour seem even more abhorrent to an Athenian audience. That Philiscus was killed is seen as a deserving punishment, and most importantly, that it was a just (δικαίως) consequence for a person who behaved in such a way. This passage also shows how Philiscus' behaviour was considered detestable enough to persuade an Athenian audience. If the audience considered wartime rape a common reality for the women of a city then Demosthenes' brief incursion into the past would have had no persuasive impact into abolishing Aristocrates' decree in the present case.

Another episode where we see the wartime abuse of inferior people in a conflict context is that of a military garrison, and this time moral disobedience in war was punished. Demosthenes in his speech *Against Conon* relates the tale of a group of soldiers who on garrison duty at Panactum engaged in excessive drinking from day to evening and this led to degrading assaults on slaves and other soldiers.

For, alleging that the slaves (παῖδας) annoyed them with smoke while getting dinner, or were impudent toward them, or whatever else they pleased, they used to beat them and empty their chamber-pots over them, or befoul them with urine; there was nothing in the way of brutality (ἀσελγείας) and outrage (ὑβρεως) in which they did not indulge...[the general] rebuked them with stern words, ... for their whole behaviour in camp; yet so far from desisting, or being ashamed of their acts, they burst in upon us that very evening as soon as it grew dark, and, beginning with

⁷⁴ See Holt 1998, 226-229.

⁷⁵ Philiscus also appears in Xen.*Hell.*7.1.27 and Diod.*Sic.*15.70.2 but we do not know the extent of his endeavours with his mercenary army.

abusive language, they proceeded to beat me, and they made such a clamour and tumult about the tent, that both the general and the taxiarchs came and some of the other soldiers...

(Dem.54.4-5)

Apart from physical assaults, their *hybris* could extend to rapes. The fact that the *hybris* is left to the jurors' imagination suggest that this may not have been the only acts of *hybris* these soldiers committed. Their behaviour was in the confines of their garrison and camp, and directed at both cooking servants and other soldiers. We know that women were specifically selected and kept in military garrisons to serve as cooks for soldiers (Thuc.2.78.4), and of their presence in garrisons (Thuc.4.48.4), therefore, there is nothing to suppose that amongst the slaves mentioned there could be women.

If one looks at the evidence for military discipline one finds that soldiers incurred punishment mostly for offences related to the actual battlefield or insubordination.⁷⁶ But as seen above there is some potential for soldiers to be punished for the wartime rape of women as this may have been considered wrong. But why would a soldier be punished for the wartime rape of a woman which most likely was considered replaceable? It seems that economic preoccupations may be at the heart of possible disputes. It may be possible that if the rape affected the price of a captive woman who was to be ransomed or enslaved, that there were grounds for the soldier to ask for punishment or recompense. Although there is no evidence for this, a passage in the Hippocratic Corpus shows how pregnancy (which can be the result of rape) affected the value of a singing girl (μουσοεργός) and singing girls accompanied armies:

A female relative of mine once owned a very valuable singing girl who had relations with men, but who was not to become pregnant lest she lose her value.

γυναικὸς οἰκείης μουσοεργὸς ἦν πολύτιμος, παρ' ἄνδρας φοιτέουσα, ἣν οὐκ ἔδει λαβεῖν ἐν γαστρὶ, ὅκως μὴ ἀτιμοτέρη ἔη

(Nat.Puer.490.2)

The value of this singing girl was lost if she became pregnant because a child would have taken her out of business. It may be that a child was added expense or that she would not be

⁷⁶ Pritchett 1974, 232-24, Christ 2006, 91-111. Refusal to serve in the army and desertion (λιποστρατία) are the most common forms of insubordination (e.g. Hdt.5.27, Thuc.1.99, 6.76). Disorderly conduct and general indiscipline in war (ἀτακτέω) could lead to imprisonment, exile and even incur fines – although apparently, the latter were not always enforced, see Arist.Ath.Pol.61.2, and Van Wees 2004, 100.

attractive to potential customers. Since singing girls accompanied armies and were used for the entertainment of soldiers (Xen.Cyr.4.6.11), it seems reasonable to assume that if pregnancy was the result of rape, that someone – most likely her owner – will have asked for ‘justice’ in the sense that what made him money is now ‘damaged goods’.

The Alexander passages above suggest that there existed unwritten wartime rules which put forward the notion that women were not to be raped or have inflicted upon them anything that might bring them dishonour as this was not appropriate behaviour for soldiers. They also show that wartime rape was an act which could be used to accuse others. Thus, the rhetoric behind these accounts generally shows wartime rape as a flexible and malleable act that could be appropriated by anyone for different purposes. The Demosthenes passages, on the other hand, show how soldiers could incur punishment for negative moral behaviour. This is, however, the ideal image presented by our sources which need not necessarily correspond to reality in every wartime scenario. In fact, these punishments show that women were repeatedly raped by those in power. It is the attitudes towards these rapes that tell us that not everyone thought about them in the same way and that there was a way of thinking about them in the first place.

This chapter, after examining the most common rules of war concerning women in Classical Greek warfare, forces the reader to come to the obvious conclusion that there were actually no fixed, universally recognized and externally policed rules of war concerning women in Classical Greece. The absence of official rules of war towards non-combatants does not mean that Greek soldiers automatically behaved terribly against women and other non-combatants during war. This absence, likewise, does not mean that there were no rules at all; on the contrary, it means that the treatment of people (including women) was left at the discretion of the particular general(s) of the particular conflict. There were indeed norms and unwritten guidelines which addressed non-combatants, in particular women, which can be found in the remarks made when soldiers’ behaviour transgressed these unwritten norms during or after conflict. Most importantly, there existed strong military conventions which concerned women as part of a group of non-combatants that suggest they should be (in theory) treated in a different way to men. These were not humanitarian conventions in the modern sense of the word; they were social conventions rooted in Classical Greek society that extended to periods of conflict.

Chapter 2. Praise and Blame

When Pheretime, the displaced mother of the king of Cyrene, asked Euelthon, the ruler of Salamis, for an army to reinstate her and her son on the throne after a bloody civil war, she was met with a famously stern response: he sent her wool, a distaff, and a golden spindle because ‘these were the kinds of gifts he would give a woman, not an army’ (ὁ Εὐέλθων ἔφη τοιούτοις γυναικας δωρέεσθαι ἀλλ’ οὐ στρατιῇ) (Hdt.4.162).¹ Euelthon’s answer has become today a characteristic staple of scholarly accounts of ancient women’s roles in war. Lynette G. Mitchell, for instance, claims that ‘Euelthon’s response showed that he thought that women (even ruling women) belonged in the home, and their responsibilities and requirements were constrained by that’.² The ruler’s answer has thus been transformed into straightforward advice. But Euelthon’s retort is actually embedded in Herodotus’ conceptual world where women and war are closely intertwined. Furthermore, his remark is only *one* of a series of advice, criticism, and comments different sources made or reported about women in diverse war scenarios. Thucydides, for instance, does the same when he addressed the *physis* of the women Corcyra in the *stasis* that erupted during the Peloponnesian War. Plato, likewise, considered women engaging in military training as part of his ideal state. These authors are thinking about women in different ways and with different evaluative frameworks. Not only that, but these are different women: exceptional women, ordinary women and imaginary women. Euelthon’s retort to Pheretime thus belongs within a much wider discourse about women and war. It is the purpose of this chapter to explore the different ways in which ancient Greeks thought about women and war and to show when they were praised and when they blamed women with respects to warfare. Ultimately, it is an attempt to show the different sides of one larger conversation about women and war from which scholars constantly dip into for their own analyses.

Evaluating Women at War

The first part of this section analyses different stories about individual non-Greek women whose behaviour might be deemed extreme in war, while the second part, analyses similar behaviour of groups of Greek women involved in war. The stories investigated here are all about women taking part in war in ways that might be deemed exceptional or extreme. They

¹ Modified trans. Waterfield 1998.

² Mitchell 2012, 10-11.

are examined because they can tell us what involvement in war was deemed excessive, and likewise, what boundaries were imposed on women in relation to war. After Herodotus reports Euelthon's response to Pheretime's constant requests for an army, he provides an explanation when she is finally given one by Aryandes, the Persian satrap of Egypt:

This charge was the pretext for the expedition, but I think that the real reason was to conquer Libya. After all, a great many different tribes lived in Libya, and hardly any of them were subjects of the Persian king; in fact most of them were not concerned in the slightest about Darius.

αὕτη μὲν νυν αἰτίη πρόσχημα τοῦ στόλου ἐγίνετο, ἀπεπέμπετο δὲ ἡ στρατιή, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ἐπὶ Λιβύης καταστροφῇ. Λιβύων γὰρ δὴ ἔθνεα πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ἐστί, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὀλίγα βασιλέος ἦν ὑπήκοα, τὰ δὲ πλέω ἐφρόντιζε Δαρείου οὐδέν.

(Hdt.4.167)³

Herodotus, thus, cannot believe that Aryandes gave Pheretime an army just to avenge her son's death. This account fits within a broader pattern of Persian imperialism where the Persians continue expanding 'beyond their allotted territory'.⁴ Corcella argues that Herodotus may have been right in thinking that the Persians wanted to expand west of Egypt, but that a secure, loyal and allied Cyrene was more important at the time.⁵ Thus, political considerations were also at play in this story. The account also fits in within a broader discourse about violent monarchical women.⁶ Yet, it is easy to see why Herodotus might rationalize Pheretime's reasons (for asking for an army) since the complete forces that were given to her were quite large by Greek standards: they consisted of all the Egyptian land and sea forces 'at her disposal' (Φερετίμην διδοῖ αὐτῇ στρατὸν) (Hdt.4.167). Pheretime 'the woman' is the first thing that scholars notice. Her story has been framed around her gender, and although her gender serves a narrative purpose in Herodotus' *Histories* (i.e. Pheretime is the vengeful mother) she also provides an example of how excessive violence and revenge against one's enemies is never good. And this is nowhere more illustrated than with her death when she was eaten alive by worms (Hdt.4.205). When it comes to Pheretime and war, however, Herodotus is fully aware that such a large army was not just given to a *female* ruler because she asked. Her asking for an army does not show that 'she was prepared to push the

³ Trans. Waterfield 1998.

⁴ Harrison 2002, 554.

⁵ Corcella 2007, 694.

⁶ Blok 2002, 228.

boundaries of accepted behaviour' since, as a displaced ruler, she may have had a reason to request one.⁷ What was unusual in this case is that it was a *woman* asking for an army; and for ancient Greeks, armies were simply not given to women (even if they were rulers and even if they may have had a legitimate reason to ask for one).

This episode finds parallels in another of Herodotus' stories, where armies are similarly not meant women. At the end of book 9, Herodotus tells that famous love (triangle) fable concerning Xerxes, Artaynte (Masistes' daughter) and Amestris (Xerxes' wife) (9.109). Artaynte wanted a robe woven by Xerxes' wife and he reluctantly gave it over to her after offering her the following: 'he offered Artaynte cities, unlimited gold, and an army, that no one but her will command (an army is a typically Persian gift)' (ἀλλὰ πόλις τε ἐδίδου καὶ χρυσὸν ἄπλετον καὶ στρατόν, τοῦ ἔμελλε οὐδεὶς ἄρξαιν ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκείνη. Περσικὸν δὲ κάρτα ὁ στρατὸς δῶρον) (9.109).⁸ Different from Pheretime – whose land army was to be commanded by Amasis the Maraphian, and whose naval forces were under the command of Badres from the Pasagardae (4.167) – Artaynte was envisioned as the sole commander of her own forces. Sancisi-Weerdenburg has analysed this story at length, and after examining the Murašû archive she concluded that the 'ἄρξαιν' in this story means 'to rule', 'to govern' instead of 'to command'.⁹ Herodotus, however, specifically refers to a 'στρατόν', and this only means an army. The 'ἄρξαιν' is completely different than, say, Xenophon's use of the word to refer to Mania's ruling over her cities (Xen.*Hell.*3.1.10); there it generally means 'to rule'. Herodotus' explanatory phrase to his audience, which Sancisi-Weerdenburg rightly noticed that it 'slightly interrupts the flow of the story' only makes sense if he envisioned Artaynte commanding an army.¹⁰ This story works in the inverse to Pheretime's story above. The Persian king offers a woman something that she traditionally cannot do (i.e. command an army). An army can be a traditionally Persian gift, but not for a woman. Xerxes, therefore, in his reluctance to give Artaynte his robe, offers a woman a non-typical gift for a woman. Herodotus, does not praise nor blame Xerxes' offer; he simply makes it implicit (through inversion) that to offer a woman an army was not a Greek practice. Armies, then, were not for women.

⁷ Mitchell 2012, 11. The first time Pheretime asks for an army, she and her son were living in exile, but the second time there was no substantiated reason for her to have an army – i.e. her son was dead and the ruling line was bound to pass to someone else.

⁸ Modified trans. Waterfield 1998.

⁹ Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988, 374. 'What we see in the Murašû archive, however, is not an *organised army*, just a number of small land-holdings with military obligations' (1988, 373).

¹⁰ Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988, 372.

So far, there has been a constant reminder that war creates difference and that war (including armies) is only for men and not for women. This can also be seen with regard to Artemisia's actions at Salamis and Herodotus' judgements on her wartime actions.

I pass over all the other officers (ταξίαρχων), because there is no need for me to mention them, except Artemisia, because I find it particularly remarkable (μάλιστα θῶμα) that a woman should have taken part in the expedition against Greece. She took over the tyranny after her husband's death, and although she had a grown-up son and did not have to join the expedition, her manly courage (ἀνδρηίης) impelled her to do so.

(Hdt.7.99)

First and foremost, this passage shows that Artemisia 'the woman' was eminent in Herodotus' narrative. As such, this introduction of Artemisia is crucial to our understanding of women in war. There are only two facts here: that Artemisia was the only woman in the expedition and that she was the sole ruler of Halicarnassus. The rest is Herodotus' own hypothesis regarding her motives for joining Xerxes' army. Scholars usually believe that Herodotus only mentioned her because she was a woman in a military expedition, and one may add to this argument that it is more about the fact that she was a female *commander* (ταξίαρχος) and the leader (ἡγεμόνευε) of the men of her cities, and this contributed to her being a 'great marvel' (μάλιστα θῶμα) in Herodotus' eyes.¹¹ Artemisia's story as presented by Herodotus represents what Christopher Tuplin calls an 'un-Greek Achaemenid tolerance of female eminence'.¹² Greek women were never meant (nor allowed) to be military commanders or to rule over men.

Rosalind Thomas has examined Herodotus' fascination with oddities, particularly with animals and landscapes such as rivers.¹³ Thomas explains how oddities captured the imagination of many in the fifth century and how there was also the need to explain them in rational terms.¹⁴ She then raises a valuable point that helps us understand Herodotus' narratives about women in war, that 'since it is the wonders which are out of the ordinary, their explanations would be part of the understanding of nature... there is a serious role, then,

¹¹ Harrell 2003, 80. Reginald Walter Macan 1908 says that the word is unusual for naval commanders, but see Xen.*Hell.*1.6.29 where it is used in the same way as Herodotus uses it. In fact, the narrative is constructed in the same way as it is here. Xenophon mentions the most famous and prominent of the naval commanders, but then does not mention the lesser ten naval commanders who are called 'ταξίαρχων'.

¹² Tuplin 1996, 165.

¹³ Thomas 2006, especially pages 60-64.

¹⁴ Thomas 2006, 64.

to the wonders of Herodotus, *as well as* (I stress) the amusing and pleasing one of giving his audience curiosity to marvel at'.¹⁵ Herodotus' fascination with oddities extended to women, not just ordinary women, but prominent women who did things that no other woman could do.¹⁶ Artemisia's presence in the Persian naval forces thus requires a rational explanation based on the best possible approach: she came willingly because her 'manly courage impelled her to do so' (ὕπὸ λήματός τε καὶ ἀνδρηίης ἐστρατεύετο). *Andreia* is an unusual word to attribute to a woman because it is normally used to describe men and their deeds, especially in the context of war.¹⁷ Roisman argues that 'manly courage in women could be perceived as aberrant' and this is exactly what we see in Artemisia's story. Even though Herodotus shows a guarded admiration for her, Artemisia's 'manly courage' at war may be a farce. Military courage 'valorised facing danger, self-control, self-sacrifice, and cooperating with fellow soldiers, and relished victory (preferably quick) in a well-regulated, open, face to face confrontation...'.¹⁸ Yet during the confused retreat of Xerxes' forces at the battle of Salamis, Herodotus says that Artemisia rammed and sank a friendly warship carrying the men from Calyndus and their king (Hdt.8.87).¹⁹ After this, he provides three possible reasons for her behaviour:

Now, I cannot say whether she and Damasithymus had fallen out while they were based at the Hellespont, or whether this action of hers was premeditated, or whether the Calyndan ship just happened to be in the way at the time.

εἰ μὲν καὶ τι νεῖκος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνεε ἔτι περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἐόντων, οὐ μέντοι ἔχω γε εἰπεῖν οὔτε εἰ ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὰ ἐποίησε, οὔτε εἰ συνεκύρησε ἢ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ τύχην παραπεσοῦσα νηῦς.

(Hdt.8.87)

This is a confusing passage where a naval commander rams and sinks a ship of their own side and gains esteem from the Persian king (afterwards Xerxes famously remarks 'my men have become women and my women men!' (8.88)). The story is presented as if Xerxes mistook

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ This, in turn, could be the reason why they could do the things they did, precisely because they were prominent women with means and not ordinary women without education, wealth and influential parents, but a discussion on this is beyond the scope of this section.

¹⁷ Munson 1988, 92, n. 5, Gera 1997, 206. But see also Soph.*El.*983 where the word *andreia* is used for women in a glorifying way. On 'Herodotean andreia' see Harrell 2003, 77. On military courage, see Roisman 2005, 105-106, 110-113.

¹⁸ Roismann 2005, 106.

¹⁹ On the battle of Salamis and Xerxes' naval fleet, see Wallinga 2005.

the ship to be on the other side, therefore, assuming that Artemisia ran and sank an enemy ship. Flory argues that Artemisia ‘cleverly escapes enemy pursuit’ but by ramming a friendly ship she actually does the opposite.²⁰ If anything, Herodotus’ audience will have seen this action as a cowardly manoeuvre because she avoided combat with the Attic ship that was pursuing her. In light of Artemisia’s wartime actions, her *andreia* is therefore quite strange. Her failure to display it in battle is emphasised through Xerxes’ false praise. Ultimately, Herodotus’ evaluation of Artemisia’s participation in war presents her as a peculiarity where women’s direct involvement in war is problematic.

While Artemisia’s *andreia* compelled her to war, another woman (much like Pheretima) was driven to war because of motherly concerns. Tomyris, the queen of the Massagetai, is a ruling woman whose involvement in war is represented as extreme and judged by Herodotus according to her socio-cultural military customs. After Cyrus took Tomyris’ son captive with a ruse involving wine that resulted in his death, she raised her army and engaged him in battle. After their victory, she searched for Cyrus among the Persian war dead and filling a wineskin with blood submerged his head in it whilst addressing him with raging words. After this Herodotus says that ‘of all the many stories that are told about Cyrus’ death, this seems to me to be the most trustworthy’ (τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν Κύρου τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, πολλῶν λόγων λεγομένων, ὅδε μοι ὁ πιθανώτατος εἴρηται) (Hdt.1.214).²¹ Herodotus places Tomyris as the vengeful mother who seeks revenge on her son’s death, and her involvement in war (even though presented as justified) is still excessive. Karapanagioti has noted that ‘it is nowhere else mentioned that her reason for attacking and then killing Cyrus was her desire to take revenge for her son’s death’.²² This fascination with the enemy’s blood finds parallels in another story in book 4 where Scythian soldiers drink the blood of the first man they kill in war and have a fascination with the enemy’s head (they scalp it and bring it to their king) (Hdt.4.64). Given that Herodotus himself says that the Massagetai resemble the Scythians in their customs, it is not hard to postulate that he found this version of Cyrus’ death the most credible because it perhaps reflected Massagetai (or Scythian) warfare customs.²³ Thus, Tomyris’ extreme behaviour at war and her wartime violence is conceptualized in keeping with her socio-cultural military customs as a Massagetai queen.

²⁰ Flory 1987, 45.

²¹ For an analysis of Tomyris’ speech, see Hazewindus 2004, 148-179. For Tomyris’ story as a revenge story, see Karapanagioti 2011. On Tomyris under the vengeful queen motif, as put forward by Flory 1987, see Gray 1995, 187. On the different versions of Cyrus’ death, see Xen.Cyr.8.7, Diod.Sic.2.44.2.

²² Karapanagioti 2011, 7.

²³ Even later authors still find parallels with Massagetai customs and blood (Dionysius.OrbisDesc.743-744). It is generally agreed that the ancient Massagetai inhabited what is today Kazakhstan, see Bryce 2009.

Herodotus' essentially envisions how a female Massagetai queen mother would take revenge on the enemy at war.

So far, we have looked at the extreme wartime behaviour of characteristically un-Greek individual women, but there are other conversations which are equally important where the extreme behaviour of Greek women is evaluated according to their own distinctive backgrounds. In two stories in particular the *oikos* is linked to the matters of the *polis*: that of the Greek women who stabbed to death the sole survivor of a battle between Athens and Aegina (Hdt.5.87) and the women who stoned Lycidas' family to death (Hdt.9.5). These two groups of women are contributing to the war effort in a distinctive fashion that reflects their identities in the *oikos* and the *polis*. Even though these women are acting out of revenge and retaliation, they are still acting within the realms of the city as a whole and not for personal motives like the ruling women above. On the one hand, they are enraged at the fact that their husbands died in war and only one man returned, and on the other, they kill the family of a man who was killed himself for proposing to consider Mardonius' proposal. One would expect, given Herodotus' interest in women and their extreme behaviour, that he would make a rational remark explaining the actions of both groups of women. Yet, the only narrative detail he has is that of the women gathering 'on their own initiative' to kill Lycidas' wife and children (which hardly implies anything other than they were not compelled to act by anybody else).²⁴ Thus, their extreme behaviour is assessed within the boundaries of what can be considered acceptable (at least in the realm of each story and retrospectively). As Dewald argues, 'Herodotus' women do not act from hysteria or undertake actions that are unreasonable, i.e. actions that a man would not take...'.²⁵ Both passages show how the behaviour of these groups of Greek women was evaluated according to their own circumstances and how the *oikos* was part of the *polis* at large in times of war.

Diodorus' account of the Selinuntian women's actions during the Carthaginian siege of 409, by contrast, is unique in that he brings in a moral prism when he analyses the wartime behaviour of these women. The women of Selinus are said to have provided food and missiles to their men. Diodorus then reflects on this behaviour by saying the following:

...counting as naught the modesty and the sense of shame which they cherished in time of peace. Such consternation prevailed that the magnitude of the emergency called for even the aid of their women.

²⁴ The changing of the Athenian women's dress as punishment for their actions is hardly reflecting Herodotus' own opinion.

²⁵ Dewald 1980, 15.

τὴν αἰδῶ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης αἰσχύνῃν παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγούμεναι. τοσαύτη
κατάπληξις καθειστήκει ὥστε τὸ μέγεθος τῆς περιστάσεως δεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς
παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν βοήθειας.

(Diod.Sic.13.55.4-5)

The words 'αἰδῶ' and 'αἰσχύνῃν' are crucial here. Douglas Cairns argues that women's *aidos* 'frequently manifests itself in a coyness about dealings with the opposite sex', and this is the *aidos* Diodorus may have in mind here.²⁶ The same applies to women's 'αἰσχύνῃν'. Diodorus is the only source which mentions women's shame and modesty in relation to war, yet ironically, this is the type of thinking that modern scholars tend to follow when they see the brief references about women's behaviour at war as exceptional.²⁷ Diodorus' remark on the women's behaviour reflects his thinking rather than fifth- and fourth-century attitudes towards women's wartime contributions. Diodorus clearly has in mind the peacetime (εἰρήνης) behaviour of women, and transfers this into a wartime scenario. Here we have an author who is passing on information and relating accounts as he found them in other writers, especially Ephorus who was his main source for the account in book 13.²⁸ Kenneth Sacks, for example, maintains that 'Diodorus himself, influenced by contemporary political and aesthetic considerations, is responsible for much of the nonnarrative material'.²⁹ The comment above is simply an instance of this. Diodorus is here making a judgement about the actions of the women and claiming to know the reason why they acted the way they did. He stopped reporting facts as he knew them and began inserting his judgement. One can see his thought pattern starting to develop from (i) reporting the fact that the women of Selinus gave food and arms to their men, to (ii) thinking that this was not the type of behaviour women engaged in peacetime, and therefore, (iii) concluding this must have happened because they were in danger – danger that was greater than usual. Ultimately, Diodorus' comment on the women of Selinus fits with his overall tendencies in his text. For instance, he is known to have put a different spin on Zarinaea's story. As Llewellyn-Jones argues 'in keeping with the

²⁶ Cairns 1993, 121. The concept of *aidos* is a complex one as it deals with the role of women in society and it goes far beyond than this. However, generally, 'A woman', argues Cairns, '...receives *aidos* for her observance of her social role...' (1993, 121). Diodorus is alluding to this general observance on the peacetime roles of women and transferring these to a war context. In war, women perhaps deal with men in much more close ways than in peacetime. The episode above is one example.

²⁷ See discussion in chapter 3.

²⁸ On Diodorus and his sources, see Drews 1962, Marincola 2011, 176-178.

²⁹ Sacks 1990, 5.

high moral tone of his world history, Diodorus transforms Zarinaea from a romantic and tragic heroine to a valiant superwoman of national repute'.³⁰

In a similar fashion, Plutarch, when describing the actions of the women of Argos under Telesilla says that 'an impulsive daring, divinely inspired, came to the younger women to try, for their country's sake, to hold off the enemy' (ὁρμή καὶ τόλμα δαιμόνιος παρέστη ταῖς ἀκμαζούσαις τῶν γυναικῶν ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος) (Plut.*Mor.*245D). He believes the women's actions to be inspired by outside even divine influences (δαιμόνιος). This makes sense when one considers what these women are said to have done: they manned the walls and repelled Cleomenes' Spartan forces. This wartime behaviour as discussed in chapter 3 fits within a larger context of women as a group helping the city at war, but what does not fit in is Telesilla's leadership role. Plutarch's comment, therefore, reflects the way in which he made sense of a typically male action in war – that of engaging with the enemy and successfully repelling him from the city through courageous and bold actions – by ascribing it to divine influence.

The different remarks of the men discussed in this section shows how they each rationalized, judged, and evaluated women's behaviour at times of war in different ways. By sketching the ways in which stories about these women are manipulated and constructed, one is able to understand the boundaries imposed on them in relation to war. War is used in these stories to emphasise differences. Non-Greek women are taunted with armies; they are denied armies because they are for men. At the same time, each woman must retain different elements of what it is that made her a woman, but also a woman that is part of a particular socio-cultural background. In the case of Herodotus they are mothers who go to war, in the case of Artemisia, it is her manly courage what prompted her into war. For all women, their roles are believed to be exceptional, but they are rationalized in different ways. While non-Greek individual women behave for their own personal motives, Greek women behave in a collective and for the good of everyone.

³⁰ Llewellyn-Jones and Robson 2010, 40. See also Stronk 2010, 69 where he argues for this in the context of Diodorus' version of Zarinaea.

Physis and Nomos

‘The women also boldly took part with them in the fight, hurling tiles from the houses and enduring the uproar with a courage beyond their nature.’

‘αἱ τε γυναῖκες αὐτοῖς τολμηρῶς ξυνεπελάβοντο βάλλουσαι ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν τῷ κεράμῳ καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ὑπομένουσαι τὸν θόρυβον.’ (Thuc.3.74.1)

The actions of the women of Corcyra are crucial in Thucydides’ account of the *stasis* at Corcyra and are at the centre of the problems that *stasis* brought to the inhabitants of this city in 427.³¹ Thucydides tells us that the women threw roof tiles to the enemy below, stood their ground and endured the noise, or uproar (θόρυβον) ‘beyond their nature’ (παρὰ φύσιν). The phrase ‘beyond their nature’ or ‘against their nature’ (παρὰ φύσιν) is fundamental here because it alludes to the nature (*physis*) of women in the context of war and this is nowhere else reported by our sources except in two accounts in Thucydides (2.45.2, 3.74.1), both accounts analysed in this section. Thucydides provides an explicit evaluation of women’s conduct during war, and so these passages offer insights into how women’s behaviour might be judged in a different way to Herodotus, Diodorus, and Plutarch above.

To understand the significance of Thucydides’ remarks, they need to be located in their immediate intellectual context. During the fifth century conversations about the nature (*physis*) of women circulated, particularly in Athens amongst sophists, where it was often discussed alongside *nomos*.³² The *nomos* versus *physis* debate has been analysed extensively by scholars, but this conversation is mainly preoccupied with men.³³ In antiquity, Herodotus, for example, does not explicitly address the *physis* of women in his *Histories*.³⁴ But he does implicitly address women’s difference in the stories of Euelthon and Artemisia, while Thucydides, by contrast, makes it obvious by mentioning their *physeis* twice in the whole of his text (2.45.2 and 3.74.1) – and each time it is in relation to women in war. It is ironic how Herodotus mentions women active in warfare, but never openly addresses their *physis* in this

³¹ On *stasis* and Thucydides, see Fuks 1971, Orwin 1988.

³² Gagarin 2002, 66.

³³ For the *nomos*/*physis* debate, see Ostwald 1969, Dillon and Gergel 2003, xv. See Ostwald for the complexity of *nomos*, which has approximately thirteen different meanings (1969, 54). I follow here Rhodes and use *nomos* to refer to ‘human convention’ (2010, 215).

³⁴ He is more concerned with the nature of barbarians, especially Persians and Egyptians (1.89, 2.45), of animals (2.38, 2.68, 2.71), of places (2.5, 2.19, 2.35) and human nature overall (3.65, 8.83). In the context of war, Herodotus and his concept of *physis* applies only to fighting men and their virtues (e.g. 5.118). On *nomos* and *physis* in Herodotus, see Humphreys 1987, Evans 1991, 23–24, Thomas 2000, 102–134, Raaflaub 2002, 160–161.

context, whereas Thucydides, who mentions fewer women in his treatise, actually addresses women's difference (to men) twice in the context of women and war (2.45.2 and 3.74).

The nature of women finds its niche in fifth- and fourth-century medical treatises of the Hippocratic Corpus where entire treatises are dedicated to this subject (i.e. *On the Nature of Women*).³⁵ Physicians thought that women were biologically different from men, even from the moment they were conceived in the womb. One treatise explains the reason why twins can be female or male: the female twin is from seed that is weaker and watery, whereas the seed that created the male twin is stronger and thicker (*On the Nature of the Child*, 541). The underpinning notion is that women are physiologically weaker than men. The *physeis* of different people is also addressed throughout the Hippocratic Corpus. There are three treatises solely dedicated to the nature of different individuals: *On the Nature of Man*, *On the Nature of Child* and *On the Nature of Women*. Each text treats the *physis* of each group as different and unique to that gender, or in the case of children, their stage in life. The exact phrase 'παρὰ φύσιν' is found in *On the Nature of Woman* in relation to a woman who is unnaturally obese (340.20).³⁶ Nature did not intend anyone, irrespective of gender, to be obese, therefore, by being described as 'παρὰ φύσιν' this unnaturally obese woman is going against nature.

The phrase is employed with similar force, one can suggest, by Thucydides in his account of Corcyra. Thucydides, however, does not use it in the same medical way to illustrate the biology of women, but rather to suggest women were by nature different to men in their physical capacities for conflict. When he says that they stood their ground 'παρὰ φύσιν', he is actually saying that they performed in such a way that it went against their physiology.³⁷ Modern scholars usually interpret Thucydides' comments in light of social norms, or *nomoi*. Cartledge, for example, claims that 'for women to render themselves audible or visible, or otherwise to make their presence decisively felt, within the public male space of the polis was to act precisely "contrary to nature", that is, to contradict the essential nature of "Woman"'.³⁸ Wiedemann, similarly, insists that 'Corcyra is of course Thucydides' ideal example of the inversion of proper patterns of behaviour; for women to be participating

³⁵ However, see King 1998 for the complexities of this collection of treatises none of which can be attributed to Hippocrates himself, of disputed origins and date of composition.

³⁶ This treatise is mainly gynaecological and is concerned with the accurate treatment of women and their illnesses, mainly those of the uterus, pregnancy and menstruation. For the different manuscripts and problems of the text, see Potter 2012, 189-191 and bibliography there.

³⁷ Harvey approached the passage in a similar light when he said that 'the phrase probably indicates guarded admiration rather than disapproval' (1985, 83).

³⁸ Cartledge 1993a, 129 is representative of the usual interpretation of this passage.

in the fighting *παρὰ φύσιν* is just one unnatural feature of this civil war'.³⁹ However, in light of those Hippocratic analyses, this jump from *physis* to *nomos* seems unnecessary. For the Hippocratics, nature (*physis*) made women biologically different to men; this biological difference was then reflected in society through *nomoi*. *Nomos* was human convention and was reflected in actual social and cultural life.⁴⁰ The *nomos* in the context of women and war was that women did not fight. When the women of Corcyra threw their tiles, screamed at the enemy and endured the noise, they behaved in such a way that impressed precisely because it went beyond social expectations raised by their female natures. This same understanding of a distinctive female nature can be seen also in medical treatises when the opposite is mentioned, namely 'κατὰ φύσιν': when things go 'according to nature'. This concept of *physis* is reflected in an example of a woman who 'cannot fall pregnant according to nature' (*Nat.Mul.*402.67). Again, nature intended women, and only women, to fall pregnant. 'According to nature' in this medical context is going along with what *physis* allowed that specific gender. These medical treatises show that women were thought to be different to men, and evaluated accordingly. Thucydides' concept of female *physis* is, similar to the Hippocratics, distinctive to women.

An example that may best illustrate Thucydides' concept of *physis* can be found in the fragmentary remains of writings by Thucydides' contemporary, Antiphon of Rhamnus.⁴¹ Fragments 44A and B address the difference between *nomos* and *physis* (*POxy* 1364 (44A and B)).⁴² When addressing justice, the concept of *nomos* is placed alongside *physis* by Antiphon: 'For the requirements of the laws are supplemental, but the requirements of nature are necessary; the requirements of the laws are by agreement and not natural, whereas the requirements of nature are natural and not by agreement' (44 B1). Here we see how nature (*physis*) is considered that which is innate in everyone and *nomos* that which is additional. They are two distinct elements, even though the fragment does not address them with special reference to women nor men. Thucydides' use of the term *physis* relates to that of Antiphon because it is natural in individuals, and different from *nomos*, it is not additional.

The same concept of *physis* is used in Pericles' funeral oration for the first war dead of the Peloponnesian War in 431, as reported by Thucydides (Thuc.2.45.2). In his address to

³⁹ Wiedemann 1983, 169.

⁴⁰ On *nomos*, see Craik 2015.

⁴¹ In late antiquity people believed that Antiphon the rhetorician was a different person to the Antiphon who wrote the more philosophical treatises *Truth (Aletheia)* and *Concord (Homonoia)*, of which only fragments survive. I follow here Michael Gagarin (2002) who has convincingly argued that both are indeed the same person.

⁴² Gagarin 2002, 66 n. 10.

the widows, he introduces new concepts about female virtues and female glory. First, the passage in question:

“If I am to speak also of female virtues, referring to those of you who will henceforth be in widowhood, I will sum up all in a brief admonition: Great is your glory if you fall not below the standard which nature has set for your sex, and great also is hers of whom there is least talk among men whether in praise or in blame.”

“Εἰ δέ με δεῖ καὶ γυναικείας τι ἀρετῆς, ὅσαι νῦν ἐν χηρείᾳ ἔσονται, μνησθῆναι, βραχεία παραινέσει ἅπαν σημανῶ. τῆς τε γὰρ ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι ὑμῖν μεγάλη ἡ δόξα καὶ ἥς ἂν ἐπ’ ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς περὶ ἢ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι κλέος ᾗ.”

(Thuc.2.45.2)⁴³

Pericles’ address to the women starts with a general (prefatory) comment about female virtues (γυναικείας τι ἀρετῆς) and then is divided in two main parts: (i) a specific observation on the natures (φύσεως) of the war widows in which they acquire ‘μεγάλη δόξα’ (2.45.2), and (ii) a specific appeal to their virtues (ἀρετῆς).⁴⁴ Pericles’ address is thus divided into two positive exhortations: (i) one closely related to biology and one (ii) intrinsically social.⁴⁵ The first is ‘Great is your glory if you fall not below the standard which nature has set for your sex’ (τῆς τε γὰρ ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι ὑμῖν μεγάλη ἡ δόξα).⁴⁶ This means that the women must keep doing what they are good at by nature. It does not mean, as Winton has argued, that failure to marry was the main point here and that by definition the widows had already achieved that.⁴⁷ Winton unnecessarily pins down the exhortation into a particular social convention (*nomos*). The second exhortation has been interpreted in different ways: ‘Great also is hers of whom there is least talk among men whether in praise or in blame’ (καὶ

⁴³ Modified trans. C.F. Smith 1919.

⁴⁴ Scholars debate whether ‘γυναικείας τι ἀρετῆς’ means ‘female virtues’ (Richter 1971) or ‘wives’ virtues’ (Lacey 1964). I follow here those who argue for the first general interpretation (i.e. Richter 1971). The widows were women by definition. Female virtues were also the virtues of the widows. However, I disagree with Richter (1971, n. 3) on many points, but especially in that the female virtue addressed here is only that of *sophrosyne*. This virtue, although commonly used when speaking of women, was not specifically of women. It was, however, a virtue women could possess.

⁴⁵ Contra Andersen (1987, 46, n. 8) who does not believe that Pericles was talking about women as females of the species in this part, but this is because Andersen sometimes confuses Pericles’ use of *physis* with that of *arete* in his article.

⁴⁶ Smith’s English translation (1919) is the best for this passage as it illustrates what I am arguing here, namely that there was a standard associated with women’s biological nature just as much there were social standards related to their social lives. See Winton, who argues that this sentence was self-explanatory (2010, 161).

⁴⁷ Winton 2010, 161.

ἦς ἂν ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς πέρι ἢ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι κλέος ἦ).⁴⁸ Kallet argues that 'Pericles' advice about avoiding "talk among males" is fully in accord with what we can piece together as representative sample of standards of behaviour set by men for respectable women, especially married women'.⁴⁹ This is certainly the case in peacetime, and Pericles consolation to the widows is just a reminder of what they already know. However, it is far more likely that, in this post-conflict scenario, the women's achievement was measured against the context of the occasion and the expected audience to which the exhortations were addressed: to every war widow and to every future widow present at the speech.⁵⁰ We need to see these women in the context of everything else that Pericles is saying. More often than not, problematic public *versus* private traditions of looking at women in Classical Greece are brought into contexts where they are not relevant at all. In the case of this funeral oration, these scholarly traditions have affected the way in which the passage has been understood (i.e. as a negative remark). It is important to remember that the women attending the funeral are already by definition carrying out fifth-century social roles: they are dutifully attending a public funeral for the war dead, they are dutifully lamenting the dead, and they responded when the city asked for them. The address is so brief (compared to that of the men) because, as Cartledge argues, Thucydides is actually carrying out what Pericles exhorted in the first place. He will not wrong the women by talking publicly about them, even for the highest praise of all.⁵¹ Thucydides, in his version of Pericles' funeral oration, sketches women's boundaries within the limits of the *polis*. They can attain glory without intervening and this is different from the account in Corcyra where the women intervene in an equally helpful but different fashion.

The virtues of the women expressed in the funeral oration are reflected in similar passages elsewhere in the oration.⁵² When Pericles speaks of the reputation of brave men at the beginning of his speech (Thuc.2.35.1), he is actually saying something similar to that of

⁴⁸ Tyrrell and Bennett claim that Pericles 'hoped to encourage [the women's] laments while muting their voices' (199, 51). Tyrrell and Bennett (1999, 46) and Winton (2010, 158) believe that Pericles offers consolation and comforting comments rather than exhortations.

⁴⁹ Kallet 1993, 137.

⁵⁰ On Pericles' intended audience, see Hardwick 1993, 149ff. These were women from different backgrounds. Tyrrell and Bennett (1999, 38, n. 3) have proposed that the widows were most likely the wives of the Athenians who died close to Rheitoi (2.19.2) and Phrygia (2.22.2), of the men who died in different naval expeditions (2.23.2, 2.25-27.1) and of the men who died at the Megarian invasion (2.31.1-2).

⁵¹ Cartledge 1993a, 130.

⁵² Glory of being the liberator of Hellas, Thuc.1.69.1. Distinguished valour of the Marathon war dead, 2.34.5. Reputations of brave men, 2.35.1 and 3.67.2. The young should not 'disgrace their native valour', 4.92.7. This last one is very similar to the use of virtue in Pericles' funeral oration. It is interesting to note that most of these similarities occur in speeches, where Thucydides' reports what someone else said in public.

the women. In fact, recent scholarship has noted the connection that these two passages share. Winton, for instance, argues for the importance of the word *parainesis* in both passages.⁵³ The word is ‘a standard term, in Thucydides and elsewhere, for exhortation before battle (for example, 2.88.1, 4.95.1, 5.69.1, 2...).’⁵⁴ So here we have two contexts within the same speech where exhortations are being made to different members of the audience. For Pericles, the honour of the men has been already gained through their exploits at war and there is no need for him to speak about the actions of the men in public.⁵⁵ Similarly, in the speech of Pagondas, we are told that the young should not disgrace the virtues they have inherited through the brave actions of their fathers (Thuc.4.92.7). In both cases, then, virtue (*aretē*) is something which can be inherited by the actions of men in battle. Ultimately, as Kallet has argued, it is as if Pericles extended this reputation and inheritance of virtues to the women when he exhorted them in the funeral speech.⁵⁶

Thucydides’ depiction of women in war contexts is closely related to contemporary ideas about women’s *physis* and virtues. His portrayal of women is situated in an after war scenario; in a celebratory world where the women are conceptualized in relation to the *polis*, and what they can offer for the benefit of the *polis*. This is very much related to Herodotus’ conception of the Greek women who killed Lycidas for proposing to listen the Persians’ proposal. Thucydides’ women are not just women, but war widows whose husbands have given everything (and the best) for the survival of the *polis*. It is safe to say that the virtues of war widows was just as diverse as that of the nature (*physis*) of people, but virtue, being strongly embedded in *nomos*, was subject to much more criticism. While nature could not be fought nor adapted, virtues could be adapted by the efforts of persons since they needed social interaction, and most importantly, human effort. This understanding places in context Thucydides’ remarks about the *physis* of the women of Corcyra and the *aretē* of the Athenian widows. And it is within this conceptual background in which we need to see Thucydides’ words. Thucydides did not address social norms of women when he described the women’s actions and comportment in the *stasis* of Corcyra. By throwing missiles from their houses when their city was in *stasis*, far from being ‘transgressive’, these women were acting within appropriate roles for a community at war. Similarly, when Pericles addressed the war-widows

⁵³ Winton 2010, 160.

⁵⁴ Winton 2010, 160 n.44.

⁵⁵ ‘...To me, however, it would have seemed sufficient, when men have proved themselves brave by valiant acts, by act only to make manifest the honours we render them—such honours as to-day you have witnessed in connection with these funeral ceremonies solemnized by the state—and not that the valour of many men should be hazarded on one man to be believed or not according as he spoke well or ill’ (Thuc.2.35.1).

⁵⁶ Kallet 1993, 136.

of the Peloponnesian War, he did so as Harvey quite rightly puts it with ‘guarded admiration’.⁵⁷

Imagined Roles

Thucydides was not the only one thinking about women in war in terms of their biological natures and their social virtues. Both *physis* and *aretē* of women are also attested in the philosophical treatises of Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotle, and it is here one finds the fullest discussions about women and war. In particular, the *Republic* of Plato, especially Book 5, imagines the role of women at war in a civic context of an ideal state. Traditionally, Plato’s unique views on women have been regarded by scholars as ‘feminist’ when compared to Aristotle – who is often labelled as ‘misogynist’.⁵⁸ These problematic terms have influenced the way in which scholars address women in war scenarios as depicted in philosophical treatises to the extent that misconceived notions are frequently applied to women in war contexts. Calvert, for instance, claims that participation in warfare ‘is a necessary condition if a woman is to be a guardian [in Plato’s *Republic*]’.⁵⁹ However, as this section explores, there is a difference in these treatises between female military training and participation in warfare. This section, therefore, moves away from this modern approach to analyse how philosophy imagines women in situations that have to do with war, and the discourse that emerges from this.

Plato’s *Republic*, especially book 5, has the most complete discussion about women and war. Plato’s argument regarding the female Guardians in book 5 needs to be seen in light of his notion of human nature, because he has a different understanding of nature (*physis*) than, for example, the Hippocratics, discussed above.⁶⁰ For him, women did not have a different nature to men; they had the same nature, a general (weaker) nature (Pl.*Rep.*455c).⁶¹ But Plato’s interlocutors share a specific view on human nature: that women and men had

⁵⁷ Harvey 1985, 83.

⁵⁸ See Pomeroy 1974, Fortenbaugh 1975, Annas 1976, Saxonhouse 1976. See Smith 1983 for a full discussion on these anachronistic terms. I follow here Smith’s views on the natures of women. While Smith focuses on the concept of the soul as represented by Plato and Aristotle, I, on the other hand, focus here solely on Plato’s views of women in the context of war.

⁵⁹ Calvert 1975, 232.

⁶⁰ See, for example, the many references to the response from others throughout Book 5. Socrates is depicted as aware of the response others will have once they hear his propositions. His arguments will incur ‘laughter’ (γελάω) and will seem ‘ridiculous’ (γέλοιος) to most (i.e. 451a, 452a6, 452b4, and 452c6-7). These are several constant reminders of the reaction of people, especially at the beginning of the book before one hears Socrates’ arguments.

⁶¹ On Plato’s understanding of female nature, see Smith 1983.

different natures (e.g. 453b7-9) and that social roles should be assigned according to the nature of each gender (e.g. 425a5). Thus, women, because they had a different nature to men, must be in the household, whereas men, who had a different nature to women, were destined for civic duties and politics, among others.⁶² Yet, nature, as Plato understood it, resided ‘in the potential of individuals’.⁶³ Social roles should then be assigned in accordance with the natural inclinations of each person, without reference to their gender.⁶⁴ Plato’s ‘law’ goes according to nature because each person is naturally pre-disposed towards certain pursuits. If the pursuit is war, then both men and women can share in this and that will be according to nature (456a-c); and thus, everything that women will share with the men will not be ‘παρὰ φύσιν’ (466c-d). Aristotle criticised much of the views proposed by Plato’s Socrates and in particular his views on the women (e.g. *Pol.*1264b). These may be summarized as follows:

Since nature makes different things for different purposes (*Pol.*1254b1-3), and women are psychologically different from men, they have functions different from those of men, contrary to Plato’s view in the *Republic*. And since virtue is relative to function for Aristotle (*Pol.*1260a14-17), a woman’s virtue is different from a man’s, contrary to Plato’s view in the *Meno*.

(Smith 1983, 475)

It is from Plato’s views on human nature that the creation of the ideal of female Guardians in the *Republic* arises. The possibility for women to participate in military activities also develops from Socrates’ beliefs on the nature of women. Socrates believes that women can share in the governing of a city (e.g. 455b and 455e) but only in strict accordance with their individual capacities. After all, each woman is different and not every woman is going to be predisposed towards the same task. For instance, some women are better adapted to work in medicine while others show a natural inclination towards music, and so forth (455a5). The same is said in the context of warfare where some women (not all women) have the capacity to learn and receive military training alongside the men (452a3). A similar proposition is made by the Athenian in Plato’s *Laws*, where women can contribute in their own way to military matters (785b) and should train alongside men as well (829b).

⁶² ‘Do you then know of anything practiced by human beings in which the male sex is not superior to the female in all these aspects? Or do we have to string it out by mentioning weaving and looking after the baking and the cooking where the female sex has a reputation, though if outclassed, they are the most absurd of all?’ (455c-d)

⁶³ Halliwell 1993, 13.

⁶⁴ See Halliwell 1993, 14 who argues for the collective nature of these social roles, which should be proactive and helpful to the city and the state, not individually.

For military services the limit shall be from twenty years up to sixty for a man; for women they shall ordain what is possible and fitting in each case, after they have finished bearing children, and up to the age of fifty, in whatever kind of military work it may be thought right to employ their services.

πρὸς πόλεμον δὲ ἀνδρὶ μὲν εἴκοσι μέχρι τῶν ἐξήκοντα ἐτῶν· γυναικὶ δέ, ἣν ἂν δοκῇ χρεῖαν δεῖν χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ πολεμικά, ἐπειδὴν παῖδας γεννήσῃ, τὸ δυνατόν καὶ πρέπον ἐκάσταις προστάττειν μέχρι τῶν πενήκοντα ἐτῶν.

(Pl.*Laws*.785b)

However, in the *Republic* not every woman could be trained since the female Guardian class will consist of the best women out of all (456e). Brisson argues that only ‘a woman in whom the aggressive part of the soul (*thumos*) predominates will be a member of the group of guardians’.⁶⁵ Yet, aggressiveness in a woman’s soul is not envisioned in any wartime scenario, much less in the Guardian class (which did not need to rely on aggressiveness; only on a combination of the proper attributes for ruling properly (375a-e)). In fact, since not all women share the same capacities for the same things, when it comes to war, Socrates says that there were going to be women who will be fit for soldiering (*polemike*) and others who will be ‘unmilitary’ or not suited for war (*apolemos*) (456a1-10). It can also mean that some women will not be suited for this path just as there were women who were predisposed to music and one cannot expect a woman who had natural dispositions towards music to be skilled at horse-riding. This might have been considered by Plato as against the nature of that particular woman.

Socrates never really specifies what the women are supposed to be doing when training alongside the men as he does when he mentions their training in gymnastics where we are told that they will be naked in the wrestling schools training alongside the men (452b). The only war-related activity in which women are mentioned in this ideal state is that of the handling of weapons (ὄπλον σχέσιν) and the riding of horses (ἵππων ὀχήσεις) (452c). The riding of horses seems to be a common subject of Plato with regards to women in war. In the *Laws*, he cites as an example the women of the Sauromatae to prove his argument that women can be skilled riders of horses (804e-5a and 806b5) and that some women can be trained in a military way. Halliwell proposes that Plato had in mind here the Amazons,⁶⁶ but

⁶⁵ Brisson 2012, 14.

⁶⁶ Halliwell 1993, 11.

although the Amazons were very much in the Greek cultural imagination, they were essentially fighting women and Plato was not interested in women who could actually fight, since for him, women were still the weaker sex (455e and 456a10), and thus, fighting would be against their nature. Socrates demonstrates this when he says that women ‘must be allotted lighter tasks than the men because of the weakness of their sex’ (Pl.*Rep.*547a9-10). Women who engage in actual fighting are nowhere to be found in the discourses of Plato not even in his ideal state as this would have gone *against* women’s natures. Plato is concerned with the nature of women, not with the possibility of women to engage the enemy in a battlefield. Plato is always referring to the training of the women not to them as fighters.⁶⁷ Even when he addresses the shortcomings of the women of Sparta in the *Laws* he is also referring there to their military training (806a-b). However, when and where women’s military training should be put to use is never made clear.⁶⁸

It should be noted how even in this conceptualization of the ideal state where women take part in the same civic spaces with men, women are still considered inferior to men in the context of war. This can be seen when women are recognized as not having the same physical endurance as men (547a9-10)⁶⁹ and also in the way in which provisions are made for the young men who fight. In a bizarre example about the rewards of war there is one reward that will encourage men to fight better: those who distinguish themselves in war will have more opportunities to sleep with women (460b1-5 and 468c1-10). Halliwell is puzzled as to why Socrates did not make similar provisions for the women.⁷⁰ No similar provision is made for the women because this would have seem out of place even in this ideal state since honours are only bestowed upon those who excel at fighting, and women, if we are to judge by Socrates’ silence, were not meant to fight.⁷¹ Also, when Glaucon grows impatient because Socrates is not addressing (as he promised) how this ideal state would come about in reality he offers suggestions on this matter. He says that the army would fight extremely well because they would call each other ‘brothers’, ‘fathers’, ‘sons’ (471c2-e) and then moves on to address the women separately (see below). Glaucon does not say that they would call each

⁶⁷ Contra Halliwell who claims that 466e3 refers explicitly to women serving as soldiers (1993, 183).

⁶⁸ For an analysis of this passage of the women of Sparta, see section below.

⁶⁹ This lack of endurance is something that was given by god/nature; it is something they are born with. It is also represented in Xenophon’s *Oeconomicus* (7.22-23) (discussed below).

⁷⁰ Halliwell 1993, 163.

⁷¹ Socrates is also a product of his own time and he is reflecting here prevailing ideologies on women, not even in this ideal state could women enjoy an equal freedom as that of men. Equality is a very modern concept which the Classical Greeks did not have when it comes to women and men.

other ‘mothers’ nor ‘sisters’ suggesting again that the women were perhaps not expected to fight.

When Socrates introduces a new element into his ideal state – that of children as observers of war – he still has in mind the women who will take part in military training. This passage is immediately after the last mention of women in the context of war and they are mentioned again here alongside the children (‘they will march out together...’ Ὅτι κοινῇ στρατεύσονται...(466e)). The children (παίδων) should observe how war is conducted from an early age because this will prepare them better for war when they become adults; hence they should also give assistance to their mothers and fathers in anything related to warfare (466e-467a). At first glance, it seems as if every child will accompany its parents in campaigns, but later on we learn that Socrates has in mind only male children (467b-c). They will be placed under the supervision of older men and be given training in horse-riding (467e1-7). This emphasis on the proper way to ride horses evokes the same emphasis on women’s training. Although in Plato’s *Laws* he does not think it compulsory for women to ride horses, it should nevertheless be allowed to those women who are inclined to it (834d). There seems to be an unspoken correlation between the children and the women here. The children, like the women, are never mentioned engaging in actual war. They are there to observe and gain an insight into matters of war because this is shared by everyone in this ideal state and because it concerns everyone in their support to the *polis*.

Plato’s Glaucon mentions how women can be included in the military activities of this ideal state and he does so in keeping with late fifth- and early fourth-century notions of what women actually did in times of war:

If, in addition, the women also were to join in the army, whether in the front line itself, or drawn up behind, both to strike fear into the enemy, or, if there is ever any need for reinforcement, I know that they would be unbeatable in battle in every way.

εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ θῆλυ συστρατεύοιτο, εἴτε καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τάξει εἴτε καὶ ὀπισθεν ἐπιτεταγμένον, φόβων τε ἔνεκα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ εἴ ποτέ τις ἀνάγκη βοηθείας γένοιτο, οἶδ’ ὅτι ταύτη πάντῃ ἄμαχοι ἂν εἶεν·

(Pl.*Rep.*471d)

What is new in this passage is that Glaucon conceptualizes women in the army for specific reasons. However, even in this ideal state, women’s role within the army (as envisaged by Glaucon) is still constrained by things that are typical for this period. They are imagined in

the ranks, but nothing more is said about this and one supposes that it was no more than a quick idealised remark; women are also imagined in the rear. The roles imagined for women here are those of causing confusion in the enemy, perhaps by making the army appear larger than it was, and offering encouragement to the soldiers by their presence. As discussed in the next chapter, women did indeed offer encouragement whilst they were in the baggage trains of armies (Xen.*An.*4.3.19) and they were also used to look like men to the enemy from afar (Aen.Tac.40.4-5). There is a genuineness about Glaucon's suggestions, but his propositions are still within the limits of the particular characteristics of women. If women were thought to be weaker than men, then one imagines that no one really thought that women, even those who shared the same nature as men, would indeed fight in war. When Glaucon says that the women are in 'συστρατεύοιτο' he is referring here to their presence with men on campaigns or during expeditions rather than fighting with them in the actual army.⁷² And it is exactly within this context that we do find women in war. Plato's philosophical dialogue between Glaucon and Socrates on the best organization of the city is therefore set against a realistic background.

Socrates' ideas in book 5 of the *Republic* transgressed the general principle common to all Greek states: that women should partake in the same social and civic spaces as men in the working life of a *polis*. Women were meant for the *oikos*, yet even in the household, war comes into play. Xenophon, in his *Oeconomicus*, considers an important element that can be found in the *Republic* as well: that women can be teachable. They can obtain a 'masculine mind' (ἀνδρικήν διάνοιαν) (10.1), but the husband must take it upon himself to teach her properly before she can achieve this.⁷³ The nature (*physis*) of women is represented in the *Oeconomicus* as related to the physical endurance of each gender, and is explained in terms of indoor/outdoor spaces. Ischomachus tells Socrates that god made women for indoor spaces, while men for outdoor spaces (7.22). This is because the nature of women was made weaker by the gods and provided women with less endurance to the elements (7.23). Men's *soma* and *psyche* were made by the god to be capable of enduring long journeys and campaigns and since women were not made like this they were assigned everything which did not require this (i.e. everything indoors) (7.23). That greater propensity for fear was given

⁷² As translated by Halliwell 1993, 105.

⁷³ Many thanks to Dr. Fiona Hobden for allowing me access to her forthcoming contribution to the Cambridge Companion on Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*.

to women and this is why they were not meant for the protection of anything outdoors is suggested by Ischomachus when he tells us that:

... knowing that for protection a fearful disposition is no disadvantage, the god meted out a larger share of fear to the woman than to the man; and knowing that the one who deals with the outdoor tasks will have to be their defender against any wrongdoer, he meted out to him again a larger share of courage.

ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ φυλάττειν τὰ εἰσενεχθέντα τῇ γυναικὶ προσέταξε, γινώσκων ὁ θεός, ὅτι πρὸς τὸ φυλάττειν οὐ κάκιόν ἐστι φοβερὰν εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν, πλεῖον μέρος καὶ τοῦ φόβου ἐδάσατο τῇ γυναικὶ ἢ τῷ ἀνδρί.

(Xen.*Oec.*7.25)

Although the above passage does not mention war, the possibility for war is not excluded. It is interesting how women were not meant to protect anything outside the *oikos* because of fear. This does not seem to be particular to the fourth century because in tragedies we have women depicted with a bigger propensity to fear, especially in the context of war. For instance, the chorus of women in Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes* trembles at the sounds of clashing chariots (e.g. Aesch.*Sept.*110, 236-238).⁷⁴ Women are repeatedly represented as unable to control their emotions in the context of war; those women who do so are goddesses (e.g. Athena in Euripides' *Suppliants*).

One area where fear is of no consequence is the *oikos*. At one point in the *Oeconomicus* the household duties of the wife become like those of men at war. When Ischomachus is showing his wife around the house and telling her where things should go he does so by listing tribes (φυλὰς) (9.6-11). 'And now that we had completed the tour', says Ischomachus, 'we set about separating the furniture 'tribe by tribe'' (9.6). Those utensils used for sacrifice consisted of one tribe, clothing was another, weapons was the third tribe, and so forth. 'When we had divided all the portable property tribe by tribe, we arranged everything in its proper place' (ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐχωρίσαμεν πάντα κατὰ φυλὰς τὰ ἔπιπλα, εἰς τὰς χώρας τὰς προσηκούσας ἕκαστα διηγέκαμεν) (9.8). The organisation of the household, according to tribes or military contingents, becomes like the organisation of men at war. Thus, the duties of the wife are depicted as akin to the duties of men at war. Ischomachus is, in other words, asking his wife to consider the property of the household as men consider and organise their men in the military. Even in the household, war is introduced as an element in the correct

⁷⁴ See also, Eur.*Heracl.*510 and Eur.*Or.*118.

organisation and arrangement of property. Here we see women's involvement in war by analogy. There is also a correlation between women and 'νομοφύλακα':

I charged my wife to consider herself guardian of the laws to our household, and just as the commander of a garrison inspects his guards, so must she inspect the equipment whenever she thought it well to do so, and to determine whether each item is in good condition, just as the Council scrutinizes the cavalry and the horses.

νομίσαι οὖν ἐκέλευον, ἔφη, τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ αὐτὴν νομοφύλακα τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ εἶναι καὶ ἐξετάζειν δέ, ὅταν δόξῃ αὐτῇ, τὰ σκεύη, ὥσπερ ὁ φρούραρχος τὰς φυλακὰς ἐξετάζει, καὶ δοκιμάζειν, εἰ καλῶς ἕκαστον ἔχει, ὥσπερ ἡ βουλὴ ἵππους καὶ ἱππέας δοκιμάζει...

(Xen.*Oec.*9.15)

Even though Ischomachus' wife's nature suited her to indoor spaces that did not mean that she was not going to have tasks in which her virtue could be excelled. In sum, the emphasis on the physical difference between genders in philosophical discourses about women in war is reminiscent of the fifth-century medical treatises examined above and their observations regarding the female sex. Xenophon's metaphorical casting of Ischomachus' wife as a commander of sorts over her household, but not actually as a potential general is similar to Plato who never envisioned women fighting in any war scenario. The emphasis was always on military training but never on actual battlefield action. Xenophon, by way of analogy, and Plato, by having women actively involved in military training, are both placing women in war scenarios.

Derogatory Comments

So far, this chapter has explored different evaluations of the behaviour of women in war contexts. As we have seen, such arguments are far from straightforward. Sources have been somewhat positive in their judgements of women's wartime behaviour. There is, however, one group of women of whom different sources recorded different set of evaluative judgements. The Theban invasion of Laconia in 370/369 elicited an unusual reaction from the women of Sparta that was recorded, commented and defended. The reactions to the events that winter are crucial to our understanding of women during war for three reasons. First, it is the only time when a negative opinion about women's wartime behaviour is expressed. Secondly, different sources with different agendas comment on the same event. And thirdly, the behaviour of the women of a particular city is compared with that of other cities. The

women of Sparta, thus, provide a valuable case study of ancient evaluations of women's wartime actions.

During the winter of 370/369 the forces under Epaminondas made their way into Laconia where they laid waste to the surrounding countryside of Sparta. The women of Sparta, according to Aristotle:

were most harmful ... for they rendered no useful service, like the women in other states, while they caused more noise than the enemy

βλαβερώταται καὶ πρὸς ταῦθ' αἱ τῶν Λακόνων ἦσαν· ἐδήλωσαν δ' ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων ἐμβολῆς, χρήσιμοι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἦσαν, ὥσπερ ἐν ἑτέραις πόλεσιν, θόρυβον δὲ παρεῖχον πλείω τῶν πολεμίων

(Arist.*Pol.*1269b)⁷⁵

Aristotle's bold assertion is best understood as a component in the *Politics*' wider criticism of Sparta. In the *Politics*, Aristotle criticises Sparta as a whole and as part of his argument he chooses some distinctive elements of that society which, according to him, have failed the state in one way or another: the Helot system and its lack of control over women. However, Aristotle and other sources are writing at a time when there was already an established view of Spartan society, customs, politics, and also, about its women. These external sources are working through a lens, their comments operate through an image of Sparta, and it is from within this 'Spartan mirage' that they are forming their analyses.⁷⁶ Spartan women being part of this much larger criticism embodied everything that was wrong at the time. Aristotle, thus, appropriates their distinctive wartime behaviour at the time of the Theban invasion for his own attack on the *polis* at large.⁷⁷

Scholars are divided on the exact meaning of Aristotle's passage. Different interpretations lie on the translation of the phrase 'ὥσπερ ἐν ἑτέραις πόλεσιν'.⁷⁸ Some propose that the women of Sparta proved to be useless in war, just like the women of other

⁷⁵ Powell has seen how a passage from Plato's *Laws* may be referring to the same event under discussion here (806a-b). Powell (2004, 138) claims that this could be a vague reference to the failure of the women of Sparta during the Theban invasion because Plato wrote his treatise after the event in question (i.e. after 370 BC). If he is indeed correct in attributing Plato's reference to the Theban invasion, then we have two sources which include the women's behaviour as part of their overall criticism of Sparta's constitution and laws.

⁷⁶ On the 'Spartan mirage' see, Tigerstedt 1965-1978, Powell and Hodkinson 2002. It is worth emphasising that the common stereotypes about Spartan women will inevitably influence any comments made about them. Outdoors exercise and different (and short) clothing, in particular were common perceptions and an image of difference was prevalent in external sources. This is perhaps what even led to their being mentioned negatively in the first place. On Spartan women, see Pomeroy 2002.

⁷⁷ On Aristotle and Sparta, see David 1982-1983.

⁷⁸ Powell 2004, 139-140.

poleis.⁷⁹ While others argue that during the Theban invasion, the women behaved in a manner that was different from other women in wartime.⁸⁰ However, as Powell argues, there appears to be conflicting ideas in the former interpretation:

Aristotle makes the comparison with other Greek women to justify (γὰρ) his statement immediately preceding, that the Spartan women in war were extremely damaging. On the rhetorical level it would have weakened his argument to claim that Spartan women were extremely damaging, *because* they were quite normal by the standards of the time. It was more effective to say that Spartan women were most harmful *because different* from women elsewhere.

(Powell 2004, 140)

Powell's interpretation seems convincing because even though 'ὥσπερ' generally means 'like' it does not make sense with Aristotle's overall critique.⁸¹ Ultimately, 'during the Theban invasion the Spartan women proved exceptionally bad, unlike – that is – other women'.⁸²

Aristotle refers to the wartime behaviour of not only the women of Sparta but of other women from other cities. By saying that the women of Sparta were useless in that conflict and comparing them to others, he is implicitly saying that other women were considered to be useful in war by their men. The behaviour of the women is not actually described by Aristotle, he merely criticises a particular occasion that he assumes his reader will know already (and in light of the following comment, this seems to be the case). The character of the women's excessively harmful behaviour (βλαβερώταται) is made clearer by Plutarch:

But this was not the worst. Agesilaus was still more harassed by the tumults and shrieks and running about throughout the city, where the elder men were enraged at the state of affairs, the women were unable to keep quiet, but were utterly beside themselves when they heard the shouts and saw the fires of the enemy.

οὐχ ἥττον δὲ τούτων ἐλύπουν τὸν Ἀγησίλαον οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν θόρυβοι καὶ κραυγαὶ καὶ διαδρομαὶ τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων δυσανασχετούντων τὰ γινόμενα καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν οὐ δυναμένων ἡσυχάζειν, ἀλλὰ παντάπασιν ἐκφρόνων οὐσῶν πρὸς τε τὴν κραυγὴν καὶ τὸ πῦρ τῶν πολεμίων.

(Plut.Ages.31.4)

⁷⁹ Schaps 1982, Cartledge 2001.

⁸⁰ Redfield, 1977-1978, Powell 2004, Van Wees 2004.

⁸¹ Powell 2004, 140.

⁸² Ibid.

Plutarch is describing a city that was in a state of shock and fear due to wartime uncertainty. The women's uselessness entails shouting and running around the city to the extent that they enraged the elders. Plutarch is not necessarily extending Aristotle's account nor filling in imaginary situations, since he most likely had different sources (now lost) at his disposal that addressed this famous event.⁸³ The women's harmfulness, as portrayed by Plutarch, was due to useless inactivity, or rather, too much erratic activity. The women were utterly useless when confronted by the tribulations of war. When similar tribulations were presented to other women, they responded with appropriate and better behaviour. In chapter 3, we will see some behaviours that were considered useful by the men of the Classical period. Generally, women were needed to either stay away from harm's way or to perform certain tasks that the fighting men had no time to do, including but not limited to the provision of water, food, and missiles to their men, among other. Spartan women, however, were not behaving in this way. Their harmful behaviour went against what was usual at the time.

But the women of Sparta were not alone: the men of fighting age had left them and their children with the elder men that were left to 'guard Sparta' (φυλάττοντας τὴν Σπάρτην) (Diod.Sic.15.65.2). This suggests that their erratic behaviour was exacerbated by being left behind by their men of military age with whom they felt safe, especially when the enemy was so close by. When Lycurgus in his speech *Against Leocrates* describes the way in which the women of Athens reacted to the news of the defeat at Chaeronea, he explicitly says that the 'the people's hope of safety had come to rest with the men of over fifty' (αἱ δ' ἐλπίδες τῆς σωτηρίας τῷ δήμῳ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντ' ἔτη γεγονόσι καθειστήκεσαν) (Lyc.1.40). In the case of Sparta, however, the women's reaction is somewhat ironic given that war was a major aspect in their lives. They lived in a society that viewed war as part of human life. Even though Sparta was not strictly a military society, as Hodkinson argues, it still had a higher degree of military reminders.⁸⁴ Everywhere the women looked there were reminders that war was part of their lives: the *agoge*, the *syssitia*, and even the *mnemeia* to the war dead.⁸⁵ So, perhaps, the criticism they endured was precisely because of this.

⁸³ He was acquainted with the works of Xenophon (another source for the women's behaviour discussed below), see Schettino 2014, 418. In light of his previous comments (31.3), Theopompus seems the most likely source for this account.

⁸⁴ Hodkinson 2006.

⁸⁵ On the *agoge*, see Kennell 1995, and Ducat 2006b. On the *syssitia*, see Singor 1999. On the commemoration of the Spartan war dead, see Richer 1994, and Low 2006.

Xenophon, whose relationship towards Sparta is at times complicated, does not deny that something happened.⁸⁶ He represents the women's behaviour in a different light to both Aristotle and Plutarch by saying how they 'could not even endure the sight of the smoke, since they had never seen an enemy' (τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες οὐδὲ τὸν καπνὸν ὁρῶσαι ἡνείχοντο, ἅτε οὐδέποτε ἰδοῦσαι πολεμίους) (Xen.*Hell.*6.5.28). Xenophon's portrayal of the women is more an excuse for their behaviour than anything else. Failure to be acquainted with what the enemy was capable of doing (in this case, they were devastating the countryside) meant that this was thought to be an excuse for (Spartan) women's bad wartime behaviour. The women, thus, became hysterical because they had never experienced this sort of devastation and over-react. His defence of the women suggests that their behaviour was well-known, and that by the time he wrote his *Hellenica*, it was a matter of public opinion. This shows how women's wartime behaviour was subject to evaluative comments by contemporaries. Xenophon's version is important because it evaluates the wartime behaviour of the same group of women in a different way to both Aristotle and Plutarch. While the latter describe the women's behaviour, Xenophon merely provides an excuse for it; he tells his audience why they behaved in the way they did.

The events as described by Aristotle shows us how women were supposed to be useful (χρήσιμοι) in war. Additionally, this episode can be compared to the scene in Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*, where Eteocles demands that the women not discourage their men by running around the city and grasping the images of the gods (182-202 and 236-238).⁸⁷ Aristotle's comments could have been an echo of the sentiment Aeschylus places in the mouth of the Theban king, but whatever the motives behind Eteocles' character, the overall belief is the same. Women are needed to keep up their men's spirits when war came to the city and any behaviour contrary to this was viewed negatively. The fact that the wartime behaviour of Spartan women was so heavily criticised shows that by the fourth century women's behaviour in war was supervised, judged, evaluated and even attempted to control. When one takes Xenophon's comment alongside Aristotle's, Diodorus' and Plutarch's a dialogue on women and war starts to unfold; it was a discussion that evaluated women's wartime behaviour in a negative manner. These episodes ultimately show that

⁸⁶ He is the only source of whom one may say was (at times) biased towards Sparta, especially in his representation of Agesilaus, see Harmann 2012. His opinion of Sparta is, of course, completely different in his day, see Xen.*Lac.Pol.*30.

⁸⁷ Many thanks to Dr. Anton Powell for this observation.

ancient men cared about what their women did in wartime and how that affected the city at large.⁸⁸

This chapter analysed ancient sources' remarks on the role of women in war and what they thought about women's wartime involvement. It demonstrated that there were boundaries and appropriate roles for women in the context of war. It seems reasonable to conclude that each source above had their own agenda yet they are all engaging in a continuous conversation about women's wartime behaviour. They offer their own distinctive evaluations and judgements. They are presenting ways of behaving in war that are bad and ways that are good. The analyses above traces the contours of this discourse, and shows how ancient sources' opinions about women in war scenarios cannot be taken out of context and need to be assessed within their overall frameworks. The comments made by Herodotus on those women who engaged in battle or who were in one way or another associated to war show that he was measuring them against a set of standards for women based on their own cultural contexts. A similar pattern can be found in Thucydides where he conceptualized the actions of the women of the *polis* around their individual (and different) nature (*physis*) to men. While Herodotus never explicitly addressed the *physis* of women, he still nonetheless emphasised their difference to men in the context of war through stories such as that of Euelthon and Pheretime. Plato did much the same when, even in his ideal state, the women are never envisioned as taking part in actual battle. War is ultimately the realm of men and women can only take part within strict boundaries; when they do not constrict themselves to those boundaries they are blamed for their actions like the women of Sparta.

⁸⁸ One can push this date even earlier if one takes into consideration Thucydides' remark about the women of Corcyra who acted 'beyond their nature' as he was also clearly reflecting back on their actions during that siege.

PART II

CONTRIBUTIONS

Chapter 3. Contributions to the War Effort

Women's contributions to war are increasingly looked at through a retrojecting narrow lens where in order to contribute they need to fight or be actively and directly involved in obviously war-related tasks. This is true even in the remembrance of women's involvement in war. During the Second World War, for instance, there existed different resistance groups of Jewish women who contributed to the war in different ways. Some women rescued children, while others acted as underground couriers in ghettos. Two women in particular are noted for their different involvements. Anda Luft died fighting Nazis with her daughter strapped on her back, and Roza Robota was hanged for her involvement in smuggling explosives in Auschwitz-Birkenau that resulted in the deaths of SS officers. Despite the fact that very few women actually engaged in fighting, the actions of the former attract more attention than those of the latter.¹ This is because of the gendered role Anda Luft played – as both mother and fighter. When it comes to the ancient world, one can still see the same sort of analyses being made, where women's contributions to war are frequently imagined to be limited to the throwing of roof tiles and stones.² While their roles certainly included the latter, it is by no means the only participation of this group in war. Artemisia (and women like her) features often in scholarly discussions, yet, she has only been looked at from a Greek perspective because the nature of the evidence facilitates this.³ However, as this chapter argues, she forms part of a much larger Eastern context which rarely features in discussions about women in war.

This chapter, therefore, seeks to create a much broader picture where women's contributions are not limited to the battlefield or to throwing tiles and stones from houses. By focusing on these single actions, scholars overlook the plethora of activities that women engaged in, such as participation in wall-building programmes, distribution of food and missiles, giving military advice, maintaining social order, ritual libations, praying for good omens, for the safe return of their men and for victory against the Persians. Some of these, as

¹ For the participation of Jewish women in WWII, see Tec 2003, Kol-Inbar 2012, Henry 2014.

² Schaps 1982, Graf 1984, Barry 1996, Loman 2004a.

³ Munson 1988, Martyn 1998, Cepeda Ruiz 2004, 47-56.

this chapter shows, are closely related to the household and indeed take place in the household. Yet, because the *oikos* is not seen as a characteristically military space, they have not been considered so far as ‘contributions to war’.

There is a tendency amongst scholars to assume that when women contribute to Classical Greek warfare it was both exceptional and unusual; some have even gone as far as to argue that in war there was a breakdown of social and gender norms. Lee, for instance, argues that ‘urban battle ...upset accepted gender and status hierarchies ... challenging the hoplite dominance of the battlefield’.⁴ Yet the ordinary way in which women’s wartime contributions are presented shows how women were acting under normal social processes given the circumstances. It is not until later, in sources such as Plutarch and Diodorus that the first comments about ordinary women’s contributions to war as exceptional are expressed. But these comments are, as already explored in chapter 2, reflective remarks looking backwards on earlier events. Modern scholarship has, consequently, followed these sources not realising that their comments are not representative of fifth- and fourth-century norms. The first part of this chapter, therefore, addresses the diverse contributions of women in war, before, in the second part, it is argued that in war there really was no such thing as a ‘breakdown of social norms’ for women as is commonly believed.

Female Leaders who ‘Fight’

In order to talk about women’s contribution to Classical Greek warfare we must first set aside our modern preconceptions about warfare and what it entails. Our common assumption is that warfare constitutes fighting alone and that in order for an individual to contribute s/he must fight.⁵ The recent reforms in the United States Army that allow women for the first time in history to join the front lines of combat reflect this modern thinking.⁶ Today there is a clear line that separates the battlefield from the civilian population, whereas in Classical Greece this line was blurred. By contrast to modern war scenarios where soldiers might be deployed thousands of miles from home, fighting often arrived to the city or in the case of *stasis*, even originated from within the *polis* itself. And this effectively blurred any line between ‘civilians’ and combatants. The word ‘civilian’, for example (consciously avoided in this study), brings with it a series of modern assumptions that are just not applicable to the ancient

⁴ Lee 2010, 152-153.

⁵ Lindley-French and Boyer 2012.

⁶ The ban on women in the US armed forces was officially lifted in 2013. See Burrelli 2013.

world. In order for Classical Greek women to be adequately labelled as ‘civilians’ they needed to have been separate from conflict, but as mentioned above, *stasis* makes this division impossible. Therefore, it is not possible to speak of ‘civilian women’ in Classical Greek warfare.

Part of the problem that this thesis meets is the projection of modern military conditions back onto the ancient world where it is usually assumed that if women got on the roofs of houses and started pelting the enemy with stones and tiles they magically transformed into ‘fighters’. This name, as explored in chapter 1, is not adequate for ancient women since their men did not conceptualise them as ‘fighters’ because defensive actions like throwing roof tiles did not constitute fighting in Classical Greek warfare. There are some women, however, that are described as engaged in different conflict scenarios that are not typical for ordinary women. Semiramis, Artemisia, Mania and Telesilla are commonly cited as examples of exceptional women who fought or engaged in what are usually described as ‘manly’ wartime activities.⁷ Yet, this section argues that when looked at closely and within their own specific (and different) contexts, these women are more normal than previously thought. Even though their contributions are not representative of ordinary women’s contributions to war during the Classical period, they are still acting within their own realms of leadership and as rulers. And it is exactly their roles as (sole) leaders that sets them apart and perhaps gave rise to stories about them in the Greek imagination. Ctesias’ description of Semiramis’ wartime exploits is the perfect example of how a woman’s wartime activities can be imaginatively exaggerated, even for a female ruler in an Eastern context.⁸ He has her excelling (at rock climbing) during the siege of Bactria and successfully taking the city after her husband failed to do so (FGrH 688 F1b (6.1-10)).⁹ She is also injured by the Indian king in the battlefield with an arrow and a javelin which pierced her back, but escapes nevertheless (FGrH 688 F1b (19.7)).

Artemisia, likewise, was a female ruler who, upon her husband’s death, became sole ruler of Halicarnassus (Hdt.7.99). When looked at from a Greek perspective, one quickly realizes why she became an oddity and an exceptional woman: she is called a *taxiarch* by Herodotus, she led (ἡγεμόνευε) men from different cities, furnished (παρεχομένη) five ships

⁷ For women and war in the Near East, see Kuhrt 2001. For Semiramis, see Briant 2002, Llewellyn-Jones and Robson 2010, Llewellyn-Jones 2013. For Artemisia, see Munson 1988 which is still the only study dedicated to this female ruler, but see also Martyn 1998, Cepeda Ruiz 2004, 47-56. For Mania, see Cartledge 1993b, Humble 2004. For Telesilla the Argive poetess, see Forrest 1960, 221, Snyder 1989, 59-63, Balmer 2013b, 111-116.

⁸ On Ctesias and Diodorus’ Semiramis, see Llewellyn-Jones 2010a, 38-39, 71, 76.

⁹ This episode has some parallels with Herodotus’ description of the Persian siege of the Athenian acropolis during the Persian Wars where a Persian contingent rock climbs the acropolis and takes it (Hdt.8.53).

(Hdt.7.99) and commanded over her own ship during the battle of Salamis (8.87). These are precisely the contributions of Greek men not of women, and this is also why she was used as a comic joke by Aristophanes when the men complain that they cannot lose their grip on their women because otherwise they will furnish ships and become like Artemisia (*Lys.*672-675). Artemisia's contingent was a 'τάξις'¹⁰ which meant that they were there for only one purpose: to fight. It also meant that she was there for only one reason: to command them in the fight.

Artemisia's exceptionality, by Greek standards, was so great that a statue of her – built from the spoils of the Persian Wars – was erected in the *agora* of Sparta (Paus.3.11.3).¹¹ The fact that she is in this complex with Mardonius suggests that at some point she became an easily recognizable figure that embodied the defeated enemy.¹² So, why Artemisia in Sparta? Sparta did not contribute that many ships to the battle of Salamis as Athens. In fact, Sparta provided only eleven more ships than Artemisia (Hdt.8.43). If the battle is not what matters here, then that leaves Artemisia herself. She was an unmistakable figure in the Greeks' victory against the Persians. Artemisia's contributions, however, are only exceptional when looked at from the Greek side.

From a Persian perspective her wartime contributions are (to some extent) normal for local rulers under the Persian empire. As a subordinate of the satrap of Caria, her cities were under the rule of the Persian king. She forms part of a tradition of female rulers that can still be seen in this part of the Eastern world two hundred years later. Alexander's Queen of Caria, Ada is the perfect example of how this tradition survived into the future (Plut.*Alex.*22, Arr.*An.*1.23.7-8, Diod.Sic.17.24.2-3).¹³ Even though Artemisia led her own ships in Salamis, she nevertheless formed part of the Carian contingent of seventy ships under Ariabignes' command (Hdt.7.97-99) and her contributions are those that other Eastern rulers also made in war for their king. In fact, just before mentioning her, Herodotus lists ten other commanders who had similar roles on the expedition (7.98); she is just preferred because her story is interesting to a Greek audience. One might argue that Artemisia would be an exceptional individual if she had *not* accompanied the expedition.

¹⁰ Macan 1908.

¹¹ See also Vit. 1.1.6 who records the Persian Stoa in detail, but does not mention Artemisia. Compare to this the statue of Telesilla in Argos, also recorded by Pausanias 2.20.8.

¹² Whether Classical or not, her statue was certainly there when Pausanias saw it in the second century AD and given that he said that he will describe only those monuments of utmost importance (Paus.3.11.1) it seems that her statue was not just any ordinary monument.

¹³ On Ada, Queen of Caria, see Sears 2014. On the Carian dynasty, see Carney 2005 and Henry 2013.

Artemisia's contributions were not limited to participation in battle, but extended to influence over Xerxes' military decisions (Hdt.8.68, 101-103). In an imagined conversation, Artemisia advises Xerxes (through Mardonius) not to engage in the naval battle against the Greeks because they are superior at sea 'just like men are stronger than women' (Hdt.8.68).¹⁴ On another occasion, Xerxes is said to have been satisfied with her advice about not attacking Greece precisely because of her previous counsel (Hdt.101-103). Briant argues that Artemisia was consulted because of Halicarnassus' position on the sea coast and this makes perfect sense since Salamis was after all a naval expedition.¹⁵ Her role as wise adviser has been noted as merely part of a literary trope of Herodotus,¹⁶ but there is archaeological evidence which suggests that Artemisia's close relationship to Xerxes is not completely a figment of Herodotus' imagination. An *alabastron* found in a tomb of one of Artemisia's successors (i.e. Artemisia II) in Halicarnassus is inscribed with 'Xerxes, the Great King' in four different languages: Egyptian hieroglyphic, Babylonian Cuneiform, Old Persian Cuneiform and Elamite Cuneiform (see figure 2). Jennifer Neils has suggested that the *alabastron*, dated to c. 480 was a gift from Xerxes to Artemisia for her role in his expedition and that it was kept as a family heirloom and passed through generations in the Carian dynasty.¹⁷ Although it is impossible to know the precise reason for this gift, much less whether it was because of her role in this particular expedition, Neils' interpretation seems not that farfetched especially since it is well attested that 'the Persian king regularly presented local leaders with gifts, which placed the recipients under an obligation to help him'.¹⁸ This is one of many inscribed Achaemenid vessels that have been found in different territories with connections to the Persian empire (e.g. Halicarnassus, Orsk and Hamadan); the overall consensus is that they are gifts from the king to local rulers.¹⁹

¹⁴ It is interesting how Herodotus makes Artemisia enforce current Greek stereotypes about women even though she is not herself a product of this society.

¹⁵ Briant 2002, 490.

¹⁶ Lattimore 1939.

¹⁷ Neils 2011, 195.

¹⁸ Kuhrt 1995, 690. For gift-giving in the Persian empire, see Tuplin 1987, Briant and Herrenschmidt 1989, Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989, Mitchell 1997, 111-133, Briant 2002, 67-70. See Hdt.7.106 for the practice (as perceived by Herodotus) of Persian gift-giving.

¹⁹ See Miller 1997, 129, Treister 2010, 250 for the different interpretations of similar vases.



Figure 2. Achaemenid *alabastron* found in the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus c. 480. London, British Museum ME 1857,1220.1. © Trustees of the British Museum

Even though Herodotus had no way of knowing intimate details of conversations between Xerxes and his military commanders, Artemisia's reportedly close association to the king cannot be disregarded as merely as a literary trope.²⁰ Herodotus was, after all, from her native Halicarnassus and he would have known different stories of her role in the Persian army (or at least what she was supposed to have done as part of the fleet under the Persian king). There is one event in particular, often overlooked, which shows this relationship clearly: when the battle was over, Artemisia served as a royal escort for the king, escorting Xerxes' sons back to Ephesus (8.107) alongside the eunuch Hermotimus.²¹ It is this act, not her counsel to the king, which shows that she was esteemed by Xerxes. To escort the king's sons was an important undertaking, one not to be entrusted to an unworthy person. The fact that Artemisia was tasked with this responsibility shows that Xerxes believed his sons to be safe in her ships, whether because of her command or because they were inconspicuous in her small fleet, is impossible to know.²² That these were his illegitimate sons does not alter the fact that they were still members of the royal family and bastard sons could accede to the

²⁰ See Cook 1983, 17 for Herodotus' sources regarding Persian military councils.

²¹ Greeks generally believed that eunuchs were in charge of Persian royal children, Pl.A/c.121d, but see Tuplin 1996, 167 who sensibly argues this is merely a stereotype. See also Llewelyn-Jones 2002 and Kuhrt 2007, 591 for the role of eunuchs. For eunuchs in antiquity, see Tougher 2002.

²² See Briant 2002, 560 who argues that this episode shows Artemisia was still considered an ally.

throne.²³ Thus, ordinary aspects of her function as sole ruler were made into marvels by Greek authors.

The same has happened with another woman, but in this case it is modern scholars who have turned her into something more merely because she is a woman mentioned in a narrative about war. Xenophon's Mania, the wife of Zenis of Dardanus, acting satrap of territories in the Aeolis belonging to Pharnabazus, also fits a similar model (*Hell.*3.1.10-28). In 399 she became satrap of her deceased husband's territories after visiting Pharnabazus and bringing gifts for his court (3.1.10). Both Cartledge and Krentz claim that Mania resembles Artemisia in her military involvements, but when looked at closely each woman's actions in war are completely different.²⁴ As analysed in chapter 2, Artemisia's actions at Salamis were actually less than 'successful'. In contrast, Mania's actions at war are represented by Xenophon as completely honourable.²⁵ Of her military exploits, Xenophon tells us that:

... she not only kept securely for Pharnabazus the cities which she had received from her husband, but also gained possession of cities on the coast which had not been subject to him, Larisa, Hamaxitus, and Colonae—attacking their walls with a Greek mercenary force, while she herself looked on from a carriage; and when a man won her approval she would bestow bounteous gifts upon him, so that she equipped her mercenary force in the most splendid fashion. She also accompanied Pharnabazus in the field, even when he invaded the land of the Mysians or the Pisidians because of their continually ravaging the King's territory. In return for these services Pharnabazus paid her magnificent honours, and sometimes asked her to aid him as a counsellor.

καὶ ἅς τε παρέλαβε πόλεις διεφύλαττεν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν οὐχ ὑπηκόων προσέλαβεν ἐπιθαλαττιδίας Λάρισάν τε καὶ Ἀμαξιτὸν καὶ Κολωνάς, ξενικῷ μὲν Ἑλληνικῷ προσβαλοῦσα τοῖς τείχεσιν, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐφ' ἄρμαμάξης θεωμένη· ὃν δ' ἐπαινέσεις, τούτῳ δῶρα ἀμέμπτως ἐδίδου, ὥστε λαμπρότατα τὸ ξενικὸν κατεσκευάσατο. συνεστρατεύετο δὲ τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ καὶ ὅποτε εἰς Μυσσοὺς ἢ Πισίδας ἐμβάλοι, ὅτι τὴν βασιλέως χώραν κακουργοῦσιν. ὥστε καὶ ἀντετίμα αὐτὴν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ὁ Φαρνάβαζος καὶ σύμβουλον ἔστιν ὅτε παρεκάλει.

(Xen.*Hell.*3.1.13-14)

In order to understand how and why she is doing the above, one needs to place her within her own Asia Minor context. Although her official title is uncertain – Xenophon calls her 'satrap'

²³ See Kuhrt 1995, 697.

²⁴ Cartledge 1993b, 8-9, Krentz 1995, 163.

²⁵ For those who regard Artemisia's battlefield actions at Salamis as smart and cunning, see Munson 1988, Blok 2002, Strauss 2007, 233.

(γυναιῖκα σατραπεύειν), ‘guardian of the province’ (κυρία τῆς χώρας) (3.1.12), tyrant (τυραννίδι) (3.1.14), and even compares her to local rulers called *hyparchs* (ὑπάρχων) – she is nevertheless a sole ruler of a region under the Persian empire.²⁶ Tuplin argues that Mania is best understood as the *hyparch* of Pharnabazus and that she forms part of ‘a whole class of similar satrapal hyparchs’.²⁷ As such, she pays tributes (φόρους), recruits and equips troops to subdue territories, ‘watches over’ (διεφύλαττεν) Pharnabazus’ territories, which basically means that her forces defended them against any potential threat,²⁸ and she visited battlefields and joined Pharnabazus’ expeditions (3.1.12-14). These are exactly the contributions of any other ruler in Asia Minor after 400.²⁹ Cyrus, for example, recruited Greek mercenary forces to inflict as much damage as possible to the territories of his brother Artaxerxes. Stewart Oost claims that ‘Xenophon may have regarded Mania as a kind of freak’.³⁰ But when her military exploits are inspected closely, her normality soon appears. Even though Mania’s story is highly rhetorical because it compares her successful ruling of territories to her son-in-law’s terrible mismanagement, Xenophon finds no fault and has nothing bad to say about Mania’s lordship (for want of a better term) over her territories in the Aeolis and those along the coast which she later acquired. She is, thus, in complete agreement with her political circumstances in this Asia Minor context.

Moving on to a Greek context, another woman who is said to have engaged in actual fighting is Telesilla of Argos, a poetess who galvanised her local community (including women) into action against Cleomenes’ forces (Plut.*Mulier*.4, Paus.2.20.7-8).³¹ Telesilla – similar to Artemisia, but different from Mania – is remarkable because of her role in wartime leadership. Even though the story is apocryphal,³² it still exhibits the same pattern of a female leader in times of war:

Telesilla sent house slaves and men too old and boys too young to bear arms up onto the wall, she took what weapons were left in temples and in the houses, gathered the women at the peak of youth, and stood them to arms where she knew the attack would come. The Spartans drew near, but the

²⁶ The use of different names for local rulers under the Persian empire is a frequent tendency of Greek authors who constantly use both ‘satrap’ and ‘governor’ as similar terms. On this, see De Souza, Heckel and Llewelyn-Jones 2004, 198.

²⁷ Tuplin 1987, 120 n. 50.

²⁸ I follow here Tuplin who argues for these being her ‘private troops’ (1987, 121).

²⁹ See Trundle 2004, 128.

³⁰ Oost 1978, 227.

³¹ Both Plutarch and Pausanias discuss Telesilla; their accounts differ slightly from one another but generally tell the same story.

³² For the problems and the (lack of) historicity of Telesilla’s story see Graf 1984, 247-248 and Balmer 2013a, 110-111.

women were not at all terrified by the battle-yell; they met a charge and fought back strongly. The Spartans realized it would be an inglorious kind of success if they slaughtered the women, and the most shameful disaster if they fell, so they yielded the battle.

(Paus.2.20.7-8)

Telesilla's wartime actions are not those of ordinary women because she took control of a wartime situation: she mobilised all the non-combatants, gathered weapons and distributed these to women, she had precise military knowledge to know where an attack would happen, and then finally, the climax of the story is that the women (including Telesilla) engaged in actual combat forcing the enemy to surrender specifically because of them. Plutarch's version of the story also emphasises that the women of Argos specifically acted under Telesilla's instructions: 'under the lead of Telesilla they took up arms, and, taking their stand by the battlements, manned the walls all round, so that the enemy were amazed' (*Mulier.4, Mor.223 b*). The word used by Plutarch to describe Telesilla's leadership is 'ἡγουμένης' (which is the same used by Herodotus to describe Artemisia's leadership), showing that she took the role of a military leader at times of war who organises his peoples and musters them into action. It is this portrayal what makes Telesilla an extraordinary character in both Plutarch's and Pausanias' narratives.³³

However, by contrast to the women discussed above, she had no official authority nor was she the head of a state, and thus her actions were not required by her position. But, as we will see below, the actions of the Argive women in this story are rooted in a broader pattern where a community defends their city in a collective. It is just that a particular fascination happened with a particular individual who had already a biographical tradition for being a poet and she was transformed into this great character by later sources. And this is what is important here. This is a (fictional) story about the women of a place who are participating and behaving in similar ways – with the exception of fighting – to other women who joined in a collective action when conflict arrived to the city.

The women discussed in this section are only perceived as exceptional because they are noted by the other side, namely the Greek side, or because, as the case of Telesilla, they become a symbol for a particular event. But as soon as they are placed within their own contexts, a pattern starts to emerge: their particular circumstances as leaders allowed them to carry out these wartime roles, just as the particular circumstances of other women during

³³ See for example Thuc.2.10.3 and Xen.*Hell*.1.1.1 for other parallels where 'ἡγουμένης' is used in the same way.

stasis (discussed further below) allowed them to throw tiles and stones from the roof of their houses. Thus, it is not that they are exceptional women per se, but that their stories point towards the fantastical because of the context in which they exert their leadership roles: namely, in war.

Women in the Wartime Household

For those who are not queens, satraps or prominent women, their wartime contributions started in the household. As ancient Greek women were in charge of the domestic sphere it makes sense that they played a role in the preparations for war and in the reception of soldiers. Women's contributions to their households are not often recognized as contributions to the city at war. Graf, for example, claims that women 'did not play a role in the rituals surrounding warfare [and that] they did not participate in the prayers and sacrifices before and during the departure of the army', but this is only because he has in mind those rituals specifically connected to the battlefield like sacrifices before battle which were always performed by men.³⁴ If this narrow understanding of 'rituals surrounding warfare' is expanded to include those in the household a much richer and more detailed picture of women's involvement in the pre- and after-war life of the wartime household emerges.

Greek painted pottery from the Classical period regularly shows an association between women, the household and war through the portrayal of members of the household and armed men in domestic settings (often represented through furniture, architectural elements and hanging instruments on walls). Women are depicted alongside armed men in three different scenarios: (i) departure or arrival scenes, (ii) arming scenes and (iii) visits at tombs.³⁵ When analysing fifth- and fourth-century vase paintings one needs to be aware that

³⁴ Graf 1984, 245. See also Loman 2004a who follows Graf and adds to his argument, and Sidebottom 2004, 27. For sacrifices before battle, see Pritchett 1971, 109-115. This may stem from the traditional belief that women did not take part in sacrifices, and likewise, did not eat sacrificial meat (whether war-related or not), see Detienne and Vernant 1989 who argue for women's total exclusion and Osborne 2000, 310-311 for the opposite view. However, see Osborne 2000, 310, n. 51 for a reference to a rare scene where a woman holds a knife to perform a sacrifice (although not in a war context). Women are often absent from discussions about the religious rites of war, see Pritchett 1971, Kearns 2010, 183-191, Parker 2011, 240-243 and more recently, Jameson 2014, 98-126. Similarly, war is absent from analyses on women's religious participation, see Bremmer 1994, Osborne 2000 and Morgan 2007.

³⁵ These images are not particular to the Classical period since some of the patterns go back to the sixth century and can be found in much black-figure pottery, see Boardman 1974. The vases consulted for this section hail from different parts of the Greek world, not just Athens. Some vases have archaeological contexts while the majority unfortunately does not. See Lewis 2002, 39-42. Vases consulted: CVA volumes, Beazley Archive Online, Attic Vase Inscriptions Online, British Museum, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Metropolitan Museum, Getty Museum, National Museums Liverpool.

these are representations of ideals and not mirror images of the ‘real’ world.³⁶ The identity of the women in Greek painted pottery is hard to interpret; they could be mothers, wives, sisters or daughters of the warriors. The fact that the women are hardly identifiable suggests they represent an abstract ideal rather than actual scenes from reality.³⁷ Ultimately, vases do not allow for a definite identification of the people represented in them unless there is a mythological character involved, such as the Nike depicted on some vases. However, as Bérard and Durand argue, the names of individuals on vases are not ‘indispensable to an understanding of the image’.³⁸ And this is the crucial element here: because the images represent no one in particular they therefore illustrate a general version of the female role with regards to war. It does not matter that vases were made by men nor marketed by them, since this is at least consistent with the written sources in that the production of these vases was for individuals of the same society.³⁹

There are many variations on the departure of the warrior motif. There are the family variations where old men (often represented seated in chairs with white hair or bald), young boys (often naked), domestic animals (dogs) and women are depicted in many departure scenes; even foreigners are present in some vases (e.g. fully armed Scythian).⁴⁰ The warrior, however, is central to the composition of the images (there are even departure scenes where more than one warrior is present).⁴¹ He is either depicted fully armed, complete with helmet and cuirass over a short *chiton*, or naked with only a shield, mantle, or weapon like a sword or spear. He often clasps the hand of another man or woman, examines entrails, or simply interacts with a woman or man. It is perhaps not surprising that most studies have centred on the warrior himself as the central figure worthy of analysing.⁴² But what happens when departure scenes are looked at from another perspective? What happens when we look at the women in these scenes? Women are one of the most common individuals in departure scenes, yet they are often analysed in regards to their dress, emotions, gestures, and, most frequently,

³⁶ For the methodology on analysing women in vase paintings, see Beard 1991, Lewis 2002, Topper 2012, Dillon 2013, 398-404. For warriors on Greek pottery, see Lissarrague 1989, 1990, Marconi 2004, Osborne 2004.

³⁷ See Bérard and Durand 1989 for the importance of the composition of images on Greek vases, the ‘combination of elements’, and gestures.

³⁸ Bérard and Durand 1989, 29.

³⁹ For the production and marketing aspect of Greek pottery, see Boardman 1989, 219.

⁴⁰ See, for example, the red-figure *amphora* in the British Museum (1843,1103.41).

⁴¹ See, for instance, the red-figure *stamnos* in the Vatican Museum, 440-430 (cat. 39562) and the red-figure bell *krater* illustrated in Matheson 2005, 28.

⁴² See, for example, Matheson 1995, 270-275 and 2005 where she argues for two main types of departure scenes: the departure of warriors and the departure of ephebes.

their identities.⁴³ The warrior, on the other hand, is seen in regards to his military capabilities and civic duties in relation to the *polis* at large.⁴⁴ As analysed below, women's participation in ritual libations is the most common representation of women in departure scenes. But they also engage in several other roles (often in rituals) such as holding cups for *extispicy* or engaging in conversation with other individuals in the scene.⁴⁵

Dated to c. 440 the red-figure *pelike* shown in figures 3a and 3b depicts a departure scene with a woman, an armed soldier and an older man on one side.⁴⁶ The woman holds an *oinochoe* in her left hand and a libation plate in her right hand and faces the warrior who has a distinctive alpha on his shield. One characteristic element in most departure or arrival scenes is the presence of a woman with libation vessels.⁴⁷ It is impossible to know whether the warrior is leaving or arriving, but either way what matters is that women are often present when ritual libations are taking place.⁴⁸ Women are not just present but actively participating in the libation.

⁴³ See Lewis 2002, 55-56 who argues that old and young women are difficult to identify due to the limited options painters had (women, for instance, do not go bald as men) and Matheson 2005 who claims that the women in the scenes can be identified as the mothers of warriors. I follow here Lewis due to the complexity of identifying women in Greek painted pottery.

⁴⁴ See Matheson 2005.

⁴⁵ See the red-figure *amphora* by the Kleophrades Painter (n. 50 below) and the *skyphos* by the Triptolemos Painter in Robertson 1992, 114 (illustrated in figure 4 below).

⁴⁶ Debates as to whether scenes like this one depict the departure or the arrival of warriors have overlooked the fact that the women depicted in the vases are heavily involved in the military life of the household. Whether the warrior is leaving or arriving is not of concern here, what matters is that women are being conceptualized as part of a domestic setting that includes a warrior. See Shapiro 1990, Matheson 2005, Avramidou 2011, 57-60.

⁴⁷ See Dillon 2001, 264-266. The scene was so popular that one painter has been even called the 'Libation Painter' for his numerous scenes of this kind. Libations in departure scenes become more common in early red-figure pottery, see Lewis 2002, 39-40.

⁴⁸ Some departure scenes depict soldiers examining entrails, see Krentz 2007, 156-157. Libations are also poured by men in some scenes, see for example 'The Zurich Cup', but it is striking to see that women are most often present in this ritual activity – even when warriors pour libations they sometimes have a woman beside them (e.g. 'The Naples Cup'). The 'Zurich Cup': ARV² 1270.13. The 'Naples Cup': ARV² 1275.3: both discussed by Avramidou 2011, 58, and illustrated 132, 134-135. It is surprising to see that there is still no comprehensive study dedicated to women's ritual activities in a domestic setting, see Morgan 2007, 310.



Figures 3a and 3b. Red-figure *pelike* showing a departure scene c. 440. Detail of woman performing libation for warrior. Images obtained from Kathariou 2009. N.P. Goulandris Collection, 1, Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens.

Libations are a standard part of the paraphernalia of Greek religious practices, but they also had a close association to war as they frequently feature alongside sacrifices before a difficult enterprise (Xen.*An.*4.3.13), before a fleet sets sail (Thuc.6.32.2), as a commemorative celebration of war victories like after Plataea (Plut.*Arist.*21.3-6), and even in mythological battles (Diod.*Sic.*3.71.6).⁴⁹ Before the expedition to Sicily in 415 Thucydides reports how the people on the shore joined in the prayers with the soldiers before the latter set sail; the people on the shore included women (Thuc.6.32.2). This is one of the rare occasions where women, as members of the community, are included in the civic ‘rituals surrounding warfare’. If one looks at the wartime household, it becomes clear that women did indeed have a significant role to play in the ritual activities before and upon the arrival of soldiers. This is strengthened by their presence in figured scenes where soldiers are examining entrails and the woman holds a plate.⁵⁰ That they are often depicted pouring or holding libation vessels for the warrior suggests that they are indeed part of the rituals of war. It is just that they do so within their own household and sources are often interested in the public sphere of this activity.

⁴⁹ For rituals and libations in war, see Parker 2009 and Kearns 2010, 183-191. For women pouring libations before men set off to hunt, see Dillon 2001, 285. For libations of blood and hero-cult, see Ekroth 2007, 107. The relationship between women, warriors and libations continued in art throughout the Hellenistic period. See, for example, the votive relief in the British Museum’s collection which shows a woman in the act of pouring the libation for the warrior (1780,0913.1). An engraving of a lost vessel also shows a woman with libation vessels in her hands (1993,0509.1.20). A good short study on libations is still that of Karavites 1984.

⁵⁰ See, for example, the red-figure *amphora* in the Martin Von Wagner Museum, University of Würzburg (Würzburg L 507). See Lissarrague 1990, 55-69.

Vase paintings and their representations of women in the household show a more personal side to women not commonly found in written sources as the latter are often concerned with the communal civic space and this is where women are less seen.

Departure scenes sometimes show more than one woman engaged in different tasks. The red-figure *skyphos* in figure 4 shows three women in a departure scene. The farthestmost woman to the left is handling a ribbon, her hair is loose, and instead of facing the warrior she has her back turned towards him. The second woman is depicted in a very common posture (as seen above): she holds an *oinochoe* in her right hand and is in the act of pouring a libation for the warrior who holds the *phiale*. Her garments are fully decorated with intricate details and she is the only woman in the image that has her hair in a *sakkos* with diadem. The central figure of the warrior demands the attention of the viewer. He stands fully armed; details of his cuirass can be seen over his right shoulder. He stands behind his shield and an altar, both of which cover his entire body. Next to him is yet another woman shown in conversation with a seated bearded man. The significance of the altar is paramount to the understanding of the image as it creates a pre-war ritual atmosphere in which the women partake.⁵¹ The composition of the image is framed around the warrior, yet the women command attention (almost more than the warrior himself) by framing him and setting the narrative of the image. The painter has made a deliberate effort to represent each woman in a different way and engaged in a different role in the wartime household. Their expressions, garments, and actions are completely different from each other. This departure scene includes different elements: the libation shows the ritual associated to war whilst the conversation narrative invites the reader to imagine a private occasion in a wartime *oikos*. This intimate *oikos* community mirrors that of the public and civic community to which the warrior forms part.

⁵¹ For altars in Greek painted pottery, see Ekroth 2009.



Figure 4. Departure scene showing three women, warrior and seated man. Red-figure *skyphos*, c. 480. Image obtained from Robertson 1992, 114.

The purpose of libations associated with warfare in the Classical period was to cement a peace treaty, truce, or agreement with the overall sense of forming a pact between two parties.⁵² In light of a domestic setting, libations between a woman and a soldier perhaps serve a similar purpose. According to Irad Malkin, the departure scene ‘affirms the link between the group, the gods, the house, and the act’.⁵³ But it is perhaps worth noting the libation scene as the one that affirms the connection between these areas. If the vases depict the warrior’s departure, then the libation is performed to obtain favourable circumstances in his future journey. If, on the contrary, the images represent his arrival, then the libation becomes an act of appreciation for the warrior’s safe return. Alternatively, they could also represent a pact between a particular household and the gods for the safe passage of a deceased warrior.⁵⁴ In each scenario, the role of the woman in achieving a favourable outcome in war, or thanking the gods for a good result, is central. When the people of Corinth, for example, were faced with the Persian threat, it was the women who prayed to Aphrodite for their men and for their city not to fall into Persian hands (Theopompus BNJ 115 F 285b).⁵⁵ This was a public event, but the libations in Greek figured pottery are presented as a private domestic ritual between the woman and the man, and it is this relationship which is also attested in a story in Antiphon’s speech *Prosecution of the*

⁵² Karavites 1984.

⁵³ Malkin 2012, 854.

⁵⁴ The woman/libation scene in Greek painted pottery is not limited to one particular type of vase as it appears in pottery with funerary connections such as *lekythoi*, see, for example, 1863,0728.97 in the British Museum. The connection to the dead here may be seen in the fact that *pelikai* were known to have contained ashes of the dead after 450, see Clark et al 2002, 127.

⁵⁵ This epigram is discussed below.

Stepmother for Poisoning. Philoneo's concubine (παλλακὴ) accompanied him when he was to make a sacrifice (θυσία) before a friend of his sets sail to Naxos (Antiph.1.16-17). This suggests that it was not just wives who engaged in domestic rituals for their men before an expedition but concubines as well; concubines, after all, were part of some Classical households.⁵⁶ Female participation in rituals has been seen in light of birth, marriage and death because these are the quintessential transitional phases of a woman's life in Classical Greece.⁵⁷ One may add war to this list as another transitional phase for women. Thus, the sending of sons and husbands to war should also be seen as a transitional phase for women because this is when the women could potentially become war widows.⁵⁸

Other scenes in Greek painted pottery show women handing out weapons and armour to their men and they portray yet another intimate moment in the household. Commonly called 'arming scenes', these vases show a diversity of people involved in passing out armours and weapons to a man who is putting them on or in the process of doing so, and women are sometimes involved in the action.⁵⁹ The variation one finds in departure scenes is also found in arming scenes. Some vases portray no women at all whilst others show warriors arming at tombs.⁶⁰ The scenes depicted on the red-figure *kylix* in figures 5a and 5b are characteristic of arming scenes. Both sides of the *kylix* show a woman handing out armour to a man who is putting them on in what appears to be a room or domestic area. The strong association with weaponry in the domestic setting shows that women were intimately embedded in the preparations for war either in an imaginary or real world. This is because, in this case, the *kylix* was intended for the male culture of the symposium, and its viewers were presented with an image that was familiar to them. Women would have known where the weapons and armour were stored in the house and their knowledge of the household would have facilitated the process of arming by gathering everything into a room for the man to arm himself. In fact, the model wife as represented by Ischomachus in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* is involved in storing both arms and armour (ὄπλων) and clothes for war (ἐσθῆτα πόλεμον)

⁵⁶ For concubines in the household, see Sealey 1984, Patterson 1998. These studies have focused on the law on adultery (*moicheia*) which extended to concubines as quoted by Demosthenes, *Against Aristocrates*, 53, 55. For rituals surrounding seafarers, see Romero Recio 2000.

⁵⁷ Morgan 2007, 306-309.

⁵⁸ As already explored in chapter 2, the honours of war were extended to war widows in Pericles' funeral oration (Thuc.2.45.2).

⁵⁹ For other examples of arming scenes, see British Museum white-ground *lekythos*, 1891,0806.85, red-figure *lekythos* 1863,0728.440, and red-figure *pelike* 1978,0411.5, 1772,0320.0426. Scholarship on arming scenes is dispersed within different areas, see, for example, Morey 1907, Lissarrague 1990, Sage 1996, 8, Oakley 2004, and Osborne 2004, 43-44, 51, 53.

⁶⁰ See, for example, the white-ground *lekythos* in the Ashmolean museum (1945.25) that depicts a warrior arming in a tomb whilst a naked armed man hands him a helmet (Oakley 2004, 183).

(Xen.*Oec.*9.6-7). One supposes that wives (ideally) would have kept the arms in good condition by storing them where they could be best preserved when the time arrived for them to be used.



Figures 5a and 5b. Red-figure *kylix* showing an arming scene 490-470. London, British Museum 1873,0820.378. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Another group of scenes, namely those of women and warriors together at tombs, depict women honouring those who died in war and carrying on their memory. Images of women at tombs – like that of figures 6a and 6b – are perhaps not surprisingly often found in vases with a funerary function such as white-ground *lekythoi*.⁶¹ Even though it is impossible to tell who the dead (if any) are who are represented in these scenes, it seems reasonable to suppose that it is the soldier who is being honoured because the women are often depicted placing ribbons (*taeniai*) on the tombs. Soldiers, by contrast, are never depicted leaving offerings at tombs where a woman is present. The women/*taeniai* motif is essential to understanding the possible narratives of these images. This iconography emphasises the role of the woman in the private remembrance of the dead. Whereas the *polis* was in charge of the collective memorial, the woman was in charge of the private honouring.

⁶¹ Manufactured in Athens between 450 and 390, they provide a good source of information for this period. See Dillon 2001, 282-288 for the role of women at tombs.



Figures 6a and 6b. White-ground *lekythos* showing a visit at tomb c. 450-400. Athens, National Museum 1761, CC1678. Image obtained from Fairbanks 1907.

The white-ground *lekythos* above has been interpreted as having nothing to do with the war dead, but instead it is said to show a departure scene.⁶² However, the woman in this scene is handing the soldier tablets and from later evidence (mainly from the fourth century onwards) tablets are attested as containing ‘instructions about the path to be followed in the underworld in order to ensure salvation’.⁶³ Furthermore, the choice of vessel for this imagery suggests a funerary connection that cannot be overlooked, thus strongly connecting the role of the individual woman in the remembrance of the dead.

Other scenes at tombs are not always straightforward. A different white-ground *lekythos* – illustrated in figure 7 – shows a more complex scene with a woman and man at a tomb both wearing distinctively foreign dress. She wears a long-sleeved *chitoniskos* and holds a drinking cup in the form of a horn.⁶⁴ The warrior has been described as a ‘Persian’ or a ‘man in Persian costume’ and holds a spear in his left hand.⁶⁵ There are few *lekythoi* with Persians, and this vase is one of only two attributed to the Sabouroff Painter. Oakley suggests

⁶² Fairbanks 1907, 261-262.

⁶³ *Lamella Orphica*. The most famous example of these tablets is the orphic prayer sheet ‘*Lamella Orphica*’ on display in the J. Paul Getty Museum (75.AM.19), see Bodel 2001, 20-21. For another white-ground *lekythos* showing a woman, warrior and writing slate, see Oakley 2004, 192-193. Fairbanks 1907, 261-262 identified the woman as having tablets.

⁶⁴ For the *chitoniskos*, see Miller 1997, 156-165.

⁶⁵ Oakley 2004, 187 and Beazley Archive Online.

that ‘the Persians could ... indicate that the deceased, for whom the lekythos was made, had had contact with Persia’ and Palagia further argues that it may even have been a special commission.⁶⁶ One is inclined to agree with both interpretations given the relative rarity of Persians depicted on funerary vessels such as white-ground *lekythoi*.

This *lekythos* represents a different choice of commemoration. For unknown reasons the living chose to commemorate the warrior in a very irregular way. As with many other white-ground *lekythoi*, this scene also portrays an intimate scenario (both the woman and the man are alone with only the tomb separating them). The painter even made use of contemporary and familiar imagery (i.e. the woman extends her hand towards the warrior, his gaze is firmly on her and ribbons decorate the tomb). But the intimacy is imagined differently. This and the other vases analysed in this section show the different variations of the departure of the warrior motif. They form part of a larger repertoire of depictions of women and warriors in Greek painted pottery. As such, they demonstrate that although there existed conventions in representing women and warriors in Greek figured pottery, there was no standard unique way of doing so. Thus, these images – being a public perception of women – portray a narrative which society already understands and accepts, and the fact that we have women in intimate situations with warriors means that they were considered part of the men’s lives in the context of war.

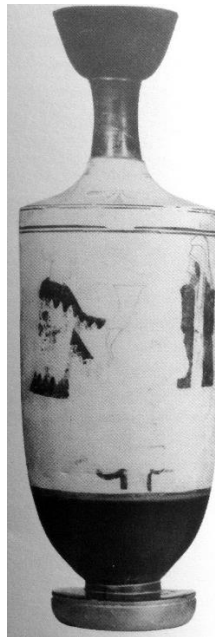


Figure 7. Visit at tomb scene depicting a woman and Persian. White-ground *lekythos*, c. 440. Image obtained from Oakley 2004, 188.

⁶⁶ Oakley 2004, 187.

Moving on from depictions on Greek painted pottery, another aspect of women's role in the wartime household can be seen (tentatively) in the management of household valuables. After the earthquake of c. 464 in Sparta, Plutarch records that the citizens began taking out of their houses the valuables upon hearing that the Helots were gathering to attack them (Plut.*Cim.*16.6). Because the men were getting ready for battle, that leaves the rest of the population including the women in charge of valuables. Even though there is an absence of wartime household management in our sources, there is nonetheless archaeological evidence that attests to the hiding of valuables before or during war. Excavations at Olynthus in Northern Greece have yielded a number of surprising discoveries for the study of ancient warfare – one of which is the discovery of hidden coin hoards.⁶⁷ Four out of the eight coin hoards found at Olynthus date to the destruction of the city when Philip's forces attacked it in 348. Nicholas Cahill argues that some of the objects were 'deliberately hidden to prevent their being looted'.⁶⁸ If the men were engaged in fighting it seems hard to imagine a soldier leaving his post to return to his household to bury his money or doing it beforehand with all the preparations going on at the same time. It seems much more sensible for a soldier to leave instructions to his wife, concubine or female relatives to hide everything of value.

One episode in particular shows how women might contribute to war from their own household. Hellas who lived not in mainland Greece but in Asia Minor in 400 entertained Xenophon and his men in her house in Pergamum (Xen.*An.*7.8.8-9).⁶⁹ But most importantly, she aided and gave military advice to them as well:

She told him that there was a Persian in the plain named Asidates, and said that if he should go by night with three hundred troops, he could capture this man, along with his wife and children and property, of which he had a great deal. And she sent as guides for this enterprise not only her own cousin, but also Daphnagoras, whom she regarded very highly.

αὕτη δ' αὐτῷ φράζει ὅτι Ἀσιδάτης ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἀνὴρ Πέρσης· τοῦτον ἔφη αὐτόν, εἰ ἔλθοι τῆς νυκτὸς σὺν τριακοσίοις ἀνδράσι, λαβεῖν αὐν καὶ αὐτόν καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας καὶ τὰ χρήματα· εἶναι δὲ πολλά. ταῦτα δὲ καθηγησομένους ἔπεμψε τὸν τε αὐτῆς ἀνεψιὸν καὶ Δαφναγόραν, ὃν περὶ πλείστου ἐποιεῖτο.

(Xen.*An.*7.8.9)

⁶⁷ For a reconstruction of the fighting at Olynthus, see Lee 2001.

⁶⁸ Cahill 2002, 49. Coins were not the only objects hidden away; Cahill mentions how there were also *phialai* and a fine bronze brazier among other objects (2002, 120, 49).

⁶⁹ On Hellas, see Humble 2004, 179-181, Lane Fox 2004, 32, 164, 186.

When looked at closely this account reveals much about a woman's military knowledge. Hellas told Xenophon whom to attack, when he should attack, how many men he would need, what he could hope to capture, and what guides he would need in order to be successful – all from the comfort of her own household. Scholars usually consider Hellas to be an exceptional woman. Humble claims that Hellas is acting 'according to the behaviour code of the barbarian world she lives in' and that she is also 'acting out a man's role'.⁷⁰ Likewise, Lane Fox contends that Hellas was an 'amazing anomaly'.⁷¹ But Hellas' actions should not be seen on the context of the polarity of Greek versus barbarian or male versus female. Instead, one needs to see her against the background of her circumstances. Living in Asia Minor merely facilitated her ability to receive a military force. These Greek cities on the coast were constantly receiving armies and mercenaries and providing markets for them, and this presented more opportunities for women who lived here to receive, entertain, and provide for armies. As a matter of fact, Hellas is not even said to have provided or received for the whole army. She merely entertained Xenophon and the group(s) of men which he mentions (initially, only the commanders (λοχαγούς) who were his friends but which grew up to 600 men afterwards) (*An.*7.8.11). Cyrus' army used to divide itself whenever it arrived at a friendly village or city, and the army did not take up quarters all together in the same place. Therefore, it was only a contingent that Hellas helped. Military contingents like the one Hellas received did not customarily pass through mainland Greece, and this is why we have no record of women behaving in similar ways in the context of other cities.

Additionally, Xenophon does not narrate her actions as if they were extraordinary. Hellas fits into his narrative quite effortlessly and he expresses no amazement at her actions. When the episode is set into the wider narrative context, one can see that the event was recorded simply because Xenophon recovered from this raid the money he had lost during the expedition – just a few lines before he tells us how no one believed he was penniless (7.8.1-6). If his attack on Asidates' estate had not been successful, he would probably not have recorded it at all. The divination aspect in this episode (Xenophon made sacrifices before attacking Asidates' estate) has been suggested as the reason why Xenophon was grateful for everything Hellas did for him and grateful that he was able to recover what he lost.⁷² But by mentioning her, he was also laying emphasis not just on the power of adequate ritual practices but also on Hellas herself. Hellas' character is, thus, absolutely normal and

⁷⁰ Humble 2004, 179-180.

⁷¹ Lane Fox 2004, 186.

⁷² Flower 2012, 214.

characteristic for a woman at the end of the fifth and beginning of the fourth century. She is depicted as the wife of a respectable man (albeit a Persian sympathizer), and she is a great host, but what demonstrates her normality is the fact that she is depicted as a devoted mother: Xenophon says that her son went to help the soldiers when they were being pressed by the enemy ‘in spite of his mother’ (ἐξέρχεται καὶ αὐτὸς βίᾳ τῆς μητρὸς) (7.8.17).⁷³ This image of the respectable and protective mother is typical for Greek women of this period.

Hellas’ actions and strategic knowledge should not be seen as extraordinary. Her house was in close proximity to that of Asidates since we are told that her son Gongylus was able to see (εἶδρα) when the Greeks were being pressed by the enemy (7.8.17). Evans suggested that from Hellas’ house to that of the Persian the distance ‘cannot have been more than a few miles’.⁷⁴ If so, then it is most natural that she would have known the possessions Xenophon and his men would be able to capture in the raid. We only know of her because of Xenophon’s particular circumstances – who knows how many other women aided soldiers in the way Hellas did and we do not know of them today. Hellas appears to have quite a strong say in the military affairs of her household (even though her son went against her wishes) and this is what we should take away from this episode. When Xenophon says that her son went to the raid ‘in spite of his mother’ we should pay more attention to the meaning of this passage. She not only wants to keep her son alive, but has a strong say in the military affairs of her household, including what her son will do concerning war.

To conclude so far, this section demonstrates that the household was an important locale to women’s contribution to war. It also shows that, contrary to what is commonly believed, women did have a role to play in the religious rites of war. The images in Greek painted pottery analysed above show that women had a contribution to make in the wartime household, whether that is in the form of ritual libations to ensure their men’s success in war or gathering weaponry and armour. The fact that women are the key agents in the wartime household allows other aspects of the city at war to function properly, including its men. Women could have military knowledge and in order to exercise it they need not have to leave the *oikos*. Xenophon’s description of Hellas demonstrates this well.

⁷³ Hellas’ two sons are also mentioned in Xenophon’s *Hellenica* (3.1.6).

⁷⁴ Evans 2012, 5.

Defending the City

Having analysed women's roles in the household at war, one can then move on to explore how they contributed more directly in the public realm. Women's roles in wartime religious practices analysed above can also be seen within the *polis* at large. Praying is not customarily seen as a wartime contribution, yet an inscription from the Acropolis of Corinth, dated to the fifth century attests otherwise. This inscription shows women's motivation in times of war perfectly (FGrH II 115 fr 285). Plutarch, Athenaeus and a scholiast on Pindar all record the same epigram albeit different versions of it.⁷⁵ The following is Theopompus' version according to the scholiast (the earliest Hellenistic version):

Theopompos says that their women (γυναῖκας) prayed to Aphrodite that desire (ἔρωτα) fall upon their men to fight (ἀνδράσιν) against the Medes on behalf of Greece, when they entered the temple of Aphrodite, the very one they say that Medea established because of Hera's command. There is even now an elegy inscribed on the left hand side as one enters the temple:

These very women stood and prayed to the goddess Kypris on behalf of
the Greeks and the spear fighting citizens.
For divine Aphrodite did not wish to give the citadel of the Greeks to the
bow-carrying Medes.

Αἶδ' ὑπὲρ Ἑλλάνων τε καὶ ἀγχεμάχων πολιητῶν
ἔστασαν εὐχόμεναι Κύπριδι δαιμονία.
οὐ γὰρ τοξοφόροις ἐβούλετο δι' Ἀφροδίτα
Μήδοις Ἑλλάνων ἀκρόπολιν δόμεναι.

(Theopompus BNJ 115 F 285b)

There are small discrepancies in the epigram as it is recorded in the texts,⁷⁶ as well as the nature of the dedication itself,⁷⁷ and the women involved,⁷⁸ but none of these alter the meaning of the epigram itself which is that women dedicated something to Aphrodite because of their men's victory in the war against the Persians. By praying, the women of Corinth were

⁷⁵ *On the Malice of Herodotus* 871a-b and *Deipnosophistae* 13.573c-e. On epigrams, see Jay 1973, Bodel 2001, Baumbach et al 2010, 184-187.

⁷⁶ The scholiast on Pindar, Plutarch and Athenaeus have different versions of the epigram. The epigram as reported by Plutarch and Athenaeus is similar but that of the scholiast is different.

⁷⁷ Plutarch says that the dedication was a series of bronze images, while Athenaeus says that it was a painting. The scholiast does not say anything regarding the nature of the dedication itself. See Page 1981, 206-213.

⁷⁸ *Ai korinthiwn gynaiikes* (scholiast), *ai korinthiai* (Plutarch) and *ai korinthiai hetairai* (Athenaeus). The scholiast version which follows Theopompus (fourth century) seems to me the best. Plutarch, on the other hand, says the epigram was by Simonides. Athenaeus seems to be ascribing later practices; he cites Chamaeleon of Heraclea and his book of Pindar as his source for Corinthian women's practices. Athenaeus also cites Theopompus and Timaeus as people who cite in their treatises (in his 'seventh book') the custom of *hetairai* of Corinth dedicating to Aphrodite. He also says that Simonides was the one who composed the epigram. See Morison 2015.

contributing in their own way to the war effort. They are also publicly claiming to have done something which aided in the war; perhaps reaffirming their actions against those of other women or inciting further behaviour. The way in which the Persians are described by these women suggests that they shared the same ideas as men: they are ‘bow carrying’ and this imagery is also found in men’s words.

Even though scholars admit that Theopompus of Chios (who is the main source) was more interested in transmitting the communal effort during the Persian Wars rather than focusing on the women,⁷⁹ they still prefer to focus on the identity of the women, following Athenaeus who says the women were *hetairai*.⁸⁰ Whether these women were *hetairai* or not should not be the focus of attention; they were certainly not in Theopompus.⁸¹ This modern focus overlooks the praise of women for contributing to the collective war effort. Plutarch is the only one who says that the women of Corinth, ‘alone (μόναι) in Greece, made that splendid and inspired prayer’ (871A). When he criticized Herodotus for not noting it down he adds ‘that was worth writing down, that was worth recording...’ (871C).⁸² The event was worth recording, in Plutarch’s eyes, because no other group of women behaved in the same way during or immediately after the Persian Wars. The women carried this out on their own, out of their own initiative and did so following conventional social norms and cultural values.

They are receiving praise for activities in war that are different from men’s but nonetheless equally valuable. The epigram for the Lacedaemonian war dead at Thermopylae, for instance, records the men’s contributions as fighting until dying (Hdt.7.288). The women of Corinth reflected contemporary wartime ideologies by asking for victory, for the safety of their city, and when they received what they asked for from the gods, they finally gave thanks and made their gift to Aphrodite. Their contribution even became famous enough to be recorded by so many different sources. These women did not need to do this in the sense that they were required to do it by law, but they *chose* to do it to give thanks to the gods and for an appreciation of victory in war. This inscription, thus, can even be seen as a ‘female victory monument’. ‘Female victory monument’ is in inverted commas because these did not exist in antiquity and the phrase is in fact a modern imposition. Victory monuments were only set up by men after battle, but the women in this particular inscription are praising the goddess

⁷⁹ Morison 2015.

⁸⁰ Page 1981, 207-211, Morison 2015.

⁸¹ See Shrimpton 1991, 99, 255-256 who emphasises the role of the story of Jason and Medea in connection of this passage.

⁸² On this passage as part of Plutarch’s overall criticisms of Herodotus’ bias against Corinth in the Persian Wars, see Liddel 2008, 130-131. See also Bowen 1992.

because she protected their men and especially their Acropolis from the Persians. They are giving thanks for victory in war, making this victory *their* victory as well.

Leaving aside religious contributions, one can move on to more direct wartime roles. Women also helped their *poleis* undertake pre-emptive measures before war even began. Throughout the fifth century one measure in particular is repeated in literature: the fortifying and building of city walls. Themistocles is said to have urged the population to build the wall of Athens to a degree where it was essential for defence. Both women and children were to help in this building programme in 478: ‘the whole population of the city, men, women, and children, should take part in the wall-building, sparing neither private nor public edifice that would in any way help to further the work, but demolishing them all’ (τειχίζειν δὲ πάντας πανδημεὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας, φειδομένους μήτε ἰδίου μήτε δημοσίου οἰκοδομήματος ὅθεν τις ὠφελία ἔσται ἐς τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καθαίροντας πάντα) (Thuc.1.90.3-4).⁸³ This building programme was carried out in secret from the Lacedaemonians who kept hearing reports of the Athenian wall getting higher and higher while at the same time Themistocles kept persuading them to dismiss these reports (1.91.2). A large percentage of non-experienced individuals contributed to the building of the wall since Thucydides actually remarks that ‘even today the structure shows that it was put together in haste’ (1.93.2). That the wall was built in a short time (1.93.2) further suggests that a large part of the population actually helped in the construction in order for it to be completed so quickly, thus the women were indeed hard at work during this period.

This is not the only time women helped to build the wall of a city; the Argive women and slaves also helped build the walls of Argos in 417: ‘The whole Argive people, men, women, and slaves, set to work upon the walls’ (καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι πανδημεὶ, καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ οἰκέται, ἐτείχιζον) (Thuc.5.82.5). Schaps sees this episode as an instance when ‘a particular emergency might bring out the women for a particular noncombatant participation’.⁸⁴ However, it is hard to see the particular ‘emergency’ here; the Argives were clearly weary of the Lacedaemonians but no conflict had arrived to the city yet. This building programme originated, Thucydides tells us, because the Argives feared the Lacedaemonians (φοβούμενος τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους), so here we have again a pre-emptive measure where conflict is expected from one side and where women are helping in the pre-war fortification of their city. These women, however, had help from outsiders because workers – carpenters

⁸³ This particular passage has been taken out of the Oxford translation because ‘non legit Schol.’ but there is no reason for this omission, both Gomme 1956 and Harvey 1985 also argue for the retention of this passage.

⁸⁴ Schaps 1982, 195.

and stonemasons – arrived from Athens to help with the construction (5.82.6); this was not only the effort of a whole community but of two allied cities. When the battering-rams of the Carthaginians damaged the walls of Gela during the siege of 405, the women and children helped to rebuild them at night (συνσπηρετουσῶν τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων) (Diod.13.108.2-11). Whereas the two episodes above show the women engaged in pre-war construction, this episode, on the other hand, shows a different conflict context where fighting already started.

As we have seen, women often repaired and built walls in two wartime contexts: upon the expectation of conflict and while conflict was already happening. Wall-building was a community effort and when the demands of war were pressing, the whole population was called forth to contribute, including women. Women and children were just as much part of the population of a city as the citizen men, and if a city is under the threat of war, it makes sense for that city to use all of its population for better preparations. Even though women had responsibilities in the household (as seen above), they were not tied to this space exclusively. As these examples illustrate, women also had responsibilities outside if the *polis* needed their help.

The most direct assistance women offered their cities was by throwing roof tiles and stones to the enemy from the roofs of houses thus contributing to the defence of their cities.⁸⁵ Three episodes are important: (i) the surprise attack on Plataea in 431, (ii) the siege of Corcyra in 427 and (iii) the siege of Selinus in 409/408.⁸⁶ Reported by three separate sources – Thucydides (2.4.2), Aeneas Tacticus (2.3-6) and Diodorus Siculus (12.41.6)⁸⁷ – the Theban attack on Plataea in the spring of 431 is one of the best reported accounts regarding women's involvement in a direct conflict situation. At the beginning of book 2, Thucydides⁸⁸ tells us that an armed force of three hundred Thebans⁸⁹ entered the town during the night and attempted to seize the city. After the initial surprise of having armed men in their *agora*, the people of Plataea defended themselves and expelled the Thebans from their town, killing many and taking others prisoners:

⁸⁵ Aen.Tac.2.6, Thuc.2.4.2, 3.74.1, Diod.Sic.13.56.7.

⁸⁶ The latter is described by Diodorus Siculus (13.55-59) at length, and although the account is by a later source, it is extremely important because it is one of the most detailed accounts of the participation of women during a siege. Not only are the women included throughout the siege narrative but, as discussed below, they are taking part in the military activities of the city while the actual siege was in progress.

⁸⁷ Oddly enough, Diodorus does not mention women at all. He only specifies slaves and children (12.41.6), which again shows selection and editing on his part.

⁸⁸ Thucydides' narrative is the most complete account of the attack.

⁸⁹ Herodotus, who also comments on the attack, but says nothing of the women, says there were four hundred Thebans (7.233.2).

The Thebans, when they found they had been deceived, drew themselves up in close ranks and sought to repel the assaults of the enemy wherever they fell upon them. And twice or three times they repulsed them; then when the Plataeans charged upon them with a great uproar, and at the same time the women and slaves on the house-tops, uttering screams and yells, kept pelting them with stones and tiles—a heavy rain too had come on during the night—they became panic-stricken and turned and fled through the city;

Οἱ δ' ὥς ἔγνωσαν ἐξηπατημένοι, ξυνεστρέφοντό τε ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς προσβολὰς ἧ προσπίπτοιεν ἀπεωθοῦντο. καὶ δις μὲν ἢ τρις ἀπεκρούσαντο, ἔπειτα πολλῶ θορύβῳ αὐτῶν τε προσβαλόντων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἅμα ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν κραυγῇ τε καὶ ὀλολυγῇ χρωμένων λίθοις τε καὶ κεράμῳ βαλλόντων, καὶ ὑετοῦ ἅμα διὰ νυκτὸς πολλοῦ ἐπιγενομένου, ἐφοβήθησαν καὶ τραπόμενοι ἔφευγον διὰ τῆς πόλεως

(Thuc.2.4.2)

When looked at closely, we see that the actions of the men and those of the women mirror each other. Men shout and the women shout their characteristic *ololuge*.⁹⁰ Men charge at the Thebans and the women pelt them with stones and tiles. Although there is a distinction in the type of assault each gender is committing, each action is still a parallel to the other. They are both performing the same wartime duty – that of defending the *polis* in their own distinct and separate ways. Contrary to Schaps, who claims that ‘the military value of tile throwing women could not have been great’,⁹¹ Thucydides’ account makes it clear that the commotion caused by the women of Plataea did indeed have an effect on the fighting that day. The unified actions of the whole population is what made the Thebans become ‘panic stricken’ (ἐφοβήθησαν). Thus, the actions of the women did indeed have some military value in this particular context. Diodorus’ account – although it does not mention the women – also stresses the community aspect of the efforts of those in the roofs in putting the enemy to flight (ἐτράπησαν) (12.41.6). The different sources who report the same event all depict the actions of the people on the roofs as being advantageous in the conflict.

Aeneas’ account of the same event imbues the scene with additional detail about the occupied positions of the women on the roofs. Aeneas’ primary concern is how to best organise a city when conflict arises and he uses the example of Plataea as part of this. His

⁹⁰ The *ololuge* was a strictly female form of expression, or as Laura McClure calls it a ‘gendered ritual cry’ (1999, 53) and it was always associated with women. For example, it can be found in our sources when the *hetairai* accompanying the Ten Thousand raise a shout of triumph to encourage the men (Xen.*Anab.*4.3.19). McClure has addressed this characteristic female form of expression in our sources and she notes that the *ololuge* ‘accompanied many of the activities that characterized female life in antiquity ... [and] it was typically performed by a group of women as a means of marking an important moment in the life of the community’ (1999, 54).

⁹¹ Schaps 1982, 195.

account strongly indicates that the women and the slaves were both positioned on the roofs as part of an organised military tactic. Upon realising that they could attack the Thebans, Aeneas says the Plataeans ‘promptly devised the following scheme’ (τεχνάζουσιν) (2.3-4): to send secret orders to the citizens not to leave their houses and to dig through their walls in order to assemble behind closed doors (2.4). They then proceeded to blockade the streets and the attack began (2.5). It is only then that we are told that ‘the womenfolk and the slaves were on the tiled roof-tops while all this was going on’ (ἅμα δὲ τούτοις τὰ γυναῖκα καὶ οἱ οἰκέται ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς κεράμοις) (2.6). This suggests that placing the women on the roofs may have formed part of an organised military tactic planned (albeit hastily) during the initial deliberations.

The defence of the *polis* fell upon each and every citizen – that was not the task of men alone. When men were fighting in the battlefield it was their responsibility not to fail their fellow men, but at home everyone needed to defend what was under threat. The *stasis* of 427 that surfaced at Corcyra is another case in point. Here, the women also threw tiles and stones at the members of the oligarchic party. ‘The women also’, says Thucydides, ‘boldly took part with them in the fight, hurling tiles from the houses and enduring the uproar with a courage beyond their sex’ (αἱ τε γυναῖκες αὐτοῖς τολμηρῶς ξυνεπελάβοντο βάλλουσαι ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν τῷ κεράμῳ καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ὑπομένουσαι τὸν θόρυβον) (3.74.1-2). His comment about the *physis* of the women, as discussed in the previous chapter, is not meant as a negative reflection on their actions but implies a quiet appreciation of their courage during the conflict.⁹² This is further strengthened by the phrase ‘τολμηρῶς ξυνεπελάβοντο’, emphasising that the actions of the women were a communal action and that they withstood the attack as a group. Once again, the women were involved not as individuals but as a collective. These three instances show how women throwing roof tiles and stones was normal wartime female behaviour during surprise attacks and during *stasis*. They also demonstrate that women, as members of the community at large, engaged in whatever activities the city called forth. The fact there are few accounts that mention the wartime contributions of women in such a direct way compared to the accounts of sieges in total does not mean that it was unusual. It simply means that narratives of war frequently focused on men and actual conflict rather than the population of the place itself.

During the siege of Selinus in 409 women engaged in other activities besides throwing stones and tiles from their roofs on behalf of the city (Diod.Sic.13.56.7):

⁹² Harvey 1985, 83.

Indeed all the men in the prime of life were armed and battled desperately, while the older men busied themselves with the supplies and, as they made the rounds of the wall, begged the young men not to allow them to fall under subjection to the enemy; women and girls supplied the food and missiles to the defenders of the fatherland, counting as naught the modesty and the sense of shame which they cherished in time of peace. Such consternation prevailed that the magnitude of the emergency called for even the aid of their women.

οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀκμάζοντες ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντες διεκινδύνευον, οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι περὶ τε τὰς παρασκευὰς ἦσαν καὶ περιπορευόμενοι τὸ τεῖχος ἐδέοντο τῶν νέων μὴ περιδεῖν αὐτοὺς ὑποχειρίους τοῖς πολεμίοις γινομένους· γυναῖκες δὲ καὶ παῖδες τὰς τε τροφὰς καὶ βέλη τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγωνιζομένοις παρεκόμενον, τὴν αἰδῶ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης αἰσχύνην παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγούμεναι. τοσαύτη κατάπληξις καθειστήκει ὥστε τὸ μέγεθος τῆς περιστάσεως δεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν βοήθειας.

(Diod.Sic.13.55.4-5)

If the men of a city under siege are engaged in fighting and defending the place, you would be left with a lot of practicalities that needed to be carried out. And this is where women come into the picture: essentials such as food and the circulation of weaponry were of the utmost importance in war. In Diodorus' passage above we see women engaged in these tasks precisely because the men who were fighting did not have time for these things. From Thucydides, we learn that flour, wine and cheese are described as essential foods during sieges (Thuc.4.26.5), and women could distribute these types of food with the help of slaves.

Another task of the city at war where we see women helping out was in the preparation of food for soldiers. Thucydides records that 110 women were left behind in a military garrison in Plataea in 429 as 'bread-makers' (σιτοποιοί) to cook the men's food (Thuc.2.78.4). As observed in chapter 1, the city was completely evacuated (including its women), yet they still retained these women as part of the military arrangements.⁹³ Wintjes has calculated that 'one woman was assigned to prepare food ... for every four men, accounting for nearly a fifth of the total strength of a purely military garrison'.⁹⁴ It seems

⁹³ The status of these women is debated. Some claim that they were slaves (Gomme 1956, 357), while others that they were free-born women (Wintjes 2010, 24). However, Thucydides refers to them only as 'women' and there is nothing to suggest that they were slaves. These women were indeed sold as slaves afterwards (Thuc.3.68.2) but slave and free-born women alike were sold as slaves (*andrapoda*) after cities were taken so the fact that they were sold implies nothing about their former status. Bread makers and grain grinders were of 'humble status' but they were not by definition slaves (Parker 2005, 228). They are attested as members of the household in different sources (Hdt.3.150, Xen.*Oec.*10.10) but again none say that they were slaves. Therefore, in all probability the women in the garrison were women from Plataea employed for their services and not slaves.

⁹⁴ Wintjes 2010, 23-24.

remarkable that – this being a small garrison – so many women were kept, which goes to show the importance of women in taking care of different tasks to those of the men.⁹⁵ Wintjes argues that this episode shows that by the end of the fifth century ‘the employment of women to support military units appears to have become established practice’.⁹⁶ It would be helpful to have more data to corroborate this argument (Thucydides’ comment is unfortunately the only one of its kind). However, Wintjes does not seem to be far from the truth as women were indeed employed for their services abroad (not as cooks but) as *hetairai* as early as 440:

Alexis of Samos in the second book of his Samian Chronicles says that the Aphrodite in Samos which some call ‘in the Reeds’ (or Aphrodite in Kalamoi), others ‘in the Swamp’, ‘was set up by Athenian prostitutes who were companions of Perikles when he was laying siege to Samos, as they had made enough money from their youthful charms’.

Ἄλεξις δ’ ὁ Σάμιος ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὠρων Σαμιακῶν τὴν ἐν Σάμῳ Ἀφροδίτην, ἣν οἱ μὲν ἐν καλάμοις καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἔλει, «Ἀττικάί» φησὶν «ἐταῖραι ἰδρύσαντο αἱ συνακολουθήσασαι Περικλεῖ ὅτε ἐπολιόρκει τὴν Σάμον, ἐργασάμεναι ἱκανῶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας».

(Alexis of Samos, BNJ 531 F1)⁹⁷

That the women profited from this enterprise suggests that they were indeed under some form of sexual employment (ἐργασάμεναι). As women were kept for their services as wartime cooks in the city, it seems reasonable to suppose that they could have been brought on campaigns for this very reason as well. Modern scholarship certainly assumes this, and although there is no evidence that depicts women specifically cooking in an expedition abroad, there is no reason to exclude them from this activity, especially when we know that women were employed for other services abroad.⁹⁸

Xenophon in his account of the aftermath of the siege of Phlius in 369 says that the women brought drinks to their victorious men and cried for joy (τὰς δὲ γυναικας πιεῖν τε φερούσας καὶ ἅμα χαρᾷ δακρυούσας) (*Hell.*7.2.9). This episode only shows one participation of the women of Phlius, but it may conceal other areas of female involvement that Xenophon left unmentioned precisely because of the ordinary nature of women’s contribution. Women (and slaves) were the ones who drew water from fountains and rivers in times of peace so it

⁹⁵ For the Plataean garrison being a relatively small one, see Fields 2006, 53.

⁹⁶ Wintjes 2010, 23.

⁹⁷ I follow here Dillon 2001, 198 who accepts the story that the *hetairai* mentioned by Alexis of Samos were from Attica. Contra Brown 1991, Podlecki 1998, 125, d’Hautcourt 2006 who claim that the story is a Samian invention and that the women are solely mentioned because of Pericles’ association with Aspasia.

⁹⁸ Lee 2004, 2007 assumes women’s role as cooks abroad with Cyrus’ army.

makes sense to see their activities at play in times of conflict as well.⁹⁹ Access to water was an indispensable aspect of siege warfare and there is no reason to suppose that its transport from the fountains or springs to the walls (or any other part of the city where men were gathered) could also be carried out by women while the men were fighting, especially since having water far away is seen as a hindrance during war (e.g. Thuc.7.4.6).

There is one final element that needs to be addressed when examining women's contributions to Classical Greek warfare, especially when it comes to conflict in cities, and that is the physical space these women occupied in the city. Classical city walls are not seen today as a female space during war, but I suggest that they should be seen as such. When the Athenians engaged in a naval battle with the Syracusans just off shore from the harbour of Syracuse in 413, Diodorus reports that the whole community, including women and unmarried girls, were eagerly watching the battle:

And the walls about the harbour and every high place in the city were crowded with people; for wives and maidens and all who, because of age, could not render the service war demands, since the whole war was coming to its decision, were eyeing the battle with the greatest anguish of spirit.

τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸν λιμένα τεῖχη καὶ πᾶς ὁ τῆς πόλεως ὑπερκείμενος τόπος ἔγεμε σωμάτων· γυναῖκές τε γὰρ καὶ παρθένοι καὶ οἱ ταῖς ἡλικίαις τὴν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ χρεῖαν παρέχεσθαι μὴ δυνάμενοι, τοῦ παντὸς πολέμου τὴν κρίσιν λαμβάνοντος, μετὰ πολλῆς ἀγωνίας ἐπεθεώρουν τὴν μάχην.

(Diod.Sic.13.14.5)

Again, when the men of Himera went outside their city walls to engage in battle with the Carthaginian forces that were besieging the town in 409, Diodorus explicitly says that they had as 'spectators on the walls parents and children as well as their relatives' watching over them as they fought (οἱ δ' Ἱμεραῖοι θεατὰς ἔχοντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν γονεῖς καὶ παῖδας) (Diod.Sic.13.60.4).¹⁰⁰ This should come as no surprise, especially when the presence of non-combatants on city walls is attested from Homer onwards. The shield of Achilles depicts

⁹⁹ The women whom Cheirisophus encountered outside a village were drawing water from a spring even though the army was nearby (Xen.An.4.5.9-10). Vase paintings, especially black-figure, show women on water fountains, see Boardman 1974, 206, Plate 224. The importance of water supply as an essential resource during sieges is well attested in our sources throughout the fifth and fourth centuries. At Pylos the Lacedaemonian hoplites deliberately positioned themselves next to the main sources of water and the Athenians earnestly believed that those on the island would be easy-taking precisely because they had 'only brackish water to drink' (Thuc.4.31.2, 4.26.4). The Athenians besieged in Lecythus brought many *amphorai* and *pithoi* of water with them on a tower they had just set up which ended up collapsing because of the weight of all the supplies and men on board (Thuc.4.115.2). Thibron's failed attempt at Larisa involved a futile effort at cutting off the water supply of the city (Xen.Hell.3.1.7).

¹⁰⁰ Diodorus' sources for this siege are Timaeus and Ephorus (13.60.5).

women on city walls (Hom.*Il.*18.515), Helen is on the walls (Hom.*Il.*3.154), and the family of Hector is also watching from the walls (Hom.*Il.*6.370ff). Even men unfit and useless (ἀχρεῖος) for war are considered sufficient to guard city walls (Thuc.1.93.6).

With this in mind, it is possible to reconsider the women during the siege of Selinus as providing the food and missiles to the soldiers on (and off) the walls. The ‘defenders of the fatherland’ that Diodorus refers to are the men on the walls and he specifically says that the women and girls supplied them with food and missiles. In order for the women to have provided their men with missiles, they needed to have been *on* the walls with them. A community effort is described here and there is no reason to suppose that the actions of the men are the only ones addressed when Diodorus wrote about the people on the walls at Selinus.

Further evidence is provided at the beginning of the account; Diodorus reports that the whole population (πανδημεῖ) ward off (ἡμύνοντο) the enemy from the walls because they were expecting the arrival of their allies (13.55.3), and this suggests that there were other people on the walls apart from soldiers. The word ‘πανδημεῖ’ does not need to include women, but it can, given that it is also used in the context of the wall-building programmes examined above where women are mentioned (i.e. Thuc.1.90.3-4, 5.82.5). It is highly likely, then, that it also included women during the siege of Selinus. Likewise, the word used to indicate the actions of the whole populace is that of defending themselves rather than fighting: ‘ἡμύνω’ is commonly used for actions that ward off an attacker rather than when one is engaged in fighting (e.g. Thuc.4.11.3 and 4.68.2). Interestingly enough, the actions of those useless men which Themistocles considered enough to guard the Piraeus’ walls are similarly described: the verb used (ἀρκέω), which means to ‘ward off’, for their proposed roles on the wall also suggests their actions as defensive rather than offensive (Thuc.1.93.6). And it is precisely in a defensive role where we find women on the walls of Sinope when, being short of men, the soldiers ‘disguised and equipped the most physically suitable of their women to make them look as much as possible like men, giving them jugs and similar bronze utensils in place of shields and helmets, and promenading them on the side of the wall where they were in fullest view of the enemy’ (Aen.Tac.40.4).

Shown in figure 8, the woman depicted on one of the slabs of the Nereid Monument of Xanthus has been described as being behind the walls rather than on them.¹⁰¹ The

¹⁰¹ The slab is currently on display in the Lycian Tombs gallery of the British Museum: 1848,1020.202. On this monument and Lycian tombs, see Jenkins 2006, 150-202. The Nereid Monument has been described as a ‘hero shrine’ to ‘Erbinna, the last of the great rulers of Xanthos’ (Jenkins 2006, 154, 187).

traditional view is that she is showing signs of distress.¹⁰² But an alternate reading might be that she is depicted *on* the walls either encouraging the men (much like the old men did in the siege of Selinus) or most likely engaged in other wartime task.



Figure 8. Slab of the Nereid Monument, showing a woman on the walls of a besieged city c. 390-380. © Trustees of the British Museum



Figure 9. Slab of the Nereid Monument, showing a woman amongst men on the city wall c. 390-380. © Trustees of the British Museum

¹⁰² Smith 1900, 22, Sidebottom 2004, Van Wees 2004, Plate 1, Powell 2004, 146, Chaniotis 2013, 439.

Scholars have presumed that the woman on figure 8 must be behind the walls only because she is a woman depicted in a siege. This is because they often read passivity back into the ancient world because of what gender means to them in specific contexts, especially in war. Depicted in figure 9, is another scene representing a siege and the soldiers are all shown resting and inactive on the city wall. Amongst these men – third from left to right and on the second row from the bottom – is a figure that appears to have no helmet and whose head is depicted quite different from the others; it is tentatively identified here as a female figure. If one contrasts her with the male soldier who is also depicted facing forward (on the bottom row) one can see that there are apparent stylistic differences in each of them, especially on the helmet. The frontal gaze solicits attention and alerts us that something odd is happening.¹⁰³ Both slabs show very different contexts of war; on the one hand there is a woman with her arms raised and on the other she is depicted just like the rest of the inactive men. Thus, an effort was made into depicting scenes of conflict with all individuals performing equally as each occasion required.

As stated above, women could be bringing missiles, food, water, basically anything that the men needed but could not get themselves. If they threw stones from their houses, they could surely do so from walls as well. There was, after all, a close association between women and city walls during war in the Classical period.¹⁰⁴ The women of Sinope were paraded *on* the city walls (Aen.Tac.40.4); in this instance they were told not to throw anything because, according to Aeneas, ‘women are recognizable from the way they throw’ (Aen.Tac.40.4). Why would Aeneas insert this remark if women (i) were not customarily on city walls during war and (ii) did not throw anything from them? His exhortation came from experience and would only make sense if his audience already knew that their women indeed threw objects from higher spaces (e.g. city walls, houses, etc.). Similarly, Telesilla is said to have placed on the wall those slaves and old men who could not bear arms because of youth or old age (Paus.2.20.9). Although these are not women they are nevertheless non-combatants who (like real women) could not carry arms and the imagined place for these people was on city walls. Even though we should not expect to find women on city walls throwing objects on every siege or conflict, we should at least be open to the possibility that they could do so.

So far the women analysed in this section are contributing positively to the defence of their city through collective actions as part of the community. However, there may have been

¹⁰³ Many thanks to Professor Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones for this observation.

¹⁰⁴ Powell 2004, 146.

other ways in which women are behaving that we cannot see. This is suggested by Thucydides' passing reference to a woman whose individual action during the surprise attack on Plataea demonstrates how women were not always the helpful individuals our sources make them out to be during war. During the Thebans' confused retreat, Thucydides tells us that a group managed to find an unguarded gate and that a woman gave them an axe (γυναικὸς δούσης πέλεκυν) so they could escape (Thuc.2.4.4). This woman, of whom nothing more is said, was inside the city when the attack took place and she provided a group of men with the means for escape. These men were clearly identifiable as the enemy and as outsiders since they were running around the city precisely because they did not know the layout of the place (Aen.Tac.2.6, Diod.Sic.2.4.2). Furthermore, the vocabulary (δούσης) employed by Thucydides suggests that she willingly gave the axe to the Thebans and that she was at no point compelled to do so by a threat of violence.¹⁰⁵ Thus, she was essentially behaving as a traitor. The actions of this woman are the reverse of what we have examined so far. Women were expected to aid the community, not harm it.

In sum, the different contributions to the city at war discussed in this section show that during the fifth and fourth centuries women had a role to play before, during and after war erupted in cities. This section has shown that there is not one particular space where women made their contributions from. They could be found on their houses, on city walls, and throughout the city. One must not forget that the traitorous woman with the axe at Plataea was at the city gates when most of the women were on the roofs. In the same way, there was no particular contribution that we can say was particular to women as we have seen them involved in different activities, from defensive roles to supportive ones like the cooking of food for soldiers. Each role depended on the conflict and the particular circumstances of each occasion.

Women on the Move

Women not only contributed to war in cities but they also played crucial roles on military expeditions abroad as part of a mobile community. In chapter 2, we saw how women were expected to be sources of encouragement to their men by not behaving erratically in times of war. Now we will see that they were in fact sources of encouragement. When the men on Cyrus' army found a way to cross the river between the villages of the Carduchi and Armenia, they poured libations for safe passage and once favourable omens were received

¹⁰⁵ Contra Harvey 1985, 86 n. 23.

they proceeded to cross; the women are said to have raised their cry at the same time the soldiers raised their paean:

when the sacrifices proved favourable, all the soldiers struck up the paean and raised the war shout, while the women, everyone of them, joined their cries with the shouting of the men—for there were a large number of prostitutes in the camp.

ἐπεὶ δὲ καλὰ ἦν τὰ σφάγια, ἐπαιάνιζον πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ἀνηλάλαζον, συνωλόλυζον δὲ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἅπασαι. πολλαὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐταῖραι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι.

(Xen.An.4.3.19)

As part of this mobile community – a point which Lee rightly emphasises – the women raised their voices to motivate the men.¹⁰⁶ However, as mentioned briefly in the introduction on this thesis, the identity of these women has been confused by Lee who assumes that they were captives turned ‘companions’.¹⁰⁷ Yet, Xenophon makes clear that these women were the *hetairai* who accompanied the army (ἐταῖραι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι). Their contribution is to raise the *ololuge* for the wartime encouragement of soldiers. As already explored above, the uttering of this typical female ritual cry cannot be overlooked. This episode is reminiscent of the Theban attack on Plataea described by Thucydides analysed above where the women of the city also raised their *ololuge* when they pelted the enemy from their houses (Thuc.2.4.2). Similarly, these *hetairai* felt the same exhilaration as the men and they showed this by uttering their characteristic *ololuge*. The fact that there exists two episodes where women’s contribution is quite similar (i.e. shouting the *ololuge*), and that they are recorded by two very different sources (i.e. Thucydides and Xenophon) in two different conflict contexts (i.e. at home and abroad), addressing two groups of very different women (i.e. citizen and *hetairai*) suggests that Greek men thought this to be a significant wartime contribution from their women.

The women’s participation is noted by Xenophon, not only because he was posted at the rear where he was physically closer to the women, but also because the occasion was so decisive. At last they were able to find a place to cross while the enemy was attacking them from behind, and the uproar these people made together was something worth remembering. Indeed, this moment was so crucial that some of the soldiers that were specifically told to stay, broke lines to check (and protect) their property, including these *hetairai*. Xenophon

¹⁰⁶ Lee (2007, 270) rightly sees this as a mobile community rather than a conglomeration of peoples.

¹⁰⁷ Lee 2004 and 2007, 271.

says that ‘many even of those detailed to stay had gone off to look after pack animals or baggage or women, as the case might be’ (πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν μένειν τεταγμένων ὄχοντο ἐπιμελόμενοι οἱ μὲν ὑποζυγίων, οἱ δὲ σκευῶν, οἱ δ’ ἑταιρῶν) (Xen.An.4.3.30).

These *hetairai* did not have the opportunity to throw roof tiles like the women experiencing war inside a city, but this does not mean that they did not contribute to war. Quite the contrary, as part of the military community on the move they had even more opportunities to contribute, at least more direct opportunities since they experienced battle upfront and were more accustomed to constant conflict. One wonders what the meaning of the joke was at 6.1.13 when the Paphlagonians asked whether the women of the Greeks fought alongside them and they replied that it was precisely these women who put to flight the king from his camp. Perhaps the king’s inability to fight real men was meant here,¹⁰⁸ but there could also be a hidden joke about the type of women who were with the men in the expedition. The response to the Paphlagonians can also be seen in light of men feeling pride towards their women (as well as mocking the naivety of the Paphlagonians). These were not ordinary women; they were *hetairai* who travelled extensively and, who, at least in this expedition, experienced war up-close and continuously. These experiences probably made them have a higher degree of resilience, and made them more accustomed to wartime atrocities like constant death. They did not fight, but they were nevertheless experiencing war differently from those women inside cities.

The contributions of women abroad following armies were not just motivational; women are also reported as spies. But before one can address their contributions as wartime spies, one must explore briefly the only known (direct) reference to female spies in Classical Greece. Aristotle in his *Politics* examines the subject of the preservation of tyrannies, and in his discourse of what a tyrant should and should not do he states the following:

and to try not to be uninformed about any chance utterances or actions of any of the subjects, but to have spies like the women called ‘provocatrices’ at Syracuse and the ‘sharp-ears’ that used to be sent out by Hiero wherever there was any gathering or conference (for when men are afraid of spies of this sort they keep a check on their tongues, and if they do speak freely are less likely not to be found out)

καὶ τὸ μὴ λανθάνειν πειρᾶσθαι ὅσα τυγχάνει τις λέγων ἢ πράττων τῶν ἀρχομένων, ἀλλ’ εἶναι κατασκόπους, οἷον περὶ Συρακούσας αἱ ποταγωγίδες καλούμεναι, καὶ οὗς ὠτακουστὰς ἐξέπεμπεν Ἱέρων ὅπου τις εἴη συνουσία

¹⁰⁸ See Lane Fox 2004, 191-192 who analyses this joke.

καὶ σύλλογος (παρρησιάζονται τε γὰρ ἦττον φοβούμενοι τοὺς τοιούτους,
κὰν παρρησιάζωνται λανθάνουσιν ἦττον).

(*Pol.*1313b11-16)

Who are these ‘ποταγωγίδες’? Photius also mentions them, but his brief reference is not of much help (*Bibl.*1116.1). Russell argues that these women ‘were probably recruited from flute girls and prostitutes (*hetairai*), who would have access to the private gatherings and drinking parties of prominent citizens’.¹⁰⁹ Russell’s interpretation is most likely correct since the only woman whom one can call a female wartime spy was, in fact, also a woman of less status in society: a captive in Alexander’s camp. Even though the reference above to female ποταγωγίδες refers to them in a civic context, there exists the possibility that their services could be used abroad. This is suggested by the remark about Hiero sending them to gatherings which stresses the official nature of their enterprises. However, given the enigmatic and brief reference nothing more can be said of them.

Richmond, in his short study of spies in ancient Greece claims that ‘there seems to be no hint of women spies’, but there is at least one woman who can be classified as a wartime spy.¹¹⁰ The prisoner of war Antigone was used to spy on Philotas after she reported what he used to say about Alexander:

he used to tell her that the greatest achievements were performed by himself and his father, and would call Alexander a stripling who through their efforts enjoyed the title of ruler. These words the woman would report to one of her acquaintances, and he, as was natural, to somebody else, until the story came round to Craterus, who took the girl and brought her secretly to Alexander. He, on hearing her story, ordered her to continue her meetings with Philotas and to come and report to him whatever she learned from her lover.

(*Plut.Alex.*48.4-5)

Plutarch presents Antigone’s actions as being started by spreading a rumour, but they quickly became something official. The use of ‘ἐκέλευσε’ suggests it was an order rather than Alexander making her do this by way of compliance. ‘It was not easy for most women’, claims Richmond, ‘to travel round Greece without male companionship, and Greek men would not like to take second place to a woman in any enterprise’.¹¹¹ First, for women to be

¹⁰⁹ Russell 1999, 109.

¹¹⁰ Richmond 1998, 13-14.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

wartime spies they need not travel ‘round Greece’, since they could do this within their own female spaces (as Philotas’ prisoner did). In fact, one could argue that in order for the spying to be successful and to avoid raising suspicion, women needed to perform within their traditional social spaces like moving to and from the household and on city walls (if in the city at war) and among the camp or train of an army (if abroad). Secondly, gender could be an advantage when it comes to achieving a successful outcome in war, so it is not right for Richmond to suppose that men would feel threatened by women in war. Some of the most effective wartime enterprises required the participation of women to be successful.

When Peisistratos was general at Athens, for instance, he received word that a naval force from Megara was planning a night attack on the Athenian women during their celebration of the Thesmophoria in Eleusis. When the men from Megara had disembarked ... Peisistratos burst from his ambush and overpowered them ... and then, taking from among the women those best suited to accompany a naval expedition, he landed at Megara ... On citing the boats sailing in, many of the Megarians including their officials duly gathered to watch the arrival, as they naturally supposed, of a large body of female captives. (Then the Athenian soldiers were ordered) to disembark with daggers and stab some of the Megarians ...

(Aen.Tac.4.8-11)

This event is described by Aeneas in his section on the importance of pre-arranging signals in war, yet it sheds light into women’s wartime participation even though they are not behaving in ways people assume today, and even though the story is set in a distant past. Deception has always been an important aspect of Classical warfare and the role of women has been vital in some deceptive attempts in war.¹¹² The Athenians realized this early in the 560s, as did the people of Sinope in 370 (in Aeneas’ account) when they paraded their women on their walls to make them look as soldiers (Aen.Tac.40.4). To the enemy, it appeared as if the walls were covered with soldiers, thus, affecting the perceived number of enemy men. The successful outcome of these enterprises could not have been carried out without the involvement of women.

Women also played a crucial role when it comes to the movement of secret correspondence. Aeneas Tacticus explicitly mentions women as vital agents for moving around secret messages during war: ‘a written message can also be carried in on thin (sheets) of lead, rolled up and worn in women’s ears instead of ear-rings’ (εἰσενεχθεῖη δ’ ἂν γραφὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῶν γυναικῶν ὥσιν ἔχουσιν ἅντ’ ἐνωτίων ἐλασμοὺς ἐνειλημένους λεπτοῦς

¹¹² For deception in ancient Greek warfare, see Krentz 2009, 167-200.

μολιβδίνους) (31.7). Secret correspondence was crucial not just abroad but in different conflict scenarios such as sieges and internal *stasis*. Even though there is some preference for verbal communications rather than written correspondence, as Russell has noted, there was still the need for human involvement in conveying essential communication.¹¹³ And women could afford the best cover for this precisely because they were not involved in the usual ‘fighting’ element of war.

One last aspect about female spies and the nature of their contributions can be noted. Aristotle’s passage above shows men’s apprehensions when they know their plans could be thwarted by spies, including female spies, suggesting that these women possibly carried out their tasks successfully. This apprehension finds parallels in modern war scenarios where wartime propaganda has been implemented to keep plans secret. WWII posters with their characteristic ‘Keep Mum, She’s not so Dumb!’ slogans expressed a similar wartime philosophy that many soldiers would have had in Classical Greece. If we are to believe Aristotle’s comment, the fear of being found out by a woman must have been present not only at home, but in expeditions abroad as well.



Figure 10. WWII propaganda poster 1941. ©National Archives

¹¹³ Russell 1999, 151.

Locating Women in a Culture of Expectation

What motivated the women analysed in this chapter to contribute so directly to war? Every woman's motivation was entirely different. Hellas' motivations, for example, were different to those of other women. She was not under attack when Xenophon and his men arrived to her household and she eagerly gave strategic military advice for no apparent reason. What motivated Hellas, instead, was reputation; not for her but for her male relatives. This is shown when Xenophon says that she gave him as guides her cousin and Daphnagoras 'whom she regarded very highly' (*An.7.8.9*). The motivations which urged the woman at Plataea to help the Thebans are unknown, but they were certainly different to those of Hellas; perhaps she was wronged by the people of Plataea or perhaps she belonged to the traitorous party inside the city. The women who threw tiles and stones and who actively defended their cities, on the other hand, were not motivated by gaining a reputation for their men, but by societal expectations and normal human behaviour in times of war. Everyone, irrespective of gender, is threatened by war. It is human nature to defend that which you hold precious to you. It may be material things for some, family members to others or even concepts such as 'your city' or 'your gods'. But ultimately, the motivation for women's contribution to war came down to socially constructed values and principles. Thus, women needed no specific reason to act in and contribute to war; they just did.

Some have questioned whether men and women were going to share the same values and principles during wartime. Schaps explored this question acknowledging that men and women were 'partners in war' but arrived at the odd conclusion that women only acted when faced with (and because of) actual danger.¹¹⁴ But we see women acting in emergencies and non-emergencies. As mentioned in the Introduction, it is impossible to know exactly what principles women would have shared between them in war, but if we go with the evidence there is about women's ideals then we can certainly say that they might have reinforced the same wartime ideology as men. One may quote Lewis when she insists that: 'a society which seeks both to keep women in a separate sphere from men, and to police their activities, must, as Cohen has shown, rely on other women to observe and regulate the behaviour of friends or neighbours who do not conform'.¹¹⁵ Not conforming in war would be not to help your men and your country, particularly when most of the men you would be helping were your neighbours, family relatives or workers you would see on occasions.

¹¹⁴ Schaps 1982, 208-211.

¹¹⁵ Lewis 1996, 12.

The actions of the women discussed in this chapter are used as evidence to support the theory that women only played a role in war in the context of the breakdown of social norms during warfare. Scholars do not agree whether this ‘breakdown’ was a complete one or only partial. Wiedemann argues the former, Barry the latter.¹¹⁶ Yet, our analysis suggests that there was no breakdown in the first place. By providing missiles and food to their men and by throwing tiles and stones the women are standing up for cultural and societal values, not going against them. What really goes against normal societal values is doing nothing in war. When the women of Sparta did nothing and caused chaos during the Theban invasion of Laconia they were strongly criticised for it (Xen.*Hell.*6.5.28, Pl.*Laws.*806a-b, Arist.*Pol.*2.1269b, Plut.*Ages.*31.4). They were even called useless and harmful by Aristotle who compared them to the useful women of other *poleis* at war. War, as I argue below, blurs social norms but does not dismantle them completely. Barry, for example, claims that:

The evidence of tile-throwing women ... [constitutes] an almost routine breakdown of this gender boundary. No doubt in every instance the desperation of the situation and the expected consequences of defeat – for the women, exile at best, rape and enslavement at worst – overcame any feelings of social impropriety and drew the women out onto the roofs and into a defensive role. The female intervention into this male-dominated sphere was perhaps eased, however, by a preservation at least of the traditional gender division of public and private space: women fought, but they fought from the domestic sphere.

(Barry 1996, 68)¹¹⁷

Women might have feared what came after war, but before that happened they had more pressing circumstances. Feelings of social impropriety were not relevant when you had the enemy under your house and in the streets. Women threw objects from houses because the enemy invaded their space. Their physical position in houses also served a practical purpose: they were safer in roofs because the fighting was in the streets.

The only woman whose wartime exploits can be said to have been extraordinary is the mythical queen Semiramis, but even with her it is only because of Ctesias’ treatment of her story. The actions of Artemisia, Mania, Hellas, of the women of Athens, Selinus, Plataea and Corcyra should not be seen today as extraordinary. They were normal in their own civic spheres, the former in the context of Asia Minor, and the latter in mainland Greece. None of

¹¹⁶ Wiedemann 1983, and Barry 1996.

¹¹⁷ Barry’s argument is representative of almost every modern scholar. The wide-held belief is that if women act, they must do so out of fear and that their actions are out of the ordinary for both the fifth and fourth centuries; both arguments refuted in this thesis.

our sources suggest that the actions of these women were in any way out of the ordinary. This modern belief usually stems from the misunderstanding of Thucydides' phrase 'παρὰ φύσιν' discussed in chapter 2. Normal societal rules enforced in peacetime might not apply when you had the enemy at your doorstep, but they were not disregarded altogether. Sources are aware when the breakdown of social rules and norms occur in war. Thucydides, for example, emphasised on how disruptive the plague was to Athenian social norms by saying how customary burial practices were disregarded altogether (2.52.3-4). The plague was completely new to the Athenians and it essentially disrupted everyday life to the extent where normal practices were dissolved. Plague was rare; war was not. Similarly, when cases of cannibalism were reported during the siege of Potidaea, Thucydides also made a point of reporting this breakdown of norms (Thuc.2.70.1). And when the children of Mycalessus were massacred by Thracian forces he also reported it (Thuc.7.29.4).

If war created a breakdown in gender boundaries, then we would see women fighting in the streets, but we do not. When women act in war they are still acting within normal societal rules. War blurs – but does not dissolve – some of the distinctions men and women had in peacetime and we should not expect social norms to be enforced in the same manner when the enemy was pressing forward and attacking the walls of your city. A siege, which apart from *stasis*, was one of the most personal forms of attack, created specific conditions which made everyone, irrespective of gender, tackle the threat collectively. This is clearly expressed at the beginning of Aeneas' treatise:

When men leave their own territory to meet combat and danger beyond its borders, the survivors of any disaster which strikes them, on land or at sea, still have their native soil and state and fatherland between them and utter destruction. But when it is in defence of the fundamentals – shrines and fatherland and parents and children and so on – that the risks are to be run, the struggle is not the same, or even similar. A successful repulse of the enemy means safety, intimidated opponents, and the unlikelihood of attack in the future, whereas a poor showing in the face of danger leaves no hope for salvation.

(Aen.Tac.Preface.1-2)

Aeneas is discussing the best way to organize and mobilize the people of a city that is under siege. He mentions the surprise attack of Plataea as an example of when it is good (or at least when it was successful) to blockade access to the open spaces in a city (1.1-2.6). Throughout – and even after – the account where he mentions the women, Aeneas is concerned about the

vulnerability of open spaces like the *agora* and theatre. When he mentions the women throwing tiles to the Thebans it is a mere passing reference and not in any way extraordinary. He makes no comment about their actions; he does not argue anything else about them. The way that these women are mentioned suggests nothing else than their actions were normal during sieges, but more importantly, that their actions were considered by men as normal during sieges. The women in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* are attacked because they are committing *hybris* by going on strike and taking over the Acropolis (399ff, 425, 658). And this is what constituted behaving against social norms: to overstep what you could do, to take advantage of your position and to act outside what was permitted. The women who defended their city during conflict, who provided food, missiles and water to their men did no such thing.

This chapter has shown the diverse ways in which women contributed to the war effort, both at home and abroad. By placing each individual woman or groups of women in their different conflict contexts, it also shows how war was an intrinsic part of their lives. They were no strangers to war and they also knew what to do when conflict arrived. However diverse and complex their wartime involvement was, they were expected to contribute for the collective cause of war, to ensure victory or at least survival. When women remained inactive, or caused chaos, like Spartan women during the Theban invasion, they were criticised for precisely this reason. These observations also demonstrate the need to open up our sense of what 'participation' in war means. Participation and involvement in war ranges from religious practices carried out within the confines of the *oikos*, to public commemorations of victory. Likewise, city walls, houses, streets, city gates, should all be considered as female spaces in wartime just as much as they are to the men who fight.

PART III

IMPACT

Chapter 4. Social and Economic Impacts

It has been argued that war was a ‘fact of life’ for fifth- and fourth-century Greeks.¹ Van Wees, for instance, says that:

For all the accounts and images of war in art and literature, for all the temples littered with dedications of booty and victory monuments, the impact of war on Greek society was rather limited. The demands of war usually did not dictate the daily routine of citizens, or shape social and political structures, or dominate economic activity. On the contrary, in archaic and classical Greece it was the demands of social, political and economic life which shaped warfare.

(Van Wees 2007, 273)

This is absolutely correct since war and society were closely intertwined in Classical Greece. But one quickly finds that the above is perhaps only relevant for men; they are the ones whose daily routines as citizens we mainly see in our sources, they are the ones who shape political structures and dominate economic activity. Women, by contrast, are less explicitly visible and played no major part in these activities. But that does not mean that they were any less affected by conflict; it means we should go beyond our modern narrow definition of what impact means.

The impact of war on women needs to be seen in context of different social mores and cultural values than today. What we might think is merely a ‘social’ impact can be completely different in antiquity. For instance, if a Spartan soldier was deemed a ‘trembler’, his shame extended to his female relatives who would be affected by his wartime actions by not being able to be given away in marriage. Marriage, for any fifth- and fourth-century girl was one of the most crucial stages of her life, but to us today it is mainly a social institution, whereas in the Classical period it was not only social but also economic, religious and more of a ritual passage from daughter to wife.²

This chapter, therefore, examines the impacts of war on women, that is to say the different effects that a period of conflict, whether short or long, had on a woman. These

¹ Shipley 1995, 18.

² Morgan 2007, 306-308.

include economic impacts such as the effect of conflict on women's work and social impacts such as might be brought about by long periods of absence of their husbands and male relatives due to war. First, it examines the most straightforward impacts of war on women like evacuations before conflict and on women who work, and then turns to the complex and insidious ways in which women might be affected such as the inability to marry if a male relative was deemed a 'trembler' in Sparta, among others. The aim is to enrich our understanding of women's potential experiences and of diversity of ramifications that the impact of war had on this particular sector of Classical Greek society. This chapter only takes into consideration those effects of war that have nothing to do with captivity, slavery, or physical violence; these are explored in detail in the next chapter 5.

Evacuations

The impact of war on women starts even before war commences, through evacuations. This involved the complete or partial removal of households upon the expectation of conflict and it included wives, children, and property (both human and material). Schaps suggests that 'these operations seem to have been a matter, not of collecting all the non-combatants and removing them, but of putting ships (or armed escort) at the disposal of those who wished to evacuate their families'.³ In the Classical period, as previously discussed in chapter 1, these took the form of state-organized and individual evacuations, or a combination of the two. Evacuations are characteristic of war and conflict, and even though the movement of people can happen in other occasions not related to war – a natural event like an earthquake, for instance, can temporarily displace communities – the evidence points towards the need for women to be removed from a Classical *oikos* only because of war. There are three different types of evacuations attested: (i) when a particular city removed its inhabitants to another city and the reader is left to assume that women are amongst those evacuated, (ii) when women are included as members of a household, usually alongside children, but not actually mentioned, and (iii) when sources remark explicitly that women were removed. Fortunately, in the final instance, written sources usually say where these groups of people were removed to but in other (fewer) occasions the reader has to assume or infer from the context the likeliest final destination for evacuees. This section, therefore, analyses the sporadic references to wartime evacuations involving women and shows that the impact they had on

³ Schaps 1982, 199.

each population was varied – even in the same evacuation different groups of women could be affected differently. It also proposes that, contrary to popular opinion, some evacuations could have positive impacts for women, whilst acknowledging the fact that the majority of evacuations incurred only negative impacts on the population.

The best-documented evacuation of women and children is that of Athenian non-combatants before the Persian invasion of Athens in 480 (Hdt.8.41, 8.142, 8.144, Thuc.1.89.3, Plut.*Them.*1-6, Paus.2.31.7). The available evidence allows one to trace the wartime experiences of these women better than those of other women both throughout the Persian Wars and throughout the Peloponnesian War.⁴ Although the Athenian evacuations during the Persian invasion are by no means the only ones of which we hear in our sources, in the majority of cases, the evidence is insufficient to allow any crucial reconstruction of the impact women might have had.⁵ For instance, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, many of the Chalcideans evacuated their coastal cities and settled into Olynthus (Thuc.1.58.2). Later, the women of Scione and Mende were also moved to Olynthus (Thuc.4.123.4). The women of Plataea underwent two major wartime evacuations: the first during the Persian Wars (Hdt.8.44) and the second during the Peloponnesian War (Thuc.2.6.4, 2.72.2, Diod.Sic.12.42.2, Arr.*An.*1.9.5). The first time we are not told where exactly they went but the second time the majority were evacuated to Athens. Several evacuations also took place throughout Sicily when the Carthaginians invaded and many women were evacuated there as well (Diod.Sic.13.89.1-3, 13.111.3).⁶ There are other instances where populations were deprived of their former homes and resettled someplace else during war but the evidence, though tantalizing, is insufficient.

The main source for the Athenian evacuation of 480 is Herodotus, who says that the Athenians ‘issued a proclamation that everyone in Athens should see to the safety of their children and household as best he could. Most people sent their families off to Troezen, but others preferred Aegina or Salamis’ (μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιξιν κήρυγμα ἐποιήσαντο, Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται σώζειν τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἐς Τροίζην ἀπέστειλαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Αἴγιναν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα) (8.41). However, for all his attention to detail, Herodotus does not say how long these women stayed in any of these places, how long

⁴ It is for this reason that it forms a large part of the discussion in this section.

⁵ On wartime evacuations, see Hdt.1.164, 8.4, 8.36-37, 8.41, 8.44, 8.60B, 8.62, 8.142, Thuc.1.58.2, 1.65.1, 1.89.3, 2.6.4, 2.14.1-2, 2.16.1-17.5, 2.27.1-5, 4.123.4, 5.32.1, Hell.*Oxy.*17.3 (lines 443-448), Lys.2.33-34, Isoc.4.96, Lyc.1.16, 1.68, Diod.Sic.11.13.4, 11.28.5, 12.42.2, 13.89.1-3, 13.111.3, 13.113.4, Plut.*Aristeides.*10.6, Plut.*Them.*10.4, Paus.2.31.7, Arr.*Anab.*1.9.5.

⁶ Although many of these were forceful removals where the population could no longer hold out a siege and were forced to remove their women and children or escape during the night.

the evacuation took nor what measures (if any) were set in place in the receiving cities for these women. Further information is to be found in a notorious inscription which has generated serious debate over the last fifty years. The so-called ‘Decree of Themistocles’ attests to the official nature of this evacuation and sheds more light on the arrangements, in particular about the women. It has been dated to the third century and the consensus (if any) appears to be that it is a later copy of the original decree.⁷ Scholars have only focused on the timing of this evacuation asking themselves whether it happened before Artemisium and Thermopylae or after.⁸ They have also examined its apparent discrepancy with Herodotus and its authenticity.⁹ But the timing of the evacuation is of no consequence to this study. It seems hard to believe that the earlier lines which are the ones most scholars accept as genuine have received little attention given the amount of evidence they offer not only about official measures regarding the wartime evacuation of populations (including metics), but also about the removal of women.

Lines 4-12 of the decree deal with the overall evacuation of Athens. Of particular interest are lines 8 and 11-12 which address the female population and the priestesses of the acropolis respectively.

The Athenians themselves and the foreigners who live in Athens are to remove their women and children to Troizen ... The treasurers and the priestesses are to remain in the acropolis protecting the possessions of the gods

Ἀθηναίου[ς δ' ἅπ]α[ντας καὶ τοὺς ξένο]υς τοὺς οἰκοῦντας Ἀθήνησι [τὰ τέκ]ν[α καὶ τὰς γυναῖκ]ας εἰς Τροιζῆνα καταθέσθαι...τοὺς δὲ ταμίας καὶ τ]ὰς ἱερέας ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει μένειν φυλάττοντας τὰ τῶν θεῶν

(Lines 8, 11-12)¹⁰

⁷ See Jameson 1960, 1962, Dow 1962, Meiggs and Lewis 1969, 48-52, Henderson 1977, Frost 1980, 101-105, 117-119, Hammond 1988, 558-561, Demand 1990, 183, n. 6. For other references to this evacuation see, Thuc.1.18.2, Isoc.6.43, 83 and 15.233, Lys. 2.33, 40, Dem.6.11, 18.204, 19.303, Plut.*Cim*.5.2.

⁸ Jameson 1960, 1962.

⁹ I say apparent because Henderson 1977 argues that there is no discrepancy at all if we suppose that an official proclamation was made first and an initial removal of people took place but that those who did not remove their wives and children at this time did so at the last minute later, which would not contradict Herodotus at all. Among those who question the decree's authenticity is Burn 1984.

¹⁰ I follow here Jameson's 1960 translation of the decree.

This inscription is striking in that it mentions Troezen as the only place to which these women were sent when Herodotus says they also went to Aegina and Salamis.¹¹ Some argue this is because at the time when the stone was inscribed (first half of third century) Aegina was hostile to Athens,¹² while others that it was biased towards Troezen because it was found in the precinct of their ancient *agora*.¹³ However, one might further argue that the statement on the decree can be reconciled with Herodotus' version if one remembers Herodotus' initial report that most (πλεῖστοι) evacuated their women to Troezen – perhaps a provision initially stated that Troezen was the safest place (and first point of refuge) for families? Troezen was no ordinary city, the geographical position of its harbour, Pogon, was ideal and certainly capable of mustering the reserve Greek fleet before Salamis (Hdt.8.42). It makes sense to see Troezen as the safest and most logical option for Athenian refugees: it was outside Attica, protected by the sea and a good natural harbour, and the fighting was about to take place far from it. Pausanias attests to the importance of Troezen in 480 when he says that in his day there were stone statues on the *agora* at Troezen of the women and children who were evacuated but the statues were only of the 'most high ranking' women (ὁπόσαι δὲ ἀξιώματι προεῖχον, τούτων εἰκόνας ἀναθεῖναι μόνων) (2.31.7). It is in this *agora* where Frost proposes there stood also the decree of Nicagoras mentioned by Plutarch (*Them*.10.2-4):¹⁴

Upon the passage of this bill, most of the Athenians bestowed their children and wives in Troezen, where the Troezenians very eagerly welcomed them. They actually voted to support them at the public cost, allowing two obols daily to each family, and to permit the boys to pluck off the vintage fruit everywhere, and besides to hire teachers for them. The bill was introduced by a man whose name was Nicagoras.

κυρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ ψηφίσματος οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπεξέθεντο γενεὰς καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς Τροιζῆνα, φιλοτίμως πάνυ τῶν Τροιζηνίων ὑποδεχομένων· καὶ γὰρ τρέφειν ἐψηφίσαντο δημοσίᾳ, δύο ὀβολοὺς ἐκάστῳ διδόντες, καὶ τῆς ὁπώρας λαμβάνειν τοὺς παῖδας ἐξεῖναιπανταχόθεν, ἔτι δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διδασκάλοις τελεῖν μισθούς. τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα Νικαγόρας ἔγραψεν.

(Plut.*Them*.10.2-4)

¹¹ This is in keeping with a later tradition that only names Salamis as the place where the women of Athens were evacuated. Sources (particularly later ones) commonly speak only of Salamis: Hdt.8.60b, Lys.2.33-34, Isoc.4.96, Lyc.1.68 and Diod.Sic.11.13.4. For later sources, see Jameson 1960, 211 who lists them all.

¹² Hammond 1988, 567, n.87.

¹³ Henderson 1977, 90: 'The alternatives [Aegina and Salamis] may have been edited out [by the hypothetical forger] in the Troezen version'.

¹⁴ Frost 1978, 106.

Frost convincingly argues that this passage refers to an actual decree – previously mentioned by Hyperides (3.32-33) – passed by Nicagoras, a citizen of Troezen, before the Athenians decided to send their women to Troezen.¹⁵ This passage reveals crucial information about the provision for exiled women and children abroad. Measures were in place for these women to live their daily lives not in poverty but in comfort having sufficient essentials to survive. That Plutarch feels the need to say they were very well received confirms the proposal in chapter 1 that some cities might not take the wartime influx of people very kindly.¹⁶

Was this provision for wartime refugees an exceptional measure only proposed by the people of Troezen? If we compare this proposal to other known instances where a receiving city provided for evacuees we find that the most common provision was land to live and presumably to cultivate (Thuc.1.58.2, 2.27.1-5, 4.56.2). Although two obols per day per family may seem initially enough, this depends on how many children the family has (and whether or not it considers other members of the household). This figure might represent the large amount of people that was expected to arrive in Troezen.¹⁷ This logic assumes that poorer families had only this money to rely on, but if we recall Pausanias' statement about the 'most high ranking' women then we can assume that there were some very wealthy or prominent women amongst the evacuees who may have not needed to rely on this state provision.

It is also hard to know how commonplace this provision for refugees was in the Classical period because there is no evidence for how long the families were expected to remain at Troezen. Garland argues that these proposals show that the people of Troezen expected the evacuees to stay with them for a considerable time.¹⁸ But it all depended on the cessation of conflict and on their safety being assured. As a matter of fact, we do not know how long these families actually stayed in Troezen; we only know they returned to Athens after the Persians left Greece (Thuc.1.89.3) and given that later sources exalt the Troezenians'

¹⁵ Frost 1978, 106-107 and 1980, 118. Frost argues for the current existence of this 'Decree of Nicagoras' (or 'Decree of the Troezenians') which was apparently discovered in 23 July 1847 in Damala (Troezen) and mentioned by Kiriakos Pittakes the Ephor of Antiquities in 1875, see Frost 1978, 105-107. He argues that the decree, now lost, perhaps to private collections, would have been a Hellenistic copy of the actual decree or a Troezenian copy of an Athenian decree, see 1980, 119.

¹⁶ Whether because they had apprehensions about provisions (it being wartime) or because it affected their way of living is impossible to know. Modern parallels attest to the disruption of community life that people experienced when whole families settled in an existing community. For example, during WWII there existed apprehensions from English provincial village communities when city families moved in; the most common complaint was that it was just too much people and that routines and provisions were disrupted. See Harrison 1990, 180-181.

¹⁷ This measure also makes sense if we see Troezen as the first and main place where the Athenians initially decided to send their families.

¹⁸ Garland 2014, 104.

great treatment of the refugees (Hyp.3.32) and that there are absolutely no complaints of mistreatment one can assume the money and the provisions set out for them were indeed well-calculated. The only detail missing from this picture is the arrangements for housing. But one might argue that they were most likely in place because there is evidence for another city providing housing for wartime evacuees. After the Carthaginians devastated the city of Selinus in 409, we are told by Diodorus that the women and children were received by the neighbouring city of Acragas in the following manner:

The Selinuntians who had escaped capture, twenty-six hundred in number, made their way in safety to Acragas and there received all possible kindness; for the Acragantini, after portioning out food to them at public expense, divided them for billeting among their homes, urging the private citizens, who were indeed eager enough, to supply them with every necessity of life.

οἱ δὲ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν διαφυγόντες Σελινούντιοι, τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες ἑξακόσιοι πρὸς τοῖς δισχιλίοις, διεσώθησαν εἰς Ἀκράγαντα καὶ πάντων ἔτυχον τῶν φιλανθρώπων· οἱ γὰρ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι σιτομετρήσαντες αὐτοῖς δημοσίᾳ διέδωκαν κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας, παρακελευσάμενοι τοῖς ιδιώταις καὶ αὐτοῖς προθύμοις οὔσι χορηγεῖν τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἅπαντα.

(Diod.Sic.13.58.3)

Here we see the state exhorting the population to consider the necessities of the incoming refugees. These wartime refugees were received in a similar way to the women and children of Attica during the Persian Wars. One supposes that those who had family relatives in Troezen would have stayed with them while others would have been accommodated in spare rooms and other areas of the city as best they could, much like what happened later when the women had to move again into the city of Athens from the *chora* (this time an internal evacuation) upon Pericles' request in 431 (Thuc.2.17.1). The silence of the Troezen decree and our sources on housing suggests that it was not an issue anticipated either by the Athenians or by the Troezenians or it was not an issue which considerably affected the families.

The proposal of Troezen, therefore, appears at first glance like a usual wartime measure passed by the people of Troezen – it is just that very little evidence exists for these measures. The Troezen decree puts in perspective the later proposal the Lacedaemonians made to the Athenians after hearing Alexander's message from Mardonius (from Xerxes):

In requital for this the Lacedaemonians and their allies declare that they will nourish your women and all of your household members who are unserviceable for war, so long as this war will last.

ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ ὑμῖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπαγγέλλονται
γυναικᾶς τε καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἄχρηστα οἰκετέων ἐχόμενα πάντα
ἐπιθρέψειν, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε συνεστήκη.

(Hdt.8.142)

Those unserviceable for the war were women, children and the elderly. Herodotus again fails to explain the Lacedaemonians' offer – which was probably more a show of goodwill rather than an official offer since the Lacedaemonians in all probability knew beforehand that the Athenians would reject it (Hdt.8.143), it being such a late offer and hard to see how it would be carried out when the families were already dispersed¹⁹ – but one supposes it would have consisted of similar provisions to the above at least concerning food.²⁰ That the Lacedaemonians make this offer in their desperate plea to the Athenians suggests that for another state to maintain complete households during wartime was seen as a generous offer. Their purpose is to convince the Athenians not to accept the Persian demands and given the Athenians' terrible fortune throughout the conflict (i.e. two seasons of crops lost, economy ruined) it suggests that this proposal was considered by the Lacedaemonians to be an extremely generous offer (no matter whether it was ultimately accepted or not).²¹ However, it is also possible that the mere existence of the Troezen decree, that of Acragas, and of the Lacedaemonians is due to the extreme circumstances of each wartime scenario in which the families found themselves in, and not necessarily that this is a commonplace wartime measure. Given that the evacuation of women was not standard practice during the Classical period, as seen in chapter 1, then it makes sense for these proposals for evacuees to be even more special.

However, not every evacuation was a complete one, and the Athenian evacuation of 480 shows how even in these extreme circumstances one group of women had to remain: the priestesses were to remain in the acropolis (τοὺς δὲ ταμίας καὶ τ]ὰς ἱερέας ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει μένειν φυλάττοντας τὰ τῶ]ν θεῶν) (lines 11-12). The acropolis had, at least, four priestesses of which there is evidence: (i) the priestess of Athena Polias, (ii) the priestess of Athena Nike, (iii) the priestess of Pandrosos, and (iv) the priestess of Artemis Brauronia.²² The priestess of

¹⁹ Unless the Lacedaemonian offer refers to maintaining the Athenians' families *whilst* abroad, but this is hard to believe; the women were already in Salamis (9.5).

²⁰ Provision for schooling is another matter harder to pinpoint given the lack of literary references to education in general. Archaeology, on the other hand, does provide numerous examples of education, see Beck 1975 for a comprehensive catalogue of images. For schools in ancient Greece, see Freeman 1922, more recently, Bloomer 2013, 444-461. For girls' education in Classical Greece see Dillon 2013.

²¹ It was not accepted by the Athenians who regarded it a most grateful offer, Hdt.8.143.

²² For these priestesses, see Jordan 1979, Dillon 2001, Connelly 2007.

Athena Polias also had assistants, and it has been argued that others may have had them as well.²³ Although it is impossible to say which (if any) of these women remained in the acropolis, we can at least state that it is amongst these women the decree envisioned staying at the time of the evacuation. Both Herodotus and Ctesias say that some individuals remained in the acropolis and defended the place but none mentions directly the decree's provision for the priestesses. Herodotus records the continuing presence of the treasurers and poor people (ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους) (8.51), while Ctesias just says that 'there were still some people left behind who kept on fighting' (καὶ ἐμπίπῃσι πλήν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως · ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ ἔτι τινὲς ὑπολειφθέντες ἐμάχοντο) (FGrH 688 F13 (30)). But why priestesses? One possible explanation is that they had a sacred duty as public officials to the civic spaces they occupied, and by remaining they enforced religious ideology to the city and to those who were evacuating. In fact, one can still see the priestess of the acropolis in action while evacuation plans were already in place when she told the Athenians that the sacred snake did not eat their offerings (Hdt.8.41). Her role, as portrayed by Herodotus, facilitated the evacuation of Athens.

A second reason is the one specifically mentioned in the Troezen decree: to protect the sacred possessions in that precinct. Jameson claims that the treasurers remained but the priestesses left accompanying sacred objects.²⁴ Sacred objects were indeed sometimes moved when wartime evacuations took place (e.g. Plut.*Mor.*849A) but this does not mean that religious officials had to escort them. For instance, when the people of Phocis were evacuating their city when Harpagus was advancing with his army, Herodotus says that they took with them in their penteconters their statues and other offerings (1.164). It is doubtful that the priestesses would have left when an official provision (if we accept the authenticity of the decree) stipulated that they had to stay. There is no evidence that suggests the priestesses evacuated Athens alongside the rest of the female population – all sources specifically refer to the women and families of the male population. In fact, during times of conflict we find different priests and priestesses *in* their temples. When the Persians arrived at Delphi, the prophet remained with sixty men while everyone else had been evacuated (Hdt.8.36). Timo, a captive and priestess of Paros, was in her temple when Miltiades arrived to take possession of the island (Hdt.6.134). The priestess of Athena at Pedasa always

²³ For the assistants of Athena Polias, see Harp.Lyc.Fr.47, IstrosFr.9 FGrH 334. See also Feaver 1957, 142, Jordan 1979, 30-31.

²⁴ Jameson believes that the technical usage of the word 'ἀρεστέριον' in lines 38-40 does not impede one to assume the removal of sacred objects during the evacuation 1960, 214.

foretold its population of dangers by growing a long beard (Hdt.1.175). The latter, even though fictional, assumes the presence of the priestess in the temple as available to tell the population of imminent dangers. Nevertheless, both the decree and Herodotus refer to the ‘treasurers’ (ταμίαις) who stayed in the acropolis, which suggests that religious public officials had wartime duties and, therefore, remained when the Persians arrived. In light of this, it is highly likely that the priestesses also remained in the acropolis during the Persian invasion.²⁵ Bearing this in mind, then, the conflicting accounts of what happened to the people who remained in the acropolis makes much more sense: Herodotus says that some committed suicide and that the rest (who took refuge as suppliants) were all killed by the Persians (8.53), while Ctesias that they escaped during the night (FGrH 688 F13 (30)). While Herodotus places the deaths of religious persons on the Persians, Ctesias exonerates them.

It is also important to remember that women were part of a much larger group of people that was evacuated during war. As seen above, Herodotus explicitly mentions poor people (πένητας ἀνθρώπους) in the acropolis which tells us that not all individuals had the means to leave during evacuations even if they wanted. Old men, for example, were also evacuated alongside women and children but, as with women, it was not a customary practice either. Hanson has argued that the elderly were last in the list of crucial people to be evacuated and that, at times, they were even left behind (Plut.*Them.*10.5, Diod.*Sic.*13.89.2-3, 13.113.3).²⁶ As sources refer to the elderly as a communal group, we should imagine older women amongst these as well. Hanson claims that the panic of a ‘free-for-all for safety ... can only explain their abandonment, for under normal plans of retreat, older people, apart from humanitarian considerations, could provide a valuable service watching and protecting

²⁵ Contra Jordan who believes that the priestesses did not stay in the acropolis because he thinks Jameson’s restoration contradicts Herodotus 8.51, see Jordan 1979, 77-80. I, however, following Henderson 1977, 98-103 see no contradiction. Herodotus simply does not mention the priestesses while the Themistocles Decree is more specific. The Decree likewise, makes no mention of the poor people who remained, but that does not mean that they were not there or that Herodotus is fabricating this part of the story. Jordan claims that as the treasurers were in charge of the priestesses and had more authority than them, these remained but the priestesses did not, because ‘if there were any officials responsible for the safety of the Acropolis, and who therefore had the duty to defend it against invaders, these officials were the treasurers, and not the priestesses’ (1979, 78). However, it is nowhere stated that the treasurers’ duty was to *fight* the invaders. He also claims that because there is evidence for the presence of other women in the acropolis such as the female attendants (*zakoroi*) mentioned in the Hecatompedon Inscription (IG I2 3/4). ‘...it is surely incredible’, claims Jordan, ‘that the Athenians should have asked some of the women, i.e. the priestesses, to remain, while they removed the *zakoroi*’ (1979, 78). But this argument actually contradicts his previous argument of treasurers versus priestesses. If this were true, then, the priestesses being in charge of the *zakoroi* (who were inferior, see Dillon 2001, 90) would needed to have remained. Jordan’s argument ultimately fails to explain why the inclusion of the priestesses in the Themistocles Decree is a fabrication whose author is called a ‘literal-minded’ individual who was suffering ‘from a strong case of *horror vacui* [thus] he filled out with meticulous care what he considered to be gaps in Herodotus’ account’ (1979, 79-80).

²⁶ Hanson 1998, 116.

children, slaves, and stock'. However, it is unclear to what extent there existed 'normal plans of retreat' given that some evacuations were carried out under extreme emergencies (like that of the Persian Wars), while others were more preventive (like that of Scione and Mende, Thuc.4.123.4). It is highly unlikely that there also existed 'humanitarian considerations' in the same way they exist and are understood today. Also, women and children did not need to depend on elders to escort them to safety as they were usually given a military escort by those either organizing their evacuations (Xen.*Hell.*7.2.18) or by those who allowed them to leave (Diod.Sic.13.89.3). It is far more likely, then, that when old people were left behind it was because they refused to evacuate being accustomed to their old ways of living – one needs only remember the Athenians' reluctance to leave their countryside for the city on the eve of the Peloponnesian War (Thuc.2.16.1) – or because they were of far too advanced in age that it was not feasible to bring them along if the possibility existed for them to perish in the journey or immediately upon arriving to their destination. The latter is hinted at by Plutarch when describing the exodus of Athenians before Xerxes' invasion (*Them.*10.5). Ultimately, it may be that by leaving behind the elderly, the ancient Greeks were actually allowing for 'humanitarian considerations'.

For the personal impact of this evacuation one is forced to look at the only evidence there is about the women's behaviour and state of mind. The women's actions at Salamis – if we are to believe Herodotus (9.5) and Demosthenes (18.204)²⁷ – suggest high levels of anxiety and distress probably resulting not only from the difficulty of dealing with leaving their homes but also their reactions to the imminent danger of the conflict.²⁸ The women are said to have killed the wife and children of a man²⁹ who only advised the Athenians to at least consider the Persians' terms of capitulation. The man was stoned to death by the men while their wives rallied one another and – Herodotus stresses – out of their own initiative stoned to death the family of this man (Hdt.9.5).³⁰ The actions of these women have been looked at as a parallel behaviour for their men by modern scholarship but their emotional and erratic

²⁷ That there are variations between the particulars of each source's story is of no importance here because what is crucial is that both Herodotus and Demosthenes believed the occasion to have taken place at the time of the Persian invasion. That Demosthenes places it before Salamis does not impair the current analysis of the women's behaviour.

²⁸ This episode can be seen in light of the modern parallel of the man in the acropolis during WWII who was ordered by the Germans to replace the Greek flag with the Nazi flag but when he arrived at the top instead threw himself down with it. This man has never been identified and his importance relies not on the historicity of the story but on what he symbolises: defiance against an oppressive regime. See Stockings and Hancock 2013, 486-487. Many thanks to Professor Thomas Harrison for this comment.

²⁹ The identity of the man remains unknown: Herodotus says Lycidas (9.5) while Demosthenes Cysilus (18.204).

³⁰ On this episode and stoning in ancient Greece, see Rosivach 1987.

response may reflect the impact of this exceptional conflict.³¹ As Garland writes, those evacuated to Salamis would have had ‘ringside view’ of the destruction that was being caused by the Persian forces.³² The women at Salamis were not just evacuated passive people waiting for further instructions but active witnesses to the destruction of Athens. Add to this the fact that the destruction at the time was like nothing they had experienced before and you have the perfect recipe for the appearance of unique and extreme patterns of wartime behaviour. Modern parallels attest to the different expressions of female wartime stress, especially in extreme situations. In the Second World War, the French population took collective revenge on female collaborators with the Germans in what is known as *l’épuration sauvage*.³³ The heads of the women whom they believed had collaborated were publicly shaven by other women.³⁴ Although these women did not kill the female collaborators, they are nevertheless exacting vengeance on a group of people they thought were at the heart of their problems.³⁵ Similarly, the women of Athens saw the family of Lycidas as Persian collaborators and so exacted their revenge in the way they saw fit.

The women of Athens have taken precedence in modern conflict narratives because they formed part of one of the most powerful *poleis* in the Classical world and because their suffering is visible, but there is another group of women, often overlooked by modern scholarship, that suffered equally. The women of Aegina were one of the most affected groups of women in the whole of the Peloponnesian War. In the summer of 431 the men of Aegina along with their wives and children were expelled from the island by the Athenians. The Spartans resettled some of these families in perioikic Thyrea while others were spread throughout Greece (Thuc.2.27.1-5). Those in Thyrea were fortunate enough to receive land to cultivate but of the rest we hear nothing more. As the war progressed and the Athenians began to attack coastal perioikic cities throughout Laconia they made their advance towards Thyrea in 425/4. The Aeginetans retreated into the upper walled city but the whole town was eventually burned by the Athenians and plundered of its valuables. The men who were

³¹ For parallel behaviours, see Dewald 2007, 840. However, the fact that Herodotus uses *quasi*-military vocabulary for their arousing (διακελευσαμένη) and enlisting (παραλαβοῦσα) one another until they arrived at the man’s house actually suggests the women’s actions to be individual and separate from their men’s. So here we have not so much a parallel action to that of the men but an individual (re)action carried out by a group (or groups) of women against those who (they thought) embodied in some form the troubles of the time.

³² Garland 2014, 102. See also Diod.Sic.11.14.5, 16.2.

³³ This was ‘the initial spontaneous movement ... [that] was violent and motivated by revenge’ (Diamond 1999, 131). The practice of head-shaving in France started in 1943 and ended in 1946, see Virgili 2002, 61.

³⁴ On head-shaving as a ‘complex phenomenon, loaded with a symbolic importance which functioned on several levels’, see Diamond 1999, 134-142.

³⁵ On the *Femme Tondues*, see Diamond 1999, Virgili 2002.

captured were taken to Athens and killed (Thuc.4.56-57). The non-combatants, as usual, are completely absent from this narrative, but since Thucydides says that the Athenians only took with them those men who were not killed in the fighting the reader is left to assume that they took with them only men. So, what happened to the women? It is possible that they could have retreated to the nearby Lacedaemonian fortifications which were said to have been helping the Aeginetans with their coastal fortification, but it is highly unlikely that the Aeginetans had the time to move any women at all because of the sudden appearance of the Athenians. They barely had enough time to retreat into the walled city in which they lived. It is possible, then, that the women were probably left destitute in the burned city, since they were, after all, the responsibility of the Spartans who had relocated them. The Athenians, who were trying to inflict as much harm as possible on the Spartans by attacking Laconian cities could very well have thought this to be a good wartime strategy. Homeless women and children would be a burden to the Spartans and by leaving them there the Athenians eliminated the costs of transporting them.³⁶

In the examples discussed so far, evacuations are negative experiences for families compelled to leave their homes, but on occasion an exceptional advantage may arise. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War the inhabitants of many un-walled Boeotian communities were moved into Thebes. Many small cities were emptied of their citizens, among them Erythrae, Scaphae, Scolus, Aulis, Schoenus, Potniae and ‘many other such places which had no walls were gathered into Thebes and doubled its size’ (*Hell.Oxy.17.3*). Among those evacuated from their homes who moved into Thebes must have been women (not mentioned by the Oxyrhynchus historian, but among the inhabitants). Thebes was said to prosper when the Lacedaemonians were there: for example, they bought up all the runaway slaves (*andrapoda*) who escaped from Athens and the many things captured in the war for a small price (*Hell.Oxy.17.4*, Thuc.7.27.5). Meanwhile, Athens was being deprived of its property and experienced heavy losses. Here is an exceptional case where we can compare

³⁶ It is not immediately clear what happened to the land they were given by the Spartans – was it burned as well? Thucydides only says that the city of Thyrea was burned and pillaged but says nothing of the land. He does, however, say that the Athenians burned the countryside before making their attack on the city of Thyrea itself (καὶ δηλώσαντες μέρος τι τῆς γῆς ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ Θυρέαν) (4.56.2). The land that was laid waste must have been between Epidaurus Limera and Thyrea, but it is not immediately clear to whom this land belonged. Was this the land of the perioikoi? Or the land of the Aeginetans settled in Thyrea? Could their land be in perioikic territory and, if so, could part of their lands be among those burned by the Athenians before their arrival to the actual city? Ultimately, Thucydides does not say where the land given to the Aeginetans by the Spartans was, and in light of this one can only say that the possibility existed for the women’s land to have been destroyed upon the arrival of the Athenians in 425/4. Thus, this evacuation made these women not only homeless but were devoid of any property and possibly land.

the very different impact of evacuations on the women of two Greek regions experiencing the same conflict. Both the Athenian women and the Boeotian women were evacuated from their countryside (un-walled communities) into a much larger city, the former into Athens and the latter into Thebes. Both groups of women must have experienced the same troubles and tribulations gathering everything and moving into a new place. For instance, both journeys were roughly the same given the relative distances of each provincial community to the larger city. The women who were now in Thebes were indirectly profiting from having left their homes and now being part of a larger city, while the women of Athens were losing money. I refer, of course, to the economic impact in terms of dowries and property held by their *kyrios*, not by the women themselves. The worse the women's economic situation was, the more they were prone to engage in manual labour, which takes us to the next section.

Forced Employment

It is no secret that some women worked during the fifth and fourth centuries. Citizens and metics, manumitted slaves and free women alike engaged in manual labour.³⁷ In Athens the work of citizen and metic women was not that different from each other. Poor women and metics worked in prostitution, as seamstresses and wool workers, among others.³⁸ Citizen women engaged in similar manual labour, mainly as wet nurses, in family workshops or selling handicrafts and products in the *agora*. Working women (in Athens) were commonly assumed to be foreigners or of low status and those of citizen parentage who worked were subject to these stereotypes.³⁹ There are different reasons why citizen women worked, but mainly it was because of poverty and necessity.⁴⁰ Both reasons can be attested in periods of war. The death of a husband, in particular, was nowhere more commonplace than in wartime.

³⁷ The most comprehensive study of working women in ancient Greece is still that of Herfst 1922 *Le Travail de la Femme dans la Grèce Ancienne* but, as de Ste. Croix 1970, 273 has stated, 'there is not much to be gained' from this general work. There have been some developments in recent years; Brock 1994 has analysed the work of citizen women in Athens, and Harris 1992 has re-evaluated 'mortgage stones' (*horai*) inscriptions dating to the fourth and third centuries which show that women could lend (not own) large sums of money, much more than the value of the *medimnus* of barley stated by law (Is.10.10). For women as wool-workers, see Wrenhaven 2009. I refer to 'citizen' (*astai /hai Attikai*) women henceforth with Cartledge's definition in mind: 'Politically, it meant that women were not citizens (*politai*, the feminine form of *polites*, did exist but was hardly ever used; the standard formulas for 'women of citizen status' were *hai Attikai*, 'women of Athens, and *hai astai* 'women of the urban centre')' (2002, 88). On women's civic status, see Blundell 1995, 128-129.

³⁸ The most complete study of metic women to date is that of Rebecca Futo Kennedy 2014 who addressed the general misconception that they worked mainly as prostitutes when in reality they had more impact on Athenian economy than previously recognized.

³⁹ The most famous of these is Euripides' own mother, who was parodied in Aristophanes by supposedly being a vegetable seller (*Eq.*19, *Ach.*478, *Ran.*840, *Thesm.*387).

⁴⁰ Herfst 1922, 92.

This section, therefore, addresses the impact of war on those women who had to find paid employment precisely because war compelled them to – independent of whether they were war widows or not.

Demosthenes' speech 57, delivered in 345, deals with the defence of Euxitheus.⁴¹ He was wrongfully expelled from the citizen roll of his deme of Halimus in Attica and was appealing his case in Athens. Those who accused him used his father's accent (18) and the fact that his mother Nicarete worked as a wet nurse and sold ribbons in the *agora* (30, 34, 35, 41-42) to say that he was not of citizen parents and therefore could not be a citizen himself. Important here are the conditions by which Euxitheus' mother had to find work in the first place, which the speaker presents in his own defence. He says that his mother served as a wet nurse 'in the time of the city's misfortune, when all people were badly off' (ἡμεῖς δέ, ὅθ' ἡ πόλις ἡτύχει καὶ πάντες κακῶς ἔπραπτον, οὐκ ἄρνούμεθα τοῦτο γενέσθαι) (35).⁴² The city's misfortune he refers to is generally accepted to be the Peloponnesian War.⁴³ Furthermore, he adds that she was not the only citizen woman engaged in this work and that at the time of the trial there were many citizen women (ἄστας γυναῖκας πολλὰς) who were serving as wet nurses (35). This remark is followed up at the end of the speech when he lists the types of work that many women did: 'As I am informed' says Euxitheus, 'many women have become wet nurses and labourers at the loom or in the vineyards owing to the misfortunes of the city in those days, women of civic birth too; and many who were poor then are now rich' (ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ ἀκούω, πολλὰ καὶ τιθαὶ καὶ ἔριθοι καὶ τρυγήτραι γεγόνασιν ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς πόλεως κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους συμφορῶν ἄσται γυναῖκες, πολλὰ δ' ἐκ πενήτων πλούσιαι νῦν) (45).

Two things are crucial here: first, that a particular woman was forced to work because of wartime difficulties, and second, that many other women from the same *polis* were forced to work for exactly the same reason. Now, what this entailed was completely different for each and every one of these women. At least, in the case of Nicarete, nursing was a temporary job taken during wartime when the pressures of war were too much. She had five sons in total with Euxitheus' father, four of which had died by the time of the trial but it is highly unlikely they all died at the same time (28). Therefore, she had to feed and provide for some of them at least, and indeed she already had two of them when she took up the nursing job (42).

⁴¹ This speech has been studied by those interested in Athenian law and economy because it is essential to citizenship studies, see, for example, Just 1989.

⁴² Modified trans. Murray 1939.

⁴³ See Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977, 180-181, Futo Kennedy 2014, 123-124.

As the speech develops, we learn more personal details about her specific wartime circumstances. Her husband Thucritus was absent on military service with the general Thrasybulus⁴⁴ and Nicarete found herself ‘in hard straits’ (ἀπορίαις) with two children of her own when she took a boy named Cleinias to nurse (42). ‘In view of the poverty with which she had to cope’, argues Euxitheus, ‘she did what was perhaps both necessary and fitting’ (τῇ μέντοι ὑπαρχούσῃ πενίᾳ ἴσως καὶ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ ἀρμόττοντα ποιοῦσα) (43). Thus, it was not only the pressures of war, but the poverty (πενία) caused by her husband’s absence what forced this citizen woman to work as a wet nurse during the Peloponnesian War.

The absence of husbands due to military expeditions was a regular feature of the wartime lives of all women, not just Athenian ones. Aristophanes makes this a consistent female complain in his *Lysistrata*: when Lysistrata asks the women if they do not miss the fathers of their children, they all quickly respond – each taking her turn – the specific length of time their husbands have been away. Calonice, an Athenian woman responds that her husband has been away for five months on the Thracian front, Myrrhine from an Attic deme says that hers has been away at Pylos for ‘seven whole months’, and Spartan Lampito that ‘whenever he does come home from the regiment, [he] is soon strapping on his shield and flying off again’ (ὁ δ’ ἐμός γα, καὶ κ’ ἐκ τᾶς ταγᾶς ἔλσῃ ποκά, πορπακισάμενος φροῦδος ἀμπτάμενος ἔβα) (99-110).⁴⁵ The immediate wartime absence of husbands is stressed by every woman, from Athens to Sparta.⁴⁶ Husbands were also absent because they died in war. The garland seller in Aristophanes’ *Thesmophoriazusae* (later identified as Critylla) also had to engage in trade in the *agora* because her husband had died in Cyprus (443-458). Even though Aristophanes does not say that her husband died in war, her circumstances are strikingly similar to those of Nicarete:

I have come forward too, to make but a few remarks... I want to speak out about my own personal sufferings. My husband died in Cyprus, leaving me with five small children that I’ve had a struggle to feed by weaving garlands in the myrtle market. So until recently I managed to feed them only half

⁴⁴ An Athenian general who led different campaigns during the Peloponnesian War. He died in 388, thus giving us a *terminus ante quem* for Thucritus’ military service. For Thrasybulus’ campaigns, see Buck 1998.

⁴⁵ The average soldier was away no less than two months in between enrolments. Lysias, for example, in his speech *For the Soldier*, mentions a man who had been enrolled twice in less than two months and this was evidently too fast for him: ‘The year before last, after I had arrived in the city, I had not yet been in residence for two months when I was enrolled as a soldier. On learning what had been done, I at once suspected that I had been enrolled for some improper reason. So I went to the general, and pointed out that I had already served in the army; but I met with most unfair treatment. I was grossly insulted but, although indignant, I kept quiet’ (9.4).

⁴⁶ Note that only legitimate fathers of children of citizen women are the ones who are actually away. Calonice’s reference to the complete absence of lovers from the city which implies the absolute absence of men cannot be treated as a serious remark, given the comic joke about the Milesian dildos included with it (107). Anyhow, no city was ever completely devoid of men during war.

badly ... But I'm off to the market: I've got an order to plait garlands for a group of twenty men.

(*Ar.Thesm.*443-458)

Roger Brock has doubted that Critylla is a war widow because he claims that she was widowed before 450 and not in the Peloponnesian War but he makes no explanation as to why he believes this.⁴⁷ Similarly, Colin Austin and S. Douglas Olson claim that 'had Kritylla's husband died in the fighting then, [Cyprus' conflict of 449] her children would be in their late 30's and 40's by now and she would have no need to support them'.⁴⁸ But I think, following Alan Sommerstein, that 'her words do not necessarily imply that the children are still young or that she is still responsible for them'.⁴⁹ Therefore, making it likely that she is a war widow.⁵⁰ That a husband's death forced a woman to engage in paid employment is also what is important here, since as previously stated, many women were war widows in the Peloponnesian War and one can assume this would have been a common occurrence with other women as well. Poverty is also crucial here. Although presented through the lens of comedy, this episode shows common concerns at the time when conflict was still on-going. In the case of Athens, as Raaflaub argued, 'it is astonishing that we know nothing about material support for war widows'.⁵¹ Some argue that the state offered support to widows, orphans and those claiming to be pregnant from their deceased husbands, while others that state support extended only to war orphans (not to war widows).⁵² But whether this support (if it existed) applied to those widows whose husbands were captured in war or sold into slavery is another matter, as Rachel H. Sternberg quite rightly points out.⁵³ One supposes that since the possibility existed for the soldier to be ransomed (if captive), then it makes sense for the state not to intervene.⁵⁴

As seen with both Nicarete and Critylla, the usual representation of women who take up paid employment because of war is as poor women who were suffering specifically because of the effects of war. But whether Nicarete (and her family) was actually poor or not

⁴⁷ Brock 1994, 344.

⁴⁸ Austin and Olson 2004, 191.

⁴⁹ Sommerstein 1994, 185.

⁵⁰ In the end, it should not matter when or where this woman became a war widow whether in the current conflict or before, since the important thing is that she is most likely a war widow who was struggling to make ends meet at a time when conflict was indeed happening. There is no reason to take the reference at face value either, Aristophanes could have easily made up the place where this woman was widowed so as to deliberately not to mention any of the recent or current conflicts.

⁵¹ Raaflaub 2014, 34.

⁵² Support: Just 1989, 30, Sternberg 2006, 72. No support: Den Boer 1979, 35, Cudjoe 2000, 223.

⁵³ Sternberg 2006, 72; although she is concerned with the legal status of the widows.

⁵⁴ But it is more complex in the case of a man sold into slavery; a subject out of the scope of this study.

– as Euxitheus is so adamant to claim – is another matter.⁵⁵ On the one hand, they are comfortable enough to employ Demosthenes, which has led Davies to assume that they were indeed not poor, while on the other hand, the particular circumstances of Nicarete’s marriages suggest that she was not wealthy.⁵⁶ She was married off to Euxitheus’ father because her former husband became suddenly entitled to marry an heiress (*epikleros*) and inherit an estate. This implies one of two things: first, that Nicarete did not descend from a wealthy family – note that this does not need to imply that she was actually poor – or secondly, that the family which her former husband was marrying into had considerably more money than hers (40-41). However, it is equally possible that Nicarete and Euxitheus were indeed poor people and that this is precisely why she took up the nursing job. Other people were indeed compelled to find paid employment due to this war. For example, Eutherus, a friend of Socrates, upon his return after the war ended was forced to work precisely because his father left him nothing and his foreign property was lost (*Xen.Mem.*2.8.1-2). He was, thus, to all intents and purposes, destitute. If poor people were compelled by necessity to work then it seems appropriate that it was precisely during war that a citizen woman took up paid employment. Or, at least, a woman working is understandable in this context.

Before mentioning his mother’s work as a wet nurse, Euxitheus refers to himself and his mother as ‘traders’ and as ‘those who ply a trade’ (ἐργαζομένους) selling ribbons in the *agora*, and this was probably, as Brock has argued, a steady business they had going on for a while.⁵⁷ However, it is not immediately clear whether they engaged in this work also because of war (32-33). We know that Euxitheus’ father Thucritus was taken prisoner in the Decelean War (413-404) long enough for him to acquire an accent (18), but it is unclear whether he and Nicarete were already married. Lacey argues that they were married between 410-405, while Davies c. 395.⁵⁸ If they were married when he was taken prisoner, then we should see this as the time when Nicarete perhaps started selling ribbons in the *agora*.⁵⁹ This would make the *agora* business also the result of her husband’s wartime absence. Both types of work (wet nurse and *agora* business) were being used in Euxitheus’ accusation but he only says the nursing job was due to war. This may be due to the different defence emphasis that Euxitheus

⁵⁵ Demosthenes refers to Euxitheus’ mother’s poverty, to her first husband’s poverty, to his deceased father’s poverty, and to his current poverty (57.25, 31, 35, 36, 41, 42, 45). A closer analysis of the speech suggests that Nicarete, at the time of the trial was not poor but in fact led a comfortable life, but that she was not rich as the opponents were claiming (52).

⁵⁶ Davies 1971, 95.

⁵⁷ Brock 1994, 344.

⁵⁸ Lacey 1980, 59, Davies 1971, 95. Euxitheus only presents his father’s wartime enslavement as a reason why he acquired an accent.

⁵⁹ Lacey argues that Thucritus was a war prisoner for a maximum of 15 years, see Lacey 1980, 59.

places on each type of work and not because, as Brock seems to claim, their business in the *agora* was probably not because of war.⁶⁰ Euxitheus does not say they were selling ribbons in the *agora* because of war because for this job he could produce evidence for his mother not paying the resident alien tax – which metics had to pay if they had a market business in Athens – therefore proving that she was of citizen descent (31-34).⁶¹ But for the nursing job, the jury had to rely only on his word and a witness report from Cleinias' relatives proving that this woman whom they knew as Nicarete was their former wet nurse, which, of course, Euxitheus knew was not definite proof of his mother's citizen status (44). Thus, he gives the exact reasons of why and when his mother undertook this particular job. In other words, nursing, being a private contract between nurse and prospective family required more explaining in a court of law than the *agora* business which is regulated by the state.

Nicarete's employment as a wet nurse shows how even during times of war there existed households that were not undergoing any considerable misfortune. In this case, the family of Cleinias was able to hire a woman as a wet nurse at a time when according to Euxitheus 'everyone was badly off'. This shows how the impact of war is not always negative for everyone and how one cannot take at face value wartime reports of absolute misery or absolute devastation. Cleinias' family, for all the misfortunes they might have gone through during the Peloponnesian War, were still able to hire individuals to undertake paid employment for them. A wet nurse was usually hired when a child was left motherless or the family was wealthy (Dio.Chrys.7.114)⁶² and one can suppose that Nicarete was not the only worker they hired throughout the conflict and perhaps not the first nor last. This also shows the image of a wartime household that continued functioning in the same way as in peacetime. This does not mean that this family had no considerable losses or that they did not experience difficulties, but it does show how the impact of war is always different even for the same group of women in the same city experiencing the same conflict, in this case the citizen women of Athens experiencing the effects of the Peloponnesian War.

Leaving Nicarete aside, this speech further tells us about the circumstances of other women during and after the Peloponnesian War. If one believes Euxitheus, there were many other Athenian women who were working as nurses in his day (35). Could this be a remark which implies that others remained in their jobs because their post war circumstances forced them to keep working? It is impossible to know whether these other women also started

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Roberts 1998, 25.

⁶² See also n. 63 below.

working during the war, but it is not altogether unlikely given that nursing is one of the jobs he mentions when he refers to the other women who were indeed compelled to find work due to the war (45). These other women worked as wet nurses (τιτθαῖ), at the loom (ἔριθοι) and in the vineyards (τρυγήτριαι).⁶³ Brock claims that ‘we should be wary’ of Euxitheus’ statement about many women working due to war, especially in agriculture, because Euxitheus’ family has been working for a while in the *agora* business.⁶⁴ But the *agora* business has nothing to do with the work other women do. Euxitheus is explicitly talking about the wet nursing job which is the one that got them into trouble in the first place (45). Even though women working in agriculture are invisible in written sources this does not mean that they never engaged in this type of work or that we should not trust Euxitheus when he says this. Especially, when two of the other works that he lists are definitely well attested in written sources and epigraphy.⁶⁵ And especially since Attica suffered more than any other region of constant attacks on their lands and one would suppose that many people were needed to both complement and supplement the work of slaves in the fields.⁶⁶ Hanson argued that ‘farming resumed right after, or perhaps even before, hostilities ceased’⁶⁷ so we can suggest here that those women who worked gathering grapes did so at the end of the Peloponnesian War or immediately after it ended. Therefore, Euxitheus’ remark about other women similarly forced to find paid employment due to the effects brought upon by the Peloponnesian War bears more truth than previously recognized.

Women as wool workers during this same conflict are attested in Xenophon’s *Memorabilia*. From a conversation between Socrates and his friend Aristarchus in which Socrates is giving him good advice, we learn that when the influx of people happened at Athens and when, in particular, the Piraeus was full of people, Aristarchus at one point found himself with fourteen female relatives in his house. His cousins, nieces and daughters were all living with him and this number of people was not counting his slaves (2.7.1-14). He was

⁶³ Or literally, as the LSJ defines it: ‘one who gathers dried fruit, esp. grapes’. The word ‘τρυγήτρια’ is hardly attested in Classical written sources; it is most frequent in later ones. Dio Chrysostom in his *Euboean Discourse*, for instance, uses it in a strikingly similar manner to that of Demosthenes. ‘Let them pay no heed to those idle objectors who are wont often to sneer obviously not only at a man’s occupation when it has nothing at all objectionable in it, but even at that of his parents, when, for instance, his mother was once on occasion someone’s hired servant or a harvester of grapes, or was a paid wet-nurse for a motherless child or a rich man’s, or when his father was a schoolmaster or a tutor’ (7.114).

⁶⁴ Brock 1994, 344.

⁶⁵ Wet nurses are commonly attested in Athenian tombstones of the Classical period, see Clairmont 1993. Women working in textiles are also well-attested in fourth century manumission inscriptions, see Wrenhaven 2009. For the different types of occupations women engaged in, see Lefkowitz and Fant 2005, 218-221.

⁶⁶ See Hanson 1998, 131-173.

⁶⁷ Hanson 1998, 166-167.

complaining to Socrates that he could not maintain them all, to which Socrates replied whether or not they could make the same things as other households produced, namely clothing and work in textiles. Aristarchus, therefore, bought the necessary equipment and set his women to work. The positive outcome of this was that work, although servile, is still productive and better than poverty. This episode shows the impact of war on the women of another Athenian household during the Peloponnesian War. It shows that women were indeed compelled to work for payment because of war, and it also puts forward the idea that under duress women could be proactive towards their own wellbeing at war. This section has shown how both evacuations and women working as a result of wartime poverty are the most visible ways in which women were affected by war. They experienced constant movement and were forced to engage in paid employment for different reasons; some because their husband's temporary absence, others because of their husbands' death at war.

Tremblers and their Women

The above impacts, however, are by no means the only ones. There are far more diverse effects of war on women than has been previously recognized. The majority of war's impact is often less visible and happens in much more insidious ways. In the context of Classical Sparta, for instance, where war permeated aspects of citizen life to a higher degree than other *poleis*, the impact of war has only been seen via its male citizens; the decline of its male population through war being the most analysed.⁶⁸ But the female relatives of men who were deemed 'tremblers' (*tresantes*) at war were often left without the possibility to marry, and this is a direct yet subtle impact of war which needs to be analysed fully if one is to understand the different social realities of women in war. This is a distinctive impact of war on the women of a specific *polis* that cannot be attested outside Sparta, and as such, it merits full consideration.

In order to address the impact of war on the women of a trembler's *oikos*, we need first to briefly address Spartan women and their perceived connection to war in general. Spartan women have been studied solely in relation to their economic and social standards of the Classical period.⁶⁹ Classical Sparta was distinctive in many ways from other Greek *poleis*, but the people who lived there were no different when it came to women and war. The impact of war on the women of Sparta has only been gleaned from the lens of the image of the

⁶⁸ See, for example, Hodkinson 1995.

⁶⁹ See Walcot 1999, Hodkinson, 2000, Cartledge, 2001, Pomeroy, 2002.

Spartan woman as portrayed in Plutarch's *Sayings of Spartan Women*, where the distorted image of the proud Spartan mother prefers her son dead than alive.⁷⁰ However, the numerous problems that these *Sayings* have are widely known. Just to mention the most common example of this – which both Hodkinson and Dillon have pointed out: the famous saying of a Spartan mother telling her son to come with his shield or on it cannot be assigned to any aspect of Classical Spartan reality since the Spartans never brought their dead home – they were always interred where they died fighting.⁷¹ Some of these sayings are therefore Hellenistic in nature and cannot be reflecting practices of the Classical period with any certainty. For the impact of war on these women, then, we have to look at their men's actions.

In Sparta, those female relatives of the men who showed cowardice in battle (*tresantes*) were severely affected by their men's actions at war. Being labelled a *tresas* had different social and legal negative repercussions.⁷² Different written sources attest to their existence from the sixth to the fourth century.⁷³ Tyrtaeus, for example, says that they 'lost all their worth' (f. 11 14-16), Herodotus, that 'no Spartan would kindle fire for him and that 'no one addressed a word to him' (7.231), and Plutarch, that they are 'excluded from holding any office' (*Ages*.30.2). But two sources in particular address a different kind of sanction which concerns the *tresantes*' household. Xenophon says that:

at home he has to support his young female relatives, and bear in front of them the responsibility for their unmarried state; he must endure the sight of his own home with no wife in it, while also having to pay the fine for being unmarried

καὶ τὰς μὲν προσηκούσας κόρας οἶκοι θρεπτέον καὶ ταύταις τῆς ἀνανδρείας αἰτίαν ὑφεκτέον, γυναῖκός δὲ κενὴν ἐστὶαν περιπτέον καὶ ἅμα τοῦτου ζημίαν ἀποτειστέον

(*Lac.Pol*.9.5)⁷⁴

Plutarch adds that 'it is considered improper to give a spouse to one of them, or to receive one through him' (ἀλλὰ καὶ δοῦναί τινι τούτων γυναῖκα καὶ λαβεῖν ἄδοξόν ἐστι)

⁷⁰ See, for instance, Romero González 2008.

⁷¹ Hodkinson 2005, 314, Dillon 2007, 149-150.

⁷² Literature on 'tremblers' is scarce: Loraux 1977, Ducat 2006a. Cowardice is purposely vague in written sources because it can have several meanings and it can be displayed in different ways, either by running away or throwing away one's shield (among others). See Ducat 2006a, 10-17, who identifies at least eight different ways in which 'tremblers' could display cowardice.

⁷³ Tyrtaeus f. 11 14-16, Hdt.7.231-232, Thuc.5.34.2, Xen.*Lac.Pol*.9.4, Isoc.8.143, *Letter* 2.6, Diod.Sic.19.70, Plut.*Lyc*.21.2 and Plut.*Ages*.30.2.

⁷⁴ Trans. Ducat 2006a.

(Ages.30.3).⁷⁵ The ‘κόρας’ that needed supporting were not only his unmarried daughters but any other female relative living with the ‘trembler’, and this included also those relatives whom he exercised his guardianship over, including his sisters.⁷⁶

The female relatives here are being affected by war without doing anything, they are totally dependent on their male’s actions at war. Their lack of control over their own destinies perhaps suggests why Xenophon says that the *tresas* must ‘bear the responsibility’ (αἰτίαν ὑφεκτέον) for the women’s ‘ἀνανδρείας’. As Ducat has argued, the women might ‘belabour him with reproaches’.⁷⁷ This suggests that the shame incurred in war was passed on to his *oikos* as well. The social ramifications for these women might have been as varied as that of the trembler himself. The nature of the trembler’s exclusion may give an indication to the women’s exclusion as well. No one addressed him in public (Hdt.7.231), he was picked last for community ball games, in choruses he gets the ‘demeaning positions’ (ἐπονειδίστους χώρας ἀπελαύνεται), and has to make allowances for his inferiors in the streets (Xen.Lac.Pol.9.5). Given that these are all public penalties, one may propose that the women’s exclusion took form in a similar manner, but within their own female areas.⁷⁸ It is possible, then, that they may have faced similar public shaming in women only religious cults.⁷⁹

That it is the trembler’s responsibility that his female relatives are not married is explicitly stated, but what is not explicit is whether this was an actual ban on the women’s marriage as scholars often believe.⁸⁰ Ducat claims that ‘what forces the young girls to remain at home is the impossibility of their *kyrios*’s marrying them off’ and he is indeed right in arguing that they need to be supported by the ‘trembler’ because they cannot be married off. However, the passage does not state that their marriage is actually impossible. Xenophon merely states the reason why the ‘trembler’ is forced to support them. In theory, it is also probable that a ‘trembler’ could give away his daughters in marriage but was not allowed to give them a dowry – independent of whether they owned property themselves, were due to

⁷⁵ Scholars are not in agreement whether this was a legal matter or a social one more related to custom rather than law. MacDowell 1986, 45 argues that ‘marrying a coward’s daughter was demeaning but not illegal’, while Ducat 2006a, 22, whom I follow here, argues for both the social and legal aspects of this sanction. See also Lévy 2003, 48 who views it as a legal matter.

⁷⁶ Contra Ducat who claims that in order for his daughters to be affected they needed to have been born before his ‘trembling’ (2006a, 21). There is nothing to suppose that where guardianship is concerned, this also may have included distant relatives like nieces and cousins part of his *oikos*.

⁷⁷ Ducat 2006a, 21.

⁷⁸ I am not suggesting that the women’s impact must mirror to that of their men, but that it may have mirrored the arena in which it took place (i.e. the public sphere).

⁷⁹ On Spartan women and religion, see Pomeroy 2002, 105-123.

⁸⁰ Ducat 2006a.

receive one or not, and were rich or not.⁸¹ Denial of dowries, although few, are attested in written sources. Plutarch, for example, specifically says that the ephors confiscated the property of a man named Alcippus to deprive his daughters of dowries (*Amatoriae Narrationes* 5). His story is designed to explain the divine reasons for the earthquake, thus, this is a minute detail that the reader is supposed to assume. Aelian also attests for the existence of undowried women in Sparta by saying that those who married them ‘were relieved of all public duties’ (*VH.6.6*). These undowried women are consistently poor women⁸² but as the case of Alcippus’ daughters show, undowried women could come from prominent families. Therefore, there is nothing to stop one from assuming that female relatives of ‘tremblers’ could be amongst those undowried women of Classical Sparta. Spartan girls without a dowry and with the *tresas*’ reputation shadowing them were essentially unmarriageable.⁸³ The economic ramifications for an unmarried girl in Sparta were significant. Hodkinson argues that ‘a girl on her marriage received a significant transfer of land from her parents’.⁸⁴ In the case of the female relatives of tremblers, then, it affected them greatly if they could not be given away on marriage or if they could be given away on marriage but without land or dowries. Without the possibility of marrying, the girls could not become mothers; an all important aspect for Spartan women.⁸⁵

Furthermore, if we take into consideration Plutarch’s statement (with Theopompus and Ephorus as his sources) that there were specific laws on marriage in Sparta concerning not marrying (*ἀγαμίου δίκη*), marrying late (*ὀψιγαμίου*), and bad marriages (*κακογαμίου*) (*Lys.30.7*), we can deduce that bad marriages existed and there is nothing to suppose that if and when the daughter of a ‘trembler’ was married then this probably would have constituted as a ‘κακογάμιον’. MacDowell concludes that ‘κακογάμιον’ ‘presumably meant marrying the daughter of a man who either committed an offence or was not a Spartiate’.⁸⁶ As we have seen, being considered a ‘trembler’ was indeed an offence (*atimia*) and not a light one. If the

⁸¹ For dowries in Sparta, see Hodkinson 2009, 98-103 who argues that dowries were the norm except in the very poor, and that ‘marrying without a dowry was the exception not the rule’. Under Hodkinson’s theory of ‘Universal Female Inheritance’ (100) every Spartan daughter was entitled to inherit some land and ‘what Aristotle [*Pol.1270a*] calls ‘dowries’, were in reality a *pre-mortem* inheritance given on a daughter’s marriage and that the size of those dowries was influenced by what the daughter would expect to receive ultimately on her parents’ death’.

⁸² See, for example, the *Saying* where a poor girl says that she brings *sophrosyne* as a dowry (Plut.*Mor.242D*).

⁸³ Plutarch’s story about the suitors of Lysander’s daughters shows how prospective husband’s interests lay upon women who could bring substantial dowries with them upon marriage. Apparently, some men were interested in marrying Lysander’s daughters, but upon discovering that he was poor they gave up their pursuit of the girls and they were punished for this (*Lys.30.7*).

⁸⁴ Hodkinson 2009, 99.

⁸⁵ Pomeroy 2002, 51.

⁸⁶ MacDowell 1986, 74.

name for ‘marrying bad’ existed in the first place it is because marriages of this kind took place. If so, then it is here where one should look for evidence that female relatives of ‘tremblers’ were indeed given away in marriage or received from a ‘tremblers’ family it is just that it was considered wrong and socially unacceptable. Thus, there was actually nothing stopping these women from marrying, but in reality their chances of actually marrying were slim. We should see the female relatives of ‘tremblers’ similar to those women who came from poor households – there was nothing preventing them to marry but they had less chances of marrying in the first place. Thus, the impact of war on the women from a tremblers’ *oikos*, was not static, but affected these women nonetheless.

The other part of Xenophon’s passage says that the ‘trembler’ must endure his own home without a wife and this could only mean that if unmarried, he could not marry either by law or custom (although there is no need to separate the two) – either way it was because no one would want to give his female relative in marriage to him. But what happens to his wife if he was already married? Ducat claims that the ‘marriage would have been dissolved’.⁸⁷ But there is no evidence for the dissolution of marriages in Sparta in our sources and if the context of the sanction was in any way a legal one this would have been very unlikely given that – if one goes by the extant evidence – Classical Greek laws were not retrospective. (In Athens, for instance, the citizenship law introduced by Pericles was not effective retrospectively and only affected those from its institution date onwards.⁸⁸)

It is hard to see how the wife of a trembler could have her marriage annulled. What happened to their children? And what about the property she would have brought with her? Perhaps property is only an issue with wealthier Spartan women, but not for less well-off women. Nevertheless, the complications of having such a marriage annulled are far greater than if the marriage was, for instance, kept as it was but a fine imposed on it. And given Sparta’s propensity to fine its citizens, this is not hard to believe.⁸⁹ If we accept MacDowell’s

⁸⁷ Ducat 2006a, 22. The evidence for Spartan divorces is almost non-existent. There are few known cases involving kings and are from exceptional circumstances where property and the hereditary royal line was at stake (Hdt.5.40). Hodkinson 2009, 435, following Ducat, suggests that: ‘Even if there was no legal prohibition on marriage between persons of Spartiate and Inferior status (which cannot be excluded), it is unlikely that any Spartiate family would have countenanced a contract of marriage – and perhaps even the continuation of an existing marriage – with an Inferior or any of his dependants’. But see Powell 2009, 411-412 who sensibly argues that ‘we do not know whether a Spartan woman could – on her own initiative or that of others – divorce her husband’. The Gortyn Law Code, which Spartan law about women is commonly associated with, has some regulations concerning female divorcees about property (2.45-3.16) and infanticide (3.45-4.54). But whether or not this was in any way similar to Sparta is another matter. On the Gortyn Law Code, see Willets 1967, Davies 2005.

⁸⁸ See, for example, Osborne 2010, 246-247.

⁸⁹ Fines were imposed on the overall population and even on Spartan kings, see Figueira 2002, 156-157. See also Thuc.5.63.2-4, Aristoph.*Clouds*.859, Xen.*Hell*.5.2.32, Plut.*Pel*.6.1, Plut.*Ages*.34.7.

argument that even though we do not know what penalties were imposed on ‘κακογάμιον’ ‘they did not include dissolution of the marriage’, then it is far more likely that the marriage was not dissolved but affected by a number of other measures which Xenophon left unsaid.⁹⁰ Surely, if the wives of *tresantes* had to leave their husbands, this would have been just as worthy of reporting as the *tresantes*’ fines for not marrying in the first place. Thus, we are seeing here the insidious effects of war on the female population of a particular city which took law and warfare seriously. This stigma perhaps did not apply narrowly, because, in theory, this can be said not only of Spartan women but also of Laconian women overall.⁹¹ Thus, we should not imagine the wife of a trembler as being expelled from her *oikos* but rather suffering perhaps from social exclusion and bearing the shame of her husband.

Both Xenophon and Plutarch’s passages regarding ‘tremblers’ show how a soldier’s conduct in war affected his female relatives back at home. If the women’s prospects for marriage in Sparta were diminished when their male relatives behaved badly in war, then it is not hard to suppose that just as with the ‘trembler’ himself, this brought deep shame upon the women also. These women must have been under close social scrutiny and surely rumours about being the ‘trembler’s’ daughter, sister, or even worse, his mother, would have affected them greatly. Under this image of the impact of war on Spartan women, we can then understand why the various *Sayings of Spartan Women* developed later to represent the ‘reproaching mother’ theme when her son was accused of deserting his post (λιποτακτέω).⁹² Two mothers supposedly killed their sons when they learned they were cowards (*Mor.*240f-241a). Another, upon learning that her sons left battle rebuked them and lifted up her garment and asked them whether they intended to crawl back in where they came from (*Mor.*241b). And yet another who had two sons at war, but only one was living as a result of his cowardice, denied him by saying he was not hers (*Mor.*242a). These *Sayings*, therefore, are strategies that pre-empt accusations against women via their menfolk.

Although post-classical and fictional, these *Apophthegmata* reflect a preoccupation with following law (*nomos*) that is a widespread aspect of Spartan ideology, and *nomos* is nowhere more important for a Spartan than at war. The men’s behaviour is being policed by the women not just because it reinforced ideology, as Figueira argues,⁹³ but also because the

⁹⁰ MacDowell 1986, 74.

⁹¹ The sources for ‘tremblers’ listed by Ducat 2006a, 3-6 mostly refer to Lacedaemonians. Thus, it is very likely that *perioikic* women would have been similarly affected if their male relatives were considered as such.

⁹² The sayings about cowards are the following: *Mor.*240f-241a, 241b, 242a. Modern scholarship on the *Sayings of Spartan Women* is surprisingly scant. See Ducat 1999, Hodkinson 2009, 38-43 and Figueira 2010.

⁹³ Figueira 2010, 280.

women were severely affected by the men's wartime actions. The fact that all cowardly soldiers interact with their mothers upon returning from war is not because the *Sayings* have, as Figueira claims, 'isolated the period of early combat by a young soldier as the target for social programming';⁹⁴ it is because there existed an earlier tradition (which Figueira himself recognizes)⁹⁵ about the stereotypical Spartan mother that is concerned with her son's wartime behaviour. This is illustrated by Theano, the mother of Pausanias the regent, when she placed a brick in front of the temple in which her son was taking refuge as suppliant. This story makes its appearance in Diodorus Siculus and can be traced back to Ephorus as his source (Diod.Sic.11.45.6). These stories may reflect the importance that being the mother of a trembler had in Spartan society. The women gave their approval to the sanctions on their sons because they knew the implications of cowardly behaviour at war, not only for their sons but for them as women as well.

This section, by contrast to the previous one, demonstrates how the impact of war on women was not always straightforward. It shows that sometimes we need to look for the impact of war on women in ancient societies in the places we least expect. The majority of the time war's effects reached into the *oikos* and affected women differently depending on the city in which women lived. In the case of the women of Sparta, these did not have to do anything to be affected by war as they were already affected by their men's actions in war. These women, different from the women of other *poleis*, faced the possibility of not inheriting land via marriage because of their men's cowardly actions at war. They may have also faced social exclusion from key events in a Spartan woman's life such as religious processions and similar public events.

Loss and Grief

When the defeat and consequent disaster had been reported to the people and the city was tense with alarm at the news, the people's hope of safety had come to rest with the men of over fifty. Free women could be seen crouching at the doors in terror inquiring for the safety of their husbands, fathers or brothers, offering a spectacle degrading to themselves and to the city.

(Lyc.1.39-40)

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Figueira 2010, 281.

Lycurgus in his speech *Against Leocrates*, shows the way in which the women of Athens reacted upon hearing the news of the Athenian defeat at Chaeronea in 338. No other source describes in such a straightforward way the impact that negative wartime news had on women. But how typical is the women's reaction? The laments of the women in tragedies have been used as the canonical expressions of female wartime loss and grief.⁹⁶ Dué, for instance, argues that 'all use the language of lament to speak out about their own suffering and the consequences of war for women'.⁹⁷ It is important, however, to recognize diversity, and that women's expressions (even when given their own voices) can never be taken as an absolute, much less when it comes to war. This section analyses the different female expressions of wartime loss and grief, but it also explores how informed women were about military matters during the Classical period because this will inevitably influence their overall reaction to the final news of military successes or defeats.

That women were distressed after the news of any defeat was the expected response of many during the Classical period. For instance, when the sole survivor of the Aeginetan conflict returned to Athens, he was met with many resentful wives who stabbed him to death:

Back in Athens he told everyone about the disaster, and when the wives of the men who had gone on the expedition to Aegina heard the news, they were furious that he should be the only one to survive. They surrounded him, grabbed hold of him, and stabbed him to death with the brooches which fastened their clothes, while each of them asked him where her husband was...the Athenians found what the women had done even more shocking than the disaster on Aegina...

(Hdt.5.87)

This episode has been seen as an aetiological story to explain the women's change of dress, and, as originating from a 'complex of misogynous folk motifs', but it also depicts a female response to receiving the news of a military defeat.⁹⁸ The women here are not just ordinary women, they are explicitly the widows of the men who died in the conflict. More importantly, as Dewald argues, 'the women's actions also suggests the extent to which Herodotus sees men and women alike reflecting a single set of social values; the violence of war here infects a whole culture and not just its male sector'.⁹⁹ Similarly, as seen above, during the Persian invasion of Athens, the women of Salamis (among them were the Athenian women evacuated

⁹⁶ See, for example, Dué 2006.

⁹⁷ Dué 2006, 21.

⁹⁸ Misogyny: Dewald 1989, 98. Aetiological interpretation: Harlow and Nosch 2014, 19.

⁹⁹ Dewald 1989, 98.

to Salamis) were said to have killed the wife and children of the only man who proposed to hear the Persians' proposals (Hdt.9.5). These women, therefore, were driven to the extreme.

However, when it comes to Sparta, a different scenario appears. After the Lacedaemonians were defeated at Leuctra (371), the women of Sparta are said to have behaved in a rather different fashion to the women above:

Further, although they duly gave the names of the dead to their several kinsmen, they gave orders to the women not to make any outcry, but to bear the calamity in silence. And on the following day one could see those whose relatives had been killed going about in public with bright and cheerful faces, while of those whose relatives had been reported as living you would have seen but few, and these few walking about gloomy and downcast.

καὶ τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἐκάστου τῶν τεθνεώτων ἀπέδοσαν· προεῖπαν δὲ ταῖς γυναῖξι μὴ ποιεῖν κραυγὴν, ἀλλὰ σιγῇ τὸ πάθος φέρειν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἦν ὁρᾶν, ὧν μὲν ἐτέθνασαν οἱ προσήκοντες, λιπαροὺς καὶ φαιδροὺς ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἀναστρεφομένους, ὧν δὲ ζῶντες ἡγγελμένοι ἦσαν, ὀλίγους ἂν εἶδες, τούτους δὲ σκυθρωποὺς καὶ ταπεινοὺς περιόντας.

(Xen.*Hell.*6.4.16)

Plutarch is much more specific in his version of the event. He adds more detail to the story by first setting the social space of the festival (i.e. full of foreigners (ξένων)) and then describing the arrival of the messengers (ἀπαγγέλλοντες) and the reaction of the overall population (*Ages.*29.2-4). Finally, he describes the special and different response of the women of Sparta:

And a still greater difference was to be seen (or heard about) in the women; she who expected her son back from the battle alive was dejected and silent, but the mothers of those reported to have fallen immediately frequented the temples, and visited one another with an air of gladness and pride.

ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον τῶν γυναικῶν ἰδεῖν ἦν καὶ πυθέσθαι τὴν μὲν ζῶντα προσδεχομένην υἱὸν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης κατηφῇ καὶ σιωπηλῇ, τὰς δὲ τῶν πεπτωκέναι λεγομένων ἐν τε τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὐθὺς ἀναστρεφομένας, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἰλαρῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως βαδίζούσας.

(Plut.*Ages.*29.5)

The difference in each account is striking. Xenophon addresses the women of Sparta as an overall collective (γυναῖξι), while Plutarch places the emphasis on the mothers of soldiers only (υἱὸν). However, the women's behaviour may not be as contradictory as has been

sometimes claimed.¹⁰⁰ The women of Sparta were told to bear their suffering in silence, a remark which, as Figueira correctly identified,¹⁰¹ clearly shows that the ephors expected these women to suffer and be noisy about it too. What is different in the case of the women of Sparta is the collective behaviour of the relatives of the war dead emphasised by Xenophon. As seen above, in Athens, the female relatives and widows saw the death of their men as a loss (and overall a negative experience), but in the case of the women of Sparta, the latter did not have the same attitude towards their war dead. Taking into consideration women's different responses to wartime news of defeats shown above, it is hard to say that there actually exists a 'customary bereavement response of Greek women'.¹⁰² Instead, what we see above is variation.

There exists, however, an overwhelming concern with the impact of war on women in a public sphere. The experiences of all the women above were most likely recorded not because they showed women in distress, but because they showed women in *public* distress at a time of war. Lycurgus describes the spectacle (ὀρωμένας) as 'degrading' (ἀνάξιος) not because the women dared to venture outside the *oikos* to ask about their male relatives (as Petrie believes¹⁰³) but because they made a very public scene in front of many. A similar scene was what the ephors were trying to prevent after Leuctra since the women were taking part in a public festival. This is also why the Spartan women's reaction to the Theban invasion was so criticised.

One element which cannot be overlooked is that, with the exception of Herodotus and his account of the daughter of Hegetorides, the suffering of other groups of women like *hetairai* following armies on campaigns abroad receive no attention. As seen in chapter 3, they are present in armies but they are always in supportive roles. It is nowhere stated that a *hetaira* experienced loss or grief. This might be because as a marginalised group in the civic community, the suffering of these women perhaps did not count as much as that of free-born women. As we will see in the next chapter, the free versus non-free women division is sometimes relevant when it comes to their experiences after war such as captivity, slavery, and rape.

Nevertheless, the episodes above depict women as if they had no idea about conflict, as if they were divorced from what was happening and suddenly received news of defeat. But

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, Shipley who argues that 'On this occasion too, Xenophon, followed in the remainder of the chapter by Plutarch, records the reversal of human reactions to such news' (1997, 327).

¹⁰¹ Figueira 2010, 278.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Petrie 1922, 105.

there is evidence to suggest that women were more aware of military matters than has been previously recognized. First, even before men set out to fight, women must have been aware of potential dangers, and commonly apprehensive of sending their sons off to fight. Secondly, when men were abroad most wives and family relatives of soldiers did not stay in an indeterminate state between knowing and not knowing about their relatives. The example of Lysistrata at the beginning of this section shows that those women who did not know about their husbands or male relatives actively enquired about any wartime news back at home. There is evidence to suggest that once troops were abroad, they may have remained in communication with their relatives at home. At one point in Alexander's campaign, Curtius explains how Alexander divided his army between those who were loyal to his cause and those who were not:

For once, when he wished to sound the feelings of the soldiers, he told any who had written letters (litteras) to their people in Macedonia to hand them to the messengers whom he himself was sending, who would faithfully deliver them. Each man had written frankly to his relatives what he had thought; to some military service was burdensome, to most it was not disagreeable. In this way Alexander got hold of the letters of those who had written favourably and of those who complained.

(Curt.7.2.36)

The authenticity of the account is not of importance here, what matters is the way in which the army was thought to have been separated. The written letters destined to relatives were meant as private correspondence, and through these letters family members, including women, would have received wartime news of their men abroad. Thirdly, women also had knowledge of important state decisions (and by inference of military decisions). When Lysistrata is engaged in a heated argument with the magistrate, she tells him that:

...later on we [the women] began to hear about even worse decisions you'd made, and then we would ask, "Husband, how come you're handling this so stupidly?" And right away he'd glare at me and tell me to get back to my sewing if I didn't want major damage to my head: "War shall be the business of menfolk," unquote'

<αὔθις δ'> ἕτερόν τι πονηρότερον βούλευμ' ἐπεπύσμεθ' ἂν ὑμῶν· εἴτ' ἡρόμεθ' ἂν· "πῶς ταῦτ' , ὦνερ, διαπράττεσθ' ὧδ' ἀνοήτως;" ὁ δέ μ' εὐθύς ὑποβλέψας <ἂν> ἔφασκε, εἰ μὴ τὸν στήμονα νήσω, ὅτοτύξεσθαι μακρὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν· " πόλεμος δ' ἄνδρεςσι μελήσει."

(Ar.Lys.518-520)

Likewise, when Praxagora delivers her speech in the assembly of women and is asked where she learned to speak in such a manner, she responds: ‘During the displacements I lived with my husband on the Pnyx, and learned by listening to the orators’ (ἐν ταῖς φυγαῖς μετὰ τᾶνδρὸς ὥκησ’ ἐν πυκνί. ἔπειτ’ ἀκούουσ’ ἐξέμαθον τῶν ῥητόρων) (*Eccl.*243-244). Finally, wartime news were usually delivered via heralds, and given that they proclaimed their news to the *demos* in general, it is hard to see how women would have been barred from hearing him.¹⁰⁴ As see above, sources often depict women as ‘hearing’ and ‘learning’ of the outcomes of war.¹⁰⁵ The way in which Spartan mothers learn of their sons’ deaths, injuries, or bad conduct at war in the *Sayings* are all consistent. And given that Plutarch emphasises on the women’s responses, it is safe to assume that the way in which news reached them was based on some reality. Only two women receive private dispatches or messengers to their homes and both are members of the royal family (Brasidas’ mother and Gyrtias) (*POxy.*441, *Mor.*240C, 240F). Other ordinary women, however, ‘hear’ (ἀκούω) of their sons’ wartime conduct.¹⁰⁶ The ordinary ways in which they hear wartime news suggest nothing out of the ordinary: one woman stood outside the city walls and questioned a man (241C), another is informed of her son’s death by her brother (241B) and another hears of her son’s success in a procession (242A-B).¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, the women’s reactions to the news are just as varied as their reactions above, if exaggerated. They kill their sons (e.g. *Plut.Mor.*241A) and prefer those sons who died in war and shame those who return, among others (e.g. *Plut.Mor.*242A). Spartan women’s reaction to wartime news as depicted in the *Sayings* is not, as Pomeroy argues, based on some reality because we see a version of it earlier with the women’s reactions to Leuctra.¹⁰⁸ There is, after all, no evidence for Spartan women’s (in fact, Spartan mothers’) behaviour when their sons returned alive from battle. One may suppose that given the repercussions of being called a ‘trembler’ that they were not going to be happy, but not much else can be said about this. The fact that women may have been more aware of wartime news suggests that their recorded reactions to military defeats depended on this. Perhaps, then, the women of Athens reacted in such an extraordinary manner because they had no idea about the magnitude of the conflict.

¹⁰⁴ See Plutarch’s *Life of Solon* when he mentions the stones in which the herald makes his official announcements (κήρυκος λίθον), implying these are public spaces (*Plut.Solon.*8.2). On heralds, see Lewis 1996, 54-56. On women and news, see Lewis 1996, 20, 128, 171, n. 22, 186, n. 19.

¹⁰⁵ See, for instance, the example above (*Hdt.*5.87) where the women ‘heard’ the news the sole survivor had arrived.

¹⁰⁶ *Plut.Mor.*240F, 241A and B, 241D-E, 242A-B.

¹⁰⁷ See also *Xen.Hell.*6.4.16 and *Plut.Ages.*29.2 where a messenger arrives after Leuctra and the names of the dead are sent to their respective homes.

¹⁰⁸ Pomeroy 2002, 58.

However, although women were more aware of wartime news, there is also evidence that attests to the withholding of wartime information from women when it benefitted someone else, usually economically – even to the detrimental effect this may have on the woman. In the speech *Against Diogeiton*, Lysias depicts the story of a war widow whose husband's death was kept from her because her new guardian (who was the husband's brother) wished to spend the money that was left to her (32.4-7). Her deceased husband was a very wealthy man, and upon his death the widow and her three sons and daughter lived for a year in the Piraeus but when provisions started to give way, her sons were sent to the city and she was married off (32.7-8).¹⁰⁹ The widow was even given away in marriage with a dowry that was less than her former husband had indicated – 1,000 drachmas less (32.8). Throughout the speech, Lysias gives a very vivid account of the widow's pursuit for justice. After persuading the orator to host a meeting between the interested parties (32.11), she proceeds to tell of her and her children's misfortunes:

And you thought fit to turn these, the children of your daughter, out of their own house, in worn-out clothes, without shoes or attendant or bedding or cloaks; without the furniture which their father bequeathed to them, and without the money which he had deposited with you. And now you are bringing up the children you have had by my stepmother in all the comforts of affluence; and you are quite right in that: but you are wronging mine, whom you ejected from the house in dishonour, and whom you are intent on turning from persons of ample means into beggars.

καὶ ἐκβάλλειν τούτους ἡξίωσας θυγατρίδοὺς ὄντας ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς αὐτῶν ἐν τριβωνίοις, ἀνυποδήτους, οὐ μετὰ ἀκολούθου, οὐ μετὰ στρωμάτων, οὐ μετὰ ἱματίων, οὐ μετὰ τῶν ἐπίπλων ἃ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῖς κατέλιπεν, οὐδὲ μετὰ τῶν παρακαταθηκῶν ἃς ἐκεῖνος παρὰ σοὶ κατέθετο. καὶ νῦν τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς μητρυνῆς τῆς ἐμῆς παιδεύεις ἐν πολλοῖς χρήμασιν εὐδαίμονας ὄντας· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καλῶς ποιεῖς· τοὺς δ' ἐμοὺς ἀδικεῖς, οὓς ἀτίμους ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἐκβαλὼν ἀντὶ πλουσίων πτωχοὺς ἀποδεῖξαι προθυμεῖ.

(Lys.32.16-17)

Thus, here we see the hidden impacts of war that women might not have been aware of. When a military disaster was not great, it seems that a war death in the family could be kept hidden from the women of the *oikos*. This gave time for her guardian to misplace and spend the money, therefore leaving her and her children without means to survive.

¹⁰⁹ Presumably, the daughter was also sent to the city with them and later married off since that was in Diodotus' will (although Lysias does not say what became of her).

An aspect of Classical Greek warfare that is often overlooked is that before leaving their respective *poleis*, soldiers left instructions to their wives and families in case anything should happen to them. By instructions I mean a set of orders that the household should follow in case of the absence of the head of the house. In Demosthenes' speech 47, the unknown pleader says that before he set sail as a trierarch, his wife asked him to leave an old woman who had been his nurse in the house with her (Dem.47.56); her simple request suggests that arrangements concerning the household were left in place before a husband departs for war. Before Leonidas sets off to fight at Thermopylae, Gorgo asks him if he had any instructions (ἐντέλλεται) for her, whereupon he tells her to marry again and bear children for Sparta (Plut.*Mor.*225A, 240E). Aeneas Tacticus reports that men should be posted (pre-emptively) around the city in the quarters closest to each man's home so as to be better able to give instructions (διαπέμποιέν) to their children and wives, in essence, to each *oikos* (3.6). The former instructions are given when men set off to war while the latter are in case of a sudden attack or siege.

The nature of these 'instructions' are varied; they concerned the disposal and transfer of property such as estates, slaves, agricultural land, foreign properties, and movable property. Aside from verbal agreements and communications, instructions could be left in the form of wills. Most evidence for wills and inheritance is from Athens and we know that – in this city – women could inherit property in a will.¹¹⁰ 'Even if excluded from the division of their father's estate', argues Cantarella, 'they could inherit as sisters, cousins, and aunts, even if only in the absence of brothers, male cousins, and uncles'.¹¹¹ Therefore, the property need not come down directly from their fathers only. The purpose of transferring property was to prevent (or alleviate) misuse by other parties when the head of the household died in war. And this is precisely what we find in our sources where women are a clear concern before men set out to war. According to Lysias, when Diodotus was enrolled for infantry service with Thrasyllus, he immediately summoned his wife and his brother (who was also his wife's father) and left specific instructions for the arrangements concerning both his property and his wife and children (32.4-7). The wife was to be under the guardianship of his brother, and in the case of his death, she was to be given away in marriage with a dowry of a talent and his daughter was to be given away with a talent as well. The wife would also receive the movable contents along with 'twenty minae and thirty staters of Cyzicus' (32.6). A will was then made

¹¹⁰ Although they could not manage it themselves, see Cantarella 2005, 248.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

and deposited in different locations for safekeeping (32.7). These provisions show a clear concern with the future of war widows from inside the household itself. Men knew that if they died in war, their women would suffer.

This example shows how the instructions left to each household with each wife were going to vary in different contexts, and they depended on several factors. First, the nature of the instructions depended on the amount of property each man had. Diodotus was evidently a wealthy man (32.4). Thus, by inference his wife was going to receive more than others. Secondly, it depended on the members of the household, and third, it also depended on the laws of each particular city-state. At Sparta, for instance, where women inherited independently of whether or not they had brothers, organization of property before war would have been of the utmost importance.¹¹² But property is not the only aspect that wartime instructions considered. The passage of Lysias above shows how the future of the women was also taken into consideration. The wife of Diodotus was summoned alongside her father and she was made aware of the disposal of the property in case of her husband's death at war (32.5). It is in light of this that Plutarch's remark about Gorgo asking for instructions needs to be seen, and not just under the 'strong Spartan woman' modern motto.

With this in mind, it is hard to see how Classical Greek women would have been completely oblivious to what was happening at war either abroad or closer to home. Coming back to the opening statement then, Lycurgus' representation of the aftermath of Chaeronea at Athens can be seen as an exaggeration based on reality. Women definitely experienced loss and grief but their reactions to defeats depended on how informed they were about military matters. Note that the women he mentions are only free women which shows clear selection on his part. There was no need to specify that the women who were enquiring about their male relatives were free because his audience would have known that they were. This detail shows how Lycurgus was trying to emphasise the suffering of a particular section of the female population of Athens at a time when it was much larger and much more heterogeneous. Their behaviour was degrading because it was beneath 'free women' to create such a public spectacle when in most other circumstances they would have learned of wartime news by other means, mostly in private. Other accounts also show selection in the women they portray, Plutarch, for instance, emphasises on Spartan mothers, Herodotus on the wives of soldiers, and Demosthenes of citizen wives and mothers. Loss and grief were

¹¹² I follow here Hodkinson's 2009, 94-104 theory of 'Universal Female Inheritance' at Sparta.

certainly experiences of women in times of war, but they were probably not the characteristic public laments some scholars assume.

This chapter has shown the complex dynamic of the diverse impacts of war on women. By adjusting our understanding of where to look for impacts, this chapter demonstrates how war permeates women's lives and how they are affected in different ways. Classical Greek women experienced wartime displacement due to evacuations and their experiences varied depending on the city, conflict, and people involved. Some groups of women, like priestesses, were required to stay behind, while the rest of the population (at least those who could afford it) was evacuated. The wide range of women's experiences as forced workers, relatives of cowards, war widows, and as displaced individuals shows how one cannot write about one impact of war on women. Women experienced loss, grief, suffering, and extreme displays of emotions in varied forms, yet these form one part of the larger picture. This chapter has demonstrated that war severely affected women in both their *oikoi* and in the community in general.

Chapter 5. Aftermath: Reconstructing the Post-War Experience

As previous chapters have shown, reconstructing the experiences of women during war is never straightforward. The same may be said of women's experiences after conflict subsided. This chapter examines the impact of war on women after the conclusion of battle. Written sources commonly say that after the men were killed, the women were 'sold as slaves' or 'reduced to slavery', but nothing more is said of the future of the women. What did this slavery entail? What happened to them once fighting was over? This chapter investigates women's experiences in wartime captivity and slavery, and the range of their post-battle experiences such as rape and sexual violence, among others. A clear definition of wartime captivity and slavery and the boundaries between them is not simple, but for fluidity of argument, this chapter has been separated by these subheadings.

There are different hidden assumptions about the impact of war on women which modern scholarship currently takes for granted: (i) that all women were enslaved after conflict, (ii) that rape and sexual violence were universal experiences for women, and (iii) that all women suffered the same fate (whatever that was). But as this chapter demonstrates, the women's experiences during the aftermath of conflict, like their contributions to war and the social and economic impacts we have seen so far, was characterised by diversity. What happened to women after war depended on the character of the conflict, on the women's particular circumstances including their status, and on the nature of the threat they faced.

Captivity and Slavery

War captives in Classical Greece are mentioned in our sources immediately after conflict ended. Human booty was part of the property of the victorious party after battle. Men, women, and children were taken as captives after their city fell or after the enemy camp was raided. However, it is very rarely that we hear specifically of female captives since the vocabulary for human booty refers to both male and female: 'αἰχμάλωτος', 'ἀνδράποδον', and 'ἄποσκευή' are all used for both men and women taken after war.¹ After battle concluded the spoils were divided amongst the soldiers and this is when women's period of captivity commenced. The distribution of female captives as spoils of war took place in two contexts: when a city fell into enemy hands and on expeditions and campaigns abroad.²

¹ Panagopoulos 1978, Pritchett 1991, 73-203, esp. 168-174, Ducrey 1999, 11-50, esp. 16-21, 23-26, Gaca 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2014.

² The definition of female captives used here is that of those women (both free and slave) taken after conflict.

First, the city context. Sources commonly state that the women of a city were ‘sold into slavery’ or ‘reduced to slavery’ assuming their audience knows what ‘reducing to slavery’ – or to use Gaca’s term ‘andrapodizing’ – meant.³ Of the inhabitants of Miletus, Herodotus, for example, says that ‘most of the population was killed by the Persians ... their women and children were reduced to slavery (γυναῖκες δὲ καὶ τέκνα ἐν ἀνδραπόδων)...’ (Hdt.6.19). During the Peloponnesian War, the female cooks employed in the military garrison in Plataea were also sold as slaves (γυναῖκας δὲ ἡνδραπόδισαν) two years after being under siege (Thuc.2.78.3, 3.68.3). After the *stasis* at Corcyra ended, another group of women captured in a fortification were similarly sold as slaves (τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας, ὅσαι ἐν τῷ τειχίσματι ἐάλωσαν, ἡνδραποδίσαντο) (Thuc.4.48.4). None of these accounts make explicit what it is that this phrase meant. Although we must be wary of merely extrapolating from one instance to another, several episodes may allow us some glimpse of the experiences women possibly underwent.

An example of how the distribution of women may have happened in a city context is provided by Diodorus Siculus’ account of what happened after Hannibal and the Carthaginians sacked the city of Himera in 409. The remaining women and children who were not evacuated beforehand were distributed amongst his army and kept under watch (τῶν δ’ αἰχμαλώτων γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας διαδοῦς εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον παρεφύλαττε) (Diod.Sic.13.62.4). If one follows the Carthaginians’ treatment of female war captives throughout Diodorus’ narrative, the fate of these women from Himera is suggested by what happened earlier that year to the women of Selinus:

Consequently, as the women reflected upon the slavery (δουλείαν) that would be their lot in Libya, as they saw themselves together with their children in a condition in which they possessed no legal rights (ἀτιμία) and were subject to insolent treatment (προπηλακισμῶ) and thus compelled to obey masters (δεσποτῶν), and as they noted that these masters used an unintelligible speech and had a bestial character, they mourned for their living children as dead, and receiving into their souls as a piercing wound each and every outrage committed against them, they became frantic with suffering and vehemently deplored their own fate; while as for their fathers and brothers who had died fighting for their country, them they counted

³ Hdt.6.19, Thuc.3.36.2, 3.68.3, 4.48.4, 5.3.2-4, 5.32.1, 5.116.4, Xen.*Hell.*4.5.5, Diod.Sic.12.73.3, 16.34.3. The most recent discussion, and compilation of instances, is Gaca 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2014. However, I follow here Pritchett in his interpretation of the word *andrapoda* and its cognates to refer to the experiences of both male and females after conflict. Contra Gaca who claims that ‘andrapodizing’ was done only to women and girls as part of the non-combatant population, and who believes that fighting males were not ‘andrapodized’ (Gaca 2010).

blessed, since they had not witnessed any sight unworthy of their own valour.

(Diod.Sic.13.58.2)

By imagining how the women of Selinus viewed their situation, Diodorus explicitly tells us what it meant to be a female war captive. More importantly, he says that they had no legal rights (ἀτιμία) and completely depended on their new conquerors. *Atimia* is better defined as the loss of civic rights.⁴ One may see this loss of rights in the context of the destruction of Olynthus and the different reports of the treatment of the women from this city. In 348/7 the city of Olynthus was betrayed from the inside and fell to Philip's forces: 'after plundering it and enslaving the inhabitants he sold both men and property as booty' (διαρπάσας δ' αὐτὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐξανδραποδισάμενος ἐλαφυροπώλησε) (Diod.Sic.16.53.2-3).

Demosthenes in his speech *On the False Embassy* gives more information about the fate of some of the female inhabitants. He relates Aeschines' encounter with a man named Atrestidas – identified by MacDowell as a soldier from Mantinea serving under Philip – who had in his train thirty Olynthian women and child captives (αἰχμάλωτα) who were given to him as a gift from Philip (Dem.19.305-306).⁵ That Demosthenes omits the status of these women and children when he mentions it on other occasions for other captive women from Olynthus suggests that they were assumed to be freeborn (Greek) women given as gifts which makes Atrestidas look like a rather terrible character for owning Greek women. What matters here is that these are women whose post-war fate (ideally) should not be owned by anyone but instead should be looked upon as miserable and induce pity in others. We soon learn of an associate of Aeschines named Philocrates who is said to have brought 'free born Olynthian ladies' to Athens 'for their dishonour' (ὅς γυναικας ἐλευθέρας τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἤγαγε δεῦρο ἐφ' ὕβρει) (Dem.19.309). What does it mean to bring women from a fallen city to another city for *hybris*? An answer to this lies in the person(s) committing the act, in the experiences of other women from the same city and their lives in the same host city (i.e. Athens). First, Philocrates himself:

Philocrates is now so notorious for the infamous life he has lived that I need not apply to him any degrading or offensive epithet. When I merely mention that he did bring the ladies, there is not a man in this court, whether on the jury or among the onlookers, who does not know the sequel, and who does not, I am sure, feel compassion for those miserable and unfortunate beings.

⁴ On *atimia*, see Gagarin and Cohen 2005.

⁵ MacDowell follows a fragment from Theophilus (fr. 3) that mentions this soldier 2000, 339-340.

Yet Aeschines had no compassion for them. He did not shed tears over Greece on their account, indignant that they should suffer outrage in an allied country at the hands of Athenian ambassadors.

(Dem.19.309)

MacDowell finds it hard to believe that Philocrates could have kept women from Olynthus in his house in Athens as slaves and claims that Demosthenes is ‘deliberately misinterpreting what was actually an act of charity’.⁶ Yet, the women are not said to have been brought to his own home nor kept by him. All we know is that free women, now spoils of war from fallen Olynthus, were brought back to a city which was supposed to be an ally. For all we know they could have been put to work into a brothel. And given that another man did exactly this to a girl taken from the same city makes this extremely likely. In his speech *Against Demosthenes* delivered sometime in 323, Dinarchus says that Euthymachus was convicted to death by the Athenians because he put an Olynthian girl (τὴν Ὀλυνθίαν παιδίσκην) into a brothel (οἰκήματος) (23). The importance of Athens being an allied city should not be underestimated because it suggests that where women ended up after their city was sacked influenced their prospective treatment (or expected experiences). It implies that whatever happened to these Olynthian women should not have happened in the first place, especially not in Athens. Whatever Philocrates did with these captive women, it was clearly not an act of charity.

The story of Satyrus at the symposium with Phillip sheds some light into the nature of Philocrates’ gift and what he probably intended to do with these women. The story concerns young unmarried girls from Pydna who were moved to Olynthus after their father’s assassination in the hopes of a safer future. However, after Philip destroyed Olynthus the girls became captives (αἰχμάλωτοι) ‘digging in Phillip’s vineyard’ and were being asked for by Satyrus as a gift from Phillip (Dem.19.193-195, Aeschin.2.156, Diod.Sic.16.55.3). Satyrus (a friend of the family) says that the girls will bring him ‘no gain’ (ἀφ’ ἧς ἐγὼ κερδανῶ μὲν οὐδέν) because he will provide them with dowries. ‘I shall not’, says Satyrus, ‘permit them to suffer any treatment unworthy of myself or of their father’ (καὶ οὐ περιόψομαι παθούσας οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον οὐθ’ ἡμῶν οὔτε τοῦ πατρός) (Dem.19.195). This episode shows how one of the outcomes for women after war was to work for someone else, not in prostitution as is commonly assumed, but in forced labour in agriculture.⁷ In fact, the women of tragedies often imagine themselves performing menial household tasks after being sent far away from their

⁶ MacDowell 2000, 341.

⁷ See, for example, Robson 2013, 72.

homes because of war. In Euripides' *Trojan Women*, for instance, the imagined jobs for an old female captive like Hecuba are keeping watch by the door of an *oikos* and taking care of children (*Tro.*190-196). The imagined jobs for the chorus of young women, by contrast, are that of sharing the bed of a Greek and drawing water from springs (*Tro.*202-206). However, as the stories above make clear, when women were gifted after war, it was usually to make someone else profit. The story of Satyrus also puts in perspective Atrestidas' exceptionally large gift of thirty female captives of which we should assume he will not provide dowries but will most likely put to work. Satyrus was eventually given the girls and this very generous offer also shows how families were not the only ones who took an interest in captive women – acquaintances and friends could recover captive women from those who were no longer able to do so.

So far these are the effects of war on groups of women, but there is one episode where we hear of the mistreatment of a single freeborn and ordinary captive woman from Olynthus (Dem.19.196-198, Aeschin.2.4, 153, 157). At a Macedonian symposium attended by Aeschines, the woman was brought in and was told to sit down amongst them men and sing for them. When she refused, she was undressed (Dem.19.197), grabbed by the hair (Aeschin.2.157) and flogged with a whip almost to death (Dem.19.197, Aeschin.2.157). She was only saved because Iatrocles, a friend of Demosthenes who was present at the symposium, took her away (ἀφείλετο). The reason why her refusal upset the drunken party is stated as thus: '[they] declared that it was intolerable impertinence for a captive, – and one of those ungodly, pernicious Olynthians too, – to give herself such airs' (ὕβριν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔφασαν οὐτοσί καὶ ὁ Φρύνων καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν εἶναι, τῶν θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν, τῶν ἀλειτηρίων Ὀλυνθίων αἰχμάλωτον οὔσαν τρυφᾶν) (Dem.19.197). This is a deeply rhetorical account intended to contrast the behaviour of Aeschines with that of Satyrus.⁸ Nonetheless, it appears from this event that women's previous status – whether freeborn or slave – did not matter to those whom they belonged to after conflict. She was there to serve them and, as a captive, she had to do whatever they asked. And this is what 'reducing to slavery' most likely means. The women captured after a city fell to the enemy essentially lost any rights and privileges they might have had as civic women. In essence, they lost their freedom. When a city falls, its women (albeit, as we will see below, not all) – now considered the property of the winning side – were supposed to follow orders and act as their captors wanted them to, essentially reducing them to an after-war slave status.

⁸ See Hobden 2013, 129-140.

On the other hand, it is crucial to acknowledge that not every woman experienced what the women of Olynthus went through. A single woman from Melos was especially lucky; she was selected (or purchased) from among the captives, kept in a wealthy household and her son raised by the man who selected her in the first place: Alcibiades (Andoc.4.22, Plut.*Alc.*16.4). Also, a system of sorting, although never described in detail, can be inferred from Aeneas Tacticus' comment that after Peisistratus and his men defeated the men of Megara who came to make a surprise night raid on their women who were celebrating a festival, he proceeded to take 'from among the women those best fitted to accompany a naval expedition' (τὰ πλοῖα ἔλαβε τῶν γυναικῶν τὰς ἐπιτηδειοτάτας συμπλεῦσαι) (Aen.Tac.4.9-11). What is the meaning of this selection? Were they the most physically suitable women as Whitehead assumes?⁹ Whitehead compares this episode to that of the women of Sinope where another selection took place: '[the men of Sinope] disguised and equipped the most physically suitable of their women to make them look as much as possible like men...' (ὡν γυναικῶν τὰ ἐπιεικέστατα σώματα μορφώσαντες καὶ ὀπλίσαντες ὡς ἐς ἄνδρας μάλιστα) (Aen.Tac.40.4). However, the conflict contexts of each scenario are completely different. In the former, the women needed to be able to pass as captives, while in the latter they needed to pass as men. Therefore, the selection criteria in each scenario was going to be different. Gaca, who has rightly identified a similar selection process, insists on a very specific selection criteria where soldiers only selected the following: 'young women, adolescent girls, semi-grown but prepubescent girls and boys, and girls and boys who are even younger but past the age of needing to be fed, cleaned, or changed'.¹⁰ Needless to say, no Classical source is ever this explicit. If the Megara episode refers to physical beauty, then it is the earliest reference (the event has been dated to before 561) we have where physical appearance is a criterion to select captive women. Ultimately, Aeneas' passage most likely refers to a combination of both age and physical beauty.¹¹

So far, the image of the defeated city and its women being enslaved has dominated the discussion, but it has to be acknowledged that not every occupation was followed by slavery. There is at least one episode where women avoided being enslaved under the terms of

⁹ Whitehead 2001, 108.

¹⁰ Her criteria is based on quite late evidence – i.e. Leo the Deacon and Old Testament. See Gaca 2010, 138, 135-142.

¹¹ Schaps assumed beauty to be a selection criterion when he argued that women's 'lot was to be apportioned to a soldier or sold on the block, to a life of drudgery if they were old or ugly, degradation if they were young and beautiful' (1982, 205).

capitulation of a city. When Potidaea finally surrendered in the winter of 430/429, Thucydides reports the following:

So a capitulation was made on the following terms, that the Potidaeans, with their children and wives and the mercenary troops, were to leave the city with one garment apiece – the women, however, with two – retaining a fixed sum of money for the journey. So they left Potidaea under a truce and went into Chalcidice or wherever each was able to go.

ἐπὶ τοῖσδε οὖν ξυνέβησαν, ἐξελθεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς ἐπικούρους ξὺν ἐνὶ ἱματίῳ, γυναῖκας δὲ ξὺν δυοῖν, καὶ ἀργυρίον τι ῥητὸν ἔχοντας ἐφόδιον, καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξῆλθον ἐς τε τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν καὶ ἥ ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο·

(Thuc.2.70.3)

This episode shows a different outcome for the women of Potidaea; they were allowed to leave, with money, and garments. Furthermore, they were permitted to resettle where they wanted. The fact that the women could take with them two garments shows special treatment – and this is unique in our sources.¹² Schaps says that this was ‘a concession either to feminine modesty or frailty’, but the terms need to be seen in the larger context of the conflict. Potidaea was one of the most affected cities in the Peloponnesian War, it even had cases of cannibalism, and the generals probably took pity on the terrible situation of the people. It is impossible to really know how commonplace was the fate of these women. But the response of the Athenians may cast some light in this matter. Thucydides reports that the generals granted these terms without approval from Athens, and that the Athenians blamed them for their actions (Thuc.2.70.4). Presumably, the Athenians intended to sell the inhabitants of the city and thus gain some profit. By being enraged at the outcome, they showed their true intentions. In another episode, the women under siege evaded being enslaved when their city was betrayed from the inside. Byzantium was betrayed to the Athenians because Clearchus kept the food for his soldiers and the women and children of the city were ‘perishing of starvation’ (λιμῶ ἀπολλυμένων) (Xen.*Hell.*1.3.19). The different experiences of the women of Olynthus, Potidaea, and Byzantium show how the impact of war on the women of a *polis* depended on the specific conflict.

Leaving aside the post-conflict impacts of war on women in a city scenario, we can then move on to analyse the effects of war on the women who followed armies. It is

¹² See also Diod.Sic.12.46.6-7. See the capitulation of Samos (Xen.*Hell.*2.3.6) for similar terms but no provisions for women. On capitulations in ancient Greek warfare, see Karavites 1982.

necessary first to identify who these women actually were.¹³ As previously observed, the word ‘women’ includes women of different statuses, ages and social standing, and it is not possible to homogenize these women into a single category merely based on gender.

Prostitutes (*hetairai*), entertainers such as flute players (*auletrides*) and dancing girls (*orchestrai*) were among the different women who followed Classical armies.¹⁴ Athenaeus, for example, refers to the general Chares as having with him flute girls and prostitutes on military expeditions:

... When he went on campaign, he brought around flute girls, harp girls, and common prostitutes...

...ὅς γε περιήγετο στρατευόμενος αὐλητρίδας καὶ ψαλτρίας καὶ πεζῆς ἐταίρας...

(Theopompus, BNJ 115 F 213)¹⁵

Some, like the dancing girl in Xenophon’s reception of the Paphlagonians (*An.*6.1.11-13), were clearly slaves, while others like Thais (Ptolemy’s *hetaira*) (*Curt.*5.7.2-5, *Diod.Sic.*17.72, *Plut.Alex.*38.), Pythionice, and Glycera (Harpalus’ *hetairai*) (*Diod.Sic.*17.108.4-6, *Athen.*13.586c.) were most likely free women due to their long term arrangements. However, most of the evidence points to the *hetairai* as regular followers of armies throughout the Classical period. Herodotus imagined concubines (*pallakai*) travelling with Xerxes’ army alongside female cooks (γυναικῶν δὲ σιτοποιῶν καὶ παλλακέων) (*Hdt.*7.187). But *hetairai* specifically can be attested from as early as the fifth century (Alexis of Samos, BNJ 539 F 1) down to the 320’s (*Diod.Sic.*17.108.4-6). Xenophon, for instance, tells us that there were ‘many *hetairai* in the army’ (πολλαὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐταῖραι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι) (*An.*4.3.19), but just as just as we know that not every soldier had a shield carrier as Xenophon did, we cannot assume that every man had a woman with him during this march. When Xenophon says this we should not imagine an army full of the same amount of women as there were men (in other words, one woman or more per soldier) since these women were most certainly accompanying only a portion of the men. The same applies to other armies abroad like that of Alexander.

¹³ The identity of women taken in villages, communities and cities, on the other hand, are much easier to attest since they are mentioned by the name of the town that was just attacked and the reader is left to assume that women of all age groups (both free and slave, depending on the context) are being referred to in the narrative.

¹⁴ *Hetairai* as followers, see *Xen.An.*4.3.19, 4.8.27 (I follow Lane Fox’s argument that the ‘τῶν ἐταίρων’ mentioned here must refer to women and not to the soldiers’ ‘comrades’ because in all of the references made to the soldiers in the *Anabasis* not once does Xenophon refer to them as ‘ἐταίρων’ (2004, 202)) and 5.4.33. Flute players, see Theopompus F 213 (*Ath.*12.532B-D). Dancing girls, see *Xen.An.*6.1.11-13.

¹⁵ Trans. Morison 2015.

Most of the women who followed this army were most likely from Asia Minor, Corinth and even Attica – places commonly known for their *hetairai* – but they could come from other parts of the Greek world. For instance, Xenophon joined up with Cyrus’ Greek mercenary army at Sardis, but other soldiers had already joined the army at previous places and many more were yet to join at other mustering points. The women, therefore, who accompanied these men, either individually or collectively, were most likely to have come from the Greek cities in Asia Minor.¹⁶ The main reason that *hetairai* followed armies was because it was guaranteed employment for a considerable time. As Eva Cantarella argues, ‘hetairai were not occasional partners of a one-night or one-hour stand ... they were at times hired by a man and at times by a group of friends who paid to have exclusive use for a certain period’.¹⁷ Harpagus sending for his Attic *hetairai* from Babylon is one rare example of a long-term contract between a soldier and his female companions. In his case, he probably paid for her journey (Diodorus says he ‘sent for her’ (μετεπέμψατο)), and she would receive payment in the form of gifts and luxuries (Diod.Sic.17.108.4-6).

Having addressed who these women were, we can now move on to analyse the impact of war on them. The evidence suggests that no two female captives were treated in the same manner nor experienced war in the same way. The unnamed daughter of Hegetorides of Cos who approached Pausanias after the battle of Plataea is a good example of the best possible treatment a captive woman could receive – even though, as we will see below, it is not representative of the actual experience of most female captives. She had been forcibly taken from her native city by the Persian Pharandates and was now his unwilling (ἄκουσαν) concubine (παλλακὴ) (Hdt.9.76; Paus.3.4.9-10). Pausanias was praised for what he did next: he gave her to one of the ephors who sent her where she herself wanted to go. This woman is portrayed specifically asking to be saved from captive slavery (αἰχμαλώτου δουλοσύνης) and as seen in the discussion above, this most likely entailed being sold as a slave, displacement and loss of freedom.

This episode also shows the romantic notions briefly addressed in the Introduction. Once she realised that the Greeks were winning the fight, Herodotus says that ‘...she adorned herself with much gold jewellery, dressed both herself and her maids, in the finest clothes available to them, got down from her covered carriage, and made her way to the Lacedaemonian lines while they were still in the middle of the massacre’ (κοσμησαμένη

¹⁶ I will discuss this more in a forthcoming publication titled: ‘The Women of the Ten Thousand: Female Captives and Army Followers in Xenophon’s *Anabasis*’.

¹⁷ Cantarella 2005, 251. See also Eidinow 2007, 332, n. 28.

χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἀμρίπολοι καὶ ἐσθῆτι τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν παρευσέων, καταβᾶσα ἐκ τῆς ἄρμαμάξης ἐχώρει ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτι ἐν τῇσι φονῇσι ἐόντας).¹⁸ This is a very visual episode that illustrates the beautiful war victim once again. In order to capture Pausanias' attention, get her supplication considered, and increase her chances to be recognized as an important individual amidst the chaos, the unnamed woman needs to adorn herself (and those around her) with *her* 'garments of war'. Her beauty, ultimately, is a pathway to ensure salvation. The erotics of warfare are, once more, present in the literary trope of the desirable beautiful war victim.

The particular circumstances of the daughter of Hegetorides shows the complexity of captivity and it also demonstrates that women could follow armies unwillingly.¹⁹ Her story, as portrayed by Herodotus, represents her as being passed along from man to man. Her expectations are, that once the Greeks are victorious, she will again be passed around to another man.²⁰ This woman's experiences can be compared to those of Antigone, the captive of Philotas in Alexander's army:

For when Dareius had been defeated in Cilicia and the wealth of Damascus was taken, among the many prisoners brought into the camp there was found a young woman, born in Pydna, and comely to look upon; her name was Antigone. This woman Philotas got,

ὅτε γὰρ τὰ περὶ Δαμασκὸν ἐάλω χρήματα Δαρείου νικηθέντος ἐν Κιλικίᾳ, πολλῶν σωμάτων κομισθέντων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον εὐρέθη γύναιον ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις, τῷ μὲν γένει Πυδναῖον, εὐπρεπὲς δὲ τὴν ὄψιν· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἀντιγόνη. τοῦτο ἔσχεν ὁ Φιλώτας·

(Plut.*Alex.*48)

The beautiful Antigone, like the unnamed daughter of Hegetorides, was passed around from army to army. She went from being captured in Cilicia to being the captive of a soldier in a different army. In a different version, however, she is depicted as being from Pella and having been taken captive by the Persian Autophradates (Plut.*Mor.*339e). The experiences of other camp followers were completely different. Xenophon in the *Anabasis* reports what happened to two women captured in Cyrus' camp:

¹⁸ Modified trans. Waterfield 1998.

¹⁹ Gottesman 2014, 174 argues that the word used to describe her fleeing from the Persians is that generally used to refer to runaway slaves (αὐτόμολος).

²⁰ The capturing and selling of women in ancient Greek warfare has disturbing modern echoes in the current conflict in Syria. The so-called Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) has made headlines in the West by capturing, selling, distributing and forcing women from minority groups into concubinage with their male combatants. In both contexts women are seen as legitimate property to be passed around. See, for instance, Ahram 2015.

So the King and his troops proceeded to secure plunder of various sorts in abundance, while in particular he captured the Phocaeian woman, Cyrus' concubine (τὴν Φωκαΐδα τὴν Κύρου παλλακίδα), who, by all accounts, was clever and beautiful (σοφὴν καὶ καλὴν). The Milesian woman, however, the younger one, after being seized by the King's men made her escape, lightly clad, to some Greeks who had chanced to be standing guard amid the baggage train and, forming themselves in line against the enemy, had killed many of the plunderers, although some of their own number had been killed also; nevertheless, they did not take to flight, but they saved this woman and, furthermore, whatever else came within their lines, whether persons or property, they saved all alike.

(Xen.*An.*1.10.2-3)

In this occasion we see enemy soldiers trying to capture the women but failing because of the Greeks' heroic actions. This is not just any seizing enterprise, these are non-Greek men attempting to capture Greek women from the baggage train of another army. The account shows these concubines not as passive property, but as members of the community being affected by war. It is not immediately clear why the experience of the Milesian woman is being emphasised in this account – although it may simply be because she was heroically saved by the Greek soldiers – but her experience shows a glimpse of the effect of war on female followers abroad. She was in a camp, the enemy broke into that camp and took possession of her (as part of the property), and she made her escape back to her original camp. This passage shows her taking a conscious decision to escape the primary enemy, even though there is no way of knowing if she was willingly with the Greeks of her own free will in the first place. However, once the account ends, she becomes part of the rest of the faceless women in the camp. The overall experiences of the women above are those of constant movement. The impact of war on their lives was more varied than those of the women in the city, but by no means worse. While women in the city were accustomed to stability, camp followers were not.

The erotics of warfare come into play more fully in Xenophon's story of the concubines in Cyrus' army than in any other episode. Once more, beauty (and as we shall see further below in Isocrates' description of the rape of the women of Asia Minor, nudity) is an identifying descriptor for female war victims. As in the case of the daughter of Hegetorides, beauty is crucial in the case of the Phocaeian woman. Cyrus' concubine is the desirable beautiful war victim who is captured by the soldiers. One cannot overlook the fact that the Milesian woman is described as 'lightly clad' (γυμνός). Perhaps, much like the images of Ajax chasing Cassandra, one is invited to imagine the nude Milesian woman as fleeing the

pursuing soldiers. Her nudity, therefore, follows the ‘ideal’ image of the war victim in the Greek imagination. Xenophon perhaps alludes here to the treatment this woman underwent (however briefly) at the hands of the enemy army. In the savagery of plundering, women typically fell victim to the plunderers. Diodorus’ description of the sack of Persepolis by Alexander’s forces shows a similar moment in much more detail:

The Macedonians gave themselves up to this orgy of plunder for a whole day and still could not satisfy their boundless greed for more. Such was their exceeding lust for loot withal that they fought with each other and killed many of their fellows who had appropriated a greater portion of it. The richest of the finds some cut through with their swords so that each might have his own part. Some cut off the hands of those who were grasping at disputed property, being driven mad by their passions. They dragged off women, clothes and all, converting their captivity into slavery.

(Diod.Sic.17.70.4-6)

The dragging off women and taking off garments suggests the possible rapes and sexual violence endured by these captive women at the hands of the Macedonians. Perhaps then, that is why in several of these accounts one is asked to imagine the typical war captive victim as ‘lightly clad’ or naked: because she flees wartime violence.²¹ Therefore, the erotic imagery in these accounts is very closely associated with wartime violence against women. Furthermore, as stated in the Introduction, it follows a long-standing tradition of depicting a normative type of war victim.

In the modern world, wartime captivity is defined by being a temporary state where one’s freedom is on hold.²² But when it comes to the ancient world the situation is not that simple. The periods that women spent as captives were to some extent temporary but they ranged from a day to two years. Darius’ wife captured after the battle of Issus in 333 is said to have died two years later while still with Alexander’s forces (Diod.Sic.17.54.7, Plut.*Alex.*30.1, Curt.4.10.18-19).²³ Other female captives (αἰχμαλώτοις) with her at the time of her death are said to have been treated well by Alexander which suggests that they were also still in captivity (Diod.Sic.17.54.2). Arrian – citing Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus as his sources – says that Darius’ female relatives retained certain privileges while in captivity: ‘Alexander granted them the right of royal state and all other marks of royalty, with the title

²¹ A similar account where women are dragged off and garments are taken off is in Diod.Sic.17.35.5-7.

²² International Committee of the Red Cross, 1949.

²³ On Alexander and Persian women, see Carney 1996a.

of queens, since he had not made war with Darius from personal enmity but had fought for the sovereignty of Asia lawfully' (*Anab.*2.12.3-6).²⁴ The implications of this passage reveal much for the expected treatment of women in war. Apart from showing preferential treatment to captive royal women and women of high ranking officers, it also suggests (if taken at face value) that women (ideally) might expect different treatment, depending upon the type of conflict that was being waged and the predisposition of particular commanders.

Nonetheless, the majority of women experienced captivity for a much shorter period and this appears to be what was customary since they were continuously put up for sale at convenient locations once an army arrived to a market or friendly territory. When the soldiers in Cyrus' Greek mercenary army arrived to the city of Cerasus, for instance, they stayed ten days and divided the money from the sale of captives (*Xen.An.*5.3.4), a group that presumably included women. In a civic context, a day after the city of Methymna in Lesbos fell in 406, Callicratidas sold into slavery those among the booty who were already slaves (τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ δοῦλα πάντα ἀπέδοτο) (*Xen.Hell.*1.6.14-15). However, sometimes the time women spent in captivity cannot be worked out. Timo, the Parian captive who was serving in the temple of Demeter at Paros and who gave Miltiades advice is just described by Herodotus as an 'αἰχμάλωτον γυναῖκα' without any indication as to how long she was in this position (6.134). Similarly, when the Sicilian city of Himera fell to Hannibal's forces (mentioned above), the captive women and children were distributed amongst his army but then the army was disbanded and we hear nothing more of these women (*Diod.Sic.*13.62.4). Those women who were taken from the enemy camp were just as likely to experience the same treatment as those taken in the aftermath of a siege, but because merchants followed armies and markets were available for them in friendly territory, it seems that these women were sold off as soon as a decent profit could be made on them.

Ransom

Pritchett defines ransom as 'the redeeming or release of a captive by payment of a ransom'.²⁵ As the instances recorded by both Ducrey and Pritchett show, very few cases attest to the specific ransoming of women – the majority refers to male captives.²⁶ Sometimes the reader is more fortunate, however. For instance, in the whole of Xenophon's *Hellenica* there are

²⁴ This is a rhetorical statement of Alexander's power, see Carney 1996a, 564.

²⁵ On ransoming, see Pritchett 1991, 245-297.

²⁶ Ducrey 1999, 238-246, Pritchett 1991, 245-297.

only three cases of ransoming, of which one is about women (4.8.21, explored below). Women had the possibility to be ransomed just like any other war captive, but ransoming was different in each case. We know that they were ransomed back to family members, friends and kin. The story of Satyrus above shows this in a civic scenario. But the majority of the known cases of ransoming are in a context abroad. Plutarch attests to the commonplace ransoming of prostitutes and courtesans by soldiers in his treatise on the *Education of Children*:

Now I will tell what happens to these admirable fathers when they have badly brought up and badly educated their sons. When their sons are enrolled in the ranks of men (ἐγγραφέντες), and disdain the sane and orderly life, and throw themselves headlong into disorderly and slavish pleasures, then, when it is of no use, the fathers regret that they have been false to their duty in the education of their sons, being now distressed at their wrongdoing. For some of them take up with flatterers and parasites, abominable men of obscure origin, corrupters and spoilers of youth, and others buy the freedom (λυτροῦνται) of courtesans (ἐταίρας) and prostitutes (χαμαιτύπας), proud and sumptuous in expense;

(Plut.*Mor.*5B)

Plutarch is criticizing the excessive expenditure of young men when they first become soldiers. It is not at all clear from the passage that these *hetairai* are those who accompany men on campaigns, but the possibility is not altogether excluded.²⁷ The freedom bought for these courtesans (ἐταίρας) and prostitutes (χαμαιτύπας) could take place while they are captured abroad or once soldiers take them to their prospective cities. Interestingly enough we hear more of non-Greek women being ransomed than Greek women even though by the fourth century (especially in Athens) paying a ransom was seen as a generous act to perform and elevated a person's character.²⁸ Overall, ransoming was 'generally an individual matter'.²⁹ In his speech *Antidosis*, Isocrates refers to women being ransomed for 130 minai (15.288). He is emphasizing the excessiveness of illicit types of people he is criticizing. When one compares this amount to other people being ransomed – the average ranges from two minai per person (Hdt.6.79) to 26 minai (Dem.53.6-10) – it is immediately clear that this

²⁷ Pritchett certainly assumed this to be a case of the ransoming of prostitutes (1991, 266). That the practice was seen with disdain is suggested by the term 'χαμαιτύπας' (literally 'ground beater'). The term is used by Plutarch in a very insulting way – the word, 'associates them with filth and dross' (Glazebrook and Henry 2011, 7). See also Kapparis 2011, 223, 233.

²⁸ See, for example, the different *proxenoi* inscriptions that attest to public recognition for ransoming in Pritchett 1991, 271-283. Greek women being ransomed: Dem.19.193-195, Aeschin.2.156, Diod.Sic.16.55.3 (all three refer to the same episode). Non-Greek women being ransomed: Xen.*Hell.*4.8.21, *An.*7.8.23. Unknown: Isoc.15.288, Plut.*Alc.*29.3.

²⁹ Pritchett 1991, 284.

is an extremely large amount of ransom money.³⁰ Thus, it is possible that the unknown context may refer to a group or groups of women that were ransomed together as a collective.

This puts into perspective the large amount of 10,000 drachmas that the Athenians offered for Artemisia in Salamis (Hdt.8.93). One wonders what would have happened if they managed to capture her. We may infer from other cases that she would have been placed under guard so the Athenians could exact an unusually large ransom. We know that commanders sometimes were worth more than their common soldiers. The naval commander Crinippus, for example, was placed under guard with the intention to ransom him for a very large sum or to sell him. The crew, on the other hand, were to pay a fixed ransom (Xen.*Hell.*6.236). The fact that they offered 10,000 drachmas recompense to whoever captured Artemisia *alive* (ζωήν) suggests that the Athenians may have expected that a 10,000 drachma incentive for Artemisia's capture could easily be recovered.

Women would only be ransomed if there was the expectation that they would be of value to someone else who was willing and able to pay for them. The evidence suggests that the context where they were taken, their family connections, the men associated with them, and individual behaviour each played a part in identifying women worthy of ransoming. In 391 the Lacedaemonian Diphridas in his military engagements against the Persian satrap Struthas captured and ransomed the Persian's daughter and son-in-law (Xen.*Hell.*4.8.21). In this case the woman belonged to a high ranking family; thus the assumption was that Struthas was going to place a high value on her as a member of his own family. The ransom Diphridas obtained was large enough (χρημάτων πολλῶν ἀπέλυσεν) to hire out an entire mercenary army. Similarly, when Xenophon engaged in battle with Asidates he captured not only Asidates himself, but the Persian's wife, children, horses and property (ἐνταῦθα οἱ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα συντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ λαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ πάντα τὰ ὄντα·) (Xen.*An.*7.8.23). Although Xenophon does not say that he ransomed these people, this is implied by the context (i.e. after capturing them he went back to Pergamum) and in the next sentence he alludes to the favourable omens which suggests that the capture of these people proved profitable to Xenophon and his men.³¹

The behaviour of captive women could sometimes suggest to their captors that they were not accustomed to a lifestyle of receiving orders, thus the assumption was that they were former free women and would be of value to someone. The granddaughter of the former

³⁰ See Pritchett 1991, 247-255 for specific prices.

³¹ For the same opinion see Pritchett 1991, 259 who infers that these people were ransomed but does not pursue the matter at length.

Persian king Ochus and also former wife of the Persian commander Hytaspes was taken captive by Alexander's army but her identity was only discovered after she refused to join the other captive women who were singing in their native languages (Curt.6.2.5-9). When Alexander learned of her identity he ordered her release, her possessions returned and a search for her husband. This episode is embedded in a favourable narrative of Alexander – the next day he apparently ordered Hephaestion to bring him all the captives so he could check all their identities and divide them in two: those of noble lineage from ordinary captives (Curt.6.2.9) – but it demonstrates how written sources imagined captive women being treated and differentiated from the rest of ordinary captives. While this does not tell us that every noble woman was released or even given preferable treatment, it does again highlight that not all female captives experienced captivity in the same way.

Although there is no specific evidence for the prizes of captive women, the example mentioned above about the Phocaeen concubine captured in Cyrus' camp (Xen.*An.*1.10.2-3) suggests that female captives were measured against certain standards that may have affected their prices. She comes into the narrative immediately after Xenophon tells us that the enemy army was securing abundant plunder. Xenophon then proceeds to specify that in particular they captured this woman as if she was highly valuable and thus a loss to his army. By contrast, the 'Milesian/younger one' escaped; this being a good thing for his army. The fact that the Phocaeen woman was no ordinary concubine but 'Κύρου παλλακίδα' would most likely make her more valuable than any other concubine. She was also said (λεγομένην) to be both intelligent and beautiful (τὴν σοφὴν καὶ καλὴν), and it appears from the Megara episode above regarding selecting the 'best fitted women' that physical appearance and age both had a bearing on selecting captive women (Aen.Tac.4.9-11). Beauty and skills are, in fact, the two criteria used for the women selected for Cyrus: 'And they had selected for Cyrus...the lady of Susa, who was said to be the most beautiful woman in Asia (ἡ καλλίστη δὴ λέγεται ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ γυνὴ γενέσθαι), and two of the most accomplished music-girls (καὶ μουσουργοὺς δὲ δύο τὰς κρατίστας)' (Xen.Cyr.4.6.11). This episode most likely reflects Greek selecting criteria rather than Persian tastes in women (but not altogether excluded).³² Perhaps, then, the ransom price assigned to a woman did not depend on her status, and much like other types of slaves, her price depended on her skills.³³ Thus, it may not have mattered (prize-wise)

³² On the concept of female beauty in Achaemenid Anatolia, see Llewellyn-Jones 2010b. On the concept of height as regarded (by Xenophon) one criteria of Persian female beauty, see Tuplin 2004, 156.

³³ For the buying and selling of slaves in Classical Greece, see Braund 2011, 123. For the sale of booty, see Pritchett 1991, 401-438. For the value of captured women as represented in Xenophon's works, see González Almenara 2005, 73-79.

whether the women captured in war were ruling women or concubines, if they were associated with a wealthy family or esteemed by a particular leading man, or had great physical beauty, then she may have been valued more.³⁴

However, not all captives were ransomed. Some escaped before being even caught (Xen.*An.*1.10.3) while some were let go without any ransom at all. In 410, Alcibiades captured priests and priestesses in Pharnabazus' territory and let them go without ransom (ἱερεῖς μέντοι καὶ ἱερείας ἔλαβε μέν, ἀλλ' ἀφῆκεν ἄνευ λύτρων) (Plut.*Alc.*29.3). This is depicted as a generous act, probably the result of pity.³⁵ There were some acts of kindness towards the inhabitants of cities after war, but the only time when women are mentioned as beneficiaries of military kindness (apart from the different references of individual women saved in war) is under terms of capitulations in a besieged city that had experienced some of the worst cases of famine in the Peloponnesian War as seen above in the case of Potidaea (Thuc.2.70.3).

The different post-war experiences of the women analysed in this section show how reality was far more complex than merely saying that after a conflict the men were killed and the women enslaved. As shown with the women of Himera, Selinus and Olynthus, the concept of 'enslaving' after war in Classical Greek warfare implied a life of displacement, forced employment, loss of civic rights and overall loss of freedom for women. Even though post-war slavery and captivity were the most common outcomes, they were by no means the only one. Once a city fell its women and girls could expect a range of outcomes: a life of prostitution, being passed around as gifts, being generally maltreated, being ransomed back to family, and even allowed to resettle wherever they wished. For the women following armies the outcome was similar in that they could also be let go or ransomed but before that could happen, they could largely expect to be passed around from army to army and from soldier to soldier.

Rape and Sexual Violence

Having analysed the different negative attitudes towards wartime rape and sexual violence in chapter 1, and having seen how these acts were generally criticised (for different reasons), we

³⁴ The intended market should not be overlooked, but outside the scope of this study. A passage in Herodotus shows how particular markets valued more certain types of physical attributes: the slave dealer Panonius of Chios castrated boys and sold them for a high prize in Sardis and Ephesus (Hdt.8.105).

³⁵ See Xen.*Hell.*1.5.19 where a man is set free without ransom because his captors took pity on him. Also, Xen.*Hell.*7.2.16 where the Phliasian's noble deed was to release Proxenus without ransom in 366.

can now move on to a full analysis of the episodes where women are said to have been raped in Classical Greek warfare.³⁶ Scholars commonly assume that the women affected by Classical conflicts endured a homogenized experience of this type of wartime violence. Raaflaub, for example, recently stated that ‘the most obvious impact of war on women was the sexual violence and enslavement they suffered when they fell into the hands of conquering troops’.³⁷ Gaca, by contrast, has been too specific in the types of treatment women received claiming that ‘captured women and virginal girls were subjugated and debased, in the main vaginally, but not restricted to this orifice’.³⁸ A similar constricted view is held about male wartime rape when she further claims that boys were not raped in war because the ‘norms of male pederasty did not carry over’ into war.³⁹ However, the extant evidence for rape in Classical Greek warfare does not show ‘rape norms’ but variation. That wartime rape and sexual violence were common experiences of ancient women is nowhere more explicit than in the different conversations already explored in chapter 1. The fact that some ancient sources depict wartime rape as a deed worth punishing shows how these acts indeed took place more than our sources care to let us know. However, as briefly stated in the introduction to this thesis, one can never assume that rape and sexual violence happened in the same way in all forms of warfare. Modern conflicts have shown (and continually show) how wartime rape varies from conflict to conflict and from peoples to peoples. By analysing extant evidence for wartime rape and sexual violence in Classical Greek warfare, this section elucidates the spectrum of women’s experiences. It also shows how different women experienced diverse treatment and how wartime rape was not a universal female experience of Classical Greek warfare.

The earliest historical reference to wartime rape is that of the women of Phocis during the Persian invasion of Greece of 480. Herodotus tells us that the Persians ‘chased one group of Phocians as far as the mountains, where they caught up with them; some of the women from this party were gang-raped until they died’ (καί τινας διώκοντες εἶλον τῶν Φωκέων πρὸς τοῖσι ὄρεσι, καὶ γυναῖκας τινὰς διέφθειραν μισγόμενοι ὑπὸ πλῆθους) (Hdt.8.33).⁴⁰ This is the only passage in our sources where the wartime rape of a group of women in (or close

³⁶ The literature on rape in Classical Greece is diverse, but mostly concerns itself with legal procedures and myth. See, for instance, Harris 1990, Lefkowitz 1993, Carey 1995, Deacy and Pierce 1997, Omitowaju 2002, Rabinowitz 2011, 2014, Robson 2013.

³⁷ Raaflaub 2014, 35.

³⁸ Gaca 2011c, 104-105. She cites as evidence of this Paus.1.23.6 mythic tale of satyrs assaulting a foreign captive woman, failing to recognize that this story is depicting the savagery of these half-human creatures perhaps from a lost satyr play, see Hedreen 1992, 95, n. 53 and Isler-Kerényi 2004.

³⁹ Gaca 2011c, 104.

⁴⁰ On Herodotus and rape, see Harrison 1997.

to) the battlefield is mentioned. This is also the only time where women are raped to death, yet it is used to support the theory of wartime rape being lethal in Classical Greek warfare.⁴¹ The context of this remark needs to be looked at more closely to fully understand what Herodotus is doing (apart from reporting particulars). Immediately before, he ‘casually’ mentions how the Thessalians were guiding the Persians through Phocian territory, thus placing some of the blame for the Persians’ actions on them as well (Hdt.8.32). This becomes even more obvious when he later openly accuses the Thessalians for aiding and facilitating Mardonius’ excursion into Athens: ‘So far from regretting their earlier actions, the Thessalian leaders lobbied the Persians even more’ (τοῖσι δὲ Θεσσαλίας ἡγεομένοισι οὔτε τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πεπρηγμένα μετέμελε οὐδὲν πολλῶ τε μᾶλλον ἐπῆγον τὸν Πέρσῃν) (9.1). Thus, the remark is noteworthy for the act, but also for those Greeks who allowed such behaviour to take place in the first place. Pritchett argues that the remark must be so specific because ‘such atrocities were uncommon in Greek warfare’, and one is inclined to agree.⁴²

The women of the Greek cities in Asia Minor are also said to have experienced wartime rape and sexual violence from a particular group of men: Greek mercenaries. Both Isocrates and Demosthenes refer to the women enduring the barbarity of the bands of mercenaries that roam this part of the world in the fourth century:

These armies...assault girls and women, and not only dishonour the most beautiful women, but from the others they strip off the clothing which they wear on their persons, so that those who even when fully clothed were not to be seen by strangers, are beheld naked by many men; and some women, clad in rags, are seen wandering in destitution from lack of the bare necessities of life.

...τῶν δὲ τὰς οὐσίας διαρπάζοντες, ἔτι δὲ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας ὑβρίζοντες, καὶ τὰς μὲν εὐπρεπεστάτας καταισχύνοντες, τῶν δ’ ἄλλων ἃ περὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἔχουσι περισπῶντες, ὥσθ’ ἅς πρότερον οὐδὲ κεκοσμημένας ἦν ἰδεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ταύτας ὑπὸ πολλῶν ὁρᾶσθαι γυμνάς, ἐνίας δ’ αὐτῶν ἐν ῥάκεσι περιφθειρομένας δι’ ἔνδειαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

(Isoc.*epist.*9.10)

...[Philiscus] committed many outrages, mutilating free-born boys, insulting women...

...εἰς ἃς εἰσιὼν πολλὰ καὶ δεῖν’ ἐποίει, παῖδας ἐλευθέρους ἀδικῶν καὶ γυναῖκας ὑβρίζον...

(Dem.23.141)

⁴¹ Gaca 2011c, 95-96.

⁴² Pritchett 1991, 239.

These are two rare instances where Greek women are said to have been raped by Greek soldiers. *Hybris* is committed here not only against women but also young girls. Gaca has correctly identified the feminine form of *paidas kai gynaikas* in Isocrates which actually refers to ‘girls and women’ not ‘children and women’.⁴³ However, she takes a rather different meaning of this passage by suggesting that ‘the most attractive girls and women were not raped with their clothes on, while the others were stripped but not raped’.⁴⁴ The taking off garments, as we will see below, is a constant in the representation of the women undergoing wartime rape, but Isocrates is not identifying different rape experiences in this passage. He merely dramatizes the image of the ‘wandering naked woman’ made destitute by the horrible behaviour of these armies.⁴⁵ The rapes happen without any temporal space and the audience is left to imagine where and when they took place. Nevertheless, similar to the Demosthenes episode, wartime rape is being characterized here as part of a series of other atrocities committed against undeserving people such as the mutilation of free-born boys.

Isocrates also plays with the Greek erotic imagination. The intersection between women, war, rape and the Greek erotic imagination should be highlighted in this episode. The war victim, as in the images of Ajax and Cassandra in Greek painted pottery, is to some extent eroticized.⁴⁶ There are two types of war victims here: the most beautiful women and the rest. The dishonouring and shaming of the women is described in specific details. Their clothing acts as a protective barrier (almost a reflection of the soldiers’ body armour), but once this is taken away from them through violent actions the women are most vulnerable: nude, and worse, in sight of other men. This visual wartime violence is very graphic in nature and the primary aim is to induce pity in the audience. By playing with the erotic imagination and asking the audience to imagine wandering naked women, Isocrates avoids the unspeakable realism of the events.

There were different conflict scenarios where wartime rape took place. The most common occasion was after the sack of a city. The women of Selinus are said to have ‘spent the nights in the very midst of the enemies’ lasciviousness, enduring terrible indignities, and some were obliged to see their daughters of marriageable age suffering treatment improper for their years’ (αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἐστερημέναι τῆς συνήθους τρυφῆς ἐν πολεμίων ὕβρει

⁴³ Gaca 2011c, 101.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Isocrates detests these armies in other of his works, see Isoc.5.120-121.

⁴⁶ Many thanks to Professor Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones for this observation. See, for example, the Athenian red-figure *hydria* in Naples dated to 500 to 450 in Beazley Archive Online (vase number 201724). On eroticised violence (in tragedy) see, Thumiger 2013.

διενυκτέρευον, ὑπομένουσιν δεινὰς ταλαιπωρίας: ὧν ἔναι θυγατέρας ἐπιγάμους ὁρᾶν ἠναγκάζοντο πασχούσας οὐκ οἰκεῖα τῆς ἡλικίας) (Diod.Sic.13.58.1). The suffering of two groups of women is emphasised in this account: adult women and unmarried girls. By using the imagery of night, the *hybris* of the enemy, and describing what these women endured as ‘δεινὰς’, Diodorus emphasises the mental anguish and physical torment of wartime rape and sexual violence in this episode. Furthermore, it is not enough that these women suffered themselves, but they had to watch (ὁρᾶν) their unmarried young girls enduring the same treatment. The impact of rape here is not just physical but psychological. Different from the rapes endured by the women of Asia Minor, this episode basically portrays wartime rape as a savage type of communal post-war torture for captive women.

In a similar wartime scenario, Dinarchus in his speech *Against Demosthenes* tells his audience that after the sack of Thebes in 335 the women of the city were raped by the Macedonian soldiers:

But through this traitor, girls and women, the wives of the Thebans, were distributed among the tents of the barbarians, a neighbouring and allied city has been torn up from the midst of Greece and the site of Thebes is being ploughed and sown, the city of men who shared with you the war against Philip.

διὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν προδότην παῖδες καὶ γυναῖκες αἱ Θηβαίων ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς τῶν βαρβάρων διενεμήθησαν, πόλις ἀστυγείτων καὶ σύμμαχος ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνήρπασται, ἀροῦται καὶ σπείρεται τὸ Θηβαίων ἄστυ τῶν κοινωνησάντων ὑμῖν τοῦ πρὸς Φίλιππον πολέμου.

(Din.1.24)

The rape of the women is implicit in the description of distribution (διενεμήθησαν) among the tents of the Macedonians (ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς τῶν βαρβάρων). They were now the reward of the victorious enemy. The speaker is making use of his audience’s imagination and leaves it to them to infer the type of treatment these women underwent. By not saying anything more about the women, he makes their case a terrible one. This is, however, not an instance of ‘mass rape as martial aggression’ as Gaca claims.⁴⁷ The special reference to distribution temporally places the rapes after the fighting took place. Diodorus’ account of the sack of Thebes also places the maltreatment of the women after the men stopped fighting (Diod.Sic.17.13.6). In fact, no account of wartime rape takes place whilst fighting is going

⁴⁷ Gaca 2011c 105.

on. The closest is the Persians' gang-rape; but even here they were not fighting but burning and devastating the countryside and taking everything along in their path of destruction, including the women.

There is one explicit description of the rape of a woman after the fall of Thebes: that of Timocleia. Plutarch records her ordeal in a characteristically Plutarchan manner:

Among the many and grievous calamities which thus possessed the city, some Thracians broke into the house of Timocleia, a woman of high repute and chastity, and while the rest were plundering her property, their leader shamefully violated her,...

Ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς πάθεσι καὶ χαλεποῖς ἐκείνοις ἃ τὴν πόλιν κατεῖχε, Θρᾷκές τινες ἐκκόψαντες οἰκίαν Τιμοκλείας, γυναικὸς ἐνδόξου καὶ σώφρονος, αὐτοὶ μὲν τὰ χρήματα διήρπαζον, ὁ δὲ ἡγεμὼν τῇ γυναικὶ πρὸς βίαν συγγενόμενος καὶ καταισχύνας...

(Plut.*Alex.*12)

The infringement of personal space is crucial here.⁴⁸ The woman was in her house, and the Thracians broke into her space with clear intentions. The word 'ἐκκόψαντες' clearly denotes the use of force when entering her *oikos*. This may be a parallel with the use of force that will be on her body afterwards. Wartime rape (βία) is represented here as part of the plundering process, but nevertheless it is still one of the calamities (χαλεποῖς) that befell a defeated city. Of the violator, Plutarch adds that he 'was not reasonable (ἐπιεικής) or civil (ἥμερος) but arrogant (ἀνόητος) and foolish (ὕβριστής)' (Plut.*Mul. Virt.*24). In this way, he equates the act of wartime rape to uncivilised people. As we saw in chapter 1, the Greek versus non-Greek paradigm is also at work in these stories. In the fourteen attested cases of wartime rape only two are committed by Greek soldiers, and in only one occasion wartime rape is *imagined* as being committed by Greeks against Greek women (Thuc.8.74.3, 8.86.3).⁴⁹

Until now, the suffering of Greek women is mostly emphasised, but there is evidence of the experiences of Persian (and possibly Bactrian) women enduring wartime rape and sexual violence. This time the rapes happen not after the sack of a city, but in the enemy camp. By contrast to Arrian's account, different sources attest to the maltreatment of the Persian royal women captured after the battle of Issus in 333 when Darius' camp was raided:

⁴⁸ Note also that the rape is placed during the plundering process – i.e. after fighting concluded.

⁴⁹ See chapter 1, n. 62.

Now the most prudent of the Macedonians looked on this reversal of fortune with compassion and felt pity for the case of those who had seen their former lot so violently changed...(This, however, was not the attitude of most of the soldiery,) and the women were herded off into a luckless and humiliating captivity...saw their tent plundered by armed men who were unaware of the identity of their captives and committed many improper acts through ignorance...

Οἱ δ' ἐπεικέστατοι τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν μεταβολὴν τῆς τύχης ὁρῶντες συμπαθεῖς ἐγίνοντο καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀκληρούντων συμφορὰς ἠλέουν, αἷς τὰ μὲν προσήκοντα καὶ μεγάλα μακρὰν ἀπήρτητο, τὰ δ' ἀλλόφυλα καὶ πολέμια παρῆν σύνεγγυς...καὶ πρὸς ἀτυχῇ καὶ ἐπονείδιστον αἰχμαλωσίαν παρώρμητο...ἑώρων δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν διαρπάζοντας ἐνόπλους πολεμίους ἄνδρας, ἀγνοοῦντας μὲν τὰς ἡλωκυίας, πολλὰ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν ἀπρεπῇ πράττοντας,...

(Diod.Sic.17.36.1-4)

And now they had reached the women, from whom their ornaments were being torn with the greater violence the more precious they were; force and lust were not sparing even their persons. They had filled the camp with wailing and tumult of every kind, according to the fortune of each; and no form of evil was lacking, since the cruelty and licence of the victor was ranging among all ranks and ages.

(Curt.3.11.21)

These women were Darius' mother, his wife, and two daughters (Arr.*Anab.*2.11.9). Both Diodorus and Curtius depict different (but not conflicting) stories regarding the bodily assaults on the Persian royal women. Diodorus' account places the rape in the tents, while Curtius merely seems to allude to the camp. The attack is presented first on their adornments and then on their bodies. Vocal responses are included here for the first time – the women wail and lament. The soldiers who rape these women, by contrast to Timocleia's experience, are faceless men who do not distinguish between women, status, or age. The experiences of these women are reminiscent of those of the women of Selinus.

Why does Diodorus assume that the soldiers' behaviour against Darius' family was carried out through ignorance (ἄγνοιαν)? Is it because they are royal women? Or because it illustrates Macedonian wartime violence at its height? One supposes that the basic assumption behind this remark is that if the soldiers knew whom they were plundering and assaulting they would not have acted the way they did. Or, most likely, because these persons were an economic commodity. They were the most valuable people in the enemy camp and

being part of the royal family they would be of value (either financial or of negotiating leverage) at some point later.⁵⁰

Diodorus' version shows the different attitudes between soldiers of the same army. Although the reconstruction of the missing lines (shown in parenthesis) are modern, they generally convey what is commonly believed Diodorus wrote.⁵¹ This is the only episode where our sources distinguish different types of soldiers in a context where wartime rape is alluded to. Some Macedonian soldiers are 'prudent' (ἐπιεικέστατοι) while the majority were completely different from them, meaning not prudent. And this is important when analysing cases of wartime rape (or its reported absence). Just as there existed a diversity of women who experienced war in different ways, so there were different soldiers in different conflicts who could behave in different ways.

As seen above, wartime rape and sexual violence occurred in different conflicts, but mostly after the fighting ended. Each of the stories above show that wartime rape was a cause for concern not just after cities were sacked but in other forms of conflict such as when camps were raided. They also show that it happened to both Greek and non-Greek women alike and that it was carried out by both Greek and non-Greek soldiers, and that each group of girls and women experienced wartime rape in different ways. However, it is not immediately clear whether wartime rape was so common that it created anxieties (because the men knew what their women were to expect) or because it was the worst expected outcome for a woman it was mentioned for this reason. The answer is probably a combination of both.

Given that, as Theidon has pointed out, 'when people talk about rape, they talk about silences. What to do with these silences – how to listen to them, how to interpret them, how to determine when they are oppressive and when they may constitute a form of agency ... Clearly, if there is a theme capable of imposing silence, it is rape', it is worth pointing out the notable absence of Xenophon from the passages above.⁵² This seems striking given that Xenophon himself experienced war in different contexts both Greek and foreign and would

⁵⁰ It may be pointed out that Arrian is absolutely silent on these rapes, even though he records the capture of Darius' camp (Arr.*Anab.*2.11.9). In fact, in keeping with his depiction of Alexander as a hero, he is quite adamant to state that neither Darius' wife nor Bactrian Rhoxane were raped by Alexander (Arr.*Anab.*4.19.5-6) and that Alexander sent away a group of women given as gifts from Atropates (the satrap of Media) just in case they incited his soldiers to rape them (Arr.*Anab.*7.13.3).

⁵¹ See Bradford Welles 1963, 219.

⁵² Theidon 2007, 454. I consider Xenophon's silence worthy of discussion here precisely because one expects that a soldier (concerned with morality) writing about war would have something to say about this topic, even if rhetorical.

have been exposed to this behaviour.⁵³ This is not to say that he does not talk about rape, he does, but it is never in relation to women in a war context and he never expresses it in his own opinion (*Hier.*1.36, 3.4). Xenophon does address theoretical fights over beautiful boys in the *Anabasis* (and it may have been common enough for it to apply to women as well) (*An.*5.8.4), but he is silent about the possible rapes of the many women who accompanied the army, both captive and free, and the many women they encountered on the march.

Does Xenophon's silence on (or omission of) the wartime rape of women say anything? Perhaps he knew too well that it happened after war and that women as captives must submit to whatever came their way. In the *Oeconomicus* he does seem to illustrate some glimpses of this idea (though not in war) when Ischomachus refers to a servant (διακόνῳ) who is 'forced to do what you want' (10.2). Yet, in the *Hiero* those who take advantage of others in an inferior position are condemned by Hiero. Defeated women, being inferiors, would fit into this paradigm. If we follow Cyrus' army's footsteps throughout the march one gets a very different picture of what scholars assume happened when armies encountered women. When Cheirisophus arrives at a village and meets a group of women and girls (γυναῖκας καὶ κόρας) gathering water in a spring outside the city walls he merely asked them through an interpreter that was accompanying the army about their chief. The women proceeded to invite them to follow and they guided the army towards their village (*Xen.An.*4.5.9-11). This neutral description is all the more striking given Xenophon's dislike of Cheirisophus. This is not to say that we should expect a rape scene to be inserted here, but that if there was ever a chance to embellish some fantastical account of Cheirisophus' preposterous behaviour against the women of the village, this was it, yet Xenophon describes a menial encounter between his army and a group of women who were quite a distance from their village and their own men, thus devoid of any immediate protection. Likewise, two young men came up to Xenophon one morning to tell him that they had just seen an old man, a woman and small girls (γέροντά τε καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παιδίσκας) storing away clothing in a rock and that after crossing to the other side they realized that this was a safe place to cross the river (4.3.10-12). Once on the other side, these young men did nothing to the woman even though the latter were only accompanied by an old man (i.e. vulnerable).

⁵³ More striking is the amount of scholarly works on Xenophon's attitudes towards women and the fact that no one has ever noticed this before. See, for instance, Oost 1977, Hindley 1994, Baragwanath 2002, Humble 2004, Lee 2004 and González Almenara 2005.

In a different context, Xenophon reports that Agesilaus was passing through the town of Eutaea in the Peloponnese and that his soldiers found the town full of women and children (the men being away), yet again nothing happened here:

[Agesilaus] found there the older men, the women, and the children living in their houses (πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας οἰκοῦντας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις), while the men of military age had gone to the Arcadian assembly, he nevertheless did the city no harm, but allowed the people to continue to dwell there, and his troops got everything that they needed by purchase; and if anything had been taken as booty at the time when he entered the city, he searched it out and gave it back. He also occupied himself, during the whole time that he spent there awaiting the mercenaries under Polytropus, in repairing all those portions of the city wall which needed it.

(*Xen.Hell.6.5.12*)

Even though the account is concerned with the positive portrayal of Agesilaus, Xenophon does state that he ‘did the city no harm’ as if the expected behaviour of the soldiers was to damage the city, loot it and harm the inhabitants. It is incredibly difficult to know whether we are dealing here with the absence of narratives of wartime rape or the actual absence of wartime rape. In the modern world, the absence of wartime rape in some of the most violent conflicts suggests that there may be other considerations at play. Elisabeth Jean Wood, who examined the absence of wartime rape in different modern societies, shows how wartime rape is never the mere result of violent conflict.⁵⁴ In fact, she further argues that excessive violence in war will not produce soldiers who will rape ‘to and fro’ the women of the enemy. The reported absence of wartime rape in the case of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam of Sri Lanka (LTTE) is one important case study.

... the apparent absence of sexual violence on the part of the Tamil insurgent group LTTE against civilians, despite the group’s inflicting frequent civilian casualties. Such casualties occur in the context of reprisal attacks on non-Tamil villages, assassinations of political and military leaders, and bombings of transportation facilities. Most tellingly, the LTTE did not engage in sexual violence during their forced displacement of tens of thousands of Muslims from the Jaffna peninsula in 1990. As ethnic cleansing is the classic setting for rape as a strategy, this restraint in their use of sexual violence is striking.

(Wood 2009, 143)

⁵⁴ One of her sources is the ‘University Teachers for Human rights (Jaffna)’, which is ‘a network of human rights activists that receives and evaluates reports from across northern and eastern Sri Lanka’, Wood 2009, 146.

Wood quotes one academic expert on Tamil culture which stated that ‘they don’t wait around to indulge in sexuality, they just shoot you down’.⁵⁵ The patterns Wood and others have found surrounding the reported absence of wartime rape amongst a particularly violent group has parallels in Classical Greek conflicts. Acknowledging the obvious differences in contexts and time, the hand to hand warfare, especially in the Persian Wars, was particularly violent leaving soldiers with what today some have identified as early cases of PTSD.⁵⁶ Not that the Peloponnesian War was any less violent, one needs only revisit Xenophon’s account of the battle of Coronea in 365 to realize this (*Ages.*2.10-14). Yet, when we compare the instances where wartime violence is mentioned against the instances where wartime rape is mentioned, a striking contrast is apparent.⁵⁷ Wartime violence is part of Classical conflict; war is supposed to be violent. But the rape of women is singled out in particular occasions (often concerned with non-Greeks) and omitted from many instances where we know it must have happened. Xenophon’s silence and the modern comparative material both suggest that wartime rape may not have been the universal experience for women as is often assumed. Ultimately, the silence on wartime rape and sexual violence in our sources is down to three possibilities: (i) it was so frequent that sources overlooked it, (ii) it was regarded as the conduct of particular unruly groups of soldiers on most conflicts (much like the stereotypical depiction of a tyrant who also rapes women), or (iii) it was less frequent than we assume today. Either way, in light of modern complexities and the scant evidence, it cannot be assumed to be a universal experience for the women affected by Classical Greek warfare. The episodes above show that wartime rape and sexual violence against women did indeed took place and was common in Classical Greek warfare, even if it was not always to be expected. The passages also show that in general the preoccupation was with the rape of free women, leaving the reader to suppose that in the case of slave women, their circumstances were most likely different. In the same manner we must recognize diversity of experiences in other impacts of war, so we need to recognize that when women experienced wartime rape and sexual violence it was never straightforward.

The evidence analysed in this section shows the different ways in which women experienced wartime rape and sexual violence and the spectrum of their experiences. It also demonstrates how there is not *one* quintessential experience for women when it comes to rape and sexual violence at times of war. In the case of the women of Selinus, rape and sexual

⁵⁵ Wood 2009, 148.

⁵⁶ See Ustinova and Cardeña 2014, but see Crowley 2014 who argues against seeing PTSD in ancient Greeks.

⁵⁷ On ancient violence, in particular about Herodotus and the Near East, see Rollinger 2004, 121-150.

violence caused psychological and communal trauma (whether intentional or not) by the Carthaginian forces. Similar to the modern world, there appears to be an ancient preoccupation (displayed by Isocrates and Demosthenes) with mercenaries roaming without control and raping women.⁵⁸ In these cases, wartime rape and sexual violence were included amongst many other atrocities; it was not an aim of warfare but it happened nonetheless. The identities of the women, on the other hand, need to be recognized. This section attempted to remove women from the homogenized and faceless group who suffered collectively the same fate after war. The women who experienced wartime rape and sexual violence in Classical Greek conflicts were depicted as the free citizen women of a city when it fell to enemy hands, adult women and young girls, individual women in their households, and women in the baggage train of armies and camps, all experienced sexual violence in some form or another.

This chapter examined the different post-war experiences of women in Classical Greek warfare and showed how there existed different areas where women were impacted by war once conflict ended. By analysing both captivity and slavery and what this meant for the different women affected by conflict, the inadequacy of generalizing remarks such as ‘sold into slavery’ or ‘reduced to slavery’ is clear. In antiquity, it was customary that those non-combatants who ended up on the losing side of war became subject to the needs and wants of the victor. Women as captured booty were considered property; sometimes as with royal women or prominent concubines, they were valuable property. The most prominent experiences for ordinary women affected by war were that they endured forced employment (whether formerly free or slave) in agriculture or brothels, displacement from their *oikoi*, loss of freedom and rights (they had in peacetime) and bodily assaults like rape and sexual violence. Diversity of experience can also be found within cases of ransoming where both individual women (i.e. daughters of Persians) and groups of women (i.e. Isocrates’ unknown context) were ransomed back to family (i.e. daughters of Persians, again) and friends (i.e. Satyrus’ story). We also saw how it may have been possible for the qualities of the women up for ransom (their appearance and skills) could have an effect on their prize. The impact of war on women, therefore, lasted much longer after the cessation of conflict.

⁵⁸ Setrakian 2011.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this study, we were concerned with examining one group of individuals within an area that is not normally associated with them: women in war. At this point in this investigation, however, this area has now become their domain. Women, a group that is continuously and dangerously homogenized, had a major role to play in ancient Greek conflicts, but because they are not the protagonists in ancient war narratives, their contribution is frequently elided. Using a combination of written sources, archaeological evidence and modern comparative materials, this thesis has sought to challenge current understanding of ancient women's wartime involvement. It also positioned itself within both gender and warfare studies of the Classical Greek world by looking at women in war and by looking at war as a crucial aspect of women's lives. This study made women visible at times of war; it demonstrated that real women experienced war in diverse ways. These are women who suffered terribly the impacts of war, but they also contributed in different ways when the city and their men called upon their aid. They could also affect change in a negative way by being participants in wartime treachery. These women are not faceless women, they are wives of citizens, prostitutes, mothers, war widows, daughters, sisters, and overall individuals who had a say (however minimal politically) in different wartime scenarios. They could request not to be evacuated, they chose to commemorate victories in war, and they decided to repel enemies from their cities. War, of course, was fought, decided, and waged by men, but they were not alone in this society. In order for men to have fought both the Persian Wars and the Peloponnesian War and beyond, they needed their women to contribute in their own ways. The diverse groups of women considered in this study are also from different parts of the Greek world, from mainland Greece to Asia Minor, yet we have seen them all involved in or affected by war as a collective and as individuals. Ultimately, war was an issue for the community at large, and women being members of such communities, were just as involved as men.

The first part of this thesis sketched the different boundaries imposed on women in ancient warfare and in war stories. Chapter 1 examined women from a perspective of the rules of war. It demonstrated that there were limitations to the way in which women were supposed to be treated in Classical Greek warfare, even though it may not reflect reality when actual war was waged. This chapter showed that evacuations of women were not standard practice and that women as suppliants and as non-combatants should not suffer mistreatment in war. Chapter 2 then moved on to explore the different stories about exceptional women,

ordinary women, and imaginary women who were involved in one way or another in war. This chapter traced the contours of an ancient discourse about women and war as reflected through sources ranging from Herodotus to Plato. It showed how women's wartime behaviour was analysed, judged and evaluated by their men, while at the same time, imposed boundaries on. Ancient Greek men certainly knew that war was not for women to fight, but they also knew that war could not be separated from their women. This chapter also showed that women's involvement in warfare was sometimes conceived as problematic. Women who directly engaged in battles were the exception, and their extreme involvement was judged according to their own respective cultural backgrounds. This first part essentially demonstrated that it is from this world of ideas that scholars of the ancient world commonly dip for their analyses about women and war, and that it is simply one part of the larger spectrum of women's relationship to war.

The second part of the thesis demonstrated the diverse ways women contributed to the war effort in Classical Greece. By expanding the modern narrow conception of 'wartime contributions', chapter 3 showed that women were more than just passive agents in war. For women to contribute to Classical Greek warfare, they did not need to fight. In fact, this would have been considered against women's natural capabilities but also as pushing beyond the limits of accepted behaviour. Instead, the household became an area where wives could contribute to the *polis* at war, and likewise, army camps were also an area where female companions could offer support, encouragement and sex to men. This chapter also reassessed current understandings of male and female wartime spaces within the city by considering walls and garrisons as fundamental female spaces at times of war. By highlighting the home, camp, walls and garrisons, this chapter sketched the physical geography of women's participation in war. From this analysis it emerged that women's contributions were normal in wartime. The diverse contributions of women were part of Classical Greek life, it just happened that this was *wartime* life, and, as such, their contributions were never considered as 'breaking' social norms. It is ironic how some scholars have no qualms about seeing female wartime cooks as normal, but the moment women pick up a stone they somehow transform into 'transgressive' women.

The third and final part of this thesis established the diverse range of impacts of war on women. Chapter 4 considered both the visible and less visible social and economic impacts and demonstrated how we cannot talk about one impact of war on women; how there is a range of negative (and to a lesser extent positive) repercussions of war. On the one hand, women, when temporarily removed from their native land via wartime evacuations, could

experience great care in their host cities. Other women were not so fortunate; while some were forced to find work due to the absence of husbands, others risked being shunned by society for their men's cowardly actions at war. Either way, the impacts of war on women's life could not be avoided. Chapter 5, by contrast, attempted a reconstruction of the post-war experiences of women. It considered the main elements they suffered once men stopped fighting: captivity, slavery and rape and sexual violence. Again, this chapter showed the variety of women's experiences and the dangers of homogenizing women as suffering collectively the same consequences of war. Women were affected differently even in the same conflicts. This analysis demonstrated that while there are patterns of experiences like enslavement and rape, these are not universal in the sense that they were going to be experienced by every woman.

This study's purpose is to open up the complexities and discourses surrounding women in ancient conflict situations; it is not intended to be the last word on the topic of women and war in Classical Greece. It also hopes to serve as a platform for other avenues of exploration. Various topics are ripe for discussion and deserve further treatment. Female wartime trafficking and its purposes, in particular, is an element that merits further consideration because it is another aspect of war that affects non-combatants and may perhaps have economic ramifications. In addition, other non-combatant groups like children are equally present in ancient Greek warfare, and similar to women, they deserve further examination as part of a society that was communally affected by war in diverse ways. The massacre at Mycalessus (Thuc.7.29.1-5) where school boys and children were killed indiscriminately by Thracians is one of the most horrific events of the Peloponnesian War, but it is also unique because it suggests that the death of children during war was not a common occurrence. This episode, and the general lack of mention of the harming of children during war, suggests that they were kept out of harm's way. The fact that the Greeks viewed with contempt the Persian practice of bringing their family, especially unmarried daughters and young sons with them on campaign suggests ancient attitudes towards children in conflict scenarios that deserve further consideration. Modern conflicts continue to show the impact that war has on children, from continual displacement and even engaged in battle at a young age creating societies of 'child soldiers'. Plato already forewarned this in his ideal state where they are conceptualized as observers of war and this reflects the importance of war not just on men but on Classical Greek society at large. A similar approach to the one used in this study for women may be applied to children in war. Looking at the modern world can help us raise new questions about the ancient one. Wars have always existed, non-combatants have always

existed, women and children have always existed; the impacts of different conflicts have always been present – they just manifest themselves in different ways because societies are inherently different at given historical times. By looking at children and war in Classical Greek society, one may perhaps obtain a rounder understanding of the wartime lives of not just women but of non-combatants overall.

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