

## XXX.—Herodotus and the Spartan King Lists

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Herodotus took over from Hecataeus the Spartan king lists which were compiled some time during the reign of Demaratus (c. 510–491 B.C.). In order to give the genealogies of Leonidas and Leotychides, Herodotus altered four names on these lists. These tables were based on a 40 year generation, contrary to II.142.2 in which place Herodotus states that he uses a  $33\frac{1}{2}$  year generation. In addition to the king lists there are several other passages which seem to be based on a 40 year generation, showing that Herodotus was considerably influenced by the chronological system of Hecataeus.

Herodotus incorporated into his researches odd bits of information which he thought to be important as well as interesting to his readers. Scattered promiscuously throughout his work are various statements pertaining to the kings and royal houses of Sparta. The present paper will discuss Herodotus' use of, and references to, the Spartan genealogical tables. The two most important passages are VII.204 and VIII.131.2 in which he lists the genealogies of Leonidas and Leotychides respectively,<sup>1</sup> the kings who were reigning at the time of the second Persian invasion. It has been observed<sup>2</sup> that Herodotus was not concerned with chronological problems for an historical purpose when he estimated that Moeris, a former ruler of Egypt, had not been dead a full 900 years before the time of his (Herodotus') visit to Egypt.<sup>3</sup> That date, however, has served as the starting point for further investigation into his system of chronology. Since Herodotus indirectly states<sup>4</sup> that Heracles lived a generation after Moeris, and since he traces the lineage of the royal families at Sparta back to Heracles, it is possible to compute roughly the dates of the 21 generations from Heracles to Leonidas.

Herodotus expressly states<sup>5</sup> that in his calculations he allows three generations to 100 years. If, as von Fritz has pointed out,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Table A.

<sup>2</sup> Kurt von Fritz, "Herodotus and the Growth of Greek Historiography," *Tr. Am. Ph. Assn.* LXVII (1936), 330–1.

<sup>3</sup> II.13.1: καὶ Μοῖρι οὕκω ἦν ἔτεα εἰνακόσια τετελευτηκότι, ὅτε τῶν ἱρέων ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἤκουον.

<sup>4</sup> II.145.4. Cf. von Fritz, *loc. cit.* (see note 2), 330–2.

<sup>5</sup> II.142.2.

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.* (see note 2).

the generation of Heracles was 1330/1297 B.C. according to Herodotus' calculations, it is impossible to apply a generation of  $33\frac{1}{3}$  years to the Spartan genealogical lists which Herodotus gives, because that would not supply a sufficiently remote date for the generation of Heracles. That Herodotus was here using the list compiled by Hecataeus has been suggested by E. Meyer,<sup>7</sup> who has also shown that the Spartan king lists are based on a generation of 40 years, and that on this basis the generation of Heracles was 1330/1290 B.C. The similarity of the dates of Hecataeus and Herodotus for Heracles is immediately apparent.<sup>8</sup> Both accepted 1330 B.C. as the first year of his generation, but Hecataeus calculated with a generation of 40 years, while Herodotus used one of  $33\frac{1}{3}$  years.

Herodotus makes no use of these genealogical tables to date any events. In fact, in addition to their entry in the genealogical charts, he does not mention the Eurypontidae from Eurypont to Agesilaus inclusive; and of the Agidae from Agis to Eurycratides inclusive he refers only to Leobotas.<sup>9</sup> It is in connection with Lycurgus that the latter alone has been singled out.

That Herodotus had independent knowledge of the Spartan kings from sources other than Hecataeus is best proved by the independent equation of the following kings: (1) Leon and Agesicles;<sup>10</sup> (2) Anaxandrides and Ariston, contemporaries of Croesus;<sup>11</sup> (3) Cleomenes and Demaratus.<sup>12</sup> A glance at Table A shows that neither Agesicles nor Ariston nor Demaratus appears in the Herodotean list of the Eurypontidae. Cleomenes is also missing from the Agidae. Yet Herodotus states that all of these persons were kings at Sparta. We may then question the purpose of Herodotus in giving the genealogies of Leonidas in VII.204 and Leotychides in VIII.131.2. Was he only tracing the descent of these two kings from Heracles in order to give a complete genealogy, or was he laboring under the impression that he was giving the true king lists?

<sup>7</sup> E. Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* (Halle a. S., Max Niemeyer, 1892), I.153-88. C. F. Lehmann, "Weiteres zur Aristoteles 'Αθην. Πολιτ.," *Hermes* xxxv (1900), 649, believes that Hecataeus used a generation of 35 years.

<sup>8</sup> It is possible, starting with a fixed date for Heracles, to work out a rather complete chronological plan for Herodotus' mythology. In a forthcoming paper the writer expects to discuss this scheme.

<sup>9</sup> I.65.4.

<sup>10</sup> See Table B.13.

<sup>11</sup> See Table B.14.

<sup>12</sup> v.75.1; vi.51.

Beloch<sup>13</sup> argues that Herodotus in no way desired to give a king list, although he may have believed that the forefathers of Leonidas were kings. That is the reason for his omission in VII.204 of Cleomenes, who was king before Leonidas.

The tradition about the Agidae is much more firmly established than that about the Eurypontidae. The Agidae handed down the scepter from father to son in an unbroken line from Heracles to Anaxandrides. The Eurypontidae, however, suffered much in the hands of the later chronologists. A king Soüs was introduced between Procles and Eurypon,<sup>14</sup> and the list from Theopompus down was considerably altered.<sup>15</sup> Herodotus makes no direct statement as to whether or not he believed that all of the ancestors of the Agid Leonidas whom he named were kings. It may well be argued that, since he elsewhere<sup>16</sup> mentions Cleomenes as an Agid ruler, he was giving only the genealogy of Leonidas in VII.204, and not a complete king list.<sup>17</sup> Is that the case, however, with his table of the Eurypontidae?

After tracing the ancestry of Leotychides back to Heracles, Herodotus adds the following sentence by way of explanation:<sup>18</sup> οὔτοι πάντες, πλὴν τῶν θυῶν τῶν μετὰ Λευτυχίδεα πρώτων καταλεχθέντων, οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς ἐγένοντο Σπάρτης. That is to say, all of the ancestors of Leotychides, except the two immediately preceding him, were kings of Sparta. This information seems to have been added to explain the break in the continuity of the Eurypontidae. It would also suggest that Herodotus considered his table a king list, with certain exceptions, as well as a genealogical chart. Otherwise he would not have needed to make this qualifying statement. If, however, he accepted the Eurypontid genealogical table as a king list, would it not be most probable that the same is true of the Agidae, especially since their tradition was much more standardized?

<sup>13</sup> K. J. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* (Berlin, de Gruyter & Co., 1926), I.ii.172.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Plut. *Lyc.* 1; Paus. III.7.1.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Paus. III.7.5–8.

<sup>16</sup> E.g., v.75.1.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. IX.64.2. Herodotus here refers to Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, grandson of Anaxandrides: τῶν δὲ κατ' ὑπερθεῖ οἱ (sc. Pausanias) προγόνων τὰ οὐνόματα εἴρηται ἐς Λεωνίδην. ὧν τοὶ γὰρ σφι τυγχάνουσι ὄντες. This can only be interpreted to mean that, in the case of Leonidas, Herodotus was giving a genealogical table and not a king list. That the Agid genealogical chart was also the Agid king list—but incomplete—is not merely coincidence, as the genealogical chart was apparently only a modified form of the original king list.

<sup>18</sup> VIII.131.3.

In the passage quoted above an emendation has been made by Paulmier.<sup>19</sup> According to Hude's classification,<sup>20</sup> MSS. A, B, C, D, P, S, and V give *δυῶν*. These are practically all the MSS., and against their testimony Paulmier has changed *δυῶν* to *ἐπτά* in order to bring Herodotus' account into agreement with that of Pausanias.<sup>21</sup> According to the Herodotean table, this would mean that Theopompus was the last one of Leotychides' ancestors to rule. Is this, however, what Herodotus intended to say?

There can be hardly any doubt that what he wrote was *δυῶν*, not *ἐπτά*; the manuscript tradition testifies to that fact, and other considerations prove it. Let us see if we can reconstruct Herodotus' conception of this situation. He knew that Leotychides was king at the time of the first Persian invasion; but he also knew that Demaratus, a contemporary of Leotychides, had been king of Sparta before his abdication in 491 B.C. In referring to Demaratus, Herodotus frequently mentions him as the son of Ariston,<sup>22</sup> and in several places refers to Ariston as king of Sparta.<sup>23</sup> In none of these, however, does he name the father of Ariston. Perhaps this may be explained by assuming that Herodotus did not know it. Leon and Agesicles are equated,<sup>24</sup> as are Anaxandrides and Ariston.<sup>25</sup> Anaxandrides is the son of Leon,<sup>26</sup> but there is no statement of any relationship between Ariston and Agesicles. Neither is there any indication as to the identity of the father of Agesicles, for Agesicles is mentioned by Herodotus only once, and then as king with Leon.<sup>27</sup> Thus any attempt to trace this branch of the Eurypontid house from independent evidence in Herodotus must fail.

In regard to the parentage of Leotychides, Herodotus refers to him as the son of Menares. There is no doubt about this relation-

<sup>19</sup> The earliest available reference to this emendation of Paulmier is that made by J. C. F. Baehr, *Herodoti Musae* (Leipzig, Hahn, 1835), iv.180.

<sup>20</sup> K. Hude, *Herodoti Historiae* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1926), I.xvi.

<sup>21</sup> This is an explanation which I have assumed without having seen the publication of Paulmier. The first king among Leotychides' ancestors would be Theopompus, according to Paus.iii.7.5-9. Intervening between Theopompus and Leotychides are Archidamus, Zeuxidamus, Anaxidamus, Archidamus, Agesicles, Ariston, and Demaratus, a total of 7 rulers. This is probably the reason for the emendation from *δυῶν* to *ἐπτά*.

<sup>22</sup> See Table B.11.

<sup>23</sup> E.g., I.67.1.

<sup>24</sup> See Table B.13.

<sup>25</sup> See Table B.14.

<sup>26</sup> See Table B.4.

<sup>27</sup> See Table B.13.

ship, but Menares introduces fresh complications. He is referred to once as the son of Agis,<sup>28</sup> and once as the son of Agesilaus.<sup>29</sup> It is plain that there is something wrong with the text here; one of the two passages must be changed. Probably the form Agis, resulted from an abbreviation of Agesilaus, the name which should be read.<sup>30</sup>

Herodotus has very specific information about Ariston and Menares, the first generation before Demaratus and Leotychides respectively; but about Agesicles and Agesilaus (or Agis, as he is called in VI.65.1), the second generation, he knows considerably less. His nomenclature is not even consistent. As was pointed out above, he knows nothing about, or fails to mention elsewhere than in VIII.131.2, any of the Eurypontidae from the third generation inclusive before Demaratus and Leotychides back to Procles. For lack of other information in Herodotus we again come to an *impasse* in our attempt to trace this second branch of the Eurypontid house.

Let us return to Herodotus' statement that all of the ancestors of Leotychides, except the last two, had been kings of Sparta. Why did Herodotus volunteer this information? E. Meyer has proved<sup>31</sup> that these Spartan genealogical charts were not the work of Herodotus. If Herodotus took these lists from Hecataeus, what did he assume that he was borrowing? It was his manner and method to incorporate in his researches statements and interesting facts as he found them. When, therefore, he came across the charts of Hecataeus, he probably copied them down as the king lists that they were supposed to be. Herodotus knew that Agesicles and Ariston were the two kings in the Eurypontid line<sup>32</sup> in the two generations immediately preceding that of Leotychides, but he also knew the names of the two immediate ancestors of Leotychides. For genealogical purposes he preferred to give these two names—Agesilaus and Menares—rather than the names of the two actual kings. As he could not at the same time give both a king list and a genealogical table to the third generation inclusive of Leotychides'

<sup>28</sup> See Table B.6.

<sup>29</sup> See Table B.6.

<sup>30</sup> Prof. von Fritz has suggested to me that, since the Greeks did not normally name their grandfathers in identifying themselves, τοῦ Ἀγίως in VI.65.1 (Λευρυχίδη τῷ Μενάρεος τοῦ Ἀγίως) may be a gloss. In such a case an abbreviation is easily explicable; otherwise Agis and Agesilaus are not easily confused.

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.* (see note 7).

<sup>32</sup> Both from independent evidence (see Table B), and from Hecataeus himself, as we shall presently see.

ancestors, he compromised by stating that all of the ancestors of Leotychides, except the last two, were kings of Sparta. Therefore, *δυῶν* and not *ἐπτά* is the correct reading.<sup>33</sup>

The historical and genealogical consequences are a bit strange. Leotychides thus becomes the great-grandson of Hippocratides, a position which he does not occupy in Pausanias' recension.<sup>34</sup> But Herodotus' knowledge of the second and third generations previous to that of either Demaratus or Leotychides was very vague, and he was apparently not troubled by this rearrangement.

Let us now turn to a point which we mentioned in passing, namely, the omission of Cleomenes from the genealogical table of Leonidas.<sup>35</sup> If the list of the Agidae was published before 488 B.C., Leonidas would have had no place in it, whether it was a king list or a genealogical table. He did not become king until 488 B.C., and there would have been no point in giving his personal genealogy until he had become king.<sup>36</sup> If the list was published after 488 B.C. and was only a genealogical table of Leonidas' ancestors, there would have been no mention of Cleomenes. As the list stands now, it is only a genealogical table.<sup>37</sup> If, however, the name of Cleomenes stood in place of that of Leonidas, it would be a king list as well as a genealogical table, complete *up to* the reign of Leonidas. Only the substitution of one name is necessary for this change. That Herodotus considered the Eurypontid chart a king list, with the exceptions duly noted, and that he probably made some alterations in the Eurypontid list, has been discussed above. We may well ask whether Herodotus reproduced the Agid list as he found it, or whether he himself substituted Leonidas for Cleomenes.

Let us again consider the Eurypontid house. We have already seen how Herodotus came to make the statement<sup>38</sup> that all of the ancestors of Leotychides, except the two immediately preceding him, were kings of Sparta. We may now raise a question as to the last name which Herodotus found in the Eurypontid list. Was it that of Leotychides who ascended the throne in 491 B.C. upon the abdication of Demaratus? If these tables appeared before 488

<sup>33</sup> Beloch, *op. cit.* (see note 13), 179–80, keeps *δυῶν*, though for different reasons.

<sup>34</sup> Neither Hippocratides, Agesilaus, nor Menares is given by Pausanias. For the brief statement as to Leotychides' descent, cf. III.4.3–4.

<sup>35</sup> VII.204.

<sup>36</sup> For that reason the genealogy of Lycurgus is similarly obscure.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. page 462, note 17.

<sup>38</sup> VIII.131.3.

B.C.,<sup>39</sup> Cleomenes and Demaratus, not Leonidas and Leotychides, were the last names on the lists. As Demaratus and Leotychides were of the same generation, it would not have been difficult for Herodotus to substitute the name of the latter for that of the former. Herodotus knew from various sources<sup>40</sup> that Demaratus was the son of Ariston, and that Ariston was (the son of? and was) preceded by Agesicles. His independent knowledge of the kings extended only to this latter generation. He could likewise trace the ancestry of Leotychides back two generations. Therefore, when he found it desirable to substitute Leotychides for Demaratus, he also thought it feasible to substitute the two generations preceding Leotychides for the two generations preceding Demaratus. That was all right, for he had three names to change, and three to insert. By saying that all but the two preceding ancestors of Leotychides were kings, he harmonized this change with a statement which we must attribute to Hecataeus, to the effect that this table was a Eurypontid king list. Otherwise Herodotus' explanation<sup>41</sup> loses all its significance.

If we suppose that Herodotus made these substitutions for the last three members of the Eurypontid king list as he found it, what effect does it have upon the relationship of Hippocratides, the fourth generation from the end, to Agesicles, the original third generation? It means that Hecataeus made Agesicles, not Agesilaus, as did Herodotus, the son and successor of Hippocratides.<sup>42</sup> But this is exactly what Beloch has done, though for a different reason.<sup>43</sup> In other words, Hecataeus gave—as far as we know—a correct king list of the Eurypontidae up to Demaratus, as well as of the Agidae up to Cleomenes; but these lists were not faithfully reproduced by Herodotus. Even if he used them only as genealogical tables to indicate the ancestry of Leonidas and Leotychides, there can be no doubt that in the form in which he found them they were king lists, and that they ended with the Agid Cleomenes and the Eurypontid Demaratus. That Herodotus made the necessary alterations for his genealogical tables is of course the inevitable conclusion.

<sup>39</sup> Leotychides became king in 491, Leonidas, in 488 B.C. If the tables appeared between the years 491 and 488 B.C., then Leotychides and Cleomenes would have been the last names on the lists, though there would have been then one more Eurypontid than Agid.

<sup>40</sup> See Table B.11.

<sup>41</sup> VIII.131.3.

<sup>42</sup> Pausanias, III.7.6, also includes Agesicles in his recension of the king list, but as the son of Archidamus.

<sup>43</sup> *Op. cit.* (see note 13), 180, 191.

In the discussion thus far we have noticed that, if Herodotus on his own initiative replaced the names of Cleomenes and Demaratus with those of Leonidas and Leotychides, these charts must have ended with Cleomenes and Demaratus in order to allow such a replacement. If the writer who compiled these tables was dealing with contemporary history, he of course could not extend such a king list beyond his own generation. That is perfectly obvious. It is then most likely that the compiler of these lists was a contemporary of Cleomenes and Demaratus, and that he died before the accession of Leotychides in 491 B.C. This has already been pointed out by E. Meyer,<sup>44</sup> who has also observed that the generation of Hecataeus was identical with that of Cleomenes and Demaratus. We may also note, on the other hand, that these king lists must have been composed some time during the reign of Cleomenes and Demaratus. As Cleomenes began to rule in c.520 B.C. and Demaratus in c.510 B.C., these lists could not have been published before c.510 B.C., the date of the accession of Demaratus. Since it is most probable that the Spartan genealogical charts come from the *Γενεηλογίαι* and not from the *Περὶ ἡγήσεως* of Hecataeus, the *Γενεηλογίαι* must have been written between c.510 B.C. and 491 B.C. This conclusion coincides with what we actually know of Hecataeus' life from other sources—which is not very much—although Jacoby<sup>45</sup> maintains that the *Γενεηλογίαι* were written some time between 490 and 480 B.C. The last events which we can associate with the life of Hecataeus are those of the Ionian revolt in 495/4 B.C.,<sup>46</sup> and to assume that Hecataeus was alive in 490 or 480 B.C. is to engage in mere speculation.

Jacoby's main argument against an early date is that the mythological fragments from the *Γενεηλογίαι* show many traces of rationalism, an indication of a later date of composition.<sup>47</sup> In F 13 Marathonius is mentioned as the son of Deucalion, a relationship which is not found elsewhere. That means, according to Jacoby, that Marathonius became important only after the defeat of the Persians at Marathon in 490 B.C., and that Marathonius was consequently given a prominent place in mythology. In answer to this, L. Pear-

<sup>44</sup> *Op. cit.* (see note 7), 171.

<sup>45</sup> F. Jacoby, *Fr. Gr. Hist.* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1923), I.319, 322, 326.

<sup>46</sup> Herod. v.36, 125.

<sup>47</sup> See note 45. Cf. also F. Jacoby, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *R.E.*, s.v. "Heketaios," VII.2741.



son<sup>48</sup> points out that Hecataeus is cited mostly for his unorthodox versions of myths. As for the seeming inconsistencies between certain fragments of the two works, certainly no discrepancies can be made a capital point, in view of the incomplete state of the *Γενεολογίαι* and the *Περύγησις*. Many of these differences can be easily explained.<sup>49</sup> Thus there is no reason why we should accept Jacoby's theory, if we can find evidence to the contrary. The greatest argument against Jacoby's conclusion is that we have no proof that Hecataeus was alive after 495/4 B.C. Inasmuch as the *Περύγησις* was evidently composed during the last decade of the 6th century B.C.,<sup>50</sup> and Suidas gives the *floruit* of Hecataeus as the 65th Olympiad (520/16 B.C.),<sup>51</sup> we may lay aside Jacoby's conclusion that the *Γενεολογίαι* were published some time between 490 and 480 B.C. in favor of an earlier date, some time between c.510 and 491 B.C. during the reign of Demaratus. Such an hypothesis agrees with all the known facts.

In conjunction with the Spartan king lists and the question of a generation of 40 years, there are several other passages which merit consideration. In vi.98.2 Herodotus says that during the three generations of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes more evil befell Greece than during the 20 generations preceding Darius. We may well wonder just what Herodotus had in mind when he made this statement about Greek history. Whence did he derive the figure 20, and what is its significance? It seems obvious that this does not represent 20 generations of  $33\frac{1}{3}$  years each, because that total number of years—666 $\frac{2}{3}$ —would get us nowhere, and would represent nothing in Greek history as far as we know. On the other hand, we have seen in the discussion of the Spartan king lists that the last member of each of the two lists belonged to the 21st generation after Heracles, counting inclusively. As Darius is a contemporary of those Spartans of the 21st generation, the 20th generation before Darius would be the generation of Heracles according to the Spartan genealogical tables. That the 20th generation before Darius is the generation of Heracles can be no coincidence. We have already seen how Herodotus was dependent on Hecataeus

<sup>48</sup> L. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1939), 99.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Pearson, *op. cit.* (see note 48), 45–6, 98.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Pearson, *op. cit.* (see note 48), 27.

<sup>51</sup> According to the *ἀκμή* system, this would mean that he was born about 40 years before this time, i.e., not after 556 B.C.

for much of his chronological information. It would seem that this is another instance of this dependency, for these 20 generations must represent generations of 40, and not  $33\frac{1}{3}$ , years.

We may next ask why Herodotus should make such a comparison between the generations of Darius and his successors, and the 20 generations of Greek history previous to Darius. Had the Greeks been making history for just 20 generations, and not for 19 or 21? In other words, with what or whom did Greek history—for (Hecataeus and) Herodotus—begin? It is perhaps significant, when we compare this fact with the works of the later historians, that Herodotus—and Hecataeus—do not use the Trojan war, but rather the generation of Heracles, as the starting point for their calculations in Greek history.

In II.145.4 Herodotus gives several calculations, one of which should be considered here. We find the interesting statement that Heracles lived about 900 years before Herodotus.<sup>52</sup> If we turn to the Spartan king lists, which are based on a generation of 40 years, we see that the generation of Heracles began in 1330 B.C., and that the generation of Leonidas (Cleomenes, and Demaratus) properly came to an end in 490 B.C. 21 generations of 40 years each total only 840 years. We must add to the starting point (490 B.C.) 60 more years to reach a sum of 900 years. That gives us a date of 430 B.C. for the time of Herodotus, which is entirely satisfactory. That this calculation checks can be proved by reversing the method. If Herodotus was writing some time between 440 and 430 B.C., 900 years before that time would give us a date of *c.*1330 B.C. as the beginning of the generation of Heracles. This figure, however, is identical with the date for the generation of Heracles as derived from the Spartan king lists, and from the Lydian and Median king lists.<sup>53</sup>

Herodotus could have reached this figure of 900 years in several ways. He might have added 60 years to the 840 of the Spartan tables, as has been done in the preceding paragraph. Perhaps he allowed 800 years for the 20 generations preceding that of Darius, and then calculated the three generations of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes—which he mentions in VI.98.2—as another 100 years. He himself was a contemporary of Artaxerxes. That would total to only 900 years, for Herodotus, making his own calculations,

<sup>52</sup> II.145.4: 'Ηρακλεί δὲ τῷ Ἀλκμήνης κατὰ εἰνακόςια (sc. ἔτεα ἐς ἐμέ).

<sup>53</sup> Cf. von Fritz, *loc. cit.* (see note 2), 339–40.

allowed but  $33\frac{1}{3}$  years to a generation.<sup>54</sup> It is then evident that, in such passages as VII.204, VIII.131.2, and VI.98.2, pertaining to the Spartan king lists and the 20 generations of Greek history previous to Darius, Herodotus is not using a generation of  $33\frac{1}{3}$ , but of 40, years. He did not give the actual number of generations between Heracles and himself, because he could not supply a sufficient number of names when using a generation of  $33\frac{1}{3}$  years, and because in the Spartan king lists he had taken over a generation of 40 years. With three generations to a century, 900 years would require 27 generations, while with a generation of 40 years there would be room theoretically for only  $22\frac{1}{2}$  generations. Herodotus apparently translated the 20 Hecataean generations into eight centuries, and added the necessary 100 years—or three Herodotean generations—to that figure to derive the date of Heracles.

In conclusion, we have seen that Herodotus apparently took over from Hecataeus the lists of Spartan kings, and altered these lists to form genealogical tables of Leonidas and Leotychides, the reigning kings of 480 B.C. Since Hecataeus probably compiled them some time during the reign of Demaratus (510–491 B.C.), the last names were those of Cleomenes and Demaratus. Herodotus was not concerned with giving a complete list of the Spartan kings, but desired to establish the genealogical relationship of Leonidas and Leotychides to Heracles, because Greek history—for Herodotus (and Hecataeus)—began with Heracles. Such a plan necessitated the alteration of four names. Herodotus accordingly substituted Leonidas for Cleomenes, Leotychides for Demaratus, Menares for Ariston, and Agesilaus for Agesicles. In their original form, however, these were king lists as well as genealogical tables, complete up to, and including, Cleomenes and Demaratus.

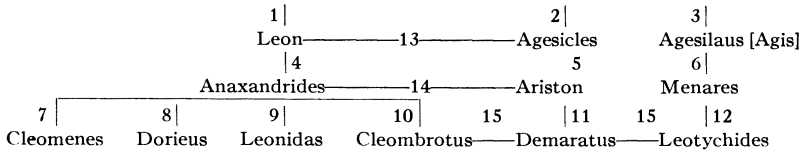
<sup>54</sup> II.142.2.

TABLE A  
Herodotus VII.204; VIII.131.2

1. Heracles (1330 B.C.)		
2. Hyllus <sup>1</sup> (1290)		
3. Cleodaeus <sup>2</sup> (1250)		
4. Aristomachus <sup>3</sup> (1210)		
5. Aristodemus <sup>4</sup> (1170)		
vii.204		viii.131.2
6. Eurysthenes <sup>5</sup>	1130	Procles <sup>6</sup>
7. Agis *	1090	Eurypon *
8. Echestratus *	1050	Prytanis *
9. Leobotas <sup>7</sup>	1010	Polydectes *
10. Doryssus *	970	Eunomus *
11. Agesilaus *	930	Charilaus *
12. Archelaus *	890	Nicander *
13. Telecles *	850	Theopompus *
14. Alcamenes *	810	Anaxandrides *
15. Polydorus *	770	Archidamus *
16. Eurycrates *	730	Anaxilaus *
17. Anaxander *	690	Leotychides *
18. Eurycratides *	650	Hippocratides *
19. Leon <sup>8</sup>	610	† Agesilaus *
20. Anaxandrides <sup>9</sup>	570	† Menares <sup>10</sup>
21. † Leonidas <sup>11</sup>	530	† Leotychides <sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> VI.52.1; IX.26.3-5. <sup>2</sup> VI.52.1. <sup>3</sup> VI.52.1. <sup>4</sup> IV.147.2; VI.52.1. <sup>5</sup> IV.147.2; V.39.2; VI.51, 52.7. <sup>6</sup> IV.147.2; VI.52.7. <sup>7</sup> I.65.4. For 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12, see Table B.  
\* Not mentioned elsewhere in Herodotus. † Names which Herodotus did not find on Hecataeus' lists.

TABLE B



1. Father of Leon given only in VII.204.
2. Father of Agesicles not given.
3. Father of Agesilaus given only in VIII.131.2. Cf. page 464.
4. Anaxandrides, son of Leon. v.39.1.
5. Father of Ariston not given.
6. Menares, son of Agesilaus. VIII.131.2. Menares, son of Agis. VI.65.1. Here the correct reading is probably Agesilaus, not Agis. Cf. page 464. The father of "Agis" is not given.
7. Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides. III.148.1; v.39.1, 64.1; VI.50.1, 108.2; VII.148.2.
8. Dorieus, son of Anaxandrides. v.41-8; VII.158.2, 205.1.
9. Leonidas, son of Anaxandrides. v.41.3; VII.205.1; VIII.71.1.
10. Cleombrotus, son of Anaxandrides. v.41.3; VII.205.1; VIII.71.1; IX.10.2, 64.1.
11. Demaratus, son of Ariston. v.75.1; VI.51, 61-7; VII.3.1, 101.1, 209.1, 239.2.
12. Leotychides, son of Menares. VI.65.1, 71.1.
13. Equation of Leon and Agesicles. I.65.1.
14. Equation of Anaxandrides and Ariston, contemporaries of Croesus. I.67.1.
15. The sons of Anaxandrides, Demaratus, and Leotychides are all of the same generation and participate in the Persian wars. Leotychides and Demaratus are of the same house. VI.65.1.