

# ***From Xenophon's Constitution of the Lacedaimonians to See the Instrumental Role of the Ideal Spartan Image in His Historical Writing***

Qichang Guan<sup>1,a,\*</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*School of Humanities, Shanghai Normal University, Shanghai, 200233, China*

*a. guanbolin1997@qq.com*

*\*corresponding author*

**Abstract:** In 1933, French historian Olier raised the issue of the "Spartan Illusion" and believed that ancient historians' impressions of Sparta must have been artificially processed based on the author's writing purpose. Xenophon's *The Constitution of Lacedaemonians* is the crucial surviving material of a contemporary author who personally experienced and recorded the specific internal conditions of the Spartan city-state. It is also a concentrated expression of the Spartan illusion. As a historian of the Greek city-state crisis period, Xenophon not only paid more attention to Sparta in the process of writing "Greek Chronicles" due to his legendary personal experience, but also focused more on the image of ideal Sparta. Thinking about sex, theodicy, and political philosophy were integrated into historical writing, making the image of Sparta the focus of Xenophon's historical writing and philosophical thinking, and a tool for him to write history. Previous research has mainly focused on a series of subtle thoughts that Xenophon developed by borrowing the Spartan illusion. This article intends to formally explore and summarize the process of Xenophon manufacturing and using this writing instrument, and whether it achieves its expected results.

**Keywords:** The Spartan Mirage, history writing, Xenophon, instrumental role

## **1. Introduction**

In 1933, the French historian Aulier (Francoise Ollier) first raised the question of "the Spartan Mirage", meaning that the description of Sparta by Plutarch and Xenophon is actually a philosophical fiction; this is because the law described by pro-Spartan historians was too ideal to be fully established in reality, and must be far from the real state of Sparta. Therefore, the impression of ancient historians on Sparta must be based on the author's writing purpose, and artificial historical processing.

After the WW2, Strauss (Leo Strauss), through the reinterpretation of Xenophon's Sparta Political System, identified the inherent disadvantages of the rites and enlightenment of Lycurgus. He also reexamined the statement of Xenophon as a pro-Spartan historian. Strauss analyzed that Xenophon's writing was not to praise the etiquette that Spartan had, but to satirical the ritual and to look at the worship of Sparta political system among people at that time.[1]

Chen Ke studied the contents of Lukugu Biography from the perspective of history and reached the conclusion that Lukugu reform had a positive influence on the Spartan city; that Plutarch affirmed the reform of Lukugu. Chen also tried to annotate Xenophon's "Sparta Political System", compiled

some authoritative notes on the book, and studied the status of women under the legislation of Sparta, which is a reflective attitude to the etiquette of Spartan city.

But in general, whether the city of Sparta textual research and political philosophy, or Xenophon, Greek historian writing of Sparta society, or about the history of Sparta narrative and writing characteristics, domestic research is relatively few, only relatively limited domestic literature for reference.

Xenophon was born in Athens, grew up during the Peloponnesian War, and lived mainly during the crisis period of the Greek cities. In his early years, shortly after the end of the Peloponnesian War, at the invitation of Kleon, he joined the rebellion of young Cyrus against the elder brother. After the defeat, as one of the main leaders of the mercenary corps, he led the team back to the Black Sea near Babylon, and was exiled to Sparta. One of Agesilaus' staff, who lived for nearly 20 years in Sparta in the Peloponnese, he began to travel between Corinth due to the restoration of his citizenship in Athens.

His life experienced the Greek world after the Peloponnesian war hegemony change, also involved in the small revolus rebellion failed as one of the leadership of the long march team led mercenaries back to Greece, and then witnessed in exile, Sparta, "Spartan empire" in the establishment of the war, Agesilaus II of the war achievements, and the revival of Athens, Thebes hegemony briefly rise Persian forces to intervene in the Greek world and a series of major events.

Xenophon's historical works in *The Greek Annals* and *The Long March* mainly record the specific historical facts from the late period of the Peloponnesian War to the crisis period of the Greek city-states. The exact date of these works is unknown, but according to Laseu's *Records of Famous Words and Words*, Xenophon wrote most of the current surviving works during his residence in Sparta and Corinth. Many works are a summary of the life of Xenophon in his later years. Among them, the creation of *Defending, Drinking and Education in Cyrus* is related to some comments in the middle and later period of Plato. The first two chapters of the *Greek Annals* are the earliest parts written by Xenophon, and the last five chapters are written by Xenophon later than in the *Education of Cyrus*, and no earlier than in 362. "On Hunting," "On riding," "The Income of Athens" are the proposals to Athens after the restoration of citizenship. Other works that cannot be dated, such as "The Long March" and "Recalling Socrates", can only be roughly included in the period of Schirus to Corinth.

His most influential works, except for the *Greek Annals* and the *Long March*, are included in the reign of the Late Dream. The importance of this book is that it is the only first-hand material that directly records the specific operation of Spartan society, and it is of vital historical value to the study of ancient Spartan society. Although according to the theory of "Spartan phantom", there is artificial historical processing in *The Political System*. However, as a concise and vivid historical work, the ideal Spartan image still has many connections with the characters and moral depiction in other Xenophon's works. This paper aims to explore the internal characterization method behind this connection—how the ideal Spartan image in this work is used as a tool for historical writing.

## 2. Manufacturing of "Spartan tools"

The Spartan under Lykugus, described by Xenophon, has experienced a series of preset purpose-oriented processing and perspective bias.

First, Xenophon's portrayal of Lycurgus is the key bond for his Spartan image. In Xenophon's pen, we can not completely regard the founder of Sparta, as the king of philosophy in the context of Plato, but we can not directly rise to the detached status of god. The accurate description should be: Lycurgus is a man who had existed and had wisdom. He was recognized by the god through the vision of legislation for Sparta. After his death, the embodiment of his will and the etiquette of Sparta combined to become a "demigod".

At the beginning and end of Spartan Politics, Xenophon more directly describes the Lycurgus's personal charm as a legendary figure." After the death of the king, the rites of Lycurgus showed that the honor behind them was that the Kings were like heroes, but like extraordinary people." [2]

Lycurgus's etiquette enabled the king to become a hero after death. At the end of the description of the image of Lycurgus, in chapter 8, Xenophon writes, "According to the Spartans, Lycurgus lived in the contemporary of Heracles", which is actually based on the reality of Sparta and the legend of Lycurgus. Since Leuku is also considered to be the legendary king of Sparta, "becoming a hero after death" is applicable to Leuku. This reconstruction is not an irresponsible flattery, but to the specific image of Leuku regarded as a "hero" in the full text.

First, what is Lycurgus's "hero" image like? "I think he has reached the limit of his wisdom." [3], Lycurgus is not born with wisdom, wisdom does not belong to the companion of Lycurgus, but in the later genius was cultivated, and reached far beyond the level of others, which is consistent with the Greek myth "demigod through acquired efforts" to obtain the power of the process. Then we can see the statement that "not only did he not follow the example of other city-states, but he adopted a completely different system from most city-states." This is similar to the process of Greek mythology where—, who obtains or discovers its own power to exert some extraordinary power and thus achieve great achievements with this power. [3]

To sum up, Xenophon hides the description of Lai library ancient "found and honed their expertise, with divine power to achieve great achievements", Xenophon with the two typical demigod experiences suggests that his readers, Lai library ancient should be a through efforts to reach the extraordinary wisdom, and the wisdom as the power of demigod. At the same time, his image is different from the following two images: they are the image of the Spartan king who generally led the war as a military man, and the image of the philosophical king who ruled the legitimacy through the wisdom of natural gods. [3]

In chapter 8, Xenophon also describes how Lycurgus went to Delphi to consult the gods before the legislation. Xenophon tries to tell the reader that Leuku was initially publicly recognized and affirmed by the gods, precisely because he had the extraordinary wisdom of a hero. Moreover, it is because he is able to overcome obstacles and distinguish good and evil that the Spartan ritual finally gains the recognition of god, and achieves the heroic ending in which the semi-god is accepted and praised by mortals and gods. [4]

The image of Lyku is also related to the origin myth of the city-state. Greek city-states usually base their origins on the connection with a demigod, which is a tradition of Greek city-states to boast of their belonging, which is called the "ancestor myth" tradition. Sparta is no exception. In the Spartan tradition, the Kings are used to claim to be the descendants of the demigod, so the founding myth of Sparta conforms to this tradition. By acknowledging the demigod image of Lycurgus, Xenophon adapted and strengthens the authenticity of this tradition in the article Spartan Politics. Although Xenophon did not directly put Lycurgus into the lineage of Hercules to anchor it to a specific space and time, it always affirmed the creation process of the Spartan ritual, which was precisely because of his identity as a demigod. [5]

This not only enabled Lycurgus to establish a connection with the oracle / divine Dharma, but also built a bridge between Lycurgus and the descendants of Hercules, and added a new demigod to the blood of Hercules. In short, Lycurgus's suggestion of the power of demigod, combined with its connection with the origin of the city, strengthens the degree of respect Lycurgus gained in such an identity in the subsequent description.

Second, the Spartan political system is also a far cry from the popular Solon "city-state legislation". This paper describes the details of Sparta ritual, both the process of legislation and the content of the law, mostly after the Xenophon personal processing and its unique perspective selection, its purpose

is to show the reader because the ancient legislative behavior and the Spartan obedience of the law to achieve noble and good, thus to the ancient expressed expectations and positive response.

The legislative process in Xenophon's Leukgu is very different from Solon, another typical legislator in the legislator movement. Here we are based on Aristotle's narration and portrayal of Solon in Aristotle's Political System of Athens. From the political system of Athens, it can be seen that Solon, besides the status of a legislator and a wise man, was also involved in the legislation as a mortal man. From being invited to Athens, the cause of the legislation, to the law process, to solon friends that law in advance, people accept the law, solon on their legislative reflection, as one of the Athens ancestral "Solon law" is not a can completely dominated by legislators individual will of one-way advice, more not Plato meaning "the second best country" law, but left the vivid story in the history of Athens.[6]

From the political System of Sparta, Xenophon's description of the process of making laws of Leckugu, the education recognized by Lycurgus is often published in a kind of high instruction. Xenophon tends to be very brief at the beginning, with "Lycurgus thought..."[2], " Lycurgus also observed...[2]", " He banned to[2]"The expression maintains the unity of this tone, rather than directly invoking a specific legal provision. As for Lycurgus's disapproval and wants Sparta to correct this as a counterexample, Xenophon mostly expresses it as "other city-states are universal..., but these instances are..." in an effort to avoid the connection between etiquette and Lycurgus's personal will. This characteristic and the Athens politics compared to Solon story, did not focus on writing the process of lai library ancient legislation details and library ancient law is accepted by the public when the two-way interaction, but to deliberately omit white technique, in the default lai library ancient law in this way, he established the ritual because can practice "noble and good" quickly convince people all, is accepted by people without reservation and identity.

Therefore, the author believes that Xenophon through the above writing, Lycurgus and Spartan law relationship to make such a hint. Sparta law as long as after the "wisdom" library a person's value judgment, can rely on "he thought" tone, as teach yu promulgated, only in this way can let library ancient with his demigod wisdom and the will of law, let his colloquial teach yu and Sparta law draw equal sign. The will of Lycurgus has long been affirmed by God Apollo, so the Spartan law of Sparta has become the embodiment of Lycurgus's will, which is in line with nobility and good. The reason why Lekuku's law can be implemented so smoothly is that his demigod great cause responded to the god's initial expectations for him.

Therefore, Xenophon describes the specific content of the description of the political system established by Laikugu from chapter one to chapter four, describing a series of educational principles from boys to youth to adulthood, and the collective life of Spartan society and the reasons for this life. They focused more on the education of laws as Lycurgus's will and the possibility of corruption, such as strong intervention in binge eating and drunkenness.

After the construction of Xenophon, the prominent position of the article. On the surface, these guidelines are not directly related to the superb military skills by which Sparta became famous in the Greek world. Lycurgus's law is not "the highest art" as his fellow colleague Plato considered in the Law, but a means of enlightenment to order society, citizens to achieve moderation and achieve moral excellence, so as to respond to the expectations of heaven.

Finally, Xenophon describes the people in the Spartan society, which is quite different from the usual Greek stereotype of Sparta.

From Herodotus of Spartan army in hot springs, plata battle before ten thousand people battle, against the Persian army and thucydides in the first chapter the expression of confidence to win in land words, we can see good at land combat, military discipline, strict obedience to sacrifice and hierarchical relations, is the other Greeks of Spartan impression of the most concentrated part.

However, Xenophon's description of Spartans does not focus on the real military tradition of Sparta in history, nor does it emphasize that Sparta is the actual social hierarchy based on the citizenship pedigree and professional division of labor, but focuses on the moral level.

Xenophon highlighted the ways of establishing friendship and tolerance between Spartan adult citizens and boys, "The inspectors selected three from the prime of life, Called three hundred long.... examine each other for for inoverbehavior" [2], In mediating personal conflicts, Xenophon wrote, " Anyone passing by has the right to separate the parties to the fight, If that man does not obey... The inspector will severely punish those who disobey" [2]. I think, Xenophon here through the description of the means of regulating the argument—Laikugu law and the maintenance of order in Spartan civil society depends on such a sequence, Both the level of human virtue to execute. This is also related to the concept of "noble and good" in Lycurgus.

First of all, senophon writing did not mention library ancient before Sparta, but from the writing is the default similar later Plutuck in the premise of both Spartans are not born or before birth is understand order and moral noble, library ancient before Sparta may be filled with other Greek city states common inferior morality and conspiracy. Otherwise, the whole content of social education will be meaningless. Only in such an environment, qualified people with "noble and good" moral character must rely on the means of moral education, so that the logic of those who need educators to accept guidance can be supported.[7]

After clarifying this premise, according to the will of Lycurgus and Xenophon's own definition of moral education, in the description of the Spartan church, the relationship between the educator and the educated is always clearly shown in front of the readers. We can summarize this tendency as, library ancient Spartans are divided into moral and educated, moral noble corresponding to the guidance of the educated have almost absolute authority, from food and clothing to the cooperation competition between the details of virtue, the former has the power to point out the latter, and it is necessary to the latter when not to listen to, give enough discipline and necessary discipline. The leader of the child or the elder; the educators are usually children or the young; the former represents Lycurgus's "divine will", socialization of the shortcomings of the latter, the latter must finally obey the divine will of their moral requirements, to show that they have received education, otherwise they will face severe punishment. Therefore, only those who can accept the teachings of others and have noble morality can be more recognized by the Spartan society, because they shoulder the responsibility of maintaining the "divine instruction" of Lycurgus, and thus can be accepted by the laws of Leckugu with the help of every education, and at the same time won the recognition of god.

In the author's opinion, when the Xenophon appeared in all aspects of Spartan law, so as to launch a beneficial moral competition between people, the hope of expression is that it is the lack of moral skills of the latter that the former is obliged to obey people with better moral skills.

The image of Lycurgus is also a synthesis of the characteristics of the main characters in Xenophon's other works in addition to The Education of Cyrus. Finally, the above image of Lycurgus is not entirely restricted by his personality in history. In Family Politics, the author uses the fictional character—"queen and worker bees" to use the metaphor of "queen and worker bees" to explain the method of managing family affairs, similar to Lycurgus's control of Spartan society.

If the above points are summed up, the absolute obedience to the strong will can hone the skills of virtue, and thus lead to a stable order.

### 3. Use of "Spartan tools"

Xenophon's Spartan image has distinct personal writing characteristics compared with Herodotus and Thucydides. Herodotus describes a group of Spartan characters, personally in the Greek war participation and heroic words, shaping the image of Sparta in the Greek world. Thucydides, in his

History of the Peloponnesian War, describes a Sparta who is constantly engaged in war with Athens, focusing on the strategy of Sparta, making Sparta the other force of the Greek world.

Therefore, Xenophon uses a preset perspective to write the ideal of Sparta as a tool, which is one of the intentions of Xenophon to write the Political System of Sparta. The purpose of this tool is to extract a prototype and simplified but comprehensive moral education model by writing Sparta. — Those whose moral skills are inferior to others should strictly obey the demigod divine will to learn the "nobility and good" of his enlightenment. This nobility and good is the key to maintaining and repairing the order between people and achieving a career.

To this end, Xenophon did not reiterate the old theories of Spartan war, but compared the skills of fighting and other moral skills on an equal footing.

The war in Sparta was not the focus of Xenophon's writing in the first ten chapters. It was not until Chapter 11 that the precepts of social life began to turn to Sparta's fighting skills and the details of the array of troops. Chapter eleven beginning is explained the reason for the writing, "the above talk about these institutional measures of peace and war, but if someone is interested in, also can understand their better than other city-state military measures" this sentence is by the Sparta daily education to describe combat turn, is also used to tell the reader why in the preceding article did not describe Spartan operations[2].

First, the heavy infantry fought together after the formation, protecting each other's right side while following the command of the commander. In the Greek war, one itself is a symbol of discipline and order, which is the common view of the Greek world. In Chapter 11, Xenophon is based on the symbol that the Spartans can obey the command, observe the order, and complete the complex changes of formation.

Secondly, from Chapter 11 to Chapter 13, the scene of education within the Spartan city is transformed into a scene in which the Spartan army camps, arranges and fights after leaving the city. Follow the command of the children, the inspector and the elders of the captain, the commander of the camp and the king of the camp, and put the infantry and cavalry ranks under the hierarchy of clear objectives[2]. In chapter thirteen, the description of the privilege of the king, shows that the king, after being awarded with power and honor, conveys all precepts, arranges to command all war affairs, and ensures that his orders are carried out without reservation[2].

In the author's opinion, the purpose of xenophon's writing is to make it correspond with the precepts in daily collective life and the moral behavior required by the Lycurgus etiquette. Thus revealing such a tendency: —It is a part of moderation and order in the eyes of the Spartans who follow the will of Lycurgus. Xenophon does not use empty praises to praise the Spartans In war, but the description of Sparta army array of details will combat skills and moral skills equality, is hope to bring the picture of the reader is: the Spartans every day with inferior moral battle and moderation competition, and the actual enemy on the battlefield, and in daily struggle with inferior moral confrontation by education of obedience, moderation and vigilance, with lai library ancient will in reality. For this reason, the Spartan's proud art of war can be put behind the cultivation of the moral art, suggesting that the latter is a higher priority to the former.

Thus, the process and results of the prototype of the moral education model of "The governance of the ideal Spartan" are compared, and the value judgment is made, and then extended to the era of Xenophon. The evaluation of history and the writing of Sparta are used as a tool to describe history, so as to show his views on the actual situation of the Spartan city-state during the Spartan Empire and the narration of history in the Greek Annals.

Xenophon hopes to use such writing to imply that overcoming morality with moderation and social education is the acting practice and fundamental premise that can defeat the enemy on the battlefield in reality, sharpening moderation and morality. Sparta and what needs to defeat is not the enemy, but inferior morality and skills.

This ideal Spartan model is also unique in Xenophon's own other works. However, to understand this instrumental effect, we cannot be limited to the works of Spartan Politics itself, but must contact the pedigree of Xenophon's works to fully analyze his role.

First of all, the Spartan image of Lycurgus Dharma, as a concise prototype of Xenophon's writing, its ideal image has surpassed the real Sparta itself. Although Xenophon in the Greek Annals also recorded in detail the history of Sparta from the end of the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Mandinea, into the criterion of evaluating the real Sparta in the method of microhidden writing.

From this criterion of evaluation, the negative example of Xenophon in the second to third chapters of the *Hellenica* is the Lysander of the Spartan general, the leader of the Thirty. Lysander had used his cleverness and negotiation skills to help the Spartan navy[8]. Sparta was not allowed to be commander of the navy twice in a row, only after the naval fleet of Sparta destroyed the old rule and took the position. After the defeat in Athens in 403, Lysander support "thirty tyrant" government in the city of almost all citizens deprived of power, property by Lysander ordered thirty government deprivation[8], compared with Lysander, there was once a coup before 411 oligopoly, split key participants in Athens, or the agiti to win the general trial as one of the perpetrators[8]. However, during the "Thirty tyrant" period, he and Critias, as the original leaders of the government of three people, were denied for his more moderate attempt to change the government of Athens in accordance with the "ancestral system". After expressing their opposition to Critias' policy of expanding terrorism, they were captured and killed under the tacit approval of Lysander[8]. And Critias as a reality Sparta extreme worshippers, in 30 regime just established, persuade Lysander troops stationed, and please the commander Caribius indulge his wanton[8], the implementation of the "citizenship reduced to three thousand people" and "asked them to kill a other citizen" [8] obviously on the surface of Sparta "free commune", "hunting black" traditional measures. These measures, formally imitating Sparta, trampled on the dignity and consensus of the citizens and free people of Athens. With the help of the rare opportunity of Sparta to seek hegemony, he constantly treated other cities with arrogance, acted in autocratic style and domineering, and secretly seized the property of these cities to cause him jealousy and hatred inside and outside the city. At this time, out of jealousy, he persuaded the inspector to replace Lysander and prevent him from owning the city of Athens. Its army also refused to break the oath to Athens to unknown war, eventually Lysander personally differentiated support Lysander side of Athens, to Athens under the leadership of Socrates Syria blues again unified affirmation, also irony and deny the Lysander is nominal "conquer Athens" credit, it is his evil behavior.

Compared with these, Xenophon of Lysander died in conflict with the debasement records compared to its evil is more concise, the silence and above to Lysander to indulge evil facts, hidden micro revealed to the reader Xenophon of Lysander though with wisdom to win the war, but foreign countries by power, and after plunder a lot of wealth, gradually deviate from the laity library ancient will to moral despicable and degenerate negative attitude. In addition, it was because of the Spartan general Lysander and King Pausanias, because of internal jealousy and internal strife.

The latter would rather give up punishing Athens than want the former, creating a crucial opportunity to recreate Athens to create the support of the port people and a respite from external pressure.

From the hidden criticism of Lysander, it is not difficult to see that Xenophon's use of this standard is observed: can the Spartans obey the Lycurgus's will, can the restraint and discipline inside and outside, and bring order and morality to the city-state? From the fruits of the war and moral cultivation, the leadership of Sparta by Lysander was especially defeated.

At the same time, it also conveys a criticism of the situation of Sparta at that time. In addition, Xenophon's Lycurgus appeared as the representative figure of good law and good governance, as the darling of god, and as the only founder of Spartan etiquette, and all the good works of Lycurgus, and

was a sage representing the traditional etiquette of Sparta. Because of this reality, the more sophisticated the system design, the more serious the consequences of the Sparta, the worse the social corruption, and the more severe the social corruption of the era.

In contrast to Lysander, the opposite example, he was the king of Sparta after his exile in Sparta. Xenophon's Ode to Agesilaus, after his death from illness on his expedition to Egypt, is often regarded as a false praise of the Spartan king. But if the article is linked to the theme of the Spartan Political System, which is the ideal Sparta, Xenophon tries to use the idealized Sparta to express both the criticism of the corruption of the Spartan army and the praise of Agesilaus II.

On the one hand, Xenophon praised the king many have noble moral behavior and moral style, and his personal adherence to the Sparta traditional moral practice and maintenance, is Sparta since the library established tradition in reality, and a semified embodiment, this as the fact of external performance and the surface structure of the article is beyond doubt. Agesilaus, as the benefactor of Xenophon during his stay in Sparta, was difficult to follow him without a sense of appreciation and praise.

On the other hand, the perfect image of Agesilaus II was built partly because of his ability to stop the Spartan soldiers out of personal plunder and obstruction of fairness, which foil the moral nobility. Spartan soldiers looted for selfish desire, which clearly violated the requirements of the prohibition on personal property and moderation. But Xenophon here does not directly point out the degradation of the Spartan soldiers, but uses a reverse foil to cover it up to the reader. In addition, it is mentioned that Agesilaus interrogated the enemy to find out where there are rich booty, so as to conduct more purposeful plunder, to find a higher buyer, to avoid the oversupply of booty prices, to sell the booty at a high price, to help friends make money to win the friendship of others.[8] Xenophon also did not here point out that Agesilaus deliberately plundered the enemy to grab more property is a serious violation of etiquette. The reason for this is obvious. Since "Ode to Agesilaus" was written by Xenophon when he received Sparta asylum, out of personal safety considerations, Xenophon could not directly criticize the Lord who sheltered him.

This clever way of implication and contrast has told the reader from the side that the law of Lycurgus's will has actually reached the point that it requires the constant reminder of another strong person to be maintained, without being observed by everyone from the heart. Xenophon praised the story. But in the structure of the narrative, but hidden to borrow other Spartan army illegal behavior of the king of the foil, even praise the plunder, purpose is to point out that the Spartans collective morality and moderation is loose, against the library ancient law behavior in the Spartan army in foreign campaign generally happen reality. In addition, it can be seen from this foil that another goal of Xenophon's praise and regret for Agesilaus is his calligraphy criticism and regret for the fact that he had observed the Spartans at that time. The stronger this feeling is in the text, the more it implies the continued concern of this apparent maintenance even after his death. Thus, in "Ode to Agesilaus", this tool skillfully criticizes the current corruption of Sparta and the confusion when the strong man no longer exists.

In addition to the image of Sparta, Xenophon focuses on the author of Jason in the fifth to sixth chapters of the Greek Annals. He emerged from around the first 370s, controlling the surrounding area with mercenaries and Thessalian cavalry and superb charisma and political skills. Xenophon's portrayal of the character reveals what he once saw as a hero who could end the chaos in Greece. Often described in detail, the Jason of Thessaly. Because he has been basically in line with the Lycurgus's will in words and deeds, once close to complete the great cause, so for him, the accidental assassination and fall hero, Xenophon with regrettable words to describe the process of assassination, and the public to its sudden death stunned[8].

The narrative in the text then connects with such a stunned tone, thus connecting to the end of the Greek Annals. In the death of Ipanunda in the Battle of Mandinia, he once integrated Thebes as a



Greek bully, similar to Jason's ambitious, ambitious character and integration of Thessaly. In addition, all the parties did not achieve their purpose, which failed to end the Greek chaos regret the result, also the fall of Jason and the battle ending burst, a small large two things by senophene with control method with each other, become a tragedy of self-realization prophecy.

At the end of Greece, Xenophon exclaimed, " But after this battle, Greece became more disordered and chaotic than before the war. I will write here, the future may have their own others care "[8]. it is easy to think of senophon in the Sparta politics in chapter 14 and" AGA xi laus ode " to express feelings of consistency, both after the library ancient reality Sparta gradually deviate from his will to the heart, strongman politics cannot maintain the confusion.

Therefore, it is in this method that Xenophon uses the ideal Sparta created by Lycurgus created in the Spartan Political System as a tool for evaluation and writing. Can through this tool, to the reality of Sparta and the Greek world published his more hidden personal opinions and evaluation method, to express the reality of Sparta has deviated from moderation and moral irony, but also according to his experience and the evaluation of the history of character —xenon both on the surface or suggest evaluation he write characters in other works, are also with library ancient as the ideal standard for reference to extend the evaluation and praise.

This tool effect is also reflected in: senoffen in other works many image shaping means, writing methods can be found in the Spartan politics, so the author thinks that this paper as a concise and concentrated writing style of short, is his work system most characters and the plot of the scale and template. In *Cyropaedia*, there is no mention of Sparta, but Xenophon uses Cyrus the Great as a semi-fictional character to place "The Sparta Political System" after anchoring it to a semi-fictional specific space-time. Using his teachings to the people around him before the victory, the arrangement of the Persian system after the conquest of MIDI, the method of organizing the army and the process of defeating the enemy in the war, he expanded the principles and implementation details established in the Spartan Political System in Lai Seca.

Xenophon in *Cyropaedia* can describe in detail the teaching of Cyrus to the process of law, summed up with the following characteristics:

First of all, the necessary charm and qualities that the king relies on, Cyrus believes to believe to God and respond to God's expectations. From the result, this kind of behavior can skillfully combine the concept of piety and loyalty, so that the educated can regard the king and the god as one, and thus gain the political attribute of conveying the will of the leader besides moral philosophy. In the Spartan Political System, the unity of law and will won the affirmation of the god in Delphi. Xenophon here expressed the relationship between the will of the king and the relationship between the worship of god, and had the consistency of purpose with the will of Lycurgus law[9].

Secondly, on the topic of social supervision, Xenophon commented in Chapter 7 with the help of Chrysantas: "A good ruler is a good father"[9]. Moreover, Cyrus set up "King's Ears and Eyes", which was responsible for secret supervision and reporting to the emperor. And hope that the subjects are not under the supervision of others. In Chapter 8, Xenophon still clarified the necessity of military discipline and supervision in public matters through the parallel rhetoric of the Cyrus general[9].

Thus it can be seen that one of the purposes of Xenophon to create the image of Cyrus is to use the story to prove in more detail that socialized education and proper supervision of rewards and punishments are the way to implement the divine law. And moral education must also have the function of serving the above political purposes, because it is a necessary condition for the realization of political attributes. In order to achieve the goal, it must also be practiced under the supervision of the leader.

Again, in chapter 7, Xenophon describes his personally selected for the details of the supervision, and borrow his and his mouth explain the principle can be summarized as "only parents and leaders of the person for moral education, people must constantly learn from better people around, and imitate

the ultimate object is the will of the king".[9].Thus, it more clearly expresses the reason why the purpose of the supervision needs to be combined with the will of the leader. This point is not fully discussed in the first five chapters of the Supervision of children, but is more deeply explained in the Education of Cyrus.

In addition, in *Cyropaedia*, the advice and admonition to Cyrus is also almost unconditional obedience. But unlike the details of Sparta, Xenophon wrote in chapter 7 to the end of the war, when Cyrus sought advice from his subordinates, Xenophon designed his men to explain why they were willing to do so[9]. This echoes the first chapter, his grandfather Cambyses admonished to Cyrus in his youth, which focuses on the method and importance of asking his subordinates to follow them. [9]

In short the Sparta political system, many such as the children supervision, subordinate obedience to omit the details, the relationship between the leader and the leader and teach details of white, xenophon in this book, with the aid of the grandfather above, side officers, subordinate servants, discusses the spontaneous obedience and follow the attractive leader reasons and actual results, after one after each other.

#### 4. The practical effect of the "Spartan tools"

There is no doubt that Plato and his historians would treat the Spartan system with a compliment and create a "Spartan illusion". This is especially true of Xenophon, but does Xenophon's portrayal of Sparta fully achieve the purpose of writing with this tool?

From establishing an ideal Spartan image in order to provide a characteristic tool for his historical writing, Xenophon did achieve his purpose. Xenophon looked at the use of the Spartan ritual shaped by the strong human will, and combined this will with the ideal of the Spartan ritual, shaping the Sparta under the Lykugu will. The perfect morality brought to Sparta as a demigod, and the strong will as a leader, are all special responses to the social disorder of Xenophon's time. Xenophon believes that the disordered society needs to reshape the good law brought by the strong will, and the immoral society should have the "noble and good" guidance to restore the good social order, rather than imitate and worship the empty and powerful appearance of people. In senophon in this paper, the ideal image and its will response to his look forward to the answer, is shaped by the king of the crown, his will in the writing of the color became a strong model, his will and his legislation, became the senophon evaluation he narrates the historical criterion, became he thought can bring as Sparta traditional social ideal way.

But the effect of the above image to the readers is not the same. Cyrus the Great was based from the image of Lycurgus in the Spartan Political System, but the means by which Cyrus the Great wanted to get others to execute the will of his will only gives the reader a false quality close to the Greek tyranny. Xenophon described Cyrus 'method of supervising his subjects focusing on Cyrus' own will to show his preference and affirmation for the control of power. At the same time, he used deception and high pressure as the ruling skills, and also deceived his subordinates and enemies, and used the supervisor to deprive his personal life and freedom and insult his personality. This false morality may be more straightforward and prominent in Xenophon's minor work *Hiero*. With the help of Hiero, the unperfected tyrant of Syracuse, discussing the way of rule, Xenophon directly admitted the actions of the Greek Lord confiscating weapons, supervising the citizens, and the necessity to do so[10], though this left the Lord himself in pain[10]. And though Cyrus the Great's tactics was more subtle and gentler than Hiero's. But this and schenophon in siero, the poet simero rule means to admonish the purpose of the also agreed, because siero he never want to persuade ciero to give up the Lord rule, but suggested that he use more hidden, more beneficial to the overall interests of the city Lord means instead of selfish Lord rule, with "good tyranny" to share the glory of city with citizens[10].

If these two means of practicing human will are combined, we will find Xenophon's contradictory feelings on the politics of strong man, which is the controversial part of Xenophon's ideal image of strong man reconstructed by the Sparta Political System, which cannot convince readers.

And "Spartan politics" although hope to convey the reader strong will of excellent effect, but the will bring the results and offence to human dignity, in Sparta in black and deliberately less ink, for Spartans practice "secret service", and in dinner with black for behavior, Xenophon also deliberately choose to avoid. But even if Xenophon was able to hide this in Sparta, it is difficult to maintain this result in other prototype writings, especially in the two semi-fictional characters of Hiero and Cyrus the Great. Therefore, from an ethical point of view, Xenophon's writing does not convince the Greeks, but faced greater criticism for this dishonest attitude.

But on the other hand, we cannot completely deny and forget the special feelings of Xenophon for these power tactics. For, as in his Long March, On the way to the battle, Through the punishment of Little Cyrus for the traitor Orontas, "No more sight of his body, Nor has anyone ever seen his grave "[11] makes one shudder, And when I was the leader of the team, Instead, he saw the words and deeds of the "divine king" on the way, Used on a dangerous return-home journey, By setting an example to summon courage and plunder the enemy[11], Strict restraint controls the actions of his subordinates and vigorously resolves conflicts[11], With flexible tactics to travel through the difficult Armenian mountains, And adjust the relationship between the teams, And the Byzantine governor with the Greek general, It was also a personal experience of Xenophon in the process of helping to escape. Because the expedition of ten thousand people is the most profound experience of Xenophon's life, it has influenced Xenophon's life trajectory in all directions. Therefore, his use of the ideal image of Spartan also includes a summary of his own past, and takes this experience as one of the archetypes of Cyero and Cyrus. In this way, he makes himself part of a semi-fictional character, adding to his narration of history and his discussion of the ideal order.

## 5. Conclusion

As for his legendary experience in 4BC, Xenophon in his history writing use the Sparta as a tool for shaping history of his time selected and make evaluation of the historical criterion, the writing technique behind the reaction is such a reality—both "city-state crisis" period of confusion, Xenophon is the experience of the era, is also about the period of the key provider of historical materials.

On the one hand, Xenophon's subtle writing technique, by comparing the situation of Sparta in reality with the Lycurgus period, does express a helplessness of the continuous decline of Sparta in the reality of the Greek world and people's worship and irony of Sparta.

On the other hand, Xenophon, as a legend who experienced the city-state crisis period, according to his own life experience, reconstructed the image of the legendary Sparta in Lycurgus when he was in exile, so as to satirize the worship of Sparta in reality. On the other hand, he also became a part of the story through his personal experience, and Cyrus, who expanded from the image of Lycurgus, became a tool for Xenophon to express his way out of the Greek world, implicitly expressing his expectations and thinking on reality.

## References

- [1] Leo Strauss, 'The Spirit of Sparta or the Taste of Xenophon'[J], *Social Research*, 6:1/4(1939), pp.502-536.
- [2] Xenophon in Seven Volumes, 7. E. C. Marchant, G. W. Bowersock, tr. *Constitution of the Athenians*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA; William Heinemann, Ltd., London. 1925. *Constitution of the Lacedaemonian*. 15.9, 5.3-4; op.cit.5.2; op.cit.7.1-2; op.cit.4.3, op.cit.4.6, 11.1, op.cit.11.5, op.cit.13.1
- [3] The expression of the original sentence is ambiguous. Here is the translation of Moore and Lipka 1.2; op.cit.8.5
- [4] Xu Xiaoxu. *The Greek ancestors of the Persians: the myth of ancestors across ethnic boundaries [J]*. *Historical research*, 2019 (02): 111-133 + 191-192.

- [5] *Plut.Lyc.1.3-4 Plutarch selected Aristomuch, the great-great-grandson of Hercules, and Sue, who conquered the Black, as the most representative ancestors of Lycurgus, while Xenophon was in Lac.10.8 only mentions that Leukgu was "in the same time" as Hercules*
- [6] *Aristotle in 23 Volumes, Vol. 20, translated by H. Rackham. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1952, Athenian Constitution.4-12*
- [7] *Plutarch's Lives: Theseus and Romulus. Lycurgus and Numa. Solon and Publicola[M]Bernadotte Perrin (trans.)The Loeb Classical Library,Harvard University Press; William Heinemann Ltd.Lyc.2.3,:Plutarch designed a story: Lycurgus's father was murdered and died as the cause of Lycurgus's desire to learn from other city-states to reshape Sparta.*
- [8] *Xenophon.Hellenica[M].2 volumes,Carleton L.Brownson trans.The Loeb Classical Library,Cambridge: Harvard University Press,1986.1.5.5-7;op.cit.2.3.20-21; op.cit.1.7.8; op.cit.2.3.56; op.cit.2.3.11-14; op.cit.2.3.20-21; op.cit.1.17; op.cit.6.4.31-33; op.cit.7.5.27*
- [9] *Xenophon in Seven Volumes, 5 and 6. Walter Miller. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA; William Heinemann, Ltd., London. 1914.Cyropaedia.3.3.58; op.cit.7.5.86; op.cit.8.1.2; op.cit.7.5.86; op.cit.5.1.24-27; op.cit.1.6.21*
- [10] *Xen.Heir.1-3; op.cit.6.16; op.cit.11.11-12*
- [11] *Xenophon.Anabasis[M].Carleton L.Brownson trans.The Loeb Classical Library,Cambridge: Harvard University.1.2.11-27; op.cit.3.2.31; op.cit.3.4.47*