

THE ATHENIANS AND THEIR EMPIRE



MALCOLM F. MCGREGOR

Material from various authors

THE ATHENIANS AND THEIR EMPIRE

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PREFACE

I have long regretted the absence of a book on the Athenian Empire that can be read comfortably by the North American undergraduate, by the many enthusiastic laymen who visit Greece and attend lectures about the ancient Greeks, and by my friends and colleagues whose professional expertise is not the world of the Greeks and Romans. This volume, I hope, will satisfy an obvious need.

In the composition I have certainly not intended to “popularise,” in the pejorative sense of that verb. I have, I believe, respected the evidence bequeathed to us by the Greeks themselves. It is incomplete, sometimes tantalizingly so; historians must interpret and conjecture. Debate and controversy have their place in the learned journals. Here I have not engaged in the vigorous and profitable argument that has done so much to enhance and clarify our knowledge of the world of the Hellenes. I have participated in that pleasant strife but in dealing with problems I have in this book followed a Thucydidean principle: I have offered my own judgements, only occasionally adding comment in support.

For reasons that are now apparent these chapters have no Greek and no footnotes. They lack the usual trappings of scholarship, but I shall not, I hope, be deemed immodest when I aver that they are based on many years of critical scholarship. I do, of course, invite the scholar to join my readers.

All who have written on ancient Greece have had to make decisions about spelling and all have discovered that consistency is impossible. With some reluctance I have adopted the English forms that come to us through Latin on the ground that these are more familiar to the Greekless reader; but I have retained the transliterated Greek for the Aegaeian islands, most of which resist disguise. To a few Greek terms that have become very common to students of Greek History (for example, *Demos*, *Boule*) I have, somewhat arbitrarily, granted naturalisation; that is, I have not italicised. I have honoured the (Great) King of Persia by granting a capital initial to his title. The maps are meant to include all places mentioned in the body of the book, but not all members of the Empire, who are registered in Appendix 5. When the initials

A. D. do not precede a date, B. C. should be understood.

I have spent more than half a century in communication with the Athenian Empire. I have learned, with gratitude, from the writing and the spoken words of scores of friends and colleagues and students; I cannot name them all and I cannot identify the source of many of the ideas that I treat as mine. Yet there are those who must not remain anonymous.

Allen West, a gifted polymath at the University of Cincinnati, set me on the road to the Empire and revealed the fascination of Greek History and her handmaiden, Epigraphy. For nearly forty years Geoffrey Woodhead (lately retired from active teaching at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge) and I have corresponded and visited; the Greeks and their history have been a recurring subject of common interest. More, we have three times debated the virtues and faults of the Athenian Empire on public platforms. For over fifty years I have enjoyed a close and fertile collaboration with Benjamin Meritt, a friend whose remarkable and incomparable work has raised Greek Epigraphy to its acknowledged status as an indispensable field of study in historical scholarship.

Philhellenes will return to Greece whenever possible, to appreciate the imperial city and to cruise among the islands once patrolled by Athenian triremes. To the serious student of the Athenian Empire no experience is more rewarding than to work, for long or short periods, in the matchless galleries of the Epigraphic Museum, there to handle and learn from the physical remains, the documents composed by the secretaries and cut by the artisans who were active citizens or resident aliens (*metics*) in a democracy that administered an Empire. To the hospitable Ephor and Director, Dina Peppas-Delmouzou, and her congenial staff I shall always be conscious of the incalculable debt that I owe. On this occasion I render special gratitude to the Assistant Director, Chara Karapa-Molisani, and to the Museum's skilled photographer, Bas. Stamatopoulou, for the photographs of the inscriptions and of the Mourning Athena.

The zealous interest of my colleagues on the Langara Campus of Vancouver Community College served as an enjoyable stimulus in the writing of this kind of book. I have profited from the constructive comments of my friends C.W.J. Eliot, who read the manuscript, and P.E. Harding, who read both manuscript and proofs. I also register my thanks to the referees appointed by the Press for intelligent and helpful criticisms that certainly led to improvements in what I had written.

I owe an immeasurable debt to A.G. Woodhead, who, throughout the period of composition, subjected the text to his penetrating eye and acute judgement.

I cannot refrain from congratulating myself for having entrusted my book to the University of British Columbia Press. To the understanding and

patience of Jane Fredeman (Managing Editor) I add my appreciation of the technical knowledge so skilfully applied and so generously explained by Ronald McAmmond (Production Manager). A high standard of service is maintained by the staff.

I find it impossible to write appropriately of my partner, my wife, to whom this book is dedicated. To state that Marguerite McGregor prepared the manuscript would be to summarise cruelly the innumerable details of authorship for which she cheerfully assumed responsibility: organising, typing (many drafts), editing, revising, proofreading, directing. Like Pericles, she led. I sometimes have the guilty feeling that her name should be on the title-page, for in so many ways this is OUR book.

Vancouver 1987

Malcolm F. McGregor

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GLOSSARY

The descriptions given here, deliberately brief, are meant to facilitate the reading of this book. In general the terms defined and the officials described relate to Athens in the age of Confederacy and Empire, without reference to earlier or later connotations; similarly, when a term has more than one meaning, what is not relevant to this study is ignored. In most cases greater detail will be found in the narrative.

Agoge

The term applied to the system of training undergone by Spartan youths from about 650.

Agora

A market-place, in particular the market-place of the Athenians, the centre of civic life.

Amphictyones (Amphiktyones)

See Amphictyony.

Amphictyony

An association of neighbouring communities ("dwellers round about"). The term is especially used of the association based on Delphi, which had evolved into a league of twelve states whose deputies (*Amphiktyones*) met twice a year, at Delphi in the spring and Anthela (near Thermopylae) in the autumn. Originally formed to serve the religious interests of the members, it became political in character.

Aparche (pl. *aparchai*)

The first-fruits offered to the gods. The term was used of the sixtieth of each *phoros*, which was given to Athena. The quota-lists are the audited records of these *aparchai*.

Arche

The noun used by the Athenians of their developed Empire.

Archon

Alone, the noun refers to the eponymous archon, the magistrate who gave his name to the civil year, which began in mid-summer (hence the

double date, e.g., 480/79). Originally he was the chief civilian officer, with wide authority. His colleagues in the fifth century were the archon *basileus* (the king-archon, a title inherited from the regal period), whose duties embraced cult and sacrifice; the *polemarchos* (before 487/6 the commander-in-chief); and the six *thesmothetai* (the junior archons, once lawgivers, keepers of the law). All acquired judicial duties and presided in courts. *See* Chapter XIII.

Archon *basileus*

See Archon.

Archontes (sing. *archon*)

The italicised forms are restricted to Athenian officers serving in the cities of the Empire. *See* Chapter XII.

Areopagus (Gr. *Areiopagos*)

The oldest Council in Athens, composed of ex-archons serving for life, in the fifth century stripped of all political powers. Among its functions, it sat as a court for homicide.

Assembly

See Ecclesia.

Arete

The word defies brief translation; it suggests comprehensive excellence, especially the excellence that one expects of a model citizen.

Athlothes

Steward of the Games at the Panathenaic festival.

Autonomia (autonomy)

The right to live under one's own constitution and laws. *See* *Eleutheria*.

Boule

The Council of Five Hundred that prepared business for the Ecclesia (it was thus probouleutic: it planned beforehand). Each of the ten tribes contributed by lot fifty men, each group called a prytany; they held office for one year. Its administrative and executive duties included supervision of magistrates and finances. *See* Chapter XIII.

Bouleutes (pl. *bouleutai*)

Councillors. *See* Boule.

Cerameicus (Kerameikos)

The Potters' Quarter, in the area of the Dipylon Gate. Just outside the Gate was the public cemetery where casualties of war were buried.

Cleruch

See Cleruchy.

Cleruchy (*klerouchia*)

A type of colony favoured by the Athenians in the administration of Empire. Each settler (cleruch, *klerouchos*) received a grant of land (*kleros*) and retained his Athenian citizenship. Thus the cleruchy,

unlike the regular colony, did not become an independent polis. The cleruchies served as garrisons in being. The land was expropriated from the allied states; their assessments for *phoros* were proportionately reduced.

Deme

The demes, local communities (about 140 in number), formed the basis of political organisation in Attica from the time of Cleisthenes. Membership (hereditary) was a fundamental requirement of Athenian citizenship and the affiliation with the deme (demotic) was used as part of a citizen's name.

Demokratia

Government by the citizen-body. *See* Chapter XIII.

Demos

(1) The citizen-body; politically, the adult males sitting in the Ecclesia.
(2) The more radical element, the masses (as in modern terminology).
In this book the noun conveys the first definition. The critics of the democracy often had the second in mind. In the ancient writers ambiguity sometimes occurs.

Demosion

The public treasury.

Dicast (*dikastes*, pl. *dikastai*)

Juror. *See* Chapter XIII.

Dikasterion (pl. *dikasteria*)

Court of law.

Dikastes (pl. *dikastai*)

See Dicast.

Dionysia

Of the four Athenian festivals in honour of Dionysus, that of special relevance, called the City Dionysia (the noun is plural), was observed annually in the spring month Elaphebolion. The celebration included productions of tragedy and comedy. Since the *phoros* was due by this date, members of the allied cities were present and were allowed to attend performances.

Dokimasia

The examination of personal record and moral character undergone by candidates elected to office.

Ecclesia (*Ekklesia*)

The Athenian Assembly of adult male citizens, the sovereign body. *See* Chapter XIII.

Eisagogeis (sing. *eisagogeus*)

"Introducers," who referred cases to the appropriate courts.

Eisphora

A special tax on property levied by the Ecclesia only in times of financial urgency. The Athenians did not make use of income-tax in the modern sense.

***Eklogeis* (sing. *eklogeus*)**

Collectors of *phoros* in the cities of the Empire.

Eleutheria

Freedom or, better, sovereign independence.

Eleven

The responsibility of the Eleven was to execute sentences imposed in the courts, e.g., the death-penalty.

Eliaia

The collective name given to the popular courts and the jurors (*eliastai* or *heliastai*); commonly spelled *heliaia*. The name is also applied to a public building used by the courts. *See* Chapter XIII.

***Ephor* (*ephoros*)**

A Spartan magistrate (literally, “overseer”). Five were elected annually, one of whom was eponymous.

***Episkopos* (pl. *episkopoi*)**

Inspector. *Episkopoi* were appointed to cities of the Empire to protect Athenian interests, especially to supervise the restoration of order after revolt.

Eponymoi

See Archon.

Eponymous archon

See Archon.

***Euergetes* (pl. *euergetai*)**

Benefactor, a title voted to non-Athenians who had deserved well of the polis. *See* Chapter XII.

Euthyna

The examination of a magistrate’s record and accounts at the end of his term of office.

Hegemon

Leader. *See* Hegemonia.

Hegemonia

The hegemon exercised *hegemonia*, which involved the assumption of leadership, with all its administrative and executive responsibilities. *See* Chapter IV.

***Heliaeia* (*heliaia*)**

See *Eliaia*.

Hellenotamias (pl. Hellenotamiae, *Hellenotamiai*)

Treasurer of the Hellenes. The Hellenotamiae, an Athenian board of

ten, stewarded the Confederate and imperial funds, first on Delos and later at Athens.

Helot

The helots, the most subjugated non-slave class in Hellas, approximating to state-owned serfs, tilled Spartan land in Laconia and Messenia. Seven accompanied each Spartan hoplite on campaign.

Hoplite

The heavily-armed infantryman. *See Zeugites.*

Horkotai

Athenian officials who administered the formal oaths of treaties.

Kleros

See Cleruch.

Klerouchia, klerouchos

See Cleruch.

Kolakretes (pl. kolakretai)

One of a board of ten treasurers.

Liturgy (*leitourgia*, public duty)

(1) The chief recurrent liturgy, the *choregia*, was undertaken by wealthy citizens who paid for the training of the dramatic choruses. A holder became the *choregos* (leader of the chorus). *See* Chapter XIII. (2) For the trierarchy *see* Trierarch and Chapter XIII.

Logistai

The board of thirty auditors.

Metics (*metoikoi*)

The resident aliens, who enjoyed social equality and served in the armed forces but who could not own land or house-property. Most were businessmen or artisans. At law, a metic was represented by a patron.

Nomothetai (sing. *nomothetes*)

"Law-givers," a body of ten, concerned with the laws and the courts.

Oikistes

The leader of a colonising venture.

Ostracism

The democratic device whereby in a time of political intensity one of the contestants might be voted into an honourable banishment for ten years. The intention was to forestall *stasis*. The Ecclesia voted annually whether or not to resort to the required procedure (*ostrakophoria*). *See* Chapter XIII.

Ostrakophoria

See Ostracism.

Panathenaea (pl.)

The annual festival in honour of Athena's birthday, observed in the last

few days of Hekatombaion, the first month of the year (mid-summer). Every four years (i.e., 454, 450, etc.) the celebration (the Great Panathenaea) was organised with ostentatious splendour, including musical and athletic competitions. The formal procession that escorted Athena's robe (*peplos*) to the Acropolis is depicted on the Parthenon's frieze.

Pentecontaëtia (*pentekontaëtia*)

The name, which denotes a period of fifty years, given (1) to Thucydides' summary account (*see* Appendix 2) of the growth of Empire between the Persian invasions and the Peloponnesian War; and (2) to the period itself.

Pentekontaëtia

See Pentecontaëtia.

Peraea (*peraia*)

The dependent territory on the continent opposite an island, e.g., Samos, Lesbos (Mytilene), Thasos.

Perioikoi ("dwellers round about")

The non-Spartan and non-helot inhabitants of Laconia and Messenia. They were free but not subject to the Spartan disciplined life.

Phoros (pl. *phoroi*)

Literally, "contribution"; commonly translated "tribute," with reference to the cash delivered annually to Athens (from 453) by the assessed cities.

Phrourarchos (*phrourarch*; pl. *phrourarchoi*)

The commander of a garrison (*phroura*). *See* Chapter XII.

Polemarch (*polemarchos*)

Literally (and in earlier times), "commander in war." He was a member of the board of archons, and his special responsibility was cases dealing with metics and foreigners. *See* Archon.

Poletae (*poletai*)

The board of public auctioneers.

Polis (pl. *poleis*)

"City-state" is the accepted translation: the independent political unit comprising a central community and its surrounding territory. Topographically, Athens was a polis; politically, the term included the whole of Attica, the area inhabited by Athenians. In documents polis is often used of the Acropolis, the ancient citadel.

Probouleuma (pl. *probouleumata*)

The recommendation drawn up by the Boule for presentation to the Ecclesia. *See* Chapter XIII.

Proboulos (pl. *probouloi*)

In the emergency of 413 the Athenians appointed ten men of experi-

ence as advisers (*probouloi*). Elsewhere, *probouloi* were deputies or agents of a state.

Prokrisis

The preliminary selection (by vote) of candidates for office before the casting of lots.

Proxenia

See *Proxenos*.

Proxenos (pl. *proxenoi*)

Guest-friend, a title (accompanied by certain privileges) bestowed by the Athenians in the Ecclesia upon a citizen of another state who had proved his friendship and would represent their interests in his own polis. He served much as a consul does today. The grant was called a *proxenia*. The practice was not confined to the Athenians. See Chapter XII.

Prytaneum (*prytaneion*)

The "town-hall," residence of the eponymous archon.

Prytanis (pl. *prytaneis*)

See *Prytany*.

Prytany

Ten prytanies constituted the Boule, each a tribal group of fifty that, for thirty-six or thirty-seven days in an order determined by lot, initiated business, prepared agenda for the Boule and Ecclesia, provided chairmen, and, in general, served as executive officers. The individual members were *prytaneis*. See Chapter XIII.

Psephisma (pl. *psephismata*)

A decree voted by the Ecclesia, generally (but not always) the decision reached after debate on the *probouleuma* presented by the Boule; hence the preamble: "Resolved by the Boule and the Demos." See Chapter XIII.

Satrap

The Greek version of the name for the governor (or viceroy) of a Persian satrapy, province.

Stasis

Civil strife.

Strategia

(1) The office of *strategos*. (2) Collectively, the board of *strategoi*. See *Strategos*.

Strategos (pl. *strategoi*)

The *strategoi* (usually ten, sometimes eleven in number) were elected annually by direct vote; the collective term is *strategia*. The common translation, "general," is not satisfactory. Although the *strategoi* commanded the forces in the field and at sea, they differed from modern

generals in that many of them became the statesmen who advised and urged the Boule and Ecclesia, in civil affairs as well as military. In this book the Greek noun is transliterated, not translated. *See* Chapter XIII.

Syntaxis

Contribution. The term used in the charter of the Second Athenian Confederacy; a euphemism for *phoros*.

Synteleia

Syntely, "a paying together," a term used of a group of states delivering their *phoroi* together, sometimes under a single name.

Taktes (pl. *taktai*)

Assessor.

Tamias (pl. *tamiai*)

Treasurer.

Thesmothes (pl. *thesmothetai*)

The *thesmothetai* were the six junior archons, whose duties chiefly concerned the administration of justice. *See* Archon and Chapter XIII.

Thete (Greek *thes*, pl. *thetai*)

The lowest, economically, of the four classes into which Solon divided the Athenians.

Trierarch (Gr. *trierarchos*)

Captain of a trireme. The trierarchy was a naval liturgy. Wealthy citizens were chosen annually, the number varying with the demands of the fleet. The trierarch was responsible for the repair and maintenance of a trireme (warship), which he had the right to captain, for one season.

Trierarchy

See Trierarch.

Trireme

The standard warship of the fifth century, with three banks of oars.

Tyrannos (pl. *tyrannoi*)

The term itself refers to "one who seizes power illegitimately" and implies nothing about the quality of rule. After the eviction of the *tyrannoi* from the Peloponnese and Athens, the word, in the ancient writers, approaches the modern connotation of tyrant (autocrat).

Zeugites (pl. *zeugitai*)

Literally, the possessor of a team of oxen. The *zeugitai*, the middle-class yeomen, were the third of Solon's four census-classes. They served in the forces as hoplites, being able to afford the armour.

THE ATHENIANS AND THEIR EMPIRE

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I

THE SOURCES

Critical students of the Athenian Empire will be eager, I hope, to become familiar with the ancient sources of our knowledge. In this chapter I list, briefly, the most important and informative authorities. In each case I refer to readily accessible translations. Two series merit special mention. The Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth, Middlesex) now embody an impressive array of Greek and Roman authors; the same is true of the Loeb Classical Library (Heinemann, London; Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts), which offers the Greek or Latin on the left-hand page, the English on the right. In each series the translations are competent and the prices remain moderate.

“Thucydides of Athens composed the history of the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians. He described how they fought against one another, beginning at the very outbreak in the expectation that it would be a great war and more worthy of note than all that preceded it, judging that the two combatants entered it at the height of their powers with all their resources available and observing that the other states of Hellas were aligning themselves with one side or the other, some taking action at once while others were at least thinking about it.”

Thucydides son of Olorus was born to an aristocratic family about 460 B.C. Like many other members of his class he participated in public affairs. He served as a general (*strategos* is the Athenian term) in 424/3 and, when he failed to reach Amphipolis (an Athenian colony in Thrace) in time to save it from the Spartan Brasidas, he was exiled. For twenty years he lived outside Athens. He was thus enabled to work on his *History*, gathering information

from both sides and constantly revising. He died about 400.

The *History*, in eight books, has reached us unfinished; the narrative breaks off in mid-sentence in 411/0. A contemporary account by an intellectual with a passion for accuracy, it is the indispensable source for the Great War that broke out in 431. To illustrate his thesis that the growth of Athenian power led to the War, Thucydides inserted an Excursus on the events that transpired between the Persian invasions (of 480 and 479) and its outbreak. We call it the *Pentecontaëtia* (the Fifty Years); it is central to the subject of this book.

In his introductory chapters Thucydides reminds his readers of the difficulties that faced him and sets out the principles to which he has adhered. Because I shall take him at his word, I translate the passage.

"So far as the speeches are concerned that were made on each side either when they were on the point of fighting or when they were already engaged, it was difficult for me, who heard some of them, to remember with complete accuracy the words that were spoken; it was also difficult for those who reported to me from the various other occasions. As, in my judgement, each speaker would most likely have stated what to his mind the particular situation demanded, so have I reported, adhering as closely as possible to the over-all argument of what was actually said. With reference to the incidents that occurred during the war, I considered it defensible to write my narrative not on the basis either of what I learned from the first person I chanced to meet or of my own impressions, but rather after conducting as accurate an investigation as possible in each case both of events at which I was myself present and of those for which I depended on reports from others. My judgements were not reached without toil because the eye-witnesses present on the respective occasions did not produce the same versions of the same actions but spoke according as each one was affected by bias in favour of one side or the other or by failure of memory. It is also possible that the absence of the legendary element in my work will seem less pleasurable to the ear. If, on the other hand, those who wish to examine a clear account of what happened and of what, of a similar and nearly similar nature, is likely, so long as human nature does not change, to recur at some time in the future deem what I have written useful, this will be satisfactory. My history, in a word, has been composed to be a possession for all time, not as a prize-essay to win the immediate favour of the audience."

The translation in the Penguin Classics is by Rex Warner (first printed 1954); in the Loeb Classical Library by C. Forster Smith (4 vols, 1910-1923). Richard Crawley's translation of 1874 retains a place of honour; it has often been reprinted, most recently for the Modern Library, revised and with an introduction by T. E. Wick (New York, 1982). Equally well known is the version by Benjamin Jowett (2 vols, the second containing notes, Oxford,

1881), which has also been revised and reprinted from time to time, e.g., by P. A. Brunt, *Thucydides: The Peloponnesian Wars* (Washington Square Press, New York, 1963), whose abridgement includes an excellent introduction but unaccountably omits the Pentecontaëtia.

A number of fourth-century writers began their *Histories* where Thucydides breaks off; of these, only Xenophon's work, *Hellenica*, survives. Xenophon son of Gryllus, an Athenian aristocrat born about 428, left his native city after the War and was formally exiled in 401. When Cyrus, the younger son of the late Persian King Darius, mounted an army to dispute the succession with his brother Artaxerxes, Xenophon accompanied him up country and won lasting fame when he led the Greek troops (the 10,000) back to the Euxine (the Black Sea) in 401/0; he himself tells the exciting story in his *Anabasis*. For some years, as a gentleman-adventurer, he served the Spartans in Asia Minor and the Peloponnese, becoming an admirer of King Agesilaus. The Spartans gave him a country-estate in Elis, where he could indulge his interests, which included writing. He returned to Athens in 366/5 and died about 354. His impressive bibliography covers an array of subjects, including treatises on the cavalry, the *Memorabilia* of Socrates (whom he had known well), and the finances of Athens. The *Hellenica* (literally, *Hellenic Affairs*), a history in seven books of the Greek states from 411 to 362 (the Spartan defeat at Mantinea), devotes Books I and II to the closing stages of the Peloponnesian War. It is our only contemporary study. The Penguin Classic is the work of Rex Warner, *Xenophon, A History of My Times* (1966); Carleton L. Brownson is responsible for the pertinent volume (*Hellenica I-V*, 1918) in the Loeb Classical Library.

We have one other continuous history of the period that attracts us in this book. Diodorus of Sicily wrote in the first century B.C. in the time of Julius Caesar and Augustus. His world-history (*Bibliothèque, Library*, is the Greek title), in forty books, extended from the earliest times to 54 B.C. Only Books I to V and XI to XX are fully preserved. Book XI begins in 480 and we reach the end of the Great War in XIV. Diodorus had access to many writers whose works are no longer extant and his value fluctuates with his authorities; for the fifth century he depended substantially upon the fourth-century Ephorus of Cyme (in Asia Minor). Diodorus must be read with caution; his historical judgement is often at fault and he lacks chronological understanding. The translation in the Loeb Classical Library is by C. H. Oldfather; of the complete translation volumes IV to VI (1946-1954) cover the relevant books.

Plutarch of Chaeroneia (born before A.D. 50), whose life extended well into the second century, steeped himself in the traditions of the Hellenes and became familiar with and an admirer of Roman institutions; he numbered emperors and other distinguished Romans among his friends. A prolific writer, he has enjoyed a wide reading public for his *Lives*, a series of parallel



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III

THE PERSIAN INVASIONS

The fascinating story of the Persian assaults upon the Hellenic homeland is recounted in all its detail in the gifted prose of Herodotus; moreover, it has attracted the attention of a number of modern writers. Our own subject, however, dictates that we resist temptation, selecting for comment only those circumstances that were to contribute directly to the position in which the Athenians found themselves after the expulsion of the invaders.

With the crushing of the Ionian revolt and the destruction of Miletus, thinking Athenians might well have sensed that a direct clash with the Persians was impending. Among them we can safely identify Themistocles son of Neocles. On his father's side, he sprang from the noble Lycomidae. There was a mystery in ancient times about his mother, who was said to be foreign; the sources, with the exception of Thucydides, are hostile and repeat the probably false allegation that he was of low birth. Cleisthenes and the Alcmaeonidae had appealed for support to the Many; Themistocles, as a popular champion, fostered the impression that he was of them. He made a name for himself in the 490s and in 493 he was elected eponymous archon, still the senior Athenian magistrate.

Thucydides, a perceptive critic who was not inclined to judge a man and an environment by his own knowledge of what actually happened after the event, attributed to Themistocles a remarkable ability to forecast what was likely to occur. It is not rash to keep this assessment in mind as we glance at the archonship of 493, always remembering the now open hostility of the Persians.

As archon, Themistocles, an ambitious patriot, convinced the Athenians

that they must fortify Peiraeus, arguing that prosperity and recognition as a power among the Hellenes lay at sea. He may well have pointed to the chronic feud with the Aeginetans, whose not inconsiderable navy threatened the Attic coast.

About this time Miltiades (of the noble house of the Philaidae) reached home, only to be prosecuted on a trumped-up charge of tyranny by the Alcmaeonidae, traditional rivals of his family. Themistocles, whose political views were far different, nevertheless ranged himself alongside Miltiades, who was acquitted and so at hand in the crisis that was approaching: another example of Themistocles' patriotic foresight? In 490, both Themistocles and Miltiades were elected to the board of *strategoi*, to serve with the polemarch Callimachus, the commander-in-chief.

The Persians had not been inactive. In 492 the King had sent his son-in-law Mardonius, an experienced commander, to restore Persian authority in Thrace and to make a reconnaissance of Greek waters. Although his ships came to grief off the promontory of Athos in a storm, the direct attack was not long delayed. When it did come, two years later (490), a Persian fleet of moderate size, carrying perhaps 25,000 men, crossed the Aegean and steered up the strait between Attica and Euboea. Eretria, the city that had joined the Athenians a decade earlier in defiance of the Persians, was the obvious immediate target. Athens would be next. This expedition should not be interpreted as a full-scale invasion of European Hellas; rather, it was a punitive venture against the two poleis that had incurred the Great King's wrath. The deposed tyrant, Hippias, now in his eighties and a grimly threatening figure, was to serve as a guide and to be restored at Athens by Datis and Artaphernes, the Persian commanders.

The Athenians responded to the Eretrian cry for help by ordering to the endangered city the four thousand cleruchs who had been planted at Chalcis in 506. Acting upon the advice of the more pessimistic Eretrians, they escaped to the mainland before the Persian assault. The siege lasted into the seventh day and the victorious Persians burned the temples and carried off the inhabitants. A few days later Hippias guided the invaders to Marathon, on the Attic coast. The Athenians hastened northward, 9,000 strong, with a full complement of ten *strategoi* and the polemarch Callimachus; they were joined at Marathon by 1,000 Plataeans. For a few days Persians and Hellenes faced one another. It may be that the Athenians were waiting for expected help from the Spartans. Eventually, the allied Athenians and Plataeans initiated the fighting, "advancing," says Herodotus, "on the run." The battle, thanks to the inspired strategy and tactics of the Athenian command (especially Miltiades), became a rout. In the final stages, the Persian ships were standing off shore picking up survivors, whom the Hellenes were pursuing into the sea.

This was not the time for the Hellenes to savour their victory, for the Persian fleet sailed rapidly down the strait with the intention of falling upon defenceless Athens. The Athenian commanders, however, keeping their wits about them, marched towards the city as rapidly as possible. As the Persians approached the open roadstead off Phalerum, they were made aware of the Athenian presence, their readiness to dispute a landing. The Persians recognised defeat; they turned and began the return voyage to Asia.

If we were to analyse the battle of Marathon coldly in terms of the basic facts, that the numbers of the fighting participants were small, that the Persian objectives were merely the chastisement of two cities and the restoration of Hippias, and that a single defeat put an end to the Persian enterprise, we might easily conclude that the campaign was trivial. It would be a superficial judgement. What we are bound to do is to view the engagement in its context: to examine the impact of the Athenian-Plataean triumph upon the victors and their self-appraisal.

To the Athenians Marathon was a superb achievement. The vast resources of the Persian Empire, extending from the Aegaeon to the Indies and the more formidable because little known, had been successfully defied. Herodotus' comment perhaps reflects contemporary opinion: "The Athenians were the first of all the Hellenes whom I know to charge the enemy on the run, they were the first to endure the sight of Median dress and the men wearing it; until this time even the name of the Medes filled the Hellenes who heard it with fear." There was another cause for elation: the victory had been won without the Spartans. We can well appreciate that the reputation of the Athenians had been enhanced throughout the states of Hellas. Among the citizens of Athens we can sense a new spirit of self-confidence, in themselves and in the liberal principles of the constitution recently created by Cleisthenes. The pride engendered by the victory is nowhere more apparent than in the glory that was accorded to those who had fought. The warriors of Marathon, the *Marathonomachai*, enjoyed a prestige that remained a by-word in the generations to come. Even the dead (192, reports Herodotus) received special treatment: in contrast to custom they were buried on the field, where "The mountains look on Marathon— And Marathon looks on the sea." Thus we too can share in the memory, as we stand before the Mound at Marathon, surely a monument to one of the greatest days in Athenian history.

True to their promise, the Spartans did reach Marathon, some days after the crisis. They delivered laconic—and genuine—congratulations and went home. Before the Athenian army left the city for Marathon, a runner, Philippides, had been commissioned to set off for Sparta at top speed to warn of the invasion. Philippides completed his journey (about 150 miles) in the extraordinary time of two days. The Lacedaemonians responded affirmatively but their departure was delayed by religious scruples. In later times



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Mediterranean Sea

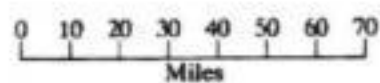


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2 The Greek Peninsula and the Western Aegean



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foreign policy had been, and continued to be, based upon the maintenance of stability in the Peloponnese that would guarantee security at home against the ever-present menace of the helots. Although some of this subjected class dwelt in Laconia, the majority lived in Messenia (the rich territory west of Laconia), where they tilled the land of their Spartiate masters, whom they outnumbered by a wide margin. For the Spartans, that meant the shunning of adventures overseas. The implication of Thucydides' words ("they considered"), perhaps, is that the Spartans "persuaded themselves" of Athenian good-will and their competence to lead the naval arm of the union that had driven the Persians from European Hellas. The Spartans suppressed the memory of their recent rebuff at the hands of Themistocles and the Athenians. An apposite comment comes to mind in the words put into the mouth of the Athenian speaker before Melos in 416 by Thucydides: "Of the Hellenes whom we know the Lacedaemonians are most notorious for deeming what is pleasant honourable, what is profitable to them just." In 478/7 the Dorian states took Sparta as the model and retired from operations.

In this manner the Athenians inherited the leadership (*hegemonia*, English 'hegemony') of "the Hellenes." The senior Athenian commander this season was Aristides son of Lysimachus, who was accompanied by the young Cimon son of Miltiades, perhaps not yet an elected *strategos*. Aristides, whose reputation for fair dealing had already won him the description "The Just," made himself accessible and the allies were comfortable in their approach to him, especially since the Athenian record so far had revealed initiative on their behalf and understanding of their feelings. Cimon, who was later to endear himself to the allies in his own right, supported the popular Aristides. This unanimity in the command strengthened the credibility of the Athenians.

Such was the atmosphere of trust when the allied delegates, endowed by their states with authority to act, gathered by common consent at the end of the season on Delos, Apollo's island in the central Aegean where the annual Panionian festival was celebrated. Invitations had no doubt been widely distributed. Aristides, again by common consent, presided over the deliberations. The agenda are easily summarised: what of the future?

The delegates agreed that the immediate priority must be assigned to the war against the Persians. There remained forts and territories on the Aegean littoral dominated by Persian garrisons and guerrillas. It went without saying—and Thucydides does not write it specifically—that a major aim was to liberate the Hellenes of Asia Minor from Persian rule. Furthermore, the allies intended, as indeed they proclaimed (and Thucydides reports), to take vengeance on the King for their sufferings at his hands by ravaging his land. They recognised that the vigorous campaigning that they envisaged would require ships, crews to man them, and money. They could not count on

booty proving sufficient to underwrite their operations; and not all possessed ships of war. The fair method of assembling the requisite resources was by an assessment of the membership for contributions in proportion to their means. This responsibility, naturally enough, was entrusted to the *hegemon*, the Athenians; they, also naturally, appointed Aristeides, who thus became the first assessor (*taktes*). Since, if all went well, the contributions in money would accumulate, the allies set up their treasury at the Delian sanctuary of Apollo, which was to be the site of their meetings, *synodoi* (synods). They acquiesced in the creation of a new board, the Hellenotamiae. The name, treasurers of the Hellenes, recognises that they were to serve the allies, not the Athenians alone, although, sensibly, the ten men were to be appointed annually at Athens and in time became an Athenian magistracy. The Hellenotamiae, as stewards of the funds (the *phoroi*, contributions in cash), would perform their duties on Delos.

So far the delegates had been organising short-term policy and strategy. For the Persians would not be pursued endlessly and the day would come when the need for ships and men, and therefore money, would cease to exist. Now this (478/7) was a moment of spectacular elation. United Hellenes had driven out the myriads of the Great King, whose vast realm extended into the unknown east, from the homeland. They had done more: they had pursued him into Asia, evicted his garrisons, and freed his Greek subjects; and they were even now laying plans to complete the liberation of Hellenic Asia and harass him in his own waters. These achievements they owed to sea-power and, in very large part, to a unity of purpose and action that Hellenes had never before visualised, let alone practised. All this was uppermost in the minds of the Hellenes as they conferred on Delos. They could scarcely avoid asking themselves the question: what could a similar and permanent collaboration achieve in the years ahead?

These were the thoughts that guided them to the crucial decision, the formation of a wholly new Confederacy, independent of "the Hellenes," the union that had fought under Sparta and that remained in being, at least in theory. Their aspirations are unmistakably reflected in the oath, the equivalent of the modern signature, that was administered by Aristeides. They swore: "We shall have the same enemies and the same friends"; and as guarantee of good faith they flung lumps of molten metal into the sea. In diplomatic terms, this offensive and defensive alliance would last until the iron ingots floated, that is, for ever. Canadians may be reminded of the nineteenth-century treaties signed by their government with the Indian peoples, to last "for as long as the sun shines and river flows."

Taken literally, the oaths prescribed that even peace with the Persians would not void what they had sworn. Whether the Hellenes actually imagined a time when such a peace would prevail is a question that forbids a

dogmatic answer. From the time of Cyrus the Great Hellenes and Persians had been, if not actually engaged in war, never far from it; the future (which they did not know) held another generation of hostilities. Secure peace was an unfamiliar context for their lives. So it was easy to swear loyalty "for ever," without giving much thought to a world safe from the Persian threat. Nevertheless, there were surely those whose visions penetrated beyond the immediate war.

Sceptics may smile in derision: alliances and treaties do not last for ever, especially when so many signatories pledge their faith. True; but, again, we must place ourselves on Delos in that winter of rejoicing and congratulation. And we must allow men their hopes, their dreams, their ideals; reality would come soon enough. Logically, the oath banned warfare among members of the alliance; and it banned unilateral secession. In sum, a general peace among the Hellenes was deemed attainable. It has been remarked that "A Greek nation was being formed, permanent, as nations believe themselves to be." The sentiment, I suspect, is un-Hellenic; but it catches the mood.

The Confederacy of Delos (the name is modern) was an innovation. The Spartans were not involved and entered no overt objection to the replacement of the naval arm of "the Hellenes," the alliance that they had led to victory. The members were to be autonomous; but foreign policy and strategy would be formulated in the common synods that would meet on Delos. "Autonomous" is the adjective employed by Thucydides, and it is the right word: they were to live under their own constitutions and their own judicial systems. In contrast, since warfare within the Confederacy and secession are implicitly forbidden by the terms of the agreement, sovereignty is perforce infringed. The Greek word is *eleutheria*, which is commonly translated as "freedom"; I have called it "sovereignty." To put the situation in attractive terms, the allies believed that their glimpse of the future justified some sacrifice of absolute freedom of action, which indeed they lacked from the very beginning; this restriction they accepted. The power to make decisions about foreign policy belonged to the Confederacy as a whole, assembled in the synod, not to the individual components.

Among these willing and autonomous allies the Athenians had been granted *hegemonia*. We must be sure that we understand what this status entailed. The Athenians would preside at the synods, they would conduct the prescribed assessments, they would, as we shall see, detail which cities would contribute ships and men and which cash, they would annually dispatch the Hellenotamiae to Delos, they would provide commanders (*strategoi*) to lead the expeditions, and these commanders would inevitably occupy dominating positions in the framing of strategy and tactics in the field; the allies would follow. Thus the Athenians' hegemony postulated administrative and executive power. But the Athenians were, at the outset,



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city. The Milesians are pledged to heed Athenian decrees.

The information gleaned from the Athenian decree is complemented by an inscription found at Miletus in which certain families and their descendants are banished for ever. Their crime must have been treason. The course of events at Miletus resembled that at Erythrae: a *coup d'état* resulted in the establishment of a tyranny, which sought Persian support and renounced Athens. The recovery by Athens, probably in 452, led to the passage of the Milesian decision against the tyrants.

In both Erythrae and Miletus we have identified the *stasis* that was the curse of the Greek polis as the immediate cause of Athenian intervention. There may well, however, have been other provocation. This was the decade of the expedition to Egypt, which seemed too distant to some members of the Confederacy; a few, perhaps, as Thucydides explains in his chapter on revolts, failed to report for duty. Sympathisers with tyranny saw their opportunity, with the collaboration of the Persian satraps of the adjoining provinces, at Sardes and Dascyleum, who were quick to foster anti-Athenian intrigue. Pro-Persian activity within Erythrae and Miletus is attested by inscriptions. Another inscription reminds us of the Persian presence in the north. In 451/0 the Athenians passed a decree honouring the people of Sigeum for their loyalty and guaranteeing protection against "those on the mainland," that is, the Persians of the Hellespontine satrapy. These were critical years; the Athenians met the dangers firmly.

A three-year lull in the war at home brings us to the spring of 451 and the return of Cimon from ostracism. In the same spring the Athenians and Peloponnesians agreed upon an armistice of five years. The theory basic to the ten-year sentence imposed by ostracism was that a decade's absence would ensure a man's silence and undermine his effectiveness as a political influence. Yet Cimon's position had evidently not suffered irretrievable damage. He won election to the board of *strategoi*, and he should be given some credit for the signing of the armistice. The Athenians, with Cimon once more in action, were free to resume aggression against the Persians.

VII

THE PEACE OF CALLIAS

Cimon returned from ostracism in the early spring of 451 and operations against the Persians were resumed in the following year, when a flotilla of 200 ships, Athenian and allied, of which he was in command, challenged the Persians in the waters off Cyprus. From the activities of the fleet we deduce that the Athenians left Peiraeus in the spring at the beginning of the campaigning season. Since Athenian *strategoi* took office with the New Year in mid-summer (a somewhat awkward system, to be sure), Cimon must have been successful at the elections of 451 (spring), shortly after his return, for the year 451/0; he certainly won re-election in 450 for the year 450/49.

Cimon had long been an advocate of peaceful relations with Sparta and persistent war against the Persians. It is easy to relate the five-year armistice and the resumption of hostilities in the east to his reappearance in Athens. The correlation may be justified; we should not, however, overlook the fact that ten years earlier the Confederates off Cyprus, having accepted the invitation of the rebel Inaros, embarked on the Egyptian expedition more than twelve months after Cimon had been compelled to leave Athens. That fleet was commanded by another Athenian, whose name we do not know. Demonstrably, Cimon was not the only Athenian who urged his fellow-citizens to seize every opportunity to hound the Persians. So the aggressive policy adopted by the Demos in 450 was supported, we may assert without hesitation, by both Cimon and Pericles. And in a sense history repeated itself, for 60 of the allied squadron made for Egypt to aid Amyrtaeus, the "king of the marshes," who remained a stubborn rebel against the King.

On their way to Cyprus the Athenians picked up the *phoroi* due from a

dozen or so Carian communities that had defaulted in the spring (450). These payments were dispatched to Athens in time to be recorded in the last column of List 4, an Appendix, so to speak. In the same summer, the contemplated re-assessment of the Confederacy took place. The figures reveal only minor changes from those of 454; but now only the three large islands, Lesbos, Chios, and Samos, plus Thracian Potidaea retained their status as naval allies.

We hear nothing of the fortunes of the squadron detailed for duty in Egypt. The major force laid siege to Citium on the south coast of Cyprus. Two misfortunes befell them: Cimon died and a shortage of supplies developed. Hence they lifted the siege of Citium and proceeded to Salamis on the east coast, where they won a dual victory, by land and by sea, over a Persian force drawn from Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Cilicia. On this triumphant note, accompanied by the ships from Egypt, they dispersed to their respective homes.

Appreciation of the success of the season's campaign is enhanced by Artaxerxes' response. From 477 to 450, with few interruptions, the Confederates had waged relentless warfare against the Persians, most of the time in Persian waters and territory. They had not relaxed their original determination, the stated purpose that had demanded contributions in ships, men, and money. Now the King, despite his victory of 454 in Egypt—a military, not a naval, victory—, had lost his zest for combat against the Hellenes. For the clearest account we turn to Diodorus, who drew from the fourth-century historian Ephorus: "Artaxerxes the King, when he heard of the losses in Cyprus and had taken counsel with his associates about the war, judged that it was to his advantage to conclude a peace with the Hellenes. Consequently he instructed his commanders in Cyprus and the satraps by letter to reach an agreement with the Hellenes on what terms they could negotiate. So Artabazus and Megabyzus and their advisers dispatched envoys to Athens to discuss conditions of settlement. Since the Athenians were amenable and sent envoys with full powers led by Callias son of Hipponicus [Cimon's brother-in-law], a treaty of peace was concluded by the Athenians and their allies with the Persians."

These protracted negotiations began in the autumn of 450, soon after the Confederate withdrawal from Cyprus; they consumed the winter. The diplomatic exchanges were known to the Hellenes, especially to the members of the Confederacy. Talk of peace was in the air and the atmosphere is reflected in List 5 (spring 449): a number of allies booked partial payments; some did not pay at all. The allied dilemma is comprehensible: if there were to be no further operations at sea, was the *phoros*, the contribution that had been assessed for just this purpose, still obligatory?

In the spring of 449, probably before the Dionysiac festival, when the *phoroi* were due, Callias reached Athens with the news that the Peace had



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that the Athenians were operating a "protection-racket," based upon brute force.

Still, the navy welcomed volunteers and men from the allied cities served in substantial numbers, especially in critical times; the Athenians could scarcely, by themselves, man 200 warships, with a complement of 200 hands each. From the time of Aristeides the scale of assessment had varied little and account had been taken of a city's annual ability to pay. The Peace of Nicias (421) enacted that certain Thracian cities that had been disloyal were to retain their autonomy and deliver the *phoros* according to the scale set by Aristeides; this clause was an Athenian concession. The quota-lists record, spasmodically, failures to pay, late payments, and partial payments, all of which suggest reluctance in the cities, not to the amount but to the principle. It is worth stressing that autonomy and the payment of tribute to a dominant power are not regarded as incompatible.

On all these allied obligations there is scarcely a contemporary comment. For an impression of what may well have been an underlying feeling in the cities we must wait until 378/7, when in the charter of the Second Athenian Confederacy (cut on a marble stele) we find stipulations that echo unmistakably the practices of the fifth-century Empire: membership is open to any eligible community that wishes to join, "with the guarantee that it will be free and autonomous, enjoying the constitution of its choice, without receiving a garrison or accepting an Athenian *archon*, and without paying *phoros* The Athenian Demos are to release all properties, private or public, held by Athenians in the territory of those who enter the alliance. . . . From now on no Athenian, either privately or publicly, is to be allowed to own in the territories of the allies either a house or a property, whether by purchase or by mortgage or by any means whatever." Funds, of course, were needed; so the noun *syntaxis* was employed as a euphemism for *phoros*. The alliance, unlike its predecessor, was planned to be bicameral, with an allied synod that met separately from the Athenian Assembly.

The popularity of the Athenians among their allies has been the subject of vigorous controversy; each side appeals to Thucydides. At the beginning of the War the historian's conclusion is that "the sympathy of most leaned decidedly to the side of the Lacedaemonians, especially since the latter were proclaiming their intention to free Hellas. . . . So passionate was the feeling of the majority against the Athenians, some wanting to be released from the Empire, others fearful that they might become subjects of the Empire." In 413/2, immediately after the catastrophe in Sicily, Thucydides again expresses an opinion: "All the Hellenes were at once elated. . . . The subjects of the Athenians were especially ready to revolt. . . ."

Archidamus, the Spartan king, refers in his moderate speech of 432 to "the goodwill of all Hellas towards the Lacedaemonians thanks to the

hostility felt for the Athenians." Pericles himself admits to "the hatred incurred in the administration of Empire." He looks upon this as natural: "For to be hated and deemed obnoxious for the time being has certainly been the fate of all who think they have earned the right to rule over others." The speeches of the Corinthian in 432 and the Mytilenaeans in 428, delivered in order to inflame the Lacedaemonians, falsify history wilfully and cannot be taken at face value.

When we turn to the narrative, time and again we are told that the Many in the cities not only felt sympathetic to the Athenians; they fought actively against oligarchic factions that wished to secede. So, when the Athenians used force to recover losses, they were able as a rule to depend upon help from the popular leaders within the cities that had seceded or were threatening to secede. This is especially notable in Thrace, where Brasidas had been so successful, often in collaboration with the Few, and later in Ionia and the Hellespont. The ties of friendship between the Many in the cities and the Athenians are emphasised appositely by Diodotus when he advocates moderate punishment for the Mytilenaeans in 427.

The record of the allies down to 413, when it seemed that nothing could save the Athenians, does not, despite Thucydides' dictum, leave the impression of a host of subjects ready to revolt at the slightest opportunity. At the outset of the War (432/1), it is true, there was wide-spread disaffection in Thracian Chalcidice; here we take into consideration the effective pressure brought to bear for several years previously by the Corinthians and by Perdiccas. Elsewhere, the members of the Empire (again we have Thucydides in mind) remained astonishingly loyal; the Mytilenaeans were the only serious exception. It was not until the major scene of fighting shifted to the eastern Aegean (after 413) that revolt spread like a contagious disease from city to city. Oligarchic factions greedy as ever for power may have been willing to abandon the Athenians. Even so, it was the appearance of external stimuli that persuaded them that the time was right and the risks minimal: Peloponnesian agents, Persian blandishments, the apparent inability of the weakened Athenians to restrain them or protect them, the (unexpected) appearance of a Peloponnesian fleet, and (later) the wiles of the renegade Alcibiades. Disaffection was general and critical; but to the same sentence we can add that, especially after Alcibiades' return, the impressive rate of recovery owed much to the collaboration of popular elements within the cities. Special commendation is merited by the Samian Demos, who remained true to their allegiance throughout the War. During the oligarchic interlude at Athens in 411/0 Samos served as the Athenians' naval and democratic base; this hospitality made it possible for the stricken Athenians to maintain hostilities in the east. In 404/3, when the War was lost and the Empire in shambles, the Samians proclaimed their persisting loyalty. To match such

exceptional loyalty the Athenians voted an exceptional measure: they granted Athenian citizenship to the Samians.

If we pass from one campaign to another in the pages of Thucydides, we cannot fail to notice how frequently allied contingents reinforced Athenian expeditions, by land as well as by sea. Before the final battle in Sicily he marshals the troops under Athenian command by categories: colonists, tribute-paying subjects, autonomous naval allies, autonomous allies (outside the Empire), mercenaries; the numbers are substantial. He does state that some of these were present under compulsion, which probably means that such service was part of their permanent obligations rather than that specific force had been applied. More revealing, perhaps, is the answer of the islanders after the decisive battle in Sicily, when they faced certain death and the Syracusans offered freedom in return for surrender; few responded.

Thus we cannot fail to register the contradiction in Thucydides. As one scholar has put it, his editorial columns are at odds with his reporting of the news.

The reciprocal sympathy that existed between the Many in Athens and the popular elements in the cities is emphasised in a political tract written about 424 by an anonymous author whom we call the Old Oligarch (A. G. Woodhead has aptly remarked that the "Young Oligarch" would be more appropriate to the tone). A sentence from one of Plato's *Letters* tells the same story: "The Athenians preserved their Empire for seventy years by acquiring citizens as friends in each city."

Wise observers will agree that no brief answer satisfies the question, "Were the Athenians popular among the allies?" Yes, there were feelings of resentment; at the same time, when *stasis* threatened, there were many who preferred the Athenians (and internal peace) to their oligarchic political opponents (and, in some cases, Persian interference).

The speech given by Thucydides to the Athenian spokesman at Sparta in 432 after the denunciation of his polis by the Corinthians is in many ways representative of a point of view that had, quite understandably, accompanied the growth of Athenian prestige: pride in achievement is not without an element of arrogance. The blunt words of defiance in the face of threats are those of the man who boasts that he calls a spade a spade. He reminds the Spartans of the Athenians' record against the Persians, a well-known story. "The fact is that we did not take this Empire by force but, when you were unwilling to stand against the barbarian to the end, the allies approached us and begged us to remain as leaders. . . . We have done nothing that is alien to human nature if we accepted a proffered Empire and then, overcome by the three all-powerful influences, a sense of prestige, fear, and self-interest, refused to yield it. . . . It is an established rule that the weaker be restrained by the more powerful and in our case we think ourselves worthy to rule. . . .



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INDEX OF PLACES

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Dascyleum (Hellespont): on the south coast of the Propontis 3

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- Oropus: on the Attic coast near the Boeotian border opposite Euboea 4
- Pallene: the south-western of the three Thracian peninsulas that jut into the Aegean 2
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