

Plutarch Summaries:

1. Life of Themistocles c.525-460BC.

[Paired with M. Furius Camillus 446–365 BC, a celebrated general who saved Rome but was then banished]

1.	Family: <i>In the case of Themistocles his family was too obscure to have lent him any distinction.</i> (Athenian father Neocles, mother from Halicarnassus). Mixed parentage Athenians were enrolled at the Gymnasium of Cynosarges, sacred to Heracles, <i>since he, too, was regarded as something of an alien.</i> Themistocles broke down the distinction between Athenians and those of mixed race by getting Athenians to train at Cynosarges.	
2	Education: <i>As a boy he was impetuous, naturally clever, and strongly drawn to life of action and public service.</i> [<i>The wildest colts make the best horses...</i>] He was always rehearsing speeches to himself, but never learned to play the harp. Themistocles made his mentor the Sophist Mnesiphilus.	Sophist Mnesiphilus
3	Early political career and acumen: Opponent of Aristides, son of Lysimachus. <i>The utter dissimilarity of their lives and characters must have widened the breach between them.</i> Envious of Miltiades' triumph at Marathon – <i>he could not sleep for thinking of Miltiades' triumph.</i> Unlike most Athenians he thought the invasion of 490 was <i>only a prelude to a far greater struggle. He sensed the danger while it was still far away, and put his city into training to meet it.</i>	Aristides is paired with Cato the Elder by Plutarch.
4	Revenue from the silver mines at Laurion Themistocles proposed building triremes for war vs Aegina. <i>This conflict at that moment was the most important in Greece, was at its height and the islanders, thanks to the size of their fleet, were masters of the sea.</i> Themistocles turned the Athenians from hoplites into rowers. <i>It was these very triremes that won back the city of Athens after it had fallen.</i>	484-3 Rich seam of silver (100 talents) discovered. Athens vs Aegina war 484-3BC
5	Themistocles' ambition and attitude to money: attempts to rival Cimon's munificence; he was Choregus for a play by Phrynichus; <i>he knew every one of the citizens by name;</i> he got Aristides ostracised in 483; he also uses the law-courts to attack enemies.	486 Ostracism of Megacles 484 Ostracism of Xanthippus 483 Ostracism of Aristides
6	Threat of Persian invasion The interpreter sent to Athens to request Earth and Water was arrested and put to death by a decree of the people influenced by Themistocles.	
7	Themistocles' strategy <i>As soon as he took command, his first step was to make the citizens man the triremes and urge them to leave the city and fight the barbarians at sea as far away as possible.</i> The Athenians ignore this advice until Thessaly down to Boeotia go over to Persia. The Spartan Eurybiades is acclaimed overall leader by the Greeks and Themistocles goes along with this for the sake of unity, despite the size of Athens' navy. Themistocles's bribery before Artemisium The size of the Persian fleet makes Eurybiades want to withdraw to the Peloponnese. The Euboeans give Themistocles a large sum to protect them, which Themistocles passed on to Eurybiades. <small>Her.VIII.5: Themistocles receives 30 talents, gives Eurybiades 5, the Corinthians 3 and keeps the rest!</small> Plutarch adds a story from Phanius of Lesbos about how Themistocles reaffirms the commitment of Architeles, a key Athenian Trierarch by stealing his lunch.	<i>'For this action not contesting Eurybiades Themistocles is generally regarded as the man most directly responsible for saving Greece.'</i> Named source: Phanius of Lesbos
8	Artemisium: <i>The experience gained ... was of inestimable value to the Greeks.</i> They learned that appearance and numbers of ships count for nothing in close-quarters fighting.	Plutarch quotes Pindar on Artemisium: <i>That great fight where the brave sons of Athens planted the cornerstone of their freedom,</i> and saw an Inscription to Artemis and remains of ash from burnt ships.
9	Thermopylae: Morale low after the death of Leonidas and Persian advance through the pass. Appeal to the Ionians: As the forces retreat, the Athenians cover their backs and Themistocles leaves inscriptions: <i>he appealed to the Ionians to come over, if they found the opportunity, to the side of the Athenians their ancestors .. who were risking everything for their liberty.</i> By these tactics he hoped either to bring the Ionians over, <i>or else create chaos by making the barbarians suspect them.</i> No effort is made to defend other Greek towns as the Persians advance. <i>They were anxious to concentrate all their forces west of the Isthmus of Corinth and began to build a wall across it from sea to sea. The Athenians were furious at this betrayal...</i> The Athenians are reluctant to abandon their city and its temples.	August/September 480BC (traditionally on the same day as Artemisium)

10	<p>Wooden Walls: Using portents like a snake who refuses to eat (symbolising Athene departing the city) and the Delphic oracle about the Wooden Walls ^{Herodotus VIII}, Themistocles gets the Athenians to vote that all men of military age should be embarked on the warships, after everyone had provided as best they could for the safety of their wives, children and slaves. ^{Troezen generously welcomed and supported (at 2 obols/day) many of these.}</p> <p><i>In this way the whole city of Athens put out to sea. It was a sight which filled some with pity and others with amazement...</i></p> <p>The men crossed to Salamis. Old men and animals were left in Athens, but Xanthippus' dog swam over (and died exhausted on Salamis).</p>	<p>Toezen's generosity to the Athenian refugees.</p> <p>A key factor was financial help for the Athenian men, either from the Areopagus or from a stash 'found' by Themistocles.</p> <p>Xanthippus was Pericles father. Pericles was born c.495BC. The Dog's mound was still visible in Plutarch's day.</p>
11	<p><i>These were the great achievements of Themistocles on any count.</i></p> <p>Return of the ostracised: Themistocles lets the people recall the ostracised, including political opponents like Aristides (to prevent Medizing).</p> <p>Before Salamis: Eurybiades and Themistocles clash over where to use the fleet. Themistocles retorts, when mocked as 'a man without a city', <i>'It is quite true, you wretch, that we have given up our houses and our city walls because we did not choose to become enslaved for the sake of things that have no life or soul. But what we still possess is the greatest city in Greece, our 200 ships of war, which are ready now to defend you, if you are still willing to be saved by them. But if you run away and betray us, as you did once before, the Greeks will soon hear the news that Athenians have found themselves a new city and as fine a country as the one they have sacrificed.'</i></p>	<p>Megacles, Xanthippus and Aristides</p> <p>Herodotus VIII.62 specifies Siris in the instep of Italy as a place the Athenians might settle.</p> <p>When an Eretrian chips in, Themistocles likens them to cuttlefish – with a long pouch ... where your heart ought to be.</p>
12	<p>Xerxes' fleet occupies Phalerum: Despite the encouraging omen of an owl, at the sight of this vast concentration of forces, Themistocles' advice was swept out of mind. Eurybiades gives the command to retreat that night to the Peloponnese.</p> <p>Themistocles tricks Xerxes: Themistocles sends Sicinnus with a secret message: <i>'Themistocles, the Athenian commander, has come over to the King's side and wishes to be the first to tell him that the Greeks are trying to slip away.'</i> He recommends attacking the fleet before it disperses. Xerxes orders 200 ships to sail around the other side of Salamis to trap the fleet.</p> <p>Aristides and Themistocles: Despite their rivalry, Aristides arrives to warn Themistocles of Xerxes' manoeuvre. Themistocles lets him in on his trick and together they encourage the commanders to fight. A ship from Tenos deserts to the Greeks and confirms that the fleet is about to be trapped.</p>	<p><i>The great host of their ships quite blotted out the coastline.</i></p> <p>Themistocles' sons were tutored by a Persian prisoner of war, Sicinnus, the man sent with the false message.</p> <p>Plutarch names the Tenian ship's commander as Panaetius.</p>
13	<p>Prelude to the Battle of Salamis Xerxes watches the battle from a golden throne with a crowd of secretaries whose duty it was to record the events of the battle.</p> <p>The priest taking the omens suggests sacrificing three Persian prisoners of war ^{two of Xerxes nephews + Artayctus}. Themistocles was appalled at this terrible and monstrous command from the prophet. Even so, the people prevailed, dragged the three men to the altar and killed them. Herodotus IX.116-end. Artayctes, forced to watch his son being stoned, is crucified by the Greeks at Sestos as punishment for his crimes.</p>	<p>Named sources on disputed location of Xerxes throne: Phanodemus, Ancestodorus</p> <p>Persian sources? (<i>the crowd of secretaries</i>)</p> <p>Phanias of Lesbos (a well-read philosopher) records the human sacrifice to Dionysus.</p> <p>Brutal murder of Artayctes</p>
14	<p>The Battle of Salamis</p> <p>Numbers of ships: <i>But Xerxes, I know well, had a thousand ships At his command; the vessels built for speed Numbered 207, so stands the count.</i> Aeschylus Persae 341-3</p> <p>180 Athenian ships (with 18 men on each deck to fight, including 4 archers).</p> <p>Themistocles' opening strategy: Themistocles waited for the winds to swing the larger Persian ships them broadside on. The other ships watched for his command because he faced the Persian admiral, Xerxes' bro. Ariamenes. His battle ship was attacked and two Athenians pitched Ariamenes into the sea. Artemisia later spotted his body floating amid the wreckage and brought it back to Xerxes.</p>	<p>Named source: Aeschylus' Persians (extant). Aeschylus fought at Salamis.</p> <p>Two named Athenians hoplites kill Admiral Ariamenes: Ameinias of Decelea and Socles of Paeania.</p> <p>Artemisia's loyalty?</p>
15	<p>Various supernatural visions are recorded (e.g. sons of Aeacus appearing from Aegina). see Herodotus 8.64 <i>The first man to capture an enemy ship was Lycomedes.</i></p> <p>The Persians' greater numbers are neutralised by the tight channel they are fighting in. <i>'The most glorious exploit ever achieved at sea by Greek or barbarian, and they owed it to the courage and determination of all those who fought their ships, but not least to the surpassing skill and judgement of Themistocles.'</i> Simonides</p>	<p>Plutarch refers to the prow dedicated by Lycomedes at Phlya</p> <p>Simonides of Ceos, c. 556-469BC. Celebrated poet who lived in Athens under the tyrants. Many epigrams survive.</p>

16	<p>After Salamis Xerxes tries constructing moles to reach the men Salamis. Themistocles proposes to Aristides sailing to the Hellespont to trap Xerxes' army in Greece. Aristides objects: <i>If we shut him up in Greece ... he will not go on sitting under a golden canopy quietly taking in the spectacle of our battles. He will nerve himself for anything ... correct the mistakes he made before and take better advice. ..Instead of breaking down the bridge ... we ought to build another alongside it .. and speed the man out of Europe.</i> They agree on this course, but Themistocles sends a Persian prisoner of war, the royal eunuch Arnaces, to frighten Xerxes with the plan to destroy the bridge at the Hellespont.</p> <p><i>Xerxes was thoroughly alarmed when he heard this, and at once set about arranging his withdrawal.</i></p>	<p><i>How shrewdly Themistocles and Aristides acted was proved later on in the campaign against Mardonius, for the battle of Plataea was one in which the Greeks stood in danger of losing everything, even though they were fighting only a fraction of Xerxes' army. Plutarch</i></p>
17	<p>Man of the match: The Aeginetans and Themistocles singled out for their parts. <small>Herodotus 8.93</small> The Spartans honour Eurybiades for his valour, and Themistocles for his wisdom giving him a chariot. Themistocles acquires superstar status at the next Olympics: <i>when Themistocles entered the stadium, the audience took no further interest in the competitors, but spent the whole day gazing at him... Themistocles was delighted at this.</i></p>	<p>Each general voted for himself first and Themistocles second.</p> <p>[See ch. 25 for an alleged speech by Themistocles condemning Hiero of Sicily at the games.]</p>
18	<p>Themistocles' witty retorts after Salamis</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> As admiral, he postponed business until 'the day for sailing' for efficiency, but also 'make himself out to be a person of great importance and power.' 'Help yourself – you are not Themistocles!' on Persian corpses washed up on the beach wearing treasures. Fair-weather friends – e.g. the Athenians, who treat him <i>like a plane-tree</i>. The man from Seriphos saying Themistocles owed his fame to his city of birth: <i>'Very true, I should never have been famous if I had been a Seriphean, and neither would you if you had been an Athenian.'</i> To a rival general: <i>'If Themistocles had not been there on the day of Salamis, where would you all the rest of you be now?'</i> On his wife and son: <i>'The Athenians command the Greeks, I command the Athenians, his mother commands me, and he commands her.'</i> 	
19	<p>Rebuilding Athens Themistocles dealt with Spartan opposition to Athens rebuilding her walls by going as a self-appointed ambassador to Sparta and winning time by getting the Spartans to see for themselves, then retaining the envoys. Polyarchus was sent expressly from Aegina to confront him with this charge. <i>'The Spartans, when they discovered the truth did not retaliate against him, but concealed their resentment and sent him away.'</i></p> <p>Piraeus <i>It was his ambition to unite the whole city to the sea.</i> By contrast with the ancient kings of Athens, who tried to draw the Athenians away from the sea (the olive rather than salt spring). He attached the city to the Piraeus and made the land dependant on the sea. <i>The effect of this was to increase the influence of the people at the expense of the nobility.</i></p>	<p>Thuc. 1.90-93 <i>'According to Theopompus' account he bribed the Spartan ephors not to oppose his plans, but most writers agree that he outwitted them.'</i></p> <p>Plutarch comments on how this policy altered the political nature of Athens – empowering the people at the expense of the nobility. Story of Athena and Poseidon. The 30 Tyrants turned the Pnyx so that it faced inland.</p>
20	<p>A ruthless politician <i>'But Themistocles had even more ambitious plans for making Athens supreme at sea.'</i> Themistocles imparts a secret but outrageous proposal: to burn the Greek fleet, rejected by the Athenians following Arisitdes' lead.</p> <p>'The Amphictyonic Congress' Spartan proposal that Medizing states (e.g. Argos, Thebes, Thessaly) be banned. Themistocles defends these states <i>'only 31 states played an active part in the war ... it would be intolerable if the rest of Greece were excluded.'</i> - but really from fear that Sparta would gain complete control of the votes. <i>'It was the stand he took on this occasion which gave particular offence to the Spartans and made them try to strengthen Cimon's position .. and thus establish him as a political rival to Themistocles.'</i></p>	
21	<p>Growing unpopularity: extortion Themistocles incurred the hatred of the allies by sailing round ... trying to extort money. He told them he had 2 gods with him: Persuasion and Compulsion. They said they had 2 gods, Poverty and Scarcity.</p> <p>Greed and betrayal Themistocles incurred the enmity of the poet, Timocreon of Rhodes, who attacked him viciously in a number of poems for betraying him, while accepting bribes to help other refugees. Plutarch quotes several examples.</p>	<p>Timocreon of Rhodes (former guest friend of Themistocles) <i>'We know that Leto, who loves truth, detests Themistocles That liar, cheat and traitor, who broke his word... etc</i></p>

22	<p>c.472BC Themistocles ostracised Slanders led to Themistocles defending himself by bragging, which annoyed Athenians.</p> <p>Temple of Artemis Aristoboule Perceived as hubristic: i.e. bragging about good counsel, built near his house and contained a little statue of him: <i>to judge by this he must have been a man not only of heroic spirit, but of heroic appearance.</i></p>	<p>They did not regard ostracism as a punishment, but rather as a means for appeasing and blunting their spirit of envy, which delights in bringing down the mighty. Plutarch saw the statue in the T. of Artemis.</p>
23	<p>Charge of treason by association with Pausanias Brought by Leobotes, son of Alcmaeon, and the Spartans: Themistocles was living in Argos, when his friend Pausanias (now disgraced) invited him <i>to become a partner in his negotiations</i> with Xerxes; he showed him a letter and referred to the Greeks '<i>ungrateful wretches.</i>' Themistocles rejected this approach from Pausanias, but did not report it.</p>	<p>Plutarch writes that Themistocles was due to stand trial before a Pan-Hellenic Council.</p>
24	<p>Themistocles' in exile Rather than face trial, Themistocles escaped to Corcyra, then Epirus, then to the Molossians (where he had previously made an enemy of King Admetus): <i>he feared the jealousy of his own people ... more than any long-standing grievance of the king's.</i> Themistocles' wife and children were smuggled out to Epirus by Epicrates of Acharnae, who was afterwards prosecuted by Cimon and put to death. Themistocles <i>may</i> then have tried the court of Hiero on Sicily – unsuccessful - before Asia.</p>	<p>Themistocles had arbitrated in a dispute between Corcyra and Corinth</p> <p>According to Stesimbrotus, who then <i>either forgets the episode himself or makes Themistocles forget it. (!)</i></p>
25	<p>Theophrastus suggests Themistocles had already clashed with Hiero at the Olympic games, Thucydides says he sailed from Pydna (in Macedonia) to Naxos, which the Athenians were besieging (c. 469BC), then to Asia. His property followed him. Although he had less than 3 talents at the start of his political life, a lot more followed him to Asia!</p>	<p>Olympics, see ch. 17.</p> <p>Theophrastus says he had 80 talents. Theopompus says 100.</p>
26	<p>Themistocles arrives in Persia Xerxes had set a 200-talent bounty on Themistocles' head, so several people were eager to catch him, especially Ergoteles and Pythodorus. Themistocles therefore moved quickly on from Cyme to Aegae. <i>In this place nobody had heard of him except Nicogenes, the richest man in Aetolia.</i> Themistocles dreams of a snake turning into an eagle and lifting him up, before setting him down safely: '<i>he suddenly felt himself delivered from his helpless state of anxiety.</i>' Themistocles was escorted inside the sort of carriage reserved for women.</p>	<p>Themistocles' dream: the snake + the eagle.</p> <p>Plutarch implies that the Persians guarded women even more jealously than the Greeks.</p>
27	<p>Audience with the vizier, Artabanus Probably under Artaxerxes (i.e. post 465BC), rather than Xerxes. Artabanus (the Vizier) receives him first and Plutarch records a speech about different customs. He demands that Themistocles makes obeisance to the king, the image of the god who is preserver of the universe. Themistocles readily agrees and offers to increase the number who will do obeisance to the king. He does not reveal his name to Artabanus. Phanias recounts this story. Eratosthenes says the interview was secured through Artabanus' Eretrean wife.</p>	<p>According to Thucydides and Charon of Lampsacus Xerxes was now dead. Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus and Heracleides and many others authorities maintain that he came to Xerxes. [Themistocles like Odysseus]. Eight named sources in this ch.</p>
28	<p>Audience with the Great King (probably Artaxerxes, see ch.27) Themistocles does obeisance, reveals his name and tells the King he has done Persia a service: '<i>For I prevented the Greeks from pursuing you once they were safe.... Take my enemies at home as witness of the good I have done Persia.</i>' The Persian King '<i>could not help admiring Themistocles' boldness and self-confidence.</i>' He sacrifices to the gods, celebrates and in his sleep calls out three times for joy, '<i>I have Themistocles the Athenian!</i>'</p>	
29	<p>Persian reactions: The soldiers hate him: '<i>You subtle serpent of Greece, it is the King's Genius that has brought you here.</i>' says Roxanes, Commander of the 1,000. The King himself, however, rewards Themistocles with the 200-talent bounty. See ch. 26. Themistocles asks for a year to learn Persian, using the simile of the rolled carpet and comes to enjoy a favoured position at court, more so than Demaratus, whom he has to defend at one point ^{D. asks to ride into Sardis wearing a tiara.} The queen-mother likes Themistocles. Themistocles to his children: '<i>We should have been ruined now, if we had not been ruined just when we were.</i>'</p>	<p>The simile of the rolled carpet: <i>Human speech may be compared to an embroidered tapestry, which shows its various patterns when it is spread out, but conceals and distorts them when it is rolled up.</i></p> <p>Thuc. 1.138</p>
30	<p>Assassination plot: Themistocles is saved from a plot in Phrygia laid by the Persian Epixyes by a dream: Cybele warns him: '<i>Avoid the Lion's Head ^{a village} or you may fall into the Lion's jaws.</i>' He built a temple in Magnesia in Cybele's honour.</p>	<p>Themistocles' daughter Mnesiptolema becomes a priestess of Cybele, as instructed in the dream.</p>


31	<p>Themistocles pushes his luck: Seeing a statue pillaged from Athens in Sardis, he asked permission to return it, ‘to demonstrate to the Athenians the measure of honour and influence which he commanded in the King’s service’. The Satrap reports him to the King. Themistocles, frightened, pacifies the Satrap using the goodwill of the harem, but decides to settle quietly in Magnesia.</p> <p>Artaxerxes and Greece: The King paid no attention to Greek affairs because he was more concerned with the state of the interior.</p> <p>Themistocles’ suicide: The King is forced to involve himself in Greek affairs when Athens, under Cimon, aids the Egyptian Revolt. He calls on Themistocles to help against his homeland. Themistocles’ solution to the dilemma, admired by Artaxerxes, is to commit suicide, aged 65. ‘after offering sacrifice to the gods, he called his friends together, clasped their hands and bade them farewell.’</p>	<p>Theopompus is again dismissed as inaccurate by Plutarch for saying that Themistocles travelled around Asia.</p> <p>Egypt revolts: c.460BC <small>Thuc. 1.104</small> See also <i>Cimon</i> 18. Thucydides account differs (1.138), stating he died a natural death.</p>
32	<p>Themistocles’ children: Sons: Archeptolis, Polyeuctes + Cleophantus, plus one older son Neocles who died of a horse-bite, and another Diocles, adopted by Lysander of Alopece, father of Themistocles’ wife, Archippe. Daughters: Mnesiptolema (m. Archeptolis ^{half-bro}); Italia (m. Panthoides of Chios) and Sybaris (m. Nicomedes of Athens). Nephew: Phrasicles m. Nichomache.</p> <p>Themistocles’ tomb: A tomb (and annual honours) erected by the people of Magnesia on a magnificent scale in the market-place. Rumours that Themistocles’ remains returned to Athens and may be buried near the great harbour of Piraeus.</p> <p>Plutarch ends by mentioning he had a student friend called Themistocles the Athenian (at the school of the philosopher Ammonius) who had visited Magnesia and enjoyed the rites.</p>	<p>Plutarch tells us that Plato mentions that Cleophantus was <i>a fine horseman</i>, but that otherwise, they are unknown.</p> <p>Plutarch discusses a number of sources, Andocides (<i>‘we need pay no attention to A.’</i>), Diodorus the Topographer and Plato the comic poet.</p>

Plutarch Summaries:

2. Life of Cimon: c.510 - c.450BC

[Paired with L Lucullus, 118–56 BC, famous for his victories in the East]

1-2	<p>Digression: Damon, a beautiful youth of Chaeronea murders a Roman commander, then members of the senate who condemn the murder. Damon had been the object of the Roman's amorous intent. Lucullus defended the Chaeronean and criticised the Roman garrison's conduct. The Chaeroneans set up a statue to Lucullus, whom Plutarch admires.</p>	
3	<p>Why Cimon is paired with Lucullus: <i>Both gained brilliant successes against the barbarians: No Greek before Cimon and no Roman before Lucullus ever carried his wars into such distant lands, but their campaigns lacked the <i>element of finality</i>. Both were <i>moderate statesmen</i> who showed <i>open handed abundance</i>.</i></p>	
4	<p>Family background and character Son of Miltiades and a Thracian princess (Hegesipyle, d. of King Olorus - so Thucydides the historian was related, hence the gold mines). Deme of Lacia. Cimon's sister's was Elpinice.</p> <p>When Miltiades died in prison, unable to pay the 50 talent the Athenians fined him, Cimon and his sister were still young; Cimon drank heavily and seemed a bit of a fool, like his grandfather, <i>'The Booby'</i>; he never acquired a literary education, but gave an impression of <i>great nobility and candour</i>, a bit like Heracles in Euripides' play: <i>His nature was unadorned Fortright and at its best in times of crisis.</i> Euripides on Heracles</p> <p>the spirit of the man seemed altogether more Peloponnesian than Athenian. Stesimbrotus</p> <p>Cimon was accused of incest with Elpinice, presumably because they lived together out of poverty. Then Callias, one of the richest men in Athens, fell in love with Elpinice, married her and paid off Miltiades' fine.</p> <p>Cimon as a bit of a ladies' man (Asteria, Mnestra and his lawful wife, Isodice); elegy on her death probably composed by Archelaus, the writer on natural science, according to Panaetius.</p>	<p>Plutarch quotes the poems of Archelaus and Melanthius on Cimon and on Polugnotus (below). He also highlights the family connection with Thucydides and tells us he was murdered in Thrace, but buried in Athens in Cimon's family tomb. Stesimbrotus is the source for Cimon's character.</p> <p>Elpinice was also rumoured to have a relationship with the painter Polygnotus, who painted her as Laodice in his Painted Stoa. Polygnotus accepted no fee for his paintings, but undertook the work at his own expense, out of the desire to honour his city.</p>
5	<p>Cimon's noble qualities: <i>'as brave as Miltiades and as intelligent as Themistocles and .. a juster man than either. In statesmanship he showed himself immeasurably their superior.'</i></p> <p>When Themistocles was urging the Athenians to abandon the city for their ships, Cimon set the first example: He carried in his hands his horse's bridle to offer up to the goddess... <i>what the city needed at that moment was not knightly valour, but men to fight at sea.</i></p> <p>Cimon's gentleness and simplicity greatly endeared him to the people. Aristides recognised Cimon's qualities and <i>'set him up as a counterpoise to the cleverness and audacity of Themistocles.'</i></p>	
6	<p>After the Persian Invasions: c.478/477 Cimon's soldiers were disciplined and full of enterprise. His kindness contrasted starkly with the <i>officiousness and absurd pretensions</i>. of Pausanias. He dealt with the allies <i>'so sympathetically that before people knew what was happening he had taken over command of the Greeks.'</i> Aristides and Cimon sent word to the Ephors to recall Pausanias, and drove Pausanias out of Byzantium after he killed a local girl, Cleonice.</p>	<p>Pausanias, haunted by Cleonice, consults an oracle at Heracleia.</p>
7	<p>Cimon's command of the Greek forces:</p> <p>1. Capture of Eion Cimon leads the allies to Thrace and drives the Persians out of Eion, by the river Strymon. <i>He reduced the besieged garrison to such straits that the Persian general Butes ... set fire to the city and perished with his whole family and property in the flames.</i> He then established an Athenian colony there (i.e. Amphipolis).</p>	<p>Inscriptional evidence: Cimon authorised to set up three stone statues of Hermes in Athens: <i>They too were men of stout heart who beside the swift currents of Strymon under Eion's walls fought with the sons of the Mede.</i></p>
8	<p>Cimon's popularity with the people: Inscriptions on the statues of Hermes (see ch.7): <i>Cimon's contemporaries regarded this memorial as a supreme mark of honour for him. Neither Miltiades nor Themistocles could boast of any comparable distinction.'</i></p> <p><i>Under their other generals they had merely been defending themselves against attack and fighting for self-preservation, whereas under Cimon they had the opportunity to carry the war into their enemies' country and ravage it. They won new territory which they could colonise, not only Eion, but Amphipolis as well.</i></p> <p>2. Capture of Scyros Cimon rid the island of pirates and brought back the lost bones of Theseus, (killed on Scyros by his host Lycomedes in exile from Athens 400 years earlier) with great pomp and ceremony. This affair did more than any other achievement of Cimon's to endear him to the people.</p>	<p>Cimon's name does not appear on the inscriptions of ch.7, but <i>'his contemporaries regarded this memorial as a supreme mark of honour for him.'</i> (cf an anecdote about Miltiades asking for a crown of olive: 'When you have fought and conquered the barbarian by yourself, Miltiades, then you can ask to be honoured by yourself.' Sophanes of Decelea.</p>

	<p>Sophocles and Aeschylus compete in the city Dionysia, under the 10 generals as special judges, including Cimon.</p>	<p>An oracle had told the Athenians to honour the bones and establish a hero cult.</p> <p>Sophocles' first trilogy. Judges coopted by Apsephion the Archon because of excitement. Aeschylus loses and goes off to Sicily, where he dies.</p>
9	<p>Cleon's cleverest achievement related at a supper party at the house of Laomedon attended by Ion of Chios <i>The Athenians and their allies had taken a number of barbarian prisoners at Sestos and Byzantium and had handed them over to divide between their various captors. Cimon placed the prisoners on one side, and all their clothes and ornaments on the other. He then told the allies to pick which side, leaving the Athenians the other one. The allies picked the possessions. By ransoming the captives Cimon received the equivalent of 4 months' maintenance for his fleet and still had a large sum of gold left over for the city.</i></p>	<p>Ion of Chios (c.490-420) was 'only a boy' at the time.</p>
10	<p>Cimon's wealth and generosity No fences on his land so that people (even foreigners) could pick fruit etc.; free dinners every day; young attendants ready to swap cloaks with the old; some cash hand-outs. <i>He restored to human experience the fabled conditions of the golden age of Cronus.'</i></p> <p><i>Those that spread the story that all this was done only to flatter the masses and curry favour with them were given the lie by his political principles, which were aristocratic and tended to be influenced by Sparta.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • sided with Aristides against Themistocles • sided against Ephialtes <p><i>He kept himself incorruptible (e.g. refusing silver + gold from Rhoesaces, a Persian deserter) and invariably acted and spoke with integrity.</i></p>	<p>Cratinus' Archilochi: <i>I too ... had hopes that I might pass asleek old age feasting in comfort .. with the godlike Cimon...but he has gone ahead and left me.'</i></p> <p>Gorgias of Leontini: Cimon spent money in a way which did him honour.</p> <p>Critias (one of the 30 Tyrants) refers to Cimon's magnanimity.</p> <p>Cimon's generous xenia was a match for that of Lichas the Spartan.</p>
11	<p>Changes in the nature of the Delian League under Cimon Athens' allies tire of foreign expeditions <i>The barbarians had gone away and no longer troubled them.</i> The authority of the Athenian leaders was soon disliked, however when Cimon was general he <i>'did not bring force to bear on any of the Greeks and accepted money or empty ships from those unwilling to serve abroad. ... Those Greeks who did no military service came to fear and even to flatter men who were regularly at sea or constantly training under arms, and so before they knew it, they had sunk to the position of tributaries and subjects instead of allies.</i></p>	
12	<p>Cimon's pursuit of Persia <i>It is certain that no man did more than Cimon to humble the pride of the Great King himself. He never relaxed his pursuit ... but followed close at their heels.</i> The area from Ionia to Pamphylia was cleared of Persian soldiers. He resolved to make the area W. of the Chelidonian Islands so formidable that they would not venture out there.</p>  <p>Cimon had a force of c.200 triremes, built by Themistocles but broadened to facilitate the use of hoplites. With the Chians' help, he won over Phaselis (initially reluctant to go against Persia), shooting arrows over the walls, so this Greek city became a new tribute-paying ally.</p> <p>The Battle of Eurymedon c.468/7BC The Persians stayed by the mouth of the river Eurymedon, waiting for 80 Phoenician ships, but Cimon attacked and drove them up river where they suffered heavy losses. 200 ships were taken as trophies out of a disputed total of 350-600 ships.</p>	<p>Battle of Eurymedon – date uncertain c.468/7BC. Thuc 1.100.</p> <p>Historians disagree about the Persian commanders: Ephorus says Tithrausetes commanded the fleet of 350 ships and Pherendates the army. Callisthenes says Arimandes (Gobryas' son) commanded the whole force. Phanodemus states there were 600 ships.</p>


13	<p>Cimon's decision to let the hoplites follow up the naval victory led to heavy casualties but great rewards. Plutarch tells us he <i>'saw that his men were buoyed up by the strength and courage the victory had given them and were eager to come to grips with the barbarians.'</i></p> <p>The Peace of Callias? <i>In this way Cimon, like a champion athlete, carried off two victories in a single day</i> (surpassing the victories at Salamis and Plataea, according to Plutarch). Cimon also destroyed the 80 Phoenician ships. <i>This blow so dashed the King's hopes that he accepted the terms of that notorious peace, whereby he agreed:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to stay the distance of a whole day's ride from the Greek sea-board of Asia Minor • not to let a single warship or armoured vessel sail west of the Cyanean and Chelidonian islands. <p>The spoils of Cimon's campaigns funded:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the building of the S. Wall of the Acropolis • foundations in marshy terrain for 'The Legs' (The Long Walls) completed later • planting of trees in the agora and Academy – now <i>'a well-watered grove'</i>. 	<p>Peace of Callias 467BC ^{or 449?} much disputed: post Eurymedon or 449BC? Genuine treaty or not? Callias = Cimon's bro-in-law ^{-ch.4}</p> <p>Callisthenes denies the Persians made a treaty: they just behaved cautiously in practice. Pericles and Ephialtes were able to sail far beyond this marker with relatively small fleets of c. 50 and 30 ships. Craterus' collection of Athenian decrees includes this treaty; the Athenians also built an Altar to Peace and rewarded Callias for negotiating it.</p>
14	<p>c.466BC Cimon sailed to the Thracian Chersonese with 4 ships and captured 13 Persian ships, clearing the area and establishing the area for Athenian colonisation.</p> <p>465 Revolt of Thasos Cimon <i>'defeated them at sea, captured 33 of their ships, besieged their city and forced it to surrender, annexed the gold-mines on the mainland opposite for Athens, and took over the neighbouring territory.'</i></p> <p>463BC Cimon came under suspicion for not also invading Macedonia. <i>He was accused of having been bought off by King Alexander, and his enemies combined to impeach him.</i> These include Pericles, <i>the most determined of his accusers</i>, who mocked Elpinice when she pleads for her brother. In his defence Cimon said: <i>'if he were to represent anyone's interests it would be the Spartans', whose simplicity and moderation he was glad to imitate.'</i></p>	<p>Stesimbrotus records the anecdote about Elpinice and Pericles: <i>'You are long past the age, Elpinice, to take a hand in affairs like this.'</i></p>
15	<p>462BC Cimon acquitted. Other sources say he was only saved by 3 votes from execution and was fined 50 talents While Cimon was away on military service ...</p> <p>462BC Reforms of Ephialtes ^{Assassinated 461BC} On his return from military service Cimon opposes the popular reforms of Ephialtes and Pericles, which empowered the law-courts and diminished the powers of the Areopagus. The democratic leaders denounced him (old accusations of incest with Elpinice and pro-Spartan sympathies); Cimon fond of the bottle and indolent.</p>	<p>Eupolis: <i>'And often he would spend the night in Sparta and leave Elpinice to sleep alone.'</i></p>
16	<p>Pro-Spartan Sons' names: Lacedaimonius, Eleius (their mother possibly Arcadian (i.e. not Athenian), for which Pericles <i>'often reproached them'</i>) and Thessalus, whose mother = Isodice (Athenian). The Spartans supported Cimon out of dislike of Themistocles, which benefited Athens and Cimon at first, but <i>'when their power had grown'</i> the Athenians resented the way Cimon was always praising Sparta: <i>'But that is not what the Spartans would do.'</i></p> <p>464 Earthquake and Helot revolt Damage to Sparta (all except 5 houses); some young Spartans crushed in the gymnasium. Revolt of the Helots, perioikioi and Messenians. The Spartans send Pericleidas to ask for help; Ephialtes opposed help; Cimon supported it: <i>'he appealed to them not to allow Greece to go lame, or their own city to deprived of its yoke-fellow.'</i> ^{Stesimbrotus}</p>	<p>Stesimbrotus: mother of two older sons = Cleitor of Arcadia Diodorus the topographer: = Isodice, Megacles granddaughter. Some modern scholars think Pericles' citizenship law of 451BC may have been directed against Cimon.</p> <p><i>The 4th year of King Archidamus' reign.</i> Aristophanes' Lysistrata caricatures the Spartan envoy Pericleides, seeking help from Athens. (Lys 1137ff)</p> <p>Stesimbrotus quotes Cimon's phrase.</p>
17	<p>On his return from helping the Spartans - for a first time, see below - a Corinthian Lachartus challenged Cimon for leading men through the Isthmus 'without knocking'. Cimon's response: <i>'We did not hear you Corinthians knock at the gates of Cleonae or Megara: you simply broke them down.'</i></p> <p>Second appeal for help against the Messenians and Helots at Ithome <i>The Athenians once more came to their support, but their boldness and enterprise frightened the Spartans, who singled them out from among their allies as dangerous revolutionaries and sent them away. They returned home in a fury and proceeded to take public revenge upon the friends of Sparta in general and Cimon in particular.</i></p> <p>461BC Cimon's ostracism <i>They seized upon some trifling pretext to ostracise him.</i> Cimon exiled for 10 years.</p>	

	<p>457BC The Battle of Tanagra</p> <p>During Cimon's exile conflict arose when Sparta encamped at Tanagra after '<i>liberating the people of Delphi from the Phocians.</i>' The Athenians marched out '<i>to meet them in a pitched battle.</i>' Cimon tried to join his tribe Oeneis, '<i>anxious to play his part with his fellow citizens in resisting the Spartans.</i>' Mistrust from the Athenian Boule meant Cimon had to depart, urging as he did so other Pro Spartans like Euthippus of Anaphylistus to fight hard; 100 men fought around Cimon's armour '<i>with desperate courage and were finally killed to the last man.</i>' The Athenians then remember Cimon's services and '<i>the turn of events now moved in his favour,</i>' especially since Tanagra was a major Athenian defeat.</p> <p><i>They recalled Cimon from exile and the decree providing for his return was actually moved by Pericles.</i></p>	<p>Plutarch implies that Cimon was recalled after Tanagra, but Cimon is not an active general again until 451BC, which suggests Plutarch may be incorrect here.</p>
18	<p>Cimon returns from exile</p> <p>Once peace had been established Cimon directed the Athenians' 'policy of constant expansion of their empire through foreign expeditions' against non-Greek rather than Greek states: he manned 200 triremes for an expedition to Cyprus and Egypt, to avoid provocative sailing around the Peloponnese and to 'allow them to profit as they deserved from the wealth they took from their natural enemies.'</p> <p>Cimon's Dream</p> <p>An angry bitch barked: '<i>Go your way: I shall find you a friend both to me and my puppies.</i>' Astyphilus of Poseidonia, Cimon's close friend, interpreted this to signify Cimon's death: by dying he would do the Persians a favour <small>(A dog speaking human is like a Persian force with Greeks in it – half animal, half human!)</small>. Bad omen: defective liver of sacrificial victim carried by ants to Cimon's big toe.</p> <p>Cimon's final expedition</p> <p>140 ships at Cyprus defeated the Persian King's Phoenician and Cilician fleet. 60 ships in Egypt are also successful. He had in mind nothing less than the complete destruction of Persia's supremacy. Cimon influenced in part by anxiety that Themistocles would assist the Persians as commander of their fleet, a dilemma that led Themistocles to take his own life.</p> <p>Cimon's secret question to the Oracle of Ammon in Egypt</p> <p>'Turning over in his mind these vast schemes of conquest', Cimon sent a delegation to the oracle, who told the delegate that Cimon was already with him (i.e. dead).</p>	<p>The date from this is generally accepted as 451BC.</p> <p>No mention of Oenophyta. Thucydides' account, which differs in a number of ways appears to provide a more reliable outline of events.</p> <p>See also <i>Themistocles</i> 31. Plutarch elevates Cimon by referring to Themistocles' 'knowledge that he would never be able to rival Cimon's military genius and good fortune.'</p>
19	<p>Cimon's death</p> <p>Either from sickness while besieging Citium, or from an old Persian wound. By keeping the death secret, the fleet returned safely to Athens 30 days after his death '<i>through Cimon's generalship</i>' <small>Phanodemus</small>. Moreover, so long as Cimon was general, 'not even so much as a Persian horse was to be seen within 50 miles of the sea.'</p> <p>'After his death no Greek general was to win another brilliant victory against the barbarians. Instead, a succession of demagogues and warmongers arose, who proceeded to turn the Greek states against one another. In this way the Persians gained a breathing space.'</p> <p>By the start of the 4th century, 'the tax-gatherers in the Persian Empire were still collecting tribute among allied and friendly cities.'</p> <p>Hero worship of Cimon</p> <p>At Citium during a period of plague and famine, the god charged citizens not to forget Cimon. <small>Nausicrates the Rhetorician</small></p>	<p><small>Phanodemus</small></p> <p>Does this statement provide a different perspective on Pericles?</p> <p>Plutarch refers to <small>monuments in Athens</small>, where Cimon was buried.</p> <p><small>Nausicrates the Rhetorician</small></p>

Plutarch Summaries:

3. Life of Pericles: c.495-429BC



[Paired with Fabius Maximus Cunctator, 280–203BC, famous for resisting Hannibal]

1	<p>Digression: Augustus on why one should lavish attention on children, not puppies or baby monkeys. Plutarch says one should study exempla of good men; swipes at oboists and kings who can play musical instruments too well – admire the product, not the creator; whereas moral good has a power to attract</p>	
2	<p>Why Pericles is paired with Q. Fabius Maximus – both deserve admiration: <i>‘Through their moderation, their uprightness and their ability to endure the follies of their people and their colleagues in office, they rendered the very greatest service to their countries.’</i></p>	<p>Plutarch emphasises throughout, but especially in Chapters 18-22 Pericles’ military caution and restraint of the Athenians’ extravagant spirit of conquest.</p>
3	<p>Pericles: Tribe: Acamantis Deme: Cholargus Father: Xanthippus, the general who led the Athenians to victory at Mycale in 479BC. Mother: Agariste, niece of Cleisthenes who established democratic rule in Athens in 508BC; she dreamt she was giving birth to a lion. <small>Herodotus 6.131</small> Physical appearance: almost perfect features, except an egg-shaped head, for which he was mocked by the comic poets and to conceal which he wore a helmet.</p>	<p>Comic poets:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cratinus: Pericles as the offspring of Party strife and Cronus – <i>the biggest tyrant of them all ... ‘The Head-Compellor’ of Zeus, Cloud-Compellor</i> Teleclides: <i>‘creating all the din of war by himself from that brain-pan of his ... big enough to hold 11 couches.’</i> Eupolis Demes also referenced, a play in which great leaders (Miltiades, Themistocles, Aristides and Pericles) are brought back to show up the current inferior crop.
4	<p>Education:</p> <p>Music teacher(s):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Damon ‘a sophist of the highest order’ and another target of the comic poets, ostracised for being ‘a great intriguer and supporter of tyranny’ Pythocleides. <p>Other teachers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Zeno the Eleatic (who, like Parmenides, was lecturing on natural philosophy) and who developed a form of elenchus/cross-examination, <i>‘whose tongue like a double-edged weapon argued on either side with irresistible fury’.</i> Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, <i>‘who did most to cloak him with a majestic bearing that was more potent than any demagogue’s appeal’</i>, aka Nous (Intelligence) <i>‘because he was the first to dethrone Chance and Necessity and set up pure Intelligence in their place.’</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aristotle mentions Pythocleides. Plato the comic poet refers to Damon as <i>‘the Chiron who tutored Pericles.’</i> <p>Sophist:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Damon (ostracised) <p>Natural philosophers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Zeno Parmenides Anaxagoras
5	<p>Personal qualities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Serenity, dignity, grace, seriousness (through association with Anaxagoras): anecdote: the abusive hooligan, who followed Pericles for a whole day but was escorted home. Ion of Chios: Disdainful and supercilious, compared to Cimon’s easy geniality. Zeno: try imitating his ‘austere’ qualities – it’s a form of nobility, not arrogance! 	<p>Ion of Chios (484-424BC) – tragedian and fan of Cimon. Plutarch: <i>‘But we need not pay much attention to Ion, who apparently expects that virtue, like a complete dramatic tetralogy, must include an element of low comedy.’</i></p>
6	<p>Rationality and absence of superstition:</p> <p>Anecdote of the one-horned ram  with its two explanations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lampon the soothsayer: it indicates consolidation of power in the hands of one man – i.e. the fall of Thucydides, son of Melesias and consolidation of Pericles’ power. Anaxagoras, the natural philosopher: the result of a deformed skull. 	<p>Plutarch: <i>in my opinion there is nothing to prevent both the scientist and the prophet from being right.</i> One questions the cause, the other its meaning.</p> <p>Lampon was sent out by Pericles to found Thurii in S. Italy.</p>
7	<p>Pericles and the tyrant Pisistratus</p> <p>Resemblance noted by the older generation; both had:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Personal charm and fluency of speech wealthy and distinguished family background powerful friends <p>Pericles was therefore cautious at the start of his career, pursuing a military career, <i>in which he showed great daring and enterprise.’</i></p> <p><i>‘He was afraid, apparently, of being suspected of aiming at a dictatorship’.</i></p> <p>However, once Aristides was dead, Thucydides ostracised and Cimon ‘frequently absent on distant campaigns’, Pericles joined the people’s party, countering Cimon’s association with the nobles, even though Pericles was naturally aristocratic.</p> <p><i>‘He took care not to make himself too familiar a figure, even to the people.’</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> He did not accept invitations to dinner. His public appearances were infrequent and he saved himself for great occasions, <i>‘like the Salamina’ One of Athens’ State ships.</i> 	



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He allowed others to deal with less important matters, like Ephialtes, destroying the Areopagus (c.462BC). <p>This act was like ‘a full draught of freedom for the people’ which made the people ‘unmanageable’, like a horse ‘which can no longer bear to obey the rein’.</p>	<p>The words of Plato the philosopher Republic viii.562c, who also speaks of the people ‘nibbling at Euboea’ and ‘trampling on the islands’</p>
8	<p>Pericles’ rhetorical style: He ‘far excelled’ all other speakers’ His style was like a musical accomplishment, tinged with natural philosophy. Known as The Olympian, for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • his lofty style • his building projects • his statesmanship. <p>The Comic poets loved having a go at him with ⚡ thunderbolt jokes.</p> <p>His rival Thucydides, son of Melesias, also jests: ‘whenever I throw him at wrestling, he beats me by arguing he was never down, and he can even make the spectators believe it.’</p> <p>Caution and reverence:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • uttered a prayer before speaking • left nothing behind him in writing 	<p>Comic poets: ‘wielding a terrible thunderbolt in his tongue’.</p> <p>Sophocles criticised for eyeing up boys while serving under Pericles on the Samos campaign (440BC).</p> <p>Stesimbrotus quoting Pericles’ funeral oration after Samos campaign: the fallen are like gods, ‘we believe them to be immortal from the honours we pay them and the blessings we receive from them.’</p>
9	<p>‘Democracy in name, but in practice government by the first citizen’ Thucydides ii.65</p> <p>Other writers attribute radical democratic measures to him:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • allotment of lands from subject allies to Athenians, who paid no tribute. • Allowances for public festivals (2 obols to attend the theatre) • Fees for public services (e.g. jurors paid 2 obols/day – increased by Cleon to 3 c.425BC) <p>‘because of his policy they fell into bad habits and became extravagant and undisciplined instead of frugal and self-sufficient, as they once had been.’</p> <p>Winning over the people: Pericles was up against the wealthy and generous Cimon, who ‘captured the affections of the poor, for he supplied a free dinner every day to any Athenian who needed it; provided clothes for the old and took down the fences on his estates so that anyone could pick the fruit. So Pericles turned his attention to the distribution of public wealth ... bribing the masses wholesale and enlisting his support in his attack on the Council of the Areopagus.</p> <p>Reforms to the Areopagus 462/1BC Consisted of ex-Archons chosen by lot (Chief Archon, Archon Thesmothete, Archon Basileus, Polemarch). Pericles was not a member so lead a campaign against it, ‘so successful that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Areopagus was deprived of most of its judicial powers through a bill brought about by Ephialtes. See ch.10 below. • Cimon was ostracised on the charge of being a friend of Sparta. 461BC 	<p>Thucydides ii.65</p> <p>According to Aristotle Ath Pol 27.4, distribution of public wealth was advised by Damonides of the deme of Oa.</p> <p>Plutarch connects the reforms to the Areopagus with Pericles rivalry with Cimon.</p>
10	<p>Battle of Tanagra 457BC The Spartans invaded Tanagra and the Athenians came out to meet them. Cimon (in exile attempted to join the Athenians – see Cimon 17-18 – all his supporters died in battle). ‘Pericles fought in this battle with greater courage than ever before.’</p> <p>Recall of Cimon The decree proposed by Pericles himself – or was it the result of a deal with Elpinice?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cimon to have 200 ships to use against the Persians; • Pericles should control affairs back home. <p>Cimon died on campaign in Cyprus. 449BC?</p> <p>461BC Assassination of Ephialtes Plutarch defends Pericles against the allegation that he was behind this brutal act, attributing responsibility to ‘the aristocrats’ who secretly arranged for him to be murdered by Aristodicus of Tanagra, ‘since he was relentless in calling to account and prosecuting those who had in any way harmed the people.’</p>	<p>Plutarch a bit conflicted over this! Pericles ‘did Cimon less harm than any other of his accusers.’ Relations with Elpinice: ‘You are much too old for this kind of business’, but ‘with a smile’.(?)</p> <p>Plutarch reports but dismisses Idomeneus’ rumour that Pericles had Ephialtes killed: ‘his friend, as well as his partner in his political programme.’ Aristotle names the assassin as Aristodicus of Tanagra Ath Pol 25.</p>
11	<p>Thucydides of Alopecce, son of Melesias ‘A man of good sense and a relative of Cimon, ... less of a soldier but ... an abler politician.’ Thucydides unified ‘the party of the few’ and stood up to Pericles, blunting his power and preventing him from becoming an outright monarch.</p> <p>‘The party of the many’ Pericles chose this moment to hand over the reins of power to the people to a greater extent than ever before by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entertaining the people ‘like children’ with processions, banquets and pageants. • 60 triremes sent out each year (citizen received 8 months pay and training). 	<p>See also Ch.37 for Pericles’ controversial Citizenship Law 451BC: ‘As a result nearly 5,000 were convicted and sold into slavery, while those acknowledged to be true Athenians were found to number 14,040.’ It reduced the number eligible for benefits like sharing the 40,000 measures of grain presented to Athens by the king of Egypt.</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Settlements: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Chersonese: 1000 <small>Captured by Cimon 475. Colonised 448-7 (Gallipoli) See Ch. 19</small> ○ Naxos 500 <small>Lost independence 467. Colonised 448.</small> ○ Andros 250 <small>Colonised c.450BC?</small> ○ Thrace ('to make their home with the Bisaltae') 1000 ○ Thurii (nr Sybaris in S. Italy). <small>Founded 443 – emigrants from a range of Greek cities, not just Athens.</small> <p>'In this way he relieved the city of the large number of idlers and agitators, raised the standards of the poorer classes, and ... implanted a healthy fear of rebellion.,' by installing garrisons among the allies.</p>	<p>Cleruchies: a specialised type of Athenian colony. The literal meaning is 'lot holder'. Epigraphical evidence suggests that Athenian cleruchs could continue to live in Athens while slaves worked on their overseas estates (Thuc. post 426BC 3,000 <i>kleroi</i> on Lesbos provided 100 talents a year) See Ch. 20 for 600 settlers at Sinope.</p>
12	<p>The Periclean Building Programme</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>'But there was one measure above all which at once gave the greatest pleasure to the Athenians, adorned their city and created amazement among the rest of mankind.'</i> <p>His enemies <i>'slandered and misrepresented'</i> his construction of temples and public buildings <i>'more than any other action of his.'</i></p> <p>Arguments about moving the Treasury from Delos to Athens</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The most plausible excuse was security and fear of the barbarians. ▪ Pericles' detractors speak of extorted tribute, outraged allies and Athens as <i>'some vain woman decking herself out with costly stones ...'</i> ▪ Pericles' response: <i>'They do not give us a single horse, nor a soldier, nor a ship. All they supply is money and this belongs not to the people who give it, but to those who receive it, so long as they provide the services they are paid for.'</i> ▪ Creation of monuments that will bring glory for all time. ▪ Transforming the people into wage-earners. <p>Materials/jobs: Stone, bronze, ivory, gold, ebony, cypress. Painters, embroiderers, engravers, rope-makers, leather-workers, road-builders, miners. Carriers, suppliers, merchants, sailors, pilots, waggon makers, draught animal trainers.</p> <p><i>'The city's prosperity was extended far and wide and shared among every age and condition in Athens.'</i></p>	
13	<p>The Periclean Building Programme (contd.) Overall direction by Pheidias. <i>'The entire project was carried through in the high summer of one man's administration.'</i></p> <p>1. Third Long Wall Proposed by Pericles (as witnessed by Socrates in Gorgias). Architect: Callicrates. Cratinus makes fun of the slow progress of this middle wall: <i>'Pericles had built this wall long ago if words could do it'</i></p> <p>2. The Parthenon Two architects Callicrates (see 3rd Long Wall) and Ictinus.</p> <p>3. Eleusis, The Telesterion The first architect, Coroebus, died and was succeeded by Metagenes of Xypete and Xenocles of Cholargus</p> <p>4. The Odeon Modelled on Xerxes' pavilion with an innovative circular design. Supported by columns but also accommodated many rows of seats so that audiences could hear musical competitions in the building. Pericles had a decree passed making musical contests (singing, flute or lyre) part of the Panathenaic festival. Pericles was one of the elected stewards.</p> <p>5. The Propylaea Architect: Mnesicles. Completed within 5 years! During the building a worker was injured. Pericles turned this bad omen to his advantage after he dreamt that Athene appeared to him, recommending a cure. Pericles had a statue of bronze made to honour her as Athene the Healer.</p> <p>6. The Gold Statue of Athene Masterminded by Pheidias: <i>'because of his friendship with Pericles all the artists and craftsmen came under his orders.'</i> This gave rise to envy and slander:</p> <p>Slander against Pericles: Free-born women visited <i>'on the pretext of looking at the works of art.'</i> The comic poets <i>'showered Pericles with all the innuendoes they could invent.'</i> E.g.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Affair with wife of his second in command and friend, Menippus. • His bird-loving friend Pyrilampus provided peacocks <i>'as presents'</i> for the women. • Stesimbrotus of Thasos alleges that Pericles seduced his son's wife. <p>Plutarch expresses outrage at scandal that occludes the truth, challenging the historian.</p>	<p>Plato Gorgias: 455e Socrates: <i>Pericles I myself heard when he recommended building the building of the middle wall.</i></p> <p>Cratinus Comic poet c.519-422BC (aged 97) One of three great masters of old comedy (with Eupolis ^{Ch.3} and Aristophanes). He won 27 victories, including his final play 423BC <i>The Wineskin (Pytine)</i>, defeating Aristophanes' <i>Clouds</i>.</p> <p>Plutarch's outrage at scandal that occludes the truth, challenging the historian.</p> <p>The Comic Poets: Plutarch quotes Telecleides ^(Ch.3, 16) and Hermippus ^(Ch.32), as well as the three great masters ^(see above)</p> <p>Stesimbrotus of Thasos: c. 470 BC – c. 420 BC. Sophist, rhapsode and historian opposed to Pericles. Plutarch uses Stesimbrotus extensively, but critically, especially for his <i>Life of Cimon</i>. See Them. 24, Cimon 5, 14, 16 and Pericles 9)</p>

14	<p>Thucydides of Alopece ^{see Ch.11} led attacks on Pericles' public expenditure. The charge that Pericles was squandering public money won support in the Assembly, who declared that '<i>far too much</i>' was being spent. Pericles countered this by offering to pay for the building work himself, '<i>and I will dedicate all the public buildings in my name.</i>' Impressed by this, either admiring Pericles' grand gesture or out of shared ambition, the Assembly told him to spare no expense.</p> <p>Ostracism of Thucydides, son of Melesias 444/443BC '<i>Finally, Pericles ventured to put matters to the test of an ostracism.</i>'</p>	
15	<p>Pericles in sole control Pericles proceeded to bring under his own control not only home affairs, but all issues in which the authority of Athens was involved: E.g. Tribute, army, navy, islands, resources (from both the Greek states and the barbarians), leadership and alliances, including those with foreign kings/rulers.</p> <p>Pericles no longer indulged the people but led them using rhetoric '<i>to control the people's hopes and fears as if they were rudders, curbing them when they were arrogant and raising their hopes of comforting them when they were disheartened.</i>'</p> <p>Plutarch emphasises that, despite his power, Pericles made no personal gain from this: '<i>He did not increase the fortune his father had left him by so much as a single drachma from the public funds.</i>'</p>	
16	<p>Pericles the Tyrant? Some, e.g. the comic poets, viewed him as a tyrant, or were suspicious of his ambitions. E.g. nickname: '<i>The New Pisistratids</i>';</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>The cities' tributes, even the cities themselves To hold or to set free as he thinks fit, And the cities' walls to build or to pull down, Their treaties and their armies, their power, their peace, Their wealth, and all the gifts good fortune brings.</i> Telecleides</p> <p>For 40 years ^{469-429BC} Pericles held the first place amongst men like Ephialtes, Myronides, Cimon, Tolmides and Thucydides; after Thucydides' fall (443BC) he was elected strategos for 15 years, every year without a break until his death in 429BC.</p> <p>Pericles' finances: Immune to bribery ^{according to Plutarch}, Pericles adopted a simple approach to personal finances (i.e. sell all produce in one go then buy in what was needed). His '<i>precise day-to-day regulation of expenses</i>' annoyed his sons and daughters-in-law. His slave Evangelus was a master of domestic economy. Pericles was not ungenerous ('<i>he gave help to many of the poorer citizens</i>'), but he was careful with his money.</p> <p>Anaxagoras' poverty: Anaxagoras, as a typical philosopher, took no care of his own finances and ended up destitute. When Pericles learned of this and rushed to help, Anaxagoras rebuked him: '<i>Even a lamp has oil put into it by those who need it.</i>'</p>	<p>Telecleides Comic poet of the 440s/430s.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ephialtes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Assassinated 461BC • Myronides <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 458 Defeated Corinthians ○ 457 Victory at Oenophyta • Cimon <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Victories against the Persians: ○ 475 Eion, Scyros, Carystus ○ c.468 Eurymedon • Tolmides ^{Ch.18} <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 455 Attack on Gytheum. ○ Capture of Naupactus. ○ Attack on Sicyon. ○ 447BC Death at Coronea. • Thucydides <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Relative of Cimon. <p>Anaxagoras ^{aka Nous (Ch.4+6)} Born c.510 in Clazomenae; Pericles defended him c.450BC against the charge of impiety ^(Ch.32). c.434/433BC remaining unpopular, he left Athens for the Troad ^{See Ch. 19}. c.428BC he died at Lampsacus, where he was honoured.</p>
17	<p>Pericles' Ambitions for Greece Plutarch mentions the following as an illustration of Pericles' '<i>lofty spirit and the grandeur of his conceptions</i>', in the context of Spartan vexation at the growth of Athens' power.</p> <p>Congress at Athens ^{448/447BC?} Athenian legates (20 men over 50 years old) were sent out to four areas of the Greek world:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Ionian and Dorian Greeks in Asia and the islands between Rhodes and Lesbos. b) Hellespont and Thrace – as far as Byzantium. c) Boeotia, Phocis and the Peloponnese; Ozolian Locrians, Acarnania and Ambracia. d) Euboea, Oeteans, Malian Gulf, Phthians and Thessalians. <p>Proposed agenda:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The Greek sanctuaries burned by the Persians ○ Sacrifices vowed to the gods by the Greeks when fighting the Persians. ○ The security of the seas. <p>However, '<i>since the Athenian overtures were first rejected in the Peloponnese</i>' nothing was achieved because of the '<i>covert opposition</i>' of Sparta to this kind of Athenian hegemony.</p>	<p>448/447BC? The date is uncertain, but presumably after Cimon's death.</p>

18	<p>Pericles' military caution: Pericles, unlike some other Athenian generals, was not inclined to take risks - he boasted that the Athenians under his command <i>'could count themselves immortal'</i>.</p> <p>c.f. The Battle of Coronea. Pericles criticised Tolmides ^{Ch.16} (<i>'a soldier who had previously enjoyed particularly good fortune'</i>) for leading a force, which included 1,000 <i>'of the bravest and most adventurous men of military age'</i> against Boeotia: <i>'he would do well to be guided by Time, the most experienced counsellor of all.'</i> <i>This greatly increased the admiration and good-will the people felt towards Pericles, since he now seemed to them a man of foresight as well as a patriot.</i></p>	<p>447BC Battle of Coronea Those killed in this battle included Alcibiades' father Cleinias. The reason for Tolmides' invasion of Boeotia was revolt after 10 years of Athenian control, led by exiles returning to Boeotia who started taking back control.</p>
19	<p>Pericles' military successes:</p> <p>1. 447BC The Chersonese: The Thracians had swarmed all over the peninsular. Pericles secured the neck with fortifications and settled 1,000 Athenians ^{See Ch.11.} <i>'and so provided the cities there with fresh strength and vigour.'</i></p> <p>2. 453BC Voyage around the Peloponnese Like Tolmides, but Plutarch only mentions activity in the Gulf of Corinth. <i>'The venture which earned him most fame and admiration among foreigners.'</i> With 100 triremes (and hoplites on board) he sailed from Pegae and ranged inland into <i>'enemy territory'</i>. Victory over Sicyonians at Nemea, then further victories north of the Gulf of Corinth at Acarnania at Oeniadae. <i>'Nothing went wrong, even by accident.'</i></p>	 <p>Pericles ravaged the territory of Oeniadae, a pro-Spartan town in Acarnania.</p>
20	<p>3. c.436BC The Black Sea <i>'Pericles also sailed into the Black Sea with a large and splendidly equipped fleet.'</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greek cities: considerably treated, securing <i>'by negotiation the various arrangements which they required'</i> (i.e. trade deals).' • Non-Greeks: <i>At the same time he demonstrated to the neighbouring barbarian states not only the strength of the Athenian forces, but also their confidence and freedom to sail where they chose and dominate these waters.'</i> <p>Pericles left Lamachus with 13 triremes to force out the tyrant Timesilaus, then sent 600 colonists.</p> <p>Pericles' restraint Pericles however resisted some of the Athenians' more reckless impulses:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Recovering' Egypt • Attacking the Persian coast • Conquering Sicily: <i>'Many people .. even as early as this, were obsessed with that extravagant and ill-stared ambition .. afterwards fanned into flame by Alcibiades and other orators.'</i> • Carthage • Etruria (i.e. Italy) <p>Plutarch: <i>'And indeed their hopes were not altogether ill-founded, when one thinks of the extent of Athenians domination at that time.'</i></p>	<p><i>See Chapters 37-38 for Pericles' Citizenship Law of 451BC and for his overall record as a general – 'he had won no less than nine victories as Athens' commander-in-chief.'</i></p> <p>Timesilaus was tyrant of Sinope until he was driven out by the Athenians c.433BC.</p> <p>Lamachus was an Athenian general caricatured in Acharnians 425BC. He was still active in 415BC as one of the three generals who led the ill-fated Sicilian Expedition. He died in Syracuse in 414BC.</p>
21	<p>Pericles and Sparta: Pericles persuaded the Athenians to guard and consolidate what she had already won, curbing their <i>'extravagant spirit of conquest'</i>. For Pericles, a prime objectives was to hold Sparta in check. ^{See below.}</p> <p>The Sacred War c.448BC Dispute over control of Delphi. The Spartans had privileged access, recorded in writing on a bronze statue of a wolf, granted by the Delphians. The Athenians put Delphi under Phocian control and carved their own inscription on the right-hand brow of the bronze wolf!</p>	<p>Inscriptions at Delphi</p>  <p>Left Brow: Spartan privileged access granted by the Delphians. Right Brow (after 448): Athenian privileged access granted by the Phocians.</p>
22	<p>446BC <i>'Events proved that Pericles was right in seeking to confine the power of Athens to Greece proper.'</i></p> <p>1. Revolt of Euboea 446BC Pericles led an army against the island.</p> <p>2. The revolt of Megara 446BC</p> <p>3. Spartan Invasion of Attica 446BC Pericles' response to this multiple crisis ^{aftermath of the Athenian defeat at Coronea in 447BC} was to redirect his army to the Megarid. <i>'He did not risk as engagement with a force of hoplites who were at once so numerous, so brave and so eager for battle,'</i> but successfully bribed the young King Pleistoanax's advisor, Cleandridas to withdraw.</p>	<p>Euboea ^{See ch. 23} Loyalties were divided, even within the key cities (Eretria, Chalcis, Histiaea).</p> <p>Megara In 460BC a quarrel with Corinth led Megara to form an alliance with Athens, who installed a garrison and built Long Walls from Megara to Nisaea (one of her two key ports, the other being Pegae ^{See Ch.19}).</p> <p>Pleistoanax, son of Pausanias (d.470BC), became king on the death of Pleistarchus (son of Leonidas) in 458BC. He was recalled</p>

	<p>Aftermath of 446BC</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pleistoanax fined by the Spartans and went into exile because he couldn't pay. • Cleandridas went into exile but condemned to death. Plutarch speaks of 'congenital avarice' because Cleandridas' son was Gylippus, the brilliant Spartan commander who defeated the Athenians in Sicily in 413BC, but was later banished for taking bribes. <p>The Spartans punished their king with a fine he could not pay and his adviser with death. (See Life of Lysander Ch.16)</p>	<p>in 428BC on the advice of Delphi and helped secure the Peace of Nicias in 421BC. He died in 409BC.</p>
23	<p>'Necessary Expenses' <i>'When Pericles made up his accounts for the campaign and included in them an item of 10 talents for 'necessary expenses', the people gave their approval without asking inquisitive questions or probing the matter further.'</i></p> <p>According to Theophrastus et al, this became an annual expense to conciliate Sparta and buy time 'in which to make preparations at his leisure and finally wage war more effectively.'</p> <p>After dealing with the Spartan invasion of Attica, Pericles turned his attention back to Euboea.</p> <p>Conquest of Euboea 446BC Pericles then crossed with 50 triremes and 5,000 hoplites and conquered Euboea. Chalcis: the 'knights' (i.e. wealthy young oligarchs) banished. Hestiaea: population 'transported'; city resettled with Athenians: <i>'He made an example of this one people (the Hestiaeans) and punished them relentlessly because they had captured and Athenian trireme and put the whole crew to death.'</i></p>	<p>Dokimasia (scrutiny) and Euthynai (accounts): See textbook p.154 for how Athenian magistrates were held to account by the people.</p> <p>Theophrastus 371–c.287 BC Aristotle's successor as head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy. (see also Them.25). [Buying time: By 431BC Athens had paid for her building programme and accumulated a surplus of 6,000 talents.]</p> <p>See The Chalcis Decree.</p>
24	<p>30 Year Peace 446BC</p> <p>Revolt of Samos 442BC (i.e. 'some four years later') The people, guided by Pericles, voted for an expedition to Samos because they had not followed Athenian instructions to break off their war with Miletus.</p> <p>Aspasia See also 32, As popular talk suggested that Pericles was swayed because Aspasia was from Miletus, <i>'this is perhaps a suitable place to consider the extraordinary art or power this woman exercised.'</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Born in Miletus • Daughter of Axiochus <p>Thargelia an Ionian courtesan and (Medising) role model? Plutarch suggests that this beautiful and witty courtesan, who used her influence <i>'to sow the seeds of sympathy for the Persians'</i>, may have been a role-model for Aspasia's 'career': <i>'She had many lovers among the Greeks, all of whom she won over to the Persian interest.'</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pericles attracted by Aspasia's 'rare political wisdom' • Socrates and his disciples (some bringing their wives) listened to her philosophical conversation. • She kept a house of young courtesans. • <i>'A whole succession of Athenians came to her to learn rhetoric'</i> (Plato's Menexenus) • After Pericles' death, her second husband, Lysicles the sheep-dealer, rose from being a man of low birth to a leading Athenian politician. <p>Pericles' wife and children: Pericles handed over his wife to another man because <i>'they found each other incompatible.'</i> She had previously been married to Hipponicus and was mother of Callias (the rich) and possibly Hipparete? as well as to Pericles' two sons (Xanthippus and Paralus).</p> <p>Pericles' love: Plutarch speaks of this as <i>'a passionate affair'</i>, stating that Pericles <i>'loved her dearly'</i> and kissed her every time he left the house or returned home.</p> <p>The Comic Poets Plutarch quotes Cratinus and Eupolis giving her a hard time and identifying her with various mythical women/goddesses (Omphale, Deaneira and Hera). She is generally portrayed as a shameless bitch/whore. Elsewhere she is accused of starting the Peloponnesian War!</p>	<p>Plutarch justifies his digression on Aspasia and digresses on how the younger Cyrus named his lover Milto 'Aspasia'. Xen. Anabasis 1.10. His tone shows some admiration, but is generally hostile.</p> <p>Plato's Menexenus</p> <p>Lysicles Elected General 428BC. Killed the same year in Caria.</p> <p>Pericles' wife: she is unnamed here, but was the daughter of Megacles. Hipponicus' daughter (Callias' sister – her daughter?) Hipparete married Alcibiades in 424BC.</p>

25	<p>Origins of the dispute between Samos and Miletus Miletus and Samos were at war over control of Priene. Samos had the upper hand. When instructed to do so, the Samians refused to submit to arbitration by Athens. Pericles was accused of passing the decree at Aspasia's behest.</p> <p>Pericles' actions The Athenians sent out a force under Pericles, who:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> dissolved the oligarchic government and set up a democracy. took 100 hostages (50 leading men and 50 of their sons) and transported them to Lemnos. Accepted no offers of money, although he could have got at least one talent /head plus 10,000 gold staters from the Persian Satrap Pissuthnes! <p>Response of Samos:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pissuthnes stole away the 100 hostages and provided funding for Samos. The Samians revolted and '<i>defiantly resolved to fight Athens for mastery of the seas.</i>' <p>Decisive victory at Tragia for the Athenians under Pericles: 44 Athenian ships defeated 70 Samian ships (inc. 20 transport ships).</p>	
26	<p>Siege of Samos A second, larger Athenian fleet arrived making it possible to blockade the island.</p> <p>Pericles left with 60 triremes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> either to intercept a Phoenician fleet coming to support Samos. <small>Most agree on this.</small> or to attack Cyprus. <small>According to Stesimbrotus. Plutarch dismisses this theory as highly improbable</small> <p><i>'Whichever his plan was, he seems to have blundered.'</i></p> <p>Samian victory Led by the philosopher Melissus, son of Ithagenes, the Samians won a great victory over the remaining Athenian ships, destroying many and taking many prisoners. <i>'So that they now gained command of the sea and were able to lay in supplies for war.'</i> Plutarch records Aristotle's claim that Pericles himself was defeated by Melissus at sea.</p> <p>Athenian prisoners The Samians branded their prisoners' foreheads with an owl, retaliation for Athenians branding Samian prisoners with a Samaena (Samian warship). This may be the meaning behind a (rather tasteless) line of Aristophanes: <i>'The Samians are a deeply lettered people'</i></p>	<p>Stesimbrotus of Thasos c.470-420BC See Ch. 8 and 13 for details of this hostile contemporary of Pericles.</p> <p>Melissus of Samos – a pupil of Parmenides. Fragments of his works survive.</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;">   </div> <p>Aristophanes c.446-386BC wrote political comedies from 427BC.</p>
27	<p>Pericles response <i>'As soon as Pericles heard of the disaster which had overtaken his fleet, he hurried back to the rescue. He defeated Melissus who came out to meet him, routed the enemy and at once built a wall around the city, for he preferred to get the upper hand and capture it at the expense of time and money rather than of the wounds and lives of his fellow citizens.'</i></p> <p>The Siege of Samos Under pressure from the people of Athens to bring the siege to an end Pericles:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Divided his forces into 8 divisions. 7 divisions fought while one rested and eight, chosen by lot using white and black beans (rather than by rotation), hence 'White day'. Innovative siege-engines were used, according to Ephorus, engineered by Artemon Periphoretus; this is rejected as anachronistic by Heracleides of Pontus. 	<p>Ephorus of Cyme c.400-330BC wrote a universal history.</p> <p>Heracleides of Pontus c.388-310BC philosopher who proposed the theory that the earth rotates daily about its own axis.</p> <p>Artemon the engineer was called 'Periphoretos' because he was lame and had to be carried around in a litter. Heracleides says he was a contemporary of Anacreon (who died c.485BC) who was carried in a litter was because he was an idle paranoid.</p>
28	<p>Surrender of Samos After 9 months the city surrendered. Pericles then:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Demolished their walls. Confiscated their fleet. Imposed a heavy fine (to be paid at fixed intervals). Took hostages for security. <p>What happened to the Samian leaders? According to Douris of Samos <small>whom Plutarch considers unreliable</small>, Pericles' treatment was brutal:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10 days crucifixion in the Agora of Miletus Then their heads were clubbed in and their bodies left unburied. <p>Plutarch: '<i>There is no word of this in Thucydides, nor Ephorus, nor Aristotle... Douris is inclined to overstep the limits of truth, even when there are no personal interests at stake.'</i></p> <p>Honouring the Athenian Dead Pericles delivered an oration over the dead so moving that '<i>many of the women of Athens clasped his hand and crowned him with garlands ... like a victorious athlete.</i>'</p>	<p>Douris of Samos: c.350-281 BC. Author of a lost history of Greece 371 BC to 281 BC. He claimed to be the son of Alcibiades and, at some point, tyrant of Samos.</p> <p>The custom of delivering a funeral oration over those fallen in war 'probably dated from 463BC' (Penguin). See Ch.24 (Plato's <i>Menexenus</i>) and Thuc II.65.</p> <p>Elpinice Daughter of Miltiades, Wife of Callias (as in Peace of Callias), lover of the painter</p>

	<p>Cimon's sister, Elpinice, however, rebuked him: 'You have thrown away the lives of these brave citizens of ours, not in a war against the Persians or Phoenicians ... but in destroying a Greek city ... which is one of our allies.'</p> <p>Pericles' repost: <i>'Why lavish perfumes on a head that's grey?'</i></p> <p>Pericles' boast: It took Agamemnon 10 years to capture Troy; <i>'within 9 months he had made himself master of the most important and powerful city in Ionia.'</i></p> <p>Ion of Chios: Pericles victory gave him <i>'a prodigiously high opinion of himself'</i>.</p> <p>Plutarch: this was perhaps justified if, as Thucydides says 1.50, <i>'the Samians came very near to wresting from Athens her control of the sea.'</i></p>	<p>Polygnotus. A number of exchanges between Pericles and Cimon's sister are reported in Plutarch.</p> <p>Ion of Chios c.490-420BC. Tragedian and author whose work included character sketches of Pericles and Sophocles.</p> <p>Thucydides c.472 (or 460)-400BC</p>
29	<p><i>'A few years later when the clouds were already gathering for the Peloponnesian War.'</i></p> <p>1. Corcyra's war with Corinth 433BC <i>Pericles persuaded the Athenians to send help to Corcyra in her war with Corinth and so bring over to their side an island with a powerful navy at a time when the Peloponnesians had all but declared war on them.</i></p> <p>But he sent only 10 ships with Cimon's son, Lacedaimonius, <i>'as if his object were to humiliate him'</i> and discredit him <i>'for his pro-Spartan sympathies.'</i> Pericles was sharply attacked for this, <i>'and he therefore later reinforced it with a larger squadron which arrived after the battle.'</i> Thuc.1.50</p> <p><i>'This action enraged the Corinthians and they denounced the Athenians at Sparta.'</i></p> <p>2. The Megarians also joined in complaining <i>'that they were being shut out and driven away from every market and every harbour which the Athenians controlled.'</i></p> <p>3. The people of Aegina also considered themselves oppressed and outraged, <i>and secretly bemoaned their grievances to the Spartans since they did not dare to accuse the Athenians openly.</i></p> <p>4. At this point too Potidaea revolted, a city which although a colony of Corinth was subject to Athens. The Athenians besieged the city and further hastened the outbreak of the war.</p> <p><i>In spite of all this a succession of embassies was sent to Athens, and Archidamus the Spartan King, strove to placate his allies and bring about a peaceful settlement...</i></p> <p><i>In fact, it seems likely that Athens might have avoided war on any of the other issues, if only they could have been persuaded to lift their embargo against the Megarians. And since it was Pericles who opposed this solution more strongly than anyone else and urged the people to persist in their hostility towards the Megarians, it was he alone who was held responsible for the war.</i></p>	<p>Factors leading to the outbreak of The Peloponnesian War 431-404BC. From this point Plutarch is able to use Thucydides' History of the Peloponnesian War as his main source.</p> <p>Pericles attacked all Cimon's sons <i>'on the pretext that they were not true Athenians.'</i></p>
30	<p>The Megarian Decree: Inscribed in stone: when Polyalces, one of the Spartan envoys sent to negotiate revoking the Megarian Decree, he was told that the stone inscription could not be taken down so said, <i>'Very well then, just turn its face to the wall.'</i></p>	
31	<p>Why was the Megarian Decree passed? <i>'The real reasons are extremely hard to discover.'</i> All agree that Pericles was to blame for the fact that it was not revoked.</p> <p>Theories as to why Pericles refuse to revoke the Megarian Decree:</p> <p>a) The Spartan demands were made to test Athenian/Pericles' resistance – compliance would be an admission of weakness.</p> <p>b) Pericles was arrogant and aggressive; he wanted to demonstrate his own strength.</p> <p>c) Pericles was employing diversionary tactics: his enemies were prosecuting Pheidias, Anaxagoras and Aspasia to get at him; so starting a war was a good counter-offensive!</p>	<p>Attacks on Pheidias: 438/437BC Test case to see how successful an attack on Pericles might be. Menon set up in agora to gain information against his employer. Pheidias charged with: a) Embezzlement (refuted by removeable gold panels). b) Impiety (i.e. portraits of Pericles and Pheidias on Athena's shield). Menon rewarded. Pheidias died in prison.</p>
32	<p>Indirect and direct attacks on Pericles in the law-courts:</p> <p>1. Against Aspasia: charges brought by Hermippus the comic poet:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Impiety ○ Procuring free-born Athenian women for Pericles. <p>2. Against Anaxagoras: Decree of Dioppeithes the diviner.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Impiety: <i>Anyone who did not believe in the gods or taught theories about celestial phenomena should be prosecuted.</i> <p>3. Against Pericles: charges brought by Dracontides in a decree amended by Hagnon.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Imbezzlement/financial irregularity/bribery <p>Dracontides had wanted the ballots to have lain <i>'on the altar of the goddess on the Acropolis'</i>; Hagnon ensured that Pericles was tried by a jury of 1,500 in the usual way.</p>	<p>Hermippus c. comic poet ^{See 33} Brother of the comic poet Myrtilus; younger than Telecleides and older than Eupolis and Aristophanes. Nine titles and fragments of his his forty plays survive. He was a bitter opponent of Pericles and accused Aspasia of impiety and offences against morality; her acquittal was only secured by the tears of Pericles.</p>

	<p>Pericles response:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ He burst into a flood of tears in Aspasia's trial. (Aeschines). ▪ He smuggled Anaxagoras out of the city because 'he was so alarmed for his safety'. ▪ He had failed to protect Pheidias, and so dreaded the outcome of his own trial. <p>That is why, according to some, 'now that the war was threatening and smouldering ... he deliberately fanned it into flame. He hoped in this way to dispel the charges against him and make the people forget their jealousy.'</p> <p><i>'These are the motives which are alleged for his refusal to allow the people to give way to the demands of Sparta. The true history of these events is hidden from us.'</i></p>	Aeschines
33	<p>The first Spartan embassy:</p> <p>Plutarch refers to Thucydides I.126, where the Spartans demand the Athenians 'drive out the curse of the goddess'. The Athenians rally around Pericles (the target of this demand) ('Pericles now found himself more trusted and honoured by the Athenians than ever before') and send their own counter-demand. <small>Thuc. 1.126 and 139.</small></p> <p>Archidamus of Sparta</p> <p>Pericles was friends with the Spartan king and feared his lands might be spared when the Spartans invaded, so offered up his lands to the public treasury should this happen.</p> <p>431BC First Spartan Invasion of Attica under Archidamus</p> <p>The Spartans invaded with a force of Peloponnesians and Boeotians about 60,000 strong and camped at Acharnae ('which is very close to Athens').</p> <p>Pericles' policy:</p> <p>As the Spartans anticipated, the Athenians were '<i>longing to fight</i>', hit by pride and anger. Pericles refused to summon the Assembly '<i>for fear that he might be forced to act against his better judgement.</i>' Arguing that trees are more easily replaced than men he handled the Athenians '<i>like the helmsman of a ship ... taking no notice of the entreaties of the sea-sick and terrified passengers.</i>'</p> <p>This unpopular strategy led to hostility from friends and enemies (like Cleon) alike, voiced viciously by the comic poets. e.g. 'If someone so much as starts sharpening a pen-knife, <i>'You start grinding your teeth and fly into a rage As if Cleon had come up and stung you.'</i> Hermippus</p>	<p>Archidamus, King of Sparta</p> <p>Hermippus <small>see ch.32</small></p>
34	<p>Pericles counter-attacks:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ He sent a fleet of 100 ships around the Peloponnese, which did so much damage that they suffered so severely from the sea that they '<i>would never have carried on the war so ...</i>' ▪ He led an army into the Megarid '<i>and devastated the whole territory.</i>' ▪ He expelled the population of Aegina and divided the island up amongst the Athenians by lot (partly to restore morale). ▪ He won back some popularity with various other subsidies and proposals of grants of land. <p>Plague in Athens 430BC</p> <p>Plutarch suggests that the Peloponnesians would have '<i>called off hostilities had an act of heaven not intervened to upset human calculations.</i>'</p> <p><i>'It affected not only in body, but also in spirit, so they raved against Pericles ... just as a man in a fit of delirium will rave against his physician or his father.'</i></p> <p>He reports their charge that the plague was the direct result of Pericles' policy of keeping people '<i>penned up like cattle to infect each other</i>'.</p>	
35	<p>Solar eclipse: August 430BC</p> <p>In 430 Pericles launched a vast expedition of 150 ships and the best hoplites and knights. '<i>The Athenians had high hopes of what might be achieved by such an expedition.</i>' It achieved very little, besieging but failing to capture '<i>the sacred city of Epidaurus</i>'.</p> <p>Plutarch attributes this lack of success in part to the plague, but prefaces his account with an anecdote about an eclipse of the sun:</p> <p><i>'Everyone was seized with panic since they regarded this as a tremendous portent. When Pericles saw that his helmsman was frightened ... he held up his cloak ...: "What is the difference then between this and the eclipse, except that the eclipse has been caused by something bigger than my cloak.'</i> (see ch.6 – the one-horned ram for Anaxagoras vs Lampon).</p>	<p>Eclipses:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Thales of Miletus predicted the total eclipse of the sun in 585BC. ▪ In Feb 478BC there was another on the eve of Xerxes' departure for Greece. ▪ August 3rd 430BC: the eclipse referred to here. ▪ Thuc mentions the frequency of eclipses 1.23 and how the lunar eclipse during the Sicilian expedition, adversely affects morale. VII.50, where Thuc describes Nicias as '<i>rather over-inclined to divination and such things...</i>'

	<p>Pericles' growing unpopularity Pericles was prosecuted and fined – somewhere between 15 and 50 talents. Different accounts name different prosecutors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cleon (according to Idomeneus) • Simmias (according to Theophrastus) • Lacratides (according to Heracleides of Pontus) 	
36	<p>Pericles private griefs: The people lost their fury once they'd stung him with the public fine ^{See Ch.32}. <i>'But his private affairs now caused him great distress':</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loss of close friends and relatives, including his sister and <i>'his most trusted assistants during his administration'</i>. • Family feud: Xanthippus and his wife resented Pericles' <i>'passion for economy'</i> ^{See Ch.16} <p>Feud Xanthippus <i>'resented ... the meagre allowance he was given'</i> and borrowed, from a friend of Pericles, money which he could not re-pay himself. Pericles prosecuted his son for the debt. At the trial, Xanthippus mocked his father for his meanness and for association with the sophists, for example the long argument between Pericles and Protagoras about whether Epitimus the Pharsalian, who had been killed in an accident, had been murdered <i>'in the strictest sense'</i> by the athlete or by the javelin. Xanthippus also accused his father of seducing his wife, according to Stesimbrotus.</p> <p>Death of Pericles' sons: <i>'To the very end the quarrel was never made up, for the young man ^{Xanthippus} fell sick and died during the plague.'</i></p> <p>Pericles <i>'was not seen to weep ... until at last he lost Paralus, his only remaining legitimate son ... as he laid a wreath on the body the sight overwhelmed him and he broke into a passion of tears and sobs, a thing he had never done before in his life.'</i> ^{Hmmm. See Ch.32...}</p>	Echoes of Aristophanes' Clouds? See also Ch.
37	<p>429BC Pericles returns to favour <i>'The city came to long for Pericles and summoned him back to the Assembly and war department.'</i> This was partly because they'd tested out other leaders. Coaxed back out of his grief by Alcibiades and other friends, he asked the Athenian people for a favour: to accept his remaining, illegitimate son, Pericles, as a citizen, contrary to his own law. <i>'It was a very serious matter that this law, which had been enforced so harshly against so many people should now be suspended in favour of the very man who had introduced it.'</i></p> <p>Pericles' Citizenship Law 451BC <i>'He proposed a law that only those who could claim Athenian parentage on both sides should be counted as Athenian citizens.'</i></p> <p>This reduced the number eligible for benefits, like sharing the 40,000 measures of grain presented to Athens by the king of Egypt, resulting in many legal cases, often brought by 'informers'. <i>'As a result, nearly 5,000 were convicted and sold into slavery, while those acknowledged to be true Athenians were found to number 14,040.'</i></p> <p>Pericles, son of Pericles and Aspasia The Athenians granted his request: they felt that <i>'the misfortunes which had overtaken Pericles in his family life represented a kind of penalty which he had paid for his pride and presumption in the past ... it seemed that retribution had fallen upon him.'</i> His son was enrolled in the phratry lists and given the name Pericles. This Pericles went on to become a general himself, defeating the Peloponnesians in the Battle of Arginousae, but along with the other generals, he was blamed for the failure to pick up the dead (a storm prevented them) and was one of the six generals executed. See Xenophon, <i>Hellenica</i> 1.6.27ff.</p>	<p>Egypt Gift of grain from the King of Egypt. The date for this must be after 451BC.</p> <p>Informers Rather than a public prosecution service in Athens individual citizens were encouraged to bring cases to court. There was some financial incentive, if a case against a private individual was successful leading to some abuse by litigants, parodied as 'sycophants' in Old Comedy. To combat this, a fine of 1,000 drachmas was imposed if the prosecutor didn't secure 20% of the votes.</p> <p>Phratries Traditional extended kinship groups. The thirty or so phratry groups in Attica complemented the political divisions of the 10 tribes and geographical demes.</p> <p>406BC Battle of Arginousae Socrates opposed the collective trial of the on the grounds that it was illegal. Plato, <i>Apology</i> 32b</p>
38	<p>Pericles' death Pericles died from the plague, but it was a slow, lingering death. He was able to overhear his friends talk of his achievements, for example <i>'the number of trophies he had set up, for he had won no less than nine victories as Athens' commander-in-chief.'</i> Pericles objected that they had not mentioned his greatest achievement: <i>'I mean by this ... that non Athenian ever put on mourning because of me.'</i></p>	Plutarch takes this to mean that Pericles had none of his enemies killed.
39	<p>The Olympian <i>'A character so gracious and a life so pure and uncorrupt in the exercise of sovereign power might well be called Olympian.'</i> After his death the Athenians became even more aware of their loss as Athens became <i>'polluted by a rank growth of corruption and wrongdoing.'</i></p>	See Thucydides for his view comparing Pericles with those who came after him.

