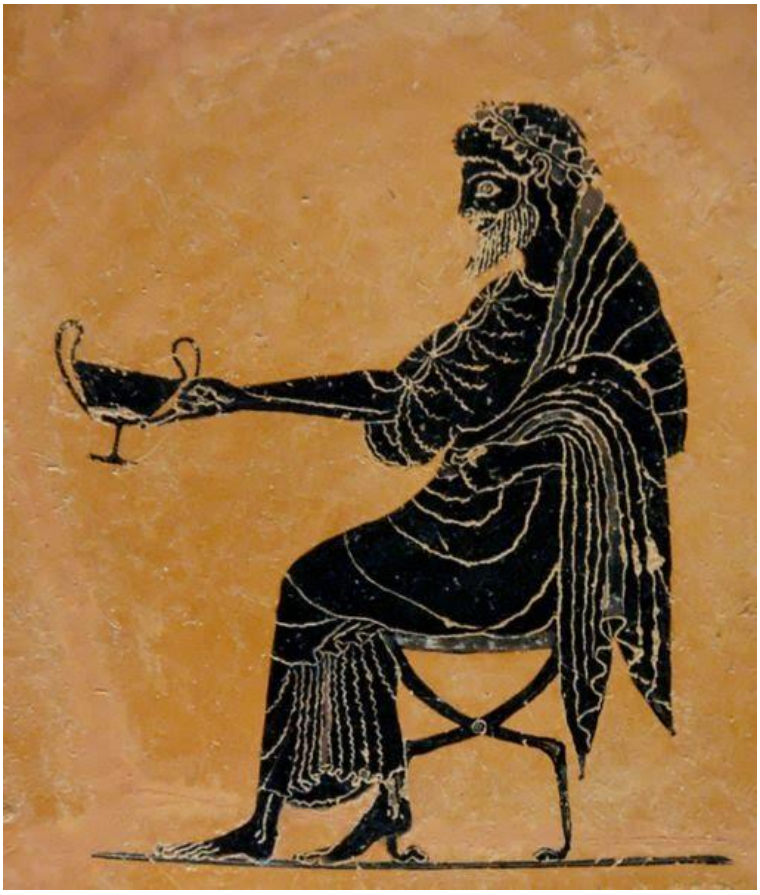
ΚΕΣ CLASSICS

ANCIENT HISTORY:



DEPTH STUDY

The Culture and Politics of Athens c.460-399BC

Part I

Aristotle, Thucydides, 'The Old Oligarch',
Plutarch and Pausanias

Ancient source material:
The Culture and Politics of Athens, c.460 – c.399 BC

Centres are free to study the sources from any translation, ***however where a passage is printed on a question paper it will be taken from the editions listed****, with such modifications as seem appropriate to the examiners.*

DEPTH STUDY: The Culture and Politics of Athens, c. 460–c.399 BC

This depth study focuses on the interplay of political, social, economic, cultural and religious factors that led to this period being remembered as the Golden Age of Athens. There is a focus on the development of the ideas which led to the cultural activity during this period, in particular the concept of democracy and the consequential freedom of speech and debate which were prized in Athens. The topics in this depth study are all interrelated, and learners are encouraged to see the connections between different topics to deepen their understanding of the period

Key topics	
F: Athenian political and social culture	The concepts of **democracy** and **oligarchy**; the nature and level of participation in the democratic system by the population of Attica, including **citizens**, women, ***metics*** and **slaves**; the workings of the ***ecclesia*** (assembly), ***boule*** (the council), the role and function of ***archons*** (magistrates) and ***strategoi*** (generals); the use of **ostracism**; the **courts** and their role in democracy; critiques of this system; the importance of **rhetoric**; Athens as the leader of an **empire**, and her treatment of **allied states**; the changing nature of leadership in the 5th century, including the actions and significance of **Pericles**, **Cleon**, **Nikias** and **Alcibiades**; different elements of Athenian society, and their roles and duties: citizens, *metics* and slaves; the position and roles of women, both citizen and non-citizen.
G: The influence of new thinking and ideas on Athenian society	The **Sophists** and the development of rhetoric; the Sophists and their views of Athenian society; the teachings of the Sophists; **Socrates**: his philosophical method, its effects, his critique of democracy, and his trial and execution.
H: Art and Architecture and their significance in the culture of Athens	The significance of the Persian Wars in relation to the building programme, including the use of **Delian League** funds; the main buildings of the building programme in the 5th century on the Acropolis and in the Agora in Athens; developments outside Athens in Attica, such as **Sounion** and **Brauron**; **sculpture** on the Acropolis and its interpretation.
I: Drama and Dramatic Festivals and their significance in the culture of Athens	The function and nature of dramatic festivals in Athens, with particular reference to the **Great Dionysia** and **Lenaea**; **tragedy** and **comedy** as genres and their significance; interaction between comedy and **contemporary** events.
J: Religion and its significance in the culture of Athens	Contemporary attitudes to religion in Athenian society; nature and significance of religious festivals in the Athenian calendar; the **Panathenaea** and its presentation on the Acropolis; changing ideas about the relationship between men and the divine; Sophists and their views on Athenian religion; the role and significance of **Athena** and **Poseidon** in Athenian religion.

The Culture and Politics of Athens, c. 460–c.399 BC

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H: Art and Architecture and their significance in the culture of Athens • The significance of the Persian Wars in relation to the building programme, including the use of **Delian League** funds • the main buildings of the building programme in the 5th century on the Acropolis and in the Agora in Athens • developments outside Athens in Attica, such as **Sounion** and **Brauron** • **sculpture** on the Acropolis and its interpretation.	**Pausanias**, *Description of Greece* 1.24.5, 7 and 1.28.2 **Plutarch**, *Pericles* 12-14, 31 Buildings on the **Acropolis** and in the **Athenian Agora** built as part of the **Periclean Building Programme; the Odeon of Pericles** **Temple at Sounion**
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Prescribed Sources: The Politics and Culture of Athens

Aristotle (384-322BC), *The Athenian Constitution* (Penguin Classics)

Chapter 23-28: The mid-fifth century

Chapter 23: 479-477BC: The aftermath of the Persian Wars and formation of the Delian League.

23.1 Up to this point there had been a gradual development and increase in the city and in the democracy. After the Persian Wars, however, the council of the Areopagus recovered its strength and administered the city. It acquired its predominance not by any formal decision but through being responsible for the battle of Salamis. When the generals were unable to handle the crisis, and proclaimed that each man should save himself, the Areopagus provided money, gave the men eight drachmas each, and enabled them to embark on the ships[1].

23.2 For this reason the city bowed to its authority and the city was well-governed at this time. During this period they trained themselves for war, gained a good reputation among the Greeks, and acquired the leadership at sea despite the opposition of the Spartans[2].

23.3 The champions of the people at this time were **Aristides** son of Lysimachus and **Themistocles** son of Neocles: Themistocles practised the military arts, while Aristides was skilled in the political arts and was outstanding among his contemporaries for his uprightness, so the Athenians used the first as a general and the second as an advisor.

23.4 The two men were jointly responsible for the re-building the walls[3], in spite of being personal opponents; and it was Aristides who saw that the Spartans had gained a bad reputation because of Pausanias and urged the Ionians to break away from the Spartan alliance.[4]

23.5 For that reason it was he who made the first assessment of tribute for the cities, in the third year after the battle of Salamis, the archonship of Timosthenes [478/477BC] and who swore the oaths to the Ionians that they should have the same enemies and friends, to confirm which they sank lumps of iron in the sea[5].

Athenian Tribute List

[1] Plutarch, *Life of Themistocles* 10 gives an alternative version, where Themistocles provided funding.
[2] Thucydides 1.95 and Diodorus Siculus 11.50 do not suggest that the Spartans were opposed.
[3] Thucydides 1.90-93
[4] Thucydides 1.94-7
[5] The significance is presumably that the alliance should last for ever (or until the iron rises from the sea).

Chapter 24: 477-463BC: The Athenians strengthen their leadership of the Delian League

24.1 After this, now that the city was confident and a large amount of money had been collected, Aristides advised the Athenians to assert their leadership, and to leave the fields and live in the city[6]: there would be maintenance for all, some on campaign, some on guard duty, others attending to public affairs; and by living in this way they would secure the leadership.

24.2 The Athenians were persuaded. They took control of the empire, and became more domineering in their treatment of the allies, apart from Chios, Lesbos and Samos[7]: these they kept as guardians of the empire, accepting their existing constitutions and allowing them to retain the subjects over whom they ruled.

24.3 In accordance with Aristides' proposal, they provided ample maintenance for the common people, so that more than 20,000 were supported from the tribute, the taxes and the allies.[8] There were:

- 6,000 jurors
- 1,600 archers
- 1,200 cavalry
- The Council of 500 (*Boulē*)
- 500 guards for the dockyard
- 50 guards on the Acropolis
- 700 internal + 700 overseas officials.

In addition to these, when the Athenians subsequently organised their military affairs they had:

- 2,500 hoplites
- 20 guard ships + other ships sent out for the tribute, carrying 2,000 men appointed by lot[9]
- The Town Hall
- Orphans Sons of Athenian citizens who fell in war
- Prison guards. 'The Eleven'

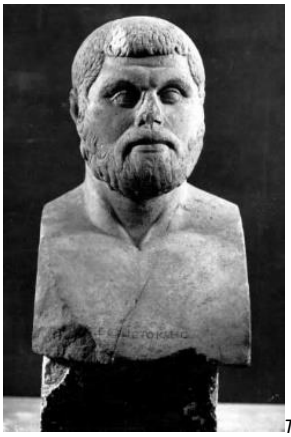
All these were financed from public funds.

[6] This seems unlikely; it anticipates tactics advised by Pericles at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.
[7] Samos until 439; Lesbos until 427BC. These large islands provided ships rather than cash as tribute (phoros).
[8] In Aristophanes' *Wasps* 707-711 Athens has a thousand tribute paying allies (a gross exaggeration).
[9] This is puzzling since the allies were supposed to escort their own contributions, first to Delos and then (from 454) to Athens.

Chapter 25: 462-461BC: Reforms to the Areopagus, exile of Themistocles and murder of Ephialtes

25.1 That is how maintenance for the people came into being. For about 17 years after the Persian Wars the constitution in which the Areopagus was dominant persisted, though it gradually declined. As the masses increased, Ephialtes son of Sophonides became champion of the people, a man who appeared to be uncorrupt and upright in political matters. He attacked the council of the Areopagus.

25.2 First he eliminated many of its members, bringing them to trial for their conduct in office. Then in the archonship of Conon [462/461BC] he took away from the council all the accretions which gave it gaurdianship of the constitution, giving some to the Council of 500 (*Boulē*) and some to the people and the jury courts.


Themistocles

25.3 Themistocles shared in the responsibility for this achievement. He was a member of the Areopagus, and was about to be tried for collaboration with the Persians[10]. Wanting to bring about the downfall of the Areopagus, he said to Ephialtes that the council was about to make away with him, and to the members that he would show men who were conspiring to overthrow the constitution. He brought some men chosen from the council to the place were Ephialtes was, as if to shpw them the conspirators assembled, and engaged in earnest conversation with them. Ephialtes on seeing this took fright and, wearing only his undergarment, sat as a suppliant at the altar.

25.4 Everyone was amazed at what had happened. Afterwards Ephialtes and Themistocles attacked the Areopagus at a meeting of the Council of the 500 (*Boulē*), and then in the Assembly (*Ecclesia*) in the same way, and persisted until they had taken away its power. Ephialtes too was removed by assassination not long afterwards, through the agency of Aristodicus of Tanagra.[i.e. a Boeotian assassin]

[10] Themistocles was ostracised in 472/471BC. He fled to exile, but then to escape the Spartans he left Greece via Macedon and was warmly treated at the court of Artaxerxes and made governor of Magnesia, where he died in 459BC.

Chapter 26: 461-451BC Aristocrats vs popularists: Cimon vs the demagogues

26.1 In this way the council of the Areopagus was deprived of its responsibility. Afterwards the constitution was further slackened[11] through the men who devoted themselves eagerly to demagogy. At this time it happened that **the better sort** had no leader, but their champion was Cimon son of Miltiades, a youngish man who had only recently turned to public affairs. In addition, many had been killed in wat: at that time military service was based on selective conscription, and the generals who commanded were men lacking experience of war but honoured because of their forbears' reputations; thus it regularly happened that two or three thousand of the men sent out were killed, and the casualties fell on the better sorts of both the ordinary people and the wealthy.

26.2 In other respects the Athenians in their administration did not abide by the laws as they had done before, but at first they did not interfere with the appointment of the nine archons. However, in the sixth year after Ephialtes' death they decided that the rankers[12] should be admitted to the short list from which lots were drawn for the nine archons, and Mnesithides was the first of these to hold office [in 457/6]. Previously all the archons had been from the cavalry (*Hippeis*) and the *Pentakosiomedimnoi*, and the rankers [Zeugites/hoplite class] had held only the routine offices, except when some stipulation of the law was disregarded.

26.3 In the fifth year after that, the archonship of Lysicrates[453/2], the thirty justices called Deme Justices were instituted once again.

26.4 In the third year after that, under Antidotus [451/0], on account of the large number of citizens it was decided on the proposal of Pericles that a man should not be a member of the citizen body unless both his parents were Athenians.[13]

Pentakosiomedimnoi	**500+**
Hippeis	300-500
Zeugitai	200-300
Thetes	<200

Solon's class divisions

[11] A metaphor of a string not being taut and functional for archery or music.
[12] Solon established four classes in the 6th century: *Pentakosiomedimnoi* (500-bushel class); cavalry: 300 bushels; rankers: 200 bushels; labourers.
[13] For **Pericles' citizenship law** see also Plutarch, *Pericles* 37. Neither Themistocles nor Cimon would have qualified as citizens under the new law.

Chapter 27: 450-429BC Periclean Athens: further democratic reforms and war with Sparta.

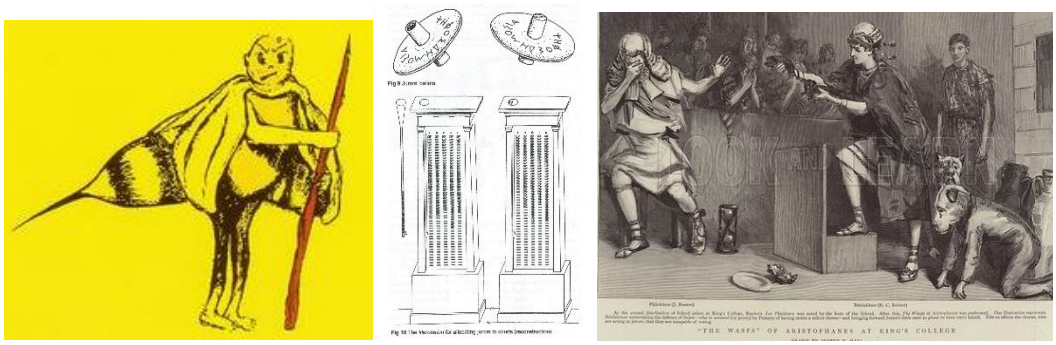
27.1 After this Pericles took on the leadership of the people; he had first distinguished himself when, as a young man, he prosecuted Cimon in the examination after his generalship. The constitution now became still more democratic: Pericles took away some of the powers of the Areopagus, and above all turned the city in the direction of naval power, so that the common people grew confident and increasingly attracted to themselves complete control of the state.

27.2 In the 49th year after the battle of Salamis, the archonship of Pythodorus[432/1], **the Peloponnesian War broke out.** During the war the people were shut up in the city, grew accustomed to earning stipends on campaign, and – partly intentionally, partly not – chose to administer public affairs themselves.

27.3 Moreover, Pericles was the first man to provide **payment for jury service**[14], as **a political measure to counter the generosity of Cimon. Cimon was as rich as a tyrant: he performed the public liturgies**[15] **lavishly**; and he maintained many of his fellow demesmen, for any man of Laciadae who wished could go to him each day and obtain his basic needs, and all his land was unfenced, so that anyone who sished could enjoy the fruit.

27.4 Pericles' property was insufficient for this kind of service. He therefore advised by Damonides of Oe (who seems to have been the originator of most of Pericles' measures, and for that reason was subsequently ostracised) that since he was less well supplied with private property he should give the people their own property; and so he devised payment for the jurors. Some people allege that it was as a result of this that the courts deteriorated, since it was always the ordinary people rather than the better sort who were eager to be picked for jury service.

27.5 After this judicial corruption began. The way was first shown by Anytus after he had served as a general at Pylos: he was brought to trial for losing Pylos and escaped by bribing the jury.[16]



The Chorus of Aristophanes' Wasps is made up of angry jurors, each with their 'sting'. The central character is a fan of Cleon and addicted to condemning anyone brought to trial.

[14] Payment for jurors was first introduced by c.
[15] The system whereby wealthy citizens sponsored a chorus (as choregos) or funded a trireme and crew for a year.
[16] Anytus

Chapter 28: 429-404BC Politics after Pericles

28.1 While Pericles was champion of the people the constitution was not in too bad a state, but after his death it became much worse. . It was then that the people first took a champion who was not of good repute among the better sort, whereas previously it was always men of the better sort who were popular leaders.

28.2 To begin at the beginning:

i. **Solon** was the first champion of the people
ii. the second was **Pisistratus**, while **Lycurgus** was champion of the well born and noble.
iii. after the overthrow of the tyranny came **Cleisthenes** of the Alcmaeonid family, and he had no opponent, since **Isagoras**' party was expelled.
iv. after this **Xanthippus** was champion of the people and **Miltiades** champion of the wealthy;
v. then **Themistocles** and **Aristides** respectively;
vi. then **Pericles** was champion of the people and **Thucydides**, a relative of Cimon, champion of the others.

28.3 After Pericles' death

vii. the distinguished were championed by **Nicias**, who died in Sicily, and the people by **Cleon** son of Cleaenetus: Cleon, it seems, more than anyone else corrupted the people by his wild impulses, and was the first man who, when on the platform, shouted, uttered abuse and made speeches with his clothes hitched up, while everyone else spoke in the ordinary manner.
viii. Next after them, **Theramenes** son of Hagnon was champion of the others and **Cleophon** the lyre-maker champion of the people. Cleophon was the first man to provide the two-obol grant: for a while it continued to be paid, then it was abolished by Callicrates of Paeania, after he had first promised to add another obol to the two. Both Cleophon and Callicrates were subsequentyl condemned to death by the Athenians: the masses generally come to hate those who have led them on to do anything wrong, particularly if they have deceived them.

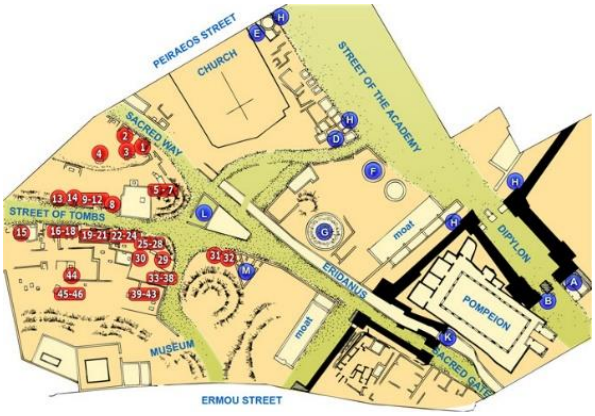
28.4 Since Cleophon there has been an unending succession of popular leaders whose chief desire has been to be outrageous and gratify the masses, looking only to consideration of the moment.

28.5 It appears that the best of the Athenian politicians after the older ones were **Nicias**, **Thucydides** and **Theramenes**. As far as Nicias and Thucydides are concerned, almost everyone agrees that they were not only gentlemen but were public-spirited and behaved like fathers towards the whole city; but the verdict on Theramenes is disputed, because in his time there was constitutional upheaval. However the judgement of those who are not superficial critics is that he did not destroy all regimes, as his detractors allege, but supported all as long as they did nothing unlawful (since he was able to take part in politics under all regimes, as a good citizen should), but when they broke the law did not acquiesce but incurred their enmity.

Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War, Rex Warner,* (ISBN-13: 978-0140440393) p.143-151.

Pericles' Funeral Oration, Winter 431/430BC, 2.34–2.46

2.34 In the same winter [431/430] the Athenians, following their annual custom, gave a public funeral for those who had been the first to die in the war. These funerals are held in the following way: two days before the ceremony the bones of the fallen are brought and put in a tent which has been erected, and people make whatever offerings they wish to their own dead. Then there is a funeral procession in which coffins of cypress wood are carried on wagons. There is one coffin for each tribe, which contains the bones of the members of that tribe. One empty bier is decorated and carried in the procession: this is for the missing, whose bodies could not be recovered. Everyone who wishes to, both citizens and foreigners, can join in the procession, and the women who are related to the dead are there to make their laments at the tomb. The bones are laid in the public burial place, which is the most beautiful quarter outside the city walls. Here the Athenians always bury those who have fallen in the war. The only exception is those who died at Marathon, who, because their achievement was considered absolutely outstanding, were buried on the battlefield itself.

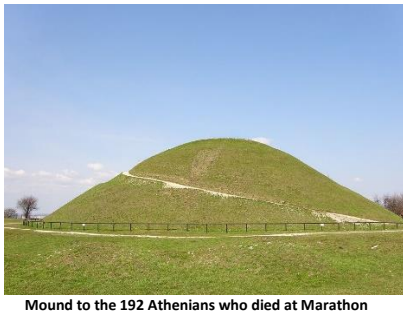


DIPYLON
A. Fountain House
B. Altar of Zeus
C. Tower with remains of the Themistoclean gate

KERAMEIKOS PUBLIC TOMBS
D. Tomb of the Lacedaemonians
E. Public Tomb of an unknown
F. Baths
G. Round monument

SACRED GATE
I. Small gate
K. Tower with arch

OUTSIDE OF THE SACRED GATE
L. Sanctuary of the Tritopatreis
M. Sanctuary of an unidentified deity
1,2. Family Tombs on the Sacred Way
3. Loutrophoros of Olympichos
4. Grave Tumulus of Eucoline
5-30. Family Tombs on the Street of Tombs
31,32. Ambassadors Tombs
33-46. Family Tombs on the Southern Way

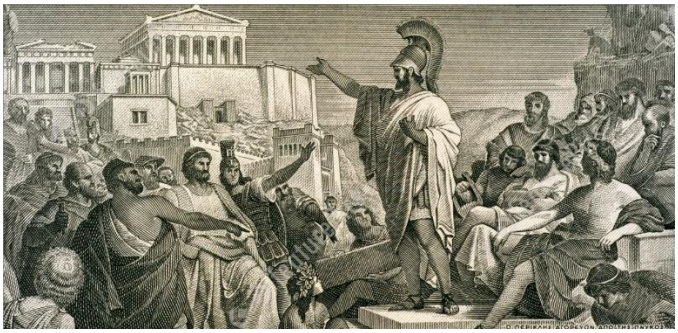


Mound to the 192 Athenians who died at Marathon

After the victory over the Persians at Plataea in 479 BC, Themistocles ordered the building of massive defence walls around Athens and Piraeus. A section of the walls passed through the Kerameikos and divided the district into two sectors: the Inner, which included the agora, the principle administrative and judicial buildings, and the potters' and smiths' quarters, and ***the Outer Kerameikos in which lay the necropolis****. At the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War (404 BC), the walls were demolished by the victorious Spartans, but were restored by Conon in 393 BC. The Roman general Sulla finally razed them in 86 BC.*

When the bones have been laid in the earth, a man chosen by the city for his intellectual gifts and for his general reputation makes an appropriate speech in praise of the dead, and after the speech all depart. This is the procedure at these burials, and all through the war, when the time came to do so, the Athenians followed this ancient custom.

Now at the burial of those who were the first to fall in the war Pericles, son of Xanthippus, was chosen to make the speech. When the moment arrived, he came forward from the tomb and, standing on a high platform, so that he might be heard by as many people as possible in the crowd, he spoke as follows:



Pericles' Funeral Oration 431/430

Introduction

2.35 'Many of those who have spoken here in the past have praised the institution of this speech at the close of our ceremony. It seemed to them a mark of honour to our soldiers who have fallen in the war that a speech should be made over to them. I do not agree. These men have shown themselves valiant in action, and it would be enough, I think, for their glories to be proclaimed in action, as you have just seen it done at this funeral organised by the state. Our belief in the courage and manliness of so many should not be hazarded on the goodness or badness of one man's speech. Then it is not easy to speak with a proper sense of balance, when a man's listeners find it difficult to believe the truth of what one is saying. The man who knows the facts and loves the dead may well think that an oration tells less than what he knows and what he would like to hear: others who do not know so much may feel envy for the dead, and think that the orator over-praises them, when he speaks of exploits that are beyond their own capacities. Praise of other people is tolerable only up to a certain point, the point where one still believes that one could do oneself some of the things one is hearing about. Once you get beyond this point, you will find people becoming jealous and incredulous. However, the fact is that this institution was set up and approved by our forefathers, and it is my duty to follow the tradition and do my best to meet the wishes and expectations of every one of you.

Ostraka for Xanthippus (484BC) and Pericles, son of Xanthippos

2.36 'I shall begin by speaking about our ancestors, since it is only right and proper on such an occasion to pay them the honour of recalling what they did. In this land of ours there have always been the same people living from generation to generation up till now, and they, by their courage and virtues, have handed it on to us, a free country. They certainly deserve our praise. Even more so do our fathers deserve it. For to the inheritance they had received they added all the empire we have now, and it was not without blood and toil that they handed it down to us of the present generation. **And then we ourselves, assembled here today, who are mostly in the prime of life, have, in most directions, added to the power of our empire and have organised our State in such a way that it is perfectly well able to look after itself both in peace and war**.

'I have no wish to make a long speech on subjects familiar to you all: so I shall say nothing of the warlike deeds by which we acquired our power **or the battles in which we or our fathers gallantly resisted our enemies, Greek or foreign**. What I want to do is, in the first place, to discuss **the spirit in which we faced our trials** and also **our constitution and the way of life which has made us great.** After that I shall speak in praise of the dead, believing that this kind of speech is not inappropriate to the present occasion, and that this whole assembly, of **citizens and foreigners**, may listen to it with advantage.

Part 1: Praise of Athens

2.37 'Let me say that our system of government does not copy the institutions of our neighbours. It s more the case of our being a model to others, than of our imitating anyone else. Our constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority but of the whole people.

'When it is a question of settling private disputes, everyone is equal before the law; when it is a question of putting one person before another in positions of public responsibility, what counts is not membership of a particular class, but the actual ability which a man possesses. No-one, so long as he has it in him to be of service to the state, is kept in political obscurity because of poverty. And, just as our political life is free and open, so is our day-to-day life in our relations with each other. We do not get into a state with our next-door neighbour if he enjoys himself in his own way, nor do we give him the kind of black looks which, though they do no real harm, still do hurt people's feelings. We are free and tolerant in our private lives; but in public affairs we keep to the law. This is because it commands our deep respect.

'we give our obedience to those whom we put in positions of authority, and we obey the laws themselves, especially those which are for the protection of the oppressed, and those unwritten laws which it is an acknowledged shame to break.

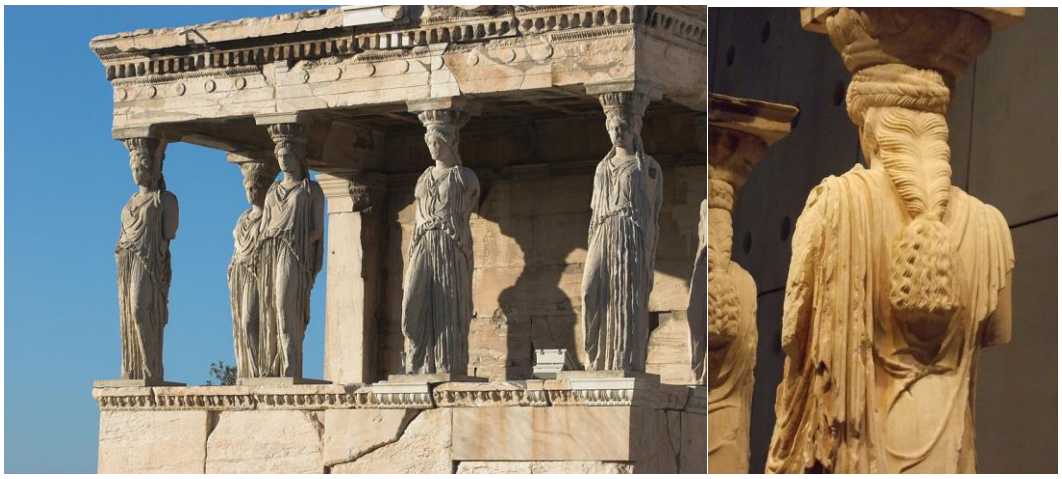
2.38 'And here is another point. When our work is over, we are in a position to enjoy all kinds of recreation for our spirits. There are various kinds of contests and sacrifices regularly throughout the year; in our own homes we find a beauty and good taste which delight us every day and which drive away our cares. Then the greatness of our city brings it about that all the good things from all over the world flow into us, so that to us it seems just as natural to enjoy foreign goods as our own local products.

Athenian vs Spartan Military training

2.39 'Then there is a great difference between us and our opponents, in **our attitude towards military security**. Here are some examples: Our city is open to the world, and we have no periodical deportations in order to prevent people observing or finding out secrets which might be of military advantage to the enemy. This is because we rely, not on secret weapons, but on our own real courage and loyalty.

'There is a difference, too, in our educational systems. The Spartans, from their earliest boyhood, are submitted to the most laborious training in courage; we pass our lives without all these restrictions, and yet are ready to face the same dangers as they are. Here is a proof of this: When the Spartans invade our land, they do not come by themselves, but bring their allies with them; whereas we, when we launch an attack abroad, do the job by ourselves, and, though fighting on foreign soil, do not often fail to defeat opponents who are fighting for their own hearths and homes.

'As a matter of fact none of our enemies has ever yet been confronted with our total strength, because we have to divide our attention between our navy and the many missions on which our troops are sent on land. Yet, if our enemies engage a detachment of our forces and defeat t, they give themselves credit for having thrown back our entire army; or, if they lose, they claim that they were beaten by us in full strength. There are certain advantages, I think, in our way of meeting danger voluntarily, with an easy mind, instead of with a laborious training, **with natural rather than with state-induced courage**. We do not have to spend our time practising to meet sufferings which are still in the future; and when they are actually upon us we show ourselves just as brave as these others who are always in strict training. This is one point in which, I think, our city deserves to be admired. There are also others.



2.40 '**Our love of what is beautiful does not lead to extravagance; our love of the things of the mind does not make us soft.** We regard wealth as something to be properly used, rather than as something to boast about. As for poverty, no one needs to be ashamed to admit it: the real shame is in taking no practical measures to escape from it.

'Here each individual is interested not only in his own affairs but in the affairs of the state as well: even those who are mostly occupied with their own business are extremely well-informed on general politics – this is a peculiarity of ours: we do not say that a man who takes no interest in politics is a man who minds his own business; we say that he has no business here at all.

We Athenians, in our own persons, take our decisions on policy or submit them to proper discussions; for we do not think that there is an incompatibility between words and deeds; the worst thing is to rush into action before the consequences have been properly debated. And this is another point where we different from other people. We are capable at the same time of taking risks and of estimating them beforehand. Others are brave out of ignorance; and, when they stop to think, they begin to fear. But the man who can most truly be accounted brave is he who best knows the meaning of what is sweet in life and of what is terrible, and then goes out undeterred to meet what is to come.

'Again, in questions of general good feeling there is a contrast between us and most other people. We make friends by doing good to others, not by receiving good from them. This makes our friendship all the more reliable, since we want to keep alive the gratitude of those who are in our debt by showing continued goodwill to them: whereas the feelings of one who owes us something lacks the same enthusiasm, since he knows that, when he repays our kindness, it will be more like paying back a debt than giving something spontaneously. We are unique in this. When we do kindnesses to others, we do not do them out of any calculations of profit or loss: we do them without afterthought, relying on our free liberality. Taking everything together then, **I declare that our city is an education to Greece**;

2.41 **'**And I declare that in my opinion each single one of our citizens, in all the manifold aspects of life, is able to show himself the rightful lord and owner of his own person, and do this, moreover, with exceptional grace and exceptional versatility. And to show you this is no empty boasting for the present occasion, but real tangible fact, you have only to consider the power which our city possesses and which has been won by those very qualities which I have mentioned.

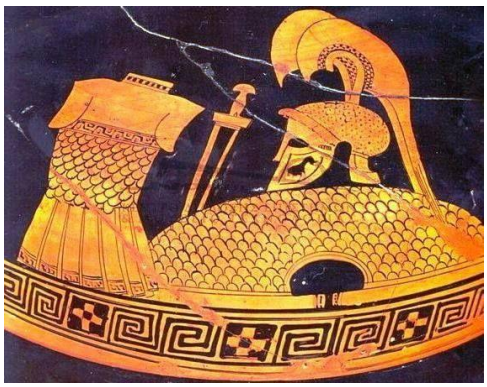
'Athens, alone of all the states we know, comes to her testing time in a greatness that surpasses what was imagined of her. In her case, and in her case alone, no invading army is ashamed at being defeated, **and no subject can complain of being governed by people unfit for their responsibilities**. Mighty indeed are the marks and monuments of our empire which we have left. Future ages will wonder at us, as the present age wonders at us now. We do not need the praises of Homer, or of anyone else whose words may delight us for the moment, but whose estimation of facts will fall short of what is really true. For our adventurous

spirit has forced an entry into every sea and every land; **and everywhere we have left behind us everlasting memorials of good done to our friends or suffering inflicted on our enemies**[17].

'This, then, is the kind of city for which these men, who could not bear the thought of losing her, nobly fought and noble died. It is only natural that every one of us who survive them should be willing to undergo hardships in her service.

2.43 'And it was for this reason that I have spoken at length about our city, because I wanted to make it clear that for us there is more at stake than there is for others who lack our advantages; I also wanted my words of praise for the dead to be set in the bright light of evidence. And now the most important of these words has been spoken. **I have sung the praises of our city.** but it was the courage and gallantry of these men, and of people like them, which made her splendid. Nor will you find it true in the case of many of the Greeks, as it is true of them, that no words can do more than justice to their deeds.

Part 2: Praise of the fallen



'To me it seems that the consummation which has overtaken these men shows us the meaning of manliness in its first revelation and in its final proof. Some of them, no doubt, had their faults; but what we ought to remember first is their gallant conduct against the enemy in defence of their native land. They have blotted out evil with good, and done more service to the commonwealth than they ever did harm in their private lives. No one of these men weakened because he wanted to go on enjoying his wealth: no one put off the awful day in the hope that he might live to escape his poverty and grow rich. More to be desired than such things, they chose to check the enemy's pride. This, to them, was a risk most glorious, and they accepted it, willing to strike down the enemy and relinquish everything else. As for success or failure, they left that in the doubtful hands of Hope, and when the reality of battle was before their faces, they put their trust in their own selves. In the fighting they thought it more honourable to stand their ground and suffer death than to give in and save their lives. So they fled from the reproaches of men, abiding with faith and limb the brunt of battle; and in a small moment of time, the climax of their lives, a culmination of glory, not of fear, were swept away from us.

2.43 'So and such they were, these men – worthy of their city. We who remain behind may hope to be spared their fate, but must resolve to keep the same daring spirit against the foe. It is not simply a question of estimating the advantages in theory. I could tell you a long story (and you know it as well as I do) about what is to be gained by beating the enemy back. What I would prefer is that you should **fix your eyes every day on the greatness of Athens as she really is, and should fall in love with her**. When you realise her greatness, then reflect that what made her great was men with a spirit of adventure, men who knew their duty, men who were ashamed to fall below a certain standard. If they ever failed in an enterprise, they made up their minds that at any rate the city should not find their courage lacking to her, and they gave to her the best contribution they could. They gave her their lives, to her and to all of us, and for their own selves they won praises that never grow old, the most splendid of sepulchres – not the sepulchres in which

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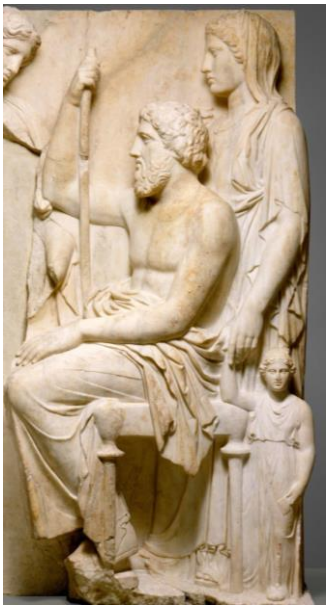
their bodies were laid, but where their glory remains eternal in men's minds, always there on the right occasion to stir others to speech or to action. For famous men have the whole earth as their memorial: it is not only the inscriptions on their graves in their own country that mark them out; no, in foreign lands also, not in any visible form but in people's hearts, their memory abides and grows. It is for you to try to be like them. Make up your minds that happiness depends on being free, and freedom depends on being courageous. Let there be no relaxation in the face of the perils of war. The people who have most excuse for despising death are not the wretched and unfortunate, who have no hope of doing things well for themselves, but those who run the risk of a complete reversal in their lives, and who would feel the difference most intensely, if things went wrong for them. Any intelligent man would find a humiliation caused by his own slackness more painful to bear than death, when death comes to him unperceived, in battle, and in the confidence of his patriotism.

Pericles addresses parents of the dead, younger and older…

2.44 'For these reasons I shall not commiserate with those parents of the dead, who are present here. Instead I shall try to comfort them. They are well aware that they have grown up in a world where there are many changes and chances. But this is good fortune – for men to end their lives with honour – as these have done, and for you honourably to lament them: their life was set to a measure where death and happiness went hand in hand. I know that it is difficult to convince you of this. When you see other people happy you will often be reminded of what used to make you happy too. One does not feel sad at not having some good thing which is outside one's personal experience: real grief is felt at the loss of something which one is used to.

'All the same, those of you who are of the right age must bear up and take comfort in the thought of having more children. In your own homes these new children will prevent you from brooding over those who are no more, and they will be a help to the city, too, in filling the empty places, and in assuring her security. For it is impossible for a man to put forward fair and honest views about our affairs if he has not, like everyone else, children whose lives may be at stake.

'As for those of you who are now too old to have children, I would ask you to count as gain the greater part of your life, in which you have been happy, and remember that what remains is not long, and let your hearts be lifted up at the thought of the fair fame of the dead. One's sense of honour is the only thing that does not grow old, and the last pleasure, when one is worn out with age, is not, as the poet said, making money, but having the respect of one's fellow men.



Marble grave stele with a family group, ca. 360 B.C

Attic Pentelic Marble,; H. 171.1 cm
Rogers Fund, 1911

… he addresses the brothers and sons of the dead…

2.45 'As for those of you here who are sons or brothers of the dead, I can see a hard struggle in front of you. Everyone always speaks well of the dead and, even if you rise to the greatest heights of heroism, it will be a hard thing for you to get the reputation of having come near, let alone equalled, their standard. When one is alive, one is always liable to the jealousy of one's competitors, but when one is out of the way, the honour one receives is sincere and unchallenged.

Finally, Pericles addresses women who have been widowed.

2.46 'Perhaps I should say a word or two on the duties of women to those among you who are now widowed. I can say all I have to say in a short word of advice. Your great glory is not to be inferior to what God has made you, **and the greatest glory of a woman is to be least talked about by men, whether they are praising you or criticising you.**

Right:
Grave stele
430-400 BC, 2232, The British Museum.

Left:
Mourning Athena, 470 BC,
Parian Marble Relief, H: c. 0.5m , Acropolis Museum Athens.

Athena in a Doric Peplos and a Corinthian helmet, leans on her reversed spear in front of a Stele.

Conclusion

I have now, as the law demanded, said what I had to say. For the time being our offerings to the dead have been made, and for the future their children will be supported at the public expense of the city, until they come of age. This is the crown and prize which she offers, bot to the dead and to their children, for the ordeals which they have faced. Where the rewards of valour are greatest, there you will find the best and bravest spirits among the people. And now, when you have mourned for your dear ones, you must depart.'

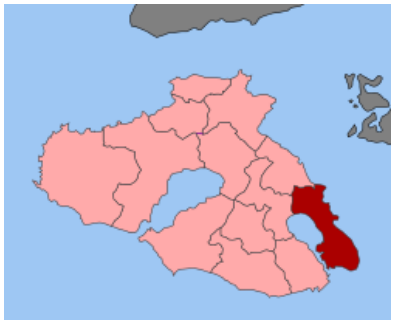
In the next chapters Thucydides briefly reports that Archidamus invaded Attica for a second time (2.47) and gives a detailed account of the plague that hit Athens in 430BC (2.47-55) from which Pericles himself died in 429BC.

Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War, Rex Warner,* (ISBN-13: 978-0140440393) p.212-223.

The Mytilene Debate 427BC, 3.36–3.50

The (oligarchic) Mytilenian government had considered revolting from Athens even before the Peloponnesian War broke out, but when they initially approached Sparta in the 430s BC, the Spartans would not promise to accept them into the Peloponnesian League. Without the necessary Spartan support that would have made revolt feasible, the Mytilenians' plan came to nothing. In 428, however, the Mytilenian leaders judged that the time was ripe for revolt, and both Boeotia and Sparta participated in planning the rebellion (See 3.9-14 for the reasons put forward by the Mytilenians to Sparta) . The primary motivation for the rebellion was the Mytilenian's desire to gain control of all of Lesbos. Before they had completed their preparations, however, their plans were betrayed to the Athenians by several of their enemies in the region, namely the Methymnians and Tenedians, and by a group of Mytilenian citizens who represented Athens' interests in that city (probably members of the democratic faction there).

3.36 When Salaethus[18] and the other prisoners reached Athens, **the Athenians immediately put Salaethus to death** in spite of the fact that he undertook, among other things, to have the Peloponnesians withdrawn from Plataea[19], which was still being besieged. They then discussed what was to be done with the other prisoners and, **in their angry mood, decided to put to death not only those now in their hands but also the entire adult male population of Mytilene, and to make slaves of the women and children.**



What they held against Mytilene was the fact that the Peloponnesian fleet had actually dared to cross over to Ionia to support the revolt. This, it was thought, could never have happened unless the revolt had been long premeditated. So they sent a trireme to Paches[20] to inform him of what had been decided, with orders to put the Mytilenians to death immediately.

Next day, however, there was a sudden change of feeling and people began to think how cruel and how unprecedented such a decision was – to destroy not only the guilty, but the entire population of a state. Observing this, the deputation from Mytilene which was in Athens and the Athenians who were supporting

[18] **Salaethus, a Spartan commander**, sent ahead to support the revolt with news of a fourth invasion of Attica (under Cleomenes '*this was the worst invasion of all, except the second*' 3.26) and that a force of 42 ships would be arriving in Spring 427, commanded by Alcidas. This fleet 'wasted time on the way' 3.27 + 29ff. Salaethus, giving up hope of support by sea, armed the Mytilenians as hoplites. '*But as soon as the people found themselves properly armed, they refused any longer to obey the government. They held meetings among themselves … the government realised that they were quite incapable of preventing this … they therefore joined in coming to terms with Paches and the Athenian army*.'

[19] **Siege of Plataea 429-427.** In the spring of 431, the Thebans began the war with an unsuccessful attack on Plataea; in 429, the Spartan king Archidamus II laid siege to Plataea; after sending women, children and the elderly to Athens, 400 Plataean men, 80 Athenians were left with 110 women to cook(2.74-78). The town was bravely defended (see 3.20-24) but eventually fell in 427 (3.51-2; all defenders (200 Plataeans and 35 Athenians) were killed after a mock trial; the women were made slaves (3.53-68).

[20] **Paches** son of Epicurus. Athenian general.

them approached the authorities with a view to having the question debated again. They won their point the more easily because the authorities themselves saw clearly that most of the citizens were wanting someone to give them the chance of reconsidering the matter. **So an assembly was called at once.**

The Pnyx

A second Assembly meeting

Various opinions were expressed on both sides, and Cleon[21], the son of Cleaenetus, spoke again. It was he who had been responsible for passing the original motion for putting the Mytilenians to death. He was remarkable among the Athenians for the violence of his character, and at this time he exercised far the greatest influence over the people. He spoke as follows:

Thucydides 1.22: 'In this history **I have made use of set speeches** some of which were delivered just before and others during the war. I have found it difficult to remember the precise words used in the speeches which I listened to myself and my various informants have experienced the same difficulty; so **my method has been, while keeping as closely as possible to the general sense of the words that were actually used, to make the speaker say whatever, in my opinion, was called for by each situation**.

Thucydides was presumably in Athens during this debate since he was not exiled until 424BC.

M I Finley, Introduction p.27: The two antithetical speeches of **Cleon** and **Diodotus** *'never depart from tough arguments of practical necessity and expediency, never refer to the revulsion which brought about the debate, never make or reject obvious pleas to decency and morality that, we should think, were called for by the situation. If Diodotus in fact refrained from such appeal he would have been virtually unique in the annals of political oratory. All extant genuine Athenian speeches are replete with precisely that sort of rhetoric.'*

The view of Cleon

3.37 'Personally I have had occasion often enough already to observe that a democracy is incapable of governing others, and I am all the more convinced of this when I see how you are now changing your minds about the Mytilenians. Because fear and conspiracy play no part in your daily relations with each other, you imagine that the same is true of your allies, and you fail to see that when you allow them to persuade you to make a mistaken decision and when you give way to your own feelings of compassion you are being guilty of a kind of weakness which is dangerous to you and which will not make them love you any more. What you do not realize is that **your empire is a tyranny exercised over subjects who do not like it** and who are always plotting against you; you will not make them obey you by injuring your own interests in order to do them a favour; your leadership depends on superior strength and not on any good will of theirs.

'And this is the very worst thing – to pass measures and then not to abide by them. **We should realize that a city is <u>better off with bad laws</u>, so long as they remain fixed, <u>than with good laws</u> that are constantly being altered, that lack of learning combined with sound common sense is more helpful than the kind of cleverness** (*sophia*) **that gets out of hand, and that as a general rule states are better governed by <u>the man in the street</u> than by <u>intellectuals</u>.** These are the sort of people who want to appear wiser than the laws, who want to get their own way in every general discussion, because they feel that they cannot show off their intelligence in matters of greater importance, and who, as a result, very often bring ruin on their country. But the other kind – **the people who are not so confident in their own intelligence – are prepared to admit that the laws are wiser than they are** and that they lack the ability to pull to pieces a speech made by a good speaker; they are unbiased judges, and not people taking part in some kind of competition; so **things usually go well when they are in control**. We statesmen, too, should try to be like them, instead of

[21] Cleon (d.422). Thucydides and Aristophanes, his contemporaries, both represent him as an unscrupulous, warmongering demagogue.

being carried away by mere cleverness and a desire to show off our intelligence and so giving you, the people[22], advice which we do not really believe in ourselves.

Cleon develops his anti-intellectual stance into an attack on the 'clever' art of oratory[23]

3.38 'As for me, I have not altered my opinion, and I am amazed at those who have proposed a reconsideration of the question of Mytilene, thus causing a delay which is all to the advantage of the guilty party. After a lapse of time the injured party will lose the edge of his anger when he comes to act against those who have wronged him; whereas the best punishment and the one most fitted to the crime is when reprisals follow immediately. I shall be amazed, too, if anyone contradicts me and attempts to prove that the harm done to us by Mytilene is really a good thing for us, or that when we suffer ourselves we are somehow doing harm to our allies. It is obvious that anyone who is going to say this must either have such confidence in his powers as an orator that he will struggle to persuade you that what has been finally settled was not, on the contrary, decided at all, or else he must have been bribed to put together some elaborate speech with which he will try to lead you out of the right track. But in competitions of this sort the prizes go to others and the state takes all the danger for herself. The blame is yours, for stupidly instituting these competitive displays. You have become regular speech-goers, and as for action, you merely listen to accounts of it; if something is to be done in the future you estimate the possibilities by hearing a good speech on the subject, and as for the past, **you rely not so much on the facts which you have seen with your own eyes as one what you have heard about them in some clever piece of verbal criticism. Any novelty in an argument deceives you at once**, but when the argument is tried and proved you become unwilling to follow it; you look with suspicion on what is normal and are the slaves of every paradox that comes your way.

'The chief wish of each one of you is to be able to make a speech himself, and, if you cannot do that, the next best thing is to compete with those that can make this sort of speech by not looking as though you were at all out of your depth while you listen to views put forward, by applauding a good point even before it is made, and by being quick at seeing how an argument is going to be developed as you are slow at understanding what in the end it will lead to. What you are looking for all the time is something that is, I should say, outside the range of ordinary experience, and yet you cannot even think straight about the facts of life that are before you. You are simply victims of your own pleasure in listening, and are more like an audience sitting at the feet of a professional lecturer than a parliament discussing matters of state.

3.39 'I am trying to stop you behaving like this and I say that no single city has ever done you the harm that Mytilene has done. Personally I can make allowances for those who revolt because they find your rule intolerable or because they have been forced into it by enemy action. Here, however, we have the case of people living on an island, behind their own fortifications, with nothing to fear from our enemies except an attack by sea against which they were adequately protected by their own force of triremes; they had their own independent government and they were treated by us with the greatest consideration. Now, to act as they acted is not what I should call a revolt (for people only revolt when they have been badly treated): it is a case of calculated aggression, of deliberately taking sides with our bitterest enemies in order to destroy us. And this is far worse than if they had made war against us simply to increase their own power. They learned nothing from the fate of those of their neighbours who had already revolted and been subdued: the prosperity which they enjoyed did not make them hesitate before running into danger: confident in their future, they declared war on us, with hopes that indeed extended beyond their means, though still fell short of their desires. **They made up their minds to put <u>might</u> first and <u>right</u> second[24]**, choosing the moment when they thought they would win, and then making their unprovoked attack upon us.

[22] Aristophanes' *Knights* (424BC) is set outside 'ThePeople's' house near the Pnyx. The Paphlagonian (i.e. Cleon) and the Sausage-seller compete for a 'ThePeople's' good will. ThePeople (**Demos**) is presented as a very silly, grumpy old man.
[23] Aristophanes' *Clouds* (423BC) makes similar attacks on the way '**Socrates**' (i.e. the Sophists) '*make the weaker argument stronger*'.
[24] The debate about whether '**right**' is nothing more than **might** (i.e. the interest of the stronger party) is championed by **Thrasymachus** in Plato's *Republic*.

'The fact is that when great prosperity comes suddenly and unexpectedly to a state, it usually breeds arrogance; in most cases it is safer for people to enjoy an average amount of success rather than something which is out of all proportion; and it is easier, I should say, to ward off hardship than to maintain happiness.

Peter Jones, *The Spectator ANCIENT & MODERN* April, 2016

Meet the Donald Trump of ancient Athens (he won): Cleon's violent but very persuasive rhetoric was precisely the kind of thing the Republican establishment now hates

Why does the Republican party loathe Donald Trump? Because Trump is the ultimate loose cannon, beholden to no one. And even worse, he is popular. What trumpery! Ancient Athenians would have loved him.

With no known political or military experience behind him, Cleon surged into the gap left by the death of Pericles in 429 BC, when Athens was locked in a difficult war against Sparta. The son of a rich tanner — certainly not 'one of us' — he presented himself as the warmongering, go-get-'em alternative to the cautious Pericles. Full of extravagant promises (including state handouts), he increased the tribute from Athens' imperial possessions and worked up a strong following by his heated speeches in the rough and tumble of the democratic Assembly. It was this 'brutal and insolent' speaker, said the historian Plutarch, who introduced shouting and abuse and excessive gesturing, encouraging other speakers to behave equally irresponsibly. A contemporary of Cleon's, the historian Thucydides, called him 'violent' but 'very persuasive'

'What we should have done long ago with the Mytilenians was to treat them in exactly the same way as all the rest; then they would never have grown so arrogant; for it is a general rule of human nature that people despise those who treat them well and look up to those who make no concessions. Let them now therefore have the punishment which their crime deserves. **Do not put the blame on the aristocracy and say that the people were innocent.** The fact is that the whole lot of them attacked you together, although the people might have come over to us and, if they had, would now be back again in control of their city. Yet, instead of doing this, they thought it safer to share the dangers, and join in the revolt of the aristocracy.

A deterrent

'Now think of your allies. If you are to give **the same punishment** to **those who are forced to revolt** by your enemies and **those who do so of their own accord,** can you not see that they will all revolt upon the slightest pretext, when success means freedom and failure brings no very dreadful consequences? Meanwhile we shall have to spend our money and risk our lives against state after state; if our efforts are successful, we shall recover a city that is in ruins, so we lose the future revenue from it, on which our strength is based; and if we fail to subdue it, we shall have more enemies to deal with in addition to those we have already, and we shall spend the time which ought to be used in resisting our present foes in making war on our own allies.

3.40 'Let there be no hope, therefore, held out to the Mytilenians that we, **either as a result of a good speech or a large bribe,** are likely to forgive them on the grounds that it is only human to make mistakes. There was nothing involuntary about the harm they did us; they knew what they were about and **they planned it all beforehand;** and one only forgives actions that were not deliberate.

There is no place here for compassion, pleasing argument and decency.

'As for me, just as I was at first, so am I now, and I shall continue to impress on you the importance of not altering your previous decisions. To feel **pity,** to be carried away by the pleasure of hearing the **clever argument,** to listen to the claims of **decency** are **three things** that are entirely **against the interests of an imperial power. Do not be guilty of them.**

i. ‘As for **compassion**, it is proper to feel it in the case of people who are like ourselves and who will pity us in their turn, not in the case of those who, so far from having the same feelings towards us, must always and inevitably be our enemies[25].

ii. ‘As for the speech-makers who give such pleasure by their arguments, they should hold their competitions on subjects which are less important, and not on a question where the state may have to pay **a heavy penalty** for its **light pleasure**, while the speakers themselves will no doubt be enjoying splendid rewards for their splendid arguments.

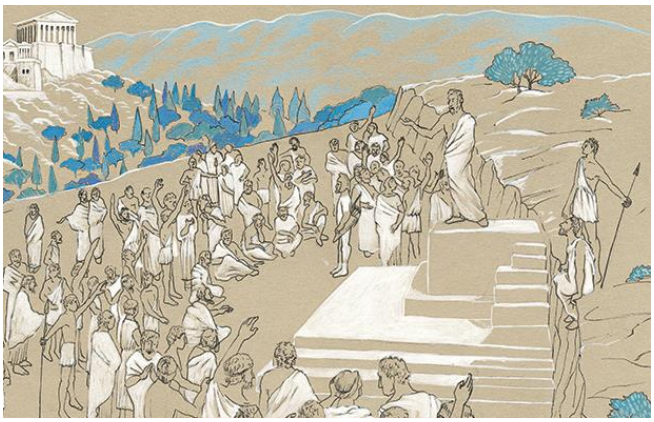
iii. ‘And a sense of decency is only felt towards those who are going to be our friends in future, not towards those who remain just as they were and as much our enemies as they have ever been.

if they were justified in revolting, you must be wrong in holding power

‘Let me sum the whole thing up. I say that, if you follow my advice, you will be doing the right thing as far as Mytilene is concerned and at the same time will be acting in your own interests; if you decide differently, you will not win them over, but you will be passing judgement on yourselves. **For if they were justified in revolting, you must be wrong in holding power.** If, however, whatever the rights and wrongs of it may be, you propose to hold power all the same, then your interest demands that these too, rightly or wrongly, must be punished. **The only alternative is to surrender your empire, so that you can afford to go in for philanthropy.**

‘Make up your minds, therefore, to pay them back in their own coin, and do not make it look as though you who escaped their machinations are less quick to react than those who started them. Remember how they would have been likely to treat you, if they had won, especially as **they were the aggressors**. Those who do wrong to a neighbour when there is no reason to do so are the ones who persevere to the point of destroying him, since they see the danger involved in allowing their enemy to survive. For he who has suffered for no good reason is a more dangerous enemy, if he escapes, than the one who has both done and suffered the injury.

‘I urge you, therefore, not to be traitors to your own selves. Place yourselves in imagination at the moment when you first suffered and remember how then you would have given anything to have them in your power. **Now pay them back** for it, and do not grow soft just at this present moment, forgetting meanwhile the danger that hung over your heads then. Punish them as they deserve, and **make an example of them to your other allies**, plainly showing that **revolt will be punished by death**. Once they realize this, you will not have so often to neglect the war with your enemies because you are fighting with your own allies.’



3.41 So Cleon spoke.

25

Summary of revolts from the Delian League/Athenian Empire

469/8	Revolt of **Naxos**	
465	Revolt of **Thasos** *After Athenian foundation of Amphipolis 465BC*	**463** Surrender of Thasos
		458 Surrender of Aegina

454BC Treasury of the Delian League transferred to Athens

446	Revolt of **Euboea**	**c.446** *Chalcis decree*
440	Revolt of **Samos**	**439** Surrender of Samos
432	Revolt of **Potidaea**	**430** Surrender of Potidaea
428	Revolt of **Mytilene** (on **Lesbos**)	**427** Mytilenean Debate
412	Revolt of **Chios**	

After him Diodotus[26], the son of Eucrates, who in the previous assembly also had vigorously opposed the motion to put the Mytilenians to death, came forward again on this occasion and spoke as follows:

The views of Diodotus

3.42 'I do not blame those who have proposed a new debate on the subject of Mytilene, and I do not share the view which we have heard expressed, that it is a bad thing to have frequent discussions on matters of importance. **Haste and anger** are, to my mind, the two greatest obstacles to wise counsel – **haste,** that usually goes with **folly, anger,** that is the mark of **primitive and narrow minds**.

'And anyone who maintains that words cannot be a guide to action must **either be a fool** or one with **some personal interest at stake**;

- he is a **fool**, if he imagines that it is possible to deal with uncertainties of the future by any other medium,

- and he is **personally interested** if his aim is to persuade you into some disgraceful action, and, knowing that he cannot make a good speech in a bad cause, **he tries to frighten his opponents** and his hearers by some good-sized pieces of misrepresentation.

Then still more intolerable are those who go further and accuse a speaker of making a kind of exhibition of himself, because he is paid for it. If it was only ignorance with which he was being charged, a speaker who failed to win his case could retire from debate and still be thought an honest man, if not a very intelligent one. But when corruption is imputed, he will be suspect if he wins his case, and, if he loses it, will be regarded as dishonest and stupid at the same time. This sort of thing does the city no good; her counsellors will be afraid to speak and she will be deprived of their services. Though certainly it would be the best possible thing for the city if these gentlemen whom I have been describing lacked the power to express themselves; we should not then be persuaded into making so many mistakes.

'The good citizen, **instead of trying to terrify the opposition**, ought to prove his case in fair argument; and a wise state, without giving special honours to its best counsellors, will certainly not deprive them of the honour they already enjoy; and when a man's advice is not taken, he should not even be disgraced, far less penalized. In this way successful speakers will be less likely to pursue further honours by speaking against their own convictions in order to make themselves popular, and unsuccessful speakers, too, will not struggle to win over the people by the same acts of **flattery**.

3.43 'What we do here, however, is the exact opposite. Then, too, if a man gives the best possible advice but is under the slightest suspicion of being influenced by his own private profit, we are so embittered by the idea (a wholly unproved one) of this profit of his, that we do not allow the state to receive the certain benefit of his good advice. **So a state of affairs has been reached where a good proposal honestly put forward is just as suspect as something thoroughly bad**, and the result is that just as the

[26] Diodotus is otherwise unknown.

speaker who advocates some monstrous measure has to win over the people by deceiving them, so also a man with good advice has to tell lies if he expects to be believed. And because of this refinement in intellectuality, the state is put into a unique position; **it is only she to whom no one can ever do a good turn openly and without deception**. For if one openly performs a patriotic action, the reward for one's pains is to be thought to have made something oneself on the side.

'Yet in spite of all this we are discussing matters of the greatest importance, and we who give you our advice ought to be resolved to look rather further into things than you whose attention is occupied only with the surface – especially as we can be held to account for the advice we give, while you are not accountable for the way in which you receive it. For indeed you would take rather more care over your decisions, if the proposer of a motion and those who voted for it were all subject to the same penalties. As it is, on the occasion when some emotional impulse on your part has led you to disaster, you turn upon the one man who made the original proposal and you let yourself off, in spite of the fact that you are many and in spite of the fact that you were just as wrong as he was.

3.44 'However, I have not come forward to speak about Mytilene in any spirit of contradiction or with any wish to accuse anyone. If we are sensible people, we shall see that the question is not so much whether they are guilty as whether we are making the right decision for ourselves. **I might prove that they are the most guilty people in the world, but it does not follow that I shall propose the death penalty, unless that is in your interests**; I might argue that they deserve to be forgiven, but should not recommend forgiveness unless that seemed to me the best thing for the state.

'In my view our decision concerns the future rather than the present. One of Cleon's chief points is that to inflict the death penalty will be useful to us in the future as a means for deterring other cities from revolt; but I, who am just as concerned as he is with the future, and quite convinced that this is not so. And I ask you not to reject what is useful in my speech for the sake of what is specious in his. You may well find his speech attractive, because it fits in better with your present angry feelings about the Mytilenians; but **this is not a law-court, where we have to consider what is fit and just; it is a political assembly, and the question is how Mytilene can be most useful to Athens**.

This set of thirteen medicine cups, found in the annex to the state prison in Athens, may have been used to hold the hemlock that was measured out in the exact dose necessary to cause death. After his trial in 399 B.C., recorded in Plato's *Apology*, Sokrates was executed in this manner.

Argument against the Death Penalty

3.45 'Now, in human societies the death penalty has been laid down for many offences less serious than this one. **Yet people still take risks when they feel sufficiently confident.** No one has ever yet risked committing a crime which he thought he could not carry out successfully. **The same is true of states.** None has ever yet rebelled in the belief that it had insufficient resources, either in itself or from its allies, to make the attempt. **Cities and individuals alike, all are by nature disposed to do wrong, and there is no law that will prevent it**, as is shown by the fact that men have tried every kind of punishment, constantly adding to the list, in an attempt to find greater security from criminals. It is likely that in early times the punishments even for the greatest crimes were not as severe as they are now, but the laws were still broken, and in the course of time the death penalty became generally introduced. Yet even with this, the laws are still broken. Either, therefore, we must discover some fear more potent than the fear of death, or we must admit that here certainly we have not got an adequate deterrent.

Desires, hopes, and a belief in good fortune are innate in human nature

So long as poverty forces men to be bold, so long as the insolence and pride of wealth nourish their ambitions, and in the other accidents of life they are continually dominated by some incurable passion or another, so long will their impulses continue to drive them into danger. **Hope** and **desire** persist throughout and cause the greatest calamities – one leading and the other following, one conceiving the enterprise and the other suggesting that it will be successful – invisible factors, but more powerful than the terrors that are obvious to our eyes.

Athenian Vase Painting
5th Century BC

Tyche (Fortune) and Nemesis

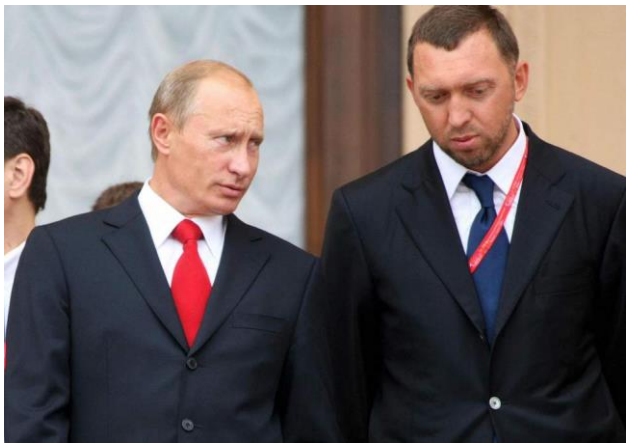
Then, too, the idea that **fortune** (**Tyche/Eutychia**) will be on one's side plays as big a part as anything else in creating a mood of over-confidence' for sometimes she does come unexpectedly to one's aid, and so she tempts men to take risks for which they are inadequately prepared. And this is particularly true in the case of whole peoples, because they are playing for the highest stakes – either for their own freedom or for the power to control others – and each individual, when acting as part of a community, has the irrational opinion that his own powers are greater than in fact they are. In a word it is impossible (and only the most simple-minded will deny this) for human nature, when once seriously set upon a certain course by the force of law or by any other means of intimidation whatever.

3.46 'We must not, therefore, come to the wrong conclusions through having too much confidence in the effectiveness of capital punishment, and **we must not make the condition of rebels desperate by depriving them of the possibility of repentance** and of a chance of atoning as quickly as they can for what they did. Consider this now: at the moment, if a city has revolted and realizes that the revolt cannot succeed, it will come to terms while it is still capable of paying an indemnity and continuing to pay tribute afterwards. But **if Cleon's method is adopted, can you not see that every city will not only make much more careful preparations for revolt, but will also hold out against the siege to the very end, since to surrender early or late means just the same thing?**

'This is, unquestionably, against our interests – **to spend money on a siege** because of the impossibility of coming to terms, and, if we capture the place, **to take over a city that is in ruins** so that we lose the future revenue from it. And it is just on this revenue that our strength in war depends.

'Our business, therefore, is not to injure ourselves by acting like a judge who strictly examines a criminal; instead we should be looking for a method by which, employing moderation in our punishments, we can in future secure for ourselves the full use of those cities which bring us important contributions. And we should recognize that the proper basis of our security is in good administration rather than in the fear of legal penalties. As it is, we do just the opposite: when we subdue a free city, which was held down by force and has, as we might have expected, tried to assert its independence by revolting, we think that we ought to punish it with the utmost severity. But the right way to deal with free people is this – not to inflict tremendous punishments on them after they have revolted, but to take tremendous

care of them before this point is reached, to prevent them even contemplating the idea of revolt, and, if we do have to use force with them, to hold as few as possible of them responsible for this.



No-one loves an oligarch…

Oleg Deripaska, Russian aluminium giant and oligarch with his friend.

3.47 'Consider what a mistake you would be making on this very point, if you took Cleon's advice. As things are now, **in all the cities the democracy is friendly to you**; either it does not join in with the oligarchies in revolting, or, if it is forced to do so, it remains all the time hostile to the rebels, so that when you go to war with them, **you have the people on your side**. But if you destroy the democratic party at Mytilene, who never took any hand in the revolt and who, as soon as they got arms, voluntarily gave the city up to you[27], you will first of all be guilty of killing those who have helped you, and, secondly, you will be doing exactly what the reactionary classes want most. For now, when they start a revolt, they will have the people on their side from the beginning, because you have already made it clear that the same punishment is laid down both for the guilty and the innocent.

'In fact, however, **even if they were guilty**, you should pretend that they were not, in order to keep on your side the one element that is still not opposed to you. It is far more useful to us, I think, in preserving our empire, that we should voluntarily put up with injustice than that we should justly put to death the wrong people. As for Cleon's point – that in this act of vengeance both justice and self-interest are combined – this is not a case where such a combination is at all possible.

3.48 'I call upon you, therefore, to accept my proposal as the better one. Do not be swayed too much by pity or by ordinary decent feelings. I, no more than Cleon, wish you to be influenced by such emotions. It is simply on the basis of the argument you have heard that I ask you to be guided by me, to try at your leisure the men whom Paches has considered guilty and sent to Athens, and to allow the rest to live in their own city. In following this course you will be acting wisely for the future and will be doing something that will make your enemies fear you now. For those who make wise decisions are more formidable to their enemies than those who rush madly into strong action.'

3.49 This was the speech of Diodotus. And now, when these two motions, each so opposed to each, had been put forward, the Athenians, in spite of the recent change of feeling, still held conflicting opinions, and **at the show of hands the votes were nearly equal**.

However, **the motion of Diodotus was passed**.

[27] Thucydides confirms this in 3.27

Immediately another trireme was sent out in all haste, since they feared that, unless it overtook the first trireme, they would find on their arrival that the city had been destroyed.

The first trireme had a start of about twenty-four hours. The ambassadors from Mytilene provided wine and barley for the crew and promised great rewards if they arrived on time, and so the men made such speed on the voyage that they kept on rowing while they took their food (which was barley mixed with oil and wine) and rowed continually, taking it in turns to sleep.

Luckily they had no wind against them, and as the first ship was not hurrying on its distasteful mission, while they were pressing on with such speed, what happened was that the first ship arrived so little ahead of them that Paches had just had time to read out the decree and to prepare to put it into force, when the second ship put into the harbour and prevented the massacre. So narrow had been the escape of Mytilene.

3.50 The other Mytilenians whom Paches had sent to Athens as being the ones chiefly responsible for the revolt were, on the motion of Cleon, put to death by the Athenians. There were rather more than 1,000 of them.

Skeletal remains, with iron shackles on their wrists, are laid in a row at the ancient Falyron Delta cemetery in Athens (8th-5th Century BC).

July 27, 2016. © Alkis Konstantinidis © Reuters

"They have been executed, all in the same manner. But they have been buried with respect," Dr. Stella Chryssoulaki, head of excavations, said.

"They are all tied at the hands with handcuffs and most of them are very, very young and in a very good state of health when they were executed."

At least 80 skeletons were unearthed at an ancient cemetery, their wrists bound by iron shackles, with the remains believed to be those of the victims of a mass execution, possibly those killed in the 6th Century after Cylon's abortive coup.

Thucydides describes the result of the failed coup in his *History of the Peloponnesian War* (1.126).

'*Now those that were besieged with Cylon were for want of both victual and water in very evil estate, and therefore Cylon and a brother of his fled privily out; but the rest, when they were pressed and some of them dead with famine, sat down as suppliants by the altar that is in the citadel. And the Athenians, to whose charge was committed the guard of the place, raising them upon promise to do them no harm, put them all to the sword. Also they had put to death some of those that had taken sanctuary at the altars of the severe goddesses as they were going away*.'

The killing of suppliants was considered a profane act, a sacrilege that would take generations to expiate. The archon Megacles, who ordered the executions, and his extended family, the Alcmaeonidae, were exiled from Athens and cursed with a *miasma*, a "stain" that would taint the Alcmaeonidae for generations even after the archon Solon allowed them to return to Athens in 594 B.C. Pericles, the great statesman and general of Athens, was Alcmaeonid on his mother's side and the miasma still caused him political trouble well into the 5th century.

The Athenians also destroyed the fortifications of Mytilene and took over their navy. Afterwards, instead of imposing a tribute on Lesbos, they divided all the land, except the land belonging to the Methymnians, into 3,000 holdings (cleruchies), 300 of which were set apart as sacred to the gods, while the remainder was distributed by lot to Athenian shareholders, who were sent out to Lesbos.

The Lesbians agreed with these shareholders to pay a yearly rent of two minae for each holding, and cultivated the land themselves. The Athenians also took over all the towns on the mainland that had been under the control of Mytilene. So for the future the Mytilenians became subjects of Athens.

This completes the account of what took place in Lesbos.

Terms used of Oligarchs and Democrats by 'The Old Oligarch' (Pseudo-Xenophon).

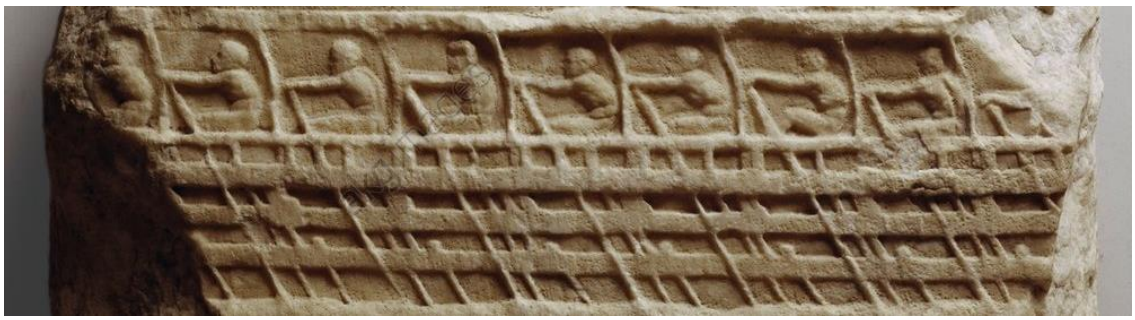
Democrats	Oligarchs
*The common people (**demos**)*	*The few **(oligoi)***
*Those sympathetic to the common people **(demotikoi)***	*The fortunate **(eudaimones)***
*The mob **(ochlos)***	*Noble men **(gennaioi)***
*The masses **(plethos)***	*Rich men **(plousioi)***
*Poor men **(penetes)***	*The most capable men **(dunotatoi)***
*Bad men (**poneroi**)*	*The cleverest element **(dexiotatoi)***
*The worse men (**cheirous**)*	*The better people **(beltious)***
*The worst elements (**to kakiston**)*	*The best people **(beltistoi)***
*Madmen (**mainomenoi**)*	*The best people **(aristoi)***

'The Old Oligarch' (**Pseudo-Xenophon**), *Constitution of the Athenians* *c.***420sBC**

LACTOR 2, trans R. Osborne (ISBN-13: 978-0903625318)

1.1 As to the constitution of the Athenians, **I give no praise to their choice of this form of constitution**, because this choice entails preferring the interests of bad men to those of good men; this is why I do not praise it. But since this is their decision, I shall demonstrate that they preserve their consitution well, and manage well even the other things which the rest of the Greeks think are a mistake.

1.2 So, first of all, I will say this, that it seems fair enough that in Athens the poor and the common people should have more power than the noble and rich, because **it is the common people who row the ships and render the city powerful**; indeed, the steersmen, boatswains, pursers, look-out men and shipwrights render the city powerful, far more than the hoplites, the noble and the good. **Since this is so, it seems fair that they should share in the offices of state by the processes of lot** (sortition) **and election, and that anyone of the citizens who wishes should have the right to speak**.



Elected and non-elected posts (e.g. **strategos** vs **archon**)

1.3 Second, all those offices that bring safety to the state as a whole when they are well-performed, danger when they are not, in these offices the common people do not require any share. **They do not think they should share in the generalship** by having it allotted, nor in the cavalry command. For the common people recognise that they derive greater benefit from not holding these offices themselves, but **allowing the most capable men to hold office**. But **all those offices which involve the receipt of money** and benefit for one's hosehold, **these the common people seek to hold**.

1.4 Moreover, one thing that surprises some people is that they regularly distribute more to the bad, to the poor and to those sympathetic to the common people, than to the good, but even here they can be shown to be preserving the deomcracy. For, if the poor, the members of the common people and the worse do well and such people become large in number, they will increase the democracy. But if the rich and good do well, it is the element that is opposed to themselves that those sympathetic to the common people make strong. In every land the best element is opposed to democracy.

1.5 Among the best there is least indiscipline and injustice, and most accurate knowledge of what is good.

But among the common people are the greatest ignorance, ill discipline, and depravity. For poverty tends to lead them into base behaviour, as do lack of education and lack of learning because of lack of money, at least in the case of some people.

1.6 Someone might say that they ought to allow everybody to make speeches and serve on the Council (***Boule***), but only the cleverest and best. But in this too they are best advised, in allowing even the bad to speak. For **if the good spoke and served on the Council (*Boule)*, there would be excellent consequences for those like them**, but not excellent consequences for those sympathetic with the common people. But now, when anyone who wishes gets up and speaks, some bad man, he discoveres what is excellent for himself and those like him.

1.7 But someone might say 'How could a man like this recognise what is excellent for himself and for the common people?' The Athenians recognise that this man's ignorance and depravity and goodwill profit them more than the good man's ability, wisdom and ill-will.

1.8 **Such a way of life could never produce the best city**, but this *is* the way democracy would be best preserved. For the common people want **not to be slaves** in a city which has good laws, but to be free and in control – **and they are not much worried if the laws are bad**. For what you consider not having good laws, is in factwhat enables the common people to be strong and free.

1.9 But if you are looking for good laws, the first thing you will see is that **the cleverest men make laws in their own interest**; second, the good will punish the bad and the good will take counsel about the city **and will not allow madmen to become members of the Council** (***Boule***), nor to make speeches, nor to attend the **Assembly (*Ecclesia*)**. As a result of these excellent decisions, the coomon people would soon plunge into slavery.

Slaves and Metics

1.10 It is **slaves** and **metics** who lead the most undisciplined life in Athens; there, no one is permitted to strike them, and **a slave will not stand out of the way for you**. I will explain why this is their local custom. If the law permitted a free man to strike a slave or a metic or a freedman, he would often think that the Athenian was a slave and would have him hit; for, **so far as clothing and general appearance are concerned, the common people here are no better than the slaves and metics**.

1.11 If someone is surprised at this, that **they allow their slaves to live in the lap of luxury**, and some of them indeed to live a life of real magnificence, this too is something that they can be seen to do with good reason. For where power is based on the navy, because of the need for money there is no choice but to end up **enslaved to slaves**, so that we can take a share of their earnings, and to let them go free. And where there are rich slaves, there is no longer any point in my slave fearing you. **In Sparta, my slave would have been afraid** of you, but if your slave is afraid of me, he is quite likely to avoid personal danger by handing over some of his money.

1.12 This is why in the matter of freedom of speech we have put **slaves on equal terms with free men**, and **metics with citizens**, for the city needs **metics** because of all its skilled activities and because of the fleet. That is why it is reasonable to give freedom of speech to metics too.

Liturgies

1.13 The common people have subverted those who spend their time in the ***gymnasia*** or who practise music, poetry and drama; they consider that it is not a good thing because they cannot practise these pursuits themselves. In the case of providing financial support for festivals, for athletics in the gymnasia and for manning triremes, they know that the rich pay for the choruses while the common people are paid to be in the choruses, the rich pay for athletics and for triremes, while the common people are paid to row in triremes and take part n athletics. **The common people think that they deserve to take money**

for singing and running and dancing and **sailing in the ships, so that they get more and the rich become poorer.**

The Lawcourts

And in the **lawcourts** they put their own self-interest before justice.

Treatment of Subject Allies
(especially of wealthy individuals)

1.14 Concerning the allies, and the fact that the Athnnians sail out and bring vexatious charges at will against the good men and hate them – they recognise that the ruler is necessarily hated by the ruled, and that if the rich and good men in the cities become powerful, the rule of the common people in Athens will last only a very short time. This is why they deprive the good men of their citizen rights, take away their money, drive them into exile and execute them, while increasing the power of the bad. The good men in Athens try to protect the good men in the allied cities, because they recognise that it is an excellent thing for themselves always to protect the best men in these cities.

1.15 Someone might say that this is the basis of Athenian power, if the allies are able to contribute money. But those sympathetic to the common people think it even more of an excellent thing that each individual Athenian should have the allies' money, and that the allies should have just enough to live and work on, while being unable to plot against them.

Trials of allies in Athens

1.16 The common people of Athens seem ill-advised in compelling the allies to sail to Athens for court cases. But they respond by enumerating all the benefits accruing to the common people of Athens from this practice. First of all, **they take enough money in the form of allies' legal deposits to pay the jurymen each year**. Second, sitting at home, without sailing out in ships, they administer the allied cities, protect those who belong to the common people and ruin their opponents in the courts. If each of the allied cities had its own courts, then out of dislike of the Athenians they would ruin those of their number who seem particularly friendly to the Athenian people.

1.17 Furthermore, the common people of Athens profit in the following ways from the fact that the allies' court cases are tried in Athens.

- First, the 1% tax levied at the Peiraeus is greater;

1.18

- Second, if anyone has rooms to let, he does better.
- Third, if a man has a yoke of beasts or a slave for hire;
- Fourth, the heralds do better from the allies' visits.

In addition, if the allies did not come to Athens for justice, they would honour only those Athenians who visited them – the generals, trierarchs and envoys. As it is, **each one of the allies has been forced to fawn on the common people** of Athens, because he recognises that he must come to Athens to have his case tried and that **these are the very people who will decide it**, for this is the law in Athens. And so he is compelled to make entreaties in the courts, and, when anyone enters, to grasp his hand. So by this means **the allies are made slaves of the common people of Athens** even more.

Athenians' naval experience and skill

1.19 Furthermore, because of their overseas possessions and the public offices which take them overseas, the Athenians and their attendants, without noticing, have learned how to row. For inevitably, when a man often travels by sea, he and his servant take an oar and learn the names of things concerned with seamanship.

In Aristophanes *Frogs* **405BC,** Dionysus himself has to learn to take a hand at the oar:

Brekekekex, ko-ax, ko-ax,
brekekekex, ko-ax, ko-ax! ♫

DIONYSUS

Oh dear, oh dear, I do declare
your beat's too fast for me to bear.
Shut up with your infernal hum,
I'm getting blisters on my bum.
You rowdy disrespectful lot,
it seems that you don't care a jot!

1.20 Their experience in ships and their practice make them excellent steersmen. For some of them have practised as steersmen in boats, others in merchant ships, while yet others go from there to a trireme. The majority can row as soon as they get aboard, since they have practised all through their life.

Controlling the allies

2.1 The hoplite army has the reputation of being the least impressive at Athens, ad this is true. As far as their enemies go, they realise that they are inferior to them in skill and number, but as compared with their allies who pay tribute, they are the strongest even on land, and **they consider their hoplite force sufficiently strong if they are superior to their allies**.

2.2 In addition, they find themselves in the following situation. For those who are subject on land, men can be brought together from small cities nad fight in one body; but **for all those islanders who are subject at sea, it is impossible to unite their cities** into one location. For **the sea is in between, and their rulers control the sea**. Even if the islanders could secretly assemble on one island, they would inevitably die of startvation.

2.3 As for all the mainland cities ruled by the Athenians, the large ones are ruled by fear and the small ones by necessity; for **no city can do without exports and imports**. But these will not be accessible for a city unless it is subject to the rulers of the sea.

2.4 Again, a sea power can do what a land power can sometimes do, ravage the lands of those more powerful than itself. For it can sail along until they reach a place where there is no enemy, or only a few, and, if the enemy approach, can embark and sail away. It has fewer difficulties doing this than the power which resists with a land army.

2.5 Again, those who rule over the sea can sail as far as they like from their own country. But those who rule over land cannot travel many days' journey from their own land. For journeys are slow, and it is not possible to carry provisions for a long time if one travels on foot. An army travelling on foot must either pass through friendly territory or fight and conquer; but a naval force can land wherever it is superior

and, where it is not, it need not put in but can sail past until it comes to friendly land or one weaker thn itself.

Further advantages of naval power:

2.6 Again, diseases sent by Zeus against the crops affect land powers severely, but sea-powers hardly at all; the whole earth does not suffer disease at the same time, and supplies come in to sea powers from areas that are flourishing.

2.7 If one might mention more trivial matters, because they rule the sea they have discovered different kinds of festive foods by mingling with different people in different places. Whatever is pleasing in Sicily, Italy, Cyprus, Egypt, Lydia, Pontus, the Peloponnese, or anywhere else, all thses have been brought together in one place, through rule of the sea.

Athens is enriched by cultural borrowing

2.8 Again, they listen to every kind of dialect, and take something from one, something from another. The Greeks in general tend to keep to their own dilaect, way of life, and dress, whereas the Athenians mix theirs from all the Greeks and barbarians.

her citizens enjoy public sacrifices and feasts

2.9 As to sacrifices, temples, festivals and sanctuaries, the common people recognise that every poor person individually is unable to sacrifice and feast, to erect temples, or to live in a grand and beautiful city, but they have found a means of achieveing this end. The city frequently makes many sacrifices publicly, and the common people enjoy the feasts and obtain a share in the sacrifices.

The ordinary Athenians can enjoy public amenities, lke baths

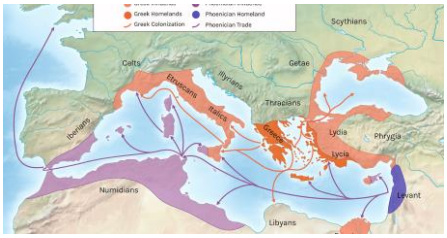
2.10 Some of the rich possess private of the rich possess private *gymnasia*, baths and dressing rooms, but the common people build themselves many *palaestras*, dressing rooms and public baths for their own use; and the mob enjoy these more than do the few and the fortunate.

Power of the seas gives Athens a monopoly on trade

2.11 They alone are able to take possession of the wealth of the Greeks and of the foreigners. For if a city is rich in timber for shipbuilding, where can it dispose of it, unless it persuades the power that rules the sea? And what if a city is rich in iron, copper, or flax? Where can it dispose of them, unless it persuades the power that rules the sea? Now these are just the materials from which I build my ships; from one place I get my timber, and from another iron, and from yet others copper, flax and wax.

2.12 In addition, the Athenians will not allow competitors to take their produce elsewhere; if they try to, they will be barred from the sea. Thus I, doing nothing, get possession of all these products of the earth through control of the sea. No other city possesses two of these substances: you will not find timber abd flax in the same country, for, where a city is rich in flax, you will find that its territory s a treeless plain. You cannot get copper and iron from the same city, nor the other two or three from one city, but you will find one of them here, another there.

2.13 Yet again, all along the coast of the mainland there are headlands jutting out, or islands lying just off the shore, or some strait; so the rulers of the sea can anchor at these spots and harm those living on the mainland.



Athens' principal weakness is that she is not an island; in effect, however, she now operates as one

2.14 They have only one weakness: if the Athenians lived on an island and ruled the sea, then they would be able to inflict damage, if they so wished, but suffer nothing, while they controlled the sea; their land would not be ravaged and no enemy could enter it. But, as it is, the farmers and the rich men of Athens are more inclined to make up to the enemy than are the common people, who are quite well aware that it is not their property that will be burnt and ravaged and so live without fear and do not make up to them.

2.15 In addition, they would have been freed from another fear, if they lived on an island: never would the city be betrayed by a few men, or the gates opened and the enemy rush in. For if they lived on an island how could this happen? Nor would there be any revolt gainst the common people, if they lived on an island. But, as it is, such a revolt would be based on hope that the enemy would invade by land. But if they lived on an isalnd, they would be fearless on this count.

2.16 Since it has not turned out that they have lived on an island from the beginning, this is what they do now: they deposit their propert in the islands, trusting control of the sea, and turn a blind eye to the devastation of Attica, for they recognise that, if they are swayed by sentiment in this matter, they will be deprived of other and greater advantages.

The (ir-)responsibility of the Ecclesia

2.17 Moreover, cities governed by an **oligarchy** must of necessity abide by their alliances and agreements. If they do not, or if some injustice is committed, then among so few the names of those who made the agreement are well known. But when the **common people** make any agreement, they can always fix the blame on the individual who proposed the measure or who put it to the vote, and the rest of them **can deny responsibility**, saying*, 'I wasn't there',* or *'I didn't approve of it',* when they find that it was agreed as a full meeting of the common people. If they decide against the policy, they have countless reasons to hand for not doing what they did not want to do. And if a policy which the common people councselled then turns out badly, the common people accuse a few men of acting against their interest and destroying them, while **if the policy succeeds they claim the credit for themselves**.

2.18 But they do not allow public ridicule or abuse of the common people, because they do not like to hear themselves abused. If anyone wants to ridicule anyone, they encourage him to attack individuals, because they are well aware that those who are ridiculed generally do not come from the common people of from the masses but are rich or noble or capable. A few of the poor and those who sympathise with the common people are ridiculed, but only if they meddle in everything and try to get the better of the common people. As a result, they do not even object when such individuals as these are ridiculed.

2.19 It is my opinion, therefore, that the common people at Athens recognise which citizens are good and which are bad. But, although recognising this, they like those who are friendly and back their interests, even if they are bad and it is rather the good citizens they hate. For they do not consider the ability of those to be naturally inclined to their advantage, but to their harm. But the opposite applies in some cases – that those who are in fact of the common people are not sympathetic to the common people.

It is not in the interests of a good oligarch to live in a democracy, only of a bad one.

2.20 **I can forgive the common people their democracy; for anyone can be forgiven for looking after their own interests.** But anyone who is not of the common people, and yet chooses to live in a city governed by a democracy rather than one governed by an oligarchy, must be preparing to do wrong and have decided that a bad man can escape detection far more easily in a democratic than in an oligarchic city.

Aristophanes in *Acharnians* 630-2 (**425BC**) defends himself agaist a charge of attacking the people; he nevertheless has a character in the *Knights* (**424BC**) called **Demos** (**ThePeople**) who is shown to be subject to the flattery of the **Paphlagonian** (Cleon) and the **Sausage-seller**.

3.1 Concerning the constitution of the Athenians, **I do not praise the way that it is organised, but** since they have decided that it should be a democracy, it seems to me that **they preserve the democracy well** using the organisation that I have described.

The slowness of the system, partly due to the number of festivals, partly because of the volume of work

But still I know that some people blame the Athenians because sometimes a person can spend a year and still not get business settled by the Council (**Boule**) or the Assembly (**Ecclesia**). This happens at Athens purely because the **mass of business** to be settled means that they cannot complete everyone's business.

3.2 Indeed, how could they, when, to start with, they have to **celebrate more festivals than any other Greek city** [3.8: 'twice as many'] – and during festivals it is less possible for anyone to transact state business – and on top of that they have to judge more more public and private lawsuits and examine more officials than all the rest put together, and the Council (**Boule**) has to take many decisions on matters of the war, many on legislation, many to do with what is happpening at any time in the city, and many to do with the allies, and to receive tribute and administer the dockyards and sanctuaries? **Is there anything surprising if, under such a weight of business, they are not able to settle everyone's affairs?**

3.3 Some people say, 'If you approach the Council (**Boule**) or Assembly (**Ecclesia**) with money, you will get things done.' I would agree with them that money does get many things done in Athens, and that still more would be done, if even more people offered money. But I also know well that the city would be incapable of completing all the transations that everyone wants, even if someone were to give them any amount of gold and silver.

The administrative burden, e.g. the annual systems of **dokimasia** and **Liturgies**

3.4 There must be a judicial enquiry if someone fails to equip his trireme, or builds on pubic land; in addition to this there are disputes to be resolved every year for those who are to **finance the chorus** at the Dionysia, the Thargelia, the Panathenaea, the Promethia, the Hephaistia. And **400 trierarchs** are chosen for each year; there are disputes to settle from any of them who want to argue the case. In addition to this there are incoming officials to scrutinise (**dokimasia**) and disputes over them to settle; there are orphans to investigate and prison warders to appoint.

3.5 So much for annual matters; from time to time it is also necessary to give judegment when cases of desertion or any other offence suddenly crop up, such as if someone commits an unprecedented act of wanton violence or sacrilege. I pass over many other things; but I have enumerated the most important, **except for the calculation of the tribute.** This is generally done at **four yearly intervals**.

The Lawcourts

3.6 Think about this.: am I not right in thinking that all these disputes have to be settled? Anyone who thinks there is something here that does not need settling should speak up.

And yet if we must agree that all these disputes need settling, then inevitably it takes the whole year. Even though they now spend the whole year in the lawcourts, they do not manage to stop people doing wrong because of the number of people.

3.7 Think about this: that someone might concede that there need to be all these court cases but suggest that **there should be smaller juries**. Well, inevitably, unless they have only a few courts, there will be few people in each court; as a result, it will be easier to manipulate a small jury and to bribe them all to give a **much less just verdict.**

3.8 Furthermore we must remember that the Athenians have to celebrate festivals, during which they cannot hold trials, and that they celebrate **twice as many as other cities**; but I will work on the assumption that they hold the same number as that city which celebrates the fewest.

Now under these circumstances I maintain that the present position at Athens is inevitable, except that they could make small additions or deletions. But **the change cannot be great without eroding the democracy.**

3.9 **It is possible to find many ways of making the constitution better, but it is difficult** to find effective ways of making the constitution better **while still maintaining the democracy**, except, as I have just said, with slight additions and deletions.

Why Athens supports democracies amongst its subject allies

3.10 In this policy too the Athenians seem to me not to be right, that they side with the worse men in the cities split by civil strife. They do this deliberately. For if they chose the better people, they would not be chosing people sympathetic to their own ideas. For in no city are the best elements well-disposed to the common people: it is rather the worst elements in each city who are well-disposed to the common people. Like are well-disposed to like. For this reason, therefore, the Athenians choose what suits them.

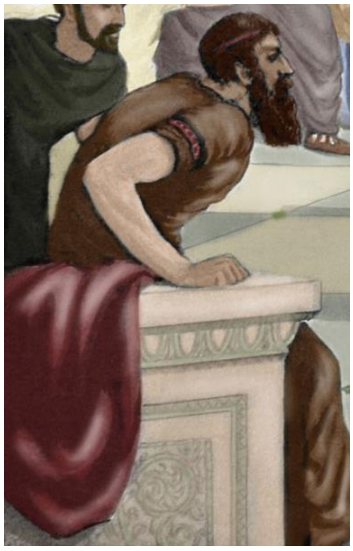
3.11 Whenever they have tried to side with the best people, it has not been in their interests:

- in a short time the common people were enslaved in Boeotia
  From The Battle of Oenophyta (458) until their defeat at the Battle of Coroneia (447) the Athenians tried to exploit civil strife in Boeotia.
- when they sided with the best people in Miletos, in a short time they revolted and massacred the common people;
  Revolt of Mytilene 428-7BC
- and when they sided with the Spartans, and not the Messenains, in a short time the Spartans had subjugated the Messenians and were at war with Athens.
  462BC Thucydides 1.102, leading to the First Peloponnesian War and the Spartan victory at Tanagra 457BC.

***Atimia**: deprivation of citizen rights: how just is Athens*

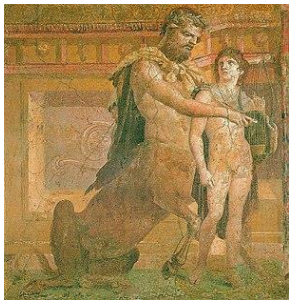
3.12 Someone might suggest that there are some who have been unjustly deprived of civic rights at Athens [e.g. Thucydides, son of Melesia, or Thucydides, son of Olorus?]. I maintain that **there are some** who have been deprived of their civic rights unjustly, but **they are few**. But it needs more than a few to attack the democracy at Athens, since the situation is that one must not bear in mind people who have been *justly* deprived of civic rights, but if any have been deprived *unjustly.*

3.13 And how could anyone think that the many have been deprived of civic rights unjustly, since it is the common people who fill the offices? Men lose their rights at Athens through not ruling justly, or not saying or doing what is just. In view of this one cannot believe that there is anything to fear at Athens from those who have been deprived of civic rights.



The Rise and Fall of Athens: Nine Greek Lives (Penguin Classics) (ISBN-13: 978-0140441024)

Plutarch, Life of Pericles, 4–6, 11–16, 30–32, 36–37



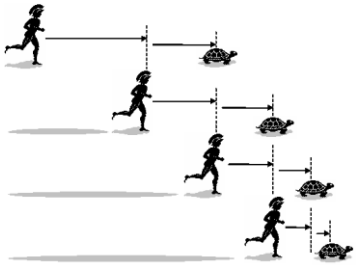
Chiron teaches Achilles (Roman wall-painting)

Plut. Per. 4. His teacher in music[28], most writers agree, was Damon (whose name should be pronounced with the first syllable short), although according to Aristotle[29] he had a thorough musical training at the hands of Pythocleides. This Damon appears to have been a sophist of the highest order, who used his musical teaching as a screen to conceal his real talents from the world in general; in fact it was he who trained Pericles for his political contests, much as a masseur or trainer prepares a an athlete. However Damon's lyre did not succeed in in imposing upon the Athenians, and he was banished by ostracism on the grounds of being a great intriguer and supporter of tyranny, and he also became a target for the comic poets. At any rate Plato, the comic dramatist, makes one of his characters speak these lines to him:

> First of all answer my question, I beg you,
> For you are the Chiron[30], they say, who tutored Pericles.

Pericles also studied under Zeno the Eleatic at the period when, like Parmenides, he was lecturing on natural philosophy. Zeno[31] had perfected a technique of cross-examination which enabled him to corner his opponent by the method of question and answer, and Timon of Phlius has described him as

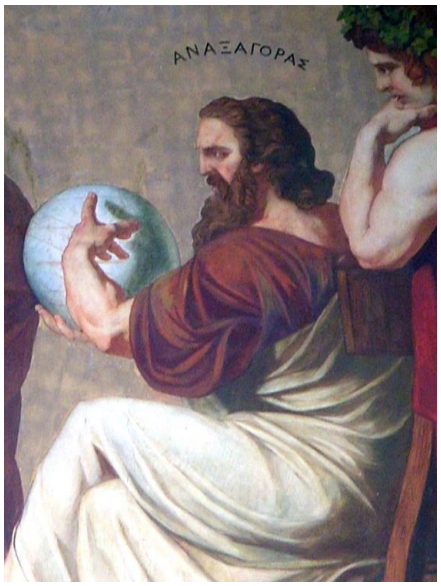
> Zeno, assailer of all things, whose tongue like a double-edged weapon
> Argues on either side with an irresistible fury.



Achilles and the tortoise: one of Zeno's paradoxes

But there was one man more closely associated with Pericles than any other, who did most to clothe him with a majestic bearing that was more important than any demagogue's appeal, and who helped to develop the natural dignity of his character to the highest degree. This was Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, whom the men of his time used to call Intelligence (Noῦς) personified. They gave him this name either out of admiration for the extraordinary intellectual prowess he displayed in the investigation of natural phenomena, or else because he was the first to dethrone Chance (Τύχη) and Necessity (Ἀνάγκη) and set up pure Intelligence (Noῦς) in its place as the principle of law and order which informs the universe, and which distinguishes from an otherwise chaotic mass those substances which possess elements in common.

[28] The word is used here in the wider Greek sense of relating to the Muses - which includes poetry and other subjects.
[29] Actually Plato, Alcibiades 1, 118c.
[30] Chiron the centaur was tutor to Achilles (and Percy Jackson)
[31] Zeno of Elea, a pupil of Parmenides, was the inventor of dialectic and author of various paradoxes, such as that of Achilles and the tortoise. 1= ½ + ¼ + 1/8 + 1/16 + 1/32 +⋯



Anaxagoras c.510-428BC

Born in Clazomenae at a time when Asia Minor was under the control of the Persian Empire, Anaxagoras came to Athens. According to Diogenes Laertius and Plutarch, in later life he was charged with impiety and went into exile in Lampsacus; the charges may have been political, owing to his association with Pericles, if they were not fabricated by later ancient biographers.

Anaxagoras described the world as a mixture of primary imperishable ingredients. He introduced the concept of *Nous* (Cosmic Mind) as an ordering force, which moved and separated out the original mixture, which was homogeneous, or nearly so.

He also gave a number of novel scientific accounts of natural phenomena. He produced a correct explanation for eclipses and described the sun as a fiery mass larger than the Peloponnese, as well as attempting to explain rainbows and meteors.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anaxagoras

See also Plutarch *Pericles* 16 for how Anaxagoras disposed of his wealth.

Plut. Per. 5. Pericles had an unbounded admiration for Anaxagoras, and his mind became steeped in the so-called higher philosophy and abstract speculation. From it he derived not only a dignity of spirit and a nobility of utterance which was entirely free from the vulgar and unscrupulous buffooneries of mob-oratory, but also a composure of countenance that never dissolved into laughter, a serenity in his movements and in the graceful arrangement of his dress which nothing could disturb while he was speaking, and a firm and evenly modulated voice, and other characteristics of the same kind which deeply impressed his audience. It is a fact, at any rate, that once in the market-place when he had urgent business to transact, he allowed himself to be abused and reviled for an entire day by some idle hooligan without uttering a word in reply. Towards evening he returned home unperturbed, while the man followed close behind, still heaping every kind of insult upon him. When Pericles was about to go indoors, as it was now dark, he ordered one of his servants to take a torch and escort the man all the way to his own house.

The poet Ion[32], however, says that Pericles had a rather disdainful and arrogant manner of address, and that his pride had in it a good deal of superciliousness and contempt for others. By contrast, he praises the ease, good humour and polished manner which Cimon showed in all his dealings with the world. But we need not pay much attention to Ion, who apparently expects that virtue, like a complete tragic tetralogy[33], must include an element of low comedy.

Against this, Zeno used to urge all those who derided Pericles' austere manner as nothing more than pride and a craving for popularity to go and affect something like it themselves; his idea was that the mere imitation of these noble qualities might, after a time, cause them to be adopted unconsciously as a habit and even admired.

[32] Ion of Chios (484-424BC) was one of the five Athenian tragic poets of the canon (along with Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Archaeus of Eretria) and also wrote on historical and philosophical subjects. Born in Chios, he admired Cimon and was therefore less well-disposed towards Pericles.

[33] The set of four tragedies each of the selected playwrights produced for the dramatic festivals in Athens. The fourth play was a bawdy 'satyr play' featuring satyrs with long phalloi.

PERICLES – a brief summary

https://www.history.com/topics/ancient-history/pericles

The so-called golden age of Athenian culture flourished under the leadership of Pericles (495-429 B.C.), a brilliant general, orator, patron of the arts and politician - "the first citizen" of democratic Athens, according to the historian Thucydides. Pericles transformed his city's alliances into an empire and graced its Acropolis with the famous Parthenon. His policies and strategies also set the stage for the devastating Peloponnesian War, which would embroil all Greece in the decades following his death.

Pericles: Rise to Power

Pericles was born into one of Athens' leading families. His father Xanthippus was a hero of the Persian War and his mother belonged to the culturally powerful Alcmaeonidae family. He grew up in the company of artists and philosophers—his friends included Protagoras, Zeno and the pioneering Athenian philosopher Anaxagoras. Pericles' earliest recorded act, the financial sponsorship of a play by Aeschylus in 472 B.C., foreshadowed the future leader's wealth, artistic taste and political awareness. The play expressed support for Athens' embattled populist leader Themistocles over Pericles' future arch-rival, the aristocrat Cimon.

Between 463 and 461 Pericles worked to prosecute and eventually ostracize Cimon for allegedly betraying Athens and emerged as the leader of Athens' democratic party. In 454 he led a successful military campaign in Corinth and sponsored the establishment of Athenian colonies in Thrace and on the Black Sea coast. In 443 he was elected strategos (one of Athens' leading generals), a position he held, with one short interruption, for the rest of his life.

The 'Golden Age' of Athens

During the 440s and 430s Pericles tapped the league's treasury to fund vast cultural projects in Athens, most notably a series of structures on the city's hilltop Acropolis: the temple of Athena Nike, the Erechtheum and the towering Parthenon. Built to the highest standards of aesthetics, engineering and mathematics, these white marble structures were decorated with intricate statues and friezes carved by the era's greatest sculptors.

Pericles' social innovations were equally important to the era. He worked to democratize the fine arts by subsidizing theatre admission for poorer citizens and enabled civic participation by offering pay for jury duty and other civil service. Pericles maintained close friendships with the leading intellects of his time. The playwright Sophocles and the sculptor Phidias were among his friends. Pericles' consort Aspasia, one of the best-known women of ancient Greece, taught rhetoric to the young philosopher Socrates. Pericles himself was a master orator. His speeches and elegies (as recorded and possibly interpreted by Thucydides) celebrate the greatness of a democratic Athens at its peak.

The Peloponnesian War and the Death of Pericles

As Athens grew in power under Pericles, Sparta felt more and more threatened and began to demand concessions from the Athenians. Pericles refused, and in 431 B.C. conflict between Athens and Sparta's ally Corinth pushed the Spartan king Archidamus II to invade Attica near Athens. Pericles adopted a strategy that played to the Athenians' advantage as a naval force by evacuating the Attic countryside to deny the superior Spartan armies anyone to fight. With all his people collected within the walls of Athens, Pericles was free to make opportunistic seaborne attacks on Sparta's allies. This financially costly strategy worked well during the war's early years, but a plague hit the concentrated Athenian population, taking many lives and stirring discontent. Pericles was briefly deposed in 430, but after the Athenians' efforts to negotiate with Sparta failed, he was quickly reinstated.

In 429 Pericles' two legitimate sons died of the plague. A few months later, Pericles himself succumbed. His death was, according to Thucydides, disastrous for Athens. His strategies were quickly abandoned and the leaders who followed lacked Pericles' foresight and forbearance, instead "committing even the conduct of state affairs to the whims of the multitude."

All surviving statues and images of Pericles show him wearing a helmet—his rightful symbol as an Athenian general. It also covered his one known physical flaw—his outsize head. Contemporary poets nicknamed him Schinocephalos, "sea onion-head," after a bulbed plant found on the Mediterranean coast.

Timeline:		
	c.495	Birth of Pericles
	484	Ostracism of Pericles' father, Xanthippus (recalled in 480)
	462	Democratic reforms of Ephialtes
	461	Ostracism of Cimon; murder of Ephialtes.
	454	Pericles commands a force in Corinthian gulf. Delian Treasury moved to Athens
	451-50	Return of Cimon, who dies shortly afterwards on expedition to Cyprus
	447	Acropolis Building Programme begins; Pericles fortifies Chersonese.
	446	P's 'necessary expenses' prevent Spartan invasion
	443	Pericles elected general (1st of 15 times)
	442	Ostracism of Thucydides, son of Melesias
		Pericles as general leads campaigns against Samos (440-439) and in the Black Sea (430s)
	431	Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War
	429	Death of Pericles

Plut. Per. 6. These were not the only advantages that Pericles gained from his association with Anaxagoras. He seems also to have learned from his teaching to rise above that superstitious terror which springs from an ignorant wonder at the common phenomena of the heavens. It affects those who know nothing of the causes of such thigs, who fear the gods to the point of madness and are easily confused through their lack of experience. A knowledge of natural causes, on the other hand, banishes these fears and replaces morbid superstition with a piety which rests on a sure foundation supported by rational hopes.

There is a story that Pericles was once sent from his country estate the head of a one-horned ram.

Thereupon **Lampon[34], the soothsayer**, when he saw how the horn grew strong and solid out of the middle of the creature's forehead, declared that the mastery of the two dominant parties in the city - which at that time were led by Thucydides[35] and Pericles respectively – would be concentrated in the hands of one man, and that he would be the one to whom this sign was given.

Anaxagoras, on the other hand, had the skull dissected and proceeded to demonstrate that the brain had not filled its natural space, but had contracted into a point like an egg at that place in the cavity from which the horn grew.

On that occasion, so the story goes, it was **Anaxagoras** who won the admiration of the onlookers, but not long after **Lampon** came into his own, for Thucydides was overthrown and the entire control of affairs fell into Pericles' hands.

In my opinion, however, there was nothing to prevent both the scientist (τον φυσικόν) and the prophet from being right, since the one correctly diagnosed the cause and the other the meaning of the prodigy. It was the business of the first to observe why something happens and how it becomes what it is, and of the second to discover the cause of an event and its significance. Those who say that to discover the cause of a phenomenon disposes of its meaning fail to notice that the same reasoning which explains away divine portents would also dispense with the artificial symbols created by mankind. The beating of gongs, the blaze of beacons, and the shadows on sundials all have their particular causes, but have also been contrived to signify something else. However, this is perhaps a subject for a separate essay.

Plut. Per. 7 (not on the syllabus, but helpful)

*As a young man Pericles was inclined to shrink from facing the people. One reason for this was that he was considered to bear **a distinct resemblance to the tyrant Pisistratus**, and when men who were well-on in years remarked on the charm of Pericles' voice and the smoothness and fluency of his speech, they were astonished at the resemblance between the two. The fact that he was rich and came of a distinguished family and possessed exceedingly powerful friends made the fear of ostracism[36] very real to him, and **at the beginning of his career he took no part in politics but devoted himself to soldiering**, in which he showed great daring and enterprise. However, the time came when Aristides was dead, Themistocles was in exile, and Cimon frequently absent on distant campaigns. Then at last Pericles **decided to attach himself to the people's party and to take up the cause of the poor and the many** instead of the rich and the few, in spite of the fact that this was quite contrary to his own temperament, which was thoroughly aristocratic.*

[34] A celebrated soothsayer and interpreter of oracles. Pericles appointed him founder of the colony of Thurii in Italy. He was also a byword for his hypocrisy, orthodoxy and greed.

[35] **Not** the historian Thucydides (son of Olorus), but the son of Melesias from Alopece, connected by marriage to and successor of Cimon's conservative party. He opposed Pericles' building programme. Ostracised c. 443BC.

[36] Pericles himself was never ostracised, but his father Xanthippos was (484BC) and Pericles himself secured the ostracism of Cimon (c.461) and of Thucydides of Alopece, son of Melesias (c.443)

Aristocratic vs Popular politics

Plut. Per. 11. The aristocratic party had already recognised for some time that Pericles was now[37] the most important man in Athens and that he wielded far more power than any other citizen. But they were anxious that there should be someone in the city capable of standing up to him so as to blunt the edge of his authority and prevent it from becoming an outright monarchy. They therefore put forward **Thucydides, of Alopece**, a man of good sense and a relative of Cimon, to lead the opposition. He was less of a soldier than Cimon, but better versed in forensic business and an abler politician, and by watching his opportunities at home and engaging Pericles in debate, he soon succeeded in creating a balance of power in Athenian affairs. He did not allow the aristocrats, the so-called party of the good and true, to become dispersed among the mass of the people in the Assembly, as they had done in the past, with the result that their influence had been swamped by sheer numbers. Instead, by separating them and grouping them in a single body, he was able to concentrate their strength and make it an effective counterweight in the scale.

Aristocratic party
Cimon
Thucydides

Popularist Party
Themistocles
Ephialtes
Pericles

Below the surface of affairs in Athens, there had existed from the very beginning a kind of flaw or seam, such as one finds in a piece of iron, which gave a hint of the rift that divided the aims of the popular and the aristocratic parties; but now these two men's rival ambitions and their struggle for power sharply widened this cleavage and caused one side to be named the party of the many and the other of the few.

Pericles' popularist policies

Pericles therefore chose this moment to hand over the reins of power to the people to a greater extent than ever before and deliberately shaped his policy to please them.

- He constantly provided public pageants, banquets and processions in the city, entertaining the people like children with elegant pleasure;
- and he sent out 60 triremes to cruise every year, in which many of the citizens served with pay for eight months and learne and practised seamanship at the same time.
- Besides this, he dispatched 1,000 settlers to the Chersonese[38], 500 to Naxos, 250 to Andros, 1,000 to Thrace to make their homes with the Bisaltae, and others to the new colony named Thurii, which was founded in Italy near the site of Subaris.

In this way he relieved the city of a large number of idlers and agitators, raised the standards of the poorest classes, and, by installing garrisons amongst the allies, implanted at the same time a healthy fear of rebellion.

Plut. Per. 12. But there was **one measure above all** which at once gave the greatest pleasure to the Athenians, adorned their city and created amazement amongst the rest of mankind, and which is today the sole testimony that the tales of the ancient power and glory of Greece are no mere fables. **By this I mean his construction of temples and public buildings**; and yet it was this, more than any other action of his, which his enemies slandered and misrepresented. They cried out in the Assembly that Athens had lost her good name and disgraced herself by transferring from Delos into her own keeping the funds that had been contributed by the rest of Greece, and that now the most plausible excuse for this action, namely that the money had been removed for fear of the barbarians and was being guarded in a safe place, had been demolished by Pericles himself. 'The Greeks must be outraged,' they cried. 'They must consider this an act of bare-faced tyranny, when they see that **with their own contributions, extorted from them by force for the war against the Persians, we are gilding and beautifying our city, as if it were some vain woman decking herself out** with costly stones and statues and temples worth millions of money χιλιοταλάντους.'

[37] After the death of Cimon c.450BC.
[38] 448-7 Chersonese (captured c.475 by Cimon) colonised; 448 Naxos (revolted 469-7) settled by Athenians; c. 446?? Andros settled by Athenians; 443 Thurii (razed to the ground in 510 by Croton) settled by Greeks from a number of different states.

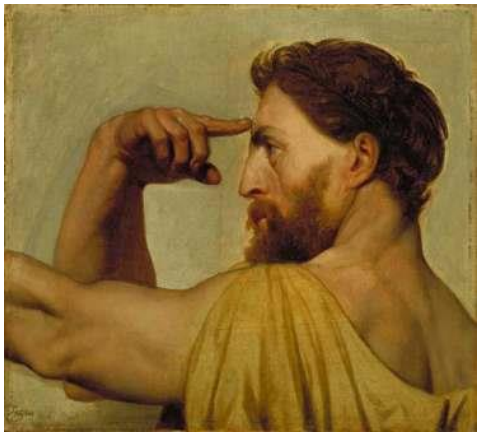
Pericles' defends his building programme

Pericles' answer[39] to the people was that the Athenians were not obliged to give allies any account of how their money was spent, provided that they carried on the war for them and kept the Persians away. 'They do not give us a single horse, nor a soldier, not a ship. All they supply is money,' he told the Athenians, '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. It is no more than fair that after Athens has been equipped with all she needs to carry on the war, she should apply the surplus to public works, which, once they are completed, will bring her glory for all time, and while they are being built will convert that surplus to immediate use. In this way all kinds of enterprises and demands will be created which will provide inspiration for every art, find employment for every hand, and transform the whole people into wage-earners, so that the city will decorate and maintain herself at the same time from her own resources.'

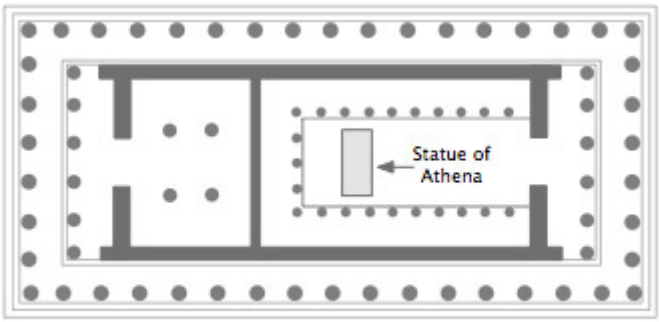
Certainly it was true that those who were of military age and physically in their prime could always earn their pay from the public funds by serving on Pericles' various campaigns. But he was also anxious that the unskilled masses, who had no military training, should not be debarred from benefiting from the national income, and yet should not be paid for sitting about and doing nothing. So he boldly laid before the people proposals for immense public works and plans for buildings, which would involve many different arts and industries and require long periods to complete, his object being that those who stayed at home, no less than those serving in the fleet or the army or on garrison duty, should be enabled to enjoy a share of the national wealth. The materials to be used were stone, bronze, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress-wood, while the arts or trades which wrought or fashioned them were those of carpenter, modeller, coppersmith, stone mason, dyer, worker in gold and ivory, painter, embroiderer, and engraver, and besides these the carriers and suppliers of materials, such as merchants, sailors, and pilots for the sea-borne traffic, and waggon-makers, trainers of draught animals, and drivers for everything that came by land. There were also rope-makers, weavers, leatherworkers, roadbuilders and miners. Each individual craft, like a general with an army under his separate command, had its own corps of unskilled labourers at its disposal, and these worked in a subordinate capacity, as an instrument obeys the hand, or the body the soul, and so through these various demands the city's prosperity was extended far and wide and shared among every age and condition in Athens.

Plut. Per. 13. So the buildings arose, as imposing in their sheer size as they were inimitable in the grace of their outlines, since the artists strove to excel themselves in the beauty of their workmanship. And yet the most wonderful thing about them was the speed with which they were completed. Each of them, men supposed, would take many generations to build, but **in fact the entire project was carried through in the high summer of one man's administration**. On the other hand we are told that when Zeuxis the painter once heard Agatharchus boasting about how swiftly and easily he painted his figures, his retort was, 'Mine take, and last, a long time.' Certainly mere dexterity and speed of execution seldom give a lasting value to a work of art or bestow a delicate beauty upon it. It is the time laid out in laborious creating which repays us later through the enduring strength it confers. It is this, above all, which makes Pericles' works an object of wonder to us – the fact that they were created in so short a span, and yet for all time. Each one possessed a beauty which seemed venerable the moment it was born, and at the same time a youthful vigour which makes them appear to this day as if they were newly built. A bloom of eternal freshness hovers over these works of his and preserves them from the touch of time, as if some unfading spirit of youth, some ageless vitality had been breathed into them.

[39] The Athenian case was that their protection kept off the Persians and kept down the pirates. What the allies resented was not only the high cosr of these services in tribute, but also the political control exercised from Athens. It was only the larger islands, Chios, Mytilene (on Lesbos) and Samos which possessed their own oligarchies. The allies were also subject to Athenian courts.

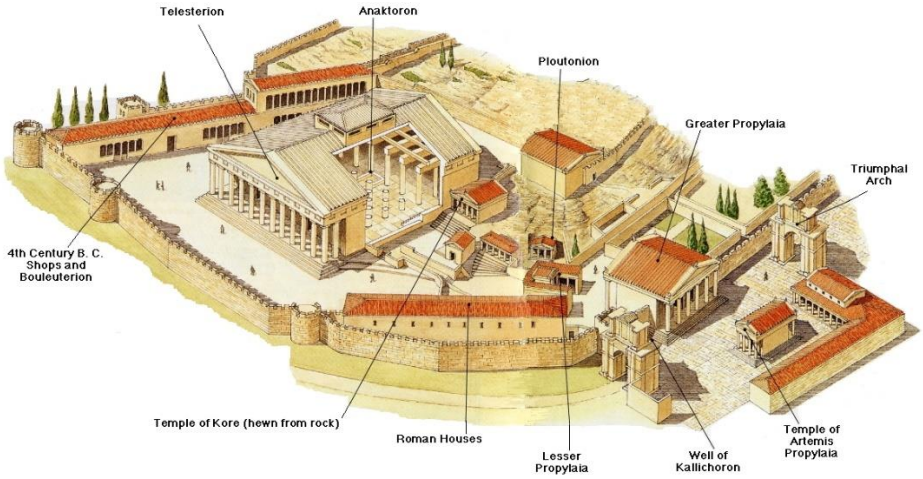


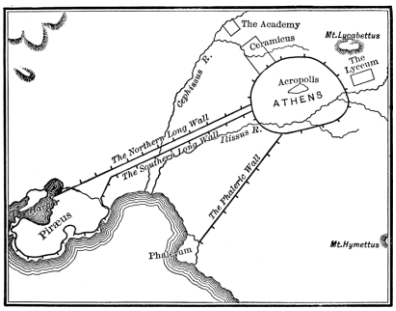
The director and supervisor of the whole enterprise was Pheidias, although there were various great architects and artists employed on individual buildings. For example, Callicrates and Ictinus were the architects of the **Parthenon** with its cella 100 feet long.



Plan of the Parthenon

Plut. Per. 13. (contd) It was Coroebus who started to build the **temple of initiation at Eleusis**, but he only lived to see te columns erected on the lower story and the architraves places on the capitals. After his death, Metagenes of Xypete added the frieze and the upper colonnade, and Xenocles of the deam of Cholargus crowned it with the lantern over the shrine.





Callicrates was the architect of the **third Long Wall,[40] which ran between the original two**, and for which Socrates says[41] that he himself heard Pericles propose the decree to the people. Cratinus[42] makes fun of the slow progress of the work, saying

> Pericles had built this wall long ago, if words could do it;
> In fact, not one inch has been added to it.

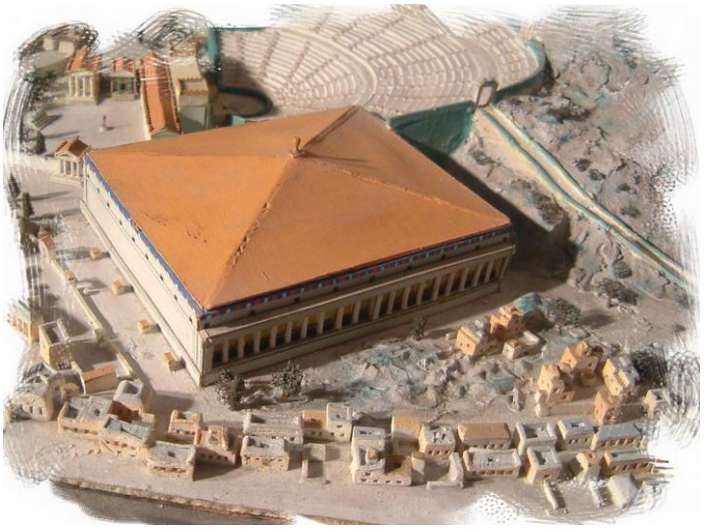
[40] The two original Long Walls had been built a considerable ditance apart. If an enemy attack broke through either, communication with the Piraeus would have been interrupted, so Pericles built a third, which ran parallel to the Western Wall and some two hundred yards inside it.
[41] Plato, Gorgias 455e
[42] A comic poet and rival of Aristophanes.

The **Odeon**, with its interior arranged to accommodate many rows of seats and supporting columns, and its circular roof sloping down from its apex, was said to be **an exact reproduction of the King of Persia's pavilion**, and this was also built under Pericles' direction. For this reason Cratinus has another joke at his expense in *Th Thracian Women:*

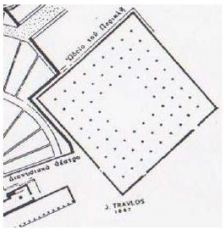
> As Zeus an onion on his head he wears,
> As Pericles a whole orchestra bears;
> Afraid of broils and banishment no more,
> He tunes the shell he trembled at before.

At the same time, still in pursuit of distinction, Pericles had a decree passed to establish a musical contest as part of the Panathenaic festival. He himself was elected one of the stewards and laid down rules as to how the competitors should sing or play the flute or the lyre. At that time and from thenceforward the audience came to the Odeon to hear the musical contests.

The **Odeon of Pericles** was used for the musical contests and the training of the tragic and comic choirs.

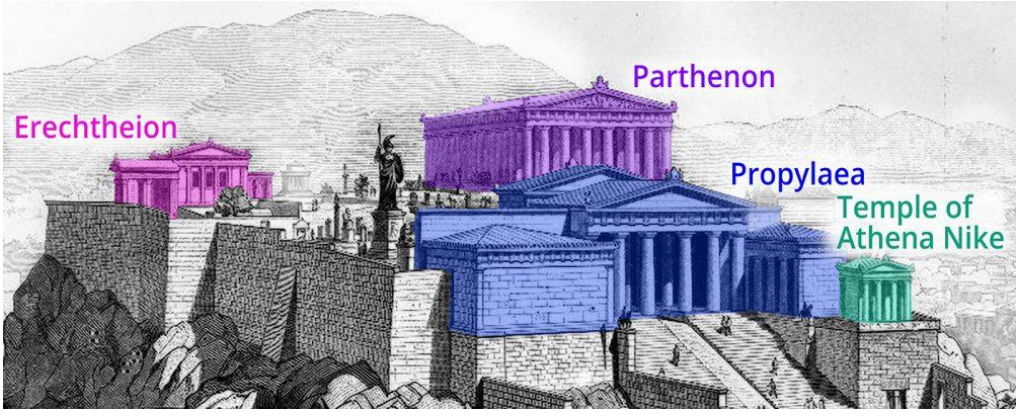


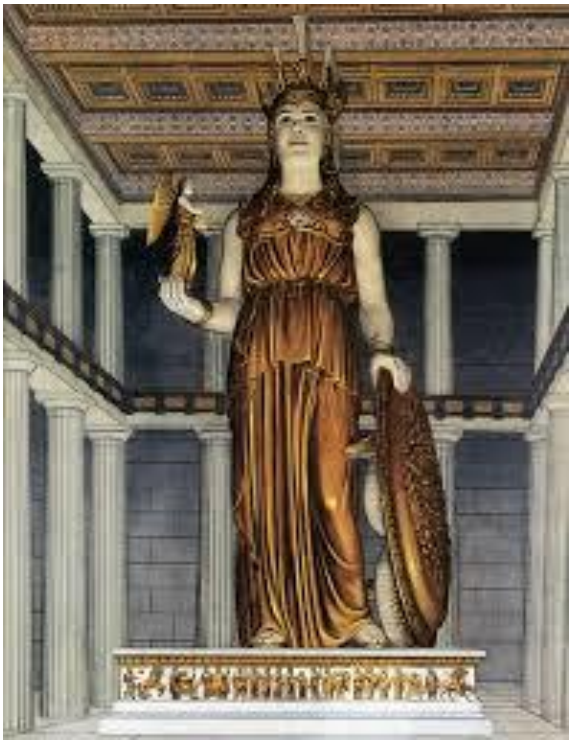
Odeion of Pericles



Pericles' Odeon was a **hypostyle rectangular hall** with nine rows of ten **columns**, and, along the whole length of the walls, **wooden benches**. To cover it there was a pyramid-shaped roof, with (probably) a central dormer flap to let in daylight and fresh air. The Odeion was burned down during Sulla's siege of Athens in the First Mithradatic War, 87-86 BC, but it was restored in the second half of the 1st cent. BC.

The Propylaea, or portals of the Acropolis, of which Mnesicles was the architect, were finished in the space of five years. While they were being built, a miraculous incident took place, which suggested that the goddess Athena herself, so far from standing aloof, was taking a hand and helping to complete the work. One of the workmen, the most active and energetic among them, slipped and fell from a great height. He lay for some time severely injured, and the doctors could hold out no hope that he would recover. Pericles was greatly distressed at this, but the goddess appeared to him in a dream and ordered a course of treatment, which he applied, with the result that the man was easily and quickly healed. It was to commemorate this that Pericles set up the bronze statue of Athena the Healer near the altar dedicated to the goddess, which they say was there before.





But it was Pheidias who directed the making of the great golden statue of Athena, and his name is duly inscribed upon the marble tablet on the Acropolis as its creator. Almost the whole enterprise was in his hands, and because of his friendship with Pericles all the artists and craftsmen, as I have said, came under his orders. The result was that he himself became the victim of envy and his patron of slander, for the rumour was put about that Pheidias arranged intrigues for Pericles with free-born Athenian women, when they came on the pretext of looking at the works of art. The comic poets took up this story and showered Peicles with all the innuendoes they could invent, coupling his name with the wife of Menippus, a man who was his friend and had served as his second in command in the army. Even Pyrilampus' fondness for keeping birds was dragged in, and because he was a friend of Pericles, he was accused of using his peacocks as presents for the women who granted Pericles their favours. The fact is that men who know nothing of decency in their own lives are only too ready to launch foul slanders against their betters and to offer them up as victims to the evil deity of popular envy. And, indeed, we can hardly be surprised as this, when we find that even Stesimbrotus of Thasos has dared to give currency to the shocking and completely unfounded charge that Pericles seduced his son's wife.

This only goes to show how thickly the truth is hedged around with obstacles and how hard it is to track down by historical research. Writers who live after the events they describe find that their view of them is obscured by the lapse of time, while those who investigate the deeds and lives of their contemporaries are equally apt to corrupt and distort the truth, in some cases because of envy or private hatred, in others through the desire to flatter or show favour.

Ostracism of Thucydides, son of Melesias c.443BC

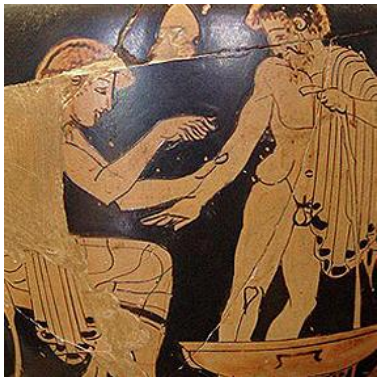
Plut. Per. 14. Thucydides and other members of his party were constantly denouncing Pericles for squandering public money and letting the national revenue run to waste, and so Pericles appealed to the people in the Assembly to declare whether in their opinion he had spent too much. 'Far too much,' was their reply, whereupon Pericles retorted, 'Very well then, do not let it be charged to the public account but to my own, and I will dedicate all the public buildings in my name.' It may have been that the people admired such a gesture in the grand manner, or else they were just as ambitious as Pericles to have a share in the glory of his works. At any rate they raised an uproar and told him to draw freely on the public funds and spare no expense in his outlay. **Finally, Pericles ventured to put the matter to the test of an ostracism, and the result was that he secured his rival's banishment** 443BC and the dissolution of the party which had been organised against him.

Pericles' domination of Athenian politics

Plut. Per. 15. From this point political opposition was at an end, the parties had merged themselves into one, and the city presented a single and unbroken front. Pericles now proceeded to bring under his own control not only home affairs, but all issues in which the authority of Athens was involved: these included matters of tribute, the army, the navy, the islands, maritime affairs, the great resources which Athens derived both from the Greek states and from the barbarians, and the leadership she exercised which was buttressed by subject states, friendships with kings and alliances with dynasties.

But at the same time Pericles' own conduct took on quite a different character. He was no longer so docile towards the people, nor so ready to give way to their caprices, which were shifting and changeable as the winds. He abandoned the somewhat nerveless and indulgent leadership he had shown on occasion, which might be compared to a soft and flowery melody, and struck instead the firm, high note of an aristocratic, even regal statesmanship. And since he used his authority honestly and unswervingly in the interests of the city, he was usually able to carry the people with him by rational argument and persuasion.

Plutarch uses the imagery of a doctor, ship's captain and musician to explain Pericles' political approach



Still there were times when they bitterly resented his policy, and then he tightened the reins and forced them to do what was to their advantage, much as a wise physician treats a prolonged and complicated disease, allowing the patient at some moments pleasures which can do him no harm, and at others giving him caustics and bitter drugs which cure him. There were, as might be expected, all kinds of disorders to be found among a mass of citizens who possessed an empire as great as that of Athens, and Pericles was the only man capable of keeping each of these under control. He achieved this most often by using the people's hopes and fears as if they were rudders, curbing them when they were arrogant and raising their hopes or comforting them when they were disheartened. In this way he proved that rhetoric, in Plato's phrase[43] is the art of working upon the souls of men by means of words, and that its chief business is the knowledge of men's characters and passions which are, so to speak, the strings and stops of the soul and require a most skilful and delicate touch.

The secret of Pericles' power depended, so Thucydides tells us,[44] not merely upon his oratory, but upon the reputation which his whole course of life had earned him and upon the confidence he enjoyed as a man who had proved himself completely indifferent to bribes. Great as Athens had been when he became her leader, he made her the greatest and richest of all cities, and he came to hold more power in his hands than many a king and tyrant. And in the end he did not increase the fortune his father left him by so much as a single drachma from public funds, a source of wealth which some men even managed to pass on to their children.

[43] Phaedrus 271c
[44] Thucydides 2.65

Other contemporary views of Pericles' dominance

Plut. Per. 16. But despite his unselfishness, there can be no doubt as to his power, which Thucydides describes to us clearly, while even the comic poets testify to it unwittingly in some of their malicious jokes. For example, they nicknamed him and his associates '**the new Pisistratids**', and call upon him to take the oath that he will never set himself up as tyrant, as if his supremacy were too oppressive and out of all proportion in a democracy.

Telecleides says that the Athenians had handed over to him

The cities' tribute, even the cities themselves
To hold or to set free as he thinks fit,
And the cities' walls to build up or pull down,
Their treaties ad their armies, their power, their peace,
Their wealth, and all the gifts good fortune brings.

And all this was by no means a sudden harvest, the climax of popularity of an administration which flourished only for a brief season. The fact is that for forty years Pericles held the first place among men such as Ephialtes[45], Myronides, Cimon, Tolmides and Thucydides (son of Melesias), and after the fall of Thucydides and his ostracism, he exercised for no less than fifteen years a continuous, unbroken authority through his annual tenure of the office of general. During the whole of this period he proved himself completely incorruptible by bribery, although he was not altogether averse to making money.

Pericles' private wealth and domestic accounts

As for the wealth he had legally inherited, he adopted what seemed to him the simplest and most exact way of dealing with it, to ensure that his fortune should not be dissipated by neglect not yet cause him much trouble or loss of time when his mind was occupied with higher things. His practice was to dispose of each year's produce in a single sale, and then to buy in the market each item as it was needed for his daily life and his household. This arrangement did not endear Pericles to his sons when they grew up, nor did their wives find him at all a generous provider. They blamed his precise day-to-day regulation of expenses, since it allowed no margin for the superfluities which are usual in a great house in prosperous circumstances, but instead obliged his income and his purchase to balance one another exactly. He had one servant, Evangelus, who kept up all his meticulous accounting, and who was either exceptionally gifted by nature or else was trained by Pericles, so that he excelled everyone else in the science of domestic economy.

This course of conduct owed nothing to the wisdom of Anaxagoras for the philosopher went so far as to abandon his house and let his land lie fallow and be grazed by sheep, while he pursued his loft thoughts and his passion for speculation. However, the life of a contemplative philosopher is a very different thing, I take it, from the life of a stateman. The former brings his intellect to bear upon great and noble ends, but without the aid of instruments and independently of external factors; whereas the latter, in so far as he applies his gifts to the common needs of mankind, must sometimes regard wealth not merely as one of the necessities of life, but even as one of its nobler elements, as in fact was the case with Pericles, who gave help to many of the poorer citizens.

[45] Ephialtes' reforms to the Areopagus were in 462; he was murdered in 461BC; Aeschylus' *Oresteia* was produced in 458. Pericles was choregos to Aeschylus' *Persae* 472.

Plut. Per. 16 contd. It is said, too, that at a time when Pericles was absorbed in public affairs, Anaxagoras who was by then an old man with no-one to care for him, took to his bed and covered his face with his robe, determined to starve himself to death. When Pericles heard this news he was horrified and at once ran to the poor man and begged him to live. He used every argument and entreaty and lamented not so much Anaxagoras' fate as his own, if he were now to lose such a trusted counsellor in matters of government. At this Anaxagoras, so the story goes, unmuffled his head and said, 'Pericles, even a lamp has oil put in it by those who need it.'

Anaxagoras and Pericles by Augustin-Louis Belle (1757–1841)

The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War 431BC

In fact, it seems likely that the Athenians 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 come to terms with them. And since it was Pericles who opposed this solution most 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****.* **Plutarch,** *Life of Pericles* 29.

The Megarian Decree

Plut. Per. 30. It is said that the Spartan mission arrived in Athens to discuss this very subject and that Pericles took refuge in the pretext that there was a law which forbade the tablet on which the Megarian Decree was inscribed to be taken down.

'Very well, then,' one of the envoys named Polyalces suggested, 'there is no need to take it down. Just turn it to face the wall! Surely there is no law forbidding that!'

This was neatly put, but it had no effect on Pericles, who seems to have harboured some private grudge against the Megarians.

However, the charge which he brought against them in public was that they had appropriated for their own profane use the territory of Eleusis, which was consecrated to Demeter and Persephone, and he propsed that a herald should be sent first to them and should then proceed to Sparta to complain of their conduct. Pericles was certainly responsible for this decree, which sets out to justify his action in humane and reasonable terms. But then the herald who was sent, Anthemocritus, met his death at the hands of the Megarians, so it was believed, and thereupon Charinus proposed a decree against them.

This laid it down that henceforth:

- Athens should be the irreconcilable and implacable enemy of Megara,
- that any Megarians setting foot in Attica should be put to death
- and that the generals, whenever they took the traditional oath of office, should swear besides that they would invade the Megarid twice in each year
- And that Anthemocritus should be buried with honours beside the Thriasian gates, which are now known as the Dipylon.

On their side the Megarians denied that they had murdered Anthemocritus, and threw blame for the Athenians' actions upon Pericles and Aspasia, quoting those famous and hackneyed verses from Aristophanes' *Acharnians*:

> *Some young Athenians in a drunken frolic*
> *Kidnapped Simaetha, the courtesan from Megara.*
> *The Megarians were furious, primed themselves with garlic*
> *Just like the fighting cocks, then came and stole*
> *Two of Aspasia's girls to get their own back.* *524f*

Plut. Per. 31. The real reasons which caused the decree to be passed Megarian Decree c.432BC are extremely hard to discover, but all writers agree in blaming Pericles for the fact that it was not revoked. Some of them, however, say that his firm stand on this point was based on the highest motives combined with shrewd appreciation of where Athens' best interests lay, since he believed that the demand had been made to test his resistance, and that to have complied with it would have been regarded simply as an admission of weakness. But there are others who consider that he defied the Spartans out of an aggressive arrogance and a desire to demonstrate his own strength.

Four attacks on Pericles through the Law courts: i) Charge against Pheidias

However, the most damning charge of all, and yet the one which finds most support, runs something like this. Pheidias the sculptor had been entrusted, as I have mentioned, with the contract for producing the great statue of Athena. His friendship with Pericles, with whom he had great influence, earned him a number of enemies through sheer jealousy, while others made use of him to test the mood of the people and see what their temper would be in a case in which Pericles was involved.

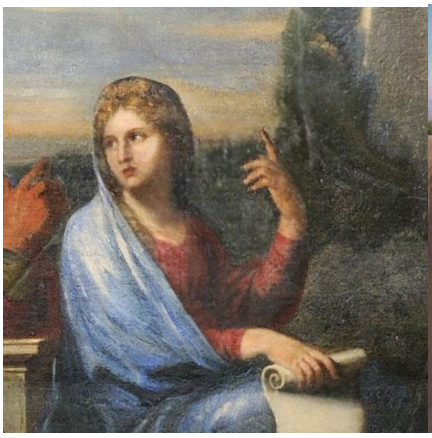
They therefore persuaded Menon, one of the artists working under Pheidias, to seat himself in the market-place as a suppliant and ask for the protection of the state in return for laying information against Pheidias. The people granted the man's plea and a motion for Pheidias' prosecution was laid before the Assembly. The charge of embezzlement was not proved, because from the very beginning, on Pericles' advice, the gold used for the statue had been superimposed and laid around it in such a way that it could all be taken off and weighed, and this was what Pericles now ordered the prosecutors to do.

However the fame of Pheidias' works still served to arouse jealousy against him, especially because in the relief of the battle of the Amazons, which is represented on the shield of the goddess, he carved a figure representing himself as a bald old man lifting up a stone with both hands, and also because he introduced a particularly fine likeness of Pericles fighting an Amazon. The position of the hand, which appears to hold a spear in front of Pericles' face, seems to have been ingeniously contrived to conceal the resemblance, but it can still be seen quite plainly from either side.

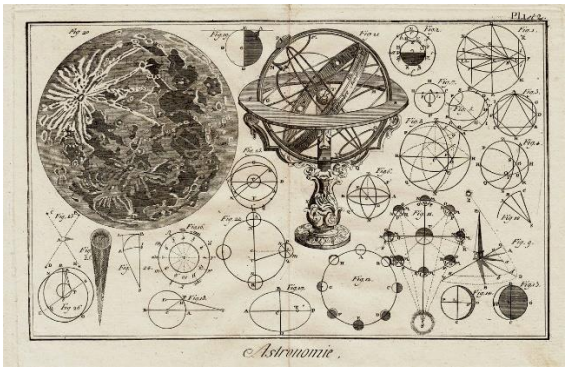
So Pheidias was cast into prison and there he fell sick and died. According to some accounts he was poisoned by his enemies in an attempt to blacken Pericles' name still further. As for the informer, Menon, a law was passed, on Glycon's motion, to make him exempt from all taxes and public burdens and the generals were ordered to provide for his safety.

ii) and iii) attacks on Aspasia and Anaxagoras

Plut. Per. 32. About the same time **Aspasia** was put on trial for impiety. She was prosecuted by Hermippus the comic poet, who also accused her of procuring free-born Athenian women for Pericles and receiving them into her house.



A decree was also introduced by Diopeithes, the diviner, to the effect that anybody who did not believe in the gods or taught theories about celestial phenomena should be liable to prosecution, and this was aimed to cast suspicions on Pericles through **Anaxagoras**.



Building accounts from Parthenon

iv) Direct attack on Pericles

The people took up these slanders only too readily, and while they were in this mood a bill was passed on Dracontides' initiative directing that the accounts of the public funds that **Pericles** had spent should be deposited with the Prytanes, and that the jurors should pronounce their verdict on his case with ballots which had lain on the altar of the goddess on the Acropolis. However, this clause of the decree was amended by Hagnon, who moved that the case should be tried in the usual way, but before a body of 1,500 jurors, no matter whether it was to be termed a prosecution for embezzlement or bribery or malversation.

Outcomes of the cases against Aspasia, Anaxagoras and Pericles

Pericles contrived to beg off **Aspasia** by bursting into floods of tears during her trial, so Aeschines tells us, and making a personal appeal to the jurors, but he was so alarmed for **Anaxagoras's** safety that he smuggled him out of the city. Pericles had already fallen foul of the people on the occasion of Pheidias' trial and he dreaded the jury's verdict in his own case, and so **now that the war was threatening and smouldering, we are told that he deliberately fanned it into flame**. He hoped in this way to dispel the charges against him and make the people forget their jealousy, since he knew that as soon as any great enterprise or danger was in prospect the city would put herself in his hands alone because of his great authority and prestige. These are the motives which are alleged for his refusal to allow the people to give way to the demands of Sparta, but the true history of these events is hidden from us.

Plut. Per. 36. After this the troubles of Pericles' life were soon to be at an end, once the people had stung him and, as it were, left behind their fury in their sting. But his private affairs now caused him great distress. He had lost some of his closest friends in the plague and his affections had for some time past been torn by a family feud.

A family feud brought to court: Pericles vs his eldest son, Xanthippus

Xanthippus, the eldest of his legitimate sons, was a spendthrift by nature, who had married a young and extravagant wife, the daughter of Tisander, Epilycus's son. Xanthippus resented his father's passion for economy and the meagre allowance he was given, and still more the fact that he only received it in small amounts. He therefore approached one of Pericles' friends and borrowed money from him, pretending that this was on Pericles' instructions. When the friend later asked for repayment, Pericles, so far from settling the debt, brought an action against him. Young Xanthippus was furious and began opnely to abuse his father, telling stories to raise a laugh against him about his management of affairs at home and his conversations with Sophists.

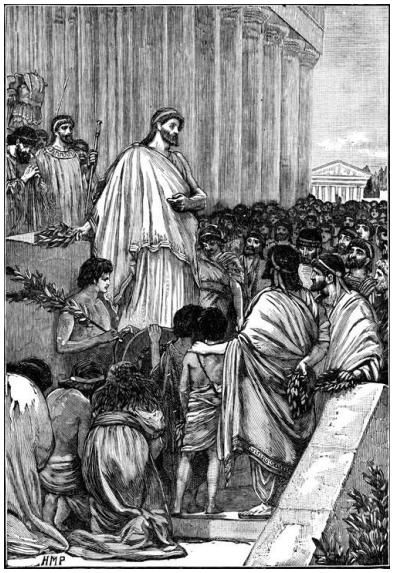
Pericles and the Sophists:

For example, there was an athlete who had accidentally hit Epitimus the Pharsalian with a javelin and killed him, and Pericles wasted an entire day, according to Xanthippus, arguing with **Protagoras** as to whether, 'in the strictest sense', it was the javelin, or the man who threw it, or the judges of the games, who should be held responsible for the accident.

According to Stesimbrotus it was also Xanthippus who put about the scandalous story concerning his own wife's association with Pericles, and he says that to the very end of Xanthippus' life the quarrel between him and his father was never made up, for the young man fell sick and died during the plague.

Nicolas Poussin - La Peste à Ashdod

Plut. Per. 37. The people tried other generals and politicians in turn to carry on the war, but they found that none of these possessed a stature or an authority that was equal to the task of leadership. So the city came to long for Pericles and summoned him back to the Assembly and the War Department. Because of his grief he was lying at home in dejected spirits, but he was persuaded by Alcibiades and his other friends to appear again in public.



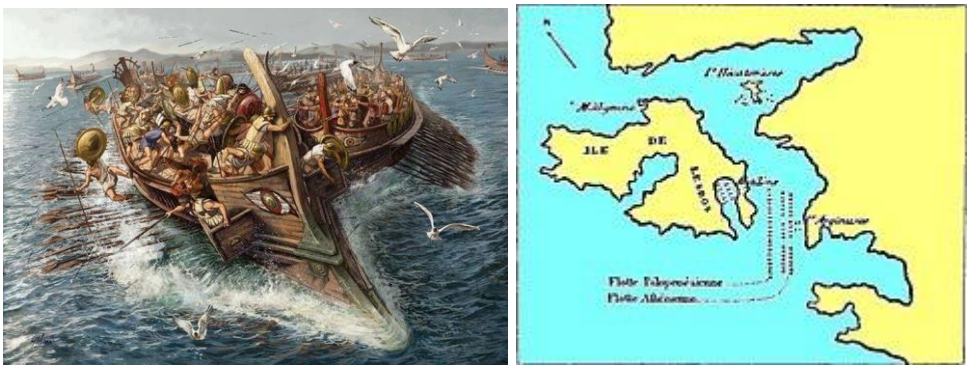
After the people had made their amends for their ungrateful treatment of him and he had once more taken over the direction of affairs and been elected general, he pleaded that the law concerning children born out of wedlock, which he himself had originally introduced, might be suspended for once in his favour. He asked this so that the name and lineage of his house should not die out for want of an heir.

Pericles' Citizenship Law 451BC

The circumstances of this law were as follows. For many years before, when Pericles was at the height of his power, and, as I have mentioned, had legitimate children born to him, he proposed a law that only those who could claim Athenian parentage on both sides should be counted as Athenian citizens. So, when the king of Egypt presented Athens with 40,000 measures of grain and this gift had to be distributed among the citizens, a long succession of lawsuits began to be brought against those whose birth was illegitimate according to Pericles' law, but who until that moment had escaped notice and never been questioned, and many of them suffered at the hands of informers. As a result, nearly 5,000 people were convicted and sold into slavery, while those who retained their citizenship and were acknowledged to be true Athenians were found after this scrutiny to number 14,040.

It was therefore 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. However, the Athenians felt that 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, and their hearts were touched.

It seemed to them that retribution had fallen upon him, and that his plea was one which it was only human for him to make and for them to grant, and so they allowed him to enrol his illegitimate son in the family phratry lists and to give him his own name. This was the son who, many years later, defeated the Peloponnesians in the naval battle at the Arginusae Islands[46] and was put to death by popular decree along with his fellow generals.



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Plutarch, Nicias, 3.1–2, 11

Contrast between Pericles, Cleon and Nicias

Life of Nicias **3.**1–2 **Pericles** had governed Athens above all **by virtue of his natural superiority and the force of his eloquence** and consequently he needed no disguises or specious promises in his dealings with the people.

Nicias, on the other hand, lacked these qualities but was exceptionally rich and used his wealth to win their favour. He could not command either the **opportunism** or that **knack of playing to the gallery** with which **Cleon** constantly **humoured** the Athenian people, and since he had little confidence that he could beat Cleon at his own game, **he tried to ingratiate himself by providing dramatic and gymnastic exhibitions and other forms of public munificence** on a more expensive and sumptuous scale than anything ever seen in Athens before. Two of his offerings to the gods still are standing in my day – the statue of Pallas Athene on the Acropolis, which has lost its gold plating, and also the shrine placed under the tripods in the precinct of Dionysus.

Nicias won the prize many times with the chorus he presented, and, indeed, he was never defeated.

The ceremonies which Nicias organised at Delos have gone down in history both as **acts of devotion** to the god and as a **demonstration of lavish public generosity**. He had a bridge of boats made, magnificently guilded, painted and hung with garlands and tapestries; at dawn he led over from Rheneia, a nearby small island the procession in honour of the god, splendidly dressed and chanting their hymn as they marched. He dedicated the well-known palm-tree of bronze and also a small estate which he bought for 10,000 drachmas for the islanders to offer sacrifices and provide themselves with a banquet, at which they were to pray for blessings for Nicias from the gods. These instructions were engraved on a column which he set up in Delos.

Nicias's feud with Alcibiades

11. At last the feud between Nicias and grew so bitter that it was decided to resort to an **ostracism** 417BC. It was the custom of the people to arrange this at intervals and thus to banish for ten years any man who had become the object of suspicion on account of his great reputation, or who was unduly envied for his wealth. Both men now found themselves in a confused and dangerous situation, for it seemed certain that the ostracism was certain to fall upon one or the other.

The Athenians detested Alcibiades' manner of living and they also feared his lawless nature, as is explained more fully in his biography. On the other hand they were jealous of Nicias for his riches, and all the more so because his habits, which far from being genial or sociable were **aloof** and **aristocratic** and seemed **quite alien** to their eyes. Besides, **he had often opposed their inclinations and obliged them to do what was in their true interests but against their wishes**, and this, too, made him unpopular.

To sum it up, **the contest was between the younger generation who desired war and the older who were for peace**: the former wanted the ostracism to fall on Nicias, the latter on Alcibiades.

Outcome of the ostracism of 417BC

But '*Once civil strife has begun, even scoundrels may find themselves honoured*' Callimachus

and so in this case the division of the city into two factions gave the most wreckless and unscrupulous characters their opportunity. One of these was **Hyperbolus** of the deme of Perithoidae, a man whose audacity was based on no solid position of influence, but whose position, on the contrary, had been created simply by his own audacity; in fact, the very support he received was a disgrace to the city. At this moment Hyperbolus could feel that he was beyond the reach of ostracism, since he was indeed, only fit for the pillory. He calculated that if one of his two opponents were banished, he himself might become a match for the survivor, and he openly rejoiced at their rivalry and tried to inflame public feeling against them both. The result was that Nicias and Alcibiades saw through his unscrupulous plan: they came to a secret agreement to combine their interests and by setting their supporters to work, they combined to divert the ostracism from themselves so that it fell on Hyperbolus.

At first the people were delighted and treated the result as a great joke. But later they were angry at the thought that the institution of the ostracism should have been degraded by being applied to so unworthy a creature. There was a general feeling that even punishment carries a certain dignity with it, or rather that the ostracism came as a punishment to men such as Thucydides or Aristides, whereas to Hyperbolus it was an honour which enabled him to boast that his iniquitous conduct had now earned him a place beside the greatest patriots. As Plato the comic poet expressed it:

The man deserved the fate, deny who can:
Yes, but the fate did not deserve the man.
Not for the like of him and his slave-brands
Did Athens put the sherd into our hands.

70 years of Ostracisms: 488/7-417BC

In the end the Athenians never again resorted to the ostracism. Hyperbolus was the last man to suffer from it, as Hipparchus of Cholargus, a relative of the tyrant Pisistratus, had been the first 488/487BC.

How intricate are the workings of fortune and how unfathomable to human reason. If Nicias had risked a straight fight with Alcibiades, he would either have won and lived in safety with his rival expelled from the city or, if he had lost, he would have left Athens before the disaster which finally overtook him and still preserved his reputation as a highly successful general. I know that according to Theophrastus it was Alcibiades and Phraeax, and not Nicias, who were involved in the ostracism which resulted in Hyperbolus' banishment, but more writers follow the account which I have given.

Plutarch, Alcibiades, 10, 16, 19, 20.2–4, 34

Life of Alcibiades 9: Alcibiades owned an exceptionally large and handsome dog, which he had bought for 70 minae, and it possessed an extremely fine tail, which he had cut off. His friends scolded him and told him that everyone was angry for the dog's sake.

Alcibiades only laughed and retorted: 'That is exactly what I wanted. I am quite content for the whole of Athens to chatter about this; it will stop them saying anything worse about me.'

Life of Alcibiades 10: His first appearance in public life, it is said, was not an occasion he had planned, but it was connected, quite by chance with a voluntary subscription to the state. Alcibiades was passing the Assembly at a moment when there was a sudden burst of loud applause, and he asked what was the cause of the excitement. When he heard that a public subscription was in progress, he went up to the platform and offered a contribution himself. The crowd clapped their hands and cheered with delight, so much so that Alcibiades forgot about a quail which he happened to be carrying under his cloak, and the bird took fright and flew away. At this the people shouted all the louder and many of them jumped up to help chase the bird. The man who finally caught it and returned it to him was Antiochus see ch. 35, the pilot who as a result of this episode later became a close friend of Alcibiades.

Alcibiades' charm, rhetorical skills and political acumen

Because of Alcibiades' birth, his wealth, and his personal courage in battle, every door to a public career stood open to him. But although he attracted many friends and followers, **he counted above all else on his charm** to give him a hold over the people. And in fact not only do the comic poets testify that he was a most effective speaker, but the greatest orator Athens ever knew, Demosthenes, refers to Alcibiades in his speech *Against Meidias*, as a man who spoke with extraordinary power, in addition to his other gifts. If we can believe Theophrastus, who is the most diligent in his research and the best informed in hisotrical matters of all the philosophers, Alcibiades possessed in a higher degree than any of his contemporaries the faculty of discerning and grasping what was required in a given situation.

However, as he strove to find not merely the right thing to say, but also the proper words and phrases in which to clothe his thoughts, and as he did not have a large command of vocabulary, he would often hesitate in the middle of his speech, and even stop dead and pause while the necessary phrase eluded him, and then he would start again with great caution.

Alcibiades' luxurious and extravagant lifestyle


Plutarch, Life of Alcibiades 16. In the midst of this display of statesmanship, eloquence, cleverness and exalted ambition, Alcibiades lived a life of prodigious luxury, drunkenness, debauchery and insolence. He was effeminate in his dress and would walk through the market place trailing his long purple robes, and he spent extravagantly. He had the decks of his triremes cut away to allow him to sleep more comfortably, and his bedding was slung on cords, rather than spread on the hard planks.


He had a gold shield made for him, which was emblazoned not with any ancestral device, but with the figure of Eros armed with a thunderbolt. The leading men of Athens watched all this with disgust and indignation and they were deeply disturbed by his contemptuous and lawless behaviour, which seemed to them monstrous and suggested the habits of a tyrant.

The people's feelings towards him have been very aptly expressed by Aristophanes in the line:

> *They long for him, they hate him, they cannot do without him.* Aristophanes' *Frogs* 1425 [405BC]

and again, still more emphatically in the guise of a metaphor:

> *Better not bring up a lion inside your city,*
> *But if you must, then humour his moods.* Aristophanes' *Frogs* 1431-2 [405BC]

The fact was that his voluntary donations, the public shows he supported, his unrivalled munificence to the state, the fame of his ancestry, the power of his oratory and his physical strength and beauty, together with his experience and prowess in war, all combined to make the Athenians forgive him everything else, and they were constantly finding euphemisms for his lapses and putting them down to youthful high spirits and honourable ambition.


Sought after artist *Choregic moument of Lysicrates 335/4BC* *Dean Karnazes*

Plutarch, Life of Alcibiades 16 contd.

For example, he once locked up Agatharchus the artist in his house until he had decorated it with paintings for him, and then let him go with a handsome present, and he boxed the ears of Taureas who was presenting a chorus in competition with him, so anxious was Alcibiades to win the prize.

On another occasion he chose a woman from among the prisoners taken At Melos [416. Thuc Melian Dialogue, Book 5.116] to be his mistress and brought up the child he had by her. People called this an example of his good nature, but in fact Alcibiades bore a heavy share of the responsibility for the execution of all the grown men on the island, since he had given his support to the motion which decreed this.

When Aristophon painted an allegorical picture which showed Nemea[47] embracing Alcibiades, people were delighted and came in crowds to look at it. But the older generation were offended at this, too; they thought it a sight fit for a tyrant's court and an insult to the laws in Athens.

Archestratus was evidently speaking very much to the point when he said that **Greece could not find room for more than one Alcibiades.**

Shakespeare's Timon of Athens: *Rupert Penwy-Jones (Alcibiades) 1999* *Frank Benson (Timon) c.1890*

Timon the misanthrope once saw Alcibiades, who had made a successful speech in the Assembly, being escorted home, and this time he did not get out of the way or avoid him as was his custom with other people, but came up to him, took him by the hand, and said, 'You are doing well, my boy! Go on like this and you will soon be big enough to ruin the lot of them.' Some people laughed at this remark, while others abused him, but there were others again upon whom it made a deep impression. All this suggests how difficult public opinion found it to judge Alcibiades, because of the extreme inconsistency of his character.

[47] The Nemean games were one of four pan-hellenic Greek athletic contests. The imagery celebrates Alcibiades victories.

The profanation of the Eleusinian Mysteries 415BC

Plutarch, Life of Alcibiades 19. During this period Androcles, the democratic leader, produced a number of slaves and resident aliens, who accused Alcibiades and his friends of having disfigured other sacred images and parodied the Mysteries of Eleusis in one of their drunken revels. They said that one Theodorus took the part of the Herald, Pulytion of the Torch-bearer and Alcibiades of the High Priest, and that the rest of his friends attended as initiates and were addressed as Mystae. These were the charges set out in the indictment which Thessalus, the son of Cimon, introduced into the Assembly, and in which he impeached Alcibiades for impiety towards the goddesses of Eleusis.

The people by now were in an ugly mood and their anger turned against Alcibiades, while Androcles, who was his mortal enemy, added fuel to the flames. At first Alcibiades was seriously alarmed. But he soon discovered that all the soldiers and sailors who were about to embark for Sicily were on his side, and also that the force of 1,000 Argive and Mantinean infantry had openly declared that it was only on Alcibiades' account that they were going to cross the sea and fight in a distant land, and that if he were treated unfairly they would immediately withdraw from the expedition. So he took heart again and insisted that he should be allowed to defend himself there and then before the people.

It was now his enemies' turn to be discouraged since they feared that the people might judge him too leniently just because they needed him so badly.

They therefore arranged that certain orators who were not known to be ill-disposed towards him – but who really detested him no less than his acknowledged enemies – should get up in the Assembly and say that it was an absurd procedure to appoint a general with absolute powers over so large a force and then, just when his expedition and allies were all assembled, cause him to lose his opportunity through the formalities of drawing lots for jurors and appointing times for the hearing of the case. 'He ought to sail now,' they said, 'and good luck go with him. When the campaign is finished, then let him come back and defend himself. The laws will be just the same then.'

Alcibiades was not blind to the malice which lay behind this postponement of the trial. He protested in the Assembly that it was monstrous for him to be sent out to command such a great force while his case was still in suspense, and to be obliged to leave these accusations and slanders hanging over his head. He argued that if he could not clear himself of the charges, **then he ought to be put to death, but that if he succeeded and proved himself innocent, then he should be allowed to proceed against the enemy without any fear of the informers at home**.

Plutarch, Life of Alcibiades 20.[1] However, he failed to convince the Athenians, but was given his sailing orders and put to sea with his colleagues (Nicias and Lamachus, July 415BC). They had under their command a fleet of nearly 140 triremes, 5,100 infantry, about 1,300 archers, slingers and light-armed troops and the rest of their equipment in proportion.

20.2-4 They arrived in Italy and captured Rhegium, and thereupon Alcibiades proposed a plan for the whole campaign. Nicias opposed it, but Lamachus gave his support and so Alcibiades sailed to Sicily. He succeeded in winning over Catana [= Katane], but he achieved nothing more, as soon after this he was recalled by the Athenians to stand his trial.

At first, as I have said, nothing more than vague suspicions and slanders had been launched against Alcibiades by a number of slaves and resident-aliens. Then, once he was out of the way, his enemies attacked him more vigorously. They contrived to link the outrages committed against the Hermae with the affair of the Mysteries, making out that they were both part of a general conspiracy to overthrow the government, so that anybody accused of any connection with either was imprisoned without trial.

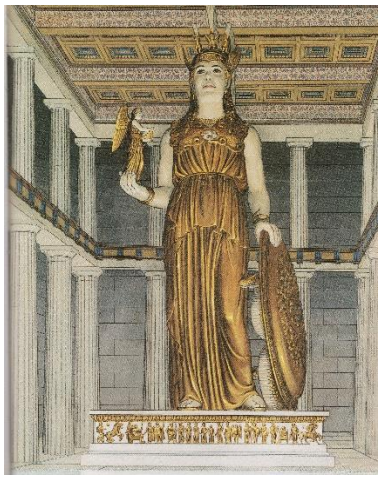
The people now felt angry with themselves for not having tried Alcibiades and secured judgement against him on such serious charges at the time of the offence, and any relative, or friend, or associate of his who fell foul of them while their fury lasted suffered exceedingly harsh treatment. Thucydides has omitted to give us the names of the informers, but others mention them as being Diocleides and Teucer. Phrynichus, the comic poet, for example, referred to them in these lines:

'Take care, my dearest Hermes, not to fall
And break your marble nose, for then, worst of all,
If you get hurt, occasion may arise
For another Diocleides to tell lies!

And Hermes replies:

I will; I certainly have no inclination
Too reward Teucer for his information,
That blood-soaked alien.

Alcibiades' return to Athens 408BC



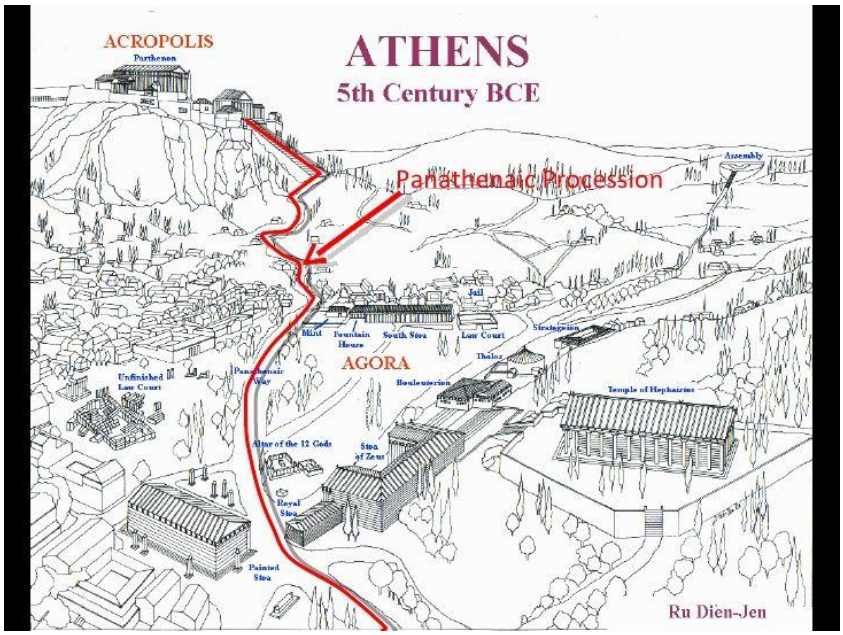
Plutarch, Life of Alcibiades 34 But even while Alcibiades' star shone so brightly, some people were none the less disturbed at the moment he had chosen for his return. He had put into harbour on the very day when the Plynteria of Athena were being celebrated, that is to say the rites of purifying the statue of the goddess on the Acropolis. The ministering priests, the Praxiergidae, carry out these ceremonies in strict secrecy on the 25th day of the month Thargalion, when they strip off the robes of the goddess and cover her statue. For this reason the Athenians regard this as the unluckiest day in the whole year for business of any kind, and so the goddess, far from welcoming Alcibiades graciously and with goodwill, appeared to be hiding her face and rejecting him. In spite of this, everything continued to go as Alcibiades wished and 100 triremes were manned for him to put to sea again. However, at this moment he was seized with a noble ambition which kept him at home until the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries.

Ever since Decelea had been fortified, the enemy through their presence there had controlled the approaches to Eleusis, and the Athenians had been obliged to send the festal procession by sea, shorn of all its usual splendour, so that the customary sacrifices, dances, and many of the sacred rites which are normally performed on the road when Iacchus is escorted to Eleusis had necessarily been omitted. Alcibiades felt that it would be a splendid gesture, which would at once establish his piety towards the gods and enhance his reputation in the eyes of men, if he could restore the festival to its traditional form by having his infantry escort the procession by land under the very eyes of the enemy. In this way he would either humiliate Agis [48] and inflict a setback on him if the king made no move, or, if he attacked, Alcibiades would be fighting for a holy cause favoured by the gods in defence of the highest and most sacred interests, in full view of his native city and with all his fellow countrymen as witnesses of his valour.

48 King of Sparta in command of Decelea

When he had decided on this and told the Eumolpidae and the Heralds of his plan, he posted sentries on the heights, sent out an advance guard at daybreak, and then, marshalling the priests, novices, and initiators, and placing them in the centre of his column, he led them along the road to Eleusis in solemn order and complete silence. So imposing and devout was the spectacle that those who were not blinded by jealousy of him declared that he had proved himself not merely a general but a high priest and an initiator into the Mysteries.

The enemy did not dare to attack, and he brought the procession safely back to Athens. The occasion did much to raise his own spirits. It inspired his troops with faith that under his command they were invincible and irresistible. The sway which he held over the humbler and poorer classes was so potent that they were filled with an extraordinary passion for him to rule them as a dictator: some of them proposed this and actually visited him to press the idea. They wanted him to be placed in a position that was out of the reach of envy. Then he could sweep away decrees and laws as he saw fit and rid them of the loud-mouthed windbags who were the bane of the city, and he would be free to handle affairs and act without fear of informers.



Pausanias 1.28.2 (CA358), 1.24.5, 7 (CA360)

Dedications on the Acropolis

1.28.2 The Athenians have two dedications from the tithe of war-spoils: one is a bronze statue of Athena (Promachos) derived from the Persian landing at Marathon, the work of Phidias. They say that the engraving of the Battle of Lapiths and Centaurs on the shield and the rest of the relief work was done by Mys to the designs of Parrhasius son of Evenor. The spear-point and helmet crest of this Athena can actually be seen by people sailing from Sunium.

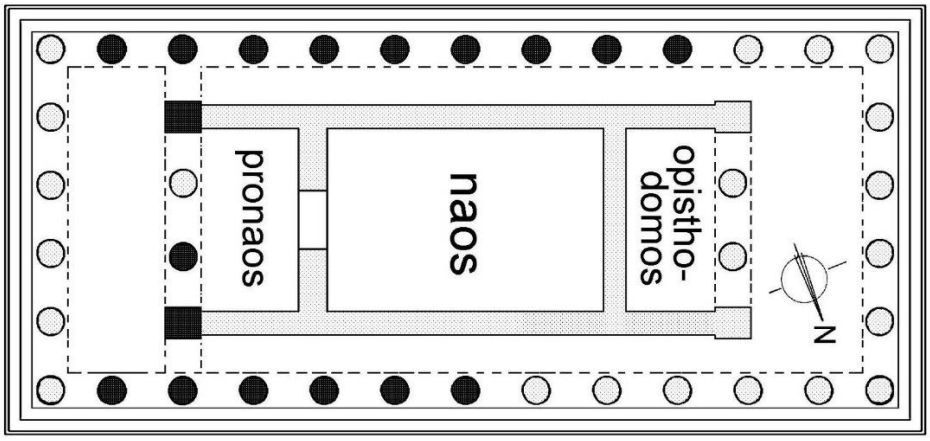
The most noteworthy of Phidias' works is a statue of Lemnian Athena, so called after the people who dedicated it.

1.24.5.7 As one enters the temple called the Parthenon everything on the pediment bears upon the birth of Athena; the other end is the quarrel of Poseidon with Athena over the country.

The statue itself is made of ivory and gold. On the middle of the helmet is set a sphinx … and griffins worked on each side of it … the statue of Athena is upright in an ankle length tunic, and the head of Medusa is engraved in ivory on her breast, and she has a victory about four cubits high, and a spear in her hand and a shield lying at her feet, and near the spear is a snake which might be Erichthonius.

On the plinth of the statue is worked the birth of Pandora.

The temple of Poseidon at Sounion was constructed in 444–440 BC, during the ascendancy of the Athenian statesman Pericles, who also rebuilt the Parthenon in Athens. It was built on the ruins of a temple dating from the Archaic period.



P.S.

Herodotus 8.121 480BC After Salamis

The Abderitans themselves say (though I for my part find it incredible) that in his flight from Athens back to Asia, the first time Xerxes took off his belt was when he reached Abdera, because he felt safe there.

'The Hellenes proved unable to take Andros, so they turned to Carystus, and after laying waste to its land, departed for Salamis. The first thing they did there was to set aside from their spoils victory offerings for the gods, of which the most significant were **three Phoenician triremes**.

- One of these they dedicated at the **Isthmus**, and it was still there in my time;
- another they sent to **Sounion;**
- and the third they dedicated to Ajax right there on **Salamis**.'

Aristophanes, *Knights* 147–395 **Lenaea 424BC**

The Birds and Other Plays, trans. Sommerstein & David Barrett (Penguin p. 41-51)

Demosthenes (a Slave)

Nicias (a fellow slave)

Nicias[49] Tell me, tell me, who is he?

Demosthenes You'd like to know?

Nicias Please!

Demosthenes The man destined to evict our evil Paphlagonian is a *sausage seller*!

Nicias A sausage-seller! Poseidon, what a profession! But where ae we supposed to find him?

Demosthene Well, we can look.

[*They begin to scan the audience; but at this moment the Sausage-seller himself enters by a side passage. He is extremely rough and dirty, and carries on his back a cooking-table, knives and other implements, and long strings of sausages.*]

Nicias Look, look! The gods be praised! Here comes one now, going to the market!

Demosthenes [*to the Sausage-seller*]: Hey, you! You there with the blessing of heaven on you! Come over here, beloved sausage-seller! Become our saviour and the City's too!

Sausage-seller

Wot is it? Woddaya want me for?

Demosthenes Come here and let us tell you how fortunate and happy the gods have made you!

[*The Sausage-seller, scratching his head, goes over to them.*]

Nicias You take off that table of his and tell him about the holy oracle. I'd better keep an eye on our Paphlagonian. [*He goes into the house.*]

Demosthenes Come on now, put down all your stuff, and then kiss the earth and make obeisance to the gods.

[49] The two slaves of the **Paphlagonian** (i.e. Cleon) are given the names of the distinguished Athenian generals, **Demosthenes** who captured Pylos in 425BC and the very wealthy **Nicias**, who was later chosen to lead the Sicilian expedition (415BC).

Sausage-seller [*After complying with these instructions*]: A' right. Nah wot's all this abaht?

Demosthenes Blessings and riches are showered upon you! Today you are nothing, tomorrow you will be everything! You are the destined lord and master of Athens, the most blest of cities!

Sausage-seller Look 'ere, mate, can't yer see I got to wash aht these blinking gute and sell me sausages? I ain't got time to waste with you making a fool of me.

Demosthenes You blind fool, talking about guts! Look over there [*indicating the audience*]! Do you see all those rows and rows of people?

Sausage-seller Yerss.

Demosthenes Of all these you shall be the absolute ruler. You will be monarch of all you survey – the Market Square, the harbours, the Pnyx, everywhere. You will plant your foot on the Council's neck and compel the Generals to toe the line. You will have the right to throw whom you will into prison, and to screw whom you will in the Town Hall!

Sausage-seller Wot me?

Demosthenes Yes, you – and you haven't seen the tenth part of it yet. Come on, stand on this table and look round the horizon. Can't you see all our subject islands?

Sausage-seller Yerss, I see them.

Demosthenes And our trading posts and all the ships plying to and fro?

Sausage-seller Yerss.

Demosthenes Don't you see how the gods have blessed you? Now try and look even further. Look out of the corner of your right eye, and you'll see Caria; and out of the left, right away to Carthage.[50]

Sausage-seller [*trying to comply*]: Ouch! Bless me if I ain't pulled a neck muscle! [*He overbalances and falls off the table.*]

Demosthenes [*picking him up*]: What I mean is that all these countries will be your stock in trade, I mean your empire. This oracle which I have predicts that you will become a Great Man.

Sausage-seller A sausage-seller be a great man? Ha, ha! Come on, tell me another.

Demosthenes No, I'm serious. That's precisely your qualification to be a Great Man – that you're born and bred in the Market Square, and that you're a brazen-faced rogue.

Sausage-seller But look 'ere – I don't think I deserve to be great.

Demosthenes What's all this about not deserving to be great? You've not got any secret virtues on your conscience, have you?

[*The Sausage-seller shakes his head*]:

You're not of good birth, by any chance?

50

Sausage-seller The worst birth you could think of.

Demosthenes Thank heaven! That's just what's wanted for a politician.

Sausage-seller But look 'ere – I 'ardly went to school, I got no learning. Why, I can only just read and write.

Demosthenes What a shame you can only just! If only you couldn't at all! Come off it, you don't think politis is for the educated, do you, or the honest? It's for the illiterate scum like you now! I beg you, don't let slip the marvellous opportunity the holy oracle has revealed.

Sausage-seller Why, what's the oracle say?

Demosthenes It's full of blessings, cleverly concealed in riddling words. [*Unrolls the scroll and recites*.]:

When that within the jaws of the crook-talon'd Eagle of Leather
Shall be entrapped the serpent of Stupidity, drinker of swine's blood,
Then shall the tannery-brine of the Paphlagonian perish,
Then to the sellers of guts (unless they prefer to continue
Flogging their sausages still) shall the god give the power and the glory.

Sausage-seller 'Ere, 'ow's that got ter do with me?

Demosthenes Well, the Eagle of Leather is our Paphlagonian here.
[*Pointing to Cleon in the front row of the audience*]

Sausage-seller But wot's 'crook-taloned' mean?

Demosthenes Why, he's a crook and a thief, of course.

Sausage-seller I see. And the serpint?

Demosthenes That's most obvious of all. A serpent's long and thin, right? and so's a sausage.
Then a serpent drinks blood, okay? and so does a sausage. So it means that the serpent, that means you, will vanquish the Eagle of Leather, so long as it doesn't let it talk it out of it.

Sausage-seller So long as wot doesn't let wot – never mind. I like that oracle. But I still don't know how you expect me ter manage all the People's business.

Demosthenes Dead easy. Just carry on doing what you've always done. Mix all the City's policies into a complete hash, butter the people up a bit [51], throw in a pinch of rhetoric as a sweetener, and there you are.

[*The Sausage-seller does what he's told, using the wine brought out earlier*]

There you are; now for the fray!

Sausage-seller But 'oo will be there to 'elp me? That there Paphlagonian frightens the rich aht of their wits, and the poor, when he's arahnd, they can't even keep their arses shut.

[51] The word for the People is Demos. There is another word Demos which means fat, so this was originally a pun.

A comedy Chorus of Knights.

Demosthenes Have no fear, the Knights will be here, a thousand of them, all hating his guts – I beg your pardon, all hating him. They'll be on your side. So will all honest and decent citizens, and all our audience here – well, those that have any brains; and so will I, and the god of Delphi too. Oh, and by the way, you needn't be afraid to look at his face. It won't look like the real one. You see, our sponsor was a bit worried in case you-know-who might - you know what. [52] Ah, but he'll be recognised all right; as I say, we've a brainy audience.

A caricature of US President Donald Trump designed by one of the creators of satirical TV series Spitting Image is to go on show for the first time in Norwich.

Nicias [*Shouting from within*]:
Look out! Look out! It's the Paphlagonian! He's going to come out!

[*And indeed out of the house comes the Paphlagonian, a tall, blond, powerful and extremely ugle slave. In manner he is slightly, but only slightly, more polished than the Sausage-seller.*]

Paphlagonian [*Thunderously*]: By the Twelve Gods, I'll not let you get away with this! Conspiring against the People again, I'll be bound. [*Seizing from the Sausage-seller the cup used for the libation*].

Ha! What have we here? A Chalcidian cup, indeed! So the two of you are plotting to stir up a revolt in Chalicidice![53] This cup is irrefutable proof, I say, irrefutable proof. Villains, you shall perish! **The just rage of the People will annihilate you!**

[*The Sausage-seller takes to his heels*].

Demosthenes Hey! Sausage-seller! Noble Sausage-seller! Come back! Why are you running away? Don't give up the ship! – Knights! Knights! Come to the rescue![54]

Come on here, come on here, come on every Knight,
Come and charge, come and charge upon the right!
Here they come, here they come, wheel around and fight,
And put the hated foe to flight!

[52] Aristophanes had been prosecuted by Cleon in 426. The mask-makers were apparently frightened to produce too realistic a likeness of Cleon for this production.
[53] The cities of the Chalcidice, sited on three peninsulas in the N-W corner of the Aegean, were restive under Athenian rule. Later in 424 the Spartan general Brasidas induced most of them to defect from the Athenian alliance.
[54] The lyric sections of comedies and tragedies were sung and accompanied by music. (The translator has set this to the William Tell overture).

[*The Chorus of Knights charge in, long-haired, fastidiously dressed young men, and make straight for the Paphlagonian*].

Chorus

Strike, strike and never cease
The wrecker of our peace –
He's the whirlpool who sucks all the Revenue away;
The cheat, the cheat, the cheat!
This word we now repeat,
'Cos he repeats all his cheating tricks several times a day.

Now chase him and catch him and beat him and bash him, mash him, smash him, just like us.
Set upon him, scout him, flout him, shout and call him names and swear and cuss!

Now take care that he doesn't escape from you,
Cos he knows all the back ways to get through,
Like Eucrates once to his warehouse ran
And hid himself among the bran!

[*Music continues as the Chorus, aided by Demosthenes and the Sausage-seller, who has returned with new heart, surround the Paphlagonian and rain blows upon him.*]

Paphlagonian Help! Members of the jury! Comrades of the order of the Three Obols![55] Remember how I've fed you all these years with my prosecutions - right or wrong, I never gave a damn, I just shouted as hard as I could! Come quickly and help! I'm being assaulted by a gang of conspirators!

Chorus leader And you deserve it, too! Haven't you had your fingers in the public pie for years? Don't you size up all the ex-magistrates when they render their accounts,[56] feeling them like figs to see if they're dry or just ripening or really juicy? And if you do find one of them's a bit of a novice at political in-fighting, don't you drag him all the way home from the Chersonese,[57] floor him with a speech miles below the belt, get a hold on him, twist his arm half off and then devour him? And anyone in the City who's a bit of an innocent lamb, rich and honest and not caring for squabbles, you've got your eye on him too. No one's safe.

Paphlagonian What, so you Knights are in this too? Don't you realize that the indignities I'm suffering are all on your account? I was just about to propose that in honour of your gallantry a public monument ought to be set up on the Acropolis!

[*He ducks, and, protecting his head with his arms, tries to force a way through the Chorus, but they block him by weight of numbers and relentlessly continue hitting him.*]

[55] Legal cases were tried by large juries drawn from a panel of several thousands. Three obols was a full day's pay for a juror. Older citizens found jury pay useful as a 'pension', but couldn't earn this without plenty of cases to try.
[56] All magistrates at the end of their term of office had to pass an audit (**euthynai**) to show that they had not acted improperly or misused public funds.
[57] The Gallipoli peninsula. Probably a reference to a recent prosecution.

Chorus The twister and the liar!
He thinks we've lost our fire,
And he flatters us as though we were old and had no brain!
Don't try to take flight,
For, go you left or right,
We will bash you so hard you will never walk again!

Paphlagonian Let the People and the City witness how these swine are winding me!

Chorus Leader So you think you'll cow the city with your shouts again? Well, we shall see!

Sausage-seller No he won't, for I'll outdo him,
And beat him, and shout him down!

Chorus If you really can outdo him,
We'll give you the victor's crown!
So we'll now have a battle of impudence,
See if yours or his is more immense:
And if you defeat him in every way,
Then we will take the cake today!

[*Music continues as the Paphlagonian, held helpless by the Chorus, and the Sausage-seller, restrained from assaulting him by Demosthenes, shout at each other at the top of their unpleasant voices.*

Paphlagonian I indict this man for high treason! I charge him with supplying strings of sausages to undergird warships in the Peloponnesian fleet!

Sausage-seller I indict this man for 'igh gluttony! 'E rushes into the Tahn 'All [= Prytaneum] every day wiv a hempty stomach, and moments later rushes aht wiv a full one![58]

Demosthenes And with a bag stuffed full of public bread and meat and fish into the bargain, which it's strictly forbidden to consume off the premises! Not even Pericles was allowed to do that!

Paphlagonian I'll sentence you to death, that's what I'll do!

Sausage-seller I bet I shaht three times as lahd as you.

Paphlagonian I'll beat you hollow with my raucous yell!

Sausage-seller I'll scream yer dahn and send yer strite to 'ell!

Paphlagonian When you're a General, I'll accuse and try you!

Sausage-seller I'll chop yer back in tiny bits and fry you!

Paphlagonian My lying talk will catch you by the heels.

Sausage-seller I'll cut yer footsies up for high class meals.

Paphlagonian Just look me in the eye now, if you dare!

Sausage-seller I'm also a son of Athens' Market Square!

[58] After his success at Pylos, Cleon was awarded various honours, including the right to dine at the public expense in the **Prytaneum** (Town Hall).

Paphlagonian Another word and I'll cut up your hide!

Sausage-seller Come on, you shit, I gotta chuck you ahtside!

Paphlagonian What impudence! I'm a *real* thief – are you?

Sausage-seller Yerss, and if caught, a frist rate liar, too!

Paphlagonian [*breaking* free]: That's trespassing on my territory!

Members of the Executive Committee! I hereby indict this man for being in unlawful and sacrilegious possession of consecrated guts on which no tithe has been paid!

[*During the succeeding chorus the Paphlagonian and the Sausage-seller continue to glower and shake their fists at each other.]*

Chorus

Oh villain and monster and screamer so base,
The whole of the City is full of your face
(in both of its senses);
O'er all the Assembly and all of the Courts,
Indictments and taxes and tolls at the ports,
Are spread your offences.

You stir up the mud and you muddy the stream,
You've made all of Athens stone deaf with your scream,
And drained her of money;
You take up your stand on the top of a cliff
To spy the approach of the tribute,[59] as if
The tribute were tunny [60] –
And don't think that's funny!

Paphlagonian I know just how and where this conspiracy was stitched together!

Sausage-seller Well, you bloody well oughter know abaht stitching. 'S yer trade, innit? Like I sell sausages, you stitch shoes together. Or wot you *call* shoes. I remember the time you pulled a fast one on those farmers with cutting up yer leather so it looked thicker than wot it was – *and* yer chose a bad animal to take the 'ide off as well. They thought it was good, solid stuff, and a day later they fahnd they 'ad shoes six inches wider than wot their feet were!

Demosthenes That's just what he did to me. Just the same thing. Made me the laughing stock of all my friends and neighbours. I hadn't got two miles out of town, and my shoes were so big I was swimming in them!

Chorus

The leopard keeps his spots
The same from start to end;
He's full of shamelessness,
The politician's friend.

All foreigners of wealth
You milk to earn your keep.
And at the sorry sight

[59] From Athens' subject states.
[60] Cleon is compared to a look-out who spies an approaching shoal of tunny, and calls to the fishermen to set their nets for it.

All honest statesmen weep.

But now – O joy, O bliss!
Appears a champion new,
Who's manifestly much
More villainous than you.

For he'll surpass you far,
It's obvious to see,
In trickery and crime
And sheer audacity.

Leader Now, you who come whence all men come who reach the top today,
Prove once for all that decent education doesn't pay.

Sausage-seller I'll tell yer first of all wot kind of cit'zen '*e* is.

Paphlagonian Look here, I should speak first.

Sausage-seller No, by Zeus!

Paphlagonian By Zeus, yes!

Sausage-seller By Poseidon,no! I'll fight yer for it first.

Paphlagonian I shall burst in a moment!

Sausage-seller I won't never let yer -

Leader Oh, please do! Please do let him burst!

Paphlagonian Where did you get the audacity to speak in opposition to me?

Sausage-seller 'Cos I can talk as well as you, and garnsih my speech with the best sauces too.

Paphlagonian You can talk, eh? I suppose you can take a case all red and raw, dress it up beautifully and serve it to the jury, yes? You know what? I think you've got a swelled head. A lot of people get that way. You had some simple little case against a resident foreigner. You burnt the midnight oil over it, you repeated your speech to yourself walking down the street, you took the pledge, you bored your friends stiff with reciting extracts. When the day came you managed to win the case, and now you think you're an orator.

[*shaking his* head]: I pity your simplicity.

Sausage-seller Taken the pledge, 'ave I? Wot's your liquor, then, that makes you **able to paralyse every tongue in Athens with one wag of your own**?

Paphlagonian Who is there to compare to me? WhenI've had my pickled tunny fish, topped by a gallon of neat wine, I can screw the Generals in Pylos to the wall!

Sausage-seller Well, when I've gulped dahn a cow's stomach and a pig's guts, drunk orf the gravy and washed me 'ands, I can throttle every politician in tahn, and Nicias too!

Leader We're delighted with your performance so far, but we do hope you don't intend to slurp down all the national gravy yourself.

Paphlagonian Did you ever eat the Milesians' bass and then put the wind up their arse? [61]

Sausage-seller No, but I'll 'ave pleasure in eating a few ribs o' beef and then buying some juicy mining concessions!

Paphlagonian I'll pounce on the Counci; and shake them out of their little wits!

Sausage-seller I'll stuff up your arse-hole like a sausage skin!

Paphlagonian I'll grab you by the backside and throw you out of town!

Demosthenes If you do, you'll have me to reckon with as well!

Paphlagonian I'll shove you in the stocks unless you yield!

Sausage-seller I'll charge you with desertion in the field!

Paphlagonian I'll stretch you hide, I'll give you no relief!

Sausage-seller I'll make your skin a wallet for a thief!

Paphlagonian I'll pin you to the ground with iron pegs!

Sausage-seller I'll make bad mincemeat of your arms and legs!

Paphlagonian I'll pluck your eye-lashes from out each eye!

Sausage-seller I'll slit your crop, and like a foul you'll die!

[*They wrestle with each other. Soon the Sausage-seller has the Paphlagonian on the ground.*]

Demosthenes [*to Sausage-seller*]:

Yes, prop his cakehole open wide,
His reeking tongue pull out,
And then look very carefully
Beneath his swinish snout,
And while his mouth gapes large and broad
(His arsehole gapes thus ever)
Examine him for little spots
In case he's got swine-fever.

Chorus [*to Sausage-seller*]:

O heat and fire yet more intense!
Your speech all speech surpasses
In brazen, barefaced impudence!
Your arrogance first-class is.
Now nothing common do or mean,
But get a throttling grip
And wring his neck; for now you're seen
To have him on the hip.

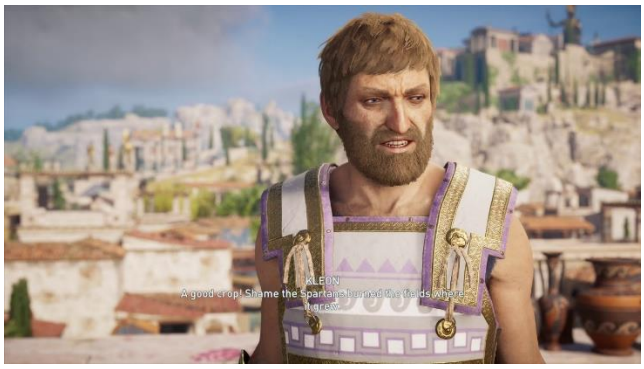
[69] Miletus in Asia Minor was famous for its sea-bass and also for a recent case of alleged bribery involving Cleon.

Leader Now go in close and smash him up – you'll find his face turns yellow;
I know him coward through and through, this Paphlagonian fellow.

Sausage-seller 'E's been the same all his life. Look wot 'appened when 'e pretended to be a big tough man and went and reaped some one else's 'arvest. [62] Look wot 'e's done with the ears of Spartan corn 'e brought back. 'E's chained them all up and letting 'em parch away till 'e sees an opportunity to make a killing by selling them.

Paphlagonian I'm not afraid of you, not while the Council Chamber Bouleuterion stands and the People sits in assembly! [*aside*]: With open mouth and empty brainbox.

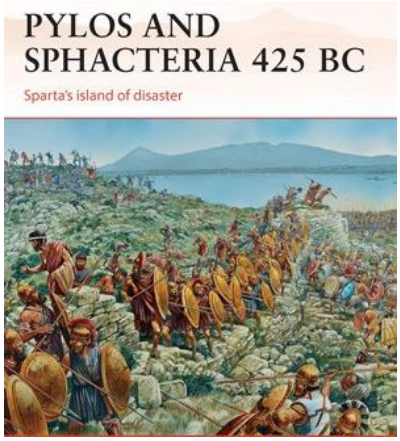
Thucydides 4.27-28 *On Cleon and the Pylos campaign Summer 425BC*



Cleon, aware of the Athenians' resentment of him, challenged the truth of the reports from Pylos.

Cleon contested that, if the generals were real men, they could easily fit out a fleet to sail and take the men on the island: if *he* were in command, he would do exactly that.

'As is typical of crowd behaviour, the more Cleon tried to extricate himself from this expedition and withdraw what he had said, the more they cheered on Nicias to hand over the command and shouted at Cleon, 'Sail!''



[62] The Spartan prisoners captured on Pylos. For Cleon's boast and subsequent successes see Thuc 4.27-28.

Aristophanes, *Clouds* **423BC** [*City Dionysia; 3rd place; revised and circulated c.***420-417BC**]

Lysistrata and Other Plays, trans. Sommerstein, (ISBN-13: 9780140448146)

Lines 92–118 p.115-117

Pheidippides is fast asleep, dreaming of horses, his expensive hobby. His dad, Strepsiades is in a state of sleepless anxiety, worrying about how on earth he can repay all the debts his son has caused him. But he has an idea….

Strepsiades If I can only get that boy to help, I think I'm saved! He! he! First, to wake him up.

[*Goes into Pheidippides' room. In a whisper*] Now what's the nicest possible way? Hm…

[*Bending over Pheidippides*]: Pheidippides! My sweet little Pheidippikins!

Pheidippides [*Waking up, seeing that it is now daylight, and getting sluggishly out of bed*]: Wharrisiddad?

Strepsiades I want you to kiss me and put your right hand in mine.

Pheidippides [*Doing so*]: Okay. What's up?

Strepsiades [*looking him full in the eyes*]: Tell me the truth: do you love your father?

Pheidippides [*pointing to a statue in the corner of his room*]:

I do, I swear it, by Poseidon the god of horses

Strepsiades Please, not the god of horses! He's the one that's brought all this trouble on me. Well, dear, if you really love me from your heart – will you do something for me?

Pheidippides [*getting irritated*]: What?

Strepsiades I want you to reform – to change your ways.

[*Pheidippides, who has heard it all before, sighs audibly*]

– and go and learn what I'm going to ask you to.

Pheidippides Yes, but what?

Strepsiades [a*nxiously*]: You'll do what I ask?

Pheidippides I will, I swear it by Pos… [*hastily checking himself*]: … by – by – Di - Dionysus

Strepsiades You know the house next door?

Pheidippides Yes. What is it?

Strepsiades That, my son, is the Thinkery. For clever brains only, they say. It's where the scientists live, the ones who try to prove that the sky is like one of those round things you use to bake bread. They say it's all around us and we're –

Pheidippides And we're the lumps of coal, I suppose?

Strepsiades Exactly – you've got the idea. Anyway, if you pay them well, they can teach you how to win your case, whether you're in the right or not.

Pheidippides [*guardedly*]: Who are these people?

Strepsiades I don't remember the name, but they're very fine – what do they call themselves? – philosophers.

Pheidippides Ugh! I know the buggers. You mean those stuck-up white-faced barefoot characters – like that bloody Socrates and Chaerephon.

Strepsiades Really, you shouldn't talk so childishly.! My boy [*emotionally*], if you care at all whether your poor father gets his daily bread, will you forget about horses for a bit and go and join them? Just for me!

Pheidippides I wouldn't, by – Dionysus, not if you gave me all the pheasants in Athens.

Strepsiades [*on his knees*]: My – my beloved son – I beg of you – do go and study with them.

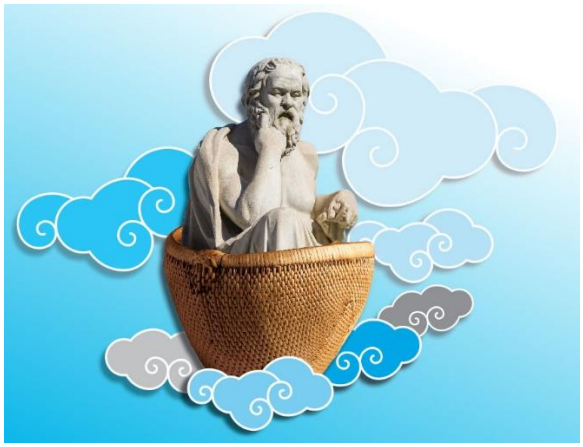
Pheidippides What am I supposed to learn?

Strepsiades [*raising himself to his feet*]: They say they have two Arguments [logoi] in these – Right and Wrong, they call them – and one of them, Wrong, can always win any case, however bad. Well, if you can learn this Argument or whatever it is, don't you see, all those debts I've run into because of you, I needn't pay one obol of them ever.

Pheidippides No, I won't. How could I ever look at my cavalry friends [i.e. Knights] in the ey again, with a face looking like it had been covered in chalk?

Strepsiades Then, holy Demeter! you'll never eat anything of mine again, not you nor any of your damn thoroughbreds. I'll throw you out of the house – you can go anywhere so long as it's hell.

Pheidippides I know uncle Megacles will see I am not without a horse and home!



Lines 365–381 p.127-129

Strepsiades has entered the Thinkery as a (not very promising) student and meets Socrates –swinging in a basket amongst the Clouds, the Chorus of the play ….

Clouds Hail, Socrates, master of twaddle!
Out of all the specialists cosmologistic
We love for the brains in his noddle
Only Prodicus; we admire *you* none the less
For the way that you swagger and cuss,
And never wear shoes, and don't care how you dress,
And solemnly discourse of us.

Strepsiades [*In raptures*]: How fantastic! How divine!

Socrates Yes, these are the only truly divine beings – all the rest is just a lot of fairy tales.

Strepsiades What on earth - ! You mean you don't believe in Zeus?

Socrates Zeus? Who's Zeus?

Strepsiades Zeus who lives on Olympus, of course.

Socrates Now really, you should know better. [*Confidentially*]: There is no Zeus.

Strepsiades What? Well who sends the rain, then? Answer me that.

Socrates Why, our friends here do that, and I'll prove it. Have you ever seen it raining when the sky was blue? Surely Zeus, if it was him, would be able to send rain even when the Clouds were out of town.

Strepsiades That certainly backs your argument. I wonder why I was so naïve as to think rain was just Zeus pissing into a sieve. Well, that's one thing: but who is it that thunders and sends shivers up my spine?

Socrates The Clouds do that too – when they get in a whirl.

Strepsiades I can see I'm never going to trip you. But what do you mean, a whirl?

Socrates Well, being suspended in the air, you see, when they get swollen with rain they are necessarily set in motion, and of course they collide with one another, and because of their weight they get broken and let out this great noise.

Strepsiades 'Necessarily set in motion,' you say. Ah, but who sets them in motion? Now *that's* got to be Zeus!

Socrates Not a bit of it; as I say, it's a whirl in the sky.

Strepsiades Awhirl? – ah, I get you. That I must say I hadn't been told before. I get it. Zeus is dead, and now Awhirl is the new king. But you still haven't told me what causes the thunder.

Socrates Didn't you hear? I said that it occurs when Clouds swollen with rain collide with one another, and is caused by their density.

Strepsiades Ha! Do you expect me to believe that?

Socrates You yourself are living proof of it. You have no doubt at some time – say at the Pan Athenian Festival – had a bit too much soup for supper…?

Lines 814-1302 p. 146-165.

Scene Three: *The Street outside Strepsiades' house and the Thinkery.* **The Chorus** *are present as before.*
Strepsiades*, very angry, comes out of his house dragging a belaboured* **Pheidippides** *after him.*

Strepsiades In the name of Mist, leave this house. Go and nibble at your uncle's pillared portico.

Pheidippides What on earth's happened to you, dad? Why, Zeus in heaven, you act like you were out of your mind!

Strepsiades Zeus in heaven! Hah! How stupid can you get, believing in Zeus, a big boy like you! Ha! ha! ha!

Pheidippides What's so funny about that?

Strepsiades That you could be such a baby – so naïve. Never mind. Come to daddy. He'll tell you something a grown up needs to know. [*Pheidippides comes over and Strepsiades whispers, audibly, in his* ear]: Promise you'll never tell this to anyone?

Pheidippides Promise. What is it?

Strepsiades You were swearing by Zeus just now, weren't you?

Pheidippides Yes.

Strepsiades Well, now, isn't education a wonderful thing? Pheidippides, there *is* no Zeus.

Pheidippides No Zeus? Who's taken over?

Strepsiades Awhirl is king now; he's driven Zeus into exile.

Pheidippides What are you blethering about?

Strepsiades I assure you, it's perfectly true.

Pheidippides Who says so, anyway?

Strepsiades Diag – I mean Socrates, and Chaerephon, you know , the expert on fleas' feet.

Pheidippides You believe nuts like that? You must be off your head.

Strepsiades Hush! I won't have anything rude said about them. They're brilliant men and so sensible too – so frugal: they never do extravagant things like getting their hair cut or putting on oil, and they would never dream of taking a hot bath. You, you're never out of the bath – it's as if you were always getting ready for my funeral; except that I'm still alive, lad, and you're doing it at my expense. Now get along there quickly and let them teach you instead of me.

Pheidippides Huh! What that's any use can that lot teach anyone?

Strepsiades What a thing to ask! They teach you everything that's worth knowing. They'll soon teach *you* how dense and stupid you are. Here, just wait a moment will you?
[*Goes into the house*]

Pheidippides Gods help me, my father really is mad. What am I going to do? Get the court to certify him, or just get in touch with the undertaker?

[*His reflections are interrupted by the return of* **Strepsiades***, followed by* **a slave** *carrying two chickens, one male and one female.*]

Strespsiades [*pointing to the male bird*] Tell me now, what do you call this?

Pheidippides [*in the tone of one who humours a lunatic*] A chicken.

Strespsiades That's very good. And this one? [*pointing to the other bird*]?

Pheidippides A chicken.

Strespsiades What, both the same? You *have* made a fool of yourself. You'd better not do it again. In future, call this one a **chickeness** and this one a **chicker**.

Pheidippides **Chickeness**? Was that the kind of bright idea you were taught in the creeps' academy?

Strespsiades Yes, and a great deal more too; but every time I was taught anything I forgot it straight away – I'm too old, Pheidippides, too old.

Pheidippides That's why you lost your coat?

Strespsiades I didn't lose it, I – I – thought it away. You get that? I thought it away.

Pheidippides And your shoes? What did you do with them, you old fool?

Strespsiades Oh, put them down as 'essential expenditure', Pericles style.

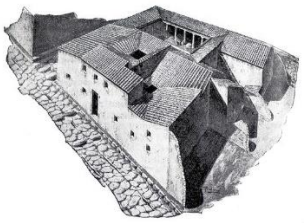
Come on now, let's go. Do what I ask you now and in future you can do what you like, all right?

I remember (*emotionally*) that I was already doing what *you* were asking me to do when you were a babbling six year old. I spent my very first obol of jury pay to get you a little toy cart to play with!

Pheidippides I swear you'll be sorry for this one day.

[*Reluctantly follows* **Strepsiades** *over to the door of the Thinkery*]

Strepsiades Good for you, my boy!



Come out here and see what I've got!
Here's my son.

He didn't want to come, but I persuaded him.

Socrates I see. He must be immature.
[*Coming out*] It's clear he doesn't know the ropes here yet.

Pheidippides [*under his breath]* I'd like to see you on the end of one.

Strepsiades Damn you, what do you mean cursing your tutor?

Socrates Listen to his slack pronunciation – the drawl, the open mouth – do you hear? It's not going to be easy to teach him to win cases and make good debating points that don't actually mean anything.
And yet [*reflectively*] for 6,000 drachmas, Hyperbolus did manage to learn it.

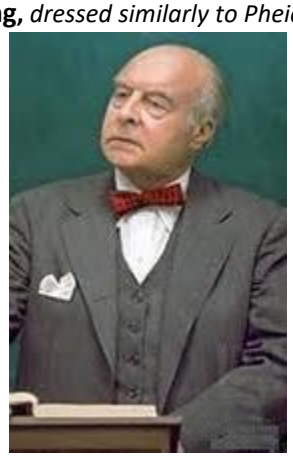
Strepsiades [*much relieved*] Fine, fine, teach him. He's really quite precocious. Do you know, when he was a little boy, so high [*indicating with his hand*], he was building toy houses at home, and ships too and little carts of figwood – and what do you think – he made little frogs out of pomegranate peel!

Well, anyway, see that he learns your **two Arguments**, whatever you call them – oh yes, **Right** and **Wrong** – the one that takes a bad case and defeats **Right** with it. If he can't manage both, then at lest **Wrong** – that will do – but that he must have.

Socrates Well. I'll go and send the Arguments here in person, and they'll teach him themselves.

Strepsiades [*Calling after Socrates as he goes out*]:
Don't forget, he's got to be able to argue against any kind of justified claim at all!

Enter **Right**, *dressed in the good old Attic style.*
Followed by **Wrong,** *dressed similarly to Pheidippides except that his tunic is embroidered with tongues.*



Right
(the Stronger Argument)

Wrong
(the Weaker Argument)

Right This way. Let the audience see you. You may be brazen but you're not *that* brazen.

Wrong Sure, go wherever you like.
The more of an audience we have, the more soundly I'll trounce you.

Right Trounce me? What do you think you are?

Wrong An Argument, like you.

Right Yes, a *wrong* Argument.

Wrong Maybe, but I'll still beat you., Right though you call yourself.

Right What sort of trick will you use?

Wrong Oh, just a few new ideas.

Right Yes, they're in fashion now, aren't they, [*to the audience*] because of you idiots.

Wrong Idiots indeed! They're extremely intelligent.

Right Anyway, I'll wallop you.

Wrong [*Unconcerned*] How?

Right Simply by putting my just case.

Wrong It'll crumble as soon as I open my mouth. Anyway, there isn't any such thing as Justice.

Right No Justice?!

Wrong You think there is? Where is she?

Right Where the gods are, of course.

Wrong Very well: in that case, why didn't she destroy Zeus for putting his father in chains?

Right Ugh! You make me puke. A bowl, somebody!

Wrong You're just a fogbound, out-of-tune old bagpipe.

Right And you're just a shameless out-of-condition young bugger.

Wrong I'm terribly flattered.

Right And a pickpocket.

Wrong Another bouquet! No, I mean it.

Right And what's more, you beat your father.

Wrong You know, you're showering me with gold.

Right Lead, more like – at least my generation would have thought so.

Wrong To mine all those words you used are really exquisite compliments.

Right [*disgusted*] You're the absolute limit.

Wrong And you're the absolute prehistoric survival.

Right You're the one that teaches our teenagers not to go to school. One day Athens will wake up to what you've been doing to our youth.

Wrong [*sniffing*] Do you ever wash?

Right You're not doing so badly are you? Considering that you used to be a beggar, pretending to be that Mysian Telephus and living on little scraps of ideas you got from your bag and shared with every down-and-out in Athens?

Wrong Yes, wasn't I clever?

Right Yes, weren't you mad? And madder yet the city that bread you to ruin its own youth.

Wrong You don't want to be this boy's teacher, do you, Methuselah?

Right Yes, I do, if he wants to be made a decent person and know how to do something besides talk.

Wrong [*to* **Pheidippides**] Come here and leave him to rant.

Right Lay a hand on him and I'll wallop you! [*rushes at* **Wrong** *but is restrained by the Chorus leader*]

Leader

Cease your wrangling now, I pray;
Tell us, **Right**, the way you've taught
Athens' boys in bygone years;

You then, **Wrong**, will have your say,
Give this lad some food for thought,
Make him marvel as he hears.

When he's heard your clashing views,
He himself the path will choose.

Right To this proposal I agree.

Wrong And I.

Leader But which will open this debate momentous?

Wrong

He can start for all I care;
Doesn't matter how he speaks,
Modern thoughts will clip his wings.
Yes, I promise, if he dare.
Say one word, his eyes and cheeks
I'll make black with hornet stings
Made of words – so just you wait!
I'll consign him to his fate.

Chorus

As you battle in words and in the thoughts of the mind,
Let us see which is better and which lags behind;
We're concerned in this contest for Socrates' sake;
For the future of Learning, no less, is at stake.

Leader Now, you who fostered by your education
The glorious traditions of our nation,
Break into speech with Aeschylean voice,
Explain why you should be this stripling's choice.

Right I'll tell you about the way boys were brought up in the old days – the days when I was all the rage and it was actually fashionable to be decent.

First of all, children were supposed to be seen and not heard. Then, all of the boys of the district were expected to walk together through the streets to their music-master's, quietly and decorously, and ithout a coat, even when it was snowing confetti – and they did. And when they got there he made them learn some of the old songs by heart – like '*Pallas Great Sacker of cities'* or *'Let the glad chorus re-echo'* – singing them to the traditional tunes their fathers used, and on no account pressing their thighs together. And if any of them did anything disreputable such as putting in chromatic bits, all tied up in knots, the sort Phrynis introduced and they all do now, why, he was given six of the best for insulting the Muses.

Then in the gymnasium, when they sat down, they were expected to keep their legs well up, so as not to – so as not to torment us with desire; and when they got up, to smooth down the sand, so as not to leave any lovely – I mean provocative marks for their lovers to gaze at. What's more [*sternly*] they never put on oil below the belt, [*dreamily*] and their pricks looked like peaches, all velvety and dewqy and [*recollecting who he is*] – and you didn't see a boy being his own pimp, walking along making eyes at his lovers and putting on a beautiful soft voice, oh no!

They weren't allowed to grab the best vegetables at dinner either, like the dill and parsley – those were always reserved for their elders and betters. In fact, they ate no fancy stuff at all. And they never giggled, the y never stood like this with one foot over the other, and they never -

Wrong How very archaic! How quaint! How fit for history's dustbin, along with boring minor festivals, grass-hopper brooches and Cecides!

RIght Yes, you can laugh. But that's the sort of discipline that I used to rear the men who fought at Marathon. What does *your* kind do for our young men?

They wrap themselved in coats these days up to the eyebrows. And when I saw one of them in the Pan-Athenian dance, so feeble he let his shield drop to his haunches, why, I nearly choked – the insult to our beloved goddess!

[to Pheidippides] So choose Right, my lad, choose me, you can be sure of success. Keep away from the Market Square, and the publich baths too. Be ashamed when you ought to be ashamed. Turn bright red when people make fun of you. Stand up when someone older comes in. Respect your parents. Don't do anything disgraceful or fly in the face of the great goddess Modesty. Don't run after dancing girls; you never know what may happen – suppose some little whore chucks an apple as you as a come-and-get-me? – your reputation's gone in an instant. Don't ever contradict your father or call him an antediluvian; he brought you up before you could fly by yourself; be grateful.

Wrong Watch out, lad! If you listen to him, Dionysus knows, you'll end up just like Hippocrates's sons and be called a vegetable, and rightly too.

Right Don't take any notice of him. Spend your time in the gymnasium – get sleek and healthy. You don't want to be the sort of chap who's always in the Market Square telling stories

about other people's sex lives, or in the courts, arguing about some piffling quibbling little dispute.

No you run off to Academe's Park and relax under the sacred olive trees, a wreath of pure white flowers on your head, with a decent well-mannered companion or two; [*almost lyrical*] and you'll share the fragrance of the leafy poplar and carefree convolvulus, and the joys of spring, when the plane tree whispers her love to the elm.

If my sound advice you heed, if you follow where I lead,
You'll be healthy, you'll be strong and you'll be sleek.
You'll have muscles that are thick and a pretty little prick –
You'll be proud of your appearance and physique.

If contrariwise you spurn my society and turn
To these modern ways, you'll get a pale complexion,
And with two exceptions, all of your limbs will be too small –
The exceptions are the tongue and the e-lection;

You will sing a trendy song, 'Wrong is right and right is wrong
There's no difference, there's no Justice, there's no God.
And you'll catch the current craze for Antimachus' ways –
Or in plainer language, you'll become a sod.

How sweet are your words and how modest your thought!
How we envy the happiness of those you have taught!
[*to* **Wrong**] He impresses us so, we advise you to choose
Your best armaments verbsl, your sexiest Muse.

Leader

Come, Wrong, and set your wits to win this fight
Againsnt theargument we've heard from Right;
You'll need the newest weapons of your school
Or else you'll be the butt of ridicule.

Wrong Don't worry, ever since he began his speech I've been bursting to blow it to bits. That's why the people here at the Thinkery call me **Wrong**; I was the one who invented ways of proving anything wrong, laws, prosecutors, anything. Isn't that worth millions – to be able to have a really bad case and yet win? Well, lets have a look at this educational system you're so proud of. We'll dispose of it pretty quickly. For example, you say you won't let him have any hot baths. What have you got against them?

Right [*dogmatically*] Hot baths cause cowardice.

Wrong Hold it, I've got you the first time, and there's no wriggling away. Tell me, of the sons of Zeus, who would you say was the bravest man and perfomred the greatest number of labours?

Right Well, obviously Heracles.

Wrong And have you ever heard of Heracles having a *cold* bath? [**Right** *is speechless*]

Well, he's the bravest of them all, isn't he?

Right [*spluttering*] He's – he's – he's just like all the young men! They always say that sort of clever thing, at least they think it's clever, and flock to the public baths and leave the wrestling schools empty.

Wrong Then you object to their hanging around the Market Square. Why, don't you know that for Homer the word 'marketeer' is a term of praise – he applies it to Nestor and all his other fountains of wisdom? How can it possibly be a bad thing?

And the tongue – you say its bad for the young to exercise it too much; well I refute that.

And then he talks about modesty or decency or something – another curse of our time! Come on, prove me wrong; tell me of anything good that your modesty or decency has ever done.

Right Well – that was what got Peleus his knife in the story.

Wrong A knife! Well, well. What a rich haul, I must say! Even Hyperbolus, the lamp man – yes, I must admit, even if his crimes *have* made him a mint – he never got a knife! Poor fellow!

RIght You know that's not all. It was because of Peleus' virtue that Thetic married him.

Wrong Yes, and that was why she deserted him as well. If he'd been a bit less virtuous he might have been a more satisfactory performer under the blankets. Women do *like* a man who shows a bit of imagination in bed, you know, Methuselah!

[*to* **Pheidippides**] Listen to all the things that Virtue can't do for you, my lad – all the pleasures you'll forfeit. No boys. No women. No gambling. No fancy stuff to eat. No booze. No belly laughs. Could you live without all these? [**Pheidippides** *shakes his head*] I thought not.

Let me turn now to the demands of Nature. Suppose you fall in love with a married woman – have a bit of fun – and get caught in the act. As you are now, without a tongue in your head, you're done for. But if you come and learn from me, then you can do what you like and get away with it – indulge your desires, laugh and play, have no shame. And then supposing you do get caught with someone's wife, you can say to him, cool as a cucumber, 'What have I done wrong? Look at Zeus; wasn't he always the slave of his passions sexwise? And do you expect a mere mortal like me to do any better than a god?

Right Ah, but suppose the man doesn't take any notice? Suppose he starts applying the carrot and ashes treatment? Then you'll have a bugger's arse for the rest of your life. [*to* **Wrong**] Get out of that one, clever guy!

Wrong Why, what is there to get out of?

Right Well, I mean, being taken for a bugger – what could be worse than that?

Wrong Supposing I prove you wrong about this, will you admit defeat?

Right Certainly I will - if you can.

Wrong Very well then. Not to use your crude language – would you say that advocates, for example, are, or are not, on the whole, well, gay?

RIght Yes, they are.

Wrong I agree with you. And our poets – tragic ones, I mena , of course?

Right Yes, they're - gay, too.

Wrong Right again. What about our politicians?

Right Them too.

Wrong Then don't you see you were talking nonsense? Why, look at the audience; what do you think most of them are?

Right I'm looking.

Wrong And what do you see?

Right Good gods, the bug – the gay ones have it! At least, I know *he* is [*pointing*] and him, and him there with the long hair. Heavens, they're almost *all* gay!

Wrong Well then?

Right You win. [*To the audience*] Hey, you sods out there! I'm deserting – I'm going over to your side – [*throws his coat at Strepsiades and Pheidippides*] here, for gods' sake, take this, will you?

[*Rushes off stage and accidentally on purpose lands in the arms of one of the gentlemen he has just pointed out*.]

Wrong [*To* **Strepsiades**] Well, now, which do you want – shall I take your son, or do you want to be taught yourself?

Strespiades Oh, teach him – give him a bit of stick, he could do with it – but in any case, make sure you give his teeth a good cutting edge. I want him to be able to get a snap victory in a small case or two with the left side of his mouth and leave the right side free for the bigger ones.

Wrong All right; I promise you, when you get him back, he'll be a real genius.

Pheidippides All I know is I'll be a real bloody paleface.

[**Wrong** *leads* **Pheidippides** *into the school and* **Strepsiades** *turns towards his house*.]

Chorus

Farewell; but I divine that soon
You'll sing a less ecstatic tune.
You've sowed the wind, and we can see
Your harvest will the whirlwind be.

[**Strepsiades***, taking no notice, dances into his house in an ecstasy of joy. The* **Chorus Leader** *watches him till he is out of sight, then advances and addresses the audience in the* ***Parabasis.***]

We would like to tell you, judges, of the blessings we'll accord
Those who give to both this chorus and this play their just reward.
If you want to put the ploughshare to some fallow land you've got,
Then we'll see that even in time of drought there's rain upon your plot.

If you keep a vineyard, we'll protect it from the double bane
Both of soaking with too much and parching with too little rain.

But if any mortal treats the Clouds of heaven with depsite,
We have power to reduce him to a miserable plight.
Both his olives and his vines and all his other crops will fail;
From our powerful slings we'll smite them with the those missiles you call hail.
Which we'll also do in case he builds a house: we'll give him proof
Of our anger by destroying every tile upon his roof.
And if he should give a wedding for a friend or a relation,
We will ruin the festivities with out precipitation:
Then just watch him as he beats his breast and penitently sighs
'Would to heaven I were in Egypt – or had given ***The Clouds*** first prize!'

ACT 2

[*Enter* **Strespiades** *from his house, anxiously counting the days on his fingers*]

Strepsiades Twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth – four more days before it comes to that day I fear and hate above all others, the last day of the month, 'Old and New'! All my creditors have taken the oath, paid their deposits into court, and now they're going to get me. I ask them for a reasonable little favour or two – '*please don't call the loan in now*' – '*Give me some more time*' – '*Couldn't we forget it*?' – and so on – but they all say that's not their idea of getting paid and call me a villain and say they'll sue.

[*Changing his mood*] Well, let them. If Pheidippides has been properly taught, they can't hurt me. I'll soon know if he has been.

[*Knocking on the school door*] Boy! Here, I say! Boy!

[*He delivers another thunderous knock*. **Socrates** *opens the door;* **Strepsiades** *falls flat on his face*]

Socrates [*Helping him to his feet*] Glad to see you, Strespiades.

Strepsiades Same to you.
[*producing a tattered tunic*] I wonder if you'd accept this? Just a token of my appreciation. But my son – has he learnt that Argument we were listening to a moment ago?

Socrates Yes, he has.

Strepsiades Holy fraud, how wonderful!

Socrates Yes, you'll now be able to win any case at all.

Strepsiades Even if the witnesses were actually there when I was borrowing the money?

Socrates Even if there were a thousand of them.

Strepsiades [*adopting a tragic pose*] Then raise aloft the cry of long-sought joy!
I triumph! Weep, you money ledners, weep,
Yourselves, your capital, and your interest's interest!
No longer can you work on me your mischeif,
Such is the son that's reared within my house,
A shining star wielding a two-edged tongue,
My shield and guardian, saviour of my fortunes,
Bane of my foes, disperser of my griefs!

Run, run, and bring him forth from out thy halls.
[**Socrates** *goes into the school*]

Thy father calls, beloved son; appear.

Socrates [*emerging with* **Pheidippides**] Behold your offspring.

Strepsiades Beloved boy!

Socrates Good bye and thank you.

Strepsiades [*dancing and embracing his son*] Unmingled joy!

Socrates *goes into the school.* **Strespiades** *has a good look at* **Pheidippides** *and lets out a cry of rapture.*

Strepsiades What a gorgeous complexion, son! You've got 'not guilty' written all over your face – and your cheeks have that special Athenian bloom – grows nowere else – the did-you-really-mean-that. I can see injured innocence shining out next time you're caught red-handed! Now at last you can be of some use to your old father. You were his ruin; now be his salvation.

Pheidippides Why, what were you afraid of?

Strespiades The last day of the month – Old and New.

Pheidippides [*with mock naivety*] What, you mean there's a day that's a) old and b) new?

Strespiades Of course there is – and that's when everyone says they're going to pay their deposits into court.

Pheidippides Well, they're going to lose their money. It's not possible for one day to be two days.

Strespiades How not possible?

Pheidippides Not unless its possible for the same woman to be a) old and b) young at the same time.

Strespiades Still, that's what the law says – to put down the deposits at the Old and New.

Pheidippides Ah, you see, people don't understand what the law is aimed at.

Strespiades Well, what is it aimed at?

Pheidippides Well, our lawgiver Solon was a good democrat, right?

Strespiades Yes, but I don't see what that has to do with the Old and the New.

Pheidippides So he fixed the summons for *two* days – the Old, you see – and the New – with the intention that the deposits should be put in on the second of those days – that is, the *New* Moon – the first of the month.

Strespiades Well, in that case, why mention the Old at all?

Pheidippides To give the defendant a day to reach a settlement; then if he failed he could always get a stomach-ache or something on the morning of the New Moon.

Strespiades [*still not convinced*] Then why on earth don't the magistrates accept the deposits on the New Moon? They only take them on the day before.

Pheidippides They're acting like the people who taste the food for festivals. They always do that on the day before the festival starts, right? So the magistrates, in order to make away with as much of the deposit money as possible – as quickly as possible -

Strespiades I see. Here [*to the audience*] why are you poor blighters out there just sitting like stones, not even laughing? Ah, they're just fodder for us clever ones – we can treat them like sheep. But I do wish they wouldn't be quite such a heap of earthenware. Well, anyway, the two of us have never had it so good, and I think someone ought to write a song about it. Like this:

How happy is Strepsiades,
How wondrous wise his sonny!
So all will say when your brave tongue
Has saved for me my money.

Come home. This is an occasion to celebrate!
[*They go into Strespiades' house*.]

[*Enter* **First Creditor** *and* **Witness**]

First Creditor Why should anyone want to make a loan? Better to harden one's heart at the outset rather than have all the trouble afterwards. Here am I, having to drag you into my problems because I need a witness, and having to make an enemy in my own deme. Well, I must not put Athens to shame.

[*knocks*] Strepsiades!

Strepsiades [*coming out*] Who's there?

1st Creditor I summon you to appear in court on the Old and New.

Strepsiades Witness everybody that he named *two* days. What about?

1st Creditor The twelve hundred drachmas you borrowed to buy the ash-coloured horse.

Strepsiades Horse! Hark at that! And me that hates everything to do with horses!

1st Creditor You know you borrowed it, and you gave an oath that you would pay.

Strepsiades Ah, well, that was before Pheidippides had learned his invincible Argument.

1st Creditor And now he has you intend to refuse to pay?

Strepsiades Well, you don't think I sent him to school for nothing, do you?

1st Creditor Are you prepared to swear by the gods, in a place of my choice, that you do not owe me the money?

Strepsiades Swear by which gods?

1st Creditor Zeus, Hermes and Poseidon.

Strepsiades Delighted! I'd give you three obols to be allowed to.

1st Creditor [*purple-faced*] Well, of all the shameless - !

Strepsiades [*poking him in the stomach*] You know, you'd make quite a good wine-skin if we salted you.

1st Creditor I'll -

Strepsiades Four gallons it would hold, I think.

1st Creditor By Zeus and all the gods, you'll pay for this.

Strepsiades [*feigning uncontrollable laughter*] Oh, oh the gods – and Zeus! – How funny the way you swear – for those of us in the know!

1st Creditor You'll pay for this, never fear. And I'm not going until you tell me whether I can expect to get my money back.

Strepsiades Wait a moment and I'll tell you.
[*Goes into the house*]

1st Creditor [*to* **Witness**] What do you think he's going to do? Pay, or what?

Strepsiades [*returning with a kneading trough*]
Where's the man who was demanding that money from me?

[*to* **First Creditor**] Look, what's this?

1st Creditor That? A trough, of course.

Strepsiades And an ignorant person like you dares to ask me for money? Do you expect me to pay so much as an obol to someone who thinks a **triffen** is called a **trough**?

1st Creditor So you're not going to pay?

Strepsiades You'll have to steal it if you want it. Now clear off, will you? Get away from my door! Hurry up!

1st Creditor All right, I'm going, but let me tell you, I'm going to see you in court or be damned.

Strepsiades [*as* **First Creditor** *and* **Witness** *leave*]
Then you'll lose your deposit as well; and I wouldn't like that to happen to you just because you didn't know what to call a **triffen**.

[*Enter* **Second Creditor,** *dusty and with a limp*]

2nd Creditor Alas! Alas!

Strepsiades Who is this siging laments? Not one of Carcinus' gods, is it?

2nd Creditor Why wishes thou to know who I may be
I am a man of sorrows.

Strepsiades Well, keep them to yourself – I don't want to catch them.

2nd Creditor O cruel goddess, O my chariots smashed!
Pallas, thou hast destroyed me utterly.

Strepsiades Why, what has Tlepolemus ever done you wrong?

2nd Creditor Mock not at me, but bid thy son repay
The cash he borrowd of me, as is just
Especially in my present low estate.

Strepsiades What's all this about money?

2nd Creditor The money, I tell you, the money he borrowed.

Strepsiades [*in mock sympathy*] You are in a bad way.

2nd Creditor Yes, by the gods, I fell off my chariot.

Strepsiades The way you blether suggests what you fell off was the proverbial donkey.

2nd Creditor Blether?! All I want is my money.

Strepsiades I'm sure you're ill. Had your brains shaken up, probably.

2nd Creditor I'm sure, by Hermes, that I'll sue if you don't pay.

Strepsiades Tell me now,: do you think that when Zeus rains, it's new rain every time, or do you think the sun sucks up water from the ground so that he can use it again?

2nd Creditor I don't know and I don't care.

Strepsiades What right have you to be paid, if you don't know any meteorology?

2nd Creditor Are you short of cash? If you are, I'll be satisfied with the interest for the time being.

Strepsiades [*innocently*] Interest? Could you tell me what that is?

2nd Creditor Why – it's simply – the fact that – well, if somebody wes you money, the debt keeps growing and growing, month by month, day by day, as time runs on.

Strepsiades Quite right. Now then: do you think the sea has any more water in it than it used to?

2nd Creditor No, it's the same size; there would be something wrong if it wasn't.

Strepsiades Well, then, if the sea doesn't get any bigger as the rivers run into it, what business have you pretending that money grows as time runs on, or whatever you said?
Go and chase yourself! Get out of my sight. Boy, fetch me a goad.
[*a slave runs and brings him one*]

2nd Creditor Assault! Help! Witness, somebody!

Strepsiades Gee up! What are you waiting for? Get along there, you gelding!

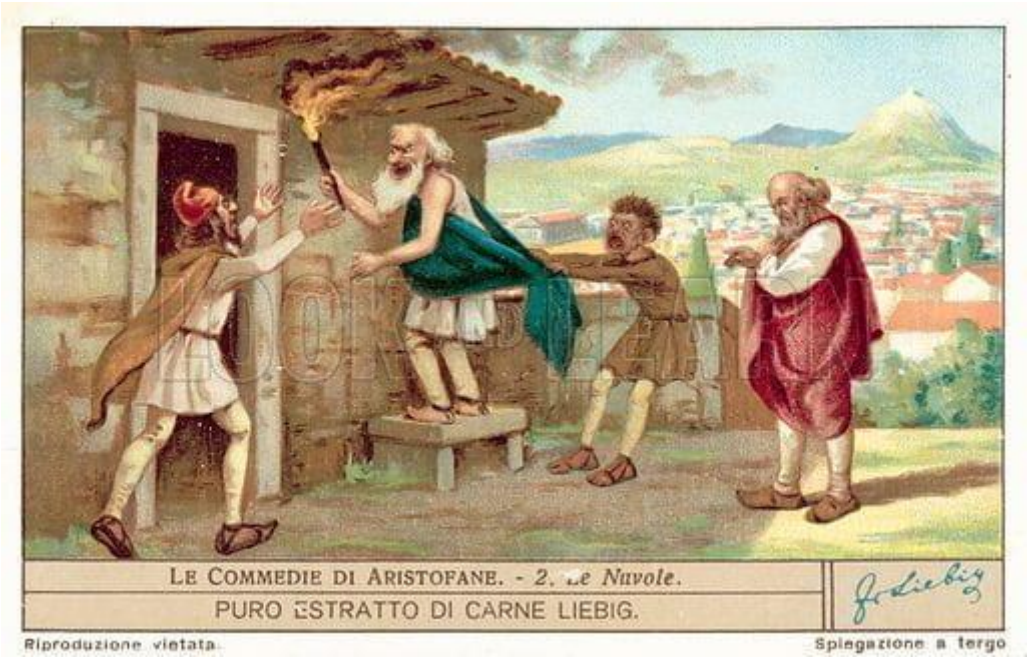
2nd Creditor Assault! And battery! Help!

Strespiades Move! Move! Or else I'll stick this up your thoroughbred arse!
[**2nd Creditor** *takes to his heels*]

Yes, I thought I'd get rid of you that way – you and your chariot wheels and all.
[**Strespiades** *goes in in festive mood*]

What happens next?

Strepsiades gets his commeuppance from his own son, who beats him up and then tells him he is quite right to do so. When his son threatens to beat his mother as well, Strepsiades comes to his senses and realises he has made a terrible mistake: He was wrong to try to wriggle out of his debts. The Clouds explain that they have taught him this moral lesson the hard way.



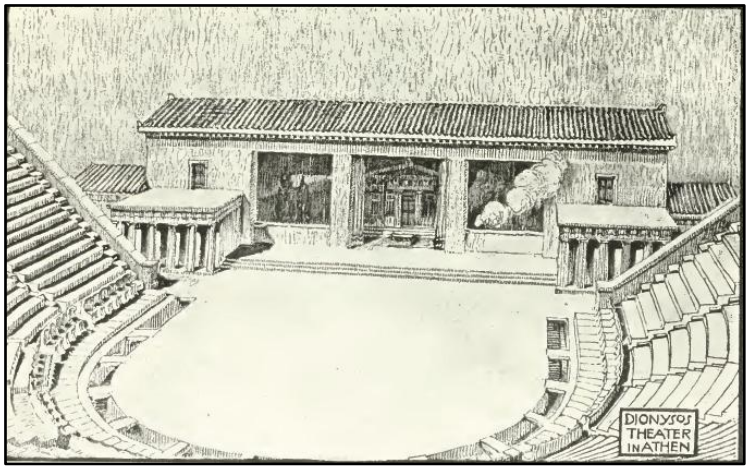
Note on the date of Aristophanes' Clouds.

Although the play was first produced in **423BC**, it came thris in the competition and the amnuscript you have been reading was revised. The Chorus criticise the audience for their lack of judgement. The ending was probably changed in the revised version (as you can see in the picture above, the Thinkery is torched and the occupants viciously attacked for their impiety and immorality).

This version was circulated as a manuscript, probably **between 420 and 417BC.**

Fathers and Sons

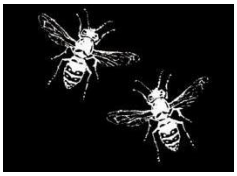
Many Greek tragedies and comedies performed in the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens involved tense relations between a father and his son. In Euripides' *Hippolytus* **428BC** Theseus curses his own son in the belief that he has raped his wife, Phaedra. He acts as judge and jury and condems him to exil as well as invoking a religious curse in the name of Poseidon. He trusts the evidence of a written note and his wife's suicide over his son's protestations of innocence.



The Full text of Hippolytus is a set source and can be found in Part III.

Aristophanes, *Wasps* 891–1008 **422BC**

Frogs and Other Plays, trans. David Barrett, revised Shomit Dutta (Penguin)



Procleon

1st DOG: The Dog of Cydathenaeum

2nd DOG: Labes, the Defendant

Anticleon

*In order to 'cure' his father of jury-mania, a young man (**Anti-Cleon**) has locked his father in his house and sets up a little court room at home. On trial is a dog (Labes) who has stolen some cheese. The father's name (**Pro-Cleon**) shows that, unlike his son, he is a fan of Cleon. Another 'dog' has accused Labes – this is a lightly disguised Cleon.*

Anticleon [*Calling out as Court Officer*]: All jurors to take their places in the courtroom! No admittance after proceedings have begun!
[FIRST DOG *and* SECOND DOG, *as plaintiff and defendant respectively, enter from opposite sides, the latter escorted by two slaves in the capacity of guards*.]

Procleon Which is the defendant?

Anticleon [*indicating* SECOND DOG]: This one.

Procleon [*rubbing his hands gleefully*]: Ha, wait till he hears his sentence!

Anticleon Attention, please, for the indictment. Prosecution initiated by The Dog, of Cydathenaeum[63], against Labes, of Aexone[64], on the ground that the said Labes did wilfully and feloniously wrong and injure one Sicilian cheese by eating it all himself. Penalty proposed: a figwood collar.

Procleon No, no, a dog's death, if he's convicted.

[63] One of **Cleon**'s nicknames was apparently 'The Dog'. Cydathenaeum was Cleon's deme.
[64] **Laches** had been sent to Sicily in command of 20 ships in 427. Cleon 'The Dog' seems to be accusing him of accepting bribes from Sicilian cities.

Anticleon The defendant, Labes, stands before the court. [SECOND DOG *is led forward*]

Procleon Oh, what a brute! What a furtive look he has! Trying to get round me with that grin of his. Where's the plaintiff, the dog from Cydathenaeum?

[FIRST DOG *leaps forward and licks Procleon's face, wagging his hindquarters ingratiatingly. Procleon pats him and gives him a plate of soup.*]

First Dog Bow-wow!

Anticleon [*As interpreter*]: Present!

Procleon There, there now, quite a different kind of dog. Not like nasty Labes, eh? Knows how to bark and lick the plates, doesn't-um?

Anticleon Silence in court! Be seated! [*to* FIRST DOG]: Proceed with the charge.

Procleon [*Ladling out some soup*]: I think I'll have some too, while this is going on.

First Dog [*Mounting the prosecutor's 'stand', an upturned pot*]: Gentlemen of the jury, you have heard the terms of the indictment filed by me against the defendant. He has committed the most atrocious offences, not only against me, but [*his voice rising to a scream*]: against every single rating [i.e. rower] in the fleet – to wit and namely: ran away into a corner and ***sicilicated*** a large quantity of cheese and stuffed himself with it in the dark.

Procleon The case is proved. A moment ago he belched in my direction. The odour of cheese was unmistakable. Disgusting creature!

First Dog On being asked by me for a share, he refused. I put it to you, gentlemen, how can anyone claim to be serving your interests if I, The Dog, am not given my proper share?

Procleon Didn't he give you any at all?

First Dog No, not even to me, his own partner. He's hot and fiery -

Procleon [*taking a mouthful*]: Ow! So's this soup!

Anticleon Now, father, I beg you, don't decide against him before you've even heard both sides.

Procleon My dear boy, the thing's as plain as a pikestaff. It fairly shouts at you.

First Dog [*Confirming this by shouting at the top of his voice*]: Don't you acquit him do you hear? He's a monophagist, that's what he is, an eat-it-all-yourself-ist. He's the most confirmed monophagist in the whole history of dogkind. Why, he cruised all round that island and gnawed all the plaster off the cities.[65]

Procleon And here I am without enough to mend a pot with.

First Dog He must be punished for all this. There's no room for two thieves in one kitchen. And I don't see why I should go on barking for nothing. If you refuse to convict him, you'll not get another yap out of me. [*he stands down*]:

Procleon Dear, dear, dear, what a lot of crimes you've accused him of. He must be a very dishonest sort of fellow. Mustn't he, old cock-a-doodle? – Yes, look, he's winking at me, he agrees.

[65] Cheese were encased in plaster to keep them fresh.

Officer! – where's the man got to? – I want the chamber pot.

Anticleon Take it down yourself. I have to call the witnesses.

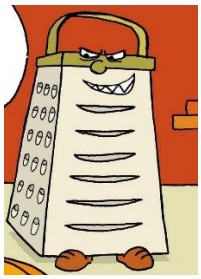
[*Procleon takes down the pot and turns his back to the audience*]:

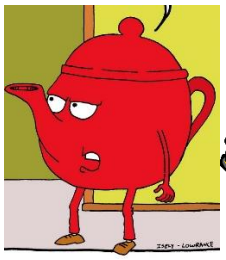
Witnesses for the defendant's character, stand forward!

[*As their names are called the Witnesses file out of the house, bow solemnly to Procleon's back, and take up their positions on the defendant's side of the court*]:

Citizen Bowl! Citizen Pestle! Citizen Cheese-grater! Citizen Brazier! Mistress Pot! And all the rest of you – come on, never mind if you have got burnt bottoms!

[*to Procleon*]: Ah, so you've run dry at last!




Procleon [*resuming his seat and pointing at Second Dog*]: I can tell you who's going to be squeezed dry very soon!

Anticleon Must you always be so stern and severe, even with poor fellows who are up for trial? You've always got your knife into them.

- Prisoner, stand up and make your defence.

[*Second Dog mounts another upturned pot, but remains tongue-tied*]:

Why don't you speak? Get on with it!

Procleon He doesn't seem to have anything to say.

Anticleon Thucydides[66] had the same trouble at his trial: sudden attack of paralysis of the jaw.

[*To Second Dog*]: All right, stand down: I'll conduct the defence myself.

[*He takes Second Dog's place on the stand*]: Gentlemen, it is a difficult undertaking to reply on behalf of a slandered dog, but nevertheless I will try. Hr'm. He is a good dog. He chases away the wolves.

Procleon You mean he's a thief and conspirator!

Anticleon Not at all, he's the finest dog alive. Capable of guarding any number of sheep.

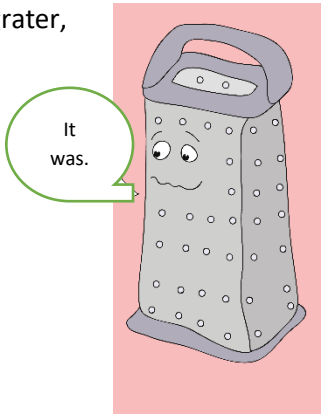
Procleon What's the good of that if he eats up all the cheese?

[66] Thucydides, son of Melesias, is an example of a defendant who is silenced by the overwhelming power of his accuser's (Pericles') arguments. He was ostracised in 442BC.

Anticleon Why, he fights for you and guards the house, and he's a noble dog in every way. What if he did filch something? Can't you make allowances? After all, he was never taught to play the harp.[67]

Procleon Personally I think it's a pity he was even taught to read and write. Then he wouldn't have been capable of such disgraceful effrontery as to enter a defence.

Anticleon Sir, will you please listen to my witnesses? Citizen Cheese-grater, will you come up and testify. And speak up.



[*Cheese-grater steps forward.*]

You were serving as the quartermaster, I understand?

[*Cheese-grater nods.*]

And what you grated was for the troops?

[*Cheese-grater nods vigorously.*]

He says it was.

Procleon He's lying.

Anticleon [*Cheese-grater and other witnesses leave the 'court', and Anticleon braces himself for the final defence speech, which he delivers with great emotion*]

Kind sir, have pity on a creature in distress. While this dog, Labes, slaves away untiringly, eating up all the gristle, devouring the fish-bones, always on active service, his opponent stays at home: he's fit for nothing else. Stays at home – but demands his share of anything that's brought in. And bites if he doesn't get it.

Procleon This is dreadful: what's happening to me? I'm softening! I must be ill. You're beginning to convince me!

Anticleon Come, father, I implore you, have pity on him, don't send him to his ruin. Where are his children?

[*A slave goes into the hose and returns with a large family of puppies.*]

Unfortunate creatures, come up here and plead. Entreat him, pray to him, with tears and whimpers! [*The puppies crowd around Anticleon's feet and set up a chorus of lamentation.*]

Procleon [*In tears.*] Enough, enough! Stand down.

Anticleon [*In tears.*] I will. Though many a man has heard those words in the past, and been deceived, yet, nevertheless, I will – [*he sobs.*] stand down. [*As soon as he can disentangle his feet from the puppies, he steps down from the stand.*]

[67] (See Plutarch, *Life of Themistocles*, 78): 'Whenever in later life Themistocles found himself at any cultivated or elegant social gathering and was sneered at by men who regarded themselves as better educated, he could only defend himself rather arrogantly by saying that he had never learned how to tune a **lyre** or play a harp, but that he knew how to take a small or insignificant **city** in hand and raise it to glory and greatness.'

Procleon [*Struggling to control his emotion.*] It's this confounded soup. I knew it was a mistake. I'm quite sure I'd never have started weeping like that if I hadn't been stuffed with soup.

Anticleon You're going to acquit him then?

Procleon [*Hardening.*] It's hard to say.

Anticleon Come, father dear, now's your chance to turn over a new leaf. Take this pebble; screw up your courage and shut your eye, rush straight over to that second urn, and acquit him.

Procleon No. *I* was never taught to play the harp either.

Anticleon Come on, I'll help you.

[*Procleon, still blinded by tears and in a state of great confusion, allows Anticleon to help him out of his pen.*]

I'll take you the quickest way round. [*He takes the old man's arm and leads him by a circuitous route so as to reach the 'acquittal' urn first. Here he pauses.*]

For the most part, voting in the assembly took place by raising of hands. It was used for such important matters as the impeachment and condemnation of military generals. This method of voting limited the assembly to holding its voting during day-time hours only.
Another form of voting used was voting by ballot or by "pebble". In this form of voting pebbles were deposited into one of two urns which served as the ballot boxes. Voting by ballot was generally limited to issues in which 6,000 citizens needed to vote for the decision to be official.

Procleon Is this the first urn?

Anticleon Yes.

Procleon In she goes, then. [*He drops the pebble into the urn, and Anticleon helps him back to his seat.*]

Anticleon [*To the audience*]: Foiled! He's acquitted him – unintentionally.

[*To the slaves*]: I'll empty them out now.

Procleon Well, how did it go?

Anticleon We shall see in a minute. [*Further rituals have to be carried out before the Slaves empty out the ladles on to two dishes. One dish is empty, the other contains Procleon's pebble. The slaves hand the dishes to Anticleopn, and retire*.]

Labes, you are acquitted.

[*Procleon falls in a dead faint as Second Dog joyfully embraces his puppies and leaves the court, a free dog. First Dog sweeps out in disgust. Anticleon hurries across to his father.*]

Father, father! What's the matter? Holy gods, fetch some water, somebody.

[*Anticleon supports his father: a slave brings water, which Anticleon dashes in the old man's face.*]

Sit up, that's the way.

Procleon [*Faintly*]: Tell me - was he really acquitted?

Anticleon Yes, he was indeed.

Procleon May heaven forgive me!

Anticleon Bear up, now, don't take it to heart.

Procleon How can I ever look myself in the face again? I have acquitted a prisoner! Oh, gods above, forgive me, it was an accident, it wasn't like me at all.

Anticleon Now listen, there's nothing to get upset about. From now on I'm going to look after you properly: I'll take you out with me to all kinds of places, we'll go out to dinners and drinking parties and shows, and you'll be able to have a really good time now: and no Hyperbolus[68] to trick you and laugh at you up his sleeve. Let's go in.

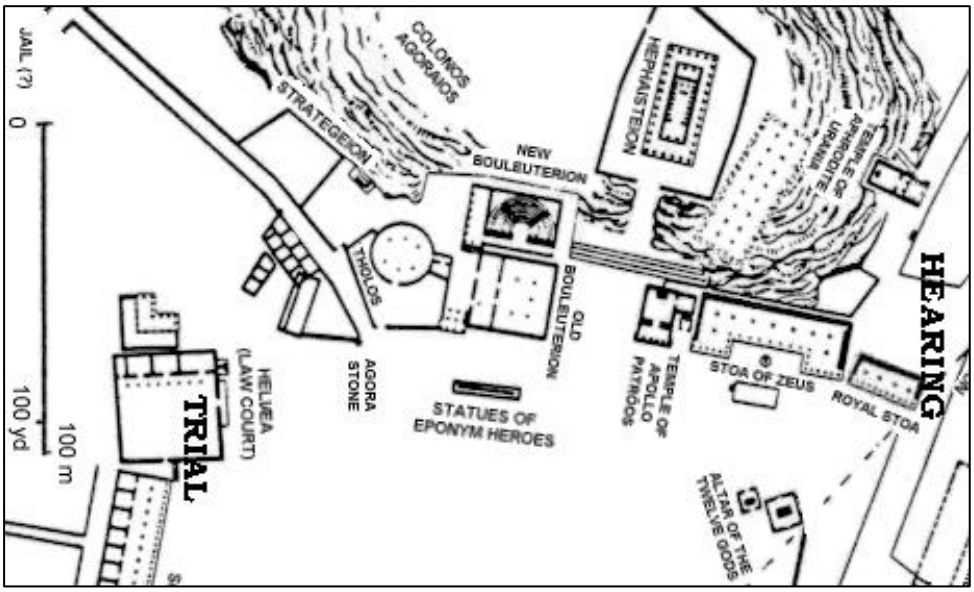
Procleon [*Meekly*]: All right, if you say so.

[*Anticleon leads his father into the house, while the slaves clear away the 'courtroom' properties, leaving the Chorus in possession of the stage.*]

Chorus leader In you go, then, and good luck to you

CHORUS

Now, ye countless tens of thousands,
Seated on the benches round,
Do not let our pearls of wisdom
Fall unheeded to the ground.
Not that *you* would be so stupid,
So devoid of common sense –
What it is to have enlightened
People for an audience!



[68] Hyperbolus was a demagogue greatly disliked by Thucydides and Plutarch. Thucydides writes: 8.73: '*There was an Athenian called Hyperbolus, a worthless fellow who had been ostracized* (Feb. 417BC see Plutarch, *Life of Nicias 11), not out of fear of his power or position but because he was a pest and a disgrace to the city.'* Hyperbolus was murdered in 411 by some of the Athenians on Samos.

Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* **411BC** 786–800, 830–842 (CA120)

LACTOR 12: The Culture of Athens

The women of the Chorus speak in the Parabasis[69]

Aristophanes' play of 411BC means 'The Women at the festival'. All parts were played by men wearing masks.
In the drama, the poet Euripides has revealed how women have affairs and drink wine behind their husbands' backs. The women of Athens decide to use their annual meeting at the ***Thesmophoria****, a sacred, females-only festival, to plan revenge.*
Euripides convinces Mnesilochus, an older male relative, to to learn of the women's plans by spying on their rites. Disguised as a woman, Mnesilochus defends Euripides by enumerating the vices he does not mention! Mnesilochus is exposed (literally) as a spy. He grabs one of the women's babies and runs to the altar, threatening to kill the baby, if the women try to hurt him (a spoof of Euripides' Telephus, where the baby Orestes is seized from Clytemnestra. Mnesilochus discovers that he is not holding a baby, but a wineskin. The women are more upset than if he had taken an actual baby.

CHORUS[786-800]**:**

Everyone has got lots of bad things to say about women, how we are a bad influence on men, and responsible for conflicts, quarrels, faction, trouble, anguish, war – the lot. Well, if we're a bad lot, really and truly, why do you marry us and forbid us to leave the house, or even to be seen peeping outside? Do you really mean to keep such a close eye on a bad lot? ….

And if we spend the night at someone's house, having a bit of fun and wearing ourselves out everyone comes snooping round the couches looking for this bad lot. And if she peeps out of a window, you want to get a look at her; and if she retreats in shame, everyone is all the keener to see the bad lot peeping out again. So we are quite clearly a much better lot than you, and the evidence is right in front of you …

[*There follows a series of unfavourable comparisons between individual men of public note, and women]*

[830-842:] There are plenty of charges that we women could hold against men, but this is the biggest: If one of us gives birth to a man who does his city good, like a captain or a general, she ought to get some honour, a front seat at the Stenia and the Skira[70] and the other festivals we celebrate; but if she gives birth to a coward or a crook, like a crooked trierarch or a rotten helmsman, she ought to sit at the back, with her hair clipped round like a pudding basin, behind the mother of the hero. What right has the city got to let **Hyperbolus**' mother – and her a money-lender – sit all clothed in white, with her hair down, next to **Lamachus**' mother?

Euripides, *Medea* 1081-9 (CA123)

Chorus of Corinthian Women

I have often engaged in intelligent discussions, and entered into arguments
more than a woman would want to; but we too have some cultural awareness [= mousa]
which contributes to our intellect. Not all of us. But here and there you may
be able to find one or two women who are not completely ignorant [= apomousos].

[69] The **Parabasis** is a break in the action of the play – an 'interval' – when the Chorus Leader addresses the audience directly on current issues.
[70] Both are **festivals** of women, the **Stenia** on the ninth, two days before the Thesmophoria. Some say that the **Skira** are said to be the holy things that take place in this **festival** [**Stenia**] to Demeter and Kore, and others, that they are sacrificed to Athena at Skiron.

Gorgias, *Ecomium of Helen*, in *The Greek Sophists*, trans Dillon/Gergel, (ISBN-13: 978-0140436891)

See Source Booklet Part III for Gorgias' display speech

Plato, *Gorgias* 452d–e (CA399), 459b–c (CA400)

The power of rhetoric

452d–e

Socrates: What do you claim is the greatest good for mankind of which you are the artificer?

Gorgias: The truly greatest good of all, Socrates, responsible alike for the freedom of mankind and the individual's power to control others in his city.

Socrates: What is it?

Gorgias: The power to persuade by words the jury in the law-courts, the councillors in the Council, the audience in the Assembly, in short any public meeting. This power will make your doctor and trainer alike **the slave of the man who wields it**; and the business man you were talking about will be seen to be doing business not for himself but for you – the man who can speak and persuade the masses.

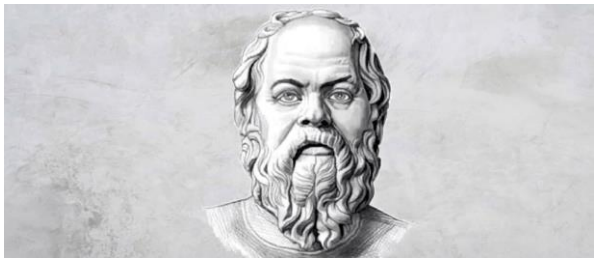
459b–c

Socrates: So the ignorant will be more persuasive than the expert before an ignorant audience, when you have the orator being more persuasive than the doctor?

Gorgias: In this instance, yes.

Socrates: Doesn't the orator and his rhetoric stand in just this relation to all the other arts too? He doesn't need to know the facts but to have discovered the trick of persuasion which will make the ignorant think he knows more than the expert.

Gorgias: Well isn't that a real luxury, Socrates, - without learning the other arts but just this one, to come off no worse than the experts?



Plato, *Hippias Major* 282b–e (CA214)

How much can a sophist earn?

Socrates: Look at Gorgias, the sophist of Leontini – he came to Athens on a public embassy from Leontini as being the most efficient of his countrymen in handling politics. People thought he spoke very well in the Assembly, and in private by giving oratorical displays and teaching the young he made a lot of money and took it home with him from Athens. Or take if you like our friend Prodicus: he often came here on public missions, but when he last came here recently on a public mission from Ceos, he won high repute for a speech in the Council and by his private displays and his instruction to the young received a staggering sum of money. But none of the sages of old ever expected ti be paid money or to give displays of his own cleverness before a conglomerate audience. They were too simple-minded and didn't realise how valuable money was. Whereas both the two I have mentioned earned more by their cleverness than any other craftsman from his craft: and before them there was Protagoras too.

Hippias: You don't know the half of it, Socrates. If you knew how much money I have made, you would be amazed. To take but one example, when I came to Sicily and Protagoras was living there in high renown, a much older man than I, I earned in a short time much more than 150 minas, and from one tiny place, Inycus, more than 20 minas. I took the money with me when I went home and gave it to my father: he and my other fellow-citizens were stunned. In fact I think I can say that I have earned more money than any other two sophists put together.

Plato, *Protagoras* 316d–e (CA209)

Protagoras: I think the sophistic art is really an old one, but that the ancient practitioners, being scared of its unpopularity, used cover names, calling it poetry in the case of Homer for instance and Hesiod or Simonides, or rites and prophecies in the case of the circle of Orpheus or Musaeus: I have observed that some have even called it gymnastic – Iccus of Tarentum, for instance, and the front rank sophist, still alive, Herodicus of Salymbria, originally of Megara: and your Athenian Agathocles, a great sophist, used the cover-name of music, and so did Pythoclides of Cos and many others. All of them, I say, used these other arts as disguises in their fear of unpopularity.

Isocrates 5.117 (CA222)

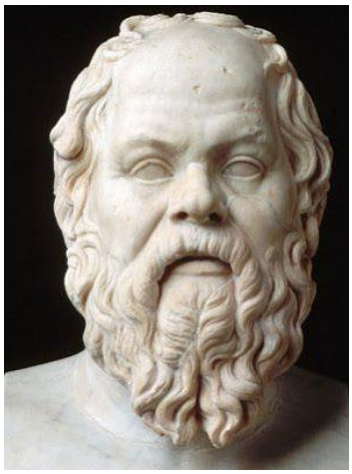
In the case of the gods too, those who bring us good are called Olympians, whereas those who control disasters and punishments have less pleasant names. The former have altars and temples dedicated to them by individuals and by cities: the latter are not honoured by prayer or sacrifice – we simply take steps to avert them.

Aristotle, Rhetoric 1402b (CA404)

This amounts to '**making the worse appear the better argument'**. And this is why people justly criticized Protagoras' prospectus. It is both deceptive, involving apparent but not real probability, and based not on a genuine art but on rhetoric and eristic [71].

[71] The art or practice of debate or disputation often characterized by subtle and specious reasoning.

Plato, *Republic*, trans. Lane, (ISBN-13: 978-0140455113) 6.488–4.489; 6.493



Introduction. p.27: *What then are Plato's criticisms in The Republic? If we look first at the similes of the ship's captain and the large and powerful animal, they seem to be two-fold. First, that the people are bad judges in many political matters. The common man has no experience or expert knowledge of such things as foreign policy or economics, and to expect any very sensible judgement from him on such matters is to expect the impossible. He will judge on impulse, sentiment or prejudice, and though his heart may be sound (and Plato would have doubted whether even this was always true) his head will be muddled. This drawback might perhaps be overcome by good leadership.*

But here we come to the second criticism, that democracy encourages bad leadership. The people's judgement of their leaders is not always good, and they can't be trusted to make the best choice. But quite apart from that, the popular leader, dependant as he is for his position (and perhaps his income) on popular favour, will constantly be tempted to retain that favour by the easiest possible means. He will play on the likes and dislikes, the weaknesses and foibles of the public, will never tell them an unpleasant truth or advocate a policy that might make them unpopular. Popular leaders are as devoid of true knowledge as the people they lead.'

Democratic government is like the crew of a ship vying for control so that they can steer the ship, impatient of and unconvinced by a captain's knowledge and expertise.

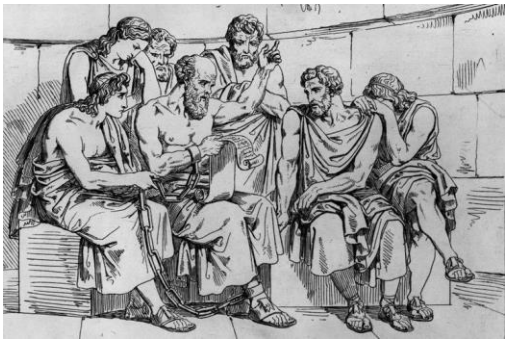
Book 6.488 **Socrates:** 'There you go,' I said, 'pulling my leg when you've landed me with such a difficult point to prove. But you listen to my illustration, and just see how greedy I am for comparisons. For there's really no single thing one can use to illustrate the plight of **the better type of philosopher in contemporary society**; one must draw on several sources for one's illustrations in defence of him, like a painter combining two or more animals into a goat-stag or a similar monster.

1. *The philosopher in society:* *the analogy of the ship's captain (nauclēros) and his crew*

'Suppose the following to be the state of affairs on board a ship or ships. The captain is larger and stronger than any of the crew, but a bit deaf and short-sighted, and similarly limited in seamanship.[72] **The crew are all quarrelling with each other about how to navigate the ship, each thinking he ought to be at the helm; they have never learned the art of navigation and cannot say that anyone ever taught it them, or that they spent any time studying it; indeed they say it can't be taught and are ready to murder anyone who says it can.** They spend all their time milling around the captain and doing all they can to get him to give them the helm.

If one faction is more successful than another, their rivals may kill them and throw them overboard, and turn the voyage into the sort of drunken pleasure-cruise you would expect. Finally, they reserve their admiration for the man who knows how to lend a hand in controlling the captain by force or fraud; they praise his seamanship and navigation and knowledge of the sea and condemn everyone else as useless. **They have no idea that the true navigator must study the stars, the winds and all other subjects appropriate to his profession if he is to be really fit to control a ship; and they think that it's quite impossible to acquire the professional skill needed for such control (whether or not they want it exercised) and that there's no such thing as an art of navigation.** With all this going on aboard aren't the sailors on any such trip bound to regard the true navigator as a word-spinner and star-gazer, of no use to them at all?'

[72] The word translated as captain, 'naucleros', technically means 'ship-owner', so he may not have much direct sailing experience.


Adeimantus was one of Plato's brothers.

6. 489 A: 'Yes, they are.' Adeimantus agreed.

Socrates: 'I think you probably understand, without any explanation, that my illustration is intended to show the present attitude of society towards the true philosopher. '

Adeimantus: 'Yes, I understand.'

Socrates: 'Then you must tell it to anyone who is surprised that society does not value its philosophers, and try first to convince him that it would be far more surprising if it did.

A: 'I will,' he said.

Socrates: And tell him it's quite true that the best philosophers ae of no use to their fellows; but that he should blame, not the philosophers, but those who fail to make use of them. For it is not natural for the master to request the crew to be ruled by him or for the wise to wait on the rich (the author of that epigram was wrong[73]); the true and natural order is for the sick man, whether rich or poor, to wait on the doctor, and for those in need of direction to wait on him who can give it, if he's really any use, and not for him to beg them to accept direction. **And you won't be far wrong if you compare the politicians who at present rule us to the sailors in our illustration, and those whom they call useless visionaries to the true navigators.**'

A: 'That is very true.'

Socrates: 'These are the causes and conditions which make it difficult for the best of all pursuits to get a good reputation from men whose practice runs contrary to it. But far the most damaging reproach to philosophy is brought on it by those who pretend to practise it, and whom your critic has in mind when he says that most people who resort to it are vicious, and the best of them useless – a criticism with which I agreed, did I not?'

A: 'Yes.'

Socrates: 'Well, we have explained the reason for the uselessness of the best of them.'

A: 'Yes, we have.'

Socrates: 'Shall we go on to explain why the majority of them are necessarily corrupted, and show, if we can, that it's not philosophy's fault?'

A: 'Yes, please do.'

[73] Simonides, 'being asked on one occasion …whether it was better to be a man of genius or rich, replied 'Rich, for men of genius are found at the court of the rich.''

Socrates: 'Let's begin our discussion by recalling how we described the character that anyone who is to be a really good man must have.'

Plato, *Republic* Book 6: *A view of the Sophists*

6. **493**: **Socrates:** 'For make no mistake, to escape harm and grow up on the right lines in our present society is something that can fairly be attributed to divine providence.'

Adeimantus: 'I agree,' he said.

Socrates: 'Then I hope you will agree with this too.'

When he asked what it was, I went on,

Socrates: 'all those individuals who make their living by teaching, and whom the public call **'Sophists'** and envy for their skill, in fact teach nothing but the conventional views held and expressed by the mass of the people when they meet; and **this they call a science** = 'sophia'. What I mean is this:

The people are like a wild animal, controlled by leaders who have only a superficial, pragmatic understanding of their nature and behaviour.

'Suppose a man was in charge of a large and powerful animal, and made a study of its moods and wants; he would learn when to approach and handle it, when and why it was especially savage or gentle, what the different noises it made meant, and what tone of voice to use to soothe or annoy it. All this he might learn by long experience and familiarity, and **then call it a science and reduce it to a system** = 'techne' and set up to teach it.

'But he would not really know which of the creature's tastes and desires was admirable or shameful, good or bad, right or wrong; he would simply use the terms on the basis of its reactions, calling what pleased it good, what annoyed it bad. He would have no rational account to give of them, but would call the inevitable demands of the animal's nature right and admirable, remaining quite blind to the real nature of and difference between inevitability and goodness, and quite unable to tell anyone else what it was. He would make a queer sort of teacher, wouldn't he?'

A: 'Very queer.'

Socrates: 'But is there really any difference between him and the man who thinks that the knowledge of the passions and the pleasures of the mass of the common people is a science, whether he be painter, musician, or politician? If he keeps such company, and submits his poems and other productions, or his public services to its judgement, he is going out of his way to make the public his master and to subject himself to the fatal necessity of producing only what it approves. And have you ever heard any serious argument to prove that such productions have genuine merit?

A: 'No, and I don't expect I shall.'

'Bearing all this in mind, let us recall our earlier distinction between beauty itself and particular beautiful things, and between what is in itself and the many particulars.'

Plato, *Apology*, *The Last Days of Socrates,* trans. Tredennick, (ISBN-13: 978-0140449280)

See Source Booklet Part III for the full speech.

*Socrates was put on trial for **asebeia** (impiety) in 399BC at the age of 70 and condemned to death. The charges, not all of them official, are identified by Socrates as going back to the time some of the jurors were children (Aristophanes' Clouds was first produced in 423BC). 'The Apology' is Plato's account of Socrates' defence before the court. Plato says he was an eye-witness at the trial [34a.] Plato would have been about 28 years old at the time. Another account of Socrates' defence speech by Xenophon survives, based on another eye-witness, Hermogenes. Xenophon was probably in his early 30s. Both accounts agree about the nature of the charges brought against Socrates. He was tried before a jury probably of 501 Athenians. The eventual result was probably approx. 280:220[36a] The speech is addressed at three stages in the trial: firstly a defence before the jury make their decision; secondly **(from 35e)** a counter-proposal to the penalty of death recommended by the prosecution and finally **(from 38c)** Socrates' response to the decision, by a much larger margin (probably approx 340: 160), for the death penalty.*

[19a] **SOCRATES:** Let us go back to the beginning and consider what the charge is that has made people so critical of me, and has encouraged Meletus to draw up his indictment. Very well; what did my critics say in attacking my character? I must read out their affidavit, so to speak, as though they were my legal accusers:

"Socrates is committing an injustice, in that **he enquires into things below the earth and in the sky, and makes the weaker argument defeat the stronger, and teaches others to follow his example**."

It runs something like that.

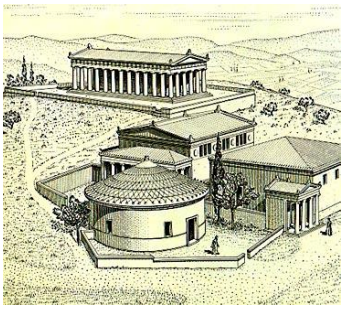
[23d] They complain that there is a pestilential busybody called Socrates who fills young people's heads with wrong ideas.

[24b] So much for my defence against the charges brought by the first group of my accusers. I shall now try to defend myself against Meletus – high principles and patriotic as he claims to be – and after that against the rest.

Let us first consider their affidavit again, as though it represented a fresh prosecution. It runs something like this: 'Socrates is guilty of corrupting the minds of the young, and of believing in supernatural things of his own invention instead of the gods recognised by the state.' Such is the charge; let us examine its points one by one.

The penalty: Socrates' counter-proposal

[36c] I tried to persuade each of you not to think more of practical advantages than of his moral and mental well-being… What do I deserve for behaving in this way? Some reward, gentlemen, if I am bound to suggest what I really deserve; and what is more, a reward which would be appropriate for myself. Well, what is appropriate for a poor man who is a public benefactor and who requires leisure for the purpose of giving you moral encouragement? **Nothing could be more appropriate for such a person than free dining in the Prytaneum. He deserves it much more than any victor in the races at Olympia.**



The circular bulding (Tholos) served as the Prytaneion in Athens.

Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 1.1.16 (CA26), 2.2.2 (CA49), 1.6.13 (CA216), 1.1.3 (CA 258), 3.7.6 (CA35), 1.2.62 (CA173)

Conversations with Socrates: what was Socrates concerned with?

1.1.16 Socrates' conversation was always about human affairs, investigating the nature of piety and impiety, good and bad, justice and injustice, sense and madness, bravery and cowardice, the state and the statesman, government and the governor, and everything else a knowledge of which he reckoned entitled you to call a man a gentleman, and ignorance of which, a mindless automaton [= 'slavish'].

On Slaves

The use of foreigners as slaves in the 5th century was regarded as normal and morally irreproachable, so great was the prejudice against non-Greeks. In Aristotle we do at least find some questioning of the institution, though the criticisms are not very seriously entertained. The use and treatment of slaves varied greatly. They were employed widely both by the state and by the individual. Most self-employed Athenians or ***metics*** *would have used slave labour. Thucydides says that the majority of the more than 20,000 slaves who absconded after the Spartan occupation of Decelea in 413 were* ***craftsmen***[74]*. Slaves are found working alongside citizens at the* ***same rates of pay*** *on projects like the building of the Erechtheum*[75]*. Sometimes they were given considerable responsibility and independence; but of course they were also used where working conditions were too bad for free men to endure, notably in the mines.*

2.2.2 Socrates to Lamprocles:

'It is thought to be wrong to enslave friends but right to enslave enemies.'

On Sophists

1.6.13 Socrates to Antiphon the sophist:

'Those who sell wisdom for money to anyone who wants are called 'sophists' – **prostitutes** you might say; but we regard it as proper conduct for a gentleman to befriend a person of quality by teaching him all the good he can.'

On Oracles: Xenophon defends Socrates on the charge that he 'introduced new deities':

1.1.3 In fact he introduced nothing new, any more than the people who believe in divination, and make use of augury, oracles, omens and sacrifices. They do not suppose that the birds or the people they chance to meet know what is good for the oracle-seekers; rather that the gods use such things to indicate their intentions. That was what Socrates thought too.

Socrates encourages Charmides to become an active politician

3.7.6 'Are you shy of the fullers and the cobblers, the builders, the blacksmiths and the farmers, the traders who engage in barter in the market and concentrate on buying cheap and selling at a profit? For it is people like that who make up the Assembly.'

The laws and the injustice of Socrates' penalty

1.2.62 The laws lay down the death penalty for people convicted of theft and larceny [= theft], picking pockets, housebreaking, kidnapping and temple-robbing. And no-one could have been further removed from all these categories than Socrates was.

[74] Thucydides 7.27.5

[75] Building accounts for the Erechtheum 408-6BC (inscriptional evidence).

Xenophon, *Poroi* (Revenues) 2.1–2, 5 (CA44)

On Metics

The metics are our finest resources; for not only do they maintain themselves and perform many services at no expense to the state, but they also pay a Metic Tax. To show our interest in them it would be sufficient in my opinion if we remove the disabilities which do no good to the state, but appear to detract from the status of the metics, and if we no longer compelled them to serve as hoplites alongside citizens…

We would also, I think, make the metics better disposed towards us if we gave them the right to serve in the cavalry, and other attractive-looking privileges.

Athenian vase paintings provide primary evidence of many aspects of day to day life.
Try looking at these to build up your understanding and use as evidence.

ΚΕΣ CLASSICS

ANCIENT HISTORY:

DEPTH STUDY

The Culture and Politics of Athens c.460-399BC

Part II
Aristophanes, Euripides
Isocrates, Plato and Xenophon

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Part III

Euripides' *Hippolytus*
Gorgias' *Encomium of Helen*
Plato's *Apology*