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A Modern Look At Ancient Greek Civilization Part I

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Andrew Szegedy-Maszak was born in 1948, and received his bachelor's degree from The University of Michigan in 1970. He did post graduate work at Princeton where he also earned a Ph. D. degree in classics. His fellowships and awards include the American Philological Association Award for Excellence in the Teaching of Classics, 1986; NEH Translation Grant-Johns Hopkins Press, 1985, with eight other honors, including serving as Guest Scholar-J. Paul Getty Museum, in 1985.

From 1973 to present he has taught at Wesleyan University, he became department chair in 1987. He has also taught for brief periods of time at UCLA and Dartmouth.

A member of the editorial board of Archaeology magazine, he is the author of numerous articles as well as the book The Nomoi of Theophrastus (1981). He has lectured on over 28 classical topics in the United States and Europe and has created six exhibitions including, An Eye for Antiquity: Photographs from the Zewadski Collection, Tampa Museum of Art, 1990; Eternal Cities: Photographs of Athens and Rome, J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, 1988; Two's Company, Light Gallery, New York City, 1985; and, The American Space: 19th Century Landscape Photographs from the Collection of Daniel Wolf, Ezra and Cecile Zilkha Galleries, Wesleyan University, 1984.

In addition, he was a consultant for NEH-sponsored faculty development project at Cabrini College, Radnor, PA, May 1989, and was core faculty for the NEH Summer Institute on Classical Mythology, "The Songs of the Muses," University of Maryland, July 1990.

A MODERN LOOK AT ANCIENT GREEK CIVILIZATION
SUGGESTED READINGS

It is difficult to make a selection of readings for a field that is so diverse and that has given rise to a vast bibliography. As a first step, I have limited the following list to books, omitting innumerable journal articles. After a brief note about general reference works, the suggestions, lecture by lecture, are usually divided into three sections. The "essential" books are, wherever possible, the primary sources in translation. The titles listed under "basic scholarship" are meant to be relatively recent, and introductory without being too elementary. Finally the "specialized studies" are, as the term suggests, more technical discussions. Many of these books are available in paperback, and titles marked with an *asterisk are copiously illustrated. Titles marked with a † involve some Greek language.

REFERENCE WORKS

The Oxford Classical Dictionary (2nd ed. 1970) provides short, judicious notes on all of the most important persons, places and events from both the Greek and the Roman world.

The multi-volume Cambridge Ancient History has articles by multiple authors, each of whom treats his or her area of specialization in some detail; this, however, is probably a little too technical and almost certainly too expensive for the average reader, though it is worth consulting in one's local library. Two other very useful, large-scale reference works are Michael Grant and Rachel Kitzinger, eds., *Civilizations of the Ancient Mediterranean (3 vols. 1988); John Boardman, Jasper Griffin, Oswyn Murray, eds. *The Oxford History of the Classical World (1986). Similarly, M.C. Howatson, ed., The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature (1989) has brief articles on authors, works, characters and the major historical events and actors.

Two books offer valuable collections of ancient sources: M. M. Austin and P. Vidal-Naquet, Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece : an Introduction (1977), and Michael Crawford and David Whitehead, Archaic and Classical Greece: a Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation (1983).

There are several narrative histories of Greece that combine scholarship with readability. In more or less ascending order of complexity and detail, four of the more accessible texts are: K.J. Dover, *The Greeks (1980); Peter Green, *Ancient Greece (1979); A.R. Burn, The Pelican History of Greece (rev. ed.: 1979); Raphael Sealey, A History of the Greek City States 700-338 BC (1976).

A very good traditional survey of Greek history in the 6th and 5th centuries is Victor Ehrenberg, From Solon to Socrates (1967).

An older but still influential study of Greek thought is E.R. Dodds, †The Greeks and the Irrational (1951). Two of the more interesting recent studies of Greek values and ideology are Jean-Pierre Vernant, The Origins of Greek Thought (English trans. 1982) and Paul Cartledge, The Greeks (1993).

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

The major archaeological sites are carefully analyzed and described by William R. Biers, *The Archaeology of Greece: an Introduction (1980). Among the many surveys of Greek art, two good places to start are: Susan Woodford, *An Introduction to Greek Art (1986) and John Boardman, *Greek Art (2nd ed. rev.: 1985). J.J. Pollitt's *Art and Experience in Classical Greece (1972) offers a subtle discussion of the relation between aesthetics and cultural values.

Lecture One: Introduction and Prehistory: Cycladic, Minoan and Mycenean Civilization

I. How we view Greek civilization
   A. To get an idea of how different Greek civilization was from our own, we can look at religion, specifically the worship of Apollo centered at his sanctuary at Delphi. Here the god was honored primarily for his power to inspire prophecy and to perform ritual purification for those convicted of serious crimes
   B. Our understanding of Greek society has changed a great deal and is continuing to change, partly because of new discoveries in archaeology but primarily because of new interpretations brought about by new analytic methods.
   C. Greek society should be viewed as the product of a complicated blend of large impersonal forces (such as geography and climate), custom and tradition, and personalities.
   D. We confront large obstacles in trying to understand the Greeks.
      1. What we call "Ancient Greece" spanned a time period of about 2,500 years.
      2. Evidence, especially for the earliest period, is sparse, limited to those materials that can survive centuries in the ground.
      3. Even when there are documents, the language has many nuances that are difficult to capture in translation.

II. Cycladic Civilization, on the islands between Greece and Asia (ca. 2500 B.C.E.)
   A. Ancient Greece had no settled population. Communities were small, scattered, and self-sufficient.
   B. The coastline of Greece has numerous small bays and coves that can be used as harbors, and the Greeks very early became skilled sailors and navigators.
   C. The earliest proto-Greek culture developed in the Cyclades; its best-known products are stylized stone figurines.

III. Minoan Civilization, on Crete (ca. 2000 - 1400 B.C.E.)
   A. Minoan Civilization reached its high point during the "new palace" period (ca. 1700 - 1400).
      1. Social and political life centered on the great palaces, like the one at Knossos. It was totally unfortified, and there are very few signs of war or conflict of any kind.
      2. The Minoans supported a high level of technology and craftsmanship, and they had an extensive trading network all around the Mediterranean.

      3. They had literacy, in the form of Linear-A and Linear-B, used primarily for storeroom records; only Linear-B has been deciphered, and it has identifiably Greek elements.
      4. The collapse of Minoan civilization was probably due to a combination of natural disaster and invasion.

IV. Mycenaean Civilization, on mainland Greece (ca. 1600 - 1200 B.C.E.)
   A. Mycenaean society was organized around small, highly fortified citadels.
      1. The Mycenaeans too supported a very high level of craftsmanship, especially in metalwork.
      2. They eventually constructed monumental works of architecture in stone: citadel walls and massive tombs.
      3. They had extensive trading contacts.
      4. They too were literate in Linear-B.
      5. The condition of society seems to have been one of constant small-scale feuds and raids.
      6. Mycenaean civilization ended abruptly, probably because of invasion and/ or internal revolution.

V. The Dark Ages (1200 - 800 B.C.E.)
   A. Monumental architecture and literacy disappeared; technological and artistic production, and trade, fall off sharply, and there seems to have been a decline in population.
   B. There were two large-scale movements of people: the Dorians overland into the southern part of Greece, and the Ionians from northern Greece, across the islands and onto the coast of Asia Minor (modern Turkey).
   C. The one major technical advance was the replacement of bronze by iron as the most important metal.

Readings

On Greek religion see Walter Burkert, Greek Religion (1985); W.K.C. Guthrie, The Greeks and Their Gods (1950).
For Greek prehistory there is very little mid-range scholarship between general studies and specialized monographs. The following books are some standard introductory texts that will clarify the most significant issues: Joseph Alsop, *Out of the Silent Earth (1964); John Chadwick, *The Mycenaean World (1976); Oliver Dickinson, The Origins of Mycenaean Civilization (1977) and *The Aegean Bronze Age (1994); Colin Renfrew, *The Cycladic Spirit (1993); Emily Vermeule, Greece in the Bronze Age (1972).

Lecture Two: Homer and the Origins of the Epic Tradition

I. The importance of Homer
   A. The Homeric epics, the Iliad and the Odyssey, were immensely influential in virtually every aspect of Greek cultural life.
   B. They were mined for historical, religious, ethical, and philosophical examples, and they were quoted more frequently than any other poetry.

II. The composition of the poems
   A. They were produced by "oral composition," meaning that they were originally sung in performance by bards.
   B. The bards had in their memories a great stock of pre-formed metrical formulas.
   C. The likeliest date for their composition is the early Archaic Age (ca. 750 B.C.E.), but they were probably not written down until later.

III. The social structure of Homer's world
   A. The Iliad and Odyssey differ greatly in plot and tone but share some basic features.
   B. The central figures in the epics are the heroes.
      1. Heroes are men, who are defined by certain characteristics such as noble (sometimes semi-divine) birth, physical size and strength, and wealth in the form of land and treasure. Thus heroes are born, not made.
      2. A hero must strive to achieve respect from his peers during life, and a glorious reputation after death.
      3. As a result, a hero lives in a virtually constant state of competition, of which the most intense form is warfare.
   C. Homeric ethics can be summed up in the command, "Help your friends, and hurt your enemies."
   D. Xenia, translated as "guest-friendship," is the formal ritual of hospitality to strangers -- one way of controlling strife.
   E. The Homeric gods are very similar to mortals, with the crucial difference that gods don't die.

IV. The Iliad and the Odyssey established two heroic types
   A. The "Achillean" hero is old-fashioned, unfailingly plain-spoken and honest, willing to sacrifice his life to preserve his honor.
   B. The "Odyssean" hero is clever, adaptable, ready to try anything that may prove interesting or profitable.

READINGS

Essential:
There are numerous translations of the Iliad and the Odyssey. Richmond Lattimore and Robert Fitzgerald have translated both poems; Lattimore is slightly preferable for the Iliad, and Fitzgerald for the Odyssey. Robert Fagles also has an excellent version of the Iliad.

Basic scholarship:
Jasper Griffin, Homer: the Odyssey (1987) and Michael Silk, Homer: the Iliad (1987) are compact, cogent introductions to the poems. See also Mark Edwards, Homer: Poet of the Iliad (1987); Moses Finley, The World of Odysseus (2nd ed.,1978); Jasper Griffin, Homer on Life and Death (1980); Seth Schein, The Mortal Hero (1984).

Specialized studies:
Norman Austin, †Archery at the Dark of the Moon: Poetic Problems in Homer's Odyssey (1975); John H. Finley, Jr., Homer's Odyssey (1979); Gregory Nagy, †The Best of the Achaeans: Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greek Poetry (1979); James Redfield, Nature and Culture in the Iliad (1975); Oliver Taplin, †Homeric Soundings (1992).

Lecture Three: The Archaic Age and the Lyric Poets: New Values and New Voices

I. The development of the polis and the diffusion of Greek civilization.
   A. The Greeks fully adopted life in the polis, the "city-state."
      1. A polis was formed by a process of unification among smaller settlements or villages near one another.
      2. Each polis defined itself by its constitution, and specifically by its criteria for citizenship; in every case, however, a citizen was a free adult male who participated in military service and political deliberations.
      3. The ideal for polis life was eunomia: good laws, well obeyed.
   B. During the Archaic Age the Greeks spread their way of life throughout the Mediterranean.
      1. Mother-cities sent out colonies, intended from the first to be independent communities.
      2. The first wave of colonization was to the West, to Sicily and southern Italy (ca. 750 - 650 B.C.E.).
      3. Slightly later, there was another wave to the Northeast, as far as the shores of the Black Sea.
      4. The location of colonies was sometimes determined by considerations of trade or natural resources, but the initial cause of colonization was always some unrest in the mother city.

II. Economic, social and cultural changes.
   A. The standard of wealth was altered to include "moveable wealth" (precious metals and, later, coinage).
   B. There arose a new class of prosperous but non-aristocratic citizens who made new demands for political rights.
   C. The Greeks adopted a new style of warfare, called hoplite tactics, with heavily armed soldiers (who bought their own armor) fighting in close formation. These soldiers were drawn from the new "middle" class.
   D. Literacy was rediscovered, and one of the first uses to which it was put was that law codes were written down.
   E. These changes resulted in a sharp challenge to aristocratic privilege, and upheaval in almost every level of society.

III. The Lyric poets.
   A. In the verses of Lyric poets, we hear the individual voices from the Archaic Age, reflecting the new values and, for the first time, expressing the poet's personal emotions: sorrow and humor, fear and bravery, regret and hope, anger and tenderness, hate and love.

Readings

Essential:
Richmond Lattimore, trans., Greek Lyrics (2nd ed., 1960); Diane Rayor, Sappho's Lyre (1991); Plutarch's Life of Theseus in The Rise and Fall of Athens (cf. Lecture 5 below); Crawford and Whitehead, Archaic and Classical Greece (cf. Reference Works above) chs. 1-4.

Basic scholarship:
Moses Finley, Early Greece: the Bronze and Archaic Ages (1970); Jeffrey Hurwit, *The Art and Culture of Early Greece (1985); Lilian H. Jeffery, *Archaic Greece: The City States c. 700 - 500 B.C. (1976); Oswyn Murray, Early Greece (1980); Anthony Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece: the Age of Experiment (1980).

Specialized studies:
John Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas (rev. ed. 1980); C.M. Bowra, †Greek Lyric Poetry (2nd ed. 1961); Carol Dougherty, †The Poetics of Colonization (1993), and Leslie Kurke, eds. Cultural Poetics in Archaic Greece (1993); A.J. Graham, Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece (rev. ed. 1971); Anthony Snodgrass, The Dark Age of Greece: an Archaeological Survey of the Eleventh to the Eighth Centuries BC (1971).

Lecture Four: Sparta and Lycurgus: The Creation of a Martial Utopia

I. Sparta was located on the River Eurotas, between two mountains, east of the plain of Messenia. The polis was formed by the process of synoecism out of four villages and seems to have been unexceptional through the early Archaic age.

II. The conquest of Messenia
   A. The First Messenian War (ca. 735-715) resulted in the Spartans' controlling most, but not all, of the plain.
   B. After the war, there developed some kind of civil strife, centering on the so-called Partheniai - "maidens' sons." As a consequence, Sparta sent out its first and only colony, to Taras in southern Italy.
   C. The Second Messenian War (ca. 670 - 650) saw the Spartans solidify their hold on the area, using the new hoplite military tactics. This was the war memorialized in the poetry of Tyrtaeus.

III. The reforms identified with the legendary lawgiver; Lycurgus.
   A. The governmental system was a unique blend of kingship, oligarchy and democracy.
      1. Kingship took the form of a hereditary dyarchy, two kings from two different clans.
      2. The kings were advised by the Gerousia: a council of elders, over 60 years of age.
      3. The citizen body was called the Damos, comprising all adult citizens over 30 years of age. In official assembly they were called the Apella.
      4. At some time after the original Lycurgan reforms, there was established the office of Ephors ("overseers"), elected from, and by, the citizens, and responsible for maintaining discipline within the state.

IV. Two subordinate groups, seemingly drawn from the conquered population.
   A. The perioeci were free but unenfranchised, and were responsible for Sparta's limited economic activity.
   B. The helots were state-owned serfs, working the land for their Spartan masters and kept in complete subjugation. They were subject to every kind of humiliation and abuse.

V. The Spartan citizen was defined by having passed through the unique and rigorous Agogê ("upbringing") that controlled every aspect of life from birth through childhood, adolescence and maturity. The whole aim of the process was to produce men who would be fearless, formidable and obedient soldiers.
   A. Among themselves the Spartans were called Homoioi, "peers," a term that symbolized their complete equality and complete dedication to the state.

Readings

Essential:
Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus (available in the old Dryden translation of the Complete Lives); Crawford and Whitehead, Archaic and Classical Greece (cf. Reference Works above) ch. 5.
Basic scholarship:
Paul Cartledge, Sparta and Lakonia: a Regional History 1300-362 B.C. (1979) is the best one-volume study of the Spartan system.
Specialized studies:
E. Tigerstedt, †The Legend of Sparta in Classical Antiquity (3 vols., 1965-1978).

Lecture Five: Athens and Solon: Economics and Political Reform

I. The Athenian situation before Solon
   A. Attica is a large territory with numerous natural resources and an extensive coastline.
   B. Political and economic control rested with a group of aristocratic clans known collectively as the Eupatridae ("having good fathers"). By the mid-seventh century severe tension was growing between the haves and the have-nots.
   C. The first sign of trouble (in 636 or 632) was the conspiracy of Kylon, who seized the Acropolis in an unsuccessful bid to become tyrant.
   D. Perhaps as a result of the Kylonian conspiracy, Athens received its first law code, drafted by the semi-legendary Draco (ca. 624). It became famous for its severity.

II. Athens at the time of Solon
   A. The principal problem was one of debt. The introduction of coinage had made borrowing easier and potentially more ruinous. There was a large group of debtors known as hectemors (literally "sixth-partners") who owed a substantial share of their produce to their creditors. If the debtor failed to pay, he could be sold into slavery.
   B. In 594 the Athenians elected Solon to be archon. He was also a poet, who commemorated his own reforms in verse, so that we have an unusually personal view of his activity.

III. Solon's reforms
   A. The most important economic measure was a one-time cancellation of all debt called the seisachtheia, "shaking off the burdens." Solon also prohibited debt-bondage, so that no Athenian could ever again hold another Athenian as a slave.
      1. Other economic measures included a standardization of currency, weights and measures.
   B. Solon resisted pressure from the poorer classes to equalize wealth by redistributing the land.
   C. He also reorganized the political structure along economic lines, establishing four new property classes. The higher magistracies were open only to the wealthier citizens, but there was now much more mobility.
   D. Solon also instituted two important judicial reforms.
      1. Any citizen could claim legal redress on behalf of anyone who had been wronged.
      2. A citizen involved in litigation before a magistrate had the right, before a verdict had been passed, to transfer the case to a jury of his peers.
   E. Solon boasted that he had satisfied neither faction, by which he meant that he could give something to all sides without over-favoring any. His legislation set the framework for democracy.

Readings

[G.R. Stanton, Athenian Politics c. 800-500 BC: a Sourcebook (1990) is a useful collection of sources in translation, with commentary, on the development of Greek political life. Plutarch's Lives of nine great Athenians are collected in a paperback called The Rise and Fall of Athens (trans. Ian Scott-Kilvert, 1960).]

Essential:

Solon's poetry in Greek Lyrics (cf. Lecture 3 above); Plutarch's Life of Solon in The Rise and Fall of Athens; Stanton, Athenian Politics chs. 1-2; Crawford and Whitehead, Archaic and Classical Greece (cf. Reference Works above) ch.6.

Basic scholarship:

Victor Ehrenberg, †The Greek State (2nd ed., 1969); W.G. Forrest, The Emergence of Greek Democracy: the Character of Greek Politics 800 - 400 B.C. (1966).

Specialized studies:

Emily Anhalt, †Solon the Singer: Politics and Poetics (1993).

Lecture Six: From Tyranny to Democracy

I. The Peisistratids and tyranny at Athens.
   A. In the decades after Solon's reforms, regional and social factionalism in Attica continued to create political strain.
   B. Three "parties" emerged: the Plain, the Coast, and the Hill, the latter led by Peisistratos.
   C. After two unsuccessful attempts, Peisistratos established himself as tyrant in 546.
      1. He was careful to preserve constitutional forms, though making sure that his supporters held the highest offices.
      2. He promoted Athenian cultural identity and civic unity.
      3. In later tradition he is respected as an exemplary ruler.
   D. On his death, rule passed to his sons Hippias and Hipparchos, who stayed in power until 514, when Hipparchos was assassinated.
      1. Hippias's rule became increasingly rigid and oppressive, until he was overthrown in 510.

II. Kleisthenes and the foundation of radical democracy
   A. Kleisthenes began his reforms in 508/7, and the first full civil year conducted under the new rules was 503/2.
   B. The basis for the new system was purely geographic.
      1. The fundamental unit was the deme, or neighborhood; there were some 170 in all. When a young man became a citizen, the name of the deme in which he was enrolled became part of his official name.
      2. Kleisthenes divided Attica into three regions -- coast, city, and inland -- and grouped demes in each area into trittyes, thirty in all. He then took one trittys from each region and formed ten new tribes (phylai). Each new tribe, therefore, contained a cross section of the whole population. All citizens had voting rights in the assembly (ekklêsia).
      3. There was a new council (boulê) of 500, with 50 men selected by lot from each tribe.
      4. The civil year was divided into ten units (prytanies); each tribe's councillors served for their tenth of the year as members of this "executive committee."
      5. There was also a new board of 10 generals (stratêgoi), who were elected, one per tribe, and could be reelected without limit.

   C. Kleisthenes' other great innovation was ostracism, an annual procedure by which one citizen could be selected to go into exile for a period of 10 years. The aim was to prevent anyone from becoming too powerful.
   D. Kleisthenes promulgated his reforms under the slogan of isonomia: equality before the law, along with equal access to political power. His system was the basis for the radical democracy that would last for more than two centuries.

Readings

Essential:
Stanton, Athenian Politics (cf. Lecture 5 above), chs. 3-5; Crawford and Whitehead, Archaic and Classical Greece (cf. Reference Works above) ch. 7.
Basic scholarship:
Antony Andrewes, The Greek Tyrants (1956); V. Ehrenberg, †The Greek State and W.G. Forrest, The Emergence of Greek Democracy (cf. Lecture 5 above); J.A. Smith, Athens Under the Tyrants (1989).
Specialized studies:
A.H.M Jones, †Athenian Democracy (1957); Philip Brook Manville, The Origins of Citizenship in Ancient Athens (1990); Christian Meier, The Greek Discovery of Politics (English trans. 1991); Josiah Ober, Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens (1989); Martin Ostwald, †Nomos and the Beginnings of Athenian Democracy (1969); H.A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult Under the Tyrants in Athens (1989).

Lecture Seven: The Ionian Philosophers and Herodotus

I. The first philosophers in the Greek world
   - **A.** They came from Miletus in Ionia, in the late 7th and early 6th centuries.
   - **B.** Their main concern was to define the basic element of the cosmos, variously designated as water, "the infinite," or air.
     1. Despite the seeming naivete of such speculation, it was a bold attempt to explain the workings of the world by means of reason and without reference to the gods.
   - **C.** At the same time other writers, notably Hekataios, were exploring the Mediterranean area and recording their findings.

II. Herodotus
   - **A.** He was born ca. 485 in Halicarnassus, far south in Ionia, and he later moved to Athens.
   - **B.** He called his work historiai, which means "researches;" it is the first genuine historical narrative in the West.
   - **C.** His purpose is to record the great deeds of Greeks and foreigners.
   - **D.** The influence of the Ionian philosophers can be seen in Herodotus's attempt to find the causes underlying the conflict between cultures.
   - **E.** A central motif in the Histories is the inevitable retribution that befalls a ruler (or anyone) who breaks a boundary because of pride or greed. For Herodotus this is a law of human history.

III. Herodotus's topic: the conflict between the Greeks and the Persians.
   - **A.** The first stage was the defeat (ca. 546) of Croesus, king of Lydia, by the Persian king Cyrus, who then forced the Greek cities in Ionia to pay taxes to the Persian court.
     1. Herodotus presents Croesus's defeat as a model case of a ruler who begins with enough, but wants more, then does something foolish, and finally suffers total reversal.
   - **B.** In 499, Miletus revolted from Persia, now under the rule of king Darius, and the Athenians sent some ships to assist the Milesians. The revolt was crushed (493) and Miletus was sacked, but Darius wanted to take revenge on the mainland Greeks and undertook an invasion.
     1. In 490 at Marathon, the Athenians and a few allies won a totally unexpected victory over a much larger Persian army.
   - **C.** Ten years later, Darius's son and heir Xerxes led another invasion, during which Leonidas, one of the Spartan kings, was killed, and Athens was sacked and burned.
     1. Persuaded by their leader Themistocles, the Athenians had abandoned the city and put their trust in their fleet.
     2. Again the Persians were defeated: first in a sea-battle at Salamis (480), where the Greeks were led by Themistocles; next in a land battle at Plataea (479), where the Greek leader was the Spartan general Pausanias.
   - **D.** Three main results of the Persian War.
     1. The Persian military threat was over.
     2. The Greeks enjoyed a brief sense of unity, but
     3. Athens and Sparta emerged as the two leading states, and their differences made future conflict almost inevitable.

Readings

Essential:
The fragments of the early philosophers have been collected and translated by Jonathan Barnes in a paperback called Early Greek Philosophy (1987). Three paperback translations of Herodotus are broadly available, by George Rawlinson (The Persian Wars), Aubrey de Selincourt (Herodotus: the Histories), and David Grene (The History / Herodotus), with the last being the most recent and marginally preferable to the other two.

Basic scholarship:
G.S. Kirk, J.E. Raven, and M. Schofield, The Presocratic Philosophers (2nd ed. 1983); Aubrey de Selincourt, The World of Herodotus (1962).

Specialized studies:
François Hartog, The Mirror of Herodotus (English trans. 1988); Donald Lateiner, The Historical Method of Herodotus (1989).

Lecture Eight: The War Generation

I. Formation of the Delian League
   A. Many of the Greeks, especially the islanders, still felt strong anxiety about Persian aggression, and they turned to Athens to lead a defensive league. Its treasury was on the island of Delos, and so it was called the Delian League.
      1. The purpose was to avert further Persian attacks, and its principles were autonomy and equality.
      2. All member states were to contribute money or ships. The first assessment was conducted by the Athenian general Aristides.
      3. Within a few years, the Athenians began to exercise more autocratic control, as exemplified by their treatment of Naxos (467) and Thasos (465).

II. Athens abroad and at home
   A. Sparta suffered a major earthquake, followed by the long-feared helot revolt (traditionally dated to 464). The Spartans appealed to Athens for help but there occurred a serious breach when the Spartans decided at the last moment to turn the Athenian troops away. The pro-Spartan faction at Athens was discredited.
   B. Domestically, the democracy was growing more radical, as shown by the reform of the Areopagus (462) engineered by Pericles and Ephialtes.

III. A representative of traditional values
   A. Pindar (ca. 518-438) was a poet from Thebes. He composed odes to commemorate athletic victories in the great panhellenic games at Olympia, Delphi and Nemea.
      1. Pindar's epinician ("for victory") odes, commisssioned by wealthy patrons, employ a complex archaic language and look back to old aristocratic values.

IV. From Delian League to Athenian Empire
   A. In 454 the League Treasury was transferred from Delos to Athens, and the Athenians began to set aside a percentage of what was now called "tribute" for their own use.
   B. In 449/8, the Athenians reached some kind of accomodation with the Persians ("The peace of Kallias"), thereby eliminating the need for the Greeks' defensive alliance. The Athenians, however, did not give up their control over their former allies.
   C. In 446, the Athenians and Spartans concluded a Thirty Years' Peace, confirming each polis in its hegemony and completing the polarization between them.

V. A representative of the new values
   A. Protagoras (ca. 485 - 415), originally from Abdera, in the far northwest of Greece, was the first and perhaps the greatest of the Sophists.
      1. He moved to Athens, where he became friends with Pericles.
   B. The Sophists were professional teachers of rhetoric, whose inquiries into the relation between language and action, truth and persuasion, and virtue and expediency challenged many of the most revered traditional beliefs.
   C. Protagoras summarized the new relativism and emphasis on the individual in his famous dictum, "Man is the measure of all things."

Readings

Essential:
Plutarch's Lives of Themistocles and Aristides in The Rise and Fall of Athens (cf. Lecture 5 above); there are two complete translations of Pindar, by Richmond Lattimore, The Odes of Pindar (1947), and Frank Nisetich, Pindar's Victory Songs (1980), which also has an excellent introductory essay; Crawford and Whitehead, Archaic and Classical Greece (cf. Reference Works above) chs. 11-13; Plato's Protagoras (with the Meno, translated by W.K. C. Guthrie)
Basic scholarship:
Russell Meiggs, The Athenian Empire (1972); W.K.C. Guthrie, The Sophists (1971).
Specialized studies:
G.E.M. de Ste. Croix, †The Origins of the Peloponnesian War (1972).

EPILOGUE: "WE ARE ALL GREEKS"

There are numerous works that consider the continuing influence of Greece and the Classical tradition. A few recent titles are: Richard Jenkyns, The Victorians and Ancient Greece (1980) and *Dignity and Decadence: Victorian Art and the Classical Inheritance (1991); Josiah Ober and Charles Hedrick, eds. *The Birth of Democracy (1994); Paul Rahe, Republics Ancient and Modern (1992); Elizabeth Rawson, The Spartan Tradition in European Thought (1969); Jennifer Tolbert Roberts, Athens on Trial: the Antidemocratic Tradition in Western Thought (1994); Richard Stoneman, Land of Lost Gods: the Search for Classical Greece (1987); Oliver Taplin, *Greek Fire (1989); Fani Maria Tsigakou, *The Rediscovery of Greece: Travellers and Painters of the Romantic Era (1981); Frank M. Turner, The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain (1981).

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A Modern Look At Ancient Greek Civilization Part II

Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, Ph.D.

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Andrew Szegedy-Maszak was born in 1948, and received his bachelor's degree from The University of Michigan in 1970. He did post graduate work at Princeton where he also earned a Ph. D. degree in classics. His fellowships and awards include the American Philological Association Award for Excellence in the Teaching of Classics, 1986; NEH Translation Grant-Johns Hopkins Press, 1985, with eight other honors, including serving as Guest Scholar-J. Paul Getty Museum, in 1985.

From 1973 to present he has taught at Wesleyan University, he became department chair in 1987. He has also taught for brief periods of time at UCLA and Dartmouth.

A member of the editorial board of Archaeology magazine, he is the author of numerous articles as well as the book The Nomoi of Theophrastus (1981). He has lectured on over 28 classical topics in the United States and Europe and has created six exhibitions including, An Eye for Antiquity: Photographs from the Zewadski Collection, Tampa Museum of Art, 1990; Eternal Cities: Photographs of Athens and Rome, J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, 1988; Two's Company, Light Gallery, New York City, 1985; and, The American Space: 19th Century Landscape Photographs from the Collection of Daniel Wolf, Ezra and Cecile Zilkha Galleries, Wesleyan University, 1984.

In addition, he was a consultant for NEH-sponsored faculty development project at Cabrini College, Radnor, PA, May 1989, and was core faculty for the NEH Summer Institute on Classical Mythology, "The Songs of the Muses," University of Maryland, July 1990.

A MODERN LOOK AT ANCIENT GREEK CIVILIZATION
SUGGESTED READINGS

It is difficult to make a selection of readings for a field that is so diverse and that has given rise to a vast bibliography. As a first step, I have limited the following list to books, omitting innumerable journal articles. After a brief note about general reference works, the suggestions, lecture by lecture, are usually divided into three sections. The "essential" books are, wherever possible, the primary sources in translation. The titles listed under "basic scholarship" are meant to be relatively recent, and introductory without being too elementary. Finally the "specialized studies" are, as the term suggests, more technical discussions. Many of these books are available in paperback, and titles marked with an *asterisk are copiously illustrated. Titles marked with a † involve some Greek language.

REFERENCE WORKS

The Oxford Classical Dictionary (2nd ed. 1970) provides short, judicious notes on all of the most important persons, places and events from both the Greek and the Roman world.

The multi-volume Cambridge Ancient History has articles by multiple authors, each of whom treats his or her area of specialization in some detail; this, however, is probably a little too technical and almost certainly too expensive for the average reader, though it is worth consulting in one's local library. Two other very useful, large-scale reference works are Michael Grant and Rachel Kitzinger, eds., *Civilizations of the Ancient Mediterranean (3 vols. 1988); John Boardman, Jasper Griffin, Oswyn Murray, eds. *The Oxford History of the Classical World (1986). Similarly, M.C. Howatson, ed., The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature (1989) has brief articles on authors, works, characters and the major historical events and actors.

Two books offer valuable collections of ancient sources: M. M. Austin and P. Vidal-Naquet, Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece : an Introduction (1977), and Michael Crawford and David Whitehead, Archaic and Classical Greece: a Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation (1983).

There are several narrative histories of Greece that combine scholarship with readability. In more or less ascending order of complexity and detail, four of the more accessible texts are: K.J. Dover, *The Greeks (1980); Peter Green, *Ancient Greece (1979); A.R. Burn, The Pelican History of Greece (rev. ed.: 1979); Raphael Sealey, A History of the Greek City States 700-338 BC (1976).

A very good traditional survey of Greek history in the 6th and 5th centuries is Victor Ehrenberg, From Solon to Socrates (1967).

An older but still influential study of Greek thought is E.R. Dodds, †The Greeks and the Irrational (1951). Two of the more interesting recent studies of Greek values and ideology are Jean-Pierre Vernant, The Origins of Greek Thought (English trans. 1982) and Paul Cartledge, The Greeks (1993).

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

The major archaeological sites are carefully analyzed and described by William R. Biers, *The Archaeology of Greece: an Introduction (1980). Among the many surveys of Greek art, two good places to start are: Susan Woodford, *An Introduction to Greek Art (1986) and John Boardman, *Greek Art (2nd ed. rev.: 1985). J.J. Pollitt's *Art and Experience in Classical Greece (1972) offers a subtle discussion of the relation between aesthetics and cultural values.

Lecture Nine: Society and Social Life in Athens: Foreigners, Slaves and Women

I. The symposium
   A. The symposium was the paradigm for social interaction among the educated Athenian citizens. It was supposed to be a carefully planned and highly structured occasion for drinking and conversation. Every participant was expected to contribute equally to make the event a success.
      1. The kratêr, the large vase in which wine and water were mixed, symbolized the proper blend of pleasurable activities, including food, talk, poetry, music, games, and sex.
      2. Despite the ideals of propriety and order, it is clear from both literary and visual evidence that the symposium could degenerate into a drunken riot.
      3. The symposium epitomized the exclusivity of the citizen body, composed solely of free adult males.

II. Metics
   A. A metic was a foreigner who was resident in Athens for more than a brief stay.
      1. Every metic had to have a citizen sponsor (prostatês) and was subject to a special tax (the metoikion).
      2. Metics were not permitted to vote or hold office, to own land in Attica, or to intermarry with Athenian citizens. Under special circumstances, they could be called up for military service.
      3. Metics did have legal protection and could conduct business; they were primarily shopkeepers, tradesmen, craftsmen, and artisans.
      4. The career of the orator Lysias can be seen exemplifying both the advantages and the limitations of metic status.

III. Slaves
   A. From the time of Solon's reforms, slaves in Athens were always, and only, foreigners. The main sources for slaves were military campaigns and commercial markets.
      1. Slaves were the property of their owners and could be disposed of like any other property.

IV. Women

Readings

Essential:
Xenophanes' poem on the symposion in Greek Lyrics (cf. Lecture 3 above); Plato's Symposium (trans. Walter Hamilton, 1951); Euripides' Medea (cf. Lecture 10 below on tragedy in translation); Crawford and Whitehead, Archaic and Classical Greece (cf. Reference Works above) chs.14-15; there is a comprehensive new source book edited by Elaine Fantham et al., *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text (1994).

Basic scholarship:
A sophisticated contemporary survey of Athenian life and society is The Joint Association of Classics Teachers' The World of Athens: an Introduction to Classical Athenian Culture (1984). See also Frank Frost, Greek Society (3rd ed. 1987); Sarah Pomeroy, Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity (1975).

Society and sexuality have become the focus of intense scholarly activity. In this instance, there is not much division between the "basic" and the "specialized" categories. The following books are all for the (dedicated) general reader:

On the symposion: François Lissarrague, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet: Images of Wine and Ritual (English trans. 1990). On foreigners: David Whitehead, The Ideology of the Athenian Metic (somewhat technical, 1977). On slavery: G.E.M. de Ste. Croix, The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World (1981); Moses Finley, Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology (1980); Yvon Garlan, Slavery in Ancient Greece (rev. ed., English trans., 1988). On sexuality and women's lives: David Cohen, Law, Sexuality and Society: the Enforcement of Morals in Classical Athens (1991); K.J. Dover, Greek Homosexuality (1980); David Halperin, John Winkler and Froma Zeitlin, eds., Before Sexuality (1990); John Winkler, The Constraints of Desire (1990). Legal and cultural contexts: Douglas MacDowell, The Law in Classical Athens (1978); Pierre Vidal-Naquet, The Black Hunter: Forms of Thought and Forms of Society in Ancient Greece (English trans. 1986).

Lecture Ten: Tragedy: Myth, Ritual and the Polis

I. The Greek theater
   A. The early history of tragedy is very difficult to reconstruct, but it seems clear that from the beginning it was associated with Dionysus.
      1. Tragedy was an art form that involved the entire community.
      2. Ritual pervades every aspect of production and performance.
      3. There were two main festivals for drama: the Lenaia in late winter, primarily for comedy, and the City Dionysia in the spring, primarily for tragedy. Both occasions were preceded by sacrifices and processions.
   B. The main theater was the Theater of Dionysus, located on the south slope of the Acropolis.
      1. The central performance space consisted of a stage building (skênê) and a flat, semi-circular "dancing floor" (orchestra).
      2. The theater held ca. 20,000 spectators. There is no agreement as to whether the audience included women or was all male.
      3. There were three speaking actors, and a chorus numbering 12 or 15. All the actors and chorus members wore masks.
   C. The dramas were presented as part of a competition, at the end of which citizen-judges awarded prizes.
      1. Well in advance of the festival, the poets applied to the Archon "for a chorus," and the Archon designated a wealthy citizen to be the chorêgos, "producer," who would defray the cost of each poet's production.
      2. The City Dionysia usually lasted four days. On each of the first three days, a tragic poet presented a tragic trilogy and a satyr play. On the fourth day, as many as five comic poets presented their work.
      3. Prizes, in the form of olive wreaths, were given in each category for the best play, the best playwright, and the best actor.

II. Tragedy
   A. The surviving tragedies represent only a tiny fraction of all the plays that were produced in 5th-century Athens. Only three tragedians, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, are represented by complete plays.
      1. The plots of tragedy are, with rare exceptions, taken from myth. The playwrights had considerable freedom to adapt the traditional stories to fit their vision.
      2. The playwrights were considered "teachers" for the community.

   B. The only complete trilogy that survives is Aeschylus's Oresteia, produced in 458.
      1. The three plays -- Agamemnon, The Libation Bearers, and The Eumenides -- are based on the myths of the Trojan War and the House of Atreus.
      2. Aeschylus uses the mythic material to illuminate both large, transcendent problems like the nature of justice, and certain contemporary issues in politics and diplomacy.

Readings

Essential:
Richmond Lattimore and David Grene, eds., The Complete Greek Tragedies (originally published in 1959) consists of several paperback volumes; the translations are generally reliable though some are rather dated. The Oresteia is also available in a fine translation by Robert Fagles, who has also done an equally good version of Sophocles' so-called Theban Trilogy.

Basic scholarship:
Peter Arnott, Public and Performance in the Greek Theatre (1989); Simon Goldhill, Aeschylus: The Oresteia (informative introduction, 1992); Bernard Knox, †Word and Action (selected essays, 1979), and †The Heroic Temper (on Sophocles, 1964); A.W. Pickard-Cambridge, The Dramatic Festivals of Athens (2nd ed. rev. 1988); Oliver Taplin, Greek Tragedy in Action (1978)

Specialized studies:
Simon Goldhill, Reading Greek Tragedy (1986); John Jones, On Aristotle and Greek Tragedy (1962); Charles Segal, †Interpreting Greek Tragedy: Myth, Poetry, Text (1986); John Winkler and Froma Zeitlin, eds., Nothing to do with Dionysus?: Athenian Drama in its Social Context (1989).

Lecture Eleven: Democracy and Empire: The Rule of Pericles

I. Pericles
   A. Pericles (ca. 495-429) belonged to the old, wealthy aristocratic clan of the Alcmeonids.
      1. From the time of his entry into public life, in the late 460's, he identified himself with the most "populist" positions.
      2. There are numerous stories about his intellectual interests; his circle included the sophist Protagoras and the natural philosopher Anaxagoras.
      3. He had a long-standing liaison with the brilliant and famous courtesan, Aspasia.

II. Techniques of imperial control
   A. During Pericles' ascendancy, Athens reached the peak of her power.
      1. The basis of Athens' power was the fleet, the strongest naval force in the Greek world.
      2. In addition to the fleet, the Athenians also exercised military, political and economic control over their allies.

III. The Periclean building program
   A. Beginning in 447, Pericles used league funds to support an extensive beautification of the Acropolis.
      1. The Propylaia was the elaborate entryway that served to mark the transition from the ordinary world of the city to the sacred area on the Acropolis.
      2. The centerpiece was the Parthenon, the magnificent temple in honor of Athens' patron, Athena. Iktinos was the architect, and the principal sculptor was Pheidias.
      3. The temple is in the Doric style and shows extraordinary refinement in design and construction.
      4. The sculptural decoration on the exterior showed scenes from myth. Along with a massive gold and ivory cult statue, the interior was adorned with a long frieze, thought to be an idealized representation of the Panathenaic festival.

IV. The Olympian
   A. One of Pericles' nicknames was "the Olympian," a title that reflects his austere, aloof public style.
   B. His base of power was the stratêgia, as he was elected general continuously from 443 to 429.
   C. He was a masterful public speaker. He was able to advise and encourage the Athenians, yet he was not reluctant to rebuke them when he felt they had erred.
   D. Thucydides sums up Pericles' career by saying that during his reign Athens was, in name, a democracy but in fact under the rule of the first citizen.

Readings

Essential:
Plutarch's Life of Pericles in The Rise and Fall of Athens (cf. Lecture 5 above); Thucydides' History, Books 1 and 2 (cf. Lecture 12 below); Crawford and Whitehead, Archaic and Classical Greece (cf. Reference Works above) chs. 15-17.

Basic scholarship:
W.R. Connor, The New Politicians of Fifth-Century Athens (1971); on the buildings, Richard E. Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens (1978).

Specialized studies:
Bernard Ashmole, *Architect and Sculptor in Classical Greece (1972); John Boardman, *The Parthenon and its Sculptures (1985); Josiah Ober, Mass and Elite (cf. Lecture 6 above); Philip Stadter, †A Commentary on Plutarch's Pericles (1986); Martin Robertson and Alison Frantz, *The Parthenon Frieze (a complete set of photographs, 1975). For the Parthenon and its sculptures, see also the books listed under art and archaeology in the section on Reference Works above.

Lecture Twelve: Thucydides and Scientific History: The Peloponnesian War

I. Sophistic thought and Hippocratic medicine
   A. The Sophists, as has been noted, were traveling teachers of rhetoric.
      1. Protagoras believed that virtue is not innate but can be taught.
      2. Since there are no absolute standards of truth, persuasion is the essential skill. Another sophist named Gorgias composed pairs of orations, arguing both sides of an issue with equal skill.
      3. The relativism of sophistic thought could be turned into a stark doctrine of "might makes right."
      4. The Sophists challenged, and alarmed, traditionalists.
   B. Hippocratic medicine was a new way of diagnosing illness, based on the idea of a balance of forces within the body.
      1. Observation enables one to deduce the cause of a disease, predict its course, and prescribe a remedy.
      2. This method is rational, empirical, and non-theological.

II. Thucydides
   A. Thucydides (ca. 460-400) was the great historian of the Peloponnesian War, between Athens and Sparta, that broke out in 431. He served as a general in the war.
      1. He was strongly influenced by tragedy, Sophistic teaching, and Hippocratic medicine.
      2. He offers a new precision in historical methodology.
   B. He believed the underlying cause of the war was Sparta's fear of Athens' growing power; there was an imbalance in the political system.
   C. His "hero" is Pericles, and the Funeral Oration (430) that Pericles delivers in Book 2 of the History glorifies the Athenian way of life and is the rhetorical high point of the Athenian polis.

III. The first years of the war
   A. In 429, plague struck Athens, killing many people and destroying customary laws and values.
      1. Around this time Sophocles composed Oedipus the King; the play may be an indirect meditation on Athens' troubled greatness.
   B. After Pericles' death in 428, political power passed into the hands of a new class, exemplified by the demagogue Cleon.
      1. Despite the trauma of the war, building continued on the Acropolis, with the small Ionic temple of Athena Nikê (goddess of victory).

   C. In 421, the Athenians and the Spartans concluded the Peace of Nicias, putting a temporary halt to open hostilities.
      1. In the same year, the last great temple on the Acropolis was constructed, the Erechtheion, which housed a number of the oldest local cults.

Readings

Essential:
Widely available in paperback are two standard translations of Thucydides: Richard Crawley, History of the Peloponnesian War (new ed., with intro. by W.R. Connor, 1993), and Rex Warner (rev. ed. with intro. by M.I. Finley, 1972); Paul Woodruff has translated a selection of some of the most significant passages: On Justice, Power and Human Nature (1993); Crawford and Whitehead, Archaic and Classical Greece (cf. Reference Works above) chs. 18-20.

Basic scholarship:
John H. Finley, Jr., Thucydides (1942, repr. 1963); W.R. Connor, Thucydides (rev. ed. 1985); Simon Hornblower, Thucydides (1987).

Specialized studies:
F.M. Cornford, Thucydides Mythistoricus (1907); Nicole Loraux, The Invention of Athens (on the institution of the funeral oration and its function in civic self-definition, English trans. 1986).

Lecture Thirteen: Old Comedy and New Politicians: Satirists and Demagogues

I. Old Comedy and Aristophanes
   A. As with tragedy, the term "Old Comedy" refers to plays performed in Athens in the fifth century, and, like tragedy, the comedies were presented in festivals honoring Dionysus.
      1. The principal festival for comic drama was the Lenaia, in late winter (some time around our February).
   B. Of some 400 plays that we know of by title, there survive only 11 complete plays, all by Aristophanes (ca. 445-385). Despite the broad range in date of composition, and even broader differences in details of plot, the plays share some important features.
      1. The plots are not based on myth but on contemporary realities.
      2. The protagonist is generally lower-class, and distinguished not by personal heroism but by rascality (ponêria).
      3. The typical comic plot consists of the protagonist's formulating an outrageous plan, putting it into action, and triumphing over challenges to it.
      4. Almost all the plays contain one speech (parabasis) in which the chorus directly addresses the audience and delivers the playwright's opinions on important issues of the day.
      5. Comedy is full of stage-violence, obscenity, scatology, and fierce personal invective. All this is permitted under the rubric of complete freedom of speech (parrhêsia).
   C. The two earliest Aristophanic plays that survive, the Acharnians (425) and the Knights (424), focus on the war and Athenian politics.

II. Cleon
   A. After the death of Pericles, the greatest political power was in the hands of Cleon. Our main sources about him are Thucydides and Aristophanes, both of whom hated him.
      1. When Mytilene, a city on the island of Lesbos, revolted from the Athenian confederacy and was subjugated (427), Cleon urged the Athenians to impose extremely harsh penalties.
      2. In 425, he won an unexpected victory over the Spartans at Pylos, and his influence was at its zenith. He died in battle in 422.
      3. He represented not so much a new policy as a new political style, summed up in the title dêmagôgos ("leader of the people").

III. From the Peace of Nicias to the Sicilian Expedition
   A. In 421, the Athenians and the Spartans signed the Peace of Nicias, which was supposed to last for 50 years.
      1. The dominant figure in Athenian life was now Alcibiades, who had been the ward of Pericles. He was handsome, brilliant, and unscrupulous.
      2. Alcibiades may have been responsible for the Athenian assault on the small island of Melos (417).
      3. He persuaded the Athenians to attack the much larger and stronger island of Sicily (415). He was chosen to be one of the leaders of the expedition but fled to escape a charge of impiety.
      4. Nicias became commander in chief, as the Athenian forces struggled with increasing desperation. The Syracusans finally won a complete victory (413), and Nicias was killed.
      5. The Sicilian Expedition was probably the single most important event contributing to the Athenians' defeat in the war.

Readings

Essential:
The Acharnians is part of a recent series of translations of Aristophanes by William Arrowsmith and Douglass Parker that also includes Birds, Wasps, Clouds, Lysistrata, and Frogs (translated by Richmond Lattimore); for Cleon, see Thucydides, Book 3 (cf. Lecture 12 above); Crawford and Whitehead, Archaic and Classical Greece (cf. Reference Works above) ch. 21.
Basic scholarship:
Paul Cartledge, Aristophanes and his Theatre of the Absurd (1990); W.R. Connor, New Politicians (on Cleon, cf. Lecture 11 above); K.J. Dover, Aristophanic Comedy (1972).
Specialized studies:
Kenneth Reckford, Aristophanes' Old-and-New Comedy I: Six Essays in Perspective (1987); Lauren K. Taffe, †Aristophanes and Women (1993).

Lecture Fourteen: Socrates

I. Oligarchic revolution and the end of the war
   A. The period after the Sicilian Expedition is called the Deceleian War, because, at the advice of Alcibiades, the Spartans had seized an outpost in Attica called Deceleia and installed a garrison there (413).
   B. In the spring of 411, disaffected conservatives managed to replace the democracy with a "moderate polity," in which membership in the Assembly was restricted to 5,000 of the wealthiest citizens.
      1. Democracy was restored early in the following year, but many of the oligarchic supporters were driven into exile.
      2. It was in 411 that Aristophanes produced the Lysistrata, in which the women of Greece stage a sex-strike to compel their husbands to make peace.
   C. The Spartans had begun to take Persian money to finance a fleet of their own. In 406 the Athenians won a significant victory over the Peloponnesians at Arginusae. The Spartans offered peace, but the Athenians refused.
      1. After the battle, a storm came up and prevented the Athenian commanders from collecting their wounded and dead. The generals were illegally tried and convicted as a group, and six of them were executed. Socrates opposed this action.
   D. In late summer of 405, the Spartan general Lysander caught the Athenian fleet beached at Aigospotami and captured or destroyed most of the ships. This marked the end of the war.
      1. The last year of the war also saw the last plays by Sophocles (Oedipus at Colonus) and Euripides (Bacchae), as well as the last true example of Aristophanes' old comedy (Frogs).
   E. More political upheaval followed the Athenian loss. The democracy was overturned again, now by a small band of intransigent oligarchs who came to be known as the Thirty Tyrants. They conducted a reign of terror until they were expelled, and the democracy was once again restored (404-403).
      1. One of the leaders was Kritias, a former associate of Socrates, who nonetheless refused to obey their orders.

II. Socrates
   A. Socrates' life and career exemplify both the strengths and weakness of the Athenian way of life. He performed the two most important civic duties: he fought bravely as a soldier, and he served on the Council.
   B. Although he never wrote anything himself, his ideas and methods were immortalized by Plato. He had also been the subject of a lampoon by Aristophanes (Clouds - 418).
      1. He was an individualist thinker, famous for his irony and his refusal to accept a pat answer to his questioning (elenkhos).
      2. He was a self-proclaimed "gadfly" and annoyed many of his fellow citizens.
      3. He explained his actions by describing an internal voice (daimôn) that warned him if he intended to do something wrong.
   C. In the distressed conditions after the war, Socrates' inquiries -- and his old association with men like Alcibiades and Critias -- made him very unpopular. In 399, he was tried on charges of atheism and corrupting the youth, and he was convicted and sentenced to death.

Readings

Essential:
Plutarch's Lives of Alcibiades and Nicias in The Rise and Fall of Athens (cf. Lecture 5 above); Aristophanes, Clouds (cf. Lecture 13 above); Plato's Euthyphro, Apology, Crito and Phaedo have been collected in a paperback called The Last Days of Socrates (with good explanatory notes; translated by Hugh Tredennick, rev. ed. 1969); Crawford and Whitehead, Archaic and Classical Greece (cf. Reference Works above) chs. 24-25.
Basic scholarship:
W.K.C. Guthrie, Socrates (1971).
Specialized studies:
Gregory Vlastos, †Socrates, Ironist and Moral Philosopher (1991). I.F. Stone, The Trial of Socrates (1988) is a provocative critique of the philosopher by the famous political journalist.

Lecture Fifteen: The Fourth Century and the Rise of Macedon

I. New combinations
   A. If there is one overriding theme to the fourth century, it might be called "the fatigue of the polis." This is a period of long, inconclusive wars and brief, unreliable treaties and alliances.
      1. The Spartans began to try to form an empire of their own, but they were singularly unsuccessful.
      2. A clear indication of the new direction toward larger, more anonymous communities is that in 392 Corinth and Argos formed a confederation, whose citizens shared civic rights and duties.
      3. Decades of warfare had created a large number of men whose only profession was fighting. Since these mercenary troops were available for hire by the highest bidder, their loyalty was not to a polis but to the commander who paid them.
      4. To finance another war with Athens, The Spartans concluded the King's Peace with Persia (387/6). In exchange for Persian money, the Spartans ceded control over Ionia to the Persians.
   B. With Sparta and Athens weakened, other states began to stake a claim for hegemonic power. Prime among them was Thebes, under the leadership of two brilliant generals, Pelopidas and Epaminondas.
      1. The Theban army became very powerful, in part because of the creation of an elite infantry battalion called the Sacred Band, composed of 150 pairs of lovers.
      2. To ward off Spartan incursions, the Athenians organized the Second Athenian League (377).
      3. The Thebans and Spartans finally collided at Leuctra (371); using the unorthodox battle tactics of Epaminondas, the Thebans won a tremendous victory.
      4. One of the Thebans' allies was Jason of Pherae, who had built Thessaly into a strong unit. It is typical of the age that when Jason died, Thessaly fell back into disunion and weakness
      5. When Epaminondas was mortally wounded at the battle of Mantinea (362), the glory days of Thebes were over.

   C. Dominance over Greece shifted to an unexpected location: the remote northern area of Macedon, where Philip II became king in 359.
      1. Philip consolidated Macedonia by building up a highly trained and utterly loyal professional army. He then set about extending Macedonian power through northern Greece.
      2. Opinion in Athens about how to respond to Philip was split. One side as represented by the rhetorician Isocrates, who wanted Philip to lead a united Greek invasion of Persia. On the other side, the great orator Demosthenes relentlessly attacked Philip.
      3. Philip's desire to have Macedon identified as a wholly Greek state is exemplified by his hiring Aristotle to be the tutor for his son Alexander (b. 356).
      4. The main-line Greek states confronted Philip at the battle of Chaeronea (August 338), and the Macedonians won decisively. Two years later, Philip was assassinated.
   D. In both visual art and literature (as in the New Comedy of Menander) we can observe a new attention to the circumstances and the personality of the individual.

Readings

Essential:
Plutarch's Life of Lysander in The Rise and Fall of Athens (cf. Lecture 5 above); Plutarch's Lives of Pelopidas and Demosthenes in the paperback selection The Age of Alexander (trans. Ian Scott-Kilvert 1973); Xenophon, A History of my Times (Hellenica) (trans. Rex Warner,1979); there are two good paperback collections of the political speeches that define this period: W.R. Connor, ed., Greek Orations (1966) and A.N.W. Saunders, Greek Political Oratory (1970); Caroll Moulton has translated Menander's one surviving play, the Dyskolos (with essay and notes, 1977); Crawford and Whitehead, Archaic and Classical Greece (cf. Reference Works above) chs. 26-34.

Basic scholarship:
John Buckler, The Theban hegemony, 371-362 BC (1980); .Nicholas Hammond, Philip of Macedon (1994).

Specialized studies:
J.A.O. Larsen, Greek Federal States: Their Institutions and History (1968); Barry S. Strauss, Athens after the Peloponnesian War (1986); René Ginouvès et al., *Macedonia from Philip II to the Roman Conquest (English ed. 1994)

Lecture Sixteen: Alexander the Great and the Onset of The Hellenistic Age

I. Alexander the Great
   A. Alexander was born in 356 to Philip and his wife Olympias. Very little is known about his early life.
      1. The influence of his tutor Aristotle has been widely debated, but it is certain that Alexander got from him a devotion to Greek culture, especially as exemplified in the Iliad.
      2. At the age of 18, Alexander commanded the Macedonian cavalry at the battle of Chaeronea.
      3. After Philip was assassinated, in 336, Alexander was immediately proclaimed king by the Macedonian army.
      4. The first years of his rule were spent quelling threats from barbarian neighbors and suppressing revolt by the Greek states.
   B. In 334 Alexander crossed into Asia Minor at the head of an allied army to wage war against the Persians, whose leader was King Darius.
      1. In May of 334, Alexander's troops defeated the Persians at the River Granicus. After the battle, Alexander began to establish democracies in the Greek cities of Ionia.
      2. He began a long march down the coast of Asia Minor. If a city yielded to him, he accepted its submission peacefully, but if there was resistance, as at Halicarnassus, he would reduce it by siege. Wherever possible, he tried to leave local governors in place.
      3. In November 333, Alexander again defeated the Persians, this time at Issus. Darius escaped, but Alexander captured his family and an enormous amount of treasure.
      4. Darius twice offered peace, with lavish territorial and financial concessions, but Alexander rejected both offers.
      5. In 332, Alexander proceeded into Egypt, where he founded Alexandria and was proclaimed pharaoh at the ancient capital of Memphis. The establishment of new cities and the willingness to adapt to local religious customs were typical of his entire career.
      6. In autumn of 331, Alexander won the decisive victory over Darius, at Gaugamela, and went on to seize the ancient, wealthy cities of Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis (which he burned).

   C. Instead of returning to Greece, Alexander continued to push east, even crossing the Hindu Kush mountains in mid-winter.
      1. Alexander started to display a growing tendency to act like an Asian king and to show a growing fear of conspiracies and plots, until almost all his old Macedonian comrades were eliminated.
      2. He marched on through Bactria and India, until the summer of 326 when his troops mutinied and refused to go on.
      3. After a punishing trek back to the west, Alexander unleashed a "reign of terror" against some governors and generals who had set themselves up as semi-autonomous local rulers.
      4. In 324 he established a hero cult in honor of his beloved companion Hephaestion, who died in the fall of that year, and later seems to have at least permitted his own deification.
      5. Alexander fell ill in May of 323 and died on June 10, at the age of 32.

II. The Hellenistic Age

Although Alexander's empire broke apart shortly after his death, his conquests set the stage for the Hellenistic era. Particularly important was his foundation of cities that had a mixed Greek and "native" population. The blending of cultures within a Greek matrix is the essence of Hellenism. Instead of being a set of independent city-states, Greece was now part of the oikymenê, the inhabited world around the Mediterranean, which broadly shared a common culture, expressed in common (koinê) Greek.

Readings

Essential:
Plutarch's Life of Alexander, in The Age of Alexander (cf. Lecture 15 above). Many of the longer ancient accounts are now also available in paperback: Arrian, The Campaigns of Alexander (trans. Aubrey de Selincourt, rev. ed. 1971); Pseudo-Callisthenes, The Greek Alexander Romance (trans. Richard Stoneman, 1991); Quintus Curtius Rufus, The History of Alexander (trans. John Yardley, 1984).

Basic scholarship:
The best biography is Peter Green, Alexander of Macedon, 356-323 B.C.: a Historical Biography (rev. ed. 1991); also by Peter Green, Alexander to Actium: the Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age (1990); F.W. Walbank, The Hellenistic World (1981).

Specialized studies:
Donald W. Engels, Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army (1978); Andrew Stewart, *Faces of Power: Alexander's Image and Hellenistic Politics (1993).

EPILOGUE: "WE ARE ALL GREEKS"

There are numerous works that consider the continuing influence of Greece and the Classical tradition. A few recent titles are: Richard Jenkyns, The Victorians and Ancient Greece (1980) and *Dignity and Decadence: Victorian Art and the Classical Inheritance (1991); Josiah Ober and Charles Hedrick, eds. *The Birth of Democracy (1994); Paul Rahe, Republics Ancient and Modern (1992); Elizabeth Rawson, The Spartan Tradition in European Thought (1969); Jennifer Tolbert Roberts, Athens on Trial: the Antidemocratic Tradition in Western Thought (1994); Richard Stoneman, Land of Lost Gods: the Search for Classical Greece (1987); Oliver Taplin, *Greek Fire (1989); Fani Maria Tsigakou, *The Rediscovery of Greece: Travellers and Painters of the Romantic Era (1981); Frank M. Turner, The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain (1981).