Athens is famous for its direct democracy and its innovative culture. Not widely known is its contemporaneous military revolution. Athens invented or perfected new forms of combat, strategy and military organization and was directly responsible for raising the scale of Greek warfare to a different order of magnitude. The timing of this revolution is striking: it followed directly the popular uprising of 508 BC and coincided with the flowering of Athenian culture, which was largely brought about by democracy. This raises the intriguing possibility that popular government was one of the major causes of Athenian military success. Ancient writers may have thought as much, but the traditional assumptions of ancient historians and political scientists have meant that the impact of democracy on war has received almost no scholarly attention. This volume brings together ancient historians, archaeologists, classicists and political scientists to explore this important but neglected problem from multiple perspectives.

David M. Pritchard is Senior Lecturer in the School of History, Philosophy, Religion and Classics and a member of the Cultural History Project at The University of Queensland. He has co-edited Sport and Festival in the Ancient Greek World (2003) and co-authored Public Finance in Athens, 594 BC to AD 14 (2011), and is currently finalizing a monograph on sport, democracy and war in classical Athens for Cambridge University Press.
War, Democracy and Culture in Classical Athens

Edited by DAVID M. PRITCHARD
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,
São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521190336

© Cambridge University Press 2010

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written
permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2010

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data
War, democracy, and culture in classical Athens / [edited by] David M. Pritchard.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-521-19033-6 (hardback)
1. Athens (Greece)--History, Military. 2. Athens (Greece)--Politics and government.
3. Athens (Greece)--History, Military--Sources. 4. Athens (Greece)--Antiquities.
5. Politics and war--Greece--Athens--History--To 1500. 6. War and society--Greece--Athens--
History--To 1500. 7. Social change--Greece--Athens--History--To 1500. 8. Democracy--
Greece--Athens--History--To 1500. 9. Greece--History, Military--To 146 B.C.
10. Greece--Politics and government--To 146 B.C. I. Pritchard, David, Dr. II. Title.
DF285.W3 2010
938'.504--dc22
2010039400


Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or
accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in
this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is,
or will remain, accurate or appropriate.
Contents

List of figures and table  [page vii]
Notes on contributors  [xi]
Preface  [xv]
List of abbreviations  [xvii]

1 The symbiosis between democracy and war: the case of ancient Athens  [1]
DAVID M. PRITCHARD

PART I THE IMPACT OF DEMOCRACY ON WAR  [63]

2 Thucydides on Athens’ democratic advantage in the Archidamian War  [65]
JOSIAH OBER

3 Democratizing courage in classical Athens  [88]
RYAN K. BALOT

PART II MILITARY INNOVATIONS OF THE DEMOCRACY  [109]

4 Cavalry, democracy and military thinking in classical Athens  [111]
IAIN SPENCE

5 Light troops in classical Athens  [139]
MATTHEW TRUNDE

PART III THE FIFTH-CENTURY DRAMA OF WAR  [161]

6 Affirming Athenian action: Euripides’ portrayal of military activity and the limits of tragic instruction  [163]
SOPHIE MILLS
### Contents

7 Ridiculing a popular war: old comedy and militarism in classical Athens  [184]  
**DAVID KONSTAN**

**PART IV WAR IN FOURTH-CENTURY SPEECHES**  [201]

8 War in the law-court: some Athenian discussions  [203]  
**ALASTAIR J. L. BLANSHARD**

9 Athenian militarism and the recourse to war  [225]  
**PETER HUNT**

**PART V SOLDIERS IN PRIVATELY PURCHASED ART**  [243]

10 Democratic ideology, the events of war and the iconography of Attic funerary sculpture  [245]  
**ROBIN OSBORNE**

11 The warrior *loutrophoroi* of fifth-century Athens  [266]  
**PATRICIA HANNAH**

12 I am Eurymedon: tensions and ambiguities in Athenian war imagery  [304]  
**MARGARET C. MILLER**

**PART VI HONOURING THE WAR DEAD**  [339]

13 Commemoration of the war dead in classical Athens: remembering defeat and victory  [341]  
**POLLY LOW**

14 *Areτή* and the achievements of the war dead: the logic of praise in the Athenian funeral oration  [359]  
**SUMIO YOSHITAKE**

15 Epilogue: does democracy have a violent heart?  [378]  
**JOHN KEANE**

*References*  [409]  
*Index*  [452]
Figures and table

Figures

10.1 Stele of Dexileos. Athens, Kerameikos Museum 1158. (Courtesy of Hirmer Fotoarchiv, Munich.) [page 250]

10.2 Part of relief surmounting the state list of the war dead of 394/3 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2744. (Courtesy of National Archaeological Museum, Athens. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture /Archaeological Receipts Fund.) [251]

10.3 Stele of Lykeas and Khairedemos. Peiraeus Museum 385. (Courtesy of Hirmer Fotoarchiv, Munich.) [254]


10.5 Pythodoros relief from Eleusis. Eleusis Museum 51. (Courtesy of the German Archaeological Institute, Athens. Photograph: Czakó, DAI Neg. no. D-DAI-ATH-Eleusis 534. All rights reserved.) [256]


11.1 Fragment of a large red-figure vase showing five stelae with inscriptions suggestive of a casualty list, probably in front of a white tomb. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 2455; Beazley Archive Database no. 42150. (Courtesy of the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam.) [274]

11.2 A father and his mature son on one side of the neck of a loutrophoros, with a young and mature soldier on the other, c. 460 BC, Painter of Bologna 228. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.70 (neck); Beazley Archive Database no. 205752 (cat. no. 7). (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.286.70). Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.) [280–1]
11.3 *A loutrophoros* depicting a young hoplite and man with sceptre on the neck, and fight and valediction scenes on the body, c. 450–445 BC, Sabouroff Painter and Achilles Painter. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania 30.4.1; Beazley Archive Database no. 212260 (cat. no. 10). (Reproduced with permission from Oakley 1997: pl. 25.) [283]

11.4 Amazonomachy on the body of a *loutrophoros*, c. 450–425 BC, Group of Polygnotos. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 38.11.4; Beazley Archive Database no. 213758 (cat. no. 25). (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1938 (38.11.4a, b). Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.) [286]

11.5 The body of a *loutrophoros*, showing a statue of a horseman surrounded by family in a cemetery, with an Amazonomachy below, c. 410 BC, Manner of the Talos Painter. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 3209 and Athens, National Archaeological Museum 26821; Beazley Archive Database no. 5280 (cat. no. 33). (Courtesy of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung. Photo © Johannes Laurentius.) [289]

11.6 Fragments of a *loutrophoros* with hoplites and cavalry fighting in front of a grave stele, late fifth century BC, Talos Painter. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 2474; Beazley Archive Database no. 217521 (cat. no. 36). (After Scheurleer 1931: pl. 4.1–3.) [297]


12.3 Saka Tigraxauda (Delegation XI) Persepolis, Apadana Eastern Stairway. Chicago, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago P. 28994/N. 15264. (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.) [308]

12.4 The Head of a Sogdian (Delegation XVII) Persepolis, Apadana. Chicago, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago P. 23207/N. 12837. (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.) [309]


List of figures and table


12.16  Marble funerary stele of the Athenian *epibatēs* Demokleides Demetriou, presented with his helmet and shield, the prow of a trireme visible in profile, c. 400–380 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 752. (Courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture / Archaeological Receipts Fund.) [331]


12.18  Sketch (not to scale) with transcription of letters from Hamburg 1981.173. (Courtesy of E. Csapo.) [337]

Table

The Corinthian assessment in the context of Thucydides’ narrative. [74]
Notes on contributors

RYAN K. BALOT is Professor of Political Science at the University of Toronto. He specialises in the history of political thought and is the author of *Greed and Injustice in Classical Athens* (2001) and *Greek Political Thought* (2006) and the editor of *A Companion to Greek and Roman Political Thought* (2009). He is currently at work on *Courage and Its Critics in Democratic Athens*.

ALASTAIR J. L. BLANSHARD is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Sydney. He has published widely on Greek cultural history and the afterlife of classical culture in western civilisation. He is the author of *Hercules: A Heroic Life* (2005) and *Sex, Vice and Love from Antiquity to Modernity* (2010).

PATRICIA HANNAH is Senior Lecturer in, and Chair of, the Department of Classics at the University of Otago (New Zealand). Her publications concentrate on the armour and weaponry of the Greek hoplite, Greek military practices and the depiction of Athena as war goddess in ancient Greek art.

PETER HUNT is Associate Professor of Classics at the University of Colorado at Boulder. He works on Greek slavery, foreign policy, and war and society. His publications include *Slaves, Warfare, and Ideology in the Greek Historians* (1998) and *War, Peace and Alliance in Demosthenes’ Athens* (2010).


DAVID KONSTAN is the John Rowe Workman Distinguished Professor of Classics and the Humanistic Tradition and Professor of Comparative Literature at Brown University, where he has taught since 1987. Among his books are *Sexual Symmetry: Love in the Ancient Novel and Related Genres*.
Notes on contributors

(1994), Greek Comedy and Ideology (1995), Friendship in the Classical World
and Before Forgiveness: The Origins of a Moral Idea (2010). In 2010 he begins
Teaching at New York University.

Polly Low is Lecturer in Ancient History at the University of Manchester.
Her research focuses on Greek political history. She has particular interests
in interstate politics, imperialism and the history of burial and commemora-
tion within and beyond Athens. She is the author of Interstate Relations
in Classical Greece: Morality and Power (2007) and editor, together with
P. J. Rhodes and G. Oliver, of Cultures of Commemoration: War Memorials
Ancient and Modern (2010).

Margaret C. Miller is Arthur and Renee George Professor of Classical
Archaeology at the University of Sydney. Her research interests lie in
the social culture of archaic and classical Greece with especial atten-
tion to exchange between Greece, Anatolia and the Ancient Near East in
the Achaemenid period. Among her books are Athens and Persia in the
Fifth Century BC (1997) and The Origins of Theatre in Ancient Greece and
Beyond: From Ritual to Drama (2007), which she co-edited with E. Csapo.
She is at present completing a book on the representation of Persians in
Attic art.

Sophie Mills is Professor in, and Chair of, the Department of Classics at
the University of North Carolina at Asheville. Her research interests centre
on Greek literature, especially Homer and Euripides. She is the author of
Theseus, Tragedy and the Athenian Empire (1997) and of two volumes
in the Duckworth series of Companions to Greek and Roman Tragedy on

Josiah Ober is Constantine Mitsotakis Professor in the School of
Humanities and Sciences at Stanford University where he holds appoint-
ments in Classics and Political Science and in Philosophy by courtesy. His
research interests centre on the popular culture and intellectual history of
the Athenian democracy, the circulation of social and technical knowledge
in democratic societies, and self-governing organisations in the ancient and
modern worlds. His books include Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens
(1989), Dēmokratia: A Conversation on Democracies, Ancient and Modern
(1996), which he co-edited with C. Hedrick, Political Dissent in Democratic
(2005) and Democracy and Knowledge: Innovation and Learning in Classical
ROBIN OSBORNE is Professor of Ancient History at the University of Cambridge and a Fellow of the British Academy. He has published widely on the history, art and archaeology of classical Athens. A collection of his papers is published as Athens and Athenian Democracy (2010). He directed a project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Board on cultural revolution in Athens at the end of the fifth century, some of the results of which can be read in Debating the Athenian Cultural Revolution (2007), which he edited.

DAVID M. PRITCHARD is Senior Lecturer in the School of History, Philosophy, Religion and Classics and a member of the Cultural History Project at The University of Queensland. His research interests cover the cultural and social history of classical Athens, participation in its democracy, the ancient Olympics and the armed forces of Athens during its age of empire. He co-edited Sport and Festival in the Ancient Greek World (2003) with D. J. Phillips and co-authored Public Finance in Ancient Athens, 594 BC to AD 14 (2011) with P. J. Rhodes, H. van Wees, P. Fawcett and G. Oliver. He is currently completing a monograph on sport, war and democracy in classical Athens for Cambridge University Press.

IAIN SPENCE is Adjunct Associate Professor in Ancient History and Classics at the University of New England (Australia). He is a specialist military historian and, although also published on more modern periods, has a particular focus on ancient Greece. His publications include The Cavalry of Classical Greece (1993) and Historical Dictionary of Ancient Greek Warfare (2002). He is also a Brigadier in the Australian Army Reserve, currently serving as Director General Reserves-Army.

MATTHEW TRUNDLE is Senior Lecturer in Classics, Greek and Latin at Victoria University of Wellington (New Zealand). He works on Greek history, with special interests in the economy, society and military of the classical world. His publications include Greek Mercenaries (2004) and New Perspectives in Ancient Warfare (2010), which he co-edited with G. Fagan.

SUMIO YOSHITAKE is Associate Professor of Classics at Nagoya University (Japan). His research interests concern the attitudes of the Greeks towards death and its depiction in Greek literature and mythology. His articles on Greek epic, tragedy and mythology have been published in Japanese and English. He is at present completing a book on the cultural history of the kalos thanatos in Greek culture.
Preface

This collection explores the impact of the Athenian democracy and its popular culture on the foreign policy of this classical city and the extent to which they were responsible for the Athenians’ extraordinary record of military innovation and success. Most of its chapters were delivered as papers at a conference at the University of Sydney in July 2006. The two keynote speakers were John Keane and Josiah Ober. David Konstan and Sophie Mills presented their chapters for the first time as part of the inaugural programme of the Sydney Democracy Forum in August 2007. I invited the volume’s contributors to be part of this collaborative project during my postdoctoral research fellowship at Macquarie University, completed much of the editorial work on a second postdoctoral research fellowship at the University of Sydney and brought the volume to fruition as a senior lecturer in the School of History, Philosophy, Religion and Classics and a member of the Faculty of Arts’ Cultural History Project at The University of Queensland.

The original conference was made possible by financial contributions from university and non-university sources. Special thanks go to the Nicholas Anthony Aroney Trust for its standout donation and the University of Sydney’s Research Institute for Humanities and Social Sciences for funding the extended visits of the keynote speakers. At Sydney other grants in aid came from the Office of the Provost, the School of Philosophical and Historical Inquiry, the Faculty of Arts and the Department of Classics and Ancient History. At Macquarie the Department of Politics and International Relations and the Department of Ancient History provided generous assistance as did the Australasian Society for Classical Studies and the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens.

I am indebted to Ian Plant of Macquarie University and Peter Wilson of the University of Sydney for sponsoring the two postdoctoral research fellowships which allowed me to develop this volume and Richard Fotheringham who as my new dean gave me a semester free of teaching to complete it upon my arrival at the University of Queensland. Mention should be made of Manuel Aroney, Stephen Garton, Duncan Ivison, Phillip Jones, Alanna Nobbs, Don Nutbeam and Richard Waterhouse. They quickly grasped the
Preface

scholarly value of this volume and the Sydney conference and directed significant funding to their realisation. I would also like to thank Michael Sharp at Cambridge University Press for his constantly sound advice, his two anonymous referees and Atticus Cox for his consolidating of the volume’s bibliography. Final thanks go to the contributors themselves. They not only circulated their papers well before their Sydney presentations and acted as respondents for each other, but undertook the numerous rounds of revision with good humour and in a timely fashion.
## Abbreviations


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABV</td>
<td>J. D. Beazley, <em>Attic Black-Figure Vases</em>. Oxford, 1956.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVA</td>
<td><em>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</em>. 1925–.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG</td>
<td><em>Inscriptiones Graecae</em>. Berlin, 1873–.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kassel and Austin</td>
<td>R. Kassel, and C. Austin, eds., <em>Poetae Comici Graeci</em>. Berlin, 1983–.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIMC</td>
<td><em>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</em>. Zurich and Munich, 1981–.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SEG</td>
<td><em>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</em>. 1923–.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>