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Michael H. Crawford and David Whitehead

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Archaic and Classical Greece

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Archaic and Classical Greece

A selection of ancient sources in translation

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Fig. 2a, Oxford University Press; Fig. 2b, British School at Athens; Fig. 2c, Oxford University Press (originally published in R. P. Austin, *Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions*); Fig. 5, Prof. A. M. Snodgrass; Fig. 6, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences sociales (plan adapted from that published in paper by Georges Vallet in *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne* (Mouton, The Hague)); Fig. 8, Walter de Gruyter & Co. (plan after A. von Gerkan, *Griechische Städteanlagen* (1924)); Figs. 11 and 14c and d, Agora Excavations, American School of Classical Studies, Athens; Fig. 12, Svenska Institutet i Athen; Figs. 14a and b, 15, Thames and Hudson.

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Preface

Considerable in extent, but still inadequate, the sources which form the basis of our knowledge of ancient Greek history have in many cases survived either by pure chance or for literary reasons unconnected with their historical significance. Within the necessarily restricted confines of a single volume, we have tried both to represent the diversity of the Greek historical tradition and to present what we hope is a balanced picture of ancient Greek society. What we offer is a selection from the selection already created by time and chance, but it is at least a deliberate one. There is of course much that cannot be documented from written sources, and we have tried to draw attention to archaeological and other evidence, just as we have tried to explain difficulties and uncertainties in the written sources. The book has been born from and improved by our own teaching experiences. It is also in its final form the result of prolonged discussion of the parts for which each of us provided a first draft. Traces of our different interests and approaches no doubt remain. We shall be grateful for the comments of our colleagues and above all for those of the students for whom the book is intended to provide, through the medium of their own language, an approach to one of the most absorbing human societies of all time. That the book exists at all is due to a very large extent to the interest and encouragement of the Cambridge University Press. We warmly thank those concerned.

M. H. C.

D. W.

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Conventions and abbreviations

Dates. Unless otherwise stated all dates are B.C.

Proper names. In general, for both persons and places we use transliterated Greek forms in preference to the once traditional Latinised versions: thus (for example) Perikles¹ not Pericles, Boiotia not Boeotia. Note however:

(a) We adopt the Latinised forms for *authors*, whether quoted, cited or merely mentioned: thus ‘Thucydides’ is the great Athenian historian (pp.10–11). ‘Thoukydides’ his (?) grandfather the politician (145–146).

(b) In a few cases, usually place names, we retain familiar *anglicised* forms where it seemed pedantic to do otherwise: thus Athens (not Athenai), Sparta, Thebes, Corinth, Delphi, Sicily, Italy, Syracuse, Sardinia, Corsica, Rhodes, Troy, Egypt, Cyprus; note also Alexander (not Alexandros) the Great.

Brackets occurring within the passages from the sources are of two kinds: square brackets [thus] indicate parts of the document itself, usually an inscription, which are lost or illegible and have been ‘restored’ by modern scholars; round brackets (thus) enclose matter which we supply for explanation, expansion or connection.

References to sources. These should be self-explanatory: all authors are given their full names in the index of passages, together with any abbreviation of them and/or their works employed in short references (e.g. Hdt. for Herodotus); an asterisk attached to a reference indicates abridgement. Inscriptions we cite where possible by reference not to the standard collection *Inscriptiones Graecae* (IG) but to more modern and accessible editions, chiefly:

Meiggs and Lewis R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the end of the fifth century B.C.* (Oxford, 1969)

Tod M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, vol. I (1933), vol. II (1948)). (The numbering of inscriptions in the two volumes is continuous.)

For *translations* of inscriptions note the following abbreviation:

Fornara C. W. Fornara, *Archaic Times to the End of the Peloponnesian War* (Translated Documents of Greece and Rome 1) (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1977; second ed., Cambridge, 1982).

¹ All syllables in Greek are pronounced; and we indicate long vowels as ā, ē, ō in transliterated words other than proper names.

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References to modern works. Books and articles cited only once or twice are given a full reference each time. Note the following abbreviations for periodical journals:

CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CR	<i>Classical Review</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
PCPhS	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
REG	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>

Note also that the following books are referred to by short title:

Adkins, <i>Moral Values</i>	A. W. H. Adkins, <i>Moral Values and Political Behaviour in Ancient Greece</i> (London, 1972)
Andrewes, <i>Society</i>	A. Andrewes, <i>Greek Society</i> (Harmondsworth, 1971)
Andrewes, <i>Tyrants</i>	A. Andrewes, <i>The Greek Tyrants</i> (London, 1956)
Austin and Vidal-Naquet, <i>Economy</i>	M. M. Austin and P. Vidal-Naquet, <i>Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece: an introduction</i> (London, 1977)
Boardman, <i>Greeks Overseas</i>	J. Boardman, <i>The Greeks Overseas</i> (London, 1980)
Burford, <i>Craftsmen</i>	A. Burford, <i>Craftsmen in Greek and Roman Society</i> (London, 1972)
Burn, <i>Persia</i>	A. R. Burn, <i>Persia and the Greeks: the defence of the West, c. 546–478 B.C.</i> (London, 1962)
Bury and Meiggs, <i>Greece</i>	J. B. Bury and R. Meiggs, <i>A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great</i> (fourth edition, London, 1975)
Cartledge, <i>Sparta</i>	P. A. Cartledge, <i>Sparta and Lakonia: a regional history 1300–362 B.C.</i> (London, 1979)
Connor, <i>Politicians</i>	W. R. Connor, <i>The New Politicians of Fifth-Century Athens</i> (Princeton, 1971)
Davies, <i>Democracy</i>	J. K. Davies, <i>Democracy and Classical Greece</i> (Hassocks, Sussex, 1978)
Davies, <i>Families</i>	J. K. Davies, <i>Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 B.C.</i> (Oxford, 1971)
Ehrenberg, <i>Greek State</i>	V. L. Ehrenberg, <i>The Greek State</i> (second edition, London, reprinted with corrections, 1974)
Ellis, <i>Philip II</i>	J. R. Ellis, <i>Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism</i> (London, 1976)
Finley, <i>Early Greece</i>	M. I. Finley, <i>Early Greece: the Bronze and Archaic Ages</i> (second edition, London, 1981)
Finley, <i>Economy</i>	M. I. Finley, <i>The Ancient Economy</i> (London, 1973)
Finley, <i>Odysseus</i>	M. I. Finley, <i>The World of Odysseus</i> (second edition, London, 1977)
Finley, <i>Sicily</i>	M. I. Finley, <i>Ancient Sicily</i> (revised edition, London, 1979)
Finley, <i>Use and Abuse</i>	M. I. Finley, <i>The Use and Abuse of History</i> (London, 1975)
Forrest, <i>Emergence</i>	W. G. G. Forrest, <i>The Emergence of Greek Democracy: the character of Greek politics 800–400 B.C.</i> (London, 1966)
Forrest, <i>Sparta</i>	W. G. G. Forrest, <i>A History of Sparta 950–192 B.C.</i> (second edition, London, 1980)

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|--|--|
| von Fritz and Kapp, <i>Aristotle</i> | K. von Fritz and E. Kapp, <i>Aristotle's Constitution of Athens and related texts</i> (New York, 1950) |
| Gomme, <i>Commentary I–V</i> | A. W. Gomme, A. Andrewes and K. J. Dover, <i>A Historical Commentary on Thucydides</i> (Oxford, five volumes, 1945–81) |
| Graham, <i>Colony</i> | A. J. Graham, <i>Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece</i> (Manchester, 1964) |
| Hammond and Griffith, <i>Macedonia</i> | N. G. L. Hammond and G. T. Griffith, <i>A History of Macedonia</i> , vol II, 500–336 B.C. (Oxford, 1979) |
| Hignett, <i>Constitution</i> | C. Hignett, <i>A History of the Athenian Constitution to the end of the fifth century B.C.</i> (Oxford, 1952) |
| Hignett, <i>Xerxes</i> | C. Hignett, <i>Xerxes' Invasion of Greece</i> (Oxford, 1963) |
| Isager and Hansen, <i>Aspects</i> | S. Isager and M. H. Hansen, <i>Aspects of Athenian Society in the fourth century B.C.</i> (Odense, 1975) |
| Jeffery, <i>Archaic Greece</i> | L. H. Jeffery, <i>Archaic Greece: the city-states c. 700–500 B.C.</i> (London, 1976) |
| Jones, <i>Democracy</i> | A. H. M. Jones, <i>Athenian Democracy</i> (Oxford, 1957) |
| Jones, <i>Sparta</i> | A. H. M. Jones, <i>Sparta</i> (Oxford, 1967) |
| Lacey, <i>Family</i> | W. K. Lacey, <i>The Family in Classical Greece</i> (London, 1968) |
| Lewis, <i>Sparta</i> | D. M. Lewis, <i>Sparta and Persia. Lectures . . . in memory of Donald W. Bradeen</i> (Cincinnati Classical Studies new series, vol. I; Leiden, 1977) |
| Meiggs, <i>Empire</i> | R. Meiggs, <i>The Athenian Empire</i> (Oxford, 1972) |
| Momigliano, <i>Alien Wisdom</i> | A. D. Momigliano, <i>Alien Wisdom: the limits of Hellenization</i> (Cambridge, 1975) |
| Moore, <i>Aristotle</i> | J. M. Moore, <i>Aristotle and Xenophon on Democracy and Oligarchy</i> (London, 1975) |
| Murray, <i>Early Greece</i> | O. Murray, <i>Early Greece</i> (Hassocks, Sussex, 1980) |
| Parke, <i>Festivals</i> | H. W. Parke, <i>Festivals of the Athenians</i> (London, 1977) |
| Pritchett, <i>War I and II</i> | W. K. Pritchett, <i>The Greek State at War</i> (Los Angeles etc., two volumes, 1974) |
| Rhodes, <i>Boule</i> | P. J. Rhodes, <i>The Athenian Boule</i> (Oxford, 1972) |
| de Ste Croix, <i>Origins</i> | G. E. M. de Ste Croix, <i>The Origins of the Peloponnesian War</i> (London, 1972) |
| Snodgrass, <i>Archaic Greece</i> | A. Snodgrass, <i>Archaic Greece—the age of experiment</i> (London, 1980) |
| Westlake, <i>Essays</i> | H. D. Westlake, <i>Essays on the Greek Historians and Greek History</i> (Manchester, 1969) |
| Whitehead, <i>Ideology</i> | D. Whitehead, <i>The Ideology of the Athenian Metic</i> (PCPhS Supplementary Volume IV, 1977) |

Glossary

We give here a brief definition of some basic Greek words and terms *which will not normally hereafter be translated*. (Plural forms appear in parentheses.)

See also Weights, measures, money (p. xvii).

- AGORA.** The market-square, and generally civic centre, of a city or town; somewhat like a Roman *forum*. See **9**, etc.
- APOIKIA** (-IAI). Traditionally translated 'colony' but in fact a wholly independent settlement founded by one *polis* (*q.v.*) and constituting another. The settlers involved are the *apoikoi*. See further pp. 52–3, and *emporion*, below.
- ARCHŌN** (-ONTES). Literally a 'ruler': sometimes therefore a governor imposed by a superior power upon an inferior (as **338**); more commonly and neutrally a city's chief executive official. In Athens the (eponymous) *archōn*, together with the *basileus*, the *polemarchos* (*q.v.*) and the six *thesmothetai* constituted each year the nine *archontes*. See also *stratēgos*.
- ASTU.** The urban nucleus of a *polis* (*q.v.*).
- BARBAROS** (-ROI). Anyone other than a Greek: see **I**.
- BOULĒ.** In Athens (and elsewhere: see **38**), the council or standing committee of the citizen assembly (**77**). Its members (500 in Athens) are the *bouleutai*, meeting in the *bouleutērion*.
- CHŌRA.** The territory of a *polis* (*q.v.*).
- DĒMOS.** A collective term for 'the people' of a place; sometimes, in a restricted (and derogatory) sense, the common people; sometimes, in a technical sense (especially in inscriptions), the people constituted as a citizen assembly (*ekklēsia*). Note also *dēmos* (-oi) as a local subdivision, natural or artificially created, of a *polis* (**76**, **92**, etc.); this we always give in English (deme, demes).
- DIKASTĒRION** (-RIA). A jury-court in classical Athens (**67**, **123**), manned by large panels (e.g. 201, 501) of the annual pool of 6,000 *dikastai*.
- EKKLĒSIA.** The assembly of adult male citizens, in Athens and elsewhere.
- EMPORION** (-RIA). In contradistinction to an *apoikia* (*q.v.*), a purely commercial settlement or trading-post without the characterising institutions of a *polis* (*q.v.*).
- GEROUSIA.** The council of 28 elders or *gerontes* in Sparta; see **51**.
- HĒGEMONIA.** Literally 'leadership', a concept prominent in Greek inter-state relations: a *hēgemōn* (whether state or individual) controls subordinate allies without abolishing their separate identities. Thus, for example, the Athenian empire (see Ch. 12), so-called, is in this respect quite unlike the Roman (or British).

Glossary

- METOIKOS** (–KOI). In Athens and elsewhere (83, 160), an immigrant of free status; not a citizen, but not a slave either (though sometimes an *ex-slave*).
- NAUKLĒROS**. A merchant who carries his wares aboard a ship which he himself owns or captains, as opposed to a merchant who must pay a *nauklēros* to carry them for him.
- NOMOS** (–MOI). Either a law or a conventional practice; the context will usually, though not always, make clear which. Frequently a component part of such concepts as *eunomia* (12B, 45, 47) and *isonomia* (34, 73, 89, 102, etc.).
- OIKOS** (–KOI). A household or family in its broadest sense, personal and material: theoretically a self-sufficient economic unit; in practice (see 7) part of a larger community.
- PHYLĒ** (–LAI). A tribe, i.e. an ethnic subdivision either of the Greek race *in toto* (see 3) or else those Greeks resident in a particular place (Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece*, 25–8, is probably wrong to connect the two); the citizens of archaic Athens, for example, belonged to one of four (Ionian) *phylai*. By or during the classical period most states changed over to subdivision by territorial area, not kinship groupings (for Athens see 76), but the old kinship terminology, including ‘tribe’, was often retained.
- POLEMARCHOS**. In Athens, the *archōn* (*q.v.*) with particular responsibility for *polemos*, war, until superseded in that respect by the *stratēgoi* (*q.v.*), which left the polemarch as above all a judicial officer, especially in matters involving non-citizens.
- POLIS** (–LEIS). An independent ‘city-state’, comprising an urban centre (*astu*) and surrounding land (*chōra*). (A state lacking the urban centre, and the institutions that went with it, was an *ethnos*; see p. 168.) Its constitutional form is the *politeia*, and its citizen members collectively the *politai* (plural of *politēs*). See further pp.1–4.
- PROXENOS** (–NOI). A citizen of one state who served as the representative there of the citizens of another, at their request; see 43 (and *xenia*, below).
- PRYTANEIA**. One-tenth of the Athenian administrative year, during which the 50 representatives of a tribe, the *prytaneis*, convened and presided over the *boulē* and *ekklēsia* (above); see 65C, 134, etc. Note also *prytaneion*, in Athens and elsewhere the equivalent of a town hall (63, 172B, etc.).
- PSEPHISMA** (–MATA). A decree voted through the Athenian *ekklēsia* (above) or equivalent body elsewhere.
- STASIS**. Inter-factional strife or civil disturbance, sometimes running to civil war.
- STĒLĒ** (–LAI). A block or slab of stone, usually marble, cut with a view to its bearing an inscription; see further p.21.
- STRATĒGOS** (–GOI). A general, usually a member of a board of generals. In fifth-century Athens the ten *stratēgoi* superseded the *archontes* (*q.v.*) as the chief civil as well as military executive.
- TRIĒRĒS**. From the late sixth century onwards the usual type of Greek warship, with a crew of c.200 (most of them rowers). But note that we adopt the accepted English form (trireme, triremes).
- XENIA**. Hospitality, or what a host should offer his guest (*xenos*): in archaic Greece the individual exchange of gifts (see 5), joined in the classical period

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by such institutionalised aspects as the *proxenos* (above) and official civic hospitality for ambassadors (e.g. **172B**). However, not all strangers were in practice welcome as guests, and *xenos* (–*noi*) often had the sense of our ‘foreigner’.

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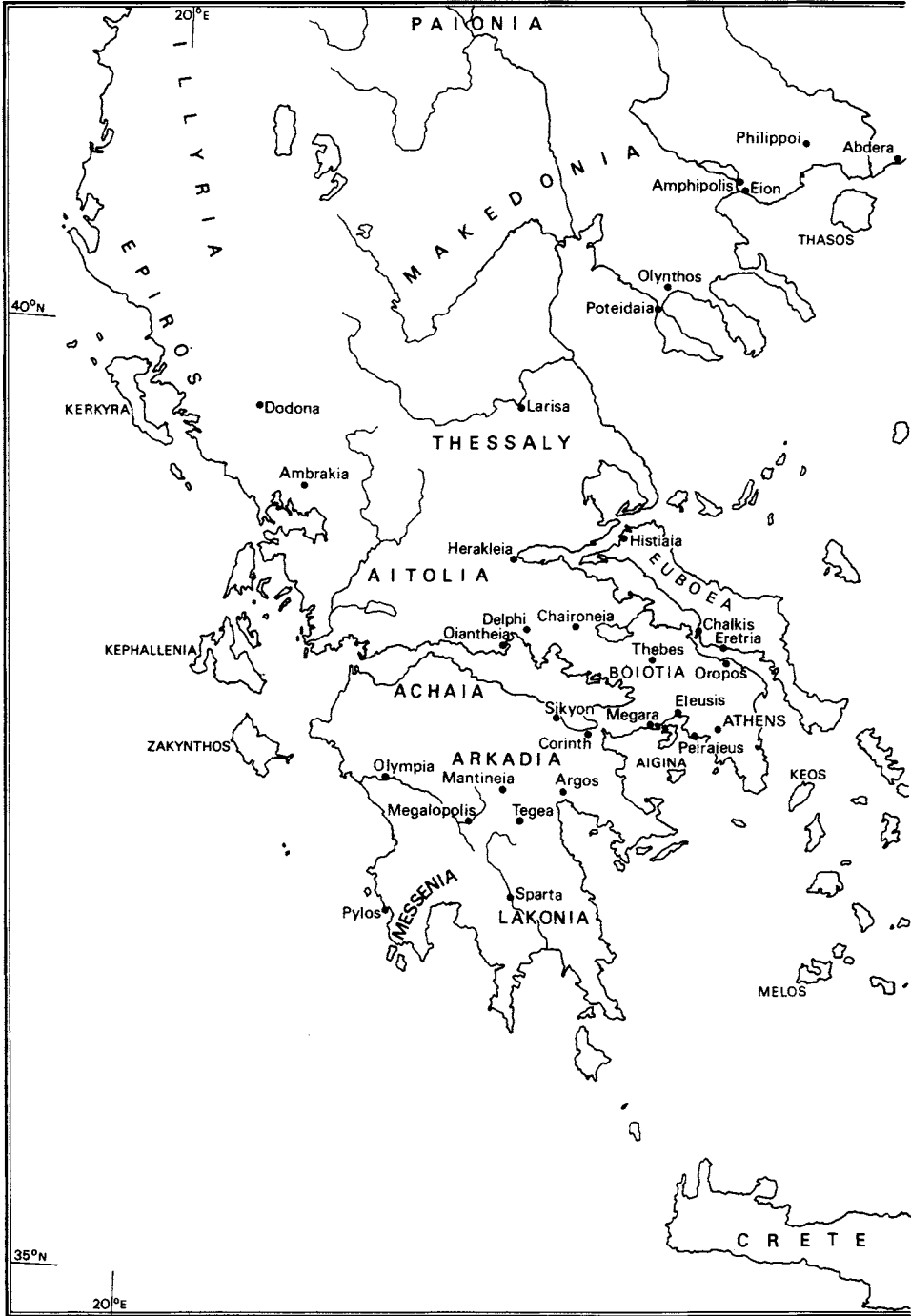
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Weights, measures, money

Like all peoples, the Greek *poleis* had their own measures, weights and coinage, all following the same basic pattern, though with some variations. Measures of length were calculated in terms of parts of the human body, obviously varying as a result; the *stadion*, stade, the distance normally covered by a single draught of a plough, contained 600 feet and was thus *of the order of* 200 metres.

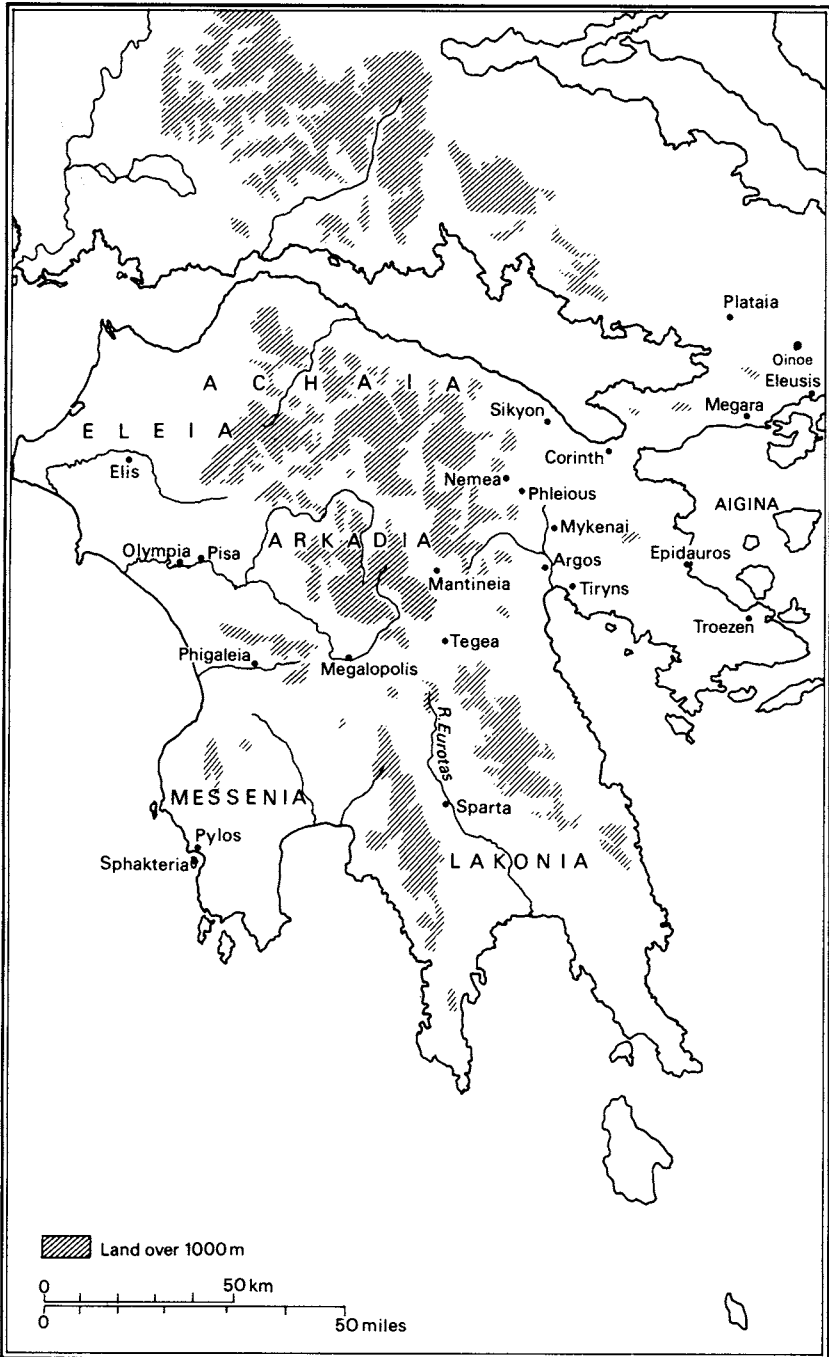
Measures of capacity were calculated in terms of the *kotylē*, cup, of about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a litre; four made up a *choinix*, which was therefore about a litre; 48 *choinikes* made up a *medimnos*.

The basic Greek weight was a drachma, the silver equivalent of six iron spits, obols; silver and other precious metals by weight were produced in the form of coinage from about 600 in Ionia, from rather later in the rest of Greece. A coin worth $\frac{1}{6}$ of a drachma was naturally called an obol. This system was grafted onto one derived ultimately from Babylonia and covering the higher values; a talent was always worth 60 *minai*, minas, but since the weight of the drachma varied, so did the number to the mina – 100 at Athens, 70 on Aigina.

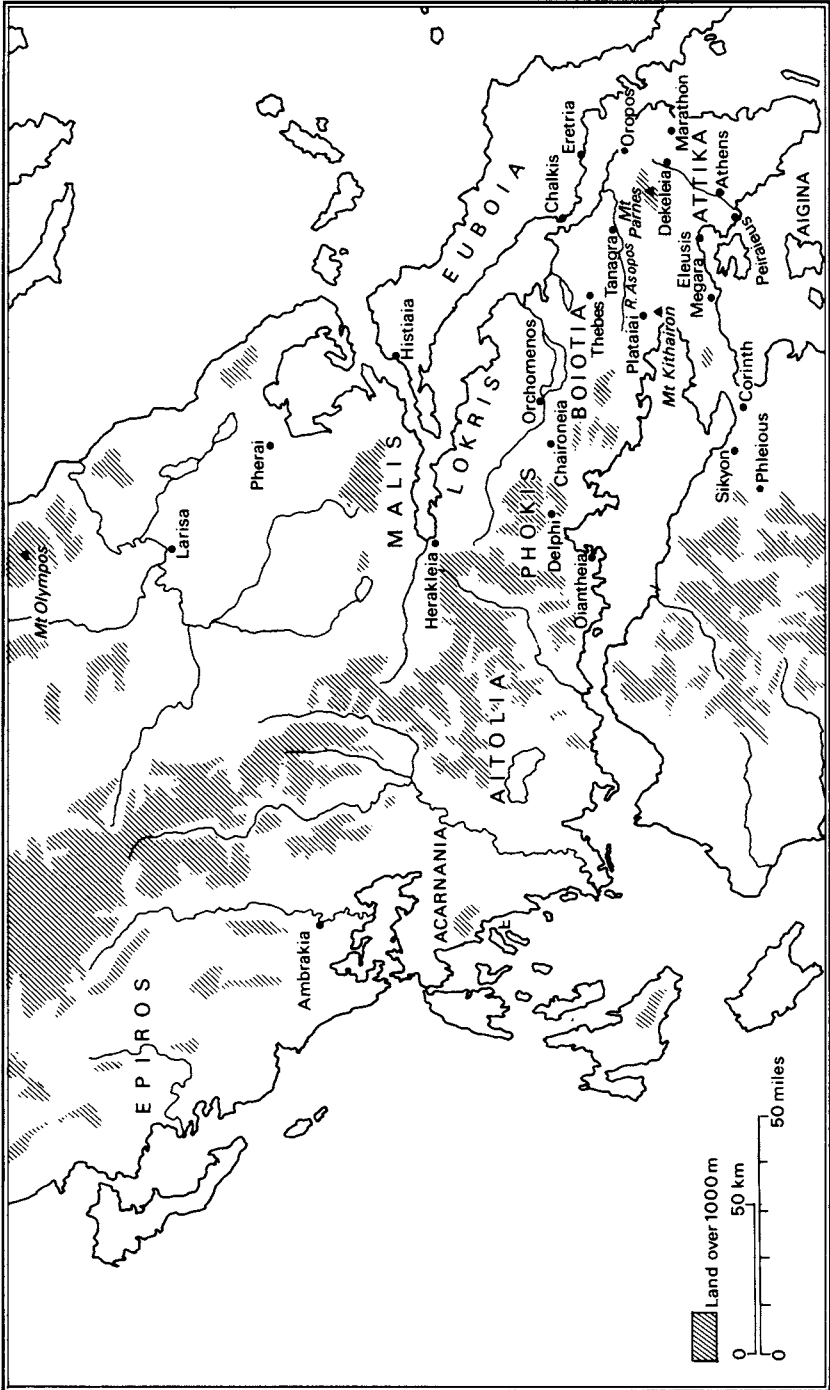


1 The Aegean and Ionia (adapted from W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization* (3rd ed. London, 1952), 8–9)
 xviii





2 The Peloponnesos and Attika



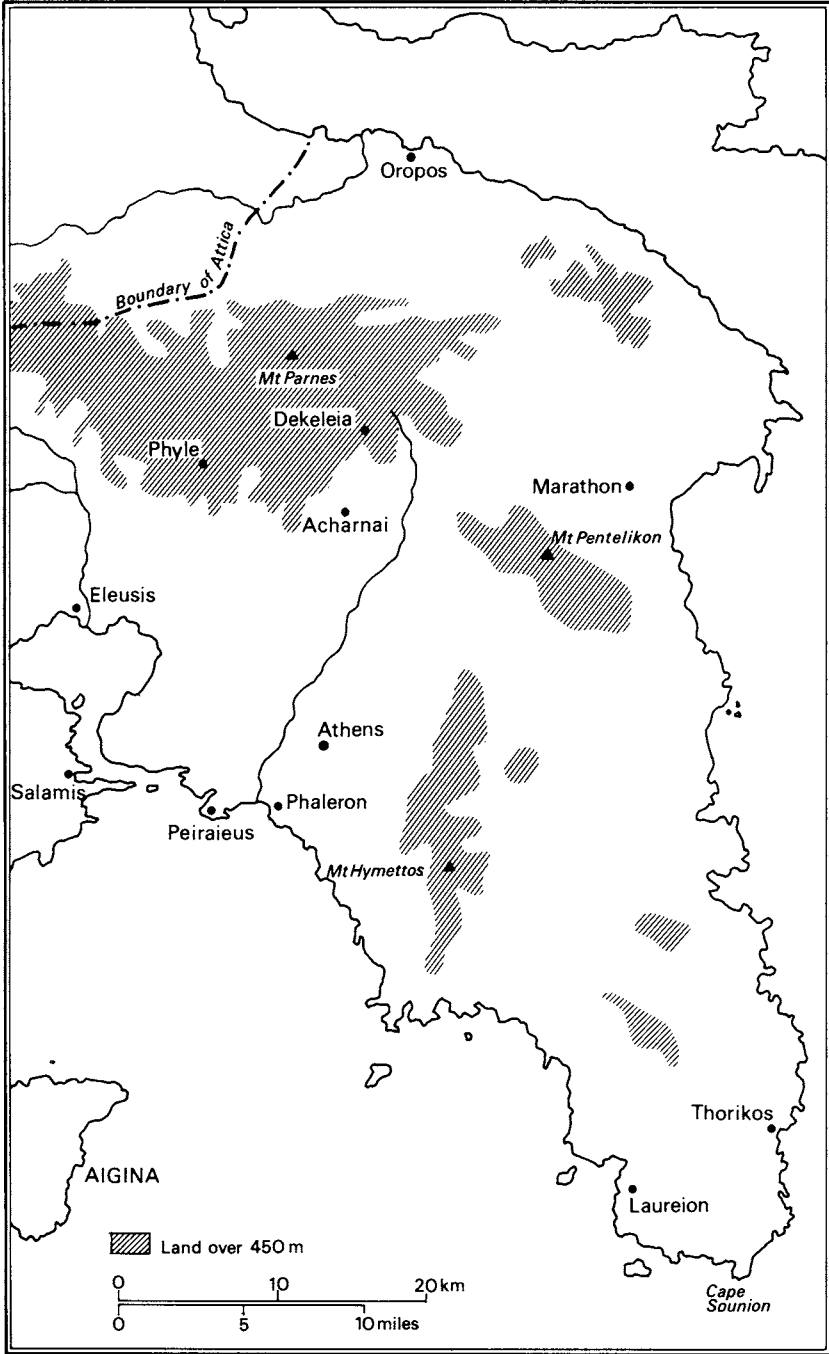
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4 Attika

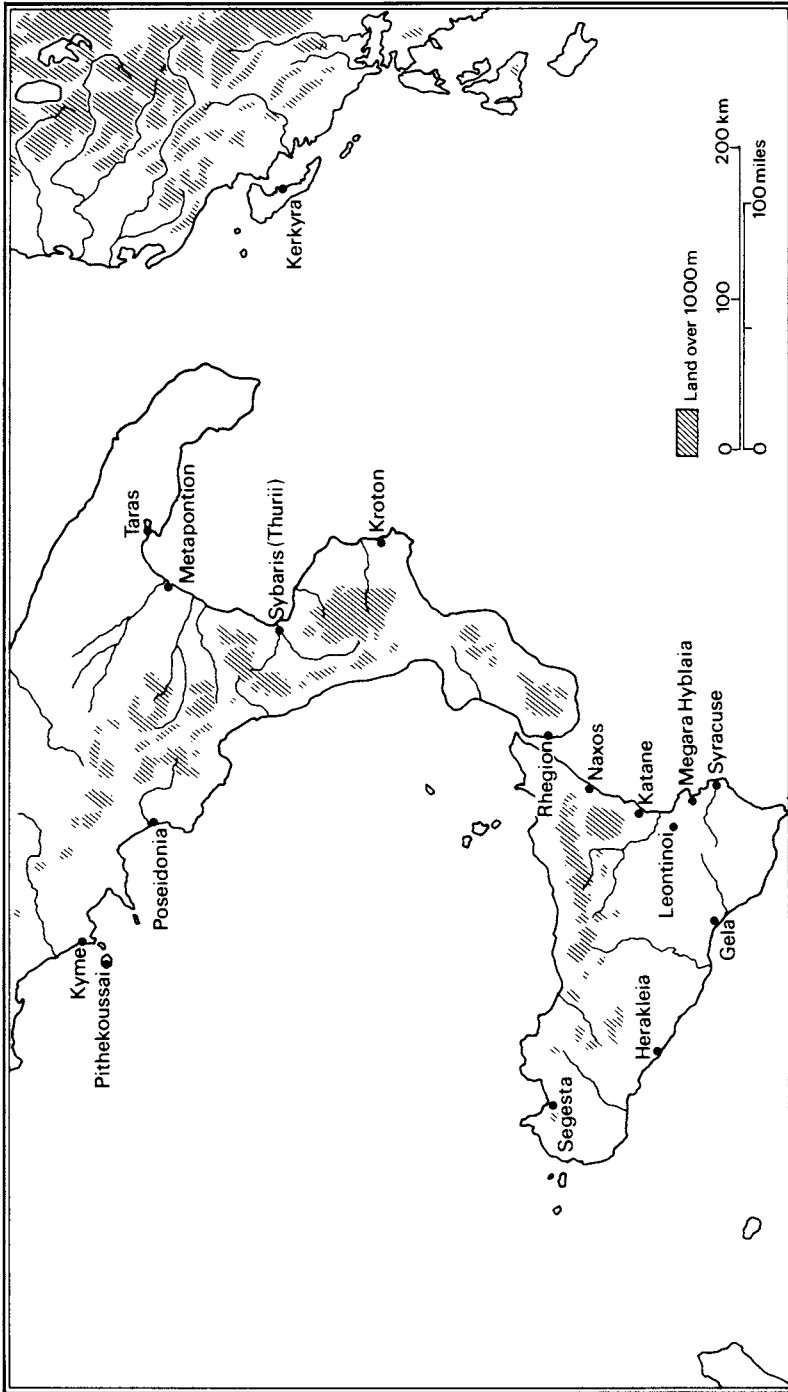
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