

Index

- Achaea 94, 172
 Achilles 52, 210
 action-based versus status-based judgment of
 states 72–3, 74–5, 83–4
 Aegina 242
 Aeneas Tacticus 138
 Aeolic 78
 Aeschines 8, 12, 81, 85, 88, 121, 130, 158
 attacked by Demosthenes 8, 67, 70, 71, 82,
 111, 116, 142, 149, 150, 167, 179
 attacks on Demosthenes 85, 88, 111, 118, 119,
 122, 128, 152, 161
 attitudes towards war and peace 32, 70, 113,
 120, 135, 136, 152, 244, 245, 249–50, 253, 258
 Against Ctesiphon 15, 17, 85, 128, 152
 On the False Embassy 15, 16, 70, 111, 119, 120,
 122
 Aeschylus 143, 145, 215
 Ager, Sheila 226, 228
 Agesilaus 93, 147
 aggression, unprovoked 134, 153; *see also*
 self-defense, right of
 Agis 49
 Aigina 36
 Alcibiades 145, 194
 Alexander I 82
 Alexander the Great 82, 83, 84, 85, 92, 135, 145,
 149, 180, 197, 233
 alliances 190–2
 balancing 174
 equal and unequal 76, 102, 104, 105–6, 183,
 205
 legalistic and friendly aspects 186–90, 192
 Realist interpretation of 161–2
 see also reciprocity
All's Quiet on the Western Front 249
 alternation between war and peace 63–4
 ambassadors 12, 158
 Amphictyonic Council (Delphi) 87, 88–9, 195,
 218, 225, 230
 Amphipolis 35, 98, 136, 234
 Amphissa 167
 analogies, *see* metaphors
 ancestors, invocation of 70–1, 123–30, 132, 142
 Andocides
 On the Peace 12, 16, 32, 40, 76, 113, 181, 224,
 226, 227, 239, 245
 anticipations 150–3, 267
 counter-arguments 153
 against Philip 151–2
 Apollo 86, 87, 88, 135, 243
 Apollodorus 110, 254
apragmōn 261
 arbitration 176, 218, 219, 231, 236
 Arcadia 94, 103, 172
 Archelaus 82
 Archidamus 120, 122
 Argos 32, 78, 82, 91, 103, 105, 132, 177, 195, 233
 Aristogiton 121
 Aristomachus 30
 Aristophanes 41, 43, 118, 121, 142, 147, 164, 215,
 241, 248, 249
 Aristotle 90, 106, 108, 147, 155, 204
 hostile to Athenian democracy 30, 278
 on militarism 23, 60, 253
 views are atypical 23–4, 73–4, 75, 77
 on war 3, 32, 73–4, 75, 165, 257, 276–7
 Rhetoric 11–12, 20, 148, 151, 165, 181, 198, 212
 [Aristotle] *Athenian Constitution* 121
 [Aristotle] *Rhetoric to Alexander* 20–1, 64, 85,
 166, 187, 245
 Artemisia 119, 129, 133
 assembly speeches 1, 6–7, 20, 22–3, 24–5, 101, 155
 Athena 141, 142
 “Athenian theses” in Thucydides 14; *see also*
 Realism
 Athens, Athenian (*see also passim*)
 assembly 1, 6–7, 101, 180, 218; *see also* expertise
 in foreign affairs
 empire 29–44, 90, 101, 102, 130, 194, 263
 as father, patrimony, male lineage 124, 125–7
 fights for freedom 112, 180

- Athens, Athenian (*cont.*)
 gods and 85, 86, 87
 grain supply 35–9
 navy 34, 40
 self-image 66–71, 102, 126
atimia 118
 Atossa, Persian queen 119
 attack and defense, *see* aggression; self-defense,
 right of
 Augustus 35
 authenticity of our texts, *see* texts of speeches
autonomia 93, 95, 105
- Badian, Ernst 45, 49
 balance of power, balancing 35, 169–70
 contrast between fourth and fifth century
 174–7
 helping the weak 172, 177–80
 hierarchy 97–8
 limits 98, 168–80
 results for Greece 173–4, 266
- Balot, Ryan 118
 bandwagoning 169–73; *see also* balance of power
 barbarians 81, 82, 83, 110; *see also* Persia
 battle speeches 24, 137–8, 140; *see also*
defendenda
 belligerence, irrational 2–3
 Black Sea 36, 38
 Blainey, Geoffrey 63–4, 66, 67, 69
 Boeotia 97, 188, 233; *see also* Thebes
 booty 29, 34
Born on the Fourth of July 249
 Bosnia 145
 Bosphorus 37, 39, 186
 Bowden, Hugh 87
 Brasidas 92
 Brauron 241
 Buckler, John 191
 Burckhardt, Leonhard 255
 Burke, Edmund 39
 Byrne, Lucy 145
 Byzantium 38, 84, 160, 172, 173, 200, 212,
 225
- calculations of interest 19, 80, 154–84
 invoked in the assembly 159–63
 and justice 155, 157–9
 in *On the Crown* 182–3
 short- versus long-term interests 168
 in Thucydides 176
 types and complexity of 166, 167, 169–70
see also balance of power; prediction
- Caldwell, Wallace 237
 Callias (metic) 186
 Callias, Peace of 160
- Callistratos 12
 Cardia 38
 Carr, Edward 154, 227
 Cartledge, Paul 18
 casualties 11
Catch-22 248
 Cephisodotus 32, 241
 Cersobleptes 30
 Chabrias 34
 Chaeronea 11, 17, 35, 85, 118, 132, 148, 201,
 255
 Chalcidice 209, 231
 Chersonese 30, 37, 38, 39, 50, 234
 Chaniotis, Angelos 136
 China, Ts'in 72
 chronological limits 19–20
 Chryseis 145
 Churchill, Winston 73
 city-states, Greek 97, 105, 266
 as failure 106–7
 maintain independence 106, 266
 claims of service 279
 methodology 279–80
 two conclusions 279
- Cleon 119
 Cleonymus 118
 Cleophon 111
 cleruchies 29
 Cohen, David 198, 204–5
 Common Peace 107, 159, 232–4, 236, 268; *see also*
 King's Peace
 conduct of war, *see jus in bello*
 Connor, W. R. 5
 conquest, right of, *see* spear-won territory
 conscription 61, 248
 contracts 221, 227
 Cook, Margaret 34
 Cos 129
 core evidence for book 15–20
 overrepresentation of Athens 18–19
 overrepresentation of Demosthenes 17–18
 Corcyra 92, 104, 176, 224, 241, 257
 Corinth 78, 92, 104, 105, 176, 189–90, 224, 233,
 236
 Corinthian War 35, 67, 68
 costs of war 29–35, esp. 34
 counter-intervention 91
 cowardice, *see* effeminacy and cowardice;
 slavishness
 criticism of war
 based on Athenian interests 245–6, 250
 based on harm to innocents 247–8
 familial 249–50
 individualist 248–9
 Isocrates, *On the Peace* 262

- after the Social War 259–64
 Xenophon, *Ways and Means* 259–62
- critics of militarism 252–3, 256
- ancient 252
- fourth century 253–6
- intellectuals 252–3; Aristotle 253; Isocrates 262–4; Plato 252; Xenophon 260–1
- modern 252
- Croesus 243, 246
- crowns, honorific 102, 212
- Cydias 212
- Cyprus 173
- Cyrus the Great 60, 243
- Cyrus the Younger 55
- Darius 119
- debts of gratitude, *see* reciprocity
- Decelea 130
- Decree of Aristoteles 21, 90, 93, 105, 106, 175, 194
- defendenda* 138, 140–1
- agricultural products 142
- ancestral tombs 142
- communal versus individual 143
- families 143
- home 137
- land 141–2
- pernicious rhetoric 139–40
- temples 141–50
- women 143–50: based on affection 146–7; indirect appeals 149–50; as justification of male dominance 147; limits on use 148–9; as part of male honor 148; from sexual violation 143–50
- defense, *see* self-defense, right of
- defensivism 134
- Delian League 102
- deliberative Oratory, *see* assembly speeches
- Delium, Battle of 138, 219, 222
- Delphi and Delphic oracle 86–8, 89, 102, 107, 191, 208, 209, 260; *see also* Amphictyonic Council
- bad relations with Athens 87–9
- Demades 49
- Demaenetus 40
- Demeter 142, 143
- Demetrius of Phaleron 13
- democracies 89–92
- democracy, direct 6
- Demosthenes (*see also* Aeschines [attacked by Demosthenes, attacks on Demosthenes], Philip II, [Athenian criticisms of], and *passim*)
- on alliance with Persia 83
- aspersions against Delphi 88–9
- on Athenian traditions 31–2
- attacked for: cowardice 118; effeminacy 119; *kinaidia* 121; slavishness 111
- attacks on materialism 31–2
- claims to tell unvarnished truth 71
- encourages optimism 64–5
- father 59
- interest in grain supply 37, 39
- invokes necessity of self-defense 65
- on Macedonian ethnicity 80–3
- non-military career 253
- on Philip as threat to democracy 92
- on revenge 199–201
- rhetorical intensification 91, 115, 151
- urges unsuccessful wars 64
- use of slave metaphor 112, 115
- Against Aristocrats* 30, 144, 161, 163, 171, 178
- Against Leptines* 212
- For the Liberty of the Rhodians* 16, 68, 76–7, 80, 83, 90–2, 99, 119, 129, 132–3, 159, 162, 163, 164, 165, 168, 200, 225
- For the Megalopolitans* 16, 78, 160, 166
- Funeral Oration* 127
- Olynthiacs* 16, 190: *First Olynthiac* 31, 65, 168; *Second Olynthiac* 65, 179, 182, 225; *Third Olynthiac* 39, 191, 199, 225
- On the Chersonese* 17, 50, 112, 122, 152, 163, 179, 182, 200, 225, 244, 245
- On the Crown* 12, 16, 17, 30, 128, 146, 163, 179, 182–3, 200, 212, 254
- On the False Embassy* 15, 16, 39, 50, 66, 70, 120, 149, 162, 178, 192, 244
- On the Navy-Boards* 16, 43, 83, 113, 129–30, 152, 157
- On the Peace* 16, 18, 88, 113, 181, 225
- On the Trierarchic Crown* 254
- Philippics*: *First Philippic* 16, 65, 67, 68, 119, 161, 190, 212; *Second Philippic* 17, 195, 225; *Third Philippic* 17, 80, 83, 92, 111, 112, 151, 172, 225; *Fourth Philippic* 17, 83, 114–15, 212, 225, 244
- [Demosthenes] *On Halonnesus* 17, 68, 81, 167, 196, 219, 220, 225, 226
- [Demosthenes] *On the Treaty with Alexander* 17, 92, 93, 122, 144, 149, 161, 197–8, 226
- dexiōsis* 102
- Dillery, John 261
- Diodorus Siculus 22, 42, 44, 46
- Diodotus 164
- Diopithes 122
- diplomacy 12, 92, 102–3, 104, 163; *see also* ambassadors; arbitration; Philip II, diplomacy; treaties
- dokimasia* 124
- domestic analogy 2–3; *see also* metaphors, household

- Dorians, *see* Ionians and Dorians
 Dover, Kenneth 118
 draft, *see* conscription
- Eckstein, Arthur 206
 economic factors as causes of war 3–4, 28–50
 profits from war 29–35
 trade and war 35–9
 effeminacy and cowardice 117–21
 egalitarian ethos among city-states, *see* hierarchy
 among states
 Ehrenreich, Barbara 128
eirēnē 243
 Elatea 167, 182, 200
 Eleusis and Eleusinian Mysteries 86, 142, 167
 Elis 103, 172, 188, 199
 embassies, *see* ambassadors
 Enlightenment, the 217, 251
 enslavement in war 116–17, 247, 276
 Epaminondas 89, 172
 ephebes 126, 142
 Epidamnus 199
epiklēros 127
epitaphios logos, *see* funeral oration
 Eretria 195
 ethnicity in interstate relations 77–84, 85
 ethnocentrism 23
 Euboea 36, 151
 Eubulus 32, 49, 50, 81, 258
 Eupolis 118
 Euripides 76, 82, 147, 148, 241, 247
 Evagoras of Cyprus 82, 152
 expertise in foreign affairs 10–13
- families, *see* criticism of war, familial;
 defendenda, families
 farmers, attitudes towards war and peace 41
 fathers 123–4, 128; *see also* ancestors
 feuding society 186, 203
 fictive kinship 81
 Finley, Moses 3–5, 6, 30, 34, 35, 237, 240, 256
 Fisher, Nick 115
 forefathers, *see* ancestors
 forensic oratory, *see* law-court speeches
 friendship, equal 100, 106
 funeral oration 7, 8, 20, 55, 68–70, 127, 130, 144,
 255, 263; *see also* under Pericles
- gambling and war 33, 35
 Game Theory 33, 116, 207, 208, 209
 Gandhi and Patton Streets 240
 Garlan, Yvon 3
 Garnsey, Peter 36
 Gē 143
 generals 11, 116, 253; *see also* battle speeches
- Genesis 142
 Geneva Convention 222
 gift economy 186, 203
 gods 84, 85, 102, 141–50, 183, 230–2; *see also*
 oaths; religion and war; sacrilege
 Gorgias 79
 Gouldner, Alvin 187
 grain supply, *see* under Athens
graphē argias 125
graphē paranomōn 163, 225
Greatest Generation, The 267
 Green, Peter 164, 238, 256
 Griffith, G. T. 106
 grounds for war, passages summarizing 76
 Gyllipus 144
- Haliartus, battle at 48, 67
 Halonnesus, *see* [Dem.] *On Halonnesus*
 Hansen, Mogens 10
 Harding, Phillip 171, 255
 Harmodius 121
 Harris, Edward 215
 Hector 137, 146
 hegemony, *see* alliances, equal and unequal
 Hegesippus 12, 17
Hellenica Oxyrhynchia 40, 46
 Hellespont 38, 167
 Heracles 177
 Heraea 188
 Herman, Gabriel 202, 204–5
 Hermocrates 244
 Herodotus 22, 60, 75, 112, 119, 142, 145, 151, 152,
 198, 215, 243, 246
 hierarchy among states 23, 97–105, 106
 alliances 210
 balancing 97–8
 diplomatic practice 102–3
 legalism and 99–100, 230–4
 masking of 104–5
 reciprocity 100–1, 192–7
 slave metaphor and 80, 101
 strong in some spheres 101–2, 112
 treaties 103
 see also alliances, equal and unequal
 Hippocrates (Athenian general) 138
 historians as sources 22–3
 historical survey of speeches 16–17
 Hobson, J. A. 4
 Homeland Security, Department of 267
 Homer 140, 145, 146, 198, 203, 206, 216, 218,
 247
 Homeric heroes 2, 127, 146, 163, 211
 honor 268
 pastoralism 206
 slavery 109–10

- vertical versus horizontal 100, 101, 105
see also reciprocity; shame culture
borkoi 230, 243
 Hornblower, Simon 86
 Howard, Michael 251
 Hume, David 166, 170
 Hyperides 12, 117
 Against Diondas 16, 17, 82, 158
 Funeral Oration 20, 81, 85, 144
- Imbros 37, 38
 immortality
 of Athens 126
 of war dead 126
 inaccuracy of Attic orators 7, 8
 India 84
 individual and state morality 75
 international law 217, 221, 229, 233; *see also*
 legalism
 international relations theory 207
 in antiquity 13
 see also Neorealism; Realism
 intervention 92–6
 forbidden in treaties 93–4
 Polly Low on 94
 two definitions 96
 internal factors 108; *see also* economic factors as
 causes of war; militarism
 intransigence 108–9, 112–13, 115–16, 121–2, 125,
 126, 128–30, 133, 211; *see also* metaphors,
 goading
 Ionians and Dorians 78, 86
 Isocrates 21, 46, 90, 99, 101, 114, 123, 157, 227,
 242–3, 271
 on issues of war and peace 31, 32, 60, 75, 136,
 152, 257–8
 Panhellenism 73, 79, 106, 246–7, 264
 Archidamus 21–2, 33, 120
 On the Peace 21–2, 30, 70, 130, 165, 250,
 262–4
 Isthmian sanctuary 208
 Iterated Prisoner's Dilemma 207, 209
 Ithome revolt 177
- Janus, Temple of 241
 Jason of Pherae 132
 Jewish prophecies of peace through God as
 judge 216
 Jost, Karl 123
 juror's oath 221
jus ad bellum 247
jus in bello 221, 222, 230, 247
 just-war theory 91, 96, 152, 247
 justice, and reciprocity 185; *see also* calculations
 of interest, and justice
- Kennan, George 91
kinaidos 121–2
 King's Peace 37, 67, 68, 90, 105, 106, 160, 173,
 233, 243
 Kissinger, Henry 156, 170, 178
klēros 126; *see also* patrimony
 Konstan, David 100
 Kuwait 96
- Lamian War 20, 82, 85, 255
 Lavelle, B. M. 148
 law among states, *see* legalism
 law-court speeches 7, 15–16, 20, 155, 204, 255
 League of Corinth 218, 233
 League of Nations 215
 legalism 72, 84, 94, 95, 96, 97, 215–17, 236
 as conflict resolution 216, 235–6
 difficulties with 216, 226–8, 232
 enforcement by gods 230–2
 evidence for legal analogy 217–20
 and hierarchy 99–100, 226–34
 law within Athens 215–16, 221, 234–5
 “laws of the Greeks” 219–20, 221–2
 legal process among states 226–34
 legal substance among states 220–6
 private international law 220
 sanctions 228, 234
 see also treaties
- Lemnos 37, 38
 Lendon, J. E. 2, 47, 52, 98, 101, 103–4, 198, 202,
 210
 Lenin 239
Letters from Iwo Jima 249
 Leuctra 106, 144, 171, 174
 Low, Polly 94, 228
 Lycurgus 16, 69, 117
 Lysander 228
 Lysias 48, 58, 96
- MacArthur, Douglas 127, 128
 Macedonia and Macedonians 5, 16–17, 18, 19, 34,
 35, 36, 50, 60, 61, 77, 81, 107, 116–17, 122,
 144, 171, 172, 180, 197, 201, 209, 226; *see also*
 Philip II
malakos/malakia 121–2
 Mantinea 103, 172, 199, 255
 Mantitheus 58
 Mao Zedong 91
 Marxist or Marxian history 3, 6
 masculinity 117, 118, 119, 126–7; *see also*
 effeminacy and cowardice
 materialism 276; *see also* economic factors as
 causes of war
 Mausolus 91, 129
 Megalopolis 92, 161, 162, 171, 175, 193

- Megara 151
 Melos and the Melian Dialogue 105, 112, 113, 145, 168, 169, 176, 180, 194
 mercenaries 87, 95, 192, 205, 252, 255
 Messene 12, 18, 21, 54, 92, 136, 162, 172, 175, 177, 193, 195, 201, 225
 metaphors 14, 51
 goadings 108–9, 112–13, 115–16, 120–1, 133
 household 108–33, 265
 intimate versus distant 133
 military 126
 money and power 168
 slave 80, 81, 101, 109–15, 116
 Methone 76
 metics 139
 militarism 2, 3, 4, 51–71, 128, 248, 251
 of Athens unexceptional 59–61
 in contemporary states 60–1
 decline in fourth century? 253–6
 definition 53
 external causes 53–5
 fair and advantageous 55
 internal causes 53, 56–7
 justification of slavery 110
 among the rich 47, 256
 see also critics of militarism
 military preparedness 76
 military service, prestige of 56, 57, 58–9, 62, 279
 Miltiades I 37
 Miltiades II 278
 Missiou, Anna 186, 239
 modernist versus primitivist views of Athenian
 foreign policy 266
 calculation of interests 267–8
 domestic analogies 267
 economic factors 266
 equal treatment of states 267
 legalism 268
 militarism 266–7
 realism 268
 reciprocity and honor 268
 Momigliano, Arnaldo 1, 250
 monarchy 73, 95; *see also* tyrannies
 Mossé, Claude 40
 Mytilene, and the Mytilenian debate 104, 164, 169, 247
 Naxos, battle of 37
 Neapolis (in Thrace) 104, 172, 191, 193
 Nemea, battle of 255
 Neorealism 27–8, 62, 170
 Nestle, Wilhelm 251
 Nestor 145
 Nicias 60, 71, 119, 122, 131, 140, 143
 oaths 187
 of jurors 221
 of Marathon and Salamis 66
 Ochs, Phil 132
 old versus young men on war 131–2
 oligarchs 56, 95, 99
 Olympia 82, 86, 102, 208
 Olynthus 104, 116, 126, 149–50, 172, 177, 181, 191, 195, 200, 209, 213
On Halonnesus, see under [Demosthenes]
On the Treaty with Alexander, see under [Demosthenes]
 O'Neil, Larry 213
 optimism
 as a cause of war 62–8
 contrary tendencies 65, 71
 oracles 85, 142; *see also* Delphi
 orators, expertise of 11–13
 Oreus 93, 191–2
 Oropus 29, 193, 195
 Owen, Wilfred 5
 pacifism 112, 237–8, 239–40, 247, 257, 261
 Pagondas 138
 Panhellenic sanctuaries 79, 85, 208–9; *see also* Delphi; Isthmian sanctuary; Olympia
 Panhellenism 73, 77, 78–9, 80, 106, 246–7; *see also* Isocrates
 Parker, Robert 241–3
 Paros 232
 pastoral societies and honor 206
patēr and related words 124, 143
Paths of Glory 249
 patrimony
 Athens as 125–6
 male lineage and 126–7
 Patterson, Orlando 109
 peace, attitudes towards 237–64
 ancient 240–7, 248
 in Common Peace 243
 “guardians of the peace” 260
 Hellenistic philosophers 246
 intellectuals versus politicians 256–9
 modern 239–40, 256–7
 scholarly controversies about 237–40
 speeches advocating 113, 129
 women 249
 see also criticism of war; critics of militarism
 Peace, cult of 32, 33, 241–3
 Peace of Antalcidas, *see* King's Peace
 Peace of Nicias 63, 136, 208, 223
 Peace of Philocrates 8, 32, 38, 50, 67–8, 70, 85, 149, 161, 167, 173, 192, 195, 196, 223, 225, 244
 Pelopidas 144
 Peloponnese 151, 175

- Peloponnesian League 102, 105, 177, 189, 192, 218, 224, 232
- Peloponnesian War II, 87, 130, 132, 167, 174, 192, 199, 219, 227
- Pericles 33, 63, 89, 112, 181, 244, 278
 funeral oration 69, 99, 249, 254
- Perinthus 84, 172, 173
- Persia 60, 73, 76, 77, 78–80, 83, 84, 91, 105, 113, 129, 133, 135, 146, 152, 157, 159, 160, 167, 173, 194, 215, 225, 233, 242, 264
- Persian Wars 66–7, 70, 85, 119, 124, 130, 133, 145, 198, 264
- personal motivations of Athenian politicians 9
- Pherae 181
- Philip II 83, 161, 174, 180
 Athenian criticism of 67, 77, 81, 82, 88, 93, 111, 112, 114, 116, 136, 149–50, 151–2, 172, 179, 193, 199, 219, 220, 225
 conflict with Athens 16–17, 29, 30, 38, 64, 98, 112, 148, 152, 167, 173, 180, 181, 182, 183, 190, 191, 200, 201
 diplomacy 82, 87, 93, 98, 104, 148, 168, 181, 191, 195–6, 201, 208, 231
- Philippizein* 88
- Philocrates, son of Ephialtes 161
- philosophy, ancient 13, 23–4, 276
- Phlius 93, 94, 103, 105
- Phocion 71, 219, 258
- Phocis 87, 88, 107, 145, 149, 167, 174, 175, 177, 178, 191–2, 195, 260
- Phormion 110
- Phryno 150
- Pisistratus 121
- plague 87
- Plataea 137, 177
- Plato 34, 69, 118, 157, 164, 257
 atypical 23–4, 73–4, 75
 contrast with Athenian views 277–8
 and militarism 23, 252
 on war 3, 23–4, 246, 276, 277
- [Plato] *Alcibiades* II, 162
- plunder, *see* booty
- Plutarch 49, 117, 144, 145
- political systems, effect on interstate relations 89–97; *see also* intervention
- polytheism 84
- poor, interest in war 47–8; *see also* rich and poor, attitudes towards war
- possession versus rightful ownership 76, 218; *see also* spear-won territory
- Potidaea 76, 104, 190, 195, 200, 220
- poverty as cause of war 33
- power, masking of 102, 104–5
- prediction 180–1, 182
- pre-emptive attacks, *see* anticipations
- primitivist views of Greek foreign policy, *see* modernist versus primitivist views
- Prisoner's Dilemma 207, 209
- profiteering during war 47
- profits versus cost of war 29–35
- proress 57
- Pydna 76, 98, 190
- Raaflaub, Kurt 51, 57, 62, 109
- rape 143–6, 150
- rationality in foreign policy 63, 265–6; *see also* calculations of interest; Realism
- Realism 2, 4, 23, 63, 72–3, 83, 119, 135, 154–84, 225, 227, 229, 232, 247
 on alliances and treaties 161–2, 227
 in the assembly 159–63
 a fourth-century development 163–6
 main tenets 155–6
 in Thucydides 156–7
 unmasks moral pretensions 162–3
see also balance of power; calculations of interest; prediction
- reciprocity 58, 185–214
 costs 213
 definition 185–6
 enforced by power of reputation 208–12
 enforced by shame 211–12
 importance among states 201–11: appropriate among states 205–8; in game theory 207–8; internal value applied to states 202; legacy of guest-friendship 202
 and justice 185
 negative 197–201: cause of war 198–200; dysfunctional 201, 209; overcome by interest 200–1
 origins and causes 203–5
 personalized versus formalized 187–8
 positive 186–92: Athens' northern war with Philip 190–1; debts and gratitude 192–3; failures of 103–4; hierarchy in 100–1, 103–4; in Philip's rise 195–6; subordination 193–7; strategy and honor in 208–9, 211–13, 214; unity of negative and positive 197–8
- religion and war 84–9, 141–50, 169, 183, 240, 241; *see also* gods
- “responsible passive” 138
- revenge 83, 169, 197–201; *see also* reciprocity, negative
- revision of the texts of speeches, *see* texts of speeches
- Rhetoric to Alexander*, *see* under [Aristotle]
- rhetorical theory 20–1
- Rhodes 80, 129, 159, 173, 199
- rich and poor, attitudes towards war 39–50
- right of conquest, *see* spear-won territory

Roisman, Joseph 122, 167
 Romilly, Jacqueline de 257
 rule of law, perfect 203
 Russell, Bertrand 252
 Ryder, T. T. B. 107, 239

sacred truce 85, 86
 Sacred Wars 86, 88, 107, 122, 171
 sacrilege 86, 87, 174, 219
 Salamis 119
 Samos 104, 212
 Satyrus 149
 Schelling, Thomas 116
 Schmookler, Andrew 53–4, 59
 Schumpeter, Joseph 252
 Scyros 37, 38, 86
 Scythians 60, 142
 Sealey, Raphael 239, 257–8, 274–5
 Second Athenian League, 29, 84, 90, 102, 105,
 106, 175, 191, 199, 218; *see also* Decree of
 Aristoteles
 self-defense, right of 76, 91, 137–8
 self-help 205, 234
 Serdaioi 187
 Sestus 35, 37, 38, 174
 shame culture 211
 Sheets, George 228, 229
 ship-building industry 40
 Sicilian Expedition 40, 48, 122, 131, 140, 143, 167,
 194
 siege warfare 106, 247
 silver mining 36, 152
 slaves 56, 99, 109
 corporal punishment 115
 and honor 109–10
 negative views of 109, 110
 slavishness
 ascribed to people 110–11: Aeschines 111;
 Demosthenes 111; Macedonians 111
 associated with cowardice 110, 114–15
 see also metaphors, slave
 small cities 97, 100, 105, 106, 107, 171–2, 180,
 187, 196, 210
 Social War 16, 19, 21, 29, 34, 48, 49, 68, 102,
 106, 159, 174, 175, 191, 194, 199, 200,
 250, 262
 Socrates 140, 147
 soldiers, not considered bellicose 51–2
 sophistical interpretation of treaties 224
 Sophists 157, 164
sōphrosynē 146
 Sparta 18, 21, 35, 40–1, 48, 50, 56, 60, 63, 67, 78,
 79, 81, 84, 87, 90, 91, 93, 101, 102, 104, 105,
 107, 119, 132, 136, 144, 147, 160, 161, 162,
 171, 172, 173, 175, 176, 178, 182, 189–90, 193,

194, 199, 201, 208, 212, 218, 223, 225, 230,
 232, 236, 241, 243, 252, 253
 spear-won territory 135–7
 speeches before battles 24
 Sphacteria 119
spondai 230, 243
 stasis 257
 status-based judgments, *see* action-based versus
 status-based judgments
 Ste. Croix, G. E. M. de 18, 37, 38–9
 Steward, Frank 100
 Sthenelaidas 219
stratēgoi 187; *see also* generals
 Strauss, Barry 123, 124, 125, 128, 170
 structural Realism, *see* Neorealism
 summaries of grounds for war 76
 Sumner, William 251
 Sybaris 187
sympheron, to 155, 158, 166
 synopsis of book 25–6
synthēkai 221, 230, 243
 Syracuse 144, 167

Tartars 72
 tax evasion 42, 43
 Ten Thousand 146
 territorial claims, *see* spear-won territory
 texts of speeches
 issues with particular speeches: Aeschin. 2 and
 3 271; Andocides 3 274; Dem. 13 274; Dem.
 9 274; Dem. 8 and 10 274; [Dem.] 7 275;
 [Dem.] 17 275; Dem. 18 and 19 271
 reliability 270–5
 revisions 272–4
 Thebes 12, 17, 29, 30, 35, 64, 71, 79, 87, 89, 90,
 97, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 114, 117, 122, 138,
 143, 145, 146, 161, 167, 171, 172, 174, 175, 177,
 178, 180, 183, 189–90, 193, 194, 195, 199,
 200, 201, 209, 219, 230, 233, 242, 260
 Themistocles 181, 278
 Theophrastus 47, 132
 Theopompus 254
 theoric fund 49–50
 Thermopylae 167, 192, 195
 Theseus 86
 Thessaly 88, 107, 195
 Thirty, the 91, 132, 177
 Thirty-year Peace 236
 Thomas, Carol 141
 Thomas, Rosalind 69
 Thrace 30, 151, 161, 171, 190, 191, 225, 264
 Thrasymachus 82, 160
 Thucydides 19, 33, 40, 43, 45, 75, 78, 87, 89, 112,
 113, 131, 140, 143, 151, 152, 181, 182, 198, 218,
 231, 244, 245, 247, 254

Index

317

- Realism in 14, 154, 156–7, 160, 162, 164, 175, 182
 value as evidence 22–3
see also Pericles, funeral oration
- Timarchus 121
- Timotheus 31, 92, 241, 242–3
- Tit-for-tat 207, 208, 209
- trade, grain, *see* Athens, grain supply;
 Demosthenes, interest in grain supply
- traitors 140
- treaties 21, 224, 227
 determined by power 160, 161, 227
 difficulties in interpretation 224
 enforced by gods 230–1
 evidence of binding force 223–6
 forbid intervention 93–4
 as grounds for war 223
 hierarchy in 103
 invoked in assemble speeches 224–6
 as laws 222–6
 physical abrogation of 223
 publicity of 208, 229
 and reciprocity 187–8
- Trevett, Jeremy 272
- trierarchs 48
- Tucker, Robert 97
- tyrannies 92, 94, 95
- United Nations 215, 222, 268
- United States 267
 anticipations 267
 oil supply 266
- unmasking 1, 3–7, 24, 277
- Usher, Stephen 164
- van Wees, Hans 52, 98, 194, 246
- Vattel, Emeric de 99
- Victorian Britain, Peace Societies 257
- Vietnam War 132
- Walt, Stephen 170, 176
- Waltz, Kenneth 154
- Walzer, Michael 96, 137
- war
 harm caused by 245–6
 hope for elimination of 250–1, 252
 necessary and natural 243–5, 251–2
 often the moral decision 247; *see also*
 defensivism
see also criticism of war; critics of militarism;
 militarism; peace
- war orphans 57, 263
- warrior elites 56, 60, 127
- wars between Greeks 74, 85, 246–7
- weak, Athenian ideal of assisting 177–80
- wealth 33, 241
- weapons, no longer carried 204
- Wendt, Alexander 54
- West Point 127
- Wheeler, Everett 224
- Whitehead, David 138
- Wilson, Woodrow 91
- Winkler, John 117
- women 56, 80, 99, 117–23, 127, 249; *see also*
defendenda, women; effeminacy and
 cowardice; rape
- World War I 96
- World War II 73, 96, 140
- Worthington, Ian 272
- Xenophon 22–3, 30, 32, 41, 42, 55, 60, 75,
 92, 112, 118, 146, 147, 172, 189, 194,
 199, 212, 239, 242, 244, 251, 257–8, 259–62;
see also under criticism of war; critics of
 militarism
- [Xenophon] *Constitution of the Athenians* 41, 44,
 45, 46
- Xerxes 177
- young versus old men on war, *see* old versus
 young men on war
- Yunis, Harvey 125
- Zampaglione, Gerardo 237, 257
- Zeus 84, 188