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The Athenian Empire

Fifth Edition

Translated and edited with notes by
ROBIN OSBORNE
University of Cambridge



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PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION

LACTOR No.1 *The Athenian Empire* has in its previous 3 editions been the most widely used of LACTORs, and the London Association of Classical Teachers Publications Sub-committee was keen that it should be kept up to date. Simon Hornblower, who was primarily responsible for the last revision, preferred to leave the task to another, and at the request of the LACTOR Committee I undertook it. I expected that I should do little except bring the epigraphy and the bibliography up to date. In the event, however, this has been a radical revision, and since this will render using the fourth edition side by side with the third difficult, the user is owed an explanation.

LACTOR No. 1 started life in 1968 as a translation of the passages listed in 'Index III. The Athenian Empire' of Hill's *Sources for Greek History, B.C. 478-431* (second edition edited by R. Meiggs and A. Andrewes, Oxford, 1951). Although much material was subsequently added, not least in the way of notes and comment, the third edition continued to reflect that origin, being much fuller on material from before 431 B.C. than on later material. But many quite fundamental questions about Athens' Empire which texts relating to events down to 431 illuminate only fitfully are cast into a far more searching, even lurid, light by material related to later events. Not least among these are the fundamental questions about whether, and, if so, why and when the character of Athenian imperialism changed, and about the popularity of the Athenian empire.

I decided, therefore, that it would be appropriate substantially to supplement the material relating to the years between 431 and the end of the Peloponnesian War. One further consequence of this is that some material relating to those years which previously featured as illustrating institutions has now found a place in the expanded chronological section. Although some may see my decision to include more material in the chronological section as retrograde, I make no apology for it: only if one is aware of the chronological context of material, is it possible to make a sensible decision about whether it particularly reflects the conditions of its time or rather attitudes and behaviour that prevailed more generally.

In order the more closely to juxtapose Thucydides' account of the years between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars (478–432, the Pentekontaetia) with the often divergent information derived from other ancient sources I have split up the Pentekontaetia, which was previously presented as a unit.

I have re-translated all the material presented here, although I have made frequent use of earlier translations, as also of suggestions from commentators (most notably Simon Hornblower's revision of Jowett's translation of Thucydides).

For all that I have made extensive changes, the body of the older editions survives under the new clothing. The bulk of the material collected in the earlier editions is present here, often in precisely the same order, and I have incorporated much editorial material wholesale. I am therefore greatly in the debt of earlier editors, and particularly of John Davies and Simon Hornblower. Simon Hornblower has placed me further in his debt by reading and commenting extensively on an earlier draft; among other things Note G on Religious aspects of Athenian Imperialism is here as a direct result of his intervention. I am also very grateful to John Roberts, John Murrell and Mark

Greenstock for reading the first draft and improving it in all sorts of ways, to Ken Hughes for his careful copy-editing, to Charles Crowther who helped produce the images of inscriptions, and to Henry Kim who kindly supplied the maps.

Robin Osborne
Corpus Christi College, Oxford

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Notes and Abbreviations

All dates are B.C. unless otherwise stated.

‘Archaic period’ is used to refer to the years 700-500; ‘Classical period’ is used to refer to the years 500-300; ‘Hellenistic period’ is used to refer to the years 300-100. Square brackets have been used to enclose editorial material inserted into texts. This material includes chapter and section numbers, explanatory glosses, and more or less conjectural supplements to fragmentary epigraphic texts e.g. [23.1] *or* The city [of Athens] *or* Peri[kles proposed]. In epigraphic texts, although I have sometimes put a square bracket part way through a proper name, in the case of words other than proper names that cannot be completely read on a stone I have decided whether or not there is serious doubt about the restoration, putting the English translation into square brackets only when such doubt exists.

Inscriptions are given by reference to ML if in that selection, by reference to *IG* or relevant corpus if not. See Concordance for references to Fornara. I give the most recent SEG reference for inscriptions on which comments have appeared in SEG since the last SEG index volume (Index to Vols. 26-35). Earlier SEG appearances can be traced back from the most recent.

<i>AE</i>	R. Meiggs <i>The Athenian Empire</i> (Oxford, 1972)
<i>B</i>	Section B of G. Hill (revised R. Meiggs and A. Andrewes) <i>Sources for Greek History B.C. 478-431</i> (Oxford, 1951)
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> 2nd edition
<i>FGH</i>	F. Jacoby ed. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischer Historiker</i> (1923-)
<i>GD</i>	P. Bruneau, J. Ducat <i>Guide de Délos</i> (ed.3) (Paris, 1983)
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>ML</i>	R. Meiggs and D.M. Lewis <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the end of the Peloponnesian War</i> (revised edition, Oxford, 1988)
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>Tod</i>	M.N. Tod <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> . Vol.2 (Oxford, 1947)

6 obols = 1 drachma (dr.)

100 drachmas = 1 mina or mna

60 minas = 1 talent (T)

1 Kyzikene stater \approx 25 dr.

1 medimnos = 52.5 litres \approx 35kg wheat, 30kg barley

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62			227	70	138	Herakleides
67	140	B60		48		Casualty list
72			1164			Lemnian casualties
76	118	B54	41.90-109			Hestiaia
78	119	B53	40	52	103	Khalkis
90		B61	363	55	113	Athenian expenditure
91	107	B62	48	56.15-23	115	Samos
95			1180			Casualty list
120			65.7-24			Apollophanes
121	159	B82	61	65	128	Methone
122	160	B83	62			Aphytis and Poteidaia
123	161	B84	63			Aphytis
134			66.10-27			Mytilene
136	87	B86	68	68	133	Tribute collection
137C			1468bis			Athenian dedication on Delos
138	76	B87	71	69	136	425/4 Tribute Reassessment
172			96			Samos
174				82	152	Hegelokhos
179	98	B89	101	89	156	Neapolis
182	171	B90	118	87	162	Selymbria
183	99	B92	127	94	166	Samos
190	85	B46	34	46	98	Tribute payment
195	69	B43.36-8	439	59	120	Parthenon accounts
196	70	B65	465	60.11-13	118B	Propylaia accounts
197	71	B69	49.14-16		117	Water-supply
198	157	B39	1453	45	97	Coinage
205			78	73	140	Eleusis Firstfruits
207			130			Apollo Delios
208			1468			Theoroi to Delos
210			1460			Amphiktions at Delos
216	106	B26	14-15	40	71	Erythrai
217	129	B116				Erythrai magistrates
218	130	B30	21		92	Miletos
219	131	B49	37	47	99	Kolophon
220			1454			Karpathos
232	135	B55	46	49	100	Brea
234	172	B10	10	31	68	Phaselis
235	147	B33	19			Akheloion
236			27			Delphians

Table of concordance for inscriptions

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237	149	B80	156			Leonidas
238	150	B91	110	90	160	Oiniades
239	174		422.217-8, 375-8	(79)	(147D)	Property of Hermokopids
240	174		424.15-23	(79)	(147D)	Property of Hermokopids
241	174		426.43-51, 144-6, 161-2	(79)	(147D)	Property of Hermokopids
242	174		427.77-8	(79)	(147D)	Property of Hermokopids
243	174		430.11-13	(79)	(147D)	Property of Hermokopids
246	60	B93	(ii ² 43. 15-46)	(Tod II 123)	(Harding 35)	Second Athenian Confederacy

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Glossary

- Agora** The city-centre, where people gathered to talk both for political purposes and to buy and sell. At Athens it contained the Council Chamber and lawcourts.
- Akropolis** The citadel of a city, usually the site of the temple of the patron deity. At Athens the site of the Parthenon and Erekhtheion and the place where most stelai were erected.
- Archon**
 (*arkhōn*,
 pl. *arkhontes*) A general word for a magistrate or official, but particularly used in Athens of the nine archons who had once been the principal or only Athenian magistrates. In the classical period they were chosen by lot and had mainly religious and judicial functions. One archon, the so-called Eponymous Archon, gave his name to the year at Athens: ‘when Euthynos was archon...’. See also below on Polemarch.
- Assembly (*ekklēsia*)** The meeting of the Athenian people some 40 times a year, usually on the Pnyx hill, at which all major public decisions were taken.
- Cleruchy (*klēroukhia*)** See p.118.
- Council (*boulē*)** Body of 500 Athenians over the age of 30 selected by lot, 50 from each of the ten Athenian tribes, to serve for a year as the committee which prepared business for the Assembly and saw that the Assembly’s decisions were carried out.
- Dikasts** The men who manned an Athenian lawcourt. The dikasts for any particular case were selected by lot from a panel of 6,000, had to be over 30 years old and voted by secret ballot without prior discussion and without a judge to direct them.
- Eisphora* (paying-in)** Rich Athenians had the capital value of their assets assessed, and they were then required, as frequently as the city’s finances demanded it, to pay some small percentage of this assessed value as a tax.
- Eleven** The Eleven were the officials responsible for the prison and the administration of punishment to condemned criminals.
- Ephors** The chief magistrates at Sparta, five in number and elected annually. They were the main executive officers responsible for carrying out the Spartan Assembly’s decisions, and one or more of them might accompany a King on campaign.
- Generals (*stratēgoi*)** From the end of the sixth century the Athenians elected 10 Generals each year, normally one from each of the ten tribes. Individually or in groups they commanded Athenian troops in war.
- Heliaia** Perhaps more properly ‘Eliaia’. The chief and largest of the Athenian lawcourts, which was used for trials over which the Thesmothetai presided.

Glossary

xix

<i>Hellēnotamiai</i>	A board of 10 Athenian officials who received, recorded and made payments from the tribute of the allies. In 411 their number was increased to 20 and they seem to have taken on the functions of the <i>kolakretai</i> .
Inspectors (<i>episkopoi</i>)	Officials sent out by Athens to the allies, apparently with a roving commission to see that the allies were behaving properly.
<i>Kōlakretai</i>	Treasurers, whose terms of appointment are not properly understood, but who are called upon to provide money for various expenses. See further on <i>Hellenotamiai</i> .
Polemarch	One of the nine archons. Once the man who commanded the Athenian army, the Polemarch in the classical period had a particular role dealing with court cases involving non-Athenians.
President (<i>epistatēs</i>)	The man chosen by lot to chair the prytaneis for one day.
<i>Proxenoī</i>	Men who represented the interests of another city while living in their own community. The title was an honorific one, but <i>proxenoī</i> could expect good treatment from the city whose interests they served, and Athens came to be particularly protective of its <i>proxenoī</i> , who were not always popular with their own communities.
Prytaneis/prytany/ Prytaneion	The 50 Council Members from each tribe took it in turns to serve for a tenth of the year as prytaneis, that is as a standing committee of the Council, dealing with day-to-day emergencies and preparing Council business. The period of 35-36 days for which each tribe served was known as a 'prytany'. The building in which public hospitality was given was known as the Prytaneion.
Scrutiny (<i>euthynai</i>)	At the end of their term of office all public officials were subjected to an official scrutiny of their conduct while in office.
Sellers (<i>Pōlētai</i>)	Magistrates responsible for selling confiscated property, the rights to farm taxes, etc. to the highest bidder.
Stēlē (pl. stēlai)	A slab (of stone) on which inscriptions were carved.
Thesmothetai	The collective name for the six 'junior' archons, i.e. not the Eponymous Archon, Polemarch or King Archon. They were responsible for arranging trials.
Tribes (<i>phylai</i>)	In the reforms which were the basis of the classical democracy Kleisthenes divided the Athenians into 10 groups on the basis of their village or ward of residence. These 10 groups took their names from old Athenian heroes: Erekhtheus gave his name to the tribe Erekhtheis, Kekrops to the tribe Kekropis, Aias of Salamis to the tribe Aiantis and so on.

Notes on Authors and Works Quoted

Aelian (c.A.D.170-235). Part of the movement known as the ‘Second Sophistic’, which emulated the intellectual style of the fifth- and fourth-century Sophists. His *Varia Historia* excerpts sources which are often now lost, but even when those sources were themselves good, Aelian seems capable of introducing confusion and distortion, sometimes for moralising purposes.

Andokides (c.440-390). Athenian orator and politician who was involved in and informed upon the plot to mutilate the Herms in 415. Speech 3 was delivered in 392/1 after Andokides had been an ambassador to a peace conference at Sparta; in it Andokides tried unsuccessfully to persuade the Athenians to sign a peace treaty, and his claims in that speech, some of which are flagrantly false, have to be read in the light of his aims. See especially A. Missiou *The Subversive Oratory of Andocides* (Cambridge, 1992).

[**Andokides**]4 *Against Alkibiades*. Preserved among the works of Andokides, this seems rather to be a well-informed literary exercise, perhaps dating to the 360s.

Antiphon (flourished 420-411). The first Athenian to write speeches for others to deliver and almost certainly himself prominent in the oligarchic coup of 411. Six speeches substantially survive (see M. Gagarin *Antiphon: Speeches* (Cambridge, 1996)), along with a collection of model speeches (*The Tetralogies*).

Aristophanes (c.445-after 375?). Comic dramatist whose earliest recorded work is the *Babylonians* of 427 and latest the *Wealth* of 389. The earlier of the eleven surviving plays all choose political targets.

Scholia on Aristophanes: line-by-line commentaries, sometimes deriving their information entirely from the text but on other occasions conveying the fruits of impressive Alexandrian critical scholarship.

Aristotle (384-322). His *Politics* seems to derive from lectures given by the philosopher in the 330s and is rich in allusions to particular political incidents as well as generalised claims about political behaviour.

[**Aristotle**] *Constitution of the Athenians* (*Athenaion Politeia* or *Ath. Pol.*). This work, largely known from a papyrus purchased by the British Museum in 1888-9 and published in 1891, is the only one of the 158 Constitutions of Greek states compiled under Aristotle’s direction substantially surviving. Written in the 320s, it consists of a history of the Athenian constitution down to the end of the fifth century, followed by a description of how the Athenian constitution worked in the later fourth century. The historical section is compiled from earlier written accounts, particularly those by the local historians of Athens known as *Atthidographers*. There is a magisterial commentary on the whole work by P.J. Rhodes (Oxford, 1981, with addenda 1993).

Demosthenes (384-322). The most famous of all Athenian orators and an influential fourth-century politician. From the late 350s until the battle of Khaironeia in 337 Demosthenes urged the Athenians to resist Philip II of Macedon’s expansionism. One of Demosthenes’ chief persuasive gambits was comparing the Athenians of the fourth-century with (a rose-tinted view of) their fifth-century ancestors.

Diodoros (active 60-36 B.C.). A native of Sicily, Diodoros wrote a *Universal History* in 40 books, which attempted to give a year-by-year account of both Greek and Roman history. For much of his account of fifth-century Greece he seems to have followed the fourth-century historian Ephoros of Kyme. Ephoros organised his history by topic rather than by year, and Diodoros is inclined to include under a single year events that spread across several (he covers almost a decade as a single year at 11.60-61). At his best he conveys the virtues as well as the vices of his sources, at his worst he garbles even the accounts he has before him.

Dionysios of Halikarnassos (active 30-8 B.C.). Antiquarian and writer on rhetoric whose *Roman Antiquities* were published in 7 B.C. as an encomium of Roman virtues.

Eupolis (active 429-412). Comic dramatist, older contemporary and rival of Aristophanes. His plays include one ridiculing the wealthy Kallias son of Hipponikos and the sophists, one attacking Hyperbolos, and one bringing great Athenians of the past back from the Underworld. His *Cities* seems to date to c.420.

Harpokration (late second century A.D.). Alexandrian lexicographer, whose *Lexicon of the Ten Orators* is designed as an aid to reading Attic Greek. He draws his information both from scholars of the imperial age and from direct acquaintance with Classical and Hellenistic works of history and scholarship, as well as from the orators themselves.

Herodotos (c.480-410). Born at Halikarnassos but from its foundation resident at Thourioi, Herodotos (Hdt.) seems to have been writing his *Histories* during the Peloponnesian War, but his allusions to events after the defeat of the Persians in 479 are few, perhaps for political reasons.

Hesykhios (C5 A.D.). Lexicographer, whose work is preserved only in an abridged version. He based his work on earlier lexica.

Isokrates (436-338). Although not himself active as a speaker in the Athenian assembly, Isokrates' written orations provide an important commentary on Athenian politics in the fourth century, and he was important enough as a teacher of rhetoric to be attacked by Plato in his *Phaidros*. Isokrates thought that Greek cities should work together, and he urged Philip to lead the Greek states in a campaign against Persia.

Ktesias (late C5). Greek doctor from Knidos, who worked at the court of Artaxerxes II and wrote a history of Persia in 23 books, which preserves much entertaining gossip and perhaps some accurate history.

Lysias (459/8 or later-c.380). For the tradition about his early life, see 83, where his residence in Thourioi is fact, but the date at which he moved there may be false. Lysias returned to Athens in 412/11. As a resident alien (metic), Lysias could take no part in the Athenian Assembly, but many of his forensic speeches have a political slant. In his Funeral Oration he turns his skill at glossing over inconvenient facts to the service of the encomium of Athens. He too is attacked in Plato's *Phaidros*.

Pausanias (fl. c.A.D. 150). Author of a *Guide to Greece*, whose 9 books cover the southern and central parts of the Greek mainland. In describing classical remains, he includes, as well as archaeological and topographical information, much accurate historical material drawn from both oral and written sources.

Plato (c.429-347). The works of the Athenian philosopher are frequently given a more or less specific historical setting, but other historical allusions in the Dialogues are rare. The *Seventh Letter*, whose genuineness is uncertain, is autobiographical.

Plutarch (before A.D. 50 - after A.D.120). Philosopher and biographer from Khaironeia in Boiotia, who also became a priest at Delphi. He himself insists that his *Parallel Lives*, of which we have 23 pairs, are not history, and he is interested in character rather than the analysis of events. He was extremely well read, although given to anachronistic assumptions and not consistently critical of his own sources.

Strabo (64-after A.D. 21). Author of a *Geography* in 17 books. This is a rich source of information about the world of his own day, but only occasionally sheds light on classical Greece.

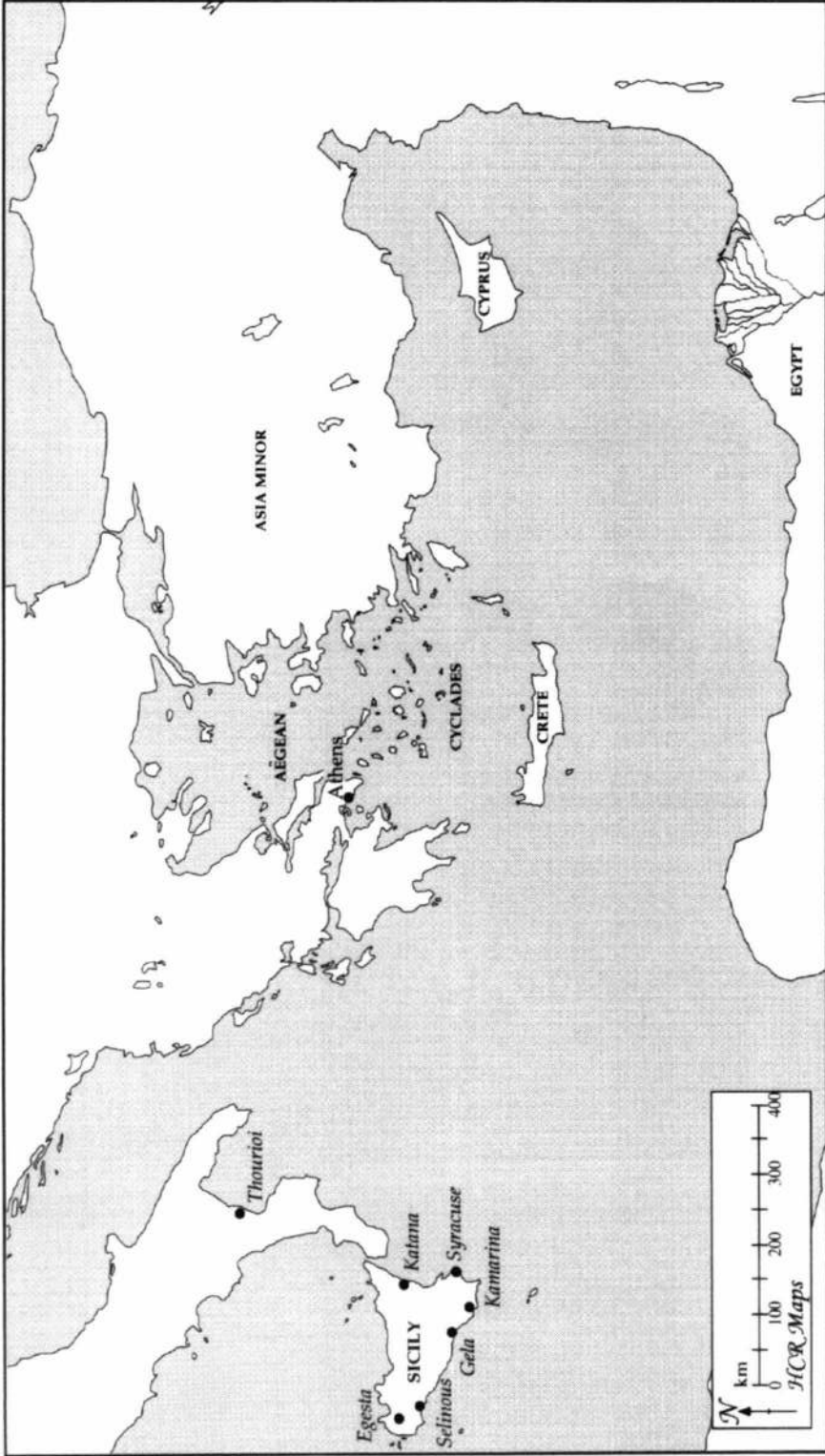
Theophrastos of Eresos (c.371-287). Successor to Aristotle as head of the Lyceum. Several works (*On Plants*, *On Stones* etc.) survive, but the work that would be most useful to historians, *On Laws*, survives only in later quotations.

Theopompos of Khios (378/7-c.320). Historian whose epitome of Herodotos, continuation of Thucydides, and history of Philip of Macedon survive only in later quotations. His work displayed wide interests and frequent digressions, was laudatory of Philip and critical of Athens. Both his erudition and his strong invectives were famous in antiquity.

Thucydides (c.455-c.400). Athenian of aristocratic background with Thracian connections whose *History of the Peloponnesian War* in 8 books, with its account in Book 1 of the years between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars, forms the backbone of all subsequent histories of Greece during this period. See further Note B (p.3).

Xenophon (c.430-c.350). Athenian who wrote *Memoirs of Sokrates*, an account of a mercenary expedition into the heart of Persia (the *Anabasis*), a continuation of Thucydides down to 362 (the *Hellenika*), and a number of pamphlets. Exiled from Athens for fighting against her at Koroneia in 394, he spent some time in Sparta and on an estate in Elis before retiring to Corinth. His historical works combine accurate detail and some perceptive analysis with a certain economy with the truth. His *Poroi*, written in the 350s, advises Athens on how to improve her economy.

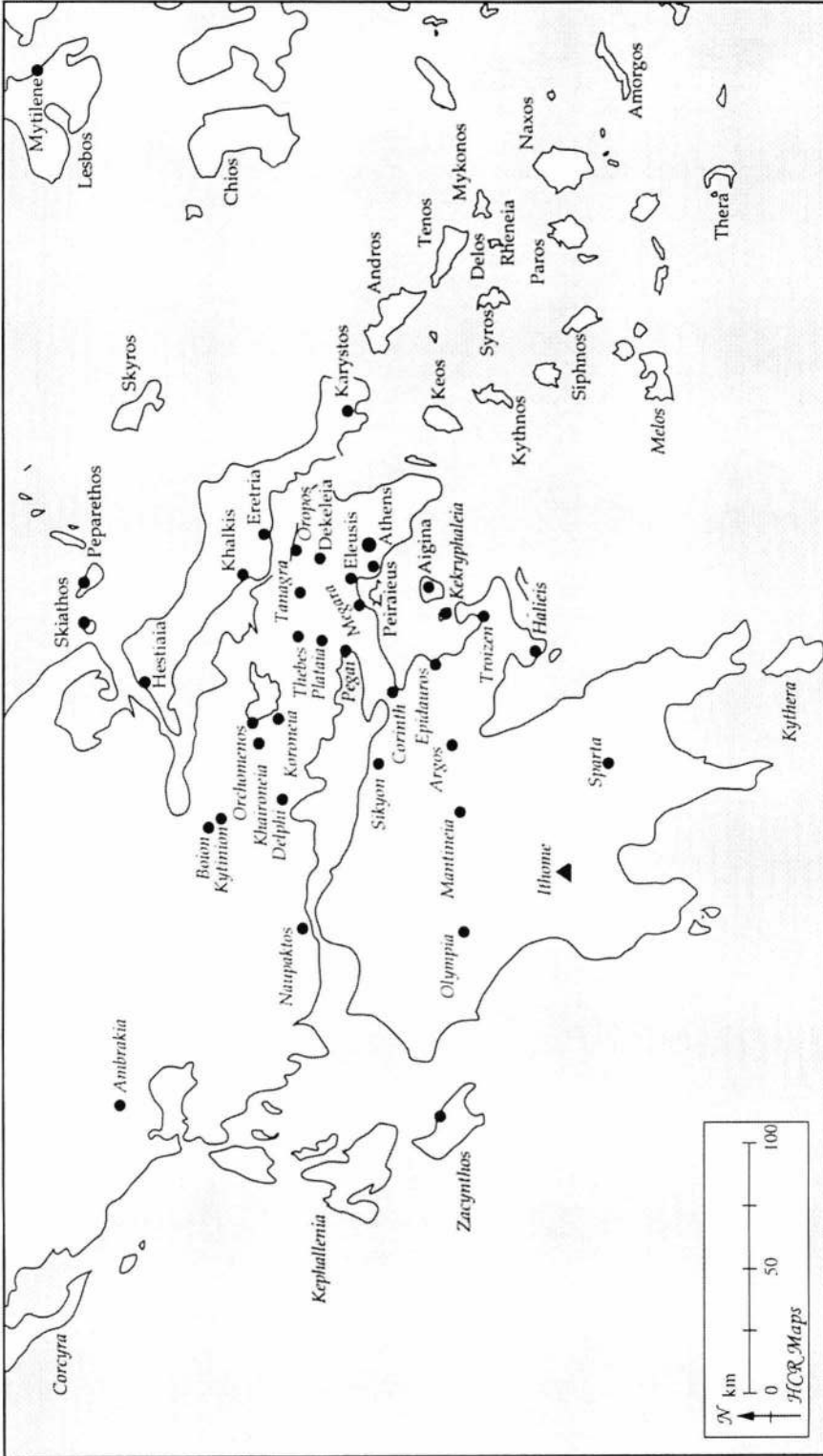
[**Xenophon**] *Constitution of the Athenians*. This short work included among the pamphlets of Xenophon is distinct from them in style. From its historical allusions it has been thought to date to the late 420s, and it is thus the earliest surviving work of Attic prose. The author, who is often referred to as the 'Old Oligarch', explains, as if to oligarchs outside Athens, how it is that democracy sustains itself in Athens and cannot easily be overthrown. Although it offers little detailed historical analysis, it mentions in passing much that we are not told by other literary sources.



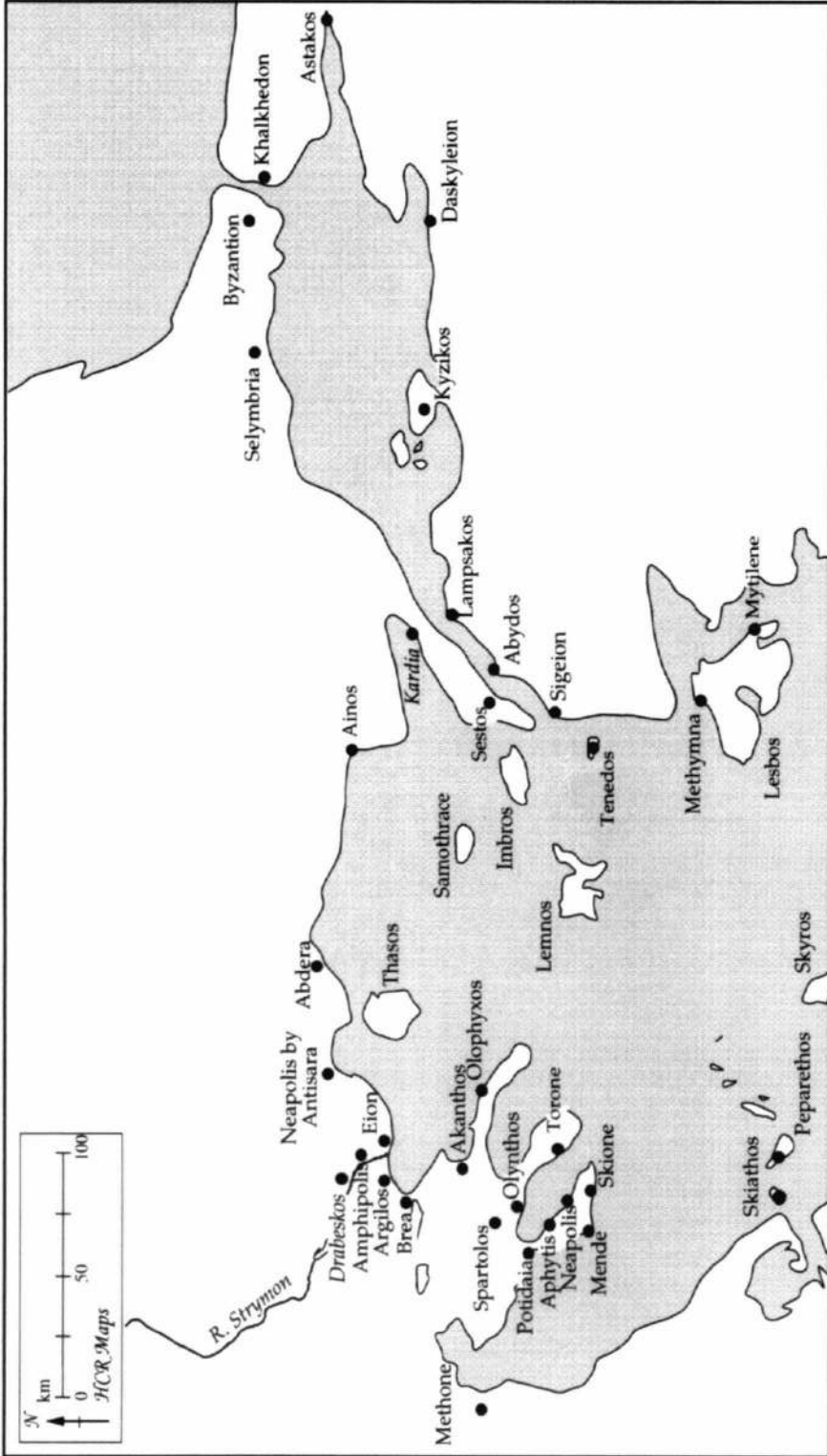
The Central and Eastern Mediterranean.



Greece and the Aegean and Asia Minor, indicating countries and regions.



Southern Greece. Places in Attica and members of the Athenian Empire are in Roman type; places outside the Athenian empire in *italics*.



Northern Greece. Members of the Athenian Empire are in Roman type; places outside the Athenian empire in italics.



Greek Asia Minor. Members of the Athenian Empire in Roman type; places outside the Athenian empire in italics.