

ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY AT WAR

Classical Athens perfected direct democracy. The plays of this ancient Greek state are still staged today. These achievements are rightly revered. Less well known is the other side of this success story. Democratic Athens completely transformed warfare and became a superpower. The Athenian armed forces were unmatched in size and professionalism. This book explores the major reasons behind this military success. It shows how democracy helped the Athenians to be better soldiers. For the first time David M. Pritchard studies, together, all four branches of the armed forces. He focuses on the background of those who fought Athens' wars and on what they thought about doing so. His book reveals the common practices that Athens used right across the armed forces and shows how Athens' pro-war culture had a big impact on civilian life. The book puts the study of Athenian democracy at war on an entirely new footing.

DAVID M. PRITCHARD is an ancient historian at the University of Queensland (Australia). He has obtained ten research fellowships in Australia, Denmark, France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. In 2018 Pritchard is again a research fellow in the University of Strasbourg's Institute for Advanced Study. He has authored *Sport, Democracy and War in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 2013) and *Public Spending and Democracy in Classical Athens* (2015), edited *War, Democracy and Culture in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 2010), and co-edited *Sport and Festival in the Ancient Greek World* (2003). In addition to his five books, Pritchard has published more than fifty book chapters and peer-reviewed articles. He speaks on radio and regularly writes for newspapers around the world.

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Foreword

As this book's bibliography shows, enormous numbers of articles and books have been published on ancient Greek and particularly Athenian and Spartan warfare. The Greek confrontation with a large-scale attack of the Persian King Xerxes in 480 BC, which relied equally on land and naval forces, triggered fundamental changes in Greek thinking about war. Although Xerxes' declared goal was the conquest of Greece, revenge on Athens for its support of a revolt of Anatolia's Greeks in 499 and for its defeat of a Persian army at Marathon in 490 figured high on the Great King's agenda. The Athenians thus rightly considered themselves a primary target of the Persian attack. To ward it off, they built a large fleet of specialised warships and in a short time became a leading naval power themselves. Together with allied contingents, this fleet achieved a famously spectacular victory at Salamis in 480. Over the next decades, three factors contributed to bringing about a veritable revolution in Greek warfare. These factors were the introduction of large-scale naval warfare, the hegemonial and soon imperial rivalry between the two leading Greek states, Athens and Sparta, and the expansionist and imperialist foreign policy pursued by Athenian democracy. These developments resulted in an extraordinary politicisation and militarisation of Athenian society, and increasingly frequent, ubiquitous, long-lasting and brutal wars among Greek states and alliance-systems. These wars continued in various combinations until Philip II of Macedon and his son Alexander the Great defeated a Greek coalition at Chaeronea in 338 and imposed their hegemony and *de facto* rule over the hitherto independent world of multiple Greek *poleis* ('city-states').

The profound changes in warfare that the Greek world, and particularly Athens, experienced in the fifth and fourth centuries, their causes and their consequences have long been explored from many possible angles. Nevertheless the less glamorous and much more tedious task of

reconstructing the practical underpinnings of these military developments and the nuts and bolts that held the system together has not been tackled systematically for an equally long time. To fill the gap is this book's goal. David M. Pritchard applies to this task the recipe that helped him produce, in *Public Spending and Democracy in Classical Athens* (2015), a highly informative and compelling analysis of the financial operations and spending patterns of Athenian democracy. This recipe is based on asking and answering elementary questions, such as: How did the Athenians do it, how did their military system develop and how did it work, and how did they organise, administer and finance their armed forces? What were the components of these forces, who manned them, and how was it determined who had to fight and in what branch? How were the leaders or officers selected and what were their duties? The success of these armed forces, however, did not depend only on organisational and administrative structures; it also relied on the active engagement and continuing support of the citizens of all classes who in democracy made decisions on all aspects of the military and war, and supplied the main source of manpower needed to fight the wars. Hence other elementary questions that Pritchard asks concern the attitudes of these citizens toward the ongoing military changes, their reaction to the newly important role of the naval crews (especially in contrast to the more traditional infantry and cavalry forces), their sentiments about war and peace, and about the relation between sports and war. Finally, war, empire and democracy imposed profound changes on Athenian society, its composition, the economy, the people's working and living patterns and their culture. As simple as all this sounds, the execution of such a programme is highly complex. Answers even to basic questions are often difficult to find because the evidence, though exceptionally rich in comparison to other places or periods, is still scarce and fragmentary, and to the Athenian authors whom we read these matters were often obvious, commonly known and thus not worthy of explanation or elaboration.

The questions mentioned above are only a small selection among those that are addressed in the present book. Out of the answers Pritchard forms a colourful and detailed mosaic, a veritable analytical and critical encyclopedia of democratic Athens' armed forces, grouped around a few main themes: democracy at war, the development and organisation of the armed forces, the naval revolution in public perception, the costs and financing of war, war's impact on society, and sport and war. Having worked, since the beginning of his career, on Athenian democracy and war, Pritchard probably is by now the foremost expert on this large and

Foreword

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complex set of issues. His analysis, building on and rounding out his previous work, integrates a rich array of ancient sources and a vast scope of modern scholarship. His discussions of gaps and contradictions in the evidence and of intense debates among scholars are illuminating, and the solutions he offers are plausible and, in most cases, compelling. In summing all this up in one book, Pritchard renders a true service to students and teachers, interested general readers and scholars alike. It is easy to predict that this book will quickly become an indispensable standard work on a centrally important topic of the military, social and political history of the ancient world.

Kurt A. Raaflaub
Brown University

Preface

Classical Athens is famous for a highly developed direct democracy and a truly innovative culture. Less well known is this state's record of military success. In classical times Athens transformed warfare and became the eastern Mediterranean's superpower. This book investigates the major reasons behind this remarkable record. The first reason was simply the sheer number of Athenians. With a larger population than nearly every other Greek state, Athens could deploy larger forces and develop more military corps. This book investigates how the Athenians organised each of their four military branches, recruited corps members and mobilised them for battle. It provides a new explanation for why citizens of different socio-economic levels chose service in different branches. There is a good case that the second major reason for Athens' military record was democracy itself. The rigorous public debates that Athenian *dēmokratia* supported reduced the number of ill-considered wars and encouraged military reforms. Direct democracy also gave non-elite Athenians real cultural power. In the pro-war culture that they created, waging war was the state's topmost priority. In this popular culture sailors were esteemed as highly as hoplites. Indeed this book puts beyond doubt that each group was viewed as courageous as the other. Such cultural militarism encouraged the non-elite citizens regularly to wage wars and to fight in them in ever-greater numbers.

This pro-war culture also had a big impact on other public activities. The Athenians conceived of sport and war as comparable. They believed that sportsmen exhibited courage just as hoplites and sailors did. Consequently their high regard for war translated into pro-sport policies. It led them to see victory at Panhellenic games as valuable as victory on the battlefield. In the fifth century imperial income was the third major reason for Athenian military predominance. This income allowed the Athenians to employ vast numbers of non-elite combatants and to pay for full-time specialist corps. My costings of public spending correct the long-standing misconception

that Athens spent more on festivals than wars. In the 420s it actually spent fifteen times more on wars than it did on worshipping the gods. Even in times of peace the armed forces cost more than all other public activities combined. This huge military spending was largely responsible for making Greek warfare reliant on public finance.

This book publishes or summarises all my research on Athenian war-making in the last 15 years. This has ranged from what the Athenians did on the battlefield to the common practices and the democratic institutions that they employed for managing the armed forces. It has covered how non-elite Athenians conceived of war and their own military service. In bringing all this work together, the book furnishes a multifaceted account of the almost non-stop war-making that the fifth- and fourth-century Athenians conducted. Roughly half of the book's extent is published here for the first time. I began working on the new chapters, from mid-2014, as Visiting Scholar in Greek History at Brown University. Sincere thanks go to P. Nieto, who was my formal sponsor, and her colleagues, D. Boedeker, G. J. Oliver, J. Hanink, S. E. Kidd and D. Konstan for involving me in their seminars and for the valuable discussions that we all had. The writing-up started, when I was, from the start of 2015, Research Fellow in Durham University's Institute of Advanced Study. I am most grateful to E. M. Harris, who sponsored the application for this fellowship, as well as A. Petrovic and I. Petrovic for their tremendous generosity. I completed this book's new material as Research Fellow, from mid-2015, at the Institute for Advanced Study at the University of Strasbourg. I remain indebted to D. Lenfant for sponsoring this fellowship application. She, along with E. Foster, A. Jacquemin, C. Landau and L. Pernot, were wonderful colleagues during this year-long fellowship.

I have thoroughly revised and, in the case of several chapters, significantly expanded the previously published material. I sincerely thank the editors who are allowing me to re-publish it. A much shorter version of Chapter 1 was published as Pritchard 2015b. Section 2.3 has been published as Pritchard 2018b, while Section 2.4 is Pritchard 2018a. An early version of Chapter 4 appeared as Pritchard 2016b. This chapter is a summary of Pritchard 2015d. Chapter 5 comes from Pritchard 2015d: 91–9. The earliest version was published as Pritchard 2007. Chapter 6 was first published as Pritchard 2015c. Chapter 7 summarises Pritchard 2013. It appeared earlier as Pritchard 2016c. Chapter 8 builds on Pritchard 2013: 75–82. A shorter version was published as Pritchard 2012d.

I am no less indebted to others. I thank the Nicholas Anthony Aroney Trust, which, for a fifth time, gave me a grant for finishing

Preface

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Unless it is otherwise indicated, all of the book's translations are my own.

Abbreviations

Ancient Authors and Works

Ael.	Aelian
<i>VH</i>	<i>Varia Historia (Various History)</i>
Aesch.	Aeschylus
<i>Ag.</i>	<i>Agamemnon</i>
<i>Pers.</i>	<i>Persae (Persians)</i>
<i>PV</i>	<i>Prometheus Vincitus (Prometheus Bound)</i>
<i>Sept.</i>	<i>Septem contra Thebes (Seven against Thebes)</i>
Aeschin.	Aeschines
Andoc.	Andocides
[Andoc.]	Pseudo-Andocides
<i>Anth. Pal.</i>	<i>Anthologia Palatine (Palatine Anthology)</i>
Antiph.	Antiphon
Apollod.	Apollodorus
<i>Bibl.</i>	<i>Bibliotheca (Library)</i>
<i>Epit.</i>	<i>Epitome</i>
Ar.	Aristophanes
<i>Ach.</i>	<i>Acharnenses (Acharnians)</i>
<i>Av.</i>	<i>Aves (Birds)</i>
<i>Eccl.</i>	<i>Ecclesiazusae (Assemblywomen)</i>
<i>Eq.</i>	<i>Equites (Knights)</i>
<i>Lys.</i>	<i>Lysistrata</i>
<i>Nub.</i>	<i>Nubes (Clouds)</i>
<i>Pax</i>	<i>Pax (Peace)</i>
<i>Plut.</i>	<i>Plutus (Wealth)</i>
<i>Thesm.</i>	<i>Thesmophoriazusae (Women Celebrating the Thesmophoria)</i>
<i>Ran.</i>	<i>Ranae (Frogs)</i>
<i>Vesp.</i>	<i>Vespae (Wasps)</i>

Arist.	Aristotle
<i>Poet.</i>	<i>Poetica</i> (<i>Poetics</i>)
<i>Pol.</i>	<i>Politica</i> (<i>Politics</i>)
<i>Rh.</i>	<i>Rhetorica</i> (<i>Rhetoric</i>)
[Arist.]	Pseudo-Aristotle
<i>Ath. Pol.</i>	<i>Athenaion Politeia</i> (<i>Constitution of the Athenians</i>)
<i>Oec.</i>	<i>Oeconomica</i> (<i>Economics</i>)
Ath.	Athenaeus
Dem.	Demosthenes
[Dem.]	Pseudo-Demosthenes
Din.	Dinarchus
Diod. Sic.	Diodorus Siculus
Diog. Laert.	Diogenes Laertius
Eup.	Eupolis
Eur.	Euripides
<i>Alc.</i>	<i>Alcestis</i>
<i>Andr.</i>	<i>Andromache</i>
<i>Bacch.</i>	<i>Bacchae</i>
<i>Cyc.</i>	<i>Cyclops</i>
<i>El.</i>	<i>Electra</i>
<i>Hel.</i>	<i>Helen</i>
<i>Heracl.</i>	<i>Heraclidae</i> (<i>Children of Heracles</i>)
<i>HF</i>	<i>Hercules Furens</i> (<i>Heracles</i>)
<i>IA</i>	<i>Iphigenia Aulidensis</i> (<i>Iphigenia at Aulis</i>)
<i>IT</i>	<i>Iphigenia Taurica</i> (<i>Iphigenia among the Taurians</i>)
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orestes</i>
<i>Phoen.</i>	<i>Phoenissae</i> (<i>Phoenician Women</i>)
<i>Rhes.</i>	<i>Rhesus</i>
<i>Supp.</i>	<i>Supplices</i> (<i>Suppliant Women</i>)
<i>Tro.</i>	<i>Troades</i> (<i>Trojan Women</i>)
Frontin.	Frontinus
<i>Str.</i>	<i>Strategemata</i>
Harp.	Harpocration
Hdt.	Herodotus
<i>Hell. Oxy.</i>	<i>Hellenica Oxyrhynchia</i>
Hom.	Homer
<i>Il.</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
<i>Ody.</i>	<i>Odyssey</i>
Hor.	Horace
<i>Ars P.</i>	<i>Ars Poetica</i> (<i>The Art of Poetry</i>)

List of Abbreviations

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Hyp.	Hyperides
Isae.	Isaeus
Isoc.	Isocrates
Lycurg.	Lycurgus
Lys.	Lysias
[Lys.]	Pseudo-Lysias
Men.	Menander
<i>Dys.</i>	<i>Dyskolos (Bad-Tempered Man)</i>
Nep.	Nepos
<i>Milt.</i>	<i>Miltiades</i>
<i>Timoth.</i>	<i>Timotheus</i>
Paus.	Pausanias
Pind.	Pindar
<i>Isthm.</i>	<i>Isthmian Odes</i>
<i>Nem.</i>	<i>Nemean Odes</i>
<i>Ol.</i>	<i>Olympian Odes</i>
<i>Pyth.</i>	<i>Pythian Odes</i>
Pl.	Plato
<i>Alc.</i>	<i>Alcibiades</i>
<i>Ap.</i>	<i>Apologia (Apology)</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistolae (Epistles)</i>
<i>Euthphr.</i>	<i>Euthyphro</i>
<i>Grg.</i>	<i>Gorgias</i>
<i>Lach.</i>	<i>Laches</i>
<i>Leg.</i>	<i>Leges (Laws)</i>
<i>Menex.</i>	<i>Menexenus</i>
<i>Plt.</i>	<i>Politicus</i>
<i>Prt.</i>	<i>Protagoras</i>
<i>Resp.</i>	<i>Respublica (Republic)</i>
Plut.	Plutarch
<i>De glor. Ath.</i>	<i>De gloria Atheniensium (On the Glory of Athens)</i>
<i>Mor.</i>	<i>Moralia</i>
<i>Vit. Ages.</i>	<i>Agesilaus</i>
<i>Vit. Alc.</i>	<i>Alcibiades</i>
<i>Vit. Arist.</i>	<i>Aristides</i>
<i>Vit. Cim.</i>	<i>Cimon</i>
<i>Vit. Lyc.</i>	<i>Lycurgus</i>
<i>Vit. Lys.</i>	<i>Lysander</i>
<i>Vit. Nic.</i>	<i>Nicias</i>
<i>Vit. Pel.</i>	<i>Pelopidas</i>

<i>Vit. Per.</i>	<i>Pericles</i>
<i>Vit. Sol.</i>	<i>Solon</i>
<i>Vit. Them.</i>	<i>Themistocles</i>
Poll.	Pollux
Theophr.	Theophrastus
<i>Char.</i>	<i>Characteres (Characters)</i>
Thuc.	Thucydides
Soph.	Sophocles
<i>Aj.</i>	<i>Ajax</i>
<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Antigone</i>
<i>Ich.</i>	<i>Ichneutae (Trackers)</i>
<i>OC</i>	<i>Oedipus Coloneus (Oedipus at Colonus)</i>
<i>Phil.</i>	<i>Philoctetes</i>
Xen.	Xenophon
<i>An.</i>	<i>Anabasis (The March Up Country)</i>
<i>Cyn.</i>	<i>Cynegeticus (On Hunting)</i>
<i>Cyr.</i>	<i>Cyropaedia (The Education of Cyrus)</i>
<i>Eq. Mag.</i>	<i>De equitum magistro (On the Cavalry Commander)</i>
<i>Hell.</i>	<i>Hellenica</i>
<i>Lac.</i>	<i>Respublica Lacedaemoniorum (Constitution of the Spartans)</i>
<i>Mem.</i>	<i>Memorabilia</i>
<i>Vect.</i>	<i>De Vectigalibus (Ways and Means)</i>
[Xen.]	Pseudo-Xenophon
<i>Ath. Pol.</i>	<i>Athenaion Politeia (Constitution of the Athenians)</i>

Editions and Compilations of Ancient Sources

Carey	C. Carey, ed., <i>Lysiae Orationes cum Fragmentis</i> . Oxford, 2007.
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . Berlin, 1873–.
<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby, ed. and comm., <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Berlin, 1923–58.
Kassel and Austin	R. Kassel and C. Austin, eds., <i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> . Berlin, 1983–2001.
Lloyd-Jones	H. Lloyd-Jones, ed. and trans., <i>Sophocles</i> , 3 vols. Cambridge, MA, 1994–6.
ML	R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, ed. and comm., <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century</i> . Oxford, 1969.

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RO	P. J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, eds., comm. and trans., <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC</i> . Oxford, 2003.
Rose	V. Rose, ed. <i>Aristotelis Qui Ferebantur Librorum Fragmenta</i> . Leipzig, 1886.
Snell, Kannicht and Radt	B. Snell, R. Kannicht and S. Radt, eds., <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , 5 vols. Göttingen, 1971–2004.
Thalheim	T. Thalheim, ed., <i>Antiphon: Orationes et Fragmenta</i> . Leipzig, 1914.
West	M. L. West, ed., <i>Iambi et Elegi Graeci</i> . 2 vols. Oxford, 1989 and 1992.

Journal Abbreviations

AC	<i>L'antiquité classique</i>
AH	<i>Ancient History</i>
AHB	<i>Ancient History Bulletin</i>
AJAH	<i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>
AJPh	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AncW	<i>The Ancient World</i>
ASAA	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
CJ	<i>Classical Journal</i>
C&M	<i>Classica et medievalia</i>
CLAnt	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
CPh	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CR	<i>Classical Review</i>
EMC	<i>Échos du monde classique (Classical Views)</i>
G&R	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
IJNA	<i>International Journal of Nautical Archaeology</i>
JDAI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
MDAI(A)	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
MediterrAnt	<i>Mediterraneo antico</i>
PCPhS	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>

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List of Abbreviations

P&P

Past and Present

REG

Revue des études grecques

SO

Symbolae Osloenses

TAPhA

Transactions of the American Philological Association

ZPE

Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik