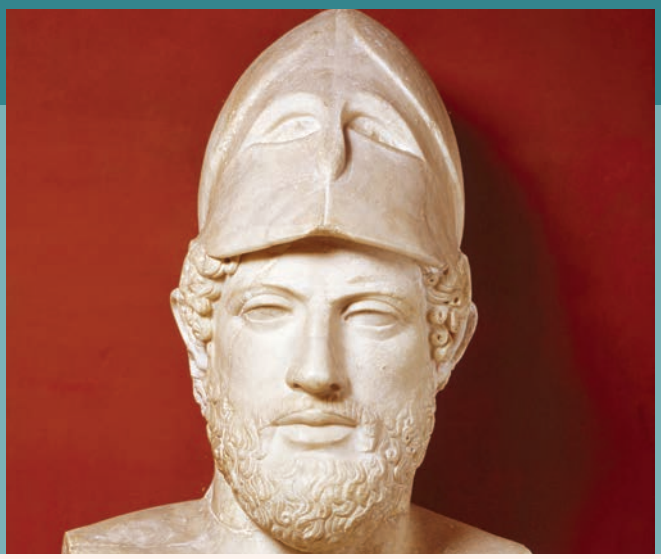
CHAPTER 3

The Civilization of the Greeks



Scala/Art Resource, NY

IMAGE 3.1 **A Bust of Pericles**

CHAPTER OUTLINE AND FOCUS QUESTIONS

3-1 Early Greece

Q How did geography affect Greek political, military, and economic developments?

3-2 The Greeks in a Dark Age (ca. 1100–750 B.C.E.)

Q Why do some scholars refer to the period from 1100 to 750 B.C.E. as the Greek Dark Age? Who was Homer, and why was his work used as the basis for Greek education?

3-3 The World of the Greek City-States (ca. 750–500 B.C.E.)

Q What were the chief features of the polis, or city-state, and how did the major city-states of Athens and Sparta differ? What were the effects of expansion and the role of tyranny in the Greek polis?

3-4 The High Point of Greek Civilization: Classical Greece

Q What did the Greeks mean by democracy, and in what ways was the Athenian political system a democracy? What effect did the Persian Wars have on Greek military and political developments? What effect did the Great Peloponnesian War have on Greek economic, military, and political developments?

3-5 Culture and Society of Classical Greece

Q Upon what ideals were Classical Greek art, drama, and religion based, and how were these ideals expressed? What questions did the Greek philosophers pose, and what answers did they suggest? What are the chief features of daily life in Classical Athens?

CONNECTIONS TO TODAY

What are the similarities and differences between ancient Athenian democracy and modern U.S. democracy?

IN 431 B.C.E., WAR ERUPTED IN GREECE as two dramatically different Greek city-states—Athens and Sparta—fought for domination of the Greek world. The people of Athens felt secure behind their walls and in the first winter of the war held a public funeral to honor those who had died in battle. On the day of the ceremony, the citizens of Athens joined in a procession, with the relatives of the dead wailing for their loved ones. As was the custom in Athens, one leading citizen was asked to address the crowd, and on this day it was Pericles who spoke to the people. He talked about the greatness of Athens and reminded the Athenians of the strength of their political system. "Our constitution," he said, "is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority but of the whole people. When it is a question of settling private disputes, everyone is equal before the law. Just as our political life is free and open, so is our day-to-day life in our relations with each other. . . . Here each individual is interested not only in his own affairs but in the affairs of the state as well."

In this famous funeral oration, Pericles gave voice to the ideal of democracy and the importance of the individual. It was the Greeks who created the intellectual foundations of our Western heritage. They asked some basic questions about human life that still dominate our own intellectual pursuits: What is the nature of the universe? What is the purpose of human existence? What is our relationship to divine forces? What constitutes

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a community? What constitutes a state? What is true education? What are the true sources of law? What is truth itself, and how do we realize it? The Greeks not only provided answers to these questions but also created a system of logical, analytical thought to examine them. This rational outlook has remained an important feature of Western civilization.

The story of ancient Greek civilization is a remarkable one that begins with the first arrival of the Greeks around 2000 B.C.E. By the eighth century B.C.E., the characteristic institution of ancient Greek life, the **polis** (POH-liss), or city-state, had emerged. Greek civilization flourished and reached its height in the classical era of the fifth century B.C.E., which has come to be closely identified with the achievements of Athenian democracy.

3-1 Early Greece

FOCUS QUESTION: How did geography affect Greek political, military, and economic developments?

Geography played an important role in the evolution of Greek history. Unlike the landmasses of Mesopotamia and Egypt, Greece occupied a small area, a mountainous peninsula that encompassed only 45,000 square miles of territory, about the size of the state of Louisiana. The mountains and the sea played especially significant roles in the development of Greek history. Much of Greece consists of small plains and river valleys surrounded by mountain ranges 8,000 to 10,000 feet high. The mountainous terrain had the effect of isolating Greeks from one another. Consequently, Greek communities tended to follow their own separate paths and develop their own way of life. Over a period of time, these communities became attached to their independence and were only too willing to fight one another to gain advantage. No doubt the small size of these independent Greek communities fostered participation in political affairs and unique cultural expressions, but the rivalry among these communities also led to the bitter warfare that ultimately devastated Greek society.

The sea also influenced the evolution of Greek society. Greece had a long seacoast dotted by bays and inlets that provided numerous harbors. The Greeks also inhabited a number of islands to the west, the south, and particularly the east of the Greek mainland. It is no accident that the Greeks became seafarers who sailed out into the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas, first to make contact with the outside world and later to establish colonies that would spread Greek civilization throughout the Mediterranean region.

Topography helped to determine the major territories into which Greece was ultimately divided. South of the Gulf of Corinth was the Peloponnesus (pel-uh-puh-NEE-suss), which was virtually an island (see Map 3.1). Consisting mostly of hills, mountains, and small valleys, the Peloponnesus was the location of Sparta as well as the site of Olympia, where athletic games were held. Northeast of the Peloponnesus was the Attic peninsula (or Attica), the home of Athens, hemmed in by mountains to the north and west and surrounded by the sea to the south and east. Northwest of Attica was Boeotia (bee-OH-shuh) in central Greece, with its chief city of Thebes (THEEBZ). To the north of Boeotia was Thessaly, which contained the largest plains and became a great producer of grain and horses. To the north of Thessaly lay Macedonia, which was not of much importance in Greek history until 338 B.C.E., when a Macedonian king, Philip II, conquered the Greeks.

3-1a Minoan Crete

The earliest civilization in the Aegean region emerged on the large island of Crete, southeast of the Greek mainland. A Bronze Age civilization that used metals, especially bronze, in making weapons had been established there by 2700 B.C.E. This forgotten civilization was rediscovered at the turn of the twentieth century by the English archaeologist Arthur Evans, who named it Minoan (mih-NOH-uhn) after Minos (MY-nuss), a legendary king of Crete. In language and religion, the Minoans were not Greek, although they did have some influence on the peoples of the Greek mainland. The Minoans created a relatively advanced society as evidenced by use of a writing system in their records known as Linear A, which has not yet been deciphered.

Evans's excavations on Crete led to the discovery of what he labeled an enormous palace complex at Knossus (NOSS-suss), near modern Heraklion, that was most likely the center of a far-ranging "sea empire," probably largely commercial. We know from archaeological remains that the people of Minoan Crete witnessed a major development in the use of sailing ships that could cover longer distances and carry more cargo. The Minoans used clay containers to store and transport Cretan olive oil and wine. They made contact with the more advanced civilization of Egypt. Egyptian products have been found in Crete and Cretan products in Egypt. Minoan Cretans also made contact with and exerted influence on the Greek-speaking inhabitants of the Greek mainland.

The Minoan civilization reached its height between 2000 and 1450 B.C.E. The palace at Knossus demonstrates the prosperity and power of this civilization. It was an elaborate structure built around a central courtyard and included numerous private living rooms and workshops for making decorated vases, small sculptures, and jewelry. The complex even included bathrooms with elaborate drains. The rooms were decorated with frescoes in bright colors that depicted sporting events and naturalistic scenes that have led some observers to conclude that the Cretans had a great love of nature. Moreover, some historians have speculated that the presence of both men and women in these frescoes point to a rough equality between men and women, a position that would be unique in the ancient world (see Image 3.2). Storerooms in the

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MAP 3.1 Ancient Greece (ca. 750–338 B.C.E.). Between 750 and 500 B.C.E., Greek civilization witnessed the emergence of the city-state as the central institution in Greek life and the Greeks' colonization of the Mediterranean and Black Seas. Classical Greece lasted from about 500 to 338 B.C.E. and encompassed the high points of Greek civilization in art, science, philosophy, and politics, as well as the Persian Wars and the Peloponnesian War.

How does the geography of Greece help to explain the rise and development of the Greek city-state?



Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

IMAGE 3.2 The Minoan Sport of Bull Leaping. Minoan bull games were held in the great palaces on the island of Crete. As seen in this fresco from the east wing of the palace at Knossus, both women and men (the man in red) acrobatically somersaulted over the back of the bull. Another person waited behind the bull to catch the leapers.

What might the emphasis on bull games tell you about the Cretan economy?

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palace held enormous jars of oil, wine, and grain, presumably paid as taxes to the rulers. Some of the large courtyards were used for great communal feasts for the elite.

Eventually, however, the centers of Minoan civilization on Crete collapsed. Some historians once believed that a tsunami triggered by a powerful volcanic eruption on the island of Thera was responsible for destroying towns and ships on the north coast of Crete, but the latest dating of that eruption places it in the seventeenth century B.C.E. There is evidence that mainland Greeks known as the Mycenaeans invaded and pillaged many centers, including Knossus, which was destroyed around 1400 B.C.E. However, Knossus was soon rebuilt and made the chief administrative center on Crete for the Mycenaeans.



MAP 3.2 **Minoan Crete and Mycenaean Greece**

3-1b The First Greek State: Mycenae

The term *Mycenaean* (my-suh-NEE-un) is derived from Mycenae (my-SEE-nee), a remarkable fortified site first excavated by the amateur German archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann (HYN-rikh SHLEE-mahn). Mycenae was one center in a Mycenaean Greek civilization that flourished between 1600 and 1100 B.C.E. (see Map 3.2). The Mycenaean Greeks were part of the Indo-European family of peoples (see Chapter 1) who spread from their original Central Asian location into southern and western Europe, India, and Iran. One group entered the territory of Greece from the north around 1900 B.C.E. and managed to gain control of the Greek mainland and develop a civilization.

Mycenaean civilization, which reached its high point between 1400 and 1200 B.C.E., consisted of a number of powerful monarchies centered in fortified palace complexes. Like Mycenae itself, the palaces were built on hills and surrounded by gigantic stone walls. The royal families lived within the walls of these complexes, while the civilian populations lived in scattered locations outside the walls.

These various centers of power probably formed a loose confederacy of independent states, with Mycenae being the strongest. According to tablets written in an early form of Greek script called Linear B, a Mycenaean king used the title of *wanax*. Next in importance to the king were commanders of the army, priests, and bureaucrats who kept careful records. The free citizenry included peasants, soldiers, and artisans, with the lowest rung of the social ladder consisting of serfs and slaves.

The Mycenaeans were above all a warrior people who prided themselves on their heroic deeds in battle (see Image 3.3). Archaeological evidence also indicates that the Mycenaean monarchies developed an extensive commercial network. Mycenaean pottery has been found throughout the Mediterranean basin, in Syria and Egypt to the east and Sicily and southern Italy to the west. But some scholars believe that the Mycenaeans, led by Mycenae itself, also spread outward militarily, conquering Crete and making it part of the Mycenaean world. Some of the Aegean islands also fell subject to Mycenaean control. The most famous of all the Mycenaeans' supposed military adventures has come down to us from the epic poetry of Homer (discussed in the next section). Did the Mycenaeans, led by Agamemnon, king of Mycenae, sack the city of Troy on the northwestern coast of Asia Minor around 1250 B.C.E.? Scholars have debated this question ever since Schliemann began his excavations in 1870. Some believe that Homer's account does have a basis in fact, although there is little archaeological evidence to support it.

By the late thirteenth century B.C.E., Mycenaean Greece was showing signs of serious trouble for two reasons. First, earthquakes and possibly severe drought caused widespread damage. Second, there is evidence of attacks from without. Mycenae itself was torched around 1190 B.C.E., and other Mycenaean centers show similar patterns of destruction as new waves of Greek-speaking invaders moved into Greece from the north. By 1100 B.C.E., the Mycenaean culture was coming to an end, and the Greek world was entering a new period of considerable insecurity.



Pair of Lions, relief on Lion Gate, 1300 BC, Mycenae (UNESCO World Heritage List, 1999), Greece, Mycenaean civilization, 14th century BC/DE AGOSTINI EDITORE/Bridgeman Images

IMAGE 3.3 **Pair of Lions at the Lion Gate, Mycenae.** The Lion Gate was the chief entryway into the citadel at Mycenae and was a rare piece of monumental sculpture in Mycenaean Greece. It was formed by two standing monoliths that supported a huge lintel topped by two lion sculptures facing a column, as shown here in this photo.

What do you think is the significance of the two lions?

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3-2 The Greeks in a Dark Age (ca. 1100–750 B.C.E.)

FOCUS QUESTIONS: Why do some scholars refer to the period from 1100 to 750 B.C.E as the Greek Dark Age? Who was Homer, and why was his work used as the basis for Greek education?

After the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization, Greece entered a difficult period in which population declined and food production dropped. Because of the difficult conditions and our lack of knowledge about the period, historians refer to it as the Dark Age, but many historians now view it more as a period of transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age in Greece. Iron replaced bronze in the construction of weapons, making them affordable for more people. And farming tools made of iron helped reverse the decline in food production and led to a revival of farming by 850 B.C.E. At the same time, other new developments were forming the basis for a revived Greece.

During this transitional period, large numbers of Greeks left the mainland and migrated across the Aegean Sea to various islands and especially to the southwestern shore of Asia Minor, a strip of territory that came to be called Ionia (y-OH-nee-uh). Based on their dialect, the Greeks who resided there were called Ionians. Two other major groups of Greeks settled in established parts of Greece. The Aeolian (ee-OH-lee-un) Greeks, located in northern and central Greece, colonized the large island of Lesbos and the adjacent territory on the northwestern coast of Asia Minor. The Dorians (DOR-ee-unz) established themselves in southwestern Greece, especially in the Peloponnesus, as well as on some of the southern Aegean islands, including Crete and Rhodes.

Other important activities occurred in this period as well. Beginning around 1050 B.C.E., a new way of decorating pottery known as Geometric provides some indication of more settled conditions in parts of Greece. Greece also saw a revival of some trade and economic activity in addition to agriculture. At some point in the eighth century B.C.E., the Greeks adopted the Phoenician alphabet to give themselves a new system of writing. By reducing all words to a combination of twenty-four letters, the Greeks made learning to read and write simpler. Finally, near the end of this Dark Age appeared the work of Homer, who has come to be viewed as one of the great poets of all time.

3-2a Homer and Homeric Greece

The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey,* the first great epic poems of early Greece, were based on stories that had been passed on from generation to generation. It is generally assumed that early in the eighth century B.C.E., Homer made use of these oral traditions to compose the *Iliad,* his epic of the Trojan War. The war was sparked by Paris, a prince of Troy. By kidnapping Helen, wife of the king of the Greek state of Sparta, he outraged all the Greeks. Under the leadership of the Spartan king's brother, Agamemnon of Mycenae, the Greeks attacked Troy. Ten years later, the Greeks finally won and sacked the city (see Image 3.4).

But the *Iliad* is not so much the story of the war itself as it is the tale of the Greek hero Achilles (uh-KIL-eez) and how the "wrath of Achilles" led to disaster. As is true of all great literature, the *Iliad* abounds in universal lessons. Underlying them all is the clear message, as one commentator has observed, that "men will still come and go like the generations of leaves in the forest; that [man] will still be weak, and the gods strong and incalculable; that the quality of a man matters more than his achievement; that violence and recklessness will still lead to disaster, and that this will fall on the innocent as well as on the guilty."[1]



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IMAGE 3.4 The Slaying of Hector. This scene from a late-fifth-century B.C.E. Athenian vase depicts the final battle between Achilles and the Trojan hero Hector. Achilles is shown lunging forward with his spear to deliver the fatal blow to the Trojan prince, a scene taken from Homer's *Iliad*. The *Iliad* is one of Homer's masterpieces and was important to later Greeks as a means of teaching the aristocratic values of courage and honor.

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HISTORICAL VOICES

Homer's Ideal of Excellence

What important ideals for Greek men and women are revealed in this passage from the Iliad?

THE *ILIAD* AND THE *ODYSSEY*, epics that the Greeks believed were written by Homer, were used as basic texts for educating Greeks for hundreds of years in antiquity. This passage from the *Iliad*, describing a conversation between Hector, prince of Troy, and his wife, Andromache (an-DRAHM-uh-kee), illustrates the Greek ideal of gaining honor through combat. At the end of the passage, Homer also reveals what became the Greek attitude toward women: women are supposed to spin and weave and take care of their households and their children.

Homer, *Iliad*

Hector looked at his son and smiled, but said nothing. Andromache, bursting into tears, went up to him and put her hand in his. "Hector," she said, "you are possessed. This bravery of yours will be your end. You do not think of your little boy or your unhappy wife, whom you will make a widow soon. Some day the Achaeans [Greeks] are bound to kill you in a massed attack. And when I lose you I might as well be dead. . . . I have no father, no mother, now. . . . I had seven brothers too at home. In one day all of them went down to Hades' House. The great Achilles of the swift feet killed them all. . . .

"So you, Hector, are father and mother and brother to me, as well as my beloved husband. Have pity on me now; stay here on the tower; and do not make your boy an orphan and your wife a widow. . . ."

"All that, my dear," said the great Hector of the glittering helmet, "is surely my concern. But if I hid myself like a coward and refused to fight, I could never face the Trojans and the Trojan ladies in their trailing gowns. Besides, it would go against the grain, for I have trained myself always, like a good soldier, to take my place in the front line and win glory for my father and myself. . . ."

As he finished, glorious Hector held out his arms to take his boy. But the child shrank back with a cry to the bosom of his girdled nurse, alarmed by his father's appearance. He was frightened by the bronze of the helmet and the horsehair plume that he saw nodding grimly down at him. His father and his lady mother had to laugh. But noble Hector quickly took his helmet off and put the dazzling thing on the ground. Then he kissed his son, dandled him in his arms, and prayed to Zeus and the other gods: "Zeus, and you other gods, grant that this boy of mine may be, like me, preeminent in Troy; as strong and brave as I; a mighty king of Ilium. May people say, when he comes back from battle, 'Here is a better man than his father.' Let him bring home the bloodstained armor of the enemy he has killed, and make his mother happy."

Hector handed the boy to his wife, who took him to her fragrant breast. She was smiling through her tears, and when her husband saw this he was moved. He stroked her with his hand and said: "My dear, I beg you not to be too much distressed. No one is going to send me down to Hades before my proper time. But Fate is a thing that no man born of woman, coward or hero, can escape. Go home now, and attend to your own work, the loom and the spindle, and see that the maidservants get on with theirs. War is men's business; and this war is the business of every man in Ilium, myself above all."

Source: Homer, the *Iliad*, trans. E. V. Rieu (London: Penguin Classics, 1950; revised translation 2003).

The *Odyssey*, Homer's other masterpiece, is an epic romance that recounts the journeys of one of the Greek heroes, Odysseus (oh-DISS-ee-uss), after the fall of Troy and his ultimate return to his wife. But there is a larger vision here as well: the testing of the heroic stature of Odysseus until, by both cunning and patience, he prevails. In the course of this testing, the underlying moral message is "that virtue is a better policy than vice."[2]

Although the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* supposedly deal with the heroes of the Mycenaean age of the thirteenth century B.C.E., many scholars believe that they really describe the social conditions of the transitional period from the Bronze to the Iron Age. According to the Homeric view, Greece was a society based on agriculture in which a landed warrior-aristocracy controlled much wealth and exercised considerable power. Homer's world reflects the values of aristocratic heroes.

3-2b Homer's Enduring Importance

This, of course, explains the importance of Homer to later generations of Greeks. Homer did not record history; he made it. The Greeks regarded the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as authentic history as recorded by one poet, Homer. These masterpieces gave the Greeks an ideal past with a cast of heroes and came to be used as standard texts for the education of generations of Greek males. As one Athenian stated, "My father was anxious to see me develop into a good man . . . and as a means to this end he compelled me to memorize all of Homer."[3] The values Homer taught were essentially the aristocratic values of courage and honor (see Historical Voices, "Homer's Ideal of Excellence," above). A hero strives for excellence, which the Greeks called *arete* (ahr-ih-TAY). In the warrior-aristocratic world of Homer, arete is won in a struggle or contest. Through his willingness to fight,

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the hero protects his family and friends, preserves his own honor and that of his family, and earns his reputation.

In the Homeric world, aristocratic women were also expected to pursue excellence. Penelope, for example, the wife of Odysseus, the hero of the *Odyssey*, remains faithful to her husband and displays great courage and intelligence in preserving their household during her husband's long absence. Upon his return, Odysseus praises her for her excellence: "Madame, there is not a man in the wide world who could find fault with you. For your fame has reached heaven itself, like that of some perfect king, ruling a populous and mighty state with the fear of god in his heart, and upholding the right."[4] Homer gave the Greeks a model of heroism, honor, and nobility. But in time, as a new world of city-states emerged and Greece became the first urban culture to emerge on the continent of Europe, new values of cooperation and community also transformed what the Greeks learned from Homer.

3-3 The World of the Greek City-States (ca. 750–500 B.C.E.)

FOCUS QUESTIONS: What were the chief features of the polis, or city-state, and how did the major city-states of Athens and Sparta differ? What were the effects of expansion and the role of tyranny in the Greek polis?

In the eighth century B.C.E., Greek civilization burst forth with new energies, beginning the period that historians have called the Archaic Age of Greece. Two major developments stand out in this era: the evolution of the polis, or city-state, as the central institution in Greek life and the movement of people from the Greek states into lands bordering the Mediterranean and Black Seas.

3-3a The Polis

The Greek polis (plural, *poleis*) developed slowly but by the eighth century B.C.E. had emerged as a unique and fundamental institution in Greek society. In a physical sense, the polis encompassed a town or city or even a village and its surrounding countryside. But each had a central place where the citizens of the polis could assemble for political, social, and religious activities. In some poleis, this central meeting point was a hill that could serve as a place of refuge during an attack and later in some locales came to be the religious center where temples and public monuments were erected. Below this *acropolis* (uh-KROP-uh-liss) would be an *agora* (AG-er-uh), an open space that served both as a place where citizens could assemble and as a marketplace.

Poleis varied greatly in size, from a few square miles to a few hundred square miles. The larger ones were the product of consolidation. The territory of Attica, for example, had once had twelve poleis but eventually became a single polis (Athens) through a process of amalgamation. The population of Athens grew to about 250,000 by the fifth century B.C.E. Most poleis were much smaller, consisting of only a few hundred to several thousand people.

Although our word *politics* is derived from the Greek term polis, the polis itself was much more than just a political institution. It was, above all, a community of citizens in which all political, economic, social, cultural, and religious activities were focused. As a community, the polis consisted of citizens with political rights (adult males), citizens with no political rights (women and children), and noncitizens (slaves and resident aliens). All citizens of a polis possessed rights, but these rights were coupled with responsibilities. The Greek philosopher Aristotle argued that the citizen did not belong just to himself: "We must rather regard every citizen as belonging to the state." The unity of citizens was important and often meant that states would take an active role in directing the patterns of life. This idea of citizenship created a Greek society that was quite different from the societies of the despotic states we have examined and was an important element in the Greeks' contribution to Western civilization.

Nevertheless, the loyalty that citizens had to their poleis also had a negative side. Poleis distrusted one another, and the division of Greece into fiercely patriotic sovereign units helped bring about its ruin. Greece was not a united country but a geographic location. The cultural unity of the Greeks did not mean much politically. And, as we shall see, it took until the sixth century B.C.E. for the Greeks to even begin establishing a common Greek identity.

A New Military System: The Greek Way of War As the polis developed, so did a new military system. In earlier times, wars in Greece had been fought by aristocratic cavalry—nobles on horseback. These aristocrats, who were large landowners, also dominated the political life of their poleis. But by the end of the eighth century, a new military order came into being that was based on **hoplites** (HAHP-lyts), heavily armed infantrymen who wore bronze or leather helmets, breastplates, and greaves (shin guards). Each carried a round shield, a short sword, and a thrusting spear about 9 feet long. Hoplites advanced into battle as a unit, shoulder to shoulder, forming a **phalanx** (a rectangular formation) in tight order, usually eight ranks deep (see Image 3.5). As long as the hoplites kept their order, were not outflanked, and did not break, they either secured victory or, at the very least, suffered no harm. The phalanx was easily routed, however, if it broke its order. The safety of the phalanx thus depended on the solidarity and discipline of its members. As one seventh-century B.C.E. poet observed, a good hoplite was "a short man firmly placed upon his legs, with a courageous heart, not to be uprooted from the spot where he plants his legs."[5]

The hoplite force, which apparently developed first in the Peloponnesus, had political as well as military repercussions. The aristocratic cavalry was now outdated. Since each hoplite provided his own armor, men of property, both aristocrats and small farmers, made up the new phalanx. Those who could become hoplites and fight for the state could also challenge aristocratic control. Thus, the development of the hoplite and

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IMAGE 3.5 The Hoplite Forces. The Greek hoplites were infantrymen equipped with large round shields and long thrusting spears. In battle, they advanced in tight phalanx formation and were dangerous opponents as long as this formation remained unbroken. This vase painting from the seventh century B.C.E. shows two groups of hoplite warriors engaged in battle. The piper on the left is leading another line of soldiers preparing to enter the fray.

Do you think the role of the piper was important? Why or why not?

phalanx became an important factor in the rise of democracy in Greece.

Some historians have questioned this idea of a hoplite revolution. They argue that early hoplites continued to be aristocrats because only they could afford the required equipment and only gradually did they recruit nonaristocrats to join their ranks. Others have argued that the phalanx developed gradually over the centuries and that the phalanx did not hold together nor crash into one another, arguing that there was no military revolution that led to a political revolution.

In the new world of the Greek city-states, war became an integral part of the Greek way of life. The Greek philosopher Plato described war as "always existing by nature between every Greek city-state."[6] The Greeks created a tradition of warfare that became a prominent element of Western civilization. For example, the Greeks devised excellent weapons and body armor, making effective use of technological improvements. Greek armies included a wide number of citizen-soldiers, who gladly accepted the need for training and discipline, giving them an edge over their opponents' often far-larger armies of mercenaries. Moreover, the Greeks displayed a willingness to engage the enemy head-on, thus deciding a battle quickly and with as few casualties as possible. Finally, the Greeks demonstrated the effectiveness of heavy infantry in determining the outcome of a battle. All of these features of Greek warfare remained part of Western warfare for centuries.

3-3b Greek Expansion and the Growth of Trade

Greek expansion overseas was another major development of the Archaic Age. Between 750 and 550 B.C.E., large numbers of Greeks from different city-states left their homeland to settle in distant lands. Poverty and land hunger created by the growing gulf between rich and poor and the development of trade were all factors that led to the establishment of colonies. Some Greek settlements were simply trading posts or centers for the transshipment of goods to Greece. Most were larger settlements that included fertile agricultural land taken from the native populations in those areas. Each colony was founded as a *polis* and was usually independent of the *metropolis* ("mother polis") that had established it.

In the western Mediterranean, new Greek settlements were established along the coastline of southern Italy, including the cities of Tarentum (Taranto) and Neapolis (Naples) (see Map 3.3). So many Greek communities were established in southern Italy that the Romans later called it *Magna Graecia* (MAG-nuh GREE-shuh) ("Great Greece"). An important city was founded at Syracuse in eastern Sicily in 734 B.C.E. by the

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MAP 3.3 Greece and Its Colonies in the Archaic Age. Impelled by a variety of factors, Greeks spread out from their homelands during the Archaic Age, establishing colonies in many parts of the Mediterranean. The colonies were independent city-states that traded with the older Greek city-states.

What aspects of the colonies' locations facilitated trade between them and city-states in Greece?

city-state of Corinth, one of the most active Greek states in establishing colonies. Greek settlements were also established in southern France at Massilia—modern Marseilles (mar-SAY)—in eastern Spain, and in northern Africa west of Egypt.

To the north, some Greek states set up colonies in Thrace, where they sought good agricultural lands to grow grains. Others also settled along the shores of the Black Sea and secured the approaches to it with cities on the Hellespont and Bosporus, most notably Byzantium, site of the later Constantinople (Istanbul). A trading post was established in Egypt, giving some Greeks access to both the products and the advanced culture of the East.

The Effects of Expansion The establishment of these settlements over such a wide area had important effects. For one thing, they contributed to the diffusion of aspects of Greek culture throughout the Mediterranean basin. The later Romans had their first contacts with the Greeks through the settlements in southern Italy. Furthermore, expansion helped the Greeks foster a greater sense of Greek identity. Before the eighth century, Greek communities were mostly isolated from one another, leaving many neighboring states on unfriendly terms. Once Greeks from different communities went abroad and encountered peoples with different languages and customs, they became more aware of their own linguistic and cultural similarities, thus aiding in the development of a common Greek identity.

Expansion abroad also led to increased trade and industry. The Greeks sent their pottery, wine, and olive oil to these areas; in return, they received grains and metals from the west and fish, timber, wheat, metals, and slaves from the Black Sea region. In many poleis, the expansion of trade and industry created a new group of rich men who perceived that the decisions of the polis could affect their businesses. They now desired new political privileges but found them impossible to gain because of the power of the ruling aristocrats. This desire for change soon led to political crisis in many Greek states.

3-3c Tyranny in the Greek Polis

When the polis emerged as an important institution in Greece in the eighth century B.C.E., monarchical power waned, and kings virtually disappeared in most Greek states or survived only as ceremonial figures with little or no real power. Instead, political power passed into the hands of local aristocracies. But increasing divisions between rich and poor and the aspirations of newly rising industrial and commercial groups in Greek poleis opened the door to the rise of the **tyrant** in

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HISTORICAL VOICES

The Teaching of Tyranny

Q What advice does Thrasybulus give to Periander? Why did the advice ultimately lead to the end of tyranny in Corinth? What do we learn about tyranny in Greece from this excerpt?

Tyranny, as the Greeks practiced it, was a relatively short experience for most Greek states. But it did lead to some extreme practices that helped lead to its own downfall. In this excerpt, the Greek historian Herodotus (see "3-5a The Writing of History," later in the chapter) discusses how one tyrant—Thrasybulus of Miletus—taught another tyrant—Periander of Corinth—the ways of tyranny. The lesson ultimately led to disaster for Periander's family.

Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*

[Cypselus] showed himself a harsh ruler. Many of the Corinthians he drove into banishment, many he deprived of their fortunes, and a still greater number, of their lives. His reign lasted thirty years, and was prosperous to its close; so that he left the government to Periander, his son.

This ruler, at the beginning of his reign, was of a milder temper than his father; but after he corresponded by means of messengers with Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, he became ever more bloodthirsty. On one occasion he sent a herald to ask Thrasybulus what mode of government it was safest to set up in order to rule with honor. Thrasybulus led the messenger without the city, and took him into a field of corn, through which he began to walk. While Thrasybulus asked him again and again concerning his coming from Corinth, he broke off and threw away such ears of corn as overtopped the rest. In this way he went through the whole field, and destroyed all the best and richest parts of the crop. Then, without a word, he sent the messenger back. On the return of the man to Corinth, Periander was eager to know what Thrasybulus had counseled, but the messenger reported that he had said nothing. The messenger wondered that Periander had sent him to so strange a man, who seemed to have lost his senses, since he did nothing but destroy his own property. Upon this he told how Thrasybulus had behaved at the interview. Periander, perceiving what the action meant, and knowing that Thrasybulus advised the destruction of all the leading citizens, treated his subjects from this time forward with the greatest cruelty. Where Cypselus had spared any, and had neither put them to death nor banished them, Periander completed what his father had left unfinished.

Source: Hutton Webster, *Readings in Ancient History* (Boston: D.C. Heath & Co., 1913), pp. 53–54.

the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.E. They were not necessarily oppressive or wicked, as our word *tyrant* connotes. Greek tyrants were rulers who seized power by force and who were not subject to the law. Support for the tyrants came from the new rich, who made their money in trade and industry, as well as from poor peasants, who were in debt to landholding aristocrats. Both groups opposed the domination of political power by the aristocrats.

Tyrants usually achieved power by a local coup d'état and maintained it by using mercenary soldiers. Once in power, they built new marketplaces, temples, and walls that created jobs, glorified the city, and enhanced their own popularity. Tyrants also favored the interests of merchants and traders by encouraging the founding of new colonies, developing new coinage, and establishing new systems of weights and measures. In many instances, they added to the prosperity of their cities. By their patronage of the arts, they encouraged cultural development.

The Example of Corinth One of the most famous examples of tyranny can be found in Corinth (KOR-inth). During the eighth and early seventh centuries B.C.E., Corinth had become one of the most prosperous states in Greece under the rule of an **oligarchy** led by members of the Bacchiad family. Their violent activities, however, made them unpopular and led Cypselus (SIP-suh-luss), a member of the family, to overthrow the oligarchy and assume sole control of Corinth.

Cypselus was so well liked that he could rule without a bodyguard. During his tyranny, Corinth prospered by exporting vast quantities of pottery and founding new colonies to expand its trade empire. Cypselus's son, Periander, took control of Corinth after his father's death (see Historical Voices, "The Teaching of Tyranny," above). But he ruled with such cruelty that shortly after he died in 585 B.C.E., his son, who succeeded him, was killed, and a new oligarchy soon ruled Corinth.

As in Corinth, tyranny elsewhere in Greece was largely extinguished by the end of the sixth century B.C.E. The children and grandchildren of tyrants, who tended to be corrupted by their inherited power and wealth, often became cruel and unjust rulers, making tyranny no longer seem such a desirable institution. Its very nature as a system outside the law seemed contradictory to the ideal of law in a Greek community. Tyranny did not last, but it played a significant role in the evolution of Greek history. The rule of narrow aristocratic oligarchies was destroyed. Once the tyrants were eliminated, the door was opened to the participation of more people in the affairs of the community. Although this trend culminated in the development of democracy in some communities, in other states expanded oligarchies of one kind or another managed to

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remain in power. Greek states exhibited considerable variety in their governmental structures; this can perhaps best be seen by examining the two most famous and most powerful Greek city-states, Sparta and Athens.

3-3d Sparta

The Greeks of Sparta and Athens spoke different dialects and developed different political systems. The Spartans sought stability and conformity and emphasized order. The Athenians allowed for individual differences and stressed freedom. Although the two states shared a common heritage, their differences grew so large in their own minds that they were ultimately willing to engage in a life-and-death struggle to support their separate realities. When they did so, the entire Greek world was the real loser.

Located in the southeastern Peloponnesus, in an area known as Laconia (luh-KOH-nee-uh), the Spartans had originally occupied four small villages that eventually became unified into a single polis (a fifth soon joined the others). This unification made Sparta a strong community in Laconia and enabled the Spartans to conquer the neighboring Laconians. Many Laconians became ***perioikoi*** (per-ee-EE-koh-ee), free inhabitants (but not citizens) who were required to pay taxes and perform military service for Sparta. Other Laconians became known as **helots** (HEL-uts) (derived from the Greek word for "capture"). They were bound to the land and forced to work on farms and as household servants for the Spartans.

When the land in Laconia proved incapable of maintaining the growing number of Spartan citizens, the Spartans looked for land nearby and, beginning around 730 B.C.E., undertook the conquest of neighboring Messenia despite its larger size and population. Messenia possessed a spacious, fertile plain ideal for growing grain. After its conquest, which was not completed until the seventh century B.C.E., the Messenians were made helots and forced to work for the Spartans. But the helots drastically outnumbered the Spartan citizens (some estimates are ten to one) and constantly threatened to revolt. To ensure control over them, the Spartans made a conscious decision to create a military state.

Sometime between 800 and 600 B.C.E., the Spartans instituted a series of reforms that are associated with the name of the lawgiver Lycurgus (ly-KUR-guss) (see Historical Voices, "The Lycurgan Reforms," p. 66). Although historians are not sure that Lycurgus ever existed, there is no doubt about the result of the reforms that were made: Sparta was transformed into a perpetual military camp.

The New Sparta The lives of Spartans were now rigidly organized. At birth, all children were examined by state officials who decided whether they were fit to live. Those judged unfit were exposed to the elements and left to die. Boys were taken from their mothers at the age of seven and put under control of the state. They lived in barracks, where they were subjected to harsh discipline to make them tough and given an education that stressed military training and obedience to authority. At twenty, Spartan males were enrolled in the army for regular military service. Although allowed to marry, they continued to live in the barracks and ate their meals in public dining halls with their fellow soldiers. Meals were simple; the famous Spartan black broth consisted of a piece of pork boiled in animal blood, salt, and vinegar, causing a visitor who ate in a public mess to remark that he now understood why Spartans were not afraid to die. At thirty, Spartan males were recognized as mature and allowed to vote in the assembly and live at home, but they remained in the army until the age of sixty.

While their husbands remained in military barracks until age thirty, Spartan women lived at home. Because of this separation, Spartan women had greater freedom of movement. Permitted to own and inherit land, Spartan women had more power in the household than was common for women elsewhere in Greece and could even supervise large estates. They were encouraged to exercise and remain fit to bear and raise healthy children. Like the men, Spartan women engaged in athletic exercises in the nude. At solemn feasts, the young women would march naked in processions, and in the presence of the young men, they would sing songs about those who had shown special gallantry or cowardice on the battlefield. Many Spartan women upheld the strict Spartan values, expecting their husbands and sons to be brave in war. The story is told that as a Spartan mother was burying her son, an old woman came up to her and said, "You poor woman, what a misfortune." "No," replied the other, "because I bore him so that he might die for Sparta and that is what has happened, as I wished."[7] Another Spartan woman saw her son off to war by telling him to come back carrying his shield or carried on it.

The Spartan social structure was rigidly organized. At the summit were the *Spartiates* (spar-tee-AH-teez)—full Spartan citizens. Each Spartan citizen owned a piece of land, worked by the helots, to provide economic sustenance. With their material needs provided for them, Spartan citizens could dedicate themselves to their duties as a ruling class. Below the Spartiates were the *perioikoi*. Though free, they did not possess the privileges of citizenship and served as small merchants and artisans. They were subject to military duty, however. At the bottom of the social scale were the *helots*, perpetually bound to the land. They were assigned to the lands of the Spartan citizens. The helots farmed the land and gave their masters half of the produce. According to one seventh-century Spartan poet, helots worked "like donkeys exhausted under heavy loads." A secret police force lived among them and was permitted to kill any helot considered dangerous. To legalize this murder, the state officially declared war on the helots at the beginning of each year.

The Spartan State The so-called Lycurgan reforms also reorganized the Spartan government, creating an oligarchy. Two kings from different families were primarily responsible for military affairs and served as the leaders of the Spartan army on its campaigns. Five men, known as *ephors* (EFF-urz), were elected each year and were responsible for the education of youth and conduct of all citizens. A council of elders, composed of the two kings and twenty-eight citizens over the age of sixty, decided what issues would be presented to an assembly of all male citizens. This assembly did not debate but only voted on the proposals put before it by the council of elders. The assembly also elected the council of elders and the ephors.

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HISTORICAL VOICES

The Lycurgan Reforms

What does this passage from Plutarch's account of Lycurgus tell you about the nature of the Spartan state? Why would the entire program have been distasteful to the Athenians?

TO MAINTAIN THEIR CONTROL over the helots, the Spartans instituted the reforms that created their military state. In this account of the lawgiver Lycurgus, the Greek historian Plutarch discusses the effect of these reforms on the treatment and education of boys.

Plutarch, *Lycurgus*

Lycurgus was of another mind; he would not have masters bought out of the market for his young Spartans . . . nor was it lawful, indeed, for the father himself to breed up the children after his own fancy; but as soon as they were seven years old they were to be enrolled in certain companies and classes, where they all lived under the same order and discipline, doing their exercises and taking their play together. Of these, he who showed the most conduct and courage was made captain; they had their eyes always upon him, obeyed his orders, and underwent patiently whatsoever punishment he inflicted; so that the whole course of their education was one continued exercise of a ready and perfect obedience. The old men, too, were spectators of their performances, and often raised quarrels and disputes among them, to have a good opportunity of finding out their different characters, and of seeing which would be valiant, which a coward, when they should come to more dangerous encounters. Reading and writing they gave them just enough to serve their turn; their chief care was to make them good subjects, and to teach them to endure pain and conquer in battle. To this end, as they grew in years, their discipline was proportionately increased; their heads were close-clipped, they were accustomed to go barefoot, and for the most part to play naked.

After they were twelve years old, they were no longer allowed to wear any undergarments, they had one coat to serve them a year; their bodies were hard and dry, with but little acquaintance of baths and unguents; these human indulgences they were allowed only on some few particular days in the year. They lodged together in little bands upon beds made of the rushes which grew by the banks of the river Eurotas, which they were to break off with their hands with a knife; if it were winter, they mingled some thistledown with their rushes, which it was thought had the property of giving warmth. By the time they were come to this age there was not any of the more hopeful boys who had not a lover to bear him company. The old men, too, had an eye upon them, coming often to the grounds to hear and see them contend either in wit or strength with one another, and this as seriously . . . as if they were their fathers, their tutors, or their magistrates; so that there scarcely was any time or place without someone present to put them in mind of their duty, and punish them if they had neglected it.

[Spartan boys were also encouraged to steal their food.] They stole, too, all other meat they could lay their hands on, looking out and watching all opportunities, when people were asleep or more careless than usual. If they were caught, they were not only punished with whipping, but hunger, too, being reduced to their ordinary allowance, which was but very slender, and so contrived on purpose, that they might set about to help themselves, and be forced to exercise their energy and address. This was the principal design of their hard fare.

Source: Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*, edited by A. H. Clough and translated by J. Dryden (New York: Modern Library, 1992).

To make their new military state secure, the Spartans deliberately turned their backs on the outside world. Foreigners, who might bring in new ideas, were discouraged from visiting Sparta. Nor were Spartans, except for military reasons, encouraged to travel abroad where they might pick up new ideas. Trade and commerce were likewise minimized. Spartan citizens were discouraged from pursuing philosophy, literature, the arts, or any other subject that might foster novel thoughts dangerous to the stability of the state. The art of war and ruling was the Spartan ideal. All other arts were frowned upon.

In the sixth century, Sparta used its military might and the fear it inspired to gain greater control of the Peloponnesus by organizing an alliance of almost all the Peloponnesian states. Sparta's strength enabled it to dominate this Peloponnesian League and determine its policies. By 500 B.C.E., the Spartans had organized a powerful military state that maintained order and stability in the Peloponnesus. Raised from early childhood to believe that total loyalty to the Spartan state was the basic reason for existence, the Spartans viewed their strength as justification for their militaristic ideals and regimented society.

3-3e Athens

By 700 B.C.E., Athens had established a unified polis on the peninsula of Attica. Although early Athens had been ruled by a monarchy, by the seventh century B.C.E. it had fallen under the control of its aristocrats. The aristocrats possessed the best land and controlled political and religious life by means of a council of nobles called the Areopagus (ar-ee-OP-uh-guss), assisted by a board of nine archons. Although there was an Assembly of full citizens, it possessed few powers.

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Near the end of the seventh century B.C.E., Athens faced political turmoil because of serious economic problems. Many Athenian farmers found themselves sold into slavery when they were unable to repay the loans they had borrowed from their aristocratic neighbors, pledging themselves as collateral. Over and over, there were cries to cancel the debts and give land to the poor. Athens seemed on the verge of civil war.

The Reforms of Solon Hoping to avoid tyranny, the ruling Athenian aristocrats responded to this crisis by choosing Solon (SOH-lun), a reform-minded aristocrat, as sole archon in 594 B.C.E. and giving him full power to make reforms. Solon's reforms dealt with both the economic and political problems. Solon canceled all current land debts, outlawed new loans based on humans as collateral, and freed people who had fallen into slavery for debt. He refused, however, to carry out the redistribution of the land and hence failed to deal with the basic cause of the economic crisis.

Like his economic reforms, Solon's political measures were also a compromise. Though by no means eliminating the power of the aristocracy, they opened the door to the participation of new people, especially the nonaristocratic wealthy, in the government. Wealth instead of birth now qualified people for holding political office, thus creating upward political mobility. Solon divided all Athenian citizens into four classes on the basis of wealth. Only men in the first two classes (the wealthiest classes) could hold the archonship and be members of the Areopagus. Men in the third class could be elected to a new council of 400, whose function it was to prepare the agenda for the Assembly. The fourth (and poorest) class, though not allowed to hold any political offices, could now vote in the Assembly.

The Move to Tyranny But Solon's reforms, though popular, did not solve Athens's problems. Aristocratic factions continued to vie for power, and the poorer peasants resented Solon's failure to institute land redistribution. Internal strife finally led to the very institution Solon had hoped to avoid—tyranny. Pisistratus (puh-SIS-truh-tuss), an aristocrat and distant relative of Solon's, seized power in 560 B.C.E. and made himself a tyrant.

Pisistratus did not tamper very much with the constitution. The Assembly, councils, and courts continued to function while he made sure that his supporters were elected as magistrates and council members. Pisistratus curried favor with the small farmers by offering land and loans to the needy. His ambitious building program, aimed at beautifying the city, also created jobs. Pursuing a foreign policy that aided Athenian trade, Pisistratus also maintained the support of the mercantile and industrial classes. Pisistratus's mild tyranny was popular with many Athenians, but they rebelled against his son and ended the tyranny in 510 B.C.E. Although the aristocrats attempted to reestablish an aristocratic oligarchy, Cleisthenes (KLYSS-thuh-neez), an aristocratic reformer, opposed this plan and, with the backing of the Athenian people, gained the upper hand in 508 B.C.E. The reforms of Cleisthenes now established the basis for Athenian democracy.

The Reforms of Cleisthenes A major aim of Cleisthenes's reforms was to weaken the power of traditional localities and regions, which had provided the foundation for aristocratic strength. He made the *demes*, the 139 villages and townships of Attica, the basic units of political life. Cleisthenes enrolled all the citizens of the demes in ten new tribes, each of which contained inhabitants located in the country districts of Attica, the coastal areas, and Athens itself. The ten tribes thus contained a cross-section of the population and reflected all of Attica, a move that gave local areas a basic role in the political structure. Cleisthenes' ten new tribes were then linked to a new council of 500 that replaced Solon's council of 400. Each of the ten tribes chose fifty members by lot each year for the new council. No one was allowed to serve more than two years (and then not in succession) on the council. It met on a regular basis and was responsible for the administration of both foreign and financial affairs and prepared the business that would be handled by the Assembly. This Assembly of all male citizens had final authority in the passing of laws after free and open debate; thus, Cleisthenes's reforms strengthened the central role of the Assembly of citizens in the Athenian political system. Cleisthenes also established new courts with juries for both private and public cases. Jurors were chosen by lot from the ten tribes and swore an oath to uphold the laws.

The reforms of Cleisthenes laid the foundations for Athenian democracy. More changes would come in the fifth century when the Athenians themselves would begin to use the word *democracy* (from the Greek words *demos*, "people," and *kratia*, "power"; thus, "power to the people") to describe their system. By 500 B.C.E., Athens was more united than it had been and was about to assume a more important role in Greek affairs.

CHRONOLOGY Archaic Greece: Sparta and Athens

Sparta	
Conquest of Messenia	ca. 730–710 B.C.E.
Beginning of Peloponnesian League	ca. 560–550 B.C.E.
Athens	
Solon's reforms	594–593 B.C.E.
Tyranny of Pisistratus	ca. 560–556 and 546–527 B.C.E.
End of tyranny	510 B.C.E.
Cleisthenes's reforms	ca. 508–501 B.C.E.

3-3f Greek Culture in the Archaic Age

The Archaic Age witnessed a revitalization of Greek life that is also evident in Greek art and literature. Some aspects of Archaic Greek culture, such as sculpture and pottery, were especially influenced by the East (see Global Perspectives, "The Influence of the East on the Greeks," p. 68). Greek sculpture demonstrates the impact of the considerably older Egyptian civilization in the life-size stone statues of young male nudes known as *kouros* (KOO-rohss) figures. The kouros bears considerable resemblance to Egyptian statues of the New Kingdom. The figures are not realistic but stiff, with a slight smile; one leg is advanced ahead of the other, and the arms are held rigidly at the sides of the body.

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GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES

The Influence of the East on the Greeks

What was the influence of the Near East on Greek sculpture and pottery? Why were Greek and Egyptian statues different? How do you explain the significance of the Near East on Greece?

As the Greeks moved out into the eastern Mediterranean, they came into increased contact with the older civilizations of the Near East and Egypt, which had a strong impact on early Greek culture. Greek sculpture, especially that of the Ionian Greek settlements in southwestern Asia Minor, demonstrates the impact of the considerably older Egyptian civilization. There we first see the life-size statues of young male nudes known as *kouros*. As seen in the photos, Image 3.6a shows a statue of a young male nude around 600 B.C.E., making it an early example of Greek kouros sculpture. Such statues, which were placed in temples along with companion figures of clothed young women, known as *korai*, were meant to be representations for the faithful dedicated to the gods. Image 3.6b shows an early-seventh-century B.C.E. statue of an Egyptian nobleman. Clearly, Egyptian sculpture had a strong influence on Greek art. Unlike the Egyptians, however, Greek sculptors preferred depicting male figures in the nude.

In addition, Greek pottery in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.E. began to use new motifs—such as floral and animal designs—borrowed from the Near East. Seen here are two examples of Greek vases. Image 3.6c shows a ninth-century vase in the Greek geometric style featuring mostly abstract motifs. Image 3.6d shows a Greek vase from the seventh century in which a Greek artist demonstrated his fascination with the East by combining a floral motif with exotic Eastern animals such as griffons, sphinxes, and wild goats.

The Phoenicians especially played an important role as middlemen in transmitting Near Eastern culture to the Greeks. We have already seen that the Greeks borrowed from the Phoenicians to create a truly phonetic alphabet, making it easier to write the poetry, philosophical treatises, and other literary works that distinguish Greek culture.

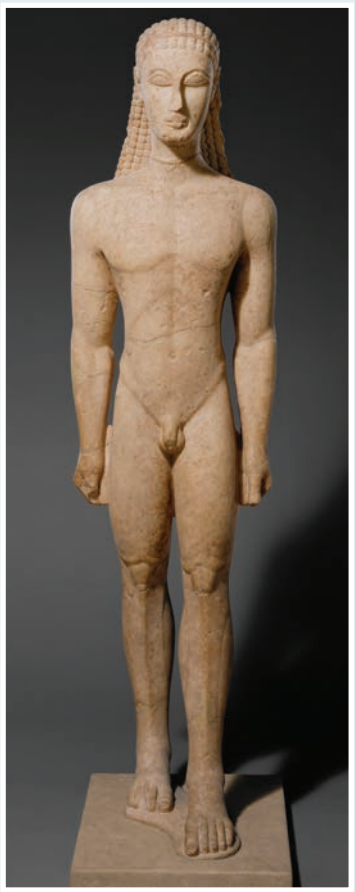


Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY

IMAGE 3.6a



Scala/Art Resource, NY

IMAGE 3.6b



RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY

IMAGE 3.6c



RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY

IMAGE 3.6d

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Greek literature of the seventh century is perhaps best known for its lyric poetry. The lyric is considerably shorter than epic poetry (such as Homer's) and focuses on personal emotions, usually the power of love and its impact on human lives. Later Greeks acknowledged Sappho as their greatest female lyric poet. Born in the seventh century, Sappho lived on the island of Lesbos in the Aegean Sea, where she taught music and poetry to her young charges. Many of her poems are love songs to her female students, as seen in these words from one of her poems:

But remember me, for surely you
know how I worshiped you. If not,
then I want you to remember all
the exquisite days we too shared;
how when near me you would adorn
your hanging locks with violets and
tiny roses and your sapling throat
with necklets of a hundred blossoms;
how your young flesh was rich with kingly
myrrh as you leaned near my breasts on
the soft couch where delicate girls
served us all an Ionian could desire. . .[8]

Our word *lesbian* is derived from Sappho's island of Lesbos. Sappho, like many upper-class Greeks, accepted that homosexual and heterosexual feelings could exist in the same individual. Sappho was a wife and a mother who also wrote poems about love between men and between women.

Archaic Greece is also known for poets who reflected the lifestyles of both aristocrats and peasants. A wide gulf, however, separated the wealthy aristocrat with his large landed estates from the poor peasants and small farmers who eked out their existence as best they could. Hesiod (HEE-see-uhd), a poet from Boeotia in central Greece who lived around 700 B.C.E., wrote a lengthy epic poem titled *Works and Days*. Himself a farmer, Hesiod distrusted aristocrats and looked down on what he considered the aristocratic emphasis on pride and war. One of his aims was to show that the gods punished injustice and that the way to success was to work: "Famine and blight do not beset the just, who till their well-worked fields and feast. The earth supports them lavishly." Therefore,

. . . you must learn to organize your work
So you may have full barns at harvest time.
From working, men grow rich in flocks and gold
And dearer to the deathless gods. In work
There is no shame; shame is in idleness.[9]

Works and Days is the first known paean to work in Western literature.

Theognis of Megara (THEE-og-niss of MEG-er-uh) described a way of life considerably different from Hesiod's. Theognis was an aristocrat who lived and wrote primarily in the sixth century B.C.E. As a result of revolutionary upheaval, he, like other aristocrats in sixth-century poleis, lost his position and probably his wealth. Sent into exile, he became a bitter man. In his poetry, he portrayed aristocrats as the only good people, who are distinguished from others by their natural intelligence, virtue, honor, and moderation. The lower classes or common people were by nature bad and debased. Aristocrats, then, should associate only with other aristocrats: "Avoid low company, mix only with the better sort of men. . . . From them you will learn goodness. Men of little worth will spoil the natural beauty of your birth." The poems of Theognis reveal the political views and biases of a typical sixth-century aristocrat.

3-4 The High Point of Greek Civilization: Classical Greece

FOCUS QUESTIONS: What did the Greeks mean by democracy, and in what ways was the Athenian political system a democracy? What effect did the Persian Wars have on Greek military and political developments? What effect did the Great Peloponnesian War have on Greek economic, military, and political developments?

Classical Greece is the name given to the period of Greek history from around 500 B.C.E. to the conquest of Greece by the Macedonian king Philip II in 338 B.C.E. It was a period of brilliant achievement, much of it associated with the flowering of democracy in Athens under the leadership of Pericles. Many of the lasting contributions of the Greeks occurred during this period. The age began with a mighty confrontation between the Greek states and the mammoth Persian Empire.

3-4a The Challenge of Persia

As Greek civilization expanded throughout the Mediterranean region, it was inevitable that it would come into contact with the Persian Empire to the east. In his play *The Persians,* the Greek playwright Aeschylus (ESS-kuh-luss) expressed what some Greeks perceived to be the essential difference between themselves and the Persians. The Persian queen, curious to find out more about the Athenians, asks: "Who commands them? Who is shepherd of their host?" The chorus responds: "They are slaves to none, nor are they subject."[10] Thus, at least some Greeks saw the struggle with the Persians as a contest between freedom and slavery. To the Greeks, a person was a citizen of the state, not a subject. And for the Greeks, who were still divided into independent city-states, the growing Persian threat would serve to deepen a growing sense of Greek cultural identity.

The Ionian Greek cities in southwestern Asia Minor had already fallen subject to the Persian Empire by the mid-sixth century B.C.E. (see Chapter 2). An unsuccessful revolt by the Ionian cities in 499, assisted by the Athenian navy, led the Persian ruler Darius to seek revenge by attacking the mainland Greeks in 490. Darius may also have wished to expand his empire westward.

The First Persian Attack The Persians sailed across the Aegean, captured Eretria (which had also aided the Ionian rebels) on the island of Euboea across from Attica, and then transferred their army to the plain of Marathon, only 26 miles from Athens (see Map 3.4). The Athenians, aided by the Plataeans (from a neighboring town in Boeotia), confronted

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MAP 3.4 The Persian Wars. The Athenians defeated Persia in 490 B.C.E. at Marathon. Athens later led a coalition of Greek city-states that decisively defeated Xerxes's navy at the Battle of Salamis in 480 B.C.E., causing Xerxes to withdraw most of his troops back to Asia.

How far did the Persian army have to walk to get to Athens, and through what types of terrain?

the Persians without additional assistance. The two armies were quite different. The Persians, with their light-armed troops, were more mobile and flexible and relied heavily on missiles; the Greek hoplites were armed with heavy shields and relied on spear thrusts at close range. The Athenians and Plataeans were clearly outnumbered, but led by Miltiades (mil-TY-uh-deez), one of the Athenian leaders who insisted on attacking, the Greek hoplites charged across the plain of Marathon and crushed the Persian forces (see Historical Voices, "The Battle of Marathon," p. 71). The Persians did not mount another attack against mainland Greece for ten years.

In the meantime, Athens had acquired a new leader, Themistocles (thuh-MISS-tuh-kleez), a man lacking in aristocratic connections but strongly favored by Athenian merchants and highly skilled in speaking in the democratic assembly. Themistocles persuaded his fellow citizens to pursue a new military policy, namely, the development of a navy. The Athenians used a newly discovered vein of silver from Laurium to finance the construction of ships and new port facilities. By 480 B.C.E., Athens had produced a navy of about two hundred vessels, primarily triremes (TRY-reemz) (ships with three banks of oars).

A revolt in Egypt, compounded by the death of Darius in 486 B.C.E., kept the Persians from mounting another attack on Greece. Xerxes (ZURK-seez), the new Persian monarch, was bent on revenge and expansion, however. Some of the Greeks prepared by forming a defensive league under Spartan leadership, although many Greek states remained neutral; some even fought on the Persian side.

The Invasion of Xerxes The Persians under Xerxes mounted their invasion in 480 B.C.E. Their military forces were massive: close to 150,000 troops, almost seven hundred naval ships, and hundreds of supply ships to feed their large army. The Persians crossed the Hellespont by forming a bridge of ships and then moved through Thrace and Macedonia on their way into Greece. The Greek plan, as it evolved, was to fight a holding action at the pass of Thermopylae (thur-MAHP-uh-lee) along the main road from Thessaly into Boeotia, probably to give the Greek fleet

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HISTORICAL VOICES

The Battle of Marathon

How does this passage reflect Herodotus's pride in the Greeks?

THE BATTLE OF MARATHON (490 B.C.E.) was an important event in the struggle between the Greeks and the Persians. The defeat of the mighty Persians gave Athenian confidence a tremendous boost. In *The Persian Wars,* the Greek historian Herodotus gave an account of this momentous battle.

Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*

So when the battle was set in array, and the victims showed themselves favorable, instantly the Athenians, so soon as they were let go, charged the barbarians at a run. Now the distance between the two armies was little short of a mile. The Persians, therefore, when they saw the Greeks coming on at speed, made ready to receive them, although it seemed to them that the Athenians were bereft of their senses, and bent upon their own destruction; for they saw a mere handful of men coming on at a run without either horsemen or archers. Such was the opinion of the barbarians; but the Athenians in close array fell upon them, and fought in a manner worthy of being recorded. They were the first of the Greeks, so far as I know, who introduced the custom of charging the enemy at a run, and they were likewise the first who dared to look upon the Median garb, and to face men clad in that fashion. Until this time the very name of the Medes had been a terror to the Greeks to hear.

The two armies fought together on the plain of Marathon for a length of time; and in the midbattle, where the Persians themselves and the Sacae had their place, the barbarians were victorious, and broke and pursued the Greeks into the inner country; but on the two wings the Athenians and the Plataeans defeated the enemy. Having so done, they suffered the routed barbarians to fly at their ease, and joining the two wings in one, fell upon those who had broken their own center, and fought and conquered them. These likewise fled, and now the Athenians hung upon the runaways and cut them down, chasing them all the way to the shore, on reaching which they laid hold of the ships and called for fire. . . .

After the full of the moon 2,000 Lacedaemonians [Spartans] came to Athens. So eager had they been to arrive in time, that they took but three days to reach Attica from Sparta. They came, however, too late for the battle; yet, as they had a longing to behold the Medes, they continued their march to Marathon and there viewed the slain. Then, after giving the Athenians all praise for their achievement, they departed and returned home.

Source: Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, trans. George Rawlinson (New York: Modern Library, 1942).

of three hundred ships at Artemisium, off northern Euboea, the chance to fight the Persian fleet. The Greeks knew that the Persian army depended on the fleet for supplies. Under the leadership of the Spartan king Leonidas (lee-AHN-ih-duss) and his contingent of three hundred Spartans, a Greek force numbering close to nine thousand held off the Persian army at Thermopylae for two days. The Spartan troops were especially brave. When told that Persian arrows would darken the sky in battle, one Spartan warrior supposedly responded, "That is good news. We will fight in the shade!" Unfortunately for the Greeks, a traitor told the Persians of a mountain path they could use to outflank the Greek force. King Leonidas and the three hundred Spartans fought to the last man (see Movies & History, *300*).

The Athenians, now threatened by the onslaught of the Persian forces, decided to abandon Athens and evacuate the population of Attica to the offshore island of Salamis (SAH-luh-miss). Meanwhile, the Greek fleet remained in the straits off Salamis while the Persians sacked Athens. The Peloponnesians wanted the Greeks to retreat to the Peloponnesus and the Greek ships to move to the isthmus. Themistocles's refusal and his threat to withdraw the Athenian ships altogether if a fight was not made forced the ships to remain and set up the naval Battle of Salamis. Although the Greeks were outnumbered, they managed to outmaneuver the Persian fleet (mostly Phoenicians and Ionians) and decisively defeated it. The Persians still had their army and much of their fleet intact, but Xerxes, frightened at the prospect of another Ionian revolt, returned to Asia but left a Persian force in Thessaly.

MOVIES & HISTORY
300 (2007)

Watch ***300***, an action film adapted from a graphic novel. A fictional portrayal of the Battle of Thermopylae in 480 B.C.E., *300* is a strange mix of history and fantasy. Because the film is adapted from a graphic novel, it has a surreal quality in which special visual effects play a dominant role. Battle scenes rely on stylized violence using slow-motion techniques, but they do capture the bloody nature of ancient warfare.



WARNER BROS. PICTURES/Album/Superstock

How accurate is this portrayal of the Battle of Thermopylae? How does it reflect Greek warfare? How does the film portray Greek sexual practices? How does the film represent differences between the Greeks and Persians?

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CHRONOLOGY	The Persian Wars
Persian control of Greek cities in southwestern Asia Minor	By 540s B.C.E.
Rebellion of Greek cities in Asia Minor	499–494 B.C.E.
Battle of Marathon	490 B.C.E.
Xerxes invades Greece	480–479 B.C.E.
Battles of Thermopylae and Salamis	480 B.C.E.
Battles of Plataea and Mycale	479 B.C.E.

Early in 479 B.C.E., the Greeks formed the largest Greek army seen up to that time. The Athenians forced the Spartans to move north of the Peloponnesus and take on the Persians at Plataea (pluh-TEE-uh), northwest of Athens, where the Greek forces decisively defeated the Persian army. The remnants of the Persian forces retreated to Asia. At the same time, the Greeks destroyed much of the Persian fleet in a naval battle at Mycale (MIH-kuh-lee) in Ionia. The Greeks were overjoyed at their victory but remained cautious. Would the Persians try again?

3-4b The Growth of an Athenian Empire

After the defeat of the Persians, Athens stepped in to provide new leadership against the Persians by forming a confederation called the Delian League. Organized in the winter of 478–477 B.C.E., the Delian League was dominated by the Athenians from the beginning. Its main headquarters was the island of Delos (DEE-lahs), sacred to the Ionian Greeks, but its chief officials, including the treasurers and commanders of the fleet, were Athenians. Athens also provided most of the league's three hundred ships. Under the leadership of the Athenians, the Delian League pursued the attack against the Persian Empire. Virtually all of the Greek states in the Aegean were liberated from Persian control, and the Persian fleet and army were decisively defeated in 469 B.C.E. in southern Asia Minor. Arguing that the Persian threat was now over, some members of the Delian League wished to withdraw. Naxos did so in 470 and Thasos in 465 B.C.E. The Athenians responded vigorously. They attacked both states, destroyed their walls, took over their fleets, eliminated their liberty, and forced them to pay tribute. "No secession" became Athenian policy. The Delian League was rapidly becoming an instrument of Athenian imperialism and the nucleus of an Athenian empire.

The Age of Pericles At home, Athenians favored the new imperial policy, especially in the 450s B.C.E., when an aristocrat named Pericles (PER-i-kleez) began to play an important political role. Under Pericles, Athens embarked on a policy of expanding democracy at home while severing its ties with Sparta and expanding its new empire abroad. This period of Athenian and Greek history, which historians have subsequently labeled the Age of Pericles, witnessed the height of Athenian power and the culmination of its brilliance as a civilization.

In the Age of Pericles, the Athenians became deeply attached to their democratic system. The sovereignty of the people was embodied in the Assembly, which consisted of all male citizens over eighteen years of age. In the 440s, that was probably a group of about 43,000; women, slaves, and foreigners, who made up a majority of Attica's approximately 300,000 residents, were excluded from participation in government. Meetings of the Assembly were held every ten days on the hillside of the Pnyx (NIKS), east of the Acropolis. Not all could attend, and the number present seldom exceeded 6,000, which was its capacity. The Assembly passed all laws and made final decisions on war and foreign policy. Although anyone could speak, usually only respected leaders did so, a feat that required considerable ability in such a large crowd.

The reforms of Cleisthenes had introduced the Council of Five Hundred, elected by lot from the ten tribes. It prepared the agenda for the Assembly and made recommendations for action. Thus, the council served as a control on the Assembly. The council was divided into ten smaller groups of fifty called prytanies. Each prytany held office for one-tenth of the year to supervise the execution of the laws passed by the Assembly.

Routine administration of public affairs was handled by a large body of city magistrates that were usually chosen by lot without regard to class and usually served only one-year terms. This meant that many male citizens held public office at some time during their lives. A board of ten officials known as generals—*strategoi* (strah-tay-GOH-ee)—was elected by public vote to guide the affairs of the state, although their power depended on the respect they had attained. Generals were usually wealthy aristocrats, even though the people were free to select otherwise. The generals could be reelected, enabling individual leaders to play an important political role. Pericles's frequent reelection (fifteen times) as one of the ten generals made him one of the leading politicians between 461 and 429 B.C.E.

All public officials were subject to scrutiny and could be deposed from office if they lost the people's confidence. After 488 B.C.E., the Athenians occasionally made use of a tactic called *ostracism*. Members of the assembly could write on a broken pottery fragment, or *ostrakon* (AHSS-truh-kahn), the name of the person they most disliked or considered most harmful to the polis. Frequently, this was someone whose policy, approved at first by the assembly, had failed. A person who received a majority (if at least six thousand votes were cast) was exiled for ten years, although the practical Athenians often recalled a man from exile if they needed him.

Pericles expanded the Athenians' involvement in democracy, which was by now what Athenians had come to call their form of government (see Historical Voices, "Athenian Democracy," p. 73). Power was in the hands of the people: male citizens voted in the assemblies and served as jurors in the courts. Lower-class citizens were now eligible for public offices formerly closed to them. Pericles also introduced state pay for officeholders, including the widely held jury duty. This meant that even poor citizens could hold public office and afford to participate in public affairs. Nevertheless, although the Athenian system of government was unique in its time in that citizens had equal rights and the people were the government, aristocrats continued to hold the most important offices, and many people, including women, slaves, and foreigners residing in Athens, were not given the same political rights.

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HISTORICAL VOICES

Athenian Democracy: The Funeral Oration of Pericles

Q In the eyes of Pericles, what are the ideals of Athenian democracy? In what ways does Pericles exaggerate his claims? Why would the Athenian passion for debate described by Pericles have been distasteful to the Spartans?

IN HIS *HISTORY OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR*, the Greek historian Thucydides presented his reconstruction of the eulogy given by Pericles in the winter of 431–430 B.C.E. to honor the Athenians killed in the first campaigns of the Great Peloponnesian War. It is a magnificent, idealized description of the Athenian democracy at its height.

Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*

Our constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority but of the whole people. When it is a question of settling private disputes, everyone is equal before the law; when it is a question of putting one person before another in positions of public responsibility, what counts is not membership of a particular class, but the actual ability which the man possesses. No one, so long as he has it in him to be of service to the state, is kept in political obscurity because of poverty. And, just as our political life is free and open, so is our day-to-day life in our relations with each other. We do not get into a state with our next-door neighbor if he enjoys himself in his own way, nor do we give him the kind of black looks which, though they do no real harm, still do hurt people's feeling. We are free and tolerant in our private lives; but in public affairs we keep to the law. This is because it commands our deep respect.

We give our obedience to those whom we put in positions of authority, and we obey the laws themselves, especially those which are for the protection of the oppressed, and those unwritten laws which it is an acknowledged shame to break. . . . Here each individual is interested not only in his own affairs but in the affairs of the state as well: even those who are mostly occupied with their own business are extremely well-informed on general politics—this is a peculiarity of ours: we do not say that a man who takes no interest in politics is a man who minds his own business; we say that he has no business here at all. We Athenians, in our own persons, take our decisions on policy or submit them to proper discussions: for we do not think that there is an incompatibility between words and deeds; the worst thing is to rush into action before the consequences have been properly debated. . . . Taking everything together then, I declare that our city is an education to Greece, and I declare that in my opinion each single one of our citizens, in all the manifold aspects of life, is able to show himself the rightful lord and owner of his own person and do this, moreover, with exceptional grace and exceptional versatility. And to show that this is no empty boasting for the present occasion, but real tangible fact, you have only to consider the power which our city possesses and which has been won by those very qualities which I have mentioned.

Source: Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. R. Warner (London: Penguin Classics, 1954; revised edition 1972).

Athenian Imperialism The Athenian pursuit of democracy at home was coupled with increasing imperialism abroad as Athens attempted to create both a land empire in Greece and a maritime empire in the Aegean. As we have seen, after 470 B.C.E., Athenian policies had the effect of converting the voluntary allies of the Delian League into the involuntary subjects of an Athenian naval empire. After 462 B.C.E., Athens attempted to expand its empire on the Greek mainland as well. The creation of a land empire, however, overextended the Athenians and involved them in a series of skirmishes with Sparta and its allies known as the First Peloponnesian War (ca. 460–445 B.C.E.). After a series of defeats in 445 B.C.E., the land empire of Athens disintegrated, and Athens agreed to a thirty years' peace with the Spartans in the following year. Athens consented to give up most of its land empire, and in return, Sparta recognized the existence of Athens's maritime empire.

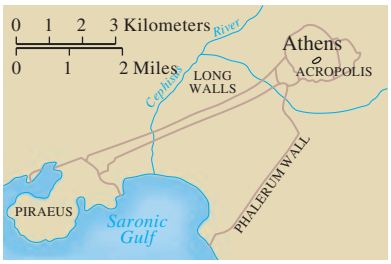
While building its land empire, Athens continued its offensive against Persia and at the same time tightened its control over the Delian League. Citing the threat of the Persian fleet in the Aegean, the Athenians moved the treasury of the league from the island of Delos to Athens itself, possibly in 454 B.C.E. Members were, in effect, charged a fee (tribute) for the protection that Athens claimed to provide. Pericles also used the treasury money of the league, without the approval of its members, to build new temples in Athens, an arrogant reminder that the Delian League had become the Athenian empire. The pursuit of imperialism, both in Greece and abroad, took its toll, however. Pericles recognized the dangers of Athenian exhaustion and sought a lull. After peace was made with Sparta in 445 B.C.E., the Athenians had a breathing space in which to beautify Athens and enjoy the fruits of empire, but it was not long before all of Greece was plunged into a new and prolonged struggle.

3-4c The Great Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.E.)

In his classic *History of the Peloponnesian War*, the great Greek historian Thucydides (thoo-SID-uh-deez) (see "3-5a The Writing of History," later in this chapter) pointed out that the fundamental, long-range cause of the war that began in 431 B.C.E. was the fear that Athens and its empire inspired in Sparta. The Spartans were especially concerned that Athens would use

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its superior naval power to weaken Sparta's control of the Peloponnesian League. The immediate causes of the war involved conflicts between Corinth and Athens and between Athens and Megara. When these two allies of Sparta threatened to withdraw from the Peloponnesian League if Sparta did not back them, the Spartans sent an ultimatum to Athens: if the Athenians did not back down in their disputes with Corinth and Megara, it would mean war. The Athenians refused to compromise when Pericles convinced them that if they accepted Sparta's ultimatum, they would be admitting that Sparta was the dominant power in Greece.



MAP 3.5 **Piraeus and Athens**

At the beginning of the war in 431 B.C.E., both sides believed they had winning strategies. The Athenian plan was based on the navy. The citizens of Attica would be brought in behind the protective walls of Athens and the port of Piraeus (py-REE-uss or pih-RAY-uss), while the overseas empire and the navy would keep them supplied (see Map 3.5). Pericles knew perfectly well that the Spartans and their allies could beat the Athenians in pitched battles, which, of course, formed the focus of the Spartan strategy. The Spartans and their allies invaded Attica and ravaged the fields and orchards, hoping that the Athenians would send out their army to fight beyond the walls. But Pericles was convinced that Athens was secure behind its walls and retaliated by sending out naval excursions to ravage the seacoast of the Peloponnesus (see Map 3.6).

In the second year of the war, however, a plague devastated the crowded city of Athens and wiped out up to one-third of the population. Pericles himself died the following year



MAP 3.6 **The Great Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.E.): Alliances and Battles.** During much of the fifth century B.C.E., Athens sought to dominate Greece and the Aegean Sea. The Peloponnesian War ultimately saw Sparta and the Peloponnesian League defeat Athens and its allies, culminating in the destruction of the Athenian navy and the dismantling of its empire in 404 B.C.E.

Q *How did Athens use its proximity to the sea to forge and maintain its empire and to conduct the war?*

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HISTORICAL VOICES

Disaster in Sicily

Q What happened to the Athenian soldiers captured in Sicily? In what way was this not typical of the Greek way of war? How would you explain this change?

AT THE BEGINNING of his *History of the Peloponnesian War*, the Greek historian Thucydides wrote, "The Peloponnesian War . . . not only lasted for a long time, but throughout its course brought with it unprecedented suffering for Greece. Never before had so many cities been captured and then devastated . . . never had there been so many exiles; never such loss of life." The greatest defeat for Athens came in Sicily in 413 B.C.E. In his history, Thucydides described what happened to the captured Athenians.

Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*

The Syracusans and their allies now brought their forces together into one, took up the spoils and as many of the prisoners as they could, and went back to their city. They put the Athenian and allied prisoners whom they had taken into the stone quarries, thinking that this was the safest way of keeping them. . . .

Those who were in the stone quarries were treated badly by the Syracusans at first. There were many of them, and they were crowded together in a narrow pit, where, since there was no roof over their heads, they suffered first from the heat of the sun and the closeness of the air; and then, in contrast, came on the cold autumnal nights, and the change in temperature brought disease among them. Lack of space made it necessary for them to do everything on the same spot; and besides there were the bodies all heaped together on top of one another of those who had died from their wounds or from the change of temperature or other such causes, so that the smell was insupportable. At the same time they suffered from hunger and from thirst. During eight months the daily allowance for each man was half a pint of water and a pint of corn. In fact they suffered everything which one could imagine might be suffered by men imprisoned in such a place. For about ten weeks they lived like this all together; then, with the exception of the Athenians and any Greeks from Italy or Sicily who had joined the expedition, the rest were sold as slaves. It is hard to give the exact figure, but the whole number of prisoners must have been at least 7,000.

This was the greatest Hellenic action that took place during this war, and, in my opinion, the greatest action that we know of in Hellenic history—to the victors the most brilliant of successes, to the vanquished the most calamitous of defeats; for they were utterly and entirely defeated; their sufferings were on an enormous scale; their losses were, as they say, total; army, navy, everything was destroyed, and, out of many, only few returned. So ended the events in Sicily.

Source: Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. R. Warner (London: Penguin Classics, 1954; revised edition 1972).

(429 B.C.E.), a severe loss to Athens. Dominance now passed to Cleon, leader of the war party, who was opposed by Nicias (NISS-ee-uss), head of a conservative faction that favored peace. Despite the losses from the plague, the Athenians fought on in a struggle that witnessed numerous instances of futile destruction. Cleon achieved some successes for the Athenians; Brasidas (BRASS-i-duss) came to be a dynamic general for the Spartans. At the Battle of Amphipolis (am-FIPP-oh-liss) in 422 B.C.E., both generals were killed, and the new Athenian leader, Nicias, negotiated the Peace of Nicias (421 B.C.E.). Although both parties agreed to keep the peace for fifty years, the truce did not solve the problems that had caused the war in the first place.

A second phase of the war began only six years after the fifty-year truce. This phase was initiated by Alcibiades (al-suh-BY-uh-deez), a nephew of Pericles. Elected to the generalship in 420 B.C.E., he proved to be a poor choice because of his recklessness and ambition. In 415 B.C.E., he convinced the Athenians to invade the island of Sicily, arguing that its conquest would give the Athenians a strong source of support to carry on a lengthy war. A large expedition consisting of five thousand Athenian hoplites was sent out in 415 B.C.E. and reinforced two years later by an even larger army of Athenians and allies. All was in vain. The Athenians failed to take Syracuse and were captured during their retreat. All of the Athenians were killed or sold into slavery (see Historical Voices, "Disaster in Sicily," above). These heavy losses at Syracuse had immediate domestic repercussions. The democracy was weakened, and an aristocratic oligarchy was temporarily established (411–410 B.C.E.).

Despite the disaster, the Athenians refused to give up; they raised new armies and sent out new fleets. The final

CHRONOLOGY The Great Peloponnesian War

Invasion of Attica	431 B.C.E.
Battle of Amphipolis	422 B.C.E.
Peace of Nicias	421 B.C.E.
Athenian invasion of Sicily	415–413 B.C.E.
Battle of Aegospotami	405 B.C.E.
Surrender of Athens	404 B.C.E.

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crushing blow, however, came in 405 B.C.E., when the Athenian fleet was destroyed at Aegospotami (ee-guh-SPAH-tuh-my) on the Hellespont. Athens was besieged and surrendered the next year. Its walls were torn down, the navy was disbanded, and the Athenian empire was dissolved. The great war was finally over.

3-4d The Decline of the Greek States (404–338 B.C.E.)

The next seventy years witnessed continuing warfare among the Greeks, with the leading roles shifting among Sparta, Athens, and a new Greek power, the city-state of Thebes. After the defeat of Athens in 404 B.C.E., the Spartans established their own control over Greece. The Athenian empire was no more. Oligarchies, headed by local ten-man boards in cooperation with Spartan garrisons, were placed in control of the states "liberated" from Athenian imperialism. But oligarchical control proved ineffective, especially in Athens, where the ruling oligarchical faction of thirty, set up by the Spartans, earned the nickname of "Thirty Tyrants" by executing about fifteen hundred of their democratic opponents. This led to a reaction in which the Athenians were able to reestablish their democracy in 403 B.C.E. They also rebuilt their navy and again became an important force in the Greek world.

To maintain its new leadership in Greek affairs, Sparta encouraged a Panhellenic crusade against the Persians as a common enemy. The Persians had taken advantage of the Greeks' internal struggle to reimpose their control over the Greek states in western Asia Minor. But the Persians had learned the lessons of Greek politics. They now offered financial support to Athens, Thebes, and other Greek states to oppose Spartan power within Greece itself, thus beginning a new war, the Corinthian War (395–386 B.C.E.). The war ended when the Greek states, weary of the struggles, accepted the king's peace, dictated by the Great King of Persia.

The city-state of Thebes, in Boeotia north of Athens, now began to exert its influence. Under their leader Epaminondas (ih-PAM-uh-NAHN-duss), the Thebans dramatically defeated the Spartan army at the Battle of Leuctra (LOOK-tra) in 371 B.C.E. Playing an important role in the Theban victory was an elite group known as the Sacred Band of Thebans. This was a force, according to one Greek writer, made up of 150 pairs of men "devoted to each other by mutual obligations of love." After the Spartan defeat, the Thebans liberated Messenia (land of the helots) from Spartan control and established a new polis of Messene. The loss of Messenia meant the end of Sparta as a major Greek power and the ascendancy of the Thebans.

But Theban power was short-lived. After the death of Epaminondas in the Battle of Mantinea (man-tuh-NEE-uh) in 362 B.C.E., the Thebans could no longer dominate Greek politics. And yet the Greek states continued their petty wars, seemingly oblivious to the growing danger to the north, where King Philip II of Macedonia was developing a unified state that would finally end the destructive fratricide of the Greek states by imposing Macedonian authority.

3-5 Culture and Society of Classical Greece

FOCUS QUESTIONS: Upon what ideals were Classical Greek art, drama, and religion based, and how were these ideals expressed? What questions did the Greek philosophers pose, and what answers did they suggest? What are the chief features of daily life in Classical Athens?

Classical Greece saw a period of remarkable intellectual and cultural growth throughout the Greek world. Historians agree, however, that Periclean Athens was the most important center of classical Greek culture.

3-5a The Writing of History

History as we know it, the systematic analysis of past events, was a Greek creation. Herodotus (huh-ROD-uh-tuss) (ca. 484–425 B.C.E.) was the author of *The Persian Wars*, a work commonly regarded as the first real history in Western civilization. The Greek word *historia* (from which we derive our word *history*) means "research" or "investigation," and it is in the opening line of Herodotus's work that we find the first recorded use of the word:

> Here are presented the researches [*historiae*] carried out by Herodotus of Halicarnassus. The purpose is to prevent the traces of human events from being erased by time, and to preserve the fame of the important and remarkable achievements produced by both Greeks and non-Greeks; among the matters covered is, in particular, the cause of the hostilities between Greeks and non-Greeks.[11]

The central theme of Herodotus's work is the conflict between the Greeks and the Persians, which he viewed as a struggle between Greek freedom and Persian despotism. Herodotus traveled widely for his information and was dependent for his sources on what we today would call oral history. Although he was a master storyteller and sometimes included considerable fanciful material, Herodotus was also capable of exhibiting a critical attitude toward the materials he used. Regardless of its weaknesses, Herodotus's history is an important source of information on the Persians and our chief source on the Persian Wars themselves.

Thucydides Thucydides (ca. 460–400 B.C.E.) was a far better historian; in fact, modern historians consider him the greatest of the ancient world. Thucydides was an Athenian and participant in the Peloponnesian War. He had been elected a general, but a defeat in battle led the Athenian assembly to send him into exile. In *History of the Peloponnesian War*, he described his activities:

> I lived through the whole of it, being of an age to understand what was happening, and I put my mind to the subject so as to get an accurate view of it. It happened, too, that I was banished from my country for twenty years after my

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> command at Amphipolis [422 B.C.E.]; I saw what was being done on both sides, particularly on the Peloponnesian side, because of my exile, and this leisure gave me rather exceptional facilities for looking into things.[12]

Unlike Herodotus, Thucydides was not concerned with underlying divine forces or gods as explanatory causal factors in history. He saw war and politics in purely rational terms, as the activities of human beings. He examined the long-range and immediate causes of the Peloponnesian War in a clear, methodical, objective fashion. Thucydides placed much emphasis on accuracy and the precision of his facts. As he stated:

> And with regard to my factual reporting of the events of the war I have made it a principle not to write down the first story that came my way, and not even to be guided by my own general impressions; either I was present myself at the events which I have described or else I heard of them from eyewitnesses whose reports I have checked with as much thoroughness as possible.[13]

Thucydides also provided remarkable insight into the human condition. He believed that human nature was a constant: "It will be enough for me, however, if these words of mine are judged useful by those who want to understand clearly the events which happened in the past and which (human nature being what it is) will, at some time or other and in much the same ways, be repeated in the future."[14] He was not so naive as to believe in an exact repetition of events but felt that political situations recur in similar fashion and that the study of history is of great value in understanding the present.

3-5b Greek Drama

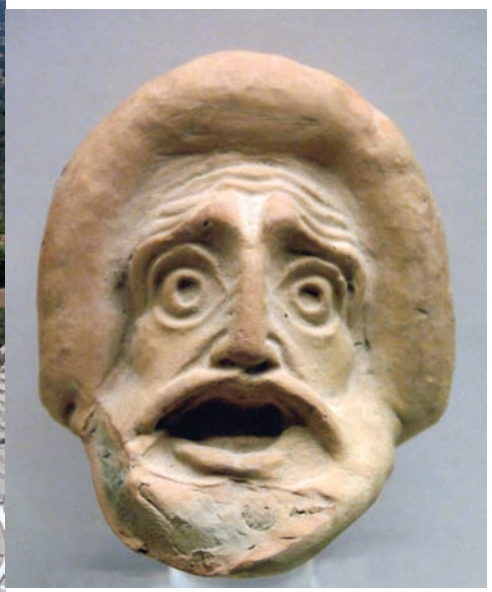
Drama as we know it was created by the Greeks and was clearly intended to do more than entertain. It was used to educate citizens and was supported by the state for that reason. Plays were presented in outdoor theaters as part of religious festivals (see Image 3.7). The form of Greek plays remained rather stable. Three male actors who wore masks acted all the parts. A chorus, also male, spoke the important lines that explained what was going on. Action was very limited because the emphasis was on the story and its meaning.

Aeschylus The first Greek dramas were tragedies, plays based on the suffering of a hero and usually ending in disaster. Aeschylus (525–456 B.C.E.) is the first tragedian whose plays are known to us. Although he wrote ninety tragedies, only seven



LatitudeStock - Ron Badkin/Getty Images

IMAGE 3.7a



Greek Art. 4th century B.C. Tragic theatrical mask./Photo © Tarker/Bridgeman Images

IMAGE 3.7b

IMAGE 3.7 **The Amphitheater at Epidaurus.** Image 3.7a shows the ancient Greek amphitheater at Epidaurus in the eastern Peloponnesus. It held 18,000 onlookers for the theatrical presentations and athletic games that were part of the religious festivals dedicated to Asclepius, the god of healing. Image 3.7b shows an example of a tragic theatrical mask worn by actors. Since Greek dramas used only three male actors who might play several roles, masks were necessary to distinguish the characters.

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HISTORICAL VOICES

Sophocles: "The Miracle of Man"

What is Sophocles's view of humans and their achievements? What limitations did he see to human accomplishments?

In *Antigone*, Sophocles presents a thoughtful analysis of the painful dilemmas in human existence. In one outstanding passage, the chorus expresses an exalted message on human resourcefulness and the achievements of human beings.

Sophocles, *Antigone*

Is there anything more wonderful on earth,
Our marvelous planet,
Than the miracle of man!
With what arrogant ease
He rides the dangerous seas,
From the waves' towering summit
To the yawning trough beneath.
The earth mother herself, before time began,
The oldest of the ageless gods,
Learned to endure his driving plough,
Turning the earth and breaking the clods
Till by the sweat of his brow
She yielded up her fruitfulness. . . .

He has mastered the mysteries of language:
And thought, which moves faster than the wind,
He has tamed, and made rational.
Political wisdom too, all the knowledge
Of people and States, all the practical
Arts of government he has studied and refined,
Built cities to shelter his head
Against rain and anger and cold
And ordered all things in his mind.
There is no problem he cannot resolve
By the exercise of his brains or his breath,
And the only disease he cannot salve
Or cure, is death.

In action he is subtle beyond imagination,
Limitless is his skill, and these gifts
Are both enemies and friends,
As he applies them, with equal determination,
To good or evil ends.
All men honor, and the State uplifts
That man to the heights of glory, whose powers
Uphold the constitution, and the gods, and their laws.
His city prospers. But if he shifts
His ground, and takes the wrong path,
Despising morality, and blown up with pride,
Indulges himself and his power, at my hearth
May he never warm himself, or sit at my side.

Source: Sophocles, *Antigone*, trans. D. Taylor (London: Methuen, 2006), pp. 17–18.

have survived. As was customary in Greek tragedy, his plots are simple. The entire drama focuses on a single tragic event and its meaning. Greek tragedies were sometimes presented in a trilogy (a set of three plays) built around a common theme. The only complete trilogy we possess, the *Oresteia* (uh-res-TY-uh), was composed by Aeschylus. The theme of this trilogy is derived from Homer. Agamemnon, the king of Mycenae, returns a hero after the defeat of Troy. His wife, Clytemnestra, avenges the sacrificial death of her daughter Iphigenia by murdering Agamemnon, who had been responsible for Iphigenia's death. In the second play of the trilogy, Agamemnon's son Orestes (uh-RES-teez) avenges his father by killing his mother. Orestes is now pursued by the avenging Furies, who torment him for killing his mother. Evil acts breed evil acts, and suffering is one's lot, suggests Aeschylus. But Orestes is put on trial and acquitted by Athena, the patron goddess of Athens. Personal vendetta has been eliminated, and law has prevailed.

Sophocles The most successful writer of Greek tragedies was the Athenian playwright Sophocles (SAHF-uh-kleez) (ca. 496–406 B.C.E.), whose background included holding some important public offices in Athens. He won many first prizes in festival competitions for best tragedy, although only 7 of his 123 plays have survived. His most famous play is *Oedipus the King.* The oracle of Apollo foretells that a man (Oedipus) will kill his own father and marry his mother. Despite all attempts at prevention, the tragic events occur. Although it appears that Oedipus suffered the fate determined by the gods, Oedipus also accepts that he himself as a free man must bear responsibility for his actions: "It was Apollo, friends, Apollo, that brought this bitter bitterness, my sorrows to completion. But the hand that struck me was none but my own."[15]

In Sophocles's play *Antigone,* Antigone (an-TIG-uh-nee), the daughter of Oedipus, is caught in a terrible dilemma. Her brother Polynices (pol-uh-NY-seez) has died in an attempt to seize the throne of Thebes, and now the king of Thebes, Antigone's uncle Cleon, has forbidden his burial as a traitor to the state. Should Antigone adhere to her principles and fulfill her obligation to the gods by burying her brother or face death by defying the authority of the state? In the confrontation between Cleon and Antigone, Sophocles bears witness to the complexity of human existence (see Historical Voices, "Sophocles: 'The Miracle of Man'," above).

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Euripides The third outstanding Athenian tragedian, Euripides (uoo-RIP-i-deez) (ca. 485–406 B.C.E.), moved beyond his predecessors in creating more realistic characters. His plots also became more complex, reflecting a greater interest in real-life situations. Perhaps the greatest of all his plays is *The Bacchae*, which deals with the introduction of the rites associated with Dionysus (dy-uh-NY-suss), god of wine. These rites introduced an element of spiritual ecstasy in Greek religion. Euripides was also critical of the traditional view that war was glorious. He portrayed war as brutal and expressed deep compassion for the women and children who suffered from it.

The Themes of Greek Tragedies Greek tragedies dealt with universal themes that are still relevant in our day. They probed such problems as the nature of good and evil, the conflict between spiritual values and the demands of the state or family, the rights of the individual, the nature of divine forces, and the nature of human beings. Over and over again, the tragic lesson was repeated: humans were free and yet could operate only within limitations imposed by the gods. The real task was to cultivate the balance and moderation that led to awareness of one's true position. But the pride in human accomplishment and independence is real. As the chorus chants in Sophocles's *Antigone:* "Is there anything more wonderful on earth, our marvelous planet, than the miracle of man?"[16]

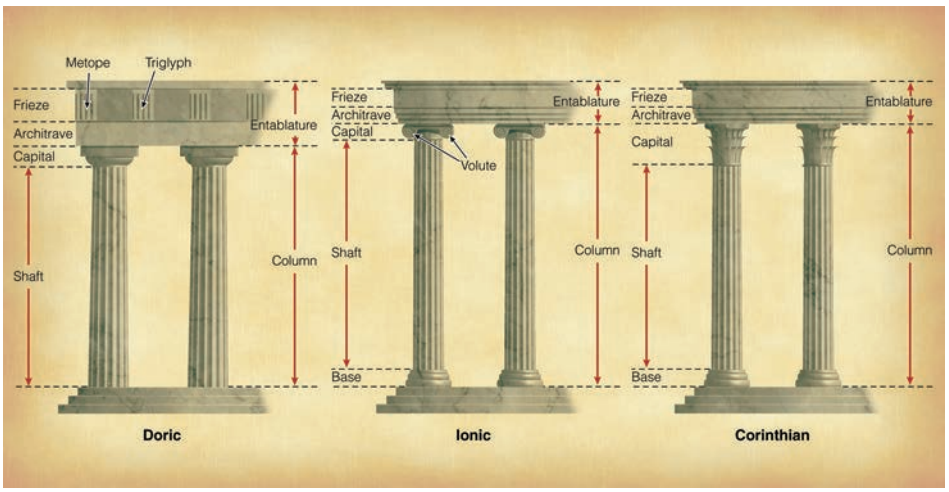
Greek Comedy Greek comedy developed later than tragedy. The plays of Aristophanes (ar-is-STAH-fuh-neez) (ca. 450–385 B.C.E.), who used both grotesque masks and obscene jokes to entertain the Athenian audience, are examples of Old Comedy, which was used to attack or savagely satirize both politicians and intellectuals. In *The Clouds,* for example, Aristophanes characterizes the philosopher Socrates as the operator of a thought factory where people could learn deceitful ways to handle other people. Later plays give up the element of personal attack and focus on contemporary issues. Of special importance to Aristophanes was his opposition to the Peloponnesian War. *Lysistrata*, performed in 411 B.C.E. at a time when Athens was in serious danger of defeat, has a comic but effective message against the war.

3-5c The Arts: The Classical Ideal

The artistic standards established by the Greeks of the classical period largely dominated the arts of the Western world until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Classical Greek art did not aim at experimentation for experiment's sake but was concerned with expressing eternally true ideals. Its subject matter was basically the human being, expressed harmoniously as an object of great beauty. The classical style, based on the ideals of reason, moderation, symmetry, balance, and harmony in all things, was meant to civilize the emotions.

In architecture, the most important form was the temple dedicated to a god or goddess. Since Greek religious ceremonies were held at altars in the open air, temples were not used to enclose the faithful as modern churches are. At the center of Greek temples were walled rooms that housed the statues of deities and treasuries in which gifts to the gods and goddesses were safeguarded. These central rooms were surrounded by a screen of columns that made Greek temples open structures rather than closed ones. The columns were originally made of wood but changed to limestone in the seventh century and to marble in the fifth century B.C.E. The most significant formal element in Greek temples was the shape and size of the columns in combination with the features above and below the column (see Image 3.8).

Some of the finest examples of classical Greek architecture were built in fifth-century B.C.E. Athens. The development of Athenian architecture was aided tremendously by the massive rebuilding program funded from the treasury of the Delian League and instituted almost a half-century after the Persians destroyed Athens in the Persian Wars. Especially important was a series of constructions on the Acropolis begun in 448 B.C.E. that included a monumental entrance gate, a temple to Athena Nike (the Bringer of Victory), and the Erechtheum, a multilevel temple. These temples honored the gods and heroes who protected Athens.



Universal Images/Superstock

IMAGE 3.8 **Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian Orders.** The size and shape of a column constituted one of the most important aspects of Greek temple architecture. The Doric order, with plain capitals and no base, developed first in the Dorian Peloponnesus and was rather simple in comparison to the slender Ionic column, which had an elaborate base and spiral-shaped capitals, and the Corinthian column, which featured leaf-shaped capitals.

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Adam Crowley/Getty Images

IMAGE 3.9 The Parthenon. The arts in classical Greece were designed to express the eternal ideals of reason, moderation, symmetry, balance, and harmony. In architecture, the most important form was the temple, and the classic example of this kind of architecture is the Parthenon, built between 447 and 432 B.C.E. Located on the Acropolis in Athens, the Parthenon was dedicated to Athena, the patron goddess of the city, but it also served as a shining example of the power and wealth of the Athenian empire.



Scala/Art Resource, NY

The most famous building, regarded as the greatest example of the classical Greek temple, was the Parthenon, built between 447 and 432 B.C.E. and consecrated to Athena, the patron goddess of Athens (see Image 3.9). The Parthenon typifies the principles of classical architecture: the search for calm, clarity, and freedom from superfluous detail. The individual parts of the temple were constructed in accordance with certain mathematical ratios found in nature. The architects' concern with the laws of proportion is paralleled by the attempt of Greek philosophers to understand the general laws of nature.

Greek sculpture also developed a classical style that differed significantly from the artificial stiffness of the kouros figure of the Archaic Period. Statues of the male nude, the favorite subject of Greek sculptors, now exhibited more relaxed attitudes; their faces were self-assured, their bodies flexible and smooth-muscled. Although the figures possessed natural features that made them lifelike, Greek sculptors sought to achieve not realism but a standard of ideal beauty. Polyclitus (pahl-ee-KLY-tuss), a fifth-century B.C.E. sculptor, wrote a treatise (now lost) on a canon of proportions that he illustrated in a work known as the *Doryphoros* (doh-RIF-uh-rohss) (see Image 3.10). His theory maintained that the use of ideal proportions, based on mathematical ratios found in nature, could produce an ideal human form, beautiful in its perfected and refined features. This search for ideal beauty was the dominant feature of the classical standard in sculpture.

IMAGE 3.10 *Doryphoros.* This statue, known as the *Doryphoros*, or spear carrier, is a Roman copy of the original work by the fifth-century B.C.E. sculptor Polyclitus, who believed it illustrated the ideal proportions of the human figure. Classical Greek sculpture moved away from the stiffness of the kouros figure but retained the young male nude as its favorite subject matter. The statues became more lifelike, with relaxed poses and flexible, smooth-muscled bodies. The aim of sculpture, however, was not simply realism but rather the expression of ideal beauty.

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3-5d The Greek Love of Wisdom

Philosophy is a Greek word that literally means "love of wisdom." Early Greek philosophers were concerned with the development of critical or rational thought about the nature of the universe and the place of divine forces and souls within it.

Much of early Greek philosophy focused on the attempt to explain the universe on the basis of unifying principles. Thales of Miletus (THAY-leez of my-LEE-tuss), an Ionian Greek who lived around 600 B.C.E., expressed an interest in explaining the events of nature. He postulated the unity of the universe, arguing that all things were linked by water as the basic substance. Another Ionian Greek, Pythagoras (puh-THAG-uh-russ) (ca. 580–490 B.C.E.), an important figure in the development of mathematics, taught that the essence of the universe could be found in music and numbers. These early Greek philosophers may have eliminated the role of the gods as they were portrayed in Greek myths, but they did not eliminate divinity itself from the world, tending instead to identify it with the underlying, unchanging forces that govern the universe.

Another major preoccupation of the so-called pre-Socratic philosophers (Greek philosophers before Socrates) was the nature of reality. Some philosophers saw change as the only reality, while others took the opposite view that all change is merely an illusion of the senses. Empedocles (ca. 493– 433 B.C.E.) arrived at a compromise, believing that there are four basic substances: earth, air, fire, and water. They are unchanging, but their interaction makes up the physical universe and produces the appearance of change.

Many Greeks, however, were simply not interested in speculations on the nature of the universe. The **Sophists** (SAHF-ists) were a group of philosophical teachers in the fifth century who rejected such speculation as foolish; they argued that understanding the universe was beyond the reach of the human mind. It was more important for individuals to improve themselves, so the only worthwhile object of study was human behavior. The Sophists were wandering scholars who sold their services as professional teachers to the young men of Greece, especially those of Athens. The Sophists stressed the importance of **rhetoric** (the art of persuasive speaking) in winning debates and swaying an audience, a skill that was especially valuable in democratic Athens. To the Sophists, there was no absolute right or wrong—what was right for one individual might be wrong for another. True wisdom consisted of being able to perceive one's own good and to pursue its acquisition. Many people, however, viewed the Sophists as a threat to the traditional values of society and especially dangerous to the values of young people.

In classical Greece, Athens became the foremost intellectual and artistic center. Its reputation is perhaps strongest of all in philosophy. After all, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle raised basic questions that have been debated for more than two thousand years; these are still largely the same philosophical questions we wrestle with today.

Socrates Socrates (SAHK-ruh-teez) (469–399 B.C.E.) left no writings, but we know about him from his pupils, especially his most famous one, Plato. By occupation, Socrates was a stonemason, but his true love was philosophy. He taught a number of pupils, but not for pay, because he believed that the goal of education was only to improve the individual. He made use of a teaching method that is still known by his name. The **Socratic method** employs a question-and-answer technique to lead pupils to see things for themselves using their own reason. Socrates believed that all real knowledge is within each person; only critical examination was needed to call it forth. This was the real task of philosophy, since "the unexamined life is not worth living."

Socrates's questioning of authority and public demonstrations of others' lack of knowledge led him into trouble. Athens had had a tradition of free thought and inquiry, but its defeat in the Peloponnesian War created an environment intolerant of open debate and soul-searching. Socrates was accused and convicted of corrupting the youth of Athens by his teaching, and an Athenian jury sentenced him to death.

Plato One of Socrates's disciples was Plato (PLAY-toh) (ca. 429–347 B.C.E.), considered by many scholars the greatest philosopher of Western civilization. Unlike his master Socrates, who wrote nothing, Plato wrote a great deal. He was fascinated with the question of reality: How do we know what is real?

According to Plato, a higher world of eternal, unchanging Ideas or Forms has always existed. To know these Forms is to know Truth. These ideal Forms constitute reality and can be apprehended only by a trained mind, which, of course, is the goal of philosophy. The objects that we perceive with our senses are simply reflections of the ideal Forms. Hence, they are shadows, while reality is found in the Forms themselves.

Plato's ideas of government were set out in a dialogue titled *The Republic.* Based on his experience in Athens, Plato had come to distrust the workings of democracy. It was obvious to him that individuals could not attain an ethical life unless they lived in a just and rational state. This insight led him to construct an ideal state in which the population was divided into three basic groups. At the top was an upper class, a ruling elite, the famous philosopher-kings: "Unless either philosophers become kings in their countries or those who are now called kings and rulers come to be sufficiently inspired with a genuine desire for wisdom; unless, that is to say, political power and philosophy meet together . . . there can be no rest from troubles . . . for states, nor yet, as I believe, for all mankind."[17] The second group consisted of the courageous; they would be the warriors who protected the society. All the rest made up the masses, essentially people driven not by wisdom or courage but by desire. They would be the producers of society—the artisans, tradesmen, and farmers.

In Plato's ideal state, each group fulfilled its assigned role, creating a society that functioned harmoniously. The needs of the community rather than the happiness of the individual were Plato's concern, and he focused on the need for the guardians or rulers, above all, to be removed from any concerns for wealth or prestige so that they could strive for what was best for the community. To rid the guardians of these desires, Plato urged that they live together, forgoing both private property and family life. Plato believed that women, too, could be rulers; in this he departed radically from the actual practices of the Greek states.

Aristotle Plato established a school at Athens known as the Academy. One of his pupils, who studied there for twenty

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HISTORICAL VOICES

The *Politics* of Aristotle

Q *What do Aristotle's comments suggest about the importance of the polis to the ancient Greeks? How does Aristotle distinguish humans from other animals, and what is the relationship between humanity and the polis?*

ARISTOTLE WAS ONE OF THE GREAT PHILOSOPHERS of ancient Athens. His philosophical and political ideas would play an important role in the evolution of Western thought during the Middle Ages. In this selection from his *Politics,* Aristotle examines the nature of political community and of the polis.

Aristotle, *Politics*

From these considerations it is evident that the *polis* belongs to the class of things that exist by nature, and that man is by nature an animal intended to live in a *polis.* He who is without a *polis,* by reason of his own nature and not of some accident, is either a poor sort of being, or a being higher than man: he is the man of whom Homer wrote in denunciation: "Clanless and lawless and hearthless is he." The man who is such by nature [unable to join in the society of a polis] at once plunges into a passion for war; he is in the position of a solitary advanced piece in a game of [checkers].

The reason why man is a being meant for political association, in a higher degree than bees or other gregarious animals can ever associate, is evident. Nature, according to our theory, makes nothing in vain; and man alone of the animals is furnished with the faculty of language. The mere making of sounds serves to indicate pleasure and pain, is thus a faculty that belongs to animals in general: their nature enables them to attain the point at which they have perceptions of pleasure and pain, and can signify those perceptions to one another. But language serves to declare what is advantageous and what is the reverse, and it therefore serves to declare what is just and what is unjust. It is the peculiarity of man, in comparison with the rest of the animal world, that he alone possesses perception of good and evil, of the just and the unjust, and of other similar qualities; and it is association in [a common perception of] these things which makes a family and a *polis.*

We now proceed to add that [though the individual and the family are prior in the order of time] the *polis* is prior in the order of nature to the family and the individual.

Source: Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. E. Barker (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946).

years, was Aristotle (AR-iss-tot-ul) (384–322 B.C.E.), who later became a tutor to Alexander the Great. Aristotle did not accept Plato's theory of ideal Forms. He believed that by examining individual objects, we can perceive their form and arrive at universal principles, but they do not exist as a separate higher world of reality beyond material things; rather they are a part of things themselves. Aristotle's interests, then, lay in analyzing and classifying things based on thorough research and investigation. His interests were wide-ranging, and he wrote treatises on an enormous number of subjects: ethics, logic, politics, poetry, astronomy, geology, biology, and physics.

Like Plato, Aristotle wished for an effective form of government that would rationally direct human affairs. Unlike Plato, he did not seek an ideal state based on the embodiment of an ideal form of justice; he tried to find the best form of government by a rational examination of existing governments. For his *Politics* (see Historical Voices, "The *Politics* of Aristotle," above), Aristotle examined the constitutions of 158 states and arrived at general categories for organizing governments. He identified three good forms of government: monarchy, aristocracy, and constitutional government. But based on his examination, he warned that monarchy can easily turn into tyranny, aristocracy into oligarchy, and constitutional government into radical democracy or anarchy. He favored constitutional government as the best form for most people.

Aristotle's philosophical and political ideas played an enormous role in the development of Western thought during the Middle Ages (see Chapter 9). So did his ideas on women. Aristotle believed that marriage was meant to provide mutual comfort between man and woman and contributed to the overall happiness of a community: "The community needs both male and female excellences or it can only be half-blessed." Nevertheless, Aristotle maintained that women were biologically inferior to men: "A woman is, as it were, an infertile male. She is female in fact on account of a kind of inadequacy." Therefore, according to Aristotle, women must be subordinated to men, not only in the community but also in marriage: "The association between husband and wife is clearly an aristocracy. The man rules by virtue of merit, and in the sphere that is his by right; but he hands over to his wife such matters as are suitable for her."[18]

3-5e Greek Religion

Greek religion was intricately connected to every aspect of daily life; it was both social and practical. Public festivals, which originated from religious practices, served specific functions: boys were prepared to be warriors, girls to be mothers. Since religion was related to every aspect of life, citizens had to have a proper attitude toward the gods. Religion was a civic cult necessary for the well-being of the state. Temples dedicated to a god or goddess were the major buildings of Greek society.

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Homer gave an account of the gods that provided a definite structure to Greek religion. Over a period of time, most Greeks came to accept a common religion based on twelve chief gods who supposedly lived on Mount Olympus, the highest mountain in Greece. Among the twelve were Zeus (ZOOSS), the chief deity and father of the gods; Athena, goddess of wisdom and crafts; Apollo, god of the sun and poetry; Aphrodite (af-fruh-DY-tee), goddess of love; and Poseidon (puh-SY-duhn), brother of Zeus and god of the seas and earthquakes.

The twelve Olympian gods were common to all Greeks, who thus shared a basic polytheistic religion. Each polis usually singled out one of the twelve Olympians as a guardian deity of its community. Athena was the patron goddess of Athens, for example. Because it was desirable to have the gods look favorably on one's activities, ritual assumed enormous proportions in Greek religion. Prayers were often combined with gifts to the gods based on the principle "I give so that you, the gods, will give in return." Ritual meant sacrifices, whether of animals or agricultural products. Animals were burned on an altar in front of a temple or on a small altar in front of a home.

As another practical side of Greek religion, Greeks wanted to know the will of the gods. The most famous method of divining the will of the gods was the use of the oracle, a sacred shrine dedicated to a god or goddess who revealed the future. The most famous was the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, located on the side of Mount Parnassus, overlooking the Gulf of Corinth. At Delphi, a priestess listened to questions while in a state of ecstasy that was believed to be induced by Apollo. The priests interpreted her responses and gave them in verse form to the person asking the questions. Both representatives of states and individuals traveled to Delphi to consult the oracle of Apollo. States might inquire whether they should undertake a military expedition; individuals might raise such questions as "Heracleidas asks the god whether he will have offspring from the wife he has now." Responses were often enigmatic and could be interpreted in more than one way. Croesus (KREE-suss), the king of Lydia in Asia Minor who was known for his incredible wealth, sent messengers to the oracle at Delphi asking whether he should go to war with the Persians. The oracle replied that if Croesus attacked the Persians, a mighty empire would be destroyed. Overjoyed to hear these words, Croesus made war on the Persians but was crushed by his enemy. A mighty empire was indeed destroyed—Croesus's own.

Festivals also developed as a way to honor the gods and goddesses. Some of these (the Panhellenic celebrations) were important to all Greeks and were held at special locations, such as those dedicated to the worship of Zeus at Olympia, to Poseidon at the Isthmus of Corinth, and to Apollo at Delphi. The great festivals incorporated numerous events in honor of the gods, including athletic competitions to which all Greeks were invited.

According to tradition, such athletic games were first held at the Olympic festival in 776 B.C.E. and then held every four years thereafter to honor Zeus. Initially, the Olympic contests consisted of foot races and wrestling, but later boxing, javelin throwing, and various other contests were added (see Image 3.11). Competitions were always between individuals, not groups. The Greeks regarded winning athletes as great heroes and often rewarded them with parades, as well as money and free rent for life.

Olympic games were not without danger to the participants, however. Athletes competed in the nude, and rules were rather relaxed. Wrestlers, for example, were allowed to gouge the eyes of their competitors and even pick them up and drop them head first onto a hard surface. Boxers wrapped their hands and forearms with heavy leather thongs to make their blows more damaging. Occasionally, athletes were killed during the games. Given the animosity that often existed between city-states in ancient Greece, the deaths were not always accidental.

The Olympic games, combined with other all-Greek athletic games, served a valuable role. The system of Greek poleis had led to separation and individual goals. But participation in these



Greek art. Krater. Attic style. Disco/bolo. 530 BC. Archaeological Museum. Madrid./Greek, (6th century BC)/PRISMA ARCHIVO FOTOGRAFICO (TARKER)/Archaeological Museum, Madrid, Spain/Bridgeman Images

IMAGE 3.11 **Olympic Athlete.** Athletic games were a feature of festivals honoring Greek gods and goddesses. Those at the Olympic festival honoring Zeus were especially prominent. Shown here in a sixth-century Attic krater (a krater was a large vase, usually used for watering down wine) is a Greek athlete preparing to throw a discus. The discus throw was one of the first five events of the Greek Olympics, As seen here, Greek athletes competed in the nude. Originally, the discus was made of stone, but later changed to lead, bronze, or iron.

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games also caused Greeks to become more aware of a wider sense of community as Greeks. By the sixth century, this led to an emerging sense of Greekness. And as we have seen, the later threat from the Persians would serve to solidify this growing cultural identity.

3-5f Life in Classical Athens

The Greek city-state was, above all, a male community: only adult male citizens took part in public life. In Athens, this meant the exclusion of women, slaves, and foreign residents, or roughly 85 percent of the total population of Attica. In the fifth century, Athens had the largest population of all the Greek city-states. There were probably 150,000 citizens, of whom about 43,000 were adult males who exercised political power. Resident foreigners, known as **metics**, numbered about 35,000 and received the protection of the laws, but they were also subject to some of the responsibilities of citizens, namely military service and the funding of festivals. The remaining social group, the slaves, numbered around 100,000.

Slavery and the Economy Slavery was a common institution in the ancient world. It was useful to own at least one slave, although the very poor in Athens did not own any. A soldier on campaign usually took along one slave to carry his armor. The really wealthy might own large numbers of slaves, but those who did usually employed them in industry. Most often slaves in Athens performed domestic tasks as cooks and maids or worked in the fields. Few peasants could afford more than one or two. Other slaves worked as unskilled or skilled laborers. Slaves who worked in public construction were paid the same as metics or citizens. Slaves who were used as pearl-divers, rowers in trading ships, and workers in silver mines suffered horrible, and usually short, lives.

The Athenian economy was largely agricultural but highly diversified. Athenian farmers grew grains, vegetables, and fruit for local consumption; cultivated vines and olives for wine and olive oil, which were exportable products; and raised sheep and goats for wool and milk products. Given the size of the population in Attica and the lack of abundant fertile land, Athens had to import between 50 and 80 percent of its grain, a staple in the Athenian diet. Trade was thus very important to the Athenian economy. The building of the port at Piraeus and the Long Walls (a series of defensive walls 41 miles long connecting Athens and Piraeus) created the physical conditions that made Athens the leading trade center in the fifth-century B.C.E. Greek world.

Athens did not have large numbers of artisans, but those it did have were important to the economy. Athens was the chief producer of high-quality painted pottery in the fifth century B.C.E. Other crafts had moved beyond the small workshop into the factory through the use of slave labor.

A Simple Lifestyle The Athenian lifestyle was basically simple. Athenian houses were furnished with necessities bought from artisans, such as beds, couches, tables, chests, pottery, stools, baskets, and cooking utensils. Wives and slaves made clothes and blankets at home (see Images of Everyday Life, "Activities of Athenian Women," p. 85). The Athenian diet was rather plain. Basic foods included barley, wheat, millet, lentils, grapes, figs, olives, almonds, bread made at home, vegetables, eggs, fish, cheese, and chicken. Olive oil was widely used not only for eating but also for lighting lamps and for rubbing on the body after washing and exercise. Owners of country houses kept animals for reasons other than their flesh: oxen for plowing, sheep for wool, and goats for milk and cheese. Meat was consumed only on special occasions, such as festivals, when animals were sacrificed, cooked, and then eaten.

Family and Relationships The family was an important institution in ancient Athens. It was composed of husband, wife, and children (a nuclear family), although other dependent relatives and slaves were regarded as part of the family because of its economic unity. The family's primary social function was to produce new citizens. Strict laws of the fifth century B.C.E. had stipulated that a citizen must be the offspring of a legally acknowledged marriage between two Athenian citizens.

Women were citizens who could participate in most religious cults and festivals but were otherwise excluded from public life. They could not own property beyond personal items and always had a male guardian: if unmarried, a father or male relative; if married, a husband; if widowed, a son or male relative.

The function of the Athenian woman as wife was very clear. Her foremost obligation was to bear children, especially male children who would preserve the family line. The marriage formula that Athenians used put it succinctly: "I give this woman for the procreation of legitimate children." A wife was also expected to take care of her family and her house, either doing the household work herself or supervising the slaves who did the actual work (see Opposing Viewpoints, "Women in Athens and Sparta," p. 86).

Women were kept under strict control. Since they were married at fourteen or fifteen, they were taught about their responsibilities at an early age. Although many managed to learn to read and play musical instruments, they were often cut off from any formal education. And women were expected to remain at home out of sight unless they attended funerals or festivals. If they left the house, they were to be accompanied.

Women in Athens served males in other ways as well. Prostitution was common in classical Athens. Most female prostitutes were slaves in brothels run as a business or trade by an Athenian citizen. Another class of prostitutes in Athenian society occupied a more favorable position; these more refined courtesans were known as **hetairai** (huh-TY-ree), literally "female companions." Usually ex-slaves or foreigners, these women were more sophisticated than ordinary prostitutes and were known for their intellectual and musical achievements as well as their physical ones. Athenian males continued the aristocratic practice of the *symposium*, a sophisticated drinking party at which hetairai were often present. Symposia were held in the men's dining rooms, and wives were not present. Hetairai danced, played musical instruments, and provided entertainment,

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IMAGES OF EVERYDAY LIFE

Activities of Athenian Women

Q *If women were barred from political activity, why do you think they were allowed to participate in religious festivals?*

In Athens, women were considered citizens and could participate in religious cults and festivals, but they were barred from any political activity. Women were thought to belong in the house, caring for the children and the needs of the household. A principal activity of Greek women was the making of clothes. The scene in Image 3.12a from the side of a fifth-century B.C.E. Greek vessel shows one woman spinning while another holds a small hand loom. Image 3.12b from a mid-sixth-century B.C.E. amphora (a jar or vase) shows another activity of Athenian women—participating in religious rituals. This scene shows a priestess dressed in an elaborate gown holding ceremonial branches and scattering holy water upon an altar while the men behind her are leading a bull to be sacrificed. It has recently been argued that the prominent position of the priestess standing in the center before the goddess Athena shows that the priestess was the chief supervisor of the sacrifice and, thus, an indication that women as priestesses played important public roles in ancient Greece.



Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

IMAGE 3.12a



Gianni Dagli Orti/The Art Archive at Art Resource, NY

IMAGE 3.12b

including sex. Some hetairai achieved fortune and considerable renown. Aspasia was the most famous. A friend of Socrates and known for her learning, she was the mistress of Pericles and eventually became his wife.

Male homosexuality was also a prominent feature of classical Athens. It was widely practiced and tolerated. Athenian law disenfranchised a citizen who had prostituted his body to another male, but nothing was done to males who engaged in homosexual love with male prostitutes or other adult males for love or pleasure. The law did not eliminate male prostitution but ensured that male prostitutes would be foreigners, not Athenian citizens.

The Greek homosexual ideal was a relationship between a mature man and a young male. It is most likely that this was primarily an aristocratic ideal. While the relationship was frequently physical, the Greeks also viewed it as educational. The older male (the "lover") won the love of his "beloved" by his value as a teacher and by the devotion he demonstrated in training his charge. In a sense, this love relationship was seen as a way of initiating young males into the male world of political and military dominance. The Greeks did not feel that the coexistence of homosexual and heterosexual predilections created any special problems for individuals or their society.

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Women in Athens and Sparta

In what ways were the lifestyles of Athenian and Spartan women the same? In what ways were they different? How did the Athenian and Spartan views of the world shape their conceptions of gender and gender roles, and why were those conceptions different?

In Classical Athens, a woman's place was in the home. She had two major responsibilities as a wife—bearing and raising children and managing the household. In the first selection, from a dialogue on estate management, Xenophon (ZEN-uh-fuhn) relates the instructions of an Athenian to his new wife. Although women in Sparta had the same responsibilities as women in Athens, they assumed somewhat different roles as a result of the Spartan lifestyle. The second, third, and fourth selections demonstrate these differences as seen in the accounts of three ancient Greek writers.

Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*

[Ischomachus addresses his new wife:] For it seems to me, dear, that the gods with great discernment have coupled together male and female, as they are called, chiefly in order that they may form a perfect partnership in mutual service. For, in the first place that the various species of living creatures may not fail, they are joined in wedlock for the production of children. Secondly, offspring to support them in old age is provided by this union, to human beings, at any rate. Thirdly, human beings live not in the open air, like beasts, but obviously need shelter. Nevertheless, those who mean to win stores to fill the covered place, have need of someone to work at the open-air occupations; since plowing, sowing, planting and grazing are all such open-air employments; and these supply the needful food. . . . For he made the man's body and mind more capable of enduring cold and heat, and journeys and campaigns; and therefore imposed on him the outdoor tasks. To the woman, since he had made her body less capable of such endurance, I take it that God has assigned the indoor tasks. And knowing that he had created in the woman and had imposed on her the nourishment of the infants, he meted out to her a larger portion of affection for newborn babes than to the man. . . .

Your duty will be to remain indoors and send out those servants whose work is outside, and superintend those who are to work indoors, and to receive the incomings, and distribute so much of them as must be spent, and watch over so much as is to be kept in store, and take care that the sum laid by for a year be not spent in a month. And when wool is brought to you, you must see that cloaks are made for those that want them. You must see too that the dry corn is in good condition for making food. One of the duties that fall to you, however, will perhaps seem rather thankless: you will have to see that any servant who is ill is cared for.

Xenophon, *Constitution of the Spartans*

First, to begin at the beginning, I will take the begetting of children. In other states the girls who are destined to become mothers and are brought up in the approved fashion, live on the very plainest fare, with a most meagre allowance of delicacies. Wine is either withheld altogether, or, if allowed them, is diluted with water. The rest of the Greeks expect their girls to imitate the sedentary life that is typical of handicraftsmen—to keep quiet and do wool-work. How, then, is it to be expected that women so brought up will bear fine children?

But Lycurgus thought the labour of slave women sufficient to supply clothing. He believed motherhood to be the most important function of freeborn woman. Therefore, in the first place, he insisted on physical training for the female no less than for the male sex: moreover, he instituted races and trials of strength for women competitors as for men, believing that if both parents are strong they produce more vigorous offspring.

Aristotle, *Politics*

Now, this license of the [Spartan] women, from the earliest times, was to be expected. For the men were absent from home for long periods of time on military expeditions, fighting the war against the Argives and again against the Arkadians and Messenians. . . . And nearly two-fifths of the whole country is in the hands of women, both because there have been numerous heiresses, and because large dowries are customary. And yet it would have been better to have regulated them, and given none at all or small or even moderate ones. But at present it is possible for a man to give an inheritance to whomever he chooses.

Plutarch, *Lycurgus*

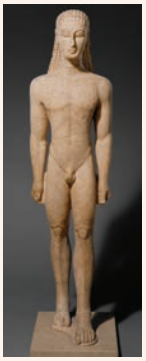
Since Lycurgus regarded education as the most important and finest duty of the legislator, he began at the earliest stage by looking at matters relating to marriages and births. . . . For he exercised the girls' bodies with races and wrestling and discus and javelin throwing, so that the

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embryos formed in them would have a strong start in strong bodies and develop better, and they would undergo their pregnancies with vigor and would cope well and easily with childbirth. He got rid of daintiness and sheltered upbringing and effeminacy of all kinds, by accustoming the girls no less than the young men to walking naked in processions and dancing and singing at certain festivals, when young men were present and watching. . . . The nudity of the girls had nothing disgraceful in it for modesty was present and immorality absent, but rather it made them accustomed to simplicity and enthusiastic as to physical fitness, and gave the female sex a taste of noble spirit, in as much as they too had a share in valor and ambition.

Sources: Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, in *Xenophon, Memorabilia and Oeconomicus*, trans. E. C. Marchant and O. J. Todd (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1930); Xenophon, *Constitution of the Spartans*, in *Xenophon in Seven Volumes*, edited by E. C. Marchant and translated by G. W. Bowersock (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1925); Aristotle, *Politics*, in *Aristotle, A Treatise on Government*, trans. W. Ellis (London, J. M. Dent & Sons, 1912); Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, in *Ideal Commonwealths: Plutarch's Lycurgus*, ed. H. Morley, 5th edition (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1890).

CHAPTER SUMMARY



The earliest Greek-speaking people migrated into Greece about 2000 B.C.E. and by 1600 B.C.E. had established a Greek civilization, known as the Mycenaean civilization from Mycenae, one of its major cities. After its collapse in the twelfth century B.C.E., Greece entered what some historians have called a Dark Age. With the end of this transitional period around 800 B.C.E., the era of the polis, or city-state, began. The polis was a community of citizens ruled by its male citizens. The two most famous city-states were Sparta, a militaristic polis ruled by an oligarchy, and Athens, which became known for its democratic institutions in spite of the fact that slaves and women had no political rights.



The Greek city-states flourished and reached their height in the classical era of the fifth century B.C.E. The century began with the Persian Wars, which temporarily unified the Greeks, who were victorious against the powerful Persian Empire. But the growth of an Athenian empire led to a mighty conflict between Athens and Sparta—the Great Peloponnesian War—that weakened the Greek city-states and ultimately opened the door to an invasion by Philip II of Macedonia that put an end to their freedom in 338 B.C.E.

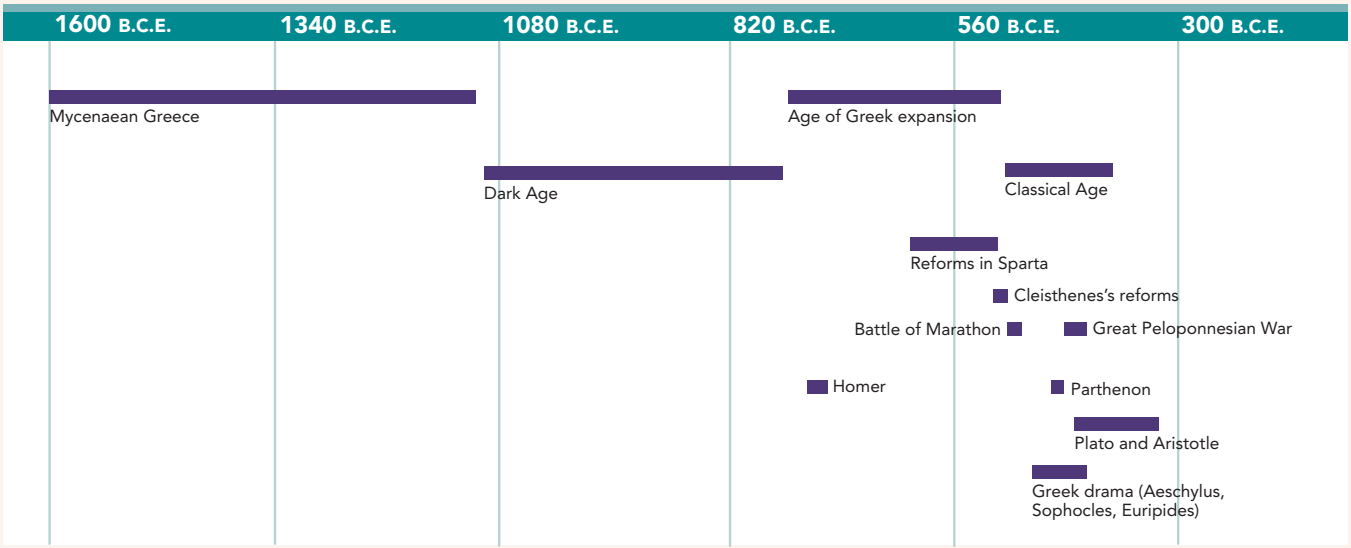
The civilization of the ancient Greeks was the fountainhead of Western culture. Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle established the foundations of Western philosophy. Herodotus and Thucydides created the discipline of history. Our literary forms are largely derived from Greek poetry and drama. Greek notions of harmony, proportion, and beauty remained for centuries the touchstones for subsequent Western art and architecture. A rational method of inquiry, so important to modern science, was conceived in ancient Greece. Many of our political terms are Greek in origin, as are our concepts of the rights and duties of citizenship, especially as they were conceived in Athens, which gave the idea of democracy to the Western world. Especially during the classical period, the Greeks raised and debated fundamental questions about the purpose of human existence, the structure of human society, and the nature of the universe that have concerned Western thinkers ever since. Although the Greeks did not conceive of Western civilization as a cultural entity, their artistic, intellectual, and political contributions were crucial to the foundations of Western civilization.



All of these achievements came from a group of small city-states in ancient Greece. And yet there remains an element of tragedy about Greek civilization. For all of their brilliant accomplishments, the Greeks were unable to rise above the divisions and rivalries that caused them to fight each other and undermine their own civilization. Fortunately, their contributions to Western civilization survived their political struggles.

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CHAPTER TIMELINE



CHAPTER REVIEW

Upon Reflection

Q Why are the Greeks considered the cornerstone of the Western intellectual tradition?

Q What was the polis, and why have many historians considered it to be an important development in the political history of Western civilization?

Q Discuss the structure of the Athenian political system. In what ways was it a democracy? In what ways was Athenian democracy limited?

Q The classical age in Greece is known for its literary, artistic, and intellectual achievements. What basic characteristics of Greek culture are reflected in the major achievements of the Greeks in the writing of history, drama, the arts, and philosophy? What universal human concerns did these same achievements reflect?

Key Terms

polis (p. 56)
hoplites (p. 61)
phalanx (p. 61)
tyrant (p. 63)
oligarchy (p. 64)
perioikoi (p. 65)
helots (p. 65)
Sophists (p. 81)
rhetoric (p. 81)
Socratic method (p. 81)
metics (p. 84)
hetairai (p. 86)

Full definitions also appear in the Glossary at the end of the book.

Suggestions for Further Reading

General Works Two good general introductions to Greek history are **W. Donlan et al.,** ***Ancient Greece: A Political, Social, and Cultural History,*** 4th ed. (New York, 2017), and **V. Parker,** ***A History of Greece, 1300 to 30 B.C.*** (Hoboken, N.J., 2013). On the Greek way of war, see **V. D. Hanson,** ***The Wars of the Ancient Greeks,*** revised edition (London, 2006). On the Minoans, see **J. Bennet,** ***A Short History of the Minoans*** (London, 2014).

Early Greek History Early Greek history is examined in **L. Schofield**, ***The Mycenaeans*** (Los Angeles, 2007), and **O. Murray,** ***Early Greece,*** 2nd edition (Cambridge, Mass., 2010). On the Trojan War, see **B. Strauss,** ***The Trojan War: A New History*** (New York, 2006).

Archaic Greece A good general work on Archaic Greece is **J. Hall,** ***History of the Archaic Greek World, c. 1200–479 B.C.*** (London, 2006). On Sparta, see **P. A. Cartledge,** ***The Spartans*** (New York, 2003). On early Athens, see **R. Osborne,** ***Athens and Athenian Democracy*** (New York, 2010). The Persian Wars are examined in **T. Holland,** ***Persian Fire*** (London, 2005). On the polis, see **M. H. Hansen,** ***Polis: An Introduction to the Ancient Greek City-State*** (Oxford, 2006).

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Classical Greece A general history of Classical Greece can be found in **P. J. Rhodes,** ***A History of the Greek Classical World, 478–323 B.C.*** (London, 2006), and **J. Ober,** ***The Rise and Fall of Classical Greece*** (Princeton, N.J., 2016) Valuable works on Athens include **D. Kagan,** ***Pericles of Athens and the Birth of Democracy*** (New York, 1991), and **K. A. Raaflaub et al.,** ***Origins of Democracy in Ancient Greece*** (Berkeley, Calif., 2007). For an account of the Great Peloponnesian War, see **N. Bagnall,** ***The Peloponnesian War: Athens, Sparta, and the Struggle for Greece*** (New York, 2006).

Greek Culture For a history of Greek art, see **A. Stewart,** ***Classical Greece and the Birth of Western Art*** (New York, 2008). On Greek drama, see the general work by **J. De Romilly,** ***A Short History of Greek Literature*** (Chicago, 1985). On Greek history writing, see **D. Shanske,** ***Thucydides and the Philosophical Origin of History*** (Cambridge, 2006).

Greek Religion On Greek religion, see **J. N. Bremmer,** ***Greek Religion*** (Oxford, 1994), and **M. Dillon**, ***Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*** (New York, 2002). On athletic competitions, see **S. G. Miller,** ***Ancient Greek Athletics*** (New Haven, Conn., 2004).

Family and Gender Issues On the family and women, see **C. B. Patterson,** ***The Family in Greek History*** (New York, 1998); **S. B. Pomeroy,** ***Spartan Women*** (Oxford, 2002); and **S. Blundell,** ***Women in Ancient Greece*** (London, 1995).

Notes

1. H. D. F. Kitto, *The Greeks* (Harmondsworth, England, 1951), p. 64.
2. Homer, *Odyssey*, trans. E. V. Rieu (Harmondsworth, England, 1946), p. 337.
3. Xenophon, *Symposium*, trans. O. J. Todd (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 3.5.
4. Homer, *Odyssey*, pp. 290–291.
5. Quoted in T. R. Martin, *Ancient Greece* (New Haven, Conn., 1996), p. 62.
6. Quoted in V. D. Hanson, *The Wars of the Ancient Greeks*, revised edition (London, 2006), p. 14.
7. These words from Plutarch are quoted in E. Fantham et al., *Women in the Classical World* (New York, 1994), p. 64.
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9. Hesiod, *Works and Days,* trans. Dorothea Wender (Harmondsworth, England, 1973), pp. 68, 71, 77.
10. Aeschylus, *The Persians*, in *The Complete Greek Tragedies*, vol. 1, eds. D. Grene and R. Lattimore (Chicago, 1959), p. 229.
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13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Sophocles, *Oedipus the King*, trans. David Grene (Chicago, 1959), pp. 68–69.
16. Sophocles, *Antigone*, trans. Don Taylor (London, 1986), p. 146.
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18. Quoted from S. Blundell, *Women in Ancient Greece* (London, 1995), pp. 106, 186.

MindTap *Tips*

What's the big idea? Check Your Understanding practice quizzes appear after each section reading in MindTap. Use these self-checks to be sure you're keying into the main ideas of your reading.

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