

Week 11: The Peloponnesian War, Part II

Lecture 19, **The Origins of the Peloponnesian War II: The Final Crisis**, Key Words

Epidamnus
Corinth
Corcyra
Athens
Sparta
Battle of Leucimne
Italy
Symmachia
Epimachia
Battle of Sybota
Lacedaemonius
Potidaean Ultimatum
Megarian Decree
Archidamus
Sthenelaidas
Aegina
Argive Alliance
Cold War
Lincoln

Lecture 20, **Pericles as General**, Key Words

Plutarch
Golden Age of Greece
Strategos
Hermippus
Satyrs
Teles
Cleon
Dr. Julius von Pflugk-Harttung
Franco-Prussian War
Clausewitz
Minister of War
Burgermeister
Themistocles
Cimon
Corinthian Gulf
Sicyonians
Oeniadae
Black Sea
“showing the flag”
Boeotia
Tolmides
Euboea
Megara
Choruses
Boeotian hoplites
Hans Delbruck
Frederick the Great
Seven Years’ War
“Strategy of exhaustion”
“Strategy of annihilation”
North Vietnamese Communists
United States
Guerilla Warfare
Second Punic War
Rome
Hannibal
Quintus Fabius Maximus
Italy
Spain
Africa
Prussian monarch
Britain
Russian Empress
Georg Busolt

Doctrinaire
Hermann Bengtson
Demosthenes
Pylos
Peloponnesus
Helots
Sphacteria
Cythera
Epidaurus
Acarmania
Messenia
Chinese
Status quo ante bellum
Epidamnus
Samos
Caesar
Alexander
Patton
Omar Bradley
Bernard Montgomery
Cimon
Athenian Admiralty
Anglo-Saxon countries
Rationality
Thucydides' triad
Fear, Honor, Interest
Long Walls
Athenian way of warfare
Deterrence
Mourning Cloths
Chameleon
Paradoxical Trinity
Linear Phenomenon

Chronological Table for the Peloponnesian War 431-404

Archidamian War 431-421

431 March: Thebans, invited by oligarchs (*stasis*), attack Plataea and attempt to force Plataea to join the Boeotian League; Plataeans slaughter all the Thebans. First Peloponnesian invasion of Attica (May) with two-thirds of the league army under Archidamus. Athenians leave the countryside and retreat within the city walls with families and property; move cattle and pack animals to Euboea and adjacent islands. Pericles dispatches 100 ships with hoplites, soon joined by 50 Corcyrean vessels, around the Peloponnese to make raids along the coast; acquires Cephallenia as an ally; 30 other Athenian ships protect Euboea from Locrian pirates, capture the town of Thronium and fortify the desert island of Atalanta. Athens expels inhabitants of Aegina as responsible for the war, and the island becomes a *cleruchy*; Spartans settle banished Aeginetans in Thyrea. Pericles leads 10,000 citizen and 3,000 metic hoplites in first of the twice yearly Athenian raids into Megara; ravage territory and return home. Athens makes alliance with King Sitalces of Thrace through Athens' *proxenos* in Abdera, who also reconciles (temporarily) Perdiccas of Macedon with Athens after the Athenians restore to his jurisdiction Therma, a city at the head of the Thermaic Gulf. Reserve of 1000 talents secured by Athens against contingency of invasion; 100 best triremes kept in permanent reserve under 3 trierarchs.

431/0 Pericles delivers Funeral Oration over war-dead.

430 Dramatic date for Plato's *Protagoras*. Plague breaks out in Athens, spreading from Piraeus. Peloponnesians invade Attica a second time for forty days with two-thirds of their forces under Archidamus; Pericles leads an assault on Epidaurus with 100 Athenian ships, joined by 50 from Chios and Lesbos; he fails to take the town; ravages the land of Troezen, Halieis and Hermione, and destroys Prasiai on the eastern coast of Laconia and returns home; the Spartans and their allies sail with a hundred ships against Zacynthus; later in the summer two of Pericles' fellow generals, Hagnon and Cleopompus, take command of the fleet and sail to Chalcidice to join in the siege of Potidaea; Plague reaches Athenian force besieging Potidaea, ravages it. Athenians suspend Pericles from Board of Generals; send peace embassy to Sparta; Pericles delivers last reported speech (2.60-64); Athenians send no more peace envoys, but depose and fine Pericles; winter: Phormio, Athenian admiral, operates from Naupactus in Corinthian Gulf with twenty ships.

430/29 February: Athenians reelect Pericles *strategos* for the year 429/8; following the two years' blockade (432-430) and 2,000 talents expenditure by Athens Potidaea falls; Potidaeans permitted to depart to wherever they could find asylum; Athenians later sent out their own settlers to colonize the deserted city.

429 The Peloponnesian army avoids Attica because of plague, march against Plataea instead; Spartans insist that Plataea abandon alliance with Athens and become neutrals; with assurance from the Athenians, Plataea decides to remain loyal to Athens; Archidamus lays siege to town with 400 inside (women and children in Athens). The Peloponnesians, especially the Corinthians, and their western allies attempt to detach Acarnania from Athens and to conquer Zacynthus, Cephallenia and Naupactus; Phormio gains remarkable naval victories in Gulf over much larger Peloponnesian fleet. Athenian garrison established at Aenus in Thrace. Pericles dies of plague (September). About half inhabitants of Plataea escape to Athens.

429/8 (winter) in northern regions Sitalces, king of the Thracians, at variance with Perdiccas, leads an army of 150,000 men against Macedonia; pillages country; reconciled with Perdiccas, he goes on to ravages territory of the cities of Chalcidice before returning to Thrace.

428 Fourth year of the war. Euripides produces *Hippolytus*. Sophocles produces *Oedipus Tyrannus* (possibly 427), with initial description of plague. Peloponnesians invade Attica for the third time. (June) Four of the five cities on the large island of Lesbos, except Methymna, which remains loyal to Athens, revolt under the oligarchic leaders of Mytilene (Lesbos and Chios are the only two remaining autonomous members of the empire, each providing ships rather than tribute); Sparta and Boeotia foment the revolt through their *proxenoi* in Mytilene; Athens lays siege to the city; Sparta and her allies accept Mytilene as ally and agree to invade Attica a second time (August); Introduction of *eisphora*, or capital tax, in Athens (both citizens and *metics* liable) produces 200 talents; Athens dispatches 12 money-collecting ships to the allies; general Lysicles and some of his troops killed by the Carians on expedition; Anaxagoras dies.

427 Sparta introduces a war-fund to raise money. Peloponnesians invade Attica a fourth time; Alcidas, the Spartan admiral, fails to relieve Mytilene with his fleet of forty-two ships. Surrender of Mytilene to Athenian commander Paches: Cleon's motion to massacre all men and sell women into slavery reversed by the vote of a second assembly: Athenians destroy the walls of the Mytileneans and take their ships, and divide the land of the island, except that of Methymna, into 3,000 lots, which they assign to Athenian *cleruchs* sent to the island. Surrender of Plataea to Sparta (under siege since 429, half-starved, unaided by Athens): town destroyed, many citizens executed under influence of Thebans who resented Plataea's anti-Boeotian Athenian alliance. Civil War (*stasis*) breaks out on Corcyra with the return from Corinth of the Corcyrean prisoners captured during the Epidamnian affair; conflict between the returned prisoners and the pro-Athenian democratic faction. Leontini, Naxos, Catana, Rhegium send joint embassy (including Gorgias the famous rhetorician) to Athens for help against Syracusan aggression. First Sicilian expedition dispatched with 20 ships under Laches, "to prevent the exportation of Sicilian grain to the Peloponnesus and to test the possibility of bringing Sicily into subjugation" (3, 86). Athens renews treaty of 457 with Segesta (Sicily).

427/6 (winter) Second outbreak of plague in Athens: altogether about one-third of population dies from plague, including 4,400 hoplites and 300 cavalry. Slaves start deserting from Laurium mines.

426 Aristophanes' *Babylonians* (A. prosecuted by Cleon because of the play). Demosthenes makes Aetolian expedition with thirty Athenian ships, joining contingents from Acarnania, Zacynthus, Cephallenia and Corcyra; ravage island of Leucas; he invades Aetolians but suffers defeat in guerilla war. Spartans, at request of the Trachinians and Dorians of the metropolis, found Heraclea, in Trachis, near Thermopylae, hoping to secure the route to Thrace and establish a base for ravaging Euboea. Demosthenes and the Acarnanians defeat the Peloponnesians and Ambraciots at Olpae at the eastern end of the gulf; Acarnanians and Amphilocheians refuse to conquer Ambracia for Demosthenes. Laches captures Messina (Sicily).

426/5 Athenians purify Delos; establish a new quinquennial festival—the Delian Games—the only international festival under Ionian control. Loans (426-22) floated from Sacred Treasuries to Athenian State. 'Decree of Cleonymous', establishes a Boards of Collectors to extract more grain and tribute from subject-allies; collectors personally responsible for the tribute due. Second Leontini embassy to Athens; second squadron of 40 ships voted to Sicily under the generals Eurymedon and Sophocles.

425 Aristophanes' the *Acharnians* wins first prize. Peloponnesians invade Attica for the fifth time. Laches relieved of his command in Sicily; Messina lost. Cleon enforces naval blockade of Peloponnesus. Demosthenes builds fortress at Pylos as an asylum for escaping helots; the Spartans withdraw from Attica and send a force to Pylos; they station 420 hoplites on island of

Sphacteria, whom the Athenians trap in what becomes a 72-day blockade; Spartans make an armistice and turn over their navy to Athens but refuse peace terms offered; Cleon takes Nicias' command, defeats the Spartans with Demosthenes and captures 120 Spartiates on Sphacteria. Athens rejects Spartan peace offer; end annual invasions of Attica; Messenians from Naupactus take possession of Pylos. Athenians help Corcyrean democrats defeat and slaughter the oligarchs; *stasis* on Corcyra ends, "for of one party there was practically nothing left" (Thucydides, 4.48.5). Athenian squadron sails from Corcyra to Sicily (August-Sept.). Darius of Persia confirms **449 Peace of Callias**.

425/4 Athens (i.e., Cleon) reassesses subject-allies' tribute (doubled and in some cases tripled). Total due is now 1460+ talents from 400 cities. Three-obol pay introduced for Athenian jurors.

424 The Spartans, fearing for the Spartiates who were prisoners in Athens, do not invade Attica. Hyperbolus proposes idea of military intervention in West. Tentative negotiations between Sparta and Persia break down. Aristophanes' *The Knights* pillories Cleon. Athenians make general blockade of Peloponnesus; try to take advantage of *stasis* in Megara and to take control of city; Spartan general Brasidas occupies Megara, thwarts Athenians, sets up narrow oligarchy and marches overland through Thessaly and Thrace; Amphipolis, Acanthus and other cities come over to him; Athens seizes and garrisons Nisaea, the Megarian port on the Saronic Gulf; Nicias attacks Cythera and forces the Spartan *perioeci* to capitulate. In Sicily the various Sicilian cities meet in a **Congress at Gela** and terminate hostilities there on basis of *status quo*; the Syracusan Hermocrates warns that Athens is preparing for the conquest of all Sicily; Athenian commanders prosecuted on return to Athens: accused of taking bribes when they should have carried on the war. Athens and allies, including Socrates and Alcibiades, defeated at Delium on the east coast of Boeotia; Athenian general and 1,000 hoplites killed. Disappearance of 2,000 bravest helots; Chalcidic communities request help from Sparta and Brasidas against Athens; Brasidas leads 1,700 men through 'pro-Athenian' Thessaly, persuades Acanthus and Stagirus (colonies of Andros) to revolt, and, aided by Andrian Argilus, brings about the surrender of Amphipolis on generous terms; Thucydides (the historian) exiled for losing Amphipolis, probably on the motion of Cleon.

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423 Aristophanes composes *Clouds*. Athens' resident aliens purged and expelled? Brasidas gains control of Torone. One-year truce agreed between Athens and Sparta: Brasidas in Thrace ignores armistice (having just been crowned "liberator of Hellas" by Scione); Athenians reject Spartan offer to arbitrate over Scione; Cleon carries motion to sail to Chalcidice and slay the

Scionaeans; Mende, Scione's neighbor to the west, revolts. Nicias operating from Potidaea, which Brasidas fails to capture, takes Mende; Athenians begin siege of Scione. Perdicas, disillusioned with Sparta, seeks relations with Athens again. Capua (Italy) is captured by Samnite tribesmen. Leontini annexed by Syracuse. Temple of Hera at Argos rebuilt after fire. **422** Aristophanes produces *Wasps*. Regulations made for offering of first-fruits at Eleusis. Embassy from Leontini to Athens complains of Syracusan aggression. Athens sends diplomatic mission to Sicily under Phaeax. One-year truce with Sparta expires; Cleon sails to Chalcidice with a considerable force and captures Torone before Brasidas can arrive; Cleon, having advanced on Amphipolis without waiting for Perdicas and his Macedonians, is killed during an unsuccessful attack; Brasidas dies in same battle (September). Deaths of Cleon and Brasidas, the pestle and mortar of the war (Aristophanes, *Peace*), increase influence of peace factions led by Nicias at Athens and King Pleistoanax at Sparta. Revenues from Athenian tribute, taxes etc. near 2000 talents (Aristophanes, *Wasps* 656-664).

422/1 New Athenian tribute assessment scales down 425 totals to 1000 talents. Thirty Years' Peace between Sparta and Argos is about to expire; Sparta also concerned about prisoners taken at Sphacteria and enemy garrisons at Pylos and Cythera encouraging helots to revolt; Athens shaken by its defeat at Delium, the loss of Amphipolis (i.e., timber and Pangaeus mines) and the revolts of its Thracian allies. Peace negotiations opened between Athens and Sparta.

421 Aristophanes produces *Peace*. **March**: Fifty-year **Peace of Nicias** ratified between Athens and Sparta (Thuc. 5.16-18); provisions include Sparta's promise to give up Amphipolis, Athens' to abandon Pylos and Cythera, and the release of all prisoners of war; however, some of Sparta's most important allies, the Boeotians, Corinthians, Eleans and Megarians, refuse to sign the treaty; Corinth angry about Athens' retention of Anactorium and Solium, Megara upset that Athens keeps Nisaea, Boeotia refuses to give up border fortress of Panactum, which it had recently taken from Athens. Clearchus refuses to return Amphipolis to Athens under terms of treaty; Athens, in retaliation, retains Pylos. Athenians capture Scione, execute all adult males and enslave the rest. Athens and Sparta make alliance. In response, Corinth, Elis, Mantinea in Arcadia, and the Thracian Chalcidians join in alliance with Argos; Sparta makes secret alliance with Boeotia to persuade them to restore Panactum and their Athenian prisoners to Athens, hoping the Athenians would then abandon Pylos; but the Boeotians first destroy Panactum, so Athens refuses to let go of Pylos. Argos makes a treaty with Sparta.

420 Alcibiades son of Cleinias on Board of Generals (*strategos*): Athens at his prompting repudiates alliance with Sparta, makes a hundred years' alliance with Argos-Elis-Mantineia (July). Sparta banned from 420 Olympic Games because of Argive alliance. Samnites destroy Cyme (Campania). Protagoras tried in Athens for atheism, banished, dies in shipwreck.

419 Alcibiades and Argos build Long Walls between port and city of Patrae on the Gulf of Corinth. Corinth forestalls move to take Rheum.

418 First peace-time Great Panathenaia in 16 years: cleruchs dedicate gold crown weighing 1250 drachmas. Alcibiades fails to be elected strategos. Argos makes 4-months treaty with King Agis of Sparta and Peloponnesian league forces. **Battle of Mantinea** won by Sparta under king Agis against Athenian-Argive coalition. Sparta regains former prestige. Oligarchic faction's seizure of power in Argos, which abandons quadruple alliance, is followed by fifty-year Argos-Sparta treaty. Perdicas of Macedon now officially (and improperly) allied with both sides. Demosthenes operates in Strymon area. Athens-Segesta treaty is renewed.

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(Map of Battle of Mantinea)

417 Rise in grain prices at Athens. Comic poets make jokes about food shortages. Athenian attempt to recapture Amphipolis aborted. Athenians withdraw garrison from Aenus in Thrace. Nicias and Alcibiades conspire to have Hyperbolus—the “demagogue”—ostracized; the last time ostracism was employed. Nicias makes lavish contribution to religious festival on Delos: made

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commander of campaign in Chalcidice area. Counter-revolution in Argos restores democracy (midsummer) and Argives rejoin Athens. Alcibiades helps Argives build Long Walls (also rebuilds Long Walls at Patrae). Fall: Spartans destroy Argive walls, but fail to capture city.

417/16 Both Nicias and Alcibiades are elected *strategos*.

416 Agathon wins drama prize in Athens (this is the dramatic date of Plato's *Symposium*, which represents a party in his honor). March: Alcibiades on Board of Generals purges Argos of 'unreliable' (i.e., pro-Spartan) elements. Fifty-year treaty made between Athens and Argos.

Alcibiades' chariot-teams win 1st, 2nd and 4th prizes at Olympic Games. Athens embarks on campaign of reduction against the island of Melos, a former Spartan colony and the only exception to Athenian control in the Cyclades. Athenian garrison at Pylos raids Messenia. By now Athens recovered from effects of plague: trade and population booming. September: Embassy to Athens from Elymite Segesta (Sicily) asks for help against the neighboring city of Selinus, strongly supported by Syracuse; mention threat that the total domination of Sicily by Syracuse would pose; after receiving a report from their envoys, the Athenians vote to send an expedition under the joint command of Nicias, Alcibiades and Lamachus.

416/5 Surrender of Melos (winter): adult males killed, women and children enslaved: 500 Athenian colonists sent to island. Herms mutilated. Ostracism of Hyperbolus (date uncertain: **416** or **417**). Alcibiades and others charged with sacrilegious parodying of the Eleusinian mysteries.

415 the Sicilian Expedition sails under Alcibiades, Nicias and Lamachus with about 30,000 men (June). Reign of terror in Athens against supposed Herm-breakers and Mystery-profaners.

Rhegium refuses to join Athenian expedition in Sicily; Segesta defaults on her payments. Alcibiades' strategy adopted. He fails to take Messina. Recalled to stand trial in Athens, he jumps ship at Thurii and makes his way to the Peloponnesus: sentence of death and cursing passed on him *in absentia*. Athenians fail to win allies in the north of Sicily, fight an indecisive battle with the Syracusans, and then go into winter quarters in their camp at Catana. Athens imposes a 'tough line' policy on Nicias. Euripides produces his antiwar tragedy, *The Trojan Women*.

415/14 (winter) Syracusans appoint Hermocrates as one of three generals and spend the winter building and strengthening their defenses around the city and harbor; envoys from Syracuse and Corinth arrive in Sparta; Alcibiades, who had obtained safe-conduct to Sparta, advises Spartans to send a Spartan general to Syracuse and to occupy Decelea in Attica. Spartans immediately appoint Gylippus to the command of the Syracusans.

414 Nicias prepares to put Syracuse under siege. Aristophanes' *Birds* produced (March). Reinforcements and funds sent to Sicily. Nicias establishes Athenian striking force on Epipolae above Syracuse: walls and counter walls are built. Lamachus killed. Nicias brings the fleet into the Great Harbor, at the western end of which he establishes an Athenian camp, intending to extend the besieging wall from Epipolae to harbor and completely blockade Syracuse. An Athenian fleet lands on Laconian coast to help Argos against Spartan invasion: this technically breaks the 421 treaty. Gylippus, Spartan general, reaches Syracuse, with reinforcements from Himera, Selinus and other allies. Athenian attempt to recover Pangaeus mines near Strymon fails. Syracusans break blockade and regain Epipolae. Nicias writes to Athenian assembly asking for reinforcements or authority to evacuate; also to be relieved of his command. Assembly confirms Nicias in command and votes second fleet under Demosthenes.

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(Map of the Siege of Syracuse)

414/3 Gylippus is away from Syracuse on recruiting drive. Eurymedon, the Athenian, sails for Sicily with advance squadron of new expedition. Spartans prepare for occupation of Decelea in Attica.

413 Gylippus back in Syracuse. Peloponnesian League sends contingents to aid Syracusans. Spartan army under King Agis invades Attica (first raid since 425) and builds a stronghold at Decelea (March) and leaves a permanent garrison. Demosthenes sails for Sicily (March) but spends time recruiting in Arcarnania. Gylippus captures harbor-fort of Plemmyrium, with Athenian naval stores. Thracian mercenaries massacre children at Mycalessus (Boeotia). Reinforcements (halved by pro-Athenian guerrilla action *en route*) reach Gylippus in Syracuse. Nicias blockaded in Great Harbor: naval skirmishing. Tribute system abolished at Athens, replaced by 5 % import tax throughout empire. In July Demosthenes and Eurymedon sail into the harbor of Syracuse with seventy-three triremes and a total force of from 15,000 to 20,000. Demosthenes makes unsuccessful night attack on Epipolae. Nicias fearing assembly at Athens refuses Demosthenes plan to return to Greece; Gylippus, who had been collecting allies throughout Sicily, arrives with a large number of Sicilian troops and Peloponnesians who were sent to aid Syracuse; Nicias finally agrees to leave; Aug. 27: plan for Athenian evacuation postponed for 27 days by Nicias after lunar eclipse. Syracusans seal Great Harbor with boom. Athenian bid at naval break-out fails (early Sept.). Retreat overland of about 40,000 men takes place and final massacre or capture of all Athenian armed forces at River Assinarus. 7,000 prisoners confined in stone-quarries. Nicias and Demosthenes executed. Work on Erechtheum (temple of Athena Polias) suspended. Emergency shipbuilding program in Athens and Sunium fortified. Board of ten Councilors (*Probouloi*) appointed at Athens, including Sophocles and Hagnon. Spartan army from Decelea destroying crops and flocks in the plains and hills; blocking supplies from Euboea; up to 20,000 slaves desert to Decelea from Attica. Laurium mines closed.

412 Syracuse honor their victory by issuing decadrachmas. Erythrae envoys proceed to Agis in Decelea accompanied by an ambassador from Tissaphernes, the Persian satrap of the maritime regions, Lydia, Ionia and Caria; later envoys arrive from Pharnabazus, the satrap ruling from Dascylium in Hellespontine Phrygia; Darius II demands tribute; Persians encourage Asiatic Greeks to revolt; Alcibiades leaves Sparta (trouble with Agis: Queen Timaea pregnant) and sails with small Spartan squadron to Chios, which, with the assistance of an oligarchic faction, he causes to revolt against Athens. Erythrae, Clazomenae, Miletus, Mytilene, Cyme, Phocaea follow suit; 1000-talent emergency fund released, reserve triremes put in commission at Athens; these ships make their headquarters at Samos (8.15). Treaty of Miletus first drafted between Persia and Sparta, with clause ceding Asiatic Greek cities to Great King, “whatever country or city the king has, or the king’s ancestors had, shall be the king’s,” the war being a joint enterprise between the king and Peloponnesian League (Thuc. 8.18.1). Athenian fleet sails east to deal with revolts in Ionia, blockades Chios and regains Lesbos. The Democrats, supported by Athenian fleet, revolt at Samos against oligarchs; they put to death 200 of the upper classes and banishing 400; as a reward the Athenians decree autonomy for the Samians (8.21). Spartans cause Cnidos to revolt. Spartans and Athenians battle for Miletus. “Treaty” of Miletus renewed: commission of eleven Spartans meet with Tissaphernes, who breaks up conference when Lichas challenges clause supporting Persian claim to recover the islands, Thessaly, Locris and everything as far as Boeotia, and making “the Spartans give to the Hellenes instead of liberty a Median master” (8.37).

412/11 Alcibiades, now suspected by Spartans (a price put on his head by Agis), seeks refuge with Tissaphernes at Miletus, has interview with Great King and urges non-alignment policy: let Athens and Sparta wear each other down; warns that Sparta greater danger than Athens; At same time he gets in touch with fleet at Samos, promising Persian support if oligarchy is established at Athens. Lysander sets up governors (harmosts) and garrisons in cities of Asia Minor to protect the revolting oligarchs from democratic factions and from Athenian attacks; second draft of Persia-Sparta treaty stating that Persia will subsidize the Spartan fleet.

411 January: Naval battle off Syme (Dodecanese) leads to revolt of Rhodes, which provides Peloponnesian League with welcome funds. February/March: Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* and *Thesmophoriazusae*. Peisander sent to Athens from Samos to prepare way for oligarchic coup and friendship with Tissaphernes and the Persians. Assembly votes that Peisander and ten others should sail and make the best possible arrangements with Tissaphernes and Alcibiades, who has promised more than he can deliver; commission comes back to find Tissaphernes pro-Spartan again; Treaty of Miletus finally ratified (April): stating that Tissaphernes would pay for Sparta's ships now until the arrival of the king's vessels (the Phoenician fleet); thereafter the Spartans must pay for their own ships. April: Abydos and Lampsacus revolt against Athens; Lampsacus recaptured. Athenians build fortress at Sestos. Certain Athenians discuss limiting the citizenship to 5,000 men capable of serving the state without pay; dissent punished with death; when Peisander returns assembly votes to elect 20 men who, in conjunction with the 10 *probouloi* (Aristotle, *Ath. Const.*, 29.2), should prepare suggestions for the common good, to be presented to the people; Athenian assembly meets outside city at Colonus; first proposal of the thirty commissioners abolishes the *graphe paranomon*; they eliminate pay for government service; program passed for new Athenian constitution (May), ruled by a council of Four Hundred. May/June: Council of 500 replaced by new tough council of Four Hundred with totalitarian methods. Democrats crush attempted oligarchic coup at Samos; envoys from Samos to Athens return to fleet with horror-stories about reign of terror in city: Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus persuade the whole population of Samos to take an oath of loyalty to the democracy and enmity to the Four Hundred and the Spartans; Spartan ships, invited and promised pay by the Hellespontine satrap, Pharnabazus, cause the revolt of Byzantium; Thrasybulus persuades the Athenian assembly at Samos to vote for Alcibiades' recall and amnesty. Cleavage develops between moderate (i.e., Theramenes, advocating legitimate citizenship rights for the Five Thousand) and extreme (Antiphon, Phrynichus and Critias) oligarchs in Athens; Antiphon, Phrynichus and ten others set out for Sparta to arrange peace/surrender; Phrynichus assassinated on his return; Subject-allies prefer Spartan offers of freedom to Athenian *eunomia*. Alcibiades goes to Samos, elected general, but refuses to lead fleet on Piraeus, thus avoiding civil war. He returns to Tissaphernes, who imprisons him; he escapes a month later. All of Euboea revolts from Athens with aid of Peloponnesians; Spartans fail to take advantage of Athens' vulnerability and sail on Piraeus while Agis attacks on land from Piraeus: "here," Thucydides points out, "as on so many other occasions the Spartans proved the most convenient people in the world for the Athenians to be at war with" (8.96.5). Government of 400 breaks down, replaced by govt. under Theramenes based on 5000 (probably 9,000); Vote for recall of Alcibiades.

410-404 Codification of Athenian laws is erected in the Royal Stoa.

410 Pharnabazus in North Anatolia replaces Tissaphernes as main supporter of Sparta; Mindarus, at Pharnabazus' invitation, sails to the Hellespont to cause the revolt of Athens' allies; Athenians under Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus pursue Mindarus and engage and defeat his fleet off Cape **Cynossema** in the Thracian Chersonese at the narrowest part of the Hellespont. The

“intermediate constitution” is abandoned after eight months and full democracy restored (September 411 to April 410); Thucydides remarks about the Five Thousand, “it was during the first period of this constitution that the Athenians appear to have enjoyed the best government that they ever did, at least in my time” (8.97.2). May: **Battle of Cyzicus**, Athenian navy under Alcibiades, Theramenes and Thrasybulus more or less annihilates the Peloponnesian fleet; intercepted dispatch to Sparta reads, “The ships are gone. Mindarus is dead. The men are starving. We do not know what to do.” (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 1.1.23) Athens, under Cleophon, rejects Spartan peace offer: on basis of *status quo*, except that Decelea be restored to Athens and Pylos to Sparta (i.e., Athens ceding Euboea, parts of Thrace, Byzantium, most of Ionia and many of the islands). Athenians erect a fortress at Chrysopolis occupied as Black Sea toll post, with Theramenes exacting a 10% toll on all cargoes sailing out of the Black Sea.

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(Map of Battle of Cyzicus)

410/9 Demophantus’ passes a decree at Athens prescribing death penalty for any attempt to overthrow present constitution, or holding office under non-democratic regime. Those supporting the Four Hundred put on trial and banished. Payment for officials and jurors, cancelled by 400, reintroduced: establishment of Cleophon’s *diobeleia* (2-obol dole for poor), partly financed by temple treasures; old system of demanding tribute from the allies restored.

409/8 Work on Erechtheum restarted. Temple of Athena Nike completed. Draco’s law on homicide is republished. Athens (Thrasyllus) recovers Colophon but loses Pylos and Nisaea. Decree passed honoring the assassins of the oligarch Phrynichus.

408 Athens (Alcibiades) recovers Chalcedon and Byzantium, which was guarded by a Spartan *harmost*. Gorgias of Leontini protects against the soliciting of Persia’s alliance by Greeks. Hermocrates of Syracuse fighting in W. Sicily, overrunning Carthaginian territories. Carthaginians make alliance with Athens (?).

407 Great King's brother Cyrus comes to Ionian coast as ruler of all Asia Minor satrapies; replaces Tissaphernes at Sardis, meets Lysander of Sparta and becomes his close friend. Alcibiades returns to Athens and is elected General for 407/6 (*hegemon autocrator* in the east); he helps Athens celebrate the Mysteries of Eleusis with military protection (September); after the festival, Alcibiades sails to Samos with 100 ships to keep watch on the Spartan admiral Lysander, who had his headquarters and fleet at Ephesus. Hermocrates dies. Athens reduced to melting down images and putting gold currency into circulation (no silver). Peloponnesians organize large fleet. "Treaty of Boeotius" regulates the problem of pay to the Spartan ships. It also clarifies the status of the Greeks of Asia Minor, stipulating that they should be autonomous provided that they pay the old tribute to the King; Darius sends his younger son Cyrus as lord (*karanos*) of all the maritime regions in Asia Minor, and orders him to give Spartans unlimited support; Evagoras and the Athenian Andocides arrange a convoy of grain ships from Cyprus to Athens.

406 Alcibiades' helmsman defeated off Notium after sailing out against his orders and during his absence. Euripides dies. Conon is Athens' leading admiral. Alcibiades not reelected General; fearing prosecution and being considered an enemy by Athenians, Spartans and Persians, he goes into exile to his castle in Thrace (Bisanthe). Callicratidas replaces Lysander as admiral; unable to obtain funds from the Persian prince; moves his headquarters to Miletus and obtains funds and a fleet of 170 ships; sails to Lesbos and takes Methymna by storm; Conon sails with 70 ships to defend Lesbos but is defeated by larger Spartan fleet and blockaded in Mytilene harbor. New Athenian fleet is built (melted dedications, Macedonian timber) and relieves Conon. Slaves at Athens promised freedom, resident alien citizenship if they will row in fleet.

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Battle of Arginusae islands: Largest Greek naval battle ever; Peloponnesian fleet heavily defeated; Callicratidas killed. Six victorious Athenian generals put on trial for failing to pick up survivors (4,000-5,000 men drowned); Callixeinos prepares motion in Boule that the people try

the generals en bloc; Euryptolemos (backed by Socrates) makes two unsuccessful attempts to bring a *graphe paranomon* against Callixeinos and prevent the vote; generals executed include Pericles, son of Pericles by Aspasia, and Diomedon and Thrasyllus; Athens again rejects Spartan peace proposals: Spartans try to negotiate peace based on *status quo*, and evacuate Decelea; Cleophon persuades assembly to refuse peace unless Sparta would return the cities of the Athenian empire which it had occupied (Aristotle, *Ath. Const.*, 34.1). Athens issuing silver-plated copper coins. Sophocles dies. Cyrus insists that Persian support depends on Lysander remaining commander; Lysander named vice-admiral.

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(Map of Arginusae)

405 Erechtheum is completed. Lysander, as Spartan navarch, visits Cyrus and obtains funds; sets up oligarchy at Miletus, Tissaphernes restores the democrats; Lysander assembles large fleet, sails to the Hellespont and seizes Lampsacus, which he makes a base; threatens free passage of grain ships from the Black Sea; Athenians dispatch 180 ships which take position at Aegospotami in the Chersonese across from Lampsacus. Athenians pass decree permitting their generals to cut off the right hand of every captured seaman;

September 1: Battle of Aegospotami takes place after Alcibiades' vain warning to the Athenian commanders about the vulnerability of their position. Athenian fleet destroyed. Conon escapes with 20 ships to Cyprus where Evagoras, king of Salamis receives him. Lysander executes all 3,000 Athenian prisoners except Adeimantus, who opposed assembly's proposal to amputate right hands. Byzantium and Chalcedon fall to Peloponnesians. All Athenian allies except Samos revolt; Lysander drives all Athenian colonists, *cleruchs* and garrisons to Athens to increase

population. Winter: Athens blockaded by land and sea: Lysander sails into Piraeus with 150 triremes, and the Spartan kings, Agis and Pausanias in Attica with armies. Famine increases. Euripides' *Bacchae* produced.

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(Map of Battle of Aegospotami)

405-404 Organization of Spartan empire; Lysander brings non-Asiatic Greek cities under Spartan control with governing oligarchies, usually a decarchy: ruled by groups of ten natives, approved by Lysander, each supported by a garrison of mercenaries commanded by a Spartan officer (*harmost*).

405/404 Athenians attempt to make alliance with Sparta; assembly, on the advice of Cleophon, rejects Sparta's terms; Theramenes sent as peace envoy to Sparta and to Lysander at Samos: mission lasts several months, Athens comes to verge of starvation. Peloponnesian allies, especially Corinth and Thebes, demand massacre and enslavement for Athenians: Sparta vetoes that. Cleophon falsely condemned for evading military service. Lysander takes control of Sestos on the Hellespont and Byzantium and Chalcedon on the Bosphorus to block Athens' primary source of grain and thus ensure the complete destruction of the Athenian empire. He then sails to Thrace and the Aegean islands and receives voluntary submission of former Athenian allies—Lysander establishes oligarchies, supported by garrisons, in communities to guarantee their allegiance. April: Athens surrenders. Long and Piraeus Walls pulled down, fleet surrendered except for 12 ships, exiles brought back, alliance with Sparta, "Lysander sailed into Piraeus, the exiles returned, and the Peloponnesians with great enthusiasm began to tear down the walls to the music of flute-girls, thinking that that day meant the beginning of freedom for Greece" (Xenophon, *Hell.* 2.2.23). Greek cities of Asia Minor now paid tribute to Persia, Spartan garrisons and *harmosts* removed, though pro-Spartan oligarchies remain.

Radical Democracy & Oligarchic Reaction

For the Peloponnesian Wars, Be Able to Identify:

Acanthus (424), Acarnania, Aegina, Aegospotami (405), Aetolian expedition (426), Agis, Alcibiades, Ambracia, Amphipolis, Archidamian War, Archidamus, Arginusae (406), Artaxerxes, Brasidas, Cleomenes, Cleon, Congress Decree (449?), Congress of Gela (424), Conon, Corcyra, Critias, Cynossema (411), Cyrus, Cythera, Cyzicus (410), Decelea, Decelean War, Decarchy, Delium (424), Demosthenes, Diodotus, *eisphora*, Five Thousand (411-10), Four Hundred (411), *graphe paranomon*, Gylippus, Hermocrates, Harmost, Heraclea, Ionian War, Lysander, Megarian Decree(s) (c.432), Melian dialogue (416), Munychia, mutilation of the herms (415), Mytilenian debate (427), Naupactus, Nicias, Notium/Notion (406), Pausanias, Perdiccas, Pericles (d. 429), Pharnabazus, Phormio, Phrynichus, Piraeus, Peisander, Plataea, Pleistoanax, Potidaea (432), Pylos (425), Samian revolt (440-39), Scione (423-21), Sicilian expedition (415-13), Sphacteria (425), Sybota (433), Syracuse, Thebes, Theramenes, Thirty (404-03), Thrasybulus, Tissaphernes, Torone

CONSIDER:

1. What was the nature of political competition after the death of Pericles? How were factions divided? To what extent were factions associated with either ideological or personal differences? How accurate are the assessments of Thucydides and Aristotle as to the nature of the divisions and to the quality of Athenian government during the 420's and later? Were Athens' war-efforts aided or harmed by its political situation?
2. Consider the following statement by Lysias (one of the orators) in 403: "You should reflect that no human being is naturally either an oligarch or a democrat: Whatever constitution a man finds advantageous to himself, he is eager to see that one established." What policies were associated with the various leaders of Athens? Who were the 'radicals' and the 'conservatives'? What made them 'radical' or 'conservative'?
3. What did the policies advocated by the various leaders have to do with their differing social positions?
4. Which party's policies were more in Athens' interests? Is it proper to speak of political parties in Athens at this time?
5. To what extent do self-interest and patriotism explain the motivations of the different political leaders? To what extent did factional rivalries and inter-party hatred take precedence over the best interests of Athens in their decisions? Are the assessments of our sources justifiable, or do they use these terms merely to smear or praise the various leaders?
6. What caused the growth of oligarchic movements in 411 and 404? What motivated and enabled their leaders to establish the oligarchies? What motivated the *demos* to accept them? Where did the oligarchs find their support? What were their policies? What was their view of the 'ancestral constitution'?

7. Consider the kind of party history described by Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, 28. To what extent is there a continuous history of political parties or factions in Athens? Are those involved in the oligarchic movement of 411 the same as those involved in 403?
8. How were the oligarchies established? Does the manner in which they were established suggest a weakness in the Athenian state, a weakness common to democracies or both?
9. What is the verdict of Thucydides and Aristotle on the radical democrats of 411? On the 400? On the 5000? What does this suggest about their political stance and their utility as sources for this period?
10. Is there any coherent political position taken by Theramenes? Lysander? Are they looking out for their own interests or the interests of Athens?

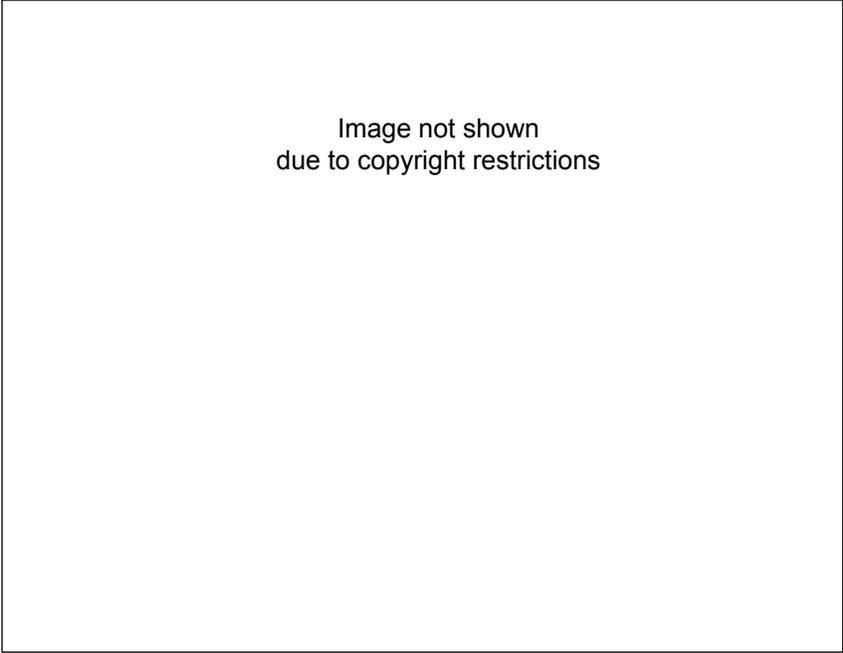


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The Parthenon