Democracy, Empire, and the Arts in Fifth-Century Athens

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CHAPTER EIGHT

Presenting the Past in Fifth-Century Athens

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The innovations of fifth-century Athens are rightly famous.[1] Not only did a single city-state develop rapidly into a major center of military, commercial, and cultural importance, but classical Athens was the only Greek polis to acquire an "empire" (widespread military and political dominance over other Greek cities, which were even required to pay tribute), and the first society we know of to grant full political rights to so wide a range of citizens.

Athens was also a city particularly rich in large-scale public sculpture and painting,[2] especially in its many temples and sanctuaries, and in elaborate poetic performances, most of all in its several yearly dramatic festivals. The city's remarkable political and military achievements, however, are seldom directly reflected in its visual and verbal arts. Instead, public Athenian art in the fifth century strongly tends to focus on legendary deeds set in the distant past. In addition to this "ancient history," a few memorable events from the late sixth or fifth century also become the subject of tragedy, wall painting, architectural or free-standing sculpture; some of these are regularly mentioned in official funeral orations as well. Until late in the fifth century, however, even these historical events are presented as almost timeless and unconnected; unlike some other Greek cities, Athens seems to produce no continuous narrative of past events until Thucydides.

This chapter will first survey how several fifth-century art forms (most of which are treated in greater detail elsewhere in this volume) present great moments in the city's past, sometimes juxtaposing heroic myths with recent achievements. Then I will consider the paradox that historiography itself devel-

ops relatively late in a city so rich in memorials of its great past deeds, offering as partial explanation the argument that the city uses its "past" in public art in ways directly at odds with practices of fifth-century narrative historiography.

I

Like other monumental arts in Athens, architectural sculpture in the fifth century privileges the mythical past. Favorite themes include adventures of Theseus, the national hero, especially his battle with the Amazons, which appears on a number of monuments inside and outside the city. This motif was depicted on metopes of the Athenian treasury at Delphi perhaps as early as about 510;[3] it appeared also on the pediment of the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria on the island of Euboia, which was probably built a few years later under Athenian influence (in this period Athenians and Eretrians were allied against Euboian Chalkis, and they fought together against the Persians at Sardis in 498). Two generations later, the Amazonomachy was a prominent motif in the Parthenon decorations as well, both on the west metopes and on the colossal shield of Pheidias' statue of Athena inside the temple;[4] at roughly the same time, it was depicted on the West frieze of the Hephaisteion above the Agora.

Also found in fifth-century architectural sculpture are scenes from the Trojan War, the Gigantomachy, the battle of Lapiths and Centaurs, and other heroic tales. Depictions of such panhellenic myths occur frequently in early-fifth-century vase paintings too. (Later in the century, as Lucilla Burn notes, Athenian art shows a heightened interest in less widely known Attic myths and rituals.)[5] These mythical scenes have long been assumed to reflect in some way the contemporary military and political situation, but just how specifically they do so is a matter of controversy. A recent book by David Francis proposes a number of very precise historical references in such mythical scenes, many of which require significant down-dating from the dates art historians have ascribed to the images. For example, Francis argues that the Amazonomachy on the pediment of the Apollo temple at Eretria (mentioned above) alluded to the battle at Ephesos (498), where the Persians caught up with and defeated the Athenians and Eretrians who had just attacked Sardis; Francis suggests—particularly if the pediment showed any Greek victims of the Amazons—that it even referred specifically to the death of the Eretrian commander Eualkides.[6]

Interpretations of mythological scenes at this level of detail would no doubt differ widely, and few scholars agree with Francis that the references were ever intended to be so specific.[7] Tonio Hölscher interprets the mythical scenes much more generally as expressions of broad cultural oppositions (e.g., order versus chaos).[8] David Castriota argues that they convey the current ethos of the city.

After the Persian sack of Athens in 480, for example, Athenian images of the sack of Troy empathetically show Trojan victims of atrocities committed by the (Greek) despoilers, but later images focus on the restrained behavior of most Greeks in their war against the barbarians, even judging and punishing fellow-Greek perpetrators of war crimes.[9] To put it in simplest terms, as Athens' military power grew, its perspective on ancient victims and victors changed.

Similarly, it has been shown that myths about Theseus increase in popularity and develop different emphases as the empire grows. The story of "the ring of Minos"—in which Theseus boldly confronts a villainous Minos on the way to Crete, is challenged to prove his descent from Poseidon, and eventually is warmly recognized and honored by Poseidon's wife Amphitrite—becomes more prominent as Athens' dominance of the Aegean increases, as we can see in the Theseion decorations, in vase paintings, and in the vivid narrative of Bacchylides' third dithyramb (fr. 17).[10] The Amazonomachy myth develops as well, to suggest fundamental opposition between free and rational Greeks on the one hand and threatening eastern barbarians on the other.[11]

In the 420s, several subjects from recent history suddenly appear on architectural sculptures in the manner of the well-established "legendary" scenes. On the little temple of Nike, built at the entrance to the Akropolis, the South frieze shows Greeks fighting Persians, and two other friezes (North and West) apparently show Greeks fighting Greeks. The South frieze is variously interpreted as the battle of Marathon, Plataea, or a generic reference to the Persian Wars; the North and West friezes may refer to the war with Sparta that had begun in earnest some years before, although it has been argued that these friezes depict the Persian Wars (allied Greeks fighting medizing Greeks at Plataea), or even refer to Greeks fighting Trojans in the Trojan War.[12]

Mythological or historical images in fifth-century Athens include also free-standing anthropomorphic statues in bronze and marble, ranging from quite small to over life size. These were commonly dedicated on the Akropolis of Archaic and classical (and later) Athens as elsewhere in the Greek world. Many of these images represented gods, as is clear from their attributes (e.g., Athena's helmet, Apollo's bow). Others—the famous archaic kouroi and korai—are more controversial; they may also be gods (in many cases the hands have fallen off, and with them perhaps the identifying attributes),[13] but have also been interpreted as representations of the dedicators, members of their families, or idealized representations of their social type. Easier to identify are statues from the same period that represent athletes, such as heavily-armed racers (*hoplitodromoi*), presumably dedicated as thank offerings for victories in the games held at the Panathenaia or other festivals. Such images recall the odes composed for winning ath-

letes by epinician poets, where a medium (choral lyric) associated with mythical narratives is used to celebrate a contemporary success in the games. With these statues, then, we seem to have commemoration, if not of "history" in the usual sense, at least of specific deeds, rather than the timeless representations of immortal gods (however time-bound and specific may have been the occasions for their dedication).[14]

Like the reliefs on the Nike temple, at least one group of free-standing sculptures—the famous statues of the Tyrannicides—specifically recalls recent events. This pair of monumental bronzes was erected not on the Akropolis but in the Agora, a space especially associated with political activities.[15] The statues represented the lovers Harmodios and Aristogeiton, who killed Hipparchos, brother of Hippias the tyrant, in 514, a few years before Hippias was expelled. The monument known to us in Roman copies (see Hölscher, this vol., fig. 1) probably replicates not the original statues erected in the late sixth century, soon after the fall of the Peisistratid tyranny, but the replacement pair by the sculptors Kritios and Nesiotes, dedicated a few years after the Persian Wars: the originals were said to have been carried off by the Persians when Xerxes sacked Athens in 480. The Tyrannicide statues are not static figures like kouroi but rather, like the dedicatory statues of victorious athletes, are memorialized in the process of carrying out their significant deed. Weapons in hand, they stride forward resolutely, in a pose that became characteristic of "antityrannical" action.[16]

By the late fifth century, statues of historical figures (often identified by inscriptions on their bases) were being dedicated on the Akropolis.[17] These include not only priestesses and other officials but the sixth-century poet Anakreon and Perikles himself. From the later fourth century on, statues of prominent citizens were erected in the Agora as well. This public commemoration of historical individuals signals an important change in Athenian memorial practice, one that corresponds to the more "democratic" sense of time proposed by Csapo and Miller in this volume.[18]

Like architectural and free-standing sculpture, wall paintings also occasionally portrayed historical figures and events. Large paintings on panels or plaques decorated a few temples (e.g., a Poseidon temple at Isthmia) as early as the mid-seventh century, but in Athens, monumental painting was introduced for a brief period after the Persian Wars, in new sanctuaries and public buildings.[19] Like architectural sculpture, these paintings generally portrayed heroic deeds set in the distant past; even some of the same motifs are used. The second-century C.E. travel writer Pausanias, for example, describes murals from the classical period in several Athenian cult places including the Theseion (a shrine built to house the bones of Theseus after Kimon recovered them from the island of Skyros in the 470s), where he saw paintings of Amazons attacking Athens, Lapiths fighting Centaurs at the wedding of Theseus' friend Peirithoos, and the confrontation of Theseus with Minos on the way to Crete (1.17.2–3).[20]

Around 460 the famous Stoa Poikile or "Painted Portico," a public space overlooking the political center of the city, was constructed just north of the Agora. According to Pausanias' description (1.15.1–3), wall paintings of the Amazonomachy and the sack of Troy (two of the best-attested mythical scenes in Athens) were displayed in the Stoa,[21] but along with them was depicted an event that had taken place less than thirty years earlier, the battle of Marathon, with Miltiades figuring prominently in it. No doubt the influence of Kimon (Miltiades' son) was at work in this glorification of the commander,[22] yet the fourth-century orator Aischines presents the portrayal of Miltiades as the result of a public decision, maintaining that the Athenian demos allowed him "to be depicted in front exhorting the soldiers" (*Against Ktesiphon* 186).[23]

Also shown in the Stoa, according to Pausanias, was a battle fought between Athenians and Spartans at Argive Oinoe; this might represent an event even more recent than the battle of Marathon. The rather shadowy battle of Oinoe, not mentioned by Thucydides or other historians, probably took place in the 460s, with Argives and Athenians fighting Spartans in a preliminary to the first Peloponnesian War.[24] Lillian Jeffery objects that the commemoration of a recent battle of Greeks against Greeks would have been "an abnormal action for this period," and suggests that the "Oinoe" painting did indeed commemorate the battle of that name, but with a painting from saga—perhaps the Athenians fighting Thebans on behalf of the Argive warriors who were refused burial when they fell attacking Thebes.[25] Francis and Vickers, for their part, argue that the "Oinoe" Pausanias saw in the painting was not Argive, but a village of the same name near Marathon, so that the picture showed a preliminary stage of the battle of Marathon.[26] Even if the Oinoe painting was not what Pausanias says it was, however, the Marathon painting alone indicates that both "ancient" and fairly recent battles were depicted on the walls of the portico—as is likely for the Nike temple too, almost four decades later.

This juxtaposition of legendary and recent events parallels the patterns well known from epinician odes performed for athletic champions.[27] Since the earliest victory odes known to us date from shortly before the time of the Persian Wars, it is possible that the past/present juxtapositions in those poems influenced the similar structure in the visual representations. But I think it more likely that they come from a common impetus, a way of seeing the present as analogous to the past, that was heightened by the experience of the Persian Wars—events the Greeks in general perceived to be of "heroic" quality.

Explicit comparison between past and present heroism is also attested in the famous "Eion poem," a set of epigrams inscribed in about 475 on three herms in the Agora.[28] One of these epigrams bases its praise of contemporary Athenian military achievements, the victorious siege against the Persians at Eion, on the (rather weak) Homeric praise of Athenian performance at Troy:

> Once from this city Menestheus with the sons of Atreus
> went as leader to the holy plain of Troy;
> Homer once said that, of the stout-corseleted Danaans
> he was outstanding as marshal in battle.[29]
> So it is not unseemly that Athenians be called
> marshals in war and manliness.
> (Poem A, Aischines, *Against Ktesiphon* 183)

We now have evidence that this process of mythologization started to take place—and not just in Athens—immediately after the battles themselves. A recently published fragment of an elegiac poem by Simonides on the battle of Plataea explicitly draws a comparison between the fame of Homeric heroes who fought at Troy and that of the Greeks who fought the Persians at Plataea.[30] This fragment suggests that the analogy with the Trojan War was drawn very soon after Xerxes' invasion, and that it was not restricted to Athens (as it is in the Eion poem). The Plataea elegy is clearly directed toward praise of Spartans (as well as other Greeks, who are mentioned in other fragments of the poem),[31] which reminds us that Athens was not unique, just more prolific, in using the heroic past to represent, and even to shape, its civic identity.[32]

Heroic past deeds also form part of the conventional subject matter of public speeches in classical Athens. The funeral orations, presented each year when the war dead were officially commemorated and laid to rest, made use of an idealized Athenian past, citing especially the help given to the Heraklids, burial provided for the Seven against Thebes, and above all the city's role in the Persian Wars, as grand analogues for the current military deaths. This subject has been richly discussed recently, especially in Nicole Loraux's influential book *The Invention of Athens,* which shows how the *epitaphioi* promote the notion of a city that commands and deserves the full dedication of its inhabitants.[33]

The Athenian past plays a role in forensic speeches as well. Rosalind Thomas has shown how traditions about patriotic forebears are used by defendants in court, presenting ancestral deeds in ways that tend to conform with "official" Athenian history and democratic ideology (for example, *everyone's* ancestors were staunchly antityrannical). These family traditions sometimes contain detectable historical gaps and errors, but they also can preserve more specific kinds of information (e.g., who was associated with which victory) than do the more "official" funeral orations. Nevertheless, being oriented toward rhetorical success rather than factual accuracy, both kinds of speeches tend to situate historical deeds in a kind of "timeless historical vacuum."[34]

Tragedy, the fifth-century Athenian genre par excellence, of course deals, with few exceptions, with myths set in the distant past.[35] Implied parallels between present and past nevertheless appear in many tragedies whose bold anachronisms, whether unconscious or intentional, are another way of grounding contemporary Athenian ideals and institutions in ancient parallels—as if the issues, and the city itself, never changed in essence. But changes are perceptible over time in tragedy's representation of the past, reflecting developments in Athens' view of itself and its role in the Hellenic world. An example of this is found in the framing of questions about who should make political decisions in the *Suppliants* plays of Aeschylus and Euripides. In both dramas, the king of a Greek city in the "heroic age" insists on applying democratic principles when a decision must be made about whether or not to risk citizens' lives by taking up the cause of a weaker party.

In Aeschylus' play, produced probably in the late 460s, the debate is staged in a foreign city, Argos, which serves as a kind of mirror in which contemporary Athens can examine questions facing it at an early stage of its democracy and "protectionist" empire. Euripides' play, however—performed around 422, near the end of the Archidamian War, when Athens' empire was hated as tyrannical and was under attack by the Peloponnesians—significantly sets the scene for democratic apologia and protective heroism in Attika itself, when Theseus was king, as if to show Athenians and their visiting allies alike the just and benevolent motives behind Athenian military interventions.[36]

Like some architectural sculptures and wall paintings, the few dramas that deal with recent events take as their subject matter Greek struggles with Persians.[37] Herodotus records the well-known incident of the fine levied against the early-fifth-century dramatist Phrynichos for disturbing the audience with his all-too-moving drama on the *Capture of Miletus* (Her. 6.21), in which Athens itself was closely involved.[38] We know less about Phrynichos' *Phoenician Women,* but in Aeschylus' *Persians* (472) it is possible to see how freely and selectively tragedy can treat historical events—in this case the battle of Salamis, brilliantly presented as if from the Persian perspective. Here, even more than in the Eion or Plataea poems, we see the Persian Wars being mythologized.

Besides tragedies set in the recent past, those few that are set in Athens may be presumed to have had a special resonance with their Athenian audience. In

Aeschylus' *Oresteia* trilogy (458) the action moves from Argos to Delphi to Athens, where the cycle of vengeance is finally broken. In a bold innovation, the *Eumenides* makes the story of Orestes' crime and eventual acquittal into a kind of Athenian suppliant drama: the matricide, pursued by Furies, seeks and gains the support of Athens' patron goddess in her citadel. Even the dire Furies are in the end transformed and given a home and homage in the city. Several extant tragedies focussing on Athens were, like Euripides' *Suppliants,* produced during the Peloponnesian War. They can be described either as suppliant dramas, presenting the city as a courageous protector of the oppressed (e.g., Euripides' *Herakleidai,* Sophokles' *Oidipous at Kolonos*), or dramas of autochthony (Euripides' *Ion*), which suggest Athens' intrinsic right to its own territory and its superiority over other Greeks, who are by comparison interlopers in their own lands.[39] Whatever their "distance" or "nearness" to Athens, however, tragedies use past events to dramatize contemporary concerns.

II

Now it is obvious that representations of recent historical events did not begin in Greece (much earlier precedents are attested, for example, in Egypt), and Greek representations of historical events did not begin in Athens.[40] According to Herodotus (4.88), the engineer Mandrokles of Samos commissioned a large painting and dedicated it in the great sanctuary of Hera on Samos, commemorating his successful construction of a pontoon bridge over the Bosporos. The painting showed King Darius, who had ordered the bridge to be built, seated on a throne, watching his army cross over into Skythia. Tonio Hölscher suggests that Mandrokles' painting was inspired by Achaemenid monuments featuring the Great King with lines of marching soldiers.[41] Unlike the Athenian monuments, such a painting marks the accomplishment of an individual rather than a city (even though the dedicatory inscription on the painting declares that the deed won "glory [*kydos*] for the Samians").

It is also clear that Athens was by no means unique in commemorating the Persian Wars.[42] We have epigrams (some of them certainly authentic)[43] from many Greek cities celebrating the victory and commemorating the war dead, as well as dedications of spoils or works paid for by spoils, especially in the great Panhellenic sanctuaries.[44] But only in Athens, it appears, were scenes related to the Persian Wars depicted visually—on vase paintings as well as in monumental art.[45] Moreover, this practice continued long after the battles were over, as we have seen, in the Stoa Poikile and the Nike temple frieze. Similarly, the annual funeral orations and even Athenian policy speeches to other Greeks (discussed below) continued for many decades to highlight Athens' role at Marathon and Salamis.

Margaret Miller and Eric Csapo postulate in this volume that among historical representations, apart from the Tyrannicides, *only* figures or events associated with the Persian Wars were depicted in the narrative art of classical Athens. An exception to this rule might be the battle of Oinoe (discussed above), if this battle really took place and if it was really depicted in the Stoa Poikile.[46] Another exception could be the West and North friezes of the Nike temple, which may show Athenians fighting other Greeks in the Peloponnesian rather than the Persian War.[47] It is significant, however, that even though Greek poleis had been warring against each other for centuries, visual narratives of Greeks fighting Greeks did not in the end prove as compelling as showing Greeks against "others," whether Trojans, Amazons, or Persians. The same tendency holds for the funeral orations, which emphasize that Athenians have given their lives for the freedom of Greeks, whether fighting against barbarian or Hellenic oppressors.[48] The overthrow of the Peisistratids (which came to symbolize the beginning of the democracy) and the defeat of the Persians (the starting point and justification of the Athenian empire) succeeded in entering the mythology and iconography of Athens in ways that were virtually closed to other deeds of recent history. Given the radical novelty and importance of democracy and empire for Athens, it is fitting that the city should commemorate these events in particular.

The city's great achievements against the Persians "went down in history" largely through a process of implied analogy to the mythical past. As has been abundantly demonstrated, Athenian narrative art in this period—both visual and verbal—sets up many parallels between ancient and recent events—or makes both ancient and recent events embody the same large structures of opposition, such as order versus chaos, Greek versus barbarian, male versus female.[49] The parallels are often left to the audience to discover, especially on the visual monuments. A representation of an ancient battle like the Amazons' attack on Athens might encourage viewers to draw an analogy with recent events like the sack of Athens by the Persians, and to recognize their underlying conceptual similarity.[50] Occasionally, however, the relationship is fairly explicit, as with the Stoa Poikile paintings, the Eion poem, or Simonides' newly discovered elegy on the battle of Plataea (mentioned above), which overtly compares the fame of those who fought at Troy with those who fought the Persians at Plataea.[51] These more explicit parallels make it all the more likely that we are correct in looking for contemporary references in ancient depictions of heroic myth.

There is an extraordinary self-confidence in these parallels, as Hölscher rightly points out.[52] The Athenian attitude reflected here contrasts sharply with the common view expressed in earlier epic and elegy that the past was greater than the present—expressed for example by the narrator of the *Iliad,* singing of

men who could hurl stones that two men of his own time could not lift (5.302–304); in Hesiod's myth of the races of men, degenerating from the Golden to the Iron Race of his own time (*Works and Days* 109–201); or in an elegy of Mimnermos (14.1–4W) that looks back to an earlier hero (unnamed in the fragment) for a model to imitate:

> Not such [as yours] were *his* strength and bravery,
> as I have heard from older men who saw him
> on the plain of Hermos with his spear routing the Lydian
> cavalry's thick ranks . . . (tr. Martin West, adapted)

Athens' construction of a heroic past analogous to the contemporary city raises the question of historical distortion, if not outright propagandistic "re-writing" of the past. David Castriota summarizes a widespread view of scholars about one aspect of fifth-century uses of the past, in what he calls "the manipulation of myths." He finds raw invention in all the heroic themes we have been looking at: "The Centauromachy had been made to erupt en masse at the wedding itself; a wholly new invasion of Greece had been manufactured for the Amazons; while the epic of the Seven acquired a sequel in which the Athenians now took center stage."[53] David Francis similarly discusses conscious invention and manipulation of myths, and Robert Parker refers to the "invention of tradition" in the same sense.[54]

We should be careful, however, not to apply too readily what Ian Morris has dubbed the "propaganda fallacy,"[55] as if policymakers took a conscious decision to distort facts and deceive a naive audience. Instead, it is more helpful to focus on an interpretive community (in Stanley Fish's formulation, which Castriota himself also uses) that could both produce and "read" the images; to this community the heroizing images were probably both relevant and credible. In a sense, myths exist only to be "manipulated" for contemporary purposes. Prior to the ideal of scientific historiography, what other reason could there be for preserving stories and images of bygone times?[56] Jack Goody and Ian Watt's explanation of the "homeostasis" maintained by oral traditions still provides a useful model for this phenomenon: only that portion of the tradition is preserved which still speaks to the present situation; it is constantly reshaped—often unconsciously—to conform to present realities; otherwise it disappears.[57] In any event, the system of representation in Athens is not prepackaged, watertight, or strictly regulated by an Archon for Propaganda.

It was natural for Athens to look "backward" for laudable models of behavior. In the period we are considering, the city was going through enormous

changes,[58] which must have provoked some level of anxiety.[59] At the same time Athens, like the rest of Greece, was very much "in the grip of the past."[60] Its most prestigious models of behavior were preserved in heroic traditions attributed to the daughters of Memory, its landscape littered with places that echoed with some memorial of past deeds. The point is obvious but bears repeating: for such a community, which deems the future hidden but the past luminously visible, it is essential—inevitable—to find continuities, analogies, foreshadowings that connect present with past, whether in events (barbarian attempts on the home citadel), civic attributes (protecting the weak), or policies (leadership of Ionians). This is especially true if the community has in some ways made a major, visible break with the past, as Athens did through its democracy.[61]

Thus Athens constructs and uses a past that will provide a foundation for its radically innovative present. Some elements of this past, such as autochthony and tyrannicide, especially support democratic aspects of the present; more of them connect with imperial policies—not so much Athenian hegemony per se, but protection of suppliants, leadership against barbarians, genealogical and other relationships with Ionians.[62] Hölscher thinks the empire was more problematic for Athenians than was the democracy, hence more often "justified" by monuments.[63] This may have been the case, but I would propose an additional reason, related to the genre or mode of representation, for the disparity in frequency of their visual representations.[64] As we have seen, Athens preferred to allude to its recent achievements with mythical parallels rather than show them directly, but—in contrast to myths of conflict, for example—there were few existing myths that would evoke democracy as such.[65] Apart from the story of the tyrannicide, democracy was not a very dramatic iconographic theme. By the fourth century (when, in line with Hölscher's thesis, democracy was more overtly challenged within Athens), abstractions such as Demokratia or Demos would begin to appear on monuments; before this time visual art preferred narrative rather than allegorical subjects. In contrast to figural arts, tragedy, with a very different set of generic possibilities, does sometimes develop the "democratic" themes of Athenian kinship (*Ion*), trial by jury (*Eumenides*), and the right of the demos to decide on war (the *Suppliants* of Aeschylus and Euripides).

Athenian use of the past to suit the needs of the present develops in several stages within the early fifth century. At first, as in the Eion epigrams and the Stoa Poikile, "ancient" events are invoked as parallels to the city's role in the Persian Wars. But soon, the Persian Wars themselves (especially the battles of Marathon and Salamis) are added to the catalogue of more remote events, and are used to justify Athens' hegemony.[66] This rhetorical ploy appears in Herodotus' account of the battle of Plataea, when Athenians argue (perhaps anachronistically) that

they deserve a place of honor in the battle line because of their traditional bravery in the time of the Heraklids, the Seven against Thebes, and the Amazons—but especially because of their recent actions at Marathon (9.27).[67] In Thucydides as well, the Athenians argue in their speech ascribed to 432 at Sparta that they deserve their empire because of their leading contributions to Greek liberty during the Persian Wars (1.73–74).[68]

The tyrannicide may also have played a paradigmatic role. The pair of statues, at least, came to evoke liberation not just from the Peisistratids, and perhaps not only in Athens. As is well known, Harmodios' active, slashing stance and Aristogeiton's noble, level-eyed pose are replicated in architectural sculptures of Theseus, the archetypal antityrannical Athenian hero, on a west metope showing the Centauromachy on the Hephaisteion in the Agora. Farther afield, there is perhaps a reflection of Harmodios' vigorous pose in a similar figure on the west pediment of Zeus' great temple at Olympia (another Centauromachy).[69]

Funeral orations of course also draw analogies between the deeds of contemporary Athens and those of legendary times. Since this genre probably became established in the 460s, it may have helped to fix the pattern, at least in verbal genres.[70] Similar analogies are found in vase paintings as well.[71] As François Lissarrague has pointed out, vase painters use the same configurations for paintings of Homeric heroes as for sixth- or fifth-century Athenian hoplites, in scenes such as leave-taking, arming, or heroic return from battle (dead or alive).[72] The democratic fighter is shown in a heroic configuration, as was his predecessor under the tyrants.[73]

At least in vase painting, then, the tendency to present contemporary *aretē* in terms of an ancient model did not begin with the democracy but predated it. The democracy exploited this process in many different genres and with many themes, however, emphasizing the bravery not just of individual heroes like Theseus, but of groups of anonymous warriors as well. At times these anonymous Athenians of the past are even evoked with the first person plural: according to the Athenians debating about their position at Plataea, "we " rescued the Herakleidai, buried the companions of Polyneikes at Eleusis, and drove off the Amazons (Her. 9.27.2–4). Past and present Athenians become virtually indistinguishable.

III

It is paradoxical that, despite all the attention it paid to "history," not to mention its great resources and attraction for creative individuals, Athens did not play a more prominent role in the beginnings of historiography. The cliché maintains that history is written by the winners, and Athens certainly belonged in that category for most of the fifth century. Yet prose historiography originated in Ionia, beginning in the late sixth century, and was slow in spreading to Athens.[74]

Consensus still rightly grants to Herodotus the title "father of history"—and Herodotus was not an Athenian. Christian Meier, among others, believes nonetheless that Athenian democracy had a great influence on Herodotus: its lively, debate-oriented political and judicial systems would have encouraged the historian to think in terms of an open-ended, contingent history of events with a plurality of actors, rather than a unitary view of events controlled by a single king or god, moving toward a fixed end.[75]

Meier's position is illuminating, yet I find it significant that Herodotus was an outside observer of Athens rather than a native or even adopted Athenian. He says positive things about democratic Athens, such as how after the reforms of Kleisthenes the city's new equality made it stronger than before (5.78). He insists that an allegedly unwilling audience accept the centrality of Athens' role in the Persian Wars (7.139). But he describes flaws as well, such as the tendency of the demos to be fooled by clever rhetoric (5.97). Even granting that all these Herodotean statements derive from Athenian traditions or "informants," it must be admitted that he paid heed to a wide range of voices in presenting the city's deeds and fortunes.

Some scholars maintain that prose histories of Athens must have predated the account of Thucydides. Lionel Pearson, for example, would date the Attic history of Hellanikos of Lesbos to the time of Perikles, and even suggests that Perikles encouraged Hellanikos to compile that work.[76] More recently, Gianfranco Maddoli has argued that there was a written account of Peisistratos' famous trick—when the ousted tyrant reentered Athens with a tall young woman, dressed as Athena, driving his chariot—dating to the early fifth century and used independently by Herodotus and Aristotle; but the evidence for this is slight.[77]

The current state of our knowledge suggests rather that the ten books of Pherekydes' genealogies, dating perhaps to the 460s, are the closest thing to prose "history" produced in Athens before the late fifth century. Pherekydes' annotated family trees bear little relation to a plausible history of events. Even so, they were surely important for stabilizing and promulgating the ancestral catalogues of the great families of Athens, finding a primogenitor for numerous institutions and policies,[78] and helping to confirm the antiquity and continuity of Athens itself—thus providing a bridge between family pride and civic ideals.[79] Pherekydes' role in paving the way for historiography is thus not negligible: his work developed the attempt to systematize Attic mythology that Martin West finds adumbrated already in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*.[80]

It is likely too that these long lists of generations, quite independent of their

accuracy, are related to the development of a more abstract sense of history in early-fifth-century Athens and elsewhere.[81] Certain disconnected events, such as the birth of Erichthonius, Theseus' exploits, and the Trojan War, were well attested on the far end of the historical spectrum, while the Tyrannicides and the Persian Wars were conspicuous on the near end. The resulting very imperfectly balanced Athenian "history" resembles the situation typical in predominantly oral cultures, which has been described as an "hourglass" structure, or one with a "floating gap" in the middle:[82] there are stories about distant origins, and memories of recent events, but little in between. Pherekydes' genealogies helped to fill in the gap.

It appears though that before Thucydides there is no Athenian author who purports to reconstruct and narrate a relatively continuous, plausible, contingent history of events. Thucydides of course deals primarily with quite recent history: the Peloponnesian War. Although a native and well-connected Athenian, he presents himself emphatically as an "objective" observer, even an exile (5.26.5). His home city is anything but the object of uncritical praise.[83] And it is not coincidental that, unlike tragedy, monumental sculpture and painting, and funeral orations, Thucydides' history is not publicly sponsored.

Thucydides freely criticizes popular, heroized versions of the recent past. Not for him, he declares, the stories that please an audience for the moment; he will construct an enduring treasure based not on popular traditions, which are mostly inaccurate, but on his own observations and magisterial judgment (1.20–21). Probably Thucydides' best-known refutation of a pleasing story is his repeated deconstruction of the Tyrannicide myth: Hipparchos was not even tyrant when he was murdered by Harmodios and Aristogeiton, and the act was not motivated by politics but by injured family pride and jealous love (1.20, 6.53–59). The contrast between this attitude and that implied in the Tyrannicide statues could hardly be starker. As Josiah Ober has recently written: "By showing that Hipparchos was a minor figure, Thucydides undermines a foundation myth of the democracy and so robs popular rule of a 'usable' aspect of the polis' past history... [Thucydides] will present facts that have been 'tested' and so are more reliable than the hodgepodge of erroneous beliefs that constitute democratic knowledge and underlie Athens' civic ideology."[84]

In a city where civic identity was constantly in search of support, and where (as Robert Connor reminds us)[85] myths, rituals, and images were an essential part of constructing that identity, Thucydides' critical attitude toward Athenian history would hardly be perceived by the demos as a useful civic goal. The comparison with Sokrates' contemporary criticism of democratic political ideals and institutions, and with Sokrates' eventual trial and execution by the city,[86] is obvious and instructive. In Athens, the critical writing of history, like the rhetoric of dissent in other areas, developed when the democracy, no longer enjoying its old success, came under attack from within and without. Herodotus and Thucydides alike used this genre to judge and criticize, and to privilege change, not continuity.

IV

How fifth-century Athens uses the past in its public visual and verbal art may help explain why historiography is not a well-represented genre. The past deeds displayed in public sculpture and painting, and implied in tragedy and other poetic forms, are discontinuous, virtually "timeless," and surely used to suggest analogies among different events. Narrative historiography, however, presents a series of events in a fixed sequence—logical rather than analogical—where this event *follows* that, and therefore somehow *comes from* that. The very structure of traditional verbal narrative sets up a *post hoc ergo propter hoc* view of events.[87] This linear narrative history emphasizes changes,[88] which makes the past bear a very different relationship to the present than does "analogical" history, which emphasizes continuities.[89] From this standpoint, chronological or causal relation of events to each other is of slight importance; what matters is the highly charged representation of what it is to be Hellenic, Athenian, heroic.

In a virtual reversal of the separate-but-parallel events painted in the Stoa Poikile or the "timeless" praise of democracy declaimed by Euripides' Theseus (*Suppliants* 403–8, 426–41), the first paragraphs of Herodotus' *Histories* present formerly independent stories as part of a connected history: the rapes of Io, Europa, Medea, and Helen become steps in an escalating sequence of abductions of women between Europe and Asia, which lead first to the Trojan and ultimately to the Persian Wars. Herodotus concludes (1.4.3–4), "The Persians say that they themselves made no account of the women carried off from Asia but that the Hellenes, for the sake of a Lacedaemonian woman, gathered a great force, went to Asia, and destroyed the power of Priam. From then on, the Persians always considered Hellas as hostile to them." Herodotus' Persians here construct linear history from elements of separate myths, in an account that serves as prelude to the *Histories*' main subject, the intercontinental conflicts of the fifth century.

Another example of the difference between "timeless" and "historical" uses of the past can be found in one of the first historical monuments of post-Peisistratid Athens, a bronze chariot dedicated to Athena and prominently placed at the entrance to the Akropolis. On its base was an inscription in elegiacs, recorded by Herodotus (5.77.4–78) and confirmed by archaeological evidence,

proudly celebrating a double victory over Thebans and Chalkidians in 506, soon after Kleisthenes' reforms.[90]

> The sons of the Athenians with deeds of war
> conquered the nations of Boiotia and Chalkis;
> they quenched their hybris with grim iron chains
> and dedicated these horses, a tithe of the spoils, to Athena.

In describing the dedication, Herodotus remarks (5.78) that this victory proved how much more effectively a city fights under *isēgoria* than tyranny. The inscription itself, however, says nothing about the politics of the victors; it simply refers to them as "sons of the Athenians," a Homeric-sounding tag that tends to associate the Athenian hoplites with traditional epic valor. But for Herodotus, or perhaps his Athenian informants, the chariot dedication marks a political shift as well as a military victory. The historian's emphasis is here on the effects of political change, whereas the original dedicators, as far as we can tell, were more interested in characterizing their victory as an example of timeless *aretē*.

In its great age of innovation and empire, the Athenian demos had no desire for the kind of interconnected and changing past described by the new historians. The monumental genres that had their roots in predemocratic, Peisistratean times worked well to establish civic identity for the new democracy by drawing on cultural memories old and newer, passing over the disjunctures—the facts of change—for democracy and empire alike, and highlighting (only) glorious moments—sack of Troy, fall of the tyranny, defeat of Amazons or Persians.[91] In addition to their superbly developed technical skills and the special cachet of close association with the gods (the Dionysia festival for tragedy, and the sanctuaries where monumental art was most often displayed), these genres had distinct advantages:

1. They were *public* enough to reach the populace and its visitors en masse, far more so than the long and complex prose works of the historians. By midcentury, they were also public in the sense of being financed by and accountable to the democracy.
2. Based on generally *familiar* stories, monumental art had the ring of authenticity and antiquity. With so much that was novel in Athens, it would have been reassuring to see current policies and achievements reflected in images of traditional heroism. This would imply that not everything had changed—or indeed, that nothing had changed: the city of autochthonous equals was doing what she always had done.

3. The monuments were *malleable* enough to permit interpretations that could change with time and circumstances, as we have just considered in connection with the bronze chariot, a victory dedication that Herodotus could describe as a monument to *isēgoria*. In democratic Athens it may have proved beneficial to have not one single voice to decide for all in all circumstances what "really" happened, but the possibility of different voices (in Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogic model) which could be perpetuated in competing traditions. From this perspective the sometimes frustrating ambiguity of much Athenian art may be easier to understand.[92] Ambiguity not only accommodates the similarities in separate events, but also allows a scene to be interpreted differently on different occasions.

So too, some traditions are preserved that glorify not the polis as a whole but certain elements within it (especially elite families), as long as they do not conflict too strongly with the dominant traditions. Kimon's brilliant foregrounding of Theseus, his own Vorgänger but also the Father of his Country, provides an example of this. But the democracy was evidently wary of versions that conflicted too strongly with an important tradition. Such a conflict can be detected, for example, in the debate about who was really responsible for the expulsion of the tyrants. Some Athenians argued that the Peisistratids had been overthrown not by the slaying of Hipparchos by Harmodios and Aristogeiton (a deed that simply embittered Hipparchos' brother the tyrant Hippias), but instead by the persistence of the Alkmaeonids, a powerful family exiled by the Peisistratids. The Alkmaeonids, according to this version, vehemently opposed the tyranny, and eventually, by bribing Apollo's Pythia at Delphi, they convinced the Spartans to help them drive the tyrants out of Athens.

This version of the story is reported by Herodotus (5.62–63), who makes us well aware that the Alkmaeonids were controversial figures in Athens; no doubt they were criticized by factions that preferred the Harmodios-Aristogeiton version of the story. Herodotus finally comes down firmly on the side of the Alkmaeonids: "by their contrivance the Peisistratids were driven out of the tyranny, and therefore they are the ones who freed Athens far more than Harmodios and Aristogeiton, as I judge it" (Her. 6.123.1–2). Thucydides too, as mentioned before, criticized the Athenians for their credulity and lack of accuracy in the widespread popular accounts of the assassination of Hipparchos; he goes to great lengths to correct the version promulgated by the Tyrannicide statues, emphasizing in particular that the motives of Harmodios and Aristogeiton were pri-

marily personal rather than political, and that in fact it was Spartan intervention rather than the murder of Hipparchos that ended the tyranny (6.52–59).

The Tyrannicides prevailed in public monuments, but the existence of regulations protecting them from slander indicate a certain measure of opposition to what they represent.[93] Konrad Kinzl even suggests that the Tyrannicides' heroic gesture was parodied on a red-figured wine bowl painted about 470, showing a drunken pair striking the familiar pose.[94]

But the historian can take a perspective even broader than this "pro and con" level, as we see in Thucydides' well-known complaints about Athenian misinformation. He criticizes not the Tyrannicides or their detractors, but the Athenians who perpetuate a foolish tradition about the Tyrannicides, and so in an even larger sense, the process by which this "information" is perpetuated. The historian makes it his job not just to determine as well as he can what happened, but to critique the sources that try to tell him what happened.

Narrative history, as we see it in Herodotus and Thucydides, is clearly a genre in which the author's reasoning voice counts for a great deal. Active authorial judgments stand in contrast to the more silent genres of monumental painting or sculpture, for example, which only show and do not tell, and even to tragedy, where only characters and chorus have voices, not the dramatist. Prose historiography, on the other hand, is an authorial and judgmental genre, critical both of its sources and its actors. When dealing with the great icons of cultural memory, the narrative historian does not just perpetuate but contextualizes and evaluates. Indeed it seems that this critical spirit is at the heart of the enterprise.

Democratic Athens worked hard to shape a useful past, deliberately making little distinction in its monumental arts between mythical stories and events such as the fall of the tyranny or the victories at Marathon and Salamis. It was critics and outsiders who first attempted to write a continuous, plausible historical narrative; Herodotus and Thucydides connected Athens' present more causally, and sometimes more ironically, to its past. Herodotus for example lets us glimpse the Greeks who were allies in the Persian Wars becoming mortal enemies in the later fifth century (6.98.2); and in Thucydides' history, the city that prides itself on being the liberator of Hellas becomes an admitted tyrant city over other Greeks (2.63.2, 3.37.2).[95] For the development of civic identity in a diverse and potentially divided citizen body, many voices might be permitted, but not that of the authorial observer, the historian doing what linear narrative does best: showing not a timeless world full of paradigms and analogies, but rather a time-bound picture of development, inconsistency, and change.

CHAPTER NINE

The Sophists in Athens

ROBERT W. WALLACE

Consensus Views, and Questions

The term "sophist" is commonly used to refer to a group of intellectuals who worked and taught, in Athens and elsewhere, during the second half of the fifth century. The principal sophists include Protagoras of Abdera, Gorgias of Leontinoi, Prodikos of Keos, Hippias of Elis, Thrasymachos of Chalkedon, and Antiphon the Athenian. A number of less conspicuous figures are also associated with the movement, such as the Athenian Kallikles and the Chian brothers Euthydemos and Dionysodoros. How far the Athenians Damon, Kritias, and Sokrates should be considered sophists is more controversial. The sophists are typically described as travelling "wisdom professors" for hire, especially in the techniques of rhetoric. Although there is no evidence that they regarded themselves as a group and only Protagoras is said to have called himself a sophist (Plato, *Protagoras* 317b), ever since the fourth century the sophists have been sharply distinguished from the philosophers who preceded and came after them. Following Plato (*Hippias maior* 281c–d) it is generally agreed that, beginning around 450 (Protagoras is almost always regarded as the first of them), the sophists represented a fundamentally new type. "Never before had such teachers been seen, never such teaching."[1] For Plato and his followers, ancient and modern, three of the principal characteristics that set the sophists apart from earlier philosophers were their technical and political orientations, and their rejection of positive doctrine. Earlier philosophers developed theories on physical and metaphysical matters, in search of the truth. The sophists, it is commonly stated, were centrally occupied with teaching rhetoric, the techniques of exposition rather than positive doctrine, especially to those who sought careers in public life. Plato's Gorgias

80. M. West 1985.103–9. Cf. also Fornara 1983b.1.
81. Similar tendencies may be reflected in the lists of kings in Sparta (on which see Cartledge 1979.341–46), priestesses of Hera in Argos, and athletic victors at Olympus, all of which seem to be first attested in the fifth century.
82. Vansina 1985.23–24 and *passim*. On the situation in Athens cf. Raaflaub 1988. The tradition on early Rome offers an impressive analogy: cf. Ungern-Sternberg 1988.
83. For a different view of Thucydides' relationship to Athens cf. Badian 1993.
84. Ober 1994a.105. On the political background see Munn forthcoming.
85. Connor 1994 and other chapters in Boegehold & Scafuro 1994.
86. For recent discussions cf. Hansen 1996b; Parker 1996, chap. 10.
87. Cf. Mink 1978.
88. Cf. Miller & Csapo, this vol. for a perceptive study of classical Athens' new view of time.
89. As Loraux 1986.134 says of the funeral oration, "In [its] historical excursus . . . we do not find the unfolding of a continuity, but the repetitive and exemplary enactment of a single arete."
90. The dedication was destroyed during the Persian sack of Athens and apparently reerected in the mid-fifth century. Cf. ML 15; Fornara 1983a, no.42; Raubitschek 1949, no.173. Cf. West 1985.283–85 for a brief discussion of this epigram, including references (n.20) to the archaeological evidence for the dedication. See also Raubitschek 1949.458; Hölscher, this vol., text at n.33.
91. Cf. Loraux 1986.132 and *passim* on how the version of "history" presented in Athenian funeral orations "effac[ed] the problems that a critical [historical] study reveals."
92. Cf. n.7 above.
93. The fourth-century Athenian orator Hypereides (*Against Philokrates* 3) mentions a law forbidding ridicule of Harmodios and Aristogeiton. On freedom of speech and its limits in Athens, see Henderson, this vol.
94. Cf. Kinzl 1978. The krater, attributed to the Copenhagen Painter, is now in Boston.
95. See, for Herodotus, Raaflaub 1987; for Thucydides, id. 1979.

Chapter 9 Notes

Versions of this text have been delivered at the University of Chicago and the Università degli studi di Urbino, as well as the Center for Hellenic Studies; an earlier draft was read by Richard Bett. I am grateful for all comments received, and in particular I must commend both editors for the unrivalled care they have taken with my manuscript. Translations are my own, typically adapted from standard versions. References to the sophists and other pre-Socratic philosophers are by numbers in Diels-Kranz 1952 (DK).

1. De Romilly 1992.4. Protagoras: e.g., Sprague 1972.3; de Romilly 1992.viii.
2. Ostwald 1986.242.

3. Kerferd 1981a.15.
4. E.g., Kerferd 1981a.15–17; de Romilly 1992.19–26.
5. Müller 1986.192.
6. Kerferd 1981b.3.
7. Ostwald 1992.341, 343.
8. Kerferd 1950; see also Rankin 1983.13; de Romilly 1992.1.
9. Braudel 1972.103–67.
10. Lloyd points out that "acceptance of money for instruction in such *technai* as medicine or sculpture was a well-established and uncontroversial practice" (1987.92–94, nn.152, 153). However, these tasks may have been considered more banausic than the teaching of wisdom.
11. See esp. Kerferd 1981a.55–57; 1981b.4–5. Cf. in particular Sokrates' love of argument amid a crowd of rich young Athenians, his characteristic use of the antilogic method in the exploration of ethical and other human questions which often led to *aporia*, and his constant challenges to received opinion.
12. See also Plato, *Meno* 90d, 91b. Kerferd 1981a.26.
13. See Lloyd, as in n.10.
14. Bett 1989.
15. See esp. Gorgias, *Helen* 13.
16. Adkins 1972.103.
17. On the earlier development of empirical research, see Comotti 1991.
18. de Romilly 1992.9.
19. For a general account of the methodologies associated with the Hippocratic authors, see Lloyd 1979.126–225 ("The development of empirical research").
20. For a recent assessment of these figures and further references, see Cole 1991a.22–25 and 1991b; but see Yunis, this vol.
21. Kerferd 1950.8.
22. For the educational role of Greek poets, see, e.g., Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 656–58; *Frogs* 1009–10, 1054–58; and Plato, *Protagoras* 325c–326c; see also Taplin 1983.332–33; Gentili 1988.155–61; Henderson 1990.271–72, 297–307, 312–13.
23. For the spread of education to lower social levels after the later sixth century, see Marrou 1956.36–43. See Pseudo-Xenophon, *Constitution of the Athenians* 2.10, that at least by the later fifth century the demos enjoyed aristocrat-style baths and the palaestra. See also the steady augmentation of slave labor as more and more citizens of what John Davies has called Athens' "rentier" or "leisure class" of several thousand heads-of-household (1981.10–14, 28–37; for the numbers, Rhodes 1982.1–9) spent significant amounts of time in traditionally aristocratic occupations such as governing; the early-fifth-century institution of the public funeral oration as a eulogy for all citizens (Loraux 1986); the public erection of great monuments and buildings (Hölscher, this vol.); and also the demos' assumption of myth as their own history in Attic tragedy (Boedeker, this vol.).
24. Detienne 1967.117. Antilogies: Yunis, this vol.

25. Vernant 1982. See the debate on the origins of democracy between Josiah Ober, Kurt Raaflaub, and myself in Morris & Raaflaub 1997.
26. Wallace 1995.
27. Gold 1987.21–30, with references.
28. Wallace 1995.
29. Simonides, fr. 11 West²; cf. Boedeker & Sider 1996.
30. Lesky 1966.189; Detienne 1967.119.
31. Lesky 1966.190; see also Kerferd 1981a.46–47.
32. Gentili 1988.161–62.
33. See Morris, this vol.
34. For the widespread success of philosophers throughout the Greek world in the fourth century and later, see McKechnie 1989.150–52.
35. Knox 1979.87–95.
36. Luce 1992.82.
37. Kerferd 1981a.50; cf., e.g., Guthrie 1969.293–94; Romeyer-Dherbey 1985.95.
38. On the *patrios politeia,* see Finley 1971; Fuks 1953.
39. Rankin 1983.65.
40. For ancient opinions on the question of one or two Antiphons, see Gagarin 1990 and Pendrick 1993, with references. Wiesner 1994 again identifies the two. I am grateful to Michael Gagarin for helpful comments on Antiphon.
41. E.g., Guthrie 1969.168, 290–91.
42. Kerferd 1981a.18.
43. Stadter 1991. It is unsafe to regard Perikles' companion Aspasia as a legitimate philosophical figure: see my review of Henry 1995 in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 7 (1996) 210–17.
44. Anaxagoras: Isokr. *Antid.* 235; Plato, *Phaedr.* 269e–270a, and Plato? *I Alcibiad.* 118c. Damon: Isokr. *Antid.* 235; Plato? *I Alcibiad.* 118c; cf. Arist. *Const. of the Athenians* 27.4. Pythokleides: Plato? *I Alcibiad.* 118c and Arist. ap. Plut. *Per.* 4 (perhaps in error for Plato).
45. Contrast esp. Mansfeld 1979–80.
46. See generally Isokr. 8.121–31, and also, e.g., Arist., *Pol.* 1320a4–6; among modern works, above all Connor 1971.
47. Connor 1971.166, n.54.
48. See above all Carter 1986.52–75 (chap. 3: "Noble Youths").
49. I. Morris 1992, chap. 5; cf. id., this vol.
50. Forrest notes that this was "the course adopted in real life by Alkibiades. He must learn the tricks and join in the demagogic rat-race. He must beat the demagogues at their own game. He must be more extreme, more flattering" (1975.47). Cf. Adkins 1972.145: "Those—of wealthy families . . . —who wished, and were able, to benefit fully from sophistic instruction in the 'political art', but did not wish to be 'champions of the people', must have been unable to exercise effectively that superior skill that they believed themselves to possess, or to rule over others as an agathos should."

51. Tr. Forrest 1975.41–42.
52. See Natali 1987, which however does not attempt to situate these comments in their evolving historical contexts.
53. See Dover 1968b.31–32, 39, 42–43, arguing for 420–15, and Waterfield 1993.380, arguing for ca. 420 (while the Megarian battle mentioned in 368a is probably that of 409).
54. Forrest 1975.49.

Chapter 10 Notes

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1. Attribution to Anaximenes on the basis of Quintilian, *Institutio* 3.4.9; see Mirhady 1994.55–61.
2. For an overview of the history of rhetoric, see Kennedy 1980; Conley 1994. Kennedy's studies of particular periods of the ancient world are highly useful: 1963 on classical Greece, 1972 on Rome and the Hellenistic world, 1983 on Byzantium; these volumes have now been revised and abridged in a single volume, Kennedy 1994. On the Aristotelian tradition in rhetoric, see Solmsen 1941; Fortenbaugh & Mirhady 1994. Vickers 1988 treats rhetoric historically and thematically. On the systematic content of ancient rhetoric, see Volkmann 1885; Josef Martin 1974. Pernot 1993, primarily concerned with encomium, is a superb resource for ancient rhetoric generally.
3. On rhetoric and religion, see Murphy 1974.269–355; Kennedy 1980.120–60; Shuger 1988. The close connection of rhetoric and literature begins with Aristotle and has grown ever since; see Kennedy 1980.108–19 for an introduction. On rhetoric and the arts, see Vickers 1988.340–74.
4. See Hesiod, *Theogony* 81–93 for the archaic attitude of eloquence bestowed by the Muses; Homer, *Iliad* 3.204–24 for the eloquence traditionally ascribed to Odysseus; and Martin 1989 on speech and performance in the *Iliad*. On Homer and other preclassical, poetic influences on rhetoric, see Kennedy 1963.35–48; Kennedy 1980.9–15; Race 1990; Cole 1991a. On persuasion in Athenian tragedy see Buxton 1982. Cicero, *De oratore* 1.146; Quintilian, *Institutio* 3.2.3 contrast art and eloquence.
5. On the early usage of *rhētorikē*, see Schiappa 1990b; O'Sullivan 1993. *Rhētorikē* does not occur in Isokrates or the other fourth-century Athenian orators. See Classen 1976b on the study of language by Socrates and his contemporaries.
6. Hamberger 1914; Baumhauer 1986 treat the passage at length.
7. See Cicero, *De inventione* 2.6–7; *Brutus* 46–48; and Schöpsdau 1994 on Aristotle's "Collection of Arts." Since *technē* could refer to a treatise on any subject, we ought not to assume that Aristotle's "Collection" was restricted to *technai* on rhetoric.

most resisted it. The uniqueness of Athens lies largely in the fact that it eagerly embraced and developed common cultural trends which elsewhere met with a mixed or even predominantly hostile reception" (letter of Nov. 5, 1997).

84. Wallace, this vol., at n.52.
85. Rowe, this vol., n.1. Approaching the issues from a different angle, Wallace, this vol. (end of introductory section) considers sophists and Presocratics together.
86. Rowe, this vol., at n.2.
87. Ibid., at nn.10, 20 (our emphasis).
88. Ibid., at n.20.
89. Boedeker, this vol., after n.83, before n.95.
90. Ibid., after n.86.
91. Hölscher, this vol., after nn.94, 95.
92. Meier 1993b.
93. Meier 1996 (cit. 199, 209–10, 215; our tr.).
94. Raaflaub, this vol., at n.85.
95. Pollitt 1972.115; cf. Borbein 1995. See also Csapo & Miller, this vol., for a more ideological explanation of fifth-century art.
96. For a general survey, see Raaflaub, this vol., at n.148.
97. See esp. Auffarth 1995; Parker 1996, chaps. 9, 10; Jameson 1997.188–91.
98. See, e.g., Finley 1982, chap. 5; Wallace 1994b. On the most famous case, the trial of Sokrates, see recently Hansen 1996b, with bibliog.; Parker 1996, chap. 10.
99. Hölscher, this vol., at n.66.
100. See above, at n.85, and Csapo & Miller, this vol., at nn.23–25.

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CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
DK	Diels & Kranz 1952.
FGrH	*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. See Jacoby 1923–.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Zurich: Artemis.
LSJ	Liddell, Scott, & Jones 1968.
ML	Meiggs & Lewis 1988.
PCG	*Poetae Comici Graeci*. See Kassel & Austin 1983–.
PMG	*Poetae Melici Graeci*. See Page 1962.
RE	*Paulys Realencyclopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart: Druckenmüller.
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden: Brill.
Supp. Hell.	*Supplementum Hellenisticum*. See Lloyd-Jones & Parsons 1983.
TGF	*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Several vols. by various authors. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971–.

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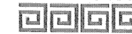

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