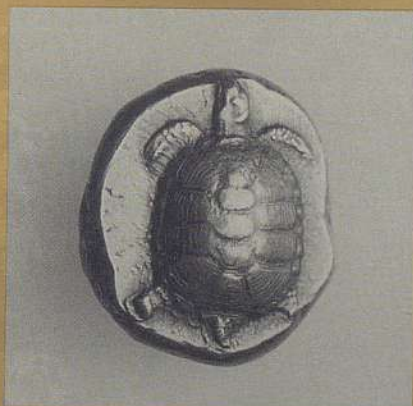


ATHENS AND AIGINA

in the Age of Imperial Colonization



THOMAS J. FIGUEIRA

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ATHENS AND AIGINA

in the Age of Imperial Colonization

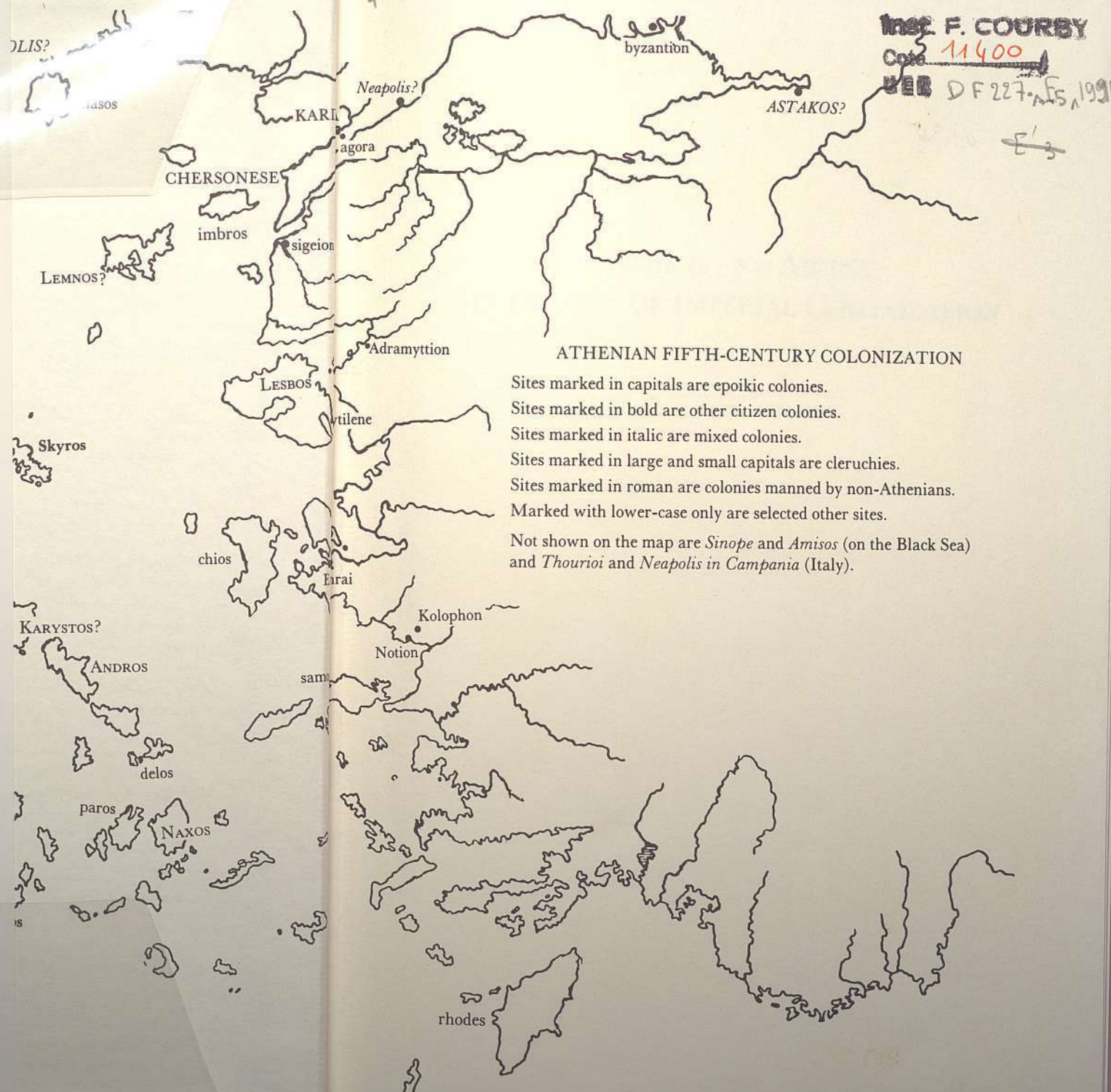
Thomas J. Figueira

In 431 B.C., the first year of the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians expelled their ancient enemies from the nearby island of Aigina and replaced them with Athenian settlers. The events leading up to this action, and its consequences and implications for Athenian colonial policy elsewhere, are the subject of *Athens and Aigina in the Age of Imperial Colonization*. Focusing on the relationship between Athens and Aigina, Thomas J. Figueira develops a general picture of the social and political history of Athenian imperial colonization in the fifth century B.C.

The first part of the book examines the Athenian colony on Aigina. After establishing the validity of the evidence of Thucydides, a well-placed contemporary witness to the founding of the Aiginetan colony, Figueira presents a revised view of the three key concepts in Athenian colonial terminology—the “colonist,” the “reinforcing colonist,” and the “cleruch,” or “lot-holder.” From an analysis of this terminology, he demonstrates that the initial purpose of the colonists was to reinforce an already existing pro-Athens body on Aigina rather than to replace it. He also discusses the roles played by such well-known colonists as Ariston (the father of Plato) and the comic playwright Aristophanes.

The second part of the book turns to the problems of Athenian colonization in general. Figueira surveys the variety of archaic Athenian colonization policies and practices, including the ambiguous relationship of colonies to the mother city and conflicting claims of colonists to Athenian citizenship. Subsequent chapters place colonization in the institutional setting of the Athenian empire and examine changes that took place in Attic colonization during the fourth century. Topics such as military strategy, subsidization of citizens, revenue enhancement, and punishment are also surveyed. Figueira concludes with a discussion of the fatal allure of the Athenians' fifth-century colonial empire and the tragic consequences of their obsessive imperialism.

Thomas J. Figueira is professor of classics and ancient history at Rutgers University.



ATHENS AND AIGINA
in the Age of Imperial Colonization

Thomas J. Figueira

In 431 B.C., the Athenians expelled the nearby island of Aigina of Ionian settlers. The consequences of this imperial policy elsewhere are explored in *Aigina in the Age of Imperial Colonization*. J. Figueira develops a new political history of the fifth century.

The first part of the book focuses on Aigina. After a discussion of the evidence of Thucydides, it turns to the fourth century. It presents a revision of Athenian colonial policy, showing how it was enforcing colonialism. From an analysis of the evidence, it argues that the initial purpose was not to replace an already existing colony, but to replace such well-known colonies (e.g., Plato) and the Athenian empire.

The second part of the book discusses Athenian colonial practices, including the colonies to the west, the colonies to the east, the colonies to the south, and the colonies to the north. It also discusses the place of colonization in Athenian empire, the role of the colonies in Athenian empire, and the role of the colonies in Athenian empire.

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The first part of the book is devoted to Aigina. After a discussion of Thucydides' account of the Athenian presence on the island, the author presents a revision of the Athenian colonial policy. From an analysis of the evidence, he argues that the initial purpose was not to replace an already existing colony, but to replace such well-known colonies as Plato and the Cyprian.

The second part of the book discusses Athenian colonial practices, including the variety of archaeological evidence, the colonies to the Aegean, the colonists to Athens, the place of colonization in Athenian empire, and the Attic colonization, such as military colonies. Figueira concludes with a discussion of the Athenian empire and the tragic consequences of the Peloponnesian War.

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The Johns Hopkins University Press
Baltimore and London

In 431 B.C., the first Athenians expected to settle on a nearby island of the Aegean. The Athenian settlers. The consequences of this colonial policy elsewhere. *Aigina in the Age of Athens* the relationship between the Athenian and the island. J. Figueira develops the political history of the fifth century. The first part of the book is on Aigina. After the evidence of Thucydides, the focus comes to the fourth century. presents a revision of the Athenian colonial policy. enforcing colonial policy. From an analysis of the evidence that the initial policy was an already existing one, rather than to replace such well-known colonies (Plato) and the consequences.

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In 431 B.C., the Athenians expected to find a nearby island of Athenian settlers. The consequences of this policy elsewhere are discussed in *Aigina in the Age of Pericles*. J. Figueira develops the political history of the fifth century.

The first part of the book is on Aigina. After the evidence of Thucydides, the focus comes to the foundation of the colony. It presents a revision of Athenian colonial policy, enforcing colonialization. From an analysis of the initial period, it is clear that the initial period was an already existing colony rather than to replace such well-known colonies (Plato) and the city.

The second part of the book is on Athenian colonialization. It discusses a variety of archaic practices, including colonies to the colonies to Athens. It places colonialization in the Athenian empire in Attic colonization, such as military colonies, and discusses the enhancement of the Athenian empire. Figueira concludes that the Athenian empire was the tragic consequence of the Athenian empire.

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PREFACE

In its present form, this work is an outgrowth of my research on Aigina. The goal of all scholarship on archaic and classical city-states outside of relatively well attested Athens and Sparta is twofold. First, one seeks to portray the history of the city under investigation for its own sake and for its contributions to a broad understanding of Greek civilization. Secondly, local or epichoric history endeavors to illuminate the constitutional and social institutions of Athens and Sparta and the interstate political and military affairs which are so deeply affected by their vicissitudes. The vantage point, confessedly hard-won, of a reconstructed epichoric history opens for us new lines of sight on a familiar scholarly terrain, now hopefully seen with new eyes.

Epichoric and panhellenic motifs inevitably stand in a relationship of tension, but it is, in fact, this dynamic tension (in the happiest of such work) that yields the progress toward new syntheses of familiar evidence. Unlike my articles on Aiginetan history, the Athenian colonization of Aigina is different in that it evolved into the shape of a portrait of Athenian imperial colonization. And it was the proximity of the experiences of the Aiginetans at Athenian hands to those of other Greeks that encouraged the hope of integrating Aiginetan and imperial segments of this research. The reader will, I trust, indulge one who has given so much time to the historical "restoration" of a place that he raise the question of the significance of that locale. In social history, Aigina is important as a salient adaptation of Greek institutionality to commerce. If Aigina, however, has any claim to status as a paradigm in international affairs, is it not either as the nursery within which Athenian imperialism took its first steps or as the laboratory within which Athenian hegemonism developed its arsenal?

My first interest in the subject of Athenian colonization was stimulated by an exceptionally fine seminar on the Athenian empire given by Michael Jameson at the University of Pennsylvania during 1974-75. A prospective dissertation on the Attic cleruchy was aborted by illness. That militated on behalf of a work on Aigina, about which two long papers had already been written.

I have many whom I should like to thank for help in carrying this work to completion. My mother Marion Figueira was generous in her assistance in child-rearing, which allowed me many stolen hours for scholarship. My wife Sarah George helped greatly at all stages of the project and is chiefly responsible for the format and appearance of the final work. Colleagues at

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Rutgers, Lowell Edmunds, John Lenaghan, and Alden Smith were very helpful in final reading. My student Gordon Kelly also helped with the proofreading. Thanks are owed to Kerry K. Wetterstrom and the Classical Numismatic Group for the cover illustrations, and to the Publications Office of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for permission to use their typesetting facilities.

Michael Jameson aided me on specific points. Martin Ostwald read the first part with his keen eye and made many helpful suggestions. Malcolm B. Wallace has offered unstintingly of his knowledge of Athenian colonization and Euboian history; so much so in his readings of my drafts that I have probably failed to note on enough occasions where his correspondence and unpublished work has improved my presentation.

This book is dedicated to A. John Graham. Ancient historians of my generation are indeed deeply indebted to him for what we have learned from his years of patient work in investigating Greek colonization. Specifically, his advice and admonition aided me on many occasions during the gestation of this work, parts of which he waded through twice. Those who are familiar with the details of Attic colonization will doubtless recognize many points on which John and I disagree. Yet, it is a tribute to his generosity of intellect that he has not only saved me from many mistakes, but also endeavored to think through my hypotheses according to my own lights. Finally, I dedicate this volume to him in commemoration of fifteen years of friendship during which his encouragement and kindnesses have never failed me.

I have taken advantage of many programs at Rutgers University in the course of my research on Aigina, and many friends on the faculty and in the administration have warmly appreciated and supported my activities. It would, however, be entirely bogus and born out of a false sense of shame if I represented my research as born out of an untroubled, appropriate professional environment. Rather it was produced in a context of persecution, including racial bigotry and direct harassment sustained by senior administrators. Nor do I think my experience unique. Such an admission is not meant as a plea for compassion, but for the formulation of a question. Is the traditional humanist now the natural outlaw and enemy within our bureaucratized and ideologized universities, with their adversarial and custodial posture toward students? I barely remember my initial offense, the one that started the descent toward despised Latino. It was probably that fatal combination of scholarly activity and an empathy with the students that was all too visible and credible.

Rutgers University
May 1991

T.F.

ABBREVIATIONS

- APF = J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (Oxford 1971)
 ATL = B.D. Meritt, H.T. Wade-Gery, M.F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, 4 vols. (Princeton 1939-1953)
 Beister = H. Beister, "Κληροῦχος," in E.C. Welskopf, *Untersuchungen ausgewählter altgriechischer sozialer Typenbegriffe*, vol. 3, *Soziale Typenbegriffe im alten Griechenland und ihr Fortleben in den Sprachen der Welt* (Berlin 1981) 404-19
 Beloch *GG*² = K.J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*² (Berlin 1912-1927)
 Brunt = P.A. Brunt, "Athenian Settlements Abroad in the Fifth Century B.C.," in E. Badian, ed., *Ancient Society and Institutions: Studies Presented to Victor Ehrenberg on his 75th Birthday* (Oxford 1966) 71-92
 Busolt *GG*² = G. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte bis zur Schlacht bei Chaironeia*² (Gotha 1893-1904)
 Busolt-Swoboda, *GSK* = G. Busolt and H. Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*, 2 vols. (Munich 1920-1926)
 CAG = *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* (Berlin 1882-1909)
 CAH²/³ = *The Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge 1970-)
 CPG = E.L. von Leutsch and F.G. Schneidewin, *Corpus Pseudoepigrapharum Graecorum*, 2 vols. (Göttingen 1839-1851)
 DAA = A.E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis* (Cambridge, MA 1949)
 Ehrenberg, "Colonies" = V. Ehrenberg, "Early Athenian Colonies," *Aspects of the Ancient World* (Oxford 1946) 116-43 = "Zur älteren athenischen Kolonisation," *Eunomia: Studia Graeca et Romana* 1 (1939) 11-32 = *Polis und Imperium: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte* (Zürich 1965) 221-44
 Ehrenberg, "Thucydides" = V. Ehrenberg, "Thucydides on Athenian Colonization," *CP* 47 (1952) 143-49 = *Polis und Imperium* 245-53
 Foucart = P. Foucart, "Mémoire sur les colonies athéniennes," *Mem. Acad. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres* 9 (1878) 323-413
 Gauthier, "Clérouques" = P. Gauthier, "A propos des clérouques Athéniennes du V^e siècle," in M.I. Finley, ed., *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne* (Paris 1973) 163-78
 Gauthier, "Lesbos" = P. Gauthier, "Les clérouques de Lesbos et la colonisation Athénienne au V^e siècle," *REG* 79 (1966) 64-88
 GGM = C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores* (Paris 1882)
 GPN = P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* vol. 1 (Oxford 1987)
 Graham = A.J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*² (Chicago 1983)
 Green and Sinclair = J.R. Green and R.K. Sinclair, "Athenians in Eretria," *Historia* 19 (1970) 515-27

In 431 B.C., the Athenians expected the nearby island of Aigina to be a nian settlers. The consequences of this policy else Aigina in the Age of Imperial Colonization the relationship between Athens and Aigina. J. Figueira develops the political history of the fifth century.

The first part of the book is devoted to Aigina. After the end of Thucydides' account of the Peloponnesian War, the first part of the book presents a revised Athenian colonial policy. From an analysis of the initial phase of the Athenian empire, an already existing policy is replaced by a new one, such as well-known (Plato) and the consequences.

The second part of the book is devoted to Athenian colonial policy. A variety of archaeological practices, including the colonies to the colonists to Athens, place colonialization in Athenian empire in Attic colonization, such as military and economic enhancement. Figueira concludes that the Athenian empire was the tragic consequence of the Peloponnesian War.

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- Gschnitzer = F. Gschnitzer, *Abhängige Orte im griechischen Altertum* (Munich 1958)
 HCT = A.W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, and K.J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, 5 vols. (Oxford 1945–1981)
 IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin 1873–)
 Isaac = Benjamin Isaac, *The Greek Settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian Conquest* (Leiden 1986)
 Jones = A.H.M. Jones, *Athenian Democracy* (Oxford 1957)
 Koster = W.J.W. Koster, *Prolegomena De Comoedia: Scholia in Acharnenses, Equites, Nubes* IA (Groningen 1975)
 LSAG = L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961)
 LSJ = H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, revised by H.S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*⁹ (Oxford 1968)
 Meiggs = R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford 1972)
 Meiggs-Lewis = R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford 1969)
 Moggi = M. Moggi, "Alcuni episodi della colonizzazione ateniese (Salamina—Potidea—Samo)," in *Studi sui rapporti interstatali nel mondo antico* (Pisa 1981) 1–55
 MPG = J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus* (series Graeca) 161 vols. (Paris 1857–1866)
 Nesselhauf = H. Nesselhauf, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der delisch-attischen Symmachie* (Leipzig 1933)
 PA = J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* (Berlin 1901–1903)
 PCG = R. Kassel and C. Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci* II,2, *Aristophanes* (Berlin 1984)
 Schmitz = W. Schmitz, *Wirtschaftliche Prosperität, soziale Integration und Seebundpolitik Athens: Die Wirkung der Erfahrungen aus dem ersten attischen Seebund auf die Aussenpolitik in der ersten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Munich 1988)
 Schuller = W. Schuller, *Die Heerschaft der Athener im ersten attischen Seebund* (Berlin 1974)
 SVA = H. Bengtson, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums 2: Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 700 bis 338 v. Chr.* (Munich and Berlin 1962)
 Theognis = T.J. Figueira and G. Nagy, eds., *Theognis of Megara* (Baltimore 1985)
 Tod, *GHI* = M.N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1933–1948)

N.b.: Corpora of inscriptions are cited after *SEG* (*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*). English-language journals are cited after the style of the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*; foreign journals after *L'année philologique*.

ATHENS AND AIGINA IN THE AGE OF IMPERIAL COLONIZATION

In 431 B.C., the Athenians expelled the Aiginetans from their island of Aigina. The consequences of this policy elsewhere in the Athenian empire are the subject of this book. J. Figueira develops the political history of the fifth century.

The first part of the book is devoted to Aigina. After a discussion of the evidence of Thucydides, it turns to the four other islands. The book presents a revision of the Athenian colonization policy, showing how it was enforcing colonization. From an analysis of the evidence, it is argued that the initial purpose was not to replace the Aiginetans but to replace them with a more reliable population (such as the well-known Athenians of Plato) and the Aiginetans.

The second part of the book discusses the Athenian colonization policy in a variety of other archaic and classical contexts, including the colonies to the west, the colonies to the east, the place of colonization in the Athenian empire, and the role of Attic colonization in the development of such as military and naval power. Figueira concludes that the Athenian colonization policy was the tragic consequence of the Athenian empire.

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INTRODUCTION

THE LONG CONFLICT between the Athenians and the Aiginetans reached a turning point in 431, in the first year of the Peloponnesian War. At that time, the Athenians expelled the Aiginetans from their island (Thuc. 2.27.1), and in place of the original inhabitants decided to send their own settlers to Aigina.¹ According to Thucydides, this deportation had two causes: the Athenians believed that the Aiginetans bore a great responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities through their agitation against Athens at Sparta (cf. Thuc. 1.67.2, 1.139.1, 1.140.3; Plut. *Per.* 29.5; Andoc. 3.6), and they also had made a strategic decision that it would be better for their military prospects to have in their possession an island which was opportunely situated, adjacent to the Peloponnesos (2.27.1).² Thus, in the case of Aigina, we find together explicitly two leitmotifs of fifth-century Athenian colonization: both a punitive tendency and a calculation based on military pragmatism. A third theme, that of inclusivism (see also Chapter 5, section B), is encapsulated in the references of Thucydides to the settlers. Inclusivism was more fitfully operative in the colonization of the Athenian empire, and was controversial. It is therefore rather elusive in the surviving evidence. Nonetheless, it will become significant for our understanding of Athenian actions concerning Aigina. Moreover, subsidizing Athenian citizens and promoting their upward mobility were sustaining factors in the motivation of the Athenian program of settlement abroad, and it will be important for us to explore the political and social history surrounding their implementation.

I shall argue in Part I of this work that this Athenian settlement on Aigina was an ἀποικία 'colony' rather than a κληρουχία 'cleruchy', with

¹ Thuc. 2.27.1: ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Αἰγινήτας τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τούτῳ ἐξ Αἰγίνης Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐτοὺς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐπικαλέσαντες οὐχ ἥκιστα τοῦ πολέμου σφίσιν αἰτίους εἶναι· καὶ τὴν Αἶγιαν ἀσφαλέστερον ἐφαίνετο τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ ἐπικειμένην αὐτῶν πέμψαντας ἐποίκους ἔχειν. καὶ ἐξέπεμψαν ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς οἰκητορας. See p. 7 below for a translation.

² For the former motivation, see T. J. Figueira, "Autonomoi kata tas spondas (Thuc. 1.67.2)," *BICS* 37 (1990) 63–88, and, for the latter, *id.*, "Aigina and the Naval Strategy of the Late Fifth and Early Fourth Centuries," *RhM* 133 (1990) 15–51, esp. 16–22.

settlers who (nevertheless) retained their Athenian citizenship. Furthermore, the Athenian colony claimed a continuity with pre-Athenian Aigina through the denomination of the colonists there as *ἔποικοι* and so represented a reconstituted, legitimized Aiginetan polity. In the eyes of the Athenians, the grounds for these claims lay first in a cultic or ritual subordination of Aigina to Athens and, next, in an Athenian championing (and eventual harboring) of the Aiginetan *dāmos* during the early 480s. The Athenian delegitimization of archaic and classical Aiginetan political institutions was merely consummated by *force majeure* in 431. During the period in which Aigina was a tributary ally of Athens (after 457–56), Aigina's oligarchic political order had been under pressure. In addition, the project of delegitimizing the Aiginetan oligarchy had as its collaborators those residents of the island who advertized their sympathies with Athens by supporting Atticizing cults.

My hypothesis on the character of the Athenian colony on Aigina shall bring me into conflict with much of what is commonly believed concerning Athenian colonization in general and, in particular, on the nature of Athenian cleruchies. While I shall not essay a linear and chronological history of Athenian colonization in the fifth century, the dossier on any single Athenian settlement abroad is so thin that, inevitably, many features of a general reconstruction must be established in order to explicate the case at hand.³ Some of this comparative material is presented in the footnotes and on the tables appearing through this work. Yet, I have found that the interests of clarity are best served by bringing together my comments on aspects of the source material about certain other colonies, which are particularly relevant to Aigina and especially significant in general. Thus I have created four brief sketches, called Appendixes, which are each devoted to the history of a single colony. Another facet of this work is also an inevitable result of the scattered, fragmentary quality of our evidence. The same data must be applied at several specific points within my argument, where they provide narrowly-focused beams of illumination. Accordingly, it may be difficult for the reader to aggregate all the discussion on some Athenian settlements. The tables and cross-references attempt to address this problem, but could not be expanded or increased in number without

³ In the absence of direct reflections on the creation of colonial policy by organs of the Athenian government, a linear history is infeasible.

disrupting the progress of the narrative. Hence, the index lists all Athenian colonies in boldface, in some cases with sub-rubrics referenced to aspects of their colonization.

Moreover, the implications of a specification of the status of the Athenian settlement on Aigina are far-reaching, as they, in turn, necessitate the revision of several important tenets of the standard views on Athenian colonization. Scholarship on Athenian colonization has been remarkably conservative, with the results of nineteenth- or early twentieth-century overviews holding continued, if often unacknowledged, sway.⁴ There has been a steady increase in our evidence, with the publication of the *Athenian Tribute Lists* representing the most noticeable accession to the standing body of knowledge. Nevertheless, scholars have tended to make incursions on limited fronts into the consensus of received views, for instance, on the technical language of colonization, on the civic status of Attic colonists, or on the military role of cleruchs. It has been the coordination of such insights in a new reconstruction that has not been essayed.

Because of the particularly well documented character of the enmity between Aigina and Athens, it is possible to place the Athenian occupation of Aigina within a broad historical context (an unusual situation); indeed, we might even say, within the main line of evolution of Athenian imperialism. In my Part II, therefore, I endeavor to characterize the most salient qualities of Athenian imperial colonization from the standpoint of our newly-won understandings of the distinctions between colonies and cleruchies, of the political potential of colonization, and of the social parameters within which Athenian colonization was compelled to operate. Accordingly, I shall attempt to offer the first survey of the social history of Athenian imperial colonization. The focus on a case like that of Aigina helps us to see fifth-century colonization independently, without yielding to an extrapolation from the evidence on fourth-century Attic colonizing, which, as shall be seen, fits into a different hegemonal, and thereby terminological, context.

⁴ Some of this earlier scholarship appears as citations in footnotes or in the bibliography. The modern historiography on Athenian colonization could be the subject of a monograph in itself, as one could fill many pages of notes merely listing the authorities holding various positions and exploring the filiation of scholarly opinion. I have confined this sort of citation to a few major points.

In 431 B.C., the Athenians expelled the settlers from the nearby island of Aigina. The consequences of this policy elsewhere in the Aegean are discussed in *Aigina in the Age of Pericles*. The relationship between the Athenians and the island is explored in the fifth century.

The first part of the book is devoted to the history of Aigina. After the death of Thucydides, the Athenians presented a revision of their policy on Aigina. From an analysis of the initial period, it is already evident that the Athenians were more than willing to replace the well-known policy of Plato and the Athenians.

The second part of the book is devoted to the Athenian colonies. A variety of archaeological practices, including the colonies to the Athenians, place colonization in the Athenian empire. In Attic colonization, such as military and naval enhancement, Figueira concludes that the Athenians were the tragic consequences of their policy.

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In 431 B.C., the Athenians expanded their empire to a nearby island of Athenian settlers. The consequences of this imperial policy elsewhere in the Aegean, as *Aigina in the Age of Pericles* shows, were the relationship between Athens and Aigina. J. Figueira develops the political history of the fifth century, the first part of the book, on Aigina. After the evidence of Thucydides, the first part of the book presents a revision of Athenian colonial policy. From an analysis of the initial period, an already existing colony, than to replace such well-known colonies (Plato) and the

The second part of the book, Athenian colonial policy, a variety of archaeological practices, including colonies to the colonists to Athens, place colonialization. Athenian empire in Attic colonization, such as military, new enhancement. Figueira concludes of the Athenian, the tragic consequences

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Any work on Athenian colonization is necessarily a work on Athenian imperialism in some of its aspects. Except insofar as the general features of Athenian expansion during the Pentekontaeteia involve the policies concerning placing Athenians abroad, this work does not explore in depth matters such as Athens' relations with its allies/subjects or the ideological justifications for Athenian hegemony, and the causes of allied acquiescence or dissidence. Nonetheless, the reader may be warned about the gradualist attitudes of the author, who doubts, for example, the existence of a Peace of Kallias and a resultant mid-century crisis in Athenian imperialism, and who has tried to be alert to the dangers of exaggerating allied autonomy earlier in the history of the Delian League. With Athenian colonization, there is clearly a risk of overstating its exploitative and punitive aspects, against which there has been an effort throughout this work at providing a counter-balance.

PART I

THE ATHENIAN COLONY ON AIGINA

In 431 B.C., the Athenians expelled the Peloponnesian settlers. The consequences of this policy elsewhere in the Aegean, as *Aigina in the Age of Pericles*, the relationship between the Athenians and the island of Aigina, and the political history of the fifth century.

The first part of the book is devoted to Aigina. After a brief history of the island, the evidence of Thucydides is examined in connection with the foundation of the colony. The book presents a revision of the traditional Athenian colonial policy, showing that the initial purpose was not to replace the Peloponnesian settlers, but to enforce colonial policy. From an analysis of the evidence, it is concluded that the initial purpose was to replace the Peloponnesian settlers, but to enforce colonial policy. From an analysis of the evidence, it is concluded that the initial purpose was to replace the Peloponnesian settlers, but to enforce colonial policy.

The second part of the book is devoted to the Athenian colonial policy. It examines the variety of archaic practices, including the colonies to the Peloponnese, the colonies to Attica, the colonies to the Aegean, and the colonies to the Black Sea. The book shows that the Athenian empire was not a static entity, but a dynamic one, which evolved over time. The Athenian empire was not a static entity, but a dynamic one, which evolved over time. The Athenian empire was not a static entity, but a dynamic one, which evolved over time.

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CHAPTER 1: THE EVIDENCE OF THUCYDIDES

THE FOUNDATION of my study is an analysis of imperial colonization in Thucydides. The argument for the priority given to an exploration of his treatment rests naturally on his unique status as a contemporary witness, one whose service in the highest governmental echelons is particularly qualifying. Yet Thucydides is commonly held to use the terminology concerning Athenian colonization loosely.¹ The rationale for his supposed carelessness is, however, essentially unargued. Undoubtedly, his passing references to colonial matters present many interpretative difficulties, but we must remain firmly committed to an effort to discover an underlying coherence in his semantics.

A. THE AIGINETAN SETTLERS AS *POIKOI*

A start can be made with relatively well-attested Aigina, in accordance with the over-arching design for this work. Thucydides' portrayal of the new community established on Aigina in c. 431 appears self-consistent. The relevant passages are the following. An essential point to be noted at the outset is that the term *κληροῦχος* and its relatives are never used to denote the settlers of Aigina.

2.27.1: ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Αἰγινήτας τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τούτῳ ἐξ Αἰγίνης Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐτοὺς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐπικαλέσαντες οὐχ ἥκιστα τοῦ πολέμου σφίσιν αἰτίους εἶναι καὶ τὴν Αἶγιαν ἀσφαλέστερον ἐφαίνετο τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ ἐπικειμένην αὐτῶν πέμψαντας ἐποίκους ἔχειν. καὶ ἐξέπεμψαν ὕστερον οὐ πολλῶ ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς οἰκήτορας.

In this same summer, the Athenians also removed the Aiginetans themselves from Aigina, along with their wives and children, while charging that the Aiginetans were not least responsible for the war against them; and it was obviously safer if they held Aigina, as it lay adjoining the Peloponnese, sending *epoikoi* of their own. Not much later, they sent the settlers to it.

¹ This view that Thucydides referred to Athenian colonization loosely is a commonly held one, which I shall be at pains to refute in the comments to follow. See, e.g., Ehrenberg, "Thucydides" esp. 143-44; E. Will, "Sur l'évolution des rapports entre colonies et métropoles en Grèce à partir du VI^e siècle," *La Nouvelle Clío* 6 (1954) 413-60, esp. n. 2, p. 442; Graham 170-73, 189; R. Werner, "Probleme der Rechtsbeziehungen zwischen Metropolis und Apoikie," *Chiron* 1 (1971) 19-73, esp. n. 6, pp. 21-23. Cf. *ATL* 3.285.

341.1 (restored) which mention dedications made by cleruchs.⁸ In contrast, the Thucydidean settlement on Lesbos does not fit the paradigm of the cleruchy which emerges from the fourth-century literary and epigraphical evidence. Fourth-century cleruchies were resident communities with developed institutions including magistrates and deliberative procedures.⁹ Fourth-century cleruchs and non-citizens were not enmeshed socio-economically to the degree suggested by the arrangements for Mytilene (even if we assume that the *rentier* or absentee status of the cleruchs there was an aberration).¹⁰

At the very least, one can conclude from Thucydides that the term *κληροῦχος* 'cleruch' was not irreconcilable with the status of a settler in an Athenian community lacking the full institutional apparatus of a *polis*. Moreover, Thucydidean usage for *ἀποικος* 'colonist' and related terms does not imply a semantic field which would merge colonies and cleruchies of this sort, as he invariably applies *ἀποικος* and *ἀποικία* 'colony' to separate communities which do possess the institutionality of a *polis*,¹¹ not to sub-political units like the Lesbian cleruchy as he describes it.¹²

This Thucydidean distinction between *ἀποικία* and *κληρουχία* appears to coincide with Athenian legal terminology. A fragmentary inscription, *IG* I³ 237.8–9, contains the formula *ταῖς ἀποικίαις καὶ*

from the word *κλήρος* when used in the phrase *ὁ (ἡ) τὸν κλήρον ἔχων* (*ἔχουσα*), as in Isaeus 3.78; 7.31; 11.17, 18.

⁸ *IG* I³ 339 is an entry to the Hekatompedon inventory, probably of 409/8. *IG* I³ 341 = *IG* II² 1383.1, probably belonging to 406/5, for which see *SEG* 10.200, perhaps records the same dedication. For full discussion, see A.B. West and A.M. Woodward, "Studies in Attic Treasure-Records," *JHS* 58 (1938) 69–89, esp. 73–76. If the restoration is correct, the phrase *οἱ κληροδοχοὶ οἱ ἐπὶ* has a particularly official cast to it.

⁹ For an overview of the later cleruchies, see Gschnitzer 98–112. For matters of organization in which fourth-century (and later) cleruchs differed from fifth-century cleruchs, see Chapter 2, ns. 15, 58, and 59; Chapter 7, n. 20 below.

¹⁰ See n. 4 in this chapter; Chapter 6, n. 25 below, and Appendix A.

¹¹ For *ἀποικος*: Thuc. 1.25.3, 34.1, 38.1, 3, 56.2; 2.66.1, 80.3; 3.88.2; 4.103.3; 5.5.3, 84.2, 89, 96, 106, 116.4; 6.6.2, 76.2; 7.57.6, 7, 9; 8.61.1. For *ἀποικία*: 1.2.6, 12.4, 25.2, 3, 4, 26.2, 3, 27.1, 28.2, 30.2, 34.1, 38.3, 66.1; 3.92.1, 4, 102.2; 4.7.1, 75.2, 84.1, 88.1, 102.1, 104.4, 107.3, 109.3, 123.1; 5.6.1, 11.1; 6.4.1, 5.1.

¹² In contrast to an approach focusing on the constitution of the cleruchic community would be one comparable to that of Brunt (78–80), who distinguishes a cleruchy by virtue of the existence of pre-colonization population (in our view, an extraneous circumstance) on the site of the cleruchy. Other places with similar continuities, however, like Sinope and Astakos and the epoikic colonies (to coin a phrase) are not described as cleruchies. See pp. 164–71 and Table 4 below.

κληροχία[is]. While we cannot recover precisely the situation to which the two terms are applied, their juxtaposition suggests that these were two discrete categories into which Athenian settlements abroad were classified.¹³ No fifth-century source contradicts the Thucydidean usage of *κληροῦχος* with reference to the arrangements at Mytilene.¹⁴ Nor does any extant inscription mix the terms *κληροῦχος* and *ἀποικος* as if they were mere synonyms.

The remainder of Thucydides' references to the colonists on Aigina is consistent with his refusal to name them cleruchs. In 2.27.1, Thucydides describes the new inhabitants of Aigina by employing the word *οἰκῆτωρ* 'settler'. His usage is again consistent, since the most common application of this term is to denote a colonist, i.e., a person settling in an *ἀποικία*.¹⁵ Hence, the community on Aigina is thereafter specified by the traditional term for the inhabitants of the *polis* on the island, *Αἰγινῆται*.

In a catalogue of casualties at Mantinea (5.74.3), these Aiginetans appear alongside the Athenians just as the Orneates and the Kleonaian, inhabitants of cities subject to Argos, are listed with the Argives. Gomme may well be correct in his suggestion that Thucydides had not mentioned the Aiginetans earlier because he received information on their presence only when he came to consult the official list of the dead for the battle (note Paus. 1.29.13).¹⁶ If Gomme's supposition is correct, the

¹³ Note Schuller 14–15. Brunt 73 holds that cleruchies could be subsumed into *ἀποικία*. Cf. Gauthier, "Clérouchies" 171–72, who believes *κληρουχία* was not yet an official term.

¹⁴ With a spirit of anticipation, Strepsiades associates measurement of the land with cleruchic land (Arist. *Nubes* 202–3). Soph. *Ajax* 508, where *κληροῦχος* means 'possessor', is metaphorical. For Hdt. 5.77.2, cf. 6.100.1 on Khalkis, and in general, see pp. 44–45, 157 below; Table 1; and Appendix C.

¹⁵ See Thuc. 1.26.1, 3; 1.28.1; 1.55.1; 1.100.3; 2.68.4; 3.92.5; 4.49.1; 4.103.3; cf. 2.63.4, where there may be a transferred connotation because colonization is mentioned directly before. Even in 1.2.3 and 1.23.2, the emphasis falls on changes in patterns of habitation, during the unsettled conditions of early Greece and during the Persian War respectively. For the term *οἰκῆτορες* (with a review of compounds in *-οικοι* etc.), see Ehrenberg, "Thucydides" 144. Cf. de Wever and Compennolle, *AC* (1967) 495–98, 522 for the strange view that *οἰκῆτορες* are not the citizens of the colonies in connection with which they are mentioned (but note, e.g., Thuc. 1.26.3; 3.92.5; 4.103.3).

¹⁶ *HCT* 4.127. Compare the Lemnians in *IG* I² 947, which lists casualties by Attic tribe under a heading *Λημνίων ἐν Μυρύνῃς*. These Lemnians were Athenians by derivation and in culture, but not cleruchs (or even citizens: see Appendix B). Another casualty list has Lemnians who were citizens listed separately under tribal headings (*IG* I² 948). Still another list has an Eleutherian, once again a citizen, under an individual heading (*IG* I² 943.96 = Meiggs-Lewis #48). See also Appendix B.

casualty list will have enumerated the Aiginetans separately, not like cleruchs, who are not separated on any casualty list.¹⁷ In the Athenian army at Syracuse, the Aiginetans are classed with the Lemnians, Imbrians, and Hestiaians as ἄποικοι (7.57.2).¹⁸ All three states seem to have been separate communities (albeit dependent), and to have been classified as ἀποικίαι and not cleruchies.¹⁹ The settlement most nearly

¹⁷ Our best evidence for such categories on the casualty lists involves Eleutherai on IG I² 943.96, dated 440/39. This material, which has been underestimated owing to the fragmentary character of the surviving public funerary monuments, is perhaps exemplified by a massive casualty list of c. 409 (D.W. Bradeen, *The Athenian Agora* 17, *Inscriptions: The Funerary Monuments* [Princeton 1974] #23, pp. 27–33). Bradeen identifies the dead in col. XI (ll. 359–79) as foreigners, but they could be more easily accounted for as members of a community like Eleutherai, who possessed citizenship outside the tribal system. By the same token, the casualties of col. XII (ll. 380–85), who are listed under tribal headings, may be Athenian colonists like the Aiginetans. See D.W. Bradeen, "Athenian Casualty Lists," *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 16–62, esp. #15, pp. 43–55; *id.*, "New Fragments of Casualty Lists," *Hesperia* 37 (1968) 237–40, esp. #3, pp. 238–40. See pp. 148, 156 below on Myron Eleuthereus.

¹⁸ My discussion of this very important sentence for the understanding of the classification of fifth-century Athenian settlers abroad is treated here and on pp. 36–38 below (for the phrase ἔτι χρώμενοι). Please note the following schematic of the sentence structure, quoted above on p. 8.

A Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν αὐτοὶ Ἴωνες ἐπὶ Δωριᾶς Συρακοσίου ἐκόντες ἦλθον,

B καὶ αὐτοῖς . . . ἄποικοι ὄντες ξυνεστράτευσαν.

B¹ τῇ αὐτῇ φωνῇ καὶ νομίμοις ἔτι χρώμενοι Λήμνιοι καὶ Ἰμβριοι καὶ Αἰγινῆται,

B^{1a} οἱ τότε Αἰγινῶν εἶχον,

B² καὶ ἔτι Ἑστιαῖς οἱ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ Ἑστιαίων οἰκοῦντες

¹⁹ For the interpretation here, compare *HCT* 4.436–37, which observes that to deny the denomination ἄποικοι to the Lemnians and Imbrians by dividing the sentence after Ἰμβριοι would deprive καὶ ἔτι of its cumulative force, i.e., as introducing the Hestiaians as the last item in the series. This same phrase plays the same role just below in the catalogue at 7.57.8, where the phrase signals the finish of the list of the Dorian allies of the Athenians: καὶ ἔτι Μεγαρέων φυγάδες οὐ πολλοί. . . . Note A. Rehm, "Über die sizilischen Bücher der Thukydides," *Philologus* 89 (1934) 133–60, esp. 140. The scholiast (at 7.57.1) seems to have believed that all those named were ἄποικοι, as noted by Ehrenberg, "Thucydides" 147–48, who also construes (as do I) αὐτοῖς closely with ξυνεστράτευσαν (cf. E.F. Poppo and J.M. Stahl, *Thucydides: De bello Peloponnesiaco*² 4 [Leipzig 1882] 129; *ATL* 3.291 n. 87: with τῇ αὐτῇ φωνῇ). *ATL* 3.291–92 would divide the sentence after εἶχον, which is only correct insofar as the participial phrase governed by χρώμενοι does not include the Hestiaians. *HCT* 4.437 observes that the *ATL*'s division classes Aigina with Lemnos and Imbros against Hestiaia, despite the parallelism of Thuc. 2.27.1 with 1.114.3. In fact, the Hestiaians were still employing Athenian laws and language just as much as the Lemnians, Imbrians, and Aiginetans. In the case of the Hestiaians, however, Thucydides decided not to highlight this situation. See ns. 78, 84 in this chapter for more discussion on this crucial passage. Cf. also Graham 182–83.

contemporary is Hestiaia, which is also described as an ἀποικία by Diodorus (D.S. 12.22.2); its apoikic status is usually conceded (see Table 4). The Lemnians in this company are not those with citizenship on Lemnos (e.g., cleruchs of the Periclean period), but rather the descendants of pre-imperial settlers (cf. Hdt. 6.140.2; see Appendix B).²⁰ The Imbrians, often bracketed with the Lemnians as here (see again Appendix B), can be assumed to possess an equivalent political status.

Parallel to these passages (5.74.3; 7.57.2) is 8.69.3, where the Aiginetans are mentioned with the Andrians, Tenians, and Karystians, who are probably, once again, allied troops and not cleruchs. No cleruchy is known for Tenos. The Karystian cleruchy is disputed, but there are attested contingents of Karystian auxiliary troops (cf. Table 4). Although a cleruchy of 250 men is attested for Andros, the use of Andrian auxiliaries again seems well established in the narrative of Thucydides.²¹

In no passage can any of the contingents associated with the Aiginetans be proven to have been composed of cleruchs. Attic cleruchs must have served with Athenian forces throughout the war, without ever having been singled out for mention by Thucydides, whose system of reference was limited to naming colonial and allied contingents.²² Consequently, it is probable that he does not mention cleruchic troops because they served anonymously within Athenian tribal formations.

²⁰ In Thuc. 4.28.4, the Lemnians and the Imbrians are explicitly not citizen troops, as Kleon had promised to capture the Spartans on Sphakteria without civic troops (λαβὼν ἐκ μὲν πόλεως οὐδένα, Λημνίους δὲ καὶ Ἰμβρίους τοὺς παρόντας [n.b.] . . .). See *HCT* 3.469, where Gomme glosses τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδένα, even though he believes the Lemnians and Imbrians to be citizen cleruchs. For other Lemnian and Imbrian contingents cited similarly by Thucydides, note 3.5.1 against Mytilene, 5.8.2 at Amphipolis. In the last passage, Thucydides describes this allied contingent as Λημνίων καὶ Ἰμβρίων τὸ κράτιστον, and contrasts them with a purely civic Athenian force, τῶν γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ὑπερῆστράτευε καθαρὸν (see the scholia and *HCT* 3.641). The frequent employment of the Lemnians and Imbrians and their presence in Athens ready for Kleon's use suggest not only that they received pay (as did others), but that they made a profession of service for monetary considerations. The magnificent Lemnian dedication called the Lemnian Athena, a work of Pheidias, may indicate this same activity (Paus. 1.28.2). *ATL* 3.292–93 hypothesizes that the Lemnians and Imbrians were colonists and cleruchs serving together.

²¹ Cf. Plut. *Per.* 11.5; see, instead, for Andrian and Karystian auxiliaries: Thuc. 4.42.1, cf. 43.3, 4; 7.57.4. It is likely that a numeral has fallen from the text (8.69.3), which gave the number of the Aiginetans to balance the 300 Andrians, Tenians, and Karystians (*HCT* 5.180).

²² The realization that cleruchs served with Athenian forces rather than in their own units is a critical insight emphasized by Jones, esp. 176–77.

B. THE AIGINETAN SETTLERS AS *EPOIKOI*1) *EPOIKOI* IN THUCYDIDES

Thucydides does, however, twice use a less common term (for him), *ἐποίκος*, in order to refer to the settlers on Aigina (2.27.1; 8.69.3). The question immediately presenting itself is whether *ἐποίκος* is anything more than a variant for *ἀποίκος*.²³ The general meaning of 'colonist' for *ἐποίκος* and 'to colonize' for *ἐποικέω* is well attested outside Thucydides, and it may for some (especially later) authors have stood as the prevailing connotation. Moreover, on grounds internal to the two passages regarding the Aiginetan settlers, *epoikoi* are seen to be, at least, a sub-species of *apoikoi* or *oikētores*. In 2.27.1, the mention of the intention to send out *epoikoi* is followed by a statement that *oikētores* were later dispatched. An equivalent clause, οὗς Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεμψαν οἰκῆσοντας, qualifies Αἰγινητῶν τῶν ἐποίκων in 8.69.3. Directly parallel to the phrasing of 2.27.1 regarding Aigina is 2.70.4 concerning Poteidaia. The treatment of the expulsion of the Poteidaiaians under terms of capitulation is closed with the Athenian dispatch of *epoikoi* to the site: καὶ ὕστερον ἐποίκους ἐπεμψαν ἐαυτῶν ἐς τὴν Ποτείδαιαν καὶ κατῴκισαν (cf. Liban. *Decl.* 13.1.66).

Nevertheless, the scholiast to this passage (2.27.1), although he does not deserve unconditional credence, may point us toward a restricted connotation for the word when he observes that *ἐποίκος* was not merely *ἀποίκος* here: ἀποίκοι μὲν οἱ ἔρημους τόπους πεμπόμενοι οἰκῆσαι, ἐποίκοι δὲ οἱ πόλεις, ὥσπερ νῦν. To him, then, the term *ἐποίκος* connoted a quality of continuity.

Let us test, then, the hypothesis that *ἐποίκος* was the official Athenian term for a settler dispatched subsequently or sent as a reinforcement. Once again, evidence exists outside Thucydides which suggests that the historian was drawing on official Athenian terminology when he introduced *ἐποίκος* into his treatment of the colonies on Aigina and at Poteidaia. The very Athenian settlers at Poteidaia whom Thucydides described as *epoikoi* are noted with the same appellation on inscriptions. IG I³ 62 (from 428–26) is a decree which contains orders for the city of Aphytis in the Khalkidike, which include an oath of loyalty to be sworn to the Athenians and to the *epoikoi* in Poteidaia (7–9: τὸν [δὲ ὄρκον, δν] [[ὥ]μοσαν Ἀφνταῖοι [τ]οῖς ἐποίκοι[s] [τ]οῖς] ἐμ Ποτείδαία[ι καὶ Ἀθηνα] [ί]οις . . . ; cf. ll. 18–20 as restored). Meiggs-Lewis #66 (= DAA #306, pp. 328–29) was inscribed on a marble base (found on the

²³ Cf. Ehrenberg, "Thucydides" 143; *ATL* 3.285.

Acropolis) and recorded a dedication of the *epoikoi* to Poteidaia (ἐποίκων ἐς Ποτείδαιαν). Thus, the term *ἐποίκος* seems to belong to official language on colonies.²⁴

The same conclusion can be reached about the Aiginetan *epoikoi*. When lexicographical tradition chose nouns to illustrate applications of the ethnic Αἰγινάιος, *ἐποίκος*, *κέραμος*, *ὀβολός* are the examples cited (Steph. Byz. s.v. Αἰγίνοι τρεῖς; Herod. *Peri paron.* 3.2.860 Lentz). This suggests that references to Aiginetan *epoikoi* existed in the literature (from the orators?) available to the source(s) of Stephanus and Herodian. Accordingly, it cannot be mere coincidence that imperial nomenclature applied the term *ἐποίκοι* to the same two groups of Athenian colonists as did Thucydides.²⁵ Moreover, if a likely restoration to the Brea decree is correct, the related verb *ἐποικέω* would be established in an official context as meaning 'to settle subsequently'.²⁶

There is also one other application of the word *ἐποίκος* in Thucydides that is particularly significant for an understanding of the status of the colonists in c. 431 on Aigina. It comes from a report of an embassy in 422 conducted by the Athenian statesman, Phaiax (5.5.1). Thucydides twice describes as *ἐποίκοι* Italian Lokrian colonists sent as (military) reinforcements to Messene at the invitation of one of the Messenian factions.²⁷ If Phaiax' reports of his diplomacy are the source of

²⁴ Another official appearance of *ἐποίκος* is too much later to give us much aid in explicating fifth-century usage. A decree of 325/4 speaks of *epoikoi* being taken to the Adriatic by Miltiades, the oecist of an Athenian *apoikia* there (SIG³ 305 = Tod, *GHI* #200.224). Its contents demonstrate that this decree is not the foundation decree of the colony. Therefore, it is perhaps most sensible to follow Tod (*GHI* 2.287) in anticipation of my argument below by understanding these *epoikoi* as subsequent settlers. See Moggi 13.

²⁵ Note Ehrenberg, "Thucydides" 143–44 on the colonists to Poteidaia.

²⁶ The decree establishing the colony at Brea (IG I³ 46 = Meiggs-Lewis #49: c. 445) regularly refers to the settlement as an *ἀποικία* and its settlers as *ἀποίκοι* (8, 9, 12–13, 18, 23, 29, 42–43, 45–46). Yet, when it is a matter of soldiers who are away on service who consequently cannot go out with the first settlers, editors have restored as follows: τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν ἐμ Βρέαι εἶναι ἐπ[οικέσ] [οντας] ('to be in Brea within thirty days, settling as additional colonists'; ll. 31–32, cf. 30–31). Compare Ehrenberg, "Thucydides" 143–44. The verb *ἐποικέω* has also been restored in IG I³ 47, B 11, a colonial decree dated 440–25, for which see pp. 74–78 below.

²⁷ Gomme (*HCT* 2.87), who does not cite parallels, suggests that *ἐποίκοι* was used instead of *ἀποίκοι* to signify 'settlers who must keep watch'. The related verb *ἐποικέω* also has a military valence, for one sense it has in Thucydides is 'live nearby for aggression'. It is used of the Peloponnesian troops dispatched to Dekeleia: ἡ Δεκέλεια . . . ὕστερον δὲ φρουραῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων κατὰ διαδοχὴν χρόνον ἐπιούσαις τῇ

Thucydides for the status of the Lokrian ἑποικοί, it may show that ἑποικὸς in this setting was acceptable Athenian imperial usage as well as being current usage among the Greeks in the West.

The remaining two appearances of the noun ἑποικὸς in Thucydides must now be brought into our discussion. In the first passage, 4.102.2, the early, ill-fated colonists at the Ennea Hodoi (c. 465) are named ἑποικοί, but had already been called simply οἰκήτορες in 1.100.3. So once more ἑποικοί could be a sub-type within the genus ἀποικὸς. Thucydides has just mentioned the attempt of Aristagoras of Miletos (32 years earlier) to establish a colony on the site. Thus, he may naturally use the word ἑποικὸς as 'additional settler', especially since Greeks continued to live in the area (as will be seen shortly). Moreover, ἑποικὸς may have been the term used by Thucydides' contemporaries for these settlers. The settlers of 465 may have been considered as reinforcements for a group dislodged a decade earlier (in 476/5, when Eion was captured?), according to a scholion to Aeschines which probably drew on an *Atthis*, i.e. a history of Athens (2.31).²⁸ Many of the survivors might have remained in the north.

Until the Athenians took firm control of the Ennea Hodoi, their chief stronghold in the region was Eion at the mouth of the Strymon, which had been refounded by the Athenians, also in 476/5 (note Plut. *Cimon* 7.3; cf. Thuc. 1.98.1). Many inhabitants of Eion probably lived

χωρὰ ἐπὶ κείτῳ (7.27.3: "Dekeleia . . . was later occupied [verb ἐποικέω] for harassment of [Athenian] territory by garrisons from the cities succeeding each other at fixed intervals of time"). In 6.86.3, Euphemos tries to evoke Sicilian hostility against the Syracusans by observing that they, ἐποικοῦντες ὑμῖν 'living in hostile proximity to you', plot continually. The example of Leontinoi which he notes suggests that it is the role of the Syracusans as supporters (and so reinforcements) of one side or another in disputes (external or internal) that may be at issue here (cf. Thuc. 5.4.3). For ἑποικὸς as 'neighbor': App. *Illyr.* 14.41; Joseph. *BJ* 1.188; ἐποικέω, 'live nearby': D.L. 5.54.

²⁸ ΣAesch. 2.31 describes a series of Athenian reverses at the site, including an expedition destroyed in 476/5, a dispatch of κληροῦχοι in 453/2 and the best known event, the founding of Amphipolis by Hagnon (dated to 437/6). The tentative doubts of Meiggs (68–69) on the historicity of the attempt at the Ennea Hodoi in 476/5 are not to be followed. The silence of Thucydides on so tangential a matter is insignificant. That 476/5 is too early for Athenian ambitions in the area is a surprising supposition, when we remember the earlier Ionian interest in the region. The strong likelihood that the scholiast's source is an Atthidographer ought to command credence as representative of Athenian tradition. The claim made by Aeschines that Amphipolis was Athenian by virtue of a dowry made over to Theseus may also be relevant to the issue of continuity, as it reflects fifth-century polemics intending to demonstrate that very conclusion (2.31). See also Table 4, note p.

there in the hope of eventually establishing themselves in the neighborhood of the Ennea Hodoi, with its greater economic potential, and were recruited for the various attempts at occupation. Nor should we forget that founding a *polis* at the Ennea Hodoi did not mean that Greeks did not already inhabit the area—their presence is evident—but that those Greek inhabitants did not yet constitute a self-standing *polis*.²⁹ Similarly, the later foundation of Amphipolis by Hagnon may have included the settlers sent to Brea c. 445 and allies in the area.³⁰ The aforementioned scholion to Aeschines speaks of Amphipolis as a synoecism. The terminology of synoecism is a constant in references to the colonization of this site, and appears to have been embedded in the Atthidographic accounts of the Ennea Hodoi.³¹ So it seems that the continuity of efforts to occupy the Ennea Hodoi, drawing on earlier colonists to the region, was a significant feature of its settlement. A similar viewpoint probably existed in the fifth century, which would explain Thucydides' use of ἐποίκους in 4.102.2.³²

²⁹ For the evidence of late archaic tombs and fifth-century occupation before the foundation of Amphipolis, see D. Lazaridis, «ΑΝΑΣΚΑΦΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΙ ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΕΩΣ», *Praktika* 1975, A', 61–71; cf. *Ergon* 1975, 41–53. Note also a funerary epigram for a Parian champion, who fell in the vicinity of Amphipolis in a late archaic attempt to secure the region. See D.I. Lazaridis, «Ἐπίγραμμα Παρίων ἀπὸ Ἀμφίπολιν», *AE* 1976, 164–81.

³⁰ Brea was located either on the eastern shore of the Thermaic Gulf or somewhere northeast of the Khalkidike and west of the Strymon river. See n. 48 below; also Table 4.

³¹ ΣAesch. 2.31 has Hagnon synoecizing the Ennea Hodoi (συννοικίσας), while Diodorus and Plutarch use similar language for the settlement of the same area (D.S. 12.32.3: [συννοίκισαν]; Plut. *Per.* 11.5: [συννοικήσαντας]). The idea of synoecism by *epoikoi* seems to be deeply embedded within Athenian rhetoric on Amphipolis. Not only is such a claim to ownership and continuity found in accounts which suggest the influence of Atthidography, but, when Isocrates fantasizes about Philip II allowing Athenian resettlement at Amphipolis, he speaks of the colonists as *epoikoi* (5.6). See D. Asheri, "Studio sulla storia della colonizzazione di Anfipoli sino alla conquista Macedone," *RFIC* 95 (1967) 5–30, esp. 7–10. While the verb συννοικίζω does not always mean 'unite to create a city' or 'concentrate population in a city', its other meanings 'cause to cohabit' (e.g., Plato *Rep.* 546D) and 'found in conjunction' (Thuc. 1.24.2) are inappropriate here. The possible equation of συννοικίζω with οικίζω in later texts (of which A.J. Graham reminds me *per ep.*) should not alter our conclusion about its usage in these texts, which are derived from classical Atthidography. See M. Moggi, "Συννοικίσειν in Tucide," *ASNP* 5 (1975) 915–24; M. Casevitz, *Le vocabulaire de la colonisation en Grec ancien* (Paris 1985) 202–5. Even the Peisistratid foundation of Rhaikelos on the Thermaic Gulf uses the same vocabulary (*Ath. Pol.* 15.2: συνφύκει). See, however, Chapter 5, n. 8 below.

³² I am sympathetic to Asheri's inclination (*RFIC* [1967] 15–17, 23–24) both to acknowledge that the term *epoikoi* is technically correct for Hagnon's Athenian settlers at

The second passage is admittedly unhelpful for my thesis. In discussing the Rhodian/Cretan foundation of Gela, Thucydides calls the settlers *ἐποίκους* (6.4.3). There is no firm indication that *ἐποίκοι* should mean 'subsequent settlers' here, unless one posits a secondary role for the Cretan settlers—the original settlement was called Lindioi, suggesting a Rhodian fort.³³ Although the foundation of Gela is poorly attested, no information outside Thucydides substantiates a pattern of secondary settlement on the site (cf. D.S. 8.23.1; Paus. 8.46.2; ΣPin. *Ol.* 2.16b–c). It may be, however, that Thucydidean usage should not be the focus here, but how Antiochos of Syracuse, who was Thucydides' source, might have used the word.³⁴ Antiochos drew on the traditions of western Greece, where emphasis was also placed on the heroic antecessors of archaic colonizers.³⁵ We know so little about the mythology and history of Gela that it is not impossible that Antiochos reported either an earlier occupation or a conquest by a hero and then described the colonists led by Antiphemos and/or Entimos as reinforcements, just as Strabo 6.1.15 C264 suggests that he used *ἐποικέω* with the same connotation (cf. Antiochos, *FGH* 555 F 12). Dover believes that Thucydides' vocabulary and phrasing in this section shows other Antiochean peculiarities.³⁶ Yet, as it stands now, this passage must be considered a possible exception to the meaning that I have argued for elsewhere in Thucydides.

Amphipolis in 437/6, and to consider them as forming a separate component of the *polis* even after the foundation of the city. We should not, however, see them as forming a parallel community or city within the city (as Asheri implies). Cf. Isaac 38–39. See n. 42 in this chapter.

³³ H. Wentker, "Die Ktisis von Gela bei Thukydides," *MDAI(R)* 63 (1956) 129–39 attempts to support the connotation of 'new settler' here, partially on the basis of the Thucydidean parallels, and, in part, through an appeal to the Lokrian inscriptions to be discussed shortly below. While I agree with his views on *ἐποίκοι* in general, he does not completely win his point concerning Gela, unless one is prepared to admit that *ἐποίκος* can never simply equal *ἀποίκος* in a fifth-century historian. See *HCT* 4.217.

³⁴ E. Wölfflin, *Antiochos von Syrakus und Coelius Antipater* (Winterthur 1872) 12–14; *HCT* 2.389–90; K. J. Dover, "La colonizzazione della Sicilia in Tucidide," *Maia* 6 (1953) 1–20; R. van Compernelle, *Étude de chronologie et d'historiographie siciliotes* (Brussels/Paris 1959) 437–500; T. J. Figueira, "The Lipari Islanders and Their System of Communal Property," *CA* 3 (1984) 179–206, esp. 180–85. Cf. Jacoby, *FGH Komm.* 3b *Text* 609–11 (cf. *Komm.* 1a 456–57); A. J. Graham, "The Colonial Expansion of Greece," *CAH* 3.83–162, esp. 90.

³⁵ Figueira, *CA* (1984) 187–88, 190. Note in general T. J. Dunbabin, "Minos and Daidalos in Sicily," *BSR* 16 (1948) 1–18, esp. 11–16.

³⁶ Dover, *Maia* (1953) 6–7. He notes the use of *ὅστις* in 6.3.1; *ἐχόμενον* in 6.3.2; the word *προδόντος* in 6.4.1; and *μάλιστα* throughout the section.

The meaning 'reinforcing settler' is utilized by Plutarch in a passage about another fifth-century Athenian colony. Consider his description of Perikles' dispatch of colonists to the Chersonese: *Per.* 19.1: Τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν ἡγαπήθη μὲν ἡ περὶ Χερρόνησον αὐτοῦ μάλιστα, σωτήριος γενομένη τοῖς αὐτόθι κατοικοῦσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐποίκους Ἀθηναίων χιλίους κομίσας ἔρρωσεν εὐανδρία τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν αὐχένα διαζώσας ἐρύμασι καὶ προβλήμασιν ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν, ἀπετείχισε τὰς καταδρομὰς τῶν Θρακῶν περιεχυμένων τῇ Χερρονήσῳ³⁷ Here the *epoikoi* can be seen in a particular role, that of military reinforcements for the Greeks of the Chersonese.³⁸ Plutarch is inconsistent in his terminology on Athenian colonization (as we shall see shortly), but he did have access to sources who truly knew about the language of Athenian government. Unfortunately, it is hard to ascertain when he is following the usage of his sources who were contemporary to the events in question, and where he uses language he considered generally appropriate.³⁹

Let us summarize the argument to this point: 1) Thucydides uses *ἐποίκος* of the Aiginetans and Poteidaiaans; 2) inscriptions show this term to belong to official terminology; 3) the same Aiginetans and Poteidaiaans are called *ἐποίκοι* independently of Thucydides; 4) the predominant use of *ἐποίκος* in Thucydides is 'reinforcing settler'; 5) Plutarch provides evidence for the deployment of the word in the same

³⁷ "Of his (Perikles') military campaigns, his expedition to the region of the Chersonese was particularly held dear, as it was a salvation to those of the Greeks settled there. Escorting 1000 *epoikoi* 'reinforcing settlers' of the Athenians, not only did he strengthen the cities with a good stock of men, but also, drawing a fortified line across the neck of the peninsula with earthworks and palisades from sea to sea, he blocked off the incursions of the Thracians who were besetting the Chersonese."

³⁸ Note that there is no question of the settlers to the Chersonese as cleruchs here, nor in Andocides (3.9), whose avoidance of cleruchic language may be grounded in the protocols of fifth-century official parlance. Andoc. 3.9: Χερρόνησόν τε εἵχομεν καὶ Νάξον καὶ Εὐβοίας πλέον ἢ τὰ δύο μέρη τὰς τε ἄλλας ἀποικίας καθ' ἕκαστον διηγείσθαι μακρὸς ἂν εἴη λόγος ("We were in control of the Chersonese, Naxos, and more than two-thirds of Euboea, and other colonies that would render a speech long to mention individually"). That the Chersonese, Naxos, and Euboea can be contrasted with τὰς τε ἄλλας ἀποικίας does not demonstrate that they were cleruchies to be compared to colonies, but merely constitutes a distinction between specified and non-specified holdings. Compare *Per.* 11.5, on which see Chapter 2, section B.3 below.

³⁹ Note also the parallel use of *ἐποικίζω* and *ἐποικέω* to describe respectively the Athenian colonization of Amisos in Theopompus, *FGH* 115 F 389 (Strabo 12.3.14 C547) and of Astakos (Memnon, *FGH* 434 F 12.2), which may be approached in a similar spirit to my treatment of Plutarch on the Chersonese.

connotation referring to fifth-century Athenian colonization; 6) *epoikoi* appear to have sometimes performed the role of settlers in militarily sensitive areas within the empire (a function often assigned by scholars to the cleruchs).

We must now consider the status of the definition 'reinforcing settler' in the general semantics of *ἐποικος*.

2) THE SEMANTICS OF *ἑποικος*

The term *ἐποικος* is often a variant, perhaps at times an emphatic one, for *ἀποικος*, and a similar connotation is applicable to related verbal forms. It may be 'immigrant' to *ἀποικος* as 'emigrant' as has long been noted, and can often be simply translated as 'colonist'.⁴⁰ Within the same proximate field of meaning, however, the idea of colonization is inappropriate and rather broad meanings such as 'inhabitant' and 'occupant' fit the context best.⁴¹

Yet, in an important sub-category of definition the *ἐποικος* must be construed as 'secondary settler'.⁴² Sometimes these newcomers are

⁴⁰ See J.T. Voemel, *De discrimine vocabulorum Κληροῦχος, Ἀποικος, ἑποικος* (Frankfurt 1839) 5; *ATL* 3.285. Please note that the following classification of *ἐποικ*-terminology is designed to err on the side of the more general connotations. Colonists: e.g., Call. *Aet.* 43.67; D.H. *AR* 10.20.4; Iamblich. *VP* 2.3 ('supplementary settler?'); Plut. *Rom.* 28.1; Paus. 3.1.8, 3.22.6; Strabo 3.1.8 C140; 8.6.22 C380; Xen. *HG* 1.2.18; *ἐποικέω*: Aris. *Mir.* 838b18; Eur. *Ion* 1583; Lyc. *Alex.* 925; Paus. 1.35.2; Strabo 9.2.25 C410, 10.2.24 C461; Xen. *Cyr.* 6.2.10; *ἐποικίζω*: App. *BC* 1.11.96 (*n.b.* imposed Sullan colonists), *Iber.* 56.235; Paus. 4.26.6, 28.1.

⁴¹ Inhabitants etc.: e.g., Aes. *Pr.* 411–12 with scholia (411a–b, e Herrington); Arr. *Anab.* 5.4.5; Joseph. *Vit.* 375 (= 'resident aliens?'); *BJ* 4.56.3; Philo *Mos.* 1.8; Soph. *OC* 506 ('resident guardian?'); *ἐποικέω*: Arr. *Anab.* 1.27.2; 3.28.8; Dio Cassius 39.49.1; Galen *De temper.* 1.618 bis; Joseph. *BJ* 7.377; Philo *Spec.* 2.168; Plut. *Mor.* 419E.

⁴² Note J. Oehler, *s.v.* "ἑποικία", *RE* 6.1 (Stuttgart 1907) cols. 227–28; Wentker, *MDAI(R)* (1956) 130–31; Asheri, *RFIC* (1967) 10–15 ("un colonno sussiderio"; "un significato preciso e tecnico"); Casevitz, *Vocabulaire* 157; Moggi 23–28. Wentker's application of this connotation to Gela is not assured. De Wever and Compennolle, *AC* (1967) 499–500, rightly criticize Wentker for his assumption that *ἐποικος* implies the equality of new settlers, but ignore the documentation for the meaning "new settler" itself. Asheri, however, allows himself to be distracted by an effort to generalize the status of *ἐποικοι* in their new homes, a determination not intrinsic to the word's semantics, and which admits enormous contingent variation for specific colonies. Accordingly, there is no reason to think that Athenian *epoikoi* differed from cleruchs in losing their citizenship temporarily, despite retaining ties with their metropolis through serving as its hegemonal instruments (why should they have bothered?). While Asheri correctly emphasizes that the term can carry distinct military undertones, his argument (based in part on *IG IX*² [1] 718) that *ἐποικοι* formed a discrete community (i.e., a "polis gemina") within *ἀποικία*

envisaged as immigrants, but, as such, are not exactly comparable to the colonists of Aigina.⁴³ More interesting for us are the examples of bodies of reinforcing settlers, who like Thucydides' Lokrians were officially dispatched to or welcomed into another city.⁴⁴ Not only is this category numerically significant, but it includes a striking number of the earliest testimonia from Greek historians (if only by intermediary): note Charon of Lampsakos, Antiochus of Syracuse, Ephorus, and Theopompus. It also contains our only archaic epigraphical evidence (*IG IX*² [1] 608 and 718). These disparate connotations are seldom impermeable compartments; a spectrum of meanings existed, as the authors (Strabo and Dionysius of Halicarnassus) who used *ἐποικ*- words most frequently demonstrate. Even here, however, differences in usage derive from varying underlying meanings in the source material of these later authors.⁴⁵

overstates the separation. Such procedures seem alien to the hegemonal practicalities of the Athenian *arkhē*, with its need to assimilate non-Athenian colonists. See also Appendix A and pp. 115–19 below. The view of de Wever and Compennolle, *AC* (1967) 498–99, that the fifth-century *epoikoi* were simply cleruchs, rests on virtually nothing.

⁴³ Immigrants: e.g., Arist. *Aves* 1307; D.L. 7.1 (although 'reinforcing settler' is not impossible here for the Phoenicians who joined the Greeks at Kition); D.H. *AR* 2.47.2, 2.62.2, 4; 3.11.8; Pin. *Ol.* 9.69; Plato *Laws* 715E, 742A; Soph. *El.* 189 (= 'alien?'); *SIG*³ 531; *ἐποικέω*: D.H. *AR* 2.47.1; Plato *Laws* 752E.

⁴⁴ Reinforcing settlers: Apollodorus, *FGH* 244 F 205 (Strabo 10.3.4 C464); Aristid. 15.230*; Charon, *FGH* 262 F 7 (Plut. *Mor.* 255B bis); Dio Cassius 36.37.6; 49.14.5; D.S. 5.54.3*; Ephorus, *FGH* 70 F 39* (Harpocration *s.v.* Αἴλος); Isoc. (*Phil.*) 5.6 (Athenians at Amphipolis); Craterus, *FGH* 342 F 21 (Zenob. 2.28 = *CPG* 1.40; [Plut.] *Paroem.* 1.59 = *CPG* 1.330); Plato *Rep.* 599E (Thourioi); Polyæn. 1.27.3; Strabo 5.1.10 C216, 10.1.10 C448, 13.1.58 C611* (for other references to fourth-century *epoikoi*, see pp. 27–30 with n. 62 below). Casevitz, *Vocabulaire* 157 suggests Strabo 5.1.11 C217; 5.2.4 C221; 5.4.13 C251. For *ἐποικέω*: Antiochus, *FGH* 555 F 12 (Strabo 6.1.15 C264); Aris. fr. 601 (Strabo 10.1.3 C445); Charon, *FGH* 262 F 7 (Polyæn. *Strat.* 8.37); D.H. *AR* 2.49.4; Memnon, *FGH* 434 F 12.2* (Astakos; = Phot. *Bibl.* 224.228a); Paus. 2.34.5; [Plut.] *Paroemiae* 1.10 (*CPG* 1.323; cf. Zenob. 4.54 = *CPG* 1.100); Strabo 5.4.7 C246* (Timaeus?); 6.2.3 C268, 8.3.3 C337, 8.6.16 C375* (from Ephorus?): (Aigina) *ἐπόκησαν δ' αὐτὴν Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Κρήτες καὶ Ἐπιδάυριοι καὶ Δωριεῖς, ὕστερον δὲ κατεκληρούχησαν τὴν νῆσον Ἀθηναῖοι* ("The Argives, Cretans, Epidaurians, and Dorians occupied it [Aigina] successively, and later the Athenians allotted the island"); 9.2.25 C410; for *ἐποικίζω*: Eunap. fr. 248 Dindorf; Theopompus 115 F 389* (= Strabo 12.3.14 C547; cf. Eustath. *Il.* 1.438 [284] ad 2.546f.). Casevitz, *Vocabulaire* 153–54, would add Strabo 3.4.3 C157; 6.3.6 C282; 10.3.17 C471. The citations marked by an asterisk are especially useful, because they offer a succession of words on settlement enabling the connotation of *ἐποικος* to be clarified.

⁴⁵ This point may be illustrated by first considering Strabo, who provides us with the greatest concentration of attestations (46; both nominal and verbal forms are treated indistinguishably in the following). *ἑποικ*- terms as regularly applied to colonization

Among the contexts where *ἐποίκος* is 'reinforcing settler' two deserve particular note, one for its level of generalization and the other for its priority. In his treatment in the *Politics* of constitutional changes, Aristotle discusses the *stasis* created by τὸ μὴ ὁμόφυλον 'heterogeneity' (1303a25–1303b3), one cause for which is the reception of *σύννοικοι* and *ἐποίκοι* (1303a28). Here specific examples are presented that are carefully distinguished into the categories *σύννοικοι*, *ἐποίκοι*, and *φυγάδες*. Aristotle notes *stasis* in connection with *ἐποίκοι* at Byzantion, which led to their expulsion (1303a33–34), at Apollonia Pontica, where *stasis* ensued (1303a37–39), and at Amphipolis, where Khalkidian *ἐποίκοι* eventually drove out the original settlers (1303b2–3; cf. 1306a2–4). The sequence of events at Amphipolis in particular assures us that *ἐποίκοι* here denotes subsequent or reinforcing settlers. Aristotle's discussion suggests that both in legal texts and in the works of local historians from which the Peripatetics derived comparative material, *ἐποίκος* meant 'subsequent' or 'reinforcing settler'.

IG IX² (1) 608 (= Meiggs-Lewis #13) is a bronze plaque from Psoriani in Aitolia or from the vicinity of Naupaktos, which has been dated to 525–500.⁴⁶ It is, however, in Ozolian Lokrian script, and legislates rights over land in the plain of Hylia and Liskaria (not conclusively located). The law enacts stiff penalties for anyone promoting a redistribution of the land in question (ll. 9–15). An exception is established, however, if, in an adverse military situation, a commission of 101 prominent men choose to introduce at least 200 additional settlers

appear c. 24 times, with another c. 10 appearances for Roman colonization in particular. The meanings 'inhabitant' and 'occupy' are also represented (c. 10 times). Connotations like 'reinforcing settler' appear 11 times, among which citations of Apollodorus, Antiochus, and Theopompus may be observed. Variety in usage overlays disparities in the usage of sources. A somewhat similar pattern of usage (18 examples) appears in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, where *ἐποίκοι* terms are standard usage for Roman colonists (c. 13). As such, it is on occasion juxtaposed with its synonym *κληροῦχος* (2.54.1–2; 7.12.5). Nonetheless, the meaning 'immigrant' is also attested in an application to those coming into Rome (4); note AR 2.47.1 cited in n. 43 in this chapter.

⁴⁶ See C.D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects*² (Chicago 1955) #59, pp. 255–57; Meiggs-Lewis pp. 22–25; Jeffery, *LSAG* 105–8 (esp. for the dating); D. Asheri, "Distribuzione di terre e legislazione agraria nella Locride occidentale," *Jour. Jur. Pap.* 15 (1965) 313–28, esp. 321–28; *id.*, "Il 'rincalzo misto' a Naupatto (ante 456 a.C.)," *PP* 22 (1967) 343–58; C. Vatin, "Le bronze Pappadakis, étude d'une loi coloniale," *BCH* 87 (1963) 1–19. For the possibility that this inscription is from Epizephyrian Lokri in Italy, see O. Hansen, "On the Origin of a Lokrian Bronze Plaque Concerning the Settlement of New Territory," *Stud. Clas.* 25 (1987) 89–90. Vatin (15–16) offers the very different date of 460–50, which appears to be too late.

(ll. 7–9; note 8–9: ... ἄνδρας δια|κατίος μείστον ἀξιωμαχὸς ἐπίφοικος ἐφάγεσθαι). In this eventuality the *ἐπιφοίκοι* are to receive half the land in the plain (ll. 16–17). Here, clearly, there is at issue a body of subsequent settlers who would reinforce the previous population at a time of military exigency.

Another Lokrian inscription does in fact provide for the incorporation of a body of *ἐπιφοίκοι* into the community at Naupaktos (IG IX² [1] 718 = Meiggs-Lewis #20).⁴⁷ The coincidence is most striking, namely that, out of such a thin dossier of evidence on the West Lokrians, two inscriptions concern *ἐπιφοίκοι*; so much so that Jeffery suggests that the second inscription carries out the reinforcement envisioned in the first. Yet, whether or not one decides to connect directly IG IX² (1) 608 with Naupaktos and IG IX² (1) 718, their general, political and terminological interrelation ought not to be doubted.

IG IX² (1) 718 must precede the Athenian capture of Naupaktos c. 460–55 (Thuc. 1.103.3), and perhaps dates to 500–475. It describes the sending of *ἐπιφοίκοι* from the Hypoknemidian (or eastern) Lokrians to Naupaktos in West Lokris (l. 1). Several features deserve to be noted. It is likely that the community at Naupaktos was already in existence: the *ἐπιφοίκοι* become Naupaktians (ll. 1–2; cf. l. 11: τοῖς ἐπιφοίτοις ἐν Ναύπακτον), and the reference in l. 19 to the Naupaktian laws may imply that these are already in existence (cf. l. 23). These *ἐπιφοίκοι* are then subsequent or reinforcing colonists. Hence careful precautions are taken in order to keep the number of males provided by the families of the *ἐπιφοίκοι* stable by forbidding repatriation without provision for a successor or the payment of a penalty (ll. 6–8; cf. 19–22) and by providing for the succession to their positions at Naupaktos by relatives in East Lokris (ll. 16–19). Only then, when succession by relatives of the *ἐποίκοι* in Naupaktos and in East Lokris has failed, do the laws of Naupaktos have jurisdiction. Besides the matter of succession, the *ἐποίκοι* exhibit signs of continued segregation from their new community in several other regards. They have their own deliberative body (l. 40), and they swear their own oath of loyalty to the Opuntians (ll. 11–14), which is valid for (at least implicitly) 30 years (*n.b.* one generation).

As an inducement to participation as an *ἐπίφοικος* various privileges have been granted. A colonist shall have modified religious standing among the Hypoknemidians (as a *ξένος* = guest-friend?: ll. 2–3). The

⁴⁷ Date: Jeffery, *LSAG* 106; see Buck, *Greek Dialects*² #57, pp. 248–53; Meiggs-Lewis 35–40; Graham 44–60. Naturally, I do not see this decree as the foundation law of Naupaktos, but a reinforcement of a previously existing community.

possibility of return is carefully legislated (ll. 6–10, 19–22). Two groups with special rights receive particular guarantee of the continuance of rights over their property among the Hypoknemidians (ll. 22–27), and it appears understood that they will reassume other privileges, if they ever return (ll. 27–28). The *ἐπίφοικος* maintains rights of succession in his community of origin (ll. 28–30, 35–38) and receives some form of preferred access to the courts (ll. 31–36). As noted, he retains a limited right of return.

While the political circumstances of the early fifth-century Lokrians and of the Athenians of the empire differed radically and the *ἐποικ*-terminology does not in itself entail a particular status in a colony, one ought to consider whether some provisions of this nature are not inherent in the task of sending reinforcements to an existing settlement. The recruitment of such companies liberalized the usual rules of naturalization. Moreover, it must often have been more attractive to stay home in such situations of military urgency, so that *ἐποικοί* of this type retained rights at home as an added incentive for volunteering.

The meaning of *ἐποικος* as 'subsequent' or 'reinforcing' settler is well documented in general, and particularly significant among fifth- and fourth-century historians. It is the only connotation of *ἐποικος* which can be demonstrated at any time to have been a *terminus technicus* in the language of colonization. Since *ἐποικος* also belonged to official Athenian terminology, it is likely that it carried some restricted connotation and not its general meaning when Thucydides applied it to the Aiginetans and Poteidaians. That restricted meaning is in all likelihood the dominant connotation among extant, contemporary legal, historical, and theoretical texts, i.e., 'reinforcing settler'. It must then become the presumptive candidate for the meaning which *ἐποικος* has in its application to the Aiginetans and other fifth-century Athenian colonists.

Nonetheless, this new analytical ground has only been won at the cost of creating a new puzzle. Accordingly, we are left with the difficult question of determining how the first Athenian settlers on Aigina could be 'subsequent' or 'reinforcing' colonists.

3) THE AIGINETAN COLONISTS AS REINFORCEMENTS

The military resonance of the translation 'reinforcements' is not out of place in the historical situation of the colonization of Aigina and Poteidaia, as both were founded with clear strategic goals in mind. Poteidaia was needed as a strongpoint against the hostile Khalkidians of

Olynthos and the Macedonians.⁴⁸ Hence, the settlers are to receive the oath from the people of Aphytis just as allied cities are instructed to come to the aid of the colonists at Brea (*IG* I³ 46.17–19). In the account of the expulsion of the Aiginetans, Thucydides explicitly attributes this action to an Athenian feeling that their own occupation of Aigina would be safer, given the placement of the island relative to the Peloponnesos (2.27.1).⁴⁹ Isocrates in the *Panegyricus* (4.107; cf. Aristid. 14.210; 1.340 Dindorf) taps Athenian imperial propaganda of the fifth century when he notes that cleruchies (by which he means colonies, using a fourth-century terminology: see pp. 64–66 below) were sent to cities emptied of their inhabitants for their protection: ὑπὲρ ὧν προσήκει τοὺς εὖ φρονούντας μεγάλην χάριν ἔχειν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς κληρουχίας ἡμῖν ὀνειδίζειν, ἃς ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰς ἐρημουμένας τῶν πόλεων φυλακῆς ἐνεκα τῶν χωρίων, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ πλεονεξίαν ἐξεπέμμεν.⁵⁰ In my

⁴⁸ For fifth- and fourth-century settlers at Poteidaia as supplements, see Tod, *GHI* 2.142–3, #146 with Ehrenberg, "Thucydides" 144. One way to understand how this could be so would be to accept a location on the eastern shores of the Thermaic Gulf for Brea. The colony there would then be imagined to have been absorbed by Poteidaia; see A.G. Woodhead, "The Site of Brea: Thucydides 1.61.4," *CQ* 2 (1952) 57–62. A placement near Amphipolis is preferable, however, for which see Table 4. H.B. Mattingly, "The Methone Decrees," *CQ* 11 (1961) 154–65, esp. 161 reconstructs a defensive system in the north based on Poteidaia and compares the phrase *hoi στρατιῶται* || *hoi* ἐμ Πoteιδ[ά]ιαι from the Methone Decree (*IG* I³ 61.27–28) with *τοῖς ἐποικοῖς* || *τοῖς* ἐμ Πoteιδ[ά]ιαι in the Aphytis Decree (*IG* I³ 62.8). That juxtaposition suggests to him that the *epoikoi* took over from the regular Athenian troops, the *stratiotai*, as the garrison of Poteidaia. Mattingly, "Epigraphically the Twenties are Too Late . . .," *BSA* 65 (1970) 129–49, esp. 133–35, expands on this point to observe that the *στρατιῶται* are a post-capture garrison. For him the Aphytis Decree marks a shift into the hands of the local allies and colonists of the primary responsibility for the defense of the frontier facing Macedonia, which had been shouldered previously by the Athenians themselves. Cf. B.D. Meritt, "The Athenian Colony at Poteidaia," in ΣΤΗΛΗ: Τομος εἰς μνημὴν Νικολαου Κοντολεοντος (Athens 1980) 21–25.

⁴⁹ Figueira *RhM* (1990) 16–22.

⁵⁰ "Concerning which it is fitting that the well-minded have great gratitude rather than reproach us for our cleruchies, which we dispatched to those of the cities that were deserted, for the sake of protection of the places, but not on account of self-aggrandizement." Nothing can be deduced from the use of *κληρουχίας* here for the garrisoning function of cleruchs. The term is almost certainly used in its fourth-century meaning of 'colony'. Even Isocrates is not so tendentious as to argue that fifth-century cleruchs were sent to deserted cities, the exact opposite of the truth in most explicitly-attested cleruchies (e.g., Mytilene, Naxos, Andros, Euboea: see Table 4). There is no other specific attested instance of a linkage between colonists who are explicitly called cleruchs and

reconstruction, the places to which the Athenians sent *epoikoi* in the fifth century are seen to have fulfilled the function of garrisoning which some modern scholars associate with cleruchies, and the *epoikoi* can be viewed as reinforcements for such places.⁵¹

Nonetheless, an Athenian colonist was not an *epoikos* merely because he was sent out later than the first group of colonists (as might be a logical possibility on the basis of the use of *ἐποικέω* in the Brea inscription: n. 26 in this chapter).⁵² First of all, that does not appear to have been the situation of the Aiginetans and Poteidaia. At the time of their deployment in Athens in 411, the Aiginetan settlers could still be called *epoikoi* (8.69.3), although they had long been established on Aigina. Similarly, in the Athenian instructions for Aphytis (*IG* I³ 62), the Poteidaia to whom the oath is to be sworn are also still *epoikoi*, although they are manifestly resident in Poteidaia. There is indeed no strong reason why this inscription should not be dated some years after the foundation of Athenian Poteidaia (in 426, for example). Such a date would underline the continuing character of the classification of *epoikoi* for (at least) some of the settlers.⁵³ Moreover, there is no certainty that the

depopulation. The evidence for *ἐποικοι* as reinforcements in the fourth century will be cited shortly below.

⁵¹ See H. Swoboda, "Zur Geschichte der attischen Kleruchien," *Serta Harteliana* (Vienna 1896) 28–31; Busolt-Swoboda, *GSK* 2.765 n. 2; Ehrenberg, "Colonies" 117; Beister esp. 406–7; Meiggs 260–61; Schmitz 79–82; and Gauthier, "Clérouques" 165–66 who (improbably) sees cleruchs in [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 1.19. In contrast, see Jones 174–77; Brunt 84 for arguments against the cleruchs being garrisons. For further arguments against cleruchs as garrison troops, see pp. 172–75 below. For Lesbos, see Appendix A; for Khalkis, Appendix C. The Athenian garrison at Eretria in 412/1 does not prove the existence of a cleruchic garrison (Thuc. 8.95.6). The presence of the garrison there is good strategic sense, and no one would be surprised at its existence, even if there was no hint of the existence of the cleruchy. See Green and Sinclair 521 and Jones 175. That the only Athenians residing in a group on Euboia were the Hestians is demonstrated by Thucydides' subsequent explanation why Oreos (= Hestiaia) did not revolt during the insurrection of 411; 8.95.7: (the Peloponnesians) *καὶ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῶν Εὐβοϊάν [τε] ἄπασαν ἀποστήσαντες πλὴν Ὀρεοῦ (ταύτην δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶχον) καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν καθίσταντο* ("... and not much later they caused all Euboia to revolt except for Oreos [the Athenians themselves were holding this city] and they settled Euboian affairs [to their own satisfaction]").

⁵² Cf. Moggi 24–25.

⁵³ B.D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 13 (1944) 210–66, esp. 211–23, dates to 428/7 (followed by *IG* I³), but his historical argument merely substantiates a date c. 429–26. The stipulation that the people of Aphytis may import grain at the same price as the Methonians (ll. 3–5) could as easily refer to the psephism of 426/5 as some earlier enactment (*IG* I³ 61.35–42). Note that both Meritt and the *IG* I³ date *IG* I³ 63, another

Poteidaian dedication on the Acropolis (Meiggs-Lewis #66 = *DAA* #306, pp. 328–29) was made in connection with the departure of the colonists (as some have thought) rather than after some event (e.g., a victory in battle) subsequent to their settlement in the Pallene.⁵⁴ The presence of Athenian settlers is attested by grave stelai from the site. There are also, however, funerary monuments of contemporary inhabitants who do not use Athenian demotics.⁵⁵ Some of these residents of Poteidaia of non-Athenian extraction probably remained on the site when the Athenians were expelled after Aigospotamoi. They constituted the pro-Athenian party which welcomed Athenian intervention there during the 360s (Tod, *GHI* #146). It is possible that these individuals shared local citizenship with the Athenian *epoikoi*.

The *apoikoi* to Aigina and Poteidaia continued to be *epoikoi* for some official purposes. In other words, Thucydides has not simply slipped in using the term *epoikoi*, for instance, by forgetting that the settlers were joining soldiers from the Athenian forces occupying Aigina and Poteidaia who remained as colonists. The only rationale for continuing to use the denomination *epoikoi* was to continue to differentiate Athenian *epoikoi* from others present in the colonies.

Yet, how can calling the colonists *epoikoi* indicate that they reinforced a population still *in situ*, like Phaiax' Lokrians, the Lokrians of *IG* IX² (1) 718, or the cases discussed by Aristotle in the *Politics*? A gloss explaining the proverbial phrase Ἀττικὸς πάροιχος 'Athenian neighbor' provides valuable information on the subject.

Zenob. 2.28 (*CPG* 1.40); cf. [Plut.] *Paroemiae* 1.59 (*CPG* 1.330):
 Δοῦρις (*FGH* 76 F 96) *καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς λέγει, ὅτι ἐπειδὴ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς παροικοῦντας αὐτοῖς καὶ γειννῶντας ἐξέβαλον, ἡ παροιμία ἐκράτησε.*
 Κρατερὸς (*FGH* 342 F 21) *δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς Σάμον πεμφθέντων Ἀθηναίων ἐποίκων τὴν παροιμίαν εἰρήσθαι. Ἀττικοὶ γὰρ μεταπεμφθέντες εἰς Σάμον κατέκλιοντο τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ἐξέωσαν.*⁵⁶

decreed about Aphytis to c. 426. It also contains a provision about importing grain (ll. 14–17). For Mattingly's lower date for *IG* I³ 62, see n. 48 in this chapter.

⁵⁴ Note also the difference between the organization of Meiggs-Lewis #66: *ἐποικῶν [ἐς Ποτειδαίαν]* and another colonial dedication, *IG* I² 396: *τῆς ἀποικίας* | *τῆς ἐς Ἐρ[—]*. The latter appears to command more credence as a dedication at the foundation of a colony than the former. On colonists' dedications in their *metropoleis*, see Graham 161–65.

⁵⁵ A. Rhomiopoulou, «Ἐπιτύμβιοι στήλαι Ἀθηναίων ἐκ Ποτειδαίας», *AAA* 7 (1974) 190–98.

⁵⁶ The text is as printed by Jacoby, *FGH* 342 F 21.

Douris also says concerning it, that, since the Athenians drove out those living near them (verb, *παροικέω*) and their neighbors, the proverb came to have force. Craterus says that the proverb had currency from the *epoikoi* sent to Samos from Athens: the Athenians, being sent for and settling there, expelled the inhabitants.

Comm. Anon. in Aris. Rhet. (ad 1395a18) CAG 21.2.128 H. Rabe:

οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεμψαν, ὥς ὁ Κράτερός φησιν ἢ καὶ ὁ Δοῦρις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῶν παροιμιῶν Ζηνοβίου ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Ταρραίου, εἰς Σάμον ἀποίκους. εἴ τις γοῦν συμβουλευεῖ τισίν, οἷον Λακεδαιμονίοις ἢ Κορινθίοις, στειλαί τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς μετοικίαν, εἰπάτω Ἀττικὸς πάροιχος· εἰ γὰρ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ ἔστειλαν εἰς μετοικίαν πολλοὺς τῶν ἐποίκων, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς δεῖ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. ἢ καὶ οὕτως· οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀεὶ ἠδίκουν τοὺς γειτνιώντας καὶ παροικοῦντας αὐτοῖς· ἔσπενδον γὰρ ἀεὶ ταπεινοῦν αὐτούς. εἴ τις οὖν συμβουλευεῖ Λακεδαιμονίοις ταπεινοῦν καὶ συντρίβειν τοὺς γειτνιώντας αὐτοῖς εἰπάτω τὸ Ἀττικὸς πάροιχος· εἰ γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐταπείνουσαν τοὺς γειτνιώντας αὐτοῖς, πολλῷ μᾶλλον δεῖ τοῦτο ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν.

The Athenians dispatched (as Craterus and Douris say in Zenobius' book of proverbs compiled from the proverbs of Tarraios) colonists to Samos. Accordingly, if someone advises anyone, like the Spartans or Corinthians, to send some of their own for settlement in the midst of others (or, less likely, 'for a change of residence'), let 'Attic neighbor (*πάροιχος*)' be adduced; for, if the Athenians sent many of their *epoikoi* for settlement in the midst of others, it is even more necessary that we do this. An alternative explanation: the Athenians always abused those neighboring them and living near them (verb, *παροικέω*), as they were always eager to humble them. If anyone advises the Spartans to humble and crush their neighbors, let 'Attic neighbor (*πάροιχος*)' be adduced. If the Athenians used to humble their neighbors, it is even more necessary that we do this.

The explanations of Douris, working from a Samian perspective, and Craterus, whose notice may be influenced by an *Atthis*,⁵⁷ can be

⁵⁷ Clearly, by virtue of its content, the proverb could not have had an initial Athenian provenience, so that Jacoby (*FGH* 3b *Komm.* 108) is correct that *πάροιχος* cannot be a technical term (note that *Comm. in Rhet.* has *μετοικίαν*). Rather it is a term in general circulation for 'neighbor' (*Aes. Pers.* 869; *Soph. Ant.* 1155; *Hdt.* 7.235.3; *Eur. Andr.* 43). Craterus' use of *ἐξέωσαν* 'displaced' (perhaps euphemistic; Jacoby: *harmlosere*) does not mean that his notice does not contain some Athenian material. To explain the proverb at all, one must enter into the spirit of it to the extent of envisaging Athenian misdeeds. In contrast, *μεταπεμφθέντες* 'having been summoned' certainly betrays an Athenian perspective on the arrival of the settlers on Samos (*pace* Jacoby [*Noten* 76 n. 141] to whom it is merely *unrichtig*). Just as *κληροῦχος*, the term *ἐποικος* alike belongs to Athenian terminology, and is thus no less likely to have been found in a good source.

easily combined into one reconstruction (as the commentator on Aristotle implies). It is fairly certain that the term *ἐποικοι* goes back at least to Craterus, as it appears in all three accounts of his explanation. These *epoikoi* had been sent out as settlers to Samos, where they lived in the midst of the Samians whom (or some of whom) they eventually expelled. Hence the proverb which sees an Attic neighbor as a bad neighbor. The proverb was doubtless an old one, the explanation of which had been modernized in conjunction with contemporary polemics.⁵⁸ Regardless of what Craterus may have thought, the incident in question probably relates to the fourth-century Athenian cleruchy on Samos.⁵⁹ The explanation for the proverb provides the valuable information that some of the Samians continued on the island along with the cleruchs, who, in this

⁵⁸ It is helpful in dating the dispatch of these *epoikoi* to note how proverbs are created and explained. Proverbs are consolidated out of the reactions of many individuals to a concatenation of occurrences. They tend, however, to be explicated historically by reference to a single dramatic event which may come late in the sequence, even after the proverb is in circulation. Note T. J. Figueira, "Four Notes on the Aiginetans in Exile," *Athenaeum* 66 (1988) 523–51, esp. 535–38. Thuc. 3.113.6 (his only use of *πάροιχος*) may show that the proverb was already in circulation when this passage was written: (Akarnanians and Amphilokhians) *νῦν δ' ἔδεισαν μὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔχοντες αὐτὴν* (Ambrakia) *χαλεπώτεροι σφίσι πάροιχοι ᾤσιν* ("Now they were afraid lest the Athenians holding Ambrakia would be more grievous neighbors to them [than the Ambrakiots]"). Thus Jacoby's impression that Douris related the proverb to prehistory and Craterus' explanation in terms of a classical cleruchy should not be brought in conflict (cf. *Komm.* 3b 108 with n. 138).

⁵⁹ There are ample reasons for a fourth-century dating of the events themselves despite the absence of other references to events after 400 in Craterus (Jacoby *Komm.* 3b 108–9). This is the first time that an Athenian settlement on Samos is known (note Craterus: *κατοικήσαντες* or *ἀποίκους*). Extant inscriptions, the narrative of Thucydides, and the surviving reflections of Attidography are unanimously silent on a fifth-century Athenian settlement on Samos with an expulsion of Samians. See also Chapter 7, section B.2. Jacoby's cleruchy (*Komm.* 3b 109, following B. Keil, "Der Perieget Heliodorus," *Hermes* 30 [1895] 199–240, esp. 215–16) after 439 has nothing to recommend it. A cleruchy founded in 366/5 (D.S. 18.18.9) with reinforcements in 361/0 (*ΣAesch.* 1.53; or perhaps an alternative foundation date) and in 352/1 (Philochorus, *FGH* 328 F 154) would provide an ideal setting for Craterus' explanation, for the second or third dispatch could have been preceded by an expulsion of Samians. A mistake in dating by Craterus cannot be excluded. The relationship of Athens and Samos was complex, and a confusion through compression can never be entirely ruled out. Compare Strabo 14.1.18 C638 which tells us in the same breath about the fifth-century revolt (with Perikles and Sophocles) and the fourth-century cleruchy (with Neokles, father of Epicurus). See Chapter 7, section B.2 below.

case, are also *epoikoi*.⁶⁰ Just as the fifth-century *epoikoi* were a sub-category within the *apoikoi*, fourth-century *epoikoi* had become a subdivision of the *klēroukhai*, at a time when almost all Athenian colonists were cleruchs.⁶¹ Isocrates also calls his suggested Athenian recolonizers of Amphipolis *ἐποίκοι* (5.6), and the contemporary documents suggest that they would also have been called *κληροῦχοι*. Yet, in both periods *epoikoi* seem to have been settlers supposedly established in the midst of a continuing population, precisely the valence that we have suggested for Aigina.⁶² A fragment of Aristotle records how a disreputable Samian politician named Theogenes was responsible for proposing to leading Athenians that cleruchs be dispatched to Samos (fr. 611.38 Rose; Heraclides fr. 7, *FHG* 2.216).

4) THUCYDIDES AND THE CONTINUITY OF THE COLONY ON AIGINA

According to Thucydides, Aigina was an *apoikia* rather than a cleruchy.⁶³ While colonies were not classified as *epoikiai*, a class of *apoikoi*

⁶⁰ An epoikic cleruchy would provide the institutional framework for the continuity of involvement on the island by Samian democrats, which is suggested by J. Cargill, "IG II² 1 and the Athenian Kleruchy on Samos," *GRBS* 24 (1983) 321–32. Unfortunately, while it can be shown that Samian refugees were in Attica after 405, the presence of such exiled Samians in the later cleruchy is not proven. G. Shipley, *A History of Samos: 800–188 B.C.* (Oxford 1987) 142–43, 304–5 notes that the cleruchs' names with Samian attestations which are cited by Cargill are attested *later* than the foundation of the cleruchy. That could show that some cleruchs remained on Samos after the dissolution of the cleruchy or even hint that some Samian families continued in residence throughout the fourth century, but it does not necessarily entail that Samian refugees returned with the cleruchs. Shipley's own reconstruction (141–42), in which most of the Samians were expelled and 6000–12,000 cleruchs were dispatched, may not fit the demographic and ideological context for the sending out of the settlers (as Craterus, *FGH* 342 F 21 implies), and would posit a settlement on a scale unparalleled in Athenian colonization. The (main?) contingent in which Epicurus' father Neokles participated numbered 2000 (Strabo 14.1.18 C638; Heraclides fr. 7, *FHG* 2.216). At the same time, Demades possibly described Samos as a place for discarding the dregs of Athenian society, if ἀπώρυγα 'drainage-ditch' is the correct reading in Athen. 3.99D. See V. De Falco, *Demade oratore: testimonianze e frammenti*² (Naples 1954) 98–99. It is also possible to read ἀπορρῶγα 'fragment'; see Chapter 7, section B.2.

⁶¹ Fourth-century cleruchs were drawn from all census classes; see my discussion in Chapter 2.

⁶² A further corroboration is probably Libanius' reference to the fourth-century settlers at Poteidaia and in the Chersonese as *epoikoi* (*Decl.* 17.69; *Arg. Demosth.* 8.1). The chief exception would be the *epoikoi* of SIG³ 305 = Tod, *GHI* #200.224, who may have been assimilated to an earlier group of *apoikoi*, so that, just as in the fifth century, *epoikoi* could sometimes be a sub-category of *apoikoi* (see n. 24 above).

⁶³ The same conclusion is reached by *ATL* 3.288–89 with ns. and by Jones 169.

manning Athenian *apoikiai* were officially called *epoikoi*. One must be careful, however, about the identity of those to whom we attribute this belief in continuity on Aigina. Thucydides merely states that the original Aiginetans and Poteidaians were expelled. The evidence that can be garnered from his narrative and from the scattered other testimonia indicate a sizeable dislocation of persons from Aigina.⁶⁴ So Thucydides seems to be reflecting Athenian terminology on the Aiginetan settlement rather than attempting to endorse or corroborate its underlying assumptions himself. His view on the matter is implicit rather than directly articulated. Before we return to it, it will be necessary to try to specify as much as possible the Athenian position against which he was reacting.

There are three varieties of continuity that may be envisaged: material, institutional, or demographic. Although, as we shall see, they tend to shade into each other, each of them deserves its initial separate formulation, as long as we do not insist on drawing sharp lines of demarcation.

a. Material Continuity

There is no break in habitation which is clearly represented in the archaeological remains, nothing even approaching the damage to the walls and military harbor done at the time of surrender to Athens in 457–56.⁶⁵ The evidence from the dedications from sanctuaries is naturally complicated by the predominance of Attic pottery both before and after 431.⁶⁶ At the same time, the very conservatism of the dedications would be consistent with the arrival of Athenian settlers, many of whom might have been farmers or rural laborers displaced by the threat of

⁶⁴ Those expelled certainly included a large proportion of the political classes (including the office-holding elite). The impact of their arrival in the Thyreatis (where they founded a number of settlements) was significant, which suggests that the main body of exiles was numerous. The Athenians were bothered enough by their presence and their intentions to undertake a campaign of annihilation against those within Athenian reach. Furthermore, the behavior of the Aiginetans in exile demonstrates that many with seafaring expertise left. Those with connections at Kydonia in Crete and Naukratis in Egypt also seem to have numbered among the exiles. See Figueira, *Athenaeum* (1988) for a detailed discussion.

⁶⁵ For damage to walls and harbor: G. Welter, "Aeginetica XIII–XXIV," *AA* (1938) 480–550, esp. XIII, cols. 484–85; P. Knoblauch, "Neuere Untersuchungen an den Häfen in Ägina," *BJ* 169 (1969) 104–16, esp. 112; *id.*, "Die Hafenanlagen der Stadt Ägina," *AD* 27.1 (1972) 50–85, esp. 83–84.

⁶⁶ W. Felten, "Attische schwarzfigurige und rotfigurige Keramik," in H. Walter, ed., *Alt-Ägina* 2.1 (Mainz 1982) 23–55 reports the finds both from the local museum (mainly from the pre-World War II excavations) and from the excavations of the acropolis (since 1966).

Peloponnesian incursions into Attica.⁶⁷ At the present stage of our understanding of the physical remains of the period spanning the expulsion of 431, we have no more to go on than the subjective judgment that something more than an absence of material destruction could be at issue. To that degree, the argument for a continuity of physical habitation could suggest a demographic continuity.

b. Institutional Continuity

A second mode of continuity would be institutional continuity. Since there can be little question of a maintenance of political institutions from oligarchic Aigina over into an Athenian, democratic ἀποικία, it is to the sphere of religion that we must look for traces of continuity. The behavior of the new settlers toward Aiginetan cults does imply that they were cultivating the appearance of a form of continuity between independent Aigina and the Athenian apoikia. Two late fifth-century inscriptions contain inventories of the dedications in Aiginetan cults, of Aphaia and of Damia(ē) and Auxesia(ē) (*IG* IV 39, 1588).⁶⁸ This type of document is well attested in Athenian cult, and served the high standards of public accountability current in imperial Athens.⁶⁹ Apart from these documents, the practice is not attested for independent Aigina, a fact which is not surprising given the oligarchic character of its constitution. Such information was easily available through other media (including oral transmission) for those whose responsibility and privilege it was to know. Yet, the cult personnel of an incoming administration had to learn the holdings of the cult so as to determine the objects for which they would be responsible. The inscriptions show that the Athenians did

⁶⁷ There is no real dividing line in the character and quality of the pots imported from Athens. Felten observes that finds of pottery from the acropolis run counter to the lessening of pottery dedications in other sanctuaries, and asks whether this represents a decline in wealth (*Alt-Agina* 2.1.38). I should suggest that the maritime, commercial, and entrepreneurial groups on Aigina were expelled by the Athenians and replaced by settlers from Attica who could not recreate the island's previous level of affluence. Hence the colonists, the majority of whom may have been conservative agriculturalists, maintained an earlier pattern of cult gifts.

⁶⁸ M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca* 4 (Rome 1974) 293–96 dates *IG* IV 39 to c. 430 on epigraphical grounds.

⁶⁹ D. Peppas-Delmousou, "Autour des inventaires de Brauron," in D. Knoepfler, ed., *Comptes et inventaires dans la cité grecque: Actes du colloque international d'épigraphie tenu à Neuchâtel du 23 au 26 Septembre 1986 en l'honneur Jacques Treheux* (Geneva 1988) 323–46, esp. 337 with n. 47, compares the Brauron inventories. (I thank the author for calling her article to my attention.)

not purposively replace Aiginetan cults with Attic ones, but took over the existing cults (which they may then have supplemented).⁷⁰ One might be tempted to conclude that Aigina was not destroyed as a polis so much as that the Aiginetans themselves were replaced within a continuing polity. Nonetheless, exactly how far to press this conclusion depends on a judgment about the degree to which Greek conquerors generally preserved the precise arrangements of cult of their predecessors.⁷¹

As we shall see below, residents on Aigina in the period between 456 and 431 were involved in religious activity of an Atticizing character. I shall offer the hypothesis that some of these people were Athenians of Aiginetan extraction, who had resumed contact with the island, and others were Ionians resident on Aigina. If I am correct, cultic continuity is then enmeshed with demographic continuity, the third and most difficult to assess of my categories, but the one category that appears (partially by exclusion) to offer a definitive explanation for the epoikic character of Athenian Aigina.

c. Demographic Continuity

If the possibility of a continuity in residence on Aigina is admitted, the question next arises of the status of the previous residents *vis-à-vis* the Athenian newcomers. Demographic continuity can take on any of three political manifestations, when the imperial practices of the Athenians are considered: 1) that of persons continuing in residence with political rights in the ἀποικία; 2) that of persons who remained in residence as metics; 3) that of a pre-Athenian population which stayed on in a dependent status.

It was as Aiginetans that the colonists fought along with the Athenians at Mantinea and Syracuse. It was not as *Aiginētai*, however, but

⁷⁰ For example, they preserved the Aiginetan names of Mnia and Auzesia instead of the names Damia and Auxesia by which one assumes that they were generally known (e.g., Hdt. 5.82.1).

⁷¹ Thuc. 4.98.2–3 establishes the right of a conqueror to control the sacred precincts in the land he has occupied, while respecting ritual. The most salient body of evidence on religious practice is not strictly parallel, as it concerns Greek colonies absorbing native sacred places into civic cults, on which see G. Vallet, "La cité et son territoire dans les colonies grecques d'occident," in *La città e il suo territorio: Atti del VII Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia: Taranto 1967* (Naples 1968) 67–142; F. de Polignac, *La naissance de la cité grecque* (Paris 1984) 93–126. I. Malkin gives some valuable evidence on the Athenian practice of respecting previous *temenē* by not rededicating, which he notes in the Brea Decree (*IG* I³ 46.13–15); see "What were the Sacred Precincts of Brea? (*IG* I³ no.46)," *Chiron* 14 (1984) 43–48.

as *epoikoi* that the settlers are said to have intervened on the oligarchic side at Athens in 411, according to Thuc. 8.69.3.⁷² Similarly, only the *epoikoi* at Poteidaia are the recipients, alongside their fellow Athenians, of the oath of loyalty in the instructions to Aphytis in *IG I³ 62*. Does the continuation of the term *epoikoi* in reference to these settlers imply that some continuing residents stood on civic parity with the colonists for the purposes of politics on Aigina or at Poteidaia, but were not Athenian citizens with rights in Attica?

In an oligarchy such as that on Aigina (about which, unfortunately, not very much is known), even long-term residents of the island can conceivably have had limited political rights or even lacked citizenship.⁷³ The status of Aiginetan citizens below the social stratum providing the office-holders is particularly problematical. As will be noted below, Athenian popular opinion was not entirely indiscriminate in its assignment of the blame for acts of Aiginetan hostility toward Athens. Moreover, in cities taken by force by the Athenians, those collaborating with Athenian forces were probably rewarded by exemption from the fate of their fellow citizens, and even accorded Athenian citizenship.⁷⁴ Even though Aigina seems to have been defenseless in 431 (cf. Thuc. 1.108.4 and n. 65 in this chapter), there could have been services to the Athenian state before the expulsion, such as duty as a *proxenos* or promotion of the aforementioned Atticizing cults, which might have led to an exemption from expulsion.

Given the jealousy with which Athenian citizenship was guarded in this period, permission to stay on Aigina after the foundation of the Athenian settlement need not have been tantamount to a grant of citizenship. The possibility of local citizens alongside the *epoikoi* ought to be considered. They would not have received Athenian civic rights. Another possible assumption, however, would be that a metic community coexisted with the citizen community of colonists and holdovers from earlier Aigina.

⁷² Some have excised the reference to *epoikoi*: J. Classen and J. Steup, *Thukydides*³⁻⁴ (Berlin 1897–1922) 8.168; cf. Poppo-Stahl² 4.2.136; *HCT* 5.180. For a conjecture which explains the reference to the colonists as *epoikoi* here in ideological terms, see pp. 37–38 below.

⁷³ See Figueira, *Aegina* (New York 1981/1982) 299–313.

⁷⁴ One example would be the Melian Eponphes on *IG XII (3) 1187* (cf. Thuc. 5.116.3: ... γενομένης καὶ προδοσίας τινὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν) according to its editor, F. Hiller von Gaertringen. For others who received Athenian citizenship in return for aiding Athens in the capture of their cities, note Karystion of Samos: ΣArist. *Vespae* 283b Koster; a group of Byzantines: Xen. *HG* 2.2.1, cf. 1.3.18–19.

One strong parallel exists for a subject community which was fused with an Athenian *apoikia*. The Ellopioi of northern Euboia had been the subjects of the original inhabitants of Hestiaia. Presumably because they did not share in the Hestiaian murder of Athenian prisoners, they were exempt from expulsion from their homes when the Athenians sent settlers to the site. They continued to inhabit their territory in a relationship of subordination (at least, judicial) to the Athenians now occupying Hestiaia (*IG I³ 41.102–4*).⁷⁵

I shall discuss below some obvious candidates for the identity of local citizens or metics in the pro-Athenian Ionians living on Aigina. One case may be illustrated by *IG IV 1588*. This inventory of the sanctuary of Mnia and Auzesia is the product of a non-Attic and non-Aiginetan hand.⁷⁶ It is unlikely that *IG IV 1588* can date much after 431. Its old-fashioned forms suggest a cutter who was out-of-touch with both current Attic and Aiginetan styles of inscribing. Although his exact extraction is unknown, the inscriber may well have been someone who lived in the Ionian community on Aigina. He seems to have continued in habitation from the period before 431 into the period of Athenian occupation. Yet, judging from the character of his work in this inscription, his activities, while perhaps associated with the working of stone, did not involve the cutting of inscriptions.

This outline of the modes in which continuity could have existed between pre- and post-colonization Aigina prepares possible contexts for the appearance of the term *ἐποικος* in conjunction with the settlers there. Further clarification on this subject must await an examination of two related questions. One is the identity of the Athenian colonists on Aigina, about which some specifications can be made. The other issue is the ideological coloration given to the whole act of colonizing Aigina, an enterprise in which the Athenians struck a particular hegemonal pose. The colonization of Aigina at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War was not the sole instance of transfer of population between Attica and

⁷⁵ See M.F. McGregor, "Athens and Hestiaia," *Hesperia*, Suppl. 19 (Princeton 1982) 101–11, esp. 111.

⁷⁶ The alphabet is essentially Ionian, but without Ionian *eta* and *omega* and with the non-Aiginetan *ksi*. M.H. Jameson (*per ep.* 1/24/90) describes three old-fashioned or earlier forms (assuming a date of c. 431): boxed aspirate (with open H); a *nu* in which the right upright is higher than the left, and the v-shaped upsilons. All are consistent with the Aiginetan script, but there is nothing distinctively Aiginetan: the *nu* and *upsilon* appear in *LSAG* #21, pp. 112–13 from c. 450. See J.P. Barron, "The Fifth-Century Horoi of Aigina," *JHS* 103 (1983) 1–12, esp. 2–3, who also notes the aspirated Aeolicism *ἐπισθο[δ]όμωι* (l. 9).

the island. Accordingly, the very character of the groups about which I have just hypothesized was subject to partisan definition (and thereby distortion).

A common feature of all the modes of continuity which I have presented in the preceding pages is their presumptive character: all depend for their credibility on an assumption of the spirit of Athenian imperial ideology. In the face of the Athenian application of the term *epoikos* to the colonists, with its implication of a continuity in habitation on Aigina, Thucydides is at pains to emphasize a discontinuity between the Athenian *apoikia*, on the one hand, and both pre-expulsion and the re-established Aigina after Aigospotamoi, on the other. Consider 7.57.2 on the order of battle at Syracuse:

καὶ αὐτοῖς τῇ αὐτῇ φωνῇ καὶ νομίμοις ἔτι χρώμενοι Λήμνιοι καὶ Ἰμβριοι καὶ Αἰγινῆται, οἱ τότε Αἰγίαν εἶχον, καὶ ἔτι Ἑστιαίης οἱ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ Ἑστιαίαν οἰκοῦντες, ἄποικοι ὄντες ξυνεστράτευσαν.⁷⁷

As has already been noted, this sentence should be considered to be a unit; *αὐτοῖς* is governed by *ξυνεστράτευσαν*, so that the participial phrase (with *χρώμενοι*) is to be construed with the three following ethnics (see also ns. 18–19 above).⁷⁸

Nevertheless, it is hard to understand how Thucydides can be making the same point about the Lemnians, Imbrians, and Aiginetans still using Athenian institutions and dialect. On the one hand, one might argue that he might be emphasizing that the Lemnians and Imbrians used the same dialect and customs as the Athenians, since their dispatch as colonists had occurred in the early fifth century. Commentators, however, have felt compelled to object to the proposition that Thucydides would have made the same observation about Aiginetan colonists sent out so recently, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.⁷⁹ Indeed Thucydides does not seem to be equating the present mores of the Aiginetan settlers with those of an earlier period when they left Attica, but to be contrasting their circumstances in 413 with the situation on the island

⁷⁷ For a translation, see p. 8 above.

⁷⁸ That the Hestians are distinguished from the others insofar as Thucydides did not choose to emphasize their use of the Attic dialect and *nomima* does not affect the basic unity of the sentence as outlined in n. 18 above. Ehrenberg, "Thucydides" 147 implicitly allocates *ἔτι χρώμενοι* to the Lemnians and Imbrians alone, but it is hard to see how the combination *Λήμνιοι καὶ Ἰμβριοι καὶ Αἰγινῆται* can be broken up.

⁷⁹ *ATL* 3.291–92; Graham 183, who, however, justifies the application of *ἔτι χρώμενοι* to the Aiginetans by the noting the emphasis on the disruption of kinship by military alliance.

after 405. The phrase *οἱ . . . εἶχον* shows that this passage was written after the war, because the Aiginetans are those who occupied Aigina then and not, by implication, those returning under Spartan protection.⁸⁰

Consequently, one editorial tradition solves the dilemma by suggesting that the emphasis is not on the passage of time, but on a defection from Athenian institutions by some Attic colonies.⁸¹ This solution, however, appears to generate a rather convoluted hypothetical background. Who indeed are these colonists who defected from Athenian customs and *dialect*? And how is their defection relevant to a military catalogue of the forces fighting at Syracuse, where the emphasis is on the ethnic affiliations of those actually participating in the battle? Had they failed to serve when called upon? The reference to the Athenian character of the Lemnians, Imbrians, and Aiginetans would be a most oblique manner in which to address such defections. The same point was much better made in conjunction with individual defections when they actually occurred (and it is missing for Amphipolis and Thourioi).

Concomitantly, a contrast between the situation of Lemnos and Imbros in 413 and after 405, paralleling what is implied about Aigina, is not fully satisfactory. Both islands were probably controlled by Spartan-installed decarchies right after the war. Since the Imbrians and the Lemnian cities Hephaistia and Myrina paid tribute during the *arkhē*, their inhabitants were not Athenian citizens (Appendix B). As tributaries, they were probably exempt from expulsion by Lysander: as an "indigenous" population they continued in occupation after the expulsion of Athenian citizens.⁸² While the establishment of oligarchies could constitute a change in *nomima*, there is no justification for positing a change in *phōnē* after Aigospotamoi.

⁸⁰ To interpret Thucydides as contrasting the colonists' possession of Aigina during the war with the Aiginetans' occupation *before* (rather than after) the war seems to render the point banal, one which might obviously be made of any group of colonists.

⁸¹ Note Poppo-Stahl² 4.1.129; Classen-Steup³, 7.143–44. Cf. *HCT* 4.436.

⁸² Brunt (80–81) has the Lemnian cleruchs spared dislodging by Lysander (on grounds of the difficulty of distinguishing them). His point would be valid *a fortiori* if the Athenian citizens on Lemnos were not cleruchs (for my hypothesis, see Appendix B), but Lemnians who successfully maintained a claim to citizenship. *IG* XII (8) 2 from Myrina may be from the island's independent period after Aigospotamoi (G. Cousin and F. Durrbach, "Inscriptions de Lemnos," *BCH* 9 [1885] 45–64, esp. 46–48). *IG* II² 30 may contain Athenian regulations for the return to Lemnos of Athenian citizens put to flight by Lysander, or at least for a resumption of Athenian sovereignty over the island. See Graham 186–88. This reconstruction accommodates the absence of any evidence for a Spartan-imposed settlement such as the one attested at Sestos (Plut. *Lys.* 14.3).

One solution would be to treat this clause as a late note of Thucydides which was inserted rather than integrated into his text.⁸³ Significantly, the comment on the occupation of Aigina only during the war was not also applied to the Hestiaiians. They would also have been expelled from their colony by Lysander in his general removal of Athenians from their overseas holdings (Xen. *HG* 2.2.9; Plut. *Lys.* 13.3, 14.4; D.S. 13.107.4; cf. Theopompus, *FGH* 115 F 387). This anomaly shows that Thucydides wanted to underline the transient character of the Aiginetan colony (and not the Hestiaiian one). Whether we accept this suggestion or not will depend on a stylistic appreciation of the sentence in which a relative clause attached to *Αἰγινῆται* is necessary to balance the participial clause modifying *Ἔσταιις*.⁸⁴

On the other hand, another line along which to approach the text—and probably the only way to read the text as it stands and as a single composite act—is to suggest that the participial phrase *ἔτι χρώμενοι* serves two temporal perspectives. The continued Athenian character of the Lemnians and Imbrians is noteworthy retrospectively in light of a settlement abroad generations before ('still using'). The Attic character of the Aiginetans, however, is important prospectively on account of their subsequent expulsion from the island ('yet using'). In other words, the word *ἔτι* helps make the same point as *οἱ τότε Αἰγιναν εἶχον*: the Aiginetans in question were not the restored (Dorian and oligarchic) contemporaries of Thucydides' readers, but their thoroughly Attic predecessors.

While Thucydides can hardly be said to belabor this point (that Aigina was Attic only during the war), he deliberately made it here, either singling out the Aiginetans for mention (and ignoring the Hestiaiians) in a poorly fitted insertion, or risking logical coherence through shifting temporal perspectives. Moreover, he noted the Aiginetans in this way in a passage in which the cultural and ethnic affinity of contingents on both sides is the major theme. Here then is an implicit correction to the polemic inherent in the Athenian denomination of their colonists as *ἐποίκοι*—a corrective against holding that the *apoikia* stood in

⁸³ Rehm, *Philologus* (1934) 144–45; note also Will, *Nouvelle Clío* (1954) n. 2, pp. 442–44.

⁸⁴ Cf. Ehrenberg, "Thucydides" 147 who argued that *οἱ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ Ἔσταιαν οἰκοῦντες* balances *οἱ τότε Αἰγιναν εἶχον*. It could then be concluded that both clauses must have entered the text at the same date, and that the explanatory "note" on the Aiginetans is no later than its context. Yet, our acceptance of this suggestion might in turn depend on following Ehrenberg that *ἔτι χρώμενοι* must be limited to the Lemnians and Imbrians so that one subordinate clause must be attached to each of three groups: Lemnians and Imbrians; Aiginetans; and Hestiaiians.

some relationship of continuity or even filiation with earlier Aigina. To explain Thucydides' reaction to Athenian rhetoric, it will first be necessary to examine the rest of the evidence for the Athenian settlement on Aigina.

The results of my discussion thus far have isolated an epoikic category of Athenian *apoikiai*, which included both Aigina and Poteidaia, within the narrative of Thucydides and within Athenian imperial documents. Epoikic colonists seem to have exercised some of the military functions which have often been attributed to cleruchs. The Aiginetan case, upon which some external evidence may be brought to bear, suggests that the application of epoikic terminology to Attic colonists may have been at times controversial.

CHAPTER 2: ANCIENT TRADITION ON AND MODERN INTERPRETATION OF ATHENIAN IMPERIAL COLONIZATION

THE PICTURE of the settlement on Aigina which has emerged from Thucydides is a coherent one. The community was an *apoiikia* which formed a new political entity, whose inhabitants nonetheless retained the appellation Aiginētai. The colonists who came in c. 431 were called *epoikoi* 'reinforcing colonists'. Not only was that title evocative of the important strategic role that they played in occupying the island, but also suggestive of a continuity existing between Aigina before 431 and the later colony. That this view has not been systematically argued previously is owed to the contradictory complex of other testimonia regarding both the settlement on Aigina and on Athenian fifth-century colonization in general. As scholarship has reflected this evidence, various views that would make the Aiginetan colony a cleruchy have been influential. This is not only because there is some direct evidence for an Aiginetan cleruchy, but also because certain presumptive characteristics of cleruchies are held to apply to Aigina. For instance, it has been argued that its colonists kept their citizenship, that they acted as a garrison (as I too have argued, but to a different conclusion), or even that all fifth-century Athenian colonies were cleruchies.

It would be tempting to turn an evaluation of the political status of the Athenian settlement on Aigina into a judgment on whether to follow the account of Thucydides (as outlined above) or the statements of much later sources, since that procedure would virtually always validate following Thucydides, who was a contemporary witness, highly placed within the Athenian political class.¹ Yet, the adoption of such a methodology would be wrong, being a misreading of the manner in which the later testimonia discuss the settlement on Aigina. We are not, in fact, compelled to set these sources against Thucydides. This conclusion is justified by the complex history of the family of words based on the stem *κληρουχ-*.

¹ In contrast, Ehrenberg, "Thucydides" 145–46, merely posits an early source for the cleruchic traditions on Aristophanes and Plato and adduces the supposed imprecision of Thucydides. See also Graham 173.

A. THE SEMANTICS OF ΚΑΗΡΟΥΧΟΣ AND ASSOCIATED TERMS

The texts compiled by the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* which are currently available on CD-ROM have been searched using the LEX program of the Ibycus Scholarly Computer. While this method will not, of course, yield all the appearances of the words in ancient Greek containing the string of characters *-κληρουχ-*, it provides a satisfactorily complete conspectus of the usages for our purposes.² Table 1 below organizes the results of this search. Some instances of usage have been added from other sources which have been specified as necessary. For the sake of space, one category of this family of words is excluded from detailed citation, namely a listing of the appearances of *κληροῦχος*, *κληρουχία*, and *κληρουχικός* from the Packard Humanities Institute Demonstration CD-ROM #2 containing the Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri.³

Words based on *κληρουχ-* focus on one phase in the foundation of a new community, the necessary act of allocation of property to the new landholders. Just as *ἀποικία* and related terms emphasize the equally necessary departure from home of colonists, words with the base *κληρουχ-* signify another important stage in that foundation and could stand in a form of synecdoche for the whole act of occupation of territory. The chief difficulty in determining whether an author means to refer precisely to an Athenian cleruchy is that any act of political incorporation of land (and not just one occurring within colonization) has a "cleruchic" phase which can assume the appropriate terminology. Thus, it is not only colonization to which the *κληρουχ-* terms are apposite, but also conquest (as in the Hebrews' occupation of Palestine) or assignment of land already held (as in the allocation of the *ager publicus* at Rome).

A collection of the testimonia helps remind us what a restricted subset of the attestations is composed of applications to Athenian history. Several conclusions seem to follow from this pattern of usage. Let us consider first the verbal members of this family of terms. The Athenian contexts for the verb *κληρουχέω* are so meager—only four in Table 1, A—

² The material compiled by the Princeton Epigraphical Project from corpora of inscriptions has also been subjected to a word search for *-κληρουχ-*. I should like to thank Dr. Donald McCabe of the Project for his assistance.

³ For a prosopography of cleruchs, see F. Uebel, *Die Kleruchen Ägyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemäern* (Berlin 1968) 32–352 (for lists). The number of cleruchs attested in Uebel's catalogue (1473) naturally exceeds greatly the number of attested appearances of *κληρουχ-* terms (cf. pp. 356–60).

that one would hesitate to impose the idea of a cleruchy on any single appearance of the verb if it were to be taken in isolation. In contrast, a greater number and larger proportion of Athenian examples do indeed exist for a more prevalent compound of κληρουχέω, namely κατακληρουχέω, but they are hardly dominant in general usage. Nor should we deceive ourselves into believing that κατακληρουχέω possessed for that reason some place in Athenian official terminology. The most controversial appearances of κατακληρουχέω on Table 1, F, including the references to Aigina, come from Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, who use the same verb very often in non-Athenian settings (for specifics, see below). A glance at the citations in Diodorus also indicates that he may well reflect the usage of Ephorus and Timaeus and through them earlier local historians and epichoric political traditions.⁴ That supposition would suggest that the κληρουχ- family of words was current in non-Athenian archaic and classical usage. Some of the Greek applications do not in fact refer to colonies at all, but to other forms of the allocation of land (just among these Greek instances, note D.S. 5.59.6; 11.76.6; 20.25.2; cf. Polyb. 7.10.1). Diodorus, to whom the term was clearly a favorite, applies it even to Athenian instances which cannot have been cleruchies in any official sense. Therefore, it is unlikely that anyone used κληρουχέω or κατακληρουχέω to mean 'allot land in a cleruchy' as a term from Athenian official language. This is not of course to say that these verbs may not incidentally have been used about Attic cleruchies (see also Table 4), for which they were as appropriate as for other acts of apportionment.

The nominal forms offer points for both comparison and contrast with the verbs just discussed. The words κληροῦχος and κληρουχία appear in Athenian documents, and it is improbable that they were nothing more than synonyms for ἀποικος and ἀποικία in Attica during the fifth and fourth centuries (whatever their precise valence). Are we then to postulate an origin in Athenian legal terminology for both κληροῦχος and κληρουχία? Before answering, a closer look at the evidence will be necessary. The field of usage for these words is dominated by four applications: to Attic settlements, to Ptolemaic military colonists, to the Hebrew conquest and occupation of Palestine, and to Roman land allocation. We may discount for the moment the Ptolemaic cleruchs and cleruchies as perhaps semantically derived from their Athenian forerunners.

⁴ For Diodorus' use of Ephorus, see n. 19 in this chapter. On Timaeus, see, most recently, L. Pearson, "Ephorus and Timaeus in Diodorus: Laqueur's Thesis Rejected," *Historia* 33 (1984) 1–20.

Nonetheless, that a general literary term, which could be applied by Greek historians to Roman and Jewish history, evolved from a word κληροῦχος that possessed only its restricted Athenian denotation in the fifth century is *prima facie* implausible. My supposition that Diodorus reflects earlier non-Athenian use of related verbs points toward the same conclusion, namely that κληροῦχος originally had a more prominent non-Athenian circulation than appears superficially from the surviving attestations.

A clinching evidentiary item may be Sophocles *Ajax* 507–8, ... αἰδέσθαι δὲ μητέρα | πολλῶν ἐτῶν κληροῦχον ... ("respect your mother, lot-holder of many years"). It is striking that virtually our first appearance of the term (probably from the late 440s, at the latest) is both non-technical and metaphorical;⁵ and it would be quite metaphorical if the only current use of κληροῦχος was to denote an Attic colonist in a particular sub-genus of settlement.⁶ The scholia do not point toward a political allusion here, but gloss with connotations from everyday or domestic life.⁷ It is more economical to hypothesize a context for *Ajax* 507–8 where κληροῦχος was in general use for a range of situations where property was distributed by a government. Because such κληροῦχοι received property through various means of distribution leading to individual possession, κληροῦχος had thereby assumed derivative meanings spanning 'established landholder', 'assignee by firm title', and 'possessor by inheritance'. Hence Sophocles could employ it to emphasize the age of Ajax's mother, and his metaphor would have caught the attention of his audience, especially if a new specific definition for the word had recently become current (cf. Chapter 7, section B below).

The other miscellaneous applications of the word (Table 1, E 7) and especially that of Alexis (fr. 89) all seem to exploit this very same extended sense of κληροῦχος. Moreover, the Jewish applications of E 5

⁵ Cf. A. Lesky (*Greek Tragic Poetry* [New Haven 1983] 132–33) for a date. A hypothetical, oral version of Hdt. 5.77.2 would be its only conceivable rival for priority.

⁶ R.C. Jebb, *Sophocles: The Plays and Fragments: Part VII. Ajax* (Cambridge 1907) 83: "figurative"; J.C. Kamerbeek, *The Plays of Sophocles: Part I. Ajax* (Leiden 1953) 110: "etymological rather than figurative." For translations, note L. Campbell, *Sophocles* 2 (Oxford 1881) 52: "inheritress"; M. Untersteiner, *Sofocle: Aiace* (Milan 1934) 171: "di molti anni ereditiera", "che ha avuto in sorte ... una lunga vita"; G. Amendola, *Sofocle: Aiace* (Turin 1953) 115: "nel senso originario, che ha avuto in sorte ... equivalente a μέτοχος 'partecipe'."

⁷ They gloss μέτοχον, κεκληρωμένην, κλήρον ἐστηκύναν (*apud* 508). Cf. *Suda s.v. κληροῦχον* (κ 1788 Adler), which cites Soph. *Ajax* 507–8, and App. *Ital.* 4.1 Gabba.

and even the gods as κληροῦχοι (E 6) may be read against the same background. Pausanias, who provides virtually the only non-Athenian Greek attestation of κληροῦχος (1.40.5; cf. E 2), may also help us to the same conclusion. He probably derived his usage for the archaic Megarian settlers on Salamis from the Megarians who were his sources (perhaps, specifically, local historians, the authors of *Megarika*: FGH 487 F 12).⁸ It would be speculative to do more than offer a suggestion on a more specific archaic or early classical context for the origin of κληροῦχος. Nonetheless, the word may well have been in use either among those Ionian states such as Miletos which were so extraordinarily active in colonization (much more so, at any rate, than the Athenians), or (my preferred hypothesis) among those allocating land within or adjacent to their borders for the purposes of territorial consolidation in what may be called internal "colonization". In that case, it may be significant that the Megarians called their settlers on Salamis cleruchs, as the Athenians disputed this territory.

This reconstruction of the history of the term κληροῦχος raises some interesting questions about Herodotus' description of the Athenian settlers at Khalkis as cleruchs (5.77.2). It is usually assumed that he described them as such using an Athenian technical term, whose meaning was comparable to that applied to the κληροῦχοι of imperial Athens.⁹ Yet, a general connotation for κληροῦχος might be correct here, and Herodotus' employment of a participial form of the verb κληρουχέω (6.100.1), the usage of which was for the most part general and non-official, for the same persons might stand in support of this contention. As I shall argue in Appendix C, the new community at Khalkis differs from the later cleruchies in absolute size, in size relative to its host community, in its constitution as a fully institutionalized polity (with a separate military apparatus), and in the possible participation by non-Athenians as cleruchs. It might be objected, however, that Herodotus frequently discusses colonization without ever again using κληρουχ- words.¹⁰ Therefore, it is not so much the application of κληροῦχος and κληρουχέω to the Athenians that is significant, but the absence

⁸ See L. Piccirilli, *ΜΕΓΑΡΙΚΑ: Testimonianze e Frammenti* (Pisa 1975) 131–33 on his F 21a; T. J. Figueira, "The Theognidea and Megarian Society," *Theognis* 112–58, esp. 117; *id.*, "Chronological Table: Archaic Megara, 800–500 B.C.," *Theognis* 261–303, esp. 285–86.

⁹ Typical is B. Virgilio, "I termini di colonizzazione in Erodoto e nella tradizione preerodotea," *AAT* 106 (1972) 345–406, esp. 390.

¹⁰ For example, ἀποικίη appears 11 times; ἀποικίς once; ἀποικοί 11 times.

of such usage with regard to other colonies. These other cases, however, may not be strictly comparable, inasmuch as they do not concern the absorption of borderlands which became in some manner part of the territory of the allocator.¹¹ Thus, a cleruchic vocabulary might have been uniquely appropriate in connection with Khalkis. In this understanding, κληροῦχος need not even be seen to be a term imposed by Herodotus on his Athenian informants (probably during the 450s), but possibly a term used by them (cf. the Megarian cleruchs on Salamis). My only stipulation to this point would be that their usage as much as his must be envisaged as still not yet sharply delineated in its legal denotation and without its imperial or Periclean nuances.

Nevertheless, while we may hypothesize such a non-Athenian origin for κληροῦχος, it is equally clear that later accounts of archaic colonization and conquest do not make much use of it. Perhaps it came to be too firmly associated by historians with the controversial Athenian colonization during the fifth-century *arkhē* and in the fourth century. To understand why, it will be necessary to consider the instances of the κληρουχ- vocabulary in Plutarch. In two passages Plutarch characterizes the populist policies of Perikles: *Per.* 9.1: ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ πρῶτον ὑπ' ἐκείνου φασὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ κληρουχίας καὶ θεωρικὰ καὶ μισθῶν διανομὰς προαχθῆναι, . . . ; 34.2: θεραπεύων δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀσχάλλοντας ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ, διανομαῖς τε χρημάτων ἀνελάμβανε καὶ κληρουχίας ἔγραφεν . . .¹² Plutarch is not making some fine distinction here, i.e., that cleruchies won the favor of the *dēmos* in a way in which other colonies could not. Rather he seems to be equating all Athenian colonization with the creation of cleruchies in a fashion somewhat similar to the generalizing use of κατακληρουχέω by Diodorus Siculus. Unless we are prepared to follow him by believing that every fifth-century Athenian foundation with citizen participation (even Brea, Thourioi, and Amphipolis) can have been a cleruchy and that cleruchies were not a discrete official category, Plutarch must be held to use κληρουχία in exactly or anachronistically.

I should argue that Plutarch reflects the terminology of fourth-century Athens and afterwards, when virtually all Athenian settlements

¹¹ Herodotus does refer to land received in colonial and other allotments and holdings as κλήροι: 1.76.1; 2.109 *bis*; 9.94.2. It is also noteworthy that the *Suda* glossed κληροῦχος in Herodotus as γεωργούς (κ 1789 Adler), when a definition from Athenian technical terminology was available to the lexicographers for this passage (cf. κ 1790 Adler). See Moggi 6–7.

¹² The passages are translated on pp. 53–54, 63 below.

abroad could be considered cleruchies and almost all settlers cleruchs.¹³ This understanding of the nature of a κληροῦχος and of a κληρουχία was contained within Atthidography, as I will argue shortly. The prestige and influence of the Atthidographers and the universal historians who utilized them (like Ephorus) in turn explains the desuetude of this vocabulary with general reference to non-Athenian apportionment of land.¹⁴ When the term κληροῦχος appeared in their source material about a non-Athenian land allotment, fourth-century and post-classical historians substituted terms without such strong Athenian implications. So Pausanias' use of κληροῦχοι for the Megarian settlers on Salamis proves to have been exceptionally true to the nomenclature of his Megarian historical sources. Moreover, all Athenian cleruchs (regardless of period) may have shared a single characteristic, namely that they retained their Athenian citizenship. That retention of citizenship in the *mētropolis* may have been singular enough to act as another inhibiting factor against employing (or retaining) the term κληροῦχος for archaic and fifth-century non-Athenian historical contexts. Thus, post-classical authors used κληροῦχος for Athenian colonization, in metaphors, and historiographically (to render non-Greek apportionment of land).

Yet, it must also be noted that a certain reservation existed concerning a total transformation of the associations of cleruchic language. Colonists who are called ἄποικοι in both fifth-century literary sources and documents (like the Brea Decree) belong to a class of settler which fourth-century sources describing similar fourth-century phenomena called cleruchs. On fourth-century documents, cleruchs tend to be named chiefly in connection with their dispatch, and not with reference to their continuing occupation of an overseas site.¹⁵ Literary witnesses

¹³ In contrast, Thucydides' Mytilenean cleruchy was not a *polis*. Isoc. (*Paneg.*) 4.107 is perhaps the first rhetorical association of colonies and cleruchies: see pp. 25–26 and n. 50 above.

¹⁴ Aelius Aristides may reflect the same derivation from Atthidography, with his unfocused connections between cleruchies and the Athenian empire (note Table 1, C1, E1).

¹⁵ The Atthidographic denomination of the fourth-century settlements as cleruchies may be contrasted with official references in Attic decrees for the same settlements. There, phrases are used such as Ἀθ[ηναίων] ὁ δῆμος | ὁ ἐν Σάμῳ (SIG³ 276A.5–7 = SEG 18 [1962] #200 [334]), or ὁ δῆμος | Ἀθ[ηναίων] ὁ ἐν Μυρ[ίνῃ] οἰκῶν (IG XII [8] 4.1–2 [post 348]), except where an establishment or reordering is at issue (IG II² 30, 1952, cf. 1609; Tod, *GHI* #146 = SIG³ 180). See also Hyperid. *Lyc.* 14: ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐν Ἡφαίστιᾳ . . . ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μυρ[ίνῃ]; Phylarchus *FGH* 81 F 29. Cf. Foucart 363–66; Gschnitzer 102–4; Moggi 10. See n. 58 in this chapter; Chapter 7, ns. 20 and 27 below.

like Demades and Aristotle may call a group of Athenians settled abroad a κληρουχία, just as modern scholars find such an appellation appropriate for an aggregation of κληροῦχοι. No extant fourth-century inscription, however, calls any settlement a κληρουχία.

Although a provenience in general Greek usage and not in Athenian specialist terminology is likely for the verbs κληρουχέω and κατακληρουχέω, and even for κληροῦχος itself, the word κληρουχία seems to be an Athenian coining. The term is not used for non-Athenian colonization (but rather for non-colonial reapportionment or introduction of new settlers); its metaphorical uses are late. Its application to Roman or Jewish history is historiographical rather than legal, political, or partisan. *IG* I³ 237 shows its use in an official document. Nonetheless, in order to understand why κληρουχία was coined, the spectrum of its connotations will need to be considered.

As already noted, the κληρουχ- family of words, with their evocation of one phase of colonization, can denote the entire process of distributing land. Yet, κληρουχία is actually more common as 'apportionment' without the idea of the foundation of a new community or of colonization (even in the background). Its non-Athenian Greek attestations are as follows: Polybius uses it to refer to the sort of confiscation and redistribution of land associated with Kleomenes III of Sparta (4.81.2) and Diodorus uses it for the assignment of land to immigrants by Timoleon at Syracuse and Agyrion (16.82.5, 83.3). The usages of two historians of Rome, who employed the word κληρουχία more frequently than other authorities, are also illustrative of this phenomenon. Dionysius of Halicarnassus employs κληρουχία 29 times. While Dionysius possibly signifies a Roman colony by it in one passage, 7.27.1 (if the emendation is correct), generally κληρουχία means 'land distribution', 'program of land allocation' or even '*lex agraria*'. The phrase περὶ (or ὑπὲρ, ἐπὶ) τῆς κληρουχίας takes on an almost formulaic character in his treatment of agitation by the early Republican plebs, appearing 16 times (and once each for the two related verbs). Similarly Appian can use κληρουχία across a range of connotations including 'allotment' or 'act of allotment' (*BC* 2.19.141; 5.3.28), and 'program of allotment' (5.5.43) as well as 'colonies' (*n.b.* not 'colony': e.g., 3.6.39; 5.6.52).

Consequently, it is possible that the term κληρουχία suggested itself to the Athenians because it could be coined to refer to establishments of Athenians abroad under conditions where colonization was reduced to the process of apportionment of property without a permanent departure from Attica and without the creation of a community which was

fully actualized in institutional terms. In other words, *κληρουχία* was coined to describe entities like the Lesbian cleruchy as recounted by Thucydides. Thus Athenian official use would be paralleled by the later terminology of the Ptolemies. They clearly drew on a semantic tradition wherein *κληροῦχος* and *κληρουχία* could emphasize the act of allocation of land to individuals and the ensuing land-holding with its attendant responsibilities without their implying that political entities were created.¹⁶ Ptolemaic *κληροῦχοι* did not form communities in the same sense as Seleucid *κάτοικοι*.¹⁷ This line of analysis raises the interesting, if not conclusively answerable, question of how Philip II described his allocations of newly-conquered land and their recipients (his clients, followers, and mercenaries). If Philip used *κληροῦχ*-terminology, a link would then be forged between the Athenian cleruchies of the fifth century and the later practices of the Ptolemies.¹⁸

TABLE 1: ΚΛΗΡΟΥΧΟΣ AND RELATED TERMS

Notes to this table are indicated by superscript bold letters and follow the Table immediately.

A. *κληρουχέω* 'take by allotment', 'divide in allotment' (cf. *Suda* κ 1787 Adler)

- 1) Attic colonization (4): D.L. 10.1 (Epicurus on Samos); Hdt. 6.100 (Khalkis); ΣArist. *Ach.* 654b.i-ii *bis* Wilson (Aigina); ΣArist. *Nubes* 213e Holwerda (Euboia; cf. *Anon. Rec.* 213a Koster: *κατεκληροῦχησαν*)

¹⁶ It is also possible that the *κληῆροι* of fifth-century cleruchs were not inheritable, but would have reverted in principle to the state upon the death of the cleruch. See Chapter 6, pp. 184–85 below.

¹⁷ Ptolemaic cleruchs may have lived together, but their duties appear to have been individual, and not collective. In principle, they held their *κληῆροι* only for their lifetime, in the early period of the institution. In general, see E. van't Dack, "Sur l'évolution des institutions militaires Lagides," in *Armées et fiscalité dans le monde antique* (Paris 1977) 77–105, esp. 82–86; Uebel, *Kleruchen* 3–4.

¹⁸ Cf. *SIG*³ 332.5–9, wherein Kassandros (as king, hence during 306–297) confirms the tenure of property in Sinos and Trapezous of one Perdikkas, son of Koinos, property which his grandfather and father had received in allotment: *ὃν ἐκληροῦχησεν Πολεμοκράτης ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ καὶ ὃν ὁ πατήρ ἐπὶ Φιλίππου*. So the verb *κληρουχέω* is used for holding land at the grant of Philip. A single example, however, does not establish a regular, official vocabulary. Cf. M.G. Demitsas, 'H *Μακεδονία* (Athens 1896) #763, 2.633–34; J.A. Alexander, "Cassandreia during the Macedonian Period: An Epigraphical Commentary," in B. Laourdas and Ch. Makaronas, eds., *Ancient Macedonia* 1 (Thessaloniki 1970) 127–46, esp. 127–28.

- 2) Greek apportionment (2): D.S. 5.9.5; *SIG*³ 332.7
- 3) Roman land allocation (13): App. *BC* 5.3.27; 5.8.74; Dio Cass. 45.9.1; 48.6.2; 48.7.1; 49.34.4; D.H. *AR* 5.60.4; 6.55.2; 8.74.2; 9.37.4, 53.6, 62.1; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Δαίδαλεια* (216)
- 4) Ptolemaic cleruchs (with compounds): 6 citations (cf. 5 *κληρουχ* . . .); cf. *SIG*³ 502.40
 - a) Joseph. *AJ* 12.159 (1) (threat of Ptolemaic cleruchy in Palestine at time of high priest Onias II)
- 5) In general (1): Simplicius *In Aris. Cat.* CAG 8.26.: *ἡ κληρουχουμένη γῆ*
- 6) Allocation of functions etc. among gods (2): Libanius, *Or.* 11.111; Plato *Critias* 109C
- 7) Metaphorical (1): Callistratus *Stat.* 10.1 (LSJ): 'acquired by lot', 'destined'

B. *κληροῦχημα* 'allotment of land'

Roman land allocation (2): App. *BC* 3.1.2; 3.1.7

C. *κληρουχία*

- 1) Attic colonization
 - a) pre-400 (8): Antiphon fr. 7; Aristid. 13.128, 1.207D (Atlantic cleruchies as threatened punishment of the Athenians by Xerxes, cf. Phot. *Bibl.* 246.402b); D.S. 15.23.4; Isoc. (*Paneg.*) 4.107; Libanius *Dec.* 13.1.8; Plut. *Per.* 9.1, 34.2 (Periclean colonial policy); *IG* I³ 237
 - b) post-400 (3): Demades fr. 91.213–14 De Falco (Samos); Aris. *Rhet.* 1384b32 (Samos); D.S. 15.29.8 (foundation of Second Confederacy)
- 2) Greek non-Athenian apportionment (4): D.S. 16.82.5, 83.3; Plut. *Comp. Lyc. et Numa* 2.11 (Lykourgos at Sparta); Polyb. 4.81.2 (land allotment in Sparta in 219)
 - a) Egypt: D.S. 1.73.7
- 3) Ptolemaic cleruchs: 60 cit. (cf. 5 *κληρουχ* . . .)
- 4) Roman land allocation (54): App. *BC* 1.3.18; 2.17.119, 120, 125; 2.18.135; 2.19.138, 139, 141; 3.2.12; 3.6.39; 5.3.28; 5.5.39 *bis*, 43 *bis*, 47; 5.6.52; Dio Cass. 37.25.4; 48.6.1; D.H. *AR* 7.27.1 (emended); 8.71.2, 75.1 *bis*, 75.3, 81.1, 87.4, 89.3, 91.3; 9.1.3, 2.2, 5.1, 7.3, 9.3, 17.4, 27.4, 32.1, 37.2, 39.4, 51.1, 51.2, 52.5, 59.1, 59.2, 69.1; 10.30.4, 35.5, 38.3, 42.2; Plut. *Comp. Lyc. et Numa* 2.11; *Flam.* 2.1; *Sulla* 33.1; *Caes.* 14.2; *Cat. Min.* 31.6; *Ant.* 60.2

- 5) Hebrew conquest and occupation of Palestine, often 'territory of tribe' (29): Epiphanius *Ancoratus* p. 114.4 Holl (Judaia as part of Shem's lot); Euseb. *Onom.* p. 2.9; Joseph. *AJ* 4.81; 5.97, 115, 120, 136, 142, 342; 6.118, 249; 7.174; 8.35, 37, 247 *bis*, 393; 13.102 (grant of Alexander Balas to Jonathan); *BJ* 3.54; 5.160; Philo *Mos.* 1.40.222, 43.237, 59.320; 2.1.1; *Decal.* 3.14; *Spec.* 2.22.111, 23.116, 23.118 (= 'original lot' = 'original property')
- a) hence κληρουχία = 'inheritances': J. Chrysostom. *In Isaiam* 2.1; Philo *Mos.* 2.43.234, 236, 242; *Decal.* 30.164; *Septuagint Ne.* 11.20 (after LSJ, but 'district' is possible)
- b) κληρουχία = 'nature', 'disposition': Philo *Mos.* 2.45.246 (text corrupt?); cf. Vettius Valens 4.7, p. 166.22 Kroll
- 6) Apportionment of function etc. to gods (1): Aristid. 1.7, 1.10D
- 7) Inheritance or possession (3): Euseb. *Caes. Comm. in Psalm.*, MPG 23.416, 856 (= κληρονομία 'inheritance' or 'possession'); J. Chrysostom. *Exposit. in Psalm.*, MPG 55.154 'possession'

D. κληρουχικός

- 1) Attic colonization (2): Arist. *Nubes* 203; Dem. 14.16 (cf. Harpocration *s.v.* κληροῦχοι)
- 2) Ptolemaic cleruchs: 28 cit. (cf. 5 κληρουχ...)
- 3) Roman colonization (1): Plut. *C. Gracch.* 5.1

E. κληροῦχος

- 1) Attic colonists
- a) pre-400: (11): ΣAesch. 2.31 (Ennea Hodoi); Aristid. 14.210, 1.340D; 46.193, 2.258D (fifth century); D.L. 3.3 (Plato on Aigina); Hdt. 5.77.2 (Khalkis), cf. *Suda* κ 1789 Adler; Paus. 1.27.5 (Tolmides founds cleruchies on Naxos and Euboea); Plut. *Per.* 11.5 (various places); Thuc. 3.50.2 (Mytilene); *IG* I³ 66 (Mytilene); 339.13 (dedication of cleruchs); 341.1 (dedication of cleruchs)
- b) post-400 (12): Aesch. 1.53, with scholia (Samos); Dem. 8.6 (Chersonese; cf. Harpocration *s.v.* κληροῦχοι; *Suda s.v.* κληρος [κ 1790 Adler]); 12.16 (Chersonese); D.S. 16.34.4 (Chersonese); Libanius *Arg. Dem.* 8.1; Philochorus, *FGH* 328 F 154 (cf. D.H. *De Din.* 13 [Samos]); Strabo 14.1.18 C638 (Samos); *IG* II² 30 (Lemnos); *IG* II² 1952 (dispatch of cleruchs before 350)^a; Tod, *GHI* #146.9 (Poteidaia); *SEG* 26 1022.9 (Samos); cf. *AE* [1977] #349^b; *Inscr. Délos* 7.104-5.13^c
- i) *IG* II² 1609.81: κληρ[ο]χ[α]ρχόντων^d

- 2) Non-Athenian Greek (1): Paus. 1.40.5 (Megarian cleruchs betray Salamis to Athens)
- 3) Ptolemaic cleruchs: 141 cit. (cf. 5 κληρουχ...)
- 4) Roman colonists (34): App. *Ital.* 4.1 Gabba, cf. *Suda* κ 1788 Adler; *Sam.* 4.15, 17; *Lib.* 20.136; *BC* 1.1.7; 2.17.125; 2.18.135; 3.1.2; 5.5.40, 46 *bis*; 5.6.53 *bis*, 57 *bis*; 5.11.99; 5.12.110; Dio Cass. 44.51.4; D.H. *AR* 2.16.1, 54.2; 6.20.1, 32.1, 43.1, 44.2; 7.12.5, 13.1, 13.4 *bis*, 14.4, 28.3; 8.14.1; 9.60.2; 10.21.7, 17/18.5.2
- a) D.H. *AR* 8.75.3: κληροῦχον... γῆν 'land to be allotted'
- 5) Hebrew lot or (original) property holders (5): Philo *Spec.* 2.21.113, 24.121; *Virt.* 17.91, 18.100; *Aet.* 14.73 ('occupants', metaphorically = 'gods')
- a) Philo *Mos.* 1.16.255 κληροῦχον θεόν 'god the apportioner' (1)
- 6) Apportionment of function etc. to gods (2): Aristid. 8.53, 1.92D; 21.269, 1.437D
- 7) Miscellaneous (5): Alexis fr. 89 K: Ἔρμα... Φιλλιππίδου κληροῦχε 'assignee' (cf. Athen. 12.552D-E); Aristid. 14.206, 1.338D: 'inhabitants'; Libanius *Or.* 1.165^e; Soph. *Ajax* 508 (metaphorically = 'lot-holder', cf. *Suda* κ 1788 Adler); *Etym. Mag. s.v.* κλήρος (519.18-20 Gaisford), λέγεται παρὰ Ἀθηναίους κλήρος καὶ μέτρον γῆς ὅθεν καὶ κληροῦχοι οἱ τοὺς κλήρους (τὰ μέτρα) κατέχοντες γῆς; *Etym. Gud.* (p. 327 Sturz); *Suda s.v.* κλήρος (κ 1784 Adler), μέτρον γῆς ὅθεν καὶ κληροῦχοι οἱ τοὺς κλήρους ἦτοι τὰ μέτρα κατέχοντες γῆς
- Cf. ἀκληρούχῃτοι 'those who possess no allotment of land' (*ISmyrna* 2.1.573.102)

F. κατακληρουχέω

- 1) Attic colonization (15): Aelian *VH* 6.1 (Khalkis); D.S. 11.60.2 (Skyros), 70.5 (Amphipolis); 11.88.3 (Perikles in Chersonese); 12.22.2 (Hestiaia); 12.44.2 (Aigina); 12.46.7 (Poteidaia); 12.55.10 (Mytilene); 13.2.2, 30.1 (both plans for Sicily); 16, p. 1.30 (Epitome, Book 16); 18.8.7 (Samos); Libanius *Decl.* 13.1.47 (Euboea); ΣPin. *Nem.* 2.19 (Salamis); Strabo 8.6.16 C375 (Aigina)
- 2) Greek non-Athenian 'colonization', 'allotment' (21): D.S. 4.29.5; 5.15.2, 59.6, 81.8, 83.2, 84.1; 7.13.2; 11.49.1, 76.3, 76.5, 76.6, 90.1 (Sikels under Duketios, cf. fr. 1a); 12.11.1; 12.59.5

(Herakleia in Trakhis); 14.78.3; 15.66.1; 18.11.4; 20.25.2 (land grants of Spartocid Eumelos); 20.40.6; Iamblich. *VP* 35.255; Polyb. 7.10.1

- 3) Roman colonization (10): D.S. 12.34.5; 14.102.4; 19.101.3; D.H. *AR* 2.35.5; 4.27.6; 5.21.1 (those to whom the land of the Tarquins was allotted); Plut. *Ant.* 55.3; Polyb. 2.21.7; 3.40.8; Strabo 5.4.13 C251
- 4) non-Greek (6)
 - a) Egyptian land allocation: D.S. 1.54.6, 67.1, 67.7; cf. 1.73.7
 - b) Arab land distribution: D.S. 3.43.2
 - c) Hebrew conquests: D.S. 40.3.7 (cf. Phot. *Bibl.* 244.380b)
 - d) Phoenicians of Arados: Strabo 16.2.12 C753
- 5) Apportionment of function etc. to celestial powers (1): Damascius *In Parmeniden* 358, 2.216 Ruelle

Notes to Table 1

a D. Hereward, "Notes on an Inscription from 'Hesperia'," *AJA* 60 (1956) 172–74 points out that [κληρῶ]χοι εἰς cannot be followed by a *sigma*, beginning Σάμον, but by an *eta*, *kappa*, or *nu*. That would not agree with any known fourth-century Athenian cleruchy. Some possibilities would be Naxos, Neapolis, Karystos, Eion. See note d directly below.

b At issue is a Samian Decree in honor of Nausinikos of Sestos, who is praised for some action πρὸς τοὺς κληρου[χέοντας] or κληρού[χους]. C. Habicht in his *editio princeps* ("Samische Volksbeschlüsse der hellenistischen Zeit," *MDAI* 72 [1957] 152–274, esp. #2, pp. 164–69) interprets these men to have been Samian settlers established in Anaia on the Asian mainland before their successful return to Samos with the help of Nausinikos and suggests the following restoration for ll. 9–10: περὶ τὸν π[ι] [ἀράπλων (?) τὸν] πρὸς τοὺς κληρου[χέοντας τὰ] Ἀναία. This reconstruction would add to our thin dossier of Greek, non-Athenian attestations of κληρουχέω. If Alexander authorized the occupation of Anaia by these "cleruchs", a case for the use of the cleruchic vocabulary by the Macedonians might be strengthened. Nonetheless, an alternative reconstruction exists. E. Badian revived a discarded suggestion of Habicht, arguing that the cleruchs were Athenians living on Samos against whom Nausinikos helped the exiles ("A Comma in the History of Samos," *ZPE* 23 [1976] 289–94): e.g., περὶ τὸν π[ι] [ὀλεμον τὸν] πρὸς τοὺς κληρού[χους καὶ εἰς] Ἀναία. This solution does entail assuming a good deal less in the episode's partially lost context.

c J. Coupry, *Inscriptions de Délos: période de l'Amphictyonie attico-délienne* 7 (Paris 1972) #104–5, pp. 55–58. The inscription, from 359/8, starts with a fragmentary inventory of expenses, including in l. 13, τοῖς θάψασιν τὸν

κληρῶχον. The editor believes that fourth-century Athenian cleruchs on Delos are at issue. See also P. Roussel, *Délos colonie athénienne*² (Paris 1987) 34. There is no certainty that a non-technical usage of the term is not the case here.

d *IG* II² 1609.89 (a dockyard inventory) has κληρ[ο]χ[α]ρχόντων for a cleruchic expedition, possibly to Samos of 366/5 (see J.K. Davies, "The Date of *IG* II². 1609," *Historia* 18 [1969] 309–33, esp. 320–21, 329–33). B.R.I. Sealey, "IG II². 1609 and the Transformation of the Second Athenian Sea-League," *Phoenix* 11 (1957) 95–111, esp. 97–99, dates to 370/69 on the grounds that the trierarchy of Timotheos noted in the inscription cannot occur in a year in which he was general. G.L. Cawkwell concurs, and suggests that this was not a cleruchic expedition, but the (annual?) provision of a military force (his date is 370/69) for the protection of the cleruchs on Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros ("The Date of *I.G.* II² 1609 Again," *Historia* 22 [1973] 759–61; *id.*, "Notes on the Failure of the Second Athenian Confederacy," *JHS* 101 [1981] 40–55, esp. 51). Given the existence of local magistrates on the islands in question and the paucity (or absence) of references to the colonists as cleruchs while *in situ*, the term κληρουκῆρκῆς is an inappropriate title for such a military office.

e The phrase τοὺς τοῦ Οὐρανίου (or οὐρανοῦ, emended) κληρούχους has been variously interpreted. Libanius is speaking of an intervention on his behalf by Flavius Lupicinus, the *magister equitum* in the East in 364–67 (for whom see A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire 1: A.D. 260–395* [Cambridge 1971] 520–21). It is likely that the orator's detractors were Christians. If the κληρούχους = κληρονόμους 'inheritors', the reference is to the Christians in general. If the κληρούχους can be construed as 'lot-holders', we may have a gibe at Christian priests. See J. Martin and J. Petit, *Libanios Discours* 1 (Paris 1979) 255.

B. THE NATURE OF THE SETTLEMENT

1) EVIDENCE AND TERMINOLOGY

My reconstruction of the early history of the κληρουχ- vocabulary provides a framework for reading the testimonia on the Athenian settlement on Aigina, which contain language that has suggested the existence of a cleruchy. Let me start by presenting the relevant passages.

In general:

Plut. *Per.* 34.2: θεραπεύων δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς [ὄμω]ς ἀσχάλλοντας ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ, διανομαῖς τε χρημάτων ἀνελάμβανε καὶ κληρουχίας ἔγραφεν· Αἰγινήτας γὰρ ἐξελάσας ἅπαντας, διένειμε τὴν νῆσον Ἀθηναίων τοῖς λαχοῦσιν.

(Perikles) mollifying the mass of citizens who were nonetheless in distress on account of the war, he both restored them (or won them over) through

distributions of monies and proposed cleruchies: expelling all the Aiginetans, he distributed the island to those of the Athenians who participated in an allotment.

D.S. 12.44.2: ἐκ δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν οἰκήτορας ἐκπέψαντες κατεκληρούχησαν τὴν τε Αἴγιαν καὶ τὴν χώραν.

(the Athenians) sending settlers out from their citizens, they apportioned both the city of Aigina and its territory.

Strabo 8.6.16 C375–376: ἐπέκησαν δ' αὐτὴν Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Κρήτες καὶ Ἐπιδαῦριοι καὶ Δωριεῖς, ὕστερον δὲ κατεκληρούχησαν τὴν νῆσον Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀφελόμενοι δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν νῆσον ἀπέδοσαν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις οἰκήτορσιν.

The Argives, Cretans, Epidaurians, and Dorians settled it (Aigina) in succession, and later the Athenians apportioned the island. The Lacedaemonians, depriving the Athenians of the island, gave it back to its ancient inhabitants.

Aristophanes (for translations, see pp. 79–80 below):

Arist. *Ach.* 652–54:

διὰ ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν εἰρήνην προκαλοῦνται καὶ τὴν Αἴγιαν ἀπαιτοῦσιν· καὶ τῆς νήσου μὲν ἐκείνης οὐ φροντίζουσ', ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῦτον τὸν ποιητὴν ἀφέλωνται.

Σ*Ach.* 654b (i) [Wilson] ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῦτον τὸν ποιητὴν: ἐγγὺς αὐτῶν λάβωσιν. ἐντεῦθεν τινὲς νομίζουσιν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ τὰς κωμωδίας ποιεῖν τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην διὰ τὸ ἐπειρηνοχέειν αὐτὸν “ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῦτον τὸν ποιητὴν ἀφέλωνται” τὴν Αἴγιαν, οὐχ ὑμᾶς. ταῖς ἀληθείαις εἰς ἣν τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ κληρουχισάντων. οὐδὲν δὲ ἐκώλυε καὶ ἐτέρωθι συγγραφεῖν, εἰ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίου ἢ νήσου ἐγεγόνει. (ii) ἄλλως: οὐδεὶς ἰστόρηκεν ὡς ἐν Αἰγίνῃ κέκτηται τι Ἀριστοφάνης, ἀλλ' εἴκοι ταῦτα περὶ Καλλιστράτου λέγεσθαι, ὅς κεκληρούχηκεν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν Αἰγινητῶν ὑπο Ἀθηναίων.

Theogenes, *FGH* 300 F 2 (= Σ*Plato Apol.* 19C Greene): (Aristophanes) κατεκλήρωσε δὲ καὶ τὴν Αἴγιαν, ὡς Θεογένης ἐν τῷ Περὶ Αἰγίνης.

Plato:

D.L. 3.3: καὶ ἐγεννήθη κατὰ τινὰς ἐν Αἰγίνῃ—ἐν τῇ Φειδιάδου οἰκίᾳ τοῦ Θάλητος, ὡς φησι Φαβωρίνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ—τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων πεμφθέντος κληρούχου καὶ ἐπανελθόντος εἰς Ἀθήνας, ὅπόθ' ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξεβλήθησαν βοηθούτων Αἰγινηταῖς. (= fr. 32 Mensching = fr. 64 Barigazzi; cf. *FHG* 3.580–81, fr. 23)

According to some, he (Plato) was born on Aigina—in the house of Pheidias, son of Thales, as Favorinus says in the “Miscellaneous History”—

since his father had been sent as a cleruch along with others and had returned to Athens, when they were expelled by the Spartans, acting in aid of the Aiginetans.

Anonymous Prolegomena to Platonic Philosophy (ed. L.G. Westerink: Amsterdam 1962) 2.8–10, p. 5: ἐν τόπῳ δὲ γέγονεν ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ, τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀρίστωνος κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ κληρούχου πεμφθέντος ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

His birthplace was on Aigina, since his father Ariston had been sent as a cleruch to Aigina by the Athenians at that point in time.

Cf. *Anon. Vita Platonis* (A. Westermann, *BIOΓΡΑΦΟΙ: Vitarum Scriptores Graeci Minores* [Brunswick 1845] 390.63–65): ἐν τόπῳ δὲ γέγονεν ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ, τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀρίστωνος μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων κληρούχου πεμφθέντος ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

His birthplace was on Aigina, since his father Ariston had been sent as a cleruch to Aigina by the Athenians.

Cf. *Suda s.v. Πλάτων* (π 1707 Adler, p. 141.4–5): ἐτέχθη δ' ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἐν τῇ πη' Ὀλυμπιάδι κατὰ τὰ προοίμια τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου.

He was born on Aigina in the 88th Olympiad at the prelude of the Peloponnesian War.

Let us continue with some further observations on colonial terminology. The notices of Diodorus and Strabo probably descend from Ephorus, whose account may well derive in part from Thucydides: both writers use ἐκπέμπω and οἰκῆτωρ regarding the dispatch of the settlers.¹⁹ As has been observed, κατακληρουχέω is especially common in Diodorus (appearing 38 times), and quite well represented in books 11 and 12, where it appears 15 times. The Athenian examples range from the undoubted Lesbian cleruchy (12.55.10) through both an ambiguous case like the settlement in the Chersonese (11.88.3) and disputed cases like Aigina (12.44.2) and Poteidaia (11.46.7) to colonies like Hestiaia (explicitly an ἀποικία in 12.22.2), Skyros (11.60.2), and the Ennea Hodoi (with allied participation in 11.70.5). It is also hard to believe that Diodorus intended to suggest that the Athenians hoped to turn Sicily into cleruchic land by his use of κατακληρουχέω in his discussion of the expedition against Syracuse (13.2.2; 13.30.1). In the latter

¹⁹ For Ephorus as a source on Aigina, see Figueira, *Aegina* 76–79; *id.*, “The Chronology of the Conflict between Athens and Aigina in Herodotus Bk. 6,” *QUCC* 28 (1988) 49–89, esp. 69–70; *id.*, “Herodotus on the Early Hostilities between Aegina and Athens,” *AJP* 106 (1985) 49–74, esp. 62 and n. 31.

passage, a speech of Gylippos at Syracuse, a sale of the previous inhabitants into slavery is expressly envisioned as a prelude to this "cleruchy". Such an *andrapodismos* 'mass execution/enslavement' appears with none of the better attested cleruchies.

Theogenes uses the rare term *κατεκλήρωσε* for the activity of Aristophanes on Aigina. Even if one translates 'got in allotment', that connotation would surely not entail that the settlement on Aigina was a cleruchy, as similar allotments took place in colonies, in the incorporation of new territory, and in the reallocation of lands. In any case, the interpretation 'got by allotment' is problematical, since it is the middle voice of *κατακληρόω* that carries this sense.²⁰ There are only two attestations of the verb from Greek historians (to my knowledge). In Dio Cassius 78/79.22.5, *κατακληρόω* in the passive has the meaning 'allotted' (cf. Joseph. *AJ* 5.90; Euseb. *Caes. Comm. in Psalm.*, MPG 23.1376.23; [J. Chrys.] *Or.* 2, MPG 63.924.25; Sophonias *In libros Aristotelis De anima paraphrasis*, CAG 23.49.17). In the other historical instance, it is used in the middle voice, and the meaning is 'inherit' or 'come into one's portion' (Plut. *Pomp.* 41.7).

Besides the difficulty that Theogenes offers us the active, the connotations 'get in allotment' and 'inherit' do not provide satisfactory readings with *τὴν Αἴγινα* in the accusative. We should have to understand "he got Aigina in allotment", which would have to be considered a compressed version of "he got an allotment on Aigina."²¹ Yet, it is important not to be influenced by the passages saying Aristophanes was a cleruch into assuming that Theogenes meant to say precisely that. There is a perfectly good meaning for *κατακληρόω* in the active, and it accommodates *τὴν Αἴγινα* quite well. The verbal form in Theogenes elsewhere means 'apportioned':

Arg. Joseph. *AJ* 4.4 Niese: Μωυσῆς... τὴν στρατιὰν ἅπασαν αὐτῶν (the Amorites) διαφθείρας κατεκλήρωσεν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν δυσὶ φυλαῖς καὶ ἡμισείᾳ τῶν Ἑβραίων.²²

Moses... destroying the whole army of the Amorites, allotted their land to two and one half tribes of the Hebrews.

²⁰ Euseb. *Caes. Comm. in Psalm.*, MPG 23.416.46; *Sept. Kings* 1.10.20–21 *ter*; 1.14.42; 1.14.47; cf. 'draw lots': John. Chrys. *Hom.* 14, MPG 49.150 *bis*.

²¹ T. Bergk (in A. Meineke, *Fragmenta poetarum comoediae antiquae* 2 [1840] 934–35) construes as *χωρίον ἐν τῇ Αἴγινῃ*. He also emends *κατεκλήρωσε* to *κατεκληρούχησε*.

²² B. Niese, ed., *Flavii Iosephi Opera* 1 (Berlin 1888) 170.

Although the usage of the verb *κατακληρόω* does not offer further parallels for Theogenes' comment about Aristophanes, the related verb *ἀποκληρόω* does have some striking comparanda.²³ While I will argue that Aristophanes was a settler on Aigina, there is no reason to reject without consideration the implication of Theogenes that he participated in the apportionment of Aigina as an agent and not just as a beneficiary. To determine how this could be so will depend on a consideration of the background to the Athenian settlement (see Chapter 4 below).

Hence these statements on Aigina do not necessitate the settlement being a cleruchy. Rather they give substance to the hypothesis that cleruchic language was used by later authorities with considerable latitude regarding Athenian imperial colonization.

2) ARISTON, FATHER OF PLATO, AS A CLERUCH

The tradition that Ariston, father of Plato, was a cleruch on Aigina raises problems that transcend terminology to involve the nature of the institution of the cleruchy itself and its political purpose.²⁴ The entire question of the eligibility to participate in Athenian settlements abroad must be squarely confronted before we can hope to make an evaluation of the place of Ariston on Aigina. If one follows Plutarch (*Per.* 9.1, 11.6; cf. Libanios *Arg. Dem.* 8.1)²⁵ that cleruchies were an opportunity for upward social mobility for members of the Athenian *dēmos*, it is hard to account for the participation of someone of the economic status of Ariston. As a member of the old Athenian aristocracy, he was at least a hippeus and very probably a pentekosiomedimnos.²⁶ As a member of one of the top two census classes, Ariston makes a strange candidate for inclusion in a cleruchy. The suggestion that he was temporarily impoverished by the war—which was not very advanced in any case—cannot be considered a serious alternative.²⁷ We might also take it for granted that Ariston was not the *oikistēs* 'founder'

²³ Cf. Plut. *Caes.* 51.2; Joseph. *AJ* 15.294; Philo *Spec.* 2.120.2.

²⁴ See A.S. Riginos, *Platonica: The Anecdotes Concerning the Life and Writings of Plato* (Leiden 1976) 33–34. Note also Schmitz 86–87, who upholds the position of Ariston as an upper-class cleruch.

²⁵ For text and translation, see pp. 63–64 below.

²⁶ Davies, *APF* #8792.IX(B), pp. 331–35.

²⁷ E. Mensching, *Favorin von Arelate: Die erste Teil der Fragmente, Memorabilien und Omnigena Historia* (Berlin 1963) 118–19; A. Barigazzi, *Favorino di Arelate: Opere* (Florence 1966) 225–26.

of the settlement.²⁸ I suspect that that "fact" would not have been lost in the biographical tradition on Plato.²⁹ Therefore, it becomes reasonable to ask whether well-to-do Athenians were barred from Attic cleruchies and other settlements abroad.

One way to uphold the tradition that settlement abroad was limited to non-elite Athenians is a confessedly unlikely attempt to explain away Ariston's presence on Aigina. Ariston may have somehow purchased property on Aigina, but was not a colonist. This suggestion, however, collides with some other considerations, in addition to its complete neglect of the direct statements that Ariston was a cleruch. First, there is the curious coincidence of the date of the arrival of settlers on Aigina and the birth of Plato. One tradition emphasizes this very point, perhaps by dating the philosopher's time of birth too early by a year or two.³⁰

Another, somewhat more likely answer, might be that Plato's mother, Periktione, was visiting Aigina when Plato was born. According to Diogenes, Favorinus did say that Plato was born in the house of a certain Pheidiades. Tradition might have remembered his name only for this reason, but there are other, just as reasonable, grounds for the preservation of his name.³¹ In this scenario, Ariston may have sent his wife out of

²⁸ It is unlikely that other officers in a putative cleruchy in which all the settlers were thetes would have been members of the two highest census classes, e.g. officers such as the *apoikistai* mentioned once in ll. 4–5 of the Brea Decree. Note that the *geōnomoi* who divide up the land at Brea (ll. 6–8) and are drawn one from each of the ten tribes need not have stayed on as colonists.

²⁹ The sources on Plato's sale as a slave on Aigina (probably in 387/6) treat his fate as one that faced any Athenian landing on the island (e.g., Favorinus fr. 33 Mensching = fr. 65 Barigazzi *apud* D.L. 3.19; Plut. *Dion* 5.7; Olympiodorus *In Alcib.* 2.121–27; Aristid. 46.233–4, 2.306–7 D; *Index Herculanensis* col. III, 1–4, p. 12 [Mekler], cf. col. X, 16–34; cf. D.S. 15.7.1; Olympiod. *In Gorg.* 41.8). That would hardly have been true if the Aiginetans had had an additional grievance against him because he was the son of the oecist of the colonists who had usurped their property. See Figueira, *RhM* (1990) 41–44.

³⁰ See Neanthes *FGH* 84 F 20, with D.L. 3.2–3, for a date in 429, during the archonship of Epameinon (Ameinias in the sources), while Perikles was still alive. Cf. *Anon. Proleg.* 2.5–8; *Suda* π 1707 Adler. For a later date in 428/7, compare Apollod. *FGH* 244 F 37; Hippolyt. *Philosoph.* 1.8.13 Diels; Philochorus *FGH* 328 F 223; Plato *Ep.* 329A. For a full discussion, see E. Zeller, *Plato and the Older Academy* (London 1876) 2–3.

³¹ Mensching, *Favorin* 118–19 makes several suggestions, e.g., that Plato's father took over the house and that birth in the house of another was a motif for dramatization. His further suggestion (n. 42, p. 33) is preferable, namely that the house was a local attraction pointed out to sightseers, which would explain the naming of Pheidiades. He could then have been an owner, who occupied it before or even after Ariston. The name

Attica in 429–27 owing to fear of a recurrence of the plague. Ariston's status as a cleruch would be a false inference by the doxographers from the fact of Plato's birth on Aigina. Yet, these two hypotheses on the circumstances of Plato's birth are radical, inasmuch as they serve mainly as rationales for discarding the tradition that Ariston was a settler.

Still another approach might be to consider how Athenian colonies were expected to function after their establishment. It may be assumed that the division of *klēroi* in an Athenian colony was along egalitarian lines, the same principle seen in the division of the profits from the Laurion mines early in the fifth century (Hdt. 7.144.1; cf. *Ath. Pol.* 22.7; Plut. *Them.* 4.1; Nepos *Them.* [1] 2.3) and in the apportionment of a gift of Egyptian wheat around mid-century (ΣArist. *Vespae* 718a, b Koster with Philochorus, *FGH* 328 F 119, cf. F 130). If colonies, however, were to be replicas of their mother city (as Thucydides implies in 7.57.2), the presence of wealthier citizens would be necessary to sustain the burdens both of public office and of liturgies. If the principle of equal apportionment still prevailed, the wealthy men of the new settlement would have to have been well-to-do already. In contrast, cleruchies may not have necessitated such economic disparities, because liturgies and offices probably did not exist in them. At Thourioi, we possess ample evidence for affluent non-Athenian colonists.³² It is hard to believe that an Athenian-sponsored colony can have had, as a matter of policy (and not by accident), an exclusively non-Athenian upper class, while Athenians with thetic backgrounds, who were totally dependent on their newly-awarded *κλήροι*, were confined to its middle class.

The most significant piece of evidence on the participation of different census classes in Athenian colonization is offered by the decree establishing the colony at Brea, which carried a limitation of eligibility to zeugites and thetes, but only in an amendment (*IG* I³ 46.40–42 =

Pheidiades is known from Attica (*PA* #14142–47), including two late sixth- and early fifth-century cases: *PA* #14142, #14143, cf. *DAA* #208, pp. 237–38.

³² At Thourioi, Lysias and his brother Polemarkhos were wealthy: *Lys.* 12.10–12, 19; D.H. *Lys.* 1.1; Plut. *Mor.* 835C–D. The Spartan Kleandridas will have been rich, if he retained the bribe money supposedly given by Perikles: Antiochus, *FGH* 555 F 11 (= Strabo 6.1.14 C264); Thuc. 6.104.2; Polyæn. *Strat.* 2.10.1–2, 4–5; cf. Ephorus, *FGH* 70 F 193; *Suda* s.v. *δέον* (δ 243 Adler); Timaeus, *FGH* 566 F 100; D.S. 13.106.10; Plut. *Per.* 22.2–3. Other affluent settlers may have been Hippodamos of Miletos (Hesych., Phot. s.v. *Ἰπποδάμων νέμησις*) and Herodotus (*Suda* s.v. *Ἡρόδοτος* [η 536 Adler]; cf. Diyllos, *FGH* 73 F 3). Dorieus, a member of a Rhodian family of the highest aristocracy, emigrated to the city, but only after its foundation: Xen. *HG* 1.5.19; Paus. 6.7.4 (on whom see Figueira, *Athenaeum* [1988] 548–49). Cf. also Schmitz 84–86.

Meiggs-Lewis #49). One explanation, albeit improbable, of this fact would be to suppose that in the lost beginning of the main decree, provision was made only for the participation of thetes. The addition of the zeugites was an *ad hoc* liberalization of the conditions of allotment. The colony would then be seen to fulfill in the strictest economic terms the function of a cleruchy as presented in Plutarch's *Pericles*. In that case, if the same principle held true for Aigina, the status of Ariston as a cleruch on Aigina would be impossible to explain.

In order to combine the evidence of the Brea Decree on eligibility for colonization and the role of Ariston as a settler on Aigina, another hypothesis must be offered. Consequently, one might argue that the restriction on eligibility in the Brea Decree was borrowed by the amendment to the decree from the restrictions which normally prevailed for *cleruchies*.³³ This supposition is made more likely by the fact that we can determine indirectly that in the Brea Decree zeugites were eligible before the amendment,³⁴ and an initial exclusion of the thetes is most unlikely.³⁵ The amendment then was not extending participation to the zeugites, but limiting it to the thetes and zeugites. Therefore, eligibility for the colony was at first unrestricted, from the standpoint of census class. It would remain, however, uncertain whether the continued eligibility of the zeugites at Brea was a compromise, based on the need for experienced infantry there, or whether the zeugites (along with thetes) were regularly eligible for cleruchies so that the stipulation of the amendment was borrowed for the colony at Brea completely from cleruchic rules. Other colonies may simply have offered a sortition among all those willing to join the new settlement, and the lost 30–35 lines of the inscription may have provided for this dispensation, which was negated by the

³³ No evidence stands in favor of affluent cleruchic settlers in the best attested cleruchies. Schmitz, however, argues for Euthyphron as a upper-class settler on Naxos, which must be a cleruchy and not a colony (p. 86, on the basis of Plato *Euthyphr.* 4C), but the family's status as cleruchs is not evidential—there being other means to acquire the Naxian land—and subsequent enrichment (or recovery of affluence) is possible even for a cleruch. There is also the question whether we need to consider the family as certainly wealthier than the zeugite census, in light of the evidence of the dialogue.

³⁴ Meiggs-Lewis p. 132 remark that the main body of the decree mentions colonists from the *στρατιῶται* (l. 27), which would demand that it was the *thetes* whose eligibility was established by the amendment. A colony which barred the most needy Athenians is extremely unlikely. See also Brunt 71; Meiggs 260–61; Schmitz 82–83.

³⁵ Xen. *Mem.* 2.8.1 presents Eutheros, an Athenian forced to practice a trade because he had lost his property abroad and had been left no estate in Attica. He could be a thetic cleruch or perhaps a colonist (see Gauthier, "Clérouques" 167–68).

amendment. Once again the fourth-century cleruchies are closer to the fifth-century *apoikiai* than to the fifth-century cleruchies in their lack of limitation of participation to the lower census classes.³⁶

If the *eisphora* was truly drawn from the colonists at Hestiaia shortly after its foundation, another indication might thus be provided that Athenians of above average means were eligible for colonies.³⁷ Therefore one may take as literally true the *ὁ βουλόμενος* clause found in Thucydides' treatment of the settlement at Ennea Hodoi: ... *ἐποίκους μυρίους σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν βουλόμενον πέμψαντες* ... ("... sending as 10,000 *epoikoi* anyone willing of themselves and of any others ...") (4.102.2; cf. 1.26.1, 27.1 on the Corinthian settlement at Epidamnus).³⁸

³⁶ See Schmitz 88. Dem. 14.16 envisages exempting from the trierarchic symmories those (among others) out of the 2000 richest Athenians with cleruchic property. Even if one tries (implausibly, in my view) to save the phenomena by positing that these could all be cleruchs enriched after allotment, one would still be left with several difficult cases. A cleruch (*IG* II² 1952.11) had as his father Philinos from Lamptrai (Davies, *APF* #14329, pp. 536–37), who was wealthy enough to be enrolled in the trierarchic symmories (a syntrierarch): *IG* II² 1609.62–63, 90–91 (*pre* 370/69 or 366/5). See also Beister 412. Phorys Meliteus was also a member of a symmory (*IG* II² 1616.75 [*post* 358/7]) and was a *symproedros* on Samos in 346/5 (Michel #832.13), for whom see Davies, *APF* #14964, p. 557. Schmitz 88 n. 46 adduces two others listed on *IG* II² 1952 (ll. 28, 35) as likely matches with individuals on a liturgic catalogue (*IG* II² 1930.8, 16 [383/2]), but, since these are the individuals being replaced, it is hard to know whether to press the point. Schmitz's other pairings of cleruchs and upper-class Athenians known from other sources are separated from each other by too much time to rule out impoverishment in the interim. See also E. Erxleben, "Berufliche Tätigkeiten attischen Kleruchen," *ZA* 25 (1975) 442–46, which discusses the non-agrarian and professional activity of fourth-century cleruchs, necessarily those who seem to have achieved affluence. *IG* II² 30.12 contains in the restoration of Stroud a clause excepting hippeis and pentekosiomedimnoi, but it is uncertain whether general eligibility is at issue or merely the applicability of some provision in property law in the reorganized community on Lemnos. See R.S. Stroud, "Inscriptions from the North Slope of the Acropolis, I," *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 146–204, esp. 171–72, citing S. Luria, "Die lemnische ἀπογραφή (*IG* II² 30 = *IG* II 14)," *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie* (1924) 130–33, esp. 131.

³⁷ *IG* I³ 41.38. Schmitz 89–90 makes this point well, with the necessary reservation that the fifth-century *eisphora* would have to be thought to tax only the wealthier members of the community.

³⁸ Note also Herodotus on the sixth-century colonization of the Chersonese by Miltiades I (6.36.1): *τότε παραλαβὼν Ἀθηναίων πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον μετέχειν τοῦ στόλου ἔπλεε* ... ("he sailed then, taking along anyone who wished to share the expedition"); and D.S. 12.10.4–5 cited in the note immediately following. The anonymous

In this way, the tradition that Ariston was a settler on Aigina could well be correct, but only if we reject the specification of his status as that of a cleruch (in a sense current in the fifth century). Cleruchies may then have been differentiated from colonies in their limitation to thetes (and perhaps to zeugites?). Their composition was a manifestation of their amorphous character as aggregations of Athenian citizens rather than true communities. In conclusion, either we may entirely reject the tradition of Ariston's involvement in a colony, in which case it is no evidence at all about the character of the settlement on Aigina, or we may grant Ariston status as a settler, in which case the settlement was not a cleruchy, but a colony intended to be a fully institutionalized city.

3) PLUTARCH AND THE "AIGINETAN CLERUCHY"

The remaining evidence suggesting that Aigina was a *κληρουχία* and not an *ἀποικία* comes from Plutarch. He seems to have considered Aigina a cleruchy, appending it as an illustration to his general statement of the goal of the Periclean cleruchies in *Per.* 34.2. Nevertheless, Plutarch in another passage, one most important for Athenian colonization (*Per.* 11.5) lists the communities to which Perikles dispatched cleruchs. Included among them is one settlement, Thourioi, that was most certainly not a cleruchy.³⁹ If the settlement among the Thracian Bisaltai is Brea, as seems likely, it too was not a cleruchy (see Table 4). These discrepancies make it a clear likelihood that *κληρουχία* is simply the word used by later authorities (including the Atthidographers) for any fifth-century Athenian colony. The finer distinctions of *ἀποικία*, *ἀποικία* with *ἐποικοι*, and *κληρουχία* visible in this view in Thucydides were no longer observed after the end of the fifth-century *arkhē* with which they must be correlated.

It is certainly no accident that once again the determination of a detail concerning the settlement on Aigina has entailed framing a more general hypothesis concerning the involvement of social groups in Athenian colonization. Let us consider briefly some of the ramifications of the position that has just been taken. No accounting for the aims of Attic cleruchies with regard to the economic well-being of the Athenians can be entirely satisfactory, owing to the contradictory nature of the evidence,

colonial expedition which is provided for in *IG* I³ 47 contains the clause (ll. B 10–11): *ἐάν δὲ ἄλλοι[s τ]ις βόλεται Ἀθηναίον ἐποικέσεν...*

³⁹ D.S. 12.10.4–5: *κοινοποιούμενοι τὴν ἀποικίαν τῷ βουλευμένῳ μετέχειν τῆς ἀποικίας*; Plut. *Mor.* 835D: *τὴν εἰς Σύβαριν ἀποικίαν*; D.H. *Lys.* 1.1: *κοινωνήσων τῆς ἀποικίας*.

which is marked by ancient partisanship. One theme which was prominent in Atthidographic tradition attributes to the cleruchies the specific purpose of relieving the poverty of lower class Athenians.

Plut. *Per.* 9.1: *Ἐπεὶ δὲ Θουκυδίδης μὲν ἀριστοκρατικὴν τινα τὴν τοῦ Περικλέους ὑπογράφει πολιτείαν, "λόγῳ μὲν οὖσαν δημοκρατίαν, ἔργῳ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχήν", ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ πρῶτον ὑπ' ἐκείνου φασὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ κληρουχίας καὶ θεωρικὰ καὶ μισθῶν διανομὰς προαχθῆναι, κακῶς ἐθισθέντα καὶ γενόμενον πολυτελεῖ καὶ ἀκόλαστον ὑπὸ τῶν τότε πολιτευμάτων ἀντὶ σῶφρονος καὶ αὐτουργοῦ, θεωρεῖσθω διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν ἡ αἰτία τῆς μεταβολῆς.*

Since Thucydides describes the political dispensation under Perikles as an aristocratic one, 'being a democracy in word, but in deed a government by the leading man'; many others say that, for the first time the *dēmos* was led on by him for cleruchies, theoric disbursals, and distributions of payments, becoming disordered in its habits, extravagant, and insolent, under the influence of prevailing political practices instead of moderate and self-sufficient; let the cause of the transformation now be considered through the events themselves.

Per. 11.4–6: *διὸ καὶ τότε μάλιστα τῷ δήμῳ τὰς ἡνίας ἀνείλ οὗ Περικλῆς ἐπολιτεύετο πρὸς χάριν, αἰεὶ μὲν τινα θέαν πανηγυρικὴν ἢ ἐστίασιν ἢ πομπῇ εἶναι μηχανώμενος ἐν ἄστει, καὶ διαπαιδαγωγῶν οὐκ ἀμούσοις ἡδοναῖς τὴν πόλιν, ἐξήκοντα δὲ τριῆρεις καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκπέμπων, ἐν αἷς πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἔπλεον ὀκτῶ μῆνας ἔμμισθοι, μελετῶντες ἅμα καὶ μαθησάμενοι τὴν ναυτικὴν ἐμπειρίαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις χιλίους μὲν ἔστειλεν εἰς Χερρόνησον κληρούχους, εἰς δὲ Νάξον πεντακοσίους, εἰς δ' Ἀνδρον τοὺς ἡμίσεις τούτων, εἰς δὲ Θράκην χιλίους Βισάλταις συνοικήσοντας, ἄλλους δ' εἰς Ἰταλίαν οἰκισομένης Συβάρεως, ἣν Θουρίους προσηγόρευσαν. καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπραττεν ἀποκουφίζων μὲν ἀργοῦ καὶ διὰ σχολὴν πολυπράγμονος ὄχλου τὴν πόλιν, ἐπανορθούμενος δὲ τὰς ἀπορίας τοῦ δήμου, φόβον δὲ καὶ φρουρὰν τοῦ μὴ νεωτερίζειν τι παρακατοικίζων τοῖς συμμάχοις.*

Therefore, at that time, Perikles, really loosening the reins on the *dēmos*, conducted politics based on gratification, always devising in the city some mass spectacle, some feasting at public expense, or some procession, and guiding the city like a child with pleasures not uncouth, and sending out 60 triremes each year, in which many of the citizens sailed with pay for eight months, while at the same time honing and gaining maritime expertise. In addition to these, he sent 1000 cleruchs to the Chersonese, 500 to Naxos, to Andros one-half this number, 1000 of them to Thrace to settle among the Bisaltai, and others to Italy, since Sybaris was being settled, which (colony) they named Thourioi. And he did these things, relieving

the city from the mob, idle and *polypragmōn* 'meddlesome' on account of free time, while correcting the material wants of the *dēmos*, and settling some fear and watch on the allies against rebellion.

Liban. *Arg. Dem.* 8.1: ἔθος δὲ ἦν τοῦτο παλαιὸν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὅσοι πένητες ἦσαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀκτήμονες οἶκοι, τούτους πέμπειν ἐποίκους εἰς τὰς ἔξω πόλεις τὰς ἑαυτῶν, καὶ ἐλάμβανον πεμπόμενοι ὅπλα τε ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου καὶ ἐφόδιον.

There was this long-standing practice for the Athenians, that, however many of them were poor and without property at home, to send these as *epoikoi* 'supplementary settlers' to their cities abroad, and that those dispatched took arms and travel money at public expense.

In Plutarch's *Pericles*, the nature of participation in colonies and cleruchies is not discussed for its own sake. It is chiefly introduced for the purposes of substantiating or amending a controversial proposition, namely that Perikles was the first demagogue, a man who corrupted the Athenian *dēmos* by improper expenditure of public monies, and by a demoralizing series of measures aimed at indulging short-term material interests. The issue is further confused by the combination of all settlements abroad into a single category as the list that follows in *Per.* 11 shows. Both colonies and cleruchies won favor for Perikles by transferring resources to members of the *dēmos*, just like the salaries and naval services also mentioned. I have suggested that this terminological generalization indicates institutional and semantic evolution in which the term *κληροῦχος* came to stand in the fourth century for any Athenian settler. Nonetheless, the difficulties with Plutarch's treatment of fifth-century colonization transcend semantics (see Chapter 3, section A). In the fourth century, more affluent Athenian cleruchs, and, in the fifth century, wealthy non-Athenian colonists are both attested in Athenian colonies, a circumstance that one would never surmise on the basis of these passages. Drawing on what is presumably the same Attidographic sources, Libanius makes a similar point. Moreover, he is speaking of a colonial policy which supposedly continued through the fourth century, for he is referring to the cleruchs of the fourth-century Chersonese.

The negative appraisal of Perikles, which Plutarch presumably drew from Attidography for *Per.* 9.1, is at odds with that portrayed by Thucydides, not only in his famous praise from which Plutarch cites (2.65.4–13), but generally in the first two books of his history. Drawing on the favorable perspective on the statesman, other responses to his colonial policy were possible. Plutarch's discussion in chapter 11 begins

as an explanation why Perikles embarked on the policy described in the passage quoted. Not only is there an apologetic potentiality here—political survival impelled Perikles to partisanship—but a favorable "spin" can be given to colonization in particular. In *Per.* 11.6 Plutarch presents colonization as a corrective for the vices of the *dēmos*, a means of providing resources for honest subsistence. Here, Perikles is an aristocratic *corrector morum*, offering "workfare" not "welfare", in pejorative terms toward the *dēmos* with which all but the most extreme oligarch would be comfortable. Here too a rationale, the security of the *arkhē*, is adduced out of the realm of external politics, a justification which can never entirely lose its attraction. Moreover, we have already seen that patriotic attitudinizing of the fourth century as represented by Isocrates assumes the same perspective (p. 25 above). Once again, that same theme appears with a panhellenic twist with regard to an individual colony in Plutarch's discussion of the conveyance of settlers to the Chersonese (19.1, cited on p. 19 above). In another passage, still one more approach to Perikles as colonizer is featured: in *Per.* 34.1, the "cleruchies" and the settlement on Aigina in particular are explained as measures taken in response to the pressures of the war.

Accordingly, it is quite unlikely that the passages just cited ought to be read to demonstrate the restriction of colonies and even cleruchies to the thetes. Perikles was a crucial figure not only in the history of Athens as an imperial power, but also in the evolution of Athenian politics and especially statesmanship.⁴⁰ For the purposes of polemicizing over an appraisal of him, the only precondition in the reality of Athenian colonization was likely to have been that it entailed a transfer of resources to poorer Athenians that was significant in qualitative and quantitative terms. Several reconstructions of the participation in colonies by different economic strata will satisfy this condition. My own solution is that cleruchies were recruited from the thetes (or, less likely, from the thetes and zeugites), and that *ἀποικίαι* were open to all, but that poorer Athenians were important beneficiaries of all settlements

⁴⁰ If the argument is correct that thetic participation in cleruchies was balanced to an extent by the role of other classes in other types of colonies, contemporaries may have found it harder than did later Athenians to portray colonization as class-oriented policy. The pseudo-Xenophontic *Athenaion Politeia* is quite reticent on colonization, which may be an indication that contemporary oligarchic opponents of Perikles found little material there for playing on the tensions between social groups. See below, Chapter 7, pp. 234–35.

abroad.⁴¹ A concomitant to the centrality of the figure of Perikles in the Atthidographic treatment of imperial colonization is the probable absence of any portrait of colonization in institutional terms in Atthidography. Just as references to cleruchies and other forms of colonization are lacking in the Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia*, the *Atthides*, which were that work's sources in its historical section, may not have offered much on the legalities and procedures of colonial policy.

C. CLERUCHS, COLONISTS, AND CITIZENS

There is also another assumption that has bedeviled the scholarly discussion of the categories of fifth-century Athenian colonies and colonists, namely the civic status of those settling abroad. The realization that Athenian colonies drew from all census classes makes a determination of the citizenship of colonists and cleruchs acutely problematical. Traditionally, the discussion concerning whether a settlement is a cleruchy or not has been held to entail a determination whether the settlers retained their citizenship or not. Cleruchs remained citizens, but colonists did not.⁴² Must we opt then for the settlers on Aigina losing their citizenship, once we declare Aigina to have been an *ἀποικία*? Do cleruchs alone maintain their citizenship, while *ἀποικοι* and *ἐποικοι* do not? The answer to these questions is no, because fifth-century *ἀποικοι* did not surrender their citizenship.

Our discussion of Aigina has already yielded one indication of the retaining of citizenship in an *apoikia*. This clue is implied in the second of my favored options for explaining the tradition on the participation of Ariston, father of Plato, in the settlement on Aigina: he was an upper-class colonist.⁴³ Does anyone imagine that an Athenian noble would have relinquished his citizenship in order to go out as a colonist? No *κλήρος* made in an egalitarian manner by the Athenians could have

⁴¹ Chapter 6, section A contains a discussion of the social history of Athenian colonization on this basis.

⁴² Note Busolt-Swoboda, *GSK* 1.229, 2.1276; also *ATL* 3.285–86; Jones 168; Graham 189; Beister 408; cf. Brunt, esp. 75–79.

⁴³ The nature of the evidence forces this argument into a shape that is somewhat lacking in elegance, although it is not technically circular. I have used the upper-class status of Ariston to show that Aigina was not a cleruchy, and then employed his involvement on Aigina to demonstrate that colonists continued to be citizens. The converse sequence is possible, yielding an acceptable (if untrue, in my opinion) first stage: since Ariston must remain a citizen, Aigina was a cleruchy. However, the next step is particularly *ad hoc*: since Ariston must be a cleruch, he must either have become impoverished or cleruchs could come from even the highest census class.

served as so strong an inducement. Moreover, even if we discard the case of Ariston because he or his wife was a visitor to Aigina (an option explored earlier), there is still the involvement of Aristophanes in the colony (about which more will be said in Chapter 3). The public-spirited and didactic dramatist is as an unlikely a candidate for a loss of citizenship as the aristocratic father of Plato.

There are also many other considerations that can be presented to support the same conclusion: colonists and cleruchs alike retained citizenship after leaving Attica.

1) Aigina is so close to Athens, effectively nearer by sea than many places in the interior of Attica, that it appears unreasonable that colonists transplanted so short a distance would have been expected to undergo so radical a change in civic status.⁴⁴ If one believes that the Aiginetan *epoikoi* kept their citizenship, one must generalize to all epoikic colonists, inasmuch as it is difficult to maintain that the members of a single category could differ in so basic a characteristic.

2) The evidence of funerary inscriptions from Poteidaia seems to indicate that the fifth-century *epoikoi* continued to be Athenian citizens after their arrival. One gravestone, which was found at Ay. Mamas during the Olynthos excavations, appears to be a stray from Poteidaia.⁴⁵ Another group of stelai has been found at Poteidaia itself, during excavations of a cemetery of the late fifth and early fourth centuries.⁴⁶ The appearance of three tribal designations on these stelai, an unusual feature on contemporary grave monuments, was probably a peculiarity of colonial nomenclature. Perhaps it was meant to emphasize continued membership in an Athenian tribe, and thereby citizenship.

3) No imperial colony which is known to contain Athenian settlers paid tribute. Colonies which do pay tribute seem to have been non-citizen colonies: Erythrai, Kolophon, and Notion.⁴⁷ The rationale for this

⁴⁴ See Brunt 78. The proverbial expression *σκήριαν δίκην* shows that even the more distant islands had regular intercourse with Attica, to the extent that absence on Skyros, Lemnos, or Imbros was a standard excuse (ridiculed by the comic poets) for those attempting to avoid appearing in court (Poll. 8.81; *Suda* s.v. *σκήριαν δίκην* [σ 714 Adler]; Hesych. s.v. *Ἰμβριος καὶ Λήμνιος*). See Foucart 358–59.

⁴⁵ D.M. Robinson, "Inscriptions from Macedonia, 1938," *TAPA* 49 (1938) 43–76, esp. #11, pp. 58–59: Π[ολύχενος] Μ[εζίο] Σ[ουνιεύς] Λ[εωντίδος].

⁴⁶ Rhomiopoulou, *AAA* (1974) 190–98, reports eight grave stelai. Four stelai bear five names with demotics, of which two names also offer a tribal designation. Cf. L. Robert, *REG* (1976), *BE* #458, p. 243; Moggi n. 148, p. 44. See also *AR* (1981–1982) 37.

⁴⁷ For examples, note Erythrai: *IG* I³ 268.II.27 (444/3); Kolophon: *IG* I³ 266.I.10 (446/5), 270.I.11 (442/1); Notion: *IG* I³ 285.I.95 (421/0).

condition will have been that the colonists served in allied units which were somehow still a part of the Athenian military, and perhaps also that they possessed financial responsibilities as Athenian citizens.

4) The instructions to Aphytis specify that an oath is to be sworn both to the Athenian *ἐποίκοι* at Poteidaia and to the Athenians themselves (IG I³ 62.8–9: [ὥ]μοσαν Ἀφυταῖοι τ[οῖς] ἐποίκοι[s] τ[οῖς] ἐμ Ποτειδαία[ι καὶ Ἀθηνα]ι[ῶ]ις...). The rationale for this provision is almost certainly the fact that the colonists at Poteidaia were the chief upholders of Athenian interests in the Khalkidike, who, in the midst of the war, probably had military responsibilities for security there. It is highly unlikely that such an oath would have been exacted in precisely this formula, if the Poteidaian *ἐποίκοι* did not continue to be Athenian citizens.

5) Although arguments from silence are inevitably frail, it is significant that there is no known reference to any individual who lost his citizen rights by participation in a colony. This lack of attestation is all the more strange, because many colonists must have been driven by Lysander's fleet back into Attica after Aigospotamoi. Given the litigiousness of the Athenians, it is incongruous that no one is known to have ever questioned the timing of such returns from colonies into citizenship at home. It is also odd that there is no trace that the Thirty Tyrants legislated on this subject, as it would have been obviously to their advantage to curtail the recovery of citizenship by embittered settlers who had returned from abroad, and who would have had their disproportionate share of pro-imperialists and anti-Spartans. Some also might still have had the wherewithal to be classed among the 3000. How the colonists, however, recovered their civil rights so unobtrusively (as they must have done) would rank as one of the greatest mysteries of Athenian constitutional studies.⁴⁸ The only way to obviate these objections while still reserving citizenship for cleruchs would be to argue that most Athenian settlements abroad were cleruchies, with the result that a correspondingly few colonists were at hand to return to Attica at the end of the war.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Cf. Brunt 75–77. Graham 248, who, however, envisages a “law of return”. There is nothing implausible about the existence of such legislation. I posit a sixth-century analogue below (Chapter 5, section A). What would be remarkable is that it operated without leaving a trace of contention in our source material.

⁴⁹ The retention of citizenship by colonists' children would depend on an adherence to the Periclean citizenship law. That may not have proved too difficult on Aigina or Melos, but would have been much harder to accomplish in the large mixed colonies like Amphipolis. Clearly, the records and procedures of a mixed community could never

6) The idea that citizens of imperial Athens (even thetes) would have given up the considerable material and psychological advantages of citizenship, especially in return for a one-shot infusion of resources, is improbable. Such a policy ill accords with the fostering of collective pride that was so much a part of the rhetoric of pre-war Athens. Can a Perikles who consigned Athenians to non-citizenship in colonies be reconciled with the Perikles of the Thucydidean *Epitaphios*? A comparison with the Latin colonies of the Romans is instructive. Within an aristocratic or oligarchic polity, poor plebeians were willing to relinquish their citizenship, but only a citizenship of which the prerogatives and opportunities for active participation in politics were far fewer than those available to the Athenians. The same set of factors which made Athenian citizenship more jealously guarded against outsiders than Roman citizenship (consider the status of freedmen, for example) probably promoted its retention.

7) At Hestiaia, which was probably an *apoikia* (see Chapter 1, section A and Table 4), colonists paid an *eisphora* (IG I³ 41.38–39). Such a stipulation could be taken as proof of citizenship, unless one is ready to argue that their condition was equated with that of the metics. Perhaps one might contend that it is not the Athenian *eisphora* that is at issue in the inscription, but a local analogue.⁵⁰ This, however, must surely be

establish Athenian citizenship by themselves, even if we assume that the community remained consistently loyal to Athens. Athenian Amphipolitans, for example, might have faced difficulties keeping in contact with their demesmen, in the case that they aspired to return to the exercise of citizenship in Attica. The Lemnians who listed themselves under Cleisthenic tribes early in the fifth century (see Appendix B) may have intended to maintain their citizenship, but by mid-century the claims of many were no longer recognized by the government in Athens. So too, had the *arkhē* continued into the fourth century, the descendants of these imperial settlers might have encountered difficulties in returning to active citizenship in Attica. Fourth-century Athenian colonies, which were virtually all cleruchies, seem to have had Athenian citizens exclusively, and had to have their own institutional means for corroborating claims to citizenship. The traditions on the life of Epicurus demonstrate one aspect of this process, the duty that the young cleruch return for service in the ephebate (D.L. 10.1; Strabo 14.1.18 C638). To a certain extent, problems in the intergenerational retention of citizenship were provided against. In Isaeus 6.13, dated to 364, the fact that a woman was a Lemnian was supposedly adduced to gain a delay when the citizenship of the mother of two young men was under dispute. Some latitude had to be given to Athenians living abroad in upholding their citizenship.

⁵⁰ A supplementary *eisphora* is attested in (presumably) fourth-century Poteidaia: [Aris.] *Oec.* 1347a18–24. Cf. M. Moggi, “L'*eisphorà* dei coloni ateniesi a Potidea ([Aristot.] *Oec.* 2,2,5 [1347a]),” *QUCC* 1 (1979) 137–42.

held a less likely alternative for the fifth century.⁵¹ Capital levies of this type were keenly resented; one would therefore need to invent some special reason for its creation at Hestiaia. That the provision is a matter of the Athenian *eisphora* must count as a simpler option. The liability for the Hestiaians to serve militarily and to pay the *eisphora* are parts of the same constellation of Athenian civic responsibilities.

8) Thucydides seems to treat the Athenian colonists present at Amphipolis when Brasidas attacked as Athenian citizens. Brasidas addressed his offer of terms in part to 'Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἐνόντων 'Athenians being present' (4.105.2), and gave them the option of staying (explicitly as members of the citizen body: τὸν μὲν βουλόμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τῆς ἴσης καὶ ὁμοίας μετέχοντα μένειν) or withdrawing.⁵² The decision to surrender was conditioned by the predominance of non-Athenians βραχὺ μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἐμπολιτεῖον, τὸ δὲ πλεον ξύμμεικτον, who were fearful for their relatives left outside the walls. Moreover, the Athenians themselves saw the moderate terms as offering a safe means of escape. Thereupon the Athenians withdrew (4.106.1), presumably to continue to enjoy their civic rights elsewhere in the *arkhē* or at home. The silence of Thucydides on that account is again eloquent. The counter-argument that Brasidas' terms refer only to transient, non-Amphipolitan Athenians (e.g., those in the area on personal business) is strained, because it implies that the Athenians of 4.105.2 and 4.106.1 might be two different groups. It also raises the question why nothing is said in Brasidas' terms about the Amphipolitans of Athenian extraction, and why Brasidas felt he had to offer Athenian transients citizenship in his reorganized Amphipolis.⁵³ If the colonists at Amphipolis, relatively distant from Attica, expected to maintain their citizenship among the much more numerous

⁵¹ Cf. e.g. Foucart 354.

⁵² His very language echoes the *δ βουλόμενος* clauses in proclamations when colonies were founded. This fact may suggest that a refoundation of Amphipolis is implicit even at this early stage of the Spartan intervention. Brasidas was later honored as the *oecist* of Amphipolis (Thuc. 5.11.1).

⁵³ Brunt 74–75; cf. F. Hampl, "Poleis ohne Territorium," *Klio* 32 (1939) 1–60, esp. 2–5; Graham 245–48, whose cogent analysis unfortunately stops short of admitting the citizenship of the Athenian settlers, opting instead for Thucydidean inattention to "distinctions of legal citizenship." As for the contention that "Such discrimination would hardly be endured by the settlers of non-Athenian origin," the following must be remembered: 1) the settlers were subjects of the Athenians in any case so that sharing citizenship with Athenian settlers could be considered an elevation in status; 2) considerable economic and fiscal advantages went along with participation in an Athenian colony; 3) the non-Athenians betrayed the Athenians, hardly a token of their lack of resentment.

other settlers, it is *a fortiori* probable that the colonists on nearby Aigina (where they numerically dominated) and at most points in between continued to be citizens also.

9) *IG I³ 237* seems to be establishing the responsibilities for paying certain taxes.⁵⁴ Although the text is fragmentary, the stipulations outlined therein appear to apply to both *apoikiai* and to cleruchies. This would make best sense if the inhabitants of both classes of colonial entity possessed the same civil rights.

10) The colonists to Brea received special guarantees that no proposal could legally be made to alter the arrangements promulgated for their colony (*IG I³ 46.24–29*). This clause is an unusually stringent constraint upon the legislative freedom of the Athenian *dēmos*, which seems to transcend comparable engagements with other allies (cf. *IG I³ 40.10*). An embassy of the colonists would act as a sort of *pre-boulē* to initiate legislation, when the colony deemed amendments to its founding law necessary (ll. 29–30).⁵⁵ That degree of input seems to suggest that the colonists remained citizens, and that these special measures were to help them gain access to Athenian legislative processes, equivalent to that of citizens living in Attica.

The coping stone to the argument that both cleruchs and colonists retained their Athenian citizenship in colonization of the fifth century is the record of the experiences of the Plataians during the Peloponnesian War. Whether we date their *isopoliteia*, if that is a correct term for their relationship to the Athenians, to the late sixth century or to some other date, they were Athenian citizens in the full sense after their evacuation to Athens in 431 and continued to possess citizenship down into the fourth century.⁵⁶ Just like the Aiginetan colonists, the Plataians, although they were citizens, could serve in their own military unit (Thuc. 4.67.5; Paus. 1.29.12). In 421, the Plataians were settled in Skione (Thuc. 5.32.1). Yet, there is no hint that their years at Skione were an interlude in which they were not citizens. Indeed, Arist. *Ran.* 693–94 (with scholia, cf. *Ran.* 31–34 and Hellanicus, *FGH* 323a F 25) establishes that the slaves given citizenship after Arginoussai were classed as

⁵⁴ Note Beister 407.

⁵⁵ Compare D.M. Lewis, "Entrenchment Clauses in Attic Decrees," in D.W. Braeden and M.F. McGregor eds., *Φορος: Tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt* (Locust Valley NY 1974) 81–89, esp. 85.

⁵⁶ Note Thuc. 3.55.3, 63.2; Lys. 23.2; Isoc. 12.94; [Dem.] 59.104–6; Isoc. 14.51. A full discussion is contained in Chapter 5, section B.

Plataians.⁵⁷ Thus the Plataian colonists remained citizens while settled at Skione.

It is proper to conclude then that fifth-century Athenian colonists as well as cleruchs retained their Athenian citizenship. *Apōikoi* possessed a status which might truly be called sympolity, since *ἀποικίαι* were *poleis* with a form of local citizenship.⁵⁸ Accordingly, colonies, colonies with *epoikoi*, and cleruchies were not distinguished from each other by a loss or retention (respectively) of Athenian citizenship by their settlers, but by some other criterion.

The hypothesis which my argument is testing is one based on the Lesbian cleruchy of Thucydides and on the semantic study of the *κληρουχ*-vocabulary above. It is that cleruchs differed from colonists in that they did not belong to functionally self-standing communities.⁵⁹ That distinction, in turn, became inoperative in the fourth century, when virtually all Athenians sent to *settlements* abroad were cleruchs, and cleruchies were entities with *political* institutions.⁶⁰ Thus, it is understandable that there are no inscriptions recording enactments or public business until the fourth century; evidence for dedications *does* exist, however. This observation is reinforced by the absence in surviving Athenian documents of legislation about cleruchs as communities rather than aggregations of people sharing a particular status.⁶¹ Hampl applied to Athenian cleruchies his idea that *mētropoleis* continued to

⁵⁷ That may mean that they received citizenship with the same conditions as the Plataians, for which see [Dem.] 59.104–6. Note also Arist. *Ran.* 693–96; D.S. 13.97.1. Cf. Justin 5.6.5–6. In general, see *HCT* 2.339–40; M.J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens* (Brussels 1981–1983) 3/4.31–34. Cf. Foucart 325.

⁵⁸ The fourth-century evidence again supplements my argument, but its application is confused by the classification of all Athenian colonies as cleruchies (see above, pp. 45–46). Note the relevant phrasing on Poteidaia: [Aris.] *Oec.* 1347a18: Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ οἰκοῦντες; [Dem.] 7.10: Ἀθηναίων οἱ ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ κατοικοῦντες; Dem. 23.103: τοῖς Χερρόνησον οἰκοῦσι τῶν πολιτῶν. Note also the inscriptions cited in n. 15 in this chapter. See Foucart 348–51, who opts for citizenship for all Athenian cleruchs (= colonists).

⁵⁹ See Foucart 365–67; Gschnitzer 101–10, Busolt-Swoboda, *GSK* 2.1123–24, 1277–79, and Schmitz 90–92 discuss the evidence for magistrates, some sent from Athens and others locally chosen, deliberative organs and their legislation, and liturgies of fourth-century cleruchies.

⁶⁰ This was a substantial change in the semantics of the terminology which reflected considerable evolution in Athenian self-representation. See Chapter 7, section B.1 for a discussion of this topic.

⁶¹ Any officials in fifth-century Athenian cleruchies were probably supervisors sent out from Athens.

own the territory of their colonies.⁶² In reference to *ἀποικίαι*, including the Athenian cases, this position confuses two types of ownership, legal possession of property and hegemonal possession of subject places.⁶³ Nonetheless, in my understanding of the cleruchy, where it is not a *polis*, a condition which approached “metropolitan” ownership may have existed for cleruchic land, which may not have been transferred or inherited in principle as private property.

Consequently, evolution in terminology shapes later Attic historiography. We can then conclude, for example, that, if Plutarch found the title “cleruchy” applied to Aigina or to any other Athenian overseas settlement in one of the Attidographers or in some intermediary, the local historian was using the contemporary term which came closest to describing the nature of that colony: *κληρουχία* had evolved so that it covered cases like fifth-century Aigina, perhaps better than it described the circumstances of true fifth-century cleruchies.

ENDNOTE A: ANTIPHON FR. 7

We possess a tantalizing piece of evidence on Athenian fifth-century cleruchies in Antiphon fr. 7 [Blass-Thalheim], but it is subject to such obscurities that it cannot bear the weight of a structural position in an argument about the nature of the *κληρουχία* and the *ἀποικία*. Arguably, however, this reference can be accounted for suitably within the reconstruction that has already been argued. From the speech *Περὶ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ* (II), only a single phrase survives, which is printed by the editors with a crucial emendation of Sauppe as follows: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀπωκίσθην Ἀθήναζε καὶ ἀπηλλάγην τῆς κληρουχίας. For an interpretation of this fragment, the sense of *ἀποικίσθην* must be considered first. A translation in which the two clauses commented on the same act in different ways might be “for when I left the colony for Athens and was separated from the cleruchy.” Such an understanding might establish that cleruchs were residents in their cleruchies and might even undermine my posited distinction between colonies and cleruchies. (Note Schmitz 93 n. 62.)

Nonetheless, when it is used of a person (cf. Polyb. 9.27.8), *ἀπωκίσθην* is more likely to have a meaning such as ‘was sent away’ (or ‘was given away for adoption’: Plut. *Aem.* 35.1; cf., in the active voice, Hom. *Od.* 12.136; Soph. *Tr.* 955), ‘was placed apart’ (Plato *Pol.* 284E; Ach. Tat. *Leuc. et Clit.* 1.17), ‘was banished’ (cf., in the active, Eur. *Hipp.* 629; *El.* 1008), ‘was sent to dwell apart (or as a colonist)’ (Plato *Euthyd.* 302C; *Rep.* 519C; D.S. 3.3.3; cf. Thuc. 1.24.2, 8; in the active, Isoc. 4.36). See Casevitz, *Vocabulaire* 130–33. All these

⁶² Hampl, *Klio* (1939) 1–5, 7–25, 29–40; Gschnitzer 90–97 continues this perspective.

⁶³ Cf. Will, *Nouvelle Clío* (1954) 419–21; Graham 188–89, 201–6.

meanings seem strange in the mouth of an Athenian cleruch, who next says Ἀθήναζε 'to Athens'. Moreover, ἀπηλλάγην τῆς κληρουχίας could mean 'departed', but could also mean 'was set free of'. These observations, combined with the title of the speech, might suggest that the speaker was a person of dubious extraction whose misadventures included enslavement (and a period of duress on a cleruchic holding?).

Yet, the original text reads ἀπώκεις τὴν Ἀθήναζε (L. Bachman, *Anecdota* [Leipzig 1828] 1.40.19–27, s.v. Ἀθηναίε). This will yield an acceptable sense: 'when you were colonizing the place nearer Athens and I had been separated from the cleruchy'. The speaker has in mind some interlocutor (his opponent in court?), whose identity has already been revealed to the jurors, and who also had already been connected with an Athenian colony near to Attica. Both interlocutor and speaker were involved in settlement abroad, the former in a colony and the latter in a cleruchy. The interlocutor's colony may have been involved with the *andrapodismos* of the speech's title or the possibility of an allotment in a third settlement may have been disputed. The speaker could have been establishing a history of his and his interlocutor's grants of property from the Athenian government in order to establish eligibility, entitlement, or ownership of persons or property connected with the *andrapodismos* 'mass execution of males with enslavement of women and children'.

ENDNOTE B: IG I³ 47

IG I³ 47 appears to contain instructions for the conveyance of colonists to an unknown site. It is dated on epigraphic grounds to 440–25. The text is unfortunately very fragmentary. I reproduce here the text of the IG I³.

Face A

-----ασ[. . .]
-----σont[. . .]
-----εσ ἐπειδ[α]-
5 [ν-----τριάκο]ντα ἑμερὼν
-----φα λαβέν τὸς ἀ-
[ποίκος-----] ἄλλει γέει ἐφ' ἐν
[-----χρεῖσθα]ι δὲ τοῖς ἐμπορί-
[οις-----] δ]ε μὲ ἐ ἡ Ἀθηναῖοι π-
-----ν μὲ παρακαθιστάνα-
10 [ι-----] ? λαβόντων δ]ε ἡοι ἄποικοι εἴκοσι

[δραχμὰς ἐφόδια?-----] ἡ]εκάστο καὶ τὸς κοπέας το-
-----αι μυρίος καὶ τὼν τελὼν κλ-
[-----περὶ δ]ε τῷ χρόνῳ ἡε νέα βολὴ : δικασ[ά]-
[το-----] ἡόσπε]ρ χσυνέβαλον ἐ διέθε[ν]το επ[. . .]
15 [-----] ἡ]ο ἄποικος προστ[.¹⁰]
-----ρ[.¹⁸]

Face B

[.⁷ . . .] ἀπο-----
[.⁶ . . .] μδεθε[-----] ? ἡόσοι δὲ]
[ηνπ]εὺθυνοί ε]ισι ----- οἱ]-
[κέ]σοντας, ἐπειδὰν τὰς εὐθ[ύνας] δῶσιν-----]
5 [.] ε]σι ἐ δεμοσίαι τὸν γραφσά[μενον] -----τριά]-
[κ]οντα ἡεμερὼν οἰκέσοντας -----
[.] ν γράφσονται ἡέκοντες δ[-----] τρι]-
[ά]κοντα ἡεμερὼν [ἐπ]ειδὰν [ἡέκοσι Ἀθέναζε] -----]
[. .] s τὸς πρέσβες τὸς ἡέκ[οντας] παρὰ ----- ? ἡο δὲ χρόνος τ]-
10 [ἔ]s α]ῦριον ἡεμέρας ἀρχσ[άτο] -----· ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλο]-
[s τ]is βόλεται Ἀθηναῖο[ν] ἐποικέσεν -----]
[.] ἐχσ]έστο αὐτῷ προσ[γράφεσθαι] -----]
[. .] α' τοῦτος δὲ προσ-----
[π]ρέσβες ἀποίκος -----
15 [.] γ]ράφσονται με -----
[. .] s τὼν χσένων -----
[. . . .] αι δίκεν -----

There are only a limited number of colonies which are known to have been founded in the period in question. The colonies in Asia, for the most part, were non-citizen (like Erythrai, Kolophon, and Notion; see Table 4 with note o for other suggestions)—Sinope appears a fortuitous occurrence—and may be ruled out. That this inscription does concern a citizen colony is established by lines B 10–11 and the provision for those undergoing *euthunai* (B 3–4). The best possibilities appear to be Amphipolis, Aigina, and Poteidaia.

A 4, cf. B 5–6, 7–8: . . . τριάκο]ντα ἑμερὼν: This may be restored in these contexts on the basis of the Brea Decree (IG I³ 46.32–34). There it is connected both with the departure of subsequent settlers and with the time limit for

initiating the colonial expedition. Nonetheless, there were presumably similar limits on many facets of the process (cf. *IG* I³ 14.15, 105.39).

A 5–6: One might restore ἀντίγραφα λαβέντος ἀ[ποίκος for a stipulation that ‘transcripts’ or ‘copies’ of the rosters of colonists or perhaps inventories of the properties of the new community had to be taken along. Note Andoc. 1.76, 79; Lys. 32.7; Aesch. 1.115; Dem. 20.127–28, 25.47; cf. Aris. *Pol.* 1309a11.

A 6–8: These provisions may govern how some of the resources of the colony might be used. The phrase ἄλλαι γὰρ ἐν... may establish terms for the exploitation of the unallotted property; what was left after each colonist received a town-home or lot and a κλήρος of farmland at first, as on Aigina (note D.S. 12.44.2). Perhaps ἐνός ‘individually’ is to be restored (Lyc. *Leoc.* 64; cf. D.H. *AR* 10.2.3, 19.12.2; Plut. *Mor.* 756B for ‘at a single point’). The editors have suggested χρῆσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἐμπορίοις in 7–8, which would provide for the manner in which the colonists would draw revenues from the harbors. It is possible that this clause reserved for the Athenian state a part of the revenue from the harbors. Perhaps ἐμπορίοις <χρήμασι> is the proper restoration.

A 8–10: Here may follow conditions changing authorization or prohibition in a form like ἐὰν δὲ μὲ εἰ... [ἐὰν μὲ or ... εἰ... καὶ ἐὰν μὲ. It is unknown whether the stipulation concerning the harbor is receiving conditions. The verb at the end of 8 and beginning of 9 may be a form of πείθω (e.g., πειθόμενοι). At the end of line 9, παρακαθιστάναί, which is possibly used complementarily, ought to have its most common meaning, i.e. ‘post’, as in ‘post guards’ or ‘post supervisors’ (D.H. *AR* 4.62.5; Basil. *Hom. in Ps.*, MPG 29.364; Joseph. *Contra Ap.* 2.177; note the metaphorical application in Isoc. 4.104). In all likelihood, it refers either to the supervision of the *emporion* mentioned in line 7 or the posting of a garrison.

A 10–13: The restoration λαβόντων δὲ οἱ ἄποικοι εἴκοσι [δραχμὰς ἐφόδια is a possibility, but the same idea is expressed somewhat differently in the Kolophon Decree, if the restoration is correct: τὸν δὲ αἰρεθέντων λα[μβανέτο] ἕκαστος τῶν ἐμ[έρων] ἕκαστος ἐς ἐφόδια δρ[αχμὰς] ἀχμέν (IG I³ 37.24–26). The evidence guiding such restorations is Lib. *Arg. Dem.* 8.2, where we are informed that cleruchs were provided with arms and *ephodia* by the state. The phrasing would be somewhat unusual, as αἰρέω and δίδωμι (with its compounds) are usually utilized. In tune with my interpretation of the context, I should see a reference to a sum of money that the colonists are authorized to take, keep, or receive, proportionate to their number ἡ ἐκάστο (?), if certain conditions are met. Provision for the control and encouragement of the trade in κοπέας ‘oars’ or ‘oar timbers’ can be paralleled (IG I³ 89.31; 182.7–9). This stipulation might point us toward Poteidaia or Amphipolis as the colony at issue. Yet, the right or obligation of the colonists to retain or send a part of the importation, of the production, or of the reserves might also be suggested (which confuses the matter). The naval supplies smuggled by Thorykion from Aigina to Epidauros during the Peloponnesian war might also be remembered (Arist. *Ran.* 362–64). Were

there μυρίος ‘10,000’ (l. 12) oar-blades available or procurable in one of these colonies? If oars in the hands of trireme crews broke frequently (like the baseball bats of major leaguers), this possibility should not be rejected. The phrase τὸν τελὸν κλ[] in the same line presumably has to do with other financial duties of the colonists toward the government in Athens (cf. e.g. *IG* II² 1241.16).

A 13–15: The time at which these responsibilities are described as payable may have been the point at which the new council is empaneled (note *IG* I³ 64.17). Next there follows δικ[ά]στο, which appears qualified by the phrase ὁσπερ χοννέβαλον ἐδιέθε[ν]το ‘just as they advised or arranged’. The verb συμβάλλω ‘contribute an opinion’ (i.e., to another body for final decision) is best attested in decrees with reference to the transmission of the advice of the council to the assembly (*IG* I³ 105.52; cf. *IG* II² 107.11; 232.3; 246.2 [restored]). It is paired here with διατίθημι ‘arrange’ or ‘establish’, which has a more definitive connotation, as shown by several post-imperial decrees (*IG* II² 213.12; 653.17). As the subject of these verbs, I should suggest ἐπ[ο]ικοι on the basis of the role of this classification of colonist on Aigina and at Poteidaia, and perhaps at Amphipolis. The word beginning προστ[] with ἀποίκος is probably a form of προστάσσω ‘enjoin’ (cf. *IG* I³ 61.43; *IG* II² 380.18; 421.10). The colonists or some privileged segment of them are perhaps shown to have considerable authority in arranging details concerning the colony. Compare the protection granted the colonists to Brea against tampering with any feature of the decrees establishing their colony except at their request (*IG* I³ 46.29–30).

B 3–8: These clauses may establish the eligibility of various problematical groups to participate (οἰκέσοντας), starting with those liable to undergo *euthunai* (3–4), who in the restoration must submit to the scrutiny. The next clause may concern the eligibility of a person indicted (τὸν γραφσάμενον) for an offense against the state (δemosiaí: cf. Dem. 24.6)—unless all the appearances of the verb γράφω in the decree have to do with registration for participation in the colony. That γραφσονται (l. 7) means ‘register’ appears indicated from the Brea Decree (*IG* I³ 46.30–33): ὅσοι δ’ ἂν γράφσονται ἐπ[ο]ικ[ο]ί εἰσεν τὸν στρατιωτῶν, ἐπειδὴν ἡέκοσι Ἀθῆνα[ζε, τριάκοντα] ἡμέρων ἐμ Βρέαι εἶναι ἐπ[ο]ικέσοντας. The clause might parallel the Brea Decree in acting on behalf of those absent from Athens. Compare γ[ρ]άφσονται με... in line 15, and the restoration προσ[γ]ράφσονται in line 12.

B 9–17: The presence of πρέσβες (ll. 9, 14) is striking. That would naturally fit the identity of the colonists as *epoikoi*, and would suggest the existence of an embryonic administration in place. The phrase π[ρ]έσβες ἀποίκος in l. 14 is too fragmentary for analysis. It is possible that a guarantee is specified here that the terms of the foundation of the colony will not be altered unless on the request of an embassy of the colonists. A time limit appears to be activated in lines 9–10. The restoration ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλος τις βόλεται Ἀθηναίον ἐπ[ο]ικέσεν— [] is based on the Brea Decree lines 32–33: τριάκοντα ἡμέρων ἐμ Βρέαι εἶναι ἐπ[ο]ικέσοντας. Yet, ἐπ[ο]ικέσεν is no more than a guess, and a less

specific verb may have been used. The conditions (whether favorable or unfavorable are unknown) perhaps followed. A cryptic reference to *xenoi* appears in line 17. They could be inhabitants of the site of the colony, *xenoi metoikoi*, or even non-Athenian participants (in the case of Amphipolis), although one might expect *χουμάχον*.

Some general features of these comments deserve to be emphasized. In my reconstruction, side A of the stone appears to carry various clauses that concern the responsibilities and revenues of the colonists. If this supposition is correct, it is an obvious conclusion that the Athenians were demarcating the flows of revenue and payments in kind to accrue to the Athenian state and to the colonists. As for the identity of the colony, the appearance of ambassadors and of *xenoi* must very slightly incline the decision to Amphipolis, as might the mention of "oars". The reference to harbors or harbor taxes might suggest Aigina, although the other two possibilities would not be ruled out.

CHAPTER 3: THE COLONISTS ON AIGINA

IT COMES AS no surprise that the actual identities of Athenian colonists on Aigina (and everywhere else) are not well known. It may also be conceded, however, that we are probably in possession of more literary and historical evidence about their colonizing than about any other group of Athenian colonists from the fifth century (with the possible exception of the "celebrities" associated with Thourioi). A consideration of what can be reconstructed will amplify some of the points which have already been made.¹

A. THE CASE OF ARISTOPHANES

The case of Aristophanes can be taken first, and it will help if we re-examine the ancient testimonia.²

Arist. *Ach.* 652–55:

διὰ ταῦθ' ἑμᾶς Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν εἰρήνην προκαλοῦνται
καὶ τὴν Αἰγίναν ἀπαιτοῦσιν· καὶ τῆς νήσου μὲν ἐκείνης
οὐ φροντίζουσ', ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῦτον τὸν ποιητὴν ἀφέλῳνται.
Ἄλλ' ἑμεῖς τοι μή ποτ' ἀφήσθ'· ὥς κωμωδήσει τὰ δίκαια.

For these reasons, the Spartans are calling on you for peace and asking for Aigina. And with that island they are not concerned, except that they take away this poet. But don't you ever let him go, because he will promote justice through his comedy.

Vita Aristophanis (Kassel-Austin, *PCG* 3.2, #1.21–23 = Koster XXVIII.22–25): ὥς ξένον δὲ αὐτὸν ἔλεγε, παρόσον οἱ μὲν αὐτὸν φασιν εἶναι Ῥόδιον ἀπὸ Λίνδου, οἱ δὲ Αἰγινήτην, στοχαζόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ πλείστον χρόνον τὰς διατριβὰς αὐτόθι ποιεῖσθαι, ἧ καὶ ὅτι ἐκέκτετο ἐκείσε· κατὰ τινας δέ, ὥς ὅτι ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Φίλιππος Αἰγινήτης.

¹ Schmitz "Appendix II", pp. 332–38 gives a useful list of Athenian "cleruchs" (including *ἀποικοὶ* and *κληροῦχοι* according to my definitions).

² Many of the observations which contribute to the understanding of the link between Aristophanes and Aigina were already collated by J. van Leeuwen, "Questiones ad historiam scenicam pertinentes," *Mnemosyne* 16 (1888) 251–88, esp. 263–88, a discussion which conveniently reports the other nineteenth-century work on the subject. Unfortunately, van Leeuwen continues his argument to conclude that Aristophanes was not an Athenian citizen and generally presented plays under the names of others throughout his life.

That they say that he was an alien, insofar as some say that he was a Rhodian from Lindos, others that he was an Aiginetan, surmising from the great amount of time he spent there, or also because he possessed property there. According to some, it was because his father Philippos was an Aiginetan.

Cf. *Vita Tzetiziana* Ed. II (= Koster XXXIb.3, p. 144): ... κατά τινας δὲ Αἰγινήτης.

Σ*Ach.* 654b (i) ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῦτον τὸν ποιητὴν: ἐγγὺς αὐτῶν λάβωσι. ἐντεῦθεν τινὲς νομίζουσιν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ τὰς κωμωδίας ποιεῖν τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην διὰ τὸ ἐπεννηνοχέαι αὐτὸν "ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῦτον τὸν ποιητὴν ἀφέλονται" τὴν Αἶγιναν, οὐχ ὑμᾶς. ταῖς ἀληθείαις εἰς ἣν τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ κληρουχισάντων. οὐδὲν δὲ ἐκώλυε καὶ ἐτέρωθι συγγραφεῖν, εἰ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίου ἢ νήσος ἐγεγόνει. (ii) ἄλλως: οὐδὲς ἰστόρηκεν ὡς ἐν Αἰγίνῃ κέκτηται τι Ἀριστοφάνης, ἀλλ' εἴκει ταῦτα περὶ Καλλιστράτου λέγεσθαι, ὅς κεκληρούχηκεν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν Αἰγινήτων ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων.

(i) "But that [they take away] this poet": that they take [him] near themselves. Hence some think that Aristophanes composed his comedies on Aigina on account of his introducing "except that they take away this poet" from Aigina, not from you. In the correct view, he was one of those taking allotments on the island. Yet, nothing precluded that he composed elsewhere, if the island had fallen under Spartan hegemony. (ii) Along another line of interpretation: no one has reported that Aristophanes possessed any property on Aigina, but it is likely that these lines were spoken about Kallistratos who took an allotment on Aigina after the removal of the Aiginetans by the Athenians.

Theogenes, *FGH* 300 F 2 (= Σ*Plato Apol.* 19C Greene = *Vita Aristophanis*, Koster XXXI.14–15): (Aristophanes) κατεκλήρωσε δὲ καὶ τὴν Αἶγιναν, ὡς Θεογένης ἐν τῷ Περὶ Αἰγίνης.

And (Aristophanes) apportioned Aigina, as Theogenes [says] in his work "About Aigina".

In the anonymous *Vita*, the author is endeavoring to explain the tradition that Kleon prosecuted Aristophanes for *xenia* (19–21; Σ*Ach.* 378 Wilson; cf. Eupolis fr. 357 K), and after his remarks on the poet's descent he will go on to note that the dramatist got himself off by cleverly quoting Homer *Odyssey* 1.215–16.³ The two traditions available to this

³ Most of the modern overviews fall into two categories, one which accepts the Aiginetan character of Aristophanes without considering closely its ramifications (e.g., F. Ballotto, *Saggio su Aristophane* [Messina 1963] 24) and another remaining skeptical,

scholiast explained that Aristophanes was either a Rhodian or an Aiginetan.⁴ The other testimonia vouch independently for the existence of a scholarly tradition of his Aiginetan extraction. Of the two suppositions, the Rhodian background is the more likely to represent a confusion with a homonym or the distortion of a name, which are the easiest ways to account for such confusions of genealogy in any case.⁵ The Aiginetan hypothesis is then split in three: 1) his Aiginetan character was derived from time spent on the island; 2) a judgment based on his possession of property on the island; and 3) a conclusion from the fact that his father was an Aiginetan.

Turning to the scholia to the *Acharnians*, a good start can be made by rebuffing a false lead. Despite the suggestion to the contrary by the scholiast in 654b(ii), it is likely that Aristophanes is, in fact, the subject of the allusion in the *Acharnians* and not his collaborator, Kallistratos, in whose name the play was produced (*Arg. Ach.* I p. 2.3 Wilson).⁶ A fragment of Telekleides (of an unknown play) speaks to this issue (fr. 43 Kock): ὅδ' ἀπ' Αἰγίνης νήσου χωρεῖ δοθιῆνος ἔχων τὸ πρόσωπον ("this fellow comes from the island of Aigina, having a face like a boil"). This man from Aigina with a face like a boil was probably a true rival of Telekleides, Aristophanes, and not Kallistratos. The gibe looks like a nasty way of referring to Aristophanes' baldness.⁷ The extreme unlikelihood that there can have been any biographical tradition about Kallistratos condemns the scholiast's introduction of his name as conjecture (even if it

again without close examination (e.g., T. Gelzer, "Aristophanes," *RE* Supp.Bd. 12 [Stuttgart 1970] cols. 1392–1569, esp. 1397). Cf. T. Mitchell, *The Acharnenses of Aristophanes* (London 1835) 142 and the authorities cited in n. 10 in this chapter. It matters little for our argument whether an accusation by Kleon (or even informal charges) against Aristophanes truly occurred, or a situation within a comedy (Aristophanic or contemporary Old Comedic) was historicized, wherein Aristophanes was lampooned as foreign. It is only significant that the issue of foreign derivation was raised, since a comic deployment of this theme has the same value as a formal prosecution in challenging us to explain its context.

⁴ Cf. Koster XXXa/b, p. 141; XXXc, p. 143.

⁵ C.F. Ranke, *De Aristophanis Vita Commentatio*² (Leipzig 1846) 256, cited by Kassel-Austin, *PCG* III.2.2, suggests Antiphanes of Rhodes, a poet of Middle Comedy (*Suda* a 2735 Adler), as the one confused with Aristophanes.

⁶ See *PCG* III.2.10, #23 for the evidence on the role of Kallistratos in producing plays of Aristophanes.

⁷ See *Pax* 767–74; cf. *Plut. Mor.* 634D. *PCG* III.2.16–17, #46–50 cites Σ*Pax* 767 Holwerda, *Equites* 550b–c Jones-Wilson, *Nub.* 545b Holwerda; *Suda* s.v. μητροφάνης (μ 1011 Adler).

is received conjecture).⁸ He is clearly wrong when he states that no one said that Aristophanes possessed property on Aigina. Theogenes implies this, at the very least, and his interest in the poet is unlikely to have been based on nothing more than a careless reading of the *Acharnians*.⁹

One way to account for the joke in the *Acharnians* and to explain why Aristophanes spent time and had property on Aigina (according to the biographer) is to suggest like the scholiast 654b(i) that Aristophanes was a settler there. Yet, the question remains whether this solution accounts for the humor involved in *Ach.* 652–54. As the scholion notes, why should the surrender of Aigina to Sparta necessitate the relinquishing of the poet to the Spartans? Could he not write somewhere else? Accordingly, the major commentators on the *Acharnians* have thought that something more than status as a “cleruch” linked Aristophanes with the island, and my interpretation of the *κατεκλήρωσε* of Theogenes points us in the same direction.¹⁰

There is certainly a risk of obtuseness in answering this question without entering fully into the spirit of the comedy by a suspension of disbelief.¹¹ An air of exaggeration does pervade the passage: Aristophanes claims right before his remarks about Aigina that the Spartans are suing for peace, because the Great King has advised them that Athens is sure to win the war through possession of the poet as advisor (647–51; *ξύμβουλον*: v. 651). In other words, they are trying to win the peace after having lost the war. So the context is manifestly hyperbolic, but for such exaggeration to be effective, it must be internally logical. Although the chronology cannot be pressed, the historical context for the dramatic request for Aigina and Aristophanes was a reiterated Spartan demand

⁸ Cf. P. Elmsley, *Aristophanis comoedia Acharnenses* (Leipzig 1839) 75; A. Müller, *Aristophanis Acharnenses* (Hanover 1863) 121; H. Müller-Strübing, *Aristophanes und die historische Kritik* (Leipzig 1873) 607–9.

⁹ The case for these lines referring to Aristophanes and not Kallistratos is cogent for the various reasons developed in the text. Yet, since it so closely affects and is conditioned by general views on the early career of Aristophanes, it is necessary to place Aristophanes as an “Aiginetan” in that context also. For this discussion consult the endnote to this chapter.

¹⁰ J. van Leeuwen, *Aristophanis Acharnenses* (Leiden 1901) 113–14; B.B. Rodgers, *The Acharnians of Aristophanes* (London 1910) ix, 100–1; W.J.M. Starkie, *The Acharnians of Aristophanes* (London 1909) 139–40. Cf. Müller-Strübing, *Aristophanes* 605–7, who believes that the prior possession of property on the island (probably by Kallistratos) is the solution.

¹¹ Cf. Gomme (*HCT* 2.87), who believes that the underlying joke is irrecoverable and advises caution.

(actual or anticipated) for Aiginetan autonomy (parallel to their demands before the war).¹² Finally, it must be remembered that the chorus is speaking in the midst of a particularly programmatic *parabasis*, with its repeated references to the poet’s role in and service to the community (628–29, 633–34, 641–42, 644).

A consideration of the earlier history of the interaction between Aiginetans and Athenians does allow us to harmonize the traditions on the Aiginetan extraction of Aristophanes. It is known from Herodotus that the Athenians had harbored refugees from the failed coup of the Aiginetan *dāmos* under the leadership of Nikodromos (6.90.1). Raubitschek suggests that the reception of these fugitives was controversial. The Athenian statesman Aristides was accused of hostility to a group of suppliants, probably the Aiginetan democrats, on an ostrakon from the Agora, presumably from the 480s and probably inspired by the propaganda of the partisans of Themistokles (P 5978).¹³ According to Herodotus, the Aiginetans were settled *en masse* at Sounion.¹⁴ Like their fore-runners, the Salaminioi, who also settled in some number at Sounion and participated in the cult of the Salaminian hero, Eurysakes, the Aiginetan

¹² For the demand for Aiginetan autonomy before the war: Thuc. 1.67.2; 1.139.1, 140.3; see Figueira, *BICS* (1990) 72–86. Scholarly opinion is divided between those like D. Kagan (*The Archidamian War* [Ithaca 1974] 80–84, 193–94), who think that Aristophanes is referring back to the abortive peace overtures of 430 (Thuc. 2.59.2; cf. D.S. 12.45.5), and those who find a background (correctly, in my view) to his remarks in 425 in more recent events. Beloch, *GG*² 2.1.323 thought that Agis’s abandonment of an invasion of Attica in 426, ostensibly because of earth tremors, might signal a waning of Sparta’s eagerness to continue the war (cf. Thuc. 3.89.1). Another factor would have been the recall of the Spartan king Pleistoanax (Thuc. 5.16.2–3), sometime in the same year. Beloch, followed by F.E. Adcock, *Cambridge Ancient History* 5 (1927) 226–27, dated Spartan peace feelers to summer 426. Busolt, *GG*² 3.2.1079 had already noted the recall of Pleistoanax, and had extrapolated from the failure of the Spartan expedition against Amphilokhia in fall 426 (note Thuc. 3.114.2–3) to an attempt at peace in winter 426/5. The silence of Thucydides, however, may also be suggestive. It is likely that the events cited above are significant indications, but an upsurge of dissatisfaction concerning the war at Sparta never reached the point of inspiring official representations. Aristophanes was probably reflecting rumors about the growing strength of the Spartan “peace party” surrounding Pleistoanax. For those scholars who have been troubled by the “disloyalty” of Aristophanes in seeming to urge peace with Sparta, it is worth noting that there may have been no actual peace negotiations underway. Cf. *HCT* 2.390–91.

¹³ M. Lang, *The Athenian Agora* 25, *Ostraka* (Princeton 1990) cat. no. 44, p. 37; A.E. Raubitschek, “Das Datislied,” in K. Schauenburg, ed., *Charites: Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft* (Bonn 1957) 234–42; Figueira, *QUCC* (1988) 86–87; *id.*, “Residential Restrictions on the Athenian Ostracized,” *GRBS* 28 (1987) 281–305, esp. 299–304.

¹⁴ That they received citizenship is argued below, Chapter 4, n. 4.

exiles may have kept some part of their former identity as a group by their participation in an Athenian cult devoted to the Aiginetan hero Aiakos.

My hypothesis will be that these fugitives and their children and grandchildren were able to revive their association with Aigina. When the island became tributary to Athens in 457–56, it is unlikely that the Aiginetan regime would have been able (or thought it advantageous) to resist a resumption of civic participation by the former Aiginetans. These returned exiles could have bought or even reclaimed property there at this time. As we shall see, there is evidence from cult for the presence of a pro-Athenian population on the island during its tributary period.

Moreover, we have some reflection in Pindar *Olympian* 8 of the political mood on Aigina near the beginning of this period of subjection to Athens.¹⁵ In this *epinikion*, Pindar seems to engage in a difficult balancing act on behalf of his Aiginetan *xenoi*, his friends and patrons.

¹⁵ *ΣΟΙ.* 8. inscr. a dates the victory of the honorand Alkimedon to the 80th Olympiad or 460. A casualty list of the Erechtheid tribe lists dead at Cyprus, Egypt, Phoenicia, Halieis, Aigina, and Megara, which suggests that they were of the same campaigning season or, better, archontic year (Meiggs-Lewis #33.3). I believe that the pattern of casualties suggests the start of Delian League actions in Egypt. Thus, the hostilities at issue are those discussed in Thuc. 1.104.1–106.2, and their inclusion together shows that no great lapse of time can have separated the beginning of hostilities with the Peloponnesians at Halieis (1.105.1), the outbreak of war with the Aiginetans (105.2), and, at least, some of the fighting in the Megarid (105.3–106.2), which was intended to draw the Athenians away from their siege of the city of Aigina (105.3–6). Therefore, the Greek hostilities seem to have been chronologically close to the inception of the Egyptian campaign (for which a span of six years must be found in any case: Thuc. 1.110.1). Earlier scholars offer a range of possibilities. *ATL* 3.177 dates to 460. *HCT* 1.410–12 also dates the beginning of the Egyptian campaign to 460 and the casualty list to 459 or 458. Busolt, *GG*² 3.1.306–9 puts the beginning of hostilities in late summer 459–spring 458, with the battle at Aigina early in the summer of 458. Beloch, *GG*² 2.1.167, 2.2.199, 386 dates the Aiginetan war to 458; see also E. Badian, “Towards a Chronology of the Pentekontaetia down to the Renewal of the Peace of Callias,” *EMC* 23 (1988) 289–320, esp. 317. P. Deane’s date of 455 is an aberration, dependent upon fallacious reasoning about the size of fleets in this period (*Thucydides’ Dates: 465–431 B.C.* [Ontario 1972] 31–39). I do not think that *Olympian* 8 can have been first performed until after the fall of Aigina; the occasion of its performance was postponed by the outbreak of hostilities, which should be put no later than spring 459 (in 460/59). Note the strongly consolatory section of the ode about the fate of cities, illustrated by Aiakos’ participation in the building of the walls of Troy and his descendants’ role in the two captures of the town (vv. 31–53). The victor’s father and his uncle(?) are dead (*Ol.* 8.77–84, *ΣΟΙ.* 8.104, 105a–b, 106a–h), and were to be brought the news of Alkimedon’s victory by Angelia, daughter of Hermes. On his relations, see now C. Carey, “Prosopographia Pindarica,” *CQ* 39 (1989) 1–9, esp. 1–6. Perhaps fighting between Aiginetans and Athenians is imagined to have preempted the news of victory traveling home from Olympia.

That he intended to strengthen the ties of his aristocratic patrons with sympathetic Athenians is demonstrated by his praise of the Athenian aristocrat Melesias (vv. 54–66), whose son was Thoukydides, the successor to Kimon as leader of the conservative opposition at Athens.¹⁶

In the same victory ode, Pindar also attempted to uphold the *eunomia* of the earlier constitutional dispositions of the oligarchy (*Ol.* 8.21–27; *ΣΟΙ.* 8.30c, d, i, l; cf. 30f).¹⁷ These lines contain a gnomic injunction about the difficulties of judgment juxtaposed with a highlighting of Aigina’s reputation for fairness to its *xenoi* ‘foreigners/guest-friends’. Pindar ends with the prayer that Aiginetan hospitality never fail. He subtly grounds his plea for the preservation of the Aiginetan constitutional order in divine dispensation, heroic paradigm, Dorian

¹⁶ On Thoukydides’ relationship to Kimon: *Ath. Pol.* 28.2; *Plut. Per.* 11.1; opposition to Perikles: *Plut. Per.* 11.1–3, 14.1–3, 16.3; Philochorus, *FGH* 328 F 120; Androtion, *FGH* 324 F 37; *ΣΑristid.* 46.118, pp. 3.446–47 D; cf. *Ath. Pol.* 28.5. In a poorly attested later episode which is reflected in a garbled reference within the biographical tradition on the historian Thucydides, Thoukydides Melesiou was paradoxically implicated in the expulsion from their island of the Aiginetans (*Anon. Vita Thuc.* 7: cf. Marcell. *Vita Thuc.* 24). Other appearances of Melesias in the Aiginetan odes of Pindar: *Nem.* 4.93–96; 6.66–69.

¹⁷ Pindar *Ol.* 8.21–30:

ἐνθα σώτειρα Διὸς ξενίου
 πάρεδρος ἀσκέϊται Θέμις
 ἔξοχ’ ἀνθρώπων. ὅ τι γὰρ πολὺ καὶ πολλὰ ῥέπη,
 ὀρθῶ διακρίναι φρενὶ μὴ παρὰ καιρόν
 δυσπαλές· τεθμὸς δέ τις ἀθανάτων καὶ τάνδ’ ἀλιερκέα χώραν
 παντοδαποῖσιν ὑπέστασε ξένοις
 κίονα δαμονίαν—
 ὃ δ’ ἐπαντέλλων χρόνος
 τοῦτο πρᾶσσω μὴ κάμοι—
 Δωριεὶ λαῶ ταμειομέναν ἐξ Αἰακοῦ.

(Aigina), where the saving goddess Themis, whose throne is beside Zeus, protector of *xenoi*, is cultivated, most extraordinarily among men. For, where much swings in the balance in many ways, to reach a judgment with proper intellect and not inopportunely is difficult to grapple with; but some ordinance of the gods this sea-girt land has built for every sort of *xenos*, a god-given support—may time to come not flag in fulfilling this—which has been tended in trust from Aiakos by the Dorian host.

Note the allusion to wrestling in v. 25, which creates a link between Melesias’ athletic guidance of Alkimedon and his political mentorship of like-minded Aiginetans.

ethnicity, and traditional panhellenic values of *xenia* 'hospitality'. The scholia sensibly read this advice as also implying its converse: weighty matters ought not to be entrusted to the mass of citizens. Moreover, what is then said in the scholia about Aiginetan society suggests that a more detailed historical context for these lines existed somewhere in the chain of intermediaries. The scholia cite Aristotle (fr. 472 Rose, from the lost *Constitution of the Aiginetans*) for the rather surprising information that the servile population of Aigina numbered 470,000 (30d, 1; cf. Athen. 6.272D).¹⁸ The most likely explanation for the introduction of this material is that either the author of the *Constitution* or an Aiginetan historian (who could cite the *Constitution*) quoted the Pindaric passage and added in a social argument in favor of the existing oligarchic constitution. Pindar's gnomic support for the Aiginetan elite could be balanced by the contention that democracy on Aigina meant entrusting affairs to a population that was servile in its origins.

It cannot be ruled out that such points were made, not in contemporary debate, but in the antiquarian polemics of later, patriotic Aiginetan historians. Yet the argument that Athenian-style democracy was not appropriate for Aigina because the character of the *dēmoi* of the two cities differed so radically might well have been proposed in the 450s. Even if one disbelieves the scholiasts' reflection of the contemporary debate, Pindar's intervention implies by itself that political debate (if not struggle) characteristic of the 480s over the Aiginetan constitution was revived after the subjection of the island. It may well be that those who forced this reconsideration were Aiginetan/Athenians, the former partisans of Nikodromos and their descendants who resumed a presence on the island.

Hence the two ancient suppositions on "Aiginetan" Aristophanes, Aiginetan by birth and Aiginetan by virtue of settlement on the island, can be harmonized. That the poet's father Philippos was Aiginetan, that the poet spent time on Aigina, that he owned an estate on the island, and that he was a settler in the colony on Aigina all become aspects of his descent from Aiginetan fugitives, who step-by-step recovered their standing in their former (and to their mind, present) homeland. What

¹⁸ That such a figure cannot be historical is obvious, and for the same reason it is likely that the actual argument of the *Constitution* has been garbled in transmission. For the hypothesis that a number derived from a tax on slave ownership or the sale of slaves over time became confused with the number for the population of slaves at one point in time, see Figueira, *Aigina* 211–14.

appear at first to be conflicting explanations of *Ach.* 652–55 turn out to be isolated features of a single, lost historical reality.

This hypothesis is also consistent with the interest of Theogenes in Aristophanes, as it gives an Aiginetan local historian a stronger motivation for discussing the poet than would have existed in the case of an Athenian colonist and dispossessor of the indigenous inhabitants.¹⁹ Theogenes' use of the term *κατακληρώω* for the poet's activity on Aigina would cover an involvement in the establishment of the Athenian colony better than procurement by allotment as colonist.²⁰ Such an involvement would be explained by the resumption of residence by the Aiginetan/Athenians during the period of Aiginetan subjection to Athens. The assertion that Aristophanes was truly Aiginetan would fit the patriotic and antiquarian interests so manifest in Theogenes and his fellow local historian, Pythainetos.²¹ Just as other Dorians claimed credit for the discovery of comedy, Hellenistic Aiginetans may have claimed Aristophanes as

¹⁹ The name Aristophanes happens to be attested in what is, after all, a community from which data for prosopography has barely survived, among the aristocratic Psalykhidai (Pi. *Nem.* 3.20). Unsurprisingly, the name is quite common in Attica. While most of the attestations are later than the lifetime of the poet and may reflect his renown, there are a number of contemporary and earlier appearances (e.g., *PA* #2082, #2086, #2096). Outside Attica the name Aristophanes is quite common. *GNP* 1.76 lists 93 attestations for its limited range, with the earliest examples from Thasos: *Études Thasiennes* 3.269, #31.1.2 (sixth–fifth century); cf. *IG* XII (8) 280.8.

²⁰ Ranke, *Commentatio* 244–46, understood the nature of the verb *κατεκληρώσε*, but diverged into an unproductive digression on the conditions under which Perikles could have assigned Aristophanes duties as an allocator on Aigina. The hypothesis of the existence of the Aiginetan/Athenians renders this sort of speculation unnecessary. Thus, there is no reason to follow Ranke in turning to the ever-convenient Kallistratos.

²¹ Their interests are recognizable not only from their fragments, but also, generally, from the Pindaric scholia, which draw on Aiginetan local history through Didymus (cf. Pythainetos, *FGH* 299 F 2, 4–6; Theogenes, *FGH* 300 F 1). Some historical and quasi-historical material attributed to the authority of Didymus by the scholiasts to Pindar probably also derives from the Aiginetan local historians: *ΣOL.* 8.inscr.a; Pyth. 8.113c; *Nem.* 3.1c; *Nem.* 4.153 (?); *Nem.* 6.30; *Nem.* 7.56a (?); cf. *Nem.* 7.1a, 8.inscr. Mythological data: *ΣOL.* 8.41a; *Nem.* 6.53a (= Pythainetos F 2); *Nem.* 7.47 (?). Cf. for grammatical or interpretative observations: *ΣNem.* 3.16b, 72b; *Nem.* 4.5, 14a, 95b, 151a; *Nem.* 5.10a; *Nem.* 7.89b. Didymus (e.g., *ΣOL.* 8.41a; *Nem.* 7.47), Pythainetos (*FGH* 299 F 5 = *ΣOL.* 9.104a), and Theogenes (*FGH* 300 F 1 = *ΣPin. Nem.* 3.21) were all interested in the important Aiginetan and panhellenic myth cycle concerning Aiakos and the Aiakidai, so that many of the references to and discussions of these heroes in the scholia probably derive from the same sequence of intermediaries: *Ol.* 8.39b, 41a–b, 53a, d–e, 55b, 59, 60a–b; *Nem.* 3.21, 3.112; 4.36b, 76, 82a; 5.5a–b, 12a–c, 16, 17b, 25a–c, 78d, 94e–f; 8.12, 19a, 32d; *Isth.* 5.44a–b. See also Jacoby, *FGH* 3b, *Komm.* 4.

one of their own, despite his strong connections with Attica.²² Kleon's prosecution of Aristophanes for *xenia* ('usurpation of citizenship' in this context) would also thereby be explicable: the status of the suppliants from Aigina was controversial in the 480s and such old scandals could always be revived, as the Spartan resuscitation of the Cylonian *agos* 'curse' against Perikles in 431 shows (Thuc. 1.126.2–127.1). An enemy of Aristophanes might well argue that a reinstatement of the descendants of the Aiginetan refugees altered their civic status in Attica.

Even earlier than the interest of Theogenes in Aristophanes, then, Aristophanes himself could joke that the Athenians would have to surrender him to Sparta with the island, because the passage of Aigina into the enemy camp could be equated with a transfer in allegiance by all connected with the place. Moreover, he does so in the midst of a particularly programmatic *parabasis*, as has been observed.²³ Thus, the Aiginetan background of Aristophanes could be put to service in enhancing the portrayal of the poet as a valuable advisor of the Athenian *dēmos*, a theme that is prominent not only in the *parabasis* but within the *Acharnians* as a whole.²⁴ The chorus assures us in verses 652–55 that the Spartans would dearly love to get his services away from the Athenians.

It may then be no coincidence that the poet's *alter ego*, the protagonist in the *Acharnians*, is Dikaiopolis.²⁵ It can be no accident that the only extant literary fifth-century appearance of the term *δικαίολις* is

²² On Dorian pretensions to the foundation of comedy: Aris. *Poetics* 1448a30–b1; ΣAris. EN 1123a14, CAG 20.186.9–20 (= Koster XXa); also the attestations collected in G. Kaibel, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Berlin 1899) pp. 73–78, cf. pp. 14, 18; cf. Athen. 14.621D–E, 659A. Cf. Koster III.14–18; XIa.1.78–86; XVIIIa.19–25; XVIIIb.3.11–14; XXa.6–15 with scholia. See also Jacoby, *FGH* 3b, *Komm.* 8.

²³ For this *parabasis*, see, most recently, A.M. Bowie, "The Parabasis in Aristophanes: Prolegomena, *Acharnians*," *CQ* 32 (1982) 27–40, who accepts the link between Aristophanes and Aigina.

²⁴ The text offers what might be termed a normative-political interpretation which assumes that the poet attempted to foster certain attitudes in and to relieve certain tensions among the members of his audience. This perspective may be distinguished from a partisan-political interpretation which assigns the playwright the purpose of providing specific advice or commentary on public affairs. Naturally, I am more in sympathy with the former approach, as applied by L. Edmunds, "Aristophanes' *Acharnians*," *YCS* 26 (1980) 1–41 than by the latter, recently exemplified by D.M. MacDowell, "The Nature of Aristophanes' *Acharnians*," *G&R* 30 (1983) 143–62.

²⁵ C. Bailey, "Who Played 'Dicaeopolis,'" in *Greek Poetry and Life: Essays Presented to Gilbert Murray on His Seventieth Birthday* (Oxford 1936) 231–40, esp. 237, argued that the allusion to Aigina and the character of Dikaiopolis were linked by the fact that Aristophanes played Dikaiopolis.

in Pindar's *Pyth.* 8.22, where it is used of Aigina. Adding significance to the usage is the fact that *δικαίολις* would not have struck a fifth-century audience as a likely personal name.²⁶ The association of the epithet *δικαίολις* with a city rather than an individual would have been recalled to the Athenians every time the relations between Athens and the tributary city in the Khalkidike, Dikaia, were considered.²⁷ The true comparanda of *δικαίολις* are the fifth-century epithets built on *-πολις*, which are strongly prescriptive in their tone.²⁸ The name Dikaiopolis may well have implied both 'with just city' and 'just within the city', which are the two very qualities fused within the character of Dikaiopolis. The name Dikaiopolis may also have served the secondary purpose of challenging Aristophanes' rival (from 429), the playwright Eupolis, son of Sosipolis (*Suda s.v.* Εὐπολις [ε 3657 Adler]; cf. Koster III.33–35).²⁹ That reference might be further complicated by the fact that, in the story about the loyalty and devotion of the Molossian hound of Eupolis, the death of the poet was placed on Aigina.³⁰ Was he then

²⁶ My point might seem to be vitiated by the commonness of individual names built on *-πολις*, but a closer scrutiny of the evidence undermines this objection. F. Dornseiff and B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen* (Berlin 1957) lists 181 names built on *-πολις*. Only about 49 of these can be considered personal names, in the majority of which the first element of the compound name is clearly verbal, with *-πολις* to be construed objectively. Still others have their first element provided by nouns or are personal names derived from geographical names. There are only c. 10 personal names, the first elements of which could be adjectival like Dikaiopolis (e.g., 'Ιθύπολις, 'Ισόπολις, Ξερόπολις). Standard reference works on names can be queried about such compounds, such as W. Pape and G. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen*³ (Brunswick 1911); F. Bechtel, *Die Historischen Personennamen des Griechischen* (Halle 1917) 375–76; *GN* vol. 1. As a rule, adjectival compounds with *-πολις* tend to be much rarer and later as personal names than their verbal counterparts. The Dikaiopolis named in a fourth-century naval catalogue was probably named after the character in the *Acharnians* (cf. *IG* II² 1622.685).

²⁷ *IG* I³ 259.IV.19–20 (454/3); 282.II.55 (429/8); *IG* II² 43.9; *Suda s.v.* δικαίολις (δ 1067 Adler); Lys. fr. 60 Thalheim = Harpocration *s.v.* δικαίολις. Dikaiopolis was also the name of Egesta after its capture and refoundation by Agathokles in 307 (D.S. 20.71.5).

²⁸ Besides *δικαίολις*, Pindar offers *μεγιστόπολις* 'with greatest city' and *φιλόπολις* 'with loving city' (possibly verbal, i.e., 'that loves the city'; cf. Eur. *Rh.* 158) of Hesiychia (*Pyth.* 8.2; *Ol.* 4.16); *ὀρθόπολις* 'with upstanding city' of Theron (*Ol.* 2.7). Sophocles uses *ἀδύπολις* 'with city well-disposed' or 'with good will toward the city' (*OT* 510); *ὑψίπολις* 'with city on high' or 'highly-ranked in the city' (*Ant.* 370).

²⁹ Cf. E.L. Bowie, "Who is Dicaeopolis?" *JHS* 108 (1988) 183–85, for the view that Dikaiopolis represents Eupolis.

³⁰ Ael. *NA* 10.41; J. Tzetzes, *Chil.* 4.245–49.

another colonist in the settlement on Aigina? Unfortunately, the traditions on his death are contradictory, with more than a suspicion of a historicizing of episodes or jokes in comedy.³¹ It would have to be considered a strange eventuality if both Aristophanes and Eupolis turned out to be comic poets who were somehow Aiginetan.

Pindar's use of *δικαιοπόλις* in *Pythian* 8 can also shed light on the "Aiginetan" quality of Dikaiopolis, the protagonist of the *Acharnians*.

ἔπεσε δ' οὐ Χαρίτων ἐκάς
ἀ δικαιοπόλις ἀρεταῖς
κλειναῖσιν Αἰακιδᾶν
θιγοῖσα νῆσος· τελέαν δ' ἔχει
δόξαν ἀπ' ἀρχαῖς . . . (21–25)

Not far from the Graces has fallen
the Just-citied isle,
that knows the renowned virtues of the Aiakidai;
it has perfect
glory from the beginning . . .

This *epinikion*, composed in honor of Aristomenes of Aigina, came virtually at the end of Pindar's career. The victory was in August/September 446 (Σ*Pyth.* 8.inscr.), when it had become clear that the Spartans would do nothing for the cause of the Aiginetans, who had been under Athenian control for a decade. It opens with a rightly famous invocation of Ἡσυχία

Φιλόφρον Ἡσυχία, Δίκας
ὦ μεγιστόπολι θύγατερ,
βουλᾶν τε καὶ πολέμων
ἔχοισα κλαῖδας ὑπερτάτας
Πυθιονίκον τιμὰν Ἀριστομένει δέκευ. (1–5)

Beneficent Quietude, O Justice's
daughter with greatest city,
of counsels and of combats
holding the mightiest keys
receive for Aristomenes the honor coming with victory at Delphi.

³¹ Pausanias (2.7.3) saw a tomb of Eupolis in the territory of Sikyon. The *Suda* describes Eupolis as having died in the Hellespont in a shipwreck (s.v. Εὐπολις [ε 3657 Adler]). This may be connected with another tradition in which Alkibiades has the poet drowned for having mocked him (Cic. *Att.* 6.1.18; Koster XIa1.88–98, XIc.29–39). This last anecdote is suspect for its connection with the play *Baptai* (fr. 68–89; Koster I.16–19), and was doubted in antiquity by Eratosthenes (FGH 241 F 19; cf. Douris FGH 76 F 73).

The *epinikion* closes with a powerful prayer for Aiginetan freedom:

Αἴγινα φίλα μᾶτερ, ἐλευθέρῳ στόλῳ
πόλιν τάνδε κόμιζε Δὶ καὶ κρέοντι σὺν Αἰακῷ
Πηλεί τε κἀγαθῷ Τελαμῶνι σὺν τ' Ἀχιλλεῖ. (98–100)

Dear mother Aigina, with liberating escort
convey this city with Zeus and with lord Aiakos
and Peleus and good Telamon and with Achilles.

Pindar often echoes the language of Aiginetan self-representation.³² In *Pythian* 8, against an Aigina of justice, of the Graces, and of fidelity to the heroic paradigm of the Aiakidai (21–28 with *δικαιοπόλις* in v. 22) is set a hybriatic, titanic force (10–18) which stands for Athenian power. That βία 'violence' (v. 15) will not prevail, as Hesiychia masters *hubris* (vv. 6–12). Not only did Porphyron and Typhoeus fall before Zeus and Apollo (17–18), but, because noble men breed true, there is the hope for the honorand's family and city that the prophecy of Amphiaras before Thebes will prove valid (39–55). He saw his son Alkmaon with the Epigonoι victoriously breaching the walls of Thebes. Furthermore, this prophecy takes on even more force from Pindar connecting himself with Alkmaon, whom he describes as his neighbor and the protector of his property on his trip to Delphi (56–60). Subsequently, after his praise of the victor and his family, Pindar will hint at the mutability of hegemony (vv. 76–78), using the victory of the honorand as an exemplum.

In the *Acharnians*, Aristophanes gives his answer to what must have seemed to him oligarchic presumption. That Pindar is much in his mind is made clear by an allusion a few verses before his reference to Aigina, when he chides the Athenians for being deceived when ambassadors quote Pindar's famous invocation of Athens (as the scholia acknowledge: Σ*Ach.* 637 Wilson)

Πρότερον δ' ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων οἱ πρέσβεις ἐξαπατῶντες
πρώτον μὲν ἰοστεφάνους ἐκάλουν· κἀπειδὴ τοῦτό τις εἶποι,
εὐθὺς διὰ τοὺς στεφάνους ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν πυγιδίων
ἐκάθησθε. (636–40)

Previously ambassadors from the cities, deceiving you,
would first call you violet-crowned. As soon as someone would say this,
right off, for the sake of those crowns, you sat on the tips of your rumps.

³² See Figueira, *Aegina* 314–18, 322–30.

The reference is to these lines from a lost dithyramb:

ᾠ τὰι λιπαραὶ καὶ ἰοστέφανοι καὶ αἰοίδιμοι,
Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα, κλειναὶ Ἀθῆναι, δαιμόνιον προλίεθρον.

Pindar fr. 76 S-M

O gleaming and violet-crowned and famous in song,
fortress of Greece, renowned Athens, divine citadel.

Aristophanes, the Aiginetan/Athenian poet, embodies in his individual self the true tradition of the *dikaiopolis*³³—hence the bold assumption of the role of communal benefactor. That exponent of the *dikaiopolis* is neither a spokesman for the oligarchy once in power on Aigina, nor a decadent Athenian—whether an arrogating politician in the manner of Kleon (with whom Aristophanes draws a direct contrast shortly afterward [659–64]), or a young demagogue like Kephisodemos or Alkibiades, who offend against the solidarity between generations by their attacks on older statesmen (702–18).³⁴ *Dikaiopolis* will celebrate peace as much as Pindar, and it is his particular style (rural, pragmatic, and populist) of justice which allows him to achieve peace in the course of the play.

Aristophanes' comment on his Aiginetan character is bracketed by two programmatic statements. The poet's commitment to justice makes Aristophanes the valued teacher of behavior in a democracy:

Τὰυτα ποιήσας πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος ὑμῖν γεγένηται,
καὶ τοὺς δῆμους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν δείξας ὥς δημοκρατοῦνται.
Τοιγάρτοι νῦν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τὸν φόρον ὑμῖν ἀπάγοντες
ἤξουσιν ἰδεῖν ἐπιθυμοῦντες τὸν ποιητὴν τὸν ἄριστον,
ὅστις παρεκινδύνευσ' ἐν Ἀθηναίοις εἰπεῖν τὰ δίκαια.

(641–45)

Composing his poetry, he has been responsible for much good for you,
especially showing the *dēmoi* in the cities how democratically governed
they are.

Accordingly now, those from the cities bringing the tribute to you

³³ See Edmunds, *YCS* (1980) 9–11, who observes that the appearance of Aristophanes from behind *Dikaiopolis* is a distancing technique which allows him to vitiate the offensive aspects of his peace with Sparta. He is relating to his audience at several depths of engagement in the drama. Cf. Bowie, *JHS* (1988) 184–85.

³⁴ That he chooses also to console Thoukydides (703–12), a friend of Pindar's Aiginetan *xenoi* and the son of their mentor Melesias (cf. *Ol.* 8.54; *Nem.* 4.93, 6.65), may not be accidental. Aristophanes preempts Pindar by showing a more generous empathy with the very elite of Athens with whom epinician poetry presumed to claim solidarity.

will come, desiring to see the best of poets,
the very one who dared to say before the Athenians what is just.

The second passage reinforces this same theme, setting up as comic counterpoint a series of anti-social actions, standing opposite to the poet's political conscientiousness:

Φησὶν δ' ὑμᾶς πολλὰ διδάξειν ἀγὰθ', ὥστ' εὐδαίμονας εἶναι,
οὐ θωπεύων οὐδ' ὑποτείνων μισθοὺς οὐδ' ἔξαπατῶλλον,
οὐδὲ πανουργῶν οὐδὲ κατάρδων, ἀλλὰ τὰ βέλτιστα διδάσκων.

(656–58)

He says that he will teach you many good things, so that you will be
flourishing,
not flattering, nor wheedling pay-offs, nor conning,
committing crimes, nor besprinkling, but teaching the best.

The allusion to the poet's Aiginetan extraction is not a mere comic aside or a prevarication concocted to make an easy joke.³⁵ Rather, it aids both in substantiating the poet's claim to justice in face of Athens' and his own enemies and in supporting his right to dramatic victory, for, at the same time, it warns that the continued adherence of Aristophanes is contingent upon Athens remaining loyal to him through its approbation—thereby being faithful to its own values. This assimilated Athenian turns his enemies' slurs over his foreignness into an avowal of the superiority of his affinity with the city, which is based on a shared appreciation of justice.

The case of Aristophanes seems to demonstrate that when the Athenians settled Aigina in 431, there was a cadre of Athenians available for the colony, who were already, in a sense, Aiginetans. The possibility that such persons had already reestablished connections with Aigina during its period as a tributary state may be significant in explaining why the Athenians called their colonists on Aigina *ἔπιοικοι*. The Athenian government was in a sense reinforcing Athenians who were, if not already resident on the island, possessors of property and holders of other local prerogatives.

³⁵ H.P. Foley, "Tragedy and Politics in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*," *JHS* 108 (1988) 33–47, esp. 34–38, makes the point that the superficially foreign character of Aristophanes, the victim of Kleon's legal harassment, parallels the foreign character of Telephos, whose personality *Dikaiopolis* assumes out of the Euripidean play. For all their foreignness, both *Dikaiopolis* and Telephos turn out to be indispensable for victory.

B. OTHER COLONISTS

The other possibilities for the identity of colonists on Aigina do not offer us the valuable historical insights gained by considering the traditions about Ariston and Aristophanes. What we can learn or speculate about them amplifies points already made rather than breaking new ground.

A hypothetical (albeit still quite valuable) case may provide evidence for another Athenian whose family situation might have been comparable to that of Aristophanes. It concerns the fourth-century Athenian orator Pytheas, or more correctly an ancestor of his.³⁶ Pytheas was one of the accusers of Demosthenes in the Harpalos affair. Before his eventual flight from Athens and entry into the service of Antipater (Plut. *Dem.* 27.2–5 = Phylarchus, *FGH* 81 F 75), Pytheas was also involved in the debate about the voting of divine honors to Alexander in 324 (Plut. *Mor.* 804B), under circumstances that show him to have still been a young man at this time. At an unknown date which was before the exile of Demosthenes in 323, Pytheas was the target of two speeches of Dinarchus, one an *eisangelia* (fr. 6), and the other a charge of misappropriation of civic rights, *κατὰ Πυθέου ξενίας*.³⁷ This charge of false assumption of Athenian citizenship parallels Kleon's charge against Aristophanes.

We know from Stephanus that the speech used the expression *γυνὴ Αἰγιναία* 'Aiginetan woman' and from Harpocration that the speech also used the phrase 'Archidamian War' for the first segment of the Peloponnesian War. Since the prosecution was for a false claim to Athenian citizenship, did Dinarchus introduce the issue of an Aiginetan woman, a female relation of Pytheas, in order to substantiate the contention that Pytheas was not a citizen? Furthermore, the reference to the Archidamian War suggests that the expulsion of the Aiginetans and the colonization of the island might have been the context for some event significant to the case. The very same gloss of Stephanus which cites Dinarchus for the expression *γυνὴ Αἰγιναία* links the adjective *Αἰγινάιος* with *ἔποικος* (see Chapter 1, section B), so that it is not impossible that this term could also have been from the speech of Dinarchus against Pytheas.³⁸

³⁶ See Plut. *Phoc.* 21.1, *Mor.* 804B; [Dem.] *Ep.* 3.29–31; Din. fr. 6.1–15 Conomis (*κατὰ Πυθέου περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἐμπόριον*); Hyperid. fr. 51.162 Jensen. Fragments: C. Müller, *Oratores Attici* (Paris 1847–1848) #51, pp. 2.436–38.

³⁷ Frs. 5.1–4 = D.H. *De Din.* 10; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Αἰγιναι τρεῖς*; Harpocr. s.v. *Ἀρχιδάμειος πόλεμος*; s.v. *δώρων γραφή*. [Dem.] *Ep.* 3.29 (R. Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci* [Paris 1873] 228–29) refers to the same accusation.

³⁸ The name Pytheas is a common one, which is relatively well attested on Aigina. See Figueira, *AJP* (1985) 55 n. 15; *id.*, *Athenaeum* (1988) 548.

Such a prosecution might exploit the uncertain status of someone of Aiginetan extraction. It might have been easy for Dinarchus to speak imprecisely about an Aiginetan woman as though she was non-Attic; she could easily have been an Athenian of Aiginetan descent, or have belonged to a colonial family on Aigina, or even have been a member of an Aiginetan family allowed to stay on after 431.

Another rather notorious individual associated with the colony was Thorykion.³⁹ In a catalogue of anti-social behavior, Aristophanes has the chorus in the *Ranae* note Thorykion among a catalogue of miscreants who are barred from participation in the celebration of the initiates (354–68):

Εὐφημεῖν χρὴ καΐστασθαι τοῖς ἡμετέροισι χοροῖσιν,
ὅστις ἄπειρος τοιῶνδε λόγων ἢ γνώμην μὴ καθαρεύει,
ἢ γενναίων ὄργια Μουσῶν μήτ' εἶδεν μήτ' ἐχόρευσεν,
μηδὲ Κρατίνου τοῦ ταυροφάγου γλώττης Βακχεῖ' ἐτελέσθη,
ἢ βωμολόχοις ἔπεσιν χαίρει, μὴ 'ν καιρῷ τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν,
ἢ στάσιν ἐχθρὰν μὴ καταλύει, μηδ' εὐκόλος ἐστι πολίταις,
ἀλλ' ἀνεγείρει καὶ ῥιπίζει κερδῶν ἰδίων ἐπιθυμῶν, 360
ἢ τῆς πόλεως χειμαζομένης ἄρχων καταδωροδοκεῖται,
ἢ προδίδωσιν φρούριον ἢ ναῦς, ἢ τὰ πόρρητ' ἀποπέμπει
ἐξ Αἰγίνης Θωρυκίων ὦν εἰκοστολόγος κακοδαίμων,
ἄσκώματα καὶ λίνα καὶ πίτταν διαπέμπων εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον,
ἢ χρήματα ταῖς τῶν ἀντιπάλων ναυσὶν παρέχειν τινὰ πείθει,
ἢ κατατιλὰ τῶν Ἑκατείων κυκλίοισι χοροῖσιν ὑπάδων,
ἢ τοὺς μισθοὺς τῶν ποιητῶν ῥήτωρ ὦν εἴτ' ἀποτρώγει,
καμωδηθεὶς ἐν ταῖς πατρίοις τελεταῖς ταῖς τοῦ Διονύσου.

It is necessary to speak reverently and to remove from our chorus, whoever is uninitiate of these words or does not keep his thoughts pure, or who neither learned nor has danced the rites of the noble Muses, nor has performed the Bacchic rites of the tongue of bull-eating Kratinos, or who takes pleasure in buffoonish words that do this inopportunist, or who does not abolish hateful strife nor is easy with his fellow citizens, but rouses it and fans it, desiring selfish advantages, or who, although the city is storm-tossed, as an official takes bribes, or betrays fort or ships, exports proscribed goods out of Aigina, being Thorykion the accursed tax-official, sending leather pads and sail sheets and pitch to Epidaurus.

³⁹ *PA* #7419, who may be identical with *PA* #7420, a *tamias* known from *IG* II² 1375.22–23, 1377.3–4, 1378.4–5 (all 399/8) or with *PA* #7421, for which see *IG* II² 7557, which would provide evidence for the continuation of the family into a next generation. See also W.B. Stanford, *Aristophanes: Frogs* (London 1958) 106.

or who persuades someone to provide funds to the ships of our adversaries,
or who fouls Hekate's shrines while singing in accompaniment the circular choruses,
or who as he is a public speaker chews at the wages of the poets,
while being made the butt of comedy in the ancestral rites of Dionysos.

Aristophanes a little later again makes a point of his lack of patriotism (377–82):

Ἄλλ' ἔμβα χῶπως ἀρεῖς
τὴν Σώτειραν γενναίως
τῇ φωνῇ μολπάζων,
ἢ τὴν χώραν
σῶζειν φήσ' εἰς τὰς ὥρας,
κἂν Θωρυκίων μὴ βούληται.

Go ahead, get on board, in order that you serve
the savior goddess loyally
singing with voice,
she who our land
says she'll save in due season (or forever),
even if Thorykion doesn't like it.

Thorykion was an *eikostologos*, who is accused of conveying contraband naval supplies to Epidauros. An *eikostologos* was the official responsible for levying the 5% tax on trade, which in 413 replaced the allied tribute as the means for defraying the cost of the Athenian war effort (Thuc. 7.28.4). It is striking that the *eikostē* was raised even in an Athenian colony. It would be still another indication that the community on Aigina possessed the full institutionality of a *polis*. The port of Aigina continued in use during the existence of the Athenian colony just as it had under the administration of the Aiginetan oligarchy. There was enough activity there to provide a cover for commerce with Athens' enemies or, at least, to make such a charge credible. Hence the activity of Thorykion is an indication of economic continuity between pre- and post-expulsion Aigina. The particular contraband with which Thorykion was dealing were military supplies, so that the island was probably in use by Athenian warships.⁴⁰

The scholia to the passage supply us with further information about Thorykion. In order to understand how this material was available, it is important to note the impact (strongly negative, it seems) that

⁴⁰ There are some other indications that Aigina was used as a staging point for expeditions around the Peloponnesus (note Thuc. 5.53; 6.32.2; 7.20.2–3; cf. 2.27.1). See Figueira, *RhM* (1990) 17–18, 23 with n. 18.

Thorykion made on his contemporaries. He was prominent enough to have apparently been the butt of an entire comedy by Heniochus called *Θωρύκιον*. What else is known of the playwright suggests a date in the early fourth century for this play, which probably indicates that Thorykion returned to residence in Attica after the war.⁴¹

Σ*Ranae* 363:

Θωρυκίων· ὁ Θωρυκίων ταξίαρχος ἦν ἐν τοῖς Πελοποννησιακοῖς Ἀθηναίων ὃς πίσσαν ἔπεμψε τοῖς ἀντιπάλοις [εἰς τὸ ἀνάψαι ἑαυτοῦ τὴν πόλιν] ὅθεν γνωσθεῖς ἐκωμωδεῖτο ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ.

Thorykion: Thorykion was a taxiarch of the Athenians in the Peloponnesian War who sent pitch to the enemy [for burning his city]. He became known for this and was abused in comedy for treason.

J. Tzetzes Σ*Ranae* 362:

ἢ τὰ πόρρητ' ἀποπέμπει· ἢ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἀποπέμπει τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις τὰ ἀπόρρητα καὶ ἀπαγορευθέντα πέμπεσθαι αὐτοῖς. ὅστις οὖν τοιοῦτος ἐξ Αἰγίνης ὑπάρχων τελώνης, εἴτα γενόμενος ταξίαρχος Ἀθηναίων ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν πέμπει πρὸς αὐτοὺς—Λάκωνας—εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον τὰ ἀπαγορευθέντα πέμπεσθαι, πίσσαν καὶ ἀσκώματα εἰς ναυπηγίαν καὶ τᾶλλα (an explanation of the terms follows).

or who dispatches proscribed goods; or from Athens to the Spartans dispatches goods proscribed and forbidden to send to them. He is such a one, as a tax official from Aigina, later becoming a taxiarch of the Athenians, who sends from Athens to them—the Laconians—to Epidauros things

⁴¹ Chronology raises no objection to the play of Heniochus being connected with Aristophanes' Thorykion. The *Suda* (s.v. Ἡνίοχος [η 392 Adler]) dates him to Middle Comedy, which, in this context, will mean that he worked in the fourth century. J.M. Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy*, vol. 1 (London 1957) 910–11, 917 dates fr. 5 (from the prologue of an unnamed play: Stob. *Flor.* 43.27 Gaisford) to 411 on the basis of the reference to the end of tribute (5.11) and an Olympiad (5.6–7). That reasoning is unacceptable, but the end of tribute and the appearance of Aristokratia and Demokratia (5.16–18), portrayed as women, point toward a date in the early fourth century. There is no particular merit in the suggestion of T. Kock (*Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta* [Leipzig 1880–1888] 2.434) of a date for this fragment at the end of the Chremonidean War. The *Suda* also mentions a play entitled *Polyeuktos*. Its subject could have been the sophist of that name who attacked Socrates, according to Favorinus (fr. 31 Mensching = fr. 63 Barigazzi = D.L. 2.38), if the name is not a mistake of Diogenes or of Favorinus (for Polykrates), and is perhaps the man mentioned by Antiphon (fr. 47 B/T) and Andocides (1.35). A less preferable choice is Polyeuktos, the *rhētor* who is first active (n.b.) in the surviving evidence in 343 (Dem. 9.72; Plut. *Mor.* 841E; cf. *SEG* 21.281.8–9), but was still active in 318/17 (*SEG* 21.320.8–9). Yet, even that synchronism would still not forbid a pre-mid-century date for Heniochus' *Thorykion*.

forbidden to send, pitch and leather pads for ship-building and various other things.

Moreover, Tzetzes reproduces a version of Σ363 (361a Koster *et al.*) in which he makes explicit the implication of the other scholia:

ὁ Θωρυκίων οὗτος Αἰγινεὺς ὃν τῷ γένει ἐν τοῖς Πελοποννησιακοῖς
ταξίαρχος τῶν Ἀθηναίων... οὗτος ὁ Θωρυκίων Αἰγιναν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
πατρίδα Πελοποννησίους καὶ ναὺς προδιδόνς, γνωρισθεὶς ἐκωμωδήθη.

This man Thorykion, being an Aiginetan in extraction, became a taxiarch of the Athenians in the Peloponnesian War... this man Thorykion, betraying his homeland Aigina and (Athenian) ships to the Peloponnesians, was abused in comedy when he was discovered.

It is safe to conclude that Tzetzes believed that Thorykion was a settler on Aigina. He also notes that Thorykion was from a lower-class background. Thus Thorykion may have been a thetic colonist on Aigina. Going further along this line of reasoning, one might press the phrase τῷ γένει to suggest that Thorykion was another of the Aiginetan/Athenians. It is doubtful, however, that Tzetzes' manner of expression should be taken any further than to allow this as a bare supposition.

There is no evidence to decide either way the question of whether an *eikostologos* had broad enough authority in the supervision of a harbor in the *arkhē* to traffic in contraband or acquiesce in others' illegal trade. Aristophanes' accusation might be held to imply some military office for Thorykion. Although the lines in the *Ranae* only advert to Thorykion's activity as a tax-collector, the scholia work in another office, that of taxiarch, which they believe him to have held subsequently (perhaps on the basis of the play of Heniochus). One possibility is that Thorykion was a taxiarch in Athens over one of the tribal regiments, which is perhaps the most natural inference. He would not, of course, have had any access to naval supplies in that role. The other possibility is that Thorykion was rather a taxiarch who commanded the levy of the Aiginetans, whose activities have already been noted in the narrative of Thucydides. In that case, he might well have controlled naval stores on Aigina.

Tzetzes believed that all the charges of fostering *stasis*, agitation, selfish motivations, bribery, and betrayal of forts and ships contained in 359–65 related to Thorykion (359a–c, 361a–b). It might be argued that there is no clear reason to follow him where generalities such as these are concerned. Yet, Tzetzes also saw here a reference to Kallixenos and Diomedon, whom he blamed for their instigation of the trial of the

generals after Arginoussai (359b–c).⁴² He claims elsewhere in his commentary to have reviewed earlier scholarship during his evaluation of the presence of allusions to the battle of Arginoussai in the *Ranae* (Σ*Ran.* 190, cf. 538/39). Thus it may be that he was following earlier ancient work on the scope of the reference to Thorykion in these lines. Possibly, if Thorykion as taxiarch was with the Aiginetans who intervened on the side of the oligarchs in 411 (Thuc. 8.69.3), his status as a fosterer of *stasis* might well have been in Aristophanes' mind when he chose to single him out as the only actual person named as exemplary in his catalogue of crimes.⁴³ To have been more explicit might have subverted his intention in the *Ranae* to work for the reconciliation of ideological factions (e.g., vv. 687–705). Nevertheless, such a reconstruction of the activities of Thorykion must remain hypothetical.

The names of only a few other colonists can be proposed.⁴⁴ A tombstone in Ionic script of Hegesippos Kephisorou of the deme Lamptrai has been found on Aigina (IG IV 72). If the inscription is not a stray (see M. Fraenkel *ad loc.*), Hegesippos died on the island. Letter forms date the inscription to the late fifth or early fourth century.⁴⁵ The appearance of the demotic rather than the ethnic Ἀθηναῖος suggests that the stone was inscribed while the Athenians occupied Aigina (although an Athenian resident on Aigina could presumably have had anything he wanted

⁴² There was considerable ancient controversy over these events, some of which was probably conducted within Attidography. For Kallixenos and Diomedon, note Xen. *HG* 1.7.7–14, 16–18, 35; D.S. 13.103.2; Athen. 5.218A; [Plato] *Axiach.* 368D; *Suda s.v.* ἐναύειω (ε 1136 Adler).

⁴³ Something more deserves to be said about the appearance of the Aiginetans on the side of the oligarchs in 411, when they were involved in intimidating the Council of the 500 into yielding to the 400 (Thuc. 8.69.3). The Andrians, Tenians, and Karystians were presumably motivated by payment, and perhaps by the loyalty to the oligarchs of their leaders, who were hoping to achieve political dominance at home. If I am correct about the Athenian settlement on Aigina, the ἑποικοὶ will have been citizens. Were they then of oligarchic or "right-wing" political affiliations? Were they mostly individuals possessing attitudes in consonance with the conservative views sometimes expressed by Aristophanes? Such a conclusion would be speculative, but would not be irreconcilable with a body of *epoikoi* drawn from displaced agriculturalists. As for the Aiginetan/Athenians, one would not be surprised to find that the descendants of refugees who were "left-wing" in the context of Aiginetan politics turned out to be "conservative" in the context of Athenian politics of the period of the Peloponnesian War.

⁴⁴ The tombstone of Antistates, son of Atarbes, describing him as an Athenian belongs to pre-431 Aigina (IG IV 50.4–5: πατρίδα | γῆν προλιπών). See Jeffery, *LSAG* 112–13.

⁴⁵ Barron, *JHS* (1983) 2 may well be correct, however, in his view that the stone is fourth-century.



inscribed on a tombstone). The demotic might suggest that Aigina was a cleruchy rather than an ἀποικία on the grounds that cleruchs retained their citizenship, but ἀποικοί did not. Nonetheless, as we have seen, this supposition is not well founded. There is indeed no reason why the same argument cannot be made in reverse. If the tombstone precedes 400, it must be taken as evidence for the continuing citizenship of the colonists on the island.

Another colonist is perhaps Amiantos τὸν ἐξ Αἰγίνης, who along with Alkibiades of Phegous instigated Diokleides to make false accusations during the crisis surrounding the mutilation of the Herms (Andoc. [Myst.] 1.65). From the nature of this political intrigue, Amiantos was clearly an Athenian citizen.⁴⁶ That he hailed from Aigina suggests that he was a colonist on the island. His name (which means 'undefiled') is rare enough that a likely relation is Amiantos from Auridai, who is known to have been a *hieropoios* from IG II² 410.30–31 of c. 330. It is no happenstance that the name Amiantos means 'undefiled': Amiantos of Aigina was involved with punishing the mutilators of the Herms, and Amiantos from Auridai was a *ἱεροποιός*. Another candidate for status as a colonist is the otherwise unknown Pheidiades, son of Thales, in whose house Plato was supposedly born, according to Favorinus (D.L. 3.3 = fr. 32 Mensching = fr. 64 Barigazzi).⁴⁷

Except for the particularly significant cases of Aristophanes and Ariston, the indications of the identity of colonists on Aigina which have been explored in this chapter do not lead us to any firm new conclusions about the progress of Athenian colonization on the island. Several previous conclusions, however, do acquire some further documentation. Nothing about any of these individuals requires the conclusion that Aigina was a cleruchy in contemporary, fifth-century terms. In the cases of the families of all the settlers that I have proposed, the retention of citizenship both before and after the dissolution of the Athenian settlement on Aigina in 405/4 appears uncontroversial. In the person of Pytheas, some support has been found for the hypothesis that there was a continuity between pre-expulsion Aigina and the Athenian ἀποικία. That is

⁴⁶ The earliest attested Amiantos was a son of a Lykourgos of Trapezous in Arkadia, who is known through his having been a suitor of Agariste, the daughter of Kleisthenes, tyrant of Sikyon (Hdt. 6.127). Cf. Michel #534.5 (a Parian at Kyzikos, c. 300). For other bearers of the name, see GPN 1.31.

⁴⁷ Another individual with a possible connection with the colony, although he was certainly not a settler, was Thucydides Olorou (the historian), who may have written his history there (*Vita Anon. Thuc.* 7).

the very sequence implied by the Athenian depiction of the colonists as ἐποικοί, which I have attempted to develop through an investigation of the involvement of Aristophanes with Aigina. That continuity was mediated through the persons of the descendants of Aiginetan exiles of c. 489. Difficulties still remain concerning the character of this continuity, and, specifically for Aristophanes, there remains the determination of precisely what the Aiginetan historian Theogenes may have meant when he said Aristophanes κατεκλήρωσε 'allotted' Aigina.

ENDNOTE: THE EARLY CAREER OF ARISTOPHANES

As a concomitant to the following remarks, these recent works may be consulted: G. Mastromarco, "L'esordio 'segreto' di Aristofane," *QS* 10 (1979) 153–96; S. Halliwell, "Aristophanes' Apprenticeship," *CQ* 30 (1980) 33–45; F. Perusino, "Aristofane e i registi-poeti," *Helikon* 20–21 (1980–1981) 63–73. D.M. MacDowell, "Aristophanes and Kallistratos," *CQ* 32 (1982) 21–26. Aristophanes presents the progress toward producing plays in his own name in various ways: as the mastering of a difficult skill (*Eq.* 512–16); as learning seamanship in the order of tasks of increasing expertise (*Eq.* 541–44); and as maturation to child-rearing maturity (*Nub.* 528–33). Yet one must be careful not to impose on these allusions a period of apprenticeship for the poet under Kallistratos that is really unattested (cf. MacDowell 25–26; Halliwell 41–42). There is no evidence that Kallistratos was older, more experienced, had ever composed comedies, or even produced a play before he collaborated with Aristophanes. His situation may have been much like that of Aristophanes: he was a neophyte (*Nub.* 528 on the *Daitales*: πᾶς δ' ἑτέρα τις λαβοῦσ' ἀνείλετο). The two men may have judged that their best chance to get a chorus was to join forces, forming an alliance that would create confidence that the technical details of staging a production would be in hand. Thus there need be nothing covert about their collaboration—for all we know, it could have been an established technique and even officially encouraged (*n.b.* Mastromarco 160–63 with earlier citations on the archontic records, the *didaskalia*, and authorship)—so that anyone with sufficient interest could know that the poetry belonged to Aristophanes (see Mastromarco 157–59). Note *Eq.* 512–14, apparently describing audience reaction:

ἀ δὲ θαυμάζειν ὑμῶν φησιν πολλοὺς αὐτῷ προσιόντας
καὶ βασανίζειν πῶς οὐχὶ πάλαι χορὸν αἰτοίη καθ' ἑαντόν,
ἡμᾶς ὑμῶν ἐκέλευε φράσαι περὶ τούτου . . .

These things, over which he says many approaching him have marvelled, and have put him to the test, namely why he didn't request a chorus in his own name long ago, about this he bade us speak to you . . .

Moreover, in *Nub.* 528–33, it is likely that the ἀνδρῶν and the ὑμεῖς are not “friends” and “public”, but “past audience” and “continuing audience”.

ἐξ ὅτου γὰρ ἐνθάδ' ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν, οἷς ἤδ' καὶ λέγειν,
ὁ σῶφρων τε χῶ καταπύγων ἄριστ' ἠκουσάτην,
κὰ γώ, παρθένος γὰρ ἔτ' ἦν κοῦκ ἐξήν πῶ μοι τεκεῖν,
ἐξέθηκα, παῖς δ' ἑτέρα τις λαβοῦσ' ἀνείλετο,
ὑμεῖς δ' ἐξεθρέψατε γενναίως καὶ παιδεύσατε,
ἐκ τούτου μοι πιστὰ παρ' ὑμῶν γνώμης ἐσθ' ὄρκια.

From which time, right here, by men whom it is a pleasure even to address,
these two fellows, the sensible one and the bugger were given the best reception,

and I, since I was still a virgin and not allowed to bear children,
exposed my child, but another young girl took it for adoption,
and you reared it and educated it generously.

From this time, guarantees of your good judgment have been trusted by me.

At the same time, it is obvious that the two men could not simply jettison conventional language to create an idiosyncratic technical description of their collaboration within the production of a drama. It is a subjective judgment about the sophistication of the audience, but I see no problem in associating Kallistratos or Kallistratos/Aristophanes with the term διδάσκαλος (*Ach.* 628) and Aristophanes alone with ποιητής (as in vv. 633, 644, 649, 654; see Mastromarco 157; Halliwell 43). Clearly, some single attribution was anticipated by the collaborators when allusions are made such as the connection with Aigina or Kleon's accusation before the *boulē* (*Ach.* 377–82; 502–3). The same pattern was perhaps repeated in the *Wasps*, where Philonides produced (Arg. *Vespae* II.37 Koster), although the referent of ll. 1015–59 and 1284–91 is patently Aristophanes (Halliwell 35–36).

Only one passage supports the covert hypothesis for the involvement of Aristophanes in the early plays and for Kallistratos as a ποιητής, that is, *Vespae* 1017–22 (cf. MacDowell 22–23):

ἀδικεῖσθαι γάρ φησιν πρότερος πόλλ' αὐτοὺς εὖ πεποιηκώς
τὰ μὲν οὐ φανερώς ἀλλ' ἐπικουρῶν κρύβδην ἑτέροισι ποιηταῖς,
μιμησάμενος τὴν Εὐρυκλέους μαντείαν καὶ διάνοιαν,
εἰς ἄλλοτρίας γαστέρας ἐνδὺς κωμωδικὰ πολλὰ χέασθαι,
μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ φανερώς ἤδη κινδυνεύων καθ' ἑαυτόν,
οὐκ ἄλλοτρίων ἀλλ' οἰκείων Μουσῶν στόμαθ' ἡνιοχῆσας.

Accordingly, he says that he was treated badly, although he had done them many good services,
sometimes not in the open, but helping other poets in secret,

mimicing the prophetic device of Eurykles,
setting himself within other people's stomachs, he poured out a lot of comedy;
and thereafter, when he was running risks in the open on his own behalf,
and managing a team of Muses not alien, but his own.

In response, Mastromarco (166–78) and Halliwell were led to hypothesize the existence of a first phase for Aristophanes' career, even prior to the collaboration with Kallistratos, but καθ' ἑαυτόν (v. 1021) stands against their thesis and 1023–24 looks like a reference to the success of the *Equites* (cf. *Eq.* 513; see MacDowell 22–23). Clearly, a strategy for eliciting good will is operative here, which exaggerates the uncompensated secret services, one made effective comically by the allusion to ventriloquism.

It may, however, be possible that Aristophanes is thinking also of his career as a performer, which would explain the necessarily hidden quality of his aid to the other poets and why he uses the plural. The ventriloquism is then understood as an actor's contribution to the characters created by another poet. Just as the phase of collaboration with Kallistratos ended with the *Equites*, the same play may have marked the first appearance of Aristophanes as his own leading man and his last in another's work.

One last problem must be mentioned. While the poet presents the process of coming to present plays in his own name as an internal one, his statements do not necessarily invalidate the simultaneous existence of a law establishing a minimum age for asking for a chorus, which barred him from applying in the early 420s (J. Tzetzes, *ΣNubes* 518a Holwerda; cf. Mastromarco 155–57; Halliwell 33–34 with ns. 5–7, p. 33 for earlier bibliography). The *persona* of the comic poet required a posture of self-authorization toward his audience, the achievement of which may have necessarily been portrayed as a maturation rather than the fulfillment of a legal stipulation by the mere passage of an age threshold.

CHAPTER 4: THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE ATHENIAN APOIKIA

THUCYDIDES is silent on the legal status of Athenian *epoikoi* and on Athenian efforts to legitimize aggression toward and hegemony over Aigina which are associated with the usage of such a term. The absence of discontinuity in the archaeological record from Aigina has been noted. The possibility that the subjugation of the island permitted a resumption of direct involvement with Aigina has been sought in the traditions on the "Aiginetan" character of Aristophanes. There is fortunately other material which bears on Athenian relations with the Aiginetans during the period when the island possessed tributary status.

A. THE ATHENIAN SUBJUGATION OF AIGINA

In the late sixth century, the Athenians had reacted to Aiginetan raids on their coasts (in support of Thebes) by deciding to inaugurate a cult of the Aiginetan hero Aiakos (Hdt. 5.89.2). Just as the Eurysakeion, a hero shrine of the Athenian *genos* of the Salaminioi, solidified an Athenian claim to the ownership of the island of Salamis,¹ the Aiakeion expressed a similar claim to Aigina. If the descendants of Aias could make Salamis over to Athens, why could they not transfer a title to Aigina, inherited from Telamon, son of Aiakos? A Delphic response, which probably answered a request for divine sanction for the foundation of this cult, advised a delay in the consecration of the Aiakeion. The oracle also guaranteed an eventual subjugation of Aigina, if the Athenians forebore from acting for thirty years (5.89.2), a piece of advice that the Athenians did not accept. Further inconclusive hostilities are likely to have occurred at this time, although Herodotus gives us no further information about them.² Although the Athenians had at first disobeyed Apollo in his instructions about a thirty-year truce, it is likely that they still believed that the eventual subjugation of Aigina was divinely authorized.

This Athenian claim to Aigina had been strengthened when the members of the defeated Aiginetan *dāmos* fled to Attica in the early

¹ See F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques: Supplément* (Paris 1962) #19, pp. 49–54 along with *IG II*² 1232. See also Figueira, *Theognis* 300–3.

² Cf. T. J. Figueira, "Aeginetan Membership in the Peloponnesian League," *CP* 76 (1981) 1–24, esp. 9–10; *id.*, *QUCC* (1988) 78–79.

480s. A disgruntled Aiginetan noble named Nikodromos had collaborated with the Athenians, so that his seizure of the "old city" was to coincide with an incursion by the Athenian fleet (Hdt. 6.90).³ When the Athenians missed the appointed time, Nikodromos and some of his followers were able to flee, and these fugitives were settled as Athenian citizens at Sounion (Hdt. 6.90).⁴ There were enough of them so that they were able to undertake a series of raids against their homeland (6.90). The rebels left behind were overcome.

Herodotus records an Athenian version of these events in which οἱ παχέες (a pejorative term for the Aiginetan oligarchs) brutally murdered 700 members of the *dāmos* who fell into their power (6.91.1–3).⁵ According to Herodotus' Athenian informants, the *agos* 'curse' that had arisen from a sacrilege attendant on these executions could not be cleansed until the Aiginetans were expelled from their homeland: ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ ἄγος σφί ἐγένετο, τὸ ἐκθύσασθαι οὐκ οἰοί τε ἐγένοντο ἐπιμηχανώμενοι, ἀλλ' ἔφθησαν ἐκπεσόντες πρότερον ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἢ σφί ἴλεον γενέσθαι τὴν θεόν ("From this a curse on them came into being, which, although they actively sought remedy, they were not able to expiate through sacrifice, but they were cut off by exile before the

³ Figueira, *QUCC* (1988) 75–89.

⁴ Several considerations militate in favor of the contention that the Aiginetan fugitives were granted citizenship: 1) If they were connected with the *heroon* of Aiakos, on the analogy of the relationship of the Salaminioi and the Eurysakeion, they should have been citizen worshippers of a state cult. 2) The fugitives after their settlement in Attica retained a corporate existence in order to conduct raids against their former homeland. Such coherent groups (especially undertaking military activity) cannot be attested at Athens outside the ranks of the citizens. 3) Herodotus' phrase, τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοις Σούνιον οἰκῆσαι ἔδοσαν 'the Athenians gave Sounion to them to inhabit' implies that the Aiginetans possessed property there. Ownership of property was the preserve of the citizen. 4) This same language elsewhere entails a grant of the relevant rights of the host community. The closest analogue is the Spartans' plan to remove Medizing populations from Greece and settle the Ionians in their place: δοῦναι τὴν χώραν Ἴωσι ἐνοικῆσαι (9.106.3). An example from myth cannot be exactly parallel—some might suggest that the Pelasgians held second-class rights in the community—but does show that the phrasing means permanent settlement: τὴν χώραν, τὴν σφί (the Pelasgians) αὐτοὶ (the Athenians) . . . ἔδοσαν οἰκῆσαι (6.137.2; cf. Hekataios, *FGH* 1 F 127). Naturally, citizenship cannot be at issue in the grants of non-Greek rulers, but where parallel language is used, it is apparent that a status which is, at least, as good as that of other inhabitants of the country is being offered: Psammetikhos to his Karian and Greek mercenaries (2.154.1); Amasis to the Greeks at Naukratis (2.178.1); even after punishment, note Dareios' grant to captured Greeks from Barke (4.204). Cf. 3.159.1.

⁵ Cf. Figueira, *AJP* (1985) 60–61.

goddess [Demeter] became well-favored toward them": 6.91.1).⁶ So expulsion of the Aiginetan *dāmos* in the 480s was to be balanced by an expulsion of the Aiginetan oligarchs, which was consummated by Athens in 431. The Herodotean account, however, restricts the initiative for the suppression of the *dāmos* to the Aiginetan oligarchs. It is possible that the Athenian expectation that only the oligarchs would inevitably receive their just deserts may indicate that something less than the total expulsion implied by Thucydides took place. It is also possible, however, that the popular anticipation about the punishment of the oligarchs did not predict actual Athenian policy in 431.

The Athenians may have acted against Aigina c. 459 and again in 431 on the basis of the authorization which they believed they were given by the accession of the Aiginetan *dāmos* to their citizen body. Let us compare these accounts of the outbreak of war in c. 459 between the Aiginetans and Athenians (cf. Aristid. 13.154–55; 29.371):⁷

Thuc. 1.105.2: πολέμου δὲ καταστάντος πρὸς Αἰγινήτας Ἀθηναίους μετὰ ταῦτα ναυμαχία γίγνεται ἐπ' Αἰγίνῃ μεγάλη Ἀθηναίων καὶ Αἰγινήτων, καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἑκατέροις παρήσαν, καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ναῦς ἑβδομήκοντα λαβόντες αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπέβησαν καὶ ἐπολιόρουν, Λεωκράτους τοῦ Στροίβου στρατηγούντος.

When war had broken out for the Athenians against the Aiginetans after these events (Halieis and Kekryphaleia), there was a great naval battle between the Athenians and Aiginetans near Aigina, and allies participated on each side, and the Athenians were victorious, and, capturing 70 enemy ships, they disembarked and began a siege, with Leokrates, the son of Stroibos, in the office of general.⁸

Thuc. 1.108.4: ὁμολόγησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Αἰγινῆται μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, τείχη τε περιελόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες φόρον τε ταξάμενοι ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον.

The Aiginetans also came to terms with the Athenians after these things (Tanagra, Oinophyta, and the finishing of the Long Walls), tearing down their walls, and surrendering their ships, and being assessed tribute for the future.

D.S. 11.70.2–3 (464/3): ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Αἰγινήτας ἀποστάντας Ἀθηναῖοι χειρωσόμενοι τὴν Αἶγιναν πολιορκεῖν ἐπεχείρησαν· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ πόλις

⁶ See Figueira, *AJP* (1985) 65–67, 71–72.

⁷ I leave out the garbled reference of Andoc. 3.6: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δι' Αἰγινήτας εἰς πόλεμον κατέστημεν. Andocides adds little of value, as he seems to have conflated the "First Peloponnesian War" with the Archidamian War.

⁸ For an analysis of this sentence, see Figueira, *CP* (1981) 19–20.

τοῖς κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγῶσι πολλάκις εὐημεροῦσα φρονήματός τε πλήρης ἦν καὶ χρημάτων καὶ τριήρων εὐπορεῖτο, καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἄλλοτρίως ἀεὶ διέκειτο πρὸς Ἀθηναίους. διόπερ στρατεύσαντες ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν χώραν ἐδήωσαν, καὶ τὴν Αἶγιναν πολιορκούντες ἔσπευδον ἐλεῖν κατὰ κράτος.

Likewise the Athenians, intending to subjugate the Aiginetans who had rebelled, undertook a siege of Aigina. This city, which had often been successful in struggles at sea, was filled with pride, and was well furnished with monies and warships; it was permanently at odds with the Athenians in general. Therefore, the Athenians, going on campaign against it, ravaged its territory, and besieging Aigina, they exerted themselves to take it by force.

D.S. 11.78.3–4 (459/8): τοιούτων δὲ εὐημερημάτων αὐτοῖς γενομένων, τοὺς Αἰγινήτας ὀρώντες πεφρονηματισμένους μὲν ταῖς προγεγενημέναις πράξεσιν, ἄλλοτρίως δὲ ἔχοντας πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἔγνωσαν καταπολεμῆσαι. διὸ καὶ στόλον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀξιόλογον ἀποστείλαντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οἱ τὴν Αἶγιναν κατοικοῦντες, μεγάλην ἐμπειρίαν ἔχοντες καὶ δόξαν τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγῶνων, οὐ κατεπλάγησαν τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἔχοντες δὲ τριήρεις ἱκανὰς καὶ προσκατασκευάσαντες ἑτέρας, ἐνανμάχησαν, καὶ λειφθέντες ἀπέβαλον τριήρεις ἑβδομήκοντα· συντριβέντες δὲ τοῖς φρονήμασι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς, ἠναγκάσθησαν εἰς τὴν Ἀθηναίων συντέλειαν καταταχθῆναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Λεωκράτης ὁ στρατηγὸς κατεπράξατο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, τοὺς πάντας διαπολεμήσας μῆνας ἑννέα πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγινήτας.

Since such successes of theirs (victories over the Peloponnesians) had occurred, the Athenians, seeing the Aiginetans puffed up with pride over their previous actions and being at odds with themselves, decided to subjugate them. Therefore, when the Athenians dispatched a noteworthy force against them, the inhabitants of Aigina, who had great experience in and a reputation for struggles at sea, were not dismayed by the superiority of the Athenians. On the contrary, having an adequate number of warships and equipping more, they fought a naval battle, and having been defeated lost 70 ships. With their confidence shattered through the magnitude of the disaster, they were compelled to be assessed in the league of the Athenians. The general Leokrates accomplished these things for the Athenians, campaigning nine months in all against the Aiginetans.⁹

⁹ A date of 457–56 has been assumed throughout this work for the capitulation of Aigina. That entails that the nine months of Diodorus be regarded as mistaken or corrupt, since a date of 460/59 (or, at the latest, 459/8) has been suggested for the beginning of the war between Athens and Aigina. From the account of Thucydides, it appears that the warfare between the Corinthians and Athenians on the Isthmus, the building of the Long Walls, and the battles of Tanagra and Oinophyta took place during

The two accounts of Diodorus place the same hostilities at two different dates and in two different political contexts, a revolt (11.70.2: *Αἰγινήτας ἀποστάντας*) and an Athenian war of subjection (11.78.3: *ἐγνώσαν καταπολεμῆσαι*).¹⁰ Yet, the many verbal similarities (which are underlined) show the kinship of the two passages. Conversely, there are also interesting disparities—besides the context—namely the detailed conclusion of the episode in 11.78.4, and one curious verbal mirroring, 11.70.2: *ἐνήμεροῦσα* of Aigina and 11.78.3: *ἐνήμερημάτων* for Athenian affairs. They suggest a more complex relationship than that between mere doublets within Diodorus. Moreover, the notice of Thucydides seems to have been a source for the second account in Diodorus, in which the repeated number of 70 ships may be particularly telltale (Leokrates is also singled out in both).¹¹ It is equally true that the anti-Aiginetan polemical tone of Diodorus has affinities with Herodotus' treatment of the conflict between the two cities in which the influence of anti-Aiginetan Athenians can surely be traced.¹² Therefore, it

the siege of Aigina (1.105.3–108.3). Nine months is scarcely enough time for all these events. It should have been surprising, in any case, if a rich, well-fortified city, whose citizens had been active in the grain trade (see Figueira, *Aegina* 55–58, 372–74), could have been reduced in so few months. It should also be noted that the Thucydidean account in 1.105.2 is an example of narrative compression. While the Athenians may have established a beachhead on Aigina immediately after their naval victory, the mobilization of an appropriate number of hoplites and the organization of a siege will have taken some time. During this time, the Peloponnesians brought reinforcements into Aigina (Thuc. 1.105.3). Indeed, it is possible that the emphasis on the role of Leokrates was owed to a command on the island which spanned more than one official year. Note R. Develin, *Athenian Officials: 684–321 B.C.* (Cambridge 1989) 74–75. One suggestion would be that the close siege lasted nineteen months, starting in early 459/8, and the capitulation took place in or after a second winter. Cf. Badian, *EMC* (1988) n. 40, p. 317.

¹⁰ See Figueira, *CP* (1981) 19–21, which argues against taking the Aiginetan revolt literally as a token of membership in the Delian League. Cf. D. MacDowell, "Aigina and the Delian League," *JHS* 80 (1960) 118–21, esp. 120–21.

¹¹ Lys. *Epitaphios* 2.48 has the same 70 ships and his source is probably an *Atthis*.

¹² Figueira, *AJP* (1985) 62 and n. 31 for the similarities of the two accounts in Diodorus and their relationship to Athenian polemics as reflected by Herodotus. Note Hdt. 5.81.2 on the situation c. 506: *Αἰγινῆται δὲ εὐδαιμονίῃ τε μεγάλην ἐπαρθέντες καὶ ἔχθρης παλαιῆς ἀναμνησθέντες ἐχούσης ἐς Ἀθηναίους, τότε Θηβαίων δεσθέντων πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον* ("the Aiginetans exalted by their great prosperity and mindful of their ancient enmity fixed toward the Athenians, then, at the request of the Thebans, conducted a heraldless war against the Athenians"); 5.83.1 at the time of Aiginetan independence: (the Aiginetans) *τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε νέας τε πηξάμενοι καὶ ἀγνωμοσύνη χρησάμενοι ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων. ἅτε δὲ ἔόντες διάφοροι ἐδηλέοντο αὐτούς, ὥστε δὴ θαλασσοκράτορες ἔόντες* (they carried off the statues

is a rather likely conclusion that an *Atthis*, probably that of Hellanicus, which may have drawn on more occasional materials from Athens like pamphlets and published speeches, has been a source (probably through Ephorus) for Diodorus.

Meiggs points us in the right direction: he saw Diodorus as using an Ephoran digression on growing Athenian imperialism in 11.70.2–3, in which Diodorus wrongly assumed that Aigina was an ally, and a more accurate reflection of Thucydides (whether Ephoran or not) in 11.78.3–4.¹³ There ought, however, to be a better reason for the date of 464/3 (and Aigina sits badly in a digression on Athens' allies, as Meiggs noted). Despite the discrepancy between one being a rebellious member of the Delian League and the other being an independent erstwhile ally in the Hellenic League, Thasos and Aigina do not fit poorly together as successive objects of Athenian interest during the 460s. The subjugation of Thasos had removed another significant naval rival of the Athenians. The strong naval states in the League had cooperated, and Sparta had done nothing (against its intentions as was learned later: Thuc. 1.101.1–2). If I am correct that Aigina had stood aloof from the Peloponnesian League, any inhibition against poaching among Sparta's allies—overcome with the Megarians in any case, a few years later—would not have been a factor restraining the Athenians in the 460s.¹⁴ The Spartans were distracted by the Helot Revolt, a situation which even their allies in Corinth had exploited to begin military actions against Megara.¹⁵ Agitation at Athens may well have exploited the problems of Sparta to revive the issue of the previous misdeeds of the Aiginetan oligarchy.

of Damia and Auxesia). ("The Aiginetans, thereafter, who built ships and were indulging in senselessness, revolted from the Epidaurians. Since they were at odds with them, they pillaged them, with the result that, because they were masters of the sea, [they carried off the statues of Damia and Auxesia]"). For the term *πόλεμος ἀκήρυκτος*, which implies an irregular conflict, beyond the limits of diplomatic interaction, see Figueira, *CP* (1981) 6 n. 31 with citations and *QUCC* (1988) 78–79.

¹³ See Meiggs 455–56. Earlier scholarship had worked out several other features of the narrative. G.F. Unger, "Diodors Quellen im XI. Buch," *Philologus* 41 (1882) 78–139, esp. 109–13, pointed out that Diodorus was compressing a longer narrative of Ephorus.

¹⁴ See Figueira, *CP* (1981) 16–19. Philochorus, *FGH* 328 F 117 characterizes well this essential element in the shifting political climate at Athens: *ὁ δὲ Φιλόχορος φησι καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λαβεῖν διὰ τὰς κατασχούσας τὴν Λακεδαίμονα συμφοράς* ("Philochorus says that the Athenians took hegemony through the misfortunes affecting Sparta").

¹⁵ Figueira, *Theognis* 155–56.

Against this background, no one should be surprised that the oligarchic suppression of the Aiginetan *dāmos* and Nikodromos, which had occurred c. 489, might have been recalled c. 464/3. After all, the affair continued to be a topic of some feeling during the period when Herodotus was questioning informants in Attica. While we tend to view Nikodromos and his followers as rebels against an established oligarchy, it is equally possible for an interested party to take a reverse, populist perspective on the matter. In this, the Aiginetan oligarchy could be seen as standing in rebellion from a sovereign Aiginetan *dāmos*. That *dāmos* was now Athenian, so that the mere continuation of the original constitutional arrangement could be seen as *Αἰγινήτας ἀποστάντας* 'Aiginetans in revolt' from an Athenian partisan perspective.¹⁶

The text of Diodorus as it stands may then be the result of a series of accretions following roughly this path. Hellanicus may have drawn on the same Athenian criticisms of Aiginetan arrogance, ones based on a misuse of maritime strength and on unprovoked aggression against Athens, as Herodotus had done in his inquiries. Along with an anti-Aiginetan coloration, Athenian rhetoric about oligarchic "rebellion" may have come along too. With a characteristic lack of interest in chronology (cf. Thuc. 1.97.2), Hellanicus appended a note on the downfall of Aigina to his account of the revolt of Thasos, another maritime power, because the first steps in the renewal of conflict between Athens and Aigina took place at some date in the 460s (eventually becoming Diodorus' 464/3).¹⁷ A later Atthidographer (Cleidemus or more probably Androtion) then used Thucydides to supply a more detailed description of the subjection of Aigina in its correct chronological setting, but he also kept the satisfactory anti-Aiginetan polemics of Hellanicus and earlier *Atthides*.

Ephorus may then have used both *Atthides*. He used an overview of Hellanicus on Athenian imperialism because Thasos, Aigina, and the operations around the Ennea Hodoi demonstrated Athenian power politics, and some other striking details on Aigina could be introduced in

¹⁶ We may get a hint of this sort of polemicizing in Diodorus' description of the Aiginetans as οἱ τὴν Αἶγιναν κατοικοῦντες (11.78.4).

¹⁷ Badian, *EMC* (1988) 316 and n. 37, also rejects the idea that D.S. 11.70.2-3 is a pure doublet, but should not be followed in his supposition of a brief war. The sequence of naval battles at Kekryphaleia and Aigina, both seemingly won handily by the Athenians, suggests that the Peloponnesian and Aiginetan fleets were not allied until Athens attacked Aigina (Thuc. 1.105.2). One must remember that many Athenian ships were in Egypt in any accounting. See Figueira, *CP* (1981) 19-21.

excursus.¹⁸ The very bias of this exposition with its Aiginetan "revolt" might have helped to illustrate Athenian actions toward Aigina as groundlessly aggressive. The second account of the fall of Aigina was a reflection of the more neutral (but still partisan) account of the second *Atthis*, which was based on Thucydides. Diodorus treated all of Ephorus' illustrative matter as if it had happened at the chronological point at which it was found in Ephorus, creating the doublets with their similarities and discrepancies.¹⁹

If this reconstruction is correct, Diodorus 11.70.2 would suggest that Athenian pressure on Aigina in the 460s contained significantly the charge that the Aiginetan oligarchy should consider itself in rebellion from Athens. At this time, the pressure may not have gone beyond agitation about Aigina and proposals in the assembly from anti-Cimonian partisans, which might or might not have been followed by diplomatic representations.

Athenian aspirations to ownership over Aigina were perhaps still impeded by a recognition of the validity of the autonomy of the island. Our problem about Aiginetan autonomy is that we first hear of it much later, on the eve of the Peloponnesian War. At this time, it is serving as fodder for Spartan propaganda (Thuc. 1.67.2; cf., e.g., Thuc. 3.64.3) and is being challenged by Perikles (Thuc. 1.139.1, 144.2).²⁰ My view is that such a concession by the Athenians is most easy to understand in the context of the mediation of the conflict between the two states which accompanied the general reconciliation of enemies at the establishment of the Hellenic League against Persia in 481 (Hdt. 7.145.1).²¹ Others would associate the guarantee with the Thirty Years Peace of 446/5.²² The weakness of this position is obvious when we consider how strange it is, in that case, that Thucydides made virtually nothing of such a good

¹⁸ A. von Mess, "Untersuchungen über die Arbeitsweise Diodors," *RhM* 61 (1906) 244-66, esp. 248-49.

¹⁹ For another example of Diodorus' inability to adjust to changes in the presentation of material in Ephorus from comment to narrative, see A. Andrewes, "Diodorus and Ephorus: One Source of Misunderstanding," in J.W. Eadie and J. Ober, eds., *The Craft of the Ancient Historian: Essays in Honor of Chester G. Starr* (Lanham, MD 1985) 189-97.

²⁰ See Figueira, *Athenaeum* (1988) 526-28.

²¹ Figueira, *BICS* (1990) 82-86.

²² M. Ostwald, *Autonomia: Its Genesis and Early History* (*American Classical Studies* 11, 1982) 23; Meiggs 183-84; *SVF* 2.75; *ATL* 3.303, 320; D. Kagan, *The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War* (Ithaca 1969) 258-60.

casus belli for the Spartans. Moreover, the confident way in which he has Perikles uphold the probity of the Athenian stance toward the Thirty Years Peace begins to appear inexplicable if not duplicitious.

It makes better sense to see the Athenians in the 460s as inhibited against aggression toward the Aiginetans by their continuing membership in the Hellenic League, a legality which was reinforced by residual sentiments of loyalty toward their Spartan and Aiginetan allies from the heroic struggle against Xerxes. With Kimon still the leading politician, anti-Spartan and anti-Aiginetan predilections were confined to a minority. Yet, in the next few years, one by one the preconditions for renewed struggle with Aigina were to be met.

At the time of the Great Earthquake at Sparta, the Hellenic League, although militarily inactive, was still in existence, as the affirmative response by the Athenians and Aiginetans (among others) to Sparta's request for aid against the Helot rebels shows.²³ After their dismissal from the siege of Ithome, the Athenians annulled their alliance with Sparta (Thuc. 1.102.4). Once the Athenians were unconstrained by their allegiance to the League, they immediately stepped outside its membership for alliance with the former Medizers, the Argives and Thessalians (Thuc. 1.102.4), and then trespassed on the Spartan league directly by accepting an offer of alliance by the disaffected Megarians (Thuc. 1.103.4; D.S. 11.79.1–2; cf. Plut. *Cimon* 17.1–2).

Both events had enormous significance for the Aiginetans. The Argives had been allies of the Aiginetans who had twice intervened on the island against the Athenians.²⁴ The Argive alliance with Athens showed that traditional affiliations like that would have to bow to an appreciation of military reality: Athens alone had the strength to help their city redress its territorial and hegemonal grievances against Sparta in the Peloponnesos. It was Argos not Athens that had been virtually isolated previously, so that it is improbable that the Argives could have mitigated Athenian hostility toward Aigina. The effort to draw Megara into its orbit showed the rebirth of an Athens interested in settling old scores with its neighbors. This Athens was a potential hegemonist in central Greece. Under my hypothesis on Aiginetan autonomy, the fact that the Athenians were not now restricted by any oaths of reconciliation which

²³ Note Thuc. 1.102.1–2; 2.27.2 (cf. 4.56.2); D.S. 11.64.2; Arist. *Lys.* 1137–44 with scholia; cf. Plut. *Cimon* 16.7–10, 17.3. See Figueira, *CP* (1981) 18–19 with notes.

²⁴ Hdt. 5.86.4–87.2; 6.92.1–3. The earlier of the two interventions may not be historical, see Figueira, *AJP* (1985) 59–60, 65. On the Argive/Aiginetan friendship, see Figueira, *CP* (1981) 2–4, 7–8; *id.*, “Aeginetan Independence,” *CJ* 79 (1983) 8–29.

they had once made with the Aiginetans at the time of the founding of the Hellenic League would have moved the Aiginetan question toward the top of Athens' agenda of regional hegemony.

Thus, the actual outbreak of the war between the Athenians and Aiginetans is naturally placed within a window of strategic opportunity for the Athenians, after the Peloponnesian fleets had been badly beaten at Kekryphaleia. Thucydides does not give details about who commenced hostilities, and an accidental flare-up in a climate of interstate tension cannot be totally ruled out (see n. 9, pp. 107–8 above for chronology). Nevertheless, the pro-Athenian sources of Diodorus Siculus 11.78.3–4 make no attempt to disguise an Athenian initiative to break Aiginetan power (*ἐγνώσαν καταπολεμῆσαι*), merely presenting it as a response to a pre-existing state of Aiginetan hostility and arrogance. It is likely that we possess a bit of the rhetoric from the debate authorizing military action in Perikles' famous denomination of the island as the “eyesore of the Peiraeus”: *τὸ τὴν Αἴγινα ὡς λήμην τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀφελεῖν κελεύσαι*.²⁵ Moreover, it is probable that the menace of Athenian action against Aigina had been growing for some time. Diodorus speaks of Aiginetan preparations which included the equipping of further triremes (11.78.4: *ἔχοντες δὲ τριῆρεις ἱκανὰς καὶ προσκατασκευάσαντες ἑτέρας*). The previous largest total for the Aiginetan fleet had been 70 triremes at most (Hdt. 6.92.1). That 70 ships were captured in the climactic battle with the Athenians, without accounting for those sunk or escaped, means that the fleet on the Aiginetan side—to which the Peloponnesians, beaten shortly before at Kekryphaleia, can have made no great contribution—was the largest ever mobilized by the island.²⁶ Such preparations lend credibility to the hypothesis that pressure had begun to be brought on the Aiginetans during the 460s.

B. TRIBUTARY AIGINA

1) TERMS OF SURRENDER

Unlike a place such as Melos, Aigina was not a newly conquered city when its inhabitants were uprooted and an *apoikia* established in

²⁵ Plut. *Per.* 8.7; Aris. *Rhet.* 1411a15–16; Plut. *Mor.* 186C, 803A. See Figueira, *RhM* (1990) 17. This must be an Aigina with its fleet intact, still able to menace the Peiraeus. Lyc. fr. 58 B has Perikles taking Samos, Euboia, and Aigina, suggesting responsibility for the subjugation of the island. For Xanthippos as a possible participant in hostile action against Aigina in the 480s, see T.J. Figueira, “Xanthippos, Father of Perikles, and the *Prutaneis* of the *Naukraroi*,” *Historia* 35 (1986) 257–79.

²⁶ See Figueira, *Aegina* 30–33.

431. Aigina had been tributary to the Athenians since 457–56. Even if there existed no treaty guarantee of Aiginetan autonomy in the Thirty Years Peace, pragmatism encouraged some Athenian moderation toward the Aiginetans. The Athenians were embroiled in conflict with the Peloponnesians while besieging Aigina. The terms of capitulation removed the Aiginetan military spectre, and their failure to impose sweeping constitutional changes shows the climate of the times. An insistence, for example, on the complete absorption of Aigina into Athenian possession must have seemed imprudent. Thus, the Aiginetans were permitted to capitulate under terms, albeit stringent: Thucydides specifies demolition of fortifications, surrender of the fleet, and relegation to tributary status (1.108.4). Thereafter, the Athenians did not have a totally free hand in taking whatever steps they chose in reorganizing Aiginetan political life. Nor does there appear to have been anything approaching an Athenian majority for drastic action at this time.

We have already detected in Pindar *Olympian* 8 an Aiginetan apprehension that Athens would demand a wider access to political power on the island (*Ol.* 8.21–30; *ΣOl.* 8.30c, d, i, l).²⁷ In order to counterbalance such pressure (from the Aiginetan/Athenians?), the Aiginetans used the good services of opponents of Attic imperialism like Thoukydides, later the great adversary of Perikles, and his father Melesias, who is invoked as a mentor of the honorand of the ode (54–66). While there can be no certainty that some action was not taken, any changes sponsored by Athens fell far short of the radical claims to sovereignty over Aigina implied by earlier Athenian propaganda. Toward the end of this period the Aiginetans may even have achieved a singular diplomatic success in getting their tribute lowered, and it appears that their political allies at Athens may have acted on their behalf in this matter.²⁸

²⁷ See Chapter 3, section A above.

²⁸ The only tribute figure for Aigina from the 430s comes from 433/2 when an amount of either 9T or 14T was paid (*IG* I³ 279.188). *ATL* 3.320–21 argues that a partial payment led to Athenian actions infringing on the “autonomy” which its authors suppose was guaranteed by the Thirty Years Peace (Thuc. 1.67.2). It is hard to believe that Athens had ever agreed to any stipulation that impeded its ability to compel the appropriate payment of tribute. Nor does the lower payment suggest dissidence. The Aiginetans would scarcely have conducted secret diplomacy at Sparta, only to betray their actions by resisting full payment of the tribute. They paid less because they could no longer pay as much as they had been paying. If the Aiginetans paid less than their previous 30T, the simplest hypothesis is that their assessment had been reconsidered during the 430s. The formula from the oath of the Khalkis Decree may have been standard: τὸν φόρον ὑποτελὸν Ἀθηναίοισιν, ὃν αὖ πείθο Ἀθηναίος... (“I shall pay the tribute to the Athenians, whichever I persuade the Athenians [to levy]”): *IG* I³

2) ATTICIZING CULTS ON AIGINA

There is a vital body of evidence concerning the adjustments made by segments of the population of Aigina to Athenian hegemony. A series of *horoi* ‘boundary stones’ found on Aigina constitute this evidence (*IG* IV 29–38). They are special because they are not in the dialect and script of Aigina, but primarily in that of Attica and Ionia. These *horoi* delimited precincts of Athena Polias of Athens and of Apollo and Poseidon. They were once assigned to the period of the Athenian “cleruchy” on the island.²⁹ Yet a careful analysis of their letter-forms by Barron has shown that the *horoi* ought to precede 431 (in several cases, by some period of time).³⁰ Concomitantly, the *horoi* lack affinities with *IG* IV 39 and 1588, the cult inventories which are almost certainly associated with the Athenian colony. Barron’s hypothesis would connect the *horoi* with cults imposed on the Aiginetans after their surrender to Athens (Apollo and Poseidon, and possibly Athena), or after further Aiginetan resistance in the early 440s (Athena). The *temenē* were established presumably through the confiscation of land.

40.26–27. Cf. *IG* I³ 71.22 for relief for allies afflicted by *aporia*, even under the exigencies of the Athenian war effort (the “Thoudippos Decree” of 425/4). The biographical tradition about Thucydides Olorou, but containing information about Thoukydides Melesiou, suggests Aiginetan economic difficulties by mentioning Thoukydides’ usury there (Marcell. *Vita Thuc.* 24; Anon. *Vita Thuc.* 7). See also Figueira, *BICS* (1990) 76, 78–79. This accusation may be interpreted as a partisan reaction to politicking by Thoukydides on behalf of a lowered Aiginetan tribute, on the grounds of *aporia*. The opponents of Thoukydides and his faction countered by charging that the usury of Thoukydides and not general economic conditions were responsible for the problems of the Aiginetan government in meeting its tributary responsibilities.

²⁹ Foucart 384; M. Frankel, *IG* IV, p. 10; G. Welter, “Aeginetica XXV–XXXVI,” *AA* (1954) 28–48, esp. ‘XXIX. Der Kult der Athena’ 35–36, who, however, believes that cult to be of a local Athena.

³⁰ Barron, *JHS* (1983) 1–12. His examination of the letter forms uses the standard treatments of R. Meiggs, “The Dating of Fifth-Century Attic Inscriptions,” *JHS* 86 (1966) 86–98 and M.B. Walbank, *Athenian Proxenes of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Toronto and Sarasota [FLA] 1978) 39–42. Although I cannot recapitulate Barron’s detailed examination of the letter forms of each *horos*, one should note the significant appearance of three-barred *sigmas* (*IG* IV 29, 33–35, 37, 38) and angular, tailed *rhos* (34–35; 37, Barron #9, 38?). Barron divides the *horoi* into three groups: Group I, without name of deity: his #1–2 = *IG* IV 37–38; Group II, naming Apollo and Poseidon: #3–6 = 34, 33, 35, 36; Group III, naming Athena: #7–11 = 29, 32, an inscription not in *IG*, 30, 31. Groups I–II probably belong to the 450s (#9 “certainly not after 445”), while Group III could date as late as 445–435. Group I, although their affiliation is not specified, belongs to the cult of Apollo and Poseidon: *IG* IV 34.1–2 and 38 appear to be the work of the same hand (Barron, *op. cit.*, 4).

One *prima facie* consideration encourages doubts about this interpretation. The Athenians regularly created cults when they confiscated land, as at Khalkis or on Lesbos. The taking of land for cults on Aigina would be different because it was isolated from a general confiscation, for which there is no evidence. Moreover, the imposition of Athenian cults would be a humiliating condition which, unlike the public symbolism of contributions to the Panathenaia or of first fruits to the Eleusinian goddesses, conferred no corresponding symbolic advantages on either the imperialist power or the acquiescent subject (see also Chapter 7, section A below). Humiliating rituals of subordination played out in a minor way on Aigina would not impress the Greek world in general with the magnificence of Athens. One may believe that the Athenians took pleasure in gratuitous exercises of power, but such imprudent imperialism was generally out of keeping with imperial policy.³¹ If the rest of these *temenē* were similar in quality to the *horoi*, these were not magnificent cults meant to overawe the Aiginetans with the glory of Athens.

There are, in addition, several other features of the inscriptions that tell against an "imperialist" interpretation. The quality (esp. *IG* IV 29, 34) and the variety of the lettering and layout suggests that the stones were quasi-private documents rather than civic documents, inscribed at public expense. The Ionic affinities of some letter forms (e.g. *IG* IV 33), the names of Apollo and Poseidon in the Ionic script in 33–36 and the Ionic genitive *Ἀθηναίης* in *IG* IV 32 and Barron #9 point us toward the initiative of individuals rather than the Athenian or Aiginetan states. It is an obvious conclusion that Ionic additions to *horoi* on Dorian Aigina were the work of and perhaps sponsored by Ionian residents. That we have not only a cult of Athena, but a joint cult of Apollo and Poseidon points to a more complex situation than merely an expression of Athenian hegemony. Individuals or groups of local residents both saw to the

³¹ It should be clear that this hypothesis does not entail a similar conclusion about the Samian and Koan *horoi*, for which see J.P. Barron, "Religious Propaganda of the Delian League," *JHS* 84 (1964) 35–48, esp. 35–37, 43. The Aiginetan boundary stones betray their connection with aliens to Aigina through their non-Dorian script and dialect, and not by any direct avowal. The Samian stones advertise their association with Athena Polias of Athens (*ἵστος τεμένος Ἀθηναίας Ἀθηναίων μεδέουσες*; cf. Arist. *Eq.* 581–86, 763–66; Meiggs-Lewis #23.4–5 [the "Themistocles Decree"]; Tod, *GHI* #110.10–11; Plut. *Them.* 10.4). In other words, these *horoi* proclaim their inscribers' solidarity with Athena of Athens. They are almost certainly the work of local partisans of the alliance with Athens. If the Athena of the Aiginetan *horoi* is Athena Polias (and Poseidon the lord of Sounion), for all that the *horoi* tell us they are equally Athena (and Poseidon) of Aigina.

inscription of the *horoi* and decided to supplement some of them. None of this is evidence that the cults were imposed on the Aiginetan state by Athenian mandate.

The initiative for the cults probably did derive from Athenians, as Ionic additions to Attic *horoi* (*IG* IV 33–35) render secondary the role of the Ionians. Common sense when dealing with Dorian Aigina, a subject ally of Attic Athens, points toward the same conclusion. Those who assigned the *horoi* to an Athenian "cleruchy" were opting for the most economical assumption, namely that the cult of an Attic Athena (Polias?) was introduced by its participants, Athenian immigrants. Yet, the earlier chronology for the inscriptions invalidates an identification of them as the settlers of 431. It does not, however, exclude the natural conclusion that newcomers from Athens inaugurated the new cults. I have already suggested that Athenians of Aiginetan origin may have revived an association with the island in the 450s and may also have participated in the colony of 431. Circa 457, there would have been younger refugees of c. 489 still alive and acutely conscious of their derivation. A recovery or reacquisition of property on Aigina would not have been out of the question. Some of that property might have been reserved for the consecration of precincts for these cults.

A cult of Athena, bounded by Attic *horoi*, was probably a cult of Athena Polias. To worship this deity on Aigina was to accept the legitimacy of Aiginetan dependence on Athens, religious as well as political. Against any doubts of this interpretation, Herodotus again supplies the specific evidence in support (5.82.1–84.2).³² According to traditions common to the Athenians, Epidaurians, and Aiginetans, the Epidaurians had once paid dues to Athena Polias in return for olive wood provided for statues of the goddesses of fertility, Damia and Auxesia, which were necessary to end a drought. When the statues were seized by the Aiginetans, who had revolted from Epidauros, the Athenians held that those annual payments were now owed by the Aiginetans. The Aiginetans denied such a responsibility (5.84.1–2). Homage to Athena Polias signified a symbolic recognition that the biological continuation of life on Aigina depended on a cultic link with Attica.³³ While the *horoi* are simple documents which hardly present a program of propaganda, they encode a claim transcending the degree of sovereignty officially claimed by Athens over Aigina after its capitulation on terms. The cult of Athena may have accompanied a call by Athenians and pro-Athenians for a more

³² Figueira, *AJP* (1985) 57–58, 65–67.

³³ Figueira, *AJP* (1985) esp. 65–67.

complete incorporation of the island, at a time when Athens was inclined toward caution, unwilling to overturn the Aiginetan constitution.

Yet, Ionians resident on Aigina seem to have cut (or provided for the cutting of) many of the *horoi*. Particularly striking are *IG* IV 33–35, where additional lines in the Ionic script with the names Apollo and Poseidon were later added to ὄρος τέμενος in Attic.³⁴ That pattern suggests that some (perhaps even the majority of) participants in the cult were Ionians. Thinking of the Delian League, with its significant Ionian membership, Barron introduces Apollo of Delos, the patron of the Ionians of the Cyclades, and Poseidon of the Panionion of the mainland Ionians.³⁵ That supposition is helpful, because it accounts on a traditional level for interest in the cult by Ionians. Nothing about the *horoi* themselves, however, suggests direct derivation from the two pan-Ionian cults. The separate histories of the worship of Poseidon and of Apollo among the Ionians and their popularity does not explain their pairing. But that conclusion is not surprising, if we remember that the existence of Ionian constituents of this cult does not preclude an Athenian (or Aiginetan/Athenian) initiative.

There are pedigrees for this combined cult that are much nearer to Aigina than Ionia. Apollo is the god of the temple crowning the Aiginetan acropolis on Cape Colonna (Paus.2.30.1).³⁶ Poseidon is the honorand of the impressive temple at Sounion in Attica, where the fugitive Aiginetan *dāmos* was given land by the Athenians (Hdt. 6.90).³⁷ The arrival of the Aiginetans on that site and the profits of their raids against Aigina may perhaps be seen in the temple to Poseidon, begun during the 480s and damaged to the point of abandonment in the Persian invasion.³⁸ Hence Apollo and Poseidon would be a natural pairing for

³⁴ See Barron, *JHS* (1983) 4–7 for a complete study. Note, e.g., *IG* IV 34 = Barron #3:

ὄρος
τέμενος
Ἀπολλωνος
Ποσειδωνος

³⁵ Barron, *JHS* (1983) 11, but Poseidon was not a leading patron of the Delian League.

³⁶ W.W. Wurster, *Der Apollontempel, Alt-Ägina* 1.1, H. Walter ed. (Mainz 1974).

³⁷ Evidence for the cult: *IG* I³ 8; *ΣOd.* 3.278 Dindorf; Hdt. 6.87; Arist. *Eq.* 560 with scholia 560a, c J/W; Scylax *Periplus* 57, *GGM* 1.46.

³⁸ For a date, see I.M. Shear, "Sounion," in R. Stillwell et al. eds., *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton 1976) 854–55; cf. V. Staës, *To Σουνιον* (Athens 1920) 24–27; A.B. Tataki, *Sounion: The Temple of Poseidon* (Athens 1978) 34.

Aiginetan/Athenians who resumed contact with Aigina, as these gods are not, it appears, paired elsewhere.³⁹

Nevertheless, the cults were supported by Ionians living on Aigina. Details are lacking about the legal status of individuals on Aigina, so that it is uncertain whether these Ionians were *xenoi*, metics, or second-class citizens.⁴⁰ Aiginetan merchants had competed with, probably imitated, and, in some cases, finally supplanted Ionian traders in the sixth century; they are found together at Naukratis, in Etruria, and in the Black Sea.⁴¹ By the early fifth century, Ionian trade had declined in the face of Persian pressure and the Aiginetans were at the height of their prosperity. A shift in the focus of commerce from Ionia to Aigina is possibly demonstrated by two features of contemporary coinage: 1) old Ionian electrum coins had gravitated into Aiginetan hands, to be melted down and their silver used in Aiginetan coins; 2) Aiginetan coins became so prevalent in international circulation that fifth-century Samians overstruck them as a shortcut in minting.⁴² Moreover, the population of Aigina grew through immigration, and not only through natural increase.⁴³ Therefore the Ionians, whose existence is documented by the *horoi*, were immigrants who came to Aigina to carry on commerce or the craft manufacture which trade stimulated. The movement of some of these Ionians to Aigina may even have been encouraged by the island's incorporation into the Athenian *arkhē*. Whether the Ionians were socially and ideologically distinct from the Aiginetan *dāmos* during the 450s and 440s is unknown.⁴⁴

³⁹ Apollo and Poseidon were not commonly linked. L.R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek City States* 4 (Oxford 1907) 73–97, cf. 433–54, provides no other examples.

⁴⁰ For persons of different statuses, who were available for service in the warships on Aigina in the early fourth century, see Figueira, *RhM* (1990) 39–40.

⁴¹ See Figueira, *Aegina* 237–52, 264–70. Especially important for documenting this succession is the figure of Sostratos of Aigina, attested as the wealthiest Greek in Herodotus (4.152.3), known from a dedication at Gravisca in Etruria to the Aiginetan Apollo within a cult context created by Ionians, and connected by A.W. Johnston with the ΣO marking on Attic pots exported to Etruria ("The Rehabilitation of Sostratos," *PP* 27 [1972] 416–23). See M. Torelli, "Il santuario di Hera a Gravisca," *PP* 26 (1971) 44–67.

⁴² See W. Gentner, O. Müller, G.A. Wagner, and N.H. Gale, "Silver Sources of Archaic Greek Coinage," *Naturwissenschaften* 65 (1978) 273–84, and, for the economic history, see Figueira, *Aegina* 146–47. On Samian overstrikes, see L. Beer, N.H. Gale, W. Gentner, G.A. Wagner, and M.J. Price, "Archaic Greek Silver Coinage," *Metallurgy in Numismatics* 1 (1980) 1–54, esp. 45 (cf. 51); M.J. Price and N. Waggoner, *Archaic Silver Coinage: The Asyut Hoard* (London 1975) 89.

⁴³ Figueira, *Aegina* 49–52.

⁴⁴ If we accept the Pindaric evidence that the oligarchs were under pressure to democratize after the surrender of Aigina, the descendants of the fugitive Aiginetan *dāmos* of

The importance of the *horoi* is that they provide a link between early fifth-century moves taken by the Athenians to claim hegemony over Aigina, tributary Aigina after 456, and the establishment of the Athenian ἔποικοι on the site. Despite a surrender that left Aigina under its own government, earlier, more intrusive Athenian claims never completely lapsed. Moreover, alongside the legalistic and strategic arguments for expulsion of the Aiginetans, which are reported by Thucydides, there existed the politico-religious contention that the Aiginetan oligarchs were to be removed for blood guilt, which Herodotus heard from his mid-fifth-century informants.

3) IG I³ 38

It is in this context of political interplay on Aigina that the inscription IG I³ 38 is to be placed.⁴⁵ We may now accept it as generally agreed that the inscription does in fact refer to the Aiginetans.⁴⁶ The discussion of the inscription, however, has been bedeviled by its insertion into the issue of Aiginetan autonomy. My reasons have already been presented for believing that Aiginetan autonomy was guaranteed in the context of the creation of the Hellenic League and not in connection with the Thirty Years Peace. Even if that view is not accepted, it is apparent that nothing here can be germane to the question of autonomy. Attempts to see in the φυλακῆν of line 4 the grievance justifying Aiginetan complaints to Sparta in 432–31 appear singularly unjustified.⁴⁷ The Athenians can never have made any engagements about Aigina that tied their hands in conducting the defense of an allied city (without undermining

the 480s might even have been joined by members of a dissident *dāmos* of the mid-fifth century. P. Le Bas read the Doric form *Aθαναίης* on a *horos* ("Voyages et recherches archéologiques en Grèce et en Asie Mineure," *RA* 1 [1844] 98–106, esp. 100). He may have misread *Aθαναίης* of IG IV 31 (which fits the find spot, Ay. Athanasios) or may have seen a stone now lost. Cf. Barron, *JHS* (1983) #11, pp. 8–9, who does, however, also note that the cross-bar of the alpha slanting to the left of IG IV 30 = Barron #10 may betray an Aiginetan hand, and cites Jeffery, *LSAG* 109, who calls it characteristic (it is also unusual). Cf. L.H. Jeffery, "IG I², 1007: An Aiginetan Grave-Inscription," in Bradeen and McGregor, *Φορος* (Festschrift Meritt) 76–79.

⁴⁵ IG I² 18; J.J.E. Hondius, *Novae Inscriptiones Atticae* (Leiden 1925) 3–6; A.S. Nease, "Garrisons in the Athenian Empire," *Phoenix* 3 (1949) 102–11, esp. 103–5; D.M. Lewis, "Notes on Attic Inscriptions," *BSA* 49 (1954) 17–50, esp. 21–25; *SVF* #141; H.B. Mattingly, "Athens and Aigina," *Historia* 16 (1967) 1–5, cf. *SEG* 23 (1968) 4.

⁴⁶ Cf. H.B. Mattingly, "Athens and Aigina: A Palinode," *Historia* 26 (1977) 370–73.

⁴⁷ Cf. Nease, *Phoenix* (1949) 105; Lewis, *BSA* (1954) 22, 25; Mattingly *Historia* (1967) 1–2.

their hegemonal *raison d'être*). How could a tributary city without a fleet be defended without the capacity to base forces in it as necessary?

Before continuing with an analysis, let me reproduce the text of the inscription, following IG I³.

[.] ε[.] λ-----
 [.] τ[ο]ῖς Αἰγιν[ε]τῶν --- ἐπὶ? κ]-
 ακοργίαι δὲ τῇ[]-----
 ν τῆμ^{uv} φυλακῆ[ν]-----
 5 ντα χσυνκείμε[να]----- ha]-
 ἰ εἰσιν αὐτοῖς []----- ἐπὶ
 βλάβει τῇ Ἀθεν[αίον]-----
 ον μὴ πεμαίν^{uv} ε[ν]-----
 ν' ἂν δὲ αἵτιοι []----- στρ]-
 10 ατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τ-----
 κες ὅσες αὖ []-----

In line 2, either the dative of the ethnic or the genitive would be a possibility. IG I² 18 prints τ[ο]ῖς Αἰγιν[ε]τῶν 'to/for the Aiginetans', which Hondius offers as one possibility.⁴⁸ IG I³ prints the genitive, which was Hondius' other alternative.⁴⁹ If a partitive genitive is understood here, the possibility would be greater that a retrospective viewpoint and a differentiation among the Aiginetans is at issue, as I suggest below. Mattingly offers . . . τοῖς πρέσβεσι τ[ο]ῖς Αἰγιν[ε]τῶν . . . 'to/for the ambassadors of the Aiginetans' (cf. IG I³ 127.7: ἐπαινέσαι τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς Σαμίους). That conjecture would also fit well with the supposition that the inscription reflects elements suggested by the Aiginetans and was hurriedly erected at their expense (before the embassy returned home).

The word κ[α]κοργίαι possibly marks an allusion to raiding rather than the general charge of criminality; at least, a strong group of attestations from Thucydides and other contemporary authorities offer this

⁴⁸ Many plural ethnics in the dative with articles are accepted by IG I³, of which the most likely are 10.5: τοῖς Φασηλίταις; 17.6–7: τοῖς [Σι]γειῶ[σιν]; 66.9 τ[ο]ῖς Μυτιλε-ν[αίοις]. Cf. 76.11–12.

⁴⁹ Lewis suggested a clause for Aiginetan erection of the decree (inherently plausible in itself) with wording like IG I³ 17.10–12: ἐν σ[τέλει λιθί]ναι τ[έ]λεσι τοῖς Σιγ[ε]ῶν. Cf. the restoration in 37.39–40: ἐστέλει λιθί[ναι] ἐμ πόλει τέλει[σιν] τ[ο]ῖς Κολοφο[νί]οις. Nonetheless, this would be an odd place for that provision, as Lewis concedes. He does, however, compare IG I³ 8.14.

sense for the related verb *κακουργέω*.⁵⁰ Moreover, in Thuc. 1.37.2, the Corinthians describe the Corcyrean aloofness from alliances as ἐπὶ κακουργία 'for malfeasance', a pattern of behavior which probably includes both physical harassment and exploitation by one-sided adjudication for those sailing Corcyrean waters. Lewis urges that the term φυλακέ[ν] is less likely to mean 'garrison', and instead should be construed as 'military watch', a connotation appearing in several imperial inscriptions.⁵¹ A parallel for what appeared in these damaged lines may well be provided by a decree of Moirokles, cited in an oration attributed to Demosthenes. This psephism established a watch against those committing hostile acts against merchants: ὁ τὸ ψήφισμα γράψας κατὰ τῶν τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἀδικούντων, καὶ πείσας οὐ μόνον ὑμᾶς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους φυλακὴν τινα τῶν κακουργούντων ποιήσασθαι... ('[Moirokles] proposed the decree against those harming the merchants, and convincing not only you but also the allies to mount some guard against those raiding...': 58.53). The citation of this legislation is striking for its combination of the same φυλακ- and κακουργ- word elements found in IG I³ 38. The sort of harm against which the decree acted is made clear by the speaker shortly hereafter: the Athenians intended to fine the Melians 10T because they had received λησταιί (58.56).

The oath which the Athenians are to swear to the Bottiaians presents a context which is helpful for explaining the term *χσυνκείμενα* (l. 5): καὶ τὲν *χσ[υμμαχία]ν πιστὸς καὶ [ἀδ]όλο[ς] φυλάχσο* Βοττιαίοις *προ[θυμόμε]ν[ος] κατὰ τὰ χ[συν]κείμενα* ('and I shall faithfully and sincerely protect the alliance with the Bottiaians, being zealous in accordance with the agreements': IG I³ 76.13–15). Note that the verb φυλάσσω also appears in this context.⁵² A reference to ἀμυνὸ τοῖς Βοττιαίοις τοῖς *χσυντιθεμέ[νοι]ς [τὲν χσυνμαχίαν]* (11–12: 'I shall defend the Bottiaians establishing the alliance') indicates that *χσυνκείμενα* are

⁵⁰ For *κακουργέω*: Thuc. 2.22.2; 2.32.1; 3.1.1–2; 4.53.3; 6.7.3; 7.19.2, cf. 2.67.4; Xen. HG 3.1.13, 3.2.1; 4.8.7; 5.4.16; 5.4.42; [Dem.] 7.14.

⁵¹ See Lewis, BSA (1954) 24–25; cf. Nease, *Phoenix* 104–5. IG I³ 40.76–78: *περὶ δὲ φυλακῆς* Εὐβοίας τὸς στρατηγὸς ἐπιμέλῃσθαι *hos ἂν δύνονται ἄριστα*...; 65.11–13: *τ[ὸ] δὲ χορ[ί]ο Διδὸς* *ἡ[ε]ρὸ ἐπιμέλῃσθαι αὐτὸν τῆς φυλακῆς*...; 96.16–17: *καὶ ὅπως ἂν μ[ε]δ[ε]ν βλάβηται* Ἀθηνᾶοι *μ[ε]δ[ε]ξ* Σάμιοι καὶ *μὲ καταλύεται ὁ πόλεμος, καταστῆσαι* τὸς στρατηγὸς *τὲν φυλακὴν πανταχό*...; 117.18–20: *καὶ ἐπὶ Ἰονίαν κομίζεται* *ἡ [στρατιὰ φυλάχσοσα φυ]λακὴν τὲν ἄριστον*; cf. 21.83; 146.1–3. The suggestion of IG I² 18 and Hondius that here are terms for the departure of the Peloponnesian reinforcements (cf. Thuc. 1.105.3) has rightly received little support.

⁵² Cf. IG I³ 12.3–4: *χσυνμαχίαν εἶναι κατὰ τὰ χσυνκείμενα* τὰ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους *ἡ Εὐσταίους ἐστίν*.

interstate agreements, as *σύγκειμαι* must be considered a virtual passive of *συντίθημι* here. IG I³ 75, the treaty with Halieis, offers ἐν ταῖς *χσυνθ[έ]κ[αις] ἡδὲ χσυνθέεντ[ο] πρὸς ἡαλιᾶς* [hoi ἐπὶ] τὰ *χσυνκείμενα* (29–30). Perhaps *χσυνθέκας* may be restored as the antecedent of the relative clause in lines 5–6. Lewis' comment that this clause sets up the quotation of terms from an earlier treaty (in ll. 7–10) strikes the right note. My own hypothesis is that the document is an Attic decree, making arrangements on the basis of treaty rights (*vis-à-vis* *φυλακῇ*) and taking action against individuals, and not against the Aiginetan state.

Use of the terms *ἀβλαβής* and *ἀβλαβῶς* is a standard feature of oaths or of comments on the fidelity to oaths and treaties during the empire (IG I³ 37.52; 53.14; 54.23; cf. 29.5; 83.2; 86.3). Other examples of the phrase ... ἐπὶ βλάβει τῇ Ἀθεν[αίον]... 'for harm to the Athenians' (l. 7) are lacking from IG I³. A law quoted by Demosthenes offers the parallel phrase ... ἐπὶ βλάβη τοῦ δήμου... 'for harm to the *dēmos*' (21.113).⁵³ Furthermore, a decree of 324/3 uses the same phrasing as our inscription in precisely the converse situation from the application of *ἀβλαβής*. It occurs in a psephism on behalf of the Attic cult fellowship of the Eikadeis. Oaths sworn by the Eikadeis are being violated by Athenians who are giving false witness and litigating in opposition to other members of the fellowship: *τι[ν]ες πράττοντες καὶ λέγοντες κατὰ Εἰκαδέων ἐπὶ βλάβει τῶν κοινῶν τῶν Εἰκαδέων διατελοῦσι*... ('Some continue acting and speaking against the Eikadeis for the purpose of harm to the Eikadeis in common': IG II² 1258.4–6; cf. 10–11). That such language was available in the fifth century is shown by the legalistic argument of the Corinthian speaker whose purpose it is to dissuade the Athenians from the alliance with Corcyra: *εἰ γὰρ εἴρηται ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἐξεῖναι παρ' ὁποτέρους τις βούλεται τῶν ἀγράφων πόλεων ἐλθεῖν, οὐ τοῖς ἐπὶ βλάβη ἑτέρων ἰοῦσιν ἡ ξυνθήκη ἐστίν*... ('For, if it is stated in the treaty that it is possible that any one of the unenrolled cities may join which side it wishes, the clause is not open to those joining for the purpose of harm to others...': Thuc. 1.40.2).

The usage of *πημαίνω* is also unparalleled, but its sense not beyond conjecture. Its use in Plato's *Laws* suggests that it had a place in legislation about criminal action (especially that causing physical harm).⁵⁴

⁵³ Other literary analogues are such phrases as *οὐκ ἐπὶ βλάβη τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν*... (Thuc. 8.72.1); *ἐπὶ βλάβη τοῦ πλήθους* (Dem. 24.204).

⁵⁴ Note Plato *Laws* 933E: *ὅσα τις ἂν ἕτερος ἄλλον πημήνη κλέπτων ἢ βιάζόμενος, ἂν μὲν μείζω, μείζονα τὴν ἑκτισιν τῷ πημανθέντι τινέτω*... ('In as many cases as someone harms another, cheating or using violence, the greater the crime is, the greater

There are, however, other, more apposite, parallels. Herodotus employs it almost formulaically for Mardonios' refraining of ravaging Attica until he was sure that the Athenians would not accept terms: οὐτε ἐπήμεινε οὐτε ἐσίνετο γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν... ("he neither damaged nor harmed the Attic land...": 9.13.1).⁵⁵ In the Athenian alliance with the Argives, Mantineans, and Eleans, similar phraseology based on the noun *πημονή* is used to signify hostile incursions: ἡόπλα δὲ μὲ ἐχσεῖναι ἐπιφέρειν ἐπὶ πεμονεῖ μέτε Ἀργεῖος καὶ Ἐλεῖος καὶ Μαντινέας [καὶ τὸς χσυνμάχος ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίος καὶ τὸς χσυνμάχος ἦδν ἄρχοσι Ἀθηναῖοι... ("It is not permitted that either the Argives, Mantineans, or Eleans bear arms for the purpose of harm to the Athenians and the allies whom they lead...": *IG* I³ 83.4–5; restored after the text in *Thuc.* 5.47.2; cf. 5.18.4 for similar language in the Peace of Nikias). Similar wording is restored in the treaty of 368/7 with Dionysios of Syracuse (*IG* II² 105.25–26, 29–30). The appearance of these examples in treaties with Dorian states may suggest that such clauses belonged to non-Athenian diplomatic usage and were included through the intervention of the other parties to the agreements.

The clause with ... *στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ*... (ll. 9–10) has its analogues in other imperial decrees. The Brea Decree has *ἐὰν δὲ τις ἐπιστρατεύει ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν τῶν ἀποίκων*... ("if anyone campaigns against the land of the colonists...": 46.17–18; cf. 86.8; 89.40), which is a provision for aid from the neighboring allied cities. From the 420s, a decree probably involving Mytilene contains the following stipulation in a likely restoration: *μεδὲ αὐτὸς λείξε[σθαι μεδ'] [ἐπιστρατεύεσθαι μετὰ τῶν πολ[εμίων ἐπ'] Ἀθηναίος*... ("they themselves are neither to pillage nor to go on campaign with the enemy against the Athenians...": 67.8–10). The alliance with Halieis possibly provides still another formulation in the same class: *μεδὲ χσ[υ]στρατεύεσθαι μετὰ τῶν πολ[εμίων ἐπ'] Ἀθηναίος μεδ' ἐπὶ τὸς χσυνμάχος τὸς Ἀθηναίων* ("and not to campaign in concert with the enemy against the allies of the Athenians": 75.9–10). It is noteworthy that these clauses derive from agreements with autonomous or independent allied states, as well as from the colony Brea. The interpretation of this section of *IG* I³ 38 is complicated by the word *αἵτιοι* which usually has a connotation of

the reparation that he must pay to the one harmed..."). Cf. *Laws* 862A; 932Ebis. The verb is more common in poetry, being especially employed by Sophocles (*Ajax* 1155, 1314; *El.* 336; *OC* 837, 893; *Tr.* 715; fr. 910 Radt).

⁵⁵ *IG* I² 18 suggests *ἐ[σίνεσθαι]* in l. 7.

personal responsibility in Attic inscriptions (*IG* I³ 104.12, 23–24, 28; 125.8, restored). Hondius conjectured: *ἐὰν δὲ αἵτιοι γίγνονται*... *στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, βοεθῆν Αἰγινέτας* ("if they are responsible... that there be a campaign against the *dēmos* of the Athenians, the Aiginetans are to aid"). Although a clause envisaging operations against Attica is likely here, the *γ* is improbable.⁵⁶ *IG* I³ has *ι* (following Nease and Lewis). Thus *ἰδιῶται* 'private individuals' is a possible restoration (e.g., *IG* I³ 278.VI.19 with 40.6, 72.11, 101.53).⁵⁷

The broad epigraphical frame of 460–45 can now be juxtaposed with the historical data to allow some conclusions about dating.⁵⁸ Clauses about *φυλακή* seem to date from wartime. If my interpretation of the word *κ[α]κοργία* is correct, a period of hostilities is also indicated. Obviously the inscription cannot date before the fall of Aigina, but there is nothing in it that certifies that it need be equated with the terms of the island's capitulation to the Athenians (as Hondius suggested). Lines 6–10 cannot be said with certainty to have assumed a retrospective view, but *βλάβει, μὴ πεμαίνεν*, and *αἵτιοι* suggest that the framers of the decree had already envisaged the hostile acts which they sought to prohibit. This language, which cannot be directly paralleled from Athenian treaties, has hints of individual culpability, which might imply that certain persons rather than the totality of the Aiginetans were trespassing on previous agreements.

It is clear also that a date before 450 is epigraphically too early. Lewis compares the regulations for Miletos (*IG* I³ 21), the Koan version of the Coinage Decree (Meiggs-Lewis #45 = *IG* I³ 1453 B), and the Khalkis Decree (*IG* I³ 40). The *μὴ* in line 8 also points toward the early 440s. Yet, however much one is tempted to accede to the authority of Lewis that the inscription with its three-barred *sigmas* can be as late as 445, a date in the early 440s is more satisfactory. Moreover, a date after the Thirty Years Peace has nothing to recommend it except the need to establish a framework for the supposed Athenian abridgment of Aiginetan "autonomy".

A ring of fire was thrown around Attica by the revolts of 447/6 in Boiotia, Euboia, and Megara, with Aigina the conspicuous absentee.

⁵⁶ *IG* I² 18 prints *γίγνονται* (Lewis: "quite impossibly"), but the *γ* is accepted by Mattingly, *Historia* (1967) 2.

⁵⁷ A possible restoration for the end of 10 and beginning of 11 would be *φυλακῆς* (*IG* I² 18), or even *Ἀττικῆς*. Hondius suggests *χσυνθέ[κ]ες* as an alternative to *φυλακῆς*.

⁵⁸ 459–57: *IG* I³ 18; Hondius 4–5; early 450s: Nease, *Phoenix* (1949); 445: Lewis, *BSA* (1954) 22; late 430s: Mattingly, *Historia* (1967) 3–5 (followed by Schuller 34).

The measures hinted at in this fragmentary text may have addressed the danger of trouble with the Aiginetans. The most likely form for such aggression to take will have been raids mounted from the Peloponnesos on Aigina or, after landfalls among the pro-Peloponnesians on the island, on Attica itself. Hence the concern of this decree with the threat of military action and its hints in ἐπὶ βλάβει and αἵτιοι that such action may already have taken place. The Aiginetans may have been in a delicate position, since it is likely that fugitives from the island would have been helping Peloponnesian forces operate.⁵⁹ *IG* I³ 38 may show an acceptance of responsibility on the part of the Aiginetans to take precautions because of an actual or prospective culpability of their fellow citizens for raids on Attica. Lewis has pointed out that the quality of the inscription suggests that it was erected by the Aiginetans. Rather than seeing it as the fulfillment of an obligation on the cheap, I should prefer to posit that it was a hurried production, which was meant to advertise the cooperation of the Aiginetans with Athenian defensive measures. Such a gesture was meant in the same spirit as the bridge-building with Athenian conservatives which was aimed at defusing any tilting of Athenian public opinion in the direction of removing the "eyesore of the Peiraieus" once and for all.

4) CONCLUSION

We do not know the size of the contingent of ἔποικοι 'reinforcing settlers' who were dispatched to Aigina. Thus, it is difficult to specify the scale of demographic disruption on the island. A few prominent pro-Athenian Aiginetans, the inevitable *proxenoi* and Athenian agents, almost certainly retained civic status in the ἀποικία. Various other possibilities exist, about which conclusions are in the last analysis unreachable. First, former Aiginetan citizens who had no implication in the decisions of the oligarchs may have joined repatriated Aiginetan/Athenians and additional *epoikoi*. Any citizen-rights they possessed on Aigina need not have entailed the acquisition of Athenian citizenship. Barring this dispensation, lower-class Aiginetans might in some cases even have preferred to stay on the island (rather than be expelled), perhaps now with the status of metic rather than the rank of politically inactive citizen as before.

⁵⁹ Compare my discussion in *Athenaeum* (1988) 533–42 on the Aiginetan exiles during the Peloponnesian War and *RhM* (1990) 31–45 for Aiginetan help to Sparta during the Corinthian War.

The Athenians had an "escape-clause" (if they chose to exercise it) for absolving members of the Aiginetan *dēmos*, because they did not participate in decision-making in the 480s or just before the war.⁶⁰ All this speculation, however, must be balanced against the clear indication from the narrative of Thucydides that many of the Aiginetans faced exile. Directly through his account of the expulsion and even indirectly through his reference to the activities of the main group of the exiles in the Thyreatis, the historian leaves us with little doubt that many had left the island (e.g., Thuc. 4.56.2–57.3).⁶¹

There is also no reason to think that the Athenians expelled the non-citizen population, people like the Ionian subjects of Athens who may have been involved in pro-Athenian religious activity. Any of these "survivors" would have remained in residence, along with the Aiginetan/Athenians who resumed contact with life on the island. We can raise the same questions about their fate as have been posed regarding the Aiginetan *dēmos*, but with no more hope in the present state of the evidence of finding a clear solution. Did they become citizens of the new Athenian Aigina (without, for the moment, becoming citizens of Athens)? Yet, that "Aiginetan woman" mentioned by Dinarchus in his speech against Pytheas provides a tantalizing hint about what we do not know.

One might thereby conclude that Aigina was not destroyed as a *polis* but rather that the Aiginetans themselves were replaced within a single continuing polity. At a minimum, my so-called Aiginetan/Athenians and pro-Athenian Ionians provided the continuity that justified the denomination of the Athenian colonists as ἔποικοι. The permanence of the status of ἔποικοι for the colonists ought to be remembered here. It is not just initially that the colonists receive this denomination. Long afterwards, when the Aiginetans intervened on the side of the oligarchs

⁶⁰ A tendency in Greek historiography, which is by no means limited to Thucydides, attributes to a whole community the decisions of a relatively restricted political class. M.B. Wallace reminds me (*per ep.*) that Thucydides speaks of the Mytileneans as revolting (3.5.1; cf. 3.4.1), although the Mytilenean *dēmos* set in train a movement toward capitulation as soon as it was armed (3.27.2–28.1; cf. 3.2.3). Moreover, although it is very possibly an example of special pleading, Diodotos virtually absolves the Mytilenean *dēmos* of complicity in the revolt (3.47.3). While an instance such as this supposes a degree of generalization regarding policy-making, a parallel generality and specificity in reference to punitive measures is not available in the form of explicit testimony.

⁶¹ See Figueira, *Athenaeum* (1988) 528–38. A parallel, but more difficult, case can be made for a large, aggressive (and thereby provocative to the Athenians) Aiginetan presence at their colony of Kydonia in Crete after the expulsion (*Athenaeum* [1988] 538–42).

in 411, Thucydides still calls them *ἐποικοί*. The same is true of the *ἐποικοί* sent to Poteidaia. This suggests that these *ἐποικοί* could still be distinguished from other inhabitants of the island. As a parallel to the reconstruction of the situation at Amphipolis offered above, the citizens of Aigina were split between those who also possessed Athenian citizenship and those who did not.

Finally, sympathetic reconstructions of the legalisms, ideology, and rhetoric of Athenian colonization must yield to some thoughts on the reception of this policy among the Greeks in general. While the single decision to colonize Aigina could perhaps be justified in the context of the course of relations between the two states, the prudence of the entire foreign policy of Periclean Athens, including the establishment of Athenians overseas may be considered questionable.⁶² The Athenian claim that is implicit in the dispatch of *ἐποικοί* to Aigina is that there was a continuity on the island before and after colonization. As has already been seen, Thucydides paid little attention to this and to other such contentions. That disregard is an outgrowth of his panhellenism or his universalism. Athenian self-justification eventually lacked cogency outside Attica. Yet, the capacity of the Athenians to avenge themselves on the Aiginetans and to use the island against their enemies (which Thucydides does note in 2.27.1) was viscerally comprehensible by the other Greeks.

The late fifth century saw the breakdown of a single moral and political value-system in Greece, along with a concomitant enervation of evaluative language. What constituted a legitimization of a decision of policy in Athens, such as the reconstruction of a democratic Aigina in place of a brutal oligarchic usurpation, was indeed defensible in terms of a populist ideology that prioritized the existence of a sovereign and activist *dēmos*. But it was not only indefensible, but inexplicable among those to whom more stratified societies were natural and whose Greece was made up of an irreducible number of primordially autonomous city-states.⁶³

⁶² It will be necessary to balance the provocative character of the colonial policy against the solid financial and military gains which it offered. See Chapter 6, sections B–C below.

⁶³ It is a realization of this that adds particular poignancy to our appreciation of the debates at cross purposes over autonomy just before and during the Peloponnesian War. See Figueira, *BICS* (1990) 72–76, 86–88.

PART II

ATHENIAN COLONIZATION

CHAPTER 5: THE EARLY EVOLUTION OF COLONIAL POLICY IN ATHENS

AS NOTED in Part I, some questions concerning the nature of the Athenian ἀποικία on Aigina remain intractable in the present state of our knowledge. At the same time, what has already been reconstructed about the settlement puts before us a series of questions which involve the nature of imperial colonization itself. This part of the work will attempt to address some of the problems about colonization inspired by the case of Aigina.

1) If Aigina was an ἀποικία and not a κληρουχία (against the views of many earlier scholars), it becomes sensible to question other previous classifications of Athenian settlements abroad into different types. Can we create a revised list of colonies and cleruchies?

2) Although some have considered cleruchs as the garrison troops of the Athenian empire, the colonists on Aigina occupied a site which was militarily important. Their status as ἔποικοι may also be implicated in their military role, if ἔποικοι can be considered reinforcements. In general, what role did Athenian settlements abroad play in the defense of the *arkhē*?

3) Cleruchies have emerged from my investigation as polities which are substantially simplified in institutional terms when compared to colonial *poleis*. Under what conditions and for what political purposes did the κληρουχία as a political mechanism evolve? It has been suggested that cleruchic terminology changed its connotation in the fourth century. What were the reasons for this semantic evolution?

4) Athenian settlers abroad remained citizens, a situation with previously unappreciated ramifications. Clearly, colonization affected the distribution of citizens over census classes and, with it, the balance between socio-economic groups. Cleruchies may have had restricted eligibility, while colonies appear to have been open to any Athenian who volunteered. How did the Athenian citizen body change through colonization? Were these effects the results of deliberate policy choices?

5) Since Athenian colonists retained their rights as citizens, their dispatch overseas had significance for the Athenian government's utilization of these citizens. Therefore, it is appropriate to ask about the

effects of colonization on both Athenian manpower and the ability of the government of Athens to raise taxes from its colonists.

6) Fifth-century Athenian colonization is an integral part of the foreign policy of an expansive, imperial city-state, as the case of Aigina has repeatedly reminded us. Thus, it is not surprising that colonization during the *arkhē* differs from archaic colonization in several primary facets, such as the institution of the *κληρουχία* and the maintenance of citizenship by the colonists. How and why did imperial colonization come to diverge from the patterns established by the colonizing cities of the archaic period?

A. PATRONAL COLONIZATION

My remarks on archaic Athenian expansion and colonization will have to be rigorously selective inasmuch as previous scholarship has been voluminous and far-ranging.¹ The Athenians made a late beginning to colonization at the end of the seventh century, when an Olympic victor named Phrynnon led an attempt to colonize Sigeion in the Troad.² The chronographic tradition dating the expedition to 607/6 is probably not far off (some reasons for which will become obvious momentarily).³ This initial effort was thwarted to some extent by Pittakos and his fellow Mytileneans, including Alcaeus, who left behind his shield on one particular occasion. Pittakos fought and slew Phrynnon in single combat. At some point within this round of hostilities, Periander, tyrant of Corinth, awarded Sigeion to the Athenians.⁴ It is also possible that

¹ As seen in the bibliography which pertains to Periander's arbitration of the ownership of Sigeion in L. Piccirilli, *Gli arbitrati interstatali* 1 (Pisa 1973) 28; consider also the notes of the recent useful articles of D. Viviers, "Historiographie et propagande politique au VI^{ème} siècle avant notre ère: les Philaïdes et la Chersonèse de Thrace," *RFIC* 115 (1987) 288–313; *id.*, "Le conquête de Sigée par Pisistrate," *AC* 56 (1987) 5–25.

² Strabo 13.1.38–39 C599–60; Hdt. 5.94.2–95; Alcaeus fr. 428 L/P, cf. fr. 167; D.L. 1.74; *Suda* s.v. Πυρράκος (π 1659 Adler); Plut. *Mor.* 858A–B; Polyæn. *Strat.* 1.25; *ΣAes. Eum.* 398; Festus *Excerpta* 397; cf. Aris. *Rhet.* 1375a31.

³ Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* p. 186 Karst; Jer. *Chron.* p. 98b Helm; cf. *Suda* s.v. Πυρράκος, based on Apollodorus, *FGH* 244 F 27. Herodotus' account is reconcilable with two bouts of hostilities, one c. 600 and connected with Pittakos, Alcaeus, and Periander, and another linked with Peisistratos. See D. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford 1955) 152–61; J. Servais, "Hérodote et la chronologie des Cypselides," *AC* 38 (1969) 28–81, esp. 39–52; Figueira, *CJ* (1983) 10, esp. with n. 9. Cf. C. Talamo, "Cronologia della guerra de Sigeo," *AFLN* 8 (1958–1959) 5–17; E. Will, "Alcée, Anacréon et Hérodote: Note de chronologie littéraire," *RPh* 25 (1951) 178–81.

⁴ Hdt. 5.95.2; D.L. 1.74. See Piccirilli, *Arbitrati* 28–35. Yet, his intervention may have gone beyond arbitration. Strabo 13.1.38–39 C599–600 reports that Demetrius of

Phrynnon was involved in an early, poorly attested, stage in the Athenian occupation of the Chersonese.⁵

In the expedition to Sigeion, a prominent feature of early Athenian colonial activity can be seen. One notes the unusual prominence of the leaders of these expeditions: in this case Phrynnon is much more in the foreground of the accounts than the Athenian state in whose name he was acting. The very fact of a single combat between Phrynnon and Pittakos emphasizes this phenomenon.⁶ Nor was it an ordinary duel, as Pittakos fought with a net and trident, and some accounts stress the trickery used by the Mytilenean.⁷ Why this should have been worthy of mention in such a combat, where one would not expect rules in any case, is mysterious. One suspects that a ritualized context existed (or has been generated subsequently) for the single combat wherein Pittakos' unusual equipment was to be explained by the participants' impersonation of heroic or divine prototypes. In any event, the project appears very much an initiative of Phrynnon and his followers.

The sixth-century revival (or continuation) of colonization by Peisistratos on the site (Hdt. 5.94.1–2) was also of the same nature. The dynastic aspirations of the Peisistratids became central at Sigeion, where

Skepsis criticized Timaeus (*FGH* 566 F 129) for the statement that Periander used stones from Ilion to fortify Akhilleion against the Athenians in support of Pittakos and the Mytileneans. If it is historical, however, this action could belong to a later phase of the struggle, when Periander might have intervened against Athenian transgression of the terms of his settlement. He also arbitrated between Sigeion and Tenedos, probably as another stage in the same conflict (Aris. *Rhet.* 1375a31).

⁵ *ATL* 3.289 n. 75; H.T. Wade-Gery, "Miltiades," *Essays in Greek History* (Oxford 1958) 155–70, esp. 166 n. 2 emends [Scym.] 707–8 from Φορβων to Φρύνων, in order to make Phrynnon the founder of Elaïous in the Chersonese. Solon's encouragement of Athenian colonization of the Chersonese (if historical) would be confirmation (D.L. 1.47). Cf. *GGM* 1.224, which reads Φόρβας. The alternative would be to believe Elaïous to be a foundation of Miltiades I after the pattern of a mythological foundation of the Attic hero Phorbas, a companion of Theseus (cf. Pherecydes, *FGH* 3 F 152). See D. Viviers, "Du temps où Phorbas colonisait Éléonte," *PP* 40 (1985) 338–48.

⁶ See Strabo 13.1.38–39 C599–600; *Suda* s.v. Πυρράκος; Polyæn. 1.25; Festus *Exc.* 397.

⁷ The trick in single combat is reminiscent of the ruse used by Melanthos, the Athenian hero and paradigm for the ephebes, in his duel against the Boiotian king Xanthos (or Xanthios), where the hero may serve as a ritual surrogate for Zeus *Apātēnor* or Dionysos *Melanaigis* (Conon, *FGH* 26 F 1.39; *Suda* s.v. ἀπατορία (α 2940 Adler); *Μέλανθος* (μ 458); Frontinus *Strat.* 2.5.41; Polyæn. *Strat.* 1.19; cf. Strabo 9.1.7 C393; Paus. 2.18.9). For complete citations and a fine reconstruction, see P. Vidal-Naquet, "The Black Hunter and the Origin of the Athenians *Ephebia*," in *The Black Hunter* (Baltimore 1986) 106–28, esp. n. 15 (pp. 123–24) for ancient citations.

Hegesistratos, son of Peisistratos, was given authority, and where Hippias eventually withdrew after his expulsion from Attica. The activity of Peisistratos at Rhaikelos on the Thermaic Gulf and then in the silver and gold mining region around Mt. Pangaion also demonstrates the same type of settlement abroad by Athenians, but, in this case, without even the possibility of the official sanction of a hostile *polis*-government at home (*Ath. Pol.* 15.2; Hdt. 1.64.1).⁸ The dynastic or self-interested nature of these initiatives is borne out by their sequel. After the downfall of the Peisistratid tyranny, Hippias was offered Iolkos by the Thessalians and Anthemous in Mygdonia by Amyntas, king of Macedonia (Hdt. 5.94.1; cf. Thuc. 2.99.4–6, 100.4). Both were still-born proposals to establish the same sort of early Athenian colony.

The same Peisistratid influence may have stood in the background of the colonization of the Chersonese. Even if we choose to deny collaboration on the basis of an antipathy between the Peisistratids and the Philaids/Kimonids, the colonization of the Chersonese betrays similarities with that of Sigeion and the Thracian settlements.⁹ For the quasi-civic character of the Chersonese expedition, one notes the initiative of the Thracian Dolonkoi (cf. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δόλογοι), the problematical stance of Miltiades toward the Peisistratids, the role of Delphi as intermediary between Greeks and natives, and the composite (and non-Attic) character of the political entity eventually created (see Appendix D).

The Thracians established a tie of personal fealty with Miltiades and his family, who exercised autocratic authority over the Chersonese. The Athenians who accompanied Miltiades in the assumption of his authority—he was an *οἰκιστής* as well as a tyrant (Hdt. 6.34.1)—can also be seen as virtual retainers: they answered his summons to participate

⁸ *Ath. Pol.* 15.2: καὶ πρῶτον μὲν συνώκισε περὶ τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον χωρίον ὃ καλεῖται Ραίηλος... ("and first he unified in settlement the region around the Thermaic Gulf, which was called Rhaikelos..."). See C. Edson, "Notes on the Thracian Phoros," *CP* 42 (1947) 85–105, esp. 90–92. Cf. Lycoph. *Alex.* 1236–38 and scholia; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ραίηλος. It is possible to understand συνώκισε as 'established a colony in conjunction with others', so that it has been suggested that the settlement was a combined effort with the Eretrians, who founded Mende and Dikaia in the Khalkidike. See J.W. Cole, "Peisistratus on the Strymon," *G&R* 22 (1975) 42–44. D. Viviers, "Peisistratus' Settlement on the Thermaic Gulf: A Connection with Eretrian Colonization," *JHS* 107 (1987) 193–95, suggested Dikaia as the foundation. But surely its denomination Ἐρετριῶν 'of the Eretrians' on the tribute lists speaks against this.

⁹ Hdt. 6.34–36, 39.1; Marcell. *Vit. Thuc.* 3 = Pherecydes, *FGH* 3 F 2, Hellanicus, *FGH* 4 F 22; Marcell. *Vit. Thuc.* 4–11; Nepos *Miltiades* 1.1–2.4; Ael. *VH* 12.35.

and not a declaration by their city (Hdt. 6.36.1). The Dolonkoi eventually disappear from the historical record. Significantly, however, it is again through their initiative that Miltiades II is brought back to the Chersonese after being dislodged by the Scythians (Hdt. 6.40.1–2). Once again they intervene almost extra-institutionally (from the standpoint of a Greek *polis*) on behalf of their ruler. The war of Miltiades I against Lampsakos also has the look of a personal venture (Hdt. 6.37.1: ὁ Μιλτιάδης... πρῶτοισι τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπολέμησε Λαμψακηνοῖσι; "Miltiades... made war on the Lampsacenes, first of the rest"). Similarly, Pausanias mentions a dedication at Olympia from the campaigns of Miltiades I (probably) which bore an Attic inscription with the following epigram (6.19.6).

Ζηνί μ' ἄγαλμ' ἀνέθηκαν Ὀλυμπίῳ ἐκ Χερωνήσου
τείχος ἔλόντες Ἀράτον ἐπῆρχε δὲ Μιλτιάδης σφίν.

The men from the Chersonese dedicated me to Olympian Zeus, capturing the fort of Aratos. Miltiades commanded them.

The phrasing with the vague ἐκ Χερωνήσου suggests a single state comprising all the varied ethnic components of the peninsula, whose focus was their leader, Miltiades.

One cannot aspire here to resolve the many problems associated with Athenian intervention in the Chersonese, but attention should be called to the configuration of scholarly debate on this topic.¹⁰ The seemingly endless permutations both of chronological order relative to Athenian internal politics and of interrelations between the Philaids (or Kimonids) and the Peisistratids bespeak the personal character of grand foreign policy at Athens in this period. To reach a decision, one must ascertain the precise attitudes toward each other of two individuals, the incumbent tyrant in Attica and his counterpart in the Chersonese. The discrepancies in the ancient sources between the expedition to the Chersonese as a native initiative which came to involve the Athenian colonists, as Herodotus has it, and an Athenian colonial venture pure and simple, as Hellanicus, the source of Nepos, made it, show an unusual plasticity at

¹⁰ See, for example, U. Kahrstedt, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der thrakischen Chersones* (Baden-Baden 1954) 5–15; Will, *Nouvelle Clio* (1954) 424–38; Wade-Gery, *Essays* 165–68; N.G.L. Hammond, "II. The Philaids and the Chersonese," *CQ* 6 (1956) 113–29, esp. 117–19, 122–28; W. Leschhorn, "Gründer der Stadt": Studien zur einen politisch-religiösen Phänomen der griechischen Geschichte (Stuttgart 1984) 75–83; Isaac 166–76.

admittedly the earliest stage of attestation. That variability is owed to the predominance of individual motivations over corporate concerns.¹¹

All these projects were owed to dynastic initiative—I shall call them patronal colonies.¹² In a significant sense, the foreign policy of archaic *poleis* like Athens (agrarian, primary-production states) consolidated from the inside out. At first, relations between distant cities were mediated through the *xenia* of their aristocrats. In relations with immediate neighbors, however, foreign affairs were strongly affected by subsistence issues (such as access to land and other resources) and by feelings of affinity and alienation, springing from religion, dialect, and other cultural traits. Local policy was in effect an actualization of the sentiments of the ordinary citizen. In the case of early sixth-century Athens, recurring hostilities with Megara, a friendship with Corinth, and a mood of confrontation with Aigina were all part of an emergent, permanent regional policy. That regional policy could be independent of the life experiences of Athenian aristocrats, who might happen to be intermarrying or exchanging goods with particular peers in neighboring states.

Further away from the *polis*, where economic, cultural, and religious preoccupations were attenuated, the policy of a state like Athens could only be a limited subset of a vast number of possible interactions and initiatives (within a fragmented universe of many *poleis*). Patronal colonization does not entail a rejection of the relevance of civic interests in colonization in the face of dynastic motivations, but a recognition that the early undifferentiated and primary-productive *polis* can only have had a strategic or far-reaching foreign policy at all through the initiative of powerful individuals.¹³

¹¹ Viviers' attempt (*RFIC* [1987]) to see the dissimilarities between the treatments of Herodotus and Hellanicus in later propaganda, associated with Miltiades II and Kimon, is congruent with this perspective.

¹² This approach confesses its affinities with those like H. Berve, *Miltiades: Studien zur Geschichte des Mannes und seiner Zeit* (Berlin 1937) 26–36, who, starting from the case of the Sigeion expedition, emphasizes the personal and “tyrannical” aspects of such colonial ventures as against their “political” qualities. See also the authorities cited in Viviers, *AC* (1987) n. 1, p. 5. Note the reservations in what immediately follows.

¹³ Therefore the objections to the thesis of Berve can be given their due consideration, inasmuch as there should be no choice between a personal and a “political” diplomacy, but a recognition that the personality of powerful individuals is a modality through which the *polis* may implement a grand policy. Cf. H. Bengtson, *Einzelpersönlichkeit und athenischer Staat zur Zeit des Peisistratos und des Miltiades*, *SBAW* (1939) Abh. 1, 27–28; S. Mazzarino, “La politica coloniale ateniese sotto i Pisistratidi,” *RIL* 72 (1939) 285–318. Yet efforts to make sense of the early colonial ventures as state policy are pervaded with modernizing (or mercantilist) assumptions about ancient economies.

Let us take an example of the gradual emergence of grand policy. A mainstay of Athenian policy of the fifth century was the Athenian right to hegemony over the Ionians as their *mētropolis*. The theme of Ionian Athens is sounded as early as Solon, with his description of Attica as the oldest land of Ionia (fr. 4a.2 W). A sixth-century practical manifestation was the Peisistratid purification of Delos (Hdt. 1.64.2; Thuc. 3.104.1–2). We also see here, however, the implementation of a personal foreign policy. Herodotus juxtaposes the purification of Delos with the subjection of Naxos and its surrender to Lygdamis, who had helped Peisistratos seize power for the third time (Hdt. 1.61.4). Nor can we separate from these actions the claim of the Peisistratids to be descendants of the Pylian royal Neleidai (Hdt. 5.65.3; cf. Paus. 2.18.9). This very same descent was claimed by the traditional, founding aristocracies of Ionian cities like Miletos and Priene (Nic. Dam. *FGH* 90 F 53; Strabo 14.1.3 C633; Paus. 7.2.10). Finally, we may notice that Delos is close enough to Athens to activate Athenian local interests in expressing hegemony over the nearer of the Cyclades. There is no distinct line between regional policy and grand strategy, and civic political designs eventually expanded to absorb archaic dynastic themes.

The communities established in the period of patronal colonization were not forerunners of the imperial cleruchies in my understanding of the concept of the cleruchy. They possessed the institutions of independent *poleis*, which was the dominant mode of colonization in this period. *SIG*³ 2 of 575–50, the tombstone of Phanodikos of Sigeion, certifies the presence of Athenian colonists by the usage of Attic for one inscription, but, at the same time, indicates the existence of a *polis*.¹⁴ In the Chersonese, the Athenians were spread among a number of cities founded by Miltiades (Kriothote: Ephorus, *FGH* 70 F 40; Paktye; Kardia: [Skymn.] 699–70, *GGM* 1.223; see Appendix D). In addition, it is quite likely that the native Dolonkoi, who eventually disappear from history as a community, came to share in these settlements.

Note also G. Daverio Rocchi, “Motivi economici e pressioni sociali nelle origini dell’espansionismo ateniese,” *RIL* 105 (1971) 523–72; P. Zancan, “La politica estera di Pisistrato,” *AtV* 93 (1933–1934) 1431–40.

¹⁴ *LSAG* 72, 366–67; A.M. Cirio, “Due iscrizioni del Sigeo e la cronologia dei poeti eolici,” *BollClass* ser. 3, 1 (1980) 108–12; M. Guarducci, “La stele di Sigeo,” *ASAA* 3–5 (1941–1943) 135–40. The combination of an Ionian inscription (*n.b.* Phanodikos was originally from Prokonnesos) and an Attic inscription has been taken to suggest a reimpregnation of Athenian (Peisistratid?) influence over the site.

As the sixth century closed, the older tradition of patronal colonization was giving way before the necessary integration of powerful nobles into the network of the institutions of their home or original *polis*. The last act of patronal colonization concerned Lemnos, which became Athenian through its capture by the younger Miltiades, who sailed against it from the Chersonese. Yet, although he may have retained Imbros (Hdt. 6.41.2; D.S. 10.19.6; Nepos *Milt.* 1.5, 2.4–5), Miltiades then surrendered Lemnos to Athens (Hdt. 6.136.2–3: *ὡς ἔλων Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ τεισάμενος τοὺς Πελασγούς παρέδωκε Ἀθηναίοισι*; “that [Miltiades], capturing Lemnos and punishing the Pelasgians, had handed it over to the Athenians”. See also Appendix B).¹⁵ Thus, although Kimon (Miltiades’ son) was an active proponent of colonies (like Eion, Skyros, and the earlier attempts at the Ennea Hodoi), he was not apparently an oecist himself. He stayed in the background, priding himself rather on his accomplishments as a *stratēgos*. Sixth-century patronal colonization was too redolent of archaic tyranny, and, especially in the case of Kimon, of the trial of his father for tyranny in the Chersonese. If Viviers is correct, the Cimonian version of the colonization of the Chersonese made the operation look as much like a civic colonial venture as possible (see n. 11 above).

The qualities which have been assigned to patronal colonization will become clearer if we consider the nature of archaic colonization as practiced elsewhere. At the initiative of the Euboians and Corinthians (to name the pioneers in the colonial movement of the mid-eighth century), colonizing exploited the emergence of the *polis*-form itself. By its very nature, the *polis* is a form of social organization in which procedures, relations between groups, and institutions themselves achieve a structural and linguistic articulation. Eighth-century colonization could exist only because the rules governing human behavior in Greek communities had left behind them the unself-conscious realm of tribal and ethnic tradition, with its instinctive prerogative and obedience. Because political relations in the *polis* can be explicated, they must convey an impression of good order or elegance (*harmonia*, [*eu*] *kosmia*, *eunomia*) to their observers. Against this background, early archaic colonies were able to be (or perhaps expected to be) replicas of their mother-city. Moreover, what can be specified can also be manipulated. Thus, we find conscious manipulations of the make-up of the constituent groups within

¹⁵ Contrast this phrasing with Herodotus on Periander’s award of Sigeion in arbitration: *Σίγειον μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐγένετο ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίοισι* (“thus, then, did Sigeion come under the Athenians”: 5.95.2). Cf. Viviers, *AC* (1987) 22.

a colony to further the purposes of the founding city (such as relieving pressure from below on the hereditary elite). A noteworthy manifestation is the promotion of sub-elite groups at home to the dominating position in a colonial foundation by encapsulating them within a composite *dēmos*. The manner in which the villagers of the rural town Tenea in the Corinthia were established at the center of power at Syracuse, eventually becoming the aristocracy of the Gamoroi, is a prominent example of the lateral upward social mobility that is typical of early archaic colonization (note Strabo 8.6.22 C380). Another facet of such manipulation involves the management of the ramifications of economic differentiation. The Euboian pursuit of metals in Italy, although supplies existed much closer to home, is probably owed to a differential in the *social* costs between extraction in the motherland and in a colonial setting.

To argue that patronal colonies imitated the Athenian political order goes beyond our evidence; rather, they appear to transplant Athenian cultural traditions more informally, and not in the way that Syracuse, for example, is a replication of Bacchiad Corinth. The political situation in Attica during much of the late seventh and sixth centuries was too chaotic to permit the colonial expeditions by Athenians to implement metropolitan policy in anything except the most general sense. Even the Athenian occupation of the Chersonese, which seems to be a strategic gambit following the attempt on Sigeion, takes on a much more adventitious appearance when the initiative of the Dolonkoi is remembered. As for manipulation of the social order of a colony in order to obviate social tensions at home or to conduct economic activities which might be disruptive in the mother-city, there is again little evidence (except for patronal entrepreneurship like that of Peisistratos in the north). Our over-all impression is that Athenian colonization was marked by fluidity.

Peisistratid colonization was in the tradition of the Kypselids of Corinth, where the status of the colonies as satellites was mediated through members of the tyrannical dynasty. It is important, however, to insist on one significant difference for the Peisistratids and, *a fortiori*, for other patronal colonizers. The Kypselids were adapting a tradition of colonization which had been pioneered by their Bacchiad predecessors. On the basis of what is apparently general practice among archaic colonizers, presumably their *ἀποικοι* relinquished citizenship in their mother-city. Yet, Athens did not have a body of tradition as did the early archaic colonizers, so that the patronal colonizers of the sixth century need not have been similarly constrained. In a gentilician social order, citizenship at home in Attica was established through the standing of ordinary citizens

with aristocratic *genē*, which is not so different a thing from the relationship of an Athenian colonist to his homeland through an oecist and his family (which has been postulated). Because the social and political relations of the patronal colonies were mediated through their ruling dynasts, the status of these colonists only became a significant question in Athens after Kleisthenes, when the concept of the Athenian citizen received further consolidation (cf. the *diapsephismos* of Isagoras: *Ath. Pol.* 13.5; 21.2–4). Ordinary political rights were expanded, and probably moved toward sharper definition.

Two issues connected with the civic status of early Athenian colonists deserve to be separated: the status of patronal colonists on their return to Attica and their status as Athenians while still abroad.¹⁶ Only the first seems to have moved toward resolution during the first years of the Cleisthenic order. The citizenship of colonists who returned to Attica was probably determined by their continuing associations with persons who remained integrated within the Attic tribal order (and that would have been covalent with their social status). There can have been no doubt about the citizenship of the ex-archon, the younger Miltiades, but traditions on the parentage of Themistokles may indicate more ambiguity even for lesser aristocrats (and *a fortiori* for the mass of Athenian colonists). His father Neokles may have married a woman of Athenian or mixed extraction from the Chersonese.¹⁷

¹⁶ See Ehrenberg, "Colonies" 116–21. Perhaps the reincorporation of the Athenians sold abroad as slaves and repatriated by Solon after the *Seisakhtheia* provides a model for the reception of returning colonists (cf. fr. 36.8–12 W; Plut. *Solon* 15.6). Unfortunately, outside of the knowledge that Solon himself vouches for the fact of such a repatriation, we have nothing with which to reconstruct the political (and religious?) mechanisms which were available.

¹⁷ In the source critic's nightmare that is the genealogy of Themistokles, there exist various traditions on the ethnic affiliation of his mother (Karian, Akarnanian, Halikarnassian), including a tradition that she was a Thracian (Plut. *Them.* 1.1–2 [*Anth. Pal.* 7.306], *Mor.* 753D; Aelian *VH* 12.43; cf. Amphikrates *apud* Athen. 13.576c). P. Bicknell, "Themistokles' Father and Mother," *Historia* 31 (1982) 161–73, esp. 163–71 (who also notes Hermippus Com. fr. 72 K) resolves this conflict by positing an original tradition in which she was a Karian from the Chersonese. D.M. Lewis, "Themistokles' Mother," *Historia* 32 (1983) 245, sees her marriage *ἐξ ἀγορᾶς* (i.e., as purchased slave: Plut. *Mor.* 753D) as a distortion of an origin in the town Agora of the Chersonese (Appendix D). The tradition that Themistokles was classed among the *nothoi* 'illegitimate', and reconciled them with the *gnēsioi* 'legitimate' (Plut. *Them.* 1.3) may have nothing to do with his foreign mother (a retrojection of Perikles' dual line citizenship provision). Rather the citizenship of those participating in settlement of the Chersonese may have been questioned on their return to Attica and their children's citizenship

The civic status of those who stayed abroad was a related, but somewhat different matter, and can be approached only obliquely. The trial of the younger Miltiades for tyranny over Athenians in the Chersonese exploited such uncertainties (Hdt. 6.104.2; cf. Hdt. 6.39.2–40.1 for traces of the trial's partisanship). That the charge could have been brought suggests a basic inalienability of Athenian citizenship. The acquittal of Miltiades, however, may indicate that his authority in the Chersonese could not simply be equated with magisterial authority (or its tyrannical perversion) exercised over Athenians in Attica. This suggests that the status of Athenian colonists of the patronal colonies was still ambiguous. In Appendix B, evidence is collected that early fifth-century Lemnians envisioned themselves as Athenians. We lack the vital evidence on the Athenian government's willingness or unwillingness to countenance such pretensions. Yet, if I am correct that some inhabitants of Lemnos and the Chersonese had their citizenship recognized around mid-century, some support will have been given to such claims in the end.

In Sigeion, where Peisistratid domination lingered during the first decades of the fifth century, the protocols of patronal colonization continued. That most of the colonists had lost any claim to be Athenian during these years, perhaps because of Peisistratid control, is strongly suggested by the appearance of Sigeion on the tribute lists (IG I³ 263.IV.25 [450/49]).¹⁸ This result, however, may not have been a foregone conclusion. Aeschylus in the *Eumenides* of 458 has Athena claim the Troad as her own by grant of the victorious Greeks at Troy to be her gift to the Athenians (397–402). The scholiast thought that the poet was encouraging the reconquest of Sigeion, but that would have been unnecessary in 458. Was he claiming that Sigeion was Athenian soil, a contention that might affect a determination of the rights of the inhabitants of Attic descent? Moreover, Sigeion paid only 1000 drachmas in tribute, so modest an amount for so strategic a city that Sigeion is sometimes cited as a subject city paying support for an Athenian base in lieu of tribute.¹⁹ Alternatively, there may well have been some persons recognized as Athenian citizens at Sigeion whose presence lowered the assessment of

conditioned by an equation to the illegitimate (with unknown civic disabilities in the late sixth century?).

¹⁸ The honorific decree IG I³ 17 has the same implication. Our evidence, of course, comes from the period after 454, so that it is only Athenian attitudes around mid-century toward the Sigeians that can be reconstructed.

¹⁹ A. French, "The Tribute of the Allies," *Historia* 21 (1972) 1–20, esp. 8.

tribute. They would still have been so few that the basic tributary nature of the town was not altered (cf. *IG* I³ 17).

The legacy of early Athenian (patronal) colonization was two-fold. It established various precedents which shaped the behavior of Athenians of the period of Perikles. Interests that were taken in certain areas remained in popular memory as strategic possibilities (the islands along the route to the Propontis, both shores of the straits, the Thermaic Gulf, and the region of Mt. Pangaion). Secondly, the Athenians would eventually be confronted with several populations of Attic derivation with whom formulae for interaction would need to be devised. As Athenian power came to encompass the places which had been venues of patronal colonization, the issue of the status of the inhabitants started to be felt. The movement toward tighter criteria for citizenship, which eventuated in the Periclean citizenship law, was probably intimately related with this process. In the case of some Lemnians, it was determined that they were Athenian citizens, while others remained as pre-imperial colonists and allies of Athens (Appendix B). The people of the Chersonese seem to have been considered as mixed in extraction, with some tributaries paying the *phoros*, a token of the absence of citizenship and non-recognition as colonists (?) (see Appendix D). There may, however, have been an extension of citizenship after 448/7, when further reinforcements in the form of Athenian *epoikoi* were dispatched.

B. ATHENS AND REGIONAL EXPANSION

The expulsion of the Peisistratids marked a new stage in Athenian expansion abroad. In one sense it may be envisaged as a first phase of civic colonization, but to do so risks drawing false distinctions. The establishments on Salamis and at Khalkis could be considered colonies, but are better placed in the same dossier as Athenian advances into southern Boiotia, toward Aigina, and toward the Cyclades. Unlike patronal colonization, far-reaching maritime or strategic aspirations set in motion by Athenian dynasts were not on Athens' agenda, but rather designs on behalf of regional hegemony. Here two qualities become significant (continuing even into later Athenian colonization)—Atticocentrism and inclusivism.²⁰ By Atticocentrism, I mean the focus on Athens as a power

²⁰ There was a strong tradition at Athens of an early liberality regarding citizenship. *SThuc.* 1.2.6, p. 4.13–15 Hude: *πολῖται γινόμενοι: οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ παλαιὸν εὐθὺς μετεδίδοντο πολιτείας, ὕστερον δὲ οὐκέτι, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος* ("becoming citizens: for the Athenians from their origins shared their citizenship, but later no longer did so, on account of the size of their population"); also *Suda s.v. Περιβοῖσαι* (π 1168 Adler):

in central Greece whose borders must be secured and whose potentially hostile neighbors must be neutralized. In order to establish a hegemonal position in central Greece, the Athenians were compelled to proceed by inclusivism, a cooptation or absorption of possible allies. Eventually, the populist character of the Cleisthenic constitution made the Athenians attractive friends, not only to the communities on the northern borders of Attica, but probably also to the *dēmos* of cities with more oppressive leading classes (like the Khalkidians as presented in Appendix C and the Aiginetans).

While there has been a temptation in the past to view Salamis as the first colony or cleruchy of post-Peisistratid Athens, that appraisal must be carefully conditioned. Fifth-century Salamis was an appanage of Attica, never meant to be an independent community. Some inhabitants (probably newcomers) of the settlement (no matter what they may have been called) not only retained their Athenian citizenship, but also maintained an affiliation with the Cleisthenic tribes, as the case of Timodemos of Akharnai (to be discussed below) suggests.²¹

The community was placed on a site long claimed as Athenian, which had had a checkered history of habitation as various groups of settlers had been dislodged or reinforced during the years of confrontation

νόμος δ' ἦν Ἀθήνησι ξένους εἰσδέχεσθαι τοὺς βουλευμένους τῶν Ἑλλήνων ("there was a custom at Athens to welcome Greek foreigners who wished to immigrate"). This naturalization of the *genos* Perithoidai is put in the time of Theseus, who was held by Aththidography to have proclaimed that the city of Athens was open to immigrants: *ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ αὐξήσαι τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενος ἐκάλει πάντας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις, καὶ τὸ «Δεῦρ' ἴτε πάντες λεφ» κήρυγμα Θησέως γινέσθαι* ("[they say] that, wishing to augment still further the city, he summoned all on terms of equality, and there was the proclamation of Theseus 'Come hither all people'": *Plut. Thes.* 25.1). See A. Billheimer, *Naturalization and Athenian Law and Practice* (Diss. Princeton University 1917) 25–27. C. Patterson, *Pericles' Citizenship Law of 451–450 B.C.* (New York 1981) 70, concludes a review of Athenian population in the first half of the fifth century by positing the entry of a considerable number of non-Athenians into the full tribal system before the citizenship law. In other words, she believes that what we have called inclusivism was an active force down to 450.

²¹ It is hard to see how we can make much out of Herodotus' description of the force used by Aristides on Psytaleia in 480 for determining the status of the Salaminians: *παραλαβὼν πολλοὺς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν οἱ παρετετάχατο παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σαλαμίνης χώρας, γένος ἔοντες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν [νῆσον] ἀπέβησε ἄγων* ("taking along many of the hoplites who were stationed on the promontory of Salaminian territory, who were Athenians in nationality, leading them he disembarked on the island of Psytaleia": 8.95). The underlined phrase could even be an afterthought of Herodotus, reminding us that the group available happened to be Athenian.

with the Megarians.²² I have argued elsewhere that one of the two variants for the Solonian capture of Salamis has been borrowed from a Peisistratid campaign which ended with the seizure of the Megarian port of Nisaia.²³ A second variant, also found in Plutarch, is probably the original tradition on Solon's capture, and it is rich in aetiological material on Salaminian cults.²⁴ This tradition reports the following on Solon's 500 volunteers: *δόγματος γενομένου τούτους, ἂν κατασχῶσι τὴν νῆσον, κυρίους εἶναι τοῦ πολιτεύματος* (9.2: "a decree having been passed that these men would be authoritative over the polity, if they occupied the island"). They were probably to be the citizens of a colony on Salamis, in what, given Solon's role in the affair, was something like a patronal colony. Yet, it is important to stress that, outside of religious cult, Solon's dispositions for Salamis were evanescent, having been superseded by another loss of the island (cf. Plut. *Solon* 12.5–6). The possession of the island and the status of its inhabitants during the remaining years of the sixth century are obscure, and it is only c. 510 when the ownership question was finally settled in favor of the Athenians by Spartan arbitration.²⁵

Thus, it is not surprising to find that an Athenian reorganization of Salamis took place at the end of the sixth century, as demonstrated by *IG I*³ 1, dated to 510–500.

ἔδοχεν τῷ δέμῳ τ[ὸς ἐ Σ]αλαμῖνι.]
οἰκῆν ἐὰ Σαλαμῖνι [.] λεν [.] Ἀθένε]-
σι τελῆν καὶ στρατ[εύεσθ]αι: τ[ὸ δ' ἐ Σαλαμῖνι μ]-
ἐ μ[ισθ]ῶν, ἐὰ μὲ οἰκ[.] ο[.] μισθόμενον: ἐὰ]-
5 ν δὲ μισθῶν, ἀποτί[νεν τὸ μισθόμενον καὶ τὸ μ]-
ισθῶντα ἑκάτε[ρον]
ἐς δεμόσιον: ἐσπράτεν δὲ τὸν ἄ]-
ρχον[τα, ἐὰν [δὲ μέ, εὐθ]ύ[νεσθαι: τ]-
ἂ δὲ [h]όπλα π[αρέχου]σθαι αὐτὸς: τ]-

²² See Figueira, *Theognis* 280–88, 291–92, 300–3.

²³ Plut. *Solon* 8.4–6; Polyae. *Strat.* 1.20.1–2; Ael. *VH* 7.19. For a Peisistratid variant: Aen. *Tact.* 4.8–11; cf. Front. *Strat.* 2.9.9; Justin 2.8.1–6. See Figueira, *Theognis* 281–84.

²⁴ Plut. *Solon* 9.1–7; see Figueira, *Theognis* 284–86, and R. Legon, *Megara: The Political History of a Greek City-State to 336 B.C.* (Ithaca 1981) 127–28.

²⁵ Plut. *Solon* 10 dates the arbitration to the time of Solon, but his Spartan mediators (10.6) include both Kleomenes, who may be the famous king of that name (acceded c. 525), and Amompharetos, perhaps the prominent commander at Plataia (Hdt. 9.53–57, 71.2, 85.1; Plut. *Arist.* 17.3). For a redating, see Beloch *GG*² 1.2.312–314; Moggi 1 and n. 10, pp. 32–33; Figueira, *Theognis* 300–2.

10 ριά[κ]οντα: δρ[αχμῶν:] ho[πλισμένο]-
ν δὲ [τ]ὸν ἄρχοντ[α τὰ ἰόπλα κρίν]-
εν: [ἐπ]ὶ τῆς β[ο]λῆς c. 11]

The crucial word at the end of line 1 is missing. The possibilities which have been suggested are Ἀθηναίος, κλερόχος, and οἰκόντας.²⁶ Indeed it is not impossible that the settlers on Salamis were called cleruchs in the terminology of their own day. Support for the view that Salamis was the first Athenian κληρουχία is, however, non-existent.²⁷ There is evidence that individuals with a previous connection with the island were included among the settlers. Timodemos of Akharnai is the honorand of Pindar *Nemean* 2, about whom it is observed καὶ μὲν ἂ Σαλαμῖς γε θρέψαι φῶτα μαχατάν|δυνατός. ἐν Τροίᾳ μὲν Ἑκτωρ Αἴαντος ἄκουσεν . . . ("and indeed Salamis can rear a fighting man. At Troy, did Hektor hear Ajax": vv. 13–14). One scholion, citing Asclepiades of Myrlea, suggests that Timodemos was a settler (τῶν τὴν Σαλαμῖνα κατακληρουχησάντων Ἀθηναίων: "[he was] of those Athenians who received Salamis in allotment": *ΣNem.* 2.19).²⁸ Thus, he could have been brought up on Salamis—the ode is of an uncertain date—which was important to ancient commentators because the scholia show their confusion over how an Acharnian could be a Salaminian. The same scholion reports that

²⁶ Meiggs-Lewis #14, pp. 26–27. The supplement Ἀθηναίος has received the support of B.D. Meritt, "Notes on Attic Decrees," *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 301–37, esp. 301–7; see also H.T. Wade-Gery, "The Sixth-Century Athenian Decree about Salamis," *CQ* 40 (1946) 101–4; M. Guarducci, "L'origine e le vicende del γένος attico dei Salaminii," *RFIC* 76 (1948) 223–43, esp. 238–43; cf. A. Wilhelm, "Altattische Schriftdenkmäler," *MDAI* 23 (1898) 466–92, esp. 466–73, for the restoration οἰκόντας. The less justified reading κλερόχος is supported by S. Luria, "Zur Frühgeschichte des griechischen Alphabets: I. Die frühattischen Inschriften," *Kadmos* 3 (1964) 88–107, esp. 103 (also a rather anachronistic interpretation in other regards). See also U. Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige in Athen, Studien zum öffentlichen Recht Athens*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart 1934) 358–62, who sees the cleruchs as coexisting with an indigenous non-citizen population.

²⁷ See Graham 168 n. 6; *id.*, "The Salamis Decree," *PCA* 53 (1956) 28–29.

²⁸ In this context such language is particularly unhelpful. A lacunose text, *IG II*² 30.b.4–7 of 387/6, mentions cleruchs on Lemnos with a reference to τοῖς ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, but that does not take us very far. The settlers at Salamis may have had applied to them rules on leasing, for instance (Il. 3–5), which were later adapted for fourth-century cleruchs (30.b.4). In my reconstruction, these fourth-century cleruchs were quite unlike their fifth-century namesakes, so that it remains uncertain what terminological or legal context it was in which the rules for Salamis were devised. Moreover, we cannot be sure that all Salaminians were subjected to a special regime of property or only those holding property distributed at the end of the sixth century. For the later treatment of Salaminian holdings as ordinary property, see *IG II*² 1579.8–10, 1596.12–15.

Didymus had Timodemos descended from Ajax, which might suggest that he belonged to the *genos* of the Salaminioi and had some ancestral connection with the island.²⁹ The recruitment of such a family would fit better with resettlement of a disputed border region than with colonization or the creation of an imperial cleruchy, as they are normally understood. The pattern would parallel that which has been hypothesized for the reintegration of the Aiginetan/Athenians in subject Aigina and, finally, into the Athenian ἀποικία.

The provisions discussed in the surviving portions of the Salamis Decree are the liability to service and tax payment in Athens, restrictions on leasing, and the duty for the settler (to use the vaguest term) to equip himself with arms 30 drachmas in value (under supervision or control of the archon on the island: *Ath. Pol.* 54.8). Tax payment and military service fit well with our reconstruction of the duties of Athenian colonists later in the fifth century.³⁰ If the restorations in lines 3–6 are correct, the restrictions on economic options for land-holding are appropriate to any type of land distribution and entail that a community of smallholders come into and stay in existence on Salamis, a capital requirement in the vulnerable first years of the post-tyrannical order. The *hopla* in question were probably hoplite equipment, and the arrangements in the decree were designed to insure that the allotted land on Salamis went to increase the available force of heavy infantry.

While some would posit the continued existence of a non-citizen population on the site, which might be thought to give the appearance of the later cleruchies, no solid evidence can be adduced in support of this hypothesis.³¹ Any “indigenous” population, whose previous status may

²⁹ See Figueira, *Theognis* 302–3 on the background of the Salaminioi.

³⁰ See Moggi 3–4, who, however, regards the situation of Salamis outside the deme system as more problematical than my argument, which will offer analogies in the satellite, but citizen-communities of the northern border region.

³¹ Cf. Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet* 358–62. A clearer trace would be expected of such a group established so close to the *asty*. Credence is not then owed Kahrstedt's view (*Staatsgebiet* n. 3, pp. 357–58) that the epithet Salaminios when applied to a Leon (see below) or a Moirokles (the late fourth-century politician) merely denominates residence on Salamis (note Harpocration s.v. Μοιροκλήης; *Suda* s.v. Μυροκλήης [μ 1447 Adler]; cf. *Dem.* 19.293; Timocles fr. 4 K; Arr. *Anab.* 1.10.4). Note also the Asteria associated with Kimon (*Plut. Cim.* 4.9; cf. Melanthius fr. 3 W), and perhaps the Salaminian women of Arist. *Lys.* 56–59. There is no reason to think that Athenians called anyone who happened to live on Salamis a Salaminios, any more than they used demotics for residents in other cases. Euripides was born and lived on Salamis (*Gen. Eurip.* 3, 62 Méridier). In the lexicographers, his correct deme of Phlyeis is given (*Suda* s.v. Φλυεῖα [φ 550 Adler]; Harpocration s.v. Φλυεῖς). It is only in a context affected by the comments in literature

have been ambiguous and which may have been supplemented by settlers like Timodemos, were (it seems) later considered citizens. For example, the tombstones found on the island, none of which (unfortunately) predate the fourth century, appear to be universally those of Athenian citizens.³² The term Salaminios had two connotations in fifth-century Attica; in cultic and genealogical terms it meant a member of the *genos* Salaminioi (*LSCG, Suppl.* #19 with *IG II²* 1232). Yet, it was not customary to refer to fellow citizens in the course of daily affairs by their gentilician name. Fifth-century contemporaries referred to Leon, a prominent figure of the Peloponnesian War, who was a citizen if not a general, as a Salaminios.³³ That he is never given a demotic may indicate that he was a member of that community on the island before the arrival of new Athenian settlers c. 510 and continued to live there. These earlier Salaminians were citizens after the Athenian reorganization.³⁴ Moreover, the existence of both these senses of the term Salaminios makes it unlikely that non-citizen Salaminians existed who were also called Salaminioi.³⁵ The use of Salaminios to denote Leon reminds us of

that Euripides lived on Salamis that he is called a Σαλαμεινίος (*IG XIV* 1207, from the vicinity of Rome). He is, however, not called a Salaminios in any passage derived from a contemporary reference. See Schmitz 87.

³² M. Moggi, “L'insediamento a Salamina di Antidoro Lemnio e degli uccisori di Mirrina,” *ASNP* 8 (1978) 1301–11, esp. 1304 n. 13, noting 43 in *IG II²/III²*; Moggi 10–12.

³³ Plato *Apol.* 32C (Socrates ordered by the Thirty to murder him); Xen. *HG* 2.3.39 (Theramenes criticizing his execution); cf. Andoc. 1.94. E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*⁴ (Stuttgart 1953–1958) 4.267–68, 5.20, equated Leon of Salamis with the general Leon, who is well known from the Ionian War (Thuc. 8.23–24, 54.3, 55.1, 73.4–6; Xen. *HG* 1.5.16, 6.16). The Leon who was a signatory of the Peace of Nikias and the Laconian/Athenian alliance shortly thereafter may be the same man (Thuc. 5.19.2, 24.1). See A. Andrewes and D.M. Lewis, “Notes on the Peace of Nikias,” *JHS* 77 (1957) 177–80. If the murdered Salaminian Leon and the general are the same man, it is possible that the murdered (and unnamed) general who is the speaker's father in Lysias 10.27–29 was also this Leon. W.J. McCoy has more recently argued this position (“The Identity of Leon,” *AJP* 96 [1975] 187–99). McCoy notes that the murder of Salaminians by the Thirty is otherwise attested (Lys. 12.52; 13.44) and that the seventh letter attributed to Plato treats Leon as a citizen (324E–325A).

³⁴ It may be noted that the position of Leon as general might imply membership in a tribe, if tribal affiliation was necessary for candidacy for general at this time. Those members of satellite communities who sought active participation in the processes of governing may have undergone a scrutiny in which they petitioned to be assigned a deme. In the case of a Leon, his original affiliation so dominated public perception of him that a hypothetical deme-name is never mentioned. Also, it is to be assumed that the procedures in *Ath. Pol.* 42.1, 55.3 had their analogues earlier in the satellite communities.

³⁵ The Salaminians who defected to Kassandros in 306 and who were later expelled

the references to the Athenian sculptor Myron as Eleuthereus. Further confirmation for the existence of Salaminians who were citizens outside the deme system is probably provided by Leukolophos, who appears on a record of the *polētai* from the very end of the fifth century.³⁶ He is described as ἐξ Σαλάμῖνος (*IG* II² 1579.8), without a deme name, in a context that shows that he must be an Athenian citizen. In all these cases (see below), this type of denomination signals a mode of citizenship outside the tribal structure.

Further confirmation of the special citizenship of the Salaminians is provided by a scholion to Demosthenes (23.71):³⁷

... οὐκ ἐξήν μέντοι οὐδὲ τῷ δικαίως ἀνελόντι Ἀθήνησιν οἰκεῖν. τοῖς γοῦν Μυρρίνην τὴν Πεισιστράτου θυγατέρα ἀνηρηκόσι καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἐψηφίσαντο πολιτείαν καὶ δωρεάν ἐκελεύσθησαν δὲ ὅμως ἐν Σαλαμῖνι οἰκεῖν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐξεῖναι τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπιβαίνειν τὸν ὅλως φονεύσαντα.

... it was not permitted for even a justified killer to live in Athens. Thus they voted citizenship and a reward to the killers of Myrrhine, the daughter of Peisistratos, and of some others, but they were ordered nevertheless to live on Salamis, because it was impermissible that any killer at all disembark in Attica.

While the historicity of this episode is of no particular concern for our argument,³⁸ the scholion does seem to attest to the existence of a non-transient, citizen community on Salamis, whose rights were not completely equivalent to those of the Athenians of Attica. The significance of the awards of citizenship on Salamis was that they were the next best thing to a citizenship which could be enjoyed in Attica itself (in this case impossible). The same paradigmatic role was played in some contexts by the status of the Plataians, as we shall see in the case of those enfranchised after Arginoussai (see below).

Next for consideration are the communities along the northern borders of Attica which became associated with the Athenian state.³⁹ Let

seem to have formed a single community. See Paus. 1.35.2; Polyae. 4.11.1 with Moggi 8–9.

³⁶ See M.B. Walbank, "The Confiscation and Sale by the Poletai in 402/1 B.C. of the Property of the Thirty Tyrants," *Hesperia* 51 (1982) 74–98.

³⁷ See Sakkélion, "ἐκ τῶν ἀνεκδότων τῆς πατμιακῆς βιβλιοθήκης: Scholies de Démosthène et d'Eschine d'après un manuscrit inédit de Patmos," *BCH* 1 (1877) 1–16, 137–55, esp. 138.

³⁸ Moggi, *ASNP* (1978) 1305–9 argues for historicity (with the killers Sigeians?).

³⁹ On topography, consider, on the environs of Plataia, W.K. Pritchett, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography: Part IV (Passes)* (University of California Publications in

us start with Plataia, the most important of them. The Plataians are another case of Athenian regional expansion in this period. They first sought protection from Kleomenes, king of Sparta, who directed them to make an appeal to the Athenians, a result achieved by an act of suppliance at the altar of the Twelve Gods (Hdt. 6.108.1–6). The act of surrender of the Plataians to the Athenians (Hdt. 6.108.4: ἐδίδσαν σφέας αὐτούς 'they gave themselves') subordinated Plataia to Athens. Although the Plataians and Athenians presented their relationship with each other as an alliance, this gesture of surrender was symbolic of Plataian submissiveness toward Athens. It was repeated on the eve of the battle of Plataia, when an oracle predicted success for the Athenians, if they fought at Eleusis (Plut. *Arist.* 11.3). The Plataians merged their territory with that of the Athenians by removing their boundary stones facing Attica and tendering their land to the Athenians (*Arist.* 11.8: ἀνελεῖν τὰ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὅρια τῆς Πλαταιίδος καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπιδοῦναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις: "to remove the boundary stones of Plataian territory on the side facing Attica and hand the land over to the Athenians"; cf. Plut. *Alex.* 34.2?).⁴⁰

The date of this "alliance" is controversial, because the date of 519 implied by Thucydides appears *prima facie* too early (3.68.5).⁴¹ It is also a problematical time, when one considers two features in the narrative of Herodotus: the presence of a Spartan army in central Greece, and the availability of prominent Corinthians, who later in the incident serve as

Classical Studies 28, 1982) 88–102; P.W. Wallace, *Strabo's Description of Boiotia: A Commentary* (Heidelberg 1979) 26–27 (Oropos), 124–26 (Eleutherai); J.M. Fossey, *Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia*, vol. 1 (Chicago 1988) 29–42 (Oropos), 101–32 (Parasopia).

⁴⁰ Cf. L. Prandi, "Plutarco, *Aristide* 11,3–9 e la cessione del territorio di Platea," in *La Béotie antique* (Paris 1985) 211–17.

⁴¹ An emendation rendering 509 has a venerable pedigree. See G. Grote, *A History of Greece* (London 1888) 3.385 n. 4; also H.-F. Bornitz, *Herodot Studien: Beiträge zum Verständnis der Einheit des Geschichtswerks* (Berlin 1968) 93 n. 168; M. Amit, "La date de l'alliance entre Athènes et Platées," *AC* 39 (1970) 414–26; G.S. Shrimpton, "When Did Plataea Join Athens?" *CP* 79 (1984) 295–303, opts for 506 for Plataian subjection to Athens and 479 for an alliance. A precondition for the events regarding Plataia was Megarian adherence to the Peloponnesian League (Figueira, *Theognis* 298–300). Cf. Legon, *Megara* 141–45; R.J. Buck, *A History of Boiotia* (Edmonton 1979) 112–14. E. Badian opts for 519, although he believes that Herodotus thought the conflict over Plataia followed the expulsion of Hippias ("Plataea between Athens and Sparta: In Search of Lost History," in H. Beister and J. Buckler, eds., *Boiotika: Vorträge vom 5. Internationalen Bötien-Kolloquium zu Ehren von Professor Dr. Siegfried Lauffer* [Munich 1989] 95–111, esp. 103 n. 16).

mediators between the Thebans and the Athenians. An emendation to 509 explains why Peloponnesian forces were present (they had just intervened in Attica) and why the Plataians would have preferred the Athenians to the Thebans: they chose to align themselves with an Athens liberated from tyranny (not with the Peisistratids) rather than with the Theban *dunasteia* 'authoritarian oligarchy': Thuc. 3.62.3).

The relationship of the Plataians with the Athenians involved a form of citizenship. At first, this citizenship did not carry along with it distribution among the demes and tribes. A second stage, although not entirely without restrictions, did include deme membership, but not assignment to a phratry, a common limitation in fifth-century enfranchisements. That the Plataians shared Athenian civic rights by the time of the Peloponnesian War is made clear from their remarks in mitigation of their loyalty to the Athenians before the Spartans, the factuality of which is accepted by the Thebans.⁴² Moreover, this attempt at exculpation would hardly make sense if the grant of citizenship were only recent, for example, one made between 431–29.⁴³ Nor does the use by the Plataians and Thucydides of the language of alliance preclude the simultaneous possession of civil rights by the Plataians.⁴⁴ Thucydides' Plataians make best sense if they are adverting to an old grant, one probably as old as the alliance.⁴⁵

Isocrates in the *Panathenaicus* does not really provide evidence against this understanding (12.94). His intention is to contrast the Spartan behavior toward the Plataians with that of the Athenians: Πλαταιέων δὲ τοὺς περιγενομένους πολίτας ἐποίησαντο καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς ἀπάντων μετέδοσαν ('they made the survivors of the Plataians citizens, and gave them a share in all their privileges'). Given his rhetorical priorities, would anyone charge him with inaccuracy if it

⁴² Thuc. 3.55.3: καὶ προδοῦναι αὐτοὺς οὐκέτι ἦν καλόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὓς εὖ παθὼν τις καὶ αὐτὸς δεόμενος προσηγάγετο ξυμμάχους καὶ πολιτείας μετέλαβεν, ἵεναι δὲ ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα εἰκὸς ἦν προθύμως ('and it was no longer moral to betray them, especially those from whom we benefitted and who, at our request, made us allies and shared citizenship; it was seemly that we hearken eagerly to their instructions'); 3.62.3: ἐγένεσθε ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τιμωρίᾳ, ὥς φατε, Ἀθηναίων ξύμμαχοι καὶ πολῖται ('you became, for protection against us, as you say, allies and fellow-citizens of the Athenians').

⁴³ W. Gawantka, *Isopolitie: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der zwischen staatlichen Beziehungen in der griechischen Antike* (Munich 1975) 174–75.

⁴⁴ See HCT 2.339–40; against Busolt, *GG*² 3.2.1038–40 with n. 2. See also L. Prandi, *Ricerche sulla concessione della cittadinanza ateniese nel V sec. A.C.* (Milan 1982) 69–71.

⁴⁵ See also Shrimpton, *CP* (1984) 302.

turned out that he was referring to the act by which the Plataians were enrolled in demes and tribes? For such a decree is attested, proposed by one Hippokrates, the very measure which assigned the Plataians to deme and tribe ([Dem.] 59.102–6).⁴⁶

Nothing about the decree precludes its being an implementation of a previous grant, because any distribution of the Plataians among the demes could be expected to start with an affirmation that they were citizens, if only to remove any fuel for litigiousness.⁴⁷ In the first years of the war, the Athenians were compelled to deal for the first time with a mass influx of Plataians. They were careful to do justice to the rights of their allies/fellow citizens, while making sure that no disloyal or supposititious Plataian crept into the ranks of the citizens. They set a limit to the process, thereby preventing a loophole in the citizenship laws which would allow future, automatic enfranchisements on the grounds of being Plataian. Lysias' *Against Pankleon* (23.1–4) seems to offer the instance of a Plataian who claimed citizenship by virtue of this enfranchisement and membership in the deme of Dekeleia.⁴⁸ Finally, it may be noted that Diodorus mentions the reception of the Plataians at Athens in 372/1 after their expulsion by the Boiotians explicitly in terms of *isopoliteia*.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ [Dem.] 59.104 Rennie: Ἱπποκράτης εἶπεν, Πλαταιέας εἶναι Ἀθηναίους ἀπὸ τῆς δε τῆς ἡμέρας, ἐπιτίμους καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μετεῖναι αὐτοῖς ὥνπερ Ἀθηναίοις μέτεστι πάντων, καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσίων, πλὴν εἴ τις ἱερωσύνη ἢ τελετὴ ἐστὶν ἐκ γένους, μηδὲ τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων, τοῖς δ' ἐκ τούτων. κατανέμει δὲ τοὺς Πλαταιέας εἰς τοὺς δήμους καὶ τὰς φυλάς. ἐπειδὴν δὲ νεμηθῶσι, μὴ ἐξέστω ἔτι Ἀθηναῖω μηδεὶ γίγνεσθαι Πλαταιέων, μὴ εὐρομένω παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ('Hippokrates proposed: the Plataians are to be Athenians from this day, with civil rights just like other Athenians, and they are to share in all the privileges that Athenians share, both public and sacred, except if there is some priesthood or rite administered by an aristocratic clan, and excepting the offices of the nine archons, though their descendants may share the archonship. The Plataians are to be distributed among the demes and tribes. After they have been distributed, it should not be permitted for any Plataian to become an Athenian, unless there has been a review before the Athenian people'). Even if we reject the psephism as a concoction of a scholiast, or opt for the more reasonable suggestion that it has been abbreviated, the succeeding section of the speech (105–6) guarantees its general content.

⁴⁷ Therefore, the decree is not really at odds with the remarks of the Plataians in Thucydides. Cf. Gawantka, *Isopolitie* 176–78. Note E. Szanto, 'Plataeae und Athen,' *WS* 6 (1884) 159–72, esp. 159–66.

⁴⁸ Although there is no mention in Lysias of dependable records on the Plataians who were enfranchised (cf. [Dem.] 59.105), his interest may have lain in directing the listener's attention away from them. See Gawantka, *Isopolitie* 177 n. 31.

⁴⁹ D.S. 15.46.6: οἱ δὲ Πλαταιεῖς εἰς Ἀθήνας μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν φυγόντες τῆς ἰσοπολιτείας ἔτυχον διὰ τὴν χρηστότητα τοῦ δήμου ('The Plataians, having fled to Athens with their wives and children, achieved *isopoliteia* 'equal rights of citizenship'

Once again, Diodorus' text reads as if it was the first grant of citizenship, when it was clearly a reactivation of previously existing rights.

One tendency among scholars has been to view Plataia as an independent city allied with Athens, the citizens of which may have had certain rights in Attica. There was enough independence for the Plataians to describe themselves as allies of the Athenians (Thuc. 2.73.3: *ξυμμαχοι, ξυμμαχίαν*; 3.55.3: *ξυμμάχους*, cf. 3.56.7). Similar language is found in Diodorus Siculus, using Ephorus as a source (12.41.2, 5; 12.56.6). In Diodorus' treatment of the actual outbreak of hostilities in the Peloponnesian War, a point is made of noting that the Theban attack on Plataia was made on an autonomous city (albeit allied with Athens) within a narrative context hostile to Theban pretensions (12.41.2–3). With considerable justification, Badian has protested against this view and presented the evidence for the subjection of the Plataians and of others on the northern borders of Attica (with particular reference to the earliest stage of the relationship).⁵⁰

through the generosity of the people [or for the sake of their good services to the people]". As for the terms *isopoliteia* and *sympoliteia*, I shall use them loosely (and *faute de mieux*) for the constitutional phenomenon under discussion. Diodorus uses the term *isopoliteia*, which perhaps derives from Ephorus. The closest contemporary denomination of Plataian status is Hellenicus' term *συμπολιτεύω* for the "Plataian" rights given to freedmen at the time of Arginoussai (FGH 323a F 25). See n. 60 in this chapter. The more sharply delineated forms of *isopoliteia*, which are chiefly attested from the Hellenistic period, may be considered crystallizations of the great variety of constitutional arrangements that prevailed in the archaic period. As is argued in the text, a spectrum of associations is represented by the Athenian examples alone.

⁵⁰ See Badian, *Boiotika* 103–6, who notes Herodotus' use of the formula *διδόναι έωντόν* (6.108.1 bis, 2, 3, 4, 6). His equation of this status with *δουλεία*, however, ought not to be followed. In the first place, it would be necessary to believe that Herodotus thought membership in the Spartan alliance to be *δουλεία*, since in 6.108.2 *εἰδίδουσιν* ... *σφέας αὐτούς* is used of the Plataian request to join the Peloponnesian League. Moreover, the issue of the burial of the Plataian dead with the so-called slaves after Marathon is irrelevant (Paus. 1.32.3). The status of the "slaves" sets no precedent for the Plataians. War dead from the same slaves were later listed on a grave stele, listing casualties against Aigina (Paus. 1.29.7). They had undoubtedly been freed, if not enfranchised, by the time they fought the Aiginetans. See Figueira, *QUCC* (1988) 85 with ns. 73–74. Just as after Arginoussai, these enfranchised slaves were associated with restrictions on rights like those of the Plataians (Arist. *Ran.* 693–94 with scholia). That the declaration of Plataian autonomy by Pausanias in 479 affected detrimentally the rights of the Athenians *vis-à-vis* the Plataians is improbable in context (note Thuc. 2.71.4, 72.1; Plut. *Arist.* 11.8). See Figueira, *BICS* (1990) 82–84. Cf. Shrimpton, *CP* (1984) 301–3; Badian, *Boiotika* 106–10.

The satellite communities of the northern borders of Attica should be described as possessing a special status. They seem to have been in possession of the passive rights of citizenship insofar as they probably stood *vis-à-vis* the Athenian legal system as Athenians.⁵¹ The Plataians seem throughout the period to have possessed the right of intermarriage with Athenians (Isoc. 14.51). They may have had the right of full naturalization on the assumption of residence in Attica proper, following examination by the Heliaia or Ekklesia and eventually by a *dikasterion*. Our natural assumption should be that the decree of Hippokrates reestablishes the previous *status quo* after its mass registration ([Dem.] 59.104: *μη έυρομένω παρὰ τοῦ δήμον τοῦ Ἀθηναίων* ["unless he is reviewed before the Athenian people"]). This clause in the psephism should be equated with section 106 from the speakers's gloss on the decree: ... *δοκιμασθῇ εν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ* ("... should be subjected to scrutiny in a dikasterial court"). There is no particular reason to think that this *dokimasia* sufficed either for ordinary grants of citizenship or was a phase in a longer procedure of enfranchisement at this time (regardless of the anachronistic paraphrase in [Demosthenes]).⁵² Rather, even the pre-war dispensation gave the Plataians an accelerated track for assimilation as full citizens.

On the other hand, there was no mechanism by which the Plataians, meeting in their own assembly, could register their votes in a way that affected Athenian decision-making, except through diplomatic channels. Thus, they were compelled to follow, without their own political

⁵¹ Gschnitzer 86–88 struck the right note on Eleutherai with his comparison to Roman *cives sine suffragio*. See also L. Prandi, "Problemi del confine attico-beotico: la zona di Eleutere," *Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia Antica, Milan* 13 (1987) 50–80, esp. 62–64. In contrast, Kahrstedt is thoroughly minimizing on the rights of all these groups in his "Beilage: Die athenischen Perioiken," *Staatsgebiet* 346–62.

⁵² Cf. E. Szanto, *Das griechische Bürgerrecht* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1892) 33, 53 who treats the process of *dokimasia* as the conventional stage which is attested in later enfranchisements. Osborne (*Naturalization* 3/4.160–61, 164–67) amplifies this idea: the clause for such scrutiny appears in isolation here long before its permanent introduction in the late fourth century (not earlier than c. 318). See also Prandi, *Concessione* 64–65. This invidious singling out of the Plataians for additional scrutiny is highly unlikely in the political and demographic context of the psephism. My interpretation, that the legal action implied by the participle *εὔρομένω* is approximated by the speaker's *δοκιμασθῇ*, has the advantage of grounding the *dokimasia* in the text of the decree, which Osborne's theory does not. The term *εὔρομένω*, which does not otherwise appear in *IG* I³ and *IG* II²/III², is probably archaic terminology for the review of claims to citizenship.

input, the lead of Athens in foreign affairs, which embroiled them in Athenian wars with their neighbors, the precise context for Herodotus' and Thucydides' hints about their subjection. In the case of Plataia, the largest and most distant of the satellite communities of Attica, the presence of this quasi-independence appears most substantial: the Plataians alone appear on the Serpent Column, for instance (Meiggs-Lewis #27.7).

Lest it be thought that the existence of citizens outside the tribal system (as the Plataians must have been until the mass enrollment early in the Peloponnesian War) is unthinkable, the case of the Samians enfranchised *en masse* in 405/4 must be considered (*IG* I³ 127). As the essential clause is restored, assignment of the Samians to the ten tribes was limited to those Samians in Athens: *ἐναι δε τὴν δωρεὴν Σαμίων τοῖς ἡ[κοσι]ν, καθάπερ αὐτοὶ αἰτῶνται, καὶ νῆμαι* [[αὐτὸς αὐτίκα μάλα τὸς ἄρχοντας ἐς τ]ὰς φυλὰς δέκαχα ("the privilege is to be granted to the Samians who have come, just as they request, and the archons are to divide them immediately among the tribes in ten groups": ll. 33–34).⁵³ Note that, even for the Samians who are present in Athens, there is no provision for phratry enrollment.⁵⁴ Several other groups shall presently be shown to possess approximately the same status.

Let us next consider the enclaves of Parnes and the area north of Parnes. The people of Eleutherai are said to have joined themselves to the Athenians for the sake of citizenship and out of hatred of the Thebans (Paus. 1.38.8; cf. ΣArist. *Ach.* 243a Wilson). Their accession to the Athenian camp ought to be placed at the same time as that of the Plataians, their neighbors to the north, whose reasons closely approximated their own.⁵⁵ The cult of Dionysos of Eleutherai was introduced into Athens with the ancient *xoanon* 'primitive cult image' of the god being transferred by an Eleutherian named Pegasos (Paus. 1.2.5, 38.8).⁵⁶ The name of Dionysios Eleutherios, whose home city's name played on the

⁵³ Osborne, *Naturalization* 3/4.182–83.

⁵⁴ Whether registration in the demes was provided for depends on the restoration ... αὐτίκα μάλα ἐς τὸς δῆμος ... (Meiggs-Lewis #94.34, p. 285). It is possible that deme assignment was not automatically provided even for those present.

⁵⁵ See Prandi, *Contributi* (1987) 57–62. Badian, *Boiotika* 106, suggests 506/5, at the time of the Athenian defeat of the Thebans and Khalkidians.

⁵⁶ ΣArist. *Ach.* 243a W mythologizes the story under the influence of the religious axiom that the introduction of Dionysos must always be resisted. Artistic representations may have helped the process, such as that mentioned in Paus. 1.2.5, which seems to show Pegasos in the context of a meal for the gods.

word for freedom, would have made a powerful symbol of the Eleutherians' opting for the Cleisthenic constitution instead of the *dunasteia* of Thebes.⁵⁷ The association of the mythological conquest of this area with the Athenian ephebate (see n. 7 in this chapter) indicates that the fate of Eleutherai and its environs (the fort of Panakton) was prominent when the Athenian military establishment was refounded under the new Cleisthenic order. Thus, these considerations associate the citizenship of the Eleutherians with their joining the Athenians in the late sixth century, which is exactly what Pausanias tells us.

The Eleutherians were not included in the system of demes and tribes, but seem to have been in a real sense Athenian, as is demonstrated by a casualty list of 440/39 which reports the dead from fighting in the Chersonese and at Byzantion. Here, an Eleutherian follows the list of other dead arranged by tribes under the heading Ἐλευθεράθεν 'from Eleutherai' (*IG* I² 943.96 = Meiggs-Lewis #48).⁵⁸ This is not an aberration, as we have a representation of the official commemoration of Eleutherian dead, i.e., a stele bearing a casualty list is pictured.⁵⁹ The citation of Eleutherian dead in this fashion is not only useful for affirming their civic status, but because it shows that persons outside the tribal system were nevertheless citizens (as just suggested for the Plataians and for some Salaminians).⁶⁰ One should reconstruct the casualty list on

⁵⁷ W.R. Connor, "City Dionysia and Athenian Democracy," *C&M* 40 (1989) 7–32, esp. 24–26, makes a case for the post-Peisistratid dating of the remains in the sanctuary of Dionysios Eleutherios. The common insistence that the transfer of the cult must have occurred under Peisistratos is owed to theories of the development of drama that see Attic tragedy as largely a product of Peisistratid Athens and even of Peisistratid patronage. Nothing recommends it. Cf., e.g. A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*², rev. by J. Gould and D.M. Lewis (Oxford 1968) 57–58; H.W. Parke, *The Festivals of Athens* (London 1977) 126–27.

⁵⁸ Bradeen, *CQ* (1969) 149; *id.*, "The Athenian Casualty List of 464 B.C.," *Hesperia* 36 (1967) 321–28, esp. 324–25.

⁵⁹ A fragment of pottery (perhaps from a loutrophoros) shows stelai which contain Athenian casualty lists. See P. Wolters, "Eine Darstellung des athenischen Staatsfriedhofs," *SBAW* 1913, Abh. 5, 3–13. For the Eleutherian dead (ἐχς Ἐλευθεράδων) see U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, as cited in P. Wolters, "Der athenische Staatsfriedhof," *BPhW* 35 (1915) cols. 1422–24. The painter may have had a specific context in mind, one which involved a battle where the Eleutherians had distinguished themselves. The letter forms may suggest a deliberate archaizing, which perhaps also indicates that there is an allusion to a well-known occasion.

⁶⁰ When these persons were not listed under the name of their community, it could be that they as individuals were subsumed under the heading ἑγγράφοι and perforce without tribal designation (*IG* I² 949.76), as suggested by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf,

which appeared the Plataian dead from the Sicilian disaster (Paus. 1.29.12) along the same lines. This impression is reinforced by the case of the famous sculptor Myron, who was from Eleutherai and is identified as an Ἐλευθερεύς (*IG* I² 400 = *SIG*³ 51; 537; cf. Pliny *NH* 34.19.57). Yet Pausanias refers to Myron as an Athenian, which he undoubtedly was (6.2.2, 8.4, 13.2; cf. Athen. 11.486D).⁶¹

The evidence on Hysiai is less explicit. The Athenians are described as exceeding the boundary allotted to them by Corinthian arbitration in setting the line at the Asopos, facing Plateia and Hysiai (Hdt. 6.108.6; cf. 9.15.3, 25.3).⁶² The border still lay in the same area in 429 (Thuc. 3.24.2; cf. Paus. 9.1.6). Hysiai and Oinoe are described as the furthest demes of Attica in Herodotus' description of the Boiotian attack of c. 506, when they were seized temporarily (5.74.2; cf. Eur. *Antiope* fr. 1 Kambitsis).⁶³ While Oinoe was a deme of the tribe Hippothontis, the term deme for Hysiai cannot have its strict constitutional connotation and must be taken in its non-technical sense of 'community'. At the same time, it does suggest that Hysiai was a citizen community like Oinoe, and thus would have shared a similar civic status with Eleutherai.

Thucydides describes the Oropioi as ὑπήκοοι 'subjects' of the Athenians (Thuc. 2.23.3; 4.99.1).⁶⁴ Yet, we cannot really be sure that he would not have called the other northern borderers "subjects" by reason of the disabilities impeding active citizenship which have been mentioned above. We do not know whether second-class citizenship and

"Demotika der Metoeken II," *Hermes* 22 (1887) 211–59, esp. n. 4, pp. 216–17. Cf. M. Clerc, *Les métèques athéniens* (Paris 1893) 45–46; Bradeen, *CQ* (1969) 150. The phrasing of Hellanicus may follow official terminology when he describes the grant of citizenship to the slaves that fought at Arginoussai: τοὺς ναυμαχῆσαντας δούλους... ἐλευθερωθῆναι καὶ ἐγγραφέντας ὡς Πλαταιεῖς συμπολιτεύσασθαι αὐτοῖς... ("the slaves who fought in the naval battle... were freed and, having been enrolled as Plataians, they shared the same citizenship with them [the Athenians]...": *FGH* 323a F 25).

⁶¹ His son Lykios was described both as an Eleutherian (*IG* I² 400, 537) and as a Boiotian from Eleutherai, which is perhaps a token of the late fifth-century border change (Athen. 11.486D). See L.H. Jeffery, "Lykios son of Myron: The Epigraphic Evidence," in ΣΤΗΛΗ (Festschrift Kontoleon) 51–54.

⁶² Erythrai was grouped with Hysiai, which was also called Hyria: Strabo 9.2.12 C404; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ὑρία.

⁶³ Cf. Thuc. 2.18.1, 19.1 on the Peloponnesian invasion of 431; 8.98.1–4 on the betrayal of Oinoe to the Spartans in 411.

⁶⁴ See Gschnitzer 82–83. Cf. Busolt-Swoboda *GSK* 2.871 n. 1; Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet* 346–51. There was an Athenian official charged with supervision at Oropos ([Lys.] 20.6), but there was also an *arkhon* on Salamis (*Ath. Pol.* 54.8).

"subject" status were mutually exclusive for him.⁶⁵ The betrayal of Oropos to the Boiotians by conspirators in 411 (Thuc. 8.60.1) is balanced by the voluntary surrender back to the Athenians in the late 370s, as Isocrates emphasizes in the *Plataicus* (14.20, cf. 14.37).⁶⁶ Oropos perhaps fell into Athenian hands during the campaign of c. 506, when it could have served as a helpful stepping-stone for land and sea operations along the Euripos and against Euboia. Nevertheless, of all the border communities lying along the frontier between Attica and Boiotia, Oropos is the sole exception in that a good case cannot be made for the possession of some form of citizenship by its inhabitants.

The settlement established at Khalkis was on a site that lay not far from the Athenian border. Once again the decision to place the new community betrays the operation of Atticocentrism. We need not repeat the arguments about the inclusion of native Khalkidians in the settlement, nor an explanation of the connotation of κληροῦχος in the account of Herodotus (see pp. 44–45 above and Appendix C). Clearly, the community remained closely aligned with Attica. On the model of Plataia, the settlement at Khalkis can probably be reconstructed as exhibiting a type of *isopoliteia* or *sympoliteia*. As far as can be judged, Khalkis bridges the two later, imperial categories of colony and cleruchy. Like a cleruchy it was grafted upon a pre-existing community and drew on resources within it that were diverted to Athenian use (exactly like the fate of the later Lesbians). Yet, like some of the ἀποικίαι, it stood as an Attic recreation of an earlier *polis*, one in which native Khalkidians probably had their place alongside Athenians.

Although it has been tempting to classify the relations of places like Plataia, Khalkis, and Oropos under the separate headings of ally, cleruchy, and subject, it must be remembered that their statuses were generated out of the self-same inclination among the Athenians toward regional security and hegemony. Contingencies coming out of the specific military and political contexts, which involved early contact with these communities, created the precise mixture of duties and rights accorded to each group living outside the physical and ethnic borders of Attica, as narrowly construed. There is no evidence for seeing over-arching legalities (or perhaps that should be legalisms) about citizenship as the

⁶⁵ It is possible that Thucydides describes the Oropioi as subjects of the Athenians because he is viewing the Boiotian attack on their territory from a Theban perspective.

⁶⁶ Internal strife at Oropos led to its fall to the Thebans; note D.S. 14.17.1–3. See also Dem. 5.10, 16, 24; 16.18, for Athenian moves to recover Oropos after it had been lost once again.

dominant factor in any fine distinctions on this spectrum of status. Nevertheless, the predominant feature is a grant of a form of citizenship to all those whose territory was annexed (except perhaps the Oropians).

The efforts by the Athenians to intervene in favor of the Aiginetan *dāmos* constitute still another exercise in regional hegemony, similar to those which have just been discussed. The Athenians had already expressed a claim to the ownership of the island, which was grounded in terms of cult. It is likely that, if Nikodromos and his followers had achieved success, Aigina would have entered the Athenian sphere of influence in a manner not dissimilar to the dependencies already mentioned. One can only guess at the particular formula which would have been implemented, but it seems beyond doubt that it would have been analogous to one of the earlier dispensations, e.g., the outright annexation of Salamis, the *isopoliteia* of Plataia, or the settlement of Khalkis with Athenian newcomers. Thus, when the attention of the Athenians returned to concerns of regional hegemony during the late 460s, they reached out again to attempt a subjugation of Aigina, this time successful. Their eventual solution to the Aiginetan question, an epoikic colony, was consonant with the traditions of sixth- and early fifth-century regional hegemonism.

The 480s were a period of transition in this hegemonism. I have already noted how the Athenian claim to Aigina, which had been grounded in a mythological cession through the assimilation of the descendants of Aiakos to the Athenian people, became transformed into a claim in ideological terms, which was expressed through a championing of the Aiginetan *dāmos*. It is also striking how the intervention on Aigina occurred at almost the same time as Miltiades' expedition against Paros, although these two different initiatives cannot be placed with chronological exactitude relative to each other.⁶⁷ As a personal initiative, the campaign at Paros marks a real contrast with Athenian policy on Aigina, which was reflective of nascent democratic imperialism.⁶⁸

Just as Miltiades signaled the end of the age of patronal colonization both with his gift of Lemnos to the Athenians and by his avoidance of a penalty for his tyranny in the Chersonese, his expedition to Paros marked (in a way totally unintended) the termination of the first period

⁶⁷ For the chronological relationship of the moves against Paros and Aigina and their political context, see Figueira, *QUCC* (1988) 59–62, 87–89.

⁶⁸ Figueira, *Historia* (1986) 274–79, attempts to explain how Xanthippos and Themistokles were both proponents of strong measures against the Aiginetan oligarchs, but differed over the strategy and organization of Athenian initiatives.

of civic expansion abroad (Hdt. 6.132–36; Nepos *Milt.* 7; Ephorus, *FGH* 70 F 63). First, consider the cryptic stated intention of Miltiades to acquire for Athens an immense amount of gold: . . . οὐ φράσας σφί ἐπ' ἣν ἐπιστρατεύσεται χώραν, ἀλλὰ φὰς αὐτοὺς καταπλουτιεῖν ἣν οἱ ἐπώνται· ἐπὶ γὰρ χώραν τοιαύτην δὴ τινα ἄξειν ὅθεν χρυσὸν εὐπετέως ἄφθονον οἴσονται· λέγων τοιαῦτα αἶτεε τὰς νέας.⁶⁹ The failure to report the true goal of the expedition may indicate that the *dēmos* could not be convinced candidly of the advisability of such an expedition against Paros. Their vision in foreign policy did not yet extend to the central Aegean. A promised treasure in gold does not look like a foray aimed at Paros. Perdrizet's suggestion was that Paros was a stepping-stone toward the mineral wealth of Mt. Pangaion, where the Thasians, colonists of Paros, had holdings (contemporary Parian interest in the nearby Strymon valley is now independently attested).⁷⁰ Using Paros, however, as a stepping-stone to the north makes no strategic sense except in a rather roundabout way, that is, as a counter to acquire Parian holdings (and even that is a bit farfetched). A simpler answer may be that Miltiades hinted at a colonial expedition in the grand manner of the Peisistratids and his Philaid ancestors to convince the Athenians to supply a fleet. The episode turns out to be a striking mixture of aristocratic highhandedness that had missed its day, an Aegean policy not yet articulated, and an inadequate implementation on a tactical level.

The Saronic Gulf islands and the Cyclades constituted a marine hinterland of Athens, akin to the Boiotian borderlands north of Mt. Parnes. Geographical effects were intensified by the change in the economic topography attendant upon the concentration of Athenian seafaring activity in the Peiraieus after the archonship of Themistokles in 493/2 (Thuc. 1.93.3–4). Given the cultural ties between the Ionians of the islands and Attica, it was natural that the Peiraieus should become a leading entrepot for exchange between the western Cyclades and the mainland. Aigina lay athwart this emerging artery of trade, a factor made more intractable by the continuation of hostilities with Athens ("The Heraldless War") and the Aiginetan skill at piracy.⁷¹ The miscarrying of

⁶⁹ Hdt. 6.132: "... not telling them against which land the campaign would be conducted, but saying that they would get rich if they followed him; for he would lead them against a certain territory of such a nature that they might easily take off an immense amount of gold. Saying this sort of thing, he requested ships."

⁷⁰ P. Perdrizet, "Scaptésylé," *Klio* 10 (1910) 1–27, esp. 6–8. The epigram for the fallen Parian chieftain found near Amphipolis shows continued Parian interest in the north in the late sixth or early fifth century. See Lazaridis, *AE* (1976).

⁷¹ Figueira, *Aegina* 202–8.

the expeditions against both Aigina and Paros through the lack of sufficient resources to mobilize forces in excess of c. 70 triremes and to keep them abroad for the necessary period of campaigning ended, if only temporarily, the progress of Athens as a regional hegemonist. Yet, the program of regional expansion lay accessible in Athenian popular consciousness, with its legacy of ambitions in the Boiotian borderlands, on Euboia, in the Saronic Gulf, and among the Cyclades.

Although one may be at a loss to coin a single term to apply to the set of rights, responsibilities, and disabilities of Athenian dependencies, that ought not to affect the reality of the status which was evolved in the first decade of the Cleisthenic order. The precise formulations possibly differed from case to case, as the Athenians pragmatically worked out a fine balance between their inclusivism and their hegemonism. Salamis may have exemplified the closest form of incorporation, including attribution of some or all inhabitants to the tribal system (as suggested by *IG II² 30.b.4-7*). Plataia may have stood as a the model for a looser mode of association. If the analysis above is correct, the settlement of the political arrangements for these two sites would have occurred in c. 509-6.

Furthermore, an understanding of the organization of Athenian regional expansion is not only significant for the history of Athenian imperialism. My analysis in Part I has suggested the existence of fifth-century Athenian colonies whose citizens were liable for military service in their own units and who continued to have the rights of citizenship. Under catastrophic circumstances, such colonists could return to Attica and resume citizenship in the context of the tribal order. These colonies were not homogeneous, as Athenian *ἐποικιοί* were sometimes united with earlier inhabitants, who were persons with an admixture of Athenian blood (e.g., in the Chersonese and, in a sense, on Aigina), and perhaps sometimes even those without Athenian ancestry. Parallel features for these conditions can be adduced from the period of Athenian regional expansion in the early years of the Cleisthenic order. We may find it suspect that we lack an over-arching legal formulation for the interaction of Athenian imperial colonists and their *mētropolis*, but the application to the colonies of the empire of practices evolved over a considerable period of time in pre-imperial Athens for utilization with its satellite communities—and utilized successfully—might explain the absence of traces of a more systematic program of legislation.

CHAPTER 6: COLONIZATION DURING THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

WITH THE CAMPAIGNS of the Delian League, Athens entered on its great period of colonization.¹ This colonization served the joint policies of establishing Aegean security against Persian threats and allied defection and of augmenting the resources of the *dēmos*, out of which came the military safety of Athens and, in Athenian eyes, the freedom of the Greeks.

A. BASIC FACTORS

Even more than by the resistance of their enemies, the employment of colonization by the Athenians was conditioned and constrained by two sets of underlying factors which need particular stress—what might be called “the demographic/productive calculus” and “the strategic ground-rules”. An appreciation of these conditions allows us to establish a background for understanding the place of imperial settlement abroad in fifth-century politics.

1) THE DEMOGRAPHIC/PRODUCTIVE CALCULUS

Whenever the Athenian rationale for a particular colony is considered, one must remember that the Athenians had to weigh the specific advantages of colonizing any place against the fundamental value of retaining population. In a society with limited technological means (such as fifth-century Athens) the easiest way to maintain or to augment the community's total economic output and thereby political power was to stabilize or to increase the number of persons resident in the territory of the mother-city (and, in this case, especially the number of Athenian citizens).² Because ancient populations could only grow slowly through

¹ On Table 4, which concludes this chapter, Athenian imperial colonization is summarized with a presentation of the data which affect the questions under consideration in this chapter: date; treatment of the previous inhabitants; origin of the colonists; nature and size of Athenian participation; ancient references; terminology on colonization. Table 4 and its accompanying notes may be consulted for material on the settlements mentioned in this chapter and for cross-references to other discussions in this volume.

² The expression residents of Attica is used because metics and slaves were also economically valuable. When a colony contained a non-Athenian component which was recruited in Attica, the Attic economy would be affected by the subtraction of such persons.

natural increase, all Athenian citizens, even poor Athenians, were valuable to their city, and particularly valued in Attica, where they could be drawn upon most easily for service to the state.³ Relocation abroad of poor Athenians increased the pool of resources from which they and (consequently) the city might draw. Yet, the relatively undeveloped administrative apparatus of the *polis* and the culture-wide primitiveness of transportation limited the proportion of that increase that could be tapped. Therefore, Athenians were to be used carefully.⁴ In light of this understanding, a distinction must be made between the Athenian sponsorship of a colony and the degree of involvement by Athenian citizens. In this important sense not all Athenian colonies were colonies of Athenians (note the non-Athenian colonies on Table 4).

At the same time, the benefits of Athenian citizenship, among which the gratification springing from membership in an exclusive group must surely be emphasized, grew in worth during the period of the *arkhē* 'empire', and were thus likely to be shared less generously. That attitude toward enfranchisements limited the role of naturalization, the other means of adding to the citizen population. Hence the liberality of the *isopoliteia* (in my sense) of Plataia and of the sharing (in my view) of the Hippobotic land of Khalkis with poorer Khalkidians did not come so easily to the Athenian *dēmos* of the empire, as it emerged as fully sovereign and highly politicized.⁵ Previous procedures never died entirely, but the Periclean age saw their attenuation. The very success of the techniques of earlier regional expansion encouraged the de-emphasis of naturalization during the empire.

These principles are easily demonstrable when we turn to actual cases. For example, Thourioi and Amphipolis were foundations that served important aims in Athenian foreign policy, but no colony can

³ For some exploration of demographic factors affecting life in the polis, see Figueira, *Aegina* 47–52, 222–23; *id.*, "Population Patterns in Late Archaic and Classical Sparta," *TAPA* 116 (1986) 165–213, both with citation of comparative material.

⁴ This axiom may be illustrated by *Ath. Pol.* 26.1 (cf. *Aris. Pol.* 1303a8–10), where, with a moralizing turn of perspective, the author decries the damage done to *ἐπιεικῆς* 'sound men' both of the wealthy and of the *dēmos* through incompetent aristocratic generalship during (by implication) the 460s and 450s. The prominence of a shortage of the "right" classes of the population in this passage shows that it probably derives through an intermediary from contemporary polemics. Among the expeditions *ἐκ καταλόγου* 'out of the hoplite catalogue' alluded to here, the ones which lost 2000 or 3000 Athenians (exaggerated figures?), would have been the expedition to colonize the Ennea Hodoi in 465.

⁵ Cf., on Plataia, Chapter 5, section B, and for Khalkis, Appendix C. See also the discussion of the Periclean citizenship law in Chapter 7, section B.1.

have been worth the dispatch of the number of citizens necessary to outfit cities on this scale.⁶ Consequently, the role in their settlement played by Athenians was relatively restricted. There was clearly an expectation that the institutions of a city like Amphipolis, modeled after Athens, would lead to an identification of the allies settled there (many recruited locally) with the Athenians and their political values (cf. Thuc. 4.106.1 in Brasidas' appeal to the Amphipolitans: οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ἀκούσαντες ἀλλοιότεροι ἐγένοντο τὰς γνώμας, ἄλλως τε καὶ βραχὺ μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἐμπολιτεύον, τὸ δὲ πλεον ἑύμμεικτον...).⁷ As for Thourioi, even if the Athenians later claimed to have provided the largest contingent (D.S. 12.35.2), these Athenians were but a minority (in the tribe Athenais).⁸ This minority of Athenians was probably surrounded by a

⁶ On Thourioi, compare the policy inherent in the treaties with Rhegion and Leontinoi from 433/2 (*IG* I³ 53–54), for which date see, most recently, D.M. Lewis, "The Treaties with Leontini and Rhegion," *ZPE* 22 (1976) 223–25. The Athenians attempted to inhibit the emergence of Syracuse as a power of trans-regional significance. Despite the absence of important collaboration between the Syracusans and Spartans, the Athenians may have recognized that those two powers were natural allies. In general on Thourioi see V. Ehrenberg, "The Foundation of Thurii," *AJP* 69 (1948) 149–70; H.T. Wade-Gery, "Thucydides the Son of Melesias," *Essays in Greek History* (Oxford 1958) 239–70, esp. 255–58; cf. Kagan, *Outbreak* 162–69; N.K. Rutter, "Diodorus and the Foundation of Thurii," *Historia* 22 (1973) 154–76, esp. 166–69. On the strategic and economic value of Amphipolis, note Hdt. 5.23.2; Thuc. 4.108.1 (esp. on Athenian revenues); cf. Strabo 7, fr. 34; see Isaac 36–40, 47–48.

⁷ "The majority, hearing him, were divided in their attitudes, especially since the Athenian component of the population was small, and the greater part was mixed in extraction..."

⁸ The "panhellenic" character of Thourioi arises from the very nature of Athenian colonization, and is not an outgrowth of changes in the political leadership between Perikles and Thoudikides Melesios or of changes in the intensity of Athenian imperialism. The only feasible technique for reacting to the Sybarite appeal was a composite colony, an entity common in the West anyway. *Pace* Kagan, nothing is to be read into the Athenian failure to intervene in the Thourian war with Taras (D.S. 12.23.2; Strabo 6.1.14–15 C264) and the dispute over the affiliation of the colony (D.S. 12.35.1–4). The war shows the two states acting as surrogates for their *mētropoleis*. The dispute is probably misdated by Diodorus to 434/3; it belongs after the beginning of the war, like the death of Arkhidamos (c. 427) which follows immediately. If the Athenians had possessed the practical ability to intervene in southern Italy directly and without stimulating counteractions, they need not have concerned themselves with Thourioi in the first place. Although Thourioi was not a very active participant in the Peloponnesian War, the city was on the whole an asset to the Athenian cause (D.S. 13.3.4; Thuc. 6.104.2; 7.33.5–6, 35.1). See Graham 35–36, 198–99. If the Athenians had escaped Syracuse, enabling their fleet eventually to regroup at Thourioi, which is by no means a farfetched scenario, the foundation of that city would be considered not merely a success, but a master stroke.

population recruited from those aligned with Athens. Many colonists (even those from the Peloponnesos) may have been serving with Athenian forces during the preceding hostilities with the Spartans and their allies. Some will have been partisans of Athens who were unable to return home after the war to places where Atticism was dangerous, or those whom the Athenians had no other easy means to reward.⁹

Thus, one may classify Athenian colonies by arranging them by virtue of their Athenian character: fully Athenian colonies like Melos or Hestiaia; epoikic colonies like Aigina, which had a more complicated succession of settlers; composite colonies like Amphipolis; and non-Athenian colonies like Kolophon. A whole series of places are attested as foundations of imperial Athens, but there is no evidence suggesting that Athenians were sent out as colonists to them. Sites on the Asian mainland like Erythrai, Kolophon, or Notion do not seem to receive Athenian settlers.¹⁰ An interesting exception is Sinope (Plut. *Per.* 20.1–2), but it dominated the most strategic point for crossing over to the Crimea. Here, however, the Athenians were settled among a much larger existing population in a place where Persian power could not easily be brought to bear. Thus, the opportunity to strengthen Athenian influence in that region was undoubtedly fortuitous.¹¹ Not only is strategic value

⁹ On the settlement of displaced supporters of Athens, see A. Andrewes, "The Opposition to Perikles," *JHS* 98 (1978) 1–8, esp. 7–8. On the colonists, see also Brunt 74. There is no guarantee that even the tribe Athenais at Thourioi (D.S. 12.11.3) was composed exclusively of those previously Athenian citizens, and not shared with other persons of Attic origin such as metics and freedmen, formerly resident in Athens. The existence of the tribes Eubois 'Euboian', Ias 'Ionian', and Nesiotis 'Islander', which were presumably drawn from those areas within the *arkhē*, bespeaks an Athenian willingness to reward the *dēmos* of the Euboian cities and others. The appeal to the Peloponnesos for colonists gave the Athenians a technique for winning favor among the Peloponnesian dissidents without seeming to challenge directly Spartan hegemony (D.S. 12.11.3). The volunteers may have come disproportionately from cities with significant pro-Athenian groups (the tribes Arkas, Akhais, and Eleia).

¹⁰ Erythrai provides support for the idea that these non-Athenian colonies (not Athenian cleruchies) may have been intended to relieve Athenian garrisons. See *ATL* 3.257, but skepticism is owed to the view that Athenian troops were withdrawn from Asia under a stipulation within the Peace of Kallias.

¹¹ It is difficult to be certain whether to classify Amisos among the Asian colonies that did not receive Athenian colonists (no direct evidence shows civic participation), or with Sinope as an example of Athenians reinforcing an earlier population (for citations, see Table 4). That Amisos was renamed Peiraieus could be taken to imply the introduction of Attic settlers. Yet, we cannot exclude that they were non-citizen inhabitants of Attica, for instance, metic or foreign sailors recruited from Perikles' Pontic expedition. Note the use of a form of *ἐποικίζω* (*ἐποικισθεῖσαν*).

balanced against the constricted supply of Athenian settlers, but Athenians seem to go to places where they are least vulnerable to the Persians, avoiding the Asian mainland, even after the waning of hostilities; or where economic opportunities appear good (Amphipolis and Sinope).

Next, the non-Athenian segments of mixed colonies can be characterized. Firm indicators are for the most part lacking, but some groupings are fairly obvious. Colonies can be panhellenic, i.e., active recruitment of Athenian allies and friends throughout much of Greece, as in the case of Thourioi; regional, i.e., local Athenian allies, as at Amphipolis; or local, where *ἐποικοι* supplement earlier settlers, as in the Chersonese. Throughout these categories, the influence of self-selection must always be recognized. Individuals ready to live in Athenian colonies must have been persons to whom Athenian-style, democratic institutions were attractive. Here, however, we are using criteria which, although they are useful for our historical analysis, do not parallel Athenian terminology: large Amphipolis with its non-Athenians and small, exclusively civic Melos are both *ἀποικίαι*.¹² Colonies were classified according to the political duties of their Athenian residents.

The upper limit to the commitment in numbers of their own citizens which the Athenians were prepared to make in any single colony is 2000, if we accept Theopompus' figure for the number of settlers at Hestiaia. Unsurprisingly, the round number of 1000 (which would supply a reasonably sized military force to the new colony) appears three times: 1) at Poteidaia; 2) in the Thracian settlement mentioned by Plutarch (which may be Brea); and 3) regarding reinforcements for the Chersonese (cf. D.S. 12.22.2 on Hestiaia). Hypothetically, 1000 may also have marked the upper limit for the Athenian contribution to the composite colonies.¹³ There is no evidence for the number of colonists for most Athenian colonies, but none can shown to be demonstrably larger than 2000 Athenians by any indirect proof. At the other end of the scale of population, colonies of admittedly secondary strategic importance like Sinope and Melos, 600 and 500 respectively, could be small, although there may well have been room for more settlers in each

¹² See section B.1.d of this chapter for the evolution of Athenian terminology.

¹³ The scale of large composite colonies like Thourioi and Amphipolis is indicated by the 10,000 settlers at the abortive foundation at the Ennea Hodoi in 465/4 (Thuc. 1.100.3). As a ten-tribe system is a safe assumption for an Athenian colony, we may have a hint that the Athenians did not exceed 1000 at such a site, when we remember that the tribe Athenais was one of the ten tribes at Thourioi.

locale.¹⁴ A colony like Melos could not perhaps be reduced further, because it may have stood at a lower limit of size for viability both as a *polis* and as a separate self-sustaining population.

My reconstruction of the nature of the imperial cleruchy should be understood against the background of a balancing of the advantages of drawing on additional resources through colonization with the debits associated with the loss (or distancing) of valuable manpower. Here we must depend on the Thucydidean description of the Lesbian cleruchy, which is the only portrait (however brief and elusive) of a cleruchy that we possess. Cleruchies differed from the other entirely Athenian settlements by their lack of the institutional apparatus and the economic superstructure of a *polis*. Hence, the oft-debated question whether cleruchs lived on their *klēroi* is not only tangential to the nature of the cleruchy, but can admit no general answer.¹⁵ Since cleruchies were not truly communities in my view, the presence or absence of the cleruch from his holding was conditioned by all the factors that affected the management or enjoyment of the property of any individual outside the *asty* (like distance from Athens, the existence of other sources of income, the particular utilization of that property, and unconnected responsibilities in Attica). Under these conditions, the cleruchies on Euboia ought to have had many more Athenians in semi-permanent residence, especially after the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, when the Attic countryside was less available. Hence we are justified in finding evidence for cleruchies in the settlement of Athenians at Euboian sites such as Eretria or

¹⁴ M. Wagstaff and J.F. Cherry, "Settlement and Population Change," in C. Renfrew and M. Wagstaff, eds., *An Island Polity: An Archaeology of Exploitation in Melos* (Cambridge 1982) 136–55, esp. 140–45, speak of a population of 5000 persons for the whole island; Wagstaff, S. Augustsen, and C. Gamble, "Alternative Subsistence Strategies," *ibid.*, pp. 172–80, imply a figure c. 400 persons (p. 179) for those supportable by cereal cultivation in the area of the town of Melos alone.

¹⁵ No one ought to doubt that the cleruchs assigned to Lesbos and elsewhere were actually sent out (*ἀπέπεμψαν*: Thuc. 3.50.2; cf. Paus. 1.27.5: [Tolmides] *ἐσήγαγε μὲν ἐς Εὐβοίαν καὶ Νάξον Ἀθηναίων κληρούχους*). Given the primitive record-keeping and communications systems of the day, it would have been impossible both to assign hundreds (up to 2700) of allotments equitably and without material for future litigation and to arrange for their cultivation, if the cleruchs never visited their holdings initially. The crucial question is whether they stayed out. Lemnian "cleruchs" may not then be evidence for or against residence; cf. Graham 181. For others who see cleruchs as residents, note A.W. Gomme, "The Population of Athens Again," *JHS* 79 (1959) 61–68, esp. 64; Gauthier, "Lesbos" 65–66; Meiggs 261. Cf. Green and Sinclair, 515–16. See also Appendixes A and B.

Karystos.¹⁶ At nearby Eretria, cleruchs may have spent proportionally more time in residence, where, not coincidentally, Athenian property-holdings outside the cleruchy are well attested, and intermarriage with Eretrians was probably permitted (Lys. 34.3).¹⁷ The cleruchy on Lesbos, relatively far from Athens and founded at a time when the cleruchs had military duties elsewhere, was not a "settlement": all that was left *in situ* was an obligation to pay rents to absentees.

Because cleruchies could not stand by themselves, the cleruchy needed the continued presence of an indigenous community onto which it might be grafted. That well suited the years around mid-century, when the Athenians were not engaged in a life and death struggle against the Spartans. They could afford to modulate carefully the treatment of recalcitrant allies or dissident aristocrats. Note how they founded a cleruchy at Eretria (and perhaps Karystos), and made confiscations at Khalkis, but expelled the Hestians, who had killed the crew of a captured Athenian warship (see Table 4 and Appendix C for references). During the Peloponnesian War, the Athenians created one cleruchy, the Lesbian cleruchy, and did that only after they had come perilously close to executing and enslaving the surrendered rebels and their families. That alternative would have compelled the creation of a Lesbian *ἀποικία* (as it motivated a Melian colony later). Total war rendered the cleruchy superfluous, as it fell between conciliatory policies and terroristic measures.¹⁸

Therefore, the institution of the cleruchy enjoyed the advantage of the *ἀποικία* as a means of exploiting new resources to subsidize Athenians, while avoiding the disadvantage of permanent physical removal of colonists from their fiscal and military responsibilities. Yet, the possibilities for establishing cleruchies were limited by these very same

¹⁶ The direct information on this topic is for the most part connected with specific cleruchies (e.g., chiefly, Mytilene and Eretria), and has been treated in the context of individual cases. See also the note immediately following.

¹⁷ For the telltale appearance of Attic *funerary* pottery at Eretria, see Green and Sinclair, 522–24, and for private property holdings, note 525 n. 45. On the other hand, there are also considerable finds of such pots from pre-war Corinth. See B.R. MacDonald, *The Distribution of Attic Pottery from 450–375 B.C.* (Diss. University of Pennsylvania 1979) 74–76; see also H. Palmer in C.W. Blegen, H. Palmer, and R.S. Young, *Corinth 13, The North Cemetery* (Princeton 1964) 161–66.

¹⁸ A cleruchy at Poteidaia, for instance, was inconceivable even early in the war. Note how the Athenians criticized the generals who had allowed the Poteidaiaians to leave under terms (Thuc. 2.70.4). Compare also the analogous case of Torone, as discussed in note u on Table 4.

positive qualities. Cleruchs could not fully exploit their *klēroi* and uphold their social and political duties in Attica if their new holdings were too far away. Accordingly, the early cleruchies lay within easy travel distance of Attica by sea, on Euboia and in the Cyclades (Eretria, Karystos?, Andros, Naxos), a situation which allowed the cleruchs to maintain strong connections with Attica.¹⁹ Unfortunately, this conclusion has been obscured by the supposed cleruchies of Lemnos and the Chersonese, for which positive evidence is lacking (see Appendixes B, D).²⁰

This narrow geographical range for the deployment of the cleruchy is matched by a limited chronological context. Excepting Lesbos, all the other possible cleruchies fall within a few years of 450.²¹ Conventional

¹⁹ The notes to the cleruchic section of Table 4 and the four Appendixes discuss possible cleruchies in detail. A few general remarks of a cautionary nature are necessary. A methodological problem surrounds the identification of unattested cleruchies. Besides the matter of determining whether an Athenian settlement is a cleruchy or *apoikia* (for which see the individual settlements), difficulties concern the positing of the existence of cleruchies on the basis of reductions in implied tribute (a standard method of the *ATL* which was pioneered by Kirchhoff). While this method has corroborative force where a settlement is otherwise attested, as applied in the case of Andros (implied tribute lowered from 12T [=talents] to 6T c. 450: IG I³ 262.I.19 [451/0]; 263.IV.22 [450/49]), or even stretched to include Naxos (modest implied tribute of 6½T, first attested in 447: 264.III.25), it cannot be used in reverse to establish firmly a cleruchy for Karystos (a likely case; see Table 4). In general, note *ATL* 3.287; Meiggs 121–23. The overall discrepancies between Thucydides and the tribute lists themselves on the total amount of tribute (cf. Thuc. 1.96.2; 2.13.3) amply justify the cautionary remarks of French, *Historia* (1972) 1–20. Cf. section B.3 in this chapter. It must be remembered, however, that attempts to discover the existence of colonies from the tribute lists essentially track changes in tribute rather than its absolute level. One may note the term “implied tribute” here as a reminder that calculation is from the ἀπαρχή.

²⁰ Even if we admit their classification as cleruchies, my conclusion would merely be somewhat less salient rather than wholly vitiated. Both Lemnos and the Chersonese lay on the major commercial route to the Black Sea. Both places held existing communities of Athenian colonists. In these cases, frequent and established interaction with Attica would to an extent offset physical distance.

²¹ It is true that many island states are missing from the first four tribute lists, a situation which might be traced to dissidence in the aftermath of the Egyptian debacle. See Nesselhauf 11–13; Meiggs 109–11. Yet, such a reconstruction would indicate a rather astonishing recklessness on the part of these states. They lay within easy retaliatory range of Athens, as shown by the Parian expedition of the early 480s and Themistokles’ exactions at Andros, Karystos, and Paros of 480–79 (Hdt. 8.111–12; Plut. *Them.* 21.1–3), which both occurred at a time when Persia possessed much greater effective power in the Aegean than in c. 450, regardless of what had happened in Egypt. Even then there are only two cleruchies founded when so many missing states are supposed to have been restive. *ATL* 3.249–50 suggests that the islands were still

thinking on the Athenian empire would trace this fact to the invention of a new technique to cope with allied dissension taking place at this time. Although the punitive explanation might hold good for Euboia—but note that the cleruchies placed by Tolmides antedate the great revolt—it is dangerously circular in the other cases. The only good evidence for dissidence on Naxos and Andros (and for the doubtful cleruchies on Lemnos and in the Chersonese, one might add) is the subsequent imposition of cleruchies themselves.²² Also, we must bear in mind that cleruchies were not placed on Samos or at Byzantion after the suppression of their revolts.²³ That leaves open the possibility that a contributing cause to the absence of cleruchies after 445 was that the likely locations were occupied at that time. These may have been nearby allied *poleis* in which the elite had a history of hostility toward Athenian leadership.

The lower threshold in size for colonies could be and was violated by the fifth-century cleruchies, which might be staffed by as few as 250 Athenian citizens. Most cleruchies were smaller than colonies as determined both from attested colony size and from indirect reckoning. Arguably, their small size was permitted by the fact that they were not independent demographic and social entities. Concomitantly, their upper threshold in size could not be much higher or the cleruchs would overwhelm the host community by dislocating its economy through diversion of land for their own benefit. The Lesbian cleruchy serves as an exception once again. It is much larger than any other cleruchy. Its 2700 cleruchs virtually equal the cleruchs of Andros (250), Eretria (500, with Karystos?), Naxos (500), and even the doubtful cases of the Chersonese (1000) and Khalkis (500?) put together. Lesbos, however, is an island much better furnished with resources than the other locations for cleruchies.

Lesbos has been taken as exemplary for the internal organization of a cleruchy. It stands, however, as an exception in all three geopolitical

contributing ships. Another alternative is that emergency levies of sailors (a more real deficiency than money or ships) replaced tribute in these years.

²² On the dates of the mid-fifth-century cleruchies, see Nesselhauf 120–40; Wade-Gery, *Essays* 267–69; *HCT* 1.376–80; and the notes to Table 4.

²³ See Schmitz 102–3, who notes that 600 oligarchs were killed or banished in 412 and their property confiscated (Thuc. 8.21.1). That fact suggests no major confiscations had been implemented after the revolt. Further, police measures were taken after Aigospotamoi (Xen. *HG* 2.2.6). For believers in a fifth-century cleruchy, cf. Chapter 1, n. 59; M. Wagner, *Zur Geschichte der attischen Kleruchien* (Tübingen 1914) 19–22. See also Shipley, *Samos* 115–16, who believes that land was confiscated for dedication for Athenian cults, and then leased to Athenians (!), and not a full-fledged cleruchy.

aspects which have been discussed. 1) It is chronologically separated from the other cleruchies. 2) Although it lay on a major trade route, the Lesbian cleruchy is relatively far from Attica, that is, much farther away than any other well-attested cleruchy. 3) Finally, it is much larger. What is more, there is every indication that the Lesbian cleruchy was short-lived (see Appendix A). Therefore, it may be virtually a forced conclusion that the cleruchy on Lesbos was a non-viable extension of this institution. Doubtless, the scale of this cleruchic foundation drew on the Athenian anger against the Mytileneans, but, more relevantly for our interests here, it may have attempted to cope with the impoverishment attendant on the high cost (possibly higher than anticipated) for the Archidamian War.²⁴ The arrangement by which Lesbians paid a fixed rent to the cleruchs may betray a stretching of tradition in order to accommodate new exigencies, as it attempted to combine possession of more distant *klēroi* with civic responsibilities in Attica.

Nonetheless, the Athenians had to keep their attention fixed on the overall contribution of Lesbos to the war effort. It is highly unlikely that Athenian cleruchs, even if they had replaced all the Lesbians one for one (which they did not), could have achieved the same levels of output as the original inhabitants. The wealth of any Greek *polis* is not simply a product of material inputs, but of human resources and of that subtle adaptation of man to environment, which is reached by attention and exertions over time. The larger and more differentiated the polis, the more these conditions would prove valid, especially when their replacements were uprooted Athenian agriculturalists. In the long run, it was probably more efficient for the Lesbians to exploit the resources of their island, and then to have their output tapped either directly through tribute and other payments or indirectly through the contribution of ships and the levying of men, than to assign land to cleruchs (cf. [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 1.15). Thus, it was not long before the Athenians dissolved the cleruchy and made the Mytileneans autonomous.²⁵

²⁴ See Kagan, *Archidamian War* 143–46, 353–54, 363–64, who, however, has somewhat overstated his conclusions about what Perikles may have anticipated and what he would have recommended about finances, had he lived. Cf. Gomme, *HCT* 3.687–89 with 2.432–36.

²⁵ Possibilities for Mytilenean military activity: the allied force used against the Mytilenean rebels in Antandros (Thuc. 4.75.1); the Melian expedition, where 6 Chian and 2 Lesbian ships are mentioned (5.84.1). As Thucydides could specify Methymnian ships when he chose (8.100.5), a Mytilenean ship or two may have been involved. That same force against Melos contained 1500 island and allied hoplites, probably including Chians and Lesbians, given the participation of their ships. Appendix A lists the important

In the total picture of Athenian colonization, the cleruchies were a secondary category during the height of the *arkhē*, as colonies of various kinds far outnumber them.²⁶ This would still be true even if we accept the existence of a cleruchy at Karystos, and shift to the other class a few ambiguously attested colonies like Lemnos (where the “cleruchs” might have been there already: Appendix B), Khalkis (where an expropriation of an anti-Athenian elite is most likely: Appendix C), and the Chersonese (where the colonists were probably *ἐποίκοι*: Appendix D). The same predominance of the colonies would also exist if we counted the total number of cleruchs and colonists or even the total number of Athenian colonists, as cleruchies were so much smaller for the most part.²⁷ A total of 5100–6100 colonists is attested (albeit with varying degrees of

military actions around Lesbos where Mytilenean forces could have aided Athens. *IG* I³ 67, possibly representing a treaty with the Mytileneans, contains clauses which prohibit military activities against Athens (ll. 7–10). These provisions parallel surviving clauses of the treaty with the independent ally Halieis of 424/3 (*IG* I³ 75.8–10). This parallel and the nature of the clauses themselves ensure that Mytilene, as an autonomous ally, was expected to provide military help. For the attribution of *IG* I³ 67 to Mytilene, see B.D. Meritt, “Athenian Covenant with Mytilene,” *AJP* 75 (1954) 359–68; cf. *id.*, “An Athenian Treaty with an Unknown State,” *AJP* 68 (1947) 312–15. Older attributions are summarized in *SVF* 2.167, p. 87; for more recent work, L. Braccisi, “Ancora su *IG* I² 53 (un trattato fra gli Ateniesi e il re Artas?),” *ArchClas* 25–26 (1973–1974) 68–73; B. Virgilio, “Il trattato Ateniese *IG* I², 53,” *SCO* 21 (1972) 388–93, with 388 n. 2 for earlier identifications.

²⁶ Other classifications can be used for contrast. See, e.g., 1) Busolt-Swoboda, *GSK* (1271–80), colonies: Thourioi, Amphipolis, Hestiaia, Astakos, Amisos, Sinope, Aigina, Melos; cleruchies: Salamis, Khalkis (*bis*), Karystos, Skyros, Lemnos, Imbros, Naxos, Andros; 2) Jones 169–73, colonies: Hestiaia, Brea, Aigina, Potedaia, Melos, Amphipolis and Thourioi (as special cases), and Lemnos, Imbros, Skyros (all ?); cleruchies: Naxos, Andros, Karystos (?), Khalkis, Chersonese (?); 3) Werner, *Chiron* (1971) 21–23 n. 6: *apoikiai*: Brea, Hestiaia, Melos, Skyros; cleruchies: Aigina, Lemnos, Imbros, Lesbos. For classification of colonies, cf. Will, *Nouvelle Clío* (1954) 459–60. We must leave aside the exaggerated hypothesis of U. Kahrstedt, “Der Umfang des athenischen Kolonialreiches,” *NGG* 31.2 (1931) 159–95, in which a large number of Athenian allies against whom punitive action was taken are said to have become annexed by Athens (e.g., Kythnos, Samos, Karpathos, the Samian Peraia, the Mytilenean Peraia).

²⁷ The number of cleruchs would be further diminished if an attempt is made to emend D.S. 11.88.3 in order to harmonize it with the figures appearing in Plut. *Per.* 11.5; moreover, to do so in such a way that the cleruchy to Andros is made to appear in the lacuna in D.S. 11.88.3, and the grand total for Tolmides’ cleruchs was 1000 (500 for Naxos and 250 for Andros). That would leave only 250 cleruchs for Euboea, and they might have been split between Eretria and Karystos. M.B. Wallace suggests this approach in a draft of his piece “Athenian Settlements on Euboea”; I thank Professor Wallace for permitting me to consult this manuscript.

trustworthiness) for the Chersonese, Brea, Hestiaia, Melos, Poteidaia, and Sinope. Unaccounted for are Aigina, Amphipolis, Skione, Skyros, and Thourioi, as well as the earlier attempts at Eion and the Ennea Hodoi (to count only major examples of probable civic participation). The total for citizen involvement in fifth-century colonization probably exceeded 12,000. In contrast, for the cleruchies (see Table 4), only 1250 are attested for Andros, Eretria (with another Euboian city?), and Naxos, and 2700 (for a time) on Lesbos. As self-standing cities, colonies were viable in almost any setting, while cleruchies (as has been suggested) were restricted by size, context, and distance from Athens.

2) THE STRATEGIC GROUND RULES AND THE RATIONALES FOR COLONIZATION

The military interpretation of cleruchies and colonies is a mainstay of scholarly discussion about Athenian colonization. In practice, unambiguous contemporary literary references to cleruchs and colonists as *garrison troops* do not exist. The discussion on cleruchs on the territory of Mytilene constitutes the largest body of debate on that subject. Appendix A concludes that the balance of this material lies against the conclusion that cleruchs served as garrisons.²⁸ As so often, scholarly opinion is not some free composition, but a reflection of ancient sources, themselves affected by propaganda. The Athenians doubtless preferred to visualize their colonies as philhellenic defensive measures, as can be surmised from Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 107 and Plutarch, *Pericles* 19.1 (for which see Chapter 1, ns. 37, 50).²⁹ With the collapsing into each other of the categories of ἀποικία and κληρουχία in the fourth century, we can understand how cleruchs of the empire could then be considered garrison troops. Nonetheless, even if garrisoning is a function that we reserve for colonists, there are still problems with seeing Athenian colonies as motivated exclusively or even primarily by their defensive role. Once again Athenian rhetoric (as reflected by Isocrates and the Attidographers) is at odds with a reconstruction of the underlying realities.

²⁸ See Chapter 1, n. 51 above.

²⁹ In contrast to this encomiastic reflection of imperial self-justification, we may note Isoc. 8.82, where the same type of propaganda is given an aura of arrogance: παρεισῆγον τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότων... ἐπιδεικνύοντες... τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις "Ἐλλῆσι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς τὰς διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν ταύτην γιγνομένης" ("they paraded the children of those who had died in war... displaying... to the rest of the Greeks the multitude of orphans and the misfortunes that had occurred on account of this arrogant policy of theirs").

Both ancient polemic and much modern theory misread the military realities of the fifth century.

The most efficient way to defend the *arkhē* would be to occupy strategically valuable sites with small garrisons of second-class, allied, or mercenary troops.³⁰ Unfortunately, our evidence is only indicative of the size and not of the composition of these garrisons.³¹ Thucydides took this procedure of garrisoning for granted, simply referring to it in an abbreviated fashion at the beginning of the war: ...οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φυλακὰς κατεστήσαντο κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ὥσπερ δὴ ἐμελλον διὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου φυλάξειν.³² Besides the deterrent value of these garrisons, their fortified positions would serve to pin down and occupy the attentions of any hostile force.³³ Alerted by the trip-wire effect of attacks on such garrisons, the Athenians could then use their naval superiority to mount large-scale amphibious, expeditionary forces as a riposte.³⁴ This, essentially, is the pattern of warfare which has been reconstructed for Mytilene.

³⁰ The proverb φρουρεῖν ἢ πλουτεῖν (Zenob. 6.32 = CPG 1.387) indicates the remunerative quality of what was usually considered easy duty in imperial garrisons.

³¹ Amphipolis: Thuc. 4.104.4, with 106.2–3; Thrace: 4.108.6; Torone: 4.113.2, 5.4.6 (cf. D.S. 12.73.3); Eretria: Thuc. 8.95.6 (see Chapter 1, n. 51); Methymna: Xen. *HG* 1.6.13, 15; Mytilene: Thuc. 8.100.3 (cf. Appendix A); Methana: D.S. 12.65.7; Antandros: 12.72.3; Mekyberna: 12.77.5; Byzantion and Khalkedon: Xen. *HG* 2.2.1; Khrysopolis: D.S. 13.64.2; Selymbria: D.S. 13.66.4; Andros: 13.69.5; Thasos: 13.72.1; Delphinion on Chios: 13.76.4; Lampsakos: 13.104.8. In each case, the context in which the garrison is mentioned indicates the existence of a small body of troops (sometimes in addition to local inhabitants). Note also a possible garrison at Halieis in 424/3: *IG I³* 75.17. During the Peloponnesian War, another class of forts was made up of small bases for the interception of raiders, e.g. Boudoron on Salamis (Thuc. 2.93.4–94.3; cf. D.S. 12.49.3–5), Atalante (Thuc. 2.32), and Minoa (3.51.1–3). See Figueira, *RhM* (1990) 24–26. *IG I³* 174, a decree on behalf of Lykon of Akhaia, grants right of access for commercial purposes to Athenian φρό(ν)ρια (l. 17; cf. *IG I³* 175.9). For earlier garrisons, note Erythrai: *IG I³* 14.14, 42(?), 46; 15.21, 24, 26, 38(?), 44; Miletos: *IG I³* 21.75, cf. 84 (guard-ships); Samos: Thuc. 1.115.4. See also *IG I³* 16.11–12; 28.12–13; Eupolis fr. 233 K. For exemption from *phroure* 'guard-duty' or 'service abroad' granted to favored individuals, see *IG I³* 159.11–12; 164.29–30. See Schuller, 32–36, and also Nease, *Phoenix* (1949).

³² Thuc. 2.24.1: "The Athenians mounted guards by land and by sea, just as they were to keep watch throughout the whole war."

³³ Note especially the provocative discussion of J.F. Guilmartin, *Gunpowder and Galleys* (Cambridge 1974) 68–74, 95–112. For a discussion of some conditions of warfare in the period, see Figueira, *RhM* (1990) 22–27.

³⁴ In the aftermath of the battle of Kyzikos, Alkibiades and Thrasyboulos can be seen to work consciously at restoring such a matrix of small garrisons. See the citations from Xenophon and Diodorus Book 13 in n. 31 in this chapter.

Larger garrisons would have used up significant amounts of material and human resources, and they had to be scaled very large indeed to counter incursions by means of active, extramural countermeasures. Given the long borders of allied territory and the empire's openness to penetration from the sea, considerable forces would have to have been devoted to the defense of many points. Moreover, troops without attached squadrons of triremes were relatively inefficient in the projection of power, tying down precious manpower. To scatter squadrons of rowed ships, which must be tied to secure bases, was to risk defeat piecemeal to any adversary who concentrated his smaller fleet first. Without modern communications, Athenian squadrons could not be concentrated to meet a larger threat. Instead, mobile, not static, smaller flotillas "showed the flag", like the squadrons of the *argurologoi* 'silver-collectors'³⁵ and of the *Hellespontophylakes*, who supervised traffic through the straits.³⁶ Furthermore, these forces insured that any rebellion had its early cost. The dynamic and fluid, essentially maritime, character of military power in the fifth-century Aegean rendered those colonies most militarily significant which, like Amphipolis and Aigina, could serve as springboards for offensive and counter-offensive operations (by either side), and not just as garrisons, even if they guarded the targets of the highest economic value.³⁷ When Lysander defeated the Athenian fleet at Aigospotamoi, all the Athenian garrisons in the Aegean were immediately reduced to military ciphers.

Had there not been other roles for Athenian settlements abroad to play, they would have held no advantage over non-colonial garrisons in most cases. Nevertheless, passive or static defense was always a secondary role for the colonists, given the nature of the *polis* with its union of citizenship and combatant status. Regardless of what may have been the

³⁵ Thuc 2.69.1; 3.19.1-2; 4.50.1; cf. Arist. *Eq.* 1070-71; for later in the war, note Plut. *Alc.* 35.4; Xen. *HG* 1.1.8, 12. *ATL* 3.69-70 and Meiggs 254 suggest sailings at the new assessments, while *HCT* 2.202-3 opts for a more frequent occurrence, selectively noted by Thucydides. Significantly, the first detachment also suppressed Peloponnesian *lēisteia*.

³⁶ *IG* I³ 61.35-40. Payments on the tribute list of 429/8 by cities in the Chersonese may indicate their activities: [π]όλεις αἰ[δ]ε ἀρχαῖς [[ἐδ]όσαν τὸν φόρον ("these cities gave the tribute to the authorities": *IG* I² 282.I.11-12; restored in 281.III.66 [430/29]). See Meiggs-Lewis 180 on #65.

³⁷ See Figueira, *RhM* (1990) 23-27. That an extraordinarily skilled and lucky adversary could be successful against the Athenian superiority in projecting strength through seapower, as Brasidas was over Thucydides at Amphipolis, does not invalidate the advantages of the prevailing strategy.

primary purpose of their dispatch, Athenian colonists acted to protect the places in which they were established, just as Thucydides observes explicitly concerning Aigina.³⁸ Unsurprisingly, then, while a major connotation of the term *ἐποίκος* was 'secondary colonist', the notion of military aid was often fused with the idea of subsequent arrival: *ἐποίκοι* were reinforcements too.

In a similar manner, colonization also functioned as an occupation which deprived others of access to resources and militarily valuable locations. For example, the colonization of Skyros not only improved the lives of the Athenian colonists sent there, but also took the place of a nest of noxious pirates. The non-Athenian colonies placed in Asia forestalled the emplacement of bases by oligarchs and pro-Persians. The denial of resources as an aspect of colonization shades into a consideration of the use of colonies as punishment, which in its typical formulation will indicate the establishment of the colony to have been a means by which a punitive shift in resources could be made permanent. (See section B.1.c in this chapter.)

In view of the preceding, the locations of the imperial cleruchies were singularly ill-suited even for the role of garrisoning, when this is visualized as passive defense. Most attested cleruchies were established near Athens when Persia was arguably still the primary threat to Athenian naval hegemony.³⁹ The questionable sites of the Chersonese and of Lemnos were already housing communities with Athenian connections and so secure in their allegiance. The Chersonese needed reinforcements against the neighboring Thracians, which took the form of an expansion of the local pool of men of military age, and not a garrison for protecting the *arkhē*. Finally, even in the midst of total war, the cleruchs of Lesbos do not look much like garrison troops. With its political classes severely depleted by execution, disarmed Mytilene was in practice best watched by armed Methymna.

Military value under fifth-century conditions was a combination of the primary military function, which was a colony's strategic role in large-scale fleet operations, and its secondary military function, i.e. the benefit provided by its armed men for protecting its economic assets, for deterring hostile forces, and for offering a modest check to *ληστεία*.⁴⁰ In this light, Athenian settlements abroad varied over a considerable

³⁸ 2.27.1: see p. 7 above. Note also Figueira, *RhM* 16-21.

³⁹ Cf. Schuller 22-23; Schmitz 80 for a connection with the defeat in Egypt.

⁴⁰ For a classification of "colonies" according to power-political and strategic criteria (not following Athenian official terminology), see the useful discussion of Schuller 14-31.

range in their strategic importance. On Table 2, I organize these settlements without regard to their identity as colonies and cleruchies in classes of strategic significance (perforce somewhat arbitrary). Within the categories an attempt has also been made to list individual cases in order of significance.

TABLE 2: THE STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE OF ATHENIAN SETTLEMENTS

Major	Moderate	Some	Little
Amphipolis/ Ennea Hodoi	Skyros Thourioi	Brea Karystos	Astakos Skione
Chersonese (with Neapolis)	Sinope Hestiaia	Eretria/Khalkis Lemnos	Melos (at the time of foundation)
Aigina		Kolophon	Mytilene
Eion		Notion	Naxos
Poteidaia		Amisos	Andros
		Erythrai	

B. IMPERIAL COLONIAL POLICY AND ITS EFFECTS

1) INSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

Next, it is necessary to make an assessment of the other roles that imperial colonization played besides defense. These several important (and intertwined) purposes for colonies to fulfill are subsidization, revenue, and punishment. As so often in the work of an ancient historian, a consideration of intentions and results must be combined, because the nature of the evidence forces a retrospective outlook on the problems under discussion.

a) Subsidization

Both colonies and cleruchies served to subsidize Athenians, both the poor, as the ancient sources note somewhat tendentiously, and often others, as my investigation above seems to establish (see Chapter 2, section B). If subsidization of Athenian citizens had not been a primary aim of colonization, the number of settlements and colonists sent out would never have approached the levels that are attested. Colonists had a military value quite separate from the military role of their settlements, being valuable to the Athenian state because the improvement in the colonists' material condition through exploitation of *klēroi* qualified them for hoplite service.

Unfortunately, there is scant material for the reasonable hypothesis that allotments in cleruchies were each able to sustain an Athenian

within the zeugite census class. The only piece of direct evidence is from the territory of Karystos in southern Euboia, where a cleruchy may well have been created (see Table 4). There, on a farmstead on the Paximadhi peninsula a wall enclosed an irregular area of approximately nine hectares.⁴¹ It is likely that a farm of that size could support a family of the zeugite census.⁴²

For indirect evidence, we must turn to the Lesbian cleruchy. Thucydides reports that each of the 2700 allotments for cleruchs on Lesbos had the fixed rent of 200 drachmas per year. One line of interpretation sees this as a granting of the type of *klēros* required for establishing zeugite status (e.g. Jones and Gauthier, as reported in Appendix A). While a system of equivalences between the agricultural output of the Solonian census system and money was doubtless established at some point, to combine cleruchic rent from Lesbos with rank as a zeugite one must assume the specific equation of one *medimnos* 'bushel' of grain to one drachma. Direct corroboration for this equivalence is found in a highly questionable emendation of Plutarch's *Solon* 23.2.⁴³ Without evidence on a system of equivalences, we are forced back on the anecdotal material from the lives of Socrates and Diogenes the Cynic, where a *medimnos* of barley groats has the price of two drachmas in the late fifth or early fourth century (Plut. *Mor.* 470F; D.L. 6.35). A number of facts need to be remembered: these are retail prices; considerable inflation took place during the Peloponnesian War; and barley groats are more nutritious for the same volume than unprocessed barley. Thus, the equivalence of one *medimnos* of barley for one drachma may not have been very far off in the early 420s, but by the same token, the rents from Lesbian *klēroi* did not provide generous zeugite stipends.

⁴¹ D.R. Keller and M.B. Wallace, "The Canadian Karystia Project: Two Classical Farmsteads," *EMC* 7 (1988) 151–57.

⁴² T.J. Figueira, "Mess Contribution and Subsistence at Sparta," *TAPA* 114 (1984) 87–109, esp. 100, estimates 7.2–8.6 ha. for the area of a Spartan *klēros* dedicated to producing a citizen's mess contribution. For other estimates of farm size, see A.B. Burford, "The Family Farm in Greece," *CJ* 75 (1977–1978) 162–75, esp. 168–72; T.D. Boyd and M.H. Jameson, "Urban and Rural Land Division in Ancient Greece," *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 327–42, esp. 337.

⁴³ U. Wilcken, "Zu Solons Schatzungsklassen," *Hermes* 63 (1928) 236–38, emended *ἐἰς μὲν γὰρ τμήματα τῶν θυσίων τοῦ . . . οὐσίῳ*. Cf. Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet* 255–60. See also C. Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution* (Oxford 1952) 143–44; P.J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford 1981) 142. For fourth-century equivalences reflecting the progress of inflation, cf. Pollux 8.129–30.

Consider next some actual cases of service by Athenian colonists—remembering that cleruchs did not serve in their own units. The Lemnians and Imbrians, pre-imperial colonists, saw the most attested service (Thuc. 3.5.1; 4.28.4; 5.8.2; 7.57.2), and it is possible that such service was virtually a profession for them. The Aiginetan colonists were also active, as we have seen (Thuc. 5.74.3; 7.57.2; 8.69.3). The Hestiaians and the Plataians in Skione are also attested in Sicily (7.57.2, 5). This record compiled from Thucydides probably yields an underestimate of the activities of Athenian colonists, whom the historian tended to note only in a few catalogue passages in connection with major operations. The colonists which have been noted are islanders, with whom the Plataians at Skione on Pallene can also be classed, since Poteidaia at the neck of the peninsula shielded them from threats by land. It is not an accident that these groups are attested during the period of Athenian naval hegemony; these colonists could safely leave home, as their towns were immune to enemy harassment in their absence. Thus the Athenians found it easiest to deploy them elsewhere.

Let us turn now to those who are not attested in the military catalogues of Thucydides. The other colonists in the north are generally absent from groups of Athenian allied forces, although there is a good chance that the *ἐπιοικοί* of Poteidaia made dedications from military victories, and the Aphytis Decree shows their military role in the region (IG I³ 62.8, with 61.27–28; see also Chapter 1, section B.3 above). The colonists at Poteidaia, Amphipolis (until its loss), and the Chersonese were probably kept at home to control their area or served with Athenian forces in the region.⁴⁴ The exceptional reference perhaps proves the force of the general rule: the inhabitants of the Chersonese were induced by Alkibiades to accompany him on a campaign against Selymbria (D.S. 12.66.4). Hence, it is not coincidental that these colonies in the north also ranked high in my rating of strategic importance. The military advantage in keeping them at home outweighed the colonists' value as units in expeditionary forces. The colonists in Asia (who were usually not Athenian citizens) were not taken on Athenian expeditions (to the best of our knowledge). Their value to the Athenian cause may have been their occupation of their territory, which forestalled the aggression of Persia and the pro-Persians (like the Lesbians in Antandros or the Samians in Anaia: Thuc. 3.19.2; 3.32.2; 4.52.3, 4–5; 4.75.1; 8.108.4).

⁴⁴ Athenian use of Poteidaia: 2.79.7; 4.120.3 (*Ἀθηναίων Ποτειδαίαν ἔχόντων*), 4.129.3; cf. 4.135.1 for Brasidas' attempt on the town.

The colonists on Skyros are remarkable for their complete invisibility in the surviving documents, and not only in military operations. Perhaps the contingent of Skyrian colonists was not large. The same can be said for the 500 sent to Melos, with several reservations. The Melians were not on the island very long before Thucydides' account breaks off. With the breakdown of Athenian naval superiority in the Aegean, Melos may have acquired greater strategic importance as a point from which to monitor and intercept the movement of ships from Lakonia through the southern Cyclades to Ionia (note Thuc. 8.39.3, 41.4). Indeed, the colonists might have stayed at home for this very purpose. Moreover, its liberation by the Spartans would have had considerable propaganda value and was therefore to be deterred (cf. Thuc. 5.106–7, 109).

In order to understand how this process of subsidization worked within the context of Athenian society, it will be necessary to provide some background. The Athenian economy underwent a transformation in these years, and it is important to understand the position of colonization in the changes that were under way. Athens emerged from the Persian invasion with a war-damaged economy which had previously centered around primary production. Agriculture, some of which was specialized—oil could be exported and not grain—and mining will have accounted for the majority of that production. Besides supplying the local market, pottery exports offset imports by the Athenians, and may be illustrative of other craft industries of which the products were more perishable, and so are poorly known to us. Yet there is no evidence to suggest that Athenian citizens specialized in long-distance trade during the late sixth and early fifth centuries. It is likely that the Peiraeus emerged from the 490s as an entrepot of only regional significance for central Greece and the western Cyclades. Therefore, much of the value which was added by the processing of Athenian craft-goods and by their conveyance to overseas markets was realized by non-Athenian merchants (Ionians at first, and later Aiginetans). They possessed the vital knowledge about the purchasing patterns of distant customers and organized commerce in light of that understanding. Hence the label of primary-productive is appropriate in its application to the early fifth-century economy of Attica.

While fishing, transportation, and local trade earned income for coastal Attica, much of the Athenian impulse toward the sea after 500 was military and specifically defensive in character. Seapower was necessary to protect the long Attic coastline in order to keep open a line of access to foreign grain, to maintain contact with the earlier patronal

colonies, and to exploit the legacy of economic interests bequeathed by Peisistratid Athens.

Into this situation came the exciting opportunities presented by the operations of the Delian league, a prospect which was doubtless all the more alluring because of the damage inflicted on Attica by Persian forces. There were wages and allowances for sailors and hoplites, and chances for shares of booty for all social strata. In time, there were to be the buildings paid out of the League's reserve fund and the salaries for Athenian administrators of the empire. A politicization of the Athenian economy took place which was so pervasive that even today much of modern scholarship is in thrall to its results, as though they were paradigmatic for the very order of the *polis* itself. The settlement of Athenians abroad was but an aspect of this overall politicization of life: citizens acquired new economic lives through the dispensation of the state. It is striking, however, to what a degree that new economic life was a recreation of late archaic Attica with its primary production. Cleruchic and colonial *κλήροι* appear to have been in the main agricultural holdings.

Thus, when we consider the subsidization function of colonization, we must be clear about the ones who were its targets. Let us consider the thetes first, since they must have been a large proportion of the beneficiaries.⁴⁵ It was not necessarily the thetic class of the *asty*, those who provided the rowers for the fleet (as well as serving many of the subsidiary economic functions discharged by free men), for whom the subsidization of colonization in *ἀποικίαι* would have had the greatest impact, but rather the agricultural workers and occasional laborers of the countryside, those cultivating marginal (thetic) farms, and lastly the sons who could only look forward to dividing the smallest zeugite holdings. Hence the "Old Oligarch" made almost nothing of contemporary colonization, superficially so promising a subject for a critique of the Athenian *dēmos*. He speaks vaguely of the Athenians acquiring and holding property abroad ([Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 1.14, 15), and offers one passing allusion to overseas holdings (1.19). For one thing, the record of colonization would have undercut his contention that the Athenians were neglecting their hoplite force (2.1–2; cf. 1.2).

The relocation of many such workers abroad to new settlements during the Pentekontaeteia may parallel a growth in the number of

⁴⁵ Schmitz, who correctly emphasizes the role of all classes in cleruchies (under which heading he groups all colonies), conveniently lists the authorities stressing the role of the thetes in n. 121 on p. 106, among whom I note Busolt-Swoboda, *GSK* 2.1271; Jones 7.

servile agricultural workers in Attica during the empire.⁴⁶ The replacement of poor free workers by slaves in the countryside was another aspect of the politicization of the economy which has already been mentioned. It is indeed possible that the profits of the empire provided the capital with which to purchase slaves to replace thetes who themselves profited from the empire by acquiring *klēroi* abroad.

Eventually, with the coming of war and the Peloponnesian invasions of Attica, the pool of likely beneficiaries for such state intervention will have grown greatly. In our analysis, the Aiginetan *ἐπιοικοι* appear to have been just such a conservative rural population of modest means (see pp. 31–32 above).⁴⁷ Hence, as the war went on, it became a demagogic ploy to suggest distributions of land (among other measures) to relieve material suffering from the war.⁴⁸ The replacement role of these distributions becomes obvious when Aristophanes mentions Euboea in the context of demagogic indulgence of the *dēmos*; its function as a second Attica, safe from Peloponnesian attack, is emphasized by Thucydides.⁴⁹

On the other hand, opportunities offered by cleruchies affected the economic prospects of the thetes in quite a different manner. If we envisage the cleruchs as only notionally established in their cleruchies, and legally authorized to lease out their allotment to a member of the indigenous community, the cleruchy becomes a device for the integration of the landless into the hoplite class, not only those who were thetic agriculturalists but also men who were not agricultural workers at all. The

⁴⁶ Note Alkibiades' reference to servile agricultural labor and rural productivity in Thuc. 6.91.7, wherein he urges the Spartans to fortify Dekeleia (with a brief reference to the calamitous results following in 7.27.5). For slaves as agricultural labor in fifth-century Attica, see M.H. Jameson, "Agriculture and Slavery in Classical Athens," *CJ* 73 (1977–1978) 122–45.

⁴⁷ Similarly, when Aristophanes in the *Equites* chooses a colonial victim for Paphlagon/Kleon, it is a rich *apragmōn* from the Chersonese (259–65).

⁴⁸ Arist. *Vesp.* 715–18:

ἀλλ' ὁπότε μὲν δέσωσ' αὐτοί, τὴν Εὐβοίαν διδώσιν
ὑμῖν, καὶ σῖτον ὑφίστανται κατὰ πεντήκοντα μεδίμνους
ποριεῖν. ἔδοσαν δ' οὐπώποτέ σοι πλὴν πρώην πέντε μεδίμνους,
καὶ ταῦτα μόλις ξενίας φεύγων, ἔλαβες κατὰ χοῖνικα κριθῶν.

But whenever they catch fright, they offer Euboea
to you, and they promise to provide wheat by the 50-bushel load.
Yet they never actually give it to you; except five bushels just lately,
which, barely escaping a charge of false citizenship, you get by the quart of
barley-groats.

⁴⁹ Thuc 2.14.1; 8.95.2; 8.96.1–2; with Aris. *Ath. Pol.* 33.1; cf. Thuc. 2.26.1; 3.17.2; 7.28.1. See H.D. Westlake, "Athenian Food Supplies from Euboea," *CR* 62 (1948) 2–5.

Attic hoplite class was originally drawn from small-holders, as the Solonian census system seems to imply. Status as a hoplite was the socially-sanctioned norm, and would have been an object of thetic aspiration quite apart from the material betterment intrinsic to social promotion to the zeugite class. Yet such promotion would have been problematical for those lacking the skills to farm the land. The cleruchy allowed the thetes to draw on agricultural production, but presumably left the way in which that exploitation was managed up to the individual cleruch (except on Lesbos).

Hence the politicization of the economy allowed for a bifurcation of the archaic hoplite/smallholder unity and identity. With that, another identity, the one between the solidity of the phalanx and the psychological solidarity of rural communities began to diverge. Politicization served as a short cut toward harmonizing traditional Greek military practices with a more complex organization of labor.⁵⁰ Regardless of his actual vocation the allotment of the cleruch allowed him to emulate militarily the farmer and hoplite. Therefore, there may even have been some discussion about a total promotion of the thetic class to the zeugite order.⁵¹ The proposal may have been resisted by Antiphon, acting in favor of allied interests. Nonetheless, an underwriting of the thetes could never take the form of a mere subsidization by payments, so tenacious was the hold of traditional military mores. The link between hoplite status and zeugite landholding was never broken to take the final step, the creation of a class of professional soldiers.⁵²

⁵⁰ Therefore the *arkhē* was able to circumvent such strictures as those of Xenophon in the *Oeconomicus* (4.2–5; 5.12–17; 6.4–10) about the banausic trades leading to the enfeeblement of the military power of the city, and about the necessary connection between agriculture and military prowess.

⁵¹ J.K. Davies (*Democracy and Classical Greece* [London 1978] 89–90) adduces Antiphon fr. 61 (XVIII) B/T (Harpocration s.v. *θητες καὶ θητικόν*) as indicative of a general promotion of thetes to zeugite status: *Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ κατὰ Φιλίνου φησί: τοὺς τε θήτες ἅπαντες ὁπλίτας ποιῆσαι* ("Antiphon in his speech against Philinos says: to make all the thetes hoplites"). Other fragments (63–64) display the technical vocabulary of allotment of *κλήροι*. The issue was perhaps the advisability of a program of directed upward mobility for the thetes. The same Philinos was the adversary in Antiph. 6.12, 21, 35–37, dating c. 419. A date during the Peace of Nikias for such a proposal would make good sense. Cf. B. Keil, "System des kleisthenischen Staatskalenders," *Hermes* 29 (1894) 321–72, esp. 337–38. See K.J. Dover, "The Chronology of Antiphon's Speeches," *CQ* 44 (1950) 44–60, esp. 55; A.E. Raubitschek, "Philinos," *Hesperia* 23 (1954) 68–71.

⁵² For *epibatai*, an exception might be made during the Peloponnesian War. Thetic *epibatai* are attested for the Syracusan expedition (Thuc. 6.43). They would presumably have served as thetic rowers otherwise.

That both colonies and cleruchies served to augment the numbers of Athenian hoplites shows the area of military organization felt to be in need of remediation. The absence of allotments below the level of maintenance for a zeugite (to the best of our knowledge) is not only eloquent about social prejudices equating full political empowerment with zeugite status (at a minimum), but also indicates that the provision for rowers was not a perceived vulnerability before the Syracusan debacle. Naval service had already undergone a professionalization quite different from hoplite service. The fleet could draw on metics and members of the *dēmos* of allied cities. The political loyalty of these two groups and what was apparently an adequate supply of thetic rowers appear to have made the diversion from thetic service to hoplite service non-controversial.

Furthermore, it is important to note how the utilization of colonial troops is congruent with their pattern of recruitment. The cleruchies contained a significant thetic component, which meant that they involved a number of men who were perhaps without experience of hoplite warfare and who had not passed through whatever ephebic training existed in the fifth century. Units with numbers of such raw troops would have had less value than more mixed units, so that we can understand why the cleruchs seem to have served in their original tribal regiments. There, their presence would be diluted among the majority of experienced phalangites, where they could learn from seasoned older men, neighbors, and demesmen. The back rows of the phalanx were available to habituate them gradually to service in a formation of heavy infantry. The discrete military units of the colonists were much more viable propositions as independent forces. Significantly, since colonies drew from a cross-section of Athenians, probably by an allotment, not only would there have been men of the first three census classes available to offset the thetes, but the wealthier colonists would also have provided individuals with experience in command. Wealthier colonists and experienced zeugites will have made the contingent of each colony a more seasoned hoplite unit. Colonies like Aigina, which were founded after the beginning of the war, would probably also have contained many experienced hoplites, displaced from their homes by the Peloponnesian threat against Attica.

Attic colonies lay open in some cases (unless specifically prohibited) to upper-class Athenians. This hypothesis has already been discussed from the standpoint of its public rationale (Chapter 2, section B.2 above), and it is left now to consider the attractions of colonization. This discussion can only proceed in general terms: we lack both an estimate of the number of well-to-do colonists and any individual biographies

(outside of what can be surmised about Plato's father Ariston). The choice to participate in a colony was not a trivial one for a prosperous Athenian. It was not just the addition of further property to his estate, if it truly entailed the discharge of one's civic responsibilities in the colony rather than in Attica. Economic possibilities certainly existed through absentee exploitation of *κλήροι* by leasing, or, if that was restricted (cf. *IG I*³ 1.3–6 on Salamis), by slaves, but the *ἄποικος* still had to do military service with his fellow colonists. Because of its nearness to Athens, the colony on Aigina may well have had a disproportionate number of elite Athenians who submitted themselves for allotment. Otherwise, participation in colonies by upper-class persons was probably a technique to maintain socio-economic status (a form of status insurance)—it mitigated the fragmenting of estates to a degree where sons could not retain the census rank of their fathers.⁵³

Subsidization amounted to more than simply a transfer of resources. The most expeditious and least controversial way to subsidize Athenian citizens was always to raise the tribute. With more tribute coming in, the Athenians were in a position to create every manner of salary or subsidy to better the material lot of their fellow citizens. Rather, the subsidization intrinsic to the creation of colonies and cleruchies, as has just been outlined, served to underwrite a socially valued lifestyle, for the most part, that of the agriculturalist who could serve as a hoplite. So tenacious was the hold of the paradigm of the farmer/hoplite/citizen identity that it dominated Athenian colonization. In other words, merely enriching Athenians was subordinated to a policy of encouragement of a particular military ethos.

In the consideration of *IG I*³ 1, which appears to regulate the economic options of settlers on Salamis, we get a hint that land granted by the state to its citizens was hedged around by restrictions concerning its use. The Athenians wanted to create more soldiers, and so circumscribed alternative utilization of the resources made over to their settlers. Not surprisingly, in *IG II*² 30, which involves the reorganization of the fourth-century settlement on Lemnos, glimpses are caught of the same type of restrictions, and there is a reference to provisions made in connection with Salamis. Therefore, it is reasonable to surmise that land allotted abroad was not alienable in the same way as ordinary private property in Attica: for one thing, sale was probably restricted.

The subject of the inheritability of the *κλήροι* of fifth-century cleruchs is entirely *terra incognita*, although a tacit understanding of many

⁵³ See the discussion of Schmitz 94–96.

scholars seems to be that such land-holdings descended like regular property (notwithstanding limitations on alienation by sale). Gauthier, however, makes a suggestion which is much more attuned to the social preoccupations underlying the cleruchy.⁵⁴ He comments that “la territoire cléruchique appartient à la cité athenienne, δημοσίᾳ.” The absence of data is a function of the real nature of the imperial cleruchies (except for Antiphon fr. [II] 7 [Blass-Thalheim]; see Chapter 2, Endnote A above). They did not involve enough Athenians to leave traces in our sources. In addition, since cleruchs did not constitute true *poleis* (in my view), there can be no certainty that cleruchic land was transmitted through inheritance. Lifetime tenure of *κλήροι* could not jeopardize communal solidarity where no true community had been created. It must remain a possibility that cleruchic holdings reverted to the Athenian government at the death of the cleruch, or his disqualification for any reason. A withdrawal of an entire cleruchy such as may have happened on Lesbos was, however, an entirely different eventuality.

Given the special nature of cleruchic land, it is virtually certain that we are not justified in positing cleruchies merely on the basis of the attested presence of Athenians on a site. It is no more likely that cleruchic land will have been confiscated and auctioned like private property than that it could have been transferred by ordinary inheritance. Accordingly, Erxleben is nearly alone among recent commentators in his argument that the confiscated properties recorded on the *Attic Stelai* can be used to identify the presence of cleruchs.⁵⁵ The presence of large estates in the hands of upper-class individuals (like Oionias [*IG I*³ 422.IV.375–78]) is proof against this supposition. Estates of large size are unlikely to have been the result of any process of allotment. Nor can secondary sale (or some other means of consolidation) have been a mechanism for such a concentration of property. If it were that easy to alienate a cleruchic holding, the Athenians will have had no rationale for the cleruchy itself. They could have confiscated allied property, sold it, and given the proceeds to poor Athenians.

b) Revenue

Settlements abroad like Amphipolis created or strengthened access to resources such as the pitch, timber, and precious metals of the northern Aegean. Colonies not only could support settlers (the subsidization

⁵⁴ “Clérouquies” 70.

⁵⁵ E. Erxleben, “Die Kleruchien auf Euböa und Lesbos und Methoden der attischen Herrschaft im 5. Jh.,” *Klio* 57 (1975) 83–100, esp. 90–91.

discussed just above), but could also be exploited to enrich the mother city by taxes. Unfortunately, this is a most obscure issue. Our most valuable piece of evidence is provided in passing by Thucydides in his narrative on the fall of Amphipolis. In Thuc. 4.108.1, we are told: ἐχομένης δὲ τῆς Ἀμφιπόλεως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς μέγα δέος κατέστησαν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἦν ὠφέλιμος ξύλων τε ναυπηγησίμων πομπῇ καὶ χρημάτων προσόδῳ... ("with Amphipolis held, the Athenians were brought into great fear, especially because the city was profitable to them both through its conveyance of timbers for shipbuilding and through its contribution of monies... [and because the crossing of the Strymon was now open]"). What was true about Amphipolis was, one must assume, also true about other colonial establishments of the Athenians. Amphipolis stands out in our minds, merely because, in the first place, it was the only Athenian colony to fall into enemy hands in the period covered by Thucydides, allowing the impact of its loss to be noted. Secondly, Amphipolis was a large colony set in an environment comparatively rich in resources.

The value of Amphipolis and other colonies naturally raises the question of Athenian resources at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. In Thuc. 2.13.3, Perikles encourages the Athenians in this fashion: θαρσεῖν τε ἐκέλευε προσιόντων μὲν ἑξακοσίων ταλάντων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ φόρον κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμμάχων τῇ πόλει ἄνευ τῆς ἄλλης προσόδου...⁵⁶ The other testimonia on Athenian revenues in this period look as though they belong to the same set of calculations. Xenophon speaks of 1000T revenue from both home and abroad (*Anab.* 7.1.27: ὑπαρχόντων δὲ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ προσόδου οὔσης κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἐνδήμων καὶ τῆς ὑπερορίας οὐ μείον χιλίων ταλάντων).⁵⁷ Diodorus records 460T, which looks like an Ephoran attempt to give the proportion of the external income provided by the tribute (narrowly-construed) from the allies (12.40.2: καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ φόρου τῶν συμμάχων ἀνεφέρετο τέλαντα τετρακόσια ἐξήκοντα).⁵⁸

Let us now consider various possibilities for the role of income from colonies within the Thucydidean total of 600T. Gomme observes with

⁵⁶ "He bade them to be heartened, since 600T generally [or for the most part] of tribute were coming in each year for the city from the allies, disregarding the remaining revenue...".

⁵⁷ "While there was a great amount of money in the city and the yearly revenue both from internal sources and from abroad was not less than 1000T."

⁵⁸ "And each year from the tribute of the allies 460T was carried up."

justification that ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ought to mean 'generally' or 'as a rule', citing in support Isoc. 4.154, 8.35; Plato *Polit.* 294E; Thuc. 1.12.2; 5.107; 6.46.4, and not taken with φόρον, meaning 'for the most part tribute' as Nesselhauf argued.⁵⁹ Nonetheless, the other fifth-century attestations of ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ do not offer comparable word orders with the phrase bracketed by a noun and its genitive, so that 'for the most part' may not be entirely excluded. In any case, Gomme's interpretation might be taken to mean that all 600T was tribute. The maximum calculated from the tribute lists (433/2), however, is 388T.⁶⁰

If the 600T is entirely tribute, as is recorded on the lists, it is possible that Thucydides is offering data for a history of the collection of the tribute parallel to the one we restore from the lists:⁶¹ his figure for the first assessment is 460T (1.96.2).⁶² He starts and ends the Pentekontaeteia with tribute much higher than that supported by epigraphical material. Plutarch construed him in this fashion, with the tribute rising from 460T initially to 600T under Perikles (*Arist.* 24.4). This shows us, at least, that the figures in Thucydides were transmitted correctly. Nonetheless, we must resist this understanding of the Thucydidean numbers. The likely record of accessions to the League and commutations from ships to tribute might yield an addition of 140T, but they can never have done so to a base as high as 460T. It is better to posit that the two figures describe income from abroad but with different constituents.

Although it may seem an anathema to those who reconstruct the Pentekontaeteia as a period of ever-growing Athenian authoritarianism toward their allies, the possibility should be entertained that the amount of tribute fell significantly after the Aristeidian assessment.⁶³ While the 460T of the initial assessment were virtually all tribute, the 600T were

⁵⁹ Nesselhauf 117; Gomme, *HCT* 2.17. In Thuc. 6.46.4, the phrase ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ is used several times to describe the Egestans using the same vessels to impress Athenian envoys, which may be support for Nesselhauf's connotation (καὶ πάντων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τοῖς αὐτοῖς).

⁶⁰ *ATL* 3.334.

⁶¹ Meiggs' suggestion (62–64) that Thucydides made a mistake about the nature of the first assessment (i.e., made in money converted to ships), and the implication by the editors of the *ATL* (3.118–25) that φοροῦ might be intrusive, are remedies born out of desperation.

⁶² Nepos *Arist.* 3.1; cf. D.S. 11.46.4, which has 560T.

⁶³ Cf. Meiggs 64–65. Yet the fall should be understood to be a genuine decrease, and not a failure to record on the tribute lists a large amount of tribute first assessed from places which never really belonged to the League. Even Cyprus, an unlikely subject for assessment, probably would not make up the difference. See Meiggs 56–58.

not tribute in the same sense but included other items. Thus, when commutations from ships to tribute are also considered, the burden on the allies was much lighter by the time the first tribute list was inscribed at Athens.

Various options have been proposed as parts of assessed tribute (such as subsidization of local bases, payments directly to officers, and payments in kind) never registered on the tribute lists. Unfortunately, direct evidence for such transfers of resources has not been discovered, and objections can be raised in detail for each class of transfers of this nature. Definitive resolution of this question is impossible in this context, but it is important to note what ramifications this line of argument has for the income from the colonies. If the 600T of 2.13.3 is all tribute, income from the colonies would belong to the 400T left over from Xenophon's 1000T.⁶⁴ That would give a fairly limited upper threshold for the amount of money which one could estimate for colonial income, if everything other than allied tribute had to be entered in a sum of 400T.

Another line of analysis has similar results for the revenue from colonies, although it gives a very different picture of Athenian resources in general. One might include the value of the ships contributed (perhaps even the Athenian ships) in order to generate the requisite transfers of resources "off the books" of the tribute lists.⁶⁵ This understanding suggests a rather odd mode of proceeding for a naval league, that is, assessing the amount of money, rather than ships, needed, and next dividing the money between ships and cash. This hypothesis also has difficulty coping with the Thucydidean passages where the tribute seems to be juxtaposed with contribution of ships (1.99.1; 7.57.4). For our purposes, in this case, colonial revenue would once again have to reckoned to belong to the difference between 600T and 1000T.

Neither of these two approaches is satisfactory. Let us try once again to include other sources of income from abroad in the 600T. While Gomme does not believe that *ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ* can mean "for the most part," he does adopt so elastic a definition of tribute that it gives the same result as Nesselhauf's explanation; in the present state of the debate on this subject our best option is to follow his lead. Gomme observes that Thucydides must have included other allied revenue in his total of 600T in 2.13.3.⁶⁶ He introduces five classes of income from the allies

⁶⁴ See French, *Historia* (1972); also *HCT* 1.273–79.

⁶⁵ See, e.g., *ATL* 3.234–39; M. Chambers, "Four Hundred Sixty Talents," *CP* 53 (1958) 26–32; S.K. Eddy, "460 Talents Again," *CP* 63 (1968) 184–95.

⁶⁶ *HCT* 2.17–19.

in addition to the tribute of the list of 433/2, which classes are to be considered forms of *phoros*: 1) the indemnity payments from Samos;⁶⁷ 2) cities paying in the same category as Thera; 3) colonial income; 4) payments for support of Athenian bases;⁶⁸ and 5) an increase in tribute voted in 432/1.⁶⁹

As for class 1, equalling c. 50T, it is somewhat incongruous that Perikles would have listed an indemnity of limited duration under the heading of regular income. The money for the Samian War had already been spent, so that any indemnifying monies ought to have been charged to replenishing reserves and not regular income. The significance of class 2 is lessened because Thera was not paying at all in 431 (Thuc. 2.9.4). The island was later tributary (*IG* I³ 281.II.54 [430/29] restored; cf. 282.III.23 [429/8]), so that the other sum (an indemnity?) which it paid with Samos (*IG* I³ 68.22 [426/5]) cannot have been great. One must assume that other such indemnities were handled in the same way. Nor can the others with bilateral treaties with Athens, who supplied military forces in addition to the monetary payments, have contributed much money (class 4). Class 5 again cannot have yielded much money. Although we must reckon from the fragmentary texts associated with the next assessment period, after 430/29 (*IG* I³ 282–83), it is reasonable to hypothesize that there could not have been large increases in the level of assessment, made out of the normal cycle, only to be immediately reduced. The increases of places like Byzantion (+10T) and Selymbria (+8T, 5100 dr.) in the Hellespontine region and Torone (+6T) and Skione (+3T) in the Khalkidike were balanced by holding steady or reducing other assessments—those, it would seem, of smaller cities.⁷⁰ Moreover, Perikles ought to have subtracted the 40T which were lost in the revolts in the Khalkidike. These payments were hardly regular income even in the most sanguine view. At the most, even if my

⁶⁷ To justify this classification, he notes that Samos is listed among the *ἐποτελείς*... *φόρον* in 7.57.4. Yet, there is no guarantee that tribute was not paid during the war years, of which we have no record, so that Thucydides is literally correct about their tributary status. On the indemnity of the Samians: Thuc. 1.117.3; D.S. 12.28.3; Plut. *Per.* 28.1–2; cf. Douris, *FGH* 76 F 67. For records of payments: *IG* I³ 68.21–22 (426/5); 369.42 (423/2); 370.18–19 (418/7) restored; 371.16 (414/3) restored. The annual amount appears to have been 50T, as suggested by *ATL* 3.327 n. 7, 334–35.

⁶⁸ See the objections stated above and note *ATL* 3.88.

⁶⁹ Such an increase is hypothetical. No evidence demonstrates that assessments were changed before the normal reassessment for 430/29.

⁷⁰ E.g., Maroneia (–7T); Samothrace (–4T); Dikaiopolis in Khalkidike (–2T, 5000 dr.). See Meiggs 310–11, 531–32; cf. *ATL* 3.311–13, 352.

reservations on these groups are minimized, classes 1, 2, 4, and 5 are not likely to have exceeded c. 75T (c. 50T from Samos; c. 10T in allied indemnities/contributions; c. 15T in gross increment from higher assessment).

Thus, in this deciphering of the 600T of external income of the Athenians, a considerable sum must have been supplied by direct income and by colonial income, c. 135T at a minimum in my reckoning.⁷¹ Furthermore, unless one is prepared to collapse Gomme's option into the other hypothesis in which the tribute lists leave out a sizeable proportion of the monies contributed by the allied cities, a considerable amount of the difference between the sum appearing on the tribute lists and the 600T of Thucydides will have been contributed by colonial income. It is only in such a hypothesis as this that an important place can be found for colonial revenue.

This series of speculative arguments cannot be considered as a proof of the importance of income from places such as Amphipolis. They do, however, supply us with a hypothetical context for a reading of Thuc. 4.108.1, which makes plausible the Athenian δέος 'fear' when the city fell to Brasidas, and why Amphipolis was so ὠφέλιμος. If the list of pre-war colonies is considered, it may be noted that outside the Chersonese, no other colonies had the economic potential or size of Amphipolis from the standpoint of their base in natural resources.⁷² If one posited 100T of income from the colonies, at least half or 50T would have to come from Amphipolis. The revenues drawn by the Odrysians from tribute from the coastal cities of Thrace substantiates the scale of such transfers of resources (Thuc. 2.97.3).⁷³

If colonies had to pay a certain sum each year, that sum would probably have been equated with tribute and would have been most

⁷¹ By direct income is understood the income from land such as the territory confiscated from the Hippobotai of Khalkis and revenue derived from mining operations in Thrace, if they were not all brought under the control of Amphipolis.

⁷² Note that Aigina, with its commercial possibilities, and craft-productive base, had not yet been colonized when Perikles spoke.

⁷³ Sitalkes and Seuthes I received 400T, supplemented by gifts and levies in kind (Thuc. 2.97.3). The role of their taxes on cities is illustrated by the case of Abdera (Thuc. 2.97.1), also a tributary of Athens, assessed 15T or 10T during the 430s (e.g., *IG* I³ 279.II.69 [433/2]; 280.II.46 [432/1]). *ATL* 3.310–11 notes the ancestral tribute mentioned in a treaty of 357 (Tod, *GHI* #151.15–16). Abdera and Dikaia seem to have been assessed 75T in 425/4 (*IG* I³ 71.III.153–54 [restored]). This assessment may well be the combined tribute previously paid to both Athens and the Odrysians, which the Athenians may have felt emboldened to try to levy as Sitalkes weakened (Thuc. 4.101.5).

keenly resented by the Athenians present in the settlement. There would also be no trace of such payments and the procedures by which they were fixed. Two other options are more likely: specified revenues from a colony were earmarked from the time of foundation, and payments in kind were contributed on certain products like grain and timber. These revenues would probably be derived from indirect taxes, and possibly from income on resources, the exploitation of which was retained by the Athenian government rather than attributed to colonists. In the discussion of *IG* I³ 47, a decree concerning the establishment of a colony, it has already been noted that the Athenians were legislating about the *emporía* 'harbors' or the *emporika* 'harbor taxes' of the colony (see Chapter 2, Endnote B above). I conjectured that arrangements were being made for the rendering of a part of the income from the harbor to the Athenians (and from other indirect taxes), perhaps with the provision that the excess over a set amount could be used by the colonial authorities. Reservation of taxes for the *mētropolis* was a less provocative regime than the system of tribute, because any lessening of revenue was immediately passed along to the *hēgemōn*. For tributaries, assessments remained the same, despite contracting revenues, until a case of hardship could be made in Athens. An exploration of the remarks of Thucydides on colonial revenue makes the existence of such stipulations probable, whether or not they were specifically provided for in *IG* I³ 47.

The taxes on the harbors are excellent candidates for such a reservation by the central government for its own use. The freedom and tranquillity of the seas which made trade viable was, after all, guaranteed by the allied fleet. The place of harbor taxes as the most lucrative and administrable of indirect taxes is indicated by the Athenian decision to replace the *phoros* with a 5% tax on imports and exports (Thuc. 7.28.4). We have already noted the activities of Thorykion as *eikostologos* on Aigina. The way is perhaps open to hypothesize that the 5% tax was collected in all colonies even before 413.⁷⁴ In that case, the shift from tribute collection to the tax was not only simpler to administer, as Thucydides suggests, but was also conciliatory, as it raised the subject states

⁷⁴ This would mean that Thorykion could have sent naval supplies to the Peloponnesians before the defeat of the Syracusan expedition. Then his act would fully deserve the attention given to it by Aristophanes, as the enemies of Athens would be far more restricted in their opportunities to import supplies at this time. Thorykion could then have served as a taxiarch of the Aiginetan *epoikoi* during the *coup d'état* of the 400 (the chronological order suggested by the scholia), which would provide another strong motivation for the poet's animus against him.

to equivalence with the Athenian colonies.⁷⁵ Moreover, the tax turns out to be a canny gesture of self-preservation in its historical context. The mildness of the 5% tax, when it is seen from this perspective, explains why there is no extant denunciation of it by either external enemies or by oligarchic dissidents at home. If the tribute system was then restored—or an attempt made to restore it—in the intransigent atmosphere after the battle of Kyzikos, Aigina as a colony might have been allowed to retain the *eikostē*.⁷⁶ For colonies, the reimposition of tribute was a signal for a return to the *status quo ante*.

Akin to the revenue from indirect taxes would be requirements that a portion of the production of natural products had to be contributed to Athens. Thucydides speaks of the value of Amphipolis because of the conveyance of ship-timbers from there. Alternative supplies were as a rule available through commerce, so that he may be referring to the shipping of timbers from Amphipolis at no cost or at a low fixed price. Those colonies which were fertile may have supplied wheat to Athens. It ought to be recognized that compulsory sales at a price fixed by the hegemonal state are a form of taxation.

Concerning other taxes which colonial Athenians might have paid to the government in Athens, the case of the *xenoi* in the Khalkis Decree may be noted, those who are implied to be paying taxes to Athens (IG I³ 40.52–57).⁷⁷ This datum could be combined with the evidence from the Hestiaia Decree for an *eisphora* in that colony (IG I³ 41.38). The liability of all Athenians to pay the *eisphora* would establish another means for the Athenian state to draw on the foreign property of Athenians. One advantage of this hypothesis is that it removes the incongruity of property within Attica being subject, while external property was not. Since much of this external property was extra-colonial, it is hard to see how it could be exempted from the *eisphora*. Accordingly, if

⁷⁵ That conciliatory policy would be parallel to the greater willingness of the Athenians to grant autonomy during the Ionian War. See Figueira, *BICS* (1990) 69–71.

⁷⁶ This reconstruction solves the notorious problem of how the *eikostē* could continue on Aigina while the tribute system was revived, as Xenophon notes in the case of the surrender of Khalkedon (HG 1.3.9) and is indicated by a late assessment after Kyzikos (IG I³ 100). There, Miletoteichos, unknown on earlier tribute lists and in the neighborhood of Kyzikos (III.5), and other towns, known from Craterus (FGH 342 F 6–8, cf. 3; note Antiphon's trial in F 5) appear. See B.D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 355–411, esp. 386–89; *ATL* 1.120, 208; 3.91–92; Meiggs 369–70, 438–39.

⁷⁷ Whitehead, *ZPE* (1976) 254–56, is correct in his doubts that these taxes can be situational, but he should not be followed in his suggestion of some unknown general tax on Athenian citizens.

it was feasible to tax individual holdings abroad, why not then the *klēroi* of colonists?⁷⁸ The state had a good idea of their initial value. Cleruchic holdings, which may not have become private property, may well have been entirely exempt, as they were in the fourth century.⁷⁹

The vastly expanded pool of resources from which these *eisphorai* were drawn might help to explain why Thucydides did not believe it necessary to mention each exaction after noting the first in 3.19.1.⁸⁰ The amount raised by the first *eisphora* of the war in 428 was 200T, which, while it would be a sizeable sum in the fourth century, might not have been all that noteworthy, given the extent of Athenian holdings abroad in the fifth century. It is only in the fourth century when the base of property on which the tax is levied becomes substantially narrowed that the *eisphora* is experienced as a grievous burden.⁸¹

c) Punishment

The third rationale for colonization is its punitive effect; it punished those whom the Athenians held as disloyal to their commitments. The Athenians maintained the integrity of the system for collection of tribute as a proportionate and non-punitive mechanism for support of their (and the league's) fleet. The tribute system does not seem to have been a tool of punishment, although public antipathies must have played a role in assessment.⁸² That left indemnification, which seems to have been

⁷⁸ The *eisphora* as an occasional tax would not affect Thucydides' and Xenophon's figures for regular revenue.

⁷⁹ Dem. 14.16 speaks of the exemption of cleruchic land from the trierarchic symmories (cf. Harpocration s.v. κληρουχοί). The more numerous eisphoric symmories seem to have taken in a much wider segment of the population (Cleidemus, *FGH* 323 F 8). See Jones 141 n. 26. The fourth-century cleruchs had a set of military responsibilities quite different in kind from their fellow citizens in Attica.

⁸⁰ This point is all the more convincing when it is realized that there were many *eisphorai* during the war: Lys. 12.20; 25.12; 30.26 (all contain phrases like πολλάς εἰσφοράς). Note that Lys. 21.1–4 does not establish that there were only two *eisphorai* between 411 and 404. It attests two *eisphorai* while the speaker was a trierarch abroad, perhaps between 410/9 or 408/7 and 405/4. See Figueira, *QUCC* (1988) 58–59. See also the note immediately following.

⁸¹ Diodorus notes the burden of the *eisphorai* during the Ionian War (13.47.7, 52.5; 64.4), but that scarcely affects our conclusions about Athenian resources at the beginning of the war.

⁸² The cases of Aigina and Poteidaia are sometimes cited. Aiginetan monetary output and anecdotal evidence from building projects, elite tombs, and literary patronage indicate that 30T was not *prima facie* extortionate. See Figueira, *Aigina*, *passim*. Arguably,

used in the case of the Samians and perhaps Byzantines, and confiscation of property as the available methods for punishing rebels and recovering the costs of the military operations against them.⁸³

Before the war, only those exceptional rebels, the Hestians, who murdered Athenian sailors, were expelled, to be replaced with colonists. The same fate was visited on the Aiginetans at the beginning of the war. The Mytilenean debate marked a turning point, inasmuch as *andrapodismos* was the first policy on which the assembly decided. The executions, enslavements, and expulsions that followed in connection with other cities led to the creation of colonies. The attraction of colonization lay in its combination of punishment with the other motivations which have been previously discussed.

It is the role of the cleruchies in punishment that is more problematical. Once again, it is the Lesbian cleruchy that provides the clearest indications, but even these are not unambiguous. After the decision was rescinded to conduct an *andrapodismos*, the Athenians had the choice of either exacting an indemnity and tribute or of imposing a cleruchy. An appraisal of the role of punishment in their motivation must, however, be balanced against their need to subsidize hoplites in such a manner as to leave them free for service with Athenian forces. Moreover, the cleruchy was short-lived, so that the overall feasibility of the project might be called into question, at least in comparison with the combination of autonomy and compensation that seems to have been tried next (Appendix A). Most of the other supposed cleruchies are only doubtfully motivated as acts of punishment. As has already been remarked, Lemnos and the Chersonese, both dubious cleruchies, give no signs of disaffection during the Pentekontaeteia. Furthermore, dissension in the Cyclades around 450 is a surmise based on the existence of

this assessment eventually became onerous and was lowered during the 430s. Yet, an excessive assessment is not necessarily a punitive one, since the Athenians doubtless harbored exaggerated beliefs about Aiginetan wealth (cf. the Athenian story in Hdt. 9.80.1–3; Figueira, *QUCC* [1988] 81). Faced with credulous *hegēmones*, the Aiginetans would have had trouble convincing the Athenians of hardship. As for Poteidaia, the timing of the increased tribute of 15T is uncertain, with no guarantee that it was not implemented in period V, 438/7–435/4 (*IG* I³ 277.VI.5 [435/4]), well before the confrontation between Athens and Corinth. In any event, pressuring an ally through increased assessment is not punitive in the sense that is meant here.

⁸³ On the Samian indemnity, see n. 67 in this chapter. An indemnity from the Byzantines has been hypothesized to reconcile the figures from the inscriptions with literary testimonia on the cost of the war (*IG* I³ 363.1–5, with Isoc. 15.111; D.S. 12.28.3–4; Nepos *Tim.* 1.2). See *ATL* 3.334; Meiggs 192–93.

the Andrian and Naxian cleruchies. Even the cleruchies in Euboia—at Eretria and, presumably, at Karystos—seem to antedate the major revolt: they are as likely to have been the cause of disaffection as its result or punishment.

It is to be remembered that the confiscations of Perikles at Khalkis in 446 are explicitly described as annexing the land of the Khalkidian aristocrats. This episode points toward the hypothesis that earlier interventions on Euboia were of the same nature. Possibly, the policy started with the first reduction of tribute at Karystos, perhaps amid moves aimed against the aristocrats who had kept that city out of the Delian League in the first place (cf. Thuc. 1.98.3; Hdt. 9.105). Then, Tolmides may have expropriated anti-Athenian oligarchs for his cleruchies in Eretria and, once again, probably at Karystos. Hostages taken from the Eretrian aristocracy are later attested from 442/1 (Phot., Hesych., s.v. ἑρετριάκους κατάλογος; cf. Macar. 4.16 = *CPG* 2.168).

Moreover, there is no solid evidence for fifth-century denunciations of cleruchies. Cleruchies as punishment become more credible only when cases like Aigina, Poteidaia, and Melos are given that classification. I, for one, am not prepared to save the punitive role of the cleruchy at the cost of abandoning the arguments above in favor of classifying these entities as colonies. Furthermore, it is striking that these very same cases are cited in lists of the atrocities of the empire, but it is never as cleruchies that they are explicitly denounced (see Chapter 7, section B.1 below).⁸⁴

The punitive aspect of the cleruchy is complicated even further if the incidence and scale of the punishment are considered. Here, changes in the level of tribute become the only significant indicators. Is the lowering of tribute a function of the subtraction of the underlying productive assets from which the funds for the tribute were generated, or does the cleruchy absorb approximately those funds which would have been paid in tribute? Surprisingly, it is the latter which is closer to the truth.

Let us say that tribute is assumed to represent 5% (on a crude analogy with the 5% tax on trade), so that a tribute of 3000 drachmas means a product or output of goods and services of 10T for that city. Let

⁸⁴ Diodorus Siculus makes this point in general terms, although he uses a fourth-century sense of cleruchy to do so, when he describes the disadvantage for the Athenians relative to the Spartans c. 380 in the following terms: Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ διὰ τὰς τῶν (κατὰ)πολεμουμένων κληρουχίας ἡδύξουν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ("The Athenians were in disrepute among the Greeks because of their cleruchies over those they had defeated in war": 15.23.4).

us reduce that tribute to 1500 drachmas or 0.25T. Following the understanding of the cleruchy in which basic assets are significantly diverted on its founding, we must estimate that the underlying output of 10T has also been halved to 5T. So, in the case of our imaginary city or in the actual case of Andros, whose tribute fell from 12T to 6T, that reduction is a part of a drastic shift in resources, which appears extremely punitive.

One might respond that the picture just drawn is a credible one, as the Athenians confiscated 3000 landholdings from the rebel Lesbians. These may have constituted much of the holdings of a class of dominant landlords, many of whom will have been among the 1000 executed rebels. Yet, the result of that vast confiscation was hardly apocalyptic. Each of the *klēroi* was to generate 2 *mnai* or 200 drachmas in income, so that all 3000 *klēroi* would provide 100T in annual revenue. One hundred talents is admittedly a tremendous sum, but it looks a lot nearer to the sum that Lesbos would have been expected to pay in tribute at this time than to a large fraction of the total output (the GDP or *gross domestic product*) of the Lesbians.⁸⁵ In other words, the cleruchy had subtracted resources approximating the foregone tribute; it had *not* irretrievably absorbed a large percentage of the underlying assets which would have produced that income.

Andros may be considered next. The island received 250 cleruchs. If the same 200 drachmas per cleruch was to be the yield of their *klēroi*, 8.3T would be the annual shift in resources to Athens. That figure is again comparable to the amount of tribute, 6T, which had been required previously and was now subtracted from the original total of 12T. Other examples are more hypothetical. Karystos is a possible site for a cleruchy, the maximum size of which is 250 cleruchs. Its tribute fell from 12T to 5T in two stages. If the 200 drachmas per cleruch was the anticipated subsidy, 7T would subsidize 210 cleruchs. The pre-cleruchic tributes of Naxos and Eretria are unknown, but their post-cleruchic assessments of 6T, 4000 drachmas and 6T, respectively, suggest reductions comparable to those undergone by Andros and Karystos.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ The wealth of Lesbos is illustrated by its naval strength (cf. Thuc. 3.13.7). There were 70 Lesbian triremes at Lade (Hdt. 6.8.2). There were 55 Lesbian and Chian ships at sea during the revolt of Samos, in what was hardly a full mobilization (Thuc. 1.116.2, 117.2; D.S. 12.27.4, 28.2). Moreover, one would be quite surprised if the Lesbians were not richer in the 420s than they had been in the 490s. Note that the Samian fleet had increased somewhat (Hdt. 6.8.2; Thuc. 1.116.1).

⁸⁶ In Appendix D, a reconstruction of the colony sent to the Chersonese is offered, following Plutarch's description of these settlers as *epoikoi*. The virtual elimination of

In light of these calculations, the probable Attic cleruchies appear to have been only mildly or moderately punitive, since a significant part of the output which was committed to the cleruchs was offset by a reduction in annual tribute. We are measuring, however, punitive effects on the whole *poleis* subject to cleruchies. There is a good chance that the cleruchies founded c. 450 by Tolmides expropriated property from the anti-Athenian oligarchs of the cities which were involved.⁸⁷ The Athenians may have confiscated the properties of their oligarchic enemies and allocated them to their own citizens. Because there had been no revolt and no communal guilt, the "dissident" states were allowed to survive and a cleruchy may have been an ideal means for extracting a compensatory income from the weakened economies of those cities near Athens whose leading class had been disaffected. With the brutalization of Athenian foreign policy through the stresses of total war with the Peloponnesians, such opportunities for moderation disappeared. Mytilene is the only cleruchy founded in the period covered by the main narrative of Thucydides.

Nor should we make a mental construct of the mid-fifth-century cleruchies in isolation from other measures which the Athenians might have taken to ensure the continued cooperation of these cities, such as encouragement of democratic institutions or even distributions of elite land to poorer subject citizens.⁸⁸ With the latter possibility, the cleruchs sent to sixth-century Khalkis might be juxtaposed. The critical disparity, however, between the imperial cleruchies and late sixth-century Khalkis is the transmuting of inclusivism. The imperial cleruch is grafted onto an indigenous community, while the sixth-century cleruchs to Khalkis appear to have fused with the original inhabitants.

tribute from the area suggests something more than the addition of 1000 settlers; rather, a reevaluation of the citizenship of previous inhabitants. For those who believe in the existence of a cleruchy, however, the reduction in tribute would render the following result on the issue of punishment. The Khersonesitai paid 18T and the Alopekonesioi 3240 drachmas before the reinforcement, and, after the addition, all the cities paid a total of 2T, 1300 drachmas. At the level of 200 drachmas per settler, the reduction in tribute would subsidize c. 490 "cleruchs".

⁸⁷ The Canadian excavation at Karystos may well add some interesting data on the subject of the interaction of cleruchs (if there truly was a cleruchy there) and natives. See Table 4.

⁸⁸ The tribes Euboia and Nesiotis at Thourioi, however, suggest the provision of colonial *klēroi* to Euboians and islanders.

d) Terminology

The semantics of the official language of any *polis* must reflect the constraints under which that polity is operating, i.e., the very social and military conditions which we have been scrutinizing. The lines of demarcation inherent in Athenian terminology on colonization concern both the public utilization and political activity of the limiting variable for the employment of colonization as a tool of empire—the restricted supply of Athenian citizens.

Athenian terminology divided settlements abroad into two categories, the ἀποικίαι and the κληρουχίαι, in accordance with the criterion of whether or not they could be said to constitute respectively dependent *poleis* or merely arrangements for the collective and perhaps conditional apportionment of property to individual Athenians. This terminological distinction followed a crucial difference in the business of administration, whether the settler would serve in Attica in the tribal regiments or serve Athens and pay Athenian taxes from a colony.

Among the ἀποικοί, the ἑποικοί could be distinguished—the latter reinforced a previously existing community—using a diachronic mode of classification (as compared with the synchronic distinction between ἀποικος and κληροῦχος). As has been hypothesized above, the term ἑποικος involved a contention that the ἀποικία had some continuity with a preceding entity. Particularly problematical, as the foregoing discussion reveals, are cases like Aigina and Poteidaia, where the “subsequent” colonists constitute the first wave of settlers. In those instances, the colony has an existence before its colonization, as paradoxical as that may sound. Hence the epoikic colony challenges us to find the specific modality of that continuity. An extensive reconstruction has been offered for Aigina, but clearly different, albeit parallel, answers must exist for Poteidaia (see Chapter 1, p. 27 above) and the Chersonese (see Appendix D). Moreover, in the case of Aigina, much has been made of the polemical aspect of such a denomination. Here, it is also important to stress my secondary theme, that the term ἑποικος may have had a continuing applicability in Athenian colonies, because it differentiated the colonists from other Athenians who might own property on the site as well as from non-Athenians who remained in residence.

If, however, the epoikic colony partakes of a continuity with an earlier community, the cleruchy differs from the small, exclusively Athenian colony in possessing from one perspective an even greater degree of continuity. Its predecessor still exists in its presence. Regardless of

whether one follows the view that cleruchs provided garrisons or the position argued above that the colonists (and especially the ἑποικοί) sometimes performed this function, it must be recognized that Athenian colonial terminology did not attempt systematically to classify colonies on the basis of strategic considerations. For example, modern scholars may classify colonies as serving strategic goals against non-Greek powers or consolidating Athenian hegemony in their empire, but such distinctions cannot be resolved into Athenian official language. As the record of behavior toward Aigina shows, Athenian imperial rhetoric and symbolism legitimized Athenian possession of territory outside Attica. Official colonial terminology assumes that legitimacy, and specifies the civic rights and responsibilities of settlers. In practical terms, we do not explain Athenian rights to the control of Aigina through the term ἑποικος, but it is through the claims about Aigina that one accounts for the application of the term ἑποικος.

The surviving references to Naupaktos help to illustrate the nature of this dividing line between power-political concerns or strategic reality, on the one hand, and a constitutional or legal terminology on the other. We might be tempted to classify Naupaktos as an Athenian colony. It fulfills the same general military function as the non-Athenian settlements placed on the mainland of Asia, which can be called ἀποικίαι and were staffed from pro-Athenian allies. There was, however, the significant difference that Naupaktos was also a strategic gambit against Spartan hegemony in the Peloponnesos. In some ways the vocabulary about Naupaktos even parallels the language used generally for colonies. Thucydides speaks of the Athenians settling the Messenians there (Thuc. 1.103.3: ἐς Ναύπακτον κατέκτισαν) and Ephorus used similar language (cf. D.S. 11.84.7; 14.34.2; 15.66.5). There are even some hints that the Messenians reinforced an earlier (Lokrian) population, some of whom remained on the site. From this perspective, the Messenians could even have been considered ἑποικοί.

In the remainder of his narrative, however, Thucydides is careful never to refer to these settlers as colonists. For him, they are usually the Messēnioi, and never the expected Naupaktioi. Note particularly these formulae: Μεσσηνιοί οἱ ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ (2.9.4) or οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ναυπάκτου Μεσσηνιοί (4.41.2; cf. 7.57.8). His avoidance of the ethnic Naupaktioi is that much more striking, since the Messenians themselves had no such absolute inhibition against using it. It is noteworthy, however, that on

inscriptions the Naupaktioi at Naupaktos are not Messenian settlers, but the previous inhabitants with whom the Messenians had joined.⁸⁹

Thus, paradoxically, what may be considered the finest strategic foundation of the Pentekontaeteia did not trigger the utilization of colonial language. The Athenians were giving their allies, the Messenians, enjoyment of Naupaktos (in return for alliance), but the true homeland of the Messenians was Messenia in the Peloponnesos (Thuc. 4.41.2: *ὡς ἐς πατρίδα ταύτην*). Since this true nature of the Messenians was not altered by residence in Naupaktos and there were no Attic settlers there whose rights and privileges needed determination, the Athenians need not have envisaged (and did not envisage) Naupaktos as a colony. In fact, it was counter-productive for them to do, since that nomenclature would distract the Greek world from the Spartan enslavement of Messenia and the Athenian championing of Messenian liberty, both of which were symbolized by the presence of the Messenian fugitives at Naupaktos.

It is equally true that what we have called the punitive character of Athenian colonization not only cross-cuts any geopolitical or strategic classifications, but also lacks reflections in Athenian colonial terminology. In the first place, there is nothing to indicate that Brea (for instance), presumably an intrusion on an unsettled (or unconsolidated) site in non-Greek territory, and Hestiaia, founded upon the home of an expelled Greek population, differed in any official or institutional, and, hence, terminological sense. Secondly, the fact that cleruchies (in my view) were less punitive than *ἀποικίαι* was a byproduct of strategic or judicial decisions and not recognized in its own right by some official formulation. So rich an island as Lesbos would never have been left largely deserted (any more than Melos was). Had the Mytileneans been subjected to execution and enslavement, an *ἀποικία* would have been in all likelihood placed on Lesbos. As it was, when that *andrapodismos* was rejected, a cleruchy was installed. It is significant of the ideological parameters within which Athenian colonization took place that the debate between Kleon and Diodotos in Thucydides makes no mention of either alternative. It focuses instead on issues involving the justice of the

⁸⁹ Meiggs-Lewis #74.1-2: *Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Ναυπάκτιοι ἀνέθεν Δῶ| Ὀλυμπίῳ δέ-κάταν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων*. A similar titlature can be restored on a Messenian monument at Delphi; see G. Colin, *Fouilles de Delphes* 3.4.1 (Paris 1922) #1, pp. 1-5; 163-65. The Naupaktioi may well be the holdovers from the previous regime. See Tod, *GHI* 1.147; Meiggs-Lewis p. 224. Evidence for such a fusion is contained in an unpublished inscription, reported in *AD 19.2 Chron.* (1964) 295; A.P. Mattheou, *Horos* 1 (1983) 84.

proposed actions, and on the deterrent or counter-productive quality of an *andrapodismos*.

2) THE EFFECTS OF COLONIZATION ON ATHENIAN MANPOWER

Colonization enhanced Athenian military strength in two of its aspects, manpower and financial resources. The latter topic has already been discussed, as it also helps to explain the causes of imperial colonization. In one sense, increases in Athenian manpower have also been approached previously, as subsidization. The same topic, however, is open to further investigation from another perspective, inasmuch as evidence on the effects of colonization exists in the figures for the Athenian forces during the Peloponnesian War. The establishment of both *ἀποικίαι* and *κληρουχίαι* assigned *κλήροι* to Athenians. There is evidence from Karystos and Lesbos, where the allotments were probably sufficient to render their holders hoplites (see pp. 176-77 above and Appendix A). The suggestion has been made that the cleruchies were limited to the thetes (or barring that, perhaps to the thetes and zeugites: Chapter 2, section B.1 above). *Ἀποικίαι* were open to all the census classes. Therefore, the promotion to higher census class was a stronger influence among cleruchs, although it must be remembered that they were far outnumbered by colonists. According to this reconstruction, the cleruchs were called upon for service in the Athenian tribal regiments rather than their own units. The *ἀποικοί* served in units made up of their fellow colonists, just as we have seen the Aiginetans, Hestiaians, and others mobilized.

The results of imperial colonization can be seen in the armed might of the Athenians at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. The very existence and nature of the increase in Athenian hoplite strength during the fifth century is subject to vigorous debate among scholars, and a reassessment of that controversy cannot be evaded.

The evidence of central importance is provided by Thuc. 2.13.6-7:

χρήμασι μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐθάρσυνεν αὐτούς· ὀπλίτας δὲ τρισχιλίου καὶ μυρίου εἶναι ἀνευ τῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις καὶ τῶν παρ' ἐπαλξιν ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων. τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐφύλασσον τὸ πρῶτον ὅποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐσβάλοιεν, ἀπὸ τε τῶν πρεσβυτάτων καὶ τῶν νεωτάτων, καὶ μετοίκων ὅσοι ὀπλῖται ἦσαν.

Thus he encouraged them with their fiscal situation. Moreover, (he encouraged them) that there were 13,000 hoplites without those in the forts and those for defense, who numbered 16,000. So many men were defenders when the enemy made their first incursion and (were) from [or both

from] the oldest and the youngest, and (were) metics as many as were hoplites. (These translations will be discussed below.)

The critical problem in understanding Thucydides is how to construe the significance of his ratio between the 13,000 men, whom we can call the frontline troops or the field army, and the 16,000 on guard (*ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις*) and for defense (*παρ' ἐπαλξιν*), whom we will call reserves (on the basis of this context). A number of problems spring immediately to mind. The proportion of frontline troops (45%) appears rather low, and raises the question why the main army could not draw strength from the other categories of troops. Some reason must be generated to explain the infeasibility of such a manipulation, which appears so superficially advantageous.

The field army and the men between 50 and 60 were members of the tribal *taxeis* 'regiments' and were listed on a *katalogos* 'roster' of those eligible to serve as hoplites.⁹⁰ Individual commanders utilized the over-all catalogue of hoplites to form their own catalogues for particular campaigns.⁹¹ The field army was some chronologically delimited section of this *katalogos*. There were apparently 42 age classes, for which see *Ath. Pol.* 53.4, 7, and the names of the year classes were used to denominate the ages of the men mobilized for any particular campaign. That meant also that the state had the capacity to muster in an organized

⁹⁰ M.H. Hansen, "The Number of Athenian Hoplites in 431 B.C.," *SO* 56 (1981) 19–32, esp. 24–29; *id.*, *Democracy and Demography: The Number of Athenian Citizens in the Fourth Century B.C.* (Herning [Denmark] 1986) 83–89, is unconvincing against the idea of a single roster of hoplites. Cf. Thuc. 6.43; 7.16.1, 20.2; 8.24.2; and Xen. *Mem.* 3.4.1, where the term *ἐκ καταλόγου* is official and formulaic. This is unaffected by individual commanders making rosters for particular campaigns (Thuc. 6.26.2, 31.3; subsequently used in planning, and in establishing liability for a particular campaign), where the verb *καταλέγω* is also used (see also Lys 9.4, 15; 14.6). Dem. 13.4 shows the nature of the list: *τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ . . . τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ τὸν κατάλογον* ("those at prime military age . . . those over the age of service from the catalogue"). [Dem.] 50.6, 16 on naval conscription does not offer counter-evidence.

⁹¹ See note immediately preceding. D.S. 11.84.4 shows how an enterprising commander worked around the general *katalogos* to create an *ad hoc katalogos*: *ὁ δὲ Τολμίδης σπεύδων μὴ μόνον τοὺς τεταγμένους χιλίους ἐξαγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν στρατείαν, προσίων ἐκάστῳ τῶν νέων καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ διαφερόντων ἔλεγεν ὡς μέλλει καταλέγειν αὐτόν· κρείττον οὖν ἔφησεν ἐθελοντὴν στρατεῦναι μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τῶν καταλόγων ἀναγκασθῆναι δοκεῖν* ("Tolmides, being anxious to lead out on the campaign not only the 1000 men assigned, approached each one of those men who were of prime military age and superior in bodily strength and said that he intended to enroll him [verb: *καταλέγω*]; accordingly, he said it would be better for that person to campaign as a volunteer than appear to be compelled through means of the rosters [*τῶν καταλόγων*]").

fashion men up to 60. We cannot be entirely sure, however, that even older men could not be drawn upon in an emergency, despite their having left the active *κατάλογος* (Pollux 2.11; cf. Dem. 13.4?). Even the oldest men (*τῶν πρεσβυτάτων*) would after all have had some value as defenders of fortifications, and in desperate circumstances even women and children fought from the walls. Therefore, some calculations for men over 60 are listed for the sake of comparison. I have argued elsewhere that Spartans served from 20–65 or in 45 year classes, of which the normal levy was, at first, 30 classes and later 35 year classes.⁹² We have no reason to think that their Athenian adversaries did not utilize roughly similar standards, serving, it seems, up to age 50.⁹³

Young men had an apprenticeship of two years before joining the *katalogos*, where they served turns on campaign. They can be classed as ephebes, and were brigaded as *peripolai* for an apprenticeship in border forts, and not yet incorporated into their tribal regiments. Aeschines (2.167–68) describes the military apprenticeship of a young Athenian—two years as an ephebe and *peripolēs* and then service in expeditions *τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις* ('by year classes': *Ath. Pol.* 53.4, 7; Harpocration *s.v.* *στρατεία ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις*; Philochorus, *FGH* 328 F 38) and *ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι* ('sequentially', either 'assigned to different positions in the formation' or 'in turn temporally'; cf. *Suda s.v.* *τερθρεία* [τ 344 Adler]).⁹⁴ That a similar regime prevailed for the ephebes in the fifth century is signaled by Eupolis fr. 341 K (cf. Arist. *Aves* 1174–79): *καὶ τοὺς περιπόλους ἀπιέν' εἰς τὰ φρούρια* ("and the border-guards go out to their

⁹² *TAPA* (1986) 167–68.

⁹³ Jones (163–64) sees a field army containing men aged 20–39, based on the Thermopylai call-out of 347 to age 40 (Aesch. 2.133), and the similar mobilization in the Lamian War (D.S. 18.10.2). Cf. the earlier thesis of J. Beloch, "Griechische Aufgebote I," *Klio* 5 (1905) 341–74, esp. 358. The first force was limited in size because of the topography of Thermopylai and tried to achieve a higher quality in a period when citizens served less assiduously, so that middle-aged men had lost conditioning. In the second case, home defense—three tribes were held for border defense—may have argued for a large reserve. These cases where a call-out to 40 is specified may have been exceptional. Socrates, Lakhes, and Demosthenes all served in their 40s (Socrates: Plato *Apol.* 28E; Plato *Laches* 181B; Sym. 221A; Lakhes: Plato *Laches* 181B, D, 186C; Demosthenes: Aesch. 3.159, 253; Plut. *Dem.* 20.2; *Mor.* 845F). M.H. Hansen, *Three Studies in Athenian Demography* (Copenhagen 1988) 23 n. 12, notes Arist. *Ach.* 600–3 with grey-haired soldiers (40–50 year olds?). P.J. Rhodes, *Thucydides: History II* (Warminster 1988) 271–74, opts for men over 39 as volunteers (e.g., Socrates at Delion).

⁹⁴ See A. Andrewes, "The Hoplite *Katalogos*," in G.S. Shrimpton and D.J. McGarr, ed., *Classical Contributions: Studies in Honor of Malcolm Francis McGregor* (Locust Valley NY 1981) 1–3.

outposts"). Eupolis is quoted by the scholiast to Aesch. 2.167, who equates the *peripolai* with the ephebes. A fragment of Philochorus from the fourth book seems to refer to the same system (FGH 328 F 38).⁹⁵

Consequently, it is hard to visualize a population with a likely distribution of ages from the figures offered here, if we apply an appropriate paradigm from a model life table.⁹⁶ Perikles' remarks in Thucydides suggest the existence of a main body of 14,200 men, who seem to have served from age 20 until they turned 50. According to Perikles, this body of 14,200 men included 1200 cavalry and 13,000 hoplites.⁹⁷ If we assume that these 14,200 men are all the members of the top three census classes who were aged 20–49, then the number of older and younger men can be estimated from the model life table. There ought to have been a total of c. 4330 men who were either 18 to 20 years of age (the youngest men) or between 50 and 60 years of age (the oldest men). If, for the sake of comparison, we group *all* the men over 50 with the young men 18–20, then those two groups would total c. 7164. The young men 18–20 will have numbered c. 1191 out of these totals.

Next, two categories of manpower seem to deserve special consideration, those in the *φρούρια* and those assigned to *ἐπαλξίς*. The division is confusing, since those who are in *φρούρια* 'fortifications' ought also to be those engaged in *ἐπαλξίς* 'defense of a wall'. If Thucydides is not simply being redundant here, one of these phrases has to carry a "marked" connotation. It is unlikely that the special sense is attached to *ἐπαλξίς*, which looks straightforward (cf. 7.28.2). Moreover, there is the problem of justifying a large number of men as guards in the fortifications within Attica. As has been observed, the young men 18–20 guarded Attica as *peripolai*. For the others charged with garrison duty, the only evidence is the figure of 2500 (*Ath. Pol.* 24.3).⁹⁸

Since the older and younger men cannot have provided more than a part of the 16,000, we are compelled to look for other classes of troops to make up the difference. Thucydides supplies us with one such group, the

⁹⁵ See also Xen. *Poroi* 4.47, 52; *Ath. Pol.* 42.4. Cf. Thuc. 4.67.1; 8.92.2. Note HCT 2.34.

⁹⁶ A.J. Coale and P. Demeny, *Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Populations* (Princeton 1966) "Model South", mortality level #4 with a static population. For this model, see Figueira, *TAPA* (1986) 168 n. 10.

⁹⁷ The *hippotoxotai* 'mounted archers' are grouped with the regular cavalry, as in Thuc. 2.13.8. No evidence suggests that they were thetes (Lys. 15.5–8, 11; Xen. *Mem.* 3.3.1). See G.R. Bugh, *The Horsemen of Athens* (Princeton 1988) 221–22. They must have been young men in their prime (of zeugite census), considering their function.

⁹⁸ Rhodes, *Ath. Pol.* 306.

metics (about which more below). Now we have to consider whether there is not another class of reserve troops encoded in his classification here.

Let us consider the idea that the meaning of *φρούρια* here is 'Athenian settlements guarding the *arkhē*', for which parallels will be adduced. One objection to this interpretation must be faced squarely, namely that it necessitates the prepositional phrase with *ἀπό* being rather loosely connected to the sentence, as my translations would indicate.⁹⁹ The three phrases, beginning *τοσοῦτοι*, *ἀπό*, and *μετοίκων*, could even describe three categories in the reserve: those on guard (which will include colonists), the youngest and oldest, and the hoplite metics. Another suggestion (which I do not press) would be to connect *τοσοῦτοι*...*ἐφύλασσον* with the *φρούρια*, and the prepositional phrase with *ἀπό* and the phrase with *μετοίκων ὅσοι* with *τῶν παρ' ἐπαλξίν*.¹⁰⁰ An additional attraction of this interpretation is that the 16,000 reservists no longer have to be imagined as on guard *en masse* in Attica during the first invasion. Thucydides' paraphrase of Perikles is so compressed and telegraphic (reminding Thucydides' audience of what they knew all too well from the life-or-death conditions of daily life) that a conclusive translation may be in the end irretrievable.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Hansen, *SO* (1981) esp. 19–24, asserts both that the preposition *ἀπό* is equivalent to a partitive genitive, so that the reserves were not the whole class of old men, young men, and metics, and that the whole group did include thetes. So, necessarily, the oldest and youngest were not necessarily hoplites. The preposition *ἀπό*, however, could stand for a genitive of composition (cf. 8.44.1). Yet clearly *ὀπλιτῶν* should be understood with *ἐξακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων*. Thus we are no closer to explaining how there could be 16,000 reserves. Hansen's further point about the equipment of the *peripolai*, who were zeugites and hoplites in training, in any case, is not probative against the hoplitic character of the 16,000, as we can assign the phrase *τῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις* to the colonists. There is no evidence that a reserve levy of light-armed thetes existed for positional defense, let alone one composed of old and young thetes (men inexperienced in close combat), without a significant contingent of thetes in their prime. The argument that the thetes 20–49 were manning the fleet grossly exaggerates the anticipated intensity of constant or background naval activity. Cf. Jones 163; HCT 4.264; Andrewes, *Classical Contributions* 1–3.

¹⁰⁰ This interpretation would at least avoid the dilemma of A.W. Gomme ("The Athenian Hoplite Force in 431 B.C.," *CQ* 21 [1927] 142–150, esp. 148 and *passim*), who has to equate his unfit and his garrison troops in the reserves with the "youngest and oldest". Nevertheless, he, in contrast to others commenting on the passage, has faced squarely the problem of the number of categories of reserve troops here.

¹⁰¹ Beloch, *Klio* (1905) 367–68, argued that the words *ἀποίκων καὶ* would have to be inserted before *μετοίκων* in order to justify including colonists.

Emendation is not a feasible alternative.¹⁰² Diodorus seems to indicate that Ephorus, probably using Thucydides as a source, had 12,000 and 17,000 respectively: *χωρὶς δὲ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων στρατιώτας ἀπεδείκνυνεν ὑπάρχειν τῇ πόλει χωρὶς συμμάχων καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις ὄντων ὀπλίτας μὲν μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους, τοὺς δ' ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις ὄντας καὶ τοὺς μετοίκους ὑπάρχειν πλείους τῶν μυρίων ἐπτακισχιλίων*...¹⁰³ In the first instance, Diodorus' figures are valuable because they obviously descend from Thucydides, and guarantee his text as it stands. We may also note the simplified categories, which suggest a disinterest in the specifics of fifth-century military organization.¹⁰⁴ His figure might even be taken to suggest that an Attic source had the actual *katalogos* numbering between 12,000 and 13,000, and the reserve between 16,000 and 17,000. A size of 13,000 for the field army is also validated in the numbers for the invasion of the Megarid in 431, when 10,000 citizens supported by 3000 metics attacked, while 3000 troops were still in the north (2.31.1–2). The number of frontline troops is perhaps also confirmed by the deployments of summer 430: Perikles took out 4000 hoplites and 300 cavalry against Epidaurus (2.56.2), and Hagnon later used the same force at Poteidaia (2.31.2, 58.2). Meanwhile, Phormion was possibly still in the field with 1600 troops (2.58.3). At the same time, the original expeditionary force of 3000, with which Arkhestratos and Kallias were besieging Poteidaia, was in the Khalkidike (2.31.2; cf. 1.61.4). That this impressive exercise in the projection of military power took place while the plague was raging deserves the attention given it later by Thucydides in his comparison with the *citizen* component of the first Syracusan expeditionary force (6.31.2).

Further confirmation that emendation is not the solution is found in the casualty figures reported by Thucydides for the great plague (3.87.3): 300 from the cavalry and 4400 *ἐξ τῶν τάξεων* 'from the regiments'. In order to be comparable, these losses must involve the cavalry numbering 1200 and the 13,000 hoplites of the field army, plus the superannuated men from the reserves, who certainly will have belonged

¹⁰² Emendation has had its proponents, most notably K.J. Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt* (Leipzig 1886) 66; *id.*, *Klio* (1905) 366–72; Busolt-Swoboda, *GSK* 2.764–65; 1584 n. 1.

¹⁰³ 12.40.4: "In addition to these funds, he reported that there were available to the city 12,000 hoplites apart from allies and those who were in the fortifications, and those in the fortifications and the metics were more than 17,000."

¹⁰⁴ See Meiggs 449–51.

to the *taxeis* (50–60: 3138).¹⁰⁵ Using the estimates for Athenian population proposed above, the men 20–50 currently serving in the tribal regiments and the men over 50 kept on the rolls of the *taxeis* would together number c. 16,138 (20–60). This calculation would yield rates of mortality from the plague of 25% (300 from 1200) for the cavalry and 27% (4400 out of 16,138) from the *taxeis*.¹⁰⁶ This estimate seems to bring confirmation both to the authenticity of the extant figures of Thucydides on military strength in 431 and to the hypothesis about the constitution of the *taxeis* which we have adopted. The casualty figures seem to encapsulate a ratio of the frontline troops to the older and younger men similar to the one posited above. Any attempt to draw in much more of the 16,000 to the *taxeis* would have to explain why the mortality among the cavalry was so much higher (in the face of a likely correlation between wealth and resistance to disease).

Barring emendation, there has been a tendency to make a series of *ad hoc* adjustments for the sake of making the numbers credible. Gomme has been the most assiduous practitioner of this approach, and his views can be treated as characteristic.¹⁰⁷ He suggests that both exempt office holders and the unfit were shifted from the frontline troops to the reserves. He estimates that these two groups totaled 3000 individuals aged 20–49. He also adduced a considerable number of additional metics (for which, see below). Perikles' figures, however, represented a rounding off of the hoplite levy of men 20–49. Obviously, some individuals on the rolls would be officially engaged elsewhere during a particular call-out, but these would be different people at different times. The Athenians would scarcely make adjustments in the *katalogos* to account for such a transient figure in an overall enumeration of military assets. Moreover, all officials were available in the event of a levy *en masse*, as is possibly indicated by the presence of the *bouleutai* at the battle of Tanagra (Plut. *Cim.* 17.3–5).

¹⁰⁵ When we consider which members of the reserve must be included in the *taxeis*, the metics, the dependent citizens (like the Eleutherians), and the colonists (the latter two in their own units) must be excluded. Thus, the men 50–60 are left as the only members of the reserve in the *taxeis*. Cf. Jones 165–66; Gomme, *JHS* (1959) 64.

¹⁰⁶ Hagnon's loss to the plague of 1050 out of 4000 in the Khalkidike (or 25%) offers another confirming datum (2.58.3).

¹⁰⁷ Gomme, *CQ* (1927) 142–150; *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* (Oxford 1933) 4–7, 12–14; "The Population of Athens Again," *JHS* 79 (1959) 61–68; *HCT* 2.35–37. Gomme ends up with 17,000 hoplites and 1000 cavalry aged 20–49, with 3000 office-holders and unfit, 1000 on guard, and in addition, 6500 metics; and 6500 men aged 18–19 or 50–59 (*HCT* 2.36). Compare Jones 162–63.

As for Gomme's estimate of several thousand unfit, there is no evidence for such a liberal classification of disability (note only Lyc. 1.40), nor is there any evidence for the shift of less fit men out of their year classes into the reserve, a procedure which, one suspects, would have been received as invidious. All those ambulatory were probably required for regular service with their contemporaries (for the dispensation for the truly incapacitated, note Aesch. 1.102–4; Lys. 24 with reservations). The rigor of enrollment is indicated by the prominent place of eye-disease as an exception to service; note Arist. *Ran.* 190–92 (Aesch. 1.102–4; cf. Hdt. 7.229.1–2).¹⁰⁸ The rear ranks of the phalanx harbored those very people who were less capable. Aristophanes' butt, the glutinous and effeminate Kleonymos, was probably unfit in Gomme's terms, but he served, earning the poet's ire for throwing away his shield.¹⁰⁹ Aristophanes' other main butt, Kleisthenes, was probably also unfit (e.g., *Ach.* 117–22; *Nub.* 355; *Lys.* 1090–92). The poet would surely have lampooned his "legitimate" exemption from service, if one had existed.

My argument in favor of colonists as a part of the 16,000 is preferable to either of these approaches.¹¹⁰ Notwithstanding emendation and

¹⁰⁸ See B. Baldwin, "Medical Grounds for Exemption from Military Service at Athens," *CP* 62 (1967) 42–43.

¹⁰⁹ See *Ach.* 88–90, 844; *Eq.* 956–58, 1290–99; *Nubes* 972–80; *Aves* 289. For the shield-throwing, see *Eq.* 1369–72; *Nubes* 353–54; *Vesp.* 15–27, 592, 823–24; *Pax* 444–46, 670–78, 1295–1304; *Aves* 290, 1470–81. Service from the *katalogos* was to be enforced severely, as Aristophanes notes in *Eq.* 1369–72:

"Ἐπειθ' ὀπλίτης ἐντεθεὶς ἐν καταλόγῳ
οὐδεὶς κατὰ σπουδὰς μετεγγραφῆσεται,
ἀλλ' οὐπερ ἦν τὸ πρῶτον ἐγγεγράφεται.
Τοῦτ' ἔδακε τὸν πόρπακα τὸν Κλεωνύμου.

[Demos]: When a hoplite is entered on roster (*katalogos*),
no one will reclassify out of favoritism,
but he will stay registered, where he was at first.

[Sausage-seller]: That bit the shield-strap of Kleonymos.

At best, evidence for avoidance of particular expeditions can be seen here. In general, note I.C. Storey, "The 'Blameless Shield' of Kleonymos," *RhM* 132 (1989) 247–61.

¹¹⁰ E. Cavaignac noted the role of "cleruchs" for Athenian military strength in "Les classes soloniennes et la répartition de la richesse à Athènes," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 9 (1911) 1–30, esp. 18. Cf. Patterson, *Citizenship* 67–68. Jones 168–69, 173–78 attempted a reconstruction along lines similar to mine by including cleruchs among the *taxeis* or the reserves. In my view, the cleruchs belonged to the *taxeis*, and it should be the colonists (retaining their citizenship) who must be in the *phrouria*. To Jones, the colonists were deleted from the ranks of the citizens. Cf. *HCT* 2.38.

historicizing postulation, there are still over 10,000 reserve soldiers who need to be accounted for. It is my suggestion that there were understood among the men in the *phrouria* thousands of Athenian colonists as well as a considerable number of metics. We should also remember that a secondary form of citizenship was possessed by those like the Eleutherians and perhaps the pre-Cleisthenic Salaminians, who stood outside the tribal regiments and may therefore have been mustered to reserve service.

The range for the number of colonists and citizens of satellite communities can be specified by considering the number of metics, which can be calculated as follows. The 3000 who joined in the invasion of the Megarid in 431 were probably a large proportion of the metic hoplites aged 20–49, although a few others may well have been serving in the fleet. The force of metics aged 18–60 would then be, at least, 3915. This estimate may underrepresent the metic hoplites somewhat, as the 3000 who were brought into the Megarid could have been surrogates for the 3000 Athenian hoplites in the Khalkidike.¹¹¹ An upper threshold for the number of metics at 5,000 can be adopted. To be sure, one can expand the number of metics to fill up all the disparity between the frontline troops and the reserve, but the number of metics necessary to absorb most of the shortfall in reserve troops could be (in one estimate) in excess of 12,000. The interpretative disadvantages of this hypothesis more than outweigh its contribution, as outlined immediately below.¹¹²

1) A large force of hoplitic metics would necessitate the creation of all-metic units, which would be an incongruity for non-citizens and a counter-productive innovation for the Athenians, as it would encourage the metics' cohesion and eventual emergence as a political force ([*n.b.*] which never occurred).¹¹³ The metics may have had their own *taxeis*, organized after the tribal affiliation of their citizen *prostatai*, although skepticism is warranted. Rather, they most probably were mustered in a single levy, which was added to the last rows of a phalanx formed by the civic tribal regiments. Indeed, the privilege of being fully brigaded with the Athenian tribal regiments may be found encoded later in Attic

¹¹¹ Jones 164–65. Cf. Gomme, *CQ* (1927) 147.

¹¹² R.P. Duncan-Jones, "Metic Numbers in Periclean Athens," *Chiron* 10 (1980) 101–9.

¹¹³ Rather than deploy greater numbers of metics abroad with the citizens, the Athenians in the fourth century were tempted to release them from such service, if Xen. *Poroi* 2.2–3 is not entirely idiosyncratic.

honorific decrees in the formula *τὰς στρατείας στρατεύεσθαι μετὰ Ἀθηναίων* (e.g., *IG II*² 287.6–7, 351.30–31, 360.19–20).¹¹⁴

2) A large proportion of metics in the reserve would mean that metics would probably have to be deployed toward the front ranks of any phalanx which was formed from these troops. That degree of exposure to mortality is again incompatible with the lack of citizenship. Doubtless, some “patriotic” or adventurous metics chose to volunteer for positions of danger.¹¹⁵ Thucydides describes the army of Myronides in the Corinthian in the early 450s as “the youngest and the oldest” (1.105.4). If the Athenians had had many metic troops at this time, Myronides would probably have used them, and so Thucydides would have mentioned them. The metic corps may have been a Periclean innovation of the 440s or 430s. It then becomes a question of how large a corps of metic hoplites could have been created during the Thirty Years Peace.

3) No convincing rationale has been offered for the refusal to make better use of the metics in reserve, if they numbered 10,000–12,000 before the War.¹¹⁶ The impression given by the deployments of 428 is that the metics could not make so large a contribution to Athenian strike forces (Thuc. 3.16.1). The Athenians sent 100 ships as a raiding force against the Peloponnesos, at a time when they had 40 ships at Lesbos and 12 at Naupaktos (3.3.2, 7.3). They embarked all available men, citizens and metics, except for the Hippeis and Pentakosiomedimnoi. Clearly, 10,000–12,000 metics, or however many were left after the great plague, could have manned this fleet by themselves, without needing the citizen and allied rowers. The very necessity for mobilizing Athenian zeugites as rowers shows that the Athenians did not have a

¹¹⁴ On this privilege and on metics in the *Poroi* of Xenophon, see P. Gauthier, *Un commentaire historique des Poroi de Xenophon* (Paris 1976) 59–62. See also A. Maffi, “Strateuesthai meta Athenaion: Contributo allo Studio dell’Isoteleia,” *RIL* 107 (1973) 939–64; D. Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic* (Cambridge 1977) 82–84.

¹¹⁵ Some metics were clearly eager to serve: Xen. *Hipparch.* 9.6: νομίζω δὲ καὶ μετοίκων φιλοτιμείσθαι ἂν τινὰς εἰς ἵππικὸν καθισταμένους (“I believe that some of the metics would be honored to be enrolled in the cavalry”). Note Isocrates’ hostile remarks on the way in which the Spartans exposed their Perioeci, second-class citizens, to danger at the front of the phalanx (12.180). See Figueira, *TAPA* (1986) 199, 204–5.

¹¹⁶ The argument that the metics were not suitably trained troops (Duncan-Jones, *Chiron* [1980] 105) might have some force with regard to 431, but the Athenians had had ample time by 428, let alone by the end of the Archidamian War, to provide “the training that would have turned them into front-line troops,” or, at least, satisfactory for the rear of the phalanx, a role comparable to that of the Spartan Perioeci. Extraordinarily, the Athenians did not simply negate the effects of the Plague by enfranchising the requisite number of their supposed 12,000 metic hoplites.

massive reserve of metics to man this fleet. There would have been no reason to leave so a strong force of metics behind, if one existed, inasmuch as it was in the interest of the Athenians to man as many ships as possible in what was explicitly a show of force.

4) The difficulties of raising a force of soldiers from middle-class or more affluent metics should not be underestimated. Their motivations to serve in the absence of the privileges of citizenship were attenuated. As they usually did not hold landed property, their ability to avoid classification in the zeugite class on the basis of “invisible” property was stronger than that of the citizens. Many such metics may have been skilled specialists in naval matters who might have been allowed to concentrate on service in the fleet, regardless of census status (Thuc. 1.143.1; [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 1.12; cf. Thuc. 1.121.3; 7.63.3–4, with scholia). Sheer avoidance of service in war by travel overseas was probably a factor. We may note how the well-connected and patriotic metic Kephalos, the father of Lysias, made sure that two of his sons were more safely situated at Thourioi, and how no stigma appears to have attached to that action (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 835D; D.H. *Lys.* 1).

In the pandemic levy of 424/3 for Delion, which included Athenians, metics, and *xenoi* (4.90.1, 94.1), the implied number of Athenian hoplites was 7,000. There is no problem about this force being all that was available out of the 13,000 of the field army (after the plague and its crippling sequelae and nearly 8 years of war), supplemented by some foreigners, metics of prime military age, some older men, and even some colonists.¹¹⁷ The Athenians had other commitments, including especially the deployments in the north to counter Brasidas and the men with Demosthenes in the Corinthian Gulf (4.76.1–2; cf. 400 hoplites in 4.101.3). It is also unknown whether the hoplites with Lamakhos, whose force had been shipwrecked in the Pontos, were available (4.75.2). Then there were the other garrisons of the empire, including

¹¹⁷ The tribal regiments in 431 numbered 16,138, from which we subtract 4400 immediately as plague mortality, leaving 11,738. Net casualties of the war will have brought this number below 10,000. Hansen, *Demography* 14–28, offers a study of casualties during the war, with deaths before Delion of 1400, which is still too low. Hansen cites Bradeen, *Agora* 17, #23 (pp. 29–33) of 410/9, but does not sufficiently stress its ramifications for the background rate of mortality. As Hansen observes, Xenophon enumerates only 400 Athenian dead at Ephesos in that year. Yet, there is space for 360 names on the surviving fragments, and the monument may have contained as many as 900–1400 names. See Bradeen, *Hesperia* (1964) 43–55.

the bases recently established at Pylos and Kythera (4.41.1–3, 54.4).¹¹⁸ One unappreciated effect of the war was a weakening of the field army to the advantage of the reserves. For instance, the Athenians had founded colonies at Aigina and Poteidaia early in the war. Settlement in these two cities may have saved many hoplites from impoverishment through war damage, but also with the result (in our reconstruction) of augmenting the reserves at the cost of frontline troops. Insofar as reservists were colonists, some will have been abroad in areas less affected by the disease. Even if they did not have duties elsewhere, the Poteidaians and Aiginetans could not be easily mustered in a pandemic levy. They tended to be used, as has been argued, on overseas expeditions after the Peace of Nicias.¹¹⁹ It is clear why the Athenians could not call together a huge force of colonists out of the reserves without betraying the nature of their plans to the Boiotians.¹²⁰

Thus, if we discount the metics and assume, rather, that thousands of colonists, many of whom will have been men 20–49, are included in the *phrouria*, Thucydides' numbers return to a range of demographic feasibility. Even if garrisoning sometimes freed them for distant service, as it did at Syracuse, colonists of the hoplite census could hardly be counted on for the field army, the force of men immediately mobilizable in defense of Athenian territory proper. Hence, it should not surprise anyone that Perikles was not prepared to march out with 29,000 hoplites against the Peloponnesian army, for there were hardly that many heavy infantry in Athens.

Naturally, having colonists = *φρούροι* and colonies = *φρούρια* creates a confusion with the garrisons and forts proper of the *arkhē*, to which we have found Thucydides make allusion in the course of his narrative.¹²¹ Yet, it is not Thucydides that is giving this account of Athenian resources in 431, but his paraphrase of Perikles that provides the information. As has been suggested in connection with the term *ἐπιοικος*,

¹¹⁸ Border forts and the perimeter defenses of *asty* and Peiraieus absorbed several thousand mostly reserve hoplites.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Duncan-Jones, *Chiron* (1980) 106–9 and Gomme, *CQ* (1927) 149; the latter's view is closer to my own that the figures from 431 and from Delion are reconcilable.

¹²⁰ Why they would not have drawn on large metic reserves present in Athens is inexplicable. Cf. Beloch, *Klio* (1905) 358–62, for whom the levy at Delion invalidates the pre-war figures.

¹²¹ Gomme recognized that overseas garrisons were included in the defensive troops, but believed that their numbers ought not to be exaggerated (*HCT* 2.33–34): his estimate was 1,000. Unfortunately, he did not see past the literal garrisons to the notional garrisons that were the colonies. On garrisons, see n. 31 in this chapter.

Thucydides ignored claims inherent in Athenian colonial rhetoric, even when he uses the appropriate terminology. Thus Thucydides tends to note *φρούροι* and *φρούρια* functionally in his history, while Thucydides' Perikles uses *φρούρια* to mean colonial settlements. In other words, Perikles taps that very same rhetoric that we have seen in Isocrates (4.107) and Plutarch (*Per.* 11.6), wherein the claim is made that the Athenians sent settlers abroad to defend vulnerable places.

The colonists were not customarily mobilized *en masse* in Attica. Thucydides does make the point of observing *τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐφύλασσον τὸ πρῶτον ὅποτε οἱ πολέμοι ἐσβάλοιεν*... 'so many were on guard when the enemy made their first incursion' and then goes on to give the length of the perimeter defenses of the city and Peiraieus along with the Long Walls (2.13.7). Accordingly, Perikles may have made a point of concentrating an unusually large number of the Athenian citizen and metic reserves (but well below 29,000) in the city at the time of the first invasion (of which there had been ample warning) as a show of strength. There is no reason to think that the physical defenses of the city needed such massive manpower in normal circumstances, and certainly a high level of manning was not continued during the Archidamian War.¹²²

Some confirmation of this connotation of the expression 'in the guard-posts' is available. Xenophon speaks of Lysander sweeping the Athenians from the Aegean after Aigospotamoi (*HG* 2.2.2):

Λύσανδρος δὲ τοὺς τε φρουροὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ εἴ τινα πον ἄλλον ἰδοὶ Ἀθηναίων, ἀπέπεμπεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, διδοὺς ἐκείνῃ μόνον πλέουσιν ἀσφάλειαν, ἄλλοι δ' οὐ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν πλείους συλλεγῶσιν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, θάπτον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔνδειαν ἔσσεσθαι.

Lysander sent away both the guards of the Athenians and any other Athenian he happened to see anywhere to Athens, giving them immunity to sail only there and nowhere else, knowing that, to the extent that more would gather in the city and the Peiraieus, the more quickly there would be a dearth of necessities.

The colonists were included in this operation, one assumes under the title of *phrouroi*, since we later hear of Lysander restoring the Aiginetans, Melians, and others (*HG* 2.1.9). We may note how Plutarch describes the very same phenomenon (*Lys.* 13.3–4).

ἐκ δὲ τούτου πλέων ὁ Λύσανδρος ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις Ἀθηναίων μὲν οἷς ἐπιτύχοι ἐκέλευε πάντας εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπιέναι· φείσεσθαι γὰρ οὐδενός,

¹²² The powerful agitation to march against the Peloponnesians becomes somewhat more understandable on these terms (Thuc. 2.21.2–22.1).

ἀλλ' ἀποσφάξειν ὃν ἂν ἔξω λάβῃ τῆς πόλεως. ταῦτα δ' ἔπραττε καὶ συνήλυνεν ἅπαντας εἰς τὸ ἄστυ βουλόμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει ταχὺ λιμὸν ἰσχυρὸν γενέσθαι καὶ σπάνιν, ὅπως μὴ πράγματα παράσχοιεν αὐτῷ τὴν πολιορκίαν εὐπόρως ὑπομένοντες.

Thereafter, Lysander, sailing against the cities, commanded any of the Athenians he encountered that they all depart for Athens; for he would spare no one, but would slaughter anyone whom he would take outside the city. He did these things and he drove them all in flight into the town because he wished that a great famine and dearth quickly come into being for the city, in order that they not, being well-equipped for the siege, give him difficulties.

A comparison of the two accounts appears to establish that *phrouroi* could include colonists.

The existence of large numbers of colonial hoplites in reserve would also provide an explanation for another (connected) problem in the interpretation of Athenian demography. Thucydides explains Arkhidamos' intention to subject Acharnai to special occupation and pillage on the basis of the Spartan belief that the Acharnians would instigate an Athenian sortie (2.19.2–20.5). Among their number were 3000 hoplites, which in my estimate would constitute about 12% of all hoplites aged 18–60, if 3900 metics are subtracted.¹²³ Surely, if this figure stands, the manpower figures in 2.13.6–7 are also likely to be correct. This percentage of hoplites, however, may be compared with Acharnai's representation in the Council of the 500 of 4.4%, suggesting that the Acharnians were heavily over-represented in the Athenian hoplite force.¹²⁴ Some adjustment in the percentage of the Acharnians is possible, on the

¹²³ S. Dow, "Thucydides and the Number of Acharnian *Hoplitai*," *TAPA* 92 (1961) 66–80, esp. 66–70, reports several attempts at emendation. See also F. Polle, "Zu Thucydides [II 20,4]," *NJhB* 33 (1887) 109–11, who suggested *πολῖται* instead of *ὀπλῖται*; Beloch, *Klio* (1905) 369–70; Müller-Strübing, *Aristophanes* 639–59. The problem with these attempts is that any change large enough to make a difference is so great that it robs Thucydides of any intelligible point—including Gomme's emendation rendering a figure of 1200 (*HCT* 2.73–74). Thuc. 2.20.4: οἱ Ἀχαρνῆς μέγα μέρος ὄντες τῆς πόλεως—τρισχίλιοι γὰρ ὀπλῖται ἐγένοντο; 2.21.3: οἱ τε Ἀχαρνῆς ὀδόμενοι παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν εἶναι Ἀθηναίων... Dow posits a mistake on the part of the historian. See also D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica: 508/7–ca. 250 B.C.* (Princeton 1986) 397–99.

¹²⁴ The other data roughly support the proportion of *bouleutai*: Dow *TAPA* (1961) 71–76.

grounds that Acharnai was somewhat under-represented in the *boulē*.¹²⁵ Yet, under-representation in the *boulē* will not offset all of such a great disparity in the proportion of Acharnian hoplites relative to the entire hoplite force when compared with their proportion of the councillors.

If the thetes of the countryside were as prominent in Athenian colonies as hypothesized above, it becomes possible to understand why so many Acharnians were hoplites. The deme is far enough away from the *asty* to account for a relative lack of participation by its inhabitants in the economic activities of the city and Peiraieus and in the manning of the fleet and other ships. Yet, its position adjacent to the plain around the city may have made it a home to thetic workers in agriculture in the pre-imperial period. At the time of the Cleisthenic reforms, Acharnai was the largest center of population in rural Attica. Highland areas of Parnes were possibly a part of the deme, and held a population involved in ancillary extractive activities (like the production of charcoal). These Acharnians had been tempted for allotment in colonies and for cleruchies in some number, because their lifestyle so well fitted the economic and social orientation of colonial life. Thus 3000 of the frontline troops and reserves were now hoplites. By the same token, the Acharnians did not have good opportunities for upward mobility by other means so that there were few Acharnian Hippeis and Pentakosiomedimnoi (a minor factor in explaining the over-representation in any case). Can it be mere coincidence that one of the first Athenians whose settlement abroad is attested under the Cleisthenic order is Timodemos of Acharnai? Furthermore, although another coincidence cannot be ruled out, the largest deme contingent of cleruchs in the catalogue on *IG* II² 1952 is once again from Acharnai (ll. 26–39).¹²⁶

The reconstruction of the Athenian army in 431 shown on Table 3 yields a population for the city which is demographically credible.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ See W.E. Thompson, "Three Thousand Acharnian Hoplites," *Historia* 13 (1964) 400–13.

¹²⁶ Despite the selection of one *geōnomos* 'surveyor' from each tribe (*IG* I³ 46.10–11), an equal partition of land in every colony and cleruchy among the ten tribes seems impractical. The allocation to the ten tribes of territory at Oropos after the battle of Chaironeia is not evidence for such an equal division. Not only is this the recovery of a border region, but the land in question is marginal land, to be held by the tribes in common, and not land assigned to *klēroi* (Hyperid. *Eux.* 16–17). Cf. Foucart 336.

¹²⁷ Cf. M.H. Hansen, "Demographic Reflections on the Number of Athenian Citizens 451–309 BC," *AJAH* 7 (1982) 172–89. As we have argued, there is no reason to think that the Athenians considered cleruchs as lost to the manpower (pp. 182–83). Hansen

TABLE 3: THE ATHENIAN ARMY IN 431

NUMERICAL STRENGTH	COMPOSITION
<i>Field Army</i>	
14,200	} including 929 (20–49?) to 1250 cleruchs
1000 cavalry	
200 mounted archers	
13,000 hoplites	
+ 600 archers	
<i>Reserve Army</i>	
16,000 hoplites	including 1200 ephebes 18–20
	3100 men 50–60 (with some cleruchs)
	3900 + metics 18–60
	6500–7800 from colonies/satellite communities
	2000 from Hestiaia
	1000 + from the Chersonese
	1000 + from Brea/Amphipolis
	600 from Sinope?
	? other citizens on Lemnos, Chersonese
	? from Skyros
	? from Eion
	? from other colonies
	? Eleutherians, Salaminians, etc.

Note how the pandemic army of 13,000 at Tanagra of the early or mid-450s could have evolved (with modest natural increase) into the Periclean levy of 431, especially when we remember that the former was actually deployed and the latter represents a total strength (Thuc. 1.107.5). We must subtract all the cleruchs, most of the colonists, and probably the metic force from total strength in 431, in order to reach the levy at Tanagra. Moreover, some troops will have been with the fleet in the

attempts to undermine Gomme's figures for the Athenian population in 431 in favor of a higher population in 431 (cf. *Demography* pp. 24–25). He could be right in his estimate of 60,000 adult male Athenians, which he reaches by estimating the population necessary to sustain wartime mortality. The major item, however, in his wartime loss of population are three bouts of plague deaths (each of 5200). For the plague, he adopts a mortality of 33% in general, while 20–27% seems more likely, but only for frontline troops. Some Athenian troops who were living abroad and formed a part of the reserves may have been less affected. In contrast, his military casualties seem too low (except for Sicily, which may be on the high side). A final major problem concerns his failure to make adjustments for a relaxation of the citizenship law during the Ionian War.

Corinthian Gulf and even a few still guarding the passes in the mountains blocking the route of the Spartans homeward (Thuc. 1.107.3). Still others will have been guarding the walls of Athens, Megara, and Aigina, and there were probably garrison troops in the *arkhē* from the reserves other than colonists in the Aegean.

TABLE 4: ATHENIAN COLONIZATION (478–404)

Notes to this table are indicated by superscript bold letters and follow the Table immediately. *Epoikoi* are only designated as such where the terminology is explicitly attested. Other examples of reinforcement cited below may also have involved *epoikoi*.

COLONIES

Location	Date	Natives	Athenian Participation	References
EION	476/5	unknown	(some Athenians?) ^a	Plut. <i>Cim.</i> 7.3: οἰκῆσαι; 8.2: οἰκίσαντες
ENNEA HODOI	476/5	unknown	(some Athenians)	ΣAesch. 2.31; Plut. <i>Cim.</i> 7.3, 8.2: οἰκίσαντες; cf. Ephorus, <i>FGH</i> 70 191.10 = <i>POxy</i> 13.1610 fr. 6
SKYROS	476/5 ^b	expelled	all Athenian	Thuc. 1.98.2: ὥκισαν; D.S. 11.60.2: κτίστην Ἀθηναίων... κατεκληρούχησε; Plut. <i>Cim.</i> 8.3–7: ὥκισαν; <i>Thes.</i> 36.1–2; Nepos <i>Cim.</i> 2.3–5: agros civibus divisi; cf. ΣAristid. 46.241, 3.688D; ΣArist. <i>Plutus</i> 627; Paus. 1.17.6; Ephorus, <i>FGH</i> 70 191.10 = <i>POxy</i> 13.1610 fr. 6
ENNEA HODOI	465/4	local Greeks reinforced(?)	Athenian with more allies (like Amphipolis); Thuc. 1.100.3: 10,000 in all	Thuc. 1.100.2–3: οἰκήτορας... οἰκιστὲς; κτιζόμενον; 4.102.2: ἐποίκους; D.S. 11.70.5: οἰκήτορας... κατακληρούχησαντες; 12.68.2: οἰκήτορας; Plut. <i>Cim.</i> 8.2: οἰκίσαντες; Nepos <i>Cim.</i> 2.2: in coloniam; ΣAesch. 2.31; cf. Hdt. 9.75; Isoc. 8.86; Paus. 1.29.4–5; <i>IG</i> I ² 928 = <i>SEG</i> 10.405 ^c

ENNEA HODOI??	453/2	local Greeks reinforced(?)		ΣAesch. 2.31 ^d : κληροῦχοι
CHERSONESE	448–46	reinforced	1000 <i>epoikoi</i> ^e	Plut. <i>Per.</i> 11.5: κληροῦχους; D.S. 19.1: ἐποίκους; D.S. 11.88.3: κατεκληρουχῆσε; cf. Andoc. 3.9: τὰς... ἄλλας ἀποικίας; Aesch. 2.175: πλείστας... ἀποικίας; also Meiggs-Lewis #48 = IG I ² 943 and IG I ³ 417 ^f
NEAPOLIS (Chersonese)	after 448–46	reinforced?	non-Athenian	Appendix D
KOLOPHON ^g	447/6	reorganized	non-Athenian	IG I ³ 37.23: [οἰκέρ]ορες; 42 (cf. 20): οἰκιστὰι
BREA ^h	c. 446–45		Athenian (1000: Plut.?)	IG I ³ 46.9 (= Meiggs-Lewis #49): τὲς ἀποικίας (12, 33, 37–38); 46.18: τὼν ἀποίκων (cf. 23, 29, 46); Hesych. s.v. Βρέα (Cratinus fr. 395 K): τὲς εἰς Βρέα ἀποικίας; Steph. Byz. s.v. Βρέα: ἀποικίαν; Plut. <i>Per.</i> 11.5: συν-οικήσοντας; cf. Hesych. Πλακία ¹
THOURIOI ^j	446/5	reinforced	panhellenic (>Athenian 10%; 1 of 10 tribes)	D.S. 12.9.1: κτισθῆναι; 10.3–5: τῆς ἀποικίαςbis, τὴν ἀποικίαν, κατοικεῖν, κτίσαι; 10.6: κτίσαντες; Strabo 6.1.13 C263: ἐπώκουν; Plut. <i>Per.</i> 11.5: ἀνοικισμένης; Mor. 835C–D: ἀποικίαν; D.H. <i>Lys.</i> 1: τῆς ἀποικίας; cf. Plato <i>Euthyd.</i> 271C: ἀπώκησαν
HESTIAIA ^k	c. 445	expelled	all Athenian (2000: Theopompus) (1000: D.S. 12.22.2)	Thuc. 1.114.3: αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν ἔσχον; 7.57.2: ἀποικοί; Philochorus, <i>FGH</i> 328 F 118: αὐτοὺς τὴν χώραν ἔχειν; Theopompus, <i>FGH</i> 115 F 387: οἰκῆσαι; ΣArist. <i>Nubes</i> 213f: ἀποικισθέντων; D.S. 12.22.2: ἀποικίαν... οἰκητόρας... κατεκληρουχῆσαν; cf. 12.7.1; Plut. <i>Per.</i> 23.4: κατόκισε. Cf. IG I ³ 41

ASTAKOS ^l	after 443, or 430s	reinforced	some Athenians?	Strabo 12.4.2 C563: κτίσμα; Memnon, <i>FGH</i> 434 F 12: ἐπώκηκόντων; cf. D.S. 12.34.5 (Λέταρον?): ἔκτισαν
ERYTHRAI ^m	440s	reorganized	non-Athenian	IG I ² 396: τὲς ἀποικίας
UNKNOWN ⁿ	440–25 ^o		Athenian	IG I ³ 47.A 5–6: ἀποίκος, 10: οἰκίσαντας, B 11: ἐποίκεσαν (restored), B 14: ἀποίκος
AMPHIPOLIS	437/6	territory confiscated (Brea settlers reinforced)	Some 1000 + ; many allies	Thuc. 4.102.3: ἔκτισαν; cf. 103.3–4, 106.1; Thuc. 5.11.1: τὴν ἀποικίαν; D.S. 12.32.3: τῶν οἰκητόρων; D.S. 12.68.2: οἰκητόρας... ἀνεκλήσαντο; ΣAesch. 2.31: συννοικίας; Polyae. 6.53P: ἀποικίαν... οἰκίσας (κτίσαι in hexametric oracle); Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀγνώνεια: κτίσμα; Plut. <i>Per.</i> 11.5??: συννοικήσοντας
AMISOS ^q	mid-430s	reinforced	some Athenians?	Theopompus, <i>FGH</i> 115 F 389 = Strabo 12.3.14 C547: ἐποικισθεῖσαν; Plut. <i>Lucull.</i> 19.7: ἡ πόλις Ἀθηναίων ἀποικος; App. <i>BM</i> (83) 373: συνωκίσθαι
SINOPE ^r	mid-430s	reinforced	600 Athenians	Plut. <i>Per.</i> 20.1–2: συγκατοικεῖ... νειμαμένους
NEAPOLIS ^s (Campania)	433/2	reinforced	some Athenians	Strabo 5.4.7 C246: ἐπώκησαν... τινὲς καὶ Ἀθηναίων
AIGINA	431	expelled (Thuc.) or reinforced?	<i>epoikoi</i>	Thuc. 2.27.1: ἐποίκους οἰκητόρας; cf. Thuc. 5.74.3; Thuc. 7.57.2: ἀποικοί; Thuc. 8.69.3: τῶν ἐποίκων; D.S. 12.44.1: οἰκητόρας... κατεκληρούχησαν; Plut. <i>Per.</i> 34.2: κληρουχίας... διένειμε; Strabo 8.6.16 C375: κατεκληρούχησαν; ΣArist. <i>Ach.</i> 654b (i): τῶν... κληρουχισάντων; (ii): κεκληρούχηκεν;

				Theogenes, <i>FGH</i> 300 F 2: κατεκλήρωσε; Anon. <i>Prolog. Plat. Phil.</i> : κληρούχου; D.L. 3.3: κληρούχου
POTEIDAIA	430/29	expelled (Thuc.) or reinforced?	Athenian <i>epoikoi</i> 1000 (D.S. 12.46.7)	Thuc. 2.70.4: ἐποίκους... κατώκισαν; D.S. 12.46.7: οἰκήτορας... κατεκληρούχησαν; cf. Meiggs-Lewis #66: ἐποίκων
NOTION	427		Kolophonians/displaced allies	Thuc. 3.34.4: οἰκιστὰς... κατώκισαν
ADRAMYTION	422–21		Delians	Strabo 13.1.51 C606: Ἀθηναίων ἄποικος πόλις; cf. Thuc. 5.1, 5.32.1, 8.108.2 ^t
SKIONE	421	<i>andrapodismos</i>	Plataians	Thuc. 5.32.1: τὴν γῆν Πλαταιεῦσιν ἔδοσαν νέμεσθαι; D.S. 12.76.3: οἰκεῖν παρέδοσαν τοῖς Πλαταιεῦσιν; cf. Isoc. 12.63; Aristid. 13.177, 1.290 D, with scholia, 3.243 D
TORONE?? ^u	421	<i>andrapodismos</i>	??	cf. Thuc. 5.3.2–4; D.S. 12.73.3
MELOS	416/5	<i>andrapodismos</i>	500 Athenians with traitor(s): <i>IG</i> XII.3.1187 ^v	Thuc. 5.116.4: αὐτοὶ ᾤκισαν... ἀποίκους; cf. Plut. <i>Alc.</i> 16.5–6; [Andoc.] 4.22: ἐξανδραποδίζεσθαι

CLERUCHIES

Location	Date	Numbers	References
ANDROS	453–48	250	Plut. <i>Per.</i> 11.5 ^w : κληρούχους
ERETRIA ^x	453–48	250 (probably with Karystos)	D.S. 11.88.3: διένεμε (?); Paus. 1.27.5: κληρούχους; cf. <i>IG</i> I ³ 39; <i>IG</i> XII.9.934: τέμενος Ἀθηναίων
[EUBOIA]	453–48		ΣArist. <i>Nubes</i> 213e: κληρούχησαν
KARYSTOS?	453–48	250	See note γ for discussion
NAXOS	453–48	500	D.S. 11.88.3: διένεμε; Plut. <i>Per.</i> 11.5: κληρούχους; Paus. 1.27.5: κληρούχους
LEMNOS??	c. 449	unknown	See Appendix B; cf. <i>IG</i> I ² 948

KHALKIS??	446/5	500	See Appendix C
LESBOS	427	2700	Thuc. 3.50.2: κλήρους... κληρούχους; <i>IG</i> I ³ 66.17: κλε[ρό]χος; cf. 66.25; see also <i>IG</i> I ³ 67

a Meiggs 68–69 observes that Eion was not tributary.

b Ehrenberg, “Thucydides” 145 argues that it was an *apoikia*, not a cleruchy, on the basis of Thucydides’ use of (κατ)οικίζω (note 1.12.4; 3.34.4; 4.102.3). See, however, Casevitz, *Vocabulaire* 168–73. Note Bartsos, *Athena* (1972–1973) 586–87, who makes an argument for a cleruchy. The appointment of an Athenian κτίστης also implies an Athenian colony (D.S. 11.60.2). That the Athenians both held on to Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros (by virtue of the King’s Peace: Xen. *HG* 5.1.31) and renounced their cleruchies in 378/7 (D.S. 15.29.8) points to the same conclusion. Cf. *HCT* 1.281.

c See *HCT* 1.297; Bradeen, *Hesperia* (1967) 326–28; *id.*, *Agora* 17, #1, p. 6; cf. F. Jacoby, “*Patrios Nomos*: State Burial in Athens and the Public Cemetery in the Kerameikos,” *JHS* 64 (1944) 37–66, esp. 41, 55 with n. 85. Meiggs 416, followed by Isaac 26–27, argues that the casualties suffered by these colonists cannot be recorded on this inscription.

d Our total dependence on this scholiast has engendered several responses. One is to note the absence of the great disaster at Drabeskos from his list and to change the scholion’s archon-date from Lysikrates (453/2) to one of the sound-alike archons of 467–64: Lysistratos, Lysanias, or Lysitheos. Leagros, who is mentioned in the scholion, is described in Hdt. 9.75 as being killed with Sophanes of Dekeleia at Daton (*n.b.* not at Drabeskos). Isoc. 8.86 equates these two defeats. See Busolt, *GG*² 3.1.1989–99 with n. 5; R.K. Unz, “The Chronology of the Pentekontaetia,” *CQ* 36 (1986) 68–85, esp. 71. Badian, *EMC* (1988) 298–300, would preserve the date on the grounds of the distance of Daton from the Ennea Hodoi and of an allowance for a period of military success before the final defeat. The presence of two Athenian generals, however, so long after the founding the colony is difficult to understand in this case. If we choose to distinguish the Drabeskos disaster from one at Daton in 453/2, one might argue that Drabeskos was far enough away from the Ennea Hodoi to be left off the scholiast’s list of disasters there. Leagros’ expedition could then become the Brea expedition, the destruction of which would explain why the colony is never mentioned again.

e D.S. 11.88.3: (Perikles) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐλθὼν εἰς Χερρόνησον χιλίους τῶν πολιτῶν κατεκληρούχησε τὴν χώραν. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Τολμίδης ὁ ἕτερος στρατηγὸς εἰς τὴν Εὐβοίαν παρελθὼν ἄλλοις χιλίους πολίταις * * * τὴν τῶν Ναξίων γῆν διένεμε (“After these events, [Perikles], going to the Chersonese, allotted the land to 1000 Athenian citizens. At the same time as these actions, the other general, Tolmides, crossed over to Euboea, for another 1000

citizens . . . divided the land of the Naxians"). For the existence of a lacuna, consult Chapter 6, n. 27. The use of *κατεκληροῦχῃσε* does not entail the existence of a cleruchy (see pp. 41–42, 55–56 above). Cf. *ATL* 3.290; Meiggs 160. The date of the expedition is established not only through changes in tribute payments (for which, see Appendix D), but through the two tribute payments to Tenedos, which suggest operations in the Chersonese mounted from that island (*IG* I³ 265.II.107–8; cf. the Abderite payment to Eion: I.105). See *ATL* 3.59–60, 305; Meiggs 159–60.

f The inscription is linked to the settlement of the *epoikoi* in the Chersonese, as it contains the repeated formula, ἐγ Χερρονέσοι . . . (II. 1, 3–8). It also includes, however, ἐν Τυροδίῳ (I. 9), referring to the city of that name on the Propontis, well outside the Chersonese. Alternative explanations would be confiscations or the levying of a tax on the foreign holdings of Athenians. Cf. *SEG* 10.302.

g *ATL* 3.282–83, Meiggs 162 detect the establishment of a colony in reductions in tribute in 446 for Kolophon (*IG* I³ 261.V.10 [452/1]; 266.I.10 [446/5]), Lebedos (262.II.32 [451/0]; 266.I.13), and Dios Hieron (265.II.13 [447/6]; 270.I.4 [442/1]). The colony can be seen to fall into our category of non-Athenian strategic colonies, as there is no mention of Athenians on the site in Thuc. 3.34.1–4. Cf. Meiggs-Lewis #47, pp. 124–25. *ATL* 3.282 suggests some Athenians among the settlers (cf. Schuller 23 n. 79). D.W. Bradeen and M.F. McGregor, *Studies in Fifth-Century Attic Epigraphy* (Norman, OK 1973) 98–99 support the existence of a colony involving non-Athenians, citing their reading in l. 8 of [. . .] ἐ[χ]ς ἄλλες [π]όλ[ε]ος . . . (printed in *IG* I³ 37).

h The name Brea is Thracian (Strabo 7.6.1 C319). *ATL* 3.287–88, Meiggs 159 n. 3, 196 suggest that the establishment of Brea can be seen in the reduction of the tribute of Argilos in 446 (*IG* I³ 259.IV.22 [454/3]; 266.II.30 [446/5]) and that the settlers at Brea (which goes unmentioned by Thucydides) were probably transferred to Amphipolis (with a further reduction of tribute for Argilos: 279.II.54), whose citizens participated in the colonization: Nesselhauf 133; *ATL* 3.308–9. Cf. Antiphon fr. 25 B/T. Arguments also exist, however, in favor of a location of Brea in the Khalkidike; for recent discussions, see Woodhead, *CQ* (1952) 57–62; D. Asheri, "Note on the Site of Brea: Theopompus, F 145," *AJP* 90 (1969) 337–40, with citation of earlier work; Kagan, *Outbreak* 389–90; Werner, *Chiron* (1971) 56 n. 130; Isaac 51–52. Its (necessary) subsequent absorption into Poteidaia is more problematical, given the silence of Thucydides (cf. Chapter 1, section B.2 above). If Brea was not in Bisaltia, the identification of the colony sent there becomes quite mysterious (cf. Plut. *Per.* 11.5). The operations for which the Abderites paid tribute at Eion (recorded in 447/6) might relate to an installation in the Strymon Valley of Brea (*IG* I³ 265.I.105). See *ATL* 3.59–61. To conclude, the Thermaic Gulf location is the less likely of the two.

i χώρα παρὰ τὴν Θράκην, εἰς ἣν ἀποικίαν ἐπεμψαν Ἀθηναῖοι ("a place in Thrace to which the Athenians sent a colony"). The Plakiē in Hdt. 1.57.2 is a different place, presumably, on the Asian shore of the Hellespont east of Kyzikos and in Mysia.

j See Chapter 6, notes 6–8.

k Cf. D.S. 12.7.1, 12.22.2 (1000 colonists); Plut. *Per.* 23.4; Theopompus, *FGH* 115 F 387 (2000 colonists). The second figure is probably preferable owing to the considerable territory occupied by the settlement (see Erxleben, *Klio* [1975] 88–91). The absence of any attestations of Hestiaia as a cleruchy is striking. *IG* I³ 41 indicates the status as an *apoikia*, given its references to *boulē*, *nautodikai*, *dēmos*, *dikastēria*, *kuriai ekklēsiai*, *arkhōn*. Some of these terms must be taken to refer to local organs of government based on metropolitan institutions, rather than mere references to Athenian authorities. That argument, however, will not be convincing for those who see cleruchies as possessing the full institutionalization of a *polis*. To them, I should note the absence of a document equivalent to *IG* I³ 41 with explicit cleruchic language. Thucydides' insistence on the Athenians themselves occupying Hestiaia might in itself be taken as an indication that the settlers retained their citizenship: 1.114.3: Ἐστιαῖς δὲ ἐξοικίσαντες αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν ἔσχον ("uprooting the Hestians they themselves occupied the land"); 8.95.7: ταύτην δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶχον ("the Athenians themselves possessed this region"). The possibility that the settlers still had liability for the *eisphora* would point to the same conclusion (*IG* I³ 41.38; note M. Cary, "Athens and Hestiaia," *JHS* 45 [1925] 243–50, esp. 243–44; see also Graham 171–72). Ehrenberg, "Thucydides" 146, opts for a mixture of a cleruchy and *ἀποικία*, but only on the frail support that a fixed number of colonists is a feature of cleruchies. See also McGregor, *Hesperia*, Suppl. 19 (1982) 101–11.

l Astakos: *ATL* 1.471–72; 3.288 and n. 68. Astakos disappears from the tribute lists after 444/3 (*IG* I³ 268.I.33; cf. 267.I.33), which may support colonization at this time by Athenian *epoikoi*. See also Schuller 30–31. It is also possible, however, to place the colony at the same time as Perikles' Pontic expedition. See below note r on Sinope.

m *ATL* 3.282–84 notes that this inscription, a dedication by colonists on the Acropolis (probably on their departure), might refer to Erythrai. Only the first two letters of the name, Ερ, are legible (cf. Raubitschek, *DAA* #301, pp. 323–24). The authors support this contention by noting both that the tribute of Hairai (*IG* I³ 265.II.52 [447/6]; 266.I.12 [446/5]), a neighbor of Erythrai, was reduced and that the syntely of Erythrai and the smaller cities of her peninsula was dissolved, with a reduction in tribute (265.I.58–64; 268.I.27–28, II.27 [444/3]). The alternative of Eretria is less attractive for the site of an *apoikia* rather than a cleruchy. Cf. Meiggs 162–63. Note that evidence for the residence of Athenians on that site is immaterial, as cleruchs (whether or not they formed a discrete community) can be expected to have lived at nearby Eretria (especially during the Peloponnesian War). Cf. Green and Sinclair, 522–25.

n Consult Chapter 2, Endnote B.

o Amphipolis, Aigina, and Poteidaia fit the range of dates. Amisos, Sinope, and Neapolis in Campania would be less likely possibilities, on the basis of our discussion above. This must be a citizen colony, but not perhaps an exclusively civic foundation.

- p Polyaenus describes the foundation of a cult of the hero Rhesos on the site by Hagnon, the oecist of Amphipolis. The cult was another religious justification for Athenian occupation of the site. See I. Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (Leiden 1987) 81–84.
- q Amisos (contemporary with Sinope): see *ATL* 3.116 with n. 8; Chapter 6, n. 11.
- r For a date in the 430s, see Meiggs 197; Kagan, *Outbreak* 387–89. Cf. *ATL* 3.114–17. P. Ferrarese, “La spedizione di Pericle nel Ponto Eusino,” *Contributi dell’Istituto di Storia Antica*, Milan 2 (1974) 7–19, summarizes the earlier scholarship, but rejects the historicity of the expedition. J.J.E. Hondius, “Novae inscriptiones atticae,” *Mnemosyne* 49 (1921) 201–4, esp. 202–3, restored ἐν Σω]ό-παι in an Attic casualty list from before the Peloponnesian War (Bradeen, *Agora* 17, #17.3, pp. 20–21, rejects this restoration).
- s Strabo describes bodies of subsequent settlers, including Athenians, at Naples. Lycoph. *Alex.* 732–37 describes games at Naples, which Timaeus informs us were founded by the Athenian general Diotimos (*FGH* 566 F 98). The scholion of Tzetzes to Lycophron (at 733) says that Diotimos inaugurated the games while war was underway with the Sicilians. This is probably Diotimos, son of Strombikhides, who was sent as *stratēgos* to Corcyra in 433/2 (Thuc. 1.45.2; *IG* I³ 364.9 = Meiggs-Lewis #61). It is possible that Diotimos continued on to Sicily, where he intervened at Neapolis. His actions there show the interest of the Athenians in Magna Graecia, which is also demonstrated by the treaties with Rhegion and Leontinoi of the same year (*IG* I³ 53–54). One ramification of the Athenian involvement at Neapolis was their access to Campanian mercenaries, such as those they later used at Syracuse (D.S. 13.44.2). See J. Bérard, *La colonisation grecque de l’Italie méridionale et la Sicile dans l’antiquité: L’histoire et la légende* (Paris 1941) 70–71.
- t Adramyttion is never listed on the tribute lists, and its status as a colony is only mentioned in Strabo. Thuc. 5.1 records a grant of the town by the satrap Pharnakes to the Delians expelled by the Athenians (cf. D.S. 12.73.1). The Delians were later restored by Athens in 421 (5.32.1). Perhaps some Delians chose to retain a presence at Adramyttion, which was then recognized by the Athenians as a colony, in the same spirit of reconciliation. Adramyttion continued to be a Greek *polis*: Aristotle wrote about its constitution (Aris. fr. 484 Rose; cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀδραμύττειον). In Thuc. 5.32.1 the restoration of the Delians follows the establishment of the Plataians at Skione.
- u Thuc. 5.3.6: καὶ ὁ μὲν Κλέων φυλακὴν καταστήσάμενος τῆς Τορώνης... (“and Kleon, having left a guard on Torone...”); D.S. 12.73.3: ...τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἀπολιπὼν τὴν ἱκανὴν φρουρὰν ἐξέπλευσε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως... (“...[Kleon], leaving a sufficient garrison for the city, he sailed away with his army...”). Torone is the only victim of *andrapodismos* which is not explicitly said to receive a colony, which, nevertheless, is still a possibility.
- v Graham 173 argues for a cleruchy on the basis of an exact number of settlers being specified (see note k above). See also Bartsos, *Athens* (1972–1973) 587–89.

- w Plut. *Per.* 11.5: (Perikles) πρὸς δὲ τούτοις χιλίους μὲν ἔστειλεν εἰς Χερρόνησον κληρούχους, εἰς δὲ Νάξον πεντακοσίους, εἰς δὲ Ἄνδρον <τοὺς> ἡμίσεις τούτων, εἰς δὲ Θράκην χιλίους Βισάλταις συνοικήσοντας, ἄλλους δὲ εἰς Ἰταλίαν <ἀν>οικιζομένης Συβάρως, ἣν Θουρίους προσηγόρευσαν (trans. on pp. 63–64 above). The settlers at Thourioi were not cleruchs in the 5th-century sense, and the status of the settlers among the Bisaltai is discussed in note h above. The term κληρούχους cannot be taken literally in this passage. Plutarch’s focus is not on the legal standing of the settlements, but on their partisan effect in bringing the *dēmos* over to Perikles in his struggle with Thoudydides Melesiou. See Chapter 2, section B.3 above. Yet, a cleruchy remains a strong possibility on the basis of a reduction of tribute (implied tribute lowered from 12T to 6T c. 450: *IG* I³ 262.I.19 [451/0]; 263.IV.22 [450/49]).
- x The presence of Attic funerary pottery and particularly children’s *choes* at Eretria may confirm an assumption of property rights by the Athenians on the site through a cleruchy. Consult note m above for the residence of cleruchs at their cleruchy; see also pp. 166–67. Note Chapter 1, n. 51 on the Eretrian garrison. The finds of this pottery fall off markedly at just about the same time as the defection of the Euboians in 411. See Green and Sinclair, 522–24. At a site so close to Attica, continuing residence by some of this group of cleruchs does not entail the conclusion that such residence was compulsory elsewhere. For other measures taken at Eretria, see *IG* I³ 39.42; Phot., Hesych., s.v. Ἐρετριακὸς κατάλογος; cf. Macar. 4.16 = *CPG* 2.168. See also note l above. Note Meiggs 121–23 who opts for action in 450 by Tolmides. Cf. *ATL* 3.294–99, dating to 447/6 (too late, in my view) and Green and Sinclair, 518–20, who prefer the date of 448/7.
- y A cleruchy at Karystos may be indicated by reductions in the city’s tribute; from 12T in 454/3 (*IG* I³ 259.II.16) to 7.5T in 451/50 (262.I.23), and then to 5T from 450/49 (*IG* I³ 263.IV.27). See B.D. Meritt, “The Tribute List of 454/3 B.C.,” *Hesperia* 41 (1972) 403–17, esp. 411, 417, cf. Erxleben, *Klio* (1975) 85–87. The double reduction is problematical: there cannot have been two cleruchies. The larger of the two reductions seems too early for a cleruchy (except with a very early date for Tolmides’ actions). One hypothesis would be to see an Athenian-sponsored intervention against dissident aristocrats/oligarchs as a cause for the first reduction. Euboian exiles were fighting on the side of the Boiotians in 447/6 (Thuc. 1.113.2). A cleruchy could then be motivation for the second reduction. The recent excavations and survey work on the Paximadhi Peninsula have not yet provided a conclusive answer, although there is some support for a cleruchy in the upsurge of farming activity on this peninsula, with its relatively poor land but strategic location (Wallace, “Athenian Settlements on Euboea,” unpublished manuscript). See M. Wallace and D. Keller, *AR* (1985–1986) 21–22; *AR* (1986–1987) 14–15; *EMC* (1988); also note m above on residency and cleruchic status. Nevertheless, a constitutional change, supported by Athens, might be another reason for either or both of the alterations in assessment.

CHAPTER 7: THE BIRTH AND DEATH OF IMPERIAL COLONIAL PRACTICES

THE HISTORY of Athenian imperial colonization in the characteristic forms in which it has been reconstructed in the previous chapters was a relatively short-lived phenomenon. We have endeavored to show its roots in patronal colonization and in the regional expansion of the post-Peisistratid regime. It lasted from 478 to 404, and as shall soon be seen, its heyday may even be considered to extend only from mid-century to the Syracusan expedition.

A. THE GENESIS OF THE PERICLEAN COLONIAL POLICY

It is an inevitable result of the shape of our evidence that much that pertains to the origins of Athenian imperial colonization has already been discussed from different perspectives. We have no specific witnesses to individual or factional proposals for founding colonies which were actually implemented in Athenian policy. Nor do we possess records on the content of debates in the assembly which preceded the dispatch of Athenian settlers. Thus, the discussion above about the function of Athenian colonies as mechanisms for subsidization, punishment, and revenue enhancement must postulate that these aspects of the colonies in question were intended. For example, it is an indispensable assumption that the Athenians devised a specific colonial policy during the period 476–38 in order to allow them access to the resources of the Strymon valley. There is no method, however, to weigh the various purposes of colonization against each other, because contemporary reflections on decision-making in this area are in default. Concomitantly, the results of colonization have been traced in the increased revenue of Athens and in a considerable augmentation in the number of Athenian hoplites. We are therefore forced to adopt rationalizing approaches, insofar as we must take for granted that behavior which would be purposive from the standpoint of a modern consciousness had the same character in antiquity.

The ancient commentary on fifth-century colonization, when it is not contained in passing remarks about the fifth-century *arkhē* (see Table 1), is composed mainly of several passages in Plutarch's *Pericles*, which have been considered above for their information on colonial terminology and the classification of colonies (see Chapter 2, section B.3

above). Perhaps the most charitable observation which could be made about the partisan and Atthidographic sources on which Plutarch and his intermediaries drew is that they lacked critical distance from the topic of fifth-century Athenian policies.¹ That is hardly a surprising predicament, given the implication of Periclean policy in the coming of a war which resulted in catastrophic human, financial, and material losses for their mother-city. Yet, Perikles was so profoundly associated with the artifacts of that golden epoch of Athenian history that Attic historiography could not be insensitive to the greatness of the man who was so powerfully portrayed in the first two books of Thucydides.² The Atthidographers emphasized the role of Perikles, and that exaggeration has been amplified still further by the inevitable personal focus of the Plutarchean mode of biography.

Therefore, Plutarch's biography oscillates between praise for Perikles as exercising an aristocratic restraint on the appetite of the *dēmos* and blame for him for debauching the Athenians. Both tendencies can be viewed in the two chief passages which attribute motives to Athenian colonization (9.1–2; 11.4–6). Just as moral judgment is ambivalent toward Periclean colonization, chronology is ambiguous (cf. Table 4). Changes in evaluative perspective are attuned to the shifting temporal context: the nature of stimuli which motivate or elicit colonization affects any appraisal of the phenomenon itself. In *Pericles* 11.3–4, it is Perikles' need to achieve supremacy over Thukydides Melesiou that is the triggering factor in the emergence of the populist policies of that statesman. The list of colonies provided as illustrations, however, are a (loosely connected) selection of imperial settlements of disparate type, including the Tolmidean cleruchies and the reinforcement of the Chersonese. Even if we do accept for the sake of argument that Perikles was the moving spirit behind Tolmides' establishments, this activity took place 450–48, and thus looks rather early for a reaction to the initially successful agitation by Thukydides against the reallocation of the reserve to the building program (cf. Plato *Meno* 94B–D; *Vit. Anon. Thuc.* 6).³ In contrast, the expedition to the Chersonese is given a philhellenic and laudatory slant in *Per.* 19.1, without a hint that it had a

¹ See E. Levy, *Athènes devant la défaite de 404: histoire d'une crise idéologique* (Paris 1976) esp. 59, 71–72.

² It is immaterial whether his exploitation of Atthidigraphy was direct or through Ephorus or Theopompus, who reconstructed Athenian history either from *Atthides* or from Athenian and allied political material of the imperial period.

³ Wade-Gery, *Essays* 243–45, 269–70.

partisan rationale. The expedition to the Chersonese belongs in chapter 11 as merely one out of a list of colonies, not because it specifically made a good fit with the point being made. *Per.* 19.1 follows the transformation of Perikles in Plutarch's biography from a proto-demagogue to an aristocratic statesman, who kept the passions of the mob in check (15.1–2).

The mention of colonies in *Per.* 9.1 is juxtaposed with a description of Perikles' rivalry with Kimon, which includes the suggestion that he needed to offset the wealth of Kimon through populist policies designed to transfer resources to the *dēmos* (9.2–3). Thus, disconcertingly, Athens' imperial policy of colonization could have had its genesis not in the mid- or late 450s with a renewed struggle against Kimon, but in the 460s and the conflict over the reform of the Areiopagos (9.4–5), which is otherwise associated with the leadership of Ephialtes (*Ath. Pol.* 25.1–26.2). The third passage in the life which explains what motivated Athenian colonization is 34.1, where Perikles soothes the animosity toward him because of the first Peloponnesian invasion of Attica through the implementation of cleruchies, including the settlement on Aigina. In this passage, he is again the great man enduring the abuse of enemies like Kleon (33.8) and checking the rashness of the Athenians in order to save Athens from itself: *πλὴν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἐκινήθη τῶν τοιούτων ὁ Περικλῆς, ἀλλὰ πρῶως καὶ σιωπῇ τὴν ἀδοξίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν ὑφιστάμενος . . . ἀλλ' ἔμεινεν οἰκουρῶν καὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχων τὴν ὅλην πόλιν.*⁴

Unfortunately, although the tendentiousness of such accounts of the origins of imperial colonization may be de-emphasized, it will not, in the absence of other evidence, be possible to replace ancient reconstructions that put the career of Perikles at the center of the causes for imperial colonization. All that can be offered is the compiling of a dossier of prime evidentiary items which bear on the question of the genesis of imperial colonizing. As so often in research in ancient history, the particular line of analysis which I am about to propose is intrinsic to the entries which I am prepared to include in my dossier.

Colonization down to the death of Kimon was dominated by attempts to settle the Strymon valley, with the single exception of the settling of Skyros after the expulsion of the Dolopes. This colonization was carefully justified by mythological precedents, especially concerning

⁴ "[Perikles] was moved by none of such things [the attacks on him at the beginning of the war], but mildly and in silence, bearing the disrepute and hostility . . . but he remained at home and held the whole city in check."

Theseus and Rhesos at the Ennea Hodoi and Theseus again at Skyros. At the end of the 450s, a series of actions were taken all of which addressed the issue of participation in the body of Athenian citizens, and new patterns of colonization were intimately related to them.

1) There is Perikles' citizenship law of 451, which limited citizenship to those of citizen descent on both sides.⁵ The citizenship law deserves its place here because it dominated Athenian policy toward population in this age of empire. If colonization is a form of manipulation of human assets, then the rules governing the definition of those assets are of capital importance. The law is curious for its anomalous character. At a time when economic and strategic factors were drawing people to Attica, and when Athenian democracy was presenting itself as a paradigm for *polis*-life, the citizenship law curtailed the naturalization and acculturation to the status of Athenian that seems a natural outgrowth of these influences. The limitation of naturalization was balanced by an apparent increase in the number of metics, and perhaps by a consolidation of the status of metic itself.⁶ Here, however, was a law apparently motivated by an excessive number of citizens at a time when a burst of colonization was attempting to increase the number of Attic hoplites.⁷

2) In my reconstruction, the first cleruchies were established by Tolmides on Naxos, Andros, and Euboea c. 450. If the term *κληροῦχος* had been a part of the Attic political vocabulary prior to this time, it had connoted merely a distribution of land like that which had taken place at Khalkis in the late sixth century (Appendix C). Now *κληρουχία* was given the specific meaning of allocation of land to a group of Athenians who did not fuse with the community in which their holdings were placed (see Chapter 2, section A).

⁵ *Ath. Pol.* 26.4, cf. 42.1; *Plut. Per.* 37.3; *Ael. VH* 6.10; *Suda s.v. δημοποίητος* (δ 451 Adler); cf. Craterus, *FGH* 342 F 4 (= Harpocration *s.v. ναυτοδίκαι*). See A.W. Gomme, "The Law of Citizenship at Athens," *Essays in Greek History and Literature* (Oxford 1937) 67–88 (= *CP* 29 [1934]), and, most recently, Patterson, *Citizenship Law*, esp. 97–107; K.R. Walters, "Perikles' Citizenship Law," *CA* 2 (1983) 314–36. For background, J.K. Davies, "Athenian Citizenship: The Descent Group and the Alternatives," *CJ* 73 (1977–1978) 105–21.

⁶ See the Endnote to this chapter.

⁷ *Ath. Pol.* 26.4: *διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν* ("on account of the great number of citizens"). The hoplite *katalogos* provided objective figures on the number of Athenian heavy infantry, but these clearly were not the excessive numbers. The troubling *πλῆθος* is likely to have been based on a highly subjective and partisan estimation of population change, dramatized by isolated conspicuous incidents.

3) The implied tribute assessments of Lemnos and the Chersonese were significantly lowered (see Appendixes B, D). While this development has traditionally been associated with the dispatch of cleruchs, no such expedition is attested for Lemnos at this time. For the Chersonese, the change in the assessment of tribute seems disproportionate with the arrival of only 1000 *epoikoi*.

Several other developments in imperial policy are attested clearly for the first time in this same period, although their appearance might well be deceptive. Plutarch mentions *epoikoi* to the Chersonese in such a way that the term carries its special meaning of 'reinforcing settlers'. The *epoikoi* as reinforcements have also been found in the foregoing analysis at Aigina, at Poteidaia, and perhaps at Amphipolis. It is also true that Thucydides terms the settlers at the Ennea Hodoi in 465 *epoikoi*. That term accurately describes their function, but there is no assurance that the colonists to that site were called *epoikoi* contemporaneously with their colonial expedition.

Secondly, if the Erythrai Decree is correctly dated to the late 450s, we find the obligation to make contributions to the Panathenaia imposed on an allied city, but perhaps one that was also recognized as a colony.⁸ Again there is no guarantee that such a stipulation did not exist before this time, but the first appearance of the provision in the Erythrai Decree, where it is perhaps not fully worked out, is followed not much later in the Kleinias and Brea Decrees. At Brea, once again, a colony is concerned, but in the Kleinias Decree a more general obligation seems to be at issue. Just as one might anticipate from the appearance of such clauses in the Erythrai and Brea Decrees, there is specific evidence that the participation of the allies in the Panathenaia was connected with their symbolic assimilation to Athenian colonists.⁹ Thus the Thoudippos Decree can be restored to show the very same stipulation equating all allies with colonists for the Panathenaia.¹⁰ The requirement that the

⁸ IG I³ 14.2–8 (Erythrai); cf. 34.40–43 (Kleinias Decree); 46.15–17 (Brea), with the requirement of a dedication of a phallus at the Dionysia, which is perhaps a further stipulation.

⁹ Arist. *Nubes* 386a Holwerda: *πᾶσαι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποικισθεῖσαι πόλεις* 'all the cities colonized from Athens'; *αἱ ἀποικοὶ πᾶσαι Ἀθηναίων πόλεις* 'all colonial cities of the Athenians'. Cf. J. Tzetzes, ΣArist. *Nubes* 386 Holwerda.

¹⁰ This decree, IG I³ 71, of 425/4, has been restored in part to read: *βῶ[ν καὶ πανθοπλ[ίαν ἀπάγην ἐς Παναθηναία τὰ με[γάλα] ἡσπάσας πεμπόντων | δ[ὲ] ἐν] τῇ πομπῇ | καθάπερ ἀποικ[οι] (57–58: "all the cities are to contribute an ox and a panoply for the Great Panathenaia; they are to participate in the procession just like colonists"). Hence, participation in the procession at the Panthenaia was grounded in the equation*

allies contribute first fruits to Eleusis (IG I³ 78.14) also promoted a recognition that Athens was the seat of agriculture and thereby of civilization. When Herodotus' Athenian informants told him (just around mid-century) that the Aeginetans had once owed dues for the wood for the statues of Damia and Auxesia (fertility goddesses), they were making a related claim.¹¹

The scholia to the *Panathenaicus* of Aelius Aristides offer a valuable reflection of Athenian ideology on the subject of colonization (13.103.16, 3.47.12–48.10 D). Here, we learn that the autochthony of the Athenians—they were colonists of no others—means that they possessed a fire in the hearth of their *prytaneion* 'town-hall' that had never been moved. Hence the Athenians still maintain their ancient *politeia* 'polity' and conduct politics *κατὰ τὴν φύσιν* 'in accordance with nature'. Because of the lack of autochthony, other peoples possess a *νόθον πολιτείον* 'bastard polity', language which is striking in light of the focus of the citizenship law on illegitimacy. Accordingly, it turns out that the Athenians can give to their own colonists a share of that religiously potent fire from their unmoved hearth, while others (except the Arkadians) cannot.¹² Thus, fire, the very basis of civilization, must be traced back to Athens, which becomes the mother-city of all other *poleis*. The spirit in which cults of Athena Polias were created in allied cities (for which, consult Chapter 4, section B.2) seems to be close to the primacy claimed by the Athenians in the mythology surrounding "the unmoved fire."

All these decisions suggest a determination to fix the status of Athenian citizens *vis-à-vis* others, be they residents in Attica or allies. The citizenship law shut off mixed marriage and discouraged naturalization as a means to increase Athenian numbers and so Athenian military power. The establishment of cleruchies balanced the loss of that avenue to an increased number of hoplites by opening another. If the total number of Athenians could not be easily increased, cleruchies would raise the

of subjects with colonists. See B.D. Meritt and A.B. West, *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.* (Ann Arbor 1934) 63.

¹¹ Colonization and protection of the Greeks became so bound up in Athenian self-understanding that it was possible for Isocrates to imagine an Athenian-led war against the barbarians, a struggle which resulted in the colonization of the Aegean islands and Ionia (5.166–67, 190). Unsurprisingly, this version of the Ionian migration has a conclusion with a distinctly fifth-century twist. The Dorian occupation of the Peloponnesos, which is treated as a Spartan settlement of the cities there, forced the Athenians to break off their philhellenic activity and consider their own interests.

¹² See Malkin, *Religion* 114–34.

proportion of hoplites within that population in such a manner that they could be most directly utilized by the state. The status of Athenians as a demographically circumscribed group preempted the expectation or possibility that the cleruchs would fuse with natives and create hybrid polities. In other words, the citizenship law created the psychological climate that guaranteed an acceptance both by the cleruchs and by the members of the host community of their segregation from each other.

The early Athenian settlements abroad had left a complex legacy both of cultural affinity with the Athenians and of uncertainty about status. The tributary status of Lemnos and the cities of the Chersonese seems to indicate that claims to Athenian citizenship had not been encouraged or were at least simply unresolved (see Appendixes B and D). Circa 450, in another act of compensating for the effects of the citizenship law, a one-time recognition of the claims to citizenship of persons on Lemnos and perhaps from the Chersonese may have occurred. The communities like Lemnos, with their composite citizen-bodies, prefigured the imperial colonies like Amphipolis and the epoikic settlements, with their mixed populations.

Developments of mid-century bespeak a transmuting of the tradition of inclusiveness that had once existed to an embracing of outsiders on an expanded spectrum of statuses. The wall between citizenship and foreignness, however, was presently designed as unscaleable for all that the institutional ground sloped up toward it. Metics, for example, had a recognized and protected place in Athenian society, with the eventual possibility of additional grants of specific quasi-civic privileges. The symbolism of allied status endeavored to transform what had been a military alliance into an organic unity bound by genetic links. Participation in the Panathenaia, Eleusinia, and Dionysia suggested a cultural filiation between the Athenians and their allies in which Athens became the symbolic origin of the most basic features of human life.

One might be tempted to call these circumstances the "Periclean" colonial and civic order on the basis of his place as the dominant politician of the period, based on his known sponsorship of the restriction on citizenship, and from Plutarch's broad assignment of colonies to his initiative. For Athenian colonial practices, however, that characterization must be forwarded cautiously. First of all, there is only a tenuous connection between Perikles and any cleruchy in the strict sense in which that institution is defined in this work. Did he have any role in the cleruchy(ies) on Euboia established by Tolmides before the Euboian Revolt? The reconstructions in the notes of Table 4 and in Appendix C

suggest that no cleruchies were founded by Perikles after he had subdued the island.

There were, in fact, two spasms of dissension on Euboia. The first may have been preempted before serious irruption by Tolmides in the late 450s or very early 440s (D.S. 11.88.3 has 453/2). An intervention would be consonant with his bold strike against western Boiotia that later miscarried in 447 or 446 at Koroneia (Thuc. 1.113.1–3; Plut. *Per.* 18.2–3; cf. Xen. *Mem.* 3.5.4; Paus. 1.27.5; D.S. 12.6.2; Plut. *Ages.* 19.2). His chief punitive action was the appropriation of land from anti-Athenian oligarchs(?) to support cleruchs, probably at Eretria and Karystos. The Euboian fugitives who later fought at Koroneia may have been dislodged in the turmoil connected with this intervention (Thuc. 1.113.2). Since cleruchs were not garrison troops, it is not surprising that these cleruchies offered no deterrent or impediment to the later total revolt of Euboia (Thuc. 1.114.1, 3; D.S. 12.7; cf. Plut. *Per.* 22.1; Andoc. 3.3).

The results of the eventual Periclean subjugation of the island were the confiscations at Khalkis and the establishment of a colony at Hestiaia (Thuc. 1.114.3; Plut. *Per.* 23.2; Arist. *Nubes* 211–13 with scholia; Philochorus, *FGH* 328 F 118; see also Appendix C). Various police measures were taken at Khalkis (e.g. *IG* I³ 40.76–79), and further punitive measures imposed on Eretria may be attested by the appearance of the Eretrians in the Khalkis Decree (446/5): ... ποῆσθαι τὸν ὅρκον Ἀθηναίους καὶ Χαλκιδέας, καθάπερ Ἐρετριεῦσι ἐψεφίσατο ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ... ("... the Athenians and Khalkidians are to make an oath just like the Athenian people decreed for the Eretrians ...": *IG* I³ 40.41–43). However, security measures in Euboia did not end with the suppression of the great revolt. The proverbial expression "Eretrian catalogue", a list of aristocratic hostages detained by the Athenians which is dated to 442/1, shows continuing efforts to discipline the inveterate and provocative anti-Athenian aristocrats of the island (Phot., Hesych., s.v. Ἐρετριακὸς κατάλογος).

Thus, in situations where Perikles clearly dominated the dispositions made by the Athenians, they did not impose a cleruchy. Neither Khalkis after the Euboian revolt (Appendix C) nor Samos after its rebellion received a cleruchy (Chapter 1, n. 59 above). Does this failure to impose cleruchies imply that Perikles did not find them appropriate tools of policy? The later cleruchy at Mytilene followed fairly closely on that statesman's death (at Kleon's initiative?). Does then the hypothesis of the narrow range of application for the institution of the cleruchy (outlined

above in Chapter 6, section A.1) become merely our discovery of the operation of a Periclean inhibition against its utilization, at least when we view Athenian policies from the perspective of individual leaders?

With the deployment of a range of ἀποικίαι for different situations, we are on firmer ground. Perikles is linked with the use of moderately-sized, all-citizen colonies as punitive measures against recalcitrant enemies such as the Hestiaians, Aiginetans, and Poteidaians. He was also prepared to put a small contingent of Athenians in Sinope in what could be interpreted as a philhellenic gesture (for similar possibilities, see Table 4). His supplementary settlers (like those to the Chersonese) were called *epoikoi*, a term which I have attempted to explain in all its polemical thrust.

Criticisms of the empire for creating a *dēmos* which was habituated to μισθοφορία are forgetful of Athenian colonization (note Plato *Gorgias* 515E; Plut. *Per.* 9.1; cf. *Ath. Pol.* 27.2–3). In most colonies, replicas of Athens as a primary-productive society were created. Except for the exigencies of the Peloponnesian War, there is no reason why these Athenians should necessarily have sought government service for payment. The same criticism may, however, rightly touch Perikles, who also concentrated on augmenting Athenian income. Clearly, the functions of colonization had broadened in his hands, going beyond the mere subsidization of larger numbers of hoplites and punishment (the Cimonian colonies and the Tolmidean cleruchies) to encompass wider strategic concerns (witness Thourioi) and more systematic economic exploitation (note Amphipolis). Hence the absence of a role for the cleruchy, an institution which exemplified colonization as a technique mainly for the enhancement of the number of hoplites. Perhaps Perikles believed that any socially constructive behavior could simply be subsidized by the state, assuming that public resources could be raised to a high enough level. Perikles' attitude toward his own estates seems to show a functional, non-ideological appreciation of agriculture: he sold his annual production and bought what he needed (Plut. *Per.* 16.3–4). His colonies not only furnished *klēroi* to subsidize Athenians, but also opened up sources of revenue which could be used to pay the citizens at home.

Perikles probably sponsored the two great mixed colonies of Thourioi and Amphipolis. It is odd, however, that the proposer of the citizenship law with its exclusivist spirit created situations where Athenians were necessarily placed on a level of proximate equality with non-Athenians in the political life of these new *poleis*. Furthermore, the citizenship law seems out of place in a democratic tradition which was

mythologically traced as far back as Theseus' appeal to immigrants to come to Athens (Plut. *Thes.* 25.1). The tradition continued in the Solonian law of enfranchisement (Plut. *Solon* 24.4) and in the Cleisthenic grants of citizenship (Aris. *Pol.* 1275b34–39). After the Peloponnesian War, it is the stalwart restorer of democracy, Thrasyboulos, who once again calls for increased enfranchisement (see n. 18 in this chapter). The Athenians of the empire not only broke with this tradition, but with the norm for Greek democracies of liberality in grants of citizenship (as established by Aris. *Pol.* 1319b6–11; cf. 1278a26–29).

Perikles is not only the proposer of the citizenship law, but later of its rescinding. Plutarch presents this as the result of the death of his legitimate sons in the plague, but surely it should have been possible to achieve the naturalization of his son by Aspasia through a special psephism.¹³ Perikles' presentation of the suspension of the law in personal terms then becomes a political technique to gain sympathy for a radical change by dramatizing a single instance of the effect of such a suspension. That effect was the one most likely to arouse compassion. The war demanded that the city increase the number of its citizens to sustain the conflict, so that the citizenship law had to be relaxed. It is, however, striking that no source describes anyone putting the question to the *dēmos* in that manner. In contrast, Lysias will adduce the military argument against Phormisios in 403 (34.4) to the effect that limiting the franchise deprived the state of soldiers. Lysias, however, was speaking after the fall of the *arkhē*.

A fragment from Book 4 of Craterus' collection of Attic decrees may represent one of the procedures in place after the liberalization of the criteria for citizenship during the Archidamian War (*FGH* 342 F 4).¹⁴ It describes a procedure by which any Athenian might initiate charges before the *nautodikai*, if anyone who was born from two *xenoi* participated in a phratry. So the Athenians had available a procedure to protect the phratries from infiltration by aliens, although those with one citizen-parent (mainly, perhaps, *mētroxenoi* 'persons with foreign

¹³ Plut. *Per.* 37.2: ἡτήσατο λυθῆναι τὸν περὶ τῶν νόθων νόμον, ὃν αὐτὸς εἰσενήνοχε πρότερον, ὥς μὴ παντάπασιν ἐρημία διαδοχῆς . . . ἐκλίποι τοῦνομα καὶ τὸ γένος ('he requested that the law concerning illegitimate children which he himself had passed previously, be abolished, lest his name and line fail completely through absence of succession'). Cf. *Per.* 37.5. Aris. *Pol.* 1278a26–34 links liberality in grants of citizenship with *oliganthropia*, which almost certainly strikes the right note for this context.

¹⁴ For the date, see Jacoby, *FGH* 3b (Suppl.), *Komm.* 101–2; Prandi, *Concessione* 43–46, who compares the situation of Herakles as portrayed in the *Aves* of Aristophanes (1649–72).

mothers') could be raised as Athenian. A reference to this procedure in the *Daitaleis* of Aristophanes speaks to its currency during the 420s.¹⁵

An essential question is unfortunately unanswerable in the present state of our understanding. Was the citizenship law seen by Perikles and his faction as the one element of exclusivist rigor in an imperial order that encouraged an interaction, if not an homogenization, of citizens and others? Or was the citizenship law merely an outgrowth of a general mood of selfishness on the part of the *dēmos*?¹⁶ It was then perhaps not conscious policy-making on the part of the leadership, but simply an official reaction to a groundswell of public passion triggered by the sight of so many obvious aliens pretending to citizenship in order to claim the public largesse.¹⁷

B. THE LEGACY OF FIFTH-CENTURY COLONIZATION

1) TERMINOLOGY

The terminology of fifth-century Athenian colonization was the natural outgrowth of the political and ideological conditions of the Periclean age and the empire. As we have seen, the terms *κληροῦχος* and *κληρονομία* described a peculiarly imperial mode of subsidizing Athenian citizens from resources belonging to allied *poleis*. Another important concept, that of the *ἐπιοικος*, helped in one aspect to promote the Athenian claim that their colonization subserved the *raison d'être* of Athenian hegemony—protection of the Greeks from interference by non-Greek powers. The crucial terminological divide between the *κληροῦχοι* and the *ἐπιοικοι* (which included the *ἐπιοικοι*) specified the manner in which the state was to draw on its citizens financially and militarily. The care in differentiating these statuses was paralleled by the compartmentalization of the civic political repertoire; that repertoire stood apart from the non-citizen roles through the fiction that what was

¹⁵ Fr. 225 K, cited by Harpocration *s.v.* *ναυτοδίκαι* in the same gloss with Craterus. Cf. Cratinus fr. 233 K, from the *Cheirones*.

¹⁶ For a good exploration, see Patterson, *Citizenship Law*, 133–36.

¹⁷ Plutarch connects the law with the controversy over the distribution of a gift of grain from the Egyptian Psammetikhos in 446/5 (*Per.* 37.4; Philochorus, *FGH* 328 F 119; cf. *ΣArist. Vespae* 718a–b Koster). Yet the gift of grain was six years after the citizenship law, and the causative or relevant link is difficult to establish, as Jacoby argued (*FGH* 3b [Suppl.], *Komm.* 471–82). It is likely that Plutarch has confused a category of provocation leading to the law with this particular incident, because the distribution of 446/5 was the first opportunity for large-scale punishment of supposititious citizens after the law. See also Patterson, *Citizenship Law*, 96 with n. 63, 122–23.

Athenian was aboriginally Athenian (cf. Thuc. 1.2.5–6). The psychological and material motivations toward monopolizing the benefits of citizenship sustained this whole spectrum of political distinctions.

There coexisted alongside the imperatives of Athens as an Aegean imperial power another set of responses to an older politico-military ambience, one pervaded by regionalism and inclusivism which never entirely died out. The use of the term *ἐπιοικος* was redolent of this tradition, i.e. this vocabulary of public gestures, and clothed Athenian colonization with a populist and philhellenic aura of continuity. Yet Greek insensitivity to such pretensions resonates throughout the narrative of Thucydides, who must so attune himself to the valuative norms of his panhellenic audience as to risk periodically a seeming betrayal of his identification with Athens. With the series of devastating blows to the Athenians that ran from the Syracusan disaster through the siege of the city, the imperial institutional order crumbled, to be replaced by a regression to the policies of inclusivism. Two symbols of these changes (born of necessity) which bracket the period in question are the desuetude of restrictive legislation on citizenship during the Ionian War (after its earlier relaxation during the Archidamian War), and the grant of citizenship to the Samians.¹⁸ In the latter we see especially the substitution of a concept

¹⁸ Extensive evidence on liberalization of naturalization documents the high rate of passage of non-citizens into the citizen body. The best attested case is the enfranchisement after Arginoussai (*Arist. Ran.* 693–96; Hellanicus, *FGH* 323a F 25; cf. Xen. *HG* 1.6.24; D.S. 13.97.1; Justin 5.6.5–6). More general evidence is provided by Andocides, who speaks about Thessalians and Andrians made citizens because of the *aporia* of men (1.149) and about the frequent grants to foreigners and slaves (2.23); by the comic poet Metagenes (fr. 13 K); by Isoc. 8.88 on the naturalization of non-Athenians to compensate for war dead; and by Lysias, in his references to the enfranchisement of Nikomakhos the *anagrapheus* 'secretary' (30.2; cf. 30.6, 27, 29). Finally note the generous attitude toward naturalization envisaged in *Arist. Aves* 764–68. The effects of this liberality can be discerned well into the fourth century (*Dem.* 57.30, cf. 60–61; Isaeus 8.43), with the application of the reaffirmed and more stringent legislation limited to the period after 404/3 (*Athen.* 13.577B–C; *ΣAesch.* 1.39; Eumelus, *FGH* 77 F 2). Liberalization of legislation on illegitimacy prevailed during the same period ([*Dem.*] 43.51). The latitude given men to formalize relations with two women simultaneously also seems to come from this period: note, e.g., *Athen.* 13.555A–B; D.L. 2.26, with Hieronym. *Rhod.* fr. 43–44 W; Suda, *s.v.* *λειπανδρεῖν* (λ 377 Adler); Gell. *NA* 15.20–26. For full citations, especially on the two marriages of Socrates (cf. *Aris.* fr. 93 R), see L. Woodbury, "Socrates and the Daughter of Aristides," *Phoenix* 27 (1973) 7–25. Even after the democratic restoration, the policy of liberalism had its adherents, as shown by the proposal of Thrasybulos to enfranchise all those non-citizens returning from the Peiraieus (*Ath. Pol.* 40.2; cf. *Aesch.* 3.195; *POxy* #1800, frs. 6–7, vol. 15.142). *IG* II² 10 (= Tod, *GHI* #100) records a grant of rights to those who fought against the Thirty, which may

of affinity based on institutional and ideological convergence for a genetic and exclusive vision of the bonds that unite a community in common interests.¹⁹ The Samian enfranchisement contributed to the paradigm for the fourth-century cleruchies, which were composed of people possessing both local and Athenian civil rights.²⁰

The stage was set for the emergence of a new terminological system in the early fourth century. Its leitmotif was a collapsing of the distinctions between *ἄποικος* and *κληροῦχος* into each other (as has been argued on the basis of Isocrates and the reflections of Attidography in later authors). The term *κληροῦχος* came to predominate officially over *ἄποικος* in the fourth century for reasons which will become apparent when we consider its associations among the Greeks (for references, see Chapter 2, Table 1). While cleruchies transferred resources from the allies to the Athenians, they did so without the obliteration of allied communities. Naturally, the *andrapodismos* of places like Skione and Melos was intensely troubling for those who had dealings with the Athenians and provided one of the leading accusations against their hegemony.²¹ Despite potentially exploitative connotations, *κληροῦχος* and related terms at least did not conjure up wholesale massacres and enslavements.

include a large number who were made citizens; see D. Whitehead, "A Thousand New Athenians," *LCM* 9 (1984) 8–10; see also D. Hereward, "New Fragments of *IG* II² 10," *BSA* 47 (1952) 102–17. On all the measures rewarding the opponents of oligarchy, see Rhodes, *Ath. Pol.* 474–77.

¹⁹ The Samians were enfranchised in 405/4: *IG* II² 127.12–13 (cf. *IG* II² 6417).

²⁰ There is no trace of arrangements like that for the non-citizen Lemnians living alongside Athenian citizens. Note Hyperid. *Lyc.* fr. 14.17 Jensen on the benevolence of a hipparch on Lemnos: οὐ βουλόμενος πολίτας ἄνδρας ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν εἰσπράττειν τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἀπόρως διακειμένους ("being unwilling to levy pay for the cavalry from his fellow-citizens individually, as they were in economic distress"). Even in the larger and more diverse Chersonese, the presence of allies was in the form of separate cities like Elaious, an autonomous city (*IG* II² 43.B27; 228 [341/0]; cf. 126.13–17 [357/6]); see Kahrstedt, *Chersones* 25–37. Fourth-century cleruchies were explicitly *poleis* of (the) Athenians: Hyperid. *Lyc.* 15 Jensen: δύο πόλεις τῶν ἡμετέρων αὐτῶν ("two cities of you yourselves"); Liban. *Arg. Dem.* 8.1: τοὺτους πέμπειν ἐποίκους εἰς τὰς ἑξὼ πόλεις τὰς ἑαυτῶν ("to send these men as *epoikoi* to cities abroad of their own"). Cf. *Inscr. Delos* #78.14–15; *IG* II² 672.8–9, 35 (279/8). Note esp. *IG* II² 950.9–10 (c. 165/4): πᾶσιν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἀθηναίων ("for all Athenians and those living in the cities of Athenians").

²¹ Xen. *HG* 2.2.3: Melos, Hestiaia, Torone, Aigina; cf. Isoc. 4.100 (cf. 109–10): Melos; Skione; 12.63 (cf. 89): Melos; Skione; Torone; D.S. 13.30.6: Skione; Melos; Plut. *Lys.* 14.4: Aigina, Melos, Skione. Cf. Aristid. 32.404, 1.602 D.

Moreover, although the status of any single Athenian as a cleruch holding lands abroad may have had legal significance in Athens in matters such as military service and inheritance, that cleruch may have been largely indistinguishable to the allies from any other Athenian landowner (once the distribution had been made). Cities presumably acquired Athenian landowners through other means, such as grant to or purchase by favored Athenians (like *proxenoi* and other patrons), judgment or confiscation by Athenian courts ([Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 1.14–15; cf. Arist. *Aves* 1431, 1453–60), foreclosure on or compensation for mortgaged land (cf. *SIG*³ #193), or separate purchase by Athenians, themselves individually wealthier through the profits of the empire. All such transfers were perhaps equally invidious to the allies, and were thereby rescinded and forbidden for the future *en bloc* by the decree of Aristoteles founding the Second Confederacy (*IG* II² 43.25–31, 35–46).

The concept *κληρουχία* necessitated a condition of continuity, since cleruchies were emplaced in the presence of continuing allied communities. The cleruchs of the fourth century were dispatched to sites which were settled by the Athenians during the *arkhē*, establishing another mode of continuity. Starting with Lemnos, there seems to have been a population on each site which had continued from the fifth century, when it had coexisted with Athenian citizens. Fourth-century cleruchs and the pre-cleruchic populations did more than simply coexist: they appear to have formed a single community. The use of the term *κληροῦχοι* for fourth-century colonists helped to convey the idea that the fourth-century settlers were not *ἄποικοι* being dispatched to new foundations, who might have dispossessed the original inhabitants. Rather, they were settlers reclaiming earlier possessions of Athens in the company of a continuing population. The only possible exception is one which may substantiate the rule: if the colonists sent to the Adriatic in 325/4 under the leadership of Miltiades were *ἄποικοι* rather than cleruchs, that might be by virtue of their dispatch to a "virgin" site, one untouched by earlier Athenian settlement.²² The Adriatic colony might be

²² *SIG*³ 305 = Tod, *GHI* #200 mentions the escort by Miltiades, the *oikistes* of an Athenian *apoikia* in the Adriatic, of *epoikoi* (II. 223–25). Whether the original settlers were *apoikoi* or cleruchs is unknown. On matters of purpose and placement, see A. Gitti, "La colonia Ateniese in Adriatico del 325/4 A.C.," *PP* 9 (1954) 16–24; L. Braccisi, *Grecità adriatica*² (Bologna 1977) 286–304. There is perhaps a deliberate attempt to harken back to earlier glories in the choice of Miltiades of Lakiada of the Philaidai as oecist (160–61, 166, 223–24). See Foucart 332. He was, however, a prominent individual (D.S. 20.40.5; Plut. *Demetr.* 14.1, cf. Davies, *APF* #8429.XV, p. 309).

corroboration that fourth-century cleruchs were associated conceptually with recolonization.

This semantic transformation, wherein fifth-century colonists became fourth-century cleruchs, appears to have been, in the main, completed by the Peace of Antalkidas in 387/6. At that time, when Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros were recognized as Athenian possessions (Xen. *HG* 4.8.15; 5.1.31), the Athenians reorganized their settlement on Lemnos. A fragmentary inscription, the surviving provisions of which deal primarily with a regularization of land holdings and an adjudication of suits therefrom, repeatedly refers to cleruchs.²³ Hence, the Athenians could not use the terms *κληροῦχοι* and *κληρουχία* to refer to the type of overseas landholding which they voided in the Decree of Aristoteles that founded the Second Confederacy. They were at the time holding places like Lemnos, which in contemporary parlance were inhabited by cleruchs. The portrayal of Athens and its overseas possession as a community of cities traditionally Athenian fits well the international climate of the Peace of Antalkidas and its autonomy provision.

The assumption by the word *κληροῦχος* of its new connotation may have occurred in a short period of time. As late as 392/1, Andocides was arguing for peace with Sparta on the basis of a renunciation of some external possessions in these terms: *φέρει, ἀλλὰ Χερρόνησον καὶ τὰς ἀποικίας καὶ τὰ ἐγκτήματα καὶ τὰ χρέα ἵνα ἀπολάβωμεν* (3.15: "Well, then, are we acting in order that we may recover the Chersonese, the colonies, the landholdings, and the debts?").²⁴ Note that it is the *ἀποικίαι*, correctly cited, that are at issue; they are not called *κληρουχίαι*, as would be expected in later fourth-century usage. If there is a reference to cleruchic property, it is probably incorporated within the word *ἐγκτήματα* which, as has just been suggested, is a functional description.²⁵

²³ See *IG* II² 30 in the edition of Stroud, *Hesperia* (1971) 146–204, esp. #23, pp. 162–73; note lines 4, 20, 22, 33, 42, 47.

²⁴ Andoc. 3.12 advises the Athenians to be content with Lemnos, Imbros and Skyros: *Λήμνον δὲ καὶ Ἰμβρόν καὶ Σκύρον τότε (after Aigospotamoí) μὲν ἔχειν τοὺς ἔχοντας, νῦν δὲ ἡμετέρας εἶναι* . . . ("the inhabitants were holding Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros then [under the terms of the peace with Sparta after Aigospotamoí], but they are now ours").

²⁵ Diodorus presents a more ambiguous pattern of usage. D.S. 15.29.8 drew on a source which could describe the renunciation of overseas landholdings at the foundation of the Second Confederacy as a renunciation of cleruchies (paralleling fifth-century usage). D.S. 15.23.4, however, speaks of general hostility among the Greeks toward the Athenians (c. 380) on account of their cleruchies. Are these fifth-century colonies or cleruchies?

Since the Decree of Aristoteles expressly excluded foreign holdings by the Athenians in allied cities (which neatly precluded a reintroduction of the fifth-century-style cleruchies), the Athenians could apply relatively unthreatening cleruchic language to almost all their overseas possessions, when they chose. In accordance with the conversion of the category of *ἀποικοί* into that of *κληροῦχοι*, *ἐποικοί* previously classed as a type of *ἀποικοί* now became a sub-category of *κληροῦχοι/ἀποικοί*. This relationship is expressly demonstrated by Poteidaia, where settlers known by inscription to have been classified as cleruchs can also be called *ἐποικοί*; this also seems to characterize the situation in the Chersonese.²⁶ This denomination was also appropriate for reasons which were paralleled in the fifth-century colonies, because the Poteidaia had invited in the Athenian settlers, so that, in a sense, they acted as reinforcements (Tod, *GHI* #146.4–10). Similar thinking probably established the epoikic character of the cleruchs on Samos.²⁷ We may note, however, that *κληρουχία* does not appear as a term from official language in any fourth-century document (see Table 1).

2) PRACTICAL POLITICS

The Athenians had already renounced their fifth-century cleruchies by forbidding the possession of land in allied cities when they founded the Second Confederacy. They did not, however, renounce their ancestral colonies, now cleruchies according to current, fourth-century usage. After all, they were holding Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros at this very time. As Andocides had noted in 392/1, there was a strong constituency at Athens for campaigns to recover other fifth-century possessions (3.15). Undoubtedly, a part of this constituency was composed of former colonists and other Athenians with interests in those locations. Therefore, in Athenian eyes, former colonies were legitimate targets of Athenian

²⁶ Libanius *Decl.* 17.69 can be compared with Tod, *GHI* #146; cf. Dem. 6.20. The settlers can, of course, also be seen as *ἀποικοί*, for which see Dem. 6.20; cf. [Dem.] 7.10. For the Chersonese: Liban. *Arg. Dem.* 8.1. On the incorporation of Poteidaia into Athenian hegemony by Timotheus in 364/3: Isoc. 15.108, 113; Din. 1.14, 3.17; D.S. 15.81.6.

²⁷ Craterus, *FGH* 342 F 21, cf. Zenob. 2.28 (*CPG* 1.40); [Plut.] *Paroemiae* 1.59 (*CPG* 1.330); *Comm. Anon. in Aris. Rhet.* (ad 1395a18) *CAG* 21.2.128 H. Rabe. Cf. Douris, *FGH* 76 F 96. Other references to the capture of Samos: Isoc. 15.108, 111; Din. 1.14, 3.17; Polyæn. 3.10.9–10; Nepos, *Tim.* 1.2; see also the references on pp. 27–29 above. For the presence of the cleruchs, *SIG*³ 276; *IG* II² 416.4, 1437.20–21, 1443.89–93, 1628.17, 109, 119, 3207.20–21; M. Schede, "Aus dem Heraion von Samos," *MDAI* 44 (1919) 1–46, esp. #4, pp. 3–4; G. Klaffenbach, "Samische Inschriften," *MDAI* 51 (1926) 26–40, esp. #5, pp. 36–38. See also Chapter 2, n. 36; Chapter 6, n. 23.

military operations. At several points in this volume, the Athenian settlements at Poteidaia, Samos, and the Chersonese have been noted as successful examples of recolonization. On the other hand, the protracted and ultimately exhausting struggle to recover Amphipolis shows a case where the Athenians overstepped their resources.²⁸ This was a struggle for colonial reclamation in the same mode as the more successful initiatives just mentioned. Moreover, the Athenians made several determined efforts to recapture Aigina, and there is no reason to doubt that the result of such a success would have been a recreation of an Athenian Aigina.²⁹

The legitimate possessors of these former holdings were (again, in Athenian eyes) those Athenian citizens who had been dispossessed when the cities fell to the adversaries of Athens at the end of the Peloponnesian War. In the case of an Aigina or a Samos, the rightfully authoritative *dēmos* had amalgamated itself with the Athenian *dēmos*. In the words of Demades, Samos was an ἀπορρώγα 'fragment' of the Athenian polity (Demades fr. 28 De Falco; see Chapter 1, n. 60). It is in this very context that Isocrates in the *Panegyricus* (4.107) emphasized the role of Athenian cleruchies as a *phulakē* 'protection' for the territory of allied cities, a theme which was to sound through Attidography (as demonstrated by Plutarch's *Pericles*).³⁰ Hence, when Demosthenes later speaks of the capture of Samos by Timotheus in 366/5, he refers to it as a liberation from Persian influence (15.9: ἡλευθέρωσε). Cleruchs and *epoikoi* were considered by the Athenians the guarantors of that liberty, not an infringement upon it.

As former colonies (outside Athenian control in 378) such as Samos, Poteidaia, Amphipolis, and Aigina were considered by the Athenians to be their possessions, Athens did not ally itself with these states within or without the Second Confederacy. Euboia provides a test case for this phenomenon. In our reconstruction of Athenian interventions there, one

²⁸ Amphipolis: Dem. 2.28; 23.14; cf. Dem. 4.12; 5.25; 6.30; 19.22; [Dem.] 7.24, 27–28; Aesch. 2.21; Polyæn. 3.10.8. Isoc. 8.22: μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθε μήτε Κερσοβλέπτην ὑπὲρ Χερρονήσου μήτε Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως πολεμήσειν, ὅταν ἴδωσιν ἡμᾶς μηδεὶος τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐφιεμένους ('Do not think that either Kersobleptes, on behalf of the Chersonese, or Philip, for Amphipolis, would go to war, when they see that we are seeking none of anyone else's property'). In Isocrates' fanciful suggestion of Athenian and Macedonian cooperation to turn Amphipolis into a cleruchy, he calls his suggested Athenian recolonizers ἐποικοὶ (5.6).

²⁹ Xen. *HG* 5.1.1–2, 8–12; Polyæn. 3.11.12; cf. Aris. *Pol.* 1306a4–6. See Figueira, *RhM* (1990) 36–37, 46–49.

³⁰ C.D. Hamilton, "Isocrates, *IG* ii² 43, Greek Propaganda and Imperialism," *Traditio* 36 (1981) 83–109, esp. 95–96, 98, 105–6.

notes confiscations of Hippobotic land at Khalkis, probable cleruchies at Eretria and Karystos (perhaps again on land confiscated from the elite), and an expulsion and colony at Hestiaia. The Euboians must have viewed any revival of Athenian hegemonism with a cold eye. According to Diodorus, it is only after the Athenians had renounced their cleruchies that the Euboians (among others) joined the new alliance—for that very reason (15.29.7–30.1; note διὰ τὴν εἰρημένην αἰτίαν).³¹

Hestiaia, however, deserves classification among the *apoikiai*, to which, along with Aigina, the Athenians had not renounced their claim. While the rest of the Euboians eagerly joined the confederacy, Hestiaia stood aloof, out of loyalty to Sparta and enmity to Athens (D.S. 15.30.1). Accordingly, Khabrias attacked the Hestiaians and established a fort to deny them the use of their territory (D.S. 15.30.4–5). Yet, rather than the natural continuation of this process toward either a subjugation of the city or an Athenian defeat, at some point not long afterward the Hestiaians joined the confederacy (*IG* ii² 43.B18). There is no trace of a Hestiaian cleruchy. Rather, Hestiaia seems to have moved from the category of former colony and legitimate target for reconquest to the class of autonomous city. That very change, coupled with the change in Athenian policy, serves to emphasize the clarity of the categories. Athenian foreign policy thus demonstrated its prudence (for the moment) by foregoing the hope of recovering Hestiaia in return for strengthening the allegiance of its allies on Euboia and elsewhere.

As far as it goes, it is a correct position to hold that the fourth-century cleruchies did not transgress the agreements which were constituent to the formation of the Second Confederacy.³² The very scale, however, of their earlier overseas holdings caused colonial irredentism of the Athenians to subvert the nature of the alliance, while it technically upheld the protections for its signatories.³³ The confederacy proclaimed

³¹ See, e.g., R. Morstein Kallet-Marx, "Athens, Thebes, and the Foundation of the Second Athenian League," *CA* 4 (1985) 127–51, esp. 130.

³² The position that the cleruchies infringed guarantees of autonomy associated with the Second Confederacy has never been fully argued, to my knowledge. Foucart 396 was perhaps the first to recognize that the dispatch of cleruchs was not a violation of Athenian engagements at the foundation of the Second Confederacy (cf. Grote, *Greece* 8.282–83). J. Cargill, *The Second Athenian Confederacy: Empire or Free Alliance* (Berkeley 1981) 146–52, has criticized the recent statements to the contrary (see esp. 150 n. 13). Cf., e.g., Sealey, *Phoenix* (1957) esp. 99; T.T.B. Ryder, *Koine Eirene: General Peace and Local Independence in Ancient Greece* (Oxford 1965) 84, 89.

³³ There were not only, of course, the actual fifth-century colonies, but also the matter of the equation of all allies with colonies in certain religious settings. We find in an

its fidelity to Greek freedom and autonomy (*IG* II² 43.10) and its intention to strengthen the *koinē eirēnē* 'common peace' (ll. 12–13). The invitation to join was open to all Greeks and non-Greeks not ruled by the King (ll. 15–18), and active diplomatic means attempted to realize this aspiration (*D.S.* 15.28.2). Yet, the Athenians would not ally themselves for the most part with their former colonial holdings, which breached the principle of the alliance's openness.

The Athenian right to reclaim colonies furnished an escape clause from the rigors of the Decree of Aristoteles founding the confederacy, as is demonstrated by Athenian intervention on Samos. The case of Samos was clearly troubling from the start, as the *dēmos* was warned before the sending of the cleruchs, when Kydias noted that all Greece was watching Athens' actions.³⁴ Despite the analogies already noted between Samos and other cities to which the Athenians had a claim, Samos was preeminently a *polis* both with a long and glorious history of independence and with rich cultural, religious, and institutional traditions. While the most significant political grouping during the Ionian War had sought close political ties with the Athenian *dēmos*, after the suppression of the island's defection from the Delian League there were still substantial forces resisting the influence of Athens. The result should have been predictable—Samos could not settle into the role of a Lemnos—and the sequel to the first dispatch of cleruchs was an expulsion which may have appeared to the Greeks in general to be a dispossession of the rightful inhabitants, as the proverb about an Attic *paroikos* 'neighbor' indicates (*Craterus, FGH* 342 F 21).

Even if the allies accepted the Athenian definition of their legitimate rights abroad, the reclamation of colonies disrupted acquiescence in Athenian authority as the *hegēmōn* of the confederacy. Athenian irredentism was profoundly disquieting to the allies as a tragic squandering

agreement with the Parians of 373/2 the re-institution of the colonial paradigm for allies, with its tendering of phalloi to the Dionysia and of cow and panoply to the Panathenaia (*SVA* 268.2–6; *IPriene* #5.2–5 for another appearance of the provision; cf. *IG* II² 1672.274–79). According to S. Accame, *La lega ateniese de IV A.C.* (Rome 1941) 229–44, line 6 of *SVA* 268 may be restored ἀποικοὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων.

³⁴ Davies, *Historia* (1969) 331–32, sensibly observes that the apprehensions of Kydias (*Aris. Rhet.* 1384b32–35) before the dispatch of the Samian cleruchs may have been actualized in the friendly reception accorded Epaminondas' naval foray in 364 (*D.S.* 15.78.4–79.2; cf. Byzantion in *Tod, GHI* #160.10). He appealed to Chios, Rhodes, and Byzantion in a preview of the approach made by Mausolos.

of Athenian energies.³⁵ Given the military capacities of the Athenians at this time, close sieges were difficult to carry through, a fact explaining the accolades heaped on Timotheos for taking Samos. Maritime blockades, interdictions, and raids were the more appropriate techniques for achieving the surrender of a former colony. This very range of operations can be detailed in the Athenian attacks on Aigina. For the major seafaring *poleis*, economic losses resulted from the interception of their citizens and vessels, no matter how gently—and gentleness was not the capital virtue of Athenian commanders strapped for funds—operations were conducted. Moreover, recolonization would shift the balance of power in the Second Confederacy toward the hegemonal state. Such efforts distracted the Athenians from the task for which the allies had contracted the treaty of the league with them, namely the preservation of security and of autonomy in the Aegean.³⁶ The drain on resources, which the attempts, especially those against Amphipolis, necessitated, stimulated Athenian rapacity. That expressed itself in exactions, which, even if they spared the allies, threw general economic conditions into confusion. An exploitation of the *syntaxeis* 'monetary contributions' of the confederates no doubt caused resentment, even when there was a need to tap allied money to support Athenian sailors in legitimate operations.³⁷ That abuse, however, probably pales beside the damage caused by the drive to recover the colonial empire and the need for money to subsidize this project (although it may be hard for us to separate these expenses in the present state of our evidence).

When the causation of the Social War is considered, it is easy to document how Athenian aspirations toward the recovery of the fifth-century colonies acted corrosively on allied identification with Athenian policy.³⁸ Demosthenes portrays the conjunction of the Chians, Byzantines, and Rhodians with Mausolos in the following terms: ἡτιάσαντο μὲν γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτοῖς Χῖοι καὶ Βυζάντιοι καὶ Ῥόδιοι . . . (15.3: 'the Chians, Byzantines, and Rhodians accused us of having designs against

³⁵ For example, Demosthenes admonishes the Athenians not to allow their desire to gain Spartan support for recovering Oropos to force a wrong choice about the crucial balance of power in the Peloponnesos (15.18, cf. 11, 13, 16).

³⁶ S.N. Hornblower, *Mausolos* (Oxford 1981) 203–5, summarizes Athenian problems in policing the seas against piracy in general, and in particular countering Alexander of Pherai.

³⁷ Note *Dem.* 8.29; *Isoc.* 8.29, 36, 46; 15.123; cf. *Plut. Phoc.* 7.1–2, 11.1.

³⁸ Hornblower's chapter on Mausolos and Athens provides a careful balancing of the initiatives of the Carian dynast and the underlying grievances of Athenian allies (*Mausolos* 183–218).

them..."); τοῦ κομίσασθαι γὰρ τὰ ὑμέτερά ὑμῖν φθονήσαντες τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολωλέκασι... (15.15: "[the Rhodians] begrudging your getting your own property, lost their own freedom...").³⁹ In other words, what appeared as the reclamation of property in Athens seemed to be self-aggrandizement to the stronger naval allies.

Nonetheless, there are not only hints here of the attitudes of the dissident allies, but also a sense of the force of the Athenian belief in the justice of colonial reclamation. These points become even more apparent when the *De pace* 'On the Peace' (*Or.* 8) of Isocrates, a speech written in the midst of the Social War in 356, is considered.⁴⁰ The general position taken by the speaker is that the impulse toward a maritime *arkhē* has been productive of the greatest evils for both Athens and Sparta (8.64–66, 69, 74, 101–5, 142). To be sure, Isocrates does warn in the same speech against excessive territorial aspirations: οἱ μὲν γὰρ προσδοκίαν ἐμποιοῦσιν ὥς καὶ τὰς κτήσεις τὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν κομιούμεθα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναληψόμεθα πάλιν ἣν πρότερον ἐτυγχάνομεν ἔχοντες (8.6: "the former impart the expectation both that you will get back your holdings in the cities and that you will recover the power which you chanced to have previously..."). A rhetorical antithesis later in the speech points toward the same conclusion: in pursuit of empire, the Athenians had been denied access to their own countryside, in return for their overseas holdings (8.92: ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ γεωργεῖν τὰς χώρας ἀλλοτρίας).⁴¹ These statements appear both to be an exaggeration and to lack the proper focus on allied grievances. Isocrates' remark about "possessions in the cities" suggests a complete reclamation of the cleruchic holdings of the fifth century, which exaggerated mainstream Athenian ambitions. Nonetheless, Isocrates may well be representing the views of a hegemonist segment of Athenian political opinion, but it was irredentist aspirations falling well short of a recovery of cleruchic land which had motivated the suspicions of the allies. Isocrates is notably careful about including a direct equation between the condemned imperialist impulse and the recovery of colonial holdings. Timotheos' recovery of Samos is praised effusively in the *Antidosis* (*Or.* 15), which

³⁹ See the useful discussion of G.L. Cawkwell, "Notes on the Failure of the Second Athenian Confederacy," *JHS* 101 (1981) 40–55, esp. 52–55.

⁴⁰ See most recently J. Davidson, "Isocrates Against Imperialism: An Analysis of *De Pace*," *Historia* 39 (1990) 20–31.

⁴¹ Cf. 30: μὴ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων; 34: τὸ λαβεῖν τι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων; 84: τῶν δὲ ἀλλοτρίων, which has the appearance of a "code phrase".

appeared just a few years later, in 354/3.⁴² Even in *De pace*, Isocrates can speak enthusiastically about recovering the Chersonese (8.22, 24).

De pace was an attack on Khares. Cawkwell notes in conjunction with 8.6 a badly confused statement on the outbreak of the Social War in the anonymous *Hypothesis* to the speech. It alludes to an attempt by Khares to capture Amphipolis, which is represented in pejorative terms as an effort to enslave (καταδουλώσασθαι) an autonomous (αὐτονομυμένην) city. The *Hypothesis* then links the attempt on Amphipolis with an attack on the Chians, Rhodians, and other allies. Khares was actually sent to the Chersonese in 357, as Cawkwell observes (*Dem.* 23.173; cf. *Aesch.* 3.85).⁴³ According to our understanding of the broader process of disruption engendered by the reclamation of colonies, if the author of the *Hypothesis* is drawing from a lost anti-Athenian account of the outbreak of the Social War, it is possible that collateral damage to the citizens of Chios, Byzantion, and Rhodes, caused by the effort to recover Amphipolis, was treated there as a series of deliberate acts of aggression against the naval states within the confederacy.

To the Chersonese, Cawkwell adds Amphipolis; both places belonged to the claims to ownership begrudged (in the Demosthenic/Athenian view) or suspected (from their own perspective) by the naval states.⁴⁴ The active pursuit of the recovery of Amphipolis began in 368/7 (*Aesch.* 2.27–28; *Dem.* 23.149).⁴⁵ Cawkwell finds the first sign of allied disquiet in the Mytilenean embassy to Athens of 368, which is reflected in an Athenian decree (*Tod, GHI* #131). To Amphipolis and the Chersonese, Samos should surely be added as a most sensitive Athenian claim to an earlier holding, especially when we remember the troubled unravelling of the original settlement of the cleruchs among a population of remaining Samians.

After the initial expedition to establish the Samian cleruchy, there were perhaps two waves of reinforcements, one in 362/1 (*ΣAesch.* 1.53) and a second in 352/1 (*Philochorus, FGH* 328 F 154). That first group of reinforcements may have disrupted the relations between the

⁴² See the citations in n. 27 in this chapter.

⁴³ Note Cawkwell, *JHS* (1981) 52.

⁴⁴ Cawkwell, *JHS* (1981) 52–54. See the passages on Amphipolis in n. 28 in this chapter; *Dem.* 23.153, 156, 158, 160 on Athenian ambitions in the Chersonese. Note also the term τὰ ὑμέτερα in *Dem.* 4.7, a code-phrase for colonial holdings; cf. 8.36.

⁴⁵ The claims to Amphipolis and the Chersonese were recognized by a Greek congress no later than 369: Amphipolis: *Aesch.* 2.32; *Dem.* 19.253; [*Dem.*] 7.29; cf. *Dem.* 19.137; Chersonese: *Dem.* 9.16. See Accame, *Lega* 155–57; G.L. Cawkwell, "The Common Peace of 366/5 B.C.," *CQ* 11 (1961) 80–86, esp. 80–82.

pre-cleruchic Samians and the cleruchs. It is possible that the expulsion of Samian citizens which provides the corroborating detail in the explanation of the proverb *paroikos Attikos* (Craterus, *FGH* 342 F 21; Douris, *FGH* 76 F 96) is to be connected with the second wave of reinforcements in 352/1 (Philochorus, *FGH* 328 F 154).⁴⁶

The first reinforcements may have intensified allied doubts over the propriety of the cleruchy, even among those allies who had initially acquiesced in its establishment as a necessary step to protect the eastern Aegean against satrapal interference. Furthermore, some Samians may have become restive in reaction when they saw the disaffection of the Chians, Rhodians, and Byzantines. Nepos does in fact report a movement against Athenian control of Samos (*Tim.* 3.1), and it is certain that the rebels launched a major attack on the island (D.S. 16.21.2–3), which imposed a blockade that had to be broken by Athenian forces (Frontinus, *Strat.* 1.4.14).⁴⁷ Attempts by pre-cleruchic Samians to join the general movement against the Second Confederacy may have been suppressed by the cleruchs and Athenian forces, serving to justify (to the Athenians) the expulsion in 352/1. Attic colonies were in any case primary targets of the rebel fleet during the Social War; note D.S. 16.21.2: "Ἰμβρον μὲν καὶ Λήμνον οὐσας Ἀθηναίων ἐπόρθησαν . . . πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἄλλας νήσους οὐσας ὑπ' Ἀθηναίους κακοποιήσαντες χρήματα ἤθροισαν εἰς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρείας" ("they ravaged Imbros and Lemnos, which belonged to the Athenians . . . raiding many other islands under Athenian control, they gathered money for the necessities of war").

It is not an exaggeration to see the Athenians as faced with a choice of two modes of naval hegemony in the Aegean, one a hegemony exercised with the collaboration of the commercial and naval states, and the other a hegemony over a far-flung network of recovered colonies. The allure of the lost colonial holdings of the fifth-century empire must have been strong indeed, to impel them toward the disasters of the Social War

⁴⁶ If Hereward, *AJA* (1956) 172–74, is correct that *IG* II² 1952 is not connected with the Samian cleruchy, another, otherwise unattested, cleruchy must have existed in the fourth century. If that were so, it would have an incalculable effect on allied perceptions of Athenian recolonization.

⁴⁷ See Shipley, *Samos* 155–57, who suggests that an attack of Iphikrates on the Samian countryside is to be associated with the allied attack on the island (Polyaen. 3.9.36). If he were correct, the nature of Iphikrates' actions would certify that rebel Samians who occupied a significant slice of territory were cooperating against the Athenians in the Social War.

and the war over Amphipolis. Yet, the strong impulse to recover Amphipolis had its foundation in memories of the rich flow of revenues which had come from that city to Athens before its fall to Brasidas. It would have been better to face Philip II from the start with the help of the Rhodians, Chians, and Byzantines rather than to conduct a war to recolonize Amphipolis. The cause of Amphipolis not only contributed to the Social War, but, as it was the unrealized goal of Athenian irredentism, led the city ever onward in continuing efforts so wrongheaded that it is astonishing that the struggle was carried to the point of fiscal exhaustion (cf. Dem. 10.37) after 1500T had been spent (Isoc. 7.9; 8.19; Dem. 3.28 with scholia; [Dem.] 13.27; Aesch. 2.71).

Nonetheless, the motivations for the attempts at a recovery of the fifth-century colonies were deeply embedded in the Athenian social order. The Athenians reacted to their economic circumstances after the Persian War by turning their backs in the mid-fifth century on the economic opportunities of their leadership in the Delian League. It fell to the metics and *xenoi* to exploit the new chances for entrepreneurship. The Athenian economy differentiated, but only insofar as it was a composite Athenian/metic organism. One outcome of this process is too notorious to need much comment, namely the *ἔμμισθος δῆμος*. As has already been observed, the recreation of replicas of late archaic and early classical Attica abroad in the Athenian colonies, established on confiscated territory, was another facet of politicization. Irredentism drove a wedge between the Athenians and their natural allies among the commercial cities who wanted tranquillity of the seas and guarantees of their own autonomy. The exhaustion of Athenian military and monetary power after the Social War was the true cost of the failure to renounce the politicization implemented through colonization. Sadly, the Athenians had come to that fork in the path of their economic development so long before the 360s and 350s that it is not surprising that they lacked the willpower to embark upon a different policy.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Lest my condemnation be too extreme, it is worth noting how feeble the proposed alternatives were. It would have been preposterous to follow Isocrates in his belief that peace (which had much to recommend it for other reasons) would have gotten back Amphipolis and the Chersonese (8.22). Xenophon in the *Poroi* of 355/4 criticizes a policy of injustice toward the cities (1.1), but essentially offers just another set of political schemes for subsidizing citizenship (and mostly slow-working ones at that).

ENDNOTE: The Origin of the Metic Status

Whitehead (*Ideology* 140–48) presents the generally accepted view that the status of metic was probably an innovation of the Cleisthenic reforms. Caution is warranted, as the relevant evidence for metics before 451 is not without complications. A funerary inscription from 510–500 appears on the surface to offer evidence for the existence of the metic status in this period (P.A. Hansen, *Carmina epigraphica graeca* [Berlin 1983] #58, pp. 37–38; cf. *SEG* 22 [1967] #79). Anaxilas of Naxos is described as follows in l. 3: *Ναχσίῳ δὲ τίεσκον Ἀθηναῖοι μετέοικον* . . . (Baba, *corr. μετάδοικον*). Yet, *μετάδοικος* may have its original, non-technical meaning of ‘immigrant’ or ‘settler’. That the Athenians were honoring Anaxilas—a Peisistratid immigrant or mercenary(?)—for his *sophrōsunē* ‘moderation’ and *aretē* ‘virtue’ may suggest that he fell in combat in the first years after the fall of the tyranny, at a time when his status was still unclear. That he had not yet received a deme assignment is as likely a surmise as that a class of metics existed at this time. See also F. Willemsen, “Archaischen Grabmalbasen aus der Athener Stadtmauer,” *MDAI* 78 (1963) 104–53, esp. #11, pp. 141–45 (*ed. prin.*); K. Baba, “On Kerameikos Inv. I 388 (*SEG* XXII, 79): A Note on the Formation of the Athenian Metic Status,” *BSA* 79 (1974) 1–5.

If the “Themistokles Decree” is to be treated as a combination and reworking of the provisions of genuine decrees, the fact that it contains the phrase *τοὺς ξένο[υ]ς τοὺς οἰκούντας Ἀθηνήσι* (Meiggs-Lewis #23.7, with ll. 13, 30) may suggest the absence of *metoikoi* as an official denomination in the 480s. That point might still hold even if we deal here with nothing more than a learned fabrication. The decree of the deme Skambonidai, which dates before 460, mentions that the metics are to participate in the meal connected with the sacrifice to the hero Leon (*IG* I³ 244.C8; see also *LSCG* #10, pp. 18–21). Whether these metics were equivalent to Periclean metics is unknown. This apparently generous gesture may not have been reflective of general practices, but may indicate a special dispensation by the demesmen of Skambonidai for the immigrants living in their district.

For the earlier aliens, one may compare Aristotle’s statement that Kleisthenes included foreign and slave metics in the tribes (*Pol.* 1275b34–39; cf. *Ath. Pol.* 21.4) and Diodorus’ statement that Themistokles passed *atelia* for the metics (*D.S.* 11.43.3). The wars of Cleisthenic Athens and the Persian Wars probably created a sequence of enfranchisements which made the period of permanent residence by aliens (who intended to stay) in Attica a relatively short one. Hence a vagueness about resident alien status may have existed but may also have been non-problematical. It may well be, then, that both the impermeability of citizenship from the metic class and the expectation that a considerable number of such persons would be permanently in residence was an innovation of mid-century.

APPENDIXES

A. MYTILENE

It is difficult to discuss the Mytilenean cleruchy in the context of an appendix without the appearance of dogmatism, but its critical place in arguments on Athenian colonization forces such an effort. One must start from the provision made by the Athenian government that the Lesbians were to farm the *klēroi* assigned to the cleruchs for a set annual rent. Whether this was an unusual or a customary practice in cleruchies is not certain, but it still needs to be explained. Allowing each landholder to manage his property was otherwise the normal arrangement for allotted land in both annexations and colonies (as far as we can discern from the surviving evidence). The reason for having the Lesbians farm the land was presumably to free the cleruchs for other activities. The Athenian government’s provision for this contracting may have been intended to insure that just this result took place, i.e., it insured that no cleruch transgressed the popular will by becoming involved in the cultivation of his *klēros*. Yet, the attraction in this mass organization of cultivation would also have been that it was administratively simple, and avoided the cleruch’s having to exercise any managerial function regarding his *klēros*. A contracting arrangement that is predicated both on freeing the hands of the cleruch and on minimizing his managerial responsibilities implies an absentee ownership and enjoyment of the *klēros*. See Chapter 6, section A.1.

The absentee ownership of the Lesbian cleruchs appears to have been compatible with the status of cleruch. To believe otherwise is to convict Thucydides of unacceptable abbreviation in 3.50.2. Hence these cleruchs (and probably cleruchs in general) were not chiefly garrisons for the places of the establishment of their cleruchies. Twenty-seven hundred is, in any case, too large a garrison for any single position in the *arkhē*, let alone disarmed Mytilene which had had 1000 of its leading classes executed (the assertion to the contrary by Meiggs 261 is unsupported). The performance of the rebel forces during the actual campaign shows that the 1000 executed must represent a large proportion of the total hoplite strength of Mytilene. See J. Wilson, “Strategy and Tactics in the Mytilene Campaign,” *Historia* 31 (1981) 144–63.

Attempts to find traces of later military intervention by the Lesbian cleruchs are unconvincing. Compare, for the attacks of the Mytilenean oligarchs on their city’s former possessions on the mainland, Thuc. 4.52.2–3, 75.1, where it is a tribute-collecting force, supplemented by allied troops that must intervene; for the revolt of Methymna in 412, Thuc. 8.22–23; for unrest at Eresos and elsewhere, Thuc. 8.100.3–5, where a squadron from Athens intervenes; for the events surrounding Arginoussai, Xen. *HG* 1.6.12–38; for Lysander’s subjugation of the island, *HG* 2.2.5. In particular, nothing suggests that the *φρουροί* of Thuc. 8.100.3 at Mytilene (*ἐμφρουρῶν ὄντων Ἀθηναίων*) and at Methymna in Xen. *HG* 1.6.13, 15 (*τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς*) should be considered cleruchs. See *HCT* 2.328–29; Jones 174–76; Green and

Sinclair 516; Schuller 23–24 n. 81. Cf. Gauthier, "Lesbos" esp. 65; Erxleben, *Klio* (1975) 99–100; Wagner, *Kleruchien* 22–25 (cleruchs withdrawn during the Sicilian campaign).

Indeed, a factor militating in favor of mandated absentee ownership, and for the specific conditions for cultivation by the Lesbians in return for rent, may have been the cleruchs' inability to cultivate the *klēroi* (even if they chose to), because they were needed for service elsewhere with Athenian forces. The establishment of the Lesbian cleruchy during time of war and its relative distance from Attica distinguished it from the cleruchies founded c. 450: the settlers in the latter may have spent more time on their *klēroi*. The 2 *mnai* annual rent to the Lesbian cleruchs may be the minimum income for a member of the zeugite census class, which provided hoplites (Jones 7, 169 with 142 n. 50; Gauthier, "Lesbos" 74–77). The provision for such pay would be especially useful, if the cleruchs were liable to call-up with their tribal regiments for general service (see above Chapter 6, section B.2).

Moreover, we should hold (with A.W. Gomme, "IG I² 60 and Thucydides III 50.2," in G.E. Mylonas and D. Raymond eds., *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson* [St. Louis 1951–1953] 2.334–39) that IG I³ 66–67 (which Gomme dates to winter 425/4 by virtue of Arist. *Eq.* 830–35) cancels the cleruchy by restoring to the Mytileneans their autonomy (66.11) and returning their land (66.11–12, 18; 67.3–4). The clause with γῆς ἀνταπόδοσιν (66.25–27) perhaps signals the terms under which cleruchs exchanged their rights to their holdings in return for certain considerations (cf. Thuc. 4.81.2). The phrase ἔχοντας or οἰκόντας πάντα τὰ σφετέρᾳ αὐτῶν, which Tod (*GHI* #63, pp. 135–36; followed by Gomme) restored in l. 12, contributes to the same conclusion. In general, see also Schuller 24 n. 82; Brunt 82–84. See, more recently, S. Cataldi, "La restituzione della terra ai Mitilenesi e le rinnovate ξυμβολαὶ tra Atene e Mitilene," *ASNP* 6 (1976) 15–33. Contrast Meritt, *AJP* (1954) 362–68, which minimizes the scale of the changes envisaged in this document, relegating them to a period of adjustment at the founding of the cleruchy (one connected with the decision to lease the land back to the cleruchs). See also G.E.M. de Ste.-Croix, "The Character of the Athenian Empire," *Historia* 3 (1954–1955) 1–41, esp. 18 n. 4.

The autonomy mentioned here and the reinstatement of *symbolai* 'reciprocal economic agreements' are incommensurate with an expropriation on the scale of this cleruchy, which must have affected many more than the survivors of the executed elite (note D.S. 12.55.10). See *HCT* 2.329–32, where a reflection of the generous terms is also seen in Arist. *Eq.* 830–35, to which may be added Antiphon 5.77: τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις Μυτιλαναίοις ἄδειαν ἐδώκατε οἰκεῖν τὴν σφετέραν αὐτῶν ("you gave immunity to the rest of the Mytileneans to inhabit their own land"). Cf. also Erxleben, *Klio* (1975) 93, Beister 406. Moreover, if IG I³ 67 is truly a treaty between Mytilene and Athens, it would prove to be important evidence in favor of the substance of the grant of autonomy to the Mytileneans, as it might be taken to imply the restoration of a Mytilenean military establishment (see Chapter 6, n. 25 above).

The revolt of Mytilene forever altered the relations between the Athenians and Lesbians. Even when Mytilene recovered its autonomy, it was not the powerful state which it had been previously. The first choice of the Athenians for punishment had been an *andrapodismos*, which would in all probability have been followed by a colonization of the island. The next choice was to subsidize a large number of citizens as cleruchs. If my interpretation is correct, they then chose to set other obligations in return for the termination of the cleruchy in IG I³ 66. Finally, IG I³ 67 may have arranged some of the further duties of autonomous Mytilene. After the fatal decision to revolt, the Athenians were bound to be indemnified and assured of the future support of the Mytileneans. That constant disposition explains both the briefness of Thucydides' treatment of their actions after the revocation of the *andrapodismos*, and his failure to mention the later Athenian dispositions for Lesbos: it belongs to matters which he expected his audience to take for granted. (Cf. Jones 175–76 for an argument against substantial changes on the grounds of Thucydides' silence.)

B. LEMNOS

For Miltiades' capture of Lemnos, one may consult Hdt. 6.136.2, 140. Imbros is less well attested. It is assumed that its history during the classical period paralleled that of Lemnos, with which it is often linked (e.g., Hdt. 6.41.2; Thuc. 3.5.1; Xen. *HG* 4.8.15; 5.1.31). It is possible, however, that Imbros was kept at this time in the possession of Miltiades II, when Lemnos was given over to the Athenians (Hdt. 6.41.2; D.S. 10.19.6; Nepos *Milt.* 1.5, 2.4–5). The earliest evidence on the political status of the Lemnians is provided by a casualty list found on Lemnos, which must be dated before the Persian Wars, that lists the dead by Cleisthenic tribes (*IG XII Suppl.* 337). See C. Picard and A.J. Reinach, "Voyage dans la Chersonèse et aux îles de la mer de Thrace," *BCH* 36 (1912) 275–352, esp. 329–38. This notation could suggest that the Lemnians still considered themselves to be Athenians, but whether in turn that would indicate a claim to be Athenian citizens (belonging to the Cleisthenic tribes of Attica) or merely Athenian in a cultural and religious sense (belonging to Cleisthenic tribes of Lemnos) is indeterminable. Moreover the attitude toward such a claim to citizenship on the part of the Athenians themselves is quite uncertain.

A contemporary dedication at Olympia by the Athenians of spoils from Lemnos can be brought into the discussion: Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν ἐγ Λέμν[ο]. See E. Kunze, "Eine Waffenweihe der Athener in Olympia," in *Festschrift für Carl Weickert* (Berlin 1955) 7–21. To this dedication may be compared another from the Acropolis with a fragmentary inscription (*IG I² 453*), which will, however, accommodate the restoration: [—ἀνεθεσ]αν ἐγ Λέμν[ο]. Cf. A.G. Bather, "The Bronze Fragments of the Acropolis," *JHS* 13 (1892–1893) 124–30, #48, p. 128. Once again an implicit claim that the Lemnians are Athenians might be understood here. It is also noteworthy how much more avowedly Athenian the Lemnians present themselves when compared with the earlier settlers in the Chersonese (Paus. 6.19.6).

This line of reasoning, however, has been challenged by Jeffery, *LSAG* 299–300, who postulates a non-attested (though not, of course, impossible or even perhaps unlikely) participation of Athenian troops in aid of Miltiades' seizure of the island. She points to the possibility that the casualty list and the Hecatompedon inscription (*IG* I³ 4) were inscribed by the same hand. The casualties on Lemnos and the dedicators of the spoils are then Athenians of Attica not of Lemnos. In response, one might argue that recent colonists to Lemnos might have had an experienced Athenian stone-cutter supply the Olympian and Acropolis dedications at the same time. Moreover, a newly discovered inscription makes it likely that these Athenians will have been colonists to Lemnos and not just Athenian troops aiding in the capture of the island (*AR* [1985–1986] 17; *Ergon* [1984] 54–55). The inscription is on a Corinthian helmet dedicated to Nemesis found at Rhamnous: Ῥαμνόςιοι οἱ ἐν Λέμνῳ ἀνέθεσαν Νεμῆσει. Surely the simplest understanding of the dedication is that it was made by a group of Athenians from Rhamnous—the deme of Philaidai was also in the northeast of Attica—who had joined Miltiades' expedition and shared in its victory. They stayed on at Lemnos, but their self-identification as Rhamnousians must mean that they still thought of themselves as Athenians. Once again the Athenian perspective on the issue is lacking, although all these dedications imply a considerable degree of acquiescence in these Lemnian self-representations.

The case of Antidoros of Lemnos, who deserted from Xerxes to the Greeks at Artemision and received an estate on Salamis (Hdt. 8.11.3), adds little more on this point save that Antidoros ended up as an Athenian citizen. Did he move from one area where the inhabitants claimed an Athenian identity to a dependency of Attica where citizenship was conceded? See Moggi, *ASNP* (1978) 1301–11. None of this evidence conflicts with the judgment presented in my main argument that the precise status of Athenian colonists was fluid in this period. Typologically, the Lemnian settlers may be classified with the other colonists in the patronal foundations of archaic Athenian colonizers. Nonetheless, they belong chronologically and in the understanding of their Athenian personality to the period of Athenian regional expansion, during which the inhabitants of newly-incorporated territories received a form of civic status in Athens. A similar dispensation may have been the expectation of the Lemnians.

For the status of the Lemnians and Imbrians from 480–50, there is the evidence of the tribute lists, where the Lemnians appear first as a unit—they are later split between their two communities, the Hephaisties and the Myrinaioi. Their appearance on the tribute lists (*IG* I³ 261.I.3 [452/1]) seems to show that these Lemnians were not Athenian citizens. A further complication is that the Lemnians were colonists and yet paid tribute. Cleruchies appear to have exempt from the tribute system. See, e.g., A. Kirchhoff, "Über die Tributpflichtigkeit der attischen Kleruchen," *APAW* (1873) 1–35; Graham 177. If the colonists at places like Aigina, Amphipolis, Brea, and Skyros remained citizens, it may be by virtue of the presence of Athenians retaining citizenship that these communities were non-tributary (and not merely by virtue of their colonial character). In contrast, tribute payers like Erythrai, Notion, and Kolophon

appear to be colonies without the participation of citizens. Hence the non-tributary status of imperial colonies becomes probative for deciding negatively on the citizenship of the Lemnians before 450. Cf. Ehrenberg, "Colonies" 135–37. The Imbrians are missing from the tribute lists of 454–50, so that they conceivably were classed with the Chersonese with its higher assessment before 448. See Meiggs 424. The Imbrians are later recorded as paying tribute of 3300 dr. (*IG* I³ 265.II.112) and 1T (270.V.36).

We have read Thuc. 7.57.2 to indicate that the Lemnians and Imbrians were Athenian colonists and have identified them with those providing contingents of troops during the Peloponnesian War. In connection with these troops, a casualty list, *IG* I² 947, may be noted. Here, under a heading, ἈΗΜΝΙΩΝ Εἰ ΜΥΠΙΝ[ΗΣ], the Lemnian dead are listed under the names of Cleisthenic tribes. They are probably non-citizen colonists. On the casualty lists of Lemnians, see Bradeen, *CQ* (1969) 149.

That the Lemnians paid tribute of 9T in 454–50 (*IG* I³ 261.I.3 [452/1]), and the Hephaisties and Myrinaioi thereafter separately paid 4½T (265.I.96; II.111, 113 [447/6]; 268.V.31 [444/3]) has been taken to suggest the dispatch of cleruchs (Kirchhoff, *APAW* [1873] 30–35; *ATL* 3.46–47; see also Graham 178–80). Another Lemnian casualty list, *IG* I² 948, assumes a different format from *IG* I² 947. Here the dead are under tribal heading, sub-headed Ἀἰμνιοί. This document might be an excerpt from an Athenian casualty list containing Lemnians who had Athenian citizenship. One of them was probably Euainetos, known from a late fifth-century hypothecary *horos* (M. Segre, "Iscrizioni Greche di Lemno," *ASAA* 15–16 [1932–1933] 289–314, #12, pp. 306–9; *REG* [1949] *BE* #135). Cf. A.J. Graham, "The Fifth-Century Cleruchy on Lemnos," *Historia* 12 (1963) 127–28.

It remains an open question, however, whether the citizen Lemnians were a favored group of the earlier settlers or new settlers dispatched during the empire. The historical context might urge assent for the former alternative. It is unlikely that political changes at Lemnos (to be associated with a cleruchy) would have been needed because of the so-called crisis of the empire (connected with the movement of the treasury in 454): there can never have been dissension there (it was later a location for sequestering Samian hostages: Thuc. 1.115.3; D.S. 12.27.2; cf. Meiggs-Lewis #56.4) and there were no anti-Athenian oligarchs to dispossess. But a reinterpretation of Athenian citizenship attendant on the citizenship law of 451/0 might have led to the reevaluation of a group of Lemnians capable of proving citizenship even under the new criteria. There was then no cleruchic community on Lemnos but rather Athenian citizens (like Euainetos) living among allies, as elsewhere in the *arkhē*. The incidence of individual recognitions of claims to citizenship by Lemnians was perhaps uneven, so that it now made sense to assess the two Lemnian towns separately. See *ATL* 3.292; Graham 179–80; Meiggs 424–25 for a cleruchy. Cf. Nesselhauf n. 3, pp. 127–28. Although Ehrenberg, "Colonies" 135–36 applies the term "municipal cleruchy" to Lemnos in the Periclean period, it is hard to justify such a characterization. The explicitly declared cleruchs of the fourth-century had some features in common with Roman *municipia*, so that the title 'municipal

cleruchy' is best reserved for them. The first, to my knowledge, to make the comparison explicitly was Foucart (380–81).

C. KHALKIS

Despite Herodotus' reference to the colonists at Khalkis as cleruchs, it is difficult to equate them with the cleruchs of imperial Athens, who received *klēroi* assisting them to hoplite status. For a start, let us note 5.77.2: *νικήσαντες δὲ καὶ τούτους τετρακισχίλους κληρούχους ἐπὶ τῶν ἵπποβοτέων τῇ χώρῃ λείπουνσι* ("conquering these [the Khalkidians], they left 4000 cleruchs on the land of the Hippobotai"); 6.100.1: *τοὺς τετρακισχίλους κληρουχέοντας τῶν ἵπποβοτέων Χαλκιδέων τὴν χώραν* ("the 4000 men holding in allotment the land of the Khalkidian Hippobotai"). M.B. Wallace reminds me (*per ep.*) that the 4000 of c. 506 and the 4000 of 490 cannot be the same people, as they are separated by 16 years. This suggests that the number 4000 was a conventional figure for a levy of the whole community of Khalkis. Not only would this be by far the largest cleruchy or colony, but their number, 4000, is larger than one would have expected, given the population of Athens c. 506. Allowing Herodotus to round his figure up to 4000 and to include the youngest and the oldest does not give us much help, as we would still be left with 3000 + "cleruchs". Any such judgment is largely subjective, but a number over 2000 looks problematical. There were, after all, no more than 10,000 Athenian hoplites at Marathon (note Justin 2.9.9; Nepos *Milt.* 5.1, both probably drawn from Ephorus; cf. Paus. 4.25.5, 10.20.2), and they are likely to have been drawn from an unusually wide range of individuals. It is hard to believe that 4000 of them could have been from Khalkis alone.

Moreover, in the crisis context of Marathon, it is also hard to believe that the Khalkidian hoplites were not among the 10,000 at Marathon, i.e., that they were not used at all. One may also consider that the number of Khalkidian hoplites at Plataia was only 400 (Hdt. 9.28.5). One remedy would be to imagine a situation where cleruchs received thetic allotments, but that would merely add to a list of the disparities with the imperial cleruchies. Moreover, there is the difficulty of thinking that Athens c. 506 could afford to send 4000 citizens of any class off to Euboea. The settlers at Khalkis still had responsibilities to the Athenian state, as they were ordered to march in aid of the Eretrians (Hdt. 6.100.1); this fact implies the existence of a satellite community similar to those on the northern frontier of Attica which are investigated in Chapter 5, section B above.

The cleruchs' relationship with the Khalkidians is also hard to account for, if these are cleruchs like those of imperial Athens. How could so many cleruchs have taken up residence on a city's territory (as Herodotus states that these cleruchs did) without absorbing or fusing with that pre-existing community? There is, after all, no indication that all the Khalkidians had been expelled, just that the property of the Hippobotai was expropriated. In the other known cleruchies (as on Lesbos), difficulties in envisaging how mundane activities such as buying and selling or public safety were conducted and supervised in a cleruchic setting may be deflected by supposing that the majority of the

cleruchs were not present at one time and that the non-Athenian community was much larger. So the Athenians who were present utilized the services of the larger surviving non-Athenian community. That will not, however, work for a large resident community of 4000 Athenians at Khalkis. Cf. Beister 405; for a closer approximation of the Lesbian cleruchy by the Khalkidian cleruchy, see Gauthier, "Clérouquies" 70–71.

In response to these difficulties, a reconstruction of the Khalkidian "cleruchy" should exploit its dissimilarities from the mid-fifth-century cleruchies. The settlement at Khalkis was a reestablishment of Khalkis with the status of a satellite community adjoining Attica. Khalkis was a self-administered entity whose citizens possessed some variety of duties and presumably rights in Attica. The Plataians and the Eleutherians would then be relevant parallels. In their expedition to aid the Eretrians at the time of Marathon, the Khalkidians are described by Herodotus as Athenians, which they would have been, but only in the same sense as were the Eleutherians (Hdt. 6.100.2–3). The new Khalkis combined Athenian newcomers with members of the pre-existing Khalkidian *dēmos* (like Salamis?), all settled on and sharing the confiscated lands of the Hippobotai, the Khalkidian aristocracy. One might conclude that Herodotus may then have mistaken the whole male population of Khalkis for its Athenian and hoplite component. Before we charge him with error, however, it should be noted that he does not call the cleruchs Athenians when they are left at Khalkis (5.77.2), and that the appellation "Athenians" for the inhabitants of a satellite community may well have been correct.

Four thousand would be a reasonable size for a levy *en masse* of the new community, mobilized on behalf of Eretria. Not all need to have been hoplites, since even light-armed troops could help defend the impressive fortifications of that city. The same 4000 men would nicely fill the 20 Athenian triremes loaned to the Khalkidians for the campaigning season of 480 (Hdt. 8.1.2, 46.2). In 490, after they received their warning at Eretria, the Khalkidians withdrew to the next nearest Attic dependency, namely to Oropos (Hdt. 6.100.3), where some of them may have waited out the war, helping to defend Oropos. Others may have returned to guard the city of Khalkis itself. The hoplites of Athenian derivation out of the 4000 might even have served in their original *taxeis* at Marathon. This pattern of deployment would explain why Herodotus does not mention any Khalkidian presence at the battle or anywhere else in the campaign.

With the great increase in the morale of the *dēmos* attendant on Marathon (*Ath. Pol.* 22.3), many Khalkidians of Athenian derivation may have stayed in Attica or have filtered back during the 480s. At the same time, some of the Hippobotai must have recovered their positions at Khalkis, because they were later expelled once again by Perikles, and the early 480s are the most likely context for the Athenians, distracted by the failures at Aigina and Paros, to have permitted this. Yet, Khalkis remained aligned with Attica, with its sailors manning those 20 Athenian ships against Xerxes in 480. In these years, the indigenous Khalkidian *dēmos*, remaining Athenian settlers, and the returning Hippobotai may have all have been players in a complex (albeit unknown to us) political interplay.

The attempt to draw Khalkis and other Euboian cities closely into the orbit of Athens is probably reflected in the fact that some or all Euboians possessed the special dispensation of the right of intermarriage with Athenians (beginning at an unknown date: perhaps 451/0 or 431/0), even after the promulgation of the Periclean citizenship law. That may reflect an earlier admixture of Athenian citizens (Lys. 34.3). Nevertheless, like many descendants of the sixth-century settlers on Lemnos, any descendants of the Khalkidian settlers do not seem to have had their citizenship recognized in the period of Perikles. Cf. Green and Sinclair 520 n. 31.

In conclusion, the Athenian dispositions at Khalkis c. 506 were intended to create a satellite community, which was augmented by Athenian settlers. Even if we accept Herodotus' terminology as correctly (and non-anachronistically) applied, Khalkis was still not a cleruchy in the sense in which the term was employed both by Thucydides and by the Atthidographers (via Plutarch) for Naxos, Andros, and Lesbos.

As for a later cleruchy on the site of Khalkis, one founded by Tolmides (or Perikles), for instance, the evidence does not stand in its favor. The "Chalcis Decree" (*IG* I³ 40.52–57) provides no evidence for the existence of cleruchs at Khalkis. Cleruchs can hardly have been the *xenoi* whose existence is implied here, the ones paying taxes in Athens and thereby exempt from the force of the requirement established in these lines to pay tax at Khalkis. See U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Aus Kydathen* (Berlin 1880) 87–88; cf. *ATL* 3.297; Brunt 88; Meiggs 567. D. Whitehead, "*IG* I² 39: 'Aliens' in Chalcis and Athenian Imperialism," *ZPE* 21 [1976] 251–59, argues that the *xenoi* who pay tax at Athens were not Attic metics, but were Athenian citizens—resident aliens in Khalkis—and so also not cleruchs. I should not go so far as he has in treating them as stigmatized by virtue of their residence in Khalkis, since there is no assurance that the same individuals did not also hold property and possess residences in nearby Attica, from which they discharged their Athenian civic duties—*οἰκόντες* would not be an impediment to such dual holdings. Once the hypothesis of secondary residence is accepted, even Attic metics cannot be entirely ruled out (though their presence is doubtful). Cf. P. Gauthier, "Les XENOI dans les textes athéniens," *REG* 84 (1971) 44–79, esp. 65–76. The Athenian government may not have had any interest in specifying who these *xenoi* were, which would not have been the case if they had been cleruchs.

Then there is Aelian *VH* 6.1:

Ἀθηναῖοι κρατήσαντες Χαλκιδέων κατεκληρούχησαν αὐτῶν τὴν γῆν ἐς δισχιλίους κλήρους, τὴν Ἰπποβότων καλουμένην χώραν, τεμένη δὲ ἀνήκαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐν τῷ Ἀηλάντῳ ὀνομαζομένῳ τόπῳ, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν ἐμίσθωσαν κατὰ τὰς στήλας τὰς πρὸς τῇ βασιλείῳ στοᾷ ἐστηκυίας, αἵπερ οὖν τὰ τῶν μισθώσεων ὑπομνήματα εἶχον.

Upon conquering the Khalkidians, the Athenians divided their land into 2000 allotments, i.e., the so-called land of the Hippobotai, and they dedicated precincts to Athena in the place named Lelanton, and they leased the remainder on stelai that stood in the Royal Stoa, which held account of the leases.

Aelian describes the confiscation of land for 2000 *klēroi*, which, after land was put aside for *temenē* for Athena, were rented out, with the records kept in the Stoa Basileios. We cannot be completely sure, despite the disparity in the number of colonists, that Aelian is not referring to the settlement of 506. See (with reservations) M. Manfredini, "La cleruchia Ateniese in Calcide," *SCO* 17 (1968) 199–212. Yet Plut. *Per.* 23.4 records a second, Periclean ejection of the Hippobotai. Aelian may well be describing actions taken after Perikles' subjugation of Khalkis (probably in autumn 446). Certainly, the leasing out of land with records preserved in stone suggests the procedures of the full-fledged democracy and the *arkhē*, rather than late sixth-century administration.

Let us make a start at an interpretation of this passage by considering the views of those who would read Aelian as a straightforward description of a cleruchy. Swoboda, *Serta Harteliana* 30–32 imagined that Aelian's arrangement paralleled the dispositions made later in connection with the Lesbian cleruchy (cf. Wagner, *Kleruchien* 12–15, who differs over identification of the lessees of cleruchic land as Athenians). There is a great deal of difference, however, between mandating that cleruchs must lease their land back to the indigenous population (who would often have been the previous owners) under fixed conditions, and simply letting the land contractually, presumably to anyone bidding in an auction which was held in Athens (for that is where the records were kept). It is the latter for which Aelian really vouches. Since such confiscations do not involve the assumption of rights by individual Athenians, as juxtaposed with the Athenian state, there is no reason to consider them parts of an act of colonization. See also Gauthier, "Clérrouques" 70–72.

Kahrstedt, *NGG* (1931) 164–68 made Khalkis a prime example in an elaborate hypothesis wherein what appear to be tributary communities did not only surrender land for cleruchs (unlikely for Khalkis, in any case), but lost their entire territory to the Athenians. This is the forerunner of the "*poleis ohne territorium*" theory of Hampl, and its implementation would certainly have been witnessed in surviving fifth-century polemics as reflected in Thucydides, if this was what the Athenians were really attempting. Any practical exploration of the nature of the *κληρουχία* or the *ἀποικία* must posit the axiom that an act of settlement endows *individuals* with property rights or rights of usufruct over property, which is a different thing from the assumption of *political* rights by the Athenian government over the fates of allied states. In other words, the power to draw revenues or even to transfer resources is not in itself colonization.

Nor can we adduce additional evidence which would urge that the Atthidographic source of Aelian explicitly described a cleruchy. Against *ATL* 3.295–96, the scholion to Arist. *Nubes* 213e (Holwerda) does not prove the existence of a further (necessarily Periclean) cleruchy emplaced after the measures of Tolmides (probably at Eretria, and very possibly at Karystos): ἐκκληρούχησαν δὲ αὐτὴν (Euboia) Ἀθηναῖοι κρατήσαντες αὐτῆς ("the Athenians conquering Euboia allotted it"). The chronology of the scholiast is uncertain and the verb ἐκκληρούχησαν is probably consistent either with a literal reading of Aelian on the Athenian confiscation or even with the establishment of Hestiaia

as a colony. In that regard, *ΣNubes* 213f refers to Perikles' subjugation of Euboia and colonization of Hestiaia, citing Philochorus, *FGH* 328 F 118.

Finally, the possibility of a cleruchy at Khalkis as attested in Aelian might be made on the basis of the emendation of τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν 'for the future' for τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν 'the rest' (*ATL* 3.296). That conjecture would remove the possibility of the contracting out of the non-temple land in Euboia. The existence of an inscribed fragment recording the leases of temple property in Euboia (*IG* I² 376 = *IG* I³ 418) is not telling in favor of the emendation. We cannot be sure that stelai recording the rental of the other type of lots did not once exist. The survival of records was undoubtedly affected by the Athenian intention at the foundation of the Second Confederacy to destroy stelai containing measures prejudicial to allied rights (*IG* II² 43.31–35).

It is true that Andoc. 3.9, where it is claimed that the Athenians held two-thirds of the island, may suggest larger holdings than the colony Hestiaia, the cleruchy at Eretria, and a possible cleruchy at Karystos. The passage is, however, hyperbolic in tone, since the claim καὶ Χερρόνησόν τε εἶχομεν καὶ Νάξον ('we were holding both the Chersonese and Naxos') is surely exaggerated, as tributary communities existed in both locations. Public land that was leased (as I have suggested for Khalkis) would also qualify as Athenian holdings. If we grant the historicity of the poverty of the children of Aristides, despite significant counter-arguments (outlined in Davis, *APF* 51–52), the grant to Lysimakhos, son of Aristides, could have thus come out of such a holding (see Plut. *Arist.* 27.1–2; cf. Dem. 20.115; which have nothing of a cleruchy in them anyway). Cf. Erxleben, *Klio* (1975) 87–88. There were also the considerable private holdings of the Athenians on Euboia to be taken into account (cf. Kahrstedt, *NGG* [1931] 166–68). Isoc. 4.108–9 points out that the Athenians could have occupied all of Euboia but held off.

It is preferable to follow Nesselhauf 133–40, who argued persuasively that this passage speaks of a confiscation of land added to the public domain. Meiggs 567 also inclines in favor of a confiscation of the oligarchs at Khalkis rather than a colony or cleruchy. This solution will nicely accommodate the reduction of the Khalkidian tribute from 5T (*IG* I³ 264.IV.23 [448/7]) to 3T (269.V.31 [443/2]; 270.V.32 [442/1]; *ATL* 1.36; cf. Meiggs 242). Either the dispatch of cleruchs was later than these arrangements or Khalkis had no cleruchy at all. It is important to note that Khalkis does not manifest finds of Attic funerary pottery comparable to those associated with Eretria. See MacDonald, *Distribution* 46–47. Therefore, Khalkis must stand far below Eretria or Karystos in the likelihood that it possessed a cleruchy. The cleruchs to Euboia all went to Eretria and/or Karystos. (See also Schuller 23 n. 79.)

D. CHERSONESE

As has been observed in the text, the tyrants of the Chersonese ruled over a mixed polity, which comprised previously existing Greek cities, colonies founded by Miltiades the Elder, and the Thracian Dolonkoi. A dedication mentioned by Pausanias probably indicates the existence of a single dynastic state, although possibly not a single *polis* or some other sort of integrated polity. The

focus of this state was the person of the tyrant (6.19.6). On the topography and organization of the archaic Chersonese, see Kahrstedt, *Chersones* 5–10; and for more on topography, see most recently Isaac 187–97. The composite political entity, the Khersonesioi or Khersonesitai, may have outlived the authority of Miltiades the Younger as its tyrant (cf. Hdt. 4.137; 6.38.1). It is attested in Hecataeus (*FGH* 1 F 163) and may be taken for granted in Herodotus' account of the Athenian siege of Sestos (9.118.2). In addition, their existence c. 500 is indicated by rare tetradrachms with the legend XEP. See C.M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (Berkeley 1976) 158. The Khersonesioi were a mixed population, including, alongside an Athenian component, Hellenized Dolonki and perhaps Ionian settlers—the lion device of the XEP-coins copies Milesian coinage and may show that Kardia, a Milesian/Klazomenian foundation, was the mint. Kahrstedt (pp. 15–18) sees a gradual break-up after the departure of Miltiades, although for some time this break-up may be masked by membership in a *syntely* (or tax-unit within the Delian League).

The Khersonesitai paid a tribute of 18T down to 448/7 (e.g., *IG* I³ 260.X.6; see *ATL* 1.440–41, 3.28; perhaps including Imbros [Meiggs 416]). Their capital (or one of their chief centers) had been the town of Khersonesos mentioned by Hecataeus (cf. *ΣArist. Eq.* 262a–b J/W). It is probably to be placed between Paktye and Kardia along the wall built by Miltiades I. The Khersonesitai ἀπ' Ἀγορᾶς, who are later found paying 1T as tribute (*IG* I³ 270.II.13; 277.V.9–10), may be the inhabitants of another town, now sundered from the other Khersonesitai, or may be merely the citizens of the capital city Khersonesos (cf. Hdt. 7.58.2; [Scylax] 67, *GGM* 1.55–56). See F. Gschnitzer, rev. Kahrstedt, *Gnomon* 30 (1958) 147–48. Cf. Ehrenberg "Colonies" 123–25. The tributary responsibilities of the people of the Chersonese, combined with their mixed character, may be linked to a refusal to recognize their citizenship before 450.

After 448/7, when Perikles intervened in the area and conveyed additional Athenian settlers (Plut. *Per.* 11.5; 19.1; D.S. 11.88.3), tribute was reduced and the cities of the peninsula were assessed separately: Alopekonesos (reduced tribute of 1000 dr., previously outside the *syntely*: *IG* I³ 263.V.14 [450/49], 270.II.14 [442/1]); Khersonesitai of Agora (1T); Limnaioi (2000 dr.: 265.I.97 [447/6]; 500 dr.: 270.II.11); Elaious (3000 dr.: 265.I.100); Madytos (500 dr.: 270.II.12); Sestos (500 dr.: 270.II.10); Neapolis (300 dr.: 270.II.25). Note *ATL* 3.45–46, 206 n. 56. See also Nesselhauf 126–28. The decline in the sum of the tribute of all the cities from 18T, 3250 dr. to 2T, 1300 dr. is the largest reduction in tribute proportionately at the foundation of a cleruchy or at the reorganization of a settlement. It suggests something more than the addition of 1000 new colonists; rather, a rethinking of the entire status of the peninsula. A reassessment of the status as Athenians of some of the previous inhabitants could have taken place. The important town of Kardia never appears on the tribute lists, although Kardia may well have earlier contributed under the broad heading of Khersonesitai. Its absence from the later lists implies that the town became a center of Athenian habitation in the Chersonese. If enough of the 1000 *epoikoi* went to Kardia, so as to establish it as completely non-tributary, then the lower tribute of the other communities of the peninsula may

be owed to a recognition of the citizenship of some of their inhabitants. The appellation of Neapolis as ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων may indicate a community of Athenian derivation for a part of the colonists. Yet Athenian-sponsored colonization of non-Athenians, as the community was tributary, cannot entirely be ruled out (ATL 3.289). That supposition, however, might not be taken to affect the determination of the status of all Athenians in the Chersonese. A preferred hypothesis for Perikles' settlers would be that 1000 *epoikoi* joined a population of Athenian descent, a part of which had had its citizenship reconfirmed at this time.

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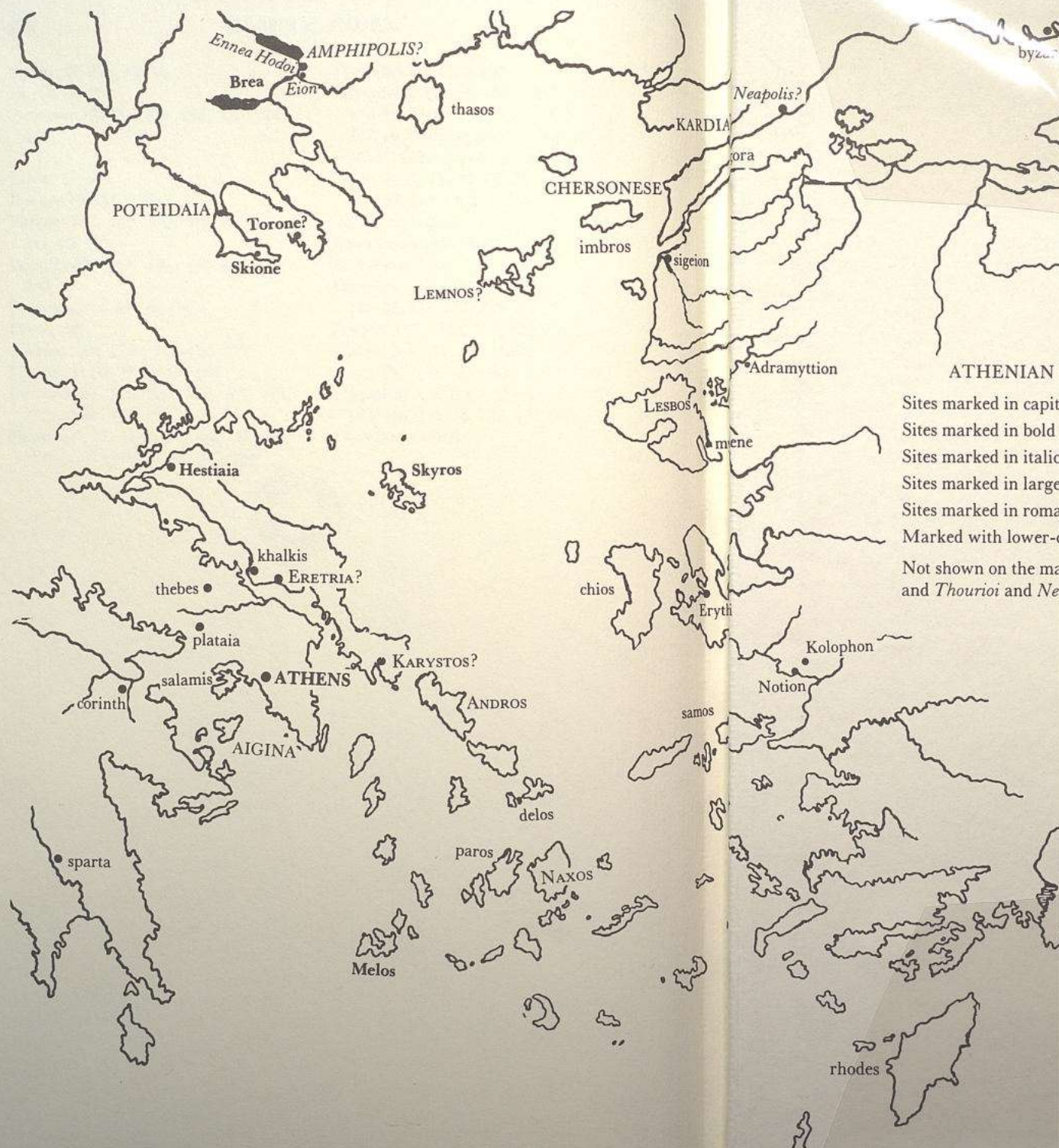
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