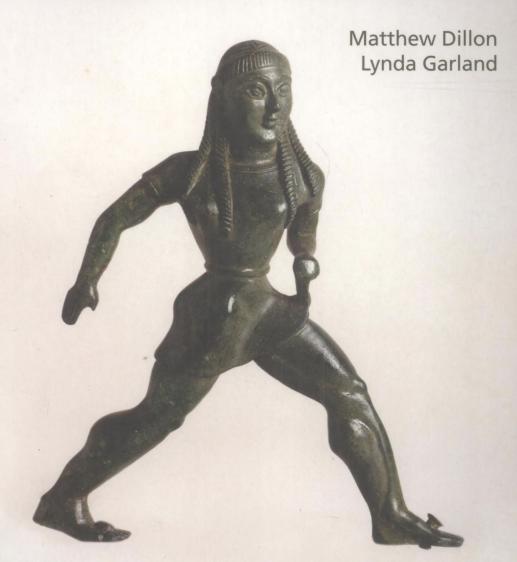
3rd Edition



ANCIENT GREECE



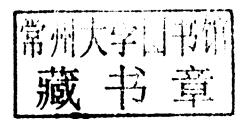
SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS FROM ARCHAIC TIMES TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

ANCIENT GREECE

Social and Historical Documents from Archaic Times to the Death of Alexander the Great

Third Edition

Matthew Dillon and Lynda Garland





First edition published 1994 Second edition first published 2000 This third edition first published 2010 by Routledge 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada by Routledge 270 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 1994, 2000 and 2010 Matthew Dillon and Lynda Garland

Typeset in Baskerville by Saxon Graphics Ltd, Derby Printed and bound in Great Britain by TJ International Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data A catalog record for this book has been requested

> ISBN 10: 0-415-47329-2 (hbk) ISBN 10: 0-415-47330-6 (pbk) ISBN 10: 0-203-85455-1 (ebk)

ISBN 13: 978-0-415-47329-3 (hbk) ISBN 13: 978-0-415-47330-9 (pbk) ISBN 13: 978-0-203-85455-6 (ebk)

ANCIENT GREECE

In this revised edition, Matthew Dillon and Lynda Garland have expanded the chronological range of *Ancient Greece* to include the Greek world of the fourth century. The sourcebook now ranges from the first lines of Greek literature to the death of Alexander the Great, covering all of the main historical periods and social phenomena of ancient Greece. The material is taken from a variety of sources: historians, inscriptions, graffiti, law codes, epitaphs, decrees, drama and poetry. It includes the major literary authors, but also covers a wide selection of writers, including many non-Athenian authors. Whilst focusing on the main cities of ancient Greece – Athens and Sparta – the sourcebook also draws on a wide range of material concerning the Greeks in Egypt, Italy, Sicily, Asia Minor and the Black Sea.

Ancient Greece not only covers the chronological, political history of ancient Greece, but also explores the full spectrum of Greek life through topics such as gender, social class, race and labour. This revised edition includes:

- Two completely new chapters 'The Rise of Macedon' and 'Alexander "the Great", 336-323 BC'
- New material in the chapters on The City-State, Religion in the Greek World, Tyrants and Tyranny, the Peloponnesian War and Its Aftermath, Labour: Slaves, Serfs and Citizens, and Women, Sexuality and the Family

It is structured so that:

- Thematically arranged chapters are arranged to allow students to build up gradually knowledge of the ancient Greek world
- Introductory essays to each chapter give necessary background to understand topic areas
- Linking commentaries help students understand the source extracts and what they reveal about the ancient Greeks

Ancient Greece: Social and Historical Documents from Archaic Times to the Death of Alexander the Great. Third Edition, will continue to be a definitive collection of source material on the society and culture of the Greeks.

Matthew Dillon is an Associate Professor in Ancient History in the School of Humanities, University of New England, Australia. His main research interests are Ancient Greek History, and Religion.

Lynda Garland is Professor and Head of the School of Humanities, University of New England, Australia. Her main research interests are in the areas of Ancient History and Byzantine Studies.

ROUTLEDGE SOURCEBOOKS FOR THE ANCIENT WORLD

READINGS IN LATE ANTIQUITY: SECOND EDITION, Michael Maas
GREEK AND ROMAN EDUCATION, Mark Joyal, J.C. Yardley and Iain McDougall
THE REPUBLICAN ROMAN ARMY, Michael M. Sage

THE STORY OF ATHENS, Phillip Harding

ROMAN SOCIAL HISTORY, Tim Parkin and Arthur Pomeroy

DEATH IN ANCIENT ROME, Valerie Hope

ANCIENT ROME, Matthew Dillon and Lynda Garland

 $SEXUALITY\ IN\ GREEK\ AND\ ROMAN\ LITERATURE,\ \textit{Marguerite Johnson}\ and\ \textit{Terry}\ \textit{Ryan}$

ATHENIAN POLITICAL ORATORY, David Phillips

POMPEII, Alison E. Cooley and M.G.L. Cooley

GREEK SCIENCE OF THE HELLENISTIC ERA, Georgia Irby-Massie and Paul Keyser

WOMEN AND LAW IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE, Judith Evans Grubbs

WARFARE IN ANCIENT GREECE, Michael M. Sage

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, Barbara Levick

PAGANS AND CHRISTIANS IN LATE ANTIQUITY, A.D. Lee

ANCIENT GREEK LAWS, Ilias Arnaoutoglou

TRIALS FROM CLASSICAL ATHENS, Christopher Carey

GREEK AND ROMAN TECHNOLOGY, John Humphrey, John Oleson and Andrew Sherwood

ROMAN ITALY 388 BC - AD 200, Kathryn Lomas

THE ROMAN ARMY 31 BC - AD 337, Brian Campbell

THE ROMAN HOUSEHOLD, Jane F. Gardner and Thomas Wiedemann

ATHENIAN POLITICS, G.R. Stanton

GREEK AND ROMAN SLAVERY, Thomas Wiedemann

Forthcoming:

ANCIENT CITY OF ROME, Christopher Smith, J.C.N. Coulston and Hazel Dodge
WOMEN OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST, Mark Chavalas
GREEK RELIGION, Emma Stafford and Karen Stears

FOR ALL OUR STUDENTS , PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

acropolis: citadel, the highest part of a city

the Macedonian guard agema:

the Spartan system of education agoge:

the market square, civic centre of a city-state agora:

agoranomoi: market magistrates at Athens

an elected tyrant aisymnetes:

Amphictyonic Council: representatives of the twelve states responsible for the

upkeep and welfare of the sanctuary and games at Delphi

a colony or settlement (pl.: apoikiai) apoikia:

architheoros: the leader of a sacred embassy

archon: a magistrate; the most important archonship in Athens

was the eponymous archonship (the holder gave his

name to the year)

a hill west of the acropolis; the council of the Areio-Areiopagos:

pagos, which was composed of ex-archons, met here

atimia: loss of citizen rights (adj.: atimos, pl.: atimoi)

boeotarch: a chief magistrate of the Boeotian league

boule: the council of a city; the bouleterion (council chamber)

was its meeting place

chiliarch: a Macedonian commander (of 1,000 men)

a wealthy citizen who financed a dramatic chorus for a choregos:

festival

cleruchy: a colony where the settlers retained their original

citizenship

cavalry in the Macedonian army Companions:

decarchy: a government of ten men

demagogue: a popular leader or speaker (a fourth-century term) deme:

a village; Kleisthenes divided Attica into 140 units called

demes

demos: the people of a city, the citizens; sometimes the

assembly

dikasterion: a jury-court (pl.: dikasteria)

dokimasia: the scrutiny of a person's qualifications for office or

citizenship

ekklesia: the assembly of adult male citizens
Eleven, the: the police commissioners at Athens
emporion: a trading station (pl.: emporia)

ephor: a Spartan magistrate; five were elected annually

epigonoi: the successors of Alexander the Great

epimetelai: supervisors

epoptes: the highest grade of initiate at Eleusis (pl.: epoptai)

eunomia: good order

eupatridai: nobles, aristocrats

euthyna: the examination of an official's conduct or accounts at

the end of his term (pl.: euthynai)

genos: a clan, group of families (pl.: gene)

gerousia: a council of twenty-eight elders (gerontes) in Sparta

plus the two kings

gnorimoi: the notables, wealthy

harmost: a governor imposed by Sparta

hegemon: a leader or commander (as of the League of Corinth)

heliaia: a court (generally of appeal) at Athens hellenotamiai: financial officials of the Delian League

helot: a Spartan serf

hetaira: a courtesan, higher-class prostitute

hetaireia: a club, association of citizens (pl.: hetaireiai)

hieromnemones: representatives on the Delphic Amphictyonic Council

hieropoioi: sacred officials, temple overseers

hippeis: cavalry; the second of Solon's four propertied classes in

Athens

homoioi: 'equals'; a term used in Sparta for full citizens, the

Spartiates

hoplite: a heavily armed infantryman

hypaspistai: Macedonian shield-bearers; a brigade of guards

isonomia: equality of rights

King: the (Great) King of Persia kolakretai: Athenian financial officials

komos: a band of revellers; a celebratory procession

Lakedaimon: Sparta; the Spartans were known as Lakedaimonians Lakonia: Sparta's immediate countryside; 'Lakonian' often

sparta's immediate countryside; Lakonian ofte

means Spartan

liturgy: public duty imposed on wealthy citizens, such as

financing a dramatic chorus or paying for the

maintenance of a trireme for a year

medise: to support or collaborate with the Persians (Medes)

metic: an immigrant, foreign resident

mystagogos: someone who introduces others to the Eleusinian

Mysteries

mystes: an initiate, especially at the Eleusinian Mysteries (pl.:

mystai)

neodameis: new citizens (in Sparta); enfranchised helots

oikistes: the founder of a colony (pl.: oikistai)

oikos: a household (pl.: oikoi)

Olympiad: the four-year period between one Olympic games and

the next

penestai: Thessalian serfs

pentakosiomedimnoi: the 500 bushel-class, the first of Solon's four propertied

classes

perioikoi: neighbours; peoples subject to Sparta in the

Peloponnese

pezetairoi: foot-guards in the Macedonian army

phoros: tribute contribution (e.g. to Athens from members of

the Delian League)

phratry: a brotherhood with social and religious associations phyle: a tribe; Kleisthenes organised the Athenians into ten

tribes (phylai)

polemarch: a war leader; one of the archons in Athens

polis: a city-state (pl.: poleis)

politeia: constitution; or (by extension) citizenship

poletai: Athenian financial officials

prostates: champion, leader of a political party; patron of metics

prytaneion: town hall

prytany: one-tenth of the Athenian administrative year, during

which the representatives of one of the ten tribes (the fifty prytaneis) presided in the boule and assembly; the

prytaneion was the town hall

Pythia: the priestess at Delphi Relatives: an elite corps of Persians

rhapsode: a bard, minstrel

sarissa: the basic Macedonian weapon, a six-metre pike

satrap: a Persian governor

skolion: a drinking song (pl.: skolia)

Spartiate: a full Spartan citizen

stasis: civil dissension, factional disturbance; a party or faction

stele: a slab; an inscription, such as a gravestone or decree

(pl.: stelai)

strategos: a general (pl.: strategoi); strategia is the command held

by a stratego

synoikismos: the union of several towns to form a single state

(synoecism)

syssitia: public messes at Sparta (also pheiditia)

tagos: the chief magistrate of Thessaly

theoria: a sacred embassy theoroi: sacred envoys

thetes: the lowest of Solon's four propertied classes

(sing.: thes)

the Thirty: the oligarchs who ruled Athens in 404/3

tholos: the round house; the headquarters of the prytaneis

trireme: a warship with 170 rowers trierarch: the commander of a trireme

trittys: a regional division of Attica (pl.: trittyes) tyrant: a ruler with no hereditary right to rule

tyrannos: a tyrant (pl.: tyrannoi)

zeugitai: the third of Solon's four propertied classes

SOME USEFUL DEFINITIONS

Athenian months

Hekatombaion (June/July) Metageitnion (July/August) Boedromion (August/September) Pyanopsion (September/October) Maimakterion (October/November) Posideion (November/December) Gamelion (December/January) Anthesterion (January/February) Elaphebolion (February/March) Mounichion (March/April) Thargelion (April/May) Skirophorion (May/June)

The ten Athenian tribes in their official order

Erechtheis (I)
Aigeis (II)
Pandionis (III)
Leontis (IV)
Akamantis (V)

Oineis (VI)
Kekropis (VII)
Hippothontis (VIII)
Aiantis (IX)
Antiochis (X)

Attic coinage

6 obols (ob.) = 1 drachma (dr.) 100 dr. = 1 mina 2 minas = 1 stater 60 minas = 1 talent (T.)

Measurements of capacity

1 kotyle (jug) = 285cc 12 kotylai = 1 chous (3.4 litres) 12 choes = 1 metretes (41 litres) 192 kotylai = 1 medimnos (55 dry litres)

SOME USEFUL DEFINITIONS

Measurements of distance

1 daktylos (finger) = approx. $\frac{7}{10}$ in.; 1.9 cm 24 daktyloi = 1 cubit (approx. 1 ft 5 in.; 45 cm) 1 orguia = 1 fathom (approx. 6 ft; 1.80 m) 100 orguiai = 1 stade (approx. 606 ft; 180 m)

Symbols used in documents

| () | explanatory addition to text |
|------|--|
| [] | letters or words in inscriptions restored by modern scholars |
| [[]] | enclosed letters or words deliberately erased |
| F | fragment |

HOW TO USE AND CITE ANCIENT GREECE

Students frequently ask the authors about **the setting out of the documents** which are contained in *Ancient Greece*. This is best explained by taking the example given below. Here **3.90** is simply the document number of the extract in *Ancient Greece*, document number **90** in Chapter **3**. This has nothing to do with the ancient source itself. The document is taken from **Herodotos 8.144.2**, in which **Herodotos** is the name of the author and **8.144.2** refers to where the extract can be found in Herodotos' work: Book 8, chapter 144, paragraph 2. After comes a short title: **Religion as Part of the Greek Identity**. This is not a title drawn from Herodotos. Rather, it is a description given by Dillon and Garland to the document, to give the reader a quick idea of what the extract is about. Under the actual heading comes an indented comment by Dillon and Garland: once again this is not the ancient source itself but a brief introduction to the passage, intended to help elucidate its main features. In a larger font size, under this comment, comes the ancient source itself.

3.90 Herodotos 8.144.2: Religion as Part of the Greek Identity

When the Spartans heard that Mardonios had sent to the Athenians a proposal that they make terms with Persia, they sent envoys who were present when the Athenians gave their answer. This was the Athenians' reply.

8.144.2 There are many important reasons which prevent us from doing this, even if we so wished, the first and greatest being the burning and demolishing of the statues and temples of our gods, which we must avenge with all our power rather than making terms with the agent of their destruction. Furthermore there is the fact that we are all Greeks, sharing both the same blood and the same language, and we have the temples of our gods in common and our sacrifices and similar lifestyle, and it would not be right for the Athenians to betray all these.

Another question which is often asked is **how to give a traditional footnote or in text reference** to a document in *Ancient Greece*. Once again, taking the above example, we would suggest:

Herodotos 8.114.2, in Dillon, M. and Garland, L. *Ancient Greece: Social and Historical Documents from Archaic Times to the Death of Alexander the Great*, London, 2002, doc. 3.90, p. 121–22.

An abbreviated form of this could be:

Herodotos 8.114.2, in Dillon and Garland, Ancient Greece, doc. 3.90, p. 121–22.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

This third edition of *Ancient Greece* has been expanded in its historical range down to the death of Alexander III 'the Great' of Macedon, and so has a new title: *Ancient Greece: Social and Historical Documents from Archaic Times to the Death of Alexander the Great.* Over the last ten years since the second edition of *Ancient Greece*, the authors have become convinced that it was necessary to give a fuller historical treatment of ancient Greece so that users of the book could learn what happened in Greece in the fourth century BC. This also means that the social history chapters could contain documents from this century, giving a fuller indication of what ancient Greek society was like.

In addition, we feel that there is a need for a textbook, appearing in conjunction with this third edition, which will give the full background to the texts translated in *Ancient Greece*. This textbook, *The Ancient Greeks: History and Culture from Archaic Times to the Death of Alexander*, has the same chapter titles as *Ancient Greece*, and will provide students with the necessary background knowledge and details for understanding each historical period and social aspect of ancient Greece. Accordingly, many of the extensive comments accompanying individual documents have been reduced in scope and size in *Ancient Greece* itself. What we aim to give in this edition is enough commentary on each document to make it comprehensible, with the overall background to be given in the textbook. Our teaching from *Ancient Greece* over the last fifteen years has also taught us that less is often more. We have tried to give the necessary background for each document but have not tried to 'overload' the students with information. As first-year undergraduates tend not to follow up the detailed references to modern authors given with the documents in the first and second editions, these have been taken out and replaced with a shorter more useable selection of reading for each chapter, to be found in the Bibliography.

We give a special thanks to all our students over the last fifteen years, not just at the University of New England, but those who have used this book in Australia, New Zealand, Britain, Ireland, Germany and the United States. We would like to thank Routledge most sincerely for the invitation to write a third edition and Brian E. Colles for allowing us to use his translation of the Bisitun Rock Inscription (doc.11.2).

Armidale, Australia August, AD 2009

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

This second edition of Ancient Greece: Social and Historical Documents from Archaic Times to the Death of Socrates owes its existence to all those readers who found the first edition of use and who commented on its strengths and omissions. We have been prompted to write a second edition rather than reprinting the original Ancient Greece by these comments, which have led us to include many new documents, mainly on prostitution and homosexuality. The numbering of documents in the first twelve chapters of the new edition is the same as in the last; a new passage of Thucydides on the Greek colonisation of Sicily is included as 1.10.ii, and recently discovered material from Simonides' elegies on the Persian Wars as document 7.43.ii. A passage (8.4.ii) on Timokreon's views of his contemporary Themistokles is also included. It seemed better to include this new material as subsections with Roman numeration rather than to disturb the numeration of the original edition. Chapter thirteen contains many new documents; docs 1-64 are largely the same as in the first edition, but doc. 13.65 has now become 13.93, and documents 13.24, 13.52 and 13.56 have joined the sections on pederasty and prostitution as 13.70, 13.80 and 13.89, respectively. A new chapter has been added on the ancient sources themselves and their methodology to help students and readers in general become aware of the more important problems in using ancient authors as historical sources. The bibliographies and references accompanying the notes on individual documents throughout the book have been updated as much as possible. Finally, we would like to thank all those who have made encouraging comments on the first edition, and we hope that the second edition will prove to be equally useful.

> Armidale, Australia March 1999

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

This work was originally intended as a sourcebook for use with the first unit of Ancient History offered by the Open Learning Agency of Australia, Ancient Greece: Early History, which we wrote in 1993. But in the event it has developed into a sourcebook aimed at undergraduate students of Greek history at all levels, with some uses also as a research tool for the reader interested in further study. The period covered is that of the Greek world from the archaic period to the end of the fifth century and the documents have been carefully chosen to reflect contemporary views of the main issues of political and social history within that period. Any sourcebook is naturally open to criticisms regarding the selection of material: the authors have attempted impartiality in their choice of topics and documents but inevitably some imbalance of emphasis has probably occurred. Nevertheless the main areas of Greek social and political history have been covered in depth, with special focus on the manifestations in the archaic period of colonisation and tyranny throughout the Greek world and Athenian politics in the sixth century. The history of the classical period per se is represented by sections on the Persian Wars, the Delian League and Pentekontaetia and the Peloponnesian War, and Sparta's history and society in both archaic and classical times is covered by a separate section. These chapters, however, are also intended to be supplemented by the material in the so-called 'social' sections of this book. In these chapters on social history, we present a view of the realities of life in ancient Greece, with particular emphasis on the city-state and its relevance to Greek life and politics, labour, and the extent to which slaves, metics, serfs and citizens competed in the labour market, religion in all its manifestations, and women and sexual relationships in Greek society. The aim has been to give a wide range of material from contemporary sources, which will, if the authors' aim is achieved, be more than sufficient for study at an undergraduate level.

Since this book is intended to give a view of the Greek world as a whole, where possible documents have been chosen relating not simply to Athens and Sparta but to the lesser-known centres of Greek civilisation and culture, and the aim has been to keep the reader continually in mind of the geographical and chronological scope of Greek history and civilisation. A book covering so broad a subject must inevitably suffer from incompleteness in some areas, and we have had to limit not merely the topics covered, but the number of texts illustrating each section. We can only hope that our choice of material does not appear too arbitrary, and have tried to ensure that we have given references throughout to other useful passages which will direct the student to further documents of relevance in the area. We have also given suggestions for further reading on particular points of importance and envisage that the chapter bibliographies will enable students to pursue detailed research on particular topics.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

In our translations we have followed the Greek as closely as possible, even to punctuation where this does not involve confusion, and poetry is as far as possible translated in lines following those of the original text. Present in our minds has been the thought that this would be a suitable text for use in a unit on 'Greek for historians', and to that end we have made comparisons of the translations with the original sources as easy as possible. For this reason we have carefully inserted all chapter and section numbers of the original sources in the text of our translations. For those students who do not as yet have Greek, we can perhaps hope that this study of some of the more important documents of Greek history will inspire them to attempt to acquire the language. Titles of ancient sources are given in English, but references to the texts used in our translations can be found in the index of ancient sources. There is probably no way to avoid the pitfalls inherent in the transliteration of Greek names and terms into English. Where possible a literal transliteration has been preferred, except where the names and terms might be thought to be better known to the reader in an anglicised form. This naturally has involved some arbitrary judgements and appearance of inconsistency, of which the authors are aware.

Our thanks are particularly due to two of our colleagues for their help and support: Professor Trevor Bryce, now Deputy Vice-Chancellor of Lincoln University in New Zealand, and Mrs Annette Ince, who has given us invaluable assistance with the formatting and presentation of this book. Our thanks are also due to Dixson Library, University of New England.

Armidale, NSW June 1994