

IMPERIAL DEMOCRACY: INSTITUTIONAL DESIGN AND THE CITIZENSHIP LAW OF
451/450 BC AS AN ATHENIAN STRATEGY FOR EMPIRE

PAPER SUPPORTED BY THE 2016–2017 PENN PROGRAM ON DEMOCRACY, CITIZENSHIP, AND
CONSTITUTIONALISM FELLOWSHIP

ALEXIS D. MONTOURIS CIAMBOTTI
CLASS OF 2018

SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR JEREMY J. MCINERNEY

APRIL 20, 2017

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	PROLEGOMENA.....	1
II.	METHODOLOGY.....	9
III.	ATHENIAN LAW: HISTORICAL AND EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE	
	A. PRECEDENT.....	11
	B. ADDRESSING MODERN CONFLATION.....	21
	C. THE DECREE RELATIVE TO ERYTHRAE (IG I ³ 14).....	22
IV.	ATHENIAN CONSCIOUSNESS: DRAMA AND CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS	
	A. THE TRAJECTORY OF EMPIRE: ATHENIAN HEGEMONY AND IMPERIALISM IN AESCHYLEAN DRAMA.....	35
	B. AESCHYLUS' <i>PERSIANS</i>	38
	C. THE ATHENIAN NAVY AND AESCHYLUS' <i>PERSIANS</i>	60
	D. AESCHYLUS' <i>SEVEN AGAINST THEBES</i>	65
	i. THE "SHIP OF STATE"	68
	ii. THE POLIS: NARROWING CONSCIOUSNESS EVIDENCED THROUGH QUANTITATIVE ASSESSMENT.....	72
	E. AESCHYLUS' <i>SUPPLIANT WOMEN</i>	79
	F. AESCHYLUS' <i>ORESTEIA</i>	84
V.	CONCLUSION.....	87
VI.	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	89

FIGURES AND TABLES

FIG. 1: GREEK TEXT OF IG I ³ 14, THE PACKARD HUMANITIES INSTITUTE	24
FIG. 2: Πολι/ <i>Poli</i> -DERIVATIVES IN AESCHYLEAN TRAGEDY.....	74
FIG. 3: Πολε/ <i>Pole</i> -DERIVATIVES IN AESCHYLEAN TRAGEDY.....	75
FIG. 4: COMBINED RELEVANT Πολι/ <i>Poli</i> - AND Πολε/ <i>Pole</i> -DERIVATIVES IN AESCHYLEAN TRAGEDY.....	75

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: AESCHYLUS' <i>PERSIANS</i>	105
APPENDIX II: AESCHYLUS' <i>SEVEN AGAINST THEBES</i>	114
APPENDIX III: THESAURUS LINGAUE GRAECAE DATA FOR FIGURES 2, 3 AND 4, <i>Poli</i> - AND <i>Pole</i> -DERIVATIVES IN AESCHYLEAN TRAGEDY.....	117

I. PROLEGOMENA

The Athenian assembly in 451/450 BC passed the Citizenship Law (CL) as a measure of strategic institutional design, here defined in terms of the composition of a political body, to ensure that Athenian interests would maximally inform future imperial domestic and foreign policy.¹ The CL strategically homogenized every democratic institution in Athens in the immediate posterity, and the assembly of 451/450 BC used the CL to narrow the composition of the electorate in the political institutions such that every vote on every policy, case, or agenda maximally represented Athenian interests. Although the CL was unprecedented in its substantive alterations to citizenship, its application for strategic institutional design finds definitive epigraphical precedent only in the Decree relative to Erythrae of the mid-450s BC.² The CL existed within an immediate legal context of institutional redesign abroad prosecuted by Athens. Textual and contextual assessment of the Erythrae Decree illustrates that Athens attempted to ensure her interests abroad by strategically recomposing the electorate of the decision-making body (the *boulē*³) in Erythrae.⁴ In this way, Athens ensured that all future Erythraean policy proposals could remain consistent with Athenian interests.⁵

Mirroring this foreign policy in the domestic sphere shortly thereafter, the CL embodied the same Athenian recognition of the strategic value of institutional design, and Athens recomposed the decision-making electorate such that it would pass policies most beneficial to the Athenian empire. In so doing, Athens again used the law as a strategic weapon to control future policy.⁶ Athens turned her foreign policy inward, recomposing her own institutions and filled

¹ Blok, 2009, 141. See discussion of Blok below, pp. 3 – 7.

² Tod, 1933, 48. I will refer to this legal action as “the Erythrae Decree” as a syncopated form of its name.

³ See definition of *boulē* and *ekklēsia* below, pp.6–7.

⁴ Tod, 1933, 48. See below Part III § B.

⁵ See pp.22–33 below, and Balcer, 184, 382–3.

⁶ Kittrie, 2016. After reading sections of Kittrie, 2016, I considered the modern examples of lawfare in comparison to the work I was pursuing. Based on this exposure, I herein argue that Athens likewise strategically used law to

them with Athenian interests. In this way, the Citizenship Law transitioned Athens from an externally imperial power to a transparent empire.⁷

achieve her interests. In fact, Athens prosecuted many legal measures to achieve its interests. Montouris Ciambotti, 2015, *passim*. Harrison tends to focus on fourth-century jurisprudence (Harrison and MacDowell, 1971 and 1998, Vols. I and II, see, for example Vol. I, pp.1–3); however, there is ample inscriptional evidence for the *nautodikai*'s existence in the fifth century (P.J. Rhodes, "Nautodikai," *Brill's New Pauly Online*; Lanni states, "From the fifth century, cases involving merchants had been tried by a board of magistrates known as *nautodikai*. We know very little about the procedures used in these cases during the fifth and early fourth century," Lanni, 2006, 151). It is their function that is contested. (Harrison, "We are less well informed about these magistrates, since they had been superseded by Aristotle's time and therefore get no mention in the *Ath. Pol.* We first hear of *nautodikai* in a decree dated about 444 B.C.; all we can say about this piece of evidence is that it shows them presiding over a court that has nothing to do with merchants" (Harrison and MacDowell, 1971 and 1998, Vol. II, 23). For example, regarding judges who oversaw trade:

We seem to have evidence for cases where the merchant calling of the litigant (certainly when he was defendant; only conjecturally when he was plaintiff) brought the issue before the *nautodikai*, and similarly with cases where the citizen status of the defendant was at stake. There is not so much in common between these two types of case as is sometimes supposed. In both the status of the parties has some relevance, and it is perhaps legitimate to assume that in a good many alien cases the defendant would have been of foreign merchant extraction; but that is about all (Harrison and MacDowell, 1971 and 1998, 24).

Athens was a naval superpower and naval control was especially important in geopolitics: see Hale, 2009, *passim*; Jordan, 1972, *passim*; Straus, 2004, *passim*; Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.3, 1, 44, for example. See Edward Cohen, 1973, 5–6; and Starr, 1989, 5, 24–25. The courts and ethnocentricity, Montouris Ciambotti, 2015, *passim*; Boegehold, 1995, 17, 37, 43, 47, 97, 125, 137; MacDowell, 1978, 117; military service is compulsory but metics were at a disadvantage with property, taxation, marriage, etc., as Lanni points out (for metics' status, see also Gauthier, 1972, *passim*, and Whitehead, 1977, *passim*):

Despite their importance to the Athenian economy, metic status was not a privilege. Metics were required to have an Athenian citizen as a sponsor (*prostatés*), to pay a monthly tax, and to serve in the military but were not permitted to exercise political rights, to own real property, or to marry a citizen, and had more limited legal rights than citizens. Despite the legal and political liabilities of metics, not all these men were considered to be of a lower class or status than citizens. One of the richest men in Athens was Pasion the banker, an ex-slave who spent much of his life as a metic before being granted citizenship. Moreover, Athens' exclusive aristocratic club (*hetaireiai*) were known to admit metics (Lanni, 2006, 19).

More generally, see, A.R.W. Harrison and D.M. MacDowell, 1971 and 1998, Vol. I: 1–22; Vol II: 23–27; Adriann Lanni, 2006, pp. 1–22; 33–38; 76–79; 84–87; 93–94; 97; 105–109; 138; 149–153; Edward Cohen, 1973, bes. Chapter 3: "Historical Development of the *Dikai Emporikai*:" 159–168; see especially P. Gauthier, 1972, 149–154 and *passim*.

⁷ For alternative arguments, see Davies, Dec., 1977–Jan., 1978; MacDowell, 1978; Ostwald, 1986; Rhodes, 1981, 331–334; Samons II, 2016, 89–90; and Stewart, Winter 1995. Blok summarizes "Current Interpretations" in Blok, 2009, 146–154. Given the preeminence of Rhodes' assessment, the most relevant portion of his findings is included: *A.P.* is the only text to offer a motivation for Pericles' law: διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν (cf. Arist. *Pol.* III.1278A 26–34, arguing that cities define their citizenship generously when short of men, strictly when citizens are plentiful; but VI. 1319B 6–11 argues that the leader of democracies are generous in order to enlarge and strengthen the δῆμος), an explanation which accords ill with the view of 26. i that the period after Ephialtes' reform was one of heavy losses in war. Most commonly modern scholars have either written of a jealous desire to ensure that the increasingly valuable privileges of Athenian citizenship, and especially μισθοφορία, were not shared too widely (e.g. Walker, *C.A.H.*, v¹. 102–3), or else have rejected *A.P.*'s explanation and have seen in the law an attempt to preserve the racial purity of the citizen body (e.g. Busolt, *G.G.*, III. i. 337–9, Hignett, *H.A.C.*, 255, 346); more eccentrically, Jacoby saw a 'party political' threat to Pericles' opponents in general and to Cimon in particular (*Supp.* i. 477–81)...Jacoby's explanation of Pericles' change in the law may be ruled out in the absence of any evidence of a threat to Cimon and other known μητρόξενοι (Rhodes, 1981, 333).

The CL simultaneously reflected an evolving social consciousness among the Athenian voters; namely, narrowing their focus from the Athenian state writ large to its relationship with the individual citizen.⁸ Dramatic performances reflected the collective social identity and sentiments in Athens, and Aeschylus' productions prior to the CL illustrate this narrowing focus. For this reason, I will examine Aeschylus' *Persians* (472 BC.),⁹ *Seven against Thebes* (467 BC),¹⁰ *Suppliant Women* (sum dated from 475–456 B.C. (“Excepting 458, the year of the *Oresteia*”¹¹)),¹² and *Oresteia* (458 BC),¹³ examining thematic and linguistic trends to reconstruct the social and historical consciousness of the Athenian electorate that passed the CL in 451/450 BC. Given the chronology, the assembly that passed the CL constituted most of the audience in at least the final three productions, if not *Persians* as well.

The title of this paper and the references to “the Citizenship Law” or “CL” throughout might surprise readers, as scholars and students of Athenian history generally recognize and encounter the law as “*Pericles’* Citizenship Law of 451/450 BC.” I have included below Blok’s consolidated list of references to the CL; however, as I read her translations and examined the

⁸ I first learned about the notion that the relationship between the individual and the state in the context of political development in Athens was narrowing in a lecture in my ANCH-026 course in Fall 2015 (taught by Professor Jeremy McInerney). Upon conducting research for this paper, I found Sealey, 1976, 103 and 105 to echo similar sentiments. I have expanded on this that the consciousness of the Athenians narrowed from a broad geopolitical view to one wherein they recognized the relationship between the individual and the polis’ institutions (as evidenced in the dramatic Aeschylean tragedies). This is central to my argument, and throughout this paper I will discuss my concept of the “narrowing” of the Athenian consciousness; however, I must note, however, that the impetus for this idea came from the two source above.

⁹ Bernhard (Freiburg) Zimmerman in Zimmermann, Bernhard (Freiburg) and Weißenberger, Michael (Greifswald), “Aeschylus”, 2006, section B.1 (B: “Plays”; 1: “‘Persians’ (Pers.)”).

¹⁰ Bernhard (Freiburg) Zimmerman in Zimmermann, Bernhard (Freiburg) and Weißenberger, Michael (Greifswald), “Aeschylus”, 2006, section B.2 (B: “Plays”; 2: “‘Seven Against Thebes’ (Sept.)”).

¹¹ Full quotation: “H. Friis Johansen and E. W. Whittle, *Aeschylus. The Suppliants*, 3 vols (Copenhagen, 1980), 1.22–3, tentatively suggest 463 but note that ‘other years within the decade 466–56 (Excepting 458, the year of the *Oresteia*) cannot be excluded.’”(Mitchell, Oct., 2006, 2n. 205).

¹² Scullion, 2002, 90; Mitchell, Oct., 2006, 205, see also 2n. on 205. Taplin, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus*, 1977, 194–198. Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, Introduction by Collard, 30n. xxxvi–xxxvii, 35n. xli. Also Bernhard (Freiburg) Zimmerman, stating: “it is now dated between 465 and 460 (probably 463)” in Bernhard (Freiburg) Zimmerman, 2006, “Aeschylus,” section B.3 (B: “Overview of Works;” 3: “‘The Suppliants’ (Suppl.)”).

¹³ Full quotation: “H. Friis Johansen and E. W. Whittle, *Aeschylus. The Suppliants*, 3 vols (Copenhagen, 1980), 1.22–3, tentatively suggest 463 but note that ‘other years within the decade 466–56 (Excepting 458, the year of the *Oresteia*) cannot be excluded.’”(Mitchell, Oct., 2006, 2n. 205).

original Greek text she included, I noticed a trend in two of the Aristotelean excerpts: both used the third person plural verbs to describe those prosecuting citizenship restrictions: according to Blok's lists:

A. References to PCL mentioning the law and Perikles as its proposer explicitly

1. *AthPol* 26.3-4:

καὶ τρίτῳ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Ἀντιδότου διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν Περικλέους εἰπόντος ἔγνωσαν μὴ μετέχειν τῆς πόλεως ὅς ἂν μὴ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἀστοῖν ἦ γεγονώς.

“And in the third year after this, when Antidotos was archon, *they decided*, owing to the large number of citizens, on the proposal of Perikles that no one who was not born from both *astos* parents, would participate in the polis”.

...

B. No explicit mention of the law or Perikles, but (possible) excerpts from PCL:

...

7. *Arist. Pol.* 1278a34-5: τέλος δὲ μόνον τοὺς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἀστῶν πολίτας ποιοῦσιν.

“.. in the end, *they only make* those citizens who are born from both citizen parents”.¹⁴

In both cases, Aristotle applies the third person plural forms—ἔγνωσαν and ποιοῦσιν—to describes those who enacted the law.¹⁵ Through Blok's translation of “they decided” and “they...make,” respectively, I realized that while Pericles may have proposed the law, he did not *pass* it.¹⁶ Rather, the *people* passed it. Pericles was not an autocrat; the majority of the Athenian assembly consciously passed this citizenship law. Attention to Pericles the law and its implications on an individual and obfuscates the electorate's motivations for its ratification. This paper does not examine why the law was proposed but why it was passed and reflects a focal shift from Pericles to the electorate. For this reason, the paper reconstructs (insofar as possible) the latter's historical, political, legal, and social consciousness in 451/450 BC through assessment of the Aeschylean drama leading up to the passage of the CL.

¹⁴ Greek and English translation provided in Blok, 2009, 142, emphasis added.

¹⁵ Greek and English translation provided in Blok, 2009, 142, emphasis added.

¹⁶ Greek and translation Blok, 2009, 142, as evidenced in Blok's translations provided below.

Although as Blok notes, “The original text of the decree is lost,” she provides consolidated lists of literary “References to PCL mentioning the law and Perikles as its proposer explicitly” and those referencing the law implicitly; for relevance to this argument, I have included in full only the former list below, and no. 7 of the latter list for comparison (see observation and discussion of a shift in emphasis, *supra*):

A. References to PCL mentioning the law and Perikles as its proposer explicitly

1. *AthPol* 26.3-4:

καὶ τρίτῳ μετ’ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Ἀντιδότου διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν Περικλέους εἰπόντος ἔγνωσαν μὴ μετέχειν τῆς πόλεως ὅς ἂν μὴ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἀστοῖν ἦ γεγονώς.

“And in the third year after this, when Antidotus was archon, they decided, owing to the large number of citizens, on the proposal of Perikles that no one who was not born from both *astos* parents, would participate in the polis”.

2. *Ael. VH.* 13.24: Καὶ Περικλῆς ἔγραψε μὴ εἶναι Ἀθηναῖον, ὅς μὴ ἐξ ἐμφοῖν γέγονεν ἀστοῖν.

“And Perikles drew up a law that he who had not been born from both *astos* parents, would not be an Athenian”.

3. *Plut. Per.* 37.3: Περικλῆς [...] νόμον ἔγραψε, μόνους Ἀθηναίους εἶναι τοὺς ἐκ δυεῖν Ἀθηναίων γεγονότας.

“Perikles [...] drew up a law that only those who were born from two Athenians, would be Athenians”.

4. *Suda* (L1 451) s. v. δημοποίητος: Περικλῆς γὰρ ὁ Ξανθίππου νόμον γράψας τὸν μὴ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν (ἀστὺ)πολίτην μὴ εἶναι.

“a citizen by decree: Perikles the son of Xanthippos drew up a law that he who was not from both (*astoi*) would not be a citizen (*politês*)”.

B. No explicit mention of the law or Perikles, but (possible) excerpts from PCL:

...

7. *Arist. Pol.* 1278a34-5: τέλος δὲ μόνον τοὺς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἀστῶν πολίτας ποιούσιν.

“.. in the end, they only make those citizens who are born from both citizen parents”.¹⁷

¹⁷ Greek and English translation provided in Blok, 2009, 142.

In each of the above cases, Perikles' law constricted the conferral of civic rights to those whose parents were both Athenian. Rhodes articulates the alteration in citizenship the CL effected:

Before Pericles' law was enacted, any son of an Athenian father by a lawfully wedded wife (whether or not she was an Athenian) was a γνήσιος, a legitimate son who would be acknowledge as a citizen when he came of age and who could inherit his father's property. A son not born by a lawfully wedded wife as a νόθος, his right of inheritance was severely limited (cf. Ar. Av. 1655–66, and, for the fourth century, Isae. VI *Her. Phil.* 47, [D.] XLIII. *Mac.* 51), and he was excluded from the phratries (Ar. Av. 1668–70) and, it seems likely, from Athenian citizenship (cf. on 42.i). I assume that a foreign man could not become a citizen, acquire property in Attica or beget citizen sons, by marrying any Athenian woman.¹⁸

According to Blok's definition of "*astos*, a citizen born from citizen parents,"¹⁹ this presumably meant that the woman was *ethnically* Athenian, or, that her father had been a citizen, since she could not be a *politē*: there is no feminine singular form (i.e. πολίτη) attested as an example in the LSJ.²⁰ In this way, the terms on which the law now defined that participation meant that the new electorate would not be able to be any more Athenian. The redefined standards took the highest common denominator for a woman (being an Athenian woman, since she could not attain citizenship) with a man (being an Athenian citizen, as being from the *astu* meant that he was Athenian). The result would be an electorate that was maximally Athenian to vote on policy issues in the future. Furthermore, the CL altered the composition of the electorate based on criteria presumably associated with particular views. The change infused the entire system with maximally pure Athenian interests; over time, the newly defined composition bled through each institution until the entire state became uniform in interest. Through such an electorate, Athens could exercise greater control over her domestic and foreigner imperial policy if every member

¹⁸ Rhodes, 1981, 332.

¹⁹ Blok, 2009, 153.

²⁰ In an office hours meeting (01/17/2017), Professor McInerney noted that this verification was necessary, referenced the LSJ to confirm this, and noted that the feminine singular form did not appear. Moreover, Professor McInerney asserted that referring to both parents as *politōis* would not have been feasible given the inability of a woman to be a 'citizen' in the same way as a man.

of the assembly (*ekklēsia*), which voted on the agenda, as “the assembly of adult male citizens which had the ultimate decision-making power in a Greek state”²¹; the policy-making body (*boulē*), which set the agenda of imperialism, overseeing “decision-making, administration and jurisdiction,”²² and “was...responsible for the current public duties,...[and] also had to prepare the work of the public assembly (*ekklēsia*)”²³; and the juries (which decided cases that might affect the agenda) were as Athenian as possible. In this way, the law does concern *political* “participation,” *contra* Blok’s thesis, a notion made even more salient in the linguistic and thematic elements of *Seven against Thebes* and *Suppliant Women* (discussed below).²⁴

Moreover, the very temporal application of the law illustrates its purpose for institutional design. As Blok notes, “[T]he law was not retroactive but marked a boundary in time prescribing future action,”²⁵ a fact that carries two crucial implications. First, the law did not effect the political institutions’ composition contemporaneous with the law; second, and more importantly, to neglect the concurrent body was a conscious decision. In other words, the law was conceived and passed as a proactive measure—argued here to be preventive such that Athenian interests informed future Athenian policy as much as possible.

²¹ Gomme, Cadoux, and Rhodes, “*ekklēsia*,” in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (4 ed.). Edited by Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow. Publisher: Oxford University Press. Print Publication Date: 2012. Print ISBN-13: 9780199545568. Published online: 2012. Current Online Version: 2012. eISBN: 9780191735257. <http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:2514/view/10.1093/acref/9780199545568.001.0001/acref-9780199545568-e-2364>. Accessed 04/19/2017.

²² Gomme, Cadoux, and Rhodes, “*boulē*,” in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (4 ed.). Edited by Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow. Publisher: Oxford University Press. Print Publication Date: 2012. Print ISBN-13: 9780199545568. Published online: 2012. Current Online Version: 2012. eISBN: 9780191735257. <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199545568.001.0001/acref-9780199545568-e-1154>. Accessed 04/19/2017.

²³ Rhodes, “*Boule*,” in: *Brill’s New Pauly*, Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and , Helmuth Schneider. Consulted online on 20 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e221440>. First published online: 2006. First print edition: 9789004122598, 20110510. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/boule-e221440?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=boule

²⁴ Blok, 2009, *passim*, bes. 141.

²⁵ Blok, 2009, 146,

To my knowledge, no scholar examines the CL as a measure of institutional design (defined in terms of composition) to control future policy, nor connects Erythrae Decree to the CL as precedent and identifies it as the CL's immediate legal context. Samons II's assessment treads closest to the argument's examination of composition in relation to the views a maximally Athenian electorate would express, stating:

Recent study has attempted to put a less nationalistic spin on this citizenship law. But surely we must admit that whatever else the legislation's effects or intent, this measure drew a figurative line between 'real Athenians' and the rest of Greece. Athenian benefits would be enjoyed only by those with two Athenian parents. 'Athenianness,' as it were, had been marked off as something valuable and precious. Other Greek city-states could hardly have seen the action as anything other than an obnoxious statement of Athenian superiority, especially as the practice of marrying outside of the polis had a long-standing tradition among aristocrats in Greece (beyond, perhaps, Sparta).²⁶

However, he never defines what constitutes "real Athenians."²⁷ He does not define the term's significance and whether interests, ethnicity, experiences, etc. inform the "Athenianness."²⁸ Nor does he define the "benefits"²⁹ of this policy. For this reason, although Samons' assertion cannot be considered corroborating the argument expounded in this paper. Focusing on institutional design and the importance of interests, rather than ethnicity or domestic political gains, this paper forges a new path in legal examination of fifth-century Athens.

²⁶ Samons II, 2016, 89–90.

²⁷ Samons II, 2016, 89.

²⁸ Samons II, 2016, 90.

²⁹ Samons II, 2016, 89.

II. METHODOLOGY

EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE:

Three phases constituted the epigraphical research for this paper. I first examined the seminal text, Tod's *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions (Vol. I)*,³⁰ examining the relevant inscriptions from the sixth century to the late fifth century, stopping short of the Decree relating the Sicilian Expedition: 415 B.C.³¹ Following this, I referenced Meiggs and Lewis' *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*,³² a complementary volume to Tod's work, examining their commentary in tandem with that of Tod for the respective inscriptions. I located the inscriptions through Stephen Lambert's Attic Inscriptions Online (AIO), relying on his and P.J. Rhodes' translation³³ and examined, through Brill's *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecae (SEG)*³⁴ and *Inscriptiones Graecae (IG)*,³⁵ scholarship on the inscriptions. Moreover, in the relevant instances where Tod and Meiggs and Lewis included additional *IG* references, I examined the SEG iterations (clicking on IG I- hyperlink in column 1 leads to another search result page), and the entries via Brill's New Pauly are included in the bibliography. I have also included the original text from the Packard Humanities Institute's

³⁰ Tod, 1933, *passim*.

³¹ Inscription No. 77 in Tod, 1933, pp.192–195.

³² Meiggs and Lewis (eds.), 1969, *passim*.

³³ Lambert, Stephen and P.J. Rhodes (trans.), "Athenian regulations for Erythrai," notes by Stephen Lambert, Attic Inscriptions Online, Added: Oct. 8, 2013, Updated: June 12, 2016.

<https://www.atticinscriptions.com/inscription/IGI3/14> Accessed 04/08/2017.

³⁴ <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum>. Given time constraints, I was unable to examine Forsdyke (noted in SEG 55-55) and C.Pébarthe, in C.Moatti, W.Kaiser, C.Pébarthe (edd.), *Le Monde de l'itinérance en Méditerranée de l'antiquité à l'époque moderne* in SEG 59-30.

³⁵ Tybout, R.A. and Editorial Board, "IG", in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 18 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_conc_IG_I_2>. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/ig-conc_IG_I_2?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=ig+i2+13 [Search for *IG* i²]; Tybout, R.A. and Editorial Board, "IG", in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 18 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_conc_IG_I_3>. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/ig-conc_IG_I_3?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=ig+i3+14 [Search for *IG* i³].

“Searchable Greek Inscriptions.”³⁶ This is an approved methodology for undergraduate scholarship.³⁷

DRAMA/CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS:

Given the dearth of concrete, juridical evidence (e.g. there is no contemporary treatise of Athenian jurisprudence), indicators of sentiment towards non-Athenians suggest the stimulus for the CL; namely, a growing obsession with the polis and a narrowing consciousness on its institutions.³⁸ In a previous paper, I argued that the Athenian judiciary was ethnocentric, playing to the Athenian autochthonous identity and prosecuting Athenocentric imperialism against its own residents and allies abroad.³⁹ Judicial procedure “facilitated Athens’ ethnically ‘justified’ imperialism over those she deemed inferior...In this way, the court internalized the Athenian sovereignty encouraged by her autochthonic identity...[E]thnocentric judicial imperialism authored and enforced Athenian sovereignty within and without Athens.”⁴⁰ Contemporary literary evidence, material evidence, and legal inscriptions supported this claim.⁴¹

Currently determining the impetus for a single law, however, I more comprehensively reconstructed the fifth-century Athenian attitudinal shifts that influenced this change in policy. This reconstruction also required examining military theory; trade records and maritime operations; legal and political developments; and the salience of historical consciousness,

³⁶ Searchable Greek Inscriptions: A Scholarly Tool in Progress. The Packard Humanities Institute. Project Centers: Cornell University and Ohio State University. Last Update: September 1, 2015. IG I³14. Regions: Attica (IG I-III). Accessed 04/07/2017. <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/14?bookid=4&location=7>.

³⁷ Confirmed with Professor McInerney in office hours meeting on 02/22/2017.

³⁸ See 8n. ANCH 026 and Sealey, 1976, 103 and 105.

³⁹ Alexis Montouris Ciambotti, 2015, *passim*.

⁴⁰ I maintain the statement, “If Athens had been an empire in mind, her judiciary made her an empire in body,” (Montouris Ciambotti, 2015, 1) in that paper; however, her judiciary was not the *only* way she prosecuted imperialism. Montouris Ciambotti, 2015, 1.

⁴¹ Montouris Ciambotti, 2015, 1–10. See especially Boegehold, 1995; Fornara, 1979; Forsdyke, 2012; Hall, 1997; Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield; Hunter, in Hunter and Edmondson, 2000; MacDowell, 1978; Manville, 1990; Meiggs, 1972; Papadopoulou, 2012; Rosavich, 1987; Sealey, 1987; Thucydides and Lattimore, 1988; and Travlos, 1974.

including combat experience. However, I largely determined these shifts from philological assessment of the language, structure, and themes in the contemporary texts themselves, reading *Persians*, *Seven against Thebes*, *Suppliant Women* in Greek, assessing each word and corroborating it with, comparing it to, or being assisted by an English translation. I searched for patterns in language, theme, and plot in each play, though I supplemented my examination of *Seven* with quantitative analysis of the frequency of *πολι*/poli- and *πολε*/pole-derivative words (see Figs. 2, 3 and 4). Given time constraints, I could not dedicate as thorough analysis to the *Oresteia* as I did to the other plays; however, I have previously read the *Agamemnon* in Greek and the *Choephoroi* and *Eumenides* in English, and I was familiar with some of the scholarship surrounding these plays.

III. ATHENIAN LAW: HISTORICAL AND EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE

A. PRECEDENT

The Citizenship Law of 451/450 B.C. was unprecedented in Athenian domestic policy since the turn the fifth century as a limitation on the conferral of citizenship. While the reforms of Solon and Cleisthenes broadly relate to the CL as historical examples of alterations to citizenship, their substance was antithetical to that of the CL and do not serve as precedent for the law: the reforms expanded citizenship rather than narrowed it.⁴² As illustrative of strategic institutional design of a policy-making institution, the Citizenship Law may have found precedent in Solon and Ephialtes' reforms respectively, though definitively in the latter, while the former is speculative.⁴³ This assertion and perception do not, however, presuppose a teleological understanding of Athenian history. The CL was not an endpoint; it was a checkpoint within the advancing narrative of the ancient Greek world and of Athenian imperialism.

⁴² See assessment below, bes. pp. 11–21.

⁴³ See assessment below, bes. pp. 17–21.

Solon reorganized the Athenian electorate along production lines.⁴⁴ As Sealey notes, “Two major innovations in the constitution have often been attributed to Solon; they are the division of Athenian citizens into classes on the basis of property, and the Council of Four Hundred.”⁴⁵ Solon’s major legal changes revolved around reorganizing the political and social hierarchy of Athenian society.⁴⁶ Although Solon authored additional laws, he devoted much more of his autobiographical narrative to his reforms of the citizen body (in a line-ratio of 7:1).⁴⁷ Solon inherited a political state wherein “the political divisions of society were not horizontal lines between classes but vertical lines, separating each powerful family or group of power families, together with their dependents, from other powerful families with their dependents.”⁴⁸ Solon, however, overturned the system: based political status on production, conferring the most policy discretion on those who produced the most.⁴⁹ As Sealey points out, these reforms had far-reaching consequences as “the Athenian state thereafter did not have any class of citizens in dependent or semiservile status.”⁵⁰ As Solon “replaced birth with wealth as the qualification for political office,” this broke the oligarchic structure and order of clans along the lines of permeable divisions (production).⁵¹

However, this measure expanded citizenship; the CL narrowed the conferral of civic rights. In this way, the Solonian reforms serve as a historical example of alteration to citizenship prior to the CL, they do not constitute precedent. Solon’s reforms and the CL compare only in their lowest common denominator: they both affected citizenship, but their precise measures were completely antithetical to each other. Moreover, the Cleisthenic reforms at the end of the

⁴⁴ Sealey, 1976, 115–116.

⁴⁵ Sealey, 1976, 115.

⁴⁶ Sealey, 1976, Chapter 5: “Solon and the Rise of Peisistratus,” 107–133, bes. 114–115.

⁴⁷ Sealey, 1976, 115.

⁴⁸ Sealey, 1976, 114.

⁴⁹ Sealey, 1976, 115–116.

⁵⁰ Sealey, 1976, 111.

⁵¹ Sealey, 1976, 116.

sixth century did not narrow but expanded citizenship rights.⁵² According to Hignett, “Aristotle in the *Politics* says that Kleisthenes admitted to the tribes many foreigners and slave metoikoi,”⁵³ and expanded the number of citizens.⁵⁴ Like their Solonian precursors, these reforms expanded citizenship and were thus antithetical to the constrictive measures embodied in the Citizenship Law of 451/450. In this way, neither the Solonian nor Cleisthenic reforms, although related to citizenship, serve as precedent for the Citizenship Law.

However, the Solonian reforms might have served as *conceptual precedent* for the motivation of the Citizenship Law;⁵⁵ reflecting strategic institutional design of the electorate to prosecute specific future policymaking. While we cannot determine his intent, we may conclude that Solon viewed redistributing political power among a new electorate as strategically remedial. Sealey notes that other “measures attributed to Solon seem calculated to promote prosperity,” again, related to his consideration for a new electorate.⁵⁶ For example, Solon enfranchised as citizens those who had arrived “to pursue a trade” in the polis; in this way, the state, based on its perceived value of an individual, now defined by earning potential, determined who was to take part in its policy- and decision-making processes. Moreover, Solon extended state “intervention” in the family that Dracon had started, as according to Plutarch:

(*Sol.* 22.1)...a law of Solon, a father had no claim on support from his son, unless he had taught the son a trade...It is further asserted (*ibid.* 22.3) that Solon instructed the Council of the Areopagus to inquire into every man’s source of livelihood and punish the idle...The most substantial of the miscellaneous provisions attributed to Solon is a law

⁵² Hignett, 1952, 129–142, 156–157.

⁵³ Hignett, 1952, 133.

⁵⁴ Hignett, 1952, 129, 132–134, 143–145.

⁵⁵ “Conceptual precedent” is a notion I termed in a short writing assignment (Short Writing Assignment II) for ANCH-305: The Jewish Diaspora in the Roman Empire (September 28, 2016), defining it as “the notion that what was once *de jure* in a previous imperial administration may be cited as precedent and invoked or reaffirmed *qua stare decisis*, though there was no formal obligation to retain it (as we conceive of actual precedent).” Here, conceptual precedent means the same, though proof of the *de jure* qualification in the context of ancient Greek law is challenging; thus, even historically noted rather legal measures (the laws of Solon, the reforms of Cleisthenes), etc. may serve as conceptual precedent (as they do here).

⁵⁶ Sealey, 1976, 113.

allowing export of olive oil but forbidding export of any other agricultural produce. Plutarch (*Sol.* 24.1–2) says that this law stood on the first *axon*.⁵⁷

Sealey considers the reason for the last of these,⁵⁸ though this paper focuses on the intent of the Assembly in 451/450 BC, rather than that of Solon.

However, Solon’s strategic intent cannot be conclusively proven nor overemphasized. Sealey also suggests an alternative catalyst for Solon’s rise, arguing that “the unscrupulous leader of a clan might make large promises to the aggrieved classes and hence seize control. To escape this risk leaders of other clans might join together to entrust settlement of the predicament to such a man as Solon.”⁵⁹ Sealey suggests, “perhaps they realized that they would lose something in the settlement, but they were willing to accept some losses in order to avert a tyranny.”⁶⁰ Sealey argues that the reorganization attributed to Solon’s reforms were natural occurrences of the process of “the unification of Attica;”⁶¹ however, Solon self-identified as the organizing force of the state, viewing his work as having “gathered together the demos.”⁶² This suggests that Solon was not simply an instrument of divided families as Sealey suggests.⁶³

Solon’s reorganization the electorate would find its most strategic example in his establishment of the Council of the 400, though it is its attribution to Solon is inconclusive.⁶⁴ Though attested in both Aristotle and Plutarch, “[n]either author gives his grounds for believing that Solon created a Council of Four Hundred.”⁶⁵ If accurate, this would mean that Solon’s reforms found even more strategic foresight, as the Council would be more heterogeneous than before. Sealey, however, argues, “After 356 Solon came to be regarded as the founder of the

⁵⁷ Sealey, 1976, 113.

⁵⁸ Sealey, 1976, 113.

⁵⁹ Sealey, 1976, 114–115.

⁶⁰ Sealey, 1976, 114–115.

⁶¹ Sealey, 1976, 118.

⁶² Sealey, 1976, 108.

⁶³ See block quotation *supra* (Sealey, 1976, 114–115).

⁶⁴ Sealey, 1976, 119–121.

⁶⁵ Sealey, 1976, 120.

democracy...[and] the Council of Four Hundred may have been invented to provide a precedent for the Cleisthenic Council of Five Hundred.”⁶⁶ For this reason, Solon’s alleged reform of the Council of Four Hundred will not be cited as definitive precedent.

The Cleisthenic reforms, however, exemplify strategic consideration for institutional design, though the institutions at the time differed from those of the mid-fifth century.⁶⁷

Although scholars often reference the reforms of Cleisthenes in terms of its component tribal reform, I provide Hignett’s full summary of the reforms to bring to the fore the sweeping alterations in political institutions and rights:

Kleisthenes created ten tribes, each of which supplied fifty members to his new Council of Five Hundred. He divided the demes into thirty groups, of which ten were taken from the city of Athens (and its neighbourhood), ten from the coast, and ten from the inland region. These groups Kleisthenes named trittyes. Each of the new tribes was composed of three trittyes selected by lot from the three different regions, town coast, and inland. Kleisthenes abolished the naukraries and substituted for them the demes, which he created and provided with names; the demarchs took over the functions of the old naukraroi. In future an Athenian was to be designated not by the name of his father but by that of the deme in which he lived; this and the tribal reform facilitated *Kleisthenes’ admission of new citizens*.⁶⁸

The Cleisthenic reforms not only expanded the citizen body, altering the composition of the political bodies, but they also completely reorganized the institutions themselves. This fully altered the interests that informed policy and rearranged the ways in which the structure and procedure of the government reflected them. For example, “But Kleisthenes...admitted the Thetes to the ekklesia and finally broke with the old principle which made attendance at the assembly dependent on the ownership of a plot of land.”⁶⁹ Cleisthenes transformed the composition of the political institutions in two ways: in addition to expanding citizenship as a general right, he expanded opportunities for civic participation within an already broadened

⁶⁶ Sealey, 1976, 121.

⁶⁷ Hignett, 1952, 127.

⁶⁸ Hignett, 1952, 129, emphasis original.

⁶⁹ Hignett, 1952, 142–143.

populus. While the substance of the law (its expansive quality) cannot serve as precedent for the CL, the Cleisthenic reforms recur in 451/450 in their far-reaching, recomposition of political institutions through citizenship reform. Through this law, the composition of the decision- and policy-making bodies, the courts, and officials appointed diversified, though the implications of their proportional relationship to the geographic reorganization of the polis constituencies are beyond the scope of this paper.

However, the intent argued to have informed the CL (the strategic control of future policy through institutional composition) is less apparent in the Cleisthenic reforms. Hignett examines the Herodotean account of Cleisthenes, seeing through it a self-serving rather than policy-driven purpose for his reforms:

According to Herodotus it was when Kleisthenes was being worsted in the struggle for power that he “took the demos into partnership”. This statement indicates that Kleisthenes had not been in alliance with the demos before, and Herodotus says later that Kleisthenes took over the demos of the Athenians entirely into his own party, although previously he had spurned them...[I]t is clear that when Kleisthenes first came back from exile he was not planning a democratic reform. He had no ties with the demos which he found his return, for it was largely the creation of the tyrants and bound by gratitude to them. But when his own personal following was overmatched by his opponents he decided to take a leap in the dark and appeal to the demos.⁷⁰

Yet Hignett’s assessment contradicts itself slightly: on the one hand, he argues that Cleisthenes’ actions, though they achieved broad political ends, appear more connected his personal desire for power than for policy: Hignett argues, “He was driven by his failure in the struggle against Isagoras to appeal to the demos, and to secure his position he completed the work begun by the tyrants. They had destroyed the political influence of the noble families; he reorganized the citizen-body in such a way as to prevent any revival of that influence.”⁷¹ At the same time, however, Hignett sees a strategic design in the Cleisthenic institutional reforms, arguing that

⁷⁰ Hignett, 1952, 125.

⁷¹ Hignett, 1952, 156.

Cleisthenes believed, “the people may be the best judges of all important questions, but they must be guided to a right decision by the advice of the wise and must leave the guardianship of the public purse to the rich.”⁷² This assessment suggests at least an element of consideration for strategic institutional reform in the prosecution of a stable government. While policy rather than such governing returns (broadly speaking) informed the CL, the law’s passage finds precedent in Cleisthenes’ recognition of the influence exercised through the particular composition and structure of governing institutions.

The most explicit example of such structural consideration may be found in the Cleisthenic transformation of the Council of Four Hundred, previously the Solonian-accredited Council of Four Hundred.⁷³ However, as articulated in the introduction, this paper examines institutional design as defined by composition rather than structure seeing that the Erythrae Decree and the Citizenship Law address strategic considerations for institutional composition rather than structure. For this reason, I will not address the reforms for the Council of Five Hundred in terms of structural alterations with strategic intent.⁷⁴ Rather, this reform, broadly speaking, illustrates an expansion of the conferral of civic rights, just as did the alleged Solonian reform of the Council of Four Hundred.⁷⁵ Likewise resembling the Solonian reform, it is not clear that the Council of Five Hundred was a Cleisthenic measure. According to Hignett:

The earliest inscriptions which prove the existence of the new council cannot be dated with certainty before the reforms of Ephialtes and may easily be later... The only witness who attests unambiguously the existence of the new council the period before 462 is the author of the *Athenaion Politeia*... He merely states that Kleisthenes substituted for the Solonian Council of Four Hundred a new Council of Five Hundred, fifty from each tribe... On these grounds the evidence for the creation of the new council by Kleisthenes cannot be regarded as beyond dispute, and the statement in the Atthis that it was instituted at the same time as the ten tribes may be no more than a plausible conjecture.

⁷² Hignett, 1952, 156.

⁷³ Hignett, 1952, 92–96, 127–31, 142–158. Sealey, 1976, 115, 119–121.

⁷⁴ For examination of the structural, strategic alterations, see Hignett, 1952, 149–153.

⁷⁵ Hignett, 1952, 92–96, 127–31, 142–158. Sealey, 1976, 115, 119–121.

But the alternative hypothesis, that the Council of Five Hundred was created by Ephialtes, is improbable.⁷⁶

Two components of this observation deserve attention: first, attribution to Cleisthenes of the compositional alteration to the Council is not conclusive; thus, resembling the Solonian challenge above, this change cannot be cited as *Cleisthenic* precedent—or even as precedent at all if it “may easily be later” than the 460s.⁷⁷ Second, however, is the irrelevance of the attribution: whoever instituted the change did so before Ephialtes and thus before the CL. In this way, continuity from Solon in the compositional reform of an institution exists in to the fifth century and closely precedes the CL. Regardless of its attribution to Cleisthenes, this reform like the others above altered the composition of the decision- and policy-making bodies, the courts, and the officials. In this way more than others, the reforms may be precedent for the CL, as it shares such far-reaching political alteration for a strategic purpose.

The reforms of Ephialtes embody a similar though singular Cleisthenic structural transformation of political power. According to Rhodes, “[I]t is likely that...[Ephialtes] was responsible for the transfer of political significant judicial powers (possibly those affecting the control over officials and *eisangelia* cases) from the Areopagus to the council of five hundred and the jury courts ([Aristot.] Ath. Pol. 25; Plut. Cimon 15,2).”⁷⁸ Like Cleisthenes, Ephialtes recognized the value in structural readjustment, especially pertaining to the policy-making body,

⁷⁶ Hignett, 1952, 149.

⁷⁷ Quotation from Hignett, 1952, 149. For Ephialtes’ reforms dating to the 460s, see Will, Wolfgang (Bonn), “A. Descent and early career,” in Will, Wolfgang (Bonn) and Högemann, Peter (Tübingen), “Pericles”, in: *Brill’s New Pauly*, Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and Hlemuth Schneider. Consulted online on 18 April 2017 <http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:2097/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e913920> First published online: 2006 First print edition: 9789004122598, 20110510. http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:3217/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/pericles-e913920?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=pericles

⁷⁸ Peter J. Rhodes (Durham), “[2] Athenian politician, 5th cent. BC,” in “Ephialtes,” by Stein-Hölkeskamp, Elke (Cologne), Rhodes, Peter J. (Durham) and Egnles, Johannes (Cologne), “Ephialtes”, in: *Brill’s New Pauly*, Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schenider. Consulted online on 15 April 2017, <http://proxy.library.upenn.edu/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e331560> First published online: 2006. First print edition: 9789004122598, 20110510.

the ecclesia: Hignett notes, “[Klesithenes] seems to have kept [the ekklesia’s] number down to a minimum, and in the strict control over the agenda of all meetings of the ekklesia which he gave to the boulē he established a further safeguard against the abuse by the demos of its sovereignty.”⁷⁹ Cleisthenes recognized a difference in privileges between the decision-making body (the boulē) and the policy-making body (the ecclesia). However, both politicians considered the future implications of the type of power endowed to each institution in their strategic restructuring. Nevertheless, Ephialtes’ alterations resemble the component structural reorganization of the Cleisthenic reforms examined above. They cannot be considered precedent as they, unlike the CL, did not compositionally change the political bodies.

In this way, the reforms of Solon and Cleisthenes cannot be considered precedent for the citizenship component of the CL as both men expanded rather than narrowed the conferral of civic rights. Only the Solonian institutional design changes based on this expansion are *potentially* precedential: one might discover strategic intent to affect future policy in the Solonian reforms, while the distinction between self-serving and populist measures in Cleisthenic reforms is unclear, though appears to lean toward the former. Ephialtes’ reforms, though they addressed with structural changes, did not alter the composition of the political bodies and thus does not serve as precedent.

Most importantly for the consciousness of the voters, none of the even nominally relevant reforms were passed in the lifetime of the voters in 451/450 and the society they shaped had been well-established. Even Cleisthenes’ sweeping compositional reform of *every* political organ of the state, largely due to the new demographic, political distribution, in 508/7 BC had established the Athenian state as it would continue to be, even by the Battle of Salamis, since a full

⁷⁹ Hignett, 1952, 152–153.

generation had passed since his reorganization.⁸⁰ Thus, by 450, almost none of the assemblymen (the voters) had passed the Cleisthenic reforms, and their immediate historical consciousness was only that since 499—namely, the first battles of the Persian Wars, wherein Athens according to Cleisthenes had existed for at least five years (and the assemblymen mentioned above would have been infants). Only with confirmation of Solon’s intent can his reforms be distantly cited as precedent of strategic consideration of institutional design, though the CL’s constraints on citizenship were, as discussed above, completely unprecedented. As a citizenship and strategic-compositional reform, the CL was unprecedented in its immediate history.

Moreover, Tod and Meiggs and Lewis provide no domestic, epigraphical precedent; however, the CL was not wholly unprecedented in epigraphy. One Athenian measure of foreign policy—namely, the Decree relative to Eyrthrae of the mid-450s⁸¹—illustrates Athens’ prosecution the composition reform of the decision-making institutional imposed on the political body of another polis to affect its future policies.⁸² In fact, according to Liddel, “The use of an inscribed document comprehensively to illustrate or perhaps establish the workings of a council is otherwise unknown in the states of the Athenian empire.”⁸³ Liddel goes on to argue, “[O]nce again, there is nothing which firmly predates the Athenian decree.”⁸⁴ In fact, this was consistent with other Athenian policy: “[a]gain, closer parallels are provided only when we look at the Athenian evidence: the age restriction on magistrates is also known from the Athenian

⁸⁰ I devised this argument and elected to use the term “reorganization” *before* reading Balcer, 1984, 382, though he uses the same term and the same context (corroborating my point and observations). Hignett also refers to part of the Cleisthenic reforms as “The reorganization of the citizen-body by Kleisthenes”(section heading, Hignett, 1952, 132), though I do not believe I developed my idea from this. After reading Tod (1933, 48–49) and Meiggs and Lewis (1969, 91–93), I understood that they note the institutional restructuring; however, though I, apart from other scholars connect this policy to the legal action informing the CL.

⁸¹ See the discussion of the date below, pp. 22–23.

⁸² Tod, 1933, 46–49; Meiggs and Lewis, 1969, 89–94; Stephen Lambert and P.J. Rhodes (trans.), 2013/2016, “Athenian regulations for Erythrai,” Attic Inscriptions Online; Balcer, 1984, 380–383; Liddel, 2010, *passim*, bes. 100–122.

⁸³ Liddel, 2010, 118–119.

⁸⁴ Liddel, 2010, 119.

regulations for Miletos (*IG I³* 21 line 5); the age limit of ‘thirty years’ crops up on other Athenian documents (*IG I³* 3 lines 9-10, *IG I³* 16 line 13).⁸⁵ Although this decree did not alter the citizenship requirements of Erythrae as a means of altering political institutional composition, Athens infiltrated the decision-making organ to prosecute its own interests: filling the Erythraean *boulē* with Athenian-vetted members and instituting “permanent,”⁸⁶ Athenian supervision of its procedures, Athens ensured that Erythraean policy completely aligned with Athenian interests.⁸⁷

B. ADDRESSING MODERN CONFLATION

This assessment of Athenian law examines epigraphical evidence here defined as Athenian “legal action,” which includes decrees and laws. Fifth-century legal history permits this broad understanding, as according to the OCD, “After democracy was established, new laws were made by majority vote in the *ekklēsia*. For most of the 5th cent[ury] there was no sharp distinction between a law (*nomos*) laying down a permanent rule and a decree (*psēphisma*) for a particular occasion.”⁸⁸ Mogens Herman Hansen concurs, noting:

In fifth-century Athens there is no demonstrable difference between *nomoi* and *psephismata*. Admittedly, the words *nomos* and *psephisma* are never strictly synonymous, although they have roughly the same meaning when referring to enactments of the Athenians. *Nomos* is used when the emphasis is on the contents of a rule whereas the enactment of the rule is stressed by the word *psephisma*. On the other hand, the words *nomos* and *psephisma* frequently have the same denotation, and a decision of the *ecclesia* may be referred to both as a *nomos* and as a *psephisma*.⁸⁹

According to Hansen, the distinction between the two forms of legal action occurred in the late fifth century, since “In the period 403/2-322/1, however, there is a clear difference

⁸⁵ Liddel, 2010, 119.

⁸⁶ Tod, 1933, 48. Meiggs and Lewis corroborate on Meiggs and Lewis 1969, 92.

⁸⁷ Tod, 1933, 48, noting: “Note how the Athenians, in seeking to make Erythrae safe for democracy, lay great stress upon the *βουλή*” (Tod, 1933, 48). This will receive greater attention in this paper below.

⁸⁸ MacDowell, 2012, “1. Legislation” in “law and procedure, Athenian,” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (4 ed.), Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow (eds.). Current Online Version: 2012; eISBN: 9780191735257. <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199545568.001.0001/acref-9780199545568-e-3617#>. Accessed 04/06/2017.)

⁸⁹ Hansen, 1978, 316.

between *nomos* and *psephisma* both in meaning and in denotation.”⁹⁰ Rhodes’ entry in *Brill’s New Pauly*,⁹¹ MacDowell’s entry in the *OCD*,⁹² and Henderson’s entry in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*⁹³ substantiate this claim.

C. THE DECREE RELATIVE TO ERYTHRAE (*IG I³ 14*)

The Erythrae Decree illustrates Athenian use of law to redesign political institutions as a means of achieving policy outcomes favorable to Athens’ interests. Dated by Tod to “about 455 B.C.”⁹⁴ (though “variously dated between 470 and 450 B.C.”⁹⁵), by Meiggs and Lewis to “(?)

⁹⁰ Hansen, 1978, 317.

⁹¹ For example, Rhodes, 2006, “Psephisma”:

(ψηφισμα, Pl. ψηφισματα/psēphismata), literally a decision made by voting using 'voting stones' (*psēphoi*) as opposed to voting by show of hands (*cheirotomia*). But in normal Greek usage, *psephisma* was applied to decrees and *cheirotomia* to elections, irrespective of the method of voting. *Psephisma* is the most widespread word for 'decree'; *dōgma* is fairly frequent; *gnōmē* usually means 'proposal' but is sometimes used for 'decree', especially in north-western Asia Minor and in the adjacent islands (e.g. IK Ilion 1 = Syll.³ 330); also found are *hados*, *rhētra* and *tethmōs*. Any kind of meeting could embody its decisions in a *psephisma*. In nearly all Greek states, the highest decision-making body was the people's assembly (*ekklēsia*), whose psēphismata had to be preceded by a preliminary decision (*probouleuma*) of the council (*boulē*). In Athens in the late 5th cent. BC, the *psephisma* was regarded as belonging to the sphere of *nómos* ('(arbitrary) convention') in contrast with *phýsis*, 'immutable (law of) nature'. As a reaction against that, the Athenians at the end of the 5th cent. compiled an up-to-date code of *nómoi* and in the 4th cent. they had separate procedures for enacting laws (*nómoi*), which were intended to be permanent and of general application and to belong to the sphere of *phýsis*, and psēphismata, which were intended to be ephemeral and/or of particular application. Similarly, Aristotle regarded it as a fault of extreme *dēmokratía* that the of the people ruled and not the *nómos* (Aristot. Pol. 4,1292a 1-38; cf. [Aristot.] Ath. Pol. 41,2).

(Rhodes, 2006, “Psephisma”, in: *Brill’s New Pauly*, Antiquity volumes (Hubert Cancik and Helmut Schenider (eds.) (accessed 05 April 2017).

⁹² For example, MacDowell’s *OCD* entry notes:

Legislation was not systematic, and some confusions and contradictions arose. From 410 onwards efforts were made to rectify this situation. Existing laws were revised to remove obscurities or inconsistencies, and were all inscribed on stone; henceforth no un-inscribed law was to be enforced, and no decree could override a law. New decrees were still made by the *ekklēsia*, but the making of new laws was handed over to groups of citizens known as nomothetai. (MacDowell, 2012, “1. Legislation” in “law and procedure, Athenian,” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (4 ed.), Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow (eds.). Current Online Version: 2012; eISBN: 9780191735257. <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199545568.001.0001/acref-9780199545568-e-3617#>. Accessed 04/06/2017.)

⁹³ Henderson, Thomas R., II. “Psephismata,” *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, First Edition. Edited by Roger S. Bagnall, Kai Brodersen, Craige B. Champion, Andrew Erskine, and Sabine R. Huebner, print pages 5615–5616. © 2013 Blackwell Publishing Ltd. Published 2013 by Blackwell Publishing Ltd. DOI: 10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah04276.

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/store/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah04276/asset/wbeah04276.pdf?v=1&t=j15f4z13&s=2d44b65526d30b41dd85a7833909c38281f1a0d6>. Accessed April 5, 2017.

⁹⁴ Tod 1933, 46.

⁹⁵ Tod, 1933, 48.

453–2 B.C.,”⁹⁶ by Balcer to “the summer of 452 B.C.,”⁹⁷ and by Stephen Lambert to “454–450 BC ?”⁹⁸ the Erythrae Decree predates the Citizenship Law by most scholarly assessments.⁹⁹ As argued below, the Decree embodies a strategic use of the law that Athens turned inward through the Citizenship Law; namely, the strategic value of institutional design to prosecute Athenian interests. As Balcer points out, the controversy concerning dated relates to the transcription of the decree.¹⁰⁰ Lambert and Rhodes’ translation is provided below the Packard Humanities Institute’s transcription of the original Greek text (Fig.1):¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Meiggs and Lewis, 1969, 89.

⁹⁷ Balcer, 1984, 381. See also pp. 381–382 for discussion of complications to dating.

⁹⁸ Stephen Lambert and P.J. Rhodes (trans.), “Athenian regulations for Erythrai,” notes by Stephen Lambert, Attic Inscriptions Online, Added: Oct. 8, 2013, Updated: June 12, 2016

<https://www.atticinscriptions.com/inscription/IGI3/14> Accessed 04/08/2017.

⁹⁹ Although see Dössel: according to the entry of SEG 53 47, “Dössel adopts the *ATL* date of 452-449 B.C. for this decree, placing the text after a revolt of Erythrai whose footprints she detects in the tribute-quota lists for 448-446 B.C.”(Corsten A. Chaniotis, R.S. Stroud, and R.A. Tybout, “SEG 53-47. Athens (now lost). Decree concerning Erythrai, 452-449 B.C.?” in *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R. A. Chaniotis Corsten Papzarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a53_47> First published online: 2003 http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-53-47-athens-now-lost-decree-concerning-erythrai-452-449-bc-a53_47?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=seg+53+47

¹⁰⁰ For example, Balcer notes:

The ancient Athenian copy of that decree has long been lost and the early nineteenth century transcription by Fauvel transmitted by Boeckh presented numerous problems including that of precise dating. Because the original text of *IG* I³.14 can no longer be studied, it is difficult to edit and to restore Boeckh’s text; nevertheless, following the recent edition by Englemann and Merkelbach several articles of that decree can be recovered to a greater degree than not (Balcer, 1984, 381–382).

¹⁰¹ Searchable Greek Inscriptions: A Scholarly Tool in Progress. The Packard Humanities Institute. *IG* I³.14. Regions: Attica (IG I-III). Accessed 04/07/2017.

<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/14?bookid=4&location=7>.

Athenian regulations for Erythrai

Date: 454–450 BC ?

Malouchou, *Second facsimile*, 1

- [The Council and the People decided. – was in prytany. – was] chairman. [– was secretary. – proposed?]:
that the Erythraians^[1] shall bring grain to the Great Panathenaia, to the value
of not less than three minas, and distribute it to those of the Erythraians who are present^[2]
- 5 ...religious officials...if they bring...
...
... whoever of the Erythraians wishes. There shall
be a Council appointed by lot of a hundred and twenty men; a
10 [man who is appointed shall be examined?] in the Council, and...shall be possible to be a
councillor
if he is not less than thirty years old; [anyone rejected in the examination?]
shall be prosecuted. No one shall be a councillor twice within four years.^[3]
The overseers (?)^[4] and the garrison commander shall allot
and install the Council for now, and in future the Council and the
15 garrison commander shall do it, not less than thirty days before the Council's term of office
ends.
They shall swear by Zeus and Apollo and Demeter, invoking
ruin on one who breaks the oath and his children; [the garrison commander shall administer the
oath over perfect victims?] The Council shall [sacrifice as victims not less than a cow,
or if not it shall?] be possible to punish
20 ..the People shall burn no less.
The Council shall swear as follows: 'I shall be a councillor as best
and most justly I can for the mass of the Erythraians and of the Athenians and of the
allies;^[5] and I shall not defect from the mass of the Athenians or of the
allies of the Athenians myself, nor shall I be persuaded by another
25 who defects myself nor...another...nor shall I take back
any single one of the exiles, nor shall I be persuaded
to take back any of those who have fled to the Medes, without the permission of
the Council
and the People of the Athenians; nor shall I exile any of those who remain, without the
permission of
the Council
and the People of the Athenians.' If any of the [Erythraians kills another
30 Erythraian?], let him be put to death if he is condemned;^[6] but if...
is condemned let him be exiled from the whole alliance of the Athenians, and
let his property become public property of the Erythraians. If any one contrives...

¹⁰² Stephen Lambert and P.J. Rhodes (trans.), "Athenian regulations for Erythrai," notes by Stephen Lambert, Attic Inscriptions Online, Added: Oct. 8, 2013, Updated: June 12, 2016
<https://www.atticinscriptions.com/inscription/IGI3/14> Accessed 04/08/2017.

...the tyrants in Erythrai, he...
 ...let him be put to death...sons born from him...
 35 ... the sons born from him...
 of the Erythraians and...Athenians...the property
5 lines traces
 42 ...archers...
2 lines traces
 45 ...from each tribe...

The Decree relative to Erythrae begins with a prescription for the Erythraians on sacrificial offerings at the Athenian Panathenaia festival.¹⁰³ The decree, which Tod terms a “drastic action,” imposed extensive recompositional measures on the Erythraean government.¹⁰⁴ Tod notes:

Three further fragments of decrees relating to it are extant (*I.G.* i². 11–13), dating from about the same period as that before us [previously noted as “between 470 and 450 B.C.”]; one of them mentions ἐπίσκοποι, ἀφρούραρχος, φρουροί, and τοξόται and also deals with trials, while another records the formula of an oath somewhat similar to that of Il. 20 ff. above.¹⁰⁵

As noted in Part II (METHODOLOGY), I examined these *IG* i² inscriptions according to their *SEG* iterations through Brill’s New Pauly online, as well as those suggested by Meiggs and Lewis, finding nothing crucially relevant to the argument at hand, though I include the iterations in the

¹⁰³ Meiggs and Lewis, 1969, 91; see Tod, 1933, 49, especially his summary of the text.

Stephen Lambert notes that this was standard procedure: “Athenian colonies, as traditionally was Erythrai, were commonly expected to send offerings to the Panathenaia, cf. *IG* I³ 46,” (Stephen Lambert and P.J. Rhodes (trans.), 2013/2016, “Athenian regulations for Erythrai,” Attic Inscriptions Online, Lambert: 2n. Accessed 04/08/2017).

While this section of my paper examines the significance of the decree in the context of institutional design and political strategy, the assertion of Athenian power over Erythrai manifested itself in other areas of the decree: see Liddel, 2010, 118; see also Balcer who, referring to the Erythrae Decree, states:

By this article, the Athenians set in motion the process which subordinated Erythrai to the Athenian religious structure. To include Erythrai within that structure connoted a marked degree of metropolitan demands of a socially related group. In this, Athens began to construct a new concept for the Confederacy. By transforming it into an empire the Athenians promoted this rule, and shortly later other rules, to alter the military alliance into a religious federation or amphictyony. In the minds of the Athenians, the Confederacy had distinctly become a sphere, *the territory of the Athenian symmarchy*, with particular military, religious, and imperial structures; a sphere from which Erythraians convicted in the Erythraian courts of murder and in exile would be excluded. The emerging empire rapidly became an imperial nation of people subject to Athenian rules, demands, and religious ties. It was never a question of state and citizens, but of an amphictyonic empire of Athenians and subjects (Balcer, 1984, 283–284). Translation by Stephen Lambert and P.J. Rhodes (trans.), 2013/2016, “Athenian regulations for Erythrai,” Attic Inscriptions Online, Accessed 04/08/2017.

¹⁰⁴ Quotation on Tod, 1933, 48. Tod, 1933, 48 – 49; Meiggs and Lewis, 1969, 91–93; Stephen Lambert and P.J. Rhodes (trans.), 2013/2016, “Athenian regulations for Erythrai,” Attic Inscriptions Online, Accessed 04/08/2017.

¹⁰⁵ Tod, 1933, 48; see Meiggs and Lewis, 1969, 92–93, for assessment of these inscriptions and the date of the Decree relative to Erythrae, ultimately proposed to be “(?) 453–2 B.C.” (Meiggs and Lewis, 1969, 89 and 92–93).

bibliography. While the “[r]eligious obligations of the Erythrae,”¹⁰⁶ will not receive extensive attention here, Meiggs and Lewis importantly assert the political relevance of such stipulations, as compared to future, comparable measures, “The Erythraian regulations are less simple and represent an early stage in the conversion of an Athenian into an Empire festival.”¹⁰⁷ Although this paper focuses on institutional design as a means of imperial control,¹⁰⁸ other means existed for the Athenians to express their sovereignty over other poleis.

The remaining sections of the decree articulate the institutional alterations to the Erythraian *boule*.¹⁰⁹ In his commentary on the decree, Tod summarizes the text, noting in the third section the “Regulations regarding the Erythraean Council—its method of appointment (l. 7) and institution (ll. 1–14), the number, minimum age and δοκιμασία of its members (ll. 8–11), the restrictions placed upon their reappointment (l. 11) and the formula of the oath which each must take (ll. 14–28).”¹¹⁰ Tod observes the most significant fact in this decree, however, in a bracketed note immediately following this summary: “[n]ote how the Athenians, in seeking to make Erythrae safe for democracy, lay great stress upon the βουλή.”¹¹¹ However, in context, it seems unlikely that this measure was intended “to make Erythrae safe for democracy,”¹¹² it is more probable that, given the rebellion against Athenian rule shortly before, Athens would use this measure to exert control over the decision-making institution of Erythrae (the *boule*).¹¹³

Balcer notes,

¹⁰⁶ Tod, 1933, 49.

¹⁰⁷ Meiggs and Lewis, 1969, 91.

¹⁰⁸ Balcer, 1984, 380–383 appears to corroborate this point.

¹⁰⁹ Tod, 1933, 48–49; Meiggs and Lewis, 1969, 91–93; Balcer, 1984, 380 – 383; Lambert and P.J. Rhodes (trans.), 2013/2016, “Athenian regulations for Erythrai,” notes by Lambert, Attic Inscriptions Online, Accessed 04/08/2017; Liddel, 2010, 116 and 119.

¹¹⁰ Tod, 1933, 48.

¹¹¹ Tod, 1933, 48.

¹¹² Tod, 1933, 48.

¹¹³ Balcer, 1984, 380–381.

At Erythrai, sometime before the spring of 453 B.C., the faction in opposition to the Athenian imperial control of the Confederacy and measures to subjugate the allies seized the city. . . . In the summer of 452 B.C., however, the Athenian and confederate forces took the city of Erythrai, expelled the pro-Persian faction, and raised to political power the members of the loyalist faction. . . . And for the pro-Athenian faction the victorious Athenians issued from their Boule and Demos a series of stringent regulations, which the loyalist faction now governing Erythrai was forced to accept.¹¹⁴

These “regulations” included the Decree related to Erythrae.¹¹⁵ As Balcer points out:

In the oath of loyalty, also outlined by the Athenians, the Erythraian Bouletai were to govern most justly for the Erythraian people and for the Athenians and their allies as well. The key issue was to prevent the return of the pro-Persian faction, and in governing Erythrai the Bouletai would be carefully supervised by the Athenian Episkopoi and the Phourarchos.¹¹⁶

In this way, Balcer focuses on the supervision of the *boule* to prosecute a strategic purpose.

However, the organization of the *boule* itself likewise served Athenian interests. In itself,

however, this institutional reorganization has tremendous significance since it altered only the

policymaking body of the Erythraian state: Liddel notes that the decree itself *only* mentions the

boule: “we are not told everything (was there, for instance, an *ekklesia* at Erythrai? Was there a

judicial system?) but we are told a good deal: it appears that the primary role of the decree is to

establish an authoritative working mode of the Erythraian council.”¹¹⁷ In this way, Liddel

suggests that the decree does not provide any additional information about or prescriptions for

the other Erythraian political institutions.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ Balcer, 1984, 381.

¹¹⁵ Balcer, 55n., “IG I³ 14 = Engelmann and Merkelbach, *Inscripten von Erythrai and [sic] Klazomenai* 38–47; this text supersedes ML *GHI* 40; Bengston *SV* 2.134; *ATL* 2.D10. Traditionally dated 453/2 B.C. but uncertain, Engelmann and Merkelbach 41” (Balcer, 1984, 55n. in Notes to “Ch. 11 Ionian Discontent with Athenian Imperialism”, p.509).

¹¹⁶ Balcer, 1984, 382.

¹¹⁷ Liddel, 2010, 117.

¹¹⁸ The entry in the online publication (via Brill’s New Pauly) of *SEG* 60-64 clarifies this point; namely, that Liddel notes the absence of other political institutions from the decree, rather than their nonexistence in absolute terms, stating, “Liddel notes that the decree is silent on several important issues, such as the existence of an assembly and of courts, no doubt because it primarily aimed at establishing ‘an authoritative working mode of the Erythraian council’” (A. Chaniotis, T. Corsten, R.S. Stroud, and R.A. Tybout, “SEG 60-64. Athens (now lost). Decree concerning Erythrai, ca. 452-449 B.C.”, in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <[28](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-</p></div><div data-bbox=)

If Liddel noted the absence of other institutions from the decree rather than from existence, we can turn to Balcer's description of the Erythraian political system:

Several years earlier, perhaps before 454 B.C., the political and judicial structure of Erythrai consisted of boards of prytaneis, councillors who held office in rotating succession; a boule council; a small court of nine jurists, one chosen from each of the nine Erythraian tribal phylae; and a larger court of not less than 61 members. Over the polis, the Boule governed according to the law (nomoi) and civic decrees (psephismata). While the Athenian regulations did not radically alter this political organization, the obvious point is that the Athens and not the Erythraians outlined the form of the new Boule."¹¹⁹

In this way, Liddel's rhetorical questions precisely illustrate the purpose of the decree: though other political institutions existed, Athens ignored altering their structures and issued a decree solely to redesign the *boule*, the policymaking body of the Erythraians. In this way, the "primary role of the decree"¹²⁰ was its *only* purpose, since the Athenians consciously did not redesign the courts or the prytaneis.

Moreover, in their institutional redesign, Athens constructed an Athenian, Erythraian *boule*.¹²¹ As Meiggs and Lewis,¹²² and Lambert,¹²³ Balcer likewise notes "the reorganization of the Erythraian government in parallel structure to the then present Athenian democratic government."¹²⁴ For example, "the age limit of 30 was the same as in Athens"¹²⁵ and Tod notes, "the βουλή...is closely assimilated to that of Athens, although, in view of the smaller size of the

6772_seg_a60_64> First published online: 2010 http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-60-64-athens-now-lost-decree-concerning-erythrai-ca-452-449-bc-a60_64?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=seg+60+64).

¹¹⁹ Balcer, 1984, 382. Balcer cites "Engelmann and Merkelbach, *Inscriptionen von Erythrai und Klazomenai* 1, 22–32." (57n. Notes to "Ch. 11 Ionian Discontent with Athenian Imperialism", p. 509).

¹²⁰ Liddel 2016, 117.

¹²¹ Tod, 1933, 48–49; Meiggs and Lewis, 1969, 91–93; Balcer, 1984, 380–383; Lambert and P.J. Rhodes (trans.), 2013/2016, "Athenian regulations for Erythrai," notes by Lambert, Attic Inscriptions Online, Accessed 04/08/2017; Liddel, 2010, 116 and 119.

¹²² Meiggs and Lewis, 1969, 91–92.

¹²³ Stephen Lambert and P.J. Rhodes (trans.), 2013/2016, "Athenian regulations for Erythrai," Attic Inscriptions Online, Lambert: 3n.

¹²⁴ Balcer, 1984, 382.

¹²⁵ Stephen Lambert and P.J. Rhodes (trans.), 2013/2016, "Athenian regulations for Erythrai," Attic Inscriptions Online, Lambert: 3n.

Erythraean citizen body, the number of βουλευταί is less than at Athens (120, as against 500) and the frequency of reappointment is less narrowly limited.”¹²⁶ An Athenian, Erythraian *boule* secured Athenian expectations of the *boule*’s procedural functions and outcomes. Familiar with their own bouleutic procedure, the Athenians could rely on instituting a similar system.

Moreover, the text notes that the Athenian *boule* passed this decree, thus prescribing the construction of another *boule* based on its own design and functions. One could see strategic foresight in this measure. Finally, “the crucial restriction on iteration, though less stringent than in Athens (where the maximum tenure, until the hellenistic period, was twice in a lifetime),”¹²⁷ does not nullify the extent of Athens’ concerted control over the institution’s establishment and composition writ large. The entry in the online publication (via Brill’s New Pauly) of *SEG* 60-64 notes, “Some aspects of the oath of the decree for Erythrai can be compared with the relevant sections in the Teian texts *Nomima* I 104/105...In sum, this Athenian decree could be seen as a case of sympathetic political intervention.”¹²⁸ That a measure is “sympathetic” does not preclude its serving the interests of Athens.

In addition to establishing Erythraian *boule*’s structural organization on Athenian terms, Athens also dictated its nuanced composition: according to Meiggs and Lewis, “The first new democratic council is to be installed by the Athenian ἐπίσκοποι in co-operation with the φρούραρχος (garrison commander).”¹²⁹ Lambert’s observation that these officials were “sent to

¹²⁶ Tod, 1933, 48.

¹²⁷ Stephen Lambert and P.J. Rhodes (trans.), 2013/2016, “Athenian regulations for Erythrai,” *Attic Inscriptions Online*, Lambert: 3n.

¹²⁸ Chaniotis, A., Corsten, T., Stroud, R.S. and Tybout, R.A., “SEG 60-64. Athens (now lost). Decree concerning Erythrai, ca. 452-449 B.C.”, in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a60_64> First published online: 2010.

¹²⁹ Meiggs, 1969, 92. See also Tod, 1933, 48.

oversee the implementation of a new regime”¹³⁰ suggests Athens’ political-strategic intent in the design of the Erythraian *boule*. In this way, Athens controlled the structure of the *boule* and the details of its composition, with Athenian officials on the ground to administer the reform and likely ensure the maximal service of Athenian interests. According to Pleket and Stroud’s entry for *SEG 36-5* (via Brill’s New Pauly online), quotes Gerolymatos, who observes, “The term *episkopos* was not employed by any Greek state other than and does not seem to be used again by the Athenians after the fifth century B.C.”¹³¹ Moreover, he “speculates that episkopoi were created to facilitate better contact between Athens and her proxenoi and to acquire more information quickly about the external and internal affairs of her allies.”¹³² In this way, the supervision Athens instituted in Erythrae appears to have been an Athenian policy if not a singular occurrence. In so doing, Athens could maintain even stronger control of the ground situation in Erythrai, monitoring the political decisions and behavior and using the same officials to design the institutions.

Furthermore, Athens maintained supervision over the Erythraian *boule*’s function and rotation of its composition, as Tod notes, “[I]n future the outgoing βουλή is to act in this matter

¹³⁰ Stephen Lambert and P.J. Rhodes (trans.), 2013/2016, “Athenian regulations for Erythrai,” *Attic Inscriptions Online*, Lambert: 4n.

¹³¹ Pleket, H.W. and Stroud, R.S., “SEG 36-5. Athens. Decree concerning Erythrai, ca. 450 B.C.?” in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a36_5> First published online: 1986 http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-36-5-athens-decree-concerning-erythrai-ca-450-bc-a36_5?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=seg+36+5. See also full SEG 55 1967bis entry in the bibliography: Chaniotis, A., Corsten, T., Stroud, R.S. and Tybout, R.A., “SEG 55-1967bis. Administration. Ἐπίσκοπος,” in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a55_1967bis> First published online: 2005.

¹³² Pleket, H.W. and Stroud, R.S., “SEG 36-5. Athens. Decree concerning Erythrai, ca. 450 B.C.?” in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a36_5> First published online: 1986 http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-36-5-athens-decree-concerning-erythrai-ca-450-bc-a36_5?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=seg+36+5. See also full SEG 55 1967bis entry in the bibliography: Chaniotis, A., Corsten, T., Stroud, R.S. and Tybout, R.A., “SEG 55-1967bis. Administration. Ἐπίσκοπος,” in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a55_1967bis> First published online: 2005 .

in conjunction with the Athenian commandant (cf. Hill, *Source*, i. 153-8, Busolt, *loc. cit.*), whose presence in Erythrae is evidently regarded as permanent.”¹³³ In this way, Athens could ensure the Erythraian policymaking body passed decisions that benefited—or at least did not harm—Athenian interests. According to Tod’s assessment, with a watchful official in country, supervising specifically the *boule*’s actions, Athens monitored the political activity of the polis. As with the Athenian navy and supremacy of the seas, if Athens controlled the institution from its very foundation, she controlled its “use.”¹³⁴ As Balcer notes above, such considerate institutional redesign could prevent another revolt in the future.¹³⁵ Even so, the regulations stipulated and the reconstruction solely of the decision-making institution demonstrate that the Athenians fully recognized the strategic value of the decision-making body’s design and its implications for future policy.

Other sections of the text illustrate a strong Athenian grip on the *boule*, ensuring from the Erythraians accord with the Athenians, stressed more than with the approval of their own citizens. As Tod notes, “In the oath of the Council...the dominant note is that of loyalty to democracy and to the Athenian alliance: the δῆμος of ll. 27, 28 is that of Erythrae.”¹³⁶ Meiggs and Lewis observe, “Councillors on entering office are required to take an oath of loyalty to the new Erythraian democracy, to the Athenian democracy, and to the allies of Athens, and there are to be no more political expulsions or restorations with the authority of Athens.”¹³⁷ However, closer textual analysis highlights several strategic aspects of the stipulated requirements.

The oath to be taken by the Erythraeans illustrates the Athenian foresight of policy implications through institutional design. The oath, guaranteeing service to the *boule* “as best

¹³³ Tod, 1933, 48. Meiggs and Lewis corroborate on Meiggs and Lewis 1969, 92.

¹³⁴ Cohen, 1973, 5–6.

¹³⁵ Balcer, 1984, 382.

¹³⁶ Tod, 1933, 49.

¹³⁷ Meiggs and Lewis, 1969, 92. Balcer, 1984, on p.382 concurs.

and most justly as possible,”¹³⁸ first demands serving the Erythraean *plethos*,¹³⁹ then the Athenian *plethos*,¹⁴⁰ then the *xsunmaxon* (allies) of the Athenians.¹⁴¹ The oath then stipulates serving in defense of the Athenian *plethos*,¹⁴² and then the Athenian *xsunmaxon* (allies).¹⁴³ The vocabulary is consistent and clearly considerate. The decree mentions Erythrae in these stipulations only in the section concerning service but not protection.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, only the Athenians have allies or have allies who need protection, either because of their material position among the Greek states, a *de facto* limitation on Erythraean geopolitics, etc. (the precise reason is beyond the scope of this section, but significantly, the Athenian allies are apparently the only ones who need mention). Ultimately, on a case-by-case basis, Athens could define what it meant to serve and to defend the Athenian *plethos* and *xsunmaxon* when such a definition most conveniently advanced Athenian interests (though whether this was a reality is beyond the scope

¹³⁸ Author’s translation, though Balcer concurs on “most justly” (Balcer, 1984, 282). Greek provided by Searchable Greek Inscriptions: A Scholarly Tool in Progress. The Packard Humanities Institute. IG I³14. Regions: Attica (IG I-III). Accessed 04/07/2017. <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/14?bookid=4&location=7>, ll.21–22.

¹³⁹ Greek provided by Searchable Greek Inscriptions: A Scholarly Tool in Progress. The Packard Humanities Institute. IG I³14. Regions: Attica (IG I-III). Accessed 04/07/2017. <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/14?bookid=4&location=7>. Translation by Stephen Lambert and P.J. Rhodes (trans.), 2013/2016 “Athenian regulations for Erythrai,” Attic Inscriptions Online. <https://www.atticinscriptions.com/inscription/IGI3/14> Accessed 04/08/2017, l.22

¹⁴⁰ Greek provided by Searchable Greek Inscriptions: A Scholarly Tool in Progress. The Packard Humanities Institute. IG I³14. Regions: Attica (IG I-III). Accessed 04/07/2017. <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/14?bookid=4&location=7>. Translation by Stephen Lambert and P.J. Rhodes (trans.), 2013/2016 “Athenian regulations for Erythrai,” Attic Inscriptions Online. <https://www.atticinscriptions.com/inscription/IGI3/14> Accessed 04/08/2017, l.22.

¹⁴¹ Greek provided by Searchable Greek Inscriptions: A Scholarly Tool in Progress. The Packard Humanities Institute. IG I³14. Regions: Attica (IG I-III). Accessed 04/07/2017. <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/14?bookid=4&location=7>. Translation by Stephen Lambert and P.J. Rhodes (trans.), 2013/2016 “Athenian regulations for Erythrai,” Attic Inscriptions Online. <https://www.atticinscriptions.com/inscription/IGI3/14> Accessed 04/08/2017, l.22–23.

¹⁴² Greek provided by Searchable Greek Inscriptions: A Scholarly Tool in Progress. The Packard Humanities Institute. IG I³14. Regions: Attica (IG I-III). Accessed 04/07/2017. <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/14?bookid=4&location=7>. Translation by Stephen Lambert and P.J. Rhodes (trans.), 2013/2016 “Athenian regulations for Erythrai,” Attic Inscriptions Online. <https://www.atticinscriptions.com/inscription/IGI3/14> Accessed 04/08/2017, l.23.

¹⁴³ Greek provided by Searchable Greek Inscriptions: A Scholarly Tool in Progress. The Packard Humanities Institute. IG I³14. Regions: Attica (IG I-III). Accessed 04/07/2017. <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/14?bookid=4&location=7>. Translation by Stephen Lambert and P.J. Rhodes (trans.), 2013/2016 “Athenian regulations for Erythrai,” Attic Inscriptions Online. <https://www.atticinscriptions.com/inscription/IGI3/14> Accessed 04/08/2017, l.24.

¹⁴⁴ See, for example, Balcer, 1984, 382.

of this paper). However, it should be noted that the Athenian *plethos* the Erythraean *boulē* is required to serve and protect must have been approximately the same *plethos* that passed the CL, as the latter legal action occurred only a few years after the Erythrae Decree. The relationship further links Decree to the Law, as the similar vocabulary suggests connection between those commissioning institutional redesign abroad with its reciprocal service to Athenian interests and those commissioning institutional redesign in the domestic sphere.

Through “this drastic action,”¹⁴⁵ Athens articulated the composition of the institution and defined its purposes, wherein four out of five functions explicitly served Athenian or Athenian-related interests. Athenian domestic political history to the date the very same: practical powers and the composition of the institutions, as examined above, were redefined. But only the CL explicitly narrowed the body on maximally Athenian terms. Following the Decree by only a few years, the CL reflected the same jurisprudence that informed the Athenian strategic use of law abroad. In fact, the CL was an expansion of this jurisprudence, as it, unlike the Erythrae Decree, recomposed *every* Athenian political organ, and maximally Athenian interests pervaded every agenda, decision, and case.

¹⁴⁵ Tod, 1933, 48.

IV. ATHENIAN CONSCIOUSNESS: DRAMA AND CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS

A. THE TRAJECTORY OF EMPIRE: ATHENIAN HEGEMONY AND IMPERIALISM IN AESCHYLEAN DRAMA

Athens was an internal empire practicing external hegemony at the beginning of the fifth century BC and transformed into a transparently imperial power by the middle of the fifth century,¹⁴⁶ heralded by the Citizenship Law of 451/450. The CL continued a larger systematic, Athenian strategy to ensure its interests in domestic and foreign policy: as examined above, in the immediate historical context, Athens exemplified her recognition of institutional design as a strategic means of ensuring future policy consistent with Athenian interests in foreign policy through the Erythrae Decree.¹⁴⁷ The only conclusive precedent for the strategic institutional recomposition exhibited in the CL, the Decree exemplifies constructed the legal consciousness in which the majority operated in 451/450 BC and thus the jurisprudence that informed Athenian majority's passage of the CL.

Attitudinal shifts in Athenian jurisprudence and society manifest themselves in several plays and contemporary literature of the fifth century BC. As Athens assumed a greater role in foreign affairs, her self-examination and perception narrowed from viewing the polis in a larger Greek world as Athens et al. Greeks *contra* the much larger foreign threat (*Persians*); to the polis and citizenship as a lived experience, defined *contra* a foreign threat (*Seven Against Thebes*); to the democratic institution's voters *contra* foreigner within the society seeking refuge (*Suppliants*). Depicting the focusing Athenian relationship to the polis, the plays reconstruct the Athenian consciousness in the context of the political and legal reforms examined above.

¹⁴⁶ Raaflaub also notes a transformation (though more general than mine), stating, "Athens developed rapidly from *hēgēmon* in the newly formed Delian League to imperial power (Raaflaub, 2007, Chapter 5: "The Breakthrough of Demokratia in Mid-Fifth-Century Athens," pp.105–54, 138, in Kurt Raaflaub, Josiah Ober, and Robert W. Wallace, 2007).

¹⁴⁷ See Part III, §C (THE DECREE RELATIVE TO ERYTHRAE (*IG I³ 14*)).

Philological and literary assessment of the texts of the plays creates a conceptual timeline of cultural attitudes, sentiments, and topics of normalcy, in which statements of societal and social ideas appear in each play.¹⁴⁸ Some norms, however, are evident *in absentia*: that the tragedian or historiographer does not address a point (which in all consideration should appear) similarly illustrates conscious selection. Insofar as I am able, I attempt to place myself in the position of an audience member, with all the historical and contemporary consciousness I would have, according to the text and the discoveries and arguments of modern scholarship. Although I fully reflect upon (Middle) Liddell and Scott and the LSJ's definitions for Greek words, what they as modern, English dictionaries defines as x do not encapsulate what x meant to its original listener. For this reason, I attempt to examine the lived experience of the Athenians, for example, assessing naval development, incidents that would have added to the historical consciousness, and the lexicon of a fifth-century Athenian.

¹⁴⁸ Drawing conclusions about attitudinal sentiments and shifts from the plays I have read to date may appear to a reader foreign to the discipline to be incomprehensible. However, it is the first and most evidence-rich step in reconstructing Athenian consciousness. (Note also that Hale presents his "reconstruction of Athenian naval history" (Hale, 2009, 341 ("Notes on Sources")); however, I conceptualized my endeavor as a reconstruction before reading Hale's statement.) Drawing on my experience in military history, strategy, and political science, I would add that Mao Tse-Tung and the United States Marines Corps Small Wars Manual both indicate the importance that creative material has for understanding a culture, though on opposite sides of a revolutionary war (Mao Tse-Tung, 1967, *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-Tung*. Peking: Foreign Languages Press. United States Marines Corps, 1940, *Small Wars Manual*. FMFRP 12-15. United States Government Printing Office. 1.13, p.20)). Mao asks, "[H]ow should we mobilize them? By word of mouth, by leaflets and bulletins, by newspapers, books and pamphlets, through plays and films, through schools, through mass organizations and through our cadres" (Mao Tse-Tung, 1967, 229). Given the structure of Athenian society, cultural inundation permeated every activity of an Athenian's life in the fifth century BC. The Small Wars Manual concurs on the opposite side: rather than mobilizing, understanding the population is the focus of the counterinsurgent: Local newspapers and current periodicals are probably the most valuable sources for the study of present psychological trends of various nations. Current writings of many people of different classes comprise a history of what the people are doing and thinking and the motives for their acts. Thus, current periodicals, newspapers, etc., will more accurately portray a cross section of the character of the people. In studying the political and psychical trends of a country, one must ascertain whether or not all news organs are controlled by one political faction, in order to avoid developing an erroneous picture of the situation. (United States Marines Corps, 1940, *Small Wars Manual*. FMFRP 12-15. United States Government Printing Office. 1.13, p.20). In this way, from contemporary documents, historiography, first-person accounts, trade records, and laws, we may glean a sense of Athenian society.

For this reason, we must first address the Athenian citizen's relationship to the theatre and to his experience as an audience member. As Winkler and Zeitlin note, the audience's connection to the production is foreign to us.¹⁴⁹ The composition of the audience and their placement in the theater, must be considered first:

In classical Athens...the price of a ticket was distributed by each local town council (deme) to the citizens in good standing on their records; theater attendance was thus closely linked to citizenship. What is more, the audience sat in the open-air theater below the Akropolis in wedge-shaped sections designated for each of the ten political tribes, just as they did for other city meetings. The audience was overwhelmingly male and, except for tourists and visiting dignitaries, was composed of the same few thousands of active citizens to be seen at any important public meeting, plus those who had traveled from their farms to the city for the five-day holiday known as the Great (or City) Dionysia.¹⁵⁰

In this way, the Athenian theater was where all aspects civic and personal life came together into one communal, collective experience, and one based on a legal and civic sense of belonging to the community. Oddone Longo notes, "It may not be amiss to insist from the beginning on the collective or communitarian character of the Athenian theater public in the classical period: a public which is quite unparalleled in the history of drama in that it coincided—in principle and to a great extent in fact—with the civic community, that is, the community of *citizens*."¹⁵¹ Longo goes on to state, "What we meet in the fifth century is a highly differentiated society, structured by antagonistic classes, although it could still maintain (beyond any sense of interior dichotomy and in specific contexts) a corporate identity in a model acceptable to all, within and ideological system supported by a general consensus."¹⁵² In *Persians*, *Seven*, and *Suppliants*, collective identity becomes profoundly salient and self-evident.

¹⁴⁹ John J. Winkler and Froma I. Zeitlin, 1990, Introduction to *Nothing to Do with Dionysus?*, 4.

¹⁵⁰ Winkler and Zeitlin, 1990, Introduction, 4. See also p.5, the first full paragraph on the modern equivalent of the entire festival.

¹⁵¹ Longo, 1990, 13, emphasis original.

¹⁵² Longo, 1990, 18.

That the society collectively experienced these depictions draws our attention to what I argue is presupposed knowledge of elements of Athenian identity expressed on stage; namely, the navy, the political institutions, and citizenship. Longo points out:

These rituals were understood to be celebrations of the polis and of its ideology, and they constituted the immediate framework of the plays. The community of the plays' *spectators*, arranged in the auditorium according to tribal order, (no different from what happened on the field of battle or in the burial of the war dead), was not distinct from the community of *citizens*. The dramatic spectacle was one of the rituals that deliberately aimed at maintaining social identity and reinforcing the cohesion of the group.¹⁵³

If the plays are particularly “celebrations of the *polis* and of its ideology,”¹⁵⁴ then their content suggests the ideology and how the polis defined and expressed this identity and collective consciousness. As stated in Part I (PROLEGOMENA), the assembly that passed the CL in 451/450 BC likely constituted the audience watching the prior Aeschylean plays, perhaps even including *Persians*. Given the role Athenian drama played in the dynamics of the society, it is even more crucial to examine the normative and salient concepts evoked in the plays to reconstruct the consciousness of the Athenian voting majority.

B. AESCHYLUS' *PERSIANS* (472 BC)¹⁵⁵

Aeschylus' *Persai* illustrates Athenian hegemony and distinction from Greece writ large.

However, while the rhetoric is certainly pro-Athenian, it is not imperialistic. Drawing on the

¹⁵³ Longo, 1990, 16. Moreover:

The theatrical event in ancient Athens was a public event par excellence. The Athenians' dramatic performances were not conceivable as autonomous productions, in some indifferent point in time or space, but were firmly located within the framework of a civic festival, at a time specified according to the community calendar, and in a special place expressly reserved for this function. This place, which was the scene of the collective festival, provided a proper home not only for the dramatic contest but also for other celebrations, which were no less strictly tied to the civic system: at the City Dionysia, honors voted to citizens and foreigners were proclaimed in the theater; the tribute from Athens' allies was exhibited in the theater; orphans of war who had been raised at the city's expense were paraded in the theater in full panoply in the year when they reached their majority (Longo, 1990, 15–16).

¹⁵⁴ Longo, 1990, 16.

¹⁵⁵ Throughout this paper, where noted, I have either used or been assisted by the translation of Christopher Collard (Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. Collard, Aesch. *Pers.* and *Seven against Thebes*). Unless noted, the translation, paraphrase, or note is my own.

close connection between civic and personal consciousness,¹⁵⁶ expected themes *in absentia* and explicit reference in *Persai* illustrate that while hegemonic, Athens was not the imperial power of the Greek world as of 472 BC. Athens was the material and ideological Clausewitzian “center of gravity,”¹⁵⁷ the former simply stated¹⁵⁸ and the latter explained as predicated on her triumph over the Persians at Marathon.¹⁵⁹ In this way, Athens’ victory was the impetus for the Persian attack on Greece writ large. In terms of strategic power (and a broader balance of power) Athens was the hegemon.

This is not to suggest that such a balance of power was agreeable to all.¹⁶⁰ Herodotus notes that before the battle of Salamis, in preparation for the Battle of Artemisium, the allies hesitated to place Athens in control, having more faith the Spartans:

[T]he allies refused to follow Athenian leadership and said that they would wreck the projected campaign unless there was someone from Laconia in overall command. [3] There had been talk right at the start, even before the delegation was sent to Sicily to try to arrange an alliance, to the effect that the Athenians should be in charge of the fleet. But when the allies protested, the Athenians gave way, because what was important to them was the survival of Greece and they knew that if they made leadership a point of dispute, Greece was lost. And they were right, because internal dissension is worse than a united war effort to the same degree that war is worse than peace. So it was appreciation of this fact that made the Athenians give way without making a fuss—but, as they later demonstrated, only for as long as they badly needed the rest of the Greeks. Once Xerxes’ invasion had been repulsed and they were fighting on his territory rather than their own, they deprived the Lacedaemonians of the leadership, using Pausanias’ arrogant behaviour as a pretext.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁶ John J. Winkler and Froma I. Zeitlin, 1990, 4–5; Longo, 1990, 13–18.

¹⁵⁷ Carl von Clausewitz, Peter Paret, and Michael Howard, 1974, Bk. VIII, Ch. 4, 595–596: “What the theorist has to say here is this: one must keep the dominant characteristics of both belligerents in mind. Out of these characteristics a certain center of gravity develops, the hub of all power and movement, on which everything depends. That is the point against which all our energies should be directed.”

¹⁵⁸ Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*. Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch. *Pers.* 1.233.

¹⁵⁹ Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*. Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. Collard, Aesch. *Pers.* 1.472–477.

¹⁶⁰ Meiggs concurs: see Meiggs, 1972, 5 and 40.

¹⁶¹ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans., Robin Waterfield. Hdt. *Hist.* 8.2–3.

That Athens wanted to lead and the allies denied her this opportunity suggests that the allies saw imperialistic or at least oppressive leadership potential in Athens; thus the allies had a pretext for distrusting the Athenians. Moreover, Herodotus here notes that this was a “coalition” effort,¹⁶² reinforced by the fact that Athens apparently “needed the rest of the Greeks.”¹⁶³ Finally, not only had Athens had her eye on leadership of the Greek states, but she placed her desire to the side and returned to it as soon as the opportunity presented itself.

Two colliding factors suggest that *Persai* exists prior to the era of Athenian naval supremacy and thus is pre-Empire. First, *in absentia*: in a play whose central event is the Battle of Salamis, there is no reference to the Athenian navy or to her naval contribution. Instead, the broadly termed “Greek fleet”¹⁶⁴ defeats the Persians at Salamis. There is no reference to Athens even leading the battle of Salamis, in spite of the fact that Themistocles pushed the 483–480 naval reforms.¹⁶⁵

Second, Aeschylus instead emphasizes her prowess as a spear-wielding, land-force. The Persians (e.g. Aeschylus’ mouth), emphasize Athenian success at Marathon (in 490)¹⁶⁶ and her land-based tactical prowess,¹⁶⁷ from which she diverted attention in 483 to focus on her navy.¹⁶⁸ If naval superiority underpinned and facilitated the Athenian Empire,¹⁶⁹ a play about the greatest Athenian naval success stresses Marathon, suggesting that Athenian naval superiority had not yet

¹⁶² Strauss, 2004, 16 and 17.

¹⁶³ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.3.

¹⁶⁴ Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, l.384; Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

¹⁶⁵ Jordan, 1972, 17–20; for the date see Jordan, 1972, 17–20 and Kinzl, 2006, “Themistocles;” and Hale, 2009, “Chronology,” 320–321.

¹⁶⁶ Later in the play, the messenger will claim that Xerxes launched the combat extravaganza in an attempt to meet or exceed Darius’ success (ll. 754–58).

¹⁶⁷ Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch. *Pers.* l.240. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

¹⁶⁸ Jordan, 1972, 17–20; for the date see Jordan, 1972, 17–20 and Kinzl, 2006, “Themistocles;” and Hale, 2009, “Chronology,” 320–321.

¹⁶⁹ I argue it facilitated Empire; Hale notes the many benefits the navy bestowed on Athens, 2009, xxvi–xxxiii. See also Jordan, 1972, *passim*, and Cohen, 1973, *passim*.

been achieved by 472. The polis' naval prowess may have begun with Salamis but reached its zenith years afterward. It is not until the 460s that Athens uses her navy not as a last resort of survival in the face of an existential threat, but as a strategic force to realize her interests.¹⁷⁰ Moreover, if Xerxes planned a naval confrontation with the Greeks writ large, why waste time considering land-forces? If Xerxes, like every character, speaks for Aeschylus, the tragedian must have wanted to remind his audience of Athens' solo victory (the land-based repulsion of the Persian amphibious assault at Marathon).

Furthermore, though Aeschylus evokes crucial elements of his audience's historical memory, he ellipses the principal episode: the sack of Athens.¹⁷¹ Central to the Athenian historical consciousness must have been the experience of evacuating their city before the Persians burned it to the ground.¹⁷² Yet Aeschylus never alludes to this in *Persai*. Furthermore, Aeschylus goes so far as to state that Athens will fall only over the dead bodies of Athenians.¹⁷³ The historical reality suggests otherwise, since the city was evacuated.¹⁷⁴ This calls into question whether the emphasis on Athens' military prowess is another instance of such selective memory.

The Battle of Salamis, unlike that of Marathon, was not an independently Athenian victory: a "coalition"¹⁷⁵ of Greek states led by Athens opposed and defeated the materially superior Persians. Aeschylus could not emphasize Athenian superiority while celebrating a

¹⁷⁰ Hale, 2009, 321–322. See also Hale's suggested connection between the contemporary events, Egypt, Aeschylus, and *Suppl.* at Hale, 2009, 98–99.

¹⁷¹ Hale, 2009, 58–59.

¹⁷² Hale, 2009, 58–59. Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.52–56.

¹⁷³ Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch. *Pers.* l. 349. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

¹⁷⁴ Kinzl, 2006, "Themistocles" and Eder, 2006, "Troezen inscription;" Hale, 2009, 39.

¹⁷⁵ Strauss, 2004, 16 and 17.

“coalition” victory.¹⁷⁶ This calls into question why *Persai* is not about Marathon, then, if Athens saw herself as superior. Aeschylus, who fought in both campaigns,¹⁷⁷ chose to focus on Salamis.

Moreover, Aeschylus frames the entire Salamis exploit in terms of “Greek”¹⁷⁸ even when he has the opportunity to stress the Athenian contribution. First, in the messenger’s quotation of the Greek pre-battle rousing speech, Aeschylus surfaces a collective rather than individual historical consciousness from his audience.¹⁷⁹ Given his involvement in the campaign, Aeschylus based the speech on truth from his own experience (e.g. hearing trumpets,¹⁸⁰ all the men shouting,¹⁸¹ and a “voice” urging the Greeks on¹⁸²). Importantly, Aeschylus does not note the intra-Hellenic origin of the “great voice.”¹⁸³ It is simply a “great voice”¹⁸⁴ addressing the “Greeks.”¹⁸⁵ Thus the speech stresses a collective identity, not as Athenians but as Greeks. In fact, even though an Athenian mole deceives Xerxes, he is described as being “a Greek man coming from the Athenian men.”¹⁸⁶

All of this, however, does not prevent Aeschylus from distinguishing Athens from Greece. Most explicitly, Darius refers to the opposition as “Athens and Greece.”¹⁸⁷ The significance of this comment is more apparent in the fact that the Persians go into great detail to describe each

¹⁷⁶ Strauss, 2004, 16 and 17.

¹⁷⁷ Bernhard (Freiburg) Zimmerman in Zimmermann, Bernhard (Freiburg) and Weißenberger, Michael (Greifswald), “Aeschylus”, 2006, section A (A: “Biography”).

¹⁷⁸ Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*. ll.2, 50, 70, 186, 271, 334, 338, 351, 358, 362, 369, 373, 384, 388, 393, 400, 402, 409, 417, 452, 455, 722, 754, 758, 790, 796, 799, 809, 824, 875, and 900). Assistance from a search via Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, though I accomplished some of this tracking on my own. Search for “Ελλα” via TLG (12/19/16) (see bibliography).

¹⁷⁹ See pp. 23–26 for discussion. and ll.402, 409, 417. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

¹⁸⁰ Aesch. *Pers.* 1.395. Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

¹⁸¹ Aesch. *Pers.* 1.386–94. Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

¹⁸² Aesch. *Pers.* 1.402 Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

¹⁸³ Aesch. *Pers.* 1.402 Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

¹⁸⁴ Aesch. *Pers.* 1.402 Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

¹⁸⁵ Aesch. *Pers.* 1.402 Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

¹⁸⁶ Aesch. *Pers.* 1.355. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

¹⁸⁷ Aesch. *Pers.* 1.823. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

subject state's contribution, naming the Lydians,¹⁸⁸ the Egyptians,¹⁸⁹ the Mysians,¹⁹⁰ etc.,¹⁹¹

while Aeschylus refers to no polis other than Athens. There is Athens and then there is everyone else.

The primary example of Athenian hegemony but not imperialism is an explicit statement of Athens not as superior to the other Greeks but as what to Clausewitz was the “center of gravity.”¹⁹² Apparently destruction of Athens alone will bring about the fall of all Greece:

AT. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἴμεῖρ' ἐμὸς παῖς τήνδε θηρᾶσαι πόλιν;
XO. πᾶσα γὰρ γένοιτ' ἄν Ἑλλάς βασιλέως ὑπήκοος.

AT. And yet my son desired to capture this city?

XO. Yes; for then all Greece would become subject to the King.¹⁹³

In this way, should Athens fall, all of Greece would fall with it. This places Athens in strategic importance at the top of the geostrategic pyramid; at the level of hegemon of the Greek world.

As Smyth's translation brought to my attention, this comment begins an exchange between

Atossa and the Chorus focused on Xerxes' motivation for his attack on Greece.¹⁹⁴ Atossa knows

¹⁸⁸ Aesch. *Pers.* ll.41, 770, Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*. Search for “Λυδ” (12/22/16) via TLG (see bibliography).

¹⁸⁹ Aesch. *Pers.* l.35 and 311. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*. Assisted by search for “αιγυπτ” via TLG (12/23/16) (see bibliography).

¹⁹⁰ Aesch. *Pers.* ll.52 and 322. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*. Search for “Μυσι” (12/22/16) via TLG (see bibliography).

¹⁹¹ See for example, ll.14–58, 765, 302–330. Aesch. *Pers.* l.823. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

¹⁹² Carl von Clausewitz, Peter Paret, and Michael Howard, 1974, Bk.VIII, Ch. 4, 595. See also 30n.

¹⁹³ Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, Aesch. *Pers.* l.233, trans. Collard. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

In Summer 2016, I personally translated the play, referencing Collard and Smyth's translation on when necessary. I made comments on the text and saved the document featuring sections of the Greek text with my comments and notes in the margin. Moreover, I wrote part of a commentary to the play. I did not write about *Persians* until I returned to Penn, at which time it became more necessary for me to read Collard and Smyth. At times, in both the summer and the academic year, Collard and Smyth brought to my attention themes and issues apparent through their translations. However, unless otherwise stated, I concurred with the Collard translation used in this paper, and I believe it illustrates the point I am trying to make.

For example, in the above statement, it should be noted that I, reading the Greek without Collard, noticed the primacy placed on Athens as the center of gravity of Greece. In this diagnostic paper, for longer translations, I use Collard's translation to avoid in-depth philological discussion regarding my own translation choices. However, I concur with his translation of l.233. Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, ll.232–233. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

¹⁹⁴ Aeschylus. Aeschylus, with an English translation by Herbert Weir Smyth, Ph. D. in two volumes. 1. *Persians*. Herbert Weir Smyth, Ph. D. Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press. 1926.

very little about Athens and inquires of the Chorus why she is such an important strategic target.¹⁹⁵ In effect, Aeschylus causes a character in his play to ask “What’s so great about Athens?” providing the perfect opportunity to profess all the Athenian assets. In other words, an Athenian, veteran audience watched the Persians describe to them their own society based on a script written by one of their compatriots. Compounded with Aeschylus’ civic status and identity, the information in the exchange constitutes the focal points of Athenians pride:

AT. ὦδέ τις πάρεστιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδροπλήθεια στρατοῦ;
 XO. < * * * >
 AT. < * * * >
 XO. καὶ στρατὸς τοιοῦτος, ἔρξας πολλὰ δὴ Μήδους κακά.
 AT. πότερα γὰρ τοξουλκὸς αἰχμὴ διὰ χεροῖν αὐτοῖς πρέπει; [239]
 XO. οὐδαμῶς: ἔγχη σταδαῖα καὶ φεράσπιδες σαγαί. [240]
 AT. καὶ τί πρὸς τούτοισιν ἄλλο; πλοῦτος ἐξαρκῆς δόμοις; [237]
 XO. ἀργύρου πηγὴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐστι, θησαυρὸς χθονός. [238]
 AT. τίς δὲ ποιμάνωρ ἔπεστι κἀπιδεδεσπόζει στρατῶι;
 XO. οὔτινος δοῦλοι κέκληνται φωτὸς οὐδ’ ὑπήκοοι.
 AT. πῶς ἂν οὔν μένοιεν ἄνδρας πολεμίους ἐπήλυδας;
 XO. ὥστε Δαρείου πολὺν τε καὶ καλὸν φθειῖραι στρατόν.

AT. So do they have a multitude of men in their army?¹⁹⁶
 XO. Indeed such a force, indeed it did much damage to the Medians.
 AT. And what else did they do to these men? Do they have enough wealth for their homes?
 XO. They have a certain fount of silver, a treasury of the earth.
 AT. Does the bow-stretching arrow in their hands suit them?
 XO. Not at all: a close-combat spear and shield-bearing packs.
 AT. But who is the shepherd lording over their host?
 XO. They are said to be slaves and subjects of no man.¹⁹⁷
 AT. How, then, do they await hostile, foreign men?¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, l.232. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

¹⁹⁶ I have used my own translation for this section. In this line, I disagree strongly with Collard’s translation, including “Athenians” and a superlative noun, both of which are not in the Greek, saying “Have the Athenians so much the fullest numbers in the host, then?” (Collard trans., in Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, *Aesch. Pers.* 234. That “fullest numbers” is not in the Greek is crucial: this sentence cannot then be tied to numerical assessment in Herodotus (Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.1 and 8.44). Moreover, Athenian superiority in manpower among the Greeks is not attested and thus is not one of Aeschylus’ different ways of distinguishing Athens from the Greeks.

¹⁹⁷ Collard assisted me in this translation, reminding me that the first word is adjectival.

¹⁹⁸ Collard’s translation “So how would they withstand enemies who come against them?” makes sense, but the attacking notion would be implicit (it is not explicitly in the Greek).

XO. Such that they destroyed the multitudinous and brave army of King Darius.¹⁹⁹

This exchange illustrates that *Persai* exists prior to the era of Athenian naval supremacy (the means, I argue, of empire²⁰⁰). Mentioning the silver treasury that funds the military seems standard. But since Athens undertook serious naval reforms from 483–480,²⁰¹ “engineered the historic Greek naval victory” at Salamis,²⁰² we would expect, in a play *about* the battle of Salamis, a celebration of the Athenian navy not of “close-combat spear and shield-bearing packs.”²⁰³ Two colliding factors in this exchange suggest that this was not yet central to Athenian identity and that, by consequence, neither was the Athenian empire, just Athenian hegemony. First, *in absentia*: in its list of Athenian strengths, the Chorus does not mention the navy. Secondly, when the Chorus does mention Athenian strategic assets, it speaks only of a strong land force (l.240). If the navy had developed into her imperial insignia, we would expect more emphasis.

On the one hand, emphasizing the land force also provides Aeschylus an additional opportunity to distinguish Athens from the rest of Greece, since Salamis was a “coalition”²⁰⁴ victory. However, Athens was by far the most important fleet in the battle: Aeschylus had an opportunity to celebrate Athenian power; he did not need to create a new one. Athens triumphed at Marathon, but it was a battle almost two decades before the production of *Persai* and a decade before the Battle of Salamis.

¹⁹⁹ Throughout this paper: Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Dictionaries used: (Middle) Liddell and Scott and LSJ. Additional translation notes/references (see 65–67nn. above) from Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch. *Pers.* ll.235–244.

²⁰⁰ Hale, 2009, xxvii–xxxii argues that it facilitated growth, though I argue empire (as this project will illustrate).

²⁰¹ Jordan, 1972, 17–20; for the date see Jordan, 1972, 17–20 and Kinzl, 2006, “Themistocles;” and Hale, 2009, “Chronology,” 320–321.

²⁰² Quotation at Hale, 2009, xxiv. See also Hale, 2009, xxxi.

²⁰³ Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch. *Pers.* ll.240. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

²⁰⁴ Strauss, 2004, 16 and 17.

However, in the lead-up to and the prosecution of the Battle of Salamis, Athens was materially superior to every other participating Greek state, as Herodotus notes that at

Artemesium:

The fleet consisted of the following Greek contingents. The Athenians provided 127 ships, with crews of Plataeans as well as Athenians; the Plataeans compensated for their lack of nautical expertise with their courage and determination. The Corinthian contingent was 40 ships, and the Megarians provided 20. The crews of another 20 were supplied by Calchis, although the Athenians gave them the ships. The Aeginetans provided 18, the Sicyonians 12, the Lacedaemonians 10, the Apidaurians 8, the Eretrians 7, the Troezenians 5, the Styrians 2, and the Ceans 2 triremes and 2 penteconters. The contribution of the Opuntian Locrians consisted of 7 penteconters.²⁰⁵

Several issues are remarkable in this passage. Athens contributed not only largest proportion of the ships, but also aggregately more than all of the other Greek states *combined* (144:133), even contributing Calchis' share of ships.²⁰⁶ Athens was so materially superior to the Greeks that she could contribute over 50% of the ships.²⁰⁷ What is most notable, however, is that she did not have the manpower to row them: Plataeans rowed some of her *own* ships, implying that there had not been enough Athenian men to row 127 ships.²⁰⁸ Moreover, the Calchians rowed 20 other ships that were also Athenian manufactures.²⁰⁹ Thus it appears that by the Battle of Artemesium, the Athenian navy was critically undermanned.

However, by Salamis, Athens had mobilized her men and continued her material superiority: at Salamis “Athens provided “a hundred and eight ships, more than anyone else, and did so with no help this time, since the Plataeans did not support them at the battle of Salamis.”²¹⁰ This may have been because the sack of Athens occurred in the interim between the

²⁰⁵ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.1.

²⁰⁶ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.1.

²⁰⁷ Hero Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.1.

²⁰⁸ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.1.

²⁰⁹ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.1.

²¹⁰ Herodotus and Robin Waterfield, 2008, *Hdt.* 8.44, trans. by Robin Waterfield. At Artemesium Athens provided more than half of the total number of ships by herself; she even provided Calchis with 20 of her own ships, while

two battles, evacuating men to Salamis, who were, therefore, more readily available to mobilize, and we can return to Hale’s observation that mass mobilization occurred “[a]t times of supreme crisis.”²¹¹

In addition to having ample opportunity to stress Athenian material contribution to the Battle of Salamis, Aeschylus also could have underscored her naval talent. According to Herodotus, “The first Greek to capture an enemy ship was an Athenian” at Artemisium.²¹² Moreover, at the same battle, “On the Greek side, battle honours went that day to the Athenians, and among the Athenians to Cleinias the son of Alcibiades, who provided two hundred men and his own ship, all at his own expense for the war effort.”²¹³ Unless her talent significantly dropped in the intervening time, Athens was quite a capable naval force—apparently the most capable of the city-states. Aeschylus’ omission of Athenian naval prowess was a conscious decision that further underscores the significance of his emphasis on Athenian land forces. And it is not that he forgets that Salamis was a naval battle: the Persians lament “the boats!” (as is typical in tragedy) multiple times.²¹⁴

The tragedian’s subliminal stress on Marathon comes to its explicit apex in ll.472–75, when Atossa provides her own reason for Xerxes’ attack on Greece.²¹⁵ In l.472, Atossa says:

Ατ. ὦ στρυγνὲ δᾶμον, ὡς ἄρ’ ἔψευσας φρενῶν
Πέρσας· πικρὰν δὲ παῖς ἐμὸς τιμωρίαν

eleven other poleis collectively supplied the rest of the vessels (Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.1.).

²¹¹ Hale, 2013, xxvi.

²¹² Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.11.

²¹³ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.17.

²¹⁴ *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*. Aesch. *Pers.* ll.561–564:

ναῆς μὲν ἄγαγον, τοτοῖ
ναῆς δ’ ἀπόλεσαν, τοτοῖ
ναῆς πανωλέθροισιν ἐμβολαῖς,
διὰ δ’ Ἰαόνων χέρας.

²¹⁵ Later in the play, the messenger will claim that Xerxes launched the combat extravaganza in an attempt to meet or exceed Darius’ success (ll.754–58). Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch. *Pers.* 472–475 (and for the aforementioned aside, ll.754–58). Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

κλεινῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἡῦρε, κούκ ἀπήρκεσαν
οὕς πρόσθε Μαραθῶν βαρβάρων ἀπόλεσεν·
ῶν ἀντίποινα παῖς ἐμὸς πράξειν δοκῶν
τοσόνδε πλήθος πημάτων ἐπέσπασε.

AT. Hateful deity, you cheated the Persians
of their wits, it is now clear! A bitter outcome my son found to his
vengeance upon famous Athens! The Persians whom Marathon
killed before were not enough: it was for them my son though to exact
penalty, but he drew on himself so many painful losses.²¹⁶

According to Collard’s translation, Athens was Xerxes’ military and ideological “center of gravity.”²¹⁷ As a result of Marathon, Xerxes struck back specifically at Athens. Moreover, Athens is the *reason* for the Persian attacks on Greece writ large. Thus all that follows in the play about Salamis stems from Athens alone.

In Aeschylus’ words, “Greece” writ large fights the battle of Salamis:²¹⁸ there is no exclusively Athenian element (other than the mole, who is actually a “Greek man” coming from the Athenian contingent²¹⁹). If Athens were internally and tacitly imperial, Aeschylus would have been compelled to depict Athenian contribution to the “coalition,”²²⁰ unless:

- a) The Athenian navy did not play such a role as Herodotus suggests
- b) The Athenian navy had not reached the level, at least in Athenian eyes, of its land force.
- c) The historical consciousness of Salamis existed in a collective Greek sense.
- d) It was (politically) inexpedient to mention.

²¹⁶ Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch. *Pers.* 472–475. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

²¹⁷ Carl von Clausewitz, Peter Paret, and Michael Howard, 1974, Bk.VIII, Ch. 4, 595.

²¹⁸ Il.402–420, bes. 402, 409, 417. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

²¹⁹ Aesch. *Pers.* 355. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

²²⁰ Strauss, 2004, 16 and 17.

It is unlikely that Herodotus is wrong; b) is possible, but only a few years later Athens sent out naval expeditionary forces.²²¹ Moreover, we can deduce part of this prowess from quantitative assessment: the Persians claim that their fleet *significantly* outnumbered that of Greece:

ΑΤ. ἀτὰρ φράσον μοι τοῦτ' ἀναστρέψας πάλιν,
τόσονδὲ πλῆθος ἦν νεῶν Ἑλληνίδων,
ὥστ' ἀξιῶσαι Περσικῶι στρατεύματι
μάχην συνάψαι ναῖσσισιν ἐμβολαῖς;

ΑΓ. πλήθους μὲν ἂν σάφ' ἴσθ' ἕκατι βαρβάρων
ναυσὶν ἂν κρατῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ Ἑλλησιν μὲν ἦν
ὁ πᾶς ἀριθμὸς ἐς τριακάδας δέκα
ναῶν, δεκάς δ' ἦν τῶνδε χωρὶς ἔκκριτος·
Ξέρξει δὲ, καὶ γὰρ οἶδα, χιλιάς μὲν ἦν
ὧν ἦγε πλῆθος, αἱ δ' ὑπέρκοποι τάχει
ἑκατὸν δις ἦσαν ἐπτὰ θ'·

ΑΤ. Go back again, however, and tell me this: just how large was the number of Greek ships, to justify their engaging and attacking the Persian fleet?

ΑΓ. In mass you must know that the Persian ships would have been superior; for the fact is, the Greeks' entire number came to three hundred, and a tenth of these were select and separate. Xerxes, on the other hand, massed a thousand (I know this as a fact) under his command, while the faster ships came to two hundred and seven.²²²

Since Athens had been the main contributor,²²³ the Athenian navy must have performed phenomenally well.

Again an *in absentia* theme suggests that the historical consciousness was selective. In 480, Persia prosecuted its own March to the Sea, razing Athens to the ground.²²⁴ Themistocles' eponymously named decree also evacuated Athens, sending her men to Salamis and her women

²²¹ Hale, 2009, 98–99, 321–322.

²²² Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch. *Pers.* ll.333–343. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

²²³ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.1 and 8.44.

²²⁴ Hale, 2009, 58–59. Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.52–56.

and children to Troizen, just before the Persians burned the city.²²⁵ Shortly thereafter, the battle of Salamis began,²²⁶ the close temporal proximity should be borne in mind since, in the one extant play about the Battle of Salamis, there is no reference to the sack of Athens. Aeschylus could have included it in any moment of the Persians' dialogue, or the Greek rousing speech, especially if Xerxes' vendetta was against Athens in particular, yet it does not appear.

Perhaps glossing over the sack of Athens, which was central to the Athenians and for Greece writ large since Athens was the leading power, indicates that it was still too sensitive a topic to be addressed on stage. Aeschylus would have been wary of the dangers of examining issues too close to the surface consciousness, knowing the fate that Phrynichus suffered after *The Capture of Miletus*.²²⁷

However, this answer is insufficient. As stated above, the audience, and the director himself, had fought at Salamis.²²⁸ Athens had provided a major material and strategic contribution to the invasion of Salamis:²²⁹ if the sack of Athens (A) relates to the battle (B) and the battle (B) features not reference to Athenian leadership (C), the sack of Athens (A) is related to the lack of mention (C). Perhaps Aeschylus could not stress Athens in Salamis because that would require addressing the burning of Athens. Instead, Aeschylus can stress Marathon: it was a fantastic moment in Athenian history and, more importantly, it in no way related to polis' destruction a decade later. Salamis could be written off as a collective victory and both could still

²²⁵ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.41–43; 8.52–56. Jordan, 1972, 17–20; for the date see Jordan, 1972, 17–20 and Kinzl, 2006, “Themistocles;” and Hale, 2009, “Chronology,” 320–321. Hale, 2009, 58–59.

²²⁶ *Britannica Academic*, s.v. “Greco-Persian Wars.”

²²⁷ Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, introduction by Collard, xxi, 7n.

²²⁸ Bernhard (Freiburg) Zimmerman in Zimmermann, Bernhard (Freiburg) and Weißenberger, Michael (Greifswald), “Aeschylus”, 2006, section A (A: “Biography”).

²²⁹ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.1 and 8.44; Hale, 2009, xxiv. See also Hale, 2009, xxxi.

be celebrated in one play.²³⁰ But why would Aeschylus emphasize a battle that took place ten years before Salamis, which effectively created the Athenian navy, when he could stress the navy's success in the play about Salamis?

This becomes clearer when we view Aeschylus' subversion of the evacuation itself. Aeschylus reinforces Athenian bravery on land in l.349: when asked if Athens is still standing, the Chorus responds, ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ὄντων ἕρκος ἐστὶν ἀσφαλές.²³¹ Persia can take polis over the Athenians' dead bodies. The veteran audience might cheer, proud of their Athenian identity. But this statement deviates from the historical reality: the whole audience had evacuated Athens before the Persians razed it to the ground in 480.²³² Three passages in Herodotus reconstruct a scene of extraordinary bravery and trauma. When the Persians arrive:

The city fell to them, but it was deserted. The only Athenians they came across were a few temple-stewards and paupers in the sanctuary, who had made barricades out of doors and planks to defend the Acropolis against the invaders...The besieged Athenians carried on defending the Acropolis, even though they were in desperate trouble and their barricade had failed them. They also refused to listen to the terms proposed by the Pisistratidae for their surrender. One way or another—for instance, by rolling boulders down on the Persians as they approached the gates—they fought back in defence of the Acropolis so well that for a long while Xerxes was stuck and did not know how [to] bring the siege to a successful conclusion.²³³

The remaining Athenians, however, fought to the death:

[S]ome of the Athenians threw themselves from the wall to their deaths, while others sought sanctuary in the temple. The Persians who had completed the ascent first made their way to the gates and opened them, and then murdered the suppliants. When there was no one left standing, they plundered the sanctuary and set fire to the whole Acropolis.²³⁴

²³⁰ Strauss, 2004, 16 and 17.

²³¹ Aesch. *Pers.* l.349. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

²³² Hale, 2009, 58–59; Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.52–56; *Britannica Academic*, s.v. "Greco-Persian Wars."

²³³ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.52.

²³⁴ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.54.

On its own, this would be a story to pass on if not to immediately motivate the Athenians to fight equally as ferociously at Salamis. Instead, Herodotus notes, “When news of the events on the Athenian Acropolis reached the Greeks on Salamis, they were so panic-stricken that some of the commanders did not even wait for a final decision on the proposal about what action to take, but rushed for their ships and began to hoist their sails with the intention of beating a hasty retreat.”²³⁵ The sack of Athens was profoundly traumatic, and it is conceivable that it would be paramount in their consciousness shortly thereafter later at Salamis.²³⁶

Aeschylus may allude to the events; but if he does so, it is in explicitly general terms—there is no specific connection to Athens, but the events sound familiar. At one point, Darius describes the crimes the Persians committed in Greece:

ΔΑ. οὐ σφιν κακῶν ὕψιστ' ἐπαμμένει παθεῖν,
 ὕβρεως ἄποινα κἀθέων φρονημάτων:
 οἱ γῆν μολόντες Ἑλλάδ' οὐ θεῶν βρέτη
 ἠιδούντο συλᾶν οὐδὲ πιμπρᾶναι νεῶς·
 βωμοὶ δ' ἄιστοι δαιμόνων θ' ἰδρύματα
 πρόρριζα φύρδην ἐξανέστραπται βάθρων.
 τοιγὰρ κακῶς δράσαντες οὐκ ἐλάσσονα
 πάσχουσι, τὰ δὲ μέλλουσι, κούδέπω καῶν
 κρηπίς γῆι Πλαταιῶν Δωρίδος λόγχης ὕπο·

DA. The worst of disasters are waiting there for them to suffer, atonement for their aggressive and godless thinking, men who went to the land of Greece and had no scruple in plundering gods' statues or burning temples; altars have disappeared, and holy shrines have been uprooted from their foundations in scattered ruin. For their evil actions, therefore, they suffer no less and are destined for more; no solid floor yet lies beneath their woes, they well up still. So great will be the clotting blood from slaughter by Dorian spears in the Plataeans'²³⁷ land.²³⁸

²³⁵ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.56.

²³⁶ *Britannica Academic*, s.v. "Greco-Persian Wars."

²³⁷ This may be Aeschylus' effort to foreshadow the Battle of Plataea in the minds of the Persians, when their force “was finally driven from the country after the battle of Plataea in 479” and “was defeated by a combined force of Spartans, Tegeans, and Athenians,” the first of which may be called Dorian (*Britannica Academic*, s.v. "Greco-Persian Wars.").

²³⁸ Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans., by Collard, Aesch. *Pers.* ll.806–816. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

Though all the characters are Persian, and consequently only a Persian could discuss these crimes, it is notable that Darius is the character to do so. He is the more successful Persian king, who admits to the fault of his men and the retributive justice that has been exacted against his Empire. More importantly, Darius apparently did not know what had happened, asking, “τί ἐστὶ Πέρσας νεοχμὸν ἐμβριθὲς κακόν;”.²³⁹ How, then, would he know the crimes the Persian forces committed? These are the memories of the Greeks spoken through the mouth of a Persian. In addition to illustrating the typical value the ancient world placed on sacrilege, this passage informs the audience of the Persian crimes. One could interpret this as an allusion to Athens’ burning, but it is kept in very general terms, and only Greece is referenced (whereas in other areas of the play, Aeschylus makes a concerted effort to distinguish Athens from the rest of Greece). It is with purpose that it is ellipsed here.

Aeschylus was Athenian: if the Persian mouth speaks for the Aeschylean mind, he speaks for the Athenian mind.²⁴⁰ Perhaps this is an implicit, first-person account about the sack of Athens. The Athenians returned to the wreckage, the evidence of these crimes when they returned (which would be the only means of knowing if everyone had been evacuated).²⁴¹ Nevertheless, that Athens is not mentioned suggests otherwise: if the Persians mention Athens as the center of gravity and the cause of their problems, this would have been the opportunity to mention their crimes against Athens. In his notes on ll.348–9, wherein Atossa and the Chorus discuss the status of Athens—“*The Athenians’ city still not ransacked?—Yes:*”²⁴²—Collard claims that the Chorus’ response was:

²³⁹ “But what is the heavy and terrible news that has befallen the Persians?” (My translation); Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*. Aesch. *Pers.* l.693.

²⁴⁰ Bernhard (Freiburg) Zimmerman in Zimmermann, Bernhard (Freiburg) and Weißenberger, Michael (Greifswald), “Aeschylus”, 2006, section A (A: “Biography”).

²⁴¹ Hale concurs with this image at Hale, 2009, 58–59, 72–73, 81.

²⁴² Collard notes to p. 12, ll. 348–9, in Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, 140.

factually untrue, since Athens had been pillaged early in the attack and the news taken back to Persia, Herodotus 8.53–4. Aeschylus is probably sparing his countrymen’s feelings, since the ravaged acropolis was left unrestored until long after this play’s production. The idea ‘a city is its men and not its wall’ was a commonplace, used most famously of Athens again at Thucydides 7.77.7; cf. Sophocles, *Oedipus the King* 56.²⁴³

However, Aeschylus’ was not a decision of compassion; given the gravity of the situation, its resemblance to reality, and the omission of any Athenian naval effort (and emphasis instead on her land force), Aeschylus likewise selectively omitted a discussion of the sack of Athens.

Marathon’s citation is understandable, as in Connor’s observations regarding a publicly read necrology,²⁴⁴ public conscription,²⁴⁵ and the casualty consciousness of the hoplites:

Xenophon’s picture is confirmed by a recent study of the figures for battle casualties in such battles during the period 482–371 B.C. Peter Krentz estimates that on average the victorious side lost about 5 per cent of its force in a hoplite battle in the period; the losing side approximately 14 per cent. Picture the effects of such casualties on a cadre of twenty-year-olds after ten years of fighting one hoplite battle a year. By the time they reached thirty, fewer than forty of the original hundred would be alive.²⁴⁶

Marathon necessarily stands in the historical consciousness of the audience—in some cases in their immediate and in others their inherited consciousness. While Marathon was certainly traumatic, it was also celebratory. That Athenian men had fallen defending the city itself would likewise have stood to be honored, especially given the public necrology.²⁴⁷ Yet Aeschylus passes over it without explicit reference.

Returning, then, to the historical incoherence: the Athenian men *were* alive, and their ἔρκος was definitely not ἀσφαλές. Thus this is not the sentiment of men before Salamis: this is the sentiment of men who fought *at* Salamis, actually facing, seeing, and hearing the Persian threat, proven by Aeschylus’ depiction of all of this on stage to remind them in detail. Why then,

²⁴³ Collard notes to p. 12, ll. 348–9, in Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, 140.

²⁴⁴ Connor, 2004, 25.

²⁴⁵ Connor, 2004, 18.

²⁴⁶ Connor, 2004, 28.

²⁴⁷ Connor, 2004, 25.

does he do so in broadly Greek terms?²⁴⁸ Instead we see a more collectively Greek identity, focused on “coalition”²⁴⁹ effort and the shared value of freedom.

Throughout the play, the Persians refer to the Greeks in general.²⁵⁰ Aeschylus provides us the audience’s consciousness *in media bello*, again through the mouth of a Persian messenger and again in general, Greek terms. In ll.402–420, the man shouting speaks about the Greeks generally;²⁵¹ he does not distinguish Athens from the rest, as Aeschylus does in other moments of the play. Thus the rousing message is addressed to all Greeks.²⁵² Relaying his eyewitness account of the battle, the messenger says that he heard a “great shout”(ll.401–402).²⁵³

ΑΓ. ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων, ἴτε
ἐλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ', ἐλευθεροῦτε δὲ
παῖδας γυναῖκας θεῶν τε πατρώϊων ἔδη,
θήκας τε προγόνων· νῦν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγών.
καὶ μὴν παρ' ἡμῶν Περσίδος γλύσσης ρόθος
ὑπηντίαζε, κοῦκέτ' ἦν μέλλειν ἀκμή.
εὐθύς δὲ ναῦς ἐν νηὶ χαλκίῃρη στόλον
ἔπαισεν· ἦρξε δ' ἐμβολῆς Ἑλληνικῆ
ναῦς, κάποθραυει πάντα Φοινίσσης νεῶς
κόρυμβ', ἐπ' ἄλλην δ' ἄλλος ἠῦθυεν δόρυ.
τὰ πρῶτα μὲν δὴ ῥεῦμα Περσικοῦ στρατοῦ
ἀντεῖχεν· ὡς δὲ πλῆθος ἐν στενωῖ νεῶν
ἦθροιστ', ἀρωγὴ δ' οὔτις ἀλλήλοισ παρῆν,
αὐτοὶ δ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐμβόλαις χαλκοστόμοις
παίοντ', ἔθραυον πάντα κωπήρη στόλον,

²⁴⁸ This may have been because of the terror the Persians caused elsewhere (Thermopylae, for example) or if they had sacked other Greek cities. I cannot definitively conclude as I need to conduct more research on this; however, Aeschylus still could have mentioned the destruction of Athens in particular in the exchange between Atossa and the Chorus (ll. 235–244) or after mentioning the battle of Marathon (ll.472–475). Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch. *Pers.*; Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

²⁴⁹ Strauss 16 and 17.

²⁵⁰ Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*. Instances of broadly “Greek” identity: ll.2, 50, 70, 186, 271, 334, 338, 351, 358, 362, 369, 373, 384, 388, 393, 400, 402, 409, 417, 452, 455, 722, 754, 758, 790, 796, 799, 809, 824, 875, and 900). Assistance from a search via Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, though I accomplished some of this tracking on my own. Search for “Ἑλλά” via TLG (see bibliography).

²⁵¹ Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*. Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch. *Pers.* ll. 402–420.

²⁵² Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*. Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch. *Pers.* ll. 401–402.

²⁵³ καὶ παρῆν ὁμοῦ κλύειν | πολλὴν βοήν, also trans., by Collard in Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch. *Pers.* ll. 401–402.

Ἑλληνικαὶ τε νῆες οὐκ ἀφρασμόνως
κύκλωι πέριξ ἔθεινον, ὑπτιοῦτο δὲ
σκάφη νεῶν, θάλασσα δ' οὐκέτ' ἦν ἰδεῖν
ναυαγίων πλήθουσα καὶ φόνου βροτῶν.

Ag. 'O sons of the Greeks, go on! Free your fatherland, and free your children, your wives, and the shrines of your paternal gods, and the tombs of your ancestors! Now the struggle is for all!' And then!—from our side a clamour in the Persian tongue rose up in answer, and it was the moment for no more delay. At once ship struck bronze ram against ship; the onslaught began with a Greek ship which broke off a Phoenician ship's whole ornate stern, and all drove their vessels everywhere against opponents. Now the Persian fleet's flowing advance held on; but when a mass of ships had become packed in a narrow space, and no help for one another was possible, they were hit by their own sides' bronze-beaked rams; they began to shatter all the fleet's oars, while the Greek ships circled round knowingly and struck them.²⁵⁴

The audience would have experienced profound recollection. Even if framed in a broadly Greek identity, all of the men in the audience had served in the war if not specifically in battle of Salamis, as Hale notes, “At times of supreme crisis *all* free adult males in Athens—rich and poor, citizens and aliens, aristocratic horsemen and common laborers---would board the triremes and row to save their city”²⁵⁵ as had the director himself.²⁵⁶ If this speech had been proclaimed, and given Aeschylus' service in the battle of Salamis, he would have presumably heard such a speech, basing his monologue in fact. If Aeschylus was familiar with it, so was each man in the audience.

Even if we concede various procedural obstacles to this (e.g. not everyone heard one speech (would that have been feasible to begin with)), boats had coxswains, known as *keleustes*²⁵⁷ (etymologically related to the verb “to command”),²⁵⁸ who “urged the crew

²⁵⁴ Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans., by Collard, Aesch. *Pers.* ll.402–420. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

²⁵⁵ Hale, 2013, xxvi.

²⁵⁶ Bernhard (Freiburg) Zimmerman in Zimmermann, Bernhard (Freiburg) and Weißenberger, Michael (Greifswald), “Aeschylus”, 2006, section A (A: “Biography”).

²⁵⁷ See Hale's glossary entry: “A petty officer on a trireme who called out the beat to the rowers, among other duties; equivalent to a coxswain in a modern racing crew” (Hale, 2009, 335).

²⁵⁸ We may also reference Euripides' *Helen*, in which Helen appears to take on the role of the keleustes: παρακέλευσμα δ' ἦν / πρύμνηθεν Ἑλένης· Ποῦ τὸ Τρωικὸν κλέος; δείξατε πρὸς ἄνδρας βαρβάρους (Euripides,

onward.”²⁵⁹ In this way, if one universal speech had not been issued, each man in his boat would likely have heard some rousing speech from his respective coxswain. Thus hearing the messenger relay the “great shout,” though not exactly his experience, would have resonated on a personal level.²⁶⁰ Moreover, just before this passage, there is reference to a trumpet and all the Greeks shouting together, a collective experience to which everyone in the audience could relate.²⁶¹

If this speech is a representative prototype of the speeches rowers heard, that its most salient issue is freedom suggests that the Greeks’ greatest fear in the battle was not their individual identity, system of government, navy, legal system, or mythic origin, all of which will be emphasized in other plays. Rather, it was continued freedom in the face of Persian enslavement. Even Athens, as Herodotus notes, placed “the survival of Greece”²⁶² before her own ambition.²⁶³

Over other themes, Aeschylus stresses the dichotomy of freedom and slavery throughout *Persai*. In ll.49–50, the Chorus, speaking about Xerxes, says, “στεῦνται δ’ ἱεροῦ Τιμόλου πελάται

Helen, ed. by William Allan, “And a cheering address from came Helen from the stern: Where is the Trojan glory? Show (it) to these barbarian men!” (*Hel.* ll.1602–1604)).

²⁵⁹ Hale, 2009, xxiii. See also Hale, 2009, 42, 166.

²⁶⁰ For a modern audience, this might be akin to having veterans of the D-Day invasion of Normandy watch a play in which a German soldier who witnessed the landings relay Eisenhower’s speech: “Soldiers, Sailors, and Airmen of the Allied Expedition! You are about to embark upon the great crusade” (General Dwight D. Eisenhower, June 6, 1944, “D-day Statement to Soldiers, Sailors, and Airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Force, 6/44.” Collection DDE-EPRE: Eisenhower, Dwight D: Papers, Pre-Presidential, 1916-1952; Dwight D. Eisenhower Library; National Archives and Records Administration. [Online version, <https://www.archives.gov/files/historical-docs/doc-content/images/ww2-eisenhower-d-day-order.pdf>, National Archives and Records Administration, December 18, 2016]).

²⁶¹ Aesch. *Pers.* Aesch. *Pers.* l.386–94 and 395 Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch. *Pers.* l.402. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*). Interestingly, the progression of rousing events exactly mirrors that which occurred before hoplite warfare according to Connor, 2004, 21.

²⁶² Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans., Robin Waterfield. Hdt. *Hist.* 8.3.

²⁶³ Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch. *Pers.* l.402. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; and Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans., Robin Waterfield. Hdt. *Hist.* 8.3.

ζυγὸν ἀμφιβαλεῖν δούλιον Ἑλλάδι,”²⁶⁴ intending to enslave Greece itself. At l.71, the Chorus repeats this almost verbatim, again using ζυγὸν to evoke a yoke thrown around the neck, though here it is not Hellas but the water: πολύγομφον ὄδισμα ζυγὸν ἀμφιβαλὼν αὐχένι πόντου.²⁶⁵

Nevertheless, Boedecker’s cross-textual analysis instills confidence in its double-entendre that evokes slavery.²⁶⁶ Atossa reaffirms the image at l.736,²⁶⁷ and, of course, the two horses’ behavior in her dream solidifies the central theme.²⁶⁸ While Aeschylus explores many other issues, the placement and stress he lays on the dichotomy above establishes freedom as the focal point of the play. He even uses monarchic rule as comic relief: in ll.694–702, Darius arrives from the underworld, asking the Chorus what disaster has befallen the Persians, to which the Chorus responds with ridiculous overtures of subject exaltation of the ruler until Darius finally wants to find his wife for answers (ll.704–706).²⁶⁹ As Edith Hall points out, *proskenesis* as a

²⁶⁴ Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans., by Collard. Aesch. *Pers.* ll.49–50: “eager in their threats to throw slavery’s yoke upon Greece.” Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

²⁶⁵ Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans., by Collard. Aesch. *Pers.* l.71: “a roadway made with many nails, a yoke thrown rounds the ocean’s neck,” Aesch. *Pers.* l.71. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*. Although beyond the scope of this paper, that Xerxes attempts to enslave the water adds to the thematic dichotomy between land and naval forces. In this way, if Greece had been identified more with the sea, one could imagine that Xerxes’ enslaving the water is ironic, for the Athenians will essentially accomplish this. However, as will be argued, naval terminology and identification with Greece is not as salient as we might expect and there is insufficient textual evidence to prove that the above dichotomy was established. Nevertheless, this could have been conceptually distinguished, since Aeschylus ascribe a great deal of land terminology to the Persians, and the audience knew that it was superior in naval forces at this point, thus they might have subconsciously seen the parallel.

²⁶⁶ Boedecker, 2013, 374. In Herodotus’ *Histories*:

Xerxes’ bridge is, moreover, a visible sign of his attempt to enslave Hellas, a meaning reflected even in the word used to denote its construction. Herodotus’ usual term for bridging the Hellespont is ζευγνύω (7.33, 9.120.4, etc.). The stem ζευγ-, however, is used primarily in contexts implying the ‘yoking of draught animals and thus may readily be coloured iwth teh idea of subduing...Significantly the theme of Xerxes as ‘yoker’ is not confined to Herodotus: in Aeschylus’ *Persians*, the Persian queen dreams that Xerxes ‘yokes’ (ζεύγνυσιν, 191) two women to a chariot, a docile Asian and a rebellious Greek. In this drama ζευγ- words refer both to ‘subduing’ Greece (e.g. 50, 196) and to ‘bridging’ the strait (e.g 72, 722). In Aeschylus, then, as later in Herodotus, the ‘yoke’ that Xerxes casts across the Hellespont marks his attempt not only to ‘join’ two shores but also to ‘subdue’ a territory not rightfully his (Boedecker, 2013, 374).

²⁶⁷ Aesch. *Pers.* l.736. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

²⁶⁸ Aesch. *Pers.* ll.176–199. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*

²⁶⁹ Aesch. *Pers.* ll.704–706. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

characterization features in the play,²⁷⁰ and we can deduce that Darius' interruption (paraphrased as) “stop being reverent and tell me what happened” would be comic relief.²⁷¹

Regardless, that Aeschylus keeps the rousing speech in general, Greek terms suggests that the Greek identity revolved around the shared value of freedom.²⁷² The speech is framed entirely in terms of general Greekness, further emphasizing a collective identity.²⁷³ To stress such in a society that believed in Athenian imperialism would incoherently hypocritical.²⁷⁴

Aeschylus does not take advantage of another key opportunity to stress Athenian prowess. As Herodotus notes, “In the direction of Eleusis, the Phoenicians made up the western wing of the Persian fleet, and so were drawn up opposite the Athenians.”²⁷⁵ In *Persians*, Aeschylus describes a *Greco-Phoenician* confrontation:

ἤρξε δ' ἐμβολῆς Ἑλληνικῆ
ναῦς, κάποθραύει πάντα Φοινίσσης νεὸς
κόρυμβ', ἐπ' ἄλλην δ' ἄλλος ἠῦθυνεν δόρυ.²⁷⁶

The onslaught began with a Greek
ship, which broke off a Phoenician ship's
whole ornate stern, and all drove their vessels
everywhere against opponents.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁰ Hall, 1989, 56-100, bes. 91, 96-98. Note also that “[t]he composite verb *proskumein* is not found in Greek sources before the Persian wars...”(Hall, 1989, 96).

²⁷¹ Aesch. *Pers.* ll.697-699 and 703, Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*. Paraphrased translation in quotation marks.

²⁷² Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans., by Collard, Aesch. *Pers.* ll.402-420, bes. 402, 410, and 417. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

²⁷³ Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans., by Collard, Aesch. *Pers.* ll.402-420. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

²⁷⁴ This does not prevent Aeschylus from once again stressing the Athenian identity with freedom: Aeschylus distinguishes Athens on the same scale by emphasizing Greece's identity of freedom but also singling Athenians out as “slaves or subjects of no man.”(Aesch. *Pers.* 1.242; Collard assisted me in this translation. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*. Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard).

However, this is not quite as an obvious parallel between Athens and Greece as martial power or strategic value.

²⁷⁵ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.85.

²⁷⁶ Aesch. *Pers.* ll.409-411. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

²⁷⁷ Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch. *Pers.* ll. 409-411. Assistance finding the example quickly via TLG search for “φοιν,” see bibliography.

According to Herodotus, this was an Athenian contribution to the operation, yet Aeschylus once again frames it in “Greek” terms.²⁷⁸ But the absence of a statement of Athenian prowess at Salamis suggests some restriction on Aeschylus’ ability to do so.

C. THE ATHENIAN NAVY AND AESCHYLUS’ *PERSIANS*:

In terms of the general dearth of naval terminology, the issue of normative lexicography is tempting; namely, that Athenian linguistic development had not yet caught up with the naval progress.²⁷⁹ The Athenian navy, while certainly a hegemonic contribution to the Battle of Salamis, both in number and in aptitude,²⁸⁰ was not yet the imperial power she would be in the 460s. It is most probable that this object underlies the increase in naval terminology in *Seven* and *Suppliants*. Aeschylus distinguishes Athens in land force prowess to emphasize Marathon and personal identity, but given the naval expeditions only a few years later,²⁸¹ this suggests that Aeschylus simply may not have had the nomenclature to assert Athenian naval superiority. It would not be until the 460s that Athens used her navy not as a last resort of survival but as a

²⁷⁸ Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch. *Pers.* l. 409. Aesch. *Pers.* l.409. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

²⁷⁹ In an office hours discussion, Professor Jeremy McInerney suggested that there may be a difference in two different types of ideology: one that is articulated, and the other that is understood but not stated. In “Politicizing the Past: The *Atthis* of Kleidemos,” Athenian society may have exhibited such conceptualization before terminology in another area: “Those who supported democracy did not respond by articulating a theory of democracy. Instead they related stories in which Themistokles and other democratic figures were vindicated, or better, made normative” (McInerney, 1994, 20). Moreover, McInerney states, “M. Ostwald, *From Popular Sovereignty to Sovereignty of Law* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1986) 343, argues that prior to 413 the Athenians had developed institutions but had failed to articulate a theory of democracy” (McInerney, 1994, 18n., 20).

In the aspect of society exhibited in this paper, Athens could have been developing an identity based on their navy and developed normative terminology later, which then appeared in *Sept.* Since *Sept.* attests familiarity with naval terminology, Athenian naval culture must have developed in the intervening time. It is thus possible that in 472, Athenians had the concept but not the terms for their identity, predicated on naval prowess. However, this notion regarding specifically Athenian identity is countered in the fact that Marathon is celebrated: the Athenian navy is not mentioned at all. However, Aeschylus’ naval diction elsewhere is limited more than we would expect. Though there are descriptions of the preparation of a boat (ll.375–376), and in l.380, the Persians refer to “every king of the oar” (κοπης αναξ), it is not until *Sept.* that the term for helmsman appears (οἰαξ), (LSJ entry for οἰαξ and TLG search for “οἰακ”; TLG search for “οἰαξ” returned an earliest result as a Euripidean play (see bibliography)); and the term for coxswain does not appear until *Ag.*, *Seven*, *Suppl.*, or *Prometheus Bound* (TLG search for “κελευστ”).

²⁸⁰ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.1, 11, 17, 44.,

²⁸¹ Hale, 2009, 321–322. See also Hale’s suggested connection between the contemporary events, Egypt, Aeschylus, and *Suppl.* at Hale, 2009, 98–99.

strategic force years afterward.²⁸² Hale notes that naval terminology and references proliferated: “[t]he sea penetrated every corner of Athenian life...The people described their government as a ‘ship of state’ and its leaders as steersmen...”²⁸³ This is immediately apparent (in ll. 1–3) in *Seven*.²⁸⁴ In this way, naval terminology also constructed at least part of the collective identity; that is, language that, given a shared experience, was familiar to all. That naval terminology becomes much more salient in *Seven* and in *Suppliants* compared to *Persai* suggests that by the 460s and not earlier had naval terminology become normative. Perhaps by that time, naval terminology could be presupposed.

This appears to be true, and it is crucial for our reconstruction of Athenian identity and our understanding of audience experience in *Seven* and *Suppliants*; however, it does not explain the ellipse of Athens’ naval contribution in *Persians*. Even though naval terminology is apparently rudimentary (and generally lacking), Athens certainly had a word for—Athens. There is no reason on the basis of linguistic development why Greece should replace Athens in the entire account of the battle of Salamis, save a political motivation—domestic and foreign.

The motivation behind the ellipse of the Athenian contribution to Salamis may have been politically logistical. Athens was superior in material and later personnel (she was able to man all of her ships—the majority of the total Greek input).²⁸⁵ However, as Herodotus notes, the Athenians maintained their alliance with the Greeks “only for as long as they badly needed the rest of the Greeks.”²⁸⁶ Perhaps the minimal emphasis on the Athenian contribution purposely downplayed the polis’ superiority, as the allies had been bestowed leadership on her only by

²⁸² Hale, 2009, 321–322. See also Hale’s suggested connection between the contemporary events, Egypt, Aeschylus, and *Suppl.* at Hale, 2009, 98–99.

²⁸³ Hale, 2013, xxix.

²⁸⁴ Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*. Cf. also translation Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch. *Sept.* ll.1–3.

²⁸⁵ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.1 and 8.44.

²⁸⁶ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.2–3,

default, not out of desire.²⁸⁷ In a play about a “coalition”²⁸⁸ victory in which most if not all of the group did not want Athenian leadership, Aeschylus may have hesitated to emphasize the Athenian input outside of a completely and indisputably Athenian victory. The emphasis on Marathon, however, which was unquestionably an Athenian victory, provided a venue to celebrate both Athenian individuality among the Greek states and also within the polis community itself.

Stressing Athenian naval prowess at Salamis could disrupt relations and undermine Athenian leadership in the Delian League. Emphasizing the success of the Greeks collectively²⁸⁹ at Salamis and, as a side note, the importance of Athens as the “center of gravity”²⁹⁰ (which she materially was²⁹¹) and success at Marathon, would allow Aeschylus to both celebrate the coalition victory and individualize Athens as the superpower among them. This seems to lend more geopolitical consideration and consciousness to the imperialistic Athenians than may be realistic; however, two points must be made about Athenian defense capabilities relative to those of the rest of Greece. While Herodotus claims Athens “needed the rest of the Greeks”²⁹² in his discussion of Artemisium, such dependence does not preclude Athens from being the best relative to others. Clearly in naval material and personnel, she was superior.²⁹³ This may have applied to her military prowess as well, as Herodotus notes, “Under the tyrants, the Athenians were no better fighters than any of their neighbours, but when they had been liberated from the tyrants, they became by far the best.”²⁹⁴ Since the Kleisthenic reforms predated the Themistocles

²⁸⁷ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.2–3,

²⁸⁸ Strauss, 2004, 16 and 17.

²⁸⁹ Strauss, 2004, 16 and 17.

²⁹⁰ Carl von Clausewitz, Peter Paret, and Michael Howard, 1974, Bk.VIII, Ch. 4, 595.

²⁹¹ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.1 and 8.44.

²⁹² Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.3.

²⁹³ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.1 and 8.44.

²⁹⁴ Hdt. *Hist.* 5.78 in Osborne, 2014, “Political manoeuvres after the removal of the tyrants” no. 34. p. 17.

Decree,²⁹⁵ it is likely that the “fighters” of which Herodotus speaks were land forces. In this way, Athens would have been paramount in both naval and military capabilities relative to the Greeks.

Moreover, it is not in absolute terms that *Persians* references the two sides of the war: even Darius implores the others to “remember Athens and Greece,”²⁹⁶ Given her prowess in both areas relative to her “neighbours,”²⁹⁷ we cannot wholly reject the idea that political interests played a role in the depiction of *Persians*. Moreover, and perhaps most importantly, unlike at Artemisium,²⁹⁸ the Athenians at Salamis were honored *second* to the Aeginetans: “acclaimed with the highest honours in this battle were the Aeginetans, *followed by* the Athenians,”²⁹⁹ as both contributed great naval prowess and aggression: “most of the Persian ships at Salamis were destroyed by either the Athenians or the Aeginetans.”^{8.86} Moreover, the Athenians demonstrably “needed the rest of the Greeks”³⁰⁰ when “Ameinias of Pallene sent his ship headlong into the attack. His ship became inextricably entangled with an enemy ship—and so the rest of the Greek fleet joined in by coming to help Ameinias. This is the Athenian version of the start of the battle, but the Aeginetans say that it was the ship which had been sent to Aegina to fetch the Aeacidae that started it.”³⁰¹ Moreover, the Athenians and the Aeginetans coordinated their defense against Xerxes’ Phoenician contingent:

[T]he Aeginetans were waiting for [the Phoenicians] in the straits and won a notable victory. The Athenians were in the thick of the battle, destroying ships whether they were offering resistance or merely trying to escape, and the Aeginetans were doing the same to any ships that tried to make it through the straits. If a Persian ship managed to escape the Athenians, it sailed right into the middle of the Aeginetans.³⁰²

²⁹⁵ This is general knowledge in Classical Studies.

²⁹⁶ Aesch. *Pers.* 1.823. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

²⁹⁷ Hdt. *Hist.* 5.78 in Osborne, 2014, “Political manoeuvres after the removal of the tyrants” no. 34. p. 17.

²⁹⁸ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.17.

²⁹⁹ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.93, emphasis added.

³⁰⁰ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.3.

³⁰¹ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.84.

³⁰² Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.91.

While motives, as illustrated in Appendix I, are at the moment inconclusive, political reservations are not unfathomable. What is particularly interesting is that the Aeginetans do not feature in *Persians* at all. Regardless, the overall depiction illustrates that there was a hegemonic self-identification³⁰³ of Athens on the one hand and then everyone else. That Athens alone enjoys an entire exchange about her strategic (and general) importance illustrates this fact.

Participation in a collective identity, however, does not preclude Aeschylus from distinguishing the Athenians. Aeschylus distinguishes Athens but does not express her superiority over other Greeks, most poignantly evidenced in Darius' urging to "remember Athens and Greece,"³⁰⁴ as though the latter—an individual state—were separate from the broad, Greek entity. Consciously or not, Aeschylus accentuates this identity in his description of the Persians, who, drawing on and leading all of their *subjects*, names the contribution of each, citing the Lydians,³⁰⁵ the Egyptians,³⁰⁶ the Mysians,³⁰⁷ etc.³⁰⁸ Ironically, Athens, drawing on and leading of her *allies*, views them as Greece writ large. This places Athens as equal to Greece generally, and is thus, as an individual state, at the top of the Greek geopolitical pyramid. Materially, this was reinforced;³⁰⁹ but even the Aeschylean Persians admit that Greece was severely outnumbered,³¹⁰ reaffirming Athens' at least partial dependence on the other states to

³⁰³ I argued self-identification where I have mentioned it in the Appendices and paper, before reading Connor's note about Athenian "self and civic representation" (Connor, 2004, 24).

³⁰⁴ Aesch. *Pers.* 1.823. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

³⁰⁵ Aesch. *Pers.* ll.41, 770, Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*. Search for "Λυδ" (12/22/16) via TLG (see bibliography).

³⁰⁶ Aesch. *Pers.* 1.35 and 311. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*. Assisted by search for "αιγυπτ" via TLG (12/23/16) (see bibliography).

³⁰⁷ Aesch. *Pers.* ll.52 and 322. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*. Search for "Μυσι" (12/22/16) via TLG (see bibliography).

³⁰⁸ See for example, ll.14–58, 765, 302–330. Aesch. *Pers.* 1.823. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

³⁰⁹ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.1 and 8.44.

³¹⁰ Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch. *Pers.* ll.333–343. Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

accomplish her goals.³¹¹ Perhaps there was Athens and then there was everyone else, but this is not yet imperial ideology.

Given the purposefully missed opportunities for Athenocentric, imperial rhetoric, this is the language of hegemony, not empire. The impetus for the battle originated with Athens, but the naval operations were generally “Greek.”³¹² The exchange between Atossa and the Chorus generally asks the question, “Why Salamis to get to Athens?” rather than “Why Salamis to get to Greece?” The answer lies in the Athenian “center of gravity,” not in Athenian superiority. Thus we turn to the following plays to discern when Athens no longer felt she “needed” the other states in the same way.³¹³

D. AESCHYLUS’ *SEVEN AGAINST THEBES* (467 BC³¹⁴):

As examined above, Aeschylus’ *Persians* conceptualized an “Athens et al.” geopolitical understanding, his *Seven against Thebes* illustrates a trend in Athenian political identity from the polis as distinct from the other Greek states to a more focused examination of the polis itself. As will be argued below, this narrowing of consciousness continued through *Suppliant Women*, wherein Aeschylus brought the focus even closer to the functions of the polis’ institutions and to the people as voters. Finally, the *Oresteia* examines in the institutions themselves, and, as Kennedy uniquely observes, bears striking resemblance to the measures prosecuted through the Erythrae Decree.³¹⁵

Like most ancient tragedy, *Seven*’s plot progresses according to its myth; however, thematic elements’ inject the plot’s progression with Athenian normative peaks and render the

³¹¹ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.2–3.

³¹² Greek provided in *Persai*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*. Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch. *Pers.* ll.402 – 420, bes. 402, 410, 417.

³¹³ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.2–3.

³¹⁴ Bernhard (Freiburg) Zimmerman in Zimmermann, Bernhard (Freiburg) and Weißenberger, Michael (Greifswald), “Aeschylus”, 2006, section B.2 (B: “Plays”; 2: ““Seven Against Thebes’ (Sept.)”).

³¹⁵ Kennedy, 2009, 58–61.

audience's experience of the story much more local. *Seven's* narrative structure consists of several concentric, thematic frameworks that illustrate major peaks in Athens' normative monitor: inheritance and property ownership,³¹⁶ inherent, definitively just justice,³¹⁷ and "the ship of state," the polis, and naval metaphors.³¹⁸

Inheritance is the reason for the strife between Eteocles and Polynices, and it calls into question who can own what property. Within this framework, Aeschylus examines the related issue of whose justice is the right one when both kings establish claims.³¹⁹ This examination will skip that circle of framework. Within it, however, Aeschylus examines the nature of the state as a ship, its ruler as the helmsman, and the relationship between the two.³²⁰

The proliferation of naval terminology in *Seven* illustrates that the navy had become a normative concept by 467, a notion corroborated by Athenian increased naval activity in the 460s.³²¹ I argue that the naval campaigns of the 460s³²² transitioned Athens from an external hegemon to an imperialistic navy, and that the Athenian navy facilitated its empire.³²³ Like Hale

³¹⁶ See, for example, Aesch. *Sept.* ll.815–821, 903–910, 940–946, and 1001. All translations are Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch. *Seven Against Thebes*.

Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

³¹⁷ Collard, Introduction, 2.2: "Seven against Thebes," xxxiv, in Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard. For justice, see ll.405, 444–445, 4459, ~514–520, 582–584, 598–600, 602–609 bes. 605–609, 610, 626–627, 645, 648, 662–73, 694, 741–42, 833, 909, 956–972. However, discussion of justice is beyond the scope of this paper. Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch. *Sept.*

³¹⁸ Hale, 2009, xxix, and Collard, xxxiv "ship of state and its captaincy," in Introduction, 2.2: "Seven against Thebes," in Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard. For examples, see Appendix II.

³¹⁹ Collard, Introduction, 2.2: "Seven against Thebes," xxxiv, in Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard. For justice, see ll.405, 444–445, 4459, ~514–520, 582–584, 598–600, 602–609 bes. 605–609, 610, 626–627, 645, 648, 662–73, 694, 741–42, 833, 909, 956–972. However, discussion of justice is beyond the scope of this paper. Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

³²⁰ See Aesch. *Sept.* ll.1–3, Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard. Collard, xxxiv "ship of state and its captaincy," in Introduction, 2.2: "Seven against Thebes," in Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard. See also Hale, 2009, xxix.

³²¹ Hale, 2009, 321–322. See also Hale's suggested connection between the contemporary events, Egypt, Aeschylus, and *Suppl.* at Hale, 2009, 98–99.

³²² Hale, 2009, 321–322.

³²³ Hale, 2009, xxvii–xxxix argues that it facilitated growth and an "extreme form of democracy" (Hale, 2009, xxvii), though I argue empire (as this project will illustrate).

more generally, Jordan concurs, citing an Aristotelian passage on the democratizing effect of the navy and noting, “Naval power thus became a tool of internal, as well as external, politics and policies, and it is this circumstance to which we owe a good part of our knowledge of the Athenian fleet, for the political theorists never tired of discussing the phenomenon and thus preserved part of the evidence.”³²⁴ The climb to this normative naval apex became visible in 467 BC, with Aeschylus’ production of *Seven against Thebes* (*Sept.*). However, it constituted a framework within which Aeschylus could examine another concept increasing in salience; namely, the polis as an entity. *Seven* binds the two themes together, illustrating the narrowing consciousness of the Athenians from a broad geopolitical perception (depicted in *Persians*) to a more focused emphasis on the polis itself.

The nature of naval terminology as depicted in this play suggests that *Seven* illustrates the normative quality Athenian naval prowess reached by 467. As opposed to strict rapid response to an existential threat, the Athenian navy pursued the polis strategic interests in the 460s, beginning with a patrol of the Mediterranean,³²⁵ and an expedition to aid the rebellion in Egypt.³²⁶ Though often explicit, Aeschylus’ integration of naval terminology in *Seven* appears to presuppose knowledge of his audience.³²⁷ Moreover, Aeschylus integrates this language into his discussion of leadership and governance of the polis.³²⁸ Given the scope of this assessment, the

³²⁴ Jordan, 1972, 117.

³²⁵ Hale, 2009, 321–322.

³²⁶ Hale, 2009, 98–99, 321–322.

³²⁷ See, for example, ll. 769–772.

³²⁸ See, for example, ll. 1–3, 62–65, 602–609, 652, 760–761, 796–797 and Collard, xxxiv “ship of state and its captaincy,” in Introduction, 2.2: “Seven against Thebes,” in Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard. For examples, see Appendix II. Greek provided in in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard.

sections of this paper dedicated to a discussion of *Seven* will examine the “ship of state”³²⁹ metaphor as it relates to and in addition to Aeschylus’ treatment of the polis.

i. THE “SHIP OF STATE”³³⁰

Aeschylus employs naval imagery throughout *Seven*, at times suggesting presupposed knowledge of his audience (all relevant references may be found in Appendix II). Indeed, within the first three lines of the play, Eteocles proclaims, “Citizens of Cadmus, the duty to say what meets the moment is the man’s who keeps guard upon affairs, taking the tiller at the city’s stern, with no lulling of sleep in his eyes.”³³¹ Naval references proliferate the play after this (see Appendix II), and one of Aeschylus’ references appears to presuppose naval knowledge of his audience: according to the Chorus, “The prosperity of mortal men when fattened to excess must jettison all from the stern.”³³² While not definitively so, this may presuppose some knowledge of extraordinary measures to salvage a vessel from sinking. Even before, the ease and integration of Eteocles’ question to the Chorus suggests that naval imagery had become somewhat more normative: “Well, does a sailor who flees from the stern to the prow find a means of safety when his ship labours in the ocean-wave?”³³³

As initially exemplified in the very first mention of naval terminology in connection with the state,³³⁴ such imagery in *Seven* often appears in connection to the government: “you now,

³²⁹ Hale, 2009, xxix, and Collard, xxxiv “ship of state and its captaincy,” in Introduction, 2.2: “Seven against Thebes,” in Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard. Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard.

³³⁰ Hale, 2009, xxix, and Collard, xxxiv “ship of state and its captaincy,” in Introduction, 2.2: “Seven against Thebes,” in Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard. Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard.

³³¹ Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch, *Sept.* ll.1–3.

³³² Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch, *Sept.* ll.769–72).

³³³ Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch, *Sept.* ll. 208–210.

³³⁴ Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch, *Sept.* ll. 1–3.

like a ship’s good helmsman, must make the city safe;”³³⁵ “you yourself must decide how to steer the city’s course;”³³⁶ “crashing too around the city’s stern;”³³⁷ “the city has let in no water.”³³⁸ In addition to observing the polis as a ship, Aeschylus creates another image wherein one experiences the polis as a ship:

ΑΓ. ἢ γὰρ ζυνηισβὰς πολῖον εὐσεβῆς ἀνὴρ
ναύτησι θερμοῖς καὶ πανουργίαι τινὶ
ὄλωλεν ἀνδρῶν σὺν θεοπτύστῳ γένει,
ἢ ζὺν πολίταις ἀνδράσιν δίκαιος ὦν
ἐχθροξένοις τε καὶ θεῶν ἀμνήμοσιν,
ταύτοῦ κυρήσας ἐκδίκους ἀργέματος,
πληγείς θεοῦ μάστιγι παγκοίνῳ ἰδάμη.

Either a pious man, who
joins on board a ship sailors hot upon some villainy is lost together
with a breed of men the gods abhor, or a righteous man, among
fellow-citizens who are hostile to guests and unmindful of the gods,
is caught unjustly in the same net and beaten down by the god’s
impartial scourge.³³⁹

All of the above examples suggest that naval imagery and terminology had become somewhat more normative in Athens at this point, since Aeschylus could reference the sea and qualities of vessels throughout his play without explanation or extrapolation. Most importantly, however, Aeschylus uses naval terminology in tandem with another major theme in *Seven*: the operation of the polis.

Throughout *Seven*, Eteocles’ main concern is the welfare of the city, and the king considers himself (and is identified by others as) its “helmsman.”³⁴⁰ Eteocles twice expresses

³³⁵ Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch, *Sept.* ll.62 – 65.

³³⁶ Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch, *Sept.* l.652.

³³⁷ Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch, *Sept.* ll.760–761.

³³⁸ Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch, *Sept.* ll.796–797.

³³⁹ Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch, *Sept.* ll.602–609.

concern for the health of the polis, warning the Chorus “that you do not make cowards of our citizens,”³⁴¹ he urges them, “Say nothing of this through the city!”³⁴² and tells them, “You’re making your own slavery, and mine, the whole city’s.”³⁴³ Although aphoristic as is typical in tragedy, some of Eteocles’ remarks about the city may be Aeschylean in origin. For example, “when a city prospers, it honours its gods,”³⁴⁴ may be a suggestion to Athens. A more salient example may be found in the block quotation above, whose specificity renders it allusive of a parallel, perhaps contemporary, situation. We must ask ourselves if Aeschylus had noticed an issue being in the same boat as his “fellow-citizens.”³⁴⁵ Moreover, using naval terminology without explanation and at the frequency at which he does, Aeschylus presupposes this knowledge and may have constructed a very familiar thematic framework within which he could address particular social issues. I will make the same claim regarding *Suppliants*.

This may be corroborated with the detailed description of war’s effects on society.³⁴⁶ While such could be literary and dramatic, we must consider Connor’s observation about the nature of war in ancient Greek society namely, “The ideology of ancient Greek land warfare, the representation of war as a matter of honour, affects its conduct and results. Underlying the violence and destruction of war is a logic based not on the use of war as a means to certain ends

³⁴⁰ Self-identification at l.3, externally identified as such at l.652. Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch, *Sept.*

³⁴¹ Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch, *Sept.* l.237

³⁴² Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch, *Sept.* l.250.

³⁴³ Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch, *Sept.* l.254.

³⁴⁴ Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch, *Sept.* l.75.

³⁴⁵ Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch, *Sept.* l.605.

³⁴⁶ Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch, *Sept.* ll.320–368.

but on its effectiveness as a way of self and civic representation,”³⁴⁷ (note that Connor writes about “land warfare”).³⁴⁸ Perhaps ll.320–368 and the conflict that is central to the plot writ large are closer to Athenian consciousness of the Persian Wars than they are simply dramatic embellishment.³⁴⁹

In spite of Eteocles’ reverence and sense of responsibility for the polis, the city does not value him to the same extent. “Semi-Chorus A” notes “the bitter cost of single rule!”³⁵⁰ and later notes, “One may say of these two wretched men that they inflicted much on our folk and much on the foreign ranks, with many slain in the fray.”³⁵¹ In this way, it is not without a degree of enmity that the polis views the two monarchs. Given some of the potential Atheno-Spartan undercurrent,³⁵² perhaps this constitutes an Aeschylean warning to Athenian leadership not to start a war with Sparta, for the charge against the leaders in *Seven* is their enlistment and destruction of the forces of their polis and those foreign to achieve their own goal of owning and controlling the land. That the Chorus laments the kings’ self-absorbed determination at the expense of their makes it difficult to believe Aristophanes’ Aeschylus (Appendix I). When Dionysus asks “And just how did you train [the Athenians] to be so noble?”³⁵³ Aeschylus retorts, “By composing a play chock-full of Ares...My *Seven Against Thebes*; every single man who watched it was hot to be warlike.”³⁵⁴ If this had been the case, Aeschylus would likely not

³⁴⁷ Connor, 2004, 24.

³⁴⁸ Connor, 2004, Chapter 1: “Early Greek land Warfare as Symbolic Expression.”

³⁴⁹ This is my own argument; I am unaware that anyone else has concluded such. More research will be informative.

³⁵⁰ Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch, *Sept.* ll.882–885.

³⁵¹ Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch, *Sept.* ll.921–925.

³⁵² Spartan undercurrent at ll.(potentially 42), 411–412 and 474–5, both by Eteocles, potential snake references to Athens: ll.289–291, 381; Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

³⁵³ Aristophanes and Jefferey Henderson, 2002, trans. by Henderson, *Ar. Ran.* ll.1018–1019, Loeb pp.162–163 (καὶ τί σὸ δρᾶσας οὕτως αὐτοὺς γενναίους ἐξεδίδαξας;).

³⁵⁴ Aristophanes and Jefferey Henderson, 2002, trans. by Henderson, *Ar. Ran.* ll.1021, 1023, Loeb pp.162–163. (δρᾶμα ποιήσας Ἄρεως μεστόν...τοὺς Ἑπτ’ ἐπὶ Θήβας· ὁ θεασάμενος πᾶς ἄν τις ἀνὴρ ἠράσθη δάιος εἶναι.).

have written a Choral lament about the self-seeking folly of leaders, who are adamant about fighting.³⁵⁵

ii. THE POLIS: NARROWING CONSCIOUSNESS EVIDENCED THROUGH QUANTITATIVE ASSESSMENT

In addition to examining the emphasis on the state as embodied in an increasingly normative concept, quantitative assessment of linguistic trends in *Seven* demonstrates the narrowing focus from Athens et al. to the Athenian polis in the fifth century. A striking regularity in the language about the polis appeared as I read *Seven*, and I performed several comparative Thesaurus Linguae Graecae searches to quantify the frequency at which this language appeared (predominantly on 02/15/2017). I hypothesized that two tests would best illuminate the degree to which the polis and related concepts were normative or at least salient in the Athenian consciousness: one test searched for *πολι/поли*-derivative words and another searched for *πολε/pole*-derivative words within Aeschylean tragedy. I searched each play—*Persians*, *Seven Against Thebes*, *Suppliants*, *Agamemnon*, *Choephoroi*, *Eumenides*, and *Prometheus Bound*—individually, and I have included the exact parameters of each search in Appendix III.

I have also included the specific results of the returns (i.e. the line citations and excerpted text) in Appendix III. However, one mistake prompted me to re-run some of the tests: I had documented my findings on *Prometheus Bound* from 02/17/2017; however, I had not included the URL. To appropriately cite these results, I re-ran the test for both *πολε/pole*- and *πολι/поли*-derivative words in *PB* on 04/18/2017. The results corroborated with my original findings for the *πολι*-derivative but fell short by one for the *πολε*-derivative. I re-ran the textual searches within a

³⁵⁵ Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch. *Sept.* ll.630–652 and 671–675, Polynices and Eteocles, respectively). Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*. Moreover, perhaps Aristophanes’ depiction of Aeschylus as a member of the ‘Old Athenian,’ moralistic generation should be considered not in terms of martial valor alone but considering the Athenian, post-Peloponnesian War society of 405 BC, one after the decision to fight Sparta.

few of the other plays in both derivative categories to confirm the data I had inputted into the graph. However, I found that the April results contained *fewer* line citations than those collected in February (excepting the *PB* results). I had all the data and URLs for the other plays from my February data collection, and, after checking the data for any mistakenly included words (for example, if in the poli-derivative search the computer somehow included polo- as well as poli-derivatives) I found that all the February data was correct. When I ran the test again later in the evening on 04/18/2017, I found that my poli-derivative data for *Persians*, 12 instances on 02/15/2017, 11 instances in the afternoon of 04/18/2017, had dropped to 10 instances by the evening of 04/18/2017. It appears that there is a technical malfunction on TLG, and I have taken my data from 02/15/2017 and 2/17/2017, wherein there are 2 instances from *PB*. Examination of the timestamps on the screenshots in Appendix III reveals the correct, respective dates.

Other Aeschylean plays exhibit *conceptually* polis-related language; however, it often appears through various terms which may have several alternative connotations. For example, Danaus is the βούλαρχος καὶ στασίαρχος.³⁵⁶ However, a measurement of the frequency of strictly *linguistically* polis-related words serves as a standardized metric of a specific notion without many conceivable alternative connotations. For this reason, pole- and poli-derivative words formed the basis of the two tests. It must be noted that pole-derivatives run the risk of including words not related to the polis; namely, words like πολέμος. For this reason, in both tests, I counted only those terms that were conceptually and linguistically polis-related from both search results.

The results of the tests can be summarized in the following graphs. Figure 2 illustrates the relevant *πολι*/poli-derivative words in each Aeschylean play, Figure 3 illustrates the relevant

³⁵⁶ Greek provided in *Ἰκέτιδες (Hiketides)*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*, Aesch, *Supp.* ll.11–12.

πολε/pole-derivative words, and Figure 4 illustrates the combined values of both graphs. Note that these graphs do not, in the depicted order of the plays, portray the chronological relationship between the plays (as, for example, *Suppliants* is sum-dated³⁵⁷), though this is not relevant to this assessment.

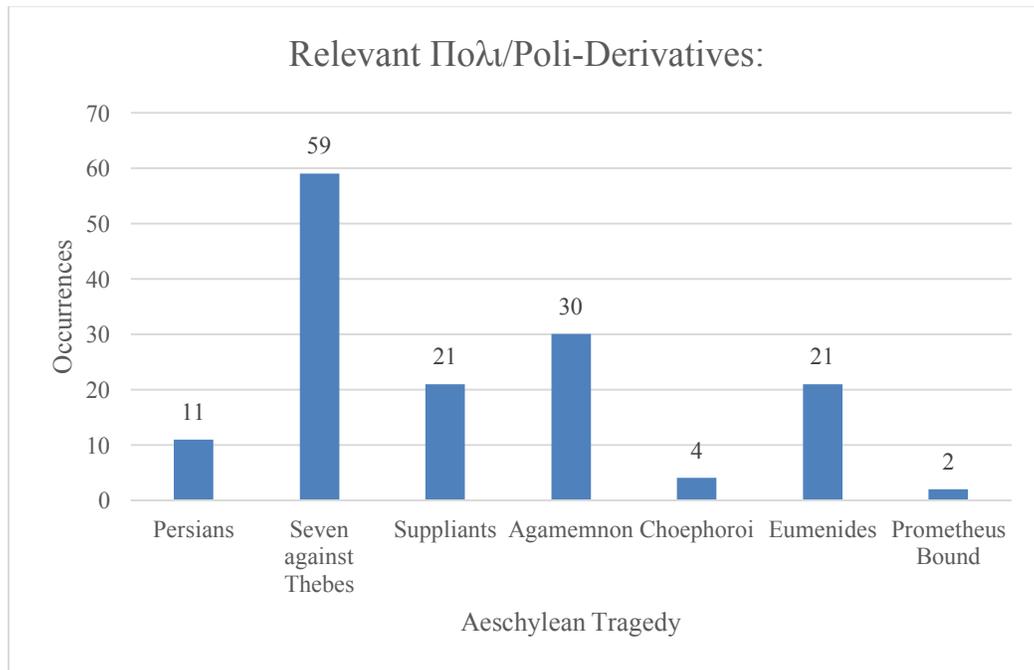


Fig. 2 Relevant Πολι/Poli-Derivatives in Aeschylean Tragedy

³⁵⁷ Scullion, 2002, 90; Mitchell, Oct., 2006, 205, see also 2n. on 205. Taplin, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus*, 1977, 194–198. Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, Introduction by Collard, 30n. xxxvi–xxxvii, 35n. xli. Also Bernhard (Freiburg) Zimmerman, stating: “it is now dated between 465 and 460 (probably 463)” in Bernhard (Freiburg) Zimmerman, 2006, “Aeschylus,” section B.3 (B: “Overview of Works;” 3: ““The Suppliants’ (Suppl.)”).

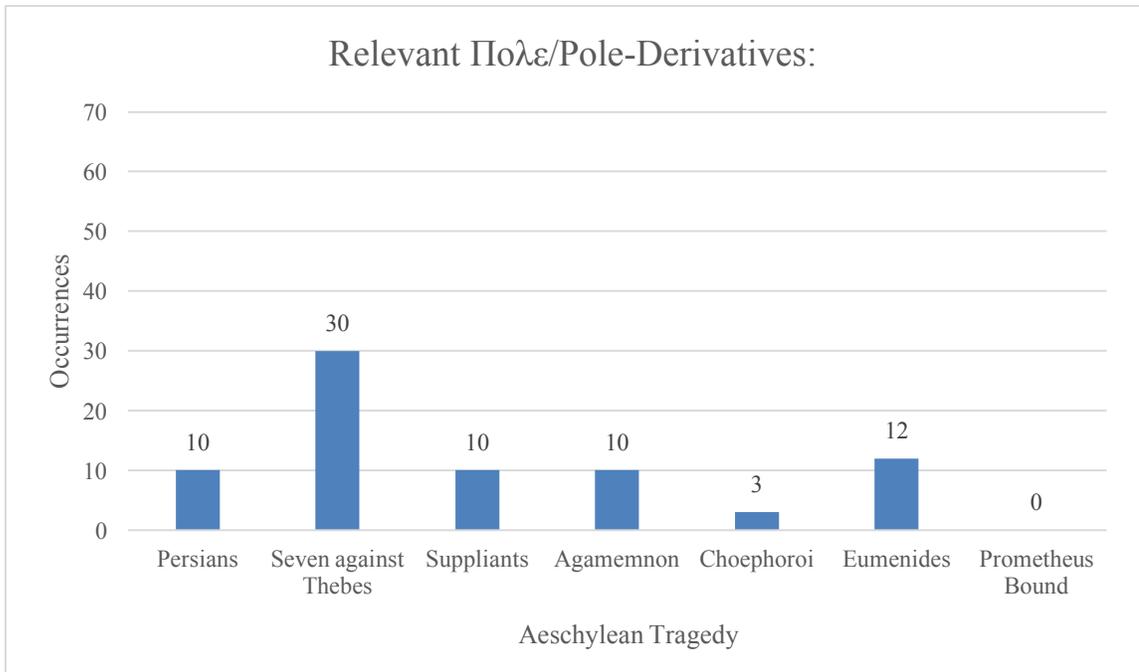


Fig. 3 Relevant Πολε/Pole-Derivatives in Aeschylean Tragedy

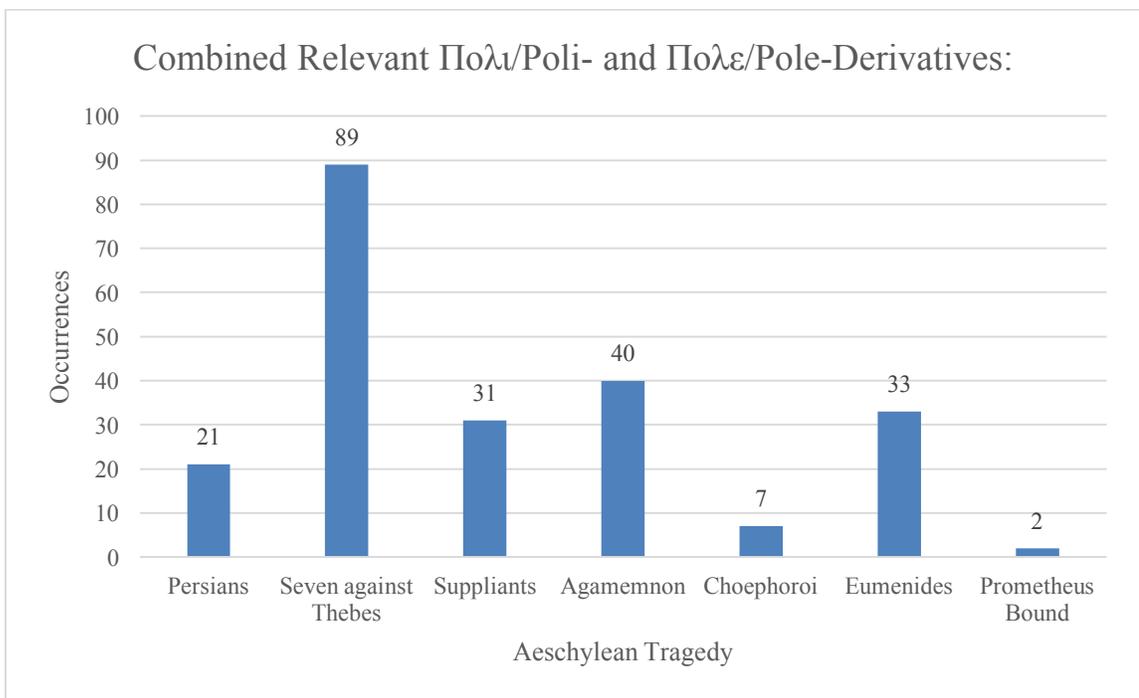


Fig. 4 Combined Relevant Πολι/Poli- and Πολε/Pole-Derivatives in Aeschylean Tragedy

As Figs. 2 and 3 illustrate, in each of the relevant derivative searches, the frequency of polis-derivate words reaches its apex in *Seven against Thebes*. Moreover, this data renders the date of *Suppliants*—either before or after *Seven*—irrelevant in context: if it preceded *Seven*, there would have been a very gradual increase in polis-derivatives prior to *Seven*, wherein the frequency of the derivatives would peak and decrease to a lower level. The data of the plays of the *Oresteia* and *Prometheus Bound* demonstrate no pattern in a declining frequency (i.e. a steady decline); rather, they simply illustrate that whatever the frequency of polis-derivatives in other Aeschylean plays, that in *Seven* far surpasses any individual. If *Suppliants* followed *Seven*, as depicted in each of the figures above, this lack of pattern in the post-*Seven* plays would be more apparent (though this is not the reason I have thus ordered them—I consider, based on scholarship, *Seven* to have preceded *Suppliants*³⁵⁸).

In Fig.2, which examines the frequency of $\text{πολι}/\text{poli}$ -derivatives in each Aeschylean tragedy, *Seven* provides 59 relevant examples, and the *Agamemnon* provides the next highest value of 30—just over half that of *Seven*. In Fig.3, which compares the frequency of $\text{πολε}/\text{pole}$ -derivatives, *Seven* provides 30 relevant instances, and the *Eumenides* provides the next highest value of 12—less than half that of *Seven*. Even in combined metrics, as portrayed in Fig.4, *Seven* surpasses its closest competitor again the *Agamemnon* by more than double the value of the latter (89 occurrences to 40).

The consistency of values other than those for *Seven* illustrate the irrelevance of the dating in this context and highlight the uniqueness of *Seven*'s engagement with linguistic and conceptual polis-derivatives. In Fig.2, *Seven* evidently provides the peak value of 59, but the

³⁵⁸ Scullion, 2002, 90; Mitchell, Oct., 2006, 205, see also 2n. on 205. Taplin, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus*, 1977, 194–198. Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, Introduction by Collard, 30n. xxxvi–xxxvii, 35n. xli. Also Bernhard (Freiburg) Zimmerman, stating: “it is now dated between 465 and 460 (probably 463)” in Bernhard (Freiburg) Zimmerman, 2006, “Aeschylus,” section B.3 (B: “Overview of Works,” 3: ““The Suppliants’ (Suppl.)”).

respective frequencies of the derivatives in the rest of the plays do not greatly diverge from each other: while the *Choephoroi* and *Prometheus Bound* illustrate the lowest values, *Persians*, *Suppliants*, *Agamemnon*, and *Eumenides* remain within a reasonably small range. In Fig. 3, while *Seven* distinguishes itself at 30 instances of derivatives, *all* of the other plays remain within a small range. In this way, *Seven*'s emphasis on polis-related words stands in stark contrast not only to the individual plays but also to the context that they construct.³⁵⁹

The diversity of political language that appears in *Suppliants* and in the *Oresteia* suggest that the polis as a concept had become normative in the Athenian consciousness after *Seven against Thebes* and could thus be dramatized. The explicit terminology related to the polis proliferates in *Seven* more than any other play; *Seven* illustrates a climb in the polis' salience as a concept, approaching a normative quality. Throughout the play, Aeschylus explores citizenship as a lived concept, beginning with the first two words: the vocative address Κάδμου πολῖται, "Citizens of Cadmus."³⁶⁰ The first image Aeschylus provides his audience is a body of citizens listening to their leader. From the very beginning, he frames the plot in the concepts of citizenship and the state.

A very clear empirical notion of what it is to be a citizen appears from these lines and from others that reference or address the citizens. Naturally, one would not expect Eteocles, or any character, to define in legal terms what citizenship is. The leader's responsibility and the citizens' responsibility may be purposely juxtaposed through a parallel structure. In the first line, Eteocles' χρῆ λέγειν asserts what is expected of him as a leader, and in l.10, he says, ὑμᾶς δὲ χρῆ νῦν, informing the citizens of their role, eventually leading to the infinitive construction: πόλει

³⁵⁹ Given the scope of this paper and the argument it proposes, in-depth statistical assessment of the standard deviation and outliers did not seem necessary to expound the visually discernable point made above. For this reason, the figures and textual explanation appeared sufficient.

³⁶⁰ Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*, Aesch, *Sept.* ll.1. Author's translation; see also Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, *Sept.* ll.1.

τ' ἀρήγειν καὶ θεῶν ἐγχωρίων βωμοῖσι, τιμὰς μὴ ἕξαιλειφθῆναί ποτε (ll.14–15).³⁶¹ In this way, the leader's role is to guide the polis (cf. ll.1–3, bes. 2–3),³⁶² while the citizens are to “aid the polis and the altars of the native gods,” as “honor” is at stake.³⁶³ Collard pointed out (in fact, I had misread the meaning of this passage due to time away from the text), that ἀρήγειν in the previous infinitive construction applies to Earth as well, since it takes the dative, and as Collard translates, “and to aid our children, and Mother Earth” (l.16): τέκνοις τε γῆι τε μητρὶ, φιλτάτη τροφῶι.³⁶⁴ If this is in the citizens' prescribed role, since ὑμᾶς in (l.10) must refer to the same subject of the vocative persons addressed, then the citizens (previously the vocative πολῖται) is the accusative subject, and the citizens are expected to protect the land itself.

Through Collard's observation and with the assistance of Liddell/Scott,³⁶⁵ one can see that the notion of *obligation or duty* to the mother land for her sacrifice or gift is expected of citizens, as the thought ends on l.20 with πρὸς χρέος τόδε.³⁶⁶ In so doing, Aeschylus defines the meaning of citizenship as membership in and, more importantly, sacrifice for the *polis*. This reconstruction of at least one dimension of the Athenian understanding of citizenship contradicts Blok's argument that citizenship did not mean “belonging to the polis.” In this context of an implicit rather than explicit, legal denotative conception of citizenship, the measures prosecuted through the CL must have strongly evoked participatory connotations. Moreover, given the immediate legal context the Erythrae Decree constituted, and given the assertion that within it

³⁶¹ Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aesch, *Sept.* ll.1, 11, and 14–15 respectively. See also Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch, *Sept.* ll.1, 10, and 14–15 respectively.

³⁶² Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*, Aesch, *Sept.* l.1–3; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, *Sept.* ll.1–3.

³⁶³ Author's translation with the assistance of the LSJ; Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*, Aesch, *Sept.* ll.14–15.

³⁶⁴ Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch, *Sept.* l.16.

³⁶⁵ Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*; and assistance from Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch, *Sept.* l.20.

³⁶⁶ Greek provided in *Hepta Epi Thebas*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*, Aesch, *Sept.* l.10.

“[t]he term “mass” would seem to have a strongly democratic flavor,”³⁶⁷ (which according to the Packard text is *πλήθει*³⁶⁸) one discerns the meaning *to the Athenians* of a domestic regulation narrowing political participation. The narrowing consciousness from Athens et al. to the polis as central lays a strong foundation to give rise to this jurisprudence in the 450s.

E. AESCHYLUS’ *SUPPLIANT WOMEN*:

Aeschylus’ *Suppliant Women* continues the narrowing of the Athenian consciousness on the polis, illustrating what membership in a polis, more specifically Athens, meant to its fifth-century audience. While there are many cultural, social, legal, and political elements in *Suppliants* to examine,³⁶⁹ for the sake of brevity and relevance to this argument, I will examine below only the most important instance referencing the political institutions and the role of the people as the very being of the polis. Beginning with Athens et al. in *Persians*, to the polis as an entity facing a foreign threat in *Seven*, *Suppliants* further focuses on the polis but examines the internal workings of the polis in relation to *foreigners*, who are not, in this instance, directly threatening as in previous Aeschylean plays, but are instead seeking asylum. *Suppliants* emphasizes the supremacy of the citizen body, suggesting that they form the true *character* of

³⁶⁷ Stephen Lambert and P.J. Rhodes (trans.), 2013/2016, “Athenian regulations for Erythrai,” Attic Inscriptions Online, Lambert: 5n. Accessed 04/08/2017.

³⁶⁸ Searchable Greek Inscriptions: A Scholarly Tool in Progress. The Packard Humanities Institute. IG I³14. Regions: Attica (IG I-III). Accessed 04/07/2017.
<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/14?bookid=4&location=7>.

³⁶⁹ For example, that Egypt is the focus of the conflict in *Suppliants* is also significant, as the end of the 460s saw Athenian naval campaigns to assist the insurgency in Egypt, and provides evidence for a proactive statement about assistance in Egypt. See, for example, Hale, 2009, 98–99, 322. See also Hale’s own connection between the two: The possibility of an alliance with Egypt intrigued Aeschylus, who loved to make references to remote parts of the world in his plays. While the Assembly was debating Inarus’ invitation, Aeschylus presented a tragedy call *The Suppliants* that intertwined a mythical plot with a specifically political agenda and a general plea for helping foreigners in distress...From its opening lines, *The Suppliants* conjured up images of the Nile...On the surface the play seemed timeless, and it would in fact endure for ages to come. But like most Athenian art, *The Suppliants* also reflected the current topics of debate in the Assembly and Agora at the moment of its creation (Hale, 2009, 98–99). Of course, this would depend on *when Suppl.* was produced. If it were reactive, then it would succeed the Egyptian incursion; if it were proactive, *Suppl.* would precede it, placing it before roughly 460 BC (Hale, 2009, 322). Unless *Suppl.* were produced in 459, just one year before *Oresteia*, it is otherwise proactive.

the polis as an entity. Most scholarship concludes that *Suppliants* followed *Seven*, claims that strengthen the notion of a narrowing consciousness.³⁷⁰

In addition to the conceptual context narrowing on the polis, *Suppliants* more broadly addresses the Athenian historical understanding of itself and its role.³⁷¹ As Sammons observes:

The Athenians took great pride in their ancient reputation as the protector of suppliants—those who sought sacred protection from others by placing themselves at the mercy of an individual or power. This tradition of protecting the weak played, one may speculate, an increasing role after the Persian Wars, when the Athenians could make an at least partially sincere claim to acting as guardians of smaller powers against Persian encroachment. Nevertheless, the tradition of Athens’ welcoming suppliants was unquestionably ancient, and Athens plays this role in several legends from the heroic age.... The Athenians proudly trumpeted this heritage, and it played a role in the Athenians’ presentation of themselves throughout the age of Pericles and beyond. Pericles himself apparently drew on these traditions in his portrait of Athenians greatness.³⁷²

It is conceivable, then, that the Athenian identity as a refuge for suppliants loomed over the entire play. However, the passage of a decree—more specifically, the vote of the polis—is the central point on which the events in this play converge.

Before examining *Suppliants*’ assertion of the supremacy of the people and their political society, I must address the important distinction between the polis and the deme that arises in *Suppliants*. One clear example of this difference appears ll.697–702, wherein Danaus says:

Χο. Φυλάσσοι τ’ ἀτρεμαῖα τιμὰς
τὸ δάμιον, τὸ πτόλιν κρατύνει,
προμαθὶς εὐκοινόμετις ἀρχά.
ξένοισί τ’ εὐξυμβόλους,
πρὶν ἐξοπλίζειν Ἄρη,
δίκαζ ἄτερ πημάτων διδοῖεν.³⁷³

Χο. May the body public, which rules the land,

³⁷⁰ Scullion, 2002, 90; Mitchell, Oct., 2006, 205, see also 2n. on 205. Taplin, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus*, 1977, 194–198. Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, Introduction by Collard, 30n. xxxvi–xxxvii, 35n. xli. Also Bernhard (Freiburg) Zimmerman, stating: “it is now dated between 465 and 460 (probably 463)” in Bernhard (Freiburg) Zimmerman, 2006, “Aeschylus,” section B.3 (B: “Overview of Works;” 3: ““The Suppliants’ (Suppl.)”).

³⁷¹ Sammons, 2015, 25–26.

³⁷² Sammons, 2016, 25–26.

³⁷³ Greek provided in *Ἰκέτιδες* (*Hiketides*), in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*, Aesch, *Supp.* ll.697–702.

Safeguard the citizens' rights, governing
With prudent counsel for the common good;
And may they grant strangers,
Before arming for war, well-agree rights
To justice, to plead cases unharmed.³⁷⁴

Collard translates τὸ δάμιον as “the body public” and τὸ πτόλιον as “the citizens’ rights,” distinguishing between the political participants, on the one hand, and their politically institutionalized “rights.”³⁷⁵ More specifically, the deme appears to be the *character* that exercises these rights, and it is apparently the arbiter of affairs that come *to* it (ll.700–702, *supra*). While the precise distinction between the demos and the polis is beyond the scope of this paper, it is necessary to note its existence and its general implications for understanding the core political issues explored in this play.

However, all of the action in *Suppliants* leads up to one central point of convergence; namely, the decree passed by the Argives regarding the status of the suppliant women within their polis. Resembling his strategy in *Persians*, Aeschylus informs his audience of the details of the action through the voice of Danaus, as he relates the Argives’ legal decision (ll.605–614):

Δα. ἔδοξεν Ἀργείοισιν, οὐ διχορρόπως,
ἀλλ’ ὥστ’ ἀνβῆσαι με γηραιῶι φρενί·
μανδημίαι γὰρ χερσὶ δξιωνύμοις
ἔφριξεν αἰθῆρ τόνδε κραινότων λόγον,
ἡμᾶς μετοικεῖν τῆσδε γῆς ἐλευθέρους
κάρρυσιάστου ζύν τ’ ἀσυλία βροτῶν,
καὶ μήτ’ ἐνοίκων μήτ’ ἐπηλύδων τινὰ
ἄγειν· ἐὰν δὲ προστιθῆι τὸ καρτερόν,
τὸν μὴ βοηθήσαντα τῶνδε γαμόρων
ἄτιμον εἶναι ζύν φυγῆι δημηλάτῳι.³⁷⁶

Da. The Argive people resolved, with no division,
but in a way to make me young again in my old heart—

³⁷⁴ Translation in Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, *Suppl.* ll.697–702.

³⁷⁵ Translation in Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, *Suppl.* l.697.

³⁷⁶ Greek provided in *Ἰκέτιδες (Hiketides)*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*, Aesch, *Suppl.* ll.605–614.

why, the air bristled with right hands as the people
all together ratified the proposal:
we are to reside as immigrants in this land, free
and not subject to legal seizure, and inviolable by others;
and neither resident nor foreigner is to carry us off;
but if one brings force against us, that man among
the inhabitants who does not come to our defence is to lose
his citizen-rights, with exile enforced by the people.³⁷⁷

As in *Persians*, Aeschylus compellingly depicts the process of ratification through the experience of another character, as Danaus appears to have personally witnessed the vote. The detail expressed within the first three lines suggests that the audience was quite familiar with this image,³⁷⁸ moreover, a description such as “the air bristled with right hands”³⁷⁹ would personally resonate with each audience-member, given the connection between his participation in politics and his experience in the theatre examined in Part II § A.³⁸⁰ In this way, the decree would be only pseudo-fictional as an empirical sentiment would accompany the audience’s experience.³⁸¹ Aeschylus’ pseudo-factual/pseudo-fictional depiction of the vote continues as Danaus describes Pelasgus’ participation in the democratic process (ll.615–624).

Furthermore, where it addresses the treatment of the foreigners, the decree echoes the notion of citizenship defined as on an empirical level in *Seven*: here, too, the notion of “defence”³⁸² as a responsibility of the citizen continues in the depiction of a fictional decree. In fact, according to Collard’s translation, should he not fulfill this obligation, he will not only “lose his citizen-rights”³⁸³ but the polis community itself—the δημηλάτῳ³⁸⁴—will no longer include him and will forcibly remove him from their midst. In this way, the demos reigns supreme.

³⁷⁷ Translation in Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, *Suppl.* ll.605–614.

³⁷⁸ Corroborated in Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Notes to pp. 93–4 on p. 233, [notes to *Suppl.* ll.] “944–9: *This is final, etc.*” see full quotation below.

³⁷⁹ Translation in Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, *Suppl.* ll.608–9.

³⁸⁰ Id.

³⁸¹ Id.

³⁸² Translation in Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, *Suppl.* ll.612–614.

³⁸³ Translation in Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, *Suppl.* l.613.

Moreover, in ll.938–949, Pelasgus affirms another element of the Athenian democratic process; namely, “authority” of “the people.”³⁸⁵ In response to the invading Egyptians seeking the Suppliant Women, Pelasgus says:

Βα. Τί σοι λέγειν χρῆ τοῦνομ’; ἐν χρόνῳ μαθῶν
εἴσῃ σύ τ’ αὐτὸς χοῖ ξυνέμποροι σέθεν.
Ταύτας δ’ ἐκούσας μὲν κατ’ εὐνοίαν φρενῶν
ἄγοις ἄν, εἴπερ σὺ σεβῆς πίθοι λόγος·
τοιάδε δημόπρακτος ἐκ πόλεως μία
ψῆφος κέκρανται, μή ποτ’ ἐκδοῦναι βίαι
στόλον γυναικῶν· τῶνδ’ ἐφήλωται τορῶς
γόμφος διαμπὰξ ὡς μένειν ἀραρότως.
ταῦτ’ οὐ πίναξιν ἐστὶν ἐγγεγραμμένα
οὐδ’ ἐν πτυχαῖς βύβλων κατεσφραγισμένα,
σαφῆ δ’ ἀκούεις ἐξ ἐλευθεροστόμου
γλώσσης. Κομίζου δ’ ὡς τάχιστ’ ἐξ ὀμμάτων.³⁸⁶

Ba. Why should I tell you my name? In time you’ll
learn and know it well enough—yourself and your fellow-traders.
As to these women: if they were willing and
their minds well-disposed, you might take them away,
were some reverent words to persuade us (*a line missing*).
The unanimous vote of my city, given full authority by
its people, is this: never to surrender this company of
women to violence. This final, nailed right through
and driven home, to remain fixed.
This is not inscribed on tablets, nor sealed up in
folded sheets of writing,
but you hear it clearly, from a tongue free to
speak. Take yourself out of your sight at once!³⁸⁷

This suggests the supremacy of a freedom of speech, public participation, and the exercise of a voice and a vote over secrecy and non-democratic methods of governing. Moreover, that the *people* rather than the king are the ones who endow the decision with “full authority.”³⁸⁸ Collard

³⁸⁴ Greek provided in *Ἰκέτιδες (Hiketides)*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*, Aesch, *Suppl.* l.614.

³⁸⁵ Translation in Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, *Suppl.* ll.942–43.

³⁸⁶ Greek provided in *Ἰκέτιδες (Hiketides)*, in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*, Aesch, *Suppl.* ll.938–949.

³⁸⁷ Translation in Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, *Suppl.* ll.938–949.

³⁸⁸ Translation in Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, *Suppl.* ll.942–43.

summarizes the importance of these lines in his note to ll. 944–9: “the solemnity of the people’s decision is conveyed through images, familiar to the Athenians, of public edicts inscribed and securely bolted up; Pelasgus communicates it in speech, however, rather than by handing the Herald and official reply concealed in writing-tablets or rolled parchment or the like.”³⁸⁹ In this way, the supremacy of the polis as a dramatic concept reaches its apex to this point in Aeschylean history. In *Suppliants*, we see the continuously narrowing focus of the Athenian consciousness: to this point, it tapered from an Athens et al. perspective, to one of the polis *contra* a foreign threat, finally to one examining the internal workings and character of the main political institution and its role in adjudicating the fate of non-hostile foreigners within its walls.

F. AESCHYLUS’ *ORESTEA*

While full assessment of the philological and linguistic connotations throughout the *Oresteia* as they relate to the polis, political consciousness, and political institutions is far beyond the scope of this paper, Kennedy provides a unique window through which to assess the play in the context of this exemption; namely, in comparison to the Decree relative to Erythrae.³⁹⁰ As the entry in *SEG* 58-64 notes, R.F. Kennedy argues for a very close parallel between the judicial regulations imposed on the people of Erythrai in this decree and those guaranteed to Orestes as a σύμμαχος by Apollo as he entrusts him to the protection and jurisdiction of Athena in Aeschylus’ *Eumenides*.³⁹¹ While the point certainly is relevant and the original source examined below, it

³⁸⁹ Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Notes to pp. 93–4 on p. 233, [notes to *Suppl.* ll.] “944–9: *This is final, etc.*”

³⁹⁰ Kennedy, 2009, 58–61. For examination of the *Oresteia* in this context, see Luban, 1986–1987, “Some Greek Trials: Order and Justice in Homer, Hesiod, Aeschylus, and Plato,” *passim*; Gewirtz, 1988, “Aeschylus’ Law,” *passim*.

³⁹¹ Chaniotis, A., Corsten, T., Stroud, R.S. and Tybout, R.A., “SEG 58-49. Athens (now lost). Decree regulating the institutions of Erythrai, 452-449 B.C.?” in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a58_49> First published online: 2008 <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum->

should be reaffirmed that the Erythrae Decree as we have it in its extant form importantly does *not* affect the “judicial regulations” but the one decision-making institution of Erythrae (the *boulē*), as discussed above.³⁹²

Kennedy illustrates that the actions depicted in *Eumenides* mirror the current or budding jurisprudence in the Erythrae Decree. Kennedy specifically connects the “overseer (*ἐπίσκοπος*) and garrison (*φρούραρχος*)” in the Decree to the notion that “Athena establishes her court as *φρούρημα*. And, at lines 295–96, Orestes asks Athena to come to him *εἴτε Φλεγραίαν πλάκα θρασὺς ταγοῦχος ὡς ἀνήρ ἐπισκοπεῖ*. Thus Athena and her court are both “overseeing” lands and standing guard over them as well.”³⁹³ Kennedy then notes, “This is just what the Athenians will supply for her *summachoi* according to the terms of the Erythrai decree.”³⁹⁴ More broadly, Kennedy observes:

The process of judicial imperialism that is emphasized by the Phaselis and Erythrai decrees is exactly the type of relationship between allies that is legitimized in *Eumenides*. Athena in her role as both goddess and city patron can be understood as Athens defending and touting her judicial system to the allies. Athena, by trying Orestes’ case in Athens, suggests that it can only be solved there. Only in Athens, Athena’s city, can true justice be found.³⁹⁵

If, as is suggested by most scholarship above, the Erythrae Decree postdates the *Oresteia*, perhaps Kennedy observes a growing normative perception of these legal and political measures.

The *Oresteia* also continues the trend of focusing on the polis, at this point in the timeline

epigraphicum-graecum/seg-58-49-athens-now-lost-decree-regulating-the-institutions-of-erythrai-452-449-bc-a58_49?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=seg+58+49#note1

³⁹² Chaniotis, A., Corsten, T., Stroud, R.S. and Tybout, R.A., “SEG 58-49. Athens (now lost). Decree regulating the institutions of Erythrai, 452-449 B.C.?” in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a58_49> First published online: 2008.

³⁹³ Kennedy, 2009, 59–60.

³⁹⁴ Kennedy, 2009, 59–60.

³⁹⁵ Kennedy, 2009, 60.

of Aeschylean tragedy reaching the realm of the individual relative to the state institution.³⁹⁶ As McLeod notes, “[i]f we speak of ‘politics’ in the *Oresteia* it may be helpful to give the word a different sense, ‘a concern with human beings as part of a community.’”³⁹⁷ In context, the *Oresteia* connects to other legal developments discussed above, as “In 462 BC the Areopagus, a body composed of all former archons which had in the previous period gained some larger powers, had its functions confined to the trial of murder. This was the work of the ‘radical,’ Ephialtes.”³⁹⁸ The events of the entire trilogy lead up to the murder trial prosecuting Orestes, and Gewirtz’s assessment of the specificity of the proceedings suggest a highly detailed account of a concept (murder trials) with which the audience must have been familiar—otherwise, the specificity would not resonate: The trial of Orestes is presented as:

‘[T]he first trial of bloodshed, and Athena sees the emergence of this legal forum as an historic turning point in Greek civilization... With this case, Athena introduces both a court and a trial process to replace the endless cycle of blood feuds and revenge - she establishes a tribunal of law - and she consecrates the site on which this first trial occurs.’³⁹⁹

In fact, “The establishment of Athena's court and legal process becomes the central event that propels the action toward the transfiguring harmonies of the play's close.”⁴⁰⁰ In this way, Aeschylus presupposes knowledge of his audience; namely, a familiarity with the law courts and their procedures such that the audience could conceptualize this level of detail. Continuing the trend set in motion in *Persians*, accelerated in *Seven*, and focused in *Suppliants*, Aeschylus’ *Oresteia* suggests that the Athenian consciousness shortly before the Erythrae Decree and the CL was deeply embedded in its relationship to the polis and function of its institutions.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁶ ANCH 026 and Sealey, 1976, 103 and 105. See 8n. in Part I (PROLEGOMENA).

³⁹⁷ Macleod, 2007, 279.

³⁹⁸ Macleod, 2007, 271.

³⁹⁹ Gewirtz, 1988, 1044–1045.

⁴⁰⁰ Gewirtz, 1988, 1046.

⁴⁰¹ ANCH 026 and Sealey, 1976, 103 and 105. See 8n. in Part I (PROLEGOMENA).

V. CONCLUSION

Within the context of a strategic jurisprudence and a consciousness narrowing on the relationship between the citizen and the polis,⁴⁰² the Athenian majority passed the Citizenship Law of 451/450 to maximally control their domestic and foreign policy. As evidenced in the Erythrae Decree, Athens recognized the strategic value of institutional design and its influence on future policy outcomes. Reflecting the same strategy of recomposition, the CL ensured maximally Athenian-interested policies in the domestic and foreign policy spheres. The thematic and linguistic elements of Aeschylean tragedy leading up to the passage of the CL reconstruct the Athenian consciousness, wherein the citizen body narrowed its focus from Athens in the broader geopolitical context, to the polis itself, to the character of its institutions, and finally to the individual as he interacts with and relates to the institution.

In this way, this study sheds light on the Athenian use of law and recognition of the strategic value of institutional design in future policy outcomes, incorporating traditional and progressive methods in the fields of Classical Studies and Political Science. In fact, the Athenians in Thucydides' *Peloponnesian War* advertise their understanding of the role law plays:

For example, because our disadvantage in lawsuits against them in cases involving interstate agreements caused us to bring these cases here among our impartial laws, we are considered addicted to courtrooms. And not one of them looks at the reason why others who rule and are less moderate toward their subjects do not encourage this reproach: it is that those who are in a position to use force have no need for legal procedures...Evidently men are more bitter when they are victimized by legalities than by force; for the first seems a case of taking advantage among equals, the second a case of compulsion by the stronger.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰² Id.

⁴⁰³ Thucydides, 1988, *The Peloponnesian War* Trans., Introduction, and Notes by Steven Lattimore. Indianapolis/Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company. Thuc. *Pel.* 1.77.1–4.

Thucydides' quotation of the Athenians juxtaposes their internal policies and identity as examined in this study with their self-portrayal to others. Ultimately, Athens prosecuted her empire through a variety of means. Yet institutional design and legal measures as one, integrative approach, to my knowledge has not received attention in scholarship. In this way, the study above examines Athenian strategy with greater consideration for the evidence as it would have functioned in practice, rather than as it appears at first view to a modern reader. As a result, the conceptual separation between Athens as a democracy defined by her institutions, on the one hand, and her prosecution of empire, on the other, narrows.

V. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aeschylus and Christopher Collard. 2008. *Persians and Other Plays*. Trans. with Introduction and Notes by Christopher Collard. In *Oxford World Classics*. Oxford and New York: OUP.
- Aeschylus. Aeschylus, with an English translation by Herbert Weir Smyth, Ph. D. in two volumes. 1. *Persians*. Herbert Weir Smyth, Ph. D. Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press. 1926.
- Allan, William. 2000. *The Andromache and Euripidean Tragedy*. In Oxford Classical Monograph series. Oxford and New York: OUP.
- Aristophanes, and Jeffrey Henderson. 2002. *Frogs: Assemblywomen*. Cambridge, Mass.: HUP.
- Ascani, Karen, Vincent Gabrielsen, Kirsten Kvist, and Anders Holm Rasmussen. 2002. *Ancient History Matters. Studies Presented to Jens Erik Skydsgaard on His Seventieth Birthday. Analecta Romana Instituti Daniici. Supplementum XXX*. Rome: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider.
- Balcer, Jack Martin. 1984. *Sparda by the Bitter Sea: Imperial Interaction in Western Anatolia*. No. 52. In Jacob Neusner, Wendell S. Dietrich, Ernest S. Frerichs, and Alan Zuckerman. Program in Judaic Studies, Brown University, Brown Judaic Studies. Chico, California: Scholars Press. Brown University.
- Blok, Josine H. 2009. "Perikles' Citizenship Law: A New Perspective," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* published by Franz Steiner Verlag, Bd. 58, H. 2, 141–170.
- Boegehold, Alan, L. (with Contributions by John MCK. Camp II, Margaret Crosby, Mabel Lang, David R. Jordan, and Rhys F. Townsend), 1995. *The Athenian Agora: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Vol. XXVIII The Lawcourts at Athens: Sites, Buildings, Equipment, Procedure, and Testimonia*, Princeton, New Jersey: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Boedeker, Deborah. 2013. Chapter 13: "Protesilaos and the End of the Herodotus' *Histories*." In Rosaria Vignolo Munson (ed.) *Herodotus: Volume 1. Herodotus and the Narrative of the Past*. In *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies*. Oxford: OUP. 359–378.
- Bridges, Emma, Edith Hall, and P.J. Rhodes (eds.). 2007. *Cultural Responses to the Persian Wars: Antiquity to the Third Millennium*. Oxford and New York: OUP.
- Britannica Academic*, s.v. "Greco-Persian Wars," accessed December 23, 2016, <http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:2738/levels/collegiate/article/37907#>
- Chaniotis, A., Corsten, T., Stroud, R.S. and Tybout, R.A., "SEG 51-2312. Law. Unpunished killing and ἀτιμία.", in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a51_2312> First published online: 2001 http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-51-2312-law-unpunished-killing-and-a51_2312?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=seg+51+2312
- . "SEG 52-6. Athens. Reference to the future in Athenian laws and decrees.", in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a52_6> First published online: 2002 <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-52-6-athens-reference-to-the-future-in-athenian-laws-and-decrees->

[a52_6?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=seg+52+6](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-53-47-athens-now-lost-decree-concerning-erythrai-452-449-bc-a53_47?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=seg+52+6)

- . “SEG 53-47. Athens (now lost). Decree concerning Erythrai, 452-449 B.C.?” in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a53_47> First published online: 2003 http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-53-47-athens-now-lost-decree-concerning-erythrai-452-449-bc-a53_47?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=seg+53+47
- . “SEG 53-2202. Politics. Conflicts in the polis.”, in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a53_2202> First published online: 2003 http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-53-2202-politics-conflicts-in-the-polis-a53_2202?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=seg+53+2202
- . “SEG 55-41. Athens. Cleruchies.”, in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a55_41> First published online: 2005 http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-55-41-athens-cleruchies-a55_41?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=seg+55+41
- . “SEG 55-55. Athens. Law regulating the Council of the 500, ca. 409/8 B.C.”, in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a55_55> First published online: 2005 http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-55-55-athens-law-regulating-the-council-of-the-500-ca-4098-bc-a55_55?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=seg+55+55
- . “SEG 55-1967bis. Administration. Ἐπίσκοπος.”, in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a55_1967bis> First published online: 2005 http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-55-1967bis-administration-a55_1967bis?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=SEG+55+1967bis%C2%A0 Accessed 04/08/2017.
- . “SEG 58-26. Athens. The three-bar sigma controversy.”, in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a58_26> First published online: 2008 <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-58-26-athens-the-three-bar-sigma-controversy->

[a58_26?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=seg+58+26](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-58-49-athens-now-lost-decree-regulating-the-institutions-of-erythrai-452-449-bc-a58_49?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=seg+58+26)

- . “SEG 58-49. Athens (now lost). Decree regulating the institutions of Erythrai, 452-449 B.C.?” in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a58_49> First published online: 2008 http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-58-49-athens-now-lost-decree-regulating-the-institutions-of-erythrai-452-449-bc-a58_49?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=seg+58+49#note1
- . “SEG 59-30. Athens. Cleruchies and colonies in the 5th cent. B.C.”, in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a59_30> First published online: 2009 http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-59-30-athens-cleruchies-and-colonies-in-the-5th-cent-bc-a59_30?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=seg+59+30
- . “SEG 59-42. Athens. Decree concerning the settlement of the revolt of Samos, 440/439 B.C.”, in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a59_42> First published online: 2009 http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-59-42-athens-decree-concerning-the-settlement-of-the-revolt-of-samos-440439-bc-a59_42?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=seg+59+42
- . “SEG 60-64. Athens (now lost). Decree concerning Erythrai, ca. 452-449 B.C.”, in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a60_64> First published online: 2010 http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-60-64-athens-now-lost-decree-concerning-erythrai-ca-452-449-bc-a60_64?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=seg+60+64
- von Clausewitz, Carl. 1976 (and 1984). *On War*. Edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret. Introductory Essays by Peter Paret, Michael Howard, and Bernard Brodie. Commentary by Bernard Brodie. Index 1984. Princeton, New Jersey: PUP.
- Cohen, E. 1973. *Ancient Athenian Maritime Courts*. Princeton: PUP.
- Connor, W. R. 2004. Chapter 1: “Early Greek land Warfare as Symbolic Expression.” In Robin Robin (ed.). *Studies in Greek and Roman Society*. In Lynda Roper and Chris Wickham (general eds.) *Past and Present Publications*. Cambridge, New York, Port Melbourne, Madrid, and Cape Town: CUP.
- Davies, John K. Dec., 1977–Jan., 1978. “Athenian Citizenship: The Descent Group and the Alternatives.” In *The Classical Journal*, 73, no. 2. 105 – 121. Published by: The Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Inc. (CAMWS) Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3296866> Accessed: 16-02-2017 01:26 UTC.

- Eder, Walter (Berlin), "Troezen inscription", in: *Brill's New Pauly*, Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Consulted online on 22 December 2016 http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:2146/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e1221580. First published online: 2006. First print edition: 9789004122598, 2011051
- Eisenhower, General Dwight D. June 6, 1944. "D-day Statement to Soldiers, Sailors, and Airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Force, 6/44." Collection DDE-EPRE: Eisenhower, Dwight D: Papers, Pre-Presidential, 1916-1952; Dwight D. Eisenhower Library; National Archives and Records Administration. [Online version, <https://www.archives.gov/files/historical-docs/doc-content/images/ww2-eisenhower-d-day-order.pdf>. National Archives and Records Administration, December 18, 2016].
- Gabrielsen, Vincent. 2002. "Socio economic Classes and Ancient Greek Warfare." In Karen Ascani, Vincent Gabrielsen, Kirsten Kvist, and Anders Holm Rasmussen. *Ancient History Matters. Studies Presented to Jens Erik Skydsgaard on His Seventieth Birthday. Analecta Romana Instituti Daniici. Supplementum XXX*. Rome: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider. 203–220.
- Gauthier, P. 1972. *Symbola: Les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques*. Nancy: Univeristé de Nancy II.
- Gewirtz, Paul. Mar., 1988. "Aeschylus' Law." In *Harvard Law Review*, Vol. 101, No. 5 . pp. 1043–1055. Published by: The Harvard Law Review Association Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1341428> Accessed: 13-07-2016
- Gomme, Arnold Wycombe, Theodore John Cadoux, P. J. Rhodes, "boulē." In *The Oxford Classical Dictionary (4 ed.)*. Edited by Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow. Publisher: Oxford University Press. Print Publication Date: 2012. Print ISBN-13: 9780199545568. Published online: 2012. Current Online Version: 2012. eISBN: 9780191735257. <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199545568.001.0001/acref-9780199545568-e-1154>. Accessed 04/19/2017.
- . "ekklēsia." In *The Oxford Classical Dictionary (4 ed.)*. Edited by Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow. Publisher: Oxford University Press. Print Publication Date: 2012. Print ISBN-13: 9780199545568. Published online: 2012. Current Online Version: 2012. eISBN: 9780191735257. <http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:2514/view/10.1093/acref/9780199545568.001.0001/acref-9780199545568-e-2364>. Accessed 04/19/2017.
- Fornara, Charles W., 1979. "The Phaselis Decree." *The Classical Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 1., Cambridge University Press on behalf of Classical Association. 49-52.
- Forsdyke, Sara L., 2012. "'Born from the Earth': The Political Uses of an Athenian Myth." *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*, Vol. 12., 119-141.
- Fragoulaki, Maria, 2013. *Kinship in Thucydides: Intercommunal Ties & Historical Narrative*, Oxford: OUP.
- Hale, John R. 2009. *Lords of the Sea: The Epic Story of the Athenian Navy and the Birth of Democracy*. New York and London: Penguin Books.
- Hall, Edith. 1989. Chapter 2 "Inventing Persia." In Edith Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-definition through Tragedy*. Oxford Classical Monographs. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 56-100.
- Hall, Jonathan M., 1997, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*. Cambridge: CUP.

- Hansen, Mogens Herman. 1978. "Nomos and Psephisma in Fourth-Century Athens." In *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 19, no. 4. 315–330.
- Harrison, A. R. W. 1998. *The Law of Athens*. Forward by D.M. MacDowell. Vols. I and II. Second Edition, Published in the U.K. by Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd, London. Published in North America by Hackett Publishing Company, Inc. Indianapolis/Cambridge. First published 1971. This edition published in 1998.
- Henderson, Thomas R., II. "Psephismata," *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, First Edition. Edited by Roger S. Bagnall, Kai Brodersen, Craige B. Champion, Andrew Erskine, and Sabine R. Huebner, print pages 5615–5616. © 2013 Blackwell Publishing Ltd. Published 2013 by Blackwell Publishing Ltd. DOI: 10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah04276. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/store/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah04276/asset/wbeah04276.pdf?v=1&t=j15f4z13&s=2d44b65526d30b41dd85a7833909c38281fla0d6>. Accessed April 5, 2017.
- Herodotus and Robin Waterfield, 2008. *The Histories*. Trans., Robin Waterfield, Introduction and Notes by Carolyn Dewald. Oxford/New York: OUP.
- Hignett, C. 1952. *A History of the Athenian Constitution to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford: Clarendon Press (cover page) OR London: OUP (inside publication info).
- Hoey, T. F. Autumn, 1979. "The Date of 'Trachiniae.'" *Phoenix* 33, no. 3. 210–232.
- Hunter, Virginia, 2000. "Introduction: Status Distinctions in Athenian Law." Eds. Virginia Hunter and Jonathan Edmondson. *Law and Social Status in Classical Athens*. Oxford: OUP. 1–30.
- Jordan, Borimir. 1972. *The Athenian Navy in the Classical Period: A Study of Athenian Naval Administration and Military Organization in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* University of California Publications: Classical Studies. Vol. 13. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.
- Kennedy, Rebecca Futo. April 2006. "Justice, Geography, and Empire in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*." In *Classical Antiquity*. 25 No. 1. 35–72. Published by: University of California Press Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/ca.2006.25.1.35> Accessed 04/08/2017
- Kinzl, Konrad (Peterborough), "Themistocles", in: *Brill's New Pauly*, Antiquity volumes edited by Hubert Cancik and Hlemuth Schneider. Consulted online on 22 December 2016 http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:2146/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e1207660 First published online: 2006. First print edition: 9789004122598, 20110510
- Kittrie, Orde F. 2016. *Lawfare: Law as a Weapon of War*. Oxford and New York: OUP.
- Lambert, Stephen and P.J. Rhodes (trans.), "Athenian regulations for Erythrai," notes by Stephen Lambert, Attic Inscriptions Online, Added: Oct. 8, 2013, Updated: June 12, 2016. <https://www.atticinscriptions.com/inscription/IGI3/14> Accessed 04/08/2017.
- Lanni, Adriann. 2006. *Law and Justice in the Courts of Classical Athens*. Cambridge and New York: CUP.
- Liddel, Peter. June 2010. "Epigraphy, Legislation, and Power within the Athenian Empire." In *Bulletin – Institute of Classical Studies*. 53, no. 1. 99–128. ISSN: 0076-0730. DOI: 10.1111/j.2041-5370.2010.00005.x. Accessed 04/08/2017. http://wx3zg9re3e.search.serialssolutions.com/?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2004&ctx_enc=info%3Aofi%2Fenc%3AUTF-8&rfr_id=info%3Aasid%2Fsummon.serialssolutions.com&rft_val_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt

%3Akev%3Amtx%3Ajournal&rft.genre=article&rft.atitle=EPIGRAPHY%2C+LEGISLATION%2C+AND+POWER+WITHIN+THE+ATHENIAN+EMPIRE&rft.jtitle=Bulletin+of+the+Institute+of+Classical+Studies+of+the+University+of+London&rft.au=PETER+Liddell&rft.date=2010-06-01&rft.pub=Wiley+Subscription+Services%2C+Inc&rft.issn=0076-0730&rft.eissn=2041-5370&rft.volume=53&rft.issue=1&rft.spage=99&rft_id=info:doi/10.1111%2Fj.2041-5370.2010.00005.x&rft.externalDocID=3963052811

Liddell, Henry George, and Robert Scott. 1889. *An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon*.

Founded upon the Seventh Edition of *Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford: OUP. All definitions come from online source of the Middle Liddell via Perseus Tufts Online word search: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>.

πλῆθος entry at:

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=plh%3Dqos&la=greek&can=plh%3Dqos0&prior=to&d=Perseus:text:1999.01.0045:chapter=26&i=1#lexicon>. Accessed 04/18/2017.

Liddell, Henry George, and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Revised and augmented throughout by Sir Henry Stuart Jones with the assistance of Roderick McKenzie. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1940.

οἰαξ entry: at <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/ljs/ljs.html#context=lsj&eid=74535>

All definitions come from online source of the LSJ via Perseus Tufts Online word search: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>.

πλῆθος entry at:

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=plh%3Dqos&la=greek&can=plh%3Dqos0&prior=to&d=Perseus:text:1999.01.0045:chapter=26&i=1#Perseus:text:1999.04.0058:entry=plh=qos-contents>. Accessed 04/18/2017.

Longo, Oddone. 1990. "The Theater of the Polis." In (eds.) John J. Winkler and Froma I. Zeitlin 1990. *Nothing to Do with Dionysus?: Athenian Drama in Its Social Context*. Princeton, New Jersey: PUP. 12–19.

Luban, David. 1986–1987. "Some Greek Trials: Order and Justice in Homer, Hesiod, Aeschylus, and Plato." In *54 Tenn. L. Rev.* 279–311. Downloaded/printed from HeinOnline (<http://heinonline.org>). October 31, 2014.

Macleod, Colin. 2007. "Politics and the Oresteia." In *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Aeschylus*. Ed. Michael Lloyd. Oxford: OUP, 2007. 266-301.

MacDowell, Douglas Maurice, 2012, "1. Legislation" in "law and procedure, Athenian." *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (4 ed.). Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow (eds.) Publisher: Oxford University Press; Print Publication Date: 2012; Print ISBN-13: 9780199545568; Published online: 2012; Current Online Version: 2012; eISBN: 9780191735257

<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199545568.001.0001/acref-9780199545568-e-3617#>. Accessed 04/06/2017.

MacDowell, Douglas M. 1978, *The Law in Classical Athens*, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Manville, Philip Brook. 1990. *The Origins of Citizenship in Ancient Athens*. Princeton, New Jersey: PUP.

- Markantonatos, Andreas, and Bernhard Zimmerman (eds.). 2011. *Crisis on Stage: Tragedy and Comedy in Late Fifth-Century Athens*. In *Trends in Classics: Supplementary Volume*. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter.
- Mathieugp, WartDark, Laurent henry. - File:Constitution-athenes-aristote.png. Entry noted, "The main source used to produce the diagram are: Mogens H. Hansen's, *La Démocratie athénienne à l'époque de Démosthène*, Éditions Tallandier, 2009 The *Athēnaíōn politeía* attributed to Aristotle, translated in French by Hellenist B. Haussoullier in 1891 and available online on Philippe Remacle's site *L'antiquité grecque et latine*. The dossier "La citoyenneté à Athènes", of the *Musagora* project of the Educnet (France).
English: Diagram representing the constitution of the Athenians in the IVth century BC." <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/7f/Constitution-of-the-Athenians-in-the-4th-century-BC.png>. Accessed 04/20/2017. [Image referenced for understanding the Athenian division of power among political institutions]
- Mattingly, Harold B. 1996. *The Athenian Empire Restored: Epigraphic and Historical Studies*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- McCall, Marsh. Jan., 1972. "The *Trachiniae*: Structure, Focus, and Heracles." *The American Journal of Philology* 93, no.1. Studies in the Honor of Henry T. Rowell. 142–163.
- McGlew, James F. 2002. *Citizens on Stage: Comedy and Political Culture in the Athenian Democracy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- McInerney, Jeremy. 1994. "Politicizing the Past: the *Atthis* of Kleidemos," *Classical Antiquity* 13, no. 1. 17-37.
- Meiggs, Russell, 1972. *The Athenian Empire*. Oxford: OUP.
- Meiggs, Russell, and David M. Lewis. 1969. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* Clarendon Press: Oxford.
- Mitchell, Lynette G. Oct., 2006. "Greeks, Barbarians and Aeschylus' 'Suppliants.'" *Greece & Rome*, 53, no. 2. 205–223.
- Montouris Ciambotti, Alexis. "Autochthony and Judicial Imperialism: Athens' Ethnocentric Court as an Instrument of Her Fifth-Century Empire." Paper for ANCH 026: Ancient Greece, University of Pennsylvania. November 2015. 1–10.
- Munson, Rosaria Vignolo (ed.) 2013. *Herodotus: Volume 1. Herodotus and the Narrative of the Past*. In *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies*. Oxford: OUP.
- Osborne, Robin (ed.). 2014. *Athenian Democracy. Lactor* No. 5. The London Association of Classical Teachers – Original Records: a series of translations of sources for Ancient History.
- (ed.). 2004. *Studies in Greek and Roman Society*. In Lynda Roper and Chris Wickham (general eds.) *Past and Present Publications*. Cambridge, New York, Port Melbourne, Madrid, and Cape Town: CUP.
- Ostwald, Martin. 1986. *From Popular Sovereignty to the Sovereignty of Law: Law, Society, and Politics in Fifth-Century Athens*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- Papadopoulou, Thalia, 2012. "Altruism, Sovereignty, and the Degeneration of Imperial Hegemony in Greek Tragedy and Thucydides." Eds. Andreas Markantonatos and Bernhard Zimmermann. *Crisis on Stage: Tragedy and Comedy in Late Fifth-Century Athens*. Vol. 13. Trends in Classics – Supplementary Volumes. Berlin: De Gruyter. 377-404.
- Pleket, H.W. and Stroud, R.S., "SEG 26-3. Athens. Decree: regulations for Erythrai, 453/2 B.C.?", in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis

- Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 18 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a26_3>. First published online: 1976.
http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-26-3-athens-decree-regulations-for-erythrai-4532-bc-a26_3?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=seg+26-3
- . “SEG 26-9. Athens. Decree concerning Kolophon, ca. 446 B.C.?” in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 18 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a26_9>. First published online: 1976.
http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-26-9-athens-decree-concerning-kolophon-ca-446-bc-a26_9?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=SEG+26-9
- . “SEG 28-4. Athens. Decree: regulations for Chalkis, 446/5 B.C.?” in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a28_4> First published online: 1978.
http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-28-4-athens-decree-regulations-for-chalkis-4465-bc-a28_4#a28-4
- . “SEG 31-5. Athens. Decree concerning Erythrai, 453/2 B.C.?” in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 18 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a31_5>. First published online: 1981.
http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-31-5-athens-decree-concerning-erythrai-4532-bc-a31_5?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=seg+31-5
- . “SEG 34-4. Athens (now lost). Decree concerning Erythrai. 453/2 B.C.” in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a34_4> First published online: 1984
http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-34-4-athens-now-lost-decree-concerning-erythrai-4532-bc-a34_4#a34-4
- . “SEG 34-12. Athens. Decree concerning Kolophon, date?” in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 18 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a34_12>. First published online: 1984.
http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-34-12-athens-decree-concerning-kolophon-date-a34_12?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=SEG+34-12
- . “SEG 34-5. Athens. Decree concerning Erythrai, ca. 450 B.C.?” in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a34_5> First published online: 1984

- http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-34-5-athens-decree-concerning-erythrai-ca-450-bc-a34_5#SEG34-5
- . “SEG 35-3. Athens. Decree concerning Erythrai, ca. 450 B.C.?” in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a35_3> First published online: 1985
http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-35-3-athens-decree-concerning-erythrai-ca-450-bc-a35_3?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=SEG+35+3
- . “SEG 36-5. Athens. Decree concerning Erythrai, ca. 450 B.C.?” in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a36_5> First published online: 1986
http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-36-5-athens-decree-concerning-erythrai-ca-450-bc-a36_5?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=seg+36+5
- . “SEG 36-301. Attica. ΔΗΜΟΣ and ΠΛΗΘΟΣ in Athenian decrees ca. 450 B.C.”, in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a36_301> First published online: 1986
http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-36-301-attica-and-in-athenian-decrees-ca-450-bc-a36_301?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=seg+36+301
- . “SEG 37-1782. Law. Misdemeanor of officials and its punishment, 5th cent. B.C.”, in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a37_1782> First published online: 1987
http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-37-1782-law-misdemeanor-of-officials-and-its-punishment-5th-cent-bc-a37_1782?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=seg+37+1782
- . “SEG 37-1855bis. Vocabulary: ΛΟΓΟΣ and ΕΡΓΟΝ in greek inscriptions.”, in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 18 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a37_1855bis>. First published online: 1987.
http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-37-1855bis-vocabulary-and-in-greek-inscriptions-a37_1855bis?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=SEG+37+1855bis
- Pleket, H.W., Stroud, R.S. and Strubbe, J.H.M., “SEG 42-9. Athens. Decree Concerning Kolophon, Date?”, in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 18 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a42_9>. First published online: 1992.

http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-42-9-athens-decree-concerning-kolophon-date-a42_9?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=SEG+42+9

———. “SEG 42-19. Athens. Republication of Drakon’s Law on Homicide, 409/8 B.C.”, in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a42_19> First published online: 1992 http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-42-19-athens-republication-of-drakons-law-on-homicide-4098-bc-a42_19?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=seg+42+19

———. “SEG 43-1235. Law.”, in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 08 April 2017 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a43_1235 First published online: 1993 http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-43-1235-law-a43_1235?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=SEG+43+1235%C2%A0

Raaflaub, Kurt. 2007. Chapter 5: “The Breakthrough of Demokratia in Mid-Fifth-Century Athens” In Raaflaub, Kurt, Josiah Ober, and Robert W. Wallace. 2007. *Origins of democracy in ancient Greece*, with Chapters by Paul Cartledge and Cynthia Farrar. First paperback edition 2008. Berkeley and Los Angeles California: Regents of the University of California. 105–154.

Raaflaub, Kurt, Josiah Ober, and Robert W. Wallace. 2007. *Origins of democracy in ancient Greece*, with Chapters by Paul Cartledge and Cynthia Farrar. First paperback edition 2008. Berkeley and Los Angeles California: Regents of the University of California.

Rhodes, P. J. 1981. *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press/OUP.

Rhodes, Peter J. (Durham), “Nautodikai”, in: *Brill’s New Pauly*, Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and , Helmuth Schneider. Consulted online on 20 April 2017 <http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:2097/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e818220>. First published online: 2006. First print edition: 9789004122598, 20110510 http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:3217/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/nautodikai-e818220?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=Nautodikai

———. “Psephisma”, in: *Brill’s New Pauly*, Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Consulted online on 05. April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp+e1012400> First published online: 2006, First print edition: 9789004122598, 20110510. http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:3217/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/psephisma-e1012400?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=psephisma

———. “Boule”, in: *Brill’s New Pauly*, Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and , Helmuth Schneider. Consulted online on 20 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e221440>. First published online: 2006. First print edition: 9789004122598, 20110510. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/boule-e221440?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=boule

- Rosavich, Vincent J., 1987. "Autochthony and the Athenians." *The Classical Quarterly*, Vol. 37, No. 2. 294-306.
- Samons II, Loren J. 2016. *Pericles and the Conquest of History: A Political Biography*. New York: CUP.
- Sealey, Raphael, 1987. *The Athenian Republic: Democracy or Rule of Law?* University Park, PA and London: Penn State University Press.
- Schmitz, Winfried (Bielefeld), Redies, Michael (Berlin), Nesselrather, Heinz-Günterh (Göttingen) and Montanari, Franco (Pisa), "Aristophanes", in *Brill's New Pauly*. Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Consulted online on 17 December 2016. http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:2146/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e136370 First published online: 2006. First print edition: 9789004122598, 20110510.
- Scullion, Scott. 2002. "Tragic Dates." *CQ* 52, no. 1. 81–101.
- Searchable Greek Inscriptions: A Scholarly Tool in Progress. The Packard Humanities Institute. Project Centers: Cornell University and Ohio State University. Last Update: September 1, 2015. <http://epigraphy.packhum.org>. Accessed 04/06/2017.
- . IG I³14. Regions: Attica (IG I-III). Accessed 04/07/2017. <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/14?bookid=4&location=7>.
- Starr, Chester. 1989. *The Influence of Sea Power on Ancient History*. New York and Oxford: OUP.
- Stein-Hölkeskamp, Elke (Cologne), Rhodes, Peter J. (Durham) and Egnles, Johannes (Cologne), "Ephialtes", in: *Brill's New Pauly*, Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schenider. Consulted online on 15 April 2017, <http://proxy.library.upenn.edu/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e331560> First published online: 2006. First print edition: 9789004122598, 20110510. http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:3217/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/epialtes-e331560?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=epialtes.
- Stenger, Jan (Kiel), 2006, "III. Cult" in Stenger, Jan (Kiel) and Bäbler, Balbina (Göttingen), "Theseus", in *Brill's New Pauly*, Antiquity, volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Consulted online on 22 December 2016, http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:2146/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e1210740. First published online: 2006. First print edition: 9789004122598, 20110510
- Stenger, Jan (Kiel) and Bäbler, Balbina (Göttingen), "Theseus", in *Brill's New Pauly*, Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Consulted online on 22 December 2016, http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:2146/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e1210740. First published online: 2006. First print edition: 9789004122598, 20110510
- Stewart, Andrew. Winter 1995. "Imag(in)ing the Other: Amazons and Ethnicity in Fifth-Century Athens. In *Poetics Today*, 16, no. . 571 – 597. Published by: Duke University Press. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1773366> Accessed: 14-11-2016 03:17 UTC
- Strauss, Barry. 2004. *The Battle of Salamis: The Naval Encounter that Saved Greece—and Western Civilization*. New York, London, Toronto, and Sydney: Simon and Schuster.
- Taplin, Oliver. 1977. *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus: The Dramatic Use of Exits and Entrances in Greek Tragedy*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Taplin, Oliver, and H.D.F. Kitto (contributors), *Britannica Academic*, s.v. "Euripides," accessed December 18, 2016. <http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:2738/levels/collegiate/article/109861#>.
- Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: A Digital Library of Greek Literature. Project Director Maria Pantelia. University of California.

- . Search for “πολι” in Aeschylus’ *Persians* (02/15/2017)
http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=πολι&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=5&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=100
- . Search for “πολι” in Aeschylus’ *Seven Against Thebes* (02/15/2017)
http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=πολι&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=5&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=100
- . Search for “πολι” in Aeschylus’ *Suppliant Women* (02/15/2017)
http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=πολι&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=1&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=100
- . Search for “πολι” in Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* (02/15/2017)
http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=πολι&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=3&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=100
- . Search for “πολι” in Aeschylus’ *Choephoroi* (02/15/2017)
http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=πολι&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=5&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=100
- . Search for “πολι” in Aeschylus’ *Eumenides* (02/15/2017)
http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=πολι&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-0085-0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=8&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=100
- . Search for “πολι” in Aeschylus’ *Prometheus Bound* (04/18/2017)
<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/inst/tsearch.jsp#s=26>.
- . Search for “πολε” in Aeschylus’ *Persians* (02/15/2017)
http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=πολε&usr_input=greek&aac=&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=1&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=100
- . Search for “πολε” in Aeschylus’ *Seven against Thebes*= 39 times. (2/15/2017)
http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=πολε&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=7&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=100
- . Search for “πολε” in Aeschylus’ *Suppliant Women* (02/15/2017)
http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=πολε&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=2&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=100

- . Search for “πολε” in Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* (02/15/2017)
http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=popupfresh&ql=&q=πολε&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=1&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=100&count=7&reset_lemma=true
- . Search for “πολε” in Aeschylus’ *Choephoroi* (02/15/2017)
http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=πολε&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=6&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=100
- . Search for “πολε” in Aeschylus’ *Eumenides* (02/15/2017)
http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=πολε&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-0085-0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=7&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=100
- . Search for “πολε” in Aeschylus’ *Prometheus Bound* (04/18/2017)
<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/inst/tsearch.jsp#s=27>
- Search for “Ελλα,” (12/19/16)
http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=Ελλαδ&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=1&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=10
- . Search for “πολεμι” (12/22/16)
http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=πολεμι&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=1&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=10
- . Search for “φοιν” (12/23/16)
http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=φοιν&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=12&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=10
- . Search for “Λυδ” (12/22/16)
http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=Λυδ&usr_input=greek&aac=&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=1&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=10
- . Search for “Μυσι” (12/22/16)
http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=Μυσι&usr_input=greek&aac=&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=3&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=10
- . Search for “αγυπτ” (12/23/16)
http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=αγυπτ&usr_input=greek&aac=&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=5&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=10
- . Search for “κελευστ” (12/23/16)
http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=κελευστ&usr_input=greek&aac=&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=5&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=10

- e=popupfresh&ql=&q=κελευστ&usr_input=greek&aac=&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=6&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=date&disp=10&count=4&reset_lemma=true
- . Search for “οἶακ” (12/23/6)
http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=οἶακ&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=7&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=date&disp=10
- . Search for “οἶαξ” (12/23/16)
http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=οἶαξ&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=8&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=date&disp=10———. Search for “εγγω”
http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=εγγω&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=3&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&disp=10
- Thucydides, 1988. *The Peloponnesian War* Trans., Introduction, and Notes by Steven Lattimore. Indianapolis/Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company.
- Tod, Marcus N. (ed.) 1933. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Travlos, J., 1974. “The Lawcourt ΕΠΙ ΠΑΛΛΑΔΙΩΝ.” *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*. Vol. 43, No. 4 (Oct. – Dec., 1974). 500-511.
- Tse-Tung, Mao. 1967. *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-Tung*. Peking: Foreign Languages Press.
- Tybout, R.A. and Editorial Board, , “IG”, in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 18 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_conc_IG_I_2>. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/ig-conc_IG_I_2?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=ig+i2+13 [Search for *IG i*²].
- . “IG”, in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 18 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_conc_IG_I_3>. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/ig-conc_IG_I_3?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=ig+i3+14 [Search for *IG i*³].
- United States Marines Corps, 1940, *Small Wars Manual*. FMFRP 12-15. United States Government Printing Office.
- Winkler, John J., and Froma I. Zeitlin (Eds.). 1990. *Nothing to Do with Dionysus?: Athenian Drama in Its Social Context*. Princeton, New Jersey: PUP.
- Whitehead, David. 1977. *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic*. Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society: Supplementary Volume. Vol. 4. Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society.
- Will, Wolfgang (Bonn) and Högemann, Peter (Tübingen), “Pericles”, in: *Brill’s New Pauly*, Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and Hlemuth Schneider. Consulted online on

18 April 2017 <http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:2097/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e913920>
First published online: 2006 First print edition: 9789004122598, 20110510.

http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:3217/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/pericles-e913920?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=pericles

- Woodhead, A.G., “SEG 12-8. Attica. Unknown provenance. Decretum de Erythraeis, a. 453/2a.”, in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 18 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a12_8>. First published online: 1955. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-12-8-attica-unknown-provenance-decretum-de-erythraeis-a-4532a-a12_8?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=SEG+12-8
- . “SEG 21-8. Attica. Unknown provenance. Decretum de Erythraeis, a. 453/2a.”, in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 18 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a21_8>. First published online: 1965. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-21-8-attica-unknown-provenance-decretum-de-erythraeis-a-4532a-a21_8?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=sEG+21-8
- . “SEG 21-22. Attica. Unknown provenance. Decretum de Colophoniis, a. 447/6a.”, in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 18 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a21_22>. First published online: 1965. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-21-22-attica-unknown-provenance-decretum-de-colophoniis-a-4476a-a21_22?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=SEG+21-22
- . “SEG 23-10. Attica. Unknown provenance. Decretum de Colophoniis, a. 447/6a.”, in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 18 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a23_10>. First published online: 1968. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-23-10-attica-unknown-provenance-decretum-de-colophoniis-a-4476a-a23_10?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=SEG+23-10
- . “SEG 25-13. Attica. Unknown provenance. Decretum de Colophoniis, a. 447/6a.”, in: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Current editors: A. T. N. R.A. Chaniotis Corsten Papazarkadas Tybout. Consulted online on 18 April 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a25_13>. First published online: 1971. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/seg-25-13-attica-unknown-provenance-decretum-de-colophoniis-a-4476a-a25_13?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum&s.q=SEG+25-13

- Woodward, Thomas, and Oliver Taplin (contributors). *Britannica Academic*, s.v. "Sophocles," accessed December 18, 2016,
<http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:2738/levels/collegiate/article/109862>.
- Zimmermann, Bernhard (Freiburg), "Euripides", in: *Brill's New Pauly*, Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Consulted online on 17 December 2016.
http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:2146/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e405880 First published online: 2006. First print edition: 9789004122598, 20110510.
- Zimmermann, Bernhard (Freiburg) and Schmitz, Winfried (Bielefeld), "Sophocles", in: *Brill's New Pauly*, Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Consulted online on 18 December 2016.
http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:2146/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e1117150/ First published online: 2006. First print edition: 9789004122598, 20110510
- Zimmermann, Bernhard (Freiburg) and Wießenberger, Michael (Greifswald), "Aeschylus", in: *Brill's New Pauly*, Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Consulted online on 17 December 2016.
http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:2146/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e110710 First published online: 2006. First print edition: 9789004122598, 20110510.

APPENDIX I: AESCHYLUS' *PERSIANS*

This paper in part asks: a) What did Athens do with her navy? b) How much is the navy in the Athenian consciousness? and c) How do the Athenians put the navy in their expression of consciousness (that is, in their plays)? As Hale notes, “[t]he sea penetrated every corner of Athenian life,”⁴⁰⁴ and Aeschylus may have been able to presupposed knowledge of the sea from his audience if he perceived a widespread, shared experience. Even if, as I argue, Athenian naval terminology became normative because of the expanded naval activity of the 460s, there is no reason why Athens should have been ellipsed from the story about Salamis (one needs only to include “Athens”).

At some point, however, naval terminology proliferated society.⁴⁰⁵ I argue that it constructed at least part of the collective identity (that is, language that, given a shared experience, was familiar to all) and derived from the expeditions of the 470s⁴⁰⁶ and 460s.⁴⁰⁷ That naval terminology is much more salient in *Seven* compared to *Persians* suggests that by the 460s and not earlier naval terminology had become normative. One example lies in Athenian lexicographical development—or lack thereof. The Liddell and Scott entry for *naurarchos* notes that this term was “an admiral” in Sparta, but “Athen[ian] admirals retained the name of στρατηγοί (generals), **Thuc.**, **Xen.**, etc.”⁴⁰⁸ Jordan notes the significance of this lexicography and notes:

⁴⁰⁴ Hale, 2009, xxix.

⁴⁰⁵ Hale, 2009, xxix.

⁴⁰⁶ For example, Cimon recovered and returned “the bones of T[heseus] from Scyros to Athens in 475 BC” (Stenger, 2006, “III. Cult” in Stenger, Jan (Kiel) and Bäbler, Balbina (Göttingen), “Theseus”, in *Brill's New Pauly*).

⁴⁰⁷ Hale, 2009, 98–99, 321–322.

⁴⁰⁸ Liddell and Scott entry for ναύαρχος, ὁ, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=nau%2Farxos&la=greek&can=nau%2Farxos0#lexicon>. See bibliography as well.

At Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., the strategist commanded the fleets. There was no officer especially appointed or elected to command the naval forces, as there was, for example, in Sparta. Hignett has well remarked that “when Athens was transformed into a great naval power, the generals became the admirals of the largest naval power in Greece.” The Athenian decrees show that, on the whole, no special nomenclature distinguished a general commanding at sea from a general in command of land forces. Only occasionally is the naval command of the strategoi more closely defined, as for instance in the decrees relating to the Sicilian expedition, where the generals are called strategoi ton neon. The investiture of the highest military officers of the state with command at sea at an early date testifies to the importance which Athens attached to her naval power from the very beginning, and there is no doubt that this measure contributed greatly to the growth and development of the Athenian fleet.⁴⁰⁹

If the Athenian navy triumphed at Salamis and lent commanders equal significance in the society’s language, perhaps the dearth of naval terminology could be attributed to a lack of development (in other words, Athens had begun the social transformation similar to that articulated in McInerney, 1999 (20 and 18n.20), but had not yet developed the appropriate articulation). Jordan attributes the Spartan differentiation to lagging behind in normative essence, noting, “By contrast, the Spartans, latecomers to war and dominion at sea, created their navy long after they had organized their land forces, and hence had to establish a separate command, the naurarchia.”⁴¹⁰ That there was no linguistic differentiation suggests that Athenians conceptualized martial leadership in absolute rather than relative terms.

This is crucial for our reconstruction of Athenian identity and our understanding of audience experience in *Seven*; however, it does not explain the ellipse of Athens’ naval contribution in *Persians*. There is no reason on the basis of linguistic development why Greece should replace Athens in the entire account of the battle of Salamis, save a political motivation—domestic and foreign. After reading the section on *Persai* that I had completed to date, I was asked by Professor Jeremy McInerney if the lack of naval terminology and the emphasis on land warfare

⁴⁰⁹ Jordan, 1972, 117.

⁴¹⁰ Jordan, 1972, 118.

suggested, “Aeschylus represented a mindset associated with the old hoplite class.”⁴¹¹ Hoplite warfare was often prosecuted by those who could afford it,⁴¹² while rowing required only oneself, and may, therefore, have become the military contribution of the lower classes. Jordan notes,

During the Peloponnesian War and for the greater part of the fourth century the conventional mode of manning the ships was that of recruitment of volunteers by the trierarchs. These volunteers consisted of thetes, metics, and slaves of Athenians whom their masters let to the state. Citizens of the allied and subject states also served for pay, although they could be pressed into service against their will. At home, the Athenian navy could draw on a large pool of trained seamen and rowers who had learned their trade in the merchant fleet...The upper census classes, who were needed to provide the cavalry and infantry force of Athens, were not liable for sea duty except in emergencies, or when the usual manpower sources had dried up. On such occasions they embarked on board in their official tribal order and stood under the immediate command of the ten taxiarchs. The ships’ officers...were recruited or conscripted in the same way as the nautai of whom they were a part.⁴¹³

Clearly the rowers were not exclusively from the lower or even poorer classes, as merchant rowers were also a source of naval manpower.⁴¹⁴ Moreover, given the manpower shortage observed above, members of the “upper census classes” must have served at Salamis.⁴¹⁵

When Professor McInerney introduced the possibility of a pro-hoplite undercurrent, I mentioned that I had discovered a section of *Frogs* wherein Aeschylus appears to be a champion for the austere, disciplined, moral lifestyle of what appears to be the ‘Old Athens’ in the first quarter to half of the century against Euripides.⁴¹⁶ According to Aristophanes’ Aeschylus (depicted in 405 BC, approximately half a century after his death⁴¹⁷),⁴¹⁸ the Athenians were

⁴¹¹ Office Hours Meeting, October 26, 2016, 2:00 PM.

⁴¹² Connor, 2004, 18–19. See Gabrielsen for the participation of lower classes, Gabrielsen, 2002, *passim*.

⁴¹³ Jordan, 1972, 102–103.

⁴¹⁴ Jordan, 1972, 102–103.

⁴¹⁵ Jordan, 1972, 102–103.

⁴¹⁶ Aristophanes and Jefferey Henderson, 2002, trans. by Henderson, *Ar. Ran.* ll.830–1481, Loeb pp.138–229.

⁴¹⁷ In Heinz-Günther (Göttingen) Nesselrath in Schmitz, Winfried (Bielefeld), Redies, Michael (Berlin), Nesselrath, Heinz-Günther (Göttingen) and Montanari, Franco (Pisa), “Aristophanes”, 2006, section B.1 “Chronology.”; Bernhard (Freiburg) Zimmerman in Zimmermann, Bernhard (Freiburg) and Weißenberger, Michael (Greifswald), “Aeschylus”, 2006, section A: “Biography.”

formerly “good, upstanding people” before Euripides tainted them.⁴¹⁹ Aeschylus’ dialogue illustrates the social deterioration of Athens perceived by 405 BC, albeit in Aeschylus’ mind at the hands of Euripides: “As a result, our community’s filled with assistant secretaries and clownish monkeys of politicians forever lying to the people, and from lack of physical fitness there’s nobody left who can run with a torch.⁴²⁰ Moreover, when Aeschylus asks, “Tell me who the city’s making use of now: the good people?”⁴²¹ Dionysus replies, “Of course not! She absolutely hates them.”⁴²² Aeschylus wonders, “And she delights in the bad people?”⁴²³ and Dionysus responds, “No, she doesn’t; she makes use of them perforce.”⁴²⁴ Aeschylus concludes, “Then how could anyone save a city like that, if she won’t wear either a cloak or a goatskin?”⁴²⁵ intimating that Athens has changed from a virtuous, disciplined power to a morally degenerate state.⁴²⁶

⁴¹⁸ This Aeschylus apparently knows the current state of affairs in Athens. In a conversation between Xanthias and a slave (here, 804–813), “the judge”(l.804) would not be the Athenian people because “Aeschylus wouldn’t agree to use Athenians”(ll.806–807) as “the judge.” The slave wonders if “he considered too many of them crooks”(l.808) before Xanthias says, “and the rest of them he thought were pure piffle when it comes to judging what poets really are”(ll.809–810) (Aristophanes and Jefferey Henderson, 2002, trans. by Henderson, *Ar. Ran.* ll.804–813, Loeb pp. 134–137); Greek provided by Aristophanes and Jefferey Henderson, 2002, Loeb Edition: *Ar. Ran.* ll.804–813:

ΞΑΝ. κρινεῖ δὲ δὴ τίς ταῦτα;

ΟΙ. τοῦτ’ ἦν δύσκολον· σοφῶν γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἀπορίαν ἠύρισκέτην· οὔτε γὰρ Ἀθηναίοισι συνέβαιν’ Αἰσχύλος—

ΞΑΝ. πολλοὺς ἴσως ἐνόμιζε τοὺς τοιχωρύχους.

ΟΙ. λῆρόν τε τᾶλλ’ ἠγεῖτο τοῦ γνῶναι περὶ φύσεις ποιητῶν.

⁴¹⁹ χρηστῶν καὶ γενναίων μοχθηροτέρους (Aristophanes and Jefferey Henderson, 2002, trans. by Henderson, *Ar. Ran.* l.1011, Loeb pp.160–161).

⁴²⁰ Aristophanes and Jefferey Henderson, 2002, trans. by Henderson, *Ar. Ran.* ll. 1083–1088, Loeb pp. 174–175.

(κᾶτ’ ἐκ τούτων ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν ὑπογραμματέων ἀνεμεστῶθη καὶ βωμολόχων δημοπιθήκων ἐξαπατῶντων τὸν δῆμον ἀεὶ, λαμπάδα δ’ οὐδεὶς οἷός τε φέρειν ὑπ’ ἀγυμνασίας ἔτι νυνί.)

⁴²¹ Aristophanes and Jefferey Henderson, 2002, trans. by Henderson, *Ar. Ran.* l.1454, Loeb pp. 224–225:

(τὴν πόλιν νῦν μοι φράσον πρῶτον τίσι χρῆται· πότερα τοῖς χρηστοῖς;)

⁴²² Aristophanes and Jefferey Henderson, 2002, trans. by Henderson, *Ar. Ran.* l.1455, Loeb pp. 224–225: (πόθεν; μισεῖ κάκιστα).

⁴²³ Aristophanes and Jefferey Henderson, 2002, trans. by Henderson, *Ar. Ran.* l.1456, Loeb pp. 224–225: (τοῖς πονηροῖς δ’ ἡδεταί;)

⁴²⁴ Aristophanes and Jefferey Henderson, 2002, trans. by Henderson, *Ar. Ran.* l.1457, Loeb pp. 224–225: (οὐ δῆτ’ ἐκείνη γ’, ἀλλὰ χρῆται πρὸς βίαν.)

⁴²⁵ Aristophanes and Jefferey Henderson, 2002, trans. by Henderson, *Ar. Ran.* ll.1458–1459, Loeb pp. 224–225 (πῶς οὖν τις ἂν σώσειε τοιαύτην πόλιν, ἢ μήτε χλαῖνα μήτε σισύρα ξυμφέρει;).

⁴²⁶ Aeschylus previously claims that the society as a whole has degenerated, again at the hands of Euripides: “Then you taught people to cultivate chitchat and gab, which has emptied the wrestling schools and worn down the butts of the young men as they gab away, and prompted the crew of the *Paralus* to talk back to their officers. Yet in the old

In the midst of his contest with Euripides, Aeschylus takes a moment to describe the men of ‘Old Athens,’ in whom he had created “noble six-footers and not the civic shirkers, vulgarians, imps, and criminals they are now, but men with an aura of spears, lances, white-crested helmets, green berets, greaves, and seven-ply oxhide hearts.”⁴²⁷ When Euripides asks, “And just how did you train them to be so noble?”⁴²⁸ Aeschylus claims “By composing a play chock-full of Ares...My *Seven Against Thebes*; every single man who watched it was hot to be warlike.”⁴²⁹ The dialogue that follows between Aeschylus and Dionysus provides the most insight into the development of Athens and to which identity Aeschylus attempted to relate. When Dionysus comments that the play “made the Thebans more valiant in battle,”⁴³⁰ Aeschylus rebukes him, saying: “No, you could all have had the same training, but you didn’t go in that direction. Thereafter I produced my *Persians*, which taught them to yearn always to defeat the enemy, and thus I adorned an excellent achievement.”⁴³¹ Consequently, in 405 BC,⁴³² such was

days, when I was alive, all they knew how to do was shout for their rations and cry ‘heave ho!’” (Aristophanes and Jefferey Henderson, 2002, trans. by Henderson, *Ar. Ran.* ll.1069–1072, Loeb pp. 172–173.

(εἶτ’ αὖ λαλιὰν ἐπιτηδεῦσαι καὶ στωμυλίαν ἐδίδαξας, ἢ ἕκένωσεν τὰς τε παλαιίστρας καὶ τὰς πυγὰς ἐνέτριπεν τῶν μειρακίων στωμυλλομένων, καὶ τοὺς Παράλους ἀνέπεισεν ἀνταγορεύειν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. καίτοι τότε γ’, ἠνίκ’ ἐγὼ ἕζων, οὐκ ἠπίσταντ’ ἀλλ’ ἢ μᾶζαν καλέσαι καὶ “ῥυππαπαῖ” εἰπεῖν.). If the “crews of the Paralus” are in question, and, according to Hale, (Hale, 2009, xxix), Pericles named his second son after the vessel, the Paralus may have been Athens’ main warship. See also Gabrielsen: “the highly exceptional character of the Athenian sacred trireme *Paralos* in having an all-citizen crew (Thuc. 8.73.5)” (Gabrielsen, 2002, 211).

⁴²⁷ Aristophanes and Jefferey Henderson, 2002, trans. by Henderson, *Ar. Ran.* ll.1013–1019, Loeb pp.162–163. (εἰ γενναίους καὶ τετραπήχεις, καὶ μὴ διαδρασιπολίτας, μὴδ’ ἀγοραίους μὴδὲ κοβάλους, ὥσπερ νῦν, μὴδὲ πανούργους, ἀλλὰ πνέοντας δόρυ καὶ λόγχας καὶ λευκολόφους τρυφαλείας καὶ πήληκας καὶ κνημίδας καὶ θυμούς ἐπταβοείους.) Disciplined permeated every character depiction, regardless of sex: “no one can find a lustful woman in anything I ever composed.” (Jefferey Henderson, 2002, trans. by Henderson, *Ar. Ran.* ll.1042–1043 Loeb pp.166–167 (οὐδ’ οἶδ’ οὐδεὶς ἦντιν’ ἐρῶσαν πάποτ’ ἐποίησα γυναῖκα)).

⁴²⁸ Aristophanes and Jefferey Henderson, 2002, trans. by Henderson, *Ar. Ran.* ll.1018–1019, Loeb pp.162–163 (καὶ τί σὺ δράσας οὕτως αὐτοὺς γενναίους ἐξεδίδαξας;).

⁴²⁹ Aristophanes and Jefferey Henderson, 2002, trans. by Henderson, *Ar. Ran.* ll.1021, 1023, Loeb pp.162–163.

(δρᾶμα ποιήσας Ἄρεως μεστόν...τοὺς ἑπτ’ ἐπὶ Θήβας· ὁ θεασάμενος πᾶς ἄν τις ἀνὴρ ἠράσθη δάιος εἶναι.).

⁴³⁰ Aristophanes and Jefferey Henderson, 2002, trans. by Henderson, *Ar. Ran.* ll.1023–1024 (line breaks unclear), Loeb pp.162–163 (τοῦτι μὲν σοι κακὸν εἴργασται· Θηβαίους γάρπεποιήκας ἀνδρειοτέρους εἰς τὸν πόλεμον·)

⁴³¹ Aristophanes and Jefferey Henderson, 2002, trans. by Henderson, *Ar. Ran.* ll.1025–1027, Loeb pp.164–165 (ἀλλ’ ὑμῖν αὐτ’ ἐξῆν ἄσκεῖν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτ’ ἐτράπεσθε. εἶτα διδάξας Πέρσας μετὰ τοῦτ’ ἐπιθυμεῖν ἐξεδίδαξα νικᾶν ἀεὶ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους, κοσμήσας ἔργον ἄριστον.).

⁴³² In Heinz-Günther (Göttingen) Nesselrath in Schmitz, Winfried (Bielefeld), Redies, Michael (Berlin), Nesselrath, Heinz-Günther (Göttingen) and Montanari, Franco (Pisa), “Aristophanes”, 2006, section B.1 “Chronology.”

the conception of not only Aeschylean identity but historical, that of old Athenian society writ large.

However, *Persians* does not conclusively portray a pro-hoplite dismissal of the naval class. Much of this is conjecture and rather than tilt the factual playing field towards an argument, I would rather note that the exact motivation for the ellipse is uncertain according my research; however, I refute certain claims on one ideological basis without qualification for complex attendant circumstances. While there were certainly distinctions between the hoplites and the rest of society, they did not exist absent of contradictory sentiments; namely, that the navy was quite integrated into the society's normative framework. Connor discusses the distinctions of the hoplites and alludes to social hostility toward those in the navy existed.⁴³³

According to Connor, hoplites provided for their own weapons, equipment, and food: "these men were not necessarily aristocrats, but they were certainly not poor. Their weapons would require an expenditure equivalent to several months' wages as the rates for moderately skilled craftsmen. Since rations were not supplied by a quartermaster corps, some food would be brought along and the rest purchased...*en route*."⁴³⁴ Hale notes, the "men of the fourth and lowest class numbered about twenty thousand. Most worked for hire in agriculture, manufacturing, or transport.

Individually they lack wealth or influence."⁴³⁵ Thus at first glance, socioeconomic divide

separated the thetes from the hoplites. However, Gabrielsen problematizes this approach, noting,

[T]he use of the Solonian classes for the recruitment of *oarsmen* is securely attested in only one instance, that of 428 BC (Thuc. 3.1.61); and, emphatically, on that occasion the benches of the ships were manned both with *thetes* and *zeugitai*. I agree with those scholars who hold that in that passage Thucydides reports an exceptional situation. But exceptional in which way?⁴³⁶

⁴³³ Connor, 2004, 32 and 96n. 32.

⁴³⁴ Connor, 2004, 18–19.

⁴³⁵ Hale, 2009, 9.

⁴³⁶ Gabrielsen, 2002, 206.

Beyond this isolated instance, rowers were apparently not called *thetes*: “[n]either the (Athenians among the) oarsmen nor the *hyperesiai* are here called *thetes*; that label is (at 6.43.1) simply used of those hoplites (often ten in number) who were a standard part of a trireme’s crew.”⁴³⁷

Gabrielsen also notes, “the operational criterion defining these groups [the *tele*] (i.e. the amount of wealth owned by their respective members) was a collectively accepted fiction, certainly in the fourth century and possibly in the fifth.”⁴³⁸ According to Gabrielsen, “a *thes* performing naval (or any other military) service *by virtue of his membership* of that Solonian rating hardly features as the dominant figure he traditionally is supposed to be.”⁴³⁹ However, this does not preclude *de facto* socioeconomic-based service. Regardless, mass mobilization at Salamis, as attested by the manpower changes in the short weeks between Artemisium and Salamis,⁴⁴⁰ indicate that many classes were selected for service, though more research may definitively indicate whether these additions were rowers or hoplites on the boat.

We conclude, however, from Herodotus, that some of the upper class made a specifically naval contribution to the battle of Artemisium, as “On the Greek side, battle honours went that day to the Athenians, and among the Athenians to Cleinias the son of Alcibiades, who provided two hundred men and his own ship, all at his own expense, for the war effort.”⁴⁴¹ It is probably that the upper class thus made a similar contribution at Salamis, a battle which in combat engaged all levels of society. Hale suggests a similar claim:

The wealthiest Athenians took it in rotation to serve as ‘trierarchs’ or trireme commanders, providing gear and acting as captains while the ships were at sea. Their financial contributions to the fleet were the tax required of them by the democratic majority, along with sponsoring dramatic festivals and choral performances. Just as

⁴³⁷ Gabrielsen, 2002, 204.

⁴³⁸ Gabrielsen, 2002, 214.

⁴³⁹ Gabrielsen, 2002, 215.

⁴⁴⁰ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.1 and 44; Jordan, 1972, 102–103.

⁴⁴¹ Herodotus, Robin Waterfield, and Carolyn Dewald, 2008, trans. by Robin Waterfield, Hdt. *Hist.* 8.17.

common citizens enlisted willingly for service at sea, many rich Athenians competed to outshine their rivals in the number of their annual trierarchies, the lavish fittings of their ships, and the speed of their crews.⁴⁴²

This contradicts a more black-and-white reading of the hoplite class as distinguished from the rest of the community. Even Jordan notes, “The investiture of the highest military officers of the state with command at sea at an early date testifies the importance which Athens attached to her naval power from the very beginning, and there is no doubt that this measure contributed greatly to the growth and development of the Athenian fleet.”⁴⁴³ Jordan proceeds, however, to note the domestic political implications of this measure: “the great general-statesmen of Athens of the fifth century were able, as a direct consequence of their dual command, to favor and increase the importance of one class of citizens and thus check the power of the rest. This was true especially of Perikles”⁴⁴⁴ as Hale concurs.⁴⁴⁵ Hale also notes, “In the Golden Age most well-known Athenians were directly involved with the naval effort.”⁴⁴⁶ Moreover, Gabrielsen examines the celebration of the Athenian navy within society, noting that even Herodotus and Thucydides mention Athens’ naval fame:

In the fifth century BC, the Athenians had come to perceive themselves (and to be perceived by others) as a people excelling in the art of seamanship and naval warfare. Poets, historians, and political leaders (most of them their fellow-citizens) often reminded them of the fact that since the victory at Salamis, and through continual and conscientious practice, they had further developed their skills in this field, thus winning renown for being not only the foremost experts in the art (*epistemonēs tes thalassēs* or *tour nautikou*: Thuc. 1.142.5–9, 8.45.2). Occasionally, they were also reminded of the justified pride they could take in their specialists: they had “citizen helmsmen and the rest of the *hyperesia* in greater numbers and greater skill than the rest of Greece” (Thuc. 1.142.1); also, the citizen oarsman who manned the supper benches of the triremes, the *thranites*, was singled out for praise as “the savior of our city” (Ar. *Ach.* 162–163), just as all the Athenians, after Salamis, were, at least by some, regarded as the “saviours of Greece” (Hdt. 7.139). In his work, Thucydides chronicled with great detail the tactical

⁴⁴² Hale, 2009, xxx.

⁴⁴³ Jordan, 1972, 117.

⁴⁴⁴ Jordan, 1972, 117.

⁴⁴⁵ Hale, 2009, xxviii.

⁴⁴⁶ Hale, 2009, xxv.

superiority of, and the memorable successes scored by, Athens' naval squadrons (e.g. 2.88.2; Phormio's fleet).⁴⁴⁷

Nevertheless, animosity towards the navy proliferated. For example, Gabrielsen notes, especially in the works of Plato and Aristotle, the former ascribing the outcome of the Persian Wars to Marathon,⁴⁴⁸ the latter referring to “the naval mob (*ho nautikos ochlos*), having been the cause of the victory off Salamis...and thereby of the hegemony of Athens due to her power at sea.”⁴⁴⁹ Connor, discussing the celebration of the hoplites, claims, “By attaching such significance to the armour its possessors are themselves given a central role in society and its survival. Light-armed troops and cavalry – not to mention the fleet and its ‘naval rabble’, the *nautikos ochlos* – however great their military potential, are made to seem quite peripheral.”⁴⁵⁰

However, Aeschylus harbored a pro-hoplite identity and was personally opposed to the navy, his ideology did not prevent him from including prolific naval terminology and imagery in his two subsequent plays, both of which (in my opinion) happen to be staged during the naval expansion of the 460s. Furthermore, we must also ask why he produced a play about Salamis at all, if he preferred to celebrate Marathon or another land battle.

⁴⁴⁷ Gabrielsen, 2002, 208.

⁴⁴⁸ Gabrielsen, 2002, 209: “contrary to what most Greeks and barbarians assert, Plato’s Athenian interlocutor is made to say, it was not the battle of Salamis, but the battle of Marathon and Plataiai which were responsible for the salvation of Greece (Pl. *Leg.* 706B–707C).”

⁴⁴⁹ Gabrielsen, 2002, 209, quoting “(Pol. 1304a18–24, cf. 1274a12–14)”.

⁴⁵⁰ Connor, 2004, 32. He also cites Jordan, *The Athenian Navy in the Classical Period* (Berkeley 1975), pp. 205 f., 225–230” (Connor, 2004, 96n. 32).

APPENDIX II: AESCHYLUS' *SEVEN AGAINST THEBES*

Examples of Naval Terminology:

All Greek provided by *Hepta Epi Thebas* in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

All English translations: Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch. *Sept.*

II.1–3:

ET. Κάδμου πολῖται, χρῆ λέγειν τὰ καίρια
ὅστις φυλάσσει πρᾶγος ἐν πρύμνῃ πόλεως
οἴακα νωμῶν, βλέφαρα μὴ κοιμῶν ὕπνῳ.

ET. Citizens of Cadmus, the duty to see what meets
the moment is the man's who keeps guard upon affairs, taking the tiller
at the city's stern, with no lulling of his eyes in sleep.

II.62 – 65

AG. σὺ δ' ὥστε ναὸς κεδνὸς οἰακοστρόφος
φάρξαι πόλισμα πρὶν καταγίσει πνοᾶς
Ἄρεως: βοᾷ γὰρ κῦμα χερσαῖον στρατοῦ:

AG. And you now, like a ship's good
helmsman, must make the city safe, before the blasts of War shatter
it; their army is like a wave roaring on dry land.⁴⁵¹

II.114–115

XO. κῦμα περὶ πτόλιν δοχμολόφων ἀνδρῶν
καχλάζει πνοαῖς Ἄρεος ὀρόμενον.

XO. A wave of men round the city, helmet-crests slanting,
rises and seethes with the War-god's blast.⁴⁵²

II.208–210

ET. τί οὖν; ὁ ναύτης ἄρα μὴ ἔς πρῶϊαν φυγῶν
πρύμνηθεν ἤρε μηχανὴν σωτηρίας
νεῶς καμούσης ποντίῳ σὺν κύματι;

ET. Well, does a sailor who flees from the stern to the prow
find a means of safety when his ship labours in the ocean-wave?

⁴⁵¹ The last phrase “their army...land” is not unprecedented. The Chorus of *Pers.* evokes a similar image at Aesch. *Pers.* II.90–92. Aeschylus and Collard, 2008, trans. by Collard, Aesch. *Pers.* II.90–92. Greek provided by *Persai* in Aeschylus and Page, 1973, *Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*.

⁴⁵² See 1n.; however, that this image appears twice illustrates that it may have more purposeful use than a single example of trope might.

II.602–609

ΑΓ. ἢ γὰρ ξυνεισβάς πολῖον εὐσεβῆς ἀνὴρ
ναύταισι θερμοῖς καὶ πανουργίαι τινὶ
ὄλωλεν ἀνδρῶν σὺν θεοπτύστῳ γένει,
ἢ ξὺν πολίταις ἀνδράσιν δίκαιος ὢν
ἐχθροξένοις τε καὶ θεῶν ἀμνήμοσιν,
ταύτου κυρήσας ἐκδίκους ἀργεύματος,
πληγεῖς θεοῦ μάστιγι παγκοίνῳ ἰδάμη.

AG. Either a pious man, who
joins on board a ship sailors hot upon some villainy is lost together
with a breed of men the gods abhor, or a righteous man, among
fellow-citizens who are hostile to guests and unmindful of the gods,
is caught unjustly in the same net and beaten down by the god's
impartial scourge.

II.651–652

ΑΓ. ὡς οὐ ποτ' ἀνδρὶ τῷδε κηρυκευμάτων
μέμμηι· σὺ δ' αὐτὸς γνῶθι ναυκληρεῖν πόλιν.

AG. You can be sure, you will never fault me for my reports here;
but you yourself must decide how to steer the city's course.

II.758–60

ΧΟ. κακῶν δ' ὥσπερ θάλασσα κῦμ' ἄγει
τὸ μὲν πίτνον, ἄλλο δ' αἰεῖρει
τριχάλον, ὃ καὶ περὶ πρύμναν πόλεως καχλάζει.

XO. like the sea it drives on waves of trouble:
one falls but another rises
of triple greatness, crashing too
around the city's stern.

II.769–72

ΧΟ. πρόπρυμνα δ' ἐκβολὰν φέρει
ἀνδρῶν ἀλφηστῶν
ὄλβος ἄγαν παχυνθείς.

XO. The prosperity of mortal men
when fattened to excess
must jettison all from the stern.

II.794–96

ΑΓ. πέπτωκεν ἀνδρῶν ὀβρίμων κομπάσματα:

πόλις δ' ἐν εὐδαίᾳ τε καὶ κλυδωνίου
πολλαῖσι πληγαῖς ἄντολν οὐκ ἐδέξατο.

AG. the boastings of high and might men are
overthrown' amid both calm and the storm's mighty blows the city
has let in no water.

Il.854–857

XO. κατ' οὖρον
ἐρέσσειτ' ἀμφὶ καρτὶ πόμπιμον χεροῖν
πίτυλον, ὃς αἰὲν δι' Ἀχέροντ' ἀμείβεται
τὰν ἄστολον μελάγκροκον θεωρίδα,

XO. and with hands around your head
beat out its escorting rhythm which passes ever across Archeron,
steering the mission
of no return, its canvas black,

Il.941–943

XO.B. πικρὸς λυτὴρ νεικέων ὁ πόντιος
ξεῖνος ἐκ πυρὸς συθείς
θηκτὸς σίδαρος

XO.B. Harsh the resolver of their quarrel,
the sea-borne foreigner, who leapt from fire,
whetted Iron;

APPENDIX III: THESAURUS LINGAUE GRAECAE DATA FOR FIGURES 2 AND 3, POLI-
AND POLE-DERIVATIVES IN AESCHYLEAN TRAGEDY

A. Πολι/Poli Derivatives

1. Πολι/Poli Derivatives in Aeschylus' *Persians*

Reference Information

Textual Search: πολι

Input: Greek

Search in: Author: AESCHYLUS Trag. {0085}

Persae {012}

Accessed 02/15/2017.

http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=πολι&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=5&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=100

TLG Search Results

Results for: **πολι**

1. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 101-102
 ἔμαθον δ' εὐρυπόροιο θαλάσσης
πολιαινομένας πνεύματι λάβρωφ @1 (101-102)
 ἔσορᾶν πόντιον ἄλσος, (103) [ἀντ. γ. (100)]

2. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 118
 ὁᾶ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος—
 τοῦδε μὴ πόλις πύθη-
 ται, κένανδρον μέγ' ἄστυ Σουσίδος·

3. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 120
 ται, κένανδρον μέγ' ἄστυ Σουσίδος·

 καὶ τὸ Κισσίων πόλισμ'
 ἀντίδουπον ἕσεται, (120) [ἀντ. δ. (119)]

4. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 233
Xo. τῆλε πρὸς δυσμαῖς ἄνακτος Ἥλιου φθινασμάτων.
Ba. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἴμεῖο' ἐμὸς παῖς τήνδε θηράσαι πόλιν;
Xo. πάσα γὰρ γένοιτ' ἂν Ἑλλάς βασιλέως ὑπήκοος.

5. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 249
 ΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΣ
 ὦ γῆς ἀπάσης Ἀσιάδος **πολί**σματα, (249)
 ὦ Περσίς αἶα καὶ πολὺς πλούτου λιμήν, (250)

6. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 347
 τάλαντα βρῖσας οὐκ ἰσορρόπῳ τύχῃ. @1
 θεοὶ πόλιν σφῆζουσι Παλλάδος θεάς.
Ba. ἔτ' ἄρ' Ἀθηνῶν ἔστ' ἀπόρθητος πόλις;

7. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 348
 θεοὶ πόλιν σφῆζουσι Παλλάδος θεάς.
Ba. ἔτ' ἄρ' Ἀθηνῶν ἔστ' ἀπόρθητος πόλις;
Ag. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ὄντων ἕρκος ἐστὶν ἀσφαλές.

8. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 511
 ἤχουσιν ἐκφυγόντες, οὐ πολλοὶ τινες, (510)
 ἐφ' ἐστιοῦχον γαίαν· ὡς στένειν πόλιν

Περσῶν, ποθοῦσαν φιλάτιν ἦβην χθονός.

9. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 556

τω τότ' ἀβλαβῆς ἐπήν, (555)
τόξαρχος πολίηταις,
Σουσίδαις φίλος ἄκτωρ; @1

10. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 682

ὦ πιστὰ πιστῶν ἤλικές θ' ἦβης ἐμής (681)
Πέρσαι γεραιοί, τίνα πόλις πονεῖ πόνον;
στένει, κέκοπται, καὶ χαράσσεται πέδον.

11. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 853

Χο. ὦ πόποι ἢ μεγάλας ἀγαθὰς τε πο-
λισσονόμου βιοτὰς ἐπεκύρσαμεν,
εὐθ' ὁ γηραιὸς

[σθ. α.]

12. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 895

Πάφον ἠδὲ Σόλους, (894)
Σαλαμῖνά τε, τὰς νῦν ματρόπολις τῶνδ' (895)
αἰτία στεναγμῶν.

Use of TLG materials is subject to the TLG License Agreement.

Created: Thu Feb 15 21:51:32 2017 (UTC).

Contact tlg-support@uci.edu for enquiries.

TLG® is a registered trademark of The Regents of the University of California.

2. Πολι/Poli Derivatives in Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes*

Reference information:

Textual Search: πολι

Input: Greek

Search in: Author: AESCHYLUS Trag. {0085}

Septem contra Thebas {013}

Accessed 2/15/2017.

http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&q1=&q=πολι&usr_input=greek&ac=0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=5&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=100

2/15/17, 4:03 PM

TLG Search Results

Results for: **πολι**

1. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 1
ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ
Κάδμου **πολί**ται, γρη λέγειν τὰ καίρια (1)
ὅστις φυλάσσει πρῶτος ἐν πρόμνη πόλεως
2. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 63
σὺ δ' ὥστε ναὸς κεδνὸς οἰακοστροφός
φράξαι **πόλι**σμα, πρὶν καταγίσει πνοάς
Ἄρεως· βοᾶ γὰρ κύμα χερσαίων στρατοῦ·
3. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 69
εἰδὼς τὰ τῶν θύραθεν ἀβλαβῆς ἔση.
Ετ. ὦ Ζεὺ τε καὶ Γῆ καὶ **πολι**σσοῦχοι θεοί,
Ἄρα τ' Ἐρινὸς πατρὸς ἡ μεγασθενῆς, (70)
4. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 71
Ἄρα τ' Ἐρινὸς πατρὸς ἡ μεγασθενῆς, (70)
μῆ μοι **πόλι**ν γε πρυμνόθεν πανώλεθρον
ἐκθαμίσητε δηάλατον, Ἑλλάδος
5. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 74
φθόγγον χέουσιν, καὶ δόμους ἐφεστίους·
ἐλευθέραν δὲ γῆν τε καὶ Κάδμου **πόλι**ν
ζεύγλῃσι δουλήσι μήποτε σχεθεῖν· @1 (75)
6. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 77
γένεσθε δ' ἀλήκη· ξυνά δ' ἐλπίζω λέγειν·
πόλις γὰρ εὖ πρᾶσσοσα δαίμονας τίει.

ΧΟΡΟΣ (77)
7. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 92
ὁ λεύκασπις ὄρνυται λαὸς εὖ- (91)
τρειπὴς ἐπὶ **πόλι**ν διώκων <πόδα.>
— τίς ἄρα ῥύσεται, τίς ἄρ' ἐπαρκέσει @1
8. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 106
Ἄρης, τὰν τεάν; (105)
— ὦ χρυσοπήληξ δαίμων, ἐπιδ' ἐπίδε **πόλι**ν
ἄν ποτ' εὐφύληταν ἔθου.

9. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 109
 ἄν ποτ' εὐφιλῆταν ἔθου.

— θεοὶ **πολιάχοι** χθονὸς ἴτ', ἴτε, πάντες. [στρο. α. (109)]
 ἴδετε παρθένων (110)

10. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 120
 πάντως ἄρῃξον δαΐων ἄλωσιν. (117-119)

Ἄργεῖοι γὰρ **πόλισμα** Κάδμου @1 (120)
 κυκλῶνται· φόβος δ' ἀρείων ὄπλων.

11. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 129
 σὺ τ', ὦ Διογενὲς φιλόμαχον κρᾶτος,

[ἀντ. α. (128)]

ὄυσί**πολις** γενοῦ,
 Παλλάς, ὃ θ' ἵππος ποντομέδων ἄναξ (130)

12. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 135
 ἐπύλυσιν φόβων, ἐπύλυσιν δίδου.

σὺ τ', Ἄρης, φεῦ, φεῦ, **πόλιν** ἐπώνυμον (135)
 Κάδμου φύλαξον κήδεσάι τ' ἐναργῶς. (136-139)

13. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 151
 ἔξ, ἔξ, [στρο. β. (150)]

ὄτοβον ἀρμάτων ἀμφὶ **πόλιν** κλύω·
 ὦ πότνι' Ἥρα.

14. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 156
 δοριτίνακτος αἰθῆρ ἐπιμαίνεται. (155)

τί **πόλις** ἄμμι πάσχει, τί γενήσεται;
 ποῖ δ' ἔτι τέλος ἐπάγει θεός;

15. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 169
 τᾶσδε πυργοφύλακες,

πόλιν δορίπνον μὴ προδῶθ'
 ἔτεροφώνῳ στρατῶ. (170)

16. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 175
 ἰὼ φίλοι δαίμονες,

[ἀντ. γ. (174)]

λυτήριοί <τ'> ἀμφιβάντες **πόλιν** (175)
 δεῖξασθ' ὡς φιλοπόλεις,

17. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 185
στρατῶ τε θάρσος τῷδε πυργηρουμένῳ,
βρέτη πεσοῦσας πρὸς πολισσοῦχων θεῶν (185)
αὔειν, λακάζειν, σοφρόνων μισήματα;
18. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 191
δεῖσασα δ' οἴκῳ καὶ πόλει πλέον κακόν. (190)
καὶ νῦν πολίταις τάσδε διαδρομους φυγᾶς
θεῖσαι διεροθήσαστ' ἄψυχον κάκην·
19. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 221
ἄδε πανάγυρις, μηδ' ἐπίδοιμι τάνδ' (220)
ἀστυδρομουμένην πόλιν καὶ † στρατευμ'
ἀπτόμενον πυρὶ δαίῳ.
20. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 233
σὸν δ' αὖ τὸ σιγάν καὶ μένειν εἴσω δόμων.
- Χο.* διὰ θεῶν πόλιν νεμόμεθ' ἀδάματον,
δυσμενέων δ' ὄγλον πύργος ἀποστέγει. [σπρ. γ. (232)]
21. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 237
Ετ. οὔτοι φθονῶ σοι δαιμόνων τιμᾶν γένος·
ἀλλ' ὡς πολίταις μὴ κακοσπλάγχχνους τιθῆς,
εὐκηλος ἴσθι μηδ' ἄγαν ὑπερφοβοῦ. @1
22. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 247
Ετ. μὴ νυν ἀκούουσ' ἐμφανῶς ἄκου' ἄγαν.
Χο. στένει πόλισμα γῆθεν, ὡς κυκλουμένων.
Ετ. οὐκοῦν ἔμ' ἀρκεῖ τὼνδε βουλεύειν πέρι;
23. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 253
Ετ. οὐκ ἐς φθόρον σιγῶσ' ἀνασχίση τάδε;
Χο. θεοὶ πολίται, μὴ με δουλείας τυχεῖν.
Ετ. αὐτὴ σὺ δουλοῖς κάμῃ καὶ πάσαν πόλιν.
24. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 254
Χο. θεοὶ πολίται, μὴ με δουλείας τυχεῖν.
Ετ. αὐτὴ σὺ δουλοῖς κάμῃ καὶ πάσαν πόλιν.
Χο. ὦ παγκρατὲς Ζεῦ, τρέψον εἰς ἐχθροὺς βέλος. (255)

25. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 257
Ετ. ὦ Ζεῦ, γυναικῶν οἶον ὄπασσας γένος.
Χο. μοχθηρόν, ὡσπερ ἄνδρας ὦν ἀλλῷ πόλις.
Ετ. παλινστομείς αὐθιγάνουσ' ἀγαλμάτων;

26. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 271
 θάρσος φίλοις, λύουσα πολέμον φόβον. (270)
 ἐγὼ δὲ χώρας τοῖς πολιτισσούχοις θεοῖς,
 πεδιονόμοις τε ἀγοράς ἐπισκόποις,

27. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 299
 τοὶ δ' ἐπ' ἀμφιβόλοισιν
 ἰάππουσι πολίται
 χερμάδ' ὀκρῖόεσσαν. (300)

28. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 302
 παντὶ τρόπῳ, Διογενεῖς
 θεοί, πόλιν καὶ στρατὸν
 Καδμογενὴ ῥύεσθε.

29. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 312
 Τηθύος τε παῖδες;
 πρὸς τὰδ' ὦ πολιοῦχοι
 θεοί, τοῖσι μὲν ἔξω

30. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 317
 ἐμβάλοντες ἄροισθε
 κῦδος τοῖσδε πολίταις.
 καὶ πόλεως ῥύτορες <ἔστ'>

31. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 321
 ὄξυγόις λιταῖσιν. (320)

οἰκτρὸν γὰρ πόλιν ὧδ' ὠγγίαν
 Αἶδα προΐψαι, δορὸς ἄγραν

[στρ. β. (320)]

32. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 330
 ρηγνυμένων φαρέων. βῶξ
 δ' ἐκκενουμένα πόλις, (330)
 λαΐδος ὀλλυμένας μειξοθρόου·

33. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 342
 εἰ, τὰ δὲ πυρφορεῖ· καπνῷ

[δὲ] χραίνεται πόλις μ' ἅπαν
μαινόμενος δ' ἐπιπνεί λαοδάμας

34. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 427
 πύργοις δ' ἀπειλεί δειν', ἃ μὴ κραίνοι τύχη·
 θεοῦ τε γὰρ θέλοντος ἐκπέρσειν πόλιν
 καὶ μὴ θέλοντός φησιν, οὐδὲ τὴν Διὸς
35. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 434
 φλέγει δὲ λαμπὰς διὰ χειρῶν ὠπλισμένη·
 χρυσοῖς δὲ φωνεῖ γράμμασιν Ἰρῆσω πόλιν·
 τοιῶδε φωτὶ πέμπε—τίς ξυστήσεται, (435)
36. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 478
 ἄλλ' ἢ θανῶν τροφεία πληρώσει χθονί,
 ἢ καὶ δὺ' ἀνδρε καὶ πόλις μ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος
 ἔλων λαφύροις δῶμα κοσμήσει πατρὸς.
37. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 582
 καλὸν τ' ἀκούσαι καὶ λέγειν μεθυστέροις,
 πόλιν πατρῶν καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἐγγενεῖς
 πορθεῖν, στράτευμ' ἐπακτὸν ἐμβεβληκότα;
38. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 605
 ὄλωλεν ἀνδρῶν σὺν θεοπτύστῳ γένει,
 ἢ ξὺν πολίταις ἀνδράσιν δίκαιος ὢν (605)
 ἐχθοξένοις τε καὶ θεῶν ἀμνήμοισιν,
39. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 627
 Χο. κλύοντες θεοὶ δικαίας λιτὰς
 ἡμετέρας τελείθ', ὡς πόλις εὐτυχῆ,
 δορίπονα κάκ' ἐκτρέποντες <ἐς> γὰς
40. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 647
 Δίκη δ' ἄρ' εἶναι φησιν, ὡς τὰ γράμματα
 λέγει· “Κατάξω δ' ἀνδρα τόνδε καὶ πόλιν
 ἔξει πατρῶν δωμάτων τ' ἐπιστροφάς.”
41. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 652
 ὡς οὔ ποτ' ἀνδρὶ τῶδε κηρυκευμάτων
 μέμνη—σὺ δ' αὐτὸς γνόθι ναυκληρεῖν πόλιν.
 Ετ. ὦ θεομανές τε καὶ θεῶν μέγα στύγος,

[ἀντ. γ.]

42. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 749
 χρηστηρίους θνήσκοντα γέν-
 νας ἄτερ σφύζειν πόλιν.

κρατηθεῖς δ' ἐκ φιλάν ἀβουλιάν

[στρ. γ. (749)]

43. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 765
 δέδοικα δὲ σὺν βασιλεῦσι
 μὴ πόλις δαμασθῆ. (765)

τέλειαι γὰρ παλαιφάτων ἀράν

[στρ. δ. (765)]

44. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 793
 Ἀγ. θαρσεῖτε, παῖδες μητέρων τεθραμμένα.
 πόλις πέφευγεν ἦδε δούλιον ζυγόν·
 πέπτωκεν ἀνδρῶν ὀβρίμων κομπάσματα·

45. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 795
 πέπτωκεν ἀνδρῶν ὀβρίμων κομπάσματα·
 πόλις δ' ἐν εὐδίᾳ τε καὶ κλυδωνίου (795)
 πολλαῖσι πληγαῖς ἀντλον οὐκ ἐδέξατο.

46. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 804
 Χο. τί δ' ἐστὶ πράγος νεόκοτον πόλει πλέον;
 Ἀγ. πόλις σέσωται· βασιλέων δ' ὁμοσπόροι—
 Χο. οἱ ἄγε τάλαινα· μάντις εἰμὶ τῶν κακῶν. (805)

47. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 816
 τοιαῦτα χαίρειν καὶ δακρῦεσθαι πάρα, (815)
 πόλιν μὲν εὐ πρᾶσσοσαν, οἱ δ' ἐπιστάται,
 δισσὼ στρατηγῷ, διέλαχον σφυρηλάτῳ

48. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 822
 ΧΟΡΟΣ (822)
 ὦ μεγάλε Ζεῦ καὶ πολιοῦχοι (822)
 δαίμονες, οἱ δὲ Κάδμου πύργους

49. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 900
 <δ' οὐ> διχόφρονοι πότμῳ.

Ισ. διήκει δὲ καὶ πόλιν στόνος,
 στένουσι πύργοι, στένει (900)

[ἀντ. β. (899)]

50. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 923

Ισ. πάρεστι δ' εἰπεῖν ἐπ' ἀθλίοισιν
ὡς ἐρξάτην πολλὰ μὲν **πολίτας**, (923)
ξένων τε πάντων σίχας

[ἀντ. γ.]

51. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 991

Ισ. σὺ δ' οὐδὲν ὕστερος μαθῶν, (990)
Αν. ἐπεὶ κατήλθες ἐς **πόλιν**,
Ισ. δορός γε τῷδ' ἀντηρέτας.

52. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 1019

θεῶν πατρῶων, οὐς ἀτιμάσας ὄδε
στράτευμ' ἐπακτὸν ἐμβάλων ἤρει **πόλιν**.
οὕτω πετηνῶν τόνδ' ὑπ' οἰωνῶν δοκεῖ (1020)

53. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 1042

θάροσει παρέσται μηχανὴ δραστήριος. @1
Κη. αὐδῶ **πόλιν** σε μὴ βιάζεσθαι τάδε.
Αν. αὐδῶ σε μὴ περισσὰ κηρύσσειν ἐμοί.

54. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 1046

Αν. τράχυν' ἄθαπτος δ' οὔτος οὐ γενήσεται. (1045)
Κη. ἀλλ' ὄν **πόλις** στυγεί, σὺ τιμήσεις τάφω;
Αν. † ἤδη τὰ τοῦδ' οὐ διατετίμηται θεοῖς.

55. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 1061

ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι κάποτρέπομαι (1060)
δεῖμα **πολιτῶν**.
σὺ γε μὴν πολλῶν πενθητήρων

56. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 1066

εἶσιν· τίς ἂν οὖν τὰ πίθοιτο; (1065)
Ημ. δράτω <τι> **πόλις** καὶ μὴ δράτω
τοὺς κλαίοντας Πολυνεΐκη.

57. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 1070

αἶδε προπομποί. καὶ γὰρ γενεᾶ
κοινὸν τόδ' ἄχος, καὶ **πόλις** ἄλλως (1070)
ἄλλοτ' ἐπαινεῖ τὰ δίκαια.

58. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 1072

ἄλλοτ' ἐπαινεῖ τὰ δίκαια.
Ημ. ἡμεῖς δ' ἅμα τῷδ', ὥσπερ τε **πόλις**
καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ξυνεπαινεῖ.

59. AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 1075

μετὰ γὰρ μάκαρος καὶ Διὸς ἰσχὺν
ὄδε Καδμείων ἤρουξε πόλιν (1075)
μὴ ἴνατραπήναι μηδ' ἄλλοδαπῶν

Use of TLG materials is subject to the TLG License Agreement.

Created: Thu Feb 15 16:2:56 2017 (UTC).

Contact tlg-support@uci.edu for enquiries.

TLG® is a registered trademark of The Regents of the University of California.

3. Πολι/Poli Derivatives in Aeschylus' *Suppliant Women*

Reference Information:

Textual Search: πολι

Input: Greek

Search in: Author: AESCHYLUS Trag. {0085}

Supplices {014}

Accessed 02/15/2017.

http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=πολι&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=1&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=100

TLG Search Results

Results for: **πόλι**

1. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 23
 ἐριοστέπτοισι κλάδοισιν; @1
 ὦ πόλις, ὦ γῆ, καὶ λευκὸν ὕδωρ,
 ὑπατοὶ τε θεοί, καὶ βαρῦτιμοὶ

2. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 273
 γένος τ' ἂν ἐξεύχοιο καὶ λέγοις πρόσω.
 μακρὰν γε μὲν δὴ ῥῆσιν οὐ στέργει πόλις.
 Χο. βραχὺς τορός θ' ὁ μῦθος· Ἀργεῖαι γένος

3. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 358
 μῆδ' ἐξ ἀέλπτων κάπρομηθήτων πόλει
 νεῖκος γένηται· τῶν γὰρ οὐ δεῖται πόλις. @1
 Χο. ἴδοιτο δῆτ' ἄνατον φυγὰν [ἀντ. α.]

4. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 366
 Βα. οὔτοι κάθησθε δωμάτων ἐφέστιοι (365)
 ἐμῶν· τὸ κοινὸν δ' εἰ μαιίνεται πόλις,
 ξυνηὴ μελέσθω λαὸς ἐκπονεῖν ἄκη.

5. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 370
 ἀστοῖς δὲ πᾶσι τῶνδε κοινώσας πέρι.
 Χο. σύ τοι πόλις, σὺ δὲ τὸ δῆμον· [ιστ. β. (369)]
 πρῦτανις ἀκριτος ὦν, (370)

6. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 401
 εἴτη λεώς, εἰ ποῦ τι μὴ τοῖον τύχοι, (400)
 'ἐπήλυδας τιμῶν ἀπώλεσας πόλιν'.
 Χο. ἀμφοτέρους ὁμαίμων τάδ' ἐπισκοπεῖ [ἀντ. γ. (401)]

7. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 484
 θές, ὡς ἴδωσι τῆσδ' ἀφίξεως τέχμαρ
 πάντες πολίται, μῆδ' ἀπορριφθῆ ψόγος
 ἐμοῦ· κατ' ἀρχῆς γὰρ φιλαίτιος λεώς. (485)

8. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 493
 ὀπάονας δὲ φράστοράς τ' ἐγχωρίων
 ξύμπεμψον, ὡς ἂν τῶν πολισσούχων θεῶν

17. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 853
 λείφ' ἔδρανα, κί' ἐς δόρυ,
 ἀτίετον ἄπολιν οὐ σέβω.

<Δα^β> μήποτε πάλιν ἴδους

[ἀντ. α. (853)]

18. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 913
 ἀνδρῶν Πελασγῶν τήνδ' ἀτιμάζεις χθόνα;
 ἀλλ' ἢ γυναικῶν ἐς πόλιν δοκεῖς μολεῖν;
 κάρβανος ὦν Ἑλλησιν ἐγχεῖς ἄγαν·

19. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 955
 ὑμεῖς δὲ πάσαι ξὺν φίλαις ὀπάοσιν
 θράσος λαβοῦσαι στείχετ' εὐεργή πόλιν, (955)
 πύργων βαθεῖα μηχανῇ κεκλημένην.

20. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 1010
 πρᾶξωμεν. οἴκησις δὲ καὶ διπλὴ πάρα·
 τὴν μὲν Πελασγός, τὴν δὲ καὶ πόλις διδοῖ, (1010)
 οἰκεῖν λάτρων ἄτερθεν· εὐπετὴ τάδε.

21. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 1020
 μάκαρας θεοῦς γανάνοντες
 πολιούχους τε καὶ οἱ χεῦμ' Ἐρασίνου @1 (1020)
 περυναίουσιν παλαιόν.

22. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 1023
 ὑποδέξασθε <δ'> ὄπαδοι
 μέλος· αἶνος δὲ πόλιν τάνδε Πελασγῶν
 ἐχέτω, μηδ' ἔτι Νείλου

Use of TLG materials is subject to the TLG License Agreement.

Created: Thu Feb 15 21:46:58 2017 (UTC).

Contact tlg-support@uci.edu for enquiries.

TLG® is a registered trademark of The Regents of the University of California.

4. Πολι/Poli Derivatives in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*

Reference Information:

Textual Search: πολι

Input: Greek

Search in: Author: AESCHYLUS Trag. {0085}

Agamemnon {015}

Accessed 02/15/2017.

http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=πολι&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=3&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=100

2/15/17, 9:56 PM

TLG Search Results

Results for: **πολι**

1. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 29
ὄλολυγμὸν εὐφημοῦντα τῆδε λαμπάδι
ἐπορθιάζειν, εἶπερ Ἴλιου πόλις
ἔάλωκεν, ὡς ὁ φρυκτὸς ἀγγέλλων πρόπει. (30)
2. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 126-127
πομπούς τ' ἀρχάς· οὔτω δ' εἶπε τεράζων. (125)
ἄχρονφ μὲν ἀγρεῖ Πριάμου πόλιν ἄδε κέλευθος, (126-127)
πάντα δὲ πύργων (128)
3. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 267
πεύση δὲ χάρμα μείζον ἐλπῖδος κλύειν·
Πριάμου γὰρ ἠρήκασιν Ἀργεῖοι πόλιν.
Χο. πῶς φῆς; πέφευγε τοῦπος ἐξ ἀπιστίας.
4. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 278
Κλ. παιδὸς νέας ὡς κάρτ' ἐμομήσω φρένας.
Χο. ποίου χρόνου δὲ καὶ πεπόρθηται πόλις;
Κλ. τῆς νῦν τεκούσης φῶς τὸδ' εὐφρόνης λέγω.
5. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 331
τοὺς δ' αὐτε νυκτίπλαγκτος ἐκ μάχης πόνος (330)
νήσταις πρὸς ἀρίστοισιν ὧν ἔχει πόλις
τάσσει, πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐν μέρει τεκμήριον,
6. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 338
ἀφύλακτον εὐδήσουσι πάσαν εὐφρόνην.
εἰ δ' εὐσεβοῦσι τοὺς πολισσούχους θεοὺς
τοὺς τῆς ἀλούσης γῆς θεῶν θ' ἰδρύματα, @1
7. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 476
— πυρὸς δ' ὑπ' εὐαγγέλου (ἔπωδ. (475)
πόλιν διήκει θοά
βάξις· εἰ δ' ἐτήτυμος,
8. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 532
ἦκει, τίεσθαι δ' ἀξιότατος βροτῶν
τῶν νῦν· Πάρις γὰρ οὔτε συντελής πόλις
ἐξεύχεται τὸ δράμα τοῦ πάθους πλέον.

9. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 580
 δόμοις ἐπασσάλευσαν ἀρχαίον γάνος·
 τοιαῦτα χρεὶ κλύοντας εὐλογεῖν **πόλιν** (580)
 καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς· καὶ χάρις τιμῆσεται
10. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 647
 σωτηρίων δὲ πραγμάτων εὐάγγελον
 ἦγοντα πρὸς χαίρουσαν εὐεστοὶ **πόλιν**—
 πῶς κεδνὰ τοῖς κακοῖσι συμμείξω, λέγων
11. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 710
 μεταμανθάνουσα δ' ὕμνον
 Πριάμου **πόλις** γεραῖα (710)
 πολύθρηνον
12. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 715
 παμπορθὴ πολύθρηνον
 αἰών' ἀμφὶ **πολιτῶν** (715)
 μέλεον αἶμ' ἀνατλάσα.
13. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 738
 τας δόμοις προσεθρέφθη.

 πάραυτα δ' ἔλθειν ἐς Ἴλιου **πόλιν** [στρ. γ. (738)]
 λέγομι' ἄν φρόνημα μὲν
14. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 809
 τόν τε δικαίως καὶ τὸν ἀκαίρως
πόλιν οἰκουροῦντα πολιτῶν.

 ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ (809)
15. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 809
 τόν τε δικαίως καὶ τὸν ἀκαίρως
πόλιν οἰκουροῦντα **πολιτῶν**.

 ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ (809)
16. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 812
 δίκη προσειπεῖν, τοὺς ἐμοὶ μετατίους
 νόστου δικαίων θ' ὧν ἐπραξάμην **πόλιν**
 Πριάμου· δίκας γὰρ οὐκ ἀπὸ γλώσσης θεοὶ

17. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 818
 ἐλπίς προσήει χειρὸς οὐ πληρομένῳ.
 καπνῷ δ' ἄλοῦσα νῦν ἔτ' εὖσημος πόλις.
 ἄτης θύελλαι ζῶσι· συνθνήσκουσα δὲ
18. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 824
 ἐπραξάμεσθα καὶ γυναικὸς οὐνεκα
 πόλιν διημάθουνεν Ἀργεῖον δάκος,
 ἵππου νεοσσός, ἀσπιδηφόρος λεώς, @1 (825)
19. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 844
 εἴτ' οὖν θανόντος εἶτε καὶ ζώντος πέρι
 λέγω. τὰ δ' ἄλλα πρὸς πόλιν τε καὶ θεοὺς
 κοινοὺς ἀγῶνας θέντες ἐν πανηγύρει (845)
20. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 855
 νίκη δ' ἐπέιπερ ἔσπετ' ἐμπέδως μένοι. @1
 Κλ. ἄνδρες πολῖται, πρέσβος Ἀργεῖων τόδε, (855)
 οὐκ αἰσχυνοῦμαι τοὺς φιλόνορας τρόπους
21. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 1065
 Κλ. ἢ μαινεται γε καὶ κακῶν κλύει φρενῶν,
 ἥτις λιπούσα μὲν πόλιν νεαίρετον (1065)
 ἥκει, χαλινὸν δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται φέρειν
22. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 1106
 Χο. τούτων αἰδρὶς εἴμι τῶν μαντευμάτων. (1105)
 ἐκεῖνα δ' ἔγνω· πάσα γὰρ πόλις βοᾷ.

 Κα. ἰὼ τάλαινα, τόδε γὰρ τελεῖς; [ἀντ. δ. (1106)]
23. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 1171
 οὐδὲν ἐπήρκεσαν (1170)
 τὸ μὴ πόλιν μὲν ὥσπερ οὖν ἐχρήν παθεῖν,
 ἐγὼ δὲ θερμόνους τάχ' ἐν πέδῳ βαλώ. @1
24. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 1200
 παιώνιον γένοιτο; θαυμάζω δέ σου,
 πόντου πέραν τραφέισαν ἀλλόθρουρον πόλιν (1200)
 κυρεῖν λέγουσαν, ὥσπερ εἰ παρεστάταις.
25. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 1210
 Χο. ἤδη τέχναισιν ἐνθέοις ἠρημένη;

Κα. ἤδη πολίταις πάντ' ἐθέσπιζον πάθη. (1210)
 Χο. πῶς δῆτ' ἄνατος ἦσθα Λοξίου κότφ;

26. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 1286
 τί δῆτ' ἐγὼ κάτοικτος ὠδ' ἀναστένω; (1285)
 ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον εἶδον Ἰλίου πόλιν
 πράξασαν ὡς ἔπραξεν, οἱ δ' εἶλον πόλιν

27. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 1287
 ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον εἶδον Ἰλίου πόλιν
 πράξασαν ὡς ἔπραξεν, οἱ δ' εἶλον πόλιν
 οὕτως ἀπαλλάσσουσιν ἐν θεῶν κρῖσει.

28. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 1335
 μηκέτ' ἐσέληθης, τάδε φωνῶν.
 καὶ τῷδε πόλιν μὲν ἐλείν ἔδοσαν (1335)
 μάκαρες Πριάμου·

29. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 1410
 τὸδ' ἐπέθου θύος, δημοθρόους τ' ἀράς;
 ἀπέδικες ἀπέταμες, ἀπόπολις δ' ἔση, (1410)
 μῖσος ὄβριμον ἀστοίς.

30. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 1639
 ἐκ τῶν δὲ τοῦδε χρημάτων πειράσομαι
 ἄρχειν πολιτῶν· τὸν δὲ μὴ πειθάνορα
 ζεύξω βαρβαίαις, οὔτι μὴ σειραφόρον (1640)

Use of TLG materials is subject to the TLG License Agreement.
 Created: Thu Feb 15 21:56:42 2017 (UTC).
 Contact tlg-support@uci.edu for enquiries.
 TLG® is a registered trademark of The Regents of the University of California.

5. Πολι/Poli Derivatives in Aeschylus' *Choephoroi*

Reference Information:

Textual Search: πολι

Input: Greek

Search in: Author: AESCHYLUS Trag. {0085}

Choephoroe {016}

Accessed 02/15/2017.

http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&q=&q=πολι&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=5&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=100

2/15/17, 9:59 PM

TLG Search Results

Results for: **πολι**

1. AESCHYLUS Trag. Choephoroe {0085.006} Line 302
καὶ πρὸς πέζει χρημάτων ἀχηνία,
τὸ μὴ **πολί**τας εὐκλεεστάτους βροτῶν,
Τροίας ἀναστατήρας εὐδόξω φρενί,
2. AESCHYLUS Trag. Choephoroe {0085.006} Line 431
πάντολμε μάτερ, δαίαις ἐν ἐκφοραῖς (430)
ἄνευ **πολι**τᾶν ἄνακτ',
ἄνευ δὲ πενθημάτων
3. AESCHYLUS Trag. Choephoroe {0085.006} Line 864
ἦ πύρ καὶ φῶς ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ
δαίων ἀρχαῖς τε **πολι**σσονόμοις
ἔξει πατέρων μέγαν ὄλβον. (865)
4. AESCHYLUS Trag. Choephoroe {0085.006} Line 1046
φήμη πονηρᾶ μὴδ' ἐπυγλωσσῶ κακά. (1045)
ἤλευθέρωσας πᾶσαν Ἀργείων πόλιν,
δυοῖν δρακόντων εὐπετῶς τεμῶν κάρα.

Use of TLG materials is subject to the TLG License Agreement.

Created: Thu Feb 15 21:59:37 2017 (UTC).

Contact tlg-support@uci.edu for enquiries.

TLG® is a registered trademark of The Regents of the University of California.

6. Πολι/Poli Derivatives in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*

Reference Information:

Textual Search: πολι⁴⁵³

Input: Greek

Search in: Author: AESCHYLUS Trag. {0085}

Eumenides {017}

Accessed 02/15/2017.

http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=πολι&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-0085-0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=8&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&disp=100

2/15/17, 10:01 PM

TLG Search Results

Results for: **πολι**

1. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 457
Αγαμέμνον', ἀνδρῶν ναυβατῶν ἀρμόστορα·
Ξῖν φ' σὺ Τροίαν ἀπολιν Ἰλίου πόλιν
ἔθηρας, ἔφθθ' οὔτος οὐ καλῶς, μολῶν
2. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 457
Αγαμέμνον', ἀνδρῶν ναυβατῶν ἀρμόστορα·
Ξῖν φ' σὺ Τροίαν ἀπολιν Ἰλίου πόλιν
ἔθηρας, ἔφθθ' οὔτος οὐ καλῶς, μολῶν
3. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 524
καρδίᾳς ἀνήθ' τρέμων
ἢ πόλις βροτῶν ὁμοί-
ως ἔτ' ἂν σέβοι δίκαν; (525)
4. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 572
σιγὰν ἀρήγει καὶ μαθεῖν θεομῶς ἔμους
πόλιν τε πάσαν ἐς τὸν αἰανὴ χρόνον
καὶ τῶδ' ὅπως ἂν εὖ καταγνωσθῆ δίκην.
5. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 668
ἐγὼ δέ, Παλλάς, τάλλα θ' ὡς ἐπίσταμαι, @1
τὸ σὸν πόλισμα καὶ στρατὸν τεύξω μέγαν,
καὶ τόνδ' ἔπεμψα σὼν δόμων ἐφέστιον,
6. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 693
σχῆσει τὸ τ' ἤμαρ καὶ κατ' εὐφρόνην ὁμῶς,
αὐτῶν πολιτῶν μὴ 'πκαινούτων νόμους @1
κακὰς ἐπυροαίσι· βορβόρω δ' ὕδωρ
7. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 772
τιθέντες, ὡς αὐτοῖσι μεταμέλη πόνος·
ὀρθουμένον δέ, καὶ πόλιν τὴν Παλλάδος
τιμῶσιν αἰεὶ τήνδε συμμάχῳ δορί,
8. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 775
αὐτοὶ σφῖν ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν εὐμενέστεροι.
καὶ χάριε, καὶ σὺ καὶ πολισσοῦχος λέως, @1 (775)
πάλαισμ' ἄφυκτον τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἔχοις,

about:blank

Page 1 of 3

⁴⁵³ This search still yielded πολι-containing words.

9. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 790

γελῶμαι· δύσοιστ' ἐν

πολίταις ἔπαθον· (790)

ἰὼ μεγάλατοι κόραι δυστυχεῖς

10. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 820

γελῶμαι· δύσοιστ' ἐν

πολίταις ἔπαθον· (820)

ἰὼ μεγάλατοι κόραι δυστυχεῖς

11. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 854

οὐπυρρέων γὰρ τιμώτερος χρόνος

ἔσται πολίταις τοῖσδε· καὶ σὺ τιμῶν

ἔδραν ἔχουσα πρὸς δόμοις Ἐρεχθέως (855)

12. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 883

ὡς μήποτ' εἴπῃς πρὸς νεωτέραις ἐμοῦ

θεὸς παλαιὰ καὶ πολισσούχων βροτῶν

ἄτιμος ἔρρειν τοῦδ' ἀπόξενος πέδου.

13. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 915

πρεπτῶν ἀγώνων οὐκ ἀνέξομαι τὸ μὴ οὐ

τήνδ' ἀστύνικον ἐν βροτοῖς τιμῶν πόλιν. (915)

Χο. δέξομαι Παλλάδος ξυνοικίαν,

[στρ. α. (915)]

14. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 917

Χο. δέξομαι Παλλάδος ξυνοικίαν,

οὐδ' ἀτιμάσω πόλιν,

τὰν καὶ Ζεὺς ὁ παγκρατὴς Ἄρης τε

[στρ. α.]

15. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 927

φαιδρὸν ἀλίου σέλας. @ 1

Αθ. τάδ' ἐγὼ προφρόνως τοῖσδε πολίταις

πράσσω, μεγάλας καὶ δυσαρέστους

16. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 980

τᾷδ' ἐπεύχομαι βρέμειν.

μηδὲ ποῦσα κόνις μέλαν αἶμα πολιτῶν (980)

δι' ὄργαν ποινᾶς

17. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 991

ἐκ τῶν φοβερῶν τῶνδε προσώπων (990)
 μέγα κέρδος ὄρω τοῖσδε πολίταις
 τάσδε γὰρ εὐφρονας εὐφρονες ἀεὶ

18. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 993
 τάσδε γὰρ εὐφρονας εὐφρονες ἀεὶ
 μέγα τιμώντες καὶ γῆν καὶ πόλιν
 ὀρθοδίκαιον

19. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 1010
 πέμπειν πόλεως ἐπὶ νίκῃ. (1009)
 ὑμεῖς δ' ἠγείσθε, πολισοῦχοι (1009)
 παῖδες Κραναοῦ, ταῖσδε μετοίκους. (1010)

20. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 1013
 εἴη δ' ἀγαθῶν
 ἀγαθὴ διάνοια πολίταις.

Χο. χαίρετε, χαίρετε δ' αὐθις, ἐπεὶ διπλοῖζω,

[ἀντ. γ. (1013)]

21. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 1017
 δαίμονές τε καὶ βροτοί·
 Παλλάδος πόλιν νέμον-
 τες μετοικίαν τ' ἐμὴν

Use of TLG materials is subject to the TLG License Agreement.
 Created: Thu Feb 15 22:1:4 2017 (UTC).
 Contact tlg-support@uci.edu for enquiries.
 TLG® is a registered trademark of The Regents of the University of California.

7. Πολι/Poli Derivatives in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*

Reference Information:

Textual Search: πολι

Input: Greek

Search in: Author: AESCHYLUS Trag. {0085}

Prometheus vincetus {018}

Accessed 04/18/2017

<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/inst/tsearch.jsp#s=26>.

TLG Search Results

Results for: **πολι**

1. AESCHYLUS Trag. Prometheus vinctus {0085.018} Line 421

Ἄραβίας τ' ἄρειον ἄνθος (420)

ὑψίζρημνόν θ' οἱ πόλισμα @1

Καυκάσου πέλας νέμονται,

[ἀντ. β]

2. AESCHYLUS Trag. Prometheus vinctus {0085.018} Line 846

ἐς ταῦτόν ἐλθὼν τῶν πάλαι λόγων ἕχνος. (845)

ἔστιν πόλις Κάνωβος, ἐσχάτη χθονός

Νείλου πρὸς αὐτῷ στόματι καὶ προσχώματι·

Use of TLG materials is subject to the TLG License Agreement.
Created: Wed Apr 18 16:26:58 2017 (UTC).
Contact tlg-support@uci.edu for enquiries.
TLG® is a registered trademark of The Regents of the University of California.

B. Πολε/Pole-Derivatives:

1. Πολε/Pole-Derivatives in Aeschylus' *Persians*

Reference Information

Textual Search: πολε

Input: Greek

Search in: Author: AESCHYLUS Trag. {0085}

Persae {012}

Accessed 02/15/2017.

http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=πολε&usr_input=greek&aac=&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=1&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=100

2/15/17, 9:52 PM

TLG Search Results

Results for: **πολε**

1. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 20
τοι δ' ἐπὶ ναίων, πεξοί τε βάδην
πολέμου στίφος παρέχοντες (20)
οἴος Ἀμίστρης ἠδ' Ἀρταφρένης
2. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 96
τὸ παλαιόν, ἐπέστηρε δὲ Πέρσαις (95)
πολέμους πυργοδαίκτους
διέπειν ἵπποχάρμας
3. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 99
τε κλόνους
πόλεων τ' ἀναστάσεις.

ἔμαθον δ' εὐρυπόροιο θαλάσσης [ἀντ. γ. (99)]
4. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 213
πράξας μὲν εὖ θαυμαστός ἂν γένοιτ' ἀνήρ,
κακῶς δὲ πράξας—οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος πόλει,
σωθεῖς δ' ὁμοίως τήσδε κοιρανεὶ χθονός.
5. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 219
τὰ δ' ἀγάθ' ἐκτελεῖ γενέσθαι σοὶ τε καὶ τέκνοις σέθεν
καὶ πόλει φίλοις τε πάσι. δεύτερον δὲ χρὴ χροῖας
γῆ τε καὶ φθιτοῖς χέασθαι· πρηνεμένως δ' αἰτοῦ τάδε (220)
6. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 243
Χο. οὐτινος δοῦλοι κέκληνται φωτὸς οὐδ' ὑπήκοοι.
Βα. πῶς ἂν οὐν μένοιεν ἄνδρας πολέμους ἐπήλυδας;
Χο. ὥστε Δαρείου πολὺν τε καὶ καλὸν φθεῖραι στρατόν.
7. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 307
Τεγάγων τ' ἄριστος Βακτριῶν ἰθαγενῆς
θαλασσόπληκτον νῆσον Αἴαντος πολεῖ.
Λύλαιος Ἀρσάμης τε κάργηστis τρίτος,
8. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 489
κάντεῦθεν ἡμᾶς γῆς Ἀχαιῶδος πέδον
καὶ Θεσσαλῶν πολεῖς ὑπεσπανισμένους
βορᾶς ἐδέξαντ'· ἔνθα δὴ πλείστοι θάνον (490)

about:blank

Page 1 of 3

9. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 653
 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄνδρας ποτ' ἀπώλλυ
 πολεμοφθόροισιν ἄταις,
 θεομήστορ δ' ἐκικλήσκειτο Πέρσαις,
 [ἀντ. β.]
10. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 715
 διαπεπόροθται τὰ Περσῶν πράγμαθ', ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔπος.
 Δα. τίτι τρόπῳ; λοιμοῦ τις ἦλθε σκηπτός, ἢ στάσις πόλει; (715)
 Βα. οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλ' ἀμφ' Ἀθήνας πάς κατέφθαρχται στρατός.
11. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 781
 κάπεστράτευσσα πολλά σὺν πολλῷ στρατῷ· (780)
 ἀλλ' οὐ κακὸν τοσόνδε προσέβαλον πόλει.
 Ξέρξης δ' ἐμός παῖς νέος ἐὼν νέα φρονεῖ,
12. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 861
 πάντ' ἐπηύθυνον. (860)
 νόστοι δ' ἐκ πολέμων ἀπόνους ἀπα-
 θεῖς <πάλιν> εὐπράσ-
13. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 864
 σοντας ἄγον [ἐς] οἴκους.
 ὄσας δ' εἶλε πόλεις πόρον οὐ διαβὰς Ἄλλος ποτα- (863)
 μοῖο, [στρ. β.]
14. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 891-893
 Λήμνον, Ἰκάρου θ' ἕδος, (890)
 καὶ Ῥόδον ἠδὲ Κνίδον Κυπρίας τε πόλεις, (891-893)
 Πάφον ἠδὲ Σόλους, (894)
15. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 905
 νῦν δ' οὐκ ἀμφιλόγως θεότρεπτα τάδ' αὐτὸν φέρομεν,
 πολέμοιο (905)
 δμαθέντες μεγάλως πλαγαῖσι ποντίαισιν.
16. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 946-947
 ζαπαθέα τε σέβων ἀλίτυπά τε βάρη, (945)
 πόλειως γέννας πενθητήρος. (946-947)
 <κλάγξω> κλάγξω δὲ γόνον ἀριδάκρον. (948)

17. AESCHYLUS Trag. Persae {0085.002} Line 1013

κύρσαντες οὐκ εὐτυχῶς.
δυσπόλεμον δὴ γένος τὸ Περσῶν.

Ξε. πῶς δ' οὔ; στρατὸν μὲν τοσοῦ-

[στω. ε. (1013)]

Use of TLG materials is subject to the TLG License Agreement.
Created: Thu Feb 15 21:51:59 2017 (UTC).
Contact tlg-support@uci.edu for enquiries.
TLG® is a registered trademark of The Regents of the University of California.

2. Πολε/Pole-Derivatives in Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes*

Reference Information

Textual Search: πολε

Input: Greek

Search in: Author: AESCHYLUS Trag. {0085}

Septem contra Thebas {013}

Accessed 2/15/2017.

http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=πολε&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=7&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=100

TLG - Text Search

2/15/17, 4:02 PM

[My Account \(visitor\)](#) [Logout](#)



[HOME](#) [CANON](#) [TEXT SEARCH](#) [BROWSE](#) [LEXICA](#) [N-GRAMS](#) [STATISTICS](#) [VOCAB. TOOLS](#) [HELP](#)

The TLG will be temporarily unavailable on Tuesday, Feb. 21, 2017 from 3:00-5:00PM PST due to scheduled maintenance. We apologize for any inconvenience.

SEARCH THE TLG CORPUS

SIMPLE | **PROXIMITY**

Word Index Lemma Textual Search

πολε

Non-alphab. chars Diacritics sensitive
 Exact Match Case sensitive Adscript as subscript Wildcard

Input

Search in: Full Corpus
or: Author

SELECTION
πολε

Lines of context: Display: Sort by:

Results per page:

RESULTS

MY SEARCH SELECTION (1)

Display results: As a list

Prev | Next

1. **AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 2** |
Κάδμιον πολίται, χθὴ λέγειν τὰ καίρια
ὄστις φυλάσσει πρότερος ἐν πρώμῃ πόλειος
οἶακα νομῶν, βλέφαρα μὴ κοιμῶν ὕπνῳ.
2. **AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 9** |
οἰμόγμασι θ'—ὦν Ζεὺς Ἀλεξήτησιος
ἐπώνυμος γένοιτο Καδμείων πόλει.
ὕμᾶς δὲ χθὴ νῦν, καὶ τὸν ἐλλείποντ' ἔτι (10)
3. **AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 14** |
βλαστημὸν ἀλδαιόντα σώματος πολύν, (12)
πόλει τ' ἀθήγειν καὶ θεῶν ἐγχαρίων (14)
βομοῖσι, τμᾶς μὴ 'ξαιφθῆναι ποτε, (15)
4. **AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 23** |
χρόνον γὰρ ἦδη τόνδε πυργηρομένους
καλῶς τὰ πλείω πόλεμος ἐκ θεῶν κερθεῖ.
νῦν δ' ὡς ὁ μάντις φησὶν, οἰωνῶν βοτήρ, @ 1
5. **AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 29** |
λέγει μεγίστην προσβολὴν Ἀχαιῶδα
νυκτιγορεῖσθαι κάπιβοῦλευσιν πόλει.
ἀλλ' ἔς τ' ἐπάξεις καὶ πόλας πυργωμάτων (30)
6. **AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 46** |
Ἄθῃ τ', Ἐνωῦ, καὶ φιλαίματον Φοβόν (45)
ὠγκωμότησαν ἡ πόλει κατασκαφᾶς
θέντες λαπάξιν ἄστῃ Καδμείων βίᾳ.
7. **AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 57** |
ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πρὸς πόλας ἄγει λόγον.
πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀρίστους ἀνδρας ἐκαχίτους πόλειος
πυλῶν ἐπ' ἐξόδοισι τάγευσα τάχος

http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_ty...tf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=100

Page 1 of 5

8. **AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 163-164**
 παῖ Διός, ὄθεν (161-162)
 πολεμόχροαντον ἀγνὸν τέλος ἐν μάχῃ, (163-164)
 σὺ τε, μάκαρ' ἀνασσ' Ὀργα, πρὸ πόλεως (164)
-
9. **AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 164** |
 πολεμόχροαντον ἀγνὸν τέλος ἐν μάχῃ, (163-164)
 σὺ τε, μάκαρ' ἀνασσ' Ὀργα, πρὸ πόλεως (164)
 ἐπτάπυλον ἔδος ἐπαρξέου. (165)
-
10. **AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 176** |
 λυτήριοι <τ> ἀμφιβάντες πόλιν (175)
 δεῖξασθ' ὡς φιλοπόλεις,
 μέλεσθέ θ' ἱερὸν δημίον.
-
11. **AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 179** |
 μελόμενοι δ' ἄλλατε
 φιλοθύτων δέ τοι πόλεος ὄργιον
 μνήστορες ἐστέ μοι. (180)
-
12. **AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 183** |
Et. ὑμᾶς ἐρωτῶ, θεέμματ' οὐκ ἀνασχετά, (182)
 ἢ ταῦτ' ἀρωγὰ καὶ πόλει σωτήρια,
 στρατῶ τε θάρσος τῶδε πυργηρομένη,
-
13. **AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 190** |
 κρατούσα μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὁμιλητὸν θάρσος,
 δεῖσασα δ' οἴκῳ καὶ πόλει πλεον κακῶν. (190)
 καὶ νῦν πολίταις τάσδε διαδορόμους φυγᾶς
-
14. **AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 214** |
 νεοφόμενας βρόμος λιθάδος ἐν πύλαις
 δὴ τότε ἦρθην φόβῳ πρὸς μακάρων λιτάς, πόλεος
 ἴν' ὑπερέχοιεν ἀλάϊν. (215)
-
15. **AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 216** |
 ἴν' ὑπερέχοιεν ἀλάϊν. (215)

Et. πύργον στέγειν εὐχέσθε πολέμον δόρυ. (215)
 οὐκοῦν τάδ' ἔσται πρὸς θεῶν, ἀλλ' οὐν θεοῦς
-
16. **AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 218** |
 οὐκοῦν τάδ' ἔσται πρὸς θεῶν, ἀλλ' οὐν θεοῦς
 τοῖς τῆς ἀλοσύης πόλεος ἐκλείπειν λόγος. @1
Χο. μήποτ' ἔμον κατ' αἰὼνα λίποι θεῶν
-
17. **AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 231** |
Et. ἀνδρῶν τάδ' ἐστὶ, σφάγια καὶ χρηστήρια (230)
 θεοῖσιν ἔρδειν, πολέμιον περιφρομένων
 σὸν δ' αὐτὸ σιγᾶν καὶ μένειν εἰσὼ δόμων.
-
18. **AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 270** |
 Ἑλληνικὸν νόμισμα θυστάδος βοῆς,
 θάρσος φίλων, λίουσα πολέμιον φόβον. (270)
 ἐγὼ δὲ χώρας τοῖς πολιτισσοῦχος θεοῖς,
-
19. **AESCHYLUS Trag. Septem contra Thebas {0085.004} Line 274** |

Δίωξης τε πηγαίς ὕδατι τ' Ἴομμινὸν λέγω,
εὐ ξυντυγόντων καὶ πόλεως σεσομένης,
μήλοισιν αἰμάσσοντας ἐστίας θεῶν. (275)

20. **AESCHYLUS Trag. *Septem contra Thebas* {0085.004} Line 318** |
κῦδος τοῖσδε πολίταις.
καὶ πόλεως ῥύτορες <ἔστ'>
εὐεδροὶ τε στάθητ'

21. **AESCHYLUS Trag. *Septem contra Thebas* {0085.004} Line 416** |
Δία δ' ὁμαίμον κάρτα νιν προστέλλεται (415)
εἰργεῖν τεκοῦση μητρὶ πολέμον δόρυ.

Χο. τὸν ἄμὸν νυν ἀντίπαλον εὐτυχεῖν

22. **AESCHYLUS Trag. *Septem contra Thebas* {0085.004} Line 418** |
Χο. τὸν ἄμὸν νυν ἀντίπαλον εὐτυχεῖν
θεοὶ δοῖεν, ὡς δικαίως πόλεως
πρόμαχος ὀρνυται· τρέμο δ' αἵματι·

23. **AESCHYLUS Trag. *Septem contra Thebas* {0085.004} Line 452** |
λέγ' ἄλλον ἄλλαις ἐν πόλει εὐιηρότα.

Χο. ὄλοιθ' ὅς πόλει μεγάλ' ἐπεύχεται,
κερανοῦ δὲ νιν βέλος ἐπιζέθοι.

24. **AESCHYLUS Trag. *Septem contra Thebas* {0085.004} Line 471** |
καὶ τῆδε φασὶ πέμπε τὸν φερέγγυον (470)
πόλεως ἀπειργεῖν τῆσδε δοῦλιον ζυγόν.
Ετ. πέμπομι' ἂν ἦδη τόνδε, σὺν τύχη δ' ἴτω.

25. **AESCHYLUS Trag. *Septem contra Thebas* {0085.004} Line 510** |
ἐχθρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ τῷ ξυστήσεται.
ξυνοῖστον δὲ πολέμους ἐπ' ἀσπίδων @1 (510)
θεοῦς ὁ μὲν γὰρ πύρρηνον Τυφὸν ἔχει.

26. **AESCHYLUS Trag. *Septem contra Thebas* {0085.004} Line 539** |
οὐ μὴν ἀκόμματος γ' ἐφίσταται πόλαις (538)
τὸ γὰρ πόλεως ὄνειδος ἐν χαλκῆλάτρῳ
σάκει, κυκλωτῷ σώματος προβλήματι. (540)

27. **AESCHYLUS Trag. *Septem contra Thebas* {0085.004} Line 559** |
οὐδ' εἰσαμείψαι θηρὸς ἐχθίστου δάκτος
[εἰκὼ φέροντα πολέμιας ἐπ' ἀσπίδος]
ἔξωθεν εἰσω, τῷ φέροντι μέμψεται. (560)

28. **AESCHYLUS Trag. *Septem contra Thebas* {0085.004} Line 572** |
κακοὶ βάζει πολλὰ Τυδεὺς βίαν
τὸν ἀνδροφόντην, τὸν πόλεως ταράκτορα,
μέγιστον Ἀργεῖ τὸν κακῶν διδάσκαλον,

29. **AESCHYLUS Trag. *Septem contra Thebas* {0085.004} Line 588** |
ἔγωγε μὲν διήτηνδε πλανῶ χθόνα, @1
μάντις κεκευθὼς πολέμιας ὑπὸ χθονός.
μαχώμεθ', οὐκ ἄτιμον ἐλπίζω μόρον."

30. **AESCHYLUS Trag. *Septem contra Thebas* {0085.004} Line 632** |
Αγ. τὸν ἔβδομον διή τόνδ' ἐφ' ἔβδόμαις πόλαις
λέξω, τὸν αὐτοῦ σου κασίγνητον, πόλει
οἴας ἀράται καὶ κατεύχεται τύχας

31. AESCHYLUS Trag. <i>Septem contra Thebas</i> {0085.004} Line 761	
τριχάλον, ὃ καὶ περὶ πρῶμ- ναν πόλεως καχλῶζει. μεταξὺ δ' ἀλλὰ δι' ὀλίγου	
32. AESCHYLUS Trag. <i>Septem contra Thebas</i> {0085.004} Line 773	
τίν' ἀνδρῶν γὰρ τοσσὸνδ' εἰθαίμασαν θεοὶ [καὶ] ξυνέστοι πόλεος ὁ πολὺβωτὸς τ' αἰῶν βροτῶν.	
33. AESCHYLUS Trag. <i>Septem contra Thebas</i> {0085.004} Line 803	
κραινον παλαιὰς Λαϊῶν δυσβουλίας. @1 Χο. τί δ' ἐστὶ πρῶτος νεόκοτον πόλει πλέον; Αγ. πόλις σέσσεται βασιλέων δ' ὁμοσπόροιν—	
34. AESCHYLUS Trag. <i>Septem contra Thebas</i> {0085.004} Line 803	
Αγ. πέπωκεν αἶμα γὰ' ὑπ' ἄλλήλων φόνῳ. Χο. τί δ' ἐστὶ πρῶτος νεόκοτον πόλει πλέον; (803) Αγ. ἄνδρες τεθνήαιεν ἐκ χειρῶν αὐτοκτόνων. (807)	
35. AESCHYLUS Trag. <i>Septem contra Thebas</i> {0085.004} Line 826	
πότερον χαίρω καπολόλυξο (825) πόλεως ἀσινεὶ ἢ σωτηρι ... ἢ τοὺς μογεροὺς καὶ δυσδαίμονας	
36. AESCHYLUS Trag. <i>Septem contra Thebas</i> {0085.004} Line 828	
ἢ τοὺς μογεροὺς καὶ δυσδαίμονας ἀτέκνους κλυτὸσσι πολεμάροχους; οἱ δὴτ' ὀρθῶς κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν	
37. AESCHYLUS Trag. <i>Septem contra Thebas</i> {0085.004} Line 1006	
δοκούντα καὶ δόξαντ' ἀπαγγέλλειν με χροῖ (1005) δήμου προβούλοισ τῆσδε Καδμείας πόλεως; Ἐτεοζιέα μὲν τόνδ' ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ χθονός	
38. AESCHYLUS Trag. <i>Septem contra Thebas</i> {0085.004} Line 1009	
θάπτειν ἔδοξε γῆς φίλαις κατασκαφαῖς στέγων γὰρ ἐχθροὺς θάνατον εἴλετ' ἐν πόλει, ἱερῶν πατρῶων δ' ὄσιος ὄν μομφῆς ἄτερ (1010)	
39. AESCHYLUS Trag. <i>Septem contra Thebas</i> {0085.004} Line 1030	
θάψασ' ἀδελφῶν τὸν ἐμόν, οὐδ' αἰσχύνομαι ἔχουσα' ἀπιστον τήνδ' ἀναρχίαν πόλει. (1030) δεινὸν τὸ κοινὸν σπλάγγνον οὐ πεφύκαμεν,	

MORPHOLOGY AND LEXICA

Prev | Next

Thesaurus Linguae Graecae®

University of California, Irvine
220 University Tower
Irvine, CA 92697-5550

Tel: (949) 824-7031
Fax: (949) 824-8434
Email: tlg@uci.edu

Useful Links:

Credits
Terms of use
Privacy
UC Irvine
Office of Research

© 2013 UC Regents.
TLG® is a registered trademark of the University of California. All rights reserved.
Use of TLG® materials is subject to the TLG License Agreement.

3. Πολε/Pole-Derivatives in Aeschylus' *Suppliant Women*

Reference Information

Textual Search: πολε

Input: Greek

Search in: Author: AESCHYLUS Trag. {0085}

Supplices {014}

Accessed 02/15/2017.

http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&qf=&q=πολε&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=2&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&disp=100

2/15/17, 9:47 PM

TLG Search Results

Results for: **πολε**

1. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 7
οὔτιν' ἐφ' αἵματι δημηλοσίαν
ψήφω πόλεως γνωσθεῖσαι,
ἀλλ' αὐτογενεῖ φυξανορίᾳ,
2. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 83
πέλοιτ' ἄν ἐνδιχοὶ γάμοις.
ἔστι δὲ κάκ πολέμου τειρομένοις
βομῶς ἀρῆς φυγάσιν
3. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 248
ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς σὲ πότερον ὡς ἔτιν λέγω,
ἢ τηρὸν ἱεροῦ ῥάβδον, ἢ πόλεως ἀγόν;
Ba. πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀμείβου καὶ λέγ' εὐθαρσῆς ἔμοί.
4. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 342
Χο. αἰτούσι μὴ ἔδους παισὶν Αἰγύπτου πάλιν.
Ba. βαρέα σὺ γ' εἶπας, πόλεμον ἄρασθαι νέον.
Χο. ἀλλ' ἢ Δίκη γε ξυμμάχων ὑπερστατεῖ.
5. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 345
Ba. εἶπερ γ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πραγμάτων κοιωνὸς ἦν.
Χο. αἰδοῦ σὺ πρῦμαν πόλεος ᾧδ' ἔστεμμένην. (345)
Ba. πέφρικα λεύσσω τάσδ' ἔδρας κατασπίους.
6. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 357
εἴη δ' ἄνατον πρᾶγμα τοῦτ' ἀστοξένων.
μηδ' ἐξ ἀέλπτων κάπρομηθῆτων πόλει
νεῖκος γένηται: τῶν γὰρ οὐ δεῖται πόλις. @1
7. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 388
Ba. εἴ τοι κροατοῦσι παῖδες Αἰγύπτου σέθεν
νόμω πόλεως, φάσκοντες ἐγγύτατα γένους
εἶναι, τίς ἂν τοῖσδ' ἀντιωθήναι θέλοι;
8. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 410
δεδορκὸς ὄμμα, μηδ' ἄγαν ὠνωμένον,
ὅπως ἄνατα ταῦτα πρότα μὲν πόλει. (410)
αὐτοῖσι θ' ἡμῖν ἐκτελευτήσει καλῶς,

about:blank

Page 1 of 3

9. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 439
Ba. καὶ δὴ πέφρασμα· δεῦρο δ' ἐξοκέλλεται·
 ἢ τοῖσιν ἢ τοῖς πόλεμον αἰρεσθαι μέγαν
 πᾶσ' ἔστ' ἀνάγκη, καὶ γεγόμενται σκάφος (440)
10. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 619
 πόλιν παχύναι, ξενικὸν ἀστικὸν θ' ἄμα
 λέγων διπλοῦν μίασμα πρὸς πόλεως φανέν
 ἀμήχανον βόσκημα πημονῆς πέλειν. (620)
11. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 648
 πρᾶκτορ', ἄτε σκοπόν,
 δυσπολέμητον, ὄν
 τίς ἂν δόμος ἔχοι
12. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 745
 νῆας ἐπλευσαν ὡδ' ἐπιτυχεῖ κότῳ
 πολεὶ μελαγχίμῳ σὺν στρατῷ. (745)
- Δα.* πολλοὺς δέ γ' εὐρήσουσιν ἐν μεσημβρίας (745)
13. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 905
 λαῶς χιτώνος ἔργον οὐ κατοικτιεῖ.
Χο. ἰὼ πόλεως ἀγοὶ πρόμοι, δάμναμα. (905)
 <Κη.> πολλοὺς ἀνακτας, παῖδας Αἰγύπτου, τάχα
14. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 942
 ἄγοις ἂν, εἶπερ εὐσεβῆς πίθοι λόγος.
 τοιάδε δημόπρακτος ἐκ πόλεως μία
 ψήφος κέκρνανται, μήποτ' ἐκδοῦναι βίᾳ
15. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 950
 γλώσσης. κομίζου δ' ὡς τάχιστ' ἐξ ὀμμάτων. @1
 <Κη.> εἰογμεν ἤδη πόλεμον ἀρεῖσθαι νέον. (950)
 εἴη δὲ νίκη καὶ κράτος τοῖς ἄρσεσιν.
16. AESCHYLUS Trag. Supplices {0085.001} Line 1044
 — φυγάδεσσιν δ' ἐπιπλοίας κακὰ τ' ἄλγη
 πολέμου θ' αἵματόεντας προφοβοῦμαι.
 τί ποτ' εὐπλοῖαν ἔπραξαν (1045) [ἀντ. β.]

Use of TLG materials is subject to the TLG License Agreement.

4. Πολε/Pole-Derivatives in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*

Reference Information

Textual Search: πολε

Input: Greek

Search in: Author: AESCHYLUS Trag. {0085}

Agamemnon {015}

Accessed 02/15/2017.

http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=popupfresh&q=&q=πολε&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=1&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=100&count=7&reset_lemma=true

TLG Search Results

Results for: **πόλε**

1. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 73
 ἡμεῖς δ' ἀτίται σαρκί παλαιᾷ
 τῆς τότ' ἀρωγῆς ὑπολειφθέντες
 μίμνομεν ἰσχὺν

2. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 226
 θυγατρὸς, γυναικοποιῶν (225)
 πολέμων ἀρωγὰν
 καὶ προτέλεια ναῶν.

3. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 262
 σὺ δ' εἴ τι κεδνὸν εἴτε μὴ πεπυσμένη
 εὐαγγέλοις ἐλπίσιν θυηπολεῖς,
 κλύοιμ' ἂν εὐφρων· οὐδὲ σιγῶση φθόνος.

4. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 321
 Κλ. Τροίαν Ἀχαιοὶ τῆδ' ἔχουσ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ. (320)
 οἶμαι βοῆν ἄμεικτον ἐν πόλει πρόπειν.
 ὄξος τ' ἄλειφά τ' ἐγγέας ταυτῷ κῦτει

5. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 396
 διώκει παῖς ποτανὸν ὄρνιν. (394-395)
 πόλει πρόστριμμα θεῖς ἀφερτον· (396)
 λιτὰν δ' ἀκούει μὲν οὔτις θεῶν· (396)

6. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 501
 εὐ γὰρ πρὸς εὐ φανείσι προσθήκη πέλοι. (500)
 — ὅστις τὰδ' ἄλλως τῆδ' ἐπεύχεται πόλει, (500)
 αὐτὸς φρενῶν καρποῖτο τὴν ἀμαρτίαν.

7. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 605
 πύλας ἀνοιξαι; — ταῦτ' ἀπάγειλον πόσει·
 ἦκειν ὅπως τάχιστ' ἐράσμον πόλει· (605)
 γυναικα πιστὴν δ' ἐν δόμοις εὐροι μολῶν

8. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 608

οϊάνπερ οὖν ἔλειπε, δωμάτων κύνα,
 ἐσθλήν ἐκείνην, πολέμιαν τοῖς δύσφροσιν,
 καὶ τᾶλλ' ὁμοίαν πάντα, σημαντήριον

9. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 638
 γλώσση μαιίνειν· χωρὶς ἡ τιμὴ θεῶν.
 ὅταν δ' ἀπευκτὰ πῆματ' ἄγγελος πόλει
 στυγνῷ προσώπῳ πτωσίμου στρατοῦ φέρῃ.
10. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 640
 στυγνῷ προσώπῳ πτωσίμου στρατοῦ φέρῃ,
 πόλει μὲν ἔλκος ἐν τῷ δῆμον τυχεῖν, (640)
 πολλοὺς δὲ πολλῶν ἐξαγισθέντας δόμων
11. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 723
 καὶ γεραροῖς ἐπίχαρτον.
 πολέα δ' ἔσκ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις
 νεοτρόφου τέκνου δίκαν,
12. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 769
 φάος τόκου, δαίμονά τ' ἔταν, (767-768)
 ἄμαχον ἀπόλεμον ἀνιέρων, (769)
 Θράσος, μελαίνα μελάθροισιν Ἄτα, (770)
13. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 979
 ποτᾶται,
 μαντιπολεῖ δ' ἀκέλευστος ἄμισθος αἰοιδά,
 οὐδ' ἀποπτύσαι δίκαν (980)
14. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 1167
 θραύματ' ἐμοὶ κλύειν.
- Κα. ἰὼ πόνοι πόνοι πόλεος
 ὀλομένας τὸ πᾶν. (1167)
15. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 1355
 4. ὄραν πάρεστι· φροιμαῖζονται γὰρ ὡς,
 τυραννίδος σημεία πράσσοντες πόλει. (1355)
 5. χρονίζομεν γὰρ. οἱ δὲ τῆς μελλοῦς κλέος
16. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 1412
 μῖσος ὄβριμον ἀστοῖς.
 Κλ. νῦν μὲν δικάζεις ἐκ πόλεως φυγῆν ἐμοί,

καὶ μῖσος ἀστῶν δημόθρους τ' ἔχειν ἀράς,

17. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 1453

φύλακος εὐμενεστάτου [καὶ]
πολέα τλάντος γυναικὸς διαί; πρὸς γυναι-
κὸς δ' ἀπέφθισεν βίον.

18. AESCHYLUS Trag. Agamemnon {0085.005} Line 1586

αὐτοῦ δ' ἀδελφόν, ἀμφίλεκτος ὦν κρατεῖ, (1585)
ἠνδρηλάτησεν ἐκ πόλεώς τε καὶ δόμων.
καὶ προστρόπαιος ἐστίας μολῶν πάλιν

Use of TLG materials is subject to the TLG License Agreement.
Created: Thu Feb 15 21:56:22 2017 (UTC).
Contact tlg-support@uci.edu for enquiries.
TLG® is a registered trademark of The Regents of the University of California.

5. Πολε/Pole-Derivatives in Aeschylus' *Choephoroi*

Reference Information

Textual Search: πολε

Input: Greek

Search in: Author: AESCHYLUS Trag. {0085}

Choephoroe {016}

Accessed 02/15/2017.

http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&ql=&q=πολε&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=6&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispg=100

2/15/17, 10:00 PM

TLG Search Results

Results for: **πολε**

1. AESCHYLUS Trag. Choephoroe {0085.006} Line 55
δεσποτᾶν θανάτοισι. (54)

σέβας δ' ἄμαχον ἀδάματον ἀπόλεμον τὸ πρὶν
δι' ὧτων φρενός τε (55)

[ἀντ. β. (54)]

2. AESCHYLUS Trag. Choephoroe {0085.006} Line 289
καὶ λύσσα καὶ μάταιος ἐκ νυκτῶν φόβος
κινεῖ ταράσσει καὶ διωκᾶθει πόλειως
χαλκηλάτῳ πλάστιγγι λυμανθὲν δέμας. (290)

3. AESCHYLUS Trag. Choephoroe {0085.006} Line 1072
λουτροδάκτος δ' ὄλετ' Ἀχαιῶν
πολέμαρχος ἀνήρ·
νῦν δ' αὖ τρίτος ἦλθέ ποθεν σωτήρ—

Use of TLG materials is subject to the TLG License Agreement.
Created: Thu Feb 15 22:02:2017 (UTC).
Contact tlg-support@uci.edu for enquiries.
TLG® is a registered trademark of The Regents of the University of California.

6. Πολε/Pole-Derivatives in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*

Reference Information

Textual Search: πολε

Input: Greek

Search in: Author: AESCHYLUS Trag. {0085}

Eumenides {017}

Accessed 02/15/2017.

http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/demo/tsearch.jsp#doc=tlg&search_type=textual&query_type=fresh&qf=&q=πολε&usr_input=greek&aac=0085-0085-0085-&kpage=0&search_cat=simple&c=7&editid=&editf=&usr_input=greek&line_citation=3&td=greek&sortby=author&dispq=100

2/15/17, 10:00 PM

TLG Search Results

Results for: πολε

1. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 77
βιβῶντ' ἄν' ἀεὶ τὴν πλανοστιβῆ χθόνα
ὑπὲρ τε πόντον καὶ περιορύτας πόλεις.
καὶ μὴ πρόκαμνε τόνδε βουκολούμενος
2. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 475
ἰκέτης προσήλθεσ καθαρὸς ἀβλαβῆς δόμοις.
ῥῆμος δ' ἄμομφον ὄντα σ' αἰροῦμαι πόλει. (475)
αὐταὶ δ' ἔχουσι μοῖραν οὐκ εὐπέμπeldon,
3. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 617
οὐπόποτ' εἶπον μαντικοῖσιν ἐν θρόνοις,
οὐκ ἀνδρὸς, οὐ γυναικὸς, οὐ πόλεως πέρι,
ὃ μὴ κελεύσαι Ζεὺς Ὀλυμπίων πατήρ.
4. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 687
σκηνὰς θ', ὅτ' ἤλθον Θησέως κατὰ φθόνον
στρατηλατοῦσαι, καὶ πόλει νεόπολιν
τήνδ' ὑψίπυργον ἀντεπύργωσαν τότε,
5. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 698
ἄστοις περιστέλλουσι βουλεύω σέβειν,
καὶ μὴ τὸ δεινὸν πᾶν πόλεως ἔξω βαλεῖν.
τίς γὰρ δεδοικῶς μηδὲν ἔνδικος βροτῶν;
6. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 701
τοιόνδε τοὶ ταρβούντες ἐνδίκως σέβας (700)
ἔρυμα [τε] χάρας καὶ πόλεως σωτήριον
ἔχουσι' ἄν. οἷον οὕτως ἀνθρώπων ἔχει,
7. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 733
δίκης γενέσθαι τῆσδ' ἐπήκοος μένω,
ὡς ἀμφίβουλος οὐσα θυμούσθαι πόλει.
Aθ. ἐμὸν τόδ' ἔργον, λοισθίαν κρῖναι δίκην·
8. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 864
ἐμφύλιόν τε καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους θρασύν.
θυραῖος ἔστω πόλεμος, οὐ μάλιστα παρών,
ἐν ᾧ τις ἔσται δεινὸς εὐκλείας ἔρωσ· (865)

9. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 888
 σὺ δ' οὖν μένοις ἄν· εἰ δὲ μὴ θέλεις μένειν,
 οὐ τᾶν δικαίως τῆδ' ἐπιρρέποις πόλει
 μῆνιν τιν' ἢ κότον τιν' ἢ βλάβην στρατῶ.

10. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 949
 δαμόνων δόσιν τίσι. @1
 Αθ. ἢ τάδ' ἀκούετε, πόλεως φροσύριον,
 οἳ' ἐπικρανεῖ; (949)

11. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 977
 Χο. τὰν δ' ἄπληστον κακῶν
 μήποτ' ἐν πόλει στάσιν
 τᾶδ' ἐπέυχομαι βρέμειν. [ἀντ. β.]

12. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 983
 ἀντιφόνους ἄταξ
 ἀρπαλίσει πόλεως.
 χάσματα δ' ἀντιδιδοῖεν

13. AESCHYLUS Trag. Eumenides {0085.007} Line 1009
 τὸ δὲ κερδαλέον
 πέμπειν πόλεως ἐπὶ νίκη. (1009)
 ὑμεῖς δ' ἠγείσθε, πολιτισσοῦχοι (1009)

Use of TLG materials is subject to the TLG License Agreement.
 Created: Thu Feb 15 22:0:42 2017 (UTC).
 Contact tlg-support@uci.edu for enquiries.
 TLG® is a registered trademark of The Regents of the University of California.

7. Πολε/Pole-Derivatives in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*

Reference Information:

Textual Search: πολε

Input: Greek

Search in: Author: AESCHYLUS Trag. {0085}

Prometheus vincetus {018}

Accessed 04/018/2017

<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/inst/tsearch.jsp#s=27>

02/17/2017 Data:

2/17/17, 8:18 PM

TLG Search Results

Results for: πολε

1. AESCHYLUS Trag. Prometheus vincetus {0085.018} Line 904
μ' ἄφυκτον ὄμμα προσδράζου· (903.bis)
ἀπόλεμος ὄδε γ' ὁ πόλεμος, ἄπορα πόριμος, οὐδ' (904)
ἔχω τίς ἄν γενοίμαν· (905)

2. AESCHYLUS Trag. Prometheus vincetus {0085.018} Line 904
μ' ἄφυκτον ὄμμα προσδράζου· (903.bis)
ἀπόλεμος ὄδε γ' ὁ πόλεμος, ἄπορα πόριμος, οὐδ' (904)
ἔχω τίς ἄν γενοίμαν· (905)

Use of TLG materials is subject to the TLG License Agreement.
Created: Sat Feb 17 20:18:27 2017 (UTC).
Contact tlg-support@uci.edu for enquiries.
TLG® is a registered trademark of The Regents of the University of California.

04/18/2017 Data:

4/18/17, 4:28 PM

TLG Search Results

Results for: **πολε**

1. AESCHYLUS Trag. Prometheus vincetus {0085.018} Line 904
μ' ἀφυκτον ὄμμα προσδράχου· (903,bis)
ἀπόλεμος ὄδε γ' ὁ πόλεμος, ἄπορα πόρομος, οὐδ' (904)
ἔχω τίς ἄν γενοίμαν· (905)

Use of TLG materials is subject to the TLG License Agreement.
Created: Wed Apr 18 16:27:50 2017 (UTC).
Contact tlg-support@uci.edu for enquiries.
TLG® is a registered trademark of The Regents of the University of California.