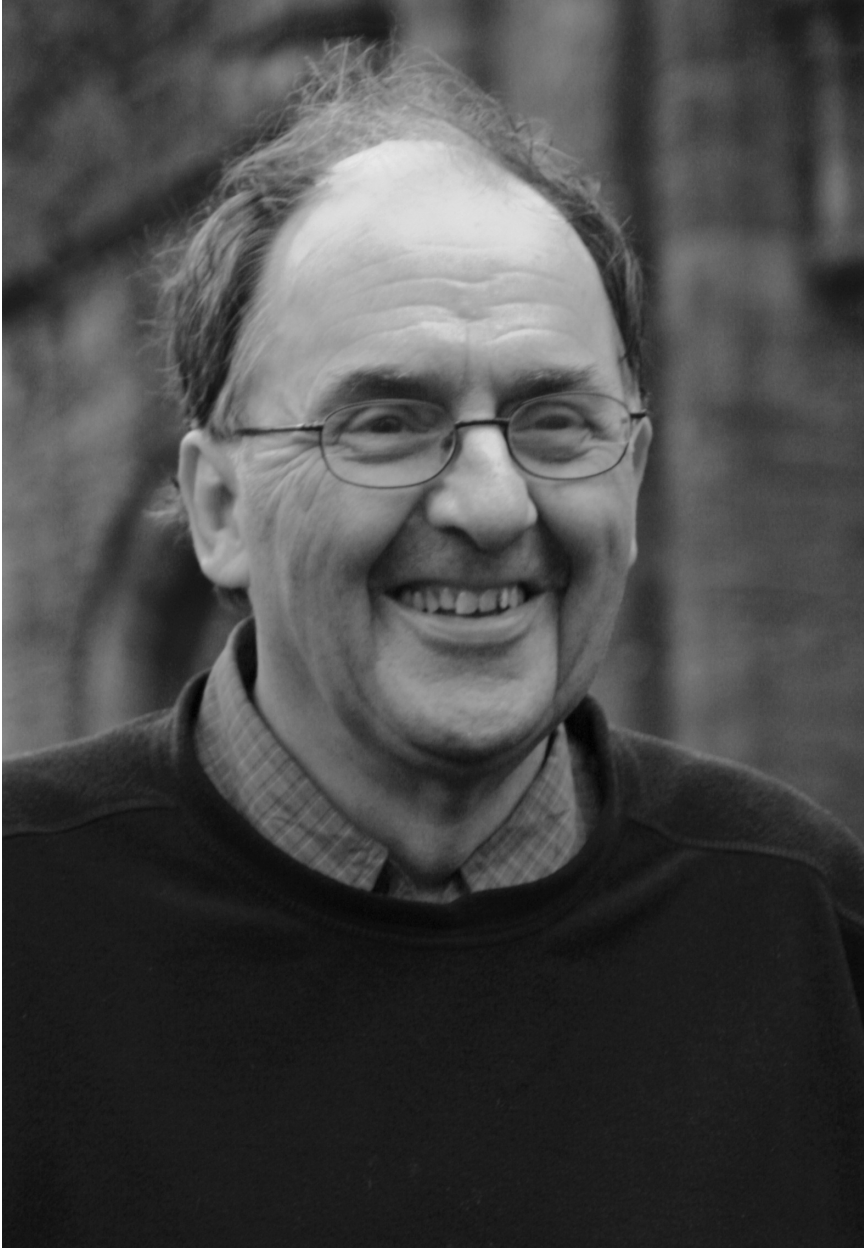


SOCIABLE MAN

*Essays on Ancient Greek
social behaviour, in honour of
Nick Fisher*



Edited by
S. D. Lambert



Nick Fisher

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ESSAYS ON ANCIENT GREEK SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

IN HONOUR OF
NICK FISHER

Editor

S. D. Lambert

Contributors

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FOREWORD

Pamela-Jane Shaw

On May 20th 2009 colleagues and friends of Professor Nick Fisher gathered at the School of History and Archaeology, Cardiff University, to offer him their tributes – a series of scholarly papers, all of which reflected, and were illuminated by, the ways in which Nick has influenced the thinking of their authors and of Classical scholars around the world. Those papers are now presented in this volume, along with others from Absent Friends who have gratefully seized this opportunity to honour Nick as they would like to have done could they, too, have been present in Cardiff on that day.

My own contribution on that occasion was a slender one, but it concerned one of Nick's most important academic roles and bore the title *Open All Hours. NREF as a PhD. Supervisor*. It was, inevitably, a very personal sort of tribute, but I hope that there were moments when it also spoke for all the students Nick has ever had in his care.

The *Open All Hours* of the title was not intended as a reference to the state of Nick's door, but, rather, as a metaphor for his brand of supervising: his infinite interruptibility, his attentiveness, and a particular species of hospitality. The interruptibility – whether by the 'phone, the need for an immediate decision on some Departmental detail, or the troubled undergraduate whose essay was not only unfinished but as yet unbegun – could sometimes be disconcerting, when one was, as it were, the sufferer, but without it his students would have been much the poorer. His attentiveness ranged from a kindly solicitude towards the worn-out or frustrated to the protective watch he kept over each of his students' welfare and interests, treating their triumphs and disasters as he would his own. As for his hospitality, I have in mind not only the social hospitality extended to us all, in abundance, by Nick and his wife Sarah, but, also, and particularly, a hospitality of intellect, without which my own PhD. thesis – an awkward and rather *unsociable* creature – might well have perished.

Nick Fisher came to Cardiff as Lecturer in Classics in 1970, and stayed there, devoting to the University nearly 40 remarkable years of his academic life, gifts, and energy. He arrived from Oxford, where he had spent seven years, initially at Christ Church, then at Pembroke, where he began research for his DPhil. – *The concept of hybridity in Greece from Homer to the fourth century BC.*

Foreword

This was the precursor of a body of work that has made a major impact on scholarly thinking about social values and behaviour in the Greek world, and from it there emerged, in 1992, the book with which Nick will forever be most closely identified: *Hybris: A Study in the Values of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greece*.

I first met Nick in 1995, when, all unsuspecting, I enrolled to study for what I thought was to be an MPhil. I think it a stroke of luck that those early months were not wired up to the imperative intensity of a doctoral thesis, for I had time to become acquainted with my encouraging, informative, flexible, funny *mystagōgos*, and came to feel thoroughly at home in a tutelary relationship which, though we knew it not, was about to undergo a pretty severe test. Within the year, and without the least warning, my research swerved off its original track, straight into that Pandora's Box of Ancient History – Chronology. Nick's initial reaction was one of consternation, but when, after a few weeks, he saw that I was in earnest he engaged with the idea and from that time onward he never let it fall.

Of all the qualities he brought to his management of both it and me there are two that I should like especially to salute. The first is his versatility. Like the doyen of the *Open All Hours* cornershop, who never knows what his next customer will require of him, Nick often had no idea what our next conversation was to be about, because chronology has a distressing habit of snaking through everything. He accommodated this with patience and humour, and in the process he revealed, quite unconsciously, the breadth of his scholarship. This is something I only came properly to appreciate long afterwards. Whether it was the conventions for dating East Greek pottery that occupied us, or long-forgotten, but crucial, emendations of Pausanias' text, or metrical curiosities in the poetry of Tyrtaeus, he almost always had some valuable comment or *caveat*, a suggestion for some other source to consult, some book to pull down from his own tottering bookcase.

The other quality is the unselfishness with which he allowed me to commit his academic reputation to a controversial issue (for, after all, a supervisor's academic reputation must to some extent be implicated in his or her student's research). Also, whereas most supervisors might expect to be, and would take pleasure in, supervising theses broadly within their own fields, my research often took us far away from Nick's preferred scholarly haunts. For me, the word *hybris* would be more likely to conjure Mimnermus and the chronological anomalies associated with Colophon and Smyrna, than Athenian social values, or the law. If Aeschines drew my attention it was primarily because, when prosecuting Timarchus, he took the unheard-of step of consulting lists of magistrates to establish a forensic

chronology. If Nick found this frustrating, he never showed it, by a look, a tone, or a gesture.

In encounters with *hybris* and Aeschines I had all the wrong reflexes, and I'm just as obtuse about another subject on which Nick has thought, written and lectured – slavery. For, the first thought that comes to me when I consider slavery in connection with Nick is that he gave my PhD. its *liberty*, guiding it (and, in a way, me) from captivity to freedom. After that, I do not think there is anything more I need to say, except for one thing – and I say it in concert with the friends and colleagues who honour him in this volume. It is a deeply endearing paradox in Nick Fisher that this most sociable man is the very antithesis of an author of *hybris*!

ATHENIAN SOCIAL HISTORY: AFTER NICK FISHER

Paul Cartledge

When I started to think seriously about what to say in my original oral presentation, having decided at length on my topic,¹ I googled ‘Nick Fisher’, as one now does, and among much else of great interest I came across what looked like a fascinating review by him in *Electronic Antiquity*. It turned out to be a review of a book of mine, which began – the review – with the following disclaimer:

I should start by declaring an interest: I have been pleased to count Paul Cartledge as a friend since the late 1960s and one who has given me much valued encouragement and support, as he has to so many other scholars.

Though perhaps it was not so much a mere disclaimer as, rather, a *mētis*-filled piece of Ciceronian *captatio benevolentiae* and *praeoccupatio*, a rhetorical warning to the reader (not to mention the author) that the chopper of criticism would soon be brought out and down – as it was, but typically it was wielded with both delicacy and scrupulous fairness.² If I were to be even minimally just in return, therefore, I would have to begin by echoing that preliminary declaration of (compound) interest. Indeed, one of the pleasures of the academic life, when one reaches a certain stage or state, is to be asked to write letters of reference or recommendation on behalf of colleagues who are not just great scholars but also truly wonderful human beings, as Nick Fisher assuredly is.

To do anything like proper justice to the immense, indeed totalizing scope of Nick’s outlook and output in ancient Greek history over very many years within the space of a few minutes, or even a more extended written essay such as this, is of course not feasible. But probably over 90 per cent of his oeuvre can be subsumed in one way or another under the general label of ‘Social History’, and that is what will be addressed here. Yet, rather oddly, in 2009 that labelling seemed to me to be a problem, in a sense that it probably would not have seemed to be to anyone in 1976, when our honorand published his *Social Values in Classical Athens*.³ For over

the past three to four decades ‘Social History’ as such, as a category, genre or sub-genre of Historiography (all historiography, not just ancient Greek), has become a problem, or at least been problematized.⁴ I shall therefore try to sketch out some of the issues involved in thinking about Athenian Social History in the light of Social History *tout court* – greatly encouraged in that thought by the fact that Nick’s original Oxford mentor, John Davies, was, like Nick himself, someone with a taste for raising the most general methodological issues in the most fruitful ways.⁵

So here goes: ‘Athenian Social History: after Nick Fisher’. Especially, that is, after his *Social Values in Classical Athens* (1976) and, of course, his pathbreaking and still fundamental *Hybris. A Study in the Values of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greece* (1992), and its many preparatory or ancillary studies.⁶ But first a little on the ‘Social History’ problematic in general. I pass quickly over Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher’s dread pronouncement that ‘there is no such thing (*sc.* as society). There are individual men and women, and there are families...’.⁷ I pass a little more slowly over G. M. Trevelyan’s now happily notorious remark, in the preface to his *English Social History* (originally 1942), that ‘social’ history might be construed as ‘history with the politics left out’.⁸ If that is or can be the case, ever, which I doubt, it is quite certainly not the case of ancient Greece, where *polis* (and probably *ethnos* too) was both state and society at the same time.⁹ But I pass most slowly of all, indeed I pause, over a paper by Eric Hobsbawm published exactly thirty years after Trevelyan’s egregious dictum, which he entitled ‘From Social History to the History of Society’.¹⁰ Here Hobsbawm gave it as his exceptionally well informed opinion that ‘A survey of social history in the past seems to show that the best practitioners have always felt uncomfortable with the term itself’ – and rightly so, in Hobsbawm’s own view, since the goal of a proper ‘social history’ should be, not the history of discrete and possibly relatively trivial social phenomena, but nothing less than ‘the formulation of the nature and structure of societies and the mechanisms of their historical transformations (or stabilizations)’.¹¹

Perhaps rather few historians of any period – or society – are intellectually, or psychologically, equipped even to attempt such a task let alone achieve such a goal. But, to bring the discussion nearer to ancient Greek history, and to Nick, I do note that not all that much later, in something like the intellectual climate Hobsbawm was writing in within History (capital H), a somewhat similar debate was taking place in Ancient History, normally a very under-theorised and methodologically unpretentious sub-field of the discipline as a whole.¹² What I have in mind, specifically, is not the special issue of *Arethusa* in 1975 that was devoted to ‘Marxism in Antiquity’,¹³ but the simultaneous debate between John Davies

and Oxford's Camden Professor Peter Brunt taking place, rather extraordinarily, within the pages of *Didaskalos*, the now defunct but then – very – lively journal of the Joint Association of Classical Teachers. To Davies's proposed 'New Ways of Teaching Ancient History' – an ideal syllabus premised upon a revisionary and progressivist conception of what ancient history, *qua* history that just happened to be of the 'ancient' world, should be about – Brunt replied interrogatively 'What is Ancient History about?' and did stay to give his answer. This amounted to asserting that it was pretty much *not* about whatever John Davies might in his fantasy world believe it was, or should be, about.¹⁴

It is hard to summarise the multiple disagreements between them shortly, but Brunt I think was correct in one particular at least, namely in claiming, 'It is obvious in Davies's choice of sixteen major interpretative themes that for him the social structure and economy are all-important'. Brunt then had a little fun at Davies's expense, suggesting that he was *plus marxisant* than *les marxistes*, a charge that the accused would probably have denied then no less vigorously than he would now. On the other hand, one of Davies's sixteen 'themes' does seem to adumbrate what is I believe still, and rightly so, one of his major interpretative preoccupations: 'The transformation of Indo-European tribal society into other more complex forms of social organization and stratification (city, league, monarchy, etc.)'. One reason for labouring this rather hoary debate is that the ideas Davies was airing in the mid-1970s are just the ones that were given expression in what I consider to be his ex-doctoral pupil Nick Fisher's first masterwork.

1976 was an interesting year in many ways: for example, a long hot summer yielded the longest recorded period of sustained over 80-degree F (27C) heat of the entire 20th century. But it was also the year in which Sarah Pomeroy's pathbreaking *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves* was published in the UK (1975 in the USA). Yet more to our point, it saw the publication of Nick's *Social Values in Classical Athens*. The format or the genre of this relatively short work, a sourcebook, was not perhaps the most propitious for disseminating a major original interpretation of Athenian history – though Michel Austin and Pierre Vidal-Naquet had shown four years earlier what might and could be done within this sort of compass.¹⁵ But whereas they had taken all 'ancient Greece' for their province, Nick very firmly devoted his skilled enquiry to 'Classical Athens'. However, in case it might be thought that Austin and Vidal-Naquet had thereby opened to themselves the possibility of addressing (to quote again Hobsbawm 1998, 109) 'the nature and structure of societies and the mechanisms of their historical transformations (or stabilizations)', 'ancient Greece' was, actually, not a single society but an agglomeration of many hundreds of

societies.¹⁶ And such was and such is the evidence for ancient Greek history before Alexander the Great, in general, that there really is only one of those societies that lends itself usefully to the kind of structural, totalizing approach that Hobsbawm – and Davies – were advocating, namely, precisely, Classical Athens.

Nick himself described his (45-page) introduction to *Social Values in Classical Athens* as ‘extensive’. It is indeed that, as just a bare listing of its subheadings will indicate: Athenian Democracy, Sources, Social Groups, The Operation of Democratic Institutions, and The Good Citizen. But just as important as the extensiveness of the coverage is the interlinked totality, the mutual implicativeness, of the treatment. For example, under ‘Social Groups’ comes homosexuality,¹⁷ under ‘Operation’ are placed liturgies as well as ‘Politicians and their relation with the People’. In short, this was in its day the best short introduction in English to Athenian social history, or, if you prefer, Athenian society as a totality. Indeed, in my view it remains such to this day, which prompts the question why has no one yet been inspired to write up a full-dress monographic version, along the lines of *Classical Athens: A Social History*, or *A History of Classical Athenian Society*?

That totalization of Nick’s treatment is, I believe, one wholly respectable kind of an answer to one aspect of Eric Hobsbawm’s complaint against ‘social history’. But it raises another aspect of the problem that appears somehow (as I noted in Cartledge 2002) to have become more insistent over the intervening three to four decades: namely, how to distinguish a dedicated ‘social’ history from other kinds of history that seem to challenge it for intellectual house-room in the broad mansion that is Histor(iography). In particular, how to distinguish it from Intellectual History or the History of Ideas or, above all, Cultural History? One way, perhaps, is to focus firmly on the domestic or the familial, or even – if it is strictly possible, of course – on women as opposed to men; but those ploys surely also run the risk of failing Hobsbawm’s significance test. Another way, however, is so to interpret Social History as to render it largely or chiefly into one or other of the near-rival brands. And that I think is roughly what Nick himself was doing in 1976. Hence the title of his sourcebook, *Social Values in Classical Athens*, even though actually, as the very first sentence of the Preface announces, ‘The aim of this book is to present evidence on *social relationships and social values* in Classical Athens’. Indeed, on relationships *before* on values, apparently, although it is values that wins out in the end, as it were. Here, too, lies a hint of what was to become Nick’s major scholarly preoccupation, and major scholarly contribution, over the next decade and more. For in that same *annus mirabilis* of 1976 there appeared in the hospitable Classical journal *Greece*

and Rome the first part of a two-part article: 'Hybris and Dishonour I' – Nick's very first published article, if I am not mistaken.

There followed in due course his unarguably chief claim – so far – to academic fame as a researcher of the very highest quality: *Hybris. A Study in the Values of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greece*; this was published in 1992, although it was the fruit of almost a quarter-century's patient and meticulous research into one of the half-dozen most central and fundamental themes of all ancient Greek history and culture. One – entirely admirable – reason for the apparent delay in publication was that Nick is his own severest critic. He frankly admits, for example, that his concentration on the explication of literary texts made it difficult or impossible to do justice to other, connected issues.

Nevertheless, there is absolutely no doubt about the scale and significance of Nick's three principal achievements here: first, to have pinned down the essential connection of *hybris* with status-transgression and dishonouring – and thereby crucially to have dissociated it from any specifically or uniquely theological connotations; second, to have paid appropriately minute attention to context, both social and discursive – thus students of, say, the *Trojan Women* of Euripides will find the five pages on that play immensely illuminating; and, third, to have sustained an extraordinarily high level of intense and penetrating analysis of a literature ranging in time from Homer to Aristotle (roughly the end of the eighth to the end of the fourth century BC), and in genre from epic verse to philosophical argument by way of lyric poetry, forensic oratory and historical narrative. Nick's *Hybris* – the very reverse of hubristic itself – thus stands proud as both a landmark and a beacon of scholarship.¹⁸

I call it that advisedly. A recent graduate student of mine at Cambridge chose to explore the theoretical and methodological question of how best to write the social history of 'Restoration' (post-403 BC) democratic Athens: according to what overall framework of analysis and explanation, according to what historiographical timescale? His starting point was an engagement with *annalisme*, with the kind of historiography advocated and practised by Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch from the 1920s on, and by their brilliant followers such as Fernand Braudel within what is familiarly referred to as the '*Annales* school'.¹⁹ That was my student's starting point, but when it came down to exemplification, in the limited space available to him he chose to focus on just two recent works of ancient Greek history, both major works, I should say, in their very different ways, both controversial, and both less than wholly persuasive overall, but yet both very stimulatingly unpersuasive: Josiah Ober's *Democracy and Knowledge: Innovation and Learning in Classical Athens* (Ober 2008), and Gabriel Herman's

Morality and Behaviour in Democratic Athens (Herman 2006). It is not for any personal reason, but because of its subtitle, *A Social History*, that I have chosen to focus here solely on the latter.

One way of getting a handle on Herman's big book, apart from actually reading it of course, is to consult the grand bust-up between the author and one of his book's reviewers, M. R. Christ, in the electronic pages of the *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*.²⁰ In dispute, at bottom, is an issue that could have been framed in this way only as a result of Nick's work: that is, just how (ant)agonistic was Athenian society between (say) 420 and 320 BC? How far was at any rate the public, more or less broadly political and social, interaction between citizens a zero-sum game, in which the social good that was being played for was honour? It is not possible to summarise their dispute in brief without caricaturing it to some degree. But if I point out that Christ's most recent book is entitled *The Bad Citizen in Classical Athens* (Christ 2006) and that it is devoted to showing just how antisocially Athenian citizens could behave, that is, how far and how regularly they contravened not only and not so much their polity's formal legal rules as their society's unwritten, informally agreed social and moral norms of behaviour, one may gather from what general interpretative and evaluative standpoint he is writing. Whereas Herman's Athens is a kind of pre-Christian paradise (I exaggerate, but...), in which Athenians allegedly placed the utmost value on moral self-restraint, on not rising to challenges, on not taking an eye for an eye in tit-for-tat agonistic retaliation, on turning the other cheek, or, in short, on not aiming above all else to destroy an opponent morally or spiritually as well as politically or economically, Christ's Athens is very un-Christian indeed.

These are deep waters. There is at least something strongly positive to be said in favour of both opposing positions. However, the point on which I propose to leave that debate here is the one from which I started: namely that, but for Nick's work, there could not have been a proper debate at all. Manifestly, the stimulus of his work continues to animate the best contemporary work in Athenian social history – including of course his own, of which there's been a great deal. For example, I have barely mentioned hitherto his translation and commentary of Aeschines's *Timarchos* oration, and I should like to mention in conclusion a work of his in another – not exactly popular and very hard to bring off but nevertheless utterly indispensable – genre, the school textbook: *Slavery in Classical Greece* (Fisher 1993).²¹

I conclude as I began, on a personal note. Very few of our colleagues can honestly be said to be universally both liked and respected. Nick Fisher manifestly can. He goes to immense trouble on behalf of his students and

always keeps the interests of both the subject and his Department firmly at the forefront of his endeavours. He is not a hyperactive, hyperambitious, Homeric type of character, constantly striving to be best and among the first, at the expense of the good of others or of the community as a whole. He is an exponent rather of the quiet virtues, an encourager, an enabler and a co-operator, who brings out the best in colleagues and students both within and far beyond the confines of Cardiff. May that continue to be the case for many years to come.

Acknowledgements

It was a huge honour for me to have been invited to speak at the day conference (20 May 2009) devoted to my old friend Nick Fisher on his impending retirement. I thank again, very warmly, Stephen Lambert both for the invitation and for performing all the behind-the-scenes administrative and subsequent editorial work so economically and so pleasantly.

Notes

¹ Other possible candidates had been work and leisure, or masculinity, both topics with which he and I had been jointly involved. In the former instance, I had commissioned a chapter from Nick on that theme for the *Cambridge Illustrated History of Ancient Greece* (Cartledge 1998); and in the latter, we had both been invited by Lin Foxhall and John Salmon to contribute to a colloquium that became in its published form *When Men Were Men: Masculinity, power and identity in Classical Antiquity* (Foxhall & Salmon 1998).

² *Electronic Antiquity* 7.1 (Feb. 2003), reviewing Cartledge, *Spartan Reflections* (Cartledge 2001).

³ Fisher 1976. This – seriously enhanced – sourcebook is the mainspring of the present exercise.

⁴ Cartledge 2002 (with many further references) will be partly resumed below. For a not entirely disinterested review of the volume in which it appeared, namely Cannadine 2002, see D. Munro, *Journal of Social History* 37.3 (2004), 814–16.

⁵ See below, text and n. 14.

⁶ Especially Fisher 2001, for reasons that will emerge shortly, but also, and not least, Fisher 1993.

⁷ In an interview published in *Woman's Own* magazine, 31 October 1987.

⁸ On Trevelyan's anti-Social historiography, see the sympathetic study by Cannadine (1995).

⁹ Cartledge 2009b is devoted to the history of the *polis* in ancient thought and action, combined; for an account of a selection of eleven (out of the 1000 or so) *poleis*, including Athens, see Cartledge 2009a.

¹⁰ Hobsbawm 1998. Importantly, it was first published in the originally marxising journal, *Past & Present*, for two excellent selections of almost equally excellent ancient-

world articles from that journal, both with ‘Society’ in their title, see Finley 1974; Osborne 2005.

¹¹ Hobsbawm 1998, 99 and 109 respectively.

¹² A conspicuous exception is Neville Morley, Professor of Ancient Economic History and Historical Theory in the University of Bristol; Morley 2010 is a convenient recent conspectus of his approach and work.

¹³ Sullivan and Peradotto 1975.

¹⁴ *Didaskalos* was edited by the redoubtable John Sharwood Smith.

¹⁵ Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977 (an earlier version first published in French in 1972).

¹⁶ A point I have sought to make, and exploit, in and through Cartledge 2009a.

¹⁷ In very short compass – just 16 lines – Nick does a wonderful job of expressing the essence of the then received, best-practice scholarly opinion on Greek homosexuality (not just pederasty). He was of course able to take advantage of Kenneth Dover’s *Greek Popular Morality in the time of Plato and Aristotle* (Dover 1974), of which he wrote, in his very first footnote (1976, 159 n.1), that it ‘contains most valuable discussions of almost all the issues raised here’. The extensive use by Dover of Aeschines’s *Against Timarchos* must surely have contributed something to inspire Nick’s own edition of the *Timarchos* a quarter-century later (Fisher 2001).

¹⁸ At this point in the original oral presentation I drew attention to the fact that one of my current PhD. students at Cambridge, also in the audience in Cardiff, was researching a PhD. dissertation on precisely the topic of honour at Athens – from the later fifth to the later fourth century BC. But it was with the work of another of my then current graduate students, another brilliant American, studying in his case for the MPhil., that I brought my short oral contribution to the honorific proceedings to a close.

¹⁹ ‘*Annales* school’: Burke 1990, esp. ch. 2 ‘The Founders’; and ch. 3 ‘The Age of Braudel’.

²⁰ The Christ-Herman Debate: *BMCR* 2007.07.37 (M. R. Christ’s review of Herman 2006) vs. *BMCR* 2007.09.21 (G. Herman’s impassioned reply).

²¹ This appeared coincidentally in the same year as Cartledge 1993, a coincidence both of scholarly preoccupation and of the alleged 2500th anniversary of democracy’s birthday. Note also Fisher 1995.

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HEGESIPPOS OF SOUNION:
AN UNDERRATED POLITICIAN

John Davies

Our honorand and I go back together a long way. True, his kind words in the preface to *Hybris* seriously over-egg the pudding, for my contribution as a late-on-the-scene supervisor to the thesis of which that book was the eventual outcome amounted to little more than periodic growls along the lines of ‘I want this chapter on my desk by 5 p.m. next Monday’. All the same, though that relationship began only in October 1969 I had known him and Sarah personally much earlier, a fact which has allowed me to watch his entire career from an affectionate distance with appreciation and respect. It is not so much his progress through the normal stages of an academic career which makes its impact as does the occasion of his retirement, for it both looks forwards to a long and happy retirement (which we all wish him) and allows a backward scan over a trajectory of scholarly activity whose consistency is best seen retrospectively. In searching for a suitable word to characterise the landscape of relationships and achievements which are celebrated in this volume, the term ‘terroir’ comes to mind: a tad pretentious, perhaps, and in that respect inappropriate for one who is the least pretentious of men, but one which allows me to link together two of our shared experiences. The first is purely local, for Cardiff as my own native city is also his adoptive city, where he has been loyal to his institution through thick and thin (and in the early 1980s it was very thin indeed),¹ even when siren voices called out from elsewhere, and where he has become both a pillar of what is now solidly established as the University’s School of History and Archaeology (from 2010 History, Archaeology and Religion) and a magnet for other colleagues (junior and not so junior) and for students.

The other area of terroir which we have in common is a shared academic agenda. It has various aspects: the study of social values and institutions, as displayed in his books on values (1976) and on slavery (1993); the nuances of law and language, which make his book on *Hybris* (1992) a landmark in how to escape from the simplistic; the interest in

deconstructing extant examples of Athenian oratory, which he displayed with a remarkable amalgamation of skills and judgment in his commentary on Aischines' *Against Timarchos* (2001); the political and cultural interplay between Athens and Sparta, especially in the fourth century, as explored in a notable essay of 1994; the pleasures and responsibilities of using the British School of Archaeology at Athens as a base for teaching students on the spot in Greece; and last but not least, for both of us as Grecists rather than Romanists, the liberating effects of reaching out later in life from the literary-historical-linguistic-epigraphical world towards the world of sites and monuments and artefacts, an outreach which has already had valuable productive consequences in the form of the Cardiff joint project on houses and communities (Westgate et al. 2007). As in his institution, so in his work, integration has allowed the interplay between related disciplines to generate a productive synergy.

From these various substantial contributions to Classical scholarship I pick out, as the hook for what follows, NREF's Commentary on Aischines' *Against Timarchos*. I do so for the very good reason that the wide-ranging knowledge and expertise which are brought to bear on that complex text, not least in respect of several leading families and individuals of fourth-century Athens, have made that much easier my basic on-going task of extending and updating for a second edition my *Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 BC* of 1971. If what follows focuses on one of those families, it is for a convergence of reasons. First, it is a way of acknowledging in public the exceptional value of such a detailed historical commentary, providing as it does yet one more example of a genre which British classical scholarship has made its own for over a century ever since William Wyse's commentary on Isaios set the gold standard. Secondly, it allows me to acknowledge gratefully the labours of Stephen Lambert, both those directly on display in his epigraphical work and those more indirectly deployed in the organisation of this volume. Thirdly, it is a way of reporting, and to some degree showing, the ways in which scholarship has changed since 1971. Fourthly, it gives me an opportunity to invite readers' comments and suggestions about the most helpful and user-friendly way of organising and presenting the material. Lastly, it shows (I hope) how only the immensely fiddly and time-consuming assemblage of references and details permits a collective and individual profile to emerge out of a rebarbative forest of minutiae, numbers, and square brackets.

The background of the (already embarrassingly protracted) revision process and the details of the envisaged revised format are set out in detail elsewhere (Davies 2010) and need not be repeated here. Pertinent here as essential information are only two points: (a) that for persons who qualify

for entry to the volume, all known primary references and information are to be presented, rather than simply details of family and property; (b) that everything is to be translated or transliterated, in such a way as to make the volume fully accessible to users without Greek or Latin. Each point, however, needs a little elaboration. For the second, I am well aware that for many, ‘accessibility’ is a mealy-mouthed code word for over-simplification and loss of rigour. I can only invite the reader to judge directly from what she sees, in the draft entry which concludes this paper, and to ponder observations published elsewhere (Davies 2009) about the ways in which the user-market has already drastically changed – and will change further. For the first point, readers may already be aware both of the 19 so-far-published volumes of John Traill’s *Persons of Ancient Athens* and of the Attica volume of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (Osborne and Byrne 1994), and may therefore query the need or utility of refurbishing *APF*. Yet between them and *APF* stands a considerable gulf. They present disconnected data: *APF* attempts (when practicable) to tell a family story. They confine themselves to primary evidence: *APF*² will attempt to report all relevant secondary literature and modern scholarship. They offer undiluted text: *APF*² will (I hope) have illustrations as well as revisions of its family trees. Lastly and fundamentally, they offer undiluted Greek: *APF*² will do its best to be readable by the untutored student.

So much for pre-launch advertising: now for the sample. Discussion with Stephen Lambert suggested the figure of Hegesippos, partly because there was new information (to which he was the main contributor) on the family, partly because he figures prominently in Aischines’ speech. Indeed in his *Commentary* NREF had devoted much effort to unpacking the portrait which Aischines provides of the two brothers Hegesippos and Hegesandros, placing them most helpfully within the social context of well-off Athenian men-about-town of the mid-fourth century. My purpose here is to complement that approach by considering them, especially Hegesippos, more politically. The known data of their lives and careers are set out in the Appendix, in a tabulated and wholly unvarnished style appropriate for a reference book. However, those data are not the whole story, for Hegesippos is one of the very few Athenian public figures who can be assessed not just from later references to his activity, but also from his own words – specifically from two decrees, an Assembly speech, and various reported comments. Something of interest and importance emerges.

It is good method to start from the best-preserved document, viz. the speech *About Halonnesos* transmitted as Demosthenes 7, which general consensus (documented in the *Appendix* below) follows Libanios in acknowledging as being Hegesippos’, not Demosthenes’. Its occasion

is 342, responding to a letter sent to Athens by Philip II of Makedon which (to judge from the quotations and summaries in the speech) ostensibly proposes some amendments to the Peace of Philokrates made in 346 but clearly has the sub-text of trying to head off the hostility towards his post-346 actions of which his Athenian friends had no doubt kept him well informed. Hegesippos' response is twofold. In part he rebuts the points made by Philip one by one, doing so systematically, even pedantically. In part he tries to address what Philip's envoys had said, while trying to navigate his way round three major obstacles, (a) that the city *had* after all agreed to make the Peace of Philokrates, (b) that the Assembly had given a very favourable hearing to the speech of Philip's envoy Python of Byzantion, and (c) that his own estimate that Philip's promises absolutely could not be trusted was still very much a minority view which had not yet taken real hold within the Assembly.

The speech is mostly very methodical, precise, and restrained till the very end, when the author explodes a fire-cracker by saying that 'Philip is gaining benefits and reputation at your expense, while as for those Athenians who have more goodwill for Philip than for their country, you ought to be annihilating them (κάκους κακῶς ἀπολωλέναι), at least unless you wear your brains in your heels to be trampled upon' ([Dem.] 7.45). Predictably enough, that image made 'Longinus', as a later connoisseur of the 'Sublime Style', splutter with disapproval (Περὶ ὕψους 38.1). Nor was he alone: for Sealey, 'The speech as delivered...makes a disagreeable impression. Hegesippus finds fault with each item in Philip's letter, sometimes in a petty manner... The arguments offered by Hegesippus are legalistic and tiresome.' (Sealey 1993, 178). For NREF, instead, 'It gives a good impression of a vigorous and belligerent style in support of a very strong anti-Philip line' (Fisher 2001, 204). That is a juster verdict: granted, the speech does not have the linguistic intensity and complex structures of Demosthenes', still less the chattiness of Hyperides', but by that very token it gives us a valuable glimpse at the normal level of speech-making which an Athenian Assembly might reasonably expect to hear from one of its senior and respected advisers – from Aristophon, say, or Euboulos, or even Kallistratos.

However, in one respect Sealey was right, though I should prefer the term 'legal minded' to 'legalistic'. It is impossible to read the speech without reflecting (as Schäfer and Blass did long ago) 'This man thinks like a lawyer', i.e. as one trying to vindicate the validity of decrees and treaties and international law and to defend their applicability against the realities of *force majeure* and chicanery. That takes one's attention back to the vivid final image of the speech which is quoted above. Its interest is not so much

that it is a striking last-minute change of key (one thinks of the famous one at the end of Ravel's *Bolero*) as that it shows the passion and force which had up to that point been kept under control. One may go further, for there is much more going on in this speech than the uncompromising response to Philip's *démarche* which shapes its text on the surface, even when we marry to it the brutally apocalyptic visions of war and death and mourning which his two attested speech-fragments portray (F1–2 Baiter-Sauppe). It is not just about the disputed title to the tiny² eastern Aegean island of Halonnesos, or about whether Philip will 'give' it to the Athenians or 'give it back'. It is also about Poteidaia, Amphipolis, Chersonese, Serrion Teichos, Ergiske, and Hieron Oros. Emotionally we are not in the 340s; we are half-way down the First Stele of the Tribute Quota Lists of the mid fifth century.

Let us leave the speech now in order to look at Hegesippos' other acts and utterances. We have a decree (whatever its date and context) prescribing dire penalties for anyone 'who in the future campaigns against Eretria or against any other of the allied cities, whether (that person is) one of the Athenians or of the Athenians' allies' (RO no. 69). We have a post-Chaironeia decree honouring Akarnanian volunteers who fought with the Athenians and suffered exile in consequence. That decree was not a trivial affair, either, for they are identified by name as 'Phormion and Karphinas, hereditary friends of the Athenian people, grandsons of the Phormion whom the Athenians made an Athenian' (RO no. 77): again the resonances go a long way back in time, to well before 400 (Lambert 2010, 234–5). On the assumption (not always justified, to be sure) that he and his brother were like-minded, one may add to the balance Hegesandros' decree of 356 making provision for a garrison on Andros 'so that Andros shall be safe for the people of Athens and the people of Andros' (RO no. 52). To the concern for Eretria, and thereby for Athenian control of Euboia in general, one may add Hegesippos' willingness to put his hand in his pocket in 341/0 in order to finance the ships which were to be sent to Chalkis. One may add above all Hegesippos' responsibility for the Athenian alliance with Phokis in 356, with its renewal of the military-diplomatic configuration of the mid-fifth century which was aimed at boxing-in Boiotia. If one places all this activity against the background of the repeated emphasis in [Dem.] 7 on Athenian sea-power of the past, what emerges is a man whose agenda, even in the 340s and 330s, is the re-creation and defence of the fifth-century Empire – and the full works, too, not just the renewed 'League' which Aristoteles and Kallistratos had pushed to the limits of prudence in the 370s and 360s.

One further piece of evidence adds another dimension. §40 of the speech quotes a four-line epigram which Hegesippos says was cut on the

altar of Zeus Horios (Zeus of Boundaries), presumably in Chersonese, the wording of which states that it is placed to mark the frontier between Pteleon and Leuke Akte, where, he says, the Persians' canal would have run. The epigram does not actually prove the accusation of boundary transgression which Hegesippos was levelling against Philip, but it does show him up-to-date, joining the fashion of citing poetry and documents, especially inscriptions, in support of one's public or forensic case which took hold in Athens in the 340s (Davies 1996) and which Lykourgos took to manic lengths in his *Against Leokrates*. As with the material which Lykourgos deployed, so too Hegesippos' quotation is of a piece with, and could well derive directly from, the way in which his contemporary Ephoros had been creating 'Greek History' out of the chaotic and inconsistent farrago of legends, documents and monuments, existing narratives, and local self-imaging antiquarianism which was available (Davies, forthcoming). Yet there is a distinction to be made between the uses which Hegesippos (probably born ca. 400) and Lykourgos (born ca. 390) made of such material, in part perhaps due to the slight difference in age. Lykourgos' invocation of the past in his extant speech of 331/0 is intended to show 'the rightness of a type of courageous patriotic behaviour' (Lambert 2010, 226), and though his public activity had the effect, and surely the intention, of renewing Athens' public institutions and fiscal and military-cum-naval strength (Faraguna 1992, *passim*) its focus and impact lay wholly within Attica, resolutely eschewing any gesture towards the Aegean. Hegesippos' agenda contrasts therewith, not just in substance but, as a revealing quotation shows, also in style. Plutarch found in Theophrastos a description of an occasion when 'the allies were demanding that a limit should be placed upon *eisphorai*, and Krobylos the demagogue responded that "War has no fixed rations"'.³ Though Plutarch's citation throws up three interesting historiographical problems,⁴ and though (if one may trust Theophrastos) the echo of Archidamos' *mot* as cited by Thucydides (1.83.2) may have been intentional on Hegesippos' part, what matters is its hard-bitten and unvarnished assertion of what political scientists have called the 'Realist paradigm',⁵ i.e. the view that in the absence of effective control mechanisms international relations are basically anarchic, so that for the sake of security states are compelled to compete with each other 'within a condition of violence or potential violence'. This is not the place to set out in detail the qualifications which have to be made to that paradigm before it can be confidently applied to the fourth-century Aegean,⁶ but rather to adopt it as useful shorthand for the extreme (and insensitive and ultimately self-defeating) approach of Hegesippos and his confrères (notably Aristophon) to the challenge of

resuscitating Athenian power. His was not imperial nostalgia, but an insistence on the hard-faced maximisation of control.

Indeed one may go one step further, and bring his nickname Krobylos ('top-knot' or 'hair-bun') into play – or rather bring into play the message which an intelligent man living in the public eye might have calculated it would send. As the commentators all say (best in Fisher 2001, 203), it echoes an early remark of Thucydides (1.6.3) to the effect that men used to wear their hair this way. The question is whether it was just a way in which a politician tried to make himself stand out from the crowd of would-be leaders, or whether it was a deliberate way of harking back to the past and placing himself emotionally as well as visually within the habits and mindset of an earlier generation. Such thoughts take the discourse beyond the personality and activity of the single individual Hegesippos, and even beyond the hint that he, like the banker Pasion's son Apollodoros (Trevett 1992, 120–1), had read Thucydides to some effect. They also take it into the core of the values and behaviour-patterns of fourth-century Athenian society, i.e. into just that spectrum of images and ambitions to the learned, sane and level-headed exploration of which NREF has devoted so much of his scholarly activity. As so often, it is not the exceptional, once-in-a-century figure like Demosthenes who best opens that window onto behaviour and values but the more normal and straightforward. It is rather Hegesippos who, like the other personalities so vividly portrayed by Aischines, displays behaviour and values which illustrate much of what NREF has written.

Hegesippos was not alone in discovering an inscription which fitted his argument. I find one on my desk which reads:

Ἔδοξε τοῖς ἑταροῖς: ἐπειδὴ Νικόλαος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς
ἐστὶν λέγων καὶ γράφων περὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ
τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐπαινέσαι αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ
στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ.

Resolved by the Companions: whereas Nikolaos is a good man speaking and writing about the Athenians and the Greeks, to praise him for his excellence and to crown him with a crown of olive-branch.

Acknowledgments

Comments offered by Stephen Lambert and Anton Powell have substantially improved this piece since it was first promulgated in Cardiff: my very warm thanks to both.

Appendix

The following draft entry for *APF*² for Hegesippos' family provides the basic background of data which are used in the text above. The absence as yet of numbers for decrees to be republished in *IG II*³ illustrates its draft status, and there may well be other amendments yet. Its typographical format is that intended for *APF*², not that of the present volume. As in *APF*¹, for brevity's sake a minimalist format is used for much-cited works of reference (e.g. a page in a volume of Blass's *Attische Beredsamkeit* is quoted as 'Blass II² 000'): citation-formats for works published since 1971 and used in the extract reproduced below are:

AO R. Develin, *Athenian Officials 584–321 BC* (Cambridge)

RO P. J. Rhodes & R. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC* (Oxford)

The symbol 'Σ' denotes 'Scholiast'. The numbers for individuals used in the heading are those given in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. II, to individual bearers; those cited in the bracket are, first, that assigned to Hegesippos in Traill's *Persons of Ancient Athens*, and second, that assigned in Kirchner's *Prosopographia Attica*. Other scholarly references (e.g. 'Lambert 2001') will be expanded in a Bibliography. (To make this of manageable size, it is currently planned to include a separate bibliography for each group of entries beginning with the same letter.)

HEGESIPPOS 17 son of Hegesias 41 of Sounion {481555/6351}

This family first emerges in the middle of the fourth century at the lower end of the propertied class, two members of the family being *tamiai* of Athene and therefore *pentakosiomedimnoi*. Monies accruing from forensic and political activity presumably lay behind Hegesippos' service as guarantor in 341/0 (see below), but one family liturgist is now probably attested in his own right, viz. the Heg[— of Sounion?] who performed the *entaxia* liturgy in the late 330s (*SEG* LI 80 II.11, with Lambert 2001, 59). Furthermore, though the name Hegesandros is known in four other demes, the way in which Aischines portrays Hegesandros 11 as spendthrift husband of an heiress and as enjoying the lifestyle of the leisure class prompts speculation about a link with the family which figured in Lysias' lost speech *On the estate of Hegesandros* (fr. LV 107 B-S = XXVI Gernet-Bizos). Membership of the *genos* Salaminioi, known only since 1938, gives the family gentilician status in Athenian society (Lambert 1999, 111–12 and 123–4). It is notable, in view of the family's demotic, that no record of the family is found in the mining leases. Either its landed property was not great, or by the fourth century it lay elsewhere in Attika: Salamis itself is an obvious possibility (Lambert 1999, 112).

Hegesias 41, who is not attested in person, had three known sons. Since all are first attested in the 360s, their relative ages are indeterminable (Lambert 1999, 112), though surmises have been offered that Hegias 21 was the eldest (*APF*¹ 6351) or that Hegesandros preceded Hegesippos (Kroll 1924, 712, following Schäfer II² 332 n.2). Birth-years before 400 are probable for all.

(A) One, **Hegias 21**, acted in 363/2 as one of the seven oath-takers from the Sounion branch of the *genos* (*Agora* XIX L4 a = RO 37.73). By then he is likely to have been at least in his forties, since his son Hegesias 42 was *tamias* of Athene in 349/8 (ii.² 1436.7; 2822.9) and therefore presumably born by 379. A dedication by Hegesias 42

to Asklepios in 339/8 (ii.² 1533.22–3, with Aleshire 1991, 124) is the only other record of him. The name of a councillor in 302/1 has been over-restored as that of his son [Hegias Hegesiou So]junieus (*Hesperia* 1 [1933] 45 no.4.6).

(B) A second son, **Hegesandros 11**, is known above all as the secondary target of Aischines I (*Timarchos*) early in 345 (Fisher 2001, 6–8, with Harris 1985 and Wankel 1988). Having himself allegedly received the sexual attentions of his fellow-Salaminius (Lambert 1999, 110–11) Diopieithes 48 of Sounion (Aisch. I 63) and of Leodamas 3 of Acharnai (ib.69–70; 111) in his youth, he is repeatedly portrayed as having kept Timarchos as the younger man, born by 391/0 because councillor in 361/0 (ib.109), as his lover. Notwithstanding a marriage to an heiress (ib.95), he is portrayed as living with Timarchos (ib.64; 154), and as indulging in extravagant gastronomy, carousing, and violence (ib.42; 65; 76, with Davidson 1997, 268–77). The latter behaviour included an assault on a wealthy (ex)-public slave Pittalakos (ib.54–65, with Fisher 2001, 190–1 for his status), whose suit against them is said to have been repeatedly deferred by the arbitrator Diopieithes 48 as a favour to Hegesandros (ib.63).

Aischines presents these events as unfolding when Hegesandros was beginning to speak in Assembly and when he and Aristophon 19 of Azenia were at war (ib.64), Aristophon at one stage threatening to prosecute Hegesandros for *betairēsis* (Σ Aisch. I 64, 146a Dilts, with Todd 1993, 107). Therein lurks a problem, for Aischines states explicitly that he was *tamias* of Athene in 361/0, colluding with Timarchos as councillor in embezzling 1000 dr. (ib. 109–12). That statement sits uneasily with his earlier assertion that his embezzlement of 80 *mnai* while serving as financial officer (his word is again *tamias*) in the Hellespont area for the general Timomachos 4 of Acharnai both allowed him to take up with Timarchos and made him partly responsible for the general's fall (ib.56–7 with Σ ad loc., 127 and 130 Dilts; 95), since Timomachos' activity is firmly placed in 361/0 ([Dem.] L 14, with Heskell 1997, 71–5). Various resolutions are offered (Schäfer II² 331 n.6; AO 269; Heskell 1997, 149; Fisher 2001, 193–5). Of his other political activity (Aisch. I 64) only the proposal of a decree for the protection of Andros (ii.³ XXX[ii.² 123] = RO 52) in early summer 356 and his support for Timarchos in early 345 (Aisch. I 71) are known.

(C) The remaining brother **Hegesippos 17** was active in public affairs from 365 till 337, and was still alive in 325/4 when he must have been near 80 at least. His known public activity (Schäfer II.² 330–3 and *passim*; Hansen 1989, 47; Fisher 2001, 203–4) generated descriptions as 'demagogue' (Theophr. F 145 W. ap. Plut. *Dem.* xvii.4), 'sycophant' (D.L. III 24), and 'Philip-hater' (Σ Aisch. I 55, 126 Dilts). The choice of an eccentrically old-fashioned hair-style gave him the nickname Krobylos ('Topknot' or 'Hair-bun') (Σ Aisch. I 64, 147 Dilts; Harp. s.v. Ἡγήσιππος & κρόβυλος), abusively adopted by Aischines throughout his *Timarchos* (64; 71; 110): the scholia which report him as the butt of comedy for this and other reasons (Σ Aisch. I 71, 161 Dilts) regrettably provide no explicit citations. In public life he:

— accosted Plato in 365, attempting to persuade him not to support Chabrias 2 of Aixone at his trial over the loss of Oropos (D.L. III 23–4);

— unsuccessfully prosecuted Kallippos 54 of Paiania *paranomōn* in or soon after 357 for moving a decree which in effect acknowledged Kardian sovereignty over Athenian possessions in Chersonese ([Dem.] VII 42–3 with hypoth.§3; Hansen 1974, 32–1 no.11);

— proposed the alliance made between Athens and Phokis in 356 (Aisch. III 118, with Σ, 264–5 Dilts; Dem. XIX 72–74), an act in which a hint of corruption has been detected (Σ Aisch. I 71; Anektd. Bekker I 190; Schäfer I² 503 n.4);

— took the leading role in opposing the Peace of Philokrates in 346 (explicitly Dem. XIX 72–4 with Σ, 173 Dilts; not named at Aisch. II 137);

— is portrayed as about to speak in support of Timarchos in early 345 (Aisch. I 71);

— was responsible for the Athenian reply to an embassy from Philip II led by Python of Byzantion ([Dem.] VII 18–29; Schäfer II.² 378–80) in 343, this being perhaps the occasion of the decree of his alluded to in Dem. XVIII 75;

— served in consequence on an Athenian embassy to Philip II ([Dem.] VII 2), being very coldly received (Dem. XIX 331, with Schäfer II.² 380–2);

— served on an Athenian embassy to Peloponnese in 342 (Dem. XIX 72: Σ Aisch. III 83, 181 Dilts);

— is identified by Libanios (hypoth. §§2–4) as the speaker of [Dem.] VII *On Halonnesos* (Schäfer II² 434–42; Blass III² 2, 135–46, with Kroll 1924, 713–14 for defence of authenticity and attribution; Sealey 1993, 177–9) in 342 (D.H. *Amm.* 10), responding to a letter sent by Philip II;

— is reported as advocating war with Philip II in stark terms (Hegesippos F 1 B-S = Theophrastos F 145 W ap. Plut. *Dem.* xvii.4) and F 2 B-S ([Plut] *Mor.* 187D-E and Cramer, *Anecd. Par.* I 166);

— was one of those who stood surety for the value of equipment on warships lent to the Chalkidians in spring 340, being recorded as still owing 845 dr. in 334/3 (ii.² 1623.185–6 & 197–99) and paying 256 dr. in 325/4 (ii.² 1629.543) (Gabrielsen 1994, 204–6; Fisher 2001, 203–4);

— proposed a decree of June 337 to honour certain Akarnanians, evidently volunteers who had fought with the Athenians at Chaironeia and had been exiled as a result (ii.³ XXX [ii.² 237] = *SIG* 259 = RO 77, with references and discussion; Lambert 2010, 234–35); and

— proposed a decree of debated date to punish those who had attacked Eretria (ii.³ XXX [ii.² 125] = *SIG* 191 = RO 69): ascriptions range from 357/6 (earlier editors) through 348 (Dreher 1995: 167–73) to 343 (Knoepfler 1984 and 1995, 338–46); summary of the issue in RO and in Fisher 2001, 252–3. The *eisangeliai* seen by Hansen (1975, 100 no.99) as envisaged by lines 7–9, even if real, need not have been pursued by Hegesippos himself.

Later members of the family are Hegesandros 13 son of Hegesandros 12 of [Souni]on, councillor after 255 (*Agora* XV 88.9; for the date see Stamires 1957, 43 n.49), and Hegias 22 of Sounion, councillor in 173/2 (archon Alexis) (*Agora* XV 206.75). The name of the Athenian general whose receipt of the honour of a bronze statue from no fewer than 25 Greek communities between 154 and 152 (Habicht 1997, 268) is recorded on monuments at Oropos (*I. Oropos* 433) and Delphi (*FdD* III.2, 135= *SIG*³ 654, in part also *CID* IV 112, with full references) was restored very speculatively in *FdD* as H[egesandros? son of He]ges[andros? of Sounion?], but is perpetuated in *LGPN* and *PAA* accordingly.

Notes

¹ Cf. the brief sketches by Guy Bradley and NREF in *CA News* 41 (2009), 6–8.

² But not insignificant: its name ‘Salt-Island’ suggests that it was or could be a productive asset, and the brief sketch of it (as Άγιος Ευστράτιος) in the British Naval Intelligence Division’s handbook on Greece (III 390–2) reports other products.

³ Theophrastos F 145 W *ap.* Plut. *Dem.* 17.4.

⁴ First, Plutarch elsewhere attributes the phrase (which became proverbial: Themistios 8.113b Dindorf and Theod. Metoch. 541 Müller) to Archidamos (*Crassus* 2.9; *Moralia* 190a; *Moralia* 219a, where it is given to Archidamos son of Agesilaos; *Agis and Kleomenes* 27.3). Secondly, the famous Thucydidean version (‘War is mostly a matter not of weapons but of money’, 1.83.2) makes a wholly different point. The route of transmission to Hegesippos therefore remains obscure. Thirdly, Plutarch makes Theophrastos use the term *eisphorai* (the internal Athenian monetary levy) instead of the term *syntaxis* adopted within the Second League. Whose lapse that was is indeterminable.

⁵ Cf. Eckstein 2006, ch. 2, ‘Realist paradigms of interstate behavior’, with literature there cited: quotation in the text from p. 12.

⁶ Set out by Eckstein 2006, ch. 3.

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LOCAL ENVIRONMENT, MEMORY,
AND THE FORMATION OF THE CITIZEN
IN CLASSICAL ATTICA

Robin Osborne

This is a paper about the different ways in which the past related to the present in Athenian demes, about the living and the dead and about the role of memory. The focus is on the interrelationships of individuals inside the community. That second sentence repeats the opening of Nick Fisher's second sentence in the Preface to *Social Values in Classical Athens*. That book was a milestone in the study of classical Athens. On the one hand it drew attention to, and, more importantly, made it possible to draw undergraduate attention to, the whole web of Athenian life neglected by studies focused on the politics of Athenian democracy (and even by the rather wider gaze thrown by Jones' *Athenian Democracy*). On the other it gave a context into which the specialist studies that had been appearing in the 1960s (such as Lacey's *The Family in Classical Greece*, or Hands's *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome*) could be slotted to make the picture that they gave comprehensible and link it to the political history that still dominated the educational curriculum in ancient history at every level. Overtaken in the 1980s, in many ways unfortunately, by the JACT *World of Athens* volume as a teaching tool, *Social Values in Classical Athens* represents the point at which the new agenda of Greek history was translated into exemplary pedagogic practice for a world now beginning to be prepared to recognize that teaching history could be done in translation.

My focus on the interrelationships of individuals inside the community differs from Nick's focus almost thirty-five years ago in two ways. The interrelationships with which he was concerned were interrelationships between living individuals, between members of a family, of a phratry, of a deme, on the one hand, and between the parties in a court case on the other. The relationships that I want to flag are relationships between present and past, sometimes between people and their individual and collective memories, often between living and dead. Second, I want to ground those interrelationships – quite literally; I am interested in the ways

in which the spaces through which the residents of Athens move variously link them to their own past and to the past of the various groups to which they belong. In anchoring the life of individuals and social groups in both space and time, I hope to pay suitable homage to a scholar whose Cardiff career runs from *Social Values* to *Building Communities*.

How present relates to past, and the role that memory plays in shaping the experience of the present, have been prominent on the intellectual agenda in the last twenty years. Even before the events of September 11 gave the whole topic a new dimension, scholars were concerning themselves with *How Societies Remember*, with *Social Memory*, with *Landscape and Memory*, with *The Architecture of Memory*; since the late 1980s there had been a journal *History and Memory*.¹ Scholars have been interested both in how their memories shape the lives of people and groups, and in the relationship of what people remember and the stories they tell to past reality. In the modern world concern with oral history particularly concerns classes of people and types of subject neglected by written records.² Within archaeology and the study of ancient Greece issues of memory have similarly concerned both what we can reconstruct about earlier times from stories handed down over the generations, and also the way in which monuments remaining from the past played an active role in the lives of later generations. The former concern has been prominent primarily in the study of the remains of Bronze Age Greece and what was made of them, of archaic Greece, and of the issue of Messenian identity.³ In the study of classical Athens those who have thought about memory and forgetting have done so mainly in the context of the institutionalized amnesia of the amnesty enforced after the oligarchic coup of the Thirty.⁴ But a focus on occasions where there was an urgent need to recall, or to forget, obscures the way in which all our lives are constantly played out against both our own memories and the memories which others have shared with us. The argument that ‘this is how our ancestors did it’ is one that is always waiting to be mobilised, whether by reactionary politicians invoking ‘the ancestral constitution’, speakers in court alleging that behaviour fell short of traditional expectations, or speakers of laudations who invoked the glories of the past to encourage future emulation.⁵ The degree to which fourth-century Athens lived off and in the shadow of memories of the Athenian past has long been a dominating question, both in the context of understanding Athenian imperialism in the fourth century and in the context of Athenian reconstruction under Lykourgos.⁶

In this paper I am not concerned with memorials of the sorts of events that narrative historians, ancient and modern, concern themselves with, or spaces that were on the ancient, as on the modern, visitor’s itinerary. It is

not the memory of major political and military events or the influence of particular individual memorials that I am concerned to trace. My concern is with the many and varied ways in which a society plots its past on a landscape, and with the many and varied ways in which a landscape plots the past on the society which inhabits it. How, I shall ask, do the formal and informal memorials of the past experienced on a day-to-day basis in the course of normal life shape people's expectations and attitudes.

Why? Few individuals spend all their lives in one place. The environment in which they grow up gives them a set of expectations. When they move, temporarily or permanently to new places, their reaction to those places is affected by how those places compare with the places in which they grew up. The impression made by the 'memorial landscape', whether crowded or desolate, of the place to which they move will depend on how that landscape compares to the memorial landscape with which they were previously familiar. So much is a truism – as in the claim that 'travel broadens the mind'. But when people move not simply to see sights but to take part in a wider community, how they react to the new space crucially affects their ability to play an effective part.

Consider, for instance, the different impact that Olympia or Delphi had on different visitors. There can be little doubt that visitors previously used to living in communities where only the dedications in the local temple and barely marked graves in the local cemetery gave any visual hint at any sort of personal story from the past – a visitor from Arcadian Orchomenos, say⁷ – would find the wealth of different sorts of monuments and the range of personal stories relating to virtually the whole Greek world on display at Olympia a quite alien experience: suddenly a world distant in space and time is given very specific co-ordinates. Were such visitors made to feel more or less in control? It is hard to know where to begin in assessing what the social or political effect of that experience might be on any particular visitor. So too we might speculate, following Thucydides' famous observation at 1.10, on the effect of visiting Sparta, with its minimal monumental acknowledgement of its past history, upon a Xenophon brought up in an Athens already crowded with architectural and sculptural memorials of events recent and not so recent. When related to individuals, the value of such speculation depends upon how confident we can be about our reconstruction of individual psycho-history in antiquity – and it is rare that we can have any confidence at all – but when we ask about the effects of such experiences on groups we stand on surer ground.

My interest here is not in reconstructing the more or less traumatic effects on individual Athenians of being made to remember or forget, but in how Athenians' relations to the past were shaped by their demes, by