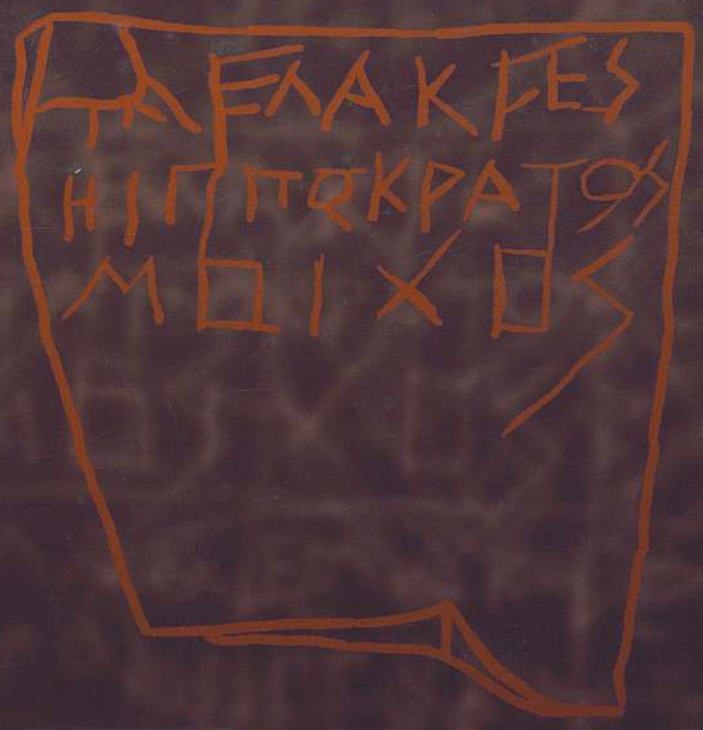
OXFORD

ATHENIAN DEMOCRATIC ORIGINS

AND OTHER ESSAYS



G. E. M. DE STE. CROIX

Athenian Democratic Origins

and other essays

G. E. M. DE STE. CROIX

Edited by

David Harvey

and

Robert Parker

With the assistance

of Peter Thonemann

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS
Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP
Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide in
Oxford New York
Auckland Cape Town Dar es Salaam Hong Kong Karachi
Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Nairobi
New Delhi Shanghai Taipei Toronto
With offices in
Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece
Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan Poland Portugal Singapore
South Korea Switzerland Thailand Turkey Ukraine Vietnam
Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press
in the UK and in certain other countries
Published in the United States
by Oxford University Press Inc., New York

First published 2004

First published in paperback 2005

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Data available

Typeset by SPI Publisher Services, Pondicherry, India
Printed in Great Britain
on acid-free paper by
Biddles Ltd., King's Lynn, Norfolk

ISBN 0–19–925517–2 978–0–19–925517–7
ISBN 0–19–928516–0 (Pbk.) 978–0–19–928516–7 (Pbk.)

1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

Contents

Parkins, H., and Smith, C., eds., *Trade, Traders and the Ancient City* (1998)
Reed, C. M., *Maritime Traders in the Ancient Greek World* (2003)
Rhodes, P. J., 'The Polis and the Alternatives', *CAH*^{2} VI (1994)
Ridgway, D., *The First Western Greeks* (1992)
Tsetskhladze, G., and De Angelis, F., eds., *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation* (1994)
Wilson, J.-P., 'The ''illiterate trader''?', *BICS* 42 (1997–8) 29-56

10

But what about Aegina?

This essay, written (it seems) in 1965 or 1966, fulfils the promise made by Ste. Croix in *OPW* 267 n. 61: 'I propose to demonstrate in detail elsewhere that even the governing class of Aegina was not at all the ''mercantile aristocracy'' it is so often assumed to have been, but a small, rich landowning class of archaic type,' and again ('as I hope to show shortly', referring to the status of Naucratis) in a review in *JHS* 87 (1967) 179.

A further promise appears at *OPW* 265: 'I hope shortly to deal elsewhere with the civic, social and economic status of Greek merchants in the Classical period.' Apparently Ste. Croix had intended to include a piece on this subject in his *Essays on Greek History*, which would no doubt have made use of material from his lecture course on the economic background of Greek politics (see *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 111 (2001) 460). Indeed, a note attached to the typescript of the present chapter reads: 'This is a revised first draft, providing material to be used—probably in quite a different form—at the end of my ''Trade and Politics'' chapter.' This explains why the opening paragraph of this essay contains phrases that imply a preceding discussion ('what I have called', 'my picture'), and why the reader was instructed to 'see above' on various topics*—maritime loans (n. 11), the Athenian coinage decree (n. 74) and Andocides (n. 98)—and, perhaps, why the essay stops so abruptly (n. 110).

'His picture' puts Ste. Croix firmly on the 'primitivist' side of the long-standing 'primitivist/ modernist' debate about the nature of the ancient economy (on which see Finley, *AE* and *BMC*, Cartledge, TPR, and Scheidel & von Reden).

Finley, M. I., *AE* = *The Ancient Economy* (1975; 2nd edn. 1985, reissued by Penguin Books 1991; updated edn. ed. I. Morris 1999)
—, *BMC* = (ed.), *The Buecher-Meyer Controversy* (1979)
Scheidel, W., and von Reden, S., *The Ancient Economy* (2002)

* These 'non-references' have been adjusted in the present version.

One of the leading Manichees of St. Augustine's day felt that he was scoring a useful point off the Catholics when he asked, in effect, how they could accommodate the scorpion in their scheme of things.[1] I have often been reminded of this when those who belong to what I have called the 'modernising' school say to me, 'Ah, but what about Aegina?'. Augustine found no difficulty with the scorpion, and Aegina will fit very nicely into my picture.

The almost universal tendency to assume that Aegina, an island of only about 85 square kilometres, 'must have been' an 'industrial and trading city',[2] governed by some kind of mercantile ruling class, a *Handelsaristokratie* ['trade aristocracy'], even a *Kaufmannsaristokratie* [mercantile aristocracy],[3] rests upon no evidence whatever: there is not in any source, as far as I know, any basis for believing that the governing class of Aegina at the time of her

[1] See Augustine, *De Mor. Manich.* (VIII) 11 (*PL* XXXII 1349–50). The Manichee maintained that evil was a *substantia*, and the essence of his proof, as represented (or misrepresented) by Augustine, was that the scorpion was both evil and a substance.

[2] Among many statements by modern scholars which might be quoted, I shall single out a few characteristic examples (with my italics): (a) Meyer, *GdA* III^2 503 (Aegina the most important '*Handelsstadt*' of the whole Saronic Gulf area in the late Archaic period); *Kleine Schriften* I^2 (1924), 113–14 (Aegina in the sixth century 'vielleicht *das bedeutendste Handelsemporium der griechischen Welt . . . Seine* Schiffe befahren alle Meere, *seine* Kaufleute gewinnen fabelhafte Reichtum, neben der *Handelsflotte* steht eine starke Kriegsflotte; *eine rege Industrie, die grossen Sklavenmassen* beschäftigt, entwickelt sich auf der Insel'); (b) Busolt, *GS* I 164, 168 (Aegina described as '*die bedeutende Industrie- und Handelsstadt*'); (c) Beloch, *GG* I^2 i 279; II^2 i 25, 77; *BGRW* 96; (d) Holm *HG* I 428. [The author intended to add further examples.]

[3] One of the most confident proponents of this view was Eduard Meyer: see *GdA* IV^3 i 399 (Aegina mentioned among the many 'Handels- und Industrie-staaten' in which '*eine neue kaufmännische Aristokratie*' arose, which 'auf dem Capital und dem Besitz von *Schiffen, Fabriken, Sklaven* beruht und *den alten Adel in sich aufnimmt*'); III^2 583 ('Nur auf Ägina fand die Tyrannis keinen Boden; hier bestand von Anfang an *die rein merkantile Politik*, zu der Korinth nach dem Sturz der Kypseliden gelangte'), 707 ('In Korinth führen *die Kaufleute ein weises und stabiles Regiment* . . . Nicht viel anders werden die Zustände in Ägina gewesen sein'); *Kl. Schr.* I^2 (1924) 194 ('Im manchen griechischen Staaten hat *die Kaufmannsaristokratie* die Herrschaft gewonnen, so in Ionien, in Ägina, in Rhodos, ebenso in Karthago') (my italics throughout). See also (again with my italics) Adcock, in *CAH* IV 26 (Aegina '*the jealous island of merchants*'); Walker, *ibid.* 263–4 ('In Aegina there was . . . *an aristocracy of merchant princes*'); Busolt, *GS* I 191 n. 1 (*Vorwiegend oder ausschliesslich Grosshändler und Fabrikanten* waren die Kapitalisten in Aigina, Korinthos, Milet und andern Städten'); Kahrstedt, in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 1926, at p. 104 ('Ferner etwa wäre Aigina nachzutragen als Beleg dafür, dass *der Adel anfängt Handel zu treiben*, man denke an *die hochfeudalen Stammbäume der aiginetischen Handelsherren* bei Pindar').

greatness, in the sixth century and the first half of the fifth, was any different from the other landowning oligarchies of that time. That it was in any sense 'mercantile' in composition is a pure supposition a priori. Yet Glotz and Cohen, for example, can say confidently, 'Son aristocratie ne fut jamais une classe de propriétaires fonciers; elle se composa toujours d'industriels, de négociants et d'armateurs' ['her aristocracy was never a class of landed proprietors; it was always made up of manufacturers, merchants and ship-owners']; Aegina had 'une politique obstinément mercantile' [a persistently mercantile policy].[4] Other scholars have spoken in much the same vein.

Hasebroek of course protested against this picture, but his treatment of Aegina (*TPAG* 51–3) was sketchy and inaccurate, and the 'modernisers' could afford to take little notice of him. And then, in 1938, there appeared two monographs devoted entirely to Aegina: Gabriel Welter, *Aigina*, a publication of the German Archaeological Institute, and Hans Winterscheidt, *Aigina. Eine Untersuchung über seine Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft*, a Cologne dissertation by a pupil of Hasebroek. These two publications were given a long review by E. Kirsten, in *Gnomon* 18 (1942) 289–311 [henceforward Kirsten, 'Review'], with several pages[5] devoted to an examination of the social and economic problems. Winterscheidt, working in Hasebroek's own university, evidently felt he could take for granted both Hasebroek's conception of early Greek society in general and his 'neues Bild' [new image] of Aegina in particular, without detailed refutation of rival views. He was mainly content, therefore, to point out that the usual theory of an Aeginetan 'commercial aristocracy' is entirely devoid of foundation, and to replace this with a collection of the evidence for a governing class of fairly typical archaic Greek pattern. Denying altogether, with Hasebroek, the existence of large-scale Greek trade (*Grosshandel*), he believed that the only citizens of Aegina to take part in mercantile activity came from the lower classes. Doubtless he also believed that a great part of the trade of the island was in the hands of men who were not citizens of Aegina at all, but—perhaps by an oversight—he does not seem to state this explicitly.

[4] *HG* I 315; cf. 480 ('*Les oligarchies commerçants* de Mégare, de Chalcis et d'Égine').

[5] Esp. 297–301, cf. 294–5, 302, 303, 304.

Kirsten, rejecting Hasebroek's general viewpoint, was very critical of Winterscheidt's 'neues Bild' of Aegina; but (as will appear presently) the course of reasoning which led him to reject it was essentially a priori, and we shall see that even those of his arguments which are not entirely misconceived contain fallacious presuppositions of a type which is familiar in the works of the 'modernising' school. Asking himself the question who carried on the trade of Aegina, nobles or subject demos, or metics, Kirsten ('Review', 297 ff.) notes that according to Winterscheidt it was members of the demos (conceived as humble Dorians, not as *Hörige* ['subjects']), and he goes on to say that Welter follows the predominant view, that trade was in the hands of nobles and metics. He himself prefers what he conceives as a solution intermediate between the two. However, this characterisation of Welter's view[6] seems to me not to give a fair impression of what Welter actually says. I can find not a word in Welter's little book, or in his series of 'Aeginetica' in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*,[7] about direct participation in trade on the part of the Aeginetan ruling class. In fact Welter[8] sees 'die herrschende dorische Oberschicht' ['the ruling Dorian upper class'] as 'konservativ, landgebunden' ['conservative landowners, strongly attached to their estates']—rightly, in my opinion. With them he contrasts the lower-class citizens, among whom were to be found not only the sculptors but also 'die Schiffsbesitzer, die als Kapitäne auf eigenem Schiff Handel trieben' ['the ship-owners, who practised trade as captains of their own ship']. He then goes on at once to say quite explicitly, 'Der Handel lag zum grössten Teils im Händen der Metöken' ['trade lay for the most part in the hands of the metics']; and later he speaks of 'die vordorische und Metöken-Bevölkerung, die bewegliche Trägerin des Handels' ['the pre-Dorian and metic population, the active representatives of trade']. Welter sees the ruling class as concerned with trade in only one way: 'das Prinzip der äginetischen Handelspolitik' [the principle of Aiginetan trade

[6] See esp. his Review, 297 ('W[elter] folgt der herrschenden Meinung') and 300 n. 1, where Kirsten represents Welter as seeing '*neben dem Grosshandel der aiginetischen Herren* noch ein Seedarlehensgeschäft' with metics. I can find nothing in Welter corresponding to the words I have italicised. But see n. 9 below.

[7] *AA* (1938) 1–33 ('Aeginetica' I–XII), 480–540 (*Id.* XIII–XXIV), and (1954) 28–48 (*Id.* XXV–XXXVI): see esp. (1954) 29–30 (§ XXV).

[8] *Aig.* 96, 99, with 31; cf. *AA* (1954) 29–30 (§ XXV).

politics] can be defined, according to him, as 'Sicherung des Metöken zur Hebung der Darlehensgeschäfte' ['ensuring the metic's security in order to encourage loan businesses']. It was the 'umfangreichen Schiffsdarlehngeschäfte des reichen äginetischen Adels' ['extensive maritime loan businesses of the wealthy Aiginetan aristocracy'] which brought large numbers of foreign merchants to settle in Aegina as metics. The state profited from the poll tax on the metics and the taxes on imports: these were its principal sources of revenue.

On the other hand, Welter (*Aig.* 30) speaks of a large and growing 'merchant fleet' (*Handelsflotte*) as a possession of 'die oligarchische Adelsregierung' ['the oligarchic regime of the aristocrats']: it is not clear to me whether he conceives the ships as in public or private ownership, or how he thinks they were manned; but at any rate he clearly does not suppose that the great men had any direct participation in trade.[9] In addition to the *Kleinhandel* [retail trade] revealed by the archaeological evidence, he insists—without of course being able to produce any reasons—upon the existence of a *Grosshandel* ['wholesale trade'] (which has admittedly left no trace in the archaeological record) in raw materials (cereals, ore and wine), slaves and *Schiffsfracht* ['freight'],[10] especially with Asia Minor, Egypt and the Black Sea. Here, he attributes an important role to a factor I have already mentioned: 'extensive mercantile loans by the wealthy Aeginetan aristocracy'. Kirsten objects to this that *Seedarlehensgeschäft* ['mercantile loans, bottomry'] is a phenomenon which does not appear until later ('Review', 300 n. 1); and here I think he is very probably right, although this cannot actually be proved. As I have said elsewhere, all we know is that bottomry loans were a well-established institution by the end of the fifth century.[11] I should be surprised

[9] Cf. *Aig.* 96–9. Perhaps it was his statement on p. 30 (see above) that misled Kirsten?

[10] *Aig.* 30–1. His statement is repeated with approval by W. Kraiker, *Aigina. Die Vasen des 10. bis 7. Jahrh. v. Chr.* (Deutsches Archäol. Inst., Berlin, 1951) 12.

[11] [See Ste. Croix's 'Ancient Greek and Roman Maritime Loans' in *Debits, Credits, Finance and Profits* (Esssays in honour of W. T. Baxter), ed. H. Edey and B. S. Yamey (1974), 41–59. Claims for earlier examples remain dubious (Cartledge, TPR 182 n.19): the practice cannot be traced back with any confidence earlier than 421 BCE (see Harvey in *ZPE* 23 (1976) 233). The two recent discussions by P. Millett, 'Maritime Loans and the Structure of Credit in Fourth-Century Athens', in P.Garnsey *et al.* (eds.), *Trade in the Ancient Economy* (1983), 36–52,

myself if they appeared much before the mid-fifth century, but of course it is quite possible that they were invented in the sixth, and I suppose that even a seventh-century origin is just conceivable.

Welter's picture, then, can neither be proved correct nor convincingly disproved. To my mind, Aeginetan *Grosshandel* ['wholesale trade'] and the giving of bottomry loans by the nobility of the archaic age are to be rejected; but I would certainly accept the remaining elements in Welter's picture: the personal participation in foreign trade of poor citizens, and an even greater mercantile activity on the part of metics—and, of course I would add (for the reasons I have explained [in *OPW* 264–7]), other foreigners.

Welter, Winterscheidt and Kirsten between them cite nearly all the relevant evidence and bring forward most of the possible arguments, but with very varying effectiveness, and on several matters they are very far from having said the last word. I think my best method of approach is a piecemeal one: without trying at this stage* to develop any continuous argument, I shall attack our problem from various different directions, one after another, analysing significant pieces of evidence in so far as they exist, but sometimes merely exposing 'modernist' presuppositions or criticising arguments that seem to me invalid.

(I)

I begin with the one glimpse we have of internal politics at Aegina: the unsuccessful revolution led by Nicodromus (Hdts VI 88–91), just before or after the battle of Marathon,[12] when Herodotus tells us (VI 91.1) that Αἰγινητέων οἱ παχέες ἐπαναστάντος σφι τοῦ δήμου ἅμα Νικοδρόμῳ ἐπεκράτησαν ['the wealthy Aeginetans prevailed over the demos, when they rose up against them along with Nicodromus'], massacring seven hundred after others had escaped by ship with their leader. Apart from the fact that Nicodromus had conspired with the Athenians to betray Aegina to them, the purpose of the revolution is not explicitly stated by Herodotus, but the revolutionaries must certainly have intended, with Athenian help, to broaden the class of those entitled to exercise political rights, if not to set up a complete democracy on something like the Athenian model. Nicodromus himself was a man of some distinction [VI 88]. No clue is given to the social composition of his followers: doubtless they included well-to-do citizens outside the governing oligarchy as well as many humble men. I find it interesting that the term Herodotus uses for the Aeginetan oligarchy, οἱ παχέες, is a word he applies elsewhere only to the Hippobotai of Chalcis (V 77.2) and the wealthy class of Naxos (V 30.1) and Sicilian Megara (VII 156.2), to whom no one, I think, will wish to attribute a mercantile complexion. Seven hundred is a very large number of victims, out of a citizen population of only a few thousand (see Section (v) below), and it may well be an exaggeration; but it is easy to believe that every potential democratic leader who did not escape with Nicodromus was killed. What probably remains in the minds of most readers of Herodotus is the vivid picture of the unknown man whose severed hands were left grasping the door handles of the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros, at which he had vainly tried to take refuge (VI 91.2)—giving an impression of the ferocity of the rulers of Aegina[13] which was no doubt calculated by Herodotus, whether or not he was the dupe of Athenian propaganda.

When the island capitulated to Athens c. 457 (Thuc. I 108.4; Diod. XI 78.4) the strength of the Aeginetan aristocracy was broken, probably for ever, and there may well have been some democratisation of the constitution. In 431 the Athenians expelled the Aeginetans altogether and installed colonists of their own; and we are told by Thucydides (II 27.1–2) that while some of the Aeginetans were dispersed throughout Greece, some were settled by the Spartans at Thyrea. The latter were slaughtered by the Athenians when they captured Thyrea in 424 (Thuc. IV 56.2–57), and although some of the others were brought back to the island by Lysander in 404 (Xen., *Hell.* II ii 9), when the oligarchy will certainly have been restored, the old aristocracy can never

and at pp.188–96 in his *Lending and Borrowing in Ancient Athens* (1991) (with notes at 305–8), a 'selective restatement' (305 n.17) of parts of his earlier article, are, as he says (305 n.17), 'dependent on the fundamental study by de Ste. Croix'. For further treatment of the subject, see now Charles Reed, *Maritime Traders in the Ancient Greek World* (2003).]

* [This phrase strongly suggests that Ste. Croix originally intended to provide further discussion.]

[12] Contrast the chronology of A. Andrewes, in *BSA* 37 (1936–37) 1–7, with that of N. G. L. Hammond, in *Historia* 4 (1955) 406–11, approved by L. H. Jeffery in *AJP* 83 (1962) 44–54. [Further bibliography in the Afterword.]

[13] Cf. also IX 78–9, with n. 29 below.

have fully regained its old position, and Aegina was never again a power of any real importance.

(II)

I come now to some evidence about the Aeginetan ruling class which is unequivocal. Pindar, the great poet of the first half of the fifth century whom we have good reason to connect with 'the international aristocracy of Greece' (as Wade-Gery has aptly called it, *EGH* 246), wrote more than twice as many of his surviving epinician odes for Aeginetan victors in the four great Panhellenic festivals as for men from any other state: not to mention a fragment composed for an unknown victor, there are no less than eleven in all, written for ten different Aeginetans,[14] three of them trained by the great Melesias of Athens,[15] and most of them belonging to clans[16] the names of which are rehearsed in such a way as to show that they are blue-blooded. The great names ring out: the Bassidai, παλαίφατος γενεά [clan of ancient fame],[17] with no less than twenty-five triumphs at the Panhellenic Games, and more crowns won in the boxing ring than any other house in Greece; the Blepsiadai, Chariadai, Euxenidai, Midylidai, Psalychidai, Theandridai.[18]

[14] *Ol.* VIII (Alcimedon); *Pyth.* VIII (Aristomenes); *Nem.* III (Aristocleides); IV (Timasarchus); V (Pytheas); VI (Alcidamas); VII (Sogenes); VIII (Deinis or Deinias); *Isth.* V and VI (Phylacidas); VIII (Cleandros); IX Snell (victor unknown) = fr. 1 Bowra. [See n. 28 for recent work on Pindar and *xenia*.]

[15] See *Ol.* VIII 54 ff.; *Nem.* IV 93 ff.; VI 66 ff. (For Pindar's Melesias as the father of the Athenian politician Thucydides, see Wade-Gery, *EGH* 244–6; [T.J. Figueira has more recently devoted a lengthy chapter (8) in his *Excursions in Epichoric History* (1993) to this shadowy but important figure.]) Another Aeginetan victor, Pytheas, was trained by Menander of Athens: Pind. *Nem.* V 48–9; Bacchyl. XIII 191–8.

[16] They are πάτραι, and πάτρα is the Doric word corresponding to γένος: see Busolt, *GS* I 133 n. 6.

[17] *Nem.* VI 31; cf. 32–46, 8–27. H. Knorringa, *Emporos* (1926) 16–17, absurdly treats the metaphor that follows, in line 32 (ἴδια ναυστολέοντες ἐπικώμια [conveying their own praises]), as 'an allusion to the trading practices of this Aeginian house'. (Contrast Knorringa's interpretation of the metaphor in *Nem.* III 19–23.) And Hasebroek (*TPAG* 21), the German original of whose book was published two years after Knorringa's, also takes the metaphor literally: he says, 'The sea voyages which the noble families of Aegina undertook, and from which, according to Pindar, they acquired great renown, were plundering expeditions, and had nothing to do with commerce at all.'

[18] *Ol.* VIII 74–84, cf. 15–18 (Blepsiadai); *Nem.* VIII 44–8, cf. 16 (Chariadai); *Nem.* VII 70, cf. 90–4 (Euxenidai); *Pyth.* VIII 35–42, cf. 19, 71–2, 78–80 (Midylidai); *Isth.* VI 57–73, cf. 3–7, 16, with V 17–22, 53–6, and *Nem.* V 4–5, 41–6 (Psalychidai); *Nem.* IV 73–96, cf. 13–22 (Theandridai). See Welter, *Aig.* 130–1.

Two of the epinician odes of Bacchylides were also written for Aeginetans,[19] one of them for the Nemean pancratiast Pytheas son of Lampon, whose victory Pindar also celebrated.[20] Several other famous Aeginetan athletes are known to us from other sources:[21] among them is Crius, undoubtedly that Crius[22] son of Polycritus who bandied words with Cleomenes of Sparta and whose son Polycritus later distinguished himself as a trierarch at Salamis.[23] All these men will have belonged, like the family of Crius, to the governing oligarchy.[24]

Pindar, 'the most articulate voice of that aristocratic order for which Thucydides [the son of Melesias] stood' (Wade-Gery, *EGH* 251), is far louder and more heartfelt than convention demanded in his praise of Aegina. Just as Bacchylides declared that Aegina was guided by Areta and Eukleia and Eunomia (XIII 175–89), so for Pindar she was a εὔνομος πόλις [law-loving city].[25] (It is an ironical commentary on the meaning of εὐνομία in the mouth of a Greek aristocrat that Pindar's poem,[26] and probably that of Bacchylides,[27] should have been written within a few years of the

[19] XII and XIII, ed. B. Snell.

[20] *Nem.* V. Two of Pindar's *Isthmians*, V and VI, were written for Pytheas' younger brother, Phylacidas. An Aeginetan named Pytheas was a Naopoios at Delphi in 346 (*SIG*^{3} 241 B. 79), but of course he need not have belonged to the same family.

[21] e.g. Pherias, Praxidamas and Theognetus, of whom there were statues at Olympia (Paus. VI xiv 1; xviii 7; ix 1), also Taurosthenes (Paus. VI ix 3; Ael., *VH* IX 2). A list is given by Winterscheidt *Aig.* 48 n. 111. Part of a bronze plaque from the base of Pherias's dedication has been discovered: *SEG* XI 1231; and see Jeffery *LSAG* 112–13 (no. 21).

[22] Simonides, fr. 507 (Page).

[23] Hdts VI 50.2–3 and 73.2; VIII 92.1 and 93.1[on this incident see also pp. 427–8, 435 below].

[24] If, as is quite possible, Pindar, *Nem.* III 67–70 (with Schol.), is speaking of a θεάριον which was the official meeting place or residence of state magistrates called θεαροί (θεωροί), who are known elsewhere (see Busolt, *GS* I 508), then Aristocleides was presumably a member of that board; but I hardly think this is certain (cf. Winterscheidt, *Aig.* 26 n. 37). [See Figueira *ASP* 314–21.] Unfortunately, 'wir wissen über die Verfassung von Aigina erst recht nichts' (Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* (1922), 277).

[25] *Isth.* V 22. Another city Pindar praises as the home of Eunomia is oligarchic Corinth, where Dika and Eirena also dwell: *Ol.* XIII 6–7.

[26] *Isth.* V has been dated between late 480 and 476. It must have been written (or at any rate finished) after the battle of Salamis, because of lines 48–50.

[27] Various dates, between 489 and 481, have been proposed for Bacchyl. XIII, which is coeval with Pind., *Nem.* V. Pindar's complimentary reference to Athens

have fully regained its old position, and Aegina was never again a power of any real importance.

(II)

I come now to some evidence about the Aeginetan ruling class which is unequivocal. Pindar, the great poet of the first half of the fifth century whom we have good reason to connect with 'the international aristocracy of Greece' (as Wade-Gery has aptly called it, *EGH* 246), wrote more than twice as many of his surviving epinician odes for Aeginetan victors in the four great Panhellenic festivals as for men from any other state: not to mention a fragment composed for an unknown victor, there are no less than eleven in all, written for ten different Aeginetans,[14] three of them trained by the great Melesias of Athens,[15] and most of them belonging to clans[16] the names of which are rehearsed in such a way as to show that they are blue-blooded. The great names ring out: the Bassidai, παλαίφατος γενεά [clan of ancient fame],[17] with no less than twenty-five triumphs at the Panhellenic Games, and more crowns won in the boxing ring than any other house in Greece; the Blepsiadai, Chariadai, Euxenidai, Midylidai, Psalychidai, Theandridai.[18]

[14] *Ol.* VIII (Alcimedon); *Pyth.* VIII (Aristomenes); *Nem.* III (Aristocleides); IV (Timasarchus); V (Pytheas); VI (Alcidamas); VII (Sogenes); VIII (Deinis or Deinias); *Isth.* V and VI (Phylacidas); VIII (Cleandros); IX Snell (victor unknown) = fr. 1 Bowra. [See n. 28 for recent work on Pindar and *xenia*.]

[15] See *Ol.* VIII 54 ff.; *Nem.* IV 93 ff.; VI 66 ff. (For Pindar's Melesias as the father of the Athenian politician Thucydides, see Wade-Gery, *EGH* 244–6; [T.J. Figueira has more recently devoted a lengthy chapter (8) in his *Excursions in Epichoric History* (1993) to this shadowy but important figure.]) Another Aeginetan victor, Pytheas, was trained by Menander of Athens: Pind. *Nem.* V 48–9; Bacchyl. XIII 191–8.

[16] They are πάτραι, and πάτρα is the Doric word corresponding to γένος: see Busolt, *GS* I 133 n. 6.

[17] *Nem.* VI 31; cf. 32–46, 8–27. H. Knorringa, *Emporos* (1926) 16–17, absurdly treats the metaphor that follows, in line 32 (ἴδια ναυστολέοντες ἐπικώμια [conveying their own praises]), as 'an allusion to the trading practices of this Aeginian house'. (Contrast Knorringa's interpretation of the metaphor in *Nem.* III 19–23.) And Hasebroek (*TPAG* 21), the German original of whose book was published two years after Knorringa's, also takes the metaphor literally: he says, 'The sea voyages which the noble families of Aegina undertook, and from which, according to Pindar, they acquired great renown, were plundering expeditions, and had nothing to do with commerce at all.'

[18] *Ol.* VIII 74–84, cf. 15–18 (Blepsiadai); *Nem.* VIII 44–8, cf. 16 (Chariadai); *Nem.* VII 70, cf. 90–4 (Euxenidai); *Pyth.* VIII 35–42, cf. 19, 71–2, 78–80 (Midylidai); *Isth.* VI 57–73, cf. 3–7, 16, with V 17–22, 53–6, and *Nem.* V 4–5, 41–6 (Psalychidai); *Nem.* IV 73–96, cf. 13–22 (Theandridai). See Welter, *Aig.* 130–1.

Two of the epinician odes of Bacchylides were also written for Aeginetans,[19] one of them for the Nemean pancratiast Pytheas son of Lampon, whose victory Pindar also celebrated.[20] Several other famous Aeginetan athletes are known to us from other sources:[21] among them is Crius, undoubtedly that Crius[22] son of Polycritus who bandied words with Cleomenes of Sparta and whose son Polycritus later distinguished himself as a trierarch at Salamis.[23] All these men will have belonged, like the family of Crius, to the governing oligarchy.[24]

Pindar, 'the most articulate voice of that aristocratic order for which Thucydides [the son of Melesias] stood' (Wade-Gery, *EGH* 251), is far louder and more heartfelt than convention demanded in his praise of Aegina. Just as Bacchylides declared that Aegina was guided by Areta and Eukleia and Eunomia (XIII 175–89), so for Pindar she was a εὔνομος πόλις [law-loving city].[25] (It is an ironical commentary on the meaning of εὐνομία in the mouth of a Greek aristocrat that Pindar's poem,[26] and probably that of Bacchylides,[27] should have been written within a few years of the

[19] XII and XIII, ed. B. Snell.

[20] *Nem.* V. Two of Pindar's *Isthmians*, V and VI, were written for Pytheas' younger brother, Phylacidas. An Aeginetan named Pytheas was a Naopoios at Delphi in 346 (*SIG*^{3} 241 B. 79), but of course he need not have belonged to the same family.

[21] e.g. Pherias, Praxidamas and Theognetus, of whom there were statues at Olympia (Paus. VI xiv 1; xviii 7; ix 1), also Taurosthenes (Paus. VI ix 3; Ael., *VH* IX 2). A list is given by Winterscheidt *Aig.* 48 n. 111. Part of a bronze plaque from the base of Pherias's dedication has been discovered: *SEG* XI 1231; and see Jeffery *LSAG* 112–13 (no. 21).

[22] Simonides, fr. 507 (Page).

[23] Hdts VI 50.2–3 and 73.2; VIII 92.1 and 93.1[on this incident see also pp. 427–8, 435 below].

[24] If, as is quite possible, Pindar, *Nem.* III 67–70 (with Schol.), is speaking of a θεάριον which was the official meeting place or residence of state magistrates called θεαροί (θεωροί), who are known elsewhere (see Busolt, *GS* I 508), then Aristocleides was presumably a member of that board; but I hardly think this is certain (cf. Winterscheidt, *Aig.* 26 n. 37). [See Figueira *ASP* 314–21.] Unfortunately, 'wir wissen über die Verfassung von Aigina erst recht nichts' (Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* (1922), 277).

[25] *Isth.* V 22. Another city Pindar praises as the home of Eunomia is oligarchic Corinth, where Dika and Eirena also dwell: *Ol.* XIII 6–7.

[26] *Isth.* V has been dated between late 480 and 476. It must have been written (or at any rate finished) after the battle of Salamis, because of lines 48–50.

[27] Various dates, between 489 and 481, have been proposed for Bacchyl. XIII, which is coeval with Pind., *Nem.* V. Pindar's complimentary reference to Athens

slaughter that ended the revolution headed by Nicodromus. Those severed hands, whether or not they troubled the poets, may awaken a certain feeling of uneasiness in the mind of the modern reader who is invited to contemplate the happy internal condition of aristocratic Aegina.) Aegina in Pindar is a πόλις θεοφιλής ['city loved by the gods'] (*Isth.* VI 65–6), near to the Graces, ἁ δικαιόπολις ['the city of justice'] (*Pyth.* VIII 22), with unsullied glory from the first (*ibid.* 24–5), famous for her men (*ibid.* 25–32), the sons of Aeacus with their golden chariots (*Isth.* VI 19), renowned for her ships, ναυσικλυτὸς Αἴγινα (*Isth.* IX 1–2 Snell = fr.1 Bowra; *Nem.* V 9)—and these, of course, are not mere merchant ships: Aegina is δολιχήρετμος (*Ol.* VIII 20), long-oared, and Pindar is thinking of the exploits of her warships, above all at Salamis, which he recalls gratefully in the *Fifth Isthmian* (lines 48–50).

Above all, perhaps, one notices in the two poets allusions to Aeginetan hospitality (ξενία), the friendliness and justice shown by the Aeginetans to ξένοι, a subject dear to the hearts of Pindar and Bacchylides. It is an absurd error to treat this as essentially mere friendliness to traders.[28] Lampon, father of a εὐάεθλος γενεά ['race of fine athletes'], for whose sons Phylacidas and Pytheas Pindar wrote three epinicians,[29] is loved, says Pindar (*Isth.* VI 70), for his ξένων εὐεργεσίαι ['kindnesses to strangers']; and

(line 49) suggests that a state of war did not exist at that time between Athens and Aegina (cf. n. 12 above).

[28] The truth was seen by Winterscheidt, *Aig.* 29–31, and his conclusion was accepted even by Kirsten, 'Review', 298 (but see n. 30 below). Among passages in Bacchylides and Pindar referring to ξενία and ξένοι which are not mentioned below, see Bacchyl. I 145–50; V 6–14, 49; Pind., *Ol.* I 103–5; II 5–6; XIII 1–3; *Pyth.* III 68–71; X 64–6; *Nem.* I 19–24, with IX 1–3; VII 61; *Isth.* II 23–4, 47–8; and esp. *Ol.* IV 4–5 (ξείνων δ' εὖ πρασσόντων ἔσαναν αὐτίκ' ἀγγελίαν ποτὶ γλυκεῖαν ἑσλοί ['when friends fare well, good men are straightway delighted at the sweet news']). In *Nem.* VII 64–5, Pindar records with pride his own προξενία of 'the Achaeans', i.e. apparently the Molossians. [On Pindar and ξενία see now S. Instone (ed.), *Pindar: Selected Odes* (1996), 3–5, I.L. Pfeijffer, *Three Aiginetan Odes of Pindar* (1999), 62–3, 101–3, 111–13 and S. Hornblower, 'Pindar, Herodotus and Aigina', a paper delivered at the Institute of Classical Studies, London, on 7 Nov. 2002 (publication forthcoming). Note however the imagery from the traditional aristocratic pursuits of agriculture (lines 9–11) and hunting (14) in *Nemean* VI.]

[29] *Nem* V; *Isth.* V and VI. This Lampon is very probably the Λάμπων ὁ Πυθέω, Αἰγινητέων ⟨ἐὼν⟩ τὰ πρῶτα [Lampon son of Pytheas, one of the leading men of the Aeginetans], mentioned in Hdts IX 78–9, even if the story there told of him is a malicious Athenian slander. (Cf. How and Wells, *CH* II 321).

Bacchylides, who praises the very same Lampon for his ξενία φιλάγλαος ['splendid hospitality', XIII 224–5], apostrophises the nymph Aegina as δέσποινα παγξε[ίνου χθονός ['mistress of an all-hospitable land', XIII 95], and in a fragment from another epinician, addressed to yet another Aeginetan champion wrestler, says that πότνια Νίκα ['lady Victory'] has sent him to ξένοι in the happy island (XII 4–7). For Pindar, Aegina is not simply τὰν πολυξέναν . . . νᾶσον Αἴγιναν ['the welcoming island of Aegina', *Nem.* III 2–3], a divine pillar set up by some ordinance of the Immortals for παντοδαποῖσιν . . . ξένοις ['foreigners of all kinds'] (may it be for ever so, *Ol.* VIII 25–9): she is φίλαν ξένων ἄρουραν ['a land which is kind to strangers, *or* a land that strangers love', *Nem.* V 8], and more, she is the island where Themis, daughter of Zeus Xenios, is honoured above all (*Ol.* VIII 21–3), a universal beacon δίκᾳ ξεναρκέι ['in its justice in protecting foreigners', *Nem.* IV 12–13]; which has received not only a ναυπρύτανιν δαίμονα ['ship-ruling fortune'] but τὰν θεμίξενον ἀρετάν ['the virtue of honouring foreigners', *Paean* VI 130–1], her men οὐ θέμιν οὐδὲ δίκαν ξείνων ὑπερβαίνοντες ['transgressing neither divine right nor the justice due to foreigners', *Isth.* IX 6]. We know very well what Pindar and Bacchylides mean when they speak like this: Aegina is a city where aristocratic hospitality, 'guest friendship', flourishes in abundance, and the ξένοι she receives so nobly are above all the guest-friends of her own aristocracy, coming to her as Castor and Pollux once came to Pamphaës, ἐπὶ ξενίαν ['for hospitality', *Nem.* X 49], or as the Theandrid Timasarchus, one of Melesias' pupils, came to Pindar's city, φίλοισι γὰρ φίλος ἐλθὼν ξένιον ἄστυ κατέδρακεν ['coming as a friend to friends, he beheld the welcoming city', *Nem.* IV 22–3]. No doubt such a community is hospitable, by Greek standards, to *all* strangers: some of the ξενία which a Lampon delights to show men like Bacchylides is very likely to be extended, in a rather different form, even to visiting traders.[30] The landed aristocrat, ἔχων κρέσσονα πλούτου μέριμναν ['who has a concern which goes beyond wealth'] (as Pindar says approvingly—or is it warningly?—of Aristomenes the Midylid, *Pyth.* VIII 91–2), much as he may despise the foreign trader who brings him what he wants, is likely to cultivate and

[30] See Winterscheidt, *Aig.* 58. I do not see why Kirsten, in his Review, should think this an admission 'seiner These gegenüber inkonsequent'.

protect him. A ruling merchant class, on the other hand, nearly always tries to exclude, or at least restrict and hamper, its foreign competitors. Pindar gives us only a fleeting glimpse, I think, of the mercantile activity which certainly did go on at Aegina: this is when he wishes that his sweet song will spread from the island ἐπὶ πάσας ὁλκάδος ἔν τ' ἀκάτῳ ['on every ship and in every boat', *Nem.* V 2]. There is nothing here of an '*Aeginetan* merchant fleet': Pindar is thinking of all the merchants who trade from and with Aegina.

It is most interesting and significant that in Isocrates' *Aegineticus* (XIX)—the only forensic speech we possess from the Classical Greek period delivered to a non-Athenian audience—there are constant echoes of the emphasis on ξενία and φιλία which we find in Pindar. We are in the same world of rich gentlemen (see esp. §§ 7, 13, 36), who even if they are exiled from their homes (§§ 11, 12, 20–7, 31, 38–9) have their ξένοι (§§ 10, 18, 22, cf. 5) and φίλοι[31] who will help them. Thus it is, I am sure, that the unwilling Greek concubine of Pharandates, whose father was Hegetoridas the Coan, a man distinguished enough to be the guest-friend of Pausanias the Regent of Sparta, wanted to go to Aegina when she was set free (Hdts IX 76), doubtless because she knew that in Aegina of all places she could rely on help from the ξένοι of her father's family. It is a proud boast of the speaker of the *Aegineticus*, a man of the highest society in Siphnos, that he is inferior to none in his friends (περὶ τοὺς φίλους), and he claims that he had with the deceased (whose property he is claiming, as an adopted son) a φιλίαν . . . παλαιὰν καὶ πατρικήν ['ancient and ancestral friendship'] (Isocr. XIX 50, cf. 10, 13 etc.). The whole atmosphere is as different as it could be from that of the usual Athenian forensic oration: the speaker is a gentleman who knows he is speaking to gentlemen and delights to stress gentlemanly virtues. The speech is generally agreed to date from the late 390s,[32] when the island was still within the Spartan sphere of influence. Ever since the restoration by Lysander of such of the exiles as survived, Aegina will certainly have been under an oligarchic government, doubtless patterned to some extent upon the

[31] There are constant references to φιλία and φίλοι in the speech: see §§ 10, 13, 17, 29, 32, 34, 38, 48, 50.

[32] See G. Mathieu and É. Brémond, in the Budé edition of Isocrates [1928], I 91–2 ('probably 391 or 390').

old aristocracy, even if most of the old noble families had virtually disappeared in the half-century of Athenian dominance or in the massacre after the capture of Thyrea.[33]

(III)

There is scarcely any trace of Aeginetan industry or manufacture,[34] and certainly not a suggestion anywhere that Aegina ever had a large export industry, even of the bronzes which were certainly made on the island. In the period of Aegina's greatness, in the sixth and early fifth centuries, it seems that no painted pottery was manufactured there. One or two archaeologists, [for example] Weinberg in 1941,[35] have made tentative suggestions that Aegina may have been the place of manufacture of certain early decorated ceramic wares which have usually been taken to be Corinthian in origin; but no convincing argument has ever been produced in favour of this, and since Kraiker's positive and convincing dismissal of such speculations,[36] I think they can safely be disregarded. Earlier, in the late eighth and seventh centuries, it is possible that some of the vases we know as Protoattic were made, or at any rate painted, on Aegina,[37] the one place apart from Attica

[33] See p. 377 above.

[34] The only references to industry in Aegina which are worth mentioning are the statements in Pliny (*NH* XXXIV 8, 10–11, 75) about Aeginetan bronze-work. I know of no authority for saying there was a perfume industry in Aegina: Theophr., *De Odor.* (VI) 27 (p. 368, ed. F. Wimmer) simply says the best κρόκινον grew 'in Aegina and Cilicia'; cf. Athen. XV 689D.

[35] S. S. Weinberg, in *AJA* 45 (1941) 30–44, at p. 43. M. Robertson, in *BSA* 43 (1948) 1 ff., at p. 53, said he was not convinced.

[36] Kraiker, *op. cit.* (in n. 10 above) 11–13, who points out that Weinberg's two groups of Protocorinthian Geometric are not so distinct, when we take account of the difference between them both and other wares, as to warrant our assigning to them different places of manufacture. He emphasises the significance of the contrast between Aegina, which imported vases from a large number of different states, and real centres of manufacture such as Corinth and Athens, which produced their own wares and imported little.

[37] [Ste. Croix alludes to pottery in the so-called Black and White Style. The claims of Aegina have been advanced most fully by S. Morris, *The Black and White Style: Athens and Aegina in the Orientalising Period* (1984); Boardman, who is apparently not convinced, provides a brief account in his *Early Greek Vase Painting* (1998) at 89–90, with bibliography at 278.] The evidence consists of two inscriptions painted on sherds found in Aegina: one (Jeffery, *LSAG* 110, and 112 no. 1) of about the last decade of the eighth century, in a script which might be Aeginetan or Attic, and the other (*ibid.* no. 2) of the mid-seventh century, in a script recognisably Aeginetan. Miss Jeffery makes the interesting comment, 'That an Aiginetan should

where Protoattic has been discovered in some quantity; but of course any such small-scale industry will hardly have continued after about 625. Not that I would place any particular emphasis on the failure of Aegina to develop the manufacture of painted pottery—here we must again remind ourselves of the salutary warning of R. M. Cook (BBKGH, esp. 114, 122–3) not to exaggerate the importance of this industry in the economy of Greek states or judge the extent of their manufactures by it. In this case it is the absence of evidence for a large export industry of any kind that is significant: there is no reason to suppose that even Aeginetan bronzes were manufactured in large quantities, although their artistic quality may have been very high. I of course would rate the volume of industrial production by Greek states in general much lower than some historians: here again I would refer to Cook's conclusions concerning Athenian fine ceramics (*ibid.*, also 115–16, 118–21). For Aegina we can at least conclude that whatever the sources of wealth of the ruling class, only an insignificant proportion can have come from industry.

(IV)

The literary sources preserve the names of just two 'Aeginetan merchants', each of them famous in his own way:

(a) The first, Sostratus son of Laodamas, was evidently a citizen of Aegina. The one ancient reference to him, Hdts IV 152.3, is often handled in a very unsatisfactory manner. Kirsten, for example, says, 'Der Reichtum des Sostratos . . . , auf Spanienfahrten erworben, ist gewiss nicht eines Kleinhändlers, sondern des Vermittlers von Erz' ['The wealth of Sostratos . . . acquired on journeys to Spain, is certainly not that of a small trader, but of a dealer, in ore'].[38] It is of course perfectly possible that Sostratus traded in Spanish silver; but the laconic statement of Herodotus gives no

have been employed on Attic pottery in the midst of the ἔχθρη παλαιή [ancient enmity] is not impossible, for the unbroken series of Attic ware from the eighth century onwards found at various sites on the island shows that, whatever were their feelings of hostility towards each other, Aigina did not cease to have commercial intercourse of some kind with Athens'; and she adds a reference to T. J. Dunbabin's article, 'ἔχθρη παλαιή', in *BSA* 37 (1936–7) 83 ff. esp. 84.

[38] Kirsten, 'Review', 299. The same ideas are to be found in Welter, *Aig.* 29, 102 (with a date in the second half of the seventh century, which is far from certain [see Afterword]).

such details, nor does it provide any support for conceiving Sostratus as a merchant on a grand scale, a member of the imaginary *Kaufmannsaristokratie* ['mercantile aristocracy'] of Aegina. Describing how Colaeus of Samos and his crew made an enormous profit, of some 600 talents, out of *a single voyage* to Tartessus (about 630 B.C.), Herodotus says that it was the greatest profit ἐκ φορτίων ['from merchandise'] made by any Greek 'after Sostratus the son of Laodamas, for with him no one can be compared'. (He gives no indication of Sostratus' date.) The most natural assumption is surely that Sostratus, like Colaeus, made his vast profit from a single very successful voyage. Whether Sostratus already belonged to the ruling class or whether his great wealth enabled him or his descendants to enter it, and whether he went on trading afterwards or (as I would certainly expect) settled down to live the life of a gentleman, we simply do not know. Such glimpses as we have of the Aeginetan ruling class, from the first half of the fifth century, show us an aristocracy of typical Greek archaic pattern, with not a hint of a mercantile complexion anywhere (see Section (ii) above). Eduard Meyer (*GdA* III^2 496) was entirely unjustified, of course, in stating, solely on the strength of Herodotus' mention of Sostratus, that since about the end of the seventh century 'the Aeginetans' were among the richest 'Kaufleute' [merchant peoples] of all Hellas.

(b) The only other 'Aeginetan trader' we can name is Lampis, famous in the mid-fourth century as the richest of all Greek *nauklēroi*—and a metic, to whom, although he had spent a great deal of money on their city and its port, the Aeginetans, according to Demosthenes,[39] gave no greater privilege than immunity from their metics' tax. In Plutarch's day two anecdotes were still told of Lampis: in one he himself comments on the way his wealth came to him, at first slowly and then quickly;[40] and in the other he is the butt of a scornful Spartan witticism.[41]

[39] Dem. XXIII 211. The exact date of the speech is disputed, but I would accept 353/2.

[40] Plut., *Mor.* 787A (= *An Seni* 6); *Comm. in Hes.* fr. 39; Stob. XXXIX 87.

[41] Plut., *Mor.* 234F (*Apophth. Lac.* 48); Cic., *TD* V 40. This Lampis must not be confused, as he is by Obst in *RE* XII I (1925) 580 and Welter, *Aeg.* 43, 107 (*s.a.* 322 B.C.), with the Lampis we encounter some thirty years later in Ps.-Dem. XXXIV, *naukleros* and moneylender, but a much more insignificant figure, who is described as a slave of Dion and apparently lived at Athens (Ps.-Dem. XXXIV 5–49, esp. 5, 6, 10, 11, 36–7).

where Protoattic has been discovered in some quantity; but of course any such small-scale industry will hardly have continued after about 625. Not that I would place any particular emphasis on the failure of Aegina to develop the manufacture of painted pottery—here we must again remind ourselves of the salutary warning of R. M. Cook (BBKGH, esp. 114, 122–3) not to exaggerate the importance of this industry in the economy of Greek states or judge the extent of their manufactures by it. In this case it is the absence of evidence for a large export industry of any kind that is significant: there is no reason to suppose that even Aeginetan bronzes were manufactured in large quantities, although their artistic quality may have been very high. I of course would rate the volume of industrial production by Greek states in general much lower than some historians: here again I would refer to Cook's conclusions concerning Athenian fine ceramics (*ibid.*, also 115–16, 118–21). For Aegina we can at least conclude that whatever the sources of wealth of the ruling class, only an insignificant proportion can have come from industry.

(IV)

The literary sources preserve the names of just two 'Aeginetan merchants', each of them famous in his own way:

(a) The first, Sostratus son of Laodamas, was evidently a citizen of Aegina. The one ancient reference to him, Hdts IV 152.3, is often handled in a very unsatisfactory manner. Kirsten, for example, says, 'Der Reichtum des Sostratos . . . , auf Spanienfahrten erworben, ist gewiss nicht eines Kleinhändlers, sondern des Vermittlers von Erz' ['The wealth of Sostratos . . . acquired on journeys to Spain, is certainly not that of a small trader, but of a dealer, in ore'].[38] It is of course perfectly possible that Sostratus traded in Spanish silver; but the laconic statement of Herodotus gives no

have been employed on Attic pottery in the midst of the ἔχθρη παλαιή [ancient enmity] is not impossible, for the unbroken series of Attic ware from the eighth century onwards found at various sites on the island shows that, whatever were their feelings of hostility towards each other, Aigina did not cease to have commercial intercourse of some kind with Athens'; and she adds a reference to T. J. Dunbabin's article, 'ἔχθρη παλαιή', in *BSA* 37 (1936–7) 83 ff. esp. 84.

[38] Kirsten, 'Review', 299. The same ideas are to be found in Welter, *Aig.* 29, 102 (with a date in the second half of the seventh century, which is far from certain [see Afterword]).

such details, nor does it provide any support for conceiving Sostratus as a merchant on a grand scale, a member of the imaginary *Kaufmannsaristokratie* ['mercantile aristocracy'] of Aegina. Describing how Colaeus of Samos and his crew made an enormous profit, of some 600 talents, out of *a single voyage* to Tartessus (about 630 B.C.), Herodotus says that it was the greatest profit ἐκ φορτίων ['from merchandise'] made by any Greek 'after Sostratus the son of Laodamas, for with him no one can be compared'. (He gives no indication of Sostratus' date.) The most natural assumption is surely that Sostratus, like Colaeus, made his vast profit from a single very successful voyage. Whether Sostratus already belonged to the ruling class or whether his great wealth enabled him or his descendants to enter it, and whether he went on trading afterwards or (as I would certainly expect) settled down to live the life of a gentleman, we simply do not know. Such glimpses as we have of the Aeginetan ruling class, from the first half of the fifth century, show us an aristocracy of typical Greek archaic pattern, with not a hint of a mercantile complexion anywhere (see Section (ii) above). Eduard Meyer (*GdA* III^2 496) was entirely unjustified, of course, in stating, solely on the strength of Herodotus' mention of Sostratus, that since about the end of the seventh century 'the Aeginetans' were among the richest 'Kaufleute' [merchant peoples] of all Hellas.

(b) The only other 'Aeginetan trader' we can name is Lampis, famous in the mid-fourth century as the richest of all Greek *nauklēroi*—and a metic, to whom, although he had spent a great deal of money on their city and its port, the Aeginetans, according to Demosthenes,[39] gave no greater privilege than immunity from their metics' tax. In Plutarch's day two anecdotes were still told of Lampis: in one he himself comments on the way his wealth came to him, at first slowly and then quickly;[40] and in the other he is the butt of a scornful Spartan witticism.[41]

[39] Dem. XXIII 211. The exact date of the speech is disputed, but I would accept 353/2.

[40] Plut., *Mor.* 787A (= *An Seni* 6); *Comm. in Hes.* fr. 39; Stob. XXXIX 87.

[41] Plut., *Mor.* 234F (*Apophth. Lac.* 48); Cic., *TD* V 40. This Lampis must not be confused, as he is by Obst in *RE* XII I (1925) 580 and Welter, *Aeg.* 43, 107 (*s.a.* 322 B.C.), with the Lampis we encounter some thirty years later in Ps.-Dem. XXXIV, *naukleros* and moneylender, but a much more insignificant figure, who is described as a slave of Dion and apparently lived at Athens (Ps.-Dem. XXXIV 5–49, esp. 5, 6, 10, 11, 36–7).

(V)

It has often been maintained that the ruling class of Aegina cannot have been primarily landed, because of the small size and infertility of the island. Against this two lines of argument can be developed:

(a) First, the infertility of Aegina has been greatly exaggerated, as the evidence collected by Winterscheidt proves.[42] Strabo's description of the island is worth quoting: ἡ δὲ χώρα αὐτῆς κατὰ βάθους μὲν γεώδης ἐστί, πετρώδης δ' ἐπιπολῆς, καὶ μάλιστα ἡ πεδιάς · διόπερ ψιλὴ πᾶσά ἐστι, κριθοφόρος δὲ ἱκανῶς ['its land is fertile to some depth, but is rocky on the surface, especially in the plain; for this reason it is completely bare, although it produces a fair amount of barley', VIII 6.16, p. 375]. (I shall discuss presently the significance of the statement Strabo makes a little later, on the authority of Ephorus, about the λυπρότης τῆς χώρας [poverty of the soil] driving the inhabitants to sea trading.)

(b) Of course no *Grossgrundbesitz* [large-scale landed property] in any absolute sense can be attributed to the Aeginetans. But there is an essential fact we must take into account: Aegina throughout its great period was a class oligarchy, and if the aristocrats were few (as they clearly were) and virtually monopolised not only the powers of government but also what good land there was, they could be quite wealthy landowners, according to the very modest standards of ancient Greece. Even in a community the total wealth of which was not above the average,[43] such men might be conspicuously rich, simply because they were few as well as all-powerful. Some of the Aeginetans were said to have 'great fortunes' in the fifth century (Hdts IX 80.3; cf. V 81.2; and see below); but, Aeginetan society being what it was, their affluent situation is likely to have been balanced by a great deal of poverty among the non-privileged, the great majority of the population. Moreover, rich Aeginetans could afford proudly to display their wealth, to be

[42] *Aig.* 7–8. See esp. E. C. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region and its Relation to Ancient History* (1932), 415, for the way in which the Aeginetans used the underlying mineral fertilisers to increase the agricultural productivity of their stony top soil.

[43] The Aeginetans *as a whole* need not have been more than averagely rich. The very large annual tribute, of 30 talents, paid to Athens by the Aeginetans for some 26 years, down to their expulsion in 431, certainly suggests a prosperous community; but the high assessment may have been a deliberate attempt by Athens to penalise her old and irreconcilable enemy.

ostentatiously rich, in a way that would have been dangerous in a democracy like Athens, where a wealthy man who was taken to court would want to be able to plead that he had used his riches not entirely in selfish ways, but for the benefit of the city and his less fortunate fellows. Even in prosperous Athens, with one notorious and misleading exception,[44] the largest estates we hear of are of no more than about 70 acres ([c. 28 hectares], the alleged size of the ancestral estate of Alcibiades, Plato, *I Alc.* 213E), worth perhaps something of the order of four or five talents (see Lys. XIX 29, 42). An Aeginetan noble with no more land than that, who did not have to fear prosecution before an unsympathetic popular court, might make conspicuous display of all the wealth he had, and cut a figure which even richer Athenians might not think it prudent to emulate. Blue blood, and more than sufficient land to live σωφρόνως καὶ ἐλευθερίως ['with temperance and liberty'], according to Aristotle's definition (*Pol.* II 1265[a]28–38, esp. 32–3), with an exceptional concentration upon athletic pursuits, would suffice to content a Greek aristocrat who was a member of a community too small and too much encompassed by larger and stronger neighbours to hope for empire, but who had firm control of the government and did not have to suffer the mortification of living under a democracy.

There is an important and neglected piece of evidence which gives strong support to the view I have put forward, of a citizen population divided into a few 'haves' and a very much larger number of 'have-nots': the fact that Aegina put only the strikingly insignificant number of 500 hoplites into the field in the campaign of Plataea in 479[45]—compared with 8,000 from Athens, 5,000 from Corinth and 3,000 each from Megara and Sicyon. It certainly looks as if a handful of oligarchs owned most of the land and wealth in the island down to the Athenian conquest in the mid-fifth century, and a high proportion of the citizens (in the broadest sense) were not of hoplite census. These poor citizens would be used as light-armed

[44] See my 'The Estate of Phaenippus (Ps.-Dem. XLII)', in *ASI* (Ehrenberg) 109–14.

[45] Hdts IX 28.6. With the Persian fleet destroyed, the homeland was in no danger and could not have needed a garrison. Probably there were some Aeginetan hoplites, as well as Aeginetan ships, with the Greek fleet which fought at Mycale (of 110 ships in all, according to Hdts VIII 131.1, with 132.3; 133; IX 90.1 ff.); but we hear nothing about them (cf. Hdts IX 105).

and, with slaves,[46] as rowers in the fleet, for which the highest recorded number of ships is 70,[47] at about the time of Marathon.[48] If all the 70 Aeginetan ships in c. 490 were triremes (cf. n. 47), the adult male population of the island, including slaves, must have been well over 14,000, the total of the crews; but this tells us nothing about the total number of hoplites. The whole adult male citizen population, I should say, will certainly have been well under 10,000. Beloch estimated this number at 2,000–2,500,[49] and his figures have been accepted by Busolt and others.[50] Winterscheidt[51] seems to have misunderstood Beloch's figures as referring only to hoplites (which Beloch in fact believed not to exceed 'a few hundred'),[52] and on this basis he put the adult male citizens at 6,000–7,000; but I myself would prefer a figure rather nearer Beloch's. The size of the governing oligarchy cannot legitimately be guessed at: it may have been even smaller than the hoplite class.

Herodotus (IX 80.3) naively attributes the origin of 'the great fortunes of the Aeginetans' to the fact that they bought very cheaply ('as gold for bronze') much of the booty obtained from the Persians at Plataea, which was secreted by the Helots and sold off to them. No doubt this sort of thing did happen, whether on a large or small scale; but the notion that Αἰγινήτῃσι οἱ μεγάλοι πλοῦτοι ἀρχὴν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένοντο ['the great fortunes of the

[46] Slaves were evidently used as rowers by many Greek states in the fifth and fourth centuries, e.g. by Corcyra in 433, when nearly four-fifths of the total number on board seem to have been slaves (Thuc. I 55.1: 800 out of 1,050 prisoners); by Chios in 412 (Thuc. VIII 15.2); and by the Peloponnesian fleet based in Aegina in the later stages of the Corinthian war (Xen., *Hell.* V I 11). On the inflated figure of 470,000 Aeginetan slaves given by Athenaeus, see § 13 below.

[47] Hdts VI 92.1. They were defeated by the 70 (*ibid.* 89) ships of Athens. Winterscheidt, *Aeg.* 34, thinks they were 'obviously' not triremes but penteconters; but I cannot accept this.

[48] Cf. n. 12 above. At Artemisium the Aeginetans had only 18 ships (Hdts VIII 1.2), certainly all triremes, and at Salamis only 30 (Hdts VIII 46.1), but we are expressly told by Herodotus that besides these, their best sailers, they had more ships in commission which they kept to guard their island.

[49] Beloch, *BGRW* 122–3, and in *Klio* 5 (1905), at p. 364 n. 1; cf. 359, and *Klio* 6 (1906), at pp. 56–7.

[50] See e.g. Busolt, *GG* I^2 450 n. 4; *GS* I 168 [and Afterword, p. 414 below].

[51] *Aig.* 39 ff.: see esp. 39 n. 78: 'Die Zahl der *waffenfähigen* männlichen Vollbürger schätzt Beloch auf 2000–2500' (my italics).

[52] See the passages cited in n. 49 above, esp. *Klio* 6 (1906) 56 ('es kann sicher aber bei der Kleinheit der Insel nur um wenige Hundert handeln'), and the table on p. 57, where the number of 500 is given for hoplites.

Aeginetans have their origin in this'], though it is retailed by Herodotus as a fact, without so much as a λέγουσιν ['they say that . . .'], must be a great exaggeration of what actually happened, a silly slander picked up from the Athenians. There was already considerable wealth in the island by the early fifth century, on Herodotus' own showing: he speaks of the Aeginetans as being already εὐδαιμονίῃ μεγάλῃ ἐπαρθέντες ['elated by their great prosperity'] when they began their πόλεμος ἀκήρυκτος ['unheralded war'] against Athens (V 81.2). It was certainly for πλοῦτος καὶ γένος ['wealth and birth'] that the leading families of Aegina were distinguished before ever the Persian wars began: Herodotus (VI 73.2) uses this phrase when describing the hostages taken by Cleomenes in 491, who included Crius the athlete (Section (ii) above) and another, οἵ περ εἶχον μέγιστον κράτος ['who possessed the greatest (political) power'].

(VI)

Great stress has been laid by writers of the 'modernising' school upon a citation of Ephorus in Strabo's description of Aegina.[53] Strabo asserts, on the authority of Ephorus, that Pheidon was the first to strike silver coins, and that he did so in Aegina:[54] Ἔφορος δ' ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἄργυρον πρῶτον κοπῆναί φησιν ὑπὸ Φείδωνος ['Ephorus says that silver was first struck into coins in Aegina, by Pheidon']. Strabo then continues immediately (no doubt still quoting Ephorus), ἐμπόριον γὰρ γενέσθαι [sc. Αἴγιναν] διὰ τὴν λυπρότητα τῆς χώρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων θαλαττουργούντων ἐμπορικῶς, ἀφ' οὗ τὸν ῥῶπον Αἰγιναίαν ἐμπολὴν λέγεσθαι ['for Aegina became a trading-centre, since because of the poverty of the land her people plied the sea as traders; whence small-wares are called Aeginetan merchandise']. (We may compare the fragment of Hesiod, quoted by the scholiasts on Pindar,[55] crediting the Myrmidons of Aegina with being the first people to build ships and give them sails.)

[53] Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F 176 (cf. 115), ap. Strab. VIII 6.16, p. 376.

[54] The run of the sentence shows that this is what Strabo took Ephorus to mean, and not merely that the first coins of Aegina were struck by Pheidon.

[55] Hes., fr. 205 (Merkelbach/West), ap. Schol. Pind. *Nem.* III 21 (III p. 45. 1–8) and *Ol.* VIII 26d (I p. 242.19–22). [The 'Myrmidons' are explained by Strabo VIII 6.16 (p.375).]

I shall deal with the question of Aegina's early coinage presently (section (vii)). I need say nothing about the alleged 'Pheidonian' coinage of Aegina, since this myth—which first appears (among surviving sources) in this fragment of Ephorus and is not in Herodotus (see VI 127.3)—has been effectively demolished by W. L. Brown.[56] It is the latter part of the statement of Strabo (Ephorus) which interests us here. Far from providing evidence in favour of Aeginetan *Grosshandel* [wholesale trade], conducted by the ruling class, it shows that Ephorus was thinking only of the most petty kind of trade—conducted, therefore, by small men. And the evidence of Ephorus agrees very well with what we find in other sources. The reputation of the Aeginetan merchants was proverbial—but as *petty* traders, παντόπωλαι, ῥωπόπωλαι, dealers in all sorts of trash. According to Strabo, as we have just seen, Ephorus said τὸν ῥῶπον Αἰγιναίαν ἐμπολὴν λέγεσθαι ['small-wares are called Aeginetan merchandise'], and in the lexicographers it is precisely as hucksters who deal in all kinds of small stuff that the Aeginetans appear.[57] It must have been some unknown comic poet who referred to Aegina as χυτρόπωλις ['pot-seller', Com. adesp., fr. 350 K/A, ap. Poll. VII 197]. Now although the word χύτραι is sometimes used in a general way for 'pots', as χυτρεύς for 'potter', χύτραι were above all 'common cooking pots',[58] characteristically unpainted,[59] and therefore cheap. We have seen (pp. 383–4 and n. 36 above) that there is no evidence of any fine pottery having been made at Aegina; and in so far as the pots sold by Aeginetan merchants were home-made, they will doubtless have been cheap unpainted wares; but of course the fine ceramics of Corinth and Athens may well have been marketed by Aeginetans.

Again, there is Aristotle's statement in *Pol.* IV 1291^{b} 17–25. Distinguishing between the demos of Greek cities (in the sense of the lower classes) and 'those who are called the notables' (τῶν λεγομένων γνωρίμων), he mentions various categories among the former, one of which is the maritime, [τὸ τοῦ δήμου εἶδος] τὸ περὶ τὴν θάλατταν, of which he proceeds to distinguish four varieties: naval crews (τὸ πολεμικόν), merchant seamen (τὸ χρηματιστικόν), ferrymen (τὸ πορθμευτικόν), and fishermen (τὸ ἁλιευτικόν). In many places, he says, one or other of these varieties is very numerous (πολύοχλον); and the examples he gives are fishermen at Taras and Byzantium, naval crews (τριηρικόν) at Athens, merchant seamen (ἐμπορικόν) at Aegina and Chios, and ferrymen at Tenedos. The important thing to notice here is that the ἔμποροι ['merchants'] of Aegina are members of the lower classes, the demos as opposed to οἱ λεγόμενοι γνώριμοι ['those who are called the notables']. I cannot imagine why Winterscheidt (*Aig.* 42) should think that Aristotle's statement is 'obviously' derived from Ephorus and therefore relates to the time of Pheidon. This assumption can hardly be proved wrong, but surely it is very much more likely that Aristotle was thinking of his own day and the recent past. The positive evidence of Aristotle, then, will apply directly to the fourth century rather than to the period of Aegina's greatness. But except that the ruling class, before it was broken by Athenian intervention, was presumably much richer than in Aristotle's day, and could afford to maintain a navy, what reason is there to suppose that the situation was any different in the seventh, sixth and early fifth centuries?

[56] 'Pheidon's Alleged Aeginetan Coinage', in *NC* Ser. VI 10 (1950) 177–204 & Pl. XI [and see Afterword, p. 415 below].

[57] Hesych., s.v. Αἰγιναῖα (ed. K. Latte, A 1690); *E.M.*, s.v. Αἰγιναία; Steph. Byz., s.v. Αἴγινα; Schol. Pind., *Ol.* VIII 29a (I p. 243. 22–4)

[58] D. A. Amyx, in *Hesp.* 27 (1958), at pp. 211–12, with Pl. 48h. See also G. R. Edwards, in *Hesp.* 18 (1949), at p. 152, with Pl. 16, 15–16 (right).

[59] Amyx, *op. cit.* 212, aptly cites Schol. Ar. *Vesp.* 279, where the expression χύτραν ποικίλλεις ['You're decorating a pot'] (like Ar.'s λίθον ἕψεις ['You're boiling a stone']) is synonymous with useless effort.

(VII)

According to an Arcadian tradition reported by Pausanias (VIII v 8), Aeginetans, as early as the ninth century, were trading with the Arcadians, via Cyllene on the north-west coast of the Peloponnese—not an activity out of which any great profits were likely to be made.

In archaic times it seems very likely that a good deal of Aeginetan wealth was derived from piracy, directed no doubt by the nobility: there is no evidence at all, but the geographical situation of the island, commanding the Saronic Gulf—and thus making Aegina, from the Athenian point of view, 'the eyesore of the Piraeus' (Arist., *Rhet.* III 10.7, 1411^{a}15–16; Plut., *Per.* 8.7)—would surely have made recourse to piracy almost inevitable, and the nobles could not have failed to profit most from it. Of the

transition we must then assume from piracy to peaceful trade there is equally no evidence. According to some scholars, a decisive step forward in the development of Aegina as a 'trading city' was made when coins were struck. In Kirsten's opinion, for instance, it was now that Aegina took the lead of all the cities of old Greece, and in this we may see the foundation of Aeginetan *Handelsmacht* ['trade power'] and its *Handelsaristokratie* ['trade aristocracy'][60]—in his eyes, 'mit einem Schlage ist damals aus der Bauern- die Handelsaristokratie geworden' [at a stroke the landed aristocracy became the trading aristocracy] ('Review', 300 n. 1). Aegina's coinage, Kirsten claims (as if the fact were self-evident), proves that the bearers of her trade were citizens: even if we had no other evidence, he says, the setting up of her mint would be sufficient to establish Aegina's character as a *Handelsstaat* [trading state], and not merely a city with metic traders.[61]

It is true that Aegina may well have been the first state in European Greece to strike coins. But even this is not absolutely certain; and even if it is true, there is no reason to suppose that Aegina began to coin more than a few years before Corinth and Athens,[62] whose coinages are now believed to have begun only c. 575 at the very earliest, that of Athens in particular perhaps distinctly later.[63]

And if Aegina did precede the other cities of old Greece in issuing coins, let us not jump from this to unjustifiable conclusions. The motives which induced a Greek state to coin are obscure to us, and the whole subject needs to be handled very cautiously

[60] See his Review, 298–9 ('Der entscheidende Zeitpunkt . . . ist der Beginn der Münzprägung. Aigina geht damit allen anderen Staaten des Griechischen Mutterlandes vorauf. Das ist die Grundlage der Vorstellung von der aiginetischen Handelsmacht . . . '), 300 ('Das durch die staatliche Münzprägung bezeugte Interesse der Herren am Seehandel').

[61] 'Review', 299: 'Vor allem aber: das der Staat der Aigineten Münzen prägt, lässt sich nur verstehen, wenn Träger des Handels nicht die als Demos ausserhalb von ihm stehenden Händler waren . . . Wenn wir keine anderen Zeugnisse hätten—die Gründung der aiginetischen Münzstätte allein erwiese schon Aiginas Charakter als Handelsstaat.'

[62] This is the opinion of C. M. Kraay, upon whose judgement in such matters I have found that I can rely. [See also Afterword, pp. 415–16 below.]

[63] For Corinth, see W. L. Brown, *op. cit.* (in n. 56 above) 187–8. For Athens, see C. M. Kraay, 'The Archaic Owls of Athens: Classification and Chronology', in *NC* Ser. VI 16 (1956) 43–68 & Pl. XIII; and 'The Early Coinage of Athens: a Reply', in *NC* Ser. VII 2 (1962) 417–23. W. P. Wallace, *ibid.* 23–42, would date the earliest Athenian coins a good deal later still, c. 545.

indeed. A generation ago Keynes gave a salutary warning: 'I do not think that the act of coinage effected so significant a change as is commonly attributed to it . . . Coinage is not one of the three vital innovations in the evolution of Money . . . It is by no means essential to . . . the designation of the standard by the State, that the State should mint the standard'.[64] And in recent years R. M. Cook,[65] M. I. Finley[66] and above all C. M. Kraay[67] have provided a useful correction to simple-minded 'modernist' views about the supposed necessary connection between early Greek coinage and trade.

I propose to summarise some of the conclusions of an important article by Kraay, which he was kind enough to show me before publication, and in which he has more fully worked out some ideas he sketched in 1960.[68] The negative side of Kraay's thesis, based on the evidence of circulation of Greek coins (mainly provided by hoards) and of the incidence of fractional issues, is that coinage was not 'originally designed to serve the needs of either local or foreign trade'. As Kraay rightly points out, 'It is unlikely that in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. traders were anywhere either so influential or so organised as to be able to secure the public and official adoption of a device designed primarily to serve their interests.' Against the familiar thesis that coinage was invented to promote foreign trade, Kraay has been able to prove, mainly from

[64] J. M. Keynes, *A Treatise on Money* (1930), I 11–12. Keynes went on to suggest that 'When the Kings of Lydia first struck coins, it may have been as a convenient certificate of fineness and weight, or a mere act of ostentation appropriate to the offspring of Croesus and the neighbours of Midas. The stamping of pieces of metal with a trade mark was just a piece of local vanity, patriotism or advertisement with no far-reaching importance. It is a practice which has never caught on in some important commercial areas.' There may be something in Keynes's emphasis on the psychological element. It is true that Greek coins were at first entirely anepigraphic, and that some of the early types (as Kraay has pointed out: HSCOC 89) are 'so inexplicit that they defy attribution': one thinks of some of the earliest coins of Ionia, for example, or the Athenian *Wappenmünzen*. But, as Kraay insists, 'wherever it can be identified, the design placed on a coin is the badge of the political authority which issued it'.

[65] 'Speculations on the Origin of Coinage', in *Historia* 7 (1958) 257–62, esp. 259–60.

[66] 'Classical Greece', in *id.* ed., *Second International Conference of Economic History, I: Trade and Politics in the Ancient World* (1965), 11–35.

[67] In an article of considerable general interest, modestly entitled 'Caulonia and South Italian Problems', in *NC* Ser. VI 20 (1960) 53–82 and Pl. IV, at pp. 78–81 (esp.79); and now in HSCOC. [But see Afterword, p. 415.]

[68] HSCOC, esp. the concluding section, pp. 88–91. For the article of 1960, see the preceding note.

hoard evidence, that 'most Greek coinages tended to stay within the areas in which they were minted; to this general statement there were two exceptions, the Thraco-Macedonian mints and Athens, both silver producers, who had surplus metal to dispose of. Neither of these exceptions operated at the very beginning of coinage . . . It would therefore seem that, since most coinages were not exported, and since those that were exported were not among the earliest coinages, the original intention in striking coins was not to facilitate foreign trade, or to provide merchants with a means of purchasing goods or materials not available locally.' The use of coinage to meet the needs of foreign trade was 'a secondary development'. The arguments adduced by Kraay against the supposition that coinage was intended to assist internal or local trade are equally cogent. First, in the early days 'few of even the most important Greek states possessed a regular supply of small denominations' adequate for local transactions. 'Second, very many places, especially in the sixth century, had no coinage of any sort. And third, coinage originated, not among the silver-using states of mainland Greece and the West, but with the electrum issues of Asia Minor; these, even in their smallest fractions, must certainly have represented values much higher than those required for retail trade. The use of coinage in retail trade which, even at the end of the fifth century, was confined to a few of the more economically advanced states, cannot be regarded as its original purpose.' On the positive side, Kraay has developed the theory he produced in 1960. He suggests that city 'governments' found it convenient to issue—probably at some profit to themselves—coins the use of which could be made obligatory in official transactions such as the discharge of taxes and fines, and (in the reverse direction) the division of surpluses among citizens, the payment of mercenaries[69] and soldiers, also of salaries given to experts such as doctors, and expenditure on public works. A state which issued coins 'could insist on payment in units which it had itself created, and of which the quality was therefore known'.

As for Aegina herself, Kraay points out (HSCOC 78–9) that although her coins, especially the sixth-century 'turtles', are found over a wide area, 'yet over most of this area turtles provide only a very small portion of any find in which they occur': this is

[69] This has been emphasised by R. M. Cook: see n. 65 above.

true even of Egypt, where one might have expected the interest of Aeginetan traders in Naucratis (see section (ix) below) to be reflected in higher proportions of Aeginetan coins in Delta hoards. Only in the more immediate neighbourhood of Aegina—roughly the triangle formed by Corinth, Rhodes and Crete—do we find hoards in which half or more of the contents are Aeginetan. I might add that if Aegina's port was indeed a busy one at the beginning of the sixth century, and she had a good revenue from customs duties, Aegina was likely, even on the explanation of the origin of coinage which I have adopted, to begin coining early, if only to facilitate the payment of duties.

From the fact that Aegina very probably began to coin a few years before Corinth and Athens, then, we cannot justifiably draw inferences about the character and outlook of the Aeginetan ruling class, or about the civic status of the merchants who traded from Aegina. The Phoenicians certainly traded on a considerable scale, yet the Phoenician towns almost certainly did not issue any coins before the third quarter of the fifth century. At Carthage there seem to have been merchants even among the governing class [Ar. *Pols.* V 1316b5–6, cf. II 1273a 33–5], yet there is certainly no substantial coinage of Carthage proper before about 350, when large gold issues appear, although Carthaginian settlements in Sicily, such as Motya and Panormus, struck coins in the fifth century, and the Carthaginian 'Siculo-Punic' issues probably go back to the Carthaginian campaigns in Sicily in the 390s and an isolated gold issue of Carthage itself to about the 380s.[70] Again, among the Greek cities in the West, Syracuse is likely always to have been of greater 'commercial' importance (in the sense of having a greater volume of external trade) than Himera, Selinus and Naxos, yet she seems to have begun to coin only c. 510, whereas they (with Zancle) had started between two and three decades earlier, and at least three of the Greek cities in south Italy, namely Sybaris, Croton and Metapontum, whose 'commercial' importance must have been very small, had been minting coins earlier still, c. 550.[71]

[70] See G. K. Jenkins and R. B. Lewis, *Carthaginian Gold and Electrum Coins* (1963), esp. 18.

[71] Several statements in this paragraph are made mainly on the basis of information kindly provided by Kraay, and with his approval [see now Kraay *ACGC*, 233–5 (Carthage, and Siculo-Punic mints); 204–9 (Sicilian cities); 163–8 (South Italy); Phoenicia: D. B. Harden, *The Phoenicians* (1962), 166–8)].

When Kirsten ('Review', 299) says that 'die Gründung der aiginetischen Münzstätte allein erwiese schon Aiginas Charakter als Handelsstaat, nicht nur als Polis mit Händlern aus dem Metoikenstande' ['the foundation of the Aeginetan mint is in itself a sufficient indication of the character of Aegina as a trading state, not merely a polis with traders from among the metic class'], his statement has not the least justification. Similarly, the attempt of Sutherland[72] to show 'that possession of a reputable coinage was among the first necessities for a vigorous and progressive Greek state, and that a state, once it was happily possessed of a good coinage, engaged immediately in what was actually, if not openly, a national commercial policy designed to supply her with the essentials of life', fails entirely (quite apart from the fact that his chronology for the coins of Aegina, Athens and Corinth is too high), as Finley (*op. cit.* in n. 66), and by implication Kraay (HSCOC: see above), have now demonstrated. Statements in Sutherland's paper, such as the assertion that in the sixth century 'it seems that Athenian pottery may have been marketed abroad *by Corinth*' (*op. cit.* 142; my italics), show a failure to understand the basic facts about the mechanism of Greek trade, in which states as such took no part.[73]

(VIII)

Nor is the existence of *standards* which are nowadays associated especially with Aegina, one for weights and coins, and another (unrelated, I believe, as elsewhere: see Ch. 8) for measures of capacity, a fact which has any relevance to this controversy.

In the first place, what we tend to conceive as a '*coin* standard', and can very rarely identify in relation to a given state as anything else, will normally have been employed before the days of coining, as a *weight* standard. The 'Aeginetan' standard, although it appears widely throughout the Peloponnese and central Greece, as far north as Thessaly, and also in the islands of the Aegean, and in a few of the cities of Asia Minor (see Head, *HN*^{2} xlv), made no progress farther afield and was not even adopted by Corinth,

[72] 'Corn and Coin', in *AJP* 64 (1943) 129–47, at p. 131.

[73] As I have said already, there is no sign of 'merchant fleets', and the 'nationality' of the merchant was ordinarily of little or no consequence, except perhaps in time of war.

Athens or the cities of Euboea. But the significance to be attached to these facts is anything but clear, for the dispersion of the standards in question *as weight standards* will have been established well before the appearance of coins; and what we have to consider, therefore, is not so much the spread of an 'Aeginetan coin standard' in the sixth century as of a weight standard common to Aegina and many other states, at an earlier period—although it is quite possible, of course, that some states had no *official* weight standard before they began to issue coins.

I am not even sure there is any good ancient evidence that there existed in antiquity any conception corresponding to ours of an 'Aeginetan *standard*'. At Athens itself the Aeginetan drachma is said to have been called παχεῖα δραχμή [the heavy drachma]. Pollux, who preserves this information (IX 76; cf. Hesych., s.v. παχείᾳ δραχμῇ), attributes the fact to Athenian 'hatred of Aegina', but I would take leave to doubt this. Pollux is speaking specifically of the Aeginetan drachma (ἡ Αἰγιναία δραχμή), not of drachmae coined on an 'Aeginetan standard'; but the Aeginetan, although doubtless the most common of such drachmae at Athens, will not have been the only 'heavy' one to appear there, and the Athenians perhaps used the expression παχεῖα δραχμή to cover all drachmae of what we should call 'Aeginetan standard'. The treaty between Athens, Argos, Mantinea and Elis of 420 B.C., which speaks of 'Aeginetan obols' and an 'Aeginetan drachma' (Thuc. V 47.6; IG $I^3$83 = Tod I^2 72, lines 23–4 [not included in M/L]), may conceivably be referring to actual coins of Aegina: we know from the lexicographers that in ancient times the Aeginetan 'tortoises' were 'the coinage of the Peloponnese' (see Poll. IX 74; Hesych., s.v. χελώνη). By 420, however, the Aeginetan mint had entirely ceased to function for some years—eleven at least, and probably nearer thirty than twenty, according to the date we give to the Athenian coinage decree.[74] But would anyone accept, as an Aeginetan drachma, an old and underweight Aeginetan coin of, say, the sixth century?—coins which evidently remained in actual use until well into the fourth century (see Kraay, HSCOC 78 n. 12). I agree with the suggestion made to me by Kraay that by

[74] [Now *IG* I^3 1453 = M/L 45; and see *SEG* XLVIII (1998). The date remains contentious: D. M. Lewis, in I. Carradice (ed.) *Coinage and administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires* (1987) 53–63, repr. in his *Selected papers in Greek and Near Eastern history* (1997), 116–30, gives a lucid account of the problems.]

the expression 'an Aeginetan drachma' we should understand something like 'a quantity of silver (of any sort) amounting in weight to the drachma issued by Aegina'. This, I suggest, is the nearest the ancient world came to formulating the conception of an 'Aeginetan standard'; and such an expression would be used only in areas where the actual coins of Aegina circulated in quantity—elsewhere, men would speak of 'an Athenian drachma', 'a Cyzicene stater', and so forth. In 412 Tissaphernes promised pay to the Spartan fleet at the rate of one Attic drachma per man per day (ἐς δραχμὴν Ἀττικήν, Thuc. VIII 29.1; contrast 28.4). What this meant in practice may be seen from the unique tetradrachm of Attic weight, bearing on the obverse a superb Persian head ('one of the earliest, and incidentally one of the finest, portraits on any coin', as E. S. G. Robinson has said),[75] almost certainly that of the satrap himself, and on the reverse the usual owl and olive spray, with the first three letters of the king's title, ΒΑΣ, replacing the familiar ΑΘΕ.

I see not the least reason to suppose that what we call 'the Aeginetan standard', for weights and coins, either originated in Aegina or owed its fairly wide diffusion (principally on the Greek mainland and in the Aegean) to the 'Aeginetan trade'. Instead of adopting these hypotheses, which are so often taken for granted nowadays, G. F. Hill observed over half a century ago that the Aeginetan 'was the weight standard in use all over the Greek mainland as far north as Thessaly from very early times. When the Aeginetan mint was started, it would naturally not create a new standard, but rather adopt one which was likely to favour the widest possible currency for its coins' (*Historical Coins of the Greeks* (1906), 5). I would conclude that Aegina's coin standard was the weight standard she herself already used, in common with the states of the Peloponnese and many of those in central and northern Greece; and that they adopted it, when they began to coin, for the same reason she did: that it was already their native weight-standard. In some cases we can be sure that the 'Aeginetan' coin-standard was not chosen because of any direct 'Aeginetan influence': the Thessalians, for example, began to coin [on that standard] only after 480 when Athens had outstripped Aegina in

[75] 'Some Problems in the Later Fifth Century Coinage of Athens', in *Amer. Numism. Soc. Mus. Notes* 9 (1960) 1–15 & Pl. I–II, at p. 4 (with Pl. I 7).

both naval and commercial importance, the Locrians only in the fourth century, long after the collapse of Aegina.[76] Some of the outlying cities which adopted the same coin-standard as Aegina may possibly have taken it directly from her; but that is the most we can say.

(IX)

The relation of Aegina to Naucratis has been a favourite argument of those who conceive Aegina as a 'trading city' above all. Virtually the only piece of evidence, apart from that provided by archaeology,[77] is the passage in which Herodotus (II 178–9) describes the foundation of Naucratis. I shall concentrate on those parts of Herodotus' statement which are of immediate interest to us. The largest, most famous and most frequented sanctuary (τέμενος) at Naucratis, he says, namely the Hellenion, was founded jointly by Chios, Teos, Phocaea, Clazomenae, Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Phaselis and Mytilene (178.2). These nine cities and these alone provided προστάται τοῦ ἐμπορίου [officials of the emporion] and any other cities which claimed a share had no right to do so. Separate sanctuaries were also founded: Αἰγινῆται . . . Διός, καὶ ἄλλο Σάμιοι Ἥρης καὶ Μιλήσιοι Ἀπόλλωνος ['Aeginetans . . . a sanctuary of Zeus, Samians another of Hera, and Milesians one of Apollo'] (178.3). Several different theories have been developed to explain this brief statement, most of them giving a far-fetched interpretation of it or even directly contradicting it.

I think the work which has done most to lead scholars astray is that of H. Prinz, *Funde aus Naukratis* (*Klio*, Beiheft 7), published in 1908, a monograph—admirable in some ways, considering the date at which it was written—that took for granted the 'modernising' view of the Greek economy previously developed by Meyer and Beloch (see esp. pp. 146–7). Prinz believed that in addition to an emporion run by the city of Naucratis itself, there 'must have

[76] [For Thessaly (which had previously coined on the Persian standard) see Kraay *ACGC* 115; for Locris, *ibid.* 122–3.]

[77] A convenient bibliography up to 1937 will be found in R. M. Cook, 'Amasis and the Greeks in Egypt', in *JHS* 57 (1937) 227–37, esp. 227 n. 6. The latest work I know of any importance is that of J. Boardman, 'Chian and Naucratite', in *BSA* 51 (1956) 55–62, which refers to all the more recent publications. [See Afterword, pp. 416–20 below, for more recent work on Naucratis.]

been' a separate one corresponding to each of the four sanctuaries (*op. cit.* pp. 5–6, cf. 115–16), so that there were in all no less than five emporia! In support of this curious theory Prinz produced nothing in the way of evidence or even argument. Others, Glotz for instance, reduced the five emporia to four by discarding the emporion (and sanctuary) peculiar to the state of Naucratis; but Glotz's picture,[78] in which 'special temples *and quays* were reserved for the Milesians . . . ,[79] the Samians, and the Aeginetans', and there were 'four warehouses dominated by temples' (for 'at Naucratis every emporium had its guardian deity'), is otherwise very much that of Prinz. In the first volume of the[ir] *Histoire grecque*, Glotz and Cohen could even say, 'Sous la protection de leurs divinités, les "nations" de Naucratis eurent chacune leurs magistrats et leurs tribunaux, avec un droit d'appel à la justice de la métropole. Naucratis, ville internationale, fut comme le prototype d'Alexandrie, une sorte de Shang-Haï antique' ['Under the protection of their gods, the 'nations' of Naucratis would each have had their own magistrates and tribunals, with a right of appeal to the justice of the mother-city. Naucratis, the international city, could be seen as the prototype for Alexandria, a sort of ancient Shanghai'].[80] The groundless idea that the founding of a sanctuary at Naucratis by citizens of a particular state somehow implies the possession of a 'factory' at Naucratis belonging to that state constantly appears, as in the remark of Seltman,[81] 'Only one state of Greece proper secured the privilege of a factory at Naucratis—Aegina.' A more general statement, which however departs even further from Herodotus, is that of Andrewes, that 'the *management* [of Naucratis] was vested in nine East Greek cities who shared a common sanctuary, *and three greater states* who built separate temples' (*GT* 118; my italics). Hasebroek (*TPAG* 64–5) produced a picture much more in accordance with Herodotus, in that he confined the control of the emporion of Naucratis to citizens of the nine states participating in the foundation of the Hellenion; but

[78] G. Glotz, *TGA* 130, 145, 138 = *AGW* 106–7, 119, 113 (my italics).

[79] Glotz adds, 'who enjoyed undisputed pre-eminence'. It is not clear to me what authority he believed himself to have for this statement.

[80] *HG* I 205. The only authorities given for the statement made in the first sentence quoted above are Hdts II 178 and Hermeias (*FHG* II 80–1) ap. Athen. IV 149D–F.

[81] Seltman, *GC*[2] 82, referring also to a 'Milesian factory at Naucratis'.

even he followed Prinz to the extent of treating the members of those nine states, and of the other three, as forming communities 'very distinct from the full citizens of Naucratis', for of course he regarded it as a confirmation of his general theory about the relation between trade and politics in the Greek world that (as he saw it) 'even in Naucratis trade was in the hands of non-citizens and foreigners'.

Against all this, Roebuck (ON 215; cf. *ITC* 134–5) has rightly pointed out that 'Herodotus does not state or imply that there were *emporia* attached to the separate *temene* for purposes of trade', and that from the excavations 'the sanctuaries appear to have been only religious establishments with small temples, altars, and open precincts . . . There was probably a single dock and warehouse area along the river bank', with 'a common regulating authority'. So far, so good. Roebuck believes, however, that Herodotus' προστάται τοῦ ἐμπορίου [officials of the emporion] were 'the chief magistrates or leaders of the whole community of Naucratis', which 'had developed into a unified Greek state at an early date' and 'acted and was recognised by other Greek cities as a normal city state' (ON 216). The decisive step, he thinks, was 'the creation of Naukratis as a unified political community through and around the Hellenion. When Herodotus speaks of its founding states as furnishing the magistrates of Naukratis, he is speaking inexactly; it is rather the citizens originally from those states and their descendants, who were still aware of their origin through the continuance of their cults, who furnished the magistrates.' The nine states participating in the Hellenion were 'the political founders of Naukratis and their descendants formed the main element of its population' (ON 218).

It seems to me that this reconstruction not merely goes far beyond our meagre evidence, but strains unbearably the meaning of Herodotus' προστάτας τοῦ ἐμπορίου αὗται αἱ πόλιές εἰσι αἱ παρέχουσαι ['these are the *cities* which provided the officials of the emporion'], and moreover depends upon one assumption which cannot be proved and is in my opinion almost certainly false: that Naucratis had become a proper polis by the time of Herodotus.[82]

[82] And see Cook, *op. cit.* (in n. 77 above), 233 n. 29: 'Naucratis was not a Greek colony, properly founded, so that there may have been few data about its origins. Two centuries later Apollonius Rhodius wrote a Ναυκράτεως κτίσις (Athen. vii. 283): but how far he is likely to have used historical evidence I do not know. Strabo's

The scanty evidence very strongly suggests that Naucratis was still not a polis but a mere emporion at the very end of the fifth century and did not become a polis until some time in the first half of the fourth. As far as I know, the earliest references to Ναυκρατῖται ['citizens of Naucratis'] are from about the mid-fourth century.[83] That Herodotus refers to Naucratis as a polis in II 178.1 is not significant, for he can use the word quite untechnically, as when he calls Babylon a polis (Hdts I 178.1). The main pieces of positive evidence that Naucratis was not regarded as a proper polis by the Greeks before the fourth century are as follows:

(a) In a decree of the new state of Rhodes, to be dated probably 411–408, just before the completion of the synoecism, a man who is appointed Rhodian proxenos is described as Αἰγ[.....τ]ὸν ἐκ Ναυκράτ|[ιος].[84] The ethnic is usually restored Αἰγ[ινάταν], but Αἰγ[ύπτιον] has also been suggested. In either event the fact remains that the man who is evidently to hold the Rhodian proxenia *at Naucratis* is described not as a citizen of Naucratis but as an Aeginetan (or Egyptian) from Naucratis. I find it hard to believe that the Rhodians would have failed to choose a citizen of Naucratis as their proxenos there had Naucratis been a proper polis at the time. (Incidentally, the Rhodians are among the states mentioned by Herodotus II 178.2 as participating in the appointment of προστάται τοῦ ἐμπορίου. It is interesting to find them feeling the need to appoint in addition a member of some other state dwelling in Naucratis as their proxenos.)

(b) The most decisive evidence is a decree of Lindus, contained in an inscription discovered at Naucratis[85] and passed probably a little earlier than the Rhodian decree mentioned above. In appointing a Lindian proxenos at Naucratis it describes the man concerned as Δαμόξενον Ἕρμωνος ἐν Αἰγύπτωι οἰκέοντα [Damoxenos son of Hermon, living in Egypt] and provides for a copy of the decree to be set up ἐν Αἰγύπτ[ωι ἐν τῶι Ἑ]λλανίωι

date for the foundation of the Μιλησίων τεῖχος (xvii. 801) could fit the archaeological conclusions about Naucratis' [see also Afterword, p. 417 below].

[83] See *SIG*[3] 239 B 37 (363 B.C.). And in *IG* II[2] 206 (of 349/8) a man named Theogenes, appointed Athenian proxenos, is described as Θεογένης ὁ Ναυκρατίτης (lines 7–8, 19–20). Dem. XXIV 11 is not informative.

[84] *SIG*[3] 110, the most recent edition of which is by Chr. Blinkenberg, *Lindos* II. *Inscriptions* (1941), i cols. 210–14, no. 16, lines 3–6.

[85] See *SIG*[3] 110 n. 4, and for a better text Blinkenberg, *op. cit.* col. 212–14, App. to no. 16, lines 4–5, 16–18 [and see Afterword, p. 418 below].

[in Egypt in the Hellanion]. Here, the existence of a polis Naucratis could hardly be more specifically denied: the proxenos is an 'Egyptian' and the Hellenion is 'in Egypt'.

(c) Herodotus II 180.2 speaks of οἱ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέοντες Ἕλληνες [the Greeks living in Egypt] who are not called Ναυκρατῖται [citizens of Naucratis] although they must have been mainly the inhabitants of that place.[86]

(d) Naucratis seems not to have issued coins until the fourth century.[87] (I would not, of course, claim that this fact by itself is of any great significance.)

I do not see how we can give a confident explanation of Herodotus' rather cryptic statement about the προστάται τοῦ ἐμπορίου [officials of the emporion], but the one which seems the most probable to me, and certainly gives the most natural interpretation of Herodotus' words, is that each of the nine cities concerned chose from among its own citizens one *prostatēs* of the Naucratite emporion, a man who would 'represent' the interests of its citizens there, as we should expect of one bearing the title *prostatēs* [lit., 'one who stands before].[88] Elections may have been made at regular intervals, or (more likely) each state may have chosen its *prostatēs* for an indefinite period, perhaps so long as he continued to reside at Naucratis—speculation on such points is futile. From the very fact that Herodotus mentions these officials in his brief description of Naucratis, it is evident that they were important. Whether the 'emporion' in which they functioned was an area *within* Naucratis (the port and its quays and warehouses),

[86] [Ste. Croix has added: 'Abusir Milesian c. 500', a reference to the Greco-Egyptian grave-stele illustrated in Boardman *GO* 136 fig. 159, presumably as an example of a Greek living in Egypt but not at Naucratis; but the 'Milesian' is now believed to be a Carian (Boardman, *op. cit.* 137).]

[87] See Head, *HN*[2] 845; and E. T. Newell, *Miscellanea Numismatica* (*NNM* 82, 1938), 60 ff. (Naucr. IVc AR coin: NAU, obol., gr. 0.64, imitation of Athenian type).

[88] The choice of *epidemiourgoi* [magistrates] for Potidaea by Corinth down to 432 (Thuc. I 56.2) provides a partial analogy. If each state simply provided its own *prostatēs*, there is no reason to object, as Roebuck does (ON 216), that the arrangement 'would necessitate a most unusual degree of co-operation between states which were, on different occasions, at variance elsewhere in the Aegean'. Nor can I follow Roebuck's other objection (*loc. cit.*), that 'some of them, namely Phocaea, Teos, and Miletus, ceased to exist as important and independent communities in the archaic period': all our nine states continued to exist as poleis beyond the fifth century, if with different degrees of independence and importance.

or whether Naucratis *was* the emporion[89] and whether there existed in the sixth and fifth centuries, either beside or above the *prostatai*, more important officials, for example the *timoxenoi* who are attested much later,[90] we have no means of telling.

Herodotus' statement about the foundation of sanctuaries by Aeginetans, Samians and Milesians is made after he has already told us not only about the Hellenion but also that no states other than the nine which founded it had any claim to participate in the provision of *prostatai*; and there is no suggestion in Herodotus that Aeginetans, Samians or Milesians had been given any special privileges at Naucratis except the right to found sanctuaries. Clearly citizens of all three states were trading at Naucratis. Attic and Corinthian wares were both used extensively in Aegina, and it is very likely to have been Aeginetan traders who carried the vases made at Athens and Corinth which have been found in quantity at Naucratis.[91] There have also been found in Aegina scarabs and faience figurines which are said to be of Graeco-Egyptian origin (probably from Naucratis) and painted pottery of the style commonly known as 'Naucratite', which is thought by some archaeologists to have been manufactured in Chios, but by others[92] to be partly the product of Chian potters working at Naucratis itself. The Aeginetan sanctuary to Zeus at Naucratis has unfortunately not been identified, as have the Hellenion, the sanctuaries of Apollo and Hera (undoubtedly those of the Milesians and Samians), and two others, one evidently dedicated to Aphrodite (and probably founded by Chians),[93] and the other to the Dioscuri. Although the stratification is far from certain,[94] it seems that the

[89] In Hdts II 179 Naucratis itself is certainly described as an emporion. And see Roebuck, ON 215 and 219 n. 22.

[90] Hermeias, as cited in n. 80 above. Cf. Roebuck, ON 218 n. 4.

[91] See esp. J. D. Beazley and H. G. G. Payne, 'Attic Black-figured Fragments from Naucratis', in *JHS* 49 (1929) 253–72; R. M. Cook, in *BSA* 44 (1949) 154–61.

[92] Including Boardman: it will be sufficient to refer to his article cited in n. 77 above, where full references are given to earlier work. I find Boardman's arguments very plausible. [His theory, briefly restated in *The Greeks Overseas*[4] (1999), 123–4 (with notes at 274) and *Early Greek Vase Painting* (1998), 144–5 (bibliography on 279), has aroused considerable controversy; the arguments have recently been summarised by A. Möller in her *Naukratis* (2000), 136–40, who concludes (140) that it is 'quite conceivable'.]

[93] See Roebuck, GTGE 241–2; ON 217; Boardman, *op. cit.* in n. 77, 61–2.

[94] See esp. R. M. Cook, in *JHS* 57 (1937), at pp. 227–8; and in *BSA* 34 (1933–4), at p. 86 n. 2.

sanctuaries of Apollo and Aphrodite probably belong to the earliest occupation levels, while the Hellenion is later, presumably of the time of Amasis (c. 569–525).[95] Milesians, as the ancient literary evidence suggests,[96] may well have been the original founders of the settlement, although the evidence provided by Herodotus and the excavations suggests that even if they were there first their influence did not remain predominant.[97]

Although the Aeginetans were certainly the only people of old Greece to have a sanctuary to themselves at Naucratis, it is clear in the light of the foregoing that there is no reason to think the polis of Aegina had any say in the administration of Naucratis or its port. And with all due diffidence I am inclined to go further and suggest that Herodotus *may* be making a technical point when he refers specifically to the provision of *prostatai* of the emporion by the nine πόλιες he names, but speaks of the three separate sanctuaries as being founded by Αἰγινῆται, Σάμιοι, and Μιλήσιοι, without using the article. It is true that Herodotus quite often omits the article when speaking of individual poleis, even when they are represented as acting in their official capacity; but I suggest that in this particular case he may well mean just what he says: that the three separate sanctuaries were founded by 'Aeginetans, Samians and Milesians'—individual members of the three cities concerned who were trading at Naucratis and, wishing to make a prolonged stay there, introduced the cults of the gods they mainly worshipped at home, with or without the official sanction of their own states.

At any rate, the inscribed dedications recovered from the various precincts show, as Roebuck has well demonstrated (GTGE 241–2; cf. ON 212, 217), that neither the Hellenion nor the individual sanctuaries which have been excavated at Naucratis were restricted

[95] This opinion has been expressed to me by Boardman. Cf. C. C. Edgar, in *JHS* 25 (1905), at p. 136.

[96] See Strabo XVII i 18, p. 801, and the other sources cited by Ure, *OT* 103–5. [The value of this evidence is disputed: see Afterword, p. 417 below.]

[97] R. M. Cook (see n. 94 above) argues for a foundation date of c. 615–10. Others prefer a slightly earlier date: see Roebuck, GTGE 244 n. 7. Boardman tells me that among the sherds found at Naucratis are a piece of early Attic BF now in Toronto, of c. 615, a scrap of Corinthian of c. 625 or rather earlier, and East Greek pottery of the second half of the seventh century which we cannot yet date with any precision: he would see no objection to dating the foundation of Naucratis some time in the third quarter of the seventh century (still within the reign of Psammetichus I).

to the citizens of the states which had founded them. Although there is likely to have been 'a tendency among visiting traders and residents of the first and second generations to frequent the sanctuaries of their own gods, . . . there does not appear to have been any tendency to maintain the sanctuaries as the separate property of a far away state over a long period of time' (GTGE 242).

(X)

I come now to the well-known passage in which Herodotus (VII 147.2) tells how Xerxes in 480 saw the corn ships at the Hellespont sailing by 'to Aegina and the Peloponnese'. This story, whether true or false, is likely to come from the early fifth century (or Athens would surely have replaced Aegina as the destination of the corn ships), and I personally would accept it as evidence that at that time Aegina was a main entrepôt of the Pontic corn trade with Greece. It is quite wrong to infer, however, as Kirsten does ('Review', 299), that those who carried this trade 'can only have been' large-scale merchants (*grosse Unternehmer*) and must therefore have been the very aristocracy of Aegina, for there is a very obvious analogy which entirely destroys the argument. No one will wish to dispute that in the later fifth century and in the fourth Athens played at least as great a role in the corn trade between the Pontic area and Greece as ever Aegina could have done earlier, and probably indeed a much greater one. Yet, as we have seen, there is not a single scrap of evidence to connect this trade, or indeed any other branch of 'Athenian' mercantile activity (in the sense of the trade flowing into and out of Attica) with those Athenians who were the wealthiest and the most politically important and influential: a large part of 'Athenian' trade was in the hands of metics and other foreigners, and not a single one of the citizen merchants we hear of was a man known to have taken any part in politics.[98]

All that we are entitled to conclude from Herodotus' story, therefore, is that *the island of Aegina*—not 'the Aeginetans'—played a significant part in the early fifth-century corn trade between the Pontus and the Peloponnese,[99] just as the geographical position of the island would lead one to expect. When Percy

[98] Andocides is the exception who proves the rule. [See *OPW* 265–7, and the introductory note to this chapter.]

[99] By 427 (see Thuc. III 86.4) there seems to have been a significant import of Sicilian corn into the Peloponnese; but this trade may have grown up to some extent as a replacement of an earlier Pontic supply which had been reduced or even entirely cut off by Athens during the 'First Peloponnesian war' of c. 460 ff. and the war of 431 ff. My own feeling is that most Peloponnesian cities, except perhaps Corinth and Megara, fed themselves mainly on home-grown corn but would need to import whenever the local crop failed to give a good yield—that is to say, perhaps fairly often.

Gardner[100] took Herodotus' statement as evidence that 'after the fall of Miletus there came a time when the trade of the Black Sea fell partly into the hands of *the Aeginetans*' (my italics), he was drawing an unwarrantable inference. Whether the corn was brought to Aegina, or taken from it, by merchants who were Aeginetan citizens, we do not know. The Aeginetan state must certainly have derived profits from customs duties on the corn, probably twice over, on entry and exit; but we have no information who the merchants were who conducted the traffic. Some of them are very likely to have been Aeginetans, but the majority, I imagine, will as usual have been metics and foreigners of all kinds.[101]

(XI)

The 'medism' of Aegina in 491 (Hdts VI 49(-73)) is always explained nowadays by the fact that the island was 'dependent on its eastern trade'. This again is a pure assumption, and (I believe) a false one. Who were the other principal medisers in 491–79? The most prominent were the landowning Aleuads of Thessaly (Hdts VII 6.2; 130.3; 172.1; IX 1) and the Theban aristocracy (Thuc. III 62.3–4; Hdts VII 205.3; IX 15.4; 38.2; 40; 67; 86–8; cf. Plut., *Aristid.* 18.7; Paus. IX vi 2). Of the latter, who were anything but a 'commercial aristocracy', Thucydides makes their fellow citizens say in 427 that they hoped with Persian help to keep themselves the more firmly in power (III 62.4). Is not a precisely similar motive, a political one,[102] likely to have inspired the medism of the Aeginetan oligarchs? Why should we look for another? I would go further, indeed, and suggest not merely that the conception of Aegina's 'dependence on her eastern trade' is an unwarrantable assumption a priori but that it is positively wrong. Once more

[100] *History of Ancient Coinage*, 171. Cf. Lionel Casson, *The Ancient Mariners* (1959), 112.

[101] [A note by Ste. Croix indicates that he intended to revise this paragraph.]

[102] The only writer I have come across who gives a political explanation is Welter, in *AA* (1954) 30–1 (§ XXVI). Sixteen years earlier, in his *Aig.* 34, he seems to have accepted the usual explanation.

historians have allowed themselves to forget that the trade of a Greek state was not normally carried on by the citizens of that state, and that the trade between Aegina and the East would not have been regarded by the Greeks—or, for that matter, by the Persians—as the trade of οἱ Αἰγινῆται. Moreover, trade evidently went on unhindered throughout the fifth century between mainland Greece and the Greek settlement at Al Mina near the mouth of the Orontes; and indeed the painted pottery which went to Al Mina was entirely Athenian,[103] the Persians evidently making no attempt to interfere with this trade, although had they wished to do so the situation of Al Mina was such as to leave it entirely at the mercy of the Phoenician navy. In any event, the only evidence we have about the nature of 'Aegina's Eastern trade' in the early fifth century, namely the statement of Herodotus discussed in section (X) above, relates to the corn trade with the Pontus, conducted through waters in which the Persians showed not the slightest interest and into which (as far as I know) there is no reason to think they ever sent a navy except in support of large-scale military operations in Europe.

(XII)

Some of the believers in an Aeginetan commercial and manufacturing ruling class have seized upon any scrap of evidence which can be twisted to fit their conception. According to Herodotus (V 88.2; cf. Athen. XI 502C), after the defeat of the Athenian attempt to get possession of the wooden statues of Damia and Auxesia, the Argives and Aeginetans made a rule to bring nothing Athenian, pottery or anything else, into the temple (of Damia and Auxesia), but to drink there in future ἐκ χυτρίδων ἐπιχωριέων ['from locally-made pots']. On this Macan[104] commented, 'The exclusion of Attic ware from the cult . . . may possibly be an understatement and

[103] See C. L. Woolley, in *JHS* 58 (1938), at pp. 21–3; S. Smith, in *Antiq. Jnl* 22 (1942) at pp. 109–11.

[104] Macan, *Hdts IV–VI* I 232n. Cf. How and Wells, *CH* II 49; Glotz-Cohen, *HG* I 315 n. 104 (where the embargo seems to be conceived as a general one 'in time of war'); Böckh, *SA* I[3] 73–4 ('In Aegina *und Argos* scheinen sogar frühzeitig Attische Fabrikate verboten worden zu sein, wiewohl aus einem *angeblich* religiösen Grunde, und *zunächst* für den heiligen Gebrauch'—my italics); Ehrenberg, *PA*[2] 325.

pseudo-explanation of a commercial measure or custom for the protection of native wares from Attic competition . . . The ritualistic facts are probably correct: the reasons given therefore highly suspicious.' Taking up Macan's suggestion with avidity, Ure (*OT* 167–8, 314–20 (esp. 319–20)) discussed the supposed commercial embargo at great length. All this is pure fantasy.

(XIII)

I do not think anyone nowadays will wish to defend the fantastic figure of 470,000 slaves[105] which Aegina is said to have once possessed, according to Athenaeus (VI 272D) and a scholiast on Pindar (Schol. *Ol.* VIII 30d (I p. 244.21–3), cf. 30l (*ibid.* 345.24–5)), both purporting to cite Aristotle's lost *Constitution of Aegina* (fr. 472 Rose[106]). The total population of Aegina in the census of [1951] was [8,859].[107] Welter produced the theory that there was a great slave market on Aegina, fed in particular by enslaved debtors of the Athenian and Megarian upper classes (in the seventh century).[108] This may be true, but I know of no evidence.

I do not see how we can make a confident estimate of the population of Aegina at any time [in antiquity] (cf. section (v) above).

(XIV)

The evidence and the arguments I have set out above strongly suggest that Aegina in her great days had a small, wealthy, landed ruling class, which retained right down to the Athenian conquest

[105] Beloch, *BGRW* 84–5, 95–6, wished to reduce it to 47,000, but even this may be much too large a number. I do not see how we can profitably guess what Aristotle said, or what the maximum number really was.

[106] This is the only surviving fragment of Arist.'s Αἰγινητῶν πολιτεία.

[107] In 1928 it was 8,832: see Welter, *Aig.* 133. [Now 12,430, according to the 1995 edition of the *Blue Guide*.]

[108] Welter, *Aig.* 30, accepted by Kirsten, 'Review', 299. In *AA* (1954) 29–30 Welter added the groundless speculation that even earlier Pheidon sold his war-captives to Aegina in exchange for the silver which he coined; and he also sought to account for 'der unauslöschliche Hass der gesamten griechischen Welt gegen die Aigineten' as 'gewöhnlicher Handelsneid', similar to that incurred later by Venice, the Turks, the Knights of Malta and the French corsairs of the seventeenth century! He cites no evidence for this general hatred of the Aeginetans, and I see no reason to accept its existence.

in the mid-fifth century an outlook characteristic of the aristocracies of the archaic age, and a much greater number of politically unprivileged citizens, many of whom went in for trade—and, presumably, small-scale manufacture. Doubtless metics and other foreigners also played a part in the commerce of Aegina, as of other Greek cities; but perhaps in this case their share was smaller, owing to the number of citizens who were driven to devote themselves to trade. By the mid-fourth century, when Lampis the metic *nauklēros* was prominent (see section (iv) (b) above), the land of Aegina may perhaps not have been so extensively monopolised by a small class, and a higher proportion of the citizens may have become landowners; but the evidence of Aristotle (section (vi) above) shows that in the second half of the fourth century a significant proportion of them were still traders.

I have already discussed [in the opening section of this chapter] Welter's theory that the old ruling class financed mercantile activity on a large scale by bottomry loans. It cannot be disproved, but to me it seems very implausible. An unacceptable alternative theory has been produced by Kirsten ('Review', 299–301; cf. n. 5 above), which is devoid of evidence in its support and so entirely dependent upon 'must-have-beens' that it scarcely deserves discussion. Appealing both to the very inappropriate analogy of 'die Hörigen der Dorier, Heloten und Klaroten', in Sparta and Crete (who were of course agricultural in character),[109] and to that of freedmen in later times, he sees the greater part of the demos of Aegina as being in a dependent position, carrying on trade under the instructions and for the benefit of the aristocracy, who (he is obliged to admit) rarely went in person on trading voyages. Closer study of the not inconsiderable evidence for the mechanism of Greek trade might have convinced Kirsten that a situation so entirely different from that which we find elsewhere in the Greek world cannot be seriously considered without some positive evidence for it; and of this there is none. However, Kirsten seems to accept in many respects Winterscheidt's picture of the Aeginetan ruling class, apart from the fanciful addition I have just outlined (on the strength of which he calls the nobility a *Handelsaristokratie*: see esp. the first few lines of p. 301 of his Review), and an emphasis

[109] There would be all the difference between keeping dependent Greeks who were agricultural workers in a serf-like position and setting them up in trade.

upon the 'Dorian' character of the aristocracy which some may find exaggerated. Seeing Aegina above all 'recht als dorischen Staat . . . , als Vorposten des Doriertums' ['truly as a Dorian state . . . , as an outpost of Dorianism'], he speaks of 'der unverändert dorische Charakter (vgl. den Δωριεὺς κῶμος bei Pindar P. 8,20) der Lebensformen der adligen Herren' ['the unchanged Dorian character (cf. the Δωριεὺς κῶμος of Pindar *Pyth.* 8,20) of the life-style of its aristocracy'], and he accepts Winterscheidt's demonstration 'der dorischen Lebensformen, der agrarischen Grundstruktur auch des aiginetischen Staates' ['of the Dorian way of life, and the basic agrarian structure of the Aeginetan state'], asserting at the same time an 'Einfluss der Mischbevölkerung des Demos auf den Geist des Staates' ['influence of the mixed population of the demos on the nature of the state'], which set Aegina apart from Sparta and Athens ('Review', 300–1). I am far less clear than Kirsten what political and economic conditions 'Doriertum' ['Dorian character'] may imply—there is very considerable variation in these respects among Dorian states: Sparta, Argos, Corinth, Megara, Sicyon, Crete, Rhodes and the rest.[110]

AFTERWORD

The view against which Ste. Croix brings his battering-ram in this essay is still firmly entrenched. *The Princeton Encyclopaedia of Classical Sites* tells us that 'Aigina had a stable and developed mercantile aristocracy which spread the fame of its products throughout the Mediterranean basin', adding 'The spread of Aiginetan money shows clearly her absolute supremacy' (19–20).[a] More recently, and much less wildly, Astrid Möller writes in her book on Naukratis (76): 'The Aeginetan elite . . . differ from the elites of other Greek poleis, in that, unable to earn a substantial income as big landowners from agriculture . . . they had to rely on revenue from seafaring.' There is a brief and lucid account of Aeginetan history, on conventional lines, by L. H. Jeffery in her *AG* 150–1, and again in the second edition of the *CAH*.

[110] [The piece stops, rather than concludes, perhaps because Ste. Croix regarded it as 'material to be used', rather than as an independent, free-standing essay; see p. 371 above.]

[a] We are further informed that 'Solon passed special laws to limit the spread of Aeginetan commerce, thereby causing the island to ally itself first with Sparta, then with Thebes, and finally with Persia to oppose the rising Athenian power'.

The three books by T. J. Figueira, *ASP*, *AA* and *EEH*, constitute by far the most substantial recent contribution to Aeginetan studies. *ASP*, originally part of his doctoral thesis, 'is not a history of Aegina, but rather a historical work that has Aegina as its subject'. Figueira does not simply assume that Aegina was governed by a commercial aristocracy (that view lurks unstated behind Morris's chapter on 'History and the role of Aegina' in her *BWS* 92–103): he argues that it was so (*ASP*, chs. 4 & 5, esp. pp. 280–350). He had some conversations with Ste. Croix in Oxford in 1976, but did not see the present essay until after *ASP* had been published; the anticipations of Ste. Croix's position in his book were thus based on those conversations. Besides general arguments from probability, Figueira stresses (322–30) the emphasis on ships and *xenia* in Pindar's odes for Aeginetan victors. These arguments would not, we feel, have convinced Ste. Croix. We should not lose sight of the simple fact that if a man who lives on an island wants to meet a man from another state, still more if he is to establish ties of *xenia* with him (for what this involved see Herman, ch. 5, esp. 128–30), one or other of them has to travel on board a ship.

Figueira's *AA* is concerned with the period beginning in 457/6, i.e. after the archaic period with which Ste. Croix's essay is concerned. His *EEH* very conveniently gathers together revised versions of no fewer than eleven articles previously published in various journals, and adds three new studies. Loomis's review provides brief summaries of all of them: those most relevant to the present context are AASC, CCAA, and TMA.

Conticello, B., article 'Aigina', in R. Stillwell (ed.) *The Princeton Encyclopaedia of Classical Sites* (1976), 19–21
Figueira, T. J., *ASP* = *Aegina: Society and Politics* (1981, title-page) = *Aegina: Society and Economy* (1981, p.iii)
——, *AA* = *Athens and Aegina in the Age of Imperial Colonization* (1991)
——, AASC = 'Athenians, Aiginetans, and the Solonian Crisis', ch. 3 (pp. 31–84) in his *EEH* (below) (not previously published)
——, CCAA = 'The Chronology of the Conflict between Athens and Aegina', in *QUCC 28* (1988) 49–90; revised as ch. 5 (pp. 113–49) of his *EEH*.
——, *EEH* = *Excursions in Epichoric History: Aeginetan Essays (1993)*
——, FNAE = 'Four Notes on the Aeginetans in Exile', in *Athenaeum* 66 (1988) 523–51, at 543–9, repr. as ch. 11 of his *EEH* 293–323, at 316–22
——, TMA = 'Thoukydides, Melesias, and the Aeginetans', ch. 8 (pp. 197–230) in his *EEH* (not previously published)
Herman, G., *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City* (1987)
Jeffery, L. H. *AG* = *Archaic Greece* (1976)
——, *CAH* = 'Aegina', in *The Cambridge Ancient History*[2] IV (1998), 364–7
Loomis, W. T., review of Figueira, *EEH*, in *Bryn Mawr Class. Review* 5.7 (1994) 575–8
Möller, A., *Naukratis. Trade in Archaic Greece* (2000)
Morris, S. P., *BWS* = *The Black and White Style: Athens and Aegina in the Orientalising Period* (1984)

But in this essay Ste. Croix pronounces on a number of issues other than the nature of the ruling class of Aegina, and it will, we hope, be helpful to review recent scholarship on these too.

Section (i). Aegina's early fifth-century wars with Athens

The chronological problems of the wars between Aegina and Athens remain unresolved. Hammond has reiterated his views in the second edition of *CAH* IV. Podlecki throws the second phase of the war (Hdt. 6. 87–93) back to c. 506, but has convinced few scholars—not even himself (see his pp. 402–3). Figueira, CCAA, after a thorough examination of the evidence, very reasonably concludes that Herodotus was unable to reconcile in his narrative the conflicting chronologies implied by the stories that he gathered from his various local sources (Sparta, Aegina, Athens)—if indeed he was aware of them; he (Figueira) prefers to place the second phase of hostilities after Marathon.

Figueira, CCAA: as above
Hammond, N. G. L., in *The Cambridge Ancient History*[2] IV (1988), 501–2, 784
Podlecki, A. J., 'Athens and Aegina, 510–480 B.C.', in *Historia* 25 (1975) 396–413

Section (iv). Sostratos

Since Ste. Croix wrote, an inscribed anchor dedicated to Aeginetan Apollo has been discovered at Gravisca, the port of the Etruscan city Tarquinia, bearing the name of Sostratos and dated (on the basis of its letter-forms) to the late sixth or early fifth century. This is either the Herodotean Sostratos (in which case Welter's seventh-century date (n. 38) must clearly be rejected), or a later member of the same family.

Boardman, J., *The Greeks Overseas*[4] (1999), 206, 295
Figueira, *ASP* (as above), 241–50 (notes at 290–1)
Gianfrotta, P. A., 'Le ancore votive di Sostrato di Egina e di Faillo di Crotone', in *La Parola del Passato* 30 (1975) 311–18 (overlooked by Harvey)
Harvey, F. D., 'Sostratos of Aegina', *ibid.* 31 (1976) 206–14
Johnston, A. W., 'The Rehabilitation of Sostratos', *ibid.* 27 (1972) 416–23
——, 'Aeginetans Abroad', in *Horos* 7 (1989) 131–5, at 133–5
Roebuck, C., in *The Cambridge Ancient History*[2] IV (1988), 456–8 (over-confident identification?)
Torelli, M., 'Il santuario de Hera a Gravisca', in *La Parola del Passato* 26 (1971) 44–67, at 55–66

Section (v). Population statistics

Opinions remain sharply divided on the size of the population of Aegina. The innocent enquirer is informed by the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*[3] (Hornblower) that it was c. 40,000 and by *Der Kleine Pauly* (Kaletsch) that it was a maximum of 13,000 to 20,000; neither indicates that other views are held. Figueira, *ASP* 37–8, in the course of a long and careful discussion (29–52, with notes at 56–64) puts it between 35,000 and 45,000 or c. 42,000,[b] and his lowest figure (35,000) is accepted by Horden & Purcell: 'By conventional calculations its [Aegina's] own resources can support at minimal nutritional levels only some 5,000 people. Incidental evidence from around 500 B.C. makes it *certain* that the population was then at least seven times as large, and by no means existing precariously. The conclusion that Aegina was heavily dependent on a complex, reliable and large-scale trade in staples seems *inescapable*' (119; our italics).

But it is difficult to accept that the population of the island in the late archaic period was five times greater than it was in the 1960s. Beloch had an uncanny knack of being right on such matters; whether the ships of the Aeginetan navy were triremes or pentekonters (Ste. Croix n. 47; Figueira, *ASP* 30), there is no need to assume that an Aeginetan ship of the early fifth century required as many rowers as the classical Athenian trireme; and Figueira's arguments against the use of hired rowers (33–5) and slaves (35–7), though strong, are not conclusive. It seems wisest to remain agnostic, as Ste. Croix does at the end of section (xiii).

Figueira, *ASP*: as above
Horden, P., and Purcell, N., *The Corrupting Sea: a study in Mediterranean history* (2000)

Section (vi). Coinage: chronology and purpose

Ste. Croix's view on the dates of the earliest Greek coinage ('Corinth and Athens, whose coinages are now believed to have begun only c. 575 at the very earliest, that of Athens in particular perhaps distinctly later') is now generally accepted. Further precision, at least for the Aeginetan coins, is unattainable (Price, in *CAH*[2] IV plates 238; cf. the generous agnosticism of Howgego, 4–6). Kroll & Waggoner give clear and full arguments for putting the first issues of the earliest Athenian coins, the didrachms with heraldic designs known as *Wappenmünzen*, in the mid-sixth century (c. 550); this now commands general assent. What is

[b] 70 ships = 14,000 rowers; × 3 for women, children and males over military age = 42,000.

uncertain is how much earlier the coinage of Aegina begins. Kroll & Waggoner, like Holloway, DFGC and AHCAC, put it as early as c. 580/570. Price & Waggoner, AGC, however, argue for a date a generation later, c. 550, which is adopted also in the handbooks by Carradice & Price and by Jenkins, *AGC*[2] (revised downwards from the first edition). Kraay repeatedly adopted a middle view (AHSCC, *ACGC* 41–3, *CAH* IV[2] 437–8), putting it c. 560 (or 570–50). Clearly, fine tuning in this world of proto-tortoises is hardly possible: see the careful discussion in Figueira, *ASP* 88–107, 155–8.

Kagan's attempt in PAC to defend the ancient tradition that Pheidon of Corinth (whose own chronology is wobbly) introduced coinage into Greece at a much earlier date has found little favour. Similarly, Kagan's second attempt (in DEC) is dismissed by Figueira, *EEH* 63 n. 5 as 'not much help'. For attempts to make sense of this tradition, see (preferably) Kraay, *ACGC* 313–14 and in *CAH* IV[2] 432–3; Figueira, *ASP* 65–80.[c]

Kraay's argument that coinage was at first issued only in large denominations, and that it could not have been used for everyday purchases (first argued in HSCOC, quoted at some length here by Ste. Croix, and reiterated by Kraay in *ACGC* 317–28 and *CAH* IV[2] 441–5) has been standard doctrine for more than a generation now: see Rutter, Price, FEGBC, TBC and in *CAH* IV[2]. Recent work, however, especially by H. Kim (*GFSC*, CMSC, ACEUM) has made it clear that much more fractional coinage was issued in the sixth century than had previously been realised (Bérend; Carradice & Price, 27, Howgego, WASSC esp. 3, 22 and *AHC* 6–7; cf. tentatively Jenkins, AGC[1] 28 =[2] 14), which suggests that this 'standard doctrine' should be modified if not abandoned; if Kim is right, early coins might after all have been intended for use in everyday retail transactions.

This is hardly the place to discuss the wide-ranging speculations of Seaford (220–32 and elsewhere) and von Reden, *EAG* (esp.177–8, 184–7) and MLE (esp.156–7).

Bérend, D., 'Réflexions sur les fractions grecques', in A. Houghton et al. (ed.) *Festschrift Leo Mildenberg* (1984) 7–30, with Pls. 1–2
Carradice, I., and Price, M. J., *Coinage in the Greek World* (1988), 27, 35–8, with plates 2–3; bibliography at 137–8
Holloway, R. R., AHCAC = 'An Archaic Hoard from Crete and the Early Aeginetan Coinage', in *Amer. Numism. Soc. Museum Notes* 17 (1971) 1–21, with Pls. I–VIII
——, DFGC = 'The Date of the First Greek Coins', in *Revue Belge de Numismatique* 130 (1984) 5–18

[c] Further bibliography: Kroll & Waggoner, 325; Price, in Pls. to *CAH*[2] IV 238; Figueira *EEH* 63 n.5.

Howgego, C. J., WASSC = 'Why Did Ancient States Strike Coins?', in *Numism. Chron.* 150 (1990)1–25
——, *AHC* = *Ancient History from Coins* (1995) 4–9, with figs.16–20
Jenkins, G. K., *AGC*[1] = *Ancient Greek Coins*[1] (1972) 27–51; Jenkins, *AGC*[2] = revised edn. (1990) 13–26
Kagan, D., PAC = 'Pheidon's Aeginetan Coinage', in *TAPA* 91 (1960) 121–36
——, DEC = 'The Dates of the Earliest Coins' in *AJA* 86 (1982) 343–60
Kim, H., *GFSC* = *Greek Fractional Silver Coinage*, unpublished M.Phil. thesis, (Oxford, 1994) (non vidi)
——, CMSC = 'Coinage, Money and Small Change in Archaic Greece', lecture delivered at the conference on money in the ancient world (Univ. of Exeter, July 1999; unpublished, but full summary circulated)
——, ACEUM = 'Archaic Coinage as Evidence for the Use of Money' in *Money & its Uses in the Ancient Greek World* ed. A. Meadows & K. Shipton (2001), 7–21 with Pl. I.1
Kraay, C. M., AHSCC = 'The Asyut Hoard: Some Comments on Chronology' in *Numism. Chron.* 137 (n.s.17) (1977) 189–99
—— in *CAH* IV[2] = 'Coinage', ch. 7d in *The Cambridge Ancient History*[2] vol. IV (1988), 431–45 (bibliography at 861–3)
Kroll, J. H., and Waggoner, N. M., 'Dating the Earliest Coins of Athens, Corinth and Aegina', in *AJA* 88 (1984) 325–40
Price, M. J., FEGBC = 'The Function of Early Greek Bronze [*sic*] Coinage', in supplement to *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 25 (1979) 351–65
——, TBC = 'Thoughts on the Beginning of Coinage' in C.N.L. Brooke et al. (eds.) *Studies in numismatic method presented to Philip Grierson* (1983), 1–10
—— in plates to *CAH*[2] = 'Coinage,' ch. 15 in *The Cambridge Ancient History*[2] (1988), plates to vol. IV 237–43
——and Waggoner, N. M., *Archaic Greek Coinage: the Asyut Hoard* (1975) 61–76, 122–3, 131–2 with Pls. XIX–XXI
Rutter, N. K., 'Early Greek Coinage and the Influence of the Athenian State', in B. Cunliffe (ed.), *Coinage and Society in Britain and Gaul* [*sic*]: *some current problems* (1981), 1–9
Seaford, R. A. S., *Reciprocity and Ritual* (1994)
von Reden, S., *EAG* = *Exchange in Ancient Greece* (1995)
——, MLE = 'Money, Law and Exchange: Coinage in the Greek Polis', in *JHS* 117 (1997) 154–76

Section (ix). Naucratis

The disproportionate length of this section is primarily due to the number and complexity of the issues involved, but the fact that Ste. Croix did his wartime service in Egypt, which gave him a renewed interest in the ancient world (Parker, 452–3), may not perhaps be altogether irrelevant.

The best general account of the archaeology and history of Naucratis is still that of Boardman in *GO*, originally published as a Pelican book in 1964. His picture of the nature of the community is close to that of Ste.

Croix, who was writing at about the same time; Ste. Croix might have objected to Boardman's judgement that 'Naucratis attracted the get-rich-quick merchants of East Greece, and their Aeginetan colleagues who ran the business with central Greece', but would have been pleased that he does not identify these Aeginetans with members of the ruling aristocracy. Boardman (*GO* 130) emphasises, as indeed do most scholars who have written about Naucratis in recent years (Austin, 22, 27–9, 44–5; Braun, 40–1; Figueira, *ASP* 253, 262; Bresson, RHSN 293 [16–17], 297 [22–3]; Bowden, 29; Möller, 204, 207–8 etc), that Naucratis was dependent on the favour of the Pharaoh, a point that Ste. Croix does not mention but would not have denied. Indeed, it strengthens his case, since it could hardly have constituted an autonomous *polis* if it was under Pharaonic control (Bowden, 29; *contra*, Hansen, 93).

Boardman differs from Ste. Croix, however, in maintaining that the *prostatai tou emporiou* were elected locally at Naucratis, not by their home cities (130–1). Austin, too, in his excellent monograph rejects Herodotus' testimony on this question: 'How could a whole series of Greek states . . . , often quarrelling with one another and . . . incapable of any coherent plan of action, actually agree year after year on the appointment of officials . . . to take charge of affairs in a distant port in Egypt?', he asks (31–2), and many others (e.g. Figueira, *ASP* 261–3; Möller, 195) take a similar line. Some, however, have found parallels for such an arrangement, especially among amphictionies (Bowden, 32–3; Bresson, RHSN 311–12 [42–4], *id.* RN 74). But Herodotus says nothing about meetings, joint action or annual magistracies: these difficulties are entirely illusory, and there is no need either to reject the evidence or to search for justificatory parallels if we understand the passage as Ste. Croix does. (Braun, 42, also accepts Herodotus without further ado.)

Austin agrees with Ste. Croix that the Greek settlement at Naucratis may well have been established—a less misleading word than 'founded'—informally by traders rather than formally by states (Austin, 23, 59; so too Bresson, 315–16 [= 51–2]; Möller, 183; but denied with reference to the Hellenion by Bowden, 32). But unlike Ste. Croix, he rejects the possibility that there might be some truth in Strabo's account, according to which the settlement was first established by Miletus only, on the grounds that it is incompatible with Herodotus (Austin, 23, 59; also Bresson, RHSN 315–16 [= 51–2]; Drijvers; Figueira seems in two minds ['obviously erroneous', *ASP* 253;'should not be dismissed out of hand', 254, cf. 257]; accepted by Braun 37–8.)[d] Boardman's pottery chronology (now *GO* 121), followed here by Ste. Croix (n.97), is still

[d] Who (unlike the Loeb translator) does not imagine that Inaros was a city, *pace* Möller 186 n. 34.

generally accepted (Austin 23; Figueira *ASP* 255–6; Möller 91; but note the dissent in Bowden 26–8).

Austin also stresses (30, *pace* Möller, 197 n.110) Herodotus' distinction betwen the residents of Naucratis and the visiting traders (a point that seems to have escaped Ste. Croix: see Bresson, RHSN *passim*, esp. 291–9 = 13–26; Bowden, 28–9; *contra*, Möller, 188–9, 197–8, 214, who argues for a double aspect, not a physical division). The former eventually established a *polis*. When this happened remains contentious. Austin gives no date for its establishment (31), but seems to imply one considerably earlier than Ste. Croix would have countenanced. Hansen, 92–3, argues that it was already a *polis* (in the sense of a city-state) in the fifth century, on the grounds that Herodotus says so, and that his usage is consistent; this is rightly disputed by Bresson, RN 74–9. Bresson himself (RHSN, 316–17 [52–5], etc.; followed by Bowden, 29–30) at first dated the change in status to some time after the arrival of Alexander: he is still inclined to that opinion, but would now prefer to leave the question open (RN 78–9; further discussion forthcoming). Möller, 184–91, is in accord with Ste. Croix's fourth-century date.

The two Rhodian proxeny decrees referred to by Ste. Croix (pp. 402–3) form the chief focus of Bresson's long and complex RHSN (main conclusions summarised in RN 74); in *SIG*^{3} 110 he restores Αἰγ[υπτίον rather than Αἰγ[ινάταν: the strongest argument against this is that Pytheas, the proxenos' father, bears a name frequently found on Aegina (Figueira, FNAE 321; cf. Hornblower's paper cited in n. 28). Bresson, RN 66–73, also presents and discusses interesting new evidence from the Egyptian side.

Bowden, after giving an account of the 19th-c. excavations, suggests that Hogarth's identification of the Hellenion, generally accepted (for reasons outlined by Lloyd, 224), was incorrect (21–4), and that various chronological problems might be resolved if the chronology of archaic pottery were revised, bringing it down some forty years later (24–8). There has been no rush to follow this proposal. He maintains that Naucratis was not established informally by traders, but by Greek *poleis* and an Egyptian pharaoh or pharaohs, who aimed to control and profit from its trade.

Braun provides a vivid and lively account of the society of Naucratis and the goods exchanged there, but says little about the topics that interested Ste. Croix.

The latest general account of Naucratis is the book by Astrid Möller. Pride of place (and much space) is given to considering whether Naucratis qualifies as a 'port of trade' as defined by Polanyi; there is also a (necessarily) selective catalogue of finds. But there is no sign of Herodotus 2.178–9, the text from which any historical discussion must

start, before p. 183, and even then it appears in translation, not in Greek. As Osborne says in his somewhat adverse review, the book is more valuable on archaeology (including individual finds) than on economic history.

It is no secret that the original excavations of Naucratis, together with the recording of the finds, left much to be desired, even by the standards of the time (Boardman, *GO* 118–21, with photos; Bowden, 19–22; Möller, 92–4, 111–13, 116–19 etc.). Hogarth in 1899 was not even able to find the Hellenion that Petrie claimed to have discovered in 1884 (Coulson & Leonard, INE 364–6; Möller, 111–12). A lake, caused by the rising water-table, now covers the archaic settlement, and the whole area has been disturbed by local farmers digging for fertiliser (*sebakh*). It is hardly surprising that more recent investigations have thrown more light on Ptolemaic and Roman Naukratis than on the archaic period (the non-specialist will find Coulson & Leonard, INE, or Coulson, NS, quite adequate; fuller accounts in their *CDN*, *AN II* and in Leonard & Berlin, 28–30). But, as Charles Reed points out elsewhere in this volume, even if archaeologists were to excavate in ideal conditions until they were blue in the face, they would not come up with answers to the kinds of question that interested Ste. Croix.

Austin, M. M., *Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age* (*Proc. Camb. Philol. Soc.* suppl. 2 [1970]), esp. 22–33, 37–45 (with notes at 58–75)

Boardman *EGVP* : as above

—— *GO* = *The Greeks Overseas*^{4} (1999), 117–33 (notes at 290–1)

Bowden, H., 'The Greek Settlement and Sanctuaries at Naukratis: Herodotus and Archaeology' in M. H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub (eds.), *More Studies in the Greek Polis* (*Historia Einzelschrift* 108 [1996]), 17–37

Braun, T. F. R. G., 'Naucratis', in *The Cambridge Ancient History*^{2} III 3 (1982), 37–43

Bresson, A., RHSN = 'Rhodes, l'Hellénion et les statut de Naukratis (VIe–IVe siècle a.C.)' in *Dialogues d'HistAnc* 6 (1980) 291–349, repr. with slight revisions as ch. 1 (pp. 13–63) of his *La cité marchande* (2000)

——, RN = 'Retour à Naucratis', ch. 2 (pp. 65–84) of his *La cité marchande*

Coulson, W. D. E., NS = 'The Naukratis Survey' in E. C. M. van den Brink (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Nile Delta: problems and priorities* (1988), 259–63

——, *AN II* = Coulson, *et al.*, *Ancient Naukratis ii: The Survey at Naukratis and Environs pt. I: The Survey at Naukratis* 1997

Coulson, W. D. E., and Leonard, A., jr., *CDN* = *Cities of the Delta i: Naukratis* (1981)

——, INE = 'Investigations at Naukratis and Environs' in *AJA* 86 (1982) 361–80 at 361–75 (the rest of the article reports on the nearby site of Kom Firin)

Drijvers, J. W., 'Strabo 17.1.18 (801c), Inaros, the Milesians and Naucratis', in *Mnem.* 52 (1999) 16–22

Figueira *ASP*: as above

Figueira FNAE: as above
Hansen, M. H., '*Emporion*: A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods' in T. H. Nielsen (ed.), *Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (*Historia Einzelschrift* 117 [1997]), 83–105 at 91–4
Leonard, A., and Berlin, A., *Ancient Naukratis: excavations at a Greek emporion in Egypt* II = *AASOR* 54 (1997)—the entire volume.
Lloyd, A. B., *Herodotus Book II: Commentary 99–182* (1988) 221–31 (biblio. at 231)
Möller: as above
Osborne, R., review of Möller, in *CR* 52 (2002) 96–7

11

Herodotus and King Cleomenes I of Sparta

Ste. Croix wrote in 1972 that he knew of no satisfactory discussion of Spartan foreign policy in the reign of Cleomenes (*OPW* 167 n. 1). In this lecture he sets out to fill the gap himself. It was first given at a Sixth Form Conference at Radley College, Oxfordshire, on 5 October 1976, and subsequently at Sheffield University (19 October 1977) and at a Sixth Form Conference at Bristol (8 March 1979). We have not modified the informal but vigorous style: this is not an article, but a script prepared for oral delivery. References, originally listed on a handout, and a number of substantial manuscript addenda have been incorporated into the text or offloaded into footnotes.

Since I believe that Herodotus' picture of Cleomenes, overall, is gravely inadequate and in parts misleading, I think I had better begin by making it clear that I greatly admire Herodotus and agree with Collingwood's remark about him, that he was 'one of the great innovating geniuses of the fifth century'. He was certainly 'the Father of History'—although when I find my colleagues being uncritically reverent towards Herodotus (as I think many of them are), I like to say, 'Yes, Herodotus *was* the father of history—in the sense that history began in the next generation, with Thucydides.' But I don't mean that seriously. My own favourite remark about Herodotus is Gibbon's, that he 'sometimes writes for children and sometimes for philosophers'.

Herodotus is quite frank about his historiographic method. In VII 152.3 (cf. II 123.1; IV 195.2) he says that he conceives it to be his duty to λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, to repeat what his informants told him; and he goes on, 'But that doesn't mean that I necessarily believe it'; and he adds, 'And let that go for the whole of my History.' Well, of course it's very nice to know from Herodotus about all sorts of things that were believed in his day which weren't

Cawkwell, G. L., 'Cleomenes', in *Mnemosyne* 46 (1993) 506–27
Devereux, G. (ed. J. Chemouni), *Cléomène le roi fou* (1995)
Dillon, M. P. J., 'The Lacedaimonian Dedication to Olympian Zeus: the Date of Meiggs & Lewis 22 (*SEG* 11, 1203A)', in *ZPE* 107 (1995) 60–8
Ducat, J., *Les Hilotes* (= *BCH* supplement 20) (1990)
Forrest, W. G., *HS = A History of Sparta 950–192 BC* (1968; 2nd edn. 1980)
Griffiths, A., 'Was Cleomenes Mad?' in A. Powell (ed.) *Classical Sparta: Techniques behind her Success* (1989), 51–78
Harvey, F. D., 'Leonidas the Regicide?', in *Arktouros: Hellenic Studies presented to Bernard M. W. Knox*, ed. G. W. Bowersock, W. Burkert & M. C. J. Putnam (1979), 253–60
Hendriks, J. H. M., *De interpolitieke en internationale Betrekkingen van Argos in de Vijfde Eeuw v. Chr.* (Groningen, 1982)
Hereward, D., 'Herodotus vi.74', in *CQ* n.s.1 (1951) 146
Jeffery, L. H., *Archaic Greece: The City-States c.700–500 BC* (1976), 252–4
Klein, S. C., *Cleomenes: A Study in Early Spartan Imperialism* (diss. Kansas, 1973)
Kraay, C. M., *ACGC = Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (1976), 95–8
Nenci, G. (ed.), *Erodoto: Le Storie libro V* (Milan,1994); *libro VI* (1998)
Nielsen, T. H., 'Was There an Arkadian Confederacy in the Fifth Century BC?' in *More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (= *Historia Einzelschrift* 108), ed. M. H. Hansen & K. Raaflaub (1996), 39–61
Parker, R., *Cleomenes on the Acropolis* (inaugural lecture, Oxford 1998)
Pearson, L., PMA = 'The Pseudo-History of Messenia and its Authors', in *Historia* 11 (1962) 397–426
Thommen, L., *Lakedaimonion Politeia: die Entstehung der spartanischen Verfassung* (= *Historia Einzelschrift* 103) (1995)

Abbreviations and Bibliography

Abbreviations not listed here may be found in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*[3] (1996), pp. xxix–liv.

ASI (Ehrenberg) = *Ancient Society and Institutions. Studies Presented to Victor Ehrenberg on his 75th Birthday*, ed. E. Badian (1966)
ATL = B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery and M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, 4 vols.: I (1939), II (1949), III (1950), IV (1953)
CAH = *Cambridge Ancient History*. References are to the **first** edition (1923–39) unless otherwise stated.
Crux = *Crux. Essays presented to G. E. M. de Ste. Croix on his 75th Birthday*, ed. P. Cartledge and F. D. Harvey (1985)
DAA = *Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis*, ed. A. E. Raubitschek, with the collaboration of L. H. Jeffery (1949)
FD = *Fouilles de Delphes*
FGrH = F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, I and II (1923–30 and repr., containing the fragments of historians numbered 1–261), III (1940–58 and repr., containing the fragments of historians numbered 262–856).
FGrH III b (Suppl.) i [Text] and ii [Notes, etc.] (1954) contains the Commentary (in English) on the fragments of the Atthidographers, nos. 323a–334 in vol. III B (1950). These two volumes are abbreviated as Jac., i and ii. Distinguish *FGrH* III b (2 vols., Text and Noten, 1955), which contains the Commentary (in German) on the fragments of the remaining historians in vol. III B: nos. 297–322 and 335–607.
FHG = *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 5 vols. (1841–72)
FIRA[2] = *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani*, 3 vols., 2nd edn., ed. S. Riccobono etc. (1940–3)
Fornara = C. W. Fornara, *Archaic Times to the End of the Peloponnesian War. Translated Documents of Greece and Rome*, vol. I (1983)
IC = *Inscriptiones Creticae*, ed. M. Guarducci, 4 vols. (1935–50)
Jac. i, ii = see under *FGrH*
K/A = R. Kassel and C. Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci* (1983–)
L/P = E. Lobel and D. Page, *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta* (1955)
M/L = R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* (1969)
PMG = *Poetae Melici Graeci*, ed. D. Page (1962)
SGDI = *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, ed. H. Collitz etc. (1884–1915)

Tod I & II^2 = M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 2 vols. (1933–47)
Andrewes, A., *GT* = *The Greek Tyrants* (1956)
——, PP = 'Philochoros on Phratries', in *JHS* 81 (1961) 1–15
Beloch, K. J., *BGRW* = *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt* (*Historische Beiträge zur Bevölkerungslehre* I, 1886)
——, *GG* = *Griechische Geschichte* (2nd edn.), I^2 i (1924) and ii (1926), II^2 i (1927) and ii (1931), III^2 i (1922) and ii (1923)
Bengtson, H., *GG*^{2} = *Griechische Geschichte, von den Anfängen bis in die römische Kaiserzeit* (2nd edn., 1960: 4th edn., 1969)
Bloch, H., SHLFC = 'Studies in Historical Literature of the Fourth Century B.C.', in *Athenian Studies presented to W. S. Ferguson*, *HSCP* Suppl. vol. 1 (1940) 303–76
Böckh, A., *SA* I^3 = *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener* I (3rd edn., 1886, ed. M. Fränkel)
Bonner, R. J., and Smith, G., *AJHA* = *The Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle*, 2 vols., I (1930) and II (1938)
Bradeen, D. W., TCR = 'The Trittyes in Cleisthenes' Reforms', in *TAPA* 86 (1955) 22–30
Busolt, G., *GG* = *Griechische Geschichte*, I^2 (2nd edn., 1893), II^2 (2nd edn., 1895)
—— (or Busolt-Swoboda), *GS* = *Griechische Staatskunde*, 2 vols, I (1920), and II (1926, ed. H. Swoboda, whose contribution begins at p. 881)
Cadoux, T. J., AAKH = 'The Athenian Archons from Kreon to Hypsichides', in *JHS* 68 (1948) 70–123
Calderini, A., *O* = *l'Ostracismo* (1945)
Carcopino, J., *OA*^{2} = *L'Ostracisme athénien* (2nd edn., 1935)
Cartledge, P., TPR = '"Trade and Politics" Revisited: Archaic Greece,' in Garnsey, P. *et al.*, eds., *Trade in the Ancient Economy* (1983)
Cook, R. M., BBKGH = 'Die Bedeutung der bemalten Keramik für den griechischen Handel', in *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 74 (1959) 114–23
Day, J. H., and Chambers, M. H., *AHAD* = *Aristotle's History of Athenian Democracy* (U. Calif. Pub. Hist. lxxiii, 1962)
Dover, K. J., AO = 'Androtion on Ostracism', in *CR* 77 = n.s. 13 (1963) 256–7
Ehrenberg, V., *GS* = *The Greek State* (1959)
——, *PA*^{2} = *The People of Aristophanes* (2nd edn., 1951)
Eliot, C. W. J., *CDA* = *Coastal Demes of Attica* (1962)
Finley, M. I., AD = 'Athenian Demagogues', in *Past and Present* 21 (1962) 3–24
Forrest, W. G., *EGD* = *The Emergence of Greek Democracy* (1966)
——, *HS* = *A History of Sparta, 950–192 B.C.* (1968)

Freeman, K., *WLS* = *The Work and Life of Solon* (1926)
Fritz, K. von, and Kapp, E., *ACA* = *Aristotle's Constitution of Athens and Related Texts* (1950)
Fuks, A., *AC* = *The Ancestral Constitution* (1953)
Gilbert, G., *CASA* = *The Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens* (1895: Eng. trans., by E. J. Brooks and T. Nicklin, of *HGS* = *Handbuch der griechischen Staatsalterthümer* I^2, 1893)
Glotz, G., *AGW* = *Ancient Greece at Work. An Economic History of Greece from the Homeric Period to the Roman Conquest* (1926: Eng. trans., by M. R. Dobie, of *TGA* = *Le travail dans la Grèce ancienne*, 1920)
——, *GC* = *The Greek City and its Institutions* (1929: Eng. trans., by N. Mallinson, of *La Cité grecque. Le developpement des institutions*, 1920)
Glotz, G., and Cohen, R., *HG* = *Histoire générale: histoire grecque*, I. *Des origins aux guerres médiques* (4th edn., 1948), II. *La Grèce au Ve siècle* (4th edn., 1948), III. *La Grèce au IVe siècle* (1936, repr. 1941)
Gomme, A. W., *EGHL* = *Essays in Greek History and Literature* (1937)
——, *HCT* = *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* (1945–56), I (1945, on Book I), II (on Books II–III) and III (on Books IV and V 1–24, 1956)
——, *MEGHL* = *More Essays in Greek History and Literature* (1962)
Grote, G., *HG* = *History of Greece* (new edn. in 10 vols., 1888)
Hammond, N. G. L., *HG* = *A History of Greece to 322 B.C.* (1959)
Hansen, M. H., *AD* = *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes* (1991)
Harding, P., *ATA* = *Androtion and the Atthis* (1994)
Harrison, A. R. W., LMAEFC = 'Law-making at Athens at the End of the Fifth Century B.C.', in *JHS* 75 (1955) 26–35
Hasebroek, J., *TPAG* = *Trade and Politics in Ancient Greece* (1933: Eng. trans., by L. M. Fraser and D. C. Macgregor, of *Staat und Handel im alten Griechenland*, 1928)
Head, B. V., *HN*^{2} = *Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics* (2nd edn., 1911)
Headlam, J. W., *ELA*^{2} = *Election by Lot at Athens* (Cambridge Historical Essays, iv, 2nd edn., 1933)
Heichelheim, F. M., *AEH* = *An Ancient Economic History: from the Palaeolithic Age to the Migrations of the Germanic, Slavic and Arabic Nations*, 3 vols. (1958–70: Eng. trans., by J. Stevens, of *WA* = *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Altertums: vom paläolithikum bis zur völkerwanderung der Germanen, Slaven, und Araber*, 1938)
Hignett, C., *HAC* = *A History of the Athenian Constitution to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* (1952)
Holm, A., *HG* = *History of Greece*, 4 vols. (1894–8)
Hopper, R. J., *BAD* = *The Basis of the Athenian Democracy* (Inaugural Lecture, Sheffield U., 1957)

How, W. W., and Wells, J., *CH = A Commentary on Herodotus*, 2 vols. (1912; corrected reprint, with additions, 1936)
Jacoby, F., *A = Atthis: The Local Chronicles of Ancient Athens* (1949)
——, *GH = Griechische Historiker* (1956), reprinting Jacoby's articles in *RE* on various Greek historians
Jardé, A., *CAG = Les céréales dans l'antiquité grecque*, I. *La production* (*Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, fasc. 130, 1925)
Jeffery, L. H., *LSAG = The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (1961)
Jones, A. H. M., *AD = Athenian Democracy* (1957)
Kahrstedt, U., BGRF = 'Untersuchungen zu athenischen Behörden, IV. Bemerkungen zur Geschichte des Rats der Fünfhundert', in *Klio* 33 (1940) 1–12
——, NLA = 'Untersuchungen zu athenischen Behörden, II. Die Nomotheten und die Legislative in Athen', in *Klio* 31 (1938), 1–32
——, *SSA = Studien zum öffentlichen Recht Athens*, Teil I. *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige in Athen* (1934)
——, *UMA = Studien zum öffentlichen Recht Athens*, Teil II. *Untersuchungen zur Magistratur in Athen* (1936)
Keil, B., *SVAVA = Die solonische Verfassung in Aristoteles Verfassungsgeschichte Athens* (1892)
Kirchner, J., *PA = Prosopographia Attica*, 2 vols. (1901, 1903)
Kirsten, 'Review' = E. Kirsten, review of S. Welter, *Aigina* (1938), and H. Winterscheidt, *Aigina. Eine Untersuchung über seine Gesellschaft and Wirtschaft* (1938), in *Gnomon* 18 (1942) 289–311
Kraay, C. M., *ACGC = Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (1976)
——, HSCOC = 'Hoards, Small Change and the Origins of Coinage', in *JHS* 84 (1964) 76–91
Larsen, J. A. O., *RGGRH = Representative Government in Greek and Roman History* (Sather Classical Lectures 28, 1955)
Ledl, A., *SAAV = Studien zur älteren athenischen Verfassungsgeschichte* (1914)
Lévêque, P., and Vidal-Naquet, P., *CA = Clisthène l'Athénien: essai sur la representation de l'espace et du temps dans la pensée politique grecque de la fin du VI^e siècle à la mort de Platon* (1964)
Lewis, D. M., CA = 'Cleisthenes and Attica', in *Historia* 12 (1963) 22–40
Lipsius, J. H., *ARR = Das Attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren* (1905–15)
Macan, R. W., *Hdts IV–VI = Herodotus: The Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Books*, 2 vols. (1895)
——, *Hdts VII–IX = Herodotus: The Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Books*, 3 vols. (1908)
Meritt, B. D., *AFD = Athenian Financial Documents* (1932)
——, *AY = The Athenian Year* (1961)

Meyer, E., *FAG* II = *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, II. *Zur Geschichte des fünften Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (1899)
——, *GdA = Geschichte des Altertums*
Mitchell/Rhodes, *DPAG* = Mitchell, L. G., and Rhodes, P. J., eds., *The Development of the Polis in Archaic Greece* (1997)
Murray, O., *EG = Early Greece*[2] (1993)
Newman, W. L., *PA = The Politics of Aristotle*, 4 vols., I & II (1887), III & IV (1902)
Osborne, R., *GM = Greece in the Making* (1996)
Osborne/Hornblower, *RFP* = Osborne, R., and Hornblower, S., eds., *Ritual, Finance, Politics* (1994)
Parker, R. C. T., *AR = Athenian Religion: A History* (1995)
Raubitschek, A. E., OO = 'The Origin of Ostracism', in *AJArch* 55 (1951) 221–9
——, TO = 'Theophrastus on Ostracism', in *Classica et Mediaevalia* 19 (1958) 73–109
Rhodes, P. J., *AB = The Athenian Boule* (1972)
——, *CAAP = A Commentary on the Aristotelian* Athenaion Politeia (1981, reissued with addenda 1993)
Roebuck, C., GTGE = 'The Grain Trade Between Greece and Egypt', in *Classical Philology* 45 (1950) 236–47, repr. in his *Economy and Society in the Early Greek World* (1979), 30–41
——, *ITC = Ionian Trade and Colonisation* (1959)
——, ON = 'The Organization of Naukratis', in *Classical Philology* 46 (1951) 212–220, repr. in his *Economy and Society in the Early Greek World* (1979), 44–52
Ross, W. D., DAT = 'The Development of Aristotle's Thought', in *PBA* 43 (1957) 63–78
Ruschenbusch, E., PP = 'ΠΑΤΡΙΟΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ', in *Historia* 7 (1958) 398–424
Ste. Croix, G. E. M. de, CAE = 'The Character of the Athenian Empire', in *Historia* 3 (1954/5) 1–41
——, CFT = 'The Constitution of the Five Thousand', in *Historia* 5 (1956) 1–23
——, *CSAGW = The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (1981)
——, DTAEFC = 'Demosthenes' *timema* and the Athenian *eisphora* in the Fourth Century B.C.', in *Classica et Mediaevalia* 14 (1953) 30–70
——, NJAE = 'Notes on Jurisdiction in the Athenian Empire', in *CQ* 55 = n.s. 11 (1961) 94–112 (I), 268–80 (II)
——, *OPW = The Origins of the Peloponnesian War* (1972)
Sanctis, G. de, *A*[2] = *Ἀτθίς: Storia della reppublica Ateniese dalle origini alla età di Pericle* (2nd edn., 1912)

Sandys, J. E., *ACA*^{2} = *Aristotle's Constitution of Athens* (2nd edn., 1912)
Seltman, C. T., *GC*^{2} = *Greek Coins: A History of Metallic Currency and Coinage down to the Fall of the Hellenistic Kingdoms* (2nd edn., 1955)
Stier, H., *WAW* I = *Westermanns Atlas zur Weltgeschichte*, I. *Vorzeit und Altertum* (1956)
Sumner, G. V., AF6 = 'Androtion F6 and *Ath. Pol.* 22', in *BICS* 11 (1964) 79–86
Thompson, W. E., TTAH = 'Three Thousand Acharnian Hoplites', in *Historia* 13 (1964) 400–13
Ure, P. N., *OT* = *The Origin of Tyranny* (1922)
Usener, H., OWA = 'Organisation der wissenschaftlichen Arbeit', in *Vorträge und Aufsätze* (1907), 67–102
Wade-Gery, H. T., *EGH* = *Essays in Greek History* (1958)
Weil, R., *AH* = *Aristote et l'histoire: essai sur la Politique* (1960)
Welwei, K.-W., *Athen* = *Athen. Vom neolithischen Siedlungsplatz zur archaischen Grosspolis* (1992)
Whitehead, D., *DA* = *The Demes of Attica* (1986)
Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von, *AuA* = *Aristoteles und Athen*, 2 vols. (1893)
Wyse, W., *SI* = *The Speeches of Isaeus* (1904)

Index

'Here . . . are missing pieces of two interconnected jigsaws: one, that of the intellectual biography of one of the most striking figures in classical scholarship in the second half of the [illegible] of his contributions to 'Athenian Democrati[illegible]ek history . . . anyone with a serious interest in [illegible]oice in this volume and be grateful to its editors [illegible]nitable scholarly voice of Geoffrey Ernest Maur[illegible] *Mawr Classical Review*

In these interconnected essays the late Geoffrey de Ste. Croix defends the institutions of the Athenian democracy, showing that they were much more practical, rational, and impartial than has usually been acknowledged. A major essay provides a new view of Aristotle's use of sources in *The Constitution of the Athenians*, on which so much of our knowledge of Athenian constitutional history depends. Ste. Croix also argues that commercial factors had much less influence on Greek politics than modern scholars tend to assume, and that there was no such thing in any Greek state as a 'commercial aristocracy'. As always, he works out these general positions with the utmost lucidity and pungency, and in meticulous detail. Though written in the 1960s, these hitherto unpublished essays by a great radical historian will still constitute a major contribution to contemporary debate. The editors and other specialists have supplied an updating Afterword to each chapter, and the book contains a thorough index.

The late **Geoffrey de Ste. Croix** was Fellow and Tutor in Ancient History, New College, Oxford.

David Harvey is a former Lecturer in Classics at the University of Exeter.

Robert Parker is Wykeham Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford.

Cover illustration: Ostrakon against Megakles Hippokratous for adultery (Kerameikos Excavations; after Brenne in *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy*).

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

www.oup.com

ISBN 0-19-928516-0
9 780199 285167