



**ОДСЕК ЗА ИСТОРИЈУ
ФИЛОЗОФСКОГ ФАКУЛТЕТА У НОВОМ САДУ И
ДРУШТВО ЗА АНТИЧКЕ СТУДИЈЕ СРБИЈЕ**

организују предавање:

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говориће на тему:

***WAR IS THE FATHER OF ALL:
THE POLITICS OF WAR, EMPIRE, AND FREEDOM
IN DEMOCRATIC ATHENS***

(Рат је отац свега: политика рата, империје и слободе
у демократској Атини)

Предавање ће бити на енглеском језику

Филозофски факултет у Новом Сад
8. септембра 2011. у 12.00 часова,
Кино сала у приземљу.



KURT A. RAAFLAUB

kratka biografija

Profesor Kurt A. Raaflaub je jedan od vodećih svetskih stručnjaka za antičku istoriju. Njegova uža područja istraživanja su politička misao i razvoj države u antičkoj Grčkoj i i kraj rimske republike i nastanak principata.

Osnovne i doktorske studije završio je na univerzitetima u Bazelu (Švajcarska), Hamburgu i Berlinu (Nemačka). Radio je kao asistent na Univerzitetu u Kelnu, docent na Univerzitetu u Berlinu i redovan profesor na Braun univerzitetu (SAD), gde je bio i dugogodišnji šef katedre.

Profesor K. A. Raaflaub je u dva mandata bio direktor renomiranog Centra za helenske studije (Center for Hellenic Studies) u Vašingtonu na Harvardskom univerzitetu. Takođe je bio predsednik Američke filološke asocijacije (American Philological Association) i njen predstavnik u FIEC-u (International Federation of Associations of Classical Studies), čiji je član i Društvo za antičke studije Srbije.

Autor je više desetina članaka u najuglednijim svetskim časopisima, uređivao je više monografija u izdanju uglednih izdavačkih kuća: Princeton University Press, Harvard University Press, Berkeley/California University Press, Blackwell Press itd. Za svoju najčuveniju monografiju *Otkriće slobode u antičkoj Grčkoj* (*The Discovery of Freedom in Ancient Greece*) 2004. godine od Američkog društva istoričara dobio je nagradu „James Henry Breasted Prize“ za najbolju knjigu koja se bavi periodima pre 1000 godine nove ere.

Držao je predavanja po pozivu na pedesetak fakulteta u svetu: Kembridž, Harvard, Princeton, Jejl, Stenford, Piza, Keln, Atina itd.

Prilikom svog gostovanja u Srbiji profesor Raaflaub će učestvovati na šestom međunarodnom naučnom skupu Društva za antičke studije Srbije *Antika, savremeni svet i recepcija antičke kulture*, Beograd – Sremska Mitrovica 9 – 11.9.2011. godine, i održaće predavanja na Filozofskom fakultetu u Novom Sadu i Beogradu.

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Abstract

We think of fifth-century Athens as a “Golden Age” of greatness in culture and humanism, characterized by the Parthenon, Phidias’ sculptures, Sophocles’ tragedies, Aristophanes’ comedies, Thucydides’ *History*, and the emergence of Socrates’ philosophy. If we can trust the historian Thucydides, the contemporaries, in and after the time of Pericles, defined “greatness” by stunning victories in war, unprecedented imperial power, and unmatched liberty, all achieved by citizens uniquely committed, on the basis of a powerful civic ideology, to their community’s continuing military and political domination. Yet twenty-five years after Pericles’ death, starved and exhausted, Athens lost the Peloponnesian War and was almost destroyed. This paper discusses the tensions and contradictions, so meaningful to our own time, inherent in Athens’ politics and ideologies of war, empire, and freedom, and their intimate connection with democracy.

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Handout

Prologue: War is the father of all.

[1] Heraclitus (late 6th cent. BCE), fragment 53 (no. 212) in G. S. Kirk, J. E. Raven, and M. Schofield, *The Presocratic Philosophers: A Critical History with a Selection of Texts* (2nd ed. Cambridge 1983) 193-94: "War is both king of all and father of all, and it has revealed some as gods, others as men; some it has made slaves, others free."

[2] Aeschylus, *Persians* 402-5: "Forward, you sons of Hellas! Set your country free! Set free your sons, your wives, tombs of your ancestors, and temples of your gods. All is at stake: now fight!" 388-92, 406-7: "From the Hellene ships rose like a song of joy the piercing battle-cry... The Persians knew their error; fear gripped every man... Then from our side in answer rose the clamour of Persian voices; and the hour had come." Trans. (modified) Philip Vellacott (Penguin). Clamor (*rhothos*): see E. Hall, *Aeschylus, Persians. Ed. with an Introd., Trans., and Comm.* (Warminster 1996) 139. Trojans vs. Achaeans: *Iliad* 3.8-9; 4.429-38.

[3] Aeschylus' funeral epigram: "This monument in wheatbearing Gela hides an Athenian dead: Aeschylus, son of Euphorion. Of his noble courage the sacred field of Marathon could tell, and the longhaired Mede, who had good cause to know" (Anon. *Life of Aesch.* 11; trans. J. Herington; Paus. 1.14.5). Brother: Herodotus (Hdt.) 6.114.

[4] Yoke of servitude: Aesch. *Pers.* 50. Atossa's dream: 181-97. No one's slaves: 242.

[5] Xerxes' return: *ibid.* 907ff.; his transgressions: 739ff.

[6] Thucydides (Thuc.) on Pericles: 2.65. Sparta's war propaganda (liberation of the Hellenes from the tyrant city): Thuc. 2.8; cf. 1.122, 124. Athens as the greatest and freest city: 6.89.6; 7.69.2 (n. 33 below). On both: Raaflaub, *The Discovery of Freedom in Ancient Greece* (Chicago 2004), chap. 5.

[7] Xenophon, *Greek History (Hellenica)* 2.2.23: "The Peloponnesians with great enthusiasm began to tear down the walls to the music of flute-girls, thinking that that day was the beginning of freedom for Greece" (trans. R. Warner [Penguin]).

The Greek discovery of freedom as a political value

[8] Lack of political freedom in the ancient world: Raaflaub, *Discovery* (n. 6) 4.

[9] The earliest Greek constitutional terminology focused on "order": *eu-nomia* (good order), *dys-nomia* (bad order). Modified by an *iso*-component: *isonomia* (equal order, distribution, participation; equality before the law); also *isēgoria* (equality of speech), *isokratia* (equality of power). Hdt. 3.80.6. On *parhēsia* (*pan-rhēsia*, the right to say all, freedom of speech): Raaflaub, *Discovery* 221-25. Democracy and freedom: *ibid.* ch. 6.

[10] Expansion of power in archaic Greece: Raaflaub, "Democracy, Power, and Imperialism in Fifth-Century Athens," in J. P. Euben, J. R. Wallach, and J. Ober (eds.), *Athenian Political Thought and the Reconstruction of American Democracy* (Ithaca NY 1994): 103-46, at 114-18. Peloponnesian League: D. Kagan, *The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War* (Ithaca NY 1969): 9-30.

[11] Persian rule over the Greeks: P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* (Winona Lake IN 2002); J. M. Balcer, *The Persian Conquest of the Greeks, 545-450 BC* (Konstanz 1995). The inscription of Darius at Behistun is in R. Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon* (2nd ed. New Haven 1953).

[12] O. Murray, "The Ionian Revolt," *Cambr. Anc. Hist. (CAH)* IV² (1988) 461-90. Persian ambassadors: Hdt. 7.133.

[13] *Eleutheria*: Pindar, *Isthmian* 8.10-16; cf. fr. 77 Snell-Maehler. Invention of freedom, Zeus Soter (Savior), Eleutherios (Liberator): Raaflaub, *Discovery* (n.6) ch. 3.

[14] Spartan ambassadors: Hdt. 7.135. Highest dignitary as slave: see the Greek translation of king Darius's letter to the satrap (governor) Gadatas, in C. W. Fornara, *Archaic Times to the End of the Peloponnesian War* (2nd ed. Cambridge 1983) 37 no. 35: "The King of Kings Dareios son of Hystaspes to Gadatas, his slave (*doulos*) thus speaks..." Persian "vassal": *bandāka*; see Briant (as in n. 11) 324-25.

War, empire, and democracy

[15] Delian League to Athenian Empire: R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford 1972); P. J. Rhodes, "The Delian League to 449 B.C.," *CAHV*² (1992) 34-61.

[16] Thuc. 2.36: "Our ancestors [the generation of the grandfathers], by their courage and virtues, handed our country down to us as a free country [that is, they preserved Athens' liberty in the Persian Wars]. They certainly deserve our praise. Even more so do our fathers deserve it. For to the inheritance they had received they added all the empire we have now, and it was not without blood and toil that they handed it down to us of the present generation. And then we ourselves, assembled here today, who are mostly in the prime of life have... added to the power of our empire and organized our State in such a way that it is perfectly self-sufficient (*autarkestatē*) both in peace and in war."

[17] Thuc. 2.61-64: "You must remember that you are citizens of a great city and that you were brought up in a way of life suited to her greatness... Your empire is now like a tyranny: it may have been wrong to take it; it is certainly dangerous to let it go... Remember, too, that the reason why Athens has the greatest name in all the world is because she has never given in to adversity, but has spent more life and labour in warfare than any other state, thus winning the greatest power that has ever existed in history, such a power that will be remembered for ever by posterity... [And what exactly will posterity remember?] That of all Hellenic powers we held the widest sway over the Hellenes, that we stood firm in the greatest wars against their combined forces and against individual states, that we lived in a city which had been perfectly equipped in every direction and which was the greatest in Hellas."

[18] Athenian losses: B. S. Strauss, *Athens after the Peloponnesian War* (Ithaca NY 1986) 179-82; M. H. Hansen, *Three Studies in Athenian Demography* (Copenhagen 1988) 14-28.

[19] Aeschines 3.183-5 (The Eion epigrams):

This shall stand as the tribute which Athens paid to her leaders,
Homage to hard-fought victories, earned by their valiant deeds.
Those who come after may read and from this memorial take courage,
and in their country's cause march no less bravely to war.

(Trans. C. D. Adams [Loeb Classical Library]). See Raaflaub, "Father of All, Destroyer of All: War in Late Fifth-Century Athenian Discourse and Ideology," in D. R. McCann and B. S. Strauss (eds.), *War and Democracy: A Comparative Study of the Korean War and the Peloponnesian War* (Armonk NY 2001): 37-56.

[20] Empire and democracy: Raaflaub, J. Ober, and R. W. Wallace, *Origins of Democracy in Ancient Greece* (Berkeley 2007) chap. 5. "The men are the city": Thuc. 7.77.7. On Athenian democracy in general, see M. H. Hansen, *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes* (Norman 1999).

[21] Pseudo-Xenophon, *Constitution of the Athenians* (available in the Loeb ed. of Xenophon, vol. VII [Cambridge MA 1968], 459ff., and in J. M. Moore, *Aristotle and Xenophon on Democracy and Oligarchy* [Berkeley 1975]) 1.2: "It is just for the poor and the common people in Athens to have more than the well-born and wealthy because it is the common people who man the ships and confer power on the city... much more than the hoplites [heavily armed infantry soldiers], the well-born and the better class. Since this is the case, it seems just to allow everyone access to the political offices, whether assigned by lot or election, and to allow any citizen to speak if he wishes."

[22] Hdt. 5.78: "Thus Athens went from strength to strength, and proved, if proof were needed, how noble a thing democracy [literally: equality of speech] is, not in one respect only, but in all; for while they were oppressed under a tyranny, they had no better success in war than any of their neighbors, yet once the yoke was flung off, they proved the finest fighters in the world. This clearly shows that, so long as they were held down by authority, they deliberately shirked their duty in the field, as slaves shirk working for their masters; but when freedom was won, then every man amongst them was interested in [the common cause as] his own cause" (trans. de Séincourt and Marincola [Penguin]).

The ideological link between freedom and imperialism

[23] "Old story": e.g., Thuc. 1.73: "We must refer to the Persian War, to events well known to you all, even though you may be tired of constantly hearing the story." 5.89: "We will use no fine phrases saying, for example, that we have a right to our empire because we defeated the Persians, or that we have come against you now because of the injuries you have done us—a great mass of words that nobody would believe."

[24] Hdt. 7.139: "At this point I find myself compelled to express an opinion which I know most people will object to; nevertheless, as I believe it to be true, I will not suppress it. If the Athenians, through fear of the approaching danger, had abandoned their country, or if they had stayed there and submitted to Xerxes, there would have been no attempt

to resist the Persians by sea; and, in the absence of a Greek fleet, [the Persians would easily have conquered the rest of Greece, circumventing the Spartan defenses on the Isthmus of Corinth]. In view of this, therefore, one is surely right in saying that Greece was saved by the Athenians. It was the Athenians who held the balance; whichever side they joined was sure to prevail. It was the Athenians, too, who, having chosen that Greece should live and preserve her freedom, roused to battle the other Greek states which had not yet submitted. It was the Athenians who — after the gods — drove back the Persian king.”

[25] Hdt. 8.140-44. 142: (Spartans) “It would be an intolerable thing that the Athenians, who in the past have been known so often as liberators, should now be the cause of bringing slavery upon Greece.”

143: (Athenian response to Persian envoys) “We know as well as you do that the Persian strength is many times greater than our own... Nevertheless, such is our love of freedom, that we will defend ourselves in whatever way we can. As for making terms with Persia, it is useless to try to persuade us; for we shall never consent. And now tell Mardonius, that so long as the sun keeps his present course in the sky, we Athenians will never make peace with Xerxes. On the contrary, we shall oppose him unremittingly, putting our trust in the help of the gods and heroes whom he despised, whose temples and statues he destroyed with fire.”

144: (Athenian response to Spartans) “No doubt it was natural that the Spartans should dread the possibility of our making terms with Persia; none the less it shows a poor estimate of the spirit of Athens. There is not so much gold in the world nor land so fair that we would take it for pay to join the common enemy and bring Greece into subjection. There are many compelling reasons against our doing so, even if we wished: the first and greatest is the burning of the temples and images of our gods — now ashes and rubble. It is our duty to avenge this desecration with all our might — not to clasp the hand that wrought it. Again, there is the Greek nation — the community of blood and language, temples and ritual, and our common customs; if Athens were to betray all this, it would not be well done.”

[26] On “activism, doing a lot” (*polypragmosynē*) as typical of the Athenian collective character, see Thuc. 1.70: “An Athenian is always an innovator, quick to form a resolution and quick at carrying it out... Athenian daring will outrun its own resources; they will take risks against their better judgement, and still, in the midst of danger, remain confident...; they never hesitate...; they are always abroad, for they think that the farther they go the more they will get... If they win a victory, they follow it up at once, and if they suffer a defeat, they scarcely fall back at all... They prefer hardship and activity to peace and quiet. In a word, they are by nature incapable of either living a quiet life themselves or of allowing anyone else to do so.” On the Athenian concept of the active and passive (*apragmōn*) citizen, see Thuc. 2.40, 61, 64; Raaflaub (as in n. 10); L. B. Carter, *The Quiet Athenian* (Oxford 1986); M. R. Christ, *The Bad Citizen in Classical Athens* (Cambridge 2006); P. Demont, *La cité grecque archaïque et classique et l'idéal de tranquillité* (Paris 2009).

[27] On the passion for empire building in Aristophanes’ *Birds*, see, e.g., D. Konstan, *Greek Comedy and Ideology* (New York and Oxford 1995): 29-44; “The Greek Polis and Its Negations: Versions of Utopia in Aristophanes’ *Birds*,” in G. D. Dobrov (ed.), *The City as Comedy* (Chapel Hill 1997): 3-22.

[28] Sparta’s concession: Thuc. 7.18; peace offers: 4.15-41; Megara: 1.139. Freedom as propaganda: Raaflaub, *Discovery* (n. 6) 193-202.

[29] Pericles in Thuc. 1.140-41: “If you give in you will immediately be confronted with some greater demand, since they will think that you only gave way on this point through fear... But if you take a firm stand you will make it clear to them that they have to treat you properly as equals... When one’s equals, before resorting to arbitration, make claims on their neighbors and put those claims in the form of commands, it would be slavish to give in to them, however big or however small such claims may be.” Euripides, *Heraclidae* 243-46: “If I allow this altar to be violated / by a foreign hand, to Hellas it will seem that my / country is no free country, and that I betray / suppliants through fear of Argos.” 284-87: “Go hang yourself! Your Argos holds no terror for me. / ... This city of mine / owes no subservience to Argos; she is free” (Trans. Vellacott). Thuc. 2.40: “We make friends by doing good to others... We do not do this out of any calculation of profit or loss... only out of the generosity that is typical of free men.”

[30] Thuc. 2.63 (Pericles): “Your empire is now like a tyranny: it may have been wrong to take it; it is certainly dangerous to let it go.” Cf. 3.37 (Cleon): “What you do not realize is that your empire is a tyranny exercised over subjects who do not like it and who are always plotting against you.” See also n. 17 above. 2.41: “We do not need the praises of a Homer, or of anyone else whose words may delight us for the moment, but whose estimation of facts will fall short of what is really true. For our adventurous spirit has forced an entry into every sea and into every land; and everywhere we have left behind us everlasting memorials of good done to our friends or suffering inflicted on our enemies.”

[31] Thuc. 2.36 (n. 16). On self-sufficiency (*autarkeia*) as a political concept: Raaflaub, *Discovery* (n. 6) 184-87. Individual self-sufficiency: Thuc. 2.41 (Pericles): "I declare that in my opinion each single one of our citizens, in all the manifold aspects of life, is able to show himself a self-sufficient person (*sōma autarkes*), and do this, moreover, with exceptional grace and versatility." Contradicted in 2.51 (description of the plague): "Clearly no physical constitution was sufficient to resist the disease" (literally: "there was no self-sufficient body or person, no *sōma autarkes*").

[32] Hdt. 1.32 (Solon to Croesus): "Nobody can have all advantages any more than a country can produce everything it needs: whatever it has, it is bound to lack something. The best country is the one which has most. It is the same with people: no person is ever self-sufficient—there is sure to be something missing. But whoever has the greatest number of the good things..., and keeps them to the end, and dies a peaceful death, that man, Croesus, deserves in my opinion to be called happy."

[33] [Aesch.] *Prometheus Bound* 49-50: "No one is free but Zeus." On the play's date: M. Griffith (ed.), *Aeschylus, Prometheus Bound* (Cambridge 1983) 31-35. Athens as the freest city (*polis eleutherōtatē*): Thuc. 7.69: [Nicias] "reminded them of their country, the freest in the world, and of how all who lived there had liberty to live their own lives in their own way..."; 6.89 (Alcibiades): "Our principles were that we should all join together in preserving the form of government which had been handed down to us under which the city was most great and most free (*megistē kai eleutherōtatē*).

[34] The Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (picture below): J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (New York 1971) 527-33; J. M. Camp, *The Athenian Agora* (London 1986) 105-7.

[35] Xenophon, *Greek History* (see n. 7) 2.2.10: The Athenians "could see no future for themselves except to suffer what they had made others suffer, people of small states whom they had injured not in retaliation for anything they had done but out of the arrogance of power."

