

Hillsdale College
Department of Politics

Fall, 2018
Kendall 411: MW 11:00 a.m. - 12:15 p.m.

Politics 723-01-F18 P. A. Rahe Thucydides and the Peloponnesian War 214
Kendall Hall

Office Hours: Tuesdays, 8:30-10:30 a.m.; Wednesdays, 3:20-4:55 p.m.; and by appointment. Call 631-3115 or catch me before or after class. My office is in Kendall Hall, 214.

This is an advanced course in statesmanship and in the history of political thought. It assumes your familiarity with the general outlines of the history of Greece and with Greek institutions. Those not fully familiar with these matters should peruse the first seven chapters of my book *Republics Ancient and Modern: Classical Republicanism and the American Revolution* or the first volume of the paperback edition: *Republics Ancient and Modern I: The Ancien Régime in Classical Greece* (ISBN-13: 978-0807844731), and they should read pp. 29-336 of my book *The Grand Strategy of Classical Sparta: The Persian Challenge* (ISBN-13: 978-0300227093).

The period to be studied is that leading up to and through the Peloponnesian War—the period stretching from 478 to 404 BC. Our principal historical sources are Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus, Xenophon, and Plutarch. We will also draw on Cornelius Nepos, the Attic orators, the tragedies of Sophocles, the comedies of Aristophanes, the dialogues of Plato, and the corpus of Attic inscriptions. The selections assigned should be read with the greatest possible care. You will want to consult Arnold Gomme's magisterial *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* and Simon Hornblower's *A Commentary on Thucydides* while reading Thucydides and P. J. Rhodes' *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* while reading Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*.

The following books are available at the bookstore and should be purchased by every student enrolled in this course.

Thucydides, *The Landmark Thucydides* (Free Press): ISBN-13: 978-0684827902
Diodorus Siculus, *From the Persian Wars to the Fall of Athens*, ed. and tr. Peter Green (University of Texas Press): ISBN-13: 978-0292721258
Xenophon, *The Landmark Xenophon* (Anchor): ISBN-13: 978-1400034765
Plutarch, *The Rise and Fall of Athens* (Penguin): ISBN-13: 978-0140441024
J.M. Moore, *Aristotle and Xenophon on Democracy and Oligarchy* (University of California Press): ISBN-13: 978-0520266056
Saunders, ed. *Greek Political Oratory* (Penguin): ISBN-13: 978-0140442236
Sophocles, *Sophocles One* (University of Chicago Press): ISBN-13: 978-0226311517
Plato and Aristophanes, *Four Texts on Socrates*, ed. and tr. West and West (Cornell University Press): ISBN-13: 978-0801485749

Aristophanes, I: Cloud, Wasps, Birds (Hackett): ISBN-13:
978-0872203600 Aristophanes, The Birds and Other Plays (Penguin):
ISBN-13: 978-0140449518

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Plato, Symposium, tr. Benardete (University of Chicago Press):
ISBN-13: 978- 0226042756
____, Protagoras and Meno, tr. Bartlett (Cornell University Press):
ISBN-13: 978- 0801488658
____, Gorgias, tr. Nichols (Cornell University Press): ISBN-13:
978-0801485275 Plutarch on Sparta (Penguin): ISBN-13:
978-0140449433
Mark Munn, The School of History (University of California Press):
ISBN-13: 978- 0520215573

I have made PDF files of many of the passages assigned from ancient sources not included in these volumes, and I have placed these electronic files on Blackboard for you to access. Many of the ancient authors can be found in the original language and in translation at <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/collection?collection=Perseus:collection:Greco-Roman>.

Inscriptions and obscure sources can be consulted in C. W. Fornara, *Archaic Times to the End of the Peloponnesian War*. I have placed this book and a number of others on reserve in the library. If you cannot find what you are looking for on reserve, look in the stacks. In many cases, those working on papers will need to turn to interlibrary loan. Feel free to consult the pertinent chapters in the various editions of *The Cambridge Ancient History*.

The seminar will meet twice a week for seventy-five minutes. Each student enrolled will write three reports. Each of the three reports should be 1200 words long. These should be e mailed to the entire class forty hours prior to the class meeting in which the subject of the report is scheduled for discussion. The grades for reports which arrive after that hour will be docked up to twenty-five per cent. Late reports must be turned in by the last day of class if the student is to pass the course.

The reports – together with the reading assigned for the particular class – are meant to provide a foundation for discussion. Every student is expected to have done the assigned reading, including the reports, before each class meeting. Every student is expected to be ready to discuss in detail what has been assigned.

There will be two tracks in the course. Some students will choose to write a 4000-word essay, due on the last day of class, on a subject, pertinent to the themes of the course, that they select and I approve. Others will write two additional short reports on the model spelled out above.

All enrolled students will take a mid-term and a final examination. The mid-term will cover the material discussed in the first half of the course; the final will cover the material discussed in the second half of the course. The mid-term will be administered in class at our normal meeting time on the date indicated below. The final will be administered in the classroom in which we normally meet at 8:00 a.m. on Tuesday, 11 December 2018.

In assigning grades to students who choose to write the 4000-word essay, I will give equal weight to the average of the grades given the three reports, the average of the grade given the two examinations, and the grade given the essay. In assigning grades to students who choose to write five reports, I will give equal weight to each of the seven grades they receive on their reports and examinations.

I grade on a scale from 0 to 100 and assign letter grades in the following fashion: A (90- 100); B (80-89); C (70-79); D (60-69); F (0-59). Although I do not fix a curve, my grading practices require both excellence and consistent effort to gain the grade A. As indicated on the last two pages of this syllabus, in grading your papers, I will pay close attention to style as well

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as to content. In judging the substance of what you have to say in your papers and your examinations, I will pay close attention to two questions: whether you have mastered the information presented, and whether you have demonstrated a critical, historical understanding of that information. The examinations are designed to enable me to answer these two questions.

Any student found guilty of cheating on any examination or of plagiarizing will be given a failing grade in the course. Students are expected to be familiar with and to comply with the honor code of Hillsdale College.

By the time of the preliminary examination, each student should have read Mark Munn, *The School of History: Athens in the Age of Socrates II-III*, Colin Macleod, *Collected Essays* 140- 158, the essay on Thucydides in Leo Strauss' *The City and Man*, Steven Forde, "Thucydides on the Causes of Athenian Imperialism," *American Political Science Review* 80 (1986): 433-48, and at least one of the following books: Francis Cornford, *Thucydides Mythistoricus*; John Finley, *Thucydides*; W. Robert Connor, *Thucydides*; Steven Forde, *The Ambition to Rule*; Paul W. Ludwig, *Eros and Polis*; and Clifford Orwin *The Humanity of Thucydides*. You may find it convenient to read one or more of these volumes as we work our way through Thucydides. I have asked the library to place on reserve these works as well as Donald Kagan's four-volume *New History of the Peloponnesian War*, George Cawkwell's *Thucydides and the Peloponnesian War*, and Victor Davis Hanson's *A War Like No Other*.

Schedule of Classes

August

W, 29: A Look at Thucydides

September

M, 3: Greece Before the Great War – I

W, 5: Greece Before the Great War – II

M, 10: The Athenian Empire

W, 12: The Great War Comes

M, 17: The Strategy of the Archidamian War

W, 19: The Mytilenian Debate and Athenian Imperialism

M, 24: The Pylos Affair: Cleon vs. Nicias

W, 26: Persia's Failure to Participate

October

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M, 1: The Peace of Nicias

W, 3: The Collapse of the Peace—I

M, 8: The Collapse of the Peace—II

W, 10: The Sicilian Expedition

F, 12: PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION M,

15: The Melian Dialogue

W, 17: No Class

M, 22: Politics and Religion

W, 24: Empire and Intellect

M, 29: Philosophy, Rhetoric, and Politics—I

W, 31: Philosophy, Rhetoric, and Politics—II

November

M, 5: Demagoguery

W, 7: Aristophanes' Political Vision—I F,

9: Aristophanes' Political Vision—II M, 12:

Alcibiades and Athens

W, 14: The Poetry of Aristophanes M, 19:

The Oligarchic Movement of 411 W, 21:

Thanksgiving Break

M, 26: Athens in Her Testing Time

W, 28: The Fall of Athens
December

M, 3: The Thirty

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W, 5: The Trial of Socrates

M, 10: FINAL EXAMINATION (1 p.m.)

Assignments

1. A LOOK AT THUCYDIDES

Reading:

Thucydides I (esp. 1-23, 32-43, 68-71, 126-38), II. 65

Thomas Hobbes's "Note to the Reader" and "Of the Life and History of Thucydides" in his translation of Thucydides (PDF)

Mark Munn, *The School of History XII*, pp. 292-307

Topics for Discussion:

A. Why did Thucydides write the book?

B. Why did he include the archaeology? What does it tell us about his methods and presuppositions?

C. How do the Corcyraeans begin their speech at Athens? the Corinthians? What are the speeches like that follow? Why?

D. What function does the Corinthian speech at Sparta serve?

E. Why was the digression on Pausanias and Themistocles included?

F. How does Thucydides view Pericles and Themistocles?

2. BEFORE THE GREAT WAR—I

Reading:

Thucydides I.89-118, 128-38, 5.69.1

Diodorus 11.26.1-37.6, 39.1-40.4, 41.1-48.2, 50.1-8, 54.1-62.2, 65, 70.1. Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* 23-24 (in J. M. Moore)

Strabo 8.3.2, 6.19 (PDF)
Fragments of Pausanias: 1.29.7, 2.15.4, 16.5-6, 25.8, 3.11.5-7, 17.7-9,
5.23.3, 7.25.5-6, 8.8.6, 27.1, 45.2 (PDF)
Fragments of Herodotus: 4.81.3, 5.32, 6.83, 9.33-35 (PDF)
Plutarch, Life of Themistocles, Life of Cimon
Aristotle Politics 1306b22-1307a4 (PDF)
Justin 9.1.3 (PDF)
Paul A. Rahe, Sparta's First Attic War, Part One (MS)

Strongly Recommended:

Donald Kagan, The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War Parts I-III (on reserve). W. G. G. Forrest, "Themistokles and Argos," Classical Quarterly, n. s. 10:3-4 (November 1960): 221-41 (electronic journals). J. E. Lendon, Song of Wrath, Introduction and Chapter 1 (on reserve).

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Topics for Reflection:

- A. The Foundation of the Delian League
- B. The Spartan Response
- C. The First Peace of Callias
- D. Themistocles' Peloponnesian Adventures
- E. Pausanias the Regent and Themistocles
- F. The Revolt of Thasos

3. BEFORE THE GREAT WAR—II

Reading:

Thucydides I.89-118
Diodorus 11.63.1-65.5, 69.1-71.6, 74.1-75.4, 77.1-78.6, 79.1-88.3, 92.5,
12.1.1-7.1. Aristotle, Constitution of Athens 25-27 (in J. M. Moore)
Plutarch, Life of Pericles
Strabo 8.6.20-21 (PDF)
Paul A. Rahe, Sparta's First Attic War, Part Two and Epilogue (MS).

Strongly Recommended:

Donald Kagan, The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War Parts I-III (on reserve). J. E. Lendon, Song of Wrath, Chapters 1-2 (on reserve).

Topics for Reflection:

- A. The Great Helot Revolt
- B. The Origins of the First Peloponnesian War
- C. The Egyptian Venture
- D. Strategy and Tactics in the First Peloponnesian War
- E. The Five Years' Truce
- F. The Second Peace of Callias and the Congress Decree
- G. Rebellions: Boeotia, Euboea, Megara

H. Pleistoanax and the Thirty Year's Peace

4. THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

Reading:

- Russell Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire XI-XVI* (on reserve).
- M. I. Finley, "The Fifth-Century Athenian Empire," in his *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece* 41-61 (on reserve).
- George Cawkwell, *Thucydides VI* (on reserve)
- [Xenophon] *The Constitution of the Athenians* (in J. M. Moore)
- Charles Fornara, *Archaic Times to the End of the Peloponnesian War* Nos. 62, 66, 68- 69, 71, 77, 85, 92, 97-115 (on reserve).

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Strongly Recommended:

- H. T. Wade-Gery, "Thucydides the Son of Melesias," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 52:1 (1932): 205-27 (electronic journal), reprinted in Wade Gery, *Essays in Greek History* 239-70 (PDF).

Topics for Discussion:

- A. How much did Athens interfere with the autonomy of her allies?
- B. What did the empire mean to Athens?

5. THE GREAT WAR COMES

Reading:

- Thucydides I-II
- Plutarch Pericles
- Diodorus Siculus 12.27.3-28.4, 30.2-31.3, 32.3-40.6.
- Fornara Nos. 116-27 (on reserve).
- Paul A. Rahe, *Sparta's Second Attic War*, Preface to Part One, Chapters One and Two (MS)

Strongly Recommended:

- Clifford Orwin, *The Humanity of Thucydides*, 30-63 (on reserve).

Reports: Kagan, *Outbreak Part IV* (on reserve); G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War* (on reserve); Cawkwell, *Thucydides II*, with appendices 1-2 (on reserve); J. E. Lendon, *Song of Wrath*, Chapters 2-3 (on reserve).

- A. What was the Megarian Decree and why was it passed? What were Pericles' intentions?
- B. Was the War Inevitable? Who was Responsible for its Outbreak?
- C. Why Corinth react to the crisis in the ways she did?

6. THE STRATEGY OF THE ARCHIDAMIAN WAR

Reading:

Thucydides I-II

Aristotle Constitution of Athens 28 (in J. M. Moore)

Plutarch Pericles

Diodorus Siculus 12.1-74

Paul A. Rahe, Sparta's Second Attic War, Chapter Three (MS).

Strongly Recommended:

Donald Kagan, Archidamian War I-IV (on reserve)

T.E. Wick, "Megara, Athens, and the West in the Archidamian War: A Study in Thucydides" *Historia* 28 (1979): 1-14 (electronic journal).

H. T. Wade-Gery, s.v. Thucydides in *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd edition (PDF). J. E. Lendon, *Song of Wrath*, Chapters 3-6 (on reserve).

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Reports: Bernard W. Henderson, *The Great War Between Athens and Sparta* 25-68; Lisa Kallet-Marx, *Money, Expense, and Naval Power in Thucydides' History* 1-5.24 (on reserve); Cawkwell *Thucydides III*; Hanson, *A War Like No Other*, 18-64, 89-111, 163-86 (on reserve).

A. What was Pericles' strategy for winning the war?—H. D. Westlake, "Seaborne Raids in Periclean Strategy," *Classical Quarterly* 39:3-4 (July, 1945): 75-84; D. W. Knight, "Thucydides and the War Strategy of Perikles," *Mnemosyne* 23 (1970): 150-61; B. X. de Wet, "The So-called Defensive Policy of Pericles," *Acta Classica* 12 (1969): 103-20; ; George Cawkwell, "Thucydides' Judgment of Periclean Strategy," *YCIS* 24 (1975): 53-70, reprinted in Cawkwell, *Cyrene to Chaeronea*, 134-50; . James Holladay, "Athenian Strategy in the Archidamian War," *Historia* 27:3 (3rd Quarter 1978): 399-427, reprinted in Holladay, *Athens in the Fifth Century and Other Studies in Greek History*, 61-84; John Wilson, *Athens and Corcyra* 58-61, 121-29; Josiah Ober, in *The Craft of the Ancient Historian*, ed. John W. Eadie & Josiah Ober 171-88; Charlotte Shubert and Dewid Laspe, "Pericles' defensive Kriegsplan: Eine Thukydeische Erfindung," *Historia* 58:4 (2009): 373-94.

B. What was the Spartan strategy for winning the war?—Peter A. Brunt, "Spartan Policy and Strategy in the Archidamian War" *Phoenix* 19 (1965): 255-80, reprinted in P. A. Brunt, *Studies in Greek History and Thought*, 84-111.

C. Commentary

7. THE MYTILENIAN DEBATE AND ATHENIAN IMPERIALISM

Reading:

Thucydides II-III

Plutarch Nicias
Diodorus Siculus 12.61-63
Aristotle Politics 1297b6-11, 1304a (PDF)
Mark Munn, The School of History II-III
Fornara Nos. 128-30 (on reserve).
Paul A. Rahe, Sparta's Second Attic War, Chapter Three.

Strongly Recommended:

Kagan, Archidamian War V (on reserve)
Ronald Legon, "Megara and Mytilene" Phoenix 22 (1968): 200-225
(electronic journals)

Reports: T. J. Quinn "Political groups in Lesbos during the Peloponnesian War,"
Historia 20 (1971): 405-417; David. Gillis, "The Revolt at Mytilene," American
Journal of Philology 92:2 (1971): 38-47; I. A. F. Bruce, "The Corcyraean Civil
War of 427 B.C.," Phoenix 25 (1971): 108-17; H. D. Westlake, "The Commons
at Mytilene," Historia 25 (1976): 429-40; Clifford Orwin, "The Just and the
Advantageous in Thucydides: The Case of the Mytilenaian Debate," The
American Political Science Review 78 (1984): 485-94.

- A. The Case for Cleon
- B. The Case for Diodotus

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C. Commentary

8. THE PYLOS AFFAIR: CLEON VS. NICIAS

Reading:

Thucydides III-IV
Plutarch Nicias
Diodorus Siculus 12.61-63
Fornara Nos. 133-36 (on reserve).
Paul A. Rahe, Sparta's Second Attic War, Preface to Part Two, Chapters Four
and Five (MS).

Strongly Recommended:

Kagan, Archidamian War VI-VIII (on reserve).
Meiggs, Athenian Empire XVIII (on reserve).
Joseph Roisman, Demosthenes, 15-17, 33-41, 75-76.
J. E. Lendon, Song of Wrath, Chapters 7-8 (on reserve).

Reports: J.G.P. Best, Thracian Peltasts and Their Influence on Greek Warfare
I-II; E. C. Woodcock, "Demosthenes, son of Alcisthenes," Harvard Studies In
Classical Philology 39 (1928): 93-108; John Wilson Pylos: 425 B. C.; Lisa
Kallet-Marx, Money Expense, and Naval Power in Thucydides' History 1-5.24,
152-83 (on reserve); Cawkwell Thucydides III; William Shepherd, Pylos and
Sphacteria, 425 BC. A. Was Cleon lucky at Pylos?

- B. Should the Athenians have accepted the Spartan peace offer of 425?
- C. Commentary

9. PERSIA: HER FAILURE TO PARTICIPATE

Reading:

Thucydides 1.13.6, 16.1, 18.1, 23.1, 73.4, 82.1, 96.1-2, 98.1, 109.2-4, 115.3-5, 129.1-3, 137.3-38.2, 2.7.1, 34.5, 67.1-4, 3.34, 4.50.1-3, 5.1.1, 8.5.4-6.1 (with editor's notes)

Andocides 3.29 (PDF)

Samuel K. Eddy, "The Cold War between Athens and Persia, ca. 448-412 B.C.," *Classical Philology* 68 (1973): 241-58 (electronic online)
Rahe, *Sparta's Second Attic War*, Preface to Part Three, Chapter Six
Fornara No. 138 (on reserve).

Further Suggested Reading: David M. Lewis, *Sparta and Persia I, III* (on reserve). and "Persian Gold in Greek International Relations," *Revue des études anciennes* 91 (1989): 227-34, reprinted in Lewis, *Selected Papers in Greek and Near Eastern History*, 369-79; John O. Hyland, *Persian Interventions*, Chapters One and Two.

Topics for Discussion:

A. The Nature of the Persian Regime

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B. Persian Political Theology

C. The Spartan Attitude

D. Athenian Relations with Persia

E. The Persian Failure to take Advantage of the War

10. THE PEACE OF NICIAS

Reading:

Thucydides IV.42-V.24

Plutarch Nicias

Diodorus Siculus 12.65-74

Paul A. Rahe, *Sparta's Second Attic War*, Chapters Six and Seven (MS).

Strongly Recommended:

Kagan, *Archidamian War IX-Conclusion* (on reserve).

Hanson, *A War Like No Other*, 123-51 (on reserve).

Donald Kagan, *Peace of Nicias ... I-II* (on reserve).

Cawkwell, *Thucydides IV* (on reserve)

J. E. Lendon, *Song of Wrath*, Chapters 8-9 (on reserve).

Reports:

A. Brasidas, Thucydides, and Cleon at Amphipolis: A. G. Woodhead,

“Thucydides’ Portrait of Cleon,” *Mnemosyne* 4th ser. 13:4 (1960): 289-317; W. Kendrick Pritchett, “The Woodheadean Interpretation of Kleon’s Amphipolitan Campaign,” *Mnemosyne* 4th ser. 26:4 (1973): 376-86; Henry D. Westlake, “Thucydides and the Fall of Amphipolis,” *Hermes* 90:3 (1962): 276-87, reprinted in Westlake, *Essays on the Greek Historians and Greek History*, 123-37; Kagan, *Archidamian War IX-X* (on reserve); Cawkwell, *Thucydides IV* (on reserve); Godfrey Hutchinson, *Attrition: Aspects of Command in the Peloponnesian War VI*

- B. Evaluate the Peace from the point of view of Athens
- C. Evaluate the Peace from the point of view of Sparta
- D. Evaluate the Peace from the point of view of All the Others
- E. Commentary

11. THE COLLAPSE OF THE PEACE—I: 421-416

Reading:

Thucydides V.25-V.116

Plutarch Nicias, Alcibiades

Diodorus Siculus 12.75-81

The Boeotian Constitution (in J. M. Moore)

Fornara Nos. 139-44 (on reserve).

Paul A. Rahe, *Sparta’s Second Attic War*, Chapters Six and Seven (MS)

Strongly Recommended:

Donald Kagan, *Peace of Nicias...* III-VI

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J. E. Lendon, *Song of Wrath*, Chapter 9 and Epilogue (on reserve).

Karl Walling, “Thucydides on Policy, Strategy, and War Termination,” *Naval War College Review* 66:4 (Autumn 2013): 47-85.

Reports: H. D. Westlake “Corinth and the Argive Coalition,” *American Journal of Philology* 61 (1940): 413-21; H. D. Westlake “Thucydides and the Uneasy Peace—A Study in Political Incompetence,” *Classical Quarterly* 21 (1971): 315-25, reprinted in Westlake, *Essays on the Greek Historians and Greek History*, 84-96 ; Thomas Kelly, “Cleobulus, Xenares, and Thucydides,” *Historia* 21 (1972): 159-69; Robin Seager “After the Peace of Nicias: Diplomacy and Policy, 421–416 B.C.,” *Classical Quarterly* 70 (1976): 249-69; Kagan, *Peace of Nicias* III-VI.

- A. Corinthian Goals and Policy
- B. Spartan Goals and Policy
- C. Argive Goals and Policy—Thomas Kelly “Argive Foreign Policy in the Fifth Century B.C.,” *Classical Philology* 69 (1974): 81-99
- D. Commentary

12. THE COLLAPSE OF THE PEACE—II: 421-416

Reading:

Same as above: add Fornara No. 132 (on reserve).

Paul A. Rahe, *Sparta's Second Attic War, Chapters Seven and Eight and Epilogue* (MS)

Strongly Recommended:

Same as above: add Hanson, *A War Like No Other* 151-60 (on reserve).

Edmund F. Bloedow, "On Nurturing of Lions in the State': Alcibiades' Entry on the Political Stage in Athens," *Klio* 73:1 (1991): 49-65.

Reports: Same as above: add Robert B. Kebric, "Implications of Alcibiades' Relationship With Endius," *Mnemosyne* 29 (1976): 72-8 = *Historia* 25 (1976): 249-52; Malcolm F. McGregor, "The Genius of Alcibiades," *Phoenix* 19:1 (Spring 1965): 27-46; Edmund F. Bloedow, "On Nurturing Lions in the State': Alcibiades' Entry on the Political Stage in Athens," *Klio* 73:1 (1991): 49-65.

A. Athenian Policy—The Case for Nicias

B. The Case for Alcibiades

C. Commentary

13. THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION

Reading:

Thucydides II.65; VI-VII

Diodorus Siculus 12.82-13.33

Andocides 3.30

Plutarch Nicias, Alcibiades

Isocrates 16.9

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Fornara Nos. 145-47 (on reserve).

Strongly Recommended:

Kagan, *The Peace of Nicias ... VII-Conclusions* (on reserve)

Cawkwell, *Thucydides V* (on reserve)

Alexander Rubel, *Fear and Loathing in Ancient Athens: Religion and Politics during the Peloponnesian War Chapters 1-5* (on reserve).

Reports: Relevant section of George Grote, *A History of Greece*; W. Liebeschutz "Thucydides and the Sicilian Expedition," *Historia* 17 (1968): 289-306; C. A. Powell, "Religion and the Sicilian Expedition," *Historia* 28 (1979): 15-31; Peter A. Brunt "Thucydides and Alcibiades" *Revue des Études Grecques* 65 (1952): 52-96, reprinted in Brunt, *Studies in Greek History and Thought*, 17-46; Wesley Thompson, "Thucydides 2.65.11," *Historia* 20 (1971): 141-51; Lisa Kallet, *Money and the Corrosion of Power in Thucydides*, 9-226 (on reserve); Hanson, *A War Like No Other*, 201-33 (on reserve)

A. Was it a good idea?

B. Why did it fail?

C. Commentary

14. MIDTERM EXAMINATION

15. THE MELIAN DIALOGUE

Reading:

Thucydides V.84-VII.87

Plutarch, Alcibiades 16

Fornara No. 132 (on reserve)

Reports: Moshe Amit, "Melian Dialogue," *Athenaeum* 46 (1968): 216-35; Colin Macleod, *Collected Essays*, 52-67; Paul A. Rahe, "Thucydides' Critique of Realpolitik," *Security Studies* 5:2 (Winter, 1995): 105-41= *Roots of Realism: Philosophical and Historical Dimensions*, ed. Benjamin Frankel, 105-41; Lisa Kallet, *Money and the Corrosion of Power in Thucydides*, 9-20 (on reserve).

- A. Defend the Melian argument
- B. Defend the Athenian Argument
- C. Commentary

16. POLITICS AND RELIGION

Reading:

Aristophanes, *The Clouds*, in *Four Texts on Socrates*

Plato *Phaedo* 96a-100b (PDF)

Thucydides I.140-44, II.34-65

Xenophon *Memorabilia* III.v, IV.vii (PDF)

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Strongly Recommended:

Paul A. Rahe, *Republics Ancient and Modern* Bk. I (=Vol. I of the paperback), chaps. 4, 7 (on reserve).

Alexander Rubel, *Fear and Loathing in Ancient Athens: Religion and Politics during the Peloponnesian War* (on reserve).

Paul A. Rahe, "Religion, Politics, and Piety," in *The Oxford Handbook of Thucydides*, ed. Ryan Balot and Sarah Forsdyke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 427-41.

Reports:

- A. What is Aristophanes defending? How does Socrates threaten it?—A. H. W. Adkins, "Clouds, Mysteries, Socrates and Plato," *Antichthon* 4 (1970): 13–24.; Eric Havelock, "The Socratic Self as It Is Parodied in Aristophanes' *Clouds*," *Yale Classical Studies* 22 (1974): 1-18; Christian Kopff, "Was Socrates Murdered?" *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 18 (1977): 113-22; Peter Green, "Strepsiades, Socrates, and the Abuses of Intellectualism," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 20 (1979): 15-20; Martha Nussbaum

“Aristophanes and Socrates on Learning Practical Wisdom,” *Yale Classical Studies* 26 (1980): 43-87; Leo Strauss, *Socrates and Aristophanes I-II*; Daphne, O’Regan, *Rhetoric, Comedy, and the Violence of Language in Aristophanes’ Clouds*; Paul A. Rahe, “The Aristophanic Question,” in *Recovering Reason: Essays in Honor of Thomas L. Pangle*, ed. Timothy Burns (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010) 67-82.

- B. What vision of the pólis informs Pericles’ speechmaking? What role does he see for piety? What does Thucydides think of Pericles’ overall understanding of the city?— Bruell, “Thucydides and Perikles,” *St. John’s College Review* 32:3 (Summer, 1981) 24-29; Michael Palmer; “Love of Glory and the Common Good,” *American Political Science Review* 76 (1982): 825-36; Clifford Orwin, *The Humanity of Thucydides*. C. Commentary

17. EMPIRE AND INTELLECT

Reading:

Sophocles *Oedipus the King*

Strongly Recommended:

Bernard Knox, *Oedipus at Thebes* (on reserve)

Topics for Discussion:

- A. Sophocles’ Rhetoric and Thucydides
B. Oedipus and Athens

18. PHILOSOPHY, RHETORIC, AND POLITICS—I

Reading:

Herodotus III.38 (PDF)

13

Plato *Protagoras*

Plato *Theaetetus* 165e-179c (PDF)

Reports:

- A. Discuss the political implications of Protagoreanism?—Thomas Cole, “The Apology of Protagoras,” *Yale Classical Studies* 19 (1966): 103-18, and “The Relativism of Protagoras,” *Yale Classical Studies* 22 (1972): 19-45; A. H. W. Adkins, “Arete, Techne, Democracy and Sophists: Protagoras 316b-328d,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 93 (1973): 3-12; J. S. Morrison, “The Place of Protagoras in Athenian Public Life (460–415 B.C.),” *Classical Quarterly* 35 (1941): 1-16; Joseph Maguire, “Protagoras — or Plato?” *Phronesis* 18 (1973): 115-38, and “Protagoras... or Plato? II. The ‘Protagoras,’” *Phronesis* 22 (1977): 103-22; Cynthia Farrar, *The Origins of Democratic Thinking I-IV*; Jacqueline de Romilly, *The Great Sophists in Periclean Athens*
- B. Commentary

19. PHILOSOPHY, RHETORIC, AND POLITICS—II

Reading:

Same as above

Plato Gorgias

Aristophanes The Birds 1279-82, 1296, 1554-64, 1694-1705 (on
Laconizing & Socrates, on Gorgias)

Report:

A. What impact does the spread of the art of rhetoric have on politics?

B. Commentary

20. DEMAGOGUERY

Reading:

Herodotus III.80-84 (PDF)

[Xenophon] Constitution of the Athenians (in J. M. Moore)

Thucydides II.65, III.9-68

Aristotle, Politics 1291b-1293a (PDF)

Strongly Recommended:

W. Robert Connor, The New Politicians of Fifth-Century Athens (on reserve),
or Josiah Ober, Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens: Rhetoric,
Ideology, and the Power of the People III-VII (on reserve).

Cawkwell, Thucydides IV (on reserve).

Reports: Christopher Bruell, "Thucydides' View of Athenian Imperialism,"
American Political Science Review 68 (1974): 11-17; Felix Martin
Wasserman, "Post-Periclean Democracy in Action: The Mytilenean Debate
(Thuc. III 37-48)," Transactions and Proceedings of the American
Philological Association 87 (1956): 27-41.

14

- A. The Rhetoric of Cleon and Diodotus—Martin Ostwald, "Diodotus, Son of
Eucrates," Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies 20 (1979): 5-13; Mabel
Lang, "Cleon as the Anti-Pericles," Classical Philology 67 (1972): 159-69 ;
Clifford Orwin, "Democracy and Distrust: A Lesson from Thucydides,"
American Scholar 53 (1984): 313-25 & "The Just and Advantageous in
Thucydides: The Case of the Mytilenaian Debate," American Political
Science Review 78 (1984): 489-94.
- B. The Juxtaposition of the Mytilenian and Plataean Debates—Colin Macleod,
Collected Essays, 88-122; George L. Huxley, "Two Notes on Herodotos: I
Aeimnestos the Plataian," Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies 1 (1963):
5-8.
- C. Commentary

21. ARISTOPHANES' POLITICAL VISION—I

Reading:

Aristophanes *The Knights*

Report: Victor Ehrenberg, *The People of Aristophanes*; David Konstan, *Greek Comedy and Ideology* 15-28; Michael J. Vickers, *Pericles on Stage: Political Comedy in Aristophanes' Early Plays*

A. Elucidate Aristophanes' political vision in *The Knights*.

22. ARISTOPHANES' POLITICAL VISION—II

Reading:

Same as above: add Aristophanes *The Wasps*

Report: Same as above.

A. Elucidate Aristophanes' political vision by comparing *The Knights* and *The Wasps*.

23. ALCIBIADES AND ATHENS

Reading:

Thucydides VI.9-61

Plato *Symposium*, with Athenaeus 217a (PDF)

Andocides *On the Mysteries* (PDF)

Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 18-23

Isocrates 16.9

Mark Munn, *The School of History* IV

Reports: MacDowell, *Andocides' On the Mysteries*, Appendices A-G; Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* IV 264-288; Plato *Alcibiades* I; Colin Macleod, *Collected Essays* 68-87 (= "Rhetoric and History: Thucydides VI,16-18," *Quaderni di Storia* 2 [1975]: 39-65); Steven Forde, *The Ambition to Rule*; Paul W. Ludwig, *Eros and Polis*; Alexander Rubel, *Fear and Loathing in Ancient Athens: Religion and Politics during the Peloponnesian War* Chapters 1-5 (on reserve).

A. Who defaced the Herms and why?

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B. Why did these scandals become a political watershed for Athens?

C. Commentary

24. THE POETRY OF ARISTOPHANES

Reading:

Aristophanes, *The Birds*

Mark Munn, *The School of History* IV

Strongly Recommended:

- L. B. Carter, *The Quiet Athenian* I-V (on reserve)
- Robin Osborne vs. David Harvey in *Nomos*, ed. Paul Cartledge (on reserve)

Reports: C. H. Whitman, *Aristophanes and the Comic Hero*; William Arrowsmith, "Aristophanes' Birds: the Fantasy Politics of Eros," *Arion* n. s. 1 (1973): 119-68; David Konstan, *Greek Comedy and Ideology* 29-44

- A. What accounts for the popularity of Aristophanes' comedies in the Athens of the Peloponnesian War period? What is the characteristic form taken by his plays? To what do they appeal? Focus on *The Birds*. Draw on the other three plays.

25. THE OLIGARCHIC MOVEMENT OF 411

Reading:

- Thucydides VIII
- Diodorus Siculus 13,34-37
- The Boeotian Constitution (in J. M. Moore)
- Plutarch Alcibiades
- Aristotle Constitution of Athens 29-34 (in J. M. Moore)
- Aristophanes *Lysistrata*
- Fornara Nos. 148-55 (on reserve).
- Lysias XXV.8-10 (PDF)
- Munn, *The School of History* V-VI

Strongly Recommended:

- Lewis *Sparta and Persia* IV
- Donald Kagan, *Fall of Athenian Empire* I-VIII (on reserve)

Reports: David M. Lewis, "The Phoenician Fleet in 411," *Historia* 7 (1958): 392-97, reprinted in Lewis, *Selected Papers in Greek and Near Eastern History*, 362-68; Alexander Fuks, *The Ancestral Constitution* I-II; William B. Harris, "The Constitution of the Five Thousand," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 93 (1990): 243-80.

- A. The Four Hundred—Mabel Lang, "The Revolution of the 400," *American Journal of Philology* 69 (1948): 272-89, & "Revolution of the 400: Chronology and Constitutions," *American Journal of Philology* 88 (1967): 176-87; Michael Jameson, "Sophocles and the Four Hundred," *Historia* 20 (1971): 541-68.

- B. The Five Thousand—G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, "The Constitution of the Five Thousand," *Historia* 5 (1956): 1-23; G. Stevenson, "The Constitution of Theramenes," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 56 (1936): 48-57; P. J. Rhodes, "The Five Thousand in the Athenian Revolutions of 411 B. C.," *Journal of*

Hellenic Studies 92 (1972): 115-27.

C. Theramenes and Peisander—W. S. Ferguson, "The Constitution of Theramenes," *Classical Philology* 21 (1926): 72-5; A. G. Woodhead, "Peisander," *American Journal of Philology* 75 (1954): 131-46; Michael Jameson, "Sophocles and the Four Hundred," *Historia* 20 (1971): 541-68.

D. Commentary

26. ATHENS IN HER TESTING TIME

Reading:

Xenophon *Hellenica* I-II.iii (with Mem. 1.1.18, 4.4.2)

Lysias XII-XIII (PDF)

Plutarch Alcibiades, Lysander

Cornelius Nepos Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, Lysander (on reserve and available at www.perseus.org)

Diodorus Siculus XIII.38-107, XIV.3-4 (from Appendix O in The Landmark Xenophon's *Hellenika*)

The Oxyrynchus Historian Fragments 1-8, in Appendix P of The Landmark Xenophon's *Hellenica*)

Aristotle Constitution of Athens 29-34 (in J. M. Moore)

Fornara Nos. 159-66 (on reserve).

Munn, *The School of History* VI-VII, Appendix C

Strongly Recommended:

Lewis, *Sparta and Persia* V (on reserve).

Kagan, *Fall of Athenian Empire* IX-XIV (on reserve).

Hanson, *A War Like No Other*, 235-69 (on reserve).

Peter Krentz, "The Arginousai Affair," Appendix A of The Landmark Xenophon's *Hellenica*)

Alexander Rubel, *Fear and Loathing in Ancient Athens: Religion and Politics during the Peloponnesian War* Chapters 1-8 (on reserve).

Reports: Antony Andrewes, "The Generals in the Hellespont," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 73 (1953): 2-9; W. J. McCoy "Thrasyllus," *American Journal of Philology* 98 (1977): 264-289; Moshe Amit, "Le traité de Chalcedoine entre Pharnabaze et les stratèges athéniens," *L'Antiquité Classique* 42 (1973): 436-57; Antony Andrewes "Notion and Kyzikos: The Sources Compared" *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 102 (1982): 15-25; Kallet, *Money and the Corrosion of Power in Thucydides*, 227-84; Cawkwell *Thucydides III*; Hanson, *A War Like No Other*, 270-87

A. The Arginusae Affair—George Grote, *A History of Greece*: relevant chapters; Paul Cloché "L'Affaire des Arginuses (406 avant J.-C.)," *Revue Historique* 130 (1919): 5-68; Jean Hatzfeld, "Socrate au procès des Arginuses," *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* 42 (1940): 165-71; Antony Andrewes, "The Arginusae Trial," *Phoenix* 28 (1974): 122-

22; W. J. McCoy, "Thrasybulus and His Trierarchies," *American Journal of Philology* 112 (1991): 303-23; Mabel Lang "Illegal Execution in Ancient Athens," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 134:1 (1990): 24-9, & "Theramenes and Arginousai," *Hermes* 120:3 (1992): 267-79.

27. THE FALL OF ATHENS

Reading:

Same as above
 Aeschines 2.76 (PDF)
 Pausanias 3.8.6 (PDF)
 Polyaeus 1.45.5 (PDF)
 Justin 5.8.4-5
 Munn, *The School of History VII-VIII*, Appendix D

Strongly Recommended:

Same as above
 Kagan, *Fall of Athenian Empire XV-XVI* (on reserve).
 Peter Krentz, *The Thirty at Athens I* (on reserve).

Reports: Hanson, *A War Like No Other*, 270-87 (on reserve).

A. Cleophon, Theramenes, and the Conclusion of Peace—Barry Strauss, "Aegospotami Reexamined," *American Journal of Philology* 104 (1983): 24-35; G. Wylie, "What Really Happened at Aegospotami," *L'Antiquité Classique* 55 (1986): 125-41; Raymond Renaud, "Cléophon et la guerre du Péloponnèse," *Études Classiques* 38 (1970): 458-77; Bernadotte Perrin, "The Rehabilitation of Theramenes," *American Historical Review* 9 (1904): 649-69; J. A. R. Munro, "Theramenes Against Lysander," *Classical Quarterly* 32 (1938): 18-26; B. Baldwin, "Notes on Cleophon," *Acta Classica* 17 (1974): 35-47.

28. THE THIRTY

Reading:

Xenophon *Hellenica* II.iii-iv
 Diodorus Siculus XIV.1-6, 11-13, 32-33 (from Appendix O of *The Landmark Xenophon's Hellenika*)
 Lysias XII-XIII (PDF), XXV.8-10 (PDF)
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Lysias* 32 (PDF)
 Plutarch *Alcibiades*, *Lysander*
 Cornelius Nepos *Alcibiades*, *Thrasybulus*, *Lysander* (on reserve)
 Aristotle *Constitution of Athens* 34-40 (in J. M. Moore), *Rhetoric* 1375b32, 1416b26- 29 (PDF)
 Fornara Nos. 167-70 (on reserve).
 Munn, *The School of History VIII-IX*

Strongly Recommended:

Krentz, *The Thirty at Athens II-Conclusion*

Reports: Alexander Fuks, *The Ancestral Constitution III*; W. J. McCoy, "The Identity of Leon," *American Journal of Philology* 96 (1975): 187-99; H. C. Avery "Critias and the Four Hundred," *Classical Philology* 58 (1963): 165-8; Philip Harding, "Androtion's View of Solon's Seisachtheia," *Phoenix* 28 (1974): 282-9 & "O Androtion, You Fool!" *American Journal of Ancient History* 3 (1978): 179-83 & "King Pausanias and the Restoration of Democracy at Athens," *Hermes* 116 (1988): 186-93; Rex Stem, "The Thirty at Athens in the Summer of 404," *Phoenix* 57:1/2 (Summer 2003): 18-34.

A. The Establishment of the Thirty—Pierre Salmon, "L'Établissement des Trente à Athènes," *L'Antiquité Classique* 38 (1969): 496-500; J. A. R. Munro "Theramenes Against Lysander," and "The Constitution of Dracontides," *Classical Quarterly* 32 (1938): 18-26, 152-66; W. J. McCoy, "Aristotle's Athenaiion Politeia and the Establishment of the Thirty Tyrants," *Yale Classical Studies* 23 (1975): 131-45. B. Theramenes vs. Thrasybulus—The Best Response to the Thirty?

C. Was Eratosthenes Guilty?—Peter Krentz "Was Eratosthenes Responsible for the Death of Polemarchus?" *La Parola del passato* 39 (1984): 23-32; Alan Sommerstein "The Murder of Polemarchus," *La Parola del passato* 39 (1984): 370-72; Thomas Murphy, "The Vilification of Eratosthenes and Theramenes in Lysias 12," *American Journal of Philology* 110 (1989): 40-49.

D. Commentary

29. THE TRIAL OF SOCRATES

Reading:

Plato, *Apology of Socrates*, in *Four Texts on Socrates*)

Xenophon *The Apology of Socrates* (PDF); *Memorabilia* I.ii, III.v-vii

(PDF) Munn, *The School of History* IX-XII

Strongly Recommended:

Michael Zuckert, "Rationalism and Political Responsibility: Just Speech & Just Deed in the *Clouds* and *The Apology of Socrates*," *Polity* 17:2 (Winter 1984): 271- 97.

Richard Janko, "Socrates the Freethinker," in *A Companion to Socrates*, ed. Sarah Ahbel-Rappe and Rachana Kamtekar, 48-62.

Alexander Rubel, *Fear and Loathing in Ancient Athens: Religion and Politics during the Peloponnesian War* Chapters 1-9 (on reserve).

Topics for Discussion:

A. Was Socrates guilty?

- B. Should he have been condemned to death?
- C. How responsible were the sophists and philosophers for the disaster that befell Athens in the last third of the fifth century?

19

GRADING CRITERIA FOR PAPERS

The following are guidelines that I will follow in grading your papers.

In order to earn an A, a paper has to satisfy all of the following criteria:

- A It must demonstrate a solid understanding of the meaning and significance of the pertinent historical evidence or document(s), a mastery of the arguments advanced in the lectures and discussions and in the reading assigned, and a grasp of other pertinent elements present in the evidence or the text(s) under scrutiny. It must embody a relevant, coherent, and well-argued response to the material under examination.
- It must evidence an understanding of the subtle points in the reading and a sustained effort to think critically about them.
- It must demonstrate sensitivity to conceptual nuances and counter-arguments introduced in the reading and discussions.
- It must contain very, very few (if any) misspellings, grammatical errors, or other mechanical problems.

Grades lower than an A (90-100) signify a failure to satisfy any one (or more) of the above criteria. Lower grades will be assigned according to the following guidelines (any one of the following will be sufficient reason for assigning the corresponding letter grade or number grade within the range designated): B (80-90), C (70-80), D (60-70), F (under 60).

- B No major misunderstanding of the reading, but some minor misunderstandings: vagueness, imprecision, minor errors of interpretation, insufficiently critical treatment of the evidence, etc.
Some weakness in the response: dogmatic or uncritical assertion, begging the question, blurring some distinctions, irrelevancy, invalidity, inconsistency, missing the point slightly, considering only weak counter-arguments.
Understood the main points of the reading, but evidenced only adequate effort in thinking critically about them. Some insensitivity to issues raised in the readings. More than one or two misspellings, grammatical errors, or other mechanical problems. Clearly did the reading, but not with full attention and care.

- C Some major misunderstandings of the claims, arguments, or conceptual

distinctions advanced in the reading or discussion.

A response that is in significant ways irrelevant, incoherent, or poorly argued. Attributing to the authors claims they explicitly deny, or which contradict other of their views. Attributing to authors conclusions that do not follow from their views. Failure to give a critical response: failing to consider counter-arguments found in the readings; mere summary or description instead of analysis; assertion instead of argument; uncritical assessment of evidence.

20

Quite a number of misspellings, grammatical errors, or other mechanical problems. One or more sentences that are incomprehensible as written. Unclear how much work was put into the assignment, or whether all of the reading was completed. May have just picked up arguments from class and a superficial reading.

D Partial failure to address the requirements of the assignment.

Unacceptable brevity.

Little awareness demonstrated of the structure and significance of the major arguments contained in the reading.

Partial ignorance of the pertinent evidence.

Inadequate understanding of the pertinent evidence.

An unacceptable number of misspellings, grammatical errors, or other mechanical problems.

An unacceptable number of sentences that are incomprehensible as written. Clearly an inadequate amount of effort put into the assignment.

F More or less complete failure to address the requirements of the assignment. Gross ignorance of the pertinent evidence.

Completely uncritical treatment of the evidence.

Virtually no awareness demonstrated of the structure and significance of the major arguments contained in the reading.

Insulting brevity.

An insulting number of misspellings, grammatical errors, or other mechanical problems. Little or no genuine effort put into the assignment.

A number grade of "0" will be given to papers that are not handed

in at all. F for course: Plagiarized work.

