

Athens and its allies

The Tribute

- ▶ The Hellenes used to pay a sort of contribution for the war even while the Lacedaemonians had the leadership, but now they wished to be assessed equably city by city. So they asked the Athenians for Aristides, and commissioned him to inspect their several territories and revenues, and then to fix the assessments according to each member's worth and ability to pay. [2] And yet, though he became master of such power, and though after a fashion Hellas put all her property in his sole hands, poor as he was when he went forth on this mission, he came back from it poorer still, and he made his assessments of money not only with purity and justice, but also to the grateful satisfaction and convenience of all concerned. Indeed, as men of old hymned the praises of the age of Cronus--the golden age, so did the allies of the Athenians praise the tariff of Aristides, calling it a kind of blessed happening for Hellas, especially as, after a short time, it was doubled and then again trebled. [3] For the tax which Aristides laid amounted to four hundred and sixty talents only; but Pericles must have added almost a third to this, since Thucydides² says that when the war began the Athenians had a revenue of six hundred talents from their allies. And after the death of Pericles the demagogues enlarged it little by little, and at last brought the sum total up to thirteen hundred talents, not so much because the war, by reason of its length and vicissitudes, became extravagantly expensive, as because they themselves led the people off into the distribution of public moneys for spectacular entertainments, and for the erection of images and sanctuaries. Plutarch *Aristeides* 24.

Why leave the Delian League?

- ▶ Of all the causes of defection, that connected with arrears of tribute and vessels, and with failure of service, was the chief; for the Athenians were very severe and exacting, and made themselves offensive by applying the screw of necessity to men who were not used to and in fact not disposed for any continuous labour. [2] In some other respects the Athenians were not the old popular rulers they had been at first; and if they had more than their fair share of service, it was correspondingly easy for them to reduce any that tried to leave the confederacy. [3] For this the allies had themselves to blame; the wish to get off service making most of them arrange to pay their share of the expense in money instead of in ships, and so to avoid having to leave their homes. Thus while Athens was increasing her navy with the funds which they contributed, a revolt always found them without resources or experience for war. Thucydides 1.99



Small allies and Big allies

- ▶ Not all allies were dissatisfied with the Athenians but many were.
- ▶ Even so for the majority of allies revolt was never an option.
- ▶ They were too small in terms of territory and population to ever successfully repel the Athenians.
- ▶ For the majority of allies, Athens as an overlord was an unavoidable necessity.

Old Oligarch 1.14-5

- ▶ In regard to the allies: the Athenians sail out and lay information, as they are said to do; **they hate the aristocrats** inasmuch as they realize that the ruler is necessarily hated by the ruled and that **if the rich and aristocratic men in the cities are strong, the rule of the people at Athens will last for a very short time**. This is why they disfranchise the aristocrats, take away their money, expel and kill them, whereas they promote the interests of the lower class. The Athenian aristocrats protect their opposite numbers in the allied cities, since they realize that it will be to their advantage always to protect the finer people in the cities. [15] **Someone might say that the Athenians' strength consists in the allies' ability to pay tribute-money; but the rabble thinks it more advantageous for each one of the Athenians to possess the resources of the allies and for the allies themselves to possess only enough for survival and to work without being able to plot defection.**



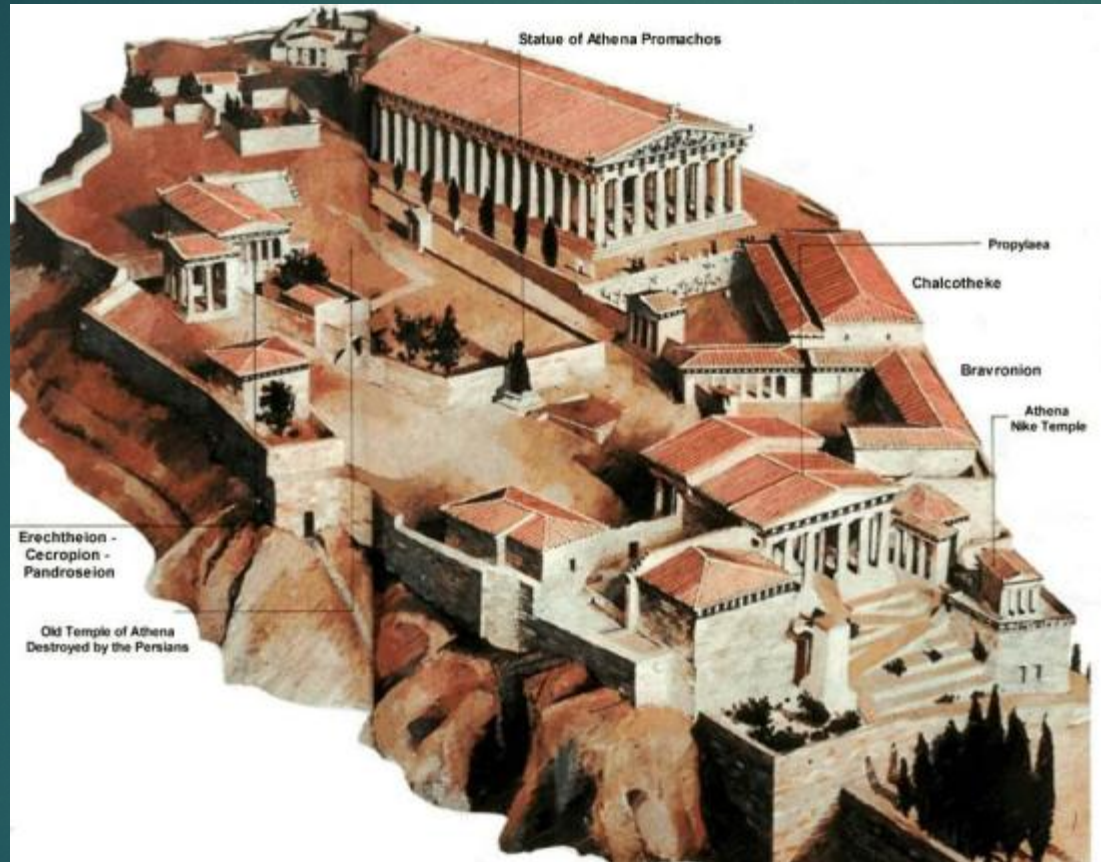
For many allied states, the Athenians were tyrants that took away their right to govern themselves.

- ▶ A good example of that is that the Athenians did not allow the allies to conduct local trials for major crimes

Old Oligarch 1.16-8

- ▶ Also in another point the Athenian people are thought to act ill-advisedly: **they force the allies to sail to Athens for judicial proceedings.** But they reason in reply that the Athenian people benefit from this. First, from the deposits at law they receive their dicastic pay through the year. Then, sitting at home without going out in ships, they manage the affairs of the allied cities; in the courts they protect the democrats and ruin their opponents. If the allies were each to hold trials locally, they would, in view of their annoyance with the Athenians, ruin those of their citizens who were the leading friends of the Athenian people. [17] In addition, the people at Athens profit in the following ways when trials involving allies are held in Athens: first, the one per-cent tax in the Peiraeus brings in more for the city; secondly, if anyone has lodgings to rent, he does better, and so does anyone who lets out on hire a team of animals or a slave; further, the heralds of the assembly do better when the allies are in town. [18] **In addition, were the allies not to go away for judicial proceedings, they would honour only those of the Athenians who sail out from the city, namely generals, trierarchs, and ambassadors. As it is now, each one of the allies is compelled to flatter the Athenian populace from the realization that judicial action for anyone who comes to Athens is in the hands of none other than the populace** (this indeed is the law at Athens); in the courts he is obliged to entreat whoever comes in and to grasp him by the hand. In this way the allies have become instead the slaves of the Athenian people.

Adding insult to injury



After the move of the League treasury from Delos to Athens, the Athenians started rebuilding the temples on the Acropolis on a truly massive scale. Although it is improbable that the Athenians used only tribute money for the building project, the expense was such that it surely angered the allies

Estimated expenditure of the Parthenon

- ▶ Total cost for stonework (walls, colonnade, pavement, core): 365 talents
- ▶ Ceiling roof and gate: 65 talents
- ▶ Total for pedimental sculpture and akroteria: 17 talents
- ▶ Cost of the Parthenon frieze: 12 talents
- ▶ Metopes: 10 talents
- ▶ **Total: 469 talents**