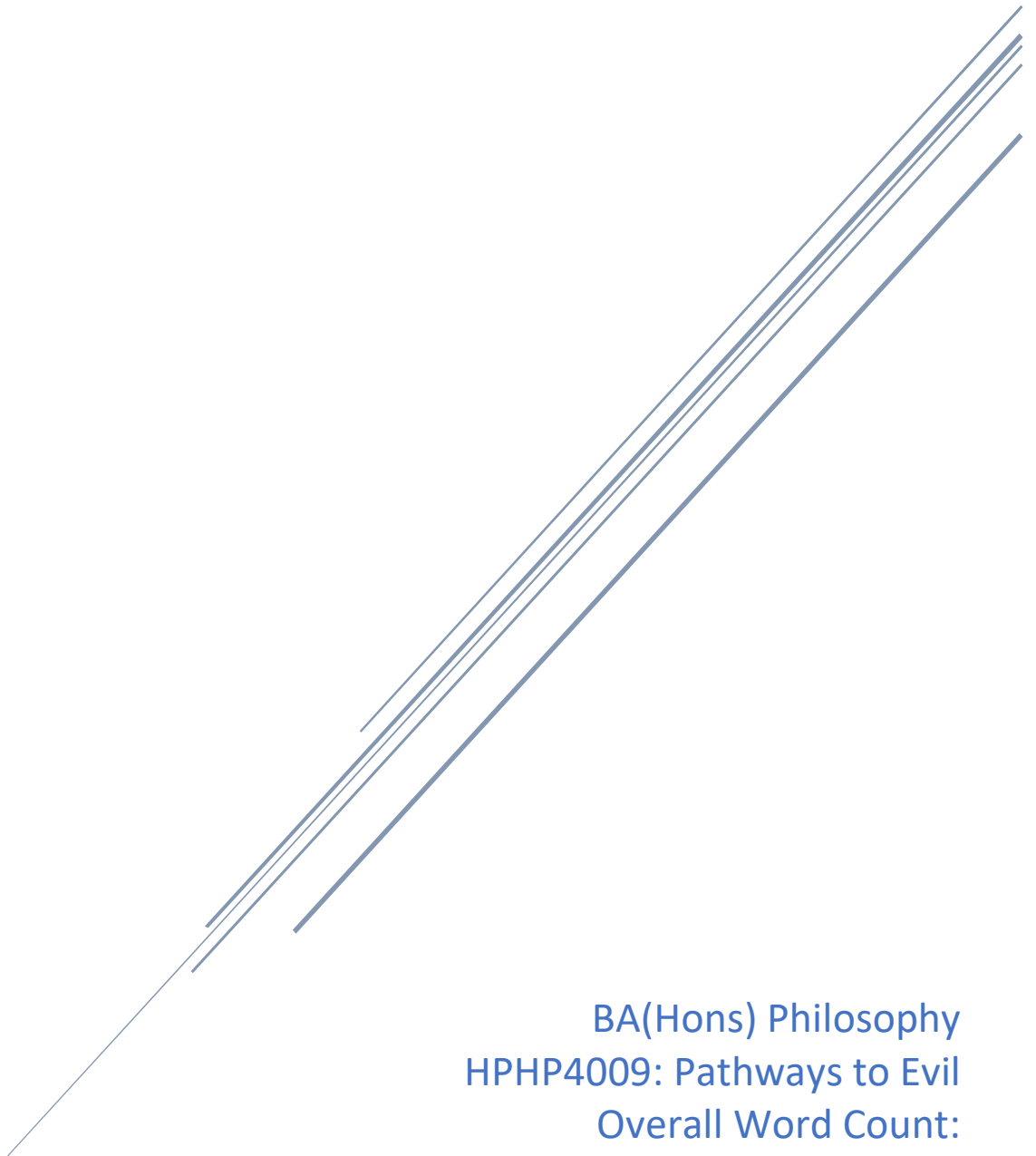


ASSIGNMENT 1 – GOBBETS

Thomas Rees



BA(Hons) Philosophy
HPHP4009: Pathways to Evil
Overall Word Count:
Gobbet 1 Word Count: 1085
Gobbet 2 Word Count: 1144

Gobbet 1 - Thucydides 5.116

'Reinforcements afterwards arriving from Athens in consequence, under the command of Philocrates, son of Demeas, the siege was now pressed vigorously; and some treachery taking place inside, the Melians surrendered at discretion the Athenians , [4] who put to death all of the grown men whom they took, and sold the women and children for slaves, and subsequently sent out five hundred colonists and inhabited the place themselves.' Thuc. 5.116

Thucydides' magnum opus on the Peloponnesian War details the period of conflict that engulfed what we now know as Classical Greece. Of particular interest is the above quote written about the 416 BCE Siege of Melos. This essay will discuss the potential implications of Thucydides' work in relation to our understanding of Genocide in the ancient world.

Thucydides was an Athenian General and is considered to be a forerunner of a modern-day historian,¹ writing methodically and dispassionately about the events that unfolded between 431 BCE and 404 BCE.² This period saw the Dorian League headed by Democratic Athens fight for dominance against Oligarchic Sparta and the Peloponnesian League. This war, which many scholars see as being fought in three successive phases,³ has become known as the Peloponnesian War. The above-mentioned quote forms the conclusion of the Melian Dialogue in which the Athenians offer the Melians an ultimatum; either pay tribute, or be annihilated. The Melians, having ancestral ties to Sparta and never having paid tribute to Athens before, refused.⁴

¹ Wolfgang Will, "Thucydides", *Brill'S New Pauly*, 2006 <https://referenceworks-brillonline-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/thucydides-e1212620?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=Thucydides+#e1212640> [Accessed 27 September 2020].

² Winfried Schmitz, "Peloponnesian War", *Brill'S New Pauly*, 2006 <https://referenceworks-brillonline-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/peloponnesian-war-e912670?s.num=1&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=Thucydides+Peloponnesian+war> [Accessed 27 September 2020].

³ Winfried Schmitz, "Peloponnesian War", *Brill'S New Pauly*, 2006 <https://referenceworks-brillonline-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/peloponnesian-war-e912670?s.num=1&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=Thucydides+Peloponnesian+war> [Accessed 27 September 2020].

⁴ Hansjörg Kalczyk and Emmet Robbins, "Melos", *Brill'S New Pauly*, 2006 <https://referenceworks-brillonline-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/melos-e731200?s.num=3&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=melian> [Accessed 27 September 2020].

Examining the motives behind Thucydides' account some information has to be taken into consideration. Firstly, the world of Ancient Greece was far different to the one we experience today in the 21st Century. Ancient Greece was a complex place both politically in terms of governmental systems (oligarchy, democracy and monarchy) and also administratively with over fifteen-hundred independent *poleis*.⁵ Athens was only one *polis* among many. Also encountered are problems with the description Thucydides' gives in the opening chapters of his work regarding the methodology he employs.⁶ We can gather from his own account that; he was sometimes present, other times not; that he sometimes listened to two or three different recollections of the event and that he openly acknowledges the difficulty in remembering speeches verbatim. However, that being said, we know that the intended audience were the Athenians themselves. We also know the events had happened in living memory and the principal players would have been well known figures. How much poetic license he could take would have been extremely limited. Another area of contention is that we only have preserved what has been handed down to us from history. It may be that some authors and scribes have changed the text either knowingly or unknowingly or even that they have changed the texts to suit their own agenda or purposes. We know of some examples where texts have been changed or altered as a teaching method for student rhetoricians.⁷

The Melian Disaster did not take place in a vacuum and rather, it forms a microcosm within the broader context of Athenian expansionism.⁸ In his Peloponnesian War Thucydides writes an account known as the Mytilenian Dialogue.⁹ Taking place some ten years before the events in the Siege of Melos. The interconnectedness of the events is interesting because although separated by ten years things seem to have changed radically during that time. In the Mytilenian Dialogue the Athenians are convinced by Diodotus to capitulate in favour of the

⁵ 6: Karl-Wilhelm Welwei and Peter J Rhodes, "Polis", *Brill's New Pauly*, 2006 <https://referenceworks-brillonline-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/polis-e1000430?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=polis> [Accessed 27 September 2020].

⁶ Thucydides, "Perseus Under Philologic: Thuc.

1.22.1", *Perseus.Uchicago.Edu* <<http://perseus.uchicago.edu/perseus-cgi/citequery3.pl?dbname=GreekFeb2011&getid=1&query=Thuc.%201.22.1>> [Accessed 27 September 2020].

⁷ Arnold Wycombe Gomme, "Thucydides - Authority Of His Work", *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 2020 <<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Thucydides-Greek-historian/Authority-of-his-work>> [Accessed 27 September 2020].

⁸ Michael G. Seaman. "The Athenian Expedition to Melos in 416 B.C." *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte*, vol. 46, no. 4, 1997, pp. 385–418. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/4436483. Accessed 27 Sept. 2020.

⁹ Thomas Hobbes, "Thucydides, History Of The Peloponnesian War, THE THIRD BOOK, Chapter 36", *Perseus.Tufts.Edu*, 1843 <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0247%3Abook%3D3%3Achapter%3D36>> [Accessed 27 September 2020].

Mytilenians as being the more favourable option for the longer-term success of Athens.¹⁰ Interestingly, moving forward ten years, and placing the context of the Melian Disaster within growing Athenian expansionism, it is more expedient for the Athenians to resist the Melian offer of neutrality and engage in wholesale slaughter as a signal to the other *poleis* of Athenian dominance. Historically we know that two years after the above account had taken place Athens launched the Sycillian Expedition between 415 BCE – 414 BCE.¹¹ The Melian disaster then can be seen as an Athenian attempt to consolidate power before expanding the Empire.

Looking at the specifics of the event and placing it in a broader historical context; the Greeks would not have understood the term Genocide in the same way that we do, in fact Genocide is a modern word with very different connotations, the word only being coined during the infamous Nuremburg trials of 1948. The word *andropodismos* would have been familiar to the Greeks. Translating *andropodismos* into modern English is no easy task but the most common way of doing so is to call it slavery.¹² Greek warfare was very different to the type of warfare that we are used to today and *andropodismos* was less about targeting a specific minority and more about targeting a specific state. Although the Greeks were highly religious, and divine law governed human law, divine law seems to have a stricter application for the dead than for the living.¹³ *Andropodismos* then was an acceptable outcome of war.

Using this work as a source for ancient genocide, the observation can be made that ethnic hatred and tensions between groups can be seen as a result of territorial expansionism and Imperialistic hegemony.¹⁴ Considering the above quote in a post-Holocaust world is no easy task. Too often our own understanding of ancient events is clouded by our comprehension of more modern ones. It is easy to draw parallels with Athenian expansionism and the Lebensraum, *apropodismos* and Genocide, Imperialism and colonisation. I have some

¹⁰ Thucydides, "Perseus Under Philologic: Thuc. 3.35-50", *Perseus.Uchicago.Edu* <<http://perseus.uchicago.edu/perseus/cgi/citequery3.pl?dbname=GreekFeb2011&getid=1&query=Thuc.%203.35>> [Accessed 27 September 2020].

¹¹ Thucydides, "Perseus Under Philologic: Thuc. 4.6.1", *Perseus.Uchicago.Edu* <<http://perseus.uchicago.edu/perseus/cgi/citequery3.pl?dbname=GreekFeb2011&getid=1&query=Thuc.%204.6>> [Accessed 27 September 2020].

¹² Adriaan Lanni, "The Laws of War In Ancient Greece", *Law And History Review*, 26.3 (2008), 469-489 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/s0738248000002534>>.

¹³ Errietta Bissa, "Ancient World Introduction", 2020.

¹⁴ Simon Hornblower, "Ancient Greek Civilization - The Athenian Empire", *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 2020 <<https://www.britannica.com/place/ancient-Greece/The-Athenian-empire>> [Accessed 27 September 2020].

sympathy with the view expressed by Naimark,¹⁵ whilst knowing that not everything has been handed down to us from antiquity and we only possess fragments from a larger whole.

¹⁵ Norman M Naimark, *Genocide: A World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

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Gobbet 2 - Xenophon Hellenika 2.2.3

'It was at night that the Paralus arrived at Athens with tidings of the disaster, and a sound of wailing ran from Piraeus through the long walls to the city, one man passing on the news to another; and during that night no one slept, all mourning, not for the lost alone, but far more for their own selves, thinking that they would suffer such treatment as they had visited upon the Melians, colonists of the Spartans, after reducing them by siege, and upon the Histiaeans and Scionaeans and Toronaeans and Aeginetans and many other Greek peoples. Xen. Hell. ' 2.2.3

The above written account was documented by Xenophon of Athens who lived between the years 430 BCE and 354 BCE. Xenophon was a Greek historian and Socratic philosopher and his childhood and youth were during the Peloponnesian War.¹⁶ Although Xenophon composed a number of different works on history, literature and philosophy, the above quote is taken from his *Hellenika*.¹⁷ The *Hellenika* has been seen as a continuation of Thucydides work on the Peloponnesian War. Stylistically it follows Thucydides' however, it does exhibit a moralising tendency lacking in Thucydides' Peloponnesian War. To show the continuation of both works the first lines are usually translated as "following these events" or "after this".¹⁸ In contrast to Thucydides however various scholars have interpreted his work as having more moralistic element and exhibits more obvious bias.¹⁹

The above quote was composed by Xenophon in the fourth century BCE. It was during this period that the Athenians, who led the Delian League, had lost the Peloponnesian War that it had waged against Sparta and the Peloponnesian League. Xenophon goes to great pains to show the grief of the Athenian populace. That grief, however, is felt because of the fear of

¹⁶ Winfried Schmitz and others, "Xenophon", *Brill'S New Pauly*, 2006 <https://referenceworks-brillonline-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/xenophon-e12213340?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=xenophon#e12213490> [Accessed 27 September 2020].

¹⁷ "Xenophon On The Surrender Of Athens - Livius", *Livius.Org*, 2006 <<https://www.livius.org/sources/content/xenophon-hellenica/xenophon-on-the-surrender-of-athens/>> [Accessed 27 September 2020].

¹⁸ Xenophon, "Xenophon, Hellenica, Book 1, Chapter 1, Section 1", *Perseus.Tufts.Edu*, 2020 <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0206>> [Accessed 27 September 2020].

¹⁹ Winfried Schmitz and others, "Xenophon", *Brill'S New Pauly*, 2006 <https://referenceworks-brillonline-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/xenophon-e12213340?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=xenophon#e12213490> [Accessed 27 September 2020].

retribution for the atrocities that they have committed against other *poleis* throughout the war. The grief is also overwhelming and tangible because the audience would have been aware of the events and the people involved, having lived through them themselves. In this way the work of Xenophon mirrors that of Thucydides - we can be almost certain that no great liberties were taken by the author because these events were in living memory of being recorded. Like Thucydides' work we can be less certain about historical additions. The expectation of the Athenians was such that they would be completely devastated, unbeknownst to them, the Lacedaemonians would be far more generous than Athens had been during the war for dominance in the Peloponnese.²⁰

Xenophon explicitly recalls five main groups of people that have been the victims of Athenian atrocity metered out to them. These are; the Melians, Histaeans, Scionaeans, Toronaeans and Aeginetans. Each of these groups will be examined in turn. The Melians inhabited Melos, an island in the Aegean Sea, just off the coast of Crete. Having never paid tribute to do so, and being unwilling to start, the Athenians under Cleon attacked the city and killed the entire adult male populace and sold the women and children into slavery. The city was then re-populated with Athenians.²¹ The Histiaeans inhabited Histiaeus, in Attica, a subdivision of Athens. Unfortunately not much information is known about them.²² The Scionaeans inhabited Scione. Scione is on the Chalcidiki peninsula. Scione was a member of the Delian League and revolted against the Athenians in 421 BCE. The revolt was suppressed by the Athenians being recaptured for them by Cleon. The entire adult male population was put to death, the women and children were sold into slavery, and the land of Scione was given to the Plataea, allies of Athens.²³ The Toronaeans inhabited Toroni another Chalcidiki peninsula. The Oligarchic Aeginetans inhabited Aegina part of the Saronic Islands. After

²⁰ Kurt Kuhlmann, "Epic Of The Peloponnesian War: Historical Commentary", *Warhorsesim.Com*, 2002 <http://www.warhorsesim.com/epw_hist.html> [Accessed 27 September 2020].

²¹ Hansjörg Kalcyk and Emmet Robbins, "Melos", *Brill'S New Pauly*, 2006 <https://referenceworks-brillonline-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/melos-e731200?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=melos> [Accessed 27 September 2020].

²² Hansjörg Kalcyk, "Histiaea", *Brill'S New Pauly*, 2006 <https://referenceworks-brillonline-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/histiaea-e515670?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=histiaea> [Accessed 27 September 2020].

²³ Michael Zahrt, "Scione", *Brill'S New Pauly*, 2006 <https://referenceworks-brillonline-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/scione-e1114930?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=scione> [Accessed 27 September 2020].

having been promised by the Athenians to restore them to power in 445 BCE they became an Athenian colony in 431 BCE.²⁴

Cleruchy comes from a Greek word, literally meaning 'lot holder'. It is here that we get the English word: Colony.²⁵ The idea of *cleruchy* developed over the 5th century BCE with the first documented account being 477 BCE. It is possible to say that the very foundations of the Delian League are in *cleruchy*. The idea of *cleruchy* was simple: if the Athenians wanted more land or a state had revolted the Athenians would seize the land and settle half of it with Athenians. The benefits of doing so were threefold; firstly, a self-containing garrison was created; secondly, the Athenians could gain more land, and thirdly; part of the punishment enacted for the revolting polis was to lose part of its wealth, through loss of land.²⁶ By the end of the Peloponnesian war many colonies had been created in the Delian League but all were lost.²⁷

The answer to why the Spartans were so lenient towards the Athenians appears to be twofold. Firstly, the Spartans were unwilling to impose the ultimate penalty on Athens due to the contribution they had made in the war with the Persians.²⁸ Secondly, the Athenians had to agree to a number of capitulations: to destroy the long walls of the city, to destroy the walls of Piraeus, excepting twelve ships they had to surrender their fleet, dissenting Athenian voices had to be allowed to return and they made an agreement to follow Sparta's lead.²⁹ With the regard to the last point, the Spartans essentially established Athens as a satellite state.³⁰

²⁴ Michael Zahrnt, "Torone", *Brill's New Pauly*, 2006 <https://referenceworks-brillonline-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/torone-e1217630?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=toroni> [Accessed 27 September 2020].

²⁵ Karl-Wilhelm Welwei and Walter Ameling, "Klerouchoi", *Brill's New Pauly*, 2006 <https://referenceworks-brillonline-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/klerouchoi-e616890?s.num=3&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=cleruchy> [Accessed 27 September 2020].

²⁶ Errietta Bessa, "Genocide in The Ancient World", 2020.

²⁷ Peter J. Rhodes, "Athenian League (Second)", *Brill's New Pauly*, 2006 <https://referenceworks-brillonline-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/athenian-league-second-e207660?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=athenian+league> [Accessed 27 September 2020].

²⁸ Errietta Bessa, "Genocide in The Ancient World", 2020.

²⁹ "Xenophon On The Surrender Of Athens - Livius", *Livius.Org*, 2006

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³⁰ Errietta Bessa, "Genocide In The Ancient World", 2020.

Xenophon's account is interesting from a number of perspectives. Primarily the detailing of the amount of atrocities committed by the Athenians; some of which we have details for and other that we do not. The various issues surrounding colonies is also interesting; not least from a modern perspective. When we think of colonisation and dis-possession and slave labour we immediately call to mind the treatment of the Jews in Nazi controlled Europe; the pogroms, the forced labour camps and the dis-possession of Jewish homes and goods to good Nazi's. Secondly, the account is interesting for the reactions of Athenians and their motivations. One can also recall the Nazi mentality at the end of the war – little moral concern for the crimes committed but much concern about how they will be treated. Surprisingly, for those not acquainted with this particular aspect of Classical Greek history we can see that they are not all that dissimilar to us.

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