Classical Quarterly **55.2** 407–422 (2005) *Printed in Great Britain*
doi:10.1093/cq/bmi039

FOR WANT OF A HORSE: THUCYDIDES 6.30 2 AND REVERSALS IN THE ATHENIAN CIVIC IDEAL*

In a discussion published in 1973, Hans-Peter Stahl noticed a motif that runs through Thucydides' account of the ignominious defeat suffered by the Athenians in Sicily.[1] From Nicias' initial speech to the final capture and decimation of the Athenian forces, the historian emphasizes the critical role played by the Sicilian cavalry and suggests that a major weakness on the Athenian side lay with the city's failure to put together an adequate equestrian force.[2] The first indicator that horsemen are actually missing from the otherwise outsized armament sent out from the city comes at a significant and highly charged point in the text.[3] In the celebrated chapter describing the fleet's departure from the Piraeus (6.31), Thucydides compares the present venture to those that earlier rivalled it in size. In numbers of ships and hoplites, the Sicilian expedition in no way outdid the forces that had been sent against Epidaurus and Potidaea. But Hagnon's force against Potidaea included 300 cavalry (6.31.2), a corps seemingly absent from the present assemblage. And if the 'one horse transport bringing thirty horses' mentioned in the second account of the expedition's make up shortly afterwards (6.43) was already included in the fleet that first set out from the Piraeus, then chapter 31 makes no reference to the horses' presence. [4]

I want to begin by reorienting Stahl's observation and by focusing more exclusively on the moment when the historian chooses first to alert readers to the missing horsemen (and horses).[5] Located at the heart of the report of the fleet's departure from

* Many thanks are owed to the audiences and readers of previous versions of this article. I am particularly grateful to J. Ober for critiquing and reshaping the original piece, and to S. Hornblower who not only gave invaluable advice but allowed me to see an advance copy of his book. Thanks too to the participants at Columbia's Historiography conference in December 2002, particularly Suzanne Saïd, and to William Harris for inviting me to deliver a paper there.

[1] H. P. Stahl, 'Speeches and course of events in Books Six and Seven of Thucydides', in P. A. Stadter (ed.), *The Speeches in Thucydides* (Chapel Hill, 1973), 60 77. For an older account of the cavalry factor in the Sicilian expedition, and a review of the passages emphasizing Athenian weakness on this score, see M. W. Frederiksen, 'Campanian cavalry: a question of origins', *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 2 (1968), 11 12.

[2] The chief passages are 6.21.1, 22.1, 63.3, 64.1, 67.2, 68.3, 70.3, 71.2, 74.2, 88.6, 94.5, 7.4.6, 11 2, 78 3, 81.2, 85.1. Athens's failure to provide adequate cavalry at the outset was a result of the belief that Segesta would supply a sizeable contingent and that it could gather additional horsemen from other Sicilian cities.

[3] Stahl (n. 1), 73.

[4] Stahl (n. 1), 66 notes the significant presentation of the detail. It is postponed until the end of the catalogue (contrast the listing of elements in Hagnon's expedition once again, where the cavalrymen are the second largest of the three numbers), and is also the smallest quantity in a passage given over to otherwise grandiose amounts. As Dover points out (*HCT* ad loc.), these horses then disappear from the text; by chapter 64.1, the Athenians 'had no cavalry at all'.

[5] My discussion does not, then, address a different although possibly related issue: Thucydides' seeming downplaying of the cavalry—both Athenian and Campanian—throughout his narrative of the war. While two existing treatments, Frederiksen (n. 1), 12 13 and I. G. Spence, 'Perikles and the defence of Attika during the Peloponnesian War', *JHS* 110 (1990), 91 109, document the absence or minimization of the role of the cavalry in Thucydides,

Athens, the detail not only previews a factor behind the coming disaster but belongs with the particular slant which Thucydides gives to the Piraeus event in his artful and even tendentious description of the launch. This description, I propose, is expressly designed to hold up a distorting mirror to the city gathered to row, finance, and observe the fleet and to offer reflections of and on Athens' current sociological and political profile.[6] Through his account, Thucydides signals the emergence into full visibility of what could be called the 'Piraeus element', an element dominated by those lower social echelons manning the ships and characterized by the commercial interests of those who live and do business in that district. The emphatic presence of this normally invisible portion of Athens and of its particular concerns, as the second part of the paper argues, becomes even more striking given the frame that Thucydides supplies for his report of the fleet's departure. If, as recent readers have demonstrated, the event resembles nothing so much as the athletic and other public festivals staged at Athens and elsewhere, then this occasion also offers marked reversals of the values and ideology articulated and reinforced at such gatherings. In the concluding part of my discussion, I suggest that the 'spectacular' launching not only demonstrates a downward shift towards a demotic culture given over to crowd-pleasing ostentation, to pleasure in money-making, to show before substance. No less than the failure to supply an adequate equestrian contingent, it additionally reveals the even more critical lacuna that determines the coming Sicilian débâcle. Absent is a single, high-minded, effective leader who, far from pandering to populist tastes, directs the citizens in such a way that individual interests are subordinated to the good of the polis.

As any number of fifth- and fourth-century texts demonstrate, membership of the Athenian cavalry was tantamount, both in reality and popular perception, to belonging to the city's top social echelon.[7] Learning to ride a horse formed a necessary part of the education of the aristocratic Athenian youth and horse breeding and ownership distinguished (would-be) members of the élite.[8] The tragedians consistently use horses and equestrian imagery in order to signal the majesty and nobility of their subjects, both divine and human, a strategy sufficiently familiar to generate several comic parodies.[9] A gathering of the city's fighting body from which, in the historian's

neither one offers an explanation for a bias all the more surprising for the historian's member ship of the élite which furnished the corps.

[6] For a recent and very important discussion of the Piraeus scene, L. Kallet, *Money and the Corrosion of Power in Thucydides* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 2001), 48 66. Points where I follow or depart from her reading are documented in the notes.

[7] So I. G. Spence, *The Cavalry of Classical Greece* (Oxford, 1993), 193 8; see too G. R. Bugh, *The Horsemen of Athens* (Princeton, 1988). J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600 300 B.C.* (Oxford, 1971), xxv xvi, uses ἱπποτροφία as one among the criteria of inclusion in the liturgical class. For the distinctive nature of the 'cavalry class' in fifth- and fourth-century Athens, see P. Low, 'Cavalry identity and democratic ideology in early fourth-century Athens', *PCPhS* (2002), 102 19. When Aristophanes wishes to portray the son of a mixed social marriage with pretensions above his father's social station, he creates the horse-mad Pheidippides with his run-away expenditure (the youth pays 1,200 drachmas for one horse alone, *Nub.* 61 2). See too Xen. *Oec.* 2.6, Isoc. 16.33; cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1289b, 1321a. Alongside membership of the élite, those engaged in ἱπποτροφία manifested a particular political orientation, one, not surprisingly, marked by hostility to the radical democracy. Bugh, 76, even suggests that the expansion of the cavalry in the mid-fifth century was a move by Pericles to gain aristocratic support, or at least to reconcile the élite to the increasingly democratic order. Certainly in the coup of 404, the cavalry as a body gave its support to the Thirty.

[8] As Spence (n. 7) observes, the sons of Pericles and Themistocles were trained so as to be skilled riders. For horse ownership and breeding as marks of the élite, see Spence 192 3.

[9] Ibid., 196 8.

account, the cavalry corps is entirely absent is, then, one in which this highest social rank has no part.

Horsemen are not the only corps prominently featured in the earlier campaign to which Thucydides compares the Sicilian armada in 6.31.2, and underplayed on this occasion. While undoubtedly a major part of the force assembled on the boats, hoplites are nonetheless given a curiously occluded role in the Piraeus scene. The contingent first appears at 31.2 in indirect form, folded into a phrase referring not to the Sicilian expedition but to the earlier armament ('in number of ships and hoplites the expedition against Epidaurus . . . was no smaller'). From that point on, and throughout 31.3, the term hoplite disappears. When Thucydides returns to the present-day force, he selects other expressions for the infantry, πεζός and στρατιώτης, designations void of any social or cultural connotation. And in his observation that the polis funded forty ships for the transport of hoplites—the so-called ὁπλιταγωγοί—Thucydides also records that in this instance these are among the empty vessels.[10] His comment effectively means that the hoplites rowed themselves, something that in the Mytilenean narrative serves as an indicator of Athenian prowess (3.18.4). But as the phrase here reads, it leaves the impression that the transports were actually empty of hoplites, signalling an absence rather than a source of strength.

The subsequent enumeration of the participants in the venture at 6.43 refines and sharpens the point implicit here, correcting what turns out to be an erroneous impression recorded in 31.3, and making more emphatic the social colouring of the force as the historian describes it. Thucydides originally indicated that those competing to have the best arms and armour were drawn from the superior (χρηστοῖς) muster rolls. But, as the later passage reveals, this must be, in part, a false inference drawn by the spectators. Of the 5,100 hoplites included in the expedition, the 700 who served as ἐπιβάται, merchant marines, were, contrary to conventional practice, drawn from the class of thetes (43).[11] The very design of the phrase, that places the terms θῆτες and ἐπιβάται side by side, reinforces the anomaly. Merchant marines were normally recruited from the hoplite muster rolls,[12] and Aristotle signals their more elevated provenance when he remarks that, rather than using citizen thetes as rowers, the city should have used non citizen farmers, supervised on board by ἐπιβάται (*Pol.* 1327b4-15).

In the absence or muted presence of the two top portions of Athenian society, members of the lowest rank occupy a correspondingly prominent place at the launching. At 31.3 Thucydides includes exhaustive details concerning the oarsmen and petty officers or ὑπηρέται who supervised the rowers, individuals all belonging to the class of thetes.[13] Dover wonders at the phrase at 32.1 where the historian visualizes

[10] B. Jordan, 'The Sicilian expedition was a Potemkin fleet', *CQ* 50 (2000), 72 notes that this is the only instance in Thucydides of the trierarchs receiving crewless ships from the state.

[11] This is particularly surprising since, as 6.43 reveals, fifth-century military muster lists, the κατάλογοι listing Athenians who could be summoned for military service according to their demes, were chiefly hoplite registers.

[12] There is continuing dispute as to the exact status of the ἐπιβάται, but V. D. Hanson, 'Hoplites into democrats: the changing ideology of Athenian infantry' in J. Ober and C. Hedrick (edd.), *Demokratia. A Conversation on Democracies, Ancient and Modern* (Princeton, 1996), 296, argues for their hoplite status. See too B. Jordan, *The Athenian Navy in the Classical Period* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1975), 184 202.

[13] There may be a deliberate irony at work in the historian's choice of adjectives here. The term κρατίστας—normally invested with connotations of physical, moral and social excellence—is applied to the lower class ὑπηρεσία. Note too that the earlier expedition to Potidaea, with its proper complement of cavalry and hoplites, is deemed φαῦλος, cheap,

ἐπιβάται and ἄρχοντες performing the libations in unison; remarking that 'it is improbable that the 700 thetes poured libations from golden and silver cups while the hoplites poured none', he reinterprets the meaning here.[14] Improbable certainly, but consistent, I suggest, with the character of the armada as Thucydides has painted it.

The plebeian quality of those embarking is further confirmed by the nature of the spectators whose status accurately mirrors the objects of their gaze, and whose close ties to, and identity with, those on board the historian emphasizes (30.2, 31.1). Thucydides twice calls the individuals gathered for the event a ὅμιλος (30.2, 32.2) a term he reserves elsewhere for the lowest stratum in contexts where he seeks to mark social divisions. So in enumerating the victims of the plague, the historian separates the dead into three categories, cavalry, hoplites, and the ὅμιλος below (2.31.2).[15] A second term for the crowd with a similarly pejorative charge appears at 6.31.1, ὄχλος, an expression used elsewhere in the text of the rabble manning the fleet. Thucydides, like Aristotle after him, will later dismiss the common rowers as a mob, the ναυτικὸς ὄχλος that threatens not to stay in its place (8.72.2; cf. 8.48.3, 8.86.5).[16]

The base character of the participants, both actors and spectators, in the event also coheres with the location announced at the passage's start. The Piraeus, like any port district in a large city, was notorious for its low-life elements (prostitutes both male and female among them) and for its population of *déclassés*.[17] But the Piraeus meant more than just 'underclass' and its second, and perhaps principal association, also proves consistent with the emphasis in Thucydides' account. The Piraeus was, of course, the commercial as well as naval engine of the city, and along the eastern and northern shoreline of the Grand Harbour was the so-called Emporion, an exclusively economic zone where, uniquely in the city, both Greeks and non-Greeks could engage in trade.[18] Fifth- and fourth-century sources describing various business transactions routinely situate their protagonists in the Piraeus, where the bankers and accountants who arrange loans and record the ships entering and leaving port

paltry (31.3). But that assessment is based only on external appearance rather than on a 'natural' or essential social reality. For all the splendour of the outward show, it is the present day expedition that more properly qualifies as φαῦλος in the no less common application of the term: following the character of those who occupy the centre stage, it could be described as 'mean' or 'base'. The term also becomes more loaded in the light of Nicias' earlier request for a fleet with a contingent of infantry that he describes as οὐ φαῦλος (6.21.2). For a good discussion of Cleon's play on the same term at 3.37.3, see V. Wohl, *Love Among the Ruins. The Erotics of Democracy in Classical Athens* (Princeton, 2002), 117–18.

[14] Dover *HCT* ad loc.

[15] As noted in Hanson (n. 12), 292. The term ὅμιλος is also used in Alcibiades' speech of the Sicilian 'mob' (6.17.4).

[16] Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1304a22, 1327b7–8. As Kallet (n. 6), 51–2 notes, the term ὄχλος has appeared once before when, in a *hapax*, Nicias referred in his second speech to the 'crowdedness of the preparation' (τοῦ ὀχλώδους τῆς παρασκευῆς, 6.24.2) required for a successful outcome to the expedition. While the lower class crowd gathered at the Piraeus is charmed by the visual brilliance of the superlatively costly and superficially attractive παρασκευή displayed before it, the reader knows that in fact all this equipment bears the same nature as its audience, an ὄχλος too. For a fresh sounding of the class theme, and renewed reversals of the proper social hierarchy, see the account of the aftermath of the mutilation of the Hermae at 6.28.1 and 60.1.

[17] Here, mounted on his dung bettle, Trygaeus sees 'a man defecating among the prostitutes' (Ar. *Pax* 164); cf. Dem. 32.10, Aeschin. 1.40. For additional discussion, J. Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes. The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens* (London, 1997), 80–2.

[18] For details, R. Garland, *The Piraeus* (London, 1987), 83–95.

congregate. When Damon, the litigant in Ps.-Demosthenes' *Against Zenothemis*, needs to bring back a trading vessel currently in port at Cephallonia, he recruits one Aristophon in an ἐργαστήριον of 'disreputable men' (located, naturally, near to the Piraeus), and meets with the various individuals involved in the affair in the port district. The businessmen prominent in Apollodorus' *Against Nicostratus* (Ps.-Dem. 53) also frequent the Piraeus, and here lived the wealthy merchant Diodotos (Lys. 32.8). Strikingly, for all their wealth, these individuals seem largely divorced from the political life of the city.[19]

The distinctive commercialism of the Piraeus and its mercantile mentality infect the occasion of the fleet's embarkation. In an earlier chapter the historian already noted the profit motive driving the people's willingness to serve. Accounting for the zeal for the expedition in the city, he remarked, 'The general mass [ὅμιλος again] and soldiery saw the prospect of getting pay at the present moment, and of adding to the empire so as to secure a permanent source of pay in the future' (6.24.3). Thucydides' evocation of the launching balances descriptions of the outward splendour of the armament with reminders of the cash outlay involved, and particularly of the wages that those manning the boats receive. The trierarchs give supplementary pay to the θρανῖται, the men who rowed the upper level of oars, while the ὑπηρεσία, generally supplied by the trierarchs, and, so to speak, the élite of the rabble, is also the object of the liturgists' largesse (31.3). Towards the end of the embarkation narrative, as part of the 'account sheet' of 31.5, Thucydides mentions the presence of traders on board ship, and notes the money which soldiers and traders both took with them 'for the purposes of exchange' (31.5).[20] The subsequent description of the armada at chapters 43 and 44 returns to the same theme, now detailing the presence of merchant ships—carrying supplies for the expedition—and of smaller boats that went along 'for the sake of ἐμπορία' (44.1). If this armada is, as Thucydides frequently suggests in Books 6 and 7, nothing less than a microcosm of Athens itself, then already at the outset the polis appears one where the lower and mercantile elements have acquired unprecedented prominence, and cavalry and hoplites play a strictly diminished role.[21]

Thucydides' Piraeus event thus foregrounds the lower classes and those on the periphery of political life, the merchant and trader, to an extent that goes well beyond the maritime and naval focus necessarily required by an expedition that had to leave from the port and get to Sicily by sea. Selective details and foci, significant silences, and the careful choice of terms all suggest a particular agenda shaping this account. That agenda, I argue, becomes all the more apparent when we factor in the larger backdrop or points of reference that Thucydides has selected for his scene. Describing the event in language drawn from literary celebrations of athletic games and from other contemporary public spectacles, the author invites us to observe the ways in which the gathering (as the text reports it) both replicates and sharply inverts conventional agonistic and festival practices.

In his recent book, Simon Hornblower persuasively demonstrates that epinician poetry informs Thucydides' narrative of events, and that for the Piraeus embarkation, the historian draws particularly on Pindar's *Pythian* 4. According to his scheme,

[19] See C. Mossé, 'The "World of the Emporium" in the private speeches of Demosthenes', in P. Garnsey, K. Hopkins, and C. R. Whittaker (edd.), *Trade in the Ancient Economy* (London, 1983), 53 63, who discusses the examples cited here.

[20] But see Kallet (n. 6), 60 1 on the failure to give specific monetary amounts.

[21] In Jordan's reading (n. 10), 66, 'by the end of chapter 31, the military expedition has virtually become a commercial venture'.

Thucydides has painted the departing force both generally as the athlete setting out for the games and, more particularly, as equivalent to the mythical paradigms the ode proposes for its victor, in this instance the Argonauts venturing on their heroic quest for the far-away fleece.[22] The exact Pindaric echoes signalled by Hornblower,[23] combined with the agonistic and athletic language that, as he observes, the historian scatters so liberally here,[24] ostensibly promote the splendour of the occasion and bode well for the successful outcome of the expedition. The Athenians too, the analogies suggest, will bring home their glorious prize.

But Thucydides is no less quick to point out the fissures between the two parts of his equation. Not only, as the audience knows, are the Athenians markedly unlike victors and the heroes of the myth insofar as they are about to suffer a singular defeat, but the historian's picture has included other significant departures from the Pindaric model. The fourth *Pythian*, composed on behalf of Arcesilas of Cyrene, celebrates a regal victor in a chariot race, and, as suits the occasion, foregrounds the event in which the lordly laudandus achieved his glory. Soon after hailing the athlete's 'well-horsed' home (2), the poet elaborately intertwines those frequently collated areas of horsemanship and sailing, steeds and boats (17–18, 24–25). The Piraeus scene admits no such conflation, and no so such social tilt. Horses and riders are entirely absent, while the aristocratic colouring that inevitably accompanies chariot-racing has been jettisoned and replaced by a demotic slant. The point of closest overlap between the two texts—the pouring of libations from golden cups as the ships prepare to sail—more minutely registers the difference between the heroic/athletic departure and today's embarkation. In the Pindaric visualization, 'the captain took a golden bowl in his hands' to make the offering (193–4). Substitute for the grandiose and single figure of Jason mounted alone on the prow the patently non-heroic ἐπιβάται who share the limelight with their leaders, an interjection of a social element inadmissible in the Pindaric world.[25]

For other recent readers of Thucydides, athletic games form only a subset of the larger category in which the historian situates the embarkation event. Two important discussions have documented the centrality of the motif of public spectacles, demonstrating how the text marks the fleet's departure as a festival or θεωρία, an object designed for viewing by an audience.[26] Among the factors cited that promote this identification is the emphasis on the presence of spectators (30.2, 31.1, 4), the proliferation of visual vocabulary and terms for sight (31.1, 4, 6), the details concerning elements of the armament's outward appearance designed to impress the viewing eye (31.1, 3). Other ties to Athenian spectacular culture as Thucydides' audience would know it are also embedded in the text. The presence not only of the citizenry

[22] S. Hornblower, *Thucydides and Pindar. Historical Narrative and the World of Epinikian Poetry* (Oxford, 2004), 330 6. As Hornblower remarks, 'if we compare Thucydides on the departure of the Athenian fleet to Pindar on the departure of the Argonauts in *Pythian* 4, we are in effect comparing the sailors and soldiers of 415 to Pindar's athletes or equestrian competitors—not just to his Argonauts of myth' (330 1).

[23] The detail of pouring libations from golden bowls at the moment of departure is common to both texts (Pind. *Pyth.* 4.193 6, Thuc. 6.32.1)), while the hush explicitly mentioned by Thucydides, Hornblower suggests, is implicit in Pindar's account. For details, Hornblower (n. 22), 331 3.

[24] Hornblower (n. 22), 337. I return to this theme on pp. 7 8.

[25] While Pindar's *Pythian* 5 unusually devotes almost thirty lines to the actual driver of the chariot (26–53), *Pythian* 4 focuses single-mindedly on the sponsor.

[26] Kallet (n. 6), esp. 63; Jordan (n. 10), 63 5.

at large, but of foreigners too (30.2, 31.4) is characteristic of such events,[27] as is the emphatic unity between the Athenian actors and spectators of the scene.[28] Here too Thucydides calls attention to the figure of the liturgist, responsible for meeting much of the cost of the city's crowded festival calendar.[29] The τριηραρχία, all but ignored in other parts of the account, and striking for its absence in a work that so privileges naval power, assumes sudden importance, singled out for several mentions (31.3, 5).[30] While generally this liturgy seems to have been, in Peter Wilson's phrasing, a 'quieter' mode of public service than the more visible dramatic χορηγία or the subvention of an event at the Panathenaia,[31] at the launching the trierarchs behave much like their spotlight-seeking counterparts at other civic occasions. Through lavish spending, they strive for the same visibility and glamour that the more brilliant dramatic liturgy afforded, making the ships metonyms for their own person, using the vessels in the manner that the χορηγός did the choruses who appeared adorned in such finery.

Participation in festival liturgies was nothing if not competitive as the financial sponsors struggled for the victory that would gain them maximum symbolic return—in the shape of public recognition and *charis*—for their outlay.[32] Competition bulks large in the Piraeus scene,[33] both in the informal contests waged by trierarchs and infantry (31.4; note the term ἔρις at 31.4) and in the concluding boat race—a literal ἅμιλλα echoing the verb already used at 31.3 (ἁμιλληθέν). For Jordan that contest glances towards the boat races that occurred as one of the events of the Isthmian games, at which an Athenian representative would be a regular attendant,[34] but there is an analogue closer to home. According to prize lists from the first quarter of the fourth century, the phyletic competitions at the Panathenaia included a ἅμιλλα νεῶν, a boat race probably held at the Piraeus on the penultimate day of the festival. We know virtually nothing about this,[35] but a

[27] At the Great Dionysia, the allies would process together with Athenian citizens and resi dents, carrying model phalloi, and would appear on stage bearing tribute money in the pre play ceremonies in the theatre. They could also compete in almost all events at the Panathenaic games, and here links between Athens and its tributary states would be reaffirmed through the foreigners' presentation of cows and a panoply. The allies are also present at the Piraeus event as members of the fleet (30.1).

[28] e.g. 30.2, 31.1, 32.2. Note how 31.4 suggests two modes of viewing, one the engaged, par ticipatory viewing of the Athenian spectator, the other that of the disengaged foreigner. For the latter the scene is a display of power, a show that may or may not correspond to substance, but the former, too involved and implicated in what he sees, registers only the fleet's beauty and size, and derives encouragement from the sight. A variety of elements at other civic festivals would have promoted the identification between audience and actors, among them the use of citizen choruses, the absence of a physical boundary between the auditorium at the theatre of Dionysus and the stage area, the presence in the Panathenaic procession of the different seg ments of the community.

[29] Events such as the City Dionysia and Panathenaia depended on large numbers of liturgies, perhaps as many as forty or fifty for the Panathenaia alone. For details, V. Wohl, 'εὐσεβείας ἕνεκα καὶ φιλοτιμίας: hegemony and democracy at the Panathenaia', *C&M* 47 (1996), 60.

[30] As observed by Kallett (n. 6), 34. For Kallet, the sudden prominence of the institution forms part of Thucydides' larger critique of the expedition and the role of private wealth in it. For a comprehensive treatment of the τριηραρχία, V. Gabrielsen, *Financing the Athenian Fleet: Public Taxation and Social Relations* (Baltimore, 1994).

[31] P. Wilson, *The Athenian Institution of the Khoregia* (Cambridge, 2000), 48 and 138.

[32] Actual prizes in the form of golden crowns—for trierarchs are recorded for the fourth century; so Ps. Dem. 51.1, 6; *IG* ii^2 1629a.190 204.

[33] As noted by Jordan (n. 10), 63, 64 n. 3, and 65.

[34] Ibid., 65 and n. 6.

[35] A silence, as Wilson (n. 31), 48 observes, itself consistent with the anti naval bias docu mented on pp. 9 11. For what evidence there is, see D. Kyle, 'The Panathenaic Games: sacred

fragment from the comic dramatist Plato referring to the tomb of Themistocles in the Piraeus looking out over the competition suggests an earlier, fifth-century date for its introduction.[36] The city could have initiated the event after Themistocles' development of the harbour by way of acknowledging the new importance of the fleet, and also perhaps, as a means of incorporating a more populist element into the otherwise élite-dominated event.[37] If Thucydides does have this race in mind, then he ends his account by linking the present-day occasion to the prime civic celebration at and of Athens.[38] Nor is this the first evocation of a festival competition in this portion of the text. Both contests and liturgies occupy the opening of Alcibiades' response to Nicias at 16.2 and 3. Here the youth notoriously stakes his claim to leadership of the expedition on the grounds of his sponsorship of seven chariots at the Olympic games (where he also acted as official θεωρός) and his activities as χορηγός in Athens' own dramatic and other festival rites.[39]

If Thucydides underscores the theme of festival in both Alcibiades' speech and the presentation of the launching, it is not only because he wants to suggest that 'show' has prevailed over substance. Spectacles, both civic and national, are an occasion for the articulation and projection of the self-image and ideology of those mounting and sponsoring the event, for the generation and expression of those 'collective representations' that bind members of a particular community. But viewed in this light, the affair at the Piraeus (as Thucydides chooses to portray it here) has a decidedly peculiar character, and appears all the more anomalous when compared to the other occasions evoked directly and indirectly in this portion of the text. Much as the embarkation proved incompatible with the proposed epinician/heroic framework, so too it fails comfortably to fit into the civic festival paradigm. First, because it foregrounds the navy while suppressing or downplaying the cavalry and hoplites; and second, because it lays bare the commercial nexus normally invisible or glossed over at such celebrations. Both novelties generate an event perceived, as it were, from the city's underbelly, a most unusual view from below.

There is no missing the prominence of the infantry and horsemen at other state-sponsored affairs. As studies from the last two decades have documented, hoplites are celebrated and commemorated in public speeches, on state-commissioned monuments where their bravery stands as a paradigm for that of the citizen soldier, and at civic spectacles.[40] Funeral orations dwell almost exclusively on hoplite

and civic athletics', in J. Neils (ed.), *Goddess and Polis. The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens* (Princeton, 1992), 97 with bibliography cited there.

[36] Fr. 199 KA. Wilson (n. 31), 48 suggests that the speaker of Lysias 21.5 is referring to the competition when he cites among the highpoints of his liturgical service 'a victory with a trireme at Sounion'.

[37] See Kyle (n. 35), 97 for this suggestion. Note too his citation of the Old Oligarch 1.13 who, he proposes, has this event in mind when he explains popular support for festivals and liturgies on the grounds of the financial gain they derive from 'singing, running, dancing and sailing on ship'.

[38] Jordan (n. 10), 65 observes how together the chariot race at Olympia and boat race at the Piraeus frame the account, underscoring the theme of competition. But if the boat race does carry a populist association (and Kyle [n. 35] suggests it came in last position among the competitive events), then the shift from the chariot to the boat might carry some thematic significance.

[39] Jordan (n. 10), 65–6, 70 details the links between Alcibiades' words here and the terms Thucydides subsequently uses to describe the scene at the Piraeus.

[40] The starting point for this is N. Loraux, *The Invention of Athens. The Funeral Oration in the Classical city*, trans. A. Sheridan. (Cambridge, MA and London, 1986), esp. 34–6, 161–3.

battles,[41] and at the City Dionysia, the war orphans paraded on stage in the equipment of the hoplite, granted them by the city. So too the allies participating in the Panathenaia were required to donate a hoplite panoply.[42]

The cavalry also share in this civic limelight. Its members occupied a prominent place in the Panathenaia procession, and took up an amount of space in the depiction of that occasion on the Parthenon frieze disproportionate to their actual numbers in the city and contribution to its overall military forces.[43] Other equestrian elements are featured on the frieze; charioteers and ἀπόβαται, participants in the chariot-dismounting race at the Panathenaia, an event in which only 'the very best' (οἱ βέλτιστοι) participated (Dem. 61.24–25).[44] The cavalry seems also to have played a role in several other major civic events, including the procession of *mystai* at the start of the Great Eleusinia, and among the civic functions assigned to the hipparch, Xenophon would list that of making state festivals 'worthy spectacles' (*Hipparch.* 3.1).[45] Nor were images of the city's horsemen absent from its public sites and commemorative monuments. A visitor to the Stoa of Zeus would see Euphranor's painting of the cavalry in action at Mantineia, and Pausanias describes a public memorial to two horsemen killed while fighting the Spartans at Tanagra (1.29.6).[46]

If being an Athenian means, in the civic imagination of the time, being a hoplite or a rider, the navy and those who manned it fall largely below the bar. For all the fact that the city's ever-greater naval focus increasingly marginalized the heavily armed soldier and rider, the fleet occupies scant place in public rhetoric, art, and civic spectacles,[47] and the focus consistently falls on the hoplite battles of Marathon and

Her insights have been developed and expanded in, among others, Hanson (n. 12); K. Raaflaub, 'Equalities and inequalities in Athenian democracy', in J. Ober and C. Hedrick (edd.), *Demokratia. A Conversation on Democracies, Ancient and Modern* (Princeton, 1996), 139 74; and P. Cartledge, 'The *machismo* of the Athenian empire—or the reign of the *phaulus*?', in L. Foxhall and J. Salmon (edd.), *When Men Were Men. Masculinity, Power and Identity in Classical Athens* (London, 1999), 54 67. Note too F. Lissarrague, *L'Autre Guerrier: archers, peltastes et cavaliers dans l'imagerie antique* (Paris, 1990) and 'The world of the warrior', in C. Bérard et al. (edd.), *A City of Images. Iconography and Society in Ancient Greece*, trans. D. Lyons (Princeton, 1989), 39 51. On the question of whether thetes were actually included on casualty lists, see the discussion in A. Raubitschek, 'Greek inscriptions', *Hesperia* 12 (1943), 12 88, and Raaflaub (this note), 156 with more recent bibliography.

[41] Loraux (n. 40), 99, 146, 151, 212. P. Vidal Naquet, *The Black Hunter: Forms of Thought and Forms of Society in the Greek World*, trans. A. Szegedy Maszak (Baltimore and London, 1986), 91 2, discusses the promotion and idealization of Marathon; C. Fornara, 'The hoplite achievement at Psyttaleia', *JHS* 86 (1966), 51 4, shows the fabrication of a hoplite contribution at Salamis. The Stoa Poikile gives pride of place to the hoplites who fought at Marathon; so Paus. 1.15.3; Nep. *Milt.* 6.3 4; Aeschin. *In Ctes.* 3.186. See too Hanson (n. 12), 312, n. 46.

[42] For this S. Goldhill, 'The Great Dionysia and civic ideology', in J. Winkler and F. I. Zeitlin (edd.), *Nothing to Do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in its Social Context* (Princeton, 1990), 106 14 and Cartledge (n. 40), 61 and 63.

[43] R. Osborne, 'The viewing and obscuring of the Parthenon frieze', *JHS* 107 (1987), 103 4 and Wohl (n. 22), 53, who points out that horsemen constitute nearly four fifths of the figures on the frieze. On the limited contribution of cavalry in actual fighting, Hanson (n. 12), 290. For a rather different view of their role, Spence (nn. 5 and 7).

[44] On the ἀπόβαται, Kyle (n. 35), 89 90; J. Connelly, 'Parthenon and *Parthenoi*: a mytho logical interpretation of the Parthenon frieze', *AJA* 100 (1996), 69 70.

[45] For this, Spence (n. 7), 186–7.

[46] On these and other public representations of cavalry, Spence (n. 7) 190 and Low (n. 7), 104.

[47] Loraux (n. 40), 86 8, 161 2. More recent discussions include Wilson (n. 31), 47 9; Raaflaub (n. 40), 155 6; D. Rosenbloom, 'Myth, history and hegemony in Aeschylus', in B. Goff (ed.), *History, Tragedy, Theory. Dialogues on Athenian Drama* (Austin, TX, 1995),

Plataea.[48] Although the City Dionysia coincided with the opening of the sailing season and the annual commencement of naval activity,[49] the fleet makes no showing in the procession or other pre-play ceremonies.[50] A ship was present at the Panathenaic procession but was not included in that festival's representation in enduring form on the Parthenon frieze.[51] Add to this the almost total absence of triremes and rowers from other public monuments. To cite Paul Cartledge, 'being a member of the class of sub-hoplite thetes whose military function was naval was to be little if at all less of an "other" warrior in terms of the Athenian civic "imaginary" than was being an archer or peltast'.[52]

Among the many reasons advanced to explain the bias, scholars trace hostility or ambivalence towards the sea and sea power from the archaic texts on and the fifth-century association of maritime ventures with Persia and the Eastern tyrants.[53] More particular to Athens is the city's fostering of its autochthonous nature, its choice of Athena and the olive tree over Poseidon, and its continuing discomfort with its decision to 'become maritime' in the face of the Persian threat.[54] But most apposite for my purpose is the ideological bias at work here. As Hanson and others have noted, the impetus of Athenian democratic discourse was upward: 'the "big-tent" notion that others were brought up, rather than insiders pulled down, was important to Athenian experimentation with democratic polis transition'.[55] Indeed, through civic discourse, festivals, and monuments, the lower stratum of citizens is repeatedly invited to identify with the hoplite class and even the social élite, to regard itself in

91 130. Note too A. Momigliano, 'Sea power in Greek thought', in *Secondo contributo alla storia degli studi classica* (Rome, 1960). A possible and important corrective to this view is offered in B. S. Strauss, 'The Athenian trireme, school of democracy', in J. Ober and C. Hedrick (edd.), *Demokratia. A Conversation on Democracies, Ancient and Modern* (Princeton, 1996), 313–26. As he argues, the invisibility of rowers and ships may result from the skewed nature of the evidence: thetes did not have the wherewithal for self commemoration on grave monuments or vases, and their underrepresentation in public festivals and monuments should not be exaggerated (witness the Lenormant Relief, or the ship at the Panathenaia). See too D. M. Pritchard, '"The fractured imaginary": popular thinking on military matters in fifth century Athens', *Ancient History* 28 (1998), 53 5 for a review of positive representations of nautical activities in fifth century drama. Cartledge (n. 40), 64 5 cites a mid-fifth-century stamnos depicting a sacrifice performed by an individual named Archenautes, 'Master Mariner', but only to emphasize the rarity of the celebration of the role of sailor.

[48] See too Pl. *Leg.* 4.706 7 where the Athenian Stranger demotes Salamis and Artemision to the advantage of Marathon and Plataea. For other examples, Loraux (n. 40), 161 2.

[49] As noted by Rosenbloom (n. 47), 104 and 105, who also documents the links between the festival's patron deity, Dionysus, and the sea.

[50] As Pritchard (n. 47), 47 nicely comments, 'the orphans do not march with oar, oarloop and cushion ... but decked out in the full garb of the heavily armed soldier'.

[51] For details of the Panathenaic ship, an element probably added in the mid-fifth century, see H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (Ithaca, NY, 1977), 39 40. See too Wohl (n. 29), 74. For the disappearance of the ship on the frieze, Wilson (n. 31), 330, n. 206.

[52] Cartledge (n. 40), 63. However, in addition to the counter-evidence cited by Strauss (n. 47), there is the more mixed message issued by public drama, both tragedy and comedy. For positive representations of the Athenian fleet and its rowers, see not only, most obviously, Aeschylus' *Persae* (esp. 373 81) but also Soph. *OC* 707 19 (with Wilson [n. 31], 330, n. 209); in comedy, Ar. *Ach.* 162 3, *Eq.* 551 5, and 598 601 (with the association of horsemanship and sailing), 1065 6, 1186, 1366 7; *Av.* 108. For other examples, Pritchard (n. 47), 55.

[53] For this and what follows, see Loraux (n. 40), Vidal-Naquet (n. 42), ch. 4; Hanson (n. 12), Wilson (n. 31), 47 8. Particularly rich is the treatment of Rosenbloom (n. 47), 94–8.

[54] In addition to the works already cited, see W. Arrowsmith, 'Aristophanes' *Birds*: the fantasy politics of Eros', *Arion* n.s. 1 (1973), esp. 120 6.

[55] Hanson (n. 12), 306. Nor was this upward mobility the stuff of ideology alone. By virtue of clerouchies, many thetes would have made it into the hoplite class.

'aristocratized' form.[56] The funeral orations and casualty lists inscribed on public stelae demonstrate just such an attempt on the part of a democratic ethos to represent the dead through the language and values associated with the aristocratic warrior who falls in battle.[57] In similar fashion the Parthenon frieze, as Robin Osborne argues, reimagines the Athenian demos in that most élitist of guises, the youth serving in the cavalry.[58] At the Panathenaia, the festival practices and imagery 'constituted an aristocratized demos', while the élite played a dominant role in the procession, sacrifices, and organization of the event.[59] The absence of the navy becomes explicable in this light. Chiefly manned by the lowest ranks in society it is, in the words of Wilson, 'that element least amenable to such a refiguring in aristocratic terms'.[60] Thus to shine the spotlight on the fleet, and to hide or obscure the cavalry and hoplites, as the Piraeus spectacle does, is to create a civic image that radically inverts and dismantles the élitist ideology projected on these other occasions.

A second facet to the ethic endlessly articulated and made visible at civic spectacles was the individual's willing and unremunerated (at least in financial terms) service to his state, both with his physical person and his wealth. The pre-play ceremonies in the theatre of Dionysus not only featured the sons of those who had given their bodies for the city, but also included announcing the names of, and granting crowns or garlands to those who had performed some singular act of public service. Similarly at the Panathenaic games, gold and laurel crowns were awarded to individuals deemed city benefactors, whether for a conspicuous liturgy at the festival itself, or for another act of civic virtue.[61] The very prominence of the liturgist on these occasions, whether in the processions and other rituals that initiated the events, or in the ceremonies at their close, was testimony to the individual's φιλοτιμία and voluntary outlay on the city's behalf. With all this emphasis on selfless service, it is not surprising that public discourse at and concerning festivals excludes all mention of the monetary transactions underpinning the events and passes over the fact that those featured in the competitions were in the pay of the liturgist. Extant evidence suggests that members of the choruses at the City Dionysia did receive pay from the χορηγός, but the very paucity of the testimonia reveals the bias against direct expression of the financial bond between the two parties.[62] The reality surfaces only in the more jaundiced exposés of the hidden face of the democracy and in attempts to demystify festival culture. A passage from Ps. Xenophon's critique of the democracy notes in derogatory vein the payment given to those participating in communal events, among them the contests at the Panathenaia, and suggests that popular support for these occasions is fuelled by the desire for gain. As the author remarks, 'The people expect to get paid for singing, running, dancing, and sailing on the ships, in order that they may have the money and the wealthy become poorer' (*Ath. Pol.* 1.13).

[56] On such negotiations between mass and élite, J. Ober, *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens. Rhetoric, Ideology, and the Power of the People* (Princeton, 1989). But note too the discussion of M. Griffith, 'Brilliant dynasts: power and politics in the *Oresteia*', *CA* 14 (1995), 62 129, who argues that tragedy offers its audience a whole variety of 'subject positions' with which to identity, which cover a broad area of the social spectrum.

[57] Loraux (n. 40), 19, 23, 42 54, 190–202.

[58] Osborne (n. 43), 103 4.

[59] Wohl (n. 29), 30 1. Here, she suggests, the 'demos represented itself to itself ... through the medium of its aristocratic representatives'.

[60] Wilson (n. 31), 47.

[61] Dem. *De Cor.* 116.5 10 with Wohl (n. 29), 69.

[62] Wilson (n. 31), 126 on the evidence, and the suggestion that the fact of payment was not overtly recognized.

Thucydides' patently critical account of the embarkation belongs together with these other revelations of the 'underside' of Athenian civic spectacles, as the historian mixes the official language of public festivals with details of public service for pay so as to sound a jarring note. In addition to repeatedly noting the hopes for financial profit driving the entire venture, Thucydides describes the monetary exchanges between the chief actors at the Piraeus event, recording at 31.3 that the trierarchs supplemented the amount given by the state to the rowers and petty officers. As the reader would know, the quality of the latter, and in this instance, their designation as κρατίστας, depended not on their zeal for public service, but on the amount of financial remuneration the recruiter offered.[63] If the hoplites behave as impeccable Athenians, serving the state with their bodies (σῶμα, 31.3, 5), and the trierarchs do likewise with their financial largesse (δαπάναις, 31.3),[64] then the example of Alcibiades, who stands grand sponsor to the affair, troubles the paradigm. Both Nicias and Thucydides have already suggested that behind Alcibiades' eagerness lies a desire to enrich himself, and the historian himself proposes that φιλοτιμία, expressed through grandiose outlay to mount a glorious show such as the hoplites and trierarchs do here, can coexist alongside greed for gain (15.2).

But perhaps there is no need to reach outside Thucydides' work for details of public spectacles and the ideology exhibited there. For all the text's almost total neglect of the festival culture so central to civic life, the historian does include one other extended account of the city gathered to celebrate a communal rite, the burial of the war dead in Book 2.[65] Read against the idealized representation of Athens held up at this earlier event, Thucydides' emphasis on the anomalous and inverted character of the scene at the Piraeus stands all the clearer, and with it his view of the city's downward departures from the paradigm articulated on the previous occasion.

The chief lineaments of the portrayal of Athens and of its citizens offered by Pericles are familiar, and I note only those most relevant to the 'counter-image' visible at the Piraeus. As the many analyses of the Funeral Oration have pointed out, the speaker invites his audience to identify with and embrace an essentially élitist model, figuring the citizen in the guise of the aristocratic warrior who demonstrates ἀρετή and gains κλέος as a result of his death.[66] By contrast, the embarkation

[63] In Lysias 21.10, the speaker explains how his lavish spending on skilled rowers and a steersman allowed his ship to be one of the few to escape harm at Aigospotamoi. See too Ps. Dem. 51.6 for the statement that the quality of the ὑπηρεσία depended on the amount of pay available, and Isoc. 18.60. For further discussion, Gabrielsen (n. 30), 122. See too V. Rosivach, 'Manning the Athenian fleet, 433 426 B.C.', *AJAH* 10.1 (1985), 41 66.

[64] For the formula 'with persons and wealth' applied to the service of the liturgiest, Thuc. 8.56.3, *Ath. Pol.* 29.5; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.49.

[65] The links between the two events are more thematic than linguistic, but some significant verbal echoes occur. On both occasions Thucydides presents an audience of townsmen and foreigners (καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων, 2.34.4, 6.30.2) gathered for a collective event, and, rather surprisingly given the holiday atmosphere of the latter affair, lamentation is a feature at both (2.34.4, 6.30.2). The term ὅμιλος, discussed above, appears on both occasions of the audience (2.34.8, 30.2). Much as the Piraeus scene emphasizes the bonds between those about to embark (these are the 'companions, kin, sons' of those present to see them off, 6.30.2) so Pericles' audience includes the kin of the dead. Hornblower (n. 22), 337 points to the striking concentration of athletic metaphors at the close of the funeral address, language he finds particularly significant 'in view of Thucydides, extraordinary silence about the games which were in reality part of the ritual complex of which the *epitaphios logos* was another part'.

[66] The most detailed account remains Loraux (n. 40), 180 92. See too C. Farrar, *The Origins of Democratic Thinking: The Invention of Politics in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 1988), 8 10, 28–30. Note that on the occasion of the Funeral Oration, those being buried were the cavalry and hoplites killed during the offensive and defensive actions of the previous year.

scene in no way privileges or promotes identification with an 'aristocratized' subject position, and devotes as much attention to the plebs who make up much of the population of those on ship as to the higher echelons, with whom they are mingled (32.1). In Pericles' earlier account, the city remains virtually unmarked by the maritime and commercial concerns dominant in Athens since Themistocles and Pericles after him worked to build up the fleet and to develop the naval and mercantile potential of the Piraeus,[67] concerns so emphasized in the visualization of Book 6. Pericles' Athens emerges as a virtual autarky, oriented towards its own land (2.38.2), while some sixteen years later the chief defenders and patrollers of that land, the cavalry, play no visible role in the Sicilian venture.[68] Pericles describes a city that explicitly rejects ostentation and lavish private spending, preferring frugality and even cheapness (εὐτέλεια) to extravagance and πολυτέλεια (2.40.1).[69] But at the Piraeus, πολυτέλεια has become the order of the day (31.1, 3). Directly linked with this extravagance (πολυτελεστάτη δὴ καὶ εὐπρεπεστάτη, 31.1), and indeed a function of it, is the fleet's beauty of appearance, that εὐπρέπεια (31.1, 3) for whose manifestation the occasion seems expressly designed. But in Pericles' speech, that same attractive display was relegated exclusively to the private sphere and made the attribute of those 'furnishings/estates' (κατασκευαῖς εὐπρεπέσιν) that come qualified by the term ἰδίαις (2.38.1). And in place of the citizen willing to submerge private interests for the public good, to sacrifice his person on the field of battle so as to serve the collective interest (2.40.2, 43.3), the individuals about to embark for Sicily are no longer animated by concern for the public welfare.[70] Instead they wish to preserve the wealth that they have and/or to enrich themselves further.

The contrast between the Piraeus scene and the burial rite proves apposite to my concluding argument. It is not just that Pericles' address embraces the élitist paradigm and idealizing civic imagery typical of the genre; it also enacts that same paradigm and imagery in two respects. First, through the historian's choice to privilege λόγος, both in the design and contents of the occasion; and second through the starring role that he grants to the 'first' among citizens, Pericles, allowing the orator to serve as the (high class) 'focalizer' for his audience. As I end by suggesting, Thucydides' report of the embarkation as a signal, and according to his account, problematic case of the privileging of ὄψις and display over λόγος not only squares with the emphasis on the demotic, populist perspective of the rabble featured here. More ominously still, it underscores what the historian perceives as the critical absence of a single, pre-eminent and effective leader, able to mediate through λόγος between what is seen and the proper evaluation of that sight, to direct the crowd gathered for the show.[71]

[67] Loraux (n. 40), 87, commenting on 2.38.2. In reality, of course, Pericles presided over the expansion and improvement of the Piraeus' naval and commercial facilities, including the construction of new ship sheds strikingly built of marble. For discussion, Garland (n. 18).

[68] Bugh (n. 7), 78 9; J. Ober, 'Thucydides, Pericles, and the strategy of defense', in J. W. Eadie and J. Ober (edd.), *The Craft of the Ancient Historian: Essays in Honor of Chester G. Starr* (Lanham, MD, 1985), 171 88.

[69] On this phrase, Wohl (n. 13), 44 5.

[70] Kallet (n. 6), 31 3 offers excellent analysis of the ways in which Nicias' speech has already shifted the Periclean terms concerning the subordination of private to public interests.

[71] My discussion here seeks to build on the analysis of Kallet (n. 6) with her very full analysis of the role of sight in both the Sicilian episode and elsewhere in the text. As she argues, Thucydides demonstrates here and on other occasions the need for some form of filter between the viewer and what he sees.

On the occasion of the public funeral, Thucydides devotes only one brief chapter to the course of events at the rite (2.34), and all but ignoring the make up, emotions, and actions of those present at the Cerameicus, focuses almost uniquely on the speech delivered there. Just before the encomium begins, the historian calls attention to his choice: Pericles mounts the speaker's dais, elevated not in order that he might be seen, but that his λόγος might be heard (ὅπως ἀκούοιτο, 2.34.8). The act of delivering and listening to a λόγος is, moreover, made integral to the Athenians' superior mode of conducting public affairs as Pericles subsequently defines it. In the passage at 40.2–3, λόγος and its compounds appear four times in the three sentences making up the description (λόγοι, λόγῳ, ἐκλογίζεσθαι, and λογισμός).[72] With the close of Pericles' speech, the occasion simply ends (34.7, 46.1).[73] But at the launching of the fleet word and voice are entirely absent while all the emphasis falls on the multiple and dazzling images received by the eye. The text also indulges the reader's voyeuristic desires (contrast the plain, even flat and unadorned character of Thucydides' writing at 2.34), turning the latter-day audience into viewers alongside the Athenians and foreigners, inviting it to look at and appraise what the historian paints with such conscious and rare vividness.[74] No wonder this episode concludes when the fleet disappears out of sight.

The scene at the Piraeus does more than reveal Athens's transformation from a city of speakers and listeners into a city of θεαταί, ever desirous for novel and noteworthy objects on which to fasten their gaze.[75] It also calls attention to the problems inherent in that change.[76] As Thucydides' careful choice of terms makes clear, the brilliant spectacle that confronts those gathered for the launching risks creating the wrong impression. The very beauty of appearance, the εὐπρέπεια on which the historian dwells can, as Allison points out, signify 'speciousness' too.[77] For an audience less

[72] The speaker's own words coincide with the historian's privileging of λόγος over ὄψις on this occasion on a second count. Pericles uses his recitation to redirect the attention of his audience away from the grave stone and towards verbal praise, investing ἔπαινος, both his and that of others, with an efficacy and reach which visible monuments cannot attain (so particularly 2.42.2–3). For discussion of the competition between sight and hearing in the speech, Loraux (n. 40), 233–5 and J. Ober, *Political Dissent in Democratic Athens* (Princeton, 1998) 84–5; both treatments reach conclusions rather different from mine.

[73] As Wohl (n. 13), 39 observes, the text allows no reply or reaction to the speech.

[74] According to Plutarch, ἐνάργεια depends in no small measure on the presence of original spectators to the scene, individuals whose πάθη the author describes and the latter-day reader then re-experiences (*De glor. Ath.* 347a). Here Thucydides includes no fewer than two internal audiences and observes how they are affected by what they see (30.2, 31.1, 4). Chapter 31 is also unique for its cataloguing of visual stimuli, and its constant reminders of the 'view-worthiness' of the fleet. According to ancient rhetorical theory from Gorgias through to the imperial age, a narrative such as this, replete with vivid scenes and images, can fulfill the same role as signs actually visible to the audience. By virtue of his painterly skills, the speaker or writer annuls the distinction critical to ancient theories of perception between images generated by real objects and those that issue from 'empty appearances', and endows his λόγος with the same emotional impact that ὄψις has. For further discussion of the technique, A. D. Walker, 'Enargeia and the spectator in Greek historiography', *TAPA* 123 (1993), 353–75.

[75] One of the major motives among the young inspiring support for the expedition, as Thucydides has just recorded, was a longing for ὄψεως καὶ θεωρίας (24.3).

[76] This is a motif already anticipated in Cleon's words at 3.38.3 where the formula θεαταὶ...λόγων brings together, in a patent oxymoron, two faculties elsewhere contrasted. Note too how Cleon invests the speech that appeals to the people with the quality of τὸ εὐπρεπές (38.2). The fallibility of vision as a leitmotif in this portion of the text is well discussed in Kallet (n. 6), esp. 27–30, 48–50, 56–66.

[77] J. W. Allison, *Power and Preparedness in Thucydides* (Baltimore and London, 1989), 92.

engaged in the event (and one whose assessment clearly coincides with Thucydides' own), the fleet appears an ἐπίδειξις (6.31.5), a 'performative display' that may, or may not, correspond to the reality behind it.[78] The very bifurcation of the audience response signals the need for a careful act of interpretation, but it is just this interpretative facility that, Thucydides goes on to suggest, the original audience badly lacked. As he notes, there was no one present at the Piraeus to reckon up (ἐλογίσατο) the sums of money carried out from the city by the fleet (31.5), and so to reveal the debit sign behind this seemingly impressive display of accumulated wealth and power. Implicit in that contrafactual condition 'if someone had reckoned up' is the absence of a guiding λόγος that should be interposed between the viewer and what he sees.[79] Very different is the act of spectatorship that Pericles famously recommends in the Funeral Oration when he invites his audience to become θεαταί of Athens's power (2.34.1). On this earlier occasion, the object of the citizens' love-inspiring gaze was an abstraction apprehensible only through the speaker's words. And if, as Kallet-Marx suggests, that δύναμις refers to the city's financial resources, as detailed by Pericles in an earlier speech, then it belongs to the sphere of 'invisible' as opposed to 'visible' wealth.[80]

A λόγος, of course, requires a speaker or author, and here too the salient difference between the celebration of the πάτριος νόμος and the event at the Piraeus becomes clear. At the Cerameicus, the ὅμιλος quite literally stood beneath the sway of a single man elevated above the rest, an individual characterized as 'preeminent' and 'first' (2.34.6, 8). On the second occasion, Thucydides selects no such figure; instead verbs denoting mass, collective actions predominate from start to finish, blending all the city's demographic parts into a unified whole.[81] This shift in emphasis from πρῶτος to ὅμιλος ἅπας (30.2) corresponds to the dangerously altered political and sociological landscape of 415 of which the Piraeus festival is designed (much as civic occasions regularly did) to offer a census-like snapshot or map. Not surprisingly the picture generated corresponds to the preview supplied by the historian at 2.65. There he observed that one of Pericles' particular strengths was his ability to lead the πλῆθος (explicitly the rabble in

[78] When the term appears elsewhere in the text, it refers to a visible display of strength, something meant to impress the eye of the viewer and to prompt a corresponding emotional response of wonder and/or fear, in some instances justified, in others not. C. Hedrick, 'Thucydides and the beginnings of archaeology', in D. B. Small (ed.), *Methods in the Mediterranean: Historical and Archaeological Views on Texts and Archaeology* (Leiden, 1995), 86 discusses other uses in Thucydides. The same element of visual and performative display seems present in other late fifth century uses of a word very commonly applied to the public lectures of sophists and doctors, renditions which would have included techniques designed chiefly to impress and win over an audience. For very full treatment of the term in these contexts, see R. Thomas, *Herodotus in Context. Ethnography, Science and the Art of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2000), esp. 249 65.

[79] See Kallet (n. 6), 60 for the argument that the condition implies absence of the requisite τις.

[80] L. Kallet Marx, *Money, Expense, and Naval Power in Thucydides' History, 1 5.24* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1993), 99.

[81] So particularly ξυνκατέβη, 30.2, and 32.1 where the prayers are emphatically performed 'not by each ship separately, but by all' and the 'whole army' had wine poured into bowls for the libation. Echoing the ξύμπαντες here, the next phrase describes how the crowd on shore 'joined together in prayer (ξυνεπηύχοντο)', a ξυν compound that answers to the beginning of the event. The language seems designed to call attention to the civic unity that marks the event (something also consistent with official festival culture). However, on this occasion that unity has already been described as achieved at a price, and only because some portion of the population lack the courage to withstand the majority (6.24).

Thucydidean usage),[82] rather than to be led by it (65.8), to encourage and restrain the masses as he saw fit. This, together with his other virtues, guaranteed his status as sole leader, while subsequent politicians, lacking such outstanding qualities and failing to achieve such individual preeminence simply 'turned to pleasuring the people and surrendered conduct of public affairs' (65.10). In 2.65, the Sicilian expedition is already singled out as exemplary of the failures of leadership that prompted the falling off from the glory days of Pericles, and Thucydides' depiction of the scene at the Piraeus realizes the proleptic account. Without a presiding statesman able, through his λόγος, to deal out the proper encouragement and moderation,[83] and to mediate between images and their interpretation, the dazzling show mounted for this ὄχλος beguiles actors and audience, and fosters the collective delusion already apparent in the unanimous vote for the expedition (6.24).

Ultimately, then, the moment of the launching turns out to be a commentary on the sources of Athenian power and on the blend of elements necessary for the city's continued success. The naval, maritime, and mercantile interests so emphasized here and undoubtedly privileged in Thucydides' own radical accounts of the underpinnings of power and hegemony, are not, the historian believes, the only elements that Athens' primacy requires. Nor is the social cohesion manifested in all the collective action in the scene enough. Instead, leadership, the ability to deploy all these 'parts of power' emerges as a critical factor in the Thucydidean formula.[84] Pericles' particular genius as leader lay with his ability to master the crowd, to harness the 'Piraeus element' so that its energies could serve on the city's behalf. For the historian, the embarkation offers a means to demonstrate what happens when the requisite pieces in the power equation remain intact—money, ships, men to row them, and even civic unity—but missing is that single commanding intelligence able to impose order and direction on the ship of state.

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[82] As Ober (n. 72), 54 comments of the term, 'it carried strong sociopolitical connotations when used ... in reference to the mass of ordinary citizens, who are thereby contrasted to an élite'.

[83] Contrast 2.65.9, which imagines Pericles deflating excessive popular boldness (θαρσοῦντας) through λόγος (λέγων), and emboldening the people (θαρσεῖν) when they were cast down ἀλόγως, with 6.31.1. Here, in a phrase replete with words for seeing, Thucydides observes how the Piraeus crowd was 'on account of the mass of what they saw, emboldened (ἀνεθάρσουν) at the sight'.

[84] See W. R. Connor, *Thucydides* (Princeton, 1984), 61 for discussion of how the theme of leadership is particularly highlighted in Book 2.