

But if Aristagoras' vision had proved a mirage, it had nevertheless left much for Greece to ponder. In the first place, it was clear that defeat had not been the inevitable result of superior Persian strength, but of lack of collaboration between Ionia and Old Greece, of discord among the Ionians themselves, and of the absence of any great tenacity of purpose. The lesson was clear: Aristagoras had shown that the Great King was not invincible, as Kyros and the Ten Thousand were later to demonstrate his extreme vulnerability. Only unity was needed. Hence the Panhellenic spirit which was victorious at Marathon and at Salamis.<sup>1</sup>

## IV

When the Battle of Lade had been lost the wealthier Samians feared the vengeance of Aiakes, whose return was to be expected at any moment. Before this final catastrophe, the Ionians had received an invitation from the people of Zankle to found a new city at Kale Akte on the North coast of Sicily.<sup>2</sup> The site proposed lay in Sikel territory mid-way

1. Cf. de Sanctis, op.cit. 90.

2. Hdt. vi 22-24 contains most that is known of the expedition to Zankle; cf. Thuk. vi 4.5. The best recent accounts are by Dunbabin, The Western Greeks 390ff, and G. Vallet, Région et Zankle (Paris, 1958) 337ff. That the invitation preceded the Battle of Lade is argued by Dunbabin, op.cit. 391, on the valid ground that if the Samians had had to wait for the news of their defeat to reach Sicily and produce the invitation by return, they would have been enslaved before they could escape.

between Mylai and Himera, and was evidently designed to secure that part of the island from the imperialistic policy being pursued by Hippokrates, the tyrant of Gela.<sup>1</sup> The Samians now availed themselves of the Zanklaian offer. They were accompanied by no other Ionians - this is hardly surprising after their betrayal of the Revolt - apart from such Milesians as managed to make their escape. The emigrants departed in November or December 495, and perhaps spent the winter at Athens, evoking public sympathy and giving Phrynichos the material for his play.<sup>2</sup>

It was probably in spring 494 that they reached Lokroi Epizephyrioi, to learn that their Zanklaian hosts had been conquered by Hippokrates. He had added their town to his subject alliance after a siege, and had installed Skythes, an ex-tyrant of Kos, as lieutenant-governor.<sup>3</sup>

1. Cf. Vallet, op.cit. 337 n.6.
2. Dunbabin (op.cit. 391) accepts the argument that they called at Athens en route, from the presence in the Messina hoard (S.P. Noe, Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards<sup>2</sup> (New York, 1937) 181 No.685) of coins from Athens and Akanthos; but rejects the possibility of their having called at Akanthos also.
3. For the siege, Hdt. vii 154.2. Skythes' status as deputy for Hippokrates is argued from the fact that the latter held him responsible for the Samians' success, Id. vi 23.4; cf. Dunbabin, op.cit. 382. Until Vallet's work it had always been assumed that Skythes or Hippokrates issued the invitation to Kale Akte, and even that it was brought by Skythes' son Kadmos, like his father a retired tyrant of Kos (for the arguments as to identity, Dunbabin, op.cit. 384f), who accompanied the Samians on their voyage (op.cit. 391f arguing from Hdt. vii 164.1, quoted infra, p.376n.1). But Vallet points out (op.cit. 337) that Skythes, an island Dorian, in the service of a tyrant of Gela whose whole policy was directed against the Chalkidian cities, would not want to found an Ionian city to collaborate with the Chalkidians at Zankle; hence that Hippokrates seizure of Zankle and installation of Skythes took place between the issuing of the invitation and the arrival of the Samians.

For some this was the end of the road; and the fact that they were prepared to settle here and not press on with the main body to Zankle argues that the expedition had delayed at Lokroi for some considerable time. There are signs of an influential Samian element in the population of Lokroi at this period. The Marazá temple there is the earliest Ionic building in the West; indeed, the only other Ionic temple in Italy - though some Doric temples had Ionic features - was at the Lokrian colony of Hipponion, and erected much later, c.400 B.C. So the significance of the Ionic order is real. The archaeological evidence is that it was adopted for the Marazá temple in the late sixth or early fifth century. Mr. Dunbabin favoured the latter alternative, and connected the introduction of the Ionic style with the reconstruction of the temple which took place c.480. 'The columns are like those of the Samian Heraion, and the Samian foot has been detected as the basis of its measurements.'<sup>1</sup>

In 472 the Lokrian Euthyimos won his third victory at Olympia, and commissioned a portrait statue from the sculptor Pythagoras, himself a Samian and probably a refugee from the

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1. Op.cit. 295f, with references to discussion there cited; esp. E. Petersen, Röm. Mitt. v (1890) 182f, quoting Dörpfeld.

Revolt.<sup>1</sup> The base of the statue survives, with its inscription:<sup>2</sup>

Ευθυμος Λοκρος Αστυκλεος τρις Ολυμπι' ευικων,  
εικονα δ' εστησεν τηνδε βροτοις εσοσαν.

Ευθυμος Λοκρος απο Ιεφουριου ανεθηκε·  
Πυθαγορας Σκριος εποιησεν.

There is, by itself, no great significance in Euthymos' employment of this Samian artist, for he was evidently among the foremost of his day. But Euthymos was the son of Astykles; and this name is otherwise found only once, borne by the father of the legendary Samian epic poet Kreophylos.<sup>3</sup>

By c.500 the people of Zankle had drawn away somewhat from their cousins in Rhegion, and the long and profitable collaboration of the two cities in controlling the Straits was at an end. But in 494 or early in 493 Anaxilas made

1. Paus. VI vi 4ff: the other victories were in 484 and 476; cf. P.Oxy. ii No.222, col. i 12, 25. For Pythagoras, Dunbabin, op.cit. 286f, 298f.

2. Olympia v 247ff; E. Loewy, Inscripfien griechischer Bildhauer no.23. The second half of the pentameter, and ανεθεικε in the third line, are subsequent additions in rasura. The obvious syntactical difficulties are overcome by restoring πατρις εγ αλομεν, or some such phrase.

3. Suidas, s.v. Κρεωφυλος.

himself tyrant of Rhegion, and the first task by which such an aspirant had to prove himself was to regain mastery of the Straits, which neither Zankle nor Rhegion could command without the other's help.<sup>1</sup> Zankle had to be taken from the Gelcan alliance. While the Samians lay at Lokroi, Skythes and his Zanklaians were away from home besieging a Sikel town.<sup>2</sup> Anaxilas persuaded the Samians to forget Kale Akte and quickly seize Zankle itself, now undefended. This they did.<sup>3</sup> Their embarrassment in the face of the new allegiance of Zankle to Gela explains their readiness to accept Anaxilas' overtures. Skythes rushed home, and sent for help from his overlord Hippokrates. The speed with which the latter arrived on the

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1. Cf. Dunbabin, op.cit. 386ff; for the date, 387 n.2, Diod. xi 48.2.
  2. Dunbabin, op.cit. 393, suggests that they were securing land for Kale Akte. This surmise must be rejected if our notion of Skythes' role is correct.
  3. It has been argued, on the ground of the extension of the Rhegine coin types of lion and calf to Zankle, that the Samians, from whom these types have been supposed to be derived, helped Anaxilas to power; and that Zankle's name was altered to Messana forthwith, since the aforesaid coins are inscribed MESSENION (C. H. Dodd, JHS xxviii (1908) 56-76). This is expressly contrary to the literary evidence; which Dunbabin saves (op.cit. 388f, following Pareti) by distinguishing between Samian artists in charge of coinage at Rhegion, and the Samian colonists at Zankle, as separate groups. But the whole discussion becomes unnecessary in the light of E. S. G. Robinson's argument that the coin types have nothing to do with Samos (JHS lxvi (1946) 15ff; cf. Vallet, op.cit. 342f): the Messanian examples are later (as Dunbabin's stylistic sense told him, loc.cit.), and Anaxilas adopted the types at Rhegion for personal reasons wholly unconnected with the Samians.

scene shows that he too was campaigning in northern Sicily at the time. He promptly deposed Skythes for negligence, and sent both him and his brother Pythogenes to Inyx under close arrest. From here Skythes later escaped to Himera, and took ship for the comparative security of Persia, where he lived in plenty to a great age.

So far the Samians had acted as agents of Anaxilas. One of Hippokrates' chief political objectives had always been the control of the Sicilian side of the Straits; and it was consistent, if unscrupulous, of him to abandon his Zanklaian dependants and ally himself to the Samians instead. He allowed them a free hand in Zankle in return for a half-share of all the urban slaves and other goods of the Zanklaians, together with the whole of such property as lay outside in the country. Hippokrates kept most of the Zanklaian army in slavery, but remitted the three hundred most prominent townsmen to the Samians for execution. Probably they were his oligarchic opponents: at any rate the Samians, themselves oligarchs, disappointed him by sparing them.

Finally the two parties to this sordid contract exchanged oaths of alliance, and Skythes' son Kadmos took up

residence in Zankle as Hippokrates' representative.<sup>1</sup> His reputation for justice, which Herodotos notes, might make him a useful mediator between the different elements in the population. Anaxilas' plans were thwarted, and for himself, as for Hippokrates, the position apparently remained as it had been previously: but only apparently; for in fact Hippokrates' grip was less firm, and the Samians had shown their talent for playing off one tyrant against another. They had had ample experience of the way to cheat tyrants before ever they sailed West.

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1. This is customarily argued from Hdt. vii 164: *Kadmos oĩχeto ἐς Ζικελίην ἐνθα μετὰ Σαμίων ἔρχετο καὶ κατοίκησε πάλιν Ἰώκελιν ἢ ἐς Μασσάγην μετεβλοῦσαν τὸ ὄνομα.*  
μετὰ DRSV: πρὸς ABCP μετεβλοῦσαν R.

Of the alternative readings πρὸς and μετὰ the former has only slightly better authority, while the latter would give the interpretation adopted above. But if πρὸς were correct, the difficulty would be serious. Rarely, it is true, the genitive can stand in place of the dative with πρὸς meaning 'beside'. But the examples quoted by LSJ<sup>9</sup> (a stereotyped phrase twice in Pindar, a rejected reading in Sophokles, an Attic inscription, and an equally set phrase in Diodoros) offer no hope that this can happen in Herodotos: hence How and Wells' reconstruction (ad loc.) in which Kadmos later expels the Samians as Anaxilas' agent. But historically, as Dunbabin says (op.cit. 388), there can be almost no possibility of collaboration between Kadmos and Anaxilas. If his father had failed Hippokrates' and he himself had betrayed Gelon to his bitter enemy in Rhegion, all Kadmos' tactful diplomacy would not obtain for him the post of Syracusan envoy to Xerxes (Hdt. vii 163). We must therefore read μετὰ Σαμίων.

This whole sequence of events, from Skythes' expedition against the Sikels and Anaxilas' approach to the Samians at Lokroi to their eventual détente with Hippokrates, is to be dated within the year 494/3.

Τοὺς δὲ Σελήους Ἀναξίλλε Ρηγίωνων τύχωνος οἱ πολλῶν ὕστερον ἐκβλήων καὶ μὴ πᾶσιν αὐτὸς συμμεικτῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκίαι Μεσσηνίην ἀπὸ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ τὸ ἄρχαιον πατρίδος ἀπιπυρόμεν.<sup>1</sup>

The date of this is not certain. We have a numismatic terminus ante quem: in 480 Anaxilas was victorious at Olympia with his team of mules, and celebrated the event by adopting the obverse type of a mule-car for his coinage, both at Rhegion and at Zankle.<sup>2</sup> He had, however, gained possession of Zankle before this date, for a series of coins exists with the immediately preceding Rhegine types of lion's head and calf's head, inscribed MESSENIION.<sup>3</sup> Anaxilas' seizure and renaming of Zankle, therefore, is earlier than his Olympic victory of 480. How much earlier? A terminus post quem

1. Thuk. vi 4.6: αὐτοῖς codd: αὐτὸς Dobree, cf. vi 5.3 αὐτὸς οἰκίαι τῆς γένεσος. Dobree's emendation should be accepted; for the MSS reading contradicts ἐκβλήων in the same sentence, even though it receives support from Paus. IV xxiii 9 (v.inf. p.379n.1).
2. Dunbabin, op.cit. 398 for discussion; cf. E. S. G. Robinson, op.cit. 17f.
3. Cf. E. S. G. Robinson, op.cit. 15f.

in 491/0 is given by the Messenian revolt which kept the Spartans from Marathon:<sup>1</sup> the 'mixed population' which Anaxilas put into Zankle included Messenian refugees from a revolt in the Peloponnese.<sup>2</sup> Between these limits the most natural occasion for Anaxilas to occupy Zankle would be during the rebellion at Gela following the death of Hippokrates, when Gelon was first regent and then tyrant.<sup>3</sup> Hippokrates died in 491/90, and Gelon's reign probably began within the year.<sup>4</sup> The Messenians arrived late in 490 or early in 489; and it

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1. Plato, Legg. 698e, cf. 692d (religion, of course, was the usual excuse: Hdt. vi 106.3); cf. also Strabo 362 for a third and a fourth Messenian War. L. H. Jeffery, JHS lxi (1949) 26-30, gives a full account of the almost conclusive dedicatory and epigraphical evidence for a Messenian revolt c.490. Cf. Vallet, op.cit. 344ff.
  2. Paus. IV xxiii 6ff; fraudulently dated to 664-661, following the second Messenian War, by Rhianos. (See, however, Kroymann, Pausanias und Rhianos (1943) 8ff, denying that there was a revolt c.490) The fact of the Messenians' arrival in 489 seems guaranteed, as the basis on which the forged account was laid. That this account of the seizure of the city from the 'Zanklaians' refers to its capture from, not by, the Samians is shown by the connexion of it with the change of name to Messana, and by the confusion whereby the early oikistes Krataimenes, Chalkidian in Thuk. vi 4.5, is made Samian here, showing that Pausanias' source knew that the population was part Samian at the time of the attack he narrates. See further Jacoby, FGRHist IIIa Komm. 109-195.
  3. Hdt. vii 155.1.
  4. For the traditional chronology, Paus. VI ix 5, as explained by Dunbabin, op.cit. 410, cf. 432ff. Neither Pareti's lower chronology (Studi Siciliani ed Italiani (Florence, 1914) 28-63) nor Vallet's compromise (op.cit. 351ff) is as strongly supported.

was most probably in the latter year that Anaxilas took Zankle and expelled the Samians.<sup>1</sup>

We know nothing of the activities of the Samians at Zankle except that they issued coins. The types of these are, Obverse, a lion's scalp facing upon a boss; Reverse, the prow of a Samaina to left. Two issues of tetradrachms may be distinguished:<sup>2</sup> a series struck with a sequence-letter upon the reverse, of which A, &, and ð have been found;<sup>3</sup> and a more voluminous issue with no alphabetic signs.<sup>4</sup> It is reasonable to suppose that the last-mentioned coins were

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1. It is sometimes argued, contradicting the text of Thuk. which we have accepted, but following Pausanias, that some Samians stayed in Zankle after Anaxilas' conquest. Dumbabin succeeds in refuting this, op.cit. 397f.
  2. I refer (with additions) to the list published by H. E. Gielow, 'Die Silberprägung von Dankle-Messana', Mitt. der Bayer. Num. Ges. xlviii (1930) 36ff; with full references to earlier literature. For a recent discussion, see E. S. G. Robinson, op.cit. 13ff, esp. 14f. See also pp. 517 ff.
  3. A, two obv., two rev. dies; Brit. Mus. (H. A. Cahn 1952); Paris 2258 (Gielow No.88). &, one obv., two rev. dies; Vienna 18021 (Gielow No.89); M. Aziz Beglou. ð, one pair of dies; Cambridge, McClean 2377 (Gielow No.90); Oxford, Robinson. Robinson also records Δ (op.cit. 15,20; Gielow No.92); but, as Vallet says (op.cit. 340 n.5), the inscription is in fact AA, the first two letters of Dankle retrograde. Unhappily, the coin is a forgery, betrayed by its light weight (16.30 gm.) and by the anachronistic sophistication of its obverse style.
  4. Gielow Nos. 82-87, from four obv. and five rev. dies. (Two are in Berlin, two in London.)

struck by the Samians as soon as they arrived in the West, in order to pay the immediate expenses of settlement;<sup>1</sup> and that the letters A- $\bar{\zeta}$  severally mark the five years of residence at Zankle.<sup>2</sup> The letter A must be contemporary with the event from which the series is dated, surely the settlement itself: thus the numismatic evidence supports the date 489 for the expulsion of the Samians by Anaxilas.

When Anaxilas' victory at Zankle was assured, Kadmos returned to Gela: we next meet him in Gelon's service in 480, when he was appointed to watch over Syracusan interests in the Persian War.<sup>3</sup> As to the Samian and Zanklaian survivors, we are not told what befell them after their expulsion. For forty-two years, of course, there had been a colony of Samians at Dikaiarcheia, a suburban port of Kyme on the Bay of Naples, founded at the time when Pythagoras led some of the opposition party into exile from Polykrates II.<sup>4</sup> This would be a natural

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1. Dunbabin follows Dodd and von Sallet in supposing all coins of these types to have been struck at Samos before departure, since one was found in Egypt, where early western coins are very rare (op.cit. 398: Gielow No.86, from Zagazig). The BM specimen of A has a test-cut, and is therefore probably also from Egypt; an example of  $\bar{\zeta}$  was found in Persia, one of  $\bar{\zeta}$  in Anatolia (unpublished). On the other hand, metrological arguments seem to guarantee that the pieces were all struck in the West (Robinson, op.cit. 15).
  2. This was recognized by Robinson, loc.cit. It seems most reasonable to suppose the sequence marks annual. The number of dies used suggests quite a heavy issue in all years.
  3. Hdt. vii 163.2.
  4. V.supra, p. 306.

place of refuge, especially since the Zanklaians would be welcome in Kyme itself, whence nearly two hundred and fifty years previously their ancestors had sailed to occupy the straits. Numismatic evidence suggests that it was in fact to Kyme that they all went.

In the first half of the fifth century this city issued a series of coins whose obverse type is apparently compounded of the monetary badges used by Samos in the Ionian Revolt: a lion's scalp facing, flanked by two boars' heads in profile, the whole within a circular border of dots.<sup>1</sup> At first the style distinctly recalls that of the Samian coins issued both at home and in Zankle.<sup>2</sup> But later the design was stylized and debased, even barbarized, so as to be almost unrecognizable.<sup>3</sup>

It seems possible that the new coin-type was adopted in deference to a large body of Samians newly arrived in Kyme.

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1. At Samos the lion's scalp had been the obverse type of the tetradrachm, the forepart of a boar that of the drachm: v.sup. pp. 354, 360.
  2. First, Copenhagen, SNG Italy 357 (7.66 gm.); followed, with some stylistic depreciation, by Paris, de Luynes 134 (6.85 gm.), and Naples, Corolla Numismatica (Oxford, 1906) 99.1, Pl. iv 1 (5.97 gm.). On all these the reverse type is of a female head within a border, and the legend KVME.
  3. Cf. for instance BMC Italy 86.7, 8; de Luynes 133; Jameson 35: rev. type, side and edge of a mussel shell, KVMAION ; later surrounded by four dolphins (BMC 86.8). For Zankle?

But we must ask why they were so welcomed, not merely tolerated. An answer is to be found in the internal politics of the city. The aristocratic party was still firmly entrenched at the time of the Etruscan attack of 524/3.<sup>1</sup> But nineteen years later, after the Battle of Aricia, the Kymaian general Aristodemos managed to make himself tyrant with the help of his Etruscan prisoners. His reign marked the adoption of a policy of favour for the coastal Etruscans and of the last Etruscan king of Rome, whom he harboured.<sup>2</sup> He was still tyrant in 491/0, we know, and at that date his pro-Etruscan policy was at its

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1. Dion. Hal. vii 3-4. His source was evidently a local history, from which Livy also drew information (cf. Livy viii 22.5, from the foundation tradition, with Dion. Hal. vii 3), perhaps the *Κυμαϊκὰ* of Hyperochos (FGrHist 576): see G. de Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* (Turin, 1907) 451 n.1. The dates, then, are Kymaian, not Roman (except perhaps by undetectable contamination), and must not be corrected from any hypothetical reconstruction of Roman *Fasti*. Their accuracy is another question.
  2. This last fact is denied by F. Schachermeyr, *RE* 'Tarquinius' 2389 No.23; for Aristodemos' own reputation had been won in battle against the Etruscans. The matter is put into perspective by M. B. Combet Farnoux, 'Cumae, l'Etrurie et Rome à la fin du vi<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Mel. d'Arch. et d'Hist.* lxxix (1957) 7-44. He emphasizes (*ibid.* 32f, 44) that there are two groups of Etruscans, those of the coast, interested in commerce and represented by Tarquin, and those of the interior, led by Clusium: Aristodemos was friendly to the former, hostile to the latter.

zenith.<sup>1</sup> Some time afterwards he was assassinated, and aristocracy restored by Kymaian exiles in Capua, by Campanian mercenaries, καὶ γὰρ χεῖρα ... οὐκ ἔλιπον.<sup>2</sup> I suggest that the last category included the Samians and Zanklaians, and that the aristocrats were returned to power at Kyme in c.488. Both Samians and Zanklaians were themselves aristocratic, and both were certainly enemies of coastal Etruria. A home in Kyme was the price of their assistance, and the commemorative coin-type was their reward.

After the sea-battle for Miletos, the Phoinikians, in obedience to Persian orders, restored Aiakes the son of Syloson to Samos; they were much in his debt, for he had done great things for them. The Samians were rewarded for the defection of their ships during the battle: alone of those who revolted from Dareios, they were spared the sight of their city and temples in flames.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Accession, Dion. Hal. vii 5-8: pro-Etruscan policy, ibid. 12.1-2 (cf. Livy ii 21.5, with earlier date); 1.1-2.4 (cf. Livy ii 34). Archaeological evidence agrees that Etruscans were tolerated here at this time: Dunbabin, op.cit. 345.
  2. Dion. Hal. vii 9.5-11.4.
  3. Hdt. vi 25.

## Chapter Eight

## THE RISE OF ATHENS

Aiakes was not left in possession of his restored inheritance for long. In 492 Mardonios began his march on Greece, and on his arrival in Ionia dismissed all the tyrants, setting up democracies in their places. Herodotos' order of words makes it clear that 'all' is here meant quite literally, and Samos must therefore be included.<sup>1</sup> The historian remarks further, in this context, that Mardonios' action makes it possible to believe the story that Otanes argued for democracy even among Persians in the debate before Dareios' accession.<sup>2</sup> This proves that Herodotos is using *δημοκρατία* explicitly as a technical term, and not merely as a general name for non-autocratic government. It is evident that the popular movement which had produced the Ionian Revolt was still considered powerful, and that Persia expected to secure the loyalty of her Greek subjects for the coming struggle by moving with this tide, rather than by continuing her traditional policy of support for native

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1. Hdt. vi 43.3: τοὶς γὰρ τυράννοις τῶν ἰωνῶν καταπέμψας ἀντίοις.

2. For this debate on the relative merits of democracy, oligarchy, and monarchy, see Hdt. iii 80ff.

client monarchs. For the moment, events proved her right.

What became of Aiakes, we do not know. He left his kingdom much depleted in population, partly as a result of his father's oppressive rule, but more still by the Revolt and by the emigration to Italy which had marked his own recent restoration. The new government took steps to repair this. According to Aristotle, a place on the roll of citizens - *ἰσοπολιτεία* - was offered to any slave in the island who might be prepared to pay five staters for it.<sup>1</sup> The price was low, and the response must have been considerable. It was not a policy which would have found favour with the Geomoroi; but such of them as had not sailed to Italy remained silent for fear of Persia.

We do not hear of any active Samian aid for the Persian expedition of 490. But the Persian fleet, numbering six hundred ships, found Samos a convenient point of assembly, and sailed from the island westward rather than risk a repetition of the previous year's disaster at Athos.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Fr. 575 Rose<sup>2</sup> (Photios, *3.V. Ἐπιμνησθῆναι*). A general date is given by *κατὰ πονηθῆναι τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν*; and the present occasion seems most appropriate. The use of the article, *ἐπιμνησθῆναι τοῖς δούλοις... τῶν ἰσοπολιτείας*, proves that the offer was confined to slaves already in Samos. It was not a promise of refuge to slaves - or free men - from abroad.

2. Hdt. vi 95.

During these years Samos, under Persian supervision and occupation, appears to have enjoyed a fair degree of prosperity and tranquillity. The building of the Heraion had been resumed soon after the fall of Miletos - before the final expulsion of Aiakes, Professor Buschor thinks.<sup>1</sup> At the same time the very rough and hurried coinage of the Revolt was replaced by staters of new design which, though still somewhat lumpy and irregular in fabric, were yet far superior to their predecessors.<sup>2</sup> For the first time the reverse type was placed within an incuse circle, and individual issues of the series were distinguished by the addition of a changing symbol to the reverse field. It is not possible to say what was the significance of these symbols beyond their purpose of distinction. They may have been family badges;<sup>3</sup> and, if so, their prominent position on the coin suggests that they belonged to magistrates rather

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1. Private communication (May 1958).
  2. Class I ii, pp. 512ff.
  3. This is suggested by the coincidence that the helmet is used as an adjunct symbol both in this series and (on fractions) among the coins of the exiles at Zankle: see pp. 524, 601, and the tetradrachms Nos. 21-26, p. 605.

than to moneyers.<sup>1</sup> The coinage, like the temple construction, continued without interruption throughout the period of the Persian Wars.

When Xerxes advanced against Greece in 480, his fleet contained a detachment of Samian vessels. Together with the Chians, they formed part of an Ionian contingent of one hundred.<sup>2</sup> They shared the crushing defeat at Salamis. Herodotos singles out two of the Samian captains for especial mention - Theomestor, son of Androdamas, and Phylakos, son of Histiaios. Their energetic service was rewarded: the latter was afterwards given the title of Benefactor of the King, while the former was made tyrant of Samos.<sup>3</sup> We cannot say which section of the Persian navy in retreat placed Theomestor on the throne: part had fallen back on Samos at once in 480, and the remainder followed early in the following spring.<sup>4</sup> But we may safely conclude that by then,

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1. We may compare the fourth-century tetradrachms, on which the magistrates' names have pride of place, dislodging even the ethnic; while a small mark or monogram sometimes occurs as well, unobtrusively added to the field. Since no one mark is confined to the coins of a single magistrate, a separate and much less important official, who was not necessarily changed from year to year, must be postulated. He was surely the moneyer. See p. 543.
  2. Diod. xi 3.8. The same cities had mustered 283 ships at Lade.
  3. Hdt. viii 85.
  4. Ibid. 130. Hdt. gives the possibility of a new revolt in Ionia as the reason for the fleet's return; cf. Diod. xi 27.

if not sooner, the Persians had found that they could no longer depend upon the Samian democratic government. The choice of the island for a base, however, does not argue that Samos' reliability, now or in 490, was either greater or smaller than that of Ionia generally: there was an excellent harbour and a long beach, close to an ample supply of water and provisions.<sup>1</sup>

At the beginning of this new season Leotychidas of Sparta reassembled a Greek fleet of one hundred and ten ships at Aigina. Envoys came from Chios to seek the liberation of Ionia, but their reception fell short of enthusiasm. The fleet did indeed advance to Delos, but ventured no further. For their part, the Persians lay at Samos in three hundred vessels, and dared not sail westward.<sup>2</sup> However, three Samians, Lampon son of Thrasykles, Athenagoras son of Archestratidas, and Hegesistratos son of Aristagoras, came secretly to Leotychidas at Delos, having evaded Theomestor's vigilance.<sup>3</sup> They too urged the liberation of Ionia, which,

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1. The water supply must have been the deciding factor. As Archbishop Georgirenes says (Descr. of ... Samos, 13) the four streams that issue from the plain of Chora afford 'fresh water enough to furnish a whole fleet.' In ancient times, of course, much of this reached the harbour through Eupalinos' aqueduct.
  2. Hdt. viii 132. The Persian numbers are given ibid. 130.2; but Diod. xi 27 puts the total above 400.
  3. Hdt. ix 90ff.

they said, was ready to rise. Leotychidas was persuaded; and on the very next day the envoys gave guarantees and oaths of alliance, and led the fleet towards Samos. That the Samians should have succeeded where the Chians had so recently failed, has been thought remarkable.<sup>1</sup> But the Persian fleet was at Samos, and Leotychidas needed a clear promise of local support before he could move. This was the first real intimation of the island's partiality which he had received. For against the ransom and repatriation by the Samians of five hundred Athenian prisoners,<sup>2</sup> he had to set the bitter opposition of Theomestor and his colleagues at Salamis, and the fact that Samian vessels were still serving under Persian command.

The Greek fleet soon reached Kalamoi, the long beach near the temple of Hera, where they prepared to do battle.<sup>3</sup> But the Persians were not willing to hazard an engagement at once. Instead they decided to dismiss the Phoinikian contingent; and then to withdraw their remaining vessels

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1. The question is raised in ATL iii 187.

2. Hdt. ix 99.2.

3. For the Battle of Mykale, Hdt. ix 96-106; cf. Diod. xi 34-37. J. A. R. Munro, CAH iv 341-4 gives a rationalized reconstruction which differs in detail from Herodotos' account. Kalamoi is otherwise known as the location of the temple of Aphrodite (Alexis, FGHist 539 F 1; infra, p. 456 n. 2 ).

to Mykale, and haul them ashore under the protection of their overwhelmingly superior land forces. So guarded, they would await the enemy's impatient departure. The plan was not without wisdom: the narrow Strait would not allow employment of the whole navy at one time, and the geography of the place is disquietingly like that of Salamis - though Mykale lacks the hospitable shores of Peiraeus and Phaleron.<sup>1</sup>

Leotychidas advanced, and bade his crier appeal to the Ionians to desert. The Persians, mistrusting them, disarmed the Samians (who had already raised suspicion by ransoming the five hundred Athenian prisoners), and even sent the Milesians to the top of Mt Mykale, out of the way. We need not follow the detailed tactics of the battle which ensued. The Samians did what they could to help the Greeks, while others also of the Ionians changed sides. Rumours of the victory at Plataiai arrived during the course of the battle, and the Persians fled. Leotychidas destroyed their camp and burnt their ships. He had made Hera his watchword, and she and her people had served him well.

The Greeks now retired to Samos with the spoils, to

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1. See PLATES III, VI 2 (the latter continues from the left of the former, the island Narthekis being visible in both).

consider the future of Ionia. The area was not easily to be defended, and the Peloponnesians proposed to transplant all the Ionians into the lands of the traitor-states in Greece. Athens opposed this presumptuous Dorian plan, and instead Samos, Chios, and Lesbos, with other smaller islands, were received into the Greek alliance.<sup>1</sup> The islands were the prizes of victory, says Herodotos.<sup>2</sup> A doubtful reward they must have seemed to Sparta; but she had to acquiesce, *τίμη τε καταδρόντες καὶ δεινὴν ἐπιπέμειν τε καὶ μὴ ἄσπασσασθαι*. She was under no illusion as to the caprice of Ionia.

## II

Upon the conclusion of the Congress of Samos, Leotychidas concerned himself briefly with the cities of mainland Ionia, and drove the tyrant Aristogenes from

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1. Hdt. ix 106.4. It has been thought strange that the Samians were sworn to alliance twice - first at Delos, and now at the Congress of Samos (see, for instance, J. A. O. Larsen, Harv. Stud. li (1940) 180). But the former was an alliance with individuals, who had no constitutional standing. Besides, one could never be too careful in dealing with such happy turn-coats.
  2. Hdt. ix 101.3.

Miletos.<sup>1</sup> But soon he led his fleet northwards, to destroy the Persian bridge over the Hellespont. Reaching Abydos, they found the bridge already down, and the Peloponnesians returned home. 'But the Athenians and those allies from Ionia and the Hellespont who had already revolted from the King remained to besiege Sestos.'<sup>2</sup> It fell during the winter of 479/8, and the allies dispersed to their cities.

When spring came, the fleet of the Hellenic League reassembled under Pausanias, the victor of Plataiai. There were twenty Peloponnesian ships, thirty from Athens, and a small number from the other allies. During the year the fleet took Byzantion. Here Pausanias' suspected treachery and insufferable bearing so far angered the Asiatic allies that they appealed to Athens to take over the leadership of

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1. This information comes from Plutarch's list of tyrants put down by Sparta (de Hdt. Mal. 21 = Mor. 859D), which appears to end with action against four tyrannies after the defeat of Xerxes: in Phokis, Thasos, Miletos, Thessaly. (See D. M. Leahy, Rylands Bull. xxxviii (1956) 409). Aristogenes was probably a Persian puppet, like Theomestor at Samos. It is surprising that Plutarch, in this Samian context, does not mention Theomestor, if he was expelled by the fleet. Perhaps we should infer that the Samians themselves had driven him out before Leotychidas' arrival.
  2. Thuk. i 89.2, with Gomme's note; Hdt. ix 114ff. For a full account of these years, see ATL iii 158ff, 190ff, with references and discussion of chronology.

the League.<sup>1</sup> Chios, Lesbos, and Samos were foremost with this request. But Aristides, suspicious that this might prove to be no more than a new fit of Ionian pique and caprice, was not prepared to act without the fullest assurance to the contrary. Thereupon Ouliades of Samos and Antagoras of Chios attacked Pausanias' own galley, scorning his threat of reprisal: such at least is the story that was told.<sup>2</sup>

Soon afterwards Pausanias was recalled to Sparta to stand trial for medism. Though acquitted, he was not sent out again; and his successor Dorkis only remained long enough to be rejected. The Peloponnesians doubtless followed him home. Sparta acquiesced in this new development, and Athens spent winter 478/7 in organizing her new league, the Confederacy of Delos.

Aristides toured the member states,<sup>3</sup> and assessed their annual contribution to the war in money or ships. The headquarters were to be at Delos, ancient centre of the Ionic amphiktyony and site of Polykrates' festival of Apollo.

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1. Thuk. i 94f: *κατὰ τὸ ἑσπεριεῖς* (95.1) implies only Ionians; but Thuk. is not more precise here than in 89.2.
  2. Plut., Aristides xxiii. The name Ouliades had a long history in Samos: Ath. Mitt. lxxii (1957) 183 No.19.1, end of the fourth century; FGrHist 538, before 200 B.C.; IG xii 7 No.231, a doctor working at Minoa in Amorgos c.100 B.C.
  3. Plutarch, Aristides xxiv; pace ATL iii 234f.

Though governed by common synods, the executive power was from the first wholly in Athenian hands. By spring all was ready, and the war with Persia could be resumed.

Samos had been assessed to provide ships, and must have sent a contingent to all the campaigns of the years which followed. We learn that Samians were present in 477 when Kimon finally expelled Pausanias from Byzantion, whither he had returned (without authority) to resume his intrigue with Persia. For Ion of Chios wrote of the victory, and of how Kimon gave his allies a choice of booty, offering them either the oriental prisoners or their property. Herophytos the Samian saw no problem; and while the allies rejoiced over their golden trinkets Kimon was left to make a much greater profit from the ransom money.<sup>1</sup>

The campaigns of the seventies - Eion, Skyros, Karystos, Naxos - need not delay us for detailed consideration. Samian forces were undoubtedly involved, but there is no specific evidence of this. The summons to the last of these expeditions must have caused no little consternation in the islands: it was the first real indication that leadership was being distorted into rule.

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1. Ion, FGrHist 392 F 13 (Plut. Cimon ix); Thuk. i 128.3, 131.1; Plut. Cim. vi. For the date, see Gomme, Comm. on Thuc. i 399f; ATL iii 159.

The battle of the Eurymedon must be dated by controlled conjecture. Certainly it took place between the subjection of Naxos c.470 and the Thasian revolt in 465; and, if Thukydides' phrasing may be insisted upon, nearer to the former of these events than to the latter.<sup>1</sup> As Weizsäcker was the first to notice, the most attractive evidence is provided by Plutarch.<sup>2</sup> He describes the recovery of the bones of Theseus from Skyros in 475, and the popularity which this act brought Kimon; then goes on to another famous incident treasured in the public memory. When Sophokles competed with Aischylos for the first time, in the archonship of Apsephion (469/8), the entry of Kimon and his nine colleagues in the Generalship into the theatre occasioned a departure from custom, and the whole board of Generals was appointed to judge the dramatic competition. This was an unique honour, and it seems reasonable to find the cause of the demonstration in prestige won at the Eurymedon. The dramatic competition was held in February 468, so we place the victory late in 469.

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1. Thuk. i 100: ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα (Karystos and Naxos, 98) καὶ ἡ εἰς Ἐλευσίοντι ποταμῷ ... πηλομαχίᾳ καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ. ... Χρῶν δὲ ὕστερον εὐκλείῃ θαλάσσιω μάτῳ κτισθῆναι.

2. Cimon viii 7-9: Weizsäcker, 'Untersuchungen über Plutarchs biographische Technik', Problemata Heft 2 (Berlin, 1931) 62; accepted by Wade-Gery, JHS lii (1932) 226 = Essays in Greek History (Oxford, 1958) 268; cf. ATL iii 160.

Kimón's tactics in the battle are familiar enough.<sup>1</sup> He extended the decks of his ships over the gunwales, to provide more accommodation for marines,<sup>2</sup> and then pursued the enemy up the estuary of the Eurymedon, whither they had withdrawn to await reinforcements. They had made the same mistake at Salamis in entering the narrows - and failed through trying to avoid it at Mykale. Kimón's victory was complete: he captured two hundred Persian vessels, then disembarked and took their camp with immense booty. Afterwards he waited for the expected squadron of reinforcements, and destroyed that too.

But the Samian contingent suffered casualties, among them a commander who bore the ill-starred name of Maiandrios. Part of the stone base of his monument has been found in the precinct of Hera.<sup>3</sup> Its face edge bears all that is

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1. For the main details, Diod. xi 60.3-62; Plut. Cimon xiif.
  2. Gomme has a long note on Kimón's alterations, which Plutarch (Cim. xii 2) certainly understood to include broadening of the hull and consequent loss of speed: Comm. on Thuc. i 287. My interpretation, confining change to the superstructure, avoids this reaction against the sequence of development.
  3. PLATE XV: Klaffenbach, AM li (1926) 26ff; Hiller, ibid. 155f; Buschor, Philol. lxxxvi (1931) 424ff; Wade-Gery, JHS liii (1933) 97ff; Wilhelm, Wien. Anz. 1934, 117f; Peek, Ath. Studies (Harv. St. suppl. i, 1940) 116ff.

left of four elegiac couplets which were inscribed upon

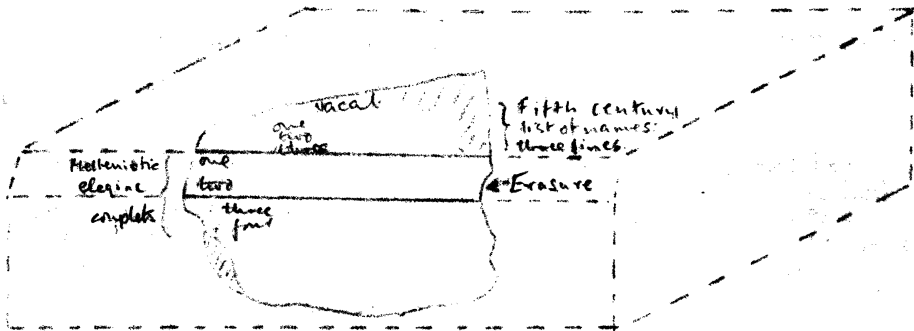


Diagram of surviving fragment of Maiandrios base.

this block c.275 B.C., the upper two over an erasure:<sup>1</sup>

[εκλεμεν παθεν Τυριοι] Μαιανδριος, ενι επι κλωσι  
εστησαντο μελην ευρυμεδοντι, πορων]

[εν ζωην ημειψεν. αριστ]ωσας γαρ εικαυησι  
νυμφωχηι παντων κλεος εθει' εδωδ[ατον].

[οκνω ηγας ελεν Μαιανδ]ριος, ων αφ' εκαστης  
λεπτε προμνην εχει χειρ θ' υποδεξ[αμενη].

[τας δε βαθου τηλεκλε]ιδας υποδεξ[ατο παντος  
κευφθειδας, Μηδων συμμαχ[ιδας, πελαγαι].

1. Each couplet occupies one line of the inscription. I give the version of Wade-Gery (op.cit.99), though I doubt if the original had so much literary merit. Too much is lost for confident restoration to be possible, and I prefer this to the attempt of Peek (op.cit. 120) - [αλεατα προπαδια φερον] Μαιανδριος (1); [ενδημοσ πρησαν. αριστ]ωσας (3); [πασας δ' εσταυδρους αλ]ιδας (7) - though his Μηδων συμμαχ[ιδων αλιων] in the last line is a delightful idea. It has been assumed that the lines form two separate epigrams. This is surely wrong: lines 1-4 praise Maiandrios' victory, while 5-8 very necessarily link it, and him, to the present statue. The date at which the epigram was carved is fixed roughly between 281 and 260, since its letter-forms are closely similar to those of the inscription honouring Berenike as 'Prinzessin' (for which see M. Schede, Ath. Mitt. xliv (1919) 21; SEG 1 369: PLATE XVI 1).

Professor Wade-Gery reports that Sir John Beazley was able to reconstruct the warrior-statue from the description in lines 5-6:<sup>1</sup>

Maiandrios (that is, his statue) had one aphlaston in his (right?) hand; and on his shield an episemon composed of eight aphlasta, arranged like the legs of a triskeles. The echo of  $\nu\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\zeta\{\alpha\mu\epsilon\tau\}$  in  $\nu\pi\tau\delta\epsilon\zeta\alpha\tau\omicron$  of the next line cannot be accidental: his hand received the aphlasta, the sea received all the rest.

Wade-Gery shows that statues brandishing aphlasta were specially favoured at the period of the Persian Wars; and recalls that which the spoils of Salamis bought for Delphoi, 'a statue twelve cubits high having in his hand the akroterion of a ship.'<sup>2</sup> Add to this the fact that the top of the Maiandrios base carries a list of names carved in letters of the second quarter of the fifth century,<sup>3</sup> and it becomes virtually certain that the later epigram describes an original

1. Op.cit. 101. For a different reconstruction, see U. Hausmann, 'Akropolisscherben und Eurymedonkämpfe', Charites (Bonn, 1957: Festschr. E. Langlotz) 144-151.

2. Op.cit. 99ff: Hdt. viii 121.

3. [ -- Α]ρετωνος, Ηεακλειδης [ -- ], | [ -- Ανθ]εκοκρεπο, Αλεξανδρος [ -- ], | [ -- Ε]πικρατος, -- ]. (There were only three lines.)  
A casualty-list, or a list of private dedicators of the statue? There is no evidence as to whether the offering was public or private; and none as to whether a similar group of names appeared along the other three edges of the top of the statue-base (see diagram on p. 397).  
PLATE XV 1.

statue.<sup>1</sup> Of course, Maiandrios did not stand eighteen feet high; but the design was a deliberate copy of the figure at Delphoi. Samos had changed sides too late to be included there. Now she proclaimed that she also had assisted in the final defeat of the barbarian.

At the Great Dionysia of 472 Aischylos was victorious with his Persai. In one of the choruses he enumerates the dominions of the Great King; and in this list Samos is one of the few to achieve the distinction of a descriptive epithet: ἐλαφύρις τε Σάμος.<sup>2</sup> But for the moment, at Delos, Mykale, Byzantion, and the Eurymedon, the olive that Samos had planted was not her own.

### III

It is virtually impossible to discover in whose hands the reins of power rested during these years. The democrats had been promoted by Mardonios in 491, in place of Aiakes, and there is no reason to suppose that they were displaced before 480/79, when the Persians appointed Theomestor as

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1. There is no indication when the contemporary inscription was erased - presumably, as usual, for political reasons: for such political erasure coupled with preservation of the offering, cf. Polyzalos' chariot group at Delphoi (H. T. Wade-Gery, JHS liii (1933) 101f), and perhaps also Euthyimos' statue at Olympia, supra, p. 373.

2. Persai 882.

their puppet. After the battle of Mykale government must have been given over to the party whose representatives had met Leotychidas at Delos.<sup>1</sup> That they could speak with authority for a considerable part of the nation is proved by the attention which the Greek commander accorded them, in contrast with his recent lukewarm reception of the envoys from Chios. But we cannot say to which party these Samians in fact belonged. There is a slight balance of probability against the oligarchic; for the Geomoroï must still have been weakened by the emigration after Lade, and the recent enfranchisement of slaves added the power of numbers to their adversaries.<sup>2</sup> The fact that the coins do not independently demonstrate a political change between c.490 and c.470, however, argues nothing. Even if, as we have suggested, the changing symbols which they bear are to be understood as badges of the reigning annual magistrate, the stability of the archonship at Athens amid the vicissitudes of the last two thirds of the sixth century is a sufficient reminder that a change of government need not affect the constitutional position of the first citizen, even under a tyrant.

It is, in fact, possible that Samos was ruled by a tyrant for a brief period until c.470. But the argument which

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1. Supra, pp. 366f.

2. Supra, p. 365.

follows is confessedly suggestive rather than conclusive.

In about 470 - that is, within two or three years either way - coinage of the old style was discontinued. On the new reverse dies, soon to be redesigned within a larger incuse square, the changing symbol was replaced by a permanent one, an olive branch set behind the truncated cow.<sup>1</sup> This has been recognized as a token of connection with Athens.<sup>2</sup>

In about 470, within a similar margin of error, the building of the Heraion was abandoned, and not resumed for two hundred years.<sup>3</sup> Yet only half of its columns had been erected by that time, and nothing had been done towards a permanent entablature or roof. Simultaneously the volume of new offerings in the temple declined sharply, though it is evident from Herodotos that the old were still carefully treasured. How is the stoppage of work and sudden neglect of the site to be explained? The most obvious of the possible reasons are three in number. First, it might be suggested that the temple became ill-omened, perhaps through

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1. See pp. 515ff.

2. P. Gardner, Samos and the Samian Coins 43f, regarded it as marking the conquest of Samos in 439; but this will not fit the true chronology of the coins. Cf. infra, p. 409.

3. Cf. E. Buschor, in Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen 200.

being struck by lightning. But if this were so, then we should expect one of two reactions: either the damaged parts would have been separated from the temple - as at Aigina<sup>1</sup> - and then work resumed; or else the site would have been left, and a new temple built elsewhere. In fact neither of these courses was taken: work was not resumed, and there are no remains of a new Heraion on another site; while it is evident that the old temple continued to be cultivated in Herodotos' day, on a reduced scale.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, further work would have become impossible if there had been no money to pay for it. Against this, it would be strange if there were none now, when there had been sufficient ever since 493, even during the war years.<sup>3</sup> Further, the strong flow of the new coinage, in no way less numerous than the issue it replaced, shows that there was, in fact, plenty of money about. The third possibility is that the temple was now

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1. This seems to be a likely explanation of the third pediment: A. W. Lawrence, Classical Sculpture (London, 1929) 147.
  2. This must not be explained by a decline in respect for the goddess: her symbols continued to decorate the official coinage, and it is she who grasps Athena's hand on the Athenian honorific inscription of 405 (Tod, GHI 1<sup>2</sup> No.96).
  3. Expenses in connection with the Delian League would not be heavy, for they were largely met out of plunder, which must have been consistently ample.

found to have unwelcome personal associations. It was par excellence the tyrants' temple, begun by Polykrates II on the site of one built by his father, then continued by Maiandrios and Aiakes. An excellent parallel for the abandoning of such an edifice is provided by the Peisistratid Olympieion at Athens, on which no further work was done after the expulsion of Hippias.<sup>1</sup> This explanation would account for the decline in offerings as well as for the stoppage of work. But it raises the difficulty of explaining the date c.470 rather than 491 for the stoppage - unless the latter could be thought to coincide with the fall of yet another tyrant.

It would be attractive to suppose that the alteration of coin-type and the end of the building-period both resulted from a single change of policy, that is, from a change of government. But if the adoption of the constant olive branch for the coins is rightly explained as a token of close connection with Athens, then it is likely to have been an act of democrats. It follows that the democrats

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1. W. B. Dinsmoor, The Architecture of Ancient Greece<sup>3</sup> (London, 1950) 91. Further work was done later by Antiochos IV Epiphanes and by Hadrian (*ibid.* 280f), making comparison with the fate of the Samian Heraion still closer.

were not builders of the temple at the time when work was stopped.

In autumn 469 the Samian dead at the battle of the Eurymedon included Maiandrios. His surviving epitaph, we have already seen, is not original, but a replacement of 281-260 B.C.<sup>1</sup> The date is significant, for it is close to that of the resumption of work on the Heraion.<sup>2</sup> Thus when the builders had newly returned to their labour for the first time since c.470, someone thought it worthwhile to restore the epitaph of a Samian commander killed in 469, who had borne the name of one of the tyrants.<sup>3</sup> These facts suggest the hypothesis that the year 469 saw the end

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1. That is, contemporary with the Berenike base: see pp. 396ff.
  2. The clue to the date of resumption is in the inscriptions of the νεωκόμης (G. Oikonomos, *Δελφία* vii (1921/2) 284ff; E. Buschor, 'Samische Tempelpfleger', *Ath. Mitt.* lxxviii (1953) 11ff). Apart from a fragment belonging to the period of the Athenian cleruchy, irrelevant to our argument because not Samian, and unsupported by evidence of actual construction, there is a statue-base of Aristarchos νεωποικωνία contemporary with the Berenike base (281-260 B.C.: Schede, *Ath. Mitt.* xlv (1919) 21), and two other inscriptions noticeably somewhat earlier in style: Buschor, *op.cit.* 11-14.
  3. We may have the record of a dedication to Hera by this Maiandrios, which would confirm his interest in the goddess. The temple-catalogue of 346/5 notices the absence of a κλισματικὸς ἐλεφάντι ποικιλῶς which bore the inscription Μαιάνδριος Ἡραῖος δωροθήκεν. (Latest text published by D. Ohly, *Ath. Mitt.* lxxviii (1953) 46ff; lines 48f.) The date of the inscription (by Athenian archon) gives a terminus ante for the dedication; and the dedicator cannot have been Polykrates' successor, for the latter was son of another Maiandrios.

of the tyranny of Maiandrios II, a reign to which the government of c.275 looked back with pride, and that his successor only remained long enough to dedicate his memorial.

But would Athens have tolerated a tyranny within the Confederacy of Delos? The question could be answered affirmatively if only we could be sure that Halikarnassos was an early member.<sup>1</sup> Artemisia still ruled in 480, and she was succeeded by two generations of tyrants. The last, Lygdamis, was expelled between Herodotos' sojourn in Samos and his departure for Thourioi.<sup>2</sup> Athens might welcome a Samian tyrant of assured friendship. For the democrats were necessarily suspect as having collaborated with Persia in 480, despite their later amends; and the oligarchs, if indeed they were yet strong enough to govern, always remembered the Athenian withdrawal from Sardeis, which had foredoomed the Ionian Revolt to disaster at Lade, and their cousins to exile in Italy.

The argument must be tested from the other end. It is safe to assume that the renewed interest in the construction of the temple in the third century must have been a matter of government policy. Our association of this with the restoration of Maiandrios' monument, and subsequent hypothesis

1. See ATL iii 209, 213; Gomme, Comm. on Thuc. i 291.

2. Suidas, s.v. 'Ἡρόδοτος'.

that Maiandrios, as tyrant, had been the last of the early builders, will appear more convincing if it can be shown that the government of c.275 was of an historical turn of mind generally, and likely to have claimed succession to the great tradition of Polykrates and the tyrants of old.

A claim to this sort of spiritual inheritance would come more naturally from a tyrant than from a republican government. It so happens that the very period which we are considering was remarkable for the fact that an historian of frankly imaginative character held the tyranny of Samos. None other than Douris. He became tyrant in succession to his father Kaios, the son of an elder Douris.<sup>1</sup> As to

1. EGrHist 76 Douris T 2 (Athen. 337d); T 4 (Paus. VI xiii 5), reading Χιόνιος δὲ οὗτος ἦεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ στήλῃ Kaios ἔστηκεν ὁ Δούριος Σάμιος κεκλήεις πυγμαῖα παῖδες. τὸ τεχνὴ δὲ ἡ εἰκὼν ἔστι κινῆσι τοῦ < >. τὸ δὲ ἐπιγραφήν δηλοῖ τὸ ἐν ἑσθῆϊ, νικῆσαι [Χιόνιον] ἦνκα ὁ Σαμίων δήμος ἔρκαθεν ἐκ τῆς νύκτου, τὸν δὲ Kaios <τυραννεύειν ἐπιλαχούτα> ἐπὶ τῷ οὐρανῷ τὸν δῆμον. (6) πᾶσα δὲ τὸν τυραννον (s.c. Kaios) ... The name Kaios appears in both cases by emendation, in the first form καὶ δε, and in the second for κλειόν. The editors write Σκλιος, -ον, for both. But Skaios is not an uncommon name, and unlikely to be corrupted twice in this short space. For Kaios, I would urge the decree proposed in Samos by Λυσάγορος Kaiou, Ath. Mitt. lxxii (1957) 190 No.20. The date is c.300 B.C. The name does not otherwise occur (except later as transliteration of Roman Caius), and I suggest that this Lysagoras was a brother of Douris: the date would fit well. The final words quoted from Paus. guarantee some such supplement as that of Schwartz, adopted after the second Kaios. Then his interpretation of the stemma as Douris the elder - Kaios, tyrant - Douris, tyrant and historian, cannot well be questioned: RE 'Douris', col. 1853; cf. Jacoby's note on T 2. The historian was not Kaios' father, for a man old enough to enter his son at Olympia before 322 would not still be writing history in 281, as Douris was: see below, p.407 with n.3.

chronology: Kaios won the boys' boxing contest at Olympia between 365 and 322, and cannot therefore have been born either before 385 or after 339.<sup>1</sup> The fact that he worked for the return of the Samians from exile and afterwards became tyrant suggests that he was of no great age in 322. This is consistent with Athenaios' statement that Douris himself, like his brother Lynkeus, was a pupil of Theophrastos, Master of the Academy for thirty-five years from 322/1.<sup>2</sup> Douris, then, probably began his reign some years after 300, and this agrees well with the fact that the latest surviving historical reference in his writings is to the funeral of Lysimachos in 281.<sup>3</sup> The appointment of the early naopoi therefore certainly belongs to the period of this tyranny, and the restoration of the monument to Maiandrios probably does so too.

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1. T 4. For the years from 17 to 20 as the age of eligibility, cf. E. N. Gardiner, Athletics in the Ancient World (Oxford, 1930) 41, where this rule is deduced for Olympia from the practice of the Neapolitan Augustalia, a festival on the Olympic model (Olymp. Inschr. No.50). The absence of birth certificates allowed a small latitude.
  2. T 1 and T 2 (Athen. 128a, 337d). For discussion of the dates in Theophrastos' career, see F. Jacoby, Apollodors Chronik 352; followed by O. Regenbogen, RE suppl. vii (1940) 1357.
  3. F 55 (Pliny, NH viii 143); cf. Plutarch, de Sollert. Anim. (Mor. 970C).

If the probability be admitted that Maiandrios II was tyrant until his death in autumn 469, we must try to discover the length of his reign. There is no evidence as to when it began. Equally, there is no sign of any upheaval during the seventies. The fact that Athens tolerated a tyranny within the League may, however, suggest that it was the tyrant who had brought Samos into the Athenian camp, and that those who met Leotychidas at Delos in 479 were his supporters.

The political changes of this period may be listed as follows:

495/4	Restoration of Aiakes.
491	Expulsion of Aiakes by Mardonios, who instituted democracy.
480/79	Tyranny of Theomestor.
479	Maiandrios II installed as tyrant.
469 (Autumn)	Battle of the Eurymedon: death of Maiandrios. End of tyranny soon afterwards.

#### IV

Our literary authorities are silent for the next fifteen years, 469-454. We may be confident that Samian contingents served in all naval campaigns of the Confederacy. They surely helped to reduce Thasos in 463/2 - a proceeding which must have caused no little heart-searching to any but the most blindly loyal of Athens' followers. From epigraphical evidence we learn that the island supported the ill-fated

expedition to Kyffos and Egypt in 460: one of the Samians killed was commemorated in an epigram of which a fragment has survived.<sup>1</sup>

To give the skeleton life, we may consider the political climate in Samos during these years. So far as we know, the democrats were in power throughout. They were dismissed, as we shall see, in the course of the general upheaval of 454/3.<sup>2</sup> The keynote of their policy was support, respect, honour for Athens. For their coinage, from the beginning they adopted the adjunct symbol of an olive branch, above all an Athenian emblem.<sup>3</sup> A year or two later they abandoned their dumpy flans and incuse circles in favour of a broader piece with incuse square, whose fabric was closely modelled on that of Athens herself. Considerations of local trade must have been powerful indeed to prevent a change to the Athenian standard of weight. At least, the public mint increased its output of change-pieces which made staters of the two cities precisely commensurable in

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1. Peek, *Klio* xxxii (1939) 289; replacement, of the early fourth century. For full text restored, see p. 47.
  2. See pp. 423ff.
  3. For the democratic coinage, the unlettered part of my 'Constant Olive' series, see pp. 55ff.

the ratio 6:5.<sup>1</sup>

While the Confederate forces were engaged in Egypt, the Samians at home issued a new token of their solidarity with Athens. Three temene were marked out on the great plain of Chora, and declared sacred property of the Athenians. Their more precise location may be judged from the sites at which the surviving horoi were found.<sup>2</sup> The first, the temenos of Athena Ἀθηνῶν ἱερόσουλαι lay near the Heraion. That of Ion Ἰωνῶν probably ran close to Tigani. The temenos of the Eponymoi Ἀθηνῶν occupied some of the best land of the plain, about half a mile North of the Heraion and close to the chapel of Saint George.

It has been commonly supposed that the horoi record land confiscated by Athens in 439, and some scholars have even maintained that the whole plain was so confiscated.<sup>3</sup> But one of the horoi of Athena is a restoration, from the last years of the fifth century when Samos and Athens were in close and isolated alliance against the Peloponnesians:

1. One Samian tetradrachm of 13.00 gm. plus one change-piece of 1.20 gm. equals one Lydo-Milesian tetradrachm of 14.20 gm.  $14.2 \times 6 = 85.2$ .  $85.2 \div 5 = 17.04$ , the weight in gms. of one Attic tetradrachm. See further pp. 52 & ff.
2. The horoi, their date and significance, are fully discussed in APPENDIX E, to which reference should be made for local and epigraphic evidence. See PLATES XVII-XX.
3. For references, see p. 467 with n. 2.

a reminder of confiscation would be unthinkable then, a renewed token of solidarity most welcome. The restored horos is carved in the Ionic script and dialect, that is, by the Samians, not by the Athenians - a fact which lends further support to the explanation which I propose. Besides, for the original horoi the date 439 is unsuitable epigraphically: the forms of the letters, especially of my and ny, and the insistence on the three-barred sigma rather suggest a date in the fifties. The recurrent appearance of the word 'Αθήνηθεν, 'from Athens', rather than 'Αθηναίων, strongly argues that the operation is here regarded from a Samian, not an Athenian, point of view; that Ion and the Eponymoi are Samian heroes, but from Athens. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες ἦσαν, ὅσοι ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίων γειγῶσσι.<sup>1</sup>

The repetition of 'Αθήνηθεν compels us to take the horoi of the Eponymoi closely with those of Ion. It is therefore perverse not to identify the former with Ion's four sons, named by Herodotos as eponymoi of the four Ionic tribes,<sup>2</sup> which we know to have existed in Samos.<sup>3</sup> But at Athens these tribes had been banished from official usage by

1. Hdt. i 147.2.

2. Id. v 66.

3. The Samian colony of Perinthos, founded as recently as 602, contained the usual Ionic tribes. See p.67 and nn.2-3.

Kleisthenes half a century before, and the Eponymoi now honoured there were those of the ten tribes which replaced them.<sup>1</sup> This argument precludes the belief that Athens established the temene in Samos. On the other hand some elements of the Ionic hero-cult remained at Athens, for we have an inscription recording the phylobasileus of the Geleontes c.400 B.C.<sup>2</sup> What cannot have been an Athenian imposition may therefore plausibly be identified as an honorific act of solidarity such as I have described. It is interesting to see the extent to which the tradition of Athens as the metropolis of Ionia, first given wide currency by Pherekydes,<sup>3</sup> and useful propaganda for the Delian League, was accepted in an Ionian city - even in one whose own strongest tradition minimized the Athenian connexion.<sup>4</sup>

It is interesting that the carvers of the horoi of Athena used the sign  $\Delta$  to represent delta. It is not so used elsewhere on stone, and indeed is essentially a painter's

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1. Aristoph. Pax 1183f; Paus. I v. Cf. The Athenian Agora iii: Testimonia (Princeton, 1957) 85ff.
  2. Hesperia iv (1935) 21.
  3. V.supra, pp. 26 ff.
  4. V.supra, pp. 14 f. For a parallel exploitation of the propaganda value of the tradition, compare the case of the Neleids at Miletos, who though oligarchs received Athens' support in the forties: infra, pp. 436 ff.

form. It is found sporadically but very rarely on Attic vases from c.500 to c.430,<sup>1</sup> but not later, and on a few of the early ostraka from the Athenian Agora.<sup>2</sup> But an exception to this rarity is seen in the work of Douris. In inscriptions referred by Sir John Beazley to this painter's middle period,  $\Lambda$  occurs on twenty-three vases,  $\Delta$  on six. Of Douris' early pieces, none bears the form  $\Lambda$ , while five have  $\Delta$ . The single delta known from the late period appears as  $\Delta$ .<sup>3</sup> Even more significant is the evidence of the forgeries. Both the Triptolemos Painter and the Cartellino Painter wished their work to pass under the master's name, which they therefore applied to their pots. Both wrote  $\Lambda\text{ORIS}$ .<sup>4</sup> It is clear that this form of delta was regarded as a peculiarity of Douris' script by his own

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1. Cf. J. D. Beazley, AJA 111 (1948) 336.
  2. E. Vanderpool, Hesperia suppl. viii (1949) 339 No.12a, Pl. 58 (Kritias Leaidou). Mr. Vanderpool tells me that  $\Lambda$  has now been found on two further ostraka, one of them cast against Aristeides.
  3. My figures are taken from ARV 279ff.
  4. Cartellino Painter, ARV 297f; Triptolemos Painter, ibid. 241 No.27, with Beazley's note p. 239. G. M. A. Richter, Attic Red-figured Vases<sup>2</sup> (1959) 83, says of the latter painter, 'His real name was presumably Douris, for there is no reason why he should have signed one of his works ... with some other artist's name.' But this is to ignore the most obvious reason of all, and to miss the significance of the  $\Lambda$ .

contemporaries; that its rarity is genuine and not an accident of survival. It may be suggested that he adopted the sign c.490 and used it regularly henceforth.

The painter's name is interesting. It is otherwise never found as the name of an Athenian.<sup>1</sup> Apart from the Samian historian and his grandfather, it appears to have belonged only to a poet of Elaia in Aiolis.<sup>2</sup> Douris' style certainly shows Ionian influence. And there is further epigraphic evidence in the relative frequency of his use of Attic or Ionic sigma. In inscriptions of Douris' early period  $\Sigma$  occurs on eight vases,  $\zeta$  on six. (Both forms are found on two of these vases.) The proportion cannot be paralleled from the work of contemporaries.<sup>3</sup> But while the rest of Athens gradually adopted the four-barred sigma, Douris learned to use the Attic form more exclusively: thirty-two vases of his middle period have  $\zeta$ , only seven have  $\Sigma$ . (Three of these show both forms.) Name, style,

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1. Neither Pape nor Kirchner records any example, and there is none in IG or IG<sup>2</sup>. (See published indices and a MS index by Miss D. M. Hereward in the library of the British School at Athens.)
  2. Steph. Byz., s.v.
  3. Perhaps as close a parallel as any is to be found in inscriptions of Onesimos (ARV 219ff), who uses  $\zeta$  on five vases and  $\Sigma$  on four - of which two bear both forms. Even here the preponderance is in the opposite direction.

and alphabet together offer a fair presumption that Douris was an Ionian immigrant; and the name is Samian.

Douris painted his last Attic vase soon after the battle of the Eurymedon.<sup>1</sup> By that battle the Samian tyranny was brought to an end, and in its place arose a new democracy, full of affection and loyalty towards Athens.<sup>2</sup> By now Douris had made his fortune, and he retired to his birthplace, from which politics had kept him for more than thirty years. Ten years later the gift of sacred land was proposed, and Douris, not yet seventy years old, offered to write out patterns for the inscribed boundary-stones in the Attic dialect and script. Those of Ion and the Eponymoi were carved rudely but for the most part correctly. But the horoi of Athena were carved by masons who knew their trade; and in the delta they left Douris' signature as surely as if they had written his name.

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1. For the chronology of Douris' work I follow Dr. Richter, op.cit. 83f: early period, 'soon after 500 B.C.', middle, 'the late nineties and eighties of the fifth century'; late, 'around 470 B.C.'
  2. Notice too that the Samians commissioned an Athenian sculptor, Myron, to make a group of three statues for the Heraion: of Zeus, king of the gods; of Herakles, perhaps as κρείττος Ἴδου (a title which he bore at Perinthos); and of Athena. See Strabo 637; E. Buschor, 'Gruppe des Myron', Ath. Mitt. lxxiii (1953) 51-62.

## Chapter Nine

## THE SAMIAN REVOLT

Prosopitis fell to Megabyxos during the high summer of 454 after a siege of eighteen months, and there were few survivors.<sup>1</sup> The Confederate fleet at Kypros, from which the expeditionary force had been drawn six years previously, was partly composed of allied contingents;<sup>2</sup> and among those who shared in the deceptive initial success at Memphis was a squadron from Samos. This we learn from a fragmentary inscription commemorating Hegesagores, the

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1. Thuk. i 109f. For the year, cf. R. Meiggs, JHS lxxiii (1943) 29 n.42; A. W. Gomme, Comm. on Thuc. i 370; ATL iii 168f, 178: for the season, Busolt, Gr. Gesch. iii 328 n.3 - June, when the Nile would be at its lowest. As to the magnitude of the disaster: while Thuk. i 104.2 seems to imply that all 200 of the ships at Kypros went to Memphis, the account of Ktesias (Persica 63, independent for he names the Athenian commander Charitimides) states that only 40 were involved. It is not clear whether the 50  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota$  of Thuk. i 110.4 (also destroyed) were to 'relieve' all, or to 'replace' those lost. If the former, Ktesias is to be believed; and a greater number could not well do battle on the Nile. Cf. Meiggs, op.cit. 22 n.8. This is not to belittle the disaster, which even so involved the loss in crews alone of 8,000 men.
  2. Thuk. i 104.2.

son of Zoiloutos, probably a Samian captain:<sup>1</sup>

[τοδ'] εεγο πολλοι παρεδ [μεδ]υρε[ς, εωτ' επι Νειλω.]  
 [Μεμ]φιος αμφ' ερατης νηυσιν εθηκ[ε μαχην  
 [θο]υρος λεγς Μηδων τε και Ελλην[ων, Σαμιοι δε]  
 [νη]δε Φοινικων παντε τε και δεχ' ελον].  
 [αλλ]η Ηγησα[γ]οειν Ιωιλοτο και [---]

The year 454/3 saw disaffection among Athens' allies on the Ionian coast. The quota lists of the tribute show that both Miletos and Erythrai were in revolt.<sup>2</sup> The name Erythraioi is not to be found on the lists of Period I (454/3-451/0); but in the first two of these years the dependency Boutheia made a separate payment. The amount is recorded for the second year, the quota on three talents. Later, Boutheia is entered as a part of the Erythraian syntely, and pays tribute of only 1000 drachmai. So it seems likely that in 454/3 and 453/2 she was paying on behalf of the

1. Samos, Heraion; PLATE XVI 2, a replacement of the early fourth century: Peek, Klio xxxii (1939) 289; Hill, Sources<sup>2</sup> B 113. For the name Zoiloutos, cf. Heraion Inv. N.136, [Ιωιλοτο Ψεομωδεο παιδι : we might otherwise be tempted to read Ιωιλο το και [---] in line 5. The reduplicated iota is not uncommon: see R. M. Cook and A. G. Woodhead, BSA xlvii (1952) 160 n.8, re Ιωιλος on Chian ('Naukratite') pottery, and reference to C. D. Buck, Greek Dialects<sup>2</sup> 31f; cf. also the inscription Αιχρο : το Ιωιλο | Σαμιο, NAE 1953 (1956) 70f (490-480 B.C.).
2. For evidence and discussion, see Meiggs, op.cit. 23ff; ATL iii 252ff.

loyal members of the syntely, who had fled from hostile Erythrai. The revolt probably collapsed before the end of the latter year. For though the tribute, as we have seen, was found by Boutheia, yet the Athenian regulations for Erythrai following the revolt were most likely dated in this same archonship of Lysikrates.<sup>1</sup> This inscription shows that a democratic constitution was set up under the eye of an Athenian garrison, with characteristically Athenian emphasis on the proper composition of the Boule. But most interesting is the knowledge that the revolt had been the work of tyrants, who had fled to the Persians upon its failure.<sup>2</sup>

The evidence for Miletos is similar to that for Erythrai. Towards the end of 454/3 three talents were paid by Μ.λεειοι| (ε)χc λερo and a further sum by [Μ.]λεειοι| [εκ τ]ειχιοσσε[ε];<sup>3</sup> while in List 3 (452/1) Μ.λεε[ιοι] appear without closer geographic qualification, so presumably from the city itself.

1. IG i<sup>2</sup> 10; see ATL ii D 10, Hill Sources<sup>2</sup> B 26: restoration of Archon's name suggested by Meiggs, op.cit. 34; though this is not certain. With this should perhaps be associated a local inscription of further democratic arrangements, DGE 701, Hill Sources<sup>2</sup> B 116.
2. IG i<sup>2</sup> 10, line 27, perpetual banishment τὸν ἐε] Μεδος φευγο[ντο]ν, with lines 32f, εὐν δε τις [ω]λοβ, προ[[ιδ]ος το]ς τυραννοικ τεμ πολ[ιν] τ]ετ εὐθεαι[ο]ν.... Cf. L. I. Highby, 'The Erythrae Decree', Klio, Beiheft xxxvi (1936), 31; where it is pointed out that the use of the article το[ς]c in line 33 shows that specific individuals (tyrants already) are meant.
3. ATL i 129, List 1 col. vi (IG i<sup>2</sup> 191 col. v) lines 19ff. For Leros as the Milesian Anaia, cf. supra, p. 165.

The latter entry gives the date by which Miletos must have been recovered.<sup>1</sup> We may be sure that here too the revolt was not unaided by Persia. But there is no evidence of this, nor of the political character of the government which revolted: it will be argued below that the local Milesian decree banishing named families, often taken as referring to tyrants, was in fact passed against oligarchs a decade later.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the fact that the Athenians supported an oligarchy here after the revolt must be taken to indicate that the latter was caused by a non-oligarchic party, and presumably tyrant rather than democratic.<sup>3</sup>

It has been plausibly argued that besides Miletos and Erythrai, Latmos and Myous were involved in the revolt.<sup>4</sup>

It is unfortunate that we have no evidence as to when these revolts began. According to Thukydides, *δι τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν ζυθῶν καὶ λιποστράτων* were a common cause of revolt; and the authors of Athenian Tribute Lists see here the Ionian

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1. ATL i 130, List 3 (IG i<sup>2</sup> 193) col. ii line 28. The inscription of regulations for Miletos (ATL ii D 11, Hill B 30) is dated (rest. from 1.63) 450/49. But this is a consolidating measure, not the original decree passed immediately after the revolt, since the necessary oath of allegiance is absent.
  2. SIG<sup>3</sup> 58; GHI i<sup>2</sup> 35. See pp. 43 ff.
  3. The regulations of 450/49 (supra, n. 1) imply an oligarchy; cf. [Xenophon] Ἀθ. Πολ. iii 11.
  4. ATL iii 255f.

reaction to the summons to Egypt.<sup>1</sup> But it is hard to believe that Athens would have allowed the cities to go unreduced for so long. It seems more probable that the Egyptian disaster - like the Sicilian catastrophe forty years later - gave these allies the confidence to secede. There is, after all, no shred of evidence that they were in revolt before 454/3. Their choice turned out to be a political miscalculation. But at the time it must have seemed that the decision of the Eurymedon had been reversed. That the revolutionaries enjoyed the satrap's sympathy is shown, as we have seen, by the regulations for Erythrai, from which it is clear that the defeated party had taken refuge with the Medes.

The information at our disposal for this crucial time is meagre; but the reconstruction which it suggests is convincing. The capture of Prosopitis in June did not of itself restore the Persian terror to the Aegean. But the satraps were encouraged to redouble their efforts to buy over the Greek cities to the King's cause.<sup>2</sup> During the summer and autumn, Miletos and Erythrai (and probably Latmos

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1. Ibid. 253: Thuk. i 99.

2. Cf. Meiggs, op.cit. 22, 'it is reasonable to believe that while Artaxerxes was sending money to Greece the two western satraps were not idle.' For attempted corruption in Greece, cf. Megabazos' journey to Sparta in 457/6 B.C. (Thuk. i 109).

and Myous at least) fell to the temptation; but in the North Sigion remained loyal, and in 451/0 received Athens' thankful praise, together with the promise that her goodwill should bring her no harm,  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\ \nu\acute{\epsilon}\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\ \tau\acute{\iota}\ \epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\omicron\iota$ .<sup>1</sup>

For a moment, however, it seemed that the cities of Asia might all transfer their allegiance. And if the King's fleet were to enter the Ionian ports, the Confederate Treasury at Delos would lie in perpetual danger.<sup>2</sup>

At this point the Samian government took fright. The democrats were still in power - as perhaps nowhere else in Ionia - and they had no desire to see the Aegean and their own island once again in barbarian hands. If the Treasury were taken, resistance would be hard. A Samian embassy demanded or attended discussion of the situation, and proposed the transfer of the money to Athens.<sup>3</sup> Perikles was glad to accept the proposal. If we are right in taking the date of the first quota-list, 454/3, as evidence that the Treasury was moved in that year, the conference will have taken place during the winter, while the fear of wholesale revolt was

1. Hill B 28; B.D. Meritt, Hesp. v (1936) 360; Meiggs, op.cit. 28.

2. The Treasury was moved for fear of the barbarian, Plut. Per. xii 1; ATL cannot believe this was the deciding motive (iii 263), since in Egypt 'the Persian victory was essentially a victory in land fighting.' The argument is valid as far as it goes; but the Ionian threat made the Persians dangerous.

3. Plut. Aristides xxv 3. Some MSS introduce the story by  $\epsilon\psi\alpha\iota$  (not  $\epsilon\psi\alpha\iota$ ), so making Theophrastos the authority.

still strong; and the actual transfer of the funds will have been made in very early spring 453, in time for the collection of 454/3.<sup>1</sup>

There is a serious difficulty in the story that the Samians were responsible: Plutarch associates the event with Aristeides, who had certainly been dead many years by 454/3. The possible courses are to reject the whole story;<sup>2</sup> to suppose that the Samians made their proposal on a previous occasion, in Aristeides' lifetime, and that it was rejected;<sup>3</sup> or to attach it to the present occasion, abandoning the connection with Aristeides. The authors of Athenian Tribute Lists adopt the latter hypothesis,<sup>4</sup> and in this I follow them: not because one must select one or other horn of the dilemma, but because of the numismatic evidence which follows.

The Samian democrats had ridden to power on a wave of pro-Athenian feeling after the Eurymedon - but that was in Kimon's day - and they had remained steadfast during the

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1. Payment was regularly made to Athens at the time of the Dionysia. I take it that this festival was chosen because it coincided closely with the season at which payment had previously been made to Delos.
  2. As Gomme, Comm. on Thuc. i 370, n.2.
  3. Cf. Dundas, CR xlvii (1933) 62, who thinks it unlikely that Samos was friendly to Athens in 454.
  4. ATL iii 262.

Egyptian folly. But now an insurrection placed government in the hands of the covertly pro-Persian Geomoroi.

The evidence for this is entirely numismatic.<sup>1</sup> The coins of this period are the latest class of the 'Constant Olive' types, which, as we have seen, were introduced c.470.<sup>2</sup> The class may conveniently be called the lettered series, for the coins are distinguished from others of these types by the presence in the reverse field of a letter from the sequence  $\beta$ - $\Gamma$ . That this is a true sequence is shown by a study of the linkage of dies. The proof that these coins follow after the unlettered 'Olive' coins is to be found, in general, in their stylistic advance, and in particular in the fact that the second obverse die of  $\beta$  is by the same hand as the last obverse of the earlier series.

The issue is marked by fourteen letters including digamma (of all of which examples have now been traced), from eight obverse and twenty-one reverse dies. All the surviving obverse dies except the second of  $\epsilon$  last for more than one letter-period: one covers three letters,  $\mu$ - $\pi$ ; another, part of a fourth besides,  $\Gamma$ ,  $\Gamma$ - $\mu$ .

A is not found. There is reason to think it was never

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1. For a fuller statement of the evidence, with reference to individual specimens, see pp. 517ff.

2. V.sup., p. 401.

struck. Instead it is represented by an issue virtually identical with the latest unlettered coins, except that the cow wears an ornamental collar. The obverse of this issue also is the work of the artist of  $\beta$ (2). To the lion's scalp he has added the distinction of a 'widow's peak', and this feature reappears on  $\beta$ (1). The collar coins therefore lie between unlettered and lettered sections of the whole 'Constant Olive' sequence. It is to be supposed that the collar commemorated some joyful event from which the counting of the sequence was started, after a later decision to do so when the significance of the event had become clear.<sup>1</sup> The issue employed four reverse dies, and  $\epsilon$  used three; it used only one obverse die, and  $\epsilon$  inherited one and wore out another.

It seems probable that each letter marks a period of equal length. One reverse die bears a panther's head in place of the sequence letter. That it belongs between  $\Gamma$  and  $\Delta$  is shown by the wear of the obverse die it shares with them. We must therefore suppose that the head represents a part of  $\Gamma$ ; and that  $\Gamma$  had to be abandoned because the moneyer whose work this letter distinguished was replaced in mid-term; but that  $\Delta$  was already allotted, and could

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1. For this type of collar placed on a sacrificial ox, see the red-figured lekythos, L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, Attic Vase Paintings in ... Boston (Oxford, 1931) 10 No. 14, Pl. iv.

not be employed before its proper time. Each letter therefore belongs to a fixed, presumably equal, period.

How long did a single letter last? The most obvious hypothesis is that each represents a year. It will however be objected that one obverse die is not likely to have lasted for the whole coinage of two or three years, unless there was remarkably little metal to coin; and that one should think rather in terms of months. This argument will leave the objector in the position of having to maintain that almost 20% of the surviving staters of Samos were struck in a period of fourteen months out of a total period of a century and a half, and of having equally to contract other series whose die-ratios are similar. The decisive consideration is one of style. If the letters represent months, the stylistic development is less likely to show constant progress than fluctuation. But in fact the development is constant. First, the lion's scalp: after the high achievement of the first three dies the carving of the hair becomes gradually coarser, ending with the remarkably coarse and summarily carved hair of  $\mathcal{M}$ - $\mathcal{E}$ , while the slits of the eyes become wider. As for the cow, after  $\mathcal{O}$  the head grows less sharp, and is lowered to fit the new incuse circle more neatly; at the same time the protome is shortened, until on  $\mathcal{N}$  and  $\mathcal{F}$  coins the hoof of the bent leg actually reaches behind the truncation. On these last two the head and neck

are both lowered, and this feature is repeated on all subsequent staters, even when the incuse square has been resumed. The long, elegant olive branch is not only shortened but becomes thicker from *K* onwards. It is difficult to imagine all this development as occupying only a little more than a year. But it would be reasonable for a decade and more. We may therefore take it that each letter represents a year.

In finding the absolute date of this fifteen year series, the most important fixed point to be borne in mind is that the fourth century coins of Rhodian weight began within a year or two of 398 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Working backwards, we require for both stylistic and historical reasons a gap of about a decade following the series of Attic weight, issued in the last years of the Peloponnesian War, when Samos alone afforded Athens a loyal base. Fifteen or twenty years earlier we find the rare issue inscribed  $\epsilon\pi\iota\rho\alpha\tau\iota\sigma\varsigma$ , lacking any ethnic, and perhaps struck by political exiles.<sup>2</sup> These again must be some ten years later than the end of the lettered series. These intervals cannot well be contracted: they may have been greater. It is therefore hard to resist the conclusion that the event which ended Samian coinage at home for thirty

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1. See pp. 552ff.

2. For instance at Anaia. See pp. 567f ; cf. 592ff.

years was the defeat of the island by Perikles in 439.<sup>1</sup>

Perikles defeated the Geomoroi. We have excellent literary evidence that they were in power at least as early as spring 440; for that is when the Athenians opened hostilities by sending an expedition to set up a democracy.<sup>2</sup> The Geomoroi were therefore responsible for the last two sequence letters of the series. But we cannot easily believe that they would have retained for numeration an era proposed by their political enemies. Their government must therefore have lasted at least as long as the lettered issues of coinage.

If the Samian year 440/39 is marked by  $\Xi$ , then  $\beta$  must belong to 453/2. The apparently commemorative ornamental collar which the cow wears was adopted for the issue of the previous year, after the event from which the whole series was to be dated. The Geomoroi were therefore in power in and by 454/3. But the proposal to transfer the Treasury in 454/3 shows that Samos was at that time still loyal in the midst of neighbouring revolt, and so presumably still

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1. Dr. Jacobsthal (in a private communication to E. S. G. Robinson) noticed that there is among the 'Constant Olive' coins no trace of the stylistic influence of the Parthenon, whereas such influence became universal very soon after the sculptures were on view. Their first showing, therefore, should (and does) fall between the end of the Samian lettered coins and the  $\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  issue, where the influence is first felt. It is even more apparent by the time of the Attic-weight series. See pp. 555f.
  2. Thuk. i 115.3: for the date, see pp. 461f.

democratic. Thus it appears almost certain that the great event commemorated in 454/3 was the oligarchic revolution itself, in which the Geomoroi were returned to power.

The more independent-minded of the islanders must have turned against Athens already in 454. Personal grief and anger at the loss of the Samian squadron in Egypt - the news must have come about the beginning of August - was quickly aggravated into political disfavour when the democrats made their proposal to move the Treasury to Athens. If anyone still maintained, even after Thasos, that the Confederacy was an association of free and equal states, here was his answer. During the winter, no doubt, the satrap was busy with his bribes. The position of the democrats, Athenian lackeys for fifteen years, rapidly became untenable, and the Geomoroi seized power. They were careful for the moment, however, not to show open hostility towards Athens; and the olive-branch which had been adopted as an auxiliary coin-type in Athens' honour still held its place on the new issue.<sup>1</sup>

## II

Kimón had returned from ostracism in 451. In spring 450 he led out a second armament to Kypros. There were two

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1. Cf. supra, p.401.

hundred ships, Athenian and allied, and sixty were at once sent to Egypt. But in the summer Kimon died before Kition, and after some striking successes in Kypros the whole fleet sailed home.<sup>1</sup> The political question which concerns us is whether or not the allied division consisted partly of Samian vessels. The argument from silence must not be allowed to weigh in either direction: Thukydides is brief, and the other authorities were not interested in this detail. That the new Samian government probably owed much of its economic power to Persia need not have prevented it from sending a small contingent. But, so far as the evidence goes, we do not know whether Kimon asked Samos for ships; and if he did, we cannot say whether or not they were sent.

The campaign in Kypros in 450 is the only occasion within the period 452/440 when a summons to help is at all likely to have been directed to Samos.<sup>2</sup> But if no help was asked, at any rate after 450, then none was refused; and the question whether Samos was technically in revolt does not for the moment arise.

We come at length to the Peace of Kallias and the consequences it held for the Confederates. The Peace was

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1. Thuk. i 112.2-4; Diod. xii 3f; Plut. Cimon xviiiif.
  2. Allied forces were, of course, used (e.g. Thuk. i 113.1); but there were no considerable naval expeditions.

sworn after the Lenaia of 449.<sup>1</sup> The only one of its provisions to concern us is that which dealt with the coastal belt between Sardeis and the sea. The satraps were not allowed to come within three days' march of the coast; but there is no evidence that the zone was forbidden to Athens also.<sup>2</sup> It is probable, however, that she covenanted to remove her garrisons and to ensure the destruction of landward fortifications in the cities.<sup>3</sup>

By the Peace Persia gained security of tenure in Egypt and Kypros, and in return abandoned her claim to the western seaboard of Asia Minor.<sup>4</sup> So the fear which had brought the Ionians into the Confederacy was at an end. It was announced that no further monetary contributions 'against the barbarian' would be demanded, and there was no collection 449/8. At the same time all states, Confederate, Peloponnesian or independent, were invited to send representatives to a

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1. See ATL iii 281; and in general, H. T. Wade-Gery, 'The Peace of Kallias', Harvard Studies suppl. vol. i 121ff. I cannot here enter into the discussion as to whether there really was a formal peace made at this time. The arguments against it have recently been restated by D. Stockton, Historia viii (1959) 61ff.
  2. Diod. xii 4. We read (Isokr. vii 80 etc.) that the King's army might not come West of the Halys: but whatever the definition of this body, we cannot suppose that the satraps of Sardeis and Daskyleion were forbidden extra forces in case of revolt.
  3. Wade-Gery, op.cit. 141, and refs.
  4. Autonomy included freedom from Persian tribute, cf. ATL iii 275.

Panhellenic congress, to consider how best Greece might be reorganized on a peace-time basis.<sup>1</sup> The congress never assembled: it was frustrated by Sparta, who made her hostility towards Athens unmistakable.

Perikles was compelled to abandon any attempt to conceal the reality of Athenian imperialism. The congress was to have decided which shrines to rebuild from accumulated Confederate wealth. Now, still in the archon-year 450/49, he assigned five thousand talents - virtually the whole fund - for the restoration of the Athenian Akropolis.<sup>2</sup> Soon afterwards it was made clear, presumably by decree of the demos, that tribute would be reimposed as from 448/7. Evidently payments were reluctant and slow, and new regulations providing for greater efficiency of collection were made in a decree of Kleinias, passed probably towards the end of this year.<sup>3</sup>

With the same hardening imperialism should be associated

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1. Ibid. 278f; Plut. Per. xvii.
  2. Schol. Dem. xxii 13-14 (Anonymus Argentinensis), new text by Wade-Gery and Meritt in Hesp. xxvi (1957) 164. The date given is (5) ετ ε[λ]δωδμη[σ].[.]; but this is to be emended to ε[λ]δωδμω (450/49), since line 3 states that work began about 30 years after the Persian War: rightly, cf. Parthenon accounts, IG i<sup>2</sup> Nos. 339ff. Diod. xii 3 has the same corruption for this year's archon.
  3. IG i<sup>2</sup> 66; ATL ii D 7, iii 281. If this Kleinias is the father of Alkibiades, the decree must have been passed before his death at Koroneia in 446.

the Currency Decree.<sup>1</sup> This made it illegal for the allies to use any but Athenian weights, measures, or coins, or to strike silver currency of their own. Instead, their silver was to be sent to Athens to be struck with Athenian types. Obedience to the decree was immediate and universal.<sup>2</sup>

We have seen that Samos coined without interruption until 439: was she acting in defiance of the decree? There is no direct evidence on this point. We lack the portion of the decree which must have defined its scope, and so included or excepted Samos. But the numismatic indications appear to be that Chios also continued to coin,<sup>3</sup> and there is no reason to suspect her loyalty at this time. On the whole, it seems unlikely that the autonomous allies, at least the

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1. ATL ii D 14; see E. S. G. Robinson, 'The Athenian Currency Decree and the Coinage of the Allies', Hesp. suppl. vol. viii (1949) 324ff.
  2. Robinson, op.cit. 338.
  3. So Robinson, op.cit. 337. Mr. Boardman, on the other hand, believes that there was a break in the silver coinage of Chios at this time, and that a unique electrum piece fills the gap. If so, then the electrum issue would represent Chios' attempt to circumvent the provisions of a decree against silver coinage which applied to her. The time has come for a full reconsideration of the currency of Chios. Lesbos also continued to issue coins; but their material, electrum, makes them irrelevant to the provisions of the Currency Decree.

three greatest of them, were included in general decrees of this type. Continuity of Samian coinage is therefore not to be taken as evidence of further defiance.<sup>1</sup>

### III

But if Samos had not formally seceded, there were others in Ionia who had. Kolophon - inland, and so less amenable to naval oversight - is absent from the tribute quota-lists of Period II, 450/49-447/6.<sup>2</sup> In Period I she had paid

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1. The so-called metrical relief of the mid-fifth century in the Ashmolean Museum, is recalled by Robinson (*ibid.* 338 n.10). Pedimental in form, it portrays the upper part of a man with arms outstretched. To the left, above his right arm, is carved the sole of a foot, almost certainly an original feature. Careful study of the measurements of the relief by Michaelis (*JHS* iv (1883) 335ff, Pl. xxxv) established that the outstretched arms occupy one Samo-Egyptian fathom (cf. *Hdt.* ii 168.1), while the sole is that of an Attic foot. The suggestion is that we have the public pattern of a fathom from Samos, to which the Attic foot was added to show the correct ratio after the decree was passed enforcing uniform measures (as well as weights and coins) throughout the Empire; and that this treatment of the relief, if it is Samian, proves that the decree applied to Samos. There is, however, no further indication that the relief came into the Arundel Collection from Samos. The marble is certainly of island type with coarse grains (like Naxian); but it lacks the grayish streaks so characteristic of Samian. We must not suppose that the Samo-Egyptian fathom or cubit was used nowhere else. And when *Hdt.* explains the Egyptian cubit by saying that it is equal to the Samian, writing for an Athenian audience later than the date of the decree, he surely assumes that the Samian cubit is a measure with which that audience is still familiar.
  2. For a fuller discussion, with references, see *ATL* iii 282.

three talents; but her tribute was halved for Period III. Again we possess an Athenian inscription of regulations, which proves the familiar pattern of revolt and recovery.<sup>1</sup> But now, as an additional safeguard, an Athenian colony was settled on Kolophonian soil:<sup>2</sup> supervision could be provided by land, if not by sea.<sup>3</sup> Their loss of territory to the new colony explains why the Kolophonians were assessed to pay a smaller sum in tribute from 446/5. Besides Kolophon, Lebedos and Dios Hieron her satellites appear to have ceded land: the former's tribute was reduced from three talents to one in 446, that of Dios Hieron (1000 dr. in 447/6) remitted altogether in Period III, and reduced to 500 dr. in 443. The two places are named in the very fragmentary regulations for Kolophon, with whose fate their connection is therefore confirmed.<sup>4</sup> The Athenian measures were more or less effective for fifteen years. But in 431/0 a more fortunate attempt carried Kolophon into the Persian camp.<sup>5</sup>

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1. IG i<sup>2</sup> 14/15; ATL ii D 15; Hill B 49. (Cf. also IG i<sup>2</sup> 34, 35.)
  2. Ibid. lines 22 οικετ]οεεε , 41 οικικεται.
  3. Plutarch includes this among the purposes of colonization at this time: Per. xi 5, φόβον δὲ καὶ φρουρὰν τοῦ μὴ νεωτερίζειν πελοποννησίων τοῖς συμμάχοις; cf. Isokr. iv 107.
  4. Lines 12-13, 25-26: context not clear.
  5. Thuk. iii 34.1.

It has been argued that a similar colony was set down in the territory of Erythrai and Hairai.<sup>1</sup> The Erythraian syntely paid nine talents in Period II. It next appears in 444/3-442/1 paying 7.95 talents, of which seven were found by the chief city itself. Hairai paid three talents in Periods I and II, but only one from 446/5 onwards. These figures taken in conjunction with the known course of events in the neighbourhood of Kolophon, whose payments were similarly reduced, suggested that here too an Athenian colony was founded; and that the name of Erythrai should be restored in the fragmentary dedicatory inscription of this general date,  $\tau\epsilon\varsigma \delta\upsilon\omicron\iota[\kappa\iota\delta\epsilon] | \tau\epsilon\varsigma \epsilon\varsigma \epsilon\varrho[-]$ .<sup>2</sup> Against this it should be noticed that the reduction at Erythrai is not great, and that Hairai can produce a better argument along these lines. But that would not help to restore the inscription. It is surely rather to be believed that the figures for Erythrai and Hairai in Period III reflect the general and conciliatory alleviation of tribute after the Athenian crises of 446. In the Ionian area alone tribute was so reduced for Ikarian Oinaia, the Ephesian group, and

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1. Fully set out in ATL iii 283f; first proposed by Löschke, de tit. aliquot att. 22 n.1, and revived by Hampl, Klio xxxii (1939) 37.

2. IG i<sup>2</sup> 396. ATL iii 284 reject the possibility of Eretria - inconclusively.

Phokaia, besides the cities already mentioned; while Myous and Kyme had already had theirs reduced for Period II. A similar reduction in Period III may be observed in more than a dozen cities elsewhere, and in half as many more in Period II. Colonies cannot have been sent to them all, and there is no reason (apart from the fragmentary inscription) to single out Erythrai from the others.<sup>1</sup>

So much for the background. More directly relevant to the history of Samos is the case of Miletos. The theme of the present chapter is the war with Athens in 440 and 439; and this grew from a private struggle with Miletos which, we shall see, began in the autumn of 441. At that time it is probable that Miletos was a democracy, yet in 450/49 her constitution had been oligarchic. How long before 441 had the democrats come to power?

Let us consider evidence that is virtually contemporary. First, the statement of the Old Oligarch that ὅτε Μηλιεῖων εἴληντο (sc. the Athenians) τοὺς βελτίστους, ἐντὸς ὀλίγου χρόνου

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1. Gomme accepts no colonies on the coast of Asia Minor, 'not for example at Erythrai nor Kolophon,' (Comm. on Thuc. i 376), saying that the Peace of Kallias may have forbidden them. Cf. Busolt, Gr. Gesch. III i 418. ATL iii 257, 284 n.40, on the other hand, holds that only military occupation was banned - there are no phrouroi after the Peace - and that colonization took its place. The evidence is altogether insufficient.

ἑποστάντες τὸν δῆμον κατέκοψαν :<sup>1</sup> such a Milesian revolt should be discernible in the second source of evidence, the Athenian quota lists. We have already found in them the revolt of 454: is it this of which the Oligarch speaks? Or should we rather look to the fact that Miletos paid in 447/6, and that her tribute was halved to five talents from 443/2 onwards, while there is no evidence that she paid at all from 446/5 to 444/3? The third witness urges us to prefer the latter solution; for the Athenian regulations for Miletos prove that an oligarchy was in power in 450/49.<sup>2</sup> In a political context the five Athenian commissioners are to collaborate with the Aisymnetes and his Prosetairoi, so that the latter officials manifestly still retain direction of political as well as of religious affairs. It is hard to suppose, therefore, that the revolt of 454 had been oligarchic; though it remains formally possible that a close oligarchy had revolted, and then been succeeded by one more broadly based. But the natural conclusion is that the Oligarch refers to the government in power in and after 450/49, and that his evidence proves that a fresh revolt took place between that date and 441.

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1. [Xen.] Ἄθ. Ἰστορ. iii 11: any reconstruction must give a credible motive for Athens' surprising favour of this oligarchy.

2. IG i<sup>2</sup> 22; ATL II D 11; Hill B 30.

Fourthly, a local inscription of about the middle of the century - we have only the end of it - records the outlawry of at least two families, the sons of Nympharetos and of Stratonax.<sup>1</sup> They are banished, *καὶ αὐτοὺς [καὶ] ἐκγονοὺς*, for ever, and a price set on their heads. The inclusion of descendants yet unborn virtually proves that the offence thus punished was treason: a murderer's children were not usually outlawed. It has been commonly supposed that this inscription is a 'law against tyrants', passed after the revolt of 454. Earp sensibly inquires why more than one family is included, though he recognizes that a joint tyranny of two brothers is possible.<sup>2</sup> Such a doubt must be firmly expressed. The surviving part of the inscription is carried on a marble base which once held a stele. The opening part of the decree was carved on the stele, and what we have is merely an overflow. The decree can therefore be presumed to have been quite long, and it may well have embraced a much greater number of families than the two whose names open our fragment.

The most illuminating study of this inscription was published by Glotz more than half a century ago. He argued

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1. Milet I vi 100ff no.187; SIG<sup>3</sup> 58; Tod, GHI i<sup>2</sup> 35.
  2. A. J. Earp, 'Athens and Miletos ca.450 B.C.' Phoenix viii (1954) 142ff, esp. 146.

that the purpose of the decree was to banish the Neleid clan.<sup>1</sup> This was suggested by two of the names preserved, those of the sons of Stratonax: Alkimos was a son of Pylian Neleus,<sup>2</sup> and the name of Kresphontes had Messenian associations.<sup>3</sup> Glotz further connected with the inscription two fragments of Nikolaos of Damaskos,<sup>4</sup> which tell how the Neleid Amphitres made himself tyrant in place of the legitimate king Leodamas, and how later one Epimenes was made Aisymnetes with a mandate to kill the tyrant's family. But if none of them was he able ἐγκρατῆς γενέσθαι - for they had fled - so he confiscated their property and set a price on their heads. οἱ δὲ ὤχοντο· αἱ μὲν δὲ Νηλεΐδαι καταλύθησαν ὧδε. The general purport of this is strikingly similar to that of our inscription. The reward due to anyone who kills the outlaws is to be paid

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1. Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1906, 511ff; cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1914, 75. Glotz wrongly suggests that the upper part of the stele contained an earlier (sixth century) banishment of the Neleids: if they had since returned to power this must have been destroyed.
  2. Schol.<sup>B</sup> Iliad xi 692.
  3. He was its Herakleid conqueror, but settled down amicably with the pre-Dorian population (RE 'Kresphontes' and references there given). The name occurs too on an epitaph at Pontic Apollonia, a Milesian colony. Otherwise it is confined to Messenia: cf. supra, p. 105 and n. 4.
  4. FGrHist 90 Ff 52-3.

from the confiscated property of Nympharetos. And, in particular, the phrase ἐγχελαστικὸν γένεσθαι recalls  
 γυ δε η πολι[ε ε]γχελαστικ(η)ς γενεσθαι (line 7).<sup>1</sup> Nikolaos' account may proceed from confusion and conflation of two events, an early Neleid tyranny at the end of the regal period followed by the family's expulsion, and a more recent expulsion of the family after some treasonable activity in the middle of the fifth century.<sup>2</sup>

If it may be taken that our inscribed decree records the outlawry of the Neleids, then there can no longer be any real possibility that it was carried immediately after the failure of the 454 revolt.<sup>3</sup> This interpretation is precluded by further contemporary evidence. A local inscription publishing sacred laws was put up when Philtes was Aisymnetes,<sup>4</sup> and his year is given as 450/49 by a

1. We must not stress the coincidence that Ἐσπόμενος was the Aisymnetes appointed to deal with the Neleids, while those who are to carry out the provisions of the inscribed decree are the ἐσπόμενοι (line 5, etc.: cf. Rehm, Milet I iii 282 n.1).
2. Rehm, op.cit. 282, suggests that the original confusion was made by the notoriously unreliable Milesian historian Maiandrios, or another such.
3. In this connexion it is worth noticing that some of the loyalists in 454 had taken refuge in Teichioussa (supra, p. 418): the place is called ἄστυς Νηλεϊδῶν in SGDI 5501, i.e. they had their estates there.
4. SIG<sup>3</sup> 57; DGE 726.

Hellenistic list of the annual holders of this office.<sup>1</sup> The sacral inscription names also the Prosetairoi of the year, among them Kretheus son of Hermonax. But Pylia Neleus' mother was the wife of Kretheus<sup>2</sup> - Neleus himself was the son of Poseidon - and any bearer of the name in Miletos must have been one of those who claimed Neleid descent. It follows that the Neleids had not already been banished in 450/49.<sup>3</sup>

Further, it is evident that the governing oligarchy of 450/49 still held power in 445/4, since Thrason son of Antileon, Prosetairos in the former year, served as Aisymnetes in the latter.<sup>4</sup> But 445/4 is the second year of the new revolt, 446/5 to 444/3, which we have conjectured from the quota lists. Most significant is the probability that the Aisymnetes in whose term the revolt began, Peisistratos son

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1. Milet I iii No.122.77. For a discussion of the office, see G. de Sanctis, 'I Molpi di Mileto', Studi in Honore di P. Bonfante (Pavia, 1930) ii 67lff.
  2. Odyssey xi 237: the founder of Iolkos, and father of Neleus' brothers Aison, Pheres, and Amythaon.
  3. Of the other names, Agamedes and his father Aristokrates may have claimed Minyan descent, for the names are Orchomenian; while Paus. IV ii 5 tells us that a mound of earth in Sikyonia marked the tomb of the Messenian Lykos. Perhaps a hero. But all these three names are common elsewhere.
  4. Milet I iii No.122.82.

of Agenor, was a Neleid.<sup>1</sup> There is, therefore, an excellent prima facie case for supposing that the oligarchic revolt mentioned by pseudo-Xenophon took place in 446/5, and was the work of Neleids. Democracy followed.

We may support our conclusion by a constitutional argument. The regulations of 450/49, in which the Milesian government appears still to be oligarchic, mention also (lines 67f) *ἡοι πρῶτανοι οἱ Μιλεσιῶν*. These officials are to be taken as 'the long established board of Milesian magistrates rather than as the standing committee of a council.'<sup>2</sup>

Aristotle tells us that this ancient office was once made the foundation of a tyranny in Miletos.<sup>3</sup> We know from an inscription of 380/79 that at that date Miletos had a constitution modelled on the Athenian, with Epistates and

1. Ibid. line 81. Peisistratos was a son of Nestor, Odyssey iii 36 etc. Agenor, of course, was a Trojan (cf. Iliad xi 60); but the Linear B tablets have shown us that many names, Trojan in Homer, were in use in Mykenaian Pylos. The last palpably Neleid Aisymnetes was Alkmeon son of Hipparchos in 457/6, before the accession of the tyrant (?) who revolted in 454. The names are of interest, implying that the Milesian Neleids had probably accepted the claims of the Athenian Peisistratids to Pylian descent.

2. Meiggs, op.cit. 27.

3. Politica 1305a.

Prytaneis bearing Athenian tribe-names.<sup>1</sup> We learn elsewhere that ostracism was practised in the city.<sup>2</sup> Such a constitution must have been introduced before the end of Athenian supremacy in 412. And if it was retained after the end of this dominion, then it cannot have been a novelty in 412.<sup>3</sup> But the provisions of the decree outlawing the Neleids were to be enforced by the ἐπιμήνιοι, collectively known as an ἐπιμήνιον, whose chairman was the ἐπιμήνιος.<sup>4</sup> Was this an old office or a new one? Neither the word ἐπιμήνιος nor any related form occurs anywhere in Greek at a date earlier than that of our inscription. Herodotos uses τὰ ἐπιμήνια of 'monthly offerings' in one chapter only.<sup>5</sup> Athenaios quotes a psephisma of Alkibiades containing the word, recorded on a stele in the Herakleion at Kynosargos.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Th. Wiegand, Zweiter Bericht, Sb. Berl. Akad. 1901, 911: dated ἐπὶ Νελεΐδων ἐποσημο, Ais. in 380/79 acc. to inscr. Milet I iii no.122. Note lines 2f Κερασίδας ἀπρωτὸς/νελεῖν, and 4 ἐπιμενίαι. For other tribes, cf. Wiegand, Siebenter Bericht 1911, 66f.
  2. Schol. Ar. Equites 855: also at Argos and Megara.
  3. Cf. A. G. Dunham, The History of Miletos (London, 1915) 135f.
  4. Respectively lines, 5, 11, 10, of Tod, GHI i<sup>2</sup> 35. For this office elsewhere, cf. Szanto, RE 'Epimenioi'.
  5. Hdt. viii 41.2.
  6. Athen. 234e.

Otherwise its occurrences are all later than the fifth century.<sup>1</sup> In the light of this evidence, it may be suggested that a replica of the Athenian constitution was imposed following the fall of the Neleids; but that the name of Prytaneis, still in use in 450/49, was too much associated with oligarchy and tyranny to be used, and was replaced by a modern word politically colourless; that finally, however, the old title was restored, either because passions had died down or because an oligarchic title carried a premium once more.

We are in a position to summarize the internal politics of Miletos in these years. In 454 the city seceded from the Confederacy, but was compelled to return and to resume its tributary status in time for the collection of 452/1. At the same time the government - possibly a tyrant, for democrats would not have revolted - was replaced by an Athenian-supported oligarchy, basically composed of Neleids. Further adjustments were made by the regulations of 450/49, when the government was still Neleid, as shown by the presence

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1. The treatise de Natura Mulierum (the word occurs in sect.13) is of course pseudo-Hippokrateian and late. The similar formation ἐτησίαι is first found in Aischylos Agam. 1015, and used seven times by Herodotos meaning 'annual' and twice meaning 'of one year': J. E. Powell, Lexicon to Hdt. (Cambridge, 1938) s.v. ἐτησίαι, of course, like ἐτησίαι, is older.

of Kretheus among the Prosetairoi. Tribute was paid as usual in the spring of 446; but during the year the Milesian rulers, headed by the Neleid Peisistratos, noticed that Athens was fully occupied by the trouble in Euboeia and Megara, and by the Spartan invasion of Attika, and took the opportunity to massacre the democratic opposition and to secede once more. This revolt was crushed in time for tribute to be paid in spring 442, but as a conciliatory gesture the assessment was halved and henceforth remained at five talents. The Neleids were outlawed, and a new constitution drafted after that of Athens herself, save only that the Prytaneis were called Epimenioi to avoid the associations which the former title held for Milesians.

The difficulty, for us as no doubt for the Old Oligarch himself, has always been to see why the Athenians supported an oligarchy here in the first place. It is explained as propaganda. The oligarchs were Neleids; and it was on the ancient tradition of Neleus' emigration to Ionia that Athens had built her claim to be first the mother and then the mistress of the Eastern Greeks.

#### IV

The Peloponnese was not the only threat to Athenian security. The second greatest navy in the Aegean was the

Samian, and Samos' attitude towards Athens had been questionable since 453. There had been no revolt, but only because Athens had made no demands. Samos, as we have seen, was now ruled by her hereditary aristocrats, whose hostility to Perikles and to Athens must have been much sharpened by the ostracism of Thoukydides in 443. In the event of a serious war between Athens and Sparta, there was every reason to fear that Samos would go over to the Peloponnesian side; and if that happened, Athens could not be victorious.<sup>1</sup>

The destruction of Samos was therefore a necessary preliminary to Perikles' crusade against the Peloponnese. Technically, of course, the island was guiltless of any offence against the Confederacy; and so it was as yet politically impossible for Athens to launch an attack. Perikles set himself to provoke Samos into the open defiance that would be his pretext for action, just as he was later to provoke Corinth when he felt ready for the greater war.

The method he chose was simple. The internal economy of Samos still depended to a considerable degree upon the agricultural produce of her peraia, that oft-disputed tract of coastland which now stretched southwards from Marathesion

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1. The serious menace of Samos in 440 is well enough stated by Thukydides, viii 76.4: to us, apparently an exaggeration; but evidently the opinion of the best authority we have.

to Mykale and the borders of Priene. In the assessment of tribute for Period IV, beginning in 443/2, Marathesion was first enrolled, and rated at half a talent. Perikles hoped that Samos would prevent payment, and that his pretext for war would be at hand.<sup>1</sup> He was disappointed, for Marathesion obediently paid.

Meanwhile, however, Athens was faced with widespread dissension in the northern districts, and when the tribute was counted in spring 442, there were many defaulters. So, for the moment, Perikles' attention was diverted from Samos.

Marathesion paid tribute again in spring 441; but even now the northern cities were only beginning to return to their subject status. With this general situation in mind, and after more than a year's careful thought, the Samian government resolved on the bold policy which was to avenge the seizure of Marathesion. If they had lost land in the North, then they would first recover it, and then take additional territory in the South worth twice as much, belonging to Priene: no doubt the Melias.

Preparations were put in hand during the summer, and

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1. Nesselhauf (Klio, Beiheft xxx 48 with n.4) holds that Marathesion was now first recognized by Athens as a separate state, and suggests that its inclusion in this assessment was a calculated affront to Samos. Marathesion's appearance in the list of 442/1 is certain, in that of 443/2 a convincing restoration.

in the autumn the attack on Priene began.<sup>1</sup> At once opposition was encountered from the new democratic rulers of Miletos, who, however, were unable to hold up the Samian advance.<sup>2</sup>

Accordingly a Milesian embassy came to Athens to denounce the Samian aggression. The envoys were accompanied by some Samians of the democratic party, acting in a private capacity, who hoped to be returned to power.<sup>3</sup> Arbitration was offered and refused:<sup>4</sup> an idle offer, to men who knew well what justice to expect. So an Athenian expedition of forty ships was sent to Samos,<sup>5</sup> and the democrats were restored to power. The ease of the Athenian victory should perhaps be explained by the absence at Miletos of the main

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1. Date: 441/0 (Thuk. i 115.2), earlier than the first Athenian expedition, which was in this same archon-year: infra, p. 461. E. Meyer, Gesch. des Alt. iv<sup>2</sup> 1.712f, and K. J. Beloch, Griech. Gesch. ii 1.194 n.2, believed that Samos' action was rather an attempt to prevent Miletos from incorporating Priene 'with the connivance of Athens'. They compare the incorporation of Leros and Teichioussa: but this had taken place earlier, by 450/49 (quota lists).
  2. Evidence for the war from Thuk. i 115.2-117, unless stated.
  3. Plut. Per. xxiv, cf. Harpokration s.v. Ἀσπασία, attributes the envoys' success to Milesian Aspasia's pleas.
  4. Plut. Per. xxv 1, an important detail not given by Thuk.
  5. Commanded by Perikles: so Plut. ibid. 2, Diod. xii 27.1. See Androtion, FGrHist 324 F 38 for the names of the other generals - among them the poet Sophokles, now in his fifty-sixth year.

part of the Samian fleet, unaware of the coming attack. Fifty men and fifty boys were taken as hostages and deposited with the Athenian cleruchs on Lemnos, and fifty talents were extracted as surety for their good behaviour, in addition to a substantial contribution from the other Geomoroi.<sup>1</sup> A garrison was left, and civil magistrates as well, and the fleet sailed away.

So speedy an humiliation served only to goad the Geomoroi to further effort. But now their preparations were more careful. They had learnt that on their own they could not easily achieve success, and so tried to obtain allies. Some of the oligarchs had remained in the island, while others had fled to Anaia. Both these groups, acting in concert, sought and obtained the aid of Pissouthnes, satrap of Sardeis, who, according to Plutarch's account, had already tried to buy off the first Athenian force.<sup>2</sup> He, no doubt, considered the advantage to be gained by splitting and wearing the Athenian alliance, besides the chance of securing control of the very useful port of Miletos. It must have been with his encouragement that Stesagoras left Samos with five ships,

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1. The money (not in Thuk.), Plut. *l.c.*; cf. Diod. *ibid.* 2, where the number of talents (and boys) is given as 80 - an error due to reading Ϟ as ϙ on the alphabetic notation.

2. Per. xxv 3.

and sailed to seek aid from the Phoinikian fleet.<sup>1</sup>

Help was sought from Sparta herself. Although Thukydides does not mention this in his chapters on the war, he makes the Corinthians remind Athens later of their service in preventing Spartan aid on this occasion, when the rest of the Peloponnese was divided upon the question.<sup>2</sup> If Sparta allowed the matter to go before the League assembly for decision, she must herself already have been prepared to go to war if they so decided: otherwise she ran the risk of grave embarrassment.<sup>3</sup> Corinth was well satisfied with the terms of the Thirty Years' Armistice, which acknowledged the right to use force against rebellious subjects. But it may be that Megara, never very naturally or readily sympathetic to Corinthian needs, demanded action in support of her colony Byzantion. This city, a keypoint in the northern empire, had been persuaded to initiate a revolt in concert with that of Samos. However, Corinth prevailed, and the project was abandoned.

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1. Thuk. 1 116.3: looking back to this time, for Perikles' first thought on arrival is to send a detachment ἐκ πρεσβητῶν τῶν (i.e. specific) φαινικέων ναυῶν (*ibid.* 1).
  2. Thuk. 1 40.5, 41.2 (on the Kerkyraian question). Further confirmation may be found in a fragment of the regulations for Samos after the war (IG 1<sup>2</sup> 50.7), [Πελο]ποννεσ[- - -].
  3. On this point, see A. H. M. Jones, Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc. NS 2 (1952-3) 43f.

Confident in their preparations, the Samians once more revolted. Pissouthnes lent help, and with a force of seven hundred mercenaries the oligarchs crossed into Samos by night, concerting their plans with those of their number who had remained in the city. The puppet democracy was overthrown with little trouble, and the rule of the Geomoroí restored. The Athenian garrison and magistrates were handed over to Pissouthnes, and the hostages retrieved from Lemnos.<sup>1</sup> Byzantion revolted, as had been arranged. Then, in splendid defiance, Samos once more declared war on Miletos. She was so far careless of the possibility of immediate Athenian intervention as to order her whole fleet away to the attack.<sup>2</sup> The challenge was quite deliberate, and this time it would be met more firmly.

As soon as news of the counter-revolution reached Athens, a force of sixty ships was sent to Samos, under the general command of Perikles.<sup>3</sup> Sixteen were detached for service elsewhere - some to Karia to watch for the Phoinikians. Stesagoras was expected to bring, others to summon help from

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1. Plut. Per. xxv 4 says that Pissouthnes recovered the hostages.

2. Thuk. i 116.1, ἔτυχον δὲ αἱ πᾶσι ἐπὶ Μιλήτου πλέουσαι.

3. It was perhaps at the meeting of the Assembly which voted this expedition that Perikles likened the Samians τῶς παιδίοις ὃ τὸν ψωμὸν δέχεται μὲν, κλάοντα δὲ (Aristotle, Rhetorica 1407a).

Chios and Lesbos. That such a summons was needed supports the authors of Athenian Tribute Lists in their opinion that there was no formal vote for war in the Confederate assembly - if it still met - at Athens or at Delos.<sup>1</sup> The remaining vessels, forty-four in number, under Perikles' personal command, engaged and defeated seventy Samian warships off the island Tragia.<sup>2</sup> This force comprised virtually the whole Samian fleet, according to Thukydides, and included twenty στρατιώτικα, perhaps old triremes converted for troop-carrying. The brightness of Perikles' victory was somewhat dimmed, however, by the fact that his flagship was beaten by the philosopher Melissos, son of Ithagenes.<sup>3</sup>

It must have been soon after this battle that a further forty ships arrived from Athens, and twenty-five from Chios and Lesbos: the latter two did not yet commit the major part of their fleets, must have been watching the outcome, and cannot already have heard of the victory at Tragia. The Athenians and their allies gained a footing on the island, walled off the town of Samos, and settled down to

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1. ATL iii 140; pace Jones, op.cit. 45.

2. Now Gaidharos, some thirteen miles South of Tigani.

3. Aristotle (Fr. 577) ap. Plut. Per. xxvi 3: πρότερον than the first siege. For melissos, see further W. Nestle, RE 'Melissos' No.4.

a siege and a blockade.<sup>1</sup> We do not know the size of the Athenian land force; but they evidently had one hundred and nine ships present, less those lost in the battle, an unknown number.

It was reported, presumably by those who had been set to watch, that a Phoinikian fleet was approaching. Perikles therefore took sixty of the blockading vessels, and made haste towards Kaunos in Karia to intercept them.<sup>2</sup> This probably left no more than thirty ships to prosecute the siege, and the Samians made desperate use of the opportunity offered them. Evidently a considerable section of their fleet had managed to escape home after Tragia, and Melissos was now in port. He led a sudden sally, found the Athenian camp unguarded, and fought a successful surprise attack. At the same time the Athenian blockading vessels suffered defeat: those on duty were destroyed, and the remainder were routed on putting out to join them.<sup>3</sup> For a fortnight the Samians were free to sail in or out as they pleased, and to lay in provisions for the siege which they knew was inevitable.

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1. As Gomme says (ad loc.), κερτοῦντες ἢ πρὸς does not necessarily imply a battle. But the landing cannot have been unopposed. Thuk. says ἐπιδιόρου τρεῖς τεῖχεσσι: not a triple wall, but three distinct lengths - see Gomme's note.
  2. To Kypros, according to Stesimbrotos: v. inf.<sup>p454</sup> and n. 1.
  3. Plut. Per. xxvi 2-4: for alleged branding of prisoners, see pp. 457f.

At least one ship must have escaped, however, to take the news to Perikles. It will be interesting to consider how far he had gone. The Phoinikian fleet was bound by the Peace of Kallias to remain East of Phaselis, and, when not in home ports, its most probable base was Kypros. Stesimbrotos said that Perikles went ἐπὶ Κύπρον on this occasion. It has been usual to dismiss his testimony.<sup>1</sup> But it finds confirmation in Thukydidēs' own text. The Samians were free for a fortnight. Yet the news of their victory must have been carried to Perikles as quickly as possible, and he must have returned at once. He was therefore five or six days' sail from Samos, at a distance of six or seven hundred miles.<sup>2</sup> This limit amply embraces Kypros. Presumably the main body of the fleet lay at Phaselis, while a few scouts made their way into the forbidden waters to the East. These would have to be recalled before Perikles could return to Samos, so that the time taken to bring him back would in fact be the duration of a return journey between Samos and

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1. EGrHist 107 F 8, ap. Plut. Per. xxvi 1, with the comment ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἠθροῦν εἶπεν. Jacoby (ad loc.) suggests that Stes. echoes Athenian criticism of Perikles after the defeat in his absence.
  2. A merchantman did 5-7 knots (cf. Thuk. ii 97, Ap. Rhod. i 602, Lykourgos Leokr. 17, 70), and was easily overhauled by a trireme. We learn from Xenophon, Anab. vi 42, that it was possible for a trireme to go from Byzantion to Herakleia in Bithynia, a distance of 150 naut. miles, in a single day - presumably with auxiliary use of sail. To allow here 100 naut. miles in a day is therefore not excessive (c.115 statute miles).

Kypros. Certainly the evidence is not consistent with Thukydides' implication that Perikles went no further than Karia.<sup>1</sup> In the light of these arguments we may assess the seriousness of the threat of Persian intervention.<sup>2</sup>

On Perikles' return the Samians were again shut up. Forty more ships came from Athens with Thoukydides, Hagnon, and Phormion; twenty with Tlepolemos and Antikles;<sup>3</sup> thirty from Chios and Lesbos. These two islands had now decided that an Athenian victory was assured, and sent a larger contingent than before. Ephoros said that newly invented siege-engines - 'rams' and 'tortoises' - were supplied to the Athenians by Artemon of Klazomenai,<sup>4</sup> whom he wrongly identified with Artemon ὁ κλαζομένιος.<sup>5</sup> Ephoros' accounts of inventions are by this time notorious,<sup>6</sup> and the fact that

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1. Unless he had actually engaged the enemy and was thus hindered - for which supposition there is no evidence.
  2. See also pp. 45ff.
  3. Generals for 440/39: those for 441/40 are otherwise known.
  4. Diod. xii 28.3; Plut. Per. xxvii 3 (Ephoros EGrHist 70 F 194).
  5. Mentioned by Anakreon, according to Hklds Pont. ap. Plut. ibid. 4, who pointed out the chronological difficulty. But the name is not rare: cf. Samian 'casualty-list' at Eurymedon, p. 398 n.3.
  6. See W. L. Brown, 'Pheidon's Alleged Aeginetan Coinage', Num. Chron. 1950, 177ff, esp. 194ff.

the old style of siege was still followed at Poteidaia, Mytilene, and Syracuse, makes his evidence untrustworthy. Of similar status is the information that the answer to the Samian engines was found by a Samian traitor named Karystion.<sup>1</sup>

According to Plutarch, Perikles kept an eighth part of his forces on duty at a time.<sup>2</sup> The others rested, but close at hand, and ready to help in case of attack. In the ninth month of this final siege,<sup>3</sup> such an attack was made. It failed, and the island surrendered. The immediate terms of the capitulation were that the Samians should pull down their walls, and give up their fleet; that they should give hostages, and undertake to make reparations for the cost of the whole war.<sup>4</sup> The same

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1. Schol.<sup>v</sup> Aristoph. Vesp. 283. (But μυκταί were known to Herodotos, who says that the Persians used them against Miletos in 494 (vi 18): they were common in the East anyway.)
  2. Plut. Per. xxvii 3. Those off duty devoted themselves εὐχεῖσθαι καὶ χορᾶζειν. Alexis, in his Annals of Samos, tells us that among their delights were a company of hetairai, who found the siege so profitable that, rivalling the piety of Rhodopis, they put up a statue of Aphrodite ἐν κἀλάμοις or ἐν ἔλαει (EGrHist 539 F 1, ap. Athen. 572f). Compare the cult of Aphrodite Hetaira at Athens and at Ephesos: Athen. 571e, 573a.
  3. Thuk. i 117.3: ἐν ἑτέρῳ μηνί after what? See Gomme ad loc.
  4. The hostages were security for the reparations: Plut. Per. xxviii 1.

terms had been imposed upon Thasos, except that Samos' financial obligation (though heavier) nominally covered only the expenses of the campaign, and was therefore terminable.<sup>1</sup>

Athenian conduct towards the vanquished was the subject of unfavourable comment by Douris. According to him, the Samian trierarchs and marines were taken and crucified in the public square at Miletos, beaten to death ten days later, and their bodies left unburied.<sup>2</sup> Plutarch declined to believe this, on the ground that neither Thukydides, nor Ephoros, nor Aristotle said anything about it. We are not in a position to pass judgment: there must have been at least some instances of undue brutality in the treatment of the ringleaders. At any rate, there were other accounts besides those mentioned by Plutarch for Douris to draw upon.<sup>3</sup>

In this context also we may consider the reported mutual branding of prisoners. According to late writers, the Samians branded their prisoners with a Samaina - presumably the public seal - in reprisal for the Athenians' previous

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1. For the amount of the expenses, see pp. 463 ff.

2. EGrHist 76 F 67, with Plutarch's comment, Per. xxviii 2-3,   
 μᾶλλον ἔοικεν ἐπιβῆναι δεινῶς τὰς τῆς πατρίδος συμφορὰς  
 ἐπὶ διὰ βολῆ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

3. See APPENDIX F.

branding of their prisoners with an owl.<sup>1</sup> Plutarch interpreted Fr. 64 of Aristophanes, ἑκ μίλων ὁ δῆμος ἔστιν ὡς ποταμοφύλακτος, as a reference to this. But the expression is scarcely appropriate. Though Aelian claims that the original Athenian act fulfilled the terms of a decree,<sup>2</sup> modern scholars have tended to follow the piety of Photios in dismissing the tale,<sup>3</sup> which, Photios says, was published by Douris.<sup>4</sup> Such branding of slaves was common enough practice;<sup>5</sup> and a Victorian view of Athenian humanity is not ground enough for rejecting a story which is not without claim to authority.

The role of Persia in the war is not entirely explained. It is clear that the Peace of Kallias limited the sphere of the King's influence by the sea-coast of Asia Minor. The authors of Athenian Tribute Lists rightly decline to believe that Pissouthnes could legally have regarded Athenian inter-

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1. Per. xxvi 4, the brands wrongly transposed. This detail is corrected by other accounts, cf. Aelian Var. Hist. ii 9; Photios, s.v. ἑκ μίλων ὁ δῆμος; Suidas, similarly. The occasions meant will be after the battle of Tragia (Ath. brand Sam.), and after the raising of the first siege in Perikles' absence (Sam. brand Ath.).
  2. Loc.cit.: καὶ τοῦτο Ἀθητικὸν φησὶν αὐτὸν.
  3. Cf. for instance Gomme, Comm. on Thuc. i 355 and n.1.
  4. Photios, loc.cit.: not in Aristotle's account, presumably, for he gave a different (and even less likely) interpretation of the Aristophanes fragment (ibid. = Arist. Fr. 575). It seems, though, that a contemporary Samian account was extant in antiquity: see APPENDIX F.
  5. For the Athenian practice of marking slaves with the public seal, see Xenophon, de Vectig. iv 21; cf. perhaps Syracusan practice, Plut., Nicias xxix.

vention on an island as a breach of the treaty.<sup>1</sup> It follows that he himself broke the terms of the treaty by giving assistance to a state at war with Athens. What was the extent of his assistance?

We must be careful not to exaggerate the account: Plutarch's statement that Pissouthnes tried to buy off Perikles after the first expedition may well be true;<sup>2</sup> but it tells little more than that he had already promised his aid to the Geomoroi. Plutarch further gives Pissouthnes the credit for rescuing the Samian hostages from Lemnos.<sup>3</sup> This should be discounted as a mere private inference of Plutarch or of his source: not so much because he contradicts Thukydidēs, whose treatment of the episode is in any case summary, as because the deed required a small squadron of ships, such as Pissouthnes cannot have had, even if he had been prepared for such an unequivocal breach of the Peace - which is unlikely.

On the positive side, there are three occasions on which Pissouthnes clearly broke the terms of the Peace. It is to be supposed that the seven hundred ἐπίκουροι, with

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1. iii 307f.

2. Per. xv 3: presumably not invented by Perikles' enemies, for it is not suggested that he accepted the money.

3. Ibid. 4.

whose help the second revolt began, were a gift from the satrap: at any rate their acquisition followed the conclusion of an alliance with him, and he was prepared to accept the custody of the Athenian officials taken prisoner in the island.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, Perikles' long voyage to the South shows plainly that he had good reason to fear the arrival of Phoinikian ships. Their participation must have been promised; and the appeal for their aid may have had the support of Pissouthnes. Thirdly we have the evidence of the quota lists. It is certain that in 440/39 neither Priene nor Marathesion paid tribute. Yet for the whole year, until the tribute fell due at the Dionysia of 439, Samos was under siege. It is therefore unthinkable that any considerable number of her soldiers remained in Asia during this year. But the two places must have been occupied by a power hostile to Athens, or they would have paid.<sup>2</sup> The most likely conclusion is that Pissouthnes here protected Samian mainland interests during the siege.

These were the circumstances of the satrap's aid. His

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1. Thuk. i 116.4-5.

2. Gomme (Comm. i 350 with n.1) discounting the possibility that Priene was now incorporated in Miletos, suggests that the two states paid tribute direct to the Athenian generals. If so, it is strange that Miletos did not do so too.

breach of the Peace was not insisted upon at Athens;<sup>1</sup> and when Samos fell he probably returned the Athenian prisoners and withdrew.

We have so far assumed a scheme of dating for the revolt. We must now consider the evidence for it. Thukydides says that the war between Samos and Miletos broke out in the sixth year (ἔτος, civil year) after the Thirty Years' Armistice, which we know to have been signed during the winter of 446/5.<sup>2</sup> The war therefore began in 441/0, in the archonship of Timokles, and lasted for at least eight months.<sup>3</sup> For a more precise date within this year, and for the duration of the troubles, the scholiast on Aristophanes' Wasps places the revolt in the archonships of Timokles and Morychides, 441/0-440/39.<sup>4</sup> But since the Byzantines, with whom the opening of the second phase of the revolt was concerted, paid their tribute in spring 440, that phase cannot have begun before the Dionysia in this year. The published accounts of expenditure on the revolt

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1. For the many parallels to this oversight, see D. Stockton, Historia viii (1959) 64ff - though with a different explanation.
  2. i 115.2; ii 2.1, 21.1, i 87.6.
  3. Only eight months if (as is unlikely) the final capitulation was 'in the ninth month' after the outbreak of war with Miletos, not after the imposition of the siege.
  4. Ad v. 283, perhaps from Philochoros (as on 718, etc.).

show that it cost the Athenians 368 talents in the former archon-year and 908 in the latter.<sup>1</sup> Following this proportion, therefore, it is most probable that the whole sequence of events lasted from early spring 440 to the same season in the following year.

Within this period we may dispose the events as follows:

- 441/0, before April: Samos invades Priene, is resisted by Miletos. Milesian embassy to Athens. Arbitration offered and refused.
- 440, April: First Athenian expedition to Samos.
- May: Democracy imposed, hostages taken. Athenians leave garrison and return home.
- June: Second revolt, with Persian aid. Stesagoras sails to summon the Phoinikian fleet. Second Athenian expedition. Battle of Tragia: first siege.
- July: Perikles goes to intercept Phoinikian fleet: besieging forces defeated, Samos free for two weeks. Return of Perikles, siege reimposed. Arrival of reinforcements under generals 440/39.
- 439 March: Short battle: Samos accepts terms of surrender.

So in March 439, after a year's struggle culminating in a siege of eight months, Samos finally collapsed. We have already seen what were the immediate terms - the destruction of fortifications, the surrender of the fleet,

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1. Hill, Sources<sup>2</sup> B 61, lines 12 and 17 respectively. For discussion, v.inf. pp. 463f.

the provision of hostages. But most important was the undertaking to repay the whole cost of the war to Athens. This is the first known occasion in Greek history on which 'reparations' were demanded as such, rather than the usual insatiate plunder.<sup>1</sup> The amount of Athens' expenditure is variously reported. Our earliest authority is Isokrates, who says that Perikles gained his success ἀπὸ δεικασίων νεῶν καὶ χιλίων ταλάντων.<sup>2</sup> Diodoros, on the other hand, states that the cost was estimated ταλάντων δεικασίων;<sup>3</sup> while Cornelius Nepos reports that Athenienses mille et ducenta talenta consumpserant.<sup>4</sup> An examination of the context, the circumstances of Timotheos' capture of Samos in 365, shows clearly that Nepos is following Isokrates;<sup>5</sup> in whose text, therefore, he did not read νεῶν, but found the total given as 1200 talents.<sup>6</sup> Diodoros' text should likewise be supplemented to read <χιλίων> δεικασίων.

1. Gomme, Comm. i 356, who compares Nikias' offer to Syracuse (Thuk. vii 83.2).
2. xv 111.
3. xii 28.3.
4. Timoth. i 2.
5. Compare id ille sine ulla publica impensa populo restituit with οὐτ' πλέον οὐτ' ἕλασαν κατ' ἑμῶν λαβῶν. Gomme says that Ephoros was the source of both Nepos and Diodoros (Comm. i 356). He is probably right in the latter case.
6. The use of consumpserant (apart from the order of the numerals) shows that no word for 'ships' has dropped out of Nepos' text.

But this figure is an under-estimate. We have the inscription in which the accounts were published at Athens.<sup>1</sup> There are three items, followed by their total sum. Professor Meritt has shown it to be likely that only the second and third items relate to the campaign against Samos, 368 or 369 talents being the amount allocated in 441/0, and 908 or 909 the expenditure of 440/39.<sup>2</sup> The first figure shown, 128 or 129 talents, will on this hypothesis be the cost of reducing Byzantion. The total number of talents spent on Samos, then, was between 1276 and 1278.<sup>3</sup>

Part of the indemnity was paid at once.<sup>4</sup> It has been supposed that the balance was to be paid over a quarter of a century at the rate of fifty talents each year; and the suggestion is both attractive and probable.<sup>5</sup> We possess notices of Samian payments to Athens in 426/5, 423/2, 418/7,

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1. IG i<sup>2</sup> 293; SEG x 221; Hill, Sources<sup>2</sup> B 61.
  2. Athenian Financial Documents (Michigan, 1932) 42ff; with correction in AJP lv (1934) 365ff.
  3. Gomme, Comm. i 356, remarks on the 'slight curiosity that our literary sources, Isokrates and Epheros, both given to exaggeration, should have minimized the expenses.'
  4. Plut. Per. xxviii 1: probably no more than the first year's instalment - or perhaps comprising the money previously given at the same time as (but not including) that exacted as surety for the hostages (supra, p. 449).
  5. Not an excessive amount: Aigina and Thasos each paid thirty talents in annual tribute.

and 414/3, which may represent instalments of the indemnity.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, none of these gives any statement of the annual amount.<sup>2</sup>

Samian coinage now ceased, and was not resumed until late in the century, during the island's last resistance at Athens' side. The final issue of the lettered series, marked by  $\Xi$ , must be judged to belong to 440/39. Thereafter there seems to be nothing, not even fractions, for thirty years.<sup>3</sup> This suggests that a further provision of the terms of surrender was that the Samian mint should be

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1. Respectively: IG 1<sup>2</sup> 65 (SEG x 72) 21-5; 324 (227) 41-3; 302 (228) 17-8; 297 (229) 16-7; collected in Hill, Sources<sup>2</sup> B 63 a-d. That they refer to the indemnity - or even all to the same obligation - is not certain.
  2. Payments in 410/09 (IG 1<sup>2</sup> 304A, SEG x 232, 20-1 and 34-7; Hill, ibid. e-f) are not to be reckoned part of the indemnity: the current political situation would have demanded remission of any portion of it still outstanding. The substantial sum here recorded is to be considered rather as a voluntary contribution to the war-chest.
  3. For the dating of this break in coinage, v. inf., pp. 562 ff. It might be held that the break is not quite complete: there are two coins, from a single pair of dies, inscribed  $\epsilon\tau\rho\iota\sigma\alpha\tau\iota\omicron\zeta$ , but without ethnic, which are to be dated c.430. The absence of the ethnic gives rise to the hypothesis that the issue may be of exiles - cf. the Samians at Zankle, supra, pp. 379 f - perhaps the Geomoroi at Anafia. There is also a single issue, represented by one coin (Cat. No. 158) which appears later than the lettered series; and another (Cat. No. 157) marked  $\rho$ , together with an ivy leaf, which, however, is best regarded as an irregular issue (like that with the symbol of a panther's head) between  $\Lambda$  and  $M$ .

closed: in fact, Samos was now brought within the scope of the Currency Decree.

The quota lists have been held to show that another of the terms was that Samos should give up her dependency of Amorgos.<sup>1</sup> The island's name first occurs on the list of 434/3, as one of the  $\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\tau\iota\ \delta\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota$ , and likewise in succeeding years. It is absent from the three full panels of 442/1-440/39, and does not occur on any of the earlier lists (which, however, are all incomplete). There is thus no compulsion to believe that Amorgos became tributary before the assessment of 434/3.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, if Suidas' tradition of an eighth-century Samian colony there is to be believed,<sup>3</sup> then the island may have remained in close connection with Samos - as Kerkyra with Corinth - and have been omitted accordingly from Aristides' assessment. But if Samos had lost Amorgos by 434/3, then, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, the separation should be placed in 439.

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1. Busolt, Gr. Gesch. iii 553; Miltner, RE 'Perikles', 772.
  2. Gomme, CR liv (1940) 67ff; Comm. on Thuc. i 356.
  3. For discussion of the reliability of this, see pp. 115f. Evidence of continued interest during the fifth century is given by an inscription in Tigani,  $\text{Πάλους} \mid \text{Αμοργίου}$ .

Other penalties have been conjectured, but without real foundation. Inscriptions have survived in the island recording a temenos of Athena, another  $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$   $\text{Αθηναιστικόν}$ , and a third of the Eponymoi.<sup>1</sup> All were situated on the great plain of Chora, and both Kahrstedt and Nesselhauf interpret their evidence to mean that Athens now confiscated the whole plain from the Geomoroi who owned it.<sup>2</sup> Epigraphically, however, the inscriptions do not belong to 439, but rather to the fifties, and should be associated with a token gift by the pro-Athenian democrats then in power.<sup>3</sup>

The field armistice was replaced by a peace treaty, of which fragments of the Athenian copy have survived.<sup>4</sup> It was ratified after the new board of generals for 439/8 had come into office, for their names are subscribed. The main part of what remains to us prescribes the oaths of mutual friendship and loyalty sworn by both sides.<sup>5</sup> Samos promised

1. For the date and character of these horoi, see APPENDIX E.

2. Kahrstedt, Nachr. Gött. Ges. (1931) 168ff, Staatsgebiet u. Staatsangehörige (1934) 32; Nesselhauf, Klio, Beiheft xxx (1933) 138f. Gomme rejects this interpretation, Comm. 1 355; but his main reason (persistent prosperity shown by continuity of coinage) will not stand, for the coinage was in fact now interrupted until the last decade of the century: vide supra, p. 465 with n.3.

3. Cf. pp. 410ff.

4. IG i<sup>2</sup> 50; SEG x 39; ATL ii D 18; Hill, Sources<sup>2</sup> B 62.

5. Lines 15-25.

never again to revolt. There follows a decree of Kallikrates, of unknown import, and, as we have seen, a list of the generals who swore the treaty on Athens' behalf.

Diodoros says that those responsible for the revolt were punished,<sup>1</sup> and it seems likely that the first part of our inscription provided for this. Enough survives in the fragmentary  $\Lambda\epsilon\mu\nu\theta$  (line 4) and  $[\Pi\epsilon\lambda\omicron]\\rho\omicron\nu\nu\epsilon\epsilon[-\ --]$  (7) to argue the passage of a decree for the perpetual outlawry of those responsible for rescuing the hostages and for inviting aid from the Peloponnesian League. Other acts of similar significance must have been declared treasonable in the same context.

Some at least of the condemned Geomoroi managed to make their escape to Anaia, where they remained secure for many years. In 427 they conferred at Ephesos with the Spartan Alkidas,<sup>2</sup> and at about the same time made a small issue of coins bearing the name of their leader Batis.<sup>3</sup> Otherwise they are lost to history during more than a quarter of a century in exile.<sup>4</sup>

On his return to Athens Perikles delivered the funeral

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1. xii 28.3.

2. Thuk. iii 32.2.

3. See pp. 522f, 592ff.

4. Their return in 412 is suggested by Diodoros xiii 34.2.

panegyric for the Athenian dead. They had been taken, he said, like the spring out of the year.<sup>1</sup> Yet they were to be judged immortal, though invisible, inasmuch as they, like the gods, received honour and conferred blessing.<sup>2</sup>

Only Kimon's sister Elpinike was not ready with her congratulations. Her brother, she said, had waged war on Phoinikians and Medes, not brought Athenians to die in battle against their own allies.<sup>3</sup> Perikles was unmoved. Could he not boast that he had conquered the strongest of the Ionians in eight months, whereas Agamemnon himself had taken ten years to beat a pack of barbarians?<sup>4</sup> This was no idle prating, comments Plutarch: Thukydidēs himself said that Samos came within an ace of wresting the command of the waves from Athens.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Aristotle, Rhetorica I vii 34, 1365a 32.
  2. Stesimbrotos, FGrHist 107 F 9 (Plut. Per. viii 9).
  3. Plut. Per. xxviii 5-7: conveniently she forgets Thasos.
  4. Ion, FGrHist 392 F 16 (Plut. ibid. 7).
  5. Plut. ibid. 8; Thuk. viii 76.4.



