

# **The Greek and Persian Wars**

**Parts I & II**

**Professor John R. Hale**



**THE TEACHING COMPANY ®**

**PUBLISHED BY:**

**THE TEACHING COMPANY**  
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100  
Chantilly, Virginia 20151-1232  
1-800-TEACH-12  
Fax—703-378-3819  
www.teach12.com

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Archaeology has been the focus of Dr. Hale's career from his B.A. studies at Yale University to his doctoral research at the University of Cambridge, where he received his Ph.D. The subject of his dissertation was the Bronze Age ancestry of the Viking longship, a study that involved field surveys of ship designs in prehistoric rock art in southern Norway and Sweden. During more than 30 years of archaeological work, Dr. Hale has excavated at a Romano-British town in Lincolnshire, England, as well as at a Roman villa in Portugal; has carried out interdisciplinary studies of ancient oracle sites in Greece and Turkey, including the famed Delphic Oracle; and has participated in an undersea search in Greek waters for lost fleets from the Greek and Persian wars. In addition, Dr. Hale is a member of a scientific team developing and refining a method for dating mortar, concrete, and plaster from ancient buildings—a method that employs radiocarbon analysis with an accelerator mass spectrometer.

Dr. Hale has published his work in *Antiquity*, *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, *The Classical Bulletin*, and *Scientific American*. Most of Dr. Hale's work is interdisciplinary and involves collaborations with geologists, chemists, nuclear physicists, historians, zoologists, botanists, physical anthropologists, geographers, and art historians.

Dr. Hale has received numerous awards for his distinguished teaching, including the Panhellenic Teacher of the Year Award and the Delphi Center Award. He has toured the United States and Canada as a lecturer for the Archaeological Institute of America and has presented lecture series at museums and universities in Finland, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand.

Dr. Hale is the instructor of another Teaching Company course, *Classical Archaeology of Ancient Greece and Rome*.

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## The Greek and Persian Wars

### Scope:

This course presents a rare opportunity to survey the entirety of the two-centuries-long conflict between the Greeks and the Persians: the greatest military contest in antiquity and one that forever changed the patterns of human history. Ruled by such Great Kings as Cyrus II (known as Cyrus the Great), Darius III, and Xerxes, the Persian Empire's extraordinary military might, bottomless treasury, and innovative engineering skills made it seem almost inconceivable that any nation could long resist conquest. Resilient opposition, however, came from the Greeks—first from the Ionian cities of Asia Minor, then from the leagues of city-states led by Sparta and Athens, and finally, from the kingdom of Macedon under its fabled rulers King Philip II and his son Alexander III (better known as Alexander the Great).

Beginning with the first Persian capture of Greek cities in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. and concluding with the burning of the Persian royal city of Persepolis in 331 B.C., this tumultuous period was punctuated with some of history's most dramatic battles: the violent clash of soldiers on the plains at Marathon, the defiant last stand of 300 Spartans at Thermopylae, the crucial naval battle in the straits of Salamis, the march of the Ten Thousand under Xenophon, and the astonishing victories of Alexander at Granicus River, Issos, and Gaugamela that finally brought the wars to an end.

The story of the Greek and Persian wars, however, involves far more than epic battles; tales of heroism, treason, and martyrdom; decisive (and indecisive) rulers; and strategic military tactics. The wars proved integral to the cultural and political development of much of the ancient world. Among the most important of these developments was the creation of a concrete historical record based on eyewitness accounts that led to the writing of definitive historical texts, such as Herodotus's *Histories*, Thucydides's *History of the Peloponnesian War*, and Xenophon's *Anabasis*. Political developments abounded as well; the leagues of city-states and the spirit of democracy that matured during Greece's Golden Age were direct results of the region's opposition to imperial Persia. The period also provided a stimulus for cultural exchange between two seemingly disparate civilizations, creating a global market that stretched from China to Britain and from central Africa to the Baltic Sea. The wars also inspired great art, ranging from such works as Aeschylus's *Persians* and Phrynicus's *The Phoenician Women* (both dealing with the accounts and ramifications of the Battle of Salamis) to oratorical masterpieces, including Isocrates's "Panegyricus" (a key inspiration for the Panhellenic dream of a united Greece).

Ultimately, this period set the stage not only for the immediate future of the Classical age but for the perpetual collision between East and West; many subsequent clashes—between Rome and Parthia, Christian Crusaders and Muslim Saracens, Byzantines and Ottomans—have been fought along this same fundamental fault line. A comprehensive study of the Greek and Persian wars, one that takes into account a view of the hostilities from both sides and augments the historical narrative with explorations of emergent cultural and political traditions, remains crucial to understanding the complex issues that still beset our modern world.

## Lecture One

### The First Encounter

**Scope:** The two centuries of hostilities that encompass the Greek and Persian wars saw numerous political, social, economic, and cultural developments. More importantly, however, this archetypal war between East and West prefigured all later conflicts along the cultural fault line running through the eastern Mediterranean. The first encounter between these two disparate civilizations occurred around 546 B.C., with King Croesus of Lydia's preemptive attack against the emerging Persian Empire and its ruler, King Cyrus II (known as Cyrus the Great). With the aid of Greek hoplite mercenaries from the Peloponnese, Croesus crossed the Halys River and fought the Persians to a standstill, until a lightning-like attack turned the battle in favor of the Persian Empire. The Lydians' subsequent defeat cemented Cyrus's role as the new lord of Asia Minor and alerted mainland Greece to the Persian menace. Thus was a spark ignited that would, in the time of Cyrus's successors, be fanned into a conflagration.

### Outline

- I. These 24 lectures are devoted to the Greek and Persian wars: one of the epic conflicts of world history.
  - A. The chronological span runs from the emergence of Cyrus II (known as Cyrus the Great) around 560 B.C. to the time of Alexander the Great around 320 B.C.
  - B. The geographical span reaches from Persia to the central Mediterranean.
  - C. This period saw the development of military history and the world's first global market.
  - D. The period also witnessed a conflict between Persian monotheism and the Greek polytheistic tradition, as well as tension between the political philosophies of Greek democracy and Persian monarchy.
  - E. The period we will explore in these lectures was a time of "firsts."
    1. The Greek and Persian wars inspired Herodotus to write his *Histories*, the first formal written history in the world.
    2. The battles of this period inspired the first surviving play: Aeschylus's *Persians*.
  - F. The roots of our contemporary world lie in this period—above all, in the great split between East and West that still dominates today's world affairs.
  - G. Both the Greek and Persian sources have their own axes to grind in relating the events of the wars.
    1. In general, the Greek sources misconceive much about the Persians; it is difficult to separate truth from Greek imagination.
    2. On the Persian side, there was no known historical writing outside of the Persian court, leading to little objectivity.
    3. These 24 lectures will highlight the amazing archaeological discoveries that have been made over the last 200 years and will use these discoveries to give a fair share of time, attention, and respect to both the Greeks and the Persians.
- II. The Greek and Persian wars began around 546 B.C. with the arrival at Delphi of envoys from King Croesus of Lydia.
  - A. Croesus was the fifth king of a dynasty that had ruled Lydia for about a century. His kingdom had grown within his own lifetime and had taken over Greek cities in Asia Minor, including Miletus and Ephesus.
  - B. When Croesus learned of a Persian threat on his eastern frontier at the Halys River, he consulted the Delphic Oracle to decide whether or not he should challenge the invaders before they reached him.
    1. The oracle responded, "Go tell the king if he crosses the river, he will destroy a great empire."
    2. Believing that the empire in question was that of Cyrus II of Persia, Croesus made plans to attack.
  - C. The Ionian Greeks under Croesus's command were obligated as vassals to follow the king wherever he went.
    1. The Greek cities in Asia resented the fact that they had lost their freedom to the king of Lydia.
    2. Eurybates of Ephesus was sent to recruit a mercenary army of Greek warriors to augment the Lydian cavalry; instead, he sent messages to the Persians offering help as a means of removing King Croesus.
    3. Miletus, the greatest of the Greek cities in Asia, also sent secret messages to the Persians offering support.

- III. The Persian civilization had been almost unknown to the people of the Mediterranean.
  - A. In just under 15 years, with the leadership of Cyrus, the Persians took over the great kingdom of their neighbors, the Medes, and set out to conquer the world.
  - B. Persian society was composed mostly of farming and nomadic tribes.
  - C. What the Greeks called “the laws of the Medes and the Persians” unified the two kingdoms under the upstart Persians rather than the Medes.
- IV. Cyrus may have meant to honor peace at the Halys River, but Croesus, by crossing the river, guaranteed war.
  - A. Both parties met in central Turkey (Asia Minor) and fought to a standstill.
  - B. Satisfied that he had stopped Cyrus and reasserted the boundary at the Halys River, Croesus returned home.
  - C. But the Persians were relentless in their drive to conquer the world. Cyrus did not give up but instead decided to overtake the Lydians on their march homeward.
  - D. Cyrus defeated Croesus’s army before it returned home and subsequently captured the city of Sardis. At this point, Cyrus became the overlord of some of the Greek cities.
- V. Though Miletus had capitulated to the Persians, other Greek cities, including Ephesus and Colophon, were averse to becoming part of the Persian Empire.
  - A. These cities, believing that they were not strong enough to fight Cyrus on their own, asked the Spartans to help maintain their liberty.
  - B. The Spartans sent a herald (with diplomatic immunity) to Sardis to ask Cyrus not to harm the Greeks of Asia.
  - C. Cyrus told the herald that he was unafraid of the Greeks and advised the Spartans to think of their own safety.
  - D. When the herald returned with Cyrus’s reply, it became clear that a lasting peace between this new empire in the East and the Greeks would be impossible.

**Recommended Reading:**

Allen, *The Persian Empire*.

Herodotus, *The Histories*.

**Questions to Consider:**

1. What would you consider to be the most important development that arose from the Greek and Persian wars? Why?
2. How do you think history would have changed if King Croesus had not decided preemptively to attack the Persians?

## Lecture Two

### Empire Builders—The Persians

**Scope:** Modern scholars have learned about the Persians in their own language thanks largely to the translation of the inscription at Behistun rock by Henry Rawlinson in the 1830s. That inscription tells the story of the accession of King Darius to the throne of the Persian Empire. Other Old Persian texts give us a sense of what the Persians were like both before and after they became the dominant power in the ancient world. It was Cyrus who initiated the drive to dominance, uniting the formerly tribal Persian people and leading them to expansion through the conquest of Media, Lydia, and other Greek city-states. Cyrus's son Cambyses organized the ever-widening empire into provinces and continued the tradition of engineering projects begun by his father. One such project, the Royal Road, typifies the qualities of relentlessness, duty, and achievement that made the Persian Empire a force to be reckoned with.

### Outline

- I. Modern scholars owe much of their understanding of the Persians to Henry Rawlinson's translation of an inscription on a cliff at Behistun.
  - A. The Behistun rock is a 1,700-foot-high cliff with a relief carving and hundreds of lines of inscription written in "cuneiform"—the script developed in Mesopotamia and originally written on tablets of moist clay with a stylus.
  - B. Observers had different theories about the figures depicted on the Behistun rock: a victorious Queen Semiramis of Assyria; Jesus and his Apostles; or Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, in front of captive Jews.
  - C. In 1835, Henry Rawlinson, a British military officer, realized that there were three inscriptions on the Behistun rock. We now know that the languages of these inscriptions were Old Persian, Elamite (an unrelated language of the territory of Elam), and Babylonian (the lingua franca of Mesopotamia).
  - D. Rawlinson learned that the relief carving depicted a story behind the accession of King Darius.
    1. When Smerdis, the rightful heir to the throne of Cambyses, died, the Achaemenid warrior Darius decided to make himself king.
    2. The carving was a declaration of Darius's legitimacy as a descendant of the Achaemenid dynasty, named after its original founder, Achaemenes.
- II. Samples of Old Persian text provide a sense of the Persians both in their time of glory (when their rulers had become kings of the world) and as they were before.
  - A. Modern scholars describe the Zoroastrian Persians of this era as henotheists: monotheists who are willing to tolerate and accept the polytheistic religions of others. Their holy book was the Avesta.
  - B. The idea of "the good" (associated with truth and light) is an essential part of the Zoroastrian religion, which sees the universe as a battleground between the forces of light and darkness.
  - C. The Persians were the cousins of the Greeks; both cultures descended from the Indo-Europeans.
    1. The Indo-Europeans were a community that spoke related languages and lived along the Caucasus Mountains.
    2. One important element of Indo-European life was horseback riding.
    3. The Indo-Europeans gradually overtook the world that had been ruled by the Semitic peoples (e.g., Babylonians, Assyrians).
  - D. The Persians maintained much of the traditional Indo-European way of life.
    1. Persian culture was not an urban culture at the start; rather, it consisted primarily of farmers and nomads.
    2. The essence of Persian male education was: ride hard, shoot straight, and tell the truth.
  - E. The Greeks, who loved to tell stories, wove myths around the Persians.
- III. Cyrus projected the Persians out of their traditional homeland and onto the world stage.
  - A. The Greeks told many myths about Cyrus's boyhood.
    1. They said that his grandfather, the Median king Astyages, had a dream in which he saw his grandson engulfing the world.

2. Perceiving a threat to his rule, King Astyages ordered a minister to kill the infant.
  3. Instead, the minister ensured that the child was raised to become the leader of the Persians.
- B.** Cyrus motivated and united the formerly tribal Persian people.
1. He infused them with a vision—that they had the right way of life, that they were the toughest people on Earth, and that it was their right to rule over others.
  2. He confronted the neighboring Medes, who had spent more than a century conquering the central part of the ancient world, and combined them with the Persians.
  3. Afterward, he began to expand the Persian Empire by conquering Lydia and other Greek city-states.
- C.** Cyrus instigated another element that is part of the unique Persian culture: enormous works of engineering. He diverted the Euphrates River where it passed through the city of Babylon and sent some of his men along the dry riverbed to get inside and open the city gates.
- IV.** When Cyrus died, he passed on the great empire he had cultivated to his son Cambyses, who developed a system to rule the ever-expanding kingdom.
- A.** The Persian Empire was divided into provinces; often, these were the old kingdoms.
  - B.** Old royal capitals were used as provincial capitals called “satrapies.”
  - C.** Each satrapy was ruled by a satrap: a Persian who was almost always a member of the Achaemenid line.
  - D.** The Persian Empire guaranteed peace within its borders as long as its citizens paid their tribute.
  - E.** The Persian Empire was kept together through the engineering of royal roads.
    1. Royal roads were limited-access highways along which travelers presented papers at way stations to pass through checkpoints.
    2. A “pony express” carried the king’s messages from station to station; the one most familiar to the Greeks extended 1,600 miles from Sardis to Susa.
- V.** The Persians were a people to be feared, but above all, a people to be respected and marveled at. One can see the Persians’ extraordinary characteristics at work as they set out to deal with the Greeks on their western borders.

**Recommended Reading:**

Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period*.

Lyle, *The Search for the Royal Road*.

**Questions to Consider:**

1. What characteristics do you think made King Cyrus, instead of his predecessors or descendants, the perfect individual to unite the Persian Empire?
2. What were some potential problems associated with the system of satraps and satrapies in the Persian Empire?

## Lecture Three

### Intrepid Voyagers—The Greeks

**Scope:** Though the Greeks did not leave exact historical records about the Bronze Age period in which their culture and civilization developed, the myths and epics they left behind offer key insights into their origin and their establishment of great cities along the coast of Asia. By the end of the Bronze Age, Mycenaean Greeks were using their knowledge of shipbuilding and navigation to launch expeditions into Asia. As more Greeks headed east, they used Athens as a starting point for the foundation of such cities as Ephesus and Miletus; Rhodes and Halicarnassus were colonized by Dorian Greeks related to the Spartans. In time, these colonies far outshone their mother country in terms of population and cultural advancement. These Ionian Greeks were heavily influenced by the older cultures of Asia and Egypt, but they added their own distinctive skeptical rationalism to the mix. It was this unique world that Cyrus encountered as a result of his conquest of Lydia.

### Outline

- I. The Greeks are a branch of the Indo-European family that went west from the Caucasus Mountains and migrated down into modern-day Greece.
- II. The Greeks did not leave exact historical records about the Bronze Age period, but their myths and epics suggest that as soon as the Greeks became seafarers, they began to develop connections with Asia.
  - A. The myth of Jason and the search for the Golden Fleece at the far end of the Black Sea tells us that the Mycenaean Greeks (the Greeks of the Bronze Age) were already in contact with the people of Asia.
  - B. The Trojan War represented an attempt by the Mycenaean Greeks to take over a city with a key location in the northwest corner of Asia Minor.
  - C. Classical archaeology reveals that the city of Miletus was founded not by the Ionians but by earlier Bronze Age Mycenaean heroes from across the Aegean Sea, sometime before 1200 B.C.
  - D. The great colonizing expansion of the Greeks toward Italy and Sicily during the Iron Age of the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. followed in the footsteps of the heroic Mycenaean legends from classic songs and stories.
- III. The Mycenaean world ended around 1200 B.C. in a great calamity that is not fully understood. This period marked the collapse of the Bronze Age.
  - A. For about a century, Greece was virtually depopulated.
  - B. The people of these fallen kingdoms embarked on a great eastward movement.
    1. Many Greeks followed trade routes and routes of conquest into Asia and became caught up with the Sea Peoples (a confederacy of sea raiders).
    2. Some Mycenaean Greeks settled on the coast of the Levant, south of Lebanon, in the area known as Palestine.
  - C. A group of refugees from mainland Greece remained unconquered and re-founded great cities, including Miletus, Ephesus, and Priene; these refugees were the ancestors of the Ionians.
    1. Athens became the mother city for the group of colonies surfacing in Asia Minor.
    2. The Ionians remained the most populous and most adventurous Greeks and inherited from the Mycenaean the idea of the bronze-clad warrior.
  - D. Scholar Martin Bernal sparked a debate with his thesis that Greek civilization owes its roots to what it borrowed from the people of Egypt and the Near East.
- IV. Ionia (used broadly to mean the Greek realm in Asia Minor) became the core of Greek cultural values, while mainland Greece (the area that included Athens and Sparta) became a backwater.
  - A. One of the tragedies of these Greek cities in Asia is that they never recovered from the Persian conquest; thus, the balance in the Greek world eventually shifted away from Ionia, to which it owed so much.
  - B. Homer is the most famous and earliest writer from this area.
    1. Sometime around the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C., he pulled together traditional stories into two great epics: the *Iliad* (about the Trojan War) and the *Odyssey* (about the return of a Greek hero from Asia).
    2. The Greeks revered Homer.

3. The similes used by Homer to describe the Bronze Age world of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* offer pictures of his own Iron Age world, depicting Ionia as a place of competing city-states.
- C. Homer was followed by a flood of lyric poets, including Sappho, who wrote about her brother's adventures in Egypt as a trader bringing Egyptian wealth home to Ionia.
- D. Other great poets could be found up and down the coast, along with philosophers, scientists, and the first Greek geographers.
- E. The Ionians were great borrowers and travelers. They saw the world and brought back to Ionia ideas on art, architecture, engineering, mathematics, science, and religion.
- F. The unique contribution of the Ionians to world civilization is the idea of knowledge for its own sake—pure intellectual speculation about human life, politics, and the universe. Their love of the counterintuitive is exemplified by Aesop's fables.
- G. The Ionian poet and philosopher Xenophon challenged traditional ideas about religion. His scientific and philosophical approach to the subject reflects the beginnings of comparative religion.

**Recommended Reading:**

Camp and Fisher, *The World of the Ancient Greeks*.

Hanson, *The Western Way of War: Infantry Battle in Classical Greece*.

**Questions to Consider:**

1. Where do you weigh in on the debate about whether Greek civilization owes its roots to what it borrowed from the people of Egypt and the Near East?
2. Can you point out a particular passage in the *Odyssey* that might illustrate the experience of living in the Ionian world of Homer? If so, which one and why?

## Lecture Four

### The Ionian Revolt

**Scope:** By about 500 B.C., the Greeks of Ionia decided to revolt from Persian rule and regain their freedom. Aristagoras, an emissary from Miletus, appealed to the democratic assembly of the Athenians for help in the wake of a Spartan refusal for aid. Landing at Ephesus, an Athenian army joined the rebellious Ionians and took the city of Sardis by surprise, burning it to the ground and destroying a temple of the goddess Cybele. Suffering a defeat after their withdrawal from Sardis, the Athenians refused to involve themselves further in the Ionian revolt. One by one, the Persians recaptured the rebellious Ionian cities, and the revolt ended with the Battle of Lade. King Darius, learning of the Athenian complicity in the burning of Sardis, vowed revenge for what the Persian Empire considered an act of unprovoked terror.

### Outline

- I. After Cyrus conquered Lydia, he left his subordinate officers behind to bring the Greek cities formally into his kingdom. He went eastward into central Asia and died trying to add the central Asiatic plateau to the empire he had built during his lifetime.
- II. Cyrus had always wanted the Persians to remain true to their roots and their country.
  - A. During his lifetime, he created the Persian capital city of Pasargadae, a paradise of palaces dotted around a park.
  - B. Cyrus's successors, Cambyses and, after Cambyses, Darius, realized that their realm could not be governed from a small upland valley. They chose the old Elamite city of Susa as the administrative capital for the new empire.
  - C. At Parsa, King Darius and his successor, Xerxes, built the city of Persepolis.
    1. Persepolis was meant to be the emotional and spiritual center of the realm, not its administrative heart.
    2. The city was created to host ceremonies, such as the annual new year festivities that brought together representatives from every tribe, nation, and kingdom within the Persian Empire.
    3. In reliefs throughout the city, the Medes, Ionians, and other nationalities were shown coming to Persepolis to honor the king.
- III. By about 500 B.C., the Ionians decided to rebel against the Persians and liberate themselves in what became known as the Ionian revolt.
  - A. The Ionians knew they would need help and looked across the sea to Sparta for assistance.
    1. Aristagoras, the leader of Miletus, traveled to Sparta to meet with the city's kings.
    2. Unlike most mainland Greek city-states, Sparta was still nominally a kingdom, ruled by two kings from different royal houses. The kings, however, were what we might think of as generals for life and ceremonial leaders. Real power lay with the council of five *ephors* and, ultimately, the assembly of Spartan warriors.
    3. Aristagoras tried to bribe one of the Spartan kings, Cleomenes, with promises of treasure if he induced his countrymen to join the revolt, but Aristagoras was turned away.
  - B. Aristagoras then went to the Athenians, who agreed to send some ships and men to support the revolt that was to liberate Ionia from the Persian yoke.
  - C. Twenty Athenian ships and six Eretrian ships landed at Ephesus, came down onto Sardis, and captured the lower city.
    1. The Persian garrison and the Persian governor held out on the high citadel of Sardis.
    2. Either by accident or design, a fire burned Sardis to the ground.
    3. A temple of the mother goddess Cybele burned as well—a desecration that the Persians never forgave.
  - D. Finding that they could not capture the Persians up in the citadel, the Greeks made their way back to Ephesus but were caught by a Persian counterattack. Badly beaten, the Athenians barely escaped and resolved to have nothing more to do with the Ionians.
  - E. Though the Athenians and Eretrians pulled out of the Ionian revolt, the Greek cities in Asia Minor rose up in rebellion and threw out their Persian rulers.



1. These Persian rulers were *quislings*: local Greeks in the pay of the Persians to govern their fellow Greeks.
  2. The rebellion spread all the way to Cyprus, an island divided between Greeks and Asiatics.
- F. The Persians ultimately sent armies and navies to Ionia to end the revolt. Up to this time, the Persians had not been a seafaring people; thus, they used ships from conquered maritime cities and nations to bring the Ionians back into their empire.
- IV. The Ionian cities contributed large numbers of ships to face the approaching armada of 600 Persian vessels. In charge of the Phokaian contingent of three ships was a strong-willed organizational genius named Dionysius.
- A. Even though Dionysius was the leader of the smallest group of ships, he was given command of the whole fleet. Some of these ships may have been triremes, large vessels about 120 feet long with oars at three levels that carried more than 200 men.
  - B. Dionysius held the Ionians to a strict training regimen.
    1. His aim was to transform the fleet into a superior force of rowers, pilots, and lookouts who could use their ships as missiles.
    2. The men practiced the *diekplous* maneuver, in which a ship breaks through the enemy line, turns around, and aims its bronze ram, mounted on the prow, at its target.
    3. On the eighth day of training, the tired Ionians revolted against Dionysius.
- V. As the Persians came into view, the two fleets collided at the Battle of Lade.
- A. Some of the individual contingents of the Ionian fleet panicked and pulled out to save themselves.
  - B. Some of the Samians and others remained in the battle, but once the pullouts began, the outcome was inevitable. The fleeing contingents shattered the dream of Ionian independence.
  - C. The Battle of Lade was the last hurrah of the Ionian revolt.
    1. When Darius received word that the Ionian navies had been defeated, he knew that the Ionian rebellion was essentially over.
    2. Darius also swore an oath that he would punish the Athenians for the burning of Sardis.

**Recommended Reading:**

Miller, *Bridge to Asia: The Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean*.

Stark, *Ionia: A Quest*.

**Questions to Consider:**

1. Do you think the Ionian revolt was an eventuality, or could it have been staved off by the Persian Empire? If it could have been avoided, how?
2. Imagine the Battle of Lade played out with a modern-day navy. In what ways would the battle differ from the one fought with ancient military strategy?

## Lecture Five

### From Mount Athos to Marathon

**Scope:** Seeking revenge against Athens, the Persian Empire made two attempts to reach the city, which was separated from the Great King's territories by the wide moat of the Aegean Sea. The first attempt involved a massive Persian fleet traveling parallel to a troop march around the northern end of the Aegean; the ships were caught by a violent gale and wrecked on the coast of the Mount Athos peninsula. The second involved the dispatch of a large fleet directly across the Aegean, which landed at Marathon in 490 B.C. and clashed with the Athenians in one of the most famous battles in history. The confrontation resulted in the resounding defeat of the Great King's seemingly invincible army and the death of the Persian mystique; the Greeks must have believed that the threat had been averted, but they could not have been more wrong.

### Outline

- I. When the Ionian revolt ended around 494 B.C., Darius set about planning the punishment of Athens and the addition of mainland Greece to his realm.
  - A. The Persians considered the Greek armies to be all that stood between them and a domain that would reach the Atlantic Ocean.
  - B. Darius ordered the Persian army to march around the north end of the Aegean Sea through Thrace while the Persian fleet of about 300 ships paralleled the army just along the coast.
  - C. The Persians sought first to capture the famous gold and silver mines on the island of Thasos and the mountain of Pangaea on the mainland to pay for the campaign.
  - D. A kinsman of Darius, Mardonius, sent heralds to city-states in Greece asking for tokens of submission to the Persian king. At this point, the Greeks realized that all of their cities were targets.
  - E. All the way up to Macedon, tribes and cities capitulated to Darius's invasion.
  - F. In 493 B.C. or 492 B.C., a north wind came down on the Persian fleet at Mount Athos and put an end to the invasion.
    1. Thousands of men perished and the entire fleet was lost.
    2. Returning home, the army left garrisons and administrators behind to take control of the newly submitted lands that were now part of the Persian realm.
- II. I have been lucky enough to be part of a scientific expedition to Mount Athos that searched for the remains of those Persian ships.
  - A. My colleagues and I used side-scan sonar to identify potential shipwrecks.
  - B. We found modern shipwrecks and learned that many ships over the centuries since Darius's disaster had been lost in the waters off Mount Athos.
  - C. On the last day of the expedition, we found what could be a relic of the lost Persian fleet: a *sauroter* ("lizard killer") that had served as a butt-spike on the end of a spear shaft.
- III. In 490 B.C., a few years after the disaster at Mount Athos, Darius tried a second invasion route.
  - A. The Medes Datis and the Persian Artaphernes transported the Persian army straight across the Aegean. Along the way, islands that never dreamed they would see Persian troops on their shores immediately submitted to the Great King.
  - B. The fleet made its way unopposed across the Aegean and went first to Eretria, conquering the town and deporting the Eretrians to Persia.
  - C. From Eretria, Darius's forces went south to the coast of Attica and landed at Marathon.
    1. Decades before the Persian landing at Marathon, the Athenians had expelled the last of their tyrants, a man named Hippias.
    2. Hippias was now traveling with the Persians as a puppet who would be returned to power in Athens should the Persians conquer the city.
    3. The Persians also counted on Hippias for strategic advice and for his friends inside the city, who would open the gates to the invaders.

- D. An Athenian of great military genius and inspiring presence, Miltiades, had experience fighting with the Persians.
    - 1. In his role as tyrant of the Thracian Chersonesus, Miltiades had become a vassal of the Great King.
    - 2. He later participated in the Ionian revolt and had fled to Athens after the Battle of Lade.
    - 3. Miltiades called for the Athenians to take the offensive and march to Marathon to confront the Persians.
    - 4. Miltiades led the Athenian hoplites from Athens to Marathon. These hoplites were heavy infantry troops drawn from the ranks of upper-middle-class men; at about 10,000 strong, they constituted a substantial portion of the Athenian population.
  - E. The battlefield was constricted at Marathon, and the Persians were pinned by Miltiades and his Athenians, whose entrenched position was protected from the Persian cavalry by a rocky slope.
  - F. The Athenians sent to the other Greeks for help, but the only response came in the form of an army of 1,000 men from Plataea, a village just outside Athenian territory.
- IV. Miltiades held his position at Marathon before finally deciding to launch an attack.
- A. The attack may have been precipitated by a signal flashed to the Athenians by the Ionians: *choris hippéis* (“the horse are away”), meaning that the Persian cavalry had been loaded onto ships and moved in an effort to attack Athens from its own shore.
  - B. When the Persian and Athenian forces collided, Miltiades’s expectations were fulfilled: The Athenian center gave way, but the wings of the army, along with the Plataean allies, pushed in and forced the Persians into chaotic retreat.
  - C. Along with a reported 6,400 Persians, 192 Athenians died on the field at Marathon.
  - D. Miltiades left one of the 10 Athenian tribal regiments under the command of Aristides the Just to guard the booty and led the others on a march back to Athens to array themselves on the beach where the Persian ships intended to land.
- V. The victory at Marathon was the greatest battle in Athenian history for the morale of the citizens.
- A. The Athenians had faced the Persians virtually alone and had won.
  - B. The Athenians never forgot the assistance of their Plataean allies or the failure of the Spartans to come to their aid.
  - C. From the Persian point of view, the Battle of Marathon was merely a test to see how the enemy would respond and to learn for the next attack.

**Recommended Reading:**

Pritchett, *Marathon*.

Time-Life Books, *Persians: Masters of Empire*.

**Questions to Consider:**

1. Is there any way that Xerxes’s forces could have planned for the north wind that destroyed the Persian fleet at Mount Athos? If not, what does this say about the role of geography in warfare?
2. If the Battle of Marathon was indeed just a test from the Persian perspective, what lessons do you think the Persian Empire learned?

## Lecture Six

### Xerxes Prepares for War

**Scope:** Darius died before he could complete his mission to punish Athens, and the task fell to his son and successor, Xerxes. For his invasion of Greece, Xerxes planned a strategy of shock and awe that would harness the enormous power and resources of the Persian king to terrify the Greeks into submission. In 483 B.C., Xerxes used his empire's engineering skills to dig a canal across the Mount Athos peninsula and build pontoon bridges across the Hellespont so that his grand armada could enter Greek waters without having to round the peninsula's dangerous tip. To the Greeks, such re-engineering of nature was an act of hubris, violent arrogance, for which the Persians would earn the enmity of the gods. In 481 B.C., accompanied by an army of men from every satrapy in the Persian Empire—the largest force ever assembled in the ancient world—Xerxes set out for Sardis.

### Outline

- I. After the victory at Marathon, the Athenians honored their fallen soldiers in a way they had never done before and would never do again: They buried them on the field of battle.
  - A. Customarily, the remains of fallen Athenian soldiers were returned to their families as ashes or were buried on the Sacred Way that ran from the city gates to the Academy.
  - B. The great mound (Soros) that the Athenians created at Marathon still survives and was excavated in the 1890s by archaeologists.
- II. Darius died before he could assemble another invasion force; his mission to punish Athens fell to his son Xerxes.
  - A. Xerxes was more accustomed to administration and diplomacy than actual fighting. Pressured by Mardonius, however, he decided to invade Greece.
  - B. In order to conquer Greece, Xerxes relied on a war of shock and awe, with amazing engineering feats that would show the power of the Persians over nature and frighten the Greeks into surrendering.
  - C. In 483 B.C., Xerxes set his engineers to two great tasks.
    1. The first was to cut a canal through the neck of the Mount Athos peninsula so that Persian ships could enter Greek waters without circumnavigating the dangerous cape where Darius's fleet had met disaster.
    2. The second was to bridge the Hellespont so that the Persian army could march across from Asia into Europe.
    3. These projects were not strictly necessary for the invasion but carried the message that the Great King could do anything he wished.
- III. While Xerxes gathered his enormous army and fleet, construction began on the canal through Mount Athos.
  - A. Xerxes's cousin Artachaees was put in charge of the digging.
  - B. The challenge was to dig a canal about 1.25 miles long through the neck of the peninsula (which rose to a height of almost 50 feet above sea level in the middle) and to make the canal wide enough so that two triremes could row through it side by side.
  - C. Artachaees used the usual Persian work levy: a group of men recruited from different satrapies within the empire. Confusion among the polyglot work teams, however, prolonged the project.
  - D. Even classical historians doubted that Xerxes managed to cut a canal through the neck of Mount Athos.
    1. That skepticism grew stronger in the intervening centuries; by the 20<sup>th</sup> century, historians thought of the canal as a legend.
    2. All doubt was put to rest by a geological team that found the remains of a vast cutting, 80 to 100 feet wide, buried under the neck of Mount Athos.
- IV. More spectacular to the Greeks than the canal was the bridging of the Hellespont.
  - A. The Hellespont is the mile-wide, slightly twisting channel of water that comes from the Sea of Marmara down to the Aegean and is part of a complex of waterways that drain the waters of the Black Sea into the world's oceans.

- B. Xerxes's engineers came up with a way to bridge the Hellespont by constructing a "suspension bridge" based not on pilings set down into the sea floor but on warships used as pontoons on which the roadway could be set.
    1. Xerxes gave the engineers permission to requisition more than 600 hulls of triremes and *pentekontors* (50-oared galleys).
    2. Once the hulls were in place, the engineers brought in gigantic cables made of papyrus and esparto grass and attached them to wooden posts set on the coast; the cables were then stretched across the lines of anchored ships.
    3. Wicker screens were erected on either side of the passage so that the horses and pack animals would not see the water and panic.
    4. Gaps in the lines of ships were left in a few places so that merchant ships and warships could pass through.
  - C. Shortly before Xerxes and his forces planned to march across, a storm tore up the cables and swept away the bridges. In record time, the bridge was reconstructed.
- V. The Greeks had a double image of the Persians as both warriors with pure ideals and barbarians (*barbaroi*).
- A. To the Greeks, Xerxes's engineering efforts were marked by hubris (violent arrogance) against nature.
  - B. Consequently, the Greeks met the arrival of the Persians with both fear and scorn.
- VI. To cap off the preparations for his invasion, Xerxes assembled a Grand Army in 481 B.C.
- A. No one can definitely say exactly how many soldiers and followers Xerxes brought with him, but his army is known as the largest ever assembled in antiquity, bringing together troops from every part of the Persian Empire.
  - B. Xerxes had no intention of hurrying the invasion. His slow approach was calculated to engender panic in the Greeks and separate them, making them easier to conquer.
  - C. As the Grand Army left Susa, an eclipse of the Sun was interpreted by the Persians as a sign that the Persian Empire would block out the light of the Greek world and guarantee a Persian victory.
  - D. One of the reasons for the extended march of this enormous army was to strip the empire of militias that could rise up against Xerxes while he was away on campaign.
  - E. We'll pick up the story of Xerxes's march to the sea in the next lecture; we end this lecture with the image of Xerxes worshipping a large sycamore tree placed in his path, true to the tradition of the gardener kings of Persia.

**Recommended Reading:**

Burn, *Persia and the Greeks: The Defense of the West, c. 546–478 B.C.*

Farrokh, *Shadows in the Desert: Ancient Persia at War.*

**Questions to Consider:**

1. Which of Xerxes's two engineering feats do you think was the more impressive: the canal through Mount Athos or the bridging of the Hellespont? Why?
2. Why do you think natural events (such as the eclipse as the Grand Army left Susa) played such an important role in interpreting the outcome of a particular battle?

## Lecture Seven

### The Athenians Build a Fleet

**Scope:** Well aware that they were Xerxes's prime target, the Athenians (persuaded by a farsighted citizen named Themistocles) created a Greek navy of 200 triremes. In the autumn of 481 B.C., a Greek city-state convention at the Isthmus of Corinth sent spies to Sardis to uncover the Persian army's strength. Themistocles, who proved to be the most persuasive voice at the convention, convinced his fellow Athenians to evacuate their families to offshore islands or to the Peloponnese and urged the delegates to confront Xerxes as far forward as possible to slow his progress into central Greece. When the Greeks learned of Xerxes's success crossing into Europe, they took Themistocles's advice and set out to bar the Great King's path.

### Outline

- I. At the end of the last lecture, we left Xerxes on the Royal Road from Susa, his capital, marching to Sardis, at the western end of his empire, with an immense army, aimed at invading Greece.
  - A. No one in the classical world fought during the wintertime; summer was the time for warfare. When Xerxes arrived at Sardis in the autumn of 481 B.C., he went into winter quarters.
  - B. Messengers announced the arrival of Xerxes in Sardis, and in response, the Spartans convened an assembly, in the sanctuary of Poseidon at the Isthmus of Corinth, of those Greeks who were willing to stand up to the Persians and resist invasion.
    1. The Spartans asked for votes on what course of action to take in preparing to resist the Persians.
    2. In the end, only 31 Greek cities proved willing to stand up against the Persians; among these was Athens.
    3. It was agreed that spies should be sent to Sardis to gather intelligence on the enemy.
    4. The Persians apprehended the spies, showed them the Grand Army, explained their war preparations, and sent them back to the conference to report their observations.
- II. One theory of history holds that events of the past are shaped by monumental movements of people, that great men do not make history. The man who subscribed least to this theory was the Athenian Themistocles.
  - A. Themistocles had led the city of Athens as archon (chief magistrate) for a year, but he had no autocratic powers and could only help persuade his fellow citizens at the convention.
  - B. Themistocles possessed a high degree of *metis*, cunning intelligence, which guided him through his public career in Athens.
  - C. Themistocles took advantage of a chance discovery of silver ore in the hills outside Athens to suggest to the democratic assembly that it should build a navy of 200 ships to become the most superior naval power in the Greek world. The Athenians agreed and became the masters of the greatest fleet of all the Greek city-states.
- III. When the Athenians learned that Xerxes was planning to take his army across the Hellespont and into Europe, they sent envoys to the Delphic Oracle to seek advice.
  - A. The envoys asked the oracle how Athens should face the impending Persian invasion. The oracle told them to leave the city and save themselves because Athens would be destroyed.
  - B. Unable to take this response back to the convention, the envoys did what no one else had done: They appealed to the oracle for a second prophecy. This time, they were told that a wooden wall would preserve the citizens of Athens.
    1. The conservative element in Athens thought that the wall was the palisade of wood around the Acropolis and suggested waiting out the invasion there.
    2. Other Athenians wanted to abandon the city altogether and found a new city in a safer place.
    3. Themistocles suggested that the wooden walls were the hulls of the ships Athens had recently constructed and that the oracle was advising them to face the Persians at sea.
    4. Themistocles was so persuasive that his motion carried the day.
- IV. In the spring of 480 B.C., Themistocles went back to the Isthmus of Corinth to tell the Spartans and the other Greeks that Athens planned to fight the Persians at sea.

- A. Themistocles was a rough contemporary of Sun Tzu and subscribed to two of the Chinese military thinker's principal ideas: Attack the enemy's weakness and know the terrain.
    - 1. Posting themselves on the beach at Artemision would enable the Athenians and other Greek naval contingents to block the progress of the Persian armada.
    - 2. If the Athenians could stop the fleet, Xerxes's land army would be forced to wait and would be trapped in Greece without proper supplies.
  - B. Themistocles saw the Persians as completely inexperienced at sea.
    - 1. Xerxes had appointed six family members as admirals of his fleet.
    - 2. The Persian navy's one strength was its core of Phoenician ships, but the Phoenicians were not known as warriors at sea—they were great explorers.
    - 3. The Persian fleet was a jumble of contingents from many nations, including the Ionian Greeks who were fighting on Xerxes's behalf with, Themistocles guessed, mixed emotions.
  - C. Themistocles saw the resistance to Xerxes as an opportunity to catapult Athens out of the rank of second-class Greek cities and make it the leader of the Greek world.
- V. The Spartans were recognized already as leaders of the Greek resistance on land. Despite the Athenians' hope of taking the lead at sea, the Spartans accepted the majority decision and agreed to lead the naval force, as well.
- A. Due west of the Artemision Channel was Thermopylae ("Hot Gates"), where the path into Greece narrowed to a road so constricted that only two carts could pass through it side by side.
  - B. The Spartans sent a force to hold the pass at Thermopylae while the Greek fleet held the Artemision Channel.
  - C. The Spartan commander at sea was a man named Eurybiades, and the Spartan chosen to hold the pass at Thermopylae (until the main army was mobilized after the conclusion of the Olympic festival) was King Leonidas.
  - D. The 300 Spartans who held the pass at Thermopylae (known as the Three Hundred) were the core of an army of 7,000 troops: 4,000 from the Peloponnese and 3,000 from central Greece.

**Recommended Reading:**

Lazenby, *The Defence of Greece, 490–479 B.C.*

Lenardon, *The Saga of Themistocles.*

**Questions to Consider:**

1. What are some advantages and disadvantages of having a stronger navy than an army?
2. What made Themistocles such a crucial figure in the development of a Greek response to the impending Persian invasion?

## Lecture Eight

### Heroes at the Pass

**Scope:** Because the other Greeks refused to follow the Athenians, the Spartans organized the forces designed to resist the Persian advance. The Spartan officer Eurybiades was sent to the Artemision Channel to lead the Greek naval forces; we will look at the sea battles in the next lecture. On land, the Spartan king Leonidas led 300 Spartan hoplites and several thousand Greek allied troops to hold the pass at Thermopylae against Xerxes's army. When the Persian army negotiated a hidden mountain track around the pass, Leonidas and his 300 hoplites defended the pass to the last man. Though the way into Greece was now open to Xerxes, the Greek resistance had found both its first martyr and an inspirational story of defiant opposition.

### Outline

- I. August of 480 B.C. is a point of crisis not only in the history of Greece but in the history of the world.
  - A. Xerxes was making his way south with his immense army toward the pass at Thermopylae. His fleet, meanwhile, was waiting at the port of modern-day Thessaloniki to follow Xerxes through the Artemision Channel after his army passed Thermopylae.
  - B. The Greeks were moving northward from the Isthmus of Corinth to face the immense invasion and try to save their homelands and their freedom.
    1. Under Athenian inspiration, a naval arm of the resistance, led by the Spartan Eurybiades but masterminded by Themistocles, rowed northward toward the Artemision Channel.
    2. The land enterprise, under the leadership of the Spartan king Leonidas, traveled toward Thermopylae, where they would guard the pass against the Persian army.
    3. Leonidas also posted a small scout ship to watch the events at Thermopylae from the sea; the ship would then carry word of the outcome of the battle eastward to the fleet.
- II. The Spartans are an anomaly among the Greek peoples.
  - A. The Spartans were the Dorian nation of Greeks who had settled in the southern and eastern quadrants of the Peloponnese after the Dorian invasion around 1200 B.C.
  - B. A few hundred years before the Persian wars, the Spartans conquered their western neighbors, the Messenians, and became militaristic overlords.
  - C. The bulk of the population in Sparta was made up of workers known as "helots."
    1. Helots had slave status in Spartan society and were bound to the land.
    2. The Spartan citizens were full-time warriors; the helots did all other work.
  - D. The Spartans used a method of upbringing that was admired by aristocratic Greeks in other cities.
    1. Young Spartan children were raised by women before being taken away.
    2. Boys and girls alike trained in athletics.
    3. Boys eventually were sent to "boot camps," where they learned to live like warriors.
    4. Boys graduated into manhood through an initiation called the *Kryptaia* (the "hidden thing"), during which they lived apart from Spartan society in a test of their survival skills.
  - E. Spartans looked to their two kings—each descended from Heracles through different lineages—for leadership in the field.
- III. In the late summer of 480 B.C., the Spartan mission to Thermopylae was led by King Leonidas.
  - A. King Leonidas was the half-brother of King Cleomenes. He had been catapulted into the kingship after Cleomenes's mysterious death.
  - B. Until 480 B.C., Leonidas had accomplished nothing of note; however, he was chosen to lead the 300 Spartan warriors north to Thermopylae and hold the pass until the rest of the Spartan army came north after the conclusion of the Olympic festival.
  - C. His contingent marched through the plains of Boeotia, where the heralds of Xerxes had undermined the mood of Greek resistance.
    1. A wall was being built across the Isthmus of Corinth because the Peloponnesians only halfheartedly believed they could save central Greece.



2. Many Greeks were “Medizing”—going over to the Persian side, submitting, and fighting for the Great King.
- IV. Leonidas did not go to Thermopylae thinking it would be his last stand; rather, he believed he was the vanguard of a great army. That army, however, never materialized because the Spartans at home assumed that Xerxes’s forces would not move so fast.
- A. Thermopylae in 480 B.C. was not a pass between two mountains the way one often thinks of a pass.
    1. The precipitous mountains of central Greece came down almost to the water’s edge. A narrow, flat road wound around the foot of the mountains.
    2. The hot springs bubbled up along the road, making progress difficult and treacherous.
    3. On the other side of the road, the cliffs fell sharply to the sea.
  - B. Leonidas posted 1,000 men on the high pass to guard the trail against a Persian attack from behind.
  - C. Leonidas planted himself in the pass, expecting to be able to hold off the Persians until the main Spartan army arrived.
  - D. Xerxes marshaled his troops and began to throw his forces at the pass to test the Spartan resistance.
    1. Xerxes first sent the Medes, who were beaten back.
    2. He then sent some of his Persians, who met the same fate.
  - E. The Spartans stood firm in the “phalanx” formation, a row of soldiers in tight array with overlapping shields.
    1. The survival of a phalanx depends on the cohesion of the shield line.
    2. The spears of the soldiers in the Spartan phalanx were longer than those of the Persians.
    3. Those fighting on the Spartan side spelled one another on the front, so that the front line of the phalanx was always fresh.
  - F. The Spartans used a strategy in which they would pretend to retreat, then suddenly turn and butcher the headlong and disorganized Persian pursuit.
  - G. With the aid of the Greek traitor Ephialtes, Xerxes sent his Immortals around the pass to attack the Spartans from behind.
  - H. Receiving word of this strategy, Leonidas sent most of his troops away and fought with his remaining soldiers to the death.
- V. With the Spartan defeat at Thermopylae, the way to central Greece lay open. Xerxes had won his first great victory.

**Recommended Reading:**

Cartledge, *Thermopylae: The Battle That Changed the World*.

Fitzhardinge, *The Spartans*.

**Questions to Consider:**

1. What do you consider to be some advantages or disadvantages of a warrior society, such as Sparta?
2. Do you consider Leonidas to be a courageous warrior or a foolish strategist? How does his subsequent martyrdom at Thermopylae affect your view?

## Lecture Nine

### Battle in the Straits

**Scope:** While the Spartans and other Greeks fought valiantly at the pass at Thermopylae, the Greek fleet held the Persian line of ships at Artemision. On the third day of fighting, battered but victorious, the Greek fleet escaped in the night, the island of Salamis their ultimate destination. At the same time, Xerxes led his army through Greece and into the evacuated city of Athens; there, he burned the old temples on the Acropolis, finally avenging the Athenian destruction of Sardis two decades earlier. Meanwhile, the Persian armada and the Greek fleets met in the straits of Salamis for what would prove to be the most crucial battle in the entire epic of the Greek and Persian wars. Many Greeks believed the straits to be a deathtrap, but the Athenians were convinced the Persians could be defeated. Though the Persians outnumbered the Greeks three to one, the constricted fighting space (as at Thermopylae) negated the Persian advantage of numbers. Thanks to recorded eyewitness accounts of the battle, it is possible to follow the course of this day-long battle—from the first clash of the fleets at dawn to the final Greek massacre of stranded Persian troops in the evening light.

### Outline

- I. Before the Persian victory at Thermopylae, the Greeks had been successful at preventing the Persian armada of 1,200 ships from getting through to Greece.
  - A. As Xerxes's armada came south from Thessaloniki, a great wind from the Hellespont destroyed hundreds of ships and reduced the armada by the time it reached Artemision.
  - B. The Persian subjects in the ships—the Phoenicians, the Cyprians, the Ionian Greeks—did not fight with the same fervor that the Medes and Persians did at Thermopylae.
  - C. On the first day of fighting at sea, the Greeks waited until late afternoon before going out into the open channel and assembling into a *kyklos* (“wheel”) formation.
    1. This formation offered no way for the Persians to surround or get behind the Greeks.
    2. In trying to encircle the Greeks, the Persians turned their triremes broadside to the Greek rams and split up their own line.
    3. To the amazement of Xerxes's captains, the Greeks suddenly charged, expanding their circle and ramming the Persian ships.
  - D. On the second day of fighting, the main Persian fleet hoped to stay at their scattered stations on the north side of the Artemision Channel, but the Greeks crossed over, dared a Cilician contingent to come out, and cut them to pieces.
  - E. On the third day of fighting, Xerxes's armada approached the Greeks. With their own shore behind them, the Greeks could not be encircled; the Greeks managed to hold their own and remain masters of the sea.
  - F. After scouts brought news of the fall of Thermopylae, the Greeks got back into their ships and rowed homeward under cover of night.
- II. Xerxes moved south to the empty territory of Athens, where both his army and his navy were reunited.
  - A. Xerxes managed to take the Acropolis from the few troops holding onto it and burned the Athenian temples to pay the Athenians back for destroying Sardis during the Ionian revolt.
  - B. The main mission of the Persian invasion was now accomplished: Athens was punished and in the hands of the Persian Empire.
- III. As the Greek fleet retreated, Themistocles had persuaded Eurybiades to take the fleet to Salamis, where the elders of Athens were now in exile.
  - A. Many Peloponnesians feared that the Persians would use their ships to block both ends of the Salamis Channel and hold the Greek fleet there while the Persian army destroyed their fellows on land at the Isthmus of Corinth.
  - B. Themistocles used the threat of abandoning the Peloponnesians to the wrath of Xerxes in order to make them stay.

- C. Themistocles did not want to wait for Xerxes’s fleet to cross back to Asia during the winter; he wanted to bring on a battle.
    - 1. He believed that if he could lure the Persian fleet into the straits of Salamis, the narrow fighting room would offer the Greeks a chance at victory.
    - 2. For the glory of the new Athens he saw emerging after the wars, Themistocles wanted the city to have to its credit a great victory at sea.
    - 3. Themistocles sent a false message to Xerxes through his sons’ tutor, Sicinnus, stating that the Greek fleet planned to disband during the night and abandon Athens to its fate.
  - D. Planning to close off the exits of the Salamis Channel and destroy the whole Greek fleet, Xerxes moved his armada into the channel.
    - 1. Artemisia, the female commander of the small fleet from Halicarnassus, advised Xerxes against going into the straits.
    - 2. Xerxes himself planned to watch the battle from a knoll opposite the harbor at Salamis.
- IV. At dawn, the Greek fleet gave the signal to charge, and the Persians realized they had been fooled.
- A. The Greeks fanned out so that their 300 ships had room to fight, placing themselves against the rocky coast of Salamis so that the Persians could not get behind them.
  - B. The rear Persian lines, fearing that Xerxes would think they were holding back, crushed forward and prevented the front lines (now pinned against the Greeks) from maneuvering.
  - C. The Athenians, after a hard struggle, swung around the western end of the Persian formation and pushed the Persian fleet out of the straits of Salamis.
- V. The battle was a crucial victory for the Greeks and an example of the use of stratagem, wits, and courage to defeat the largest naval force the world had ever seen.

**Recommended Reading:**

Green, *The Year of Salamis, 480–479 B.C.*

Morrison, Coates, and Rankov, *The Athenian Trireme: The History and Reconstruction of an Ancient Greek Warship.*

**Questions to Consider:**

- 1. Does Artemisia’s crucial role in the Persian navy (despite the small size of her fleet) surprise you? Why or why not?
- 2. Do stratagem, wits, and courage really outmatch superior size and strength when it comes to military battles? Why or why not?

## Lecture Ten

### The Freedom Fighters

**Scope:** Having captured Athens and having burned the temples on the Acropolis, Xerxes returned to Asia a conqueror of sorts and left subsequent operations to his general, Mardonius. Despite the Persian departure, the Greeks remained somewhat divided among themselves. The next spring opened with the Greeks aware of two campaigns ahead of them: The Spartan king Leotychidas mustered the Greek fleet to guard the seaways around Greece, while the Athenians (led by Aristides the Just) sent the bulk of their forces to join the main allied army opposing Mardonius. Under the leadership of the Spartan regent Pausanias, the Greek land army defeated Mardonius near the town of Plataea in a tense battle, thanks in part to the cunning of Pausanias. News of the victory soon reached the Greek naval forces, which had sailed to the island of Samos and were preparing to confront the Persian fleet that had drawn up onto the Asiatic coast of Mount Mycale.

### Outline

- I. Although the immediate result of the Battle of Salamis was some confusion on the side of the Greeks as to who had won, it quickly became apparent that this battle had set a limit to the Persian expansion into Greece.
  - A. The Persians' loss can be attributed to a number of factors.
    1. They should not have fought on the enemy's terms by entering the straits.
    2. The exhausted Persian rowers did not have the power to organize maneuvers that would have brought about victory.
    3. The various national contingents of the Persian fleet exhibited disunity of purpose.
  - B. For once, the Greek forces had cooperated and were able to accomplish miracles at the Battle of Salamis.
  - C. Despite apparent Persian plans to prepare for a new phase of battle, Xerxes decided to return home.
    1. Artemisia rationalized that Xerxes could leave with honor because he had taken Athens, burned the Acropolis, and punished the Athenians for the burning of Sardis.
    2. Xerxes left Mardonius in charge of a core of the Persian army.
- II. After the Persian departure, the Greeks returned home, somewhat divided among themselves.
  - A. The Greeks honored Themistocles with a second-place prize for valor.
    1. The Spartans treated him like a hero.
    2. His standing was less than good among the Athenians, his countrymen, some of whom had been his political rivals and were now returned from exile.
  - B. Although Athens was vacated by the Persians for the winter, the Athenians were afraid that the enemy would return again soon.
  - C. A message from Mardonius stated that the Persians would restore Athens to the Athenians if they submitted to the empire's rule.
    1. The Athenians felt betrayed by their allies; Themistocles had been passed over for the first prize of valor and their immense force of 200 triremes had been passed over in favor of a few ships that had been on the right wing next to the Spartans during battle.
    2. The majority of Athenians voted not to accept Xerxes's offer.
  - D. The next spring opened with the Greeks aware of two campaigns ahead of them: tackling the Persian army that remained in Greece and dealing with the menace of the Persian fleet.
    1. The Spartan regent Pausanias would lead the Greek land forces.
    2. King Leotychidas of Sparta went to Aegina and amassed a small naval force that would make sure the Persian fleet did not invade again.
- III. The movement of Pausanias and his land army led to a conflict with Mardonius's Persian army known as the Battle of Plataea.
  - A. Early in the summer, the Persians had returned to Athens and destroyed the city.
  - B. The Persians, seeking a place to meet the Greeks, crossed into the Medized city of Thebes and built a palisade next to a vast plain, where Mardonius felt confident of beating the Greeks.

- C. Pausanias brought north an army ultimately numbering 38,700 Greek hoplites. Most of the Athenian hoplites were there with the main force (not with the fleet) and were under the command of Aristides the Just.
  - D. Mardonius had to bring on a battle because another year without a decisive Persian victory was unthinkable.
    - 1. He attacked the Athenians with his Persian horsemen, who were quickly cut down by Athenian archers.
    - 2. The Athenians managed to retrieve the body of the fallen Persian commander Megistias and treated his corpse as the first great trophy of an eventual victory.
  - E. In a cunning move, Pausanias ordered his army to divide, giving the Persians the illusion that they were pulling back.
    - 1. When Mardonius launched his cavalry attack, he discovered a Spartan and Athenian phalanx that was impossible to break.
    - 2. Gradually, the Greek hoplites forged their way down the slope and defeated the Persians.
    - 3. With the death of Mardonius in battle, the Athenians stormed the Persian stockade and led the other Greeks inside.
  - F. The Greeks looted the Persian treasure, setting aside one-tenth to make statues and victory monuments dedicated to the gods and using the rest to reimburse the states for some of the costs they had suffered during the war.
- IV. Word of the victory on land reached the Greek fleet, which had arrived at the island of Samos. There, the Greeks prepared to meet the Persian fleet, which had drawn up on the coast of Asia Minor at Mount Mycale.

**Recommended Reading:**

How and Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*.

Warry, *Warfare in the Classical World*.

**Questions to Consider:**

- 1. What do you think would have happened had Xerxes decided to stay in Greece instead of leaving Mardonius in charge?
- 2. Was there any way the Persian Empire could have won the Battle of Plataea? If so, how?

## Lecture Eleven

### Commemorating the Great War

**Scope:** With the victory over the Persian fleet at Mount Mycale, the Athenians, commanded by the aristocratic Xanthippus, took control of the Hellespont; the bonfire created from the hulls of Persian ships became a beacon that announced to the Ionian Greeks their freedom from Persian control. Victorious, Xanthippus and his army returned home to rebuild Athens and join in the celebrations taking place throughout the Greek world. Various monuments—the Spartan burial mound at Thermopylae, the dedication of triremes at Sounion, the construction of new temples to the gods—served to commemorate the fallen soldiers and memorialize the tremendous military achievements of the Persian wars. In addition, a new art form—tragedy—received a great impetus from such playwrights as Phrynichus and Aeschylus, whose respective plays *The Phoenician Women* and *The Persians* were inspired by the horrors of Salamis. These various forms of commemoration ensured that knowledge of the Greek victories would pass down to subsequent generations.

### Outline

- I. The battle at Mycale was the strangest naval battle in history.
  - A. Leotychidas gathered together small contingents with the initial idea of guarding the seaward approaches to Greece against the possibility of Xerxes's return.
  - B. Ionian ambassadors arrived at Aegina, an island in the Saronic Gulf within sight of Athens, where the Greek fleet was now located, and begged the Greeks to send ships across the sea to help the Ionians finally win their freedom.
    1. At first, Leotychidas did not want to be drawn into the unknown, but he soon agreed to go halfway across the Aegean Sea to the island of Delos.
    2. With the pleas of additional Ionian envoys, Leotychidas agreed to continue to Samos.
  - C. The Greek fleet arrived to discover that the Persians had fled and sought refuge on the southern side of Mount Mycale.
  - D. Xanthippus, the leader of the Athenians, urged an initial attack, even though the Greek forces would be venturing into the unknown to land on Asiatic soil.
    1. Arriving at Mount Mycale, the fleet discovered that the Persian navy had pulled their ships up on the shore.
    2. The Greek fleet went along the shore beyond the Persian position and assembled a small hoplite army of about 600 marines.
    3. Xanthippus was determined that the Athenians should not wait for the Spartans and attacked the barrier of Persian archers.
    4. The Spartans, who had circled the slopes above the camp, came down upon the Persians and helped win the battle.
  - E. Not wanting the remaining Persian vessels to fall back into the hands of Xerxes, the Greeks made an enormous bonfire from the wooden ships. The flames signaled to the Ionian Greeks that they were finally free of their Persian masters.
- II. The victories at Plataea and Mount Mycale marked the end of the war that had begun with Xerxes's invasion. Celebration broke out across the Greek world.
  - A. The Greeks gave offerings to the gods in thanks for their victory.
    1. The cables from Xerxes's bridge across the Hellespont were cut up and dedicated in Greek temples.
    2. Phoenician triremes were placed in the sanctuary of Poseidon at Sounion as a memorial.
    3. A great funeral mound was built for the fallen Spartans at Thermopylae.
  - B. No dead in history were honored more than the dead of Marathon, Thermopylae, and Salamis.
  - C. The Greeks also used the treasure looted from the Persian palisade after the Battle of Plataea.
    1. The Athenians built an *odeon* (music hall) modeled after Xerxes's field pavilion.
    2. The tithe set aside to honor the gods was used to create a memorial at Delphi.

3. Bronze from captured Persian armor was melted down to create the Serpent Column: a column of three coiled serpents topped by a golden tripod.
  - D. The Greeks dedicated new temples to Boreas, the god of the North Wind, who was considered responsible for destroying part of Xerxes's armada, and to Pan, the god of wild places, to whom the success at Marathon was attributed.
- III. The most wondrous of all the postwar celebrations was created by the Athenian poet Aeschylus, who was also a veteran of the wars.
- A. Aeschylus was among the first to develop the genre of tragedy.
  - B. His contemporary, Phrynichus, wrote plays based on current history, including one about the capture of Miletus shortly after the Persians put down the Ionian revolt.
  - C. Sponsored by Themistocles, Phrynichus wrote *The Phoenician Women*, a tragedy about the Battle of Salamis.
    1. The Phoenician women are the wives of mariners who fought and died for Xerxes at the Battle of Salamis.
    2. In part, the play mourns those Phoenicians who had fought for Xerxes.
  - D. Aeschylus's *Persians* is the oldest surviving drama and was presented in 472 B.C.
    1. The play's chorus consists of the noble Persian elders who stayed at home in Susa during the wars.
    2. The play's central character is Atossa, the widow of Darius and the mother of Xerxes.
    3. The messenger speech is one of the longest speeches in any Greek play, retelling the entire Battle of Salamis as envisioned through Persian eyes.

**Recommended Reading:**

Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound and Other Plays*.

Rosenbloom, *Aeschylus: Persians*.

**Questions to Consider:**

1. What are some examples of postwar celebrations over the last 100 years? How are they different or similar to those undertaken by the Greeks after their victory against Persia?
2. Why do you think Aeschylus chose to write tragedies about the wars from the Persian point of view instead of the Greek point of view?

## Lecture Twelve

### Campaigns of the Delian League

**Scope:** Impressed by the honorable conduct of Aristides the Just, the Ionians formally allied themselves with Athens and vowed to maintain everlasting enmity with Persia. Under the leadership of Cimon, the Delian League began its operations with seasonal campaigns against Persian positions, proving wildly successful and ultimately enrolling some 150 cities and islands as members. The league's campaigns reached a high point in 466 B.C., when the Greeks squelched Persian hopes for recovery by defeating a large army and fleet at the Eurymedon River. Following the Battle of Salamis, the Ionian Greeks, those from Asia and the Aegean Islands, saw a chance to ensure their permanent freedom from the Persians with the sworn protection of the mainland Greeks. Rebuffed in this appeal by the Spartans, the Ionians turned to the Athenians, led by Aristides the Just, to serve as their hegemon. In 478 B.C., the Athenians and Ionians met on the island of Delos and created the Delian League. Under the leadership of Cimon, the league began its operations with seasonal campaigns against Persian positions, liberating Greek cities that remained in Persian hands and adding to its own treasury with captured booty. The campaigns of the league reached a high point in 466 B.C., when the Greeks squelched Persian hopes for recovery by defeating a large army and fleet at the Eurymedon River.

#### Outline

- I. The fly in the ointment of Greek and Persian relations was the Ionian Greeks, who now saw a chance to ensure their permanent freedom from the Great King if only they could receive the sworn protection of the mainland Greeks.
  - A. The Spartan king Leotychidas suggested that the Ionian Greeks move to the mainland and settle in cities such as Thebes that would be easier to defend.
  - B. The Athenians sprang to the Ionian Greeks' defense, arguing that every effort should be made to allow these Greeks to stay in their traditional homelands.
  - C. At Byzantium, the Ionians appealed to the Athenians, led by Aristides the Just, to serve as their "hegemon" ("war leader"). Knowing this role would elevate Athens to a position of equality with Sparta, Aristides agreed.
- II. In 478 B.C., the Ionian Greeks and Athenians met at the island of Delos and created the Delian League, composed of the Athenians and their allies (those cities and islands that initially wanted protection from Athens against reconquest by the Persians).
  - A. After Athens elevated itself to a first-rank naval power in the Greek world, a surge of Ionian interest grew in the idea of Athens as a leader.
  - B. The reunion of distant Ionian clans in Asia Minor and in Athens allowed the Ionian Greeks to share a sense of common ancestry and, with the formation of the Delian League, a sense of common purpose.
  - C. The league's mission was to punish Persia perpetually for daring to invade Greece, for burning the temples at Athens, and for enslaving the Ionian Greeks.
  - D. To pay for their war, the league needed contributions from all its allies in the form of money, ships, or men. Many allies initially sent ships and men because they wanted to take an active part in the ongoing war against Persia.
  - E. At the time of its creation, the Delian League did not include all of the eastern Greek cities, many of which were still in Persian hands. The liberation of these cities was part of the league's ongoing campaigns.
  - F. Aristides the Just did not go on to lead the Delian League; instead, Cimon took his place. Meanwhile, Themistocles—who wanted to regain a position of prominence—took charge at home in Athens.
    1. He helped establish a new city at Piraeus and re-walled the city of Athens.
    2. He got rich through misappropriated funds, embezzlement, and bribes.
    3. Exiled from Athens, he surrendered to the Persian king Artaxerxes, who gave him three cities on the coast of Asia Minor to govern.



- III. As Themistocles's star sank, Cimon, the son of Miltiades, emerged as a leader.
- A. Cimon took charge in the very first campaigning season of the Delian League as its new general.
    - 1. The league's fleet sailed north to the river Strymon and attacked the town of Eion, still held by the Persians.
    - 2. Cimon took over the area's mining district as the property of Athens; colonists were sent out to create new communities there.
  - B. Cimon desired a religious sanction for the Athenian navy and the Delian League; thus, he took steps to appropriate the divine hero Theseus as patron of the navy.
    - 1. Cimon managed to find an oracle that advised him to recover the bones of Theseus from the island of Skyros.
    - 2. Cimon used this mission as a pretext to attack the island, take it over, and add it to the Delian League.
    - 3. When the recovered bones were taken to Athens, the citizens built a new temple to Theseus.
  - C. Cimon spent years "navalizing" all levels of Athenian society.
    - 1. Rich men in Athens took turns serving as captains of triremes.
    - 2. The lower classes pulled the oars of the triremes.
  - D. When he learned about Persian plans to repeat the invasion of 480 B.C. in response to continued harassment by Delian League allies, Cimon sent a fleet of 200 triremes to the city of Cnidus in southwestern Asia Minor.
    - 1. The league took the Persians by surprise at the Eurymedon River.
    - 2. Cimon captured the Persian navy and the Persian army on the same day—a double victory the likes of which had never been seen.
    - 3. This string of victories lent tremendous luster to Cimon's name and was the climax of his career.

**Recommended Reading:**

Bengtson, *The Greeks and the Persians: From the Sixth to the Fourth Centuries*.

Blamire, *Plutarch: Life of Kimon*.

**Questions to Consider:**

- 1. Why was religious sanction so important to Cimon's leadership of the Delian League?
- 2. Do you think, in some way, that this mission only perpetuated a conflict that could have ended after the victory at Mount Mycale? Why or why not?

## Lecture Thirteen

### Launching a Golden Age

**Scope:** The democratic assembly of Athens launched an unprecedented series of wars and campaigns on many fronts; the most spectacular of these was an invasion of the Persian satrapy of Egypt. The Egyptian king shared rule with Athens for six years, until the relentless Persians took back the territory. In 449 B.C., King Artaxerxes I (the son of Xerxes) negotiated a peace with Cimon's brother-in-law, Callias, and established a new status quo: the traditional land empire of the Persians on one side and the new Athenian maritime empire on the other. Though still a democracy at home, Athens had, of necessity, become an oppressive imperialistic power abroad and demanded an annual tribute from its allies. These tributes enabled Athens to inaugurate its famous Golden Age under the leadership of Pericles, thereby resurrecting the spirit of Ionia in Athens.

### Outline

- I. The second half of this course on the Greek and Persian wars starts in a changed world.
  - A. With the defeat of the Persian land and naval forces at the Eurymedon River, for the first time, Persia was on the defensive.
  - B. In the future, Persia would attempt to weaken Greek internal combatants with payments of gold to one side or the other.
  - C. Persian forces no longer occupied Greek lands.
  - D. One unintended consequence of the "navalization" of Athens was the political and economic empowerment of the lower-class citizens (*thetes*).
    1. The *thetes* were usually the landless laborers of Athens.
    2. They wanted more control over their government, but the agenda for the democratic assembly in Athens was shaped by the aristocratic council of the Areopagus.
- II. Four years after the events at the Eurymedon River, the naval heroes Ephialtes and Pericles staged a dramatic revolution in Athens.
  - A. Ephialtes and Pericles stirred up the common people to demand full rights in the government.
    1. They eliminated the council of the Areopagus and broke its powers.
    2. They made public offices open to other citizens, not just the rich upper class.
  - B. Cimon opposed these changes and opposed the hostility of the lower classes to the Spartans.
    1. The radical Athenian democracy stressed a pure Athenian heritage that Cimon lacked; his father, Miltiades, had married a princess from Thrace.
    2. Cimon, out of tune with this new democratic Athens, was ostracized.
  - C. Though Ephialtes was assassinated during the revolutionary year of 462 B.C. to 461 B.C., Pericles survived and became one of the leaders of democratic Athens.
- III. Athens's greatest campaign was in Egypt.
  - A. Sometime around 460 B.C., Egyptian envoys asked the Delian League for help in overthrowing their Persian rulers.
  - B. Led by Charitmedes, the Athenian fleet traveled south across the eastern Mediterranean and into Egypt, unexplored territory for most of the Greeks.
  - C. The Athenians and other Greeks joined the battle between Persian garrisons and Egyptian rebels and won a tremendous victory.
  - D. As payment, the new Egyptian king shared the rule of Egypt with Athens for six years.
    1. Athens established itself as a conquering force in Egypt.
    2. The Athenians used islands and coastal cities as stepping stones to connect the eastern Mediterranean under a new sphere of Athenian influence.
  - E. Using the wealth of Egypt, Athens undertook two great projects.
    1. One was the creation of the pair of Long Walls from Athens down to the harbor city of the Piraeus to protect the city from sieges.

2. The other was the construction of a monumental bronze statue of Athena on the Acropolis.
- F. Relentless, the Persians assembled a large naval and land force to reclaim Egypt.
1. The Persian forces caught a reinforcement fleet of Athenian triremes as it approached Egypt.
  2. They defeated the Athenians at Memphis, forcing them to retreat to Prosopitis, an island in the Nile delta.
- G. At Prosopitis, the Athenians settled down to defend themselves but ultimately surrendered to the Persians and made their way back to Athens.
- IV. By the 450s B.C., after almost 30 years of fighting between the Greeks and Persians, even the Athenians were starting to think about peace.
- A. Many members of the Delian League had long ago concluded that never-ending war was a bad idea. Fewer allies sent men and ships to the league's annual campaigns, opting instead to pay an equivalent monetary sum.
- B. At the invitation of the Persians, the Athenian Callias traveled to Susa to negotiate a peace with King Artaxerxes I, the son of Xerxes.
1. The terms of the peace recognized the Athenian sphere of influence and recognized Athens as a power in the world with a right to its own territory.
  2. Persia agreed to stay away from the sea in Asia Minor.
  3. The Athenians agreed not to make war on Persian territories.
- C. The clause that ended hostilities against the Great King caused some problems for the Athenians.
1. Now there was no justification for keeping the Delian League together or for compelling the allies to continue their annual payments.
  2. Pericles, however, stressed the idea of eternal vigilance to maintain the league and its funds.
- V. The Athenians took advantage of the cessation of hostilities and the continued payments from their allies to launch their city into a Golden Age.
- A. Pericles gathered a group of sculptors and architects to create, in Athens, the most beautiful set of public buildings in Greece.
1. The Parthenon was the centerpiece of the Periclean building program.
  2. Some Athenians complained that Pericles was diverting money from the city's defense to fund the glorification of Athens and himself.
- B. During this time, Athens established philosophical schools and became a great center for drama and scientific inquiry.
- C. The centerpiece of Athenian civic pride each year was a parade in which the Athenians carried offerings to Athena on the Acropolis.
- D. The Golden Age of Athens, dedicated to the arts, unified the population and held up Athens as "the school of Greece."

**Recommended Reading:**

Camp and Fisher, *The World of the Ancient Greeks*.

Tuplin, *Persian Responses: Political and Cultural Interaction with(in) the Achaemenid Empire*.

**Questions to Consider:**

1. Geographically speaking, what made Egypt such an important territory for the Greeks and the Persians?
2. What are some other historical equivalents of the Golden Age of Athens?

## Lecture Fourteen

### Herodotus Invents History

**Scope:** The historian Herodotus of Halicarnassus is often referred to as the “father of history.” His *Histories* sets out to record the Greek and Persian wars and is considered the first example of modern historical writing; it contains some fascinating accounts, including the strange world of the Scythians, the Phoenician circumnavigation of Africa, and the silent trading practices with Africans. Herodotus’s greatness as a historian lies in his balanced view of both the Greeks and the Persians, his insight in identifying the overarching conflict between East and West (still an element of history in the modern world), and his willingness to record multiple accounts of events and to identify his sources. Endlessly fascinated by people and their stories and optimistic about the human condition, Herodotus was hopeful that an account of the Greek and Persian wars would renew feelings of unity among the feuding Greeks of his own time.

### Outline

- I. The middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. spawned some of the most remarkable thinkers and creative artists in all of human history, including Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Thucydides, Socrates, Anaxagoras, Phidias, Hippocrates, and the focus of this lecture: Herodotus.
- II. Herodotus, his name meaning “gift of Hera,” was certainly a bequest of divine force to the human race.
  - A. Herodotus was born in Halicarnassus just as the Greek and Persian wars were getting under way.
  - B. Growing up Greek in the Asiatic world enabled him to see both sides of the wars.
  - C. Herodotus clearly felt that the generation that fought in the wars was the greatest generation.
  - D. Herodotus made it his life’s work to travel to all the places that had been involved in the conflict and to create a work that would capture for all time what the wars had been like: *The Histories*.
    1. The Greek *historia* means “inquiry” or “research.”
    2. *Historia* became the process of finding and gathering together the truth about the past.
  - E. Herodotus presents a modern view of history as an accumulation of the memories of many different people involved in the great events of the Greek and Persian wars.
    1. He often gives two or three contradictory versions of the same event.
    2. Amassing what people remembered, tying it together with overarching themes, and honestly displaying biases are some of his special achievements.
  - F. The Greek and Persian wars seemed to Herodotus conflicts that achieved an epic status, worthy of treatment on the scale of Homer’s *Iliad*.
- III. Herodotus traveled throughout the Greek world and beyond, visiting such places as Athens or the site of the Olympic Games and telling stories about the wars in front of large crowds.
  - A. He believed that history was the working out of divine purpose and destiny on Earth; thus, he spent a good deal of time talking about oracles.
  - B. He often presented the Persians in a strikingly favorable light.
  - C. Most of his listeners could only hope to share his knowledge of the strange peoples and distant places of the world.
  - D. His recitals impressed the Athenians. In turn, Herodotus admired the Athenians and reminded other Greeks that Greece owed its freedom to Athens.
- IV. Books created in the ancient world often encompass an oral element.
  - A. Books of plays by Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides are scripts based on what was originally spoken onstage; similarly, Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were originally oral recitations committed to memory and, ultimately, written down.
  - B. The original text of *The Histories* was probably taken down by a scribe on papyrus scrolls as recited by Herodotus.
    1. The scrolls were edited by Herodotus with corrections and additions in the margins.

2. To create copies of the book, a reader stood in the middle of a room filled with scribes and read the histories in a slow, clear voice.
  3. The copies made by the scribes were then sold in the marketplace.
- C. Certain aspects of the process make it difficult to know exactly what the original text of *The Histories* was.
1. Sometimes, scribes would mishear what was spoken, leading to variant readings and interpretations.
  2. Sometimes, a scribe would miss a sentence, leaving a *lacuna*, a vacancy, in the manuscript.
  3. Herodotus's love of foreign names and terms must have puzzled the Greek scribes.
- D. *The Histories* was so vast that it took nine papyrus scrolls to complete.
1. The work begins with a preamble about history.
  2. It ends with a return to Cyrus telling his fellow Persians that hard country breeds hard men—tough rulers rather than soft followers—and, thus, tying together Herodotus's themes of geography and history.
- V. Herodotus was probably one of the most widely traveled people in the ancient world.
- A. After spending time on Samos, he embarked on travels that took him through Greece and into the region of the Black Sea.
  - B. He met people who knew the Scythians (Indo-European horse lords) and recorded their traditions.
  - C. He traveled along global market routes that conveyed commodities from the ends of the Earth to the great cities of the Mediterranean.
  - D. Two of Herodotus's Phoenician stories offer examples of his legacy to the study of history.
    1. Herodotus's disbelief of a story about the Phoenicians' circumnavigation of Africa gave future scholars the information to prove that the Phoenicians actually *did* sail around the continent.
    2. Herodotus described the silent trading that took place between Phoenicians and Africans, a practice that seems to embody his philosophy of avoiding conflict and showing respect to one's fellow human beings.
  - E. Herodotus also traveled through the Persian Empire.
  - F. At some point, he wrote a 10<sup>th</sup> book about Mesopotamian history, which has been lost.
- VI. Herodotus gave to the Greeks a picture of their place in the larger world, a history of their greatest and proudest moments, and a vision of harmony among peoples and nations.

**Recommended Reading:**

De Sélincourt, *The World of Herodotus*.

Myres, *Herodotus: Father of History*.

**Questions to Consider:**

1. Read through a few stories contained in *The Histories*. Which ones are your favorites and why?
2. What are some differences and similarities between Herodotus's method of recording history and the methods used by modern-day historians you have read?

## Lecture Fifteen

### Engineering the Fall of Athens

**Scope:** The fall of Athens began with the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 431 B.C. against Sparta. The first decade of fighting ended in a moral victory for Athens, but instead of resting content, Alcibiades goaded the Athenians to embark on a risky expedition against Syracuse that ended with a crippling defeat. In the wake of this blow, the Persian satraps Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus attempted to develop an alliance with Sparta. Disgusted by the double-dealings of Tissaphernes, the Spartans joined Pharnabazus in an effort to block the Athenian food supply, resulting in a series of battles during the summer of 410 B.C. and the spring of 409 B.C. that culminated with an Athenian victory at Cyzicus. An overwhelming victory for Sparta at Aegospotami in 405 B.C., however, ended the Peloponnesian War and cemented Sparta's dominance. Athens, it seemed, was finished—and Persia could take credit for engineering its downfall.

### Outline

- I. During the Peace of Callias (449 B.C.–413 B.C.), Athens and Persia nominally agreed to stop hostilities; nonetheless, elements of conflict continued that gave the period the flavor of a cold war.
  - A. When the island of Samos revolted from the Athenians, the Great King clearly planned to aid the revolt, in defiance of the terms of the peace.
  - B. When one of the Great King's officials in Asia Minor rebelled, the Athenians gave support.
  - C. When the Peloponnesian War broke out in 431 B.C. between Athens and Sparta, the Athenians intercepted communications between Sparta and Persia.
- II. After the first 10 years of the Peloponnesian War, a peace with Sparta was negotiated. The Athenians, however, allowed Alcibiades to goad them into invading Syracuse to destroy the city and eventually (they hoped) take over the island of Sicily.
  - A. Certain Athenians dreamed of ruling the Mediterranean as the Great King ruled over Persia and the lands from the Himalayas to Thrace.
  - B. The Athenians' desire to become even richer spurred them to vote in favor of the expedition to Syracuse.
  - C. Exiled because of various crimes, Alcibiades fled to Sparta and gave the Spartans advice that enabled them to help the Syracusans defend themselves.
  - D. In 413 B.C., after three campaigning seasons in Sicily, the Syracusans destroyed the Athenians in the harbor of Syracuse. No Athenians were left alive or remained free to report the news; thus, the Athenians at home believed they were winning in Sicily for some time.
- III. Among those interested in helping to engineer the fall of Athens were a pair of satraps: Tissaphernes, who ruled west-central Asia Minor, and Pharnabazus, who ruled northwest Asia Minor.
  - A. Both satraps sent ambassadors to Sparta offering Persian assistance in the destruction of Athens.
  - B. Alcibiades advised the Spartans to join with Tissaphernes.
  - C. The Spartans agreed to sign away the freedom of all the Greeks in Asia to the Great King on the condition that Persia provide Sparta with enough help to wage a successful war against Athens.
  - D. The Athenians, to control the hemorrhaging of money from their treasury, appointed 10 counselors to limit the power of the assembly and govern through a series of referendums. In a few months, the new regime assembled an Athenian fleet and used the island of Samos as a base from which to attack the Spartans and Persians.
  - E. When the Spartans were defeated at a battle outside Ephesus, Alcibiades ingratiated himself with Tissaphernes.
    1. He advised Tissaphernes to aid both the Spartans and the Athenians, strengthening each power just enough to weaken the other so that Persia would be the strongest of the three.
    2. The Spartans gradually became aware that Tissaphernes was undercutting the Spartan war effort.
  - F. Some of the democratic Athenians in the fleet invited Alcibiades to return as commander; wanting nothing more than to get back to Athens, he agreed.

- IV. Giving up on the theater of war around Ionia, Ephesus, and Samos, the Spartans made a dash northward to the Hellespont.
- A. The Hellespont was the lifeline of Athens.
    - 1. Athens depended on it for basic commodities imported from great distances, especially grain.
    - 2. The Spartans realized that if they grabbed the straits, they could starve Athens into submission.
  - B. With the help of Pharnabazus, the Spartans clashed with the Athenians twice in the Hellespont.
    - 1. Both battles resulted in unexpected victories for Athens.
    - 2. Though the Spartans lost the Battle of Abydos, Pharnabazus agreed to continue funding the war effort.
  - C. Learning that the Spartans had taken the former Athenian city of Cyzicus, the Athenians decided to reclaim it, ruin the Spartan naval effort, and discredit the Spartans with the Persians.
    - 1. Using a small force of Athenian triremes, Alcibiades lured the Spartans away from the harbor at Cyzicus.
    - 2. With the harbor undefended, the main body of the Athenian fleet moved into position and waited for Alcibiades to return before taking the city.
    - 3. With this failure, Pharnabazus lost interest in the Spartan effort.
- V. A few years later, the Great King sent his son, Prince Cyrus, to help the Spartans win the war against the Athenians as a means of securing tribute from the eastern Greeks.
- A. Prince Cyrus befriended the Spartan commander Lysander.
  - B. Lysander secured funding and campaigned against the Athenians, finally defeating the fleet at Aegospotami and winning the Peloponnesian War.
  - C. Lysander then sailed to Athens, secured the surrender of the city, and tore down the Long Walls of Piraeus.
  - D. The Persians had gained from the Peloponnesian War exactly what they wanted: The Athenian Empire was broken, and the Spartans, about whom the Persians were not particularly worried, had returned the Greek cities in Asia to the Great King.

**Recommended Reading:**

Kagan, *The Fall of the Athenian Empire*.

Plutarch, *The Rise and Fall of Athens: Nine Greek Lives*.

**Questions to Consider:**

- 1. Was Athens doomed to fall? How could it have withstood the machinations of such individuals as Alcibiades, Tissaphernes, and Pharnabazus?
- 2. What other reasons, if any, are there to ally oneself with a former enemy other than to achieve a strategic advantage?

## Lecture Sixteen

### Cyrus, Xenophon, and the Ten Thousand

**Scope:** In 404 B.C. (the same year that Athens fell), King Darius II died, and Prince Cyrus's older brother, Artaxerxes II, was named successor to the throne. Bitterly disappointed, Cyrus gathered an army of Asian troops and Greek mercenaries, known collectively as the Ten Thousand, and set out to take the throne from his brother in the spring of 401 B.C. Led by a rough Spartan named Clearchus, the army was accompanied by an enormous train that included personal slaves, cooks, craft workers, engineers, and a young Athenian volunteer, Xenophon, who later recorded the details of the army's march. Hiding his true intentions from the increasingly frustrated Greeks, Prince Cyrus marched through the Taurus Mountains, the Euphrates River, and barren desert regions before encountering Artaxerxes II and his forces (at Cunaxa). There, the two brothers met to fight a battle on a scale worthy of the prize: the Persian Empire itself.

### Outline

- I. In the spring of 404 B.C., Darius II died, leaving his elder son, Artaxerxes, as his successor.
  - A. Darius's principal wife, Queen Parysatis, had two sons: the older Artaxerxes and the younger Prince Cyrus.
  - B. Prince Cyrus was the favorite of the queen, who had fed him the notion of becoming king in spite of his age.
  - C. Suspicious of his younger brother, Artaxerxes sent Cyrus to Asia Minor to serve as viceroy over the satraps there.
- II. Prince Cyrus decided to raise his own army and march on the Persian heartland to seize the throne, which he believed was his by right of superior character.
  - A. Cyrus used his gold to hire an army of about 13,000 Greeks (10,000 hoplites and 3,000 "peltasts," or light-arm troops) that came to be known as the Ten Thousand.
  - B. One of the young men who joined the Ten Thousand was an Athenian named Xenophon.
    1. The aristocratic Xenophon hated the democracy and felt alienated from Athens.
    2. He had been a student of Socrates, who was against the idea of Xenophon joining the Persian army for fear that it would lead to the young man's banishment.
    3. After visiting the Delphic Oracle, Xenophon traveled to Sardis to join Cyrus's army.
  - C. The leader of the 10,000 hoplites was a renegade Spartan named Clearchus, a former Spartan *harmost* (the head of a garrison) who had been stripped of his command.
- III. The Ten Thousand set out from Sardis for the heart of the Persian Empire in the spring of 401 B.C.
  - A. Prince Cyrus had confided the true destination of the force only in Clearchus. The rest of the men were told that the goal of the campaign was to suppress troublesome hill tribes in the highland country of Pisidia.
  - B. In Cilicia, the men staged the first of many mutinies, refusing to go further until they had received full payment for their services thus far.
    1. One way to keep troops loyal to a cause was to hold their pay until the campaign was over.
    2. Prince Cyrus had enough money for the initial payments but not enough to give his soldiers the arrears of pay they were demanding.
    3. The wagon train following the army, which Cyrus also had to support, included probably 1,500 wheeled carts carrying a variety of tradesmen, from weapon makers and bakers to weavers and carpenters.
  - C. To keep his soldiers happy, Prince Cyrus allowed them to plunder the troublesome area of Lycaonia.
  - D. Traders followed behind the army and resold plundered goods purchased from the soldiers; a large portion of this trade involved slavery.
    1. In the ancient world, unlike in American history, slavery was regarded as a misfortune that could happen to anyone.
    2. All slaves had the hope that they could earn their way out of slavery.
    3. Slaves did not play important roles in ancient warfare.



- IV. The journey the Ten Thousand made to the heart of the Persian Empire was called by the Greeks *anabasis* (“going up”).
- A. The Greeks always spoke of traveling from Sardis to Susa, the capital of the Persian Empire, as “going up.”
  - B. The book that Xenophon wrote about the march was called *Anabasis* in reference to the army’s progress along that route.
  - C. Cyrus continued to lie to his army about its true destination, hoping to hold off sharing that information for as long as possible.
  - D. At Issos, the army found 700 more hoplite soldiers (sent in thanks from Sparta for Persian support during the Peloponnesian War) and marched on through the Syrian Gates.
  - E. Once the soldiers crossed the mountains, they vowed not to move until Cyrus promised to pay every man five *minae* of silver when the journey ended. Cyrus was forced to agree to keep the army moving toward the Euphrates River.
  - F. On the other side of the Euphrates, the army reached the Wall of Media, which had been built between the Euphrates and Tigris to serve as a defense against forces like the Ten Thousand.
    - 1. The army passed the wall, expecting to find it held against them, but it was not.
    - 2. A Persian general who was in the region was so terrified of the size of Prince Cyrus’s army that he had abandoned the wall and fled southward to join Artaxerxes II’s forces.
  - G. Two days after Prince Cyrus’s army left the wagon train behind, it came across Artaxerxes II’s massive army at Cunaxa.

**Recommended Reading:**

Trundle, *Greek Mercenaries: From the Late Archaic Period to Alexander*.

Xenophon, *The Persian Expedition*.

**Questions to Consider:**

- 1. Given the conflict between Prince Cyrus and his brother, Artaxerxes II, what role do family affairs play in the larger scheme of historical events?
- 2. How do you think the Ten Thousand would have reacted had they known of their destination (the heart of the Persian Empire) from the start?

## Lecture Seventeen

### The March to the Sea

**Scope:** When the dust settled over the plain at Cunaxa, Prince Cyrus was dead and the Ten Thousand found themselves leaderless and without supplies in the heart of the Persian Empire. After the deaths or arrests of their commanders, the soldiers convened to choose new generals for the various divisions of the army; one of those chosen was Xenophon. The reorganized army fought its way north through rough terrain, attacks from local tribes, and crippling hunger and cold, eventually reaching the southeast corner of the Black Sea and voyaging back to Greek territory. When Xenophon returned to Greece, he settled in the Peloponnese and wrote books on horsemanship, hunting, and personal heroes, including Socrates. His most well-known book, however, was *Anabasis (Going Up)*: the incredible tale of the bravery of the Ten Thousand and the extraordinary turns of fortune they encountered and finally overcame.

### Outline

- I. Artaxerxes II of Persia, with his 40,000 to 50,000 troops, and Prince Cyrus, with his Ten Thousand, met in battle on a vast plain near a village called Cunaxa.
  - A. To meet Artaxerxes's forces with a united front, Prince Cyrus prepared a particular battle order.
    1. He would be in the center with his prime Persian cavalry.
    2. To his left was his faithful noble, Ariaeus, with the light-armed Asiatic troops.
    3. To his right were the Greek hoplite phalanxes, marching four men deep instead of the usual eight men.
    4. Prince Cyrus wanted his front line long so that the Greeks reached from the edge of the Persian cavalry formation to the Euphrates River, which could be used as a barrier against Artaxerxes's forces.
  - B. Artaxerxes arrayed his troops in a similar formation.
    1. He was in the center, with his cavalry.
    2. On the right was a mass of Asiatic troops.
    3. On the left was Tissaphernes, commanding Artaxerxes's best forces.
  - C. The demoralizing effect of the size of Artaxerxes's army was probably greater than its strategic effect.
  - D. Prince Cyrus ordered the Greek general Clearchus to move from the right to the center, but Clearchus kept his position—a decision that probably lost the battle for Cyrus.
  - E. As the Greeks moved forward, the left wing of Artaxerxes's army seemed to draw back. The Greeks, convinced that they were winning the battle, pursued the Persians southward.
  - F. Cyrus fought his way through and broke up Artaxerxes's cavalry but, like the Greeks, made the mistake of pursuing an early advantage impetuously. After wounding his brother, Cyrus was surrounded and killed in battle.
- II. With the death of Cyrus, the surviving troops found themselves in a hostile city of armed men, in the middle of a great empire, without a leader.
  - A. Tissaphernes visited Clearchus and offered Persian provisions if the remaining Greeks agreed to leave the realm. The Greeks accepted his offer.
  - B. Tissaphernes intended to lead them into mountainous territory, where he hoped they would become lost, starve to death, or surrender in small groups and never again pose a threat to Persia.
  - C. Morale among the Greek troops was incredibly low. The Greeks, appalled at their situation, wanted only to return home as quickly as possible.
  - D. The army crossed the Tigris River and headed north into the modern-day Middle East, following Tissaphernes stage by stage into hill country.
  - E. A fight, probably instigated by Tissaphernes, broke out between some of the Persians and Greeks.
    1. Clearchus demanded an explanation and brought his four generals and 20 subordinate officers to meet with Tissaphernes.
    2. The Greek leaders were ambushed and killed by the Persians; one soldier escaped and managed to relay the news to the Greek camp.
    3. The Greeks sought to engage the Persians in a pitched battle, but Tissaphernes had no intention of fighting them head-on. Rather, he intended to subject them to endless harassment on their march.

- III. The remaining Greek army elected five new generals, one of whom was Xenophon, chosen to command the rear forces.
- A. The soldiers decided to continue northward, as Tissaphernes initially had recommended, and fight their way through the mountains.
    - 1. Tissaphernes launched lightning-like attacks on the army's rear.
    - 2. The hill tribes, also refusing to engage in a pitched battle, attacked the army from above the trails.
  - B. In midwinter, the Greeks found themselves caught between the army of Tíribazus (who did not want the Ten Thousand in his province) and the hill tribes.
    - 1. The local tribes were averse to confrontation, and a small squadron of Greek soldiers forced them to retreat.
    - 2. Tíribazus's army was so overwhelmed by the spectacle of a Greek phalanx on the move that it fell back and let the Greeks pass.
  - C. Five days after leaving the village of Gymnias, the Ten Thousand came to the Black Sea.
    - 1. The soldiers piled up a gigantic cairn as a monument to their arrival.
    - 2. A few years ago, an archaeological team discovered the remnants of the cairn.
  - D. At Trebizond, the army managed to find ships and began the final stages of the journey back to Greece.
  - E. Xenophon arrived in Greece to discover that his mentor, Socrates, had been tried and executed.
  - F. In exile from Athens, Xenophon settled down in the Peloponnese as a guest of the Spartans and wrote books, including *Anabasis*, which became a textbook for Greeks interested in Persia and later inspired Alexander the Great.

**Recommended Reading:**

Smith, *Greece and the Persians*.

Waterford, *Xenophon's Retreat: Greece, Persia, and the End of the Golden Age*.

**Questions to Consider:**

- 1. If you were Prince Cyrus, how would you have approached the Battle of Cunaxa? How would your military strategy differ from the one that led to Prince Cyrus's defeat?
- 2. Make a case for the march of the Ten Thousand as an example of both shameful retreat and heroic survival in the face of impossible odds.

## Lecture Eighteen

### Strange Bedfellows

**Scope:** When Xenophon and the Ten Thousand finally reached the Greek mainland, they found that Agesilaus had assumed the Spartan kingship and was pursuing a war against Persian power in Asia Minor. In 394 B.C., Artaxerxes II assigned Pharnabazus and Conon, an Athenian naval commander, to lead an expedition to keep Spartan expansion in check; the combined forces confronted and overwhelmed the Spartans at Cnidus in the same year. Afterward, Conon proceeded to liberate the Asiatic and Aegean Greeks from their Spartan *harmosts*. One of these Spartans was Dercyllidas, who still controlled the city of Abydos even though, according to the recent Spartan-Persian alliance, the city should have been part of Pharnabazus's satrapy. Enraged, Pharnabazus took steps to help Conon restore Athens, reverse the outcome of the Peloponnesian War, and resurrect in Athens a Golden Age that the Athenians had believed they would never experience again.

### Outline

- I. When Xenophon and the Ten Thousand finally reached the Greek mainland in the early 390s B.C., they discovered that the world had changed while they were away in Persia.
  - A. When they left Greece back in 401 B.C., Persia and Sparta had teamed up to destroy the Athenian Empire. The Persians would soon change their allegiance and support Athens against Sparta.
  - B. The Greeks began to hate the oppressive Spartans (under Lysander) in a way they had never hated the Athenians. The Greeks began to long for freedom from their former liberators.
- II. The Persians also began to resent the Spartans for attacking Persian holdings.
  - A. Lysander meant to be a great invader of Persia who would ultimately make himself king of Sparta.
    1. He paid to have oracles make pronouncements in favor of his kingship.
    2. Denied the throne, Lysander opted to rule through King Agesilaus, whom he believed would be ineffective.
    3. When Agesilaus began his rule, however, he co-opted Lysander's plans and removed him from the picture.
  - B. Agesilaus waged an incredibly vigorous war against the Persians in Asia Minor for control of the old Greek cities and additional territories.
  - C. While Agesilaus was raiding, Pharnabazus requested that the Persians confront the Spartans at sea to remove them from Asia Minor.
  - D. Artaxerxes II enlisted Conon the Athenian as a commander.
    1. Conon was the only Athenian commander who had escaped capture at Aegospotami.
    2. Conon set himself up in Cyprus with his son Timotheus and became a leader in exile.
    3. He traveled along the trail of the Ten Thousand to consult with Artaxerxes at Babylon about strengthening the navy; Artaxerxes II agreed to all of his demands.
  - E. Pharnabazus joined Conon, and together, they assembled a fleet to head to the Aegean to confront the Spartans.
- III. The Spartans learned of the invasion and made preparations for battle.
  - A. Agesilaus appointed his brother-in-law, the dimwitted Peisander, as admiral of the fleet.
  - B. Peisander took the fleet to Cnidus, on the southwest corner of Asia Minor.
  - C. Conon sent spies and scouts to learn more about the Spartan forces. Not realizing the extent of Peisander's inexperience at sea, he assumed that luring the Spartans into battle would require cunning.
    1. Conon used his Athenian squadron as a vanguard to tempt the Spartan ships.
    2. He then brought up the main fleet to face the charge from Peisander and the Spartans.
    3. When the Spartan ships saw the rest of the Persian naval formation, in addition to Conon's squadron, they abandoned Peisander.

- D. When Agesilaus, campaigning on land in Greece, received word of the Spartan defeat, he feared it meant the end of the Spartan Empire. He lied to his troops about the outcome of the sea battle to keep up morale and avoid informing Sparta's enemies.
  - E. At Coronea, Agesilaus won a battle but could not follow up on his victory; thus, Sparta's enemies—Thebes, Corinth, and Athens—scored a tactical victory.
    - 1. The battle at Coronea signified the end of the Spartan Empire.
    - 2. After Cnidus, Conon and Timotheus liberated the Greek cities in Asia Minor from their Spartan governors.
  - F. One such governor, Dercyllidas, tried to deny Pharnabazus and Conon access to the Hellespont. The two commanders gathered the navy for a second campaign.
    - 1. Pharnabazus funded the war against Sparta and allowed Conon's fleet to remain in Athens to carry on the war at Sparta's doorstep.
    - 2. Conon reinstated the Athenian navy and rebuilt the Long Walls that linked Athens to the Piraeus to protect the city from attack.
    - 3. The Athenians built a monument to Themistocles, and Conon built a temple to Aphrodite—the goddess who looked over his victory at Cnidus.
- IV. The restoration of Athens launched a new Golden Age in the city, a resurrection of glory and beauty that the Athenians had believed they would never experience again.

**Recommended Reading:**

Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*.

Xenophon, *A History of My Times*.

**Questions to Consider:**

- 1. What does Lysander's payment of the oracles to support his bid for the kingship of Sparta suggest to you about the supposed divine nature of their other pronouncements?
- 2. The Spartan ships' abandonment of Peisander at the Battle of Cnidus is another instance of retreat delivering the fatal blow to a battle. Do you think the Battle of Cnidus could have been won for the Spartans had their ships remained to fight? Why or why not?

## Lecture Nineteen

### The Panhellenic Dream

**Scope:** In 386 B.C., the Spartan Antalcidas and the satrap Tiribazus worked out the terms of the King's Peace (also known as the Peace of Antalcidas). This Spartan-Persian initiative protected the Spartans and limited resurgent Athenian expansion but at a horrible cost: The Great King of Persia had, at a stroke, been recognized as overlord of the Greeks almost without having had the trouble of fighting a war. The reactionary Panhellenic crusade, spurred by the orations of Lysias and Isocrates, sought to unite all of Greece against Persia. A key source of the Panhellenic dream was Isocrates's epic speech "Panegyricus," which turned Lysias's themes into a cosmic vision by claiming that Persia suffered from *malakia* ("softness") and calling for a united Athenian-Spartan leadership in a war on the Great King. Some 30 years later, with no unity in sight, the aged Isocrates appealed to a new power: the energetic King Philip of Macedon.

### Outline

- I. The Greeks were dismayed by the inability of the city-states, including Athens, Sparta, Corinth, and Thebes, to create a Panhellenic (Greek-wide) sense of unity.
- II. With the revival of the Athenian navy, Athens once again resumed its imperial mission to liberate the Greek cities of Asia Minor.
  - A. Athens felt no obligation to Artaxerxes for his help against the Spartans and set about supporting a rebellion against the Persians on Cyprus and making war to reclaim the Hellespont.
  - B. The death of the Athenian general Thrasybulus as he tried to extend Athenian influence was symptomatic of the chaotic years when Athens and Sparta both vied for leadership of Greece—with Persia perpetually considering itself injured by whichever state was ascendant.
  - C. To put a check on Athenian expansion, the diplomat Antalcidas and the satrap Tiribazus developed the King's Peace (also known as the Peace of Antalcidas), which made Persia the arbiter among the Greeks and allowed the Spartans to continue operating without fear of Athenian naval reprisal.
    1. The Greek cities in Asia would belong to the Persian king.
    2. Empire building among the Greeks would cease.
    3. The Great King would enforce the peace by making war—"with ships and with money"—on any power that violated it.
  - D. The Greeks were not enthusiastic about the King's Peace, but they signed it nonetheless. Many Greeks were appalled to think that, a century after overcoming Xerxes, they had now turned over to the Great King the ability to dictate their affairs.
- III. With the King's Peace, the Greeks saw what their disunity had brought them to—an issue that seems endemic to city-state systems.
  - A. A city-state (what the Greeks called a *polis*) consists of a city and its surrounding territory; the territory feeds the city, and the city defends the territory.
  - B. Throughout history, city-states have come into conflict until welded into a single kingdom by a greater power with a dictatorial central government.
  - C. The city-state system, however, engenders remarkable innovations, competition, free enterprise, and entrepreneurship.
  - D. The perpetual warfare in the Greek city-state system has been called the "wound of Greece."
  - E. Certain aspects of their cultural lives drew the Greeks together, including the oracle shrines and such competitions as the Olympics and the Panathenaic Games, but politically, the Greeks were disunited.
  - F. The Athenian orator Lysias made an appeal for Panhellenism at the Olympic Games, calling for the Greeks to unite in a war against Persia.
- IV. In 384 B.C., the Athenian Isocrates presented the "Panegyricus" ("the thing in praise of all kinds of things"), which became a manifesto for Panhellenism.

- A. Isocrates gave numerous orations on this theme, promoting a common purpose to engender Panhellenic unity: war on Persia.
- B. Isocrates was born in 436 B.C. and was a pupil of Socrates.
- C. The practice of oratory involved putting philosophy to work through deciding the right course of action and making speeches to guide one's fellow citizens in making the right choices. In Athens, the place of oratory was a speaker's platform on a hill called the Pnyx.
- D. Isocrates combined his philosophical interests with his genius for crafting speeches and opened a school where he taught others.
- E. The theme of the "Panegyricus" is that the Greeks were disgraced because of the King's Peace, which allowed the Persians to rule over them.
  - 1. The common purpose for the Greeks would be a war on the barbarians (the Persians).
  - 2. Two reasons for promoting this war were unification and the prospect of more wealth.
  - 3. Athens must lead the unified Greeks, but the Spartans needed to join in.
- F. Isocrates in particular accused the Persians of *malakia* ("softness"). He held up the march of the Ten Thousand as a shining example of the weakness of the Persian Empire, which could not prevent the Greeks from going wherever they wished.
- G. Thirty years after the delivery of the "Panegyricus," Isocrates still looked for some way to unify Greece. At the end of his life, he found the man he believed could be such a leader: King Philip II of Macedon.
  - 1. Isocrates begged Philip II to take on the burden of unifying the Greeks and leading them on a war of conquest into Persian territory.
  - 2. Philip II took advantage of this friendly overture and began to lay plans to unify Greece under himself and make the attack on Persia a reality.

**Recommended Reading:**

Isocrates, *Orations*.

Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire: Achaemenid Period*.

**Questions to Consider:**

- 1. Thinking back to earlier events in this course, make a case for the Panhellenic dream as both an achievable mission and wishful thinking.
- 2. Read Isocrates's "Panegyricus." Would you have been convinced enough to support its message for Panhellenism? Why or why not?

## Lecture Twenty

### The Rise of Macedon

**Scope:** In the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., the remarkable Philip II ascended to the throne of Macedon, becoming to his kingdom what Cyrus II had been to Persia. He set about uniting the Greek world using a combination of old and new strategies—conquest combined with diplomacy and dynastic marriages. Philip saw that involvement in foreign conflicts had scattered Greek mercenary armies throughout the Mediterranean. In contrast, he created a professional fighting force that owed allegiance to the king of Macedon alone. He then set out on campaigns to win an empire, tackling the fragmented city-states of Greece one by one until finally defeating the armies of Athens and Thebes at Chaeronea. The Athenian orator Demosthenes had warned his fellow citizens that Philip was a threat to Greek freedom; Isocrates, however, continued to see Philip as the only hope for a unified Greece.

### Outline

- I. The Macedonians were those people who inhabited the kingdom of Macedon in the Balkans, the immense mountain range to the north of Greece.
  - A. Unlike the seafaring Athenians, the Macedonians were a terrestrial people.
  - B. Nevertheless, Macedon had the best supplies of timber for shipbuilding, and the Macedonians grew wealthy from trade with the Athenians and eventually became ambitious.
- II. The man who fulfilled the Macedonian dream of uniting this mountainous territory into a larger kingdom was King Philip II.
  - A. Philip II knew the Greeks very well.
    1. He and his mother were rescued from dynastic struggles by the Athenian general Iphicrates.
    2. He hired the philosopher Aristotle, who had trained in Athens, to tutor his son Alexander.
    3. He was sent as a hostage in his teens to Thebes during the time when the Theban general Epaminondas was living there.
  - B. When he came to the throne, Philip II used new strategies for taking over territories, combining conquest with diplomacy and weddings. Perhaps the most famous marriage he arranged was his own, to Olympias from Epirus.
  - C. Philip II, like Cyrus II, took a remote hill people who seemed far from the centers of civilization and world control and, through training, inspiration, and a new vision of warfare, raised them to become a formidable fighting force.
  - D. Philip II paid particular attention to the Greek and Persian world after the King's Peace.
    1. Greek involvement in the war in Egypt between native Egyptians and the Persian Empire had drawn the fighting forces of Greece to distant parts of the Mediterranean, rather than keeping them focused at home.
    2. Agesilaus's humiliation of Persian captives to illustrate the vulnerability of the Persians diminished the Persian Empire's prestige and fearsome reputation in the eyes of the Greeks and Macedonians.
- III. Philip II set out to conquer the small, fragmented kingdoms and city-states surrounding Macedon.
  - A. The fighting force he created seemed to resemble the traditional Greek phalanx.
    1. The chief difference was the Macedonians' weapons: spears called "sarissas" that were twice as long as those of the Greek hoplites.
    2. The army was a permanent one that owed its allegiance to the king and trained year-round.
    3. The cavalry, traditionally neglected in Greek city-states, became an integral part of the Macedonian army.
  - B. Philip II assaulted the towns along the Hellespont that brought the wealth of the Black Sea down into the Mediterranean.
  - C. Because the Greeks could not reach consensus about unification or national priorities, Philip II was able to circumvent their defenses and ingratiate himself with a number of city-states and peoples.
    1. He appeared at and competed in the Olympic Games.
    2. He used money to buy the support of the Greeks.



- D. The most prominent opponent of Philip II was the Athenian orator Demosthenes.
    - 1. He warned the Greeks that Philip II only appeared to be a friend and was, in fact, bent on robbing the Greeks of their freedom.
    - 2. Demosthenes was countered by Aeschines (an Athenian actor in Philip II's pay), who claimed that Demosthenes was motivated only by self-interest.
    - 3. With conflicting opinions in play, Philip II was protected against Demosthenes and other detractors.
  - E. At last, Philip II brought his armies into Greece and met the united forces of Athens and Thebes at Chaeronea. The result was a Macedonian victory.
- IV. The victory at Chaeronea made Philip II the hegemon of all the Greek city-states except Sparta. Accordingly, he called a council at the Isthmus of Corinth.
- A. He wanted the people of the city-states to believe they were autonomous, even though he now governed their foreign policies.
  - B. He announced to the Greeks the start of a campaign to conquer the Persian Empire.
  - C. It was at this time that he received a letter from Isocrates promoting the Panhellenic dream.

**Recommended Reading:**

Adcock, *The Greek and Macedonian Art of War*.

Plutarch, *The Age of Alexander: Nine Greek Lives*.

**Questions to Consider:**

- 1. How do you imagine the Panhellenic vision playing out without the crucial role of Philip II?
- 2. Do you think Philip II had the best intentions of the Greek world at heart with his campaign to conquer the Persian Empire, or was he merely power hungry? Why or why not?

## Lecture Twenty-One

### Father and Son

**Scope:** Philip II's son Alexander III (better known as Alexander the Great) would prove to be instrumental in ending the Greek and Persian wars. With a volcanic temper and an unquenchable yearning for what lay beyond his reach (*pothos*), Alexander was such a precocious warrior and commander that Philip II assigned him the command of troops in the Macedonian battle line. At age 20, Alexander was appointed regent of the kingdom during Philip II's absence in Asia. After his father's assassination, it took Alexander almost two years to secure his rule at home. Once home rule had been achieved, Alexander ferried his army across the Hellespont into Asia in the spring of 334 B.C. As the young warrior leapt ashore, he threw a spear into Asian soil—inaugurating the final great campaign against the Persians. After more than two centuries of confrontations between Persians and Greeks, the final contest between the East and West was at hand.

### Outline

- I. In 356 B.C., Philip II's son Alexander III (who would later become known as Alexander the Great) was born.
  - A. The burning of the temple of Artemis in Ephesus by a madman on the same day seemed to cast a prophetic glow over Alexander's birth.
  - B. Alexander, influenced by his mother, Olympias, grew up accustomed to the mystical idea that spirits, demons, and gods were everywhere.
  - C. Philip wanted to raise Alexander as a prince who would succeed him and create a Macedonian dynasty to rule the Greeks and, possibly, Persia.
  - D. Leonidas of Epirus, a kinsman of Olympias, gave Alexander a tough physical education.
  - E. A group of companions was assembled to accompany Alexander in his studies. One of these companions was the Macedonian youth Hephaestion, with whom Alexander developed a deep friendship.
  - F. Aristotle tutored Alexander in his formal studies.
    1. Aristotle was interested in applied knowledge and believed that the universe was held in balance by opposing forces. A healthy life took all these forces into account.
    2. Aristotle's calm, intellectual nature contrasted with Alexander's desire to go to the ends of the Earth and achieve great things.
- II. Three elements of Alexander's character set him apart from others.
  - A. The first element was *enthousiasmos*, an inspiration by the breath of divine force to take up things with joy, excitement, and a feeling of spiritual linkage between oneself and the object of one's love.
  - B. The second element, in contrast, was *mēnin* ("wrath"). This aspect of Alexander's nature sometimes resulted in titanic rages.
  - C. The final element, *pothos* ("yearning"), referred to Alexander's desire to see what lay beyond the next horizon, his drive to seek what others had not attained.
  - D. Of all the stories of Alexander's childhood, Plutarch relates one, the taming of the wild horse Boukephalos, that illustrates his relationship with both his father and the natural world.
- III. At 18 years of age, Alexander was entrusted with command of the left wing of the Macedonian army at the Battle of Chaeronea, in a new, effective formation designed by Philip.
  - A. On the wings was the cavalry, which attacked the enemy on its flanks and crushed it between the cavalry and the immovable front line of sarissas.
  - B. Alexander was able to force the Greek hoplites to retreat and create chaos in the Greek ranks, resulting in an overwhelming victory for Philip.
  - C. After an argument with his father at Philip's wedding to a Macedonian woman, Alexander left Macedon and campaigned in the Balkans. He ultimately was called back when Philip completed preparations for a campaign in Asia.
- IV. After Philip's assassination, Alexander seized the reins of Macedon, eliminated possible contenders for the throne, and inherited his father's mission to conquer Asia.

- A. He summoned the Greeks to the Isthmus of Corinth and was elected their commander-in-chief.
- B. After a visit to the Delphic Oracle, he assembled his troops and moved toward the Hellespont.
- C. Alexander took a single trireme in an effort to create a moment that would encapsulate his arrival into Asia as a conqueror.
  - 1. As his trireme's prow approached Asian soil, Alexander threw his spear into the sands of the beach so that he could then claim all of Asia as his "spear-won land."
  - 2. With Hephaestion, he went to Troy and performed ceremonies at the tomb of Achilles.
  - 3. He wore a suit of armor said to be from the Trojan War as a talisman.
  - 4. Alexander's vow to avenge the burning of the Greek temples by Xerxes linked him to the earlier Greek and Persian wars and the longstanding conflict between East and West.

**Recommended Reading:**

Green, *Alexander of Macedon*.

Renault, *The Nature of Alexander*.

**Questions to Consider:**

- 1. What made Alexander different from his father, Philip II? How did these differences help him to succeed where his father failed?
- 2. What character flaws can you find in Alexander that weakened his ability to conquer and maintain control over Asia?

## Lecture Twenty-Two

### Liberating the Greeks of Asia

**Scope:** With the defeat of the Persians at the Granicus River, the way into Asia now lay open for Alexander and his forces. As Alexander moved south, most cities, including Sardis and Ephesus, opened their gates to him. At Miletus, quickly overrun by Alexander's army, the priest at the oracular shrine of Apollo at Didyma sent word to Alexander that the sacred spring there, which had ceased to flow when the Persians destroyed the temple 150 years earlier, had bubbled up again at Alexander's coming, predicting success for his mission. Continuing through Caria and Halicarnassus, Alexander eventually barred the Persians from every harbor on the western coast of Asia Minor. He then turned east and proceeded to Gordion, where he untied the legendary Gordian knot by slicing through it with his sword. Having fulfilled yet another local prophecy, it seemed apparent that Alexander would soon rule Asia.

### Outline

- I. Many modern histories claim that Alexander and Philip initially were motivated by a simple desire to reclaim the liberty of the Asiatic Greek cities, but the idea of the Greeks conquering the Persians had been a preoccupation since 499 B.C.
- II. When Alexander crossed the Hellespont for the first time, he came into contact with the armies of the Great King Darius III.
  - A. These later Persian kings took on the names of the earlier Achaemenid monarchs so that they would be seen as linked to the kings before them.
  - B. Darius III inherited Xerxes's mentality—the belief that victory was to be achieved through the use of the largest force possible.
  - C. Darius gave orders for the western satraps in Asia Minor to amass a great force of Persian cavalry and find a plain on which to deploy it in an effort to stop Alexander.
  - D. Darius's best commander was a Greek nobleman named Memnon, who suggested a scorched-earth policy to make it difficult for Alexander's forces to stay in Persian territory.
  - E. This plan was overruled, and Darius's army, allegedly 20,000 troops, found itself on the eastern side of the Granicus River, where Alexander was sure to pass on his way south.
- III. Alexander was numerically outnumbered in all of the three great battles he fought to win the Persian Empire. The first of these battles took place at the Granicus River.
  - A. Alexander had his normal military arrangement: sarissa-wielding infantry in the middle, his general Parmenio and some cavalry on the left wing, and Alexander himself and his cavalry on the right wing.
  - B. Alexander waited until late in the day to attack to limit the possibilities for disaster for his army.
    1. The infantry and cavalry on the left wing attempted to cross the river first, drawing the attention of the Persians.
    2. Alexander took advantage of the Persian focus on the front line to break off, bring his horses onto the enemy side of the river, and attack from the flank.
    3. Between the cavalry on the right wing and the infantry, the Persians were crushed and forced to flee.
  - C. Alexander was outraged to find the Greek hoplite mercenaries fighting against him.
    1. He took the fact that these Greeks had not joined his Panhellenic crusade as a personal insult.
    2. After the battle, he sent the Athenian prisoners to work as slaves in the gold mines of Thrace.
- IV. After the victory at Granicus River, Alexander headed south.
  - A. Most of the cities, such as Ephesus and Sardis (with its great windfall of Persian treasure), opened their gates to him.
  - B. Alexander left Macedonians behind to garrison the cities, allowing them to choose their own governments. Typically, oligarchies were replaced by pro-Alexander democracies.
  - C. Alexander met his first resistance among the Greek cities when he reached Miletus, a city that sought to remain neutral.

1. Darius planned to stop Alexander at Miletus by stirring up trouble at sea.
  2. Alexander, in opposition, occupied every possible port on the mainland.
  3. The Persian fleet landed at Mycale and watched helplessly as Alexander besieged and captured Miletus.
  4. At the oracular shrine of Didyma, the sacred spring, dry for the last 150 years, bubbled up when Alexander approached, signifying that Alexander would meet success in his Asian mission.
- D.** Alexander wrapped his progress through the Greek cities in the cloak of religiosity, divinity, oracles, portents, and contacts with the gods.
- E.** Beyond Miletus was the district of Caria, where Alexander met the female ruler Ada; the pair joined forces to tackle the city of Halicarnassus.
1. No longer needing his Greek fleet, Alexander sent it home, keeping only 20 Athenian triremes to carry siege engines.
  2. In late summer, Alexander began attacking the city but was kept at bay for some time by effective defensive measures.
  3. A small night guard of Macedonians, with the aid of some Greeks, staged an improvised charge that captured the walls of the city.
  4. With the fall of Halicarnassus, Alexander completed the liberation of the Greek cities along the western coast of Asia Minor.
- V.** Alexander then turned east along the shores of Asia Minor and, near Antalya, led his troops inland.
- A.** The troops met with the army of Parmenio, and together, the two forces traveled to the ancient city of Gordion, where they encountered the Gordian knot.
1. The knot was the twisted bark from a tree; it was said that whoever could untie the knot would be the ruler of Asia.
  2. Alexander cut through the knot with his sword, exposing it as a trick.
- B.** Having received the blessing of Apollo at Didyma and having “untied” the Gordian knot, Alexander felt more than ever that he was indeed the man chosen to wrest Asia away from the Persians.

**Recommended Reading:**

Andronikos, *The Search for Alexander: An Exhibition*.

Wood, *In the Footsteps of Alexander the Great: A Journey from Greece to Asia*.

**Questions to Consider:**

1. What would have been the effect of Memnon’s scorched-earth policy toward Alexander’s army had the plan not been overruled?
2. How do such events as the bubbling of the spring at Didyma affect your view of Alexander’s right to rule Asia? Do you consider them portents of his success or mere natural occurrences?

## Lecture Twenty-Three

### Who Is the Great King?

**Scope:** As Alexander and his army marched through the highlands of central Asia Minor, Darius III began to realize that the Macedonian king represented what the Persians had always dreaded: an invader who could strike all the way into the heart of the Persian Empire. Passing through the Cilician Gates, Alexander tarried at Tarsus, then moved on to Issos, where he finally confronted the Persian king and emerged victorious. Instead of pursuing the retreating Darius, Alexander consolidated his rule in the Levant and began a campaign in Egypt. Inspired by the biblical story of Daniel, he proceeded toward the Tigris and Euphrates rivers and clashed with Darius at Gaugamela. It was on this plain that the Greek and Persian wars truly ended; Alexander's victory won for him not just the territory around these two rivers but lands of the traditional Persian homeland to the south and east.

### Outline

- I. Darius III soon realized that Alexander was not a flash in the pan but what the Persian Empire had always dreaded: an invader who could strike all the way into its heart.
  - A. Darius marshaled one of the largest armies ever assembled, calling upon all of the Persian heartland to contribute troops.
  - B. Darius sent forward a force to hold a narrow pass called the Cilician Gates. Alexander, moving quickly, got through the pass and into Tarsus before Darius reached it.
  - C. After a swim in a local river, Alexander caught a terrible fever. Darius took great hope that Alexander's progress had been checked; however, the Macedonian soon recovered and was back on his feet.
- II. Alexander led his troops into Syria and the seaport of Issos.
  - A. He believed that Darius would not venture to this port because it did not offer a large enough expanse for him to deploy his massive army.
  - B. Darius, however, decided to go around the mountain range, follow behind Alexander as he traveled through the expected passage that led into the heart of the Persian Empire, and attack him from the rear.
    1. Darius captured Alexander's field hospital at Issos and mutilated the sick and wounded in an effort to diminish Alexander's confidence.
    2. Alexander turned around immediately and came back to Issos.
  - C. The Battle of Issos was launched in the morning and ran for most of the day. Ultimately, Alexander used the same tactics at Issos that he had at the Granicus River—with the same victorious result.
    1. Alexander took off to the right with his cavalry and defeated the Persians on their left wing.
    2. He then came down on the flank of the main Persian force and distracted the enemy while the infantry moved in from the other side of the river.
  - D. Alexander attempted to fight Darius, but the Great King fled, leaving behind his army, his mother, his wife, and his children.
    1. Alexander treated Darius's family with the utmost chivalry and assured them that they would be under his protection.
    2. A messenger arrived from Darius asking for the return of his family; Alexander replied that Darius should petition for them in person and advised the Great King to look out for his own safety.
- III. Scholars have been puzzled by what happened after the Battle of Issos.
  - A. Many believe that Alexander should have followed up his success immediately by pursuing Darius into the heart of the Persian Empire and capturing him before he could rally another army.
  - B. Instead, Alexander decided to consolidate his rule over the Levant (the area of Phoenicia and Palestine) and take Egypt to ensure that no regions in the rear would be left unconquered to cause trouble in the future.
  - C. He received word that the Spartans still opposed him in the Aegean, but he left such issues to the regent in Macedonia.
  - D. Alexander's first targets were the Phoenician cities of Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos, which had become some of the richest cities in the world through global trade.

1. Sidon and Byblos surrendered immediately, but the people of Tyre refused.
  2. Alexander settled down to a six-month siege that ended in success.
- E. Alexander then proceeded down the coast to Egypt, where he was welcomed as a liberator by the rebels against Persian rule and recognized as a new pharaoh.
  - F. He capped this experience by visiting the oracle of Zeus Ammon, where he was told that Zeus, not Philip II, was his true father.
  - G. Alexander left Egypt and went back into Palestine, where he claimed to be the future conqueror of Asia foretold in the Book of Daniel.
- IV. A year after the Battle of Issos, Alexander received word that a reassembled Persian army was ready to face him on a vast plain called Gaugamela on the Tigris River.
- A. A Persian corps of engineers leveled out the rough spots on the plain so that the army's scythed chariots and cavalry could be deployed without obstacles.
  - B. Fearing a sneak attack, Darius placed his camp miles away and brought his troops to the battlefield the night before the confrontation. This miscalculation resulted in a lack of rest for his men.
  - C. Alexander deployed his army as always: infantry in the middle, cavalry on the ends. Darius spread the scythed chariots across the front of his array and placed some of his best forces on the wings.
  - D. Different sources give different views of this battle, but it is possible to form a consensus of what happened that day.
    1. Darius's elephants and scythed chariots proved to be of no use.
    2. As usual, Alexander parted from the center, but he was followed by Darius's left wing.
    3. An enormous gulf opened up between the center and the wings, in which the two armies collided.
    4. Alexander, attacking the Persian left wing, closed in on Darius.
    5. Alexander charged to the other end of the line to help Parmenio and his cavalry; unified at last, the Macedonian army swept forward and crushed all resistance.
- V. The Greek and Persian wars ended at Gaugamela. Alexander was now master of the territory around the Tigris and Euphrates rivers and the Persian homeland; subsequent campaigns would carry him all the way to the Indus River valley (the eastern frontier of the empire).

**Recommended Reading:**

Harper, *The Royal City of Susa: Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre*.

Heckel and Jones, *Macedonian Warrior: Alexander's Elite Infantryman*.

**Questions to Consider:**

1. Was Alexander's decision to consolidate his rule over the Levant instead of immediately pursuing Darius III into the heart of the Persian Empire a puzzling one? Why or why not?
2. What do you think made Gaugamela the capstone battle in the Greek and Persian wars?

## Lecture Twenty-Four

### When East Met West

**Scope:** After the submission of Babylon and Susa, Alexander rode into the Persian heartland, then campaigned in the territories of modern Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, and Iran. On returning to Babylon, he conducted two ceremonies that symbolized, after decades of conflict, the union of Greece and Persia: a massive intercultural wedding and a harmonious intercultural feast. Alexander, in the Persian manner, was now a Great King. He continued to depart from his role as conqueror on behalf of Greece—for example, he trained 30,000 Persian youths in the Macedonian way and called them his “Successors”—and his army mutinied. Shortly afterward, Alexander died, either from natural causes or from poisoning, and with him perished the short-lived political union of Persia and Greece. Cultural interactions between East and West, however, would endure for centuries and become a major force in shaping our modern, multicultural world.

### Outline

- I. The Battle of Gaugamela in 331 B.C. marks the last stage of the epic journey of this course.
  - A. After the battle, Alexander and his army moved south to Babylon, which opened its gates to him; Susa, which yielded up its great treasury; and the royal cities in the southernmost part of modern-day Iran.
  - B. Alexander was filled with reverence for his Persian predecessors and greatly disappointed his army by refusing to let it loot, pillage, and rape its way through the empire.
  - C. At Persepolis, Alexander went into winter quarters until May, when he prepared to set out again to pursue Darius III.
    1. Alexander was concerned that the dethroned Great King might suddenly become the focus of resistance against Macedonian rule.
    2. At a feast, a young Athenian woman named Thais rebuked Alexander for failing to pay the Persians back for the destruction of the Acropolis; goaded by her, Alexander started a fire that eventually destroyed the great hall at Persepolis.
  - D. Though Alexander’s relentless need to conquer ended the Greek and Persian wars, it also launched new conflicts.
  - E. From Persepolis, Alexander headed into Bactria (modern-day Afghanistan), where he caught up with Darius III near the Caspian Sea.
    1. Darius had been tied to a cart, speared through, and abandoned by his exasperated companions.
    2. According to one ancient source, Darius was already dead (the most likely case) when Alexander discovered him. Other sources suggest a final conversation between Darius and Alexander, in which the former passed on the kingship to the latter.
  - F. From Afghanistan, Alexander passed southward into the plains of the Indus River and announced that he would lead his troops past the Ganges River to the end of the world.
  - G. His troops mutinied, refusing to go further.
    1. The troops faced enormous difficulties on the return to Persia, largely because Alexander did not understand the geography of the area.
    2. Many men died of hunger, thirst, and exposure along the march through the Gedrosian Desert.
    3. Dispirited by the failure of his men to share in his vision, Alexander finally rejoined his fleet and returned to Mesopotamia.
  - H. Alexander’s next destination was Babylon, which he intended to make a world capital.
- II. Alexander now wanted to unify the Persians and the Greeks in the same that way his spiritual ancestor, Cyrus, had unified the Persians and the Medes.
  - A. To achieve this goal, he behaved in ways that horrified his Macedonian followers.
    1. He adopted Persian dress.
    2. He appointed 92 Macedonians to take 92 noble Persian women as brides in a mass marriage.
    3. He bred a generation of young Persians to be culturally Macedonian and called them his “Successors.”
    4. He held an enormous feast, to which he invited Macedonians and Persian nobility and suggested that they rule the world in harmony as partners.



- B. The Greeks were still autonomous at this point, having submitted to the idea of Alexander as hegemon as long as they retained self-government.
  - C. In 324 B.C., an envoy of Alexander was sent to Olympia with the Exiles Decree.
    - 1. The decree ordered all the Greeks to allow the return of their exiles, many of whom were part of Alexander’s army.
    - 2. This decree, along with a message claiming that Alexander could be worshiped as a son of Zeus, turned the Greek world against Alexander—even as he won wider popularity in the Persian Empire.
- III. The death of Hephaestion during this time brought Alexander to despair and triggered thoughts of his own mortality. While in Babylon, he fell sick and died.
- A. Some bad portents seemed to foreshadow Alexander’s death.
    - 1. A Macedonian sailor rescued Alexander’s hat when it blew into the water and placed it on his own head, an act that symbolized the passing of royal power.
    - 2. A madman was found seated on Alexander’s throne.
    - 3. These portents may have worked on Alexander’s own psychology.
  - B. Modern writers are divided on whether Alexander’s fever was a natural illness or the result of poison.
- IV. Alexander’s passing, and the subsequent struggle for possession of his empire, launched what modern historians call the Hellenistic period, known at the time as the “Period of the Successors.”
- A. Alexander’s empire was immediately cut up among his Macedonian commanders, divided into warring kingdoms.
  - B. Throughout the Near East and the eastern Mediterranean, powerful Macedonians set themselves up as rulers over chunks of Alexander’s empire.
  - C. The Persian Empire passed away with Alexander along with his vision of harmony between Persians and Greeks.
    - 1. Alexander had spread Hellenic ideas to Asia.
    - 2. A new kind of civilization emerged in the cities that grew in the wake of his conquests.
- V. The true legacy of the centuries-long conflict between the Greeks and the Persians was the foundation for our modern, cosmopolitan, multicultural world. We can trace many of its elements back to the line of giants—from Cyrus to Alexander—who made these transformations possible.

**Recommended Reading:**

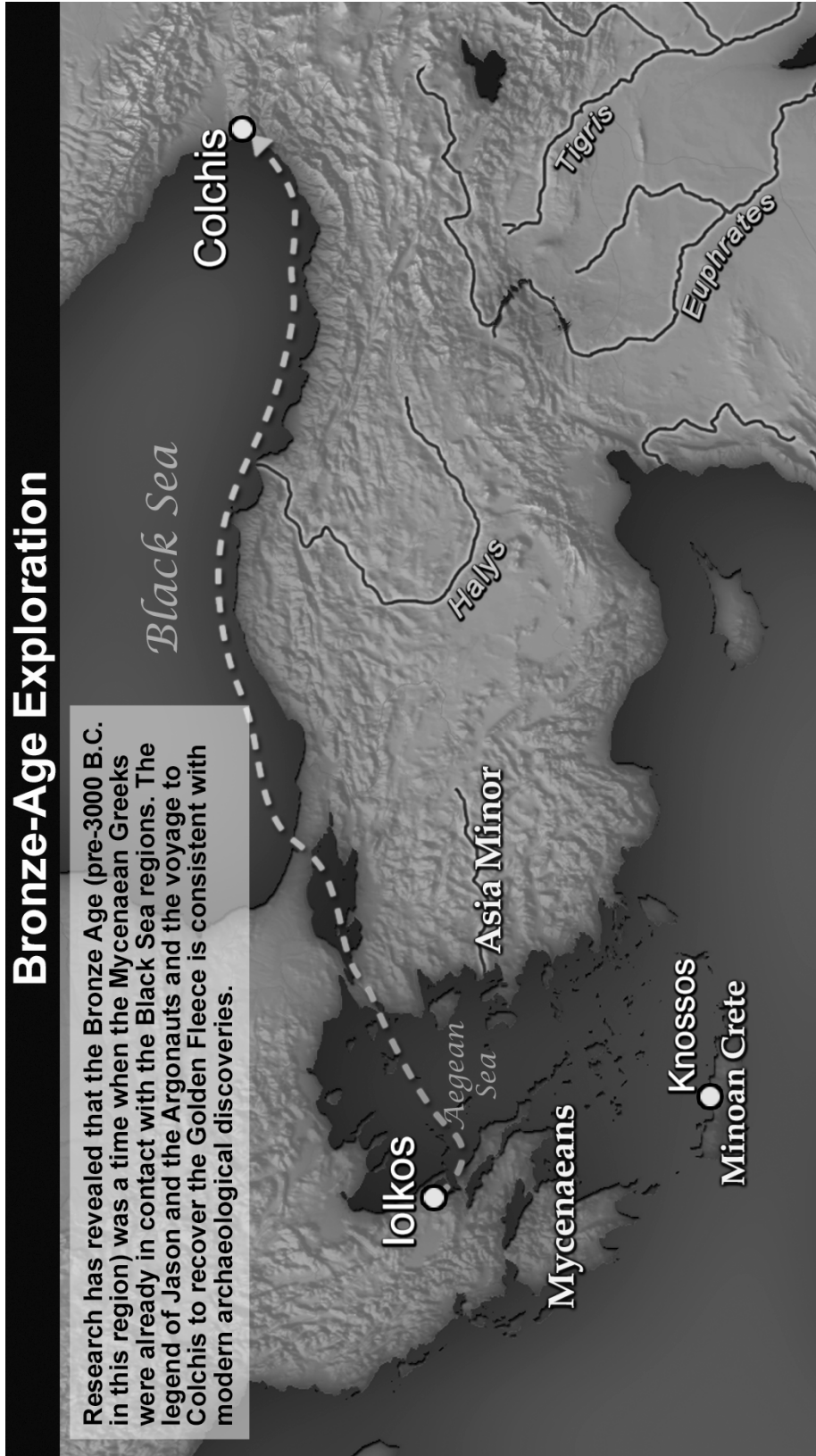
Bengtson, *The Greeks and the Persians: From the Sixth to the Fourth Centuries*.

Farrokh, *Shadows in the Desert: Ancient Persia at War*.

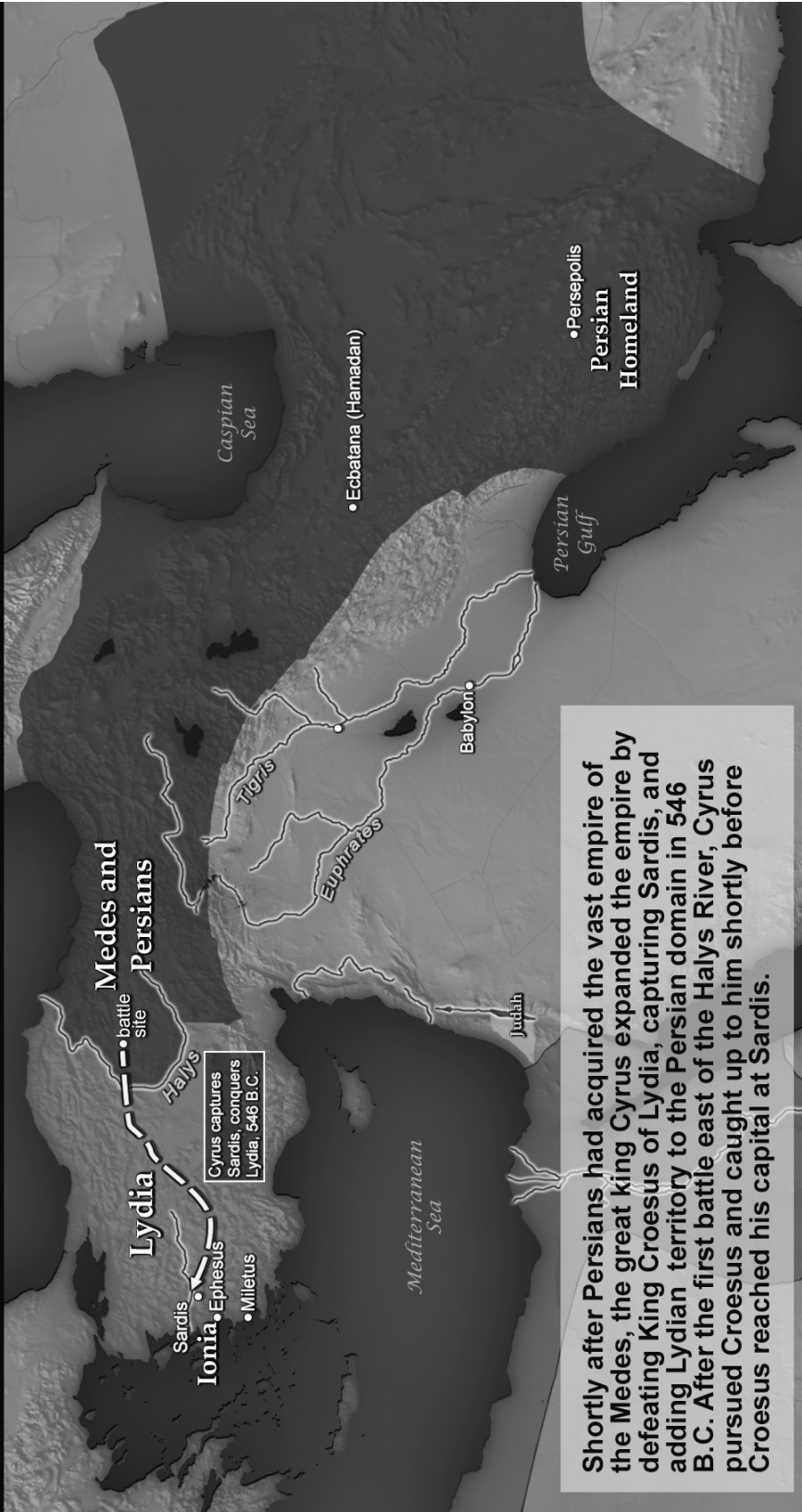
**Questions to Consider:**

1. Was Alexander’s *pothos* (his drive to expand his empire beyond the known world) his undoing? Why or why not?
2. What are some similarities and differences between the East-West conflicts of the Greek and Persian wars and the East-West conflicts of our modern world?

## Maps



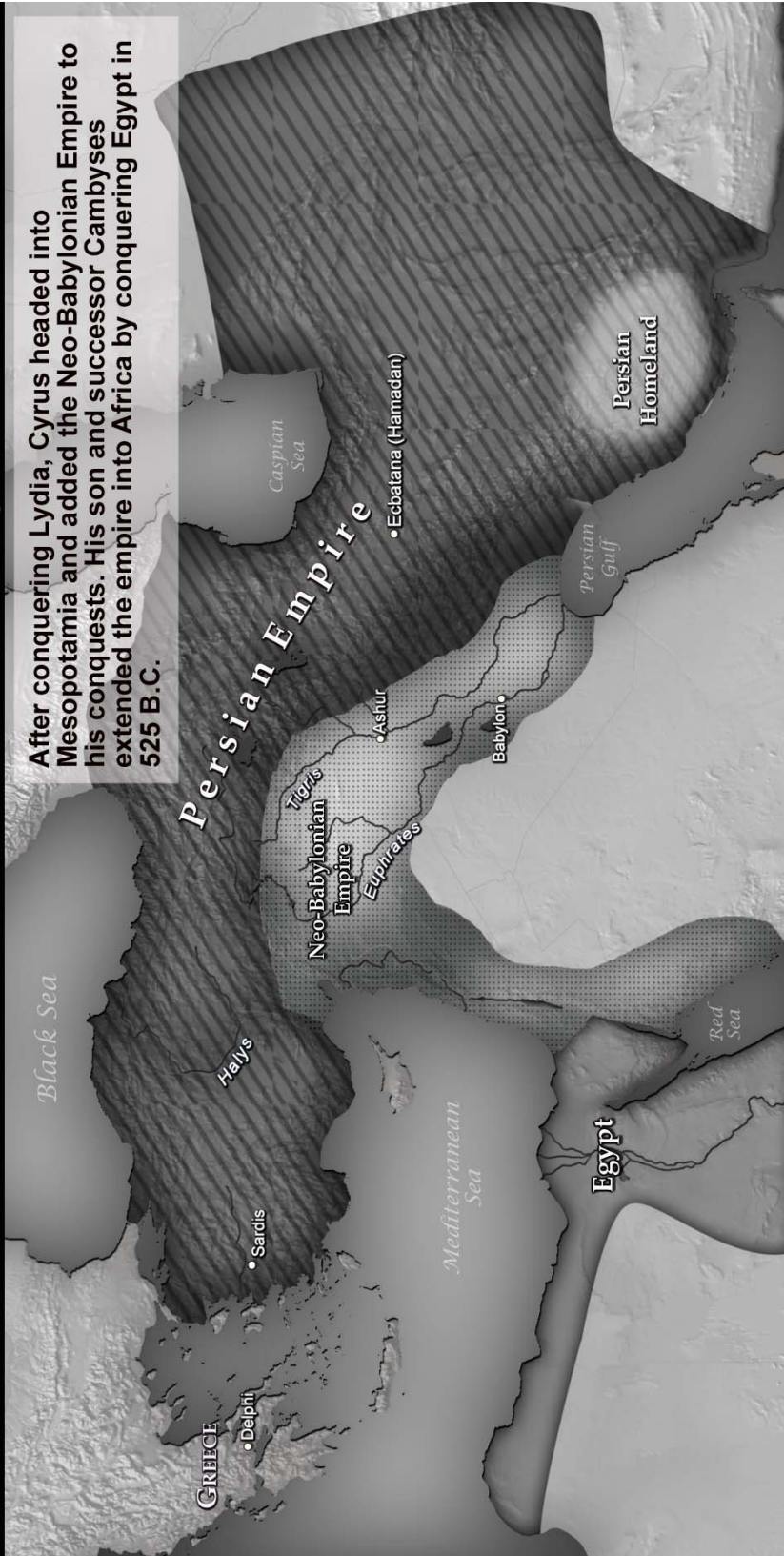
# Cyrus Captures Lydia



Shortly after Persians had acquired the vast empire of the Medes, the great king Cyrus expanded the empire by defeating King Croesus of Lydia, capturing Sardis, and adding Lydian territory to the Persian domain in 546 B.C. After the first battle east of the Halys River, Cyrus pursued Croesus and caught up to him shortly before Croesus reached his capital at Sardis.

## Persian Expansion, 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

After conquering Lydia, Cyrus headed into Mesopotamia and added the Neo-Babylonian Empire to his conquests. His son and successor Cambyses extended the empire into Africa by conquering Egypt in 525 B.C.



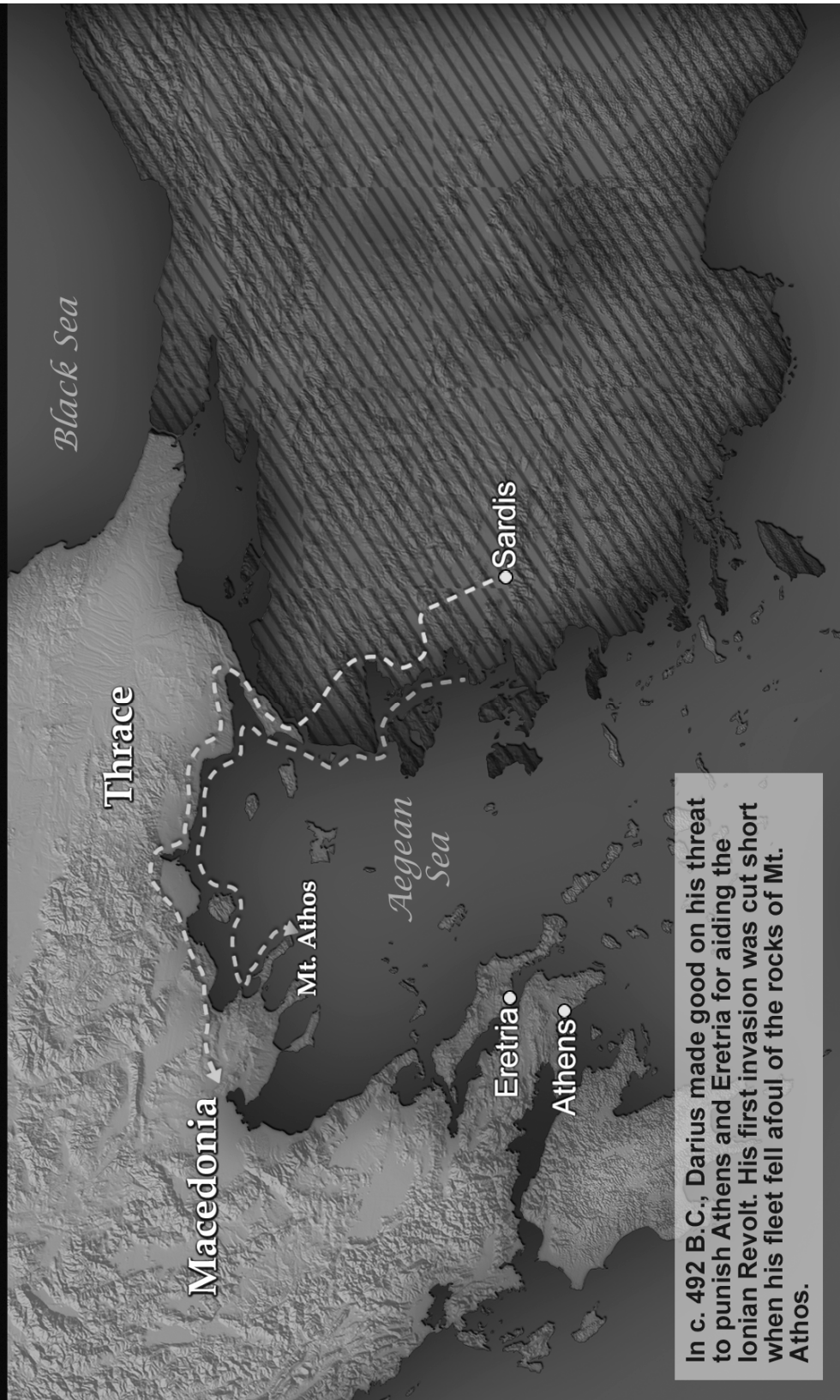
## Battle of Lade, c. 494 B.C.



One of the first battles in which the mainland Greeks came to the aid of the Ionian cities in rebellion against Persia, the Battle of Lade pitted the Ionians (Lesbos, Phokaia, Chios, Samos, Ephesus, and Miletus) combined with the naval contingents of Eretria and Athens against the naval forces serving the Great King. Disunity of purpose would spell defeat for the Greeks at a battle off Lade Island.

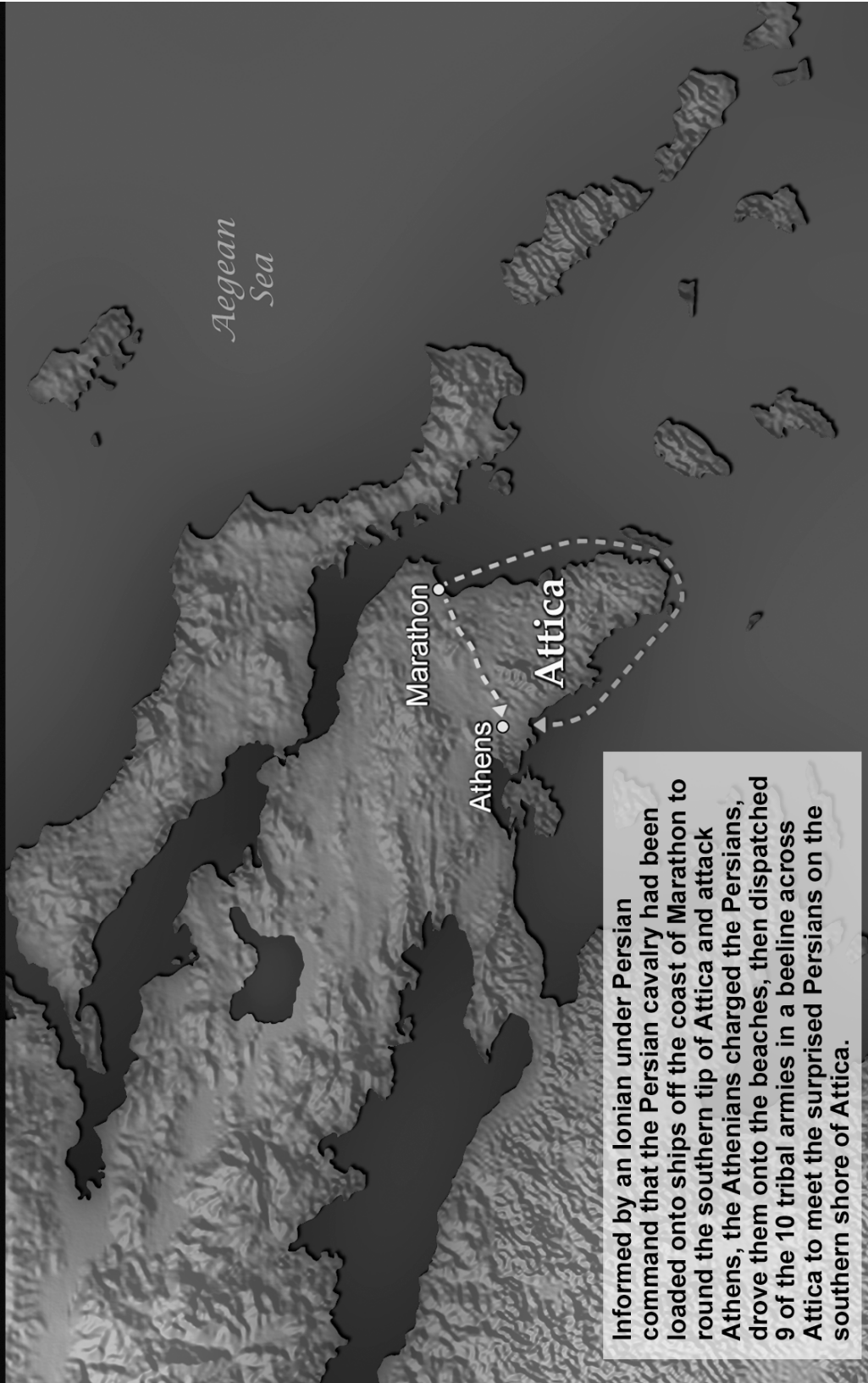


## Persian Invasion into Greece, c. 492 B.C.



In c. 492 B.C., Darius made good on his threat to punish Athens and Eretria for aiding the Ionian Revolt. His first invasion was cut short when his fleet fell afoul of the rocks of Mt. Athos.

## The Dash to Marathon, 490 B.C.



Informed by an Ionian under Persian command that the Persian cavalry had been loaded onto ships off the coast of Marathon to round the southern tip of Attica and attack Athens, the Athenians charged the Persians, drove them onto the beaches, then dispatched 9 of the 10 tribal armies in a beeline across Attica to meet the surprised Persians on the southern shore of Attica.

# Spartans at the Pass

To stave off Xerxes's advance into central Greece and the Peloponnesus, the Greeks had to face the invaders at two critical points: Artemision at the entrance into the narrow channel between Euboea and the Greek mainland, and the narrow path of terrain at the site of Thermopylae, where 300 Spartans caused massive casualties on the Persian side before succumbing to the barrage of Persian arrows.

Xerxes's  
fleet

Xerxes's  
army

◆ Artemision

◆ Thermopylae

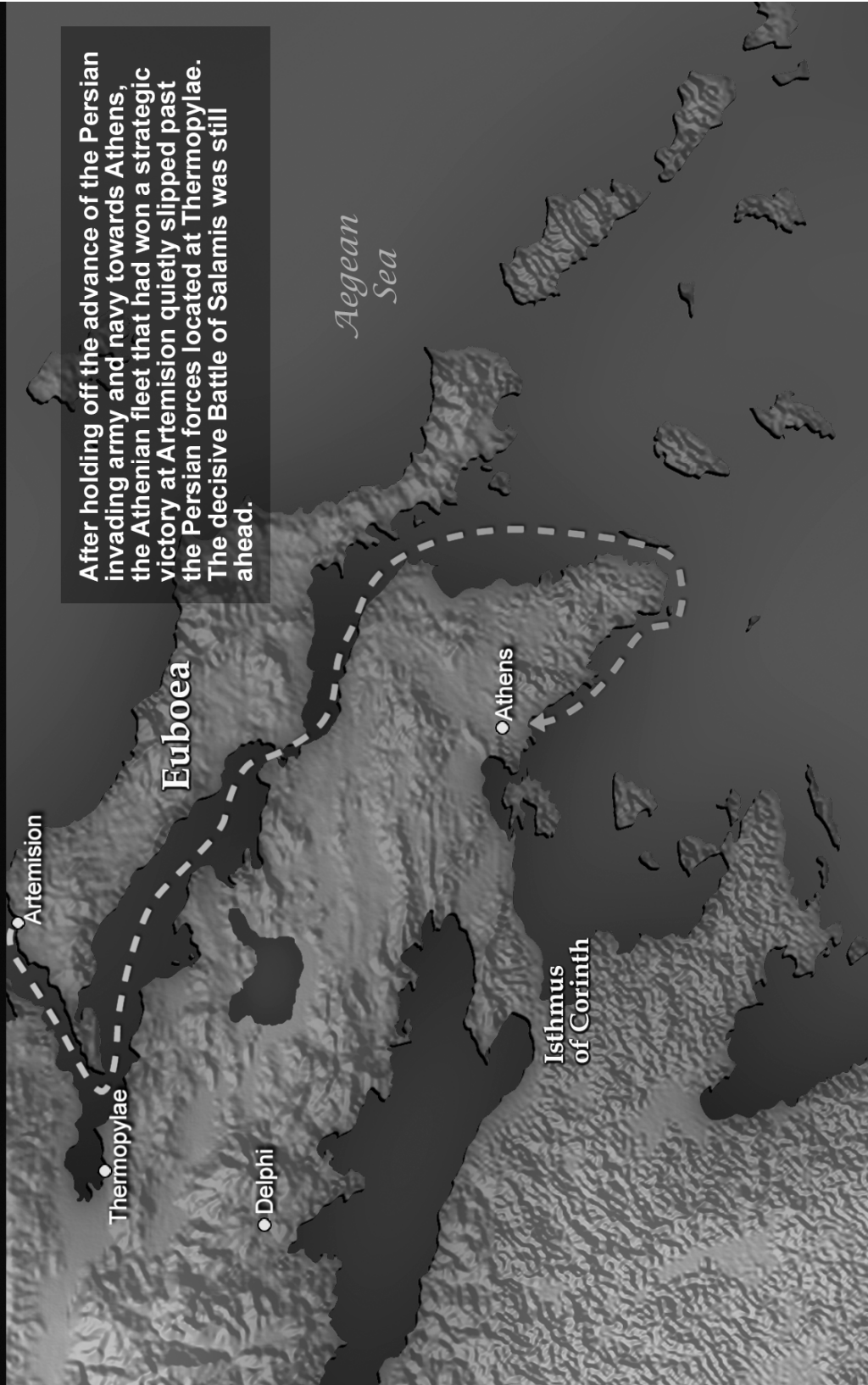
Euboea

Magnesia

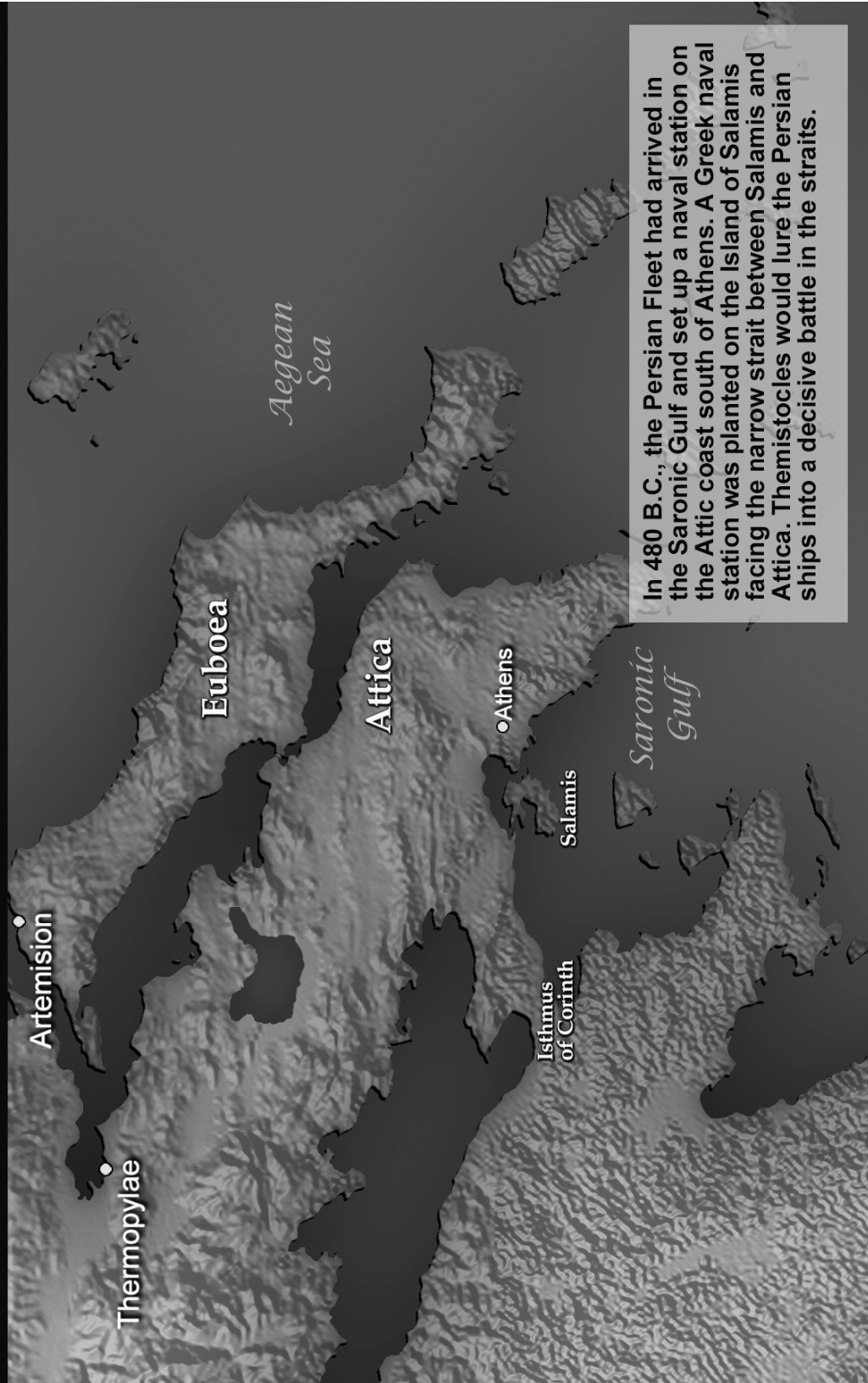


## Greek Retreat to Athens, 480 B.C.

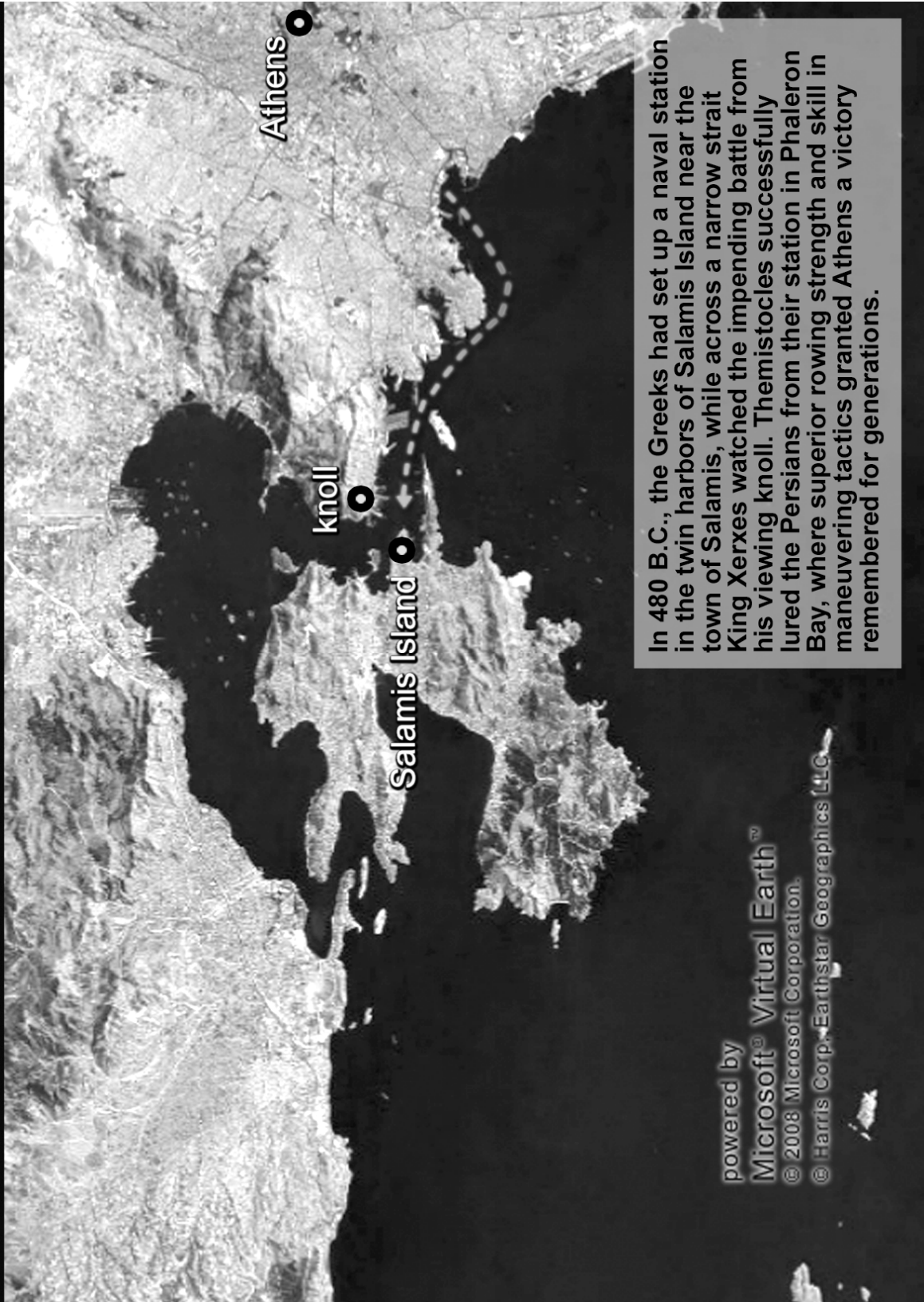
After holding off the advance of the Persian invading army and navy towards Athens, the Athenian fleet that had won a strategic victory at Artemision quietly slipped past the Persian forces located at Thermopylae. The decisive Battle of Salamis was still ahead.



## Prelude to Salamis



# Battle of Salamis, 480 B.C.



In 480 B.C., the Greeks had set up a naval station in the twin harbors of Salamis Island near the town of Salamis, while across a narrow strait King Xerxes watched the impending battle from his viewing knoll. Themistocles successfully lured the Persians from their station in Phaleron Bay, where superior rowing strength and skill in maneuvering tactics granted Athens a victory remembered for generations.

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## Greeks Pursue Persians to Mt. Mycale, 479 B.C.

In 479 B.C., after the Persians had fled Greece and assembled their forces at Mt. Mycale, the Spartan general Leotychidas reluctantly pursued the Persians across the Aegean, making the feared voyage past the Cycladic archipelago to the island of Samos, after which followed one of the strangest naval battles in history.

Thrace

Greece

Aegean Sea

Persian Empire

● Sardis

Samos

Aegina

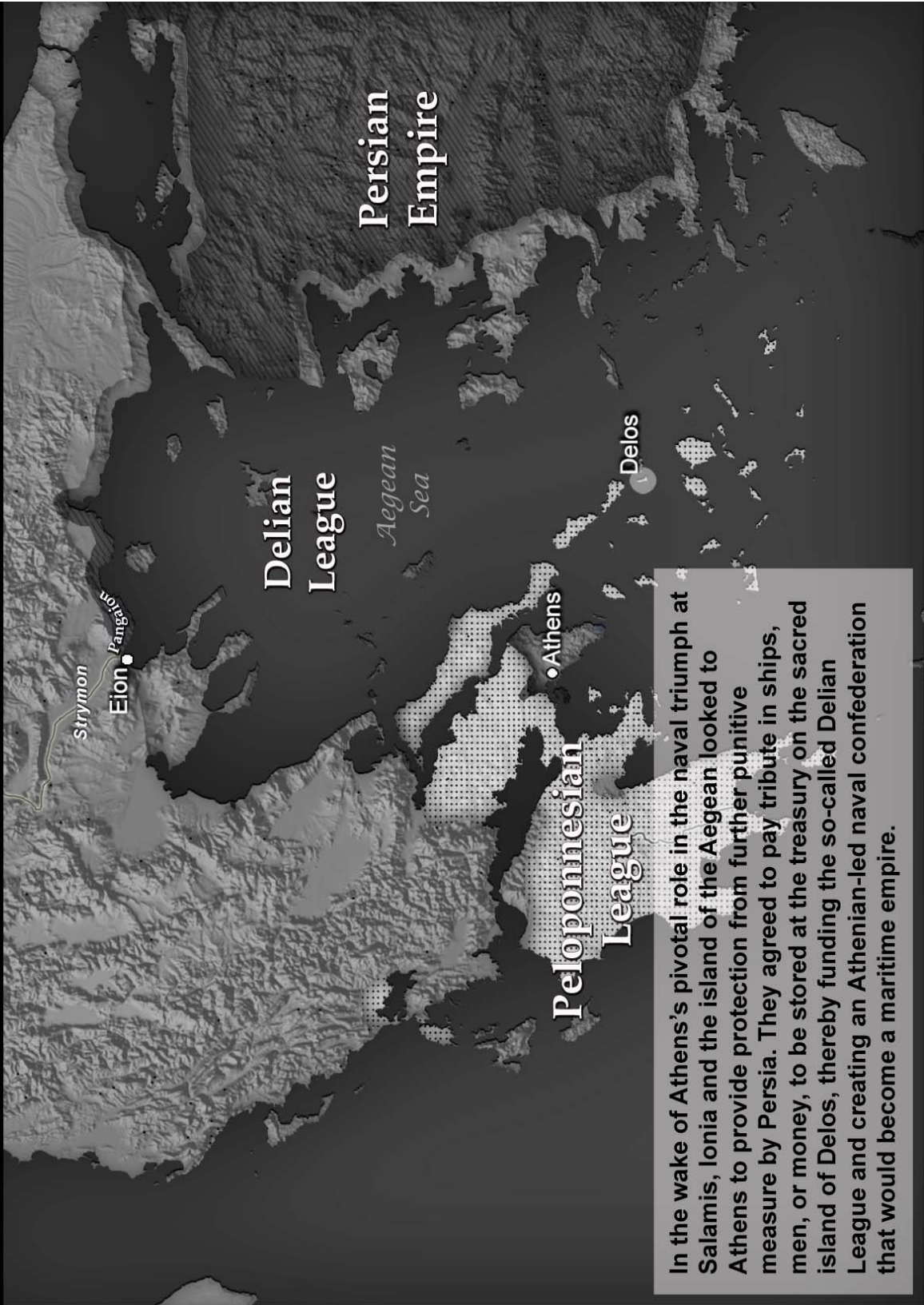
Delos

Greek fleet

Mycale

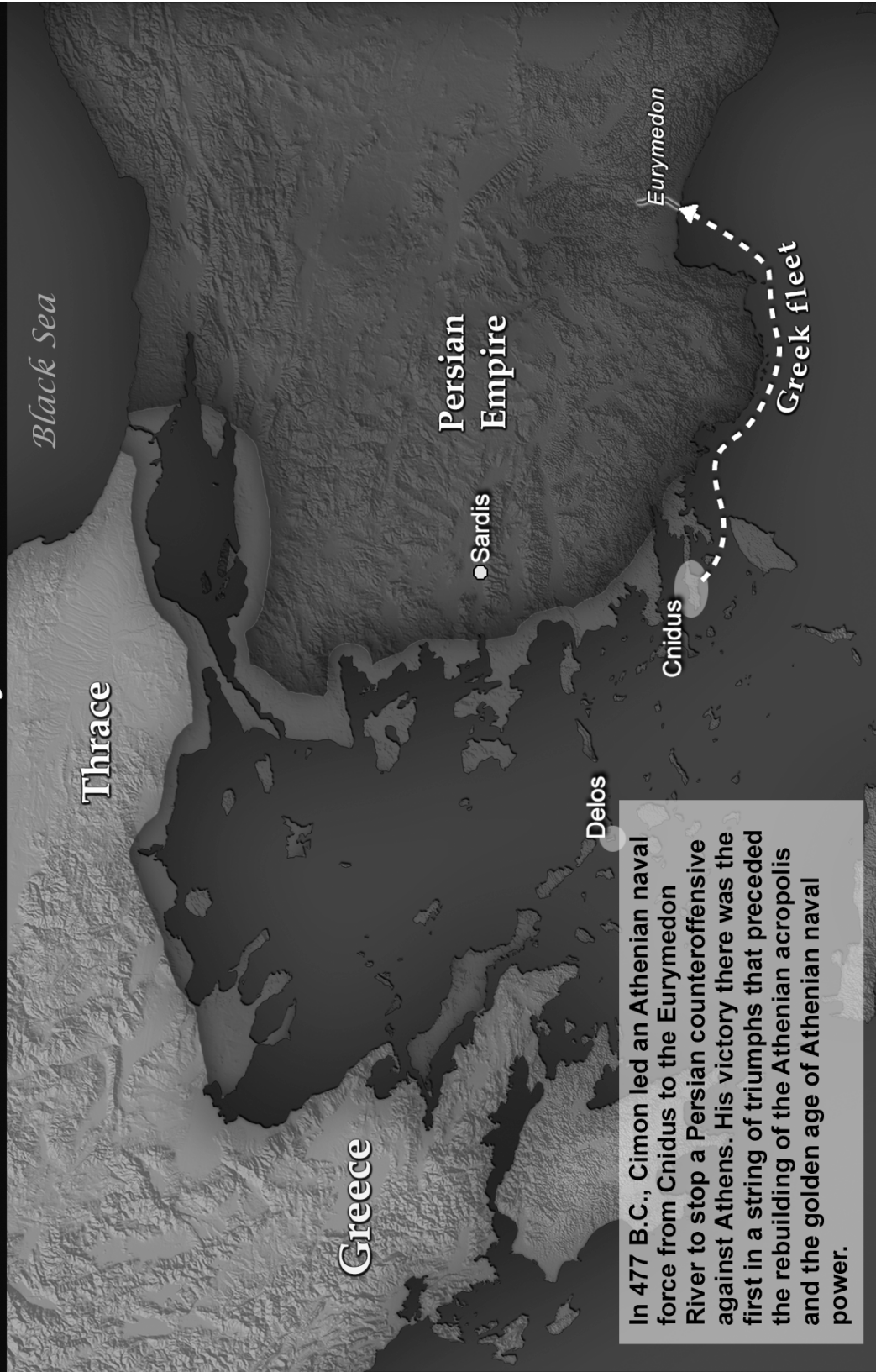


# Delian League



In the wake of Athens's pivotal role in the naval triumph at Salamis, Ionia and the island of the Aegean looked to Athens to provide protection from further punitive measure by Persia. They agreed to pay tribute in ships, men, or money, to be stored at the treasury on the sacred island of Delos, thereby funding the so-called Delian League and creating an Athenian-led naval confederation that would become a maritime empire.

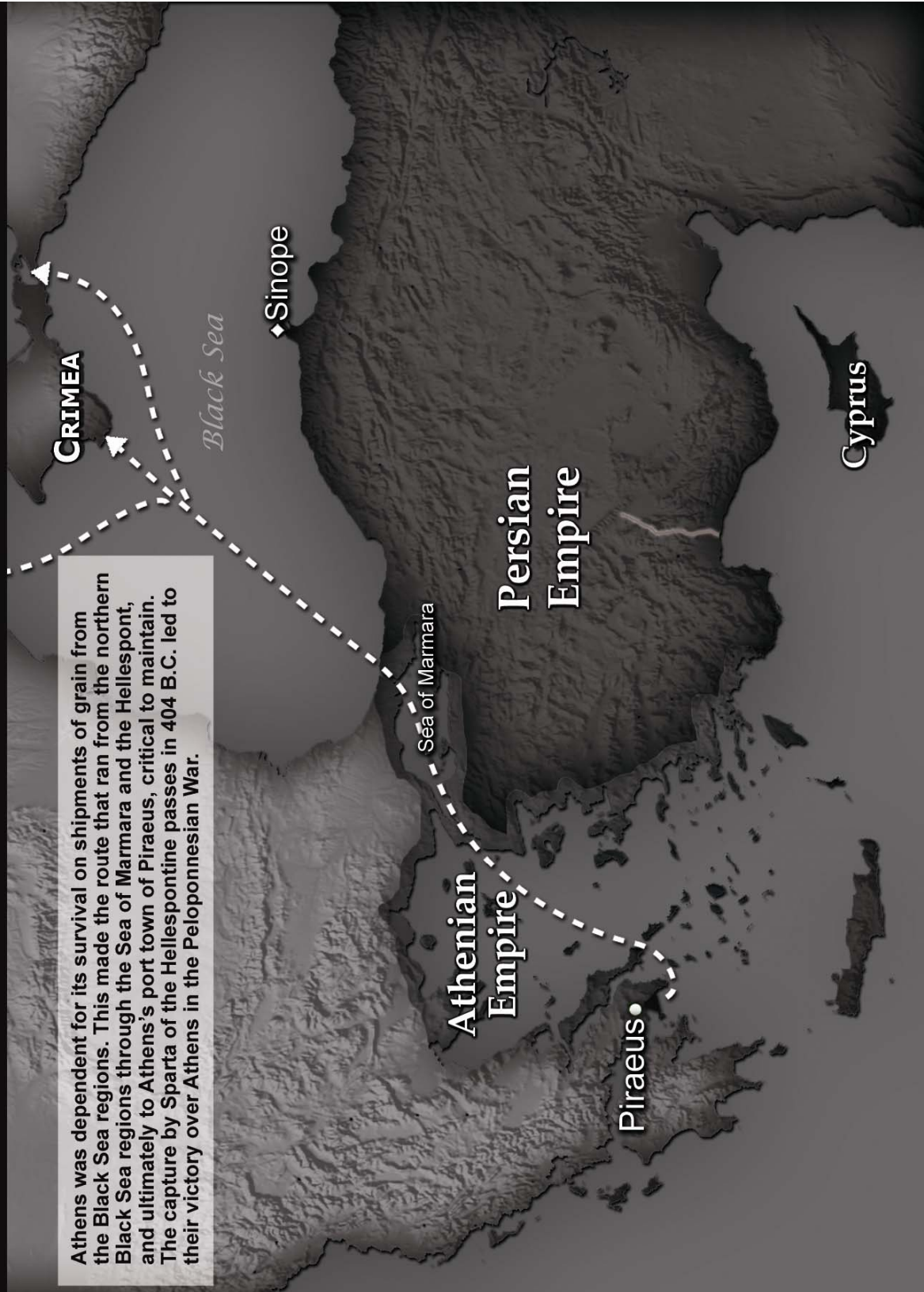
## Battle of the Eurymedon, 477 B.C.



In 477 B.C., Cimon led an Athenian naval force from Cnidus to the Eurymedon River to stop a Persian counteroffensive against Athens. His victory there was the first in a string of triumphs that preceded the rebuilding of the Athenian acropolis and the golden age of Athenian naval power.

## Grain Route

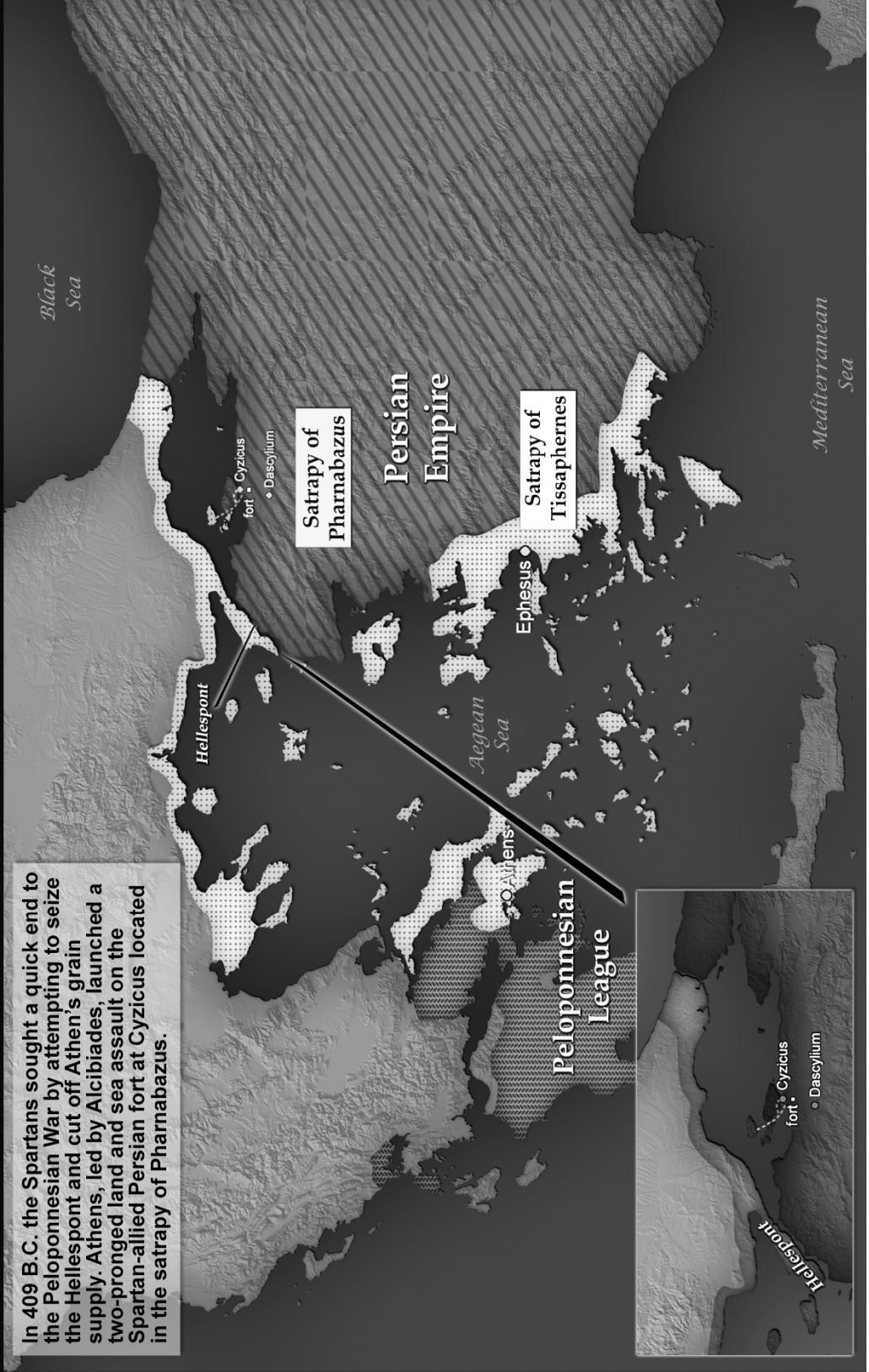
Athens was dependent for its survival on shipments of grain from the Black Sea regions. This made the route that ran from the northern Black Sea regions through the Sea of Marmara and the Hellespont, and ultimately to Athens's port town of Piraeus, critical to maintain. The capture by Sparta of the Hellespontine passes in 404 B.C. led to their victory over Athens in the Peloponnesian War.





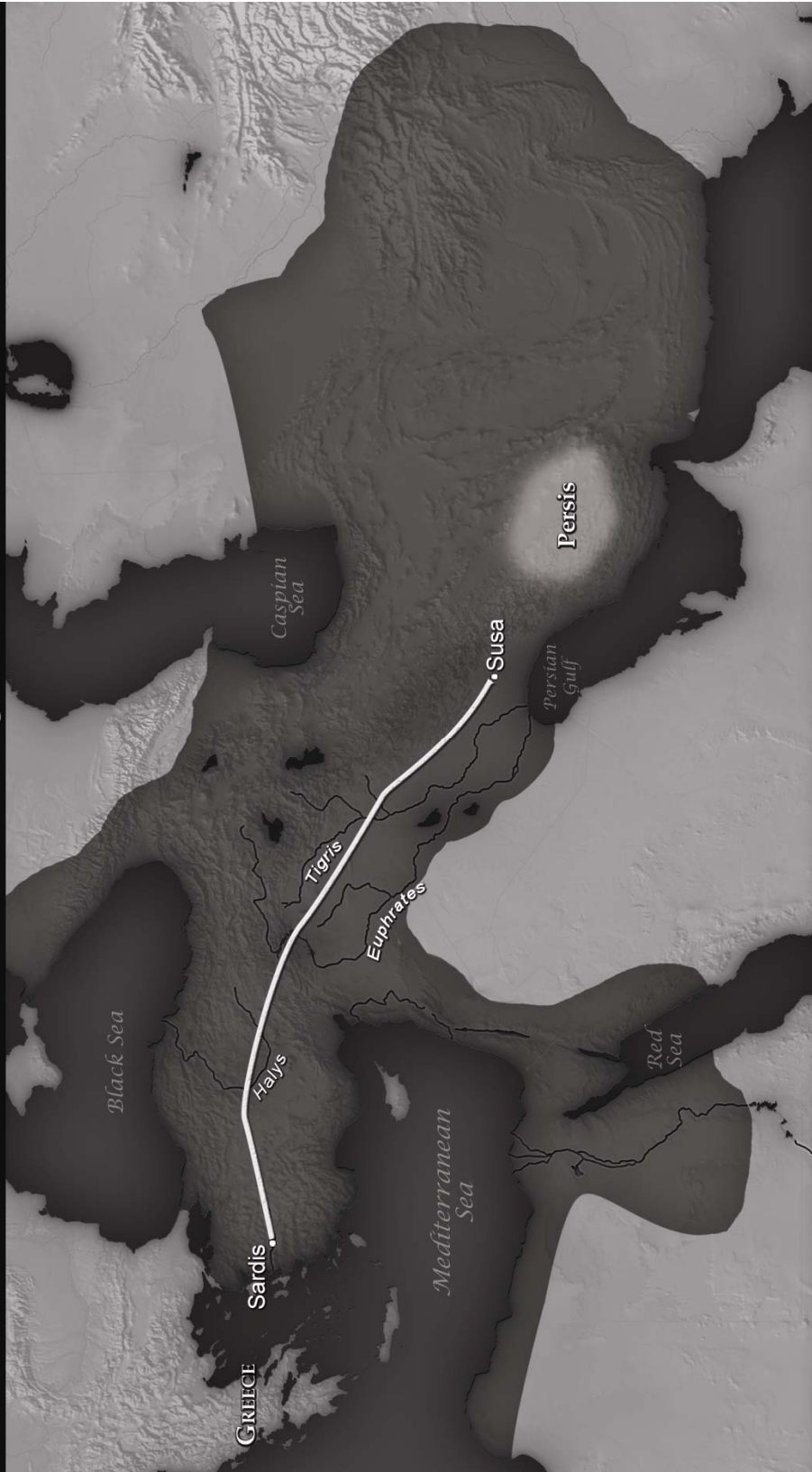
# Battle of Cyzicus, 409 B.C.

In 409 B.C. the Spartans sought a quick end to the Peloponnesian War by attempting to seize the Hellespont and cut off Athen's grain supply. Athens, led by Alcibiades, launched a two-pronged land and sea assault on the Spartan-allied Persian fort at Cyzicus located in the satrapy of Pharnabazus.

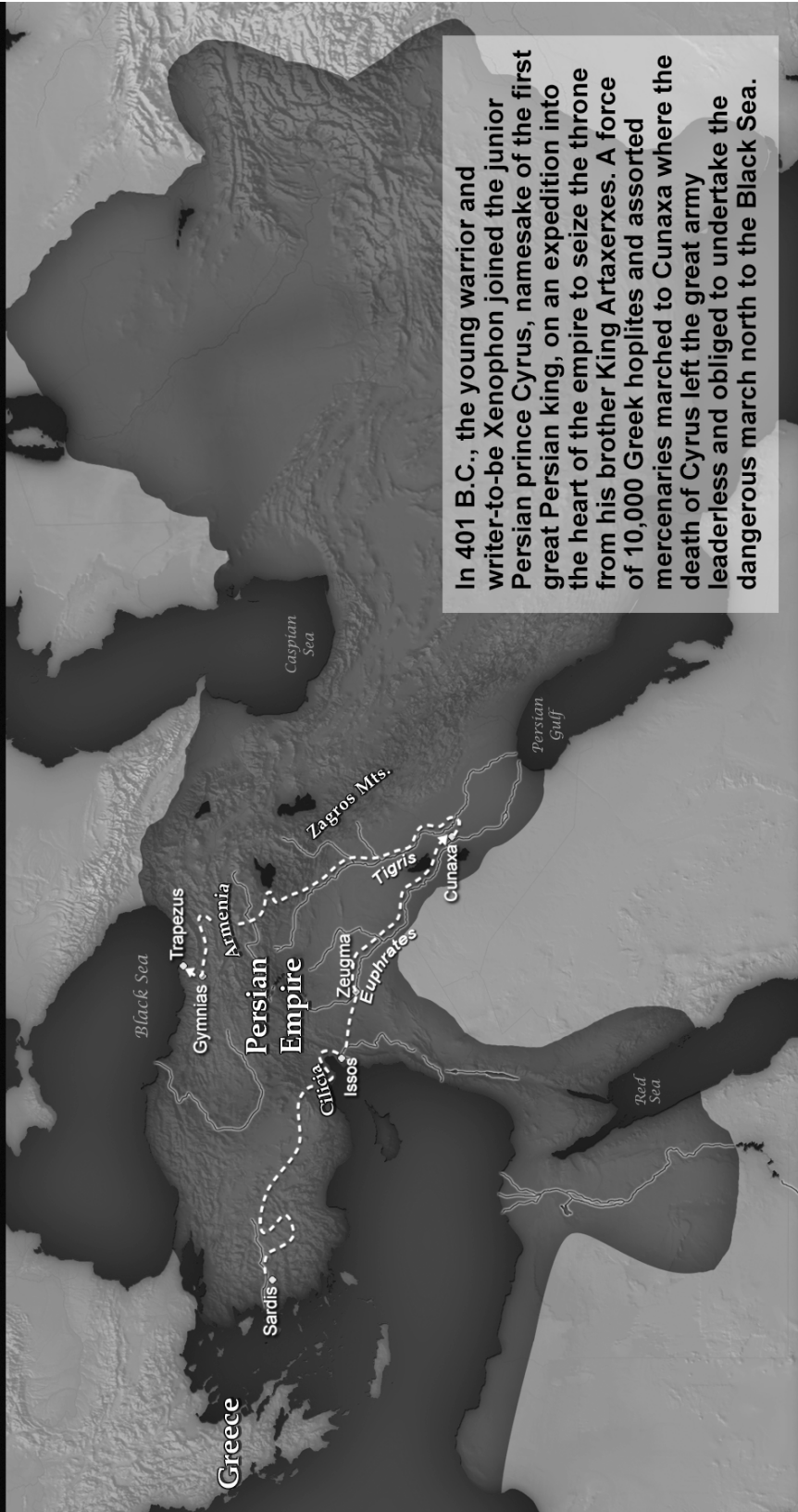




# Persian Royal Road



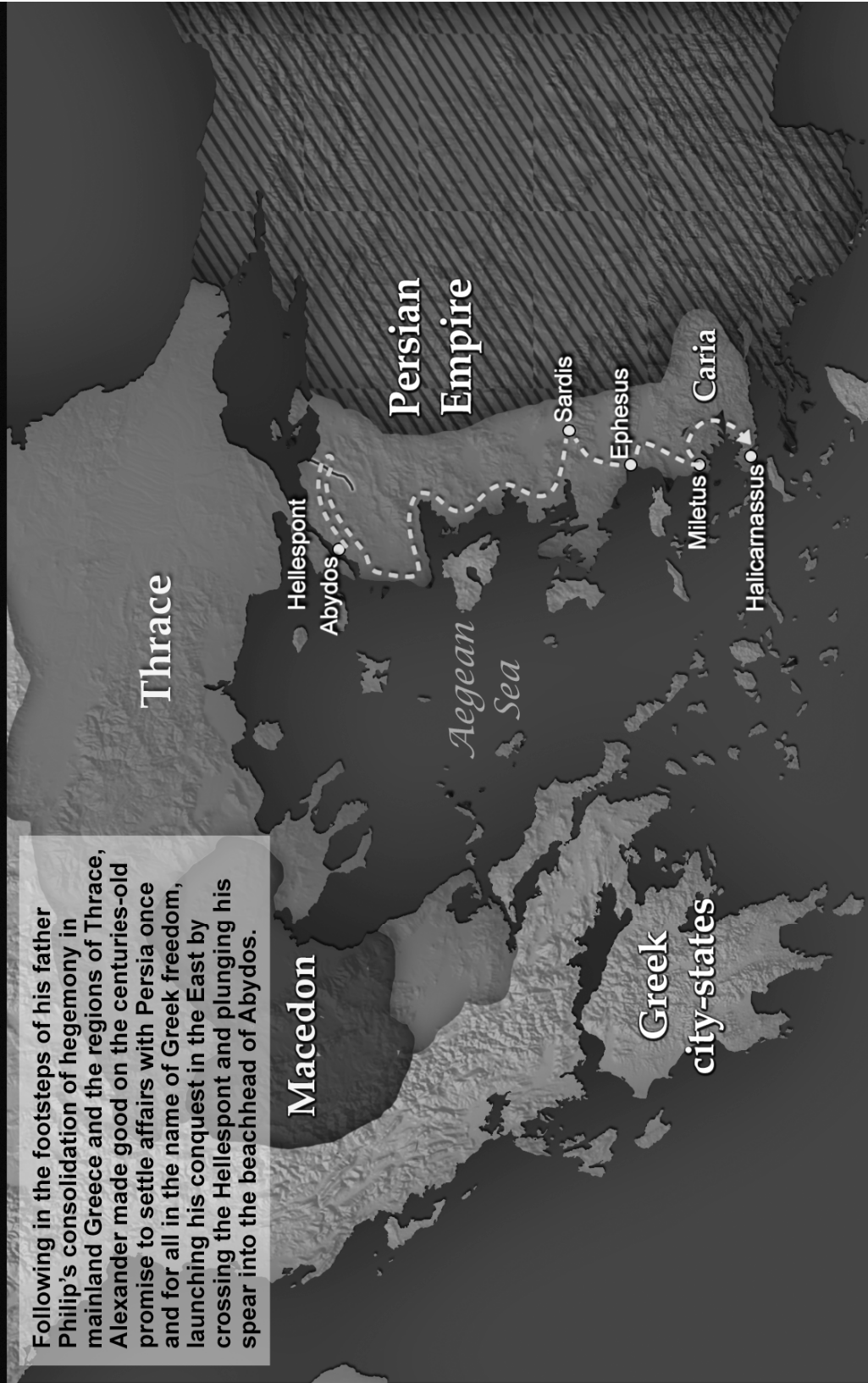
## The March of the Ten Thousand



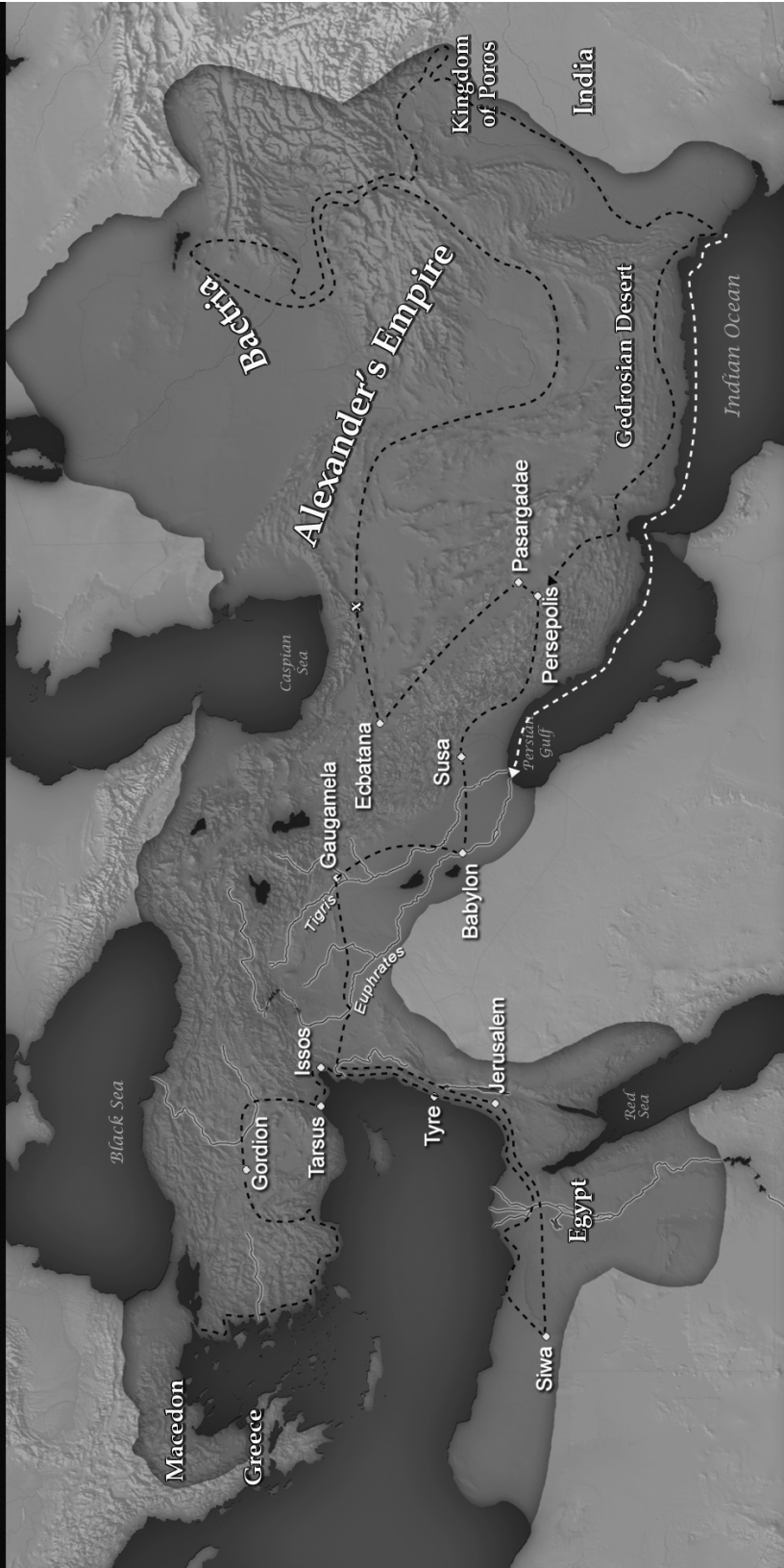
In 401 B.C., the young warrior and writer-to-be Xenophon joined the junior Persian prince Cyrus, namesake of the first great Persian king, on an expedition into the heart of the empire to seize the throne from his brother King Artaxerxes. A force of 10,000 Greek hoplites and assorted mercenaries marched to Cunaxa where the death of Cyrus left the great army leaderless and obliged to undertake the dangerous march north to the Black Sea.

# Alexander's Conquest of Ionia, 334–323 B.C.

Following in the footsteps of his father Philip's consolidation of hegemony in mainland Greece and the regions of Thrace, Alexander made good on the centuries-old promise to settle affairs with Persia once and for all in the name of Greek freedom, launching his conquest in the East by crossing the Hellespont and plunging his spear into the beachhead of Abydos.



# Alexander's Conquests, 334–323 B.C.



## Overview of Major Phases

**Note:** A handy companion to the study of historical dates is E. J. Bickerman's *Chronology of the Ancient World* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1980).

**546 B.C.–482 B.C.**

### Initial Contact between Greeks and Persians

The Persian kings Cyrus II, Cambyses, and Darius I add to their empire the ancient Greek cities of Asia Minor, the islands of the Aegean Sea, and the European mainland as far west as Macedonia. Persian attempts to conquer Greek city-states are checked by a naval disaster in a storm off Mount Athos in 493 B.C. or 492 B.C. and by the Athenian victory over a Persian expeditionary force that landed at Marathon in 490 B.C.

**481 B.C.–479 B.C.**

### Xerxes's Invasion of Greece

In a massive three-year operation chronicled by Herodotus, the Persian king Xerxes leads the largest armed force ever seen westward into Greece, which he invades by land and sea. The major clashes of the invasion are the battles of Thermopylae and Salamis in 480 B.C. and the battles of Plataea and Mycale in 479 B.C.

**478 B.C.–450 B.C.**

### Athenian Maritime Alliance Campaigns

The Athenians take over the role of hegemon (war leader) from the Spartans and lead annual campaigns of retribution against the western maritime territories of the Persian Empire. Allied with them are the Greek islands and cities that were liberated from the Persians during or after Xerxes's invasion. Modern historians often call this group of allies the Delian League.

**449 B.C.–413 B.C.**

### The Age of Peace

After the Athenians negotiate the Peace of Callias with the Persian king Artaxerxes I, major hostilities between Greece and Persia cease.

**412 B.C.–386 B.C.**

### The Weakening of Athens and Sparta

The Persian kings and the satraps of Asia Minor use their gold to fund the wars between Athens and Sparta, thus playing the two leading states of Greece against each other and fatally weakening both. The Persians pay for a Spartan fleet, which gains victory for Sparta at the end of the famous Peloponnesian War in 404 B.C.; 10 years later, Persia restores the naval power of Athens. In 386 B.C., Persia imposes a peace on all the Greeks, attempting to stabilize its western frontier.

**385 B.C.–335 B.C.**

### Mercenary Armies and Campaigns

The half-century that follows the King's Peace sees the prominence of mercenary armies whose campaigns influence relations between the Greeks and the Persians. Some of these armies fight to support rebels (such as the Egyptians); others fight on behalf of the satraps; and others still are hired by Persia to fight the king's wars.

**334 B.C.–323 B.C.**

### Conquests of Alexander the Great

The Greek and Persian wars come to a close with the rise of young Alexander III (Alexander the Great) as king of Macedon. Championing the Greek cause, Alexander leads an army into the heart of the Persian Empire; defeats the Persians at the Granicus River, at Issos, and at Gaugamela; and reigns briefly as Great King himself. More lasting than Alexander's military success is his dissemination of Greek culture throughout the old realm of the Persian kings, which launches the Hellenistic Age.

## Timeline

**Note:** A handy companion to the study of historical dates is E. J. Bickerman's *Chronology of the Ancient World* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1980).

### B.C.

- 546 ..... Cyrus II (known as Cyrus the Great) conquers Lydia, brings a number of Greek cities under Persian control, and initiates direct contact between Persians and Greeks; Cyrus ignores the warnings of a Spartan emissary who tells him to leave the Greek cities in peace.
- 530 ..... Cyrus dies and leaves his empire to his son Cambyses.
- 525 ..... Cambyses conquers Egypt with the participation of Ionian and Asiatic Greek forces and extends the Persian Empire into northern Africa.
- 522 ..... Cambyses dies, and a noble Persian named Darius I takes the throne, recording his triumphant accession in inscriptions and reliefs on the cliff face at Behistun and marrying Cyrus's daughter Atossa to strengthen his claim to the throne.
- 520 ..... Darius I embarks on the construction of Persepolis: the grand ceremonial center in the heart of the Persian homeland.
- c. 515 ..... Darius I sends Democedes and a contingent of Persians on a reconnaissance mission into Greek waters, with a view toward a future Persian campaign of conquest.
- c. 512 ..... Darius I leads a major expedition (again, with the assistance of the Ionian Greeks) across the Bosphorus into Europe to conquer the Scythians and the rich, grain-producing lands that border the Black Sea.
- c. 499 ..... Aristagoras, the Greek who governs Miletus in Asia Minor on behalf of the Persian king, plots a rebellion against the Persians in the hope of liberating the Ionians; Aristagoras crosses the Aegean to mainland Greece to seek assistance for his rebellion from the Spartans (who refuse) and the Athenians (who send a force of hoplite soldiers); the Greek forces take the Persians by surprise at the Battle of Sardis but suffer a severe defeat after their victory.
- c. 494 ..... The Persians suppress the Ionian revolt, defeat the Greek fleets at the Battle of Lade, and take the city of Miletus after a siege; the Ionians and the Greeks of Asia either flee or submit to Persian rule.
- 493 ..... Themistocles is elected archon (chief magistrate) of Athens and persuades his fellow citizens to build massive fortifications at the promontory of the Piraeus to create a secure base where Athenians can either wait out a Persian siege or safely embark for a new home in southern Italy.
- c. 492 ..... Darius I sends forces into Europe under the command of his kinsman Mardonius and conquers the coastal regions of Thrace and the kingdom of Macedon; the Persian fleet is destroyed by a great north wind as the ships try to round the promontory of Mount Athos.
- 490 ..... Darius I sends an expeditionary fleet with horse transports directly across the Aegean Sea; under the leadership of Datis the Mede, the Persians capture Eretria and carry off the population to a new home in the heart of the Persian Empire; the Greeks, led by Miltiades, manage to inflict an astonishing defeat on the Persians at the Battle of Marathon.
- c. 489 ..... The Athenians, believing that they have no need of elaborate naval installations, abandon their work at the Piraeus with the walls having reached only half their proposed height.

- 486..... Darius I dies while preparing a third invasion of Greece, and Xerxes inherits both the throne and his father's ambition to conquer the Greeks; the Persian satrapies of Egypt and Babylonia revolt.
- c. 484..... Xerxes starts to assemble the Persian armada and the Grand Army.
- 483..... Xerxes sends engineers to Mount Athos to cut a canal through the neck of the peninsula; Themistocles persuades the citizens to devote the wealth from a recent silver strike in their mines to the purpose of creating a fleet of triremes.
- 481..... Xerxes sets out from Susa with his Grand Army; a council of Greeks led by the Spartans meets at the Isthmus of Corinth to plan the defense of their homeland.
- 480..... A Greek force under the command of the Spartan king Leonidas holds back the Persian army for three days at the Battle of Thermopylae; the Persian fleet suffers a decisive defeat at the Battle of Salamis.
- 479..... Mardonius, left behind in Greece by Xerxes to finish the job of conquest, burns Athens but is defeated by a grand alliance of Greeks at the Battle of Plataea; the remnant of the Persian fleet is caught on shore at the Battle of Mycale and destroyed by the Greeks.
- 478..... The Ionians decisively reject the Spartan hegemony and ally themselves with Athens instead, creating the maritime alliance known today as the Delian League.
- 477..... Under the command of Cimon, the fleet of the new Athenian maritime alliance embarks on the first of many seasons of attacks on Persian holdings and territories; Themistocles convinces the Athenians to complete the transformation of the Piraeus into the best-fortified naval base and commercial port in the Greek world.
- 472..... Aeschylus's tragedy *The Persians* is produced by Pericles at a dramatic festival.
- 471..... The Athenians turn against Themistocles and vote to ostracize him from the city.
- c. 466..... Cimon leads the naval and military forces of the Athenian alliance to their greatest victory at the Eurymedon River; using the spoils from the battles, the Athenians fortify the southern side of the Acropolis (thus preparing a terrace where the Parthenon will one day stand).
- 465..... Xerxes is assassinated; his son Artaxerxes I succeeds him.
- 462..... The empowered lower-class majority of Athenian citizens participates in a radical democratic revolution and reorganization of their government; Cimon opposes the reforms and is ostracized.
- c. 460..... The Athenians conduct a fresh series of campaigns against the Persians at the Hellespont, at Cyprus, and at Phoenicia; the Athenian fleet aids the Egyptians in a rebellion, thus inaugurating a six-year period in which Athenians share in the rule of Egypt with a native monarch.
- 454..... The Persians defeat the Athenian forces in Egypt and reclaim the country.
- 450..... Cimon, back in authority as a general after his 10-year ostracism, leads an attack on Persian holdings in Cyprus but dies during the campaign.
- 449..... Callias travels along the Royal Road to Susa and negotiates a peace with Persia, leading to the cessation of hostilities.
- 448..... Pericles begins to use the wealth from Athens's new maritime empire to usher in a Golden Age, with remarkable achievements in the fields of art, architecture, science, drama, history, political thought, and philosophy.

- c. 440 ..... Herodotus collects information about the Persian Empire and the invasion of Xerxes, writes *The Histories* (a massive work that forms the cornerstone of the new discipline of history and historical research), and presents it orally at such sites as Athens and Olympia.
- 431 ..... Fearful of growing Athenian power, the Spartans and their Peloponnesian League attack the territory of Attica, beginning the Peloponnesian War.
- 423 ..... Artaxerxes I dies and is succeeded by Darius II.
- 413 ..... The Athenians lose a huge fleet and army in an ill-advised expedition against the city of Syracuse in Sicily; Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus send envoys to Sparta promising large-scale financial support for a campaign against Athens's overseas allies and areas of imperial control.
- 412 ..... On the advice of Alcibiades, the Spartans set out to destroy Athenian power in alliance with Tissaphernes; Alcibiades himself urges Tissaphernes to use Persian gold and diplomacy to wear down both the Athenians and the Spartans; the Spartans swear an oath to return the Greek cities on the Asiatic mainland to the Great King if the Persians will help them destroy Athens.
- 410 ..... When the resurgent Athenians maintain their power on the Ionian seacoast, the Spartans seek the support of Pharnabazus; the Athenians win two naval battles against the Spartans in the Hellespont.
- 409 ..... Alcibiades helps engineer a stunning victory over both Spartans and Persians at Cyzicus.
- 404 ..... The Spartans defeat the Athenians at the Battle of Aegospotami—the last battle of the Peloponnesian War; thanks to the Persian gold provided by Prince Cyrus, the Spartans overcome the Athenians and Athens falls; Darius II dies and is succeeded by Artaxerxes II.
- 401 ..... Prince Cyrus marches into the heart of the Persian Empire with the Ten Thousand to claim the throne and dies at the Battle of Cunaxa; Xenophon helps lead the Greeks on their famous march to the sea.
- c. 400 ..... Native rulers in Egypt revolt against Persia and (aided by Greek mercenaries) maintain their independence from Persian for more than half a century.
- 394 ..... Pharnabazus persuades the Great King to place Conon in charge of a combined Persian and Athenian fleet that breaks Spartan naval power in a battle off Cnidus; Pharnabazus provides Persian gold to help rebuild the naval fortifications of Athens and restore a balance of power between Athens and Sparta.
- 389 ..... The Athenians antagonize the Persians by supporting a revolt of Cypriote Greeks against the Great King.
- 386 ..... To stabilize his western frontier, Artaxerxes II imposes the King's Peace on the Greek city-states.
- 384 ..... Isocrates makes a speech at Olympia urging the Greeks to unite in a Panhellenic crusade against the Persians.
- c. 366 ..... Aided in part by Greek mercenaries, the satraps of the western Persian Empire unite in a rebellion against the Great King (which is ultimately suppressed six years later).
- 361 ..... Artaxerxes II (with the aid of Greek mercenaries) suppresses a revolt in Egypt.
- 359 ..... Artaxerxes II dies and is succeeded by Artaxerxes III Ochus; Philip II becomes king of Macedon.



- 356..... A madman burns down the temple of Artemis at Ephesus; Philip II's wife, Olympias, gives birth to Alexander III.
- 346..... Isocrates recognizes in Philip II the leader who will unite the Greeks in a war against Persia.
- c. 343 ..... Artaxerxes III Ochus successfully reconquers Egypt.
- 340..... Athens declares war on Philip II; Artaxerxes III Ochus opposes Philip II's attempt to conquer the city of Perinthus, providing the Macedonians with a justification for attacking Persia.
- 337..... Philip II convenes a council of Greeks at the Isthmus of Corinth and proclaims a Panhellenic war against the Persian Empire.
- 336..... Philip II is assassinated; he is succeeded by his son Alexander III (known as Alexander the Great); Artaxerxes III Ochus dies and is succeeded by Darius III; Alexander summons the Greeks again to the Isthmus of Corinth and reaffirms his father's mission to conquer Persia.
- 334..... Alexander moves his army through western Asia Minor, defeats a Persian army at the Granicus River, wins over or conquers cities, and deprives the Persian fleet of any harbors in the region.
- 333..... Alexander treks through southern Asia Minor, cuts the Gordian knot, and routs the army of Darius III at Issos.
- 332..... Alexander besieges and captures Tyre and conquers Egypt; the oracle of Zeus Ammon at the oasis of Siwa tells Alexander that he is the son of the gods.
- 331..... Alexander founds Alexandria and leads his army to Gaugamela, where he inflicts a decisive defeat on Darius III and captures the heartland of the Persian Empire; Alexander chooses the Persian capital of Persepolis for his winter quarters and burns the great hall of the Persian kings.
- 330..... Darius III is assassinated by men who form the remnant of his force; Alexander becomes Great King (as well as king of Macedon and general of the Greeks) and embarks on a series of initiatives aimed at unifying his own people with the Persians.
- 324..... Alexander creates the Exiles Decree, which orders all Greeks to take back their exiles (many of whom were part of Alexander's army).
- 323..... Alexander dies in Babylon; his Macedonian "Successors" cut up the realm, igniting a power struggle amongst the Hellenistic kings that succeed Alexander.

## Glossary

**Achaemenid:** The dynasty of Persian kings (of which Cyrus was the first major representative), so-called because of their supposed descent from a legendary ancestor known as Achaemenes. The line of descent was broken on a number of occasions, but the designation is still applied by modern historians to the line of Persian kings down to the last one, Darius III.

**agora:** The open public space at the heart of every Greek city. It served as a civic center, a religious sanctuary, and a marketplace.

**Ahura Mazda:** The god of the Persians. A deity of the sky, light, and fire.

**archaeology:** The scientific and humanistic discipline of recovering, analyzing, and interpreting the physical remains of past cultures. From the Greek for “study of ancient things.”

**archon:** In Greek, a general term for any ruler or overseer; in Athens, the title of the chief magistrate who gave his name to the civil year from one midsummer to the next (the *eponymous archon*). Athenian archons were originally chosen by vote; shortly before the Greek and Persian wars, however, the method shifted to choice by lot.

**barbarian:** In Greek, *ho barbaros*. A term usually applied specifically to the Persians. The word had a more general application for anyone who spoke a non-Greek language and whose speech sounded to a Greek like “bar-bar-bar” (or, as we say in modern English, “blah-blah-blah”). It did not necessarily carry the modern connotation of “uncivilized savage,” but it was not a compliment either.

**“Black Athena” debate:** A scholarly controversy launched by philologist Martin Bernal concerning the debt that classical Greek civilization owed to innovations and discoveries borrowed from Egypt and the Near East.

**cuneiform:** A script developed in ancient Sumeria in Mesopotamia and widely used for millennia to record different languages throughout the Near East. Not a simple alphabet like that used by Phoenicians, Hebrews, and Greeks, cuneiform employed hundreds of characters that represented phonetic elements, complete words, and determinative qualities. Though often inscribed on stone, the script was originally used to incise signs on wet clay with the wedge-shaped end of a scribe’s stylus (*cuneus* being Latin for “wedge”).

**daric:** Gold coin first minted under Darius I and used throughout the Persian Empire. Sometimes called an *archer* because it bore the image of the Great King brandishing a bow or other weapon.

**drachma:** A common silver coin in the Greek world (also a unit of measure). During the 5<sup>th</sup> century, a drachma represented a day’s pay for a skilled rower or artisan. One hundred drachmas made a mina (roughly equivalent to a modern pound); 6,000 drachmas made a talent.

**ephor:** One of five annually elected magistrates who ran the Spartan state. The only real check on their executive and judicial powers were the votes of the open assembly of all Spartan citizens and the fact that they presided for only one year and could not hold the office more than once.

**eunuch:** A castrated male, normally abhorrent to the Greeks but important in Asiatic societies in roles ranging from the palace bureaucracies of Near Eastern kingdoms to the priests who served the mother goddess Cybele.

**Great King:** The traditional Persian title for the Achaemenid monarchs from Cyrus to Darius III, meaning a “king of kings” or ruler of an empire. The Greeks knew the term but generally used the generic term *ho basileus* or “the King.”

**hegemon:** A war leader, particularly of a powerful state (such as Sparta, Athens, or Macedon) that leads an alliance of other states.

**Hellenistic Age:** The period launched by Alexander the Great during which Greek (Hellenic) civilization spread throughout the Near East and northern Africa.

**helot:** One of a class of slaves in Spartan territory who worked the land for the Spartans during peacetime, accompanied their masters to battle during war, and in general (according to Xenophon) would have been happy to “eat the Spartans raw.”

**hemerodromos:** A professional courier in the Greek world capable of running all day to carry messages at high speed.

**henotheism:** The religious practice of the Persians, who were monotheistic themselves but tolerant of polytheism in other societies.

**hoplite:** A heavily armed Greek soldier who fought in the tightly arrayed phalanx. Full hoplite panoply consisted of a helmet, a breastplate, shin guards (greaves), a round shield, a spear, a sword, and possibly, a dagger. The name probably comes from the term for the round shield (*hoplon*), less likely from the general Greek word for gear (*hoopla*).

**hubris:** To an ancient Greek, not merely arrogance but unjust or impious violence arising from arrogance. The Greeks held Xerxes to be guilty of hubris for his acts of violence against nature in bridging the Hellespont and cutting a canal through the promontory of Mount Athos.

**magus (pl. magi):** A magus was a Persian wise man, star-watcher, magician (hence the English term *magic*), and priest of Ahura Mazda. Magi carried the sacred fire altars when Persian kings went forth to war.

**Medizer:** To a Greek, a Medizer was a turncoat who had chosen to collaborate or submit to “the Mede” (the Persians).

**metis:** In Greek, cunning intelligence. Homer had King Nestor praise the power of *metis* and devoted the *Odyssey* to showing how Odysseus used *metis* rather than brute force to overcome his opponents. Themistocles and Alcibiades in their different ways employed *metis* in battle. The Persians in general despised such cunning schemers—and suffered accordingly.

**oracle:** A site where public divination was practiced and where it was believed that one could receive guidance directly from the gods; also the religious person who spoke the prophecies (*mantis*) and the prophecy itself.

**paian:** The war cry and victory hymn of the Greeks, sung before battle by both sides and after the battle by the victors. Familiar in English by the Latin form *paean*, the word derives from an epithet of Apollo as the healing god.

**Panhellenism:** An ideal championed by such 4<sup>th</sup>-century-B.C. writers and orators as Isocrates, who envisioned a Greek world united in a crusade to conquer Persia, the common enemy, rather than continually caught up in internal wars.

**paradeisos:** Greek version of the Near Eastern term for a royal pleasure park planted with trees. In the Septuagint (the Greek version of the Hebrew Scriptures), Eden is termed a *paradeisos*, hence the modern word *paradise*.

**peltasts:** Lightly armed troops who used missiles at close quarters rather than swords or spears (as hoplites did).

**phalanx:** From the same Greek word that serves for “finger,” the military phalanx was an array of hoplites in tightly packed lines, often eight deep. They advanced with spears held before them and, provided the terrain was level, were almost invincible unless outflanked.

**polis (pl. poleis):** In Greek, not merely a city but a city-state, comprising the walled urban community and the surrounding lands. Some *poleis*, such as Athens and Sparta, grew to incorporate many other communities in their territory, but each was still thought of as a *polis*.

**Royal Road:** To a Greek, the Royal Road was the limited-access highway that ran for 1,600 miles from Sardis in western Asia Minor to the Persian capital at Susa beyond the Tigris River. There was, however, a network of royal roads throughout the Persian Empire, and the Great King depended on them for the rapid movements of his couriers, envoys, and armed forces.

**sarissa:** The pike or long, heavy spear with which Philip II of Macedon equipped his soldiers. At roughly 17 feet in length, the sarissa outclassed the older Greek spear used by hoplites, but its use required a much more intensive level of training.

**satrap:** English rendering of the Greek term for a Persian governor who governed territory (a satrapy) on behalf of the Great King. Most satraps were Persian nobles; all were required to muster troops at the Great King’s command and serve as war leaders for the contingents from their own satrapies.

**satrapy:** English rendering of the Greek term for the territory or province that a Persian governor (satrap) ruled. Each satrapy seems to have had a fixed quota of tribute that the satrap collected each year and sent to Susa or Persepolis.

**trireme:** The big-oared galley that served as the ship of line in naval battles throughout the time of the Greek and Persian wars. According to ancient sources, the Phoenicians first built triremes long before their city-states were incorporated into the Persian Empire; they used these 120-foot-long galleys for trade, exploration, and colonization. The concept of a galley with a large crew of rowers arrayed in a triple-tiered arrangement was then taken up by the Greeks. During the Greek and Persian wars, the principal naval power on the Greek side was Athens, with its fleet of 200 to 400 triremes; on the Persian side, the principal naval power was the Phoenicians, in particular, the mariners of Tyre and Sidon.

## Biographical Notes

**Aeschylus** (c. 525 B.C.–455 B.C.): Athenian poet, tragic playwright, and veteran of the battles of Marathon and Salamis who wrote the oldest dramatic work surviving today: *The Persians*, which commemorated the victory at Salamis.

**Alcibiades** (450 B.C.–404 B.C.): Athenian general in the later stages of the Peloponnesian War, notorious for his sexual escapades, his chameleon-like changes of allegiance, his disastrous advocacy of the Athenian expedition to Sicily in 413 B.C., and his contribution to the Athenian victory over a combined Spartan and Persian force at Cyzicus in 409 B.C.

**Alexander III, or Alexander the Great** (356 B.C.–323 B.C.): Son of Philip II of Macedon and Olympias and tamer of the stallion Boukephalos, Alexander inherited his father's kingdom, army, and mission to conquer Persia when he was only 20 years old. He proved equal to every challenge, defeating Darius III of Persia and waging successful campaigns from Egypt to the Indus River Valley during his reign (336 B.C.–323 B.C.). His death in Babylon has been suspected by some to be the result of poisoning.

**Antalcidas** (c. 430 B.C.–370 B.C.): Spartan commander and diplomat who achieved prominence in the decades after the end of the Peloponnesian War. He engineered the King's Peace (or the Peace of Antalcidas) in 386 B.C., which imposed peace on the warring city-states of Greece, acknowledged the Great King as an arbiter in Greek affairs, and handed the Greek cities of Asia Minor over to Persian control.

**Aristides the Just** (c. 520 B.C.–465 B.C.): Athenian general and statesman who is said to have served as general of his tribal regiment in the Athenian victory over the Persians at Marathon in 490 B.C. and was the commander-in-chief of the Athenian forces during the Battle of Plataea in 479 B.C. He earned his nickname as an arbiter, but his reputation for fairness did not save him from ostracism after he opposed Themistocles's navy bill in 483 B.C. In 478 B.C., at Byzantium, the Ionian Greeks appealed to Aristides and the other Athenians to lead them in a new maritime alliance against Persia, thus creating the organization known to modern scholars as the Delian League. Aristides was entrusted with the task of assessing the annual monetary contributions expected of each ally.

**Aristotle** (384 B.C.–322 B.C.): Greek philosopher, student of Plato in his younger days, tutor to Alexander, and head of a new school at the Lyceum in Athens (where he wrote many of his immortal treatises on science, politics, and other subjects). He believed that cultural groups such as the Persians were inherently inferior to Greeks and, therefore, that Alexander should subjugate them—advice Alexander refused to take. Aristotle is said to have received botanical and zoological specimens from the remote regions of Asia, sent back by Alexander.

**Artaxerxes I** (r. 465 B.C.–423 B.C.): This son of Xerxes is best known in the context of the Greek and Persian wars for having concluded a peace with the Athenians in 449 B.C., for recognizing the Athenian sphere of influence in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean, and for agreeing to end hostilities. The peace is called the Peace of Callias, but its terms—and even its very existence—are still fiercely debated by some scholars.

**Artaxerxes II** (r. 404 B.C.–359 B.C.): As Great King, Artaxerxes worked through the Spartan diplomat Antalcidas to impose the King's Peace of 386 B.C. on Athens, Sparta, and the other warring city-states of Greece. In doing so, he regained the Greek cities of Asia Minor but lost Egypt, which was not recovered until the days of his son and successor, Artaxerxes III Ochos. In the early years of his reign, Artaxerxes II successfully withstood a challenge from his brother Cyrus and Cyrus's army of 10,000 Greek mercenaries. He was wounded at the decisive Battle of Cunaxa in 401 B.C. and was tended by the Greek physician Ctesias.

**Artaxerxes III Ochos** (r. 359 B.C.–340 B.C.): The Great King who restored order to much of the Persian Empire and succeeded in reconquering Egypt. His attempt to prevent Philip II of Macedon from capturing the city of Perinthus near Byzantium sparked an undying hostility on the part of the Macedonian kings toward Persia. Artaxerxes III was assassinated through the intrigues of a eunuch named Bagoas.

**Artemisia** (r. early 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.): As ruler of the Dorian Greek city of Halicarnassus in southwest Asia Minor and of the nearby island of Cos, Artemisia was also a vassal of the Great King. In 480 B.C., she commanded the contingent of five triremes that Xerxes levied from her territory for his invasion of Greece. The only female combatant among the hundreds of thousands of men who followed the king, Artemisia won Xerxes's respect through her plain-speaking and sound advice, according to Herodotus (who was born at Halicarnassus under her rule). She was a special target of the Athenians at the Battle of Salamis but survived and was given the honor of transporting some of Xerxes's sons back to Asia aboard her ships.

**Atossa** (c. 550 B.C.–475 B.C.): Persian queen, daughter of Cyrus, wife of Darius I, and mother of Xerxes. Aeschylus brought her onstage with a major role in *The Persians*, in which she anxiously awaits the return of Xerxes from his expedition against Athens and summons up the ghost of her late husband, Darius I, to seek his wisdom.

**Cimon** (c. 507 B.C.–450 B.C.): Athenian general and son of Miltiades (the victor of Marathon). Cimon's mother was a Thracian princess, and he grew up outside Athens. He was too young to take a leading role in the defense of Greece against Xerxes, but his natural gifts for leadership, his wealth, his aristocratic heritage, and his affability made him the people's choice as general for some 15 years during the wars between the Delian League and the Persians. A great admirer of Sparta, Cimon "navalized" Athens in much the same way that military leaders had long before militarized Sparta. His greatest victory was won at the Eurymedon River in Asia Minor in about 466 B.C. Shortly thereafter, he became unpopular with the Athenians for his Spartan sympathies and his opposition to radical democratic reforms. After 10 years in ostracism, Cimon returned to the generalship but died while campaigning in Cyprus.

**Conon** (c. 445 B.C.–390 B.C.): Athenian naval commander who escaped from the disaster at Aegospotami in 405 B.C., maintained an exiled Athenian fleet of a few triremes in Cyprus during the decade following Athens's surrender to Sparta, and was ultimately chosen by Artaxerxes II to command a Persian-Athenian fleet against the Spartans. After his great victory off Cnidus in 394 B.C., Conon returned to Athens with enough Persian gold to rebuild the city's naval base. He was imprisoned by the satrap Tissaphernes during a diplomatic mission and died without ever returning to Athens. His son Timotheus proved a worthy successor in leading the Athenian navy to new victories.

**Croesus** (r. c. 560 B.C.–546 B.C.): Last king of the wealthy kingdom of Lydia and so rich that his name became proverbial. He ruled from the city of Sardis on the Hermon River. Croesus brought the Greek cities of the Asiatic coast under his dominion but respected their religion and consulted their oracles. His military strength depended upon the famous Lydian cavalry, as well as Greek mercenary hoplites. The Delphic Oracle told Croesus that if he crossed the river Halys he would destroy a great kingdom; he did cross the Halys River to confront Cyrus the Persian, but the great kingdom that he destroyed was Lydia itself.

**Cyrus II, or Cyrus the Great** (r. 557 B.C.–530 B.C.): This charismatic conqueror, the son of a Persian king and a Median princess, elevated the previously obscure nation of Persia to the status of a world power through his conquests of Media, Lydia, Babylonia, and central Asia. His personal qualities of honor and uprightness made Cyrus a legendary figure among peoples as diverse as the Jews and the Greeks.

**Cyrus the Prince** (c. 435 B.C.–401 B.C.): This younger son of Darius II was sent west to oversee the satrapies of Asia Minor and administer the Persian efforts to secure the defeat of Athens. Prince Cyrus's close friendship with the Spartan commander Lysander resulted in continuous funding for the Spartan naval enterprises and, ultimately, the Spartan victory in the Peloponnesian War. After the death of his father and the accession of his older brother as Artaxerxes II, Prince Cyrus assembled a large army of mercenaries, including the famous Ten Thousand, to help seize the throne; he was killed, however, at the Battle of Cunaxa.

**Darius I** (r. 522 B.C.–486 B.C.): Though not a descendant of Cyrus, Darius I became Great King after a violent struggle with other claimants following the death of Cambyses. He commemorated his success on the cliff face at Behistun. Darius I established new capitals at Susa and Persepolis and set up the well-organized administrative system of the empire that was to endure through all subsequent reigns. He added the Indus River Valley, Thrace, and the Aegean islands to the empire but failed to conquer Greece after his army was defeated by the Athenians at the Battle of Marathon in 490 B.C.

**Darius III** (r. 336 B.C.–330 B.C.): The last of the line of Persian Great Kings, Darius III acceded to the throne in the same year that Alexander the Great became king of Macedon. His reign was dominated by his unsuccessful effort to preserve the empire from conquest by Alexander, whom Darius III faced personally at Issos and Gaugamela. He was assassinated by his own courtiers.

**Datis the Mede** (early 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.): General appointed by Darius I to command the expedition against Athens and Eretria in 490 B.C. After crossing the Aegean and bringing many islands under Persian control, Datis succeeded in taking Eretria but was defeated by the Athenians during the Marathon campaign. It is not clear whether he was present at the famous battle or was in the process of transporting his cavalry around to Athens by ship at the time.

**Democedes** (late 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.): A self-taught Greek physician, Democedes was born in Croton in southern Italy and held posts of honor as a medical expert in Aegina, Athens, and Samos before being captured by the Persians. He

gained the trust of both Darius I and his wife, Atossa, and was appointed by Darius to lead a Persian reconnaissance mission around the seas and coasts of Greek territories in about 515 B.C.

**Herodotus** (c. 490 B.C.–425 B.C.): Famous as the “father of history,” Herodotus left his home in Halicarnassus as a young man and spent many years traveling throughout the lands around the Mediterranean. He assembled the *Histories*, a history of the Greek and Persian wars, from accounts of eyewitnesses and local traditions woven into a larger narrative about the rise of Persia and the longstanding conflicts between East and West. Part raconteur, part geographer, and part ethnographer, Herodotus found a wide audience for his narrative at such sites as Athens and Olympia. He deplored the Peloponnesian War that pitted Greek against Greek and, at the end of his life, was a citizen of the new Panhellenic colony of Thuriae in Italy.

**Isocrates** (436 B.C.–338 B.C.): Extraordinarily long-lived Athenian teacher of rhetoric, who was still writing remarkable orations at the age of 99. He was a pupil of Socrates, a friend of the general Timotheus, and a supporter of Philip II of Macedon’s claims to leadership in the Greek world. In the political arena, Isocrates is most important for his championship of the vision of Panhellenic unity and a Greek crusade against the Persian Empire.

**Leonidas** (r. c. 490 B.C.–480 B.C.): A king of Sparta famous for commanding the contingent of 300 Spartans and several thousand other Greeks who held the pass at Thermopylae in 480 B.C. against the gigantic army of Xerxes. Leonidas rose to heroic stature when he refused to surrender, even though he and his men were surrounded. He roused his men to fight to the death, thus creating inspiring martyrs at a time when the Greek cause desperately needed such a unifying example.

**Leotychidas** (r. 491 B.C.–469 B.C.): A king of Sparta whose reign overlapped that of the more famous Leonidas (there were two royal lineages in Sparta and, therefore, a double kingship). Leotychidas was put in command of the allied Greek fleet in 479 B.C. and succeeded in destroying the remnant of Xerxes’s armada at the Battle of Mycale in Asia Minor. His reluctance to defend the newly liberated Ionian Greeks was the first step in turning them toward a strong allegiance to Athens rather than Sparta.

**Lysander** (c. 440 B.C.–395 B.C.): Spartan admiral (*navarchos*) and victor in the naval battles of Notion and Aegospotami. Perhaps the greatest strategist that Sparta ever produced, Lysander was also successful as a diplomat, and his friendship with the Persian prince Cyrus ensured the continued flow of the Persian gold that funded the Spartan naval effort. He took credit for the Spartan victory over Athens in the Peloponnesian War, but his unbridled ambition eventually became intolerable to the Spartans at home and the oppressed allies abroad.

**Mardonius** (early 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.): Persian general under Darius I and Xerxes who urged a policy of aggression against Greece in the hope of becoming satrap of the Hellenic lands once the conquest was achieved. In about 492 B.C., he successfully invaded Thrace on behalf of Darius I. Mardonius is best known, however, as the general left behind by Xerxes with orders to complete the conquest of Greece after the naval disaster at Salamis. He was killed during the Battle of Plataea in 479 B.C.

**Miltiades** (c. 554 B.C.–489 B.C.): Athenian military leader famous for his successful generalship at the Battle of Marathon in 490 B.C. against a Persian expeditionary force. Earlier in his career, Miltiades had ruled the Gallipoli Peninsula as a sort of personal fiefdom; he then became a vassal of the Great King and participated in Darius I’s campaign to Scythia. Miltiades’s standing was so high in the Aegean world that he was able to marry a Thracian princess; their son Cimon inherited his father’s abilities as a commander.

**Olympias** (mid-4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.): A daughter of the Molossian king from a mountainous realm in northern Greece, Olympias met Philip II of Macedon at Samothrace and subsequently married him. She bore Philip II’s first male heir, Alexander, and exerted a powerful influence on the young conqueror’s early years. Olympias outlived both her husband and her son but died during the struggles between Alexander’s successors.

**Pausanias the Regent** (late 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.–early 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.): A nephew of King Leonidas, Pausanias became regent with royal powers after Leonidas’s death at Thermopylae (Leonidas’s own son was still too young to rule). Pausanias achieved glory when he led the Greek army to victory at Plataea in 479 B.C., thus ending Xerxes’s hopes of conquering the Greek mainland. His high-handed behavior toward the Ionian Greeks at Byzantium the following year drove them into an alliance with Athens and created the Delian League.

**Pericles** (c. 494 B.C.–429 B.C.): Athenian general, statesman, and visionary architect of Athens’s Golden Age. Pericles was the son of Xanthippus (the Athenian general at Mycale) and Agariste (a member of the powerful and wealthy Alcmaeonid clan). Pericles first came to prominence in his early 20s when he sponsored the production of Aeschylus’s *Persians*. As general, he led naval expeditions into former Persian waters when he took Athenian fleets

into the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea. After the Peace of Callias, Pericles devoted himself to beautifying Athens with the wealth of the maritime empire.

**Pharnabazus** (late 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.–early 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.): A Persian noble who served as satrap of the satrapy in northern Asia Minor that stretched along the Hellespont, the Sea of Marmara, and the Bosphorus (with a capital at Dascylium). Pharnabazus strove to help the Spartans overcome the Athenians in the closing years of the Peloponnesian War. Within a decade, he was aiding the Athenian Conon in an effort at sea to destroy Spartan hegemony. Most Greeks found him to be the very pattern of Persian honor and nobility.

**Philip II** (382 B.C.–336 B.C.): King of Macedon and father of Alexander the Great. Philip II's ambition was to transform the mountainous and forested kingdom of Macedon into a world power. He created a new type of phalanx armed with long pikes (sarissas), coordinated the movements of infantry and cavalry, and kept his men in training through a professionalized military service. At the end of his life, the adept diplomat became the hegemon of the Greek city-states and planned an invasion of Persia but was assassinated before he could carry it out.

**Themistocles** (c. 523 B.C.–459 B.C.): Athenian statesman and master strategist who guided the Greeks to victory in 480 B.C. during the invasion of Xerxes. He believed that Athens's future lay with the sea and was responsible for persuading the Athenians to fortify the Piraeus and to use the proceeds from a silver strike to build a fleet of 200 triremes. In the end, however, the Athenians turned against him and he had to seek protection from the Great King. He died in Persian territory, still in disgrace with the Athenians.

**Thucydides** (c. 454 B.C.–c. 404 B.C.): A wealthy Athenian general in the early years of the Peloponnesian War, Thucydides was banished for failure to carry out a mission. He took advantage of his exile to write the *Histories*: an account of the war and the world's first work of true analytical historical composition. His work is unfinished, but it is clear in the final sections (dealing with the years after 413 B.C.) that he began to perceive the important role that would be played by Persia in settling the affairs of the Greek city-states.

**Tissaphernes** (late 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.–early 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.): Satrap of western Asia Minor (which he governed from the provincial capital at Sardis), Tissaphernes was a cunning diplomat and schemer, useful at times as an ally to both Spartans and Athenians. He was a friend of Alcibiades during the latter's stay in Asia Minor. Later, Tissaphernes became embroiled in the dynastic struggle between Prince Cyrus and Artaxerxes II and was ultimately executed on the orders of the Great King.

**Xenophon** (c. 428 B.C.–354 B.C.): A noble Athenian and pupil of Socrates, most famous for writing the *Anabasis* (*Going Up*, a.k.a., *The Persian Expedition*), an account of his adventures in marching with the Ten Thousand in 401 B.C. He is a vital source for information about Persian life, customs, and administration in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. He put some of his idealistic thoughts on the Persians into his book *Cyropaedia* (*The Education of Cyrus*). He accompanied Prince Cyrus into the heart of the Persian Empire in Cyrus's attempt to gain the throne. In later life, Xenophon campaigned with the Spartans, whom he found more admirable than his fellow Athenians.

**Xerxes** (r. 486 B.C.–465 B.C.): A king of Persia and the son of Darius I and Atossa, Xerxes is best known through the pages of Herodotus's *Histories* as the king who led the largest army and fleet ever assembled in an unsuccessful attempt to conquer Greece (481 B.C.–479 B.C.). He was assassinated 14 years later, having spent most of the rest of his reign with his harem. He was probably the Persian king who appears in the Book of Esther.



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Trundle, Matthew. *Greek Mercenaries: From the Late Archaic Period to Alexander*. London: Routledge, 2004. An up-to-date survey of current scholarship on mercenaries in their social and economic settings, rather than on the battlefield. The book provides a good background for an understanding of Xenophon and the Ten Thousand.

Tuplin, Christopher, ed. *Persian Responses: Political and Cultural Interaction with(in) the Achaemenid Empire*. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2007. As the cute typography of the subtitle suggests, the 14 essays in this book are more revealing of current academic trends than of substantial new insights into Persian history and civilization. You will want it for the sake of half a dozen superb essays, headed by Alan Lloyd on Darius in Egypt, Robin Lane Fox on Alexander as the "last of the Achaemenids," and Lindsay Allen and St. John Simpson with two views of the rediscovery of Persepolis by early travelers.

Warry, John Gibson. *Warfare in the Classical World*. London: Salamander Books, 1980. The subtitle says it all: *An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Weapons, Warriors, and Warfare in the Ancient Civilizations of Greece and Rome*.

Wartenberg, Ute. *After Marathon: War, Society and Money in Fifth-Century Greece*. London: British Museum Press, 1995. An absorbing study of Greek history as seen through the lens of coins minted by Athens and other city-states. The author is a noted numismatist and formerly the assistant keeper of coins and medals in the British Museum.

Waterford, Robin. *Xenophon's Retreat: Greece, Persia, and the End of the Golden Age*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006. Waterford, a translator of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, covered much of the route of the Ten Thousand in a Land Rover Discovery and actually succeeded in identifying a cairn that may be the monument raised by the Greek mercenaries when they first caught sight of the Black Sea. He summarizes Xenophon's account and adds many historical and speculative reflections of his own.

Welsh, Frank. *Building the Trireme*. London: Constable and Company, Ltd., 1988. This account of the design, construction, and sea trials of the ship *Olympias* was written by a member of the Trireme Trust and provides an engaging personal diary of the project.

Wood, Michael. *In the Footsteps of Alexander the Great: A Journey from Greece to Asia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997. A popular account of the author's own trek along Alexander's route, with all the benefits to be derived from an eyewitness description of the terrain. Particularly valuable for tracing the surviving local traditions about the larger-than-life Alexander in art, drama, and song.

Xenophon. *A History of My Times*. Rex Warner, trans. New York: Penguin, 1978. A classic translation (with a provocative introduction) of Xenophon's attempt to conclude Thucydides's history—an attempt that grew into an idiosyncratic chronicle of the entire half-century that followed the end of the Peloponnesian War.

———. *The Persian Expedition*. Rex Warner, trans. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972. The translation of the *Anabasis* of Xenophon, the account of the adventures of the Ten Thousand; contains an introduction and notes by George Cawkwell.