A COMPANION TO THE CLASSICAL GREEK WORLD

Edited by

Konrad H. Kinzl

Blackwell Publishing

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Sarah B. Pomeroy, Distinguished Professor of Classics Emerita, Hunter College and the Graduate School, CUNY, is the author of many books on women and ancient history, including *Goddesses, whores, wives, and slaves: women in classical antiquity* (New York 1975/1995), *Women in Hellenistic Egypt from Alexander to Cleopatra* (New York 1984), *Xenophon*, Oeconomicus: *a social and historical commentary; with a new English translation* (Oxford 1994), *Families in classical and Hellenistic Greece: representations and realities* (Oxford 1997), and *Spartan women* (New York 2002). She is also co-author of *Women's realities, women's choices: an introduction to women's studies* (New York ^{3}2005), *Women's history and ancient history* (Chapel Hill 1991), *Women in the classical world: image and text* (Oxford 1995), *A brief history of ancient Greece* (New York 2004), and *Plutarch's* Advice to the bride and groom, *and* A consolation to his wife (Oxford 1999).

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Uwe Walter is Professor of Ancient History at the University of Bielefeld. He has worked on the early Greek polis, Roman historiography, the culture of historical memory in the Roman Republic, and the history of classical scholarship. His most recent book is *Memoria und res publica: Zur Geschichtskultur der römischen Republik* (Frankfurt 2004).

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Preface

It is the editor's hope that this volume will offer, by its structure, organization and concept, an inspiring perspective, and will serve that audience well which Blackwell had in mind when they embarked on this enterprise: as 'a personal reference source for specialist historians, particularly those operating in adjacent fields of history, and as a ''vade mecum'' for undergraduate and graduate students'.

It is hoped that readers will in particular find much assembled here between the covers of one volume which they could otherwise locate only in a widely scattered variety of scholarly publications; and which they will not find in other volumes on this difficult period of ancient Greek History: chapters on government, the environment, art, philosophy, rhetoric, religion, society; on far distant regions to which ancient Greek civilization had spread or by which it was influenced, from the 'Pillars of Hercules' to Persia and India, and from the Crimea to North Africa. The historical narrative, while in many ways the backbone of any historical investigation, has been placed at the end of the volume in order to allow attention to be drawn to the many other aspects – not to negate its essential function.

As for maps, attention must be drawn first and foremost to R. J. A. Talbert (2000) (ed.) *Barrington Atlas of the Ancient World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press). Excellent maps are available on the Internet from the related resource Ancient World Mapping Center (Access: http://www.unc.edu/awmc/). With the exception on one map on page xix, Blackwell Publishing therefore decided not to include additional maps in this edition.

The history of this volume, like that of many a book, is a somewhat complex and varied one. My own original plan for this volume constitutes the conceptual backbone. For a period, at my request and until he was compelled, for personal reasons, to withdraw from the project, Professor Lawrence A. Tritle of Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, served as co-editor, especially by recruiting a number of important contributors whilst I was on a year of sabbatical leave in Athens during 2001–2.

A special and personal debt of gratitude is owed by me to Al Bertrand, without whose untiring support I would not have been able to rescue and complete the volume; to Angela Cohen for her most effective work; to all others who worked at or for Blackwell Publishing on this volume; and last but not least to Dr Thomas Elliott for generously creating the original blank map for use in this book. The most deeply felt expression of gratitude, however, must go to the contributors of the chapters, *who collectively are the authors of this book*.

Konrad H. Kinzl

Abbreviations and a Note on Spelling

This list resolves or explains abbreviations of frequently cited ancient authors or their works, editions and translations of inscriptions, books, and journals.

Ancient Authors

Ath. Pol.	(1) Aristotle (some contributors who wish to indicate that they question his immediate authorship write Aristotelian or Pseudo-Aristotle or [Aristotle]) *Constitution of Athens* (*Athenaion Politeia*); normally, *Ath. Pol.* without author's name refers to this treatise (2) [Xenophon] or Pseudo-Xenophon (i.e., the work was transmitted amongst the genuine ones by Xenophon but wrongly ascribed to him in antiquity) *Constitution of Athens* (*Athenaion Politeia*); often referred to as 'The Old Oligarch'
Athenaios	Athenaios (or Athenaeus) *The Learned Banquet* (*Deiphnosophistai*)
Diodoros	Diodoros (or Diodorus Siculus) *Historical Library* (*Bibliotheke Historike*)
Hdt.	Herodotos (or Herodotus) *Histories*
Lak. Pol.	Xenophon *Constitution of Sparta* (*Lakedaimonion Politeia*)
Polyainos	Polyainos (or Polyaenus) *On Stratagems* (*Strategemata*)
Suda	Byzantine period lexicon (sometimes, erroneously, referred to as the author Suidas)
Thuc.	Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War*

Collections of Authors (Largely only Fragmentary)

Diels-Kranz	Diels, H. (^{6}1951–2) *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* ed. W. Kranz, 3 vols (numerous repr.) (Berlin: Weidmann; now Hildesheim: Olms)
FGrHist	Jacoby, F., et al. (1923–) *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* [in progress], parts A and B (Berlin: Weidmann; parts A–C now: Leiden: Brill; CD-Rom ed. Leiden: Brill 2004; new part '4' Leiden: Brill 1998–)

	(Worthington, I. (ed.-in-chief), et al.) (2006–) *Brill's New Jacoby*, parts A–C (updated text, with trans. and new comm.) (Leiden: Brill))
Kassel & Austin	Kassel, R., & C. Austin (1983–) *Poetae Comici Graeci*, 8 vols [in progress] (Berlin: de Gruyter)

Inscriptions

Greek texts

IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin: de Gruyter (formerly Reimer) 1873–)
IG 1^3	Lewis, D. M. (ed.) *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anteriores*, fasc.1: *Decreta et tabulae magistratuum*; fasc. 2: *Dedicationes, catalogi, termini, tituli sepulcrales, varia, tituli Attici extra Atticam reperti, addenda*; fasc. 3: *Indices* (Berlin: de Gruyter ^{3}1981–98)
IG 2^2	Kirchner, J. (ed.) *Inscriptiones Graecae*, editio minor, vol. 2/3: *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores* (Berlin: de Gruyter (formerly Reimer) 1924–40)
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
Staatsverträge	Bengtson, H. (1975) *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums*, vol. 2 (Munich: Beck ^{2}1975)

Greek texts with commentaries

M&L	Meiggs, R., & D. M. Lewis (1988) *A selection of Greek historical inscriptions to the end of the fifth century B.C.* (revised ed.) (Oxford: Clarendon 1988)
R&O	Rhodes, P. J., & R. Osborne (2003) (eds) *Greek historical inscriptions, 400–323 BC* (ed. with intro., trans., and comm.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
Tod	Tod, M. N. (1933–48) *A selection of Greek historical inscriptions*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon)

Translations (including otherwise inaccessible literary texts)

Fornara	Fornara, C. W. (1983) *Archaic times to the end of the Peloponnesian War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press ^{2}1983) (Translated Documents of Greece and Rome 1)
Harding	Harding, P. (1985) *From the end of the Peloponnesian war to the battle of Ipsus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) (Translated Documents of Greece and Rome 2)

Standard Works of Reference

CAH^{2}4	Boardman, J., N. G. L. Hammond, D. M. Lewis, M. Ostwald (eds) *The Cambridge ancient history*, vol. 4: *Persia, Greece and the western Mediterranean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press ^{2}1988)
CAH^{2}5	Lewis, D. M., J. Boardman, J. K. Davies, M. Ostwald (eds) *The Cambridge ancient history*, vol. 5: *The fifth century B.C.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press ^{2}1992)
CAH^{2}6	Lewis, D. M., J. Boardman, S. Hornblower, M. Ostwald (eds) *The Cambridge ancient history*, vol. 6: *The fourth century B.C.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press ^{2}1994)
OCD^3	Hornblower, S., & A. Spawforth (eds) *The Oxford classical dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press ^{3}1996)

Journals

AJAH	*American Journal of Ancient History*
AJAH ns	*American Journal of Ancient History* new series (vols 1– (2002–))
AJPh	*American Journal of Philology*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondence hellénique*
CJ	*Classical Journal*
CPh	*Classical Philology*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CR	*Classical Review*
CSCA	*California Studies in Classical Antiquity*
G&R	*Greece and Rome*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
HSPh	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
JFA	*Journal of Field Archaeology*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JMA	*Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*
LCM	*Liverpool Classical Monthly*
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle*
PCPhS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
TAPhA	*Transactions* [formerly: *Transactions and Proceedings*] *of the American Philological Association*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

A Note on Spelling

Ancient Greek names are as far as possible rendered in what might be labelled moderate transliteration. As a model I cite J. K. Davies' *Athenian propertied families, 600–300 B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon 1972). I also transliterate familiar names which in English *pronunciation* are identical to the Latinized/Anglicized forms, e.g., Sokrates, Herodotos, Attika. The common English is retained only for names which are to all intents and purposes part of the English language, such as Macedonia, Athens, Plutarch, Thucydides. Cases of doubt must inevitably remain.

The various chapters were written using UK or US spelling; it would have been presumptuous for the editor to impose 'foreign' spelling rules on the authors' work. The same difference occurs in the chapter bibliographies, in which a UK author will cite the UK publisher and the US author the US publisher of one and the same title: any library or bookseller's catalogue will provide instant clarification.

Map 1 Southern Italy and Sicily. Physical base map by Tom Elliott, courtesy of the Ancient World Mapping Center, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (www.unc.edu/awmc)

CHAPTER ONE

The Classical Age as a Historical Epoch

Uwe Walter

1 Introduction

To call the epoch in Greek history between the end of the great Persian War in 479/8 and the death of Alexander the Great in 323 the 'Classical Age' poses a problem. This is, admittedly, not a problem waiting to be solved and then set aside – rather, this problem is provocative, insolubly imprecise and perhaps still a challenge. The use of the term 'Classical' for a particular epoch in Greek history and 'Classics' for a branch of higher learning, and the term 'Classical Studies' for an entire discipline, makes one thing unmistakably clear: modern study of ancient history was at the very outset, for a long time continued to be, and indeed has ever since been inextricably associated with aesthetic, qualitative and normative ideas. When in the middle of the eighteenth century, i.e., long before the major archaeological excavations in Greece, Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–68) began his study of ancient art, far fewer remains of this art existed or were accessible than is the case today. The relatively few pieces of sculpture which had not become buried – all Roman copies of original Greek masterpieces – were for Winckelmann, however, not only the remains of a bygone era, but above all examples of a consummate artistic view of man. His description of the Apollo Belvedere begins with the sentence: 'The statue of Apollo represents the highest artistic ideal of all the surviving works of antiquity.' In his *Reflections on Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks* (1755, English trans. 1765), Winckelmann formulated the credo of a new Humanism: 'The only way for us to become great, or even inimitable if possible, is to imitate the Greeks' (on all this in general, Marchand 1996).

The rediscovery of Greece, fostered primarily by the drawings and descriptions of buildings in Athens by James Spratt and Nicholas Revett (*The Antiquities of Athens*, 4 vols, 1762–1808), and the championing of freedom by the Philhellenes increased the feeling of affinity with the ancient Greeks. This was expressed most succinctly in the famous words of the Romantic poet Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822): 'We are all

Greeks. Our laws, our literature, our religion, our arts, have their roots in Greece' (on Shelley, Wallace 1997). When in the wake of the French Revolution in Europe political parties began to take shape, they all sought and found their political and cultural guarantors in the Greeks (Morris 1994: 29–30). From the perspective of conservatives, Greece stood for order, tradition and self-discipline, while for liberals like George Grote, the ancient Athenians in particular were the ideal of the active citizen, whereas for radicals like Shelley, the Hellenes represented the combination of republicanism, liberty and living life to the full. Even kings could attain self-glorification by formal recourse to the Greeks: in 1802, Antonio Canova created a colossal nude marble portrait statue of Napoleon, in a Greek pose, holding Victory on a sphere in his outstretched hand, striking the same pose as Pheidias' Athena in the Parthenon (Boardman 1993: pl. IV).

This power of the Greek ideal exerted a very significant influence on the study of the Hellenes, at least at the outset. For instance, Ernst Curtius (1814–96), the excavator of Olympia and author of a widely read *History of Greece* (English ed. in 5 vols, 1868–73), in a public lecture in 1844 still emphasized completely in this spirit the importance of the Akropolis in Athens: 'The breath of new life has crossed from there into our art *and scholarship* [my emphasis].' To this very day every serious definition of the term 'classical' (for a general discussion, Porter 2006, intro., with further bibliography) must place this idea of impulse and dynamics in the foreground. 'Classical' means something old, which has stood the test of time and speaks to every generation as if it had been designed for precisely that generation. It is obvious, however, that not all previous eras could be regarded as equally creative in this sense. The Apollo Belvedere, Winckelmann's model, was produced about 330–320 (Figure 1.1; Boardman 1993: no. 133), and the buildings on the Akropolis in the second half of the fifth century – accordingly, both in the 'Classical Period' of Greek art and Greek history. In connection with the structures from the time of Perikles – not only those on the Akropolis – Plutarch offered the following comment in the second century CE:

> For every particular piece of his work was immediately, even at that time, for its beauty and elegance, antique; and yet in its vigour and freshness looks to this day as if it were just executed. There is a sort of bloom of newness upon those works of his, preserving them from the touch of time, as if they had some perennial spirit and undying vitality mingled in the composition of them. (Plutarch *Perikles* 13.2; trans. J. Dryden)

By contrast, in modern study of classical antiquity, especially in Greek and Roman history, this value-laden affinity between classical Greece and our own time is cited as a mere convention or vigorously denied. A statement by the German ancient historian Christian Meier may suffice for the first position:

> In describing the characteristic features of Greek civilization, it is customary to invoke the concept of the 'classical' – a model for many, the attraction of which lay in all that had been achieved, experienced and represented, within the narrow confines of the world of the polis, in terms of accomplishments, of intellectual questions and matching up to the questioning, of human greatness and commensurability with events. (Meier 1990: 25)

In opposition to this convention, it is currently fashionable to emphasize precisely the strangeness of the Greeks. According to Cartledge, the object is 'to defamiliarize

Figure 1.1 The Apollo Belvedere, c. 330–320 BCE. Ht. 2.24 m. Roman marble copy of the original bronze. Vatican Museums, Rome. Photo: Hirmer Verlag München.

Classical Greek civilization, to fracture that beguilingly easy identification with the ancient Greeks which reached a climax in post-Enlightenment Germany, Second Empire France, and Victorian Britain, and which still has its residual adherents today, partly no doubt for political rather than purely academic reasons' (Cartledge 1993: 175). This historicizing often takes on the character of vigorous iconoclasm, in which exclusion and suppression of slaves, women, foreigners and the underprivileged in everyday life and in the mentality of the Greeks are emphasized (e.g., Cohen 2000; von den Hoff & Schmidt 2001). Moreover, the concerted efforts since the mid-1980s to conduct a 'more realistic discourse which treats Greek and Eastern Mediterranean history as a continuum and thereby begins to dissolve the intrinsically racist distinction between ''Greek'' and ''oriental'' ' (Davies 2002: 235–6) point in this direction. The relevant specialized studies admittedly concentrate rather on the Archaic Period. More recent general introductions to Greek history, in which the word 'classical' appears in the title (e.g., Davies 1993; cf. Osborne 2000), are not, however, essentially different in their conceptual orientation from those studies which avoid the term and indicate their subject by means of simply a neutral date (e.g., Hornblower 2002; *CAH*^{2} 5 and 6). In the political and 'realistically' written grand narrative histories of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by George Grote, Karl Julius Beloch and Eduard Meyer, and even in Jacob Burckhardt's four-volume *Griechische Kulturgeschichte* (1898–1902; Burckhardt 1998), the term 'classical' is not found in either the title or the chapter heading of a single one. For these authors, however, the principal importance of ancient history and culture was still completely self-evident. Then, however, within the context of the new intellectual approach after the First World War, scholars adopted the concept of 'classical' (see Jaeger 1931; Reinhardt 1941; Borbein 1995).

2 Classical – Primarily as a Feature in Literature and Art

The word 'classic', which means 'regarded as representing an exemplary standard' and 'outstanding of its kind', is derived from the Latin adjective *classicus*, 'member of a tax class (*classis*)'; *classicus* belongs to the vocabulary of Roman social hierarchy. The learned Roman writer Cornelius Fronto (second century CE) used it in an evaluative and superlative sense to designate outstanding writers (*classicus*, *assiduusque scriptor*, *non proletarius*: 'a high-ranking and authoritative writer, not one of the common herd', Aulus Gellius *Noctes Atticae* 19.8.15). In the sense of 'first class', and therefore by inference also 'exemplary', the word appears for the first time in French. In 1548, Thomas Sébillet (1512–89), in his *Art poétique françois*, spoke of *les bons et classiques poètes françois* ('the excellent and classic French poets'); he had in mind a number of the 'exemplary' poets of the Middle Ages. Since only ancient writers, however, were regarded as exemplary within the context of humanist education, the adjective 'classical' was soon reserved only for them – and referred almost exclusively to non-Christian writers. Accordingly, the term 'Classical antiquity' refers to the pagan Greeks and Romans from Homer to late antiquity. The concept 'classical' retained its qualitative meaning, but could be identified with a very specific period or several periods, whose cultural achievements were regarded as outstanding and exemplary. Voltaire (1694–1778), accordingly, called the era of Perikles, the Age of Augustus

Table 1.1 The Classical Age

	Art			Political History			
	Epoch	Style	Significant sculptures and buildings	Epoch	Significant events		
490	Early Classical	*'Severe style'*	Critian Boy (c. 485–480) Tyrannicides (476) Temple of Zeus in Olympia (c. 465–460)	Persian Wars (499–479)	Battle of Marathon (490) Battle of Salamis (480)	490	
480						480	
470				Pentekontaetia (478–432)	Rise of the Athenian Empire (since 478)	470	Bipolar Greece (478–404)
460						460	
450					'Age of Perikles' (450–429)	450	
440	High Classical		Parthenon (448–432) Doryphoros (c. 440) Kresilas' portraiture of Perikles (c. 430)			440	
430						430	
420				Peloponnesian War (431–404)		420	
410		*'Rich style'*				410	
400					Thirty Tyrants (404/3)	400	
390	Late Classical			Sparta	'King's Peace' (387/6)	390	Multipolar Greece (394–361)
380					Battle of Leuktra (371)	380	
370			Eirene of Ke-phi-so-do-tos (c.375)	Struggle for hegemony (404–338) Thebes	Battle of Mantineia (362)	370	
360						360	
350						350	
340						340	
330				Macedonian hegemony	Battle of Chaironeia (338)	330	Greece dominated (since 338)
320			Apollo Belvedere		Alexander in Asia (since 334)	320	
				HELLENISM			

and that of Louis XIV each a 'Golden Age' – and associated with them 'classical' authors who were a characteristic feature of each of these cultural high-points. In the nineteenth century this emphasis in terminology, which was at the same time accompanied by a narrowing in meaning, entered the field of Classical Studies. Now works written in the fifth and fourth centuries, chiefly in Athens and in the Attic dialect, were designated as 'classical Greek literature'. While the nature of our sources, mostly written in the Attic dialect, determined the Athenocentricity of the Classical model, it was only too easy to corroborate it by quoting from the ancient authors. The historian Thucydides (c. 460–400) called Athens the 'School of Hellas' (*paideia tes Hellados*) (Thuc. 2.41.1), and Plato (428–347) praised his home town as the 'very sanctuary of the wisdom of Greece' (Plato *Protagoras* 337D).

As could already be learned from Winckelmann, Stuart and Curtius, Greek antiquity of the fifth and fourth centuries did not exert a lasting influence in art in only the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This is not the place to discuss the periods and the problem of Classicism (for a succinct overview, see *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Deluxe Edition CD-ROM 2001): entries 'Classicism' and 'Neoclassicism'). In all the branches of Classical Studies, however, it is probably Classical archaeology that is most profoundly characterized by the 'Classical' ideal of form and expression. At the same time, it was influenced by literature on the history of art, and again by Winckelmann, who was exclusively engaged in clarifying the development of styles in the various art genres. Since the 1920s the normative, and therefore, strictly speaking, the timeless notion of 'classical' simultaneously denotes a specific phase in a historical development (the fifth and fourth centuries) – a phase which is regarded as the qualitative pinnacle. Scholars attempted to explain the outstanding virtues of Classical art – harmony, balance and

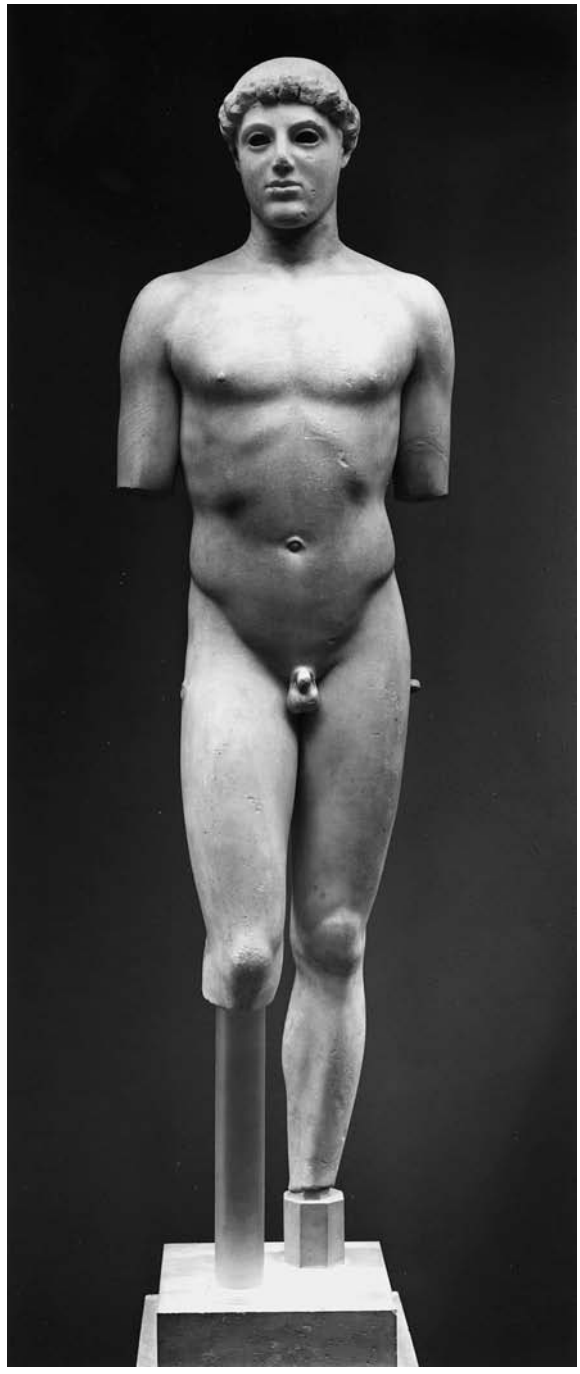

Figure 1.2 The Critian Boy, c. 485–480 BCE. Athens Akropolis Museum. Ht. 1.17 m. DAI, Athens. Neg. No. 1972/2938. Photographer: Hellner.

general validity – by claiming that the Classical Period lay between an Archaic era mired in tradition and a Hellenistic Period characterized by individualism. In the Classical Period the tensions between tradition and self-determination, between adherence to the polis and individualism, self-control and striving for power, it was argued, developed into a dialectic process. Sculpture no less than tragedy, historiography and philosophy strove to express these tensions, to reflect them, and to overcome them (see Pollitt 1972; Borbein 1993). Such explanations may be of interest as documents of a meta-historical character. No one nowadays, however, would consider the Archaic Period merely as an epoch of departure rather than fulfilment (a stage that could by definition be reached only during the Classical Period), or see Hellenism as the dissolution and decay of the zenith reached by the classical forms.

Archaeologists, however, believe themselves to be on firmer ground when it comes to working out an internal division of the Classical Period on the basis of prominent works of sculpture. The diagnostic starting point was contraposition, which gave a more natural appearance than the stiff poses of the older figures. By shifting the weight to the supporting leg, the figure created the impression of actually moving. Contraposition affected the entire figure, so that it now emerged as a unified organism. In this sense the Critian Boy (Figure 1.2; Boardman 1993: 88) represents a decisive step from the Archaic to the Classical Period.

Classical art strives for perfection, but at the same time provides scope for change and creative competition. On the one hand, this quality corroborates Winckelmann's idea and that of the Neo-Humanists, but, on the other, it warns against the danger of inertia which threatens everything Classical. The Classical archaeologist John Boardman describes this feature as follows:

> The 'classical orders' of architecture carry connotations of fixed rules and forms which, however, as study shows, were not blindly followed as a pattern-book, but which served as models within which subtleties of design and proportion could be exercised. In 'classical art' there are rules too, including a certain agreement to observe realistic rendering of the human figure, but generally in terms of ideal forms which might be rendered with as great precision as the architectural forms, and yet leave the artist the fullest scope for individual expression. What the neo-classicists did not realize was that idealization and a degree of truth to nature were not incompatible, and had been successfully reconciled in the Classical Period . . . This was the message of the Parthenon marbles. In some ways there were more rules in classical art than in arts of other cultures, but they were not restrictive. Indeed, they provided a basis for the development of the widest range of expression, both formal and humane. They guaranteed continuity without stifling change, and herein must lie their strength and durability, the reason why time and again artists have returned to them for inspiration and guidance (Boardman 1993: 8–9).

3 Could the Greeks of the Classical Period have Known the Concept We Describe as 'Classical'?

Although, as noted above, 'classical' is essentially a modern concept, the actual phenomenon already existed much earlier – i.e., in the 'Classical Period' itself. It is therefore legitimate to continue to use the term, and this not simply for reasons of

convention. Already in the second half of the fifth century at least one artist and one historian each boasted of having created a work that could claim to be a model and would be a standard for future activity far beyond their own day. First, the sculptor Polykleitos of Sikyon produced exclusively statues of a single type – the nude standing youth. He perpetually produced works characterized by pose, rhythm and vivid articulation. Polykleitos was also the first artist ever to discuss this type in a (lost) work entitled *Kanon*. This treatise probably gave guidelines on the proportion of the ideal male body on the basis of a mathematical ratio designed to guarantee a supernatural beauty. Second, the historian Thucydides of Athens claimed that with his *History of the Peloponnesian War* he was writing a practical manual for statesmen, 'compiled not for a contest of the moment, but as a possession for all time' (*ktema es aiei*: Thuc. 1.22.4). It is no accident that Polykleitos and Thucydides were sooner or later to become the centre of the discussion on Classicism.

In retrospect, especially after the turning point of the Peloponnesian War (431–404), the extraordinary achievements of the three preceding generations were readily acknowledged, although in general there was no let-up in creativity, and in some areas, e.g., in rhetoric and philosophical prose, the greatest achievements still lay in the future. In respect of tragedy, the view soon became widespread that after Aischylos, Sophokles and Euripides, only second-rate poets were still active, who were no longer able to hold a candle to the three great tragedians (cf. Aristophanes *Frogs* 71–2; 96–7, written in 405).

From 386 the staging of earlier plays was also permitted in the tragic competitions, and in 338 Lykourgos, one of the leading politicians in Athens, took it upon himself to ensure that official texts of these 'classical' plays were established and stored in the state archives. These texts were to be mandatory for future re-runs. Otherwise, statues of the three tragic poets were erected in the newly renovated Theatre of Dionysos. This measure, along with others, was designed both to preserve Athens' great past and also to rekindle it (Hintzen-Bohlen 1996). Then, in the Hellenistic Period, it was the great schools and libraries, especially the Mouseion in Alexandreia (from 280 BCE), where inventories and texts were drawn up of those Greek authors who were regarded as most representative of each category: the nine lyric poets, the three tragedians, the ten Attic orators, etc. These authors, 'who had stood the test of time' (*qui vetustatem pertulerunt*, Quintilian *Institutio* 10.1.40), became 'canonical', and much of the scholarship of the time was devoted to their preservation, classification, and exegesis (Easterling 2002). In combination with the concept of *paideia*, the Alexandrians presented themselves, as a certain Andron puts it, as 'educators of all the world, of both Greeks and barbarians' (*FGrHist* 246 F 1; on *paideia*, still fundamental, Jaeger 1954–61).

In Attic sculpture, too, there were already in the fourth century stylistic references back to the fifth century, which conveyed a political statement. Thus the Eirene (the goddess of peace), produced by Kephisodotos about 370, was designed to celebrate Athens' rise once again after the defeat of 404 (Figure 1.3; Stewart 1990: 173–4, 275–6, plates 485–7). The arrangement of the drapery recalls the style of Pheidias, who in the heyday of Athens, between 460 and 430, produced, among other works, the bronze statue of Athena Promachos, at least seven metres high, and the chryselephantine Athena Parthenos, more than twelve metres high (for a reconstruction of the latter, see Boardman 1993: no. 106A). Otherwise, it is precisely in the most