

Ahmed Ghanem Hafez Ahmed

***Disappearance of a class:
the Middle class in the classical Athens***

This paper is to discuss the class-structure in classical Athens to show the role of the three class which were mentioned in the "*Politics*" of Aristotle,⁽¹⁾ and to know the influence of the social conflict in Athens as it was the first known city to reach the democracy on the promotion of practicing the democratic rule specially, we know that the traditional nobility of the *Eupatridae* had been superseded in the early 6th century B.C. by an aristocracy of wealth. The classification by property had ceased to have much formal importance by the time of Pericles, but even many writers recognized how much social status was affected by the wealth. Euripides *Suppliants* speaks of three classes of citizens - the useless rich, the dangerous poor, and the stabilizing middle class.⁽²⁾

Matthew Dillon and Lynda Garland in their argument about the Greek city-state saw that much of the history of the Greeks is the history of the interaction between the cities of Greece, in accordance with what Aristotle said⁽³⁾ "Man is a political animal", in their eyes it should be translated as "man is a creature who lives in a polis"; the two writers thought that to the Greeks the fact that they lived in a city-state was a proof that they were a civilized people.⁽⁴⁾ But I think also that this political style maybe devoted

(1) Aristotle, *Politics*, 1295b - 1296a. he did not only argue that democracy and oligarchy each have a different social composition. *Politics*, 1290 b. he also insisted that there were various forms of Democracy and oligarchy, because there were various forms of working people. *Politics*, 1317a 12-29; see also 1318b7-14.

(2) Euripides, *Suppliants*, 229-245.

(3) Aristotle, *Politics*, 1253a 2-3.

(4) Matthew Dillon and Lynda Garland, *Ancient Greece Social and Historical Documents from Archaic Times to the Death of Socrates c. 800-399 BC*, Routledge, (1994). p. 287.

the separation spirit between the Greek cities themselves, and led also to the separation between the inhabitants of each city-state. This separation was very clear from the classification of the social class in Athens. And as the city-state style caused the political conflict between the different cities; it maybe also caused the social conflict between the different classes in most of the Greek city states and specially Athens.⁽¹⁾

The funeral oration of Pericles although it avoided to distinguish between the inhabitants concerning the political rights in the city, but it showed that classification clearly, when he said that "everybody is equal when private disputes are being settled, and as regards the criteria used to pick out anyone for office, what counts is not his belonging to a particular class. but his personal merit, while as regards poverty, as long as he can do something of value for the city, no one is prevented by obscurity from taking part in public life".⁽²⁾

From the previous lines, the reader may feel that Pericles was caring about equality of the all; in getting the rights and duties towards the city. Even the poor men have the same rights, as we can understand from what he

they asserted that the *Polis* encouraged the cities to fight amongst themselves in spite of uniting with each others, while there was concept of national identity when faced with an outside enemy.

- (1) Most modern works on Greek history accept a categorical distinction between different identities and statuses in classical Athens. see e.g. P. Cartledge ,*The Greeks: A Portrait of Self and Others*, Oxford, 2002; S. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves*, New York,1975. p. 78.
- (2) Thucydides, *Histories*, II. 37. 1. Pericles also thought that Wealth is an opportunity for deeds rather than as something to boast about and there is nothing disgraceful for anyone in admitting poverty - What was disgraceful in Pericles' eyes is not taking steps to escape it. Thuc. II. 40. 1., Robin Waterfield thinks that the inherent tensions between the rich and poor ,or between professional politicians and the masses, were held in check by the thoroughness of the radical democracy and thinks also that few who were to attend the Assembly meet and even fewer who exercised the right to speak. Robin Waterfield, *Athens: A History from Ancient Ideal to Modern City*, Macmillan, (2004), p. 116-17. Paul Cartledge, *The Greeks crucible of civilization*, BBC Worldwide limited, (2001), p. 101.

said about wealth.⁽¹⁾ Now it maybe clear that even in the first stage of the Athenian democracy, they were thinking how to resolve such problem of classification, just to let the Athenian society enjoy a kind of social peace, that will affect no doubt the political process.

I. Democracy Seeks Social peace

The Athenian Constitution of Aristotle even gave us an important proof of caring about the social peace and the relations between the different classes, where Aristotle says that they also gave the masses a comfortable standard of living, as Aristeides had proposed. For it came about that more than 20,000 people were maintained from the tribute contributions, the taxes and the allies.⁽²⁾ And because of the growing size of the citizen body; we have even told by Aristotle that in the archonship of Antiodotus (451\ 0), because of the number of the citizens, it was decided on the motion of Pericles that a person should not have citizen rights unless both of his parents had been citizens.

In Plutarch we may discover the care taken by Pericles to provide employment for a number of skilled workers, at least some of them citizens,⁽³⁾ aiming to get the equality between those citizens, who were inhabiting Athens. Where he recorded that the military campaigns provided incomes from public funds, for those who had their youth and strength. But Pericles wished that the undisciplined artisan mob should also have a share

(1) Aristotle expressed the same principle when he reported that even the women of the poor had to work, and given that their husbands had political power and had to be treated with respect, Politics, 1300a 4-9.

(2) Aristotle, Athenian Constitution, 24. 3. about Pericles changes the law on citizenship, idem. 26. 4.

(3) E. M. Burke, "The Economy of Athens in the classical Era: Some Adjustments to the Primitivist Model", Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, 122: p. 217. L. Kallet Marx, "Did Tribute Fund the Pantheon?", Californian Studies in Classical Antiquity 8., (1989), p. 252-66., G. E. M. de Ste croix, the class struggle in the Ancient World, London, (1981), p. 114-15 , 124-25. Where he argues that it was unlikely that the main purpose of Such works was to provide employment. and that it would mainly have involved metics, foreigners and other slaves.

in the payment, he did not want it to receive pay for being lazy and idle, so he brought before the people great construction projects and undertakings which would require the involvement of many crafts for works that would take a long time to complete.⁽¹⁾ In the eyes of M. Rostovtzeff⁽²⁾ there were many rich citizens in Athens and the one was not to know them, as they were afraid to make themselves conspicuous by display and extravagance, he told even that the market place; the Pnyx, where the popular assembly met; the law courts and the council chamber - these were the places where the higher classes passed their times, the lower classes worked in the docks and warehouses of Piraeus, or in their shops and workshops .

Here, we may notice that Rostovtzeff distinguished between two main types of the classes the higher and the lower, and he never mentioned the middle class as it was not existed. He declared also that both of the two classes have his own special place to meet in.⁽³⁾ But he assured that all the classes were going to the gymnasiums as they all alike devoted their spare time to bodily exercise and games.⁽⁴⁾ But from the other side he told us about two unenfranchised classes, the metics and the slaves, and how did they increase in number and became more prominent in social life.

While Rostovtzeff was speaking about the metics, he explained that although they were of very important role in the Greek society and controlled the merchant - ships, the banks and the large factories. But they actually suffered under disability: they might not own lands within the bounds of Attica. And although they were liable for military service, they

(1) Plutarch, Pericles, 12. 5-6.

(2) M. Rostovtzeff, Greece, Trans. By J.D. Duff, Oxford university press, 1972, p. 067.

(3) Kostas Vlassopoulos had a different view from Rostovtzeff 'view as he suggested that there were free Spaces such the Agora, the workshop, the tavern, the ship, the neighbourhood ,and the cemetery. especially in a big society like Athens and declared in his argument about the role of the agora in Athens that it is difficult to see how political discussion that took place in the agora, involving poor citizen artisans, shopkeepers, labourers, would exclude all those other people present: metics, slave and women, see Kostas Vlassopoulos, "Free Spaces: Identity, Experience and Democracy in Classical Athens", CQ 57. 1 33-52, 2007, p. 42.

(4) M. Rostovtzeff, Greece, Trans. By J. D. Duff,, Oxford university press, (1972), p. 167.

had no political rights; they did not constitute a class by themselves. In his argument about the slaves as a notable feature of the fifth century, he showed that they were of social and economic importance, they were in different ranks. And the one can not distinguish metics and the slaves from the citizens in the streets and squares of Athens. because all classes dress alike and live in the same way.⁽¹⁾ Robert J. Littman agreed Rostovtzeff about the proportion of metics in Athens and how it was higher than in most states, adding that Inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries refer to Thracians, Phrygians, Carians, Paphlagonians, Celts, Phoenicians, Egyptians, Arabs, Scythians and Persians, they all were treated as citizens, they registered with the demes where they lived, in addition to paying the same taxes as citizens, they were required to pay nominal residential tax According to their wealth.⁽²⁾

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- (1) *Idem.*, p. 177. I have also two examples to proof the difficulty of distinguishing between metics, slaves and citizens, and the problem of Panleon's identity whither he was a citizen, metic, or slave, as he himself claimed that he was an enfranchised Plataean and therefore a legitimate Athenian citizen. Lysias, 23. on the enfranchisement of Plataeans see K. Kapparis, 'The Athenian Decree for the naturalisation of the Plataeans', *GRBS* 36, (1995), 67-99; about the variety of the Athenian populations see some who judged the phenomenon without being interested in itself e.g. N. F. Jones, *The Association of Classical Athens, the response to Democracy*, New York - Oxford (1999), p. 83-6. and the other example from Demosthenes when he recorded about the child who was considered by the jury men as a slave and they were about to arrest him. Demosthenes, *Against Evergus and Mnesibulus* 61; about the differences of the wage rates between slaves and free hired workers in ancient Greece and how this to reflect the social position of both the owner. see Morris Silver, 'Slaves versus Free Hired workers in ancient Greece', *Historia* 55, (2006), pp. 257-263.
- (2) There are some who thought that Athens was not a face-to-face society, a Polis εὐσυνοπτος in the Aristotelian sense .see *Politics*, 1327a1-3 .Athens was an imagined community, a polity in which most members did not know each other. see B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on The origin and spread of Nationalism*, London, New York, (1991); see also G. Anderson, *The Athenian Experiment: Building an Imagined Political Community in Ancient Attica, 508-490 B.C.*, Ann Arbor, (2003). where they were interested in the concept of the Imagined Community; and about the notion of the big variety in Athens see also Thucydides, 8. 66.3-4; Isocrates, *Antid*, 162.

Littman even thought that the metic enjoyed his own religion, the Athenians were much influenced by the foreign religion; at the fifth century Thracian, Syrian and Egyptian cults appeared and gained some popularity in Athens. The most important factor which prevented metics from entering into the class struggle and pressing for citizenship, was psychological. And he saw also that for the same reason the metics, freedmen and the slaves likewise did not participate in the class struggle within the Greek states nor agitate for freedom and citizenship, and so they were not forming a class. Although they were many, and possessed the instruments of pressing for the citizenship.⁽¹⁾

The struggle of the lower classes to attain full citizenship rights and participation in government produced internal discord. These internal struggles were concentrated in two main periods, one occurred in the seventh and sixth centuries with the break-up of Greece's agriculture society, the other came in the fifth century, when oligarchs and democrats battled for supremacy. At that time the lower classes gained a share in the rule in many states, the oligarchs attempted, with success, to restrict citizenship, but the democrats fought back. Even Athens became an oligarchy once in the sixth century and under pressure of war and defeat, twice for short periods in the fifth century. This discord was of great influence on the process of the political system in Athens, because it led to the appearance of new kind of knights not by birth, the new knights were the *θητες* who left the lands and found positions at sea, it was now possible to gain wealth in forms other than land, thereby undermining the old aristocratic basis for power. Here it seems that money mixed the classes.⁽²⁾

(1) Robert J. Littman, *The Greek Experiment Imperialism and Social Conflict 800-400 BC*, Thames and Hudson, London, (1974), p. 112-13.

(2) About the idea of classes' mixing see Theoginis of Megara the poet of the sixth Century and how the owners of small and middle-sized farms acquired wealth through the Introduction of money and commerce and so broke down class barriers. apud Robert .J. Littman, *Idem*. p. 114-15.

II. Did the Wealth form a real middle class?

The process of wealth transformation from a class to another class was - in my own view - one of the causes which helped the Greek political thought to be speedily developed.⁽¹⁾ From the kingship in the eighth century to democracy in the fifth century B.C, we can notice that when the wealth went to the Aristocrats, the kings went away and they gave the society a new type of political system and alike what happened when it went gradually to the Oligarchs (traders), they gave the society either a new political and economical type. The social side even knew a kind of social revolution within the process of exchanging the political powers; a new class began to appear in the society with new extraordinary options, these options were basically derived from their new wealth. Solon for his part tried by his laws to define rights and duties of every class either in the political or social side, just to finish the social discord and to give the Greek society some of social peace,⁽²⁾ his rejection of tyranny derived not from a concern for his welfare, but from a desire of finding a balance between conflicting factions in his community.⁽³⁾

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- (1) Alfred Zimmern specked about the political economy and he refused to separate between the Greek Economy, political and social life in Greece. Alfred Zimmern, Solon and Croesus and other Greek Essays, Oxford university press, (1928), p. 174.
- (2) Bishop Thirlwall's agreed that Solon played a great role in protecting the poor class from the rigour of The creditors. and he informed about the his institution and how it organized the council of Five Hundred to prepare all the measures which passed through the Assembly. Bishop Thirlwall's, History of Greece A selection, Bristol Phoenix press, (2007), p. 95, 123. there is a proof of the care taken by solon about the city when he said in poem 4. ".. But our city will never be destroyed by the dispensation of Zeus and the intensions of the blessed immortal gods; for such a great - hearted guardian, daughter of a mighty father is Pallas Athene who holds her hands over it. Solon 4. 1-4. see also about the Social peace ,the Athenian Constitution, 1. 11-12.
- (3) .. "But some came for the purpose of robbery; they had rich hope, and each of them thought that he would find much prosperity, and that Although I was chattering gently I would reveal a harsh mind. they thought foolish things then, and Now, angry at me, they all look at me aslant ,as at an enemy. it is not necessary, for with the help Of gods ,I accomplished what I said, and as to the rest, I acted not without reason, nor was it Pleasing to me [to do] anything by force of tyranny, nor for the base to have an equal

One of Solon's aims was to secure the justice in the society, he tried to save the poor classes and give them not only the social justice but also the economical equality with the other classes who had wealth, just to finish the discord and to keep these class to be loyal to the Athenian society.⁽¹⁾ He was thinking that the raging civil strife comes 'to the home of each one', he used "each other" to stress that each one of the society is responsible and pays the price for a wider crime.⁽²⁾ Solon tried to remind his society with the responsibility towards the *Polis* to reunite between the classes in order to keep the power and supremacy to Athens. The fragment, in which he said that "I stood with a powerful shield around both sides, not permitting either to claim an unjust victory", clears that how much he stood, for example, like a strong shield between the common people and the men with power and ability.⁽³⁾

But I think that Solon was just trying to make his dream come true and that is may be clear of the historical actions which happened after his constitution, I mean definitely the common revolution which has been led by Peisistratos , which was to prove that the poor classes did not get enough rights, or - at least - couldn't continue under such political and economical deprivation.

From another hand, John Lewis did consider Solon as the first who interested about the political freedom in all of western thought,⁽⁴⁾ Solon's poem's 36 is the first statement in the western thought to base a political

share of the Rich fatherland with the noble. Solon 34. 1-9. see Emily Kat Anhalt, Solon the Singer Politics And Poetics , Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, USA, 1993. P. 106.

- (1) I would like here to remind the reader that Athens was thinking about establishment of her empire From a long time before the establishment of the Delian League, it was of a great importance to guarantee loyalty of her own citizens first before seeking after the loyalty of the citizens of the other Greek states.
- (2) Solon, 4. 11-29.
- (3) Solon, fragment 5.5-6. and see about his moderate attitude between the two parties John Lewis, Solon the Thinker Political thought in Archaic Athens, Duckworth, (2006), p. 45. A.R. Burn, the warring states of Greece from their rise to the Roman conquest, London Thames and Hudson, (1968), p. 74-5.
- (4) Solon, 36. 1-15. apud. John Lewis, op. cit, p. 115.

order on a distinct idea of justice under enforced written laws promoted by persuasion rather than divine commandment.

We have then to distinguish between two kinds of liberty: the social and the political. It seems that the Greeks were seeking along their classical history for liberty and they even were defending it either against their native rulers or against the Persians, as it appeared through Aeschylus' *Persai*. They were struggling against two powers one was internal, the other was external, both of the two powers always had their own reasons to surpass, overcome, and to deprive the common Greeks somehow of their liberty.⁽¹⁾ The conflict between the classes which took place within the four centuries from the eighth to the fifth century BC concerning the liberty, equality, and the rights of citizenship was quite serious in defending these rights, the same as their conflict against the foreigner invader who tried seriously to test the Greek careness about their liberty and dependency.⁽²⁾

Here I would like to refer to the spirit which was collecting the Greeks every time they faced the two powers either the internal or the external, each time they have some different spirit. For example when they were defending their liberty and their rights of citizenship against their native ruler, either were they Aristocrats or even Tyrants, they seemed as they were not Greeks, but as if they were belonging to another nation. They were violent and serious as if they were facing a foreign enemy and their struggle even feared some of wise contemporary thinkers like Solon. I mean that they were completely separated into two or three parties in most of their times, and the one can define easily the old rich and the Oligarchs and the common people. The other spirit which the one can refer to, it is their unity as classes, in facing the Persians for the sake of the same liberty and rights of citizenship. They did not lose the national feelings, and they might then

(1) About the human nature and the mass behavior which appeared through the works of Aeschylus see. Letizia Poli Palladini, 'Traces of Intellectualism in Aeschylus', *Hermes* 129, (2001). pp. 441-458.

(2) This is remind the reader of the same Greek situation but after the period of this paper's interest from Alexander the Great during his first days As a king after his father's death 'the revolution that led by Thebes'

consider that defending their country's liberty and independency means defending their own liberty and independency.

This was the influence of the city-state on the inhabitants mind; it made them just confused between the local issues, interests, and the national needs. but although they were confused they were able to deal with these local and national issues and managed their remarkable civilization, they even used these challenging issues to improve themselves either in the social or the political field, the city state led to the social discord and the social discord may led to improve their political and social life which is well expressed in the democratic political system; with all what it was included from political and social reforms.⁽¹⁾ The tries and advices of Solon in the process of guiding the society maybe were the first steps towards a democratic society. So- in my own view- maybe the period of Solon was the period of the democratic pregnancy. For he was the first to think about the right of all those who did obtain financial options in sharing the political offices, His attitude also may encouraged the individuals to get more financial options to enjoy their political rights, this kind of though called the political economy.⁽²⁾

The relation between the social discord and the *Polis* was nature, especially in Athens which was the most important one as being the leader

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- (1) Athens knew some important phenomena by the virtue of the social struggle which led to the Democracy, first the common people get the chance to hear the thoughts of their native leaders through their being together in the agora. see Theophrastus, Characters 6.7-10. second the role of woman in classical Athens began to appear and increase, specially in the field of the political culture, the experience of hearing the political discussions taking place in the agora would Influence women and have an effect on them. see e.g. Aristophanes, Lysistrata 507-21, 1124-7.
- (2) About the notion of sharing in the social and political activities in the Athenian society we knew that in the Ecclesiazusae, Aristophanes gave an example of how non-citizens could profit from being in the agora where we heard Praxagora telling that she learnt to speak through listening to the orators. see Aristophanes, Ecclesiazusae, 241-4.; not only the women who were able to learn from listening in the agora but also the children had the same ability as we knew from Plutarch, in his story about Demosthenes when he was begging his *παιδαγωγος* to let him listen To Callistratus of Aphidna while addressing the assembly and thus he falls in love with oratory. See Plutarch, Life of Demosthenes, 844b.

of so many other city states, which believed in her political principles, after seeing her conquering the Persians with the other states in Marathon c480 BC. Because of quantity of the political pressures over the Athenian leaders, made them to devote the whole society just to face the external threats, let me give the Funerary oration of Pericles as an example to prove the previous notion.

We can't see the middle class in the Athenian society; it disappeared by influence of the political conflict. As the political leaders preferred to use its members just to achieve their own political goals through their support, but without considering it as a class to have the right of asking any advantages, either were social or the political. even most of the recent researches can't define the nature of its members either their quality or quantity, because they were almost connected with the financial options and political goals.⁽¹⁾

III. Geography forms the Classes

The political conflict between the Athenian leaders, also their ambitious desires were not the only factors which played a main role in disappearing the middle class from the Athenian society, but also the geographical nature of the *πολις* maybe played an indirect role, because all the inhabitants were not enjoying equal geographical advantages, but it was depending on the place for example; those who were on the mountains were not able to cultivate, so they were always poor and in need for wealth, they were no doubt different from those who were in plains and on coastal sites, as the later were always finding the way to get wealth, either through easily cultivation or through the trade with either other Greek city states; or with their international neighbors sited on the shore of the Mediterranean. So geography never can never be neglected as it managed in dividing the

(1) The modern scholars did not fail only in defining the nature of the middle class' members, but they also proved that they couldn't know the origin of some of the most important Athenian politicians like Demosthenes, Aeschines, Hyperboulus, not to mention Cleon or Cleophon, were charged with foreign or servile origins. see V. Ehrenberg, *The People of Aristophanes: A sociology of Old Attic Comedy*, Oxford, (1943), p. 119-20; J. Ober, *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens :Rhetoric, Ideology, and the Power of the People*, Princeton, (1989), pp. 270-9; E.E. Cohen, *The Athenian Nation*, Princeton, (2000), p. 112.

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inhabitants into economical classes, then these same classes took the form of social and political classes without middle class.⁽¹⁾

Although the traders seemed to form a new social class since the time of Solon, but it can't be considered, somehow, as a middle class, they were nearer to the first class than to the third, due to the political and economical advantages that they always used to enjoy. Sometimes they even had the ability to apply to the political leadership, as they became equal to the first leading class. alike we can clearly understand from the title they gained the 'Oligarchs' that they were 'few', so they were always asking the poor's quantity support, which they usually have gained in a hope of helping the poor class in its struggle, but they aimed actually to gain a common political support against the first class.⁽²⁾

From what has been previously mentioned, it maybe clear how the social discord did emerge in the Athenian society before the time of Solon, how the middle class was not a social class as much as it was economical class, dreamed with both political role and existence, how Solon's thoughts were bearing in itself the first seeds of the democracy,⁽³⁾ and finally the influence of the city-state's geography in emerging the social divisions.

(1) J. K. Davies, *Democracy and classical Greece*, Harvard university press, 2nd edition, (1993), p. 13-14.

(2) The oligarchies having arisen in reaction to democracies at the time of Aristotle and also as puppet supports of Sparta. The aristocrats were no longer of the old nobility but of the wealthy who had seized the polis in self-defense. Oligarchs of this kind tried to heap the burden of the state on others and to keep for themselves its dignities and its profits. In his second Rhetoric [Rhetorica Alexandrum] Aristotle gave later oligarchs some good advice on how to endure. see. Jacob Burckhardt, *History of Greek Culture*, trans. By Palmer Hilty, Dover Publications, (2002). p. 55-6.

(3) Jacob saw that it was an honour to Athens that it was not only produced such a man but also trusted and obeyed him, at least during the transition period. see Jacob Burckhardt, *idem*, p. 74.

IV. The Aristocratic Democracy

Xenophon in his work 'Economicus' declared the duties of the nobles towards the city and the poor men in a conversation between Socrates and Critobulus, we found Socrates saying to him "first I see that you have to offer many substantial sacrifices. If you are not to offend both men and gods. then you are expected to entertain many guests - and lavishly too; then you have to give dinners to other citizens and treat them well,⁽¹⁾ if you are to command any support, and furthermore. I see that the state already imposes considerable training of choruses and gymnastic terms, and putting you in charge of other operations; what is more, if a war breaks out, I know that they will demand from you trierarchies and capital levies of a size which you will find difficult to manage .and wherever you fail to come up to the mark, I know that the Athenians will punish you severely as if they had caught you stealing their property "

Also we find in Xenophon's Memorabilia that Socrates' conversation was always about human affaires, investigating the nature of piety and impiety ,good and bad, justice and injustice, sense and madness, bravery and cowardice, the state and the statesman, government and the governor, and everything else a knowledge of which he reckoned entitled you to call a man a gentleman, and ignorance of which, a mindless automaton.⁽²⁾ Xenophon also mentioned through Socrates the relations between the noble and the others. when Socrates saw that Critias was in love with Euthydemus, and that he was behaving as if he wanted to gratify his physical urges, he tried to dissuade him, saying that such conduct was servile and unfitting for a gentleman: he was no better than a beggar ,marking improper requests and entreaties of his loved one-on whom he was trying also to make a good impression.

From the above examined texts, we may understand that Xenophon tried to teach the first class a certain lessons, he tries to tell them about the role which they should play in the society. They must put their wealth under the

(1) Xenophon, Economicus, 2. 3-6.

(2) Idem., Memorabilia, 1.1.16. And about the conducts which are fitting the gentleman see Idem. 1.2.29.

command of the country and not to use it to gain just political advantages through their tries to surpass the poor. but on contrary; they have to do the more to satisfy the common, without doing shaming deeds which may bring the disgrace to any 'gentleman' like the relation between Critias and Euthydemus, moreover the gentlemen are required to keep their wealth to be able to serve the country, because they might be punished by the Athenians as if they had caught them stealing their property.

So it seems that Xenophon tried to send a certain message ,which says that the wealth is not of a certain class; but it is a common property and the society has the complete ability to charge the one who misused this wealth.

Here it maybe worthy to mention the idea of Plato about the communism of Wealth as it was always the source of strife and discord between the people.⁽¹⁾ It seems that although there were so many tries to protect the common people from the ambitious desires of the Aristocrats before establishment of democracy and even after its establishment. But the Aristocrats kept their positions and prestige even after the reforms of Solon and Cleisthenes. L. Hall in his argument showed that the relations between the tyrants and the Areopagites before Ephialtes were cold, and mutually so. Areopagites were still enjoying life tenure, and were still composed members of ex-archons, and while the Thirty could aid interfere in the candidature and selection of members of almost all other governmental bodies. So when the democracy was re-established, the Areopagus was practically the only body of state untainted by the tyrants 'touch. And was duly empowered to ensure that the new members of council and other

(1) Plato in his Gorgias was also interesting about the definition of the natural justice and nobility, he considered that to have courage and intelligence to minister the desires is a way of nobility, and he said that the many can't attain this as they blame the strong because they are ashamed of their own weakness, which they desire to conceal. Plato also asserted that the makers of the laws are the majority who are weak: they make laws and distribute praises with a view to themselves and their own interests ,they terrify the stronger sort of men, and those who are able to get the better of them, in order that they may not get the better of them; and they say that dishonesty is shameful and unjust, meaning, the desire of man to have more than his neighbours, or knowing their own inferiority, he suspected that they were only glad too glad of equality, whereas nature herself intimates that this is just for the better to have more than worse, the more powerful than the weaker. See. Plato, Gorgias, 491e - 492a and 483b - d.

democratic bodies were scrutinised not by actual or suspect tyrant collaborators and sympathizers, but by Areopagites, untainted and pure.⁽¹⁾

T.E. Rihll discussed the democratic reforms of Ephialtes; he believed that he has finished what Solon and Cleisthenes pushed forward. Rihll believed that the reforms which Ephialtes made, removed powers from the Areopagus; which explain his sudden assassination. And he referred that there are some who thought that the Areopagus before Ephialtes was enjoying - in addition to his powers - of *εισαγγελια*.⁽²⁾ Also he discussed the powers of *δοκιμασια και ευθυνα* of the magistrates and how Ephialtes transferred these powers from the Areopagus to the *βουλη, εκκλησια, δικαστηρια*.⁽³⁾ Both of Rihll and A.H. Sommerstein agreed that this was the cause of his assassination which was considered by the later as a political assassination.⁽⁴⁾ Rihll took this view to emphasis the importance of Ephialtes 'reforms' hence, I would like to Refer to that the first class kept for itself - either in the time of solon or in the time of Ephialtes its place and they finished any try of reforming, they didn't give up hope to share politics in the Greek society even in the most difficult period of their history. They never believed in democracy which tried successfully to remove some of their powers to other political bodies and they were always showing themselves the best.

The argument of Rihll about the democratic reforms of Ephialtes may encourage our view about the absence of the Middle class even after the time of Pericles' democracy

(1) L. Hall, 'Ephialtes, the Areopagus and the Thirty', CQ xl, 1990, pp.319-28.

(2) R. Sealey, "Ephialtes, eisangelia and the council", in G.S. Shrimpton and D. J. McCarger edd. *Classical contributions: studies in honour of M. F. McGregor*, Locust Valley, (1981). 125-34, p. 131. His explanation for changing habits is the declining quality of Areopagus.

(3) T. E. Rihll, "Democracy Denied: Why Ephialtes attacked the Areopagus", JHS cxv, (1995), pp. 87-98. p. 91.

(4) A. H. Sommerstein "Sleeping safe in our beds, assassination and the Oresteia", in J.H. Molyneux Ed., *Literary response to civil discord*, Nottingham, (1993), pp. 1-17. about the democratic reforms of Ephialtes see W. G. Forrest and D. Stockton, "The Athenian archons: a note", *Historia* xxxvi, (1987). pp. 235-40.

And it emphasized the existence of the first class' power. So according to the new political and social theories I can now understand why did the Athenian democracy fail in fulfilling the local needs through its history? And I can also understand the care which was taken by Aristotle to explain the different types of democracies. even Aristotle could never neglect the power of the first class and he tried seriously to keep their own position.⁽¹⁾ The disappearance of the middle class influenced all the Greek societies, specially, Athens mother of democracy. So we can imagine that it was somehow, just a democracy of speeches.⁽²⁾ It was not practical democracy.

Finally we have here to refer to the social desire in change. this desire may be clear from around 594 B.C. when solon was given extraordinary powers⁽³⁾ as a mediator and lawgiver, to try to solve a crisis in archaic Athenian society. His solution was liberation of the land and the people.⁽⁴⁾

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- (1) Raphael Sealey, "Ath. Pol. 25. 2 and Lys. Fr. 178: "additional" functions of the Areopagite Council, Note, JHS cxi, (1991), p. 210-11.
- (2) Stephen Halliwell, "Comic Satire and Freedom of Speeches in Classical Athens", JHS cxi, (1991), pp. 48-70, p. 48. where he saw that freedom of speech was a defining attribute of democratic states and one on whose possession classical Athens came consciously to pride herself. see also Euripides, Hipp. 422, Supp. 433-41, Ion 670-5, *Ath. Pol.*I.12, Dem. ix 3
- (3) For the date see R. W. Wallace, "The date of Solon's reforms", AJAH viii , (1983), pp. 81-95.
- (4) T. E. Rihll, "Ekthmopoi: Partners in Crime?", JHS cxi , (1991), pp. 101-127, p. 101.

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