We need not follow his explanation of how this phrase came into the text as 'an incompetent abridgement of a longer account'. For, as we have seen, 'the Peloponnese' is the last of the geographical areas in which Philip operated and has nothing to do with his appointment as Hegemon.

My explanation that the excluded part of 'Hellas' was Macedonia is unacceptable to those who hold that 'the Macedonians were not even Greek, they were as barbarous in Greek eyes as the Persians'. This is the view of Brunt, who based it mainly on some passages to which he refers in Arrian (2.7.4; 3.22.2; 5.27.4; and 5.27.8 in particular).[12] In them Arrian inevitably contrasted the two main contingents in Alexander's army—the Macedonian Companion Cavalry and Phalanx infantry and the cavalry and infantry of the Hellenic League. There is one passage, to which Brunt refers, in which Arrian drew a contrast between the Macedonian Phalangites and the Greek mercenaries of Darius III (2.10.7). It too was an inevitable contrast. Arrian expressed it forcefully in the phrase τοῖς γένεσι τῶι τε ῾Ελλη-νικῶι καὶ τῶι Μακεδονικῶι as a rivalry between 'the tribes—the Hellenic tribe and the Macedonian tribe'. We may compare with Arrian's words the distinction which Herodotus drew between the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians: the Lacedaemonians were members of the Doric γένος and the Athenians of the Ionic γένος, the one being a part of the Hellenic ἔθνος and the other of the Pelasgic ἔθνος which we may translate as 'race' (1.56.2).[13] In these passages the Mercenaries of Darius, the Macedonian Phalangites, the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians were all members of what we describe nowadays as 'the Greek race'.[14]

The last sentence of Arrian 7.9.5 invites a little comment. The glory of the campaign against the Persian which accrued to Philip was that of being appointed its Commander; for the actual conduct of the campaign was accredited to Alexander in the next part of the speech at Opis. It was that glory to which Philip referred as 'the honours conferred upon himself of the overall command' (Diod. 16.91.6 τὰς δεδομένας αὐτῶι τῆς ὅλης ἡγεμονίας τιμάς). Finally, the expression τῶι κοινῶι των Μακεδόνων means 'the community of the Macedones'. The discovery of inscriptions of the fourth and later centuries, especially in Epirus, has revealed the fact that τὸ κοινόν is the usual title of a political group, however large or small, e.g. of the ῾Ατέραργοι, Βαλαιεῖται and Δοστωνεῖς. In these cases there is no connotation of federalism.[15] Alexander was evidently

using the *mot juste*. For in a dedication at Delos τὸ κοινὸν Μακεδόνων honoured βασιλέα Φίλιππον (Philip V).[16] The two parts—the king of the Macedones and the community of Macedones—made up the Macedonian State.[17]

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[16] See my article, 'The koina of Epirus and Macedonia', *Illinois Classical Studies* 16 (1991) 183-92, to which the 'Balaieitai' should be added from *Illyrie Méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité* ii (Paris 1993, ed. P.Cabanes) 205. An act of the Molossian State as τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μολοσσῶν was recorded in an inscription *c.* 370-368 BC, for which see my account in *Epirus* (Oxford 1967) 528-31.

[17] See further in my book *The Macedonian State* (Oxford 1989) 58 'the government of the Macedonian state was vested in two parts: the king of the day ... and the Macedones'. So also Hatzopoulos 491 'the Macedonians were, as much as the King, a constituent part of the Macedonian state'. This is different from the view of Brunt (1. xxxix-xl) 'in principle the king was the state', and from his conclusion that 'Arrian 7.9.5 is anachronistic'.

Triremes at rest: On the beach or in the water?*

We have been fortunate enough to witness in our own time the launching of a reconstruction of an ancient trireme. Questions about the trireme's architecture that had been debated for centuries were definitively resolved by the research that preceded the building of the reconstruction.[1] However, certain aspects of the care and handling of triremes remain to be examined. Among them is the notion that triremes in commission were customarily hauled up onto the beach at night.

The overnight beaching idea has been strongly influenced by Tarn's conjecture that triremes, like modern 'racing eights', were so lightly built they could easily be drawn up on shore. Tarn himself admitted that this was an exaggeration. Nevertheless, he cited the presumed lightness of the hull in an attempt to refute the theory that the trireme's oarsmen were seated at three levels—the hull planking would have been too thin to sustain the oarports needed for this arrangement, he claimed.[2] Once pictorial evidence for oarports in the hull had been accepted as a certainty, Tarn's views on the strength of the planking should have been reconsidered.[3] By that

[12] In his Loeb edition i. lv with n.33.

[13] In Hdt. 1.101 there are six γένεα of τὸ Μηδικὸν ἔθνος.

[14] That the Macedonians of Pieria spoke Greek in the fifth century has been proved beyond doubt by the discovery of epitaphs with Greek names at Vergina. See M. Andronicos, *Vergina: the Royal Tombs* (Athens 1984) 83-84.

[15] Brunt's translation 'the commonwealth of the Macedonians' is an improvement on that of Robson 'all Macedonia'. There is, however, no need for Brunt's suggestion (ii 230 n.5) that Xenophon's 'commonwealth of the Persians' (*Cyrop.* 1.5.8) could have suggested the phrase. For it was the indigenous term in Macedonia.

[1] J.S. Morrison and J.F. Coates, *The Athenian Trireme* (Cambridge 1986) 1-24.

[2] W.W. Tarn, 'The Greek warship', *JHS* 25 (1905) 213, 223; *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments* (Cambridge 1930) 124; 'The oarage of Greek warships', *Mariner's Mirror* 19 (1933) 62.

[3] J.S. Morrison, 'The Greek trireme', *Mariner's Mirror* 27 (1941) 27-38; see also J.S. Morrison and R.T. Williams, *Greek Oared Ships 900-322 BC* (Cambridge 1968) 169-70.

time, however, the 'racing eight' analogy had achieved
a life of its own.[4] No one seemed to doubt the validity
of attributing to a trireme, a 170-oared vessel with hand-
worked timbers, the physical properties of an eight-oared
racing shell made of moulded plywood. With 'lightness'
as the prevailing descriptive term, it was but a short step
to imagining that as long as triremes could be hauled
ashore 'quite easily', they were.[5] That conclusion has
held the field for almost half a century.

Recently, however, overnight beaching has been
questioned by Coates, who remarks, in a discussion of
the mechanics of beaching, 'There is no clear evidence
that triremes were pulled up beaches nightly on passage
... It is unlikely that they were; it was too big an operation
to do so often'.[6] Even a cursory glance at the ancient
literary evidence suggests that Coates is right. It would be
well worth looking at the evidence more closely.

Beaching (in general)

Some of the ancient evidence with respect to beaching
has been made the more difficult to understand by the
ambiguities of English usage. *The Oxford English
Dictionary* gives two essentially different meanings for
the verb 'beach': 'To haul (a vessel) up on the beach' or
'to run (a vessel) up on the beach'. The difference is
important. In the first definition the crew has disem-
barked and the vessel is being pulled up onto the beach.
In the second definition the crew is on board, propelling
the vessel to the edge of the shore; when the vessel
stops moving, it is still in the water. Quite naturally,
English speaking authors are inclined to use the term
'beach' willy-nilly, in either sense; some even expand
the second meaning to include 'run up on the shore for
the purpose of anchoring'.[7] Ancient Greeks, on the other
hand, made a clear distinction between the two activities
we refer to as beaching, and in this study, at least, we
must attempt to maintain their distinction.

Beaching 1 –Hauling (a trireme) up onto the beach

Ships that are up on the beach in the Greek texts
have reached this position by being hauled up, pulled
up, or drawn up (ἀνέλκειν, ἀνασπᾶν, ἀνερύειν).
Although triremes were sometimes hauled ashore when
a long stay was anticipated, the literary evidence indi-
cates that there were just two basic reasons for hauling
triremes up onto a beach while in commission: protec-
tion and maintenance.

Beaching for protection. Sometimes triremes needed
to be protected from the elements. In the course of
Xerxes' invasion of Greece, some ships of a Persian

squadron that had been brought to anchor for the night
were hauled up onto the beach (ἀνασπᾶν) to escape an
early morning storm (Hdt. 7.188).

More often we hear about the need to protect triremes
from enemy forces. Some Peloponnesians who had put
in at a deserted port in Corinthian territory feared they
would be unable to protect their ships from the
Athenians who were anchored nearby. The Peloponnes-
ians therefore hauled their ships up onto the shore
(ἀνέλκειν) and kept guard over them, waiting for an
opportunity to escape (Thuc. 8.11.2). Sometimes addi-
tional protective measures were taken. The Athenian
commander Demosthenes, who was at Pylos with only
a few triremes, hauled his ships up on shore (ἀνασπ-
ᾶν) and built a palisade around them in order to protect
them from a squadron of Lacedaemonian ships (Thuc.
4.9.1). Many years earlier, remnants of the Persian fleet
stationed at Samos after their defeat in Greece had taken
similar measures. Upon learning of the approach of an
Athenian fleet, they fled to the territory of Mykale,
where they drew their ships up on the beach (ἀνερύειν)
and surrounded them with a rampart made of stones and
tree trunks and a palisade of stakes (Hdt. 9.96-7).

Beaching for maintenance. Maintenance of triremes
while in commission was a matter of critical importance,
yet, aside from brief discussions by Morrison and
Coates, the majority of modern commentators have all
but ignored the subject. Two aspects of maintenance
should be mentioned. After two or three months in the
water the hulls of wooden ships become fouled by
marine growths (barnacles and sea grass). Roughness
caused by the growths can reduce speed; the hulls
therefore need to be scraped (careened) regularly. Minor
repairs, caulking, and re-coating with pitch (to make the
hull watertight) would also have been needed on a
regular basis. Refurbishing of this sort can only be done
after the hull has been well dried; drying out time would
have been measured in days, if not weeks.[8]

The literary record contains three instances, one each
from Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, in which
triremes were, or should have been, 'hauled up (onto the
beach) and thoroughly dried out' while in commission.
The compound verbs used by these authors —διαψύχ-
ειν, ἀναψύχειν, ἀποξηραίνειν—emphasize the
thoroughness of the drying out, a clear indication that
the purpose of hauling the ships ashore was for mainten-
ance. The three examples have been cited as evidence
for a fairly recent conjecture, which holds that triremes
were routinely hauled up onto the beach overnight in
order to prevent waterlogging.[9] However, no significant
drying would have occurred in the brief hours of an
overnight stay, nor would hauling up onto the beach
without taking measures to make the hull watertight
have prevented future waterlogging. The rightful place
for the examples is under maintenance.

The earliest recorded instance of the beaching and
drying out of triremes on passage is reported in Herodo-
tus' account of Xerxes' invasion of Greece, when
Xerxes ordered the ships of his fleet to be hauled up

[4] Thanks in part to the support of A.W. Gomme, 'A forgotten
factor of Greek naval strategy', *JHS* 53 (1933) 19 (republished
in Gomme, *Essays in Greek History and Literature* (Oxford
1937) 195). The 'racing eight' comparison continues to this
day; see P. Cartledge (ed.), *The Cambridge Illustrated History
of Ancient Greece* (Cambridge 1998) 178.

[5] A.W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*,
vol. 1 (Oxford 1956) 19; L. Casson, *The Ancient Mariners*
(New York 1959) 102.

[6] J.F. Coates, Letter to the Editor, *IJNA* 26.1 (1997) 83.

[7] Some discussions in Morrison and Williams (n.3) are rather
confusing owing to the authors' multiple uses of 'beach', see
esp. p. 311, where they claim that '*hormein* and *kathormis-
asthai* in Thucydides, if unqualified, mean beaching'.

[8] Morrison and Coates (n.1) 153, 231; J.S. Morrison with J.F.
Coates, *Greek and Roman Oared Warships* (Oxford 1996) 329,
under 'Watertightness', 355-6, under 'Ship maintenance'.

[9] L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*
(Princeton 1971) 89-90.

(ἀνέλκειν) and thoroughly dried out (ἀναψύχειν) on a beach near Doriscus in the northern Aegean (Hdt. 7.59.2-3). Sometime later (Herodotus does not say how much time has passed), the ships were hauled down (καθέλκειν) into the sea. There they were reviewed by Xerxes himself, sailing by on a Sidonian ship, seated under a golden awning (Hdt. 7.100.2). This was no ordinary, everyday occurrence. How and Wells observed many years ago that the purpose of Xerxes' order was for maintenance. Most ships of the fleet had sailed from the eastern Mediterranean (Hdt. 7.89-95). Maintenance was now needed to put them in condition for the coming campaign.[10]

Inability to beach and dry out ships is lamented in a letter written by Nikias, commander of the Athenian fleet in Sicily during the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 7.12.3-5). Nikias points out that at first he had had the driest of ships, but now his ships were waterlogged because they had been at sea for a long time; it was not possible to haul them up on shore (ἀνέλκειν) and dry them out thoroughly (διαψύχειν) because he was forced constantly to anticipate a Syracusan attack. The Syracusans had a better opportunity to dry out their own ships (ἀποξηραίνειν), Nikias continues, for they were not blockading others. Surely Nikias is not speaking of 'overnight beaching'; he must be referring to hauling ashore and drying out for maintenance. Both the Athenians and the Syracusans kept their ships at anchorages (Thuc. 7.4.5, 25.5, 41.1). The difference was that Nikias dared not take his ships out of the water for the length of time needed for maintenance.

The third reference to hauling up and drying out comes from Xenophon, referring to a later event in the Peloponnesian War (Hell. 1.5.10). After Lysander had been sent out from Lacedaemon as admiral and had organized his fleet, he hauled up (ἀνέλκειν) the ships he had at Ephesus and kept quiet while the ships were being dried out (ἀναψύχειν) and refurbished (ἐπισκευάζειν). Xenophon's addition of ἐπισκευάζειν makes it certain that maintenance was being performed. Like any good commander, Lysander intended to begin his tenure with his ships in first-class condition.

Beaching II—Running (a trireme) up on the beach

This sort of beaching is expressed by the word ὀκέλλειν, which may mean 'run up on the beach' or 'run aground'. The most informative example of ὀκέλλειν is to be found in Thucydides' description (4.11-12) of an attack by the Peloponnesian fleet on Athenian troops who had occupied Pylos and were stationed at the edge of the beach. Brasidas, a Spartan trierarch, seeing that the other Peloponnesians hung back for fear of damaging their ships on the rocky shore, shouted at them not to protect their timber, but to make a gift of their ships to the Lacedaemonians by running them up on the beach (ὀκέλλειν) and going ashore to conquer the Athenians and the land. And Brasidas himself, ordering his own helmsman to run his ship ashore (ὀκέλλειν), made his way to the ἀποβάθρα (ladder? gangway?) and was attempting to disembark when he

was attacked by the Athenians. After receiving many wounds he fainted away and fell onto the outrigger. His shield fell from his arm into the sea and, being thrown ashore, was picked up by the Athenians, who used it for the trophy they later set up.

Two points define the 'beaching' expressed here and conform with the second dictionary definition: Brasidas' ship had been run up as far as the edge of the beach, where the Athenians were posted, but the ship actually remained in the water, for how else could Brasidas' shield have fallen into the sea?

Anchoring (in general)

Just as there were two kinds of beaching, so there were two kinds of anchoring, 'next to the land' and 'in the open sea.' Herodotus' description (7.188.1-3) of the Persian squadron mentioned above gives the precise distinction. The shore was too narrow to accommodate all of the ships, so some of them anchored 'next to the land' (πρὸς γῆι) while others anchored 'in the open sea' (μετάρσιος). (Another term for 'open sea' is μετέωρος.)

Anchoring I—In the open sea

An unpleasant night spent at anchor in the open sea is briefly described by Demosthenes, in a case brought on behalf of the trierarch Apollodorus. Apollodorus' ship had not been able to put in to shore because the nearby land was held by the enemy and, in consequence, he had been forced to ride at anchor all night in the open sea (μετέωρος), in a terrible storm, without food and without sleep (Dem. 50.22).

Ships engaged in blockades spent much of their time at anchor in the open sea, but from time to time the ships would have been moved to an anchorage near the shore so that their crews could take their meals and an occasional nap. Some of Callicratidas' men who were blockading Conon at Mytilene found themselves in an embarrassing position on that account. One day, while they were taking a nap on the beach after their midday meal, Conon sent out his two fastest ships in an attempt to run the blockade. Callicratidas' men had to cut loose their anchors and rouse themselves from sleep in order to pursue the blockade runners (Xen. Hell. 1.6.18-21).

Anchoring II—Next to the shore

Coming to shore for the purpose of anchoring was not unlike the coming to shore expressed by ὀκέλλειν, but without the sense of violence associated with Brasidas' attempted landing. Triremes were almost certainly brought to shore stern first, the very manner in which smaller boats had been brought to land in earlier times. Thus Homer says of Odysseus' crew (Il. 1.435-6): 'They backed water until the boat had reached the mooring place, then the anchor stones were cast out and the stern cables were made fast' (the stern cables would have been fastened to a fixed object on land).[11] It is evident

[10] W.W. How and J. Wells, A Commentary on Herodotus, vol. 2 (Oxford 1928) 150.

[11] This was the way the reconstructed trireme Olympias was brought to shore on its trial runs, see I. Whitehead, J. Coates, and O. Roberts, Chapter 3, 'The sea trials', in J.S. Morrison and J.F. Coates (eds.), An Athenian Trireme Reconstructed: the British sea trials of Olympias, 1987 (BAR International Series 486, Oxford 1989) 58-60.

from representations of triremes in ancient art that the curved stern was well suited to easing up against a beach; the prow, with its projecting ram, was not. Artistic evidence shows men embarking or disembarking by means of a ladder placed near the stern of a warship; a dolphin leaping below the stern in one representation indicates the ship's position in the sea.[12] The scenes may remind us of Homer's description of disembarking (*Od.* 9.546-7): 'They ran the ship against the sandy beach and they themselves stepped out onto the edge of the sea.'

Although Herodotus has given us our definition of the two kinds of anchoring, he more often uses rather vague words such as προσέχειν, 'put in at'. Even when he refers specifically to anchoring, his examples are not very informative. Reports such as 'Persian triremes lay at anchor (ὁρμεῖν) at Elaeus' (7.22.1) or 'the Greeks came to anchor (ὁρμίζειν) at Kalami' (9.96.1) do not tell us whether the ships were next to the land or in the open sea. Occasionally, however, context makes Herodotus' meaning clear. Hippias, who 'brought the Persian fleet to anchor (ὁρμίζειν) at Marathon', marshalled the Persians as they disembarked, and while so engaged suddenly sneezed and coughed so hard that one of his teeth fell out into the sand (6.107.2-3). The place where Hippias brought the fleet to anchor must have been the edge of the beach.

In contrast to Herodotus, Thucydides frequently uses 'anchor' words. There are at least fifty examples. But Thucydides, too, leaves it to his reader to deduce the location of an anchored ship. Deduction is simple enough when the Corinthians, who were anchored in the harbor at Sybota, put out from land (ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς) (1.52.1-2) or when the Syracusans embarked on the very ships in which they had earlier come to anchor (4.25.3-5). As in the story of Hippias, when embarking or disembarking is mentioned in conjunction with anchoring, it may be inferred that the ships in question were at the edge of the shore. Due to the ambiguity of 'beach', this point is not always clear. Xenophon uses 'anchor' three times in describing the Athenian position at Aegospotami and subsequently reports that Lysander captured Athenian ships, both unmanned and partly manned, next to the shore (πρὸς τῆι γῆι) (*Hell.* 2.1.25-28). Inevitably, some translators put the ships 'on the beach'.[13]

Unfortunately for our efforts to determine where triremes spent the night, once the ancient authors report that ships have come to anchor, they rarely say whether or not the ships remained at anchor until the next morning. We have seen an exception in Herodotus' story of the Persian squadron that anchored for the night (7.188). Somewhat later, on the night before the battle of Salamis, the Greek ships were evidently kept at anchor, although it is sometimes claimed that they were hauled up onto the beach.[14] According to Herodotus, the

captains of the Greek ships were debating whether to sail for the Isthmus or remain at Salamis. Night fell. Some captains went aboard their own ships and some visited each others' ships to continue the discussion (8.56-8). It is not realistic to suppose that the captains would have been 'going aboard' ships that were up on the beach. Herodotus also notes that when day dawned on the morning of the battle, the ships were already in the water and manned by their oarsmen, waiting only for the marines to embark (8.83). Furthermore, the strategy of the Athenian commander, Themistocles, depended on convincing the Persians that the Greeks were ready to sail away at the first opportunity (Hdt. 8.75, 80; Aesch. *Pers.* 355-60; Thuc. 1.74.1). Every clue points to a night spent at anchor next to the shore.

Thucydides does not describe overnight anchoring next to the beach as such, but it can sometimes be inferred. For example, when he reports that the Peloponnesian fleet at Rhion and the Athenian fleet at Molykrian Rhion 'anchored opposite one another (ἀνθορμεῖν) for six or seven days', practising and preparing for battle (2.86.2-5), 'anchored' must refer to nights as well as days, for dawn was breaking when the Peloponnesians finally put out to sea, and 'the ships sailed in the same order as they had lain at anchor' (ὁρμεῖν) (2.90.1).

A single episode related by Xenophon tells all we really need to know about where many triremes spent their nights (*Hell.* 5.1.19-20). The Lacedaemonian admiral Teleutias sailed by night to make an attack on the Piraeus. Although he had only twelve triremes of his own, Xenophon says, Teleutias considered that the Athenians had become careless about their fleet in the harbour, and 'even if there were triremes at anchor there (ὁρμεῖν), it was safer to sail against twenty ships at Athens than ten elsewhere. For in the case of ships that were abroad, sailors would be quartered on board, but at Athens the trierarchs would be sleeping at home and the sailors here and there'. It is evident that, even in their home ports, triremes were kept at anchor for the night, while they were in commission at least.

Herodotus and Thucydides mention triremes that were anchored for the night while on passage and Xenophon reveals that triremes were anchored for the night in their home ports. Perhaps there are not as many clear examples as we might like; nevertheless, the examples we do have make a fair showing against examples of triremes being hauled ashore for the night, which, as far as can be determined, do not exist.

To summarize briefly: triremes in commission were hauled ashore for maintenance or for protection, but as a rule they were kept at anchor. They were anchored in the open sea when circumstances so dictated. However, the customary and most desirable place to keep a trireme was at anchor next to the shore, where the crew could disembark to eat and sleep and then embark speedily and easily when the time came to sail away. The notion that triremes were hauled up onto the beach overnight is a twentieth-century fiction.

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[12] Morrison with Coates (n.8) 177-254 has a full collection of illustrations; for ladders near the stern, see p. 184 fig. vii and p. 188 fig. x (with dolphin).

[13] E.g., C.L. Brownson's Loeb translation; Morrison and Williams (n.3) 231 say that most of the ships were 'on the beach or half-manned'.

[14] N.G.L. Hammond, 'The battle of Salamis', *JHS* 76 (1956) 42.