

## CONCLUSION



THE ATHENIAN EQUATION of democracy with tradition and antiquity offers an interesting counterpoint to modern assumptions about the innately progressive character of popular government. But it probably should not surprise us. The leaders of the new order were hardly the first authority figures in human history to justify their actions with an appeal to the past. In Greece itself, it had been common practice for generations among the ruling class to reaffirm their place in society by claiming links with the age of heroes. What is unusual about the Athenian case in 508–490 is the attempt to extend these kinds of claims from the family or clan unit to an entire political community, especially one so inclusive and far-flung. In this respect, as in so many others, the Athenian experiment broke new ground.

So when did this experiment come to an end? One could say that it lasted all the way down to 322 B.C., when the final hope for preserving meaningful democracy in Athens expired on the battlefield at Crannon. In the intervening period (the better part of two centuries), the Athenian state remained something of a work in progress, with new offices and procedures added and old ones adjusted as circumstance allowed or required. Then again, the tribal system, the core innovation of 508/7, would endure in some form for centuries more; spectral traces of it are still visible as late as the third century A.D.<sup>1</sup> Here, at least, the influence of Cleisthenes' reforms on civic life in Athens and Attica continued to be felt for almost the remainder of antiquity.

But for the purposes of the present study, it would be just as well to draw the line at 490 B.C. By this point, the critical innovations of the new order—political, military, ceremonial, and ideological—were all firmly in place. The menfolk of Attica found themselves assailed from all sides by the echoes of a shared past never before suspected, bidding them to lay aside what divided them and rise, as one, to new responsibilities. As citizen soldiers and as the sovereign *demos* of Athens, they were charged with directing a common cause. Public business multiplied accordingly, allowing them to venture into areas that were once the exclusive preserves of the wealthy, like the commissioning of ostentatious buildings and monuments and the management of hero cults and war graves.<sup>2</sup> The temper of the age was defined by a new collective consciousness, and they could now begin to imagine themselves a community. The shift from city-state to region-state was all but complete. And with their victory at Marathon in 490 (an eventuality unimaginable only twenty years earlier), the Athenians came to reap the full dividend of their new political reality, announcing their arrival as a dominant force in the Greek world.

The year 490 also marks a significant shift in the character of Athenian politics. With the trial of Miltiades and the ostracisms of the 480s, we see the return of fierce political rivalry to Athens for the first time since the defeat of Isagoras, a sure sign of the maturity of the new polity. The unusually broad consensus that had prevailed for nearly two decades, allowing the new order to take root and flourish, had clearly served its purpose. The great rupture with the past was effectively accomplished, and the basic shape and texture of Athenian public life would remain largely unchanged down to the end of the classical period.

The immediate purpose of this book has been to explore this rupture—to establish its dimensions and rationale and to recover some sense of how it was perceived and represented at the time. But since the claims made here also have consequences for how we view what went before, the ultimate purpose of the book has always been somewhat more ambitious: to suggest a new reading of Athenian politico-cultural evolution in the archaic period, an alternative to the more gradualist approach found in the textbooks and in the work of most modern authorities.

The new reading is less dependent on the capricious testimony of ancient authors—riddled as it is with the assumptions and preoccupations of later eras—and more inclined to make use of information gleaned from the material record. It is concerned less with narrow constitutional issues and more with the dynamics of a “political culture” (understood in the broadest possible sense

of the term). Overall, it places greater emphasis on the continuities that prevailed from the time of Cylon to that of Hippias and Hipparchus and on the discontinuities that emerged thereafter.

Without wishing to minimize the significance of Solon and the Peisistratids, it is deeply unlikely that either party was responsible for the kind of wholesale renewal of political culture that we see in the age of Cleisthenes. Nor, most likely, did they aim to be. Solon's reforms probably did furnish ordinary Athenians with some modest political gains and protections, but only as many as were required to restore equilibrium, or *eunomia*, to a state in turmoil. Likewise, Peisistratus and his sons favored the status quo. Though they may, at times, have strained the rules of the political game to breaking point, they had no great incentive, given their success, to change them fundamentally. Once the layers of later calumny are peeled away, we see that their style of leadership was not qualitatively different from what had gone before. Aside from the occasional resort to arms, all that really distinguished the Peisistratids' authority from that of a Megacles or a Lycurgus was its longevity. And even if we can think of reasons why they might have wanted to promote a sense of regional community in Attica, evidence that they actually did so is wanting. Their role in the development of the major national festivals remains debatable at best, and the very complexity and artifice of Cleisthenes' tribal reform indicates that the inhabitants of the region were still very far from sharing any instinctive collective consciousness when the Peisistratids left Athens in 511/0. In the end, perhaps the family's greatest contributions to Athenian history and culture were entirely inadvertent: to highlight the urgent need to reform the system that had produced them; and to represent the definitive antithesis of what the Athenians later believed their government to be all about, to be forever tyrants.

If we insist on looking for evidence of significant discontinuity in the decades before 510, we could do worse than focus on those decades that separate the era of Solon from that of Peisistratus. We know all too little about the political scene during these years, yet it manifestly was a time of some energy and innovation. The monumentalization of the Acropolis sanctuary, the appearance of the first sizable stone temple on the citadel, the founding of the Great Panathenaia and the Eleusinian Mysteries, the vigorous promotion of Heracles, and the first traces of a growing local interest in Theseus are all developments that fall within the period 575–550. Together, they reveal an Athens that was increasingly alert to Panhellenic currents, if not yet shaping them. Future work on this relatively forgotten corner of the sixth century could bear valuable fruit.

Ultimately, however this study's larger revisionist claims are received, I hope that the findings presented here might stimulate others to look again at

the age of Cleisthenes, to see it in a fresh light and to adopt a broader, more synoptic approach to what must be considered a defining period in Athenian history. This book offers one particular way of looking at the assembled evidence, but many others are available, and still others are surely possible.

As a measure of the healthy diversity of opinion that is now represented in the ongoing dialogue about Cleisthenes' reforms, one might think again of the very different perspective found in the recent work of Ober (1996; cf. 1998), whose reading of the events of 508/7 in Athens prompts him to draw points of comparison with the early days of the French Revolution. If challenged to seek comparanda from further afield for my own interpretation of the political change in Athens, I would begin by noting some intriguing parallels with one of the other great transformations of antiquity.

At first sight, there may not be too many obvious resemblances between the Athenian experiment and the creation of the Roman principate. But whatever the different outcomes, the aims and methods betray some striking similarities. Both initiatives were pursued in states that had hitherto been dominated by a relatively small group of elites, and in both cases state institutions had proved inadequate to prevent aggressive feuding between rival leaders and chronic political instability. In Rome as in Athens, the challenge was to reorganize the state in ways that were sufficiently decisive to end the instability yet not so violent or radical as to alienate those on whose consent the success of the new order would most depend. The solution in Athens was to extend political responsibilities to a far broader constituency; in Rome, to concentrate them in the hands of a single individual. Yet in both cases, the delicate balancing act was achieved by representing radical change as a return to an older order, and in both the reform of the state precipitated a wave of innovations elsewhere in public life, especially in the religious and military domains.

However, perhaps the most compelling comparanda are to be found in more recent historical experience. The specialist literature on modern nation-building, nationalism, and national identity formation offers a peculiarly rich source of evidence for the construction—both institutional and ideological—of complex self-governing political communities. The parallels with ancient Athenian developments are, I believe, highly instructive.<sup>3</sup>

One must be careful here not to sail too close to the winds of anachronism; nations are after all an exclusively (perhaps inherently) modern phenomenon. But for all the very obvious circumstantial differences between the Athenian polis and a modern nation, there is, I think, little meaningful difference in the style of collective consciousness that animates and defines these entities. To borrow Benedict Anderson's well-known formulation (1991, 6), it is not just

that the classical Athenians were an “imagined community,” but that they imagined themselves specifically as an “inherently limited and sovereign political community.”

Moreover, these core political self-imaginings, with their distinctly modern resonance, were supplemented by a range of other identity sources, the most important of which have also played an identical role in the formation of modern national consciousness. These include shared myths of origins, shared collective memories, and a sense of a having a shared “historic” homeland, as well as a common economy, common legal rights and obligations, and a shared public culture believed to be distinct from all others.<sup>4</sup> While there is inevitably some difference in the techniques and media used in the ancient and modern worlds to encourage a sense of belonging to these imagined political communities, some even of these are strikingly similar: the invention of new traditions, the creation of symbolic spaces for the commemoration of national heroes and achievements, and the organization of the calendar around annual celebrations of national unity and fellowship.

Whatever their root cause, such correspondences cannot be entirely fortuitous, raising the possibility that study of specialist work on modern nation formation may afford novel and useful insights into the equivalent process in ancient Athens. Two such insights seem to have particular significance for the subjects covered in this book.

First, while there may be an innate need in humans to identify themselves with various kinds of suprafamilial social groups, there is nothing especially natural about imagining oneself to belong to an extended political community on the scale of a modern nation. Historically, the kinds of shared beliefs, assumptions, and aspirations that typically animate national consciousness do not spontaneously evolve in the minds of a nation’s would-be members; for the most part, they have to be constructed and promoted from above, usually through mass media and political movements. As the statesman Massimo d’Azeglio observed at the first meeting of the new Italian parliament following the Risorgimento, “We have made Italy, now we have to make Italians.”<sup>5</sup>

So, too, it is hard to believe that the very similar shared beliefs, assumptions, and aspirations of the classical Athenians were wholly natural or spontaneous in origin; a sense of fellowship—even kinship—among this relatively diverse and dispersed community had to be consciously and carefully constructed from above before it could be reinforced through lived experience. The very beginnings of this process—the process of “making Athenians”—are precisely what I have tried to document in the chapters of this book.

Second, study of the modern comparandum may also help to shed some new light on the historical relationship between the formation of a “national consciousness” in Attica and the evolution of Athenian democracy. In her acclaimed work on the emergence of early forms of national consciousness in Europe and the United States, Greenfeld (1992, 10) has the following to say on the equivalent relationship in the modern world.

The location of sovereignty within the people and the recognition of the fundamental equality among its various strata, which constitute the essence of the modern national idea, are at the same time the basic tenets of democracy. Democracy was born with the sense of nationality. The two are inherently linked, and neither can be understood apart from this connection. Nationalism was the form in which democracy appeared in the world, contained in the idea of the nation as a butterfly in a cocoon.

Thus, in the case of, say, France, while a meaningful, lasting commitment to the idea of democracy was not actively pursued until 1884 (when the franchise was permanently extended to all French males), the essential ideological predicates of democracy had been present in the environment since 1789, when the idea of an inclusive French “nation” first stirred the call to revolution.

Likewise, in Athens, I suggest, democracy was not actually the conscious or express objective of Cleisthenes’ reforms, nor would it be fully realized in the polis until some decades later. Rather, these reforms were shaped primarily by what we might call a national idea. But embedded in this idea, even in 508/7, were the seeds of a new form of government, one the Athenians would come later to know as *dēmokratia*.

## NOTES

### INTRODUCTION

1. Similar sentiments are found in a number of Aristophanes' plays from this same time, most conspicuously in the *Acharnians*. Though writing from rather different perspectives, both Mikalson (1977) and Connor (1994) provide good examples of the continuing strength of local practices and traditions through the classical period.

2. Population of Athens: e.g., Gomme 1933; Hansen 1982; 1985a. Figures quoted for the average polis: Raafaub 1991, 567. For problems with Finley's claim (1973, 17–18; cf. 1983, 28–29) that the Athenian polis was in fact “a model of a face-to-face society,” see Osborne 1985, 64–65; Ober 1989, 31–33. In his well-known work on the emergence of modern national consciousness, Benedict Anderson (1991, 6) coins the term “imagined community” to describe the condition whereby “the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.” While this definition might accurately be applied to the political community in Attica as a whole, it should also be stressed that political life in and around the institutions of central government in Athens remained in many ways a face-to-face affair.

3. Population figures for classical Greece cannot be determined with any great accuracy. Mostly, they are inferred from the size of military contingents. The figures suggested here are based either on consensus judgments, where such exist, or on the more temperate estimates, avoiding the higher and lower extremes. For Corinth, see Salmon 1984, 165–69; Megara, Legon 1981, 23–24 with n. 7; Syracuse, Loicq-Berger 1967, 215–16. Lesbos was the largest of the Aegean Islands (around 1,630 square kilometers); it supported five different poleis. There was only one polis on the island of Chios, but it was considerably smaller (842 square kilometers) and less populous (with a free population of somewhere between 60,000 and 120,000) than Attica.

4. Cf. *AP* 24.3.

5. Specialist bibliography is cited in the pertinent chapters. Suffice it to say for now that this study, like any other on the period, owes a great deal to the detailed, specialist work on the archaeological and epigraphic evidence for the tribal system that was introduced in 508/7 (e.g., Eliot 1962; Traill 1975; 1986; Siewert 1982). Other important studies can be found in three collections of essays published in association with the recent “Democracy 2500” celebrations: Coulson et al. 1994; Ober and Hedrick 1996; Morris and Raaflaub 1998. As for earlier monographs that focus primarily or exclusively on the age of Cleisthenes, the most recent in English is Ostwald 1969; Lévêque and Vidal-Naquet 1996 is a slightly revised version of a work published originally in French in 1964. Until a year or two ago, the qualification “in English” would have been unnecessary. But an important new study, likewise based on a 1997 dissertation, has just appeared in German. Though this monograph came to my attention too late to have any influence on the arguments presented in this book, I am gratified to see that Rausch (1999) also considered developments in Athens in the late sixth and early fifth centuries worthy of a book-length study and that many of the materials we discuss are the same. That said, our approaches are quite different. Rausch’s work covers a somewhat longer period (from 510 down to 480) and documents a greater number of innovations outside the political arena. My study devotes more space to interpretation and is more inclined to reevaluate the aims and significance of Cleisthenes’ political reforms in the light of changes elsewhere in public life. Hopefully, the appearance of two new books on late archaic Athens will stimulate others to pursue further inquiries into this crucial, dynamic period.

6. I employ the term “national” throughout this study to describe practices and institutions that pertained to all of Attica. Like others, I find the term more convenient than cumbersome formulations such as “pan-Attic” or “polis-wide,” and less ambiguous than “regional,” which could be construed as applying to only one part of the peninsula. This does not mean that the word is used casually. As I suggest elsewhere (see the end of this introduction and, especially, the conclusion), the style of collective consciousness that prevailed among citizens in Attica was not significantly different from that which animates the imagined community of a modern nation. The use of “national” in the ancient context thus serves to underscore the point that we are dealing with a political community that was similarly imagined rather than face-to-face. That said, it would be anachronistic to claim that the Athenian polis community was literally a nation in the modern sense; the analogy must remain a loose one. The use of the word “national” without quotes hereafter is merely a convenience.

7. For an interesting recent example of a *longue durée* approach to political change in Athens in the late sixth century, see Morris 1996; Morris attempts to show that “democratic institutions were merely one response to the emergence of broader egalitarian attitudes and ideologies” (20).

8. Evans 1997, 189. Evans is a prominent British historian who studies modern Germany.

9. The issue of popular involvement in the political changes of 508/7 is complex. While Ober’s efforts (1996, 1998) to draw attention to the important part played by ordinary citizens in the birth of the new order are most welcome, I remain unpersuaded by his attempt to “decenter” the role of Cleisthenes and argue that the political reforms were shaped by a “vision” of change that issued ultimately from the masses. These matters are addressed in some detail on pp. 77–82 in chapter 2.

10. Cf. Cromey 1979; Hansen 1994. The entry for Cleisthenes in the most recent edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* runs to about the same length as the entries on catoptrics and ancient beekeeping. Occupying barely one-third of one of the dictionary's 1,640 pages, his entry is distinctly shorter than those for his fellow countrymen Solon, Themistocles, and Cimon and is positively dwarfed by the entry on the Athenian pamphleteer Isocrates, which covers nearly two full pages. A further reason for later authors' relative lack of interest in Cleisthenes will become clear during the course of this book. See especially chapter 9.

#### CHAPTER I

1. On the inapplicability of the modern distinction between “state” and “society” to the ancient polis, see, e.g., Meier 1984, 7–44; Manville 1990, 3–54; 1994.

2. Incorporation complete by the end of the eighth century: e.g., Hignett 1952, 34–38; Jeffery 1976, 84; Snodgrass 1977; Andrewes 1982, 360–63; Diamant 1982; Morris 1987, 195. Mycenaean synoecism: e.g., Padgug 1972. Osborne (1994a) would bring the process down to the seventh century, and Manville (1990) and Frost (1990, 1994) appear to favor a date early in the sixth century.

3. For further discussion of the synoecism tradition and the date of its invention, see chapter 5.

4. Throughout this study, I follow Rhodes's reconstruction (1976; 1981, 191–99) of the chronology of the Peisistratid “tyranny.” The question of military organization before the reforms of Cleisthenes is considered at some length in chapter 6 below.

5. Majority of inhabitants lived outside Athens: Thuc. 2.14.1; cf. Frost 1994, 50. No plenary gatherings: Carter 1986, 193.

6. On economic and political relations in early Attica, see e.g., Cassola 1964, 26–34; Rhodes 1981, 90–97; Manville 1990, 107–18. Cf. Connor 1996, 218–21, on traditions of local autonomy in Attica.

7. Rhodes 1981 (66–76) and Manville 1990 (55–69) provide suitably cautious, but nuanced, discussions of the various socioreligious organizations that prevailed in pre-Cleisthenic Attica. Broader surveys of the evidence for these associations can be found in Parker 1996 (284–342) and Jones 1999. See also the discussion at the beginning of chapter 5 below. Generally on phratries: e.g., Andrewes 1961a; 1961b; Lambert 1993. Attic phratries before the reforms of Cleisthenes: Lambert 1993, 245–75. Territoriality of phratries: Hedrick 1991. For speculation on the process by which fictive claims of kinship between landowners and retainers might have become established, see Frost 1994, 46–49. For further discussion of the Ionian tribes, see p. 126 in chapter 5.

8. See also the observations of Strauss (1994). More generally, on “regionalism” in archaic and classical Attica, see e.g., Sealey 1960a; Mossé 1964; Osborne 1985.

9. Mycenaean unification of Attica: Padgug 1972; Stubbings 1975a, 169; 1975b, 347–48. Cf. Polignac 1995, 87–90. Dark Age decentralization and localism: e.g., Sealey 1960a; Mossé 1964; Snodgrass 1980, 33–37. “Internal colonization”: e.g., Whitley 1991, 57–58.

10. Spread of Protogeometric pottery: e.g., Snodgrass 1971, 404. But cf. the pronounced mortuary variability in Late Geometric Attica (ca. 750–700 B.C.) noted in Morris 1987, 125–28. More valuable grave goods: Coldstream 1977, 133–35. Reuse of Mycenaean tombs as sites for hero cults: Coldstream (1976). Snodgrass (1980, 35–40) would see the es-

establishment of such hero cults in rural Attica as part of an attempt by new arrivals in these areas to assert fictive ancestral connections with the land, while Morris (1987, 59–60) interprets them as expressions of resistance by longer-established elite inhabitants to colonial encroachments by the Athenian state. Antonaccio (1998) would classify this reuse of Mycenaean tombs simply as “tomb cult”—distinct from the “true” hero cult found at, say, the Menelaion in Laconia—and emphasizes the relative infrequency of the practice in Attica. Silver mining at Thorikos: Coldstream 1977, 70. New sanctuaries: Morris 1987, 60–61; Osborne 1994a, 151–54. Morris argues that the new sanctuaries would have provided an “ideological underpinning to the newly emerging polis,” perhaps in apposition to the new national sanctuary established on the Acropolis at this time (cf. Snodgrass 1977, 24–30). Polignac (1995) sees this kind of center-periphery pattern of cult behavior as a key index of the rise of the polis in Greece generally, though he admits (87–90) that it is not as easily visible in Attica as elsewhere.

11. These objections would also apply to Osborne’s effort (1994a) to show that cult activity at sites outside Athens in the seventh century should be seen as attempts by the center to assert claims to authority in the periphery. He suggests as a model the case of the *genos* of the Salaminioi, members of which, he proposes (159), were “selected” in “around 700 B.C. or shortly after” to establish a cult site at Sounion and stake such a claim. But as Osborne himself admits (156), material remains from Sounion for the early seventh century are negligible. In general, homogeneity of material culture between the center and the periphery may have a political significance (see Morgan and Whitelaw 1991) but could also arise from straightforward migration and other less obviously political forms of intercourse between the two. Either way, evidence from as late as the classical period for the survival of major sources of cultural heterogeneity within Attica, whether relating specifically to cult (see, e.g., Mikalson 1977) or more broadly to identity (see Connor 1994), should caution us against reading too much significance into isolated instances of homogeneity from much earlier periods.

12. For similar skepticism, see Manville 1990, 55–69. Archaeology has revealed only one substantial Dark Age structure in Athens, a small oval building known simply as the “Dark Age house” (see Burr 1933). Evidence is tenuous at best for a Late Geometric “national” temple on the Acropolis (see Snodgrass 1977, 24–30; cf. Wycherley 1978, 143; Hurwit 1999, 93–94), though the existence of a major sanctuary there at this time is not in doubt. Among proponents of a Dark Age synoecism, Diamant (1982, 45–47) is one of the few to consider the nature of the “state” in Athens at this time. He argues that the “strong commercial foundations” laid in Athens during the period suggest that the contemporary state was sufficiently mature to have directed a complex process like unification. However, of the three commercial developments he adduces in support of this claim, only one—apparent Athenian dominance in the field of ceramic production in Greece from the eleventh to the eighth centuries—can be identified securely before 700 B.C.

13. Doubts about a developed state apparatus in the seventh century: e.g., Hölscher 1991, 359; Whitley 1991, 58. Morris (1987), who argues for the emergence of a unified polis in Attica in the eighth century, concedes that the initiative seems to have been abandoned in the seventh century.

14. See Manville 1990, 76–77; Frost 1994, 48–50.

15. Text of Draco’s homicide legislation: Stroud 1968. The text is heavily restored, from a combination of a late fifth-century inscription (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 104, believed to include a republication of a seventh-century law) and quotations found among speeches of Demosthenes.

Draco's legislation as evidence for emerging community consciousness: Manville 1990, 80–82; cf. Frost 1994, 48–49. It should be noted that only the last two letters of the all-important term *Athēnaion* are securely attested.

16. Manville (1990, 80–81) plainly makes this assumption.

17. I here discount the value of casual references, since there is too great a chance that they may be the product not of knowledge but of anachronistic assumption, as when, for example, Plutarch (*Sol.* 24) tells us that Solon issued a ban on the export of all produce except olive oil from "Attica." Later writers believed that Attica had been unified since the age of Theseus, so it would have been only natural for them to assume that such provisions as the export ban applied to the entire region. Manville (1990, 155) confidently asserts, "*Athēnaioi*, as the word appears in Solon's poetry, now firmly meant the people of all Attika and the society that spanned it." But as far as I can tell, he produces no conclusive evidence to support this claim. Moreover, in contrast to scholars who believe that citizenship in Athens before the reforms of Cleisthenes was administered through the phratries, Manville concedes (e.g., 177) that there was probably no fixed or "centralized standard" for determining who was and who was not a member of the community before 508/7.

18. Solonian Council of 400: *AP* 8.4, 21.3, 31.1; *Plut. Sol.* 19.1–2. Solon's political measures are discussed in more detail on pp. 57–66 in chapter 2.

19. For a view similar to my own, see Fornara and Samons 1991, 52–55. Fornara and Samons adduce a variety of evidence from Solon's poems, including repeated references to "men of the city" (*astoi*), in support of their argument that Athenian political life at this time was confined largely to those living within the plain of Athens and that the stasis Solon resolved was essentially an urban, rather than a regionwide, phenomenon.

20. Even after the reforms of Cleisthenes, the problems of directly governing the periphery from the center were not fully overcome. The institution of the "jurors among the villages" was, it seems, revived in 453/52 and again at the beginning of the fourth century (see *AP* 26.3, 53.1; Rhodes 1981, 215). Hipparchan herms: [Pl.] *Hipparch.* 228b–229d; Hesychn., s.v. *Hipparkheios Hermēs*; Harpoc., s.v. *Hermai*; *Suda*, s.v. *Hermai*. Altar of the Twelve Gods: Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 129–36, fig. 34, pl. 67a. The altar was set up during the archonship of Peisistratus, son of Hippias (*Thuc.* 6.54.5–7), the date of which thus provides a *terminus post quem* for the herms (cf. Meritt 1939, 59, no. 21.8). Koropi herm: Kirchner and Dow 1937, 1–3. The Platonic *Hipparchus* (229a–b) also mentions a herm seen "on the road to Steiria" on the southeast Attic seaboard.

21. See, e.g., Kolb 1977; Stahl 1987; Eder 1988; 1992, 28–31; Shapiro 1989. Shapiro (loc. cit., 13) admits that reliable evidence for this *Religionspolitik* is not especially extensive. The only Athenian cults that can be firmly associated with Peisistratid innovations are those of Olympian Zeus, the Twelve Gods and Pythian Apollo. Cf. the remarks of Garland (1992, 39) and the serious doubts expressed by Osborne (1994a, 147–48). At the same time, although the character of the Great Panathenaia during this period was quite different from that of the classical era, it is possible that Peisistratus and/or his sons did develop the festival, adding contests in music and rhapsody (cf. Shapiro 1992, 1998). The history of the Panathenaia down to the end of the archaic era is discussed in chapter 7 below; for the Eleusinian Mysteries, the City Dionysia, and the Brauronia, see chapter 8.

22. Those who argue for a rise in civic consciousness at this time include Stahl (1987), Eder (1988), and Manville (1990, 162–73). Neleid genealogy: *Hdt.* 5.65.3. The Peisistratids and Heracles: Boardman 1972, 1975. The evolution of the Theseus figure in Athenian cul-

ture is discussed in some detail on pp. 136–43 below. The family’s style of authority is well illustrated not only by Peisistratus’s own personal interventions in local affairs but also by the Hipparchan herms. Apparently, all the herms bore the legend “This is a monument of Hipparchus” [μνῆμα τὸδ’ Ἱππάρχου], followed by rather peculiar injunctions to moral behavior, like “Do not deceive a friend” (see [Pl.] *Hipparch.* 229a–b). Although the author of *AP* is clearly better disposed than most toward the Peisistratids, he also goes out of his way to stress the lengths to which the tyrant was apparently willing to go to keep ordinary Athenians out of politics (see *AP* 16.3–5).

23. The full text of the inscription (*SEG* X 431; Friedländer 1948, no. 135; Peek 1955, no. 1226; Richter 1961, no. 36, fig. 203; Jeffery 1962, no. 34) can be found on p. 153 below. The epitaph is inscribed on a stepped base that was probably designed to support a stele. It was found at Sepolia, a northern suburb of Athens, just north of the Kolonos hill. Jeffery (1962, 133) dates the inscription to ca. 560–550.

24. Richter (1970) assigns all of these remains to her “Sounion Group,” which she dates to ca. 615–590. They include the “Dipylon head” and accompanying hand (Athens, NM 3372, 3965; Richter 1970, no. 6), four fragments of a single kouros from the Agora (Agora, S 287, 530, 1739, 1908; Richter 1970, no. 7), and a fragmentary head and body from the Northwest Gate area (Athens, NM 71; Richter 1970, no. 9).

25. Surviving archaic stelai from the Kerameikos are cataloged in Jeffery 1962, 116–25. With varying degrees of confidence, Jeffery would assign to Athenian cemeteries the remains of eight kouros and korai from this period, though all are of uncertain provenance and/or function. Two items, a kouros and a kore (Athens, NM 3858, 3859), were apparently recovered from Moschato in the Phaleron area, where no cemetery has yet been found, while the head of another possible kore (Brussels, Musée de Mariemont G1), also from Phaleron, could belong to a sphinx. Four other items (Richter 1970, nos. 66, 68, 138, 141) may not actually be from Athens, and the last of the group, a miniature kouros measuring only 48 centimeters from shoulder to lower thigh, would hardly have made for an impressive grave monument even if it was funerary.

26. See Jeffery 1962, 118–19, no. 3; 120–21, no. 9. The latter is dated to ca. 530 B.C., while the former may be a little earlier, though it features a punctuation device paralleled in a graffito on a vase from ca. 530.

27. We have two kouros bases from ca. 525–500 (Athens, NM 10368, 12870) and a kouros from the last years of the sixth century that was found built into the Piraeus Gate (Richter 1970, no. 161).

28. The first in the sequence, a kouros apparently from Anavyssos and now in New York (MM 32.11.1; Richter 1970, no. 1), dates probably to the 590s. The rest come from ca. 580–530. All ten of these were found either in cemeteries or in areas that are known to have had functional cemeteries at the time. The instance from Vourva consists of a base with remnants of the feet of a kore. Otherwise, the “Berlin goddess” from Keratea and the “Phrasikleia” from Merenda are korai, and the rest are kouros. I here list the find-spots of the statues in rough chronological order, including the locations of the statues and, where appropriate, their catalog numbers in Richter 1970: Markopoulo (Athens, NM 3852; no. 32), Kalyvia Kouvara (Athens, NM 1906; no. 63), “near Sounion” (New York, MM 21.88.16; no. 64), Keratea (“Berlin goddess”: Berlin, Antikensammlung 1800; see Jeffery 1962, 142–43), Merenda (kouros: Athens, NM 4890; “Phrasikleia”: Athens, NM 4889), Keratea (Athens, NM 1904; no. 89), Vourva (Athens, NM 81; see Jeffery 1962, 137),

Anavyssos (?) (“Munich kouros”: Munich, Antikensammlung 169; no. 135), Anavyssos (“Anavyssos kouros”: Athens, NM 3851; no. 136). Four other possible Attic kouroi from this period are referred to in Richter 1970 (112, nos. 69, 142–43).

29. Also unlikely is the idea that Athenian graves might have been adorned with bronze kouroi, of which no traces now survive. The technology necessary for forging life-size bronze images had barely been developed by the end of our period (cf. Mattusch 1988, 51–85). Clay molds for a bronze kouros-type statue of the mid-sixth century (Agora, S 741, 797; Mattusch 1988, 54–59, figs. 4.4–10) have been recovered from the area of the Apollo Patroos precinct in the Agora. However, the image was significantly less than life-size and, given the provenance, may have served as the cult statue for the small sacred structure that occupied the site at that time (see p. 88, in chapter 3 below). Generally, on the form and function of the kouros type, see e.g., Pollitt 1972, 6–9; Hurwit 1985, 253–57; Stewart 1990, 109–10.

30. Solonian sumptuary legislation: Plut. *Sol.* 21. Cf. Cic. *Leg.* 2.26.64; Kübler 1959, 93.  
31. See Anderson 2000.

32. For individual family members, I follow the dynastic numeral system found in Davies (1971, 368–85 with table 1). Family “headquarters” at Alopeke: e.g., Ar. *Vesp.* 1240–41; *AP* 22.5; Hopper 1961, 196–97; Lewis 1963, 23; Davies 1971, 384. Property holdings: Davies 1971, 384. Registration at Agryle: Davies 1971, 382; Lévéque and Vidal-Naquet 1996, 36, 76, 180 n. 3. Registration at Xypete: Stamires and Vanderpool 1950; Davies 1971, 376; Bicknell 1972, 54. Megacles I was archon at the time of the Cylonian conspiracy, which took place in one of four Olympic years between 636/5 and 624/3 (see Moulinier 1946; Cadoux 1948, 91; Rhodes 1981, 79–84). For even earlier times, a tradition is recorded (see Castor, *FGrH* 250 F4) that a Megacles and an Alcmeon were respectively the sixth and the thirteenth of the life archons who succeeded the kings in Athens. Another tradition (see Harpoc., s.v. *Alkmeōnidai*; Hesych., s.v. *Alkmeōnidai*) reports that the family were descended “from the Alcmeon [who lived] at the time of Theseus” [ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλκμείωνος τοῦ κατὰ Θησέα]. Some have doubted whether the Alcmeonids were among the city’s traditional elite, since they are not known to have controlled a major cult in Athens. But the archonship of Megacles I would seem to confirm their Eupatrid status (cf. the comments of Thomas [1989, 145–46] on traditions surrounding the family’s early history).

33. Sounion kouroi: Richter 1970, 30–58, nos. 2–5, figs. 25–49. On the unprecedented scale and workmanship of these sculptures, see Stewart 1990, 111; Camp 1994, 9. The case for an attribution to the Alcmeonids: Camp 1994, 9. Three funerary kouroi: (a) New York, MM 32.11.1 (Richter 1970, no. 1); (b) Munich, Antikensammlung 169 (Richter 1970, no. 135); (c) Athens, NM 3851 (Richter 1970, no. 136). For further discussion of all this evidence, see Anderson 2000.

34. Kroisos base and epitaph: Athens, NM 4754; Peek 1955, no. 1224; Jeffery 1962, 143–44. Alcmeonid Lydian connections: Hdt. 6.125. For the argument identifying the “Anavyssos kouros”—Kroisos base as an Alcmeonid monument, see Jeffery 1962, 144; Eliot 1967, 279–80. “Stele of Megacles”: New York, MM 11.185; Richter 1961, 27, no. 37; Jeffery 1962, 146–47, no. 63. Peisianax base: Athens, EM 10645; Jeffery 1962, 144–45, no. 58. Jeffery (1962, 145) suggests that the lettering on the “stele of Megacles” and the Peisianax base was carved by her “Mason B.” The ostrakon: Willemssen 1968.

35. So Hopper (1961, 196–97), Eliot (1967, 285 n. 33), Davies (1971, 372), and Bicknell (1972, 74). As for the presumed political motives behind the move, the benefits are not obvious. Would the family necessarily have gained by having its members split between three different tribes (Alopeke, Xypete, and Agryle were all in different city trittyes) or by locating its main branch at Alopeke, where many other prominent families (e.g., those of Aristides; Thucydides, son of Melesias; and the Kerykes) would also register?

36. Initial expulsion “in perpetuity” from Athens: *AP* 1; cf. *Hdt.* 5.71; *Plut. Sol.* 12.1–9; *Thuc.* 1.126.3–12. For the date, see Rhodes 1981, 84; Camp 1994, 7. Plutarch claims that the Alcmeonids, along with the bones of those who were responsible for the massacre and had since died, were expelled “beyond the borders” [ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὄρους] of Attica. But this detail is not reported in any earlier source and could easily be an anachronistic assumption based on knowledge of later practice.

37. The only recorded activities of the family during the forty years in question take place outside Attica. They include Alcmeon I’s command of a force in the First Sacred War (*Plut. Sol.* 11.2), the help he offered the Lydians at Delphi (*Hdt.* 6.125), his victory in the four-horse chariot race at Olympia in 592 (*Hdt.* 6.125; *Isoc.* 16.25; schol. *P. Pyth.* 7), and the marriage of Megacles II to Agariste of Sikyon in ca. 575 (*Hdt.* 6.130; cf. McGregor 1941, 276–79). Considering the unprecedented extravagance of the Sounion dedications and the cognate kouros, Camp’s suggestion (1994, 7) that they were paid for from the lavish reward given to Alcmeon I by the Lydians for his help at Delphi (cf. *Hdt.* 6.125) is especially attractive. This would give us a *terminus post quem* for the monuments, somewhere in the late 590s. Though it is widely thought that Lycurgus belonged to the Boutadae, that belief is based only on the identity of his name with that of the famous fourth-century politician. Assuming the belief to be correct, the sixth-century Lycurgus would be the family’s earliest known member (cf. Davies 1971, 348–49).

38. Defeat at Pallene and subsequent exile: *AP* 15.2; *Hdt.* 1.61–64. Archonship of Cleisthenes in 525/4: Meritt 1939, 59, no. 21.5; Meiggs and Lewis 1988, no. 6. Kroisos monument aetiology: cf. Jeffery 1962, 144; Eliot 1967, 283–84. The proposed scenario might also explain why Alcmeonides, brother of Megacles II, dedicated his victory in a Panathenaic chariot race (presumably that of 546; cf. Jeffery 1961, 73) to Apollo at the Ptoion sanctuary in Boeotia (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1469) and not, as he had done for victories during the previous fifteen years, to Athena on the Acropolis (cf. Athens, *EM* 6222; Raubitschek 1949, 338, no. 317). Given the family’s interest in the sanctuary, it may be no coincidence that a kouros almost identical in date, style, and workmanship to the two later examples from the Anavyssos cemetery has also been recovered from the Ptoion (the “Ptoon 12” kouros: Athens, *NM* 12; Richter 1970, no. 145). All three statues are signature members of Richter’s “Anavyssos–Ptoon 12 Group.”

39. The Alcmeonids also seem to have endured a relatively brief third period of exile following the assassination of Hipparchus in 514. Whether they spent this time based again in the Anaphlystos area must remain an open question. However, from the point of view of the larger argument here, it may be significant that they, along with other families who went into exile at the time, were apparently able to fortify a position at Leipsydriion—a location inside Attica, probably on the southern flank of Mount Parnes—in preparation for their armed resistance to Hippias (see *AP* 19.3; *Hdt.* 5.62; *Isoc.* 15.232; *Thuc.* 6.59.4). Presumably, the family was still banished at the time of Cleisthenes’ well-known negotiations with Delphi in 511/0 (see *AP* 19.4; *Hdt.* 5.62.2–63.1). Alcmeonid associations with Delphi and the Anaphlystos area at this and other times of exile might help to explain the relatively wide

range of mythical, ritual, and historical links between Phocis and Attica (in particular, southern Attica) that have recently been cataloged and discussed by Camp (1994, 7–9).

40. For a rather different narrative of Alcmeonid fortunes in the sixth century, see Fornara and Samons 1991, 1–21. Fornara and Samons believe that the first period of exile must have ended by the later 590s, when we hear of Alcmeon I leading a force of “Athenians” in the First Sacred War (see Plut. *Sol.* 11.2). But as Frost (1984) has shown, there is no need to believe that this or other military ventures before 508/7 were “official” actions of an Athenian citizen army. In view of Cleisthenes’ archonship in 525/4, Fornara and Samons reject the tradition of the second exile entirely, contending that Herodotus (1.64.3) simply confused it with the third period of banishment following the assassination of Hipparchus. Thomas (1989, 144–54) goes even further and doubts whether the Alcmeonids spent any significant time in exile at all during the Peisistratid era. Certainly, the claim that they were in exile for the entire period (see Hdt. 6.123.1) was a politically expedient exaggeration. But despite the propensity of leaders to manipulate memory and oral tradition in fifth-century Athens, it seems highly unlikely that such a claim could have had no basis in fact.

41. Allusions to exiles during the sixth century: e.g., *AP* 19.1; Hdt. 1.64. Families with links to the periphery: Sealey 1960b, 35; Bicknell 1972, 60–61.

42. For further discussion of these and other possible examples, see Anderson 2000. Herodotus’s discussion (5.61) of the Gephyraioi and their “rites established in the city” [*hira en Athēnēisi hidrumena*] takes place against the broader backdrop of the arrival in Greece and early history of the Kadmeioi, suggesting that these rites were believed to be of considerable antiquity. Themistocles himself is said (see Plut. *Them.* 1.4) to have restored his family’s telesterion of Demeter and Kore at Phlya after damage inflicted by the Persians. He also founded a sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboule at Melite (Plut. *Mor.* 869C–D; *Them.* 22.2–3), the deme where his urban residence was located (Dem. 23.207; Plut. *Them.* 22.2), and he had sacred property in Piraeus (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1035.45), the site of his tomb (Diodorus *FGrH* 372 F35; Paus. 1.1.2). His family’s conspicuous absence from the political scene before the fifth century has caused some to suspect that the Lycomidai must have “laid low” as opponents of the Peisistratids (see Davies 1971, 212–13; Shapiro 1989, 72). Exile seems a reasonable alternative explanation.

43. The fullest account of the Peisistratids’ history and genealogy can be found in two essays by Schachermeyr (1938a, 1938b). Polemarch and Megara campaign: *AP* 14.1; Hdt. 1.59.4. Archonship in 669/8: Paus. 2.24.8; Cadoux 1948, 90; Davies 1971, 445. Solon and Peisistratus as relatives (apparently, their mothers were cousins): Diog. Laert. 3.1; Heracleides Ponticus fr. 147 Wehrli; Hdt. 5.65.3; Plut. *Sol.* 1.2; Davies 1971, 322–23, 445 with table 1. Solon and Peisistratus as lovers: Ael. *VH* 8.16; *AP* 17.2; Plut. *Sol.* 1.4–5. Peisistratus’s second marriage (see Davies 1971, 449–50) was to Timonassa, daughter of Gorgilos of Argos and ex-wife of the Cypselid dynast Archinus of Ambracia (*AP* 17.4; cf. Hdt. 5.94.1). There is no direct evidence for horse rearing or chariot racing by the family. However, the only known anecdote (Hdt. 1.59.1–2) about Hippocrates, father of Peisistratus, takes place at Olympia, and the recurrence of names prefixed with *Hipp-* in the family genealogy all but confirms their interest in equine pursuits. Davies’s caution on the matter (1971, 454), based on an argument from silence, seems unnecessary.

44. [Pl.] *Hipparch.* 228b (Πεισιστράτου . . . τοῦ ἐκ τῶν Φιλαϊδῶν); Plut. *Sol.* 10.3 (Φιλαϊδῶν . . . ὄθεν ἦν Πεισίστρατος). There was a tradition that associated Peisistratus with a temple in the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron. But our only source for the story is

very late—the *Lexicon* compiled by the ninth-century Byzantine scholar-patriarch Photius (s.v. *Braurōnia*)—and the only known temple at the site was probably not built until more than twenty years after Peisistratus’s death (see pp. 194–96 below.) Other possible evidence linking the family with the Brauron area has been discussed and dismissed by Lewis (1963, 23–24).

45. Herodotus (1.59.3) calls the members of Peisistratus’s “party” the “men from beyond the hills,” or *huperakrioi*, while other sources, including *AP* (13.4), tend to describe them simply as “men of the hills,” or *diakrioi*. Both terms are believed to refer generally to the northeastern section of Attica.

46. For similar reasons, Lavelle (1993, 98) has described Peisistratus’s *diakria* party as “a chimera.” First coup: *AP* 14.1–3; Hdt. 1.59.4. Second coup: *AP* 14.4; Hdt. 1.60.1–1.61.2. Third coup: *AP* 15; Hdt. 1.61.2–1.64.1.

47. Archonship: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.1.1. Deme and ostracism: *AP* 22.4; cf. Androton, *FGrH* 324 F6. Relative of the Peisistratids: *AP* 22.4; Lyc. *Leoc.* 117; Plut. *Nic.* 11.8. Grandson of Hippias: Davies 1971, 451; cf. Rhodes 1981, 271–72. Direct descendant of Hippocrates I: Beloch 1912–27, 2:301.

48. As Rhodes (1981, 205) notes, the third tradition recorded by *AP* (14.4; cf. Athen. 13.609)—that she was actually a foreigner, specifically a Thracian “garland-seller” (*stephanopōlis*)—need not be taken seriously. Only marginally more credible is the story found in Cleidemus (*FGrH* 323 F15) that she was married to one of Peisistratus’s sons.

49. Plato’s father’s family, like the Peisistratids, was one of a group of families who claimed to be Neleids descended from the early kings Codrus and Melanthus (Diog. Laert. 3.1; Hdt. 5.65.3; Plut. *Sol.* 1.2; cf. Davies 1971, 322–23, 331–32). Plato’s mother, Periktione, belonged to another of these families, as a cousin of the philosopher-tyrant Critias, whose immediate family was believed to descend from Codrus and Melanthus through Dropides, archon in 645/4 (see Cadoux 1948, 90; Davies 1971, 322–23).

50. The author of *AP* was clearly not above such partisan manipulation of the facts. His astounding omission of Critias, a relative of Plato, from his account of the regime of the Thirty Tyrants was presumably motivated by similar concerns. Cf. Rhodes 1981, 429–30.

51. The position of Eleusis in this scheme is hard to establish. It seems that the Eleusinian mysteries, which featured a procession from Athens to Eleusis, were established at some point in the period 575–550. However, this need not imply that Eleusinians were routinely considered Athenian citizens at that time, especially since emphasis on the Athenian identity of the festival did not begin until the end of the sixth century. See pp. 185–94 in chapter 8.

52. See *AP* 19.5–6; Hdt. 5.64–65.

53. See *AP* 20.1–3; Hdt. 5.66, 5.69.1–73.1. Cleisthenes was presumably among the exiled Alcmeonids who mounted an armed resistance to Hippias at Leipsydriion, on the slopes of Mount Parnes, following the assassination of Hipparchus (see *AP* 19.3; Hdt. 5.62; Isoc. 15.232; Thuc. 6.59.4). He was the son of Megacles by Agariste, daughter of Cleisthenes of Sikyon (see Hdt. 6.126–31), and his sister was briefly married to Peisistratus himself (see *AP* 14.4–15.1). Nothing further is securely known of the background of Isagoras.

54. Mobilizing mass support: Hdt. 5.66.2 (Κλεισθένης . . . τὸν δῆμον προσεταιρίζεται). From paraphrases in *AP* (προσηγάγετο τὸν δῆμον, 20.1) and elsewhere in the historian’s own account (τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον . . . πρὸς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ μοῖραν προσεθήκατο, 5.69.1), it seems that Herodotus’s distinctive phrase must mean something

along the lines of “Cleisthenes . . . won the people over to his side.” I see no justification here for Ober’s attempt (1996, 50–51) to construe this phrase as evidence that the leader was “absorbed” into a popular movement for change. On the novelty of Cleisthenes’ political strategy, see, e.g., Hignett 1952, 125–26.

55. For a speculative, but plausible, attempt to reconstruct the form of the “reform bill” proposed by Cleisthenes in the Assembly, see Andrewes 1977; cf. Wade-Gery 1958, 135–55.

56. Ober (1996, 1998) provides a detailed reconstruction and analysis of the details of the coup. His arguments are addressed in more detail on pp. 78–81 below. I broadly agree with Ober’s chronological sequence, though as Curtis (Lévêque and Vidal-Naquet 1996, xiii–xvii) and Raaflaub (1998b, 88–89) point out, his argument that the reforms did not become a political reality until after Isagoras’s coup is not borne out by the sources. Archonship of Alcmeon and its significance: Poll. *Onom.* 8.110; Hignett 1952, 331–36; Rhodes 1981, 244.

57. The fundamental works on the size and locations of the various demes and trittyes are Traill 1975 and 1986. Role of the demes in the reforms of Cleisthenes: Ostwald 1986, 20; 1988, 310–12. The number of demes remained a constant 139 down to 307/6 B.C. (see Traill 1975, 6–24, 109–12). Introduction of “demotic” names: *AP* 21.4. Deme self-government: Hopper 1957. Deme assemblies: Haussoullier 1883, 4–93; Whitehead 1986, 86–129. Deme quotas in the council: Hignett 1952, 150; Rhodes 1972, 12; Traill 1975, 1–24, 56–58; Whitehead 1986, 264–70. Cf. *AP* 62.1. Importance of social diversity in the demes: especially Bradeen 1955; Martin 1974, 13–15, 17. Requirements for citizenship were made more stringent in 451/0, when a law was passed (e.g., *AP* 26.4) that required citizens to have two native-born Athenian parents. Whatever the motivations for the law (see e.g., Davies 1977/78), one of its effects, as Patterson (1981, 104–107) notes, was to transfer the ultimate responsibility for determining citizenship eligibility from the demes to the central government in Athens.

58. Use of the lot in the assignment of trittyes to tribes: *AP* 21.4. This report has met with some skepticism (see, e.g., Eliot 1962, 141–45; Siewert 1982, 126–28). A recent defense of the tradition has been provided by Ostwald (1988, 317). On the heroes and cults of the new tribes, see chapter 5 of the present study.

59. See *AP* 21.3. For discussion of the tradition of the Solonian Council of 400, see pp. 59–63 below. On the limited powers of the new council in its earliest phase, see Rhodes 1972, 17–19, 209. As Rhodes suggests, the division of the bouleutic year into ten prytanies, where each tribal contingent served in turn as the presiding committee, may not have occurred until after the reforms of Ephialtes in 462/1, when the functions of the Council were considerably expanded. On the idea that participation in the Council of 500 was probably limited to members of the top three wealth classes, see Rhodes 1972, 2; Ostwald 1986, 25; Ostwald 1988, 319–20. Exclusion of poorer citizens will only have been encouraged, at least in the earliest phase of the Council, by the lack of any compensation for a year’s lost earnings and probably by the use of some form of election in the selection of councillors (see Rhodes 1972, 4–6, 13–14).

60. Stability of the system throughout the classical period: Rhodes 1981, 265–66. Both the date of its introduction and its novelty are discussed in some detail on pp. 148–50 below.

61. On the varying numbers of demes in each trittys, see Traill 1975, 70–72. The classic discussion of the “anomalies” is in Lewis 1963.

62. Gerrymandering and Alcmeonid self-interest: e.g., Lewis 1963; Forrest 1966, 197–200; Bicknell 1972, 1–53; 1976; Stanton 1984.

63. Other features of the reforms are sometimes adduced in this connection. They are the use of the names of prominent families or clans as deme names (e.g., Boutadai and Philaidai) and the manipulation, occurring in probably more than one instance (e.g., Erechtheis), of the assignment of demes to trittyes in such a way as to ensure that a family who traditionally controlled the cult of the eponymous hero of one tribe would themselves be members of a different tribe. See Lewis 1963, 26–27.

64. The suggestion that some trittyes were designed to neutralize the influence of powerful local organizations need not necessarily contradict the hypothesis of Siewert (1982) that the trittys system as a whole was conceived primarily with military considerations in mind. Assuming that each trittys was to provide a regimental company, or *lokhos*, for the new national army, Siewert believes that the principle underlying the assignment of demes to trittyes may have been their proximity to a common road to Athens, thus facilitating military mobilization. But cf. Rhodes 1983 and Ostwald 1988, 315 n. 19. Develin and Kilmer (1997, 6–11) suggest that such “enclaves” as Probalinthos were a post-Cleisthenic development, the result of later efforts to produce a more even distribution of citizens among different trittyes and tribes.

65. Other prominent families registered at Alopeke included the Kerykes and the families of Aristides, Thucydides, son of Melesias, and Lysandros, a later ally of Themistocles. Xypete, a suburb of Piraeus, was linked to Melite and Daidalidai—the former located within and the latter just outside the city walls of Athens—while Agryle was placed in a trittys that, to judge from later bouleutic quotas, was dominated by the much larger Halimous, some way to the south.

66. See also Kinzl 1977, 202.

67. See especially Gomme 1933, 37–39; Bradeen 1955.

68. It might be argued that the reforms were designed essentially to repair the lingering wounds of disunity wrought by the intraregional stasis of the mid–sixth century. But as we saw earlier, such stasis as there was at that time was not actually the convulsive pan-Attic conflict that our sources describe.

69. Cf. the similar conclusion reached by Fornara and Samons (1991, 52–53), who also seem to believe that inhabitants of the countryside had not been routinely enrolled as Athenian citizens before 508/7. Even Manville (1990), who goes to great lengths to show that it was Solon who “created the polis” (123), later concedes, “It was not until the reforms of Kleisthenes in 508/7 that citizenship was brought to the local level of every citizen, and not until then that the town and countryside of Attika were wholly unified, making fuller and more tangible what Solon first intended” (157).

70. For discussion of the relevant passages, see Rhodes 1981, 254–56; Manville 1990, esp. 173–91. Rhodes concedes that Aristotle’s reference to resident aliens “tells us little” and that the numbers of immigrant artisans and Peisistratid mercenaries will not have been large. In any case, it looks like many of the artisans may have come from locations elsewhere in Attica itself, rather than from outside the region. Plutarch (*Sol.* 22) tells us how Solon specifically insisted that those who wished to move from rural areas to the city should take up a trade, and Solon apparently required the Areopagus to enforce this directive. Meanwhile, despite the relatively small numbers of “men of impure birth” who were probably present in Athens at the time, Manville (*loc. cit.*) sees the *diapsephismos* as a “reign of ter-

ror" (184), which he believes would have engendered widespread anxiety about citizen status. This anxiety, he suggests, helps to explain the popularity of Cleisthenes' reforms, since they would have offered the security of "a new legal definition of citizenship" (187).

71. See *AP* 20.1, 22.1, 41.2; *Hdt.* 6.131.1 Cf. *Arist. Pol.* 1319b20-21.

## CHAPTER 2

1. Of course, some written "laws" from the archaic period were still extant in Athens in the later fifth century. One thinks especially of those on the wooden *axones* in the Prytaneion and on the stone *kurbeis* in the Stoa Basileios (see Stroud 1979). But it was probably no longer possible by this time to distinguish easily between the laws of, say, Solon and those of Cleisthenes. The reference to Cleitophon's rider (see p. 47 in this chapter) at *AP* 29.3 suggests that the exact contents and wording of Cleisthenes' "traditional laws" [patrious nomous] were no longer easily recoverable in 411 B.C. And even if extant laws from the archaic period did occasionally allude to political institutions, they clearly did not address what we would consider to be constitutional matters in any systematic or comprehensive fashion, thus making possible the vigorous debates over the nature of the "traditional mode of government" (*patrios politeia*) that arise in the later fifth century (see, pp. 47-48 below). On the indiscriminate use of the term "laws" (*nomoi*) in classical sources to refer to the entire range of recorded state regulations (the aggregate of which made up the *politeia*), from constitutional prescriptions to legislation on matters like assault and battery, see Finley 1971, 7-9.

2. For good discussion of the problem, see Meier 1990, 54-55.

3. Democracy at deme-level: e.g., Forrest 1966, 195-97; Ober 1989, 70-71; Meier 1990, 74-75.

4. The principal items of evidence for this argument can be found in Lewis 1963. For the argument, see e.g., Finley 1983, 42-48. For insightful critique, see Kearns 1985, 190-92.

5. For discussion of the passage and relevant bibliography, Rhodes 1981, 375-77. Despite some flaws, Fuks 1953 still provides the most thorough analysis of these developments. Cf. Jacoby 1949, 154-55; Finley 1971, 3-14. Earlier sources (e.g., *Ar. Nub.* 1187; *Hdt.* 1.29-33; cf. 1.86.3; 2.177.2; 5.113.2) characterize Solon as a poet, lawgiver and general sage who was sympathetic to ordinary Athenians. Solon himself alludes to political interventions in his own poems, but there are no unambiguous references to what we would consider constitutional change, let alone to democracy. Nor is there a compelling reason to believe that anything we would recognize as a constitutional prescription could be found among whatever genuine Solonian laws were still extant in the later fifth century. For further discussion of the laws and the poems, see pp. 57-66 later in this chapter.

6. E.g., *Aeschin.* 3.257; *Dem.* 18.6-7; 22.30-31; *Hyp.* 3.21-22; *Isoc.* 7.16-17; 15.231-32. For a good overview of the role of Solon in fourth-century Athenian political memory, see Fuks 1953, esp. 14-25. Cf. also Ruschenbusch 1958, 399-408; Mossé 1979; Hansen 1990. However, Ruschenbusch's efforts to downdate Solon's emergence as a major "democratic" reformer to ca. 356 are not persuasive.

7. E.g., *Dem.* 59.74-75; 60.28; *Isoc.* 10.34; 12.128-48; *Theophr. Char.* 26.6. Generally on the origins and development of this tradition, see Ruschenbusch 1958, 408-18. It is true that Thucydides (2.15.1-2) portrays Theseus as an assertive autocrat. But his account of the

synoecism of Attica centers upon the establishment by the hero of a single city hall [prutaneion] and council chamber [bouleutêrion] for the whole region, public buildings which both seem to presuppose a broader participation in the political and symbolic life of the polis. See p. 207 for further discussion of this passage.

8. A somewhat similar overall approach can be found in Aristotle's *Politics*. The nature of Solon's constitution is discussed at 1273b35–1274a21, where it is likewise suggested that the democracy he founded was based on only minimal gains for ordinary citizens: the rights to serve in the law courts, elect magistrates, and hold formal reviews (*euthunein*) of their periods in office. Elsewhere (1319b20–21) Aristotle credits Cleisthenes with "desiring to expand the democracy" [boulomenos auxêsai tēn demokratiān], and would include the resulting regime among examples of the most extreme form of democracy, the last and least commended of the four categories of democracy he identifies.

9. Different elements in this sequence are stated with minor variations at Isoc. 7.16; 15.231–32, 306, 313; 16.26–27. For discussion of the various fourth-century interpretations of the "liberation" of Athens, Thomas 1989, 251–57. More generally, on the contribution of Isocrates' assumptions about Athenian constitutional history to his political outlook, see Wallace 1989, 145–173.

10. In this study, I use the term "official memory" to mean the sum of the historical narratives and traditions whose "authenticity" was permanently and publicly endorsed by the state, usually through art, ceremonies, and inscriptions. Though not necessarily coherent or internally consistent, it should be distinguished sharply from, say, "popular memory," which might also include any number of stories omitted from or contradicted by the "official" version(s) of history. See Thomas 1989, esp. 196–237.

11. Heroic era "democracy" in funeral orations: Dem. 60.28; Lys. 2.17–19; Pl. *Menex.* 238B–239A. Euphranor's mural: Paus. 1.3.3–4. As Castriota (1998, 201) notes, the presence of the mural in a building associated with "freedom" (*eleutheria*) is presumably significant. The statue of Solon is first alluded to at Dem. 26.23. For the location, see Paus. 1.16.1.

12. Later references to Theseus as founder of democracy: e.g., Diod. 4.61.8; *Marm. Par. FGvH* 239 A20; Plut. *Thes.* 24.2, 24.5–25.3. Allusions to Solon in this role are also found in several post-classical texts, e.g., Plut. *Sol.* 16.2; *Mor.* 152A.

13. At 1.5.1, Pausanias refers his readers to the text of Herodotus if they wish to know the name of the man who "established ten tribes instead of four and substituted new names for the old ones." Other references to Cleisthenes from the Roman era are listed in Develin and Kilmer 1997, 3–4 nn. 3–5. None of these present him unambiguously as the founder of democracy; some recall him vaguely as a "lawgiver" in the tradition of Solon.

14. For a representative sample of the wide range of opinions on this issue, see the essays of Wallace, Ober, Raaflaub, and Eder in Morris and Raaflaub 1998.

15. Others, too, have suspected that Cleisthenes' reforms must have involved constitutional and/or judicial measures that, for some reason, are not reported by our sources (see, e.g., Busolt 1895, 430–39; Bonner and Smith 1930, 195–97). Hignett (1952, 145–48) and Rhodes (1981, 260) are more skeptical.

16. Cleisthenes' reforms ratified in the Assembly: e.g., Busolt 1895, 402 with n. 6; Hignett 1952, 127–28; Wade-Gery 1958, esp. 139–47; Andrewes 1977; Rhodes 1981, 241; Ostwald 1986, 23–28; 1988, 321–24. Reforms establish precedent for ratification of legisla-

tion in the Assembly: e.g., Ostwald 1986, 24. Ober's rather different understanding of the phrase *ton dēmon prosetairizetai* (1996, 50–51) is discussed below on pp. 79, 239 n.69, and 240 n.70.

17. Cf. also Ael. *VH* 13.24; Philoch., *FGrH* 328 F30. Because of the time lag between the reported date of its introduction and the earliest known instance of the use of the procedure (the ostracism of Hipparchus, son of Charmus, in 488/7), some have doubted whether ostracism was, as *AP* claims, a Cleisthenic innovation. But as Thomsen (1972, 11–60), drawing on Dover 1963 and Sumner 1964, has shown, the one ancient source that appears to contradict the testimony of *AP* (Harpoc., s.v. *Hipparkhos*) merely misrepresents the account of Androtion (cf. *FGrH* 324 F6), the very same source most probably used by *AP*.

It may, in any case, be entirely possible, as Kagan (1961, 394–95) suggested, that the two accounts do not contradict each other after all. Among those supporting a Cleisthenic introduction of the procedure are Kagan (1961), Thomsen (1972, 11–60), Jeffery (1976, 247–48), Rhodes (1981, 267–71), Ostwald (1988, 345–46), and Manville (1990, 196–97 n. 25).

18. The practice was understood by ancient authorities—and no doubt advertised at its inception—as an “antityrant” measure, and some scholars (see, e.g., Ober 1998, 76) are content to take this explanation at face value. Others, such as Rhodes (1981, 270) and Ostwald (1988, 344), view ostracism in more systemic terms, seeing the procedure as designed to stabilize the political process by forestalling any possible stalemate between two rival courses of action. More concretely and perhaps more realistically, Kagan (1961, 396–401) contends that it was primarily intended from the very start to be used as the political weapon it so obviously became, whereby the dominant politician in any given year could strengthen his position by persuading the *demos* to expel an opponent. Cf. also Martin 1974, 24–26. For further discussion of the rationale behind ostracism, see p. 77 later in this chapter.

19. This interpretation of the passage is supported by, among others, Ostwald (1969, 157 n. 2), Nakategawa (1988), and Manville (1990, 196). Griffith (1966) believes *isēgoria* to be an Ephialtic innovation. For a somewhat different interpretation of this passage, see p. 209 below.

20. The claim is seen in the opening formula “the *demos* has resolved . . .” (ἔδοχσεν τῷ δέμοι . . .). Recognition of the Council of 500's role in the deliberative process (i.e., ἔδοχσεν τῆι βολῆι καὶ τῷ δέμοι . . .) did not become standard until after the Persian Wars.

21. The phrase used repeatedly is ἄνευ τῷ δέμο τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ πλεθύνοντος. See especially Wade-Gery 1932/33; for more recent discussion and bibliography, Ostwald 1986, 31–34 with n. 118.

22. The earliest of the six cases that certainly involved consideration of the death penalty was that brought by Xanthippus against Miltiades for his “deception of the Athenians” in 489 B.C. According to Herodotus (6.136), Xanthippus prosecuted Miltiades, “impeaching him on a capital charge before the *demos*” [thanatou hupagagōn hupo ton dēmon], and the same “*demos*” later saw fit to reduce the penalty to a fine of fifty talents. Ostwald sees the shift of final jurisdiction in such cases away from the Areopagus to the *demos* as an extension of the principal of *epheisis* (referral, appeal) introduced by Solon (see *AP* 9.1; Plut. *Sol.* 18.3), whereby a citizen could refer a verdict issued by an archon for reconsideration before a popular court, presumably the Heliaia. The *demos* assumed control

over the entire prosecution process for crimes against the state after the reforms of Ephialtes in 462/1.

23. For an opposing view, contending that the Council of 500 and the Assembly functioned merely “as an institutionalised check or counterweight” to the power of the Areopagus and archons all the way down to 462/1, see Raaflaub 1998a, 43–44. It may be the case, as Raaflaub states, that the latter continued to supervise and scrutinize officeholders down to the late 460s. But political leadership in Athens did not, at this or any other time, necessarily depend on the holding of any particular office. Even for those leaders who held office before the reforms of Ephialtes, one wonders if the kind of ongoing accountability exercised by the Assembly, to which all politicians were subject, was not already more politically significant than any formal accountability procedure.

24. See especially Hignett 1952, 17–27. Testimonia for all known “laws of Solon” have been assembled by Ruschenbusch (1966).

25. It is striking, for example, that Herodotus presents Solon simply as a traditional law-giver and sage. For this and other reasons, Hignett (1952, 2–8) argues that the whole tradition of Solon as a major political reformer was a late fifth-century development. Ruschenbusch (1958; 1966, 1–14, 32–58, 103–23) is similarly skeptical and would date this development as late as the mid-350s. Other skeptics include Hansen (1990; 1991, 296–300) and Mossé (1979), who offers an interesting analysis of the creation of the “myth” of Solon as the “founding father” of Athenian democracy. Those more credulous of the tradition include Stroud (1979, 23–26), Rhodes (1981, 118–20), Manville (1990, 124 n. 1), Murray (1993, 194–99), and Wallace (1998, esp. 21–22).

26. See Jacoby 1949, 169–70, 206–8; Raubitschek 1949, 458; Camp 1994, 10.

27. The introduction or standardization of the four wealth classes at this time (discussed later in this chapter) must imply the existence of a relatively well-defined and stable community. This community’s sense of itself will only have been reinforced by the importation of foreign-born slaves after Solon’s abolition of debt bondage for Athenians (see Manville 1990, 133). The possible introduction at this point of laws regulating the conduct of “outsiders” (*xenoi*) in Athens (see, e.g., Dem. 57.31) indicates that there was now some means of distinguishing such individuals from natives, while the forfeit of citizen rights (*atimia*) incurred by those who remained neutral in times of stasis (see *AP* 8.5; Bers, 1975) clearly presupposes the existence of such rights. But whatever criteria did exist for determining citizenship, Manville himself (1990, e.g., 177) doubts whether they yet amounted to any kind of “centralized standard.”

28. Lambert (1993, 261–66) has argued that citizen enrollments before 508 were administered through the “phyle/trittys/naukrary structure,” though he acknowledges the limitations of the evidence. Since the phratries certainly existed before Cleisthenes’ reforms and played a role in the registration of citizens thereafter (cf. Lambert 1993, 25–27), it is widely thought that they were responsible for the administration of citizenship in earlier times. But as Manville repeatedly stresses, we should not imagine that fixed, standardized procedures for registration were yet in place.

29. In general, I have no difficulty believing that most of Solon’s reforms were passed during the year of his archonship and that in this same year he was appointed as mediator (*diallaktes*) to resolve the ongoing social unrest (see Rhodes 1981, 120–22).

30. Arist. *Pol.* 1274a16–17; cf. 1281b25–34. The author of *AP* tells us (7.3) that members of the lowest class, the thetes, were now entitled to attend the Assembly, though he also in-

sists (8.1) that magistrates were selected by lottery at this time. For discussion of the conflict here with Aristotle's account, see Rhodes 1981, 146–48; Rhodes favors the testimony of *AP*.

31. Those who favor a Solonian Council of 400 include Rhodes (1972, 208–9; 1981, 153–54), Jeffery (1976, 93–94), Ostwald (1986, 16–17 n. 49), and Manville (1990, 145 n. 55). Hansen (1985b, 53–54; 1990, 88–89; 1991, 31) is more circumspect. In perhaps the strongest statement to date in support of seeing Solon as the founding father of Athenian democracy, Wallace (1998, 20) vigorously argues that he “gave the demos by law the power to control the government in Athens” through the Assembly, the Council of 400, and the law courts. Among those who doubt the existence of the Council of 400, Hignett (1952, 92–96) presents the fullest case. See also Sealey 1960a, 160–61.

32. The only possible evidence for such a council during the period between the reforms of Solon and those of Cleisthenes comes in a late reference to developments in ca. 561/0. We learn from Diogenes Laertius (1.49–54) that Peisistratus enjoyed the support of “the council” when he confronted Solon on the floor of the Assembly prior to his occupation of the Acropolis. But the historicity of this episode is questionable to say the least (cf. Rhodes 1981, 201–2).

33. As Hignett (1952, 93) also notes, this tradition will likewise have appealed to opponents of oligarchy, who would have found in it “a Solonian anticipation of the Council of 500, the citadel of the developed democracy.”

34. Cf. Wallace 1998, 19.

35. A good illustration of ancient misapprehensions about the age of Agora buildings is provided by *AP* 7.1, where the author imagines the Stoa Basileios, another structure erected in ca. 500 B.C., to have been in use in Solonian times. Restoration work on both the stoa and the Old Bouleuterion after the Persian sack, along with the self-consciously traditional features incorporated into their original design (see pp. 101–3 below), will only have encouraged later perceptions of them as “antique,” pre-Cleisthenic buildings.

36. See Meiggs and Lewis (1988, no. 8). The inscription is assumed to concern contemporary arrangements on Chios itself. The text refers only to a “popular council” [βολὴ δημοσίη] (C.2–3, 5–6), but the specification is generally thought to presuppose the existence of another, more aristocratic form of council. Hignett (1952, 95) describes the inscription's value as evidence for contemporary arrangements in Athens as “manifestly inconclusive,” before going on to note how the Ionians of Asia Minor “were politically mature enough to experiment with constitutional novelties which would have been incongruous in a community just emerging from aristocratic control.”

37. The suggestion that Plutarch here draws on an originally Solonian metaphor was first made by Schömann (1854, 78).

38. The case for seeing this “council” as the new Council of 500 has recently been re-stated by Chambers (1990, 222–23). Hignett (1952, 93–95) makes the case also but concludes, like Sealey (1960a, 160 n. 35), by opting for the Areopagus. Those who believe it was in fact the Council of 400 include Rhodes (1972, 208–9; 1981, 246), Ostwald (1986, 16–17 n. 49), and Wallace (1998, 19). Argument for the existence of a pro tempore Council of 500 before Cleomenes' intervention: e.g., Hignett 1952, 94; Andrewes 1977, 246–47.

39. The four wealth classes: *AP* 7.3–4; cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1274a19–21. Plutarch (*Sol.* 18.1–2) indicates that the system of wealth classes was a Solonian innovation, contradicting *AP*'s claim (7.3) that it already existed. Most believe that at least three of the four categories—all

except the *pentakosiomedimnoi*—already existed in some form but were now simply invested with a new level of significance (see, e.g., Rhodes 1981, 137; Andrewes 1982, 385; Manville 1990, 145 n. 54). Restriction of leading offices to the top two classes: *AP* 7.3; Arist. *Pol.* 1274a18–22. Right of thetes to attend the Assembly: *AP* 7.3. *AP* states that thetes were entitled to sit in *dikastēria*, though the term is more than likely anachronistic for this period. Treasurers were still chosen only from the ranks of the *pentakosiomedimnoi* in the fourth century (see *AP* 8.1), while *zeugitai*, the third category, were not eligible for archonships until the early 450s (see *AP* 26.2).

40. Solon's *seisakhtheia* (shaking off of burdens) seems to have consisted of two basic measures (see *AP* 6.1): a ban on the lending of money on personal security (*danizein epi tois sōmasin*), a measure probably intended to assist ailing independent smallholders; and a cancellation of debts (*khrēōn apokopai*), which would have released the *hektemoroi* (cf. *AP* 2.2) from their obligation of giving up a sixth of their produce to a landlord. Cf. the similar conclusions reached by Rhodes (1981, 125–27) and Manville (1990, 93–133). The introduction of *epheis*: *AP* 9.1; Plut. *Sol.* 18.2–3. The *Heliaia* is widely believed to have been a plenary meeting of the *demos* sitting as a law court—in effect, the judicial equivalent of the Assembly (see MacDowell 1978, 30–32; Rhodes 1979, 104; 1981, 160; Ostwald 1986, 10). On the anachronism of the term *dikastēria* for this period, see, e.g., Rhodes 1981, 160. On the intrusion of fourth-century constitutional preoccupations here, see Raaffaub 1998a, 39.

41. As evidence for the nature of political arrangements in Athens before the time of Solon, the account of the “Draconian constitution” in *AP* 4 should clearly be discounted. The authenticity of this “constitution” has long been doubted (see, e.g., Linforth 1919, 68–69, 275–76; Hignett 1952, 307–8; Sealey 1976, 99–105). For an interesting argument that the Areopagus functioned only as a homicide court before Solon's reforms, thereafter assuming broader powers and supplanting an earlier aristocratic council, see Wallace 1989, 3–69.

42. Solon appears to use the word *dēmos* exclusively to refer to the “lower orders.” See Lewis 1990. Cf. Larsen 1973, 45; Wallace 1998, 21. Throughout this section, I follow the text and numbering of poems found in West 1992.

43. On this and other images in the poems (cf. 36.27, 37.8–9) that emphasize his powerful, but nonaligned, stance in the conflict, see Loraux 1984.

44. Generally on this notion of “justice,” see Lloyd-Jones 1983, esp. 27, 50, 79–81, 131–32, 161–62, 176–77.

45. On the milk metaphor, see Stinton 1976, 159–60.

46. Wallace (1998, 21) acknowledges the problems raised for his view of Solon by the unambiguously impartial and often outright conservative sentiments expressed in many of the poems. He tries to get around these by suggesting that the performance of the poems before aristocrats at symposia would have required Solon to present his reforms as being more moderate than they actually were.

47. Ancient sources are unanimous that the Peisistratids worked within existing constitutional arrangements (see *AP* 14.3, 16.2, 7; Hdt. 1.59.6; Thuc. 6.54.5–6), though not all modern observers are ready to accept this testimony (see, e.g., Berve 1967, 1:58). *AP* 22.1 notes that Solon's laws had fallen into disuse under the tyranny. It appears that no archons were elected for the years 590/89 and 586/5 and that Damasias, elected to the office in 582/1, held on to it for more than another year before being forcibly removed and replaced by a

temporary board of ten men (see *AP* 13.1–2; Rhodes 1981, 180–84). Throughout the next section I again follow the chronology established by Rhodes (1976; 1981, 191–99) for all dates.

48. The author of *AP* clearly had access, direct or indirect, to an archon list like the fragmentary document from ca. 425 found in the Agora (Meiggs and Lewis 1988, no. 6), and he reports no *anarkhia* for these years. From references in *AP* and elsewhere, Cadoux (1948, 122) assigns five archons to this period: Komeas (561/0), Hegestratos (560/59), Hege-sias (556/5), Euthydemos (555/4), and Erxikleides (548/7).

49. For a discussion of the evidence relating to the foundation of the Great Panathenaia, see pp. 160–63.

50. Armed occupation of the Acropolis: *AP* 14.1; Hdt. 1.59.6. First “tyranny”: *AP* 14.3; Hdt. 1.59.6. Rhodes (1981, 203) believes it probably lasted only for “a few months.”

51. For ancient accounts of this well-known incident, see *AP* 14.4; Hdt. 1.60; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 1.21.1; Val. Max. 1.3.3. The most influential modern work on the episode is still the 1987 essay by Connor, which contains a fairly full discussion of earlier scholarship and eliminates any lingering doubts about historicity. Intimations of “sacred marriage”: Gernet 1953, 52. Kingship ritual analogy: Burkert 1966, 24–25; cf. Connor 1987, 46. Peisistratus as Hera-cles: Boardman 1972, 60–61. Parallels with Odysseus: Else 1957, 36–37.

52. Herodotus (1.60.2) and *AP* (14.4) agree that Megacles initiated the scheme by “sending a message” to the exiled Peisistratus. Modern observers willing to recognize that Alcmeonid interests must have played a role in the episode include Berve (1967, 1:48–50), Kinzl (1989, 9), Fornara and Samons (1991, 10–11, 16), and Lavelle (1993, 95–96).

53. Marriage to Timonassa: *AP* 17.3–4. Though the date of Peisistratus’s second marriage was a subject of ancient dispute, the marriage seems to have taken place during Peisistratus’s first period of exile, in “c. 560 or very soon after” (Davies 1971, 449–50). Given that one thousand Argives apparently helped Peisistratus to defeat the Alcmeonids at Pallene (see *AP* 17.4; cf. Hdt. 1.61.4), Megacles’ wariness about his rival’s relations with Argos would prove to be entirely justified. One can only suppose that the damage caused to these relations by the brief marriage alliance with the Alcmeonids was not ultimately fatal. Dissolution of Peisistratus’s third marriage, ostensibly on the grounds of nonconsummation: *AP* 15.1; Hdt. 1.61.1–2. Despite *AP*’s chronology, Peisistratus’s return to Athens between periods of exile was evidently very short (see Rhodes 1981, 206), lasting perhaps no more than a few weeks.

54. In Herodotus (1.60.3–5), the chariot is preceded by heralds announcing that Athena is “restoring” [katagei] Peisistratus “to her own Acropolis,” but Herodotus does not suggest that the “goddess” actually drove the chariot.

55. Herodotus (1.60.5) describes how Megacles and Peisistratus dressed up Phye as Athena, put her in the chariot, and together “drove into the city” [ēlaunon es to astu]. *AP* (14.4) is more specific, stressing that Megacles “adorned the woman to look like a goddess” [tēn theon apomimēsamenos tōi kosmōi], then “led her [into the city] with him [i.e., Peisistratus]” [sunēsēgagen met’ autou]. Frost (1990, 6–7) also emphasizes the role played by “Athena” in the ceremony, though he still believes that Megacles was helping Peisistratus to take control of Athens rather than the other way around. Connor (1987, 46), meanwhile, agrees that the ceremony implies the return of Athena “to her proper place and traditional role as Athens’ protector” after a period of withdrawal from the city. But he nevertheless insists that the spectacle itself should be seen as an “eloquent” reversal of an “ancient kingship ritual,” which helped affirm “the establishment of a new civic order” under Peisistratus.

56. For concise recent discussion of the remains and issues of chronology, provenance, and interpretation, see Shapiro 1989, 21–24; Hurwit 1999, 106–12. Arguments in favor of locating the “Bluebeard temple” on the Arkhaios Neos foundations: e.g., Schuchhardt 1935/36; Plommer 1960; Beyer 1974; Beyer and Preisshofen 1977. For further discussion of the “Bluebeard temple,” see pp. 106, 246 n.5.

57. Dinsmoor (1947, 122–24) suggests that the temple was known as the “Hekatompedon,” a title later borne by the Parthenon, its putative successor. A decree dating from the mid-480s and inscribed on two metopes from the “Bluebeard temple” (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 4*) distinguishes between a *neōs* and a *hekatompedon*, though it is not clear whether the latter name refers to a temple or to an open precinct. Dinsmoor’s reconstruction is supported by, among others, his son (Dinsmoor 1980, 28–30) and Ridgway (1993, 283); according to Childs (1994, 5 n. 14), it “appears to be regaining popularity at this time.” It is also favored by Korres (1994a, 38), whose recent efforts to investigate beneath the platform of the Parthenon have revealed the existence of as yet unidentified archaic materials.

58. It is true, as Sinos (1998) has argued, that great efforts seem to have been invested in making “Athena” conform to the particular image of the armed goddess that had come to dominate her iconography in the late 560s. But for all this “authenticity” and the colorful details about awestruck onlookers added by our sources, it is very hard to believe that Megacles did in fact intend to deceive the Athenians into thinking they were witnessing a real divine epiphany. Our records of Greek epiphanies, which come from all periods of antiquity, suggest that the ancients believed gods were most likely to appear to them in times of sleep or extreme stress (especially during battles), or in marginal, out-of-the-way locations. And in the vast majority of these instances, deities appear only to chosen individuals or to small groups of people. Few, then, would have been taken in by an attempt to stage an epiphany in the middle of a city before thousands of onlookers. Festival processions with mortals dressed as divinities: e.g., Hdt. 4.180 (Libya); Paus. 7.18.7 (Patrai).

59. Peisistratus’s activities during his second spell in exile: *AP* 15.2; Hdt. 1.61.2–4. The Alcmeonids erected at least one major dedication in Athens during this same period, a thank offering to Athena on the Acropolis for athletic victories by Alcmeonides (Raubitschek 1949, 338, no. 317).

60. See Hurwit 1999, 102–17, for a good survey and discussion of the Acropolis material record for the second quarter of the sixth century. The evidence is summarized on pp. 106–8 below.

61. Wallace (1998, 24–25) acknowledges that there is precious little evidence for popular involvement in government during the fifty or so years after Solon’s reforms. He suggests that “once their immediate grievances had been resolved, . . . the people went back to farming . . . and did not greatly care if the aristocracy sought to maintain its traditional leadership role.”

62. The care taken by the Peisistratids to ensure that offices were held by family members is identified by Thucydides (6.54.6) as one of the relatively few extraordinary features of their regime. But even this kind of behavior was probably an established practice among leaders in earlier times.

63. Some scholars maintain that the archons and the Areopagus retained effective control over the state until the reforms of Ephialtes in the late 460s, their authority only somewhat tempered by the growing power of the Assembly and the Council (see, e.g., Ostwald 1986, 19, 26–27; Meier 1990, 71, 77; Raaflaub 1998a, 43–44). There can be no question that

the two popular bodies would come to enjoy wider powers in later years. But the key issue is where policy and legislation were determined, and it is very hard to believe that a probouleutic council might have been established in 508/7 if its function was merely to forward decisions already made by archons and Areopagites for token final approval in the Assembly. The relocation of the center of political gravity in Athens away from the old site (to the northeast of the Acropolis) to the Agora area (see chap. 3), along with Herodotus's account of Aristagoras's visit to Athens in 499, all but proves that the political process was now firmly rechanneled through the new *ekklēsia/boulē* complex.

64. For discussion of the importance to later Athenian democracy of this ongoing, “informal” accountability, as distinct from formal procedures, such as *euthunai*, see Finley 1973, 3–37; 1985, 88–103; Ober 1989, 329–31.

65. For a stimulating and wide-ranging discussion on the rationale behind ostracism, one that in some ways resembles my own, see Forsdyke 2000.

66. Coinage of the term *dēmokratia* after the Persian Wars, probably in the late 470s or 460s: e.g., Hansen 1986; Raaflaub 1998a, 36–37. *Isonomia* as the organizing principle and goal of Cleisthenes' reforms: e.g., Larsen 1948; Ostwald 1969, 121–36, 153–55; Sealey 1974; Rhodes 1981, 261; Bleicken 1994, 35–41, 56–57; Raaflaub 1996. On the emergence of this and other *iso-* compounds in aristocratic discourse of the archaic period, see Raaflaub 1996.

67. Further criticism can be found in Curtis's foreword to Lévêque and Vidal-Naquet 1996 (xiii–xvii) and in a series of papers by Raaflaub (1996, 1998a, 1998b). Curtis's objections are addressed largely to a number of internal inconsistencies in Ober's argument and to the inability of his limited evidence (taken mostly from Herodotus and *AP*) to support the weight of his claims. Evidential inadequacies are also pointed out by Raaflaub, whose primary concern is to show that the major “point of rupture” in the history of Athenian democracy were the reforms of 462/1, not those of 508/7.

68. Regarding Ober's interesting comparison of his “revolution” with events in France in 1789, we might note that the French equivalent of thetes were not fully and permanently enfranchised until 1884, nearly a hundred years after the storming of the Bastille.

69. As far as I can tell, the nearest thing to evidence for the “demotic vision” comes from Herodotus's description (5.72) of the demos (or part of the demos) besieging the Acropolis *ta auta phronēsantes*. This phrase is most naturally taken to mean “united in purpose” or, if alluding to the resistance of the Council mentioned a little earlier, “with the same intent [as the *bouleutai*]” (cf. Raaflaub 1998b, 88). We might note that Herodotus (1.60.1) uses an almost identical phrase (τὸν αὐτὸ φρονήσαντες) elsewhere to describe how Megacles and Lycurgus, “united in purpose,” decided to put an end to Peisistratus's first “tyranny.” In sum, Ober's proposal (1996, 44) that the phrase *ta auta phronēsantes* “supports the idea of a generalized and quite highly developed civic consciousness among the masses” seems exceptionally strained. Similarly strained is his attempt to read Herodotus's distinctive phrase *Kleisthenēs . . . prosetairizetai ton dēmon* (5.66.2) as evidence for the view that the leader was “absorbed” into a popular movement for change. From paraphrases elsewhere in Herodotus (*ton Athēnaion dēmon . . . pros tēn heōtoutou moiran prosethēkato*, 5.69.1) and in *AP* (*Kleisthenēs . . . prosēgageto ton dēmon*, 20.1) it is clear that Cleisthenes, not the demos, was seen by both authors as the active principle behind the transformation and that Cleisthenes “won the demos/Assembly over to his side,” rather than the other way around. There may have been a popular movement for change at this time, but there is no unambiguous evidence for such in our sources.

70. Anticipating this objection, Ober (1998, 70) cites a number of studies that appear to favor his view that the evolution of such a vision over the course of the sixth century is at least conceivable. Some of these works (e.g., Morris 1996) posit an emerging egalitarian strain in elite values during the archaic period, while others (e.g., Manville 1990) try to trace the growth of “citizen self-consciousness” in Athens during and after the Solonian era. Quite clearly, some sections of the Greek elite had become more receptive to the idea of popular participation in politics by the end of the sixth century, and some wealthier citizens in Athens may even have come to share an inchoate form of collective consciousness with their poorer fellows before 508/7. But neither of these developments comes close to explaining how nonelites were now able to organize themselves and form their own group interest and identity, let alone evolve an independent political vision or agenda.

71. Even after the transformation of 508/7, there is precious little evidence that nonelites were capable of developing and articulating their own distinctive agenda. I broadly agree with Eder’s (1998) overview of political evolution in Athens, which insists that elite domination of politics in Athens continued at least to the end of the fifth century.

72. Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* (273–82) recalls the siege patriotically as a hoplite assault on a Spartan occupying force, conveniently ignoring the presence of Isagoras and other Athenians among the besieged. There is, of course, no need to believe that the siege was really a fully coordinated military action. But the *Lysistrata* was written for a mass audience, and its failure to recall the participation of citizens of subhoplite class does not encourage us to believe that the event itself was quite the spontaneous “leaderless riot” that Ober portrays.

73. For a full discussion of the genesis of the tradition of the Tyrannicides, see chapter 9.

74. Eder (1998) would date the establishment of democracy “in the fullest sense” even later. He claims that “democracy reached its fully developed form” in the fourth century, “because politics by then had become the people’s affair, while in the fifth century the demos had been engaged primarily in the affairs of competing aristocrats” (115).

75. For an interesting attempt to trace the evolution of an egalitarian “middling ideology” in archaic Greece, see Morris 1996. For a critique of some of Morris’s claims and a more cautious approach to the evidence, see Robinson 1997, 66–67; Robinson discusses evidence for the emergence of democratic regimes in a wide range of Greek states between the late seventh century and the end of the classical period.

### CHAPTER 3

1. For the historical evolution of the Agora area down to the beginning of the fifth century, I generally follow the chronology found in Shear’s extremely valuable 1994 article. His account is broadly accepted by, among others, Camp (1994), Castriota (1998, 207), Ober (1998, 79–80), and Hurwit (1999, 121). Lately, it has also been embraced and elaborated by Rausch (1999, 8–38). For a critique, see Raaflaub 1998b, 93–95.

2. Clearance and redevelopment: Shear 1978, 4–7; 1994, 228–31; Camp 1994, 9–12.

3. Building C: Thompson 1937, 117–27. Despite its modest scale (7 by 15 m.), some scholars have thought that Building C, from the early sixth century, may have housed the Solonian Council of 400. See, e.g., Thompson 1940, 8–15. Cf. Boersma 1970, 15; Travlos 1971, 191–93; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 25–27. The two shrines, located on the sites of the later precincts of Apollo Patroos and Zeus Eleutherios: Thompson 1937, 8–14, 79–84. The Building F complex: Thompson 1940, 15–33; cf. Shear 1978, 5–7. Thompson (1962, 21)

first proposed that the Building F complex may have served as a Peisistratid residence, though he later retracted the suggestion (see Thompson 1976, 23). The idea has since been quite widely entertained by others (see, e.g., Boersma 1970, 16–17; Shear 1978, 6–7; 1994, 231; Camp 1992, 44–45; 1994, 10).

4. Fountain house: Thompson 1953, 29–35; Travlos 1971, 204–9; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 197–99; Camp 1992, 42–44; 1994, 10. Pausanias refers to the fountain house as the “Enneakrounos,” a structure that may have been located elsewhere in Athens, though Thucydides (2.15.4–5) believed that it, too, was a Peisistratid monument. On the problem, see Wycherley 1957, 139–40, 142. Archonship of Peisistratus the younger: Meritt 1939, 59–65; Cadoux 1948, 71, III. Altar of the Twelve Gods: Crosby 1949 (cf. Wycherley 1957, 119–22; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 129–36, fig. 34, pl. 67a; Camp 1992, 40–42; Gadbery 1992).

5. Altar as central milestone: Hdt. 2.7.1–2; cf. *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2640. By the end of the sixth century, the altar had already become a destination for foreign suppliants who sought Athenian protection (see Hdt. 6.108.4; cf. Thuc. 3.68.5). On the larger historical significance of the Hipparchan herms, see above pp. 22–24.

6. This site may be the “Old Agora” (*arkhaia agora*) referred to by Apollodorus (Harpoc., s.v. *pandemos Aphroditē* [= *FGrH* 244 F113]); cf. the reference to an *agora Kekropia* at Plut. *Cim.* 4.7 (citing the poet Melanthius). A stele honoring a third-century priestess of Aglauros was discovered under the large cave at the east end of the Acropolis in 1980 and first published by Dontas (1983). With the site of the Aglaureion thus fixed, the original civic center can be localized through a chain of textual inferences (see Dontas 1983, 58–63; Robertson 1986, 157–69; Shear 1994, 225–28). For attempts to construct a plan of the early civic center, see Robertson 1986, 158, fig. 1; Shear 1994, 226, fig. 1. On the connotations of the term *arkheia*, see Wycherley 1957, 126. Prytaneion: Paus. 1.18.3. Boukolion and Epilykeion: *AP* 3.5; cf. Hesych., s.v. *Epilykeion*. Anakeion: Paus. 1.18.2; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 1.21.2. Basileion: Poll. *Onom.* 8.III. Bouzygion: Shear 1994, 228. Theseion: *AP* 15.4; cf. Andoc. 1.45. The assignment of the early political center to this particular area is also confirmed by Pausanias’s account (1.20.1) of his route from the Prytaneion along the Street of the Tripods around the eastern end of the Acropolis and by the discovery in the Anaphiotika area of inscriptions referring to the Prytaneion (see *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2877), the Theseion, and the games of the Theseia festival (see *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 956.16, 957.11, 958.13–14).

7. This point is made by both Robertson (1986, 163–68) and Shear (1994, 228, 245–46 n. 21). For the date of the Theseion, see pp. 137, 253–54 n.29 below. The size of the precinct is suggested by various references to large-scale gatherings of citizens and cavalry at these locations in the classical period (see, e.g., Aeschin. 3.13; Andoc. 1.45; cf. Thuc. 6.61.2). The Gymnasium of Ptolemy was adjacent to the Theseion: see Plut. *Thes.* 36.2 (cf. *Cim.* 8.5–6; Paus. 1.17.2, 6).

8. The *orkhēstra*: Eust. *Od.* 3.350; Phot., s.v. *ikria, orkhēstra* (cf. Pl. *Ap.* 26d–e; Poll. *Onom.* 7.125). The theory that the performance of drama in the Agora was intimately linked with the area’s evolution as the city’s primary civic space over the course of the sixth century has been most fully articulated by Kolb (1981, 20–61). It is obviously not favored by the likelihood that the focus of political life was elsewhere in Athens during the eras of Solon and the Peisistratids. Also problematic are the key roles played in Kolb’s scheme by the archon basileus and the Lenaia festival. There is no good evidence at any time for a sanctuary of Dionysus Lenaios in the Agora area, and it seems likely that the

office of the basileus was not relocated here from the Boukolion until ca. 500 at the earliest (see pp. 97–98 below).

9. On the creation of a citizen army in 508/7 or shortly after, see chapter 6. Non-Athenians were levied by the Peisistratids for major engagements in 546/5 (see *AP* 15.2, 17.4; Hdt. 1.61.3–4) and in 511/0 (see *AP* 19.5; Hdt. 5.63.3–4). It is unclear who fought for them in the minor action at Leipsydrium.

10. Agora starting line: Shear 1975, 362–65. Racetracks in the early agoras of Corinth and Argos: Camp 1994, 12 n. 13. The earliest organized games in Athens were most likely those of the Great Panathenaia. On the evolution of the festival's program of events during the course of the sixth century, see chapter 7.

11. Olympieion preserved unfinished: Wycherley 1978, 158–60. Stele condemning Peisistratid "crime": Thuc. 6.55.1.

12. The two shrines were subsequently destroyed by the Persians (see Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 96, 137). Demolition of Buildings C and D and the northern wing of the Building F complex: Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 26–29; Shear 1994, 230–31.

13. Changes to the Building F complex in ca. 500: Thompson 1937, 130–31; 1940, 27, 34–38; Shear 1993, 426–27; 1994, 236. On the construction of the Old Bouleuterion and on the new role of Building F, see pp. 96–97 later in this chapter.

14. The new *eskhara*: Thompson 1953, 43–46; Wycherley 1957, 49.

15. The *eskhara* as the Athenian Aiakeion: Thompson 1953, 45 n. 28; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 132. Cf. Pritchett 1953, 271; Stroud in Sourvinou-Inwood 1994, 282. Following Kolb (1981, 44–46), Sourvinou-Inwood goes on to suggest that the Agora *eskhara*, rather than its counterpart on the Academy (cf. Paus. 1.29.2), was the starting point for the ceremony of the "introduction from the hearth" (*eisagōgē apo tēs eskharas*) at the City Dionysia (cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1006, 1008, 1011, 1028). For further discussion of this possibility, see pp. 181, 272 n. 16 below.

16. Similarities between the earlier peribolos and the *eskhara*: Thompson 1953, 45; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 132; Gadbery 1992, 467–70.

17. Three archaic poros blocks from the altar proper have so far been recovered (Agora, A 1198, 1199a–b; Crosby 1949, 98, pl. 14.2). Crosby (1949, 99–101) originally thought that Thucydides' "extension" referred to the construction of a second enclosure in the third quarter of the fifth century. But as Gadbery (1992) has shown, the altar was only renovated at this point, using original materials; the second enclosure was not built until the third quarter of the following century.

18. Lavelle (1993, 76–79) has suggested that the removal of the original inscription from the Altar of the Twelve Gods was part of a larger program of *damnatio memoriae* directed against the Peisistratids. Though attractive, the parallel with Roman practice seems inexact. The original inscription on the altar of Pythian Apollo is still visible to this day (see Meiggs and Lewis 1988, 19, no. 11). More generally, it seems that the family was consigned not so much to oblivion as to a special place of perpetual infamy in public memory. The Peisistratids' folly was conspicuously memorialized by a range of monuments, most notably the "stele commemorating the crime of the tyrants" [*stēlē peri tēs tōn turannōn adikias*], on the Acropolis (Thuc. 6.55.1); the colossal Olympieion, preserved in its unfinished state; and the Tyrannicide statue group in the new Agora. The new order needed an "other" against which to define itself, and with some manipulation of history, the Peisistratids provided a suitable

antonym. For further discussion of the role of the Peisistratid “tyranny” in later memory, see chapter 9.

19. See chapter 9. For a concise and compelling restatement of the arguments against dating the statue group to the 480s, see Castriota 1998, esp. 213–15.

20. Agora *horoi* found in situ: Agora, I 5510 (Shear 1939, 205–6); Agora, I 7039 (Thompson 1968, 61–63). Cf. Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 117–18, pll. 4, 64a–b). The upper section of the third stele in the series (Agora, I 5675; Shear 1940, 266) was found in the area of the Hephaisteion, while a fourth uninscribed fragment (Agora, A 3534; Holloway 1966) was recovered from a disturbed context outside the southeast corner of the Agora. Academy *horos*: Travlos 1971, 42.

21. Agora as a sacred precinct: Aeschin. 3.176 and schol.; Dem. 24.60 (cf. Aeschin. 1.21; Andoc. 1.71, 76). Since all of the offenses described entailed the forfeit of citizens’ rights (*atimia*), entry to the Agora was presumably included among these rights. Generally on *atimia* in Athens, see Hansen 1976, 55–90; MacDowell 1978, 73–75. Agora *perirrhanthêria*: Aeschin. 3.176 and schol. (cf. Aeschin. 1.21; Dem. 20.158, 22.77, 24.60).

22. Evidence for such ordinances comes from elsewhere. Private buildings were excluded from the new Agora in fourth-century Sounion, since its predecessor had become too built-up over time (see *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1180). An ordinance against littering is known to have been enforced in the agora at Piraeus (see *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 380.35).

23. The Agora street system is discussed by Thompson and Wycherley (1972, 192–94). The earliest surface on the nearby Street of the Marble Workers dates to the late sixth century. Great Drain: Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 194–95.

24. The northeast corner retail building: Shear 1973, 138–44, fig. 3. In the mid-1950s, a large quantity of pottery sherds dating from the late sixth and early fifth centuries was recovered from a well found in front of the Stoa of Attalus (see Thompson 1955, 62–66). The size, date, and location of the find suggest that it was probably a refuse deposit used by one or more pottery retailers after the Persian sack.

25. In the words of Thompson and Wycherley (1972, 50), the “Pnyx and Agora remained closely linked in function and spirit,” with the latter acting as a kind of “foyer” to the former.

26. Pnyx excavation: Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932. Date of the first phase: Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932, 109; Travlos 1971, 466; Wycherley 1978, 35. Thompson (1982a, 136–37) has latterly challenged the consensus, suggesting that the first phase should be dated to the time of Ephialtes’ reforms. Cf. Camp 1994, 11.

27. In his initial publication of the remains, Thompson (1937, 127–35) dated the Old Bouleuterion to just after 500 B.C., though he would now assign it to the second quarter of the fifth century (see Thompson 1982a, 136 with n. 11). After detailed study of the pottery sherds used as fill in the building’s foundations, not a single one of which certainly postdates the sixth century, Shear (1993, 418–22; cf. 1994, 236) has confidently reasserted the case for a date of ca. 500 B.C. He notes that this date is also supported by the lettering on a shallow marble basin (Agora, I 4869; Thompson 1940, 143, fig. 102a) found just south of the building, which bears the legend τῶ βουλευ[τερ]ίῳ (“of the bouleuterion”). In perhaps the most intriguing challenge to the orthodox chronology, Miller (1995) suggests that the Old Bouleuterion should be reidentified as a temple of Meter, which he styles the “Old Metroon.” He believes that the Council of 500 met in the open air until late in the fifth

century, when the New Bouleuterion was erected. Cf. Shear's pointed counterarguments (1995).

28. For recent restorations of the interior and exterior, see Shear 1994, 231–36, figs. 5, 10. Shear reconstructs forty-eight wooden benches, each four meters in length, arranged in rows six deep, yielding sufficient seating for 504 individuals at half a meter per seat. Portions of two triglyphs and two metopes have so far been recovered.

29. For the argument, see Shear 1994, 241–42. Shear also draws attention to the duplication of several features of the old civic center in the new Agora, but he does not explore the larger implications of this phenomenon at any length. On the presence of Thesmotheteia in both the old and the new civic centers, see Robertson 1986, 161–62. The structure that replaced the reworked Building F in this function following the Persian sack was most probably *to tōn arkhontōn oikēma* (“the archons’ chamber”) referred to at Dem. 21.85, itself replaced at a later date by the Stoa of Zeus, built in ca. 420 (cf. Robertson 1986, 170).

30. Preliminary discussions of the stoa: Shear 1971, 243–55; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 83–90. Official seat of the archon basileus: *IG I<sup>3</sup> 104.4–8*; Paus. 1.3.1; Pl. *Euthphr.* 2a; *Th.* 210d. Though the Boukolion was now supplanted in this function (see *AP* 3.5), it continued to serve as the venue for the “sacred marriage” (*hieros gamos*) between the wife of the basileus and the god Dionysus at the Anthesteria festival.

31. Shear (1971, 249–50) originally assigned the stoa to the mid–sixth century, primarily on the basis of the style of its architectural remains. He has since dated it to ca. 500 B.C. (see Shear 1993, 427–29; cf. 1994, 237–39, 247 n. 55). Thompson (1981, 345–46; 1982a, 136 with n. 11) and Raaflaub (1998b, 94) argue for a lower date. For Shear's response to the challenge, see Raaflaub 1998b, 102 n. 10.

32. See Shear 1994, 236–39, figs. 12–14.

33. Solon's laws in the stoa: *AP* 7.1. Wooden *axones* in the Prytaneion: Harpoc., s.v. *axoni*; Paus. 1.18.3; Plut. *Sol.* 19.3, 25.1–2. For the reconstruction, see Shear 1994, 240–41 (cf. Stroud 1979, esp. 12–13, 41–44; Robertson 1986, 168–76). The tradition that both sets of documents were stored on the Acropolis before Ephialtes transferred them, respectively, to the Prytaneion and the Agora (see Anaximenes of Lampsacus, *FGrH* 72 F13; Poll. *Onom.* 8.128) probably alludes to an emergency measure, whereby they had previously been moved to the citadel for safekeeping just before the Persian sack.

34. References to the *lithos* in the Agora: *AP* 7.1, 55.5; Plut. *Sol.* 25.2. The “herald's stone”: Plut. *Sol.* 8.1–2.

35. The peribolos still awaits final publication. Available accounts include Thompson 1954, 38; 1962, 106–8, no. 55; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 62–65, figs. 19–20; Camp's account in Boegehold 1995, 99–103. According to Camp (loc. cit., 100), the closest parallel for the molding is found on a raking geison contemporary with the Old Athena Temple on the Acropolis, which is widely considered to belong to the final decade of the sixth century.

36. Parallel with Building A: Camp in Boegehold 1995, 103. Camp refrains from endorsing the traditional identification, though he concedes that the enclosure probably housed a law court. Boegehold himself (1995, 5–6) suggests that the peribolos may be identical with the large court building later referred to as the “precinct of Metiokhos” and the “greater court.”

37. See Thompson 1937, 115–40, 172–217; Travlos 1971, 352–56; Rhodes 1972, 31–32; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 30–31, 35; Camp 1992, 91–94. The orientation of the temple is identical with that of the Old Bouleuterion, and the two structures share a cross wall

and similar foundations of Acropolis limestone. Little survives of the temple's superstructure, but it perhaps featured a distyle-in-antis facade.

38. The famous cult statue of Meter by Phidias (Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 9; Paus. 1.3.5) or Agoracritus (Plin. *HN* 36.17) is believed to have stood in the Old Bouleuterion. On the changing role of the Old Bouleuterion after the construction of its successor, see Thompson 1937, 206–10; cf. Wycherley 1957, 150–60. The earliest reference to the building as the “Metroon” is found in *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 140.34–35 (353/2 B.C.). The identity of the archaic building as a temple of Meter has been challenged by Shear (1995, 176–78), while Miller (1995, 135–37 n. 6) casts doubt on its very existence.

39. Cf. Dinarchus's later comment (1.86) on how Meter was “established as the city's guardian of all the rights [recorded] on state documents” [τὸν ἐν τοῖς γραμμασί δικαίων φυλάξαι τῆι πόλει καθεστέκε]. The incongruity is discussed by Loraux (1990, 101–19).

40. There is no evidence for any cult of Meter in Attica before 500 B.C. Origins of the cult and its importation into Greece: Burkert 1979, 102–4; 1985, 176–79; Graf 1985, 107–15. Meter cult in Attica: Parker 1996, 188–94. Meter in Smyrna and Colophon: Graf 1985, 317.

41. Excavation and discussion of the altar: Shear 1984, 24–40; Camp 1992, 57, figs. 37–38. Pausanias (1.14.7) saw the sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania, with its Phidian cult statue, at some point on his walk from the Hephaisteion to the Stoa Poikile. Aphrodite Ourania as an assimilation of Astarte, the Phoenician queen of heaven: Burkert 1985, 155; Parker 1996, 196 with n. 158 (cf. Hdt. 1.105; Paus. 1.14.7). Dedications to Aphrodite by magistrates elsewhere in Greece: Sokolowski 1964; Croissant and Salviat 1966. Aphrodite Pandemos may have played a similar role in the old civic center in Athens (see Harpoc., s.v. *pandemos Aphrodite*; Shear 1994, 228 with n. 26; cf. Sokolowski 1964, 1–2).

42. One or two of the new monuments discussed here may at some point be shown conclusively to belong to a later time. But the key issue is surely the date of the shift in the general function and character of the square, from Peisistratid *grand projet* to publicly administered agora. The downdating of the odd individual item would not greatly affect the overall chronological scheme favored in this chapter. But those who would insist on bringing the larger shift down further into the fifth century must not only confront the evidence for the wide range of items that can reasonably be assigned to ca. 500 B.C. but must also explain what happened to the preexisting monuments in the meantime. If the Peisistratid square was essentially preserved intact for some twenty or thirty years after 508/7, this would seem to be a fact of some political significance.

43. The only known instance of an earlier nonsacred structure built in the Doric order is the northern half of the bouleuterion in the sanctuary at Olympia (Shear 1994, 247 n. 58).

44. A similar point is made by Shear (1994, 245), though he does not pursue its implications at length.

#### CHAPTER 4

1. The literature on the topography and monuments of the Acropolis is vast, though there are surprisingly few synthetic works that offer a general overview of the site's history and significance. They include Hopper 1971; Schneider and Höcker 1990; Rhodes 1995. Hurwit's 1999 study is comprehensive, stimulating, and highly readable. My debt to it in the pages that follow is considerable.

2. Evidence for Acropolis developments during the Bronze and Dark Ages is lucidly summarized by Hurwit (1999, 67–89).

3. The column bases were long thought to be Mycenaean. But see Nylander (1962), who suggests that they might have formed an eastward-facing temple porch some eight meters wide. Architectural terracottas: e.g., Acrop. K 125 9570, K 230 10124, K 231 10125. Winter (1993, 64 n. 120, 79 n. 156) dates the antefix and eaves tile remains tentatively to ca. 620–600 B.C. Bronze gorgoneion disk, possibly a temple akroterion: Touloupa 1969.

4. Ramp: Vanderpool 1974. Most observers assume that the form of the west entrance remained little changed from the end of the Bronze Age to the early fifth century (see, e.g., Dinsmoor 1980, 4; Wright 1994; Eiteljörg 1995, 58–59). The original gateway is generally thought to have looked much like the famous Lion Gate at Mycenae. For slightly different reconstructions of its form and orientation, see Wright 1994 and Eiteljörg 1995, 135–36, figs. 28–29. For the Nike sanctuary, see Mark 1993, 31–35. Mark tentatively assigns the so-called A-architecture to the site, reconstructing a simple temple about five meters wide, with a distyle-in-antis facade.

5. The assignment of the “Bluebeard temple” to the site later occupied by the Parthenon, where it was perhaps known as the Hekatompedon, is proposed and defended at greatest length by Dinsmoor (1947). The architectural and sculptural remains were first assembled and discussed by Wiegand (1904, 72–96, 105–7, 214–27), who sited the temple on the inner, blue, Acropolis limestone foundations of the later Old Athena Temple (see fig. 12). The discovery thereafter of further sima fragments prompted Schuchhardt (1935/36) to reassign them to the outer, pink limestone foundations. Dinsmoor’s principal argument against this idea—an argument that still stands—is that both sets of foundations were worked with a toothed chisel, an implement that was apparently not yet in use at the time the “Bluebeard temple” was erected. For more recent discussion of the issues involved, see, e.g., Plommer 1960; Shapiro 1989, 21–24; Hurwit 1999, 106–12. Pediment reconstructions: Schuchhardt 1935/36; Dinsmoor 1947, 145–47; Beyer 1974. The historical circumstances that prompted the building of the temple are considered above on pp. 68–71 in chapter 2.

6. Terracotta remains: Winter 1993, 214–19, 220–23, nos. 2–4, 7–8. Among the other materials generally dated to the second quarter of the sixth century are the Doric architectural assemblage known as Building A (assigned by Mark [1993, 34–35] to the Nike sanctuary) and the Red, Olive Tree, Apotheosis, and Hydra pediments. For cogent recent discussion of the materials and related problems, see Shapiro 1989, 21–24; Hurwit 1999, 112–17.

7. For an overview of the votive inventory from the second quarter of the sixth century, see Hurwit 1999, 102–5. Moschophorus: Acrop. 624; Brouskari 1974, 40–41; Hurwit 1999, 102–4, fig. 71. The earliest korai include Acrop. 589 (Payne and Young 1950, 9, pl. 14.3, 8), 593 (Richter 1968, 40, figs. 147–50), 617 (Payne and Young 1950, 3–4, pl. 9.3, 10.1–4), 619 (Richter 1968, 47, figs. 194–97), 677 (Richter 1968, 47, figs. 198–200). Four-horse chariot group: Acrop. 575, 578–80; Payne and Young 1950, 51–52, pl. 16. Athena statuette: Acrop. 6457; Shapiro 1989, 28, pl. 8.b–c. Niemeyer (1964) has argued that this type may have been inspired by a contemporary cult statue, also represented in the Athena figure on Panathenaic prize vases. But cf. Shapiro 1989, 27–29.

8. For further discussion of the foundation and early history of the Great Panathenaia, see chapter 7.

9. See, e.g., the inscription from ca. 560 (Raubitschek 1949, no. 326) recording the construction of a *dromos*—"racetrack" or, possibly, the new "ramp" (?)—and the dedication, by at least five named officials (the *hieropoioi* of the Panathenaia?, of the *agōn* (games) to Athena).

10. On the role played by elite competitive display in the development of the sanctuaries at Delphi and Olympia, see especially Morgan 1990.

11. See Hurwit 1999, 115-16.

12. Peisistratus resident on the Acropolis: e.g., Raubitschek 1949, 456; Travlos 1971, 53; Kolb 1977, 104. Parker (1996, 72 n. 18, 84) and Hurwit (1999, 118 with n. 80) are more skeptical. Architectural terracottas for the period: Winter 1993, 224-27, nos. 10-12. The so-called Rampin Rider (Acrop. 590; Paris, Louvre 3104; Payne and Young 1950, 6-9, pl. 11.a-c), originally one of a pair and usually dated to ca. 550, is the first major freestanding equestrian monument to be dedicated at the site. A slightly later example (with no catalogue number, but perhaps associated with the fragments Acrop. 559, 560, 568, 4169; see Payne and Young 1950, 52, pl. 134.1) is dated by Eaverly (1995, 78-81, no. 2) to the years 550-540. Korai from the period include Acrop. 671, 678, 679 (Richter 1968, 70-72, figs. 341-54). Lyons kore: Lyons Museum (torso and head) and Acrop. 269; Payne and Young 1950, 14-18; Richter 1968, 57-58, figs. 275-81. Function as caryatid: e.g., Ridgway 1993, 144-45, 147-48.

13. "Endoios Athena": Acrop. 626; Payne and Young 1950, 46-47, pl. 116. *Hippalektryon* with rider: Acrop. 597; Eaverly 1995, 93-95, pll. 11-12. "Peplos" kore: Acrop. 679; Stewart 1990; fig. 147.

14. The architectural terracottas of a single small building of unknown function and location survive from the period (Winter 1993, 227-28, no. 14). For the Old Athena Temple, see pp. 109-11 later in this chapter.

15. On the possible installation of a new entrance court before 490, see pp. 111, 248 n. 23. Winter (1993) suggests that a roof she dates to ca. 510-500 (228, no. 15) served as a replacement on a building originally put up sometime between 540 and 530 (225-27, no. 12).

16. The foundations were first examined and discussed by Dörpfeld (1885, 1886, 1887) and are hence sometimes referred to as the "Dörpfeld foundations." For the original publication of the architectural remains, see Wiegand 1904, 115-26. More recent treatments of the monument include Gruben 1966, 154; Travlos 1971, 143, figs. 196-99; Childs 1994; Hurwit 1999, 121-24. My own discussion owes much to the essay by Childs.

17. Those who favor a post-Peisistratid date for the temple include Stewart (1990, 130), Childs (1994), and Hurwit (1999, 121-24). The temple of Hera at Olympia (ca. 590) likewise has only a one- or two-step stylobate, while the overall plan and scale (43.13 by 21.30 meters) of the Arkhaios Neos resemble those of the earlier Apollo temples at Corinth (ca. 540; cf. Stillwell 1932) and Delphi (ca. 530; cf. Courby 1915; Childs 1993). Architectural details: Childs 1994, 2, figs. 1-2; cf. Stewart 1990, 130. A date of ca. 500 is also supported by the style of a surviving lion's-head waterspout (Acrop. 69; Travlos 1971, fig. 197; Childs 1994, 3).

18. Supporters of a date after 510 include Stähler (1972; cf. 1978), Stewart (1990, 129-30), Childs (1994), Moore (1995, 633), Castriota (1998, 207), and Hurwit (1999, 123-24, figs. 96-97).

19. Cf. the Acropolis chariot group of the 560s (Acrop. 575, 578-80; Payne and Young 1950, 51-52, pl. 16). Other examples from earlier years, including a votive relief also from the Acropolis (Acrop. 577), are cited by Childs (1994, 3 with nn. 51, 53).

20. The principal fragment shows the eye of the savaged bull (Acrop. 3331; Payne and Young 1950, 54, pl. 17.3). For discussion of the details and date of the associated fragments of lion's mane, see Childs 1994, 3, fig. 3.

21. Frieze fragments: Acrop. 356, 449, 1342–4; Payne and Young 1950, 42–43, pl. 127. Supporters of the restoration include Stewart (1990, 130), Ridgway (1993, 395–97), and Hurwit (1999, 123). Childs (1994, 6 n. 59) is less sanguine.

22. Roof materials: Winter 1993, 228–31, nos. 16–18. Winter cautiously assigns the terracottas of the two later buildings to ca. 500–480, though she suggests parallels that would locate them at the higher end of this range. Building B: Travlos 1971, 61, fig. 71; Hurwit 1999, 124. The building is usually thought to have stood on the site of the later Pinakothek, where the poros blocks were discovered. But cf. Eiteljorg 1995, 58 n. 104.

23. The entrance courtyard must postdate the demolition of the “Bluebeard temple,” since marble metope panels from the latter were used as revetment slabs in the former. Hence, for the temple to have been demolished by ca. 500, it must have preceded the Arkhaios Neos on the north side of the citadel, a possibility that does not fit with the larger picture of archaic temple construction favored so far in this study. Assuming the temple actually stood on the south side and was not taken down until just before work began on the predecessor of the Parthenon, the courtyard cannot have been built before the early 480s. So argue, for example, Dinsmoor (1980, 27–31) and Eiteljorg (1995, 82–86). This might make the first phase of the courtyard rather unrealistically close to the second phase, the so-called Old Propylon, which is conventionally dated to the 480s. But Eiteljorg (1995, 82–84) suggests that this latter phase probably postdated the Persian sack.

24. Archaic cistern: Tanoulas 1992; Wright 1994. Spring house: Travlos 1971, 138–39, fig. 188.

25. Peisistratid stele: Thuc. 6.55. Stele condemning the followers of Isagoras: schol. Ar. *Lys.* 273; cf. Wade-Gery 1958, 136–37.

26. For more detailed discussion of the victory monument, see chapter 6.

27. Gigantomachy group: Acrop. 293, 452, 658; Payne and Young 1950, 75, pl. 122; Hurwit 1999, 123–24.

28. Triandi does not attempt to identify the scene with any particular myth or to assign the pediment to an attested building. The principal components in the reconstruction (Triandi 1994, 86–90, figs. 9–18) include fragments of the two youths (Acrop. 160, 168), the Athena (Acrop. 142), human and equine feet (Acrop. 571–74), and the impressive horse figure (Acrop. 697), of which the front half is largely intact. The Athena is reckoned to have been some 1.15 meters tall. The reconstruction is supported by Korres (1994b, 175–76).

29. Theseus and Prokrustes (?): Acrop. 145; Payne and Young 1950, 43–44, pl. 105–6; Hurwit 1999, 126 with n. 113.

30. Gigantomachy reliefs: Acrop. 120, 121; Payne and Young 1950, 50, pl. 126.2–3. Seated males: e.g., Acrop. 144, 146, 629; Payne and Young 1950, 47, pl. 117.1–118.5. For recent discussion of these unusual figures, see Triandi 1994, 83–86; Triandi would restore two head fragments (Acrop. 306; Paris, Louvre 2718 [the so-called tête Fauvel]) to the largest figure in the series (Acrop. 629). In view of their late-sixth-century date and novelty, she would like to associate the figures with recent political change, suggesting that they may have represented secretaries of the Council or Assembly. Others have seen them as treasurers or procession marshals, though neither role would necessarily link them to institutions of the new order.

31. Equestrian monuments: e.g., Acrop. 148, 606, 700; Payne and Young 1950, 52, pll. 134.2–3, 135, 137–39; Eaverly 1995, nos. 9, 12, 14. Korai: e.g., Acrop. 615, 674, 685, 696. The latest in the sequence of korai (e.g., Acrop. 688; Richter 1968, 102–3, figs. 587–90) date to ca. 480. Among the more striking remains of the male figures are the bronze head of a warrior, now helmetless, perhaps from an original life-size statue (Athens, NM 6446; Mattusch 1988, 91–94, fig. 5.2), a bronze kouros-style statuette (Athens, NM 6445; Richter 1970, 38, figs. 474–77), and several marble torsos (e.g., Acrop. 692; Richter 1970, 137, figs. 464–66).

32. Those who would read a political significance into these dedications include Raubitschek (1949, 465) and Hurwit (1999, 126–29); cf. Camp 1994, 11.

33. By way of a comparison, we might think, for example, of the preposterously grandiose grave monument erected just outside Rome's Porta Praenestina by the baker M. Virgilius Eurysaces in ca. 30 B.C., a structure that was hardly the product of any new, more egalitarian political environment.

34. Some sense of a collective past seems to be present in Solon's reference (4a West) to Athens as the "oldest land of Ionia" [presbutatēn gaian Iaoniēs], and the same claim may have underwritten Peisistratus's later interventions on Delos. But this seems to be exceptional. Peisistratid genealogy: Hdt. 5.65.3.

35. The inscription on the Tyrannicide monument (Agora, I 3872; Meritt 1936, 355, no. 1; Shear 1936, 190; Shear 1937, 352) compares the deed of Harmodius and Aristogiton to a "great light" of deliverance that "came upon the Athenians" [meg' Athēnaioisi phoōs geneth']. For further discussion of the monument and inscription, see pp. 200–201 in chapter 9 below. Epigram of the Callimachus dedication: *JG* I<sup>3</sup> 784; Meiggs and Lewis 1988, no. 18. The text of the inscription is fragmentary, but the final line suggests that Callimachus's actions were seen as yielding some kind of benefit "for the sons of the Athenians" [paisin Athēnaion].

36. Appropriately enough, the only Acropolis image of Heracles from the period is a small, badly damaged figure from ca. 500 B.C. (Acrop. 638; Payne and Young 1950, pl. 96; Brouskari 1974, 96). Its context and function are unknown.

37. See, e.g., Shapiro 1989, 38–40.

38. For "official" memory, see pp. 49–51, 232 n. 10. The phenomenon is discussed further in chapters 5 and 9.

## CHAPTER 5

1. Jones 1999, vii.

2. "Civil society" in Athens and Attica: Connor 1996. There is still some uncertainty about the nature and functions of *genē* and *orgeōnes*. The former term is used by the ancients to refer both to sacerdotal families (e.g., the Eumolpidae, who served Demeter and Kore at Eleusis) and to traditional cult organizations whose members claimed descent from a common ancestor. The *orgeōnes* seem to have been hereditary associations that grew up around hero cults. Bourriot (1976) documents the evidence for many known *genē*. For a useful summary of what is known of the *genē* and the various local and "private" religious associations in Attica, see Parker 1996, 284–342. For a fuller treatment of the subject, including discussion of the more "public" demes and phylai, see Jones 1999.

3. In his work on the associations of Athens, Jones's own solution to the problem of definition is to resist the use of absolute categories altogether. He prefers to position each

group on a series of scales, between the extremes of, for example, “public” and “private” or “voluntary” and “nonvoluntary.”

4. The classic work on Greek phylai is Roussel 1976, which has largely shaped the current orthodoxy. The most systematic recent work on the character and organization of the Cleisthenic phylai can be found in a series of detailed and insightful studies by Jones (1987; 1995; 1999, 149–94). Jones (1999, 152) willingly concedes that these “internally organized segments of the state” could and did function simultaneously as “more or less self-contained and autonomous associations.” But he suggests (174–94) that they only came to do so during the course of the classical period, as the need arose among the far-flung citizen body for “instruments” that might represent their interests on the central stage in Athens. In general, he seems unduly reluctant to consider the possibility that the phylai might have been consciously intended, from the time of their creation, to function like “autonomous associations” and even to serve as “instruments” of representation.

5. For speculation about the nature and role of the Ionian phylai in Athens, see Latte 1941; Roussel 1976, 193–208. Arguments for and against the existence of a Solonian Council of 400 are covered on pp. 59–63 in chapter 2 above. The question of when the Athenians first installed a regular mechanism for raising a citizen army is explored in chapter 6.

6. Generally on the phenomenon of eponymous heroes in Greece, see Nilsson 1986, 65–80; cf. Kron 1976, 27–28.

7. Significance of the role played here by Delphi: Kron 1976, 29–31; Kearns 1989, 80, 90; Parker 1996, 118. For other examples of the use of the oracle to sanction political change, see Kron 1976, 29. The significance of the parallel with colonial ventures is explored by Habicht (1956, 153–54), Lévêque and Vidal-Naquet (1996, 45–49), and Rausch (1999, 64–67). The earliest reference to the *epōnymoi* as *arkhēgetai* is found in Ar. fr. 135 (*Geras*). For discussion of the implications of the term *arkhēgetēs* when applied to the ten heroes, see Kron 1976, 28; Kearns 1989, 80; Lévêque and Vidal-Naquet 1996, 48–49; Parker 1996, 120–21. A broader survey of the term’s semantic range can be found in Malkin 1987, 241–50.

8. E.g., [Dem.] 58.18; Cleidemus, *FGrH* 323 F22. For further references from a range of periods, see Parker 1996, 121 n. 68.

9. Kearns (1989, 90) describes the heroes chosen as “suspiciously ‘significant.’” Cf. Nilsson 1958, 243; Kron 1976, 31. Evidence for the heroes prior to the tribal reform is discussed by Rausch (1999, 67–69). With the exception of Ajax, none of the *epōnymoi* are particularly well attested before 508, and the four early kings are not referred to as such before Herodotus (1.173, 8.44). But this does not necessarily reflect their local significance. Relatively few heroes of Panhellenic stature had long-standing associations with Athens, and before 508, Athenian vase painters rarely took their subjects from local legends. Assuming that Theseus himself was never considered (see pp. 141–42 below), it seems that no obviously outstanding candidates were omitted from the final list. On three possible unsuccessful candidates (Araphen, Polyxenus, and Cephalus), see Kearns 1989, 90 n. 57; Parker 1996, 118 with n. 59.

10. Obviously, all these various associations with the unification of Attica presuppose the existence of the Thesean synoecism tradition. The crucial question of when the tradition was actually invented is explored in detail later in this chapter. For discussion of the links between Theseus and individual *epōnymoi*, see Rausch 1999, 68–69.

11. On this process of *Attisierung*, see Rausch 1999, 69–71.

12. Evidence for functionaries: Jones 1999, 177–78 with nn. 15–17. Generally on *epimeletai* in these and other forms of association, see Oehler 1907. On the *epimeletai* of the ten Athenian phylai, see also Traill 1986, 79–92; Jones 1999, 174–82. One *epimeletēs* per trittys: Traill 1986, 79–92. Annual office terms: *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1164.6–8; 1165.18–19, 31–32. Responsibilities: Dem. 21.13 (representing phyle interests); *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1165.34 (convening tribal assemblies), 1168.9–13 (financial oversight), 1150.4–5 (cult administration).

13. Rent from land leases: e.g., *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1168.9–13 (the identity of the tribe is not known). At some point, the funding for certain activities, such as the training of a chorus for the dithyrambic contests at the City Dionysia, was supplied through official liturgies. But since it remains unclear when the liturgical system was introduced, financial responsibility for these and other, more quotidian commitments, such as cult offerings and the publication of tribal documents, was presumably assigned on a more informal, ad hoc basis.

14. There was almost certainly a collective cult of the *epōnymoi* in the Agora (see Agora, I 7475 = *SEG XXVIII* 53; Rotroff 1978; Kearns 1989, 83; Jones 1999, 153–54), but it appears to have been managed by the state rather than by the tribes themselves. The date of the introduction of this cult remains unknown, as does the date of the well-known statue group with which it must have been associated. The extant base of the monument has been assigned to the early years of the second half of the fourth century (see Shear 1970, 190–96), while the first certain reference to it in literature is found in Aristophanes (*Pax* 1183–84). The possibility that the original monument may have been set up all the way back in the late sixth or early fifth century is considered by Mattusch (1994) and Lévêque and Vidal-Naquet (1996, 49).

15. *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1140. The addition of the Pandion sacrifice to the program of the Pandia probably postdated the tribal reform (see Kearns 1985, 193; cf. Kron 1976, 111–13). Kearns (1989, 81) believes that the practice may have been more widespread: “it seems very likely that all or most of [the heroes] received a subordinate sacrifice at some public rite, at which the tribe would then be present in strength.” Elsewhere (p. 81 n. 6), she explores the possibility of several other instances.

16. For evidence for the locations of the shrines, see n. 18 below.

17. Since most of these sites were in or near the center of Athens, it seems inherently likely that the tribes used them as their administrative centers and primary venues for *agorai*. On occasion, the tribes may have convened away from their shrines. A decree of Hippothontis (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1163) found on the south slope of the Acropolis calls for identical stelai to be set up in the hero’s precinct at Eleusis and in the Asklepieion in Athens, the latter being presumably the document we possess. Given that Hippothoon’s shrine was located further from the heart of Athens than any other, his tribe’s use of a more central alternative site for meetings would certainly be understandable. However, as Kearns (1989, 83) points out, the duplication of the decree in question may also be explained by the fact that its honorand was a priest of Asklepios. Tribal assemblies appear to have been relatively infrequent, meeting perhaps no more than a handful of times a year. At least in later times, the principal items of business included financial matters, the selection of officers and liturgy holders, and the voting of honors for benefactors. See especially Jones 1999, 164–69.

18. Generally on the location of the heroa, see the relevant sections of Kron 1976. Cf. Kearns 1989, 80–92; Parker 1996, 119; Jones 1999, 156–61; Rausch 1999, 71–72. Evidence comes mainly from the find-spots and contents of tribal decrees. Least disputed are the sites of the shrines of Erechtheus, Cecrops, and Pandion on the Acropolis, that of Antiochus in

Kynosarges, the site of the well-known Herakleion (see *SEG* III 115–17), and that of Hippothoon in the sanctuary at Eleusis (see Hesych., s.v. *Hippothoonteion*; Phot., s.v. *Hippothoonteion*; Paus. 1.38.4; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1149, 1153, 1163, 1672.290–91). The discovery of a *lex sacra* of Leontis near the Hephaisteion and of an ephebic decree of Skambonidai (a deme in the city trittys of Leontis) in the northeast sector of the Agora (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 244; Agora, I 3068; Kron 1976, 200–201; Thompson 1982b, 391) suggests that the hero's shrine was somewhere in the vicinity of the civic center, possibly within the Leokoreion, a precinct associated with his daughters. A third-century altar found near the Dipylon Gate and dedicated to, among others, Acamas (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4983; Kron 1976, 145) may fix the site of that hero's shrine in the Kerameikos district, though the discovery of at least one and possibly two decrees of Acamantis in modern Kallithea (ancient Xypete?) points to a different location. References in Pausanias (1.22.5) and Plutarch (*Thes.* 12) could place the shrine of Aegeus either at the western end of the Acropolis or in the Ilissos valley, near the Delphinion (see Kron 1976, 124–27). The discovery of a decree of Aegeis on the citadel (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 656) would seem to favor the former site. The shrine of Oeneus is particularly elusive. It may have been at Acharnae (an inland deme-trittys of Oeneis), the find spot of a stele relief (see Kron 1976, 188) that possibly depicts the hero as a hoplite. Finally, the earliest certain references to an "Aianteion" occur in a pair of second-century ephebic decrees (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1008.87; Agora, I 286) from the Agora. Since a decree of Aiantis from 327/6 (Agora, I 3625; Ferguson 1938, 18) requires the stele to be set up "in the Eurysakeion," a precinct located near the Hephaisteion in the deme of Melite (see Harpoc., s.v. *Eurusakeion*; Plut. *Sol.* 10.2; Poll. *Onom.* 7.132–33), it is widely thought that the tribe initially used the shrine of the hero's son as its primary cult site. It remains unclear whether the later Aianteion was located here or elsewhere in the Agora area.

19. For general discussion of the issue, see especially Schlaifer 1940, 245–57; Kearns 1985, 192–95; 1989, 84–85; Parker 1996, 118–19. The pertinent decrees can be found in Meritt and Traill 1974, nos. 98 (Erechtheis); 193, 205, 226, 243 (Cecropis); 132, 261 (Hippothontis). Amynandrids as priests of Cecrops: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2388.8. Possible evidence that the priesthood of Acamas may also have remained gentilician after 508/7 is considered by Schlaifer (1940, 254).

20. Kearns explains elsewhere (1989, 85): "Presumably before 508/7 each of the eponymoi had received some cult on the old gentilician pattern. . . . What other cult could they have had, unless it was completely sporadic and unconnected? This pattern was plainly not abandoned totally; while it is possible that the priesthoods of some cults were transferred immediately to the tribes in 508/7, it is perhaps more likely that the changes occurred disparately during the course of the fifth century, for which we have no evidence, or even later." Cf. Schlaifer 1940, 251–57.

21. See especially Habicht 1956, 153–54; Lévêque and Vidal-Naquet 1996, 45–49; Rausch 1999, 64–67.

22. "[Cleisthenes] allowed the *genē*, the phratries, and the priesthoods each to continue in the manner sanctioned by tradition [kata ta patria]."

23. In fact, in the three known instances where families retained control of the cult of an eponymos in this fashion, none of the priests concerned would have been members of the tribes they now served. And perhaps this should not surprise us. Since an individual who served as the priest of his own tribal *epōnymos* would have acquired an instant influence for himself and his family within the new phyle, one suspects that a conscious effort was made to avoid this situation. If so, the appropriate measures will have been taken either when the

demes and trittyes were assigned to tribes or when the heroes were assigned to the phylai, whichever process came later.

24. Explicit visual evidence for the recasting of the heroes as erstwhile Athenian statesmen emerges only about a generation later, in ca. 480, when groups of the *epōnymoi* first begin to appear on Athenian vases, usually bearded and dressed in the staid, “civic” garb of the fifth century. For a summary of the iconography of the *epōnymoi*, including discussion of the vases in question, see Mattusch 1994.

25. For other references to the synoecism, see Charax, *FGrH* 103 F43; [Dem.] 59.75; Diod. 4.61.8–9; Dio Chrys. 45.13; Isoc. 10.35; Paus. 1.22.3, 6; Paus. 8.2.1; Philoch., *FGrH* 328 F94; Plut. *Thes.* 24; Xen. *Cyn.* 1.10. For discussion of the tradition, see especially Herter 1973, 1212–18; Moggi 1976, 44–81.

26. The earliest visual evidence for a tradition directly associated with the integrity of Attica may be a scene on a calyx krater from the late 480s (Acrop. 735; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 259.1). It features Pallas, Orneus, Lycus, and Nisus, the four sons of Pandion among whom the region was at one point divided. Aegeus later replaces Orneus in this scheme, a variant first alluded to in a fragment of Sophocles, possibly from his lost *Aegeus* (*TGF* F24).

27. Theseus in early epic: *Il.* 1.265; *Od.* 11.321–25, 631; Hes. *Aspis* 182; fr. 298 Merkelbach and West; cf. Plut. *Thes.* 20.1–2. The claim that Theseus was born in Troezen must be early, since it was never apparently challenged, even by the Athenians. Presumably, the tradition that his father was Poseidon also arose in Troezen, and it cannot be assumed that the alternative version, which assigned paternity to Aegeus, was Athenian in origin. Meanwhile, the descent to Hades with the Thessalian king Peirithoos apparently featured in the epic known as the *Minyas* (Paus. 10.28.2) and in a work of Hesiod (Paus. 9.31.5). An epic fragment (Hes. fr. 280 Merkelbach and West) in which Theseus explains to the deceased Meleager the rationale for the descent could well come from the latter. The abduction of Helen by the pair, a related event, may already have been known by the time of the *Iliad* (see 3.144) and was later featured in works by Alcman and Stesichorus (Paus. 1.14.4, 2.22.6). Since antiquity, suspicion of interpolation has surrounded Theseus’s appearances in early epic. See, e.g., Davison 1955; Walker 1995, 35–37. On the hero’s non-Athenian associations, see especially Herter 1939, 258–62. In the first chapter of his monograph on Theseus, Walker (1995) insists that he was always seen primarily as an Athenian.

28. Ceremonial commemoration of Thesean deeds was a feature of several older festivals, such as the Pyanopsia and Oschophoria, though it was surely not an original part of the program of these events. Parker (1996, 169) identifies a number of festivals that apparently “underwent an *interpretatio Theseana*” in later times. From a radically different perspective, Simon (1996) attempts to show that Thesean associations with various Attic festivals were ultimately Mycenaean in origin.

29. Many sources (see Wycherley 1957, 113–19) refer to “the Theseion” in Athens without any further qualification, suggesting that there was only one such sanctuary in the city itself. Koumanoudes (1976) argues that this precinct was distinct from the “sacred enclosure of Theseus” (the *Thēseōs sēkos* referred to at Paus. 1.17.2–3, 6) that contained the bones, but the case is not persuasive. A scholiast to Aeschin. 3.13 speaks of “two Theseia in the city,” though the passage is widely considered corrupt. Theseus was said to have handed over to Heracles all but four of the plots of land (*temenē*) he possessed, in gratitude for his safe delivery either from Hades or from King Aidoneus of the Molossians (Philoch., *FGrH* 328 F18; cf. E. *HF* 1328–33). The other three plots/shrines appear to have been located near the Long

Walls (Andoc. 1.45), in Piraeus (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2498) and at Kolonos Hippios (S. *OC* 1590–94; Paus. 1.30.4). For discussion of these sites and possible evidence for further shrines at Lakiadai and Phaleron, see Kearns 1989, 168–69. Pausanias (1.17.6) states that the Theseion in Athens was built by Cimon expressly to house the hero's bones. Peisistratus is reported by *AP* (15.4) to have disarmed the Athenians at a muster "in the Theseion" shortly after the battle at Pal-lene. However, the detail is incidental, contradicted by another source (see Polyaeus, *Strat.* 1.21.2), and most likely an anachronism based on knowledge of later practice (cf. Thuc. 6.61.2).

30. The Minotaur episode was far and away the most popular Thesean episode in archaic Greek art. See Steuben 1968, 34–35. Small figures with a bull's head and a man's body appear as cauldron decorations as early as the eighth century B.C. (Paris, Louvre C7286; Athens, NM 6678). From the seventh century, five gold relief plaques from Corinth (Berlin, Staatl. Mus. GI 332–36) certainly depict the episode, as does a shield band from Olympia (Olympia, B 969). The descent to Hades figures on another shield band from Olympia, from ca. 580 (Olympia, B 2198), while the abduction of Helen was among the multiple mythological scenes that decorated two later, well-known archaic artifacts, the chest of Cypselus (Paus. 5.19.2–3) and the throne of Apollo at Amyclae (Paus. 3.18.15).

31. Shapiro (1989, 143–49) suggests that Theseus was first elevated to national hero status in Athens during the Solonian era. But his attempts to identify various Thesean exploits as mythical reflexes of historical events from the period are very speculative, and the apparent absence of such exploits from Attic vase painting before the second quarter of the sixth century only weakens the case further. Among the earliest images of Theseus in Attic art are a pair of scenes on the François Vase of ca. 570 (Florence, Mus. Arch. 4209; *ABV* 76.1), in which he is seen battling the centaurs and leading what may be the famous "crane dance" on Delos.

32. For an overview of Athenian innovations in Thesean iconography during the period, see Neils 1987, 24–30. The Marathonian Bull episode may appear as early as ca. 530 on a black-figure amphora now in Paris (Cab. Méd. 174; *ABV* 315.2), while the combat with the sow enters the repertoire around a decade later (cf. the red-figure cup dated to ca. 520–510 from Cerveteri: Rome, Villa Giulia 20760; *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 83.14). Scenes of the abduction of Antiope, some of which feature Peirithoos (cf. Pindar fr. 176 Snell and Maehler), enjoyed a relatively brief vogue in Attic vase painting during ca. 520–490. One of the earliest images is on a red-figure cup now attributed to Euphronius (London, BM 1837.6–9.58 [E41]; *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 58.51). Another episode, the rescue of Theseus's mother, Aethra, from Troy by his sons, is first depicted in ca. 530 on an amphora in London (BM B173; *LIMC* I, s.v. "Aithra," no. 61). The letters AΘE on the shield of one of the two sons seems to indicate a new self-consciousness about the Athenian identity of Theseus and his family among local artists. Likewise, from the 550s on, the goddess Athena increasingly features in Athenian depictions of the Minotaur episode, an early example being the scene on a hydria in Leiden (Rijksmus. PC 47; *ABV* 104.126).

33. The fullest case for a Peisistratid promotion of Theseus is made by Herter (1936). Cf. Connor 1970, esp. 145–50; Shapiro 1989, 147–49; Tyrrell and Brown 1991, 161–65. Peisistratus may have been drawn initially to the Theseus figure by the hero's links with Delos, the site of the "crane dance," and may have cultivated an association with him as part of a larger effort to assert his own (or Athenian) preeminence in Ionian Greece (see Johansen 1945, 59–61; Herter 1973, 1142). The tyrant is said to have purified the island of burials (see

Hdt. 1.64.2; Thuc. 3.104.1) and organized the Delia festival (see Thuc. 3.104.3). Cf. the contemporary popularity of the “Delian Triad”—Apollo, Artemis, and Leto—in Attic art, well described by Shapiro (1989, 48–58).

34. So Boardman (1972, 58). Though he excludes certain categories of vessel from the reckoning, Boardman (1975, 2) calculates that Heracles appears on an astonishing 44 percent of Attic black-figure vases before 510. In a series of articles, Boardman (see esp. 1972, 1975, 1989) ascribes much of this popularity to Peisistratus’s efforts to cultivate a “direct identification” (1972, 65) between himself and Heracles. That Peisistratus sought some kind of general association with the hero seems beyond dispute. But he was not the first or the only Athenian leader to do so. Since the “Bluebeard temple,” where Heracles features prominently in one of the pediments, was most probably not a Peisistratid monument (see pp. 70–71 in chapter 2 above), it seems that links with Heracles, much like those with Athena, were keenly contested by the leading families of the day.

35. The debt to Heracles is acknowledged, wittingly or otherwise, in the occasional replacement of the sow by a boar in vase scenes (e.g., on an early red-figure cup in London [BM E36]) and in the memory that the bull wrestled by Theseus came not from Marathon but from Crete (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.7; Diod. 4.59.6; Hyg. *Fab.* 38). A similar confusion surrounds the name of the abducted Amazon queen (see Gantz 1993, 282–85). A rival tradition dating back at least to the time of Simonides (see Apollod. *Epit.* 1.16) recalled her name as Hippolyte not Antiope.

36. See chapter 7 for further discussion of the evolution of the Great Panathenaia.

37. Theseus’s connection with the Athenian royal house was surprisingly precarious. While there was an obvious appeal in claiming Poseidon as his father, the link to the royal bloodline had to come through the mortal Aegeus. Aegeus’s own insertion into the family tree as son of Pandion seems to have been a relatively late development (see Kearns 1989, 115–17). According to Plutarch (*Theis.* 13) and Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 3.15.5), Aegeus was only an adopted son of Pandion, prompting the later dispute over the throne between Theseus and the sons of Pallas, another son of Pandion.

38. A similar conclusion is reached by Kearns (1989, 117–19).

39. For a list of these vases, see *LIMC* VII, s.v. “Theseus,” nos. 32–53. Among the earliest are a pair of red-figure cups in Florence (Mus. Arch. 91456; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 108.27) and London (BM E36; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 115.3). For detailed treatment of the iconographic development of the cycle, see Neils 1987. A fifth new opponent, Periphetes, encountered near Epidaurus, does not seem to figure on the vases. With the possible exception of the combat with Kerkyon, all of the other new episodes also appear as individual scenes on vases soon after the first cycle vases are produced. A small number of cups dating from the decade before 510 and featuring more than one of the older stories, sometimes in combination with a scene of the younger Theseus fighting an unidentified adversary, might be seen as anticipations of the cycle cups proper (see Neils 1987, 34–36). The cycle deeds first appear in extant literature in the eighteenth ode of Bacchylides.

40. For the statue group and for the dedication featuring the Marathonian Bull, see p. 113 in chapter 4. The sculptures of the Athenian treasury are published in Coste-Messelière 1957. Deeds of Theseus more prominent than those of Heracles: see e.g., Boardman 1982, 4; Calame 1990, 404. Theseus may also have featured in the Amazonomachy depicted in the metope series on the east facade. The abduction of Antiope was certainly the subject of the west pediment of a slightly earlier building, the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at

Eretria—at the time, a close ally of the Athenians. According to Pausanias (10.11.4), the treasury in Delphi was built from the spoils of the battle of Marathon. But many believe that the structure's art and architecture point to a somewhat earlier date, just before or after 500 B.C. Recent advocates of this view include Schefold (1978, 231–32), Büsing (1994, esp. 123–26), and Rausch (1999, 129–30).

41. For the figures, see Boardman 1975, 3–4; 1989.

42. A similar conclusion is reached—with varying degrees of confidence—by, among others, Schefold (1946, 65), Brommer (1982, 67–68), Neils (1987, 149), Ostwald (1988, 324), Kearns (1989, 117), and Calame (1990, 416). For a thorough reexamination of the issue, yielding much the same final result, see Walker 1995, chap. 2.

43. On the political significance of the location of the new cycle deeds, see Nilsson 1986, 51–56; Rausch 1999, 90–91. Of course, the cultivation of Theseus during the Peisistratid period was “politically” motivated in a broad sense. But with the possible exception of the “crane dance” on Delos, his older deeds did not in themselves possess any particular political resonance.

44. Despite the antiquity of the Minotaur tradition, the story that Theseus failed to change the color of his sails upon returning from Crete and that Aegeus thus committed suicide is not attested before Simonides (fr. 550 *PMG*). The legend of Theseus's victory over one or more of the sons of his uncle Pallas, a kind of overture to the synoecism of Attica, is placed by Plutarch (*Thes.* 13) before the departure for Crete. Most sources, however, put it after Theseus's succession to the throne, and this is the version found in Euripides' *Hippolytus* (35), our earliest allusion to the tale.

45. The same qualification applies to Rausch's suggestion (1999, 94–99) that knowledge of Theseus's embellished career might have been disseminated initially through early dithyramb and tragedy and subsequently in the *Attika* of Pherecydes (see *FGrH* 3 F147–53). These media may certainly have helped to draw public attention to the hero's new prominence in Athenian history, but it is hard to see them as any kind of official mouthpiece of the state. The earliest reference to a *Theseid* is in Aristotle's *Poetics* (1451a20). For a summary of other ancient references, see Calame 1990, 452–53 n. 18. The most vigorous case for the existence of a Theseus epic in the late sixth century has been made by Schefold (1946). However, the idea is seriously doubted by most recent observers (see Ostwald 1988, 324–25; Kearns 1989, 117; Rausch 1999, 94–95). For a bibliography of earlier views, see Brommer 1982, 74 n. 19.

46. Mention of the Synoikia in ancient sources is almost invariably accompanied by reference to the synoecism (see, e.g., Charax, *FGrH* 103 F43; Plut. *Thes.* 24.4; Thuc. 2.15.2). Cf. Parker's very sensible comments (1996, 14 with n. 16) on attempts to interpret the festival otherwise. Plutarch (*Thes.* 24.4) tells us that it took place on 16 Hekatombaion (though he mistakenly calls the festival the “Metoikia”). According to a surviving portion of the late-fifth-century republication of the Athenian sacred calendar, a biennial sacrifice involving the sacrifice of a pair of young bullocks took place on this date and was paid for apparently out of a fund controlled by the four Ionian phylobasileis. On the preceding day, another ceremony, perhaps a *prothuma* (preliminary rite) for the Synoikia (see Ferguson 1936, 154–56), was similarly administered and included the sacrifice of a young ewe. The Ionian tribe G(e)leontes seems to have played a prominent role in both ceremonies, while a trittys of that tribe, the Leukotainioi (“men with white headbands”), participated in the sacrifice on 15 Hekatombaion. But since the text for events on the fol-

lowing day is incomplete, we cannot be sure that all four of the old tribes were not involved. Neither ceremony is named in the inscription, but because of their date, it is generally assumed that they together constituted a slightly more elaborate version of the annual Synoikia. Text of the inscription: Oliver 1935, 21, no. 2, 31-59; Sokolowski 1962, no. 10A, 31-58. For discussion of the text, see especially Ferguson 1936. Cf. also Parke 1977, 31-33.

47. IG I<sup>3</sup> 244 C16. Since, as Ferguson (1936, 156) notes, Skambonidai was only “an artificial subdivision of the *asty*” and presumably had no corporate existence prior to Cleisthenes’ reforms, its involvement with the Synoikia must have begun after 508/7.

48. Pollux (*Onom.* 8.109) records four successive name changes supposedly undergone by the tribes during the reigns of Cecrops, Cranaus, Erichthonius, and Erechtheus. The assignment of two toponyms referring to the coast in the first phase, along with two referring to the hinterland in the second, is presumably the product of an error in the transmission of the tradition. The earliest extant reference to the tradition is made by Apollodorus (*FGrH* 244 F185), who mentions the original names by which the tribes were known in the time of Cecrops. A presumption that the Ionian phylai were associated with particular areas of Attica also seems to underlie AP’s rather clumsy attempt (21.3) to explain how, if Cleisthenes had chosen simply to base his new expanded tribal system on the twelve old trittyes, the desired goal of “mixing” would not have been achieved.

49. Of course, the name *Leukotainioi* does not obviously refer to any particular Attic township. But the apparent lack of interest in establishing a canonical list of the Dodekapolis member states suggests that the number twelve was for some reason more important than the identity of the specific states involved (see Jacoby 1954a, 395-96). The most complete list is found among the fragments of Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F94), who reports only eleven secure names. Other sources that refer to the federation include Charax, *FGrH* 103 F43 *apud* Steph. Byz., s.v. *Athēnai*; *Etymologicum Genuinum*, s.v. *epakria khōra*; *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. *epakria khōra*; *Marm. Par.*, *FGrH* 239 A20; Steph. Byz., s.v. *epakria*; *Suda*, s.v. *epakria khōra*. Thucydides (2.15.1-2) seems to have been aware of a tradition of an early Attic federation, as Jacoby (1954a, 393) points out. He infers that the tradition was recorded by all Atthidographers “from Hellanikos downwards.”

50. See also Kearns 1989, 113.

51. So Busolt (1895, 82) and Jacoby (1954a, 393). The Athenians would predictably go on to claim that they themselves had originally exported the dodekapolis idea to Ionia when they first “colonized” the region. See Hellanicus, *FGrH* 323a F23. Ionian Dodekapolis: Hdt. 1.142-43, 145. For discussion of the history of this federation, see Roebuck 1955. Though often believed to date back to the time of the “Ionian migration,” the earliest secure evidence for the Dodekapolis refers to collective actions taken in the aftermath of Cyrus’s invasion of Lydia in ca. 546 B.C. The altar in the Panionion, where delegates from the twelve states convened, appears to derive from precisely this time (see Kleiner, Hommel, and Müller-Wiener 1967, 22-28).

52. Some kind of connection between the Ionian trittyes and the Dodekapolis has long been suspected. More than a century ago, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1893, 143) pronounced the federation an Atthidographic “Akt der Forschung,” motivated by the need to provide local origins for the twelve trittyes. See also Busolt and Swoboda 1926, 770. More recently, Hommel (1940) suggested that the trittyes might actually have been linear descendants of

the twelve ancient poleis. None of these authors was aware of the role played by the Leukotainioi at the Synoikia, and none suggested any connection with the festival.

53. This last point is developed further in chapter 9.

## CHAPTER 6

1. By the time of the battle of Marathon, the Athenians could field an army of around nine thousand to ten thousand men. In 480, the total number of Spartan *homoioi* available for service is reckoned by Herodotus (7.234.2) to have been around eight thousand, though these men were presumably better trained than their Athenian counterparts. We are pitifully ignorant about military organization elsewhere in Greece in the late archaic period. But it is quite possible that when Cleisthenes originally proposed his reforms, only the Spartans had permanent structures in place for mobilizing a citizen army.

2. The primary source for these events is Herodotus (5.74–77). According to the historian, Cleomenes' motivation for devising the three-pronged assault was ultimately personal: he felt insulted by the treatment he had received from the Athenians when he had attempted to install an oligarchy under Isagoras in 508/7. More realistically, when the Spartans later contemplated a second allied assault on Attica after the defeat of the Thebans and Chalcidians, Herodotus (5.91.1) notes that the growing influence of Athens moved them to propose the reestablishment of the Peisistratid tyranny. On the annexation of the border territory between Attica and Boeotia, see also pp. 182–84 in chapter 8 below.

3. According to *AP* (22.2), the board of ten generals was not established until the archonship of Hermokreon (501/0). Some scholars (see, e.g., Rhodes 1981, 264–66; 1983, 204; Ostwald 1988, 332; Manville 1990, 203–4) have taken this to mean that the new form of military organization as a whole was not introduced until the last year of the sixth century and hence was not in force when the Athenians defeated the Thebans and Chalcidians. While tenable, this view seems overcautious. As we shall see, the two commemorations associated with those victories are laden with the values and priorities of the new order; a fundamental presupposition of both is that the army that fought the battles was representative of the entire citizen community. In any case, as Bradeen (1955, 26) long ago pointed out, the reform mentioned by *AP* need only have involved a change in the way the ten generals were appointed. From 508/7 to 501/0 it was the responsibility of each tribe to choose their own general; thereafter, they were appointed as a group by national election.

4. Tribal *taxeis*: e.g., Hdt. 6.111.1; Thuc. 3.87.3, 6.98.4. On the introduction of the board of generals, see n. 3 above. The polemarch appears to have had at least a nominal supreme command of the army down to ca. 490. Callimachus, who held the office at the time of the battle of Marathon, was given the casting vote when the ten generals were divided over where to confront the invading Persians. The posthumous monument erected in his honor on the Acropolis presumably assigned him some credit for the victory (see *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 784; Raubitschek 1949, no. 13; Meiggs and Lewis 1988, no. 18).

5. See especially Bicknell 1969; 1972, 18–21; Effenterre 1976; Siewert 1982. Assuming the number of Athenians at the battle of Marathon to be around nine thousand, Bicknell (1972, 20–21 n. 67) infers from references to *lokhoi* of three hundred men (Hdt. 9.21.3; Thuc. 6.100.1) that each of the ten tribal *taxeis* was made up of three *lokhoi*, one from each constituent trittys. Accepting this idea of the trittys/*lokhos*, Siewert (1982, 139–59) goes on to propose that demes were originally assigned to trittytes in such a way as to ensure that each

shared a common road to Athens, thus facilitating the mobilization process. But cf. Rhodes 1983; Ostwald 1988, 315 n. 19.

6. See also French 1961; Bicknell 1972, 19; Manville 1990, 203. Use of mercenaries by the Peisistratids: *AP* 15.2, 17.4, 19.5; *Hdt.* 1.64, 5.63.

7. So argue, for example, Bicknell (1972, 19–20), Andrewes (1982, 366), and Siewert (1982, 154). Frost (1984, 284–85) suggests that the phratry register (*phraterikon grammateion*) might have served as a muster roll in the years before 510, though he concedes that this scenario is purely hypothetical.

8. See also Effenterre 1976; Rausch 1999, 249–52.

9. Involvement with Sigeion: *Hdt.* 5.94–95; cf. A. *Eum.* 397–403. Wars with Aegina and Eleusis: e.g., *Hdt.* 5.82–88; *Thuc.* 2.15.1. First Sacred War: Aeschin. 3.107–12; *Marm. Par.*, *FGrH* 239 A37; Paus. 10.37.5–8; *Plut. Sol.* 11. Robertson (1978) has argued that this war was entirely “mythical.” Even if it did take place, it is probable that Alcmeon, the leader of the Athenian contingent, was in exile at the time (see pp. 27–29 in chap. 1 above) and, thus, that the force at his command cannot have been “officially” mustered by the Athenian state. Salamis conflict: e.g., *Dem.* 19.252; *Diog. Laert.* 1.46–48; Paus. 1.40.5. Capture of Nisaea: *AP* 14.1; *Hdt.* 1.59.4. Miltiades’ expedition to the Thracian Chersonese: *Hdt.* 6.36. According to Herodotus, Miltiades took with him “every Athenian who wanted to take part in the expedition” [*Athēnaiōn panta ton boulomenon metekhein tou stolou*].

10. Cylonian conspiracy: *Hdt.* 5.71; *Thuc.* 1.126.3–6; *Plut. Sol.* 12.1–2. The coup of 561/0: *AP* 14.1; *Hdt.* 1.59; *Plut. Sol.* 30.3. The rival tradition that the men with clubs numbered some three hundred (*schol. Pl. Rep.* 566B; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 1.21.3) was perhaps invented to make the Athenian capitulation seem somewhat less abject. Pallene: *Hdt.* 1.61–63; cf. *AP* 15.2, 17.3. Herodotus describes the Athenians as coming out from the city “with their whole army” [*panstratiēi*]. But as Frost (1984, 291) points out, the term used may be non-technical, equivalent simply to the term meaning “en masse” [*pandēmei*] used by Thucydides (1.126.7) in his account of Cylon’s coup. For speculation about military organization under the Peisistratids, see p. 90 and 242 n. 9 above. Lavelle (1993, 109–114) argues persuasively that Athenians may have served as bodyguards (*doruphoroi*) during the tyranny. But it does not necessarily follow that they also served the tyrants as “regular” soldiers. We have detailed reports of the forces used by the Peisistratids in two engagements, the battle of Pallene and the resistance to Cleomenes in 511/0. In both cases, there is clearly a heavy reliance on non-Athenians, whether mercenaries or allies from other states. The “wars” referred to by Thucydides (6.54.5) remain largely a mystery.

11. There remains the somewhat complicated case of the defeat of Thebes by *hoi Athēnaioi* (*Hdt.* 6.108) that led to the storied alliance with Plataea. Thucydides’ (3.68.5) claim that the Spartan capture of Plataea in 427 came “in the ninety-third year” after the alliance would put the battle with Thebes back in 519 B.C. However, scholars have long sought to lower this date to the last decade of the sixth century. There is no mention of the Peisistratids in Herodotus’s account of the events that led to the alliance, and the Athenian actions look to be more characteristic of the policies pursued in the years immediately following the fall of the tyranny. Shrimpton (1984) may therefore be right to assign the battle to ca. 506 (when the Athenians are known to have fought the Thebans on more than one occasion) and the alliance to 479 B.C.—emending “in the ninety-third year” to “in the fifty-third year” (i.e., ἐνενηκοστῷ το πεντηκοστῷ) in the text of Thucydides.

12. So maintains Rhodes (1981, 264), against Hammond (1973, 346–51), who argues for annually elected officials.

13. The epitaph is found only in this source (*Anth. Pal.* 16.26), where it is attributed to Simonides (fr. 87 Diehl). Cf. Peek 1955, no. 1; Page 1981, 189–91; Clairmont 1983, 88–89, no. 2; Rausch 1999, 226–27.

14. It is still unclear exactly when this repatriation became the norm. Pausanias (1.29.7) speaks of a grave in the Demosion Sema for those who fell in a conflict with Aegina “before the campaign of the Mede” [prin ē strateusai ton Mēdon]. But Athenian casualties at the battles of Marathon (see Thuc. 2.34), Salamis (see Clairmont 1983, 102–3 n. 10a), and Plataea (Hdt. 9.85; Paus. 9.2.4) were certainly buried in situ, as perhaps were those at Artemisium, Mycale, and Sestos (see Clairmont 1983, 9), suggesting that the practice of repatriation did not become standardized until after 479. If the word *prōtoi* (first) at Paus. 1.29.4 has a temporal, rather than a spatial, sense, it may imply that those who fell at Drabescus (ca. 465) were the first casualties to be treated in this fashion (see, e.g., Jacoby 1944). Noting that Pausanias also saw a memorial for the war dead of Eurymedon (early 460s?), Clairmont (1983, 13, 125–27) argues that repatriation began “in the late 470s or the early years of Kimon’s rule.” Stupperich (1994, esp. 93) believes that state burials in Athens were a Cleisthenic innovation. For the restoration from newly discovered fragments of a commemorative monument for the Marathonomakhai that once stood in the Demosion Sema, see Rausch 1999, 234–41.

15. So, for example, Jacoby (1945, 159–60), Peek (1955, no. 1), Clairmont (1983, 88–89), and Rausch (1999, 226–27). A number of scholars (see, e.g., Friedländer 1948, 5 n. 6) have challenged this consensus on the grounds that it violates contemporary conventions by naming the battlefield without identifying the deceased. But Page (1981, 189–90) well demonstrates that the convention was not rigidly followed. Against Page’s view (1981, 190) that the epitaph memorialized the Chalcidians who fell in the battle, see Clairmont 1983, 88–89.

16. Both Solon, who was not a casualty of war (see Ael. *VH* 8.16; Plut. *Sol.* 32), and Tellus, who fell in an ancient battle with Eleusis (see Hdt. 1.30), supposedly received public burials. But there is no evidence for any earlier mass war graves set up by the state. Even if there is some truth to the Tellus tradition, it need be no more than the exception that proves the rule (see Clairmont 1983, 8). Those who believe the Euripus *polyandria* to be the first public mass war grave set up by the Athenians include Jacoby (1945, 177) and Clairmont (1983, 88). A number of archaic Attic funerary epigrams for individual warriors are known, all of them apparently from private contexts (see, e.g., Peek 1955, nos. 1224, 1226, 2042).

17. Stupperich 1994, 100.

18. See also Jacoby 1945, 159–60 n. 15, on the significance of this word and its association with the new regime. He notes: “the battle was the first military feat of the new democratic army and the poetical epitaph was a new device which is stressed purposefully by δημοσίαι.”

19. Page (1981, 90) believes *damaō* here refers to the “defeat” of the tomb’s occupants. But as he himself concedes, this reading would make the Euripus epigram unique among all known public military epitaphs.

20. Forms of *kheō* in the *Iliad* most commonly refer to the “spreading” of mist, cloud, darkness, or fire (e.g., 2.19; 5.696; 16.123, 344; 20.421). It is also used to suggest the vastness of the snow drifts sent by Zeus (12.284) and of the pile of dead sheep killed by a lion (5.141).

At *Od.* 12.14, as in the Euripus epigram, it describes the “piling up” of a grave mound, in this case for the unfortunate Elpenor.

21. As Page (1981, 191) points out, the image of a “cloud of war” recalls the *akheos nephele* (“cloud of sorrow”) that overcomes both Hector after the death of Podes (*Il.* 17.591) and Achilles after the death of Patroclus (18.22). At *Il.* 17.453ff., Athena is sent by Zeus to rouse the Greeks to battle draped in a mantle of cloud that is expressly compared by the poet to the rainbows dispatched by her father as a portent of war. At *Il.* 5.308, 7.265, and 21.404, forms of the adjective *trēkhus* characterize the huge rocks thrown by opponents at Diomedes, Hector, and Athena. The only other occurrences of the word in the *Iliad* also connote “rockiness,” referring to the “rugged” topography of the towns Aigilips (2.633) and Olizon (2.717).

22. The first inscribed Attic grave stelai date from ca. 600 B.C., a very early example being SEG X 450 (see Guarducci in Richter 1961, 155, fig. 191). For a summary of the evolution of the grave stele in Attica, see Richter 1944, 3–10.

23. Text: Friedländer 1948, no. 80; Jeffery 1962, no. 57. The corresponding kore statue, mentioned on p. 25 in chapter 1 above, is generally dated to around the mid–sixth century. For other examples of sepulchral inscriptions in which the dead “speak,” see Friedländer 1948, nos. 33, 76, 84.

24. SEG X 431; Friedländer 1948, no. 135; Peek 1955, no. 1226; Richter 1961, no. 36, fig. 203; Jeffery 1962, no. 34. For other examples of epitaphs for dead warriors from sixth-century Attica, see Friedländer 1948, nos. 59, 82, 87.

25. Expressions of this kind would remain a staple of Athenian military epitaphs in the decades to come, as in the first line of the Eurymedon memorial, where the deceased are said to have “lost their splendid youth” [aglaon olesan hebēn] (Peek 1955, no. 13; Clairmont 1983, 138–39, no. 21c).

26. The ideal receives its most well-known articulation in the funeral oration assigned to Pericles by Thucydides (esp. 2.42–45). As Rusten notes (1989, 161), the fallen are presented there as having made “a complex, dignified and rational *decision* to offer their lives.” On this passage in the context of the funeral oration genre as a whole, see Loraux 1986, 98–104. The more general theme of dying for one’s country can be found as early as the poetry of Tyrtaeus (e.g., fr. 12 West), though in this case, self-sacrifice seems to be represented less as a cause for celebration than as a means of avoiding shameful public reproach.

27. In Homer (*Il.* 16.457, 675; cf. *Od.* 12.14), burial “by tomb and by stele” [tumbōi te stelēi te] is described as “the dead’s desert” [geras thanontōn]. Tomb of Ilos: *Il.* 10.415; 11.166, 371–72; 24.349. On earlier elite tumuli in Attica, see Kübler 1959; Morris 1987, 85–86, 128–31.

28. See also Whitley 1994.

29. One of the most distinctive features of these arrangements was the casualty list, which recorded the occupants of Athenian war graves by tribe. The earliest known example of such a list was set up on the island of Lemnos and dates from the first few years of the fifth century (*IG XII Suppl.* no. 337; Hdt. 6.137–40; Clairmont 1983, 89–90, no. 3; Rausch 1999, 224–25), raising the possibility that a similar document may have been part of the Euripus memorial. Similar lists adorned the *soros* at Marathon (see Paus. 1.32.3), suggesting that the practice was standardized by the end of the 490s at the latest.

30. Format of the state funeral: Thuc. 2.34. The associated program of athletic contests, the *epitaphios agōn*, is discussed by Clairmont (1983, 22–28), who believes that it was probably part of the funeral ceremony from the very beginning.

31. Troubling persistence of an aristocratic ethos: especially Loraux 1986, 180–202, 217–20, 334–35. “Democratic” appropriation of aristocratic values: e.g., Seager 1982; Ober 1989, 290–91; Connor 1994, 38.

32. This conclusion is generally borne out by Stupperich’s 1994 paper on the iconography of Athenian war graves in the classical period. Though working from rather slim evidence, Stupperich concludes: “Those fallen in war, although not called heroes, were treated like heroes. One of the ways this was accomplished was the creation and adornment of state burial. The iconography for these burials was taken, at least partly, from that used by the archaic nobility” (90). He goes on to raise the interesting question of whether an alternative, more intrinsically “democratic” imagery would have been conceivable at this time. He believes it would not, and this is surely true in the reductive sense that no innovation in any field of endeavor can ever be entirely original. At the same time, there can be no question that the values that sustained and were sustained by Athenian mortuary arrangements for fallen citizen soldiers required some considerable modification of earlier practices; to this extent, they were new. Given that the premises behind classical Athenian practices were shaped in the last decade of the sixth century, a time when links with the distant past were actively sought and cultivated in many areas of public life, it would probably be a mistake to underestimate the degree of conscious choice involved in the design of appropriate mortuary forms.

33. Unlike the Euripus epitaph, the original inscription on the Acropolis monument has survived, albeit in fragmentary form: see *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 501; Friedländer 1948, no. 145; Raubitschek 1949, no. 168; Meiggs and Lewis 1988, no. 15A; Clairmont 1983, 91–92, no. 2A. For discussion of the crux at ἄχρυσόεντι in the first line, which is known only through the literary tradition, see Page 1981, 193. The replacement inscription, though similarly fragmentary, has also survived (see Raubitschek 1949, no. 173; Meiggs and Lewis 1988, no. 15B) and is cited in several ancient sources (e.g., *Anth. Pal.* 6.343; Diod. 10.24; Hdt. 5.77). For some reason, it reverses the order of the two hexameters. The later monument, perhaps like the original, occupied a site “on the left-hand side as you enter the *propylaia*” (Hdt. 5.77). Its letter forms suggest that it was put up in the middle years of fifth century, perhaps in the mid-450s, after the recent success over the Thebans at Oenophyta (see Raubitschek 1949, 203–4), or in the 440s, as part of the general program of reconstruction on the Acropolis. The fetters referred to in the epigram were hung on a nearby wall and were still apparently visible in Herodotus’s day, despite some fire damage.

34. To convey a sense of the vast scale of the Greek army at Troy, a simile at *Il.* 2.87 compares the constituent contingents to *ethnea* (“swarms”) of bees. See also, e.g., *Il.* 2.459, 464, 469; *Il.* 2.73.

35. See, e.g., Snodgrass 1964, 159–63; Greenhalgh 1973, 19–39. Webster (1955, 44–47) doubts whether the use of chariots in Late Geometric Greece extended beyond racing. Anderson (1965) draws on British and Cyrenaic evidence to argue that Homeric descriptions of chariot warfare may reflect eighth-century realities. But cf. Greenhalgh 1973, 14–17.

36. For an overview of the range of this engagement, see the essays in Hägg 1983. For a general discussion of the “use of the past” during the period, see Whitley 1995. Reuse of Mycenaean tombs: Coldstream 1976; Whitley 1995; Antonaccio 1998. Imitation or adaptation of Bronze Age structures at Thermon, Koukounaries, Keos, Tiryns, and Argos: Hurwit 1985, 120–21. Attempts at Argos and Eretria to reproduce Cyclopean masonry: Wright 1982; Themelis 1983, 157; Antonaccio 1992. “Mycenaeanizing” bronze panoply of the late eighth century from Argos: Courbin 1957, esp. 340–67.

37. Evidence from Linear B tablets suggests that the palace at Knossos had an extensive fleet of chariots at its disposal under the Myceneans, though the terrain in Crete and Greece would surely have limited the vehicle's utility in any age. Generally on the use of chariots in the Bronze Age, see Littauer 1972; Crouwel 1981. On art and artifacts associated with chariots in Geometric and archaic Greece, see Hill 1974. Homeric misunderstandings of the nature of chariot warfare: Greenhalgh 1973, 19–39. In the *Iliad*, the chariot is generally seen as little more than a grandiose form of horse, allowing the hero to arrive in style at the battlefield before the real combat takes place on foot.

38. Sinos (1998, 74–78) discusses the divine-heroic resonance of the chariot and chariot procession in archaic Attic art as background to her analysis of the Phye ceremony. As she notes, in art as in ceremony, “the chariot procession effects a dissolution of the normal boundaries that distinguish mortals from gods and heroes” (78).

39. On the two monuments as a “true precedent” for fifth-century commemorations, see Jacoby 1945, 176. To single out just one example, we might note the set of three herms erected in the Agora to mark Cimon's victory over the “sons of the Medes” [Mēdōn paidēs] at Eion in ca. 475 B.C. (see Jacoby 1945, 185–211; Clairmont 1983, 149–54, no. 13A), where the action is explicitly compared to the efforts of Menestheus and his Athenian force at Troy.

## CHAPTER 7

1. The remark was politically motivated. Demosthenes' opponent Eubulus controlled the *theōrika*, a fund of public money that was originally designated to help poorer citizens attend major festivals, such as the Dionysia, but that latterly had come to be used to underwrite a wide range of public works. Demosthenes wanted to end the practice of assigning public surpluses to this fund instead of leaving them available to finance military ventures like the war over Amphipolis.

2. Alternatively, the Panathenaia may originally have been “the festival of Panathena” (see Davison 1958, 23 with n. 2). There is, however, no evidence that Athena was ever styled thus. The names of Greek festivals (e.g., *ta Panathēnaia*) are typically plural in form, but it sounds more natural in English to speak of them in the singular, and I follow this practice throughout. Unless otherwise noted, I use the term *Panathēnaia* as did the ancients (see Davison 1958, 23), to refer to the penteteric celebration, not to its smaller, annual counterpart. The bibliography for the festival is extensive. The more significant works include Mommsen 1898 (41–159), Deubner 1932 (22–35), Ziehen 1949, Davison 1958, Parke 1977 (33–50), Simon 1983 (55–72), and Neils 1992c and 1996b.

3. The most valuable single item of evidence we have for the many athletic contests staged at the Panathenaia is an extensive, if incomplete, list of prizes awarded to victors, dating from ca. 370 (IG II<sup>2</sup> 2311; Neils 1992a, 16, fig. 1). The best source for the participants in the procession remains what survives of the Parthenon frieze. See especially Brommer 1977 and, for illustrations, Robertson and Frantz 1975. Even if the rendering of the event on the frieze is decidedly oblique or allusive, those scholars who have argued that the subject is something other than the Panathenaic procession (see, e.g., Connelly 1996) still fail to persuade. Cf. the analyses by Kardara (1961), Kroll (1979), Castriota (1992, 184–229), Osborne (1994b), Harrison (1996), Neils (1996a), and Maurizio (1998).

4. For the date, see Procl. *In Ti.* 9B; schol. Pl. *Rep.* 327A. Neils's reconstruction (1992a, 15–17) of the daily order of events at the festival is plausible. She believes it to have begun

with the musical and rhapsodic contests on 23 Hekatombaion, ending a week later on 30 Hekatombaion with the award ceremonies and the feasting.

5. Parker (1996, 91) calls the Panathenaic procession “the supreme example in the Greek world of civic pageantry, of a society on display before itself and the rest of Greece.” But the procession did not represent Athenian society in any straightforward fashion. See the stimulating discussion by Maurizio (1998).

6. Maurizio (1998) would downplay the political character of the procession, primarily because the processants as a group were not a representative sample of the citizen body: the elite are overrepresented; the thetes feature little, if at all; and many in the *pompē* were technically “outsiders” (women, metics, allies, and perhaps slaves). This understanding of the “political” seems to be too literal and narrowly constitutional. I also do not see any strong support for her claim that the vision of Athenian society on display in the procession “challenged,” in a meaningful way, the prevailing democratic order. There was nothing politically problematic about the inclusion of the “outsiders.” One of the procession’s conceits was surely that all these various groups willingly embraced the roles assigned to them by a society that regarded them as less than full members. Likewise, in the “imaginary” Athens of the Panathenaia and the funeral orations, so well described by Loraux (1986), all male citizens were part of a collective elite, regardless of their economic and social position. Even if genuine inequalities of wealth and status were underscored by the procession, the flaunting of privilege did not necessarily threaten the notion of the “collective rule of the demos,” as long as the privileged were seen to serve the common interest.

7. In the surviving prize inscription (see n. 3), all events reserved for Athenians are grouped under the heading “[contests] for warriors” [polemistēriois].

8. The foundation legend is discussed in some detail on pp. 174–77 later in this chapter. For speculation on the character of the Panathenaia before the 560s, see Davison 1958, 25–26; Brelich 1969, 312–48; Robertson 1985; 1992, 90–119. Simon (1996) believes that the festival originated in the Bronze Age. Athena and the Acropolis in the Homeric epics: *Il.* 2.546–51; *Od.* 7.80–81. A survey of the Acropolis material record from the later Bronze Age to the early fifth century can be found in chapter 4 above.

9. See pp. 72–73, 106–8.

10. In later times, the peplos ceremony was part of both the annual and the penteteric versions of the Panathenaia. An oversized facsimile of the peplos was used as a sail on the ceremonial ship that was added to the procession of the Great Panathenaia at some point during the fifth century, perhaps soon after the Persian Wars. For discussion, see Barber 1992, which draws on the work of Mansfield (1985). Panathenaia as a commemoration of Athena’s role in the Gigantomachy: schol. Ael. Arist. 13.189.4–5 (3.323 Dindorf); Vian 1952, 103–4, 255–59; Pinney 1988. On the first appearance of Gigantomachy scenes on Attic vases and the likely association with the peplos ceremony, see Shapiro 1989, 38–40. More generally, on the sudden popularity of the striding Athena image, see Shapiro 1989, 27–40; Shapiro believes that a further stimulus here may have been the installation on the Acropolis of a predecessor of Phidias’s later Athena Promakhos statue. Among the very earliest prize vases is the Burgon amphora of ca. 560 (London, BM 130; *ABV* 89.1; Shapiro 1989, pl. 6a).

11. For general discussion of the transformation of the Panathenaia in the 560s, see, e.g., Davison 1958, 23–29; Kyle 1987, 24–29; Shapiro 1989, 18–21, 40; Neils 1992a, 20–21. A series of three mid-sixth-century inscriptions from the Acropolis (Raubitschek 1949, nos. 326–28) appear to commemorate early performances of the Great Panathenaia. Though

none mentions the name of the festival, each one records that sacred officials [hieropoioi] “made” [epoiēsan] a *dromos* (racetrack?) for Athena. Two of the inscriptions (nos. 326–27) go on to state that the same officials dedicated an *agōn* (games) to the goddess, and one of these (no. 326) notes that the officials in question were the “first” [prōtoi] to do this. In Jerome’s Latin version of Eusebius’s *Chronikon*, the entry for the year 566/5 (= Ol. 53.3–4 [102a–b Helm]) records simply that “athletic games, known as the Panathenaia, were held” [agon gymnicus, quem Panathenaeon vocant, actus]. Also assigning this or a similar development to the mid–sixth century are Marcellinus (*Vit. Thuc.* 3, a rather corrupt passage that apparently cites Pherecydes), who claims that the Panathenaia was founded [etethē] in the archonship of Hippocleides (cf. Hdt. 6.127–29), and a scholium to the *Panathenaicus* of Aelius Aristides (13.189.4–5 [3.323 Dindorf]), which credits Peisistratus with instituting the Great Panathenaia [ta de megala [sc. Panathēnaia] Peisistratos epoiēsen].

12. Scenes on the prize amphorae are the most reliable guide to the contents of the Panathenaic program in the archaic and early classical periods. Even if the images on these vases did not necessarily represent the events for which they were awarded, artists as a rule restricted themselves to painting only those contests for which amphorae were awarded at the Panathenaia. Hamilton (1996) notes only five possible exceptions to this rule, none of them straightforward. “Pseudo-Panathenaics” betray their noncanonical status in a number of ways, of which two may be said to be most definitive: they are often distinctly smaller than the genuine article (usually under fifty centimeters high, while prize vases are almost all over sixty centimeters), and they lack the official inscription *tōn Athēnēthen athlōn* (“[one] of the prizes from Athens”). See Shapiro 1989, 32–36; Hamilton 1996. The Burgon amphora depicts a two-horse racing chariot (*sunōris*), while an early pseudo-Panathenaic in London (BM B144; *ABV* 307.59; Shapiro 1989, pl. 12a) shows a horse race. The footrace is shown on a prize vase of similar date in Halle (Inv. 560; *ABV* 120; *DABF*, pl. 17.1). For mid-sixth-century depictions of other contests, including boxing and wrestling, on Siana Cups, see Brijder 1985. Brijder (249–51) emphasizes the “enormous” interest of the C Painter and his colleague the Taras Painter in athletic subjects during the years ca. 565–560, an interest Brijder is “tempted” to relate to contemporary Panathenaic developments.

13. Plutarch (*Per.* 13.11) seems to imply that musical contests were an innovation of the Periclean era. But Shapiro (1992) argues persuasively that they were introduced at or near the time the Great Panathenaia was founded. Cf. Davison 1958, 36–41. Early illustrations of musical contests are found on a number of vases from the 540s. Aulode: New York, MM 1989.281.89; Neils 1992c, 155, cat. no. 18. Aulete: Austin, 1980.32; Neils 1992c, 155, cat. 17. Kitharode (?): San Antonio, 86.134.40; Neils 1992c, 156, cat. 20. Kitharist: London, BM B139; Shapiro 1992, 66, fig. 43.

14. In the pseudo-Platonic dialogue that bears his name (228b; cf. Lyc. 1.102), Hipparchus is credited with laying down the regulations for the performance of the Homeric poems at the Panathenaia. The pertinent literary and ceramic evidence is discussed by Shapiro (1992, 72–75; 1998). An early scene of rhapsodic competition can be found on a pseudo-Panathenaic from the 540s that is in Liverpool (56.19.18; Shapiro 1992, 74, figs. 51a–b).

15. Cf. schol. Ael. Arist. 13.189.4–5 (3.323 Dindorf), where the Lesser Panathenaia, apparently founded in the time of Erichthonius, is said to be the older [arkhaiotera] form of the festival.

16. Jacoby (1954b, 507) is characteristically forthright on the reliability of the Aelius Aristides scholium, dismissing it as “a pure autoschediasm” that is “of no value for the history of the Panathenaia.” For more detailed discussion of the political situation in Athens in ca. 561–545, see pp. 67–76 in chapter 2 above.

17. As Morgan (1993) has argued, “the formalized framework of pan-Hellenic cult activity” emerged only in the early sixth century—the result, Morgan suggests, of efforts by states to regulate the actions of aristocrats at the major sanctuaries. For the influence of the younger Panhellenic games on the format of the Great Panathenaia, see also Davison 1958, 26. The date of the first Olympic Games continues to be a subject of some debate. Mallwitz (1988), a recent director at Olympia, believed that the festival was established in ca. 700 B.C. However, it would probably be anachronistic to suppose that it would have yet possessed either the Panhellenic reach or the highly structured program of athletic contests that we see in later times. Ritual garment offerings may be Mycenaean in origin. See Barber 1992, 103–4. Ceremonies known to have featured such offerings include those at festivals for Hera at Argos and Apollo at Amyclae. See Barber 1992, 106, citing Mansfield 1985, 443. Pausanias (5.16.5–6) reports a tradition that would date the foundation of the Heraia to the earlier 580s (the forty-eighth Olympiad). As Golden (1998, 129–30) notes, that Khloris, a Theban, was a victor at the first Heraia (see Paus. 5.16.4) suggests that the festival was Panhellenic from the start.

18. Even in its early days, the Great Panathenaia seems to have succeeded in attracting non-Athenian contestants from the Greek mainland and beyond. See, e.g., Neils 1992b, 48–50; Golden 1998, 165–66. By the fourth century, non-Athenians appear to have won most of the open events. See *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2313–17; Tracy 1991, 138; Tracy and Habicht 1991, 197. Kyle (1996) believes the introduction of valuable awards consciously recalled the tradition of prize giving at aristocratic funeral games, as seen, for example, in *Iliad* 23. But, as he adds, where the prizes at the funeral games of Patroclus were simply recycled prestige items, the Athenians took the novel step of creating “self-declaratory prizes of material and symbolic value.”

19. The history of the name of the festival is considered in some detail on pp. 174–77 later in this chapter. The only possible evidence for a military presence at this time comes in a scene on a band cup from the 550s, which is now in a private collection in London (Simon 1983, pll. 16.2, 17.2). Here, a sacrificial procession is seen moving toward an altar, where a priestess flanked by a statue of Athena awaits. The processants include offering bearers of various kinds, musicians, a horseman, and a small group of hoplites. The procession may be thought to take place on the Acropolis, and the offerings appear to be for Athena. But there are no unambiguous markers of the Panathenaia, such as the peplos, and the statue is not the xoanon of Athena Polias but an armed Promakhos type. If this is the Panathenaic *pompē* and not some generic or composite procession, why did the artist not make the identification more explicit? Those who favor an association with the Panathenaia include Straten (1995, 14–18) and Maurizio (1998, 301–2). Shapiro appears to do the same at one point (1989, 29–30) but seems less certain later (1992, 54). Simon (1983, 63) resists any such identification, describing the scene simply as “an amusing procession in honor of Athena.”

20. The two accounts are discussed by, among others, Mommsen (1898, 101–1 n. 5, 144–45); Day and Chambers (1962, 20–21); Gomme, Andrewes, and Dover (1970, 335–36); Rhodes (1981, 210); and Robertson (1992, 115–16). Thucydides’ (2.34) claim about the anomalous character of the Marathon burial shows that he was quite capable of erring on rela-

tively recent matters, even when a modest level of research might have helped him avoid the mistake. Assembly decree as evidence for the claim in *AP* 18.4; Mommsen 1898, 101–2 n. 5. Cf. Thuc. 6.54.7, where the reference to the extension made to the Altar of the Twelve Gods by “the demos of the Athenians” was also based presumably on an inscription commemorating the initiative.

21. On the placement of the Gigantomachy in the west pediment, see Childs 1994, 3–4; Childs draws on Lapalus’s “principle” (1947, 373–85) whereby, if the two schemes are combined, a hieratic scheme is generally used in the east pediment and a narrative scheme in the west.

22. For a photograph (with English translation) of the inscription, see Neils 1992a, 16. Johnston (1987, 127) restores the entry for the *apobatēs* prizes between those for the horse race and the race in armor in the section that deals with the open events. The *anthippasia* is first attested on a fourth-century relief base signed by Bryaxis (Athens, NM 1733; Tzachou-Alexandri 1989, 320–21, no. 105). It probably was not introduced until after the formal establishment of the Athenian cavalry in the later fifth century (see Bugh 1988, 59–60). For discussion of the event, see Reed 1998, 56–60.

23. Pelike by the Theseus Painter: San Antonio, 86.134.157; *Para.* 257; Neils 1992c, 177, cat. no. 48. Skyphos from Thasos: Poursat 1968. Poursat offers a helpful survey of the artistic evidence for the pyrrhic dance.

24. On the *euandria*, see Crowther 1985a; Reed 1987; 1998, 31–37; Kyle 1992, 95–96; Boegehold 1996, 97–103. The association with shield juggling arises from a reference in *AP* (60.3; cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2311.75) to the award of shields to victors in the event and from scenes on a pair of vases that have been thought to depict the *euandria*: a mid-sixth-century amphora of Panathenaic shape in Paris (Cab. Méd. 243; Neils 1994, 154, fig. 54) and a prize vase from the early fifth century that was formerly in the collection of Nelson Bunker Hunt (Neils 1992c, 175, cat. no. 46). While it is hard to know what to make of the former scene, which shows a man with two shields jumping onto a horse’s back, the latter almost certainly shows preparations for a different event, the *hoplitodromos*, or race in armor (see Neils 1994, 154–55). There is no evidence that prize vases were awarded to victors in the team events, and given that teams were competing for the honor of their tribes and did not need extra incentives to participate, it is hard to believe that such vases ever were awarded. A very different interpretation of the *euandria* has recently been proposed by Boegehold (1996, 97–103), who tries to equate it with the Panathenaic choral contest alluded to by Lysias (21.1–2, 4). In support, he would emend the obscure *prōtophorein* in Athen. 13.565 to read *prōtokhorein*, thus making “dancing in the front rank” one of the principal requirements of the *euandria*. He also suggests that the group of seven draped figures seen in one-half of the relief on the so-called Atarbos Base (Acrop. 1338; Boegehold 1996, 101, fig. 4.1) may be a victorious team of competitors in the event. The other half appears to show a winning team in the pyrrhic dance, also sponsored by Atarbos.

25. See Neils 1994, 155–59, figs. 6–14. For a fuller list of these vases, see Webster 1972, 154–56. Good examples include a red-figure kylix by Douris (Dresden, lost since 1945; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 430.33; Neils 1994, 157, fig. 10), on which the youth wears the distinctive cap, and a red-figure amphora by the same artist, in St. Petersburg (Herm. 5576; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 446.263; Yalouris 1979, 135, fig. 56), on which the kalos inscription adorns a ribbon attached to a similar cap. Neils suggests that this curious headgear may have been peculiar to the *euandria*. The amphora of Panathenaic shape is in Boston (Museum of Fine Arts 10.178; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 183.9; Neils 1994, 159 fig.

14). In support of Neils' interpretation, it is tempting to revive Valois's suggested emendation of Athenaeus's *prōtophorein*, to *ptorthophorein*, meaning "to carry branches."

26. See Neils 1994, 153–54. The only specialist studies of Greek boat racing I am aware of are by Gardner (1881a, 1881b). The Panathenaic event is discussed by Kyle (1992, 97). In later times, small rowing boats, not triremes, were used (see Gardiner 1910, 508). The seven items of evidence adduced by Neils are listed in Webster 1972, 76. A representative example of the *aphlaston* motif can be seen on a red-figure lekythos by the Brygos Painter, in New York (MM 25.189.1; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 384.211; Neils 1994, 153, fig. 3). For the comparison with scenes commemorating musical victories, see the bibliography in Neils 1994, 160 n. 20. As Neils notes, the presence of a Nike figure with an *aphlaston* on the columns of a prize vase from 373/2 B.C. (Oxford, Ashmol. Mus. 572) seems to confirm the association between the motif and the festival. Cf. Eschbach 1986, 27–29, pl. 7.3–4.

27. For bibliography on torch racing in the Greek world, see Crowther 1985b, 76–77. Athenian torch races: Deubner 1932, 211–13; Herbert 1973; Parke 1977, 23, 37, 45–46, 171–73; Simon 1983, 53–54, 63–64; Kyle 1987, 190–93. Representations in art: Webster 1972, 200–201. The bell krater referred to is in Cambridge, Massachusetts (Harvard 1960.344; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1041.10; Neils 1992c, 175, cat. no. 50). It shows the runners arriving at an altar flanked by the sacred olive. The festive context of the event is confirmed by a hydria, the prize for the Panathenaic race (see *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2311.78), which stands nearby.

28. The earliest literary allusion to torch racing comes in Aeschylus's *Agamemnon* (312–13). Webster (1972, 200) suggests that the same author's *Prometheus Pyrphoros*, also from the early 450s, may have been written to commemorate the first torch race at the Prometheia. The *lampadēdromia* at the Hephaisteia is unattested before 421/0, the date of an inscription (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 82) that records regulations for the staging of the race. In Aristophanes' *Frogs* (1087ff.), Dionysus and Aeschylus comment on the declining standards in Athenian torch racing, especially in the Panathenaic race, which indicates that the event was already seen as a time-honored fixture of the festival by the late fifth century. Some have contended that the *lampadēdromia* at the Panathenaia may have been a Peisistratid innovation (see Parke 1977, 45–46; Robertson 1985, 283). But cf. Davison 1958, 29 n. 9.

29. However, prizes awarded to the winners in these individual contests in ca. 370 were generally less valuable than those given to victors in the more traditional Olympic-style events. For example, 140 amphorae were awarded for first place in the open two-horse chariot race, while only 30 were awarded to the winner of the equivalent race for "warriors," the same number as that given to the boys who won the open contests in boxing, wrestling, and the pentathlon.

30. The merits of throwing javelins from horseback as military training are recommended in several sources: e.g., Pl. *Meno* 93d; Xen. *Hipparch.* 1.21, 1.25, 3.6.

31. Cups by the Hipphacontist Painter: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 769.1–4; e.g., Bowdoin 27.9; Ure 1936, 205, fig. 1. The first image of a prize vase is on an amphora in London (BM 1903.2–17.1; *ABV* 411.1; Kyle 1992, 94, fig. 60). Cf. also *ABV* 414.1, from the late 360s, and *ABV* 417.2, from the mid-330s. Cup with hipphacontist and athletes: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 134.5; Jüthner 1968, pl. 24.

32. Evidence for the contest: Kyle 1987, 188–89; 1992, 89–91; Reed 1990; 1998, 42–55; Crowther 1991. Although the race is conspicuously absent from the fourth-century prize list, we know that it was one of the events from which non-Athenians were excluded (see [Dem.] 61.23). The most informative literary source is a passage in the *Erotikos* traditionally ascribed to Demosthenes (61.23–29), which is addressed to Epikrates, an experienced *apobatēs*. The

text notes vaguely (61.25) that the event was held in “the greatest” [tais megistais] Greek cities. Harpocraton (s.v. *apobatēs*) maintains that it was confined to Athens and Boeotia. Evidence for contests held further afield: Crowther 1991, 175 n. 15. Foundation myth with *apobatēs*: [Eratosth.] *Cat.* 13. Cf. *Marm. Par.*, *FGrH* 239 A10, where Erichthonius is credited with inventing the chariot, and Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2.13, where he is remembered as a participant in the Panathenaic chariot race. The various traditions about the foundation of the Panathenaia are examined on pp. 174–76 below. One indication of the symbolic importance of the race in the festival is the prominence of *apobatai* in the Parthenon frieze (slab nos. N. 13–22, S. 24–34). I take the frieze to be a timeless, heroizing rendering of the mid-fifth-century Panathenaic procession.

33. Cf. the comments of Beazley in Richter 1944, 61. Scenes of “departing warriors”—armed men mounting a chariot before being driven apparently to battle—are relatively common on Attic vases of the second half of the sixth century (see Wrede 1916; Richter 1944, 54–61), and a similar tableau occurs on a well-known grave stele in New York (MM 36.11.13; Richter 1961, 32–33, figs. 126–28). But these images should not be taken as evidence for the *apobatēs* contest. See Reed 1990, 310–12.

34. The earliest known images of *apobatai* in red-figure art are on a pair of early classical column kraters by the Naples Painter (*ARV<sup>2</sup>* 1097.15–16). The first prize vase to show the event is an amphora in Malibu (79.AE.147; Kyle 1992, 90 fig. 58), which dates from 340/39. Diosphos Painter lekythoi: *ABL* 234.61–62. Haimon Group lekythoi: *ABV* 544.149–83. Beazley describes these generic scenes in the following terms: “Chariot at the gallop, driven by a charioteer in a long robe; a hoplite has alighted and runs beside the chariot. There is usually a *goal*, so the apobates race, although the hoplite is sometimes given a spear.” Examples include lekythoi in Paris (Cab. Méd. 295; *ABV* 544.150), Cambridge (GR.80–1864 [102]; *ABV* 544.154; see fig. 22), and Brussels (A1649; *ABV* 544.156). Haimon Group lekythoi with Athena: *ABV* 545.184–94.

35. General characteristics of late black-figure lekythoi and their market are discussed by Boardman (1974, 146–47).

36. In her recent monograph on Greek “war games,” Reed (1998) contends that both contests, along with the *euandria*, *hoplitodromos*, and *hoplomachia*, played a significant role in Greek military training in the classical period. A close relationship between armed dancing and warfare is presupposed in several sources (Athen. 14.628f; Dio Chrys. 2.60–61; Lucian, *Salt.* 14; cf. Borthwick 1967; 1970, 320 n. 2). However, there is no evidence that the Panathenaic pyrrhic dance served a training function in classical Athens. Given its components (to be discussed shortly), one would think that its value to aspiring hoplites would have been little more than symbolic. Of Reed’s five “war games,” only the *hoplomachia*, which simulated hand-to-hand armed combat, seems to have been of any practical utility. Even this activity was probably not part of any public training regimen at Athens until the early Hellenistic period. See Wheeler 1982; Anderson 2001.

37. Movements included in the pyrrhic dance are described in Pl. *Leg.* 7.815a; cf. E. *Andr.* 1029–36. “Heroic garb”: Pinney 1988, 468. For a more detailed discussion of the equipment used, see Poursat 1968, 566–83. The general style of the pyrrhic dance seems to have been inspired by the kind of leaping we see at, for example, *Il.* 7.238–41. Homeric *hupaspidia*: *Il.* 13.157–8, 806–7; 16.609 (cf. Diomedes 1.475.15 Keil; Tyrtæus, fr. 8.35; Borthwick 1969, 388).

38. Links with the birth of Athena: Lucian, *Dial. D.* 8; cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.6; Ap. Rhod. 4.1310; schol. Ar. *Nub.* 988–89; P. *Ol.* 7.37; Borthwick 1969, 386; 1970, 321 with n. 3).

Links with Gigantomachy: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.72.7; cf. Vian 1952, 211. According to an Oxyrhynchus commentary on an Old Comedy (P. Oxy. 2738), one part of the dance was known simply as *skhēma tēs Athēnas*, “Athena’s look” or “Athena’s gesture,” which most likely alludes to the aversion of her head while slaying the Gorgon, an event sometimes associated with the Gigantomachy (see Borthwick 1970). Etymology of “Pallas”: Pl. *Crat.* 406d–407a (cf. Ar. *Ach.* 964–65; E. *Ion* 210; Lucian, *Dial. D.* 8).

39. Achilles as originator: Arist. fr. 519 R. Neoptolemus/Pyrrihus: Borthwick 1967. Pyrrhikhos: Athen. 14.530e; Strabo 10.467. Athena’s sanction: Pl. *Leg.* 7.796b.

40. Thompson (1961, 228–31), for example, believes that the event had its origins in the “cult of the heroised dead” practiced in the Agora area during the eighth and seventh centuries. Burkert (1985, 233) is willing to reach further back. He claims it “represents a continuation of the Bronze Age chariot fight” and commemorated the moment when King Erichthonius took possession of the land of Attica (cf. [Eratosth.] *Cat.* 13). More imaginatively, Robertson (1985, 266–67) suggests that the race developed after 566, around the transfer of sacred fire from the Academy to the Acropolis.

41. On the cultural resonance of chariots in post–Bronze Age Greece and misunderstandings about their use in warfare, see pp. 156–57 in chapter 6.

42. Two of the eight—Androtion, *FGrH* 324 F2, and Hellanicus, *FGrH* 323a F2—are cited by Harpocration (s.v. *Panathēnaia*), while a scholium on Ael. Arist. 13.189.4–5 (3.323 Dindorf) credits the Lesser Panathenaia to Erichthonius and the penteteric version to Peisistratus. The other sources are Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.6; [Eratosth.] *Cat.* 13; *Marm. Par.*, *FGrH* 239 A10; Philoch., *FGrH* 328 F8–9; schol. Pl. *Parm.* 127a.

43. See also Davison 1958, 24–25. Even Plutarch’s account, which makes no mention of Erichthonius or an Athenaia, is not necessarily inconsistent with this reconstruction, since he claims that Theseus created the Panathenaia expressly for the whole population of Attica.

44. So argues, for example, Jacoby (1954a, 630), who considers this explanation “obvious.”

## CHAPTER 8

1. For a full summary and discussion of the contents of the Dionysia, see Pickard-Cambridge (1968, 57–125). Thucydides (2.15.4) speaks of the Anthesteria as “the older” [*ta arkhaiotera*] Dionysia, presumably in contrast to the Lenaia, which was staged in the same location, and the City Dionysia. In the text of *AI* the Lenaia itself is numbered among the “ancestral” festivals administered by the archon basileus (57.1), while the City Dionysia is characterized as one of the younger festivals organized by the archon eponymos (56.4; cf. 3.3).

2. Date of foundation: *Marm. Par.*, *FGrH* 239 A43. Among those who accept this testimony and believe it to refer to the establishment of the City Dionysia are Pickard-Cambridge (1968, 58, 72), Hammond (1972, 390), and Herington (1985, 87). The date of the first dithyrambic contests also derives from an entry on the *Marmor Parium* (*FGrH* 239 A46). Without specifying a context, the text refers to the establishment of “choruses of men” [*khoroi andrōn*] during the archonship of Lysagoras, which would appear to have been in 510/9 or 509/8. Choregic reorganization: Capps 1943, 10; Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 103. Addition of comedy: *Suda*, s.v. *Khionidēs*; Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 189–90.

3. West (1989) is also skeptical about the purported Peisistratid origins of the festival. Rausch (1999, 149–74) believes that the Dionysia was founded during the tyranny and substantially reformed after its fall. Likewise, Wilson (2000, 12–21) is inclined to believe that the last decade of the sixth century was “an epochal moment in the history of the Dionysia,” suggesting that the publicly administered choregic system, the subject of his monograph, was an innovation of these years.

4. The *Suda* entry for Thespis seems to support this date, putting his first production somewhere in the sixty-first Olympiad (535/2). For arguments against the reliability of this entry and those for Choerilus and Phrynichus (assigning their first productions to the sixty-fourth [523/0] and sixty-seventh [511/8] Olympiads, respectively), see West 1989. Even if correct, these dates could refer to productions at rural Dionysia, as Connor (1990, 13) points out.

5. In other sources, where a context for his activities is either stated or implied, Thespis is invariably associated with plays held in the countryside (see Dioscorides, *Anth. Pal.* 7.410; Hor. *Ars P.* 276–77; cf. *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. *thumelē*). Presumably, these memories are not unrelated to a pair of well-known traditions that made his hometown of Ikarion in northeast Attica the venue for the first tragedy and comedy and the site of the first epiphany of Dionysus in the region. See Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2.4, citing Eratosth. *Erigone*; Diog. Laert. 5.69; *Suda*, s.v. *Thespis*. On Ikarion and its associations with drama and Dionysus, see Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 69–89.

6. For a useful summary of the history of this part of the text and its transmission, see Connor 1990, 26–32. The disputed phrase δρᾶμ[α ἐν ᾗ]στει is a conjecture made by Boeckh, who apparently never examined the stone firsthand. Earlier accounts of this section report that the only visible letters were ΝΑΛ . . . ΣΤΙΝ. Boeckh’s conjecture has, however, been widely and, it seems, uncritically retained, by e.g., Snell *TGF* 1 (Thespis) T2 and Pickard-Cambridge (1962, 69). Further diminishing the likelihood that this testimony refers to the City Dionysia is the statement that a goat was awarded as a prize, an award otherwise unattested for the festival (see Connor 1990, 14–15 with nn. 26–27).

7. Another record (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2325) lists tragedians according to the date of their first victory at the Dionysia. The first extant entry is for Aeschylus (484), and there is space for about eight earlier winners (see West 1989, 251). “Fasti” entries for tragedy begin ca. 502/1; see Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 101–3, following Capps 1943, 10. Both Pickard-Cambridge and Capps infer that this marks the reorganization of the competition on a choregic basis.

8. If the *Suda* entry for Pratinas (describing a contest between Pratinas, Aeschylus, and Choerilus) can be believed, we have a firm *terminus ante quem* for tragic competition in the seventieth Olympiad (499/6), probably the year 498. See West 1989, 251 with n. 2.

9. The heading of *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2318 is usually reconstructed as ΠΡΩ]ΤΟΝ ΚΩΜΟΙ ΗΞΑΝ Τ[ΩΙ ΔΙΟΝΥΣ]ΩΙ ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΩΙ Δ[ (“for the first time, *kōmoi* were held for Dionysus, tragedies . . .”), implying that “revels” at the Dionysia preceded the addition of tragedy.

10. Mythical beginnings of the Dionysia: schol. Ar. *Ach.* 243; Paus. 1.2.5; *Suda*, s.v. *melan*. Pausanias (1.38.8) briefly discusses the decision made by the people of Eleutherai to align themselves with the Athenians for protection against the Thebans, though he gives no hint of the date of this event. Annexation as a post-Peisistratid development: Shrimpton 1984, 296; Connor 1990, 10.

11. Many have supposed that the *khōroi andrōn* (see n. 2) established in Athens during the archonship of Lysagoras (510/9 or 509/8) were dithyrambic choruses (see Pickard-Cam-

bridge 1962, 35–37; 1968, 102–3). Connor (1990, 13 n. 21) infers, then, that tribal contests in dithyrambic performance were inserted into the program of the Dionysia in the earliest years of the festival. For the possible association of these *khoroí* with the reforms of Cleisthenes, see Wilson 2000, 17–18.

12. Foundations of the earliest temple (?): Travlos 1971, 537; Wycherley 1978, 206. Peisistratid date: Kolb 1977, 124; Travlos 1971, 537. Resemblance to Stoa Basileios: Connor 1990, 24–25, citing the authority of Shear in support. Dating the sculptural fragment: Connor 1990, 24–25.

13. For the relocation of the statue to the Academy sanctuary, see Paus. 1.29.2. If the return of the statue to the city center was not the so-called introduction from the hearth (see n. 16 below), it makes much more sense, given the explicit purpose of the festival, to see it as the *pompē* proper, the exact route of which is not described in any source. See Connor 1990, 11–12.

14. On these rites at the *eskhara*, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1994, 277–83. For the *eskhara* itself, see pp. 93–94 in chapter 3 above. Sacrifices and choral singing: Xen. *Hipparch.* 3.2.

15. The *Suda* (s.v. *Pratinas*) records that the temporary seating (*ta ikria*) used in the Agora for the Dionysia collapsed between 500/499 and 497/6 B.C. (in the seventieth Olympiad). This prompted the construction of the first permanent theater alongside the temple, on the southeast slope of the Acropolis. Other sources mentioning *ikria* in the Agora as the place from where the audience watched dramas before the theater was built include Hesych., s.v. *par' ageirou thea, ageirou thea*; Phot., s.v. *ikria*. Very little, if anything, survives of the first theater, the sole possible traces being a series of six polygonal limestone blocks that appear to form the arc of a circle. Dörpfeld (1896, 26, fig. 6) considered this wall portion to derive from the early fifth century and inferred that it was set up to create a terrace and flat circular space for the new *orkhēstra*. This interpretation is accepted by, for example, Dinsmoor (1952, esp. 310–12), Hammond (1972, 406–8), and Wycherley (1978, 206–7). For references to the *orkhēstra* area in the Agora, see Wycherley 1957, 162–63.

16. The ceremony was known as the “introduction from the hearth” (*eisagōgē apo tēs eskharas*). It is usually thought that the *eskhara* in question was located in the Academy area (see, e.g., Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 60). More likely, it was the one installed in the Agora in ca. 500 B.C. (see Kolb 1981, 44–46; Sourvinou-Inwood 1994, 282). The *eisagōgē* is referred to in a series of second-century ephebic inscriptions (e.g., *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1006, 1008, 1011, 1028) and presumably took place after the *pompē* had escorted the statue to the center of the city and after the sacrifices and choral dances had been performed in the Agora (see Xen. *Hipparch.* 3.2).

17. Connor’s reconstruction has been challenged by Sourvinou-Inwood (1994; see also Parker 1996, 92–95), who contends that the festival and its tragedy competition predated the reforms of Cleisthenes (though she seems reluctant to specify a date for the foundation or the agency responsible). However, her principal objections are not immediately persuasive. She contends that the City Dionysia’s foundation myths and “ritual grammar” reveal it to conform more to the *xenismos* (ritual welcome) model of festival than to any “integration/annexation” model. Thus, she would dissociate the festival’s origins from any historical connection with Athenian interests in the area of Eleutherai. But surely a festival of this complexity was not based on any one single model (see Connor 1990, 17). Sourvinou-Inwood’s other main argument rests on a chain of inferences regarding the shape of early Greek theaters. She claims that the apparent preference for rectilinear caveae over curvilinear ones

supports the idea that tragedies were staged in Athens before the appearance of the first dithyrambic choruses in the city; hence, the City Dionysia must have already existed when the *choroi andrōn* were first introduced in the archonship of Lysagoras. Yet, as Wycherley (1978, 213 n. 18) observes, evidence for the form of early theaters in Greece is highly problematic. Recent opinion indicates that the rectilinear theater at Thorikos, a key item of evidence in the argument, was originally intended to be a space for worship and/or political meetings rather than dramatic performances (see Mussche 1994, esp. 214).

18. Nilsson (1986, 26–27), among others, would also emphasize the importance of the annexation in the genesis of the festival. Connor (1990, 9–12) recognizes the Dionysia’s function as a “festival of integration” but lays more stress on its identity as a “freedom festival.” On the etymology of *Eleuthereus* and the likelihood that the place-name *Eleutherai* was taken from the god’s epithet rather than vice versa, see Raaflaub 2000, 258 with n. 35.

19. Sourvinou-Inwood (1994, 274) emphasizes: “The focus of the myth is not the introduction of the cult of Dionysus Eleuthereus from Eleutherai to Athens; the myth is about the first introduction of the cult of Dionysus in Athens . . . and it is this introduction of the cult of Dionysus in general that the City Dionysia celebrates.”

20. For a fuller list of the ways in which the political and military life of the state was implicated in the festival, along with a concise overview of recent work on the subject, see Said 1998, 275–84. On the ceremonies held in the theater before the plays were performed, see especially Goldhill 1990. Generals’ libations: Plut. *Cim.* 8.7–9. Tribute displayed onstage: schol. *Ar. Ach.* 504; Isoc. 8.82. Parade of war orphans: Aeschin. 3.154; Isoc. 8.82. Awards to benefactors: Aeschin. 3.41–56; Dem. 18.120. For a wide-ranging exploration of the festival’s associations with ephebes, see Winkler 1990.

21. The quote is from Pickard-Cambridge 1968 (58), where a useful summary of the details of the procession can also be found (61–63). On how the *pompē* of the Dionysia “resembled [that of] the Panathenaia in articulating, and being articulated by, the whole Athenian *polis* as one unit,” see Sourvinou-Inwood 1994, 271–72. See also Winkler 1990, 37–42.

22. For detailed accounts of the contents of this festival, see Mylonas 1961, 224–85; Parke 1977, 55–72. The *spondophoria*: e.g., Aeschin. 2.133; Isoc. 4.31; Mylonas 1961, 243–44; Clinton 1994, 161–63. As Price (1999, 80–81) suggests, the practice of requesting the offering of firstfruits from other states probably began in the imperial era, when the Athenians would have insisted that their allies send offerings as a token of loyalty. It is thought that the so-called Lesser Mysteries, a cult of Demeter celebrated at Agrai on the Ilissos in the springtime, was originally distinct from the Greater Mysteries of Eleusis. At some point, however, the two cults seem to have become fused, with initiation into the former serving as a kind of formal preparation for initiation into the latter. See Mylonas 1961, 239–43; Parke 1977, 56, 58.

23. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 6, a list of regulations governing the public conduct of the festival from the second quarter of the fifth century, explicitly refers to the participation in the ceremonies by non-Athenians, suggesting that the festival already enjoyed a certain “international” appeal by this time. Cultural leadership associated with control of Eleusis: e.g., Isoc. 4.28–31.

24. See Miles 1998, 16–52. The earliest signs of activity at the sanctuary consist of seventh-century deposits that include terracotta figurines and other small votives. Among the figurines, “plain columnar” images of females are especially common, supporting the idea that the sanctuary belonged to Demeter from the start. Earlier authors who identified the exposed foundations as belonging to the temple of Triptolemos include Boersma (1970,

24–35), Thompson and Wycherley (1972, 152), and Hayashi (1992, 19). There are no super-structural remains of a date comparable to that of the foundations. The earliest such remains are marble roof tiles that seem to derive from a time nearer to the middle of the fifth century, when the sanctuary was probably restored after the Persian sack.

25. Against the older view (see, e.g., Mylonas 1961, 40–54) of a continuity of cult at Eleusis going back to the Mycenaean era, see especially Darcque 1981. Traces of a curved wall found under the remains of later telesteria have been thought to constitute evidence for an eighth-century apsidal temple. See Mylonas 1961, 57–59, figs. 13, 20.

26. Evidence for the “Solonian” phase at Eleusis is described thoroughly by Mylonas (1961, 63–76). For the new date, see Miles 1998, 28 with n. 12; Miles also notes that some mid-sixth-century architectural fragments described by Clinton (1971, 81–82) may belong to the building.

27. Some time ago, Shear (1982) suggested that the second archaic telesterion should probably be dated to the time of Peisistratus’s sons. Others now favor a date closer to the end of the sixth century. In addition to the building’s general resemblance to the Old Bouleuterion, there are similarities of architectural detail with the Arkhaios Neos in Athens (see Hayashi 1992, 19–29). As Clinton (1994, 162) points out, the new fortification wall surely belongs to the years immediately after 506. Cleomenes had sacked the sanctuary in that year (see Hdt. 6.75.3), and Athenian relations with neighboring states seem to have been quite strained for some time thereafter.

28. The inscriptions are published by Jeffery (1948). They are thought to have been parts of altars at the sanctuary. See Miles 1998, 63, for details of contemporary mud-brick foundations that might have supported one of these altars.

29. The question of the foundation of the Mysteries should probably be kept separate from the larger issue of the unification of Attica. The latter issue is fraught with problems (see chap. 1), and, in any case, the best evidence for relations between Athens and Eleusis is found in testimony for the festival itself. This testimony may indeed suggest that the Athenians controlled the cult and sanctuary before the time of Cleisthenes’ reforms (as is discussed later in this chapter), but it need not imply that all Eleusinians routinely became Athenian citizens before 508/7.

30. For a summary of his case, see Clinton 1993, 110–12. The argument hinges on two factors: the claim that a “law of Solon” (Andoc. 1.111) dealing with the conduct of the Mysteries is genuinely Solonian and the presumed force of *AP*’s report (57.1; cf. 3.3) that the festival was one of the “ancestral” sacrifices administered by the archon basileus. I venture that neither source is necessarily inconsistent with the notion that the festival was founded only in the second quarter of the sixth century. Sourvinou-Inwood (1997, 140–41) also draws attention to the significance of the space in front of the first telesterion, a space that, by virtue of the expansion of the supporting terrace, was much larger than it had been when the old apsidal temple was still standing. She proposes that this space was created specifically to accommodate ritual components of the Mysteries, like the pouring of liquid from vessels known as *plēmokhoai*, which took place on the last day of the festival. She retains the traditional “Solonian” and “Peisistratean” dates for the phases of the sanctuary associated with the two archaic telesteria.

31. The date of the hymn remains a vexed issue, with estimates ranging all the way from 650 to 550. One further advantage of the reconstruction offered here is that it minimizes any problem presented by the hymn’s notorious failure to mention Athens. Whatever po-

litical relations existed between Athens and Eleusis in the archaic period, I have no difficulty believing that their respective sacred calendars were essentially separate until the second quarter of the sixth century. In other words, the Mysteries will have been the first specifically Athenian festival to involve use of the sanctuary at Eleusis. Given that the great majority of the hymn is concerned with stories that evolved within the autonomous cultic realm of Eleusis, and given that the Mysteries appear only fleetingly in the text, it is no great surprise that Athens goes unmentioned.

32. Rise of Panhellenism in the early sixth century: Morgan 1993. Sourvinou-Inwood (1997, 153–54) makes the interesting observation that the festival’s eschatological concerns may also reflect the emergence around the same time of a new Greek attitude toward death, namely, “one of greater anxiety and greater concern for the survival of one’s memory, a more individual perception of one’s death.”

33. There are around 170 Triptolemos scenes on extant Attic vases. For analysis of the iconographic evolution of these scenes, see Dugas 1950; Schwarz 1987; Hayashi 1992. For discussion of the first images of the mission, see also Boardman 1975, 6; Shapiro 1989, 76–77; Clinton 1992, 41–47; 1994, 164–66. A good early example is a scene by the Swing Painter on an amphora in Göttingen (Archäologisches Institut der Universität J 14; *ABV* 309.83; Clinton 1994, 165, figs. 1–2).

34. The descent of Heracles to the underworld is attested in Homer (*Il.* 8.362ff.; *Od.* 11.623ff.) and first appears in Greek art in ca. 590. Sources linking this story with the initiation tradition include Diod. 4.25 and E. *HF* 610–13. Cf. Lloyd-Jones’s discussion (1967) of the papyrus fragments of a poem—thought to be by Pindar—that mentions Heracles’ initiation in the context of a larger narrative about the descent to Hades. On links between the two traditions in archaic Attic art, see especially Boardman 1975. Boardman (1975, 7) notes that the images on the extant fragment of the vase mentioned (Reggio, 4001; *ABV* 147.6; Boardman 1975, pl. 1a) are “in the manner of Exekias (very close to the master, I would judge, if not his).” They are discussed by Shapiro (1989, 78–80), who believes that the initiation scene will have been set in Agrai, not Eleusis. His argument alludes to a rival tradition that Heracles, as a non-Athenian, needed to participate in preliminary rites at the Lesser Mysteries before he could be fully initiated at Eleusis. However, that story is found only in later sources (e.g., Diod. 4.14.3; Plut. *Theb.* 33.2) and probably derives from a much later time, when Athenians were more secure about the Panhellenic status of the Mysteries and were thus free to imagine that the festival in its earliest manifestation might have been a purely local affair.

35. The celebration of the Mysteries is only one of many distinctively Athenian practices with which Heracles is explicitly linked in sixth-century Attic art. See Boardman 1975, 10–12, for a summary of the evidence. The purported engagement of Heracles with these practices at a formative stage in their evolution was presumably felt to glamorize Athenian public life and make it more impressive in the eyes of outsiders.

36. The Eumolpidae claimed descent from the early “kings” of Eleusis and furnished the hierophants for the Mysteries, the priests who conducted the rites of initiation in the telesterion. A proverbially wealthy branch of the Kerykes *genos* supplied the torchbearers (*daidoukhoi*) and the sacred heralds (*hierokērukes*) for the festival. See Mylonas 1961, 229–33, for further information on these functions.

37. There is a good possibility that another festival of Panhellenic aspirations was established by Athenians at Eleusis around this same time, a more conventional panegyris

known simply as the Eleusinia. Like the Panathenaia, it was an annual festival that was celebrated with especial pomp every fourth year, when it featured musical and athletic contests (see *AP* 54.7). A mid-sixth-century inscription from the site (*IG I<sup>3</sup>* 991) commemorates the dedication of a *dromos* to Demeter and Persephone by one Alkiphron, archon of Athens; and a pair of inscriptions from the site (*IG I<sup>3</sup>* 988, 989) seem to come from sixth-century victory dedications. On the history of the festival, see Simms 1975.

38. “Periclean” telesterion: Mylonas 1961, 117–24. According to Shear (1982), the Athenians had already dismantled the second archaic telesterion and begun work on a much larger successor by 480, when the sanctuary was sacked by the Persians.

39. Good descriptions of the procession can be found in Mylonas 1961 (252–58) and Parke 1977 (65–66). For further discussion of the festival’s civic dimension, see Bruit Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel 1992, 132–40.

40. For relevant vases, with illustrations, see Clinton 1994, 166–70.

41. Dugas 1950 is the seminal work on these scenes. See also the treatments in Schwarz 1987, Shapiro 1989 (76–83), Clinton 1992 (41–49, 111–13), and Hayashi 1992. Early examples from ca. 480 can be seen on a hydria by the Berlin Painter in Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 2696; *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 210.181) and on a skyphos by Makron in the British Museum (E 140; *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 459.3).

42. Perhaps it was also at this point that Athenian claims to a special relationship with Demeter were inscribed into the climactic ritual of the Mysteries. According to Isocrates (4.28), details of the services performed by “our ancestors” for Demeter in her hour of need were included among the *legomena*, the secret “words” spoken during the rites of initiation in the telesterion.

43. Generally on the Brauronia, see Deubner 1932, 207–8; Parke 1977, 139–40. Quadrennial celebration: *AP* 54.7. The procession from Athens to Brauron: *Ar. Pax* 874. The initiation rite: *Ar. Lys.* 643–45 with schol.

44. See, e.g., Kolb 1977, 103; Shapiro 1989, 65–66; Frost 1990, 6.

45. Two sources ([Pl.] *Hipparch.* 228b; *Plut. Sol.* 10.3) claim that the family was actually “from” the Brauron area. Questions about the meaning and reliability of this testimony are raised under on pp. 30–33 in chapter 1 above.

46. While the site has yet to be fully published, sufficient remains have been excavated to form a general idea of its chronology and principal monuments. For a summary of the remains, see Travlos 1988, 55–56. Peisistratus is linked with a temple at the sanctuary in the *Lexicon* of Photius (s.v. *Braurōnia*). But the source is very late, and there is no archaeological support for this claim (see below).

47. Travlos (1988, 55) dates the first temple to the end of the Geometric period on the basis of vase evidence. The xoanon: *Paus.* 1.23.9, 1.33.1.

48. Date of the late archaic temple: Coulton 1976; Travlos 1988, 55; Shapiro 1989, 66.

49. In the most recent analysis of the remains, Dobbins and Rhodes (1979) identify three distinct phases of construction without assigning firm dates to any of them. For other references to the site, see Travlos 1971, 124; Wycherley 1978, 134.

50. The krateriskoi: Kahil 1981, 259. The sculptures are published in Schrader 1939 (262–64, nos. 377–78). Links with the Brauroneion: Kahil 1981, 262; Shapiro 1989, 65–66; Stewart 1990, 124–25, fig. 157. For the date, see Stewart 1990, 124–25.

## CHAPTER 9

1. For “official” memory, see pp. 49–51, 232 n. 10.
2. Fornara (1970, 160 n. 26) has difficulty accepting that this was an “official” tradition, but his reasons for doing so are, to me at least, a little obscure.
3. See especially Ar. *Lys.* 274–82, 1150–56; Hdt. 5.55–78, 6.121–24; Thuc. 1.20; 6.53–59. For a full list of ancient sources for the Tyrannicides, see, e.g., Brunnsåker (1971, 3 n. 12).
4. Borrowing money from Delphi: Dem. 21.144; Isoc. 15.232. Cf. *AP* 19.4 and Philoch., *FGrH* 328 F115, where it is suggested that the money came from a contract with the Alcmeonids to rebuild the temple of Apollo. Of the four sources cited above only *AP* explicitly states that the money was used to hire Spartans. Restoration of the demos from exile: Andoc. 1.106, 2.26; Isoc. 15.232, 16.26; cf. Dem. 21.144.
5. See, e.g., Andoc. 1.98; Dem. 20.18, 20.29, 21.170; Din. 1.101; Hyp. 6.35–39; Isae. 5.46–47; *Lys. fr.* 12, 13a Thalheim.
6. The monument was located in the center of the Agora, in the area known as the *orkhēstra* (Tim. Soph. *Lex. Plat.*, s.v. *orkhēstra*; cf. Paus. 1.8.5). Stolen by the Persians: e.g., Arr. *Anab.* 3.16.8; Plin. *HN* 34.70. The original group was later returned to Athens after Alexander’s conquest of the Persian Empire. The successor was erected in 477/6, during the archonship of Adeimantos (*Marm. Par.*, *FGrH* 239 A54). A statue of Conon was the next public portrait to be mounted in Athens (Dem. 20.70). Restrictions on the placement of other statues in the vicinity: *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 450b.7–12 (314/3 B.C.), 646.37–40 (295/4 B.C.). Cf. Diod. 20.36.2; Dio Cass. 47.20.4. Remains of extant reproductions and allusions to the Tyrannicides in other media are listed and described by Brunnsåker (1971, 48–83, 99–120).
7. Base fragment: Agora, I 3872; Meritt 1936, 355, no. 1; Shear 1936, 190; 1937, 352. Hephæstion (*Encheir.* 4) attributed the epigram to Simonides (= fr. 76 Diehl); unfortunately, he omits the second distich because only the first was necessary to illustrate his discussion of enjambment.
8. On the distinctly Homeric resonance of the epigram, see, e.g., Friedländer 1948, 142; Taylor 1991, 32–33. Emotive utterance opening with ἦ: e.g., *Il.* 21.54. Light of deliverance: *Il.* 6.6, 8.282, 11.796, 15.741, 16.39. Comparanda for closing phrase: e.g., *Il.* 2.140, 158, 162, 178.
9. Text: *SEG* XVII 392; Trypanis 1960, 70. For discussion of this epitaph’s original purpose and context, see Day 1985; Taylor 1991, 11 n. 20; Lebedev 1996; Raaflaub 2000, 261–65. A late-fifth-century four-line verse inscription whose third line begins in identical fashion to the third line of this epitaph was recently unearthed at Olbia. On its relations to the Chios epigram, see Lebedev 1996. For a helpful, sober evaluation of attempts to insert charged political terms into lacunae in both inscriptions, see Raaflaub 2000, 261–65. Grave of the Tyrannicides: Paus. 1.29.15, 1.30.1–2; Clairmont 1983, 14, fig. 1.
10. Since the time of Homer, the term *aikhmētēs* (spearman) could serve as a kind of code word connoting “brave warrior,” the implicit contrast being with timid or cowardly bowmen (see, e.g., *Il.* 1.290, 3.179, 4.87, 5.602, 6.97; Hesych., s.v. *aikhmētēs*). Cf. the very same contrast made in lines 2–3 of the epitaph for the Athenians who fell at Eurymedon (Page 1981, no. 46).
11. The *enagisma*: *AP* 58.1. Cf. Poll. *Onom.* 8.91; Burkert 1985, 194, 203–8; Kearns 1989, 3–4. Part of the Epitaphia: e.g., Mommsen 1898, 305; Deubner 1932, 230; Taylor 1991, 7–8.

12. For biographical evidence for later members of the clan of the Gephyraioi, see Davies 1971, 472–79; cf. Taylor 1991, 5, 10–11 nn. 7–10. Privileges: e.g., *JG* I<sup>3</sup> 131; Andoc. 1.98; Isae. 5.47. It also seems that calumnious remarks against the Tyrannicides were prohibited (see Hyp. 2.3) and that their names could not be given to slaves (see Aul. Gell. 9.2.10; Lib. *Declam.* 1.71).

13. The first known image of the statue group on an Athenian vase comes on a black-figure lekythos from the 460s (Vienna, Österreichisches Museum 5247; Brunnsåker 1971, 102–4, pl. 23.5). An early attempt to render the killing of Hipparchus in a more “naturalistic” fashion can be found on a red-figure stamnos by the Copenhagen Painter, also from the 460s (Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum 515; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 256.5; Brunnsåker 1971, 108, fig. 16). Theseus in Tyrannicide pose in vase painting: Kardara 1951; Taylor 1991, 36–63; Castriota 1998, 210–12. Taylor (1991, 71–75) also attempts to track the history of Thesean “anticipations” of the Tyrannicides in the art of major public monuments, notably among the reliefs of the Hephaisteion (ca. 450–420).

14. The four *Attika skolia* on the Tyrannicides are assembled by Athenaeus (15.695a–b = *PMG*, 474–75, nos. 893–96). The contents of the other twenty-one songs in the collection suggest that they could have been composed at any point between the Peisistratid era and the time of the Persian Wars. Clearly, the “Harmodius song” was proverbial by the 420s (see Ar. *Ach.* 980, 1093; *Vesp.* 1224–27). Observers who claim an early date and some kind of political significance for some or all of the skolia include Jacoby (1949, 160, 339 n. 53, 340 n. 54), Ehrenberg (1950, 531; 1956), Podlecki (1966), Ostwald (1969, 121–34), and Brunnsåker (1971, 23–24).

15. Fornara’s insistence—in an otherwise helpful discussion (1970)—on seeing the tyrannicide tradition as “a natural and straightforward creation” is a little mystifying.

16. Though their reasons for doing so may be quite different, the following would all assign the creation of the cult to the last decade of the sixth century: Weber (1925, 153), Jacoby (1944, 50 n. 64), Ehrenberg (1950, 531–34), Fornara (1970, 157), Brunnsåker (1971, 97), Clairmont (1983, 44), and Taylor (1991, 6–8). Rausch (1999, 59–61) plausibly suggests that the cult honors were performed initially in the Agora near the site of the statues and then moved to the Kerameikos area sometime after 490, when the grave was constructed.

17. Supporters of a date at or around the end of the sixth century for the first statue group include, for example, Meritt (1936, 357), Schefold (1944, 200; 1946, 70–71), Seltman (1947, 25), Jacoby (1949, 339 n. 52), Ehrenberg (1950, 530–33), Ostwald (1969, 132–33), Brunnsåker (1971, 97–98), Thomas (1989, 257–58), Taylor (1991, 14–15), Castriota (1998, 206–7, 213–15), and Rausch (1999, 42–45). For arguments for a date in the early 480s, now answered by Castriota, see Corssen 1903; Raubitschek 1940, 58 n. 2; 1949, 481–83; Richter 1950, 200 n. 9; S. Morris 1992, 298–99. Pausanias had a reliable eye for stylistic detail in sculpture (see Pollitt 1974, 9–10). On the connotations of *arkhaios* as a term in ancient art criticism, see Pollitt 1974, 255–59; Hurwit 1985, 16. On the basis of Pausanias’s words, it is quite widely thought that Antenor’s bronzes will have resembled kouroi (see Raubitschek 1949, 483; Rumpf 1964, 151; Robertson in Ridgway 1970, 82 n. 2; Boardman 1978, 25; Taylor 1991, 14).

18. This conclusion would be confirmed beyond all doubt if it could be shown that the epigram inscribed on the base of the second statue group was a faithful reproduction of the legend on the base of the first. This almost certainly was the case. We see precisely this kind of reproduction (with only a minor change of line order) on the replacement for the Acrop-

olis victory dedication of ca. 506 (see Meiggs and Lewis 1988, 15A, B). As implied earlier, I believe that the representation of the killing of Hipparchus as a military action was dictated primarily by the need to legitimize what might otherwise have been seen as a cowardly private act. More positively, Rausch (1999, 40-62) argues that the pair might also have been consciously presented as “prototypes of the citizen soldier.”

19. That said, there is, I think, a general problem with Castriota’s approach (1992, 1998) to legendary subject matter in Athenian state art. His insistence that, say, the Athenian battles with the Amazons and the centaurs were understood primarily as “mythic analogues” or “reconfigurations” of “actual” historic events, such as the Persian Wars, seems to me to import a distinction between myth and history that is quite alien to the ancient imagination. At our great distance from antiquity, we can see all too clearly how Athenian mythic traditions were shaped and colored by actual historical experiences, and it is quite possible that ordinary Athenian men and women in the fifth century would have seen parallels between, say, the defense of Attica against the Amazons and the heroic resistance at Marathon. But that is surely not all they would have seen. For them, the Amazonomachy would have been just as thrillingly real and historical as any battle with the Persians. It was not just some coded “allusion” to a more “genuine” historical event; it was a glorious event in its own right. To reduce such traditions to mere “analogues” or “allusions” is to underestimate how seriously the Athenians took the purported accomplishments of their remote past. As I have tried to show in this study, they took this past very seriously indeed.

20. There is possible corroboration for this conclusion in an interesting series of scenes on red-figure kylikes from ca. 490-470. They show Greek heroes at Troy dressed like Athenian citizens in long chitons, using voting pebbles or beans to adjudge the contest between Ajax and Odysseus over the arms of Achilles. As Spivey (1994, 40, 51) notes, these are “Homeric heroes playing at democratic citizens.” “[A] powerful and perhaps innovatory political mechanism has been rooted in the epic past.” The evidence for Theseus’s later associations with democracy is discussed on pp. 48-51 in chapter 2 above.

21. See Thomas 1989, 245-47.

22. For bibliography and further discussion of the *patrios politeia* debates in the late fifth century, see pp. 47-48 in chapter 2.

23. The testimony of Aristotle’s *Politics* and *AP* is examined in some detail on pp. 59-63 in chapter 2.

24. We might have here another possible answer to the familiar puzzle about why the Athenians never apparently developed a body of theoretical work that systematically explained and defended the idea of democracy. What need was there to explain and defend something that had endured almost uninterrupted since time immemorial?

## CONCLUSION

1. The system is known to have undergone modifications in 307/6, 224/3, and 201/0 B.C. and in A.D. 124/5. Records of it survive up until the time of the invasion by the Heruli in the 260s.

2. It may also be the case that the public domain now, for the first time, encompassed the minting of coins. The date of the first “owl” tetradrachms remains a vexed issue, though most believe the sequence began sometime in the last quarter of the sixth century, when the old aristocratic *Wappenmünzen* would have been replaced. See Kroll and Waggoner 1984,

326–33; Shapiro 1993. Shapiro notes how the very earliest examples are slightly different in design from the rest, and he suggests that the change may have come shortly after the fall of the Peisistratids. He also draws attention to a recently published vase, perhaps from ca. 500, that features owls on both sides and the legend ΔΕΜΟΣΙΟΣ. It seems to be the earliest known example of an “official” Athenian measuring vessel. There is also the possibility that the Athenian experiment had a broad impact on burial practices. Extravagant elite mortuary practices declined in ca. 500–425 (see I. Morris 1992, 128–49). On the possibility that sumptuary legislation was passed in ca. 500, see Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 121–24. It may be in ca. 500 that space was first set aside in the Kerameikos district for public burials (see Young 1951; Stupperich 1994). How all this new public business was funded is unclear. At least some of the funds may have come from the silver mines at Laureion, a suspicion that is encouraged by Camp’s argument (1994) that the mines would have been controlled at this time by the Alcmeonids.

3. Among the works I have found particularly useful are Gellner 1964, 1983, Kohn 1967, Hobsbawm 1983a, 1983b, 1990, Anderson 1991, Smith 1991, Greenfeld 1992, Breuilly 1993, and Gillis 1994. Cohen (2000) also sees the potential utility of this particular comparative perspective, though his book appeared too late for me to consider his findings in this study.

4. This list of identity sources is compiled by Smith (1991, 14), who considers them to comprise “the fundamental features of national identity.”

5. Quoted in, for example, Hobsbawm 1990, 44.

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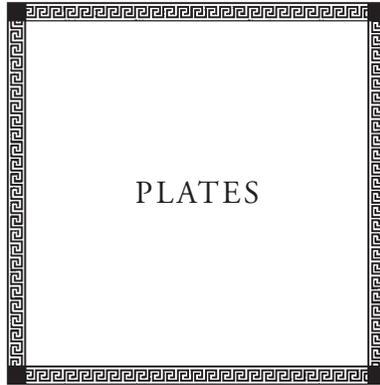
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