

The Athenian Experiment: Building an Imagined Political Community in Ancient Attica, 508-490 B.C.
Greg Anderson
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BUILDING AN IMAGINED
POLITICAL COMMUNITY
IN ANCIENT ATTICA,
508–490 B.C.

GREG ANDERSON

The University of Michigan Press
Ann Arbor

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*For
Mum & Dad*

PREFACE

THE PRESENT STUDY OFFERS A revisionist approach to the history of pre-classical Athens. It aims, above all, to show how, in a relatively small space of time, the course of this history was dramatically altered. Entering the last decade of the sixth century, Athens was a city-state of little more than middling importance, plagued by chronic military vulnerability and recurring bouts of political turmoil. By 490 B.C., this same state had been transformed almost beyond recognition: it was now guided by what would prove to be an exceptionally stable form of popular government, and it was poised to enjoy an unprecedented influence over the shape of Greek history and culture in the decades to come. This book seeks to understand what happened in the meantime.

The ideas presented here have been long in gestation. Some I have lived with since the late 1980s, when I first arrived in the United States from the United Kingdom as a graduate student and began to take a serious interest in the cultural and political history of Athens. The project took shape as a doctoral thesis, completed in 1997, and the core findings of that work reappear largely intact in this one. The presentation is, however, quite different. In the hope of reaching an audience a little larger than the three who were lucky enough to read my dissertation, I have tried hard to make the arguments accessible to those with only a general knowledge of Greek history. This has not always been easy, given the intractable nature of some of the evidence. But at least the reader's patience will not be too exercised by Greek words, phrases,

and quotations, which are all translated (by the author) and appear in transliterated form wherever possible. As for Greek names and places, I guarantee only that each instance is spelled consistently throughout.

I am very grateful to the institutions that have sustained me over the last thirteen years: to the Departments of Classics at Johns Hopkins and Yale, where I did my graduate study, and to Elmira College and the Departments of History and Classics at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC), where I have since taught. The book was largely completed by Fall during my time at UIC. In Fall 2002, a new position in the Classics Department at Wright State University made it possible for me to join my wife and family in Dayton, Ohio, where the manuscript was prepared for publication. Thanks are also owed to the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. My experiences there during the summer of 1990 and the academic year 1994–95 did much to make the realm of archaeology less intimidating. For help with the comparative perspective that informs this study, I am indebted to Alex Wendt and Juan Linz, professors of political science and sociology, who supervised my independent researches into nation building and political identity formation during my time at Yale. I feel a particularly deep sense of gratitude to my dissertation advisors: to Victor Bers, for his keen attention to detail and his all-purpose humanity; to Jerome Pollitt, for his unstinting support of my nonspecialist efforts to grapple with archaeological evidence; and to my supervisor, Donald Kagan, for encouraging a project with which he was not initially too sympathetic and for pushing me to produce a piece of work more compelling than I thought possible.

Findings from the study have been presented in a variety of settings—conferences, workshops, symposia, and job talks—and all comments have been much appreciated. For invitations to participate in very lively symposia at the University of Chicago and Northwestern University, I am especially grateful to Sara Fordyce and to Bob Wallace, my former teacher at Johns Hopkins, who first stirred my interest in Greek history. No one has done more to help ease the transition of this work from thesis to book than Kurt Raaflaub. It has benefited immensely from his matchless judgment and knowledge. His generosity to younger colleagues is exemplary, and I thank him sincerely. Thanks, too, to the anonymous readers of the University of Michigan Press, for helping me to strengthen this book in numerous ways, and to the successive editors at the press, Ellen Bauerle and Collin Ganio, for their expertise and forbearance. Many have helped me with the burdensome task of assembling permissions, plans, and photographs for the illustrations, particularly Jan Jordan and Craig Mauzy at the Agora Excavations in Athens. More generally, among those who have taken an interest in my work over the years, I should

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The ultimate debt must always be to one's family. My brothers, Linus and Jim, remain the best friends that one could imagine. Alpana, my wife, means more to me than I feel comfortable saying; without her selfless support and love in the latter stages, this book would not exist. It is dedicated with love and humble thanks to my parents, Sian and Ewan Anderson, who have given me so much for so long.

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ABBREVIATIONS

For ancient authors and their works, I generally used the abbreviations recommended in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*³ (Oxford, 1996). The most notable exceptions follow.

A.	Aeschylus
AP	[Aristotle] <i>Athenaion politeia</i>
Diod.	Diodorus Siculus
E.	Euripides
Harpoc.	Harpocration
Hesych.	Hesychius
Lyc.	Lycurgus
P.	Pindar
S.	Sophocles

Since this book covers quite a wide range of subject areas, I include the following comprehensive list of abbreviations for periodicals, works of reference, and museums.

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
ABL	E. Haspels. <i>Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi</i> . Oxford, 1936.
ABV	J. D. Beazley. <i>Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters</i> . Oxford, 1956.
AC	<i>L'Antiquité classique</i>
Acrop.	Acropolis Museum, Athens

Agora	Agora Museum, Athens
<i>AHB</i>	<i>Ancient History Bulletin</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJAH</i>	<i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AM</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>
<i>AntK</i>	<i>Antike Kunst</i>
<i>ArkhDelt</i>	<i>Arkhaiologikon Deltion</i>
<i>ArkhEph</i>	<i>Arkhaiologike Ephemeris</i>
<i>ARV</i> ²	J. D. Beazley. <i>Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters</i> . ² Oxford, 1963.
<i>AW</i>	<i>Ancient World</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
BM	British Museum
<i>BSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>CA</i>	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
Cab. Méd.	Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>C&M</i>	<i>Classica et Mediaevalia</i>
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Classical Journal</i>
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
<i>CW</i>	<i>Classical World</i>
<i>DABF</i>	J. D. Beazley. <i>The Development of Attic Black Figure</i> . Cambridge, 1951.
EM	Epigraphic Museum, Athens
<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby, ed. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Berlin and Leiden, 1923–58.
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>Hesp.</i>	<i>Hesperia</i>
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Historia</i>
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>HThR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>JdI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>LCM</i>	<i>Liverpool Classical Monthly</i>
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i>

<i>MEFR</i>	<i>Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome</i>
<i>MH</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
<i>MM</i>	Metropolitan Museum, New York
<i>NM</i>	National Archaeological Museum, Athens
<i>OpAth</i>	<i>Opuscula Atheniensia</i>
<i>Para.</i>	J. D. Beazley. <i>Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters and Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters</i> . Oxford, 1971.
<i>Philol.</i>	<i>Philologus</i>
<i>PMG</i>	D. L. Page, ed. <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> . Oxford, 1962.
<i>P. Oxy.</i>	<i>Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i>
<i>PP</i>	<i>La parola del passato</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
<i>RE</i>	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll, eds. <i>Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . Stuttgart and Munich, 1893–.
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>TGF</i>	B. Snell et al., eds. <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> . 5 vols. Göttingen, 1977–.
<i>WS</i>	<i>Wiener Studien</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>