Symbols and Rituals in Classical Athens

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ATHENS AND ROME
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City States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy

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INTRODUCTION

THUCYDIDES (2.14-16) reports that at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War Pericles persuaded the Athenians to move from the country and to take refuge inside the walls of the capital with their families and belongings. The historian says that this change was very hard for them to accept, that "they were dejected and aggrieved at having to leave their homes and the temples which had always been theirs — relics, inherited from their fathers, of their original form of government — and at the prospect of changing their mode of life, and facing what was nothing less for each of them than forsaking his own town" (2.16.2). He attributes these feelings of the Athenians to the fact that originally Attica had been divided into a number of independent cities that had had little in common until Theseus unified the country by creating a common capital and a common government and by dissolving the local councils and magistrates. Aristotle, who certainly had the unification of Attica in mind, also considers, at the beginning of his *Politics* (1252b15ff.), the village (*kome*) as the oldest form of community and the polis as the result of the unification of several villages.

This statement of Thucydides is of the utmost importance for the understanding of the mentality and of the political, social, and religious life of the Athenian citizen. Athens was a city-state of exceptional size, about 1,600 square miles, with the consequence that for the majority of the Athenians it took several hours to get to the capital. The hardworking, frugal, and self-sufficient peasant, who is too busy to meddle in politics, who seldom attends the assemblies and keeps silent, and who dislikes and fears the town, is a typical figure of Athenian tragedy and comedy. Dicaeopolis, the hero of *The Acharnians* by Aristophanes, hates trade in the city, where he is always cheated, "loathes the town and is sick for his village-home" (v. 33), and dreams of going back there to feast the Dionysia "in the Fields" (v. 202). In the *Orestes* by Euripides, Orestes is defended in the assembly by a peasant, "a manful man, in town and market-circle seldom found, a yeoman, such as are the land's one stay, . . . a stainless man, who lived a blameless life" (*Or.* 918-22).[1] Aristotle (*Pol.* 1318b10ff.) considered that a democracy built on citizens

1. See also Aristoph. *Birds* 111f. and *Ploutos* 25f. and 222; Eur. *Suppl.* 420ff.; *El.*

living from agriculture was the best because peasants are busy and therefore have little time for politics. There is evidence that the majority of the Athenians were peasants of this kind.[2] Discussions on the working of the Athenian democracy should not ignore the fact that the average Athenian citizen seldom attended the assembly.[3]

Thus, as Thucydides says, the village, the deme, was for the majority of the Athenians the traditional and daily frame of their social, religious, and political life. This has long been ignored by historians who focused their attention on the city of Athens: on the acropolis, the pnyx, and the agora; on the ecclesia, the council and the magistrates of the state. But rural Attica fortunately has been rediscovered and reevaluated in recent years.[4] The Attic demes of which there were about 140, were homogeneous communities with their own citizenship. They had their own organization with an assembly and a demarch, as well as their own cults, temples, and traditions. Above all, the Athenians were strongly attached to their deme, even if they were rich and lived in town; they felt solidarity to their demesmen, especially in lawsuits and in political confrontations;[5] the famous enmity opposing the poet Aristophanes to the politician Cleon seems to have been an affair among the demesmen of Kydathenaion.[6] Athens was a community not of individuals but of communities, the demes.

But there was no conflict, no incompatibility, between the particularism of the demes and the unity of the Athenian state. Quite the opposite. Not only were the demes perfectly integrated in the Athenian state, they were also the base of the organization created by Cleisthenes at the end of the sixth century.[7] Sons of Athenian citizens became full Athenian citizens themselves

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258f. What most differentiated peasants from city folk was the skillfulness in speech: see Ar. *Eccl.* 241ff.; Eur. *Bacch.* 718ff.; Aristoph. Fragm. 685; *Com.Gr.Fr.* (ed. Kock) adesp. 627. For the Athenian peasant in general, see Victor Ehrenberg, *The People of Aristophanes* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1951) 73ff.

2. It is impossible to evaluate the rural population of Attica, but it seems certain that in Athens, as almost everywhere in antiquity, the rural population was much more important than the urban one (see John S. Traill, *The Political Organization of Attica: A Study of the Demes, Trittyes, and Phylai, and their Representation in the Athenian Council*, Hesperia Suppl. 14 [American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton, 1975] 70f.).

3. Admirers of the Athenian democracy are inclined to overestimate the participation in the ecclesia; see, for instance, Gustave Glotz, *La Cité grecque* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1928), and Moses I. Finley, *Democracy Ancient and Modern* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1973).

4. The classical work on the Attic demes remains that of Bernard Haussoullier, *La vie municipale en Attique: essai sur l'organisation des dèmes au quatrième siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque des Ecoles fr. d'Ath. et de Rome, 1884). But good and important books on this subject have been published in the last few years: Traill, *The Political Organization of Attica* (n. 2 above); Robin Osborne, *Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attika* (Cambridge: University Press, 1985), and David Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica 508/7 - ca. 250* B.C. (Princeton: University Press, 1986).

5. On the solidarity of the demes, see especially Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica*, 223ff.

6. See Thomas Gelzer, *RE* Suppl. 12 (1970) s.v. Aristophanes 12, col. 1400, and Hermann Lind, "Neues aus Kydathen," *Mus. Helv.* 42 (1985) 249-261.

7. See Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 21.4-6 with P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981) 251ff. See further Osborne, *Demos*, 72-92, and Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica*, 1-38, 255-290.

only after they had been registered in the deme of their father. Moreover, the members of the Council of the Five Hundred instituted by Cleisthenes were elected in such a way that each deme was represented proportionally to its population. Whereas the ecclesia was dominated by the urban crowd, the council was truly representative of the Athenian citizen body as a whole, and since the term of office in the council was one year and could be renewed only once, after a lapse of two years, the majority of the Athenian citizens belonged to the council at least once in their lives. The melting pot of the Athenian democracy was the council, not the ecclesia.[8] In a certain sense, Athens was a federation of demes that shows similarities with the Swiss Confederation.

In the Greco-Roman world, all organized communities, whether large or small, private or public, based on kinship or on community of interest, concretized their unity by common cults and rituals. Integration of new members in a group always took the form of an admission to the cults and rituals of the group. Every state was a political and religious community, and politics and religion were inextricably related.[9] Thus the study of the cults and rituals of a state reveals its structure and organization. It sometimes allows us to reconstruct its historical development, as is actually the case for Athens, from the unification of Attica in the Archaic period (8th to 7th century) to the democratization of the constitution by Cleisthenes at the end of the sixth century and the growth of the Athenian empire after the Persian Wars.

In Attica, temples, shrines, altars, sacrifices, religious ceremonies, and festivals were particularly numerous.[10] An anonymous author of the fifth century says that there were more festivals in Athens than in any other city of Greece ([Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 3.2). In *The Clouds* (v. 300ff.), Aristophanes alludes to the great number of religious ceremonies in Athens. Pausanias, who shows a particular interest for sacral affairs, says in his description of Attica that the Athenians were more devoted to religion and more pious than most other people (1.17.1 and 24.3). In the official calendar of Athens, almost every second day was sacred in the sense that some public sacrifice or ceremony took place on that day. These sacrifices and ceremonies fall into two great categories: the rituals of the demes and the rituals of the state. The rituals of the demes were, as Thucydides says, essentially ancestral and "popular"; the rituals of the city were civic, official, mostly solemn and serious, and, to some extent, artificial.

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8. Thus Osborne, *Demos*, 91f., is perfectly right in asserting that the council was much more representative of the citizen body than the ecclesia.

9. See the classic work of N.S. Fustel de Coulanges, *La cité antique* (Paris: Durand, 1864) = *The Ancient City* (with a new foreword by A. Momigliano and S.C. Humphreys [Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Univ. Pr., 1980]). Further, Martin P. Nilsson, *Cults, Myths, Oracles and Politics in Ancient Greece* (Lund: Gleerup, 1951; repr. Göteborg: Aström, 1986).

10. On the cults and religious festivals of Athens in general, see August Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1898); Ludwig Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin: Heinrich Keller, 1932); Jon D. Mikalson, *The Sacred and Civil Calendar of the Athe-*

LOCAL AND ANCESTRAL CULTS

The main function of the local cults was the insertion of new members in the community of the deme and the preservation of the community itself. Until he had been accepted in the deme of his father and registered in the lists of the demesmen at the age of eighteen, the young Athenian citizen was not officially a member of the deme. Women were never registered at all. But girls, women, and boys under eighteen had nonetheless a semiofficial existence as members of the phratries. Married women were integrated in the deme of their husband by participating in the religious festivals of the deme, in particular in the festival of the Thesmophoria, dedicated to Demeter. The demes as such had several sacrifices, shrines, and priests,[11] some of which were specific to the deme[12] and in some cases accessible only to the members of the deme.[13] Others were common to all demes; they concerned rituals connected with human life and with the annual cycle of agriculture. The Thesmophoria were of this category, as well as the Dionysia "In the Fields" or Rural Dionysia.

The Festival of the Phratries: The Apaturia

The phratries were groups of several families that originally were bound together, so it seems, by ties of neighborhood.[14] The first step of the public existence of the young citizen, whether male or female, was his or her presentation to the phratry by the father, at a festival called the Apaturia.[15] The father made a first presentation of the child soon after birth.[16] Boys were presented a second time when they reached manhood. Adopted children were presented in the same way.[17] Girls were not presented again because if they got married they left the phratry of their father to be introduced by their

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nian Year (Princeton: University Press, 1975); Herbert W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977).

11. On the cults of the demes in general, see Haussoullier, *La vie municipale en Attique* (n. 4) 135ff.; Severina Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas* (Lund: Lindstedt, 1931); Mikalson, "Religion in the Attic Demes," *Am. J. Phil.* 98 (1977) 424-435; Osborne, *Demos* (n. 4) 178ff., and Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica* (n. 4) 176ff. Our knowledge of the local cults of the demes depends mainly on their sacred calendars: the best-preserved example is that of the deme Erchia, published by Georges Daux, "La grande démarchie: un nouveau calendrier sacrificiel d'Attique (Erchia)," *Bull. Corresp. Hell.* 87 (1963) 603-634 = *Suppl. Epigr. Graec.* 21 (1965) 541; for other calendars, see Sterling Dow, "Six Athenian Sacrificial Calendars," *Bull. Corresp. Hell.* 92 (1968) 170-186.

12. Some of these specific cults of the demes, in particular those of Marathon, look archaic and primitive (see Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica* [n. 4] 190ff.).

13. See *IG* 2^2. 1214 (*Syll.*^{3} 912), 15ff.: The deme of Piraeus honors a citizen from another deme by inviting him to all the sacrifices of the deme.

14. On the phratries, see Charles Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952) 55ff., and Denis Roussel, *Tribu et cité* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1976) 93ff. On the Apaturia, see Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 232ff.

15. John Gould, "Law, Custom, and Myth: Aspects of the Social Position of Women in Classical Athens," *J. Hell. St.* 100 (1980) 38-59, denies (40f.) that girls were presented to the phratry, but Isaeus 3.73-76 explicitly says they were.

16. See especially Isaeus 8.19, who gives a brief description of the ceremony.

17. For the ceremony see Isaeus 7.16-17.

husband into his phratry. This presentation of the bride also occurred at the Apaturia, with the husband being obliged to offer a banquet to the members of the phratry.[18] Thus the Apaturia comprised three ceremonies on three successive days, the presentation of the newborn children on the first, the second presentation of the boys on the second, and the presentation of the bride by her husband on the third.

These ceremonies were not only indispensable for the integration of the new members in society, but also decisive for the legal status of the citizens. Because only children of both an Athenian father and an Athenian mother enjoyed the right of citizenship and because the presentation to the phratry was, for the girls, the only proof of their filiation, the testimony of the members of the phratry might be decisive if the citizenship or the filiation of a person happened to be contested, as was often the case in lawsuits about legacies.[19] Furthermore, occasionally the lists of the demes needed revision, as for instance after the end of the Peloponnesian War: a decree of the phratry of the Demotionidae reveals the dispositions taken on this occasion by the phratries in order to define precisely who belonged to them.[20]

The Festival of the Women: The Thesmophoria

The Thesmophoria was a festival of Demeter, the goddess of agriculture and, more specifically, the goddess who gave wheat to humankind.[21] This festival took place in the month of Pyanopsion, about October, and was related to the ploughing and sowing for the next year. At the same time, it was a festival of the fertility of women in which only married women participated. The third day of the festival was called Calligeneia, that is, bearer of a fair offspring.

The Thesmophoria was a festival of the demes to which only the wives of demesmen were admitted. The husbands had to contribute to the festival on behalf of their wives (Isaeus 3.80). Thus the participation in the Thesmophoria and the financial contribution of the husband were the manifestations of the "citizenship" of the women; the festival was a substitute for the assembly of the deme, where only men participated: it gave the women an opportunity to have a social life of their own, shared with the other women of the deme. In the eighth speech of Isaeus (19-20), the litigants try to demonstrate that their mother really was the legitimate wife of their father; they argue that "the wives of the demesmen" had chosen her to preside at the Thesmophoria and to perform the ceremonies jointly with her, and they gave

18. See Isaeus 3.76.

19. Isaeus 8 (On the estate of Ciron) is the best illustration of the importance of the phratry in lawsuits of this kind. See also Isaeus 7 (On the estate of Apollodorus) and Ps. Demosth. 57 (Ag. Euboulides).

20. *IG* 2^2 1237 = *Syll.*^{3} 921.

21. On the Thesmophoria see L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (n. 10) 50ff.; Allaire C. Brumfield, *The Attic Festivals of Demeter and Their Relation to the Agricultural Year* (Salem: Ayer, 1981) 70ff.

the sacred objects into her hands, which they would never have done if she had not been the wife of a demesman. For women, the participation in the Thesmophoria had the same function and significance as the entry in the lists of the deme for the men: it confirmed the formal integration in the community.

The Festival of the Demes: The Rural Dionysia

The festival of Dionysus took place in the winter, in late December.[22] It was a harvest festival, a merry feast of the peasants enjoying the new wine and making offerings to Dionysus, the god of fertility and peaceful life. It was a feast of the whole community, where men, women, children, and even slaves mingled. In *The Acharnians*, Aristophanes gives us an amusing description of the procession organized privately by his hero Dicaeopolis with his family when he comes back to the village; the essential elements of the procession are the offerings of food and wine, the phallus, and above all the singing and dancing of the participants.[23] In the classical and Hellenistic period, several demes also organized dramatic contests.[24]

Aristotle says in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (1160a 25-28) that the festivals of ancient origin take place after harvest because they are, in fact, harvest festivals. This was obviously the case with the Rural Dionysia, which is certainly one of the oldest, if not the oldest festival of Attica and of the Greek world in general.[25] It also was the most popular, the festival to which the Athenians were most attached. Dicaeopolis, the hero of *The Acharnians*, a typical Athenian countryman, longs to go back to his village and to feast at his beloved Rural Dionysia. It symbolizes for him peace, prosperity, and happiness; the procession to Dionysus is his first undertaking after concluding the peace with the Spartans.[26] The Rural Dionysia is certainly the festival Thucydides first has in mind when he writes of the ancestral rites of the countryside.[27]

THE INTEGRATION OF THE DEMES

The integration of the demes attributed to Theseus was the result of an evolution of several centuries, in the course of the Dark Age and the Archaic period, that found its conclusion with the reorganization of Attica by

22. See L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (n. 10) 134ff.; Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica* (n. 4) 212ff.; Sir Arthur Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) 42ff.

23. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 242ff. See also Plut. *Mor.* 527 D and 1098 B; Isaeus 8.16.

24. On the dramatic performances in the demes see Aeschines 1 (Ag. Tim.) 157; Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals* (n. 22) 45ff.; Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica* (n. 4) 215ff. Several demes had their own theater (Osborne, *Demos* [n. 4] 233f. n. 24, and Whitehead, 219f.).

25. The primitive character of the procession described by Aristophanes needs no justification. How old the theatrical performances were is another question.

26. The whole scene begins with the exclamation by Dicaeopolis: "O Feast of Dionysus" (*O Dionysia*) at v. 195.

27. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica* (n. 4) 222.

Cleisthenes. This integration, whether peaceful or through conquest, was not only political, but also religious. The demes participated in the official cults of the Athenian state.[28] They sent delegations to the Panathenaea, the great civic festival of the Athenians.[29] The demarchs had to collect and to bring to Eleusis the first fruits for Demeter.[30] Moreover, the demes offered sacrifices in the temples of the gods in the city. A decree of the deme of Plotheia regulating the finances of the deme distinguishes three categories of sacrifices: sacrifices of the deme, sacrifices in Athens for the community of the deme, and contributions to the quadrennial festivals of the polis, principally the Panathenaea.[31] The deme of Erchia offered sacrifices "in the city" (*en astei*) to Apollo Lykeios, to Demeter, to Zeus Polieus, to Athena Polias, and, on the Hymettus, to Zeus. Erchia also made sacrifices to Zeus Polieus and to Athena Polias in the deme itself.[32]

Most interesting is the integration — or more precisely, the annexation — of some local cults by the Athenian state.[33] For the state, the ancestral deities who protected agriculture and human life were no less essential than for the demes. Therefore, the state participated in the ancestral cults of the demes either by creating parallel cults in the city, as is the case with the Rural Dionysia, or by taking possession of existing local cults. The best examples of such appropriation are the Mysteries of Eleusis and the Thesmophoria of Halimus.[34] Finally, for purely political reasons, the state annexed some local heroes such as Aias and Amphiaraus.

The Mysteries of Eleusis

The Mysteries celebrated at Eleusis commemorated the myth of Demeter and Core narrated in the Hymn to Demeter of the late seventh century.[35] The Hymn relates how Demeter, the goddess of the crops, decided to strike after her daughter had been raped by Hades, the god of the underworld. After difficult negotiations a compromise was concluded: Hades agreed to liberate his wife every spring and Demeter promised that she would again allow the seeds to sprout and the vegetation to grow.[36] Demeter is the "bringer of seasons"

28. On this aspect see Mikalson, art. cit. (above n. 11) and Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica* (n. 4) 178-180.

29. *IG* 2^2 334, 25-27.

30. *IG* 1^3 78 = Russell Meiggs and David Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1969) no. 73, 8ff.

31. *IG* 1^3 258, 25-28: *thyein tà hierà tá te es Plothei[âs k]oinà kaì tà es Athenaíos hypèr Pl[othéo]n tô koinô kaì tà es tàs pentet[erid]as.*

32. *Suppl. Ep. Gr.* 21 (1965) 541, 1ff. and 39ff.

33. This aspect is particularly well emphasized by Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte* (n. 11) 124ff.

34. A further example of annexation is the cult of Artemis Brauronia (see the remarks of Osborne, *Demos* [n. 4] 154ff.).

35. On the Hymn to Demeter see N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford: University Press, 1974). On the Mysteries, see above all George Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton: University Press, 1961), and L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (n. 10) 70ff.

36. See Jean Rudhardt, "L'Hymne à Déméter," in *Du mythe, de la religion grecque et de la compréhension d'autrui, Cahiers Vilfred Pareto = Rev. eur. sc. soc.* 19 (1981) 227-244.

(*horephoros*) and "the giver of perfect gifts" (*aglaodoros*).[37] Together with her daughter she brings to humankind prosperity and happiness. The Mysteries of Eleusis, which were celebrated in the month of Boedromion (around September) fundamentally were a harvest festival, a festival of the seasons.[38]

According to the tradition, Eleusis had originally been an independent city-state and was annexed by the Athenians at the time of the kings, with the condition that the Eleusinians keep the control of the Mysteries as before. The reality and above all the time of this war are controversial, but it is undisputed that, at the time of the composition of the Hymn to Demeter, the Mysteries were exclusively in the hands of the Eleusinians and of the Eleusinian family of the Eumolpidae.[39]

In the classical period, the administration of the sanctuary remained in the hands of the deme of Eleusis, and the Eumolpidae preserved their priestly functions, but both the administration of the sanctuary and the organization of the Mysteries were now also the responsibility of the Athenian state and more particularly of the Archon Basileus. A temple to Demeter and Core, the Eleusinion, was built below the acropolis, and the Mysteries of Demeter became one of the most important festivals of the state. This annexation took place, it seems, during the first half of the sixth century and was completed by the time of the tyrant Pisistratus.[40]

The ceremonial of the Mysteries perfectly illustrates the appropriation of the originally local cult by the Athenian state.[41] Before the beginning of the Mysteries, the sacred objects (*hiera*) of the goddesses were brought from Eleusis to Athens and deposited in the Eleusinion below the acropolis. On the 19th Boedromion, a solemn procession of all Athenians brought back the *hiera* to Eleusis along the famous Sacred Road, with several sacrifices on the way. After the celebration of the Mysteries and the return from Eleusis the Archon Basileus reported about the performance of the rituals to the council, which on this occasion met in the Eleusinion according to a law attributed to Solon (Andocides 1.111f.). Not only did the Athenian state annex the Mysteries, but it made of it an affair of public concern. Acts of impiety against the Mysteries, such as the famous scandal in which Alcibiades and Andocides were implicated in the year 415, were crimes against the state that had to be punished by the state.[42]

In fact, the annexation of the Mysteries is one of the most remarkable achievements of the Athenian state ideology. Athens was the great beneficiary

37. *Hymn Hom. Dem.* 54, 192 and 492.

38. See Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (n. 35) 13f.

39. Some scholars, for instance G. Mylonas, *Eleusis* (n. 35) 23ff., and N. J. Richardson, op. cit., p. 7, think that it goes back to the Mycenaean period, while others date it to the late seventh century (see Karl J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* 1^2 [Strassburg: De Gruyter, 1912] 207, and Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution* [n. 14] 35). The later date seems more likely to be correct.

40. See John Boardman, "Herakles, Peisistratos, and Eleusis," *J. Hell. St.* 95 (1975) 1-12.

41. On this ceremonial, see Deubner, *Attische Feste* (n. 10) 72ff.

42. See Thuc. 6.28, 53, and 61, and the first speech of Andocides (On the Mysteries).

of the immense prestige the Mysteries enjoyed in antiquity. Athens was able to monopolize Demeter, who to some extent became an Athenian deity. It claimed the merit of being the city that first cultivated wheat and that gave it to other people. And because bread was a symbol of civilization, the Athenians could consider themselves as the founders of Greek civilization.[43]

The Thesmophoria of Halimus

The Athenian state celebrated its own Thesmophoria.[44] The festival took place in Athens and began with a procession ascending to the Thesmophorion situated on the Pnyx. But the procession started not from the city itself, but from the deme of Halimus, which was situated some four miles to the south of Athens. The Athenian women, among whom the ladies of noble families took a prominent place, assembled there for the first of the four days of the festival.[45] It seems certain that originally the Thesmophoria of the Athenian state lasted only three days and that the day in Halimus was added after the annexation of Halimus by the Athenian state, thus marking the integration of a local cult, the Thesmophoria of Halimus, into the state cult. This expansion symbolized the fact that the ancestral Thesmophoria of the demes were now part of the Thesmophoria in the city, which were the festival of all Athenian women who were represented in particular by the "well-born" ladies.

The Local Heroes

As stated earlier, the demes had their own deities and heroes to protect the community of the deme. With the political unification of Attica, the deities and heroes of the demes automatically became deities and heroes of the Athenian people as a whole but, in some cases, the annexation of the local hero took a particularly spectacular form. The same is true for the integration of territories outside of Attica proper. The best example is the annexation of Aias, the hero of Salamis who had a shrine and a cult there.[46] After the conquest of Salamis at the time of Solon, the legend emerged among the Athenians that the island had been given to them by the sons of Aias to whom they had granted Athenian citizenship and who had come to live in Athens (Plutarch *Solon* 10.3). They honored Aias and his sons as their national heroes. One of the Cleisthenic tribes was called Aiantis. After the battle of Salamis against the Persian fleet, at which the Greeks had invoked the help of Aias and his kins, the Aeacidae (Herodotus 8.64), Athens created a festival, the Aianteia.

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43. On this ideology, see especially Isocr. 4 (Paneg.) 28-31.

44. On the state Thesmophoria see L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (n. 10) 50ff., and R. Osborne, *Demos* (n. 4) 170f. (whose interpretation, however, seems problematical).

45. In the *Thesmophoriazusae* of Aristophanes, the chorus is composed of "well-born" women (*eugeneis gynaikes*, 330). See also Plut. *Sol.* 8.4: "the first ladies of Athens."

46. Paus. 1.35.3. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (n. 10) 228, and Solders, *Ausserstädtische Kulte* (n. 11) 100f.

The ephebes went to Salamis in procession, offered a sacrifice there, and organized gymnastic contests, a torch race and a regatta.[47]

The Athenians acted in the same way in 338 B.C. with Amphiaraus, the local hero of Oropus, after they had taken possession of that city; they instituted a festival in his honor, the Amphiareia, with sacrifices and gymnastic contests.[48]

The symbolical significance of these annexations appears particularly obvious in the case of Aeacus and his sons, the local heroes of Aegina (Herodotus 5.80 and 8.64). At the end of the sixth century, the Athenians were involved in a long war with Aegina, at that time one of the great sea powers of Greece. As they were unable to get the better of the Aeginetans, on the advice of the Delphic oracle the Athenians marked out a precinct for Aeacus in their city, in the agora (Herodotus 5.89). They finally won the war and eventually (at the time of Pericles) annexed Aegina, expelled the population, and settled Athenian colonists on the island.

Thus the appropriation of a local hero had a double objective. In the case of Aegina, it preceded the annexation of the territory and was intended to obtain the collaboration of the protector of the enemy. In the case of Salamis, it had the function of justifying the annexation ideologically. In both cases, political and religious annexations were complementary.

THE EDUCATION OF THE CITIZENS

The survival and independence of the state depend first on the citizens, on their capacity and willingness to defend the interests of the community in the assemblies and magistracies, and on their capacity and willingness to fight for it on the battlefield. In Athens as everywhere else in the Greek world, the education of the young citizens was based not only on physical training but also on music (in the original and broad sense of the word), for physical training alone was considered sufficient for barbarians but not for the free citizens of a free city-state: in a Greek city, learning and education were no less important than gymnastics.[49] The physical and mental preparation of the young citizens took place in the gymnasium of the city under the responsibility of the gymnasiarch.[50] The adult citizens completed their mental and intel-

47. *IG* 2^2 1006, 30f. and 1011, 53ff.

48. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (n. 10) 229, and Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte* (n. 11) 124.

49. See Thuc. 2.40.1: the Athenians are lovers of beauty and wisdom; Aristoph. *Frogs* 729: good politicians are educated through physical training in the palaestra and music and choruses. As is well known, the Athenians despised the Boeotians because of their ignorance (see especially Isocr. 15.248). The historian Ephorus said that Theban hegemony was short-lived because the political leaders of Thebes neglected careful training and education, ignored the value of learning and of intercourse with mankind, and cared for military virtues alone (Strab. 9.2.2, C 401 = *FGrHist* 70 F 119).

50. See M. P. Nilsson, *Die hellenistische Schule* (Munich: Beck, 1955); J. Delorme, *Gymnasion. Etude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce* (Paris: De Boccard, 1960), and the gymnasiarchal law of Beroea (*Suppl. Epigr. Gr.* 28 [1978] 261) with the commentary of Luigi Moretti, "Sulla legge ginnasiarchica di Berea," *Riv. Fil.* 110 (1982) 45-63.

lectual education at the theater, where every year the state organized drama and music festivals that were intended not only to entertain and amuse the population but also to keep alive their civic virtues. The plays themselves, at least in the classical period, often contained a political message, in particular exhortations to democratic behavior.[51] Above all, the festivals provided an opportunity for the community to proclaim, in the presence of all the citizens, its recognition of those, citizens or foreigners, who had been generous to it and served it well.

The Gymnasium: The Prometheia and the Heracleia

In the Hellenistic period, the deities of the gymnasium were usually the Muses, Hermes, and Heracles.[52] In Athens, the cult of Hermes is attested at the Academy already by the end of the sixth century (*Anth. Pal.* 6.144), and we know from Aeschines (1 [Ag. Timarchus] 10) that the teaching in the gymnasium served as a preparation for the Museia and the Hermaea.[53] But in Athens the specific gods of the gymnasium were Heracles and Prometheus who were celebrated at the festivals called Heracleia and Prometheia.[54]

Our best evidence for the rituals and significance of the festivals of the gymnasium is the recently published gymnasiarchal law of Beroea.[55] These festivals were in fact an inspection of the boys and youths, an examination of their physical condition, their skill, and their discipline. The best among them won a crown and had their names engraved on a stele in the gymnasium. The ceremony began with a sacrifice, comprised different competitions, and was concluded with a banquet. The most spectacular and most typical of the competitions was the torch race (*Lampadedromia*), an estafette race in which boys, youths, and men participated in various categories.[56] The race took place at night, through the streets of the town. It started from the altar of Prometheus and Heracles before the Academy and ended at the center of the city. This contest was extremely popular and an essential part of several Athenian festivals, the Prometheia, the Heracleia, the Hermaea, and others.

51. To take only two examples among many others, Aristophanes claims in *The Acharnians* (630ff.) that his ambition is to enlighten his fellow citizens and to make them distrust the adulations and lies of the demagogues. In *The Frogs*, he introduces Euripides and Aeschylus, who debate about who was the better educator for Athenian democracy (833ff., esp. 937ff.).

52. See Delorme, *Gymnasion* (n. 50) 337ff.

53. See also Plat. *Lys.* 206 d, who informs us that at the Hermaea the youths and the boys were mingled together.

54. See Deubner, *Attische Feste* (n. 10) 211f. (Prometheia) and 212f. (Hephaisteia).

55. See above, n. 50.

56. See Karl Jüthner, *RE* XII, 1 (1924) s.v. *Lampadedromia*, who gives the evidence for the different torch races in Athens, their itinerary, and their iconographic representations. The exact goal of the race is not known (see Jüthner, ibid. 571f.).

The Theater: The City Dionysia and the Lenaea

The god of the dramatic festivals was, in Athens as everywhere else in the Greek world, Dionysus. In all the Greek world, with only a few exceptions, the dramatic contests were called Dionysia. Dionysus was the patron of the guilds of artists who performed at the Dionysia.[57]

Athens had two great dramatic festivals every year, the Lenaea celebrated in midwinter and the City Dionysia or Greater Dionysia in late spring.[58] These festivals of Dionysus preserved some features of the original, rural cult of the god, but in the classical period they essentially were a cultural and civic ceremony.

The civic character of the festivals is manifested in the institution of the *proedria*, that is, the privilege of sitting in the first rows at the theater, a privilege that belonged ex officio to the magistrates and priests of the state and was also granted to citizens and foreigners who had deserved well of the city, and to ambassadors and friends who happened to be present.[59] But most important in this perspective were the proclamations that the herald of the city made before the first tragic performance at the Greater Dionysia.[60] We know from Lysias (Fragm. 6.2), Isocrates (8 [On the Peace] 82-83), and Aeschines (3 [Ag. Ctesiphon] 154) that on this occasion the herald proclaimed the names of the orphans of war and the names of their fathers, who had fought gallantly and given their lives for their city, and announced that the city was taking charge of them until they reached the age of manhood. Those who had come of age were presented to the audience, equipped with a new panoply, and dismissed from state care. In the Hellenistic period, the herald also praised the ephebes and their trainers for the seriousness of their preparation, for their zeal and discipline.[61] Above all, the herald proclaimed the honors and crowns decreed by the city to its benefactors and friends. The Athenian state, like most Greek states of the classical and Hellenistic periods, was quite lavish in granting crowns and privileges to citizens who had been particularly generous or simply had conscientiously and honestly fulfilled their citizen duty, and to foreigners and befriended cities and kings who, in difficult circumstances, had helped the city with money, grain, or in some other way. The herald announced these honors at the Dionysia with the following formula: "The Demos crowns X or Y for his good will and merits."[62] For both the citi-

57. See Franz Poland, *RE* V A, 2 (1934), s.v. Technitai.

58. See Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (n. 22).

59. See Michael Maass, *Die Prohedrie des Dionysostheaters in Athen*, Vestigia 15 (Munich: Beck, 1972). According to Demosth. 21 (Ag. Meid.) 217 and Aeschin. 3 (Ag. Ctes.) 42, all Greeks who happened to be present attended the festivals.

60. See especially Aeschin. 3 (Ag. Ctes.) 40ff. who complains that the multiplication of proclamations disturbs spectators, actors, and choregi, and Simon Goldhill, "The Great Dionysia and Civic Ideology," *J. Hell. St.* 107 (1987) 58-76: 62ff.

61. See, e.g., *IG* 2^2.1006, 42ff.; 1008, 35ff.; 1009, 16ff., etc.

62. For the proclamation of honors at the Dionysia see Louis Robert, *Opera minora selecta* I (Amsterdam: Hakkert 1969) 73.

zens and the befriended foreigners and cities, for all those who were present, these proclamations were an exhortation to be even more devoted to the community: "For be assured, fellow citizens, it is not our wrestling halls or the schools or our system of liberal studies alone that educate the young, but far more our public proclamations. It is proclaimed in the theater that one is crowned for virtue and nobility and patriotism" (Aeschines 3. 246).[63]

THE STATE CULTS

The physical training and the civic virtues of the citizens were ineffective and useless without the protection of the gods. Common gods and common cults were necessary to keep alive the unity of the community; they were indispensable to preserve its independence against enemies. The gods and heroes were the protectors and defenders of the city, which was in a sense their property (see, for example, Dinarchus 1 [Ag. Demosth.] 64 and Lysias 4.20). Piety to the gods of the city was no less important than physical strength and discipline; impiety to the gods was synonymous with treason.[64] The Athenian state, like all states of antiquity, devoted the greatest care to the cult of the gods and heroes of the state; meetings of the council and of the ecclesia always began with a prayer to the gods.[65]

The Common Hearth in the Prytaneion: Hestia

The city was, first of all, a community, a kind of enlarged family: "For you, Athenians, observing what I have called the natural bond of mutual kindness, live as a corporate body in this city just as families live in their private homes" ([Demosth.] 25 [Ag. Aristog. 1] 87). The city, like every family, had a common hearth that was represented by the goddess Hestia and situated in the Prytaneion.[66] The Sacred Fire of the community burning there was extinguished only once in Athenian history, during the siege of Sulla.[67] According to tradition, Athenian colonists took from it the fire before leaving their mother-city. The Prytaneion was the symbolic center of the community as a "partnership of families." It was the residence of the eponymous archon (Aristoteles, *Ath. Pol.* 3.5) and the place where the representatives of the community granted hospitality to official guests and took their meals with them. This honor was

63. See also Demosth. 18 (On the Crown) 120.

64. See Eudore Derenne, *Les procès d'impiété intentés aux philosophes à Athènes au V^me^ et au IV^me^ siècles av. J.-C.* (Liège, 1930); Harvey Yunis, *A New Creed: Fundamental Religious Beliefs in the Athenian Polis and Euripidean Drama,* Hypomnemata 91 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1988), esp. 19-28.

65. See in general Fustel de Coulanges, *La cité antique* (above, n. 9).

66. See R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora* III: *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1957) 166-174; Stephen G. Miller, *The Prytaneion: Its Function and Architectural Form* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), especially 4-24, 132-218.

67. See [Theocr.] 21.36 and Plut. *Num.* 9.11, with the commentary of Wycherley (op. cit., p. 171); Schol. Thuc. 2.15.2; Poll. 1.7. There is no reason to think, with Robert Flacelière, *Rev. Et. Gr.* 61 (1948) 417-419, that the Sacred Fire was in the Parthenon.

normally conferred on ambassadors and visiting friends, and on citizens who had deserved well of the city, such as the victors at the panhellenic games. A small number of citizens obtained this extraordinary privilege (the *sitesis*) in recognition of exceptional deeds: for example, it had been granted to the descendants of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the murderers of the tyrants, and it was later conferred on Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and a few others (see esp. *IG* 1^3 131).

Athena Polias

The Greeks had common gods who were honored in every Greek city. The Athenians had a cult of Zeus, of Apollo, and of all other gods of the Olympus. But they had, like every Greek city, a deity of their own, Athena, who was the divine owner of Attica and its specific protectress: "I think that the gods on our side are more than a match for theirs [the Argives']. Hera may be their patron but we have Athena; and what counts in the long run is having stronger gods upon your side. Pallas will never let the others win."[68] Thus the cult to Athena Polias was the state cult par excellence. The festival of the Panathenaea, celebrated in midsummer, was the major religious event of the Athenian state.[69] According to tradition, this annual festival was created by Theseus, the founder of the Athenian state. By the middle of the sixth century, the tyrant Pisistratus gave to this festival a new dimension by creating the Great Panathenaea, a quadrennial festival of particular prestige with gymnastic and musical contests.

The essential part of the Great Panathenaea was the procession that brought to the goddess her *peplos*, the embroidered robe intended to clothe her statue in the Parthenon. This procession was, as we can see on the frieze of the temple, extremely solemn and serious, and, as is often the case in ceremonies of this kind, a monopoly of the social and political elite of the state. The girls and women who wove the *peplos* and carried it in the procession belonged to the most prominent families. The procession was also a parade of the Athenian cavalry, again the "fine fleur" of Athenian society. Thus the cult of Athena Polias indeed was the cult of the Athenian state as such, reflecting its traditional social structure.

The Eponymous Heroes of the Tribes

As he reorganized the Athenian state at the end of the sixth century, Cleisthenes distributed the 139 demes into ten territorial tribes that had the essential function of strengthening the unity of the Athenian citizen body by combining urban, suburban, and rural demes, thus reducing the natural opposition between the urban and rural population.[70] But the main purpose of the tribes was to

68. Eur. *Heraclidae* 347ff.; tr. by A. Gladstone.
69. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (n. 10) 22ff.
70. See Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution* (n. 14) 138ff., and Roussel, *Tribu et cité* (n. 14) 279ff.

distribute equally among the citizens the rights and duties that were the foundation of Athenian democracy.[71] The tribes were the basis of the organization of the army, so that citizens from the city and the countryside trained and fought together. Public works like digging trenches and building walls or ships, were assigned to the tribes (Aeschines 3 [Ag. Ctesiphon] 30-31). Each tribe had fifty councilors in the council and one representative on the board of the ten generals.[72] The dramatic festivals were a competition among the tribes that were responsible for the preparation of the actors, musicians, and choruses. The victory of the *choregos* chosen by his tribe was a victory of the whole tribe.[73] The system was so effective that in the classical period the solidarity of the tribesmen was almost as important in public life as the solidarity of the demes.[74]

Since common cults and rituals were indispensable for the cohesion of a group or community, Cleisthenes invented for the tribes fictitious ancestors, the eponymous heroes of the tribes.[75] Each hero had his own shrine, where the members of the tribe honored him with sacrifices, held their meetings, and published their decrees. The common altar of the ten heroes near the council house on the agora was used for the exhibition of public information and documents.[76] The heroes clearly were the symbols of the democracy instituted by Cleisthenes.

The National Hero of the Athenians: Theseus

Like every Greek city-state, Athens had its mythical founder, Theseus.[77] But this hero was more than the founder of the unified state who dissolved the local councils and created a central government. In the fifth century, he became the hero of the triumphant Athenian democracy, victorious over the tyrants and over the barbarians. Theseus is the personification of the freedom of Athens.

The myth of Theseus was known throughout the Greek world already at the beginning of the seventh century. But, surprisingly, he appears in Athenian

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71. See Hdt. 6.131, who says of Cleisthenes: *ho tàs phylàs kaì tèn demokratían Athenaíoisi katastésas.*

72 . See Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 22.2 with the commentary of Rhodes (n. 7) 264f., and Roussel, *Tribu et cité* (n. 14) 280ff.

73. The best illustration of this competition is the speech of Demosthenes against Meidias (or. 21).

74. See, e.g., Hyper. 3.12; Demosth. 23 (Ag. Andr.) 206. Demosthenes offered a banquet to his tribesmen (21 [Ag. Meid.] 156).

75. See Ursula Kron, *Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen: Geschichte, Mythos, Kult und Darstellungen, Ath. Mitt. 5.* Beih. (Berlin, 1976). On the necessity of inventing fictitious ancestors, see Nilsson, *Cults, Myths, Oracles, and Politics* (n. 9) 65ff.

76. On this altar, see R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora* III (n. 66) 85-90.

77. Frank Brommer, *Theseus: Die Taten des griechischen Helden in der antiken Kunst und Literatur* (Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchgesellschaft, 1982). See also Emily Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica, Bull. Inst. Class. St.* Suppl. 57 (London, 1989) 117-123, who however ignores the role of Theseus as leader of the Athenians against the barbarians in the context of the Persian Wars.

iconography only in the second half of the sixth century. The most popular theme, here as elsewhere, is his fight against the Minotaur.

But the political significance of Theseus as the national hero of Athens really begins with the Athenian victory over the Persians at Marathon in 490 B.C. For the Athenians, this battle was *the* great victory of their history, the victory they evoked again and again in later times. They were particularly proud of it because they had fought this battle alone, without the help of the Spartans. It was a victory of fundamental consequence for Athens because it was the victory of the young democracy of Cleisthenes (it must be remembered that Hippias, the expelled tyrant, accompanied the Persians hoping to return to power) and it was the starting point of the political and cultural greatness of Athens that culminated in the so-called Periclean Age.

It was said that during the battle of Marathon many Athenians saw the ghost of Theseus coming up from the underworld to fight with them against the barbarians (Plutarch, *Thes.* 35.8). In the famous painting of the Stoa Poikile of about 460 B.C., Theseus is actually represented as fighting with the Athenians at Marathon (Pausanias 1.15.3). A few years after the Persian Wars, about 476 B.C., the bones of Theseus were recovered in the island of Skyros and solemnly brought back to Athens (Plutarch, *Cimon* 8.6-7). A temple was built in his honor (Paus. 1.17.2-6) and a festival, the Theseia, instituted, with a great procession, in which the young Athenian citizens marched in arms.[78]

From this time onward, Theseus, like Heracles, appears in the iconography as the hero of many deeds. He is often represented as fighting against the centaurs and the Amazons. Both deeds were originally attributed to Heracles, in Athens as everywhere else (on Attic vases of the second half of the sixth century the fight against the Amazons appears very often, always with Heracles, never with Theseus).[79] This integration of Theseus and the Athenians in myths in which they originally had no part is not due to fashion; it is a deliberate usurpation by the Athenian state, pure ideology. It first appears in the paintings of the Stoa Poikile and soon afterward in the paintings of the Theseion, on the metopes of the Parthenon, and on the statue of Athena. The fight against the Amazons is also narrated by Aeschylus in *The Eumenides* (685ff.).

The political purpose of this ideology is obvious when considered in its historical context. It is the consequence of the Athenian decision, after the Persian Wars, to continue the fight against the barbarians until the total liberation of the Greeks was achieved. After the Persian Wars, the Athenians took over the leadership of the Greek world against the barbarians, a leadership that had previously been in the hands of the Spartans. In this context, the fights against the centaurs and the Amazons were reinterpreted as mythical antecedents of the war against the Persians. Of the four paintings of the Stoa Poikile, one represented the fight against the Amazons with Theseus, a second a scene of the Trojan War with the sons of Theseus, and a third the battle of

78. L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (n. 10) 224ff.
79. See F. Brommer, *Theseus* (n. 77) 116.

Marathon with Theseus.[80] The integration of the myth into history was perfect.

The Apogee of Athens: The Parthenon

In the year 448-447 construction began of the monument that was to be forever the symbol of the political greatness and cultural supremacy of Athens, the Parthenon. This most beautiful achievement of Greek architecture and sculpture was realized in an astonishingly short time, less than fifteen years. Simultaneously, Phidias created his statue of Athena Parthenos dedicated in 438. The Propylaea, even more famous in antiquity than the Parthenon, were erected in the years 438-433.[81] This extraordinary building activity belongs to the period when Athens, under the leadership of Pericles, enjoyed peace and prosperity.

Ephorus, a historian of the fourth century, asserts that the Athenians financed the buildings on the acropolis with the surplus of the tribute paid by the allies for the war against Persia.[82] He states that some years earlier, by 454-453, the Athenians transferred the treasury of the Delian League from Delos to Athens, that by this time the accumulated reserve amounted to 10,000 talents, and that it was from this reserve that the Athenians drew the money for their building programs.[83] Plutarch knows this tradition and says in a famous passage of his biography of Pericles (ch. 12) that the political opponents of the great statesman accused him of using the money of the allies to embellish the city like a prostitute. According to Plutarch, Pericles answered that, as long as they fought for the freedom of Greece against the barbarians, the Athenians owed their allies no account, and that it was just that those who risked their lives for others receive some compensation: beautiful buildings for the city, work and money for the poor.

Modern scholars take the testimonies of Ephorus and Plutarch at their face value; no one doubts that the Athenians felt authorized to use the surplus of the tribute for their own purposes, in particular for the embellishment of the city.[84] Thus the Parthenon is seen as a symbol of Athenian imperialistic

80. Paus. 1.15. 2-3. The fourth painting represents a battle between Athens and Sparta.

81. Ancient sources usually mention the Propylaea as the most important monument on the acropolis and hardly mention the Parthenon at all: see Thuc. 2.13.3; Aeschin. 2.105; Diod. 12.40.2; and Cic. *Off.* 2.17.60. Demosth. 22 (Ag. Andr.) 13 is an exception.

82. Diod. 12.40.2. Diodorus explicitly quotes Ephorus as his source in this context (12.41.1).

83. Diod. 12.38.2. In this passage, Diodorus gives a figure of 8,000 talents, but the figure mentioned at 12.40.2, 12.54.3, and 13.21.3 is of 10,000 talents.

84. See on all this August Boeckh, *The Public Economy of Athens* (London: Parker, 1842) 178ff., 201ff.; Benjamin D. Meritt, Henry T. Wade-Gery, Malcolm F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists* III (Princeton, 1950) 118-132, 277-281, and 326-345; Arnold W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956) 16-33; Meiggs and Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (n. 30) 164f.; R. K. Unz, "The Surplus of Athenian Phoros," *Greek, Roman, and Byzant. Stud.* 26 (1985) 21-42.

policy under the leadership of Pericles, intended to express the supremacy of Athens over the Aegean, its glory as the head of a great empire.[85]

We are fortunate to possess, engraved on marble slabs, important fragments of the accounts and inventories of the Parthenon and the other buildings of the acropolis. A careful examination of these inscriptions shows that, for the main part, the monuments were financed by the Sacred Treasury (*hiera chremata*) of Athena Polias and, to a lesser degree, by a special contribution of the allies, the *aparche*, that amounted to one-sixtieth of the tribute.[86] But there is not the slightest evidence that the Athenians ever used the tribute itself for this purpose, nor that they transferred to the treasury of Athena funds accumulated by the League. Moreover, these documents reveal that for undertakings of some importance, such as the siege of Samos in 441-440 or of Potidaea in 432-430, the Athenians borrowed considerable amounts of money from the treasury of Athena Polias and from the chests of other gods deposited on the acropolis. Apparently, the tribute was sufficient to maintain a fleet of a few dozen ships that could ensure Greek supremacy over the Aegean, but it did not, or only exceptionally, allow undertakings of great size. At any rate, it is quite impossible that the League accumulated a reserve fund of several thousand talents in the first twenty-five years of its existence.[87] The money contained in the Sacred Treasury of Athena must have another origin.[88]

Sanctuaries and shrines of the Greek states were, like the churches in the Middle Ages (the Basilica S. Marco in Venice is a remarkable parallel), the symbols of the political independence of the city and of the military virtues of its citizens. From the time of Homer (*Iliad* 7.81ff.), spoils taken from enemies adorned their walls. Moreover the Greeks used to consecrate to the gods one-tenth of the booty they took from their enemies, whether on the battlefield, through the plunder of cities, through razzias, or by ransoming prisoners.

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85. See especially Russell Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972) 152ff., 289f.; Wolfgang Schuller, *Die Herrschaft der Athener im Ersten Attischen Seebund* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1974) 70f.; S. Eddy, "The Gold in the Athena Parthenos," *American Journal of Archaeol.* 81 (1977) 107-111, p. 111: the statue of Phidias is a "literal monument to Athenian imperialism."

86. On the following, see my article "Le Parthénon, le Trésor d'Athéna et le tribut des alliés," *Historia* 39 (1990) 129-148, and, with other arguments, Lisa Kallet-Marx, "Did Tribute fund the Parthenon?" *Class. Antiquity* 8 (1989) 252-266.

87. R.K. Unz, art. cit. (n. 84) is conscious of this difficulty and tries to save the tradition by supposing that the tribute grew progressively from 460 talents at the foundation of the league to 560 by 450. But there is no evidence at all for this assumption: in the tribute lists of the inscriptions, the total amount is never more than 400 talents and cannot have been more than 500 talents in 454-453 (see Meiggs and Lewis, op. cit. [n. 30] 87f.).

88. The error of Ephorus is probably due to a misunderstanding of a passage of Thucydides, which lists, in a speech of Pericles, the Athenian resources at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (2.13). Thucydides says that originally the treasury deposited on the acropolis contained 9.700 talents, but he gives no information on the origin of these funds. He only says at the end that all these resources (money in cash, offerings, cult objects, and statues) could be used for the salvation of the city but should be fully restored. This sentence is in perfect agreement with the epigraphical evidence, which shows that the reserve fund was the property of the goddess and not of the Athenian state or the League. Thucydides was evidently better informed than Ephorus.

They consecrated this share of the booty in the form of statues or monuments; they sometimes built temples or porticoes when the booty was particularly important.[89] The Persian Wars, in particular the battles of Salamis and of Plataea, left to the Greeks quantities of gold and silver they had never seen before, part of which they spent for colossal statues, for porticoes, or for temples.[90] After the defeat and the retreat of the Persians, the Greeks pursued the war under the leadership of the Athenians with the acknowledged purpose of avenging themselves for what they had suffered by ravaging the Great King's territory (Thuc. 1.96.1). Of their share of booty, the Athenians necessarily offered at least one-tenth to Athena Polias and the other gods of the city. It is reasonable to assume that the reconstruction of the temple of Athena, which had been destroyed by the Persians, was financed with the booty taken from the Persians.

The iconography of the Parthenon, that is, the Battle of the Gods and Giants, the Battle of the Amazons and the Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs on the statue of Phidias, the same themes and the Trojan War on the metopes, fits perfectly with this assumption.[91] These themes all express the same idea: the fundamental opposition between Greeks and barbarians — an ideology that throughout the fifth century appears again and again in Athenian iconography and literature. This fundamental opposition between Greeks, born to be free, and barbarians, born to be slaves, is the central theme of the *Histories* of Herodotus, written precisely at the time of Pericles. It appears also in several plays by Euripides. In *Iphigenia in Aulis*, in particular, Agamemnon explains to his daughter that she must die for the freedom of the Greeks (1265ff.), and Iphigenia eventually accepts her fate because, as she says to her mother, she was born not for her mother alone, but for the salvation of all Greece (1370ff.).[92] For Aristophanes, those who plotted with the Great King were to be listed among the traitors.[93]

This Athenian ideology is all the more significant because the Spartans and Peloponnesians in general held quite a different attitude toward the barbarians. According to Herodotus, at the time of the Persian invasion of Greece most Peloponnesians remained neutral, which, in his opinion, amounted to being favorably disposed toward the barbarians (Hdt. 8.73), and from Thucydides we know that the Spartans did not hesitate to ask the Persians for help against Athens at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 2.7.1). Thus, the Athenians really were the pillar of Greece against the Persians.[94]

89. After the battle of Himera in 480, Acragas used its share of the booty and the prisoners of war to build several temples and public buildings (Diod. 11.25).

90. Hdt. 8.121; 9.70 and 81; Paus. 3.11.3 and 9.4.1.

91. For the statue, see Plin. *Nat. hist.* 36.18; for the metopes, Frank Brommer, *Die Metopen des Parthenon* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1967).

92. See also *Med.* 536ff.; *Heraclidae* 423; *Andr.* 169ff. and 665f.; *Hec.* 1199-1200.

93. *Knights* 478; *Peace* 107f. and 408.

94. See Pind. Fragm. 76 Snell: *Hellados ereisma*. The Athenians rewarded the poet generously for the compliment (Isocr. 15. 166).

The pride of the Athenians, which finds its most beautiful expression in the plays of Euripides, is not that they dominated a great number of Greek cities, but, quite the opposite, that they were the champions of the freedom of Greece because Greeks had been born to be free. Their pride was that, like Iphigenia, many of them had given their lives for Hellas. This is the significance of the Parthenon as well: it said to the Greeks that since the times of Theseus the Athenians had fought for them against the barbarians and that they were going to fulfill their mission to the end.[95]

95. Incidentally, this ideology provides a further argument against the historicity of the extremely controversial Peace of Callias. On this question, see, recently: Klaus Meister, *Die Ungeschichtlichkeit des Kalliasfriedens und deren historische Folgen* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1982), and, *contra*, Ernst Badian, "The Peace of Callias," *J. of Hell. St.* 107 (1987) 1-39. — I am indebted to my colleagues and friends Philippe Borgeaud and José Dörig for advice and help.