

## ATHENS AND ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY

These collected papers construct a distinctive view of Classical Athens and of Athenian democracy, a view which takes seriously the evidence of settlement archaeology and of art history. This evidence both casts new light on traditional questions and enables new questions to be asked, questions concerning the experience of being an Athenian citizen, how the institutions of democracy affected the Athenian economy, and how the rituals of religion related to the rituals of democratic politics. Unlike books on Athenian democracy which focus on the Assembly and Council, this book gives full weight to women as well as men, slave as well as free, and the rural worker as well as the leisured man about town. Robin Osborne's work has been in the forefront of the resurgence of interest in Athenian law and Athenian religion; these essays are each placed in their scholarly context, and point the direction for future research.

ROBIN OSBORNE is Professor of Ancient History in the University of Cambridge and a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. He has written and edited numerous works on ancient history, including *Greek history* (2004); *Rethinking revolutions through Classical Greece* (co-edited with Simon Goldhill, Cambridge, 2006); and *Debating the Athenian cultural revolution: art, literature, philosophy and politics 430–380 BC* (edited, Cambridge, 2007).

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ROBIN OSBORNE



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## *Preface*

Over the last two and a half decades one of the major strands of my work has been concerned with our understanding of Athenian democracy, in its political, its social and economic, its artistic and its religious manifestations. In particular, I have sought in a variety of ways to bring out the links between the nature of Athenian political relations and the way in which Athenian society behaved and in which it represented itself. Those links I have argued to work in both directions: the fact that Athens was a democracy influenced Athenian society, the Athenian economy, the arts at Athens and Athenian religion, but equally social forms, economic activities, artistic expression and cult practice themselves influenced the particular way in which the Athenian democratic constitution worked in practice. Although few scholars would deny the value of such an approach to Athenian democracy, few themselves practise such an approach. If it is scarcely thinkable that anyone today, more than fifty years on, would write about the Athenian constitution as if understanding constitutional history were simply a matter of understanding changing magisterial powers or formal differences in the legal capacities of the people, in the way that Hignett did in 1952 in *A history of the Athenian constitution to the end of the fifth century BC*, nevertheless general discussions of Athenian democracy continue to paint their picture on a narrowly political canvas. In the papers collected here I have endeavoured to show why this is too limited an approach to understanding classical Athens and its democracy.

Following the example – and reviving the vision – of my Cambridge predecessor, A.H.M. Jones, whose work I celebrate and explore in chapter 1, I here collect together what I regard as my major contributions to the study of Athens and Athenian democracy. I have arranged them into an introduction, five parts and a coda. In the introduction (chapter 1), which is based on my inaugural lecture as Professor of Ancient History in the University of Cambridge, I survey the broad outline of the last fifty years of scholarship on Athenian democracy and suggest some future directions

*Preface*

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of study. This introduction puts my own work into its more general context and shows how my work relates to that of other scholars.

The five following parts are each provided with their own brief preface, outlining the particular lines of argument pursued in those chapters. The first part looks at Athenian democracy as a system in which the institutional framework and the patterns of official expression shaped thought and behaviour not just in the core institutions of Council and Assembly but in the meetings of sub-groups, whether demes, phratries, *gene*, or even more informal groups. The second part looks at the organisation of production in Athens, at who laboured to what effect and at what drove production. It is interested both in the ways in which who did what influenced individuals' attitudes to one another and in the way in which the corporate demands of the city impacted upon the economic decisions that Athenians made. A particular concern in this part is with the interaction between economic activity and place of residence, and I attempt to gauge the possible parameters of physical mobility, its causes and its effects. The third part turns its attention to Athenian law, once more to look at the interaction between practice and theory, both in terms of individuals' private use of the courts and of the way Athenians deployed law in their relations with others. I try to show both the impact of law upon society (e.g. by tracing the effects of the Periclean Citizenship Law upon the effective visibility of women) and of politics upon law (particularly in relation to the oligarchic coups of the late fifth century). The fourth part turns attention to the Athenians' monumental construction of an image of the city and its concerns in the sculptures of the Parthenon, arguing that the sculptures both have to be read carefully in their particular architectural context, which governed how they were viewed, and in their broader political context. These sculptures inevitably raise questions of the relationship between democratic politics and religion, and it is that theme that is taken up in the final part of the book, whose chapters explore the effect of festival practices upon citizen ideology, the place of particular religious representations in the citizen's construction of the world, and the ways in which we can use material and pictorial evidence to reveal something of Athenians' religious experience.

In a coda I bring together many of the concerns of the earlier pages by drawing attention to the importance within democracy of the existence of fixed patterns of behaviour, of secular and religious rituals, which offered the reassurance that what Athenians did and the decisions they took were not arbitrary but the consequence of processes hallowed by tradition.

In collecting these papers here I have taken the opportunity to update references, correct errors and add endnotes in which I comment on what

other scholars have contributed to the issue in hand since my paper was originally published. The substance and argument of the papers themselves have not been altered, and, with two minor exceptions, where ignoring subsequent major publications would be unhelpful, each of them refers only to the scholarship of which I was aware when I first wrote. But the papers now observe the same conventions for the transliteration of Greek (a broadly Hellenising convention, except for the most familiar of names), and over the indication of dates (dates between 1 and 1000 are BC unless otherwise indicated; dates over 1000 are AD unless otherwise indicated).

I am grateful to Michael Sharp at Cambridge University Press and to the two anonymous Press readers for their encouragement and for their suggestions about the shape of the collection. The work of updating and of converting the papers to a uniform system of reference, along with many other tedious tasks involved in putting these papers together, has been done by my research assistant, James Watson. I am most grateful to him for his efficiency, care and attention to detail. I thank Philippa Steele for her sharp-eyed reading of the proofs.

## *Abbreviations*

Standard abbreviations for ancient authors and texts have been used, although these have been Hellenised where appropriate to conform to the convention used throughout this volume.

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
<i>ABL</i>	C.H. Haspels (1936) <i>Attic black-figure lekythoi</i> . Paris.
<i>ABSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>ABV</i>	J.D. Beazley (1956) <i>Attic black-figure vase-painters</i> . Oxford.
<i>Addenda</i>	T.H. Carpenter, with T. Mannock and M. Mendonça (1989) <i>Beazley Addenda. Additional references to ABV, ARV<sup>2</sup> &amp; Paralipomena</i> . 2nd edn. Oxford.
<i>AION</i>	<i>Annali di archeologia e storia antica</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>Annales E.S.C.</i>	<i>Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations</i>
<i>Arch. Delt.</i>	<i>Archaiologikon Deltion</i>
<i>Arch. Eph.</i>	<i>Archaiologike Ephemeris</i>
<i>Arch. Eph. Chr.</i>	<i>Archaiologike Ephemeris, Chronik.</i>
<i>ARV<sup>2</sup></i>	J.D. Beazley (1963) <i>Attic red-figure vase-painters</i> . 2nd edn. Oxford.
Austin <sup>2</sup>	M.M. Austin (2006) <i>The Hellenistic world from Alexander to the Roman conquest. A selection of ancient sources in translation</i> . 2nd augmented edn. Cambridge. 1st edn. (Cambridge 1981.)
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>

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*List of abbreviations*

<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
Blass	F. Blass (1869–81) <i>Hyperidis orationes quattuor, cum ceterarum fragmentis</i> . Leipzig.
<i>CEG</i>	P.A. Hansen (1983–9) <i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i> . Berlin.
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Classical Journal</i>
<i>C&amp;M</i>	<i>Classica et Mediaevalia</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
<i>CVA</i>	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i>
Davies <i>APF</i>	J.K. Davies (1971) <i>Athenian propertied families 600–300 BC</i> . Oxford.
Drachmann	A.B. Drachmann (1903) <i>Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina</i> . Stuttgart.
<i>Ergon</i>	<i>To Ergon tes Archaialogikes Hetaireias</i>
<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby (1923–) <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Leiden.
Fornara	C.W. Fornara ed. (1983) <i>Translated documents of Greece and Rome I. Archaic times to the end of the Peloponnesian War</i> . 2nd edn. Cambridge.
<i>G&amp;R</i>	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>IRhann</i>	B. Ch. Petrakos (1999) <i>O demos tou Rhamnountos. 2. Oi epigraphes</i> . Athens.
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
K-A	R. Kassel and C. Austin (1983–91), <i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> . 2 vols. Berlin.
Kenyon	F.G. Kenyon ed. (1906) <i>Hyperides. Orationes et fragmenta</i> . Oxford.
Kock	T. Kock ed. (1880–8) <i>Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta</i> . Leipzig.
<i>LACTOR</i>	<i>London Association of Classical Teachers – Original Records</i>
<i>LCM</i>	<i>Liverpool Classical Monthly</i>
<i>MAAR</i>	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i>
<i>MarbWPr</i>	<i>Marburger Winckelmann-Programm</i>

*List of abbreviations*

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MEFRA	<i>Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome</i>
ML	R. Meiggs and D.M. Lewis eds. (1969) <i>A selection of Greek historical inscriptions to the end of the fifth century BC</i> . Oxford. Revised edn. (1988).
NM	National Museum
n.s.	New series
OGIS	W. Dittenberger ed. (1903–5) <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> . Leipzig.
OR	R. Osborne and P.J. Rhodes eds. (forthcoming) <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions 479–404 BC</i> . Oxford.
<i>Paralipomena</i>	J.D. Beazley (1971) <i>Paralipomena. Additions to Attic black-figure vase-painters and to Attic red-figure vase-painters</i> . 2nd edn. Oxford.
PMG	D.L. Page (1962) <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> . Oxford.
POxy	<i>Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i>
<i>Praktika</i>	<i>Praktika tes en Athenais Archaïologikes Hetaireias</i>
RA	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Witte, K. Mittelhaus and K. Ziegler eds. (1893–1997) <i>Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft: neue Bearbeitung</i> . Stuttgart.
REA	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
RhM	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
RO	P.J. Rhodes and R. Osborne eds. (2003) <i>Greek historical inscriptions 404–323 BC</i> . Oxford.
Sandbach	F.H. Sandbach (1990) <i>Menandri reliquiae selectae</i> . Revised edn. Oxford.
SEG	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum</i>
SIG <sub>3</sub>	W. Dittenberger ed. (1915–24) <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . 3rd edn. Leipzig.
Snell-Maehler	B. Snell and H. Maehler eds. (1987–9) <i>Pindarus: Carmina cum fragmentis</i> . Leipzig.
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
Thalheim	T. Thalheim (1913) <i>Lysiae Orationes</i> . Leipzig.
Tod	M.N. Tod ed. (1948) <i>A selection of Greek historical inscriptions</i> . Vol. II: <i>From 403 to 323 BC</i> . Oxford.
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>



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- Ch. 2 ‘Athenian democracy: something to celebrate?’, *Dialogos* 1 (1994) 48–58.
- Ch. 3 ‘The *demos* and its divisions in classical Athens’, in O. Murray and S.R.F. Price eds. (1990) *The Greek city: from Homer to Alexander*. Oxford: 265–93.
- Ch. 4 ‘Inscribing performance’, in S.D. Goldhill and R. Osborne eds. (1999) *Performance culture and Athenian democracy*. Cambridge: 341–58.
- Ch. 5 ‘The economics and politics of slavery at Athens’, in C.A. Powell ed. (1995) *The Greek world*. London and New York: 27–43.
- Ch. 6 ‘Pride and prejudice, sense and subsistence: exchange and society in the Greek city’, in J. Rich and A. Wallace-Hadrill eds. (1991) *City and country in the ancient world*. London and New York: 119–45.
- Ch. 7 “‘Is it a farm?’ The definition of agricultural sites and settlements in ancient Greece”, in B. Wells ed. (1992) *Agriculture in ancient Greece*. Proceedings of the seventh international symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 16–17 May, 1990. Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 4°, XLII. Stockholm: 21–5.
- Ch. 8 ‘The potential mobility of human populations’, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 10 (1991) 231–52.
- Ch. 9 ‘Law in action in classical Athens’, *JHS* 105 (1985) 40–58.
- Ch. 10 ‘Vexatious litigation in classical Athens: sykophancy and the sykophant’, in S.C. Todd, P.A. Cartledge and P.C. Millett eds. (1990) *Nomos. Essays in Athenian law, politics and society*. Cambridge: 83–102.

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Ch. 11 'Religion, imperial politics, and the offering of freedom to slaves', in V.J. Hunter and J. Edmondson eds. (2000) *Law and social status in Classical Athens*. Oxford: 75–92.

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Ch. 13 'Changing the discourse', in K. Morgan ed. (2003) *Popular tyranny. Sovereignty and its discontents in ancient Greece*. Austin, TX: 251–72.

Ch. 14 'The viewing and obscuring of the Parthenon frieze', *JHS* 107 (1987) 98–105.

Ch. 15 'Democracy and imperialism in the Panathenaic procession: the Parthenon frieze in its context', in W.D.E. Coulson, O. Palagia, T.L. Shear, Jr., H.A. Shapiro and F.J. Frost eds. (1994) *The archaeology of Athens and Attica under the democracy*. Proceedings of an international conference celebrating 2,500 years since the birth of democracy in Greece, held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 4–6 December 1992. Oxbow Monograph 37. Oxford: 143–50.

Ch. 16 'Competitive festivals and the polis: a context for dramatic festivals at Athens', in A.H. Sommerstein, S. Halliwell, J. Henderson and B. Zimmermann eds. (1993) *Tragedy, comedy and the polis*. Papers from the Greek drama conference, Nottingham, 18–20 July 1990. Bari: 21–38.

Ch. 17 'The erection and mutilation of the Hermai', *PCPS* n.s. 31 (1985) 47–73.

Ch. 18 'The ecstasy and the tragedy: varieties of religious experience in art, drama, and society', in C.B.R. Pelling ed. (1997) *Greek tragedy and the historian*. Oxford: 187–211.

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