The Pre-Play Ceremonies of the Athenian Great Dionysia: A Reappraisal

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Abstract

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A Reappraisal

Andrea Giannotti

This doctoral thesis focuses on the dramatic festival of the Great (or City) Dionysia and its related pre-play ceremonies, for which the role of democracy has been intensely debated. Scholars have explored the socio-political value of the festival's pre-play ceremonies which took place in the theatre before the dramatic performances, in front of the audience: the libation to Dionysus poured by the ten generals, the display of the allies' tributes, the Athenian war-orphans' parade and the public proclamation of honours and crowns. The prevailing view still relates the celebration of these rituals to democratic ideology. However, this assumed situation masks a number of issues. Through four chapters, each dedicated to one pre-play ceremony, first I show that the four pre-play ceremonies did not occur simultaneously, and thus should not be understood as part of a holistic and democratically-oriented propaganda programme. As a second step, an exhaustive investigation into the historical sources and socio-political value of the ceremonies is provided: it will be shown that democracy and the ideology related to it were less involved than one might suppose. Lastly, I highlight that the Dionysia and its pre-play ceremonies were not exclusively Athenian prerogative: from a thorough examination of the available evidence, I demonstrate that many attestations of the Dionysia outside Athens occur and need to be considered. This problematises the Athenocentric interpretations of the Dionysia's pre-play ceremonies, since many cities which were not democracies (as Athens was) provide testimonies of dramatic festivals with comparable pre-play ceremonies. In light of these crucial details, the premier dramatic festival of Athens — and the academic discussion surrounding its ideological value — need to be re-examined.

The Pre-Play Ceremonies of the Athenian Great Dionysia: A Reappraisal

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List of Abbreviations

AIO	Attic Inscriptions Online (https://www.atticinscriptions.com)
Bernard, Mus. du Louvre	*Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte et de Nubie au Musée du Louvre*
Clara Rhodos	*Clara Rhodos*
Corinth 8,1	*Corinth VIII,1. The Greek Inscriptions 1896-1927*
Didyma	*Didyma Inscriptions. Texts and List*
Ephesos	*Ephesos Inscriptions. Texts and List*
Erythrai	*Erythrai Inscriptions. Texts and List*
Fayoum	*Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum*
FD III	*Fouilles de Delphes, III. Épigraphie*
Halikarnassos	*Halikarnassos Inscriptions. Texts and List*
HGK	*Heilige Gesetze von Kos*
I. Aeg. Thrace	*Epigraphes tēs Thrakēs tou Aigaiou: metaxy tōn potamōn Nestou kai Hevrou (nomoi Xanthēs, Rhodopēs kai Hevrou)*
Iasos	*Iasos Inscriptions. Texts and List*
ID	*Inscriptions de Délos*
I.Eleusis	*Eleusis. The Inscriptions on Stone. Documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme.*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
*IG*Bulg	*Inscriptiones graecae in Bulgaria repertae*
IK Byzantion	*Die Inschriften von Byzantion*
IK Knidos I	*Die Inschriften von Knidos I*

IK Laodikeia am Lykos	*Die Inschriften von Laodikeia am Lykos*
*I*Olbia	*Inscriptiones Olbiae (1917-1965)*
IosPE I²	*Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae*
IScM	*Inscriptiones Daciae et Scythiae Minoris antiquae. Series altera: Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris graecae et latinae*
Iscr. di Cos	*Iscrizioni di Cos*
Magnesia	*Magnesia Inscriptions. Texts and List*
MDAI(A)	Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung (Berlin)
Mylasa	*Mylasa Inscriptions. Texts and List*
OGIS	*Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*
OR	Osborne - Rhodes
Peek, *Attische Inschriften*	*Attische Inschriften*
PHI	Packard Humanities Institute (Searchable Greek Inscriptions)
Philae	*Les inscriptions grecques de Philae: I-II*
Priene	*Priene Inscriptions. Texts and List*
Prose sur pierre	*La Prose sur pierre dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine*
RO	Rhodes - Osborne
SE	*Supplementum Ephesium*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
Sinuri	*Sinuri Inscriptions. Texts and List*
Teos	*Teos Inscriptions. Texts and List*
Theangela	*Theangela Inscriptions. Texts and List*
Tit. Calymnii	Tituli Calymnii
Tit. Cam.	Tituli Camirenses

Declaration

I confirm that no part of the material offered has previously been submitted by me for a degree in this or any other University.

This thesis is exclusively based on my own research.

Material from the work of others has been acknowledged, and quotations and paraphrases suitably indicated.

Statement of Copyright

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ἡμεῖς δ’ οἷά τε φύλλα φύει πολυάνθεμος ὥρη / ἔαρος…

(Mimn. fr. 2W, 1–2)

Introduction

i. Introducing the problem.

When one thinks about ancient Athens, democracy is likely to be the first thing that comes to mind. After all, Athens *was* the birthplace of democracy; it *was* a democracy (with all the known limits); it *was* the greatest enemy of Persian tyranny and Spartan oligarchy; it *was* the city of the charismatic (democratic) leader Pericles; and it *was* the motherland of Western culture. But was all of this strictly related to democracy? To what extent can we point to Athenian democracy as responsible for everything that was happening in the city, and everything the city produced?

This doctoral thesis aims to answer these crucial questions about Athenian democratic ideology and its influence on one of the greatest cultural products of the city: the dramatic festival of the Great (or City) Dionysia and its related pre-play ceremonies. I argue that, beyond this species of government (with its influence and activity), there is the city in which that government is 'hosted'. Thus, prior to speaking of Athenian democracy, I prefer to talk about the Athenian πόλις. Each product of Athens, ephemeral or material though it might be, should be considered firstly as a product of the *polis*; next, one might investigate the extent to which democracy has played a role in the shaping of that product. Therefore, I focus on a precise cultural and religious product of the city of Athens, the dramatic festival of the Great Dionysia, in which the role of democracy has been intensely debated. Scholars have explored the socio-political value of the festival's pre-play ceremonies which took place in the theatre prior to the dramatic performances, in front of the audience: the libations to Dionysus poured by the ten generals, the display of the allies' tributes, the Athenian war-orphans' parade and the proclamation of honours and crowns by the herald.

Many scholars still relate the celebration of these rituals to democratic ideology: following a democratic interpretation, 1) the ten generals are considered genuine officers of the democratic government; 2) displaying the tributes of the allied cities is seen as a display of Athenian democracy's power, as head of the Delian League; 3) providing the Athenian war-orphans with armour implies continuity with their fathers who died to protect democratic Athens, and 4) publicly honouring those who benefited the democratic city is recognised as an expression of the democracy's magnanimous behaviour. This casts the Great Dionysia, in its entirety, as a democratic festival, and thus exemplifies the notion of a tight bond between Athens, the concept of democracy, and the city's products, as mentioned above. Though some critiques have been levelled against the democratic interpretation of Athens' Great Dionysia, a number of scholars still takes for granted that democratic ideology was a prevalent element within the Dionysia's pre-play ceremonies, and consequently assess those rituals as aspects of democratic propaganda. However, this assumption masks a number of issues, as I argue here. I demonstrate that the four pre-play ceremonies did not occur in conjunction with one another, and thus should not be understood as part of a continuous, holistic, democratically-oriented programme of propaganda: the libations to Dionysus poured by the ten generals were likely to have taken place only once (moreover, the only source that attests the ceremony, Plutarch, is ambiguous); the display of the tributes took place exclusively during the period of the Delian League (that is, in the second half of the fifth century B.C.); the war-orphans' parade is the only ritual which seems to have had a temporal continuity (but it was no longer celebrated in Isocrates' and Aeschines' time); finally, the proclamation of honours in the theatre took place only three times in the very late fifth century B.C., and then became a common ritual from the second half of the fourth century B.C. onwards. Hence, the

Dionysia's pre-play ceremonies should not be analysed as a unified or continuous programme.

An exhaustive investigation into the socio-political value of the ceremonies will be provided: it will be shown that democracy and the ideology related to it were less interrelated than one might suppose, because of the lack of a specific democratic feature in each of the four pre-play ceremonies. Additionally, I highlight that the Dionysia and its pre-play ceremonies were not an exclusively Athenian prerogative: through examination of all the available evidence, I demonstrate that many attestations of the Dionysia outside of Athens occur, and these need to be brought to bear on the question of the pre-play ceremonies' purported democratic inflection. Moreover, this problematises strictly Athenocentric interpretations of the Dionysia' pre-play ceremonies, since many cities which were not democracies (as Athens was) provide testimonies of dramatic festivals with comparable pre-play ceremonies. In light of these details, the premier dramatic festival of Athens — and the academic discussion surrounding it — deserves re-examination, firstly in order to advance upon a comprehensive understanding of the Great Dionysia's pre-play ceremonies, and secondly to challenge the strictly democratic interpretation of those ceremonies: the dramatic festival and its ceremonies had something to do not only with the Athenian πόλις, but with other Greek πόλεις of diverse political inflections.

ii. The status quaestionis.

In ancient Athens, everything was part of the πόλις and, consequently, subject to the changes of the πόλις, its discussions and its politics. The theatre too, as an institution of the city, was influenced by τὰ πολιτικά ('the things/affairs of the city'), and thus it can be considered 'political' in this broader sense, though we may also think of it as 'political' in reference to the (much debated) 'political ideologies' detected within the dramas. Since the

mid-twentieth-century scholars have speculated that Greek tragedy had a political meaning and a political effect on its audience, and such investigations have aroused much discussion, as well as giving rise to different methodological approaches. In order to offer a political interpretation of Greek tragedy, scholars initially considered the historical sources and events that were contemporary with the plays, and subsequently analysed tragic texts to contextualise them within their Athenian socio-political contexts, and to relate them to social thought and conflict. A useful review considering the development of studies concerning the political interpretation of tragedy is provided by Suzanne Saïd,[1] who charts modern opinions on the relation between tragedy and politics since the 1950s, according to this schematic breakdown: 'Tragedy as a "Reflection" of Contemporary Events'; 'Tragedy as a "Reflection" of Current Politics'; 'Tragedy as Committed Theater'; 'Tragedy as Propaganda for Athens'; 'Tragedy as Political Thought' ('Tragedy endorses Athenian Civic Ideology'; 'Tragedy "Contructs" Athenian Civic Ideology'; 'Tragedy Questions Athenian Civic Ideology'). In Saïd's opinion, 'these opposite views of Greek tragedy as endorsement or criticism of civic ideology are both globally wrong and partially correct'.[2] She concludes that it is more likely that 'from Aeschylus to Sophocles and Euripides, the relations between city and family, public and private duties [became] more problematic',[3] and that the relationship between tragedy and civic ideology, through the fifth century B.C., was increasingly characterised by a more inquisitive tone. Furthermore, Mark Griffith has drawn 'twelve principles for reading Greek tragedy', depicting almost all the possible interpretations of Greek tragedy as either based on historical contingency, political

[1] Cf. Saïd 1998. Carter 2007: 21–63 lists six of the most important critical approaches of the last fifth years: Podlecki's historicist approach, Macleod's 'Politics and the *Oresteia*', Goldhill's democratic assumption, Griffith's 'Brilliant Dynasts', Seaford's new ritualism and Hall's 'tragedy and the others'.

[2] Saïd 1998: 284.

[3] Saïd 1998: 294.

inflection, or democratic conviction.[4] However, before exploring this rich constellation of interpretative categories, it is worth retracing a general and chronological history of scholarly studies on Greek drama and festivals — which, with regard to the pre-play ceremonies, culminated with the debate Goldhill-Griffin-Rhodes-Carter. Studies on the emotional and aesthetic character of Greek tragedy have proven extremely useful to the comprehension of drama. However, since my discussion deals with the socio-political aspects of Greek dramatic festivals, I will here primarily consider those studies which concern the social, historical and political spheres of Greek drama.

The attempts to interpret Greek tragedy in a political (in the modern sense of the word)[5] as well as historical manner began in the 1950s (where prominence was given to a historical reading of drama),[6] and developed through the 1970s and into the early 1980s (where playwrights' political thought and belief became a major topic). Those later decades were characterised by the predominance of Marxist and materialistic approaches to history, literature and art. According to this view, if man is conditioned by both his society and historical context, then consequently his products must be interpreted similarly.[7] Along

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[4] Cf. Griffith - Carter 2011: 1–7 (cf. especially the references at 3 [n. 2]).

[5] Today, 'political' encapsulates only what concerns politics, governments and politicians. Due to this separation between the 'political places' and the context/society where they are situated, the original connection with the πόλις, society and civic sphere is almost completely lost.

[6] Cf. Delebecque 1951, Ehrenberg 1954, Goossens 1962 and Podlecki 1999[2] (1966). But one can already find a historical and political reading of Aeschylus' *Eumenides* in Livingstone 1925 and of Aeschylus in general in Thomson 1940.

[7] For instance, Vincenzo Di Benedetto's significant contribution, *Euripide: teatro e società* (1971), was marked by an interpretation of Euripides' tragedies in strong relation to contemporary socio-political events, because, in Di Benedetto's opinion, the playwright can be totally understood only in historical terms (cf. Di Benedetto 1971: ix–xii); and, 9 years later, he still recognised, if not the efficiency, at least the persistent usefulness of the materialistic approach to Greek tragedy, which produced a more comprehensive set of historical data (cf. Di Benedetto - Lami 1980: 15). Later, Di Benedetto admitted that the Marxist approach to Greek tragedy as well as Greek culture had to be revised, though being 'ineliminabile il rapportarsi dell'opera letteraria ad una realtà che si pone al di fuori della pura letterarietà' (Di Benedetto - Medda 1997: 337).

these lines, Greek tragedy and its authors were analysed together with the historical and political changes of the Athenian society in which they lived and, therefore, historical and political allusions inside the tragic texts were forcefully detected. The French-Belgian 'hyper-historical' drift originated with the writings of Delebecque[8] was then taken up by Goossens.[9] Much historical and political information was extracted thanks to this method of investigation: tragedies were contextualised in precise historical-political periods and read together with Thucydides,[10] so that clear references to the real life of Athens would emerge. It must be said that, alongside the detection of some undoubtable historical-political allusions, this method has produced a number of misunderstandings. Indeed, one issue resulting from this methodology has been the emergence of an overly radical historical perspective that overestimates political allusions and/or tends to identify tragic characters with real politicians: tragedies were judged 'democratic' or 'conservative' depending on particular passages highlighted by scholars, who claim to have inferred the playwrights' political orientation.

[8] Barbara Goff describes Delebecque's analysis as a 'reductio ad absurdum of historical particularity' (cf. Goff 1995: 20).

[9] Pierre Vidal-Naquet, though recognising the charm Goossens' work shows, evaluates it more as a history of Athens than an interpretation of Euripides (cf. Vidal-Naquet 2002 [2001]: 18).

[10] For a discussion about the relation between history and tragedy, especially Thucydides and Euripides (with regard to their account of the battle of Delium), cf. Giannotti 2019b.

The politico-historical approach went too far — as Garvie points out[11] — in using tragedies as real 'historical sources', and provoked strong reactions in favour of an apolitical reading[12] of tragedies (as Griffith says, 'in that it often deals with mythological, divine, or universally human issues that antedate or ignore *polis*-formation in Greece and seem to have little overt political content').[13] Similarly, it produced more theoretical approaches, which neglected the contemporary historical and political events, but employed — as we will see — a more sociological approach.[14] For it would be too risky to talk with conviction about the political beliefs of tragedians (if they had any that could be detectable in their works) in the absence of their complete *corpus*, and without first analysing the broader framework of the dramatic festival in which tragedies were staged.

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[11] Cf. Garvie 2007: 170–88. Garvie disapproves of the 'historicist' approach as the only method to be used to read Greek tragedy, and prefers rather the 'universalist' approach. Especially at the beginning of his chapter, he provides a useful description of the recent status of studies: 'recent scholarship has insisted that, if we are to understand Greek tragedy correctly, we must get behind our own modern cultural assumptions, and recognize that it was written for an audience with a very different cultural background. That means that the proper way to study it is in the context of fifth-century Athenian civic democratic ideology. Conversely, the idea that it means almost as much to us in the twenty-first-century as it did to the original audience, because human nature does not radically change from one generation to another, tends to be seen as old-fashioned, and 'universalist' has become almost a derogatory label. I do not intend to argue that the 'historicist' approach is wrong. Historians are entitled to use tragedy as a source for the understanding of fifth-century society, and, conversely, there is much in tragedy that can be fully appreciated only by those who are familiar with the nature of the society for which it was written. […] The purpose of this paper, however, is to show that there is still something to be said for the 'universalist' approach, and that the 'historicist' approach, if it is carried too far, can lead to wrong interpretations of a play. The two approaches can be combined, and the question is really one of priority. To put it crudely, is it better to begin with the text of a play, and to form our judgement before we consider how far it needs to be modified in the light of ancient attitudes and presuppositions, or should we from the beginning consciously subordinate our own aesthetic response to our knowledge of the context in which the work was produced?' (170–1).

[12] In that same period, Zuntz (1955 and 1958) strongly opposed such historical interpretations, as well as Macleod (1982) some years later.

[13] Griffith - Carter 2011: 3.

[14] Cf. Vernant 1972 and Vernant - Vidal-Naquet 1972: 13–40.

The main divide between the strong historical approaches, and more recent methods, has been the socio-political evaluation of the data provided by the work of Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (first edition: 1953; second edition: 1968), a central scholarly resource on the Athenian dramatic festivals. Pickard-Cambridge provided a huge volume of information and sources and, despite the early date of his work, it was subsequently revised and corrected until 1988. The work is divided into seven large chapters: the lesser festivals (the Anthesteria, the Lenaia and the Rural Dionysia); the Great or City Dionysia; the actors; the costumes; the chorus; the audience; the artists of Dionysus. The analysis of Pickard-Cambridge focused on the dramatic festivals of Athens from the archaic age to the Roman empire. He handled a huge number of sources — inscriptions as well as literary texts — in order to provide a detailed account of each dramatic festival with its context. But Pickard-Cambridge did not interpret the functions and the context of the dramatic festivals and their ceremonies in political or sociological terms, because he aimed only to recapitulate all surviving evidence about the festivals of Athens. Pickard-Cambridge amassed those data which, later, would have been used by several scholars in order to provide a social interpretation of dramatic festivals and their context. Indeed *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* has significantly influenced the socio-political studies on Greek tragedy, because it shifted attention from the *text* to the overall *context* (not only the politico-historical situation). From its initial publication, the book was

seen as a 'worthy memorial of a great scholar'[15] and as a great conclusion of the 'trilogy' comprised also of the previous *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy* (1927) and *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens* (1946). The author, taking his lead from German scholarship,[16] made a 'unique and indispensable'[17] contribution to the subject of ancient Greek theatre. Indeed, Pickard-Cambridge's work has marked, through the years, the beginning of the systematic study of contexts of the Great Dionysia and its ceremonies. This caused a substantial change of interests concerning Greek drama and its content: scholars, though not immediately, moved from the interpretation of tragic texts to the consideration of the social, religious, ideological and ritual contexts of the dramatic festival in which tragedies and comedies were performed.[18] Thus, in the last decade of the twentieth century, in order to consider an alternative political interpretation of Greek tragedy, scholars invoked the original Greek etymology of *politics*, *i.e.* 'having something to do with the πόλις'.[19] Subsequently, scholars believed that the reading of Greek tragic texts in a political manner

[15] These are the words that T.B.L. Webster, as editor of the volume (due to Pickard-Cambridge's illness in 1951 and, then, sudden death in 1952), wrote in his *Note* (v). In regard to Webster, it is worth noticing here that also his *Greek Theatre Production* (London 1970[2] [1956]) is still interesting because of its then innovative approach to Greek drama. Basing on the previous works of Pickard-Cambridge, Robert, Bieber and Simon, the author aimed to analyse Greek theatre in a chronological and topographical way, studying the different places and times of the production. In his work, Webster included a great number of materials: plays and ancient writings on drama, *lexica*, commentaries, archaeological remains of ancient theatres and monuments connected with drama, organising all the material by regions. The first part of the volume, which deals with Athens, is obviously useful to this study, even though its focus is perhaps too literary. Conversely, the following sections ('Sicily and Italy'; 'Mainland Greece'; 'The Islands'; 'Asia and Africa') are interesting because they provide a huge amount of literary, archaeological and epigraphical evidence for dramatic festivals and performances outside Athens. In the last few years, attention has been directed to non-Athenian festivals and performances, and the study of Webster should be considered as a valid base from which to start this kind of research.

[16] Cf. *e.g.* Deubner 1932.

[17] Else 1956: 186.

[18] Athenian tragedy began to be considered, as Vidal-Naquet (2002 [2001]: 65, quoting Mauss) has said later, a 'fait social total'.

[19] Cf. *e.g.* Meier 2000 (1988): 28–9.

had to be undertaken with the consideration of the broader socio-political sphere that characterised Greek culture, which included society, religion, and all of the public affairs (just as πολιτικ-ός, ή, όν means 'something for or relating to the citizens' and 'civil affairs', so not only the modern *Realpolitik*). Describing this shift of meaning, David Carter offered in 2007 an explanatory note on the definition of 'political':

> A good starting point is Macleod's definition of the political as a "concern with human beings as part of a community". This has a special relevance to the study of ancient Greece. The life of the Greek city-state brought with it a great sense of *koinônia* (community); the degree to which this was the case would seem surprising to a visitor from a nation state, especially one used to the sharply individualist culture of the modern West. When Aristotle famously wrote that "man is by nature a political animal" (a *politikon zôon*), he did not mean the modern sense of the word "political" so much as he meant that man is an animal whose natural habitat is the community of the *polis*.[20]

This reconsideration took advantage of the list of sources and materials provided by Pickard-Cambridge (and later by Csapo and Slater[21] who have renewed and updated the

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[20] Cf. Carter 2007: 64. Then, quoting Th. 2, 40 (a passage where Pericles says that 'here [at Athens] each individual is interested not only in his own affairs but in the affairs of the state as well'), Carter continues: 'this is a wartime speech and it suits Pericles' purpose to emphasise the "peculiarity" of Athenian democracy in comparison with rival Greek cities. It is striking nevertheless that he makes a virtue of political engagement as a social obligation in the context of what, by Greek standards, was a liberal society. […] In fact, Athens was only the most extreme example of Greek *koinônia*, since all its (free, male) citizens were politically enfranchised. So the Greek idea of community could be a highly politicised one. […]; for if the dominant idea of community was of the *polis*, a public community of citizens and laws, then a 'concern with community' must be a political one, not just a sociological one' (65).

[21] Csapo - Slater 1994.

previous collection of information).[22] Indeed, it is still impossible to overlook the source-book of Pickard-Cambridge. His tome laid the groundwork for those further socio-political studies which have considered the organisation, ceremonies, context, time and space of ancient dramatic festivals.

Christian Meier[23] was one of the first to not 'trust' in Pericles' words about the role of dramatic festivals in Athens: καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν πόνων πλείστας ἀναπαύλας τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπορισάμεθα, ἀγῶσι μέν γε καὶ θυσίαις διετησίοις νομίζοντες, ἰδίαις δὲ κατασκευαῖς εὐπρεπέσιν, ὧν καθ' ἡμέραν ἡ τέρψις τὸ λυπηρὸν ἐκπλήσσει ('Furthermore, we provided our mind with many reliefs from labours, celebrating contests and ceremonies through the year, and fine-looking private provision, the enjoyment of which drives away sadness').[24] Indeed he argued that, in the fifth century B.C., Greek festivals were everything but moments of pleasure, distraction or free time, and stated that they did not provide rest from political activity because politics was not absent from the festivals.[25] In this way, the community was expected to share in the communal ideology and to establish its identity relative to it.[26] It is clear that dramatic representations at the Dionysia were much more than simple spectacles and leisure activities, given their celebration in a social context

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[22] There are now more up-to-date sources, such as Krumeich - Pechstein - Seidensticker 1999, Moretti 2001, Dugdale 2008, Di Marco 2009, Dobrov 2010, Seidensticker 2010, Rusten 2011, Millis - Olson 2012, Wilson 2003, 2007a, 2007c, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2015, 2017, Wilson - Csapo 2012, Csapo - Wilson 2015, Kotlińska-Toma 2015, Takeuchi - Wilson 2015.

[23] Cf. Meier 1988 (1980): 220–2, and 2000 (1988): 58–82.

[24] Th. 2, 38, 1. The authenticity of Pericles' speeches in Thucydides is not relevant to my investigation, and I will not investigate it, at this stage.

[25] Cf. Meier 2000 (1988): 63–4.

[26] Vidal-Naquet, in his introduction to Mazon's Aeschylus (Mazon 1982: 7–39) had already posited that 'tragedy is one of the forms of identification of the new democratic city'. The essay of Vidal-Naquet (now in Vernant - Vidal-Naquet 1991/2001 [1986]) continues with an analysis of that theme which achieved success during the '90s, that is, the inner as well as outer tension between political, religious and social values in tragic characters. Despite this, the author considers tragedy as unrelated to politics.

where the whole[27] πόλις was gathered. Thanks to this reversion to the more narrow meaning of *politics*, new aspects and topics, which were previously neglected, have emerged. In addition to the organisation of the Great Dionysia and its pre-play ceremonies, the concept of 'civic ideology' — a combination of Athenian moral, social and civic values — has been more carefully analysed. In this perspective, as Barbara Goff states, 'the notion of ideology entails that texts and other artistic productions do not have a simple relation of either identity with or difference from historical particulars, but are always conditioned by and actively intervene in what is necessarily a struggle over uneven distributions'.[28] The theatre has been considered as an instrument of civic solidarity, by which social identity is maintained and group cohesion is reinforced, also through social tensions on stage.[29] Thus, what has been asked since the late 1980s (starting from Vernant's and Vidal-Naquet's socio-religious investigations),[30] is whether the phenomenon of the Great Dionysia — including its pre-play ceremonies and dramas — was a *medium* through which a specific ideology was expressed in order to reinforce civic identity, or to question common values.

Anglophone studies from the 1990s played a central role in producing new results through the examination of the socio-political values of the plays, and of the pre-play

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[27] At the theatre, all those citizens (adult free males, aristocratic or not) who comprised the political nucleus of Athenian government were certainly present. It is very likely that young people, foreigners and metics were also present, but several doubts remain about the presence of women and slaves. At any rate, Goldhill (1997: 66) argues that 'the social drama of theatre finds a map of the city in the audience: whether women are to be thought of as a silenced presence on the map or an absent sign, the audience represents the body politic'. For discussions on ancient sources about the audience's size, composition and competence, cf. Pickard-Cambridge 1968[2] (1953): 263–78, Podlecki 1990, Arnott 1991, Henderson 1991, Dawson 1997, Goldhill 1994, 1997, Revermann 2006, Csapo 2007, Sommerstein 2010: 118–42, Roselli 2011.

[28] Goff 1995: 11. In this volume edited by Goff, also Foley's contribution talks (indifferently) about 'polis ideology' and 'democratic ideology' within Athenian tragedy.

[29] Cf. *e.g.* Longo 1990.

[30] Cf. Vernant - Vidal-Naquet 1972. Especially cf. Vernant 1972: 25, who says: 'Elle [*sc*. Greek tragedy] ne reflète pas cette réalité, elle la met en question'.

ceremonies. What subverted the scene, radically shifting studies on Greek tragedy towards a new direction, was the publishing of *Nothing to Do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in Its Social Context* (ed. by J.J. Winkler and F.I. Zeitlin) in 1990, which marked almost an evolution in the historicist approach — that is, a move towards the new historicism. The 14 essays contained in the volume manifest the change of interests among American, English and French scholars of Greek tragedy, something which is evident in the first essay:

> It may not be amiss to insist from the beginning on the collective or the communitarian character of the Athenian theater public in the classical period: a public which is quite unparalleled in the history of drama in that it coincided - in principle and to a great extent in fact - with the civic community, that is, the community of *citizens*. This communitarian character of the Athenian scene is tangibly displayed in the spatial relationship between the factitious community (the assembled audience) and the arena of the dramatic action - a relationship which reproduces that between a real community and a forum for political action.[31]

The socio-political contents of Athenian drama were reflected in the double figure of Dionysus and its subversive character:[32] in this way, tensions between drama and social context were detected and highlighted. Especially the first five essays, by Longo (‘The Theater of the *Polis*’), Winkler (‘The Ephebes’ Song: *Tragōidia* and *Polis*’), Zeitlin (‘Playing the Other: Theater, Theatricality and the Feminine in Greek Drama’ and ‘Thebes:

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[31] Longo 1990: 13.

[32] For example, Holt (1999) has accepted this reading as for Sophocles’ *Antigone*, but he has not included any socio-political interpretation. On the other hand, Scullion (2002a) has doubted this statement and this kind of reading of Greek drama as associated with the Dionysiac cult. He has denied any involvement of the cult of Dionysus as generator of dramatic festivals: the *interpretatio Dionysiaca*, in his opinion, must be directly abandoned. He believes in the political (more precisely, democratic) features of fifth-century B.C. drama, which, therefore, was produced by ‘political struggle and intellectual ferment’ (*ibid*.: 135) rather than by the worship of Dionysus.

Theater of Self and Society in Athenian Drama'), and Goldhill ('The Great Dionysia and Civic Ideology'), consider 'Athenian drama in terms of the social context of its original performance at the festivals of Dionysos',[33] questioning the previous certainties about the essence and the value of Athenian drama and festivals. The scholars warned that their investigations were different 'from those studies of Attic drama that still tend to concentrate more narrowly on just one type of script, tragic or comic, or even on a single play':[34] attention was paid towards 'extratextual aspects' of drama in order to understand Attic theatre as a whole. Yet, the reception of the whole work was not wholly positive: particularly, some reviewers found it incomplete and self-aggrandising.[35] At any rate, this collection of essays directed scholarship towards a number of interesting and crucial issues about the relationship between the theatre (and tragedies) and the social context both of the city and of the dramatic festivals. The debate concerning the alleged political thought of the three surviving playwrights — on the political messages of tragedies and on the textual historical and political allusions — ceased, and new fundamental questions were raised, especially those of Goldhill in 1987 and 1990, which then culminated in 2000 in these terms:

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[33] Winkler 1990: 20.

[34] Winkler - Zeitlin 1990a: 3.

[35] Cf. *e.g.* Bain 1993: 'No one could accuse the contributors to the present volume of a lack of sophistication (although some of them might be liable to the charge of indulging in the higher mystification) and the result of their collective activities is a number of useful and thought-provoking insights. Even so, the overall effect on this reader is a feeling of being of short changed. […] Study of the conditions of performance and the make-up of the audience for Bach's sacred music is in itself undoubtedly worthwhile, revealing as it does a great deal about the society of his time and some of the factors determining the form of his composition. It will never, however,account in a totally comprehensive way for his music' (187 *passim*); Van Looy 1994: 'Malgré certaines exagérations et hypothèses mal fondées, ce recueil est plein d'idées originales qui prêtent à réflexion, mais la question posée dans le titre de l'ouvrage reste sans réponse' (346); and Wiersma 1994: 'As a contribution to the methodological updating of Greek cultural criticism the book is less exceptional than the editors want us to believe' (530).

> How does the festival of the Great Dionysia - its rituals and dramatic performances - relate to the dominant ideological structures of democracy? How should critical or contestatory discourse be located within the dramatic festival and within the polis? How should the texts of tragedy be related to the society in which they were produced - and to the societies in which they are still being read and performed?[36]

The importance of Goldhill's studies lies in the fact that they were the first to shift attention to the pre-play ceremonies and their social function. While scholarship in general was convinced that much had already been said about the political aspect of Greek tragedy, in that moment Goldhill focused on an un-investigated field of Greek drama,[37] understanding that the core of the socio-political value of Greek theatre consists of its whole religious and civic context, and not only the texts and their historical and political references. Furthermore, he connected each pre-play ceremony to the political sphere of Athens, in particular to the democratic government and its ideological messages. Goldhill considered not only tragic representations but also the whole Dionysia and its pre-play ceremonies as an authentic product of Athenian democracy. In his opinion, 'the festival itself, in organization and structure, despite earlier origins and later development, is in the fifth-century fully an institution of the democratic polis'.[38] Through the summary of the rituals

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[36] Goldhill 2000: 34.

[37] In regard to the pre-play ceremonies, a still uninvestigated field is their visual and theatrical aspect. I focused on this topic in my paper '(Un)Masking the *Polis*: the Pre-Play Ceremonies of the Athenian Great Dionysia as Theatrical Performances', presented at 'Greek Theatre and Metatheatre: Definitions, Problems, Limits — International Conference (Basel, 16-17th November 2018)'.

[38] Goldhill 2000: 35. Already in 1987 Goldhill said that the Great Dionysia 'is fundamentally and essentially a festival of the democratic *polis*' (68). The same opinion can be found in Croally 1994 and Cartledge 1997.

that used to take place some days before the representations,[39] presumably the 8th and the 9th (or the 9th and the 10th) of Elaphebolion, and the analysis of the so-called 'pre-play ceremonies',[40] he detected the civic and democratic spirit of the dramatic festival. The transport of the statue of Dionysus from Eleutherae to Athens (εἰσαγωγὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας), the religious procession with sacrifices and presents to Dionysus (πομπή), the festive banquet (κῶμος), the proagon (a kind of introduction to the dramatic representation of the following days) and — I would add — the post-festival assembly about the organisation of the festival and the citizens' conduct: all of these rituals represented civic as well as religious events with an aggregating function for the community.[41] These rituals prepared the entire Athenian civic body for an international event which used to take place ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων[42] — 'in front of the Greeks'. Most importantly, Goldhill showed the relevance of the four pre-play ceremonies that were enacted immediately before the performance of the plays:[43] the libation to the god poured by the ten generals; the display of the allies' tributes; the war-orphans' parade; the proclamation of honours for the city's benefactors. In Goldhill's opinion, all of these events were expressions of democratic ideology: as anticipated, a religious libation to Dionysus poured by the most important figures in government would have showed democracy's participation in that religious

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[39] Cf. Goldhill 1990: 98–100. Cf. *Chapter One*, section *1.3* (n. 137, 138, 139, 140).

[40] Dramatic performances took place from the 11th to the 14th of Elaphebolion: we do not know whether the pre-play ceremonies were celebrated each day or on just one (seemingly, the first) day.

[41] For an analysis of the concept of religion of the city as an ideological instrument cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1990.

[42] Aeschin. 3, 34.

[43] Goldhill 2000: 38 mentions also 'the funding of chorus or festival; the choregia as a specifically democratic system; the selection of judges and chorus and actors by democratic procedure; the possibility of tribal seating, and the certainty of seating according to political position in democracy (e.g. the seats for the boule); the procedure for getting tickets via inscription on the deme roll; the dating of the innovation of the pre-play ceremonies; the assembly in the theatre to discuss the theatre — indeed the whole gamut of performances which are instituted by democracy, and function as signs and symptoms of democracy in action'.

moment; the display of the allied cities would have revealed the power of democracy and of the Delian League in front of the whole audience; the war-orphans' parade would have conferred a gift on the sons of those who died fighting for democratic Athens; and finally, the proclamation of honours would have encouraged the audience to emulate those who benefited the democratic government. To be sure, the Athenian community and the other Greeks in the theatre participated in the religious as well as the political self-celebration of the city, and hence it is difficult to accept Pickard-Cambridge's understated description of the Great Dionysia as 'a time of holiday'.[44] Indeed, it is significant that almost the entire city was gathered during these festivals: prisoners were temporarily released in order to attend the spectacles,[45] and formal political activity was suspended. Hence, it is difficult to describe the Dionysia as a moment of holiday and pause from all the civic tasks — thus, Meier was right. Rather, it has been asked whether those activities which took place during those 'festive' days represented another side of politics, and a number of scholars have thought it very likely that theatrical activities were included in the political sphere of Athens, and that they did not interrupt the affairs of the city.

Soon after the appearance of Goldhill's scholarship, a useful investigation was conducted also by Connor,[46] who related the dramatic festival to civic affairs and civic

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[44] Pickard-Cambridge 1968[2] (1953): 59.

[45] Sometimes, according to D. 22, 68 (cf. also *schol. ad loc.*), prisoners used this chance to escape.

[46] Cf. Connor 1990.

ideology,[47] showing how it was a proper 'civic celebration'.[48] Despite the fact that he followed Goldhill's arguments concerning the relationship between the Dionysia and democracy, the most important contribution of Connor is to have underlined the civic and social importance of the dramatic festival.[49] He claimed that 'festivals in Greek antiquity were far from static or unchanging; they were dynamic expressions of a complex set of social and political relationships, and hence closely link to the life of the *polis*'.[50] Thus, in addition to the anthropological aspects,[51] we discover that the social and political settings

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[47] In regard to the comic genre, Carey (2013) has recently highlighted the civic character of choruses. After having analysed the textual similarities between comic choruses and civic choral songs, Carey concludes that 'the comic choral voice can also approximate to the more conventional choral civic voice. It can become serious in the simple and obvious sense that it does not invite laughter. The further effects sought here can be complex. It can be context-specific and express anxiety, hope or wish which reaches into the extra-textual context. Or it may simply fulfil the larger role of the chorus as the voice of the city at worship. […] The same flexibility of choral voice reflects the nature of comedy itself as a genre, which the chorus as the non-negotiable core of the performance is best suited to express: it is an organ of the polis yet it claims independence; it is fundamentally humorous yet it demands to be taken seriously; it is at times subversive of the norms of society yet it is intolerant of deviant behaviour' (173).

[48] Connor 1990: 7.

[49] The purpose of Connor's article is to demonstrate that the Great Dionysia was established in the very late sixth century B.C., after Cleisthenes' reform, and that the festival reflected the democratic values of that period. Connor's argument is very well conducted, and he clearly demonstrated the validity of his thesis. Moreover, since he believed *a priori* in the democratic character of the festival, his investigation on the birth of the Great Dionysia seems to be facilitated. However, I will not deal here with the issues surrounding the origins of tragedy, a heavily contested topic with little evidence to support conclusive assessment: on the birth of Greek tragedy, its chronology and sources, cf. Deubner 1932, Else 1957, Miller 1961, Pickard-Cambridge 1962[2] (1927), West 1989, Scullion 2002b.

[50] Connor 1990: 17.

[51] As for the anthropological methodology, I do not necessarily mean the anthropologists, but rather any kind of study which analyses the ancient Greek festivals in relation to the gods which they were dedicated to. These kinds of study have undoubtedly contributed to a better understanding of the involvement of rituality and religious beliefs in ancient Greek society. However, an investigation of that kind is not aligned with my aims.

of a Greek city influenced each part of the civic life and business, which the Great Dionysia (since it was 'linked to civic consciousness')[52] was a part of.

Goldhill's study on the pre-play ceremonies as paradigms of the larger democratic context of the Great Dionysia was initially persuasive, but then generated significant disagreement among scholars of the day, whose attention was drawn to the value of the dramatic festival.[53] Three critical approaches can be identified: a de-politicising critique (Griffin), and two de-democratising responses, one in favour of a 'civic interpretation' (Rhodes), the other in favour of an 'imperialistic interpretation' (Carter).

In 'The Social Function of Attic Tragedy',[54] Jasper Griffin attacked *Nothing to Do with Dionysos?* in its entirety, with particular criticism of the first four essays (mentioned above). Griffin complains about the studies on the social function of Greek tragedy, saying that 'it appears that something like an orthodoxy is emerging about the kind of answer

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[52] Connor 1990: 17.

[53] But consider the view of Connor 1990, who said that 'even if Goldhill's analysis ultimately proves to need substantial qualification, his central insight — that Greek tragedy needs to be understood within its festive setting rather than as an abstract form of "entertainment" — encourages a fresh approach to Greek tragedy, one based on a closer understanding of the relationship between the plays and the festival and the ways in which the Athenians understood their history, political structure and civic identity' (23). More recently, Hesk 2007 endorses Goldhill's thesis: 'the Dionysia' pre-play ceremonies — for example, the onstage parade of war-orphans in hoplite armour provided by the state, or the proclamation of citizens whose benefactions to the city had been voted the award of a crown — were a very graphic (re)performance of the Athenian democracy's civic ideology. These ceremonies showed that a citizen's self-sacrifice — the donation of one's life or one's money to the city — would be met with state-sponsored recognition and compensation. Then there were the Dionysia's funding and seating arrangements, its blend of intra-choral cooperation and tribe-based inter-choral rivalry; its democratically controlled auditing and regulation, and its manipulation by elite impresarios (*chorêgoi*) as an arena for conspicuous and highly competitive euergetism before the masses' (73).

[54] Griffin's critiques have been endorsed (more gently) by Gregory 2002, who recognises the 'exaggeration' of the volume edited by Winkler - Zeitlin. She admits that Athenian tragedy, especially Euripides' works, included a 'social criticism', but she differentiates it from the 'social activism', that belongs instead to proper political spaces.

which is appropriate to these questions. That view seems to me to be in important ways misleading, or at least, gravely one-sided'.[55] But, what Griffin disapproved of to the greatest extent regarding the critical approaches employed by the volume's contributors, is the phantom presence of Marxism and its contingent methodologies: 'a spectre, we might perhaps say, is haunting the academic literature of the West: the spectre of the Marxism, which lingers on, after its death in the world of practical affairs, among the critics and the scholiasts'.[56] It is clear that Griffin prefers an aesthetic evaluation of Greek tragedy to a socio-political interpretation. He questioned, point by point, each 'sophisticated' assertion of Longo, Winkler, Zeitlin and Goldhill, by alluding to several tragic and epic themes/ episodes that would question the methodological applications. Particularly with regard to Goldhill's contribution, Griffin believed that the questioning character Goldhill wants to detect in tragedies 'was not something new',[57] since it can be found already in the epic genre. Additionally, he strongly doubted the democratic spirit of the Great Dionysia, and

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[55] Griffin 1998: 39.

[56] Griffin 1998: 40. The Marxist approach has never ceased entirely, but it has changed over years. From a purely practical approach, which used to analyse the real historical and political contemporary events in relation to literature, in the first half of the twentieth century, scholars have shifted (during the late '70s) to a more ideological and theoretical approach. The so-called 'Frankfurt School' (especially, with Horkheimer and Adorno) has undoubtedly played a significant role in this change of approach, being more interested in the ideology as well as the problems of society in relation with its products. Among the thinkers of this current, the study of Kant, Hegel and Heidegger was juxtaposed to that of Marx, and in some cases Marx was strongly criticised, revised and corrected. In this way, it is quite difficult to label the scholars of the 'Frankfurt School' (and all the types of scholars which have been influenced by their thoughts) as 'post-Marxists', rather, they are to be called 'para-Marxists'. For a comprehensive overview of the history and the philosophy of the 'Frankfurt School', cf. *e.g.* Jay 1973, Bedeschi 1985 and Wolin 2006.

[57] Cf. Griffin 1998: 48–50.

wholly rejected the didactic value of tragedy:[58] this is because Griffin did not believe that the didactic function includes 'questioning the value of the community' and, furthermore, he did not think that this supposed 'questioning' function was part of democratic ideology. In criticising Meier and Seaford[59] too, Griffin refused to see Athenian tragedy as connected to democracy and politics, preferring to stress the concepts of 'pleasure', 'suffering' and 'morality' as real components of tragedy:

> It is thus very important to see that in the age of the tragic poets and their audiences the old moral questions were still alive and still interesting. […] These terrible dilemmas and monstrous actions, and many others like them in fifth-century tragedy, are neither new in the democratic *polis* nor specific to it. Many of them surely come from a different and deeper level of the mind than that of politics or constitutions. They relate to primitive and universal taboos and anxieties. They pullulate in the myths; […] What the Athenians experienced together in the theatre was not, then, something which is to be seen as primarily or by definition political, democratic, and ideologically motivated by the conscious desire to maximise the social cohesion. […] Tragedy is, rather, to be seen as providing a uniquely vivid and piercingly pleasurable enactment of human suffering, magnified in scale and dignity by the fact that the agents were the famous people of myth, and winged with every refinement of poetry and music. […] That is why Attic tragedy, not parochial in time or

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[58] Cf. also Heath 1987 and 2006. Heath, after Goldhill's article in 2000, published in 2006 'The "Social Function" of Tragedy: Clarifications and Questions', in which he defends himself against Goldhill's accusations: in 1987, in fact, Heath denied the didactic function of Greek tragedy in favour of an emotional one, and he was strongly criticised by Goldhill. Heath replied that he did not consider the emotional and aesthetic function as the *only* task of the tragedian, but, rather, as the *main* task, without leaving out the possibility of a didactic value (cf. Heath 2006: 262–6). Actually the dispute between Goldhill and Heath continues, and the latter has confessed that he has several doubts about the ideological value of Greek tragedy (cf. *ibid.*: 272). In Heath's opinion, scholars still need to pursue clear answers to this topic (cf. *ibid.*: 275).

[59] Cf. Seaford 1994. For a reply to Griffin's argumentation cf. Seaford 2000.

> place, so long survived the passing of the Attic democracy. That is why, so many centuries later, it is still alive.[60]

The second critical response to Goldhill's theories came from Peter J. Rhodes in 2003, with his 'Nothing to Do With Democracy: Athenian Drama and the *Polis*', which sought to correct Goldhill's interpretation by showing how the broader framework of the festival should be linked more to the πόλις in general rather than to democracy in particular: he specified the broader social and civic character of the Dionysia, demonstrating that the influence of democratic ideology was slender:[61]

> […]: if we associate the festival, and the plays performed at the festival, too intimately with the democracy of Classical Athens, we risk not only misunderstanding the plays and the festival by seeing them in too narrow a context but also misunderstanding the significance of democracy in Athens and of Athens in the Greek world.[62]

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[60] Griffin 1998: 59–61 *passim* (Griffin does not even mention nor does he analyse the pre-play ceremonies of the festival). The same conclusion against the historical approach is to be found, some years before, in Goff 1995: 'any attempt to discuss Athenian tragedy in terms of a historicity of performance comes up against the reality of its temporal survival, […]; tragedy cannot appear to us free of transhistorical meanings which successive groups of readers have assigned to it. […] If certain artistic forms are at a such historical remove from us that in fact they can no longer be produced within contemporary culture, why do they still excite a response in contemporary audiences?' (20 *passim*). Goff laments the Marxist's answer to the latter question that defends the historical interpretation 'by taking refuge instead in changeless human nature as an explanation of tragedy's survival' (*ibid*.).

[61] Burian (2011), in regard to the *querelle* between Goldhill and Rhodes, is 'inclined to accept Rhodes's view that it is hard to read the evidence for the ceremonies that opened the festival as embodying a 'narrowly democratic perspective', but, despite this, he remains 'convinced that Goldhill is right to claim that the festival setting of the Great Dionysia is ideologically charged in a way that reflects democratic values' (96). In this way, he believes that the freedom of expression we find in the tragedies 'embraces and extends ideas of equality and questions inequalities from a perspective that only a democratic ideology can offer' (97). Thus, the civic ideology of the theatre of Athens, in Burian's opinion, is not only civic, but properly democratic.

[62] Rhodes 2003: 105.

Rhodes argued point by point against those procedures and rituals considered as democratic by Goldhill. Rhodes also disproved Goldhill's arguments concerning the supposed democratic organisation of the festival by challenging his treatment of the *choregia*,[63] the selection of the judges, choruses and actors, the tribal seats and the procedure for getting tickets via deme roll, by providing a great selection of sources which are opposed to Goldhill's beliefs.[64] Moreover, it is worth noting, as Rhodes does, that the Great Dionysia was established before the onset of democracy in the fifth century B.C. The dramatic festival probably took place for the first time under Peisistratus, *i.e.* under a τύραννος ('tyrant').[65] In this way, it is difficult to consider the festival as an institution that is solely representative of democratic values, or originated together with democracy. The

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[63] Cf. Goldhill 2000: 38. Cf. Wilson 2003 for an exhaustive study on the Athenian system of *choregia* for the dramatic festivals. Through an analysis of the institution and the social performances of this particular practice in Athens and beyond, Wilson provides an important amount of useful information for the comprehension of the practice. Until Wilson's work, little attention had been paid to the *choregia* and its functioning and the author points out how a recontextualisation of drama is produced through a deep consideration of ancient *choregia*, because it was a part of the religious, social and political culture of Greece. Wilson, in his book, strongly and repeatedly links the institution of the *choregia* to Athenian democracy and its ideology. This is not surprising, since Wilson is convinced of the validity of Goldhill's thesis about the democratic character both of the pre-play ceremonies and of the Great Dionysia. Moreover, in 2009, Wilson inserted himself into the discussion between Goldhill, Carter and Rhodes about the democratic character of the Great Dionysia's context. There, after having complained of the lack of the use of inscriptions in this endless *querelle*, he analysed *IG* I^3 102, which reports the crowning of Thrasyboulus of Calydon during the Dionysia as a reward for having murdered the oligarch Phrynichus in 410/9 B.C., seeking to make a strong contribution to Goldhill's thesis. Since this inscription, together with few others, is the first evidence we have for the proclamation of honours in the fifth century B.C., Wilson considers it as an innovation that contributes to the display of democratic ideology during the dramatic festivals (Wilson often points out that this practice stands in a previous tradition of proclamations, but he does not provide evidence of such a tradition). For a reply to Wilson' arguments cf. Rhodes 2011 and *Chapter Four*, sections *4.1* and *4.2*.

[64] Cf. Rhodes 2003: 107–11.

[65] Cf. also Griffin 1998: 47.

Great Dionysia of the fifth century B.C. was influenced by democracy, since that was the type of government which ruled for almost the entire period, but as Rhodes argued, we cannot overlook the fact that the festival had a complex, multifaceted origin, not easily categorised as belonging to any one particular ideology.

Rhodes devoted attention to the pre-play ceremonies as well, and explains that: 1) we do not know anything about the origins of the support for the war-orphans: this problematises the assumption that the practice has to be related to the democratic government; 2) given the favourable period in which the Dionysia was performed (in March), it would reasonable that Athens chose that occasion as an opportunity to require the tributes from its allies (displaying in this way its 'civic pride'); 3) the public proclamations of honours in theatre were rare in the fifth century B.C. and frequent only in the late fourth century B.C.; 4) the not wholly reliable passage of Plutarch which attests to the libations poured by the ten generals does not necessarily imply that only the generals made libations. In light of this, nothing sure can be said about the purely democratic character of the pre-play ceremonies. In conclusion, Rhodes outlined the civic and religious setting in which tragedies were performed, and he admitted that:

> When Athens was democratic its institutions were democratic, and so the interplay of *choregoi* and citizens, the assembly reviewing the festival, and so on took forms that they would not have taken in a non-democratic *polis*, and to that extent the institutional setting is indeed a democratic setting. But it is a democratic version of settings which could have been found in other versions, some democratic and some not, in other cities; and we have found some institutional features which do not look as if they were distinctively democratic at all: recruitment of chorus-members by the *choregoi*; special seats for distinguished members of the audience, and tickets that had to be bought by ordinary members. I believe that the democratic details are comparatively unimportant, that it is much more important that the

institutional setting is a *polis* setting than that it is a democratic setting: that what we have here is the *polis* in action, rather than especially democracy in action.[66]

Lastly, in 2004, David M. Carter wrote 'Was Attic Tragedy Democratic?', which examined all the 'problems with evidence' regarding the pre-play ceremonies,[67] aiming to determine whether these were performed every year and whether they had a democratic value. From his analysis it emerges that: 1) the libations to Dionysus were not poured by the generals every year (though, in his opinion the ceremony, with or without the generals, did happen every year); 2) the display of the allies' tributes was probably a one-off; 3) the war-orphans' parade (which receives little attention) was a regular event; 4) there is no sufficient evidence to consider the proclamations of honours as regular practice throughout the fifth century B.C. As to civic ideology, Carter showed how it is better related to imperialism than to democracy, given the 'political shop-window' character of the Athenian Dionysia and the imperial power displayed during the pre-play ceremonies.[68]

Such a lively debate has caused a genuine 'explosion' of socio-political approaches to Greek dramatic festivals and tragedy. Indeed, the return to tragic texts has been driven by

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[66] Rhodes 2003: 113. Even in the second section of the article, Rhodes proceeded in this way: he strongly doubted that certain themes of tragedies (such as *Antigone*, *Ajax* and *Philoctetes*) can be related to democratic ideology. Moreover, regarding Goldhill's words about the questioning value of Athenian tragedy, Rhodes is not so convinced to make 'a substantial jump from believing that some plays prompt uncomfortable questions […] to believing that "the Athenians", or a significant body of them, saw the prompting of such questions as the point or a major point of their dramatic festival, and that they saw this and we should see it as bound up with the fact that theirs was a democratic city' (119).

[67] Cf. Carter 2004: 5–10.

[68] Cf. Carter 2004: 10–13. Then, speaking of tragedy and tragic texts, Carter demonstrated how these had imperialistic themes: Athenian tragedy had to promote the external image of Athens (as leader of all Greece) as opposed to the internal image of Athens (that had something to do with democracy): cf. *ibid*. 13–25. Cf. *Chapter Two*, section *2.1* for a more detailed consideration of Carter's view. As for imperialism within Athenian tragedy, cf. also Zacharia 2003a and Rosenbloom 2011.

this new perspective, and novel topics have been investigated, such as: whether the themes of tragedy seriously challenged the ideology of the city and its common values; what was the relationship between the tragic *polis* and the real *polis*; what was the social function of feminine and barbarian characters; what influence contemporary philosophy and rhetoric had over Greek tragedies; whether the agonistic character of festivals mirrored political tensions or dymanics; what was the relationship between *polis* and *oikos* within tragic plots. And so on. Greek tragedy has thus been relocated in its civic context, amidst ideological tensions between textual and extratextual elements. For instance, an interesting perspective through which Greek tragedy is analysed is represented by the studies of Edith Hall, who has often dealt both with the interactions between Greek tragedy and Greek culture/society,[69] and with the reception of ancient tragedies in the modern age.[70] Hall considers tragic themes such as identity, ethnicity, childbirth, gender-relations and slavery, and puts them in relation with the real world of Greece/Athens in order to see how tragedy acted as a mirror of civic society. All of these investigations conducted by Hall relate to the sociological studies on Greek tragedy which have become predominant since the last decades of the twentieth century. Her *Inventing the Barbarian* successfully aims to demonstrate that non-Greek tragic characters are represented as perfect opposites of Greek virtues. Thus, the antithesis between Greek and barbarians is depicted as a strong political

[69] Cf. Hall 1989, 2006, and Bridges - Hall - Rhodes 2007.

[70] Cf. Hall - Macintosh - Wrigley 2004 and Bridges - Hall - Rhodes 2007.

contrast, in order to construct (and then praise) Greek/Athenian identity.[71] It is thus possible to comprehend, through Hall's works, how much the ideological concepts of identity and society have underpinned modern scholarship. Moreover, Graf too investigated the expressions of civic identity and civic ideology in drama and dramatic festivals as ritual themes: 'the *polis* is the focus of dramatic reflection' — he says — '[…] thus, the ritual of the Great Dionysia opened a liminal ritual space that allowed reflection on civic ideology, on Athens, its values and its destiny'.[72]

On the other hand, with specific regard to dramatic festivals — differently from Goldhill and Connor, who associated Dionysus' features with the subversive context of the Dionysia — Osborne[73] has stressed the agonistic character of the festival in order to highlight its civic and political relevance. In fact, it is undeniable that the Dionysia, given its dramatic competitions — and, I would add, its choregic system — had a competitive spirit, and it promoted ambition among playwrights, actors, choruses and *choregoi*. Since politics was strongly present in tragic themes, and since only three dramatists per year had the possibility of staging their plays, it could be argued that there was a competition even at

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[71] For a consideration of Greeks and barbarians in Euripides, cf. Saïd 1984. In a different way, Zeitlin (1990b) had already analysed the roles of Thebes, Argos and Athens on the tragic scene, and showed how the self-definition of Athens comes from the representation on stage of the real anti-Athens, that is Thebes: 'Thebes, I will argue, provides the negative model to Athens' manifest image of itself with regard to its notions of the proper management of city, society, and self' (131). Then she continued: 'I propose that Thebes functions in the theater as an anti-Athens, an other place. If we say that theater in general functions as an "other scene" where the city puts itself upon the stage to confront the present with the past through its ancient myths, then Thebes, I suggest, is the "other scene" of the "other scene" that is the theater itself. Thebes, we might say, is the quintessential "other scene", […]. There Athens acts out questions crucial to the *polis*, the self, the family, and society, but these are displaced upon a city that is imagined as the mirror opposite of Athens' (144). For the tragic role of Argos, cf. Saïd 1993. For an analysis of Athens and anti-Athens on stage, particularly in Euripides' *Suppliants*, cf. Giannotti 2018a.

[72] Graf 2007: 56.

[73] Cf. Osborne 2010.

a political level.[74] Osborne claims that 'in dramatic competition it was not simply the way the play was executed but what the play was that was important';[75] perhaps this contributed to Plato's desire to censor tragic plays before performance.[76] Osborne tells us something else: the city knew that drama had a political effect and that 'dramatic competition thrust [political] issues into prominence'.[77] Despite this, the city was confident about its ability to control the socio-political issues proposed by dramas during the Dionysia but also in other festive contexts:

> All festival competitions threaten to overturn the values of the city which promotes them. The competitive drinking at the feast of the Khoes at the Anthesteria reinforced the norm of strictly regulated drinking in a group by its stress on unregulated individual drinking of large quantities in a short time. All competition encouraged individual ambition which the city normally battled to regulate and control. But as the Khoes competition was a competition in a quality, ability to take one's drink, highly valued and indeed vital to the life of the community […], so the ambitious individual was also vital to the city. Ambition had to be cultivated both in order to ensure that the city was strong in the face of ambitious cities elsewhere, and in order to prevent the odd ambitious individual or group from coming to dominate civic life unchallenged. It is the recognition of the fact that the ambitious

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[74] In regard to this issue, Wilson (2000) makes a distinction. Since the choice between the playwrights was made by the archon, it has been argued that there could have been some conspiracies of the archons in order to stage plays which reflected only specific political interests. Thus, if we consider — as Wilson says — theatre as a forum for explicit political action and messages, this could be true. However, since 'now', he continues, theatre is conceived rather as a structure parallel to the real political arenas and a place 'in which could be raised the more unwieldy, problematic "big questions" of life in the polis that underlie it but exceed the capabilities of its diurnal debate' (67), there should not be any discussion about the supposed political propaganda of performances. This is true in part, since it would be more appropriate to give a judgement about this issue knowing what was the ancient (and not a modern) perception of the theatre as a place for political action.

[75] Osborne 2010: 336.

[76] Cf. Pl. *Lg*. 817.

[77] Osborne 2010: 336.

> individual was both politically vital to the city and also its greatest threat that is seen clearly in the love-hate relationship which the city has with the notion of *philotimia* [love of honour].[78]

It is evident that behind Osborne's work lies Goldhill's theory on the ideological tension of dramatic festivals, and this is clear from the conclusions just quoted. However, the agonistic character of the Dionysia shows how it was an occasion in which civic consciousness was heightened, since ambition was indeed a part of Greek civic activity. Furthermore, the same spirit of ambition and competition could be reflective of Dionysus himself. As a god of competition and victory, Dionysus and the festivals in his honour encouraged 'honest rivalry' through contests, processions, visual arts and 'liturgies'.[79] With regard to the festival liturgies, we have the choregia as a clear case, since, as Csapo argues, 'in practice, Dionysian *khoregiai* became the supreme example of civic *philotimia* and *philonikia*'.[80] The richest citizens, in fact, were charged by the city with the preparation and equipment of tragic, comic and dithyrambic choruses: private wealth was used in order to fund public performances. The liturgy of *choregia* was considered an honour, since at the end of the Dionysia the names of the winning choregoi were mentioned and choregic monuments were erected.[81] However, this would not have made the theatre a private initiative, since, as Wilson points out in his first chapter of his work on the choregia:

> The *khoroi* that were at its (*sc*. of the theatre) heart were the *city's khoroi*, and with the involvement of the polis came the culture of publicity characteristic of democratic Athens. The city devoted to their production, performance and judgement the rigorous and extensive armature of control provided by the organs of democratic government. The city as a

[78] Osborne 2010: 336–7.

[79] Cf. Csapo 2016: 141–5.

[80] Csapo 2016: 142–3.

[81] Cf. Wilson 2000: 198–252.

> collective entity promoted the proliferation of choral performances over the classical period; it charged the leading officers of the city with their supervision; it intervened extensively in matters concerning their production, performance, judgement and record, often by means of legislation. Our picture of the *khoregia* will recognise the dominant rôle of the city, under the ultimate authority of a sovereign demos, at every stage. But essential to the institution is the management of a complex union between collective public bodies (*phylai*, the polis itself) with their representative figures (Arkhons, *epimeletai*) and powerful individual citizens and their private wealth.[82]

The participation of many parts of the city is clear. Wilson believes in the relationship between democracy and choregia, but, whether his assumption is right or not, his work shows how the civic dimension of theatrical performances was present at every stage, starting from the organisational aspect. Athenian society has thus become an ubiquitous component to face within studies on tragedy. More recently, Finkelberg has argued that 'Attic tragedy occupied a social space specific to art and literature and that the literary and the social dimensions of it should be regarded not as mutually exclusive but, rather, as mutually complementary'.[83] Indeed, such a relationship between literature and society has

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[82] Wilson 2000: 11.

[83] Finkelberg 2006: 17. Despite this sound judgment, Finkelberg has not shown the complementarity of the literary and the social spheres at all. Rather, her continuous quotations of Plato and Aristotle seem to give pre-eminence to the ancient aesthetic way of considering the dramatic festivals. Equally, the hurried connection made between the Dionysia and democracy is neither justified nor proved. Moreover, her brief conclusion is generic and equivocal: '[…], nobody today would deny that, like any other kind of human activity, tragedy was a social practice' (26). Firstly, we might ask what is meant by 'social practice': if we are thinking of the same meaning Winkler, Zeitlin, Goldhill, *et al*. provided in 1990, then there certainly are those who would deny the social function of Greek tragedy (*e.g.* Griffin 1998). Finally, when Finkelberg argues that 'an approach that disregards this fact can justly be qualified as anachronistic' (2006: 26), she is not considering Griffin's opinion, who said that the recent socio-political studies on Greek tragedy are 'stamped' by the old (and dead) ghost of Marxism: thus, in this way, those studies which Finkelberg agrees with are themselves anachronistic.

been (and continues to be) the core of studies on Greek drama and tragedy, from the final decades of the twentieth century onwards.[84]

Therefore, from this *status quaestionis* emerges the substantial development of studies on the Great Dionysia and Athenian tragedy: we can observe that there has been a change of interest, a move from a purely historical perspective towards the sociological contextualisation of tragedy, in order to grasp its questioning relationship with its socio-political environment. Scholars have attempted to situate the Athenian Great Dionysia in its specific civic context: how (and indeed whether) it was politically influenced and labelled by democratic ideology has been one of the main debates, and my thesis will focus on this unresolved issue. As a matter of fact, subsequent to the *querelle* Goldhill-Griffin-Rhodes-Carter, the discussion on the socio-political value of the Great Dionysia and its pre-play ceremonies has ground to a halt, without no conclusion or interpretation.

Scholars have investigated and discussed the civic context of the dramatic festival in different ways and, specifically, they have focused on the meaning and the function of the festival's ceremonies in order to grasp the extent to which the Dionysia's religious context was influenced by the socio-political sphere. We have seen that, by illuminating a previously unexplored field and contextualising tragedies in more complete and broader ways, attention was paid not only to the texts of the plays, but also to the organisation and the procedures of the pre-play rites. Consequently, the fact that rituals were linked to the city and celebrated in the theatre raised several questions about their value: some scholars denied any possible relationship with politics; some believed that these ceremonies

[84] In addition to the analyses of Goldhill, Griffin, Rhodes and Carter on tragic texts, civic ideology, socio-political context and culture, cf. also Goldhill 1988, Gregory 1991, Sommerstein - Halliwell - Henderson - Zimmermann 1993, Croally 1994, Foley 1995, Griffith 1995, 1998, Mills 1997, Roisman 1997, Sommerstein 2010: 118–42, Mendelsohn 2002, Zacharia 2003a, 2003b, Mitchell 2006, Roselli 2007, Avezzù 2009, Mastronarde 2010, Parara 2010, Brillet-Dubois 2010–2011, Ferrario 2012, Finglass 2012, 2017, Tzanetou 2012, Fartzoff 2018.

displayed a particular democratic (or imperialistic) ideology; others recognised a relationship with the πόλις in general. The cohesive function of the Dionysia has weighed against the tensions and questions which seem to oppose the fifth-century B.C. Athenians' values from within the tragedies themselves. Indeed, it remains unclear how the civic/ democratic/imperialistic ideology of the pre-play ceremonies could coexist with the problematising character of Greek tragedy. Hence, what we are going to investigate in particular is whether such a civic dimension within the Athenian Great Dionysia is to be referred to a democratic meaning of the festival because: firstly, no decisive conclusions have been reached; secondly, the four pre-play ceremonies have not received an exhaustive and well-documented investigation.

iii. The scope of the thesis

The historical, political and epigraphic investigation I conduct in this doctoral thesis aims to reassess the socio-political value of the Dionysia and its four pre-play ceremonies. I claim that democratic ideology was not strictly connected to the performance of the pre-play ceremonies, and, consequently, that the dramatic festival should not be read as an occasion which the democratic government used for propaganda, but rather as a chance to promote the image of the city. In this way, I am more inclined to agree with Rhodes and Carter (though in different ways, and with the aim to expand and deepen their analyses), than with Goldhill. The Athenian fifth century B.C. is among the best known and studied periods of history, due to the cultural 'explosion' that was destined to influence Western culture, society and politics: it was undoubtedly the most important period for Athens and for the development of its democracy. Despite this, my thesis shows that the most important contribution of the fifth century B.C. in Greece, democracy, had nothing to do with the Dionysia. Thus, the scope of the whole work is to provide an interpretation of the

Great Dionysia that can contrast with the prevailing opinion, by conducting new and in-depth considerations about the sources of each of the pre-play ceremonies and, most significantly, adopting an epigraphic approach in order to reveal the direct attestations and information about the pre-play ceremonies, inside as well as outside of Athens. Lastly, my conclusions about non-Athenian pre-play ceremonies are intended to prepare the ground for further studies on this topic, and promote the assessment of non-Athenocentric[85] views on Greek dramatic festivals. The sections dedicated to non-Athenian pre-play ceremonies aim to raise the following question: to what extent we can talk about the Dionysia as a properly *Athenian* festival? Of course, the greatest part of the sources we have comes from Athens (and more broadly from Attica),[86] but we should expand our purview and consider the available sources which come from other Greek cities. The epigraphic evidence shows

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[85] For a new Panhellenic, non-Athenocentric, non-democratic and non-propagandistic interpretation of Greek tragedy, cf. Stewart 2017. Stewart rejects both the Athenocentric interpretation of Greek tragedy (that is, tragedy has one place and one time: fifth-century B.C. Athens; among scholars who hold this view, Stewart mentions: Vernant - Vidal-Naquet 1972: 13–17, 21–40; Meier 1993; Croally 1994; Hall 1997; Sommerstein 1998; Goldhill 2000; Sourvinou-Inwood 2003; Wilson 2010, 2011a; Kitto 2011; Allan - Kelly 2013) and the view that drama was an Athenian 'export' that 'spread' beyond Attica over time (among these, Stewart mentions: Kuch 1993; Dearden 1999; Taplin 1999, 2007, 2012; Hall 2007; Sommerstein 2010: 118–42; Carter 2011: 45–67; Griffith - Carter 2011: 1–16; Hanink 2011; Visvardi 2011). Stewart suggests that 'tragedy did not become Greek, or 'Panhellenic', but was so from its very beginning. The fifth and fourth centuries are often, rightly, seen as a period of innovation, development, and change, yet this remains a constant: that tragedy as a genre was always the product of a common Greek culture and one aimed at a Panhellenic audience' (10). Stewart argues that Athenian festivals too (especially the Great Dionysia) were Panhellenic festivals: 'the potential of these festivals to attract foreign spectators […] was a source of pride' (67), and 'the theatre was a place where visitors came not just to see but to be seen' (69). Such a view would strengthen the hypothesis that Athenians — if they were aware of the Panhellenic nature of drama — aimed to show mainly the image and ideology of their *polis* (not of democracy in particular) in order to establish Athenian supremacy (not democratic, as it would not make sense) within the dramatic and artistic field.

[86] For a complete overview on the dramatic representations among the demes of Attica, cf. Ghiron-Bistagne 1976 and Whitehead 1986. Cf. also Paga 2010 and Wilson 2010, 2015.

us that the Dionysia was ubiquitous in the Greek world,[87] from the fifth century B.C. until the first centuries AD. References to the festival of the Dionysia in ancient Greek inscriptions come also from the Peloponnese, central Greece, northern Greece, Thrace and the lower Danube, the north shore of the Black Sea, the Aegean islands, Asia Minor, Egypt, Nubia and Cyrenaïca. There are hundreds of attestations both of the celebration of the dramatic festivals and of the pre-play ceremonies (in particular, public proclamations of honours and libations to Dionysus in the theatre). This preponderance of attestations raises the possibility of the Dionysia being a Panhellenic inheritance. Did the bond of theatre and πόλις exist only in Athens? The epigraphic evidence here collected challenges this hypothesis and shows rather that the ritual of the proclamation of honours, for example, was common in other Greek cities — apparently more than in Athens. Hence, we should move beyond Athens in order to discover if the relationship between theatrical ceremonies and performances with the city's framework was a generally Panhellenic characteristic, and not only an Athenian one.

At this stage, no extensive scholarly works on the pre-play ceremonies of the Athenian Dionysia have been published; a deep historical investigation of each pre-play ceremony is thus required before one can talk about the socio-political implications of Athenian dramatic festival. Therefore, this thesis intends to be a major contribution to our understanding of the Athenian Dionysia's rituals and a solid foundation for future studies on this topic.

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[87] Recently a change of interests can be registered among scholars. Now attention is being paid to external sources and evidence which testimony the existence of theatres and dramatic performances outside Athens (especially Sicily): cf. Taplin 1993, Dearden 1999, Allan 2001, Todisco 2002, Wilson 2007c, 2011b, 2017, Kowalzig 2008, Csapo 2010, Gildenhard - Revermann 2010, Duncan 2011, Bosher 2012, Csapo - Wilson 2015, Takeuchi - Wilson 2015, Wilson - Favi 2017. Cf. *Chapter Four*, Appendix 2.

iv. Approaching the problem

Among the analyses of the socio-political roles of the ceremonies and the theatre itself, several details have been neglected and need to be examined for a successful reconsideration of the issue. Indeed, an in-depth re-examination of literary and historical evidence will be the basis of my methodology. Thus, the four pre-play ceremonies are re-examined here from the beginning: I start from the least attested and analysed ceremony (the libations to Dionysus), and proceed to the display of the allies' tributes, the war-orphans' parade and the proclamation of honours. Each pre-play ceremony is here re-contextualised through all the historical and literary sources which attest to that specific ceremony: the sources that have already been considered by previous scholars are reassessed, while new evidence is also provided and analysed. We do not know in what order the pre-play ceremonies were performed: thus, my order of discussion does not (and cannot) mirror the ancient sequence.

The libations to Dionysus poured by the ten generals (Chapter One) have been discussed only in light of Plutarch's (hardly reliable) source, but a comprehensive investigation into the figures of the *strategoi* must to be conducted: this is why the *Athenian Constitution* and its account of the generals is crucial to my analysis; as for secondary literature, I consider the investigations of the reforms of 487 B.C. (through which the generals began seemingly to gain power) conducted by prominent historicists (such as de Ste. Croix, Hammond, Hignett and Wade-Gery), in order to reassess the past evaluations of the office of the ten generals. In the same way, the libations need to be assessed as a religious ritual, in conjunction with discussion of the office of priesthood: few parallels can be made, yet a religious analysis of the σπονδαί is here provided.

Regarding the display of the tributes (Chapter Two), I offer an accurate analysis of our major source which attests to that practice, Isocrates. Moreover, in light of Carter's

objections to the democratic interpretation of the pre-play ceremonies, the distinction between democracy, city and empire is stressed and highlighted. This is also the reason why I provide a parallel to the practice of displaying tributes during the Dionysia: the procession at the Panathenaia with the display of the allies' gifts to Athens. The festival of the Panathenaia, which is more clearly suited to democratic interpretation, is analysed in order to show that, even there, one could hardly say that democratic ideology was displayed.

The war-orphans' parade (Chapter Three) is extensively reconsidered: firstly, basing on Dillery's work, I offer a preliminary distinction between the war-orphans' parade and the ephebes' parade, which are too often confused; secondly, I provide a fresh analysis of an outstanding source, that is, Theozotides' decree which attests to the support for the war-orphans in the late fifth century B.C.; thirdly, I provide a discussion on Athenian helping behaviour, which raises doubts about the presence of democratic ideology in such public practices and occasions.

Finally, the proclamations of honours (Chapter Four) are reconsidered in light of a meticulous examination of our major literary source, the dispute on the crown between Aeschines and Demosthenes (also through comparisons with further relevant sources, such as Plato and *IG* I^3 10). Many details, especially from Aeschines' words, are taken into consideration and evaluated by distinguishing the fourth-century B.C. context from the fifth-century B.C. context. Furthermore, two novel investigations are here undertaken: a discussion on the formulaic language of fifth-century B.C. honorific decrees (few of which attest to a proclamation in the theatre) and a list of all the honorific decrees from the fifth century B.C. until the dispute between Aeschines and Demosthenes.

At the close of the thesis, in addition to a recapitulation of each chapter, I provide my own overall understanding of the Athenian Dionysia: it is argued that the dramatic festival

was the perfect opportunity to display the visibility of the image, power, splendour and culture of the Athenian *polis*. In such a context, there is little place for democracy and democratic ideology, and I summarise my doubts about the reasons why the Athenian democratic government should have taken control of a public dramatic festival.

As for the theory. It goes without saying that, throughout my discussion, the words 'democracy', 'democratic ideology', and 'democratic' are widely (and necessarily) used. Especially because the pre-play ceremonies, in Goldhill's opinion, 'are fully representative of the ideals and practice of democracy',[88] we need to clarify *a priori* what makes an action/event democratic. If on the one hand it is difficult to talk about Athens' democratic ideals on firm grounds, as we do not have an ancient official treatise on democratic values, on the other hand it is vital to state what I mean with 'democracy in practice'. Indeed, considering 'ideology' as a set of ideas of the ruling government and 'democracy' as the ruling government with its own bodies and representatives, one might wonder what were the pre-play ceremonies' ideals which, being put in practice/action, represent democracy. The fact is that if we consider democratic an event/action that had been officially created, debated, organised and enacted by the democratic government within its own political bodies (that is, the Assembly and the Council) — and this should be the most appropriate way to label an event/action as democratic — we will be partially disappointed: the democratic government did not decide to organise in the theatre the ten generals' pouring of libations to Dionysus, nor did it so as for the war-orphans' parade. In this way, the libations to Dionysus and the war-orphans' parade will not be considered democratic ceremonies (also) because they were not, as far as the evidence shows, 'enacted' by the democratic bodies as official political measures. Actually, the display of the tributes, relying on Isocrates' testimony, was officially enacted by the democratic government and

[88] Goldhill 2000: 35.

this is why, being the tribute an (or, *the*) empire's symbol, a theoretical discussion on the concepts of democracy and empire will be needed (and Carter's distinction between Athens' internal and external image will aid the analysis). The public proclamations of honours too were enacted (through honorific decrees, which were far more important than the public ceremony) by the government, but again one might wonder why democratic government officially enacted such public ceremonies only three times during the fifth century B.C.: hence, specific discussions and contextualisations of each public proclamation will be provided. As a matter of fact, it seems that democratic government was barely interested in organising and promoting the pre-play ceremonies as its own official procedures. It remains puzzling the fact that we do not know who was the official and legal organiser of the ceremonies, but, at the same time, this should lead us to think of the pre-play ceremonies as occasional civic moments whose organisation and low-political value did not need any official decree to take place: they were not democratic (except for the display of the tributes and three cases of public proclamations fo honours) insofar they were not discussed, ratified and instituted by the democratic bodies.

As for the concrete. Throughout my thesis, as the reader will see, epigraphic sources are predominant, not only because they are the most direct and objective testimonies we can rely on, but also because their consideration (too often neglected) leads to a much clearer comprehension of the pre-play ceremonies' dating, frequency, value and spread. Moreover, in the last few years, many inscriptions have been discovered (and are being discovered still), and several of them attest to the celebration of the Dionysia and its ceremonies both among the demes of Attica and outside Athens. This led me to write a separate section in each chapter, wherein I list and briefly discuss the attestations of the Dionysia's pre-play ceremonies outside Athens. This is a significant issue, which will also be the basis of my future research, and it raises a crucial question: did the Dionysia outside Athens and its

corollary of ceremonies have a socio-political value too? If so, was it democratic? If these external pre-play ceremonies evince strong similarities with what we know of Athenian practice, they would necessitate a complete re-evaluation of the originality of the Athenian phenomenon of tragedy. The analysis of the pre-play ceremonies outside Athens can contribute to a new comprehension of the Greek dramatic festival of the Dionysia, since their possible socio-political values could indicate a broader implication in non-democratic ideology: many cities, which evince celebrations of the Dionysia's pre-play ceremonies, were not democracies, and they could have displayed, through their own Dionysia, a specific ideology different from the democratic one (*if* democratic ideology was ever displayed).[89]

[89] In order to approach this issue, one should deal also with the chronology and the origins of dramatic festivals. Indeed, if dramatic festivals began in Athens and were then copied by other cities, it is possible that they had a significance originally in Athens which they lost when they were copied in other places. Despite this, the topic of the birth of dramatic festivals in Greece will not be discussed in this doctoral thesis (as I said *supra* at n. 47). I will restrict myself to providing evidence for external Dionysia's pre-play ceremonies, showing that they were celebrated also outside Athens in non-democratic cities, and that some of them were contemporary to the Athenian practice.

Chapter One

Religion, State or Democracy? The Libations to Dionysus in the Theatre

1.1 The religious aspect

> πρώτην γὰρ διδασκαλίαν τοῦ Σοφοκλέους ἔτι νέου καθέντος, ᾽Αψεφίων ὁ ἄρχων, φιλονικίας οὔσης καὶ παρατάξεως τῶν θεατῶν, κριτὰς μὲν οὐκ ἐκλήρωσε τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ὡς δὲ Κίμων μετὰ τῶν συστρατήγων παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐποιήσατο τῷ θεῷ τὰς νενομισμένας σπονδάς, οὐκ ἐφῆκεν αὐτοὺς ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὁρκώσας[90] ἠνάγκασε καθίσαι καὶ κρῖναι δέκα ὄντας, ἀπὸ φυλῆς μιᾶς ἕκαστον. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀγὼν καὶ διὰ τὸ τῶν κριτῶν ἀξίωμα τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ὑπερέβαλε.
>
> For when Sophocles, still young, staged his first drama, the archon Apsephion, when there was rivalry and discord among the spectators, did not appoint by lot the judges of the agon; but when Cimon, coming to the theatre together with the generals, made the customary libations to the god, he did not let them go away, but he forced them to sit and judge after they had sworn: they were ten, one for each tribe. Thus, the agon exceeded in ambition also due to the judges' reputation.[91]
>
> (Plu. *Cim*. 8, 8–9)

In his *Life of Cimon* Plutarch narrates that, during the Great Dionysia of 468 B.C., the current archon surprisingly appointed Cimon and his fellow generals as judges of the tragic agon. The ten generals, after having poured the libations to Dionysus in the theatre, swore

[90] Cf. Sommerstein - Bayliss 2013: 118–9.

[91] All translations of Greek passages are mine (unless otherwise stated).

an oath and took a seat in the first row. The pre-play ceremony in which the Athenian generals offered libations to Dionysus would appear to show how the civic/political sphere was strongly implicated in the Dionysia:[92] this notion relies upon the only attestation of the fifth-century B.C. libations, Plutarch's *Life of Cimon*.[93] If Plutarch offers an accurate report and if these libations were a custom, it would indicate the significant involvement of political figures within an important religious ceremony. This is why Goldhill quotes a fourth-century B.C. inscription, *IG* II^2 1496, which attests to the presence of the generals at the Dionysia. The inscription, the text of which is very problematic, mentions the generals in relation to some sacrifices at festivals (ll. 84–5, 94–5, 96–7, 115–6, 127–8, 131–2, 140–1), including the Great Dionysia (ll. 105–7, 111–2, 144–9). But can just one inscription (even more so, not from the fifth century B.C.) make us suppose with certainty that the ceremony was 'annually' celebrated, 'always' chaired by the ten generals, and 'always' displayed democratic values? Hardly. It is true that the inscription 'confirms that the generals were involved religiously in the dramatic festivals'[94] and in libations. We have further inscriptions — such as *IG* II^2 693 (beginning of III B.C.), *IG* II^3 1218 (ca. 210 B.C.?), *IG* II^3 1278 (ca. 188/187 B.C.) — which attest to the presence of the generals even in a ceremony of greater political value; that is, during the proclamation of honours. Indeed, as they would appear to be directly involved in the conferral of crowns on the benefactors of the city, the presence of the generals was not something unusual. Yet despite

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[92] Csapo and Slater too (1994: 107 [n. 16]) consider this ceremony as politically influenced. Conversely, Sommerstein (2010: 127) does not believe in the historical authenticity of Plutarch's tale, nor does he ascribe political importance to this episode. Goldhill does not consider the possibility that the anecdote was manufactured (he believes [2000: 44] that Plutarch's story, 'although a late source and possibly informed by later attitudes, is instructive').

[93] Unfortunately, we do not know Plutarch's sources. Against his credibility cf. Scullion 2002b: 87–90.

[94] Goldhill 1987: 60 = Goldhill 1990: 101.

this, no explicit evidence of libations regularly poured by the ten generals in the theatre (excluding Plutarch's testimony) for the fifth and fourth century B.C. survives.

Thus, given that the libations to Dionysus in the theatre are little studied, and reliant on sparse evidence, there is the need to analyse this key Plutarchan passage — and evaluate its reliability — in context, to better understand this practice, without risking a misunderstanding of its religious and/or political value. It is vital to understand *if* the ceremony was linked to democracy and democratic ideology, as, for example, Goldhill holds: I disagree that the ceremony was democratic and will attempt to divorce the democratic ideological aspect of the ceremony. Thus, in this section, I investigate and evaluate the political and ideological value of the ritual, in order to avoid a democratic interpretation of the dramatic festival due to a likewise democratic interpretation of one of its pre-play ceremonies.

The first useful approach to provide a description and contextualisation of the libations is a consideration of the religious dimension of the practice, in order to answer then these questions: *(a)* What was a libation? *(b)* How frequently was it performed? *(c)* Were the ten generals the only figures responsible for performing the ceremony? *(d)* What was the value of the ceremony?

Hence, let us consider more generally what a proper libation was:

> A libation is a ritual outpouring of liquids. Libations were part of all sacrifices but could also be performed as independent rituals. The common terms for the rituals are *spondai* and *choai*. The former term is most frequent and referred to a controlled outpouring of a small amount of liquid for the Olympian gods by the help of a jug and a phiale. *Choai* were poured out entirely and were used for libations to the gods of the underworld, the heroes and the dead. Regular animal sacrifices were concluded with a libation of wine and water over the fire on the altar, but every invocation or prayer to the gods or heroes was accompanied by

libations. Unmixed wine, milk, oil, and honey were less frequently used and seem to have marked particular parts of the ritual or specific traits in the recipient. Also the blood of the sacrificial victim could be poured out, though such rituals were rare, as the blood of the victim was usually kept and eaten. Before any meal some wine would be poured out, while at symposia three libations were performed at the start. Journeys, sea voyages, and departure for battle were accompanied by libations. Oaths, contracts, and truces were concluded with libations, and the term *spondai* eventually came to mean a peace treaty.[95] Libations were made for the dead as part of the funerary cult, but could also be used to contact and invigorate the departed. Greek art represents libations at animal sacrifice, at scene of warriors' departure, and also gods libating.[96]

From this general description, we can move to consider the specific context of libations at the Dionysia. Offerings and sacrifices to Dionysus were common in Athens (as well as all over the Greek world), both during the Dionysia and at many other festive and religious occasions.[97] It seems, however, that sacrifices and parades in honour of Dionysus were much more common (and attested) than libations, which could occur independently. This is the case in Plutarch's passage, since we are facing an isolated libation without any sacrifice.[98] It is possible that the libation Plutarch is talking about is an independent ritual

[95] Cf. *infra* section *1.3*.

[96] Ekroth 2012: 4051–2 (*s.v.* 'Libations, Greek'). Cf. also Burkert 1985: 70–3 and Patton 2009: 27–99 (though Patton deals more with libations made *by* the gods).

[97] Cf. Evans 2010: 170–207. For libations during a private occasion cf.: Hes. *Op*. 338; Antipho 1, 18-20; Pl. *Smp*. 176a. Herodotus (6, 57) says that pouring libations was a prerogative of the kings of the Spartiatai (cf. also X. *Ages*. 3, 1). Cf. also Hdt. 7, 223, where Xerxes pours libations (although Hdt. 1, 132 says that Persians did not pour libations; but cf. X. *Cyr*. 2, 3, 1; 3, 3, 40; 4, 1, 6; 6, 4, 1)

[98] Goldhill (2000: 44) says that Cimon and the generals are performing a libation *and* a sacrifice, but Plutarch does not say anything about a sacrifice. For sure, there were sacrifices and libations in honour of Dionysus during the procession (πομπή) and, perhaps, the banquet (κῶμος), but these ceremonies took place the day before the dramatic performances.

aiming at purifying[99] the theatre and opening the dramatic performances. It goes without saying that, because he was the god of wine, libations in Dionysus' honour were always included in Dionysiac festivals[100] (certainly during the days called *Pithoigia* and *Choes* at the Dionysiac festival of the Anthesteria, where tastings of wine and drinking competitions took place).[101]

The usual libations to Dionysus consisted in pouring wine[102] in his honour so that, this being considered as a proper sacrifice, 'the drinker of wine would be drinking the god himself':[103] in such a way, the participants experienced and consumed Dionysus. As far as we know, the ceremony had no political meaning. But, as Obbink states, 'the ancient theories depict Dionysiac ritual as positive, as an expression of order and solidarity and health in a world of sometimes uncontrollable conflicts with humans and with nature':[104] thus, the appointment of the ten generals as official offerors was seen as a union between state and religion, in the name of order and harmony. This allows us to explore a further issue: were the ten generals normally the principal characters in this ceremony? If not, who was responsible for such rites?

In the ancient Greek world, several kinds of libations existed: libations to the gods, libations to the dead and libations during private banquets (equivalent to a toast). If we

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[99] In the same way, the Pnyx, during the meetings of the Assembly, was purified with offerings and sacrifices perhaps made by the herald or the prytaneis (cf. *e.g.* Aeschin. 1, 23). For an example of inner purity while drinking cf. Petrovic - Petrovic 2016: 103–14.

[100] Cf. Obbink 1993 for an analysis of Dionysiac rituals.

[101] Cf. Plu. *Quaest. conv.* 3, 7, 1, 655e. For an analysis of the Anthesteria cf.: Pickard-Cambridge 1968[2] [1953]: 1–25; Burkert 1985: 237–42; Parker 2005: 290–316.

[102] Plutarch does not say that it was wine, we can only suppose that it was. In S. *OC* 469–84, we read of a libation with honey and water. Phanodemus (*FGrH* 325 F 12) says that libations were made with must and water, whilst Philochorus with unmixed wine (*FGrH* 328 F 5a) or wine mixed with water (*FGrH* 328 F 5b). Cf. also Graf 1980.

[103] Obbink 1993: 79.

[104] Obbink 1993: 86.

combine Plutarch's information and the literary evidence provided by Athenian tragedies,[105] we can figure the ritual scene. Relying on Plutarch's passage, the 'opening scene' was chaired by the archon, and the ten generals (or priests) all arrived together in the theatre and made libations. If we seek further information from our notionally historical sources, we will be disappointed, because no further details are provided. Here we can turn to Athenian tragedy, which, thanks to its usual libation-scenes (which seemingly resemble actual practices), can provide us with useful details about the ceremony: the 'dramatic version' of the ceremony found in the works of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides' (and, further, Aristophanes) can help us to grasp the movements, gestures and objects that were used in actual practice. Libations to Dionysus in the theatre were indeed a scene rich in gestures, movements and objects. We can assume that performers came either from the *eisodoi* or (even more so if the performers were the generals) from the first row of seats, and they moved towards the centre of the orchestra (perhaps near the altar, if there was any), called by the herald/archon. It is also likely that the performers, as Euripides (*Ba*. 313) and Aristophanes (*Eq*. 221) suggest, wore ivy or golden crowns. Once they reached the orchestra, the performers took the wineskin (ἀσκός) and poured (χεῖν / ἐγχεῖν) the liquid into several (perhaps golden) cups (δέπα or σκύφοι; as in E. *Hec*. 527–9 and Ar. *Pax* 423–5, 431–5), which could have wool crowns at their edges (as in S. *OC* 469–84). All these objects could be on a table (τράπεζα), Ar. *Pax* 1059 suggests. It is likely that the performers raised the cups, prayed to Dionysus (σπένδειν and εὔχεσθαι) — while the audience was silent as was custom, as Odysseus says in S. *Ph*. 8–9 — and then poured the liquid (wine) on the ground. Next, having made the libations, the generals either took their seats in the first row or left the theatre, as would have happened in Plutarch's passage if the archon did not appoint them as judges. This could be the theatrical 'sketch', full of

[105] Cf. Jouanna 1992a and 1992b. Cf. also Konstantakos 2005.

'pictorial impression', that spectators watched and experienced.[106] As a religious ceremony, spectators might expect a priest rather than representatives of the government to perform the libation. However, in each occasion — whether real or fictional — the whole *corpus* of Athenian society was involved, from the relatives of the honoured person to priests and magistrates. Hence Parker points out that:

> Priests do not give orders to the assembly, but the assembly to priests. Priests are in a sense officers of the state, and, if Aristotle in *Politics* [*cf.* 1299a, 15-19; 1322b, 18-29; 1331b, 4-5] hesitates to class them among the regular magistrates and in *Constitution of the Athenians* largely ignores them, this is because their duties (and sometimes terms of service) differ from those of ordinary magistrates, not because they serve an institution, the Church, that is separate from the city. No such institution existed anywhere in Greece. Were it sensible to talk in such terms at all, one would have to say that Church was part of State. The individual who had the highest responsibility in religious affairs was a magistrate, the *basileus*.[107]

This kind of equality between magistrates and priests allowed an interchange among the religious offices. Again Parker,[108] considering some honorific decrees with sacrifices and a

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[106] Further dramatic passages: (Aeschylus) *A*. 69, 1395–6; *Ch*. 15, 23, 87, 92, 97, 129, 149, 156, 164, 291–2, 486–7, 515, 525, 538; *Eu*. 107; *Pers*. 202–4, 219–20, 522–4, 623–7; *Supp*. 980–2; (Sophocles) *Aj*. 1199–200; *Ant*. 430–1; *El*. 269–70, 434; *Ph*. 1032–3; (Euripides) *Alc*. 796–8, 1015–6; *Ba*. 81, 177, 253, 341–2, 376–7, 383–4, 702–3; *Cyc*. 469–71, 545, 556, 558–9; *El*. 511–2, 1321–2, 1333–4; *Hec*. 529–30, 532–6, 542; *IT* 159–68; *Ion* 705–7; *Or*. 96, 113, 472, 1187; *Ph*. 1240; *Tr*. 1063.

[107] Parker 2005: 90–1.

[108] Cf. Parker 2005: 96–7.

passage of Demosthenes' *Against Meidias* (114–5),[109] shows that there was a 'functional equivalence' between magistrates/generals/hipparchs and priests: the ceremonies did not undergo any change, since both the priests and the magistrates stood for the city itself, and its community.[110] Hence, we can deduce that the ten generals, by celebrating the libation to Dionysus in the theatre, were not seizing control over a sphere that did not belong to them.

Parker's assertion develops ideas of Burkert regarding priests in ancient Greek society:

> Greek religion might almost be called a religion without priests: there is no priestly caste as a closed group with fixed tradition, education, initiation, and hierarchy, and even in the permanently established cults there is no *disciplina*, but only usage, *nomos*. The god in principle admits anyone, as long as he respects the *nomos*, that is, as long as he is willing to fit into the local community; […]. At every major cultic occasion there must, of course, be someone who assumes the leadership, who begins, speaks the prayer, and makes the libation. Prerequisite for this role is a certain authority and economic power.[111]

Burkert continues, saying which festivals and cults the archons in Athens and the kings in Sparta were responsible for. The alternation of the magistrates in religious ceremonies/

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[109] In which Demosthenes says: […], εἴασε μέν μ' εἰσιτητηρι' ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς ἱεροποιῆσαι καὶ θῦσαι καὶ κατάρξασθαι τῶν ἱερῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως, εἴασε δ' ἀρχεθεωροῦντ ἀγαγεῖν τῷ Διὶ Νεμείῳ τὴν κοινὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως θεωρίαν, περιεῖδε δὲ ταῖς σεμναῖς θεαῖς ἱεροποιὸν αἱρεθέντ' ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἁπάντων τρίτον αὐτὸν καὶ καταρξάμενον τῶν ἱερῶν ('[…] he suffered me to conduct initiatory rites and sacrifices for the Council, and to inaugurate the victims on behalf of you and all the State; he suffered me as head of the Sacred Embassy to lead it in the name of the city to the Nemean shrine of Zeus; he raised no objection when I was chosen with two colleagues to inaugurate the sacrifice to the Dread Goddesses'. Translation of Vince 1935).

[110] Parker (2005: 97) concludes that 'both categories could indeed sacrifice for the city' and that 'either could perform the same central acts with the same results, though tradition may have insisted that one or the other should do so in a particular case. Aristotle in fact, in a passage which should be decisive (*sc. Pol*. 1322b 26–9), recognizes two types of "public sacrifices", those "assigned by convention to priests" and those performed by officials who "derive their position from the common hearth"'.

[111] Burkert 1985: 95.

cults/festivals/rituals was frequent, and their participation in place of priests seemingly would not have been surprising to the spectators. It would be helpful to find other examples of this practice, but, as noted, if we are looking for parallels among the epigraphic attestations[112] of libations during the Dionysia in Attica, we find no examples. Therefore we can conclude, at this stage, that libations were indeed poured *also* by the ten generals, but this was not something particularly unusual or special. In this way, Goldhill is right in saying that the pre-play ceremonies proclaimed social norms and that 'ritual (*sc*. the libations to Dionysus, in our case) is designed to leave the structural positions of society legitimized':[113] the generals, by pouring libations to Dionysus in the theatre, did not alter or transgress any social norm. Rather, their presence as major civic representatives within a religious context proves that a stabilised interconnection/collaboration between the religious sphere and the political sphere existed, and, since I will argue that the activity of the ten generals cannot be described as specifically democratic, it will follow that a libation to Dionysus could have been performed by any representative of any type of government, without specific ideological (particularly, democratic) implications.

1.2 The political aspect

If we trust Plutarch's account, and Goldhill's subsequent analysis, we see a pattern of political activity which affects the religious environment in Athens: we have major

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[112] That the ten generals were not the unique officers of the libations could be inferred from the few Attic inscriptions which mention an announcement of a crown μετὰ τὰς σπονδάς, 'after the libations» (but not during the Dionysia), chaired by ἱεροποιοί, γραμματεύς and ἐπιμελήται: *IG* II² 1263 (300/299 B.C.), *IG* II² 1273 (281/0 B.C.), *IG* II² 1282 (262/1 B.C.), *IG* II² 1297 (ca. 237/6 B.C.), MDAI(A) 66 (1941) 228,4 (end of III B.C. - beginning of I B.C.), *IG* II² 1325 (185/4 B.C.). Since the two ceremonies are linked (in terms of schedule), we could hypothesise (without any certainty) that the officers were the same for both ceremonies. In *IG* II² 1273 and *IG* II² 1297 we can read that the θιασῶται and ἱεροποιοί poured libations.

[113] Goldhill 1990: 127–8.

officials of the Athenian state (the ten generals) performing a religious ritual, specifically a libation. Goldhill is convinced that, as 'the ten most powerful military and political leaders, the *stratēgoi*, who were actively involved before the whole city',[114] 'this places the drama festival under the aegis of the authority of the democratic polis'.[115] It is interesting that Goldhill uses the term 'aegis' because, consequently, this pre-play ceremony would appear to be fundamental to his argument: as the ten generals would appear to represent the aegis of democratic authority, the people would have believed that this activity represented the very democratic politicisation of the festival. But there is no evidence that the ten generals would have been thought, by the audience, to reflect democratic authority, and this creates difficulties for Goldhill's arguments. Therefore, in order to evaluate the ten generals' political characterisation, we need to look closely at the ten generals and examine *how* (and *how much*) they represented democracy, starting from their origins.

The author of the *Athenian Constitution* mentions the institution of the ten generals in this way:

> Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἔτει ὀγδόῳ μετὰ ταύτην τὴν κατάστασιν ἐφ᾽ Ἑρμοκρέοντος ἄρχοντος τῇι βουλῇι τοῖς πεντακοσίοις τὸν ὅρκον ἐποίησαν ὃν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὀμνυουσιν. Ἔπειτα τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἡιροῦντο κατὰ φυλάς, ἐξ ἑκάστης φυλῆς ἕνα, τῆς δὲ ἁπάσης στρατιᾶς ἡγεμὼν ἦν ὁ πολέμαρχος.

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[114] Goldhill 1987: 60 = Goldhill 1990: 101.

[115] Goldhill 2000: 44. Shear (2011: 148) follows Goldhill's interpretation and hypothesises the presence of Thrasyllus and other generals at the Dionysia in 409 B.C. (in occasion of democracy's restoration) to celebrate the libations: 'as elected officials of the *demos*, their presence on this particular occasion ought to have reminded spectators that the city was now democratically ruled. Their role as military leaders should have complemented the images of the Athenians marshalled by tribe and by deme, the same divisions in which they fought for the city, as they had sworn Demophantos' oath a few days earlier'. However, we do not have any testimony that mentions Thrasyllus and the other generals as performers of the libations to Dionysus at the Dionysia in 409 B.C.

> First, in the eighth[116] year after this settlement [*sc*. 501/0 B.C.], in the archonship of Hermocreon, they created for the council of five hundred the oath which they still swear now. Next they elected the generals by tribes, one from each tribe, but the leader of the whole army was the polemarch.[117]
>
> ([Arist.] *Ath.* 22, 2)

Wade-Gery[118] believes that the ten generals were created by Cleisthenes, whilst Hignett[119] notes that the author of the *Athenian Constitution* says that they existed in the time of Dracon.[120] At any rate, whereas some men can be referred to as *strategoi* before 501/0 B.C., it is only then that *strategos* became a regular office to which appointments were made every year. And of course, since the ten tribes were created by Cleisthenes, if there were regular generals before then, there will likely not have been ten of them. Whatever view we take about the existence of the ten generals before Cleisthenes, it is worth highlighting the fact that from Cleisthenes' reforms to the reforms of 487 B.C., the power of the polemarch had been under attack. In fact, the military powers of the polemarch, who

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[116] The papyrus has πέμπτῳ for ὀγδόῳ, but, as Rhodes (2017: 249–50) notices, 'the next archonship mentioned is that of Phaenippus, 490/89 (22. 3): the fifth year after Isagoras, 504/3, is occupied by Acestorides (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* V. 37. 1), but the twelfth year before Phaennippus, 501/0, is not otherwise occupied, so Hermocreon should belong to that year, the eighth after Isagoras, and to make *A.P.*'s chronology coherent the papyrus' "fifth" should be emended to "eighth"'.

[117] I here use the translation of Rhodes 2017.

[118] Wade-Gery 1933: 28.

[119] Hignett 1952: 169.

[120] Despite this, Hignett (1952: 162 [n. 3]), in a footnote to his statement, says: 'unless we assume that the "constitution of Drakon" was a last-minute addition to the *A.P.*, unknown to the author when he was writing 22.2'. Cf. de Ste Croix 2004: 223–4 (and footnotes) for a list of interpretations of that passage of *Ath.*

was the chief of the army (perhaps still at Marathon in 490 B.C.),[121] were transferred to the generals in 487 B.C. The reforms of 487 B.C. were concerned with the archons (and perhaps also with the introduction of ostracism), who were previously elected but now came to be appointed by lot.[122] Then, the author of the *Athenian Constitution* says in 26, 2 that the *zeugitai* were admitted to the appointment by lot to the archonship thanks to the reform of 457/6 B.C. In this way, the archons, despite the reforms of 487 B.C., were still from the upper classes (until the reforms of 457/6 B.C. which were more democratic; the ten generals, by that date, became definitively more important than the archons). But were the reforms of 487 B.C. really democratic? de Ste Croix thought that 'to conclude that the reform of 487 was specially "democratic" would be entirely fallacious', and that it was rather 'part of a vitally necessary improvement in the efficiency of the organization of the State'.[123] Indeed, an election, even by lot, among upper classes cannot be labelled as exclusively democratic: even Isocrates (7, 23), mentioned by de Ste Croix,[124] tells how ancient democracy considered the election of official magistrates by vote 'more democratic' than the appointment by lot.

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[121] Scholars usually rely on Herodotus' problematic account of the battle (6, 105–17). From this account, we can see that the polemarch was the commander-in-chief of the army along with the ten generals. Scholars think that the presence of the polemarch at Marathon stands for his persistent importance, while the generals seem to have had an inferior role (cf. Hignett 1952: 170–1). Rhodes (1993: 264–6) believes that from 501/0 B.C. the generals were the effective commanders of the army, and that the polemarch went to Marathon and occupied the commander's position on the right wing because the whole army's going to Marathon was an exceptional reaction to the exceptional foreign invasion of Attica.

[122] Cf. [Arist.] *Ath.* 22, 5. What is problematic here is the short list of 500 candidates from the demes for the nine archonships: it looks as if there is a confusion with the council of the Five Hundred.

[123] de Ste Croix 2004: 217.

[124] Cf. de Ste Croix 2004: 218.

It is essential to know what was behind the reforms of 487 B.C., through which the archons lost (or, at least, began to lose) their great powers:[125] it is possible that the polemarch was no longer the commander-in-chief of the army, that the eponymous ceased to be the president of the Assembly and Council, and that the judicial roles of the archons were drastically reduced. But, as de Ste Croix warns,[126] we have no clear evidence for these changes: it is possible, as Wade-Gery had already pointed out,[127] that the archons maintained their powers until Ephialtes' reforms. At any rate, de Ste Croix considers Herodotus' account of the battle of Marathon: generally, this account is considered unsatisfactory and confused (since the author says that, at the time of Marathon, the polemarch was already elected by lot), but de Ste Croix trusts Herodotus' description of the ten generals as important leaders. Particularly, he believes that:

> [the ten generals] were always, from the very first [*sc.* 501/0 B.C.], general staff officers, with a sphere of competence that was not limited to the regiment of each general's own particular tribe (although he would doubtless march at the head of that regiment into battle), but included the whole army. Two arguments are strongly in favor of this: the statement of Herodotus (V 69.2) that Cleisthenes "made ten phylarchs instead of four" (implying that phylarchs continued to exercise the same military functions as before: the command of their tribal regiments), and the etymology of the word στρατηγός. Tribal commanders might be called phylarchs […], or taxiarchs […]; but a στρατηγός is surely a man who leads, solely or jointly, an army or an expedition and not a mere segment of it.[128]

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[125] As Rhodes (1993: 274) says, 'the precise significance of this reform within the process is harder to determine. […] The reform may as well be a response to a decline in the archonship that had already begun as a revolutionary move intended to bring about a decline […]'. For sure, we can accept that from 487 B.C. onwards the ten generals became very important figures in Athenian politics.

[126] Cf. de Ste Croix 2004: 225.

[127] Cf. Wade-Gery 1958: 171–9, 183–6, 188–9, 195–7.

[128] de Ste Croix 2004: 225.

Thus since 487 B.C. the generals had gained all the military powers previously held by the archon polemarch; moreover, the office of the ten generals could be renewed, whilst the archonship was a one-year-only office without any possibility of renewal. This reform made sense, since it allowed the best men qualified to command an army to maintain their position, avoiding the possibility of a scarcity of capable leaders available for command roles. Therefore, the whole political operation seems to be more a reform driven by necessity and opportunity as opposed to democratic idealism. Indeed, the events to come were not so favourable to the Athenians, since, after Marathon, they were going to face 'internal' problems against Aegina and, later, the second Persian invasion: the military campaigns needed permanent commanders rather than an ever-changing succession of chiefs. To be sure, Athens was undergoing dramatic changes in government, and new reforms can be associated with a democratic system in development. Yet in spite of this, it is difficult, for the reasons mentioned above, to conclude that the reforms of 487 B.C. and the institution of the ten generals were the product of a specifically democratic urge. Of course, 'when Athens was transformed into a great naval power the *strategoi* became admirals of the largest navy in Greece',[129] and thus they became the representatives of the fully developed democracy heralded in the fifth century B.C. Such a detail needs further consideration: the great power that the generals came to have through the second half of the fifth century B.C. was tempting to the upper classes. We do not know if Dinarchus[130] is right when he says that the proper general is ordered by the law to γῆν ἐντὸς ὅρων κεκτῆσθαι ('own land within the boundaries'), but we can agree with Hignett who admits that 'the gifts of political leadership and military capacity which it required were in any

[129] Hignett 1952: 191.

[130] Cf. Din. 1, 71.

case only to be found among the rich landowners'.[131] We have no evidence for a particular property requirement for the ten generals (except in the spurious constitution of Draco; cf. [Arist.] *Ath.* 4, 2). Therefore, the assumption must be that formally they were required to be *zeugitai* or above, and that requirement would be enforced in the fifth century B.C. but no longer in the fourth.[132] In practice, it is likely that men who offered themselves as candidates for an office which would take them away from home for long periods would be men rich enough not to need to earn their living.[133] Thus, in light of the fact that the reforms of 487 B.C. cannot be considered as specifically democratic and that the office of the ten generals was more suitable to rich landowners, it is problematic to consider the presence of the generals in the orchestra of the theatre as a symbol of democracy.

Furthermore, Goldhill, by relying on Plutarch, refers to a specific period, that of Cimon's great political influence: we should bear in mind that Cimon was more conservative than his democratic predecessors and contemporaries (such as Cleisthenes, Themistocles, Ephialtes and Pericles). If Plutarch is to be trusted with regard to the episode of the libations, we should trust also the author's words in 15, 1 when he says that Cimon took a firm position against any change of the constitution (which, conversely, was overthrown during his absence).[134] 'Following the example of the tyrants' — Hignett states — 'he tried to distract the Thetes from political agitation by promoting their material well-

[131] Hignett 1952: 191–2.

[132] Cf. [Arist.] *Ath.* 7, 4.

[133] Cf. Davies 1981: 122–31 for a discussion on the generals and their wealth.

[134] Cf. Plu. *Cim*. 15, 2.

being. Possibly his lavish generosity was influenced by this motive'.[135] It is clear that Cimon was far from democratic ideals.[136]

Accordingly, we are on firmer ground to say that Cimon and the generals were representatives and symbols of the government in general during the libations in the orchestra, rather than of the 'aegis of the authority of the democratic polis'.[137] Again, if one accepts that Plutarch's account might be reliable, it should still be noticed that Plutarch was not talking about 'libations which were celebrated νενομισμένως ('customarily') by the ten generals'; rather, he mentioned τὰς νενομισμένας σπονδάς ('the customary libations')

[135] Hignett 1952: 193.

[136] Goldhill 2000: 44, points out, on the one hand, 'the sense of the competitive pursuit of status — *philotimia* — that informs the *agon* of drama both for the spectators and for those directly involved in the production of the play', and, on the other hand, the negotiating function of the ten generals, as democratic representatives, towards the audience's sense of *philotimia*. However, as Lambert 2018: 95–6, states, relying on Whitehead 1983 and 1993, '*philotimia* was a problematic (aristocratic/elitist/contention-encouraging) virtue which the city was notably reluctant to recognize formally in the language and practice of its decrees before the 340s, and in the longer perspective the introduction of inscribed decrees honouring Athenian citizens marks a significant staging post on the road from the democratic collectivism of the high classical *polis* to the emphasis and reliance on individual euergetism which is such a marked feature of hellenistic political culture' (cf. also *ibid*: 76). Moreover Goldhill relates the concept of *philotimia* to the audience, but neither Plutarch's passage relates *philotimia* to spectators (rather, it is *philonikia* which is linked to spectators) nor did the audience receive honours by attending to the festival. Rather, the sense of *philotimia* can be addressed to either *choregoi*, actors and playwrights (who were effectively competing) or the ten generals, being an office made up of high-class citizens and, in our case, holding a high reputation.

[137] Cf. Mosconi 2008: 28, who briefly argues that Cimon's presence was a display of aristocratic traits.

which on *that* occasion were celebrated by the ten generals. The exceptionality[138] of the event is confirmed by the passage which introduces the episode: ἔθεντο δ' εἰς μνήμην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν τραγῳδῶν κρίσιν ὀνομαστὴν γενομήνην ('he is remembered for his judgement of the tragic agon, which [*sc*. the judgement] became famous'). Moreover, before describing the episode of the libation, Plutarch recounts Cimon's glorious return from Skyros with Theseus' bones: the author recounts the deeds which made Cimon famous among people,[139] and the episode of the libations has to be counted, coherently, as part of that list. It is possible that Plutarch put these episodes in sequence in order to show that the audience wanted to acclaim Cimon, but actually, the recovery of Theseus' bones happened some years before 468 B.C. Alternatively, we can think that the libations made by the ten generals and their appointment as judges were a way to celebrate Cimon and his colleagues for the victory at the Eurymedon (if we accept the dating of the battle in the

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[138] Carter (2004: 6) detects the exceptionality of the event in the juxtaposition of μὲν and δὲ in the passage of Plutarch: 'the μὲν … δὲ contrast between drawing lots for judges and appointing the generals makes a distinction between the normal and the irregular'. Despite this, he concludes 'that the elected officers of the democracy that hosted the festival poured the libations' (*ibid*.: 10), and considers the ceremony as it took place annually. I see no reason why μὲν and δὲ should stress the difference between the regular and the irregular. Rather, the two particles highlight an opposition which I tend to identify between the two main verbs: μὲν οὐκ ἐκλήρωσε and δὲ […] οὐκ ἀφῆκεν (and also ἀλλ' […] ἠνάγκασε). Moreover, the passage which introduces the episode shows that the exceptionality consisted in Cimon's and the generals' role as judges. The secondary sentence which Plutarch puts in between the opposition is just recounting a practice (*sc*. the libations poured by the ten generals) which we can assume as irregular *specifically* because of the lack of parallel evidence, not because of Plutarch's supposed stress on the opposition between the regular and the irregular.

[139] Cf. also D.S. 11, 62, 1: Κίμων δὲ διὰ τῆς ἰδίας στρατηγίας καὶ ἀρετῆς μεγάλα κατωρθωκώς, περιβόητον ἔσχε τὴν δόξαν οὐ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν ('After Cimon had won these great successes by means of his own skill as general and his valour, his fame was noised abroad not only among his fellow citizens but among all other Greeks as well'. Translation of Oldfather 1956).

summer of 469 B.C.).[140] Otherwise, we can conclude with Blamire (who quotes Meiggs) 'that the presiding archon's primary concern was to maintain order in the theatre, hence his appointment of the generals, when the audience threatened to get out of hand, "needs no other explanation than the authority of their office"'.[141] Therefore, there is no explicit evidence of any 'manipulation of the symbolics of the ritual',[142] since it is clear that political figures in a religious context were not unusual to the audience. It appears to be correct to describe the appointment of the generals as judges as 'momentous' rather than some sort of democratic manipulation.[143]

Thus, the ceremony of the libations to Dionysus remains a very poorly known ritual. It was obvious that an offering to the god of drama during the Dionysia was made, but we cannot infer if this ceremony was celebrated by the ten generals regularly. There is no evidence to answer the question on the regularity of the generals' libation, but the negative evidence — that is, that we have no other reference to libations poured by the generals —

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[140] By now, the general view is that the battle at Eurymedon took place in 466 or 465 B.C. Cf. *e.g.*: Sordi 1971 (although Sordi 1994 postpones the date to 465/4 B.C.), Fine 1983: 343–6, and Zaccarini 2017: 119–29. 466 or 465 B.C. may be the fashionable date for the battle of the Eurymedon, but we have no other evidence: Thucydides gives a list of events in the Delian League without dates (cf. Th. 1, 100, 1; cf. also *FGrHist* 124 F 15 [Callisthenes] and Plu. *Cim*. 12, 2-13, 3) and Diodorus Siculus (11, 61) narrates the Eurymedon under 470/69 B.C. (but his dating is generally rejected). For a complete list of scholars' positions about the date of the battle at Eurymedon cf. Meyer 2018: 25 (n. 2).

[141] Blamire 1989: 122 (quoting Meiggs 1972: 82).

[142] Cf. Goldhill 2000: 44.

[143] I doubt also that the libations poured by the ten generals were a 'demonstration of Athens' imperial power' (Carter 2004: 11), particularly for two main reasons: 1) since I believe that we should rely on the evidence we have and, consequently, conclude that as far as we know the generals poured the libations only during that occasion, it would be somewhat curious that imperial ideology (if there was any) was displayed only on that *early* occasion; 2) it seems that the generals, besides being called to pour the libations, apparently in place of the priests, performed the ceremony without doing anything more than it was required for a customary libation: can we infer that just the presence of the figures themselves was enough to display an imperial ideology towards the audience?

suggests that it is at least possible that it was not a regular practice, but rather a response to some special success. As for Athens, we do not have any Athenian attestation which confirms the role of the ten generals as the usual drink-offerors — about the role of whom I disagree both with Blamire and Hammond. The former says: 'the traditional drink-offerings to Dionysos are made by Kimon as *strategos*, and not, as might have been expected, by the archon as the magistrate with responsibility for the Dionysia (*Ath. Pol.* 56.3-5)'.[144] Blamire's mention of *Athenian Constitution* is inappropriate since in those passages we are told that the archon was responsible for many things during the Dionysia and the Thargelia (such as the appointment of choregoi and the organisation of festivals' processions), but not that he was specifically responsible for the libations — it is possible, but the text does not say so explicitly. On the other hand, Hammond, while talking about the transfer of the archon's duties through the fifth and the fourth century B.C., quotes Plutarch's passage and says: 'we conclude then that by 468 B.C. some sacrificial duties of the archon polemarchus had been transferred to the military officials and that some division of functions had been made among the strategi, whether by appointment for the year or by special χειροτονία on each occasion'.[145] I think that this is too strong an assertion and that it is too difficult to talk about official transfers of roles and duties from a reading of a dubious later source. We do not have further evidence which confirms this new role of the ten generals as drink-offerers at the Dionysia. Again, neither the epigraphic evidence nor the contemporary (or slightly later) historiographers mention the ten generals during the libations to the god at the Athenian Dionysia.

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[144] Blamire 1989: 123.

[145] Hammond 1969: 118.

1.3 Practices beyond Athens

The theory on the regularity and democratic character of the libations has been discussed by Rhodes in these terms:

> We know nothing about that beyond what we read in this story; Csapo and Slater say, 'It is of some interest to see that the libation was poured out not by the priest of Dionysus or any other sacred office but by civic heads of state', but there is nothing in the story to suggest that only the generals made libations; libations by the generals are political, but could have occurred in any state in which generals were important officials.[146]

I agree with Rhodes' objection, and, in light of his last sentence, an inquiry on the attestations outside Athens is definitely worthwhile. Libations to Dionysus seem to have been celebrated also during the Dionysia of many other cities and a list of their attestations allows us to draw some interesting suppositions.

The most common expression that seems to specify the libations to Dionysus is μετὰ τὰς σπονδάς ('after the libations'): for the libations seemingly preceded another important pre-play ceremony, the proclamation of honours. This is a tight-knit sequence that could lead us to consider the libations as a pre-play ceremony packaged together with the other

[146] Rhodes 2003: 112.

civic pre-play ceremonies.[147] We should bear in mind the ambivalence of the Greek word σπονδή: it means 'drink-offering/libation' in the singular and, usually, 'solemn treaty/truce' (which, when established, was often celebrated together with libations and sacrifices) in the plural.[148] Thus it is not always clear when it is being utilised in reference to libations, and when it refers to treaties. Also, we should consider the difference between μετὰ τὰς σπονδάς and αὐτίκα μετὰ τὰς σπονδάς ('immediately after the libations'). The phrase μετὰ τὰς σπονδάς, which is relatively vague, does not expressly tell us that the libations directly preceded the proclamation of honours. The libations could have been a part of the opening ceremony of the dramatic festival. In this case — if we take the list contained in the Law of Euegoros (D. 21, 10) for granted[149] — we should include the libations to Dionysus among those religious pre-play ceremonies which were celebrated in the days before the performances: the transport of the Dionysus' statue first into a temple in the Academy and

[147] The day on which the pre-play ceremonies were celebrated and their order are not known. As for the schedule, we can suppose as follows: since libations were often considered opening rituals, it is likely that they were performed first; as we have seen, the proclamation of honours celebrated μετὰ τὰς σπονδάς suggests that this was the second ceremony; basing on the sequence given by Isoc. 8, 82–3, it seems that the third ceremony was the display of the tributes and the fourth the war-orphans' parade. Since in the end of this latter ceremony the war-orphans were given honorary seats among the audience, ready to attend the spectacles, the war-orphans' parade is the best candidate to be the last pre-play ceremony of the Great Dionysia. Also, ideologically and thematically speaking, such a sequence sounds coherent: the opening and propitiatory ceremony in Dionysus' honour represented archaic religion in action; the proclamation of honours and the display of tributes celebrated the present and the current power of Athens; lastly, the war-orphans' parade celebrated the future of the *polis*, a future that would have been prosperous thanks to the nascent valorous soldiers of Athens. The audience of the Dionysia thus bore witness to a great tetralogy of Athenian strength and prosperity.

[148] Cf. Karavites 1984.

[149] The document is considered a later forgery by Harris (2013a: 216–23). Since his argumentations are convincing, we should not consider this source as reliable and, in this case, our information on the organisation of the Dionysia and the sequence of ceremonies would be wrong.

then to the theatre (εἰσαγωγὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας);[150] a festive procession with sacrifices in

[150] Cf. Pickard-Cambridge 1968² (1953): 59–61. Regarding this ceremony, Pickard-Cambridge quotes in a footnote (n. 1 at 60) *IG* II² 1006. This is a honorific decree of 122/1 B.C. and it attests awards (crowns to be announced at the Dionysia) to the ephebes οἱ ἐπὶ Δημητρίου ἄρχοντος (and their διδάσκαλοι) for their processions, sacrifices and parades (not only during the Dionysia, but also during other festival [cf. ll. 22–3: τοῖς τε Θησείοις καὶ Ἐπιταφίοις]). In addition to *SEG* 15:104 (127/6 B.C., the earliest attestation of this ceremony) and *IG* II² 1008 (118/7 B.C.), he quotes also *IG* II² 1028 (101/0 - 100/99 B.C.), *IG* II² 1030 (after [?] 94/3 B.C.) and *IG* II² 1039, but these last three do not attest (maybe because of their textual incompleteness) the procession. Rather, *IG* II² 1032 (beginning of the I century B.C.), neither mentioned by Pickard-Cambridge nor by Csapo and Slater, does attest the procession (even though the inscription is very incomplete). As we can see, we have no evidence for the fifth century B.C.: Pickard-Cambridge excuses this lack saying that 'the reenactment of the god's advent does not look like an afterthought and probably goes back to the earliest days of the festival when, after his first cold welcome, it was desired to make amends by doing him special honor' (60). Thomson (1940: 156–62) has argued that in Euripides' *Bacchae* Dionysus, during Pentheus' dressing, uses a kind of language which reminds us of the first day of the Dionysia, when the statue of the god was transported through a procession (cf. also Foley 1980: 116–26). On the other hand, Winnington-Ingram (1997² [1948]: 24 [n. 3] and 128 [n. 2]) thinks that the mention of the πομπή, ἄγων and κῶμος refers to the Olympic games.

the precinct of Dionysus (πομπή);[151] a banquet about which we do not know enough

[151] Cf. Pickard-Cambridge 1968[2] (1953): 61–3. In regard to the procession, Pickard-Cambridge refers to the same inscriptions he quoted for the εἰσαγωγὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας. However, there is a huge amount of epigraphic evidence which attests the procession: *Agora* XVI 181 (282/1 B.C.; it attests a procession in honour of Dionysus and an awarding of crowns in the assembly in the theatre), *IG* II[2] 1011 (106/5 B.C.), *IG* II[2] 1029 (94/3 B.C.), *IG* II[2] 1043 (38/7 B.C.; we can read: τῇ πομπῇ τοῦ Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος [cf. ll. 31–2]), *IG* II[2] 2046 (ca. before 140 AD). Then, we have also attestations from outside Athens: *IG* XII,9 192 (308/7 B.C. [Euboia - Eretria]; it attests a proclamation of honours during the procession in honour of Dionysus), *Iasos* 139 (ca. 196/3 B.C.; in this list of choregic donations a procession and offerings in honour of Dionysus are mentioned), *I*Eleusis 229 = *IG* II[2] 949 (ca. 165/4 B.C.; it attests to a procession in honour of Dionysus during the Dionysia), *IG* XII,9 899 (II B.C. [Euboia — Chalkis]; it attests to a proclamation of honours at the end of the procession and offerings during the Dionysia), *Iscr. di Cos* ED 133 (II B.C.; the city of Iasos makes a proclamation of honours during the Dionysia after the procession), *IG* XII,9 236 (ca. 100 B.C. [Euboia — Eretria]; it attests to a proclamation of honours during the Dionysia ἐν ᾗ συντελεῖται τοῦ Διονύσου ἡ πομπή [cf. ll. 44–5]), *IG* XII Suppl. 553 (ca. 100 B.C. [Euboia - Eretria]; it attests to a proclamation of honours during the Dionysia ἐν ᾗ συντελεῖται τοῦ Διονύσου ἡ πομπή [cf. ll. 28–9]) and *IG* XII,9 237 (ca. 100–95 B.C. [Euboia — Eretria]; it attests to a proclamation of honours during the procession at the Dionysia). For a political interpretation of the ritual processions in Athenian festivals cf. Kavoulaki 1999. Csapo (2015), for instance, complains about the insufficient interest generally dedicated to the πομπή (often judged as a solemn and sober ceremony) compared with the great attention paid to the εἰσαγωγὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας. Csapo overturns Sourvinou-Inwood's theory concerning the religious pre-play ceremonies: he thinks that Sourvinou-Inwood's concept of '*polis* religion' (2000a and 2000b) has wrongly influenced recent studies on the context of the Dionysia, which thereby neglect the importance of the πομπή and do not recognise its festive feature. Sourvinou-Inwood, in fact, is more interested in the religious importance of the ceremonies and her theory, as Csapo says (2015: 71), 'centers the Dionysia upon a ritual designed to receive the god into the symbolic heart of the city': this is why she strongly focuses on the introduction of the god's statue in Athens. However, as Csapo points out, the εἰσαγωγή was not a part of the festival officially and is not attested before the late second century B.C. (the first epigraphic attestation is *IG* II[2] 1006 + 1031 of 123/2 B.C. and the εἰσαγωγή is distinguished from the festival and the πομπή). Moreover, there is no evidence of the existence of an ἐσχάρα in the market-place in the classical period: rather, it is the πομπή which seems to have consisted in a transport of the statue from an altar in the market-place to the theatre (cf. Csapo 2015: 71–3).

(κῶμος);[152] finally, the Proagon[153] (during which playwrights and their actors, in the Odeum built by Pericles, explained the subject of their plays) and the post-festival assembly[154] (during which the conduct of the festival was discussed in the theatre).[155] However, since no attestations of the expression αὐτίκα μετὰ τὰς σπονδάς survive,[156] we can conclude that the formula μετὰ τὰς σπονδάς is sufficient to suppose that libations preceded the proclamations of honours.

Here is the list of inscriptions (in chronological order) which attest to libations outside Athens:

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[152] Cf. Pickard-Cambridge 1968[2] (1953): 63. In addition to the few words of Pickard-Cambridge about it, there is a detailed and full of evidence analysis conducted by Sourvinou-Inwood (2003: 70 and 78–89), who concludes that it was a 'ritual dining and drinking on beds of leaves of ivy' (89). We find the same conclusions in the very short treatment of Parker 2005: 'on whatever day it occurred, the *komos* was probably a drunken evening event, and it is one of the rare contexts in which wearing of masks by some participants is explicitly attested' (318). Cf. also D. 19, 287; Aeschin. 2, 151; Pl. *Lg* 637a–b. It is not believed anymore that κῶμος = χοροὶ ἀνδρῶν, as Ghiron-Bistagne (1976: 226–7) thought.

[153] Cf. Pickard-Cambridge 1968[2] (1953): 67–8 (cf. also Pl. *Smp*. 194a ff. for a description of the Proagon).

[154] Cf. Pickard-Cambridge 1968[2] (1953): 63–70.

[155] Sourvinou-Inwood seems to be wrong when she says that the εἰσαγωγή was also known as the κῶμος. The banquet, of which almost nothing is known, is mentioned by the Law of Euegoros; as the law appears to list the processions at the Dionysia in chronological order, and as the κῶμος is listed after the πομπή (which took place on the 10th of Elaphebolion), it is clear that the κῶμος cannot be the εἰσαγωγή, as the latter took place on the 9th of Elaphebolion (or in the very early morning of the 10th of Elaphebolion) (cf. Csapo 2015: 73–9). The evidence for the εἰσαγωγή is poor: we know for sure that it re-enacted the arrival of Dionysus. On the contrary, the festive and entertaining features belonged to the πομπή, which had choral groups, sacrifices, dances, masks and phallic processions (as well as 'parade-abuse from the wagons': cf. Csapo 2012 for a detailed list of sources of the 'parade-abuse' [πομπεία] 'from the wagons' [ἐξ ἁμάξης]; moreover, Parker [2005: 317] rightly notices that 'one of the two Greek verbs for 'to insult in ritual context' was in fact πομπεύω'.

[156] With the exception of *IG* XIV 12 (Siciily - Syracuse; unknown date): in this brief inscription we read of a proclamation of honours for Skymnos [εὐθὺς δὲ μετὰ τὰς] / σπονδὰς ('immediately after the libations'; cf. ll. 4–5).

1. *Tit. Calymnii* 64 (Calymna — Fanum Apollinis; 205–202 B.C.): honorific decree by the people of Calymna to Lysander; the announcement of the crown is to be made during the Dionysia μετὰ τὰς σπον/[δά]ς (cf. face B, ll. 4–9).
2. *Magnesia* 32 (Magnesia; end of III B.C. / II B.C.): decree of the Council and people of [Clazomenae] accepting the invitation of Magnesia to Leukophryena and giving honours to Magnesia and *theoroi* from Magnesia, with a list inscribed of cities voting likewise; the agonothetai take care of the announcement during the Dionysia μετὰ τὰς σπονδάς (cf. ll. 30–2).
3. *Priene* 16 (Priene; ca. 200 B.C.): honorific decree from the people of Laodicea to Priene and its judges; the announcement is to be made during the Dionysia ὅταν [θ]ύεται? πρὸ πάσης(?) - σπονδάς(?) (cf. ll. 30–3).
4. *Priene* 33 (Priene; 84/1 B.C.): honorific decree for Lulus Aemilius Zosimos; the announcement is to be made (by the agonothetai and the secretary of the Assembly and Council?) during the Dionysia ὅταν / ὁ δῆμος συντελῆι τὰς πατρίους τῶι Διονύσωι σπονδάς (cf. ll. 104–8).
5. *Priene* 35 (Priene; II B.C.): honorific decree for Alexandria and its judges; the announcement is to be made by the agonothetas and the secretary during the Dionysia ὅταν τὰς θέας συντελῶμεν μετὰ τὰς σπονδάς (cf. ll. 21–4).
6. *Priene* 39 (Priene; II B.C.): honorific decree for Aristippos; the announcement is to be made by the agonothetai during the Dionysia ‘when the people completed the libations’ (cf. ll. 6–8; the text is very unclear).
7. *Priene* 51 (Priene; ca. 120 B.C.): honorific decree for Herodes; the announcement is to be made by the secretary of the Assembly and Council during the Dionysia ὅταν ὁ δῆ/[μος τὰς σπονδὰς συν]τελ[ῆ]ι ἀκολούθ<ω>ς τοῖς προγεγραμμέ/[νοις (cf. ll. 256–60).

8. *Priene* 66 (Priene; 129–100 B.C.): honorific decree for Moschion; the announcement is to be made by the agonothetai and the secretary of the Assembly and Council during the Dionysia [ὅταν ὁ δῆμος τὰς] / πατρίους σπονδὰς συντ[ελῆι, ἀκολούθως] / τοῖς γεγραμμένοις (cf. ll. 330–5).
9. *IK Laodikeia am Lykos* 5 (Ionia — Priene [Turuclar]; ca. 200–189 B.C.): honorific decree for Priene and its judges and secretary; the announcement is to be made by an ambassador during the Dionysia ὅταν [σ]υν<τελῶσι> τὰς πρώτας *νν* σπονδάς (cf. ll. 26–33).
10. *SEG* 26:677 (Thessaly [Pelasgiotis] — Larisa; II B.C.): honorific decree of the Peparethians for judges from Larisa; in ll. 79–83, we read: φροντίσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ταγοὺς μετὰ τοῦ ἀ/[γωνοθέτου ὅπως ἐν τοῖς] πρώτοι[ς] Διονυσίοις μετὰ τὸ συντελεσθ[ῆ/ναι τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς] ἀ[ν]αγορευθῶσιν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ αἵδε / [αἱ ἐψηφιμέναι τιμαὶ τῷ τε δήμ]ῳ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς δικασταῖς καὶ τῷ γραμ/[ματεῖ·; it seems that the commanders and the agonothetai, after the libations, are responsible for the proclamation at the Dionysia.
11. *SEG* 48:1110 (Cos — Asclepieion; before mid. II B.C.): honorific decree for unknown people; the announcement of the crown is to be made during the Dionsyia (and the Great Asclepieia and the Romaia) by the sacred herald [με]τὰ τὰς σπονδ[ὰς (l. 24). Also the προ̣[στάται καὶ ὁ ἀγωνο/θέτας] are responsible for the announcement (cf. ll. 25–7).
12. *SEG* 48:1112 (Cos — Asclepieion; ca. 150–100 B.C.): honorific decree for Theugenes from Smyrne; the announcement of the crown is to be made during the Dionysia by the sacred herald με[τὰ τ]ὰς σπον/δάς (ll. 41–2); also the προστάται καὶ ὁ ἀγωνοθέτας must take care of the announcement (cf. ll. 42–3).

13. *SEG* 53:860 (Cos — Asclepieion; II B.C.): honorific decree for a Sicyonian; the προστάτ[αι / καὶ ὁ ἀγωνοθέτας are responsible for the announcement during the Dionysia (and the Great Asclepieia) μετὰ τὰς σπο]νδὰς (cf. ll. 6–10).
14. *SEG* 53:861 (Cos — Asclepieion; II B.C.): honorific decree for unknown people; the [προστάται κ]αὶ ὁ ἀγωνο/[θέτας are responsible for the announcement during the Dionysia (and the gymnastic wagon of the Asclepieia) [μετὰ τὰς σπονδ]ὰς (cf. ll. 2–7).
15. *SEG* 53:862 (Cos — Asclepieion; II B.C.): honorific decree for unknown people; the προστάται κ̣[αὶ ὁ ἀγ]ωνοθέτας are responsible for the announcement during the Dionysia (and the gymnastic wagon of the Asclepieia) μετὰ τ[ὰς σ/πο]νδὰς (cf. ll. 5–9).
16. *IG* IV²,1 66 (Epidauria — Epidaurus; 74 B.C.): honorific decree for Euanthes from Epidaurus; the crown has to be announced by the herald μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς ('after the celebration of the libations'), but we are not told who was responsible for conducting the ritual (cf. l. 68).
17. *IK Knidos* I 74 (Caria — Cnidos [Tekir]; I/II AD): honorific decree for Lukaithion Aristocleida; the announcement is to be made by the herald of the Council during the Dionysia μετὰ τὰς σπονδάς (cf. ll. 9–15).

As we can see, the results of the investigation are not definitive, as we have only 17 attestations, dating from the third century B.C. to the second century AD. However, we can infer some conclusions: 1) we have no contemporary evidence to Cimon's episode; 2) the

libations to Dionysus during the Dionysia were also celebrated outside Athens;[157] 3) the libations preceded the pre-play ceremony of the proclamation of honours in the theatre; 4) we are not told who was/were responsible for such libations. Since the two ceremonies were linked, it is possible that we should consider the proclaimers of crowns as responsible for the libations too: thus, the agonothetai, the secretaries of the Assembly and Council, the

[157] Of course, libations were not a practice exclusively relegated to the context of the Greek Dionysia. Rather, they were a common practice in different ancient societies and were celebrated both during religious festivals or public ceremonies and during private occasions. Libations to the gods were widespread also from the Aegean islands to Asia Minor, to Egypt and Nubia. In some cases, they were celebrated during festivals; in others during private or independent religious occasions, even inside a temple (mostly in Egypt). Cf.: *HGK* 1 (Kos; mid IV B.C.; cf. ll. 28–9 and 36–40); *Sinuri* 17 (Sinuri; Hellenistic?; cf. ll. 3–8); *IG* XI,2 161 (Delos; 278 B.C.; cf. l. 88); *IG* XI, 2 203 (Delos; 269 B.C.; cf. ll. 33–4); *IG* XI,2 224 (Delos; 258 B.C.; cf. l. 27); *Prose sur pierre* 14 (Eg. — Patoumos-Pithom [Tell el-Maskhuta {Abu Suweir}]; 217 B.C.; cf. also *Prose sur pierre* 18, *Prose sur pierre* 19, *Prose sur pierre* 22, *Prose sur pierre* 32); *Teos* 34*5 (Teos; II[1] B.C.; cf. ll. 23–6); *Teos* 32 (?; II B.C.; cf. ll. 24–7); *Teos* 33 (?; II B.C.; cf. ll. 28–31); *IG* XII,5 818 (Tenos; II B.C.; cf. ll. 10–3); *IG* XII,5 863 (Tenos; II B.C.; cf. ll. 10–1; cf. also *IG* XII,5 864 and 865 [ll. 4–5]); *Bernand, Mus. du Louvre* 3 (Eg. — Elephantine Isl.; 196 B.C.; cf. ll. 8, 14-5); *OGIS* 90,A and B (Eg. — Bolbitine [Raschīd — Rosetta]; 196 B.C.; cf. ll. 46–50; cf. also *OGIS* 56,A and B, *OGIS* 130, *OGIS* 139, *OGIS* 168); *IG* XII,7 237 (Amorgos — Minoa; II B.C.?; cf. ll. 35–6); *Teos* 45 (?; 166–159 B.C.; cf. ll. 4–8); *Teos* 25 (?; mid II B.C.; cf. ll. 19–21); *ID* 1435 (Delos; after 156/5 B.C.; cf. ll. 9–13); *ID* 1417 (Delos; 155/4 B.C.; cf. ll. 155–6 [face A]); *Philae* 19 (Eg. — Philai Isl.; 124–116 B.C.; cf. ll. 22–31 [face C]); *IG* XII,3 249 (Anaphe; I B.C.; cf. ll. 20–4); *Fayoum* 2:116 (Eg. — Theadelphia [Batn Ihrīt]; 57 B.C.; cf. ll. 12–5); *Fayoum* 2:117 (Eg. — Theadelphia [Batn Ihrīt]; 57 B.C.; cf. ll. 11–5); *Fayoum* 2:118 (Eg. — Theadelphia [Batn Ihrīt]; 57 B.C.; cf. ll. 11–4; cf. also 2:112, 2:113, 2:114, 2:135, 2:136, 3:152); *Didyma* 454 (?; I[2]/II[1] AD; cf. ll. 12–5); *Didyma* 473 (?; II[1] AD; cf. ll. 3–5); *Didyma* 481 (?; ca. II[2] AD; cf. ll. 7–10); *Tit. Cam.* 87a (Rhodes — Kamiros; 161–169 AD); *Didyma* 490 (?; ca. 230 AD; cf. ll. 6–7); *Didyma* 557 (Miletus [from Didyma?]; III[2] AD?; cf. ll. 9–10); *IG* XII,2 505 (Lesbos — Methymna; unknown date; cf. ll. 18–20); *IG* XII,2 506 (Lesbos — Methymna; unknown date; cf. ll. 14-5; cf. also *IG* XII,2 506[1]). In this list we can certify a wider involvement of political figures in the libations: archons, *prytaneis*, *tamiai*, and magistrates are all involved in the celebration of libations. As Csapo - Wilson 2015: 345 have noticed, the recent study of Petrounakos 2015 about the inscriptions on the seats of Epidaurus' theatre show that 'the Epidaurians conceived of their theater as serving a primarily religious (festival) function: many [*sc*. inscriptions] are explicitly dedicated 'to Dionysus' and all are dedicated by officials (*damiourgoi* and *phrouroi*) whose primary duties, so far as we can tell, were religious'. Thus, it is likely that in Epidaurus' theatre too such officials with religious duties were involved in libations/sacrifices to Dionysus.

ambassadors, the administrators, the commanders, and the sacred herald could all be candidates for the performance; 5) *SEG* 26:677, *SEG* 53:860, *SEG* 53:861 and *SEG* 53:862 provide examples of involvement of the generals in the theatre. They were surely involved in proclamations of honours (since the inscriptions say that they must take care of the announcement of crowns). We cannot know precisely if they poured the libations too, but, in that case, we would have parallels (though later) to Cimon's episode; 6) finally, the great variety of figures, both magistrate and priests, responsible for the proclamations and the libations seems to confirm the 'functional equivalence' between government and religious representatives.

Despite the poor evidence, statements 5) and 6) lead us to a further investigation of the cases of Cos and Thessaly, which challenge Goldhill's theory. If the libations to Dionysus poured by the ten generals had a specifically democratic value, this needs to be ascribed exclusively to the case of Athens. The ταγοί in Thessaly and προστάται in Cos were hardly a symbol of democracy. What about the political regimes of these two states in the Hellenistic period? For Thessaly, we can surely say that this region was never a democracy. It was a federal state with several polemarchs, taxiarchs and commanders as heads of the government. Thessaly experienced tyrannical dynasties as well as oligarchies, but the *demos* was always kept away from participation in power.[158] Thus, if the ταγοί poured the libations in the theatre and there was a political meaning in doing so, they were representing a governmental type completely different from democracy. As for Cos, the situation is difficult and unclear. Rhodes and Lewis state:

> As far as we know, hellenistic Cos was democratic by all of these criteria [*sc*.: that there should be no property restriction for membership of the full citizen body; that the assembly

[158] Cf. Sordi 1958 and Westlake 1969[2] (1935).

> should sovereign and that the magistrates should be elected]. A constitution which was democratic by these criteria could in practice be dominated by the richer citizens, but that is as true of the classical period as of the hellenistic.[159]

It is possible that these elements point to a democratic regime in Cos, at least in name. But Carlsson is more sceptical: she states that in the Hellenistic period cities lost their autonomy and their sovereign governments, that popular participation drastically decreased and that, as the wealthy were the dominant class, 'democracy was thereby only nominal'.[160] Thus, given the fact that Cos' democracy is not clearly definable, there remains uncertainty about the ideological value of the government's leaders pouring a libation to Dionysus in the theatre.

Such a brief *excursus* aims to warn how it is problematic to adopt an Athenocentric perspective while assessing the value of the pouring of the libations in other Greek cities: other Dionysia with their own pre-play ceremonies existed, and the political value (if there was any) of the festivals was different depending on the city in which the festivals were celebrated. Given the late dates of the listed inscriptions, one could argue that the Dionysia and its pre-play ceremonies originated in Athens, with a specific value, and then were copied by other cities. Indeed, this is a hypothesis worth considering, although we cannot prove with testimonies that this process of imitation occurred: the only hint is provided by the comparatively later date of non-Athenian Dionysia's pre-play ceremonies. However, as for the war-orphans' parade and the proclamations of honours, we have attestations from other cities which deserve further analysis, since they are almost contemporary to Athenian pre-play ceremonies: the focus on these non-Athenian testimonies in the following

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[159] Rhodes - Lewis 1997: 238.

[160] Carlsson 2004: 116. Cf. also Carlsson 2010: 202–43.

chapters will provide a Greek dimension rather than a specific democratic Athenian dimension.

To conclude, my analysis on the libations to Dionysus in the theatre has conducted a revaluation of its religious-political value, its chronology and regularity: from a religious perspective, I demonstrated the variation of the roles of performers, between priests and magistrates; from a political perspective, I argued, on the one hand, that the presence of the ten generals does not necessarily indicate a democratic influence; and, on the other hand, I highlighted the possibility that Plutarch's account is more a *unicum* than a custom. Moreover, even in the light of the attestations outside Athens, there has been the need of redefining the political, religious, chronological and geographical coordinates of a ceremony that, although poorly known, deserves attention for its connection with the Great Dionysia.

Chapter Two

Athenian Pomposity: Displaying Treasures Publicly

2.1 The display of the tributes during the Dionysia: its sources and diverse ideological implications

Now we come to another important pre-play ceremony: the display of the tributes of those cities allied with Athens. Similarly to the libations to the god, we have scarce testimonies[161] of the display of the tributes, for at least two main reasons: firstly, the practice was enacted only during the period of the fifth-century B.C. Delian League; secondly, it seems that this practice was exclusively Athenian, so that we do not have evidence for external cities. The epigraphical evidence[162] comes from the so-called *Lapis Primus* and *Lapis Secundus* (*IG* I^3 259–290), which record the annual lists of tributes paid by the allied cities from 454/3 to 432/1 B.C. However, we know from Thucydides that Athens started to ask for contributions (initially the sum of the tributes was 460 talents) from 478/7 B.C. — that is, when the Athenians became leaders of the alliance against Persia.[163] It seems that Aristides[164] decided the cities which had to pay tributes to the League and, more importantly, he decided (or negotiated) the amounts to be paid by different cities. It is important to underline the fact that neither the epigraphic evidence nor Thucydides state that the tributes were displayed during the Dionysia (and democracy,

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[161] Conversely, for the Athenian empire we have many literary and epigraphic sources (cf. *e.g.* Low 2017 for a useful overview). For a collection and analysis of documents of the tributes cf. Meritt 1937 and Mattingly 1996. Cf. also Osborne 2000.

[162] Cf. Osborne - Rhodes 2017: 94–109.

[163] Cf. Th. 1, 96 and Plu. *Arist*. 24, 4. D.S. 11, 47, 1 records 560 talents.

[164] Cf.: Th. 5, 18, 5; [Arist.] *Ath.* 23, 4; D.S. 11, 47; Plu. *Arist*. 24.

although not the radical democracy, was already effective in that period). As the treasury was initially based in Delos (until 454 B.C.),[165] presumably the allies sent their tribute there, and not to Athens: hence, the display of the tributes in Athens cannot have happened until the treasury had been moved.

Our evidence for the public celebration at the Dionysia is given by the *scholion* (*ad* 504) to the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes, which reads: εἰς τὰ Διονύσια ἐτέτακτο Ἀθήναζε κομίζειν τὰς πόλεις τοὺς φόρους, ὡς Εὔπολίς φησιν ἐν Πόλεσιν ('it was decided that the cities had to bring their tributes to Athens at the Dionysia, as Eupolis says in his *Cities*'). The *scholion* refers to that passage of Aristophanes' *Acharnians* which tells us that these ceremonies were celebrated only during the Great Dionysia,[166] while at the Lenaia no allies and strangers were in the theatre:

Οὐ γάρ με νῦν γε διαβαλεῖ Κλέων ὅτι
ξένων παρόντων τὴν πὸλιν κακῶς λέγω.
Αὐτοι γάρ ἐσμεν οὐπὶ Ληναίῳ τ' ἀγών,
κοὔπω ξένοι πάρεισιν· οὔτε γὰρ φόροι
ἥκουσιν οὔτ' ἐκ τῶν πόλεων οἱ ξύμμαχοι·

For now at any rate Cleon won't slander me, that I foul-mouth the city when there are *xenoi* present. For we're just ourselves and it is the Lenaian contest, and there are no strangers here yet. For the tribute hasn't arrived, and the allies are away from the city.[167]

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[165] We know that the Ἑλληνοταμίαι, the treasurers of the Confederacy of Delos, were appointed to collect the tributes. For a concise, but detailed, overview of the Delian League and the collection of the tributes, cf. Rhodes 2006: 41–51. For an overview of Athenian empire's structures and ethics, cf. Low 2007: 233–51, and 2009. For a description of the 'Thucydidean' Athenian empire, cf. Low 2017.

[166] But see *IG* II² 1202: in this inscription from the Attic deme of Aixone we have an attestation of the celebration of one of the pre-play ceremonies (the proclamation of honours) during comic performances: Διονυσίων τοῖς κωμωιδοῖς τοῖς Αἰξωνῆσιν ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι (ll. 14–16).

[167] I give here Goldhill's translation (cf. Goldhill 1987: 61).

(Ar. *Ach*. 502–6)

Whilst a more detailed explanation of the ceremony is to be found in Isocrates:

> Οὕτω γὰρ ἀκριβῶς εὕρισκον ἐξ ὧν ἄνθρωποι μάλιστ' ἂν μισηθεῖεν, ὥστ' ἐψηφίσαντο τὸ περιγιγνόμενον τῶν φόρων ἀργύριον διελόντες κατὰ τάλαντον εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν τοῖς Διονυσίοις εἰσφέρειν ἐπειδὰν πλῆρες ᾖ τὸ θέατρον· καὶ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν καὶ παρεισῆγον τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότων, ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιδεικνύοντες, τοῖς μὲν συμμάχοις τὰς τιμὰς τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ὑπὸ μισθωτῶν[168] εἰσφερομένας, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς τὰς διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν ταύτην γιγνομένας. Καὶ ταῦτα δρῶντες αὐτοί τε τὴν πόλιν εὐδαιμόνιζον […].
>
> For so *scrupulously* did they invent reasons to be deeply hated by men, that they voted that the excess of tributes had to be displayed talent by talent and brought onto the orchestra at the Dionysia, when the theatre was full of people; they also used to do this: they introduced the sons of those who died during the war, showing off to both the allies the amount of their treasure brought (on the stage) by the salaried men, and to the other Greeks the crowd of the orphans and misfortunes caused by their greed. And in so doing they counted the city happy […].[169]

(Isoc. 8, 82–3)

The display of the tributes (as well as the war orphans' parade) was a glorification of Athens and a public demonstration of its power. The image of the city was strongly present, glorified and displayed during this ceremony, which preceded the dramatic

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[168] In Laistner's opinion (1927: 103), comparing Pl. *Plt*. 290a, they were 'hired servants'. Norlin (1929: 58 [n. *a*]) translates 'hirelings' and argues that they could be either paid servants or paid soldiers (comparing Isoc. 8, 79). Papillon (2004: 153) translates 'workers'.

[169] Cf. Raubitschek 1941 for an analysis of the payment procedure and its display. Raubitscheck hypothesised an astonishing parade of 'at least five hundred men each carrying one talent of money' in terra-cotta vessels or money bags (cf. *ibid*.: 358–9).

festival. Let us imagine, in fact, these magnificent celebrations in the theatre's orchestra, in front of all the Greeks: Athenians would have been deeply stirred by civic pride; simultaneously, strangers might have admired this glorification or, more likely, they would have hated the pomposity of their tyrannical rulers. As Shear says, 'for the Athenians, looking at other cities' wealth brings out their superior status, but, for the allies, looking at their own wealth now in the hands of the Athenians stresses their inferior status', and 'in this web of relationships, the power displayed is Athenian power'.[170]

In this way, the Dionysia possessed the value of a political stage which was employed both as a display of power to strangers' eyes and as a reinforcement of civic consciousness for Athenians' minds. Goldhill considers the display of the tributes as a demonstration of democratic power and ideology:[171] certainly, the payments of tributes were required by the democratic government, but, as Rhodes points out, Isocrates himself, in his passage, does not say anything about democracy.[172] This short passage of Isocrates cannot be considered on its own as a decisive proof of the democratic value of the display of the tributes in the theatre. Indeed, Isocrates' account is enigmatic: what did he think of these ceremonies? Is there the same nostalgic feeling as the testimony of Aeschines, in regard to the war-orphans' parade?[173] Apart from the lack of explicit references to democracy in Isocrates' account, we also find an ironic account of Athenian pomposity: the use of the adverb ἀκριβῶς appears to signal a critique of the celebration of the ceremony, as it was the very same celebration which guaranteed hatred from the subjugated allies. Goldhill,[174]

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[170] Shear 2011: 148 *passim*. However, Shear focuses there on the Dionysia of 409 B.C., arguing that that festival, together with its four pre-play ceremonies and the swearing of the oath of Demophantos, was a strongly democratic festival (cf. *ibid.*: 135–65). For a discussion of Shear's assumptions cf. *Chapter Four*, section *4.2* and Giannotti 2019a.

[171] Cf. Goldhill 1987: 60–2 and Goldhill 1999: 8–9.

[172] Cf. Rhodes 2003: 111–2.

[173] Cf. Aeschin. 3, 154–5.

[174] Cf. Goldhill 1987: 61.

following the Loeb edition of Norlin,[175] translates the adverb 'exactly'. Conversely, I would translate the adverb 'scrupulously', 'meticulously' or 'unerringly', since these translations convey a clearer sense of irony.[176] A double irony can be detected also in the phrase ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιδεικνύοντες, τοῖς μὲν συμμάχοις τὰς τιμὰς τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ὑπὸ μισθωτῶν εἰσφερομένας. In relation to this, Davidson says: 'there is a question too of whether the phrase "showing the allies the value of their property" is meant to be ironical (i.e. how little the Athenians valued it), […], or more straightforward, i.e. when they see how much tribute they are paying, measured out into talents, the true extent of their oppression is apparent'.[177] In addition to the irony detectable in Isocrates' tone while describing this inappropriate display, there may be an explicit disapproval of the arrogance the Athenians (perhaps) had while showing the tributes of their allies:

> […], καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν νοῦν οὐκ ἐχόντων ἐμακάριζον αὐτήν, τῶν μὲν συμβήσεσθαι διὰ ταῦτα μελλόντων οὐδεμίαν ποιούμενοι πρόνοιαν, τὸν δὲ πλοῦτον θαυμάζοντες καὶ ζηλοῦντες, ὃς ἀδίκως εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθὼν καὶ τὸν δικαίως ὑπάρξαντα διὰ ταχέων ἤμελλε προσαπολεῖν.
>
> […], and many stupid people blessed it (*sc*. the city), without considering the consequences of these things; conversely, they were full of admiration and envy the wealth that, being *unjustly* introduced into the city, was shortly going to destroy even that belonged to it *justly*.
>
> (Isoc. 8, 83–4)

Isocrates' criticism in this passage (not quoted by Goldhill) would appear to be directed more at Athenian imperialistic behaviour (that is, the external image of Athens) rather than towards democratic government (that is, the internal image of Athens). Regarding his

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[175] Norlin 1929.

[176] Cf. *e.g.* Ar. *Av*. 156.

[177] Davidson 1990: 27–8 (n. 31).

political thought, many analyses have been conducted: some scholars consider Isocrates as the real advocate of Athens' *Hegemonieanspruch* and a supporter of Athenian empire;[178] others see the orator as a proponent of Panhellenism and the autonomy of Greek cities;[179] still others think that Isocrates was a strong opponent of imperialism.[180] I support the latter view, as the oration *On the Peace* is a demonstration of Isocrates' criticism against the moral decline of his ancestors during the fifth century B.C. Moreover, the oration is marked by a Socratic notion that material power is the real cause of decadence:[181] Isocrates perhaps includes the payment of the allies' tributes among those evil materials which the empire provided to the Athenians.[182] As Davidson remarks, 'imperialism, according to Isocrates, produces its own consequences, automatically, through processes he elaborates in the course of the speech'.[183] Thus, empire implied 'oppression and revenge, overconfidence, population change, and *stasis*'.[184] That Isocrates is talking about imperialism and not democracy is demonstrated by the fact that, throughout his oration, he is trying to show the disadvantages of imperialistic policy by taking as examples the decline of Athens and that of Sparta. Sparta was not a democracy and in Athens, from the foundation of the Delian League to the end of the Peloponnesian War, even non-democratic

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[178] Cf. *e.g.* Wilson 1966.

[179] Cf. *e.g.* Perlman 1976.

[180] Cf. *e.g.* Davidson 1990. But cf. *infra* (n. 173).

[181] Cf. *e.g.* Pl. *R*. 548a–b, 550d, 552b, 555b–c, 560e–561b, 572d–573a, 580d–581a.

[182] Cf. *e.g.* [X.] 1, 15; 2, 11.

[183] Davidson 1990: 29. This description of the 'evil' imperialism reminds us Thucydides' Athenians, who — as Low (2005: 94) notices — 'are not ashamed of their imperialism. They are quite happy to give a full, unabashed, un-spun account of their imperial aims and objectives to themselves (as in Pericles' or Cleon's speeches to the Athenian assembly), to other Greeks (as in the Athenian ambassadors' unguarded comments to the Spartans), and even to prospective slaves to the imperial machine (as to the unfortunate people of Melos)'. However, Low demonstrates how an investigation on the epigraphic sources of the Athenian imperial relationships can reveal an unexpected and subtle diplomacy.

[184] Davidson 1990: 29.

governments continued to adopt an imperialistic policy: for instance, the oligarchic government of the Four Hundred, in 411 B.C., did not abolish taxes for allied cities.[185] Therefore, Isocrates would appear to be condemning the imperialistic value[186] of the display of the tributes during the Dionysia, rather than the democratic implications of that ceremony.

Carter[187] is convinced that, as for the pre-play ceremonies (including the display of the tributes), the emphasis on imperialism was much more preeminent than on democracy: he recognises that 'it is of course impossible in ancient Athens to separate the democratic entirely from the imperial',[188] but we still can determine whether democratic ideology had a part to play during the Dionysia or not. Carter's belief that the Dionysia was more an imperial display than a democratic one is explained by the audience heterogeneous composition and the international feature of Athens within tragedies. Specifically to the display of the tributes, Carter believes that it was more a symbol of Athenian empire rather than Athenian democracy, and that 'if it did occur annually, it was less a celebration of Athens as a democracy than a display of its imperial power'.[189] In this way, the militaristic feature of the pre-play ceremonies (except for the proclamations of honours) celebrated in

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[185] The tribute was replaced by a harbour tax in 413 B.C. (cf. Th. 7, 28, 4), and if it was reinstated later (which is not certain) that happened under the restored democracy of 410 B.C. As Low (2017: 106) notices (referring to Kallet 2001 and Figueira 2005), 'the financial basis of the Empire clearly underwent a significant change in 413, but the current state of our knowledge makes it very hard to know whether we should see this as a retreat toward a more narrowly "economic" approach to imperial power or, rather, a shift to a parallel but distinct mode of imperial exploitation'.

[186] At any rate, it could be possible that Isocrates' views changed through the years: the criticism of *On the Peace* does not fit with the defence of the empire in the *Panegyric* (written before the foundation of the Second Athenian League), and this could be related to the consequences of the Social War, after which Isocrates renounced imperialism. For an analysis of Isocrates' disapproving tone (which can be linked to that of Aristophanes' *Acharnians*), cf. Michelini 1998.

[187] Cf. Carter 2004.

[188] Carter 2004: 11.

[189] Carter 2004: 10.

front of that kind of audience in the theatre (that was composed by Athenians and foreigners, allied and non-allied) is the crux of the Dionysia's imperialistic value. Athenians were conscious of the fact that their Dionysia was a 'shop-window'[190] in which they were performing before all Greeks. Indeed, the key, in Carter's estimation, is this Athenian self-consciousness about the fact that the Dionysia was a display of the city for foreigners who came to attend as spectators. Carter cites the cases of Isocrates and Aeschines, who criticised the celebration of three pre-play ceremonies (the display of the tribute, the war-orphans' parade and the proclamations of honours) since they incurred hatred. In the same way, Meidias' punch received by Demosthenes[191] and Aristophanes' critiques of the city[192] were felt as moments of embarrassment in front of foreigners: this self-consciousness should help 'to explain why democratic ideology was not made explicit in the theatre in the way Goldhill might have wanted'.[193] However, despite Carter's acceptable distinction between imperial and democratic display, what really makes the display of the tributes appear imperialistic is the tribute itself, since 'this is an institution which has a good claim to be the unique identifying feature of the Athenian empire'[194] as tribute 'appears when Athenian imperialism appears'.[195] But was the display of such an imperial institution enough to make the pre-play ceremony an occasion to promote an imperialistic ideology? Hardly. We know (but what matters here is that *Greeks* knew) what and how was Athenian imperialism, and I am not sure that Athenians voluntarily aimed to promote their tyrannical image. To be sure, the heterogenous audience might have

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[190] Carter 2004: 11.

[191] Cf. D. 21.

[192] Cf. Ar. *Ach*. 377–84.

[193] Carter 2004: 13.

[194] Low 2007: 237.

[195] Low 2007: 239.

perceived the ceremony in many different ways (and Isocrates', Aeschines' and Demosthenes' different opinions on the pre-play ceremonies certifies that).

At any rate, Carter's suggestions regarding the value of Isocrates' text remain noteworthy. After having focused on the translation of τὸ περιγιγνόμενον τῶν φόρων ἀργύριον, Carter notices, along with Raubitschek and Meiggs, that the τὸ περιγιγνόμενον should be understood as the surplus of the tributes: this is because 'the display of what during the Peloponnesian War would have been a continuously diminishing reserve would not have acted as a boost to Athenian morale'.[196] The second argument which Carter points out is related to the typology of the display of the tributes: he suggests briefly the possibility that the display of the surplus 'was a one-off, intended to show Athens' Peloponnesian enemies that they had enough funds to finance a war if necessary',[197] dating the display to 431 B.C. (that is before the Peloponnesian War, when Spartans and Corinthians were still attending the Athenian Dionysia).[198] Moreover, the fact that Isocrates says that a *decree* was passed rather than a *law* should suggest, according to Carter, that the display was a one-off: however, it should be noticed that before the end of the fifth century B.C. Athens did not have a formal distinction between laws and decrees.[199] Moreover, in the account of Aristophanes, the scholiast, and Isocrates the appeal to the infinitive and imperfect tense (εἰσφέρειν, ἐποίουν and παρεισῆγον) indicates an annual display. Carter does not expand upon this and, although he admits that the display of the tributes (as well as the parade of the war-orphans) was an annual celebration, he states that 'there are grounds to suggest that the display was a one-off'.[200]

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[196] Carter 2004: 7.

[197] Carter 2004: 7.

[198] This would explain, in Carter's opinion, the ἀκριβῶς in Isocrates' text.

[199] Cf. Rhodes - Osborne 2003: xvii–xviii and Osborne - Rhodes 2017: xix–xxi.

[200] Carter 2004: 8.

What are the consequences of Carter's discussion?[201] On the one hand, Carter rightly highlights some problems with the evidence of the pre-play ceremonies, though he over-interprets some points from Plutarch,[202] Isocrates and Aeschines (we cannot say that Isocrates meant that the display was a one-off misinterpreting his ἐψηφίσαντο; in the same way, we cannot say that Aeschines thought that Demosthenes' crowning was 'unnecessary',[203] rather that he was convinced that it was completely illegal).[204] Carter's explanations implicate a banishment of democratic ideology and power from the festival's stage. Conversely, I argue that democratic ideology was absent from the Dionysia's pre-play ceremonies, but not because it was banned. As for the display of the tributes, it is hard indeed to confirm that it was a democratic ceremony: if we rely on Isocrates' passage, we have seen that democratic ideology was much less involved than imperialistic ideology; otherwise, if we try to grasp information from the audience's reception, basing on the presence of many foreigners and the 'cosmopolitan nature of the festival', we could conclude — as Carter does — that Athens was much more busy in promoting its external image, which was (and had to be) different from the democratic internal image, in order to please foreigners' opinion. However, I find this assumption problematic for two main reasons: firstly, Carter's hypothesis that, during the Dionysia, an external imperialistic image of Athens was more promoted than the internal democratic image is reached by and based on a deep analysis of Athenian tragedies rather than on the pre-play ceremonies; secondly, the tyrannical image that several allies (and non-allies) had of Athens was more linked to its imperialistic policy than to its democratic government. Given this, I doubt that Athens wanted (or needed) to promote an imperialistic image 'that citizens would be

[201] I will not focus here on the second part of Carter's discussion (2004: 13–25), which includes a political analysis of Athenian tragedy.

[202] Cf. *supra* n. 138.

[203] Carter 2004: 12.

[204] Cf. *infra Chapter Four*, section *4.1*.

comfortable listening to in the presence of foreigners':[205] an Athenian citizen would have recognised indeed the leading (and benevolent) role of Athens, but a foreigner would have seen a representation of Athens as a tyrannical ruler over the sea (and Isocrates' passage can only confirm this). In terms of promotion, I do not think that representing Athens' imperialistic image was good publicity, and this is why I tend to depoliticise — or better, de-democratise — the ceremonies: it was a matter of a broader civic pride than specifically political pride. Therefore, I am sympathetic with Goldhill in saying that the display of the tributes was 'a demonstration before the city of the power of the *polis* of Athens, its role as force in the Greek world. It was a public display of the success in military and political terms of the city. It used the state festival to glorify the state'.[206] Yet I am much less sympathetic to saying that the ceremony displays a democratic ideology: both Athenians and foreigners could hardly interpret such a ceremony as a triumph of the democracy, its rules and its officers. In much the same way, I am not sure about Athenians' consciousness that they were displaying an imperialistic ideology. There was indeed the majesty and the power of the city Athens before them, but regardlessly of the type of government (and, perhaps, the empire).

At any rate, if the display of the tributes (or the surplus of the tributes) was really a one-off, this would radically alter our traditional view: it would imply that the pre-play ceremony suspected of being the most democratic ceremony (because it was celebrated exclusively during the democratic regime of the second half of the fifth century B.C.) was just a coincidence. Hence, we would need to delete the display of the tributes from the list of the Dionysia's pre-play ceremonies. This supposition undermines and destabilises the general thought that there was a tight bond between democracy and the Dionysia's pre-play

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[205] Carter 2004: 25.

[206] Goldhill 1987: 61.

ceremonies — yet, it cannot be confirmed. We can say with some confidence that the practice of displaying tributes in the theatre (supposing that it was an annual practice) lasted around 30/40 years (in a period between 453 and 413 B.C. and, perhaps, from 410 B.C. to 404 B.C.), and that after Athens' defeat in the Peloponnesian War the practice was discontinued: not even the Second League, led by Athens, imposed a payment of tributes (nor a democratic constitution) on its allies. However, given the financial problems in 375 and 373 B.C., caused by the absence of tributes, it was decided to collect money to fund the League's activities, and the payments were named συντάξεις.[207] No mention of these contributions displayed at the Dionysia is to be found among ancient sources.[208]

2.2 Public displaying at the Panathenaia: a useful parallel

Culminating on the 28th of Hecatombaion in honour of Athena, the Panathenaia[209] exhibits parade, pomp and ceremony in a manner analogous to the Dionysia. The festival (that included athletic contests from 566/5 B.C.) celebrated the goddess, and a new dress was dedicated to her statue following a great procession. Moreover, the festival was open to musicians, athletes and spectators drawn from all Greece. According to Neils:

> As for "pomp", ostentation and display play a prominent role in the procession, whether they come in the form of musical accompaniment, elaborate dress, or aristocratic conveyances, like horse-drawn chariots. The element of pride is often conveyed by the communal spirit of the event; it is not the solitary worship of one individual before his god, but involves the

[207] Cf. Rhodes 2006: 226–43 (especially 232–3 with references).

[208] The amounts of money collected during the Second League were not large, and the money seems not to have been under the control of Athens.

[209] The organisation, origins and story of the Panathenaia will not be discussed here, since these topics are immaterial to my investigation: for these topics cf. Parke 1977, Neils 1996, Parker 2005, Sourvinou-Inwood 2011.

> entire community, men women, and children, from the high priest or king to the lowly stable-boy.[210]

This is important because it shows us that the pomposity of public display of tributes, treasures and gifts do not belong exclusively to the Dionysia: the Panathenaic games were also an appropriate context to exhibit Athens' wealth. This will lead to a second conclusion: Athenian pomposity was not related strictly to the presence of strangers and foreigners, but rather more broadly to the whole Athenian civic community. Self-pride seems to be more important than lavish exhibition in front of external visitors: the Panathenaia was a 'great domestic showcase'.[211] Of course, foreigners attended the festival, since 'after 566, this was Athens' greatest festival' and 'every four years, it was celebrated on a Panhellenic scale, with a program of events and a schedule of prizes that drew competitors and spectators from far and wide'.[212]

The background of the Panathenaic games, its relations with Theseus, Erichthonius, the Tyrannicides, and Athena suggest us that this festival should be considered a democratic festival, or at least a festival strictly linked to those gods, myths and heroes who were usually related to democracy. Despite this, it is not obvious that the gifts and prizes which were displayed and given to contests' winners were meant to promote a democratic ideology. In the same way in which civic festivals, during the formation of Greek states, were incorporated 'within city life to respond and to promote civic consciousness',[213] also:

> Panathenaic prizes were given to reward victors, certainly, but also to promote the interests of the state. […] Led by men with old, non altruistic gift-giving notions, Athens gave prizes

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[210] Neils 1996: 178.

[211] Parker 2005: 253.

[212] Robertson 1996: 56.

[213] Kyle 1996: 116.

> agonistically to rival other states and to earn honor, which could bring economic and political benefits. Gift-prizes were given collegially by representatives of the corporate state in *xenia* fashion to establish relationships and in *euergesia* fashion to declare the status of Athens.[214]

The practice of gift-giving was certainly not invented by Athenian democracy, but it was a common practice which developed alongside the festivals themselves. Moreover, Panathenaic amphorae (which quickly became the symbolic prizes, together with oil, panels and inscriptions, of the festivals) were signed with the ethnic formula TON ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΟΝ ('from the games at Athens'), which rightly leads Kyle to conclude that 'these transportable civic symbols publicized Athens as powerful, divinely favored, and wealthy. Games brought people to Athens, but prizes took Athens abroad'.[215] Given all of this, where should we place democracy and its ideology? Shapiro has argued[216] that within the Panathenaia we face democratic, imperialistic and, sometimes, aristocratic ideals: the individual gymnastic contests, open to people of all social and economic classes, the tribal contests and the procession near the monument to the Tyrannicides were related to democratic ideals;[217] the Parthenon frieze[218] and the offerings requested from Athens' allies showed the imperial capital of the city; the equestrian events should remind us of the aristocratic prerogative of owning horses (although, during Pericles' government,

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[214] Kyle 1996: 117–8.

[215] Kyle 1996: 122–3.

[216] Cf. Shapiro 1996.

[217] Shapiro (1996: 221) also thinks that the prizes were related to democracy, since we have a Panathenaic amphora (British Museum Vase B605) in which Athena is portrayed with a shield upon which the Tyrannicides are depicted. However, this amphora can be dated to the Panathenaia of 402 B.C., that is, immediately after the fall of the Thirty Tyrants: hence, this kind of portrayal should be related to that specific context rather than to a supposed general Athenian desire of displaying democratic ideology through amphorae.

[218] For a different interpretation of the Parthenon cf. *e.g.* Castriota 1992. For a discussion on the position, subject, matter and style of the Parthenon frieze cf. Osborne 2010: 291–322.

the size of Athenian cavalry was raised from 300 to 1000 members, making it a less elitist institution).

Given that the democratic features of the Panathenaic games are undeniable, and that the aristocratic suggestions are negligible, I want to focus on the imperialistic pattern of the festival for two reasons: it has been reckoned as intimately connected with democracy, as by Shapiro,[219] and it parallels the display of tributes during the Dionysia. As a matter of fact, Athens' allies were required to send a cow and panoply to Athens during the Panathenaia. The source of this practice is *IG* I^3 34 (or the so-called 'Cleinias' decree'), which can be dated ca. 430–420 B.C. (Osborne and Rhodes [*OR* 154] date it 425/4 B.C. or slightly later).[220] As Meiggs and Lewis say, the decree 'has a strongly imperial flavour[221]'. However, to what extent can we link this 'imperialistic' request to democratic ideology? Whether we date the decree to the 440s (with Meiggs and Lewis) or the 420s (with Osborne and Rhodes), it is clear that this decree was enacted under the radical democracy and the Athenian empire. Despite his assumptions, Shapiro does not talk about a democratic value of this practice for several (and, in some aspects, acceptable) reasons. He does not think that official envoys of Athens' allies marched in procession during the Panathenaia, bringing the requested items to the Treasury of Athena, due to the fact that they already had to bring the tributes at the Dionysia — and thus, at a different time of year. If this supposed procession with allies' gifts really took place, Shapiro suspects that the allies did it 'not in an official capacity':[222] his basis for this conclusion is unclear. Furthermore, the similarities and differences between the Parthenon frieze and the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis (in which figures in procession are enslaved and forced to pay the

[219] Cf. Shapiro 1996: 217.

[220] Cf. Osborne - Rhodes 2017: 322–9.

[221] Meiggs - Lewis 1988: 120.

[222] Shapiro 1996: 222.

tribute to the Great King of Persia) need to be considered more carefully. Shapiro does not accept Root's view about the two monuments: Root is convinced that the Parthenon frieze bears 'striking resemblance to the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis' and that 'the planners of the Parthenon frieze consciously emulated features of the Apadana reliefs';[223] in this way, the Apadana reliefs should help us to understand the political value of the Parthenon frieze. Despite the fact that Root's final conclusions are well posited, doubts arise regarding two aspects of her study. Firstly, it is not obvious that the Athenians *consciously* built the Parthenon and its frieze with Persepolis in mind: did Pericles (that Pericles who wanted to rebuild the monuments of the Acropolis previously destroyed by the Persians) really want to emulate Persian art and ideology?[224] How likely is it that the sculptors of the Parthenon, or indeed Pericles, had been to Persepolis and seen the Apadana?[225] Secondly, Root is wrong on one fundamental detail: while talking about the imperialistic value of the Parthenon (a plausible view, given that the monument was partly funded by Athens' allies), she says that 'it is no coincidence in this connection that the tribute quotas from the allies were regularly reassessed during the course of their required attendance at the quadrennial

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[223] Root 1985: 108.

[224] Margaret Miller (1997: 218–42), in analysing Persian art's influence on Periclean buildings, focuses more on the Odeion than on the Parthenon. She believes in the imperialistic value of the Odeion, and concludes that the building was 'an elaborate victory monument, built of captured booty and using the architectural forms of the defeated enemy for special effect. As a victory monument it would fit in with the new series of mid-fifth-century Persian War monuments, over a generation after the Persian Wars, and the testimony to the increased reliance on the victory in Athenian imperial propaganda. […] The Odeion is the clearest example of the public reception of Persian forms in Athens. Its use of a Persian architectural idea makes it politically the most significant structure of all the Periklean building programme. […] We cannot know if the debt to Persian architecture was ever publicly acknowledged. It is possible to see why the Athenians might have imitated the Persian architecture: they were buying into the imagery of power. No other explanation works because the form was so completely impractical that function had to be invented for it. Its purpose appears to have been purely semiotic and so its function must have been symbolic' (cf. *ibid.*: 239–40 *passim*).

[225] Cf. Miller 1997: 3–28.

Great Panathenaia, which we see idealized on the Parthenon frieze'.[226] Indeed, it was not the *payment* but the *assessment* of the tribute which happened (usually) every four years, and which at least in the case of the extraordinary assessment of 425/4 B.C. was made in mid-winter.[227] Therefore, we have no corroborating evidence for displays of tributes at the Panathenaia, and it is doubtful that Athens' allies were required to bring their tribute quota during that festival, since they already had to bring it at the annual Dionysia. There is nothing imperialistic (nor democratic) in a reassessment of the tribute. Moreover, it would be incomprehensible for payment of the tribute to be made only every four years. Even looking at the Parthenon frieze, it is not obvious that in the procession a money tribute was carried. During the Panathenaia, the allies were required to offer a cow and a panoply and nothing else. But Root, convinced about the tribute's requirement at the Panathenaia, continues by saying that 'this requirement (*sc.* of sending a cow and a panoply) effectively blurred the distinction between symbolic enactments of political obligation and those of cultic observance',[228] quoting in a footnote the passage of Cleinias' decree which states that 'if anyone commits an offense with regard to the sending of the cow and the panoply he shall be indicted and sentenced as in the case of a tribute offense' (ll. 41–3). However, the main target of Cleinias' decree is the annual tribute quota to be paid by the allies during the Dionysia, and the punishment for those cities which do not follow Athens' regulations. Then, there is an 'unexpected digression',[229] as Meiggs and Lewis say, about the 'payment' required at the Panathenaia. Cleinias' decree is not equating the 'Dionysiac tribute' to the 'Panathenaic tribute'; rather it is just saying that the punishment for not paying (or delaying the payment) will be the same: 1) prosecution by an Athenian or an ally, 2)

[226] Root 1985: 114–5.

[227] Cf. Osborne - Rhodes 2017: 308–23. But regular assessments were made at the time of the Panathenaia: *IG* I^3 71 (= *OR* 153), ll. 26–33.

[228] Root 1985: 115.

[229] Meiggs - Lewis 1988: 120.

presentation of the case before the Council (that will not have an authoritative voice on the case), and 3) after a preliminary hearing, transference of the case to a popular court.

Returning to Shapiro: his rejection of Root's view is clear and resolute, on the grounds that:

> This comparison (*sc.* Root's comparison between the Parthenon frieze and the Apadana reliefs) misses a crucial point about the ideology of Periklean Athens, which never explicitly acknowledged its imperialist nature in the iconography of public monuments.[230] Democratic Athens saw herself as the utter antithesis of the despotic Persian empire that had tried, and failed, to enslave the free Greek cities.[231] It was sufficient to impress the allies who visited Athens with the magnificent new temples on the Acropolis, financed at least in part by their annual contributions to the League, without actually portraying those allies as humble subjects. They certainly got the message. In the end, what made the Panathenaia the most visible symbol of empire was not sparkling new temples or big parades or lavish prizes, but Athena herself.[232]

Thus, Shapiro's conclusions, although reasonable, are paradoxical in view of his own assumptions about the strong link between democracy and imperialism to be found in the Panathenaia. If the Athenian people did not have an imperialistic aim in the decoration of their own great public monuments; if there is no connection between the Athenian empire and the Persian empire; and if temples, parades and prizes did not have an ideological and political value (to be displayed in front of foreign attendants), I doubt that the allies got the imperialistic message from the goddess Athena exclusively. I suggest that the Athenians

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[230] But *IG* I^3 68 (an inscription concerning the tributes of the Delian League, for which cf. Osborne - Rhodes 2017: 300–7) has a relief at the top of the stele showing jars and sacks of money in which the tribute was carried.

[231] The question could be: did Athens continue to see itself in that way?

[232] Shapiro 1996: 222.

during the Panathenaia — one of the greatest (if not *the* greatest) domestic festivals — had a golden opportunity to display their power and ideology, both in front of the civic community and their allies. In any case, they did not enact civic and 'political' ceremonies there as they did during the Dionysia with the four pre-play ceremonies. Moreover, we are not told about the *active* presence[233] of political figures during the festival: that would have helped us to understand a specific political value promoted by specific political figure.[234] The Panathenaia, as all the other religious festivals, was used as a stage to promote Athens' cultural, architectural and civic majesty:[235] the publicity of the city was more important than the publicity of the government (which could change at any moment). The Panathenaic procession that foreign spectators attended was a 'remarkable spectacle' which 'embodied the united power and glory of Athens':[236] as for the Panathenaia too, we can say that it was a 'shop-window' event. The festival was born with the main aim of reproducing the parallel Greek gatherings (the Olympic Games in the eighth century, the Pythian games in 582 B.C., the Isthmian games in 581 B.C. and the Nemean games in 573 B.C.), and Athens, thanks to the Panathenaic festival (although it never ranked with the Panhellenic four),[237] 'acquired a place in the world of Panhellenic athletics'.[238] Moreover, Peisistratus,

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[233] Of course the procession included military components, horsemen and/or foot-soldiers (cf. Parke 1977: 43–5).

[234] Although this was not necessarily consequent: cf. *Chapter One*, sections *1.1* and *1.2* about the libations to Dionysus made by the ten generals during the Dionysia.

[235] In Osborne's opinion (2010: 308), representing Athena's contest with Poseidon on the west pediment 'makes clear that this monument, built with allies' money, was a celebration of Athens and not simply a celebration of generalised Greek traditions. This story proclaims Athens' superiority'.

[236] Parke 1977: 37.

[237] It seems that the Eleusinian mysteries had a great Panhellenic appeal (cf. *e.g.* Parker 1996: 97–101 and Osborne - Rhodes 2017: 28–41). Simon (1983: 24) says that 'together with the Panathenaia and the Great Dionysia it (*sc.* the Eleusinian mysteries) made up the triad of the greatest Athenian festivals'.

[238] Parker 1996: 76.

once become tyrant, strongly developed[239] the festival and 'from his time at least the procession had already become an elaborate affair'.[240] The origins of the Panathenaia had nothing to do with democracy: I do not see the reason why the festival should have suddenly become an exclusively democratic festival with a democratic propaganda. Certainly, the festival developed through centuries, but we should not see any paradox when considering that, although Peisistratus was one of the reformers of the festival, the Tyrannicides were then worshipped during the festival's procession: this demonstrates that the Panathenaia celebrated the history of Athens, rather than a specific kind of government.

[239] But Parker (1996: 68) says: 'uncertainty surrounds two very important innovations, the transformation of the *Panathenaea* into an international festival, and the construction of a first stone temple of Athena on the acropolis. Both demanded ambition, organizational energy, and the ability to supply or levy resources; both fall very close in time to Peisistratus' seizure of power. One might, on independent grounds (source-critical in the one case, archaeological in the other), incline to put the festival before 561 and the temple after it; but either could easily cross that line' (cf. *ibid*.: 67–101 for a discussion on sixth-century B.C. Athenian festivals and the Peisistratid influence on them).

[240] Parke 1977: 34.

Chapter Three

Marching for the State: the War-Orphans' Parade

3.1 War-orphans and ephebes: a preliminary distinction

> καὶ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν καὶ παρεισῆγον τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότων, ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιδεικνύοντες, τοῖς μὲν συμμάχοις τὰς τιμὰς τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ὑπὸ μισθωτῶν εἰσφερομένας, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ῞Ελλησι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς τὰς διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν ταύτην γιγνομένας. Καὶ ταῦτα δρῶντες αὐτοί τε τὴν πόλιν εὐδαιμόνιζον […].
>
> They also used to do this: they introduced the sons of those who died during the war, showing off to both the allies the amount of their treasure brought (on the stage) by the salaried men, and to the other Greeks the crowd of the orphans and misfortunes caused by their greed. And in so doing they counted the city happy […].
>
> (Isoc. 8, 82–3)

The passage of Isocrates bears witness to another pre-play ceremony celebrated during the Dionysia: the war-orphans parade.[241] Stroud describes the ceremony as follows: 'on coming of age the orphans were supplied with a suit of armor by the state and presented to the assembled Athenians and their allies at the Dionysia in a grand ceremony in the orchestra. The herald read a proclamation calling out each young man's name and

[241] State responsibility for the war-orphans is attested by Th. 2, 46, 1 and D.L. 1, 55, who attributes it to Solon. The literary evidence for the parade consists of three orators: *P.Hib* i 14a-b (= Lysias, *Against Theozotides*); Isoc. 8, 82; Aeschin. 3, 154. But cf. Arist. *Pol*. 2, 1268a 6-11.

patronymic and then the orphans were sent away each to his own home'.[242] However, this description needs further clarification. Indeed, as will be showed:

1) It seems that the war-orphans were not *given* armour; rather, they were *already wearing it* (or at least, they had been given their armour immediately before being brought to this public ceremony).
2) It seems that this was not the 'grand ceremony' Stroud is talking about.
3) The war-orphans were not sent to their homes; they were given honorary seats among the audience.[243]

Firstly, a distinction made by Dillery[244] must be outlined here: though Goldhill talks about war-orphans and ephebes indiscriminately, Dillery has shown how those were different and that there were two ceremonies, one for the ephebes and another for the war-orphans. After having demonstrated that the display of the ephebes mentioned in [Arist.] *Ath.* 42, 4 was celebrated in the Panathenaic stadium (and not in the theatre), Dillery aims to answer two main questions: '(i) What precisely happened in the passing-out parade, and was it similar to what is described in [Arist.] *Ath.*? (ii) Ought we connect the war orphans with the ephebes, that is, should they be used as proof for the existence of an ephebic institution in the fifth-century?'.[245] As Aeschines provides the most detailed description of the parade, let us turn to the text:

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[242] Stroud 1971: 288–9.

[243] Aeschin. 3, 154 in fact mentions both: a seat in the audience (presumably immediately), and sending them (away from the care of the state) to their own homes (presumably after the festival).

[244] Cf. Dillery 2002 (especially: 466–70).

[245] Dillery 2002: 467.

Τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀλγήσειεν ἄνθρωπος Ἕλλην καὶ παιδευθεὶς ἐλευθερίως ἀναμνησθεὶς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐκεῖνό γε, εἰ μηδὲν ἕτερον, ὅτι ταύτῃ ποτὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μελλόντων ὥσπερ νυνὶ τῶν τραγῳδῶν γίγνεσθαι, ὅτ᾽ εὐνομεῖτο μᾶλλον ἡ πόλις καὶ βελτίοσι προστάταις ἐχρῆτο, προελθὼν ὁ κῆρυξ καὶ παραστησάμενος τοὺς ὀρφανούς, ὧν οἱ πατέρες ἦσαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότες, νεανίσκους_πανοπλίᾳ κεκοσμημένους, ἐκήρυττε τὸ κάλλιστον κήρυγμα καὶ προτρεπτικώτατον πρὸς ἀρετήν, ὅτι τούσδε τοὺς νεανίσκους, ὧν οἱ πατέρες ἐτελεύτησαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι, μέχρι μὲν ἥβης ὁ δῆμος ἔτρεφε, νυνὶ δὲ καθοπλίσας τῇδε τῇ πανοπλίᾳ, ἀφίησιν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τρέπεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν, καὶ καλεῖ εἰς προεδρίαν. Τότε μὲν ταῦτ᾽ ἐκήρυττεν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ νῦν, […].

What Greek with a free man's education would not feel pain to recall this, if nothing else, that once on this day, when as now the tragedies were about to take place, when the city was better governed and had better champions, the herald would have come forward and, with the orphans whose fathers had died in war beside him, young man decked out in full armor, would make a proclamation, one that brought most honor and was most calculated to inspire courage, that these young men, whose fathers had died in war displaying their valor, were reared to adulthood by the people, who, having equipped them with this hoplite armor, now send them off to their own affairs with their blessing and invite them to a seat of honor. This was the proclamation in those days, but not now, […].[246]

(Aeschin. 3, 154–5)

From this passage, we learn that in the late fourth century B.C. the ceremony was already considered old-fashioned and no longer celebrated; the orphans were already in full-armour and they were not gifted any armour during the celebration; and, there was no drilling in the theatre and no battle march, but, rather, the young men were given an honorary seat in the audience. Dillery defines this ceremony as a 'parade of sorts', but not the 'military display of the type found at *Ath. Pol.* 42.4'.[247] Indeed, it was a procession in

[246] I use here the translation of Carey 2000.

[247] Dillery 2002: 468.

honour of those who fought and died for the city as well as a show of support towards the orphans. If we seek to find an ideological message in this ceremony, we could say that it was a display of strong young Athenian boys and a warning to the audience that Athens would always have new soldiers to protect its empire.[248] This would have been a clear military celebration, with an obvious message for the audience.

Nevertheless, Dillery convincingly demonstrates that the real military parade was the display of the ephebes in the stadium, as described by the author of the *Athenaion Politeia* (*sc.* in connection with the Lycurgan institution of the ephebeia). His conclusion leads to three possibilities:

(a) During the fifth century B.C. there was the war-orphans' parade at the Dionysia, while in the fourth century B.C. there was the display of the ephebes in the stadium (as an evolution of the war-orphans' parade?).

(b) During the fifth century B.C. both ceremonies existed, but only the display of the ephebes in the stadium continued to be celebrated throughout the fourth century B.C.

(c) During the fifth century B.C. there were both the war-orphans' parade in the theatre and an ephebic ceremony, which then became (or remained the same as) the fourth-century B.C. display of ephebes.

We can say that *(a)* is the most plausible option, since the literary (and also the epigraphic) evidence attests to that split. Option *(b)* would be interesting, but we do not have evidence for a display of the ephebes during the fifth century B.C. Moreover, if there was a display

[248] Relying again on Carter's words about the external and internal images of Athens, we could say that this was the 'external message' addressed to the foreigners among the audience, whereas the 'internal message' reassured Athenian citizens that the city would have taken care of its young orphan citizens- and soldiers-to-be.

of the ephebes in the stadium during the fifth century B.C., and if Dillery's argument is right, only the display in the stadium had a real military and political value. The same follows for option *(c)*: we do not have evidence for any kind of ephebic ceremony in the fifth century B.C. which then transformed into the fourth-century B.C. display of the ephebes.[249] Hence, it is right to conclude with Dillery that:

> The parade of orphans and the ephebes' demonstration of their ability to move in formation were very different events, and the first should not be thought of as being replaced by the second. The first was a 'coming-of-age' marker, akin to academic graduation ceremonies; it was a fitting conclusion for an institution aimed at caring for the orphaned boys of war-heroes. The second was a military display, demonstrating the readiness of new citizen-soldiers for war.[250] While it would be a serious mistake to underestimate the broader cultural importance of the ephebate, especially in the Lycurgan era, it is equally wrong to lose sight of the basic fact that it was designed as a military institution: Athens felt itself under threat in the 330s, perhaps best witnessed by the decree against tyranny of 337/6 (*SEG* 12.87 = *Hesperia* 21 [1952], 355-9, no. 5),[251] and was searching for ways to make its citizenry better prepared for war.[252]

At a first glance, it is difficult to understand the real political value of the war-orphans' parade. For the moment, it seems that it was a (politically) neutral ceremony which aimed only at celebrating Athenian war dead and their orphan sons: the Dionysia's fame was clear

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[249] Then, the display of the ephebes in the stadium described by the author of *Ath. Pol.* cannot have taken place during the fifth century B.C., as the author is strictly talking of a contemporary ceremony that was not celebrated in the past.

[250] Although this too was a coming-of-age marker, when the ephebes completed their training and became full adults.

[251] *IG* II^3 320 = *RO* 79.

[252] Dillery 2002: 469.

among Greeks and it provided the best stage to celebrate[253] the orphans publicly. But, as I will show, it is unclear whether democracy is to be specifically associated with the war-orphans' parade.

3.2 '…these have to be paid [as] the orphans': Theozotides' decree, its date, sources and value[254]

Scholars' discussions about the pre-play ceremony of the war-orphans during the Dionysia typically do not consider the only inscription concerning the parade and the support the orphans were given by the state.[255] This is the decree of Theozotides,[256] in which the politician proposes to give an obol per day to the sons of 'those who died violently under the oligarchic government aiding democracy':

ἔδοξεν τῆι βολῆ[ι καὶ τῶι δή]μωι, Ἀντιοχ-
[ὶ]ς ἐπρυτάνευε[….[8]….]ς ἐγραμμάτευ-
εν, Καλλισθένη[ς ἐπ]εστ[άτε, Θεο]ζοτίδης
εἶπεν· ὁπόσοι Ἀθηναίω[ν] ἀ[πέθαν]ον [β]ιαί-
ωι θανάτωι ἐν τῆι ὀλιγ[αρχίαι [β]ο[ηθ]ῶντ- 5

[253] Though Dillery (2002: 467), considering Isocrates' passage (8, 82–3), says: 'The emphasis in this passage is very much on the Athenians making ill-advised demonstrations to others, not on the orphans demonstrating anything of their own military prowess'.

[254] This section was presented at 'Inscriptions in Historiography and Historiography in Inscriptions. Two Sides of the Same Coin: History — International Postgraduate Workshop, King's College London, 28th September 2018', as a paper entitled 'Through Literature, Politics and History: How to Read *SEG* 28:46 (Theozotides' decree)'.

[255] Cf. also Cratin. F 183 *PCG* and Pl. *Mx*. 248e–249a.

[256] I use the text given by Matthaiou 2011.

ες[257] τῆι δημοκρατίαι, τοῖς [..[4]..]Ι[258] τότων ε-

[ὐ]εργεσ:ίας ἕν[εκ]α τῶμ πατ[έρων] α[ὐ]τῶν ἐς

[τ]ὸ[ν δῆμ]ον τὸν Ἀθ[ην]αίω[ν καὶ ἀνδ]ραγαθ[ί]-

α[ς διδό]ναι τοῖς π[α]ισὶ α[…[6]…] τ[ότ]ω[ν] ὀ-

[β]ολὸν [τῆς] ἡμέρας τ[……[12]……]ΛΙ το- 10

ῖς ὀρφανο[ῖς] ἀποδίδω[σι….[10]……] το

Πρυτανει[ο….]ο αὐτὸς […[6]…]η[…]ιν

[ἐπιμέ]λεσθ[αι….[8]….]ο[…..[10]…..]Σ

[…[7]….]την ΟΣ[……[19]…….]

δ[οκι]μασάτω αὐ[τ]ὸ[ς……..[16]……..] 15

διδόναι αὐτ[……[18]……κα]θ-

άπερ [τ]ῶν ἐν τῶι [……[18]……τ]-

[ὸ]ς Ἑλληνοταμίας το[.]α[…….[13]……]

[. καθά]περ τὸς ὀρφανὸς […….[13]……]

[..[4]..]ο Ἀθηναίων ΤΗΜΗ[…….[14]…….] 20

[…[5]..]ι καὶ […]ερ[..] αὐτο[…]μοσ[…[5]..]

[..]αιον ε[..]ηρι[…….[19]……]

[…[5]..]ιανα[……..[22]……..]

Resolved by the council and the people, Antiochis was the prytany, … was secretary, Callisthenes was chairman, Theozotides proposed: those among the Athenians who died violently under the oligarchy, aiding the democracy, to their [sons], due to the benevolence and

[257] Stroud (1971) proposes here [β]ο[ηθ]ῶντες (Osborne and Rhodes [2017: 464–71] follow him). Matthaiou prefers not to put it in the text, though he describes it as ‘very plausible’ (Matthaiou 2011: 73). In Matthaiou’s opinion the verb does not necessarily mean ‘to aid in war’ (cf. *ibid.*: 73–4). I do not agree with Mattahiou, since he provides only one reference (most likely the only reference) in which the verb seems to mean ‘maintain’ (Aeschin. 1, 33) instead of ‘help, coming to aid, assist’. The verb in Aeschines’ passage can be translated with ‘coming to the aid of the laws and the democracy’ (moreover, Matthaiou does not consider that here we have the same sentence of the decree, in which the verb clearly means ‘coming to the aid of democracy’: those who died could not ‘maintain the democracy’ as the government was an oligarchic one). I would consider ‘to serve democracy’s cause’ as an alternative translation, but this is just another way of saying ‘to fight for…’.

[258] I accept here the restoration [παισ]ί given by Stroud.

valour of their fathers towards the people of Athens, [give] to the sons of those an obol per day [as support], [in the same way it is given] to the orphans…in the Prytaneion… It is approved… to give them…like those in…the Hellenotamiai…like the orphans…of Athens…

[on the left side of the stele, then, we can read some names, with patronymics, of the orphans]

Since this is the only surviving decree that refers to the war-orphans, and since we find an explicit reference to democracy, we could be led to think that the support given to the orphans by the government was an exclusively democratic practice. Indeed, we are dealing with a decree of the restored democratic government, after the cruelties of the oligarchic government — but which oligarchic government? There are two views on this issue: some scholars, as Stroud,[259] believe that this decree refers to the rule of the Thirty Tyrants in 404/3 B.C., and Theozotides wants to reward those who fought for the liberation of the city; on the other hand, a strong case (which now has become the prevailing view) has been made for associating this reference not with the government of the Thirty but with that one of the Four Hundred in 411 B.C.: Calabi Limentani,[260] Matthaiou[261] and Osborne-Rhodes[262] support this view. In my opinion, the issue needs to be reconsidered and Stroud's dating is still valid.

Stroud thinks that the dead which the decree is praising are those who fell under the Thirty Tyrants, because [β]ο[ηθ]ὄντες indicates an action in war, and fits better with the Athenians who fell at Mounychia against the Ten and Pausanias and the Spartans in 403 B.C.[263] Both those who died under the Four Hundred and those under the Thirty 'could

[259] Cf. Stroud 1971.
[260] Cf. Calabi Limentani 1985.
[261] Cf. Matthaiou 2011: 71–82.
[262] Cf. Osborne - Rhodes 2017: 464–71.
[263] Cf. Stroud 1971: 286.

hardly be said to have lost their lives while "coming to the aid of democracy"'.[264] Consequently, identifying those who died at Mounychia and near Athens in battle against the Ten in 403 B.C. with the victims of the decree seems to be plausible. Xenophon[265] records 180 dead against Pausanias and some of these were foreigners, slaves and metics:[266] thus, the Ἀθηναίω[ν] in line 4, according to Stroud,[267] would exclude these group of non-Athenians, whose civic status was debated in the restored democracy of 403/2 B.C.

However, Calabi Limentani opposes this view. Indeed, *a)* given that [β]ιαίωι θανάτωι does not indicate people who die in battle (such as those slain at Mounychia and near Athens), but death by murder;[268] *b)* given that the closest parallel of [β]ο[ηθ]ὸ ντες τῆι δημοκρατίαι is Lys. 20, 17, refers to the Four Hundred;[269] and *c)* given that the Hellenotamiai in l. 18 did not exist anymore after 403 B.C.,[270] she is convinced that Theozotides' decree should be dated to 410 B.C. or a little after.

The second and third point are sound objections, but the first point requires further analysis. Calabi Limentani and Matthaiou argue that 'by violent death' means 'death by murder' and not 'in battle'. To support this position, Matthaiou provides a list of passages[271] in which the expression 'by violent death' is used to describe a murder. Thus, since Xenophon describes the conflicts between the democrats and the oligarchic government as war, we should align the violent deaths in the decree with the murders

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[264] Stroud 1971: 286.

[265] X. *HG* 2, 4, 31–5.

[266] Cf. X. *HG* 2, 4, 25; [Arist.] *Ath.* 40, 2; *IG* II² 10.

[267] Cf. Stroud 1971: 287.

[268] Cf. Calabi Limentani 1985: 118–21.

[269] Cf. Calabi Limentani 1985: 121–2. We should however note that Lysias says *demos*, not *demokratia* (although the two terms were often interchangeable): καὶ οἱ κατήγοροι τότε μὲν οὐδαμῇ εὖνοι ὄντες ἐφαίνοντο τῷ δήμῳ οὐδὲ ἐβοήθουν.

[270] Cf. Calabi Limentani 1985: 123–4.

[271] Cf. Matthaiou 2011: 78.

committed during the government of the Four Hundred; but what about the murders committed by the Four Hundred? Matthaiou, to prove his thesis, quotes several passages from the eighth book of Thucydides, but without providing an interpretation of them. In the eighth book of Thucydides we find mention of the secret murder of Androcles,[272] 'the most important head of the democrats',[273] and of 'some other opponents'.[274] Besides these few murders, Thucydides' account[275] of the oligarchs' way of ruling κατὰ κράτος ('by violence')[276] seems to refer more to threats, torture[277] and fear than to murder. The victims of the Four Hundred were more normally politicians rather than soldiers: even when Thucydides says that εἰ δέ τις καὶ ἀντείποι, εὐθὺς ἐκ τρόπου τινὸς ἐπιτηδείου ἐτεθνήκει ('if someone opposed [*sc.* to the Four Hundred], he immediately died in an appropriate way'),[278] the historian *a)* is talking by hypotheses, and not of confirmed murders (since immediately before he says that ἀντέλεγε τε οὐδεὶς ἔτι τῶν ἄλλων ('no one of the others opposed them anymore'),[279] *b)* is not talking about the people/soldiers, both because the potential opponents he is talking about are the members of the Assembly, the Council, and the orators,[280] and because he says immediately after that ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν ὁ δῆμος ('the people were inactive')[281] due to the fear. Consequently, it is difficult to imagine Theozotides' decree to be referring only to those few democratic politicians' sons.

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[272] I admit that Matthaiou's suggestion (2011: 79–80) that 'the possibility that Androkles Aphidnaios, father of the two sons whose names are inscribed first in the list on the side, is the same man as the Ἀνδροκλέα τέ τινα τοῦ δήμου μάλιστα προεστῶτα of Thucydides' is attractive.

[273] Th. 8, 65, 2.

[274] Th. 8, 65, 2. Cf. also Th. 8, 70, 2.

[275] Cf. Th. 8, 63, 2 - 97, 3.

[276] Th. 8, 70, 1.

[277] Cf. Th. 8, 92, 2.

[278] Th. 8, 66, 2.

[279] Th. 8, 66, 2.

[280] Cf. Th. 8, 66, 1. The verb ἀντιλέγω suggests rather a verbal opposition than a physical one.

[281] Th. 8, 66, 2.

We can further consider [β]ιαίωι θανάτωι. In Matthaiou's list we find D. 23, 82: ἐάν τις βιαίῳ θανάτῳ ἀποθάνῃ ('if someone dies by violent death'). Of course, the context is a murder and not a war, but Matthaiou does not provide[282] the rest of the quotation of the passage of Demosthenes, which is significant: «ἐάν τις βιαίῳ θανάτῳ ἀποθάνῃ,» φησίν - πρῶτον μὲν δὴ τοῦτο προσγράψας τὸ «βιαίως», σύμβολον πεποίηκεν ᾧ γιγνώσκομεν ὅτι, ἂν ἀδίκως, λέγει - […] ('"if someone dies by violent death", it [*sc*. the law] says; firstly the supplement of that "violent" leads us to understand that it says "unjustly" […]').[283] This description of the clause by Demosthenes is intriguing, as it makes us consider the expression as a description of a *general unjust* death, not a *specific violent* death *by murder*.[284] In the democrats' view, both the victims of the Four Hundred and those of the Thirty Tyrants were unjust.[285] Thus, to which dead was Theozotides' decree referring? Matthaiou, following Calabi Limentani,[286] says that 'given this meaning of the phrase [β]ιαίωι θανάτωι (*sc*. "death by murder") the men killed could not have died during the

[282] Calabi Limentani (1985: 120) does, but she does not provide an interpretation.

[283] D. 23, 83.

[284] Demosthenes equates βιαίως with ἀδίκως, but is he still referring *clearly* to murder?

[285] Cf. *SEG* 28:45, ll. 73–6: τού[σδ' ἀρετῆς ἕ]νεκα στεφά[νοις ἐγέραιρε παλαίχθων] / δῆμ̣[ος Ἀθηναί]ων, οἵ ποτε το[ὺς ἀδίκοις] / θε[σμοῖς ἄρξα]ντας πόλεως π̣[ρῶτοι καταπαύεν] / ἦρ̣[ξαν, κίνδυνο]ν σώμ̣ασιν ἀρ̣[άμενοι] ('These for their excellence the People of the ancient land of Athens rewarded with crowns, who began first to thwart those who once ruled the city with unjust laws, braving danger with their bodies'). This was a 401/0 B.C. dedication (with decree included) from Athens to foreigners who fought against the Thirty, and, since Theozotides' decree concerned only Athenians, it would 'complete' the honours to all who fought against the oligarchic government of the Thirty.

[286] I believe Calabi Limentani is almost certainly wrong in one respect. She believes that the decree should be referred to the government of the Four Hundred because 'il premiare vittime della oligarchia equiparando la loro morte a quella di caduti in guerra, cioè riconoscerle meritevoli di pari credito di gratitudine da parte della città, ci introduce in un'atmosfera non di amnistia, come fu quella della restaurazione democratica del 403, ma piuttosto di preoccupazione antioligarchica, come sembra sia stata quella iniziata nel 410' (1985: 123). But the decree is not an honorific decree nor a proclamation of honour at the Dionysia for the victims of the oligarchy: this is a decree which deals with the war-orphans, without any specification of honours to be proclaimed toward their fathers.

conflicts between the democrats (ἀπὸ Φυλῆς) and the oligarchs of the Thirty, because these conflicts are described as a war (see Xen. *Hell*. II 4.22)'.[287] First of all, I am not convinced that Xenophon describes these events as wars. The description made in 4, 22 seems to indicate more a domestic conflict[288] rather than an international war ([…] οὗτοι […] πόλεμον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρέχουσιν: 'they are making us fight against each other'). In domestic wars, or better, in στάσεις we have violent and unjust murders among citizens (unjust because they are fratricidal): Critias himself, in 404 B.C., says that καὶ εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου πᾶσαι μεταβολαὶ πολιτεῖων θανατηφόροι ('it goes without saying that all the political revolutions bring dead').[289] Moreover Xenophon, after the description of that year in his second book, starts the third book by saying: ἡ μὲν δὴ Ἀθήνησι στάσις οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν ('the civil war at Athens ended in this way').[290] As the conflict between the democrats and the oligarchic government was not war *per se*, but rather civil strife, I think that [β]ιαίωι θανάτωι could be applied to the victims of 404/3 B.C. Moreover, the victims of the decree do not need to be war-victims, since we do not have any reference to Phyle or Mounychia. They could have been victims of murder.

Lastly, after the conflict between the democrats and the oligarchs, Xenophon describes the assembly of the Thirty. While describing the meeting, he says: ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπεποιήκεσάν τι βιαιότερον […] ('those who committed something more violent […]')[291] and ὅσοι δὲ ἐπίστευον μηδὲν ἠδικηκεναι, αὐτοί τε ἀνελογίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκον ὡς οὐδὲν δέοιντο τούτων τῶν κακῶν ('while those who believed they did not do anything illegal, evaluated the situation and tried to convince the others that there was no

[287] Matthaiou 2011: 77.

[288] Pl. *Mx*. 243e describes it as οἰκεῖος πόλεμος.

[289] X. *HG* 2, 3, 32. Cf. also 2, 3, 24.

[290] X. *HG* 3, 1, 1.

[291] X. *HG* 2, 4, 23.

need of such crimes').[292] The passage shows the use of the term βιαιότερον with reference to the actions of the Thirty, and τούτων τῶν κακῶν can be translated, in this context, with 'crimes'. Thus, the Thirty Tyrants too would appear indeed to have conducted 'violent' acts.[293]

There is, however, another argument which relates to the small number of victims noted on the stele. When considering the spaces of the stele, Matthaiou posits 46 names (or less), while Osborne-Rhodes count a possible number of 42 single sons or 24 pairs of sons and two single sons; hence, the number of the victims seems not to be compatible with the 1,500[294] supposed dead under the oligarchic government of the Thirty Tyrants.[295] Thus, in Osborne and Rhodes's opinion, the number of the orphans listed in the stele is 'the most powerful' consideration in favour of the dating of 411 B.C., since if the reference were to those who died fighting against the Thirty, the number of men named on the stele ought to be much greater. As a matter of fact, this is a problem for the hypothesis of 404/3 B.C. —

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[292] X. *HG* 2, 4, 23.

[293] Cf. also X. *HG* 2, 3, 17 in which Theramenes describes the government of the Thirty as a βιαίαν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν ('a violent government'). Conversely, we do not see in Thucydides any use of the word βία (or its derivatives) in regard to the Four Hundred (except Th. 8, 66, 2, in which we are told that 'who, being silent, did not suffer violence, considered this a benefit').

[294] Cf.: Isoc. 7, 67; Aeschin. 3, 235; [Arist.] *Ath.* 35, 4.

[295] Do these scholars intend to say that there was a stele for the 1,500 victims of the Thirty? Personally, if it is so, I find it difficult to imagine a stele for 1,500 dead: as the list in the decree of Theozotides is comprised of six columns and 126 lines, how big would be a stele for 1,500 names with patronymics and demotics? Secondly, all the literary sources tell us that 1,500 'citizens' were killed, but I would not be surprised if it was an indicative number, since it is given by three different later sources: it could be 'invented' by the supporters of democracy in order to emphasise the cruelty of the oligarchic government; moreover, we do not know the 'composition' of these 1,500 people (whether they were young men, adults, old men, fathers, sons and so on: the number of Athenian men with sons could be smaller and, consequently, the stele had to record less than 1,500 names).

although the number of victims could be compatible also with the one hundred[296] (or less) dead against Pausanias.

Let us now turn to the context: indeed, it leads us to think that we are facing a specific democratic decree. Theoretically, it *is* a democratic decree, but this was not the first decree which proposed the government's support towards the war-orphans. The sons Theozotides is referring to are called οἱ παῖδες (cf. ll. 6 and 9: τοῖς παισὶ), while the orphans of ll. 10–11 and 19 seem to be a 'second term of comparison', as Stroud noticed:

> It seems preferable to regard "the orphans" in lines 10-11 as distinct from the sons of those who died in the oligarchy. In making arrangements for the latter Theozotides seems to have referred to the orphans of war-dead, perhaps as a model. In line 10 an acceptable restoration would then be [καθάπερ] δὲ τοῖς ὀρφανο[ῖς] ἀποδίδω[σιν…[7]…. ἐκ] τῶ Πρυτανεί[ο];[297] the beneficiaries of the decree are to receive an obol per day just as the war-orphans are paid their obol.[298]

Thus, it is very likely that Theozotides drew on an existing Athenian practice which concerned the support for the war-orphans. It is doubtful whether the habit of supporting war-orphans began in the fifth century B.C. or earlier. It must have been a practice in the

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[296] 180 less an unidentified number of slaves, foreigners and metics (cf. X. *HG* 2, 4, 31–5; cf. also X. *HG* 2, 4, 25, [Arist.] *Ath.* 40, 2, and *IG* II[2] 10, for the participation of foreigners, slaves and metics).

[297] Matthaiou (2011: 75) does not accept Stroud's restoration 'because the adverb καθάπερ followed by δὲ appears here to introduce a clause, while this adverb introduces a comparison clause, which normally comes after that to which it is compared. In the place of the proposed [καθάπερ] one would expect ὥσπερ δὲ. The sentence whose verb is ἀποδιδω[- -], is most probably a dependant one, and I suggest that it is better to transcribe the verb in subjunctive: [- -] ἂν το⎜ῖς ὀρφανο[ῖς] ἀποδίδω[σι]. The transcription of ἂν is supported by the preserved traces on the stone. […] As for the lacuna before the ἂν I would tentatively propose [οἵανπερ]; this would refer to the probable restoration τ[ροφήν]'.

[298] Stroud 1971: 287–8.

age of Pericles, as Thucydides shows in 2, 46, 1: […] καὶ ἔργῳ οἱ θαπτόμενοι τὰ μὲν ἤδη κεκόσμηνται, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς παῖδας τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε δημοσίᾳ ἡ πόλις μέχρι ἥβης θρέψει, […] ('and the dead have already been effectively honoured, whilst the city, from now on, will support their sons until the adulthood by public expense'). That 'from now on' cannot be taken as the origin of the practice; rather, we should consider that this is a part of Pericles' funeral speech for the dead of the first year of war, and that that 'from now on' has to be understood as 'from this first year of war until the end of the war'.

Another source which talks about the support of the war-orphans is Diogenes Laertius (1, 55), who attributes the practice to Solon. Diogenes is contradicted by Plutarch (*Sol*. 31, 2–5), who says that Peisistratus, on the one hand, preserved much of Solon's law but, on the other hand, promulgated other laws such as that one which gave support to the war wounded with public expenses. By contrast, Heraclides of Pontus (cited by Plutarch in the same passage) argued that it was a law of Solon, and that Peisistratus was only imitating him (fr. 149 W). Moreover, the author of the *Athenian Constitution* (24, 3) tells us that between 478 B.C. and 462 B.C. the support of the war-orphans was a regular expense: but, although this chapter of *Ath.* is placed between the Persian Wars and Ephialtes, it is better regarded as a dateless compilation of people maintained by the Athenian state. Lastly Aristotle's *Politics* says that Hippodamus of Miletus ἔτι δὲ νόμον ἐτίθει περὶ τῶν εὑρισκόντων τι τῇ πόλει συμφέρον, ὅπως τυγχάνωσι τιμῆς, καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτώντων ἐκ δημοσίου γίνεσθαι τὴν τροφήν, ὡς οὕτω τοῦτο παρ' ἄλλοις νενομοθετημένον· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἀθήναις οὗτος ὁ νόμος νῦν καὶ ἐν ἑτέραις τῶν πόλεων ('He also proposed a law for conferring honours on any who should make an invention of benefit to the state; and he further suggested, as a novelty not hitherto included in the legislation of any state, that the children of those who had been killed in action should be supported at the public expense…. Actually, such a law is already in existence at Athens,

and also in other states…').[299] This source is important as it would appear that Hippodamus of Miletus, perhaps in the second quarter of the fifth century B.C., was the *prōtos euretēs* of the support for war-orphans. Aristotle seems to be doubtful about that, and states that such a procedure already existed in Athens as wells as in other *poleis*. Thus: either the support for the war-orphans was an existing practice among many Greek cities, or Hippodamus was right and the first practice of supporting war-orphans had its origins in Miletus.[300]

The fact that some sources place this practice in an early period (that is sixth-century B.C. - first half of the fifth-century B.C.)[301] — and perhaps in a non-Athenian context — might raise doubts on the supposed democratic value of the war-orphans' parade. If we assume that real democracy began under Pericles' government, we cannot describe Solon or, to an even greater extent, Peisistratus, as a proper democratic representative. Thus, although we cannot see the support of war-orphans as an essentially democratic political value, we do so for the decree of Theozotides. Theozotides' decree *is* a democratic decree, concerned with the orphans of those who died supporting the democracy, whether we date it 410 B.C. or 403 B.C., but its real purpose is to assimilate these 'democratic' orphans to war-orphans who died not supporting democracy but supporting Athens against a foreign enemy.[302] In order to fully understand the value of the decree, we need to investigate Theozotides. As Stroud states:

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[299] Translation of Barker 1946.

[300] Interesting, as well as ambiguous, the sentence regarding a law which honoured 'those who have found something useful to the city': were these just honorific decrees or public proclamations of honours?

[301] Cf. den Boer 1979: 37–51.

[302] On the other hand, it seems that the decree pays more attention in assimilating the oligarch to foreign enemies.

> Since the name Theozotides is exceedingly rare at Athens, the author of the present decree may safely be identified not only with the target of Lysias' fragmentary speech *Against Theozotides* but also with the proposer of a rider to an honorary decree of *ca*. 400 [*IG* II² 5]. Nor is political activity at the end of the fifth-century ruled out for the only other Athenian Theozotides attested in this period. He had been attacked by Kratinos sometime before 423 and was the father of two young followers of Socrates, Nikostratos and Theodotos, who are mentioned in Plato, *Apology*, 33e. Kirchner set his birth at *ca*. 451 which makes even more attractive the suggestion that all this evidence refers to one man, Theozotides Kikynneus, who was the proposer of our decree.[303]

It is highly likely that the first part of Lysias' speech *Against Theozotides*,[304] referred to our decree,[305] since the politician is attacked for his proposed restriction of the support of the war-orphans only to the 'legitimate sons', excluding the illegitimate and adopted ones:

> [……] [[….]] [.. / [ ] / [……..]τού[τωι τῶ]ι νόμ[ωι. / [……]..τους μάλιστα δε / [……..]υτης μισ/[….] τ[ο]ὺς νόθους τε καὶ τοὺς / [ποιη]τοὺς οὔτε νομίμως οὔ/[θ' ὁσίω]ς. Ἐμοὶ γὰρ δοκεῖ τῶν ὀρ/[φάνων…] ….τον τοὺς νόθους / [……..τ]ὴν πόλιν ἤ τοὺς / [γνησίους. τοὺς] γὰρ γνησίους / [ἐπὶ τῶν πατρώιων] καταλεί/ [πει ὁ πατὴρ, ἀλλὰ τοὺ]ς νόθους
>
> …with this law [you deprive the neediest people, disregarding] contrary to the law and religion the illegitimate and the adopted sons. For it seems to me that, among the orphans, the city [should support] the illegitimate rather than the legitimate sons; for the father leaves his own property to the legitimate sons, while the illegitimate…
>
> (Lys. fr. 128 Carey [col. i])

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[303] Stroud 1971: 296–7. However, the deme of Theozotides seems to be Athomnum (cf. Davies 1971: 222–3).

[304] I use here the text given by Carey 2007.

[305] Osborne and Rhodes (2017: 471) state that it 'remains uncertain whether the two decrees are to be identified'.

But the most suggestive passage comes from fragment 129 Carey, where the name of Theozotides is explicit and the attack against his decree on the war-orphans is clear:

> [πατ]ρωίων . [/ [..τ]ῆς μισθοφο[ρίας] . […]ο . [/ ..] . ε[..]ος κατέλιπεν αὐτοῖς [/ ὃ δὲ] πάντων δεινόταˍτον, εἰ / [τὸ κάλ]λιστον τῶν ἐν τοῖς / [νόμο]ις κήρυγμα Θεοζο/[τίδ]ης διαβαλεῖ καὶ ψεῦδος / [κα]ταστήσει. Διονυσίοις γὰρ / [ὅτα]ν ὁ κῆρυξ ἀναγορεύηι τοὺς / [ὀρ]φάνους πατρόθεν ὑπειπὼν / [ὅτ]ι τῶνδε τῶν νεανίσκων οἱ / πάτερες ἀπέθανον ἐν τῶι πο/λέμωι μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῆς / πατρίδος ἄνδρες ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ / [καὶ] τούτους ἡ πόλις ἔτρεφε μέ/[χρι] ἥβης, ἐνταῦθα πότερα χωρὶς / περὶ τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ τῶν νό/[θ]ων ἀνερ[ε]ῖ{ς} λέγων ὅτι τούσδε / διὰ Θεοζοτίδην οὐκ ἔτρεφεν, / ἢ πάντ[ας] ἀ[ναγορεύ]ων ὁμοίως / . [……..τῶν] ποιητῶν / καὶ τῶν [νό]θων ψε[ύ]σε/ται περὶ τῆς τροφῆς ὑποσι[ωπῶν; / ταῦτα οὐχ ὕβρις καὶ [μ]εγάλη διαβο/[λ]ὴ [ἔσται τῆς πόλεως; […]
>
> …paternal properties…allowance…he did not leave (anything) to them…but the most outrageous thing is that Theozotides is going to discredit and make deceitful the noblest announcement among those provided for by laws: for during the Dionysia, when the herald will call the orphans by their patronymics and say that the fathers of these young men died in war, fighting for their homeland as valorous men, and that the state fed them until the adulthood, will he there make a separate announcement regarding the illegitimate and adopted sons, saying that these, owing to Theozotides, will not be fed, or, while announcing all [the orphans], will he lie about the illegitimate and adopted sons, without saying anything about their nourishment? What an insult and discredit for the city! […]
>
> (Lys. fr. 129 Carey [col. i], ll. 23–47)

Thus, if we link the Theozotides of Lysias' speech with the Theozotides of our decree, we can reconstruct the historical and political context. Again, we have to decide whether the decree (and, consequently, Lysias' speech) was referring to the Four Hundred or the Thirty Tyrants. The most problematic issue with regard to Matthaiou's thesis is that he does not say anything about the date of Lysias' speech; rather he comments in a footnote:

> […] my understanding is that Theozotides' decree referred in Lysias' speech cannot be identified with the decree inscribed in the stone. The first one refers to the orphans of the men (Athenians) who died in the battlefield (ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ) fighting against a foreign enemy. The latter refers to the orphans of those who died in the time of the oligarchy helping or trying to defend the democracy.[306]

The fact is that Lysias' speech *does not* refer 'to the orphans of the men who died in the battlefield fighting against a foreign enemy'. In that passage Lysias is describing what used to happen during the pre-play ceremony of the war-orphans' parade at the Dionysia.[307] He is accounting for the ceremony (Διονυσίοις γὰρ / [ὅτα]ν […]). Moreover, there is no explicit mention of a fight against a foreign enemy, though this could be implicit. Lysias is describing something different from the common habit that was proposed by Theozotides: Lysias is talking about a separate announcement, about the illegitimate and adopted sons.

After the oligarchic government of the Thirty Tyrants, the democratic government was restored together with some Periclean civic regulations (such as that which guaranteed

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[306] Matthaiou 2011: 78 (n. 9).

[307] Blok (2015: 96) thinks that Lysias' speech 'belongs to the one and only decree of Theozotides on orphans, a view corroborated by the reference in this speech to the διωβελία, a fund which, […], probably did not survive 404. The impression of constrained financial conditions emanated from the fragmented speech suggests a date in 408 or 407, rather than in 410/9. If this is correct, the donation of an obol for war orphans must have existed for some time, because the purpose of Theozotides' decree was added to this provision'. She finds Matthaiou's argument unconvincing: '"on the battlefield" occurs in the passage describing the ritual presentation in the Dionysia of the orphans of fathers who had died in a war, a group into which Theozotides' decree will include the orphans of victims of the oligarchy but not the νόθοι and ποιητοί. Furthermore, it would be amazing if Theozotides launched proposals for orphans *twice*, both in 410 and 403. The argument against Stroud's date of Theozotides' decree, that a role of the Hellenotamiai in the decree makes a date after 404 implausible, is comparable to the appearance of the διωβελία in Lysias 64: this reference to the διωβελία were difficult to explain if we date a second decree by Theozotides and speech against it after 404' (2015: 96 [n. 50]).

Athenian citizenship only to those sons born from both Athenian parents).[308] Archinus, then, blocked Thrasyboulus' proposal to enfranchise the slaves, foreigners and metics who fought against the oligarchic government (Lysias too did not obtain Athenian citizenship). This is a probable context for Theozotides' political manoeuvre. Stroud believes that the decree was enacted in 403/2 B.C. and that the new support given to the war-orphans (with the discrimination between legitimate sons, illegitimate sons and adopted sons) was applied only in that year, and so it was valid neither for the war-orphans who had already received support in the previous years, nor for the future war-orphans. At the end of the war and after the restoration of democracy Athens had to face a new situation: during the Peloponnesian War all the war-orphans were supported, but what about the orphans of those who fell under the oligarchy? Stroud's conclusions are acceptable for some aspects, debatable for others:

> There was another group of orphans, however, who had not yet been provided for through the existing laws, viz. the sons of those Athenians who had suffered violent death during the oligarchy while coming to the aid of democracy. Certainly the Thirty did not provide public support for these boys and until the democratic government was restored to working order in 403/2 they may not have received anything more than informal aid from friends and relatives. Their status was unusual in that all their fathers had not strictly died in war with a foreign enemy. On the other hand, their fathers, like the heroes of Phyle, deserved special praise. In return for the εὐεργεσία καὶ ἀνδραγαθία of their fathers, it was decided to extend to the sons the privileges enjoyed by the orphans of those who fell in war. […] In proposing public support for the sons of those who fell in the field under the Thirty, Theozotides brought them into line with the new citizenship regulations.[309]

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[308] Cf. Harrison 1968: 61–8.

[309] Stroud 1971: 300–1 *passim*.

Hence, can we talk about 'exclusiveness and discrimination'? It depends on the perspective we adopt, and Stroud reads this political manoeuvre only in one way: however, even from his own assessment, another way of reading the decree of Theozotides can emerge. It is doubtless that the Thirty would have not supported the orphans of those who fell under and against their own government. But, after the end of the Peloponnesian War and the oligarchy, these orphans did not have a clear *status* anymore: they were not war-orphans but, at the same time, they could not be overlooked. The decree of Theozotides, read in this way, could be an inclusive proposal: without it, the orphans would have never received support by the state. The decree was coherent with regard to the new citizenship restrictions and the opposition of Archinus against Thrasyboulus' proposal. I see a strong consistency within this new political context of Athens, and Theozotides' decree took care of young men who, by not being proper war-orphans, would have not been considered eligible for support by the state. The formula καθά]περ τὸς ὀρφανὸς has to be read in the same way: since the orphans of those who fell under the oligarchy would not have received support by the state — not being war-orphans — Theozotides, in order to guarantee their financial support, refers to them *as if* they were war-orphans. In these terms, the decree seems more inclusive than exclusive.

However, we cannot neglect Lysias' testimony. If Lysias' speech is related to our decree, it is very likely that Theozotides proposed a decree with a distinction between legitimate sons and illegitimate/adopted sons. However, we have to bear in mind two details: firstly, the decree of Theozotides does not mention the distinction Lysias is talking about, and no scholar has tried to reconstruct the text of the decree in this way; secondly, Lysias' (or Lysias' client's) violent tone within the speech might be related to the fact that he himself, being an illegitimate son, did not obtain Athenian citizenship after the restoration of the

democratic government.[310] This leads me to reject Stroud's final statement: 'the Agora inscription now shows that Lysias wrote this speech in a losing cause. Theozotides' decree was passed and published on a large marble stele'.[311] We cannot be sure about Lysias' failure for two reasons, at least:

1) Theozotides' decree does not mention the distinction among the sons that Lysias makes in his speech. Thus: either Lysias' speech is not related to our decree, or Lysias won and the proposal of Theozotides was modified before becoming the official transcript we read today.
2) In Theozotides' decree there is no mention about the second charge Lysias levels, that is the reduction of the pay both for the *hippeis* and for the *hippotoxotai* (cf. fr. 130 Carey, although the text is highly problematic). Again: either Lysias' speech is not

[310] Cf. *IG* II² 10 (401/0 B.C.) = *RO* 4, which includes a decree honouring foreigners who had supported democracy against the Thirty. The commentary (by Lambert and Rhodes) attached to this inscription in *AIO* says: 'it is impossible to be certain whether these all received citizenship (as argued by D. Whitehead, *LCM* 9, 1984, 8-10), or the earliest supporters received citizenship and later adherents lesser privileges, most likely *isoteleia* (equality of taxation with Athenians, as argued by M. Osborne), or even if none at all received citizenship. At Xen. *Hell*. 2.4.25 after the battle of Mounichia the democrats promised *isoteleia* to foreigners who would join them, and funerary monuments for *isoteleis* named Dexandrides (col. 6, 99, *IG* II² 7864 with *SEG* 18.112) and Gerys (col. 3, 23, *IG* II² 7863) survive. On the other hand, *Ath*. *Pol*. 40.2 has Thrasyboulos propose, and Archinos attack as illegal (*graphē paranomōn*) an award of citizenship to all who joined in the return from Piraeus. [Plut.] *Lives of the Ten Orators* 835f-836a may or may not be referring to the same proposal in claiming that Archinos successfully attacked a proposal by Thrasyboulos to grant Lysias citizenship'.

[311] Stroud 1971: 301.

related to our decree, or Lysias obtained also a modification of Theozotides' proposal on the pay of the *hippeis*.[312]

In light of Theozotides' decree, then, how should we interpret the support given by the state to the orphans? Theozotides' decree shows that by the end of the fifth century B.C. there was a new situation, and the proposal was something different from the ancient practice of supporting the war-orphans. The decree was passed to face the situation in which the *new* orphans found themselves: since they were not like the war-orphans who used to (and perhaps would have continued to) receive support by the state, they needed to be legally considered eligible in order to be paid. Thus, we can suppose that the support given to the war-orphans was a practice so common and ancient that it did not need an official decree to be confirmed and approved (and this could be the reason why we do not have any epigraphic attestation of it). The proposal of Theozotides, being new and different as suggested, needed to specify its purview, and to whom the support would have been directed. The most revealing and specific details are to be found in the following expressions: ὁπόσοι Ἀθηναίω[ν] ἀ[πέθαν]ον [β]ιαίωι θανάτωι ἐν τῆι ὀλιγ[αρχίαι

[312] If ffr. 128 and 129 Carey of Lysias' speech are to be referred to Theozotides' decree, I do not find surprising fr. 130. After the restoration of democracy Theozotides proposed to give an obol to the sons of those who died against the oligarchy and to reduce the pay of the cavalry. Why should he have done that? During the oligarchy, the *hippeis* and *hipparcheis* ruled the city together with the Thirty and then the Ten (cf. X. *HG* 2, 4, 24). Xenophon describes the role and the deeds of the cavalry together with the oligarchs (cf. X. *HG* 2, 4, 7; 2, 4, 8; 2, 4, 9; 2, 4, 10; 2, 4, 31), and they were responsible of crimes and hated for this. After the restoration of democracy, the Athenians took vengeance against them and when in 400/399 B.C. Sparta asked Athens some soldiers for its Asian expedition against Artaxerxes, the Athenian assembly chose 300 cavalry: οἱ δ' ἔπεμψαν τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἱππευσάντων, νομίζοντες κέρδος τῷ δήμῳ, εἰ ἀποδημοῖεν καὶ ἐναπόλοιντο ('they [*sc*. the Athenians] sent them, choosing them among those who served as cavalry under the Thirty, thinking that it would have been best for the people if they left and died' [X. *HG* 3, 1, 4]). Cf. also Low 2002 and Canfora 2013: 95–111. However, the question on the reason why Lysias seems to have opposed this proposal remains unresolved.

[β]ο[ηθ]ὄντες τῆι δημοκρατίαι and καθά]περ τὸς ὀρφανὸς. The former is important to specify the identity of the subjects: they did not die in a real war but they died because of the violence of the Thirty's oligarchic government. The war-orphans' fathers died in a war against a foreign enemy (Sparta in the second half of the fifth century B.C., but we can suppose that war-orphans received support during the Persian Wars also), not because of the violence of a domestic type of government: in order to indicate the war-orphans' fathers, I think the formula 'those who died during the war protecting their own homeland', has no further political specification. This formula is proved by Lysias' second fragment: when he says 'when the herald will call the orphans by their patronymics and say that the fathers of these young men died in war, fighting for their homeland as valorous men, and the state fed them until adulthood, will he make there a separate announcement regarding the illegitimate and adopted sons […]', we can isolate the sentence οἱ πατέρες ἀπέθανον ἐν τῶι πολέμωι μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἄνδρες ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ τούτους ἡ πόλις ἔτρεφε μέχρι ἥβης and consider it as the official announcement made by the herald during the Dionysia, since in the passage we find the verb ἀναγορεύω twice: this is the verb used in many inscriptions to indicate the announcement of the herald. This statement on its own does not make any mention of democracy or democratic governments. The war-orphans' fathers died in war *for their homeland*, regardless of the type of government. During the Peloponnesian War, there were frequent political and ideological changes within Athenian governance, but every government continued fighting against Sparta. Why should an

Athenian oligarchic government (or non-democratic government), in war against Sparta, not give support to war-orphans? I see no compelling reason for that.[313]

Moreover, Stroud's statement that 'certainly the Thirty did not provide public support for these boys and until the democratic government was restored to working order in 403/2 they may not have received anything more than informal aid from friends and relatives', needs to be read carefully, as Stroud does not want to say that the oligarchic government was unaccustomed to provide support to the war-orphans. The situation, as we said, was different from a 'normal war'. Those fathers were seen, not as dead against a foreign enemy, but rather as rebels who died against their own government. Once democracy was restored, the democratic representatives considered those dead as war-dead, since they died fighting against an enemy. But, roles reversed, would an oligarchic government have conceded financial support to the sons of who died violently under the democracy? One suspects that it would.[314]

Hence, among all the sources which attest this pre-play ceremony, Theozotides' decree is most worthy of consideration, although it cannot stand for an *exemplum* of the usual Athenian support given to the war-orphans. It is important to establish its date, after all, whether it referred to the Four Hundred or to the Thirty Tyrants, the implication is the

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[313] The only reason could be that both in 411/0 B.C. and in 404/3 B.C. Athens was desperately short of money and oligarchs might have thought that they could save money by not supporting orphans. However, in that case, it would not be an ideological stance. On the other hand, it could be argued that the oligarchs could have thought that support for orphans like stipends for jurors and office-holders was a feature of the democracy which not only could not be afforded but also they disliked. Despite this, it should in any case be demonstrated that the oligarchs considered the support for orphans as a specific democratic feature.

[314] Conversely, one could think that this is not necessary, because the oligarchies of 411/0 B.C. and 404/3 B.C. came into being at times when Athens was short of money, and they aimed to save money by discontinuing many of the democracy's payments. Hence, the oligarchs would not necessarily have provided support for the sons of men who died supporting the oligarchy against the democracy. However, I doubt that oligarchs would have missed such an opportunity to show themselves ostentatiously opposed to democratic government, ideology and supporters.

same: it refers to democracy *vs* oligarchy. Its wording reveals that its content was novel, and Lysias' speech tells us that it was also something outrageous.

3.3 The war-orphans' oath: an intriguing hypothesis

Given that the war-orphans were shown on stage as future soldiers and protectors of the city, did they have to take an oath? I believe this to be possible. In order to investigate this question, we should start from the text of the fourth-century B.C. ephebic oath.[315] In 1977 Peter Siewert argued that the version of the ephebic oath we have (transmitted epigraphically by a marble stele from the Attic deme of Acharnai [*RO* 88 below] and literarily[316] by Pollux [8, 105–6][317] and Stobaeus [43, 48]),[318] has an archaic origin and 'seems to be a reliable copy of the archaic Athenian civic oath'.[319] Hence, he tried to find fifth-century B.C. literary allusions to the oath in order to demonstrate that it was an existing and contemporary text.[320] However, Siewert talks about 'the archaic Athenian

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315 I use the text and the translation given by Rhodes - Osborne 2003: 440–9.

316 Cf. Wilson Taylor 1918 for the textual comparison of the three sources.

317 I provide here the slightly different version of the oath given by Pollux, which reads: οὐ καταισχυνῶ τὰ ὅπλα, οὐδὲ καταλείψω τὸν παραστάτην, ᾧ ἂν στοιχῶ· ἀμυνῶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσίων καὶ μόνος καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν· καὶ τὴν πατρίδα οὐκ ἐλάττω παραδώσω· πλέυσω δὲ καὶ καταρόσω ὁπόσην ἂν παραδέξωμαι· καὶ συνήσω τῶν ἀεὶ κρινόντων, καὶ τοῖς θεσμοῖς τοῖς ἱδρυμένοις πείσομαι, καὶ οὕστινας ἄλλους ἱδρύσεται τὸ πλῆθος ἐμφρόνως· καὶ ἄν τις ἀναίρῃ τοὺς θεσμοὺς, ἢ μὴ πείθηται, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψω· ἀμυνῶ δὲ καὶ μόνος καὶ μετὰ πάντων· καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ πάτρια τιμήσω. ἵστορες θεοὶ, Ἄγλαυρος, Ἐνάλιος, Ἄρης, Ζεὺς, Θαλλὼ, Αὐξὼ, Ἡγεμόνη.

318 I provide here the slightly different version of the oath given by Stobaeus, which reads: Οὐ καταισχυνῶ ὅπλα τὰ ἱερὰ, οὐδ' ἐγκαταλείψω τὸν παραστάτην, ὅτῳ ἂν στοιχήσω, ἀμυνῶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὁσίων, καὶ μόνος καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν· τὴν πατρίδα δὲ οὐκ ἐλάσσω παραδώσω, πλείω δὲ καὶ ἀρείω, ὅσην ἂν παραδέξωμαι· καὶ εὐηκοήσω τῶν ἀεὶ κρινόντων ἐμφρόνως, καὶ τοῖς θεσμοῖς τοῖς ἱδρυμένοις πείσομαι, καὶ οὕς τινας ἂν ἄλλους τὸ πλῆθος ἱδρύσηται ὁμοφρόνως· καὶ ἄν τις ἀναιρῇ τοὺς θεσμοὺς, ἢ μὴ πείθηται, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψω, ἀμυνῶ δὲ καὶ μόνος, καὶ μετὰ πάντων· καὶ ἱερὰ τὰ πάτρια τιμήσω. Ἵστορες θεοὶ τούτων.

319 Siewert 1977: 104.

320 For an analysis of the allusions to the archaic Athenian civic oath in Lycurg. *Leoc*. 97–101 and Euripides' *Erechtheus*, cf. Giannotti 2018c [forthcoming], which includes a part of this section.

civic oath', that he presumably conceives of as different from the ephebic oath, since he does not name it the 'archaic ephebic oath'. In a society that considered oaths as an important element of citizens' lives,[321] it can be conjectured that a 'generic' civic oath existed.

This way, I will introduce and use Winkler's theory about Greek tragedy and its supposed relationship with the ephebes: Winkler suggests that Athenian dramatic festivals 'were the occasion for elaborate symbolic play on themes of proper and improper civic behavior, in which the principal component of proper male citizenship was military', and that 'a central reference point for these representations (sc. tragedies) […] were the young men of the city'.[322] By positing something that Winkler did not think about, I will demonstrate that we can change the object of his theory, the ephebes, in order to suppose that Greek tragedy was somewhat involved rather with war-orphans.

Here is the text of the fourth-century B.C. ephebic oath:

θεοί.
ἱερεὺς Ἄρεως καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς
Ἀρείας Δίων Δίωνος Ἀχαρ-
νεὺς ἀνέθηκεν. *vacat*

ὅρκος ἐφήβων πάτριος, ὃν ὀμνύναι δεῖ τ-
οὺς ἐφήβους· *vvv* οὐκ αἰσχυνῶ τὰ ἱερὰ ὅπ-
λα οὐδὲ λείψω τὸν παραστάτην ὅπου ἂν σ-
τειχήσω· ἀμυνῶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσ-
ίων, καὶ ὀκ ἐλάττω παραδώσω τὴν πατρίδ-

[321] Cf. Sommerstein - Fletcher 2007 (eds.), Sommerstein - Bayliss 2013 and Sommerstein - Torrance 2014. Lycurgus (*Leoc.* 79) said that τὸ συνέχον τὴν δημοκρατίαν ὅρκος ἐστί ('oath is what keeps democracy together').

[322] Winkler 1990: 20–1.

α, πλείω δὲ καὶ ἀρείω κατά τε ἐμαυτὸν κα-
ὶ μετὰ ἁπάντων, καὶ εὐηκοήσω τῶν ἀεὶ κρ-
αινόντων ἐμφρόνως καὶ τῶν θεσμῶν τῶν
ἱδρυμένων καὶ οὓς ἂν τὸ λοιπὸν ἱδρύσω-
νται ἐμφρόνως· ἐὰν δέ τις ἀναιρεῖ, οὐκ ἐ-
πιτρέψω κατά τε ἐμαυτὸν καὶ μετὰ πάντ-
ων, καὶ τιμήσω ἱερὰ τὰ πάτρια. ἵστορες [[ο]]
θεοὶ Ἄγλαυρος, Ἑστία, Ἐνυώ, Ἐνυάλιος, Ἄρ-
ης καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀρεία, Ζεύς, Θαλλώ, Αὐξώ, Ἡγε-
μόνη, Ἡρακλῆς, ὅροι τῆς πατρίδος, πυροί,
κριθαί, ἄμπελοι, ἐλᾶαι, συκαῖ. *vacat*

vacat

Gods. The priest of Ares and Athena Areia, Dio son of Dio of Acharnae has dedicated this.

The ancestral oath of the ephebes, which the ephebes must swear. I shall not bring shame upon the sacred weapons nor shall I desert the men beside me, wherever I stand in the line. I shall fight in defence of things sacred and profane and I shall not hand the fatherland on lessened, but greater and better both as far as I am able and with all. And I shall be obedient to whoever exercise power reasonably on any occasion and to the laws currently in force and any reasonably put into force in future. If anyone destroys these I shall not give them allegiance both as far as is in my own power and in union with all, and I shall honour the ancestral religion.

Witnesses: the Gods Aglaurus, Hestia, Enyo, Enyalios, Ares and Athena Areia, Zeus, Thallo, Auxo, Hegemone, Heracles, and the boundaries of my fatherland, wheat, barley, vines, olives, figs.

[the second part of the stele includes the so-called ‘oath of Plataea’]

Of course, Siewert started his investigation by clarifying that he treats the topic independently from the issue regarding the origins of the ephebeia. This is a problem, since

it is almost certain that the ephebeia as described in [Arist.] *Ath.* 42 was an institution of the Lycurgan age, that is 330s B.C. The first known mention of the ephebic oath is preserved by Aeschines, who in D. 19, 303, is said to have read in the assembly the decree of Miltiades and Themistocles and the ephebic oath in order to encourage the citizens to fight against Philip. The occasion when Aeschines read these can be dated in 348 B.C.; thus, it is possible that the text of the stele is related to that context and some kind of ephebeia existed in the 340s.[323] We could discuss what was the real period of the fourth century B.C. in which the ephebeia was born,[324] but, despite this, we still do not have attestations which confirm the existence of a fifth-century ephebic institution.[325] Siewert's investigation into Thucydidean, Sophoclean and Aeschylean passages aimed to find textual allusions to the oath, but no explicit mention to the ephebes within the texts is made.

Thus, we should ask: might the fourth-century B.C. ephebic oath be an extension/ evolution of a previous oath that, not being specific to the ephebes yet, was pronounced by Athens' future soldiers? Let us try to reconstruct the context of such an oath.

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[323] Aeschines refers to his own συνεφήβοι in 2, 176 and if he was born in 390 B.C. ca. he will have been an ἔφηβος in 372–370 ca. (cf. Harris 1988). The ephebic oath was mentioned both by Aeschines and Lycurgus (*Leoc*. 76–8). The former quotes it together with the decree of Miltiades, the latter together with the oath of Plataea. Rhodes - Osborne (2003: 445) are not convinced about the historicity of these decrees and argue that 'Aeschines and Lycurgus show clearly the tendency evident in Athens in the middle of the fourth-century to elaborate texts around known historical circumstances, and to elaborate historical circumstances around texts'. Rhodes and Osborne show, then, how the literary versions differ from the epigraphic one (cf. *ibid.*: 445–9). But cf. also Sommerstein - Bayliss 2013: 13–22 and Finkelberg 2008, who respectively notice that Plu. *Alc.* 15 (before the battle of Mantinea in 418 B.C.) and Pl. *Ap*. 28e (in relation to Socrates' ephebic education) mention the Athenian ephebic oath.

[324] Cf. Reinmuth 1952, 1955, 1971, Vidal-Naquet 2006: 125 (n. 1), and Chankowski 2010, 2014.

[325] We do at least have evidence that 'the youngest' men formed a separate category in the Athenian army: cf. Th. 2, 13, 7.

- *What was the text of the 'civic oath'?* Even though, in the fifth century B.C., there was no official ephebic institution, military training provided and supported by the state existed and each citizen had to attend to it.[326] Richer citizens were at the same time hoplites, and they were precious to the city. It is easy to imagine Athenian young men swearing a civic oath in which they promised to defend their homeland, government, houses and gods.[327] The text could be similar to the ephebic oath. After all, if we exclude ll. 5–6 of the ephebic oath, the rest of the text is non-specific: the things that must be sworn are generic and they could have been pronounced by anyone else, not only the ephebes. Siewert believed that Thucydides (1, 144, 4; 2, 37, 3), Sophocles (*Ant*. 663–71) and Aeschylus (*Pers*. 956–62) and others[328] alluded to the civic oath within their texts. Now, hypothesising that the ephebeia did not exist for real in the fifth century B.C. (and, consequently, that there was not an ephebic oath), it could be possible that those authors were alluding to another type of oath, with a similar wording. Indeed, the passages quoted above mention the duty of not diminishing the state's power, rendering obedience to the state's laws and authorities and protecting comrades in war.[329] Considering the tragic passages mentioned by Siewert, we find further 'principles': dying in the battlefield along with comrades;[330] protecting gods' altars; putting all the efforts for the salvation of the city; not subverting ancestors' laws. All of these duties are included in the ephebic oath, but they were not exclusively ephebic duties: they could be requested of any Athenian citizen/soldier-to-be.

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[326] Cf. Ridley 1979.

[327] Sommerstein - Bayliss 2013: 16 say that 'the oath demonstrates that Athenian military, civic, and religious life were seamlessly linked'.

[328] Cf. Siewert 1977: 108–9 (n. 36).

[329] Cf. Siewert 1977: 104–7.

[330] Cf. also Hdt. 7, 104.

- *Who swore the 'civic oath'?* If we cannot confirm the existence of ephebes in fifth-century B.C. Athens, who pronounced the oath? If we take for granted that the text of the civic oath was similar to the ephebic oath, it would have been suitable for a soldier (or a future soldier) to swear it. We have already seen above the differences between the parade of the ephebes and that of the war-orphans. Despite this, both the ephebes and the war-orphans were young men, who had to become soldiers of Athens. The war-orphans had to replace their fathers (and it is possible that some ephebes lost their fathers too and, consequently, had to replace them); they were publicly introduced to the audience (the ephebes too, though in a different way); and they were, as the ephebes, under the state's control. Let us consider for a moment the interesting (as well as complex) interpretation of Athenian tragedy by Winkler: he believes that Athenian tragedy was born from ephebic choruses and was dedicated to the ephebes.[331] He notes that 'the surviving scripts for tragic performances and the plot summaries of lost plays are rich in ephebic themes'.[332] The first textual example Winkler quotes is E. *Supp*. 1143ff. and 1150ff., when the Argive orphans mourn their fathers, waiting for the day on which they will replace them. I see no reason why this scene, staged in fictional space and time, is to be taken as if it were speaking 'to the city's central concern for ephebes'.[333] Firstly, the parade of the Argive war-orphans is preceded by an intimate and moving scene between Euadnes and her father Iphis: the former cries for the loss of his husband Capaneus, while the latter mourns the subsequent suicide of his daughter. The scene, thus, aims to make the audience think about the terrible aftermath of war. Next we have the Argive war-orphans who are leading a parade with Theseus and Adrastus (who act as σωφρονισταί/κοσμηταί of the parade). The war-orphans are desperate and

[331] Cf. Winkler 1985.

[332] Winkler 1985: 32.

[333] Winkler 1985: 33.

without a guide (1132–4), but they are already talking of vengeance, armour and war (1144–52). Then, before leaving Adrastus and the Argive women, Theseus orders them to tell the orphans to honour Athens (1172: τιμᾶν πόλιν τήνδ', […]) and bear in their mind the benefit they received from Athens. Zeus and the celestial gods have to bear witness to all of this (1174–5: Ζεὺς δὲ ξυνίστωρ οἵ τ' ἐν οὐρανῷ θεοὶ / οἵων ὑφ' ἡμῶν στείχετ' ἠξιωμένοι). It goes without saying that these verses remind us, on the one hand, of the war-orphans' parade,[334] on the other hand, some passages from the ephebic/civic oath. Furthermore, Athena orders Theseus to demand an oath from Adrastus and the orphans: they will not fight against Athens in any case, and they will be faithful allies of the city. There is nothing explicit concerning the ephebes: here we have a scene with fictional war-orphans and a fictional oath, which surely refers to the real war-orphans' parade and, perhaps, to the oath they swore on stage before dramatic performances. A second point: Winkler provides 'a tentative typology of these ephebic concerns under three headings',[335] the first of which is: 'a son, now grown to manhood, comes home to claim his patrimony and to be recognized as the legitimate successor of his father'. Is it not a pure war-orphans' concern, rather than solely applying to ephebes? The second heading is: 'a ruler who has just entered office shows himself unwise'. Thus, in Winkler's opinion, such tragedies aim to tell the ephebes: 'this is how, as a young man

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[334] The same can be said about Euripides' *Heraclidae*. There, we witness a reproduction of the figures and movement of the war-orphans' parade on stage: Iolaus presents himself as σωφρονιστής/κοσμητής of the group of Heracles' sons, and the continuous use of deictics (cf. *e.g.* 520, 532, 572, 574–6, 581) functions metatheatrically to address to the war-orphans among the audience. Moreover, when the herald says to Iolaus that he believes he has 'taken up a fine seat here' with the orphans (55), he could have meant the same 'seat' that was given to the Athenian war-orphans after their parade. Next, several episodes mirror the value of the parade: the boys are already described as future soldiers of Athens (171–3, 468–70), and during the parade the orphans were encouraged to replace their valorous fathers (in the play the latter are replaced by the figure of Heracles), so as to become brave defenders of the city.

[335] Winkler 1985: 33.

newly undertaking the responsibilities of controlling a household, you are *not* to behave'.[336] Firstly, neither the ephebes nor the war-orphans were undertaking (at least, not immediately)[337] control of a household (they were just becoming soldiers, with new duties and responsibilities). Secondly, why should these teachings not be directed to the war-orphans? The same argumentation can be made in regard of Winkler's third heading, which considers 'all those plays that show the problems of military authority, heroism in battle, and the misfortunes of war'.[338] All of these arguments concerned those young men who lost their heroic fathers in war. Now, since there were not, as far as we know, ephebic parades in the theatre during the Dionysia, and since the audience attended first the war-orphans' parade and then the tragedies, it would be not surprising if tragic poets were referring directly to the war-orphans (who, in turn, were given honorary seats among the audience), teaching them the heroism as well the misfortunes in war. Given this context, the war-orphans seem to be the more appropriate group of people to swear a civic oath in which they promised to protect the city and its institutions.[339]

- *On what occasion was the 'civic oath' taken?* We do not know on what occasion this supposed civic oath was taken. We do not have the text, nor did contemporary sources explicitly mention it. However, we know that oaths were taken before battles, on religious and political occasions and in legal processes. Thus, if we think about the war-

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[336] Winkler 1985: 36.

[337] Surely the war-orphans, when they became adult, did take control of their household, since as orphans they did not have fathers still living.

[338] Winkler 1985: 37.

[339] This hypothesis starts from the assumption that there were no ephebes in the fifth century B.C., so if an oath were sworn then it could not have been sworn by all the ephebes. But it remains plausible (although not proved by any crucial evidence) the hypothesis that in the fifth century B.C., as in the early fourth century B.C., there may have been a rudimentary ephebeia, which may already have involved the swearing of an oath.

orphans as 'performers' of the civic oath, what was better than a pronunciation of the oath by the future defenders of Athens on a stage in front of all Greeks, that is, during the Dionysia? In light of the state's influence on the Great Dionysia and its pre-play ceremonies, it would not be hard to imagine a parade of the war-orphans, full-armoured and swearing to protect their homeland as their fathers had done. If Athens wanted to warn its allies, its government would have taken advantage of the occasion provided by the Dionysia to show its soldiers-to-be to all the Greeks among the audience. The war-orphans' parade and their possible oath-taking would have been more a display of power rather than a display of 'the misfortunes caused by their (*sc.* the Athenians) greed', as Isocrates argues.[340] The orator's comment is not impartial, as he raises there a critique. As Goldhill's translation of καὶ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν καὶ as 'and not only was this done but at the same time they […]' implies, Isocrates was blaming the parade, not simply describing and showing appreciation for it. The orator disagrees with the previous Athenian imperialistic policy by highlighting τὰς συμφορὰς τὰς διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν ταύτην γιγνομένας. Aeschines' account is more reliable and demonstrates that the parade was a moment of patriotism. Thus, an oath which obliged the oath-takers to fight, defend and die for their homeland would perfectly fit the Dionysia's pre-play context. It remains puzzling that our texts do not mention an oath in this context.

- *Was the oath democratic?* If we look at the text of the ephebic oath (a text from the democratic fourth-century B.C. Athens), we find no mention of democracy or democratic values. The obligations the oath requires do not depend on the type of government: it is hard to think about different ways of protecting the homeland depending on which government is ruling. Moreover, Siewert noticed that the epigraphic version of the ephebic oath (different from the literary versions) includes pre-

[340] Cf. Isoc. 8, 83.

democratic constitutional elements: 'so the people's responsibilities for legislation and for the prosecution of offenders, absent in the epigraphical oath, favour the assumption that the literary versions underwent a democratic revision of the less democratic or non-democratic text, which is preserved in the inscription from Acharnae'.[341] Furthermore, in addition to the fact that the political nature of the oath-takers is not explicit, Siewert believes that the oath has a pro-aristocratic tendency, since τιμήσω ἱερὰ τὰ πάτρια 'seems to take precautions against the danger that the oath-takers will neglect their old cults in favour of new-established ones'.[342] Thus, since Peisistratus and Cleisthenes introduced new cults to oppose to the aristocratic monopoly of the local cults, the duty seems to serve aristocratic interests. Additionally, the fact that the oath-deities are not the Olympian Gods usually honoured by the Greek nobles could be explained 'either because they were not the principal deities of the oath-taking hoplites, who were mainly middle-class farmers […] or because binding the hoplites to a deity whose cult was administered by a single clan […] would have given this family a political or social predominance, intolerable to the other clans'.[343] In this way, it seems that the oath-takers were a group of people governed by a religious and political class which feared a subversive military coup. This leads Siewert to think that 'the date of origin should therefore be sought within the 100 or 120 years between the introduction of hoplite

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[341] Siewert 1977: 110.

[342] Siewert 1977: 110. It could be rightly argued that religion is commonly conservative and that a undertaking to uphold the traditional rites does not necessarily implies a fear of new rites. However, in this occasion, if we think about Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, we can see how the whole tragedy depends upon Erynes' fear (the goddess of vengeance and representatives of the conservative Areopagus) of the introduction of a new forms of rites and justice (which basically was the newly reformed Areopagus). For an analysis of the concept of 'political fear' in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, cf.: Di Benedetto 1978: 222–9, 238–51; Di Benedetto 1995; Giannotti 2018b.

[343] Siewert 1977: 111. Cf. Sommerstein - Bayliss 2013: 16–21 for an analysis of the deities mentioned within the Athenian ephebic oath.

warfare […] and the definite ascendancy of Peisistratus, who used mercenaries, not citizen soldiers, and is not likely to have bestowed sanctions against coups d'état upon the Athenians. We cannot rule out a date before the Solonian reforms'.[344] Hence, the oath seems not to be specifically democratic — neither in the sixth century B.C. nor in the fourth century B.C. Therefore, there is no reason to assume that the oath had democratic value in the fifth century B.C.

Unfortunately, the existence of the war-orphans' oath must remain hypothetical. The context we have constructed for it could be plausible, but we do not have explicit literary references either to the text of the oath or to its pronunciation by the war-orphans. It would not be surprising if a kind of ephebeia existed in fifth-century B.C. Athens, and in that case we should refer the oath to the ephebes. Moreover, the issue regarding the oath's pro-aristocratic tendencies would raise a question on the reason why such an 'aristocratic' oath would have been pronounced during the fifth-century B.C. Dionysia. The main question, then, is: why did Aeschylus, Sophocles, Thucydides and many more (such as Euripides) allude (if it is so) to the civic oath? We cannot answer this question with confidence.[345] It is true that a tragedy that alluded to the civic oath previously pronounced by the war-orphans on the same stage would be an unsurprising scenario, but it cannot be confirmed.

3.4 'Helping behaviour' as democratic feature?

The epigraphic evidence for the war-orphans' parade does not provide us with much by way of confidence. The parade was not a ceremony endorsed through a decree and/or an official inscription. All we have from the epigraphical sources are Theozotides' decree and

[344] Siewert 1977: 111.

[345] For a consideration of tragic allusions to the pre-play ceremonies, cf. Goldhill 1990 (1987), Bakewell 2007, Brillet-Dubois 2010–2011, Kelly 2015, Fantuzzi 2016.

the huge number of ephebic inscriptions (that is, honorific decrees for ephebes), the first of which is *IG* II² 1156 (332 B.C.).[346] However, the former says nothing about a parade in the theatre and the latter are not so helpful, given the distinction we have argued for above between war-orphans and ephebes. Thus, lacking parallels, we have to rely on passages attesting to the ceremony. Also, we can try to understand the social value of such a ceremony through an analysis of the so-called Athenian 'helping behaviour'. This attitude of Athens, displayed even more in the fictional world (such as tragedy) rather than in the real one, has often been considered by modern scholarship as typically Athenian and imperialistic.[347] But how can we relate an exclusively behavioural disposition to a specific political position?

Since the war-orphans received a kind of 'help' from the city, our analysis should take into consideration the 'helping disposition' Athens assumed towards needy people (and it will be necessary, then, to make a further distinction between needy Athenian citizens and needy strangers). Firstly, we start from the Thucydidean Pericles' words:

> Καὶ τὰ ἐς ἀρετὴν ἠναντιώμεθα τοῖς πολλοῖς· οὐ γὰρ πάσχοντες εὖ, ἀλλὰ δρῶντες κτώμεθα τοὺς φίλους. Βεβαιότερος δὲ ὁ δράσας τὴν χάριν ὥστε ὀφειλομένην δι' εὐνοίας ᾧ δέδωκε σῴζειν· ὁ δὲ ἀντοφείλων ἀμβλύτερος, εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐς χάριν, ἀλλ' ἐς ὀφείλημα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀποδώσων. Καὶ μόνοι οὐ τοῦ ξυμφέροντος μᾶλλον λογισμῷ ἢ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῷ πιστῷ ἀδεῶς τινὰ ὠφελοῦμεν.

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[346] Apart from *Reinmuth* 1, the earliest ephebic decrees including *IG* II² 1156 = *Reinmuth* 2 were enacted in late 333/2 B.C. to honour ἔφηβοι whose service began at the beginning of 334/3 B.C. *Reinmuth* 1 was dated by Reinmuth in 361/0 B.C., by most scholars in 333/2 B.C., but Chankoswki (2010) argues that it is earlier and reflects the ephebeia before the reform of the 330s B.C.

[347] Cf. *e.g.* Tzanetou 2012. Cf. also Carter 2004: 16. Cf. Low 2007: 185 where she points out that 'more convincing evidence that the norm of helping the wronged should be seen as a general rather than purely Athenian ideal can be found in the language of interstate agreements'.

> And, in regard to virtue we distinguish ourselves from the majority: we make friends not by receiving benefits from someone, but by conferring them. Moreover, he is more secure who confers the benefit, with the result that this (the benefit) is preserved thanks to the benevolence towards the one who received the benefit; but the debtor is weaker, since he knows that he will return the virtue not to receive another benefit, but to extinguish his debt. And we are the only ones who help someone fearlessly, not out of calculation of the benefit, but for the trust in freedom.
>
> (Th. 2, 40, 4–5)

This behaviour, which many scholars define as 'generosity/altruism/unselfishness', was described by the Athenian as a proper virtue (ἀρετή). We should be wary of trusting the words of Thucydides' Pericles, as we know what kind of policy Athens applied with her allies: Athens always did something in order to receive something else, and this was the tyrannical strength of its empire:[348] after all, as Polly Low rightly states, 'intervention, that is, has to be seen in the context of the reciprocal patterns Greek interstate behaviour: by doing someone a favour, it is legitimate to expect, or demand, something in return'.[349] Thus, Matthew Christ asks: 'if Athenians were perhaps not the benevolent helpers they claimed to be toward other Greeks, what were their attitudes toward helping their fellow citizens and how did this affect their behaviour?'.[350] Some scholars, such as Sternberg[351] and Herman,[352] tend to consider Athenian society and its behaviour towards the 'other' as altruistic, without any differentiation among people. Christ, conversely, aims to show that this Athenian altruism 'was largely limited to relatives and friends and did not extend very

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[348] Cf. *e.g.* Th. 5, 84–114.

[349] Low 2007: 201. Cf. *ibid.*: 199–211 for an analysis of literary and historical passages about Athens' (not always undesired) methods of intervention within one or more states.

[350] Christ 2010: 254. Cf. also Christ 2012: 10–47.

[351] Cf. Sternberg 2006.

[352] Cf. Herman 2006.

much to fellow citizens outside this intimate circle'.[353] Christ provides an overview of Athenian helping behaviour distinguishing different spheres: helping fellow soldiers; aiding the poor; nursing the sick; bystander intervention; helping in litigation. Each analysis of these case studies conducted by Christ demonstrates that Athenian citizens took care of their own interests rather than helping others without considering the advantages:

> To the extent that Athenians engaged in helping behavior toward others, this was primarily in the context of helping those who could reasonably be expected to pay back the favor, namely, kin and friends. Fellow citizens beyond this intimate group, who were mere acquaintances or strangers, were not necessarily in a position to reciprocate good deeds, and thus did not draw one-on-one benefaction in any very substantial way.[354]

While Christ's conclusion itself is totally justified, the consequences of his conclusion when considering the ancient political sphere are debatable. Indeed, the reason behind Athenian helping behaviour can be related, in Christ's opinion, to the democratic milieu of Athens: he thinks that Athenian citizens could not accept help from other people because this would have meant 'accepting patronage, which was at odds with democratic equality'.[355] Christ's words mirror Pericles' statement above, but neither are totally reliable. Christ, while talking about patronage, seems to mean an individual relationship, that is, one Athenian with another fellow citizen or stranger; in Pericles' statement we find a first person plural person which can be intended as 'Athens and its citizens as a whole'. Christ could be right if he limited his argumentation to a one-to-one relationship, as in that case it would be right to talk about 'patronage' and about an Athenian citizen who prefers not to receive help from the outside in order not to become a debtor to the benefactor. But,

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[353] Christ 2010: 254.

[354] Christ 2010: 284.

[355] Christ 2010: 285.

since he talks about democracy, he cannot neglect the consideration of the city and its government as a collective body: we should imagine, therefore, Athens as a city that was reluctant to accept patronage because of its democratic spirit. But this was not the case. Athens *did* accept help from the outside for its own interests. Honorific decrees are the clearest proofs we have about this.[356] Sometimes Athens made the benefactors its friends by honouring them usually with Athenian citizenship.[357] In light of this evidence, Christ's assumption would appear to be wrong: 'potential helpers might be deterred from rendering assistance not only by the risks or manifest costs of helping, but also out of fear of appearing meddlesome and over-involved in others' affairs, which Athenians considered socially noxious (Ar. *Pl*. 913-915; Lyc. 1-3; Theophr. *Char*. 13.5)'.[358] Despite the literary references Christ provides, we know that 'potential helpers', both Athenian and foreigners, were instead attracted to help the city on the assumption that they would have gained something in return. The web Athens created throughout the fourth century B.C. with public (or non-public) proclamations of honours aimed to attract attention towards itself, in order to build an increasing number of utilitarian relationships. The fact is that giving and/ or receiving assistance, in Athens, was not something related to democracy:[359] utility and profit are not politically distinguishable.[360] Thus, this restricted helping behaviour should not be considered specifically democratic, but, rather, a utilitarian policy applied by a city which was not self-sufficient and aimed at establishing useful alliances and relationships.

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[356] Cf. *Chapter Four*.

[357] Cf. Walbank 1978, Osborne 1981–1983, Henry 1983, Veligianni-Terzi 1997, Lambert 2012: 93–183. For an analysis of Athens' rewards to its own generals and officials, cf. Low 2011 (esp. 76–9).

[358] Christ 2010: 285.

[359] Nor to the just and unjust: 'justice is irrelevant to interstate relations; expediency, self-interest, *to sumpheron*, is what matters' (Low 2007: 164).

[360] Cf. *Chapter Four*, section *4.1*.

Let us now turn back to the Athenian 'intimate group'. The war-orphans were part of that group since they were understood in that bivalent mechanism of helping the city and being helped by the city. The fathers of these young men fought for the city, defended its values and died to protect it; the city, then, will take care financially of the orphans until adulthood and will provide them with armour too; the young, in return for this, will have to replace their fathers proudly and fight in their turn for their homeland and freedom. Now, is this specifically democratic?

Christ and Goldhill understand 'democracy' differently. The former thinks that the intimate and restricted Athenian helping behaviour is related to the civic democratic milieu and that it was a specific mark of democracy; the latter is convinced that, in the pre-play ceremonies of the Dionysia, democratic values were publicly displayed. These are different binomials, democracy-*private* and democracy-*public*, that cannot stand together. If Athenian helping behaviour was performed only towards intimate groups because this was the democratic way of helping (Christ), to what extent did Athenians aim to display democratic values through the pre-play ceremony of the war-orphans' parade, during which the boys were publicly given help by the government (Goldhill)? Moreover, we will see that the pre-play ceremony of the proclamations of honours would have encouraged the spectators to emulate the praised benefactors: this way, they would have joined that mechanism of *do ut des*, which pushed people to do benefits to Athens. There was a promoting of this mechanism thanks to which Athens could take care of its welfare. It seems that, on the one hand, proclamations of honours stood for a public message of inclusiveness towards the heterogenous audience. On the other hand, the war-orphans' parade was a public display of a type of help by the city, without any meaning of exclusiveness. Of course, only Athenian young orphans could be praised in that way, since

their fathers died for Athens,[361] and they were going to become soldiers and then die for Athens. But within the ceremony I do not find any hidden (nor explicit) message which could mean that only Athenian war-orphans could be helped by the city.

It does not seem that helping behaviour (both by Athens and towards Athens) was a restricted and, because of this, specifically democratic affair. It goes without saying that, in the passage of Thucydides, we find no mention of democracy or a democratic appropriation of this helping behaviour (which, rather, is simply defined as 'virtue'). Of course, we can agree with Christ in saying that helping was a social good,[362] but I do not think that it is possible to specify this as 'democratic helping'.[363] What is 'democratic helping'? Why would exclusively democratic governments help their citizens? Should we speak, also, of 'oligarchic helping' or 'tyrannical helping'? We can say that poorer people are more in need of help than richer people, and a democratic régime would be more likely to provide financial help for people who needed it than an oligarchic régime.[364] Depending on which type of government a city had, there was a specific social policy, favourable either to the poorer or to the richer citizens. However, a social good is a social benefit, that is, a benefit for the society (which is composed both by poorer people and richer people), and society exists regardlessly of the type of government.

Thus, Christ's conclusion, which is disputable, shows a different conceptualisation of democracy compared to that of Goldhill: 'democratic culture encouraged mutual helping between citizen and city more than between individual citizens who were meant to rely on

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[361] For a collection and analysis of funerary epigrams for war-dead between the seventh and fifth century B.C., cf. Tentori Montalto 2017.

[362] Cf. Christ 2010: 286.

[363] Cf. Christ 2010: 286.

[364] We can think about the Athenian grant to invalids unable to work: cf. Lys. 24 and [Arist.] *Ath.* 49, 4 (although we do not know when that grant was instituted).

themselves first of all and then their intimates in time of hardship, trouble, or distress'.[365] If the pre-play ceremonies were democratic ceremonies, as Goldhill argues, the proclamation of honours would show that democracy encouraged mutual helping between foreigners (cities and/or individuals) and Athens (and, then, between Athenians and Athens only in the late fourth century B.C.); secondly, individual citizens in trouble had not to rely only on themselves, as Christ states, since the war-orphans' parade demonstrates that the city took care of its own citizens in trouble.

3.5 Thasos' war-orphans: a parallel outside Athens

If we seek parallels for the state support of the war-orphans,[366] there is *SEG* 57:820 (the so-called 'Agathoi decree'), an inscription of the first half of the fourth century B.C. from Thasos (after the Thasian monetary reform of 390 B.C., probably 360–356 B.C.). It constitutes a decree that states support for the Thasian war-orphans. The inscription was first analysed by Pouilloux in 1954 (fragment A)[367] and then, after the discovery of 22 new lines (fragment B), by Fournier and Hamon in 2007. Here is the text of the decree:[368]

[- - - ca. 15 - - -] μηδὲν ὁ ἀγορηνόμος περιοράτω τῆι A
[ἡ]μέ̣ρ̣ηι ἧι ἂν ἐχφέρωνται τὴν ἐχφορὰν γενέσθαι·
πενθικὸν δὲ μηδὲν ποείτω μηδεὶς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀ̣ν̣δ̣ράσι
πλέον ἢ ἐν πέντε ἡμέραις· κηδεύειν δὲ μὴ ἐξέστω· εἰ δὲ μή,
ἐνθυμιστὸν αὐτῶι ἔστω καὶ οἱ γυναικονόμοι καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες 5

[365] Christ 2010: 286–7.

[366] We have also an attestation from D.S. 20, 84, 3 which states that Rhodes, in the late fourth century B.C., passed a decree by which a panoply should have been provided to Rhodian war-orphans in the theatre. Rhodes was a democracy and, in this case, was strongly influenced by Athenian practice. Cf. also Csapo - Wilson 2015: 356.

[367] Cf. also Sokolowski 1962: 122–3.

[368] I provide here the text of fragment A provided by Pouilloux and of fragment B by Fournier and Hamon.

καὶ οἱ πολέμαρχοι μὴ περιορώντων καὶ θωϊῶντες καρτεροὶ ἔστων
ἕκαστοι ταῖς θωαῖς ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων· ἀναγράφειν δὲ
αὐτῶν τὰ ὀνόματα πατρόθεν εἰς τοὺς Ἀγαθοὺς τοὺς
πολεμάρχους καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ καλεῖσθαι
αὐτῶν τοὺς πατέρας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ὅταν ἡ πόλις ἐντέμνηι
τοῖς Ἀγαθοῖς | διδόναι δ’ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἑκάστου τὸν
ἀποδέκτην ὅσον ὑπὲρ τιμώχων λαμβάνουσιν·
καλεῖσθαι δ’ αὐτῶν τοὺς πατέρας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ ἐς
προεδρίην ἐς τοὺς ἀγῶνας· χωρίον δὲ ἀποδεικνύειν
αὐτοῖς καὶ βάθρον τιθέναι τούτοις τὸν τιθέντα τοὺς ἀγῶνας·
ὁπόσοι δ’ ἂν αὐτῶν παῖδας καταλίπωσιν, ὅταν ἐς τὴν
ἡλικίην ἀφίκωνται, δ̣ιδότωσαν αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμαρχοι,
ἂμ μὲν ἄρσενες ἔνωσιν, ἑκάστωι κνημῖδας, θώρηκα,
ἐγχειρίδιον, κράνος, ἀσπίδα, δόρυ, μὴ ἐλάσσονος ἄξια
[τρ]ι̣ῶν μνῶν, Ἡ̣ρακλείοις ἐν τῶι ἀγῶνι καὶ ἀναγγε[λ]λ̣έ̣[σθων]
[πατρόθεν?]· ἂν δὲ θυγατέρες ὦσιν, εἰς πενθέριο[ν - - -]
[- - - ca. 6 - - - ὅταν? τεσ]σέρων καὶ δέκα ἐτῶν γένω̣ν̣[ται - - - -]
[- -]Τ̣.[. .] πολ̣ε̣[- - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[- -].[- -] B
[- - - - - ca. 12 - - - - -]α̣ ἔτη γενέσθαι .[.]. . . .[. .].[- - - - - ca. 15 - - - - -]
[τ]ε̣[τε]λευτηκότων τινὸς τροφῆς ἐνδεεῖ[ς] ὄντε[ς ἐπίωσιν]
[ἐ]πὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον περὶ τροφῆς κ̣αὶ δο[κιμάζωσιν]
οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ ἀπόλογοι ὀμόσαντες ἐνδ̣εεῖς εἶ̣ν̣[αι]
τοὺς ἐπιόντας τροφῆς, ἐπιδέκεσθαι αὐτοὺς τοὺς πρυτά̣[νεις]
κ̣αὶ ἐπάγειν, μὴ πλεῖον ἐπιψηφίζοντες ἑκάστωι τεσσέρω̣[ν]
ὀβολῶν· εἶναι δὲ τὸ ἀνάλωμα παρὰ τοῦ ἀποδέκτου·
δίδοσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς μετοίκοις ἄν τις ἐμ πολέμωι τελευ-
τ̣ήσηι στατῆρας δεκαεπτὰ ἡμιστάτηρον παρὰ τοῦ
ἀποδέκτου· κύριον δ’ εἶναι τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ ἐπὶ Βίωνος
ἄρχοντος γεγενημένον καὶ ὑπάρχειν ὧν οἱ πατέρες
τετελευτήκασιν ἐν τῶι πολέμωι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ⟦γεν⟧

γενόμενοι καὶ μὴ ἔχουσί τι τῶν ἐν τῶι ψηφίσματι γε̣[γραμ]-
μένων· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τὸγ γραμματέ̣[α τῆς]
βουλῆς εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στῆσαι πρὸ τ̣[- - - - - -]
τοῦ πρυτανείου· τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα εἰς τ[ὴν στήλην? καὶ] 40
εἰς τὰ ἄλλα δοῦναι τὸν ἀποδέκτ[ην - - - - ca. 11-12 - - -]
παρόντος τοῦ γραμματέως [τῆς βουλῆς· ὅστις δ’ ἄν τι]
μὴ ποήσηι τῶγ γεγραμμ̣[ένων τῶν ἐν τῶι ψηφίσματι]
ὑπόδικος μὲν ἔστω̣ [τῶν πολιτῶν τῶι ἐθέλοντι, χιλί]-
ους δὲ στατῆρ̣[ας ὀφειλέτω τὸ μὲν ἥμυσυ τῆι πόλει, τὸ δὲ 45
ἥμυσυ τῶ̣[ι δικασαμένωι vacat]

vacat

[...] that the *agoranomos* shall not overlook anything on the day in which the bodies will be carried out, before the same carrying out takes place; nobody shall mourn for the good men for more than five days; it is not permitted to bury (privately) the bodies; otherwise, this shall be a pollution for him and the gyneconomoi, the archons and the polemarchs shall not overlook it, but each of them shall have power to punish with the punishments prescribed in the law; moreover, the polemarchs and the secretary of the Council shall write their names, together with their patronymics, upon the list of the Good, and their fathers and sons are invited (to the banquet), when the city will sacrifice in honour of the Good; for each of them (*sc.* the dead), the *apodectes* shall pay for each of them the amount which one receives for office-holding; their fathers and sons shall be invited to *proedria* at the contests; the organiser of the contests shall show them a place and give them a seat; those who left children, when they will reach adulthood, the polemarchs shall give them, if they are male, greaves, armour, dagger, helmet, shield and a spear, not less than three mines in value; (these gifts) shall be given to them during the Herakleia, and shall be announced [with their patronymics]; if they are daughters, as for their dowry […] when they will be fourteen years old […].

(...) [before] being [16 or 18 (?)] years old, [all the sons (?)] of those who died [during the war (?)], since they are lacking means of subsistence, shall go before the Council and the

> Assembly for their subsistence, and the archons and the *apologoi*, after having taken an oath, shall verify that those who have gone (*sc*. before the Council and the Assembly) are lacking means of subsistence, and the *prytaneis* shall receive them and introduce them (*sc.* in the Assembly), putting to the vote for each of them a proposal for no more than 4 obols. The expenditure shall come from the *apodectes*. And to the metoikoi too who died during the war shall be given, from the *apodectes*, an amount of 17 *stateres* and a half. The decree passed under the archon Bion shall be valid and applied toward those whose fathers died during the war having been Good Men, but they shall not take advantage of any clause of this decree. The secretary of the Council shall inscribe this decree upon a stone stele and erect it in front of [… (?)] of the prytaneum. The expenditure towards the *stele* and the other matters shall come from the *apodectes* - - - - - - in the presence of the secretary of the Council. Whoever does not do any of the things written in this decree, he will be liable to prosecution by whoever wishes of the citizens, and will incur a fine of 1000 *stateres*, of which half will go to the city and half to the prosecutor.

Fragment A attests to the decree itself, while fragment B provides an in-depth description of the funding procedure. The Thasian decree is extremely important for at least three reasons: firstly, it shows that the practice of supporting the war-orphans was used outside Athens; secondly, the Thasian war-orphans received armour (this implies that there was a war-orphans' parade) and the honour of the *proedria* (as in Athens) at games (cf. ll. 13–14); thirdly, not only are the male war-orphans to receive support; the same will happen for female war-orphans too (cf. ll. 21–2). We should note also that *metoikoi*, in contrast to Athenian decrees, are not neglected by the Thasian decree (cf. ll. 32–4), although they are treated in a different manner from the proper citizens.[369]

Therefore, what information and, consequently, conclusions can we gain from consideration of this decree? It is very likely that the document 'offre en effet un parallèle quasiment unique au «*patrios nomos*» d'Athènes, c'est-à-dire aux règles conformément

[369] Cf. Fournier - Hamon 2007: 336–9.

auxquelles les Athéniens organisaient, depuis la fin des années 470 environ, les funérailles publiques des citoyens morts au champ d'honneur […]' and that 'le règlement thasien fait en outre écho à la législation athénienne relative aux orphelins de guerre […]'.[370] Indeed, the words of the Thucydidean Pericles seem to resonate in the first eight lines of the decree, especially in regard to the critique against private mourning. The following lines, then, if compared to Theozotides' decree, show strong similarities with the Athenian decree, although the inclusion of female war-orphans is something exclusively Thasian. Another peculiarity is the title of 'Agathoi' given to the war-dead: it seems that a proper cult was dedicated to them, and, although in Athenian decrees we find references to the war-dead's *andragathia*, we have no parallels to such a religious cult in Athens. The organisation of the sacrifice and banquet for the war-dead, and the consequent funding for the fathers and sons, are practices not easy to detect in Athens.[371] Fournier and Hamon describe these rituals as follows: 'Thasos honorait par ailleurs la mémoire des Braves en célébrant un sacrifice héroïque, à l'occasion du quel les familles des Braves étaient conviées à un banquet: les rites avaient lieu soit lors d'un jour sacré nouvellement institué, soit dans le cadre de la fête traditionnelle des *Hèroxeinia*'.[372] Moreover, 'le montant engagé pour chaque Brave ainsi honoré était fixé sur le modèle de ce que l'on payait ordinairement ὑπὲρ τιμώχων, c'est-à-dire pour chaque magistrat et autre détenteur d'une *timè*, lors de toutes les cérémonies officielles, afin qu'il participe au banquet'.[373] Lastly, 'lors du sacrifice en mémoire des héros, ceux qui seraient responsables […] se verraient désormais remettre une somme calculée en proportion du nombre d'*Agathoi* enregistrés sur la liste. Les bénéficiaires seraient les πατέρες et les παῖδες des Braves, admis à cette nouvelle

[370] Fournier - Hamon 2007: 317 *passim*.

[371] But cf. Pl. *Mx*. 249b and D. 18, 288.

[372] Fournier - Hamon 2007: 320.

[373] Fournier - Hamon 2007: 320.

cérémonie patriotique'.[374] It was indeed a new ceremony and a new way of funding the war-orphans (as well as the fathers of the war-dead). Fragment B is ambiguous, and the identification of the beneficiaries of the τροφή is not clear: Fournier and Hamon hypothesise that the beneficiaries could be the orphans who were minors[375] or the parents of the war-dead.[376] However, they believe that fragment B refers to '12-18 year old poor orphans'.[377]

Despite the Thasian particularities, I agree with Pouilloux in saying that 'les Thasiens se conformèrent rigoureusement aux habitudes helléniques dans leur législation à l'égard des ascendants et des mineurs, victimes de guerre'.[378] *Hellenic* habits, not specifically *Athenian* habits. As we have seen, the practice of supporting war-orphans was considered common among Greeks outside Athens, and Thasos and Rhodes are outstanding parallels of the war-orphans' parade. Not only: the Thasians too staged a religious contest in order to enact the war-orphans' parade. What festival did this occur at? The formula ἐς τοὺς ἀγῶνας in l. 14 is ambiguous. We know of the existence of the Great Dionysia in Thasos thanks to *IG* XII Suppl. 354: indeed, in ll. 18–22 we read of a proclamation of honours during the festival. It is likely that the war-orphans' parade took place during the Thasian Dionysia, although in l. 20 of our decree we note an announcement during the Heracleia, another important festival of Thasos. Pouilloux related the cult of the *Agathoi* with the games in honour of Heracles. He also states that Heracles was specifically honoured by the Thasian democrats of the fifth century B.C., while the Thasian oligarchs used to honour Apollon Pythion.[379] It is true

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374 Fournier - Hamon 2007: 321.

375 In this case, the Thasians would strongly distance themselves from Athenian practice, by applying 'une authentique mesure d'assistance, à caractère social, attentive à la variété des niveaux de revenus et aux situations individuelle' (Fournier - Hamon 2007: 334).

376 Cf. Fournier - Hamon 2007: 335.

377 Cf. Fournier - Hamon 2007: 336.

378 Pouilloux 1954: 377.

379 Cf. Pouilloux 1954: 229.

that the relationship between the cult of the *Agathoi* and the cult of Heracles has been rejected by Fournier and Hamon,[380] but this does not prevent us from thinking that the parade took place during the festival in honour of Heracles, without making any strong connection between the *Agathoi* and the god. The Heracleia had a military character that was emphasised by the attendance of the archons polemarch and *taxeis*. The war-orphans' parade would fit in this context, and this would demonstrate that festivals other than the Dionysia were used to enact the 'Dionysian' pre-play ceremonies. On the other hand, if the war-orphans' parade was celebrated during the Thasian Dionysia,[381] it would undermine, in any case, the supposed Athenian exclusiveness of the Great Dionysia.

In conclusion, there are some crucial questions about the socio-political value of the state support of the war-orphans in Thasos and their parade at the civic games. Can we say that Thasos copied entirely the Athenian practice of supporting the war-orphans? We cannot — or rather we *could*, but only with several qualifications. Thasos' decree shows similarities with Athenian practice, but, despite this, it includes some additions (the support for female orphans, the financing banquet and the cult of the *Agathoi*) which are typically Thasian. If the Thasians copied the Athenian practice, did they transfer the political value of the practice too? My opinion is that the Thasians looked to the Athenian model in order to formulate their own way of supporting the war-orphans, and they did this without including the particular political value of the Athenian practice (providing that any specific political value was inherent in Athenian pre-play ceremonies). Because Thasos was an allied city in the first as well as in the second Athenian league (although Athenian presence in Thasian civic affairs was often forced and intrusive), it would be easy to say that the democratic government of Thasos copied the democratic pre-play ceremonies of

[380] Cf. Fournier - Hamon 2007: 318–9.

[381] However, being ἐς τοὺς ἀγῶνας a plural, it is likely that the parade was celebrated both during the Dionysia and the Herakleia.

democratic Athens.[382] However, firstly, we have cast doubt on the proposal that Athenian pre-play ceremonies at the Dionysia had a specifically democratic value; secondly, it is disputable that the Thasian decree, dated to 360–50 B.C., attests to the beginning of the Thasian support for the war-orphans: the practice is very likely to have existed far earlier than the half of the fourth century B.C. (the decree itself talks about a pre-existing decree of Bion, thanks to which war-orphans, sons of non-citizens included, were supported).[383] In addition to this, we should bear in mind that Thasos was not always a democracy: Pouilloux' study on the history of Thasos shows clearly that the island had had oligarchic governments, for example in 411 B.C., and had often been guided by an 'aristocratie dirigeante commerçante'.[384] Again, oligarchic as well as democratic governments could adopt the practice of supporting the war-orphans, without any specific political meaning or

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[382] Throughout the fourth century B.C., when a democratic government continuously rules in Thasos, political preferences for a patron god were set apart in order to choose a reconciling god, Zeus *agoraios thasios* (together with Hestia). This would have settled the differences between democratic and oligarchic preferences, with the aim of reconstructing a peaceful civic order (cf. Pouilloux 1954: 229–33). Csapo and Wilson (2015: 355) summarise: 'Thasos was close to Athenian mining interests in Thrace and a tributary of the Delian League after its revolt in 466/5 when it ceded its possessions on the mainland. Some Athenians even owned land on Thasos, and Athens kept a firm grip upon its political organisation in the fifth century. It joined the Second Athenian League in 375. Athenian influence may therefore explain the very early appearance of a theater, 420–410, which boasted performances by international star in 350–325, including the star tragic actor Theodoros'.

[383] Fournier and Hamon advance several possibilities for identifying this class of war-orphans which the Thasian decree does not include. These war-orphans could enjoy of the τροφή thanks to the decree of Bion, which could be referred to *xenoi*, *nothoi*, *apeleutheroi* or slaves (cf. Fournier - Hamon 2007: 339–42). It is highly likely that ll. 34–8 of the decree refer to the *nothoi*, so that the Thasian decree would have similarities with the distinction Theozotides made between the legitimate and illegitimate sons (cf. *supra*).

[384] Cf. Pouilloux 1954: 43–6 and 135–237 for the complex reconstruction of Thasos' history. Moreover, Pouilloux states: 'archontes ou théores se recrutaient parmi la classe la plus influente de la société; les couches populaires n'y apparaissent sans doute que rarement, même dans les périodes les plus «démocratiques»' (*ibid.*: 298). Cf. also Fournier - Hamon 2007: 371–81, for a concise analysis of the historical and political context of Thasos in the fourth century B.C.

message. As Fournier and Hamon argue, the *Agathoi*'s decree is 'un texte de circonstance, à fort contenu politique et idéologique, exaltant le sens de la patrie et du sacrifice et cherchant à rasséréner une communauté ébranlée par les épreuves de la guerre, sinon encore exposée à des dangers imminents'.[385] The decree does not say anything explicit about democracy nor about democratic ideology, and this is the reason why scholars rightly state that the decree had civic, rather than democratic, contents. Furthermore, to which war the decree was referring? It is likely that we are dealing here with the war against Datos, a Thracian city of the hinterland. The continental Thasians and the island itself suffered many losses during this war, also because of the Macedonian intervention against them. Thasos completely lost its maritime power, but there is no evidence of an internal clash between a democratic government and an oligarchic government. Hence, the patriotic character of the decree is completely fitting with this context, and it aimed chiefly to comfort and encourage citizens' spirits. To be sure, the *Agathoi*'s decree 'laisse deviner en tout cas, chez les Thasiens, une connaissance approfondie des institutions politiques, mais aussi des cérémonies patriotiques en usage à Athènes',[386] but patriotism is not democratic ideology.

[385] Fournier - Hamon 2007: 371.

[386] Fournier - Hamon 2007: 380.

Chapter Four

Something to Do with the City: the Athenian Proclamations of Honours in the Theatre

4.1 Reassessing the socio-political value of the Athenian proclamations of honours[387]

In addition to the epigraphic evidence, the dispute between Aeschines and Demosthenes 'on the crown' is one of the most important sources, giving us plenty of information about the ceremony of proclaiming honours in the theatre. In fact, the topic over which the two famous orators fought was a crown proposed by Ctesiphon in 336 B.C., a political ally of Demosthenes, as a public reward for Demosthenes' services to Athens. The case was brought to court six years later, in 330 B.C., revived by Aeschines to attack Demosthenes who was then, in Aeschines' opinion, in a weaker political position. The works of Aeschines and Demosthenes — respectively, *Against Ctesiphon* and *On the Crown* — are particularly useful, as they deal both with the legal procedure of the crowning ceremony, and with its social value, as is evident from this statement of Demosthenes, made while replying to Aeschines' accusations:

> Ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ καὶ ἀναίσθητος, Αἰσχίνη, ὥστ' οὐ δύνασαι λογίσασθαι ὅτι τῷ μὲν στεφανουμένῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον ὁ στέφανος, ὅπου ἂν ἀναρρηθῇ, τοῦ δὲ τῶν στεφανούντων εἵνεκα συμφέροντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γίγνεται τὸ κήρυγμα; οἱ γὰρ ἀκούσαντες ἅπαντες εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ τὴν πόλιν προτρέπονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀποδιδόντας τὴν χάριν μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦσι τοῦ στεφανουμένου· διόπερ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἡ πόλις γέγραφεν.

[387] This section was presented at 'Classical Association Annual Conference, Leicester 6th–9th April 2018'.

> But, by the gods, Aeschines, are you so awkward and without perception that you cannot comprehend the fact that, to the honorand, the crown has the same glory, wherever it might be proclaimed? And that, on the other hand, the announcement in the theatre is made for the sake of those who confer the crown? In fact, all of those who have listened to the proclamation are motivated to benefit the city, and praise those who return gratitude more than those receive the crown; that is why the city wrote down this law.
>
> (D. 18, 120)

This passage of Demosthenes attests to the practice of proclaiming honours during the Dionysia in the theatre, and that the proclamation was addressed to those who benefited the city of Athens in some way. Here, Demosthenes is stressing the principle of the individual who should always assist the πόλις in order to make it richer and more powerful,[388] but equally, by doing this, he is simultaneously encouraging the whole audience in the theatre to emulate those beneficial actions. Assessments of this practice aroused substantial interest in a political interpretation of the pre-play ceremony of the festival, and in Goldhill's opinion, the proclamation of honours for people who benefited Athens 'stressed the moral and social imperative of doing good for the city as a key way of defining behaviour in the democratic *polis*'.[389] There can be no doubt about the fact that Demosthenes was speaking during a democratic period of Athens, and that the concept of an individual who, being less important than the community *tout court*, had to favour the πόλις has a democratic resonance. But important details, such as the context of

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[388] For this kind of concept, see Pericles' funeral oration in Th. 2, 35–46; in 2, 42 we read: ἃ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὕμνησα, αἱ τῶνδε καὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀρεταὶ ἐκόσμησαν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν πολλοῖς τῶν 'Ελλήνων ἰσόρροπος ὥσπερ τῶνδε ὁ λόγος τῶν ἔργων φανείη ('For the virtues of these men and men like them made more beautiful the praises I performed for the city; and there are not many Greeks for whom the discourse on their deeds would be shown to match their deeds as for these men').

[389] Goldhill 1990: 105.

Demosthenes' (as well as Aeschines') oration,[390] and the fact that the first attested proclamation in the theatre we have is from the late fifth century B.C. (*IG* I^3 102), should not be neglected.[391] Therefore, I will argue that the information the dispute provides indicates that the ceremony should be linked more to general *polis*-activity than to any specific democratic ideology, and, from an analysis of this evidence and relevant further sources, it will emerge that the theatre was not considered the usual place for the proclamation of crowns.

Regarding the dispute between Aeschines and Demosthenes, more attention should be paid to the words of the two orators, especially those of the accuser, Aeschines. He says (3, 32): 'Ο γὰρ νόμος διαρρήδην κελεύει, ἐὰν μέν τινα στεφανοῖ ἡ βουλή, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνακηρύττεσθαι, ἐὰν δὲ ὁ δῆμος, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ ('In fact the law explicitly orders that, if the council crowns someone, this [*sc*. the crowning] has to be proclaimed in the council-chamber, while, if the people crown someone, in the assembly, and nowhere else'); and also (3, 33): Οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι ᾤετο δεῖν ὁ νομοθέτης τὸν ῥήτορα σεμνύνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ μὴ ἐργολαβεῖν ἐν τοῖς κηρύγμασιν ('In fact I do not believe that the lawgiver thought it was necessary that a public speaker should magnify himself in front of foreigners, rather that he should be pleased with being honoured in his city by the people and should not make a profit out of the proclamation').

There are two points of interest. Firstly, we are facing an issue regarding the role of the theatre: Aeschines seemingly delegitimises the theatre as a place where the proclamations of honours could be celebrated. The issue revolves around the authority of the theatre as a

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[390] For an excellent historical analysis of the context of the years 336–330 B.C. and of Demosthenes' oration cf. Cawkwell 1969. Cf. also the introductions and the footnotes of Richardson 1979 (reprint of 1889), Carey 2000 and Yunis 2001.

[391] For a detailed analysis cf. Wilson 2009 and Wilson - Hartwig 2009.

legal place for proclamations and the clause ‘nowhere else’ seems very clear. The Loeb edition prints “ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ” in §32 and again in §34, §43 and §48 in inverted commas, as a quotation from the law, but this is the only edition which does so. It is quite difficult to know if the clause was truly part of the law, due to the fact that the only parallel occurrences of ‘and nowhere else’ I have found are *IG* I^3 10, *IG* I^3 94 (almost totally illegible) and Pl. *Lg*. 915e. Even so, *IG* I^3 10 — as well as Plato’s passage — sheds some light on the issue, considering that it includes a decree which gives legal recommendations and provisions:

[ἔδο]ξεν τῆι βολῆι καὶ τῶι δ[ή]-
[μωι· Ἀ]καμαντὶς [ἐ]πρυτάνευε,
[.]νᾴσιππος ἐγραμμάτευε, Νε-
[….]δης ἐπεστάτει, Λέω[ν ε]ἶ-
[πε· τοῖ]ς Φασηλίταις τὸ ψ[ήφ]ι-
[σμα ἀν]αγράψαι· ὅ τι ἂμ μὲ[ν] Ἀθ-
[ήνησι ξ]υ[μβ]όλαιον γένηται
[πρὸς Φ]ασηλιτ[ῶ]ν τινα, Ἀθή[ν]η-
[σι τὰς δ]ίκας γίγνεσθαι παρ-
[ὰ τῶι πο]λεμάρχωι, καθάπερ Χ-
[ίοις, καὶ] **ἄλλοθι μηδὲ ἀμῶ**· […]

Resolved by the council and the people. Akamantis was the prytany, -nasippos was secretary, Ne-des was chairman, Leon proposed: write up the decree for the Phaselites. Whatever dispute arises in Athens against one of the Phaselites, the trial shall be held at Athens in front of the polemarch, as for the Chians, **and nowhere else**.

The legal rule ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ can be read at line 11 and, even if this is a decree of the fifth century B.C. (approximately 469–450 B.C.)[392], whereas the Διονυσιακὸς νόμος to which Aeschines refers is a fourth-century B.C. law, this at least proves that this expression could be used in a legal discourse. While the Dionysiac law seemingly indicates a compulsory physical space where proclamations must be made, in the inscription we have a recommendation which shows which court had to be used for lawsuits with the Phaselites.[393] Thus, we have a strong legal expression which allows no exemptions.

The passage from the eleventh book of Plato's *Laws* is equally interesting:

> ὅσα δὲ διά τινος ὠνῆς ἢ καὶ πράσεως ἀλλάττηταί τις ἕτερος ἄλλῳ, διδόντα ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ τεταγμένῃ ἑκάστοις κατ' ἀγορὰν καὶ δεχόμενον ἐν τῷ παραχρῆμα τιμήν, οὕτως ἀλλάττεσθαι, **ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ**, μηδ' ἐπὶ ἀναβολῇ πρᾶσιν μηδὲ ὠνὴν ποιεῖσθαι μηδενός· ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλως ἢ ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις ὁτιοῦν ἀνθ' ὁτουοῦν διαμείβηται ἕτερος ἄλλῳ, πιστεύων πρὸς ὃν ἂν ἀλλάττηται, ποιείτω ταῦτα ὡς οὐκ οὐσῶν δικῶν κατὰ νόμον περὶ τῶν μὴ πραθέντων κατὰ τὰ νῦν λεγόμενα.
>
> Everything that one person exchanges with another by buying or selling, he shall produce at the prescribed place in the market-place for each and immediately receive the payment, **and nowhere else**, and nothing shall be bought or sold on credit. If anyone exchanges something for anything with another in a different way or in different places, trusting in the person with whom he makes the exchange, he must do these things knowing that there are no prosecutions in accordance with the law for sales not made in the way that has been stated now.
>
> (Pl. *Lg*. 915e)

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[392] But cf. Mattingly 1996: 514 (n. 39) and Jameson 2000–2003, who date the inscription in the 420s B.C. (cf. also Liverani 2013). Nevertheless Rhodes 2008 and Osborne - Rhodes 2017 (*OR* 120) date it in the 450s B.C. Cf. also Low 2005.

[393] For a discussion on the abbreviated or edited version of the *probouleuma* cf. Osborne 2010: 65–7.

Throughout the work, Plato is trying to design legislation that could cover all the affairs of a πόλις. Indeed, here the author is talking about rules of buying and selling animals, objects or something else, and he clearly states, as a lawgiver, that the trade must be carried out 'in the prescribed place in the market-place' and nowhere else, because outside that space everything is exempt from prosecution. It seems that any type of trading operation conducted outside the prescribed space would have lost validity, just like a crown not proclaimed in the council or in the assembly, but somewhere else.

These two occurrences do not provide absolute certainty as to the formula's usage in the Aeschines passage, but their context is highly significant, and the application of the formula ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ is profoundly similar to what we observe in Aeschines. Conversely, could the clause be Aeschines' gloss on the law? It could, but I do not regard this as an obstacle: the whole dispute rests upon the physical place of the proclamation of honours and Demosthenes himself does not reply to the ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ; rather, we will see that he will blame Aeschines for missing another exemption clause. At any rate, I consider both the similarity between *IG* I^3 10, Plato and Aeschines, and the fact that Demosthenes does not reply to Aeschines' ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ as significant clues, which suggests that Aeschines' words reflect a real and precise quotation of a proper legal expression:[394] if the formula was a part of the Dionysiac law, should we consider it as an exemption clause valid throughout the fifth century B.C. also? This is unlikely, because the theatre and its ceremonies changed considerably during the fourth century B.C. — but at the same time, this is clearly not impossible. From Demosthenes' words it seems that proclamations of honours in the theatre during the Dionysia were common, but we do not

[394] We do not know this for certain. What we can infer is that the parallels show that ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ could appear in a decree or law, or of course they could be used by Aeschines in providing a gloss on a law.

have strong epigraphic evidence which can confirm this. Additionally, the fifth century B.C. is also short of attestations. Presently, we only have a few examples of crowning in the theatre and they could have been exceptional cases.

Turning back to the analysis of Aeschines' passage, the use of ἐργολαβεῖν, 'to use for profit / to make profit out of',[395] is as interesting as it is ambiguous: was it just Aeschines' jealousy (in order to cast aspersions upon the practice of proclaiming in the theatre of which he disapproves) or was the proclamation of honours in the theatre not voted both by the assembly and by the council really considered (by the νομοθέτης, in Aeschines' opinion) a mere sham to gain profit? This is important, particularly for a consideration of Goldhill's position: in what way should we consider his theory about the democratic ideology of the proclamations of honours in the theatre, if Aeschines points out that these were against the law? If they really were an offence against Athenian law, it would be quite difficult to consider the practice of crowning in the theatre as an ideological instrument of democratic government. Unfortunately, we do not have the original text of this law which forbids crownings in the theatre without the permission of the people, but we know, according to Aeschines' interpretation (3, 35), that the Dionysiac law would have allowed the proclamation of honours in the theatre only if bestowed by foreign πόλεις. Demosthenes replies that the proclamation is equally gratifying ὅπου ἂν ἀναρρηθῇ and

[395] The occurrences of this verb and its derivatives through the sixth, fifth and fourth century B.C. are not as frequent as we might expect, and they do not always mean 'to use for profit' and 'gainful / for gain' (as an adjective): Aesop. 221, 1, 9 and 221, 3, 8; Isoc. 5, 25; X. *Mem*. 3, 1, 2; Pl. *R*. 373b (here the substantive with the meaning of 'contractor'); D. 25, 48; 58, 6; *Ep*. 3, 34; Aeschin. 1, 173; 2, 112; 3, 33 and 150; Callisth. *FGrHist* 124, F5, 4 and F5, 55 (here the substantive with the meaning of 'contractor'); Ephor. *FGrHist* 70, F134a (here the verb with the meaning of 'contract for the execution of work'); Thphr. *Char*. 8, 4 (here the substantive with the meaning of 'contractor'); Philoch. *FGrHist* 328, F121, 8 and F121, 27 (here the verb with the meaning of 'contract for the execution of work').

then (18, 121), citing this[396] law (without naming it 'Dionysiac law'), points out that Aeschines missed the exemption clause πλὴν ἐάν τινας ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσηται· τούτους δ' ἀναγορευέτω ('except for the cases in which the people or the council vote; these are to be proclaimed'). Thus the state would have allowed this because οἱ γὰρ ἀκούσαντες ἅπαντες εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ τὴν πόλιν προτρέπονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀποδιδόντας τὴν χάριν μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦσι τοῦ στεφανουμένου[397] (18, 120). Here the situation is very complicated and confused;[398] Aeschines claims that honours awarded by bodies subsidiary to the δῆμος used to be proclaimed at the Dionysia and that proclamation of them was explicitly forbidden (3, 41–4); he then argues that nothing had superseded the law requiring proclamation of the assembly's honours in the assembly and of the council's honours in the council, and that therefore the only honours which can be proclaimed in the theatre are those awarded by foreign states (3, 44–5); Demosthenes claims that there is a law which does allow proclamation (*sc.* at the Dionysia) 'if voted by the assembly or

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396 But it is quite possible that the two orators were citing more and different laws: cf. Canevaro 2013: 290–5. Moreover, the document (including the exemption clause) found in the text of Demosthenes 'cannot be reckoned as part of the text on which the stichometric marks were first applied, and must be a later insertion' (Canevaro 2013: 290). Therefore, the quoted law is not here considered as genuine (though this does not imply the non-existence of the law).

397 In regard to this passage, Yunis, in his commentary (2001: 180), cites as an example *IG* II² 223 (now *IG* II³ 306) A. ll. 13–4: ὅπως ἂν [οὖν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἅπαν]τες εἰδῶσι ὅ[τι] / ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ἐπίσταται χάριτας ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς ἀεὶ λέγουσιν καὶ πράττου[σιν τὰ βέλτισ]τα ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου, […] ('in order to make all the others aware of the fact that the people and the council know how to return the favour to those who always speak and do the best things for the council and the people'). In this inscription, we have a crown voted by the council, but no proclamation: the decree of the council is to be read to the assembly not as an honorific proclamation, but in connection with the *probouleuma* which invites the assembly to add its honours to those voted by the council. There is no mention of proclamation in the theatre, or anywhere else.

398 For a detailed analysis of the legal arguments and procedures of the dispute cf.: Gwatkin 1957, who asserts the rightness of Aeschines' argumentation; Harris 1994 (with revisions in Harris 2000: 59–67 and Harris 2013b: 225–33) and 2017a, who considers Aeschines' charges as baseless. Canevaro considers Aeschines' argument 'more articulated and quite confused' (2013: 290).

council' (18, 120–1);[399] Aeschines claims that there cannot be conflicting laws because there is a procedure for eliminating conflicts (3, 37–40). However, Rhodes suspects 'that Aeschines and Demosthenes were both citing valid laws, and that the procedure which was intended to eliminate conflicts between the laws had failed to do so'.[400] Despite the ambiguity and the frequent contradiction of Athenian laws, this is a fundamental point for an evaluation of the ceremony of crowning in the theatre during the Dionysia: we are facing the possibility that during the festival individual 'virtues', not primarily directed to the collective benefit, were publicly proclaimed and rewarded.[401] Consequently, the proclamations could be celebrated just for convenience, even political, as in the case of Demosthenes both for 334 B.C. and 330 B.C.[402] With regard to this, Richardson argues that in 337/6 B.C.:

> the crown was probably proposed as a political demonstration. It might be construed as a blow, almost a conditional declaration of war, against Philip. Its effect, if not its intent, would be to make him hesitate about his Persian campaign. It was, then, as a partisan of

[399] As Canevaro (2013: 294) notices, 'we cannot reconstruct its full contents, but we know that it forbade proclamations that slaves had been freed in the theatre of Dionysus during the festival. It also forbade any announcement of crowns awarded by the demes, by the tribes, or "by any other source" in the theatre of Dionysus during the Dionysia, or else the herald was to be disenfranchised […]. The following clause provided an exception to this rule: "except if the People or the Council so decree: these are to be proclaimed" […]'.

[400] Rhodes 2003: 112 (n. 61). To be sure, Aeschines misinterpreted (perhaps deliberately) the law quoted by Demosthenes in §120, and this has been demonstrated by Harris 2000: 65–7 and Canevaro 2013: 293–4.

[401] Certainly, we are talking about a dispute between two parties: in such cases those who approved of the honours would claim that the virtues had been displayed for the collective benefit while those who disapproved would claim that they had been displayed for unworthy purposes.

[402] The proposals for honouring Demosthenes which were challenged were made in 338 B.C. and 336 B.C.; the challenges came to court in 334 B.C. and 330 B.C.

> Philip that Aeschines interposed. The illegality of the proposal probably interested him very little, […].[403]

Conversely, in 330 B.C.:

> the situation was big with hopes for the party of Greek independence. Alexander was almost beyond the limits of the habitable world: […]. The revolution of Agis then looked formidable: Spartans in the field were expected to do something[404]. Athens, to be sure, took no part in this affair, but was filled with the liveliest sympathy. Demosthenes was in close correspondence with the rebel leaders, but Chaeronea had made him cautious, in this case too cautious, if the revolution was to swell like a rising tide. His sympathies, however, were well enough known. Antipater, indeed, shortly afterwards demanded his presence for trial at the approaching Pythia, as a disturber of the peace. The reopening of the case by the friend of Demosthenes[405] at this time was a perfectly motived political demonstration: it would show the Spartans the drift of public opinion at Athens, and give them at least something to hope for. […] The Athenians had, indeed, already refused to allow Demosthenes to obey Antipater's summons to Delphi; but would they now dare to add to that answer the crowning?[406]

Certainly, they did. Thus, it is clear that it was surely an individual political move which could not be linked to the more general framework of democratic ideology. Rather, it seems that the real political (and, perhaps, democratic) place where honours had to be proclaimed was the assembly and/or the council while the theatre was an official place for

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[403] Richardson 1979 (reprint of 1889): 22–3.

[404] But it seems that here Richardson makes a mistake: the chronology of Agis' war is uncertain (cf. Badian 1994), but even if the war occurred on a late date, it had seemingly ended when the prosecution of Ctesiphon was revived, and in Aeschin. 3, 133 Spartan hostages were waiting to be sent to Alexander. The failure of Agis was considered by Aeschines a good opportunity in order to attack Demosthenes.

[405] It was Aeschines as prosecutor who reopened the case.

[406] Richardson 1979 (reprint of 1889): 24–5.

crownings only if voted by the people (and this occurred often, as the epigraphic evidence for Athens as well as outside Athens shows). At any rate, we should not totally neglect Aeschines' words, nor the possibility that there were proclamations of honours in the theatre just in order to gain profit.[407]

Thus, let us now focus on the meaning of 'to use for profit / to make profit out of' (ἐργολαβεῖν) and try to understand what Aeschines was referring to. It is likely that there was a distinction between a public proclamation in the theatre and a proclamation in the council or in the assembly. A man who was awarded a crown in the theatre was 'gaining profit' probably because his deeds (and also his wealth) were exhibited in front of the audience, which was composed also of people from other cities. In such a way, a proclamation in the theatre was good publicity both for the honorand and for the city: on the one hand the benefactor gained visibility in front of all spectators (Athenian and otherwise), while on the other hand, the pre-eminence of Athens was publicly reaffirmed. Conversely, the proclamation of honours in the council or in the assembly was rigorously

[407] Cf. Aeschin. 3, 43. It is very interesting and worthwhile to compare Isoc. 18, 61: τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον, προειπόντος Λυσάνδρου, εἴ τις εἰσάγει σῖτον ὡς ὑμᾶς, θάνατον τὴν ζημίαν, οὕτω φιλοτίμως εἴχομεν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲ τὸν σφέτερον αὐτῶν εἰσάγειν τολμώντων ἡμεῖς τὸν ὡς ἐκείνους εἰσπλέοντα λαμβάνοντες εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατήγομεν. Ἀνθ' ὧν ὑμεῖς ἐψηφίσασθ' ἡμᾶς στεφανῶσαι καὶ πρόσθε τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἀνειπεῖν ὡς μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους ὄντας. ('For in the end, when Lysandros said that the death penalty would have occurred for those who would have imported grain, we were so animated of patriotic fervour that, while the others did not even dare to import their grain, we unloaded it at the Piraeus, seizing the grain that was directed towards them. As a reward for this, you passed a decree which conferred us crowns and proclaimed us authors of great benefits in front of the statue of the tribal heroes'). Here Isocrates is mentioning a public proclamation of honours (with crowns) in the agora, in front of the monument of the tribal heroes. This proclamation took place soon after the battle of Aegospotami, that is, at very end of the fifth century B.C. It is surprising that we find the market place as another venue for proclaiming honours. As Isocrates says, the action which deserved the proclamation was motivated by 'patriotic fervour', that is, it could be related to democratic government. However: 1) this was a matter of getting food to Athens when it was being blockaded by Lysander and it had nothing to do with the form of government; 2) the chosen venue for the proclamation, at any rate, was not the theatre, but the agora.

reserved for the Athenians, especially the 'body politic' of the city: the honorand was obviously rewarded for his good actions, but he would not have gained the same 'global' celebrity as he might have done ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων[408] ('in front of the Greeks') in the theatre. Accordingly, this could be the reason why a proclamation of honours in the council or in the assembly was considered more legal (and political) than a proclamation in the theatre.[409] In the pre-play ceremonies, a powerful image of the city was displayed, but not necessarily the politics of the city because this was a strictly Athenian matter.

It is worth underlining, as Hanink[410] does, the glorious image of the theatre Aeschines was apparently invoking with regard to the previous pre-play ceremony of the war-orphans' parade (and consequently, perhaps also of the display of the tributes). Those ceremonies were used to show a shining imperialistic Athens in front of all Greeks, and to contribute towards making the city more powerful, whereas the 'illegal' crowning of Demosthenes 'was tantamount to erecting a monument (τρόπαιον) to the city's defeat'.[411] While Demosthenes had a more utilitarian perspective on the crowning,[412] which should

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[408] Aeschin. 3, 34.

[409] Despite this, we do not have attestations at all for proclamations in the council and in the assembly (we can only trust Aeschines' words in 3, 32 and 34). Certainly a public proclamation in the theatre confers more prestige than in the council or assembly; but, if the basis for proclamation in the theatre is that the assembly votes it, then the decision may have depended on the persuasiveness of particular proposers on particular occasions rather than on satisfying some pre-formulated standard criteria. That is to say that a political dimension was not involved when the assembly voted for a proclamation in the theatre, rather the occasion and the proposer's persuasiveness were to be evaluated.

[410] Cf. Hanink 2014: 115–25.

[411] Hanink 2014: 117.

[412] For an analysis of Aeschines' and Demosthenes' discussion on what/how virtues should be praised, cf. Cook 2009.

have encouraged the audience to emulate the deeds of the recipient,[413] Aeschines was apparently nostalgic about the previous legal and virtuous pre-play ceremonies of the fifth century B.C. Though Aeschines' main objection to the proposal was that Demosthenes did not deserve to be honoured, because his policies had not been good policies, maybe he would have preferred a conferral of crown such as in *RO* 94 = *IG* II^3 352, which records that Eudemos of Plataea was given an olive crown in 330/29 B.C. for having voluntarily offered money to Athens [εἰ]ς / [τὸν π]όλεμον εἴ τ[ι] δέ[οι]το (10–11: 'towards the war if there were any need') and for other reasons. It is possible, as Rhodes and Osborne argue,[414] that that money was related to Agis' rising against Macedon in 331/0 B.C.: Aeschines, though he would not have agreed with this crowning (due to the fact that he was a Macedonian partisan), would have at least appreciated the legality of the procedure, since the crown was voted by the assembly: consequently, it seems that the location for the voting of honours was more important (and more legal) than the location where they are proclaimed. The honours to Eudemos[415] can and should be considered as another blow

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[413] Even though Osborne (2010: 64–82) argues that in their formulation the public honours and decrees were 'politically neutralizing' and that, for example, 'men were praised not because their giving corn will encourage others to give corn, but because their display of *philotimia*, and the opportunity which it gives for the city to show that it rewards *philotimia*, will lead others to display *philotimia*' (80).

[414] Rhodes - Osborne 2003: 476.

[415] The decree was enacted by the assembly, in a non-probouleumatic decree, and it does not say anything about the place of the proclamation. A crowning in the theatre is usually and explicitly mentioned in inscriptions, and the fact that there is no reference to a proclamation in the theatre could mean that that was not the prescribed place. The question here is: was there a proclamation in the assembly, which the decree does not mention, or can we infer from the lack of mention that there was no proclamation made anywhere? We know about a proclamation only when some text mentions it: either the decree awarding the honour or, as in the case of Demosthenes and Aeschines, when literary texts mention it for some reason. What we do not know is whether there was a proclamation in cases where the decree does not mention a proclamation and if so where that proclamation was made. I tend to believe that there was a proclamation only when there is evidence for one, but this cannot be proved.

against Macedon because they were voted by the government, even if it was not celebrated 'in front of the Greeks'.

That political crownings were provocative should not be so surprising, if we think of *IG* I^3 102, the first known decree of proclamation of honours during the Dionysia.[416] The honours bestowed during the festival on Thrasyboulus of Calydon for having killed the oligarch Phrynichus had a democratic value, as Wilson[417] rightly argues, but I am quite doubtful about what can be said in relation to the whole framework of the festival. Following Osborne,[418] Wilson states:

> It is clear that this new form of festival proclamation of honours for the assassin of the oligarch was an innovation tailored to the importance of the events, giving the whole practice a profoundly 'democratic' origin. […] This should be seen to confirm in spectacular fashion Goldhill's thesis of the democratic ideological frame of tragedy, for here at the very inception of the practice, we see the democratic city rewarding with significant material gifts and powerfully symbolic honour those who came to its defence, latter-day tyrant-slayers akin to those founding heroes of the fifth-century democracy, Harmodius and Aristogeiton.[419]

Wilson speaks of this inscription as a 'new form of proclamation', while we do not have any epigraphic evidence for earlier honorific decrees involving a proclamation. It is possible that *IG* I^3 102 represents a new way of proclaiming honours, but it would be interesting to know what is the 'long-familiar association between the tragic context of the

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[416] It remains ambiguous the reason why in Ar. *Av*. 1072–3 (414 B.C.) we are told that 'today we listen to announcements of this very kind: 'He who, among all of you, will kill Diagoras of Melos, will receive one talent; he who will kill the tyrants already dead will receive one talent'. Cf. Mastromarco - Totaro 2006: 234 (n. 231). These lines will be object of further studies. I thank Piero Totaro for having recommended to me the consideration of this Aristophanic passage.

[417] Wilson 2009. Cf. *infra* section *4.2*.

[418] Osborne 2010.

[419] Wilson 2009: 18–9 *passim*.

Dionysia and the defining co-ordinates of democracy'[420] which this inscription was linked to. Would it not be too risky to say that the whole context of the festival had a democratic appeal on the basis of only one inscription, at most originating from the very late fifth century B.C. (years that were strongly dangerous for the survival of democracy and during which the government had all the right reasons to reinforce, even in an ostentatious way, its presence more than ever)? Wilson himself confesses[421] that we have to wait more than sixty years for the next examples of honours proclaimed at the Dionysia. Thus, we have: no evidence for the fifth century B.C.; very few honorific decrees between the very late fifth century B.C. and the first years of the fourth century B.C.; a gap of more than sixty years until the 340s/330s. Given this situation, it is difficult to make any firm conclusions. Then, the sentence 'the theatre came to this role (*sc.* that of a place for the 'democratic' proclamation of honours and popular assemblies) in 409 B.C. with its own history'[422] is too risky again: we have no evidence for previous 'roles' but, at the same time, we have several inscriptions from Attic demes and mostly from other Greek cities which attest the role of theatres as places where proclamations of honours could be made. All of these inscriptions are dated from the fourth century B.C. to the first century AD, so we again lack clear evidence for the Classical age, but, if we take for granted what Wilson says, why could not an earlier tradition of this role of the theatres around Greece have existed as well? I am doubtful both of the notion raised by Wilson about the (supposed) old and new proclamations of honours, and with the crediting to Athens of this (supposed) innovation. I admit that the proclamation for Thrasyboulus had a strong political, and especially democratic, importance, but I question whether all of the previous proclamations could have really had a similar value, and if the presence of the democracy was as strong in these

[420] Wilson 2009: 29.

[421] Wilson 2009: 21.

[422] Wilson 2009: 27.

pre-play ceremonies.[423] In the absence of a temporal continuity of the epigraphic, historical and literary evidence, one can only conduct a chronological comparison between the decrees of the fifth century B.C. and those of the fourth century B.C., and a geographical comparison (that is, looking at the *polis* of provenance) between the Athenian inscriptions and those from other cities.

If we want to continue to investigate the words of Aeschines about the ceremony of the proclamation of honours, we must rely upon the bare epigraphic evidence we have.[424] Thus, through detailed analysis of the inscriptions which deal with crownings and/or proclamations of honours during the period previous to Aeschines, it is possible to list several Athenian honorific decrees between the mid fifth century B.C. and 330/29 B.C., the year of Demosthenes' crowning: we have 176 quite clear and legible inscriptions[425] which award honours before those challenged by Aeschines, and only two of them explicitly attest a public proclamation:[426] one at the Dionysia (*IG* II^2 20[427] [394/3 B.C.] = *RO* 11) and one at the Panathenaia (*IG* II^3 298 [347/6 B.C.]). In the study of these decrees, it is quite

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[423] Wilson cites other honorific inscriptions, following that for Thrasyboulus, as democratic examples, but cf. Rhodes 2011. Rhodes casts several doubts on the democratic appeal of the proclamation of honours of *IG* I^3 125, *IG* II^2 2 and *IG* II^2 20 and, though accepting the democratic character of the Dionysia of 410/9 B.C., he sees 'no evidence that the Dionysia was specifically and consciously democratic in other years' (*ibid*.: 74).

[424] For a detailed list and analysis of Athenian decrees awarding crowns from the fifth century B.C. to the first century B.C. cf. Henry 1983: 22–62.

[425] Cf. *infra* section *4.4*. It is clear that these inscriptions are not the sum total of decrees for the awarding and the proclamation of honours in Athens: there were undoubtedly other inscriptions and decrees which awarded honours and attested the ceremony (other and more are being discovered), but, for now, we can only consider the evidence which remains.

[426] We could add, for the fourth century B.C., *IG* II^3 378 (323/2 B.C. [Dionysia]), *IG* II^2 385 (319/8 B.C. [Dionysia]), *IG* II^2 555 (307/6-304/3 B.C. [Panathenaia]), *IG* II^2 492 (303/2 B.C. [Panathenaia]), but here I consider all the decrees before the dispute between Aeschines and Demosthenes.

[427] The inscription is very fragmentary, but we can be quite sure about the theatre as the place of the proclamation, thanks to l. 15 of fragment *b* and l. 30 of fragment *c*. This inscription is cited as *RO* 11, since that collection includes an additional fragment. Cf. Rhodes - Osborne 2003: 50–5.

surprising that all of them refer to an award of honours without saying anything about a proclamation: it is almost certain that if the inscribed texts do not mention a proclamation, then there was no proclamation. In fact, the proclamation, to gain greater publicity, was an addition to the award of the honours and the inscription of the decree. Thus, from the mid fifth century B.C. to 330 B.C. (the date of the dispute on the crown between Aeschines and Demosthenes) there are only three other inscribed decrees stipulating public proclamations of honours during the Dionysia: *IG* I^{3} 125 (honours to Epicerdes of Cyrene; 405/4 B.C.), *IG* II^{2} 2/*SEG* 32:38 (honours to Arist-? of Boeotia; 403/2 B.C.) and *RO* 11 (honours to king Euagoras of Salamis; 393/2 B.C.).[428] These proclamations, probably due to those years of crisis, were celebrated during the Dionysia in order to make ostentatiously public Athens' gratitude to men who helped the city in difficulty. Hence, Thrasyboulus of Calydon in 410/9 B.C. by killing the oligarch Phrynichus, Epicerdes of Cyrene in 405/4 B.C. by helping Athens' prisoners in Sicily, and Euagoras of Salamis in 394/3 B.C. by defeating, together with Conon, the Spartan fleet, probably deserved more publicity and, consequently, their crownings were celebrated in front of all the Greeks in the theatre. As I said above, we cannot rely — as Wilson does — upon this meagre evidence as proof of a new democratic institution: even though the previous tradition of honorific proposals and ceremonies does not show any proclamations in the theatre, this cannot be considered as overwhelming proof; secondly, there is no regular continuity after this small group of inscriptions and, even if it is right to think that further documents have been lost, we must investigate on a basis of the evidence we possess, rather than speculate about that which we do not.

In much the same way, *IG* I^{3} 117, which attests honours for the king of Macedon, Archelaus, mentions the δῆμος in a non-standard formula: in closing, it says that 'he did

[428] Rhodes argues that *IG* I^{3} 125 and *RO* 11 are not specifically democratic.

good services to the city and the people of the Athenians', [εὐεργέτεκ]εν τέν τε πόλιν / [καὶ τὸν δε̃μον τὸν Ἀθενα]ίον. This decree refers to the building of a part of the Athenian navy before the battle of Arginusae:[429] 110 triremes were built in one month; some were built in Macedonia, thanks to King Archelaus I's help. Thus the inscription honours the Macedonian King for having let the Athenian ships be built in his territory, but there is no mention of a proclamation in the theatre. The victory at Arginusae was a triumph, though unexpected, of an Athens led by a democratic government. Archelaus' contribution to Athens' success against Sparta was fundamental, and so it could well have merited celebration in front of all the Greeks gathered in the theatre, just as the action of Thrasyboulus of Calydon had been, two years before. If the theatre, with the proclamation for Thrasyboulus, had already acquired the *status* of a 'natural home for such democratic expression',[430] it is perhaps striking that the honorific proposal for King Archelaus was not celebrated in the same venue.[431] However, two qualifications must be noted. Firstly, it must be recognised that this honorific decree was probably (but not definitely) proposed and written before the battle at Arginusae[432] and, consequently, the context could differ from that of Thrasyboulus and Epicerdes. In any case, the proposal was important, and the fact that the Athenian people, thanks to Archelaus and despite those dark days, had more than 150 ships ready to fight could have deserved a celebration in the theatre, but this did not happen. Secondly, the decree does not award a crown; and, in this case, one should not expect the honours to Archelaus to be proclaimed: in fact, as far as we know, proclamations were made only when the honours included a crown. As for the

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[429] Cf. Osborne - Rhodes 2017: 530–5.

[430] Wilson 2009: 27.

[431] My paper entitled 'Tragic Epigraphy: Euripides' *Archelaus* and *IG* I^3 117', focused on the relationship between Euripides' play and Archelaus' honorific decree, will be presented at the 'SCS Annual Meeting. San Diego, CA, 3rd–6th January 2019'.

[432] Cf. Osborne - Rhodes 2017: 535.

characterisation of the honorands as ‘democrats’, one could hardly think that Archelaus, a king, was a democrat, or thought to have been or become a democrat after having been labelled as ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός. On the other hand, the figure of a king could have troubled the (supposed) democratic context of the ceremony. But the honours conferred also on king Euagoras of Salamis (*RO* 11) and on king Hebryzelmis of Thrace (*IG* II² 31) can remove this doubt.

Regarding Euagoras, it is possible to say something further, since line 17 of the inscription[433] tells us that Euagoras is honoured as a ῎Ελλην (‘Hellene’) who fought for Greek freedom. Lewis and Stroud[434] strongly prefer ῎Ελλην to ῎Ελλην[ες], so that we understand that Euagoras is proclaimed as a Greek person. The two authors cite numerous references which deal with the origins and the parentage of Euagoras: some accept the claim of Isocrates (9, 14) for which the king has a Greek origin (or even Athenian),[435] some do not. They prefer Euagoras’ Hellenism because it could be connected with his efforts to hellenise his own city.[436] Thus the Athenians wanted to count the king as one of them — that is, as one of the Greeks — and highlight that Euagoras was a benefit to Greece, rather than merely to Athens. It is true that ‘Euagoras was being praised for his services to Hellas, but in truth his principal claim to Athenian gratitude lay in his introduction of Conon to the Persian Pharnabazos’.[437] But this proclamation had a political motivation, and the Athenians honoured the king for having contributed to the survival of the πόλις against

[433] ll. 14–7: [……..] ἀνειπέ/[ιν…… ἀγω]νίζωνται[ι] ο / […….Σαλα]μ[ι]νίων βασ[ι/λε…… ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλ]άδος ῎Ελλην[..].

[434] Lewis - Stroud 1979: 190–1.

[435] Cf. Paus. 1, 3, 1.

[436] Cf. Isoc. 9, 49–50.

[437] Lewis - Stroud 1979: 190–1. This is what was particularly contentious: Conon and Euagoras were in fact fighting for a Persian satrap against the Spartans, so to make it respectable the Athenians had to claim that the Spartans were threatening Greek freedom and the Persian satrap was defending Greek freedom.

Sparta. The king was honoured together with Conon, commander of ships for the Persian Pharnabazus, but no mention of democracy is made: we have praise for a Greek who saved Athens/Greece, not the democracy. In my opinion, this is another proof that proclamations of honours were directed to all people who helped the πόλις, rather than specifically helped the democratic government of Athens.

Wilson has argued for a close relationship between the proclamation of honours (so, receiving assistance from someone) and democracy, so that the honorand should be considered as an assistant of democracy, with rewards deriving from the democratic government:

> The practice of proclaiming crowns to benefactors at the Dionysia thus simultaneously reveals the confidence and the fragility of the democracy, dependent as it was on foreign - and in many cases, extremely wealthy and powerful - individuals, yet able, in the very act of endowing them with such ostentatious honours, to assert and enact its superior status in any relationship.[438]

Wilson is right when he talks about the 'government's fragility', but I do not understand why we should depict democracy as fragile: any kind of government could be weak, and tyranny and oligarchy in Athens ruled for a much shorter time than democracy. The fragility Wilson is talking about should be attributed instead to the economic system of

[438] Wilson 2009: 22.

πόλεις in general, because food (especially grain in the period post-Chaironeia),[439] the army and money were not the needs of a democratic government in particular. Moreover, if we think of a celebration of democracy either in the theatre or in another public place, we would probably expect a uniquely Athenian proclamation, that is a proclamation made by Athens towards an Athenian (who was directly involved in the city's politics). However, as Henry highlights,[440] public proclamations for native Athenian citizens are attested only from the late fourth century B.C.[441] The majority of the honorific decrees we have are devoted to foreigners, kings, states and individuals, and this indicates the government's dependence on external assistance. Athens, like many other Greek cities, had poor land, and sustained itself by trading.[442] Thus, in war-time, ships, food and soldiers were needed and asked for from foreign cities and countries: in these cases, any type of government would have honoured those who came to the city's assistance. As Lambert says, honorific

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[439] With regard to grain, cf. Liddel 2007: 'Securing the grain supply was a constant preoccupation of the Athenians, being a subject of discussion during the main assembly of each prytany ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 43.4). It is likely that maintaining the grain supply of the city was a concern throughout the fifth and fourth centuries. There is evidence to suggest that major grain shortages, particularly in 335/4 and 330/29, had forced the Athenians to think carefully about securing their grain supply (RO 95, 96)' (294). In much the same way, Lambert 2012: 'This, of course, was a perennial concern, detectable for sure in decrees pre-dating Chaironeia […]; but the systematic honouring of grain traders was a new policy after Chaironeia, a product of Athens' sudden loss of international power and influence following the defeat and the consequent dissolution of the Second Athenian League, and a response to increased vulnerability to the acute supply problems of the 30s and 20s' (97).

[440] Cf. Henry 1983: 22–62. Cf. also Lambert 2012: 3–47.

[441] For an analysis of honorific decrees as parameters of civic obligation, cf. Liddel 2007: 160–82.

[442] Cf. Hansen 2006: 85–97.

decrees — especially in fourth century B.C. — were monumentalised diplomacy[443] in order both to encourage other people to emulate the honorands and to maintain the great image of the city — not the democracy — throughout Greece.[444]

But, if we follow Wilson's view, it is quite curious that 'democratic' crowns/honours were not conferred on Archelaus as well, and that the supposed 'democratic expression' of the ceremony was not enacted on this important occasion. I maintain that there is not a chronological continuity for these proclamations of honours in the theatre, and also that, on the basis of the epigraphic evidence we have, we lack a thematic and political coherence, so that it is difficult to depict an entire religious festival as specifically democratic.

It is evident that the ceremony of proclaiming honours in the theatre was more closely linked to the city than to democracy, even though the role of the theatre still remains unclear. Aeschines' words are ambiguous, and the fact that the majority of the decrees (of the council and/or the assembly) awarded honours without making any provision for a public proclamation is interesting also. Each of the 176 inscriptions cited above are decrees resolved by the assembly and/or the council. On the basis of Aeschines' claims, they are proper legal honorific decrees, and none of them mentions a public proclamation of honours in the theatre or anywhere else. Consequently, if any of the honorands of these

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443 Cf. Lambert 2012: 96. Cf. also Luraghi 2010. Luraghi, although he considers mostly honorific decrees of the Hellenistic age, never talks about democracy or democratic values (even when he briefly mentions fifth- and fourth-century B.C. honorific decrees). Rather, he firstly elucidates 'the workings of the political community as a corporate body that dispenses public honours in exchange for good deeds of various sorts, and the mechanisms of reciprocity that make it desirable for citizens to become involved in this sort of exchange'; secondly, he considers honorary decrees as 'monumentalised narrative texts, […] reading in them a conscious attempt, on the part of the political community, to articulate and transmit a specific authorized version of its past' (248).

444 Cf. Lambert 2012: 337–62, and 2017: 69–92. For an in-depth analysis of Greek euergetism through the fifth and fourth century B.C., cf. Domingo Gygax 2016 (especially 192–250 for the evolution of honorific decrees in fourth century B.C.; cf. also Henry 1983: 7–21, 42–4, 46–7, 116–62).

decrees was presented in the theatre, we should suppose that the proclamation was made against the law and not following the instructions of the decree, or perhaps that we do not have the decree which ordered a proclamation in the theatre. Most likely, it seems that proclamations in the theatre were an exception (important though they might have been) rather than a habit. Along these lines, the ceremony had a social function promoting cohesiveness and praising the city, but actual political action continued to occur within the proper political spaces — that is, the council and the assembly, and nowhere else. Political debate happened in the council and assembly, and in some instances in the lawcourts, while what happened in the theatre was not a debate but a celebration. As for the cases of the fifth-century, the honours to Thrasyboulus and Epicerdes were voted in and by the assembly, which additionally decided to celebrate their merits publicly because of the importance of the events: the fall of the oligarchic government and the rescue of Athenian soldiers in Sicily. The political (perhaps democratic) importance of their honours was assured by the decision and the approval of the council and the assembly, not by the public proclamation in the theatre (which was a prestigious addition): this is confirmed by the fact that from the fifth century B.C. to the second half of the fourth century B.C. (when the practice became common for reasons I have explained throughout this section of the chapter) we have no attestations of proclamations of honours in the theatre. Moreover, those three public proclamations (for Thrasyboulus, Epicerdes and Euagoras) must have been shared by every single Athenian, who had all the rights and reasons to celebrate publicly the end of oligarchy, the rescue of fellow citizens and a victory of the fleet. Conversely, when opinions were sharply divided, as they were in Athens with regard to Macedon in the 340s–320s, the celebration could be something which did not unite the city but was politically contentious: only in this latter case, public proclamations had something to do with politics, still they were performed in the theatre not because of its political

value, rather because of the visibility the theatre could guarantee. Just as the audience attended the spectacles of the πόλις — in a public and social space such as the theatre —, it was also watching the celebration of the city and its benefactors, knowing that *Realpolitik* was debated in other venues. This is not to remove politics from the theatre, but to remove democracy, that is the political nature of the government.

4.2 Being good towards the democracy? Considerations on the formulaic language of fifth-century B.C. Athenian honorific decrees[445]

In 2011, Julia Shear argued that the Dionysia of 409 B.C. was an example of democratic ideology in action 'as the *demos* honoured its benefactors'.[446] Shear highlights the fact that in that year Athens, having been freed from the oligarchic government of the Four Hundred in 411 B.C., added two new ceremonies — the oath of Demophantos and the proclamations of honours with crowns in the theatre — to the extant pre-play ceremonies of the dramatic festival[447] (the libation to Dionysus poured by the ten generals; the display of the allies' tributes; the war-orphans' parade). Shear focuses on *IG* I^3 102, which attests to the announcement of a golden crown for Thrasyboulus of Calydon for having killed the oligarch Phrynichus. Since honorific decrees predating *IG* I^3 102 do not attest to a public proclamation in the theatre during the Dionysia, the honours to Thrasyboulus are the first example of public proclamation, and seemingly indicate a new ceremony of the Dionysia. These are the terms with which Thrasyboulus is described: ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸ[ν περὶ τὸν δε̃μ]ον τὸν Ἀθεναίον — 'a good man towards the people of the Athenians' (ll. 6–7). Stressing the association between ἀγαθός (which, without the adjective καλός, is removed 'from its

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445 This section will appear as an article (extended version) in Giannotti 2019a.

446 Shear 2011: 146.

447 Shear 2011: 147–54, agrees with Goldhill's theory regarding the democratic value of the Dionysia's pre-play ceremonies.

traditional elite setting and made firmly democratic')[448] and δῆμος (a term that generally stands for the democratically ruled city), Shear concludes that 'by 410/9, it (*sc*. the phrase) was part of the proper and accepted way of describing a man honoured by the democratic city'.[449] Thus, given the occurrence of δῆμος, the traditional view tends to consider honorific decrees to be strictly related to the democratic city and the displaying of democratic ideology.

Shear's analysis has a sound evidentiary basis — namely, nine parallel inscriptions which also record the phrase 'good man/men towards the people of the Athenians'. The ceremony of proclamation of honours for Thrasyboulus undoubtedly contributed to unifying the people of the Athenians and to reinforcing their political identity, which was clearly opposed to that of Phrynichus. Yet, since the decree for Thrasyboulus is an honorific decree, I wonder (a) if the rhetorical formulation 'good man/men towards the people of the Athenians' was regular in honorific decrees enacted under the democracy, and if (b) those honorific decrees which reported a public crowning in the theatre might *always* present the power of democracy.

Hence, in this section I shall show that a thorough investigation of early honorific decrees raises several doubts about the linguistic formulation of fifth-century B.C. honorific decrees: the consideration of 45 inscriptions (37 of the fifth century B.C. and 8 of the very early fourth century B.C.) proves, firstly, that the formulation of honorific decrees

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[448] Shear 2011: 144. I will not consider here Whitehead's discussion (1993) on the aristocratic virtues and adjectives which, in his opinion (shared by Shear), were attributed to democratic language in order to be used in the honorific decrees. I agree with Whitehead's general point, but I do not believe that the expression 'towards the people of the Athenians' had a specifically democratic appeal, since fifth-century B.C. honorific decrees demonstrate that there was not a regular 'austerely formulaic approbatory language' (*ibid*.: 47) for the benefit of the addressees (the Athenians). For a discussion on the moral aspect of honorific decrees' language, cf. Low 2007: 132–47.

[449] Shear 2011: 144–5.

was not as regular as has been presumed, since the phrase περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων was not always used by proposers in democratic times. Next, a further analysis of some relevant honorific decrees will not deny their political character (nor the fact that the majority were enacted under the democratic government), but it will challenge indeed the certainty that democratic government was necessarily and explicitly invoked when the formula 'towards the people of the Athenians' was employed.

The list of inscriptions here collected and considered includes an outstanding example of an honorific decree made by the oligarchic government of 411 B.C. (*IG* I³ 98):[450] the decree does not use the word δῆμος, but it records the phrase τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἀθ[ηναίων (l. 11) which is to be found also in some honorific decrees proposed and enacted under the democratic government. This oligarchic testimony suggests that, while decrees enacted under the democracy used the expressions 'people', 'city' and 'Athenians' indiscriminately, a proposer under the régime of the Four Hundred (which was, after several decades of democracy, self-conscious about not being democratic) may have deliberately avoided the word 'people'.

I here provide a table of all fifth-century B.C. honorific decrees[451] which must be considered for an evaluation of their formulaic language: this will allow us to assess the decree honouring Thrasyboulus better against broader epigraphic practice. Critically,

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[450] Recently included in Osborne - Rhodes 2017: 446–51 (= *OR* 173).

[451] Cf. Meyer 2013: 453–505, 467–8 (n. 69). Meyer counts 68 honorific decrees from 451/0 to 404 B.C.: however, relying on the recent study of Domingo Gygax 2016, I count at least 87 fifth-century B.C. honorific decrees. I will consider all of them, except those (many) which do not include any honorific formula or are too hardly readable: *IG* I³ 11, *IG* I³ 20, *IG* I³ 24, *IG* I³ 28, *IG* I³ 30, *IG* I³ 55, *IG* I³ 57, *IG* I³ 61, *IG* I³ 63, *IG* I³ 66, *IG* I³ 71, *IG* I³ 72, *IG* I³ 85, *IG* I³ 96, *IG* I³ 118, *IG* I³ 122, *IG* I³ 131, *IG* I³ 149, *IG* I³ 159, *IG* I³ 160, *IG* I³ 161, *IG* I³ 165, *IG* I³ 166, *IG* I³ 168, *IG* I³ 169, *IG* I³ 170, *IG* I³ 173, *IG* I³ 175, *IG* I³ 178, *IG* I³ 179, *IG* I³ 180, *IG* I³ 181, *IG* I³ 203, *IG* I³ 204, *IG* I³ 242, *IG* I³ 1154. Conversely, Shear quotes only *IG* I³ 17, *IG* I³ 30, *IG* I³ 43, *IG* I³ 65, *IG* I³ 96, *IG* I³ 101, *IG* I³ 227, *IG* I³ 73, *IG* I³ 92: cf. Shear 2011: 145 (n. 41). She then quotes examples from the second half of fourth century B.C., such as *IG* II² 222, *IG* II² 223, *IG* II² 300, *IG* II² 448,

compiling this body of evidence will allow us to reconsider the validity of the traditional view. Dates indicated are taken from Osborne and Rhodes (*OR*)[452] and *Attic Inscriptions Online* (AIO; run and supervised by Stephen Lambert), where it is possible; other dates follow *Inscriptions Graecae* (IG)[453] and Meyer.[454]

1) *IG* I³ 17 (IG: 451/0 B.C. — *stoich*. 23): [ἐπαινέσαι τοῖς / Σι]γειεῦ[σ]ιν [ὁς ὄσιν ἀνδράσι/ν ἀγ]αθοῖς ἐς [τὸν δε̃μον τὸν Ἀθ/εναίον (ll. 6–9).
2) *IG* I³ 43 (IG: ca. 435–427 B.C. — *stoich*. 43?): [ἐπαινέσαι μὲν Κολοφονί]ος, ὅτι ἔ̃σ/[αν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ περὶ τὸν δε̃μον τὸν Ἀθεναίον] (ll. 4–5).
3) *IG* I³ 49 (IG: 440–432 B.C. — *stoich*. 56): [ἀγα]/θὸν ἔ̃ναι τõι δέμοι τõι Ἀθε[ναίον (ll. 10–11).
4) *IG* I³ 62 (IG: 428/7 B.C. — *stoich*. 50): ἐπαινέσαι [δὲ Ἀφυ]ταίος ὅ[τι ἄνδρες ἀγαθο/ί ἐ]σι[ν] καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῶι πρόσθεν [χρόνω]ι περὶ Ἀ[θη]ν̣[αίος (ll. 13–14).

IG II² 487, *IG* II² 505, *IG* II² 555, *IG* II² 657, *SEG* 28:60, *IG* II² 360: cf. Shear 2011, 145 n. 43. I will not consider here *IG* I³ 18, *IG* I³ 19, *IG* I³ 23, *IG* I³ 27, *IG* I³ 56, *IG* I³ 69, *IG* I³ 70, *IG* I³ 74, *IG* I³ 81, *IG* I³ 107, *IG* I³ 155, *IG* I³ 163, *IG* I³ 182, *IG* I³ 182 *bis*, *IG* II² 23, since they contain only an invariable legal formula of grant of a status: 'let him be an *euergetes* and/or *proxenos* of the Athenians'. However, it is worth noticing that even in such invariable legal formulae the *demos* is not mentioned (*IG* II² 17 has ἐπειδὴ αὐτõ ἦσαν οἱ πρόγον[οι πρόξενοι καὶ εὐ]/εργέται τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ἀθη[ναίων [ll. 6–7]).

[452] I refer to Osborne - Rhodes 2017 until 404 B.C.; after that date I refer to Rhodes - Osborne 2003 (= *RO*).

[453] I am aware of the issues concerning the dating of fifth-century B.C. inscriptions: this is the reason why I used the most reliable tools to provide the reader with as many information as possible about the inscriptions' dates. Fortunately, in this table, we do not have cases of ambiguous decrees which can be dated either in the fifth century B.C. or in the fourth century B.C. Moreover, the precise and clear date of these honorific decrees is not crucial to my investigation.

[454] Cf. Meyer 2013. Meyer follows the dates provided by Reiter 1991 for the following inscriptions: *IG* I³ 65, *IG* I³ 73, *IG* I³ 80, *IG* I³ 91, *IG* I³ 92, *IG* I³ 95, *IG* I³ 97, *IG* I³ 98, *IG* I³ 106, *IG* I³ 110, *IG* I³ 113, *IG* I³ 117, *IG* I³ 119, *IG* I³ 121, *IG* I³ 125, *IG* I³ 126, *IG* I³ 156, *IG* I³ 162, *IG* I³ 164, *IG* I³ 167.

5) *IG* I³ 65 (IG: 427/6 B.C. — *stoich*. 30): [Ἀπολλονοφ]ά̣νε[ι δὲ] τõι Κολοφονίοι ἐ<πιγράφσαι "ἐ>/[πειδὲ ἀνέρ] ἐστιȩ [ἀ]γαθὸς περὶ τὸν δε̃μ/[ον τὸν Ἀθ]εναίον [κα]ὶ τὸς στρατιότας"· (ll. 9–11).

6) *IG* I³ 73 (IG: ca. 424–410 B.C.; Meyer: 424/3 B.C. — *stoich*. 42): [ἀνὲρ ἀγαθὸς π/ερὶ Ἀθενα]ίος (ll. 6–7); ἐπαινέσαι Ποταμ[όδορον τὸν *h*ερχο]μένιον καὶ / τὸν *h*υὸν Εὐρυτίονα, *h*ότι [ἔστον ἄνδρε ἀγ]αθὸ περὶ Ἀθε/ναίος (ll. 23–5).

7) *IG* I³ 80 (IG: 421/0 B.C. — *stoich*. 21): ἐπαινέσαι Ἀστέαν τὸν Ἀλε/όν, *h*ότι εὖ ποεῖ Ἀθεναίος ϙ/αὶ ἰδίαι καὶ δεμοσίαι τὸν ἀ/φικνόμενον καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τõι πρόσθεν χρόνοι (ll. 8–12).

8) *IG* I³ 91 (IG: 416/5 B.C.; Meyer: 423/2–422/1 B.C.; Matthaiou:[455] 422/1 B.C. — *stoich*. 27): [ἐπειδὲ εὖ ποι]/εῖ Προχ[σενίδες *h*ό τι ἂν δυνατὸς ἦ/ι] Ἀθενα̣[ίος καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τõι πρόσ/θε]ν χρόν̣[οι ἐπαινέσαι τε αὐτõι (ll. 6–9).

9) *IG* I³ 92 (AIO and *OR*: 422/1 B.C.; IG: 416/5 B.C. — *stoich*. 25): Κάλλι/ππον τὸν Θετταλὸν τὸγ Γυρτώνι/ον ἐπαινέσαι, ὅτι δοκεῖ ἔναι ἀν/ὴρ ἀγαθὸς περὶ τὴμ πόλιν τὴν Ἀθ/ηναίων (ll. 5–9).

10) *IG* I³ 95 (IG: 415/4 B.C. — *stoich*. 23): Ἀνα̣[ξι?….]/ν καὶ τὸς παῖδας, ἐπε[ιδὴ εὖ πο/ι]εῖ τὴν πόλιν καὶ Ἀθ[ηναίος, ἀ]/γ̣αγράψαι πρόξενον [καὶ εὐερ/γ]έτην Ἀθηναίων ἐν [στήληι λι/θί]νηι (ll. 5–10).

11) *IG* I³ 97 (IG: 412/1 B.C. — *stoich*. 38): ἐπειδὴ / Εὐρυ[τ]ίων καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτõ Ποταμόδωρος καὶ οἱ [π]/ρόγονοι αὐτῶν πρόξενοί τέ εἰσιν Ἀθηναίων κ[αὶ / εὐε]ργέτ̣αι καὶ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἔν τε τῆι σ[…[6]…/…[9]…]τ̣[.] τὴν πό[λ]ιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων κ[…[7]…/..] ἐσιν κα[ὶ ἰδίαι] καὶ δημοσ̣ί[αι τῶι δήμωι τῶ]/ι Ἀθηναίων (ll. 5–11).

[455] Cf. Matthaiou 2010.

12) *IG* I^3 98 (AIO and *OR*: 411 B.C. [decree 1]; 399/8 B.C. [decree 2]; IG: 411 B.C. — *stoich*. 30): ἐπειδὴ πρόξ[ενός ἐστι Ἀθηναίω]/ν καὶ εὐεργέτης κ[αὶ εὖ ποεῖ ὅ τι δύνατ]/αι τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἀθ[ηναίων καὶ τὴν …]/στίων (ll. 9–12 [decree 1]).

13) *IG* I^3 101 (AIO and *OR*: 410/9 B.C. [decree 1]; 407 B.C. or later [decree 2]; IG: 410/9 B.C. — ll. 1–47 non-*stoich*.; ll. 48–64 *stoich*. 73): [ἐπ]αινέσαι τοῖς Νεοπ[ολίταις] <τοῖς> / παρὰ Θάσον (6–7 [decree 1]); ἄνδ[ρες δ’] ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένο[ντο ἔς τε τὴ/ν στρα]τ[ιὰν καὶ τὸν δῆ]μον τ[ὸν Ἀθηναίον (9–10 [decree 1]); καὶ πρόθυμοί εἰσ[ι ποιῆν ὅ τι δύν/ανται ἀγ]αθὸν αὐτοὶ ἐπαγγειλάμενοι καὶ λ[όγοι καὶ ἔργοι ἐς τ/ὴν πόλ]ιν τὴν Ἀθηναίον (ll. 33–5 [decree 1]); ἐπαινέσαι τοῖς Νεοπολίταις τοῖς ἀπὸ [Θράικες *h*ος ὄσιν ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς] / ἔς τε τὲν στρατιὰν καὶ τὲμ πόλιν τὲν Ἀθεναίον (ll. 48–9 [decree 2]); ἐπαινέσαι *h*άτε νῦν λέγοσιν κ[αὶ πράττοσιν ἀγα/θὸν *h*υπὲρ Ἀθε]ν[αίον τῶ δέμο καὶ *h*ότι] πρόθυμοί εἰσι ποιῆν *h*ό τι δύνανται ἀ[γαθὸν ἐς τὲν στρα/τιὰν καὶ τὲμ πόλιν (ll. 60–2 [decree 2]).

14) *IG* I^3 102 (AIO, *OR* and IG: 410/9 B.C. — *stoich*. 36): [ἐπαινέσα]ι Θρασύβολον ὁς ὄντα ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸ/[ν περὶ τὸν δε̃μ]ον τὸν Ἀθεναίον (ll. 6–7); καὶ ἀντὶ ὧν εὖ πεπο[ίεκεν τέν τε πόλιν] καὶ τὸν δε̃μ̣[ο]ν τὸν Ἀθεναίο[ν στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῶι στε]φάνοι (ll. 8–10); [ε̃ναι δὲ αὐτῶι εὑρίσκεσθαι π]αρὰ Ἀθεναίον κ[αὶ ἄλλο *h*ό τι ἂν δοκε̃ι ἀγαθὸν π]ερὶ *h*ῶν εὐεργέ[τεκεν τὸν δε̃μον τὸν Ἀθεναίον] (ll. 19–21).

15) *IG* I^3 103 (IG: 410/9 B.C. — *stoich*. 30): [ἐπ]αινέσαι τοῖς Ἀλ/[ικαρνασσεῦσι ὡς οὖσ]ιν ἀνδράσιν ἀγα/[θοῖς ἔς τε τὴν στρατιὰ]ν καὶ τὴν πόλιν / [τὴν Ἀθηναίων (ll. 5–8); ἐπ]ειδή εἰσι / [ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ περὶ Ἀθηναί]ους (ll. 13–14).

16) *IG* I^3 106 (IG: 409/8 B.C. — *stoich*. 50): [ἐπειδὲ ἄνδρες ἀγα]θ[οί ε/ίσιν Πολυκλε̃ς καὶ Περαιεὺς καὶ Μανδρόβολος καὶ ἔργ]οι καὶ λ[ό/γοι περὶ τὸν δε̃μον τὸν Ἀθεναίον καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῶι πρό]σθεν χρό/[νοι καὶ ἀποφαίνοσιν αὐτὸς *h*οι στρατεγοὶ ὄντας

προθύμ]ος ποιεῖν / [ὅ τι δύνανται ἀγαθὸν Ἀθεναίον τὲν πόλιν καὶ τὸν δε̃μο]ν καὶ τε̃ι [στρατιᾶι χρεσίμος ὄντας (ll. 1–6); ἐς [δ]ὲ Ἐ[λ]λέσποṇ[τον] ὸς τὸς στρατεγὸ[ς ἀπο]στελάντον Πολ/[υκλέ]α καὶ Περαιᾶ καὶ Μ[ανδρ]όβολον *h*οι ἐνθάδ[ε] στρατεγοὶ *h*ος ἄ/[ν δύνο]νται τάχιστα κα[ὶ ἀσφ]αλέστατα ἐπὶ τριέρος συνπράξοντ/[ας καὶ] ξυνβουλεύσοντ[ας] *ḥ*ό τι ἂν δύνονται ἀγαθὸν Ἀθεναίοις· (ll. 16–19).

17) *IG* I^3 110 (AIO, *OR* and IG: 408/7 B.C. — *stoich*. 23): ἐπειδὴ ἀνή/ρ ἐστι ἀγαθὸς Οἰνιάδης ὁ Παλ/αισκιάθιος περὶ τὴν πόλιν τ/ὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ πρόθυμος πο/ιῆν ὅ τι δύναται ἀγαθόν, καὶ ε/ὖ ποιῆι τὸν ἀφικνόμενον Ἀθη/ναίων ἐσκίαθον, ἐπαινέσαι τ/ε αὐτῶι (ll. 6–13).

18) *IG* I^3 113 (IG: ca. 410 B.C.; Meyer: 415/4 B.C.; Shear:[456] early 407 B.C. — *stoich*. 42?): ἐπειδὲ δέ ἐστ[ιν/……^{20}…… Εὐαγόρα]ς *h*ο Σαλα[μ]ίνιο[ς ../…… ^{24}…… *h*ό τ]ι δύναται ἀγαθὸ[ν τ/ὸν δε̃ μον τὸν Ἀθεναίον καὶ βασι]λέα καὶ τὸς ἄλλ[ος χ/συμμάχος……^{14}……*h*όπος] ἂν πλεῖστοι φ[…./..^{5}..τῖ δέμοι τῖ Ἀθεναίον κ]αὶ βασιλεῖ κα[ὶ τοῖ/ς ἄλλοις χσυμμάχοις…^{7}… (ll. 33–9).

19) *IG* I^3 114 (IG: 407/6 B.C. — *stoich*. 70): [ἐπαινέσαι ———]ι *h*ος ὄντι ἀν̣[δρὶ ἀγα/θῖι περὶ τὸν δε̃μον τὸν Ἀθεναίον (ll. 5–6).

20) *IG* I^3 117 (AIO, *OR* and IG: 407/6 B.C. — *stoich*. 31): [ἐπειδὲ δὲ Ἀρχέ]λα[ς καὶ νῦ/ν καὶ ἐν τῖι πρόσθεν χρ]όṇοι ἐσ[τὶν ἀν/ὲρ ἀγαθὸς περὶ Ἀθεναί]ος (25–7); ἐπα/[ινέσαι Ἀρχέλαι *h*ος ὄν]τι ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῖι / [καὶ προθύμοι ποιεῖν *h*ό τ]ι δύναται ἀγαθ/[όν, καὶ ἀνθ' ὧν εὐεργέτεκ]εν τέν τε πόλιν / [καὶ τὸν δε̃μον τὸν Ἀθενα]ίον ἀναγράφσα/[ι αὐτὸν καὶ παῖδας προχσένο]ς καὶ εὐερ/[γέτας (ll. 31–8).[457]

[456] Cf. Shear 2007.

[457] Here we have both the city and the people of the Athenians which proclaim the honorand (and his sons) *proxenos* and benefactor.

21) *IG* I^3 119 (AIO and IG: 407 B.C. — *stoich*. 34): [τὰς ξυνθήκα]/ς, ἃς ξυνέθεντο οἱ στρατεγοὶ [τοῖς οἰκίσασ]/ι Δαφνῦντα, εἶναι αὐτοῖς κατὰ [τὰ ξυγκείμε]/να, ἐπειδὴ ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγ[αθοί (ll. 3–6).

22) *IG* I^3 121 (IG: 410–405 B.C. — *stoich*. 28?): Ἀρχι[..^{5}../…^{7}…ἀναγράφσαι πρ]όχ[σ]εν[ον κα/ὶ εὐεργέτεν Ἀθεναίον ἐ]πειδ[ὲ περὶ / τὲν πόλιν τὲν Ἀθεναίον ἐ]στὶ[ν ἀνὲρ / ἀγαθὸς καὶ πρόθυμος κα]τὰ τὸ [δυνατ/ὸν εὖ ποῆν ……^{13}……]ρ[…^{6}…] (ll. 4–9).

23) *IG* I^3 123 (AIO and *OR*: 406 B.C.; IG: 407/6 B.C. — *stoich*. 36?): [ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸς κέρυκα]ς τὸς / [Ἀθέναζε ἀφιγμένος ὅτι εἰσὶν ἄνδρες ἀγ]αθοὶ / [περὶ τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Ἀθεναίον (ll. 15–17).

24) *IG* I^3 125 (IG: 405/4 B.C. — *stoich*. 29): [ἐπ]αινέσαι Ἐπ/[ικέρδει τῶι Κυρηναί]ωι ὡς ὄντι ἀνδρ/[ὶ ἀγαθῶι καὶ….αἰτ]ίωι γεγενημέν/[ωι……^{15}…….]ας τὸς ἐξ Σικελ/[ίας…… ^{13}……]ῳ τῶι πολέμωι· (ll. 6–10); [……^{15}…….] εὖ πεποίηκεν Ἀθη/[ναίων τὸν δῆμον κα]ὶ ἃ νῦν ἐπαγγειλά/[μενος ποιεῖ, στεφ]ανῶσαί τε αὐτ[ὸ]ν […] (ll. 15–17); αὐτὸν ἐστε[φάνωσαν ἀνδραγαθίας / ἕ]νεκα καὶ εὐν[οίας τῆς ἐς Ἀθηναίος· (ll. 28–9).

25) *IG* I^3 126 (IG and Meyer: 405/4 B.C. — *stoich*. 38): [ἐπειδ/ὴ πρόξ]ενός ἐστιν Ἀθη[ναίων καὶ εὐεργέτης .ολυ/.ος ὁ ..^{5}..]νιος κα[ὶ εὖ ποεῖ Ἀθηναίος (ll. 6–8).

26) *IG* I^3 156 (IG: 440–425 B.C. — *stoich*. 23): [ἐπαι/νέσαι δὲ ἀγαθὰ *h*όσα ποιεῖ πᾳ/ρὶ Ἀθεναίος Λεονίδες (ll. 17–19).

27) *IG* I^3 158 (IG: ca. 430 B.C. — *stoich*. 32): Κορίνθ/[ιον ἐπαινέσαι *h*ότι ἀνὲρ ἀγαθός] ἐστιν π/[ερὶ Ἀθεναίος ποιῦν *h*ό τι δύνατ]αι ἀγαθὸ/[ν……^{22}…… τ]ὲν Ἀθεναί/[ον (ll. 4–8).

28) *IG* I^3 162 (IG: 440–415 B.C. — *stoich*. 40): [ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ Γ]ράβοι κα[ὶ..^{5}../….. ^{26}……*h*]ος ὄσι ἀ[νδράσι ἀ/γαθοῖς ἐς Ἀθεναίος καὶ προθύμο]ις ποιῆν ὅ [τι ἂν δύ/νονται ἀγαθὸν……^{15}……] Ἀθεναίο[ν (ll. 5–8).

29) *IG* I³ 164 (IG: 440–425 B.C.; Meyer: 430/429–427/6 B.C. — *stoich*. 27): [..*h*o]ς ὄντε ἄν[δρε ἀγαθὸ περὶ τὸς./….]ε̣ας καὶ ἐπ̣ε̣[ι]δ̣[ὲ ἐστὸν περὶ τὸ/ν δε̃μο]ν τὸν Ἀθενα[ίον…. [10]…./…[6]…]ν ἀγαθὸ καὶ δ̣[ικαίο καὶ αἰε/ὶ εὖ π]εποέκατον Ἀθε[ναίος (ll. 17–21).

30) *IG* I³ 167 (IG: 430–415 B.C.; Meyer: 420/19–415/4 B.C. — *stoich*. 25): [ἐπαινέσαι *h*]ότι ν[ῦν ἄνδρε/ς ἀγαθοί ἐσιν περ]ὶ Ἀθε[ναίος κα/ὶ ἐν τõι πρόσθεν χρόνοι· (ll. 7–9).

31) *IG* I³ 174 (IG: 425–410 B.C. — *stoich*. 21): Λύκωνα τὸν Ἀχαι/όν, ἐπειδὴ εὖ ποεῖ Ἀθηναίο/[ς], ἀναγραψάτω πρόξενον κα/ὶ εὐεργέτην Ἀθηναίων ἐν σ/τήληι λιθίνει ἐμ πόλει (ll. 5–9).

32) *IG* I³ 177 (IG: 420–405 B.C. — *stoich*. 28): Ξανθι[../….[10]….]ρει ὡς ὄντι ἀνδρὶ ἀγ[αθ/ῶι ἐς τὴν πόλιν] τὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ [πρ/οθύμωι ποιẽν ὅ τ]ι δύναται ἀγαθὸ̣ν̣ [./…..[12]….. Ἀθη]ναίος ἐπαινέ[σα/ι (ll. 4–9).

33) *IG* I³ 227 with *addenda* (AIO: 403–ca. 395 B.C. [decree 1]; 424–403 B.C.? [decrees 2 and 3], *OR*: 424/3 B.C. or slightly later;[458] IG: 424/3 B.C. [400–350 B.C.] — ll. 1–23 *stoich*. 31; ll. 24–6 non-*stoich*.): Ἡρακλείδην [τὸγ Κλαζομένιον ἀν/αγρ]άψαι τὸγ γραμμ[ατέα τῆς βολῆς πρόξ/ενο]ν καὶ εὐεργέτη[ν καθότι ἂν τῶι δήμω/ι δο]κῆι καὶ θẽναι ἐ[ν πόλει, ἐπειδὴ εὖ ἐπ/όησ]εν τὰς Ἀθηναίω[ν πρεσβείας καὶ τὰ ἄ/λλα ἀ]νὴρ ἐστι ἀγαθ[ὸς εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν / Ἀθη]ν̣αίων (6–12 [decree 2]).

34) *IG* I³ *addenda* 227 *bis* (AIO [*SEG* 50:45] and *OR*: 422/1 B.C. — *stoich*. 40 [except ll. 3–4]): ἐπαινέσαι Πολυπείθη/ν τὸν Σίφνιον, ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἐστιν ἀγαθὸς ἐς τὸν δῆμον τ/[ὸ]ν Ἀθηναίων (ll. 7–9).

35) *IG* II² 1 (= *IG* I³ 127) (AIO, *OR* and IG: 405/4 B.C. [decrees 1A and 1B]; 403/2 B.C. [decrees 2A, 2B and 3] — *stoich*. 57–61): ἐπαινέσαι τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς Σαμίοις τοῖς τε προτέρο/ις ἥκοσι καὶ τοῖς νῦν καὶ τῆι βολῆι καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις /

[458] Cf. Osborne - Rhodes 2017: 340–5.

Σαμίοις, ὅτι ἐσὶν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ πρόθυμοι ποιεῖν ὅ τι δύνανται ἀγαθόν (ll. 7–9 [decree 1A]); καὶ ἀντὶ ὧν εὖ πεποιήκασιν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ νῦν περὶ πολλῦ ποιῦνται καὶ / ἐσηγῦνται ἀγαθά (ll. 11–12 [decree 1A]); καὶ Εὐμάχωι καὶ τοῖς / [ἄλλοις Σαμίοις πᾶσι τοῖς μετὰ Εὐμάχο ἥκοσ]ι ἐπαινέσαι ὡς ὅσιν ἀνδράσιν / [ἀγαθοῖς περὶ τὸς Ἀθηναίος (ll. 35–7 [decree 1B]); [ἐπαινέσαι τὸς Σαμίος ὅτι ἐσὶν] ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ περὶ Ἀθηναίος (l. 43 [decree 2A]); [ἐπαινέσαι Ποσῆν τὸν] Σάμιον ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστιν περὶ Ἀθηναίος, καὶ ἀνθ’ ὧν / [εὖ πεπόηκε τὸν δῆμον (ll. 58–59 [decree 3]); ἐπαινέσαι δὲ Ποσῆν τὸν [Σάμιον καὶ τὸς ὑῆς ἐπειδὴ ἄνδρες ἀγ]αθοί ἐσιν περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων (ll. 64–5 [decree 3]); [ἐπαινέσαι δὲ] καὶ Σαμίος ὅτι ἐσὶν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ / [περὶ Ἀθηναίος (ll. 71–2 [decree 3]).

36) *IG* II² 2 (IG: 403/2 B.C. — non-*stoich*.): [ἐπαινέσαι] μὲν Ἀριστ-.....[12].....έα ὅτι ἀνὴ/[ρ ἀγαθός ἐστι περ]ὶ Ἀθηνα/[ίος (ll. 9–12; the public proclamation appears in the *SEG* 32:38 text).

37) *IG* II² 7 (IG: 403/2 B.C. — *stoich*. 20): ἐπ[αινέσαι μὲν / Κλ]εωνυμίδα[ν....[9]....]/..ὅτι ἀνὴρ [ἀγαθός ἐστιν / π]ερὶ τὸν δῆ[μον τὸν Ἀθηνα/ί]ων (ll. 4–8).

38) *IG* II² 17 (AIO and IG: 394/3 B.C. — *stoich*. 37–9): ἐπαινέσαι Σθόρυν [τὸν μὰντιν (?), ὅτι πρόθυμό]/ς ἐστι ποῆν ὅ τι δύναται [ἀγαθὸν.....[12–14].....] / τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων [.....[18–20].....] (ll. 3–5); καὶ τὰ] ᾰ̣λ̣[λα ἐσ]τὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγα/θὸς περὶ τὴ[ν πόλιν τὴν Ἀ] θ̣ην[αί]ων (28–9).

39) *IG* II² 19 (IG: 394/3 B.C. — *stoich*. 40): [ἐπαινέσαι μὲν Φιλ..[5]..δ]ην τὸρ Ῥόδι[ον] ὅ/[τι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστι περὶ Ἀθηναίος] (ll. 5–6 [fr. A]); ἐψηφίσθαι δ[ὲ τῶι δήμωι Φιλ...[6]…/δην Ἀθηναῖο]ν ἔναι ἐπειδή ἐστ[ιν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς περὶ / τὸν δῆμον τ]ὸν Ἀθηναίων (ll. 5–7 [fr. B]).

40) *RO* 11 (AIO and *RO*: 394/3 B.C.; IG [*IG* II² 20]: 393/2 B.C. — *stoich*. 50): [ἐπειδὴ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστιν περὶ τὸν δῆμο]ν τὸν Ἀθηναίων (l. 5); ὁ δὲ κῆ[ρυξ

——————— / ——]ι ὅταν οἱ τρα[γωιδοὶ ——————— / —— Ἀθη]ναίων Εὐαγόρ[α———————]ης ἐς Ἀθηναίο[ς (ll. 29–32).

41) *IG* II² 26 (IG: 394–387 B.C. — *stoich*. 28): ἐπαινέσαι μὲν Ἴφιτον τὸν Φ[α]/ρ[σ]άλιον, ἐπειδὴ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστιν / π[ε]ρὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων (ll. 7–9).

42) *IG* II² 28 (AIO, *RO* and IG: 387/6 B.C. — *stoich*. 42): ἐπαι[ν]έσαι μὲν τὸν δῆμον τὸγ Κλαζομενί/ων ὅτι πρόθυμός ἐσ[τι]ν ἐς τὴμ πόλιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων (ll. 4–5).

43) *IG* II² 31 (IG: 386/5 B.C. — *stoich*. 30): ἐ[π]αινέσαι μὲν Ἐβ[ρύζε]/λ̣μ̣[ι]ν τὸν βα[σ]ιλέα τὸν Ὀδρυσῶν, ὅτ[ι ἐστ]/ὶ[ν] ἀνὴ[ρ ἀγαθ]ὸς [π]ερὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸ[ν Ἀθη]/ναίων (ll. 5–8); ἐ[παιν]έσαι δὲ καὶ Τ[ε]ίσανδ[ρ]ο[ν καὶ] / Λύσα[ν]δρον ὅτι ἐστὸν ἄνδρε ἀγ[α]θ[ὼ περ/ὶ] τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων (ll. 24–6).

44) *IG* II² 32 (= *IG* I³ 228) (IG: 385/4 B.C. — *stoich*. 27): ὡς ὅ[ντο/ς ἀ]νδρὸς ἀγαθῦ πε[ρὶ τὴν πόλ]ιν [τὴν / Ἀθ]ηναίων (ll. 17–19).

45) *IG* II² 52 (IG: before 387/6 B.C. — *stoich*. 29): [ἐπαινέσαι μὲν ——— τὸν ——— ὅ/τι ἐσ]τὶν [ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς περὶ τὸν δῆμον / τὸν] Ἀθηνα[ίων (ll. 1–2).

The 45 honorific decrees tabulated record a variety of formulae to justify honouring an individual or group involved. The situation is as follows:

a) 9 inscriptions exclusively with the intact formula ‘good man/men towards the people of the Athenians’ (ἐς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων / τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων / περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων): *IG* I³ 49, *IG* I³ 65, *IG* I³ 102, *IG* I³ *addenda* 227 *bis*, *IG* II² 7, *IG* II² 19, *RO* 11, *IG* II² 26, *IG* II² 31.

b) 11 inscriptions exclusively with the intact formula ‘good man/men towards the city of the Athenians’ or ‘he/they does/do good towards the city of the Athenians’ (περὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων / εὖ ποιεῖ ὅ τι δύναται τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων / ἔς τὴν πόλιν τὴν

Ἀθηναίων): *IG* I³ 92, *IG* I³ 95, *IG* I³ 97, *IG* I³ 98, *IG* I³ 103,[459] *IG* I³ 110, *IG* I³ 158, *IG* I³ 177, *IG* II² 17, *IG* II² 28 (‘they have been enthusiastic towards the city of the Athenians’), *IG* II² 32.

c) 5 inscriptions exclusively with the intact formula ‘good man/men towards the Athenians’ (περὶ Ἀθηναίους / εἰς Ἀθηναίους) or ‘he/they does/do good towards the Athenians’ (ἀγαθὰ ὅσα ποιεῖ περὶ Ἀθηναίους / εὖ ποιεῖ Ἀθηναίους): *IG* I³ 62, *IG* I³ 73, *IG* I³ 80, *IG* I³ 167, *IG* I³ 174. In *IG* I³ 106 the generals are praised συνπράξοντ/[ας καὶ] ξυνβουλεύσοντ[ας] *ἡ*ό τι ἂν δύνονται ἀγαθὸν Ἀθεναίοις (‘having acted and suggested whatever good they are able towards the Athenians’). In *IG* I³ 117 Archelaus is praised only being προθύμοι ποιεῖν *h*ό τ]ι δύναται ἀγαθ/[όν (‘keen to do whatever good he is able’), without any further specification of the addressee of his benefactions.

d) 1 inscription exclusively with the intact formula ‘they are good men’: *IG* I³ 119.

e) 3 inscriptions utilise intact mixed formulations: *IG* I³ 101 records the formula ‘towards the army (restored) and the people of the Athenians’ in decree 1, together with the formula ‘they are keen to do whatever good they can to the city of the Athenians’, and the formulae ‘towards the army and the city of the Athenians’ and ‘because they now say and do good on behalf of the Athenian people and because they are keen to do whatever good they can to the army and the city (restored)’ in decree 2; *IG* I³ 164 records the formulae ‘good man towards the people of the Athenians’ and ‘he has always done good towards the Athenians’; *IG* II² 1 records the formulae ‘good men’ and eager to do what good they can’ and ‘in return for the good which they have done for the Athenians’ in decree 1A, ‘good men towards the Athenians’ in decree 1B and

[459] But cf. also ll. 13–14 (though restored).

2A, ‘good man towards the Athenians’, ‘good men towards the people of the Athenians’ and ‘good men towards the Athenians (restored)’ in decree 3.

f) It is worth noticing that 14 decrees are restored:[460] *IG* I³ 17, *IG* I³ 43, *IG* I³ 91, *IG* I³ 113, *IG* I³ 114, *IG* I³ 121, *IG* I³ 123, *IG* I³ 125, *IG* I³ 126, *IG* I³ 156, *IG* I³ 162, *IG* I³ 227 with *addenda*, *IG* II² 2, and *IG* II² 52. The texts of *IG* I³ 17, *IG* I³ 43, *IG* I³ 113, *IG* I³ 114, *IG* I³ 123, *IG* I³ 125, *IG* I³ 227 with *addenda*, and *IG* II² 52 are restored with the formula ‘towards the people of the Athenians’: it is curious that that formula is considered a common (almost automatic) restoration for lacunae in honorific decrees. Consequently, none of the fragmentary decrees (except *IG* I³ 121) have been restored with the formula ‘towards the city of the Athenians’, even though it would be equally possible (except for a presence of […]μον τ[…, which requires δήμον [see *IG* I³ 101, ll. 9–10, and *IG* I³ 102, l. 7], or […]òν Ἀθηναίων, which requires a masculine article, τὸν, that needs to be related to a previous δήμον [see *IG* I³ 164, ll. 18–19, *IG* I² 19, l. 7 fr. B, and *RO* 11, l. 5]). The term πόλις is left only when clearly evident, but if all of the restored decrees which I have mentioned had πόλις we would have just 9 honorific decrees exclusively with the intact formula ‘towards the people of the Athenians’.

A variety of expressions is used, so it is difficult to conclude, on the one hand, that the formula ‘towards the people of the Athenians’ is to be considered common and fixed, or, on the other hand, that that formula is intended to denote the democratic relationship between the honorand and the city. Hence, the evidence itself can support the traditional view only in a qualified way. Perhaps in some cases a proposer had a definite ideological motivation for preferring one of the formulations, but in most cases the formulations seem

[460] Even *IG* I³ 102 has τὸν δε̃μον τὸν Ἀθεναίον wholly restored in l. 21 and a τέν τε πόλιν restored in l. 9. As for the parallels quoted by Shear, only *IG* I³ 65 has the intact formula ‘towards the people of the Athenians’, and *IG* I³ 101 has [τὸν δη̃]μον τ[òν Ἀθηναίον.

likely to have been regarded as equivalent, and no ideological reason should be assumed for a proposer's preference.

If we focus exclusively on the case of the Dionysia of 409 B.C., it is possible to recognise that the honours to Thrasyboulus were indeed a democratic reward for a man who, having killed the oligarch Phrynichus (although this act is not mentioned in the decree),[461] contributed to the restoration of the democratic government. The historical and political context makes the honours to Thrasyboulus (together with the language of the honorific decree) ideologically democratic,[462] but can we state the same for all the other honorific decrees? They were all enacted under the democracy (thus, within a city which was democratic), but few of them use the expression 'towards the people of Athens'. Again, this suggests a less rigid prescription of language to be deployed in honorific decrees.

However, given that the conferral of a crown was a new practice, we might question whether Shear's assertion that 'to change a festival *is* to demonstrate control of the event' (italics my own) is justified.[463] To be sure, her emphasis on 'change' here could be misleading: the proclamation of honours in the theatre during the Dionysia *was* a new element, but we should not infer that an addition of such a ceremony changed the dramatic festival, in terms of organisation, which remained fundamentally unaltered.[464] Wilson too

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[461] Osborne 2010: 64–82 discusses the laconic form in which honorands' services are indicated (on this inscription cf. *ibid*. 77–8).

[462] But if that τέν τε πόλιν restored in l. 9 is right, this would show a linguistic variability in *IG* I^3 102 too.

[463] Shear 2011: 146.

[464] Shear also considers the oath of Demophantos of 409 B.C. (cf. Shear 2007 and 2011: 136–41), but this oath, which seems to have been pronounced in the Agora (but cf. Canevaro - Harris 2012: 119–25), has nothing to do, in terms of organisation, with the dramatic festival of the Great Dionysia. I therefore do not need to discuss here the doubts which have been raised about the authenticity of that document.

says that 'it is clear that this new form of festival proclamation of honours for the assassin of the oligarch was an innovation tailored to the importance of the events, giving the whole practice a profoundly "democratic" origin'.[465] However, as we have seen, evidence does not provide any attestation of an old form of festival proclamation of honours, nor did the practice become a standard addition. With only four decrees stipulating a public proclamation (*IG* I^3 125, *IG* II^2 2/*SEG* 32:38, *RO* 11), we should not assume that honours were regularly proclaimed, rather it seems that in other cases the decrees omitted such public ceremonies. Public proclamations did not happen in every year when anyone had been honoured: indeed, as far as our evidence goes, proclamations were something that happened infrequently.

Thus, this manner of proclaiming honours during the Dionysia may be considered a rare occurrence, which is known to have taken place four times only.[466] Moreover, it is worth noticing that only *IG* I^3 125 displays a formula similar to 'being good towards the people of the Athenians'. Indeed, in ll. 6–8, when we face the part in which the formula can usually be found, we read [ἐπ]αινέσαι Ἐπ/[ικέρδει τῶι Κυρηναί]ωι ὡς ὄντι ἀνδρ/[ὶ ἀγαθῶι καὶ …. αἰτ]ίωι γεγενημέν/[ωι ……^{15}…….]ας τὸς ἐξ Σικελ/[ίας …..^{13}……]ῳ τῶι πολέμωι: however, since after ὡς ὄντι ἀνδρ/[ὶ ἀγαθῶι just four letters are missing, there is no room for 'towards the people of the Athenians'. It is in ll. 15–16 that we read εὖ πεποίηκεν Ἀθη/[ναίων τὸν δῆμον (where τὴν πόλιν might equally well be restored). By contrast, *IG* II^2 2 displays the formula 'being good towards the Athenians' in ll. 10–13; while *RO* 11 displays]ης ἐς Ἀθηναίο[ς in l. 32. These proclamations, probably on account of those years of

[465] Wilson 2009: 18.

[466] These kinds of methodological issues have been fruitfully explored by Osborne 2010: 64–82. It is always a possibility that public proclamations did happen even when the decree does not say anything about it: but, since a public proclamation was a significant addition to the honours, there are no reasons to think that a decree would purposely fail to mention such an important detail.

crisis, were made during the Dionysia in order to make Athens' gratitude to benefactors ostentatiously public. Hence, Thrasyboulus of Calydon warranted a more public commendation for killing the oligarch Phrynichus in 410/9 B.C., as did Epicerdes of Cyrene for helping Athenian prisoners in Sicily in 405/4 B.C., and Euagoras of Salamis for defeating the Spartan fleet, together with Conon, in 394/3 B.C.: the crowning of these men was celebrated before all the Greeks in the theatre. Yet we should not consider this sparse evidence as proof of a new and specifically democratic institution: rather, the institution is 'democratic' only inasmuch as it is an institution used by Athens during a democracy; it is not 'specifically democratic' as its use does not guarantee concurrent usage of the phrase 'towards the people of Athens'. If πόλις and δῆμος are interchangeable, that suggests that the Athenians did not feel the need to mention δῆμος and democracy on every occasion. To be sure, when Athens is democratic the πόλις is democratic, but it tells us something about the nature of democracy that the Athenians did not choose to emphasise an attachment to democracy by employing the word δῆμος in all cases.

'The rule of the *demos* and its power'[467] in honorific decrees' language remains unclear. This second issue is indeed more puzzling: to what extent can we consider the relationship between the honorand and the city democratic? Difficulties arise if we wish to interpret the expressions ἐς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων and περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων as clear allusions to 'democracy'. As shown above, during the fifth century B.C. few honorific decrees exclusively record formulae of this kind. In addition, none (except the well-known cases) attests to a public proclamation in the theatre. Evidence reveals that formulaic modifications occurred quite often. We can say that *there was* a democratic reason for specifying δῆμος in the case of Thrasyboulus, since he — in killing an oligarch — was specifically supporting the democracy, but Epicerdes (*IG* I^3 125) and Euagoras (*RO*

[467] Shear 2011: 146.

11) were not, and in both of those inscriptions, as it happens, either δῆμος or πόλις could be restored.[468] Regardless of the restorations, while these three honours were singled out for proclamation, only in the case of Thrasyboulus were the honorand's services explicitly marked as democratic. Thus, it is easier to explain the addition of proclamations as enhancing the honour, rather than indicating a specifically democratic feature.

For instance, it is curious that an honorific decree such as *IG* I^3 92 does not have the 'democratic' formula 'towards the people of the Athenians'. This is a peculiar decree, as unusually it was proposed[469] as a γνώμη στρατηγῶν, that is, 'the opinion of the generals', who held an important office of the democratic government. Such a decree, sponsored by a high office of democratic government,[470] should have mentioned the δῆμος (if one assumes that the formula 'towards the people of the Athenians' imbued decrees with a democratic sensibility). The fact is that since decrees of the democracy can mention either the δῆμος or the πόλις, there is nothing difficult about the use of πόλις here.

It is evident enough that (a) there was an element of malleability to the expressions used in fifth-century B.C. honorific decrees, and that (b) honorific decrees which include a public proclamation of honours are quite few. While Thrasyboulus' good actions 'towards the people of Athens' were actions in support of the democracy, and that may explain why the word 'people' was used in his case, the fact that not all honorific decrees specify the 'people' in that way suggests that it was not considered necessary to insist on the 'people' in every honorific decree, and that the presence of *demos* does not necessarily mean exaltation of democratic ideology. The practice of restoring δῆμος where δῆμος and πόλις

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[468] Cf. Rhodes 2011: 71–2.

[469] Cf. Osborne - Rhodes 2017: 378–9.

[470] It goes without saying that generals were not intrinsically democratic — Athens needed generals whatever its form of government — but when Athens was democratic then they were officers of its democratic government.

are equally possible distorts the statistics: there may be ideological reasons for the choice in some particular cases, such as πόλις for the decree enacted under the oligarchy and δῆμος in the case of Thrasyboulus, but in the other cases there is no reason to think that there was a strong ideological reason for the choice of one term rather than another.

Recognising the different expressions which occurred in honorific decrees, we could hypothesise that there was no difference between 'city of the Athenians', 'people of the Athenians' and 'Athenians': the three formulae could indicate the lack of a specific canon in honorific decrees' epigraphic language. However, *IG* I^3 98 prompts us to question the former hypothesis, as it bestows honours on a certain Pythophanes from the oligarchic government of Athens in 411 B.C. It seems that Pythophanes was a merchant who was either [Καρυ]/στίωι or [Φαι]/στίωι or [Ση]/στίωι. As Osborne and Rhodes notice, the prescript of the decree is unusual, since it is 'significantly different from those of decrees acted under the democracy'.[471] This suggests that it is very likely that the decree was enacted under the oligarchic government of 411 B.C.: hence, the Four Hundred inevitably used a formulation slightly different from that of the honorific decrees enacted under the democracy.[472] In ll. 9–11 we read that Pythophanes, already made '*proxenos* of the Athenians' (πρόξ[ενός ἐστι Ἀθηναίω]/ν), is indicated as a benefactor who 'does what good he can' (εὐεργέτης κ[αὶ εὖ ποεῖ ὅ τι δύνατ]/αι). The addressee (Athens) of Pythophanes'

[471] Osborne - Rhodes 2017: 449. As for the democratic prescript of honorific decrees, cf. Osborne - Rhodes 2017: xxi–xxii.

[472] In ll. 12–15 we read: '[…] the decree previously voted for him shall be written up on a stone *stele* by the current secretary of the council and placed on the acropolis'. Pythophanes had already been honoured once. As Osborne - Rhodes 2017: 451 say, 'the previous decree may have been enacted either very slightly earlier, already under the Four Hundred, or under the democracy'. In the latter case, it would have been interesting to read the formulation of that decree in order to see whether under the democracy Pythophanes was said to having benefited 'the people of the Athenians'. Unfortunately, we do not have the first honorific decree for Pythophanes.

euergetism and good actions is specified as 'the city of the Athenians' (τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἀθ[ηναίων).

The use of πόλις rather than δῆμος is interesting as it has two implications. Firstly, we understand that the oligarchic government of the Four Hundred felt the need to distinguish its own honorific formulation from the democratic one: given that δῆμος was an overtly democratic word, the term πόλις could be understood as a more neutral term, lacking the democratic connotations of the alternative. Conversely, this does not necessarily mean that the term πόλις was an oligarchic word, or that the oligarchic government required the word to be used in its honorific formulations. Indeed, the opposition 'democratic people' and 'oligarchic city' is valid exclusively in *IG* I^{3} 98 and 102: just as the word δῆμος may have been used deliberately in the decree for Thrasyboulus, it is certainly likely that the word πόλις was used deliberately in this decree. Yet we cannot infer such an opposition on a more general level because a) we have only one honorific decree enacted under the oligarchy,[473] and b) the terms πόλις and δῆμος were used indiscriminately in honorific decrees enacted under the democracy, as seen above.

Therefore, the key point to recognise is that fifth century B.C. democratic Athens used different expressions to describe itself: 'people of the Athenians', 'city of the Athenians', or just 'Athenians'. An exaggerated emphasis on περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων — such as that traditionally put on it by some scholars — risks being both counter-productive and unwarranted, as it leads us to misinterpret all the honorific decrees which do not display

[473] But cf. [Plu.] *X Or*. 833 e–f.

that formulation.[474] But, with the exception of *IG* I³ 98, they were all enacted under the democracy. Should we make a distinction between more democratic and less democratic decrees, in the light of the presence or the absence of περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων? This would be inappropriate.[475] Rather, let us say that the Dionysia of 409 B.C., with the crowning of Thrasyboulus in the theatre, stressed the point of the people freed from the oligarchic government, and that περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, on that occasion, was probably meant as a clear reference to the city ruled by the people, *i.e.* the democracy. Despite this, the addressee of the honorand's good actions did not change: it was always Athens, with its *people*, the *Athenians*, and its great *city*. This is why the formulation of the honorific decrees could fluctuate. It is demonstrated that the addressee of the honorands' good actions cannot be politically distinguishable by developments in the practice of proclaiming honours throughout the fourth century B.C. The web Athens created throughout the fourth century B.C. with proclamations of honours aimed to attract attention towards itself, in order to build an increasing number of utilitarian relationships.[476] The fact

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[474] Alternatively, one could explore the democratic nature of an honorific decree either *(a*) by investigating the presence of the assembly in the prescript of the decree (but cf. *e.g. IG* II² 18 and the commentary of Rhodes - Osborne 2003: 48–51, especially 48–9); however, this does not necessarily help: *IG* I³ 98 was probably a decree of the council (but cf. Osborne - Rhodes 2017: 451), but the decrees of the fourth century B.C. oligarchic periods 321–318 B.C. and 317–307 B.C. were decrees of the assembly (that was not considered, apparently, as a specifically democratic organ, given that oligarchs, in order to obstruct democracy, removed the Council of the Five Hundred and the μισθός). Or *(b)*, by focusing on the ἀνδραγαθία of the honorands, since the expression ἀνήρ ἀγαθός is always mentioned explicitly in the honorific decrees enacted under the democracy (however it is absent from *IG* I³ 80), and not in the decree enacted under the oligarchic government (although *IG* I³ 98 is our only decree from 411/0 B.C.). In any case, in the light of this situation, we are left with the surviving evidence and it is only *that* evidence which we can rely on.

[475] 'Towards the people of the Athenians' could further be subjected to examination along class lines: it is not clear, for example, whether this refers to one sector of the population or another, *e.g.*, wealthy or poor. It is true that we lack of evidence for poor Athenians proposing honorific decrees which feature this phrase, but, generally, the *demos* is taken as a whole.

[476] Cf. *supra* section *4.1*.

is that giving and/or receiving assistance, in Athens, was not something related to democracy: utility and profit are not politically distinguishable. Thus, this Athenian 'helping behaviour'[477] should not be considered specifically democratic, but, rather, a utilitarian policy applied by a city which strongly relied on external affairs, intended to establish useful alliances and relationships. The historical and political context of fifth-century B.C. Athens and fourth-century B.C. Athens cannot be compared, but the practice of proclaiming honours should be examined in its totality. Certainly, as for the fifth century B.C., if one compared *IG* I^3 98 to *IG* I^3 102 in isolation, one would notice the absence in the former and the specification in the latter of τὸν δῆμον. But, apart from these exceptional cases, the evidence shows no fixed formulaic language, and we should not judge the formulation of fifth-century B.C. honorific decrees solely in light of *IG* I^3 102.

4.3 Appendix. *The Athenian honorific decrees from the fifth-century B.C. to Aeschines' and Demosthenes' dispute*

Through a detailed research of the inscriptions which include honorific formulae during the period previous to Aeschines, it is possible to list several Athenian honorific decrees between the fifth century B.C. and 330/9 B.C., the year of Demosthenes' crowning. 176 quite clear and legible inscriptions (or, at least, the honorific formula is legible)[478] which award honours/crowns before Aeschines come out and, as we have said, only two of them explicitly attest a public proclamation, *RO* 11 and *IG* II^3 298.

Such a list includes both proper honorific decrees and texts with other types of statements which include honorific proposals/formulae, even without a crown as a reward. Many of them are very fragmentary and/or incomplete, so that sometimes it is impossible

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[477] Cf. *Chapter Three*, section *3.4*.

[478] I consider here the (acceptably) restored inscriptions too.

to understand the context and/or reasons of the honours and/or the names of the honorands. I give here the list of inscriptions:[479] *IG* I³ 17 (451/0 B.C.), *IG* I³ 43 (ca. 435–427 B.C.), *IG* I³ 49 (440–432 B.C.), *IG* I³ 62 (428/7 B.C.), *IG* I³ 65 (427/426 B.C.), *IG* I³ 69 (426/5 B.C.), *IG* I³ 73 (ca. 424–410 B.C.), *IG* I³ 80 (421/0 B.C.), *IG* I³ 91 (416/5 B.C.), *IG* I³ 92 (422/1 B.C.), *IG* I³ 95 (415/4 B.C.), *IG* I³ 96 (412/1 B.C.), *IG* I³ 97 (412/1 B.C.), *IG* I³ 98 (411 B.C.), *IG* I³ 101 (409–407 B.C.), *IG* I³ 102 (410/9 B.C.), *IG* I³ 103 (410/9 B.C.), *IG* I³ 106 (409/8 B.C.), *IG* I³ 110 (408/7 B.C.), *IG* I³ 113 (ca. 410 B.C.), *IG* I³ 114 (407/6 B.C.), *IG* I³ 117 (407/6 B.C.), *IG* I³ 118 (408 B.C.), *IG* I³ 119 (407 B.C.), *IG* I³ 121 (410–405 B.C.), *IG* I³ 123 (407/6 B.C.), *IG* I³ 125 (405/4 B.C.), *IG* I³ 126 (405/4 B.C.), *IG* I³ 156 (440–425 B.C.), *IG* I³ 158 (ca. 430 B.C.), *IG* I³ 159 (ca. 430 B.C.), *IG* I³ 162 (440–415 B.C.), *IG* I³ 164 (440–425 B.C.), *IG* I³ 167 (430–415 B.C.), *IG* I³ 174 (425–410 B.C.), *IG* I³ 177 (420–405 B.C.), *IG* I³ 182 (430–405 B.C.), *IG* I³ 227 with *addenda* (423 B.C. or later), *IG* I³ *addenda* 227 *bis* (422–421 B.C.), *IG* I³ 228 (385/4 B.C.), *IG* II² 1 (405/4 B.C.), *IG* II² 2 (403/2 B.C.), *IG* II² 7 (403/2 B.C.), *IG* II² 10 (401/0 B.C.), *IG* II² 17 (394/3 B.C.), *IG* II² 18 (394/3 B.C.), *IG* II² 19 (394/3 B.C.), *RO* 11 (394/3 B.C.), *IG* II² 21 (390/89 B.C.?), *IG* II² 23 (398/7 B.C.), *IG* II² 26 (394–387 B.C.), *IG* II² 28 (387/6 B.C.), *IG* II² 29 (386/5 B.C.), *IG* II² 31 (386/5 B.C.), *IG* II² 32 (385/4 B.C.), *IG* II² 34 (384/3 B.C.), *IG* II² 35 (384/3 B.C.), *IG* II² 40 (378–376 B.C.), *IG* II² 42 (378/7 B.C.), *IG* II² 52 (before 387/6 B.C.), *IG* II² 58 (378/7 B.C.), *IG* II² 60 (378/7 B.C.), *IG* II² 62 (before 378/7 B.C.), *IG* II² 70 (before 378/7 B.C.), *IG* II² 72 (before 378/7 B.C.), *IG* II² 76 (before 378/7 B.C.), *IG* II² 77 (375 B.C.), *IG* II² 78 (before 378/7 B.C.), *IG* II² 82 (before 378/7 B.C.), *IG* II² 86 (before 378/7 B.C.), *IG* II² 95 (377/6 B.C.), *IG* II² 102 (ca. 370 B.C.), *IG* II² 103 (369/8

[479] The order of the list follows the volumes of IG: *IG* I³, *IG* II², and *IG* II³. Dates provided are taken from *Searchable Greek Inscriptions — Packard Humanities Institute (PHI)*. As for the various dates of those honorific decrees already mentioned in this chapter, cf. *supra* the list in section *4.2*. Cf. also Domingo Gygax 2016: 180–250.

B.C.), *IG* II² 105 (368/7 B.C.), *IG* II² 107 (369/8 and 368/7 B.C.), *IG* II² 110 (363/2 B.C.), *IG* II² 111 (363/2 B.C.), *IG* II² 116 (361/0 B.C.), *IG* II² 118 (361/0 B.C.?), *IG* II² 124 (357/6 B.C.), *IG* II² 127 (356/5 B.C.), *IG* II² 130 (355/4 B.C.), *IG* II² 132 (355/4 B.C.), *IG* II² 133 (355/4 B.C.), *IG* II² 138 (353/2 B.C.), *IG* II² 141 (ca. 378–376 B.C.?), *IG* II² 161 (before 353/2 B.C.), *IG* II² 172 (before 353/2 B.C.), *IG* II² 173 (before 353/2 B.C.), *IG* II² 176 (before 353/2 B.C.), *IG* II² 177 (before 353/2 B.C.), *IG* II² 184 (before 353/2 B.C.), *IG* II² 188 (before 353/2 B.C.), *IG* II² 191 (before 353/2 B.C.), *IG* II² 252 (mid IV B.C.), *IG* II² 273 (before 336/5 B.C.), *IG* II² 277 (before 336/5 B.C.), *IG* II² 304 (before 336/5 B.C.), *IG* II² 309 (before 336/5 B.C.), *IG* II² 350 (331/0 B.C.), *IG* II² 1155 (339/8 B.C.), *IG* II² 1156 (334/3 B.C.), *SEG* 59:142 (338/7 B.C.; there is an announcement of a crown), *IG* II² 1255 (337/6 B.C.), *IG* II³ 293 (351/0 or 348/347 B.C.), *IG* II³ 294 (349/8 B.C.), *IG* II³ 295 (349/8 B.C.?), *IG* II³ 296 (349/8 B.C.), *IG* II³ 298 (347/6 B.C.), *IG* II³ 301 (346/5 B.C.), *IG* II³ 302 (346/5 B.C.), *IG* II³ 303 (345/4 B.C.), *IG* II³ 304 (345/4 and 344/3 B.C.?), *IG* II³ 305 (344/3 B.C.), *IG* II³ 306 (343/2 B.C.), *IG* II³ 307 (343/2 B.C.), *IG* II³ 309 (341/0 B.C.), *IG* II³ 310 (341/0 B.C.), *IG* II³ 311 (341/0 B.C.), *IG* II³ 312 (340/339 B.C.), *IG* II³ 313 (340/9 B.C.), *IG* II³ 316 (338/7 B.C.), *IG* II³ 317 (338/7 B.C.), *IG* II³ 319 (337/6 B.C.), *IG* II³ 322 (337/6 B.C.), *IG* II³ 323 (ca. 345–320 [337/6?] B.C.), *IG* II³ 325 (337/6 B.C.), *IG* II³ 327 (335/4 B.C.), *IG* II³ 329 (336/5 and 335/334 B.C.), *IG* II³ 331 (335/4 B.C.), *IG* II³ 333 (334/3 B.C. and 333/2 B.C.), *IG* II³ 335 (334/3 B.C.), *IG* II³ 338 (333/2 B.C.), *IG* II³ 339 (333/2 B.C.?), *IG* II³ 342 (332/1 B.C.?), *IG* II³ 344 (332/1 B.C.), *IG* II³ 345 (332/1 B.C.), *IG* II³ 346 (332/1 B.C.), *IG* II³ 347 (332/1 B.C.), *IG* II³ 348 (332/1 B.C.), *IG* II³ 349 (332/1 B.C.), *IG* II³ 351 (331/0 B.C.), *IG* II³ 352 (330/29 B.C.), *IG* II³ 367 (330/29–328/327 and 325/4 B.C.), *IG* II³ 387 (ca. 352 B.C.?), *IG* II³ 388 (ca. 350 B.C.), *IG* II³ 389 (shortly after 350 B.C.), *IG* II³ 390 (ca. 350–340 B.C.), *IG* II³ 398 (348 B.C.?), *IG* II³ 399 (348 B.C. or 343 B.C.?), *IG* II³ 400 (ca. 350–339 B.C.), *IG* II³ 401 (345–338 B.C.), *IG* II³

402 (ca. 345–335 B.C.), *IG* II³ 411 (342 B.C.?), *IG* II³ 414 (ca. 340 B.C.), *IG* II³ 416 (ca. 340–330 B.C.), *IG* II³ 418 (ca. 340–320 [337/6?] B.C.). *IG* II³ 430 (ca. 337 B.C.?), *IG* II³ 452 (ca. 334 B.C.), *IG* II³ 466 (after 333/2 [332/1?] B.C.), *IG* II³ 468 (after 332 B.C.?), *IG* II³ 469 (ca. 330 B.C.), *IG* II³ 470 (ca. 330 B.C.), *IG* II³ 493 (mid IV B.C.), *IG* II³ 497 (mid IV B.C.), *IG* II³ 498 (mid IV B.C.), *IG* II³ 499 (mid IV B.C.), *IG* II³ 500 (mid IV B.C.), *IG* II³ 501 (mid IV B.C.), *IG* II³ 502 (mid IV B.C.), *IG* II³ 503 (mid IV B.C.), *IG* II³ 504 (mid IV B.C.), *IG* II³ 507 (mid IV B.C.), *IG* II³ 512 (mid IV B.C.), *IG* II³ 513 (mid IV B.C.), *IG* II³ 553 (mid IV B.C.),

Inscriptions that could be dated after the dispute between Aeschines and Demosthenes: *IG* II³ 324 (337/6 and 322/1 B.C.), *IG* II³ 336 (334/3–325 [334/3?] B.C.), *IG* II³ 343 (332/1 and 323/2 B.C.), *IG* II³ 354 (330/29 or 329/8 B.C.), *IG* II³ 393 (ca. 350–325 B.C.?), *IG* II³ 394 (ca. 350–325 B.C.), *IG* II³ 395 (ca. 350–325 B.C.), *IG* II³ 396 (350–325 B.C.?), *IG* II³ 397 (ca. 350–325 B.C.), *IG* II³ 403 (ca. 345–320 [340/39 B.C.?]), *IG* II³ 404 (ca. 345–320 B.C.), *IG* II³ 405 (ca. 345–320 B.C.), *IG* II³ 406 (ca. 345–320 B.C.), *IG* II³ 417 (ca. 340–325 B.C.), *IG* II³ 419 (ca. 340–320 B.C.), *IG* II³ 420 (ca. 340–320 B.C.?), *IG* II³ 421 (ca. 340–320 B.C.), *IG* II³ 423 (ca. 340–320 B.C.), *IG* II³ 424 (ca. 340–320 B.C.), *IG* II³ 425 (ca. 340–320 B.C.), *IG* II³ 426 (ca. 340–320 B.C.), *IG* II³ 428 (ca. 340–300 B.C.), *IG* II³ 432 (337–325 B.C.), *IG* II³ 434 (ca. 337–324 B.C.), *IG* II³ 435 (337–324 B.C.), *IG* II³ 436 (ca. 337–323 B.C.), *IG* II³ 437 (ca. 337–323 B.C.), *IG* II³ 439 (ca. 337–322 B.C.), *IG* II³ 440 (ca. 337–320 B.C.), *IG* II³ 441 (ca. 337–320 B.C.?), *IG* II³ 450 (ca. 335–322/1 [328/7?] B.C.), *IG* II³ 453 (334–325 B.C.?), *IG* II³ 454 (ca. 334/3–322 B.C.), *IG* II³ 455 (334/3–322/1 B.C.?), *IG* II³ 456 (ca. 334/3–314/3 B.C.), *IG* II³ 458 (ca. 334/3–314/3 B.C.), *IG* II³ 461 (ca. 334/3–314/3 B.C.), *IG* II³ 462 (ca. 334/3–314/3 B.C.), *IG* II³ 464 (334/3–314/3 B.C.), *IG* II³ 515 (350–300 B.C.), *IG* II³ 516 (350–300 B.C.), *IG* II³ 517 (350–300 B.C.), *IG* II³ 518 (350–300 B.C.), *IG* II³ 519 (350–300 B.C.), *IG* II³ 520 (ca. 350–300

B.C.), *IG* II³ 521 (350–300 B.C.), *IG* II³ 522 (350–300 B.C.), *IG* II³ 523 (350–300 B.C.), *IG* II³ 524 (350–300 B.C.), *IG* II³ 528 (ca. 350–300 B.C.?), *IG* II³ 535 (ca. 350–325 B.C.), *IG* II³ 539 (ca. 345–320 B.C.), Bardani and Matthaiou, *Τιμαί Φανοδήμου*, 1 (ca. 340–325 B.C.), *IG* II³ 545 (337–324 B.C.), *SEG* 46:154 (ca. 330–320 B.C.), *IG* II³ 560 (350–300 B.C.), *IG* II³ 569 (350–300 B.C.?), *IG* II³ 1134 (ca. 350–150 B.C.?), Peek, *Attische Inschriften*, 8 no. 6a + 6b (mid to late IV B.C.).

4.4 **Appendix 2.** ***The proclamations of honours outside Athens: starting points***

Too much attention has been paid to the Athenian ceremony of proclaiming honours, while less notice has been given to the ritual's occurrence outside of Athens — a remarkable oversight, given the frequency with which it is attested beyond the city. Rhodes noticed[480] that we have attestations for the proclamation of honours in the theatre in many other cities during the Hellenistic period; this could be a means to demonstrate that the ideological message of the proclamation of honours had nothing to do with democracy, but, conversely, something to do with the πόλις or, better to say, with the πόλεις. More generally, the study of Greek drama throughout Ancient Greece has currently become an interesting subject. A recent work by Csapo and Wilson[481] shows the spread of Greek drama from Athens and Attica to South Italy and Sicily, from the Isthmus and Peloponnese to the Aegean islands, from mainland Greece to Asia Minor, from the Hellespont, Propontis and the Black Sea to Africa.

The Athenocentrism typical of most of the studies on Greek drama led these scholars to investigate the Dionysia outside Athens, and their inquiry aims to provide conclusions only

[480] Cf. Rhodes 2003: 112 (n. 64).

[481] Cf. Csapo - Wilson 2015.

when the epigraphic, literary and architectural evidence coincides. This 'inclusive' methodology used by Csapo and Wilson has led to this verdict:

> We have surveyed the evidence for 116 sites outside Athens that offer evidence of a theater culture before ca. 300. What can we conclude? The most important conclusion relates to the chronology of the spread of drama. The evidence clearly falsifies the notion that Athens had a monopoly on drama until well into the fourth-century. It is not clear that Athens ever had a monopoly, but if it did, it did not last long. We have good evidence for drama before or by the mid-fifth-century from seven locations, four inside and three outside of Attica. By the start of the fourth-century there are fourteen sites that offer convincing evidence of dramatic performance. […] By ca. 350 we are reasonably sure of drama being performed in thirty-two locations outside Athens, and have grounds to suspect many more. By ca. 300, at a time when the diadochic kingdoms will as yet have had little measurable impact on theater culture, the evidence indicates performance of drama at at least sixty different sites. The impression therefore is one of continuous exponential growth. Future finds will alter the details, though the impression of rapid expansion is likely to remain. At present we see that the number of venues for dramatic performance doubles every half century from ca. 450.[482]

The numbers demonstrate that dramatic festivals were common throughout the Greek world. Clearly, Athens had a leading role in the spread of the Dionysia, mostly in Attica and its colonies/allies. Yet, while other cities and countries not directly connected to Athens may have copied the Athenian practice, earlier theatrical traditions in the Peloponnese do not seem to have connections with Athens. Thus, Csapo's and Wilson's list raises several doubts about the definition of the Dionysia as 'typically Athenian'.

> The evidence at our disposal supports Plato's claim that drama (and primarily tragedy) had a particular appeal for democracies and to tyrannies. Fourth-century Rhodes is a good example

[482] Csapo - Wilson 2015: 381.

> of the incorporation of theater and dramatic festivals into the structure of a newly formed democracy: here drama and theater rituals seem to follow the Athenian model closely, and Rhodes provides our earliest window on the movement of actors around the Aegean. Most striking and most clearly attested, however, is the appeal that theater and drama had for autocrats: autocrats introduced and promoted theater and drama in Syracuse, Macedon, Heraclea on the Black Sea, the Cimmerian Bosporus, and probably in Thessaly, Caria, Cyprus and Cyrene. It was the proven utility of theater to autocracy that led to the great expansion of the industry after the division of Alexander's empire and again in Imperial Rome. Identifiably oligarchic states are less well represented on our lists: Megara, Corinth and Thebes are examples, but it is perhaps noteworthy that evidence for the latter comes from a decidedly ritual setting, and that all of these locations give evidence of a regional theater somewhat separate from what we might regard as the international (aka Athenian) mainstream. In non-Greek Italy theater appears to have had a special appeal for the native aristocracy who embraced aspects of Greek culture as signs of worldliness and social distinction.[483]

Here too, the exclusive democratic character of drama is unconfirmed,[484] as many cities with non-democratic governments celebrated dramatic festivals also. Kowalzig, for instance, has demonstrated how the close relationship between theatre and society existed in dramatic festivals of the West, especially in Sicily. There, the most common form of government was tyranny, which used theatrical performances and the dramatic context to promote ideological messages (especially Panhellenic) which were undoubtedly different from the (supposedly) democratic ones espoused in Athens.[485]

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[483] Csapo - Wilson 2015: 382–3.

[484] Despite this, in other works the two scholars do accept the view of the Athenian Dionysia as a typically democratic festival (cf. *e.g.* Csapo - Slater 1994 and Wilson 2009). Additionally, throughout their essay, Csapo and Wilson tend to stress the link between the Dionysia and the democratic government of the city at issue.

[485] Cf. Kowalzig 2008.

However, though scholars are becoming increasingly interested in the spread of Greek drama, the same cannot be said for non-Athenian attestations of the Dionysia's pre-play ceremonies.[486] With regards to the proclamations of honours, Rhodes has noted some pertinent inscriptions,[487] but it is worth mentioning all the relevant texts to establish a clear and detailed overview of the diffusion of this practice. What becomes immediately apparent is that there is a widespread practice of proclaiming honours during the Dionysia in other cities, not just for citizens, but usually for foreigners. Unfortunately, we do not have attestations for the fifth century B.C. — but this mirrors a similar lack of evidence for Athenian practice. Thus, the first regular attestations of public proclamations of honours come in the second half of the fourth century B.C., both for Athens and other Greek cities.

If one supposed that the proclamation of honours in the theatre was an archetypal Athenian and democratic tradition since the beginning of the fifth century B.C., one could believe that all other cities replicated and copied this Athenian practice; but why would those cities have done so? If Greek cities, in the second half of the fourth century B.C. wanted to copy Athenian tradition (which, we have seen, was not specifically democratic) of proclaiming honours publicly, they had to recall the four Athenian public proclamations included in *IG* I^3 102, *IG* I^3 125, *IG* II^2 2/*SEG* 32:38, and *RO* 11. It is more likely to suppose that a) the four Athenian cases were exceptions, and b) all the Greek cities together adopted the practice of proclaiming honours (publicly and not) as a new vehicle of politics, propaganda and social relationships. The only difference was that Athens, as far as

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[486] Non-Athenian Dionysia and pre-play ceremonies need to be studied specifically and separately. Thus, my target here is to provide sufficient evidence to demonstrate the impact such studies would have. The analysis of non-Athenian pre-play ceremonies will be a key subject in my ongoing research.

[487] Cf. Rhodes 2003: 112 (n. 64).

our evidence shows, had already experienced such a practice during the late fifth century B.C.

Therefore, proclamations of honours were a practice which belonged to all Greek *poleis* and the frequency of the ritual in so many cities problematises the political value of the Athenian practice: did the proclamation of honours really have something do to only with democratic Athens? Is it not quite puzzling that we have a long tradition of proclaiming honours in theatres in Rhodes, Cos, Ephesos, Ios, Priene, Erythrai, Cnidos, Delos, Mesambria and many other cities and regions? None of these cities were democratic, and this demonstrates that the proclamations of honours could exist also under other types of government, without having a democratic value. The employment of an Athenocentric view has over-influenced previous studies of ancient drama, and this is why it is crucial to assess the epigraphic evidence we have for the whole Greek world. In this way, Roselli is right when saying that 'the Athenocentric study of drama with its focus on citizens made an important contribution to the study of drama in terms of a particular demographic, but its assumption that drama relates to the *democratic* polis rather than the broader community in general is questionable'.[488]

For an examination of the Dionysia as a Greek phenomenon diffused among a myriad of Greek cities, it will be necessary to discuss the epigraphic sources, which are key to understanding the social value of the ceremonies, not only in Athens, but also in the wider Greek context. It is possible to see how foreigners and citizens benefited several cities by doing different things (all explained in the inscriptions). Benefactions by foreigners and honours for foreign benefactors are not peculiarly democratic, but are concerned with whatever benefactions will appeal to the receiving city, and the proclamation of honours in the theatre clearly became a feature of πόλεις in general, and not just of democratic Athens

[488] Roselli 2011: 8.

– or, of democratic πόλεις in particular. Thus, I reject the notion that these benefits are celebrated as democratic behaviour because 'mechanisms' such as favours and convenience cannot be tagged only as *democratic*. These exchanges of favours and benefits could occur in other types of government, democratic or not, and in every city, in Athens as well as elsewhere.

A thorough search[489] has led to my identification of the following inscriptions which attest the ceremonies proclaiming honours during the Dionysia outside of Athens. In the *Addenda* I list all the inscriptions which attest the practice of proclaiming honours in the theatre, during a dramatic/athletic festival of that specific city: when the Dionysia are not mentioned, it is likely either that a) the city did not celebrate the Dionysia as dramatic festival, or b) the city, though knowing and celebrating the Dionysia, used a different festival as venue for public proclamations.

Proclamations during the Dionysia

1. *IosPE* I² 25 (N. Black Sea [Olbia]; IV B.C.): proclamation of honours for Callinicus with a crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 8–9).
2. *Priene* 37 (Priene; 332–328 B.C.?): the citizens of Priene award the *grammateus* Apollinis a golden crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 31–2).
3. *Priene* 38 (Priene; 327–324 B.C.?): the citizens of Priene award the *phrourarch* Apellis a golden crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 53–4).
4. *Iscr. di Cos* ED 71 (stele I) (Cos; late IV B.C.): the citizens of Chios award Nicomedes of Cos a golden crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. fr. 5, ll. 4–5).

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[489] My investigation has been conducted through *Searchable Greek Inscriptions - Packard Humanities Institute (PHI)*. By using the key-words επαινεσαι, Διονυσι-α/-ων, θεατρῳ, στεφαν-ον/-ους, the website provides all the inscriptions containing a proclamation of honours during a festival as results.

5. *Clara Rhodos* 10 (1941) 27,1 (Cos [Asclepieion]; late IV B.C.): the citizens of Samos award crowns to the judges and the *proxenoi* of Cos during the Dionysia in the theatre.
6. *Ephesos* 36 (Ephesus; 302/1 B.C.): the citizens of Ephesus award Archestratus of Macedonia a golden crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. l. 3).
7. *Ephesos* 49 (Ephesus; Hellenistic): the citizens of Ephesus award Ararousios and Phanodicus of Miletus golden crowns during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 5–6).
8. *Iasos* 66 (Iasos; Hellenistic): the citizens of Euromos award Pantainos of Iasos a crown during the Dionysia (cf. ll. 21–2).
9. *Ephesos* 68 (Ephesus; IV/III B.C.): the citizens of Ephesus award Lysicon of Thebes a golden crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 3–4).
10. *Ephesos* 57 (Ephesus; IV/III B.C.?): the citizens of Ephesus award Melesippos of Plataiai a golden crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 6–7).
11. *Ephesos* 78 (Ephesus; IV/III B.C.?): honorary decree by the citizens of Ephesus awarding a golden crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 7–8).
12. *Ephesos* 86 (Ephesus; IV/III B.C.?): honorary decree by the citizens of Ephesus awarding a golden crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 4–5).
13. *Ephesos* 117 (Ephesus; 306–294 B.C.): the citizens of Ephesus award Sostratos a golden crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 9–10).
14. *IG* XII,1 6 (Rhodes; ca. 300–250 B.C.?): proclamation of honours in the theatre made by the *agonothetai* τῶν Διονυσίων καὶ Σε-/λευκε[ίω]ν (cf. ll. 3–5).
15. *Iscr. di Cos* ED 129 (Cos; early III B.C.): the citizens of Naxos award the judges and the people of Kos golden crowns during the Dionysia (Διονυσίων / τῷ̣[ν μεγά]λων τ̣ρ̣α̣γ̣ῳ̣ιδοῖς) in the theatre (cf. ll. 14–17).

16. *I*ScM III 3 (Scythia Minor [Kallatis {Mangalia} - Potîrnichea]; early III B.C.): proclamation of honours with a golden crown during the Dionysia (το[ῖς] [Διον]υσίοις τοῖς ξενικοῖς) in the theatre (cf. ll. 4–5).
17. *Ephesos* 40 (Ephesus; III B.C.): the citizens of Ephesus award Cleoboulus of Macedonia and others golden crowns during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 9–10).
18. *Iscr. di Cos* ED 132 (Cos [Asclepieion]; III B.C.): the citizens of Halicarnassus award Ermis of Cos a crown during the Dionysia and the Asclepieia in the theatre (cf. fr. B, ll. 1–3 and 15–17).
19. *IG*Bulg I² 308(2) (Mesambria [Nesebar]; III B.C.): proclamation of honours for Euphemus of (?) with a crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 4–10).
20. *IG*Bulg I² 308(3) (Mesambria [Nesebar]; III B.C.): proclamation of honours for Antaios of Thessaly with a crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 1–5).
21. *I*ScM I 8 (Scythia Minor [Istros—Histria]; III B.C.): the ambassadors Diodoros, Procritos and Clearchus are to be honoured with golden crowns ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς θεάτροις (cf. ll. 15–18).
22. *IG* XII,5 798 (Tenos; III B.C.): the citizens of Tenos award Melesias of Mytilene a crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 12–14).
23. *IG* XII,5 804 (Tenos; III B.C.): The citizens of Tenos award Leon of (?) a crown during the Dionysia and the Poseidonia in the theatre (cf. ll. 3–6).
24. *IG* XII,5 1010 (Ios; III B.C.): the citizens of Ios award Antisthenes of Rhodes a crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 1–3).
25. *Priene* 14 (Priene; III B.C.): the citizens of Colophon award (?) of Priene a golden crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 2–5).
26. *Priene* 43 (Priene; III B.C.): the citizens of Priene award the *phrourarch* Bias a golden crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 13–15).

27. *Priene* 17 (Priene; III B.C.?): the citizens of Magnesia award the people of Priene and the judges Diagoras and Mennonites golden crowns during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 16–17).
28. *I*ScM III 5 (Scythia Minor [Kallatis {Mangalia} - Potîrnichea]; ca. 300–250 B.C.): proclamation of honours with a crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 8–9).
29. *IG* IV 750 (Troezen; 287 B.C.): proclamation of honours with a crown during the Dionysia (cf. ll. 37–8 and 44).
30. *Pros sur pierre* 6 (Ptolemaïs Hermiou [El Manshāh]; 284–246 B.C.): the citizens of Ptolemais award Lysimachus a crown during the Dionysia (cf. ll. 15–17).
31. *IG*Bulg I^2 307 (Mesambria [Nesebar]; 281–277 B.C.): the citizens of Nesebar(?) proclaim an award with a crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 3–5).
32. *Erythrai* 21 (Erythrai; ca. 277–275 B.C.): the citizens of Erythrai award Simos of Athens and other *strategoi* golden crowns during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 30–2).
33. *Priene* 74 (Priene; 278–ca. 260 B.C.): the citizens of Priene award Sotas of (?) a crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 41–3).
34. *Iasos* 22 (Iasos; ca. 270–260 B.C.): the citizens of Iasos accept honorary decrees of Calymna for the foreign judges Cleandros, Leon, Cephalus, Theodorus and another Leon and award them crowns during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 17–18).
35. *Pros sur pierre* 3 (Ptolemaïs Hermiou [El Manshāh]; 269–246 B.C.): the citizens of Ptolemais award Dionysios a crown during the Dionysia (cf. ll. 9–10).
36. *I*Olbia 28 (N. Black Sea [Olbia]; ca. mid III B.C.): proclamation of honours for the sons of Apollonius with crowns in the theatre during the ἐκκλησία and the Dionysia(?) (cf. ll. 14–16).

37. *SEG* 34:758 (N. Black Sea [Olbia]; ca. 250–225 B.C.): proclamation of honours for Anthesterios with a crown in the theatre during the Dionysia (cf. ll. 48–50).
38. *Tit. Calymnii* Test. XVI (Caria [Iasos]; ca. 250–200 B.C.): the citizens of Calymna made a proclamation of honours with crowns during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 17–19).
39. *IosPE* I^2 344 (N. Black Sea [Chersonesos]; ca. 250–200 B.C.): proclamation of honours for Syriskos of Heracleia with a golden crown during the Dionysia (cf. ll. 11–16).
40. *FD III* 3:215 (Phocis [Delphi]; 248–246 B.C.): the citizens of Chios award the state of Aetolia a crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 20–2).
41. *FD III* 3:214 (Phocis [Delphi] 247/6 B.C.): the citizens of Chios award the state of Aetolia with a crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 23–4).
42. *FD III* 3:220 (Phocis [Delphi]; 217–212 B.C.): proclamation of honours for Leochides of Chios with a crown and two statues during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 31–3).
43. *FD III* 3:221 (Phocis [Delphi]; 217–212 B.C.): proclamation of honours for Polyarchides of Chios with a crown and a statue during the Sotheria and Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 42–4).
44. *IG* XII,5 481 (Siphnos; ca. 217–205 B.C.?): proclamation of honours for Perigenes of Alexandria with a golden crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 19–20).
45. *FD III* 2:86 (Phocis [Delphi]: ca. 209 B.C.): proclamation of honours for Athens and Edemas of Athens with a crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 27–9).
46. *FD III* 3:223 (Phocis [Delphi]; end of III B.C.): proclamation of honours for Hermocles with a crown and a statue during the Dionysia in Chios in the theatre (cf. fr. B, ll. 4–5).

47. *Priene* 18 (Priene; ca. 200 B.C.): the citizens of Parion award the people of Priene and the judge Poseidonios golden crowns during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 15–17).
48. *IG* XII,5 822 (Tenos; III/IIB.C.): the citizens of Tenos award Hegesicles a crown during the Poseideia and the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 7–10).
49. *SEG* 27:514 (Cos [Asclepieion]; III/II B.C.): proclamation of honours for Hippocrates of Cos with a golden crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 8–11).
50. *SEG* 48:1108 (Cos [Asclepieion]; III/II B.C.): proclamation of honours with crowns during the Dionysia and the Asclepieia in the theatre (cf. ll. 8–12).
51. *Magnesia* 32 (Magnesia; III/II B.C.): the citizens of Klazomenai award the people of Magnesia crowns during the Dionysia in the theatre, μετὰ τὰς σπονδάς (cf. ll. 30–2).
52. *Magnesia* 49 (Magnesia; III/II B.C.): the citizens of Paros honour with *asylia* the people of Magnesia in the theatre during the Dionysia (cf. ll. 39–42).
53. *Iasos* 69 (Iasos; III/II B.C.): the citizens of Colophon award the judges (?) of Iasos crowns during the Dionysia (cf. ll. 4–5).
54. *Clara Rhodos* 10 (1941) 31,2 (Cos; ca. 200–150 B.C.): Proclamation of honours for the people, the judges and the secretary of Cos during the Dionysia and Seleukeia in the theatre (cf. ll. 3–5).
55. *IK Knidos* I 231 / *Knidos* 9 (Cnidos [Tekir]; III/II B.C.?): the citizens of Smyrne award Xenocritos and Hagesicrates of Cnidos golden crowns during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 19–21).
56. *Priene* 2 (Priene; ca. 200 B.C.): the *prytaneis* of Bargylia award the people of Priene, the judges Aristodemos, Simos, and Agelaos crowns during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 26–8).
57. *Priene* 49 (Priene; ca. 200 B.C.): the citizens of Priene award Hegesias, Philiscus and Apollonius of (?) golden crowns during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 13–15).

58. *Iasos* 73 and 74 (Iasos; II B.C.): the citizens of Samothrace award the poet Dymas of Iasos a golden crown during the Dionysia (cf. ll. 6–7 and 22–4).
59. *I. Aeg. Thrace* E7 (Abdera; II B.C.): the citizens of Abdera(?) award Philon of Acanthus a golden crown during the Dionysia in theatre (cf. ll. 22–5).
60. *I. Aeg. Thrace* 177 (Maroneia; II B.C.): the citizens of Maroneia(?) award Pausimachus of Chalcedon a crown during the Dionysia(?) in the theatre (cf. ll. 1–3).
61. *SEG* 26:677 (Thessaly [Pelasgiotis: Larisa]; II B.C.): the citizens of Peparethos award the people, the judges and the secretary of Larisa honours during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 79–83).
62. *IG* IX,2 1230 (Perrhaibia [Phalanna: Tyrnavos]; II B.C.): the citizens of Phalanna award Glaucus a crown in the theatre (cf. ll. 31–4).
63. *IG* XII,5 813 (Tenos; II B.C.): proclamation of honours with crowns during the Dionysia and the Poseidonia in the theatre (cf. ll. 10–15).
64. *IG* XII,5 821 (Tenos; II B.C.): the citizens of Tenos award Charinus of Minoa a crown during the Posideia and the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 5–8).
65. *Priene* 8 (Priene; II B.C.): the citizens of Iasos award the people of Priene, the judge Herocrates and his *grammateus* golden crowns during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 33–4).
66. *Priene* 9 (Priene; II B.C.): the citizens of Iasos award the people of Priene, the judge Callicrates and his *grammateus* golden crowns during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 30–1).
67. *Priene* 52 (Priene; II B.C.): the citizens of Priene award the people of Iasos crowns during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 58–9).
68. *Priene* 53 (Priene; II B.C.): the citizens of Priene award the people of Iasos crowns during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 54 and 64–6).

69. *IG*Bulg I² 388(2) (Istros; 200–150 B.C.): proclamation of honours for Hegesagoras with a golden crown and a statue during the Dionysia (cf. ll. 34–6).
70. *IG* VII 20 (Megaris [Megara]; not before II B.C.): the citizens of Tanagra award the citizens of Megara crowns during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. l. 22).
71. *Lepsia* 3 (Lepsia [Patmos]; ca. 169 B.C.): the Milesians living on Lepsia award the *phrourarchos* Timotheos a golden crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 20–5).
72. *IK Byzantion* 2 (Miletus [Delphinion]; mid. II B.C.): the citizens of Byzantium award the people of Miletus and the judge Apollonidas a crown during the Dionysia (cf. ll. 22–5).
73. *Corinth 8,1* 4 (Corinth; ca. mid. II B.C.): the citizens of (?) award the people of Corinth(?) and the judges Pana-(?) and Peisulos crowns during the Dionysia (cf. ll. 11–13).
74. *IG* IV 1 (Saronic Gulf [Aigina]; 158–144 B.C.): the citizens of Aigina award Cleon of Pergamon a golden crown during the Dionysia (and many other festivals) (cf. ll. 40–1).
75. *ID* 1505 (Delos; 146/5 or 145/4 B.C.): proclamation of honours with crowns during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 18–20).
76. *ID* 1507 (Delos; 146/5 or 135/4 B.C.): proclamation of honours with crowns during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 21–2).
77. *Priene* 66 (Priene; 129–100 B.C.): the citizens of Priene award Moschion of (?) a golden crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 331–3).
78. *Priene* 51 (Priene; ca. 120 B.C.): the citizens of Priene award Herodes of (?) a crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 256–9).
79. *IG* VII 2411 (Boeotia [Thebai]; II/I B.C.): proclamation of honours with a crown during the Dionysia, the Panathenaia, the Eleusinia and the Ptolemaia (cf. ll. 0–3).

80. *Priene* 56 (Priene; beginning of I B.C.): the citizens of Priene award Crates of (?) a golden crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 305–6).
81. *IG* IV²,1 66 (Epidaurus; 74 B.C.): proclamation of honours for Euanthes of Epidaurus with a crown and a statue during the Dionysia (cf. ll. 66–7).
82. *IG* IV 2 (Saronic Gulf [Aigina]; 69 B.C.): the citizens of Aigina award Diodorus of Heracleia a golden crown during the Aiakeia, the Rhomaia and the Dionysia (cf. ll. 30–2).
83. *Iasos* 17 (Iasos; unknown date): the citizens of Iasos award Hermophantos of (Calymna?) a golden crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 3–7).
84. *Iasos* 57 (Iasos; unknown date): the citizens of Iasos award foreign judges crowns in the theatre (after the πομπή?) (cf. ll. 6–7).
85. *Iasos* 75 (Iasos; unknown date): the citizens of (?) award the *theoroi* (?) of Iasos(?) crowns during the Dionysia (cf. ll. 6–7).
86. *Iasos* 76 (Iasos; unknown date): the citizens of (?) award the judges Pindarus, Basileides and the *grammateus* Diomedes golden crowns during the Dionysia (cf. ll. 17–22).
87. *SE* 126*2 (Ephesus; unknown date): the citizens of Ephesus award Menocritus of Magnesia a golden crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 6–7).
88. *Erythrai* 20 (Erythrai; unknown date): the citizens of Erythrai award Pythodotus and others crowns during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 10–11).
89. *Ephesos* 66 (Ephesus; unknown date): the citizens of Ephesus award Melanthius of Theangela a golden crown during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 10–12).
90. *Priene* 5 (Priene; unknown date): the citizens of Erythrai award the judge Cleander and his *grammateus* crowns during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 29–32).

91. *IG* XII,5 471 (Oliaros; unknown date): proclamation of honours with crowns for Pantauchus and Micalus during the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 10–12).
92. *IG* XII,5 820 (Tenos; unknown date): the citizens of Tenos award crowns to Polychares and Archippus of Ioulis during the Poseideia and the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 11–18).
93. *FD III* 3:219bis (Phocis [Delphi]; unknown date): proclamation of honours for Alkimachus with a crown and a statue during the Dionysia in Chios in the theatre (cf. ll. 17–18).
94. *FD III* 3:225 (Phocis [Delphi]; unknown date): proclamation of honours for Megacles of Chios with a crown and a statue during the Pythian games and the Dionysia in the theatre (cf. ll. 4–6).
95. *FD III* 3:226 (Phocis [Delphi]; unknown date): proclamation of honours for Heragoros of Chios with a crown and a statue during the Dionysia in Chios in the theatre (cf. ll. 10–12).

Addenda

96. *Ephesos* 60 (Ephesus; 300 B.C.): the citizens of Ephesus award Nicagoras of Rhodes a golden crown during the Ephesia in the theatre.
97. *IG* XI,4 542 (Delos; 300–281 B.C.): proclamation of honours for Demaratus of Sparta with crowns during the Apollonia.
98. IG XI,4 600 (Delos; ca. 300–250 B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Artemidorus of Antioch a crown during the Apollonia in the theatre.
99. IScM I 65 (Scythia Minor? [Istros-Histria? {Dragomirna}]; ca. 300–250 B.C.): proclamation of honours for the architect Epicrates of Byzantium with a golden crown during the Thargelia in the theatre.

100. *IG* XII,1 6 (Rhodos; 300–250 B.C.?): the 'agonothetai' of the Dionysia and the Seleukeia (of Rhodes?) award (?) honours and a statue in the theatre.

101. *IG* XI,4 687 (Delos; III B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Leon of Massalia a crown during the Apollonia in the theatre.

102. *IG* XI,4 963 (Delos; III B.C.): proclamation of honours with crowns during the Apollonia in the theatre.

103. *IG* XI,4 559 (Delos; ca. 280 B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Philocles king of Sidon a golden crown during the Apollonia in the theatre.

104. *IG* XI,4 565 (Delos; ca. 260 B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Hermias a crown during the Apollonia in the theatre.

105. *IG* XI,4 674 (Delos; mid III B.C.): the citizens of Delos award (?) of Alexandria a crown during the Apollonia in the theatre.

106. *IG* XI,4 1052 (Delos; mid III B.C.): the citizens of Syriae award Eumedes of Klazomenai a golden crown during the Apollonia in the theatre.

107. *IG* XI,4 664 (Delos; 240–230 B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Admetus of Macedonia a crown and two statues during the Apollonia in the theatre.

108. *IG* XI,4 680 (Delos; 239–229 B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Autocles of Chalcis a crown in the theatre (during the Apollonia?).

109. *IG* XI,4 682 (Delos; ca. 230 B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Autocles of Chalcis with a crown during the Apollonia in the theatre.

110. *IG* XI,4 666 (Delos; 239–210 B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Aristoboulus of Thessalonica a crown during the Apollonia in the theatre.

111. *IG* XI,4 694 (Delos; 220–210 B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Hagnotheus of Athens a crown during the 'agon' of the Apollonia in the theatre.

112. *IScM* I 25 (Scythia Minor [Istros—Histria]; III/II B.C.): proclamation of honours with golden crown during the Thargelia in the theatre.

113. *IG* XI,4 690 (Delos; end of III B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Cleombrotus of Rhodes a crown during the 'agon' of the Apollonia in the theatre.

114. *IG* XI,4 697 (Delos; end of III B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Mnesiptolemus of Cumae a crown in the theatre.

115. *IG* XI,4 705 (Delos; end of III B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Pantacratides of (?) a crown during the Apollonia in the theatre.

116. *IG* XI,4 706 (Delos; end of III B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Herodorus of Chalcis a crown in the theatre.

117. *IG* XI,4 710 (Delos; end of III B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Archinicus of Thera a crown during the Apollonia in the theatre.

118. *Priene* 16 (Priene; ca. 200 B.C.): the citizens of Laodikeia award the people of Priene and the judges Meniscus, Agias and Molon golden crowns during the Antiocheia in the theatre.

119. *Halikarnassos* 9 (Halicarnassus; III/II B.C.): the citizens of Halicarnassus (or Theangela?) award the 'strategos' Iason Minnionos a golden crown the during the musical 'agones' in the theatre.

120. *IG* XI,4 712 (Delos; beginning of II B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Publius Cornelius Scipio of Rome a crown in the theatre.

121. *IG* XI,4 744 (Delos; beginning of II B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Onomarchus of Cnidos a crown during the Apollonia in the theatre.

122. *IG* XI,4 749 (Delos; beginning of II B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Charmantidas of Melos a crown in the theatre.

123. *IG* XI,4 753 (Delos; beginning of II B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Anaxibius of Rhodes a crown during the Apollonia in the theatre.

124. *IG* XI,4 755 (Delos; beginning of II B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Anaxidicus of Rhodes a crown during the Apollonia in the theatre.

125. *IG* XI,4 764 (Delos; beginning of II B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Mantineas of Tenos a crown during the Apollonia in the theatre.

126. *IG* XI,4 766 (Delos; beginning of II B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Demetrios of Pergamon a crown in the theatre.

127. *IG* XI,4 771 (Delos; beginning of II B.C.): proclamation of honours crowns during the Apollonia in the theatre.

128. *IG* XI,4 774 (Delos; beginning of II B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Heracleitus of Seleukeia a crown during the Apollonia in the theatre.

129. *IG* XI,4 780 (Delos; beginning of II B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Theon of Byzantium a crown in the theatre.

130. *IG* XI,4 782 (Delos; beginning of II B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Androcles Polyrrenos? a crown during the Apollonia in the theatre.

131. *IG* XI,4 784 (Delos; beginning of II B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Chaireas of Macedonia a crown during the Apollonia in the theatre.

132. *IG* XI,4 809 (Delos; beginning of II B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Marcus of Rome a crown during the Apollonia in the theatre.

133. *IG* XI,4 818 (Delos; beginning of II B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Aphrodisius of Ascalon a crown during the Apollonia in the theatre.

134. *IG* XI,4 820 (Delos; beginning of II B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Ctesippus of Chios a crown in the theatre.

135. *IG* XI,4 836 (Delos; beginning of II B.C.): proclamation of honours with crowns during the Apollonia in the theatre.

136. *IG* XI,4 843 (Delos; beginning of II B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Ariston of (?) a crown during the Apollonia in the theatre.

137. *Halikarnassos* 11 (Halicarnassus; II B.C.): proclamation of honours for Papylus of (?).

138. *IG* XI,4 1061 (Delos; 172–167 B.C.): the citizens of Delos award Kraton (of Teos?), αὐλητής, ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διονύσου and ἀγωνοθέτης a crown ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι ἐν ᾗι ἡμέραι ἡ π̣[ανήγυρις τε]-/[λ]εῖται. Kraton is also awarded with three statues, one of them to be put in the theatre of Teos ὅπως οἱ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἀ̣[γωνοθέται ἐν τῆι] / [π]ανηγύρει καὶ ὅταν ἡ Τηίων πόλις συντελῇ Διονύσια ἢ ἄλλον τιν[ὰ ἀ]γ[ῶνα στεφανώσωσι <τὴν εἰκόνα>] / τὴν Κράτωνος στεφάνωι τῶι ἐκ τοῦ νόμου.

139. *ID* 1498 (Delos; 160–150 B.C.): proclamation of honours for Euboulus of Marathon with a golden crown ἐν τῶι ἐν ἄστει θεάτρωι.

140. *Teos* 25 (Teos?; mid II B.C.): the Dionysiac artists and others award Kraton of Chalkedon a crown (during the Dionysia or ἐν τῆι βασιλέως Εὐμένου ἡμέραι ὅταν ἥ τε πομπὴ / διέλθηι καὶ αἱ στεφανώσεις συντελῶνται?) in the theatre. Very interesting: ὁμοίως δὲ / καὶ παρὰ τὸν πότον γινέσθω τῆι αὐτῆι ἡμέραι μετὰ τὰς / σπονδὰς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἡ ἀναγγελία τοῦ στεφάνου.

141. *Mylasa* 29 (Milas; II/I B.C.): proclamation of honours for the judge Theodoros in the theatre.

142. *Theangela* 3 (Theangela; I B.C.?): the citizens of Theangela award Minnion of Antioch (Alabanda) a crown in the theatre.

143. *IG* XII,2 220 (Lesbos [Mytilene]; unknown date): the citizens of Mytilene? award Aristoge-? honours and a statue (during the agones of?) in the theatre.

144. *IG* XII,2 509/658 (Lesbos [Methymna]; unknown date): proclamation of honours for the people of Methymna with crowns in the theatre.

What can we grasp from this list? Again, we can see how the practice of the proclamation of honours was widespread in the Greek world. Many cities and many governments during many different centuries used to proclaim honours in the theatres during the Dionysia. This tells us that Athens, together with its democratic government, was not the only city acting thus. Indeed, the possibility that the Athenian proclamations of honours had a democratic value and that, consequently, other Greek cities copied that democratic practice must now be rejected: more generally, we can conclude that the practice became official, common and frequent in the second half of the fourth century B.C. among all Greek cities. It remains more likely that Greek cities (after or contemporarily to Athens) became aware of the great visibility that the Dionysia (and the physical space of the theatre) could offer to the city and its community: this could be the reason why the practice of proclaiming crowns spread out into all the theatres of the Greek world, both during the Dionysia and other important local festivals. It goes without saying that this is a new field of studies, and each *polis*, along with its dramatic festivals and public proclamations of honours, deserve a specific study. This is why I hope to focus precisely on non-Athenian pre-play ceremonies in my future research.

Conclusions

In 1987, 1990 and 2000 Simon Goldhill showed how the Dionysia and Athenian tragedy had something to do with democracy; by contrast, in 2003, Peter J. Rhodes argued that Athenian dramatic festivals had much more to do with the πόλις in general rather than with democracy in particular; additionally, in 2004, David M. Carter demonstrated the existing problems with the evidence for and frequency of the pre-play ceremonies, and argued that the Athenian ceremonies and tragedies displayed an imperialistic ideology, rather than a democratic ideology. In the shadow of these three major figures and the scenario they depicted, what more could one say about the relationship between the Dionysia and its social context? Actually, there was still much to be said if one (a) aimed to conduct a historical investigation and a political evaluation of the pre-play ceremonies and their sources, and (b) sought to analyse the Athenian Dionysia together with other Dionysia in the wider Greek world. To be sure, conclusions were not yet ready to be drawn, and it is very likely that the scenario will change in the future (given the amount of new epigraphical discoveries being made): it is for this reason that I have intervened in the lively debate on the Athenian Dionysia pre-play ceremonies. Although the three major contributions to this topic have successfully highlighted and discussed several aspects of the matter, our knowledge of the pre-play ceremonies has remained sparse, and the issues surrounding the Dionysia and its relationship with democracy could hardly be considered closed. My thesis has demonstrated why the pre-play ceremonies of the Athenian Dionysia — in light of the testimonies which attest to them — require further consideration, revitalising this overlooked area of study. The historical-theoretical and ideological contributions collected in 1990's *Nothing to Do With Dionysos: Athenian Drama in Its*

Social Context have benefited studies on Greek tragedy and highlighted several neglected issues of the field. Their undoubted importance is still clear today as new works on tragic politics and civic/ideological tensions within drama are being published.[490] The volume stressed the connection between Athenian theatre and Athenian *polis*, and it brought Athenian socio-political thought and consciousness to light. However, the influence of democracy and democratic ideology upon the Athenian Dionysia and tragedy has been over-exaggerated. Such readings of the Athenian dramatic festival have intervened with too specific and narrow an ideological mind-set. Rather it is more appropriate to consider the broader civic dimension of the event and re-establish its socio-political value in relation to the city of Athens, not specifically to Athenian democracy.

Firstly, a general point. Having taken as my focus the four pre-play ceremonies, I have not discussed here the origins of the Great Dionysia,[491] a topic beyond the purview of this thesis. The key aspect of the festival's origins is that the Dionysia was not performed solely during the democratic period of the fifth century B.C.: though its origins are obscure, it appears to have been celebrated since the sixth century B.C., that is, when the peak of Athenian democracy had not yet been reached. Indeed, the sixth century B.C. was an age of tyrants and oligarchs, and Athens was only beginning to experience new forms of governments, such as the *isonomia*, which contained democratic principles only *in nuce*. Furthermore, the festival continued to be celebrated after the fifth-century B.C., and democracy was not always predominant (even democratic governments were not always alike: some think that fifth-century B.C. Athenian democracy was more strictly democratic than fourth-century B.C. Athenian democracy; others *vice versa*).[492] There are many concerns that should be considered when evaluating the socio-political value and the

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[490] Cf. the *status quaestionis* for a list of the major recent works on this topic.

[491] Cf. *Introduction*, (n. 47).

[492] Cf. Harris 2017b.

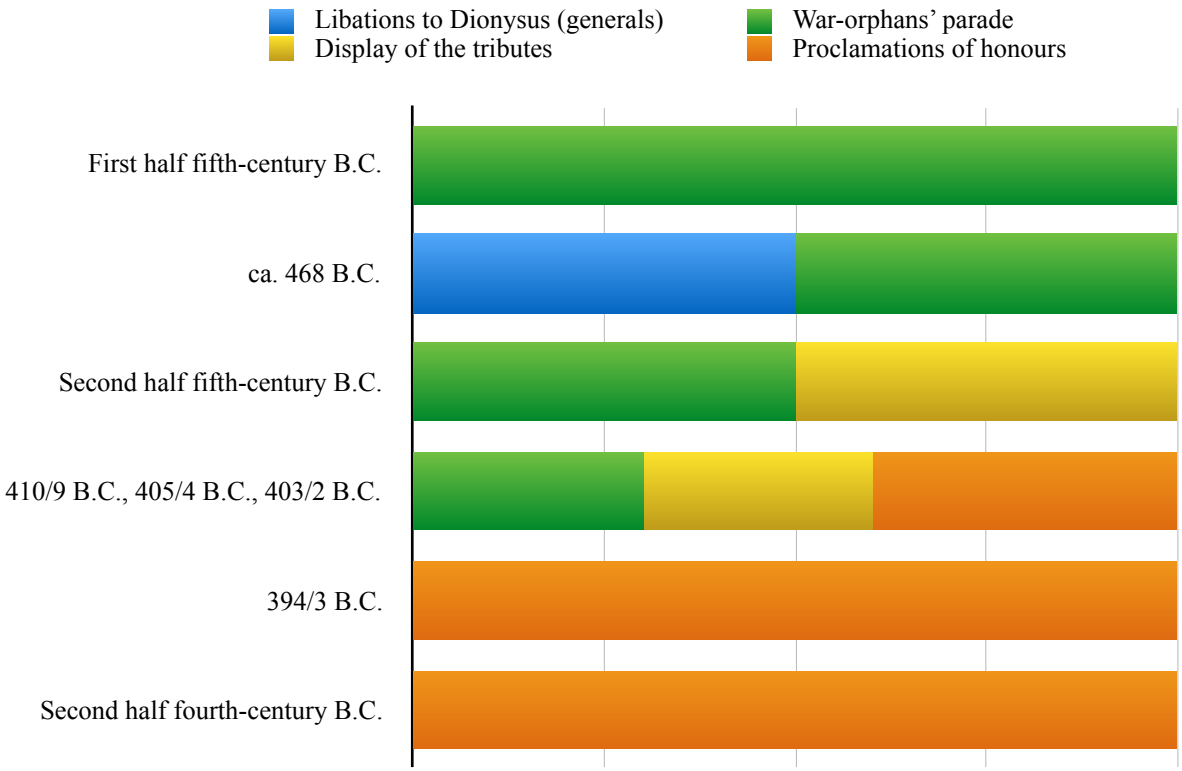
ideology of the Athenian Great Dionysia, and the issue regarding the origins of the dramatic festival is one of these. Griffin wondered about the fact that the Dionysia were performed since the sixth century B.C. and argued that, for this reason, the festival can hardly be considered as fully democratic;[493] Goldhill replied that 'this is a wholly unconvincing historical argument, not least because it ignores the relevant evidence for continuity and change. Even if tragedy was instituted under Peisistratus, the fifth century festival is a *different* political event, as the *new* institutional structures show'.[494] Goldhill's statement is true in part: certainly one should take into consideration the continuity and change of the festival, but, precisely in the name of continuity, we should not analyse the Athenian Dionysia in blocks, separating each century, thus asserting that the sixth-century B.C. Dionysia was a tyrannical festival, the fifth-century B.C. Dionysia was a democratic festival, and so on. It is this attempt to look at the Dionysia's continuity through the centuries that has resulted in Goldhill's oversight of the frequency of the pre-play ceremonies from the sixth century B.C. onwards: looking exclusively at the fifth-century B.C. Dionysia renders only a partial reading.

A further consideration: as we have seen, the temporal concurrence of the ceremonies is crucial. Carter has concluded that 'on the question of whether the four ceremonies took place annually in the fifth-century, then, we have a yes (*sc.* the libations), two maybes (*sc.* the display of the tributes and the war-orphans' parade) and a no (*sc.* the proclamations of honours)'.[495] However, there are some doubts about the libations to Dionysus: we have seen that if we want to test the frequency and the occurrence of the ceremony, we can only rely on Plutarch — as Carter does — and his τὰς νενομισμένας σπονδάς ('the customary libations'), and all those inscriptions which attest to the proclamations of honours in the

[493] Cf. Griffin 1998: 47.
[494] Goldhill 2000: 38.
[495] Carter 2004: 9.

theatre μετὰ τὰς σπονδάς (‘after the libations’). However likely it is that libations in honour of Dionysus might have occurred during the Great Dionysia, in the theatre of Dionysus, we have no clear evidence to confirm that libations took place annually in the fifth century B.C.; further, we do not have enough information to describe the ceremony with accuracy. The display of the tributes and the war orphans’ parade took place during the fifth century B.C. only (the former approximately between 453 B.C. and 404 B.C., or rather 413 B.C.). Moreover, it is likely that — given that the display occurred exclusively during the period of the Athenian empire, that is, the second half of the fifth century B.C. — the war orphans’ parade was much ‘older’[496] than the display of the tributes, so that the two pre-play ceremonies did not always take place together. We have seen, then, that we can be sure that both were no longer performed during Isocrates’ and Aeschines’ time — that is, the fourth century B.C. Finally, we have three attestations of public proclamations of honours during the very late fifth century B.C. (plus one at the beginning of the fourth century B.C.): the practice seems to have become regular only during the second half of the fourth century B.C. It is fruitful to tabulate the situation at hand:

[496] Indeed, given that the practice of supporting war-orphans is generally considered as having archaic origins (cf. *Chapter Three*, section *3.2*), the possibility that the ceremony was performed also in the sixth century B.C. should not be rejected.



The table shows all that we can conclude — based on the evidence we have — about the concurrence of the four pre-play ceremonies. As the results indicate, besides the cases of 410/9 B.C., 405/4 B.C. and 403/2 B.C., when we have three pre-play ceremonies of four performed together, there is no occasion in which we are sure that the four pre-play ceremonies where celebrated all together at the same Great Dionysia.[497]

Goldhill's analysis of the four pre-play ceremonies has been productive, since it has produced and stimulated debate on the issue. Yet an in-depth historical investigation on the pre-play ceremonies has been called for. The exaggerating and generalising tone of his

[497] That the libations to Dionysus (given the Dionysiac context) were poured every year before the dramatic performances, remains a plausible inference. However, our evidence only tells us that the libations were poured exclusively by the ten generals in ca. 468 B.C. If all the inscriptions which attest to a proclamation of honours in the theatre would intend to say, through the formula μετὰ τὰς σπονδάς, that the proclamations took place after the libations to Dionysus, this would mean that we have many attestations of the libations to Dionysus (though we do not know the identity of the libation-bearers). As for the case of 394/3 B.C., we do not know whether the performance of the war-orphans' parade had already ceased.

arguments about the democratic character of the Dionysia has contributed, in my opinion, to a misunderstanding of the festival. The conclusion one takes regarding the pre-play ceremonies should concern the pre-play ceremonies only: it would be a questionable method of interference if we were to conduct a selective analysis of the four pre-play ceremonies in order to draw general conclusions on the Great Dionysia. The dramatic festival comprised many elements, rituals, performances and performers: it was a composite which could have reflected many different values. Certainly, as the four pre-play ceremonies were performed immediately before the dramatic performances and in front of all the Greeks, they were an essential part of the festival. It is true that Goldhill, in his articles, has concisely mentioned other (supposedly democratic) procedures of the Dionysia:[498]

> […] the funding of chorus or festival: the choregia as a specifically democratic system; the selection of judges and chorus and actors by democratic procedure; the possibility of tribal seating, and the certainty of seating according to political position in democracy (e.g. the seats for the *boule*); the procedure for getting tickets via inscription on the deme roll; the dating of the innovation of the pre-play ceremonies; the assembly in the theatre to discuss the theatre — indeed the whole gamut of performances which are instituted by democracy, and function as signs and symptoms of democracy in action.[499]

The Dionysia's origins, all of the above-mentioned procedures, the four pre-play ceremonies, the audience and the plays formed the Athenian Great Dionysia in its entirety — only an extensive study which focuses on all of these aspects could provide a complete analysis of the Athenian dramatic festival as a whole. For my purposes, a focused analysis of each single ceremony has been more productive: this has allowed me to concentrate

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[498] All of them discussed and contested by Rhodes 2003: 107–13.

[499] Goldhill 2000: 38.

exclusively on the origins, history, development, attestations, value and frequency of each ritual, without moving to evaluate the whole dramatic festival of the Great Dionysia. The achievement of the latter requires a far broader investigation of each element of the festival, and my *status quaestionis* has indeed highlighted how modern studies are trying to provide interpretations and explanations of the elements which compose the Dionysia. I do not suggest that a focused analysis of the four pre-play ceremonies does not allow us to draw any firm conclusions on the Great Dionysia's ideology, but rather I propose that a conclusive judgement concerning the dramatic festival should be made only on the basis of deep and holistic historical examination of each element that informed the festival. I have chosen to analyse the four pre-play ceremonies both because they were the 'main concern' of Goldhill's ideological evaluation, and because they have been excessively interpreted as the Dionysia's most politically involved ceremonies. Also, since Carter underlined the 'problems with evidence' regarding the ceremonies, I thought that a specific and thorough study into the pre-play ceremonies had to be made in order to provide the scholarly panorama a useful and comprehensive tool to know and evaluate an important part of the Athenian dramatic festival.

My thesis thus possesses a large-scale utility. It is both a collection of data and an analytical discussion. The data and the attestations provided aim, one the one hand, to offer a complete and unprecedented set of sources, while, on the other hand, they prepare the ground for further analysis. The discussions of the libations to Dionysus, the display of the allies' tributes, the war-orphans' parade and the proclamations of honours gives rise to a new understanding of the pre-play ceremonies. The historical and socio-political investigations conducted in my thesis have achieved the designated goal, that is, to demonstrate that democratic ideology was not displayed during any of the four pre-play ceremonies.

The ceremony of the libations to Dionysus poured by the ten generals required a two-fold examination: one on the ritual of libations, its origins, and its value; the other on the usual performers, who, according to Plutarch, were the ten generals. Through the first analysis, I have showed that the ceremony, which was very common in the Greek world, did not require specific performers: rather, there was a 'functional equivalence' between priests and magistrates, given the slight difference between the political and religious sphere in ancient Greek society. Secondly, the novel historical investigation I have conducted on the reforms of 487/6 B.C. has illustrated the non-democratic origin of such a political change: as a matter of fact, necessity and opportunity were the most suitable reasons for conferring power upon the office of the ten generals. Moreover, I have re-contextualised the passage of Plutarch, considering the sections preceding it, and, thanks to this, it has been possible to highlight two main points: on the one hand, Plutarch — by recounting the famous deeds of Cimon (among which there were his libations in the theatre along with the ten generals) — is talking about a specific occasion in 468 B.C., and not about an Athenian common habit; on the other hand, it is always appropriate to remember that Plutarch is the only explicit source which attests to the libations poured by the ten generals during the Dionysia, and that his tone, which seems to highlight the exceptionality of the event, should be perceived as explanatory.

The display of the allies' tributes has been only glancingly analysed as there is not a huge amount of evidence to discuss: there are several debates on the amount of tributes that each allies had to pay every year, but this issue is not crucial to my discussion. My reading of Isocrates, who is our main source of the perception of the ceremony, has highlighted the orator's critical tone towards the display of the tributes — a critical tone that was directed more towards the imperialistic value of the ceremony rather than to its democratic value. Again, I argued that, consequently, the reading of the ceremony should

be linked less to democratic ideology. It is right to put less emphasis, as Carter has done, on the democratic image of Athens during the display of the tributes and more on its powerful image, as an imperialistic city. Yet I am not sure whether Athens was purposely displaying its imperialistic image in front of such a heterogeneous audience during the ceremony in the theatre: Athenians knew how their fellow countrymen considered Athens — that is, as a tyrannical ruler of the sea. Given this and the strong impact (both visual and emotional) that a display of the tributes could have caused among the audience, I doubt that Athenians would have promoted such a negative publicity. It is still likely that foreign attendees considered the ritual as an imperialistic event. However, my discussion has focused more on the value of the pre-play ceremonies in themselves rather than on the external reception of them.

The comprehensive analysis of the war-orphans' parade has included secondary literature that can be related to the study of the pre-play ceremonies, and it has considered interesting sources (such as the Theozotides decree and Thasos' support for war-orphans) that have been neglected in prior studies on the Dionysia' pre-play ceremonies. Firstly, it was necessary to distinguish, following Dillery's work, the ephebes and the war-orphans, and their processions. Next, I provided a fresh evaluation of the ceremony of the war-orphans' parade by considering the noteworthy Theozotides decree, which explicitly attests state support for the sons of those who died under the oligarchy. In that section, I discussed the controversial date of the decree (preferring a later dating, that is, 404/3 B.C.) and, most significantly, its value: I argued that the decree can be considered as a democratic decree (as it had been enacted by and under a democratic government, after the fall of the oligarchic government), but that (a) it draws from an existing pre-democratic practice of the state support for the war-orphans (ascribable to Solon and Peisistratus), and (b) it cannot stand for an major example of democratic ideology, inasmuch as it only aims to

include those orphans among the regular war-orphans supported by the state. There is nothing that can be ascribed to democratic ideology; rather, it is just an inclusive and regulatory decree. Moreover, in the fragmentary record of Lysias' *Against Theozotides* — in relation to Theozotides' decree and the war-orphans — we find the expression οἱ πατέρες ἀπέθανον ἐν τῶι πολέμωι μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἄνδρες ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ ('the fathers died during the war, fighting for their homeland and being good men'): there is no political specification, as 'dying for the homeland' is not equivalent to 'dying for the democracy'. By proceeding along this de-democratising path, I have used the theories of Winkler and Siewert to provide two challenging hypotheses: (a) that the war-orphans (given that they were allotted a honorary seat among the audience after their parade) could be the principal addressees of the pedagogical messages of Athenian tragedies; and, (b) that the fourth-century B.C. ephebic oath (which is implicitly mentioned by Athenian playwrights and has little democratic appeal) could have early origins in a (somewhat ambiguous) fifth-century B.C. war-orphans' oath. Finally, to introduce the subsequent discussion on the proclamations of honours, I approached the issue of Athenian 'helping behaviour'. Through the consideration of Christ's statements about the democratic and intimate character of Athenian helping behaviour, I revealed: (a) that Christ's democratic reading of Athenian helping behaviour cannot stand together with Goldhill's democratic reading of the pre-play ceremonies; (b) that Athenian helping behaviour was not restrictive and regarded to intimate groups; and, (c) that it is difficult to label a social helping behaviour as exclusively democratic (otherwise, how can we explain oligarchical and tyrannical helping behaviours?).

Lastly, I treated the most controversial and debated pre-play ceremony: the proclamation of honours. This ceremony has been frequently analysed, both on account of the huge amount of epigraphic evidence which attests honorific decrees, and owing to the

legal contest between Aeschines and Demosthenes on the crowning of the latter. However, since many distinctions needed to be articulated, I first conducted an investigation into Aeschines' terminology; next, I undertook a complete reassessment of the socio-political value of the proclamations of honours. Aeschines' words show that a public proclamation of honours in the theatre was probably illegal — as the exemption clause 'and nowhere else' seems to indicate. Having only three attestations of public proclamations of honours in the theatre, I raised doubts about referring to a 'regular/common practice': indeed, the evidence I provided has shown that the pre-play ceremony was far from a regular practice, and that, conversely, it became common only from the second half of the fourth century B.C (in the *Appendix* to the chapter I have listed all the honorific decrees dating from the fifth century B.C. to 330 B.C., and I showed that only two decrees from 176 award honours publicly). onwards. Moreover, we have seen that the few public proclamations of honours had little to do with democratic ideology, and that, rather, they were celebrating circumstantial events without any further political implication. Therefore, the theatre has been demonstrated to be more a stage for visibility rather than a political space in which political decisions were made. Secondly, I have taken the formulation of fifth-century B.C. honorific decrees and very early fourth-century B.C. (including those that award honours in the theatre) as a case study (45 decrees), to demonstrate that the decrees (a) did not have a standard formulaic language as has been previously assumed, and that (b) the formula 'being good towards the *demos* of Athens' is restored in almost all decrees, and that (c) this phrase does not have a democratic meaning, inasmuch as it employs terms interchangeable with *polis* (used also in an oligarchic honorific decree) and *Athenians* (in general).

My thesis has advanced scholarly debate by making several clarifications about the historical sources and socio-political value of the Athenian Dionysia's pre-play ceremonies, and has further opened new research perspectives: by providing all the

attestations of non-Athenian Dionysia's pre-play ceremonies (with brief discussions attached) at each chapter's close, I hope to have expanded the purview of studies about drama and dramatic festivals outside Athens. I have shown how the libations (attested in many Greek cities, some of which involved political figures as performers), the war-orphans' parade (for example, in Thasos) and the proclamations of honours (performed in the whole Greek world), as pre-play ceremonies of the Great Dionysia, were widely practiced throughout the Greek world. Indeed, the study of Greek drama and dramatic festivals throughout ancient Greece has currently become, as I showed in the *status quaestionis* and in *Appendix 2*, an interesting and emerging subject matter. We have seen how Csapo and Wilson have crucially demonstrated the spread of Greek drama, although but their investigations into drama outside Athens have not yet considered the festival's pre-play ceremonies. Certainly, their work is significant in undermining the Athenocentric view of Greek drama. But if it is not possible to describe the Greek Great Dionysia as an exclusively democratic festival, what about the political value of its pre-play ceremonies? This is the issue that I raised in the final sections attached to each chapter, and it is the topic which could form the core of future studies. In this way, my thesis has both enriched our knowledge and comprehension of the Athenian Great Dionysia, and it has aimed to focus the attention on one specific aspect — that is, the pre-play ceremonies of non-Athenian Dionysia —, with the hope to have strengthened and refined a perception of Greek dramatic festivals which goes beyond Athens and its democratic government.

To conclude, I have demonstrated how the pre-play ceremonies of the Athenian Great Dionysia really had something to do with the πόλις, as they were ceremonies of a civic festival that, given its international fame and importance, guaranteed the Athenians visibility in front of the whole of Greece. The Great Dionysia was first of all the festival of the city, which gathered its entire civic community and displayed the magnificence, wealth

and culture of Athens. As Athens was a premier cultural and military centre of Greece, the famous Great Dionysia was one of the best occasions to present a stunning image of the city — although the Panathenaia, as a more distinctively Athenian festival, could have been a more suitable venue. A display of the specific democratic government would have been more limiting: the presence of such a heterogeneous audience and performers demanded a broader civic message and ideology. Democracy undoubtedly contributed to the growth of the city as a strong and uncontested authority within Greece. Still Athens, *qua* πόλις, and its civic ideology, *qua* political, should be the starting point of each evaluation of its institutions, products, citizens and rituals. My challenge to the democratic interpretation has, therefore, located the dramatic festival of the Great Dionysia within a broader civic framework, showing how every detail of each ceremonies was linked to the πόλις and its civic ideology.

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