

Serving Athena

In ancient Athens, the Panathenaia was the most important festival and was celebrated in honour of Athena from the middle of the sixth century BC until the end of the fourth century AD. This in-depth study examines how this all-Athenian celebration was an occasion for constructing identities and how it affected those identities. Since not everyone took part in the same way, this differential participation articulated individuals' relationships both to the goddess and to the city, so that the festival played an important role in negotiating what it meant to be Athenian (and non-Athenian). Julia Shear applies theories of identity formation which were developed in the social sciences to the ancient Greek material and brings together historical, epigraphical and archaeological evidence to provide a better understanding both of this important occasion and of Athenian identities over the festival's long history.

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Serving Athena

The Festival of the Panathenaia and the Construction of Athenian Identities

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and for

TLS and RSS

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Preface

My interest in the Panathenaia first started when I was a young graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania in the early to mid 1990s, when there was much discussion of J. B. Connelly's interpretation of the Parthenon frieze, which was eventually published in the *American Journal of Archaeology* in 1996 (as Connelly 1996). In due course, I wrote a doctoral dissertation on the history and development of the festival. This book, however, is not simply a revised (and abbreviated!) version of that dissertation: in the second decade of the twenty-first century, it is not novel to say that a festival which went on for almost a thousand years changed over time, in large part because of scholarship done during the 1990s (and including my dissertation). Instead, I have shifted the project to focus on a neglected, but important, aspect of the Panathenaia: the ways in which the occasion created identities for the Athenians and other participants. Like my first book, *Polis and Revolution: Responding to Oligarchy in Classical Athens*, this monograph also puts into practice my approach to writing ancient (Greek) history: that we must do history holistically by using all our evidence and cutting across subdivisions (and sub-subdivisions) of the field and that we must draw on approaches developed in the social sciences in order to understand the ancient (Greek) material. As some responses to drafts of the book's chapters indicate, this approach will be challenging for some readers of this book. It is, however, the direction in which the study of ancient (Greek) history needs to go. I hope to have constructed the book, and more importantly, its indices, in such a way that readers for whom such an approach is uncongenial may still extract information about the festival.

In the course of writing, rewriting and editing this book, I have been helped by many friends and colleagues and I have incurred many scholarly debts. I particularly owe the greatest thanks to Simon Goldhill and Robert Parker, who both read the entire book in draft, and to Graham Oliver and Robin Osborne, who each read drafts of several different chapters and also provided much other help and advice, often at short notice. Since all of these individuals had read at least part, if not all, of my dissertation, I am especially grateful for their willingness to help me with this book. Robert's discussion of the Panathenaia in *Polytheism and Society at Athens* is closely

imbricated with my work on the festival and, indeed, it served as commentary on my dissertation before he read the book-draft.

I have benefited also from the help, advice and generosity of many friends while I was writing this book and it is my great pleasure to thank especially: Danielle Kellogg, Nigel Kennell, Susan Lupack, Agis Marinis, Bill Morison, Ümit Öztürk, Nicholaos Papazarkadas, Cameron Pearson, T. Leslie Shear, Jr, Evi Sikla, Ann Steiner, Andy Stewart, Ron Stroud and Steve Tracy. My ideas on the Panathenaia were also tried out on the students in my graduate seminar *Greeks and the Divine* and my undergraduate course *Religion and Society in Ancient Greece* at Boğaziçi University in Istanbul; in return for their patience, their willingness to engage with my ideas and their interest in the project, I now extend my very warm thanks. Some of the material in this book was presented, often in rather different form, at the annual conferences of the Classical Association in 2005 and 2013; the annual meetings of the American Philological Association (now the Society for Classical Studies) in 2014; the Athens Greek Religion Seminar in 2015; and at several conferences: in Athens, ‘The Panathenaic Games’ conference and the conference ‘Ascending and Descending the Acropolis: Sacred Travel in Ancient Attica and Its Borders’; and in Oxford, the 13th International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy. To all the participants at these various occasions, I extend my warmest thanks. For facilitating access at crucial moments to the university libraries at Liverpool and Princeton, I am very grateful to Graham Oliver and April Miller respectively.

In collecting the images which illustrate this book, I have incurred a series of different debts. For their help and advice, I would like to thank Christina Kolb, Marion Meyer, John Oakley, Alan Shapiro and especially Jenifer Neils and Tarek Elemam. I am immensely grateful to Konstantinos Tzortzinis, who went out of his way at a very difficult and busy time to do the digital work on a number of images for me and who also gave me some invaluable pointers in the process. In addition, I must thank the following individuals and their institutions: Natalia Vogeikoff-Brogan at the Archives of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens; Craig Mauzy and Sylvie Dumont at the Agora Excavations in Athens; Joachim Heiden at the DAI Fotothek in Athens; Polly Lohmann at the Antikensammlung der Universität Heidelberg; Frederik Engel Møller at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen; Diana Edkins at Art Resource in New York; and Jacklyn Burns at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu. I am also very grateful to the Akropolis Museum and to the *Ephoreia* of the

Anquities of the City of Athens for permission to reproduce images of material in the museum and from the Agora Excavations in the e-book.

Several institutions have also made this book possible. This book was written, rewritten and edited while I was at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and while I was an Onassis Foundation Visiting Instructor in the Department of History at Boğaziçi University in Istanbul. At the School, I would like to thank Jenifer Neils, the current director, and her predecessors, Jim Wright and Jack Davis, as well as the staff of the School, for all their help and support. I am especially grateful to Ioanna Damanaki, the Assistant to the Director, for her help with the paperwork for the e-book. My colleagues at Boğaziçi were endlessly supportive of a project on a period and culture far from their own research and one which could not be completed in Istanbul. I am also very grateful to Taner Bilgiç, who was Vice-Provost (International Relations) for much of my time at the university, for supporting this project and my research at some very crucial moments and smoothing out various bureaucratic problems. At The Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, it is my pleasure to thank the President and the Board of Directors for generously supporting my position at Boğaziçi; at the Foundation's Athens office, I would like to thank Effie Tsiotsiou, the Executive Director, and especially Olga Delidakis, the Associate to the Executive Director. The last stages of preparing the final text for submission to the Press were done while I held a National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) Fellowship at the American School in Athens.¹ For permission to look at material in their care, I would like to thank Sylvie Dumont, the secretary and registrar at the Agora Excavations, and Athanasios Themou, the director of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, and the staffs of both collections, as well as Angelos Chaniotis and Marcia Tucker at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

At Cambridge University Press, I must thank above all Michael Sharp for his patience, tact and support during the very long gestation of this volume. I hope that the final product lives up to his expectations! His assistants Sophie Taylor, Hal Churchman and Katie Idle have answered questions quickly and graciously. Caroline Morley, Victoria Parrin, Jane Burkowski and the rest of the production team skilfully produced this printed monograph from all my electronic files and I would like to thank them for all their care and hard work. Thanks are also due to the three anonymous

¹ Any views, findings, conclusions or recommendations expressed in this book do not necessarily reflect those of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

readers for the Press. All of these many individuals have in their own ways improved this book and the remaining imperfections are certainly no reflections on any of them.

Finally, I close with a note about the bibliography. It was as up to date as I could make it in September 2018. Subsequently, due to the limitations of the bibliographical resources available to me in Istanbul and a serious family illness during the summer of 2019, I have only been able to add to the bibliography selectively. I have just made partial use of *SEG LXIV* and I was not able to engage with S. C. Humphreys, *Kinship in Ancient Athens: An Anthropological Analysis* (Oxford, 2018).

Abbreviations

Abbreviations of the names and works of ancient authors follow the scheme used in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* supplemented by those of Liddell, Scott and Jones, *A Greek–English Lexicon*, 9th ed. Abbreviations for epigraphical works follow the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Abbreviations for journal titles follow *L'Année philologique* and, for journals not included there, the *American Journal of Archaeology*. All of these schemes are easily available online. The following abbreviations are also used:

<i>ABL</i>	Haspels, C. H. E., <i>Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi</i> . Paris, 1936.
<i>ABV</i>	Beazley, J. D., <i>Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters</i> . Oxford, 1956.
<i>Addenda</i> ²	Carpenter, T. H., with Mannack, T., and Mendonça, M., <i>Beazley Addenda: Additional References to ABV, ARV² and Paralipomena</i> , 2nd ed. Oxford, 1989.
<i>Agora</i>	<i>The Athenian Agora: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i> . Princeton.
<i>ARV</i> ²	Beazley, J. D., <i>Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters</i> , 2nd ed. Oxford, 1963.
Athenian Onomasticon	Byrne, S. G., <i>Athenian Onomasticon</i> . www.seangb.org .
<i>CVA</i>	<i>Corpus vasorum antiquorum</i> . Paris, 1923–.
ΕΠΚΑ	Ἐφορεία Προϊστορικῶν καὶ Κλασικῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων (preceded by the number designating the <i>ephoreia</i> involved).
<i>FGrHist</i>	Jacoby, F., <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> I–III. Berlin and Leiden, 1923–58.
<i>FHG</i>	Müller, C., <i>Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum</i> I–IV. Paris, 1841–70.

FRH	Beck, H., and Walter, U. (eds. and trans.) <i>Die frühen römischen Historiker, herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert</i> . Darmstadt, 2001–4.
<i>I.Rhamnous</i>	Petrakos, V. C., <i>Ὁ Δῆμος τοῦ Ῥαμνοῦντος: Σύνοψη τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν καὶ τῶν ἐρευνῶν (1813–1998) II: Οἱ Ἐπιγραφεῖς</i> . Athens, 1999.
LGPN II	Osborne, M. J., and Byrne, S. G., <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names II: Attica</i> . Oxford, 1994.
LIMC	<i>Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae</i> . Zurich, 1981–2009.
LSJ ⁹	Liddell, H. G., Scott, R., rev. Jones, H. S., <i>A Greek–English Lexicon</i> , 9th ed. Oxford, 1940.
OCT	Oxford Classical Texts.
OLD	Glare, P. G. W. (ed.) <i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> , 2nd ed. Oxford, 2012.
Page, FGE	Page, D. L. (ed.) <i>Further Greek Epigrams: Epigrams Before AD 50 from the Greek Anthology and Other Sources, not Included in ‘Hellenistic Epigrams’ or ‘The Garland of Philip’</i> . Cambridge, 1981.
<i>Para.</i>	Beazley, J. D., <i>Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters and Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters</i> . Oxford, 1971.
PCG	Kassel, R., and Austin, C. (eds.) <i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> . Berlin, 1983–.
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