

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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Contents

- List of Figures* [page ix]
List of Tables [xiv]
Preface [xvii]
List of Abbreviations [xxi]
- 1 The Panathenaia: An Introduction [1]
2 Giants and Heroes: The Mythologies of the Panathenaia [39]
3 The Little Panathenaia [83]
4 The Great Panathenaia: Ritual and Reciprocity [116]
5 The Panathenaic Games: Entertaining the Goddess [171]
6 Creating Identities at the Great Panathenaia: Athenian Men [212]
7 Creating Identities at the Great Panathenaia: Other Residents and Non-Residents [253]
8 The City, the Goddess and the Festival [314]
Appendix 1 The Hellenistic Archons of Athens: 323/2 to 48/7 BC [336]
Appendix 2 The Parthenon Frieze and the Panathenaia [344]
Appendix 3 The Races for the *Apobates* and the Dismounting Charioteer [351]
Appendix 4 The *Pyrrhiche* and the Tribal Team Events [357]
Appendix 5 The Date of *IG II² 3079 = IG II³.4 528* [361]
Appendix 6 The Officials of the Great Panathenaia in the Third Century BC [366]

Appendix 7	Tiberius Claudius Novius and the Great Panathenaia Sebasta	[377]
Appendix 8	The Text of <i>Agora XVIII C197</i>	[380]
	<i>Tables</i>	[390]
	<i>Bibliography</i>	[457]
	<i>Index Locorum</i>	[498]
	<i>Index of Collections</i>	[512]
	<i>General Index</i>	[518]

Figures

- 1.1 Panathenaic amphora by the Euphiletos Painter, c. 520 BC: Athena (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 14.130.12). (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Rogers Fund, 1914) [page 2]
- 1.2 Panathenaic amphora by the Euphiletos Painter, c. 520 BC: runners in a men's sprint race (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 14.130.12). (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Rogers Fund, 1914) [3]
- 1.3 Restored plan of the Agora in the fifth century AD. (Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations) [9]
- 1.4 Restored plan of the Agora in the second century BC. (Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations) [10]
- 1.5 Restored plan of the Agora in the second century AD. (Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations) [11]
- 1.6 Panathenaic amphora attributed to the Robinson Group, c. 430 BC: detail of the boys' wrestling match (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, IN 3606). (Courtesy of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen) [30]
- 1.7 Panathenaic amphora attributed to the Kuban Group, c. 410–400 BC: detail of pentathletes in the class of beardless youths (National Museum, Copenhagen, 13812). (Courtesy of the Nationalmuseet, Denmark, photograph by Lennart Larsen) [31]
- 1.8 Panathenaic amphora, 340/39 BC: detail of boxers in the class of beardless youths (Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, MA, 1925.30.124). (Courtesy of the Harvard University Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Bequest of Joseph C. Hoppin; © President and Fellows of Harvard College) [32]

- 2.1 Red-figure cup attributed to either the Euergides Painter or the manner of the Epeleios Painter, c. 510 BC: two *pyrrhichistai* and an *auletes* (Antikenumuseum der Universität, Heidelberg, 74/1). (Courtesy of the Antikensammlung der Universität Heidelberg, photograph by Hubert Vögele) [48]
- 2.2 SEG LIII 202 = IG II³.4 435: Atarbos' base, 323/2 BC: dancers in the *pyrrhiche* (Akropolis Museum, Athens, 1338). (Courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut-Athen, Neg. D-DAI-ATH-1972-3004, photograph by G. Hellner) [48]
- 2.3 Black-figure Panathenaic-shaped amphora attributed to the manner of the Lysippides Painter, c. 530–520 BC: Gigantomachy. Zeus steps into the chariot next to Herakles, while Athena fights beside the horses (British Museum, London, B 208). (© The Trustees of the British Museum) [49]
- 2.4 Black-figure oinochoe by the Painter of Oxford 224, c. 510 BC: Athena and Erichthonios in the apobatic race (National Museum, Copenhagen, Chr. VIII 340). (Courtesy of the Nationalmuseet, Denmark, photograph by Nora Petersen) [56]
- 2.5 Fragment of a black-figure kantharos, c. 560 BC: Gigantomachy. Detail of Zeus stepping into his chariot and the legs of Athena behind the horses (National Museum, Athens, Akropolis 2134a). (From B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen I*, Berlin, 1925: pl. 94) [59]
- 2.6 Black-figure amphora by the Painter of Vatican 365, c. 530 BC: Gigantomachy. An anonymous warrior steps into the chariot next to Herakles, while Athena fights beside the horses (Musei Vaticani, Rome, 365). (Courtesy of Alinari/Art Resource, NY, photograph by Anderson) [60]
- 2.7 Black-figure neck amphora attributed to the Group of London B 145, c. 530 BC: Gigantomachy. An anonymous charioteer and warrior stand in the chariot, while Athena fights beside the horses (British Museum, London, B 251). (© The Trustees of the British Museum) [61]
- 2.8 Black-figure column krater, c. 540–530 BC: Gigantomachy. Athena fights beside the horses, while an anonymous

- charioteer drives (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 24.97.95). (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Fletcher Fund, 1924) [62]
- 2.9 Black-figure lekythos by the Sappho Painter, c. 500–490 BC: Gigantomachy. Detail of the chariot and Athena (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 41.162.35). (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Rogers Fund, 1941) [63]
- 2.10 Black-figure lekythos by the Sappho Painter, c. 500–490 BC: Gigantomachy. Detail of the horses and a Giant (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 41.162.35). (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Rogers Fund, 1941) [64]
- 4.1 Fragmentary black-figure lekythos by the Edinburgh Painter, c. 500 BC: sacrifice to Athena (National Museum, Athens, Akropolis 2298). (From B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen I*, Berlin, 1925: pl. 96) [135]
- 4.2 Fragment of a black-figure vase, end of the sixth century BC: sacrifice to Athena (National Museum, Athens, Akropolis 1220). (From B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen I*, Berlin, 1925: pl. 67) [136]
- 4.3 Parthenon frieze, 447–440 BC: apobatic chariots and marshal from the procession (N63–5) (Akropolis Museum, Athens, block North XXIII). (Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Archives: Alison Frantz Photographic Collection) [136]
- 4.4 Parthenon frieze, 447–440 BC: the *peplos* scene (E31–5) (British Museum, London, block East V). (Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Archives: Alison Frantz Photographic Collection) [137]
- 4.5 Black-figure band cup, c. 550 BC: sacrificial procession to Athena (Stavros S. Niarchos Collection, A 031). (Photograph: D. Widmer, photo no. 837) [138]
- 4.6 Fragment of a black-figure dinos by Lydos, c. 560–550 BC: top register: chariot of Zeus from the Gigantomachy; middle register: sacrificial procession (National Museum, Athens, Akropolis 607e). (From B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen I*, Berlin, 1925: pl. 33) [139]

- 4.7a Black-figure amphora, c. 540 BC: side B: musicians in a sacrificial procession (Staatliche Museen, Berlin, F 1686). (© bpk-Bildagentur/Antikensammlung, SMB, Image 00042777, photograph by Johannes Laurentius) [141]
- 4.7b Black-figure amphora, c. 540 BC: side A: sacrificial procession to Athena (Staatliche Museen, Berlin, F 1686). (© bpk-Bildagentur/Antikensammlung, SMB, Image 00042776, photograph by Johannes Laurentius) [142]
- 4.8 The organisation of the Parthenon frieze, 447–440 BC. (Drawing: C. Kolb after I. Jenkins, *The Parthenon Frieze*, London, 1994: 23 fig. 12b.) [143]
- 4.9 Parthenon frieze, 447–440 BC: marshals and *kanephoroi* in the procession (E49–56) (Musée du Louvre, Paris, block East VII, inventory Ma 738). (Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Archives: Alison Frantz Photographic Collection) [143]
- 4.10 Parthenon frieze, 447–440 BC: females in the procession (E57–61) (British Museum, London, block East VIII). (Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Archives: Alison Frantz Photographic Collection) [144]
- 4.11 Parthenon frieze, 447–440 BC: a *skaphephoros* in the procession (N13) (British Museum, London, block North V). (Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Archives: Alison Frantz Photographic Collection) [145]
- 4.12 Parthenon frieze, 447–440 BC: *hydriaphoroi* who are followed by *auletai* in the procession (N16–20) (Akropolis Museum, Athens, block North VI). (Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Archives: Alison Frantz Photographic Collection) [146]
- 4.13 Parthenon frieze, 447–440 BC: sacrificial sheep with their handlers in the procession and a marshal (N10–12) (Akropolis Museum, Athens, block North IV). (Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Archives: Alison Frantz Photographic Collection) [147]
- 5.1 Panathenaic amphora attributed to a painter near the Kleophrades Painter, c. 500–480 BC: mule-cart (*apene*) race (British Museum, London, B 131). (© The Trustees of the British Museum) [189]

- A2.1 Parthenon frieze, 447–440 BC: the procession at the north-west corner (N134–6 and W1) (British Museum, London, block North XLVII/West I). (Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Archives: Alison Frantz Photographic Collection) [346]
- A2.2 Parthenon frieze, 447–440 BC: apobatic chariots in the procession with an armed *apobates* and an attendant (N70–2) (British Museum, London and Akropolis Museum, Athens, block North XXVII). (Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Archives: Alison Frantz Photographic Collection) [348]
- A3.1 *Agora XVIII C195 = IG II³.4 578*: [K]rat[e]s' base for his victory in the apobatic race, c. 390 BC (Agora Excavations, Athens, S 399). (Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations) [352]
- A3.2 Panathenaic amphora attributed to the Marsyas Painter, 340/39 BC: detail of the apobatic race (J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, 79.AE.147). (Courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Trust's Open Content Program) [352]
- A8.1 *Agora XVIII C197*: list of victors in the Panathenaia, 194 and 190 BC: inscribed face (Agora Excavations, Athens, I 6701). (Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations) [381]
- A8.2 *Agora XVIII C197*: list of victors in the Panathenaia, 194 and 190 BC: left side of the block (Agora Excavations, Athens, I 6701). (Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations) [382]
- A8.3 *Agora XVIII C197*: list of victors in the Panathenaia, 194 and 190 BC: bottom of the block with a dowel hole (Agora Excavations, Athens, I 6701). (Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations) [382]

Tables

- 3.1 Distribution of meat from the sacrifices at the Little Panathenaia [*page* 390]
- 4.1 Officials in the procession of the Great Panathenaia [390]
- 4.2 Athenian military in the procession of the Great Panathenaia [391]
- 4.3 Bearers of ritual items in the procession of the Great Panathenaia [392]
- 4.4 Chremes' procession in *Ekklesiazousai* and the Great Panathenaia [393]
- 4.5 Colonists and allies in the procession of the Great Panathenaia [393]
- 4.6 Conveying the *peplos* in the procession of the Great Panathenaia [394]
- 4.7 Sixth-century visual evidence for the procession at the Great Panathenaia [396]
- 4.8 Archaic and classical visual evidence for the procession at the Great Panathenaia [397]
- 4.9 The procession at the Great Panathenaia in the archaic and classical periods [398]
- 4.10 Sacrifices to Athena at the Great Panathenaia [399]
- 4.11 Crowns for Athena [400]
- 5.1 Visual evidence for the musical games in the archaic period [401]
- 5.2 The musical games after 446 BC [404]
- 5.3 Athletic events for men: literary and epigraphical sources [408]
- 5.4 Athletic events for men: Panathenaic amphorae [414]
- 5.5 Athletic events for boys: literary and epigraphical sources [422]
- 5.6 Athletic events for boys: Panathenaic amphorae [424]
- 5.7 Athletic events for beardless youths: Panathenaic amphorae [425]

- 5.8 Athletic events for beardless youths: literary and epigraphical sources [426]
- 5.9 Open hippic events: literary and epigraphical evidence [428]
- 5.10 Open hippic events: Panathenaic amphorae [432]
- 5.11 Tribal hippic events for individuals: the classical period [438]
- 5.12 Tribal hippic events for individuals: the Hellenistic period: contests on the Panathenaic Way [439]
- 5.13 Tribal hippic events for individuals: the Hellenistic period: contests in the hippodrome [443]
- 5.14 The development of individual tribal hippic contests on the Panathenaic Way in the second century BC [446]
- 5.15 The development of individual tribal hippic contests in the hippodrome in the second century BC [448]
- 5.16 Tribal events for teams [449]
- 5.17 Restored programme for the games in 566 BC [451]
- 5.18 Restored programme for the games in 482 BC [451]
- 5.19 The programme for the games in the 380s BC [452]
- 6.1 Athenian benefactors of the city [453]
- 7.1 Ephebes as benefactors of the city [454]
- 7.2 Foreign benefactors of the city [456]

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 Ἐπιγραφές</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.
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