ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS: EDUCATION

TEACHERS' NOTES ON SQA HIGHER CLASSICAL STUDIES

Introduction

These notes support the subject skills and knowledge and understanding developed in the SQA specifications for the Higher in Classical Studies. They relate to the acquisition of in-depth knowledge of 'a range of religious, political, social, moral and cultural values and practices of classical Greek and Roman societies'. They help candidates build skills in the following areas:

- analysing and evaluating the religious, political, social, moral and cultural values and practices of classical Greek and Roman societies;
- interpreting and understanding a range of complex sources;
- evaluating the reliability and value of a range of complex sources;
- research and using information collected from a range of sources.

Some 20,000 ancient Athenian inscriptions survive into modern times. The developing open-access Attic Inscriptions Online website contains translations of some 2000 of them, and is fully searchable. For a general introduction to Athenian inscriptions and their use in the classroom, we suggest that teachers consult the introductory notes on the *Attic Inscriptions: Education* project.

In short: Athenian inscriptions offer an accessible way of giving insight into the ancient Greek world for several reasons:

- They combine textual and visual aspects, and so accessible to a range of learning and teaching styles;
- They are relatively short: again, this makes them accessible to a range of learning and teaching styles;
- They offer an opportunity for learners to evaluate the reliability and value of literary sources: for instance, they offer view alternative to that of Thucydides of the history of the Delian League to Athenian Empire;
- Physical context is clearly important: many inscriptions were set up in sacred places (especially the Athenian acropolis) with a prospective audience both of humans and perhaps of the deities.

The inscriptions that are discussed in these resources are mostly drawn from the ancient Athenian inscriptions that are today held in UK collections: we have published these in our Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections project. There are two published collections of ancient Athenian inscriptions in Scotland, consisting of two inscriptions at the National Gallery of Scotland and five in the Elgins' private collection at Broomhall. In the future we will be exploring an Athenian inscription at the National Museum of Scotland: please keep an eye on AIUK publications for news!

We very much hope that teachers will find these notes helpful; perhaps they will lead teachers and learners to use the Attic Inscriptions Online search function to research on specific topics and themes that are referred to inscriptions?

We are grateful to Lee Baker for his help in writing these notes.

Finally, a guide to using AIO for teaching purposes can be found in *AIO* Papers no. 10. We welcome feedback (please email peter.liddel@manchester.ac.uk).

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Slides 28-33: Women in Classical Athens. Slides which offer insight into the activity of women in ancient Athens.

Slides 35-39: Delian League/Athenian Empire. Slides relevant to the study of Athenian power (also with relevance to themes on death and burial).

Slides 41-50: Greek Religion. Slides relevant to a wide range of aspects of this broad topic.

Slides 2, 3, 4: Ancient Athenian Inscriptions in Scotland: these slides reflect the seven published ancient Athenian inscriptions currently held in Scottish collections.

Slide 2: The National Gallery of Scotland currently holds two Attic inscriptions (see AIUK 10), both of which derive from the collection of the Dowager Lady Ruthven of Winton Castle, and which she bequeathed to the Gallery in her will of 1884. Both are funerary *stelai* (marble slabs) from Athens. For more about her story, please consult AIUK 10 (to be published in late 2021).

Aristomache (right): carved in low relief, stands an adolescent female figure between pilasters. Her head is slightly inclined; she places her weight on her right leg, with left leg bent at the knee; she holds in her right hand a small figurine. In the field of funerary sculpture, it is exclusively females who are represented as holding figurines; typically they are held by the deceased, though on occasion they might be held by a servant. The general consensus is that these depictions represent these figures not as playthings reflecting the carefree activities of childhood (in other words, 'dolls') but rather that they make visual reference to the terracotta votive figurines that were so important in the worship of the deities (such as Artemis) who were held to have significance to the development of young females. In other words, they represent the piety of the female and her family and the attention they paid to normative social conduct. It is generally agreed that the depiction of a female holding a figurine is an indication that the deceased had died unmarried, given that terracotta figurines were dedicated to Artemis at the time of marriage. The fact that the inscription gives only her name, without the name of her father or her home village suggests that it may have been set up within a family funerary enclosure (*peribolos*), likely in the area of Cape Zoster where the inscription was originally discovered. The inscription and sculpture suggest a date in the fourth century BC.

Slide 3: Claudia Aphphein of Melite (left): carved in low relief; two female figures are represented within a *naiskos* (little temple) frame. They clasp hands in a gesture known as *dexiosis*, which is thought to refer to a bond of solidarity unbroken by death. There is debate about which of the two figures in this stele was the deceased, but it may be the case that the seated figure is deceased. The deceased woman was a citizen of the deme (village) of Attica called Melite, located in the city centre. The style of the inscription and the hairstyle of the women suggests a date in the second century AD. Traces and remains of reworking suggest, however, that the monument had been re-used. The original may have been produced in the fourth century BC in the Augustan period (late first century BC to early first century AD).

Slide 4: It is well-known that the majority of the 'Elgin marbles' were transferred from the possession of the 7th Earl of Elgin to the British Museum in 1816 by an Act of Parliament. However, a relatively small number of antiquities remain in the ownership of the Elgin family. AIUK 8 publishes the five Attic inscriptions currently held in the collection of the 11th Earl of Elgin at Broomhall in Scotland (Fife). They were acquired by the 7th Earl probably during the second decade of the nineteenth century. All five are funerary monuments: 1 is a spectacular example of a painted classical funerary monument; 2 and 3 are excellent examples of classical funerary *stelai* (marble slabs). 4 is a funerary monument for an adherent of the Isis cult in Athens. 5 is a rare example

of an Athenian sarcophagus bearing an inscription. In this publication we offer new readings and interpretations of these monuments, which illustrate different ways that funerary monuments might be re-used in antiquity.

Section 1. Life in Classical Greece. Part A: Power and Freedom

Athenian Citizenship

Slides 6-21: Athenian Citizenship. These slides illustrate a range of different aspects of citizen life in ancient Athens. Inscriptions tell us a great deal about the experience of citizens, their rights and duties.

As is well known, in 451 BC the Athenians enacted a law proposed by Pericles that said that only those with two parents who were Athenians (this is the usual interpretation of the phrase *ex duoin astoin*, literally, 'from two city-parents') would be granted the privileges of citizenship. Robin Osborne suggests (in his article in *Past and Present*, 1997) that 'the law's insistence that citizens have Athenian mothers led to men advertising both their mothers and their wives in the only place where the public display of a respectable woman was acceptable: in the cemetery.' This may account for the depiction of harmonious family relations in Athenian funerary monuments of the classical period.

The slides address the following aspects on **Athenian Citizenship** of the SQA Higher Classical Studies:

- qualifications for citizenship: **slides 6 and 7**
- benefits and rights of citizenship: **slides 8-12**
- responsibilities: **slides 13-20**
- metics — rights and duties: **slides 21-26**

The following aspects of the qualification are touched on in **slides 8-12** but are discussed in more detail in our A-level Classical Civilisation notes on Athenian Democracy:

- definition of direct democracy:
- the Assembly of citizens — structure, role and purpose
- the Council of 500 — structure, role and purpose
- the archons — role and purpose
- the generals — role and purpose

The Slides:

Slide 6 is a funerary stele for Melisto and Epigenes, c. 350 BC (*AIUK* 5 (Lyme Park) no. 2). This funerary monument (*stele*) for a husband and wife named Melisto and Epigenes was obtained by Thomas Legh in Athens in 1811-1812 and set in its present location above the fireplace of the library of Lyme Park in Cheshire. The stele depicts a seated Melisto shaking hands with Epigenes, expressing the strong bond between them. This gesture, known as *dexiosis*, is common on Athenian funerary monuments, as is the similarly intimate gesture of unveiling (*anakalypsis*) which Melisto is making towards her husband. The figure in the background, probably representing an (unnamed) domestic slave, holds Melisto's jewellery box. Overall the monument seems designed to project an impression of affluence. The inscription names Epigenes' father and his deme (Eleusis, one of the villages of ancient Attica, in

the NW of Athenian territory), and also Melisto's father and his deme (Oion). This information confirms the citizen status of the couple. We know from speeches delivered in court that monuments like this could be cited as evidence in cases of disputed inheritance.

Depicting a domestic **slave**, this inscription is relevant also to our understanding of the role and depiction of slaves. Our interpretation of the central figure as a slave is reliant on the view that she was holding a jewellery box on behalf of her mistress. It is interesting that the family has seen it appropriate to represent her in sculpture but not to name her in an inscription: this has implications for how we view her treatment. Perhaps the representation of a domestic slave on a funerary monument might even be an indicator of prestige for the family of the deceased.

Another of the most striking inscriptions of the classical period is that from Mount Stewart in Co. Down, though in this case the absence of demotic (name of deme) means that the citizen identity of the individuals cannot be demonstrated.

Slide 7. Mount Stewart Stele, ca. 400-350 BC. *AIUK* 13 (*Mount Stewart, County Down*), no. 1. Its inscription is lost at the left-hand side, reading ‘ -sios. Kleno. Phaino. Neophron. Onomantos’.

The only ancient Athenian inscription in Northern Ireland, it is known to have been in the London home of the Marquesses of Londonderry in the first half of the twentieth century, but the circumstances of its acquisition by the family are unknown.

This funerary monument commemorates five individuals. The character of the scene is typical of Classical Attic funerary monuments (late-5th to late-4th centuries BC), though it is unusual for as many as five figures to be depicted. The inscription labels the figures and appears upon the moulding running above their heads.

The figures form a group consisting perhaps of three generations of the same family. The seated male (-sios) and the standing female (Phaino, father and daughter?) are shaking hands (*dexiosis*), as are the older (Neophron) and younger (Onomantos) standing males (father and son?). This gesture signifying intimacy is common on Attic funerary monuments, though it is rare to find it depicted twice in the same scene. Onomantos is naked, a conventional indicator of youth and athletic virility. Although they are standing back-to-back the fact that the feet of Phaino and Neophron are touching suggests that they are husband and wife. A smaller female figure (Kleno, sister of the standing youth?) is carved in shallower relief than the other figures, and has a small bird perched on her raised left hand, another common, and poignant, motif on this type of monument, also usually associated with youth.

An attractive (but uncertain) restoration of the name of the seated man is [Ai]sios, a distinctive name borne by a known member of a propertied family connected with that of the orator Demosthenes. Aisios was the brother of Aphobos, Demosthenes' guardian, who allegedly mismanaged his property.

Attic funerary monuments had a specific function in terms of projecting claims in relation to inheritance of citizenship and property rights. It is tempting to speculate that

the composition of our monument was intended to convey a specific message in this context. In ancient Athens, a citizen male's heirs were his legitimate sons, and his property would be divided between them. However, if he had only daughter, she became his heir (*epikleros*), and would be married off (betrothed) to her father's nearest male relative.

In the case of our inscription, it is possible that that Phaino was the sole daughter and heir (*epikleros*) of -sios, who, lacking male offspring, may have betrothed his daughter to Neophron. This would have meant that property would have passed through Neophron to Onomantos. Such an emphasis on inheritance would seem appropriate for a family who may been involved in litigation about the property and inheritance of the father of the orator Demosthenes in the 360s.

The *tenon* (tongue) of the lower part of the object suggests that the relief may originally have been inserted in a base which may itself have been decorated and inscribed, e.g. with an epigram. The monument would probably originally have been one of a series of monuments in a family funerary enclosure (*peribolos*). The high quality of the relief suggests an affluent family. The stele can be dated by the style of its sculpture and lettering to ca. 400-350 BC.

Questions to consider: can we say anything about the aspirations of this family from the way that it commemorated its members? Why would they have invested money in depicting this scene? Is it relevant to the theme of inheritance? In what ways are women depicted in different ways to men in this relief?

Slides 8-12 introduce an important aspect of Athenian citizenship: participation in politics and volunteering. They can be used in the classroom as part of a focus on the activities of the citizen and in particular volunteer participation. The ancient Athenian mode of selecting office-holders for politics might be compared and contrasted with the modern methods of selecting politicians. It should be noted that they form part of a wider phenomenon of direct democracy: adult male citizens were entitled to take part in politics by attending the main decision-making body of Athens, the assembly (*ekklesia*). There they participated in the process of decision-making by proposing decrees that would be voted on by the rest of the male citizens. One condition was that all decrees proposed at the assembly, in order to be legal, had to be previously discussed at the Athenian council (*boule*). The Athenian council was manned by 500 male citizens who changed every year and were selected by a combination of volunteering and lottery.

In the judicial sphere, juries were manned by adult male citizens selected through the process of lottery that we discuss here. In ancient Athens, juries acted also as judges, deciding both on the guilt of the defendant and also voting on his punishment.

A few important offices (the generals, and some financial office-holders) were selected not by lottery but by the vote of male citizens at the assembly through raised hands.

The discussion is based around the name-tag (*pinakion*) of a fourth-century Athenian, Timodemides of the deme Paiania, which is today preserved at the Manchester Museum. They were used in combination with a lottery machine (*kleroterion*) to select office-holders and jurors from a pool of volunteers. A model *kleroterion* has been reconstructed at the Ure Museum in Reading.

Slides 12-20 introduce another vital aspect of Athenian citizenship (and Greek life generally). All male Athenian citizens were expected to fight on behalf of their city. Conscription would be undertaken by age-class, with Athenians of a specific age (usually between 20 and 60) being conscripted for duty.

Slides 13-15 are funerary monuments of the fourth century BC now at the British Museum commemorating Athenians which depict males dressed as soldiers. They depict the standard gear of the Athenian solider (hoplite): the helmet, the shield (*hoplon*) and spear. The fact that individuals were commemorated as soldiers does not always mean that they died in battle but may rather reflect a set of values which suggested that it was appropriate for male citizens to be represented in military gear.

Inscriptions celebrated the military service undertaken by young Athenian males in the ephebic cadet service, who were known as ephebes (**slide 16**). The collective ethos of fighting on behalf of the city was reflected in the commemoration by the Athenians of casualties on lists set up in stone (**slides 17, 18**): these can be compared in terms of their association and style with modern monuments commemorating those who died in battle. **Slides 19 and 20** reflect the fact that some richer citizens served as cavalrymen.

Slide 16 is a marble plaque carved into the shape of a hoplite shield, dating to the second century AD. Its inscription consists of a catalogue of cadets, the young men of the city who undertook a year of official training. It celebrated their service in the year 194/5 AD. It is one of several surviving ephebic catalogues of this era in the form of a shield, reflecting the traditional function of ephebic training as preparing the young men to defend the city. This theme is also reflected in the wording of the epigram on the shield rim (line 160, '... always armed for hand-to-hand combat for the fatherland'). After a heading naming the ephebic superintendent (*kosmetes*) for the year, Alkamenes, there follows a full catalogue of the Athenian citizen ephebes, followed lower down on the shield by the 'additional enrollees' in five columns, who, as we know from other such catalogues, comprised young men who were not Athenian citizens.

Slide 17. **Casualty List for Athenians who died in 424/3 BC, British Museum 1816,0610.173.**

During the second half of the fifth century BC the Athenians fought a series of bloody wars. They commemorated their dead by listing them on marble slabs (*stelai*) like this. One view is that the representation of the war dead with just their names (and no reference to their family background in the form of patronymic or demotic) reflected the egalitarian nature of their socio-political organisation. The setting up of such slabs demonstrate the value of public commemoration and perhaps even tensions between

it and private forms of commemoration. We should also bear in mind in the habit of public burial of the war-dead at Athens and the speech of a prominent statesman over the bodies of the dead at the end of each year (e.g. Thucydides 2.34-46).

The part of this inscription preserved at the British Museum consists of 2 columns of those who had died in Athenian battles in the year 424/3 BC; there are 77 of them in total. The upper part of the stone is lost and would have consisted of further names and a heading. Our slide, for reasons of space, offers a translation only the first 29 lines of column 1.

The casualties are listed according to the 10 tribes of Athenian citizens. No other information is given about these citizens. They are followed by names of those described as 'enrolled people' (*engraphroi*, that is possibly mercenaries), 'archers', and 'foreigners' (*xenoi*): this demonstrates that non-citizens died in the Athenian war effort and were recognised as doing so.

Beneath the tribal dead in column I are further individual casualties listed not by tribe but by place: Amphipolis, Thrace, Pylos, Sermylia, and Singos. These places have been linked with a series of battles in the north of Greece narrated by Thucydides in book 4 of his book on the Peloponnesian War. These battles took place in the year 424/3 BC, and there may also be a reflection of the heavy causalities taken at Delion (Thucydides 4.101); those mentioned on the inscription as the dead from Pylos might be left over from the previous year when the Athenians suffered losses there.

After the stele was engraved and set up, several additions and corrections were undertaken on the stone. It is likely that such changes were made as information became clearer in the months following the battles and the public burial. This provides remarkable evidence for the official nature of the inscribed versions of these lists, demonstrating a very detailed procedure of subsequent checking of spellings (did family members notice these mistakes?) and the addition of further dead whose circumstances were perhaps discovered too late. These stones were perhaps not meant only to embody by their monumentality expressions of public commemoration, they were also raised to be read and to form an official record of the campaign dead, another indication of the officious nature of public record keeping in democratic Athens.

We might contrast the modern idea of something being set in stone (and accordingly, petrified or unchanged) with the ancient Greek employment of inscriptions as dynamic. Ancient Greeks engaged with their inscriptions in many different ways, making changes to their texts to suit their social and cultural environment and told stories about them: this is something that is studied by Polly Low in her recent *Histos* article on the subject.

Topics for discussion: how and why did the Athenians list their dead? Can we see

similarities in ancient and modern forms of commemoration of the dead? Compare with the style of the inscription in the next slide.

Slide 18. Poem for the Athenians who fell at the Battle of Potidaia in 432 BC: BM 1816,0610.348

This inscription was written up to commemorate the Athenians who died fighting at Potidaia (in Chalkidike, Northern Greece) in 432 BC.

In 432 BC, just before the Peloponnesian War broke out, the Athenians were involved in hostilities at Potidaia (Thuc. 1.56-65) after the Potidaians, tribute-paying members of the Delian League, revolted from Athens with the help of the Corinthians. Both Socrates and Alcibiades are known to have served at Potidaia (Plato, *Symposion* 219-20). Athenian intervention in that part of the Greek world was one of the 'causes of complaint' of the Peloponnesians against the Athenians that led to the outbreak of war in 431 BC (Thuc. 1.66, 118, 139).

It is likely that this inscription was the base for a bigger monument. Thucydides says that the Athenians won an easy victory at Potidaia but that 150 Athenians died in the battle, including the general Kallias (Thuc. 1.63). Their names could have fitted on a single stone slab set upon this base (originally ca. 1.34 m long).

The inscription consists of 12 lines of verse which was made up of three four-line epigrams. The behaviour of the Potidaians, some of whom fled the battle, is contrasted with the honourable fate of the dead, who receive glory (*arete*) and brought good fame (*eukleia*) to their homeland (*patris*). The epigram of three elegiac poems is of high quality and remarkable both for its reflection of civic attitudes about the war dead and for the references to the separation of body and soul at death: *aither* (the air) takes the souls of the dead whereas the earth takes their bodies.

The translated text here refers to the Athenians as 'the people of Erechtheus'. However this should be treated with caution: this part of the stone is broken away and the words have been restored by modern scholars. Nevertheless, the Athenians did sometimes refer to themselves in this way, referring to Erechtheus, one of their mythical kings, often thought to be the founder of their city.

Topics of discussion: the significance of verse as a way of commemorating a group of soldiers. Compare with the style of the previous slide.

Slide 19. Marble tombstone (stele) with a horseman and attendant, early 4th century BC. British Museum 1816,0610.384,

On this stele, the bearded Aristokles is depicted seated on horseback, holding onto the horse's mane and perhaps once painted reins, enjoying the leisure sports

mentioned in the epigram; an attendant in short chiton runs along behind him.

Its inscription seems to reflect his tastes and status:

After many pleasant sports with my
age-mates, born from earth I am
earth once more. I am Aristokles of Piraeus,
son of Menon.

The epigram and relief suggests pastimes which may have included hunting and horse-riding competitions. One oddity is the apparent discrepancy between the relief and epigram: the epigram discusses 'young pursuits' whereas the relief shows Aristokes with a beard (suggesting maturity).

The expression 'I have become earth' passes over any allusion to the continued enjoyment of such games and pleasure in the afterlife. The idea of the earth receiving or hiding a body is common, especially among Athenians, who regarded themselves as 'autochthonous', that is, sprung from the earth: their link to the physical space of Athens was underscored by the story that their mythical ancestral king, Erichthonius, had sprung from the earth and had been raised by Athena.

Areas for discussion: what are the implications for the afterlife of these words? Why is something made of Aristokles' leisure pursuits in the epigram?

Slide 20. Dedication of a horse-rider, 4th century BC: *AIUK* 9 (*Brocklesby Park*) no. 1

This is a square base with reliefs on the sides and a rectangular socket in the top of the block for a pillar, a common form for dedications commemorating athletic victories. The fragment in Brocklesby Park depicts an armed soldier riding a charging horse; the fragment also preserves part of the man's name, his patronymic and his demotic (ancestral home village in Attica): -okles son of Polyaratos of Alopeke.

It was previously interpreted as from a funerary monument. However, other fragments of the base, now in Athens, preserve another, very similar, depiction of a mounted cavalryman, another name, patronymic and demotic ('Hierophanes son of Polyaratos of Alopeke'), and a heading ('The tribal commanders of Antiochis dedicated this'). The patronymic and demotic of the two men named on this monument are the same, and from this we conclude that the monument was set up by two brothers, who served as *phylarchoi*, commanders of the cavalry contingent of the tribe Antiochis.

The surviving fragments of the monument do not provide any explicit information about the context of its creation. However, we suggest that it was set up to commemorate the tribe's victory in the *anthippasia*, a 'mock fight when the tribes pursue and escape

from one another at the gallop in two squadrons of five tribes, each side led by its hipparch' (Xenophon *Hipparchikos*, 3.11-13). Such monuments are relatively well-known in fourth-century Athens. We have no other evidence for the sons of Polyaratos, but the fact that they served as tribal leaders (*phylarchoi*) suggests that they belonged to the social and economic elite of the city. It is likely that they set up this monument to celebrate their achievement (and that of their tribe), and to advertise the services which they had performed for their tribe and for the city.

Points for discussion: why might a family commemorate a victory with a dedication to the gods? Is it significant that two brothers are co-tribal leaders in this context?

Metics in Athens

Slides 21-26: metics

The ancient Athenians offered a privileged status to some non-Athenians. They were known as 'metics', and they were offered a limited set of rights while in turn being expected to pay a special tax known as the *metoikion*.

Ancient Athenian inscriptions offer a perspective on the ways in which Greeks interacted with non-Greeks, sometimes suggesting harmonious co-operation which appears to have by-passed ideologies or prejudices about ethnic identity. They may support the view of Athens as a diverse and cosmopolitan society, which has been set out in recent work, particularly that of Kostas Vlassopoulos (in an article entitled 'Free spaces: identity, experience and democracy in classical Athens', *Classical Quarterly* 57 (2007) 33–52, offering a refreshing alternative to citizen-oriented studies of classical Athens).

Two Athenian inscriptions in the UK seem particularly relevant and tell us about Athenian relations Phoenicians of Sidon, a non-Greek people of the eastern Mediterranean who were at this point settled in modern Lebanon. The Sidonians formed by far the largest Phoenician community in Athens and were often engaged in trading, concentrating around the Piraeus from the fifth century BC onwards.

Slide 22. Bilingual Marble Stele, fourth century BC. British Museum 1861,0726.1
This tall grave maker is surmounted by an elaborate acanthus decoration and two rosettes; it is of a style that is well-attested among ancient Athenian grave-markers. It contains one Greek inscription and another in Phoenician, the language of the people of that name who lived in modern Lebanon.

Bilingual Phoenician and Greek inscriptions from Athens provide evidence for the interactions of this community within a Greek-speaking city in which they are proudly identified as Phoenicians but with Greek credentials. In this case as in others, the name of the Phoenician was 'translated' into Greek.

Questions for consideration: is it interesting that an Athenian-style monument was inscribed in two very different languages? (And that physically the monument was resolutely Athenian in style?) What might this say about ancient Greek interactions with non-Greek peoples and non-Greeks' interaction with Greeks? How might the audience of this inscription differ from that of the Athenian decree for Strato?

Slides 23 and 24. Athenian Proxeny Decree for Strato of Sidon, 388/7BC. *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) no. 1

This is one of five inscriptions acquired by James Dawkins on a visit to Athens in 1751 and donated to the University of Oxford on his death in 1757. He found it on the Acropolis, a common location for inscribed decrees to be set up in the fourth century

BC, which may have given the decree some sort of divine protection by presenting it as a dedication to the deities.

This decree of the Athenian assembly honoured Straton, King of Sidon, a Phoenician kingdom within the Persian Empire, by making him the proxenos (hereditary friend and representative) of the Athenians in Sidon. It provides important insights into the Athenian relationship with Phoenicia and the Persian empire and its treatment of resident foreigners ('metics'). The background to the decree is presented in the early parts of the inscription: an Athenian embassy to the Persian king had passed through Sidon and received substantial aid from Straton, who then sent an envoy to Athens, which prompted this decree.

The decree makes reference to the use of tokens (*symbola*) to facilitate relations between Strato and the Athenians. These were objects, such as tablets or knucklebones, which were broken into two pieces, one of which was taken by each of the parties. The unique shape of the break acted as proof of identity, when the two pieces were fitted back together. They were originally used in the Greek world to guarantee long-distance relationships that were intended to last a long time, such as multi-generational guest friendships (cf. Herodotus 6.86). They are reminiscent of 'indentured agreements' which were used in contracts throughout mediaeval and modern British history.

An amendment to the decree exempts Sidonians from various financial obligations to which metics (resident foreigners) at Athens were normally liable, while they were 'visiting' Athens. It is unclear whether this exemption applied to Sidonians who settled in Athens permanently. Either way, the exemption granted by this decree was a significant privilege and put them on a par with citizens in terms of non-payment of tax. By the late fourth century, the Sidonians had their own 'association' in Athens and often erected funerary monuments in the Piraeus. It is unclear whether this Sidonian community already existed at the time of this decree or developed as a result of it.

The inscription is a subject of a video on the AIO YouTube channel.

Slide 25. Honours for Euagoras of Salamis of Cyprus. *AIUK* 4.2 (*British Museum. Decrees*) no. 6

Two things are worth considering here: first, Euagoras' role in Greek inter-state relations. At some point probably in the late fifth century the Athenians had granted King Euagoras of Salamis in Cyprus the status of an Athenian citizen, probably as a result of his having supported the Athenians in the later stages of the Peloponnesian war after the Persians had sided with the Spartans. In 394/3 BC the Athenians passed further honours, including praise, a crown and statue for the same man. He had been an ally to the Athenians at the start of the fourth century against the Spartans.

Second, ethnicity: there was a substantial Phoenician population in Cyprus, but Euagoras was part of a dynasty which identified as Greek, claiming descent from Aiakos son of Zeus and Teukros the son of Ajax who, after he captured Troy, went to

Cyprus and settled Salamis. The identity of Euagoras as a Greek was relevant to good relations which he had with the Athenians.

Question for discussion: how did the Athenians view themselves in relation to other states?

Slide 26: Grave marker of the nurse Melitta, daughter of Apollodoros, an *isoteles,* c. 330-320 BC. BM 1909,0221.1.

Athenian funerary monuments represented individuals in a limited number of occupations, including warriors, priestesses and nurses. This grave monument commemorated Melitta, who had worked as a nurse for Hippostrate. She is envisaged as receiving a reward in the underworld for her services to her mistress.

The relief depicts a seated woman, Melitta, resting her feet on a footstool and identified with a name label to the right and 'nurse' beneath. She faces a young girl, Hippostrate, who was once in her care, and now grown up has composed the accompanying epigram to honour her carer. Both figures hold out an object towards each other, perhaps birds or a doll in the case of the girl.

We possess a large number of funerary monuments for nurses, who tend to be slaves and metics in Athens (the name Melitta was held by citizens, slaves and freedwomen). Nurses are often depicted with a standard dress: clad in chiton and mantle, as if respectable citizens, without a hint otherwise of their profession. Melitta was the daughter of a metic who had the privileged status of *isoteles*, paying taxes equal to citizens and exempt from the metic tax (*metoikion*). The privilege could apparently be transferred within a family, but only along the male line.

Women in Classical Athens

Slides 27-33: Women in Classical Athens. Inscriptions offer a wealth of insights into the roles and activities associated with women. Whereas it was taboo to mention the name of a citizen woman in a speech in the lawcourts, Athenian inscriptions frequently commemorate named women. Such inscriptions are often funerary (**slides 28-31**) but sometimes honour women in roles which contributed to the wellbeing of the city (**slides 32-33**).

The slides address in particular the following aspects on **Women** of the SQA Higher Classical Studies:

- attitudes towards women (especially **slides 6, 7, 26, 28-33**)
- jobs — citizen and slave (see **slides 6, 26, 31**)
- political and legal status (see above, **slides 6 and 7**)
- role within the household (see above, **slide 26**)
- marriage and childbirth (see above, **slides 6 and 7**; **slides 28-30**)
- contribution of women within Athenian society (especially **slides 26, 31-33**)

Slide 28a. Unknown Woman, late fourth century BC. BM 1894,0616.1

The relief depicts a woman seated on a stool and holding an open box on her lap, perhaps for jewellery. A young woman stands before her holding an infant, suggesting the deceased died in childbirth. The baby is swaddled, likely indicating a new-born, as slightly older children are normally represented as sitting on the ground or being held. The mother turns her head away from the attendant and child, demonstrating a detachment and isolation from the world of the living. The scrappy traces of the inscription are preserved only on the far right of the stone (-leos) and the lettering is of inferior standard than the sculpture.

Slide 28b. Glykylla, 400-375 BC. British Museum, 1893,0627.1
In this early fourth-century monument, Glykylla sits on a stool resting her feet on a footstool, taking or replacing something (jewellery?) from a lidded box held by a female. The box may have signified wealth or the possessions. This name is not otherwise attested at Athens; uncertainty about its provenance means that we do not know for certain from which part of Greece the inscription derives from.

These stelai are examples of the *nasikos* ('little temple') marker, in which a family group is depicted in a relief sculpture in a niche either in outline or three-dimensionally.

Question to consider: Why was Glykylla depicted alongside a female slave? What was the significance of the jewellery box?

Slide 29. Funerary stele for Arkesis, 400-360 BC. *AIUK* 5 (*Lyme Park*) no. 1

This funerary monument (stele) for a woman named Arkesis was obtained by Thomas Legh in Athens in 1811-1812. Still today it is on display at the National Trust property

Lyme Park in Cheshire. It was set in its present location in the window bay of the library in the context of the refurbishment of the House carried out under Legh's direction from 1814.

The monument depicts Arkesis holding a baby, from which we may probably infer that she had died in childbirth. Greek funerary monuments commemorating the death of women in childbirth are well-attested, a reflection of the relatively high rate of maternal deaths at parturition, as well as the blow to the material and emotional well-being of a family that the loss of a mother is likely to have represented. As the procreation of offspring was considered an important contribution of the female citizen in Athens, a woman who had died in childbirth can perhaps be understood as the female equivalent of a male warrior who had died in battle for his city. The depiction of a deceased mother interacting with an infant or child would serve to underline her maternal status as well as the status of her offspring (assuming that the child survived; it is not impossible that the infant represented in these monuments also died at birth). This is one way in which a funerary enclosure could have functioned as a source of family history, to be called on in cases where issues of status or inheritance came into question.

Question to consider: Why was this woman depicted with a baby? Perhaps it may have had some association with mourning?

Slide 30. Timarate, early fourth century BC. British Museum 1947,0714.1

In this grave monument of the fourth century BC Timarete stands with her head inclined mournfully downwards and holding a bird towards a small child who reaches out her arms. The scene suggests that she died young, leaving behind a baby girl, although her youth might instead point to them being sisters. The absence of detail in the inscription (unlike many other Athenian grave markers it contains no indication of her ethnicity or her father's name) leaves open the question of the deceased's citizen status: she may have been a citizen or a slave.

Question to consider: Why was Timarete commemorated in this way? What can we know about her?

Side 31: Tombstone (stele) for Priestess Choirine, c. 375-50 BC. British Museum 2007,5001.1

Ancient Athenians commemorated individual deceased on stone slabs known as *stelai* (singular *stele*). These were set up usually in family enclosures (*periboloi*) which would have contained a range of monuments for family members.

On occasion these monuments included details about, or depictions of, those people who they commemorated. Choirine – whose name means Piglet in ancient Greek – stands beneath the inscription of her name facing to her left in a sleeved chiton, peplos, and himation, wearing slippers and holding a large temple key in her right hand, signifying her role as a priestess. Her clenched left hand points forward in a gesture often encountered in votive reliefs showing devotees approaching a god, perhaps with small incense boxes clutched in their hand.

The temple key was a conventional symbol of office as a priestess (*kleidouchos*, key-bearer), representing her function as custodian of the sanctuary (in contrast to a male priest, conventionally depicted holding a sacrificial knife). Priestesses of Demeter were selected by lot from the *genos* (a family with particular religious office-holding privileges) Philleidai and held office for life. *Genos* priests sometimes have appropriate priestly names, and it may not be coincidental that the piglet was an important sacrificial animal, not least at Eleusis.

Priests and priestesses are one of very few 'professions' to be regularly depicted on Attic funerary monuments. One might think, in a funerary context, that this was associated with the religious aspects of funerary culture. It is however more plausible to interpret it as a manifestation or extension of characteristic gender roles for citizens which are commonly commemorated on these monuments, with the priestess as custodian of the god's 'house' in the same way as the housewife is custodian of her own home.

We don't know which cult Choirine's priestesshood was associated with, but it is believed that the stone originated from the area of Eleusis, to the west of Athens. For this reason, it has been suggested that she was a priestess of Demeter and Kore, whose cult activities were prominent at Eleusis.

Questions to consider: what is the significance of the key in the deceased's hand? Why would Choirine have been commemorated in this way?

Slide 32. Dedication of a Shrine to Aphrodite, AD 127-30. British Museum 1816,0610.165

This inscription of the second century AD commemorates the dedication of a statue of Aphrodite and parts of a shrine – columns, pediment, and latticed partitions (perhaps intercolumnar screens) – to a deity, by a woman who held two offices which are associated with the cult of Isis. The woman had held the offices of lamp-lighter and interpreter of dreams and had been charged with the interpretation of dreams sent by Isis to her devotees.

The offices held by the woman demonstrate that the divine recipient was the deity Isis, whose cult – with its origins in Egypt – at this time was assimilating (or replacing) that of Aphrodite at Athens. The find-spot of the inscription on the south slope of the Acropolis is close to the location of the sanctuary of Isis: it is likely that the inscription was originally set up there.

Overall, then, the inscription provides good evidence for the interest one particular family and of a (presumably) wealthy donor in the cult of Isis in the second century AD; it is compatible with evidence that suggests the promotion of Isis in Athens during

this period. It also attests to the role of female benefactors in the period in the cult developments of the second century AD. Of course, we have to be careful when using this inscription as a source for classical Athens, as what was common practice in the second century AD may not necessarily have been usual 600 years earlier!

Questions to consider: why was shrine-building so important to ancient communities? Bear in mind that this inscription reflects practice in the second century AD. Women's financial contribution to cult is much less well-attested in the classical period.

Slide 33: Honours for the girls who worked on the robe for Athena (108/7 BC). *AIUK* 1 (Petworth House) no. 1

The main fragment of this inscription is built into the modern base of a statue of Artemis in the 'Marble Hall' of Petworth House in West Sussex. It contains parts of two decrees of the Athenian citizen Assembly. They both relate to the rituals surrounding the new robe (*peplos*) which was presented to the statue of Athena on the acropolis of Athens at the city's principal religious festival, the Panathenaia. The central scene of the Parthenon frieze in the British Museum (which dates more than 300 years earlier than this inscription) is thought by most scholars (such as Robert Parker and Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood) to represent the presentation of the robe.

The peplos robe was a rectangular woollen cloth. In Homer's *Iliad* the women of Troy present a peplos made by women of Sidon to Athena in her temple on the acropolis (6.86-98 and 269-311) and comparable rituals are attested historically both in Athens and elsewhere in the Greek world. Athena's robe was decorated with mythical scenes and was an important symbol of Athenian identity.

The inscription records honours awarded in 108/7 BC to the teenage girls (*parthenoi*) who had worked on the robe. The *parthenoi* for that year had made a silver bowl to commemorate their piety in their work and the decree records how they were granted the permission that they had sought to dedicate it to Athena. They were granted the privilege of foliage garlands and having their names written out on the inscription that was to be set up by the temple of Athena *Polias* on the Acropolis.

These girls were adolescents from the upper echelons of Athenian society. A period of service weaving the peplos will have provided them with acculturation in the characteristically feminine task of textile-making in a context that enabled them to mix with daughters of other elite families and to garner public prestige and visibility in the context of the city's major festival. The inscription suggests how the Panathenaia festival, like other religious events served more than religious functions, such as the reinforcement of the role of the elite young women.

A video about the Petworth House inscription is available on the AIO Youtube channel.

See also below, **slide 46**

Delian League/Athenian Empire

Slides 34-39 are inscriptions which contribute to the modern understanding of the Athenian Empire. Since the nineteenth century, historians have realised that the evidence of inscriptions greatly contributes to our understanding of the Athenian empire, especially in terms of its finances and methods of control. A discussion of two key inscriptions for understanding the Athenian Empire can be found in *AIO Papers* no. 8, on the regulations for Chalkis and the Reassessment of the Athenian Tribute. The slides address the following aspects on the **Delian League/Athenian Empire** of the SQA Higher Classical Studies:

- reasons for and purpose of the Delian League (**slide 35**)
- transition from voluntary league to Athenian empire (**slide 35)**
- revolts of allies and consequences (especially **slides 38 and 39**)
- advantages and disadvantages of the empire for Athens (especially **slides 35-37**)
- advantages and disadvantages of the empire for the allies

More detailed discussion on aspects of the Athenian Empire can be found in our resources for A-level Ancient History, and in particular our (forthcoming), Inscriptions for A-level Ancient History document. Note also the JACT Teachers' Notes on AH 1.2

(a) The Tribute

Slide 35: Fragment of an Athenian Tribute List, 448/7 BC. British Museum 1863,0516.1 (*IG* I^3 264).

From its foundation in 478/7 BC the Delian League, led by Athens to prosecute the war against the Persians, was funded by tribute (*phoros*) paid by members. The first assessment amounted to 460 Talents, according to Thuc. 1.96.2. Initially members could provide either ships or money, but as time went by those who supplied ships tended to commute, or were forced by Athens to commute, this into money, which, according to Thucydides, was one of the main causes of increasing Athenian dominance of the League. By the beginning of the Peloponnesian war only Chios and Lesbos still provided ships.

At first the money was deposited on Delos (no records survive from this period), but in 454/3 the treasury was transferred to Athens, and from then on lists of the 1/60th portion of the tribute paid to Athena as 'first fruits' were inscribed on *stelai* set up on the Athenian acropolis. Thucydides makes no mention of the movement of the treasury from Delos to Athens: this is striking, given that he is recording the events which increased Sparta's fear of Athenian growth. Plutarch's biography of Pericles (chapter 12) suggests there was debate at Athens about whether the treasury was moved in order to sustain war against the 'barbarian' (Persians) or to fund Athens' building programme. In fact it seems that the 1/60th was indeed used to fund building work in Athens; the rest of the money was managed by the Athenian officials known as the

Hellenotamiai (treasurers of the Greeks), who would make payments from their treasury, e.g. to support Athenian generals on expeditions.

The 'first stone' (*lapis primus*), which at 3.8 m. high is the most massive of Athenian inscriptions, covered the years 454/3 to 440/39. Composed of 184 fragments, some aspects of the current reconstruction and that of the 73 fragments of the 'second stone' (*lapis secundus*, 439/8-432/1) have been questioned. From that point the 1/60th was inscribed on smaller stones. One possible explanation for the size of the early blocks is that they were re-used from earlier building projects.

The names of the contributing cities are usually given in ethnic form (e.g. Abderites, Olynthians), but occasionally by place-name. In the early lists cities are not listed geographically; later lists are organised according to payment area (e.g. 'Ionian Tribute', 'Hellespontine Tribute', 'Thraceward Tribute'.

In the first list, the Aeginetans are listed as contributing 3000 drachmas to Athena's 1/60th. As there were 6000 drachmas in a talent, this means that they contributed 30 Talents in that particular year. Together with Thasos, which also paid 30 talents from 443, this is the highest tribute recorded in the pre-Peloponnesian War tribute lists. This no doubt reflects the powerful trading position of Aegina, and the substantial mineral and other resources of Thasos, and in both cases there may also be a punitive element: Aegina had been forced into membership of the League in 457 (Thuc. 1.105, 108).

The high quality of the marble, with crystalline mica, is evident and may reflect significant financial investment in setting up these documents, the view of Miles (*Hesperia* 80, 2011, 657-75) is that the size of the stones reflects the possibility that they were blocks re-used from building projects, such as the Older Parthenon.

In this fragment we can see only the Athenian acrophonic numbers that listed one-sixtieth sums received by Athena's treasury (see the KS3 AIE slides explaining the acrophonic numerical system). The association of this fragment with another piece still in Greece has enabled scholars to associate the sums with particular groups. Note that 6 obols make up one drachma and 6000 drachmai make up one Talent. In order to calculate the total amount of tribute annually paid by these states each year, one has to multiply the amounts by 60. So in this case, we would expect that:

- the Chersoneioi have paid 60 X 300 = 1800 drachmai = **3 Talents** per annum;
- the Pyrnioi and Neapolis each have paid 60 X 16 = 960 drachmai **and** 60 X 4 = 240 obols, making of **1000 drachmai;**
- the Kyllantioi have paid 60 X 200 drachmai = **1200 drachmai = 2 Talents** per annum.

It seems that the ancient Athenians would have calculated the amount of tribute to be paid on the basis of the resources of the individual communities (sometimes changing the amounts to reflect other forms of imposition). So we might be able to get a sense on the relative resources and population size of the communities listed here.

Athenian tribute-paying allies were classified into five regional groups: Hellespontine, Ionian, Carian, Thracian and the Islands. Of the communities paying here, the Pyrnioi,

the Chersoneioi and Kallyntioi belonged to the Carian district; the city of Neapolis belonged to the Hellespontine district.

The fragment is now in store at the BM.

Questions for discussion: Why would Athenians write down the amount of tribute being dedicated to Athena? Think about the amount coming in (note that an artisan's wage was 1 drachma a day in this period): would this have transformed Athens' finances?

Note: The first assessment in 478 BC amounted to 460 Talents, according to Thuc. 1.96.2. By the mid 420s, the Athenians were asking for much more from their allies. However, as Kallet-Marx shows, Athenian financial management means that it is unlikely that tribute would have directly funded either the Athenian building programme or the remuneration of Athenian public officials. Tribute would have been managed by the *Hellenotamiai* ('treasurers of the Greeks'), Athenian officials who would have been responsible for management and disbursal (mostly for overseas ventures) of the tribute.

Slides 36 and 37. Kleinias' decree about tribute collection, 425/4 or later. *AIUK* 4.2 (British Museum. Decrees) no. 5 (fragment c)

This decree is commonly referred to, after its proposer (who is not otherwise identifiable), as the 'Kleinias' decree'. It cannot be dated with certainty, but its provisions seem to presuppose the arrangements made in other inscriptions of the mid-420s relating to tribute collection, including the Thoudippos decrees (the subject of an AIO paper).

The main thrust of the provisions is to tighten up the administrative arrangements to ensure tribute was paid and conveyed to Athens as assessed. A written record authenticated with special seals is henceforth to accompany the tribute to Athens, to be opened on delivery and compared with the tribute received (1-18). The 'Greek treasurers' (*Hellenotamiai*), the Athenian officials responsible for tribute collection, are to report to a special Assembly, to be held in the spring after the City Dionysia, on which cities have paid and which have not (18-22). Four commissioners are then to be appointed to go to the different regions of the Empire to deliver tribute receipts to the cities and to pursue non-payers (22-30). A legal process is provided for anyone who is suspected of abusing this new system (31-41). The same process is to apply to the cow and suit of armour (panoply) which each city was obliged to send to Athens together with the tribute (41-45). This obligation had been recently imposed on all allies by Thoudippos' decree.

The text on the British Museum fragment (c) is not well enough preserved to enable restoration, but it is clear enough from the reference to 'the incoming Council' (57) and 'last year's' (73) that measures taken under the decree might run over into the following year, and that this part of the text included arrangements for cases in which allies disputed allegations of non-payment (61-76).

The decree, introduced with the phrase 'The Council and the People decided' is evidently a probouleumatic decree: that is, one that was formulated in the Athenian council (as a *probouleuma*) and then ratified, possibly with minor amendments, at the

assembly. A short explanation can be found of the decree-making process in Stephen Lambert's Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections 4.2 (British Museum: Decrees), pages 7-8.

Questions for Discussion: What lengths did the Athenians go to ensure the regular payment of the tribute? How did they deal with disputes? What does this say about the nature of the Athenian Empire?

(b) Athens and other city-states

Slide 38. Decree about Erythrai, c. 454-450 BC. British Museum 1816,0610.346 (*AIUK* 4.2 (British Museum Decrees) no. 2)

This is a decree which arranges for an Athenian garrison to be imposed upon the large and wealthy Ionian city of Erythrai, which is likely to have joined the Delian League at the time of its foundation in 478 BC. We cannot be sure of the exact date and context of this particular intervention. It is one of a number of inscriptions in which the Athenian assembly is recorded as interfering in affairs of the city: another inscribed Athenian decree, now lost, accounts for Athenian intervention after a revolt or civil upheaval and made provision for the establishment of a democratic council at Erythrai. The BM inscription may suggest upheaval of a similar nature and attests certainly to Athenian intervention in the 450s.

Questions for Discussion: What lengths did the Athenians go to ensure compliance with the decisions of their assembly? How did they deal with uprisings? What does this say about the nature of the Delian League/Athenian Empire? How might empire have been experienced by the subject states of the empire?

Slide 39. Athenian Regulations for Hestiaia, 446 BC or later (*AIUK* 4.2 (British Museum. Decrees) no. 3)

Hestiaia was one of the four major cities of Euboea, located in the north of the island. It was a tribute-paying member of the Delian League, and with Chalkis and Eretria revolted against Athens in the aftermath of Athens' defeat at the battle of Koroneia in Boeotia in 447/6 BC. The suppression of the revolt by an Athenian force under Pericles is described by Thucydides in a single sentence: 'And the Athenians . . . subdued the whole of it [Euboea], and settled the rest by agreement, but expelled the Hestiaians, occupying their land themselves' (1.114.3). This decree is generally thought to contain the arrangements for Athens' settlement of Hestiaia on this occasion, though some scholars (e.g. Mattingly) have preferred to connect it with a campaign against Euboea in 424/3 BC mentioned by the fourth-century historian Philochoros.

This decree seems to have envisaged the levying (on Athenian colonists?) of an *eisphora* (lit. 'a bringing in') an occasional tax based on capital. This is notable, since on the usual dating of this decree it precedes by nearly 20 years 428/7 BC, when the Athenians 'first levied on themselves an *eisphora* of 200 talents' (Thuc. 3.19.1).

In this decree the Athenians also Athenians regulated the charges levied on the ferry that plied between their settlement at Hestiaia, Chalkis and the mainland at Oropos, the territory north-east of Attica which was also under Athenian control at this period. Those participating in a religious procession appear to have been charged half-fare.

Lines 79 and 86 seem to make arrangements at Hestiaia similar to those for ‘circuit judges’ (*dikastai kata demous*), which had been reintroduced at Athens in 453/2 BC. This perhaps involved the [seven?] men resident at Hestiaia referred to in 83-84. At 86-89 it seems that provisions are made for cases to be heard three times (a year?) in Hestiaia, and for separate hearings in Dion and Ellopia, which were dependencies of Hestiaia.

Questions for Discussion: How did the Athenians deal with allies who revolted from their Empire? What does this say about the nature of the Athenian Empire?

Section 1. Life in Classical Greece. Part B: Greek Religion

Slides 40-end: Greek Religion

The ancient Greeks lacked any authoritative 'holy book' which set out the norms of religious practice or belief. Inscriptions, however, are particularly informative on the subject of ancient Greek religion: a huge amount of our understanding on that subject derives ultimately from them and they must have played a vital role in guiding religious practice during antiquity. However, there is a paradox, given that, as Robert Parker (in his lecture on epigraphy and Greek religion at the *12th International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy* held at Oxford in 2007) observes, attention to oral tradition (often unwritten) was vital to the practices of ancient Greek religion. Nevertheless, Greek inscriptions do illuminate some aspects of religious ritual: as Parker points out, many inscriptions underline the importance of discipline and good order in the religious sanctuary, the rights and duties of priests and priestesses, and set out the financial and administrative management of religious practices. Accordingly, the ritual information that they preserve often seems to have been included for administrative purposes.

Inscriptions tell us about the two areas of Greek religion that have traditionally been emphasised by scholars of the subject: (a) practice, which is the aspect of religion highlighted by scholars who follow the view of Emile Durkheim about religion as a social practice and enunciated, for instance, by Simon Price, who took the view that 'belief' was a Christian construct that did not exist in Greek religion and (b) belief in terms of ideas about reciprocity, oracles, divine retribution and the afterlife (something studied in recent years by scholars such as Thomas Harrison, in his book *Greek Religion: Belief and Experience*).

Athenian inscriptions are deeply relevant to study of ancient Athenian religion: a list of such inscriptions can be found in section 5 of Attic Inscriptions Online Papers no 10. Inscriptional information about religious practice survives in the shape of (a) sacred regulations and calendars of sacrifices written down on stone and (b) dedications made by individuals to the Gods. The former categories set out the details of how Athenians were expected to go about paying respect to the gods; the latter demonstrate aspects of that piety in practice while also having implications for our understanding of belief. Stephen Lambert (*AIUK* 4.1 (*British Museum. Cult Provisions*)) has recently republished the ancient Athenian inscriptions at the British Museum pertaining to religious regulation and Peter Liddel and Polly Low will publish the British Museum's inscribed Athenian dedications later in 2021. But as these notes make clear, aspects of other types of inscription, including decrees of the city and funerary monuments, are relevant to our understanding of religion.

The slides address the following aspects on the **Religion and Belief** strand of the SQA Higher Classical Studies:

State religion

- nature of the gods — polytheism, anthropomorphism and behaviour (**slides 41-50)**
- rituals of worship — prayer, sacrifice, libation and votive offerings (**slides 42, 43, 47, 48, 50**)
- selection and role of priests (**slide 31)**
- festivals — Panathenaia (**slides 43, 46**)
- importance of state religion (**slides 41-46**)

Cults and mystery religions

- the cult of Asclepius at Epidaurus (see **slide 47**)
- Eleusinian mysteries (**slide 41**)

Women within religious worship (see slides 31-33)

Death and the afterlife (see slides 2, 6-7, 13-15, 17-19, 22, 26, 28-31), especially:

- burial customs
- traditional beliefs about the afterlife
- attitudes towards the dead

(a) Religion, Regulations and Decrees of the Athenian assembly

Slide 41. Regulations concerning the Eleusinian Mysteries, 475-450 BC. *AIUK* (*British Museum. Decrees*) 4.2 no. 1.

Some religious regulations were inscribed without reference to the body which introduced their provisions (see, for instance, the three cult regulations at the British Museum published in *AIUK* 4.1 (*British Museum. Cult Provisions*): discussed below). The Athenian city does seem to have had powers to manage religious practice, which is demonstrated in *AIUK* 4.2 no. 1, one of the earliest Athenian inscribed decrees, and the earliest evidence of cult regulation from the Eleusinion in the City. The inscription may have been issued by the Eleusinian *gene*, a descent group from which were drawn religious personnel for specific cults.

In this inscription, the city makes provisions for important aspects of the Mysteries: it is not clear whether it represents a 'codification' of current practice or innovation. It provides for the appointment of 'managers' (*epimeletai*) of the Mysteries.

In his edition of this inscription, Lambert underlines three specific points about its significance:

(a) Whereas tenure of responsible public office was usually at Athens limited to adult male citizens, there was one important exception: priestesses. In this case the priestess of Demeter at Eleusis was the senior priestess of the Eleusinian cult, and she seems to have had significant financial responsibility for the management of the cult.

(b) The decree perhaps harnesses the Mysteries as a vehicle for the projection of Athenian prestige in the inter-state scene, especially in its arrangements for a Panhellenic sacred truce which put the Mysteries on a par with the Olympic truce.
(c) The city appears to have closely managed arrangements for initiation into the Mysteries and especially the fees charged in order to obtain the required sponsorship from an insider.

Points for discussion: what does the inscription say about the management of Athenian religion, the role of priests and priestesses and the prestige of the Eleusinian Mysteries among the Greeks?

Slide 42. Sacrificial Calendar, 470-50 BC. British Museum 1816,0612.272 (*Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections* 4.1 (British Museum. Cult Provisions) no. 2)

Ancient Athenians (and other Greeks) wrote down on stone slabs 'calendars' of sacrifices and religious celebrations offered to deities and heroes. This is one example from Athens: two others are held at the British Museum (see *Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections* 4.1 (British Museum. Cult Provisions) nos 1, 2 and 3). Like many other examples of its type, the text lacks sufficient historical references for us to be able to date it precisely. But the shapes of the letters and the forms of spelling point to a date between about 470 and 450 BC.

The decision to write these details down on stone may reflect an ambition to formalise practice or it may reflect actual reform of practices. In the inscription we read of the type of sacrifices that would be offered to the different heroes and deities. The *Plynteria* was an important festival celebrated in the month of Thargelion every year during which the statue of Athena *Polias* (Athena of the City) was stripped of its robes so they could be washed. The offering to Hermes at lines 29-33 perhaps represented a kind of end-of-year party by youthful gymnasium users who supplied their own animal(s) for sacrifice and roasting on spits (*obeloi*).

The Athenian calendar of months was designed in origin primarily to regulate religious observance, and calendrical specifications feature prominently in inscriptions providing for religious rituals, including this one. The year started notionally or actually at the first new moon after the summer solstice. Months, all of which were named for religious festivals, had either 30 or 29 days. The sequence of the months was: Hekatombaion, Metageitnion, Boedromion, Pyanopsion, Maimakterion, Posideon, Gamelion, Anthesterion, Elaphebolion, Mounichion, Thargelion, Skirophorion.

Now in store at the British Museum. There is a video about this inscription and two other cult regulations at the British Museum on the AIO Youtube channel.

Question: what do sacrificial calendars show us about ancient Athenian religion? Why would they write them down on stone?

Slide 43. Ordinances of the deme Skambonidai, 475-450 BC (*AIUK* 4.1 (British Museum. Cult Regulations) no. 3):

Ancient Athenians (and other Greeks) wrote down on stone slabs ordinances relating to sacrifices and religious celebrations offered to deities and heroes. This is one example from the Attic deme (village) of Skambonidai in the city centre: two others are held at the British Museum (see *Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections* 4.1 (Cult Provisions) nos 1, 2 and 3). Like many other examples of its type, the text lacks sufficient historical references for us to be able to date it precisely. But the shapes of the letters and the forms of spelling point to a date between about 475 and 450 BC.

The inscription includes instructions for festivals and sacrifices on a number of different occasions. Among the festivals it mentions are the *Dipolieia* (a festival of Zeus that took place on the acropolis) and the *Panathenaia* (the most prominent of the festivals celebrating Athenian identity, which also took place on and around the acropolis). It includes detail about responsibility for the cult activities (the demarch, that is the mayor of the deme [one of the constituent villages of Attica], seems to pay an important role) and the division of meat and skins among members of the community: sometimes meat was allocated to specific groups (e.g. metics, who were resident foreigners in Athens); at other times it was sold to make a profit for the cult; the skin (useful for leather-making) was to belong to the demarch. The distribution of meat from religious sacrifices among the community is a phenomenon which reflects the social nature of religion and the fact that religious structures sometimes replicate the social divisions of the city.

The decision to write these details down on stone may reflect an ambition to formalise practice or it may reflect actual reform of practices. In the inscription we read of the type of sacrifices that would be offered to the different heroes and deities on different occasions and details about how the sacrifices were shared.

A much more detailed example of a sacrificial calendar preserved in a stone inscription is that from the Attic deme of Erchia (*AIO* 593) of 375-50 BC. It outlines details of the kind of sacrifices offered to heroes and deities throughout the year in a single medium-sized deme. It is a fascinating example of the genre which gives a sense of the range of cult activity, the types of sacrifices that were offered to deities and heroes as well as the annual dates and locations specified for them.

The Skambonidai inscription is now kept in store at the British Museum. There is a video about this inscription and two other cult regulations at the British Museum on the AIO Youtube channel and you can read more about them in Stephen Lambert's edition of them (*AIUK* 4.1 (*British Museum. Cult Provisions*)).

Discussion: How is this inscription relevant to the study of Greek religion? It shows the civic regulations of religious practices. It includes specific instructions for festivals and sacrifices. It regulates where religious authority lies. It details who receives the meat after sacrifices.

Questions to consider: To what extent was religion separated from politics? Who had religious authority? Why were religious practices recorded on stone? Why were

sacrifices performed? For the meat and its nutritional value? A reflection of social structure?

What do written ordinances show us about ancient Athenian religion? Why would they write them down on stone? Could they be viewed as a way of formalising practices which had hitherto been regulated by oral tradition? What do they say about the 'social' aspect of Athenian religion?

Slides 44 and 45. Athena (and others) depicted at the head of decrees. *AIUK* 3 (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) no. 2 and *AIUK* 4.2 (British Museum. Decrees) no. 10. Both 350-25 BC

When the Athenians wrote up decrees of their assembly on stone they set them up in religious places (such as religious sanctuaries or, in the case of Athens, the Acropolis, a network of sanctuaries). They sometimes added depictions of the gods and/or heroes on reliefs above the writing. At one level these reliefs clearly functioned as visual signals, complementing the text. In a general sense, an invocation of the Gods was something that drew attention to the subject matter of a decree. Demosthenes, the fourth-century orator, wrote (*Letters* 1.1): 'I assume that it is right for anyone who is embarking on any serious discussion and task to begin first with the gods.'

Moreover, there is modern discussion, about what exactly the reliefs represented and their relationship to the inscribed texts: perhaps, as Mack has recently proposed (*Annual of the British School at Athens* 113 (2018)), they signified a sort of analogy between human and divine activity, with the gods 'setting an example' to humans. He suggests that collective public authority at Athens was thought of as underpinned by divine agency and observes that this 'idea that gods might have a role in legitimating political power is hardly surprising from a wider historical perspective or, indeed, from a Greek perspective, given that, in the *Iliad*, Agamemnon's authority as a king, symbolised by his sceptre, was derived from Zeus'. Alternatively, the reliefs perhaps indicated that the written inscriptions were directed at an audience not only of human readers but also of the Gods. But they would also imply something profound about the commitment of the parties to a decree or treaty embellished with images of the deities.

The **British Museum** relief (**Slide 18**) depicts a standing Athena with helmet and spear, named on the epistyle above, crowning a male human figure who is depicted in much smaller scale. It can be inferred that the relief is from the top of an Athenian Assembly decree honouring at least one man; parallels would suggest he was a foreigner. Athena in such scenes represents, or personifies, the city of Athens, though this depiction clearly also goes beyond mere symbolism, asserting divine agency in the honorific process. The substantive part of the inscribed decree is lost; all that remains is the heading 'Gods', which may strengthen the implications of divine agency.

In the **Fitzwilliam** monument (**Slide 19)**, the only inscriptions that are preserved (fragmentarily) are the labels at the top above the relief. The first figure on the relief is Athena with a shield; the label for the second does not survive, but it may have been the personification of Demos ('the People'). The label above the third figure, in military

dress, is partially preserved and might be read as ‘Me[ne]laos’, mythical king of Sparta in the Trojan War (a conflict in which Athens and Sparta had been allied).

It has been suggested that the decree might date to 331 BC, at which time Athens came very close to joining in an anti-Macedonian revolt led by the Spartan king Agis ([Plutarch] *Moralia* 818E). In the event Athens did not join the revolt, and Agis was defeated by Alexander (the Great) of Macedon’s deputy in Europe, Antipater, at Megalopolis the following year; but it is quite plausible that Athens passed a decree (e.g. perhaps one honouring Spartan envoys) in the context of Athenian diplomacy with Sparta at this time, and Sparta would appropriately have been represented on such a decree by the figure of Menelaos.

A video about the Fitzwilliam inscriptions is available on the AIO Youtube channel.

Points for discussion: how and why did the Athenians represent Athena on public documents?

Slide 46. Honours for the girls who worked on the robe for Athena (108/7 BC). *AIUK* 1 (Petworth House) no. 1

The main fragment of this inscription is built into the modern base of a statue of Artemis in the ‘Marble Hall’ of Petworth House in West Sussex. It contains parts of two decrees of the Athenian citizen Assembly. They both relate to the rituals surrounding the new robe (*peplos*) which was presented to the statue of Athena on the acropolis of Athens at the city's principal religious festival, the Panathenaia. The central scene of the Parthenon frieze in the British Museum (which dates more than 300 years earlier than this inscription) is thought by some scholars (such as Robert Parker and Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood) to represent the presentation of the robe.

The peplos robe was a rectangular woollen cloth. In the *Iliad* the women of Troy present a peplos made by women of Sidon to Athena in her temple on the acropolis (6.86-98 and 269-311) and comparable rituals are attested historically both in Athens and elsewhere in the Greek world. Athena's robe was decorated with mythical scenes and was an important symbol of Athenian identity.

The inscription records honours awarded in 108/7 BC to the teenage girls (*parthenoi*) who had worked on the robe. The *parthenoi* for that year had made a silver bowl to commemorate their piety in their work and the decree records how they were granted the permission that they had sought to dedicate it to Athena. They were granted the privilege of foliage garlands and to have their names written out on the inscription that was to be set up by the temple of Athena *Polias* on the Acropolis.

These girls were adolescents from the upper echelons of Athenian society. A period of service weaving the peplos will have provided them with acculturation in the characteristically feminine task of textile-making in a context that enabled them to mix with daughters of other elite families and to garner public prestige and visibility in the context of the city's major festival. The inscription suggests how the Panathenaia festival, like other religious events served more than religious functions, such as the

reinforcement of the role of the elite young women. It supports the view of religion as very much tied up with the expression of social practice.

A video about the Petworth House inscription is available on the AIO Youtube channel.

Discussion: How is this inscription relevant to our understanding of Greek religion? (It shows a civic acknowledgement of a religious rite. It shows civic support and praise for girls performing a religious role. It suggests the significance of the Panathenaia that such attention goes to the makers of the robe for Athena. It indicates the important role women had in religion.)

Related issues to consider: How far can religion be separated from politics in Ancient Athens? Was the Panathenaia more of a religious festival than a civic one? To what extent were women excluded from religious life? How far was participation in religion merely a matter of prestige, rather than devotion?

(b) Religion and Dedications

Slide 47 is a Roman-era dedication in the form of a thank-offering to Asklepieios and Hygieia probably from Melos bearing the inscription: 'Tyche [dedicated this] to Asklepios and Hygieia as a thank offering'. Details about it can be found in the BM Collections online. However, as it is not an Athenian inscription, it is not included in these notes. But the practice underlying it is commonplace and existed in Athens too: a number of comparable items in the shape of votives depicting body parts are represented in the collections of the British Museum (**see Slide 48**) these appear to have been set up on the Pnyx Hill in central Athens in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD at the sanctuary of Zeus The Highest (*Hypsistos*). During the imperial period the sanctuary, which in the classical period had been the venue of the Athenian democratic assembly, served as a healing shrine. Individuals would make dedications on stone representing body parts that were afflicted by disease. As Bjorn Forsen (*Hesperia*, 1993) argues, these dedications were placed within niches cut into the bedrock of the retaining wall of the sanctuary.

In this case, the term 'vow' (*euche*) used to describe them may indicate that these objects were set up as gifts to the deity to thank him for an act of healing. Alternatively, they may have formed the fulfilment of a pledge to make a future dedication if the God was perceived as healing the affliction. We might add that votive eyes need not necessarily refer to a dedicant's diseased eyes, but might allude to the eyes with which the dedicant saw a vision of a deity, or to the eyes of the deity him- or her-self.

Discussion: How is this relevant to the study of Greek religion? It fits within the context of healing sanctuaries and demonstrates an example of personal experiences in Greek religion. It shows an example of a healing cult beyond Asklepios. These inscriptions give the opportunity to discuss epithets and the variety of roles gods had (in this case, Zeus the Highest). It shows a challenge of polytheism – who do you worship if you are ill?

Slide 49. Ephebic dedication commemorating victory at Eleusis, 158/9 AD. *AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*) no. 7

The plaque is a dedication in honour of an athletic victory at Eleusis by the ephebes, Athenian cadets experiencing the training undertaken by male citizens on the cusp of adulthood, which involved military and athletic training, guarding the Piraeus, patrolling the Athenian border, and participation in religious and commemorative rituals throughout Attica.

The event at Eleusis at which the ephebes were victorious might have been the Antinoeia, festival games held by the ephebes in honour of Antinoos, the young lover of Emperor Hadrian. Or it might have been the 'Contest of Prowess', which involved a contest between two teams of ephebes, called 'Theseidai' and 'Herakleidai' – perhaps the relief decoration indicates that the latter team was victorious. The possibilities on this front are discussed by Chris de Lisle in his edition of the inscription at *AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean Museum*) no. 7. You can find a video about this inscription here.

The relief depicts Herakles reclining on a lion's skin under a tree. His bow and quiver hang from a branch and his club leans against the tree. The motif, representing well-earned repose after labours, was common throughout the ancient world. At some point, the relief has been snapped in half horizontally, Herakles' face has been carefully removed, and his genitals may have been removed as well.

Discussion: What does this votive reveal about the nature of hero cult? Does it thank Herakles him for a victory? If this was to commemorate a victory of the 'Thesidai' over the 'Herakleidai,' what does this tell us about the significance of hero cults for ephebes? Why would ephebes (cadets) make such a dedication to Herakles to commemorate a sporting victory?

Slide 50. Dedication to Pan and the Nymphs, 350-330 BC. *AIUK* 9 (Brocklesby Park) Appendix

This marble tablet with sculpture in relief represents Hermes leading three Nymphs towards a group of worshippers. Behind them, at the extreme right side of the scene, is the head of a personification of a fountain or river (perhaps the river-god Acheloos, the father of the Nymphs: Plato *Phaedrus*, 263d); above them sits Pan, depicted with beard, pointed ears and goat's legs. There are five worshippers and a smaller figure (perhaps a child or, more likely, a slave) who leads an animal towards a stone altar, probably for sacrifice. Animal sacrifices were widespread in Greek cult practice and they were thought as a way of appeasing or maintaining good relations with a deity; usually the edible parts of the meat were distributed among the community and the inedible parts were burnt as an offering to the gods.

Pan and the Nymphs were associated with (and worshipped at) cave sites. In Menander's *Dyskolos*, Pan refers to the Nymphs who 'share my shrine' (line 37), and at least nine caves in Athens and Attica can be linked with worship of Pan and the Nymphs. The precise findspot of this object is unknown, but it is possible that our relief originally stood in, or just outside, one of the many caves of Pan and the Nymphs in

Athens. For discussion, see Peter Liddel and Polly Low, *AIUK* 9 (*Brocklesby Park*) Appendix.

Pan was worshipped at Athens after the Persian wars. According to Herodotus (6.105-6): 'Before they left the city, the Athenian generals sent off a message to Sparta. The messenger was an Athenian named Pheidippides, a professional long-distance runner. According to the account he gave the Athenians on his return, Pheidippides met the god Pan on Mount Parthenium, above Tegea. Pan, he said, called him by name and told him to ask the Athenians why they paid him no attention, in spite of his friendliness towards them and the fact that he had often been useful to them in the past, and would be so again in the future. The Athenians believed Pheidippides's story, and when their affairs were once more in a prosperous state, they built a shrine to Pan under the Acropolis, and from the time his message was received they held an annual ceremony, with a torch-race and sacrifices, to court his protection.'

The dedication was evidently made by a citizen of the Attic deme (village) of Phlya whose name is lost, save for the second element of his patronymic.

This tablet, the current whereabouts of which are unknown, is attested only by way of the illustration which appears in the *Museum Worsleyanum* (2 volumes, first published 1798 and 1803). All editions of the text and discussions of the relief are based on this depiction.

Point to discuss: why would an individual make a dedication like this? What would it say about the dedicant? Why depict this type of scene?