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The making of the Greek city: An Athenian case study

Alain Duplouy

► **To cite this version:**

Alain Duplouy. The making of the Greek city: An Athenian case study. C. Graml, A. Doronzio et V. Capozzoli. Rethinking Athens Before the Persian Wars, pp.201-216, 2019, 9783831648139. <hal-02501645>

HAL Id: hal-02501645

<https://hal.science/hal-02501645v1>

Submitted on 7 Mar 2020

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Münchener Studien zur Alten Welt



Constanze Graml, Annarita Doronzio,
Vincenzo Capozzoli (eds.)

Rethinking Athens Before the Persian Wars

Proceedings of the International
Workshop at the Ludwig-
Maximilians-Universität München
(Munich, 23rd–24th February 2017)

utzverlag

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Münchner Studien zur Alten Welt

herausgegeben von

Prof. Dr. Martin Zimmermann

Prof. Dr. Jens-Uwe Krause

Prof. Dr. Karen Radner

Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

Band 17

This book was printed thanks to the financial support of the Dipartimento Asia, Africa e Mediterraneo of the Università degli Studi di Napoli »L'Orientale« and the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München.

Umschlagabbildung: E. Dodwell, Views in Greece I (London 1821) Plate 474
»Temple of Jupiter Olympios and River Ilissos«
[<https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/dodwell1821/0059>].



Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek:
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in
der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische
Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

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Typesetting and layout: Vincenzo Capozzoli,
Tommasina Matrone, Annika Busching

The English text was revised by Henry Heitmann-Gordon.

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ISBN 978-3-8316-4813-9

Printed in EU

utzverlag GmbH, München

089-277791-00 · www.utzverlag.de

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Foreword

The Munich workshop, *Rethinking Athens – The Polis Before the Persian Wars: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, organised by a team of young scholars who also edited this book, remains unforgettable. The reasons are manifold. One was the choice of the period, the first half of the 1st millennium BC, in which *Wilder Ursprung* (Walter Burkert) of Greek people was one of the anthropological catalysts for the development of the *polis*, namely that of Athens. Another was the group of people invited to participate: a vivid mix of passionate young and senior academics mainly from Europe, predominantly Greece. Here, an important driving force was the generous willingness to share new data about key sites in Athens and Attica, now published in this volume. This openness not only resulted in furthering knowledge but also provided new insights into the meandering process of how the city's spatial, material, religious, political, social and economic fabric was woven and constantly rewoven over a long period of time. This process came about in quite the opposite way to clear-cut modern categories as it bound together (seemingly) conflicting concepts, such as myth with history, religion with politics, life with death, aesthetics with brutality, glory with violence, success with failure, and agreement with contradiction. Unforgettable was also the constructive discussion and Mediterranean atmosphere of the workshop propelled by a plurality of hermeneutics, original thought, productive criticism, mutual respect, and a lot of enthusiasm and fun. Fortunately for us this book will keep some of the Munich conference spirit alive, in particular Athens' heritage as an exceptional workshop of all aspects of human life.

Prof. Dr. Rolf Michael Schneider
Professor Emeritus for Classical Archaeology

The Making of the Greek City: An Athenian Case Study

ALAIN DUPLOUY

What is the Greek city? The question is so essential that it has been discussed for over 150 years since the publication of *La cité antique* by Fustel de Coulanges in 1864. As everyone knows, there is no simple answer to that question and, on the contrary, a profusion of models promoted mainly by national traditions. As O. Murray once wrote humorously, “To the Germans the *polis* can only be described in a handbook of constitutional law; the French *polis* is a form of Holy Communion; the English *polis* is a historical accident; while the American *polis* combines the practices of a Mafia convention with the principles of justice and individual freedom”¹. The history of Archaic Greece – and by this I intend the whole pre-Classical period from the collapse of the Mycenaean world towards the end of the 13th century – can in no way be reduced to an institutional history, which would lead from monarchy to democracy, nor can it be equated to a quarrel between the *dēmos* and an alleged ‘aristocracy’ – a word I have banished from my vocabulary, because it is both useless and misleading². The core of the process when thinking about the making of the Greek city over this half-millennium is first related to the delineation of a citizen community.

As Alcaeus³ and Thucydides⁴ wrote, *andres gar polis*, “men make the city”, therefore considering the *polis* mostly as a community of citizens. The main issue in investigating the making of Greek cities is therefore to consider how the limits of the citizen group have been continuously defined and implemented over the centuries. From this perspective, it means distinguishing between insiders – who could take part in the community – and outsiders – who were excluded from or could not afford to take part to it. In various recent studies⁵, I proposed to consider the making of Greek cities as a behavioural phenomenon. To be precise, in Archaic Greece the continuous process of community making heavily rested on collective and individual performances, behaviours or lifestyles. Various scholars have already emphasized performance as a key feature in the practice and ideology of the Greek city, particularly of the Athenian democracy. As S. Goldhill and R. Osborne noted in the introductory paper to a stimulating volume, “When the Athenian citizen speaks in the Assembly, exercises in the gymnasium, sings at the symposium, or courts a boy, each activity has its own regime of display and regulation; each activity forms an integral part of the exercise of citizen-

1 Murray 1990, 3.

2 See Duplouy 2006, and now Fisher – van Wees 2015.

3 Alk. fr. 112, 10, 426.

4 Thuk. 7, 77, 7.

5 Duplouy 2013; Duplouy 2014; Duplouy 2018b; Duplouy 2018c; Duplouy 2019.

ship”⁶. This concept of performance, usually applied to the performance of drama in the theatre or speeches in the assembly and public courts, has to be extended to other aspects of the citizen lifestyle. If ‘men make the city’, we must look at how individuals achieve that. Citizenship is usually considered as a granted status enshrined in legal criteria and institutional affiliations, and therefore assimilated to the membership of a previously defined political entity, the city⁷. Instead of membership, which introduces a view from the top, I prefer to investigate Archaic citizenship as a form of participation. Beside attending the Assembly and the Council, which imply formal institutions, the exercise of citizenship extended to all the areas of collective activities and individual performances: cult and burial, sacrifice and symposium, trade and economy, war and peace, etc., all spheres or behaviours that contributed to sketch the outline of a citizen community⁸. This is actually the double meaning of the Greek word *politeia*, applied to the notion of citizenship itself and to the various forms of government, but also to citizen lifestyles, also referred to as *nomoi*, *tropoi* or *epitēdeumata*⁹. These are the citizen behaviours I am interested in.

In the absence of a register certifying one’s legal status in most Archaic cities, the quality of a citizen had therefore to be permanently demonstrated in order to be acknowledged and accepted by others. How the citizen community was delin-

eated? How to become a citizen? How to be accepted by the other members of the community as a worthy citizen? And how to perpetuate such a community in a constant flux over the centuries? These are, in my opinion, the most important questions to address when dealing with the making of the Greek Archaic city. I strongly believe that adopting the normative behaviours of the citizens in all aspects of one’s lifestyle provided the best means of being acknowledged as a fellow citizen. In order to be accepted as a citizen, one had to behave like a citizen. Complying to the citizen lifestyle made you a legitimate member of the community; whereas rejecting it or being unable to adopt it made you an outsider.

Defined as such, the Greek city formed what M. Weber called a *Stand* or, in English, a ‘status group’¹⁰. According to Weber, the notion of *Stand* is tightly linked to a “positive or negative social estimation of honour: above all else a specific lifestyle is expected from all those who wish to belong to the circle”. Social intercourses might therefore be restricted, confining for example marriages to within the status group and leading to endogamous closure; a legal monopoly of special offices is often established for members only, so that the status group is exclusively entitled to own and to manage them. Accordingly, this notion fits quite well with the Greek *polis*. What is interesting in Weber’s definition of the *Stand* is that it mainly rests on a social estimation of honour and lifestyle. Instead of focusing on institutions when dealing with the ‘birth’ of the *polis*, we should therefore better look at behaviours and how they were enforced or transmit-

6 Goldhill – Osborne 1999, 1.

7 See the review of past literature in Duplouy 2018a.

8 See Ampolo 1996.

9 Bordes 1982.

10 Weber 1946.

ted. In this perspective, another concept borrowed from modern sociology is essential to my thought. It is the notion of *habitus*, popularised by P. Bourdieu. *Habitus* refers to the lifestyle, values, dispositions and expectations of social groups that are acquired through the activities and experiences of everyday life. According to Bourdieu's own words, they are "structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures"¹¹. They are socially acquired schemata, sensibilities, dispositions and tastes that are repeatedly reproduced through individual behaviours, therefore reinforcing the strength of the *habitus* itself. By adopting, consciously or not, a lifestyle which was valued by the whole citizen community, individuals behave in order to be accepted as insiders – that is as fellow citizens – and to be distinguished from outsiders. To put it also in another way, following a concept introduced by L. Wittgenstein in his philosophical works, even if individuals do not justify how or why they say and do what they say and do, their activities actually reflect a particular 'form of life' (*Lebensform*)¹². The concept, which has been extensively used henceforth in German philosophy and recent exegesis, refers both, internally, to a lifestyle and, externally, to what gives it meaning. Accordingly, when applied to the Greek *polis*, the concept implies that citizens behave as they do because they assume a given form of life, which gives meaning to their actions, to themselves as citizens, and to the citizen community as a whole. Of course, in Archaic Greece, each city had its own citizen *habitus*, lifestyle or *Lebensform*, defining a variety of

idiosyncratic patterns of behaviours that allowed individuals to be identified as citizens. More than that, beyond a mere identification of insiders, these behaviours may also have allowed some outsiders to become recognized as acceptable citizens to be.

Rethinking Athens: New Ways into Archaic Athens

The understanding of the Athenian Archaic society has greatly benefitted from the recent study of P. Ismard on 'associations' or 'infra-civic communities'¹³. Ismard provides an insight into the diversity of the communities gathered together within a civic entity whose contours were still loosely defined until the end of the 6th century. In fact, it was through a series of associations (in the broadest sense of the term) that an initial and specifically Archaic form of Athenian citizenship and its related rights appeared: "Lower-ranking communities were often the intermediaries that guaranteed the exercise of such rights". Acting as vectors of integration into the city, these communities were not formal subdivisions of a pre-existing city or of a citizen body that was being defined otherwise. Based on parallels with late Archaic Crete, Ismard observes that "the structure of integration into citizenship is explicit enough: each time, it is through the intermediary of a specific community of the city that an individual has his rights of citizenship conferred". Among these infra-civic communities which could play a part in the definition or the activation of Archaic citizenship, Ismard cites the groups mentioned in a law on associations

11 Bourdieu 1977, 72; Bourdieu 1990, 53.

12 Wittgenstein 2001, § 241.

13 Ismard 2010; see also Ismard 2018 for an English synthesis (here quoted).

attributed to Solon (Dig. 47, 22,4) – demes, phratries, participants in sacred *orgia*, sailors, participants in dining or burial groups (*homotaphoi*), members of a *thiasos*, or ‘persons who go away for plunder or trade’ –, stressing the variety of names characterizing the communities of the 6th century. He also points to the existence of an Archaic law on citizenship that Plutarch (Plut. Solon 24, 4) attributes to Solon: among other communitarian affiliations, this law refers to groups based on practices or *Lebensformen*, as those “who were emigrating with their families to Athens to practise a trade”. Ismard’s interpretation is very stimulating; he shows how participation in the citizen community of Archaic Athens passed through a diversity of social groups, thus defining a loose and unstable form of citizenship, whose variability and instability only faded away with the Kleisthenic reforms. His conclusion is both deeply original and essential for a complete reappraisal of the Athenian Archaic city.

Elaborating on this ground-breaking study, I have offered in a recent issue of the *Annales*, a complete revision of the so-called Solonian property classes¹⁴. The Solonian *telē* were not military entities nor socio-economic groups; they did not define a citizen body divided up from the top according to property qualifications. Rather, they were informal categories, and more precisely occupational groups associated with distinctive lifestyles. *Pentakosiomedimnoi* were related to land ownership, as *geomoroi* or *gamoroi* were in other Greek cities. *Hippeis* were individuals who could raise one or more horses, as the Chalcidian *hippobotoi* or Eretrian *hippeis*. *Zeugites*

were not hoplites but, as H. van Wees has convincingly demonstrated¹⁵, owners of a team of oxen that allowed them to be independent farmers when working in the fields. And, in contrast to all of them, *thētes* were wage labourers, who rented out their labour force. I will not enter here in the full discussion, just adding that the so-called ‘Solonian system’ is only a rationalization dating from the Classical period, putting together four out of a variety of infra-civic communities in relation with a principle of property assessment, which was probably reworked several times before assuming its definitive form, as already demonstrated forty years ago by C. Mossé or, more recently, by K. Raaflaub¹⁶.

What appears is the considerable segmentation of the Athenian Archaic society, forcing us to consider a multitude of local situations, a diversity of behaviours, and the existence of many Athenian communities with their own patterns. Let’s turn back now to my questions.

How Was the Citizen Community Delineated?

Among the public spaces that were so important, according to T. Hölscher¹⁷, in the making of Greek cities, sanctuaries and necropoleis were two places where communities and groups could be delineated thanks to cult and burial practices. These were exclusive behaviours, which allowed insiders and outsiders to be distinguished in the general population. Having a share in the cult was not allowed to everyone, since it implied bringing ani-

¹⁵ van Wees 2006.

¹⁶ Mossé 1979; Raaflaub 2006.

¹⁷ Hölscher 1999.

¹⁴ Duplouy 2014.

mals to be sacrificed or being invited by those, who brought food and wine to be shared by the group during the sacrificial meal. This applied to cult activity both in the so-called rulers' dwellings¹⁸ and in urban or extra-urban sanctuaries. The act of sharing with the gods was an occasion to strengthen the ties within the cult community by excluding all those who were not considered as legitimate members of it. F. de Polignac has long demonstrated how the 7th century, far from being an aborted *polis* as I. Morris once thought, was a formative period in the making of the Athenian cultural landscape, with a blossoming of local cults. As is well known, the geographical placing of sanctuaries played a major part in establishing the concept of the city-state as early as the Early Iron Age. Many rural cults were meeting places for the neighbouring communities, offering occasions for exchanging goods and for sharing commensality between participants in festivals, sacrifices and ritual dinners. These sanctuaries, whether large rural sanctuaries or small cult-places in peak or coastal areas, were at the centre of local or regional networks of settlements and appeared as focal points in the process of social mediation and political coalescence. Through cult activity, groups living in geographical proximity were progressively united into a single community, establishing a territorial solidarity among members of a new social and political entity. According to Polignac, "participation in religious rituals guaranteed a mutual recognition of statuses and set the seal upon membership of the society, thereby

defining an early form of citizenship"¹⁹. The exclusive aspect of burial has been demonstrated by Morris thirty years ago²⁰. Through the notion of 'formal burial', he showed that not everyone in the population was allowed to be buried formally, i.e. in an archaeologically visible way. In dealing with mortuary practices and their change in Early Iron Age Greece, Morris associated them with a transformation of the social structures leading to the formation of the Greek *polis*. Whereas formal burial long remained restricted to a higher stratum (wrongly labelled the *agathoi*), a lower stratum (termed – also incorrectly – the *kakoi*) was suddenly allowed to be buried formally. The change is supposed to have corresponded to the invention of the idea of the *polis* and the appearance of citizenship. I will not enter here into a reconsideration of Morris' social and political model, which would deserve a lengthy discussion. I will commit to strengthening his main argument: the existence of invisible burial in the archaeological record. Although such an idea has been vigorously criticized, not least because it rests on a non-evidence – an *in-absentia* argument –, its validity has been proven thanks to demography. Whereas A. Snodgrass postulated the multiplication by a factor seven of the Athenian population based on the increased number of tombs during the 8th century, the associated growth has been calculated to be 3.1% per annum, which is simply impossible within a human population, especially in a pre-modern

18 Mazarakis Ainian 1997.

19 de Polignac 1995, 153. See also van den Eijnde 2010 for an updated account of EIA Athenian cults, and my own development of the topic in Duplouy 2012.

20 Morris 1987.

world²¹. By reducing that growth rate to 1.9 % and by transferring the additional burial evidence to the enlargement of the burying community, Morris has offered the only realistic explanation for the increase of the number of tombs during the 8th century. We have to deal with that fact: some people were allowed to be buried formally, and others not. How to value that from the historical perspective of the making of the Greek city? Far from being only a personal or family matter, burial was closely linked to the enjoyment or possession of citizenship, as various pieces of textual evidence make perfectly clear. The Aristotelian *Athēnaion Politeia* describes the process of checking of Athenian officials by the Council, exposing the expected condition of Athenian citizenship: “The questions put in examining qualifications are, first, ‘Who is your father and to what deme does he belong, and who is your father’s father, and who your mother, and who her father and what his deme?’ Then whether he has a family Apollo and homestead Zeus, and where these shrines are; then whether he has family tombs and where they are”²². Similarly, in the *Iliad*, the young Diomedes introduces himself by saying: “in years I am the youngest among you. Nay, but of a goodly father do I too declare that I am come by lineage, even of Tydeus, whom in Thebe the heaped-up earth covereth”²³. As strange as it may appear to us, a father’s tomb was probably a pre-requisite to community membership in Archaic Attica, as elsewhere in the Greek world.

21 Snodgrass 1980, 22–24, fig. 3. See calculations by Tandy 1997, 44–58.

22 Aristot. *Ath. pol.* 55, 3.

23 Hom. *Il.* 14, 112–114.

How to Be Recognized as a Citizen?

Once accepted by his fellow citizens, one still had to be recognized by other members of the citizen community, as well as to distinguish himself from outsiders. This had become an obsession by the end of the 5th century, when the Old Oligarch complained about being unable to distinguish between a slave and a citizen in the crowd, because (poor) citizens were not better dressed than the slaves and metics²⁴. In sum, the appearance had become deceptive, whereas it was considered to be essential in Archaic Greece. A proper lifestyle was thus expected from any citizen or would-be citizen.

One of the most interesting sources related to the Athenian lifestyle (*diaitia*) is at the beginning of Thucydides’ work (*Thuk.* 1, 6, 3–6), which is worth quoting in full:

“The Athenians were the first to lay aside their weapons, and to adopt an easier and more luxurious mode of life (*es to trupherōteron*); indeed, it is only lately that their rich old men left off the luxury (*to habrodiakon*) of wearing undergarments of linen, and fastening a knot of their hair with a tie of golden grasshoppers, a fashion which spread to their Ionian kindred, and long prevailed among the old men there. On the contrary, a modest style of dressing, more in conformity with modern ideas, was first adopted by the Lacedaemonians, the rich doing their best to assimilate their way of life to that of the common people. They also set the example of contending naked (*egumnōthēsan*), publicly stripping and anointing themselves with oil (*gum-*

24 Xen. (Old Oligarch) *Ath. pol.* 1, 10.

nazesthai) in their gymnastic exercises. [...] And there are many other points in which a likeness might be shown between the life of the Hellenic world of old and the barbarian of today.”

In this passage, full of the topics of 5th century Athenian propaganda, Thucydides opposes two very different lifestyles: an old one, to *habrodiaiton*, enshrined in luxury, which used to be common among Ionian people and in the old days of the Athenian *polis*, and a new one, more austere style of dressing, more in conformity with the ideas of his time, which was first adopted by the Lacedaemonians and then, after the Persian Wars, by the Athenians. By assimilating the old way of life of the Athenians to that of the Barbarians, Thucydides also depreciates and condemns the past behaviours, hence the assimilation of (Archaic) *habrosunē* to (oriental) *truphē*, which is typical of post-Persian Wars thought. Instead of a strictly chronological evolution between these lifestyles, they were actually conflicting ways of life in Archaic Greece, and even probably within the Athenian community as a whole in the 6th and 5th centuries: on the one hand, ‘luxury’ and, on the other, athletics²⁵.

In modern languages, the word ‘luxury’ denotes a state of great comfort and extravagant living. It also applies to inessential but desirable objects that are expensive or difficult to obtain. This kind of luxury was not highly valued in the ancient world. A great majority of ancient sources portray it as a symptom of moral decadence. The critique of luxury, broadly encompassed in the notion of *truphē*, is

a recurring topic in Greek literature and politics²⁶. Although luxury was commonly deprecated in the Classical and Hellenistic world, its assessment was completely different in Archaic Greece. Throughout the Archaic period, indeed, luxury was a positive quality that was highly prized by poets through the notion of *habrosunē*. As emphasized by L. Kurke, even if *habrosunē* had become a ‘dirty word’ in the 5th century, *habros* and its derivatives functioned as ‘positively charged markers’ throughout the 6th century²⁷. It was a positive quality that was highly prized by various poets. Far away from the critics of later times, luxury was actually an accepted lifestyle in various Archaic cities. As part of a ‘form of life’ (*Lebensform*), performing luxury was not restricted to showing off one’s wealth during feasting or processions. In a citizen’s life, it was part of everyday experience, as the great diversity of trivial details recorded by ancient authors makes clear for various cities.

Beside the dress code adduced by Thucydides, one of the formal expressions of *habrosunē* in Archaic Greece was *hippotropia*, the breeding or keeping of horses. If racing competitions have often been described as a characteristic feature of the alleged ‘aristocratic’ lifestyle and defined as a ‘rich man’s sport’²⁸, *hippotropia* could also be a citizen military requirement. More than a social status symbol associated with agonistic competitions and beyond the prestige-inducing character of this behaviour, horse-breeding was also linked to the existence of cavalry units in citizen

25 For a full commentary of this passage: Duploux 2019.

26 Bernhardt 2003.

27 Kurke 1992.

28 Murray 1993, 204.

armies. As G. de Ste. Croix puts it, “It is generally agreed that there was no *organised* cavalry force at Athens until the mid-5th century. (...) Nevertheless, there is not the least reason to doubt that there were always – before as well as after Solon – individual Athenians who possessed war-horses and used them on campaign, as mounted infantry”²⁹. As previously said, the Athenian *hippeis* were probably not a Solonian creation as a property class, distinguishing men able to collect from their estate a produce of three hundred dry and liquid measures jointly, but an existing group of horse-breeders and possibly – in wartime – cavalrymen³⁰. According to a tradition rejected by the Aristotelian author of the *Athēnaion Politeia*, the *hippeis* were simply “those who were able to keep a horse” (7, 4). They formed one of the many Athenian citizen communities. In Archaic Athens, *hippotrophia* was thus an accepted behaviour, leading to the constitution of an informal group of Athenian horse-breeders and to the recognition of a citizen status thanks to their specific lifestyle. Horse breeding and horse riding were undoubtedly very demonstrative behaviours. As part of a way of life, rearing – and possibly riding – horses allowed people to visually identify those who were certainly members of a citizen community. Ancient images make this strategy obvious. According to the Beazley Archive, more than 2.250 Archaic and Classical Athenian vases – the majority of them in black-figure – depict at least one horseman. Far from being a mere

snapshot of everyday life, these images also contributed to defining the Athenian identity or *Lebensform*. According to F. Lissarrague, the specific iconography of Athenian horsemen, dressed in the suggestive Thracian clothes echoing the fame of the Thracian riders, allowed this group to mark its rank among the community, while remaining within its political boundaries³¹. In Archaic Greece, horsemen were not ‘aristocratic’ outsiders; they were part of a citizen group, both in images and in the accepted Athenian lifestyle.

The new and austere way of life, described by Thucydides as a Spartan invention, went along with the rise of athletics in Greece, especially in the education of citizens. The great expansion of contests and the contemporaneous development of athletic nudity during the 6th century, which started perhaps in Sparta or Crete but was rapidly widely adopted, became central to the development of a distinctive Hellenic identity³². Although athletics were also part of an agonistic culture – which explains the success of local, regional and Panhellenic contests –, the ancient Greeks perceived the gymnasium and the stadium as two very distinct contexts. As demonstrated by P. Christesen, the word *gumnazō* was restricted to a citizen nudity and associated to military exercises³³. Athletic performances were used both as socialisation and qualification procedures for future citizens. All over the Greek world, cities incorporated the development of athletic skills into the education of future citizens, along with the concom-

29 de Ste. Croix 2004b, 15. On the topic, see also Spence 1993, 9–17; Worley 1994, 63–69; Blaineau 2015, 205–212.

30 Duplouy 2014.

31 Lissarrague 1990, 191–231 (quotation: 227).

32 Fisher 2018.

33 Christesen 2002.

itant exclusion of non-members who lived in the community from such training and local competitions.

The idea of a late adoption of such an athletic way of life by the Athenians has long been debated³⁴. It rather seems that the Thucydidean chronology is a fantasy related to the Athenian propagandistic agenda. It indeed proves wrong when considered in relation to the many Archaic images of athletics and especially naked athletes, which appear as early as the 7th century. On Athenian pottery and sculpture, such images have become very common towards the mid-6th century, so that the cultural turn had already happened more than a century before Thucydides. Actually, the new lifestyle was an Archaic lifestyle. The most ancient occurrences of athletic training in Athens are the two Olympic victories of Kylon and Alkmaion, both at the beginning of the 6th century, just before and after Solon's office (594/593 B.C.)³⁵. It is also possible that Solon instituted a monetary prize for the Isthmian and Olympic victors, but the provision raises various problems. More fundamentally, according to Aeschines (1, 138) and Plutarch (Plut. Solon. 1, 6), Solon passed a law that excluded slaves "from exercising in the gymnasia (*gumnazesthai*) and rubbing their bodies with olive oil (*xēraloiphein*)" and "from being the lovers of a free boy (*paiderastein*)", thus assimilating these behaviours to exclusive citizen habits, as they have parallels with

Cretan laws and Spartan practices³⁶. The use of the rare word *xēraloiphein* alludes to an Archaic behaviour, but also to the importance of perfumes for the athletic way of life. Indeed, images of athletes, both on pots and in stone, often show an aryballos, which is therefore to be defined as a citizen symbol. According to Socrates, "so far as perfume is concerned, when once a man has anointed himself with it, the scent instantly is all one whether he be slave or free; but the odours that result from the exercises of freemen demand primarily noble pursuits engaged in for many years if they are to be sweet and suggestive of freedom" (Xen. Symp. 2, 4). In other words, the Athenian citizen had a different smell of the slave, because he only was allowed to exercise naked in the gymnasium.

Once defined, the community had to be perpetuated, whether by resolutely keeping its very idiosyncratic *Lebensform* or by altering its model according to what can perhaps be labelled as an evolving *Zeitgeist*³⁷. As it seems, the Athenians changed their lifestyle over the Archaic period by turning from 'luxury' behaviours to more austere attitudes based on athletic training, although the shift might not have been as radical and as late as formulated by Thucydides. Since athletic nudity appeared during the 7th century and oriental practices were still part of the Athenian lifestyle in the 5th century³⁸, both patterns of comportments were actually competing attitudes in an Athenian Archaic society

34 See e.g. the (partly) divergent opinions of Crowther 1982; Bonfante 1989; McDonnell 1991; Stewart 1997, 24–42; Golden 1998, 65–69.

35 On the chronology of Kylon and Alkmaion, see Lévy 1978; Giuliani 1999.

36 See e.g. Aristot. pol. 2, 1264a 22 (Crete) and Xen. Lak. pol. 4, 2 (Sparta).

37 The question was initially raised and answered by Simmel 1896–97.

38 Miller 1997.

that might have been less integrated than it is sometimes assumed. In order to perpetuate this citizen community – or, perhaps better, these citizen communities –, descent was certainly not the unique – not even the principal – Archaic criterion, as it would become in Perikleian Athens, which instituted a double citizen parentage that was strictly enforced. As J. Davies demonstrated forty years ago³⁹, there were alternatives to the Classical descent group. Beyond an economic capacity – notably for buying one's arms and armour and contributing to the citizen army⁴⁰ –, behaviours were certainly central in the perpetuation and, most probably, constant redefinition of the Athenian community (or communities) over the centuries.

In sum, if Athenian history has always been described on a political, social or institutional basis, stressing the evolution from monarchy to democracy, alluding to a conflict between an alleged 'aristocracy' and the *dēmos*, or tracing the creation of institutions such as the Council, the Assembly or the Athenian officials, what I propose here is not only to 'rethink Athens', but to 'think different', to write Archaic history by focusing on society, by emphasizing a cultural history of Greece through behaviours and lifestyles, establishing a new approach to citizenship and the citizen community.

39 Davies 1977–78.

40 See the most recent discussion in Duplouy 2018a; van Wees 2018.

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