

# DEMOKRATIA

(PLATE 86)

IN publishing the relief stele with the "Law against Tyranny," Meritt pointed out<sup>1</sup> that the relief represented the seated, bearded Demos being crowned by Demokratia standing behind his throne. This interpretation is confirmed by the peculiar and repeated reference in the law to "Demos and Demokratia" (lines 8-9, 13, 16-17) which are within the context surely synonymous terms.<sup>2</sup> The relief suggests clearly that the Demos representing all the people of Athens is honored by and thus especially attached to one particular form of government, Demokratia.

This close association in word and picture of Demos and Demokratia on a monument of 337/6 B.C. recalls the famous painting of Theseus, Demos, and Demokratia which, according to Pausanias (I, 3, 3), clearly indicated that Theseus established democracy for the Demos. It is not too far fetched to assume that the relief, in spite of its poor workmanship,<sup>3</sup> represents the figures of Demos and Demokratia from the famous painting of Euphranor (Pausanias, I, 3, 4; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXV, 129).<sup>4</sup> Theseus himself could be supplied on the other side of the seated Demos who, in the painting even more than in the relief, faced the spectator. At any rate, the relief with its representation of Demos and Demokratia and the law with its repeated employment of these two abstract nouns in a somewhat metaphorical meaning both reflect the same spirit as the painting.

Pausanias himself indicates (I, 3, 3) that there was in addition to the painting another tradition which presented Theseus as the founder of democracy, and he contrasts this account with other popular and poetic traditions which consider Theseian Athens a monarchy rather than a democracy. No doubt, the nature of the former tradition is political, and this is indicated by the further point that the democracy which Theseus established lasted until the rise of the tyrant Peisistratos; F. Jacoby suggested<sup>5</sup> that Pausanias relied here on the Atthis of Philochoros (who may have been using here, as elsewhere, the work of Androtion; see below).

The political tradition of Theseus as founder of Athenian democracy is old,<sup>6</sup> but it seems that in the years immediately preceding 340 B.C. several authors reinterpreted this tradition to mean that Theseus founded a moderate democracy. Ruschenbusch,

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 355-359, No. 5; see *S.E.G.*, XII, 87; XV, 95; Al. N. Oikonomides, *Polemon*, VI, 1956/57, *Symmeikta* pp. 28-36.

<sup>2</sup> See, however, M. Ostwald, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXXVI, 1955, p. 120, note 93.

<sup>3</sup> H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 53, pl. 20, a.

<sup>4</sup> See J. H. Oliver, *Demokratia*, pp. 107-108, 164-166, pl. II.

<sup>5</sup> On *F. Gr. Hist.*, 328 F 19; see also his comments on 239 A 20.

<sup>6</sup> Isokrates, *Helen*, 32-37, and *Panathenaicus*, 126-129; E. Ruschenbusch, *Historia*, VII, 1958, pp. 415-418.

who attributed this innovation to Androtion,<sup>7</sup> called attention to the remark in Isokrates' *Panathenaicus* of ca. 340 B.C. (V, 148) that the Theseian democracy lasted for no less than a thousand (*sic*) years until the age of Solon and the tyranny of Peisistratos; Isokrates is here evidently following the same tradition as Pausanias. Mention may also be made of a passage in the speech against Neaira (Demosthenes, LIX, 75) in which the speaker described the moderate democracy of Theseus in considerable detail and in constitutional terms. This concept of Theseus as a moderate democrat had only a limited success, for in Theophrastos (*Characters*, 26, 6) we find Theseus again as the champion, the founder, and the first victim of radical democracy.<sup>8</sup>

The evidence so far assembled indicates that there was a considerable interest in Demokratia at Athens around 340 B.C.<sup>9</sup> How much older the personification of Demokratia is one cannot tell, except for recalling that the tomb of Kritias is said to have had a representation of Oligarchia and Demokratia (Scholion on Aeschines, I, 39 = Diels, *Frag. d. Vors.*, 88 A 13), and that a series of Attic ships from the beginning of the fourth century on bore the proud name of Demokratia.<sup>10</sup>

It has been suggested, most recently by J. H. Oliver,<sup>11</sup> that the Athenians celebrated the anniversary of the restoration of democracy in 403 B.C., which fell on the 12th of Boedromion, by a sacrifice to Demokratia. The evidence for this suggestion is tenuous but telling. In a list of public sacrifices of the years 332/1 and 331/0 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1496; add *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 328-330, no. 37) one reads and restores (combining lines 131-132 and 140-141) "from the sacrifice to Demokratia made by the strategoi -- --." We do not know whether such sacrifices were also performed in the preceding and following years, but the time of the year, between the Eleusinia (Metageitnion) and the Asklepia (17th of Boedromion) strongly supports the assumption that the sacrifices to Demokratia were performed on the anniversary of the liberation of Athens and of the restoration of democracy. This combination is supported by the appearance of Demokratia (or of a torch-holding woman who was later so identified) on the tomb of Kritias and by the naming of an Athenian ship Demokratia (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1606, lines 59-60) which was already an "old" ship in 374/3 B.C.

L. Deubner<sup>12</sup> called attention to a round altar from the Akropolis (Pl. 86, b; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4992; see also the earlier publications *C.I.A.*, II, 1672 and III, 165) which

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 408-415.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 408-409, and my comments in *Bull. d'arch. et d'hist. dalmate*, LVI-LIX, 2, 1954-1957 (*Mélanges Abramic*, II), pp. 50-51.

<sup>9</sup> See also the general survey by J. A. O. Larsen, *Cl. Phil.*, XLIX, 1954, pp. 1-14.

<sup>10</sup> F. Miltner, *R.E.*, Suppl. V, s.v. *Seewesen*, col. 948, lines 49-51; add *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1623, line 326; see also the vocatives "Oh Democracy" in Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, line 618, and *Birds*, line 1570, and A. Debrunner, *Festschrift für E. Tièche*, pp. 20, 23, note 9.

<sup>11</sup> *Demokratia*, pp. 105-106.

<sup>12</sup> *Attische Feste*, p. 39.

was dedicated to Athena Demokratia and for which he suggested tentatively the date of the restoration of democracy in 89/8 B.C.<sup>13</sup> D. Bradeen kindly examined this round altar which was hollowed out on top<sup>14</sup> and carried on its cylindrical face an inscription of three (not two) lines, since traces of a first line are still visible on the stone (Pl. 86, b). One may assume that this was a joint altar (like *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4983) of some deity and Athena to which the name of Demokratia was added later, but possibly by the same hand. Whether the name on the moulding is that of the archon Herodes (of 59/8 B.C.<sup>15</sup>) one cannot tell but it seems to be contemporary with the main inscription. The letter forms suggest that this altar of Athena and Demokratia was erected in the Augustan period, and J. H. Oliver has assembled some evidence to show that there may have been a connection between Demokratia and Augustus.<sup>16</sup>

Of even greater importance for our understanding of the cult of Demokratia in Athens is the inscription on two seat blocks in the Theater of Dionysos (Pl. 86, c; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5029a<sup>17</sup>) for the priest of Demokratia, the priest of Demos and Charites, and for a priest whose designation can no longer be read. D. Bradeen examined the stones and took a squeeze of the inscription which belongs, to judge from the letter forms, in the third century before Christ. Adolf Wilhelm had already called attention<sup>18</sup> to the dedicatory inscription now published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4676 which he himself had restored as a dedication made by either Eurykleides or Mikion in his capacity as priest of Demos and the Charites.<sup>19</sup> This inscription which was also recently examined by D. Bradeen is engraved on two adjoining thin plaques (*ca.* 0.08-0.10 m. thick) of which only fragments of the right one are preserved (Pl. 86, a). The dedicatory inscription itself was engraved on a smooth band along the upper edge of the plaques. Only the title of the dedicator is preserved; he was priest of Demos and the Charites. Below the dedicatory inscription were three citations symmetrically arranged; of these only part of the middle one (at left of the preserved plaque) and the one on the right are preserved, mentioning the priest of Demos and Charites and the priest of Ptolemy Euergetes and Berenike. The establishment of the cult of Demos and Charites is one of the features of the restored democracy under Eurykleides and Mikion and belongs to the same occasion as that of the cult of Ptolemy and Berenike.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, the nature of the dedication *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4676 cannot be determined with

<sup>13</sup> See also W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 444, note 2.

<sup>14</sup> For this type of altar, see *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 76, no. 3.

<sup>15</sup> M. Thompson, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 224, note 74; S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, p. 117, lines 55 and 127.

<sup>16</sup> *Demokratia*, pp. 158-169.

<sup>17</sup> Oliver, *Demokratia*, p. 107.

<sup>18</sup> *S.E.G.*, I, addenda to no. 45 on p. 137.

<sup>19</sup> *Beitrag*, pp. 76-81; see Oliver, *Demokratia*, p. 106.

<sup>20</sup> Ferguson, *op. cit.*, pp. 237 ff., especially pp. 238, 242, note 3; R. E. Wycherley, *Testimonia*, pp. 59-61 (add *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5029a); Oliver, *Demokratia*, pp. 106-107.

certainty but it should be noted that the preserved fragments were found in the theater of Dionysos and that the citations are like those on the seats of the theater. Combining the evidence of the two inscriptions (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4676 and 5029a) one may restore the priest of Demokratia as the missing left entry of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4676, and the priest of Ptolemy Euergetes and Berenike as the missing right entry of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5029a, and assume that the older cult of Demokratia was combined with that of Demos and Charites, when the latter was established in or shortly before 222/1 <sup>21</sup> (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 844, lines 38-39). This combination would provide us not only with the knowledge of the continuation of the cult of Demokratia in the third century B.C., but also with the possible location of the cult in or near the later sanctuary of Demos and Charites and Aphrodite Hegemone, that is, just behind the building in which Euphranor's painting was kept and near the place where the statue base of Demokratia was found (see below).<sup>22</sup>

It appears, therefore, that there was a cult of Demokratia in Athens, beginning perhaps as early as the restoration of democracy in 403 B.C., certainly of considerable importance during the third quarter of the fourth century, still active towards the end of the third and even during the first century B.C. The cult had a priest who may have been during the second century B.C. also the priest of Demos and Charites (and was as such mentioned in many ephebe inscriptions of that period), and the location of the cult was in the northwest corner of the Agora, on the southern side of the dromos leading from the Kerameikos to the Agora.

One more piece of evidence completes the picture of the personification of Demokratia in fourth century Athens; the statue of Demokratia, looking perhaps not unlike the relief picture of Demokratia on the stele with the "Law against Tyranny" of 337/6.<sup>23</sup> The existence of this statue has been known for a long time since one of the ephebe decrees of 106/5 was to be set up next to Demokratia (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1011, line 62), but not much attention has been paid to this formerly isolated reference.<sup>24</sup> More recently a fragment was found of an honorary decree by the "Volunteer Guard" <sup>25</sup> for Demetrios Poliorketes, which contains the provision that a statue of Demetrios should be erected in the Agora next to Demokratia.<sup>26</sup> Even so, Wycherley <sup>27</sup> did not recognize the statue of Demokratia as a separate Agora monument, and he felt unable to say anything about its location, its date, and the occasion of its erection.

<sup>21</sup> For the date, see W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List*, pp. 161-162.

<sup>22</sup> For the topography, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2798; Wycherley, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, location 13; W. Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 363; G. Roger Edwards, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 343, no. 27.

<sup>23</sup> M. Lang, *The Athenian Citizen*, fig. 29.

<sup>24</sup> Waser, *R.E.*, s.v. *Demokratia*.

<sup>25</sup> See also *Hesperia*, XVII, 1945, pp. 114-116, no. 68, and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1209, both referring surely to the same organization and probably to the same event.

<sup>26</sup> W. Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, pp. 221-227, and, with improved restorations, Ad. Wilhelm, *Wiener Jahresh.*, XXXV, 1943, pp. 157-163.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 210, no. 696.

In fact, the statue base of Demokratia has been known since Fourmont copied it in the church of Nikolaos Blassarou, right across from the sanctuary of Demos and Charites.<sup>28</sup> Later, A. Boeckh published the inscription from Fourmont's copy in the *C.I.G.*, I, 95:

“Athenis apud Nicolaum βλασταροῦ,” ex  
Fourmontianis. Secundus versus maioribus  
litteris scriptus.

Ι . . . . Β Α Σ  
... Μ Ο Κ Ρ Α Τ . .  
Ε Π Ι Ν Ι Κ Ο Κ Ρ Α Τ Ο Υ Σ Α [ Ρ Χ Ο Ν Τ Ο Σ  
Α Ν Ε Θ Η Κ ] Ε Ν Σ Τ Ε Φ Α Ν Ω Θ Ε Ι Σ Α Υ Γ [ Ο ---  
Α Ρ Ε Τ ] Η Σ Ε Ν Ε Κ Α Κ Α Ι Δ Ι Κ [ Α Ι Ο Σ Υ Ν Η Σ

Unfortunately, during republication in *C.I.A.*, II, 1156 and in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2791, the inscription was further mutilated by the omission of the first two lines which were thought to belong to a different and separate inscription. Actually, this is the dedication of the Boule of the year 333/2 whose members were crowned by the Demos (probably before their term of office was over<sup>29</sup>), and who in turn erected a dedicatory statue of Demokratia. Similarly, the Boule of 357/6 dedicated its statue on a base of Eleusinian stone to the Twelve Gods, and the Boule of 332/1 erected its dedicatory statue also on a base of Eleusinian stone probably to Hephaistos.<sup>30</sup> The interpretation suggested here of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2791, which is now lost, has been reached by the confident association with it of an inscribed fragment of Eleusinian stone (E. M. 3913) which is here published (Pl. 86, d) with the kind permission of the director of the Epigraphical Museum, Dr. Markellos Mitsos; for the description I am indebted to Miss Anna Benjamin. The stone is broken at the left and at the back, while part of the smooth top, of the right side, and of the bottom are preserved.

Height, 0.34 m.; preserved width, 0.20 m.; preserved thickness, 0.35 m.; the inscription is engraved between neat guide lines.

333/2

[vacat ca. 5 . . .] Ι [-<sup>ca. 7</sup>-] ΒΑΣ [-<sup>ca. 5</sup>-] vacat ca. 5

[Δη]μοκρατ[ί]α

[Ἡ βουλὴ ἡ] ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους ἄ[ρ]χοντος

[ἀνέθηκ]εν στεφανωθείσα ὑπ[ὸ] τοῦ δήμου

[ἀρετ]ῆς ἔνεκα καὶ δικ[αι]οσύνης·

<sup>28</sup> A. Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae*, p. 126, no. 126; I. N. Travlos, *Πολεοδομικὴ Ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, pl. XII, no. 93.

<sup>29</sup> J. Kirchner, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIX, 1904, p. 250.

<sup>30</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2790 and 2792; for the use of Eleusinian stone, L. T. Shoe, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 342-343, 351-352.

The first line cannot now be restored with confidence and is therefore left unrestored; it may have contained an artist's signature.

It was undoubtedly next to this statue that that of Demetrios Poliorketes was to be set up<sup>31</sup> and that the stele *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1011 was to be erected, but there is no other mention of this statue of Demokratia in either our epigraphical or our literary tradition. There was, however, a statue of Demokratia in the Bouleuterion of Pergamon and next to it a bronze tablet was to be set up.<sup>32</sup>

It may seem idle to speculate why the Boule of 333/2 chose to erect a statue of Demokratia, at a time when Alexander was establishing "democracies" in the Greek cities of Asia Minor. In this very year, Alexander wrote personally to the Demos of the Chians (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>3</sup>, 283) asking them to establish a democracy, and Arrian concluded his account of these activities by observing (*Anabasis*, I, 18, 2) that Alexander ordered the cities to dissolve the oligarchies and to establish democracies. Towards Athens, Alexander showed considerable friendship; after the victory at Granikos, he dedicated three hundred panoplies to Athena on the Akropolis (*Anabasis*, I, 16, 7) and during the archonship of Nikokrates (333/2, *Anabasis*, II, 11, 10 through 24, 6), he spared the life of Iphikrates the Younger out of friendship for the city of Athens (II, 15, 4). It is doubtful whether this evidence has any bearing on the erection of the statue of Demokratia by the Boule of 333/2 B.C. It is significant, however, that during the following two years, 332/1 and 331/0, public sacrifices were made by the generals to Demokratia (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1496, lines 131-132 and 140-141; see above p. 239).

No more can be gained from a glance at the known inscriptions of this year: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 337 (decrees of the first and second prytanies), 338 (first prytany), 339 (second prytany; see *S.E.G.*, XVI, 54), 408 (also second prytany, as B. D. Meritt has noted in his copy of the *Corpus*), 340 (undated), 341, 4594a, and *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 59-66, no. 8, referring to some officials and to the ephebes who served during this year and were honored, as the Boule, for their service. Of some interest is the dedication in Eleusis of a silver phiale by the Boule of this very year 333/2; see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1544, lines 49-50.

In closing, we may recall the ringing phrases of an Athenian orator in which Vittorio De Falco<sup>33</sup> recognized Demades' well known reply to Alexander: ἡμῖν δ' ἀπόρθητός ἐστιν ἡ δημοκρατία: ὁμονοοῦμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τοῖς νόμοις ἐνμένομεν, καρτερεῖν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐπιστάμεθα, τὴν τῆς ἐλευθερίας τάξιν οὐκ ἐγκαταλείπομεν.

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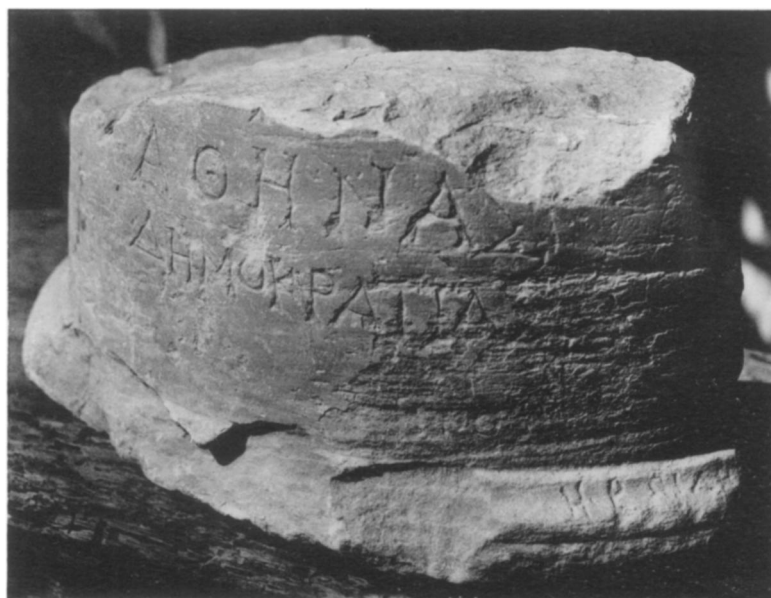
<sup>31</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, p. 226.

<sup>32</sup> Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>3</sup>, 694, lines 30-31.

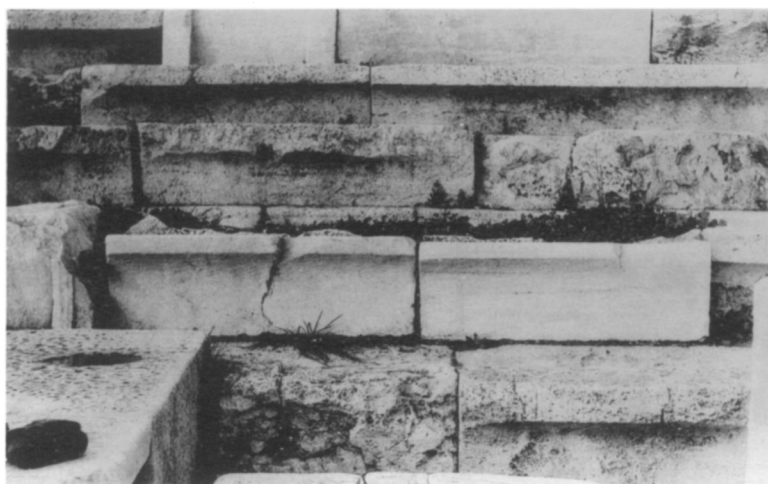
<sup>33</sup> *Demade Oratore*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 49-50, no. 83; see also Al. N. Oikonomides, *Πλάτων*, IX, 1956, p. 123, no. 22.



a. *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4676



b. *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4992



c. *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5029a



d. E. M. 3913