SOCIAL NETWORKING, NARRATIVES AND DEMOCRACY IN THE ATHENIAN *POLIS*: A REAPPRAISAL OF *POLIS* RELIGION

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Introduction

In examining Greek religion, Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood attributed to the *polis* a central role in determining religious activities and forms of self-representation.[2] While the embeddedness of *polis* religion has proved to be relatively valid within the public *kosmos* of ancient Greek religion,[3] the *polis*' hegemonic role cannot entirely account for private religious practices and the stories underpinning them.[4] If we take into consideration the cult of the tyrannicides (Harmodios and Aristogeiton), the *polis* was pivotal in establishing the cult's official narrative. At the same time, ancient sources present us with several variations regarding the end of the tyranny, which minimise the tyrannicides' role and emphasise that of other individuals and their families. In this setting, how do we explain the encompassing force of the *polis* and the contrast between the two typologies of narratives? By employing the stories on the end of the tyranny, this paper tries to overcome that gap, inserting Social Network Theory (SNT) into the *polis* religion of fifth-century Athens.

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[2] Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, 'What is *polis* religion?', in *The Greek City: from Homer to Alexander*, ed. by O. Murray & S.R.F. Price (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 297.

[3] Julia Kindt, '*Polis* Religion – a Critical Appreciation', *Kernos* 22 (2009), p. 12.

[4] Kindt, p. 13; Esther Eidinow, 'Networks and Narratives: a Model for Ancient Greek Religion', *Kernos* 24 (2011), pp. 26-31.

I will draw on the work of sociologist Harrison White, whose theoretical approach focusses on identities and the struggle leading to their formation.[5] For White, identities take shape within social spaces, called "network domains" (or "netdoms"), in which interactions among different actors occur.[6] Within these processes, stories play a paramount role since the joint activity of story creation, embedded in a network between its members, is a crucial part of how humans make sense of the social environment.[7] Stories are pivotal for the emergence of "institutions" and "regimes." The former are lasting social formations, underpinned by networks and determined by collective rhetoric; the latter develop from "institutions," but are underpinned by narratives, a blueprint of values in which rhetoric is inserted.[8] Within this theoretical framework, I will argue that fifth-century Athens acted as a "regime," by creating a central cult of the tyrannicides. Instead, the family stories took part in forming "institutions." Whereas Shear sees these private renditions in competition with the official *polis* cult,[9] I will show that the two sets of stories could co-exist peacefully since they had different purposes. At the same time, the encompassing nature of a "regime," like fifth-century Athens was, brought under its scrutiny all rhetorical forms.

Firstly, I examine the ways in which the *polis* created the "central *polis* cult" of the tyrannicides. In order to do so, I must first establish when the cult was established and how it relates to the *polis*. It is only by doing so that we will be able to grasp the significance of the cult of the Tyrannicides in Athens. After detailing the cult and its context, I will demonstrate that Athens formed a narrative, divergent from historical accounts, and that it

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[5] Harrison White, *Identity and Control: a Structural Theory of Social Action* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), p. 129.
[6] White, pp. 7-9.
[7] Frédéric Godart and Harrison White, 'Switching under Uncertainty: the Coming and Becoming of Meanings', *Poetics* 38.6 (2010), p. 572.
[8] White, pp. 171-72, 220-222.
[9] See Julia Shear, 'Religion and the *Polis*: the Cult of the Tyrannicides at Athens,' *Kernos* 25 (2012a).

presented the tyrannicides as heroes and bringers of freedom and equality. In conjunction with this ideological process, the *polis* also reshaped the physical space, integrating the tyrant-slayers into the "netdom" of the architectural cityscape. Subsequently, I will explain how family stories concerning the end of the tyranny strengthened the identity of sub-groups within a cultic setting. By emphasising the role of specific families, these sub-groups could re-assert their own identities. The performance of cultic activity in honour of the dead, together with the re-enactment of these private stories, acted as a "netdom" in which social networking occurred and identity was reasserted. Finally, after explaining the co-existence of public and private stories, I will show how SNT can be integrated into *polis* religion, whereby the *polis* provided a framework within which private beliefs could take place in a certain freedom.

Background: the cult and its context

Traditionally, it has been thought that the cult of the tyrannicides took place at the end of the sixth century BC. Yet, the evidence employed to reach this conclusion, namely the Harmodios *skolia* and the statuary group by Antenor, is scanty at best. The *skolia*, as preserved by Athaenaeus, refer to the *kleos* of Harmodios and Aristogeiton and the Isles of the Blessed, which are inhabited not only by Harmodios, but also by Achilles and Diomedes.[10] In this setting, the fact that the tyrant-slayers are presented in concomitance with Homeric heroes, who also received cults, has led scholars to argue that the tyrannicides, too, were the recipients of a cult.[11] These songs have been dated to the late sixth century BC, providing a *terminus post quem* for the cultic activity.[12] We must also

[10] Harmodios *schol*. *PMG* n. 894, 896 = Ath. 15.695a-b, n. 11, 13.
[11] Shear 2012a, p. 33.
[12] Martin Ostwald, *Nomos and the Beginnings of the Athenian Democracy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 121-136; Charles Fornara, 'The Cult of Harmodius and Aristogeiton,' *Phiologus* 114 (1970), p. 158, pp. 178-180; Mario Rausch, *Isonomia in Athen: Veränderung des öffentlichen Lebens vom Sturz der Tyrannis bis zur*

admit, though, that there are also many scholars who argue either for a later date in the fifth century BC or for the texts' undatability.[13] Hence, it would be better to set aside such a piece of evidence.

If we shift the attention to the two statues by Antenor, scholars have tried to show that they were set up in the agora in the late sixth century BC, further employing such a date as the beginning of the cult. After all, setting aside the date for a moment, these statues had a very specific value within Athenian society. They were the only two statues set up in the Agora for a long period of time: only in 394/93 two Athenians, Konon and Euagoras of Salamis, were awarded statues in that place for their role at the battle of Knidos.[14] In this very special context, it is possible that the Antenor group could also act as an indicator for cultic activity. Going back to the date, a piece of evidence often used to substantiate the claim to the sixth century BC relates to the reproduction of the Antenor group on late-sixth-century ceramics. Yet, as Azoulay has cogently argued,[15] this thesis is based on a single vase, the *lekythos Skaramanga* (Fig. 1), which does not date to the sixth century,[16] but to the 470s BC and, thus, it could have been inspired by the second statuary group of the tyrannicides by Kritios and Nesiotes (Fig. 3).[17] A second piece of evidence, used to support the sixth-century date, refers to the fact that Antenor's activity is dated to the late sixth century BC. Once again, Azoulay argues that this is so because the only work by Antenor, namely a *kore*, has been

zweiten Perserabwehr (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1999), pp. 50-54; Kurt Raaflaub, *The Discovery of Freedom in Ancient Greece* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 94.

[13] For a later date in the fifth century: Charles Fornara & Loren Samons, *Athens from Cleisthenes to Pericles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 42-48. For those who regard them as undatable: Rosalind Thomas, *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 259-260; Greg Anderson, *The Athenian Experiment: Building an Imagined Political Community in Ancient Attica* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), pp. 202-203.

[14] Dem. 20.69-70.

[15] Vincent Azoulay, *Les Tyrannicides d'Athènes: Vie et Mort de Deux Statues* (Paris: Seuil, 2014), p.43.

[16] This date was favoured by Giorgio Becatti, 'I Tirannicidi di Antenore,' *Archeologia Classica* 9 (1957), pp. 97-107.

[17] Azoulay 2014, p. 43 n. 23.

dated to that period.[18] Does this automatically exclude activity in a later period? Certainly not. The artist could have still been active at the beginning of the fifth century BC. Finally, we turn to Pliny, who points, once again, to the late sixth century BC: according to him, the statuary group of the tyrannicides in the agora was erected at the same time as the end of the monarchy in Rome.[19] If this were true, though, we would inevitably have to postulate that the two opposing factions in Athens, that of Isagoras and that of Clisthenes, worked together to create a uniform story behind the liberation of Athens. Not only is this co-operation unattested elsewhere, but Pliny's text could be underpinned by the author's will to see a connection between Rome and Greece.[20]

Fig. 1. *Lekythos Scaramanga*

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[18] Azoulay 2014, p. 44.
[19] Plin., *HN* 34.17.
[20] Azoulay 2014, p. 45.

The erection of the Antenor group could be inserted more easily in the context of the First Persian War. With the advancement of the Persia, Athenian society developed a sense of fear for the return of tyranny. In fact, Hippias was helping the Persians with the hope that he would retake power again.[21] Azoulay connects the victory of Athens with a re-assertion of civic ideology, which, in turn, stimulated the story of the Tyrannicides.[22] Apart from the revived hate and fear toward tyranny, he also postulates that the other ingredient for the Tyrannicides' re-assertion was the decline of the Alkmeonidai.[23] Already in Herodotus,[24] we read that they had been accused of collaborating with the Persians in order to facilitate the return of Hippias. In addition, in the period after the First Persian War, members of the Alkmeonidai were ostracised,[25] thus signalling an Athenian will to eclipse the figure of Clisthenes. The tyrannicides, with their renditions by Antenor, crowned this process.

As far as the context of the cult, we should focus on the *Athenaion Politeia*, written by Aristotle, which reports that Harmodios and Aristogeiton received *enagismata*. These consisted of offerings that were entirely destroyed so that they could not be shared among the participants:

> ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος θύει μὲν θυσίας τήν τε τῆι Ἀρτέμιδι τῆι ἀγροτέραι καὶ τῶι Ἐνυαλίωι, διατ[ί]θησι δ'ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐπιτάφιον καὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἐν τῶι πολέμωι καὶ Ἁρμοδίωι καὶ Ἀριστογείτονι ἐναγίσματα ποιεῖ. [26]

[21] Hdt. 6.106-107.
[22] Azoulay 2014, p. 47.
[23] Ibid., pp. 47-48.
[24] Hdt. 6.115.
[25] Vincent Azoulay, *Périclès : la démocratie athénienne à l'épreuve du grand homme* (Paris: Arman Colin, 2010), pp. 25-26.
[26] *Ath. Pol.* 58.1

> The *polemarchos* sacrifices to Artemis Agrotera and to Enyalos, and organises the games for those who have died in war, and he makes *enagismata* for Harmodios and Aristogeiton.

This excerpt might lead us to think that the occasion for the cult was the Epitaphia, a festival held every year in honour of the war-dead.[27] The *enagismata* to the Tyrannicides are mentioned together with the libations of the war dead, celebrated at the Epitaphia. However, in quoting the same passage, Pollux does not include the conjunction καὶ: διατίθησι δὲ τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἀγῶνα τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ ἀποθανόντων, καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἁρμόδιον ἐναγίζει (and he organises the funeral games for those who have died in war, and he makes *enagismata* for Harmodios).[28] He believed that the cult of the war-dead and that of the tyrannicides were separate. In this sense, he must have been aware of a literary source which propounded the same idea. This notion is also supported by Ekroth's study, which shows that war-dead would not receive *enagismata*, instead being awarded *thusia*.[29] Given that the war-dead and the tyrannicides received different sacrifices, they could not have been celebrated during the Epitaphia. In order to solve this issue, an excerpt from Philostratos' *Life of Apollonios of Tyana* provides a useful insight into the cult's contextualisation:

> διῄει δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ Παναθήναια τὰ Ἀττικά, ἐφ' οἷς Ἁρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ᾄδονται, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔργον, ὃ καὶ τριάκοντα ὁμοῦ τυράννους εἷλε, καὶ τὰ

[27] Thuc. 2.34.1.
[28] Poll. *Onom.* 8.91.
[29] Gunnel Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cult in the Archaic to the Hellenistic Periods* (Liège: Centre International d'Étude de la Religion Grecque Antique, 2002), pp. 84-89.

> Ῥωμαίων δὲ αὐτῶν διῄει πάτρια, ὡς κἀκεῖνοι δῆμος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες τὰς τυραννίδας ἐώθουν ὅπλοις.[30]
>
> He discussed with them both the Attic Panathenaia, during which Harmodios and Aristogeiton are sung, and the action from Phyle, when the Thirty Tyrants were conquered together, and he also discussed the ancestral history of the Romans themselves, that they were also used to throwing out tyrants.

In encouraging the Roman governors to react against Domitian, Apollonios refers to the tyrannicides, whose cult is celebrated during the Panathenaia through songs. As Shear points out, the juxtaposition of the tyrant-slayers, songs and the festival must have played on the common knowledge that people were familiar with the reference.[31] Moreover, since Philostratos was an Athenian, he must have been very well acquainted with the religious traditions of his hometown.[32] Thus, the tyrant-slayers' *enagismata* were celebrated during the Panathenaia, which, as we will see later, played a symbolic function in the tyrannicides' narrative.

Apart from the literary source, archaeological remains can be employed to support the tyrannicides' celebration at the Panathenaia. Visual evidence, especially on vase paintings, portray the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton as Athena's shield device (Fig. 2).[33] Such images, moreover, were strongly connected to the festival because they were depicted on those amphorae, which contained the oil, given as a prize to the winners of the athletic events.[34] Since visual representations of the tyrannicides were not very common in this

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[30] Philostr. *VA* 7.4.3.
[31] Julia Shear, 'The Tyrannicides, their Cult and the Panathenaia: a Note', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 132 (2012b), p. 109.
[32] *Agora* XV 447.4-6, 448.4-5.
[33] Shear 2012b, 110.
[34] Shear 2012b, p. 109.

period, we can conclude that the Athenian worshipper would have connected Harmodios and Aristogeiton, through their visual representations, to the Panathenaia and no other cult.

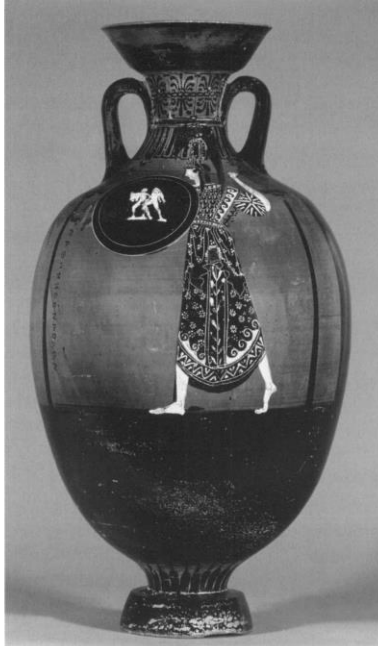

Fig. 2. Panathenaic prize amphora with the statues of the Tyrannicides on Athena's shield.

Polis and narratives: creating a "central _polis_ cult" among a plethora of possibilities

With the aforementioned context in mind, the cult of the tyrannicides developed around a specific narrative, determined by the *polis*, which, along the lines of SNT, acted as a "regime." Such a narrative reflected a set of values:[35] Harmodios and Aristogeiton were perceived as bringers of *isonomia* and freedom. In the Harmodios *skolia*, not only are they depicted as the tyrants' killers, but also as those who made Athens *isonomos*, a quality later associated to the equality of rights.[36] It is possible that the poems of the *skolia* resembled the songs of the cult. Furley and Bremer, in fact, refer to these compositions as "hymnic."[37] In this setting, the official *polis* cult of the tyrannicides connected the ideology of Athenian

[35] Eidinow 2011, p. 18.
[36] Harmodios *schol.*, *PMG*, n. 893, 896 = Ath. 15.695a-b, n. 10, 13.
[37] William Furley and Jan Bremer, *Greek Hymns: Selected Cult Songs from the Archaic to the Hellenistic Period* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), pp. 258-260.

isonomia to the actions of Harmodios and Aristogeiton. The *skolia*, however, do not mention freedom. It is only during the fifth century BC that the tyrannicides began to be regarded as bringers of freedom. Herodotus, for instance, makes a clear reference to the freeing of Athens: while he believes the Alkmeonidai had been more effective, he also recognises that the tyrannicides played a role too.[38] Similarly, Herodotus' Miltiades addresses Kallimachos with an invitation to make Athens free again, thus leaving a legacy greater than the tyrannicides'.[39] The reason why their fame as liberators is late can be related to the Persian Wars during which civic liberty had been put at risk.[40] The *polis*, therefore, integrated the defence of freedom within the historical narrative of anti-tyranny and democratic behaviour, of which Harmodios and Aristogeiton had become the utmost examples.

The creation of the tyrannicides' official narrative was integrated in the cityscape of Athens. Any "central *polis* cult," as Sourvinou-Inwood puts it, pertains to the geographical and symbolic centre of the *polis*.[41] The statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton were placed in the Agora, perhaps already at the end of the sixth century BC.[42] In 477 BC, a bronze pair, by Kritias and Nesiotes (Fig. 3), was placed there,[43] replacing those that, as previously said, had been made by Antenor and which had been taken by Xerxes as booty.[44] These statues reflected the *polis*' interest in propagating the image of the tyrannicides as saviours of Athens, linking them with the democratic political system.[45] They were not depicted in a

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[38] Hdt. 6.123.2.
[39] Ibid., 6.109.3.
[40] Shear 2012a, p. 39.
[41] Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, p. 307.
[42] Aileen Ajootian, 'A Day at the Races: the Tyrannicides in the Fifth-century Agora', in *ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ: Studies in Honor of Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway*, ed. by K.J. Hartswick and M.C. Sturgeon (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1998), p. 1.
[43] Azoulay 2014, p. 55.
[44] Ibid., pp. 51-54.
[45] Ibid., pp. 67-68.

hieratic, static way, but on the moment of striking the fatal blow.[46] From the viewer's point, they stood as a symbol for any Athenian: the actions of the tyrannicides were to be emulated in case of threat to the democracy. This can be also inferred from their physical rendition: Ajootian has argued that the statues resembled the heroes Theseus and Herakles.[47] Thus, while they were the first men to be dedicated statues in the Agora,[48] their heroic actions had also given them a more divine appearance. Apart from acquiring a cultic significance, the stylistic resemblance with divine entities served the purpose of ingraining the tyrannicides into the religious system of the *polis*. More specifically, the pose that Kritias and Nesiotes employed for Harmodios was not new. Instead, it had been previously used for the god Apollo in the context of the Gigantomachy on Attic vase painting.[49] In addition, Carpenter suggests that the popularity of such an image was spread by the *peplos* given to Athena during the Panathenaia.[50] In this setting, to the average worshipper, the statues of the tyrannicides, especially that of Harmodios, provided a direct connection with Athena and her festival, central elements of civic life for the *polis*.

[46] Ibid., pp. 61-63.
[47] Ajootian 1998, p. 3.
[48] Plin., *HN* 34.17.
[49] Shear 2012b, pp. 112-113.
[50] Thomas Carpenter, 'Harmodios and Apollo in fifth-century Athens: What's in a Pose?', in *Athenian Potters and Painters: The Conference Proceedings*, ed. by J.H. Oakley, W.D.E. Coulson and O. Palagia, (Oxford: Oxbow, 1997), pp. 175-76.

Fig. 3. Roman copies of the Tyrannicides by Kritias and Nesiotes.

The statues of the Tyrannicides were also inserted into the *polis*' performative space, functioning as a "netdom," further giving meaning to their narrative within the "central *polis* cult." First of all, the statues re-shaped Peisistratid space.[51] Although the tyrants took care to include the Agora within their building project,[52] the *polis*, by setting the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton there, was trying to infuse a new meaning related to democracy into the urban structure. As Thucydides reports,[53] when the altar of the Twelve Gods was enlarged, it also obscured the dedication bearing the name of the tyrant. The changed meaning is further inferred through the fifth-century use of the Agora for the Panathenaic races. As previously shown, the cult of the tyrannicides was held during that very festival. Apart from reminding viewers of the historical event, the statues had a symbolic function of protecting the Panathenaic Way and Athens from any anti-democratic

[51] Azoulay 2014, p. 49.
[52] Ajootian 1998, p. 7.
[53] Thuc. 6.54.7.

threat.[54] By including the tyrannicides into the performative space of the Panathenaia, the Athenians altered the meaning of the festival itself. Although Athena was still the main focus, the association with Harmodios and Aristogeiton heightened the significance of the celebration as typically Athenian since it commemorated the democratic ideal and its foundation.[55] In this setting, the participation of the city's magistrates and officials to the festival highlights such civic character. Let us not forget that the *polemarchos*, and not the tyrant-slayers' families, was in charge of the *enagismata* for the tyrannicides.[56] While such a detail might appear as insignificant, the presence of a public officer in the cult of Harmodios and Aristogeiton created a connection between the *polis* and the tyrannicides' actions. In this context, the association of the tyrant-slayers with the *polis* in the context of the Panathenaia would have had a meaning only for the Athenian worshipper, losing significance for the visitors.

At the same time, once we delve deeper into the analysis of the Tyrannicides' cultic narrative, we find out that the end of the Athenian tyranny did not produce a uniform narrative with a focus on the tyrant-slayers. Rather, as Thucydides, Herodotus and Aristophanes show, alternatives and co-existing stories flourished in the fifth century BC. In some instances, such stories were discordant with one another. For instance, in reporting his accounts, Thucydides recognised that Harmodios and Aristogeiton attempted to drive the tyrants out of Athens.[57] Nevertheless, in trying to correct the "official" version of the narrative, as propounded by the *polis*, he also emphasised aspects which minimised the tyrant-slayers' actions: according to him, the final blow to the tyranny was inflicted by the

[54] Ajootian 1998, 9.
[55] Shear 2012b, p. 117.
[56] Ibid., p. 118.
[57] Thuc. 6.59.1.

Spartans and the Alkmeonidai.[58] The heterogeneous plethora of stories can be also inferred from Thucydides' motivation behind the assassination: rather than correlating the tyrannicides' action to democratic support, he points to a love affair as the main factor.[59] This anecdotal excerpt does not represent the only instance in which stories could move away from an official narrative. The historian, in fact, goes to the extent of providing a quasi-apologetic portrayal of the tyrants: according to him, the Peisistratids were not terrible administrators at the outset. They lost popularity only in the final stages of the tyranny.[60]

Herodotus, like Thucydides, reproduced a narrative, which reflects a variety of accounts and which seeks to emend the "official" narrative. On one side, the Tyrannicides are praised, while, on the other side, he reproduces stories which did not bestow particular importance on the tyrannicides. Thus, Miltiades' speech at the battle of Marathon depicts the tyrannicides as liberators from the Athenian tyranny: as an encouragement, Miltiades presents the *polemarchos* with the choice of seeing Athens enslaved or acting like the tyrant-slayers and freeing the *polis*.[61] At the same time, Herodotus detailed a more intricate picture. Harmodios and Aristogeiton killed Hipparchos, but the tyranny continued for four years.[62] And, like Thucydides, he also specified that the Alkmeonidai had a more pivotal role in bringing forth the democracy: they had bribed the Pythia to persuade the Spartans to finally eliminate the remnants of tyrannical despotism.[63] Yet, he also includes other protagonists, such as Isagoras, on the political scene, linking them to the Spartan

[58] Ibid., 6.53.3; 6.59.4.
[59] Ibid., 6.54.1.
[60] Ibid.,. 6.53.3.
[61] Hdt. 6.109.3.
[62] Ibid., 5.55.
[63] Hdt. 6.123.2.

intervention.[64] Moving away from the "official" narrative, Herodotus' accounts culminated with the actions of a specific family, rather than the tyrant-slayers.

Along this heterogeneous line, Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* reflects the variations on the Tyrannicides' story. Apart from mentioning the liberation by the tyrannicides, through the protagonist Lysistrata, Aristophanes describes the Spartans' saving action in driving Hippias out of Athens.[65] What transpires from these three authors is that these stories must have been popular since they are included in their works:[66] while Thucydides and Herodotus might have been read by a small section of society, namely the elite, the Aristophanic comedies were seen by a much more numerous crowd, which, in turn, must have been familiar with the references.[67]

Private narratives, family cults and Social Networking

Apart from the *polis* narrative about the end of the Athenian tyranny, the fifth century BC bore witness to the emergence of family stories around the same theme. For instance, the Alkmeonidai were not only mentioned by Herodotus. They also had a more family-based narration, as we infer from the younger Alkibiades, who belonged to the family. In relating the tyranny's final years, he mentioned that his great-grandfathers, Alkibiades and Kleisthenes, drove the tyrants out and brought democracy to Athens.[68] The focus is entirely on the family, without any mention of the Tyrannicides. In this setting, Alkibiades was trying to establish a link between him, his family and the democratic regime. The attention on the

[64] Ibid., 5.66.1-2; 5.70.1-72.
[65] Ar., *Lys.* 1150-1156.
[66] Shear 2012a, p. 44.
[67] Herodotus' text was probably "published" in the 420s BC, so the "correct version" might have been discussed by 411 BC when Lysistrata was produced.
[68] Isoc. 16.25-27.

ancestors is not just a trait of Alkibiades' account. Andokides employs a similar narrative, whereby his ancestors, Leogoras and Charias, were responsible for bringing the *demos*' rule back, thus instituting democracy.[69] In this case, not only does the narrative differ from the one favoured by the *polis*, but neither Spartan action nor Kleisthenic democracy are mentioned. A third example can be found in Lysias' speech against Euandros. The speaker defends himself against the accusations of despising the *demos*, saying that his ancestors had opposed the tyrants.[70] While there is no reference to the speaker's family establishing a democratic system, the speech strives to depict him as a supporter of democracy through his ancestors.

These divergent narratives were handed down from generation to generation, cementing the group identity of the various families according to Social Network Theory. In order that these stories could be transmitted within the family, a ritual setting was needed since it allowed members to communicate with one another in an orderly fashion.[71] The primary context in which families gathered together was in religious rituals marking birth, marriage and death.[72] This last case, specifically, would have set a connection between the living members of the family and the deceased protagonists of the aforementioned stories. What transpires from the sources, in fact, is a strong connection, emphasised by moral duty, between the deceased and the heir: in a particular instance, Isaeus indicates a form of competition among different family members for the funeral's organisation.[73] Given this moral expectation between the living and the dead, the family tombs, and the rituals associated with them, acted as "netdoms" where such an interaction could occur. As Parker

[69] Andoc. 1.106.
[70] Lys. 26.22.
[71] Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, p. 312.
[72] Shear 2012a, p. 49.
[73] Isae. 8.21-27, 38-39.

notes, the ancestors' tombs did not see cultic activity only in the days following a funeral. Rather, annual rituals were also staged: one of them, celebrated on the fifth of Boedromion, was the *Genesia*, which had a public character. In addition to this, Parker also puts forth the possibility of numerous, more private cults, usually held on the date of death of the deceased.[74] It is in such contexts that the inter-generational commemorations would have occurred. As Herodotus relates, for instance, the *Genesia* are performed by the sons in honour of their fathers.[75] The various narratives, therefore, would have played a significant role during these rituals. It is possible that the protagonists of those narratives were located together with members of their extended families. In fact, the dead (men and unmarried women) were usually buried with their paternal kin.[76] Demosthenes tells us that a memorial of the Bouselidai was shared by all the descendants of Bouselos.[77] Similarly, in another passage, the orator speaks that ancestral tombs are shared by all the members of the *genos*.[78] Such a proximity must have had an effect on the perceptions of the commemorators, who, through the re-enactment of family stories, cemented the connection between the kin group and their democratic ancestors. Thus, by doing so, they could ascertain their membership to the family through their ancestors' deeds.

***Polis* religion, Social Network Theory and contrasting narratives**

Polis and private narratives could co-exist with one another. It is often assumed that the *polis* narrative of the tyrannicides contrasted with the family stories. As Shear argues, the traditions of the sub-groups were competing with the *polis*, whose encompassing force

[74] Robert Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 27.
[75] Hdt 4.26.2.
[76] Parker 2005, p. 24.
[77] Dem. 43.79.
[78] Ibid., 57.28.

pushed them to disappear.[79] I believe, however, that such a statement needs to be assessed more carefully in light of Social Network Theory. The *polis* narrative and the family stories could not compete against one another since they served different purposes. The *polis*' official narrative underpinned a "control regime" as it brought the whole citizenry together into a cultic practice where the citizens saw democratic values exalted in the figures of Harmodios and Aristogeiton. Instead, the family stories had a place within a more private cultic setting. By the fourth century BC, in fact, they are hardly mentioned in a public context. Although Shear takes this as a sign of the overcoming force of the *polis* tradition,[80] their end was far from near. Albeit in small numbers, we still find traces of family narratives, as in a fourth-century speech by Demosthenes, who refers to the Alkmeionidai story.[81] The mention of one can also signify that others were still extant. Yet, they were used in the private domain. These various, discordant family traditions were confined to the sub-groups, without any pretence of extending to the *polis* dimension. This is because these stories had a rhetorical function. As White states, rhetorics provide guidance for participation in "institutions."[82] The families, as "institutions," employed private stories within family cults in order to cement a sense of organisation, which provides its members with stable rules and positions.[83] Unlike the official narrative, which aimed at the whole *polis*, these private stories gave meaning to each member of the family within the sub-group itself. The various members were interconnected by a common ancestor's exploits, which were re-enacted during family rituals and recounted by rhetorical stories.

[79] Shear 2012a, p. 50.
[80] Shear 2012a, p. 51.
[81] Dem. 21.144.
[82] White 2008, p. 173.
[83] Ibid., p. 211.

Given the co-existence of public and private narratives, how do we explain *polis* religion? After all, the *polis* was not as all-encompassing as expected in the private sector. Indeed, it is true that the *polis* could regulate customary habits within private ritual activity, such as burial practices.[84] However, as far as private narratives went, the *polis* did not legislate significantly. In order to explain this inconsistency, I believe that Social Network Theory offers a useful framework, which can be integrated into Sourvinou-Inwood's *polis* religion. As previously mentioned, the *polis* was a "control regime" as opposed to the families, which can be seen as "institutions." However, the rhetorics of the "institutions" were subsumed into the narrative of the "control regime."[85] The *polis*, therefore, acted as a framework which the citizens had to respect. While it supported a public cult of the tyrannicides, it granted a degree of freedom in private cults, whose rhetorical stories, nevertheless, had to fit into *polis* ideology. And these family traditions did. Although they emphasised a specific family's function in ending the tyranny, they were all ingrained into the exaltation of democracy and democratic support. In this setting, the stories, as postulated by SNT, strengthened the ties within the various sub-groups. At the same time, they also gave them a place within the *polis*, by connecting private support for democracy with the public *polis*-wide sphere. This is demonstrated from the use of these stories: fifth-century family accounts were used in a public setting in order to ascertain a connection between family members and democracy. This is particularly evident in the aforementioned speech by Lysias, where Euandros refers to his ancestors' support of the democracy in order to confute his anti-democratic accusations. What this meant for an individual worshipper is that the form of the cult would differ from the public to the private sphere. He would

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[84] Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Further Aspects of *Polis* Religion', in *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion*, ed. by R. Buxton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 51-52.
[85] Eidinow 2011, p. 33.

worship the Tyrannicides at the Panathenaia and his dead ancestors at the family tomb. The substance behind the cult, however, would fit into a macro-system determined by the *polis* and adaptable to different situations.

Conclusion

This paper examined the development and cultic use of public and private narratives about the end of tyranny, assessing them against Social Network Theory. I showed that the cult of the Tyrannicides was determined by the *polis*, acting as a "control regime," which chose an official narrative, among many others, and altered the performative space within which the narrative took place. Concurrently, I also focused on private traditions which exalted the function of private families, seen as "institutions," in bringing about the tyrants' end. I argued that these stories played a pivotal role in cementing the identity within the sub-groups. Even in this case, the cult's performative element is essential since the narratives could take place in specific contexts, such as celebrations of dead ancestors, or in family religious meetings, such as the *Genesia*. In this sense, public and private narratives could co-exist with one another. The reason behind this anomaly relates to the way in which *polis* religion has been considered: namely, as an all-encompassing force, influencing the private life of the citizens. I have postulated, instead, that *polis* religion acted as a framework upon which people could build different and diverging narratives, as long as they respected the *polis*' basic tenets of democratic support.

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